

NOTE TO USERS

The original manuscript received by UMI contains pages with indistinct and/or slanted print. Pages were microfilmed as received.

This reproduction is the best copy available

UMI

DRAWN TO ORDER:
HENRI JULIEN'S POLITICAL CARTOONS OF 1899
AND HIS CAREER WITH HUGH GRAHAM'S
***Montreal Daily Star*, 1888-1908**

A Thesis submitted to the Committee on Graduate Studies
in Partial Fulfilment of the Requirements for the
Degree of Master of Arts
in the Faculty of Arts and Science

TRENT UNIVERSITY
Peterborough, Ontario, Canada

© Copyright by Dominic Llywelyn Hardy 1997

Canadian Heritage and Development Studies
M.A. Program

May 1998



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file *Votre référence*

Our file *Notre référence*

The author has granted a non-exclusive licence allowing the National Library of Canada to reproduce, loan, distribute or sell copies of this thesis in microform, paper or electronic formats.

The author retains ownership of the copyright in this thesis. Neither the thesis nor substantial extracts from it may be printed or otherwise reproduced without the author's permission.

L'auteur a accordé une licence non exclusive permettant à la Bibliothèque nationale du Canada de reproduire, prêter, distribuer ou vendre des copies de cette thèse sous la forme de microfiche/film, de reproduction sur papier ou sur format électronique.

L'auteur conserve la propriété du droit d'auteur qui protège cette thèse. Ni la thèse ni des extraits substantiels de celle-ci ne doivent être imprimés ou autrement reproduits sans son autorisation.

0-612-30215-6

Abstract

Drawn to Order:
Henri Julien's Political Cartoons of 1899
and his career with Hugh Graham's
Montreal Daily Star, 1888-1908

Dominic Llywelyn Hardy

Extensive original biographical and historiographical research on Henri Julien permits a new account of his life and of the importance of the single year of political cartooning Julien contributed to the *Montreal Daily Star* in his two decades with the newspaper. These cartoons are interpreted through interdisciplinary readings using histories of art and caricature, of parliamentary and party politics, of technology, and of modernity. Julien's bilingual identity is adduced as a constant factor in his caricature's unique characteristics. He is seen in conflict with the belligerent anti-Liberal and pro-imperialist policies of the *Star*. These policies rendered the political accommodations exercised by Julien through his distinctive black-and-white style impossible. Contemporary practices of irony, writing through racial difference and literary theory re-establish a living meaning to work previously considered to be Julien's most ephemeral production and seen now to have been actively ignored in Canadian and Québec histories.

Preface

The hindsight of biography is as elusive and deductive as long-range forecasting. Guesswork, a hunch. Monitoring probabilities. Assessing the influence of all the information we'll never have, that has never been recorded. The importance not of what's extant, but of what's disappeared. Even the most reticent subject can be - at least in part - posthumously reconstructed [...] But the search for facts, for places, names, influential events, important conversations and correspondences, political circumstances - all this amounts to nothing if you can't find the assumption your subject lives by.

Anne Michaels, *Fugitive Pieces* (London: Bloomsbury)1997: 222.

This thesis has had two lives. At Concordia University in 1981-83, studies of the iconography of Wilfrid Laurier had led to a focus on Henri Julien's career with the *Montreal Daily Star*. An inventory of all signed cartoons to appear in the *Star* 1888-1908 was completed in August 1983. The research was then set aside. The second incarnation came at the Frost Centre, Trent University, in 1994. Remarkably, the subject had remained untouched in the intervening 11 years. The study of Canadian and Québec political cartoons and caricature of the 19th and early 20th centuries remains wide open. I hope to help by combining needed archival work with interdisciplinary historical analysis. In-depth studies of Canadian political cartoonists lives are sparse. The present one is offered in conjunction with the detailed analysis of just one set of cartoons. It is impossible to know if this will be a necessary pattern for other studies, but in the present case it has enabled me to break out of a methodological catch-22.

This research began in Canadian art history and is completed in Canadian Studies. It is still typical of Canadian art history which has much first-hand research to undertake. It has also had to adapt the recent thinking which has been formulated about contemporary art and culture and adapt it when possible to works now ninety years old. Above all, the reader will encounter here a joint biographical-artistic-political study of a group of cartoons emblematic of the vagaries of one extraordinary Canadian life.

The cartoons targeted the government of Wilfrid Laurier, and portrayed each

one of his ministers. But Wilfrid Laurier and his right-hand man Israel Tarte eventually took centre stage. Ultimately, the role of Henri Julien, bilingual newspaper artist, in an English-Canadian newspaper's attack on French-Canadian politicians, becomes the broad issue to be investigated here. The cartoons are part of the history of speaking about identity in Canada, with the position of the cartoonist much different in Julien's time than in our own. He was no independent editorial thinker. His own political influences were tacitly expressed. It is this very quietude that has interested me. I have tried to describe it alongside the shaping of mighty political forces in concert with the technological innovations of the late 19th-Century popular press in Canada. It was necessary to give as much information as possible about the political influences on Julien's life, looking at whatever circumstances might shed light on his allegiances. The overwhelming problem here was the almost complete absence of documents from the hands of Julien and his employer Hugh Graham. In "reconstructing these reticent subjects," the objective has been without doubt to find the "assumptions they lived by." The cartoons' meanings truly begin there.

Thus, one possible approach to these cartoons has been sacrificed: their detailed reading in terms of the day-to-day politics of Laurier's ministers. The references in the daily newspapers do exist and in fact I have supplied as much context as possible while retaining the idea of providing a the continuum in which the cartoons are set. I wanted to describe them as political events for which there was a longer historical context, because I believe they have a resonance for today, and are founded in a past filled with questions still not settled. The very presence of images such as these in the way we describe our history to ourselves and others is one of the most important among these questions. So while a catalogue raisonné approach to the cartoons is absolutely desirable, it must wait until further studies like these are complete.

Peterborough, July 31, 1997

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Ellen James, Sandra Paikowsky and Catherine MacKenzie of Concordia University for their initial encouragement when I crossed from studies in visual arts to the MFA Programme in Canadian Art History in 1980. At Trent, I am especially grateful for the support and direction of John Wadland in nurturing this project to completion and for his warm confidence. Thesis committee members Keith Walden and Michèle Lacombe set high standards which I hope they will find confirmed in the attention paid to the factual record and to the interdisciplinary readings in this thesis. The core of the thesis and the interdisciplinary challenges were developed in a one-on-one course with Michèle Lacombe in 1995-96. Laurier Lacroix, now at the Art History department of the Université du Québec à Montréal, has been a patient and generous mentor, directing the thesis in its first incarnation and kindly acting as external advisor in the the last three years. I would like to thank many helpful people: Paulette Nichols and Pat Strode at the Graduate Studies Office, Winnie Janzen at the Frost Centre, the staff of the excellent Bata Library of Trent University; Rosemary Tovell, Curator and Cyndie Campbell, Archivist, at the National Gallery of Canada; the staff of the reading room, National Archives of Canada; Nathalie Thibault at the Musée du Québec; Christian Vachon and Suzanne Morin of the McCord Museum in Montréal, with warm thanks to the McCord's former Archivist, Pamela Miller.

This research owes everything to the love and kindness of Lori Beavis Hardy, our children Caitlin and Iris, and our extended family in Peterborough. The encouragement of The Art Gallery of Peterborough, particularly Illi-Maria Tamplin and Vera Novacek, is gratefully acknowledged. This work is, I hope, a contribution to a tradition bestowed by my mother, Elizabeth Richards, historian and editor, whose courage and nurturing I hope to always honour, and by my father Robin Hardy, filmmaker, black-and-white artist and lover of history. To my family and to my close friend Dale Thomson of Montréal, who taught me that language (and languages), along with communication among political friends and opponents, often provide a basis for hope, I respectfully dedicate this work.

Preface	iii.
Acknowledgements	v.
Table of Contents	vi.
Table of illustrations	viii.
Chapter 1. Introduction	1
1. In the Wrong Hands?	1
2. Henri Julien's Wilfrid Lauriers	5
3. Paths to Henri Julien and the 1899 Cartoons: sources and problems Biography	10
4. Julien and the Histories of art, phototechnologies and modernity	13
5. Julien's Caricature in Québec's "Collective Memory"	22
6. Envoi	27
Chapter 2. A Cartoonist's Progress: The Career of Henri Julien	29
1. Education: Family, Tradition and Ambition	29
2. Artistic Education	38
3. Education at Desbarats's: Technological Conditions	43
4. Julien at Large - Satire and Culture: Evolution of his Free-Lance Career	49
5. Julien in a Radical <i>Milieu</i> : Berthelot, Beaugrand and Fréchette	53
6. Reaching to the <i>Star</i>	59
Chapter 3. Henri Julien in the World of Hugh Graham's <i>Montreal Daily Star</i>	63
1. Hugh Graham	63
2. The <i>Montreal Daily Star</i>	69
3. Technological Changes	73
4. Julien and the <i>Star</i> , 1885-1887 Overview and Carnival	78
The Coverage of the Northwest Resistance	80
Commemorating the 1837-38 Rebellion	91
5. Henri Julien, the <i>Star's</i> Artist, 1888-1908	92
Chapter 4. Henri Julien's 1899 Cartoons	100
1. Political Framework for the Year	100
2. The Appeal to Race: the <i>Songs of the By-Town Coons</i> Origins of the <i>By-Town Coons</i>	103
Theatre in Montréal and the <i>By-Town Coons</i>	107
Iconographic Sources in Minstrelsy	111
Line and Voice: main themes in the graphic and political satire of the <i>By-Town Coons</i>	117

3. "Of Telling Power:" Henri Julien's Last Cartoons, July-November 1899	129
Table of Contents continued	
Chapter 4 continued	
The Star and the preparations for the Boer War	129
The War Campaign	133
The Final Political Cartoons	144
Chapter 5. The Posthumous Fate of Henri Julien and his 1899 Political Cartoons	
	148
1. Julien at Odds with Political Cartooning, 1899-1908	
2. The projects of remembering Henri Julien: Collecting, Publishing and Exhibiting Julien's 1899 Cartoons	148 155
3. Julien's 1899 Cartoons and the Exhibition Projects of 1936-1941	161
4. After 1940	170
Chapter 6. "Our Lips are Now Forbid to Speak!"	
	177
1. Paths towards contemporary meanings for Julien's Cartoons The Question of Race	177 179
2. The <i>Songs of the By-Town Coons</i> and the Carnavalesque	189
3. The Possibilities of Irony	192
4. Metaphoe, Likeness, Multiplicity	195
5. Envoi	198
Illustrations	201
Bibliography	260

Table of illustrations

Page	Illustration ref.	Page
201	1. Henri Julien, "Elevating the Standard", <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , December 17, 1877 Source: <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , December 17, 1877, Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal	
202	2. Henri Julien, [Wilfrid Laurier as Blackface Minstrel], from <i>Songs of the By-Town Coons</i> no. 6, "An Oratorio by the Government Laurier-Ate", <i>Montreal Daily Star</i> , February 4 1899. Source: Marius Barbeau, <i>Henri Julien</i> (Toronto: Ryerson, 1941)	
203	3. Henri Julien, [Wilfrid Laurier deserting the troops], right-hand panel of "Peace Hath her Victories No Less Than War", <i>Montreal Daily Star</i> , October 7 1899 p. 13. Source: <i>Montreal Star</i> , Microfilm, reel October-December 1899.	
204	4. "Octave-Henri Julien" [photograph of the artist] Source: <i>Weekend Magazine</i> , vol 11 no 26 (July 1, 1961): 2.	
205	5. Arthur George Racey, <i>Don Quichotte</i> , <i>La Patrie</i> (Montréal) February 23 1899: 9. Source: <i>La Patrie</i> , Microfilm, reel January-June 1899.	
206	6. Henri Julien, reportage from North-West Mounted Police expedition to Fort Whoop-Up, 1874. Source: George F. Stanley, <i>Men in Scarlet</i> [1974]: 29.	
207	7. Henri Julien, "The Guibord Burial", <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , November 27, 1875. Source: Lovell C. Clark, <i>The Guibord Affair</i> (Toronto: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1971): 26.	
208	8. Henri Julien, "The Montreal Herald Brass Band", <i>The Jester</i> , September 13 1878. Source: McCord Museum, Montréal, archives, Henri Julien file.	
209	9. Henri Julien, "Extremes Meet", <i>The Jester</i> , February 7 1879. Source: McCord Museum, Montréal, archives, Henri Julien file.	
210	10. Henri Julien, Chase & Sanborn advertisement [1885] Source: National Archives of Canada, fonds Henri Julien, MG 29 D103 vol 2: 29.	
211	11. Henri Julien, "H.M.S. Parliament", <i>Canadian Illustrated News</i> , February 28, 1880, Source: Murray Edwards, <i>A Stage in our Past. English Language Theatre in Eastern Canada from the 1790s to 1914</i> (Toronto: 1968).	
212	12. Henri Julien, "La grande fête nationale à Québec," <i>L'Opinion Publique</i> , 8 July 1880 p.334. Source: Mario Béland, <i>Jean-Baptiste Côté: Caricaturiste et Sculpteur</i> (Québec: 1996) 30.	

- 213 13. a/Henri Julien, printed menu, "Dinner Tendered by Mayor McShane to the City Hall Reporters /Windsor Hotel/April 25 1891."
Source: National Archives of Canada, MG 29 D103 vol 2, 29.
b/Henri Julien, printed invitation, "Conférence par Hector Berthelot...,"
Source: National Archives of Canada, MG 29 D103 vol 2, 23.
- 214 14. Henri Julien, "L'honorable député de Québec-Est," *Le Farceur*, 1878.
Source: Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1941) 28.
- 215 15. Henri Julien, "Carnival Number" [[January 26-31, 1885], *Montreal Daily Star* n.d. [appears on microfilm between January 28 and 29, 1885].
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1885.
- 216 16. Attributed to Henri Julien, "The Duck Lake Fight," *Montreal Daily Star*, April 11, 1885 p. 1.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1885.
- 217 17. Attributed to Henri Julien, "Refugees in the North-West fleeing to the towns for protection. Scene on the road leading to Price Albert." *Montreal Daily Star*, April 16, 1885 p. 1.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1885.
- 218 18. Attributed to Henri Julien, "Before the Battle-The Rebels who fought Middleton-Drilling under Dumont-The Rebel Lieutenant Haranguing his Force." *Montreal Daily Star*, April 25, 1885 p. 1.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1885.
- 219 19. Henri Julien, [Grève des journaliers du port de Montréal en 1877], *L'Opinion publique*, 12 July 1877.
Source: Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Tome I: De la Confédération à la Crise (1867-1929)* (Montréal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1989) 241.
- 220 20. Henri Julien, [Death waiting on the effects of Pestilence, Smallpox, Cholera and Fever in Montreal], *Canadian Illustrated News*, June 5 1875.
Source: Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Tome I: De la Confédération à la Crise (1867-1929)* (Montréal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1989) 215.
- 221 21. Henri Julien, [Spot-illustrations for the commemorative 1837-38 Rebellion series], *Montreal Daily Star*, October 1 1887: 3.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1887.
- 222 22. Henri Julien, [illustration of new artists' studio at the *Star*], *Montreal Daily Star*, February 23, 1889 p. 4.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1889.
- 223 23. Henri Julien, "Lights and Shadows of Parliament" [Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Charles Tupper].
Source: reproduced in the *Album Julien* (1916)
- 224 24. Henri Julien, *Songs of the By-Town Coons*, [announcement of republication], *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday April 9, 1899 p. 12.

- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1899.
- 225 25. John Wilson Bengough, "The Old Liberal Minstrels", *Montreal Daily Star*, March 6 1891: 6
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1891.
- 226 26. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 1. "I Cannot Sing the Old Songs"- Ballade by Sir Richard [Cartwright]*. *Montreal Daily Star*, Wednesday January 4, 1899 p. 12.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 227 27. "The Only and Original Colored Minstrel Troupe" [advertisement for automaton toys made as stereotyped Black Minstrel figures] n.d.
- Source: Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: OUP 1974) 224.
- 228 28. "Callender's Colored Minstrels", n.p., n.d. [post-1875]. Theatre Collection, the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.
- Source: Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: OUP, 1974) 207.
- 229 29. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 3: "The Promise of Israel"* [Israel Tarte]. Wednesday January 18 1899 p. 12
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 230 30. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 6 "An Oratorio by the Government Laurier-Ate"* [Sir Wilfrid Laurier]. Saturday February 4 1899 p. 12.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 231 31. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 4.* [W. S. Fielding]. Saturday January 21 1899 p. 13.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 232 32. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 11.* [Louis Davies]. Saturday March 11 1899 p. 12.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 233 33. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 13* [Frederick Borden] Saturday March 25 p. 12.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 234 34. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 2. "Come, Festive Fiddle"* [Andrew Blair]. January 11, 1899 p. 12
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 235 35. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 5* [Sydney Fisher]. Thursday January 26 1899 p. 6.
- Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 236 36. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 7. "The Jig-Antic Accomplishments of the Minister of the Interior"* [Clifford Sifton]. Saturday February 11 1899 p. 12.

- 237 37. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 8. "Great Scott - his Act."* Saturday February 18 1899 p. 12.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 238 38. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 9* [David Mills]. Saturday February 25 1899 p. 12.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 239 39. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 10.* [William Paterson]. Saturday March 4 1899 p. 12
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 240 40. Henri Julien. detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 12* [William Dobell]. Saturday March 18 1899 p. 12.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 241 41. Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 14* "By the Go-As-You-Please Quartette". Saturday April 1 p. 12.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1899.
- 242 42. Henri Julien, *Mr. Tarte's Special Breed of Chickens.* [Sydney Fisher and Israel Tarte]. Saturday March 18 1899 p. 18.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 243 43. Henri Julien, *Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Henry Dalby, the Conservative Organizers - a Moment together in the Lobby of the House.* Saturday March 25, 1899 p. 9.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.
- 244 44. Henri Julien *Swallowing his Principles* [Sydney Fisher] Saturday April 15 1899 p. 12.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1899.
- 245 45. Henri Julien, *Cartwright and Corruption ("1894")* July 20 1899 p. 7.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 246 46. Henri Julien, *Cartwright and Corruption (1899)* July 21 1899 p. 5.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 247 47. *Cartwright and Corruption ("1890")* July 22 1899 p. 20.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 248 48. Henri Julien, *Alas! Poor Ghost!* [Sir Richard Cartwright]. Thursday August 24 1899 p. 8.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 249 49. Henri Julien, *"Here is the Sword of my Uncle! [...]"* [Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Napoleon]. Wednesday August 30 1899 p. 7.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 250 50. Henri Julien, *Fixing the General Elections* [General Wellington Tarte and Private Wilfrid Laurier]. Friday September 22 1899 p. 8.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.
- 251 51. Henri Julien, left-hand panel of *Peace Hath Her Victories no Less Than War.* October 7, 1899 p. 13.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.

- 252 52. Henri Julien, right-hand panel of *Peace Hath Her Victories no Less Than War*. October 7, 1899 p. 13.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 253 53. Henri Julien, *Why the By-Town Coons Came Down* [Laurier and Tarte as raccoons up a tree]. October 23, 1899 p. 10.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 254 54. Henri Julien, *The Empire- United it Stands!* [Canadian and Australian "Cubs"]. Saturday November 4 , 1899, p. 10
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 255 55. Henri Julien, *Leading the Government* [Tupper and Laurier]. Friday November 10, 1899, p. 10.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 256 56. Henri Julien, "*The Education of Mr. Tarte.*" Saturday November 11 1899 p. 20.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 257 57. Henri Julien, "*And Not Even A Whale in Sight*". Wednesday November 15 1899 p. 10.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 258 58. Arthur George Racey, "The Coon". *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday November 25 1899 p. 10.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.
- 259 59. Henri Julien, "*Un Vieux de '37*" (ca. 1907).
Source: Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson 1941) 17.

Chapter 1. Introduction

1. In the wrong hands?

The political cartoon can explore the very edges of a society's sense of tolerance. From the fundamental irony of caricature - an artist's line that conjures up full the physical and moral character of a subject with graphic concision - come the sometimes heroic, sometimes playful, sometimes smug and sometimes dangerous reflections of political "truths". So much depends on the positions of the cartoon itself, its authors and its readers. In the United States of the 1950's, Walt Kelly's *Pogo* used the anthropomorphic animals of an imagined Florida swamp in a parody of the overbearing certainties of the Cold War. In Québec, the fluid, sensuous line of Robert LaPalme targeted the person and policies of Maurice Duplessis. Exquisite line can also be allied to hateful propaganda; the most virulent anti-semitism has found expression in the work of graphic masters from Caran d'Ache to the artists of the German periodical *Simplissimus*.

These vagaries are inevitable given the four (often overlapping) modes of Caricature that have been described by James Sherry (1987)¹. The *portrait* derives from the fundamental trick of the caricaturist in seizing the essence of the subject. It was in its origin a joke that connoted virtuosity, shared at first among artists and soon highly sought by wealthy patrons who desired that their likeness be so captured - even

¹James Sherry, "Four Modes of Caricature: Reflections upon a Genre", in *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* v.87 no 1 (1986-87): 29-62

at the cost of ridicule. It was at the outset an activity of the élite. The *social* mode adapted the operation of caricature to the political sphere and so broadened its audience by taking up the banner of a society's system of values. The *comic* mode stressed humour and entertainment above all, and the *grotesque* drew its meaning from the word *grotto*, denoting containment and extremes. In the 1830's, the French publisher and caricaturist Philipon portrayed the King, Louis-Philippe, as a pear. He managed to unite the four modes: the simple pear outline stood in for the King's head and made a pun on the meaning of *poire* as fool. The drawing provokes outright laughter and attacks the King; and the King is shown to be at the limit of what the audience will recognize as worthy - or human.

All of these modes are bound up to different degrees in the political cartoons made in 1899 for the *Montreal Daily Star* by Henri Julien (1852-1908). He attacked the Canadian Government of the day and called into question its members' political and, at times, their human worth. He was no Philipon; none of the Ministers became symbolically fused to graphic symbols that usurped their place in Julien's imagery. His portrayals scrupulously respected the physical integrity of his subjects. But they were placed in situations that specifically played with the limits of a Canadian audience's understanding of the acceptable. The government were Blackface Minstrels, or absurd militia men, or cowards. The cartoons were infused with a range of attitudes, from outright bucolic humour to outright hatred. Racism along lines of colour and language meet with bitter party-politics and a brilliant aesthetic endeavour on Julien's part to make this series of cartoons a most difficult moment in the history of Canadian art and

politics.

There is some indication that Julien was uncomfortable with these caricatures himself. Writing in 1927, fellow-cartoonist Albéric Bourgeois remembered:

Et pourtant, Julien était un humoriste inconscient, car il n'aimait pas la caricature. Jamais il n'en faisait de lui-même. Il exécutait celles qu'on lui commandait, rien de plus.

C'était un merveilleux dessinateur qui mettait son incomparable crayon au service des frondeurs politiques de son temps. En collaboration avec les Berthelot et les Fréchette il a fait des chefs-d'oeuvres. Le fait est qu'après la mort de Berthelot [1895] Julien n'a plus fait de caricature.

A mes débuts dans la carrière, Henri Julien, qui bien que beaucoup plus âgé que moi, m'honorait de son amitié, me disait un jour, à propos d'une charge politique que j'avais faite pour le compte de feu l'hon. Tarte: "La caricature; n'allez pas vous embarquer là-dedans. C'est une sale affaire pour un artiste. A force de faire de la charge on finit par ne plus savoir faire autrement."

A ce moment, il venait de terminer pour le *Star* cette fine satire qui s'appelle "Les Bytown Coons" et qui furent les dernières caricatures politiques du maître.²

Bourgeois touches the edges of a little-known aspect of Julien's career when he states that Julien did no more caricature after Hector Berthelot's death in 1895 and that the *By-Town Coons* were the "master's" last. An analysis of the *Star* for all the 20 years in which Julien was its leading artist, from 1888 until his death, shows that the two series of cartoons he made in 1899 were not only his last, but virtually the only political cartoons made by Julien for the *Star*. Our study of Henri Julien's drawings for the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* and for the subsequent anti-Liberal cartoons that appeared in the *Star* in 1899 explores an instance of the troubling cultural violence that has from time to time marked the careful progress of accommodation and ambiguous

² *La Presse* [Montréal], 19 November 1927: 25.

political identities in Post-Confederation Canada. Our goal is to understand these cartoons' meanings for the people who made and read them, how they came to lose those meanings in Canadian history, and how we can interpret them for today. We will see that the haziness of the record on Julien - that has not previously accounted for the true chronology of his career, for example - is part and parcel of this loss of Julien to Canadian and Québec history. Our project has special challenges. There are no full-length studies of Henri Julien available, no catalogue raisonné of his work. The *Star* and its publisher Hugh Graham are likewise absent from in-depth historical research. The present study, then, must provide its own comprehensive background material as well as maintain a focus on its core subject matter.

The structure that the reader will encounter unfolds over 6 chapters. The present introduction presents the methodological and historiographical resources and problems available to the study. Chapters 2 and 3 examine the life and career of Henri Julien and his relationship with Hugh Graham and the world of the *Montreal Daily Star*. Chapter 4 provides our focus with a political-content and stylistic analysis of Julien's 1899 cartoons. Chapter 5 traces the physical and cultural fate of the cartoons, both as objects and as historical markers, from the time of Julien's death in 1908 to the 1960's. Finally, Chapter 6 uses present-day theoretical readings to suggest what lessons can be learned from the conflicts inherent in the cartoons themselves and in the vagaries of historical interpretation that they have encountered. The twin emphasis on Julien as a Canadian historical figure and on his cartoons as an important political moment in Canadian history is not simply intended to reflect the ambiguities addressed

in the subject, although this may well be the effect. Such is the methodological necessity shared by many practitioners of caricature in Canada who still await, like the field of historical political cartooning itself, their historians.

2. Henri Julien's Wilfrid Lauriers

The political cartoon was a facet of Henri Julien's career well before he joined the *Montreal Daily Star* in 1888. The great political personality of Julien's time was without doubt the Liberal Wilfrid Laurier, who became the first French-Canadian Prime Minister of Canada in 1896. It is worth comparing some of Julien's treatments of Laurier to one another. On December 15, 1877, his emblematic portrait of Laurier, *Elevating the Standard*, was published in the week's *Canadian Illustrated News* (Illus. 1), where Julien was employed from 1869 to 1883. Laurier had just won the by-election at Québec-Est. The caption below the image quotes him speaking at a Montréal banquet in the previous week: "I have raised the Liberal Flag on the old citadel of Quebec and I mean to keep it there." Julien's image restored Laurier's figure of speech to a visual representation: a metaphor in line for another in words. Julien takes Laurier's statement further. A helpful wind billows through the flag raised by the young politician. He towers atop the citadel, facing some western light "off-stage"; beyond him are sail-powered vessels in the St. Lawrence, watched over by a cannon and munitions, themselves almost overlooked, dwarfed in middle-ground. This citadel is the British-built bastion against invasion; it echoes the battles of the siege of Quebec and the loss of New France scarcely more than a century earlier.

On June 26 1877, Laurier had presented to the *Club Canadien* of Québec City

his vision of Liberalism for Canada, founded on a British model, one whose guarantees of civil liberties were powerful enough to ensure the thriving survival of the French language and the Catholic religion within Canadian confederation. Laurier's by-election victory was a great moment for the Liberal Party in Canada. It represented a significant breakthrough for Laurier's ideas and rehabilitated the party, vulnerable after a tenacious identification (fueled by the Conservatives and the Catholic Church) in the public mind with extremism, anti-clericalism and free-thinking. It set Laurier, until then dogged by clerical and Conservative opposition, on a long but ultimately successful journey to Prime Minister in 1896.³ Along the way, Laurier reconciled his vision of Liberalism to a deeply anti-Liberal clergy in Québec and effectively wrote a new social compact, which eventually replaced the established order with which Canada's Conservatives had allied themselves to clerical interests in Québec since Confederation. This was the very stuff of party politics and ideological struggles in the province. For literary historian Maurice Lemire, it is this parliamentary tradition which has above all provided the dynamic space for debate in Québec's society.

Le parlementarisme... a joué un rôle fondamental dans la formation intellectuelle et sociale des québécois au XIXe siècle. La politisation de la société québécoise en est peut-être l'élément déterminant. Car, ce n'est pas l'église qui a appris aux québécois à discuter, c'est l'homme politique et le

³ See Mason Wade, *The French Canadians 1760-1967, Vol. 1: 1760-1911* (Toronto: Macmillan [Laurentian Library], 1972) 360-369, for a detailed exposition of Laurier's ideas and the far reaching impact of this speech on the public's conception of the Liberals.

Laurier's constituency of Québec-Est was founded in 1858 following an election-rigging riot in December 1857, which led to the division of Québec City into three ridings. Laurier, previously MP for Drummond-Arthabaska until 1874, was invited to join Alexander Mackenzie's Cabinet in November 1877 in the aftermath of Laurier's June speech. The sitting Member for Québec-Est, I. Thibodeau, vacated his seat for Laurier; the drama of his "meaning to keep the Liberal flag raised over the citadel" was thus somewhat rhetorical. See J. C. McGee, *Histoire Politique de Québec-Est* (Québec: Bélisle, 1948) 9-11, 56-63.

système parlementaire.⁴

This “discussion”, or discourse, is enshrined in the history of the press in Québec and Canada, and the presence of emblematic visual representations such as Julien’s 1877 drawing demonstrates that discourse also takes place through visual imagery.

In 1899, Julien returned to Laurier in his depiction of the Liberal Cabinet as Black-face Minstrels in *The Songs of the By-Town Coons*, drawn for the pro-Conservative *Montreal Daily Star*. Among these minstrels we meet a quite different Laurier on Saturday, February 4, 1899, in “An Oratorio by the Government Laurier-Ate” (Illus. 2). Laurier is now Sir Wilfrid, having been knighted in 1897 at Queen Victoria’s Diamond Jubilee. He disports himself in song and declamation in a manner quite alien to that of the stiff, rather Romantic-looking standard-bearer of 1877. He is older, his hair nearly white; he is elegant in his tails, spritely and agile. The drawing style has also changed dramatically. Whereas *Elevating the Standard* had been rendered through a careful system of cross-hatchings and was frankly emblematic, Laurier’s appearance among the *By-Town Coons* is rendered in Julien’s mature style, solid masses of black ink animating the pictorial space of the cartoon in concert with a lively pen-stroke. The visual patterns afforded by Laurier’s physique and costume are a subject unto themselves quite distinct from (but, as we shall see, in dialogue with) the attendant political meanings. Such are the celebratory qualities of the cartoons’ visual appearance that we soon wonder if Julien was quietly working at cross-purposes with

⁴ “Pour une histoire de la vie littéraire. Rencontre avec Maurice Lemire”. In *Cahiers de l’histoire du Québec au Xxe siècle*, (v2 no.1, 1995: 61-80) 78.

his employer.

Contexts and purposes in 1899 were of course very distant from those of 1877. In *The Songs of the By-Town Coons*, Julien, a French-Canadian artist working for the leading English-language Canadian newspaper of the day, delivered a broadly racist burlesque that accorded the Liberal government the denigration inherent to the spectacle of the Minstrel show. Symbolically punished for his 1877 optimism, Laurier is dropped into a performance that fuses his persuasive entreaties for the traditions of British liberalism to a parodic theatre-form founded in the mockery of Black American slaves. Yet the tradition of Minstrel satire met a very complex transformation in Julien's cartoons. Crucially, he adopted none of the visual stereotyping typical, for example, of Minstrel-show advertising, instead using highly-accurate depictions of the Liberal ministers' own physiognomies, and relegating stereoptype to treatment of dress and action and to the accompanying texts, provided for Julien by a collaborator at the *Star*.

The texts of Julien's remaining cartoons for 1899 followed a similar strategy, although their tenor gradually changed. These provided sources for, but were rarely exceeded by, Julien's sense of visual play and satire. In fact the atmosphere of fun and burlesque diminished in them in favour of an emerging and frank hostility towards Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as is evident in the major two-panel cartoon, *Peace Hath Her Victories No Less Than War* of Saturday, October 7, 1899. The right-hand panel of this work (**Illus. 3**) imputed charges of hypocrisy and cowardice to Laurier in the wake of the *Star*'s insistence that the Government equip an official contingent in support of

Britain's war against the Boers. Yet the image still showed the mastery of brush and ink which was quite in keeping with the end-of-century taste for exquisite black-and-white illustration harnessed to satiric extremes in Julien's *By-Town Coons*. But it no longer rescued the attack for a tacit, contradictory meaning.

Soon after completing this work Julien quit cartooning altogether. Perhaps the *Star* found his style to lack sufficient invective. We think that Julien had little taste for these attacks overall, and that he was only willing to serve the offensive anti-Liberal and anti-French sentiment of his employer for so long as he was able to add a knowing wink to his audiences through the mastery and excitement invested in his visual style. In either case, a careful reading of the cartoons against their political context suggests that a dramatic change took place in the *Star* and in Julien's career in this year.

Julien's life and career set him both inside and out of the *Star*'s vision, and we will find that the difficulty of his position lends his work as a political cartoonist its special interest. Essentially, Julien had adapted an illustration and reporting style to the purposes of political invective. This confusion lent his satiric works their power because they used the same visual paths to meaning as his reporting work. His originality as a political caricaturist lies in the subtle and varied purposes that can be read in the aesthetic "surfaces" of his works - his mastery of brush-, pen-and-ink style - and their relationship to what has to be seen as a deliberately ambiguous play with notions of visual, political and moral "truth" by the *Star* vis-à-vis both its English- and French-speaking readerships. When ambiguity ceased to be required of Julien - or

ceased to be possible for him to maintain - the *Star* found itself a new cartoonist.

3. Paths to Henri Julien and the 1899 Cartoons: Sources and Problems

Biography

Rather gaunt of face, arm folded up and hand clenched against his cheek, Henri Julien sits in his office at the *Montreal Daily Star* in a photograph (**Illus. 4**) reproduced in a 1961 *Weekend Magazine* story.⁵

Octave-Henri Julien, caricaturist, illustrator and painter, joined *The Montreal Star* in 1888 and for 20 years produced work which brought him acclaim from around the world. Now he is almost forgotten.⁶

Behind Julien stands his colleague Arthur Racey, leafing through a newspaper near a postman-style drawing table.⁷ The photograph must have been taken sometime after the fall of 1899, when Racey joined the *Star* and took over the mantle of daily political cartoonist from Julien. If Julien's decision to concentrate thereafter on illustration alone was linked to the *Star's* increasingly violent policy towards Laurier, he can be seen in the light of contemporary events that forced many to such difficult personal decisions. Certainly the country was in the grips of one of its most troubling national moments, with the political and social accommodations between French and

⁵ This article is discussed at length in Chapter 5.

⁶ *Weekend Magazine*, Vol. 11 no 26 [June 30, 1961]: 2.

⁷ The Julien family scrapbooks contain many photographs of Julien and his colleagues at the *Star's* artists' studio. Likenesses of Julien, Racey and P. G. Mathews turn up in their illustrated coverage of sporting events in Montréal. These portraits are the subject of a separate paper under preparation.

English Canadians rent with the violence of polarized public opinion - largely thanks to a campaign orchestrated by the *Star*'s owner, Hugh Graham, in concert with Conservative Party leader Sir Charles Tupper.

We will see that Julien's 1899 cartoons were part of a campaign carefully planned by Graham and Tupper. Its participants were all unwittingly present on February 23, 1899 in Israel Tarte's *La Patrie* when it reprinted a cartoon that Arthur Racey, some 9 months away from transferring his political allegiance to Graham's *Star*, had already made for the *Liberal Montreal Witness* (Illus. 5). *La Patrie* had already drawn attention to the fact that Sir Charles Tupper had entrusted the Conservative fortunes in Québec to Hugh Graham.⁸ Racey's cartoon lampooned "Don Quixote" Tupper entreating "Sancho Panza" Graham (who, atop a Star-crowned Ass, brandishes a dripping quill-pen and a bottle of ink - perhaps an allusion to Julien's drawings, by then in full flight) to follow him in a renewed attack on the windmill (also under siege from Arthur Dansereau and *La Presse* in the distance). A bemused Wilfrid Laurier peers out from the windmill's upper reaches. The ridicule invested by Arthur Racey in Tupper and Graham stressed their identity as counterfeit heroes; Tupper's armour is made up of kitchen cutlery (a spoon for a sword and a fork for spurs), pots and pans; the British flag teeters, held in place by a flimsy string, aside his mop-bucket helmet.

Common to Racey and Julien is the presentation of quasi-theatrical set-pieces, paraded through the proscenium of the cartoons' frames. Their burlesques take aim at

⁸ *La Patrie*, February 9 1899, p. 3.

the dignity of those who hold power; their use of parody suggests an underlying “truth” to the reader. It is no populist, David-and-Goliath endeavour: the cartoons appear on behalf of interests no-less powerful, holding onto or waiting to recover a command (one that has, in any case, been traded back and forth in Canada’s essentially two-party democracy since Confederation).

We have hinted that it will not easy to rebuild the relationships between Julien, Racey, Graham, Tupper, Laurier and Tarte due to the scarce original materials for Julien and Graham. Julien can thankfully be given a chronology thanks to the scrapbooks lovingly kept by his family and now in the National Archives of Canada (Fonds Julien, MG 29 D103, vols 1-3) which also has one of the largest holdings of his graphic works (597 entries are recorded in their database) with Julien’s political portraiture particularly favoured (a category distinct from his cartooning, as we will see). Filled with photographs, with letters from other artists, from writers and politicians, with newspaper clippings on Julien from his lifetime and later, with proof-sheets for illustrations and samples of his free-lance graphic design work, and much more, these scrapbooks help us to assert who Julien’s friends and associates were and what were his likely political leanings. The Musée du Québec, the McCord Museum and the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, and the National Gallery of Canada also have correspondence and memorabilia surrounding the acquisition and display of works by Julien that help yield his posthumous reputation. Sometimes there are also first-hand memories of the man’s work and personality. The museums are also keepers of his original works and although there are very few originals for political cartoons among

these collections (although many reproductions), those that are available help us to understand his working practice. With the exception of the Musée du Québec in 1969 and the McCord Museum in the text-panels for its occasional displays of Julien's cartoons in broader caricature exhibits, these museums have not published research on Julien. The present study makes use of a great many materials which might in other circumstances have already been addressed; it has the scope that follows on filling something of a research void in its subject.

4. Julien and the Histories of art, phototechnologies and modernism

Julien does figure briefly in the earliest English-language histories of Canadian and Québec art, notably Newton Mactavish's *The Fine Arts in Canada* (1925) and William Colgate's *Canadian Art: its Origins and Development* (1943), J. Russell Harper's *Painting in Canada: A History* (1966) discusses Julien briefly while Dennis Reid's *Concise History of Painting in Canada* (1972) leaves Julien aside. Otherwise it is chiefly materials in newspapers that kept Julien's memory alive up to the 1960's. Among these Henri Girard (1936, 1941) has been the strongest advocate for Julien; the newspaperman and cartoonist. J. Chauvin's *Ateliers* (1928) is one of the first French-language surveys to include Julien, who otherwise was solely represented in book form until 1941 by the *Album Julien* published by Beauchemin in 1916. This large volume gathered together over 200 plates drawn from all sections of Julien's *oeuvre* and included a series of reminiscences and tributes by admiring colleagues. Following its

publication *Le Canada* recommended that copies be given to schools as prizes for drawing instruction.⁹ The Julien family scrapbooks, later newspaper articles and the *Album* are among the sources for the first monograph devoted to Julien, that of anthropologist and folklorist Marius Barbeau writing for the Ryerson Press of Toronto in 1941. Barbeau also helped organise a memorial exhibition on Julien for the National Gallery of Canada in 1938, at which time he contributed a catalogue essay. In his 1941 volume, Barbeau fashioned a warm, evocative and sometimes gently meandering narrative out of his connection to Julien's daughters Jeanne and Cécile and the access they gave to their family scrapbooks, and to the aforementioned press clippings. Barbeau's overriding objective was to reinstate Julien to a Pantheon of Canadian artists. He felt it necessary to concentrate on Julien's painting and watercolour partly because these embodied a timeless vision of Québec and belonged higher up in the hierarchy of Canadian artistic achievement - whereas the cartoons consecrated events that were now forgotten:

“in the thirty years following his death, his reputation has shifted from the scenes of his life-long activities to the loftier sphere of aesthetic arts. [...] A different sense of values has made us attach more importance now to his ‘escape’ and ‘free lance’ activities in the form of oil and water colour paintings, and of sketches representing habitant types and revelries, than among his contemporaries, who knew him mostly because of his newspaper cartoons”.¹⁰

The same is true of Gérard Morisset, a key figure in the development of Québec art

⁹ *Le Canada*, January 16 1917. Thanks to Prof. Laurier Lacroix for drawing my attention to this reference.

¹⁰ Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941) 2, 15-16.

history, writing in 1960 :

“C’est surtout comme caricaturiste que Julien a été célèbre entre 1895 et 1908. C’est la partie caduque de son oeuvre... son caractère d’actualité a disparu et, avec lui, son intérêt. C’est le cas de nombreuses caricatures que Julien a faites de Wilfrid Laurier belliciste, lors de la guerre des Boers: L’humour est quasi féroce et le trait de plume incisif; mais on ne s’intéresse plus à cette belle imagerie. On peut en dire autant des dessins qui ont été publiés sous le titre de *By-town Coons*; le talent de l’artiste est intact; les allusions politiques sont oubliées depuis longtemps, même des vieillards d’aujourd’hui.”¹¹

Morisset wrote as the director of the Musée de la Province de Québec, now the Musée du Québec, which held (and holds still) the largest collection of Julien’s work, its contents mostly in the area described by Barbeau¹².

Julien’s cartooning style could easily attract a purely formal reading. His exceptional abilities as a black-and-white illustrator accept a treatment in a Fine-Art study, Yet his subject-matter is almost entirely in the realm of popular culture and history. The explosion of interest in popular imagery since the 1950s has tended to focus on 20th-century practices; and it often treats the resulting image as something distinct from a single maker. Julien’s popular work is stylistically unique and so difficult to peg. For example, Pierre Landry’s 1983 study of the influence of *art*

¹¹ Gérard Morisset, *La Peinture traditionnelle au Canada Français* (Ottawa, Cercle du Livre de France, 1960) : 152.

¹² Morisset was arbiter of the relative need to represent Julien in both the Musée’s collection and in its public activities. He resisted attempts to influence him on these matters. Claims made in the 1950s for the importance of purchasing and exhibiting a set of drawings left in Julien’s studio at the time of his death met with Morisset’s sense of territorial integrity quite bristled. The Musée du Québec has since devoted some attention to Julien’s most famous painting, the *Chasse-Galerie* of 1907, an image he first made popular as an illustration in 1891.

nouveau among Québec illustrators does include Julien, but it places him at the margin of stylistic developments.¹³

Changing priorities for the study of Quebec's culture have led to interdisciplinary approaches through organizations like the Institut québécois de recherches sur la culture, the CELAT and the Université Laval. For Laval, in 1978, Nicole Guilbault presented a model of art history-writing that begins in the historical study of popular culture. She approached Julien through his prolific output of illustrations to Québec legends for *L'Almanach du Peuple* between 1893 and 1908, intending to compile a complete inventory. Developing her focus, she contrasted the texts for these re-tellings (their ruralist content set down by writers who, like Julien, worked in urban settings) with their oral counterparts. Guilbault then narrowed her field of study to the four most prevalent themes. She corroborated their function as illustrations of "oral" texts by investigating the present-day incidence of the same stories through records of oral history projects in Quebec. She concluded:

Determiner avec justesse et avec justice la place de Julien dans la lignée des illustrateurs de la vie populaire se présente comme une tâche impossible dans l'état actuel des recherches en iconographie québécoise {...} La voie est ouverte et les avenues nombreuses qui mènent sur les traces de cet homme multiple, peintre, illustrateur, caricaturiste, reporter.¹⁴

In pursuing a focused aspect of Henri Julien, *caricaturiste*, the present endeavour follows in spirit from Guilbault's. The narrative presented here also depends on an

¹³ Pierre Landry, "L'apport de l'art nouveau aux arts graphiques, au Québec, de 1898 à 1910," MA Thesis, Université Laval, 1983.

¹⁴ Nicole Guilbault, *Henri Julien et la Tradition Orale* (Montreal, Boréal Express, 1980): 186-187.

inventory. In preparation for this study the *Montreal Daily Star* has been surveyed for the years 1885-1908 for all signed works by any contributing artists. This reading not only provides a necessary quantitative basis for many of our conclusions and insights, it also provides the daily life of the newspaper and a great many specific contexts that have otherwise vanished from the historical record.

The usefulness of different methodological paths was stressed by Yves Chèvrefils in his 1985 study of John Henry Walker, *artisan-graveur*,¹⁵ when he reiterated the need to supplement the traditional tools of art history in order to study practitioners involved with popular imagery, especially in the era of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, *l'Opinion Publique* (at which Julien received all his training) and *Le Monde Illustré*, "qui ont fait basculer irréversiblement la société québécoise dans le monde de l'image".¹⁶ Indeed this tipping of the scales was immeasurably helped by the efforts of the *Star*, in concert with Julien, and of *La Presse*, both papers pioneering illustrated daily journalism in Canada from the early 1880s. Chèvrefils concluded that, for Walker, his work

prend tout son sens à l'intérieur d'une approche technico-historique qui permettra d'éclairer les modalités d'une importante mutation culturelle: l'omniprésence de l'image dans notre vie quotidienne.¹⁷

Nonetheless, Guilbault's observations still hold true. The "état actuel des recherches en

¹⁵ Yves Chèvrefils, "John Henry Walker (1831-1899), Artisan-Graveur" in *Annales de l'histoire de l'art canadien/Journal of Canadian Art History*, vol. X no. 2, (Winter 1985): 178-223.

¹⁶ Chèvrefils (1985): 212.

¹⁷ Chèvrefils (1985): 213.

iconographie québécoise” will have changed in almost twenty years and yet in the field of caricature and cartoon studies in Québec, virtually everything remains to be done. There are no comprehensive studies to do for Québec what Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher’s 1979 study of the history of Canadian political cartoons, *The Hecklers*, attempted to do for the history of the Canadian political cartoon. In academic research circles, Nicole Allard, who has also studied the caricature of Hector Berthelot, provides a corollary in the conclusion of her thorough 1996 study of the caricatures of Jean-Baptiste Côté: “La caricature, comme phénomène artistique, demeure en effet un champ relativement vierge de l’histoire de l’art québécois.”¹⁸ Allard’s study is part of a larger exhibition and monograph project developed by the Musée du Québec under Mario Béland, an example of the extensive resources required to properly re-establish figures like Côté - or Henri Julien.

In the absence of academic studies in the history of Canadian and Québec caricature and political cartooning, *The Hecklers* remains unique. Desbarats and Mosher present a chapter devoted to Henri Julien that signals his continued importance. But its conclusion echoes Albéric Bourgeois:

Julien’s shortcoming, as a political cartoonist, was a lack of passionate conviction. Julien drew to order. Even when he took a strongly editorial position in a cartoon, his attack was never reflected in his caricatures of the politicians. They always retained something of the impersonality of state portraits[...] His early success brought him quickly into contact with Montreal’s English-speaking elite at a time when it dominated the city’s business activities and, to some extent, its political life. The fact that he was hired and flattered by this group, his natural targets, might have taken much of the edge off his cartooning.[...] During his lifetime,

¹⁸ Nicole Allard, “Un graveur et caricaturiste à l’aube de la confédération,” in *Jean-Baptiste Côté, Caricaturiste et Sculpteur* (Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996): 35.

Julien's work recalled an earlier era of craftsmanship in Quebec, while his lack of political conviction expressed the alienation from Canadian political life of many members of a new generation in French Canada.¹⁹

We may come to feel that Julien shared this sense of alienation in his decision to abandon the political cartoon. He made a decisive shift by concentrating on folkloric illustration and painting which have both been better remembered in the efforts to make Canadian art history after 1920. This work is no less "political" than the discarded caricature work. It has been directly identified with the project of nurturing Québec's memory of its "old ways" in the face of pressures from American culture and industrialisation which radically changed society's ways of living and threatened its sense of history. However, Julien's career was spent in the atmosphere of just such changes. Ironically, Desbarats and Mosher's assessment of Julien's craftsmanship is telling. Julien was trained as an engraver for reproduction but the technological changes that took place during his career resulted in a shift away from engraving to the photolithographic printing of drawings - a shift that helped emphasize the individual graphic style of the illustrator. Julien developed his black-and-white style in keeping with the prevailing taste of his time, achieving one of the highest reputations of any of his contemporaries. The memory of this achievement attached itself to the content of his folkloric work, so adding a value for later generations to Julien's illustration of Québec's past.

The discussion of Julien's black-and-white style and its relationship to advances in technology are dependent on readings in the history of phototechnologies, especially

¹⁹ Peter Desbarats and Terry Mosher, *The Hecklers*, (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart 1979): 67-

the already-mentioned study by Yves Chèvrefils of Julien's predecessor John Henry Walker (1985), as well as Estelle Jussim's comprehensive *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts* (1973), Dennis Reid's *Our Own Country Canada* (1979) and Ann Thomas's *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography, 1860-1900* (1979). Chèvrefils, Reid and Thomas help the reader to understand the relationship between the photographic studios of Montreal and practices of portraiture and landscape on the one hand, and the working life of the wood-engravers on the other. Time spent among the collections of the McCord Museum and its holdings of original paste-ups for the *Canadian Illustrated News* show the degree to which the codes of photography, printmaking and reference to the "real" were chopped up and interchanged as required. Jussim carefully charts the evolution of the visual information codes presented in 19th century American weekly and monthly magazines and demonstrates the changes between systems of drawing and engraving designed to imitate painting or photography and the emerging taste for the illustrator's autograph line in the 1880's and 1890's. She also relates these developments to a critical assessment of William Ivins's theories of visual communications.

Julien's development of a black-and-white style for its own sake belies his fate in the accounts of art history that trace the consequences of Impressionism and Post-impressionism in early 20th-century Québec art. Poor Julien's death in 1908 occurs just prior to one of the earliest moments of contact with new currents in European art in 1909. There is a different tradition of modernism in black-and-white illustration for which he can be rescued, but it is one that would require a typically formalist

comparison of Julien's works with those of a very wide range of artists in Europe and North America across realms traditionally considered as either "Fine" or "popular" art. The black-and-white phenomenon of the end of the nineteenth century, a phenomenon in taste, needs a treatment for Canada and Québec in terms of the competition between Montreal and Toronto for leadership in graphic design and printing, with Toronto outdistancing Montreal in the rush towards colour-printing. The formalist view of Julien's aesthetics would, oddly enough, be of use in measuring him against recent efforts to redefine the advent of modernism in Québec, because it could isolate the visual "surface" of his work and listen to the different voicing it affords. Yvan Lamonde, in summing up the forms of culture privileged by the conference *L'avènement de la modernité culturelle au Québec*, asked his audience to expand its field of inquiry so that it could "hear" modernity in Québec's history anew:

Cette notion de modernité peut-elle s'appliquer à d'autres formes d'expression autrement articulées, différemment construites? *Peut-il y avoir une modernité culturelle "populaire", c'est à dire de formes autres d'expression, de pratiques non énoncées, non formulées ou non formalisées?* [emphasis added]

Ceux que l'on qualifie à posteriori de modernes se sont, à des moments différents, battus pour la libération des thèmes du discours, pour la liberté du sujet, des sujets. Ils avaient compris que la liberté du sujet était le sujet-même de la liberté, créatrice et culturelle. Être moderne dans des modalités diverses, selon les discours et les moments. C'est s'opposer à une intentionnalité reductrice de la création, refuser l'annexion de l'expression aux impératifs et aux impérialismes socio-culturels.²⁰

The question we will need to answer after our study is complete is whether or not we can say that Julien found a "liberty of subject" in the mastery given to cartoons which demanded that he confront an imposed theme; was he able to articulate a parallel

²⁰ Yvan Lamonde, "La modernité au Québec: pour une histoire des brèches 1895-1950", reprinted in *Territoires de la culture québécoise* (Ste.-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1991) 260-261.

voicing in his cartooning style? Will we have established him as part of a “popular modernity”?

5. Julien’s Caricature in Québec’s “collective memory”

Julien and his place in history as a caricaturist are bound up in tensions between the collective and the individual in his society - the society which since his death has intermittently cared for his memory. The emphasis on space as *identitaire*- territorial, cultural, societal, geographical, investing the land with identity and a specific *imaginaire* - is reflected in recent initiatives such as Yvon Lamonde’s *Territoires de la culture québécoise* (1991), Jewsiewski and Létourneau’s *Constructions identitaires: questionnements théoriques et études de cas* (1992) or the CELAT’s *Etude de la construction de la mémoire collective des Québécois au Xxe siècle. Approches multidisciplinaires* (1986). These studies helped to rehearse the issues for this political work in its difficult relationship to art history and its potential for the history of mass communications in Québec. The problem is that these studies invariably privilege, because of their historical importance, those aspects of Québec society which find their expression in Julien’s folkloric work. The urban and metropolitan experience of caricature and political cartoons is omitted. In terms of the history of art and the development of its agendas, the importance of territory was evoked in a historiographical analysis in the 1986 volume *Etude de la construction...* by John R. Porter. In “L’histoire de l’art québécois et la défense des valeurs collectives,”²¹ Porter

²¹ John R. Porter, “L’histoire de l’art québécois et la défense des valeurs collectives”, in *Etude de la construction de la mémoire collective des québécois* (Québec: CELAT, 1986) 31-42.

helps us to understand why Québec's art history has left aside contributions such as the tradition of caricature. He stressed the youth of the discipline of art history in Québec, asserting

L'histoire de l'art au Québec est une histoire qui se fait. Elle présente à cet égard une problématique très différente par rapport à l'art européen. Ainsi, plusieurs aspects fondamentaux et plusieurs artistes québécois de premier plan attendent encore leur historien. Il en va de même pour les synthèses.

The first appreciable contributions dated only from the 1920s. They chiefly took the form of inventories and first-hand archival research and were inscribed in a project of proving the continuance of *ancien-régime* French traditions. From 1920 through 1945, the discipline could be characterized by two dominant ideologies, the first being *conservation*, the second *resistance*:

En redécouvrant notre passé artistique, ils voulaient contribuer à arrêter la dilapidation de nos oeuvres d'art ancien, ancrer chez leurs compatriotes l'attachement aux traditions et aux valeurs du terroir, assurer la survivance française le long du couloir fluvial du Saint-Laurent et entretenir une certaine ferveur ou fierté patriotique.

Cette fierté pourrait, croyaient-ils, être à son tour une source d'inspiration pour le présent et l'avenir dans un contexte où la revitalisation de la culture traditionnelle était perçue comme essentielle pour *résister* aux menaces inhérentes à l'industrialisation et à l'américanisation.²²

It was a different part of Julien's work that appealed to these visions. Not for this sense of pride and emphasis on *terroir* the legacy of Julien's world of politicians, one which, as Maurice Lemire reminded us, placed the phenomenon of discourse outside the Church. Julien's folkloric work was much more central to the recuperative activities of nascent Québec art history. Barbeau and Morrisset are well within the

²² Porter (1986): 31-32.

sights of these conclusions, and both are key figures in the history of Julien's reputation. Julien was only useful so far: Barbeau elected to see in him a paradigm of the Québec artist who forsook the attractions of New York and France and stayed in his beloved homeland. As we shall see, Barbeau, though highly active in the 1936 efforts to find the original drawings for Julien's political cartoons, particularly the *Songs of the By-Town Coons*, preferred to discuss the folkloric work and paid special attention to the image known as *Un Vieux de '37* (illus. 59) for which, thanks to its misappropriation by the FLQ in 1970, Julien is probably best known in our time.

The omission of caricature from the historical record is not enough in itself. We need detailed readings of Québec literature (memoirs, novels, biographies, essays, polemical writings) to determine what this society has thought about caricature and cartooning. Brief evidence that cartooning and caricature fell afoul of notions of propriety in the Québec of Julien's time occurred in 1912, when literary historian Mgr. Camille Roy positively decried the use of caricature in the daily newspapers as an example of americanism and of the transgression of rules of decorum in the representation of public figures.²³ Was this an official disapproval of matters enjoyed by the ordinary reader? Exactly to whose taste would Julien's caricatures appeal? Was Julien falling in line with an ideology exemplified by Roy?

Roy's voice may be indicative of an aggressive revisionism that helped shape high-culture attitudes towards practices like caricature and may account for decisions to leave them aside in the projects of cultural history. He seems to have had such an

²³ Camille Roy, "Le journalisme en décadence" [dated 1905], in *Propos Canadiens* (Québec: Action Sociale, 1912) 284-287.

influence on Julien's other field, insofar as his folkloric illustrations were allied to the growth of a self-consciously national literature at the close of the 19th century. In *Tradition et constitution d'une mémoire collective*, Jean Du Berger recently recounted the steps that led to this literature.²⁴ The sequence had begun in 1861 with Laurent-Olivier David (lifelong friend of Wilfrid Laurier's and, as it happens, an early editor of the *Canadian Illustrated News*), followed in 1873 by Arthur Buies (whose work Julien later illustrated), and by Edmond Lareau in 1874, each of whom joined in calling for a literature in which a national identity is defined. Julien would become associated with two practitioners of this literature, Honoré Beaugrand and Louis Fréchette, radical Liberals both. Du Berger shows that this project was appropriated in the 1900s by Mgr. Roy who, in establishing a reputation as a perceptive and influential literary critic, took up this cause and allied it to the Catholic renewal then taking place: "Le trait essentiel de la vie canadienne s'explique par le fait qu'elle est demeurée beaucoup plus simplement pénétrée des traditions de la vie chrétienne". It was important to have a national literature, properly distinct from contemporary French literature; Roy opposed the "soul" of the *canadien* people to "*l'esprit qui anime la France d'aujourd'hui*," by which he meant to deprecate the liberal, anti-clerical and decadent mother-country.²⁵

²⁴ Du Berger, Jean. "Tradition et constitution d'une mémoire collective," in Mathieu, Jacques, dir., *La mémoire dans la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995) 43-78. See especially the discussion on "Marisu Barbeau et la tradition," pp. 50-53, with respect to the influence of Franz Boas. Boas will appear below in chapter 4 in a discussion of the context for depictions of race in the *Montreal Daily Star*, and Barbeau's influence on the reputation of Henri Julien is discussed at greater length in chapter 5.

