Great Princes affected great Monuments[1]

GEORGE BROWNE'S MOLSON MAUSOLEUM AND ITS ANTECEDENTS

In 1972 I discovered that George Browne, the Belfast-born architect who came to Canada in 1830, had erected in Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, a splendid monument to his wife, Anna Maria Jameson, who had died in 1859 (figure 1).[2] In 1988 I noticed in Donald MacKay's The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal *a photograph entitled "The Molson Mausoleum completed in 1863."[3] Neither MacKay, nor anyone else that I knew of, mentioned the architect, but I surmised at once that the mausoleum (figure 2) must be by George Browne. The dwarf columns in the foreground were miniature versions of the Browne monument; the use of vermiculated rustication and the sculptural, "Primitive," and "Neo-Baroque" character of the forms also related to another contemporary work by Browne — Molson's Bank of 1864-66 at St. James and St. Peter streets, Montreal.[4] The Molson mausoleum, as I found on my first visit in December 1988, is in fact signed and dated 1863 by George Browne and his son John James (1837-1900), who worked with him for a time.[5]*

By J. Douglas Stewart

Ulysses in Hecuba cared not how meanly he lived, so he might finde a noble Tomb after death. Great Princes affected great Monuments ...
Sir Thomas Browne, Hydriotaphia ... (1658)

Yea, for myself, how scant soe'er in life
My fare for daily need, this should suffice:
Yet fain would I my tomb were reverence-crowned
In men's sight; evermore this grace abides.
Euripides, Hecuba (425 B.C.; 11.317-20)

I

VIRTUALLY NOTHING IS KNOWN of George Browne between his birth in Belfast in 1811, the son of an architect of the same name, and his arrival in Quebec City in 1830.[6] Browne's connections with architectural sculpture, including funeral monuments, probably date from his Irish years. Goodlatte Richardson Browne (c.1813-55), who practised with George Browne in Quebec City in the 1830s (and who may have been George's brother), was a sculptor and monument designer as well as an architect.[7] The fact that George Browne signed several of his buildings suggests the influence of monument makers, since signing is common practice with them, but not with architects.[8] It should also be noted that mausolea are extremely plentiful in Ireland. Maurice Craig claims that "in proportion to Ireland's much smaller population they are relatively, and perhaps even absolutely, more numerous than in England."[9] At Knockbreda Cemetery, only a few miles from Belfast, George Browne's birthplace, there is a spectacular array of mausolea.[10]

Prior to designing the Molson mausoleum, Browne had already been involved with a number of Canadian funerary or memorial structures in Quebec City, Kingston, and Montreal. The earliest known to me is a drawing for a monument to Jacques Cartier, in the *Album Jacques Viger* at the Bibliothèque Municipale, Montreal (**figure 3**). As Denis Martin has recently noted, the Browne drawing was probably made for a competition for a commemorative monument organized in Quebec City in 1836.[11]

That competition seems to have been abortive. However, the way Browne's drawing came to Jacques Viger provides an interesting and rare glimpse of George Browne's social life. It was discovered by Mary Cotterell Stewart amongst some manuscript notes made by Viger during a journey to Kingston, then capital of the United Canadas, where Browne was working as government architect. In February 1843 Viger noted that he had received an invitation to a ball "chez Daly — par politesse de Brown, Arch...." Dominick Daly, the Provincial Secretary, was a fellow Irishman for whom Browne had designed the villa of Benmore at Sillery and two town houses in Quebec City. Daly was then renting the Kingston town house of John Solomon Cartwright, George Browne's greatest private patron in Kingston. A later entry in Viger's diary records Browne's presentation of the Jacques Cartier drawing.[12] The drawing is inscribed:

The Statue is a supposed representation of Iacques Cartier; The drapery is in accordance with that Worn at the epoch of his Landing; The Globe is to represent his Geographical knowledge, and his Foot upon it to signify his success in the expedition, the Telescope in his right hand pointing to the supposed place of his landing accompanied by the Chart, and compasses in his left hand are Emblematical of his nautical Profession — G. Browne Architect.

Figure 1 (above left). Monument to Anna Maria (Jameson) Browne (d.1859), Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, designed by George Browne. (Rudolf Schnitzler, November 1973)

Figure 2 (opposite page). The Molson mausoleum, Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, designed by George and John James Browne, 1863. (National Archives, PA 148773; date unknown)

Figure 3 (below left). Proposed monument to Jacques Cartier by George Browne, pen and ink and wash (1836?). (Album Jacques Viger, number 145, (Bibliothèque de la Ville de Montréal, Salle Gagnon)
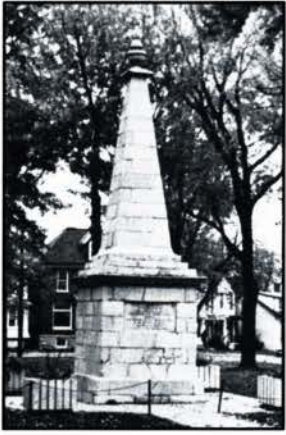
Figure 4 (top). Monument to the
Reverend Robert Barclay (d.1826),
McBurney Park, Kingston,
attributed to George Browne.
(J. Douglas Stewart, 1987)

Figure 5 (above). Sepolchro
d'Absalone; Italian 17th century
engraving, from Sir Christopher
Wren, Parentalia.

Figure 6 (right). Monument to
Charles Poulett Thomson, 1st
Lord Sydenham (d.1841), St.
George's Cathedral, Kingston,
attributed to George Browne.
(Diocese of Ontario)

These lines show that Browne was familiar with basic symbolism — and, moreover, that he could use symbols creatively. The idea of representing Cartier with his foot on a globe "to signify his success in the expedition" does not come directly from an emblem book. Rather, it appears to be an adaptation of part of a well-known emblem of Truth, who is shown with one foot on a globe to denote, as Cesare Ripa says, "that Truth despises all worldly considerations." Browne may also have had in mind the Ripa emblem of Victory, who rests one foot on a helmet — the latter being "emblematical of strength."[13] The inscription also shows that the Cartier monument was not meant to be self-contained: through the gesturing figure of Cartier and our knowledge of his "supposed place of landing," an important symbiosis, or union, was to be established between the statue and the landscape.

In a former burial ground (now McBurney Park in Kingston) there stands a tall limestone pyramid topped by a flaming urn (a symbol of resurrection, **figure 4**) which commemorates the Reverend Robert Barclay, the first minister of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church in Kingston, who died at the age of 30 in 1826 after a brief ministry of five years. As the inscription reveals, his congregation was so fond of him that this monument was erected to his memory. No documentation for the Barclay memorial has been discovered, but it would not be surprising if George Browne, a Presbyterian who designed the St. Andrew's manse in 1841, had been given the commission.[14]

There are also stylistic reasons for attributing the Barclay memorial to Browne. It has the blocky proportions of the Cartier monument, and it shares the latter's use of Tuscan mouldings and a stepped platform. The Tuscan cavetto mouldings at the base of the Barclay pyramid recall those on the giant pilasters at Browne's Kingston City Hall.[15] Compositionally, the Barclay monument has affinities with a very famous tomb, then thought to be that of Absalom, the ill-fated but beloved son of the Old Testament King David. **Figure 5**, the *Sepolchro d'Absalone,* is a print from *Parentalia,* the memoirs of Sir Christopher Wren, who thought that "the Pillar of Absalom," as he called it, was a very early example of the Tuscan order.[16]

What may be Browne's smallest funeral monument is to be found above the inner west nave door of St. George's Cathedral in Kingston (**figure 6**). It commemorates Lord Sydenham, the architect of the union of Upper and Lower Canada and its first governor general. It was Sydenham who chose Kingston as capital of the United Provinces in February 1841. A tragic riding accident ended his career in September of the same year, and he was buried in the crypt of St. George's. As we learn from a letter to John Solomon Cartwright (probably in his capacity as member of the St. George's Building Committee) of June 1843, the Sydenham monu-


ment was actually made in England and shipped by his brother to Montreal. That monument was destroyed by fire in 1899. However, Agnes Maule Machar states that "The new tablet is a faithful and artistic replica of the first one," and there is no reason to doubt her word. That no expense was spared is shown by the cost of the replica — $500, a large sum in 1900.[17]

Although the original monument was made in England, it may have been executed from designs done on the spot. Cartwright would naturally have favoured George Browne. And he would have been the logical choice for this task, since he was government architect and also, as I have argued recently, the designer of the new West Front which was being added to St. George's in the early 1840s.[18] It should be recalled, too, that Browne's design for the Kingston City Hall included on its dome a statue of Lord Sydenham holding the proclamation of the Union of the Provinces in his left hand and pointing to the building with his right. Unfortunately, as far as is known, this commemorative statue was never executed, although its silhouette can be clearly seen on a copy of Browne's elevation.[19] Apparently the City Hall *Lord Sydenham* was to have been cast in bronze, as we learn from an attempt to raise money for it as late as October 1848.[20]

The Sydenham monument in St. George's is closely related in design to parts of the entrance end of Memorial Hall, in Browne's Kingston City Hall. There one sees very similar open-topped pediments, and at both sites the order is the Ionic with the capital scrolls angled out at 45 degrees.[21] This latter feature was not found at the original St. George's, where the capitals were on a plane parallel to the entablature.

