

HILAIRE BERNARD DE LA RIVIÈRE AND THE ROLE OF THE ARCHITECT IN NEW FRANCE

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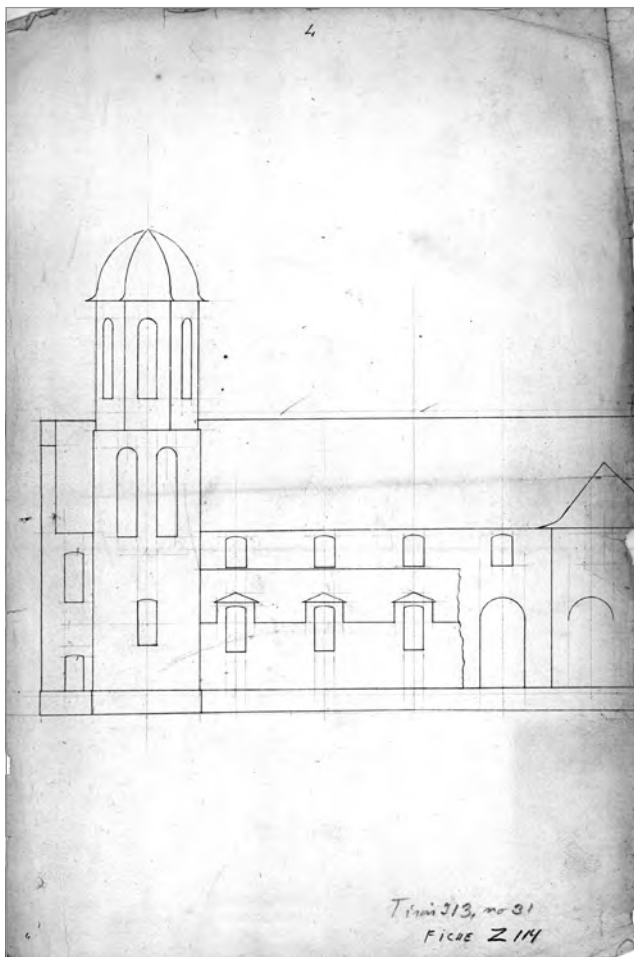


FIG. 1. ANONYMOUS [ATTRIBUTED TO CLAUDE BAILLIF], SIDE ELEVATION OF A REVISED PROJECT FOR THE CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME DE QUÉBEC, INK ON PAPER, PROBABLY 1684. | FONDS D'ARCHIVES DU SÉMINAIRE DE QUÉBEC, Z-114, CENTRE DE RÉFÉRENCE DE L'AMÉRIQUE FRANÇAISE, MUSÉE DE LA CIVILISATION, QUÉBEC CITY.

The role of the architect in New France is generally described as comprising two major trends: the architect-builder trained in the craftsman's tradition, on the one hand, and the military engineer with a deeper knowledge of the classical language of architecture, on the other. Claude Baillif (ca. 1635-1698), the best known architect-builder from the seventeenth century, came to Canada in 1675 as a stone cutter hired in Paris by the Séminaire de Québec; he was the main architect of Québec's first cathedral, whose construction started in 1683, and he built several merchants' houses in Lower Town.¹ The most important military engineer during the French Regime, Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry (1682-1756), arrived in Canada in 1716 and in addition to his military work, he designed official palaces and religious buildings such as the facade of Notre-Dame de Montréal in 1721, the Palais de l'Intendant in Québec City in 1726, and the new church of Notre-Dame de Québec in 1744.² This characterization of the architectural practice in New France remains however somewhat incomplete, as other figures presenting themselves as architects—such as Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and François de Lajoüe in Québec City—do not quite fit in either category, even though they are responsible for significant architectural projects. In this article, I would like to focus on the activity of Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière (ca. 1640-1729), whose role is largely overlooked in historiography. In fact, La Rivière is better known as the earliest itinerant notary in Canada, one of the occupations that filled the latter part of his life.³ But a better understanding of his