²⁵ Camille Roy, "La nationalisation de notre littérature," *Bulletin du parler français du Canada* III (5), janvier 1905: 133-134., quoted in Du Berger, *op. cit.*, page 47.

Where did Julien sit with all this? Certainly, by the 1940s, Marius Barbeau had him sit four-square in alignment with Roy's precept simply by virtue of the material he had chosen to illustrate, but without considering when he had chosen it. Julien has certainly been prone to re-readings since his death.

The re-reading of his political cartoons is overdue. By focusing on 1899 we present those caricatures in which the stakes were highest, in which the tensions of Canadian life were exacerbated. Julien's cartoons conspired, despite themselves, to trigger competing English and French nationalisms. Bridging this distance also depends on a re-imagining of these works as statements made in a particular time and place, with a specific frequency, assuming a shared cultural understanding. When Desbarats and Mosher identify the embarrassment caused by *The Songs of the By-Town Coons* today, they allude to the drawings' racism and imply that it is too difficult to address this issue in historical Canadian art. Québec ethnic studies have tackled its society's racism with respect to many strands of immigration and perhaps the aspects of this study that attempt to account for this in Julien's work can one day be adapted to a wider scientific and, if possible, oral-history study. Here are both challenge and opportunity. If these problems are conceived as links between Julien's era and our own, as mirrors of a society that is in many ways unchanged, rather than as barriers to research, then by paying attention to the drawings as part of lived daily experience the latter begin to regain and restate their themes. Our treatment of the *Songs of the By Town Coons* will need to address politics not only through the racism of the cartoons but also through the ways in which questions of race were addressed in the *Star*

throughout the year. We will see that these matters surface in sharply contrasting ways, that they have a calendar. Missing from our research, unfortunately, is any first-hand response to the cartoons from the *Star's* readership.

Nonetheless, many of our assumptions about this readership, that it was complex and included a sizeable French-Canadian audience who, although probably bilingual like Julien, were also being addressed through the political meaning of his aesthetics, are possible thanks to the research of newspaper historians P. W. Rutherford (1975, 1983) and Jean de Bonville (1988). They are also crucial for our presentation of Hugh Graham and for our accounts of the development of technology and mass-market commercial entrepreneurship in newspaper production - the direct condition of Julien's work.

Audience and medium return us to the authors and purposes of the political cartoon. Julien may have been "drawing to order" for a manipulation of social group hatred that was intended to yield party-political benefit. Canada and Québec are still struggling with the recourse to racial and linguistic difference after the closely-fought 1995 referendum. The methods of Raymond Morris (1995) on Québec cartooning since 1960 could, once this and similar studies for the end of the 19th century are completed, be applied to a historical comparison of the role of cartoons in the press at each stage of national conflict.

5. Envoi

Some seven months before he died, an article on Julien published in the *Journal de*

Françoise in March 1908 confirmed his status:

“chaque page du ‘Star’, que nous achetons pour ses illustrations que pour le journal lui-même les trois-quarts du temps, est un petit chef-d’oeuvre. Son trait est d’une pureté impeccable, comme portraitiste, il n’a pas de rival... Gibson dont on a fait un dieu aux Etats-Unis et même en Europe, n’était pas plus fort que lui...”²⁶

The cartoonist was long gone. Julien was no longer involved in Hugh Graham’s attempts to exert political power. Art historian Norman Bryson discussed another sense of power, with respect to painting, in 1988:

If power is thought of as vast, centralized, a juggernaut, as panoply, then it will not be seen that power can also be microscopic and discreet, a matter of local moments of change, and that such changes may take place whenever an image meets the existing discourses and moves them over, or finds, and changes. its viewer. The power of painting is there, in the thousands of gazes caught by its surface, and the resultant turning, the shifting, the redirecting of the discursive flow - power not as monolith, but as a swarm of points traversing stratifications and individual persons.²⁷

Just as the political conflict symbolised by the cartoons is played against the individual sensibilities of the artist and his readers, so is it in the end one individual who briefly occupies and then silently steps away from the cartoonist’s role. We go now in search of the levels of meaning that Julien may have fashioned for himself through his life and around Graham’s intentions. We will test this negotiation against the judgment of his society. We shall hope to decide whether or not Graham felt that he had, after all, entrusted his potential weapon - the *Star*’s political cartoon - to the wrong hands.

²⁶ *Le Journal de Françoise*, Saturday 7 March 1908: 361.

²⁷ Norman Bryson, "Introduction" in Norman Bryson, ed. *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*, Cambridge University Press (1988): xxviii.

Chapter 2. A Cartoonist's Progress: The career of Henri Julien

This chapter establishes an analysis of Julien's life by following two paths: first, through his childhood and his art education up to his early career with the Desbarats printing firm and second, in broad terms, through his career in the development of Québec political satire and folkloric literature, all of which lies outside his work at the *Montreal Daily Star*.

1. Education: Family, Traditions and Ambition

The story of Julien's political identity begins with the legacy of his parents and their generation. Henri Julien *père* and his cousin Zoë Julien were married on 20 July, 1847.

They were both about eighteen: ¹

Le vingt juillet [1847] Henry Elot dit Julien, tourneur, fils mineur de Paul Elot dit Julien et de Angélique Benoit, et Zoë Julien fille majeure de feu Nicolas Julien et de défunte Magdeleine Paradis aussi de cette paroisse... en présence de Jacques Julien, de Eugène Julien, de Paul Julien et de Romuald Julien qui n'ont su signer non plus que les époux.²

Thus neither could read nor write. But they soon set themselves to do both. For their son Octave-Henri, born on April 16, 1852 at St. Roch, the borough in Québec City;³

¹ This guess is based on an undated and unattributed newspaper obituary notice indicating that Julien *père* died on 8 April 1903, aged 74 years and 2 months. National Archives of Canada [NAC], fonds Julien MG 29.D103 vol 2: 7. His date of birth should thus be February 1829.

² National Archives of Canada, fonds Julien MG29.D103 vol 2: 6. This is an official extract of the register of the parish of St Roch made on September 15 1936.

³ An official transcript made on 12 January 1932 from the register of the parish of St. Roch dates Henri Julien's birth certificate itself at April 18, 1852, recording his birth as "l'avant-veille" (thus two days previously).

Henri and Zoë prepared a commonplace book. Inside the leather cover, opposite a child's attempts to write treble and bass clef signs and erased substractions, adult hands have set down an inscription:

Chansonnier

Ce chansonnier appartient à/henri Julien celui à qui/ je le prêtez aura la bonté/
de me remettre aussitôt qu'ils/ en aura finis car vous serez/poursuivie suivent la
valeur/du chansonnier/je suis votre amie/Henri Julien/Resident à/Toronto/1856

The family moved to Toronto in 1856, following Julien *père's* employ with the Desbarats printing firm which accompanied the perambulating capital of United Canada from Québec to Toronto (1855-1859), back to Québec (1859-1865) and then to Ottawa (where the Juliens lived from 1865 to 1869).⁴ The family was perhaps keen to make sure that certain traditions would be handed to young Julien. A gently satiric *chanson* that they have included describes their predicament:

l
Oh! no, we never talk in french
its sound no more is heard;
our lips are now forbid to speak

National Archives of Canada, fonds Julien, 29.D103 vol 2:2. Julien's birth year has been erroneously given as 1851, as long ago as the catalogue for the 1936 memorial exhibit organised by W. S. Maxwell at Montreal's Arts & Letters Club, and his birth date as 14 May 1852 (by Nicole Guilbault in her entry for the Dictionary of Canadian Biography). Marius Barbeau gives May 16, 1852. He had probably mis-transcribed the month from this family scrapbook source.

⁴ Nicole Guilbault, "Henri Julien", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography XIII*: 534.

the smallest foreign word;
 I cannot say - "Mon cher ami,
 Comment vous portez vous?
 Nor he reply « Très - bien mon ange
 Oh! no - it would not do.

2

I dare not sigh - "pensez à moi" -
 Or "soyez-moi fidèle;
 Nor can he say - "Toujours à toi"-
 Or "au revoir, ma belle"-
 And if - "ne m'oublie pas" slips out
 (As 'twill ere I'm aware)
 They're talking French!" is screamed
 about
 Ere I can add - "mon cher",

3-

And "M'aimez-vous" I never hear,
 Nor dare he ever say
 "jusqu'à la mort - " so much we fear
 To "Parler en Français"
 All ears are open when he sits
 Beside me, after tea,
 lest he should say- "Acceptez-moi"
 And I should answer - "Oui."⁵

The best part of the commonplace book (which runs to 52 pages altogether) echoes its inscribed title, "Chansonnier". These songs appear to have been drafted entirely by Zoë Julien.⁶ Variations in standards of spelling attest to the probable lapse of time between

⁵ NAC MG29.D103 vol 1 file 47: [12-13]. It is instructive to compare this satiric verse to the *faux-*dialect used by William Henry Drummond in his *Habitant* poetry, and to the similar voicing found in several of the texts for the *Songs of the By-Town Coons*. See Chapter 4, pp. 120-123

⁶ NAC MG29.D103 vol 1 file 47. [Page 47], "Writing by H. Julien [addition in red pencil: (the senior Julien)]. [Page 52], "Ecris par Z. Julien". Labelled "Recueil de chansons folkloriques" by the National Archives of Canada, this hand-sewn book comprises 52 pages although it is unpaginated; page numbers have been assigned in brackets[.].

the inscribed date and the completion of the book, and to differences in sources (oral and written). The handwriting is for the most part rather elegant, following a French fashion for italic cursive letters. It is often laden with mistakes that suggest a direct aural and phonetic transcription encountering an orthographic guess - thus this elaborate rendering of the place name "La Repentigny":

"ce sont les filles de l'arpantignie/bon-bon-bon et la-la lurette/ce sont les filles de l'arpantignie/qu'el son jolie"⁷

Each song is prefaced with a heading, *Chansons*, and closes with *Fin de cette chanson*. Each stanza has its number written down in the book. If the songs which have interesting mistakes are written down from oral memory, then those which are perfectly grammatical will have been transcribed directly from song-sheets or from any one of the collections of French-Canadian songs which were available from the 1820s onwards.⁸

Certainly this *Chansonnier* shows purpose. It is a conscious bequest to a son by his parents at the moment where they give themselves the very tools which make their gift possible. It also confirms, by the inscription of place (Toronto) the assertion by each of Julien's biographers, that his family followed the Desbarats printing firm as it

⁷ NAC MG 29.D103 v1 file 47:6-7.

⁸ The *chansonniers* are discussed in Galameau, Claude and Maurice Lemire, eds., *Livre et Lecture au Québec 1800-1850* (Québec: IQRC, 1988).

moved along with the capital of the Province of Canada.⁹ Furthermore, the *chansons* make room for one contribution from Julien's father, a thirteen-page-long, exacting transcription, in English, for a printer's recipe, "New French mode of Stereotyping". Said to be a "tourneur" on the day of his wedding, Julien *père* was probably the "turner" of the wooden or metal wheels which enabled a printing-press to make its printed impressions; the term may have its origin in the traditional association of "turners" with the creation of wooden vessels. He is later described as "foreman" or "ingénieur", suggesting the changes of family memory and the possibilities for advancement within the firm as it evolved under technological shifts to steam- and electricity-powered printing. It is a "French" mode of stereotyping, related through an English-language source, suggesting the close connection at mid-nineteenth century between technological change and the emergence of a predominant language for that technology. Here are the Juliens mastering English as well as French literacy. The humour of "Oh no! We are forbid..." wrestles with an acceptance of a necessary life in two languages. We shall see that this quiet struggle is persistent in Henri Julien's political caricature.

⁹ Although we still cannot assert when Julien *père* joined the firm, an undated clipping from the *Canadian Illustrated News* in the family scrapbook, depicting a printer at work, is inscribed "Grand-père à l'ouvrage" (MG 29.D103 vol. 2:7); little indications such as these help when they corroborate statements set down by writers like Barbeau without written source, save perhaps (and importantly) interviews with Julien's daughters in the years 1938-1940. We know that Barbeau saw this *chansonnier*, for the National Gallery Archives preserve a letter from him to Jeanne Julien to this effect (MG29.D103 vol 1, Barbeau to Jeanne Julien, 9 July 1941.). It is odd, given his own folkloric and ethnographic researches, that he made no use of it in his 1941 monograph, for it helps bring Julien's early years to life.

Perhaps it is too easy to make a link between the gentle but telling piece of satire and Julien's later conflicted position as respected French-Canadian artist working in the élite English-speaking circles of the *Montreal Star*. At the same time it is important to remember the wry self-resourcefulness of satire in a case like this; it helps to maintain a position - speaking French in order to demonstrate that one is not allowed to! It underpins the significance of efforts at steadfast compromise and manoeuvring in Canadian politics of the era 1840-1867; they helped to overturn a colonial policy whose initial focus had been the attempt to assimilate and eradicate the presence of French in Canadian life. If this policy was ably resisted by Lower Canada's French leaders on many fronts, and eventually overturned, this may be partly because there was a strong bilingual infrastructure in place already, the systems of communication (printing and publishing) being of the first importance among these.

In this world, the Desbarats family had been foremost since the rise of Pierre-Edouard (1764-1828), the first of his family to emigrate from France to Canada, in 1794.¹⁰ It was to the career of Pierre-Edouard's son, George-Paschal Desbarats (1808-1864) that the fortunes of Henri Julien *père* and his family were harnessed.¹¹ Setting

¹⁰ At first a translator for the Québec Legislature, Pierre-Edouard was appointed official printer for the statutes of Lower Canada with Roger Lelièvre in 1798, and was sole Law Printer by 1800. Desbarats was also a printer of newspapers, notably the *Quebec Mercury*, the *Courier de Québec* in 1807-08 and *Le Vrai Canadien* in 1810-11. These supported the English party in colonial politics. "These papers were vehicles of the English party and often violently opposed the claims of the Canadian party and its newspaper *Le Canadien*" (Jean-Marie Lebel with Aileen Desbarats, "Pierre-Edouard Desbarats", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography X [DCB X]*: 191.)

¹¹ Georges-Paschal Desbarats took over from his father in 1826, succeeding him as head of the firm in 1828. In 1841, he was jointly named, with Stewart Derbishire, "Her Majesty's Printer and Law Printer in and

down a printer's recipe for his son's *chansonnier* underscores the idea that Julien's parents made quite specific choices among the traditions they hoped to pass on.

The songs written down by Zoë Julien give us a strong sense of the family's political and social life. They show patriotic feeling for France and for the Canada that was *Canadien*. There is an inheritance of sorrow; they are also songs of exile. Thus *Sous Napoléon et l'amour*, nestled pages away from *La Marseillaise*, is followed in its turn by Octave Crémazie's *Qu'il fait bon d'être Canadien!* The Republican *La Marseillaise* had appeared in the very first collection of French-language folk-songs printed in Québec, the 1825 *Le chansonnier canadien, ou nouveau recueil de romances, idylles, vaudevilles, etc.*,¹² *Qu'il fait bon d'être Canadien* was reprinted by the Desbarats firm itself in *La littérature Canadienne-Française de 1850 à 1860*. The poem has been dated as belonging to the years 1856-1862, years of Crémazie's

for the Province of Canada", a commissioned or contractual position which gave a virtual monopoly over the printing of all government documents, from legislative records to statutes. Desbarats and Derbishire moved their operation as required by the quadrennial relocation of the capital of the Province, to Kingston, Montreal, Toronto and Quebec until 1863, then settling at Ottawa. After Georges-Paschal's death in 1864 his son George-Edward Desbarats carried on the printing business. Together they had underwritten and published *Le Foyer Canadien: recueil historique et littéraire* and George-Edward would be responsible for a *Collected Works of Samuel de Champlain* in 1870. The death of his father was, however, the occasion for the Government to review the commission of the position of Queen's Printer. George-Edward continued to receive the bulk of contracts for government printing, but was never made Queen's Printer. Instead he was offered a salaried posting within the Canadian Government, which he duly took on in October 1869. But by this time he was preparing with his partner William Leggo to launch the *Canadian Illustrated News* in order to exploit the photolithographic process called Leggotype, and soon resigned the position, in May 1870. He then returned to Montreal in order to devote himself to his growing stable of publication projects. See Peter Desbarats, *The Canadian Illustrated News: A Commemorative Portfolio* (Toronto: MacLelland & Stewart, 1970) and Aileen Desbarats, "Georges-Paschal Desbarats", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol . XI [DCB XI]: 202-203.

¹² *Le chansonnier canadien, ou nouveau recueil de romances, idylles, vaudevilles, etc., etc.* Montréal, Imprimerie du Montreal Herald, 1825.

ascendancy in French-Canadian letters. He articulated both the rehabilitation of Napoleon in French society, and the influence for a Canadian audience of French political ideas and romanticism (drawing much of his literary inspiration from the writings of Hugo, Lamartine and Chateaubriand) following the 1830 and 1848 revolutions.¹³ Napoleon's final exile was emblematic in Québec as well, as a symbol of France's loss before England. Yet these themes were also in conflict with the sense of accommodation with England which had determined the Catholic clergy's course of action in the events of the 1837-38 rebellion in Québec. They were also viewed with suspicion because of the clergy's mistrust of French political leadership since the Revolution, for the Republic and then the Empire both stood as usurpers of the French Monarchy. The rehabilitation of Napoleon echoed the vigorous defence of instruction of French that had been necessary in Canada during the Emperor's reign; Denis-Benjamin Viger had argued in 1808 that this defence was in the best interests of the British at a time when the latter saw enemies everywhere.¹⁴ Crémazie was in a kind of exile himself, sending back to the *Journal de Québec* his *poèmes de circonstance* from France. They were infused with a patriotism that evoked the kinship of France to Québec and found a ready medium, the daily or periodical newspaper being conceived

¹³ This is described by Crémazie's biographer Odette Condemine in "Octave Crémazie", *Archives des Lettres Canadiennes*, T. iv: La Poésie Canadienne-Française:(Montréal: Fides, 1972) 287-304, 292 [1966].

¹⁴ Maurice Lemire, *La vie littéraire au Québec 1806-1839* (Ste Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) 227.

as the primordial instrument of French-language letters.¹⁵ Québec society took particular note of Crémazie's *Sur les ruines de Sébastopol*, which he despatched from Paris on 3 April 1856 on the occasion of the Crimean War (1853-1856). The poem celebrates French-English harmony and co-operation, at the moment of a victory over Russia. Is this momentary harmony an opportunity to redress the dignity of French Canada through association? The partnership with England being worthy overseas, could it not be at home?

Crémazie's great themes were doubly meaningful to a French Canadian family making its place in English Canada while paying attention to the need to preserve its cultural inheritance and language. This was a matter of education, an extremely sensitive area in Québec life. Here was a family assuming control of its own education, acting outside of the model of safeguarding culture that belonged to the Church. It was a family engaged in printing, travelling in the world of Julien père's employer, George-Paschal Desbarats.¹⁶ This was not the model of the sedentary family inscribed in the protective realm of village and church. It was a family engaged in a profession which, after all, had not even existed in New France, and it was the profession, rather than the spiritual institution, which in this case provided the family with protection and guidance. A photograph in the Julien scrapbook showing a man in

¹⁵ *ibid.*: 484.

¹⁶ Hanah K. Aach, *Impressions. Stories of the Nation's Printer: early years to 1900* (Hull, Canadian Government Publications Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1990) 52-3.

uniform and inscribed "Sergent armurier - Rifle regiment. Henri Julien, père. Toronto"¹⁷ echoes the participation of Georges-Paschal Desbarats as lieutenant-colonel in the militia and foreshadowed the recorded participation of George-Edward Desbarats's staff in the Civil Service Rifle Regiment when raids on the Capital by Fenian sympathisers threatened Ottawa between 1866 and 1868.¹⁸ The Desbarats were not only leading businessmen as well as printers by trade. They also played a leading role in both French and English speaking intellectual life of Canadian society, in that they were concerned to serve as models.¹⁹

Such was the atmosphere in which young Henri Julien took up his father's trade. While it can only be a guess, it seems probable that Georges-Paschal Desbarats took an active role in encouraging Henri *père* and family to effectively better themselves, as he might any of his employees, and that George-Edward followed suit. Julien found himself in this context throughout his career: protected by powerful, well-connected publishers.

2. Artistic education

Julien was held to be self-taught. Laurent-Olivier David, co-founder of *L'Opinion*

¹⁷ This photograph is in the family scrapbooks at the National Archives; MG29.D103 v.2: 7.

¹⁸ *DCB XI*, op.cit.

¹⁹For example, Georges-Paschal was member of the Natural History Society of Montreal and of its Horticultural Society. *DCB XI*, op.cit.

Publique (with Georges-Edouard Desbarats and Joseph-Adolphe Mousseau), and the journal's editor between 1870 and 1873, remembered Julien in his 1911 memoirs.

After recounting the Julien who came to be noticed as an artist by Desbarats, David reflected on Julien's training.

Comme la plupart de nos artistes et de nos hommes de lettres, Julien manqua de cette formation supplémentaire qui, dans les écoles de l'Europe, développe et façonne le talent. Mais il suppléa à cette lacune par l'observation et le travail le plus opiniâtre, l'application la plus persévérante, cette qualité si essentielle au développement du talent et qui nous manque trop souvent, il faut bien l'avouer. Que de talents perdus ou à demi-formés faute d'application... Julien, donc, échappa à ce défaut, à ce péché national; jusqu'à sa mort, il fut fidèle à l'art charmant qui l'avait séduit dès son enfance.²⁰

Thus Julien's technical upbringing places him squarely in the world of images, with the Desbarats shop part of the international circulation of illustrated publications from England, France and the United States. These alone constituted an important visual art education in the 19th century, as is shown by the major role such publications played in disseminating engraved reproductions of works of Fine Art.²¹ This role was doubly important for a colonial society such as Canada's. Defined by its removal from metropolitan centres, it made a ready market for the diffusion of the metropolitan

²⁰ Laurent-Olivier David, *Souvenirs et biographies 1870-1911* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1911): 252.

²¹ An extensive analysis of this phenomenon is found in Estelle Jussim, *Visual Communications and the Graphic Arts* (New York, R. R. Bowker, 1974); see chapters 3 and 4, "The Major Codes of Phototechnology and their Development as Publishing Media" (pp. 45-76) and "Illustrators and the Photographic Media" (pp. 77-104), which trace the progress of illustration towards and away from the status of Fine Art as it participated in, and later was emancipated from, the technological changes in the presentation of Fine-Art images for mass consumption. The gradual perfection of photographic reproduction released many illustrators - Julien among them - for a greater plastic inventiveness with their black-and-white work.

culture. Yet Julien was not simply autodidact, learning from and replicating the codes of illustration and engraving from the books and weeklies which formed the model for his engraver's apprenticeship. If we look carefully at what we know of his movements and of the people with whom tradition has identified him in his education, we can, despite the paucity of original documents, construct a likely pattern.

Julien's early art education and specific influences were governed by his family's periodic relocation with the Desbarats firm as the latter accompanied the Capital. Barbeau asserts that Julien is likely to have been influenced by the caricatures of Jean-Baptiste Côté (1837-1902), the Québec-based wood sculptor responsible for the vitriolic satire in the anti-confederation weekly *La Scie* from 1863 to 1865.²² If so, this would have been at the formative stage of Julien's early adolescence. While in Ottawa from age 13 to 17, Julien is believed to have attended the Collège d'Ottawa between 1866 and 1868.²³ The years 1865-1866 are suggested for the presence at the Collège of the peripatetic art educator Abbé Joseph Chabert (1831-1894),²⁴ who remained in Ottawa until at the head of his own art school until 1870; therefore, although he has

²² Marius Barbeau writes: "... we realize that Julien, in his tens and teens, must have been impressed by the trenchant and funny wood-cuts of Côté, his elder... In craftsmanship and equipment both Côté and Julien belonged to the same lower town, where capital and labour already had come to grips, and where the proletariat sneered at the boss and the upper-town bourgeois" [Barbeau (1941):30.] This assertion is taken up by both Karel and Guilbault. Barbeau was at work on a life of Côté for Ryerson Press at around the same time as that for Julien. Nicole Allard's detailed presentation of Côté the caricaturist ("Un graveur et caricaturiste à l'aube de la confédération") deals with an implicit reassessment of Barbeau's account, in Mario Béland's *Jean-Baptiste Côté, caricaturiste et sculpteur* (Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996): 33-66.

²³ Guilbault, *Dictionary of Canadian Biography XIII*, op.cit.

²⁴ Bernard Mulaire, "Joseph Chabert", in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography XII*: 170.

been listed as Julien's teacher, this is not altogether proven.²⁵

As for the continuing influence of caricaturists, Côté's anti-confederation caricatures published in Québec's *L'Electeur* in 1866-67 may well have reached the Juliens at Ottawa, although it's not clear how they would have been received in a household so closely tied to, and dependent on, the decisions of the government through its connection with the Queen's Printer. This lineage, suggested by Barbeau, may be wishful thinking prompted by a need in Québec art history, at mid-20th century, to connect artists of the industrial era, such as Julien, to a handicraft tradition whose origin is ultimately in the Old World; in this case, wood sculpture and carving, a field that is notably important in the transmission of pre-industrial French Catholic culture from the mother country through New France to Lower Canada. In this light the emphasis on these art traditions by both Barbeau and Morisset, key figures in the evaluation of Julien's reputation, sheds an indirect shadow on that part of his work which exists fundamentally in and for mass reproduction.

There is a slender indication that Julien participated in the art education program of the *Conseil des arts et manufactures* (its art school founded in 1857 in Montréal). An academic study is among the works listed in the iconographic collections of the National Archives of Canada.²⁶ If this was a life-drawing work,

²⁵ This claim is initiated in Barbeau's account and recurs in Guilbault, Karel and Desbarats and Mosher.

²⁶ National Archives of Canada, acquisition no. 1984-164-57, dated too broadly at 1866-1899. The work is described as a "sketch of a male nude, wearing a helmet, with the muscle groups prominently delineated" in red chalk on laid paper.

undertaken after the Julien family's return to Montréal, in a programme intended to foster the teaching of arts for industry,²⁷ it would hint at the importance accorded by his family and employer to practical training for design in manufacture that was being promoted in Québec at this time.²⁸ The classes at the *Conseil* amalgamated classical principles of study from plaster casts of antique sculpture to training in design for industry, along models being developed in Britain. This form of art education was intended to support economic growth and the quality of visual products in an industrialised society geared towards mass-production. It also joined to the spirit of self-improvement characteristic of the aspirations of many working families in 19th century English Canada, since the Mechanics' institute was an instrument of the democratisation of education. The *Conseil* was championed in the early and mid-1870s by Pierre Olivier Joseph Chauveau, Premier of Québec and Superintendent of the schools, but ultimately fell afoul of the ideological struggles for control of all aspects of education, including the arts, when the Department of Education under clerical

²⁷ J. Craig Stirling of Montréal, whose 1989 PhD dissertation for the University of Edinburgh dealt with "The Development of Art Institutions in Quebec and Ontario (1876-1914) and the South Kensington Influence" has checked the *Conseil's* records for Julien's name as a student without success, although he notes that "the early years (1869-80) documentation is incomplete for the names of those enrolled". Julien's name is, however, absent from the rolls of other institutions and organisations which offered drawing instruction such as the Mechanics' Institute, the Art Association of Montreal and the Royal Academy of Arts life classes (personal correspondence, 8 April 1997).

²⁸ Given his youth and absence from Montréal until 1869, this work must stem from sometime after this date.

influence managed to eliminate the emphasis on industry after 1880.²⁹ In any case the exposure to techniques and image-making at Desbarats' would be both comprehensive and perhaps unusual for an artist of this time, for it certainly took the place of the prolonged study under a master followed by sojourns in the academies of France or Italy typically deemed necessary for the education of the Fine Artist. Julien was indeed one of Canada's earliest media artists trained in and by the very medium which gave him his living.

3. Education at Desbarats's: Technological conditions

Towards the end of his life, the *Journal de Française* made a point of Julien's special brand of self-instruction.

"comme Gérôme [Jean-Louis Gérôme, 1824-1904, leading French academic artist and teacher], et plus encore que ce maître, il est d'opinion, qu'on peut affirmer sa supériorité sans passer par aucune école. L'étude des arts par les moyens dont on peut aujourd'hui disposer, lui paraît suffisante pour former l'élève d'élite naturellement, que l'on rencontre, dans n'importe quelle nation civilisée..."³⁰

This is a rare trace of Julien "speaking", even if his voice is indirect. The "means to

²⁹ The political evolution of drawing in Quebec public instruction curriculum is discussed by Suzanne Lemerise of the Université du Québec à Montréal, "Drawing in the Pedagogical Press of French Quebec", paper delivered to the Third International Symposium on the History of Art Education, Penn State University, October 16 1995. Thanks to Mme. Lemerise for providing a transcript of this paper in advance of the publication of the symposium's proceedings in 1997.

³⁰ *Le Journal de Française* Saturday 7 March 1908 p. 360. The article is prefaced: "rédigé 1er mars 1908" and begins by being framed as a discussion with an interlocutor from France, proffering a nationalist rhetorical game to reply to the French question about Québec: " why would you need artists when we have 400 years' advance?"

his disposal” lay within his career, spent in one of the major industries to have undergone rapid technological change in his lifetime, working for two of the companies most active in implementing those changes in Canada, Desbarats’s after 1869 and Hugh Graham’s *Star* after 1888.

Julien began his apprenticeship at Desbarats’s at age 17 in a watershed year for the company. George-Edward Desbarats’s partnership with inventor William Leggo resulted in the launch of the *Canadian Illustrated News* at Montreal in October 1869. Julien’s engraving tasks may or may not have left him with very much time for drawing at this stage, unless it was through the transferring of other works - artists’ drawings, photographic imagery - to steel or copper plates. The necessity for a team of engravers to do just this was being somewhat obviated by the invention which was the basis of the *Canadian Illustrated News*, namely the Leggotype. William Leggo’s invention allowed for the lithographic reproduction of photographs, an eagerly-anticipated contribution to publishing.³¹

Anticipated or not, the permeation of photographic processes into the preparation of visual material met with an established system of representation that would require time to change. The reproduction of images through engraving on wood or metal, had been developed over two centuries with an extensive repertoire of graphic codes which were intended to signify degrees of closeness to the person or

³¹For Canada, this subject is dealt with extensively in Dennis Reid, *Our Own Country Canada* (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979) and by Ann Thomas, *Fact and Fiction: Canadian Painting and Photography 1860-1900* (Montréal: McCord Museum, 1979).

event depicted, but usually based on a painted model. Thus these codes were networks of lines or dots which had been developed to approximate the illusory tonal spaces of painting. At the same time, Julien was born to a generation for whom these spaces were already being transformed by photography, and its quite different organisation of continuous tonality, which denoted an even closer connection to observable reality and light. This was an attractive development, but one that would need to be commercially practical in order to be promoted as a desirable commodity in publishing. Ironically, while the mass reproduction of photographs in periodicals was, at first, impracticable or uneconomic, the most important immediate use of photolithographic processes such as Leggo's lay with the reproduction of line works. These might include original drawings - illustrated reportage of people and events - and existing printed source material. Engravings found in other publications furnished a wide stock of ready-made scenery and images, much as "clip-art" collections do today. Since the elaborate codes of engraving governed the appearance of illustrated journalism and gave it a value-added cachet, it was important in the first phase of photolithography to preserve the elaborate visual construction of images, and thus use drawing to imitate the kind of drawing-on-metal-surface that is necessary before the engraver's tools prepare an image into a metal plate.

All of this allowed Desbarats and Leggo to overcome the practical problems of producing a periodical that ordinarily required a phalanx of engravers. They gave the illusion of having such a phalanx but thanks to Leggo's process saved themselves the

cost. In this way the *Canadian Illustrated News* adapted an external product type to a special market. As a self-conscious emulation of models such as the *London Illustrated News*, Desbarats's paper incarnated Canadian society's desire to endow itself with the adornments and pursuits of its founding cultures. The development and use of photolithography was fortuitous but entirely necessary, as the artists on staff would devote much time to concocting drawings that simulated engravings of drawings.

Thus, regardless of any drawing skills he might have, Julien's first goal must have been to acquire these graphic reproduction skills. Where art history would look for his ability to render the outline and verisimilitude of things-in-the-world, the graphic arts historian would look for his ability to master the application of graphic systems approximating the subtle gradations of painting and photography. Techniques like cross-hatching were as important as skills of rendition. Yet over time the latter reasserted their ascendancy as the newspaper's or the journal's ability to depict current events assumed greater graphic importance. Julien's artistic journey in black-and-white illustration straddled changes in the presentation of visual information from an era favouring a laboured, anonymous appearance to another that emphasized the autographic character of line in all aspects of the paper's visual content.

4. Progress in Drawing: evolution of a caricaturist

While it's not possible to assert that Julien joined Desbarats in order to learn to draw, nor that it was for this role that he was chosen, nonetheless a certain amount of skill in

this area must have been evident enough. He also had the luck to be, at seventeen, "apprentice engraver" for a journal which boasted a staff of accomplished illustrators³² among whom the name of Edward Jump (c. 1831-1883), a Franco-American cartoonist of a somewhat peripatetic existence, is most important. It was apparently to Jump that Julien's artistic skills were first brought to notice.³³ Laurent-Olivier David's reminiscences bring to life a young Henri Julien whose talents were nurtured by the appreciative eye of George-Edward Desbarats, and David asserts that Julien was sent to cover the Red River rebellion in 1871.³⁴ A similar invitation came in 1874 when Julien was sent with the Northwest Mounted Police to cover their expedition from Red River to Fort Whoop-Up, aimed at establishing Canadian law and controlling the liquor trade.³⁵ The resulting drawings, apart from their documentary value as a visual record of Canada's settlement of its Western territories, show that Julien was still coming to terms with space and anatomy - quite normal for any draftsman who had not undergone years of specific training in drawing (**Illus. 6**). Although he may have been taking evening classes, Julien's training was, so to speak, largely received on the

³² See Andrea Retfalvi, *Canadian Illustrated News, Montréal, 1869-1883: an index* (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989) for artists' names and publication frequency.

³³ By one Alfred P. Morin, who reminded Julien of this in 1906. NAC, MG29.D103 vol 1: Morin to Julien, 8 October 1906.

³⁴ "C'est grâce à [Desbarats] que Julien, put, en 1871, pendant les troubles du Nord-Ouest, accompagner le corps de police montée que le Gouvernement expédia à la Rivière-Rouge". David (1911): 252

³⁵ Julien travelled with the force led by Commander G.A. French which stopped some twenty miles short of Fort Whoop-Up. George F. Stanley, "The Man who Sketched the Great March," in *Men in Scarlet* (Alberta Historical Society, 1974, pp. 27-49): 44.

job. His skills increased year by year. Drawings from 1875 of the events surrounding the attempts to bury Joseph Guibord in consecrated ground (**Illus. 7**) demonstrate Julien's growing ability to record crowd scenes, an important skill in Jump's pictorial journalism as well,³⁶ and a greater confidence in handling figures. By 1877, Julien became entirely at ease with the organization of pictorial space and the disposition at will of human physiognomy, and it is here that his work began to take on an emblematic quality.

Originals of many of the drawings produced for the *Canadian Illustrated News* show the piecing together of architectural or landscape motifs from quite different sources with, in some cases, European reportage elements being made to stand in for Canadian locations.³⁷ The emblematic nature of Julien's working practice was thus quite pervasive, and entirely in keeping with the special challenges of the *Canadian Illustrated News*. It is ironic to see Julien's work evolve in this context, for his sense of "setting" is largely confined to the human figure; costume, deportment and physiognomy being his chief interest, with locale provided quite neutrally. With the gain in confidence came a reduced emphasis on landscape setting and, fittingly enough, a marked preoccupation with the human figure. Here Julien diverged from other trends in Canadian periodical illustration which favoured the depiction of the

³⁶ Karel, op. cit., "Jump, Edward", p. 437.

³⁷ Thanks are due to Christian Vachon, of the McCord Museum in Montréal, who demonstrated that this was the case during a consultation of the McCord's Julien holdings in August 1995.

Canadian land.

5. Julien at large - Satire and Culture: Evolution of his free-lance career

Julien's heyday as a caricaturist began in the late 1870s, when he contributed political material both to the *Canadian Illustrated News* and to a great many of the relatively ephemeral weeklies of the time. Apart from *The Jester*, printed first of all at Desbarat's, most of these were headed by Hector Berthelot or Honoré Beaugrand. On these in-quarto folios, his drawings were either engravings, as in the cover for the *Jester* of September 13 1878 depicting "The Montreal *Herald* Brass Band" (Illus. 8). (notable in this drawing is the additional signature of an engraver, one Stuart) or direct lithographs (*The Jester*, February 7 1879, owes its crayon appearance to the process of drawing on stone) (Illus. 9). The somewhat enlarged heads in these drawings attempt no exaggeration; the visual humour is confined to gesture and the droll situations depicted. Altogether, his work of this period reached a new fluidity that set it apart from the comparatively clumsy work sent back from the Northwest. While his caricatures for the *Canadian Illustrated News* maintained a certain dignity of composition and deportment, those for the satirical weeklies brought Julien into the realm of the frank lampoon and the irreverent political barb favoured in Montreal. These weeklies seem to owe a great deal to the French satirical press and Julien's use of the lithographic crayon echoes the summary social character-portraits of Honoré Daumier (1808-1879). Julien never elaborated his own caricatures into the kind of

deep symbolic reflection on society that was Daumier's *forte*. But it probably was his reporting and caricature of this period which first made his name in Canada and indeed elsewhere; by 1882 he was an accredited correspondent of *Le Monde Illustré* in Paris. had been solicited for contributions by Frank Leslie's Publishing House in New York,³⁸ his work being eventually reprinted by these two firms and in Harper's Weekly.³⁹

However, the mix of freelance work with Julien's duties at the CIN may also indicate a somewhat troubled financial life from the late 1870s onwards. In 1873, Desbarats and Leggo had disastrously attempted to reach a wider market than was possible in Canada and set up their press in New York City, an adventure that led to the dissolution of their partnership, and to Desbarats' personal bankruptcy. He was forced to join forces with George Bull Burland in 1874, and then withdrew from the Burland-Desbarats partnership in 1876. The *Canadian Illustrated News* and *L'Opinion Publique* continued publication until 1883. The ensuing years do not seem to have been entirely happy time for Julien, although they were certainly busy. His work is reproduced less frequently in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in the two years before its closure in 1883 and, judging by the number of press-proofs for routine calendars, invitations and other business-related ephemera, Julien was occupied a great deal with

³⁸ NAC MG29.D103 vol 1. Leslie's Publishing House to Julien, 5 February 1879, soliciting a sketch of an upcoming State dinner at Rideau Hall on February 13.

³⁹ Julien kept a clipping of a work sent to Harper's, published and copyrighted by them in 1880; it depicts 16th-century French soldiers in league with one Indian nation at war on another.

jobbing work at Burland's. Examples of these abound in the family scrapbooks at the National Archives; a perhaps unintentionally-phallic Chase & Sanborn coffee pot taking part in the Montreal Winter Carnival for 1885 (**Illus. 10**) is indicative of the flavour of this graphic design and illustration. This lithographic work - Julien also taught evening classes in lithography at the *Conseil des arts et des manufactures* from the 1882-83 year (the first in which lithography was offered) through 1886-87, being replaced by one of his former students (J.A.P. Labelle) in the 1887-88 year⁴⁰ - is not his happiest medium. He shows his preferences in two works for Desbarats in 1880. A cover for the February 28 *Canadian Illustrated News* devoted to the theatrical political burlesque *H.M.S. Parliament* (**Illus. 11**) and Julien's coverage of the St.-Jean Baptiste day celebrations for the July 8 *Opinion Publique* of the same year (**Illus. 12**) show his shift towards a style that requires less cross-hatching and favours instead a suggestion of light and shadow through separate pen-stroke patternings. This results in a lightness of touch still evident in, for example, a menu for Montréal's Mayor McShane's Dinner for City Hall Reporters in 1891 (**Illus. 13a**) for which the guest list is a fascinating who's who of the Montréal press corps.⁴¹

Julien was perhaps looking for work in the United States. The printing and

⁴⁰ Dr. J. Craig Stirling, personal correspondence, 8 April 1997.

⁴¹ This menu was printed in lurid gold on pink. The invited guests are listed as follows: Witness - Smith; La Presse - Berthelot; Star - Ayrton; L'Etendard - Foisy; The Gazette - Slack; Le Monde - Têtu; The Herald - Byrne; La Minerve - Filion; La Patrie, Langlois; Mayor's Private Secretary, Bauset; and H. Julien, Newspaper Artist. NAC, MG 29 D103 v.2: 29.

newspaper business, almost by nature, maintained a close network between American and Canadian centres and one finds artists and journalists of both nationality circulating between cities and newspapers quite freely at this time. Julien received letters from friends looking for work in the United States and was offered at least one position, in Boston in 1881.⁴² The whole atmosphere in Montréal was perhaps summed up in the remark of a friend, writing from Detroit in the same year, who expressed the hope that Julien will soon be "independent of one who I believe [is] the closest and meanest of men - Mr. G.B. Burland".⁴³

Regardless of any envisioned move to the U.S., Julien stayed in Montreal and waded into a broad range of activities that can be loosely identified with the ideas of liberal French-Canadian nationalism of the 1880s, 1890s and 1900s. Most important in the attempt to draw a political portrait of Julien are his caricatures for Hector Berthelot's and Honoré Beaugrand's satirical weeklies in the late 1870s and early 1880s. Later on, parallel to his association with the *Star* after 1888, Julien developed his career as an illustrator for radical-Liberal writers like Beaugrand and Louis Fréchette. Julien participated in the self-conscious attempt to give Québec an illustrated national literature.

⁴² NAC MG 29.D103, vol 1 James Berry (of J&J Berry & Co., 68 Cornhill, Boston) to Julien, 14 March 1881.

⁴³ NAC MG 29.D103 vol. 1: C.H. Ault to Julien, February 10 1881.

6. Julien in a radical *milieu*: Berthelot, Beaugrand & Fréchette

Julien maintained a long association with Hector Berthelot (1842-1895), whose unsparing satirical weeklies appeared between 1877 and 1886 in diverse and variously ephemeral incarnations.⁴⁴ These were *Le Canard*, 1877-79; *The Illustrated Police News*, July 1879; *Le Vrai Canard*, 23 August 1879 - 5 November 1881; *Le Grognard*, 12 November 1881 - 8 March 1884; *Le Bourru*, 8 August 1885-12 September 1885 and *Le Violon*, 25 September 1886 - 28 January 1888.⁴⁵ Berthelot was not only editor and chief humourist of these publications but often a contributing caricaturist as well (his outstanding contribution in this vein was the character *Ladébauche*, who wrote common-sense "letters from the farm" in Berthelot's publications, taking the pomposities and absurdities of various political situations to task). Berthelot's political practices centred on the fierce ridicule of politicians of all stripes; he quite happily lampooned both *rouges* and ultramontanes. His invectives frequently landed him in legal trouble. On one occasion he attacked Québec MLA Odilon Goyette in *Le Violon*. The latter brought a libel suit in 1889 against him, and Berthelot was sentenced to pay a fine or face three months in prison.⁴⁶ He raised the money to pay the fine (over \$400) by giving a humorous talk on 27 December, for which his colleague Henri

⁴⁴ The discussion of Hector Berthelot is based on Aurélien Boivin's article "Hector Berthelot," in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* vol. XII [DCB XII]: 98-100.

⁴⁵ (Beaulieu & Hamelin (1974) v. II: 255, 297; vol III: 45, 132, 154.

⁴⁶ Aurélien Boivin, *op. cit.*

NOTE TO USERS

Page(s) missing in number only; text follows. Microfilmed as received.

54

UMI

Beaugrand in 1879; and target he would be again, having crossed over to the Liberals during Laurier's consolidation of power in the dying years of the Conservative *régime*. Thus Julien would lampoon a Liberal Tarte in the Conservative *Star* in 1899.

Given this record, Julien's 10-year "silence" as a caricaturist after joining the *Star* in 1888 is without doubt perplexing. If he was a "hired hand," yet he had participated fairly consistently in the political atmosphere of Liberalism up to 1888. We might be able to suppose that he readily set aside caricature, not wishing to use this part of his arsenal for a Conservative paper; or perhaps the exclusivity rights of the contract with the *Star* were intended to "close down" this Liberal voice. Yet, as we shall see, the *Star* in the first years of Julien's tenure printed reams of pro-Liberal caricature from the pen of John Wilson Bengough of Toronto. In any case, the *Star* might simply have recognized Bengough's power as a drawing-card and, given Julien's friendly relations with him (which had already extended to working as a free-lance for Bengough⁴⁹), Julien may simply have wished to bring in a well-liked and popular colleague so that he could turn his attention to illustration.

Julien's principal free-lance work after 1888, guaranteed to him under the terms

⁴⁹ NAC MG 29.D103 vol. 1., J.W. Bengough to Julien, August 22 1891: "My dear Julien, You will remember that when I last met you in Montreal you promised to send me something for Grip occasionally in consideration of my sending the paper to you regularly". Bengough asked for a special picture for the Christmas number of Grip. "It need not be a funny drawing..." and Julien can use his own judgment as to whether it should be "pen and ink or wash drawing." "I want to have all the Canadian artists represented as possible." Bengough had been in touch with Julien since 1884, when he wrote from the Grip Publishing Co. asking for sketches for a publication commemorating the 50th anniversary of Toronto: "Dear Mr Julien...please give price for full page sketch, size of the "Star" carnival number, and for sketches half the size. The drawings are to be done on Litho transfer paper, or on zinc. Of course I am addressing you in your private capacity, not in connection with the Burland Co." (NAC MG 29.D103 vol. 1, J.W. Bengough to Julien, April 1 1884.)

of his contract with the *Star*, duly saw him increase his output as an illustrator. Here again it was through Honoré Beaugrand that Julien came to prominence when he illustrated Beaugrand's story *La Chasse-Galerie* for the New Year's Eve number of *La Patrie* in 1891. Both writer and artist rejoined a much wider public with this endeavour; the illustrated story was translated and reprinted in the *Century Magazine* of New York the following year, and then, with supplementary work from Julien, in the Beauchemin annual *Almanach du Peuple* in 1893. A relationship with the *Almanach* was thus established that lasted until Julien's death,⁵⁰ and it was in this connexion that Julien prepared a great many of his folkloric illustrations.⁵¹

In the pages of the *Almanach*, Julien illustrated the stories and folk-tales of Beaugrand and other prominent writers such as Benjamin Sulte, Pamphile Lemay and Louis Fréchette (all of whom figured in the pages of the progressive-liberal *Canada-Revue*). Fréchette was the most important of these collaborators. Considered Québec's "poet Laureate", successor to Octave Crémazie, Louis Fréchette (1839-1908) was a formidable literary figure. He was by turns radical *Rouge*, promoter of annexation to the USA, exile, Member of Parliament under Alexander Mackenzie, clerk in the library of the Québec Legislature, dramatist, novelist, anti-clerical pamphleteer and self-styled

⁵⁰ Guilbault (1980): 56.

⁵¹ Nicole Guilbault relates that the origin of her thesis lay in an inventory project for all Julien's folkloric work for the *Almanach*. Guilbault (1980): 18.

national poet.⁵² We can trace Julien's involvement with him to 1880, when Julien was sent a pair of tickets to Fréchette's play *Papineau*.⁵³ The next year, Fréchette was in correspondence with Julien, addressing him as "Mon cher artiste".⁵⁴ Later, on New Year's eve 1887, Fréchette, writing from Nicolet after living in France from May through early December, first broached the idea that Julien should illustrate his epic, the Victor-Hugo-influenced cycle of poems *La Légende d'un Peuple*⁵⁵ which had just been published in Paris the previous month. In an echo of the song by Octave Crémazie that his mother copied into his childhood songbook, we find Julien in the realms of French-Canadian literature inspired by France's Romantic ideals (Fréchette would be chairman of the committee to erect a monument to Crémazie in 1905-06). Although an announcement of Julien's choice to illustrate Fréchette's opus was made in the *Star* in May 1888,⁵⁶ this project was not to reach completion until 1908, the

⁵² See Jacques Blais, "Louis Fréchette", in *DCB XIII*: 358-362.

⁵³ NAC MG 29.D103 vol1: Gustave Lanctôt to Julien, 9 June 1880.

⁵⁴ NAC MG 29.D103 vol 1, Louis Fréchette to Julien, 26 April 1881.

⁵⁵ NAC MG 29.D103 vol 1: Louis Fréchette to Julien, 31 December 1887 from Nicolet "Mon cher artiste... quelqu'un me propose d'illustrer mon livre *La Légende d'un Peuple*; mais comme je voudrais que l'ouvrage fût tout entier canadien... Le seul exemplaire du livre que vous puissiez voir dans ce moment à Montréal est entre les mains de Beaugrand... veuillez donc lui demander la permission de jeter un coup d'oeil sur mes pages, et puis m'écrire un mot pour me dire si vous seriez disposé à collaborer à mon oeuvre, et à quelles conditions; la question est importante, car il est bon de ne pas se dissimuler que l'entreprise rapportera plus de réputation qu'autre chose."

⁵⁶ In the Julien family scrapbooks, a pasted-in clipping from the *Star* of May 4 1918 confirms this: "From the Star Files 30 Years Ago". NAC MG 29.D103 vol. 2: 61.

year in which both men died.⁵⁷

Nevertheless this was just one aspect of Julien's close collaboration with the two leading radical liberals, Fréchette and Beaugrand, whose own careers were closely intertwined. Fréchette was a frequent contributor to Beaugrand's *La Patrie*, serving as its editor from May 1884 to July 1885, rejoining its staff in 1887 and working with Beaugrand on (the equally radical) Aristide Filiatreault's *Le Canada artistique* and *Canada-Revue* from 1891 through 1893.⁵⁸ In the 1890s Fréchette was the author of many broadsides against the Catholic Clergy and an energetic campaigner on behalf of the Liberals in their belatedly successful quest for power. He also shared with Beaugrand the espousal of Freemasonry, a quality that can hardly have endeared either of them to the Québec clergy. The subsequent appropriation of figures such as Beaugrand, Fréchette and Julien to the illustration of "le bon vieux temps" in the culturally conservative era that follows the resurgence of Catholic nationalism in the 1900s is just one more example of the vagaries of fate - or perhaps the revenge of the *terroir*. The newspaper industry, despite or because of its progressive mechanization, laid strong emphasis on the craftsmanship of its workers and furnished many members of Canada's Masonic Lodges - prominent among them publisher John Ross Robertson. Can Julien be tied more closely to Freemasonry? This is very difficult to assert

⁵⁷ Louis Fréchette, *La légende d'un peuple*. Illustré par Henri Julien. Montréal (Beauchemin): 1908.

⁵⁸ Beaulieu and Hamelin, *La presse québécoise... 1880-1895*: 245-248.

although a comparative study of his illustrations of Québec traditions with those of Edmond- J. Massicotte, Frederick Simpson Coburn or Ozias Leduc might be helpful in this respect, for Julien's are the least overtly religious.

It is probably because of his many illustrations of "traditional" rural life that Julien has easily been co-opted to the ruralist revision of his career which began in earnest after his death.⁵⁹ Beginning with *La bénédiction du patriarche* (published in the *Opinion Publique* in 1880) Julien's illustrations are aligned with this vision only if they are taken out of context. But a ruralist vision is not necessarily the same thing as the creation of work that sets down rural traditions, myths and legends, or at least, it may be part of a different ruralist vision, one that is humanist and deistic rather than specifically beholden to the Catholic church. Once again, we can only go so far as the record of Julien's professional company. Other areas of his free-lance work find him in equally complicated positions.

7. Reaching to the *Star*

On joining the *Star* in 1888, Julien was already well-known to its readership through its annual special numbers devoted to Montreal's Christmas festivities and Winter

⁵⁹ One of Julien's daughters underlined and annotated as "faux" the following assertion made in *La Patrie*, 1 January 1950, by Léon Trépanier, in an article on the history of street-names in Montréal. Discussing l'Avenue Henri-Julien, Trépanier relates: "il passa les étés de sa jeunesse dans la vieille paroisse de l'Ange-Gardien, prenant une part active à la vie des Habitants".

Carnival celebrations, which he illustrated. In fact, this was probably free-lance work, since Julien was working under the auspices of the Burland Lithographic Company. Beginning in 1883, he and Burland's produced the annual *Star* Carnival and Christmas Supplements, Burland's acting as both printers and publishers (Burland's and Julien did the same for Winter fairs in Burlington, Vermont).⁶⁰ It is useful to remember that the Montreal Carnival, intended to rival that of Québec City, was under the aegis of a predominantly anglophone organizing committee and was distinctly unpopular with Francophone leaders.⁶¹ At the same time, Julien also designed promotional materials for the Société St-Jean Baptiste. The Souvenir Programme for the Société's 50th Anniversary Celebrations in June 1884 was printed at Burland's, but was "Publié par Henri Julien",⁶² suggesting an altogether different level of commitment on the part of the artist.

That Julien was seen as a potential prize in these years is clear. Louis-Hyppolite Taché, writing confidentially in 1885 from the Minister's office, Department of the Secretary of State Cabinet du ministre, asked Julien if he could be persuaded to

⁶⁰ NAC MG29.D103 vol 2:22.

⁶¹ Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montréal; Boréal, 1992): 50-53.

⁶² NAC MG29.D103 vol 2: 28, lower page: "Souvenir de la St. Jean Baptiste/Montréal du 24 au 29 juin 1884/Calvacade Historique. St Louis prenant l'oriflamme à St. Denis". This opens out to a 4-colour printing - calvacade image on gold background with a printed inscription, lower left, "PUBLIÉ PAR HENRI JULIEN" and at l.r. THE BURLAND LITHO CO. MONTREAL. The inscriptions on the reverse read: "1834-1884 Cinquantenaire" and (in pen): Madame H. Julien.

contribute to a revival of the *Canadian Illustrated News* and the *Opinion Publique* envisaged by Conservative party interests.⁶³ Three years later, Julien does seem to have responded to Desbarats' call when the latter established the *Dominion Illustrated News*⁶⁴. But it was Hugh Graham, publisher of the *Montreal Daily Star*, who would eventually provide Julien with the secure position needed for him to give up the work for Burland's. Julien had already provided much of the pioneering visual material of the paper, as we have already seen. Apart from the Christmas and Carnival numbers, it is possible that Julien was also the (unsigned) contributor of the *Star's* visual coverage of the 1885 Riel Rebellion; and it is altogether certain that he was the artist for the four-month odyssey of illustrations for the paper's bilingual commemoration of the 1837-38 rebellion, which appeared from September 1887 through January of the following year. In joining Hugh Graham on a permanent basis, was Julien making a political association?

⁶³ NAC MG 29 D103 v. 1, Louis H[yppolite] Taché to Julien 28 May 1885: "...comme je vous ai dit, je suis à organiser une société pour la publication du Canadian Illustrated News et de L'Opinion Publique.." Taché asks how much Julien would charge to do four engravings [gravures] per week, probably meaning black and white illustrations; the term has currency regardless of photolithographic reproduction. Julien is to have complete freedom and can be reimbursed his expenses if necessary. Taché intends to print with Burland and will ask authority to have Julien assigned to "nos journaux". He asks Julien to come to Ottawa for an evening - 4:30 pm to be back by 8 am or at Noon next day - and offers Julien a share in the publications.

⁶⁴ A February 1888 letter from Desbarats to Julien may concern this project (NAC MG29.D103 vol.1, Georges E. Desbarats to HJ, 20 February 1888 M. Henri Julien - artiste - 595 rue St. Denis/ Mon cher Henri, J'aimerais à causer avec vous un peu à propos de dessins. Pouvez-vous venir à mon bureau, 162 rue St. Jacques? à cinq heures par exemple, un de ces soirs?) Julien is identified as the journal's caricaturist in the opening issue of July 7 1888. See Beaulieu and Hamelin (1974) vol III: 195.

This Conservative newspaper was, for the time being, relatively unaligned to Party, for it drew commercial strength from its avowed position as an entertaining, well-illustrated and politically-independent organ. Hiring the man who already defined its visual identity would simply consolidate the paper's attraction to an increasing readership, and allow Julien to oversee the implementation of a far more consistent daily diet of illustration. Thus Julien's career returned to the focus on visual news-reporting that it had enjoyed when the *Canadian Illustrated News* first sent him to cover the Northwest Mounted Police in 1874. Just the same, even the emphasis on visual reportage and independence did not preclude adhesion to a certain brand of common-sense, liberal/conservative tradition such as had been exemplified in the coalitions of Macdonald and Cartier and that laid the basis for a certain vision of commercial prosperity in Canada, with Montreal its leading financial centre, and the *Star* its leading mouthpiece during the long twilight of Conservative control of politics and patronage in Québec and at Ottawa. By 1899, this compact would be in disarray, the tradition of coalition shifted to controlling Liberal interests among which Hugh Graham had no influence. Julien's caricatural pen would be pressed into action after 10 years principally devoted to reporting and political sketches. A survey of Julien's career with the *Star*, both before and after he accepted its contract in July 1888, follows as the necessary prelude to the study of his 1899 cartoons.

Chapter 3. Henri Julien in the world of Hugh Graham's *Montreal Daily Star*

Just as Henri Julien's cartoons are not simply a constant feature of his production, so is his relationship with Hugh Graham and the *Montreal Daily Star* no overnight union. In joining the *Star* in 1888, Julien finally officially joined the working environment he had been close to for five years. The personality and ambitions of Hugh Graham are little known in detail, but such existing sources as there are on this enigmatic and powerful press baron can be collated and assessed so that we can describe the ideological and technological bases of Julien's 1899 cartoons, and be in a position to describe the special relationship between publisher and artist.