Both the form and the content of the Sydenham monument point strongly to George Browne as its author. It is rich in the play of planes, yet subtly and powerfully modelled; and the columns, although Ionic, are chunky. The black background is used not just to echo the white tablet, but to suggest a different temple — presumably the earthly, behind the heavenly one in the foreground. There is also a witty play of forms and meanings in the feature which rises in the centre of the open
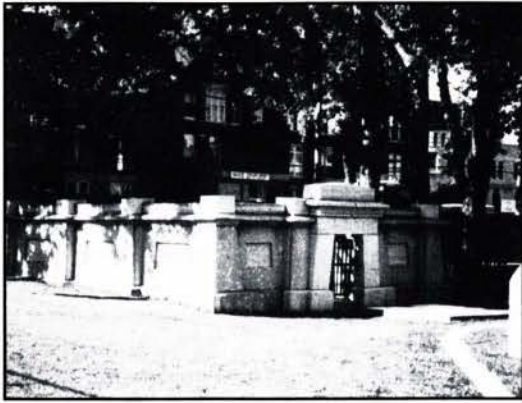
pediment. On the overt level it is a shield with Lord Sydenham's arms, in colour. But the outline of the armorial shield also suggests the form of the Egyptian lotus capital. To the ancient Egyptians the lotus was a symbol of rebirth and immortality, an appropriate meaning in this context since the latter is the hope of every Christian.[22]

The grandest Kingston funeral monument is very Egyptian — the Stuart mausoleum in St. Paul's churchyard (**figure 7**). In fact, it is really just a massive enclosure wall with battered piers, like an Egyptian temple precinct. There is no documentation for it, but in my 1980 review of Richard Carrott's *Egyptian Revival* I argued on stylistic grounds that it should be assigned to George Browne. The dramatic "Primitive" forms are those found in other works by Browne in Kingston, such as the City Hall, or the Bank of Montreal (now the Frontenac Apartments). I also suggested as a possible source Charles Heathcote Tatham's Stafford mausoleum at Trentham Park, Staffordshire, which was engraved in 1808 (**figure 8**).[23]

Of Tatham's structure, Sir Nikolaus Pevsner wrote:

The origin of a design so cyclopean, and so ruthless, is the most radical French architecture of the Boulée-Ledoux period. The architect ... had spent three years in Rome in the 1790s, at a time when the *pensionnaires* of the Académie de France in Rome were intoxicated with the ideas of Boulée and Piranesi.

There is indeed a striking affinity between the entrance gate in the ninth of Piranesi's *Carceri d'Invenzione* (**figure 9**) and those of the Trentham Park and Stuart mausolea. Moreover, one can now see that the entrance to the Stuart mausoleum in its use of "Primitive" forms adumbrates the vault entrances of the Molson mausoleum (**figure 2**).[24]

In 1982 I suggested that another undocumented memorial in St. Paul's churchyard, the Forsyth monument, should also be attributed to George Browne.[25] The probable patron was James Bell Forsyth (1802-69), the son of Joseph Forsyth (1764-1813), whom the monument commemorates.[26] James Bell Forsyth was a close friend of John Solomon Cartwright, and hence is very likely to have chosen George Browne to design the monument.

The huge blocks of stone in the Forsyth monument recall the masonry of the Barclay memorial and the Stuart mausoleum. The "Primitive" construction of the roof with great inclined slabs of stone is strikingly similar to that of the Hellenistic "Grotto of Herakles," described by Naomi Miller as "roofed to a peak with inclined slabs of granite in a Cyclopean manner reminiscent of the sibyl's cave at Cumae — and more remotely the Homeric 'chamber like caves' at Tiryns."[27] The simple but powerful aedicular ('little house') design is related to one which Browne also employed in Kingston at the entrances of the Hales Cottages and Otterburn. The source for all Browne's designs may have been a small building once at the side of S. Teodoro in Palatino, Rome.[28]

The front of the Stuart mausoleum can now be seen only from an angle, and that of the Forsyth monument is almost invisible. This is due to the presence of St. Paul's Church, erected after Browne had left Kingston.[29] Before that, Browne's structures would have been seen to greatest advantage from a road (now Bagot Street) which ran parallel to them some distance below. From there they would have appeared to almost "grow" out of the landscape behind them.

When George Browne arrived in Kingston he advertised himself as "architect, measurer, and landscape gardener," and there still remains evidence of his landscape activity at John Solomon Cartwright's estate of "Rockwood," both in the shaping of the landscape itself and in two grand sets of terrace stairs. The curving forms of the sides of these stairs derive from architectural volutes — the same source which was to determine the design of the outer masonry blocks of the Molson mausoleum vaults (**figure 2**).[30]
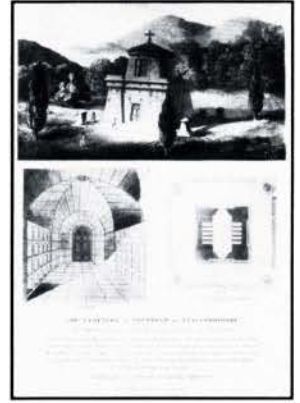

Figure 7 (left). Stuart mausoleum, St. Paul's churchyard, Kingston, attributed to George Browne. (J. Douglas Stewart, 1987)

Figure 8 (top). The Stafford mausoleum, Trentham Park, Staffordshire, 1808. (Engraving by G. Cooper after C.H. Tatham, architect. British Museum)

Figure 9 (above). Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Carceri d'Invenzione (2nd state), plate 9 (detail).

II

THUS, WHEN GEORGE BROWNE CAME to design the monument to his wife in the Mount Royal Cemetery (**figure 1**) he brought much experience with memorial structures and their form, meaning, and relationship to the landscape. Browne's experience with funeral monuments was probably even greater than we know at present, since it seems unlikely that he was not asked to design any between 1844 — the date of his move from Kingston to Montreal — and 1859, the year of his wife's death.

The Browne monument is more complex in its forms and richer in texture than the works of the 1840s. The change reflects the shift from the Early to the High Victorian style. Yet Browne has lost none of his sense of sculptural mass and organic development of forms. The circular column seems to grow out of the bevelled top of the rectangular plinth, and the section with four husked chains over *paterae* on top of the column parallels the planes of

Figure 10 (top). Helmeted urn once above Thomas Molson's vault, Molson mausoleum (detail of figure 2).

Figure 11 (above). Giovanni Battista Piranesi, Carceri d'Invenzione (2nd state), plate 8 (detail).

the base plinth and provides a firm platform for the urn. Because it is short and diminishes sharply as it rises, the column acts as a strong visual support, and its mass is emphasized by drums of vermiculated rustication whose edges are deep-set, smoothly cut rings. The column looks as secure as a giant iron bolt which has been threaded with huge nuts and lock washers!

The meaning of the Browne monument cannot be fully deciphered because of the weathered state of the carvings, which include a scroll with an almost totally obliterated inscription on the eastern-most *patera*. There are obvious references to death in the urn and the vermiculated (literally "worm-eaten") rustication, but these are perhaps counter-balanced by the column itself, which may carry its ancient meanings of stability and a link between heaven and earth.[31] Certainly this is visually true, as can be seen in the photograph (**figure 1**), where the Browne column, set firmly in one hill, rises against the adjacent one — and the sky above acts as a foil for the elegant silhouette of the urn.