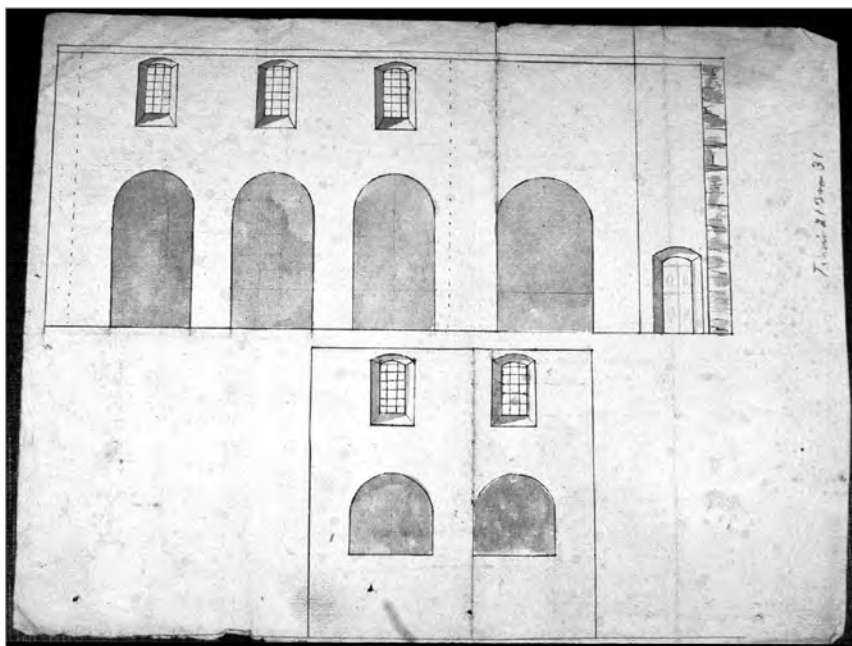


FIG. 2. ANONYMOUS [ATTRIBUTED TO HILAIRE BERNARD DE LA RIVIÈRE], INTERIOR ELEVATION OF A PROJECT FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME DE QUÉBEC, INK AND WASHES ON PAPER, PROBABLY 1688-1689. | FONDS D'ARCHIVES DU SÉMINAIRE DE QUÉBEC, Z-118, CENTRE DE RÉFÉRENCE DE L'AMÉRIQUE FRANÇAISE, MUSÉE DE LA CIVILISATION, QUÉBEC CITY.

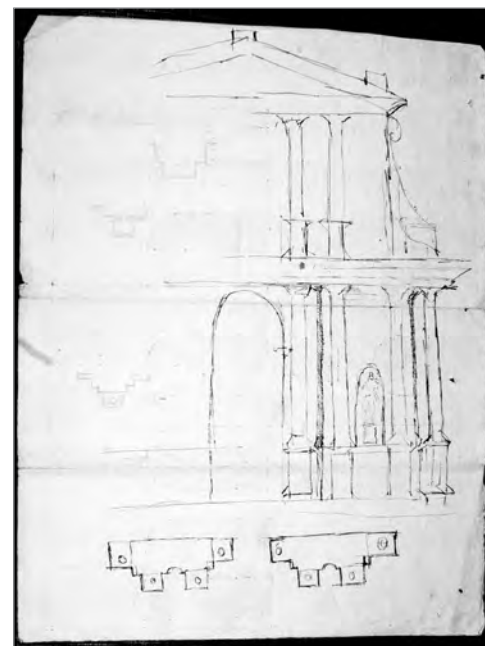


FIG. 3. ANONYMOUS [ATTRIBUTED TO HILAIRE BERNARD DE LA RIVIÈRE], SKETCH OF THE FACADE OF A PROJECT FOR THE COMPLETION OF THE CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME DE QUÉBEC, INK AND WASHES ON PAPER, PROBABLY 1688-1689. | FONDS D'ARCHIVES DU SÉMINAIRE DE QUÉBEC, Z-118, CENTRE DE RÉFÉRENCE DE L'AMÉRIQUE FRANÇAISE, MUSÉE DE LA CIVILISATION, QUÉBEC CITY.

involvement in architecture would help to bring necessary qualifications to the way the architect in New France is generally portrayed.

BISHOP SAINT-VALLIER'S ARCHITECT

Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière (France, ca. 1640 - Quebec City, 1729) arrived in Quebec City during the spring of 1688, hired before his departure from Europe by Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, second bishop of New France. His contract with Saint-Vallier can be found in the Archives nationales in Paris. It clearly portrays his situation at that time:

Hilaire Bernard Larivière architecte et entrepreneur demeurant à Paris rue d'Argenteuil à l'enseigne du Bourgeois trompé paroisse Saint-Roch [...] s'est obligé et oblige envers illustrissime et révérendissime Père en Dieu

*Mgr Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Saint-Vallier évêque de Québec en la Nouvelle-France [...] de conduire durant trois années qui ne commenceront à courir que du jour que le dit sieur de Larivière sera arrivé à Québec tous les ouvrages de maçonnerie que le dit seigneur évêque fera faire dans le dit pays pour la construction d'églises et autres bastiments qu'il luy ordonnera, auxquels ouvrages le dit Larivière travaillera de la main lors qu'il le pourra.*⁴

It is certainly owing to that contract that Saint-Vallier hired around the same time four carpenters and four stone cutters who agreed to come and work for him in New France.⁵ La Rivière thus arrived in New France with a team of craftsmen with the task of performing construction work for the new bishop for a three-year period. Hierarchy between them was also clearly determined, as La Rivière was to be paid one thousand two hundred livres

per year, while each carpenter received one hundred and fifty livres per year, the typical salary of journeymen in Quebec City at the time.