1. Hugh Graham

Like Henri Julien, the figure of Hugh Graham (1848-1938) appears to us only through reflections in a handful of contemporary sources. The basic text for most subsequent interpretations of his career is afforded the most thorough context in the work of newspaper historians such as P.W. Rutherford and Jean de Bonville¹. But just as was the case for Julien, there are once again very few documents from Graham's own hand. Unlike some of his contemporaries in Canadian journalism Graham was not given to autobiography, nor indeed to encouraging, with one or two exceptions, any

¹ The economic, political and social backgrounds to the discussion in this chapter of Hugh Graham and the *Star* are all indebted to the work of these two authors. P. W. Rutherford, "The People's Press. The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-1899" in *Canadian Historical Review* LVI:2 (June 1975): 169-191; *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1982); Jean de Bonville, *La presse québécoise de 1884 à 1914 - genèse d'un média de masse*, (Ste.-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988).

kind of coverage.

It was with the events of 1899 that Graham began to steer his paper towards a more active role in Canadian politics. When historians have sought to explain this period, the names of Graham and the *Star* feature with a prominence that is unique. Neither before nor since were the man or his paper so closely identified with a particular position. Since the problem of Canada's military role in the British Empire called into question matters that polarized Canadians along constitutional, linguistic and religious lines, Graham's wholehearted espousal of British imperial interests gave him a pronounced (and lasting) visibility. This was entirely in keeping with a record of championing civic causes to which the *Star* lent, and from which it also drew, its authority.

But the few contemporary testimonials which survive portray a Hugh Graham to whom personal publicity was also anathema, so it might be argued that he was proceeding from a relatively conflicted position. He was not the first leader of the Press to enjoy (whether he liked it or not) the renown that accompanies the success of a newspaper. This success can be charted across a series of decisions which transformed the paper. A careful comparison of Graham's career as it relates to his decision to use imagery may help us to describe what kind of strategy was at play in the role Julien was invited to fill after joining the paper in 1888.

On the matter of his personal celebrity, Graham clearly both sought and shunned it, fidgeting in the presence of the historical muse Cleo. The use of his own image was almost impossible. In the now-standard contemporary portrait published in

1895, A. H. U. Colquhoun wrote about Graham's progress, frankly owning up to the difficulties inherent in doing so:

It is difficult to speak with absolute certainty on some of these points. Mr. Graham is exceedingly adverse to biographies or sketches of himself, and has always declined to assist in their preparation in any way. Consequently some of the data in this article have had to be obtained by inquiring elsewhere, while the photograph which adorns it - I may as well confess - was secured without his knowledge or consent[...] It is not often that the owner of a rich and influential paper, who is qualified by taste, education and position for public life, avoids publicity as persistently as Mr. Graham has done. In no small measure his success is due to this policy. The Star thus gets the whole of his time and energy.²

Graham was knighted in 1908 and was created Lord Atholstan in 1917, honoured by the fullest symbolic measure that an Empire to which he was devoted could afford. Yet he did not pursue his commercial or political vision in Great Britain, as other Canadian Press barons have done in his wake.³ Like his great contemporary and rival in Montreal, Trefflé Berthiaume of *La Presse*, Graham was one of the rare examples of publishers for whom the newspaper was their sole enterprise.⁴ Both men were pioneers of what P. W. Rutherford has named the "people's journalism" of the later 19th century in Canada. It took advantage of the increasingly literate marketplace of a growing Dominion and, alongside similar newspapers in the United States and Great Britain, won success by blending an affordable price (one cent daily) with an "independent," middle-class political stance that sought to distinguish itself from party

² A.H.U. Colquhoun, "The Man who made the Montreal Star," in *The Printer and Publisher*, April 1895: 6-7.

³ Notably Max Aitken (later Lord Beaverbrook), Roy and Kenneth Thomson (both made Lord Thomson) and Conrad Black (so far unennobled).

⁴ De Bonville: 118.

politics, displaying an extensive use of illustrations, local news (in politics, culture, the criminal and civil courts, civic festivals and sporting events) and a relatively plain style of writing. This blend was appropriate for fledgling independent newspapers in the first decades after Confederation and changed as the country matured. It is interesting to note that both the *Star* and *La Presse* built their “independence” while maintaining ties to the patronage system, the true infrastructure of power and commercial expansion since the era of Lower Canada, over which the Conservatives held sway in Quebec for most of the period between 1867 and 1896. The papers did not exist to trumpet party policy, and were unafraid to deliver critiques of corruption regardless of its political stripe; however, they generally supported Conservative candidates at election times. They eventually fought one another for influence in the Quebec Conservative party, each being a standard-bearer for English or French-speaking interests, just as they fought for similar sections of readership and for the budgets of advertisers. In federal politics, the patronage of the party in power, essential to the placement of Government advertising, was a key source of revenue, lost to the *Star* with the advent of Wilfrid Laurier and the Liberal Party to power in 1896. At his time Hugh Graham and his paper took on a more robust and self-confident role in their support of the Quebec wing of the Conservative Party, successfully nudging *La Presse* aside (and into the arms of the ruling Liberals). With the *Star* unchallenged as the largest circulation English daily in Canada,⁵ Graham was a man to be reckoned

⁵ De Bonville (1988): 259. Figure 6.5 (*Tirage des principaux quotidiens de Montréal: 1884 à 1914*) shows the *Star* far ahead of its English-language rivals by at least 5,000 (1884) and 25,000 (1899).

with whether in opposition to the Liberals or, later on, as a supporter of the administrations of Robert Laird Borden. He chose to force the measure of his reckoning by operating below and above the surface-level of Canadian politics, displaying through his actions a peculiar character trait - a fondness for subterfuge - that was, in reflection, not always in his best interests. To our loss, it was successful enough in that he appears to have destroyed most of his personal papers before his death - and perhaps to have had very good reasons for doing so.⁶

Furthermore, it is almost impossible to reconstruct the daily workings of the *Star* since all of its archives were apparently destroyed when the newspaper folded in September 1979.⁷ The relationships between Graham and his employees, for example, must be surmised in the light of other statements about his character. Crucial to this study, but hopelessly lost, is clear evidence of the relative autonomy of Henri Julien in making up the 1899 cartoons; as we shall see in the following chapter, it is not always clear that Julien simply illustrated the programme devised for a cartoon by another, and indications exist that allow this process to be attributed to Julien, Hugh Graham or others in their turn. Nevertheless, Julien's work, like the *Star*, existed for its daily purpose, to be reproduced and sold widely, and it is on this basis that any conclusions

⁶ Telephone conversation with Hugh Hallward, Hugh Graham's grandson, May 1997. Mr. Hallward explained that his grandfather had been deeply involved in the politics of his time and was especially careful that no harmful information should come to light.

⁷ The *Montreal Gazette* provided information in the initial stages of this research in 1981 to the effect that it had received the *Star's* photographic archives alone after the latter's closing. This was re-confirmed in a telephone conversation in April 1997. Pamela Miller, former Archivist at the McCord Museum in Montréal, stated in August 1995 that the fate of the *Star's* written or business archives remained a mystery to Montreal archivists.

must be established. Just as a day-by-day examination of the paper allows us to inventory Julien's work, so it allows us to establish the paper's shifting political positions. The cartoons are demonstrably part of a campaign that was quite unlike any other that Graham had launched and help to mark the incarnation of the *Star's* career as a more aggressive Conservative ally. The cartoons are both part of, and traces of, Hugh Graham's unusual strategic diplomacy on behalf of the English-language Conservative business élite of Montréal.

Other traces of these efforts can be found with some digging, notably in the Prime Ministerial papers at the National Archives of Canada. But there appears to be no surviving "*fonds Atholstan*" that might enable us to draw a full portrait and biography of the man with any ease. Certainly there is no such work on Graham in existing literature. If he has truly managed to erase himself, he has borne out the subsequent opinion of historian W. R. Graham (no relation) who gives a brief and tantalizing portrait in a 1957 article on Arthur Meighen.⁸ The life and career of Hugh Graham cried out for a full-length study, "preferably by someone with an interest in abnormal psychology", wrote his namesake; for in describing the behind-the-scenes manipulations within the Conservative Party in Montreal, in the teens and early 1920s, W. R. Graham attested to the peculiar search for secrecy that expressed itself in bizarre codes and shorthand (that are undecipherable to this day).⁹ Thus Atholstan and a

⁸ W. R. Graham, "Meighen and the Montreal Tycoons: Railway Policy in the Election of 1921" in Bruce Hodgins and Robert Page, eds. *Canadian History since Confederation* (Georgetown, Ont.: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972) 447-464, reprinted from, *Canadian Historical Association Report* (1957): 71-85.

⁹ National Archives of Canada, A. E. Blount Papers MG 27 IIE6 vol. 1: "These letters are from Lord Atholstan (Hugh Graham) and refer to negotiations with Sir Lomer Gouin and his joining Union Government.

number of correspondents handled the matter of Arthur Meighen's response to the desires of the Montreal "railway tycoons" in the late 'teens and early 1920s. Indeed, Meighen described Atholstan to W.R. Graham as "a political intriguer in a class by himself, a "circuitous, gumshoe sort of person" who "could turn a corner so fast you could hear his shirt tails snap."¹⁰ It may be said that one of Graham's lasting legacies was to help enshrine a "party within the party" that was to cause the Conservatives no end of organisational trouble right up to the 1950s, as it became impossible for otherwise well-qualified candidates to compete on behalf of the Tories without the blessing of the Montreal élite "wing" that became progressively out of touch with the changing Canadian political landscape in the 20th century.¹¹

2. *The Montreal Daily Star*

Hugh Graham's overwhelming achievement in Canadian history was without question the *Montreal Daily Star*. He was born in 1848 in Atholstan, Huntingdon County, in the Eastern Townships of Québec. The son of reasonably well-to-do Scottish immigrants, he is said to have been educated at the Huntingdon Academy.¹² Before he was twenty-

The letters are fantastic but little attention given to them/AEB". Blount had been private secretary to R. L. Borden and, previously, the *Star's* parliamentary correspondent in Ottawa (information from Blount family, Peterborough, May 1996).

¹⁰ W. R. Graham (1957): 450. Graham also quotes Sir Robert Borden's Diary for May 4 1916, in which Borden assessed Graham as " a singular mixture of cunning and stupidity. His great weakness lies in his belief that he can hoodwink others... Evidently he is consumed with immense desire for peerage. Speaks of it as a bauble hardly worthy of his acceptance."

¹¹ Conversation with Dale C. Thomson. April 5 1997

¹² A.H.U. Colquhoun (1895): 6.

one he had apprenticed in the newspaper business, first with his uncle W. H. Parsons on the *Evening Telegram*, formerly the *Commercial Advertiser*, and then as secretary-treasurer to the *Montreal Gazette*. With George T. Lanigan, a leading Montreal journalist, Graham founded *The Evening Star* on January 16, 1869.¹³ Lanigan's annexationist views evidently led to a falling-out with Graham, and the two soon parted company, Lanigan's departure also entailing the loss of some crucial financial backing for the newspaper. Through the early 1870s Graham and the *Star* struggled to survive. When, in 1878, Graham appointed Edward G. O'Connor as managing editor, he had already begun to attract other talented young journalists to the paper.¹⁴ They would go on to constitute a Who's Who of late 19th-century Canadian journalism: Henry Dalby, John W. Dafoe (later of the *Winnipeg Free Press*) and P.D. Ross (later of the *Ottawa Journal*) among them. To Ross we owe the reminiscence of Graham early declaration to the effect that:

"What I want to see in the *Montreal Star* is the sort of news or item or story or article which if you saw it in some newspaper or book you would be tempted to read out loud to the next person to you."¹⁵

Happily, Graham also allied himself early on with teacher and versifier George Murray who came to fulfil the role of Literary Editor.¹⁶ The young *Star* understood the need to

¹³ "Historical Sketch of the *Montreal Star*", *Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs 1910* (vol LVI: Special supplement, pp. 83-89): 83.

¹⁴ Colquhoun (1895): 6.

¹⁵ Quoted from PD Ross, *Retrospects of a Newspaper Person* (1931): 2; see also Murray Donnelly, *Dafoe of the Free Press*, (Toronto 1968): 12.

¹⁶ Penning many verses illustrated by Julien in the *Star*'s special supplements, George Murray was possibly the craftsman behind the verses of the 1899 By-Town Coons series and was made "publisher" of the *Standard* at its inception in 1905. Murray is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.

be able to deliver the news quickly, "the news" of importance taking in everything from the international to the local.¹⁷ Along with John Ross Robertson's *Toronto Telegram*, the *Star* used a simple and colourful style of writing both headlines and text.¹⁸ According to the "Historical Sketch" published in the *Canadian Historical Review* in 1910¹⁹ a "sketch" that suggests to some extent a Graham who permitted a rare panegyric tone, the paper turned its attention to civic coverage - and improvement.

City government, water supply, gas prices, street-cleaning, street-car service, public utilities of various kinds, civic corruption, Harbour improvements, and sanitation reform, with other kindred questions, were constantly presented upon a high plane of business progressiveness and political cleanness. Young men were given high ideals in municipal, Provincial and national life and, as time went on, and Empire unity developed into a working policy or principle that wider ideal was added to the others.²⁰

The latter ideology was, in fact, somewhat resisted up to the early 1880s, and only mildly supported up to the later 1890s. As party politics or patronage were intricately tied to municipal affairs, in Montreal as elsewhere, this independent approach was most important. The *Star* shrewdly took a middle ground as a means of overcoming its commercial opponents, the established, party-supported newspapers such as the *Daily Witness*. Noting the *Witness*'s "zeal for Protestant religion", its quarrel with Catholics and moderate Protestants, "The *Star* steered a middle course, and became the paper of

¹⁷ Its first great success was "in connection with the Franco-Prussian War as to which a forenoon edition was issued with occasional extras; the news service was, in fact, excellent for those days". "Historical Sketch of the Montreal Star"(1910):84.

¹⁸ Rutherford (1975): 175.

¹⁹ See full citation under note 13 above.

²⁰ "Historical Sketch" (1910): 84.

the great body of common sense persons who read for information".²¹

Elsewhere, constitutional issues in late 1870s and early 1880s reflected changing ideas on manhood suffrage and on the structure of Canadian government.²² On 5 July 1882, the *Star* could assert recognition of its own role in the shaping of a "consensual" Canadian society: "An independent press desires above all things the good of its country for which it denies itself the temporary befits which partisanship gives, and it desires to do full justice to men and measures of all parties".²³ This self-awareness rose with the security due to the paper's established survival and came just as it was about to begin the shift to a new phase, in which the use of illustrations became possible through technological improvements that themselves engendered a further expansion of the paper's readership - in a movement that had the potential to be perpetual.²⁴

The *Star*, like the *Telegram* a "People's Journal" according to P. W. Rutherford, by excelling in coverage of the local scene, laid groundwork for illustrated local coverage when this became practicable.²⁵ A growing readership would help

²¹ Colquhoun (1895): 6.

²² Challenges to the party system in "peoples' journals" are discussed in Rutherford (1975):180. 1882 Rutherford also discusses the papers' response to national sovereignty, the debates over democracy and manhood suffrage. See Rutherford (1982): 162.

²³ Rutherford (1975): 174 n. 13

²⁴ This process is synthesized by Jean de Bonville in a continuous mathematical formula within a dialectical-Marxist reading, with the *Star* and *La Presse* excellent examples of a dialectic model in place at least since early 1880s. "La recherche du profit pousse les éditeurs de ces journeaux à apporter une série de modifications dans le contenu et lequipement de leur journal, lesquelles entraînent une augmentation progressive de leur auditoire". De Bonville (1988): 366.

²⁵ Rutherford (1975): 178.

help support such a change, but it was clinched by the nurturing and development of a parallel and powerful clientele for the newspaper, the advertiser. Despite photolithographic techniques, illustration remained expensive to produce until economies of scale were gained through investment in new equipment, regularly upgraded. These investments could be offset, and indeed transformed into huge profits, when the appeal of the newspaper as the choice means of reaching customers was established and exploited. The *Star*, founded as a one-cent daily in 1869, still cost one cent in 1910 because it had dramatically enlarged its marketplace through improvements in production, presentation and distribution, becoming, in effect, a huge marketplace itself. This self-reflexive evolution seems to coincide with the new importance of visual content.

3. Technological changes

Our earlier survey of Henri Julien's career with the *Canadian Illustrated News* and *L'Opinion Publique* dealt with the technological issues involved in bringing photographic illustration to mass-production. By the early 1880s, the interim solution, that photolithography could at least permit the cheap manufacturing of illustration plates for the periodical presses and book-publishing industries, was adapted for deployment in newspapers thanks to a series of perfections to existing press technology and machinery to which Hugh Graham subscribed. Thus the *Star*, along with Trefflé Berthiaume's *La Presse*, became the first *daily* newspapers to undertake the publication of illustrations in Canada, beginning in 1884. This was not, however, an overnight

change. There were, to begin with, some earlier external prompts. For example, in 1877, the *Toronto Telegram* had used exclusive images from the *New York Herald* to help present the Russo-Turkish War.²⁶ It is likely that Graham had a keen eye trained on the swift changes taking place at the *New York World* under Joseph Pulitzer who introduced illustrations within two weeks of purchasing the *World* in May 1883, and discovered the enormous influence that it could exert when, in the U.S. election of autumn 1884, it published hugely popular political cartoons.²⁷

The newspaper industry was only beginning to understand its appeal to a wide public (consistently growing through changes in immigration and education) that might conceive of the newspaper as a companion, a source of amusement, entertainment, learning, reflection of opinion, and information. It is important to note, however, that despite the broad claims made in Canadian newspaper history for the introduction of illustration after 1884, it is not genuinely "daily" until late 1887 at the *Star*. Having said this, there is a definite increase in visual content. Julien soon established his own signature in this content, even while his services were ostensibly under contract to Burland's. With this firm supplying the *Star* with much of its special Christmas and

²⁶ Rutherford (1975):177.

²⁷ Joseph Pulitzer bought the *World* on May 9 1883. On Thursday May 24 1883, according to Pulitzer's biographer George Juergens (*Joseph Pulitzer and the New York World*, Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1966: 3, 11, 93ff.) "illustration [became] a part of daily journalism." On the matter of the ambiguous role of images in contemporary society, Juergens quotes a contemporary of Pulitzer as follows: "a little gumshoeing had sufficed to show him that all New York needed to set its monetary glands flowing was a daily dose of tingling sensations. Such sensations were as plentiful as mushrooms, but were being trampled underfoot unnoticed by the editors of the sedate old-fogey newspapers, who thought a bit of snappy personal repartee on the editorial page was a humdinger and that pictures were degrading, if not actually improper" (Transcribed in Juergens (1966) from Allen Churchill, *Park Row*, p. 6.)

Carnival issue printing, we must consider that the *Star* was not quite ready for the daily task of printing illustrations. It may also have been trying out its marketplace and harnessing its resources.

The mid-1880s presented a critical moment for illustration in Montreal, with a growing number of commercial artists available for work in a transitional economic period (Burland's closed the *Canadian Illustrated News* and *L'Opinion Publique* in 1883). Although a market for blended photographic/graphic art was already well established, and firms like Burland's and Notman's were busy, it was the well-financed printers such as Burland's or the *Star* which could afford to steer production, renew their equipment and benefit from the deleterious impact on less-well-off competitors. It was in this period of transition that Montreal society poised itself to tip its scales towards the *monde de l'image* described by Yves Chèvrefils. In other words the *Star* was moving towards the example of a late-nineteenth century capitalist enterprise which, according to de Bonville, must "constitute a homogenous clientèle and make it accessible to the advertiser".²⁸ It did so with illustration. Whether of current events or in advertising, illustration functioned as a different form of access to a shared common understanding of the world. De Bonville also charts the growing importance of the reputation for objectivity in news-reporting. Is the *image* of detachment newly important in an environment that now also fosters the visual representation?²⁹ In a sense, the newspaper reached a position of self-representation

²⁸ de Bonville (1988): 363.

²⁹ de Bonville (1988): 368-369.

when it acquired a new and thorough understanding of its own independent commercial potential. There was a political consequence to the inclusion of imagery because it affected the web of connections through which the newspaper operated in its society. In the case of the *Star*, it built its influence on its reputation as an illustrated newspaper. However it at first confined this influence to the quality of its *reportage*, and it was long before it put its visual appearance at the service of Hugh Graham's party-political ambitions. Perhaps these were, in any case, the consequence of the careful building of his enterprise.

If Graham's transformation of the *Star* and, consequently, of his own financial position, in the 1880s, formed the basis for his later ambitions, they were also an example of his steady leadership in the industrialisation of the Canadian economy, with all the attendant characteristics in changes to labour-force and re-invention of operational structures. In 1885, Bradstreet's Commercial Report estimated Graham's Company worth somewhere between \$50,000 and \$75,000. In 1891 this figure had grown to \$150-200,000; in 1896, \$300-400,000; in 1906, \$500,000.³⁰ The Montreal Star Publishing Company was capitalized at \$750,000 in 1904. The daily circulation had gone from approximately 15,000 in 1880 to just under 52,000 in 1899.³¹ Graham understood his newspaper well, taking an active role in paper purchasing, typography, ink supplies and upgrading of machinery. He had a hand in most of the newspaper transactions of his era, bringing enormous pressure to bear on newsprint

³⁰ De Bonville (1988): 126.

³¹ "Historical Sketch"(1910): 88.

suppliers. He would sell his used equipment to other newspapers, notably the fellow-conservative *La Minerve* and *La Presse*, or assist them in their purchases of new equipment. ³² *La Presse* would eventually become the *Star*'s only serious competitor. When it began to support the Liberals in the early 1900s Graham went to great lengths to undermine its position. Graham could be dynamic but the patterns of the changes he instituted suggest a residual caution that is exemplified by the long prelude of Julien's involvement with his paper.

It is tempting to think, though provable only through the measurement of effect, that Graham's eventual hiring of Julien was a strategic move that did several things at once. It brought the capacity for creating swift and accurate visual reporting in the *Star*'s pages. It also brought a highly-noted cartoonist to the staff (and thus it is with bewilderment that the pages of the *Star* are scanned for the years 1888-1898 in the almost vain quest for any political cartooning from Julien's hand). Julien represented a certain form of prestige above all: he was a respected French-Canadian artist who was also a leading illustrator in Canada, well-known to French and English Canadians because of his history with the *Canadian Illustrated News* and the *Opinion Publique*. Graham hired a symbol who was a known entity to his readers.

A survey of Julien's work for the *Star* up to the appearance of the 1899 cartoons must begin some five years before he was hired, with the Christmas number of 1883 and the Carnival and Christmas numbers of 1884. Burland's, who helped print these issues, merely continued to offer Julien to the public of the defunct *Canadian*

³² De Bonville (1988): 281.

Illustrated News and *Opinion Publique* through the pages of the *Star*, which was nonetheless well aware of Julien's *cachet*.

4. Julien and the *Star*, 1885-1887.

Overview and Carnival

1885 brought together many aspects of Julien's special position with the paper. There were two main endeavours that consolidated the *Star*'s reputation. The first was its Carnival issue of January, the second its coverage of the Riel Rebellion in April and May 1885. The first body of work was signed and the second not, but we will shortly consider that all of this material was by Henri Julien. His next consistent appearance, aside from further Carnival and Christmas supplements, came in the autumn and winter of 1887-1888 with an extensive series devoted to the 50th anniversary of the 1837-38 Rebellion (it will be remembered that he did not run the lithography classes at the *Conseil des arts et manufactures* that year).

Taken together, these groups of illustrations - for Carnival, for Christmas, for the Riel Rebellion and the 1837 anniversary - were, with the appearance of portraits prepared from photographs at the independent studio of John Wiseman, the visual content of this transition period for the *Star*. It is following the completion of the last series that negotiations must have begun between Hugh Graham and Henri Julien, for the latter accepted Graham's offer to join the *Star* in May 1888.

Carnival, Riel, 1837 - each of these bears a lesser or greater degree of difficulty in the history of the French-English relationship in Montréal, Québec and

Canada. The Montreal Carnival, which ought to have been innocuous enough, managed to incur the anger of leading French-speaking Montrealers due to their exclusion from its organizing committee.³³ It was not the sole example of a form of cultural borrowing in English-Canadian life, nor the last time that Julien was involved in such a transaction.

On Monday January 19, the *Star* advertised its upcoming Carnival special. "Rivalling the best numbers of the London Graphic and the London News," it would feature "a beautiful frontispiece by the celebrated Henri Julien, allegorical of opening the Carnival" (Illus. 15). Readers were advised that the number was sure to be a high seller, and retailers were invited to order early. Two days later the situation was "Worse than Ever" - as near "riots" of people clamoured at the *Star* offices in order to claim their special Carnival number.³⁴

Julien contributed the frontispiece, scenes of tobogganing, of the Skating Carnival and decorated capital letters for literary contributions. Many of the original drawings which relate to this number are held at the McCord Museum in Montreal; they are a hybrid bunch, the visual space defined by sheer collage of elements from various sources, and the visual codes referring to practices of pen-and-ink drawing, lithography, white-line engraving, cut-and-paste and photography. All are flattened out or superseded by a final photo-lithographic process which turns them into printed

³³ Paul-André Linteau summarizes the Carnival as an Anglophone élite activity: "Il en est de même pour le carnaval d'hiver de Montréal organisé de 1883 à 1889. C'est une fête qui ne mérite guère le qualificatif de populaire," representing "popular" activities in an attempt to attract American tourists. Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montréal: Boréal, 1992): 114.

³⁴ *Montreal Daily Star*, January 21 1885.

illustrations in the Carnival number.

This is an important early reference to Julien in the *Star*; it helps us to see that he was a prized guest. The *Star* vaunted its own position as a great illustrated paper, and represented its own popularity and the physical growth of its operations. It was definitely a key part of its own news, understanding how to prepare demand for what it has to offer. This characteristic reoccurs in its coverage of the Riel Rebellion.

The coverage of the “NorthWest Resistance” or “The 1885 Riel rebellion”

Known among the Métis today as the NorthWest Resistance, the so-called 1885 Riel Rebellion marked the first real opportunity for the *Star* to engage its resources in the profitable representation of war, and make the most of its capacity for the publication of visual material.. How was its coverage political and, given the ultimately grievous consequences for French-English harmony in Canada over the failure of the Resistance and the hanging of Louis Riel, how would Henri Julien, already a veteran of at least one expedition to the NorthWest, be seen in Québec if he was identified with this coverage?

The *Star*'s relationship to the political context of 1885 is important. Although it exploited the representation in words and pictures of the conflict, its vested interests were greatly different than would be the case over Canada's involvement with Britain's war against the Boers in 1899. In 1885, the *Star* agreed with the perception that the long Conservative rule was floundering, somewhat inept and tired. John A Macdonald was seen as rather distant, occasionally deigning to devote himself to an

issue or to rouse up parliamentary fire. He was still the object of loyalty and adulation, however, because of his long experience and because he was, after all, the Prime Minister - loyalty from duty to a leader rather than affection for him. This sense of decorum marked the *Star's* treatment of Canada's Prime Ministers until 1899. When Macdonald visited Montreal for a reception in his honour on January 12 1885, the report in the *Star* of the next day made much of the man, but implied that little could be made of the party. On January 14, an editorial supported Liberal leader Edward Blake's proposals for Senate reform and in favour of the right of Canada to make its own treaties. Indeed, the sense of Canada's independent role within the British Empire was expressed within a much different *Star* to that which became so wholeheartedly imperialist with the 1899 Transvaal troubles:

... Canada is not jingoistic, and has not the slightest interest in the complications in the Soudan, the feud between the Boers and Cape Colonists or the desire of Australians to gobble up... Canada's ambition is to build up factories all over the Dominion, and make it, as much as possible, a self-supporting country... [if Europe were to unite] all Anglo-Saxondom might join hands for self-protection - but even then it would be an alliance and not a federation.³⁵

The Montreal *Daily Star* of 1885 was a four-page (single sheet folded) newspaper with double sheets for Saturdays and special occasions. It cost one cent and averaged around 27,000 copies in circulation each day. Its weekend edition was equally important:

"The circulation of The Weekly Star amongst merchants, millers, lawyers,

³⁵ *Montreal Daily Star*, January 8 1885: 2.

farmers, doctors and manufacturers throughout the country is now 120,000."³⁶

In January 1885 alone there was much to corroborate this sense of the paper's own strengths. Every day, for almost a month, at the head of the editorials on page two, the following statement appeared: "The Publishers of the *Star* wish to purchase a new building. St James's Street preferred, 50 x 150'. Graham & Co., Publishers, *Star*". The *Star*'s progress was as much a matter for public consumption as anything else, and its position as a reporter and visual presenter of the rebellion that came in the Spring would be proudly highlighted.

The North-West Rising first appeared in the *Star*'s columns on March 24 1885. Its editorial that day averred that "there shouldn't be trouble - the Indians are civilized." Nonetheless on page 4 a recapitulative piece on Louis Riel and the events of 1869-1870 was presented, noting that Thomas Scott's execution in that first rising, an event which was used by the Orange Order in Ontario in the 1870's to foment hatred against French Canada, was carried out by "probably half-drunk half-breeds" (this use of the term "half-breed" persisted throughout the *Star*'s reporting of the 1885 Rebellion). From the next day, it was quite clear that the situation was far more serious than this language warranted. By April 9, by which time infrastructure arrangements had been made to get troops out to the NorthWest Territories to quash the rebellion, arguably saving the Canadian Pacific Railway which was then facing bankruptcy, the *Star* had organized itself into a first-hand reporting machine.

³⁶ This declaration appeared beneath the circulation figures every day throughout 1885.

OUR WAR NEWS. THE STAR has five special correspondents at different points throughout the disturbed districts in the North-West and with the troops now hurrying to the front. These men are all experienced correspondents and most of them have seen military service. Two have had old world experience, one having acted in South Africa for the English press. They have instructions to spare no expense to keep THE STAR ahead in the publication of late and trustworthy news. Some of the correspondents have fair sketching talents also and we hope soon to be able to give our subscribers the benefit of some of the work with the pencil.³⁷

On the same day, the *Star* declared that it "has been undergoing a move. Removal of mechanical equipment is now complete.... it must be understood that the aim of the modern newspaper is to get as near as possible to the annihilation of time in the presswork part of its issue". On Friday 10 April:

War Sketches. In to-morrow's STAR will be published a picture of the Duck Lake fight... Also a group picture, with faithful likenesses, of Riel's first Cabinet, with names and sketch. To-morrow's STAR will be specially interesting to preserve for reference, and to send to friends at a distance. Newsdealers should order their extra supplies early.

On Saturday April 11 1885 a huge image dominated the top half of the first page of the *Star*, covering all eight columns. Entitled "The Duck Lake Fight. /From a Sketch by an Ex-member of the Mounted Police Force", (Illus. 16) this unsigned illustration presents itself in the manner of a pen-and-ink history painting which may owe a great deal to contemporary illustration, especially the work of the "Special artists" who made their name covering armed conflicts from the time (1850's and 60's) of the Crimean War and the American Civil War onwards, in magazines such as the *Illustrated London News* and *Harper's Weekly*. More importantly, it could owe a great deal to

³⁷ *Montreal Daily Star*, April 9 1885: 4.

Julien's own experience of the NorthWest, either because he was on the spot in 1885 composing these visual reports or because, working them up in Montréal from verbal accounts, he was able to draw on his own sketchbooks, left over from his forays with the NorthWest Mounted Police eleven years earlier. Again, it is impossible to be absolutely sure, because the work is unsigned. What is evident both in Julien's 1870's work (see once again illustrations 6 and 7) and in these drawings of 1885 (which we will at least attribute to him) is a predilection for keeping separate strands of narrative operating at once. In the middle ground of "Duck Lake...", a dramatic battle is being fought against a distant enemy; in the foreground, soldiers stricken by gunfire are tended to by their comrades. It is an appeal to the reader's sympathy. While the image is probably indeed "from a sketch", it is a highly-organized, dramatic space using verisimilitude to tell an emotion-inducing story about a true event. It would not be out of place in an illustrated book. The methods of illustration-narrative still very much controlled the representation of news in 1885.

These dramatic images from the scenes of battle were, after all, being reserved for the *Star*'s Saturday edition, the one which also contained the serialized weekly stories, the items for family to read at the hearth for the week-end. In modern terms, the War certainly had entertainment value and its illustrated reportage sold papers. If Julien was this mysterious "ex-member of the Mounted Police", one of the five correspondents of which the *Star* boasted on April 9, perhaps it was inappropriate to draw attention to him - even though to do so had clearly been in the *Star*'s interests for the Carnival. Perhaps his role was limited to re-working (a common practice with

the work of the “Specials” and was thus not to be announced; perhaps anonymity was preferable - for political or personal reasons? Julien had developed some warm relationships with Riel’s partisans during his time in the North West in 1874 and at least once had apologized for the coverage meted out by the *Canadian Illustrated News*.³⁸

This episode should be classed as an unsolved mystery, but some evidence may be presented to support the idea that the work was Julien’s. The illustrations bear a stylistic proximity to sketches preserved in the collection of the Musée du Québec; although none of these drawings can be definitively linked to first-hand witnessing of the 1885 rebellion, they show a similar deployment of the male physique and demonstrated his special skill at the depiction of horses, a skill which was even evident in his earliest illustrations for the *Canadian Illustrated News* before he had entirely overcome the mannered depiction of the human form. In particular, two of these

³⁸ Julien kept two letters which describe these relationships and the “backtracking” he had to undertake. The first is from Joseph Gurthor in St Boniface, 11 February 1875: “Mon cher Julien/ Je suis très heureux, il y a quelque temps, de recevoir de vos nouvelles par la lettre que vous daignates m’envoyer... [2 pages follow on the Gurthor family, including the death of one young child and the recent birth of another] Vous m’avez recommandé d’aller à la Poste Office [sic] et de vous renvoyer des lettres si vous en aviez... vos lettres étaient déjà reparties. Pas de nouvelles importantes à vous apprendre; vous devez d’ailleurs être instruit aussi bien que nous des affaires du Manitoba. *Nous sommes fiers de la sage politique du Gouverneur Général qui a changé la peine de Lépine en deux ans de prison.* [emphasis added] Ça fait deux fois que je vais le voir, il est aussi gai et a autant de courage que n’importe quand, on dirait même pas qu’il est en prison. J’aimerais à vous donner des nouvelles du Docteur Kittson, mais vous avez été peut-être plus chanceux que moi, car je n’ai pas entendu parler de lui depuis qu’il est parti...”

Dr. Norman Kittson wrote to Julien on 27 March 1875: “Mon cher Julien, Ta lettre datée 12 mars est arrivée que ce matin, les voies du N. Pacific R.R. sont bloquées depuis trois semaines - Sur la question du journal je t’assure en toute sincérité que je ne t’attache aucun blâme. J’ai le journal sur ma [illegible] mon frère me l’a envoyé il y a quelques jours. [illegible] n’était pas autorisé d’agir comme il a fait, du tout, mais je ne peux le blâmé non plus [C’est son] zèle pour le bon nom et l’intégrité du [Canadian Illustrated] News qui l’a stimulé, ne pense pas que ce qu’est arriver [sic] fera aucune différence dans notre amitié. Non, pas du tout, moi aussi j’espère de te serrer la main l’an prochain. En vertu de ma sincérité j’su[?] un petit billet que t’auras la bonté de passé à Mons. Debaras après l’avoir lu...”

The letters are in the fonds Julien, NAC MG 29 D103 v.1.

images are very close to Julien's sense of composition and to his love of foreground anecdotal content which creates secondary narratives.

Such are the front pages of the *Star* for April 18 and 25, 1885. The first presents "Refugees in the North-West fleeing to the towns for protection..." (Illus. 17) Our sympathy is gathered up in the family groups of innocent casualties of the conflict. Julien places different centres of human interest on either side of an armed figure who extends a helping hand to a family behind him - a man and woman on either side of a child, the man returning the armed figure's gaze, the woman looking off to the middle distance before her - effectively, outside of the picture, and implicitly in our space. Further along, one dog looks back to another to see if it is catching up. The second image shows "The Rebels drilling under Dumont" (Illus. 18); Dumont's commanding presence is affectionately parodied by the presence of a young lad in middle-ground, who is himself gently admonished by a female figure. The "troops" all strike poses in different degrees of alertness, relaxation and calm stoicism. One Métis soldier talks to another. Perhaps this is not a crack unit; perhaps absolute discipline does not reign. But we are not invited to feel opprobrium. The "commanding child" shadowing Dumont resolves the image's themes of a certain nobility blended with all-too-fallible heroism and the innocence of childhood. Above all we are focused on the lived experience of the participants in these events. Julien did the same for *L'Opinion publique* on 12 July 1877 in a report on the dock-workers' strike, involving us in the strikers' discussions in the foreground, in parallel to the consultations of soldiers in the middle distance, barring entry to the Port buildings (Illus. 19).

There is also a posthumous reminiscence that places Julien in the West in 1885. Although it is a lone source and has not yet been corroborated it comes from Fred Yorkston, the editor of the sister weekly paper the *Standard* that the *Star* established in 1905 (although it was not officially presented as a stable-mate, it got much of its material from the *Star*, and was published by the "George Murray Publishing Company"). Yorkston may be the "One Who Knew Him" who signed an obituary as F.Y. in the *Star* the day after Julien's death. Yorkston recounted in 1935 an anecdote of Julien's that ostensibly allows us to identify him as the artist for the 1885 rebellion drawings.

That great Canadian artist, sportsman and gentleman, the late Henri Julien, used to tell me that the only time he was really frightened for his life was during the Riel Rebellion when he accompanied the expedition to make sketches for the Montreal Daily Star, the first work of the kind undertaken by any Canadian newspaper.

Julien, having been thrilled by stories of Indian scalping, would be with colleagues in "lonely and unsettled country and Big Bear and Poundmaker had tremendous reputations". It was cold; travellers had rolled into blankets and sleep when sudden gales and windstorm cam up, knocking down tents; and then a calvacade of horses' hooves came bearing down. Julien thought 'My scalp is gone' , continued Yorkston, and quotes Julien:

- 'an entire troop of horses galloped right over my tent and not one of them touched me. When the noise died down a bit I went out and investigated. I found that there were no Indians. The wind storm had threatened our horses and they had stampeded... For me', concluded Mr Julien, ' that was the big event of the war. I was never frightened before and I have never been

frightened since."³⁹

Yorkston identified this as 1885 elsewhere in his text, and it is certainly true that Big Bear and Poundmaker were notable figures in the Rebellion. And yet without a second source to corroborate this account, caution dictates that a decision be reserved for the moment.⁴⁰ Julien could have been in the West in 1885 and more easily returned the drawings week by week through the railway system which took troops out, although it is difficult to see how he could have repeatedly and swiftly bridged the gap between railway and "front line". On balance we must conclude that he was in Montréal drawing up the illustrations for the *Star's* front page on Saturdays with the help of telegraphic or pencil "sketches". The sources and vocabulary of illustrated news-reporting are in any case rife with confusion at this time,⁴¹ which is ironic given that Riel has reached

³⁹ *The Standard*, July 7 1935, pasted into MG29 .D103 vol 2: 38.

⁴⁰ Other, more tenuous possibilities exist; it could be that a "6 month engagement in New York" which Barbeau asserts took place in 1885 (Barbeau 1941: 38) was in fact an absence, due to this assignment, whose duration and location were embroidered, or mis-remembered by Julien's daughters. It may also be that Julien provided Yorkston with an anecdote of his time with the NWMP in 1874, and that Yorkston's memory has conflated it with the personages associated to the 1885 rebellion.

⁴¹ These words that indicated the newspaper's ability to picture the world - sketch, photograph, portrait - belong to a semantic grey area, for the boundaries between the written and visual concepts associated to them were easily crossed.

Thus in the *Star* of April 9, 1885, on page six, RIEL'S FIRST CABINET. /FROM A PHOTOGRAPH KINDLY LOANED THE STAR BY MR. GEORGE CORISTINE bears all the hallmarks of a photograph over which line work has been laid in order to permit photo-lithography for press printing. Interestingly enough, in none of the half-page illustrations which decorate, for the most part, page one of each successive Saturday edition of the *Star* until June 1885, was there any attempt to depict Riel himself by this artist whom we may accept as Julien. Representations of Riel being limited to the repeated use of a stock line-engraving as a small spot-illustration, it was not until he surrendered that a new image of Riel appeared in the *Star* at all.

RIEL AT REGINA./ The above sketch of Louis Riel taking exercise at Regina, is by Mr. Buell, photographer, at Regina, and is the only portrait, picture or sketch of Riel which has been taken within the last year. Capt. Deane, the officer in charge of Riel, had orders not to give any one access to him, and carried them out to the letter. Mr. Buell's sketch was made from occasional views of Riel as he paced to and fro, but it is said to be a perfectly accurate one (the *Star*, July 18, 1885, p. 6).

iconic status in Canadian history.⁴² The bulk of Julien's output in this time consisted of straight commercial graphic design and illustration work for Burland's Lithographic Company. There were no further illustrations from Julien's pen in the *Star* until the fall of 1887.

In the meantime, the *Star* satisfied itself with portraits from the studio of John Wiseman who advertised on 20 July:

To the commercial public./In passing the "Star" office you will notice that the Grand Display of Decorations in honour of our Brave Volunteers quite obscures the sign of James L. Wiseman, Engraver and Desgner. Who has made all the Portraits published in the "Star" during the North-West Rebellion.

The accuracy here must be largely measured by symbolic means. In a sense, The *Star* laid claim to the best possible information on the War by the simple fact of being able to reproduce drawn images. *Riel at Regina* bears traces of having been a reasonably crude woodcut. Or else it is a superlatively faithful wood-cut rendition of a crude sketch; Mr Buell was a photographer, but his image may not have been a photograph. We do not sense that a photograph informs this image in the sense that it does *Riel's Cabinet*. By the time *Riel at Regina* appears, the focal points of the NorthWest Rebellion have shifted to the impending trial of Riel, which French Canadian leaders expect to end in Riel's hanging, and to the return home of the contingents which fought the rebels; on the same day, English Montreal was bracing for the return of the city's own 65th Batallion. The following Saturday was to be a civic holiday.

The final image of Riel to appear in the *Star* was an autograph message to the paper's readers. On Thursday 20 August, the *Star* disclosed that Riel had given its correspondent an autograph message; the time it took to prepare the lithograph for publication was "our reason for withholding it to [Saturday]." Sure enough, on Saturday 22 August, appeared the image of a handwritten note on a memorandum stationery of the North-West Mounted Police.

To the Readers of the *Star*. I have devoted my life to my country. If it is necessary for the happiness of my country that I should now cease to live, I leave it to the Providence of my God. Louis Riel.

The *Star* evidently believed that added circulation would come from combinations of words - the reproduction being titled *Riel and the Star*. No further previously-unpublished images of Riel appeared. On Saturday 29 August (p.3), another photograph from Buell of regina was published. The *Star* comments that he has "succeeded in getting several excellent pictures, by means of the instantaneous process, of Riel addressing the jury". Riel's address to the *Star* was to be reprinted on November 17th, the day after his hanging at Regina. The meeting at the Champs-de-Mars two days later, which launched Honoré Mercier's Parti National and condemned the Québec ministers of the Macdonald administration as traitors, was reported in the *Star* for Friday 20 November as "The Riel Agitation".

In none of the images of the remainder of the Riel affair do we detect, as we almost certainly do in the Spring 1885 illustrations, the hand of Henri Julien. If his work was unofficial, or unsigned because done on the sly, outside of contract, if the *Star's* artist grew averse to the representation of Riel, we cannot say. Each of these hypotheses must colour our reading of Graham's eventual contract with Julien, which demanded exclusivity.

⁴² On this point see Albert Braz's "The image of Louis Riel", in the journal *Avancer (Beyond the Postcard: Missing Snapshots of Canada)* (Peterborough, Trent University, 1997): 6-14.

It certainly did not take up the challenge of replacing the *Canadian Illustrated News* in any way (an idea that was being mooted in Conservative circles, as we have seen), and it did not provide illustrated coverage of the other major events of 1885. The Smallpox Epidemic, in which the *Star* vigorously championed the vaccination of Montrealers, encountering the fierce resistance of much of French Montreal (although it had the support the Mayor, Honoré Beaugrand), just like the great assembly of November that followed Riel's hanging, had no visual presence in the *Star*, even though Julien had proved adept at dealing emblematically with the presence of this and other diseases in a grim caricature for the *Canadian Illustrated News* published ten years earlier (**Illus. 20**) The Riel material vanished altogether from the *Star*'s memory by the time the Historical Sketch was published in 1910 - unlike its action on the Smallpox Epidemic which the "Sketch" trumpeted loudly.

Perhaps these absences were partly due to the continued difficulty Graham encountered in planning consistent illustrated coverage, as exemplified by the Rebellion material, without the right equipment. In the following year the *Star* again upgraded its technology, purchasing two Scott perfecting presses which dramatically increased its production.⁴³ The publication of illustrated editions of any kind was a risky venture in Canada at the time and it may be that Hugh Graham may have conceived, at first, of illustrated series which would represent finite periods in the annual life of the *Star* and be susceptible to the best efforts of his production and sales

⁴³ Rutherford (1983): 52. This is a quote from *The Montreal Star, A Souvenir of Montreal's Greatest Newspaper*, nd: 29.

teams.

Commemorating the 1837 Rebellion

Thus Julien reappeared in force with a huge illustrated project that took over the newspaper and appears to signal the inevitable harnessing of his fortune to that of Hugh Graham. On Saturday September 17, 1887, the *Star* announced what would be a serialized history of the 1837-38 Rebellion.

War! War! Our Fathers Fought And Bled Just 50 Years Ago!
 Around Canadian firesides this autumn and winter there will be told by living actors in the bloody scenes, thrilling stories of the Rebellion of 1837, personal reminiscences of those stirring times, graphic descriptions of the battles, the skirmishes and the exploits which our fathers planned and fought.

Absorbing inner histories of deep-laid plots, cunning stratagems, bold adventure and hair-breadth escapes, an unwritten history of the Rebellion of '37 by actors on both sides and from both standpoints. The whole has been secured by the Montreal Star, and will appear this autumn and winter (in the regular edition) with two hundred illustrations..."⁴⁴

Twice a week, starting on Wednesday September 28 and continuing to December, the *Star* turned the 1837-38 rebellion over to the land of long-ago romantic exploits à la Walter Scott. It published page-long, half-page-wide instalments of this on series Wednesdays and Saturdays, or Tuesdays and Thursdays, and the paper became a double (8-page) issue with the given instalment printed entirely in French on page 3

⁴⁴ By Monday October 10, the *Star* could draw an interesting parallel: "During the past ten days the circulation of the *Star* has increased by a larger number than during any similar period in fifteen years, except the year of the North-West Rebellion. On Saturday last it turned 30,700, straining our distributing facilities to the utmost. To be in a position to meet any increase without delay in delivery we have decided to add another lightning press to our present stock." By December 22 the *Star* offered for sale "the entire equipment of the *Star* press room and stereotype room" in order to make room for "faster machinery, to meet the growing circulation of the *Star*" which then stood at a daily average of 28,813 on the previous week; 31,313 for the Saturday edition (figures reported from the *Star* of 22 december 1887).

and in English on page 6. Each instalment carried 9 to 10 illustrations which, unsigned and small, have Henri Julien's hallmarks of fine line-work (an inventive and easy line harnessed to a naturalistic representation, organized with very little evocation of shadow or depth owing to the illustrations' placing as spots within a large text). They also pepper the pages of the posthumous scrapbooks kept by his family. Further illustrations which appeared later in the series are more akin in scale to those which accompanied the 1885 illustrations.

The 1837-38 Rebellion series (see *Illus. 21* for an example from October 1, 1887) was overtly presented as a picaresque supplement and commemoration: "a turning point in Canadian history" and not as a recording of a current event. Yet it was plainly a current event indeed: "all these narratives are taken at first hand", explained an editorial in November, "with the view of getting at the truth from both sides, and the whole is so edited as to set down facts without offending anybody".

5. Henri Julien, the *Star's* Artist, 1888-1908

It was also the turning point for Julien and Graham, who had been hovering near one another for some time. On April 18 1888, a letter outlining terms of a contract is sent to "Henry Julian esq" by Hugh Graham. On April 25, 1888, he adds:

Dear Sir -/replying to yours of the 23rd-/I can make the following amended offer - I will give you forty dollars (\$40) per week with two weeks holidays once a year, you drawing your pay as usual. I am willing to make a four years' engagement./About the privilege of working in spare time on book work, I think it would not be well to have that inserted in the agreement although you would find me willing to accommodate you in this matter in every way as practicable./Yours truly,/Hugh Graham/To Henry Julian Esq., Burland Litho. Co.,

Montreal.⁴⁵

On 4 May 1888, an announcement was made in the *Star* that Julien was to illustrate "Mr Fréchette's latest poem *La Légende d'un Peuple*", signalling Julien's desire to move into the field of book illustration, just as Graham's letter suggested. On 7 May, Julien made up his mind, and wrote to E. G. O'Connor, by then a manager at Burland's. He resigned his position effective 2 weeks from the date of the letter, offering to delay departure "although at a loss to myself".⁴⁶ On the same day, the *Star* sent him its definitive contract. To be in effect from 2 July 1888 to 2 July 1902, the contract laid out terms for an exclusive engagement with Graham & Co., prohibiting "any artistic work, drawing or sketching for any firm, corporation or individual other than the said firm of Graham & Company" unless special permission was obtained. Pay was to be \$45 weekly, with vacation of 2 weeks each year, but at the discretion of the Company; hours nine to five except Sundays and local holidays. Julien must undertake any overtime required without compensation. A written amendment was added: any free time that should occur during working hours "shall be allowed him to use at his own disposal for his private business".⁴⁷

Julien remained with the *Star* until his death on September 17, 1908. The scale of pay in 1888 compared well with the \$40 weekly accorded to the editor of *La Presse*

⁴⁵ MG 29 .D103 vol 2: 8, where both the letter of April 18 and that of April 25 are entered.

⁴⁶ MG 29 D103 vol 2: 10, Julien to E. G. O'Conor, 7 May 1888.

⁴⁷ MG 29 .D103 vol 2: 28.

in 1899.⁴⁸ The day-by-day survey of his work for the *Star* over his 20 years with the firm discloses the patterns of illustration that Graham had in mind. Julien was used above all as a visual reporter and, we may imagine, as coordinator of the other employees in his department (which grew to at least four people, judging from photographs in the Julien scrapbooks that were taken after Arthur Racey joined the paper in 1899).

Julien's impact on the paper coincided, sure enough, with renovations it had planned. He was the right man at the right time, an agent of the paper's carefully-evaluated change. On 23 February 1889, the *Star* celebrated its 20th anniversary with illustrations of its offices, its new premises and, on page 4, the Artists' studio (**Illus. 22**):

In this room are designed the pictures and illustrations of various kinds that adorn the pages of our special numbers. The STAR has made a feature of this class of work and has artists, under Mr. Henry Julien, especially employed in making sketches for its columns. Illustrated daily journalism is comparatively new in Canada, but it has become quite popular on the other side of the border. It is a distinct advance in the daily journalism of the age, and no paper with any pretension to enterprise can afford to be behind in a matter of this kind. The sketches and designs are executed by the best artists in America, and are turned out with great promptness and skill. The STAR is now fully equipped for the production of illustrations and is abreast with the leading journals of the continent in the means at hand for the correct and speedy transferring of faces and scenes to paper.

Julien played genial host to cartooning colleagues, reprinting John Wilson Bengough's cartoons from the *Globe* or *Grip* almost weekly from January 1892 through April 1894 and, later on, giving way after eleven months in 1899 to Arthur Racey as daily

⁴⁸ De Bonville (1988): 163.

political cartoonist. Julien had warm relations with both, especially Racey who subsequently revered Julien's memory. At his death Julien's career as a caricaturist or cartoonist was diminished by some writers who claimed that he had never really been a "true" caricaturist. Certainly, after Bengough's contributions ceased, Julien did not fill the gap but took up the life of Parliamentary reportage, travelling to Ottawa each year for the sittings of the House of Commons. Extensive series of these expert black-and-white swift psychological studies brought the oratorical action of Ottawa home to the *Star* readership every day that the House was in session. Julien conceived of each series as a separate entity, seeking a new angle or graphic thread each year. The Conservative *La Minerve* commented on this work in September 1896:

"Hier, notre confrère anglais le "Star" a régalé ses lecteurs d'une série de silhouettes, prises sur le vif, de l'honorable M. Laurier, de Sir Charles Tupper et de Sir Richard Cartwright.... les remarquables vues d'ensemble de la Chambre des Communes. Ces croquis artistiques charment la vue et font un heureux contraste avec les affreux gribouillages que donnent habituellement la plupart des journaux".⁴⁹

This phase of Julien's work was political portraiture rather than cartooning. It began just before the end of Bengough's guest stint, in March 1894, and was titled simply *Scenes in Parliament*, running from April 5 to June 30. They reappeared for the period April 24 - July 15 in 1895 and resumed again on August 20 1896, with the opening of Parliament under a new Liberal Government, featuring first of all large-scale compositions purporting to show Wilfrid Laurier, Conservative leader Sir Charles

⁴⁹ *La Minerve*, 3 Sept 1896, Musée du Québec bibliographic file.

Tupper, and the Speaker of the House, ceremonially addressing the Chamber, before settling in to a pattern of inked sketches from the Press Gallery showing Members of Parliament in oratorical flight. There were frequent references to the drawings as representations in their accompanying captions: they were "wonderfully true pictures" of Parliament made by the *Star*'s team of artists (September 19:8-9); or they were "kinetographed," or "snapshots." The allusions to instant photography and its capacity to record movement lent symbolic weight to the illustrator's role, to "turn out" images with "great promptness and skill". They also show that the technological capacity of the newspaper was biding its time until photography could fulfill this purpose itself. The "snapshot" was hinted at as long ago as the 1885 "instantaneous"-process sketch taken by Dr. Buell at Regina (see note 40 above); and the *Star* printed in 1891 a photograph of the committee investigating Joseph Israel Tarte that was enhanced by drawing, its source being acknowledged as a "'Kodak' photo taken by a West Ontario member a little touched with the amateur photographic craze."⁵⁰ Thus is the transitional nature of Julien's career with the *Star* measured: in August 1899, a few months before joining the *Star*, Arthur Racey printed a caricature of Julien in the *Daily Witness* titled "A Snapshotter Snapshotted".⁵¹

Julien continued his increased output in 1897, his signed drawings now joined by those of R. G. Mathews. This series bore no overall title such as "Scenes in

⁵⁰ *Montreal Daily Star*, August 11 1891: 4.

⁵¹ Reprinted by Guilbault (1980: 38) as an *Auto-portrait* in the collection of Laurent Allard, Julien's grandson. Racey's drawing appeared in the *Montreal Witness* amid coverage of the summer's sailing club Cup race on August 4, 1899 as "A Snapshotter Snapshotted". The clipping is in the family scrapbooks, MG 29 D103 vol 3: 7.

Parliament". In February of the following year he began his celebrated *Lights and Shadows of Parliament* in which the Member of Parliament speaking is depicted "shadowed" by his opposite number (Illus. 23). In all of these *sorties*, which graced the pages of the star three or four days a week from February through May, Julien might contribute from two to six finished works every day. It was really from this period that Julien truly took on, for a season at a time, the mantle of "daily illustrator" for the *Star*. It must be said that much unsigned reporting work also appeared in the months outside the sitting of the House of Commons and Julien also undertook many of the grander official events in the Montreal calendar. In 1899, Julien concentrated on the political cartoons, the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* and the subsequent works that lead up to the campaign against Laurier over the Boer War, and contributed almost no reportage from Ottawa. The *Songs* present a further variation on the theme of light and shadow, and their full meaning is explored in the following chapter. A pattern that might usefully be highlighted is the persistence of the model of a special campaign of illustrations being undertaken each year which dates back to Julien's earliest appearances in the mid-1880s *Star*. His signature became much less visible in 1900, election year in Canada, whereas Arthur Racey truly became the *Star's* daily cartoonist. Julien returned with the *Scenes in Parliament* in 1901, and thereafter fairly withdrew from the limelight. The *By-Town Coons* were reprinted in 1904 (another election year); Julien returned to Ottawa in 1905 with *Scenes from the Parliamentary Committee Rooms* from January through March. Otherwise, Julien kept to commercial or political banquets, to Conservative demonstrations or speeches, and to major news

events in Montreal and Quebec. In the summer of 1906 he contributed illustrations to works by Walter Scott, and continued with reportage of official events in 1907. His final great series in the pages of the *Star* came in July 1908 with his illustrations of the activities at Québec City for the Tercentenary. In September he was again reporting from banquets when he suddenly died, on Thursday the 17th.

It is probably true that, for Julien, the real story of the years after 1899 lay with his career as an illustrator of French-Canadian life and legends for writers like Beaugrand and Fréchette and for the *Almanach du Peuple*.

There was evidently also a hierarchy of images in the pages of the *Star*, with the commonplace reporting divided between Julien and his colleagues, sometimes but not always signed, sometimes works of collaboration. "Sketches," verbal or otherwise, from other sources, might be reworked into visual presentation; Julien was known to need only a description of an event in order to present it persuasively. The world was presented to the *Star's* readership through the filter of an artist whose fundamental visual understanding was according to type. Julien's pen became swifter and swifter and came to symbolize immediacy and accuracy regardless of their relationship to a depicted event, and he also symbolized the exemplary value of an artist who, somewhat heroically, could accomplish in seconds what others cannot begin to describe.