I have found no specific source for the general design of the Browne monument, although there are certainly generic links with Piranesi. Diminished columns, sometimes formed from large drums, are found in a number of his plates. The urn on the Browne monument is of a form which Piranesi had used extensively in his Piazza de' Cavalieri di Malta. But the use of husked chains over *paterae* is probably due to Browne's Irish background. The great Irish architect James Gandon was very fond of this motif, which came to him from France through his training in the office of the francophile Sir William Chambers.[32]

III

IN 1863 GEORGE BROWNE COMPLETED the Molson mausoleum, also in Mount Royal Cemetery — in fact, only a few hundred yards away from the monument to his wife. The mausoleum consists of three octagonal brick domed vaults, mostly covered with turf, with stone entrance walls placed on two different levels on the side of the hill. These vaults are the family tombs of the three Molson brothers: the Hon. John Jr. (1787-1860), Thomas (1791-1863), and William (1793-1875). They were the sons of the Hon. John Molson the Elder (1786-1836), the Lincolnshire gentleman who had become a Montreal merchant prince, and his wife Sarah Vaughan. The senior Molsons, who were originally buried elsewhere, are commemorated by a giant (about 60 feet high) tapering column placed between the upper vaults.[33]

Browne seems to have worked for the Molson family from at least the 1840s. For example, in 1844 he designed a Gothic cottage (since destroyed) for John Molson Jr. for his estate on the Ile St. Marguerite, Quebec. About three years later, for the same client, Browne created a grand villa known as Terra Nova, still standing on Queen Mary Road, Mount Royal.[34] Meanwhile, in 1845, Browne had designed for Thomas Molson twelve houses in the "Quebec suburbs" of Montreal. In 1851 Browne seems to have designed a structure for the Champlain and St. Lawrence Railroad, the first railway company in Canada and one with which the Molson family was closely associated.[35]

In his biography of Thomas Molson, Alfred Dubuc states that "Thomas Molson died on 22 Feb. 1863 and was buried in the Protestant Cemetery at Mount Royal, in the family vault that he and his brothers had constructed in 1860, at a cost of $15,000, to receive their own and their parents remains."[36] So far, I have been unable to document these statements concerning the Molson mausoleum, which, as we have seen, is actually dated 1863 above each of the three vaults.

The high cost, however, is very likely, considering the size of the mausoleum. Alfred Sandham wrote in 1870: "On the highest summit in the cemetery are built the family vaults of the Molson family, which are said to be the most extensive and costly private vaults on the continent." This last point might seem an exaggeration, but the Molson mausoleum was built before the end of the American Civil War; it seems to have been only after 1864 that Americans began to erect lavishly expensive, large-scale mausolea. In 1887 the Reverend Robert Campbell still had words of praise for the Molson mausoleum, calling it "magnificent." By 1892, however, its style seems to have gone out of fashion, at any rate with W.D. Lighthall, who referred to it in disparaging terms: "far up on the hillside, is the range of family vaults, of which the Molson is the most conspicuous and the Tiffin the most tasteful."[37]

In its antique grandeur and richness of invention the Molson mausoleum is a direct descendant of Piranesi's architectural fantasies, such as the *Mausoleo Antico* from the *Opere Varie* of 1750.[38] For the motif of the helmeted urn over each vault entrance (**figure 10**) Browne may have been inspired again by Piranesi's *Carceri* — the helmeted trophies above oval urns flanking the staircase in plate 8 (**figure 11**). Unfortunately, these helmeted urns which appear in old photographs of the Molson mausoleum have now disappeared.

Until quite recently the same fate seemed to have overtaken the series of chain-linked dwarf columns, none of which remains *in situ*, but which are also seen in old photographs (**figures 2, 19, 21, 22**). However, at the suggestion of Mr. Stephen Molson the vaults were searched. In John Molson's vault Mr. Andrew Roy discovered a fragment of the upper section of one of the dwarf columns, complete with the hands clasping rings. On my visit to the vaults in July 1991 I was shown this exciting find. A few hours later I discovered what appeared to be the top of another dwarf column buried about six

feet south of John Molson's vault. When this was dug up the next day it proved to be a much more complete fragment, including not only the hands ar:d rings but also a winged-hour glass on one of the *paterae,* all the husked chains, and the upper drum of the column.

For his giant tapering column Browne may have been inspired by a recent work, a monument to Baron Louis-Philippe de Beaujour designed in 1837 by François-Alexis Cendrier and reproduced in a lithograph. The memorial was erected in Père Lachaise cemetery in Paris, which was the prototype for the burial and cemetery reform movement which swept Europe and North America in the early nineteenth century.[39]

Browne's Molson mausoleum also has affinities with various Irish structures. For example, the column recalls the famous Irish medieval round sentinel towers, a replica of which had been built in 1847 over the grave of Daniel O'Connell in Glasnevin cemetery, Dublin. The combination of column and rusticated base is reminiscent of Sir Edward Lovett Pearce's mausoleum of about 1732 at Stillorgan, Co. Dublin, for the Allen family.[40]

On the turfed-over roof of each vault is a cast-iron urn (**figure 12**). It is a very clever use of material, for the urn is hollow and hence able to act as a ventilating shaft cover. For its design Browne seems to have turned to one of the "Sarcophagus's, or Monumental Urns, in the Antique Taste" which were illustrated in James Gibbs's *Book of Architecture,* the second edition of which Browne had in his library.[41] The sides of the Molson urns are inscribed *THIS CORRUPTIBLE MUST PUT ON INCORRUPTION / THIS MORTAL MUST PUT ON IMMORTALITY / O DEATH WHERE IS THY STING ? / O GRAVE WHERE IS THY VICTORY?,* lines from the First Epistle of Paul to the Corinthians, chapter 15, verses 53 and 55.[42] These texts introduce a strong Christian element into the monument.

The Christian aspect is also seen powerfully, although symbolically, inside the vaults (**figures 13-16**). The ground plan of each vault is an elongated octagon, with an apse at the end opposite the doorway. Undoubtedly this is meant to evoke the idea of a Christian baptistery: in the centre of the floor is an octagonal "font." On the side walls are twenty-four interment spaces. Above the walls are eight ribs which rise to meet a small octagonal moulding underneath the ventilating shaft, above which rest the inscribed urns. The ribs, painted dark green, are presumably made of non-corrosive metal, as are the large areas of (apparently zinc)[43] mesh which fill the interstices of these visible "vaults." The real vaults lie behind these features, and consist of brick. The brick is clearly seen in figure 14 through the octagon because the wire mesh, which originally screened this area, had to be removed to reduce the size of the ventilating shaft, which was a prey to vandals.

The use of the forms of a Christian baptistery for a funeral chapel is a perfectly natural one.
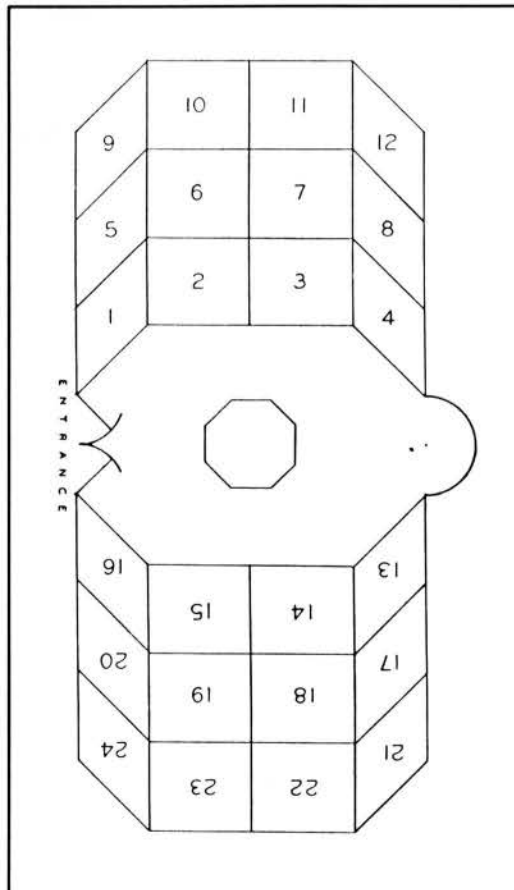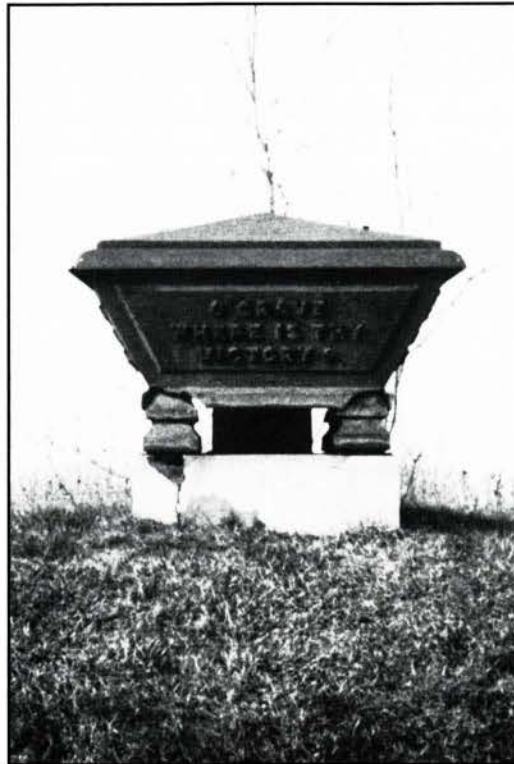

