

**THE PROTESTANT ORPHAN ASYLUM AND THE MONTREAL LADIES'
BENEVOLENT SOCIETY: A CASE STUDY IN PROTESTANT CHILD
CHARITY IN MONTREAL, 1822-1900**

Janice Harvey

Department of History
McGill University
Montreal

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

© Janice Harvey
August 2001



National Library
of Canada

Acquisitions and
Bibliographic Services

395 Wellington Street
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Bibliothèque nationale
du Canada

Acquisitions et
services bibliographiques

395, rue Wellington
Ottawa ON K1A 0N4
Canada

Your file Votre référence

Our file Notre référence

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

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

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

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

0-612-78698-6

Abstract

As Lower Canada/Quebec industrialized, the system of poor relief that developed followed a private, confessional model. While the Catholic Church controlled services for Catholics, the lay Protestant elite controlled the relief network for their community. Elite women played a major role in this network, managing most of the charities for women and children.

This thesis uses the two most important female-directed Montreal charities—the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society—to study Protestant charity and particularly child charity from 1822 to 1900. It examines the organization and work of female charity committees as well as the services offered, the relevance of gender to charity management, and attitudes to childhood and family. Extensive source material, from the archives of the two societies, enables an analysis of the characteristics of the children admitted, as well as of the management committees, and their policies.

In this period, serving on a charity board was an expected activity for elite women. As a result, committees had many members. However, this thesis reveals that only a small number of women actually participated in the substantial administrative and organizational work that was involved in running a charity. This lack of participation made it more difficult to supervise the institutions and to organize fund-raising events.

Formed by the elite to regulate as well as to help the poor, these charities permit an examination of working-class agency. Organisers used their control of admissions and discharges as well as the institutional regime to impose their values of parenting and work. Nonetheless, the study of these two charities shows that families managed to use charities to shelter their children temporarily, occasionally circumventing restrictive access rules or challenging a charity's refusal to discharge children.

As "ladies" acting in public, the women in control of these charities were influenced by restrictive gender ideologies, particularly that of "separate spheres." Gender conscious and conservative, they respected social conventions in their public appearances and deferred to men in critical areas such as investments. Yet, at the same time, they affirmed their abilities and defended their authority and their autonomy in areas considered in the women's sphere, including child-care and charity management.

Understanding charity from within a conservative culture that emphasized religion, tradition, and values like work, family, and social hierarchy, these benevolent women sought to relieve the poor but they also sought to train useful citizens. In their charity work, they faced many complex questions connected to child abuse, changes in apprenticeship systems, adequate training for children, and the rights of parents. This study argues that both their conservative approach and their women's culture, centered on a personal approach, influenced the way they dealt with these issues. Of equal importance, however, was the experience they had acquired over years of child-charity work. As a result of these factors, their emphasis on protecting the children under their care increased over time. Consequently, the policies they developed in favour of helping families with temporary care and in favour of using apprenticeship and finally extended training in the institution itself diverged from those advocated by late-century reform groups, which opted for placing children in families instead of institutions and which advocated more restrictive, scientific charity methods.

Résumé

Au Bas-Canada / Québec, pendant l'industrialisation, l'assistance aux pauvres s'est développée essentiellement à l'intérieur d'un modèle confessionnel relevant du secteur privé. Ainsi, alors que les services aux catholiques étaient contrôlés par l'Église catholique, le réseau d'assistance protestant relevait de l'élite protestante laïque. Les femmes de cette élite jouèrent un rôle primordial en administrant plusieurs œuvres caritatives qui s'adressaient aux femmes et aux enfants.

En s'intéressant à deux œuvres de grande envergure dirigées par des femmes — le *Protestant Orphan Asylum* (POA) et la *Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society* (LBS) — cette thèse étudie le régime de charité protestante, en particulier celui qui visait les enfants, de 1822 jusqu'en 1900. L'organisation et le travail des comités des œuvres y sont traités, tout comme les services offerts, l'impact du sexe sur la gestion de la charité et les perceptions de l'enfance et de la famille. La richesse des sources documentaires provenant de ces deux œuvres permet de dresser le portrait général des enfants admis et d'analyser les comités d'administration et leurs politiques.

À l'époque, on s'attendait généralement à ce que les femmes de l'élite participent au conseil d'administration d'œuvres caritatives. À cause de cela, les comités étaient constitués de nombreuses femmes. Toutefois, cette thèse montre qu'une infime partie de celles-ci participaient effectivement à l'énorme travail d'organisation et d'administration lié à ces œuvres. Ce manque de participation rendait donc plus difficile la supervision des institutions et l'organisation des collectes de fonds.

Fondées par l'élite à la fois de contrôler et d'aider des classes populaires, les œuvres constituent une source intéressante pour l'étude des interactions entre la classe ouvrière et les organismes caritatifs. Les comités usaient du contrôle des admissions et des départs ainsi que du régime institutionnel pour imposer leurs propres conceptions de la famille et du travail. Malgré cela, cette thèse indique que les familles réussissaient à utiliser les œuvres pour placer leurs enfants temporairement. Parfois, elles parvenaient à contourner certains règlements relatifs à l'accès à l'institution et même à refuser d'abandonner leurs droits concernant leurs enfants.