In a sense, Julien's importance for the paper lay with his collectability on a daily basis. He was a performer and, as parliamentary artist, he was especially a visual columnist. Politicians of the 1890s understood the value of the newspaper artist, and

encouraged his proximity. Journalist Marc Sauvalle of *La Presse*, writing in the pages of the 1916 *Album*, remembered a triumph.

Son ambition suprême avait été longtemps d'arriver à une séance, suivant l'expression consacrée "sur le parquet de la Chambre" et de pouvoir ainsi examiner de près ses modèles au travail. Sir W. Laurier ayant eu vent de ce caprice d'artiste arrangea la chose avec l'orateur d'alors: on ferma les yeux sur le règlement et on affecta de ne pas voir le dessinateur qui, embusqué au pied du dais, ne perdait pas une minute [...] Je tiens de Julien lui-même que cette journée-là fut une des plus délicieuses de sa carrière artistique.⁵²

Julien's ten years of reporting with the *Montreal Daily Star* paved the way for his return to cartooning in 1899, when this knowledge of the politicians was put to the service of Hugh Graham's politics. This "collaboration" concluded equivocally after eleven months with Julien exiting in rather short order from a set of tasks that initially brought him another good measure of recognition. In the world of Hugh Graham, there seems to be difficulty when carefully established professional or organisational boundaries are crossed, and the story of the 1899 cartoons is partly the story of a gamble that fit and broke established patterns for both artist and publisher.

⁵² *Album Julien* (1916): 49.

Chapter 4. Henri Julien's 1899 Cartoons

1. Political Framework for the Year

For Hugh Graham, 1899 was the year of decisive change in emphasis as he permitted a direct expression, through the pages of the *Star*, of his desire to influence the fortunes of the Conservative Party. He implicitly made himself the ally of Sir Charles Tupper, whose own record suggests an affection for intrigue that matched Graham's.

Tupper had taken the Conservative leadership through a secret and tortuous deal concluded with then-Prime Minister Mackenzie Bowell in January 1896.¹ Tupper then led the Conservatives to the June 1896 election - alas for him, the moment of Wilfrid Laurier's long-awaited victory.² In Julien's *reportage* for the fall of 1896, Tupper was presented triumphantly entering the House of Commons as Leader of the Opposition, belying the intense hatred and suspicion many in Conservative circles felt for him.³ Graham had, oddly enough, flirted briefly with the Liberals in early 1896.⁴

¹ Having served as Canadian High Commissioner in London since 1883, Tupper returned to Ottawa in December 1895 while Bowell's government was presenting legislation to remedy the infringement of Catholic rights in Manitoba's schools - rights guaranteed by the British North America act but abrogated by Manitoba in 1890. Following the Speech from the Throne on January 2 1896, the seven Protestant members of Bowell's fourteen-man cabinet resigned, ostensibly because Bowell had not put in place a Québec lieutenant for his Cabinet. Their eventual return to ensure passage of the remedial legislation was secured against Bowell's agreement to surrender the leadership to Tupper at the close of the session in April 1896. In the event, thanks to adroit filibustering by the Liberals, the legislation died on the order paper.

² The sense of Tupper's dashed hopes is ably recounted by Robert Rumilly in *Histoire de la Province de Québec* Vol 8 (Montréal: Fides, 1977): 13-15.

³ See Joseph Schull, *Laurier: The First Canadian* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966): 294-295.

⁴ O. D. Skelton, in his *Life and Letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*, discussed "Hugh Graham, the proprietor of the Montreal *Star*, which had then the largest circulation of any English newspaper in Canada, and who, after some preliminary coquetting with the Liberals in 1896, had fought them by every means, and fought them again in 1900, with ill success but with what consolation could be derived from the memory of having done more than

He plumped for Tupper with a lone editorial cartoon (not from Julien's hand) just two weeks before the election.⁵

Thus, when Henri Julien's *Songs of the By-Town Coons* appeared beginning in January 1899, they were the first political cartoons to consistently support Graham's political interests. Although the *Star* had republished J. W. Bengough's work in 1890-93, this was the certainly the first instance of a direct connection between cartoons and prevailing tone of the paper's editorials. They allowed the *Star* to set up a basis for comparisons, a moral choice for the reader. The Liberals, they claimed, had taken up Conservative policies; not only had they infuriatingly abandoned a policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the United States (hardly surprising, since it had been such a vote-loser at the 1891 election), but the Liberals had also developed a policy of Imperial Preference with Great Britain, tasting glory and almost universal approval in the glow of the Diamond Jubilee of 1897.

Two years later, Graham's *Star* effectively sought to play out over the year 1899 a taste for revenge on behalf of itself and the Conservative Party by casting the Liberals in quintessentially parodic formulae. The campaign that evolved beginning with the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* really spoke to the tit-for-tat rhetoric of a two-party democracy such as Canada's. Sir Charles Tupper's 1896 missed opportunity of 1896 was tangled in a delicate balance of politics and patronage which had been

any other agency to stamped and discredit the government in connection with the South African War..." Skelton (1971, Carleton Library edition) vol. 2: 86-87.

⁵ The cartoon was by one C. F. Larkins (his lone appearance in the *Star*) and was entitled "Wobbling Wilfrid/A Fixed Policy at Last." *Montreal Daily Star*, June 15 1896: 8.

cradled in Conservative hands since Confederation. The Liberals' long wait for power, crowned with victory at Ottawa in 1896 and at Québec City in 1897, was the result of careful preparation (and not a small amount of clothes-stealing) by Wilfrid Laurier and his "genius", Israel Tarte.⁶

Tarte had a special place as a turncoat in Québec Conservative demonology. A long-standing *bleu* Conservative who defected from his party accusations of corruption, Tarte had joined the Liberals in 1890 in time to assist in, and benefit from, their rise to power, inevitable despite their election loss in 1891 to John A. Macdonald's emotional and final campaign. Tarte helped win over the Québec clergy: he brokered, with Clifford Sifton, Laurier's post-election 1896 agreement with Premier Greenway of Manitoba, which helped settle the vexed separate schools question. He helped mastermind both the federal 1896 victory and that at Québec City for the provincial party one year later. In 1897 he bought through his sons Eugène and Joseph the Liberal daily *la Patrie* from the valiant but exhausted *rouge* Honoré Beaugrand, in order to assure the party's control of a leading Montréal French-language newspaper, and he chipped away at the mildly Conservative independence of the *Star*'s chief rival, Trefflé Berthiaume's *La Presse*. In 1899, Graham is constantly ridiculed in the pages of *La Patrie*: he clearly saw Tarte as an opponent.⁷

⁶ This *sobriquet* is due to Robert Rumilly. In describing Tarte's role in the the provincial Liberal F. X. Marchand's 1897 election victory, Rumilly writes: "Nous avons déjà surpris des lecteurs en écrivant que tarte était l'homme le plus intelligent de son temps. Les persévérants qui liront encore deux ou trois volumes de la présente histoire conviendront avec nous que l'expression était trop faible. Tarte avait du génie. Et Laurier le savait bien."

⁷ Indeed, in 1900, at the time of demonstrations in Montréal by students of Laval and McGill universities over the Boer War, *La Patrie*'s office was stormed by Laval students in search of a British flag to

Indeed Tarte made many appearances throughout 1899 in the *Star's* cartoons (Illus. 29, 42, 50, 53, 56). Therein lies an indication of Graham's strategy, for there is often the residue of some ambivalence in his campaign against the Liberals: indeed, the observance of decorum often prevails, when the *Star's* invective is reserved for Laurier's colleagues rather than for the Prime Minister himself. When the *Star* does attack Laurier directly, the attack thus has even greater urgency. The tug between reserve and assault percolates through the attendant negotiations between style and content that may have been both the responsibility and burden of Henri Julien.

2. The Appeal to Race: the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* (January-April 1899)

When the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* series had come to an end on April 1, 1899, the *Star* immediately reprinted all the drawings in book form.

Le Star vient de publier en fascicule les Songs of the By-Town Coons, une série de caricatures sur le cabinet d'Ottawa. Un simple coup d'oeil jeté sur ces quelques pages vous indique que vous êtes en présence d'une oeuvre d'art. Vous vous direz ensuite n'en déplaise à Messieurs les Anglais, qu'il n'y a qu'un crayon français qui puisse donner ce cachet artistique qu'on ne trouve pas chez les dessinateurs anglo-saxons et vous arriverez comme moi à la conclusion qu'une fois de plus c'est l'ami Julien qui est le coupable.⁸

destroy, and *la Patrie* printed an illustration of the angry students on parade. Graham reprinted this illustration "for the benefit of English Canada."

Tarte eventually fell afoul of Laurier by challenging his leadership in 1902, while the latter was ill in France following the Colonial Conference at London. Laurier dismissed him, and so Tarte returned to the Conservatives in 1903, to little avail: his revival was crushed by Henri Bourassa at a public debate. Tarte had a straightforward understanding of the divisions in Canada, summed up in his letter to the *Toronto Globe* in 1900: "[we] are Canadians to the fullest extent of the word while, on many occasions, you are more British than Canadians." Letter, Tarte to J. S. Willison, November 28 1900, reprinted in R. C. Brown and M. E. Prang, eds, *Canadian Historical Documents Series. Vol III: Confederation to 1949* (Scarborough 1966): 124.

⁸ This text is taken from an unannotated clipping kept by Julien, and preserved in the Julien family scrapbooks at the National Archives of Canada (NAC MG 29.D103 v.2: 34).

From Julien's earliest illustrations and cartoons we have traced the work of an artist who operated, by choice, encouragement and the dictates of his material, along a series of dualities: working in French and English, in black and white, with foreground and background, light and shadow, commenting on the adult with the child, the human with the animal.

Furthermore, Julien came from an artisan French-Canadian *milieu* to work among the social and business *élites* of English Montréal. When we remember that according to Sherry (1987), caricature has its origins as an activity for the initiated, we are beholden to keep in mind the likely audiences for Julien's work at the *Star*, and these audiences' expectations of caricature. The portrait-caricature made popular at the end of the 19th Century by artists working under such monosyllabic pseudonyms as "Ape" or "Spy" are droll full-figure images often accepted, indeed treasured, by their targets. Julien's 1899 cartoons, intended as public persuasion, also fulfilled the role of comic currency for an audience entertaining itself. The care that Julien lavishes on the figures in his drawings is in many ways at odds with the political critiques which they are meant to introduce. In some respects it may be that there is in this very gap that factor, the "cachet artistique" apparently proper to the "crayon français" alone, which implies another readership, in the well-informed and watchful French-Canadian political, business and intellectual circles that could be expected to keep tabs on the *Star's* doings - witness *La Patrie's* constant pursuit of Grahm through its pages.

His images have negotiated their authors and their readers: the condition of each stage of these images' path is founded in the dual and the multiple. We have

stressed an underlying sympathy and compassion in his work. These qualities are engaged and challenged in Julien's 1899 cartoons by the emergent and overbearing voice of Hugh Graham's political alliance with Sir Charles Tupper's Conservative party, which ends up calling into question Julien's lifelong ability to negotiate between forces in tension.

Origins of the *By-Town Coons*

Politics

These cartoons seem for all the world to have been instigated as part of a campaign in aid of the Conservatives' electoral fortunes.⁹ We will remember that *La Patrie*, which belonged to Laurier's Minister for Public Works, Israel Tarte, reported that Graham had been put in charge of the Conservatives' plans for Québec early in the year.¹⁰ Perhaps Laurier and his Ministers were bemused at the energy thrown into the Conservatives' preparations; elected in June 1896, the Liberals could wait until 1901, and indeed went to the polls in November 1900, when they were handsomely returned

⁹ "As an election was now in the near future, Sir Charles plunged again into campaign work [in late 1898...] On March 2, in the Red Parlour of Queen's Hotel, Toronto, he deliberated with Conservative Committee on ways and means for the coming election. Treasurer for subscription funds appointed (Mr. Brock) - Mr Barker requested to be Sir Charles' assistant." (*The Life and Letters of the Rt. Hon. Sir Charles Tupper, Bart., K.C.M.G.* 2 Vols. London, Cassell and Company, 1916: v. 2: 232.)

¹⁰ *La Patrie's* correspondent in Ottawa broke the story of Graham's leadership of the Conservative campaign in its issue of February 9, 1899, page 3: "Je suis en mesure de vous assurer que Clarke Wallace sont [sic] loin de voir d'un bon oeil les tentatives du vieux baronet. Ils prétendent que le "Star" et son personnel ne représentent aucune influence dans la province de Québec, qu'ils ont trompé d'une manière scandaleuse le parti conservateur dans les autres provinces, en 1896. Ils disent tout haut que le seul motif qui ait fait agir M. Graham est son ambition de recevoir un titre honorifique, si jamais le parti Tory remontait aux affaires.

Ceux des ministres avec lesquels j'ai pu converser se déclarent enchantés du mouvement que vient de faire Sir Charles Tupper, en confiant au "Star" la direction de son parti dans la province de Québec."

to power. On the occasion of his defeat in his very own riding of Cape Breton, Sir Charles laid the blame squarely on the issue of race. Sir Charles addressed a valedictory note a few days after the election on November 5 1900.

"To My Political Friends in the County of Cape Breton/... The Prime Minister of Canada is a Frenchman; to this alone he owes the success of his party at the polls. The Conservatives have no quarrel with their French-Canadian fellow-countrymen as such, but French-Canadian Conservatives share with us the regret that the principles of responsible government have been momentarily smothered by an appeal of a French leader to his compatriots as Frenchmen rather than as Canadians.

A triumph of this character is necessarily ephemeral. The Anglo-Saxon Liberals who have unwittingly lent themselves to this despicable cry I firmly believe will do much to retrieve the lost ground and, joining with Conservatives, both French and English, ultimately rescue our Federal politics from its present position."¹¹

In this bitter note (and poor piece of prophesy, since the Liberals remained in power until 1911) we can hear the implication that Liberals - especially those French-Canadian Liberals, for Anglo-Saxon Liberals lend themselves only "unwittingly" to the Frenchman's "appeal to race" - are unfit for power and certainly do not represent responsible government in Canada. In this after-the-moment reflection Sir Charles shows his simple credo: we must retrieve what has been unjustly taken from us by unworthy impostors. His vengeful personality, however, revelled in complicated plotting and hair-splitting oratory. He had manoeuvred his way to the Premiership he had long desired in the dying days of the Conservative era, losing out to Wilfrid Laurier in the 1896 election which he had felt sure would be his triumph, and found in Hugh Graham a willing ally for his efforts to regain the Government - in part because

¹¹ Saunders, *Life and Letters* (1916): 245.

Graham shared many of Tupper's character traits. Graham and Tupper's revenge for 1896 took as its *raison d'être* the idea that Liberals were usurpers. In a sense they were absolutely right. With the help of former Conservative Israel Tarte, Laurier had built precisely the kind of patchwork of accords with all sections of Canadian society - notably the once fiercely anti-liberal Catholic Clergy - that had once been Conservatism's expert domain in Canada. Indeed it was with fluency of language that Wilfrid Laurier won over a majority of Canadians to his party and his ideals.

And so by allying language to the fluid line of Henri Julien, the *Star* proposed a dystopic vision of Laurier's achievements in the *Songs of the By-Town Coons*, exchanging the Liberal Ministers' places from *Lights and Shadows of Parliament* to those of the shadows. The *Star* deployed Laurier and his Ministers as Blackface Minstrels, hoping to attach to the Liberals the comedy, ridicule, and denigration founded in a belief of racial superiority, that North American White audiences associated with the Minstrel Show phenomenon. For over three months Laurier and his Ministers paraded before the *Star*'s readers with songs founded in mock- Gilbert and Sullivan or false-Black and *Habitant* dialects. This theatrical format confirmed the role of newspaper text and layout as a proscenium for the paper's visual imagery, and reinforced the newspaper's capacity for blending the different cultural phenomena for which it acted as an observer of choice to its readership.

Theatre in Montréal and the *By-Town Coons*

The changing cultural climate and the growing importance of theatre itself and

the dialogue between élite and popular forms should be noted, for the two are fused in the parodic mode of minstrelsy and their use in the *Star*. The decades of the 1880s and 1890s saw an explosion of theatrical activity in both French and English Montréal. The *Star* devoted much column space to news of the Theatre, part of an international circuit in which Montreal wished to take its place. The 1880s were marked by investment in theatrical sites by entrepreneurs from Montréal and New York;¹² and this process, further mirrored in Québec by the preference for French imported plays and companies, encouraged nationalist cultural responses in English and French Canada. Jean-Marc Larrue (1981) characterizes the 1890s as "tout à fait exceptionnelle par la quantité des spectacles dramatiques offerts au public, et par le fait que l'activité dramatique francophone s'implante et s'institutionnalise à Montréal".¹³ In fact, while there is a remarkable progression throughout the decade, it is in the year of the *By-Town Coons*, 1899, that "Montréal connaît une fabuleuse explosion de l'activité dramatique." the total number of performances increasing from 1341 to 1835, a leap of 40%, and the repertoire being increased by 111 titles, or by 57%.¹⁴

The choice of the *By-Town Coons* was thus certainly in keeping with the spirit

¹² Montréal soon became an outpost on the American theatrical circuit and it was not long before much of the content of the theatres was governed by a New York group of producers known as *The Trust*. Although in this context the word Trust often denotes the all-powerful corporations and combines which came to the fore in the late 19th century North American economy, the theatrical Trust did organize the content and delivery of theatre in order to provide some measure of stability for performers and producers - which of course meant a homogenized diet for spectators. See Jean-Marc Larrue, "Entrée en scène des professionnels (1825-1930)" in Legris, Renée, Jean-Marc Larrue, André-G. Bourassa et Gilbert David. *Le théâtre au Québec 1825-1980*. Montréal, VLB Editeur, 1988: 25-62. (Larrue 1988).

¹³ Jean-Marc Larrue (1981): 25.

¹⁴ *ibid.*: 31.

of the year. Just before the series began, English Montreal celebrated the opening, on Monday November 7, 1898, of Her Majesty's Theatre, at the corner of Guy and Ste Catherine streets. The theatre was built by a consortium that included Mayor Raymond Préfontaine and the entrepreneur Donald Mann; the opening night was graced by an address from the Mayor and the delivery of a poem by none other than George Murray, literary editor of the *Star*.¹⁵ There was nonetheless trouble in store. Larrue notes that, for English language comedy and vaudeville,

Les auteurs comiques, malgré l'importance de leur production, ne figurent pas sur la liste des dix dramaturges les plus joués à Montréal. Cela tient sans doute à la nature même de la comédie américaine qui est conçue pour une seule saison.

Après de brillants succès, elle sombre généralement dans un oubli permanent bien mérité. Ceci a pour conséquences que si les auteurs-acteurs des troupes Extravaganza Co., Minstrels, Reilly and Woods ont toujours séduit de nombreux spectateurs, ils ont intéressé peu d'historiens.

Le théâtre comique français se comporte différemment puisqu'il repose sur des textes et donc sur des auteurs.¹⁶

There is an irony here in that the commercial circulation of the Minstrels is itself a governing "text," a prescribed way of locating "spontaneity" and textlessness" - a useful comparison for Parliament. As for the French-Canadian cultural *milieu*, Yvan Lamonde and Raymond Montpetit are able to refer to specific instances of Minstrel performances at the Parc Sohmer in east Montreal at the corner of Notre-Dame and Panet:

...les noirs américains, vrais ou par maquillage, chantent fréquemment sur la scène du Sohmer: en juin 1891, on annonce:

¹⁵Franklin Graham (1902): 297-299.

¹⁶ *ibid.*, 49.

"Les nègres de Savannah/ Une troupe d'artistes chanteurs, véritables nègres, donneront une représentation au parc Sohmer ce soir. Ils chantent d'une manière merveilleuse. Allez les entendre et vous rirez." Leur répertoire serait fait de "chansons des plantations", très à la mode à l'époque et repris l'année suivante par les "Dalton Brothers". créateurs des "Two old Darkies" avec des "chansons des plantations et clog dance" et encore en 1893 par le "Quatuor de Minstrels Excelsior".¹⁷

A survey of Montreal English language papers for similar commentary remains to be undertaken.¹⁸

Popular culture and the individuals that constitute a readership in whichever language will only follow the identifications formulated by élites so far. "Allez les entendre et vous rirez:" Minstrel shows were based on broad comedy types. This was entertainment. Based on the same tensions which in the United States had resulted in the Civil War, the Black Minstrel show was perhaps inherently funny to Canadian spectators, and made use of the same deep tensions of racial strife which had

¹⁷ Lamonde and Montpetit (1986): 136.

¹⁸ In 1902, Franklin Graham published *Histrionic Montreal*, which privileged "higher" forms of theatrical expression (echoed in the publication of Julien's cartoon on Sir Richard Cartwright who sees a Ghost à la Hamlet at the time of the opening of the theatrical season in late August 1899; see discussion below, page x). The volume provides detailed accounts of plays and players in the history of Montreal's theatre and briefly corroborates the existence of Minstrel and vaudeville performances in venues from the days of Guilbault's Gardens (at St Urbain and Sherbrooke, 1831-1869) to those of Sohmer Park (1889-1919), so that we do have a sense of a tradition pre-dating the activities of the New-York based *Trust* and indeed reaching back into the era of Julien's childhood and early adulthood. Intended as a truly independent Canadian theatre, *Her Majesty's* soon had to resort to the *Trust* in order to survive. See Graham (1902):29, 37-105.

The French-speaking élite had already built its Monument National as a true *projet de société* under the leadership of L. O. David. Erected on the lower Main (St Laurent Boulevard), partly as a bulwark against English encroachment into Francophone territory, the Monument National was intended to provide a space for the pinnacle of French-Canadian cultural and political endeavours. Built behind schedule and in financial difficulties, it played host to the flourishing of Chinese and Yiddish cultures in Montreal in order to support its chief programme. Thus in both French and English circles, the markets which helped to constitute cultural expression lay beyond the confines of nationalist self-identification. See Larrue (1993) and Bourassa & Larrue (1993) for a comprehensive history of the Monument National and its fate within the history of the boulevard St Laurent, a traditionally blended cultural zone in Montréal.

characterized the American experience in the 19th century.

Iconographic sources in Minstrelsy

What lay behind the format *Julien* and the *Star* adopted? There was a precedent of theatre and politics for an élite audience in Montreal, and it had been treated by *Julien* in the *Canadian Illustrated News* as early as 1880 (see **Illus. 11**).¹⁹ But the Minstrel show was a mass-appeal, American entertainment phenomenon, with a history stretching back to the 1820's circus, becoming one of the first mass-entertainment crazes in American history. White American performers developed the form out of stereotypes of plantation slaves of the American South. Its success in Montréal was fueled by the explosion of commercial theatre from the early 1880's for both French and English audiences and to the growth of open-air entertainment in great public parks conceived as amenities for Montreal's different social classes. And Minstrelsy had an appreciative Canadian audience, whether or not this audience thought of itself as implicated in the traditions of slavery. It was a form of satire that used differentiation based on race to discuss and sometimes defuse every conceivable anxiety that was the stuff of politics. In matters relating to social organisation, group *mores*, sexuality, and political or military power, Blacks were caricatured in extremes that bore no relation to their lived experience. They were ridiculed through a symbolic

¹⁹ Written by W H Fuller, *H.M.S. Parliament* was premiered at the Academy of Music in Montreal on February 16, 1880. The play was a musical send-up of Gilbert and Sullivan's *HMS Pinafore* and was a broad satiric attack on the Government of John A. Macdonald and the Conservatives, and their National Policy. It is an early instance of *Julien* depicting a space that is at once theatrical and satiric. This is an emblematic organisation, processional and decorative, with a selection of scenes assembled in order to convey to the reader the essential qualities and moments of the performance.

re-dispossession from their sense of identity. Above all, Minstrelsy was about its audiences, coping with a swiftly-changing industrialised society. It also provided for sheer entertainment. Minstrelsy was, according to historian Robert Toll,

"not only responsive to its audiences, it was very much like them. It was immediate, unpretentious, and direct. It had no characterization to develop, no plot to evolve, no musical score, no set speeches, no subsidiary dialogue - indeed no fixed script at all. Each act - song, dance, joke, or skit - was a self-contained performance that strived to be a highlight of the show. This meant that minstrels could adapt to their specific audience while the show was in process."²⁰

By the end of the century Minstrelsy may still have provided for such a spirit of spontaneity but it was also carefully packaged and scripted. Black Minstrels were also on the circuit, in companies "owned" by White impresarios, having re-appropriated the stereotypes with which the conditions of slavery and American fears around emancipation had been exploited. In particular, Black Minstrels had stressed anew the importance of Plantation and "Jubilee" or religious song materials. The Plantation song format posited the unhappiness of the Black who has been set adrift from a "carefree" life and "benevolent" ownership under the pre-Civil War social organisation of the South. Minstrelsy thus allowed Black performers to serve up myths about themselves to both White and Black audiences. The *Songs of the By-Town Coons* went further by portraying White politicians in Blackface, and at the same time symbolically transforming its subjects into Blacks, and by giving Graham - and Julien - license to

²⁰ Toll (1974): 45. Minstrelsy also came to serve a political purpose. "It is no accident that the incredible popularity of minstrelsy coincided with public concern about slavery and the proper position of Negroes in America. Precisely because people could always just laugh off the performance, because viewers did not have to take the show seriously, minstrelsy served as a 'safe' vehicle through which its primarily Northern, urban audiences could work out their feelings about even the most sensitive and volatile issues" (65).

deal with a further cross-identification of the Black Minstrel persona to the Liberal politician who has “left his happy home” and gone and upset things that should have been left alone. In French Canadian eyes there may also have been a level of meaning that involved French Canadian Liberals’ relationship to the Catholic Church. All in all, the *Star* proposed a format in these cartoons that would be rife with overlapping possibilities for dialogue.

Of paramount importance was the Minstrel Show’s hemispheric stage presentation on stage, shown just once by Julien in an image published at the close of the series when the *By-Town Coons* were immediately reissued as a portfolio (Illus. 24). At the apex of the semi-circle, furthest from the audience, the *interlocutor* (in this case, Sir Wilfrid Laurier) was effectively the “stage director”, sometimes quietly present, but definitely in control.²¹ He also provided the running commentary and set up most of the gags for the show, calling forth various members of the troupe to take their turns upon the stage. Some would rise and sing, others would remain seated, performing musical numbers or cross-talk repartee routines. John Wilson Bengough had used the format in a cartoon reprinted by the *Star* on March 6, 1891, just following the Liberals’ defeat in that year’s General Election. Curiously, Laurier, although leader of the party, has ceded the place of *interlocutor* in this cartoon to Sir Richard Cartwright, who has indeed been the architect of the Liberals’ (election-losing)

²¹ “As onstage director, the interlocutor orchestrated the loosely structured, heavily improvisational first part to meet the particular audience’s tastes. Although unnoticed by the audience, his talent for knowing when to draw out or cut off his comedians, when to change to a different type of humor, and whether to vary the prearranged musical selections largely determined the difference between a good and a bad first part.” Toll (1972): 53.

policy of unrestricted reciprocity with the U.S. (Illus. 25). Each of the Minstrels has a different musical role. Oliver Mowat and Edward Blake sit as the End-Men in Bengough's *Old Liberal Minstrels*. These were crucial roles:

On the ends of the semicircle sat the greatest stars of most companies, the comedians, Brudder Tambo and Brudder Bones - named for their instruments. Made up to give the appearance of large eyes and gaping mouths with huge lips, set apart by brighter, more flamboyant dress, the endmen contorted their bodies in exaggerated gestures and twisted their words in endless puns in order to keep the audience laughing.²²

Brudders Tambo and Bones are the percussionists, Bones filtering his comedy through the sinister trace of something primeval since he appears after all, to use *bones*. The endmen were the true animators of the show, which had two parts, the first interspersing ballads with rapid-fire punning humour, the second being the occasion for all manner of novelty acts and the stump speech, usually given by one of the endmen. This feature in particular placed the stereotyped Black persona as hopelessly maladroit in grasping any remotely sophisticated knowledge, try though he might to imitate his "betters" on just about any subject which was indeed often a broadly satirized aspect of current affairs and politics.

How did Henri Julien deal with this proposed subject-matter, and what did he think of the task with which he was entrusted? He was certainly receptive to the entertainment value of Minstrelsy. In the pages of the posthumous Album (1916), the *Star*'s former editor Brenton MacNab recalled the artist in action.

"For instance, as we sat together in a theatre, one night, he observed a type

²²Toll (1972): 54

which he was later to use in "The By-Town Coons". As he dashed off drawing after drawing, we enjoyed his performance. They were as much a revelation to us as they seemed to him. Many an evening, as we sat together at Reber's, he decorated the marble-top table with priceless conceits and quips of fancy".²³

McNab also commented that Julien "never forgot his place:" he could be a comrade-in-arms at the Gin Palace, but was strictly onservant of the relationships attendant on employer to employee. McNab also averred that the drawings were sometimes made before rather than after the verses, and that Julien was

"a Liberal - proud of Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He delighted to draw him, and as he worked, he often pointed out to me some little trick of gesture or pose on the part of the Liberal leader. He took much interest in reproducing the graceful poses of his eminent compatriot."²⁴

If we look at Julien's drawings of Laurier in the *By-Town Coons* series, we are indeed struck by this elegance. How did this accord with the *Star*'s overall intentions for the series? Did Julien oppose his delight in visual elegance to the very often denigrating texts which he illustrated? Was he racist himself? In the 1916 *Album*, a text collected from Julien's colleague J. S. Lewis makes the point that

the only concern I ever knew Henri Julien to show over a matter of world-politics had to do with the Yellow Peril. He was firmly convinced that in Japan and China lay a positive menace to Canada and he never tired of pointing out and sketching a Chinaman or a Japanese as "one of our future masters".²⁵

Racial tension was part of Canadian lives. Julien's entire existence was coloured by it; he expressed his hears in therms of a then-visible Asian presence in North America;

²³ *Album Julien* (1916): 12.

²⁴ *Album Julien* (1916): 115

²⁵ *Album Julien* (1916): 33.

and these questions were, as we will see, part of the commentary in the 1899 *Montreal Daily Star*. Julien and the *Star* might not have specifically recognized their fears in terms of a Black population for Montréal. As Dorothy Williams shows in *The Road to Now* (1997), 1880's and 1890's Montréal attracted a small and slowly growing Black presence through the companies that developed railway connections to the U.S.²⁶ These companies co-operated with Canadian authorities in strictly controlling, effectively stopping, the immigration of American Black railway workers' families, although a new community did nonetheless grow up in the area below Windsor Station. It may have felt "safe" to Julien and his readership to use race as a vehicle when the minority group implicated was so small but if so, this would only confirm that such Black Montrealers as there were did not constitute a meaningful audience (for the *Star*) in any way. On this level, at least, Julien's tradition of compassion may have met with the cultural limitations of his time. The compassion is instead directed through his aesthetic approach to the physiognomies of the Liberal ministers. rather than question the association of Liberals to Blacks, he preserves and restores against the purposes of the cartoons' texts the essential physical dignity of his subjects, attempting to work against the negative connotation which the *Star* attempts to confer on the Liberal and the French-Canadian. At the same time his response to the format and entertainment of the Minstrel Show and his long familiarity with the oratory of Parliamentarians made him prone to revel in the series' central metaphor, that the Liberal Front Bench was just the same as the hemispherically-presented Minstrel

²⁶ Dorothy Williams, *The Road to Now* (Montréal: Véhicule, 1997) 38-41.

Troupe. Many long hours in the Press Gallery at Ottawa might ofne have made Julien wish for the politicians below to break into song and dance anyway.

Line and voice: main themes in the graphic and political satire of the *By-Town Coons*

It was, to a certain degree, all Sir Richard Cartwright's fault. In January 1896 he addressed the House of Commons:

We are here, in the presence of the Ottawa Low Comedy Troupe, and should be grateful for the amusement they have offered us. What we have been listening to, after all, has really been a series of rehearsals... we have had a full-dress rehearsal when seven members went out and practically seven came back. Now, these honourable gentlemen being nearly letter-perfect, we can have the rest of the performance, which will not be long delayed, when all of them go out and none come back.²⁷

Fittingly, Sir Richard is the first of the Liberal Ministers to venture forth with a song in 1899, launched the series with "I Cannot Sing the Old Songs" on January 4 1899 (Illus. 26):

I cannot sing the old songs
 'Tis four years since I tried
 Nor hum the tune I used to sing
 Of which the old cow died.
 To sing these songs just now would be
 Most inconvenient.
 T'Would place me in a quandary
 And bust the government. {...}²⁸

Having tuned and played his banjo in accompaniment, Sir Richard has by the fourth

²⁷Schull (1966): 311.

²⁸The *Montreal Daily Star*, Wednesday January 4, 1899, page 12.

stanza bust the strings. He swings the useless instrument over his head in a comic rage. His depicted actions, his attributed words may well serve to demean him. His physique however does not. Despite the burlesque into which he is drawn, Cartwright and all the minstrels who follow are depicted credibly - Cartwright's wrist and hand, for example, carefully seen in their effort to tune the banjo. It is through costume and gesture that they are presented both as buffoons and as usurpers, members of a little parallel world of government that has somehow, unaccountably, taken over, and who will be expelled once their true nature becomes clear. They act out a self-ridicule in the form of a naturalist portrayal, without resort to the *portrait-charge* that exaggerates facial features or to the racist distortions of much Minstrel advertising. Toll (1972) reprints "The Only and Original Coloured Minstrel Troupe" (**Illus. 27**), a group of automatic wind-up toys modelled with stereotyped features of Black Minstrels; the graphic design of this advertisement is, however, strikingly close to Julien's arrangement of four figures in each section of an implied quadrant.

The lower left image of Sir Richard with banjo that appears in the *Star* bears a close resemblance to the "Uncle" figure from a post-1875 poster for *Callender's Colored Minstrels*, again reprinted by Toll (**Illus. 28**) who points out the distortions prevalent in the depiction of all the poster's figures, who have "fang"-like, almost animal teeth. the absence of such sign-posting in Julien's work shows that he takes up these depictions as an ironist, in the strict sense of someone speaking a hidden message, contrary to the one that is apparently given.

It's a reminder that Julien is an artist *trained in the medium in which he works*

and that there is a vast source of imagery available to him to assist in his visual inventiveness, which he then adapts to his own purposes. This method was ubiquitous in the rampant borrowings of source imagery when he was at the *Canadian Illustrated News*. Adaptations and borrowings are the very stuff of art history, particularly with the sometimes abasing and ironic "quotes" made by practitioners such as Edouard Manet (1832-1883), also a close precursor to Julien in the growth of the black-and-white style in the later 19th Century. The cultural influence of French periodical illustration on Julien and his contemporaries needs to be studied, for there may lie the meeting-point with the English satiric and portrait-caricature traditions to which we have alluded.

With Julien's humour not dependent on physical distortion, the sense of caricature and the use of stereotype are transferred in these collaborations from imagery to language. This is most evident in the use of stereotyped *habitant* or Black voices.

Israel Tarte is the first Minstrel minister to be so characterized, in "The Promise of Israel" (**Illus. 29**). He was also among those who purchased the republished album.²⁹ Cast as Brudder Bones, the most primeval of the Minstrels, Tarte is given a song to sum up his history with the Liberal party - the story of the Conservatives' hated turncoat, who has helped Laurier to gain power by a Liberal use of cash in the

²⁹ National Gallery of Canada Archives, Box 5.5 (Exhibitions in Gallery), File 1 Julien (Henri) Memorial Exhibition 1938, Arthur Robillard to the Director, January 4 1938: "...je suis heureux de vous offrir [...] l'album de caricatures dessinées par Henri Julien lui-même, reproduites par le "Montreal Star" et intitulées: "Songs of the By-Town Coons."/Cet album m'a été donnée par J. Israel Tarte, mon cousin, l'un des plus turbulents "Coons" de ce temps-là."

right constituencies. As the second halves of the third and fourth stanzas tell us:

[...]I spen', Bapteme! more money was
 never spen' before
 An' when de nex year come, Hooraw!
 I spen' few million more.
 [...] De parties she can't get along widout
 de Tarte an' Blair
 Becos for w'y? Well! 'lection don't
 Be never mak' wit' prayer.³⁰

The song was subtitled "With Apologies to the Author of 'The Habitant'." This was William Henry Drummond (1854-1907), doctor of medicine and poet. His name adorned a napkin from Reber's Palace kept by Julien.³¹ Compare Tarte's verse to one of Drummond's:

'Victoriaw: she have beeg war, E-gyp's de nam' de place-
 An' neeger peep dat's leev 'im dere, got very black de face,
 An's so she's write Joseph Mercier, he's stop on Trois-Rivières-
 "Please come right off, an bring wit' you t'ree honder voyageurs.'³²

The verses were a sensation, reprinted by George Putnam's in New York, bringing epic visions of rural Québec to life in an imitation dialect which may have seemed naturalistic to its audience, perhaps gently humorous and no more. Yet it is far removed from the blending of French and English in the song "Oh no! we never talk in French!..." that Zoë Julien had long before inscribed in young Henri's commonplace *chansonnier*. Here, sympathetically or not, a French-Canadian identity was

³⁰ The *Montreal Daily Star*, Wednesday January 18, page 12.

³¹ Marius Barbeau noted the Reber's Palace napkin (Barbeau 1941: 8). This item is not in the Julien family scrapbooks at the National Archives.

³² William Henry Drummond, "The Nile Expedition", in Drummond (1912): 42.

paradoxically exalted by being reduced to an outline of phonics and speech - caricatured - and made a commodity, voicing a romantically-imagined wisdom of a rural people, kept rural - kept away from commerce and power. The *Habitant* voice under cover of sentiment drew an intended social boundary. The difficulty - for the verses' contemporary readers and for us today - is that these ways of exploiting ascribed identities quickly become useful and available to many people, including those from the exploited group - witness Black Minstrels' wish to re-appropriate the tradition of Minstrelsy. Drummond's verses were illustrated by Frederick Simson Coburn, to whom Louis Fréchette would turn as well for illustrations to his *la Noël au Canada* when published by Morang in Toronto in 1900 - oddly enough, bypassing his regular illustrator Julien (whom Coburn would insist was the only candidate possible for the then-languishing project to illustrate *la Légende d'un peuple*).³³

Coburn, Drummond, Fréchette and Julien, all friends, perhaps recognized no difficulties in re-combining their partnerships regardless of difference of language. Perhaps all representation of the *Habitant*, whether by an English or a French artist, traded in a manufactured commodity anyway. Yet something decidedly ambiguous emerges from Fréchette's pen when he is asked to contribute an introduction to the reprinting of Drummond's collected verses.³⁴ Fréchette indicates the hazards which he believes Drummond has successfully negotiated, and cordially hands on to him the

³³ The episode is recounted in Guilbault (1980), opening chapter.

³⁴ Drummond published four volumes of poetry in his lifetime with the first, *The Habitant*, having appeared in 1897. An appreciation written by Neil Munro in 1912 for a posthumous collection tells us that "the poems for Drummond's first book were written rather for domestic entertainment than for the world" Drummond (1912): xi.

same compliment that the American poet Longfellow had bestowed on Fréchette in 1863, that he was 'the pathfinder of a new land of song.' He then asks:

'N'est-elle pas, en effet, d'une originalité peu commune, l'idée de prendre un pauvre illétre, de le présenter comme un type national à part, de lui mettre dans les lèvres une langue qui n'est pas la sienne et qu'il ne connaît qu'à demi...[] comment, sans tomber dans la charge ou la bouffonnerie, faire parler systématiquement à ses personnages une langue étrangère, forcément incorrecte dans la bouche de quelqu'un qui l'a apprise par oreille, sans savoir lire même dans sa propre langue?'³⁵

With Julien, the *Star* was putting the mock-voice into the hands of someone who could actually speak its true sounds. He either bit his lip or joined in the fun or - most likely - was sued to a lifetime of doing both. The *bon-viveur* at drinks time, the draftsman performer at the show who was strictly correct back at work, was used to necessary separations.

In graphic line, Julien signalled - if not to the *Star*, then to some necessary audience, perhaps himself, perhaps his many French-speaking readers - that he was not making the symbolic fusion of liberal Minsters to Minstrels. The *Songs*' language took the job up instead. Julien offered up a Tarte dancing with no less gusto than his colleagues. It is difficult to say whether or not there was a measure of self-deprecation at play, and whether or not Tarte, and Julien, as politician and artist, as French-Canadians, were rather more thick-skinned than we might imagine over ninety years

³⁵ Louis Fréchette [1897], Preface to *The Habitant and Other Poems* by William Henry Drummond, reprinted in Drummond (1912): xxi-xxiii. In Evelyn Lloyd Coburn's recent *F. S. Coburn: Beyond the Landscape* (Erin, Ont: Boston Mills Press 1996), the author attests to a true friendship between Fréchette and Drummond ("The Drummond Connection", pp. 39-48). Coburn illustrated Drummond's volumes and was considered by Fréchette for *La légende d'un peuple*, which Coburn declined, recommending Julien as the only artist suited to the task.

later. By the same token we cannot say at what cost a thick skin might be developed. Tarte certainly was vulnerable, being a perpetual political changeling. Perhaps Julien's highly aestheticized drawings coated the satiric pill, and allowed a different, more playful and respectful message, to be tacitly communicated above the more offensive words. If so, this may be the key to Julien's measure of his dilemma in producing all of the cartoons of 1899: that his drawing style afforded a shelter from a political stance to which he was inimical.

It is no accident, then that the invective lies in the language of these cartoons. The languages of the "founding nations," the language of parliamentary opposition - the very *discourse* Maurice Lemire spoke of - is both responsible for the Conservative woes and the arena they choose to fight in. Laurier is definitely the presiding genius of this hateful situation. The tall, confident Laurier whose declaiming postures corroborate the imputation of "utilising rhetoric, [...] profiting by gab" in the "Oratorio by the Government Laurer-ate" has a similar position to Julien's. The Prime Minister is mocked for his use of language itself to conciliate obstinately divergent positions. His success in this measure is not forgiven by his opponents:

I made my way by talking to the Liberal leadership,
And carried the elections by an oratorical trip.
For I am the man with the Silver Tongue,
Also the Sunny Ways.³⁶

³⁶Laurier inadvertently identified himself as the man of the "sunny way" in 1895, according to Joseph Schull: "he recalled Aesop's fable of the blustering wind and the warm sun. Which of them had been able to make the traveller take off his coat? 'Well, sir, the government are very windy. They have blown and raged and threatened, but the more they have threatened and raged and blown the more that man Greenway has stuck to his coat. If it were in my power, I would try the sunny way'." The expression had become a newspaper trademark for Laurier by 1896. Schull (1966): 304, 329.

I've climbed the ladder rung by rung
I've found that talking pays.

The song concludes.

"For I am the Man of Majestic Pose,
Also the Flashing Eye;
I've an understudy of "John A.'s" nose
And affect his blood-red tie."³⁷

Laurier is accused of being a parody of John A. Macdonald - in a setting that is intrinsically parodic. Given the care and skill lavished on the image by Julien, the Conservatives might, in retrospect, have benefited from participation in this Minstrel show.

One of the drawings for this instalment of the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* is lone original drawing from the series that is known to be in a permanent collection. The National Gallery of Canada, responsible for the concerted effort from 1937 through 1942 to track down the original drawings for the *Songs of the By-Town Coons* (discussed in the following chapter), obtained from the Librairie Beauchemin, publishers of the posthumous *Album* of 1916, the drawing that appears in the bottom right corner.³⁸ It allows us to reconstitute Julien's endeavour³⁹. The drawing is pen and ink wash over graphite outline on bristol board (a sturdy card surface) and measures

³⁷The *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday February 4, page 12.

³⁸ The drawing was acquired in 1939 through correspondence between Antoine Valiquette of the Librairie Beauchemin and Harold O. McCurry, Assistant Director of the National Gallery of Canada. This episode is discussed below, in Chapter 5:p.

³⁹ Department of Canadian Prints and Drawings, accession number 4504. Thanks to Rosemary Tovell of the National Gallery of Canada for permission to view this work.

60.7 cm high by 27.9 cm wide. By any standard, this is a big drawing, one that would take up the better part of a drawing table. The drawing's size may be justified by Julien's use of curvilinear cross-hatching to denote the muscles of the face and the appearance of black-face makeup. Laurier's head is roughly the size of the ball of a clenched fist, and Julien's pen-strokes travel its surface with fluidity, opening and closing the nib-span to modulate the resulting ink-lines. It seems as though Julien has chosen a scale which allows his hand to move comfortably over a span sufficient for this cross-hatching to be deployed to its greatest effect. The broad masses of the body are rendered in a simple pencil outline which has been entirely filled with black ink. At the foot of the drawing, Julien has had to add a strip of paper to make room for Laurier's feet. He may well have begun the drawing with the head and built the remainder of the body in a scale that did not properly measure up to the page. Altogether, we get a sense of the man working in his space - judging by photographs in the family scrapbooks, Julien was perhaps five-foot-six or -eight - making images of great breadth knowing full well that they will be reduced to a fraction of their size. The freedom of manipulation his drawings enjoyed at a greater original scale may well account for their liveliness on the printed page. Added to this, Julien made at least four drawings for each number of the *By-Town Coons*. With fourteen "numbers" in all, there must be over sixty drawings still to be accounted for that make up his special contribution to the pages of the *Star* for the first part of 1899.

The remaining figures, Fielding, Scott, Davies, Borden, are treated as "Coons" and are given the mock-Black idioms and pronunciations which were a hallmark of

minstrelsy. It is Fielding, Minister of Finance, responsible for the introduction of the Imperial Preference tariff in 1897, who wears the accoutrements closest to those of Minstrelsy. He is Brudder Tarte Bones' endman companion, the Tambo of Parliament. Interestingly the endmen are thus both connected to the dispensing of financial largesse - and clearly they're not up to the task. Fielding is given the exaggerated feet of stereotyped minstrelsy but Julien has been quite careful to show that they are actually prosthetic and slipped-on, over real feet. Once again, language bears the satiric weight. It is with his song that we are introduced to a "typical minstrel" dialect (**Illus. 31**):

Dis coon done lef' a happy home
 fo' to go to de Capital;
 W'en I j'ined de By-Town minstrel troupe
 I felt quite natural.
 I quit a good job at Halifax; but
 now, ma fren's. I feel
 Dat dere's gwine t'be a heap
 O'trouble fo' t' keep
 Finances on an eben keel.⁴⁰

Laurier had prepared the 1896 election by convincing leading provincial Liberals to stand for the House of Commons, and Fielding was a key representative for the Maritimes, having left the Premiership of Nova Scotia for Laurier's campaign. Sir Louis Davies hailed from Prince Edward Island, to take a turn as Linger Longer Lou (**Illus. 32**):

To Ottawa from Washin'ton de coons am now returned
 A-tellin' all de folks de High Commission am adjourned,

⁴⁰ *The Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday January 21, page 13.

An' dat we'se gwine back aga'n for reciptocit-ee
 W'en de Yankees straighten out dat twisted 'Laskan boundar-ree.

But we ain't! Oh no! now jes' yo' wait an' see!
 Dat's our bluff, right 'nuff, we've still de ole N.P.
 But excuses we mus' frame, as our case am mighty lame
 Fo'a show-down in dis diplomatic game.⁴¹

The Alaskan Boundary dispute, settled by Britain and the United States over the objections of Canada even though the boundary in question was contiguous with the Yukon and British Columbia, taxed the Laurier government as it found it enjoyed limited powers to negotiate foreign treaties. With little ability to participate in its own foreign policy, the Canadian government's reluctance later in the year to participate in Britain's war in the Transvaal might appear to be consistent. At any rate, the government's impotence with respect to the Alaska Boundary could be used as ammunition by the *Star*'s "song"-writer. A longer view is here being invoked; for the Liberals seemed to have little luck where Washington was concerned, having lost the 1891 election to Sir John A. Macdonald over the issue of reciprocity. Yet it was now around foreign policy and the emotional ties to Britain and the Empire that the *Star* was circling. A crucial aspect of this situation lay with Canada's military strength and the colonial relationship between a British command and the Canadian forces whose financial appropriations were the responsibility of the Minister for Militia, Frederick Borden (Ilus. 33). With this figure the *By-Town Coons* series intersected with a classic tenet of the Black Minstrel show, that the very idea of a Black soldier, let alone one in

⁴¹ The *Montreal Daily Star*, March 11, 1899, p. 12.

command, was a cause for ridicule.⁴² Ridicule of the Black Man in a position of mock power incarnated the White's worst fears of revolt and violence; the comparison being all the more odious in the light of the actual distinguished participation of Black regiments in both Canadian and American history. Seemingly empty of military knowledge, Borden declaimed:

Wen Sir Wilfrid came to powah, he glanced thro' all de lan'
 Fo a fus class fightin' niggah; an ses he yo're jes de man
 De bes we am affordin' ain't too good fo' Mistah Borden;
 Jes' put on all de gold lace dat you can[...]
 Oh yo' sho'd hear me sassin' De Gen'ral when he's passin'
 Up an' down de ranks w'en on parade;
 Well he don't cut no figgah Wif dis yer gold-laced niggah;
 I'se de big buck ob de By-Town Coon Brigade!⁴³

Just as Queen Victoria "sent for Joseph Mercier", so Sir Wilfrid "glanced through all the land" and came up with Borden. The comparisons of military prowess articulated a calumny on the French-Canadian, more than once unjustly accused of laziness in the English Canadian press, the case of libel brought by the 65th regiment in 1885 bearing witness to injured pride.

The significance of Davies and Borden's real-life roles point to the coming dilemma for Laurier's government which would again exacerbate nationalist and racial tensions in Canada. Into this cleavage Julien's cartoons of April to November 1899 became implicated, regardless of his own beliefs. So far he too had maintained a

⁴² Toll (1972): pp for discussion of this imagery.

⁴³ The *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday March 25 1899, page 12.

delicate balance. By the same token it was equally vulnerable to the unexpected dénouement of the year, as the stuff of Canadian politics gained the added dimension of Canada's relationship to the British Empire, and Hugh Graham sought to extend his influence farther afield.

3. "Of Telling Power:" Henri Julien's Last Political Cartoons for the *Star*, July-November 1899

The *Star* and preparations for the Boer War

It is as though the work of compromise and accommodation was ever vulnerable to new circumstances which could not have been calculated in their fashioning. As 1899 wore on, the conciliations wrought within Canada by Sir Wilfrid Laurier were confronted to those he had achieved with Britain and its energetic and visionary Colonial Secretary, Joseph Chamberlain, in 1897. The consequence for the latter lay with Chamberlain's eagerness to draw Canada into supporting Britain's claims in the South African Transvaal. Ottawa was sounded out for its willingness to send troops to an eventual conflict with the Dutch Boer states, and the South African British interests led by Cecil Rhodes orchestrated a campaign for support of their cause in the region. Hugh Graham was quickly flattered by the attentions of Rhodes's envoy, J. Davis Allen. Graham and his paper were certainly at the stage where the model of "People's Journalism" had been left behind. He sensed his expanding power, knew what resources were at his disposal, and joined in the Imperialist cause wholeheartedly in

the summer of 1899, providing a tribune once again for Sir Charles Tupper.

Understanding Laurier's domestic political difficulties all too well, Tupper and Graham seem to have worked hand-in-hand from July 1899 onwards. Julien took a break from the cartoons in March 1899 to show Tupper conferring with Conservative organiser Henry Dalby (Illus. 43).

Ironically, Sir Charles Tupper commented on the later cartoons of the year in his 1902 memorandum to the Governor-General of Canada, the 4th Earl of Minto. The memorandum predictably did much to establish his own influence on Government policies, but it also paid tribute to the *Star's* efforts. Tupper recalled the early days of the conflict, when Canada's succour to the Mother Country was by no means assured. The *Star* helped force Sir Wilfrid Laurier's hand in the matter:

"It is no mistake to say that it was a newspaper which saved the honour of Canada and reversed a policy which, if pursued, meant practically the parting at the ways of Canada and the rest of the Empire [...] the cause of those who desired to see Canada's troops lined up on the field of battle with those of the mother-land and the sister-colonies in defence of the common flag was taken up by the Montreal Star, which conducted for the next 10 days a campaign that for vigor and effectiveness has seldom been surpassed in the history of Canadian journalism. The Montreal Star was the only paper in Canada which could have conducted such a campaign with such results... The Star then immediately telegraphed to all the mayors in Canada, asking whether they did not deem it advisable, in the interests of the Empire, that Canada should despatch a contingent of soldiers to aid the British in the South African struggle. It sent similar telegrams to the Commanding Officers of the various militia regiments throughout the Dominion. It interviewed the most prominent people of Montreal, and, through its correspondents, collected the opinions of representative men from the Atlantic to the Pacific. By terse and vigorous editorials, by stirring patriotic verse, by a series of cartoons of telling power, it aroused public sentiment to the importance of the crisis and the necessity for action..."⁴⁴

⁴⁴ National Archives of Canada, Minto Papers, *Memorandum by Sir Charles Tupper on Canadian participation in the South African War* (1902): 28, 31. Carman Miller (1993) refers to a Secret History written

Tupper's 1902 memorandum is too modest, for it pays tribute to the *Star* without recognizing his own appearances, through headline, reprinted speech and emblematic cartoon from the pen of Henri Julien, in the newspaper's exclamations in favour of Canadian participation in the war that inevitably came.

The first "volley" in this second phase of the 1899 cartoons lay with a more traditional target, that of Sir Richard Cartwright, picked on in July at the time of the bringing down of Government estimates. Julien's large-scale drawings appearing over the three days of July 20 to 22, summarized at the opening of this chapter, are somewhat puzzling in that at least one purports to be a reportage from the session of parliament then concluding. This is the other surviving original drawing in a public collection from the entire 1899 series, held by the National Archives in Ottawa.⁴⁵ There are related sketchbook entries for the drawing which may easily stem from any of the sketchbooks kept during Julien's previous three years at Ottawa. There are no other indications that he was a reporter at Ottawa in summer 1899, so that this drawing like its two companions is most probably a commissioned work, pre-planned to deploy Cartwright in the attitude of humbug and smugness with which the *Star* charged him in a ranting editorial on July 20. Just as the news reports were coming in thick and fast over the worsening of talks between Pretoria and London, the Laurier

by Hugh Graham and distributed to leading public figures near the end of the war; Miller's description of the contents suggests a very narrow parallel with Tupper's text, but no source location is given for verification of this coincidence.

⁴⁵ The cartoons are discussed at length in *A Place in History* (NAC 1991): 254-257.

government was bringing the current parliamentary session to a close, speeding legislation through the House and Senate and bringing down its supplementary estimates of expenditure which brought the total budget for the current fiscal year to a whopping \$51,783,893. "MACHINE OIL! Hug the machine!" thundered the *Star* on Wednesday July 19. Contrasting Sir Richard Cartwright's estimates to his speeches in while in Opposition, in 1890 and 1894, the unsigned editorial concluded that they were "Graphic word painting! Impressive oratory! Unmitigated humbug!...

The eloquence of the man who blubbered year after year about the iniquity of extracting thirty-six or thirty-seven millions from the pockets of the farmer and the artisans of Canada was not half so eloquent as the silence of the same man when the Government of which he is a member is extracting forty-three and a half millions [from the same people now...] Was the honourable gentleman a bigger humbug than he is now, or is he a bigger humbug then than he is now? If Sir Richard Cartwright would have his countrymen believe that he was sincere in his denunciations of Conservative rascality, let him wash his hands of Liberal rascality... the fifty-two million dollar budget paves the way for such a carnival of corruption as Canada has never seen.⁴⁶

Henri Julien duly produced the series of three cartoons appearing on July 20, 21 and 22 called "Cartwright and Corruption" (Illus 45, 46, 47). They play on Sir Richard's girth ("was the honourable gentleman a bigger humbug..? ") and show him in 1891, 1899 and 1890 respectively. The image of Cartwright in 1899, appearing on July 21, purports to show Sir Richard seated at his desk, "a peaceful expression ... upon [his] features." This is the only one of the three which is is said taken from a contemporary event; the other two by their ascribed date must be fictitious. Each belongs to the

⁴⁶ *Montreal Daily Star*, July 19, 1899, p. 4

tradition of caricature that uses strong character study rather than grotesquerie for its effect. All three are united by Julien's love of the great black mass of ink - surely he was the morning coat's very own cartoonist.

To have three *cartoons* in as many days - in the hot month of July - from the pen of Henri Julien, was a rare treat for *Star* readers. One imagines a blustering Graham hauling Julien home from vacation to get these cartoons organised. Here was a further shift for the cartoon's role in the *Star*. Julien's *By-Town Coons* were normally reserved for Saturdays or one mid-week day, following an abiding newspaper practice for special visual content (by now distinguished from more routine visual reporting; *La Patrie*, for example, devoted its entire Saturday front page to special illustrations of its major article; these were generally the only ones for the week). This had been the case for Julien on the *Star* as long ago as the Riel Rebellion drawings in 1885 and the 1837 Rebellion illustrations of September-December 1887. The frequency of his political reportage in 1897-98 was far greater; the measured appearance of the 1899 cartoons indicates their unique status in the paper's contents. The three-day cycle is certainly a departure, indicating that Graham would use the power of cartoons more and more frequently - as was the case starting in late August for Julien, increasing to a daily appearance with Racey in November.

The War Campaign

Julien contributed three more cartoons to the *Star* before the campaign to send troops to South Africa got underway. Cartwright made a reappearance on Thursday

August 24, around the opening date of the theatrical season in Montreal, in "Alas! Poor Ghost. /With Apologies to William Cartspeare and Richard Shakewright"(Illus. 48). Here Julien adopted a dense line-shadowing style and eschewed the use of solid black. Sir Richard espies in the gloom of an interior his slightly younger self, and delivers a soliloquy that once more suggests the participation of the *Star*'s literary editor George Murray. The faithful parodic style of the accompanying text is certainly a far cry from the belaboured arguments of the *Machine Oil* editorial. That Graham conducted matters overall is in no doubt. The similarities between the cartoons that follow lead to speculation on the subtlety of his planning on the Boer War question.