Figure 12 (top). Cast iron urn above William Molson's vault, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, December 1988)

Figure 13 (bottom). Ground plan of vault of John Molson, Molson mausoleum. (Mount Royal Cemetery Company, 1978)

Figure 14 (top). Upper vaulting of John Molson vault, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, July 1991)

Figure 15 (middle). Apse in vault of John Molson, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, July 1991)

Figure 16 (bottom). "Font" in vault of John Molson, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, July 1991)

As Richard Krautheimer has noted, this particular type of baptistery (octagonal, vaulted, and apsed), which developed in the fifth century,

apparently grew from the tradition of Roman funerary architecture, and this is understandable within the context of Early Christian symbolism: baptism is the death of the old Adam and the resurrection of the new man: eight is the symbolic number of regeneration, salvation, and resurrection, as the world started the eighth day after creation began, and Christ rose from the dead on the eighth day of the Passion.[44]

The remarkable consistency of Browne's evocation of the idea of a baptistery and its numerological symbolism is shown by the presence of the octagonal "font" in the centre of each vault — a symbolic font, rather than a functional one, since it is flat on top and could not actually hold water. Even the number of interment spaces fits in with the symbolism: there are twenty-four — three (the number of the Trinity) times eight.

Entering the Molson vaults is an extraordinarily moving architectural experience of neo-Baroque form and space which, as far as I know, is unique. The ovoid, apsed ground-plan is reminiscent of Borromini's S. Carlino, and the reduced scale recalls that oval jewel of English Baroque space, Hawksmoor's Buttery at All Souls, Oxford. Yet George Browne's handling of form and space here is *sui generis*. There is a feeling of appropriate solemnity because of the dim light and the heavy forms in the mouldings, and the font. The latter powerfully articulates, yet restricts, the space of the lower zone — almost to the point of claustrophobia. But this is mitigated by the apse, and the lightness of the upper zone, whose ribs and mesh create a protective, tent-like, serene effect.

Given the deeply Christian content of the vaults and cast-iron urns above them, it seems very likely that the stone helmeted urns which once stood so prominently over the entrances (**figures 2, 10**) may also have had Christian meaning, despite their visual derivation from Piranesi. In a text from St. Paul as famous as those inscribed on the cast-iron urns, the apostle exhorts the Ephesians to "put on the whole armour of God." He then characterizes the various parts, including "the helmet of Salvation" (VI,11-17). Placed over the stone urn, the helmet would then be an appropriate symbol of Christian triumph over death. St. Paul opens this same chapter saying: "Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right. Honour thy father and mother (which is the first commandment with promise)" (VI,1-2). This passage might well apply to the Molson memorial column.

The Molson mausoleum involves heraldic as well as religious *concetti*. The Molson arms are displayed prominently on the memorial column (**figure 17**). The family crest is a crescent moon centred on two angled wings which seem to be represented here by the column and the adjacent angled vault

entrances; while the three crescent moons are placed on the shield in the same reverse-triangle configuration as the three Molson vaults. That (equilateral) triangle must also refer to the Trinity.[45]

Heraldic wit and Christian symbolism seem to be mixed in one of the objects on the cast-iron doors of the vault entrances: the clover shown three times, as a clasp for the swags of drapery just below the Molson name (**figure 18**). The three-leaf clover, or shamrock, is a symbol of the Trinity. St. Patrick used it to demonstrate that doctrine when evangelizing Ireland. But it is also an ancient symbol of Salvation, because of Pliny's claim that the clover was an antidote to snake-bite — the latter came to stand for sin, and the clover for its antidote, Salvation. For Cesare Ripa, the clover *(trifoglie)* was a flower held by Hope *(Speranza)*.[46] Since Hope is part of the Molson motto *(Industria et Spe;* by Industry and Hope) (**figure 17**), and the clover also refers to the Trinity, it can hardly be doubted that Browne is here making a conscious heraldic-religious pun, just as the 'Trinitarian' ground plan of the mausoleum follows the pattern of the moons on the Molson shield. There is, as we have seen, a reference to the Trinity in the number of interment places in each vault. But the heraldic sense of humour is also carried into the vaults: on the walls each marble casket-cover is pierced (doubtless for ventilation) with a waxing and a waning crescent moon!

Browne's inventive heraldic wit at the Molson mausoleum (a feature which we noted earlier in the Sydenham monument) illustrates an additional connection with Piranesi, and with seventeenth-century Baroque architects. Nicholas Penny has characterized Piranesi's church of S. Maria del Priorato, the church of the Knights of Malta behind the Piazza de' Cavalieri di Malta, as

among the last few full-blooded baroque buildings of the eighteenth century.... The ornament contains many novelties inspired by the devices of the knights and of the Rezzonico family, together, of course with variants on antique motifs. But the inventiveness is of itself a distinctly baroque style. In inventing capitals which incorporate the Rezzonico fortress and eagles, Piranesi was following the example of the seventeenth-century architects who utilized the emblems of the Barberini or Chigi families in this way.[47]

Yet if the Molson mausoleum further reveals George Browne as a "Neo-Baroque" architect, it also shows his continuing penchant for the "Primitive." It has already been noted that the Egyptian character of the Stuart mausoleum gateway foreshadows the entrances to the Molson vaults. But there is a more fundamentally "Primitive" element in the basic design of the Molson mausoleum. In his eleventh lecture Sir John Soane says: "In the early times, mounds of earth were raised over the dead ... decorated with groves of Cypress and Laurel, rising one above the other. These mounds were frequently of enormous size."

Figure 17 (top). Molson arms on memorial column, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, December 1988)

Figure 18 (middle). Door of William Molson vault, Molson mausoleum. (J. Douglas Stewart, December 1988)

Figure 19 (bottom). Upper portion of dwarf column which once stood in front of Thomas Molson vault, Molson mausoleum (detail of figure 2).

In a note to this passage, Soane writes:

Mounds of earth were very ancient, indeed the most ancient mode of showing honour to the dead. Over the burial places of illustrious persons they raised a kind of Tumulus of Earth — 'ingens aggeritur tumolo tellus.' — Virgil. This practice of raising barrows over the bodies of the deceased was almost universal in the earlier ages of the world. Homer mentions it as a common practice amongst the Greeks and Trojans, Virgil likewise alludes to it, and Zenophon relates that it obtained amongst the Persians.

I have quoted this passage from Sir John Soane *in extenso* because it illustrates how powerful a fascination the concept of the "Primitive" exercised over Browne's contemporaries, and also because with the words "mounds of enormous size ... decorated with groves of [trees] rising one above the other," Soane might almost be writing a description of the layout of the Molson vaults and their relationship to the landscape — at least as it existed in Browne's time, as can be seen in Notman's photographs (**figures 20-22**). Sadly, because of tree growth, the splendid view shown in figure 20 is no longer visible.[48]

The Molson mausoleum is full of symbolism which, as yet, can only be partially deciphered. What exactly are the winged female figures at the tops of the cast iron vault doors (**figure 18**)? Probably these figures — part human, part vegetable — are simply "grotesques" — that is, derived from the fantastic antique decorative vocabulary originally discovered underground during the Renaissance, most notably in the excavations of the Golden House of Nero. If so, Browne's "grotesques" are appropriate decoration for the entrances to the grotto-like vaults of the Molson mausoleum.[49]

What do these winged "grotesques" hold? They appear to be seven-stringed harps, decorated above by shells, a motif which also appears in the top corners beyond the roundels, and below by an eight-petal rosette in a circle. Shells are symbolically associated with baptism and resurrection; they also have funerary associations dating from Roman times, as do roses.[50] The eight petals of the rosette may presage the octagonal interiors of the vaults.

What are the objects at the bottoms of the doors? They are *not* hourglasses. Of that we can be certain, since the (mostly) missing cast-iron dwarf columns had winged hourglasses at the top (**figure 19**), and their design is very different. The winged hourglass was originally a Baroque emblem signifying Time's swift flight, which remained popular into the nineteenth century as a funerary device. Since the Molson crest includes wings, Browne's use of the winged hourglass is probably another example of his heraldic wit.[51]

The doors of the Molson vaults may still be, in part, enigmatic, though there can be no doubt about their ingenious exploitation of a contemporary material, cast iron. They are also bold, elegant designs in the use

of the crossed arrows, with the roundels containing the grotesques above, the "cloth" swags "pinned" by clover in the middle, and the unknown objects below.