En tant que dames oeuvrant dans le monde public, ces dirigeantes étaient marquées par l'influence de l'idéologie des genres, et particulièrement celle des sphères séparées. Elles respectaient les conventions lors de leurs activités publiques et s'en remettaient aux hommes dans certains domaines importants, comme la gestion des investissements. Parallèlement, elles affirmaient leur compétences et défendaient leur autorité et leur autonomie au sein de la sphère féminine par exemple en ce qui concerne le soin des enfants et la gestion des œuvres.

La conception de l'assistance aux pauvres qu'avaient les administratrices relevait d'une approche conservatrice accordant beaucoup d'importance à la religion, à la tradition et aux valeurs rattachées au travail, à la famille et au rang social. Ces dames cherchaient à répondre aux besoins des pauvres, mais aussi à former de bons citoyens. Dans le cadre de leurs œuvres, elles faisaient face à des questions complexes concernant les abus à l'égard des enfants, les changements dans les régimes d'apprentissage, la bonne éducation des enfants et les droits des parents. Cette thèse démontre que leur approche conservatrice et leur culture féminine centrée sur les personnes influencèrent leur façon de traiter ces questions. Toutefois, les connaissances qu'elles ont acquises dans le domaine de l'assistance aux pauvres s'avéraient tout autant essentiel. À cet effet, leur volonté de

protéger les enfants s'affirma davantage au fil des années. Conséquemment, leurs politiques basées sur une aide temporaire aux familles, sur un acheminement des enfants comme apprentis dans des familles et sur un entraînement dans l'institution divergèrent de celles des nouveaux groupes de réforme à la fin du siècle qui optaient plutôt pour le placement des enfants en famille d'accueil et pour des méthodes de charité "scientifique" plus restrictives .

Acknowledgements

Many people have helped and encouraged me in the long process of completing this dissertation. I want to acknowledge the help and direction I received from the late Louise Dechêne when I first began the research and before my teaching career and work in the union and the woman's movement led me to suspend the project for several years. Her task was ably taken up in the past year by Brian Young who brought his sharp critical sense, vast knowledge, and editing ability to the direction of this thesis. His constant encouragement and moral support were indispensable. I also want to acknowledge the support I have received from Jean-Marie Fecteau. The hours we have spent in discussions of the nineteenth-century were very helpful to me as I resumed this project after so much time spent absorbed by other concerns. Of even more importance than their help with this particular thesis, these three historians have inspired me to research thoroughly, to question the past and its occupants, and to write history with a respect for those who people its pages.

I would also like to thank the countless friends and colleagues who have helped me over the years with comments and proof-reading of various drafts and with their encouragement: Eleanor Beattie, Peter Deslauriers, Greta Hoffman Nemiroff, Marie-Claire Laforce, Jo Lapierre, Andrée Lévesque, Mark Levy, Daniel Lussier, Eileen Manion, Joy Moore, Mimi Morton, Jan Noel, Lise Prud'homme and Jean Trépanier. A special thanks goes to George Hildebrand. Thanks is also in order to Martin Petitclerc and Isabelle Gélinas who translated the abstract, to Michel Fournier for his cartography skills and to Allan Smith and Lucie Quevillon for their computer expertise.

I am especially grateful to my close friends and family. The project particularly intruded on the lives of Jean-Pierre Bibeau, Pierre Demers, and Émile Laforest who gave up countless vacations and weekends because of it but who never lost their good humour as a result. My brother, Kevin Harvey and sisters, Paula Neilson and Karen Clark have provided constant encouragement; the support of my sister Karen in the final push was of particular help. A very special thanks goes to my parents, Allen and Muriel Harvey. They spent many hours helping me calculate the budget data of charities, finding the location of long-forgotten places, and listening to paragraphs over the telephone. It has largely been their love, support, and encouragement that has given me the strength to persevere.

I am also thankful to the people associated with the organizations and archives relevant to my thesis: Rhea Seath, Claude Laurendeau, Edward Potter-Mäl and Joanne Marcotte of Youth Horizons/Batshaw Youth and Family Centres and Caroline Barbir, Susie Goyer and Céline Girard at the Grace Dart Extended Care Centre, as well as the staff of the National Archives of Canada, the Anglican Diocese Archives, the McGill University Archives and Rare Book Room, the Archives de la Ville de Montréal, the Reference Librarians at McGill University and David Jones of Dawson College. Thanks also goes to the Fonds des Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche for their support of the research team at the Université du Québec à Montréal with which I am associated.