The new bishop arrived in Canada in July 1688, at which time La Rivière and his team of craftsmen had already started working on the cathedral Notre-Dame de Québec. Saint-Vallier had begun developing an idea of the building projects he would undertake as bishop of New France during his first trip to Canada two years earlier. In the published account of this visit to his future diocese, Saint-Vallier commented on the incomplete state of the Quebec cathedral: *"La même église sert de cathédrale et de paroisse ; le bâtiment n'en est pas encore achevé, et le Roy donne chaque année une gratification pour consommer peu à peu l'ouvrage qu'on a commencé."*⁶ He also expressed his deception in the

churches of the Côte-de-Beaupré and the Île d'Orléans, most of them built in wood and in poor condition. And between Quebec City and Montreal:

[J]e visitay sur ma route toutes les églises que j'y trouvay des deux côtes de la rivière; celle d'une petite ville qu'on appelle les Trois Rivières, et qui est fermée de pieux, fut la seule qui me donna de la consolation; toutes les autres étoient ou si prêtes à tomber en ruine, ou si dépourvues des choses les plus nécessaires, que la pauvreté où je les vis m'affligea sensiblement.⁷

These comments and a few other passages from Saint-Vallier's *Estat présent de l'Église et de la colonie française de la Nouvelle-France* clearly suggest that, among the many dimensions of the plans he made for Canada during his 1686 visit, a significant involvement in architecture was anticipated. And the fact that he sent La Rivière together with eight journeymen (*compagnons*) ahead of him in 1688 confirms that he was definitely intent on bringing some remedy to the poor state of religious buildings in the colony.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH

If Claude Baillif can be said to be Bishop François de Laval's architect, La Rivière is even more obviously Bishop Saint-Vallier's (his successor) architect. Indeed, when Baillif was hired, he was considered as a stone cutter and was paid one hundred and eighty *livres* per year, a salary appropriate for a journeyman in the specialized trade of stone cutting, while La Rivière's contract specifically identified him as architect, and awarded him a salary six to seven times higher. Even considering the fact that La Rivière's salary covered his room and board, in addition to the salary of a nephew who accompanied him to Canada,⁸ the difference was indeed significant.

In such conditions, it is not surprising that La Rivière took over from Baillif the direction of the work on the cathedral as soon as he arrived in Canada. And it is possible to demonstrate that La Rivière also contributed some elements of design during the completion of that building. The condition of the church in the spring of 1688 was not very promising: construction had started four years earlier under Baillif's direction, according to his own plans of December 1683. The original project consisted in erecting a new facade fifty feet away from the old parish church of 1647, so that the nave could eventually be lengthened in order to accommodate a larger attendance. However, Baillif and Bishop Laval soon considered other more monumental designs—variations on a basilical church with three naves and a three-level facade flanked by towers—and one version of these more elaborate plans actually replaced the original project agreed upon in 1683 (fig. 1). However, the construction made slow progress during the following years, partly because it had to be adjusted to the funds awarded by King Louis XIV, and partly because structural problems were encountered when the masonry began to rise above ground.⁹ Thus, it is not clear which design was being followed during the spring of 1688: had Baillif and Bishop Laval already reverted to the original smaller project? Or were they trying to find a solution intended to save the basilica-type project? Or perhaps nothing was actually decided in expectation of La Rivière's arrival. In any case, one sheet of drawings preserved in the archives of the Séminaire de Québec obviously has to do with the problems and questions of that moment (figs. 2-3). In our view, these drawings should be attributed to La Rivière. On the front of the page (fig. 2), one sees the interior elevation of a church with arcades and clerestory windows flanked, on the right-hand side, by the outline of a tower and the cross-section of

the facade wall. These figures, drawn with a pen and enhanced with washes, look very different from Baillif's strictly linear plans (fig. 1). The back side of the page shows the sketch of a two-storey facade characterized by a second level narrower than the first, with superposed classical orders, a pediment, and scrolls to compensate for the difference in width (fig. 3): a typical two-storey church facade based on the popular Italian formula. These drawings could have been made by Baillif, but the peculiarities of the drawing style, with washes on one side and a sketchy free-hand composition on the other, in addition to the novelty of the two-storey articulation of the facade—Baillif stuck to a Parisian three-storey scheme in all the drawings that can be securely attributed to him—it seems more likely that they were the work of La Rivière, who reasonably may have tried to find a practical solution to preserve the monumentality of Baillif's revised project.

The first action taken under La Rivière's supervision, however, was the completion of one tower, for which he revised the existing designs. Indeed, a contract dated November 1688 specifies that the carpenters Jean Caillet and Pierre Ménage were to build: "*un double dôme en octogone pour la tour ou clocher de l'église cathédrale de cette ville [...] le tout conformément aux plans profils et élévations que le sieur de La Rivière a fait de ces dits ouvrages.*"¹⁰ These drawings cannot be found today, but it is clear from the contract that La Rivière redesigned the crowning elements on Baillif's tower, replacing the single dome (fig. 1) with the two superimposed domes that were finally built (fig. 4).

The completion of the cathedral, however, came about slowly, perhaps a sign of Saint-Vallier's waning interest for a building whose architectural unity was irremediably