Perhaps the most mysterious aspect of the Molson mausoleum is some of the decoration on the tapering column. At the top is what appears to be a stylized pine-cone. If so, it is certainly appropriate, for the pine-cone is an ancient symbol of immortality, because of the myths of Pithys, a nymph transformed into a pine by Pan after her death, and Atys, the lover of Cybele, who was also changed into a pine tree.[52]

The pine-cone is frequently encountered in funeral monuments. It appears on top of Sir John Soane's tomb, and there are two pine-cones, each surmounting an urn, to the left and right of the Genius of Death on Flaxman's monument of 1793-1801 to William, 1st Earl of Macclesfield, in Westminster Abbey.[53] The pine-cone is also found prominently in plate 16 of J.B. Robinson's *Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Gravestones, &c*, a volume which Browne possessed (**figure 23**). But the grandest pine-cone of all is the colossal *Pigna Aurea*, an antique bronze fountain known as *Paradiso* which long graced the forecourt of St. Peter's and is now in the Belvedere at the Vatican. Because of the
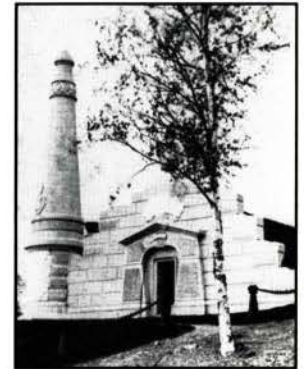
Figure 20 (top). General view of Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, c.1895. (Notman Photographic Archive no. 2555)

Figure 21 (bottom left). Molson mausoleum, Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal, 1866. (Notman Photographic Archive no. 21.221-I)

Figure 22 (bottom right). Memorial column and John Molson vault, Molson mausoleum, 1866. (Notman Photographic Archive no. 21.220-I)
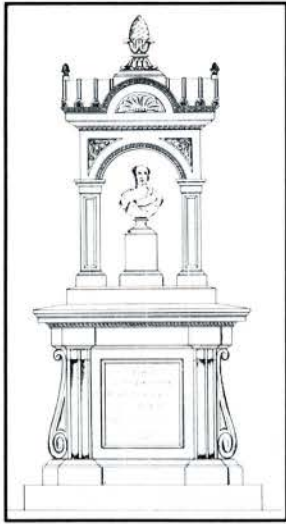
Figure 23. J.B. Robinson, Designs for Monuments, Tombs, Gravestones, &c., *pl. 16.*

similarities in scale Browne may well have intended an allusion to that most ancient monument.[55]

Some way down the column is a huge band of egg-and-dart decoration. This may derive from the echinus of the capital of Trajan's Column, the large Tuscan memorial column which is probably one of the formal sources for the Molson column. A Tuscan motif would be appropriate in the rustic setting of the Molson mausoleum, and because of the use of rustication and the column's circular plinth — the latter being itself a Tuscan feature, according to Vitruvius. That George Browne, with his great interest in the Tuscan order, was familiar with all this we may be certain.[56]

However, a connection with Trajan's Tuscan column would explain neither the position nor the exaggerated size of the egg-and-dart decoration on the Molson column. In the lecture cited above, Sir John Soane also had this to say: "Amongst the almost infinite variety of Ornaments used in the Ancient Works, Eggs and Darts, and Eggs and Anchors occur more generally perhaps than any other. The frequency of these Ornaments has been supposed by many to have been occasioned by their reference, in the ancient Mythology, to the worship of the Sun, the Egg being supposed to represent the Mundane system, and the Darts placed between them, the rays of the sun...."[57]

Is George Browne using sun or solar symbolism in the Molson mausoleum? It would certainly go well with his heraldic wit — because of the moons in the Molson arms. It would also explain the use of oversized egg-and-dart ornament. We must also remember that Sir John Soane was extremely conscientious about his use of antique motifs because of their original meanings. Nor was Soane's derivation of the meaning of architectural ornament from a "Primitive" religion — sun-worship — an eccentricity. Rather, it was part of the nineteenth century's passion for tracing the roots of religion through comparative mythography and the newly-developed science of linguistics. By the middle of the century the greatest exponent of solarism was F. Max Muller, whose popular mythographic studies such as his 1856 *Comparative Mythology* sought to explain all myth and religion as deriving ultimately from man's attempt to explain the power of the sun.[58]

What part did members of the Molson family play in all this? It must have been considerable, although, as yet, no documents have been found to tell us the story. But it should be remembered that the Molsons were not only nineteenth-century entrepreneurs, used to command, but also directly descended from eighteenth-century English gentry, accustomed by birth and tradition to architectural, cultural, and religious patronage.

All in the family were involved in the development of McGill University. In 1856 John, Thomas, and William together subscribed $20,000 to McGill, and an additional sum of the same amount to endow the Molson Chair of English Language and Literature. On his own, William donated a hall, named after him, to McGill, which was completed in 1862.[59]

In November 1859, at the very time the Molsons must have been giving thought to both their donations to McGill and their family mausoleum, the *Montreal Witness* carried a notice of publication of *Archaia; or, Studies of the Cosmogony and Natural History of the Hebrew Scriptures:* "No subjects have of late years more occupied the attention of thinking men than the alleged discrepancies between the Mosaic and the Geological accounts of the origins of the world, and the antagonism of many of the recent theories of the origins of the human race to the account given by the inspired writers."[60] The author was J.W. (later Sir William) Dawson, a prominent geologist destined to be the leading anti-Darwinist of the late nineteenth century.[61] He was also principal of McGill University, and it is difficult to believe that the Molsons, as leading benefactors of that institution, were not "thinking men" who shared Dawson's concerns, and perhaps his beliefs.

Both Thomas and William Molson built churches, and Thomas fought with the Anglican bishop of Montreal over the right to appoint the minister of their church. Eventually Thomas won something that many an English gentleman or corporation traditionally had, and still has, the so-called advowson. Thomas Molson did not pursue this goal out of some arrogant sense of "class power," but because he wanted to exclude Anglican high churchmen who he felt would alienate many of the congregation of St. Thomas's. As Thomas put it, his own nominee, the Reverend Stone of the Countess of Huntingdon's Connexion, a more broad-minded clergyman, "is giving much satisfaction.... the Church will increase very much as the Bishops and the Clergy of the Church of England are too High Church and domineering."[62]

Thomas was certainly deeply concerned for the Christian religion, privately as well as publicly. In his will he left his son John Henry Robinson Molson £1,000, providing he held family morning and evening devotions from "the book known as 'Fletcher's Devotions'...." The sum bequeathed was worth about $5,000 — that is, the same amount as Thomas's share of the cost of the family mausoleum; the book was *A Guide for Family Devotions,* which was first published in London in 1833 and went into many editions. Its author, the Reverend Alexander Fletcher of Finsbury Chapel, London, was a very popular Presbyterian preacher who was also a prolific writer. In his preface, Fletcher states categorically "This work is not *sectarian.* It acknowledges no party save one, namely the universal church of the living God," sentiments which would have had strong appeal for Thomas Molson. The famous verses from 1 Corinthians XV, which appear

on the Molson mausoleum iron urns, are used as part of Fletcher's Wednesday evening prayer in the 35th week.[63]

With such decided views on current cultural and religious matters, it is unthinkable that the Molsons would not have had considerable say in their family mausoleum. The frequent references to Molson heraldry suggest this too. The division of the building contracts for the mausoleum between a francophone (André Auglair) and an anglophone (J.D. Robinson) may also reflect traditional Molson family policy.[64] Yet we can be certain that George Browne contributed much. The forms and iconography relate to Browne's earlier funeral monuments, including that of his wife. Also, it would be entirely out of character for Browne to act merely as a client's tool: Browne's early disputes with the Board of Works and the Kingston Corporation (whom he actually sued) are sufficient proof of that.[65]

Probably the Molson family and George Browne would have agreed on matters of religion. Like Thomas Molson, George Browne was evidently a pious man. The text and symbol at the top of the Browne monument are illegible, but the inscription on his own tablet states that he "fell asleep ...'Looking for the mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ unto Eternal Life'." The text, which Browne presumably chose, is from the Epistle of the Apostle Jude, verse 21. After Browne's death, "The remains were conveyed [from his home] to Knox Church, where the Rev. James Fleck, pastor, officiated. In the course of an eloquent address he referred to the long and honoured connection of the deceased with Knox Church, and to the fact of his election twice to the eldership."[66]