*For my parents
Allen and Muriel*

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Résumé	iii
Acknowledgements	v
List of Tables	x
Abbreviations	xii
 Introduction	 1
Historiography and Sources	13
 Chapter One	
Poverty, the State, and Poor Relief in Industrializing Montreal	31
Poor Relief in Quebec — A Mixed Model	32
State Support for Private Relief Initiatives	44
Delinquent Children and the State.....	50
The Private Relief Network	55
The Anglican Church.....	59
The Presbyterian Church.....	63
Other Churches and Missions.....	66
Protestant National Societies.....	68
 Chapter Two	
Protestant Private Charities in Nineteenth-Century Montreal	72
The Female Benevolent Society	79
The Protestant Orphan Asylum	80
The Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society	81
The Home and School of Industry.....	85
The Industrial Rooms.....	87
The Protestant Industrial House of Refuge	89
The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge.....	91
The Protestant Infant's Home	97
The Boys' Home of Montreal.....	101
The Mackay Institute for Deaf Mutes and the Blind	105
The YMCA/YWCA.....	106
The Montreal Diet Dispensary	107
The Day Nursery.....	108
The Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital.....	110
Other Specialized Institutions.....	111
Personal Charity.....	114
 Chapter Three	
The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society.....	117
The Charitable Elite.....	117
Charitable Support.....	126
Benevolent Women's Societies	132
Women's Culture and its Impact on Charity Work	141

Chapter Four	
Admissions: The Children and Their Families	147
The Child Recipients: General Characteristics	149
Parents and Kin	155
Family Situation: Poverty, Illness, Death and Life-Cycle	160
Changing Admission Policies and New Services	163
The Ladies' Benevolent Society as a Boarding Facility	163
The Ladies' Benevolent Society as an Industrial School	166
Epidemics and Special Annexes	169
In the Institutional Home	171
Conditions in the Institutions	174
School	180
Work	181
Play	183
A Home?	185
Chapter Five	
Leaving the Institution	189
Returning Home and Parental Rights	190
Adoption	200
Apprenticeship	204
Apprenticeship Occupation and Locality	212
Problems and Cases of Abuse	220
Post-Apprenticeship	226
To Service	228
Chapter Six	
Charity Management and Work	230
Organizational Structure	232
Management Work	239
Visiting the Institution	244
Fund-Raising	247
"Manager" Types	256
Relations with the Staff	258
The Matron/Superintendent	259
The Teacher	263
Other Staff	264
Chapter Seven	
"Women's Public Sphere"	268
Public Appearances	270
Gendered Special Qualities	278
The Rejection of Placing Out	282
Opposition to "Scientific Charity"	294
Cooperation Among the Female Charities	305

Conclusion	311
Appendices 1-22 (see List of Tables)	320
Appendix 23 Map	
Bibliography	356

List of Tables

Table 1.1:	Government Aid to Montreal Protestant Charities, (1840-1900)	45
Table 3.1:	Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society and Protestant Orphan Asylum Committee Members, by Husbands' Occupation (1830-1900).....	120
Table 3.2:	Contributions to the Permanent Funds of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum (1850-1900).....	129
Table 4.1:	Religion of Child Recipients, Ladies' Benevolent Society and Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899.	152
Table 4.2:	Place of Origin, Ladies' Benevolent Society Child Recipients, 1835-1899	154
Table 4.3:	Parents of Child Recipients, Ladies' Benevolent Society and Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899	157
Table 4.4:	Family Circumstances of Child Recipients on Entry into the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899	161
Table 4.5:	Board Payment for Children in the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1838-1899	165
Table 5.1:	Departures of Children from the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899	189
Table 5.2:	Children's Length of Stay in the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1838-1899	191
Table 5.3:	Occupation of Apprenticeship Masters, Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1838-1899	212
Table 6.1:	Length of Membership, in Years, on the Committee of Management of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum (1822-1900)	234
Table 6.2:	Mean Attendance at Monthly Meetings, per Year, per Member, for the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society (1835-1900).....	241
Table 6.3:	Frequency of Visitor Duty for Members Visiting, Ladies' Benevolent Society (1850-1900).....	246
Table 6.4:	Working Women in the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society	266
Appendix 1	Montreal Population, By Religion 1844-1901	320
Appendix 2	Protestant Charities in Nineteenth-Century Montreal, by date of establishment	321
Appendix 3	The Protestant Charitable Network in Nineteenth-Century Montreal (By Type of Service)	322
Appendix 4	Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 1865-1900, Soup Kitchen, Outdoor Relief, Permanent Residents	324
Appendix 5	Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, The Night Refuge, Total Nights' Lodging, 1865-1900	325
Appendix 6	General Fund Account for the Montreal Boys' Home 1871-73, 1876-1899 (in Dollars)	326
Appendix 7	Ladies Serving on both the Committee of Management of the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1830-1900	328