This question invoked Britain's imperial ambitions under a Conservative-Unionist government. with which the politics of Hugh Graham and Sir Charles Tupper were in sympathy. At this time , Sir Charles was in England. Hugh Graham cabled to him on August 25.

Surely something more than passing resolutions should be done here to strengthen British Government's hands. If idea commends itself to you, say to the proper persons that you know one in Canada who would gladly make such offer to provide for dependents killed or wounded as would likely induce raising Canadian regiment for Transvaal if needed.

H.G.

Sir Charles duly sent Graham's message along to Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain.

August 26, 1899.

My Dear Mr. Chamberlain,

I enclose you a cable received yesterday from Mr. Hugh Graham, the proprietor of the Daily Star of Montreal, one of the most influential and widely circulated papers in Canada. Mr. Graham is a gentleman of large means and great public spirit. The inauguration and management of the famine fund for India was

entirely due to his efforts. You can rely confidently upon his generous offer being carried out to the fullest extent... (says that with HG's help Col Sam Hughes could easily raise regiment).

Chamberlain replied from the Colonial office on August 29th.

My Dear Sir Charles Tupper, -I thank you heartily for your letter and its enclosure. I thoroughly appreciate the patriotic spirit of Mr. Graham and the spirit shown generally in Canada in reference to our present difficulties with the Transvaal. I shall bear both in mind, and if it should become necessary to send out a large expedition it will be a great satisfaction to me that it will be accompanied by representatives of the Colonial forces, and that the unity of the Empire will in this way be practically demonstrated... I trust you will kindly convey to Mr. Graham my sense of his generous offer.⁴⁷

They were not long to seize the electioneering implications of the worsening situation overseas. Indeed the very image of this worsening would likely be of use, and the *Star's* importance was that of any leading journal of opinion - an influential and magnifying manipulator of current events in the aid of a particular set of interests. In this way the *Star* framed its report on the British-Boer negotiations, casting them as doomed by the summer of 1899. Resort to war was widely and in many cases eagerly anticipated and discussed. In London, dreaming of Imperial Federation - a cause which counted a small number of influential Canadians among its most fervent supporters - Chamberlain hoped for a show of imperial strength and unity and, while he cared little for the qualities of Canadian soldiers, hoped that Canada would offer to equip and send, "spontaneously", an official contingent to aid the "mother country". Once again the filial relationship was made an issue. The Colonial Office and the Cape Colony

⁴⁷ *Life and Letters of the Right Hon. Sir Charles Tupper...*: 235-236.

government despatched advisers to all parts of the Empire in order to enlist political and public support. It was in this guise that J. Davis Allen sojourned in Canada in July 1899 to identify key supporters and to give support to planning for Canadian military participation. Hugh Graham was of their number. But all political parties were approached as well; Allen met with Laurier himself and shrewdly persuaded him to present a motion to Parliament, supporting the rights of the British subjects denied suffrage in the Boer republics, in July 1899. This motion was duly adopted by Parliament. But it was a show of words which Laurier hoped would help avoid any commitment of troops to aid Britain. While Chamberlain might be manoeuvring for a "show of strength" - a pledge of military support - that was equally symbolic. Hugh Graham and Sir Charles Tupper knew that there would be a strong feeling in English Canada for a real contribution of fighting men to help England. The sentiment was to be found in abundance in English-Canadian popular culture and it could easily be marshalled. Ironically, Sir Wilfrid had an unknown ally in the Governor-General, Lord Minto. While Chamberlain had sent him in order to bolster the imperialist cause, Minto privately held deep suspicions of the British Colonial Secretary's motives and an aversion to the Cape Colony's business interests.⁴⁸

Curiously, military metaphors were accorded to Laurier by the *Star* throughout this period, following on the parodic mode assigned to the *By-Town Coons* and perhaps prolonging the effect of the portrayal of Frederick Borden. On Wednesday

⁴⁸ See Carman Miller, *The Canadian Career of the Fourth Earl of Minto*, (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980): 80-96, for a detailed refutation of traditional charges that the Earl of Minto conspired to force a Canadian imperialist contribution to the South African War, a view articulated from 1899 by figures such as Israel Tarte, Henri Bourassa and, later, by Robert Rumilly.

August 30, Julien drew Laurier as a swashbuckling Napoleon in full swing (**Illus. 49**). Only the hat and boots allow Julien to deploy brush and ink; the main graphic feature is otherwise Laurier's billowing great-coat, expressive of wind-filled volume with but the barest indication of shadow. The swift invention of the action figure who is not only represented as Napoleon, but likely as taking himself to *be* Napoleon, is founded in an accusation made at the same time in the *Star's* news columns. It held that Laurier had concluded a secret pact with the U.S. by which the Canadian Liberal government would give in on the Alaskan Boundary issue in return for a threat of war to which Laurier might offer suitably jingoistic and election-winning response. This accusation graced the *Star's* front pages on August 30 and promptly disappeared. If it was concocted by Graham himself as an electioneering blast, the alleged and labyrinthine plot to which it refers is perfectly in keeping with the absurdly secretive Graham whose portrait we have encountered several times.

The military theme begun with Laurier as Napoleon continued in Julien's next cartoon, published Friday September 22. Israel Tarte now shares the opprobrium, serving in some instances to deflect it from Laurier. (**Illus. 50**) General Wellington Tarte calls off the battle on learning that "Private Laurier" is indeed present and accounted for in the roll call of the troops. The style of this cartoon is entirely unlike the tenor of Julien's work throughout 1899. Instead, Julien uses simple outline in a manner reminiscent of the many battle illustrations he produced for the commemoration of the 1837 Rebellion. The sense of imposture is prolonged: just as Laurier "took himself to be Napoleon", so Laurier, Tarte and Cartwright pose as

British Army regulars - of Napoleon's time. It is difficult to know whether Graham and Julien intended the resulting irony, since Laurier had built his political career on the guarantees offered to French Canada by British liberty, and would ultimately justify his support, however limited, for Canadian participation in the South African war, on the basis of the threatened liberties of British subjects.⁴⁹

The military theme and the idea of imposture were presented at their most damning on Saturday October 7, as the crisis around Canadian participation reached its peak. Nothing in the cartoons made to date in 1899 prepared the *Star's* readers for the violence with which the accusation of treachery was levelled against Laurier in this work, titled *Peace Hath Her Victories No Less Than War (Illus. 51 and 52)*. This pair of images form the climax of Graham and Julien's partnership.

The method of contrast to past deeds is once again used. On the left, Wilfrid Laurier stands in the imperial procession on the occasion of Queen Victoria's Diamond Jubilee in 1897. Laurier is shown as an all-too-happy participant in the carnival of the nations at London, when he partially succumbed to what Mason Wade, in *The French Canadians*, described as Joseph Chamberlain's opportunity to draw together colonial parliaments into an Imperial Federation at a moment of great sentimental and symbolic power⁵⁰. It was on this occasion that Laurier accepted his knighthood, perhaps against his better judgement, and proclaimed that Canadian love for the mother country would

⁴⁹ This issue is fully discussed in H. Blair Neatby, "Laurier and Imperialism", reprinted from the Canadian Historical Report of 1955 in Carl Berger, ed., *Imperial Relations in the Age of Laurier* (Toronto 1969): 2-9.

⁵⁰ Mason Wade (1975): 451-495.

be proven in war if necessary. This was an uncharacteristically intemperate, and largely symbolic, gesture. But it came to have the force of scripture to Canadian imperialists, who invoked Laurier's 1897 pledge of military aid when it came time to decide Canada's involvement in the South African War. Thus Laurier, standing in his carriage, be-medalled, hat held in salutation, is "Our Honourary Colonel in Peace; Leading the Colonial Contingent in the Jubilee Procession. / [From the Front.]" The perfect smirk that Laurier is given in this image would benefit from a comparison to the newsreel footage of the event which Julien may well have seen at and remembered from Sohmer Park in 1897.⁵¹ In the right-hand panel we find "Our Honourary Colonel in War: Leading the Colonial Contingent in the Transvaal Trouble. / [From the Rear]." Julien shows Laurier cowering into an alley as the military procession carries on without him. Fists clenched, holding an absent weapon, grim-faced, he is a deserter.

This is no longer a cartoon, it is propaganda. Laurier is not ridiculed, he is an object of hate; but is the hate Julien's or Graham's? It is an odd cowardice, for the figure is also defensive, his clenched fists protecting him from other blows. Were the figure a little less stooped, he might almost be Julien's *Vieux de '37*. Appearing as the "after" portion of a before-and-after set-up, the cartoon conveys its truth in the same manner as with Sir Richard Cartwright.

There was a not very dissimulated racial subtext in this specific imputation of opportunism. In s speech reprinted a few pages earlier in the same newspaper, Sir

⁵¹ "Le 'kinétographe' fait voir en mouvement le jubilé de la reine Victoria, l'arrivée 'des princes et des princesses' et même 'Sir Wilfrid Laurier dans le défilé des troupes coloniales'." Yvan Lamonde and Raymond Montpetit, *Le Parc Sohmer de Montréal 1889-1919/Un lieu populaire de culture urbaine* (Québec: IQRC, 1987): 130, quoting advertisements in *La Presse*, 27 July-22 August 1897.

Charles Tupper has occasion to comment on French Canadian loyalty:

Sir Charles was not sorry to see the change at the last election for some reasons, and that it had given Canada a French Canadian premier. It enabled the English people to see proof of what he had always told them over there, that they underestimated the loyalty of the French Canadian Catholics... It was true, as Sir Etienne Taché had said, that the last gun fired in British North America for British connection would be fired by a French Canadian. When the people of England saw a French-Canadian Premier vying in all his fervent loyalty and devotion to the greatest woman who ever sat upon a throne they realized that the connection of Canada with Great Britain was, indeed, an enduring one.⁵²

While Sir Charles had been in England in the late summer of 1899, Laurier was again pre-occupied with Canada's relationship with the U.S. and not, to the degree in which Graham and Tupper were involved, with the mounting South African crisis. Laurier may have stolen the Conservatives' thunder by introducing an Imperial Preference tariff in 1897, but this was partly in response to the impossibility of obtaining a preferential tariff with the United States, then very protectionist. All the same, Laurier retained a belief in the eventual benefit of free trade with the Americans and sought to keep channels open in this regard, regardless of other disputes with the country. On the morning of October 7 he was on his way to Chicago to honour an invitation accepted some time earlier, believing that the storm over South Africa would play itself out.

Instead, the impasse he faced grew worse, and the *Star* did everything it could to keep him there. The drawing of Laurier skulking should probably also be read to imply that he was not only deserting the cause of Empire by stalling on the question of the troops, but literally deserting the country - by going to Chicago - that very day.

⁵² *Montreal Daily Star*, October 7, 1899, p. 10.

Laurier cut his trip short and returned to Ottawa to face his caucus. Aware of the rising tide in favour of an official Canadian contingent of troops to be despatched to South Africa, he was also aware of offers from volunteers, and of the resistance to any Canadian military presence overseas from French Canada. To agree to the Canadian imperialists' demands would provoke a break with his own party in Quebec. Israel Tarte, his Quebec "genius", and Henri Bourassa, who had risen in prominence within the party since his election in 1896, were firm in their opposition; to assist Britain with military aid overseas would contravene Canada's Militia Act, which provided for the defence of Canadian borders alone, and would mean assisting a mighty power against a smaller, self-determining people with whom many French-Canadians were in sympathy. Tarte in particular was firm within cabinet on this issue; at the same time, he used the week between the *Star's* October 7 attacks and the eventual compromise reached on October 13 to attack the *Star* in the pages of *La Patrie*, with the help of his editor Godfroy Langlois. Hugh Graham was asked when he proposed to go off to the Transvaal himself, and was accused of hoping for a knighthood through his actions. *La Patrie* defended Sir Wilfrid while he faced an almost impossible task of conciliation.

In this respect Julien may have been at one with the Prime Minister. It was puzzling of Sir Charles Tupper to refer in 1902 to the "series of cartoons of telling power" in describing the *Star's* campaign to change the mind of the Canadian government, for the only two cartoons to directly refer to the crisis and to be in a position to affect the Government and the public on the question were the pair of

October 7. But the similarities of thematic organization between *Peace Hath Her Victories...*, the Cartwright and military-Laurier cartoons suggest that Sir Charles remembered what was indeed a series conceived in large degree in July of 1899, at which time it was perfectly clear to Graham and Tupper that the Liberals' vulnerability on military policy for Canada might well provide an Achilles' heel and the opportunity for a *coup de grâce*. Tupper's triumphant return to Halifax, for a speech to be given on the same day as the publication of the most stinging of Julien's cartoons, suggests a most carefully-laid strategy.

The October 7 attack on Laurier was unique in Julien's production for its vehemence. It destroyed a carefully-crafted balance. The comparison to the *Vieux de '37* would require a separate study to allow us to guess at Julien's own vested interest in the October 7 cartoon. The *Vieux...* and the skulking Laurier are very close in composition of the figure, in the stance of the legs, of the arms which "hold" something. Both figures are hatted, both stoop to a certain degree. Perhaps the similarities are accidental. We don't have a reliable date for the *Vieux de '37* image and its original drawing - or drawings, for two versions exist - is (or are) missing. But both are also problematic identifications of being French-Canadian. Laurier, as Tupper back-handedly pointed out, was a problem, in that he professed loyalty to the British Crown and its institutions which provided an envelope of protection to the French-Canadian religion, language, laws and institutions in an American continent. But to French-Canadian, which set themselves as paragons of those institutions, Laurier was decidedly an acquired taste, given his history as a *rouge*, and granted his long efforts

to reconcile the Church to his brand of liberalism - and vice-versa. For the young French-Canadian nationalists, who would lead the voices against Canadian military involvement with Britain, Laurier would always require pushing against the tendency to compromise with English Canada. To them Henri Bourassa would be a stronger magnet for he gave reign to a vigorously nationalist vision for French Canada - although still within the protection of British liberties. Yet Laurier was clearly a hero of his time and enjoyed huge support in Quebec.

By the same token, the "*Vieux de '37*" should be considered as an equivocal figure (Illus. 59). After all, was he *vieux* in '37 or is he a veteran reliving a lost battle. *Je me souviens, - mais de quoi?* Each of these images carries divided legacies. Julien has often been characterized as the visual interpreter for a ruralist, folkloric or ethnographic vision of Québec history but it would be well, in the absence of first-hand testimony, to reserve the possibility that many of his images were created in such a way as to allow him dress a silent commentary of skepticism over representations invented by others. We have suggested that he developed aesthetically in order to do this. But it was a dangerous and exhausting procedure, which taxed Sir Wilfrid Laurier; and it may have become unbearable for Henri Julien, because it is almost impossible in a cartoon like "Our Honourary Colonel in War". It provided no occasion for entertainment, no quiet signal to the readership, among whom were a great many French-Canadians, that the artist reserved his own opinions. A great splash of black ink shrivels into the shadow of Laurier's chest.

The Final Political Cartoons

Julien continued to contribute cartoons up to November 15, 1899, but he did not use his brush-and-solid-ink style again. The Liberal government did, finally, allow a contingent of volunteers to travel to South Africa. In a deft piece of self-reference, *Why The By-Town Coons Came Down* shows a rare Julien female figure - indeed emblematic, she is Canada - admonishing racoons Laurier and Tarte to come down from the tree (**Illus. 53**). Not only does the title refer to the *By-Town Coons* series, it also recalls a headline from 23 August when the possibility of a peaceful settlement in South Africa loomed: "Has the Boer Coon Come Down?/An Unconfirmed Report that Kruger Has Yielded to the British Terms and that the Outlanders Will Get Justice".⁵³ Julien delved further into traditional animal political symbolism in *The Empire - United it Stands!* of Saturday November 4 (**Illus. 54**). An unusually small cartoon, it shows the Canadian and Australian lion cubs standing on the flag at a quayside. An example of "stirring patriotic verse" accompanies the cartoon, its flavour indicated by the following excerpt:

"We are grandsons of the Widow, and we've come across the sea
To help you, Tommy Atkins, fight the battle of the free.
We are whelps - bred of the Lion, and we've come the world to show
How it wakens up the litter, weak or strong the iceman's blow.[..]"

The verse accurately indicates the winter departure of the Canadian troops.

On Friday November 10, a majestic Sir Charles Tupper holds Sir Wilfrid up by

⁵³ *Montreal Daily Star*, 23 August 1899, page 4.

the collar, as might a schoolmaster expel an unruly child, in Julien's *Leading the Government* (Illus. 55). Despite the heroic stature of the figures, there is almost no humour in the image and Julien's reporting style is in this case belaboured, his quick lines re-inscribed over one another again and again.

The professorial note, and the laboured carelessness of the lines, are continued in *The Education of Mr. Tarte* of Saturday November 11 (Illus. 56). They suggest a lack of conviction, a perfunctory realisation of an outside text. In contrast to the full grown Laurier manhandled by Tupper the day before, Tarte is shown at schoolboy stature, and he indicates an imminent change of tack.

On Monday November 13, Arthur George Racey ushered in his long career at the *Star*. He was to be its chief cartoonist for over 40 years; a huge, uncatalogued selection of his original works lies in the archives of Trent University. Devoted to Henri Julien from whom he had many original drawings and Julien's *Star* work-desk. Racey had appeared in Montreal publications since at least 1892. He appeared in Honoré Beaugrand's *Canard*, and was reprinted in Israel Tarte's *La Patrie* from his post as resident cartoonist for the Montreal *Witness*, a stalwart Liberal newspaper.

It is fascinating to see Racey transfer to the *Star* and turn on his former paymaster, for Tarte from November 13 on becomes the great bogeyman of his cartoons. Racey was far more prolific than Julien as a cartoonist, contributing three to five cartoons a week in his first months at the *Star*. His style was more raucous, leaning towards the grotesque. It is equally fascinating to list the Liberal forces neutralised over the years by Hugh Graham; Arthur Racey in 1899, *La Presse* in 1904,

La Patrie itself in 1907. Given this pattern and the long silence of Julien's cartooning until 1899, should he not be added to this list?

Henri Julien's parting shot was uncharacteristic of his work during 1899 as a whole but perhaps indicative of his state after the cartoons of October 7. In "*And Not Even A Whale In Sight*", "Jonah" Laurier and his cabinet are all adrift in a simple vessel quickly taking on water (Illus. 57). Many of the faces in the cartoon appear tacked-on, in the manner of Notman Studio photographs; it was a practice that Julien had followed in his years at the *Canadian Illustrated News* and at the Burland Lithographic Company, pasting up all manner of advertising in the 1880's. This is a far cry from the work of the political reporter at Ottawa. The composition is such that a source in history painting seems likely; it is not yet identified. It is a soft ending to Julien's career as a caricaturist and cartoonist. Although he had probably always "illustrated" someone else's texts in his cartoons, he had developed a level of plastic and graphic inventiveness which were his own, and which he could no longer maintain. Perhaps he was being asked to bear too direct a political identification and had lost the necessary reserve of ambiguity which had allowed that inventiveness to shine.

As the *Star* relinquished any pretence at ambiguity, any possibility of preserving a skeptical or independent stance, Julien also relinquished a portion of his career which depended on the very same ambiguity. Soon Racey depicted Laurier as an outright "Coon" with stereotyped enormous lips and feet, fulfilling the *Star's* more

violent methods of graphic satire (**Illus. 58**). Julien could not be so unequivocal.

Who was Henri Julien? On balance, he was, at least, a cultural figure in the great tradition of Québec liberal-conservatism, who built a place of conciliation out of a bitter historical record. From Georges-Etienne Cartier to Wilfrid Laurier, ideals of co-existence often required degrees of opportunism and silent subversion in order to fashion themselves into the Canadian fabric. They also required a distancing, a "rising above." Harsh expressions of political will would be alien to their task. Despite its increasingly avowed political leanings as the 1890s wore on, the *Star* under Julien's influence was such a place, where humour and the importance of a unifying aesthetic sense also preserved the possibility of conciliation, of release, of acceptance of the enemy. But this was forever changed after October 7th, 1899.

Chapter 5. The posthumous fate of Henri Julien and his 1899 Political Cartoons

1. Julien at odds with political cartooning, 1899-1908

In 1941, journalist Henri Girard remembered “Henri Julien, Journaliste” for the readers of *La revue moderne*.

Sir Hugh Graham, qui devint Lord Atholstan, n’aimait guère les Canadiens français, mais il avait le sens des affaires. Il a tout de suite compris (car il ne manquait pas de flair) que la collaboration de Julien donnerait à son journal un piquant d’un caractère unique au Canada et aux Etats-Unis.... C’était, si j’ai bonne mémoire, vers 1899. Laurier était en pleine gloire. Son attitude dans l’affaire des Boers lui avait gagné les coeurs du monde britannique, cependant qu’il se montrait assez prudent politique pour ne pas trop se compromettre aux yeux des siens, malgré la courageuse intervention de M. Henri Bourassa.... Julien devint vraiment célèbre lorsqu’il imagina la série de caricatures qui parut dans le *Star* sous le titre des By-Town Coons. Laurier et les membres de son cabinet sont figurés comme ces nègres ou coons qui préparaient alors aux Etats-Unis l’avènement du jazz. Mais Julien riait et faisait rire sans méchanceté.¹

Girard’s essay was almost unique among the rare articles devoted to Julien after his death in that it retrieved the journalist and caricaturist from the artist identified with the ways and customs of Québec. Alberic Bourgeois’ 1927 glimpse of Julien, quoted in our introduction, also set the “master” in a potted history of Québec caricature.²

Caricature in Canada had begun with one [Charles-Henri] Moreau, founder of *Le Perroquet* in 1865, whose drawings bore comparison with those of France’s Honoré

¹Henri Girard, “Henri Julien, Journaliste”, in *La Revue Moderne* v.23 no. 3 (July 1941) pp. 14, 30.

² Fittingly, the writer’s *persona*, the “Père Ladébauche”, is the vehicle handed down to Bourgeois from the sense of humour of Hector Berthelot. See above, chapter 2, 53-59, for a discussion of Berthelot.

Daumier.³ Bourgeois discounted the harsh woodcuts of *La Scie* and its progeny entirely, asserting that Moreau's pencil was left unclaimed until Henri Julien began to contribute cartoons to Honoré Beaugrand's *Le Farceur* in 1878.

Mais c'est dans *Le Farceur*, dont les illustrations sont infiniment supérieures, comme caricatures, à celles de tous les journaux du temps, que Julien a déployé toute l'ampleur de son immense talent.

Jamais, rien d'aussi beau, au point de vue dessin n'a été publié ici depuis. Pour ma part, je vous avouerai que ce n'est jamais sans un sentiment d'admiration et de respect quasi religieux que je contemple ces coups de plume-là.⁴

And Bourgeois knew that cartoons became a problem for Julien after all; he was the only writer to have noticed that the cartoons of the year 1899 were Julien's last.

In relinquishing this role for the *Star* Julien himself initiated the process of forgetting his work. But the overall problem was greater still; we find the *tout-Julien* dissolving before our eyes as the years succeed one another in the special timespan of journalism. In a 1913 article for *L'étudiant*, Laval University's student newspaper, based on his own 1908 obituaries of Julien for *La Patrie*, J. B. Lagacé eulogised a Julien "dont le souvenir ne survit que dans la mémoire de quelques fidèles [...] De toute son âme et de tout son coeur il était français et canadien et, à défaut d'autres témoignages, nous avons celui de ses oeuvres".⁵ *Français et canadien*: did this

³ *Le Perroquet*, a weekly in-folio paper appearing on Saturdays, appeared from 7 January to 12 August 1865. Its proprietor, printer and contributor was Charles-Henri Moreau. It republished texts by Victor Hugo and Alexandre Dumas, and its illustrations were held by L'Ordre of 1 February 1865 to be second only to those of Daumier. See Beaulieu & Hamelin, *Histoire de la Presse Québécoise*, v.2: 62.

⁴ Bourgeois (1927): op. cit.

⁵ Lagacé's obituary notices on Julien appeared in *La Patrie*, September 18, 1908 and in *La Revue Canadienne*, December 31 1908. A *Leitmotiv* of each of these texts is the following paragraph: "Que dire aussi de ces silhouettes où il excellait, de ces "ombres" qu'il a semblé calquer sur la blancheur des murs de la Chambre des Communes, ou bien encore de ces charges à fond de train (*Bytown Coons*) où il a caricaturé de si

judgment depend on Julien's work for the Beauchemin publishing house, and did it identify him with the heraldic symbolism of the Beauchemin crest, which sported the motto "France d'Abord" over the Fleur de Lys, a Phrygian Bonnet and the capital letter B inside a Maple Leaf? ⁶ Julien was soon romanticized, suffering in his turn the fate of the "bon vieux temps" which he was held to incarnate. A mythical Julien, a useful Julien were established in his place.⁷

On eût dit que quelque chose de la sève des grands érables qui ombragèrent son berceau, avait coulé dans ses veines, et que la surabondance de vie qui s'épandait en son âme ardente, n'était que trop plein de cette sève prisée aux profondeurs du vieux sol où dorment les aïeux . Voilà pourquoi la partie de son oeuvre où il a mis le meilleur de son talent et de son coeur est précisément celle qu'il a consacrée à faire revivre le passé dans la peinture des moeurs et des coùtumes du "bon vieux temps"...⁸

Julien had been publicly readied for this role before his death; he might well have encouraged it. At the time of the 1903 exhibition devoted to Canada's newspaper artists, a journalist's summary notes:

spirituelle façon les vainqueurs politiques de 1896". The passage is also reprinted in L.-O. David (1911): 254.

⁶ See Nathalie Hamel, "Le costume comme emblème identitaire: la construction de l'image vestimentaire des Canadiens français", in Luc Noppen, ed., *Architecture, forme urbaine et identité collective* (Sillery, Québec, 1995):221-248, for a discussion of the phrygian bonnet in Québec within the use of the *tuque* to denote a belonging to a revolutionary tradition (p.231). Hamel also points out that research on Henri Julien's use of the *tuque* as part of his *Vieux de '37* begs further research in order to trace its lineage.

⁷ Hamel (1995, op. cit.) adds: "La tendance romantique à fonder le nationalisme sur le passé se développe avec plus de rigueur face à l'expansion de l'industrialisation et de l'urbanisation. Chez les élites traditionnelles, se développe une idéologie visant la sauvegarde de la nation canadienne-française et de ses valeurs traditionnelles. les milieux ruraux sont alors considérés comme les derniers lieux des traditions nationales. L'image que l'on veut projeter de l'identité canadienne-française, c'est justement qu'*elle est française*." Hamel also presents Julien among those artists and illustrators who established an "Iconographie pittoresque" for the *canadien* countryside and the *habitant*.

⁸J. B. Lagacé, *L'étudiant* [Laval student newspaper], 26 December 1913.

the work that attracts the most attention is that of Mr. Henri Julien, dean of the newspaper art in Canada. He exhibits some eighteen pictures aside from several cartoons in colours. His pictures are for the most part drawings of habitant character in which he excels. Last evening there was a lively competition to get hold of his work, and when the exhibit closed for the evening at ten o'clock nearly everything to which his name was attached bore the red ticket of allotment."⁹

A 1907 article, "Peintures de la Galerie des Arts" covered the 1907 Royal Canadian Academy exhibit at the Art Association of Montreal. A discussion of Julien's "Auction Sale" (the *Criée* in the Musée du Québec) led to the following claim for the artist:

Henri Julien est un amoureux du passé, de nos bonnes vieilles campagnes canadiennes, des anciens habitants si sympathiques, si intéressants, si joyeux! Il a la minutie, la patience ardente de l'historien... Les artistes canadiens négligent trop ces allusions à nos bonnes gens disparues. Songez donc! quel trésor pour l'avenir, quand les traditions seront à demi perdues, quand seront closes les lèvres des vieux dont nous tenons encore tant de récits intéressants - quel trésor pour ceux qui auront le culte de la patrie et du passé, de pouvoir retrouver, vivants dans l'oeuvre de l'excellent et noble Jullien [sic], les souvenirs que l'oubli menace déjà de son aile sombre.¹⁰

Julien was thus rather busy feeding a demand for his portrayal of a Québec of legends, of countryside people, places and sleigh-rides (a ubiquitous feature of his Carnival number covers in the 1880s, when a vigorous young trap-driver led all and sundry in processions from Mount Royal). He was to a degree manufacturing images of Québec, much as Cornelius Krieghoff (to whom Julien was compared favourably by Gérard

⁹ NAC MG29.D103 v3:1. Also participating were R.G. Mathews, Emile Vezina, Wilfrid M. Barnes ("now at the New York Art School") Ethel Seath ("many sold"), P.F. Copland, A. G. Racey ("the largest exhibitor, his work running very naturally to the cartoon") A.S. Brodeur, J.A.P. Labelle; also, from the "West" [Toronto], Fergus Kyle, C.W. Jeffries, Owen P. Staples, W.W. Alexander, Burgoyne Edwards and J. D. Kelly.

¹⁰NAC, MG 29 .D103 vol. 2: 18.

Morriset in 1960) had done.¹¹ Julien also benefitted from the lingering popularity of his illustrations in 1891 (for *La Patrie*) and in 1892 (for *The Century* magazine) for Honoré Beaugrand's tale *La Chasse Galerie*. Julien worked the illustration up into an oil on canvas in 1906 and took the added precaution of registering the image with the Department of Agriculture's Copyright and Trademark Branch in Ottawa.¹² The copyright was granted to him on 10 December. Just over two weeks later, on the 27th, the *Star*'s editor Brenton MacNab wrote to Julien to thank him "for your picture 'La Chasse-Galerie', which I am having framed for my den. I have no doubt whatsoever, in the days to come, the original of this subject will rank as a Canadian classic in art."¹³

Former *Star* staffer P. D. Ross, by then proprietor of the *Ottawa Journal*, had also expressed interest in the image, hoping to buy the original illustration. This being in the hands of Mme. Beaugrand, Ross requested a new sepia copy of the image in August 1907, accepting Julien's quote of \$50, and settled his bill that October.¹⁴

The *Chasse Galerie* was entered in the Art Association of Montreal's 1906 Spring exhibition. It drew firm praise, as did his entries for the next two years. In

¹¹ See discussion of Morisset (1960): op. cit., in Chapter 2.

¹² The certificate is found, loose, on page 22 of MG29 D103 v.2; "registered in folio 17868, register of copyright no. 64".

¹³ NAC MG29 D103 v.1: MacNab to Julien 27 December 1906.

¹⁴ P.D. Ross to Julien, August 1 1907. Ross sums up that he had written asking for the original or copy of *La Chasse Galerie* published "years ago in Harper's Magazine. You replied on February 20 that the original is the property of Mrs Beaugrand" and that a sepia duplicate would cost \$50. Ross asks Julien to proceed, speaking of great admiration for the picture. NAC MG 29.D103 v2: 28.

1908 he was singled out "parmi les anciens ou demi-jeunes" along with Maurice Cullen, William Brymner, Charles Huot, James L. Graham and Charles Gill [also a member of the *Ecole Littéraire de Montréal*] among others. Had death not surprised Julien in September 1908, he might have remained more closely identified with his contemporaries in painting. He was certainly within the artists' *milieu* throughout his career. His 1883 illustration for *L'Opinion Publique* of Louis-Philippe Hébert's monument to Georges-Etienne Cartier must be remembered in terms of a life-long friendship; Marius Barbeau writes of the two families' neighbouring summer residences at Ste-Rose, and we find a souvenir postcard of 1905 from Hébert to Julien in the family scrapbooks.¹⁵ Some of Jean-Baptiste Côté's design and sculpture for the St.-Jean Baptiste celebrations of 1880 are known to us today only through the illustrations made by Julien for the *Opinion Publique*.¹⁶ The painter Edmond Dyonnet (1859-1954) made a brooding portrait of Julien¹⁷ and was friendly enough to help him deliver his free-lance work to a client.¹⁸ In 1900, *Le Monde Illustré* presented a survey of Québec's leading illustrators, its cover adorned with photographs of Julien (at the centre), J. Labelle, Napoléon Savard, Edmond.-J. Massicotte, Raoul Barré,

¹⁵ NAC MG29 D103 v.1 Hébert to Julien family, 18 June 1905.

¹⁶ The group of Julien's assembled drawings which feature on p. 334 of the *Opinion Publique* for 8 July 1880 is reprinted in Mario Béland, *Jean-Baptiste Côté...* (1996): 30. Béland discusses Côté's work for this procession in detail, pp. 82-85.

¹⁷ Later in the collection of Charles W. Simpson, who loaned it to the 1936 exhibition organized by William Maxwell at the Arts and Letters Club.

¹⁸ NAC MG 29 D103 v.1: Paul T Lafleur to HJ, 19 November 1896. Lafleur Thanks Julien for a bookplate design, brought to him at 58 University by Dyonnet.

Geroges Delfosse, A. S. Brodeur. (The cover is signed by Alphonse Venne, Architecte-Dessinateur). In 1901, Georges-E. Côté asked Julien to place a notice in the *Star* on behalf of his brother Aurèle (Marc-Aurèle de Foy Suzor-Côté, 1869-1937) "qui doit revenir de Paris au commencement de juillet et tenir une vente de ses toiles à Montréal".¹⁹ In 1904, a J. M. Dandurand asks Julien for help in organizing a *soirée* for the sculptor Alfred Laliberté (1878-1953) to take place at the *Nouveautés* theatre.²⁰ Around 1906, Laliberté sent Julien a business card, perhaps attached to another item, thanking him "pour ce que vous avez fait pour moi". Julien was evidently considered highly enough that he attracted such requests for help, either financial or moral; in his fifties, well-known across Canada, he seems to have been looked on as a senior established artist by his colleagues.

In 1908, the article by Robertine du Barry in the *Journal de Françoise* established in the public mind that Julien was self-taught; this idea was picked up in obituaries, almost as a way of attacking the accomplishments of schooling. There is a hint of the attribution to him of the nobility of ignorance, a not unusual extrapolation to be made, in journalistic accounts which by their nature seek broad strokes and summary types, of circumstances like Julien's. But in 1908 alone he invested, judging by the drawings and lists which survive in the scrapbooks, and the entries for the Julien iconography at the National Archives in particular, considerable energy into

¹⁹ NAC MG 20 D103, v.1, Geo. E. Côté to HJ, 26 June 1901.

²⁰ NAC MG29 D103 v.1, J. M. Dandurand to Julien, 22 September 1904. This letter also proposes an extensive iconographic programme for a set of theatrical *tableaux* on the state of Canadian art and its recognition in Montreal, then and twenty years hence.

researching the illustrations for the Quebec tercentenary celebrations²¹. In the same year he had completed the drawings for the illustrated edition of Louis Fréchet's *La Légende d'un peuple*. These huge cycles of drawings harkened back to the illustrations for the 1837-38 rebellion made twenty years before. Whether for these or for his political cartoons, Julien's work was allusive, rooted either in literary models or in visual sources available in published form. It was also very demanding, supplementing his regular daily work for the *Star*. Although used to this schedule for over twenty years, and said to be fit at just 56, it is in retrospect not altogether surprising that Julien died quite suddenly in September 1908. Many of the ensuing obituary tributes paid attention to the extent of his workload and mourned the artist who might have devoted himself fully to painting and illustration, leaving newspaper work behind.

2. The projects of remembering Henri Julien: Collecting, publishing and exhibiting Julien's 1899 cartoons

Julien's death on September 17, 1908 had the historical effect of his sudden relegation to the world of the past which so preoccupied Québec's thinkers and writers in the first part of the twentieth century; he crossed over to the commemorative space incarnated by his illustrations and his cartoons. To remember Henri Julien adequately after his death was of immediate concern to his contemporaries, both English- and French-speaking leaders taking up the task. The great care evidenced in the initial stages was, sadly enough, in direct proportion to the considerable disarray of Julien's

²¹ NAC MG 29 D103 v. 1 file 48 - "Pageant Procession Programme."

affairs - in so far as, death being unexpected, there were naturally no provisions to keep his work together. Although Hugh Graham wrote a very sweet note of condolence, in French, to Mme. Julien, it is not known whether he provided, or felt obliged to provide, for Henri's widow.²² At the same time, efforts to preserve Julien's memory occasioned the dispersal of his remaining inventory. Within two months of his death Marie-Louise Julien received an inquiry from Montreal lawyer David Ross McCord. One of many leading anglophone Montrealers devoted to Julien's work, McCord wanted to know if he could acquire some the contents of Julien's studio. A black-bordered reply came from Mme Julien on November 17th:

"Monsieur./ Vous plairait-il de passer à la maison cette semaine, afin de choisir les objets que vous m'avez demandés? /Votre toute dévouée/ Madame Henri Julien/ 875 St.-Denis".²³

On November 12 McCord had written to the editor of the *Montreal Herald* urging its editor to exert pressure on the French-language press, so that the Canadian Government might in turn be persuaded to "recognize Julien's widow." McCord's own recognition came through the inclusion of Julien in his vast collection of Canadiana. McCord's particular love for all things Julien, however, also established the problem of remembering an artist whose original works disappear. In an undated catalogue entry

²² NAC, Mg 29 .D103 vol 1: Hugh Graham to Mme. Henri Julien, 18 September 1908. In part, the letter reads: "Votre cher mari était dans tous les sens un homme extraordinaire, joignant à ses grands talents une disposition des plus charmantes. L'admiration universelle que suscitaient ses oeuvres si originelles ne dépassait pas l'affection sincère que lui portaient tous ceux qui connaissaient la bonté de son coeur. Votre perte irréparable est pour moi aussi, la perte d'un ami sincère [...] J'ose espérer que vous vous adresserez à moi si mes conseils peuvent vous être aucunement utiles dans ces pénibles circonstances. / Ce sera pour moi une grande quoique triste consolation de vous servir ou de servir n'importe quelle [sic] membre de votre famille dans l'accablante tristesse où vous vous trouvez dépourvu de ce pauvre Henri qui vous aimait si tendrement [...]".

²³ McCord Museum Archives, Montreal [McCord Archives], D. R. McCord Correspondence, file 5032.

from his own hand, McCord annotated his collection of Julien's work and materials.

Last palette. He was beginning to use oil as a vehicle, when he passed away./Witness the Habitant going to market. - It is as having others of the works [sic]./Add thus the tiny palette[]part of the last great palette- (Aldworth Lane) took to the museum, even the broken pencil, but their points are in one of the Dawson Desk drawers. /The only portrait is perhaps too backward. One belonging to that nice fellow Dr. (also Dentist) Christopher Nichol (not the one belonging to Mrs Robert Mackay)./My representation of Heri[sic]Julien is therefore excellent.²⁴

McCord had collected altogether the following from Mme. Julien: seven paint brushes, a tin oil cup, one HB lead pencil, one soft square head pencil, the "first easel of this artist (6'6" x 1'1") and the "First mahlstick of this artist with a bow of puple ribbon attached, 4'3" long".²⁵ But in fact McCord also spent considerable time trying to track down originals of many Julien cartoons that he had seen twenty, thirty or forty years before. Julien the cartoonist or caricaturist was 'alive' for McCord in a way that was bound to change for later generations. He attempted to build up his holdings of original Julien drawings: pen and ink illustrations for the *Canadian Illustrated News*, cartoons for the four- or eight-page satirical weeklies that proliferated in the 1870s and 1880s; scenes of rural Quebec and of the Northwest and, more difficult to find, the originals of the masterly caricatures made by Julien throughout his career. He was especially keen to find the black-and-white originals for the *Songs of the By-Town Coons*. As late as 1919, notes were exchanged between McCord and Graham, by then

²⁴ McCord Archives, Henri Julien Box, item 2707, transcription from McCord's notebook typed in red.

²⁵ David Ross McCord, Catalogue Notebook, entries 2569-2574.

Lord Atholstan, with cryptic offers in exchange for the much-desired drawings.²⁶ As we shall see, they have disappeared without trace.

A committee was struck at the Club St.- Denis on 5 November 1908 with the express purpose of gathering together materials for the commemorative *Album*, to this day the best quality (and only) source for most of the political cartoons which form the subject of this research. Sir Hugh Graham presided; Philippe Hébert and J. E. Daoust were Vice-Presidents. with Emile Vanier as treasurer and Raoul Lacroix as Secretary. Members were Gonzalve Desaulniers, Joseph Venne, Marcel Beillac, J. R. Gérin, Auguste Richard, J. B. Lagacé, Dr. A. Mignault, J. Resther, L. P. Bérard; Brenton MacNab of the *Star*, P. Arthur Côté of *La Presse*, C. Robillard of *La Patrie* and F. Rinfret of *Le Canada*.

The *Album* was delayed, to the chagrin of an un-named writer (possibly J. B. Lagacé) in 1913 :

Il ya bientôt cinq ans qu'Henri Julien est mort et son souvenir est déjà sensiblement disparu... à un certain moment, peu après sa disparition, il

²⁶ Their correspondence on the subject ran as follows. An undated letter from Graham's employee, J. S. Lewis is annotated by McCord: "The Julien drawings/among them/the By-Town Coons". (Lewis was noted as "un grand ami de Henri Julien" alongside a memorial clipping from the *Star*; he was killed in France in the First World War. Then: "Montreal, April 2nd 1917./Dear Mr. McCord:- I love the Coons and am getting jealous of you. Your persistency may win some day. /Best wishes, Yours sincerely, Hugh Graham(signed)". Finally, a carbon copy of a letter to Hugh Graham: "When there is no Vision, the People Perish/Founder and Hon. Director/Sept. 22, 1919/To the Right Hon. Lord Atholstan, The "Star", Montreal/My dear Lord Atholstan:-/The saintly nimbus with which you were good enough to invest my head a few days ago is already producing the humility typical of those who were originally so honoured, and I am prepared to exchange it for the original of the Bytown Coons together with a gracious letter fo presentation from you. With kind regards,". None of these "originals" are in the McCord collection. McCord also received a number of Julien's drawings from Mrs. J. H. Burland in 1924. McCord Museum Archives, File box Julien, Henri, file 5032 Correspondence. With thanks to Pamela Miller for access to these materials in August 1995 and to Suzanne Gauthier for re-confirmation in April 1997.

fut question, je m'en souviens, et je crois que Sir Hugh Graham, l'ancien patron de Julien, était en tête du mouvement; il fut question, dis-je, de publier un album de luxe contenant une série des meilleures oeuvres de ce "cartoonist" merveilleux, tout au moins sans égal au Canada... son vieux serviteur de la première heure, celui, nous oserions dire, qui plus que tout autre a contribué au succès du "Star" à son début. Julien, l'incomparable traducteur par son crayon des scènes canadiennes de Fréchette et de Beaugrand, vaut bien de la part de son ancien patron, à titre d'ami d'abord, puis à titre d'employé modèle, qu'on a jamais pu remplacer, cet honneur posthume, en attendant mieux encore.²⁷

Hébert, Desaulniers and MacNab are featured in the texts that were eventually published in the Album in 1916. By this time Hébert was president of the committee. Desaulniers and his fellow members of the *École Littéraire de Montréal* had laid a wreath at Julien's funeral.²⁸ In 1911, Emile Vanier wrote to Julien's daughter Jeanne that he had succeeded in having the rue Sanguinet re-named avenue Henri-Julien from the Carré St.-Louis "jusqu'aux limites nord de la ville, c'est-à-dire à travers les quartiers Laurier, St.-Jean Baptiste et St.-Louis (en partie)... en souvenir de votre regretté papa, mon meilleur ami."²⁹

When the *Album* was finally published, Omer Héroux, cofounder in 1907 of *L'Action Sociale*,³⁰ delivered a lengthy tribute to the processes of collaboration in

²⁷ Unidentified clipping, Family scrapbooks NAC MG 29.D103 vol. 3.

²⁸ "A Henri Julien/ A l'artiste qui toujours a fait honneur aux siens, l'École Littéraire de Montréal offre ses hommages et ses regrets/Germain Beaulieu/Jean Charbonneau/ Hector Demers/ Gonzalve Desaulniers/ L. J. Doucet/ G. A. Dumont/ Albert Ferland/ Charles Gill/ E. Z. Massicotte" reprinted in *La Patrie*, 23 September 1908, "Aux funérailles d'Henri Julien."

²⁹ NAC MG 20 D103 v.2: 94, J. Emile Vanier to Jeanne Julien , 1 June 1911.

³⁰ "On December 21, 1907, the first number of *L'Action Sociale* appeared at Quebec, with Omer Héroux and Jules Dorion, two of [Henri Bourassa's] disciples, among the editors. The new daily was nominally independent in politics, but it soon exhibited *Castor* and nationalistic tendencies." Mason Wade, *The French*

keeping safe the memory of Henri Julien, beginning with the naming of this street:

Ce premier geste maintenait dans la foule le nom d'Henri Julien, l'imposait à la mémoire de centaines de milliers d'individus. Les amis de Julien ont cru qu'ils devaient faire davantage: essayer d'arracher à l'oubli une partie de son œuvre, fournir à l'élite les pièces justificatives, pour ainsi dire, de leur admiration...

Julien fut, a-t-on dit, le premier des illustrateurs quotidiens, le premier dessinateur qui ait fait métier de jeter sur le papier l'évènement d'hier, le fait vieux de quelques heures à peine: la réunion publique, le débat parlementaire, la scène judiciaire, le gros accident, que sais-je encore? - A-t-on réfléchi à l'effroyable, au tragique travail que cela pouvait représenter? Improviser, réaliser au galop car le journal n'attend pas...³¹

... Que ceux qui ont connu M. Tarte, par exemple, feuilletent l'album, qu'ils revoient et comparent les nombreux portraits et caricatures qu'esquissa de lui Julien... l'impressionnable a lui-même été fixé en dix instantanés, également vrais... Je ne ferais qu'une reproche aux éditeurs, celui de n'avoir pas daté les dessins: ce sont, pour la plupart, de véritables documents historiques...

Quelques notices accompagnent les reproductions de l'album. Elles disent l'admiration des amis de Julien et leurs regrets. Nous voudrions souligner la note particulièrement émouvante qui marque celle des amis anglais de l'artiste. Ses attaches professionnelles lui ont fait passer au milieu d'eux trente années de sa vie; ils ont tenu à affirmer que jamais homme n'avait été plus profondément canadien-français, qu'il ne se trouvait parfaitement qu'au milieu des habitants, que son rêve majeur était de fixer les types, les légendes, les traditions de sa race, que là tendait le grand effort de sa vie, qu'il est tombé à l'heure où il espérait hâter la réalisation d'une partie de ce rêve. Ils ne pouvaient déposer sur sa tombe de plus délicat hommage.

Pour tout ce qu'il a fait, pour tout ce qu'il a voulu faire, nous devons à Henri Julien une immense dette de gratitude. Remercions ceux qui nous permettent d'en acquitter une minime partie.³²

Julien's unexpected death left him intestate. If he was generous in his lifetime with his work, often giving it away, the drawings left at the *Star* and in his studio at home

Canadians (1975) vol 1: 555. Note that *L'Action Sociale* had also published Camille Roy's *Propos Canadiens* (Roy 1912).

³¹ Today we might also speculate on the quality of Julien's working conditions; a smoker working in a building where for many years the lead type for composition was re-founded each day, and working lately at painting in oils with the attendant dangers of spirit-based media.

³² Omer Héroux, "Henri Julien," *Le Devoir* March 3 1917: 1.

went uncatalogued and were dispersed over thirty years. An accidental fire begun by his children, who took matches with them to inspect some of their father's drawings in an old wardrobe, might have swallowed up a number of them. Beauchemin, which should have had a good two hundred works in their hands for the preparation of the *Album*, believe they would have lost whatever remained in their possession in a fire that destroyed their warehouse and archives. So it is difficult to estimate Julien's lifetime production. In April 1997, the Canadian Heritage Information Network listed 1,672 works by Henri Julien in the permanent collections of subscribing institutions.³³ The overwhelming majority of these are works on paper. There have been no estimates of works still in private hands. The correspondence files at the National Gallery of Canada, responsible for a memorial exhibition in 1938, show that a great number of works were given away by Julien and that subsequent owners either lost or gave these works way in their turn. Perhaps their status as preparatory drawings for ephemeral political commentary meant that they were not accorded the value they might receive today.

3. Julien's 1899 cartoons and the exhibition projects of 1936-1941

Exhibition projects are often the key to unearthing materials in private collections; a huge find whose ownership was a perplexing mystery was made in connection with the

³³ The distribution is as follows: In Quebec: Musée d'art contemporain de Montréal, 1; Musée des Beaux-Arts de Montréal, 19; McCord Museum, 1137; David M. Stewart Museum, 1; Musée Pierre-Boucher, 3; Musée du Québec, 234; Musée de l'Amérique Française, 11. In Ontario: Art Gallery of Hamilton, 2; Canadian War Museum, 1; National Gallery of Canada, 10; National Archives of Canada, 240. In Manitoba: Museum of Man and Nature, 1. In Alberta: Glenbow Museum, 12. Of these, the McCord Museum includes "planographic" copies, reproductions taken from the *Canadian Illustrated News*.

flurry of three such projects between 1936 and 1941. The most promising (and ultimately disappointing) glimpse of Julien at the *Star* came with the surfacing of a trunk-full of up to 900 drawings at the Ecole des Beaux-Arts in early 1937. It vanished, so far without trace, in 1942. Its story encapsulates Julien's peculiar fate, because its brief presence came with the most concentrated efforts that have taken place to re-constitute Julien since his death.

These began with the first public commemorative exhibition devoted to Henri Julien, organized by the Montreal architect W. S. Maxwell, vice president of the Royal Canadian Academy of the Arts, for the Arts Club, in October 1936, in collaboration with R. W. Pilot and Henri Hébert. Maxwell was, like many English-language architects in Montreal in the first half of the 20th Century (chief among them Ramsay Traquair), devoted to French-Canadian traditions, partly because of the search for a true local vernacular expression in architecture. These expressions of interest extended the relationship between a French-Canadian identity and the English-Canadian élite's efforts to understand that identity as both different to, and to some extent circumscribed by, that of the English-Canadian presence. This relationship had so often conditioned Julien's professional life. The years with Desbarats, the illustrations for the Montreal Carnival, the many images of the *habitant* dashed off for English-speaking patrons, the 1899 cartoons for Hugh Graham, all involved Julien in making visual representations for this carefully divided society. McCord, Traquair and Maxwell, and later Marius Barbeau, participated in an ethnological movement that often set the agenda for the preservation of "old Québec" culture. Maxwell worked

from Jeanne Julien's collection of her father's drawings and arranged loans from other owners.

Although this has not been specifically documented, the exhibition may have been intended to give financial aid to the Julien family. In any case, it prompted many reviews and exhortations to do justice to Julien's memory, including this summary, "Un artiste du bon vieux temps", by Claire Fontaine:

Il restera avant tout, et c'est son plus grand titre de gloire, l'artiste canadien par excellence, le patriote qui a su évoquer mieux que tout autre chez nous le charme de la vie campagnarde. Il nous fait voir tout le côté pittoresque de la vie de l'habitant et du bûcheron. Il décrit leur bonne humeur, toujours inaltérable même dans les circonstances les plus défavorables, leur piété touchante et leur imagination vive allant facilement jusqu'à la superstition et l'exaltation poétique".³⁴

Jeanne Julien's collection was purchased by an *émigré* French artist, Raoul Barbin. The 1936 exhibition came to the notice of Harold O. McCurry, assistant Director of the National Gallery of Canada. McCurry followed up on the Arts Club exhibition by contacting Barbin and by trying to expand the roster of other lenders who might hold significant collections of Julien's work.

McCurry conceived of the exhibition in terms of a series devoted to significant figures in the history of Canadian Art at the National Gallery, a series which had already featured William Brymner and A. Y. Jackson. The correspondence files relating to this exhibition, which was eventually presented in March 1938, demonstrate that McCurry had a keen appreciation for the cartoons and was particularly anxious to

³⁴ Undated, unsourced clipping, NAC MG29.D103 v.3: 21.

find the originals of the *Songs of the By-Town Coons*. Marius Barbeau was enlisted to be on the lookout for them and provided many leads to McCurry. The first was to the *Librairie Beauchemin*, on the assumption that they would hold drawings used for the *Album*. Beauchemin replied that they had forwarded the drawings in their possession to C. J. Simard, assistant secretary of the Province of Quebec, in 1930, so that he might make a selection for the "Museum of Quebec"; since his death they had been "unable to locate the lot"³⁵ (this "lot" may relate to a number of drawings in the Musée du Québec's collection whose provenance is unknown). But there is more that involves the lead through Beauchemin. In October 1937, Barbeau cabled Harry McCurry: "Have found by chance a huge pile of Julien drawings his series for Star including Coon and Recorder trying to secure gift for you and other galleries."³⁶ In a hand-written letter drafted at the same time, Barbeau relates:

Dear Harry, - ... as I told you by telegram, I discovered by the merest chance that there was a big lot of Julien's drawings in the storage room of the Art School of Montreal [the Ecole des Beaux-Arts] (under Maillard). The box was opened for me (no one seemed to know what it contained exactly) and I took several hours to sort out the drawings; it contains Julien's work for the Montreal Star for a fairly long period: political cartoons (the Bytown Coons) the recorder and other court drawings, sleakers, [illegible], important people, types, etc....[...]all that is known by Maillard is that Simard (now dead for many years) dumped the stuff there and told him (Maillard) to hold it until further instructions were given. Maillard tried to find the owner, but failed. He is not interested in the materials.... It is clear that the Montreal Star was the owner of the drawings and - still is (until proof to the contrary comes along). I have gone to the Star and seen Mr. Archibald, the editor, and Mr. Racey, about this. The Star, I am saying, should resume authority over this for the purpose

³⁵ National Gallery of Canada (NGC) Archives, NGC Fonds, file Exhibitions in Gallery 5.5-J, Julien (Henri) Memorial exhibition [hereafter referred to as NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition], Valiquette to McCurry, March 2 1937.

³⁶ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Barbeau to McCurry (telegram) October 24 1937.

of giving the collection to four of our Art Galleries for presentation: the National Gallery (in charge of the partition of materials), the Toronto Art Gallery [Art Gallery of Toronto, now the Art Gallery of Ontario], the Montreal Art Association, and the Provincial Museum of Quebec.

With this clearly in mind, I have induced Mr. Maillard to have the materials (as sorted out) packed up carefully and sent to the address of the Nat. Gallery, Ottawa (Mr. Eric Brown). The other matters will be arranged later, when authority has been secured from the Montreal Star.

I trust that you and Mr. Brown will approve the effort I am making to secure these fine drawings for you and the national collections...³⁷

Alas, an invisible force of political considerations seems to have intervened, the Ecole des Beaux-Arts deciding that the trunk-full of drawings was a matter for the Provincial government to decide upon (not unreasonably, since a trunk of materials had been left with them by the *Sous-ministre d'état* C. J. Simard). The Musée de la Province came under the responsibility of the (recently-appointed, for the Union Nationale had just taken office) under-minister of state, Jean Bruchési. The National Gallery, through Dominion Archivist Gustave Lanctôt, accordingly directed its request for examples from the "huge find" to Bruchési, along with requests for some of the Musée's principal works in oil by Julien. Bruchési acceded in principle to this loan on 30 October 1937, noting:

Quant à la collection de dessins, au nombre de 750, environ, elle se trouve à l'Ecole des Beaux-Arts de Montréal où M. Jules Bazin procède actuellement à sa mise en ordre. J'espère connaître, ces jours-ci, la date à laquelle monsieur Bazin terminera sa besogne.³⁸

Somewhat mystified by this turn of events, McCurry was able to secure, after

³⁷ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Barbeau to McCurry (letter) October 23 1937.

³⁸ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Bruchési to McCurry, October 30 1937.

lengthy entreaties, some fifty drawings for the National Gallery exhibition.³⁹ These eventually found their way back to the Musée de la Province de Québec - to be identified as gift of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts! Meanwhile, McCurry pleaded with the *Star's* new owner J. McConnell to intervene with the Government of Quebec and have the trunk of drawings returned to the *Star*, since the drawings clearly came from the paper.⁴⁰ McConnell's aide A. J. West informed McCurry that the trunk had been sent to the Ecole through an intermediary by none other than Lord Atholstan some fifteen years earlier,⁴¹ a statement at one point ambiguously corroborated by Arthur Racey who wrote, in the postscript to a letter of January 1938: "Lord Atholstan, I am informed, loaned Dr. Barbeau a number of Julien's black-and-white drawings some time ago."⁴² Racey had given much of his collection to David Ross McCord.⁴³ The McCord Museum itself lent items to the National Gallery and was later to organize the third public-gallery exhibition devoted to Julien, at the Château Ramezay in 1941.

³⁹ NGC Archives, 1938, Julien Exhibition, Bruchési to McCurry, November 12 1937: "I am sending under separate cover 52 drawings made by Henri Julien for the Montreal Daily Star and now the property of the Province of Quebec. They have been chosen by Mr. Marius Barbeau for the Julien exhibition which the National Gallery of Canada is organizing[...Bruchési lists three paintings to be loaned as well and a work by James Wilson Morrice, loaned for a separate project, adding:] The Honourable Mr. Paquette [Secretary of the Province] is happy to cooperate with you in honouring two of our greatest artists."

⁴⁰ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, McCurry to McConnell, January 21 1939.

⁴¹ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, A. J. West to McCurry, January 30 1939.

⁴² NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Racey to McCurry, January 26 1938. Too ill when the exhibition lists were being settled, Racey, who had many drawings which he had seen Julien make, paid tribute to memory of his mentor in this correspondence, noting that Julien's desk from the *Star* office was among his "most treasured possessions".

⁴³ NGC Archives, Racey to McCurry, March 12 1938.