One thing about the Molson mausoleum is very clear. It cannot be seen as some wildly extravagant, hugely pompous, vainglorious creation — the sort of structure often thought of as typical of the nineteenth-century *nouveau riche*. The Molsons were not *nouveau,* nor had they ever been prone to self-advertisement; as the most recent writer on them has said, they "are a very private family."[67] This is so at their mausoleum. The heraldic references are mostly 'in-jokes', which are only evident to those who are aware of or take the trouble to discover them. The senior Molsons are indeed honoured by a giant column, but in this their children were merely obeying the first of the ten commandments. Nowhere are there to be found, as one so often does find on funeral monuments, effusive accounts of the virtues, real or supposed, of any of the family members. Nor are the materials particularly showy: there is no bronze, and (white) marble is used only for the tablets over the doors (**figure 2**) and for the casket-covers inside the vaults. The materials employed are mostly iron and limestone. Moreover, the ornament, in whatever material, all seems to have meaning.
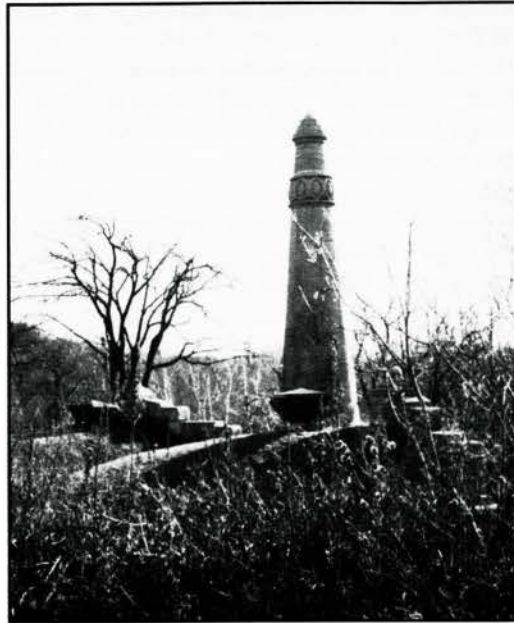

Figure 24. View of memorial column from top of (left) John Molson vault, (right) William Molson vault; Molson mausoleum, Mount Royal Cemetery, Montreal. (J. Douglas Stewart, December 1988)

What then was the raison d'être of the Molson mausoleum? Why did the three brothers build it, apparently spending $15,000? Family pride was undoubtedly a major factor. In raising a column and great mounds to their dead the Molsons were, as we have seen, following very ancient and honourable traditions. One must remember the strength of the family in the nineteenth century, and the responsibilities of its senior members. Families were larger, but early death was common. For each Molson brother to lay out $5,000 for 24 places of interment within his vault, including the surrounding land, was probably a reasonable investment.

But the Molson mausoleum proclaimed, literally from the hilltops, Christian doctrines concerning life, death, and resurrection through grand architectural and sculptural forms, including texts and symbols which would be far more immediately understood then they are today. One of a Christian's primary duties is embodied in Christ's words: "Go ye into all the world, and preach the Gospel to every creature" (St. Mark, 16:15). Both the Molsons and George Browne would naturally have responded to this command.

One may sneer at these beliefs and dismiss religion as "the opiate of the people." Yet one cannot question the sincerity of either the patrons or the architect, nor will we ever properly appreciate such architecture without taking into account the religious background. The nineteenth century was as much an "Age of Faith" as the thirteenth; the Molson mausoleum is, like a Gothic church, a "sermon in stone."

Whatever the full meaning of the Molson mausoleum may be, it is an extremely eloquent work of art in its symbiosis of structure, meaning, and setting. As you approach it obliquely up the hill, walk around it, over it, and look back through it (**figures 20-22, 24**), you appreciate what a subtle

mixture of art, nature, and ideas it is — stone, iron, light, shadow, earth, and sky; life, death, and after-life. Perhaps its finest quality is its sense of "right-ness": the column, 60 feet high, seems exactly the proper height and proportion in this setting of hills and trees; and the vaults, although rendered impres-sive by their masonry, seem to "grow" naturally out of the hillside. Like an ancient Greek amphitheatre, the whole complex enhances, rather than disturbs, the landscape. By any standards it is a masterpiece.

When George Browne replied to the toast to the architect at the grand dinner given to celebrate the completion of the Kingston City Hall in November 1843, he said that "although he had learned to make foundations and raise perpen-diculars, he had not learned to make speeches."[68] He was joking — one cannot imagine an Irishman *not* being brought up to make speeches! What Browne really meant was that his personal elo-quence would be found in his buildings. It is ironic that his great series of Kingston buildings, the works of his early maturity, are known to comparatively few, because Kingston, once a capital city, is now a provincial one. It is additionally ironic that what may well come to be regarded as George Browne's finest late work, the Molson mausoleum, although in a great cosmopolitan city, Montreal, is hidden away in a cemetery, and is only now being discovered.

IV

OUR SOCIETY WILL NOT automatically "reverence-crown" the tomb of a Ulysses, a merchant prince, or anyone else; nor is the Christian aspect, no matter how strong, any protection in a "post-Christian" society. Thus, tragically, we are in great danger of losing structures like the Molson mausoleum. Van-dals strike daily at the monuments in cemeteries be-cause they are often isolated, and hence so vulner-able to attack. A week before my latest visit to the Molson mausoleum one of the vaults was spray-painted with graffiti. Paint, at least, can be removed. But physical breaks are costly to repair, and often impossible. And then there is theft. The great hel-meted urns which originally crowned the apexes of the Molson vaults were apparently magnificent crea-tions, judging from the photographs (**figures 2, 10**). But photographs are no substitute for the real ob-jects: one would give much to be able to see these descendants of Piranesian fantasy in their original glory.

One way of reducing the isolation of cemetery monuments and hence preventing at least some of the vandalism is to increase the numbers of friendly people visiting the cemetery. On the day after my discovery of the dwarf-column top in July 1991 I walked above the upper vaults of the Molson mausoleum. Within half an hour I had encountered four people, all furtive looking; but they did nothing, at least then! The Mount Royal Cemetery Com-pany, a non-profit organization which is dedicated to the preservation and enhancement of its property of 165 acres, has recently published a free pamphlet, in-cluding a map, on bird watching in the cemetery: large numbers and types of birds are found in the cemetery, ranging right up to golden eagles! On our latest visit to the Molson mausoleum, my wife and I were given what she dubbed a "flypast" by a cardinal — a ravishing sight. Preserving and cherishing of our heritage and environment, man-made and natural, can and should go hand in hand. But one fears that without many concerned people cherishing them, architectural wonders like the Molson mausoleum may simply not be there for future generations.[69]

Endnotes

1 This is an expanded version of a paper given at the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada Annual Conference held in Montreal on 12 April 1989. I am indebted to Mr. Robert Lemire for helpful suggestions at the conference, and to Miss Nora Hague and Mr. Stanley Briggs of the Notman Photographic Archive, from whom I also received much kindness. I am grateful to Mr. Stephen Molson for answering questions about his family, and to Mr. Donald K. Roy, the former manager of the Mount Royal Cemetery Company, Mr. Merle Christopher, the present manager, Mr. Andrew Roy, and Mr. Victor Rosario for their kindness and help during my visits to the cemetery. I am indebted to the Advisory Research Committee, Queen's University, for grants to travel in Britain, Ireland, and Europe. Lastly, I thank Mary Cotterell Stewart for driving us to see the mausoleum one memorable December day when, miraculously, there was no snow on the ground and the sun shone.

2 The architect himself was buried in the same plot in 1885. See J. Douglas Stewart, "Architecture for a Boom-Town: the 'Primitive' and the 'Neo-Baroque' in George Browne's Kingston Architecture," in *To Preserve and Defend; Essays on Kingston in the Nineteenth Century*, ed. G. Tulchinsky (Montreal: McGill/printemps Press, 1976), 347, n. 4. I am most grateful to Professor Rudolf Schnitzler for taking photographs of the Browne monument for me.

3 Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Toronto: Douglas MacIntyre, 1987), 161.

4 Christina Cameron and Janet Wright, *Second Empire Style in Canadian Architecture* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1980), 96-97.

5 For the full inscription see note 33 below. Since the above was written, and my paper given, the Molson mausoleum has appeared in print with its correct date and architects: François Rémillard and Brian Merett, *L'Architecture de Montréal: Guide des styles, et des bâtiments* (Montréal: Meridien, 1990), 58. The Notman photograph (our figure 20) has also appeared in G. Bodson and L.-A.Fernon, "Les Deux Grands Cimetières du Mont Royal," *Continuité* 49 (hiver/printemps 1991): 19, with the caption "...monument de la famille Molson, dessiné par les architectes George et John James Browne en 1862 [sic]." The precise contribution of 26-year-old John James Browne in the design of the Molson mausoleum cannot at present be determined. However, it is reasonable to assume that his father played the dominant role in the partnership.

6 J. Douglas Stewart, "George Browne," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography* [hereafter cited as *DCB*] 11 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982), 117. The place and date of Browne's birth and the date of his arrival in Canada have been confirmed in a reference I have discovered since: see Browne's obituary, *The Gazette* [Montreal], 24 November 1885, p. 3, col. 4.