Appendix 8	General Fund Account for the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1848-1899 (in Dollars).....	329
Appendix 9	General Fund Account for the Ladies' Benevolent Society 1832-1899 (in Dollars).....	333
Appendix 10	Charity Subscribers to the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1850-1895 (in Dollars).....	338
Appendix 11	Charity Subscribers to the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1847-1899 (in Dollars).....	340
Appendix 12	Reported Country of Birth, Montreal Population (1844-1901).....	342
Appendix 13	Parent Occupation for Children Admitted to the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899	343
Appendix 14	Diet List for the Protestant Orphan Asylum (1823 & 1888)	345
Appendix 15	Apprenticeship Residence in Quebec, Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899.....	346
Appendix 16	Apprenticeship Residence outside Quebec, 1832-1899	347
Appendix 17	Apprenticeship Residence in Quebec, Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899.....	348
Appendix 18	Membership on the Committee of Management, Diverse Montreal Female Charities, 1870-1900.....	349
Appendix 19	Funds Received from Protestant Churches, 1847-1899, in Dollars.....	350
Appendix 20	Members of the Ladies' Benevolent Society Finance and Building, Finance and Advisory Committees (1853, 1856, 1869-1900).....	352
Appendix 21	Members of the Protestant Orphan Asylum Gentlemen's Committee, Finance Committee & Advisory Board (1845, 1870, 1887-1900)	353
Appendix 22	Protestant Orphan Asylum, Apprenticeship Form.....	354

Abbreviations

ADA:	Anglican Diocese Archives
AVM:	Archives de la Ville de Montréal
CCCC:	Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction
CIHM:	Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions
CAS:	Children's Aid Society
COS:	Charity Organization Society
LBS:	Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society
MGH:	Montreal General Hospital
MLCW:	Montreal Local Council of Women
MUA:	McGill University Archives
NAC:	National Archives of Canada
NCCC :	National Conference of Charities and Corrections
NCWC:	National Council of Women of Canada
POA:	Protestant Orphan Asylum
SPWC:	Society for the Protection of Women and Children
YMCA :	Young Men's Christian Association
YWCA:	Young Women's Christian Association

Introduction

In 1815 a group of Montreal women formed an association to "relieve indigent women and small children, the sick, the aged and the infirm poor of the city."¹ The society eventually became two female-directed private charities—The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society. Both flourished throughout the nineteenth century and still exist today in altered form. The women who ran them received thousands of orphans, young children, elderly women, convalescents and destitute widows over the course of the century.

After completing my Masters thesis on Protestant private charities in mid-nineteenth-century Montreal I was aware that a snapshot approach focusing on a small period can inform you only about that precise period, and I was curious about the work of these charities over a longer time.² Despite it being the largest city in Canada during the period, a major immigration point of entry and the country's commercial, financial and industrial capital, no other study has yet been done of private charity in nineteenth-century Montreal. This, and the almost total absence of Montreal Protestant women from the existing historiography, pushed me on to undertake this project and to fill the gap.³

This thesis is the result. That the study focuses on two charities was determined by the availability of adequate source material. Extensive archival material is available for both of these charities, material that enables detailed studies of those who were helped and of the charity directors and their policy development; unfortunately, only a few scattered Annual Reports exist for other Montreal charities in the same time period.

¹ Mrs. C.A. Pearce, *A History of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society* (Montreal: Lovell, 1920), 9. See also NAC MG 28, I388, Vol. 6, File 2, *History of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society*, typewritten manuscript.

² Janice Harvey, "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-Nineteenth Century Montreal: A Protestant Example," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1978.

³ This has been rectified somewhat by the inclusion of an article by Jan Noel, "'Femmes Fortes' and the Montreal Poor in the Early Nineteenth Century," in Wendy Mitchinson, et al., eds., *Canadian Women: A Reader* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 68-85. The article is a reprinted version in slightly different form of "Women and Social Welfare in the Montreal Region, 1800-1833: Preliminary Findings," in Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds., *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 261-283.

The thesis is not, however, an institutional history of these two charities. Rather, the treatment of the two charities is meant to provide a way to study the larger themes of Protestant private charity, child charity in the nineteenth century, the population that used the services, and the interaction between the management committees and applicants for aid. Also studied are the organization of benevolent women's societies, the work involved in running a charity and the participation in this work by committee members as well as policy decisions and how they were made. The inclusion of two charities enables an evaluation of exactly how representative the trends were and provides a comparative base for highlighting the differences between the two.

The thesis examines the work of these charities over a period of some seven decades, from their foundation in 1822 (the Protestant Orphan Asylum) and 1832 (the Ladies' Benevolent Society) to the turn of the century. This time frame makes it possible to evaluate the essential role these charities played, as the elite responded to the poverty associated with the processes of urbanization, immigration and industrialization. It also helps to identify policy shifts over time. Including the last part of the century—a period during which groups within the North American charitable elite introduced new methods like scientific charity and placing-out, and during which they criticized older, traditional charity approaches—allows an examination of the reaction of these Montreal charities to these changing trends.

Because of its ethnic and religious specificity, nineteenth-century Montreal is an interesting choice for a study of Protestant private charity. The city was dominated by an anglophone and Protestant economic elite, but except for a thirty-year period at mid-century it had a French-speaking majority. Moreover, the combination of French and Irish Catholics meant the majority of the population was Catholic. Also significant was that Montreal did not have a tax-supported public poor relief system.