McCurry worked hard with letters and press releases designed to appeal to a desire among French-Canadian collectors to honour Julien. He placed a story with the Canadian Press and followed it up with personal requests to the editors of every major French-language daily in Québec that the story be given special attention. Most of these editors were happy to do so, leading off special editorials with headlines like "Attention! Ceci est très important!" Montreal art dealer Albert Cloutier acted as liaison with a Jos. Lebrun whose "father used to work in Beauchemin's and from what I gather, if these drawings had not been salvaged from the dust pan, they would have been used for kindling. So, you might draw your own conclusions as to the whereabouts of "The Bytown Coons".⁴⁴ Meanwhile, McCurry's other letters, with C. J. Simard's widow and even Israel Tarte's son Joseph in their number, brought no luck, although it was thanks to the puffing up of the press-release in one of the French-language papers that Tarte's cousin, Arthur Robillard, came forward with the loan of the reprinted *Songs of the By-Town Coons*. Although far from having the *cachet* of the original works, this presentation had the result of provoking commentary on the cartoons in almost all the reviews of the exhibition. In the end, McCurry was able to secure just one original for the *By-Town Coons*, from the personal collection of Antoine Valiquette of the Librairie Beauchemin. Valiquette sold this and five other drawings to the National Gallery in 1939.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Cloutier to McCurry, November 29 1937.

⁴⁵ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, Valiquette to McCurry 8 February 1939.

But no other originals from the year 1899 came forward; it is unlikely that any collector or safe-keeper had them classified at all. Jules Bazin's "besogne" was, it seems, left unfinished. The trunk of drawings went to the Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal, apparently under the aegis of Aegidius Fauteux, its *conservateur*. Fauteux could easily have classified the drawings relating to the *Star* thanks to the Bibliothèque's newspaper holdings (its Salle Gagnon remains an excellent source of the satiric periodicals to which Julien contributed). But Fauteux died in 1941 and the task was not carried out. In October 1942 the Bibliothèque was on the point of returning the trunk to the Ecole des Beaux-Arts, with the proviso that it might reassert possession should its position as owner ever be established.⁴⁶ It is not confirmed that this transfer took place. In April 1997, neither the Bibliothèque nor the Archives of the Ecole des Beaux-Arts (in the possession of the Université du Québec à Montréal) have any knowledge of these drawings. Correspondence relating to the activities of the Bibliothèque's *conservateurs* were at the time of writing in transit to the Archives of the City of Montreal, inaccessible until late June 1997. Compounding the near-discovery and the almost-certain loss of the *By-Town Coons* and the other 700 to 900 drawings is the contradiction arising from claims of C.J. Simard and Lord Atholstan as sources for this trunk (...unless there were two such trunks). A. J. West's comment places a transfer at around the year 1924, whereas Beauchemin claimed to have sent its drawings to Simard in 1930. The mysteries surrounding the disappearance of a significant part of Julien's work are frustratingly complex.

⁴⁶ "La Ville remet aux Beaux-Arts 900 dessins de Julien", *Le Canada*, 2 October 1942.

The National Gallery of Canada's *Henri Julien: memorial exhibition* opened on March 10, 1938, twinned with Clarence Gagnon's illustrations for Louis Hémon's *Maria Chapdelaine* (the latter works now in the McMichael Canadian Collection at Kleinburg, Ontario, where they are regularly exhibited). The Julien exhibition was opened by P.J.A. Cardin, Minister of Public Works, himself introduced by Harry S. Southam, who was also chair of the National Gallery's Board of Trustees. Speaking on need for a new gallery building, Cardin said that "when the minister of finance is disposed to show a little more generosity, something may be done." Early on, McCurry had said that he wanted the *By-Town Coons* so that the Members of Parliament could see them while the House was sitting.⁴⁷ Was the exhibition somehow intended to help loosen the purse-strings for a new building? Harry Southam's *Ottawa Citizen* reminded readers that: "...Julien was the originator of the By Town Coons. The By Town Coons were the statesmen who practised their necromancy on Parliament Hill at Ottawa."⁴⁸

The respect accorded to Julien's work at the time of the National Gallery exhibition was somewhat that due to an unjustly forgotten artist. The show travelled to the Art Association of Montreal, the Art Gallery of Toronto and to the Musée de la Province de Québec. Critical reception in Québec was undergoing the kind of change which considered the presentation of Julien a rearguard action. "Julien caricaturiste? Eh voyons! Il ne l'était pas pour deux sous"..."Trop rapides, les dessins de Julien ne sont

⁴⁷ NGC Archives, 1938 Julien Exhibition, McCurry to Paul Rainville, 1936.

⁴⁸ "EWH", review of Henri Julien exhibition, *Ottawa Citizen* March 11 1938.

pas sans quelques faiblesses parfois." ⁴⁹

4. After 1940

Julien's work settled into an easy use for whatever purpose was required. *La Patrie* in 1940 aligned Julien's *Habitant* figure to the aims of the Société St-Jean Baptiste. We are far away from the Julien who illustrated the allegorical vehicles of Québec's great social and labour organisations (several of them designed by Jean-Baptiste Côté) for the *Opinion Publique* of 1880. Julien was simply "le créateur du fameux personnage "Baptiste", le paysan canadien-français." *La Patrie* quotes the writer Madeleine: "Personne mieux que Henri Julien n'aura compris et peint ce Baptiste" and Hormisdas Magnan: "il fut avant tout un artiste du terroir."⁵⁰ Another study could trace Julien's own *Baptiste* as a *Punch*-like commentator on the foibles of Québec society and politics in the vision of Berthelot and Beaugrand in the 1880s. This Baptiste was a caricature, a deflating witness using stereotyping against itself. But at mid-twentieth century, Julien had become the observer observed, the "snapshotter snapshotted", and his reputation had drifted away from the wit and knowing which had nurtured it in the first place.

Marius Barbeau's role in shaping the serpentine path of this reputation is most remarkable. "Discoverer" of the elusive trunk of drawings, contributor of the essay to the National Gallery catalogue (an essay reprinted many times in its French version in

⁴⁹ To this comment the Julien family added the comment, in pen: "stupide".

⁵⁰ *La Patrie*, 27 June 1940.

newspapers of the early 1940s), Barbeau inaugurated a text, used several times in other publications, on the image we know as "Le Vieux de '37" or "Le Vieux Patriote. d'Henri Julien." The image's capacity for "multiple readings" was given an impetus by Barbeau's articles of the 1940s on the subject, all remarkably alike (a practice noted by Mario Béland with respect to Barbeau's articles on Côté). Barbeau (or perhaps his editors) simply changed the geographical location through which the Vieux strides according the changing locale of the newspaper. However, the first recorded appearance was markedly political, for it came in the *Nouvelles de l'Épargne de Guerre* of 25 July 1941. Perhaps unaware of the conflicted position with which Julien struggled in his late 1899 cartoons (because of French Canada's opposition to Canadian military participation overseas), Barbeau used the "Vieux de '37" to encourage French Canada to buy War Bonds in the midst of the crisis over conscription during the Second World War (Illus. 59). In his entreaty he turns to the *By-Town Coons* for support:

Il fut avant tout le meilleur chroniqueur - presque le seul, il est vrai, des mœurs et des hommes politiques de son temps. Sans lui on aurait déjà oublié la plupart des politiciens de l'arène fédérale qu'il ne cessait de croquer sur le vif, par exemple, dans ses *By-Town Coons*, *Portraits parlementaires*, *Binettes politiques*... Là, Cartwright, Foster, Oliver, Tarte et un grand nombre d'autres se font valoir en chambre avec force gestes et textes à l'appui.

Aujourd'hui, on considère qu'Henri Julien fut le meilleur dessinateur et peintre de son temps, chez nous; il contribua plus que tout autre à la survivance de l'art canadien, alors que la plupart des artistes proprement dits tournaient le dos à leur pays et s'expatriaient en France.

Sans peut-être le savoir, Julien était, comme son vieil *Habitant de '37*, un vrai patriote, celui qui aide à son pays tout en lui faisant honneur.

Barbeau also made a pointed remark that invoked Julien's patriotism:

Ce vieux patriote, coiffé d'une tuque, vêtu d'étoffe du pays, en bottes sauvages, mordant une pipe de plâtre et s'appêtant à épauler un vieux fusil à pierre, porte la date de 1837. Cela veut dire qu'il habitait la vallée de l'Ottawa, probablement Saint-Eustache, où il y eut du sang versé (l'artiste lui-même, l'été, cinquante ans plus tard, demeurait avec sa famille à Sainte-Rose, vis-à-vis de Saint-Eustache).⁵¹ Ce vieil habitant était de ceux qui, au soulèvement de 1837, dans le Bas et le Haut Canada, préparaient les voies à l'Union des deux Canadas, et indirectement, à la Confédération.

Julien's *Vieux de '37* thus performs the neat trick of justifying French-Canadian involvement in the Second World War on the basis of an appeal to the patriotism bound up in the 1837 rebellion's typology of the path to Confederation! The contrast to artists who abandoned Canada to pursue their learning in France is perplexing, but not surprising, given the traditional seam of antagonism in Québec towards the history of politics in France, a mother country often deemed far too liberal and anticlerical by those Québec élites which had defended the traditions of the *ancien régime*. But as we have seen, it was precisely the lineage to the visual art traditions of the pre-Conquest world that interested historians like Marius Barbeau and, custodians of a Julien who, in his caricature, had nothing whatever to do with their models.

Henri Julien's political cartoons did not disappear altogether from public imagination. *La Patrie*, by virtue of its founder Honoré Beaugrand, inherited Beaugrand's collection of his satirical weeklies. It presented a chronicle of the

⁵¹ In *La Patrie* for 7 July 1946, Barbeau presented "Le Porteur d'eau d'Henri Julien" with exactly the same text as that for the *Nouvelles d'Épargne de Guerre*, changing the holiday spot of Julien's family, since the Porteur d'eau "habitait la vallée du Richelieu, où l'artiste, l'été, demeurait avec sa famille". Barbeau also presented the article in the journal of the Centre Catholique de l'Université d'Ottawa, *20e Siècle*, vol 2 no. 5 (January 1944): 95.

"politicians of Yesteryear" in the series "Images d'autrefois: Caricatures du Pays" which appeared in the late 1940's, painstakingly re-creating the issues and personalities, and explaining the visual puns, of the cartoons Albéric Bourgeois had so admired.

The *By-Town Coons* and the cartoons of October 7, 1899 were used in 1961 by Alan Jarvis, then editor of *Canadian Art* and former director of the National Gallery of Canada. Jarvis wrote an article for the *Montreal Star's* June 30 issue of the syndicated *Weekend Magazine*, descendant of the *Standard*, on the "almost-forgotten" Henri Julien. Titled "Lively Portraits of Canada's Political Past", this article recalled Henri Julien who, "in the days before news photos... produced art in a hurry." This article presented the somewhat tired Julien we saw in our introduction. Since his death in 1908, said Jarvis, Julien had been almost entirely forgotten, save for the brief flurry of interest in 1938, at the time of the National Gallery's memorial exhibition. Jarvis's three-page article was illustrated with photographs of Julien at play and at work, with political reportage and news illustrations, with examples of his oil paintings and of his political caricatures. These last works interested Jarvis the most. "In his parliamentary studies", he wrote,

Julien was quick to spot posturing and pomposity and careful to emphasize them in his drawings. From this it was just a step to the cartoon. And it was in the field of cartooning that Julien gained his greatest reputation. To the modern eye Julien's cartoons seem to lack the sharp edge of true satire... His humour us kindly. I suspect that Julien, the man, was much too sympathetic to be a really great cartoonist. Take his study of Sir Wilfrid Laurier à Londres, for example. The reaction is a smile, not a laugh. It is a joke between friends, not an attack on the enemy.

Jarvis was writing about the more anodyne half of *Peace Hath her Victories No Less than War*. But to illustrate "Laurier in London", *Weekend* slipped in the other half of the diptych - the strikingly different Laurier, skulking away from marching troops, inviting no smile, no sympathy; "Caricature of a belligerent Sir Wilfrid Laurier referred to his Boer War policy", reads the caption. *Weekend's* French-language sister publication, *Perspectives*, also ran the Jarvis article, on July 1 1961. Its caption reads: "Il [Henri Julien] devint féroce pour railler Laurier et son grand projet de subsides militaires à l'Angleterre". Here is an echo of Gérard Morisset's comment about Juliens caricatures of a "Wilfrid Laurier belliciste, lors de la guerre des Boers". To see the cartoons adapted to brief texts which imply a critique of warmongering, long after the two World Wars revived questions of French-Canadian support for England's military responsibilities, is perhaps indicative of certain kinds of hope for a world at peace which belong to the era of dismantled colonial empires. To see them published on a Dominion Day, early in the time of the Quiet Revolution, by Saturday magazines which were descendants of the Star's weekly edition, invites a lengthy consideration of the ironies involved.

Jarvis also touched on the lack of interest for Julien's drawings in public art collections in his era, referring to the lengthy efforts of one Paul Cardinaux to place his collection. The situation is summed up in *The Elizabethan* of the same year:

In an effort to preserve an important collection of his work for posterity Paul Cardinaux, a Laval University scientist, and a friend bought all the works still owned by the family, about 33 pictures in all... The new publisher of the Star who because of the artist's long association with his newspaper might have had some interest in preserving his work and his contribution to history, said he couldn't care less if the whole collection went up in smoke. ... The American-

born director of Montreal's Museum of Fine Arts had never heard of most of the politicians and had no appreciation of early French Canada.

Finally, last fall after keeping the collection intact for a quarter of a century, M. Cardinaux decided to let it go. The McCord Museum managed to buy a few choice items illustrative of French Canadian life; a gallery in Toronto lifted half a dozen political cartoons.⁵²

Cardinaux approached every large museum in Canada, particularly the Musée de la Province de Québec (Morrisset enduring a long *pas de deux* in the process) and the National Gallery of Canada, and he devoted his final campaign to the City of Montreal. He tried to place the collection as a whole or in parts, always against the spectre of an un-named American collector who was prepared to have the lot. His story does in fact tell us much about the difficult place of Canadian art for leading Canadian art collections up to the 1960s; budgets for these purchases were not large. Cardinaux was somewhat aggressive and he fell afoul of the growing professionalism of Canadian museums; Gerard Morrisset at the Musée du Québec above all was not about to have his choices for the Province's collection dictated, and his priority was in any case centred on the safeguarding of Québec's religious artifacts. Unspoken in the correspondence is the implication that almost any of the museums would have happily received the collection as a gift. Unfortunately, Cardinaux did not catalogue it, and scribbled references with respect to the caricatures (for example, to the By-Town Coons) make it unclear whether these are originals or printed versions (framed cuttings from the original newspapers have turned up as recently as the 1980s). The half-dozen political cartoons taken by a Toronto gallery remain unidentified. Each of the paths

⁵² Edward Alan Lewis, "Forgotten Artist", in *The Elizabethan*, February 1961. p. 21.

which might lead to originals for the 1899 cartoons thus ends in mystery, although the careful reading of these paths helps us to understand the fate of the objects themselves and of their changing importance.

Chapter 6. “Our lips are now forbid to speak!...”: Conclusions

1. Paths to contemporary meanings for Julien’s 1899 cartoons

We have seen that Henri Julien’s life and career enabled him to sustain separate voices through the graphic style of his political cartoons and that this ability was ultimately irreconcilable to the ambitions of Hugh Graham. In terms of our opening description of the political cartoon’s potential, Julien was unwilling to “explore the very edges of [his] society’s sense of tolerance” any further than he did. But these cartoons have nonetheless come to test Québec and Canadian history on this score, and the response has on the whole been an embarrassed silence. The misinterpretations of the Boer War cartoons alone underline the difficulty with which the events of 1899 are revisited. The *Songs of the By-Town Coons* are especially hard to discuss because the racist surface they employ is so strong. The treatment of Blackface minstrelsy was an entertaining conceit to Julien and his readers, but today it is impossible to separate the idea of a conceit from that of exploitation. The subtle nuances which have emerged in the attempt to understand what Julien was up against, or up to, in executing these drawings, have found only dismissal because the drawings are “dated” (Desbarats and Mosher). Given what we now know about their place in the Graham-Tupper arsenal, we have tried instead to accord them their due as political acts which incarnate the quality of politics in 1899, a flash-point in the history of French-English relations in Canada. The conflicted position of the man ultimately responsible for their appearance (in both senses of the term) is but one instance among the more difficult human journeys made through the antagonisms bound up in the hopes and compromises of

Confederation.

In this concluding chapter we examine ideas that help us to assess the multiple voicing which we have traced in Julien's cartoons. It was first of all an example of irony, of "saying one thing while meaning its opposite." It was also more complex, for in qualities of graphic line and representation Julien withstood the charges laid in the *By-Town Coon* texts, effectively winking to his audience and satirizing the satirists. Layered atop the parodic inversion of the House of Commons through the Minstrel Show format is the sense of Julien's own performance (noted, for that matter, by his colleague Brenton MacNab). Julien's virtuosity draws attention to itself and away from the texts' business. Julien is a comic performer no less than the ministerial "clowns" on the newspaper's "stage." But insofar as Julien and his audiences understood one another and shared meanings through his tactics, then Julien's cartooning and clowning reached a privileged group for whom the cartoon conveyed and confirmed the ability to read between the lines, to unravel the ironies present. It was a means of communication enjoyed by initiates, in effect by élites. The racism involved in this communication is not, according to recent theory, simply a trivial adornment; it denotes, remembers and perpetuates an exploitative relationship. This recourse in caricature to Black or Blackface Minstrelsy in order to discuss English and French, Liberal and Conservative identities is an open wound in the history of Canadian culture. Readings in theories of writing through race, in theories of carnival, of irony and of metaphor have been assembled here to give a starting point for the use of the 1899 cartoons. All have in common the idea of dual systems of meaning which we

have developed in this study from the first instance in the young Henri Julien's *Chansonnier* to the last of his cartoons for the *Star*.

The Question of Race

In addressing the issue of race as a chosen vehicle for the layering of meanings in the cartoons, it is tempting to detach them from Julien altogether. In the early stages of this research it was assumed that Julien found the doubly-racist implications of the *By-Town Coons* project repulsive and that his graphic style was intended to foster a resistance to both. But this is probably an anachronistic evaluation given the material presented, according to which it appears questions of race and immigration were all that did trouble Julien in politics. To have dwelt further on the absence of the original drawings and to have developed them as a body of work without author, as phenomena that survive only in reproduction, is another strategy available in contemporary theory that would have erased the difficulty of racism in Julien's work just as it has already been erased by being simply ignored. Surviving only in the reproduction for which they were intended is survival nonetheless for these drawings. Whether in microfilm, newspaper copies or in the as-yet-uninventoried, so often uncredited, instances of their republication in the history of Québec and Canadian book publishing, they continue to fulfil their function as commercial objects. After all, for nearly a century they have been traded commodities in the world of Québec and Canadian history and political publishing.

We have suggested in the last chapter some ways in which these commodities

have carried, shed and acquired particular meanings over the course of a century. Their meaning for Canadian and Québec society resides in their presentation and negotiation of fundamental historical conflicts in our history, conflicts that call in to question all of the residual political and racial antagonisms which are the nation's condition.

It is important in considering the racist operations we have described to remember that they were part of a mythology developed to justify an economic position. Graham led a charge with his newspaper in an attempt to restore the position of the class of businessmen to which he belonged. He turned to a racist strategy, its most acute target Israel Tarte, who became a Habitant Blackface Minstrel, ridiculed and stereotyped twice over. Voice and the visual depiction collaborated in an unusual manifestation of colonization of a cultural figure, and the Francophone was equated with the Black for the eyes and understanding of the English-speaking reader.

There was a precedent for this cross-identification. If distant in time, it was close to Julien's background. Describing, in 1858, the role of Christianity in abolishing slavery, Georges-Edouard Desbarats had written:

"... Supposons que le christianisme n'eut pas encore paru, lors de la conquête du Canada par l'Angleterre, que serions-nous devenus? - c'est au Christianisme que nous devons la liberté. Et cependant, il répugne que le meilleur sang Français devienne servile! Non. - le désespoir eût armé nos pères, d'une force nouvelle, un suprême effort eût chassé l'envahisseur et nous ne serions pas, ou nous serions libres comme nous sommes; mais la sagesse de Dieu a tout ordonné pour le mieux, et l'intelligence qu'il a donné à l'homme ne doit point scruter ses jugements!"¹

Desbarats warned his listeners (the paper was delivered to the *Cabinet de lecture*

¹ George-Edouard Desbarats, *L'esclavage dans l'antiquité et son abolition par le christianisme* [1858] CIHM microfiche no. 22699.

paroissial) that he would not condemn slavery per se, "car la saine raison et le christianisme ne condamnent pas l'esclavage en lui-même. Ils ne se sont élevés que contre ses abus" which were leading the U.S. to its Civil War. Besides, "l'esclavage a dégradé le sol de l'Amérique. Mais la religion a toujours été à son poste. Elle a pris la défense d'abord des Indiens, et plus tard des nègres." Just as St. Paul would not condemn slavery outright, but preferred to spread his doctrine of liberty by stealth, "c'est ainsi que {,} dans les pays où le catholicisme mêle un nombre considérable de ses adhérents, à la masse d'une société protestante, celle-ci reçoit par le contact, une teinte plus adoucie, un caractère plus sociable, ses préjugés s'affaiblissent." Thus an ideology of silent persuasion was articulated. Was Julien its inheritor, as he was of so much from Desbarats?

The Québec and Montréal of Julien's lifetime certainly had a history in slavery, racism and the negrophobia that Dorothy Williams characterizes in her history of Blacks in Montréal, *The Road to Now* (1997). Williams makes clear the historiographical problem of returning to a Canadian minority group a history which has been either unrecorded or ignored because it runs counter to a Canadian historical self-image of tolerance and difference from the vagaries of slavery and civil rights in the United States. Julien's cartoons are effectively part of the ignored intolerance.

By the recourse to the further metaphor in race that is the dressing of Liberal power in Blackface Minstrelsy, Julien's cartoons show us that our ambivalent heritage includes instances where extreme representations were acceptable in a way that is no longer the case. But while we may assume a distancing from positions we now feel

entitled to deplore and set aside, the danger is that in ignoring these works we have not only buried the complicated voicings to which they gave a kind of body, but that we have deprived ourselves of an available means that helps us be critical of our own likely un-conscience in what we assume is a more developed ethics of tolerance.

As for Julien, his immediate context was the *Star's* coverage of ethnic difference and immigration in 1899. It has specific echoes in Julien's posthumous journey as well. The paper featured editorial and news coverage of questions of immigration that firmly defined a rather homogeneous English-Canadian world-view and indeed, both the recourse to images of the Black, used for the *By-Town Coons*, and of the Indian, virtually absent from the political discourse of the newspaper, were treated as examples from outside the mainstream of the readers' experience. The *Star* referred to the "Negro Problem" in the United States, and the swarm of lynchings alien and troubling to Canadian life (brought to the Canadian hearth nonetheless through the safe space of the newspaper). The "Negro" appears either as the "othering" identity of these white Liberal politicians; as a racial problem that is "someone else's"; or as a curiosity. He is a visiting dignitary at a festival or a champion cyclist at an international meet - where whites put on Blackface make-up in amateur Cake-walk contests. A Native population - we remember the 1885 shift in terminology from "Métis" to "half-breed" - received similar treatment. The *Star* published an item about Franz Boas, of the American Museum of Natural History, and his studies of the "Peculiar Indians./The Kwakuhtl of British Columbia and their Habits./Queer Survivals of Barbaric Customs Among Them. Totem Poles and Weird Initiation Ceremonies."

This was tellingly printed as a Saturday item in August 1899. The cultural space of the Saturday readership, at Summer holiday-time, is one in which a matter of race is treated as an entertainment, albeit dressed in the serious purposes of an institution of civilization which, tellingly, is American. Both ends of the cultural spectrum of imaging through presentation and analysis are imported to help make sense of the world to English Canadians.

The ethnological lineage in this last case is compelling for Julien, for Boas was a great influence on Marius Barbeau, one of the most important mediators of Julien's reputation. The use Barbeau made of Julien's *Vieux de '37*, discussed in the last chapter, found its ultimate echo in the late 1960's when the image was used by Joseph Costisella on the cover of his *L'esprit révolutionnaire dans la littérature québécoise* (Montréal, Beauchemin) of 1968. In the same year that FLQ member Pierre Vallières published his *Nègres blancs d'Amérique* (Montréal, Parti Pris), oddly fulfilling (albeit through a Marxist-pamphleteering analysis) the imputations made once upon a time by Hugh Graham and the *Star*. The FLQ and Vallières's conceit, that the original *québécois*, dispossessed land-workers, had been made *nègres* (that is, oppressed and commonly enslaved like all workers whose lives and labour had been commodified by capitalism), had its own immediate roots in the highly visible Civil Rights movement in the United States of the 1960's. The shift towards the use of violence and terrorist activity in a section of this movement paralleled the activities of the FLQ. Seen dispassionately, it might be argued that this was another case of a white group easily co-opting actions founded in the bitter and deeply complex experiences of the African

diaspora. Further comparisons might usefully be made between the FLQ's leaders and the political leadership of Julien's time. Power and its exercise were after all common objectives to both groups. They employed similar processes of appropriation and using the "other" in pursuit of personal gain. It is difficult not to consider each of these operations as echoes of the initial terror of slavery that has so conditioned the experience of the New World, with Canada no exception, for at each instance the colour of one person's skin becomes another's economic and political advantage (the FLQ then famously (mis-)appropriated the image wrought by Julien and then Barbeau into the emblem of their cause by evoking Julien's *Vieux* in a crude representation on their *communiqués*. during the October Crisis of 1970).

We have argued that this confluence of racial beliefs must remain troubling in terms of Julien's career; he cannot be claimed as a non-racist. He too hid in the surface of "Black-ness," in his case to resist the criticism of French Canada and Liberalism through the exuberance of his line-and-ink work. But again, his flourishing style coincided with Hugh Graham's campaign towards power and economic control. It fulfilled characteristic conditions of the creation of a political mythology for economic ends. Like many moments of cultural "advance" in Western culture, it involved an exploitative relationship in its image-making, in keeping with the process described by Michael Rogin (1992) for the history of film: "Each transformative moment in the history of American film has founded itself on the surplus symbolic value of blacks, the power to make African Americans stand for

something besides themselves".² The comparison is reasonable here, given that Julien was also operating in a commercial, mass-diffused cultural setting at a time when falsified images of Blacks were widely distributed throughout North America, either on stage, in posters or in song-books, church bazaars, university clubs or in literature. Certainly there is a commercial dimension to the appropriation and misuse or "thin" use of, skin colour, linguistic and religious traditions which become "natural resources" easily directed towards the production and commodification of identity, just as they identified divisions of human beings into classes of dehumanized slaves. The cartoons assumed racist strands and this made them all the more popular. They sold the newspapers whose home culture (that of Montréal, Québec and Canada) were facile borrowers of superficial cultural characteristics. The facility was echoed by the sheer extent of the newspaper's information-gathering and reproducing abilities. The North American culture of entertainment and curiosities had a scientific counterpart in ethnography and anthropology as a "serious" parallel - a distinction no longer given universal credence, and one in which Julien's folkloric work is somewhat trapped. A relentless museum-making encouraged the classification and appropriation of diverse human experiences. The 19th century museum was both a site of state learning and a populist form of entertainment - depending on location and staff, and of course on semantic confusion. The *Star* was likewise a paper of serious record and the site of the performances of the *By-Town Coons*. At the least, Julien's culture, his newspaper and its readership, can be characterized as a superficial reader of other cultures. This

² Michael Rogin, "Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice." *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Spring 1992) 417-42: 417.

lightweight approach leads to the easy commodification of national identity and racial "surfaces".

These operations, of ironic process and reliance on racist surfaces in order to convey possibilities of self-distancing from a dominant group, and the necessary ambivalence which must operate, are described in texts collected in *The Bounds of Race* (1993) edited by Dominick LaCapra. Although none of the contributions tackles the French-Canadian experience explicitly, Satya P. Mohanty on "Kipling and the Culture of Colonial Rule" describes another "corner" of the British Empire, namely the Indian subcontinent, at a time directly consonant with the present study. He reminds us that it is "the economic need not of a people but of a ruling economic class" which instills the impetus to use race, and that skin colour is that natural resource created through a symbolic identification in which value is assigned because of a cultural decision that is constructed, or better, concocted.

Michael Goldfield makes a similar point in "The Color of Politics in the United States" (1993); race and racial oppression and the constitution of a de-humanizing difference are part of a mythologizing rooted in the economic needs of a ruling class.³ In Goldfield's example, it is specifically the desire to increase wealth which led in the United States to the distinction between bonded servants from Europe and slaves purchased in Africa; a divisive social buffer is created to maintain control of a labouring (and dependent) population.⁴ At its source are not immutable and eternal

³ Goldfield, Michael. "The Color of Politics in the United States," in Dominick LaCapra, ed. *The Bounds of Race* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991.) 104-133: 115.

⁴ Goldfield (1993): 116-117.

cultural patterns but specific and individual instances of exploitation and greed. And a process that Mohanty calls racialization takes shape: "Color line divides and separates; it involves a dynamic process through which social groups can be bound, defined and shaped." This process not only creates stereotypes of the colonized as "other and inferior;" by a continuous logic, it may be suggested that the colonizer too develops a cultural identity that survives well past the formal context of colonial rule.

In contrast to this constant borrowing is a Julien peeking out from within the limits of language, through the processes of translation, through the use of graphic line able to support many meanings at once. Again in *The Bounds of Race*, Sauria Mehrez addresses the observable level of mutually dependent and reinforcing mythologies of colonizer and colonized expressed in systems of literature and art with respect to the post-1940s North African Francophone literature of writers Albert Memmi and Abdelkebir Khatibi. The presentation on the construction of a "real image" of the colonized figure is important to us. These concepts can be useful in the context of the ambiguous relationship between Julien's graphic images and their accompanying texts. In the aftermath of the European colonial project, Julien's lifetime saw the renewal of Québec's active colonization in the movement to open up its hinterland. Québec also actively supported political efforts in favour of Francophone rights throughout Canada, supported networks to the Francophones lost to the United States through emigration, and attempted to influence Canadian immigration policy in the hope of attracting French and Belgian immigrants. The year 1899 would also prove to be a watershed in the rise of a young, social-action nationalist Catholic movement under Henri Bourassa

. There is a delicate replication, of the English position towards Francophones, within the Francophone élites' attitudes to their non-élites. The "real image" constructed in French Canada was that of the *habitant*, ironically an adoption of the Quebecker who was a necessary invention to English rule: land-bound, religious, philosophical, with a dash of skepticism (ironic even), powerless if sturdy. Memmi was later to argue that "thanks to the political economy of colonization itself, the colonized subject gradually internalizes, confirms and acts out daily... the negative image invented and imposed upon him or her." This, said Memmi, was the process of *mystification*. And Abdelkebir Khatibi expounded in *La mémoire tatouée*:

On connaît l'imagination coloniale: juxtaposer, compartimenter, militariser, découper la ville en zones ethniques, ensabler la culture du peuple dominé. En découvrant son dépaysement, ce peuple errera, hagard, dans l'espace brisé de son histoire. Et il n'y a de plus atroce que la déchirure de la mémoire.⁵

In this respect we recall that Julien came close to joining the exodus from Québec and the *rouge* republican tradition which, we have argued, shaped his family's life. But he stayed and participated, with his cartoons and especially with his illustrations, in the efforts to keep memory from being torn away, torn up and discarded. The very ambiguity that we outline in these images should alert us to use historical iconography more often, and more carefully, when approaching Québec and Canadian historiography.

⁵ Abdelkebir Khatibi, *La mémoire tatouée* (Paris 1971), p. 54. Reprinted in LaCapra, *The Bounds of Race*: 270-272.

2. *The Songs of the By-Town Coons and the Carnavalesque*

The *By-Town Coons'* performance space and style was an inverting parody of the House of Commons, with numerous and many-layered transpositions. White figures made up in Blackface, chaos alternating with an episodic hierarchy: the world of the Minstrel show stood in for the House. We remember that Wilfrid Laurier was cast as the Interlocutor who conducted and called forth performances from each of his minstrels in a manner that normally depended on interaction with the audience and suggested the organized although sometimes instinctive team-play of political parties trading rhetorical flourishes. The theatrical nature of both venues was highlighted. Arranged in a semi-crescent Minstrel staging, the Blackface cabinet "faced the opposition" (the Conservatives, identified with the "audience" which is also the *Star's* readership). The "theatre" of parliament was evoked in 1995 in a study of the work of four Quebec cartoonists in the 1960s and 1970s. *The Carnivalization of Politics* by Raymond Morris (1995), stresses the relationship of the cartoon to Mikhail Bakhtin's metaphor of Carnival. Morris draws on the work of Kenneth Burke (1974) and Erich Auerbach (1957) to summarize a relevant reading of carnival in the context of Canadian parliamentary political cartoons.

Parliamentary debate is normally a ritual contained within clearly recognized bounds by the party in power; but occasionally it escapes, and there is personal violence, or members are ejected from the House, or the government is defeated. As ritual, politics can be carnivalized: its values inverted, its forms mocked, and its content taken out of context to appear comic. It can also be hyper-carnivalized: political cartoons may focus on only those features which make political institutions appear chronically laughable.

Bakhtin identified six elements in pure carnival; only three of these

remained in commercialized hyper-carnival. First, pure carnival emanated from the popular culture and was polyphonic; participants spoke with a wide range of voices simultaneously. This allowed a span of outlooks and experiences to be heard in rapid succession. Second, the carnival was a joyful bodily game, an occasion to rejoice in the physical unity and community of the people. Third, the carnival proclaimed that only the people were immortal and indestructible, constantly fertile and able to renew themselves.

These features disappeared with commercialization, but the following three features of pure carnival remained in reified or hyper-carnival. Carnival temporarily reversed a coercive hierarchical social order and its preoccupations by bringing into being a community which was its opposite in several crucial respects: it was egalitarian, disorderly and free, and it was ruled by an elected fool-king who was derided and eventually sacrificed, not in anger but in joy. Carnival celebrated the body and its current imperfections through indulgence and vulgarity. And finally, carnival propagated folly as an alternative to sainthood.⁶

In addition, it is useful for us to draw on the observations made by André Belleau (1993) on the Québec novel.

Il n'y a pas de point de vue extérieur à partir duquel on puisse observer le carnaval... d'abord le carnavalesque doit être décrit par la critique en termes d'oppositions et non en termes de substitution. Ainsi dans la société fictive du roman carnavalisé, le carnavalesque ne vise pas à évacuer et remplacer le monde du sérieux. Au contraire, il le renferme.⁷

La suppression joyeuse des distances entre les hommes[.] La topographie sociale continue d'être marquée dans les textes mais les rapports et les distances entre les lieux sociaux et leurs occupants sont constamment gommés.⁸

Voilà un premier critère de validité textuelle du concept de carnavalisation: un processus d'interaction dialogique complexe tel que révélé par l'analyse des structures hybrides... Un second [critère], d'ordre sémantique. Décrivons-le

⁶ Morris, R. N. *The carnivalisation of politics: Quebec cartoons on relations with Canada*. (Montréal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995) 10-11.

⁷ Belleau, André. "La dimension carnavalesque du roman québécois," dans Jean-François Pelletier, dir., *Littérature et société: anthologie* (Montréal, vlb éditeur, 1994): 218-232 [publié dans *Études françaises*, XIX, 3, 1983]:221.

⁸ *ibid.*

une isotopie carnavalesque... L'analyse prédicative révèle en effet l'existence d'un signifié de synthèse subsumant toutes les marques relevées en une seule image globale organisatrice, celle du "corps grotesque" avec l'insistance sur les organes de relation au monde et aussi le grossissement de l'étage corporel inférieur, lieu du rabaissement régénérateur.⁸

These definitions respond well to our descriptions of the purposes of the *By-Town Coons*.

Although we have argued that Julien took pains not to deform or caricature the politicians depicted in *Black-face*, the sense of performance and of the statuesque did indeed depend on his depiction and energetic deployment of the politicians' limbs. And the *By-Town Coons* were presented as a world seen from the inside precisely because of the aura of direct observation of real Minstrel performance, an aura reinforced by the semantic collusion of Julien's reputation as a brilliant "visual reporter" of the real parliament, a reputation built by Julien's work (and the public reception of that work) from 1894 through 1898. While the commercial setting of Julien's cartoons demands that we place them in Bakhtin's hyper-carnival, to its three conditions can be added, from Bakhtin's wider definition, that of polyphony - Julien's secret voice added in the detachment constructed by his visual style. Thus was the "sacrifice" of the "fool-king" conducted in joy. In the cartoons that followed the *By-Town Coons* this "joy" was gradually threatened as Graham's voice assumed greater prominence.

⁸ Belleau, pp.228-229.

3. The possibilities of Irony

It can be argued that Julien's 1899 cartoons exist now in a space that Linda Hutcheon has defined as *Irony's Edge* (1994). Julien's work is ambiguous enough that the historian is emotionally tempted to treat it as irony, and the irony as a virtue. This is because the work strains against culturally desirable practices, while the choice of Julien and his cartoons implies a personal identification made by the historian. To wit, the present study is organized to culminate with a discussion of the cartoons; they have been accorded a privileged place in an attempt to claim their significance both for their time and for the ongoing project of the construction of Québec and Canadian history. If the foregoing is admitted, then it is also true that the coincidence of this work with the disappearance of Julien is the truly significant object of study. How does the use of ambiguity and the adoption of an overly dissimulated political stance render a historical figure vulnerable? And is this question a legitimate way in to an understanding of a body of work which is so politically difficult?

Hutcheon constructs a diagram of the functions of Irony. It is by turns reinforcing (precise, decorative), complicating (complex, imprecise), ludic (humorous, irresponsible), distancing (offering a new perspective, indifferent), self-protective (self-deprecating, defensive), provisional (non-dogmatic, hypocritical), oppositional (Subversive, offensive), assailing (satiric, aggressive) and aggregative (inclusionary, exclusionary).¹⁰ These subsidiary terms make a litany of positions which could easily be used to hide the self. Julien's cartoons, evaluated within these categories, are

¹⁰ Hutcheon, Linda. *Irony's Edge. The theory and politics of irony* (London: Routledge, 1994)

expressions of a displaced self within Quebec and Canada in the second half of the 19th Century, one who turned the displacement to momentary advantage. The collapse of Julien's cartooning owes much to the danger inherent in his process. Hutcheon warns about this danger of irony in a chapter which discusses the pitfalls encountered by the organisers of the exhibition *Out of Africa* at the Royal Ontario Museum. The museum wished to show the Canadian colonialist experience in Africa and thought that the ironic treatment of the colonialist mission would be inherently sympathetic to members of the African diaspora in Canada many of whom, however, found the original evils to have been perpetrated all over again through representation.¹⁰ The hints that swelled around Julien's death that he had "assimilated himself" to the *Star* suggest that he fell afoul of the ideals of the younger nationalist generation in Québec: its embarrassment at this part of his production presumably assuaged by its promotion of his folkloric work. There had certainly always been political sensitivity at play for Julien; in the discussion of his life and appearances in the *Star* in 1885 and 1887 we saw that his own position required subtle and complex acts of speech. The cartoon and the caricature that appear in 1899 made the situation even more complex.

Caricature operates in a fine ambiguity. It narrows the field of vision to salient characteristics of the face and of the body, which are saturated and exaggerated. It expands at the same time, through its potential as a rich "site" for meanings. It can eliminate the lived complexities of the figures which are its target and replace them with a host of transient and alien meanings. In Julien's case, these operate as a

¹⁰ *ibid.*: 176-204.

multiplicity of voices under a deceptively unified surface.

Our task was to test Julien's cartoons against this position. Our suspicion was that they made a knowing alliance of the identities of Black-ness and being Francophone in North America, which undermined the purposes for which they had been invoked - and that Julien's graphic style bore witness to this subversion. Our suspicion was borne mindful of Hutcheon's admonition that irony is not simply transmitted to and received by a reader, it is made by the reader. Julien's work may have depended on just such an active audience. Writing and reading now, we are his surviving audience. Regardless of our conclusion as to his personal purpose, we will have to face the fact that the spatial and graphic organisation of his cartoons, the visual translation of their accompanying texts, leave ironic openings (*écarts*) in which we glimpse Julien's attempt to hover over a true political commitment - an over-identification which is fatal to irony.

Finally, the meaning of the work was communicated, silently, between himself and (at least some of) his readers, at cross-purposes to those of his paymaster. But the complexities of authorship reached such an intensity that it became intolerable for Julien. For Julien was, effectively, obliged to represent both colonized and colonizing subjects; and whereas the former implied the latter, he was instructed to represent the colonizing presence at its utmost, expressed as outright race hatred for the Prime Minister and for French-Canadians, and this did not in turn allow for an answering voice. When this happened, Julien soon quit the role of cartoonist.

4. **Metaphor, likeness, multiplicity**

According to Linda Hutcheon's chart of the functions of irony, Julien was posited as displaced, employing these functions and their oppositional, subsidiary characteristics. Their racist character has been described as a surface-borrowing; a great deal of their meaning emerges as soon as we recall their system of selection and distribution. It was almost as if a cultural usage had a finite amount of significance, which diminished in perceived intensity according to the number of "beholders". If the *By-Town Coons* used American Black-face Minstrelsy, could the century of development and political traditions which accompanied that performance have any impact on a Canadian audience? Did it make the Canadian into a "surrogate American" for the duration of the performance? Since a notion of geographic displacement has been invoked, it might be as well to reconsider the term we use to describe that transference of meaning, literally "from one place to another", that of metaphor.

The Université Laval published an anthology on the subject in 1992.¹² Metaphor is not only subject but methodology, summed up by Marc Grignon in a study of architecture as the metaphor of power in 17th Century Québec: "Nous croyons que l'intérêt de la notion de métaphore en tant que 'médiation culturelle' se trouve justement là où elle nous permet de cerner les processus précis d'une culture et d'une époque données."¹³ Our concentration on a subject in visual production is supported

¹² Jacques Mathieu, sous la direction de. *La mémoire dans la culture*. Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995.

¹³ March Grignon, "L'architecture comme métaphore du pouvoir. Québec à la fin du XVIIe siècle." in Jacques Mathieu, *dir.*, *Les métaphores de la culture* (1992) 155-170.: 155.

by Paul Cadrin's reminder that "la langue prétend imposer à la culture ses frontières géopolitiques en même temps que ses limites psychologiques".¹⁴ Ours is a description of the geopolitical limits of cartooning in a newspaper. Although visual art is a language, Cadrin is referring to the written. In a different study we might explore the gendering of Julien's choices and benefit from Guy Bouchard's study of androcentric metaphors in culture.¹⁵ There is no doubt that the cast of Julien's cartoons is all male; in the 1899 cartoons, only one female figure is drawn, and she is the emblem of Canada (in the self-referential *Why the By-Town Coons Came Down*, which showed non-Black "coons", still political figures, as rather cuddly raccoons up a tree; an instance of the female, who admonishes them with the aid of a rifle, and the animal, established in interdependence). The sense of image appropriation was studied by Andrée Gendreau in a discussion of the iconography of Charlevoix. Her analysis is helpful:

"si l'on accepte de limiter le propos à l'image analogique et à un niveau d'observation précis qui ne retiendrait que l'articulation de la production du sens et de la culture... [il serait possible de dégager] les principales opérations des processus sémantique et métaphorique pour, en second lieu, aborder la part culturelle de ces processus de construction de sens dans le discours pictural..."¹⁶

Daniel Bérubé has a question which throws this study into sharp focus: "... nous avons défendu l'idée que la parole métaphorique est le propre de l'art, mais au point où nous

¹⁴ Paul Cadrin, "Pouvoir métaphorique de la musique. A propos de subversion et d'utopie". In Jacques Mathieu, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (1992): 172.

¹⁵ Guy Bouchard, "La métaphore androcentrique de la culture," dans Melançon, Joseph, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 9.

¹⁶ Andrée Gendreau, "L'image appropriée. Figures de Charlevoix". In Mathieu, Jacques, dir. *Les métaphores de la culture* (1992) 39-58: 39-40.

politique?"¹⁶ If this discourse is intrinsically multiple, it is possible to say of Julien's cartoons that they constitute *parole métaphorique* that is polyphonic in the sense attributed by Bakhtin to Carnival. The celebration of the body and the use of a parodic system in order to "elect a fool-king" are further aspects of the Carnavalesque which we discerned throughout Julien's cartoons. The idea of polyphony for this visual expression is crucial, although it is (perhaps fittingly) transferring a term from the realm of music. It was in favour of musical expression that Cadrin outlined the "geopolitical and psychological limits of language". Cadrin considers the "metaphoric power of music" as it is manifested in Québec and characterises polyphony as the unified musical language of the West, quoting Belgian composer and theoretician Henri Pousseur: "la polyphonie véritable donne l'image fidèle d'un milieu socio-naturel, dans lequel chaque individu est en quelque sorte immergé, dans lequel chacune de ses actions s'inscrit comme dans un réseau de lignes de force".¹⁷ Polyphony has a grammar and a syntax proper to polyphonic discourse, with strong epistemological consequence:

...n'est-il pas très significatif qu'au passage d'un monde féodal théocentrique (rigoureusement hiérarchisé) à celui des communes artisanales et marchandes... corresponde une importante mutation de la pratique musicale, c'est-à-dire essentiellement le passage de la monodie [...] du chant à l'unisson (et de l'idéal d'obéissance qu'il exprime), aux premières recherches de polyphonie consciente (c'est-à-dire écrite, contrôlée)?¹⁸

¹⁶ Bérubé, Daniel. "La structure d'une parole". In Jacques Mathieru, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (1992): 99-118.

¹⁷ Henri Pousseur, *Composer (avec) des identités culturelles* (Paris, Institut de pédagogie musicale et chorégraphique, 1989), p. 31; quoted in Cadrin (1992): 174.

¹⁸ *ibid.*: 175.

The phenomenon posits a moment of division, where a tradition symbolising unity became a new one symbolising plurality. Political cartooning has a parallel genealogy, especially linked to technological change through the development of the printing press in the fifteenth century, and to the removal of the prerogative of political speech from the Church or the State and the consequent sharing of responsibility for political or religious thought with an evolving readership. The widely-diffused newspaper is but one step on this particular historical path. That it should be held to "manufacture consent" in our time and that Hugh Graham should attempt to forge public opinion to his own interests by masking them with a polyphonous activity are meaningful in reconstructing a difficult political position for Henri Julien. The descriptions of Julien's aesthetic endeavour are ultimately crucial in that they suggest his attempts to resolve his position for himself. They are also a trace of his individuality, of his distinctness, which is metaphoric of an irreducible centre beyond (or at the core of) the political.

5. Envoi

"We are forbid to speak!....," Julien's mother had written in his *Chansonnier*. How easy it is to see, in this sage satire of the Julien family's position in 1850's Toronto, a poignant prescience of Julien's fate as a cartoonist; how easy to give weight to this rare fragment of the intimate life and ideals of young Henri's family. We have drawn at length on the political content of this little book, but we could go much further. We could begin all over again, with polyphony as our central *motif* this time, illustrated by

the drawings of treble clefs that accompany Julien's early rehearsals at inscribing his name in the *Chansonnier*. When the full critical biography and *catalogue raisonné* of Julien are one day composed, the treble clefs will doubtless be followed as they could not be here; for example, through his work for Fréchette's tale *Jos Violon*, to his own reputation as a fiddler, and the further incidence of elder figures playing the violin throughout his folkloric illustrations. Then it will be possible to tie in the associations with virtuosity and the strange commingling of darkness with genius, and to describe in the emergence of his gift an almost Faustian purchase on the mesmerizing ability to perform, to write and to draw (which are but a few of the manifestly Romantic interpretations of the special nature of the artist in Julien's century). The nature of Julien's gift will ultimately be found in a full-scale assessment of his entire output and on the evidence presented here it is likely that the analogy to musical and theatrical performance - celebrated but inherently ephemeral - will be strengthened. But the present study, in giving meaning to a particular body of cartoons and asking for their re-integration to the historical record, should also draw attention to the activity of a lifetime as important in history, no matter how ephemeral.

The loss of Julien's cartooning in November 1899 was the loss of a political art-form able to give voice to the world shared by Montreal's élites. It took one who was not of their ilk to do so. The dualities of Julien's peculiarly Canadian life are forever rich: without the advantages of inherited or acquired wealth, his way in this shared world was assured by his graphic abilities above all, and his career by his formation as a bilingual Canadian. It was the career of a learned artisan, not that of a

Fine Artist or of a politician-journalist. In a way, Julien's was a life lived in translation. His graphic style permitted a third way, a meeting-place between systems of meaning founded in visual art, language and politics. It was a wry distancing between the already well-rehearsed French to English. Liberal to Conservative battles (and their many-faceted recombinations). His 1899 cartoons are a lesson in Canadian history because they are simply examples of the dangers faced by the individual in society when the stakes involved in such translations are at their highest.

Illustration 1.

Henri Julien, "Elevating the Standard". *Canadian Illustrated News*, December 17, 1877

Source: *Canadian Illustrated News*, December 17, 1877. Bibliothèque Municipale de Montréal



Illustration 2.

Henri Julien, [Wilfrid Laurier as Blackface Minstrel]. from *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 6, "An Oratorio by the Government Laurier-Ate", *Montreal Daily Star*, February 4 1899 p. 12

Source: Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1941)



Illustration 3.

Henri Julien, [Wilfrid Laurier deserting the troops], right-hand panel of "Peace Hath her Victories No Less Than War", *Montreal Daily Star*, October 7, 1899, p. 13.

Source: *Montreal Star*, Microfilm, reel October-December 1899.



Illustration 4.

"Octave-Henri Julien" [photograph of the artist]

Source: *Weekend Magazine*, vol 11 no 26 (July 1, 1961): 2.



Illustration 5.

Arthur George Racey, *Don Quichotte*, *La Patrie* (Montréal), February 23, 1899:
9.

Source: *La Patrie*, Microfilm, reel January-June 1899.



DON QUICHOTTE.—Arrive, Sancho ; suis moi, je vais attaquer de nouveau le moulin.

Illustration 6.

Henri Julien, reportage from North-West Mounted Police expedition to Fort Whoop-Up, 1874.

Source: George F. Stanley, *Men in Scarlet* [1974]: 29 .



Dead Horse Valley, 19th Sept. 1874.



Police Visiting Traders Carts.

Illustration 7.

Henri Julien, "The Guibord Burial". *Canadian Illustrated News*, November 27, 1875.

Source: Lovell C. Clark, *The Guibord Affair* (Toronto: Holt Rinehart & Winston, 1971): 26.

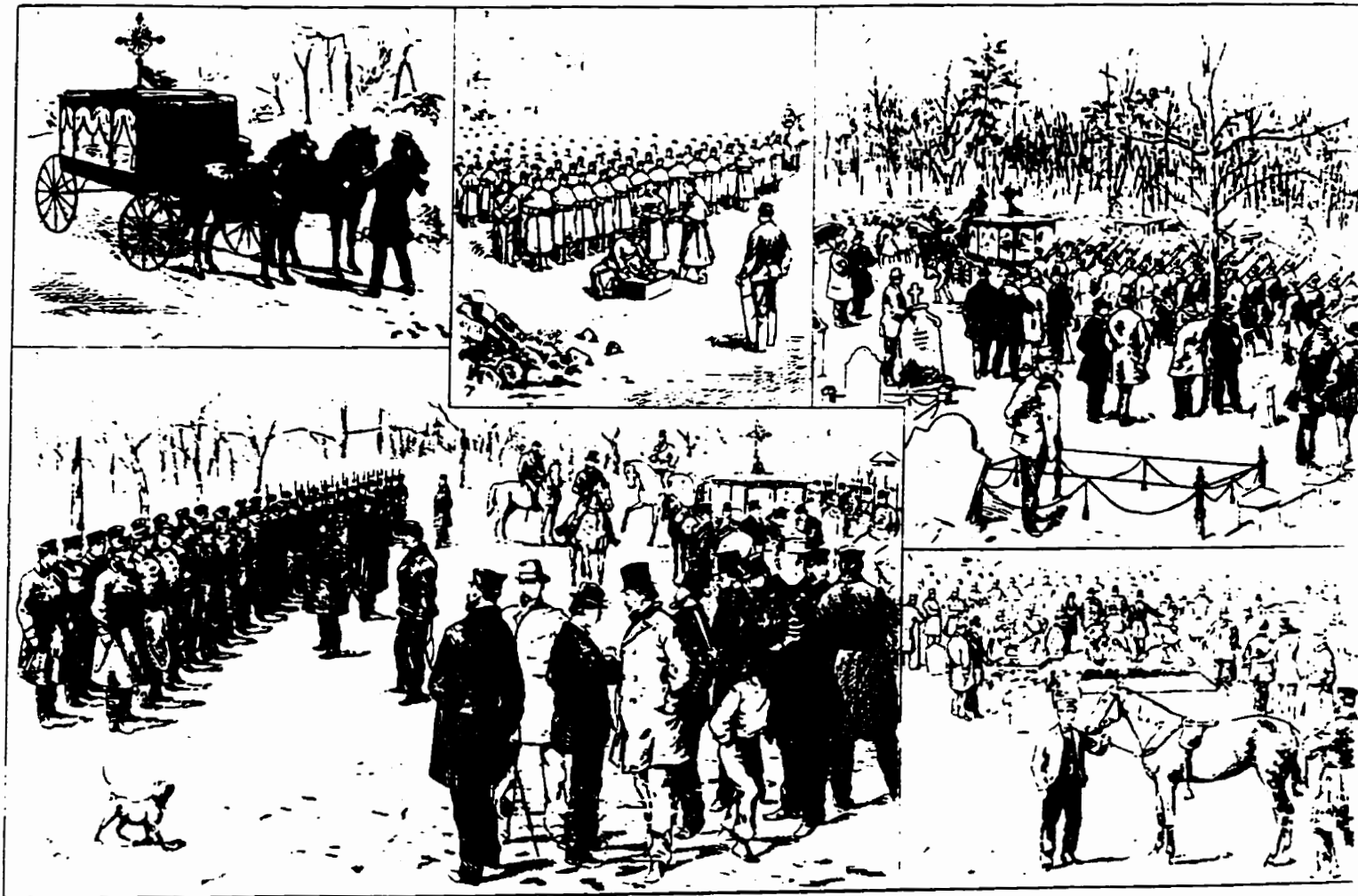


Illustration 8.

Henri Julien. "The Montreal Herald Brass Band". *The Jester*. September 13 1878.

Source: McCord Museum, Montréal, archives. Henri Julien file.



THE MONTREAL HERALD BRASS BAND.

Illustration 9.

Henri Julien. "Extremes Meet". *The Jester*, February 7 1879.

Source: McCord Museum, Montréal. archives. Henri Julien file.



ENTREMES MEET.

VENDOR. Hello, Mr. Joly, what the dickens are you doing here?

Illustration 10.

Henri Julien. Chase & Sanborn advertisement [1885]

Source: National Archives of Canada, fonds Henri Julien, MG 29 D103 vol 2: 29.



Illustration 11.

Henri Julien, "H.M.S. Parliament", *Canadian Illustrated News*, February 28, 1880, Source: Murray Edwards, *A Stage in our Past. English Language Theatre in Eastern Canada from the 1790s to 1914* (Toronto: 1968)



SCENES IN THE NEW LEGISLATIVE BUILDING, ENTITLED "H. M. S. PARLIAMENT"

Illustration 12.

Henri Julien, "La grande fête nationale à Québec." *L'Opinion Publique*, 8 July 1880 p.334.

Source: Mario Béland, *Jean-Baptiste Côté: Caricaturiste et Sculpteur* (Québec: 1996) 30.



Illustration 13.

a/Henri Julien, printed menu, "Dinner Tendered by Mayor McShane to the City Hall Reporters /Windsor Hotel/April 25 1891."

Source: National Archives of Canada, MG 29 D103 vol 2, 29.

b/Henri Julien, printed invitation, "Conférence par Hector Berthelot...,"

Source: National Archives of Canada, MG 29 D103 vol 2, 23.

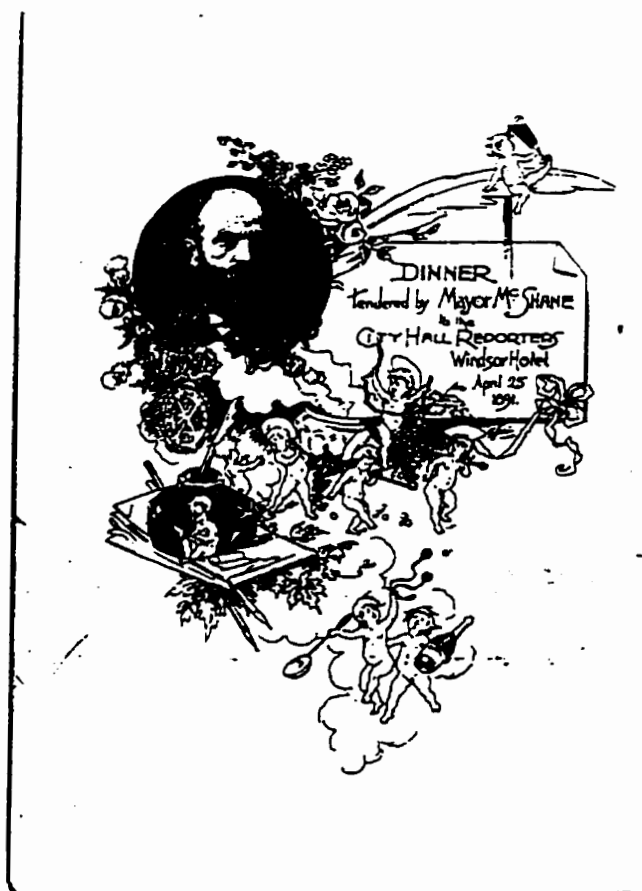


Illustration 14.

Henri Julien, "L'honorable député de Québec-Est," *Le Farceur*, 1878.
Source: Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson, 1941) 28.



Illustration 15.

Henri Julien, "Carnival Number" [[January 26-31, 1885], *Montreal Daily Star* n.d. [appears on microfilm between January 28 and 29, 1885].

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-June 1885.