7 A.J.H. Richardson *et al.*, *Quebec City: Architects, Artisans, and Builders* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), 119-21.

8 Browne signed the Kingston City Hall, the Molson mausoleum, and Molson's Bank. In a letter to me of 12 September 1972, Mr. H.M. Patterson (consultant to Ross, Fish, Duschenes & Barrett, Architects) wrote that he recalled "a large house [in Montreal] ... around 1905 ... having the name 'George Browne' carved on a gate-post plinth at one of the two gates.... The house number is given as 982 [West Dorchester] on Goad's Map of 1911...."

9 Maurice Craig, "Mausoleums in Ireland," *Studies* (Winter 1975): 410.

10 James Stevens Curl, *Mausolea in Ulster* (Belfast: Ulster Architectural Heritage Society, 1978), 7-10.

11 Denis Martin, *Portrait des Héros de la Nouvelle France* (Ville de la Salle, Québec: Hurtebise, 1988), 86-87. I am indebted to a former student, Peter Fraser, for first bringing the Cartier drawing to my attention in his 1966 B.A. thesis.

12 National Archives of Canada, MG 2468, vol. 3, Archives du Séminaire du Québec, *Notes de Jacques Viger. Voyages à Kingston — 1842-3*, pp. 12-13. (I am indebted to George Henderson for checking these references.) For Browne's work for Daly see Stewart, "George Browne," 118, and France Gagnon-Pratte, *L'architecture et la nature à Québec au dix-neuvième siècle: les villas* (Québec: Musée du Québec, 1980), 96-100, 199-201. For Cartwright see J. Douglas and Mary Stewart, "John Solomon Cartwright," in *DCB* 7 (1988), 156-60.

13 George Richardson, *Iconology* .... (London: G. Scott, 1779), Book IV, fig. 337, p. 94, and Book III, fig. 220, p. 17.

14 Stewart, "Boom-Town," 44-46; and J.C. Cooper, *An Illustrated Encyclopaedia of Traditional Symbols* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1988), 184.

15 J. Douglas Stewart and Ian Wilson, *Heritage Kingston* (Kingston: Agnes Etherington Art Centre, 1973), no. 170.

16 *Parentalia ... Compiled, by his Son Christopher; Now Published by his Grandson, Stephen Wren ...* (London: T. Osborn, 1750) includes an "Appendix ... Of Architecture; and Observations on *Antique Temples*," made up from "some rough Draughts," including figure 5 opposite manuscript page 6, on which Sir Christopher notes: "The next great observable Monument of great Antiquity, wch yet remains, is the *Pillar of Absalom*," and on page 360 the following: "The most observable Monument of the *Tyrian* Style, and of great Antiquity, still remaining, is the Sepulchre of Absalom .... the Pillars, which are larger in proportion to their Heighth, than what we now allow to the *Tuscan* Order ...." (For Browne and the Tuscan Order, see Stewart, "Boom-Town," especially pp. 51-52.) Browne may easily have owned *Parentalia* since he had a considerable library of books, and possibly architectural prints. A portion of Browne's library survives in a private collection at Queen's University Archives, and elsewhere. The Queen's Archives' collection includes Woolfe and Gandon's *Vitruvius Britannicus*, vol. 4 (1767) — acquired in 1986 through the good offices of Mr. Robert Hill — which shows extensive evidence of grangerization. (I plan eventually to publish an annotated catalogue of George Browne's library.)

17 S. Gerrard, Montreal, to John S. Cartwright, Kingston, 22 June 1843: "Yesterday I rec'd from Mr. Scrope a bill of lading of sundry packages containing a marble monument to be erected in your church to the memory of his late Brother Lord Sydenham. It is in the 'Roseberry' which has not yet arrived." Queen's University Archives, J.S. Cartwright Papers, Box 3, Correspondence, Business, 1842-44. The writer was Samuel Gerrard (1767-1857), a prominent Montreal businessman; see Peter Deslauriers, "Samuel Gerrard," *DCB* 8 (1985), 320-22, and Agnes Maule Machar, *The Story of Old Kingston* (Toronto: Musson, 1908), 207. The new tablet was erected "at the expense of the Ontario Government, in response to the petition of the Women's Council." (National Council of Women, Kingston Branch, *Minute Books*, 29 November 1900, fol. 127; see also fols. 119, 123, and 125. Queen's University Archives, *City of Kingston Archives*, Box 1079).

18 Stewart, "Boom-Town," *passim*. See also J. Douglas Stewart, "George Browne's Influence: The Architectural Heritage of St. George's," in *St. George's Cathedral: Two Hundred Years of Community*, ed. Donald Swainson (Kingston: Quarry Press, 1991), 29-64, 276-78.

19 The description is from the letter in the *Anglo-American* 24 (November 1843), by 'Leo': see Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, no. 174. For the Gibbs copy after Browne see *ibid.*, no. 171 and 237.

20 16 October 1848: "On motion of Mr. Ald[derman] Anglin seconded by Mr. C[ouncilman] Crawford, Resolved that a subscription list be opened for the erection of a Bronze statue in Memory of the late Lord Sydenham Governor-General of Canada, to be put on the dome of the City Hall in this City, and that the following gentlemen be a Committee to receive subscriptions and see the same completed, viz. His Worship the Mayor [Ford], Aldermen Hill, Counter and Smyth." Queen's University Archives, *Proceedings of the Common Council of Kingston, 1848-49*, fol. 228.

21 For an illustration of the entrance wall of Memorial Hall see Ian Wilson, ed., *Kingston City Hall* (Kingston: Corporation of the City of Kingston, 1974), 30.

22 Cooper, *Symbols*, 101.

23 For my review see *RACAR* 7 (1980): 142-43. For illustrations of Kingston City Hall see Wilson, *Kingston City Hall*. For the Bank of Montreal see Dana Johnson and C.J. Taylor, "Reports on Selected Buildings in Kingston, Ontario," *Manuscript Report Number 261* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1976-77), vol. II, 503-18. The patron of the Stuart mausoleum was presumably the then-head of the family, Archdeacon George Okill Stuart (1776-1862); see A.J. Anderson, *DCB* 9 (1976), 770-71.

24 Sir Nikolaus Pevsner, *The Buildings of England: Staffordshire* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1974), 286. The forms of the Stuart mausoleum are also reminiscent of those of the entrance wall to Thomas Hamilton's Edinburgh *High School* of 1825-29 (See A.J. Youngson, *The Making of Classical Edinburgh, 1750-1840* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1966), pl. 42), but Browne's proportions are stumpier and the battering more pronounced.

25 Stewart, "George Browne," 118-19.

26 Brian J. Young, "James Bell Forsyth," *DCB* 9 (1976), 273-76.

27 Naomi Miller, *Heavenly Caves: Reflections on the Garden Grotto* (London: George Allen & Unwin, 1982), 17 and fig. 8.

28 For the aedicule see Sir John Summerson, "Heavenly Mansions; an Interpretation of Gothic," *Heavenly Mansions and Other Essays on Architecture* (New York: Norton, 1963), 1-27; for the Hales Cottages and Otterburn, see Janet Wright, *Architecture of the Picturesque in Canada* (Ottawa: Parks Canada, 1984), 72, 74; for the aedicular building once beside S. Teodoro see Rubens's *Landscape with the Ruins of the Palatine (Louvre)*, which was engraved (see W. Adler, *Landscapes (Corpus Rubenianum Ludwig Burchard Part XVIII)* (London: Harvey Miller, 1982), no. 16).

29 The cornerstone of St. Paul's was laid on 13 April 1845; see Allan J. Anderson, *The Anglican Churches of Kingston* (Kingston, 1963), 59.

30 Stewart, "Boom-Town," 40; and Stewart and Wilson, *Heritage Kingston*, 151-54 and no. 183a.

31 Cooper, *Symbols*, 130 (*Pillar*).

32 Edward MacParland, *James Gandon: Vitruvius Hibernicus* (London: Zwemmer, 1985), 187; John Wilton-Ely, *The Mind and Art of Giovanni Battista Piranesi* (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), figs. 82 (centre, top and middle, right of centre) and 103 (top, left of

centre) for columns; figs. 160, 161 for the urns.