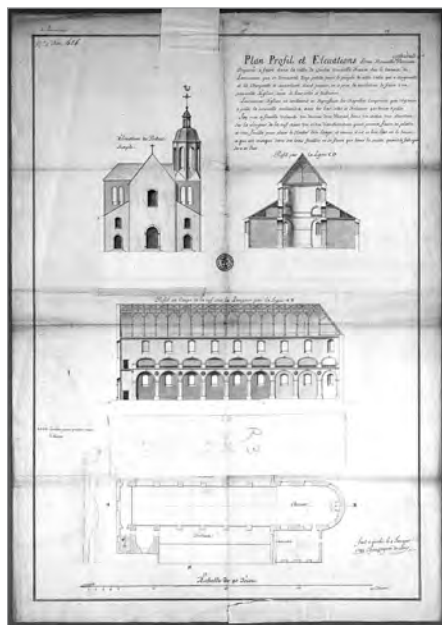


FIG. 4. GASPARD-JOSEPH CHAUSSEGROS DE LÉRY, PROJECT FOR THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE CHURCH OF NOTRE-DAME DE QUÉBEC, INK AND WATERCOLOUR ON PAPER, 1745. THE DESIGN INCORPORATES BAILLIF'S TOWER AND LA RIVIÈRE'S BELFRY. | FR ANOM 03DFC424A, DÉPÔT DES FORTIFICATIONS DES COLONIES, ARCHIVES NATIONALES D'OUTRE-MER, AIX-EN-PROVENCE.

flawed. It is only in 1697 that the cathedral was finished on the basis of something resembling the original project, that of simply lengthening the old parish church in order to connect it with the new facade, which was never decorated.¹¹ Moreover, La Rivière apparently was no longer involved in the project at that time, while Baillif remained in charge of the masonry work. Thus, La Rivière's main contribution to the design of the cathedral consists in the belfry of its single tower. Interestingly, this is the part of the building that Father Charlevoix, author of the first general history of New France (*Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France*, 1744), argued to be the best: "Son architecture, son chœur, son grand autel, ses chapelles sentent tout à fait l'église de campagne. Ce qu'elle a de plus passable est une tour fort haute, solidement bâtie, et qui de loin a quelque apparence."¹²

NOTRE-DAME DES VICTOIRES

Another building in which La Rivière's involvement should be underlined is the church of Notre-Dame des Victoires. It is known that Bishop François de Laval had wanted to have a chapel built in Quebec City's Lower Town at least since 1680. The contract for a first section of the masonry was awarded to Baillif at the end of 1687.¹³ But it is Saint-Vallier, and not Laval, who was able to secure from the king the funding necessary for the completion of the church: "C'est [le roi] qui par un surcroit de bonté et de magnificence m'a accordé une abbaye pour unir à l'Évêché de Québec, un fonds pour élever dans la basse ville une chapelle qui serve d'aide à la paroisse, et de quoy payer non seulement mes Bulles, mais de surcroit une maison épiscopale [...]"¹⁴ Thus, in 1688, the same carpenters who were hired for the cathedral also agreed to build the roof frame, the belfry, and the wooden vault of the church: "un comble de soixante pieds de longueur et de trente cinq de largeur," whose structure "sera cintrée par dessous en anse de panier pour recevoir et poser un lambris," in addition to "un petit clocher de huit pieds carré ayant deux petits dômes l'un sur l'autre."¹⁵ And the remark about the authorship of the belfry of the cathedral also applies here: "le tout conformément aux plans profils et élévations que le Sieur de La Rivière a fait des dits ouvrages."¹⁶ La Rivière thus designed important parts of the church of Notre-Dame-des-Victoires, taking over, in this case, a building whose finished form was probably not entirely planned before he intervened.

THE PARISH CHURCH OF SAINTE-ANNE DE BEAUPRÉ

But the most interesting case of church design by La Rivière is that for the parish

of Sainte-Anne-de-Beaupré, located on the St. Lawrence River approximately thirty-five kilometres northeast of Quebec City, built from 1689 to 1697 (fig. 5).¹⁷ In the historiography, the church is generally attributed to Claude Baillif, who acted as contractor, and it is seen as a good example of the kind of parish churches Bishop Laval favoured in the colony: built in stone coated with roughcast, covered with a high-pitched roof, on a single-aisle plan with round apse and transept chapels.¹⁸ The attribution of the church is based on a document in the parish records saying that fifty *livres* were paid to the architect Claude Baillif in 1689, which is the source used by art historian Gérard Morisset in an article published in 1965.¹⁹ A building contract dated December 17, 1688 apparently confirms this information, since it identifies Baillif as the builder in charge of the construction,²⁰ and it is therefore not surprising that the later publications accept Morisset's interpretation.

However, the interpretation of these documents is complicated by the fact that notarial records also contain two drafts of the same contract, clearly identifying La Rivière as the author of the architectural drawings that Baillif had to follow.²¹ These two drafts are nearly identical, except that the first one is left incomplete. In the second draft, it is said that Baillif had to build stone walls with apertures "aux lieux et endroits marqués par le plan, profil et élévations qui en ont été faits par le dit Sieur de La Rivière signez du dit sieur Evêque et du dit Entrepreneur."²² The first draft says exactly the same thing except that the list of drawings is not detailed. These drafts therefore suggest that Baillif, as contractor, had to execute plans prepared by La Rivière, who must be recognized as the true architect of the building.