In the Quebec welfare model as it developed over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, poor relief was allocated to the private sector, the state providing only minimal financial support. This model was complicated by the fact that it was also organized on confessional lines with the Catholic Church controlling relief destined to Catholics and, from mid-century on, actively establishing a complex network of charities. This obliged the Protestant population to develop its own relief network, not as a supplement for state aid

as was normally the case in Protestant countries, but as the only relief available, all this driven by the fear that Catholic relief services would entice Protestant souls to the Church of Rome. This conjuncture of circumstances makes Montreal a unique window through which to study the development of Protestant poor relief.

Informing any discussion of poor relief and poor-relief systems are two important factors—class and gender. Charity was, after all, an integral part of the social (and moral) regulation structure set up to control, to reform, and at times to confine. Charity reflected the values and beliefs of the elite and was a vehicle by which they could impose these on the rest of society; it was one of the ways by which they tried to reproduce the social forms of which they approved and to impose their control over social space.

Class power is an important factor in any study of charity; but Montreal's particular context makes it even more so since, in the absence of a publicly-supported poorhouse, the private charities that were established by the elite constituted the major assistance available in the city for Protestants. The choices the elite made as to types of aid or charities established and admission policies determined the services available for the Protestant poor. These are interesting as much for the choices they gave the poor as for the way in which they limited that choice, through the design of services and the refusal of services. From this we can learn a lot about attitudes to poverty and its relief.

Power and regulation are not, however, abstract concepts of domination and control. They are dialectic, reactive, changing, complex. In the interaction with target populations like the poor, resistance and accommodation may occur and objectives are not always met. The recent historiography on working-class agency⁴ points to the importance of the interactive nature of power, and this aspect is addressed in the thesis.

Most of the charitable aid available in nineteenth-century Montreal, and certainly that for children, was institutional in form. The elite believed institutional aid had important advantages over helping people in their homes; thus, extensive outdoor relief (the distribution of food and clothing) was available only in the latter part of the century. In fact the preference for institutional aid even for children is one of the characteristics of the Quebec model that distinguishes it from other places like Ontario, which by late century was adopting models of foster care known at the time as "placing out."

⁴ See discussion below.

Although not a study of working-class families and the problems they faced, this analysis does make it possible to examine the characteristics of the families who placed their children in charities and the role charity played in their survival strategies. It also permits a study of the interplay of upper-class power and working-class agency. In applying for relief, poor families and individuals confronted the charity's ability to determine admissions criteria and to impose rules on visits to the institution. Eventually families would need to make a second application, to have their children discharged. Class power was also a factor inside the institutions where the management Committees designed the regime of school, work, prayers, and play to instil middle-class values and morality. Nonetheless, families manifested agency both in designing their admission application to circumvent restrictive rules and in requesting the discharge of children as quickly as possible, despite rules on minimal stays. When, as did happen on a few occasions, the Committees refused to return a child, some parents stole their children from the asylum; one even took legal action against the charity.

Many of Montreal's private charities, including the two that serve as the base of this case study, were managed by women, a fact that emphasizes the centrality of gender in the thesis. Gender is an even more complex factor than class in this context. At one and the same time, a female charity director was part of the power structure by virtue of her class while her gender made her part of the less-than-powerful, herself subject to the social and moral prescriptions of a highly gendered society where gender structures dictated a secondary and restrictive place for all women.

The ideologies that influenced the social construction of gender and its meaning are clearly relevant to my study. The main one was the belief in gender-specific qualities and in "separate spheres" of action for men and women. This ideology is relevant, in Mary Ryan's words, "by virtue of its power in the creation of meaning."⁵ That meaning was created through discourse in the press and popular literature, but the ideology also "wielded considerable power in shaping the legal, political, social and economic structures that affected their subjects' lives."⁶ In effect, Quebec's legal, economic, and

⁵ Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990), 6.

⁶ Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Class, 1791-1850* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 10.

social system circumscribed and limited women's rights and activities and largely used the belief in gender differences to justify this inequality.⁷

A number of historians have used the "separate spheres" concept as an interpretative framework when analyzing women's lives.⁸ This thesis argues that the "separate spheres" ideology was prevalent in nineteenth-century Montreal and that its gendered prescriptions influenced the lives of elite women. Rather than the formation of the construct itself, my study emphasizes what the women who ran these charities believed about their position as women and what those around them expected of them as reflected in the press, public lectures, and statements made at their annual meetings. A major premise is that the women's culture that evolved and was at work in charity management was a class culture—it united the upper middle-class "ladies" who managed the charities but distinguished between them and the "women" they helped or who worked in the charities. No evidence of sisterhood overcoming or mediating class is found, and certainly the Committees never developed a real affinity with the women of the poor other than a recognition that poor women needed help in their old age, their convalescence, and in periods of unemployment or family disruption.