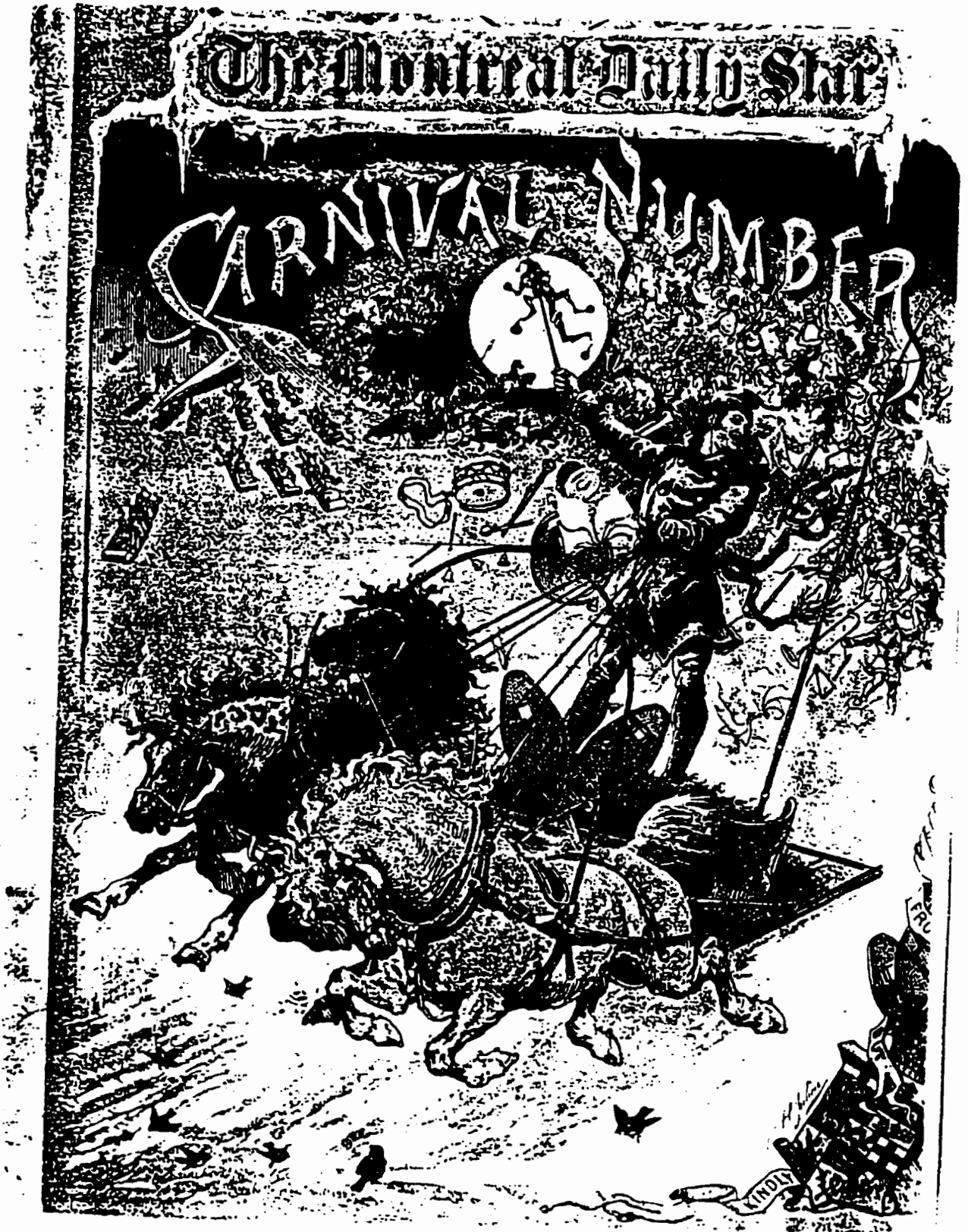


Illustration 16.

Attributed to Henri Julien, "The Duck Lake Fight," *Montreal Daily Star*, April 11, 1885.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1885.

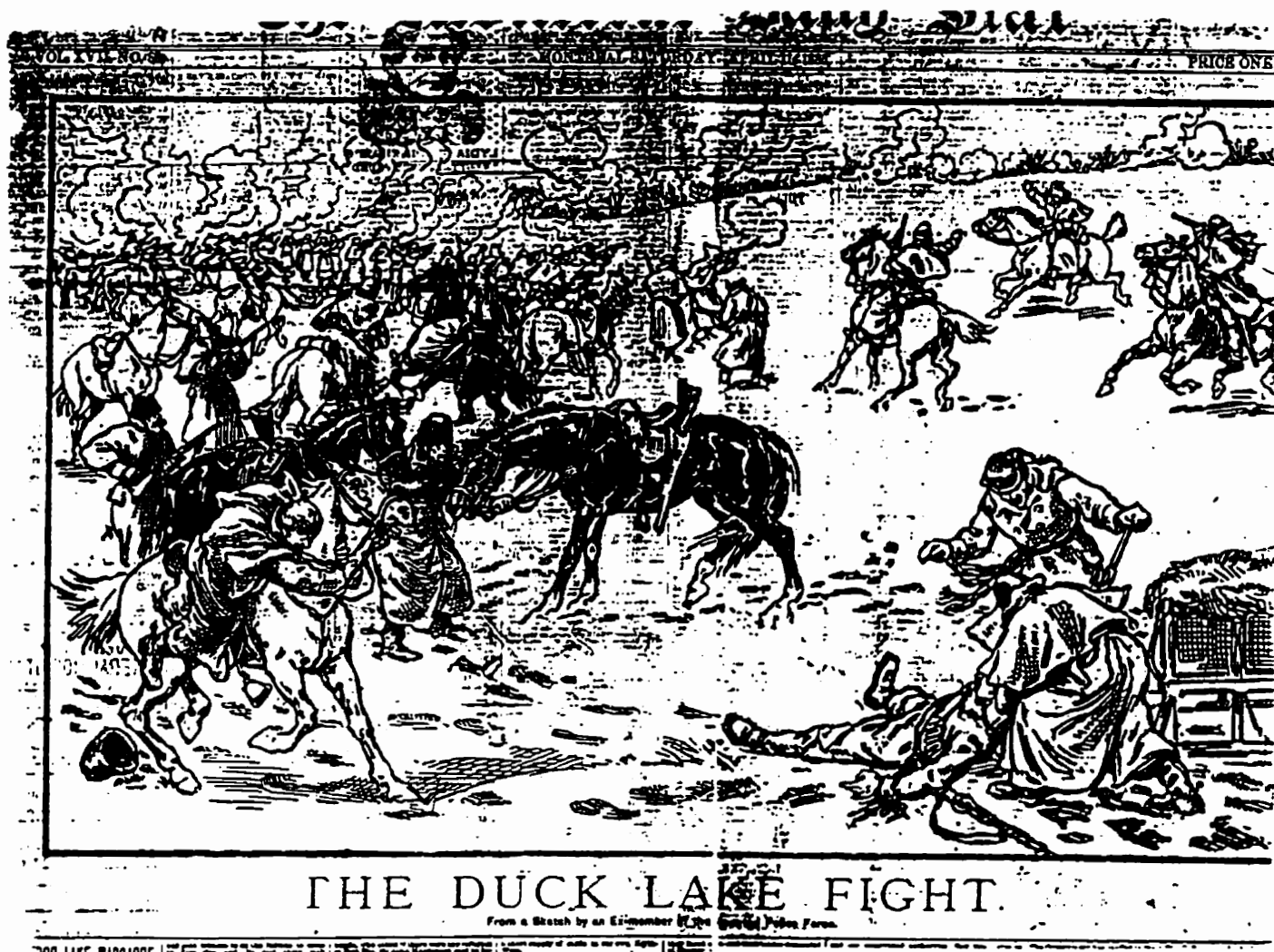


Illustration 17.

Attributed to Henri Julien, "Refugees in the North-West fleeing to the towns for protection. Scene on the road leading to Price Albert." *Montreal Daily Star*, April 16, 1885.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1885.



REFUGEES IN THE NORTH-WEST. FLEEING TO THE TOWNS FOR PROTECTION. SCENE ON THE ROAD LEADING TO PRICE ALBERT.

FROM A SKETCH BY AN EX-MEMBER OF THE MOUNTED POLICE

UNION PARLIAMENT.
 The President has announced, April 17—On the order for the day of the 18th regarding the motion, Mr. Laurier moved as follows: "That in the opinion of this House it is expedient that the following be adopted as the basis of the resolution for the discussion of this resolution, to-wit: That the Government should withdraw the proposed amendments and withdraw the motion." The debate, closed by Mr. Laurier, who spoke for the Government.

There are a number of varieties of corn. The variety known as the "Crown" is the best. It is a very early variety and is very productive. It is also very hardy and is well adapted to the soil of this country. It is a very good variety for the farmer and is well adapted to the soil of this country. It is a very good variety for the farmer and is well adapted to the soil of this country.

ALL THE LADIES IN THE STORE
 ALL THE LADIES IN THE STORE
 ALL THE LADIES IN THE STORE
 ALL THE LADIES IN THE STORE

FOR SALE IN CORNWALL
 FOR SALE IN CORNWALL
 FOR SALE IN CORNWALL
 FOR SALE IN CORNWALL

GIBB & CO.
 Merchant Tailors and Gent's Furnishings,
 145 ST. JAMES STREET.

TO LET
 TO LET
 TO LET
 TO LET

Illustration 18.

Attributed to Henri Julien. "Before the Battle-The Rebels who fought Middleton-Drilling under Dumont-The Rebel Lieutenant Haranguing his Force." Montreal Daily Star, April 25, 1885.

Source: Montreal Star microfilm reel, April-June 1885.



Before the Battle—The Rebels who fought Middleton—Drilling under Dumont—The Rebel Lieutenant haranguing his Force. (FROM A SKETCH BY AN EX-MEMBER OF THE N. W. ROYAL POLICE.)

WOMEN.
COOL.
LEWIS.
ROBERTS.
WALKER.
ANDERSON.
LEWIS.
ANDERSON.
ANDERSON.

THE FORT FITY AFFAIR.
ACCOUNT OF CHIEF FACTOR WILSON'S PRESENCE IN THE REBELS' CAMP.
SPECIAL TO THE STAR.
 WILSON, April 24.—The Captain of the steamer "Hercules" intercepts that if the water is high enough, and no accident should occur, the boat will reach Quebec's Crossing on Wednesday.
 Private March, of "P. Company," the British Battalion, was stationed yesterday, with military honors.

WITH THE REBELS.
THE DOGS OF THE MOUNTAINS IN CALGARY—IN CAMP IN A MOUNTAIN.
(FROM THE STAR SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT.)
 CALGARY, N. W. T., April 17.—Your readers have seen Capt. Stirling with the dogs of the 46th Battalion up to their arrival at South Carleton on the 11th instant. There they met the Queen's Own, and after interesting provisions with their brethren in arms, the Montreal boys presented on their way to Calgary, whether they had been or not, and which they received on the 16th inst. The town is in holiday

A RACE FOR LIFE.
 The Perilous Journey of George Appleton—From Montreal to South Carleton—How Appleton was Rescued by the Indians.
 —The Queen's Own in Winnipeg.
 —The Queen's Own in Winnipeg.
 —The Queen's Own in Winnipeg.
 —The Queen's Own in Winnipeg.

team was immediately published, and looking the horses into a riding lot of twelve miles were covered before the press was slackened. He himself, however, appeared, and before dawn John Rowley's party was overtaken. Mr. Rowley, who is the principal manufacturer for the District of Saskatchewan, explained his purpose in leaving the province of Alberta. He had departed from Edmonton in company with the captain, his four horses, containing several barrels of sugar, to the north of the river. The party, now headed by Rowley, was met by the Queen's Own, and reached the Saskatchewan crossing on Sunday night. Twelve hours later, they arrived at South Carleton, and were lodged after the horses and gear were arranged during the night.

persons must be made if they cannot be done. The "to distant future" as a much desired or not desired with civility. These things have their just claim to their major demand of interest. (Montreal Star.)
 This is the Government's account of the events of the 11th inst., and is by the Government and its friends, and is to be published. The new system is not done.

Illustration 19.

Henri Julien. [Grève des journaliers du port de Montréal en 1877], *L'Opinion publique*, 12 July 1877.

Source: Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Tome I: De la Confédération à la Crise (1867-1929)* (Montréal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1989) 241.

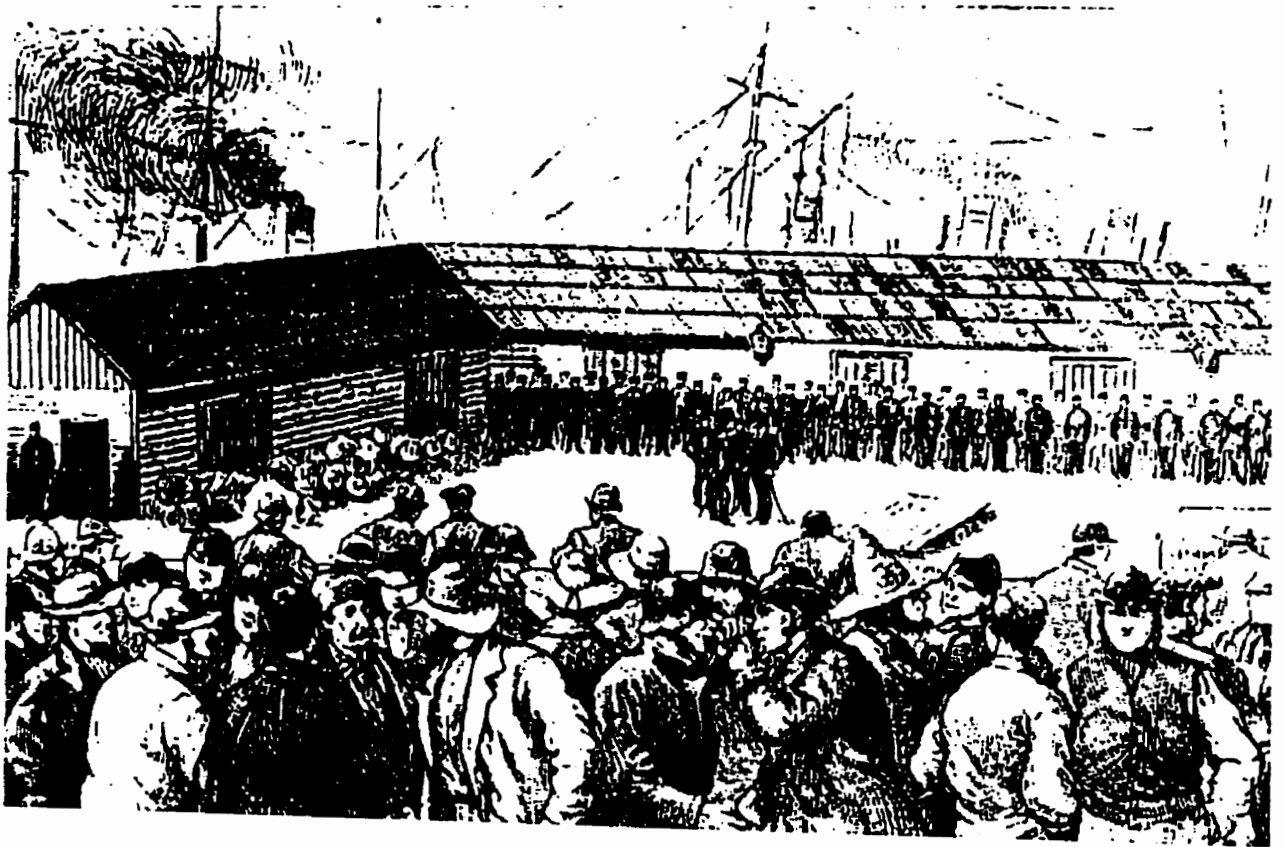


Illustration 20.

Henri Julien. [Death waiting on the effects of Pestilence, Smallpox, Cholera and Fever in Montreal]. *Canadian Illustrated News*. June 5 1875.

Source: Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Tome I: De la Confédération à la Crise (1867-1929)* (Montréal: Les éditions du Boréal, 1989) 215.



Illustration 21.

Henri Julien, [Spot-illustrations for the commemorative 1837-38 Rebellion series], *Montreal Daily Star*, October 1 1887: 3.
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1887.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, WEDNESDAY

1837-38.

La Grande Insurrection! APPEL AUX ARMES.

Une Crise dans l'Histoire du Canada.

PREMIERE ASSEMBLEE A SAINT-JURS

Le sept mai 1837, le paisible village de St-Jurs, situé sur la rive des Richelieu, présentait un aspect des plus tranquilles et une grande activité y régnait. Sur la place du marché et aux abords de l'église l'on voyait circuler des groupes d'hommes causant avec animation, tandis que les femmes et les enfants se tenaient à l'écart, écoutant silencieusement et ignorant la cause de cette agitation inusitée. A part les villageois ou bons habitants de St-Jurs et des environs, il y avait beaucoup de gens qui, à en juger par leur maintien et leur toilette, appartenaient aux classes instruites.

Lorsque tous les regards qui précèdent l'avant-dernière une centaine de personnes furent dirigés, l'assemblée fut définitivement convoquée et les notables du village et de la contrée envahirent rapidement l'église.

Les formalités usées dans nos parlements furent scrupuleusement suivies, un président et un secrétaire furent régulièrement élus dans les personnes respectives de M. Jacques Lacombe, riche négociant du village de St-Jurs et frère de feu M. le Notaire Charles Chénier qui fut pendant de longues années le doyen de la Barreau de Montréal. Deux autres de St-Jurs y furent promue, quoiqu'ils n'eussent qu'une simple de modeste patron et d'ailleurs une concentration, d'autres noms de famille et de villages.

L'enthousiasme de la foule était tel que parfois et la voix des orateurs se faisait quelquefois péniblement entendre au milieu des applaudissements entrecoupés et énergiques de cette population immense.

Ce des orateurs attirait plus particulièrement l'attention et commandait le respect le plus vif. A l'entendre l'on voyait facilement que c'était un de ces hommes qui maîtrisent et commandent les masses au gré de leurs vœux. C'était un homme grand, très peu dans sa taille, de figure imposante et possédant une voix mâle et puissante. Il était facile de voir qu'il s'occupait avec un accent qui dénotait son origine anglaise, mais comme il se servait de langage familier aux personnes qui habitaient la campagne, il était parfaitement compris de ces hommes.

fut élu directeur militaire général avec six officiers ayant chacun le commandement d'un district militaire dans la ville de Montréal, c'est à dire de La Plaque, de St-Jacques, de St-Charles, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph.

De semblables associations furent créées dans les districts de St-Jacques, de St-Charles, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph. Le but de ces associations était de réunir les forces de la ville de Montréal, de St-Jacques, de St-Charles, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph.

Il y avait dans ce que les Anglais firent appel à une association et d'ailleurs, on apposa à ce que nous venons de dire, du capital. De St-Jacques.

Les fils de la Liberté étaient leurs patrons généraux. La Liberté dans une petite maison aux environs de St-Jacques, de St-Charles, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph, où a été construite depuis la superbe place de nos jours sous le nom de Place d'Armes.

III L'ASSEMBLEE DE SAINT-CHARLES.

Le troisième dimanche pour promouvoir le succès de l'insurrection fut le grand succès des amis des Richelieu, Saint-Charles, de St-Jacques, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph.

Les amis des Richelieu, Saint-Charles, de St-Jacques, de St-Jean, de St-Louis, de St-Pierre et de St-Joseph, se réunirent pour discuter les moyens de l'insurrection.

Chambly, près Longueuil. Le vingt-deux novembre 1837, le bruit se répandit parvenu que M. O'Connell, notaire de St-Jean (Liberville) et que le Dr. De Vogue, de même endroit, avaient été faits prisonniers par un corps de volontaires commandé par le capitaine Knapton, et qu'ils allaient être conduits à Montréal. Quand on apprit cette nouvelle, on vint très promptement à la charge et on se mit à Longueuil, avec le capitaine Vincent, qui de concert avec Vigor,

Gore à la tête d'un corps d'armée de volontaires de St-Jean, à l'ambassadeur de la rivière Richelieu, et se transporter en toute hâte sur St-Jean. D'autres informations reçues par les volontaires confirmeront cette nouvelle. Les troupes qui se trouvaient sur St-Jean se composaient de deux compagnies de volontaires, d'un détachement de volontaires et d'une plume de campagne. Le plan de la campagne était fort simple.



PARTEY DES SOULETES

de St-Jacques, reçurent l'ordre de se rendre à St-Jacques. Ils partirent donc le soir à onze heures et au point du jour se mirent en campagne gardant les hauteurs à droite et à gauche sur leur passage.

Arrivés au village de St-Jacques, le troupe se mit en marche et se dirigea vers le fort de St-Jacques. Les volontaires se mirent à marcher et à se battre. Les troupes arrivèrent vers neuf heures le lendemain matin à St-Jacques, par un temps très froid et pluvieux. Le 11 mai, novembre et avec un vent du plus méchant, les soldats avaient marché tout le temps par une nuit très sombre et dans d'affreux chemins de terre, et quand ils furent battus pour la première fois ils avaient les pieds meurtris et étaient exténués de fatigue, mais ils ne se laissèrent pas aller et poursuivirent leur route sans perdre de temps.

L'on crut que les patriotes avaient été battus dans cette affaire, l'un à St-Jean et l'autre à St-Charles, environ six milles à l'est sur la même rive.

Les patriotes avaient choisi la vallée du Richelieu comme base de leurs opérations, parcequ'ils comptaient dans leurs rangs la plus grande partie des habitants de cette partie du pays et aussi parceque l'accès des Hauts-Lacs leur était facile et rapide, et qu'ils attendaient de la République américaine des secours en argent, en armes et en munitions de toutes sortes. Le colon Gore avait reçu instruction de se diriger de St-Jean sur St-Jacques par l'est, et l'on avait attendu au canal de Wetherill de se porter sur St-Charles en suivant la route de l'est. Chaque village devait être occupé militairement, et quand les deux corps d'armée eurent opéré leur jonction, les troupes se mirent à marcher vers St-Jacques et à se battre.



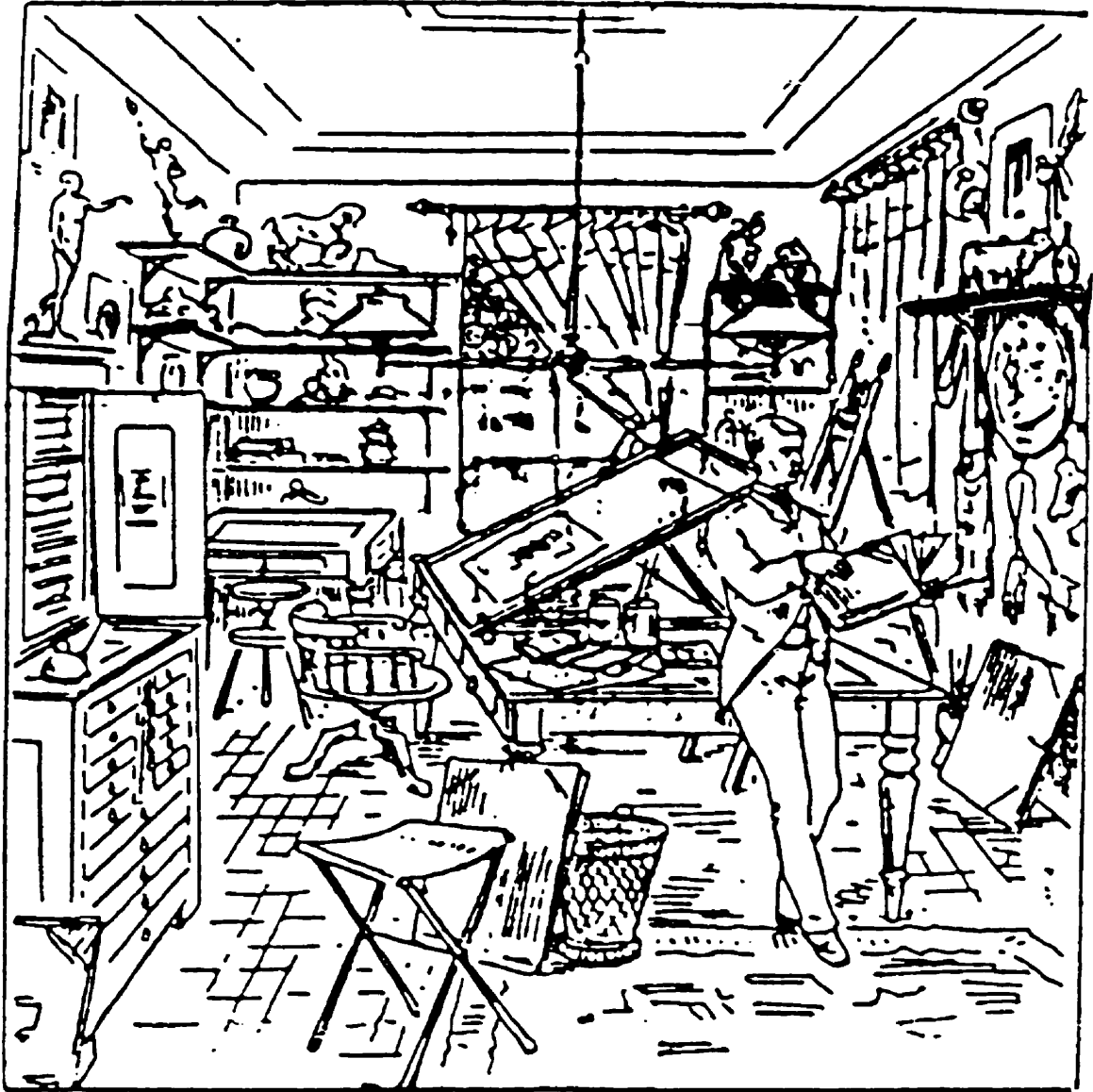
MURANT LES PRISONNIERS

Les deux corps d'armée furent battus dans cette affaire, l'un à St-Jean et l'autre à St-Charles, environ six milles à l'est sur la même rive.

Illustration 22.

Henri Julien. [illustrations of new offices, premises and artists' studio at the *Star*], *Montreal Daily Star*. February 23, 1889: 1-4.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1889.



ARTIST'S STUDIO—NEW "STAR" BUILDING.

Illustration 23.

Henri Julien, "Lights and Shadows of Parliament" [Sir Wilfrid Laurier and Sir Charles Tupper].

Source: reproduced in the *Album Julien* (1916)



Illustration 24.

Henri Julien, *Songs of the By-Town Coons*, [announcement of re-publication], *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday April 9, 1899 p. 12.
 Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 1899.

SONGS OF THE BY-TOWN COONS

ENORMOUS
 DEMAND:::

City Sales Commence Monday Morning, 10th April, 10 a.m.



LAURIER

An Oration by the Govern-
 ment Laurier etc

CARTWRIGHT

Edmund King the Old Kings
 Ballade by Mr Richard

MILTON

The Gigantic Accomplish-
 ments of the Minister of In-
 terior

PATERSON

How Free Trade Struck Billie

In a limited edition the
 Songs of the By-Town Coons
 are reproduced
 from the *Montreal Star*
 on fine paper.
 The whole set
 28 pages with covers.

The
 Whole
 Series

**TEN
 CENTS**

A supply is likely to be far short of the demand the accompany-

Illustration 25.

John Wilson Bengough, "The Old Liberal Minstrels", *Montreal Daily Star*,
March 6 1891: 6
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1891.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, FRIDAY, MARCH 6, 1891.

NTREAL.

EARNEST

... was, without
... the bit Donald
... very complete,
... of St. Antoine

Mr. James
... little or so or
... however, the
... each side. In
... La Roche and
... many voters
... business, and
... by now, Mr.
... really only
... race street,
... by two men
... Mr. Cochrane
... Mr. Donald's
... of St. Lau-
... as rather un-
... confusion re-
... to the wrong
... Messrs. H. E.
... A. Drum-
... Morris re-
... they arrived
... misdirected,
... magnates all
... No. 2694 St.
... a Drive water
... ed there, Mr.
... place about
... chance, Mr.
... Donald Smith
... at late
... with also
... to vote. A
... re out for Sir
... of his term
... all morning,
... see with his
... interest con-
... sulting voters
... ready to con-
... rry poll were
... ra, but Mr.
... half dozen
... use-tains of
... a, but as that
... voting vote
... the "camp"
... least efforts,
... summing up



THE OLD LIBERAL MINSTRELS.

END-MAS BLAKE—"Mars Cartwright, k-its you tell me wa-why do Lib'ral Party am like a man wot gits his house burned down, an' ain't got no 'urance on it?"
END-MAS MOWAT—"Dat's an easy one. It's because he gits left!"
END-MAS BLAKE—"But dat's jus' what I waster know—Why d'-as he gits left?"
INTERLOCUTOR CARTWRIGHT—"I don't know; tell us, Mr. Blake, why is the Liberal Party like a man who meets with the misfortune of losing his uninsured house?"
END-MAS BLAKE—"C'-course—'cause it ain't got no Policy!"
INTERLOCUTOR CARTWRIGHT—"Monseur Mercier will now favor us with a lovely ballad," etc., etc.—O'p.

... The staff of clerks were working like
... Trojans catching the lists and giving direc-
... tion to voters where to vote and of they
... went to check books to mark a little ballot
... for Mr. Davil. About seven o'clock the
... Liberal candidate came in, bright and
... cheerful as usual and not the least worn by
... the campaign.
... "How are things looking, Mr. David?"
... "Like the weather bright and fair. The

... Lambert furnish over four hundred English
... votes, and nearly all these went for the Con-
... servative candidate. Voters who had not
... sent a vote in this county before crossed the
... river to-day, and registered their votes
... against the U. E. and association candidates.
... In Chambly the Liberals at an early hour
... commenced swarming the English voters.
... This was more especially the rule at poll
... No. 6 Coteau Bourca, where a large number

... THE OTTAWA SKATING FIZZLE.
[SPECIAL TO THE STAR.]
OTTAWA, March 6.—A competition was to
... have taken place at Day's rink last night
... for a medal for the best exhibition of fancy
... skating. Mr. Louis Budestein, of Mont-
... real, was entered, and also Mr. George
... Mather of Montreal, but Mr. Budestein

... The staff of clerks were working like
... Trojans catching the lists and giving direc-
... tion to voters where to vote and of they
... went to check books to mark a little ballot
... for Mr. Davil. About seven o'clock the
... Liberal candidate came in, bright and
... cheerful as usual and not the least worn by
... the campaign.
... "How are things looking, Mr. David?"
... "Like the weather bright and fair. The

... Lambert furnish over four hundred English
... votes, and nearly all these went for the Con-
... servative candidate. Voters who had not
... sent a vote in this county before crossed the
... river to-day, and registered their votes
... against the U. E. and association candidates.
... In Chambly the Liberals at an early hour
... commenced swarming the English voters.
... This was more especially the rule at poll
... No. 6 Coteau Bourca, where a large number

34

Illustration 27.

"The Only and Original Colored Minstrel Troupe" [advertisement for automaton toys made as stereotyped Black Minstrel figures] n.d.

Source: Robert C. Toll, *Blackening Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: OUP 1974) 224.

**THE ORIGINAL AND ONLY
COLORED MINSTREL TROUPE.**

These are a superb set group of four automaton figures, which on being wound up go through a variety of entertaining life-like movements in imitation of playing the Banjo, Bones, Tambores etc. while the old lady fans herself vigorously and smiles approval to the effect as if they were so comical.

THE \$4.50 EACH.
JAMES R. SMITH, BRIDGEPORT, CONN.

Illustration 28.

"Callender's Colored Minstrels", n.p., n.d. [post-1875]. Theatre Collection, the New York Public Library at Lincoln Center. Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Source: Robert C. Toll, *Blacking Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: OUP, 1974) 207.



Illustration 30.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 6 "An Oratorio by the Government Laurier-Ate"* [Sir Wilfrid Laurier]. Saturday February 4 1899 p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

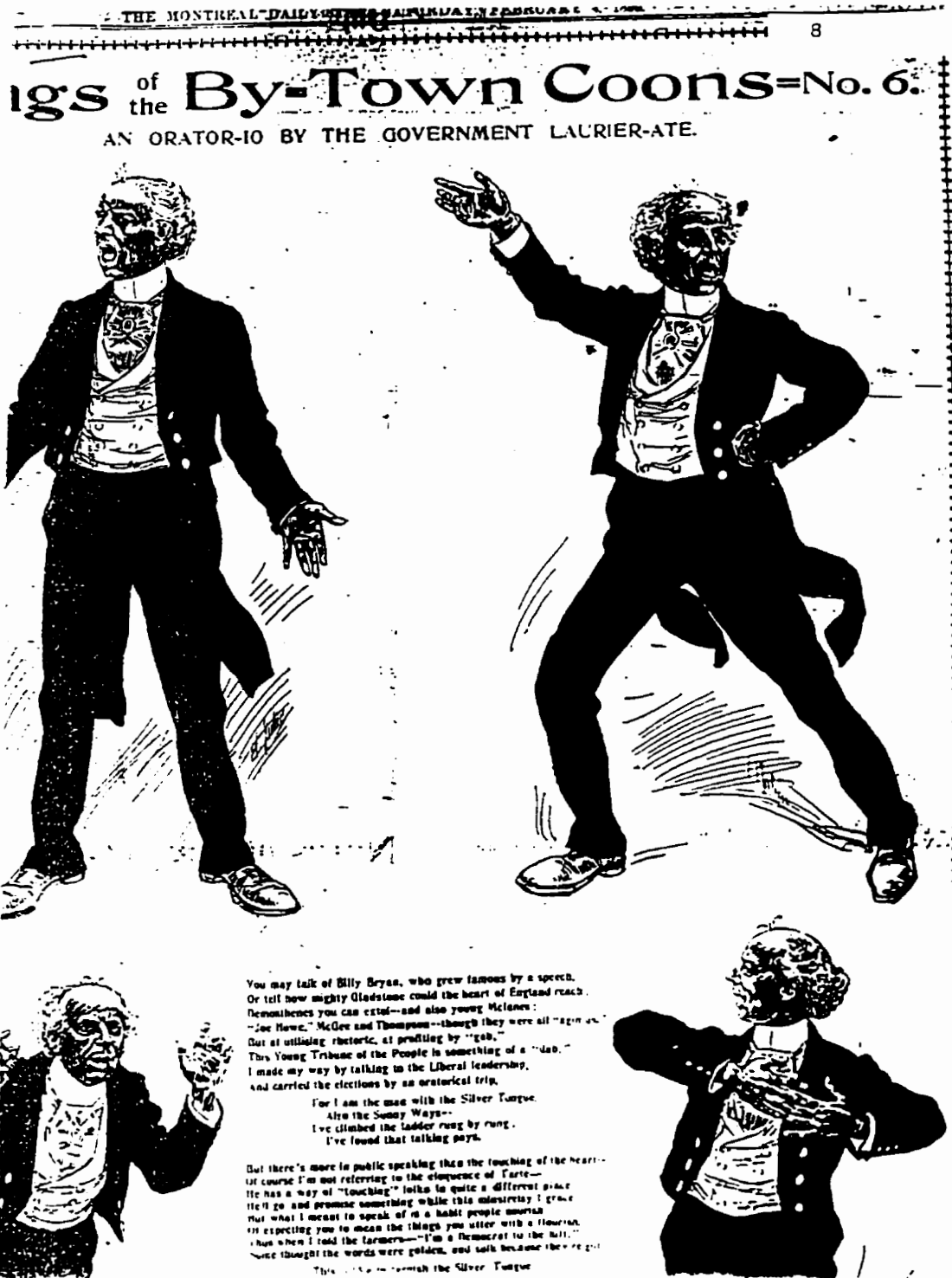


Illustration 31.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 4.* [W. S. Fielding].

Saturday January 21 1899 p. 13.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR - SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1899

SONGS OF THE BY-TOWN C



Some Prominent
Features of our
Finances.

By Mistah. Fieldin'.

Dis coon done lef' a happy home
fo' to go to de Capital;
W'en I j'ined de By-Town min-
strel troupe,
I felt quite natural.
I quit a good job at Halifax; but
now, ma fren's, I feel
Dat dere's gwine t' be a heap
O' trouble fo' t' keep
Finances on an eben keel.



Illustration 32.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 11.* [Louis Davies].
Saturday March 11 1899 p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

...d a wave of sympathy at
...and on general sweep over
...completion of the line
...construction of the line a
...work of the Canadian Pacific

...d to the new system have
...admission in a 1898 novel
...and the highway and
...the settlement and adjacent
...to district has been making
...normal. Not are the towns
...not backward together in the
...movement but they are
...to come in its own right
...city of the past and before it
...to keep the subject separate
...to lay out away to connect
...to that the natural growth
...to which an to demand the
...the years of development
...to found to steady and per
...of the benefits of the (from a
...way), our new picture the
...to great "old town" of the
...movements of an organized
...to not continue under new
...the highway to prosperity
...growth, but the growth has
...of growth limited to
...then that naturally looked
...at the last mile lands of
...to now all that is changed
...the town a new town had
...to in the midst the modern
...movement. From its former
...condition, it had advanced
...possibilities have passed
...and at reaching the vig
...their positions. It has
...to, as it is geographically,
...to have marked a great
...national of growth, fairly
...at about a coming more
...general knowledge and so
...to build, rise and steadily
...along upward

...will largely improved trade
...and forms of all economic
...to come in return with more
...competitive advantage for
...and never return, by the
...of the future, have a long
...and will help trade
...to see how great a
...new movement is rapidly
...to be coming (see with
...to go down
...to see and understand
...to this point up with
...to the future, and to
...to find a coming movement
...to see in every hand
...to come from the hands of
...to commercial affairs as a whole

...to has been led to pro
...to granted by Montreal's
...to movements, or do
...to not originate, in reality
...to that a plan A is a plan
...to in accordance with that
...to the "Promiss conditions
...to of industrial growth, but
...to want to the time when
...to a New Plan launch will
...to of the Canadian Pacific
...to to the William Van
...to through here but
...to other affairs no done
...to the transportation. The
...to the business conditions
...to have been seen the fact
...to within the shorter time,
...to of Plan A for the time
...to systems here at Montreal
...to is needed but be required
...to to see desired in
...to and other systems
...to of seen being seen
...to Montreal Pacific Rail

...to one of the are the at
...to to the "New Plan"
...to New Plan and the "Old
...to Montreal and other
...to with the beauty
...to in a progressive
...to come under the name
...to of the future
...to the movement, shall the
...to to it here, for the
...to movement of Montreal
...to to see through, to
...to to the "New Plan"
...to whether there are for
...to to be done of the

*Linger
Longer
Lou's
Return
to
By-town*

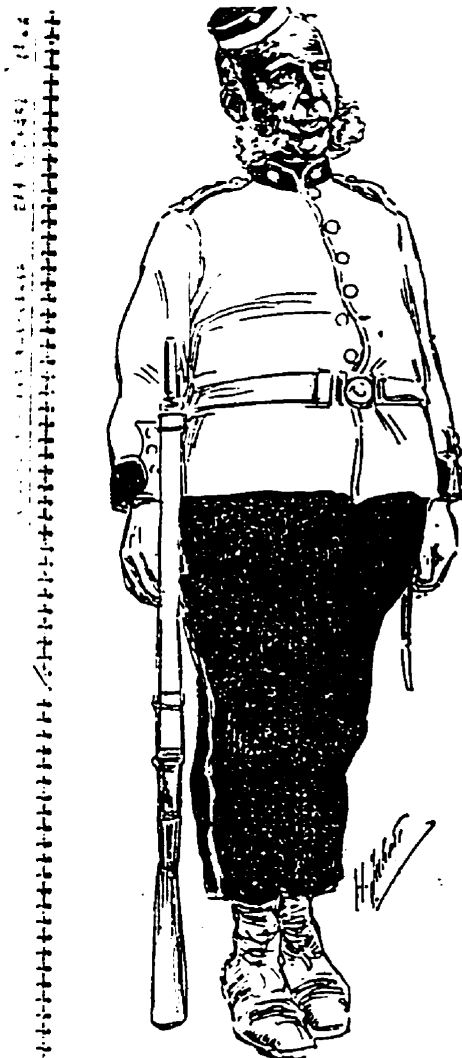


...N'S COUNSEL.
...The New British

Illustration 33.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 13 [Frederick Borden]
Saturday March 25 p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.



The Military Medicine Man

Yo' may talk ob Julius Caesar an' ob Gen'ral Bonaparte;
Yo' may brag ob our Sir Wilfrid and ob Nistah-Israel Tarte;
Yo' may search throughout creation—take in all de culled na
But I'se got 'em beaten easy from de start.

Did yo' eber see me walkin'?
Now, wat's de use ob talkin'!
Watch me wen on dress parade.
All lace, wif gold an' feathers,
Spurs, cocked hat and patent leathers:
Be big buck in de By-Town Coon Brigade.

Wen Sir Wilfrid came to powah, he glanced thro' all de lan'
Fo' a sus-class fightin' niggah; an' ses he yo're jes de man.
De bes' we am affordin' ain't too good fo' Nistah Borden;
Jes' put on all de gold lace dat yo' can.

Yo' see I'd had some practis'—
Tho' to tel, de troof de fact is—
'Tis at patients, not at targets, that I aim;
An' as to drillin' rifles,
An' such unconsidered trifles.
W y, very few can beat me at dat game.

Oh! Sir Wilfrid he's a cute one, an' he knows a t'ing or two;
Sa s he: "We don't want experts, that's why we sent fo' yo',
You're quite experimental—so be merely ornamental;
Be suah an' keep yo'r mouf shut an' yo'll do."

So I jes' keep on a-walkin'
Now wat's de use ob talkin'!
Walkin' to de dress parade.
Fo' I don't mind de drillin',
It am better far dan "pillin'"
An' if dey ain't no fightin' who's afraid!



Illustration 34.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town: Coons no. 2. "Come, Festive Fiddle"*
 [Andrew Blair]. *January 11, 1899 p. 12*
 Source: Montreal Star microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1899

SONGS OF THE BY-TOWN

"Come, Festive Fiddle."



THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 11, 1899
 CO. of
 IN

Come, festive fiddle, while I sing
 The wiles of men political;
 Nor shall there be in what we say
 Aught that is hypocritical.
 For what care I what people think,
 Let them be Grit or Tory,
 They cannot alter me a bit,
 Nor shall they spoil my story.
 And this old fiddle is the thing
 To tune my little rhyme;
 The fiddle now played while Home
 Burned in ye sides room,
 The fiddle then was Home's choice
 To lend accompaniment to his voice.
 The fiddle now will do quite well
 To glid the tale I have to tell.

II

The 'old school' Grits say 'Hairs must go'
 (H - run-oddly-run-oddly-o)
 But I give to them all my response: "No, No"
 And Mr Will nods approval, and admits "Just so"
 So merrily fiddle and merrily sing,
 Despite "Old Grits" we're still in the ring.

Illustration 35.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 5 [Sydney Fisher].

Thursday January 26 1899 p. 6.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

Town Coons.==No. 5.

BY THE FISHER-Y MINISTER.

(Not the Minister of Fisheries.)



Illustration 36.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 7. "The Jig-Antic Accomplishments of the Minister of the Interior"* [Clifford Sifton]. Saturday February 11 1899 p. 12.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR—SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 11, 1899

Songs of the By-To



The Jig-antic Accomplishments
... of the ...
Minister of Interior.

To the west! to the west! in that land of the True
High carnival's held by my Corsican crew--
Bold robbers each one of 'em, rude and uncouth
(In whispers they're talked of, to state a bold truth
But they shine at elections as I at a ball--
In fact I'm sole one that can dance of them all--
For no dancing instructor has taught them to gik
To waltz or to polka; so they gaze with fond pride
When they see me cavorting at high-toned affair--
Graceful, yet nimble, with grandiloquent airs!
By my heels--not my head--when I'm swallow-
dressed
They'll think I'm Napoleon throughout the whole West

To the west! to the west! to the land of the Free
Where the muddy Red River rolls down to the sea;
Where a man gets along if he only votes straight
And practises politics right up-to-date;
Where partisan heeled of genuine type
Off the face of the earth all my rivals will wipe
When they gather in conclave to blacken my name--
It's a costly experiment, but goes just the same,
For by making fat jobs and donating new places
To a clamorous collection of dissatisfied cases
I retain my position and knock out the rest,
And pose as Napoleon, the Pride of the West.

To the west! to the west! to the land of the Free,
Where I helped dig Joe Martin's political grave,
Though he's now in Vancouver, resurrected, I see,
Far away o'er the Rockies, oh! worse luck for me,
Where fragrant Galicians are tilling the soil,
And my Doukhobors going in thousands
to fill;
Where the Yukons and that gang who
claim to be little

Illustration 37.

Henri Julien, detail. *Songs of the By-Town Coons no. 8. "Great Scott - his Act."*
 Saturday February 18 1899 p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

WN COONS==No. 8.

ct.



Illustration 39.

Henri Julien. detail. *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 10. [William Paterson].
Saturday March 4 1899 p. 12
Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

ings of the By-Town Coons=

How Free Trade "Struck Billee Paterson."

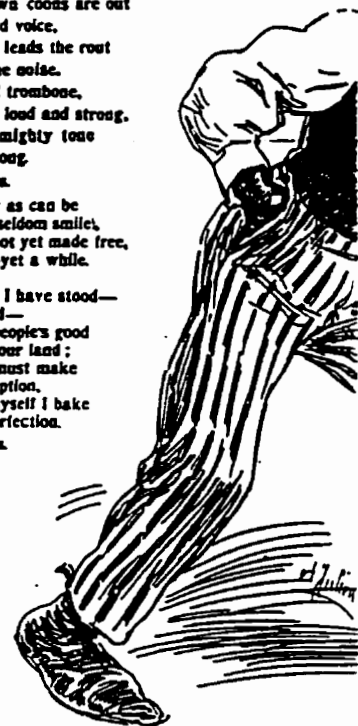


Once more the By-Town coons are out
With instrument and voice,
And "Brantford Billy" leads the rout
And con-trib-utes the noise.
I've got myself a good trombone,
Whose notes sound loud and strong,
And with my voice of mighty tone
I'll sing my merry song.

Chorus
Oh! I'm as merry as can be
(Though I may seldom smile,
For biscuits are not yet made free,
Nor won't be—yet a while.

A staunch Free Trader I have stood—
As I shall ever stand—
Proclaiming that the people's good
Needs free trade in our land;
And yet on biscuits I must make
To this law an exception,
For (don't you see?) myself I bake
These biscuits to perfection.

Chorus



... of the ...
... the ...
... to ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...
... the ...

At Brantford, where my factory is,
The folks quite clearly see
The reason and the why of this,
And all agree with me—
Leastwise, I think they do, for it
Would be a great mistake
To drop the duty and let in
The cakes the Yankees bake.

Chorus



Illustration 40.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 12 [William Dobell].
 Saturday March 18 1899 p. 12.
 Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

.....
DOBELL'S PHANTOM SHIP.



NO doubt you have heard of the bottle-nose whale;
 Of a sword-fish's spear, with its keen, lance-
 like tip;

But no nautical freak's so deserving a tale

As my wonderful bottle-neck ship!

An unsinkable, bottle-neck craft—

For a fast trans-Atlantic steam line,
 Spick and span up aloft, 'midship, fore and aft—

'Tis for this consummation I pine:

For a greyhound of ocean, in style most unique,

Dashing safely through stormiest sea;

No dread of an iceberg, collision or leak,

Nor grim rocks on strand close a-lee;

Swiftly racing through fog to Quebec,

Past breakers that roar: cleaving winds all a-shriek—

My unsinkable ship! that nothing can wreck,

Though she bang into Labrador bleak!

But alas! 'tis a spectral, mythical dream,

Though 'tis deep graven into my mind;

A weird "Flying Dutchman" sort of a scheme,

That no one but me has defined,

Wh' again and again have I called,

Kushing oft on a trans-'lantic jaunt,

But again and again have I un-availingly failed

In this quest for the ship that I want:

An unsinkable, bottle-neck craft,

For a fast trans-Atlantic steam line,

Spick and span up aloft, 'midship, fore and aft—

'Tis for this consummation I pine.

But like Vande-Draken, in story of old,

My ship comes never to port;

Still will I not drop a project so bold,

Even if it my critics make sport,

Let mariners curl up their lips:

Landlubbers these jeers and jibes parallel—

I'll hunt for unsinkable bottle-neck ships

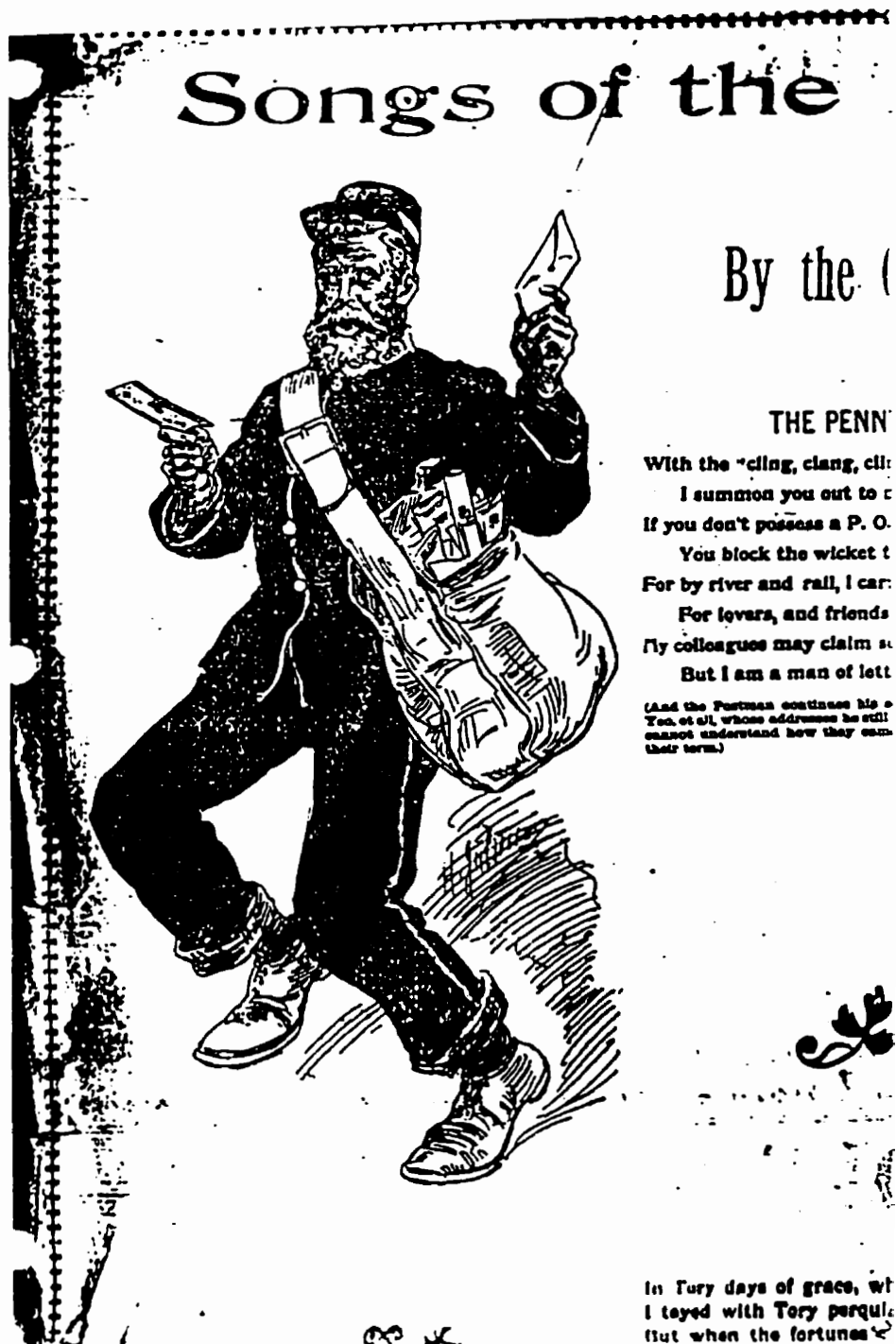
So long as my name is Dobell.



Illustration 41.

Henri Julien, detail, *Songs of the By-Town Coons* no. 14 "By the Go-As-You-Please Quartette". Saturday April 1 p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.



Songs of the

By the (

THE PENN

With the "ding, clang, cl

I summon you out to c

If you don't possess a P. O.

You block the wicket t

For by river and rail, I car

For lovers, and friends

My colleagues may claim s

But I am a man of lett

(And the Postman continues his s
You, of all, whose addresses he still
cannot understand how they came
their term.)

In Tory days of grace, wt
I toyed with Tory perqui
But when the fortune

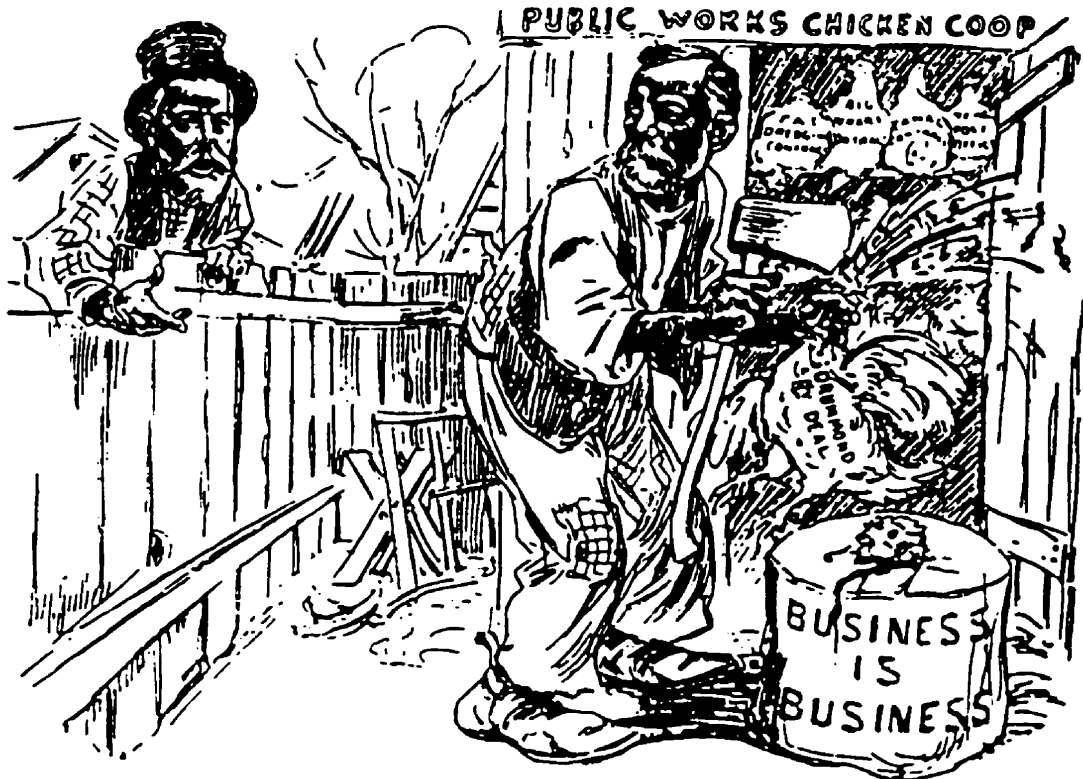
Illustration 42.

Henri Julien, *Mr. Tarte's Special Breed of Chickens*. [Sydney Fisher and Israel Tarte]. Saturday March 18 1899 p. 18.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

A man of the...
IN.
there
A. R.
At
annual
will be
of the
hydr
side,
at the
No
circum
ed on
ind in
a very
dramat
[recess
arias.
same,
using
Am
having
with
With
ad

MR. TARTE'S SPECIAL BREED OF CHICKENS.



OTTAWA DESPATCH—Hon Sydney Fisher will establish in each of the Maritime Provinces two chicken fattening establishments. The product will be shipped to England

FARMER FISHER—(Looking for pointers)—“What do you fatten ‘em on, Izzy? I’d like to tell the farmers about this breed. They’re busters!”

CHICKEN FANCIER TARTE—“S. H. H. H. This is a choice lot, specially bred for home consumption. We really couldn’t show this kind in England!”

THE DOMINION'S TRADE.

A Large Increase in Imports Shown
By Official Figures

BUT EXPORTS HAVE DECLINED
NEARLY FIVE MILLION
DOLLARS

MILITIA ORDERS.

New Regulations for Rifle Associa
tions Concerning Government
Grants

OTTAWA, March 18. The militia general
orders issued yesterday contain the fol

TORONTO IRISHMEN

Celebrate St. Patrick's Day by Feast
and Festival.

SOLICITOR-GENERAL FITZPAT-
RICK TELLS OF THE IRISH-
MAN'S LOYALTY.

Present
8
AUS
will
LONG
spender
rumour
two an
belige
one
of secu
in dir
he has
leasts
who w
govern
year's r
give
THE
The P
E
COW
Thurs
dime
petter
tion ca
and it
will be
O
TORO
the L
Math
miles
only in
sing
ports
John
come
The r
conside
the an
journe
Monda
B
MILIT
to gra
Purmer
capabil
ing we
was on
belig
are to
conter

Illustration 43.

Henri Julien, Sir Charles Tupper and Mr. Henry Dalby, the Conservative Organizers - a Moment together in the Lobby of the House. Saturday March 25, 1899 p. 9.

Source: Montreal Star microfilm reel, January-March 1899.

OTLEU.

Hours of

N QUEBEC

arrible outrage
a letter from
the Farmers'
protestive tar-
mal speaking of
... If they
it Minister was
chard denounce
of the Patrons
no ground of
the Liberal.
rals last office
rushed. They
can keep the
is he returned
Minister's bias
he Interior De-
Sifton, by his
them in the
ommission. He
in Commissioner
e Alaska house-
inadian view,
the production
estern Canada,
er of the De-
A long inter-
nalsps between
J. L. Tarte,
the Father of
"dark Mepe-

RTE.

t to the other
Sir Wilfrid
as Mr. Davin
the other at

ted: "There is
ing the whole
man knows it.
pild."