Of course, there remains the question of why La Rivière's name has been left out from the final version of the contract. But this point can be explained by the extraordinary circumstances that allowed La Rivière's to be included in the first place: La Rivière, acting on his own, had the contract drafted while Saint-Vallier was absent from Quebec City, and he visibly used that opportunity to have his name featured prominently in the official document. The two drafts actually begin by identifying La Rivière as Saint-Vallier's representative, and the bishop was simply expected to ratify the document on his return, as blank spaces were left on the complete draft for the signatures. But Saint-Vallier, who is known to be punctilious about questions of rank and prestige, apparently did not appreciate La Rivière's initiative, and had the contract rewritten under his own name, cancelling out La Rivière's entirely from the text. Since this change of names is the only significant difference between the drafts and the final version of the contract, the accompanying drawings must be the same, even though La Rivière's name is left out. There is no reason to believe that the plans were modified.

THE ARCHITECTE-BOURGEOIS

The episode of Sainte-Anne de Beaupré is interesting in itself as a clue to the ambiguous status of architects in New France. Indeed, when building contracts mention the existence of architectural drawings, these documents often remain unattributed, unless they are prepared by military engineers, who also had the authority to supervise construction. Obviously, there is no reason to believe that such unattributed drawings were always made by the builders who signed the contracts: they could also have been drawn by clients, by an unidentified architect, they might have been borrowed from another contract, etc.²³



FIG. 5. JULES-ERNEST LIVERNOIS, THE CHURCH OF SAINTE-ANNE DE BEAUPRÉ (1689-1697), PHOTOGRAPH, CA. 1875. | FONDS J.-E. LIVERNOIS, NO. P560/S1/P190, CENTRE D'ARCHIVES DE QUÉBEC, BAŃQ.

The situation of La Rivière in New France—an “architect” whose status as a designer was not fully recognized—was not uncommon in France in the same period. Jean-Michel Savignat has shown the complexity in the architectural practice in Paris at the time of Louis XIV, when the unregulated title of architect was commonly used to obtain building contracts outside the corporation of masons.²⁴ This is a period of important change, as the old Parisian corporations of masons and carpenters, weakened by a variety of measures, gradually lost their monopoly over building contracts. In 1690, they also lost control over the legal expertise of construction work, replaced by a new body of experts composed in equal numbers of *architectes-entrepreneurs* and *architectes-bourgeois*.²⁵ The architect in the sense of a building contractor with a basic knowledge of classical architecture—whether or not he was fully trained as a craftsman—was therefore quickly becoming a common figure in Paris at the end of the seventeenth century.

In this context, La Rivière's career after the expiration of his contract with Saint-Vallier is quite interesting, as it shows an orientation clearly different from Baillif's. On the whole, La Rivière tried to behave as a member of the *bourgeoisie* rather than as a mere craftsman. He continued to work as an architect-builder in the 1690s, as he took apprentices in masonry,²⁶ hired craftsmen, and obtained contracts for important buildings. For example, La Rivière was responsible for the construction of the seminary chapel in 1691—a building that was destroyed by fire about ten years later, and known mostly through written descriptions, as no architectural drawings remain today.²⁷ Contracts show that La Rivière conducted the work, ordered building materials to be delivered at the seminary, and hired masons and stone cutters specifically for that project.²⁸ In the historiography, the chapel wing of the seminary is correctly attributed to him, although little is known about its architectural features apart from the fact that it contained the chapel and joined the wing erected by

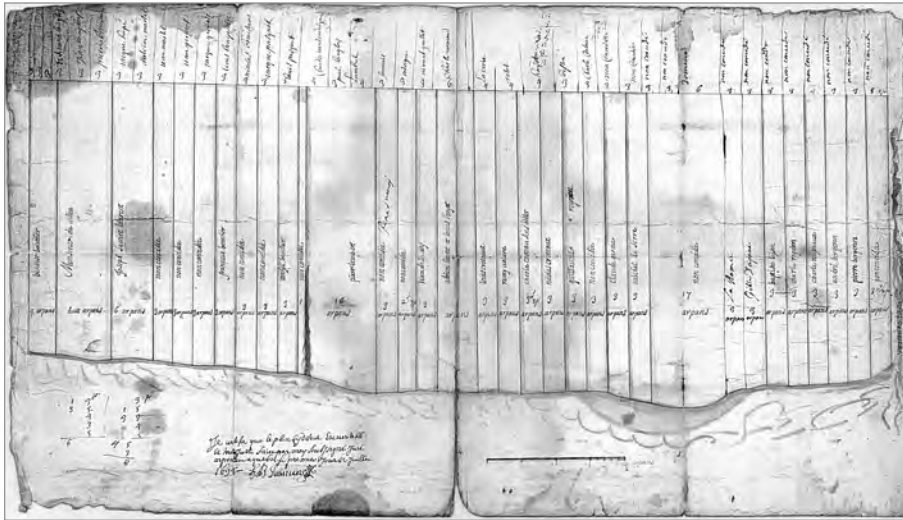


FIG. 6. HILAIRE BERNARD DE LA RIVIÈRE, SURVEY OF THE SEIGNEURY OF TILLY, NEAR QUEBEC CITY, INK AND WATERCOLOUR ON PAPER, 1698. | FONDS COUR SUPÉRIEURE, DISTRICT DE QUÉBEC, NO. CA301, 556, P538, CENTRE D'ARCHIVES DE QUÉBEC, BAŊQ.