Unlike many female-directed charities elsewhere, these two Committees did not work under a male Board of Directors, although they did form male advisory committees. Charity was associated with female qualities as well as with Christian duty and moral authority over others, and this association made charity management an acceptable activity for elite women despite the fact managing an institution was public work. Thus,

⁷ In fact the rights of Quebec women were reduced over the century when they lost both the right to vote in 1849 and their automatic dower rights in the new registry Act of 1849. See John Garner, *The Franchise and Politics in British North America 1755-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), 159; Bettina Bradbury, et al., "Property and Marriage: The Law and the Practice in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 26, 51 (May 1993): 9-39 and Bettina Bradbury, *Wife to Widow: Class, Culture, and the Family in Nineteenth-Century Québec*, McGill University, Les Grandes Conférences Desjardins, 1997.

⁸ See discussion below. For an examination of this historiography and the concept of "separate spheres" see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *Journal of American History* 71, 1 (June 1988): 9-39 and Nancy A. Hewitt, "Beyond the search for sisterhood: American women's history in the 1980s," *Social History*, 10 (1985): 299-321. For an excellent treatment of separate spheres and its impact in Canada see Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes* (Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994).

women controlled the city's largest Protestant child charities and exercised important public power, including the access to charitable aid.

Nonetheless, women acceded to this power by virtue of their class and exercised it with the approbation and support of the male establishment; it was therefore extremely important for them to maintain this support. Thus, although they worked in the public sphere, performed numerous political and economic activities and provided relief services for thousands, the women on these charity committees (in many ways and certainly in their public posture) defined themselves in the limiting terms of the ideology of separate spheres. They carefully respected social conventions and the restrictions placed on women's interventions in public space by not speaking at their public annual meetings and by using the formal Mrs. in their public reports. Further, in respect of notions of distinct and gendered qualities/capacities, they refrained from carrying out activities like investment, activities that were defined as male and which they allocated to men's committees formed specifically to assume these responsibilities.

Yet the ideology of separate spheres and notions of gendered qualities could also be empowering. Certainly it gave these women a great deal of confidence in their abilities and in the validity of their decisions in areas defined as inside the women's sphere, such as child-care. On the basis of this strength they carried on, running their charities in the face of adversity and budget constraints, and making policies and defending them even when members of the male elite disagreed. The limiting and the empowering aspects of this ideology and its impact on their policy development and on their style of management are investigated in this thesis. Charity work is thus seen through the prism of female culture and female networks. Women's tendency to approach their work and their co-workers from a people-centred orientation—what historians call personalism—is evident in many aspects of their charity work.⁹

⁹ Suzanne Lebsock, *The Free Women of Petersburg. Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1986); Kathleen D. McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structure: Women and the Voluntary Sphere," in Kathleen D McCarthy, ed. *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power* (New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990), 4; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood. "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women. Women and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (London: Virago Press, 1985); Hewitt, "Beyond the search for sisterhood."

Managing a charity involved a significant commitment of time and energy—attending meetings, visiting the asylum, fund-raising, and committee work. This case study provides the opportunity not only to investigate charity work and what it involved in detail, particularly aspects like fund-raising and visiting, but also to analyze actual participation rates and determine whether these Committees actually were made up of large numbers of upper-class women working publicly and developing administrative skills. My findings reveal that a majority of women whose names appeared on published Committee lists were only minimally involved, forcing a re-evaluation of some of the generalisations often made by historians about the numbers of upper and middle-class women actually involved in charity work and the skills they developed through charity management. Nonetheless, one does find a small core of hardworking women who did much of the work involved in running these charities and another group of women who supported their work.

Class and gender intersect in the work of these female Management Committees but do not provide an entire explanation. In several important areas, these women made choices that differed in fundamental ways from those made by other women and men of their class. The charitable elite was not monolithic—it included within it many groups that differed from one another in terms of economic status, religious view, church affiliation, and their interpretation and approach to poverty and its relief.

The works of Nancy Hewitt and Anne Boylan are helpful in delineating some of these differences. They distinguish among women's groups that were benevolent, perfectionist (reformist), and ultraist (feminist).¹⁰ Hewitt found that benevolent women were mainly "concerned with ameliorating the hardships inherent in rapid economic and demographic growth,"¹¹ rather than with reforming the poor. They tended to come from conservative, established church backgrounds and families in the established economic elite. Perfectionists/reformists and ultraists/feminists came from other Protestant

¹⁰ Nancy A. Hewitt, *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1984), 40-50, 231-33. See also Anne M. Boylan, "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," *Journal of American History* 71, 3 (December 1984): 497-523 and "Timid Girls, Venerable Widows and Dignified Matrons: Life Cycle Patterns among Organized Women in New York and Boston, 1797-1840," *American Quarterly*, 38 (Winter 1986): 779-97. Lori D. Ginzberg, used this model in her study of women and benevolence, *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990).

denominations, often from newer and less established economic elites; and, working in groups such as moral reform associations and abolitionist groups, they aimed to reform people and resolve the problems thought to be responsible for poverty and other social ills. Overall, Hewitt found many more differences between benevolent women and other women activists than between benevolent women and the men who supported them, thereby challenging former views on the similarity of women's groups and their conflicts with men as well as notions that all activism led women to become feminists.