33 Shirley E. Woods Jr., *The Molson Saga, 1782-1983* (Toronto: Doubleday, 1983), *passim*. I am indebted to Mr. Woods for answering various queries. Each of the vaults is inscribed with the brother's name and the date 1863. The vaults are not in order of the brothers' seniority: William's is at the upper left, the Hon. John Jr.'s is upper right, and Thomas's is at the bottom. The Molson family members have also been subjects of biographies in *DCB* by Alfred Dubuc: John Sr., vol. 7, 616-21; (with Robert Tremblay) John Jr., vol. 8, 630-32; Thomas, vol. 9, 557-59; and William, vol. 10, 517-26.
The column is inscribed: ERECTED / IN MEMORY OF / THE HONBLE. JOHN MOLSON THE ELDER / AND SARAH INELEY VAUGHAN, HIS WIFE / BY THEIR SONS / JOHN, THOMAS, AND WILLIAM / WHOSE FAMILY VAULTS ENCIRCLE THIS MONUMENT / THE HONBLE. JOHN MOLSON THE ELDER, / DIED 7TH JANUARY 1836, / AGED 72 YEARS, / SARAH INELEY VAUGHAN, HIS WIFE / DIED 18TH MARCH 1829,/ AGED 69 YEARS,/ REQUIESCANT IN PACE / ANDRE AUGLAIR / BUILDERS / J.D. ROBINSON / GEORGE BROWNE / ARCHITECTS / J.J. BROWNE. (Sarah Vaughan's middle name is often said to be "Insley." However, on the memorial column it is clearly spelt twice as "Ineley.")

34 Wright, *Picturesque*, 118-21; Pierre de la Ruffinière du Prey, "Eight Villas on Mount Royal," *Architecture/Quebec* 15 (October 1983), insert, no. 5. The discovery was made by Mr. Robert Lemire.

35 Thomas Molson's houses are documented by George Browne's receipted bill dated 5 July for £130 from John Black for masonry work (the document in the Molson archives kindly brought to my attention by Mrs. A. Primeau, 1972). In the Canadian Centre for Architecture there is an undated set of "Specifications of Alterations and improvements to be made to the buildings forming the corner of St. Peter and Commissioner Streets belonging to the Hon. John Molson and now occupied in part by Mr. Price according to the accompanying drawings [now missing] and under the direction of George Browne architect." For the railroad building see André Giroux *et al., Plans de l'architecture domestique: inventories aux archives nationales du Québec à Montreal* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites Branch, 1975), nos. A 9.1-3.; and Woods, *Molson*, 1, 93, 105, 110.

36 *DCB* 9 (1976), 559.

37 Alfred Sandham, *Ville Marie; or, Montreal, Past and Present* (Montreal: Bishop, 1870), 350; Rev. Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church, St. Gabriel Street, Montreal* (Montreal: Drysdale, 1887), 123; W.D. Lighthall, *Montreal: after 250 Years* (Montreal: F.E. Grafton, 1892), 51-52. I am indebted to Dr. Damie Stillman for the information about American mausolea.

38 Wilton-Ely, *Piranesi*, pl. 11.

39 James Stevens Curl, *A Celebration of Death* (London: Constable, 1980), pl. 141; and R.A. Etlin, *The Architecture of Death* (Cambridge: MITA, 1987).

40 Curl, *Death*, 181, 268; and Maurice Craig, *The Architecture of Ireland* (London: Batsford, 1982), 31-33.

41 James Gibbs, *Book of Architecture*, 2nd ed. (London, 1739), pl. 137. (Queen's University Archives.)

42 I am indebted to Mary Cotterell Stewart for identifying this source. The texts are also found in that great favourite of the nineteenth century, Handel's *Messiah*, which, it is interesting to note, was advertised to be performed on 30 March 1860 at Nordheimer's Music Hall by the Montreal Oratorio Society (*The Gazette* [Montreal], 20 March 1860).

43 I am indebted to Dr. Jon Scoates (to whom I showed a photograph) for this opinion.

44 Richard Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture* (Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1981), 99.

45 J.C. Metford, *Dictionary of Christian Lore and Legend* (London: Thames and Hudson, 1983), 246.

46 Mirella Levi d'Ancona, *The Garden of the Renaissance* (Florence: Olschki, 1977), 99-100; Cesare Ripa, *Iconologia ... (1603)* (Hildesheim: Georg Olms, 1970), 471.

47 Nicholas Penny, *Piranesi* (London: Oresko, 1978), 17. I thank Dr. Andrew Ciechanowiecki for arranging for me to see through S. Maria del Priorato.

48 Sir John Soane, *Lectures on Architecture, as delivered to the students of the Royal Academy from 1809 to 1836 ...*, ed. Arthur T. Bolton (London: Sir John Soane Museum, n.d.), 168-69.

49 Miller, *Heavenly Caves*, 10 and fig. 5.

50 Cooper, *Symbols*, 151-52, 142.

51 George Wither used the winged hourglass surmounted by a skull in 1635; the winged hourglass alone occurs on the gate posts of the entrances to the cemeteries of St. Sulpice (1772, Paris) and Brogniart's 1812 designs for Père Lachaise (see Etlin's *Death*, figs. 64, 219, 220, and 232). Maximilian Godefroy uses the winged hourglass motif on the obelisks at the entrance to the First Presbyterian Churchyard at Baltimore, Maryland, c.1813-15 (see Robert L. Alexander, *The Architecture of Maximilian Godefroy* [Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1974], 86-88). In Ireland, Browne probably knew the prominent use of the motif as a metope in the Doric frieze over the entrance door to St. Werburgh's, Dublin, designed by Thomas Burgh, 1715 (see Maurice Craig, *Dublin 1660-1860* [Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1980], pl. XXVI).

52 Levi d'Ancona, *Garden*, 304. The pine-cone can also symbolize Virtue (because it can only be opened by fire and holds sweet fruit at its heart — Camerarius; *ibid.*, 306), which helps to explain the popularity of the pine-cone in other contexts. But on tombs the pine-cone was presumably meant primarily to signify immortality.

53 Sir John Summerson, "Le tombeau de Sir John Soane," *Revue de l'Art* 30 (1975): 53 (incorrectly called "un ananas classique"); David Irwin, *John Flaxman* (London: Studio Vista, 1979), pl. 81 (showing only one of the pine-cones).

54 The Robinson volume, now in a private collection, was printed in London by Atchley & Co. (n.d.). The flyleaf is inscribed in pencil *George Browne / Architect / Montreal*.

55 For this and other references to the symbolism of the pine-cone see, most recently, Claudia Lazzaro, *The Italian Renaissance Garden* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990), 304, n. 22.

56 Although Trajan's Column is still sometimes called Doric, it has been correctly recognized as Tuscan since at least the time of Scamozzi (see James Ackerman, "The Tuscan/Rustic Order: a Study in the Metaphorical Language of Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 42 (1983): 24, fig. 13). For the development of the connection between rustication and the Tuscan order from Serlio onwards see *ibid., passim*. For Vitruvius's description of the Tuscan round plinth (used by some Renaissance architects such as Palladio) see *ibid.*, 17.

57 Soane, *Lectures*, 168.

58 Dorothy M. Kosinski, *Orpheus in Nineteenth-Century Symbolism* (Ann Arbor, MI: U.M.I. Research Press, 1989), 49-51; and J.B. Bullen, ed., *The Sun is God: Painting, Literature and Mythology in the Nineteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). I am indebted to Mary Cotterell Stewart for this last and other references and helpful discussions about solarism.

59 Woods, *Molson*, 156, 166.

60 *Montreal Witness*, 9 November 1859.

61 Ramsay Cook, *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985), 10-11.

62 Thomas Molson to Robert Orr, February 1857 (quoted in Woods, *Molson*, 157).

63 Thomas's will is cited in Woods, *Molson*, 170. See also Rev. Alexander Fletcher, *A Guide for Family Devotion* (London: George Virtue, 1833), preface and 484.

64 See the inscription on the memorial column, transcribed in note 33.

65 For the 1841 Board of Works dispute see Margaret Angus, "Architects and Builders of Early Kingston," *Historic Kingston* 11 (1963): 26. On 10 February 1846, through his solicitors John A. Macdonald and Alexander Campbell, Browne brought an action against the Kingston Corporation "for the sum of £485 for services rendered." His suit went to court, but eventually, on 4 August 1847, Browne agreed to submit his case to arbitration. (Queens University Archives; *Proceeding of the Common Council of the City of Kingston*, 1846, fol. 292; 1847, fol. 130.)

66 *Montreal Star*, 24 November 1885, p. 1, col. 1.

67 Woods, *Molson*, vii.

68 *Kingston Chronicle and Gazette*, 23 November 1843.

69 The north gate of Mount Royal Cemetery (at 1297, chemin de la Forêt, off the Boulevard Mont-Royal) is open every day during daylight hours. Tel. (514) 279-7358; Fax. (514) 279-0049. The Molson mausoleum is in lot C4, the Browne monument is nearby in B1.