Baillif about ten years earlier, forming the south side of an incomplete quadrangle.²⁹

In the same period, La Rivière can also be found in association with François de Lajoüe, another important architect-builder, who lived in Quebec City between 1689 and 1715.³⁰ In 1692, La Rivière and Lajoüe together agreed to build a new palace for Governor Frontenac, the building known as Château Saint-Louis, destroyed by fire in 1834. The better qualified among the two associates was obviously Lajoüe, who is identified as the designer of the building: "*le tout conformément aux plans et desseins qui en sont faits par led[it] Lajoüe.*"³¹ In another contract, La Rivière and Lajoüe agreed to build the fortified enclosure to the palace, a work designed by military engineer Robert de Villeneuve.³² And less than a year later, in June 1693, they both agreed to erect St. John's gate, designed by Dubois Berthelot de Beauours as part of the main city walls.³³

But when such major contracts with the state or religious institutions were not available, La Rivière's occupations

shifted to land surveying, an activity for which he obtained the necessary commission about one year after his arrival in the colony, in recognition of his demonstrated ability and former experience in France.³⁴ La Rivière did a certain amount of land surveying for the royal administration, as Intendant Bochart de Champigny acknowledged in his commission, and he also regularly worked for religious communities and for local merchants. He also surveyed seigneurial land in the Quebec region, as can be seen in his 1698 plan of the Seigneurie of Tilly (fig. 6). Moreover, as André Vachon reports in his biography, this is not the only official commission that La Rivière was able to obtain from the royal authorities in the latter part of his life. In 1707, he was appointed process-server and notary "*dans les costes du gouvernement de cette ville tant qu'il n'y aura point d'autres notaires et d'autres sergents établis dans les dits endroits*"³⁵ (authorized to practice wherever no such official was already established); La Rivière thus became the first itinerant notary in the Quebec region.³⁶ In addition, as Vachon reports again, in 1711, La Rivière obtained from Georges

Regnard Duplessis, an important colonial administrator,³⁷ the responsibility of seigneurial attorney (*procureur fiscal*) in his Seigneurie of Lauzon.³⁸

These different appointments punctuating La Rivière's life should not be interpreted as a sign of instability and shifting career, as they might be perceived today, but rather as the indication of a social ascension typical of *Ancien Régime* French society. Looking generally at his architectural activity, it seems that La Rivière did not try to compete with Baillif, who took the lion's share of house construction in Quebec City, and who remained a craftsman his entire life. La Rivière, in contrast, tried to maintain activities more typical of a *bourgeois*, heading Saint-Vallier's team of craftsmen at his arrival in Canada, looking for important building contracts with institutions, preparing drawings when required, and practicing surveying as a supplement to his architectural activity. Then, the production of legal documents through surveying apparently opened him the doors to other official responsibilities, which occupied most of his time in the latter part of his life.

Another interesting episode in La Rivière's life is an unsuccessful attempt at becoming a merchant in 1693. Given the limited access to finished products in the colony, anybody travelling to France at the time could be tempted to bring back some merchandise in order to sell it at a much higher price. This is apparently what La Rivière and his wife Maguerite Gillet attempted in 1693; they sold most of their belongings in order to invest in such a trip, as notary Louis Chambalon explains in the inventory he made in 1694: "*Luy et sa dite femme s'estoient épuisés et avoient vendu tous leurs principaux meubles et autres effects pour faire une somme d'argent assez considérable pour faciliter le passage de sa dite femme en France*

et pour fournir les moyens d'apporter en ce pays des marchandises à négotier pour leur ayder à subsister le reste de leurs vies auquel voyage elle a malheureusement pery."³⁹ In a very unfortunate turn of events, Marguerite, it is explained, died in a shipwreck, and we can find hints of the notary's compassion in his text, even though such a document should normally remain neutral and strictly matter-of-fact. But the couple's project in itself should not appear too surprising, as it follows the typical means by which artisans tried to improve their social status in seventeenth-century France. As Evelyne Saive-Lever explains, in a society dominated by rank, craftsmen tried to improve their social status by having one member of their family become master of his craft, and then, from one generation to the other, bring the family into trading, ultimately aiming at buying a royal office.⁴⁰ At the turn of the seventeenth to the eighteenth century, social mobility had increased considerably, and New France offered its own set of possibilities, which seems to have tempted a number of Parisian craftsmen. La Rivière juggled with the opportunities of his epoch in his own particular way, and other factors, such as health, might have played a role in the course of his career. But it is clear that even though his 1688 contract with Saint-Vallier specified that he should contribute to the work with his own hands whenever possible, he did not consider himself as a simple craftsman, but rather as an architect as well as a *bourgeois*, that is, an *architecte-bourgeois*.