On the whole, the women who directed the two Montreal charities under study here tended to be traditional, coming as they did from the Anglican or Presbyterian churches and families in the city's Protestant economic elite. This conservatism affected much of their work and policy decisions. Although they demonstrated some reformist tendencies in their attitude towards the training of children, these two charity Committees illustrate many aspects of Hewitt's benevolent societies in organizational model, policy approach, class collaboration, and differences with more reform-oriented groups of women like the Young Women's Christian Association and the Montreal Local Council of Women.¹² This thesis, based on a more in-depth analysis of policy development and services over time than either Hewitt or Boylan carried out, builds on the model they created and fleshes out our understanding of benevolent societies and the choices they made, as well as the factors that influenced those choices.

In analyzing some of these policy aspects the thesis draws on the work of Timothy Hacsí on orphanages in the United States. Hacsí uses the basic aim of charity directors and their interaction with families to distinguish among charities that were isolating, protective, and integrative. The two Montreal charities under study have aspects of both isolating and protective asylums, but for the most part are protective.¹³ The emphasis both the Protestant Orphan Asylum (POA) and the Ladies' Benevolent Society (LBS) placed on protecting children increased over time as they developed policies based on their experience. This is especially true of the POA, which dealt mostly with orphans

¹¹ Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 232.

¹² See Jan Noel's article for a discussion of the differences between these benevolent women and groups of evangelical women at the turn of the century. Noel, "Femmes Fortes."

¹³ Timothy A. Hacsí, *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 55-59.

who tended to remain for longer periods of time. The POA made a series of policy changes over the century, mostly in their placement policies, to provide more protection for the children under their care—abolishing the use of adoption following a child's death from abuse, instituting a visiting system to monitor apprenticed children, and finally moving to reduce even their use of apprenticeship and to replace it with extended training in the institution. Their protective approach was also linked to the charities' decision to shelter children who would eventually return to their families, whenever possible. This was the case for some orphans in the POA and for most of the children in the LBS. Over the century the LBS increased its services to families, including the admission of children from two-parent families in difficulty, children whose working parents were able to pay board for them, and children who were considered neglected or abandoned.

A study that covers most of a century must be sensitive to changes over time, be these economic, social, cultural or intellectual. The nineteenth century was characterized by a process of industrialization and urbanization and the responses these engendered. Montreal's population grew tenfold, and the proportion of wage-dependent workers in this population increased. The combination of inadequate wages, irregular employment and high rates of illness made life precarious for many. Despite this, or probably more accurately in response to it and the threat of social unrest created by such massive poverty, attitudes to the poor hardened over the first half of the century: many argued that poverty was an individual responsibility, even the result of moral failings, and that readily available relief would aggravate the problem by creating relief dependency. As a result, much poor relief was restricted to those considered deserving. There were movements in the latter part of the century to make relief even more "scientific"—to centralize relief requests, investigate all applications, coordinate aid distributions, and design aid to force self-reliance and eliminate dependency.

The ladies who ran the two Montreal child charities under study did not agree with this restrictive approach to relief and rejected "scientific" tendencies to rationalize, reduce or centralize charitable services. They accepted general notions of the "deserving poor" and of poverty as individual fault, but their religious motivation, humanitarianism and conservative world-view based on the mutual obligations between social orders led them to focus more on need than on morality—to design their aid to relieve more than to

reform. Thus they moderated some of the more extreme and moralizing reactions to poverty and charity. Further, although they never completely abandoned their tendency to judge the poor, sometimes quite harshly, they did not refuse to provide aid on the basis of parental immorality; and they generally accepted the right of families to surrender children to the charities and then to retrieve them later. Still, on a few occasions when the ladies felt parents were a moral or religious threat, their protective orientation led them to challenge the absolute right of families to retrieve children.

Even the most adamant proponents of scientific charity generally accepted children as deserving, but beliefs about the ideal form of child charity also changed over the course of the nineteenth century. This was largely a result of changing attitudes to children and child rearing and to the role of the family in that process. From the late eighteenth century, the former Calvinist belief in the sinful child waned, and more and more emphasis was placed on children as innocent and malleable. From this perspective, proper Christian nurture was thought to be crucial in educating and training children.¹⁴ Families, and especially mothers, were seen as central to this nurture, along with properly supervised schooling.¹⁵ Child charities that took in destitute children and acted as substitute families to shelter, educate and train them received much support, but from mid-nineteenth century a number of child workers advocated placing children in foster

¹⁴ For changing attitudes to children see Phillip Greven, *The Protestant Temperament. Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977); Bernard Wishy, *The Child and the Republic. The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); William C. McLoughlin, "Evangelical Childrearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland's Views on When and How to Subdue the Willfulness of Children," *Journal of Social History*, 9, 15 (1975): 20-34; Neil Semple, "The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord: Nineteenth Century Canadian Methodism's Response to Childhood," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 14, 29 (May 1981): 160-61; Elizabeth M.R. Lomax, *Science and Patterns of Child Care* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1978).