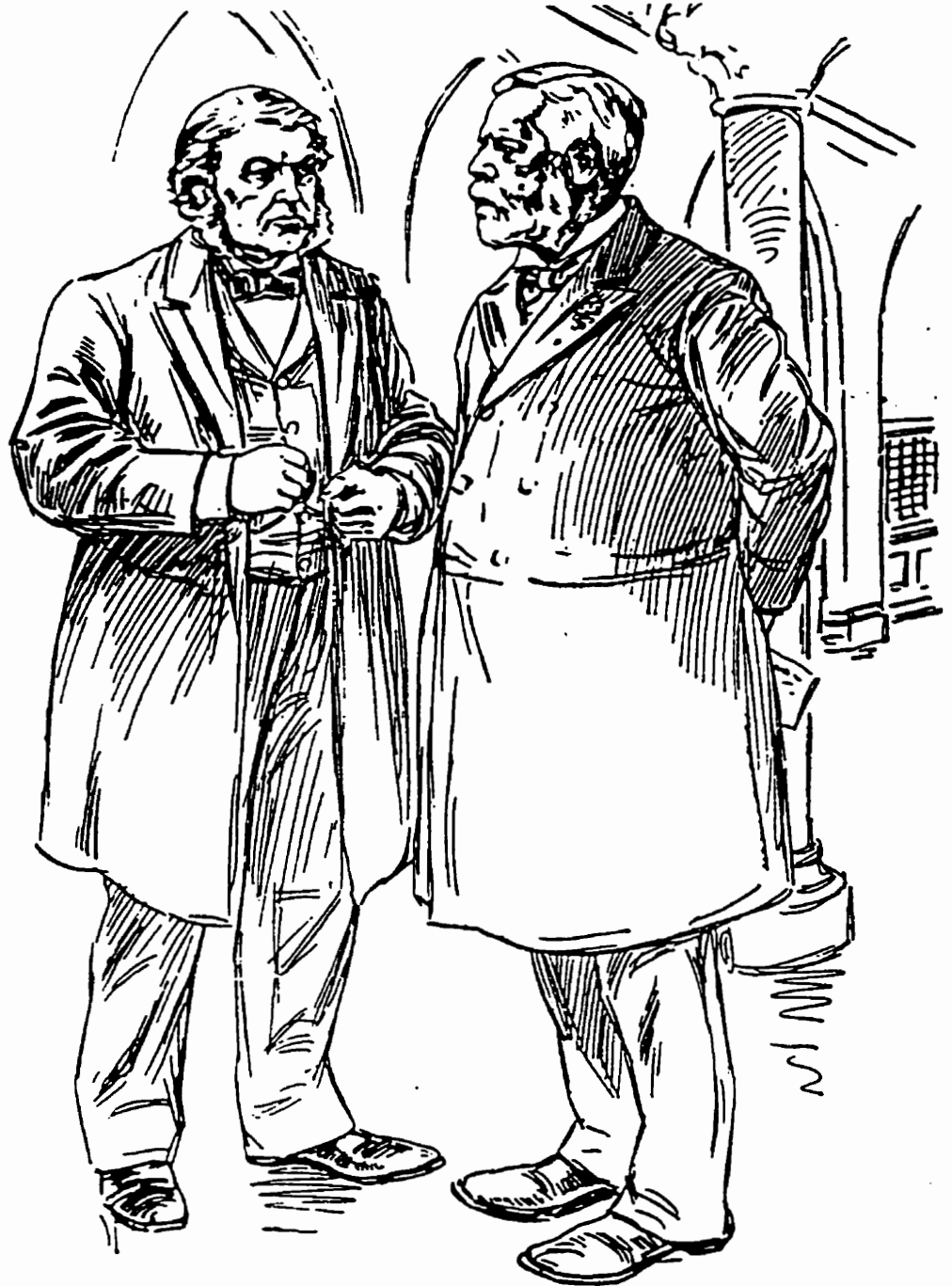
survived in
very angry, as
it through the

NDALS

Sifton for the
and Mr. Fen-
thrive was as
it. He regret-
ed in his place
say that Mr.
er serious ill

He went on
Yukon of not
and passed it
tating means

re," said Mr.
management at
vice with con-
le Ogilvie was
too a cousin of
Mr. Lafontaine
ment who was
to go into the
lock up the
soul of man
now half alone
Mr. McGowan
in Sifton had
the base of
ad ward heel
spine paper of
NA but believe
the movement
is now comple-
tional treatment



SIR CHARLES TUPPER AND MR. HENRY DALBY, THE CONSERVATIVE ORGANIZER.—A MOMENT TOGETHER IN THE LOBBY OF THE HOUSE.

de Hagen was the only gain, and the Lib-
erals had carried the others with reduced
majorities. They were moral victories for
the Conservatives.

the Yukon they saw modern Liberalism
rushing wild. He did not say the officials
had been told to subsidize, but they were
sent there at once, at miserable salaries,
and as only one course was open to young

pulp industry of Canada. He would impose
an export duty on pulp wood at once and
see to it that pulp industries were estab-
lished in Canada, so that the profit of con-
verting pulp wood into paper and industria-
l products would go into the pockets of the Can-

advice would go into the pockets of the Can-

Illustration 44.

Henri Julien *Swallowing his Principles* [Sydney Fish
p. 12.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, April-June 189



Illustration 45.

Henri Julien, *Cartwright and Corruption* ("1894") July 20 1899 p. 7.
 Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.



best-
in of
Whig
it of
A
were
The
jobs
A.
Dick-
rand
h. of
tunt-
there
nam-
The
rplus
swid.
St. A.
redits
bett-
lows
which
very
selve
to, in
rd to
argu-
sons-
The
f the
on it
r the
mem-
was
an in
-len
The
28.
norr-
s de-
rage
and J
that
sim-
pur-
bility
e tar
us of
orted
result
e in-
s not
vised
nnual
to of
Dau-
was
Local
ns of
issed
Pest
Mur-
in a
noon
ba is
the
g on
Dena-
ritien
date
4. L.
Nan-
onn-
belle
stie.
many
than
the
bro-
only
e re-
N. H.
n re-
rown-
Miss
Star,
s. ex-
e will
treat
to ..

CARTWRIGHT AND CORRUPTION.

Sir Richard Cartwright in 1891, denouncing the Conservatives as Corruptionists, Wasters and Spendthrifts; for raising thirty millions by taxation from five millions of Canadians:

MARCH 28, 1894.—"Sir, Canada had no business, and never had, to spend thirty-six or thirty-seven millions a year. It is a monstrous thing properly understood and wholly apart from the amount of real taxation paid by us that an expenditure of thirty-six or thirty-seven millions should be saddled on five millions of people in the position of the people of Canada."

Sir Richard's attitude when the Liberals' \$70 million estimate was being brought down was sketched by the Star artist, and will appear in due course.

THE DO
 An ad to learn
 Do
 for other work, do this to
 making

COUNTRY

Butter and Cheese
 In Active

New Potatoes Are O.
 —Other Lines A.

CHEESE.—Receipts Board of Trade this morn-
 am. Country shows an
 ever, generally sp-
 or too failed to realize
 week ago. There is
 and a firm market
 changing hands as the
 is being asked. The
 different prices, but a
 from 10 to 12c, the
 a little difficult to ob-

BUTTER.—Receipts Board of Trade this morn-
 ing. The market
 there is a very active
 Fancy brand and
 and the are pretty in
 quality is worth 17c
 grades and down almost
 ly is held to be better
 season of the year.

EGGS.—Receipts Board of Trade this morn-
 ing. Trade opened in
 ter the grocery. All
 all qualities were in
 about 200 cases has just
 the west, upon which
 loss of half a cent a do
 cost 17c in the west,
 at the same figure.

Selected eggs are sold
 1-2c; best westerns are
 No. 1 candied, 16c to
 are quoted at 12c, and
 or higher.

POTATOES.—Offering
 was this morning, and
 trade done. In round
 which is the only kind
 any enquiry, and at
 jobbing lots realized

MAPLE PRODUCTS
 going on in the market
 chiefly from hotels, as
 dealers have any old
 steady at 1-2c to 1c
 to 1c an imperial gal-
 wine gallon (12. Fine
 a lb.

HONEY.—The market
 was slow, in com-
 ing; smaller lots, 3-4c
 traded heavy, 1 lb. to
 buckwheat honey, in
 and extracted, 10 to 12c

GRANS.—Demand
 at 10c to 12c a bushel.

APPLES.—For fruit
 to 12c is offered, and
 nominal at 12c; fruit
 12c to 15c.

COUNTRY CHEK

Summary of Trans-
 Past Night

As the following table
 a week's transactions,
 may be compared with
 ago upon the same basis

Class	Open	Close
1. Wheat	1.00	1.00
2. Corn	1.00	1.00
3. Oats	1.00	1.00
4. Beans	1.00	1.00
5. Peas	1.00	1.00
6. Potatoes	1.00	1.00
7. Apples	1.00	1.00
8. Horses	1.00	1.00
9. Cattle	1.00	1.00
10. Sheep	1.00	1.00
11. Pigs	1.00	1.00
12. Butter	1.00	1.00
13. Cheese	1.00	1.00
14. Eggs	1.00	1.00
15. Honey	1.00	1.00
16. Maple	1.00	1.00
17. Potatoes	1.00	1.00
18. Apples	1.00	1.00
19. Horses	1.00	1.00
20. Cattle	1.00	1.00
21. Sheep	1.00	1.00
22. Pigs	1.00	1.00

Illustration 46.

Henri Julien, Cartwright and Corruption (1899) July 21 1899 p. 5. Source: Montreal Star microfilm reel, July-September 1899.

Declared Institutional.

duce the Meas- Is Sealed.

pendence.)

be Senate yesterday bill by a vote of 18 to 12. Mr. Mills, diversified interruptions and or the body in After routine of the debate on the Redistribution Bill, Mr. Howells' amendment from Sir Macdonald held that the object of it be below him, when others came to view crime, and so matter of the re was any anal- moving the re- and Sir Macdonald this moment was an atrocious ent had no mean- pass it. As a ot making any a in opposing a and conservative ple. Whilst partion was written ra. The Unruh y said they were nular to the Em- ion over to the as the act went, ras. written. He he had written and he had on- an association at some hints as to Columbia.

to show where lost his seat and this was a The Conserv- that time in the more of the ger- it enough to say ey ought to have ded - gear with taking hold- will re as - only t who organized all, he said, was how they could the then Govern- The changes y out of respect of the Conserva- of that they were the Howells had loble constituen-

and nothing of that would be I said you were them. You are anyone are about ow presently. hon. gentleman about truthfulness will, whenever I

intended saying a gear not over- Turning to the boundaries of the boundaries I am approved of in was voting in. When Mr d in. When Mr s, however, he opinion in either his argument in arm so argued made was his a wishy. There coming with the



CARTWRIGHT AND CORRUPTION.

When the \$52,000,000 estimates were brought down to the House this week, a peaceful expression rested upon the features of Sir Richard Cartwright.

On May 7, 1895, he thundered forth in this wise:—

BUT

"We must lighten the burdens of the people, as well as stop the deficit. I do not pretend to say that that will be an easy task. I say that it is a task utterly and hopelessly impossible under the present system. Nevertheless, that is the goal that the Reform party must keep in view, that is the goal for which they must strive; that is the goal which I hope and trust they will soon attain."

can take it to the courts. No one also Sir Mackenzie Howells—if he wants a courageous motion, we will move the six months' limit. Hon. David Mills—The hon. gentleman ought to have moved the six months' limit. Sir Mackenzie Howells—No, I ought not. Hon. David Mills insisted. The Government was pledged to the principle, and the country had given their mandate in favour

"We can put it on the order paper again. The amendment is not like a six-months' limit. It postpones the amendment to no particular time." "Do you think it will be put on the paper again?" "Oh, I can't say that."

MONEY FRITTERED AWAY!

A FATAL CHARIVARI. Isaac Lamoureux Instantly Killed at Pointe St. Charles. AND HIS NEPHEW WOUNDED AS RESULT OF A MIDNIGHT

...and what ... CONCERNING THE ... BILLING OF THE ...

WASHINGTON, D.C. ... Senator Fairbank, of Idaho, ... Senator Fairbank ... arrived in Washington ... Senator Fairbank ... and yesterday ... the State Department ... Mr. John W. Foster ... to decide what course ... will pursue in the ... The question of fixing a ... of the Joint High Com- ... There is very ... International Commission ... to get together on August ... -Nominating a ... program during the day ... Fairbank in this city ... in Ottawa, at the ... no arrangement had been ... postponement of the ... mission.

The question of sending ... Fairbank and Dyer ... discussion between ... since Fairbank ... Senator Fairbank ... that the conditions in ... were much more ... satisfied ... and that ... notice to the ... that a ... American citizens ... the border will ... In conversation ... interestingly of his trip ... that Glasgow had ... and was the gateway ... Britain and Douglas ... progressive ... with a ... anti ... The ... long experience, one of ... mysterious while sitting ... on the 3rd July.

AMERICANS ... NEW YORK, July 21 ... despatch to the Herald ... a conference between ... Senator Fairbank ... United States will ... from the ... it has ... relations with Great Britain ... ary ... Much depended upon ... the report which ... to the Secretary of State ... as a member of the ... his conclusions after ... Alaska are of a high ... The Senator reported ... respect to the ... as has changed his views ... spect to the disputed ... holds that it is to be ... in ... as well as the ... territory to ... Alaska ... It is understood a ... -story of the ... he said, when the ... be gone over, and the ... United States ... report to the ... but with reference to ... are in dispute between ... and Canada.

NEWS OF THE ... KENNEDY ... day of ... street ... morning ... a ... on the ... covered it, ... with ... of ... O ... it is ... to the ... day ... GOOD ... when ... day ... the ... and ... the ... had ... been ... the ... had ...

Illustration 47.

Cartwright and Corruption ("1890") July 22 1899 p. 20.
 Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.

to act, for the
 necessary to
 the party. Dy
 to act from the
 shall the public
 ly increased.
 at pledge them-
 whatever except
 ty might vote on
 ions to facilitate
 pledge themselves
 medially on the
 "forward" by the
 pledge themselves
 ir assets and leave
 two other parti-
 cipation it is found
 are too few to
 to come having
 must take an af-
 net accept either
 re. or any other
 of the people; or
 in any salary or
 ched for at least
 sage of the bills,
 the party, or will
 two disconnected
 ion of five years,
 aniers from the
 any more party
 to be discussed
 the civil service
 of the arena of
 possible.
 necessities be-
 public works.
 be very heaviest
 attempting to
 arliament, either
 see, gifts or mo-
 ting members to
 either while they
 after they cease
 stain time,
 population, and
 "power" to alter
 arliament and the
 y.
 bery during elec-
 ctors' lists.
 ed that the pub-
 licated that the
 t is right and in
 country, with no
 the influence ac-
 other than the
 ll be quite likely
 particularly as it
 any extent with
 der parties. Even
 or more, the ag-
 ople realize that
 will surely work
 One has but to
 New York, where
 in order to show
 leads to.
 ll the clergy and
 d, as all right-
 s of all parties
 patriots, to ag-
 gitate against pe-
 a public is so im-
 thing that a pub-
 lic, or who sur-
 vents by brit-
 empy be diging
 . Diligence, re-
 striction all point
 this matter, and
 a party and a



Cartwright and Corruption.

The Star has already shown, by previous pictures of Mr. Richard Cartwright, how he could simulate indignation with common and manifest error when denouncing the Tories for taxing the millions of Canadians to the tune of \$30,000,000 yearly; but how he could peacefully and amily keep his seat in Parliament when the \$20,000,000 estimate of the Liberal Government were announced in the House and never utter a whisper of protest.
 Another of Mr. Richard's pet attitudes with its accompaniment of various fouculation is herewith given. Speaking on March 27, 1890, Sir Richard Cartwright said:
 "We are taxed \$30,000,000 a year"

Illustration 48.

Henri Julien, *Alas! Poor Ghost!* [Sir Richard Cartwright]. Thursday August 24 1899 p. 8.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.



Illustration 49. Henri Julien, "Here is the sword of my Uncle!..." [Sir Wilfrid Laurier as Napoleon]. Wednesday August 30 1899 p. 7. Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.

HARWARE MERCHANTS.
 Montreal to be Largely Represented
 at the Association Meeting in
 Hamilton.
 The annual meeting of the Canadian
 Hardware Merchants Association will be
 held at the Hamilton Hotel on the 28th and 29th inst.

DOCTORS IN CONVENTION.
 Annual Meeting of the Canadian
 Medical Association.
 Dr. Adami Read & Partners to
 Day After Tomorrow
 in Gaitle.

MANY CANADIAN LAWYERS
 Will Attend the International Law
 Conference at Buffalo, N.Y.
 Sylvania N.Y. August 12-13-14-15
 The 17th annual meeting of the
 International Law Conference will
 be held at Buffalo, N.Y. on the 12th, 13th, 14th and 15th inst.

"Here is the sword of my uncle... I will die for my beloved country. Not one inch of Canadian soil for the ruthless invader. Lead on, noble followers! Cry, 'Vive Laurier! McKimley!' Hug the Moohins' and, bring on the General Election!"



PRICE RISE
 The price of the...
 has risen...

LATE WAR
 The late war...

SANDS

TRANSVAAL AND STOCKS
 Probability of War Much Doubt
 In Wall Street Circle
 THE STRENGTH OF THE LONDON
 MARKET WEAKENED IN
 NEW YORK
 From the Staff's Special Correspondent
 NEW YORK, August 12, 1899.

NEW YORK, August 12, 1899.
 The market here was...
 The...
 The...
 The...

Illustration 50.

Henri Julien, *Fixing the General Elections* [General Wellington Tarte and Private Wilfrid Laurier]. Friday September 22 1899 p. 8.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, July-September 1899.

...the idea of right, ... the duty of the Government ...

may think about a committee. You are ... THE DREYFUS AFFAIR ...

... every public and private right. It is ... the matter of rates and charges ...

... the way to have ... the Court of Customs, but our ...

... the important ... of the ...



FIXING THE GENERAL ELECTIONS.

GENERAL WELLINGTON TARTE—"Is Private Laurier Here?" PRIVATE LAURIER—"Yes, Sir." GENERAL WELLINGTON TARTE—"Then Call the Battle Off."

... GANCE PATE. ... Our estimate ...

... published about that whole ... Your newspaper in Montreal has taken ...

... THE PARIS FAIR. ... Great preparations are being made in Paris ...

... of it. Mr. Ocasore and his friends ... Government to grant the privilege ...

... THE PREMIER'S MOVEMENTS. ... He will be at St. Croix and Not at Drummondville on Tuesday Next.

... AN INTERVIEW WITH DREYFUS. ... LONDON, September 22.—A correspondent ...

... THE MINISTERS AT SYDNEY. ... Mr. Blair Lays a Corner Stone and a Foundation is Made.

... THE MINISTERS AT SYDNEY. ... Mr. Blair Lays a Corner Stone and a Foundation is Made. ...

Vertical text on the right margin, likely a page number or reference code.

Illustration 51.

Henri Julien, left-hand panel of *Peace Hath Her Victories no Less Than War*.
October 7, 1899 p. 13.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.



Our Honourary Colonel in Peace; Leading the Colonial Contingent in the Jubilee Procession

... Mother Country, where she has come to see ...

Illustration 52.

Henri Julien, right-hand panel of *Peace Hath Her Victories no Less Than War.*

October 7, 1899 p. 13.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.

0 LESS RENOWNED THAN WAR!



Our Honourary Colonel in War: Leading the Colonial Contingent in the Transvaal Trouble.

From the statements and feeling
 sent by our French Canadian fellow
 men that we will find many on the
 of England will give our
 field officers, under the command of Col.
 Street, he was by himself to the Transvaal.
 This would be the most effective way that
 I tell you that he is now in crossing the
 spirit of the Canadian people. We are all
 anxious to serve the Empire, and it is
 from a practical point of view, I cannot say
 even over the distance from home, that
 better to see your truly French

Illustration 55.

Henri Julien, *Leading the Government* [Tupper and Laurier]. Friday November 10, 1899, p. 10.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.



LEADING THE GOVERNMENT.

**EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL MEN
OF ALL RACES IN THE EMPIRE.**

Great Britain's Imperial Policy Set Forth
by the Marquis of Salisbury at
the Lord Mayor's Banquet.

...for the foreign press, but I do not believe that the trend of the opinion of the press of foreign nations, I am quite certain it does not affect our government, and I will say that I have never seen one of the stirring symptoms of the present time, the heavy resistance existing between the United States and ourselves (I believe), and the sympathy with which their approach towards the same great problems that we ourselves have had to solve.

That is not to say that I do not feel the greatest sympathy with the Anglo-American, the Kingdom of Great Britain, we are looking for the highest form that out of that war a better degree will be produced by an absolute prohibition of arms and uniform in that respect and most otherwise necessary.

THE SANSON AGREEMENT

...the moving one had anticipated an agreement between ourselves and the

most authoritative voices outside the Government that there was no need for military preparations. There we have been because there were no military preparations. That neither of those countries is it of interest to the extent which have been talking about. It has been often said, naturally I think, that we are a strong nation, starting a war may be, so long as the principal part of our forces is composed by an interval of five or six weeks from the land of action, it would rather be true to say that we are a weak nation, fighting a strong nation. Elements of success are not and equal in the matter.

BRITAIN BLAMELESS FOR WAR.

"It would have been unkind to the people to open preparations for war, and some would say, for what was the need of the war, and what was the duty of the Government? It was not because of any demand we had made. It is because, that, at the moment the ultimatum was issued, we had withdrawn our demands and

means of gold which could not be used to support the management of the war. All successful industry requires, and of course the price to the advantage of England, in America and elsewhere, for the good government that could be expected to the world. But that is not our business.

EQUAL RIGHTS FOR ALL

"What we desire to equal rights for all men, and equality for ourselves and our Empire, the only thing that makes sense, and the only thing, we do not believe that we can do without."

NO FOREIGN INTERFERENCE

"I have seen it suggested that

Illustration 57.

Henri Julien, "And Not Even A Whale in Sight". Wednesday November 15 1899

p. 10.

Source: Montreal Star microfilm reel, October-December 1899.

approver.

against Messrs. Borden & Co. read to the effect:

Witness—"The account was written by that man years ago and given to the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

SUPERINTENDENT'S COACHMAN.

The witness—"This was the account that the ship gave for two months for Mr. Latham."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."



"AND NOT EVEN A WHALE IN SIGHT."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Witness—"The man who gave it then was not the man who gave it for the ship."

Witness—"I have no recollection of giving a statement of that kind to any man who gave me the log."

Illustration 58.

Arthur George Racey, "The Coon". *Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday November 25 1899 p. 10.

Source: *Montreal Star* microfilm reel, October-December 1899.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1899

of opinion to
 and to make
 the
 of all
 I
 with
 on and
 on his
 but without
 of its
 of
 in place
 the public;
 concerned
 do not
 to
 being
 troops

events in
 what
 of the
 whether
 stress
 in Eng-
 lish
 of re-
 govern-
 ment.
 tion, "Ker-
 sey." Watch
 any action
 against the
 are not as
 a province.
 Kingston, the
 time by the
 aid by Sir
 George
 Kivona
 citation that
 the Dominion
 England. An
 Queen is part
 made, and we
 rd the Queen,
 governor, not
 but also as
 our laws are
 agency. That
 courts, and
 in principle
 being
 at-Governor
 Queen, and
 There is not
 it which does
 to this
 deciding for
 our
 Britain and
 Japan is by
 than by
 ally, our
 constitution;
 loyal to our
 Canada; we
 are loyal
 sagacious
 sub-
 may, within
 to defend our
 Queen, Vic-

is not
 accurately
 it is
 J., and for
 a
 the
 re-
 cannot bear
 written
 with-
 at
 registering
 ag. I should
 in I hold
 of live
 what
 protest,
 our
 country;
 ay; let our
 is at Pro Re-

SPEAKS.
 ed Mr. J. G.
 was quite so
 firm. He con-
 club on the
 them to
 headed by Mr.
 ur as honest
 ad ever had a
 of Mr. Flynn,
 a engaged in
 king of the
 Why had the
 1899? There



THE COON—I done whitewash—an' whitewash—an' whitewash, but it aint no use, them words will show through.

TART ON TARTE.

Editorial Remarks Which Show What the Country Thinks of the "Master of the Administration."
 NEEDS HOLDING IN CHECK.

"That the role of our warriors who have left for the war is finished—was finished even before the war began. They will be sent to some place where even the smell of powder will not reach them, where they will not hear the reverberations of the cannon, and where, consequently, they will be unable to gather the laurels they so fondly dreamed of before and at the time of their departure. They will be sent, probably, un- der lamentable alms, to some place—

where the military of the British Empire...
 TART TALKS TOO MUCH.
 (Micheal Advertiser.)
 Mr. Tarte's speech has puzzled the Ontario Laborer, and the party organs do not know what to say about it. The Globe contents itself with mild platitudes about the freedom of our Parliamentary

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR—SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 25, 1899

Illustration 59.

Henri Julien, *"Un Vieux de '37"* (ca. 1907).

Source: Marius Barbeau, *Henri Julien* (Toronto: Ryerson 1941) 17.



Bibliography

1. Archival Sources

National Archives of Canada (NAC)

Blount Papers [Austin E. Blount] MG 27 IIE6 vol. 1

Minto Papers [Minto, Sir Gilbert John Elliott, fourth Earl of (1845-1914)] MG27 11B1 vol.20 Memorandum by Sir Charles Tupper on Canadian participation in the South African War (1902)

Julien Papers, MG 29 D103 (3 vols)

National Gallery of Canada (NGC)

National Gallery of Canada Archives, National Gallery of Canada fonds, Box Exhibitions in Gallery 5.5 Japanese-Julien, File 5.5J Julien (Henri) Memorial Exhibition 1938

Musée du Québec (MdQ)

Archives des collections

McCord Museum (McC)

File box Julien, Henri P117-a/1-104; file 5032

2. Printed Sources

The Montreal Daily Star, 1885-1908

La Patrie, 1899

3. Works cited and consulted (articles, monographs, books, reference works and theses)

3.a. Henri Julien

Barbeau, Marius. "Henri Julien et son temps". *Revue populaire* 33 no 4 (avril 1940): 10-11,

Barbeau, Marius. *Henri Julien*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1941.

Buchan, John Stewart. *A Bit of Atlantis by Douglas Eskine [pseud]*. Illustrated by

Henri Julien and R. G. Mathews. Montréal: A T Chapman, 1900.

Chalmers, John W. "The Mounties (*sic*) First Artist". *Great Stories from the Canadian Frontier*, p. 61-66. Edited by Gordon Stewart and Brian Antonson. Surry, B.C.: Antonson Publishing, 1979.

David, Laurent-Olivier. *Souvenirs et biographies, 1870-1910*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1911.

Desrosiers, Adélar. *La race française en Amérique. Desrosiers et Fournet*. Préface de Philippe Perrier. Illustrations de Henri Julien. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1910.

Dumas, Paul. "La peinture d'Henri Julien". *Vie des arts* 13 (Noël 1958) 19-23.

Fréchette, Louis Honoré. *La légende d'un peuple*. Avec une préface de Jules Clarette. Illustrations de Henri Julien.. Edition du centenaire. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1941. [reprint of 1908 edition]

Girard, Henri. "Henri Julien et le Noël canadien." *Revue moderne*, 13:2 (décembre 1931), p.5.

Girard, Henri. "Henri Julien, journaliste". *Revue moderne* 23 no 3 (juillet 1941) 14, 30. 4 ill.

Gladu, Paul. *Henri Julien*. Montréal: Lidec, 1970.

Guilbault, Nicole. "Julien, Henri". in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1966-) vol 12 [1901-1910]: 533-535

Guilbault, Nicole. *Henri Julien, illustrateur de légendes*. Unpublished Master's thesis. Québec: Université Laval, 1978. 219 p ill. bibl. Thèses canadiennes sur microfiche no 39143. Ottawa, Ont. Bibliothèque nationale du Canada.

Guilbault, Nicole. *Henri Julien et la tradition orale*. Montréal: éditions du Boréal Express, 1980.

Harper, J. Russell. *Early Painters and Engravers in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970.

Harper, J. Russell. *Painting in Canada: A History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.

Henri Julien, 1851-1908: Memorial Exhibition. Text by Marius Barbeau. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1938.

Hill, C.C. and Landry, P.B., eds. *Canadian Art. Catalogue of the National Gallery of Canada*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1988-.

Jenkins, W. "Illustration of the Daily Press in America". *The International Studio*, (17 October 1902):287. reprinted in Bonville, *La presse québécoise de 1884 à 1914*, p. 248)

Julien, Henri. *Album*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1916.

Julien, Henri. *Calendrier 1904: Piles Moro*. (S.N., 1904).

"Julien, Octave-Henri", in *Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du nord* (David Karel, ed. Québec: Musée du Québec et Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) p 434.

Lagacé, Jean B. "Henri Julien." *La revue canadienne*. [Montréal] 1908: 371-80.

Marchand. Henri Julien (1852-1908). *Bulletin du Musée du Québec* 11 (janv 1969): 1-4

McMann, Evelyn de Rostaing. *Royal Canadian Academy of Arts/Académie royale des arts du Canada. Exhibitions and members, 1880-1979*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.

McMann, Evelyn de Rostaing. *Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, formerly Art Association of Montreal: Spring Exhibitions 1880-1970*. Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1988.

Money, Greg. "Henri Julien's "By-Town Coons" as a Manifestation of Dominant Group Imaginative Constructs." Ottawa: unpublished research essay, Carleton University Institute of Canadian Studies, 1992.

[Montreal Star]. *Songs of the By-Town Coons*. Illustrated by Henri Julien. Montréal, Qué. [nd. - April 1899] 28 p. ill.

National Archives of Canada. *A Place in History*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991: 254-7.

Poisson, Adolphe. *Sous les pins*. Illustré par Henri Julien. Montréal, Qué: Beauchemin, 1902.

Retfalvi, Andrea. *Canadian Illustrated News, Montréal, 1869-1873: an index*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989.

Staley, John Edgecumbe. "The Cartoonmen of Canada". *Maclean's* 27 no 5 (Mar 1914) 43-46.

Stanley, George F.C. "The Man who sketched the Great March". *Men in Scarlet*. Edited by Hugh A Dempsey. Calgary, Alta: Historical Society of Alberta; McClelland and Stewart West, 1974 [27-49].

3. b. Art and artists, art history, history of culture, political history

"Côté, Jean-Baptiste" in David Karel, dir., *Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du Nord* (Québec: Musée du Québec et Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 196-7.

"Historical Sketch of the Montreal Star," in J. Castell Hopkins, ed., *The Canadian Annual Review of Public Affairs* (Special Historical Supplement), 1910. X: 85-6.

"Jump, Edward". in David Karel, ed. *Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du Nord* (Québec: Musée du Québec et Presses de l'université Laval, 1992): 198-9.

"Le Salon: nos peintres canadiens". *Le Canada*, 12 December 1907: 10.

Aach, Hanah K. *Impressions. Stories of the Nations Printer: early years to 1900*. Hull: Canadian Government Publications Centre, Supply and Services Canada, 1990.

Allard, Nicole. "Un graveur et caricaturiste à l'aube de la Confédération." Dans Béland, Mario. *Jean-Baptiste Côté Caricaturiste et Sculpteur* (Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996): 33-65.

Barbeau, Marius. "Jean-Baptiste Côté: Sculpteur". *Revue moderne* 23 no 7 (nov 1941) 18, 31-34.

Barbeau, Marius. "Côté: Sculpteur sur bois"., *Royal Society of Canada. Proceedings and transactions* 3rd series, section 1 36 (may 1942) 3-11, 12 ill. [Reprinted as "Côté, Sculpteur", *Canada français* 30 no 2 (oct 1942) 94-103.]

Barbeau, Marius. *Québec où survit l'ancienne France*. Québec: Editions Garneau, 1937.

Barbeau, Marius. *Côté: The Wood Carver*. Toronto, Ont. Ryerson Press, 1943.

Beaulieu, André et Jean Hamelin. *La presse québécoise, des origines à nos jours*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1973- [10 vols]

NOTE TO USERS

**Duplicate page number(s); text follows.
The manuscript was microfilmed as received.**

UMI

Bengough, John Wilson. *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from "Grip" and Various Other Sources*. Toronto, Ont: Grip, 1886. 2 vols, x, 269p. Reprints CIHM/ICMH Microfiche series no 07742; Toronto, Ont: Peter Martin Associates, 1974, selected from the original with a new introduction by Doug Fetherling.

Bennett, Paul W. *Emerging Identities: Selected Problems in Canadian History*. Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986.

Berger, Carl, ed. *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987,

Bernard, Jean-Paul, dir., *Les idéologies québécoises au 19e siècle*. Montréal: éditions Boréal Express, 1973.

Bernard, Jean-Paul. *Les rouges: libéralisme, nationalisme, anticléricalisme au milieu du XIXe siècle*. Montréal: presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971.

Bernard, Gérald et Daniel Salée. *The Shaping of Québec Politics and Society. Colonialism, Power and the Transition to Capitalism in the 19th Century*. Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis New York Inc., 1992.

Bérubé, Daniel. "La structure d'une parole". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 99-118.

Bogart, Michele. *Advertising, Artists and the Borders of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Boime, Albert. "Jacques-Louis David, scatological discourse in the French Revolution, and the art of caricature." *Arts Magazine* v. 62 (February 1988): 72-81

Bouchard, Guy. "La métaphore androcentrique de la culture". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 3-38.

Bourassa, André-G. et Jean-Marc Larrue. *Les nuits de la "Main". Cent ans de spectacles sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent (1891-1991)*. Montréal: VLB Editeur, Etudes Québécoises, 1993.

Bryson, Norman, ed. *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Cadrin, Paul. "Pouvoir métaphorique de la musique. À propos de subversion et d'utopie". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de

Béland, Mario. *Jean-Baptiste Côté Caricaturiste et Sculpteur*. Québec, Musée du Québec, 1996.

Belleau, André. "La dimension carnavalesque du roman québécois," dans Jean-François Pelletier, dir., *Littérature et société: anthologie* (Montréal, vlb éditeur, 1994): 218-232 [publié dans *Études françaises*, XIX, 3, 1983].

Bengough, John Wilson. *A Caricature History of Canadian Politics: Events from the Union of 1841, as Illustrated by Cartoons from "Grip" and Various Other Sources*. Toronto, Ont: Grip, 1886. 2 vols, x, 269p. Reprints CIHM/ICMH Microfiche series no 07742; Toronto, Ont: Peter Martin Associates, 1974, selected from the original with a new introduction by Doug Fetherling.

Bennett, Paul W. *Emerging Identities: Selected Problems in Canadian History*. Toronto: Prentice-Hall Canada, 1986.

Berger, Carl, ed. *Contemporary Approaches to Canadian History*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1987,

Bernard, Jean-Paul, dir., *Les idéologies québécoises au 19e siècle*. Montréal: éditions Boréal Express, 1973.

Bernard, Jean-Paul. *Les rouges: libéralisme, nationalisme, anticléricalisme au milieu du XIXe siècle*. Montréal: presses de l'Université du Québec, 1971.

Bernard, Gérald et Daniel Salée. *The Shaping of Québec Politics and Society. Colonialism, Power and the Transition to Capitalism in the 19th Century*. Washington, D.C.: Taylor and Francis New York Inc., 1992.

Bérubé, Daniel. "La structure d'une parole". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 99-118.

Bogart, Michele. *Advertising, Artists and the Borders of Art*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995.

Boime, Albert. "Jacques-Louis David, scatological discourse in the French Revolution, and the art of caricature." *Arts Magazine* v. 62 (February 1988): 72-81

Bouchard, Guy. "La métaphore androcentrique de la culture". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 3-38.

Bourassa, André-G. et Jean-Marc Larrue. *Les nuits de la "Main". Cent ans de spectacles sur le boulevard Saint-Laurent (1891-1991)*. Montréal: VLB Editeur,

Etudes Québécoises, 1993.

Bryson, Norman, ed. *Calligram: Essays in New Art History from France*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1988.

Cadrin, Paul. "Pouvoir métaphorique de la musique. À propos de subversion et d'utopie". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 171-184.

Carrier, David. *Principles of Art History Writing*. University Park, Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania University Press, 1991.

Chèvrefils, Yves. "John Henry Walker (1831-1899), Artisan-Graveur,": in *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales de l'histoire de l'art canadien*, Vol. X no. 2 (Winter 1985): 178-223.

Chippingdale, Richard. *Laurier, His Life and World*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1979.

Clark, Lovell C. *The Guibord Affair*. Toronto: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1971.

Colquhoun, Arthur H.U. "The Man who made the Montreal Star". *The Printer and Publisher* 4:4 (April 1895): 6-7.

Condemine, Odette. "Octave Crémazie." dans *Archives des lettres canadiennes, tome IV: La poésie canadienne: française*. Montréal: Fides, 1972 [1966]: 287-304.

Corcoran, James I. W. "Henri Bourassa et la guerre Sud-africaine". *Revue d'histoire de l'amérique française*, 1962 v. XVIII: 343-356; v. XIX: 84-105, 414-437.

Costisella, Joseph. *L'esprit révolutionnaire dans la littérature canadienne-française*. Montréal: Beauchemin, 1968.

Cotnam, Jacques. *Le Théâtre québécois/instrument de contestation sociale et politique*. Montréal: Fides, 1976.

Curtis, L. Perry. *Apes and angels; the Irishman in Victorian caricature*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1971.

Dafoe, John Wesley. *Laurier: A Study in Canadian Politics*. Toronto: T. Allen, 1922.

David, Laurent-Olivier. *Laurier et son temps*. Montréal: La Cie de publication "La Patrie" Ltée, 1905.

Davis, Morris and Joseph F. Krauter. *The Other Canadians: Profiles of Six Minorities*.

Toronto: Methuen, 1971: 40-54

Davis, Angela E. *Art and work: a social history of labour in the Canadian graphic arts industry to the 1940s*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.

De Bonville, Jean. *La presse québécoise de 1884 à 1914 - genèse d'un média de masse*. Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1988.

Desbarats, Georges-Edouard, *L'esclavage dans l'antiquité et son abolition par le christianisme* [1858] CIHM microfiche no. 22699.

Desbarats, Peter and Terry Mosher. *The Hecklers: A History of Canadian Political Cartooning and a Cartoonists' History of Canada*. Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1979.

Dictionary of Canadian Biography. Toronto: Macmillan, 1966- [12 vols].

Dormon, James H. "Shaping the Popular Image of Post-Reconstruction American Blacks: The 'Coon Song' Phenomenon of the Gilded Age". *American Quarterly* vol. 40 (december 1988): 450-471.

Drummond, William Henry. *The Poetical Works of William Henry Drummond*. New York: G F Putnam's, 1912.

Du Berger, Jean. "Tradition et constitution d'une mémoire collective." Dans Mathieu, Jacques, dir., *La mémoire dans la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995): 43-78.

Dumont, Fernand. *Genèse de la société québécoise*. Montréal: éditions du Boréal, 1993.

Dussault, Gabriel. *Le curé Labelle: messianisme, utopie et colonisation au Québec 1850-1900*. Montréal: Hurtubise HMH 1983.

Dutil, P.A. "The Politics of Muzzling Lucifer's Representative: Godfroy Langlois's Test of Wilfrid Laurier's Liberalism, 1892-1910." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28:2 (1993): 113-129.

Dutil, P. A. *Devil's Advocate: Godfroy Langlois and the Politics of Liberal Progressivism in Laurier's Québec*. Montréal: R. Davis, 1994.

Edwards, Murray D. *A Stage in Our Past. English Language Theatre in Eastern Canada from the 1790s to 1914*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1968.

Felteau, Cyrille. *Histoire de La Presse*. Montréal: La Presse, 1983.

Fréchette, Louis. *Un colomniateur démasqué par lui-même*. s.l., s.n. [1862(?)] CIHM no. 51324.

Fréchette, Louis. *Satires et Polémiques*. Edition critique par Jacques Blais. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal [Bibliothèque du Nouveau Monde], 1993, 2 vols.

Gagnon, Serge. *Quebec and its historians. 1840 to 1920*. [Yvon Brunelle, trans.] Montréal: Harvest House, 1982.

Gagnon, François-Marc. "Pour une image du Québec: régionaliste ou automatiste?" in Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) 69-78.

Gendreau, Andrée. "L'image appropriée. Figures de Charlevoix". In Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) 39-58.

Godin, Pierre. *La lutte pour l'information: histoire de la presse écrite au Québec*. Montréal: Le Jour, 1981.

Goldfield, Michael. "The Color of Politics in the United States". in LaCapra, *The Bounds of Race* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991): 104-133.

Gougeon, Gilles. *Histoire du nationalisme québécois. Entrevues avec sept spécialistes*. Montréal: vlb éditeur et Société Radio-Canada, 1993.

Gombrich, Ernst. "The Cartoonist's Armoury". In *Meditations on a Hobby Horse and other essays on the theory of art*. London, Phaidon, 1978.

Graham, Franklin. *Histrionic Montreal. Annals of the Montreal Stage with Biographical and Critical Notices of the Plays and Players of a Century*. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1902.

Grignon, Marc. "L'architecture comme métaphore du pouvoir. Québec à la fin du XVIIe siècle." in Joseph Melançon, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992) 155-170.

Hahn, Russell, "Brainworkers and the Knights of Labor: E.E. Sheppard, Phillips Thompson and the Toronto News, 1883-1887" in Gregory Kealy and Warrian, eds., *Essays in Canadian Working Class History* (Toronto: McLelland & Stewart, 1976): 35-57.

- Hannoosh, Michèle. *Baudelaire and caricature : from the comic to an art of modernity*. University Park, Pa.: Pennsylvania State University Press, c1992.
- Harrison, Randall P. *The Cartoon, Communication to the Quick*. Beverley Hills: Sage, 1981
- Hill, Daniel C. *The Freedom-Seekers: Blacks in Early Canada*. Toronto: Stoddart 1992 [1981].
- Hodgins, Bruce W. and Robert Page. eds. *Canadian History since Confederation*. Georgetown, Ont: Irwin-Dorsey, 1972.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *Irony's Edge. The theory and politics of irony*. London: Routledge, 1994.
- Hutcheon, Linda. *Splitting Images*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1991.
- Hardy, Dominic. [Inventory of cartoons published in the Montreal Daily Star, 1888-1908.] Unpublished research, 1983-96.
- Jewsiewski, Bogumil and Jocelyn Létourneau, eds., *Constructions identitaires: questionnements théoriques et études de cas*. Ste Foy: Presse de l'Université Laval, 1992.
- Jussim, Estelle. *Visual Communication and the Graphic Arts. Photographic Technologies in the Nineteenth Century*. New York and London: R.R. Bowker Company, 1974
- Karel, David, sous la direction de. *Dictionnaire des artistes de langue française en Amérique du nord*. Québec: Musée du Québec et Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992.
- La culture inventée: les stratégies culturelles au 19e et 20e siècles. Actes d'un colloque organisé en novembre 1990 par le Centre d'études québécoises de l'Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières*. Québec: Institut québécois de recherches sur la culture, 1992.
- LaCapra, Dominick, ed. *The Bounds of Race*. Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991.
- Lacroix, Laurier. "Ombres Portées. Notes sur le paysage canadien avant le groupe des sept", in *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales de l'histoire de l'art canadien*, XIII/1 (1990): 7-24.
- Lacroix, Laurier. "Entre l'érable et le laurier". In *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales de l'histoire de l'art canadien* XIII/2- XIV/3, 1990-91: 154-172.

Lagrange, Jean Paul de. *Liberté et servitude de l'information au Québec confédéré 1867-1967*. Ottawa: Editions de Lagrange, collection Liberté, 1971.

Lagrange, Jean-Paul de. *L'époque de Voltaire au Canada: biographie politique de Fleury Mesplet (1734-1794)*. Montréal; Paris: L'Étincelle, c. 1993.

Lagrange, Jean-Paul de. *Histoire de l'information au Québec*. Montréal: La Presse, 1980.

Laliberté, Alfred. *Mes souvenirs*. Texte établi, présenté et annoté par Odette Legendre. Montréal: les éditions du Boréal Express, 1978.

Lamais, Robert. *Le Québec 1830-1939: bibliographie thématique: Histoire et littérature*. La Salle, Québec: Hurtubise HMH, 1990.

Lamb, R.J. *The Canadian Art Club 1907-1915*. Edmonton: Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988.

Lamb, R. J., ed. *The Arts in Canada during the Age of Laurier*. Edmonton: University of Alberta and Edmonton Art Gallery, 1988.

Lamonde, Yvan and Esther Trépanier, eds. *L'avènement de la modernité culturelle au Québec*. Québec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1986.

Lamonde, Yvan et Raymond Montpetit. *Le parc Sohmer de Montréal 1889-1919/ Un lieu populaire de culture urbaine*. Québec: IQRC, 1986.

Lamonde, Yvan. *Territoires de la culture québécoise*. Ste-Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1991.

Landry, Pierre B. "L'apport de l'art nouveau aux arts graphiques au Québec." Unpublished Master's Thesis. Québec: Université Laval, 1983.

Laplante, Jean de. *Les parcs de Montréal des origines à nos jours*. Montréal: Editions du Méridien, 1990.

Larivière-Dérôme, Céline. "Un professeur d'art au Canada au XIX^e siècle: l'abbé Joseph Chabert." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. 28 no 3 (décembre 1974): 347-366.

Larrue, Jean-Marc. *Le monument inattendu : le Monument national de Montréal, 1893-1993*. LaSalle, Québec : Hurtubise HMH, 1993.

Larrue, Jean-Marc. *Le théâtre à Montréal à la fin du XIX^e siècle*. Montréal: Fides,

1981.

Larrue, Jean-Marc. "Entrée en scène des professionnels (1825-1930)". Dans Legris, Renée, Jean-Marc Larrue, André-G. Bourassa et Gilbert David. *Le théâtre au Québec 1825-1980*. Montréal: vlb éditeur, 1988: 25-62.

Legendre, Odette. *Alfred Laliberté: Sculpteur*. Montréal: les éditions du Boréal et Société Radio-Canada, 1989.

Lerner, Loren Ruth and Mary F. Williamson. *Art and Architecture in Canada: a bibliography and guide to the literature to 1981*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, c.1991.

Linteau, Paul-André. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*. Montréal: éditions du Boréal, 1992.

Linteau, Paul-André, René Durocher & Jean-Claude Robert, *Histoire du Québec contemporain. Tome I: De la Confédération à la Crise (1867-1929)*. Montréal: les éditions du Boréal, 1989.

Lott, Eric. " 'The Seeming Counterfeit': Racial Politics and early Blackface Minstrelsy." *American Quarterly*, Vol. 43: 2 (June 1991) 223-254.

McGregor, Gaile. *The Wacombe Syndrome. Explorations in the Canadian Landscape*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

McKenzie, Karen and Mary F. Williamson. *The Art and Pictorial Press in Canada*. Toronto: Art Gallery of Ontario, 1979.

Martin, D. *L'estampe au Québec 1900-1950*. Québec: Musée du Québec, 1988.

Mathieu, Jacques. "Pour une morphogénèse du passé." Dans Mathieu, Jacques, dir., *La mémoire dans la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995): 3-28.

Mathieu, Jacques, sous la direction de. *La mémoire dans la culture*. Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1995.

Mehrez, Samia. "The Subversive Poetics of Radical Bilingualism: Post-colonial Francophone North African Literature". in Dominick LaCapra, ed. *The Bounds of Race* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991): 255-277.

Melançon, Joseph, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture*. Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992.

- Melançon, Joseph. "La littérature comme capital sémiotique". Dans Melançon, Joseph, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 231-246.
- Michaud, Stéphane, Jean-Yves Mollier and Nicole Savy, eds. *Usages de l'image au XIXe siècle*. Paris, éditions Créaphis (Musée d'Orsay), 1992.
- Miller, Carman. *The Canadian Career of the Fourth Earl of Minto. The Education of a Viceroy*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980.
- Miller, Carman. *Painting the Map Red*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Mohanty, Satya P. "Drawing the Color Line: Kipling and the Culture of Colonial Rule." in *The Bounds of Race* (Ithaca & London: Cornell University Press, 1991): 311-343.
- Morisset, Gérard. *La peinture traditionnelle au Canada-Français*. Ottawa: Cercle du Livre de France, 1960.
- Morisset, Gérard. "Notre héritage français dans les arts." *Action nationale* 15 no 6 (juin-juillet 1940): 418-425.
- Morris, R. N. *The carnivalisation of politics: Quebec cartoons on relations with Canada*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Mulaire, B. *Olindo Gratton, 1855-1941: religion et sculpture*. Montréal: Fides, 1989.
- Murray, George. *Poems by George Murray*. Montréal: Edward G O'Connor, 1912.
- National Archives of Canada. *A Place in History*. Ottawa: National Archives of Canada, 1991.
- Neatby, H. Blair. *Laurier and a Liberal Québec: a study in political management*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1971.
- Ontario Education Communications Authority. *The Black Experience in Canada*. OECA, Toronto, 1979.
- Ouellet, Pierre. "Le changement de lieux. Culture et métaphore." Dans Melançon, Joseph, dir., *Les métaphores de la culture* (Ste. Foy: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1992): 195-212.
- Page, Robert J. D. *The Boer War and Canadian Imperialism*. Canadian Historical

Association Historical Booklet series no. 44, 1987.

Page, Robert J. D. *Imperialism and Canada, 1895-1903*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1972.

Porter, John R. "L'oeuvre figurative, un document témoin." *Etudes de la Construction de la mémoire collective des québécois au XXe siècle. Approches multidisciplinaires*. Québec, Cahiers du CELAT, 1986.

Porter, John R. "L'histoire de l'art québécois et la défense des valeurs collectives." *Etudes de la Construction de la mémoire collective des québécois au XXe siècle. Approches multidisciplinaires*. Québec: Cahiers du CELAT, 1986.: 31-42.

Ramus, Charles F. *Daumier. 120 great lithographs*. New York: Dover, 1978.

Reid, Dennis. *Our Own Country Canada*. Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada, 1979

Retfalvi, Andrea. *Canadian Illustrated News, Montréal, 1869-1873: an index*. Toronto: University of Toronto, 1989.

Robertson, Barbara. *Sir Wilfrid Laurier: The Great Conciliator*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1971.

Rogin, Michael. "Blackface, White Noise: The Jewish Jazz Singer Finds His Voice." *Critical Inquiry* 18 (Spring 1992) 417-421.

Roy, Camille. *Propos Canadiens*. Québec: Action Sociale, 1912.

Rumilly, Robert. *Histoire de la Province de Québec. Tome 8: Wilfrid Laurier; Tome IX: Marchand; Tome X: Israel Tarte*. Montréal, Fides, 1977 [Montréal: B. Valiquette, 1940].

Rutherford, P.W. *A Victorian Authority: The Daily Press in Late Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982.

Rutherford, P.W. "The People's Press. The Emergence of the New Journalism in Canada, 1869-1899". *Canadian Historical Review* LVI:2 (June 1975) 169-191.

Sawatsky, Kevin. "Dominant - Minority Group Relations: A Study in Canadian Political Cartoons." Ottawa, unpublished research essay, Carleton University, 1992.

Saywell, John. "The Cabinet of 1896". F.W. Gibson, ed. *Cabinet Formation and Bicultural Relations* (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, #6). Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1970.

Schull, Joseph. *Laurier: The First Canadian*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1965.

Schultz, Jurgen, ed. *Caricature and its Role in Graphic Satire*. Providence: Brown University Department of Art, 1971.

Schuman, R.S. "Art or Photography: a Question for the Newspaper Editors of the 1890's" *Journalism Quarterly* 42 (1965): 1

Schuman, R. S. "Photography in Print: an Examination of New York Daily Newspapers, 1890-1937." Master's Thesis, University of Minnesota, 1966.

Sherry, James. "Four modes of caricature: reflections upon a genre". *Bulletin of Research in the Humanities* v. 87 no1 (1986/1987): 29-62.

Silver, Arthur I. "Quelques considérations sur les rapports du Canada français avec l'impérialisme britannique au XIXe siècle". *Revue canadienne des études africaines*, vol. 15 no. 1, 1981: 55-75.

Simms, Glenda P. "Diasporic Experience of Blacks in Canada: A Discourse." *Dalhousie Review* 73 (Fall 1993): 308-322.

Skelton, O. D. *Life and letters of Sir Wilfrid Laurier*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1965. 2 vols.

Sotiron, Minko. "Concentration and collusion in the Canadian newspaper industry, 1895-1920". *Journalism History* v. 18 (1992): 26-32.

Stevens, Paul. "Wilfrid Laurier: Politician." Marcel Hamelin (ed.), *The Political Ideas of the Prime Ministers*. Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1969.

Stewart, Gordon T. "Political patronage under MacDonald and Laurier, 1878-1911." *American Journal of Canadian Studies* 10:1 (Spring 1980): 3-26.

The Montreal Star: One Hundred Years of Growth, Turmoil and Change. Montréal: The Montreal Star, 1969.

Toll, Robert C. *Blackening Up: The Minstrel Show in Nineteenth Century America*. New York: OUP, 1974.

Trofimenkoff, Susan Mann. *The dream of nation: a social and intellectual history of Quebec*. Toronto: Gage, 1983.

Trudel, Pierre et al. *Le droit à l'information: émergence, reconnaissance, mise en oeuvre*. Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1981.

Vincenthier, Georges, sous la direction de. *Histoire des idées au Québec*. Montréal: vlb éditeur, 1983.

Wade, Mason. *The French Canadians 1760-1967. Vol 1: 1760-1911*. Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, [Laurentian Library no. 33], 1975.

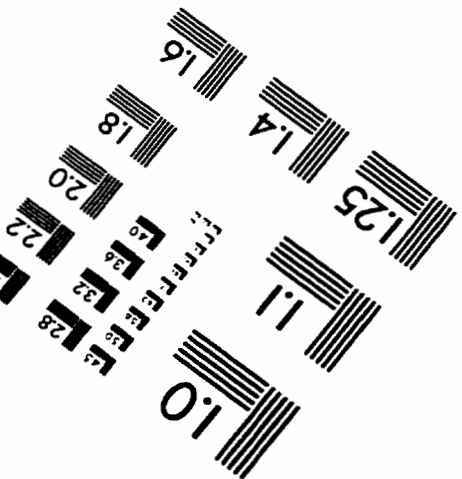
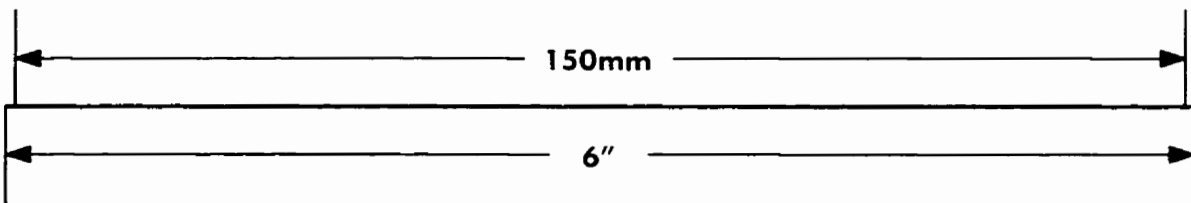
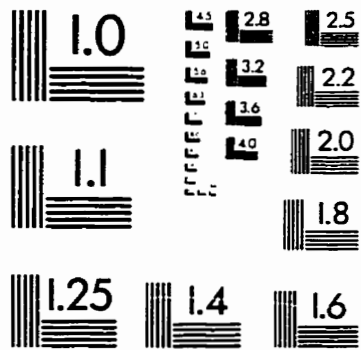
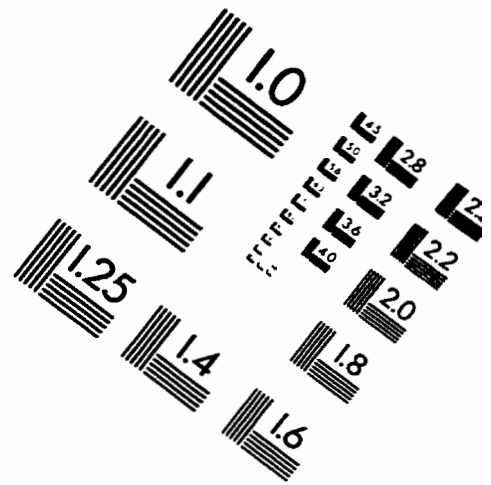
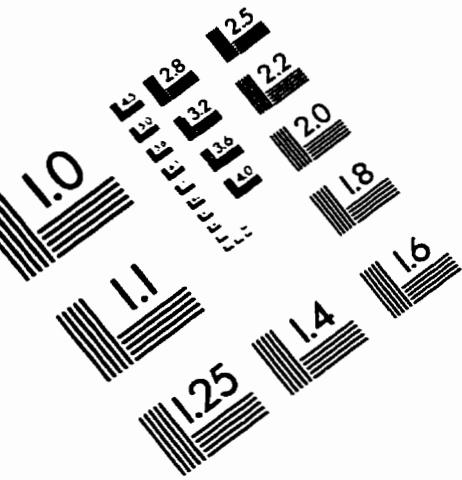
Williams, Dorothy. *The Road to Now*. Montréal: Véhicule Press, 1997.

Willison, John, Sir. *Journalism: an address delivered before the Political Science Club of Toronto University by J.S. Willison, editor of the Globe on November 23, 1899*. s.n., 1899? CIHM microfiche no. 25736.

Winks, Robin W. *The Blacks in Canada: a history*. 2nd ed. Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

Wyczinski, Paul, Bernard Julien et Jean Ménard, *dirs.*, *L'école littéraire de Montréal: bilan littéraire de l'année 1961. Centre de recherches de littérature canadienne-française. [Archives des lettres canadiennes, tome II]*. Montréal: Fides, 1972 [1961].

IMAGE EVALUATION TEST TARGET (QA-3)



APPLIED IMAGE . Inc
1653 East Main Street
Rochester, NY 14609 USA
Phone: 716/482-0300
Fax: 716/288-5989

© 1993, Applied Image, Inc., All Rights Reserved