NOTES

1. Grignon, Marc, 1992, "La pratique architecturale de Claude Baillif," *Annales d'histoire de l'art canadien*, vol. 15, no. 1, p. 6-30.
2. Noppen, Luc, 2011, "Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry," *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, Historica Foundation, [www.thecanadianencyclopedia.com], accessed August 22, 2011; Charbonneau, André and Marc Lafrance, 1999, "Gaspard-Joseph Chaussegros de Léry (1682-1756)," In Laurent Vidal and Emilie de Thonel d'Orgeix (eds.), *Les villes françaises du Nouveau Monde*, Paris, Somogy, p. 142-145; Thorpe, F.J., "Chaussegros de Léry, Gaspard-Joseph", *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, [www.biographi.ca] (Toronto/Quebec City, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2000), accessed July 28, 2011; Noppen, Luc and Marc Grignon, 1983, *L'art de l'architecte*, Quebec, Musée du Québec, p. 49-53.
3. Vachon, André, "Bernard de La Rivière (Darivière), Hilaire," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, accessed July 27, 2011.
4. "Hilaire Bernard Larivière, architect and building contractor living in Paris on d'Argenteuil Street at the sign of the *Bourgeois trompé* in the parish of St. Roch [...] is hereby obliging himself toward the most reverend father, His Lordship Jean-Baptiste de la Croix de Saint-Vallier [...] to conduct for three years, starting on the day of his arrival, all the masonry work that the aforesaid lord bishop shall command in the aforesaid country for the erection of churches and other buildings [...] to which construction the aforesaid Larivière shall work with his own hands whenever possible." Contract between Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, February 16, 1688, minutes of Jean Carnot, *Minutier central des notaires de Paris*, XCI, 467, Paris, Archives nationales.
5. Only the contract with the four carpenters can be found today, but the names of all eight craftsmen (four carpenters and four stone cutters) appear in account reports prepared by La Rivière. Contract between Joseph Charpentier, Pierre [Bauni?], Jacques Hureau, Jacques Monroy, "tous compagnons charpentiers," and Bishop Saint-Vallier, to go to Canada and work "de leur dit mestier de charpentier partout où il plaira à mon dit Seigneur évêque les employer," February 4, 1688, Fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Paroisse de Québec, no. 37, Quebec, Centre de référence de l'Amérique française, Musée de la Civilisation. [Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière], "Estat de l'argent que j'ay reçu de monsieur Iberville pour délivrer aux engagés de monseigneur l'évêque de Québec," March 23, 1688, Séminaire 6, no. 79, Quebec City, Fonds d'archives du Séminaire de Québec, Centre de référence de l'Amérique française, Musée de la Civilisation.
6. "The same building serves both as cathedral and parish church; its construction is not yet completed, and the king grants some money every year to continue the work that has been started." de Saint-Vallier, Jean-Baptiste, 1856 [reprint of 1688], *Estat présent de l'Église et de la colonie française de la Nouvelle-France*, Quebec, A. Côté, p. 5.
7. "I visited on my way all the churches on both sides of the river; that of a small town called Trois-Rivières, surrounded by pales, is the only one that consoled me; all the others were so close to falling into ruins, or so deprived of everything necessary, that their poverty deeply saddened me" (*id.* : 21-22).
8. "Ce marché fait moyennant et à raison de douze cent livres pour et par chacune des trois années que le dit sieur évêque accorde au dit Larivière pour ses gages, nourriture et entretiens et celles du dit [G...?] son neveu qui commenceront à courir de ce jourd'huy." Contract between La Rivière and Saint-Vallier, February 16, 1688.
9. See Grignon, Marc, 1997, "Loing du Soleil": *Architectural Practice in Quebec City during the French Regime*, New York, Peter Lang, p. 11.
10. "[A] double octagonal dome for the tower or bell tower of the cathedral church of that city [...], the whole according to the plans, profiles, and elevations of the aforesaid elements made by Mr. de La Rivière." Contract between Jean Caillet and Pierre Ménage, carpenters, and Jean-Baptiste de Saint-Vallier, Bishop, November 18, 1688, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BANQ).
11. Contract between Claude Baillif and the churchwardens of Notre-Dame de Québec, July 11, 1697, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ. Other craftsmen hired to complete the connection between the old parish church and the new facade are the carpenters Jean Marchand and Robert Leclerc, and the roofer Pierre Gacien. See also: Noppen, Luc, 1974, *Notre-Dame de Québec*, Québec, Éditions du Pélican.
12. "Its architecture, its choir, its main altar, its chapel all give the definitive impression of a rural church. Its most acceptable feature is a high tower, strongly built, which has some visibility from afar." de Charlevoix, Pierre-François-Xavier, 1744, *Journal d'un voyage fait par ordre du roi dans l'Amérique septentrionale*, vol. 3 of *Histoire et description générale de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, Ganeau, p. 74.

13. "Marché pour la maçonnerie de l'église de la basseville," December 31, 1687, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ. For a complete architectural history of this building, see Noppen, Luc, 1977, *Notre-Dame-des-Victoires à la place Royale de Québec*, Quebec City, Ministère des affaires culturelles, coll. "Civilisation du Québec," no. 15.
14. "It is the king who, in all his goodness and magnificence, has granted me an abbey to be united with the diocese of Quebec, the funds for the construction of a chapel in Lower Town in order to supplement the parish church, and enough money to pay not only for my Bulls, but also for an episcopal residence." Saint-Vallier, *Estat présent* : 86.
15. "[A] roof frame measuring sixty *pieds* in length and thirty-five in width [...] curved from below in the shape a basket-handle arch, to receive a panelling, in addition to a small belfry eight *pieds* in width, with two small superposed domes." Contract between Caillet and Ménage, carpenters, and Saint-Vallier, November 18, 1688, *op. cit.*. In the French measuring system of the seventeenth century, one *toise* is divided into six *pieds*; one *piéd* is divided into twelve *pouces*; and one *pouce* is divided into twelve *lignes*. One *pouce* = 2.7 centimetres. (Cf. Ballon, Hilary, 1991, *The Paris of Henry IV. Architecture and Urbanism*, New York, The Architectural Foundation, p. 258).
16. "[T]he whole according to the plans, profiles, and elevations of the aforesaid elements made by Mr. de La Rivière" (*id.*).
17. The church was built in two consecutive phases that probably belonged to the same project. The main body of the church was erected between 1689 and 1693, while the facade of an older church was preserved, and a new facade was begun in 1694.
18. See: Gowans, Alan, 1966, *Building Canada*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, plate 20; Kalman, Harold, 1994, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Toronto, Oxford University Press, vol. 1, p. 69.
19. Morisset, Gérard, 1965, "Un maître-maçon d'autrefois : Claude Baillif," *Mémoires de la société généalogique canadienne française*, July-August-September, p. 136.
20. Contract between Claude Baillif, architect and building contractor, and Bishop Saint-Vallier, for the masonry of the church of Sainte-Anne, in the Seigneurie of Beaupré, December 17, 1688, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
21. For a detailed study of these archival documents, see my article: Grignon, Marc, 1997, "The Builder, the Architect and the Bishop," *Bulletin of the SSAC*, vol. 22, no. 3, p. 60-65.
22. "[I]n the places indicated on the plans, profiles, and elevations made of it by the aforesaid bishop and the aforesaid contractor." Second draft of a contract between Claude Baillif, architect and building contractor, and the bishop of Quebec represented by his architect Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, ca. December 11, 1688, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
23. Noppen, Luc, 1987, "L'architecte dans l'histoire : entre maître d'œuvre et maître d'ouvrage," *Liberté*, vol. 29, no. 5 (173), p. 48-54.
24. Savignat, Jean-Michel, 1983, *Dessin et architecture du Moyen Âge au XVIII^e siècle*, Paris, École nationale supérieure des Beaux-arts, p. 113.
25. Minvielle, Géo, 1921, *Histoire et condition juridique de la profession d'architecte*, Bordeaux, Imprimerie de l'Université, p. 61.
26. For the important role of apprentices as manpower in New France, see Moogk, Peter N., 1971, "Apprenticeship Indentures: A Key to Artisan Life in New France," *Canadian Historical Association: Historical Papers*, p. 65-83.
27. See Noppen, Luc, Claude Paulette and Michel Tremblay, 1979, *Québec, trois siècles d'architecture*, Quebec, Libre Expression, p. 227.
28. For example: Contract between René Arnaud, carter, and Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, for the transportation of stone to the seminary, May 28, 1691, minutes of Gilles Rageot, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
29. See Noppen *et al.* : 227.
30. Mayrand, Pierre, "Lajoüe, François de," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, accessed August 24, 2011.
31. "Everything according to the relevant plans and drawings, made by the aforesaid Lajoüe." Contract between Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and François de Lajoüe, architects and building contractors, and the Count of Frontenac, Governor, and J. Bochart de Champigny, Intendant, for the masonry of "la maison et logement de nos Seig[ne]urs les gouverneurs généraux de ce d[it] pays," September 28, 1692, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
32. Contract between Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and François de Lajoüe, architects, and the Count of Frontenac, Governor, and Jean Bochart de Champigny, Intendant, for "la construction du nouveau fort de cette ville," September 28, 1692, minutes of François Genaple, *id.*
33. Contract between Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière and François de Lajoüe, associates, and the Count of Frontenac, Governor, and Jean Bochart de Champigny, Intendant, for the construction of St. John's gate, June 3, 1693, minutes of François Genaple, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
34. A commission granted to him on July 20, 1689 (Vachon, *op. cit.*).
35. "*Insinuations de la prévôté de Québec*," register 4, May 7, 1707, p. 352, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
36. See also : Roy, J. Edmond, 1899, "Histoire du notariat au Canada," Lévis, *La Revue du notariat*, vol. 1, p. 158-159.
37. Georges Regnard Duplessis held simultaneously several important official positions at that time, including that of treasurer of the Navy. He bought the Seigneurie of Lauzon in 1699. See Voisine, Nive, "Regnard Duplessis, Georges," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography Online*, accessed August 24, 2011.
38. "*Insinuations de la prévôté de Québec*," register 9, July 15, 1711, p. 294-295, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
39. "[La Rivière] and his wife were exhausted and sold most of their furniture and other belongings in order to gather an amount of money sufficient for his wife to go to France and bring back commercial merchandise to this country to help them subsist for the rest of their lives, during which trip she unfortunately perished." Inventory of the belongings of Hilaire Bernard de La Rivière, November 2, 1694, minutes of Louis Chambalon, Quebec, Centre d'archives de Québec, BANQ.
40. Saive-Lever, Evelyne, 1979, "La mobilité sociale chez les artisans parisiens dans la première moitié du XVII^e siècle," *XVII^e siècle*, no. 122 (January-March), p. 60.