¹⁵ See Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class: The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981); Viviane Zeliger, *Pricing the Priceless Child: the changing social value of children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985); Harvey J. Graff, "Remaking Growing Up: Nineteenth-Century America," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 24, 47 (May 1991): 35-59; Bruce Curtis, *Building the Educational State: Pedagogy, Punishment and Popular Resistance in Canada West, 1850-1871* (London, Ontario: Althouse Press, 1988); Daniel Rodgers, "Socializing Middle Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth Century America," *Journal of Social History* 13, 3 (Spring 1980): 359-367 and Neil Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus*. Reprint. (Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000).

families (preferably in rural areas) and vocally attacked institutionalization. This movement, known as "placing out," grew in popularity through the 1880s, particularly among the professional child workers who attended the meetings of the National Conference of Charities and Corrections in the United States.

The support for placing out was based on the ideal of the family (and the superiority of families over institutions) but also on the desire to rescue children from families many middle-class charity workers felt were inadequate. In effect, the more the middle-class saw children as needing protection and as being susceptible to negative environmental influences, the more they became suspicious of the ability of poor families to provide adequate child nurture. This concern was heightened by what contemporaries believed to be an increased number of children working or "running" in the streets. They referred to these children as "street arabs," and associated them with rising crime rates and a threat to the moral and social order in the city.¹⁶ Across Western Europe and North America, governments intervened to create reformatory schools to control delinquent or pre-delinquent children.¹⁷ By late century so-called "child-savers" lobbied for legislation to protect children from exploitation on the labour market and to force school attendance, as well as for legislation to empower newly formed Societies for the Protection of Children to rescue children from what were feared to be abusive or negligent families.¹⁸

¹⁶ For a discussion of this concern in Toronto, see Susan E. Houston, "The 'Waifs and Strays' of a Late Victorian City: Juvenile Delinquents in Toronto," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), 129-142.

¹⁷ See the recent comparative study on this subject by Eric Pierre and Sylvette Dupont-Bouchat, eds. *L'enfant et la justice au XIXe siècle. Essai d'histoire comparée des politiques de protection de l'enfance en Belgique, en France, aux Pays-Bas et au Québec (1820-1914)* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 2001).

¹⁸ On the child-saving movement in the United States see Linda Gordon, "Single Mothers and Child Neglect, 1880-1920," *American Quarterly* 37, 2 (1985): 175; Joyce Antler and Stephen Antler, "From Child Rescue to Family Protection. The Evolution of the Child Protection Movement in the United States," *Children and Youth Services Review* 1, 2 (1979): 180; Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986), 198-203, 215-16. For Canada, see Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*; Marge Reitsma-Street, "More Control Than Care: A Critique of Historical and Contemporary Laws for Delinquency and Neglect of Children in Ontario," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 3, 2 (1989-1990): 510-30; Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* (Porters Lake: Pottersfield Press, 1989), Chapter 5; John Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age: Children, Work, and Welfare in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1989, 189-237; Jane Ursel, "The State and the Maintenance of Patriarchy: A Case Study of Family, Labour,

It was in this context that, in 1869, Quebec passed a Reformatory Schools Act and an act to create industrial schools for children judged to be "at risk" of abuse or delinquency.¹⁹ It was in this context too that a child protection society, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, was established in Montreal in 1881.²⁰

The LBS and the POA were obviously aware of this discourse and the growing middle-class concern about poor children, parental inadequacies, and pending social disorder. Nonetheless, although for a short period at mid-century both adopted a public discourse that was often extremely critical of parents, their services did not change as a result; and by late century they were openly providing social services, not social control. Both rejected the use of placing out as a way to remove children from their natural families. Indeed, much of the aid provided by both charities was the temporary care of children who were returned to their families or were placed in apprenticeship families with contractual arrangements once they reached their early teens. Both Committees also defended institutions as the best method to shelter, educate, train, and protect destitute children. By the mid-1880s, they had adopted prolonged residence in the institution at least for girls, who did their training in the charity (rather than an apprenticeship family) and left to go directly into service. They thus developed policies in direct contradiction to trends that were increasingly popular among professional child workers.

Although their work was limited by their class view and influenced by their religious and world view, many of the policy decisions these two Montreal Committees made were based on the experience they had acquired as charity directors. This factor is important in understanding why their decisions and policy approaches differed from those of other women's groups in the city and often from the male establishment as well. These divergent positions meant that the ladies were forced on occasion to defend their decisions. They defended their charities against several rationalization attempts by opponents who believed that a duplication of services was wasteful and that charity

and Welfare Legislation in Canada," in Arlene Tigar McLaren, ed., *Gender and Society: Creating a Canadian Women's Sociology* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988), 108-45.

¹⁹ See discussion in Chapter One.

²⁰ The early SPWC also lobbied for protective legislation for women and children. See M.H. Douglas, "A History of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children," M.S.W. Thesis, McGill University School of Social Work, 1967, 7-23.

should aim to be more scientific; they also defended their policies against those who advocated approaches like placing out to separate children from their families.

In looking at the shift to placing out in late nineteenth-century Ontario, Neil Sutherland speaks of institutional charities making "a determined effort to survive." He also concludes that, once the zeal of the original founders faded away, many child institutions "displayed both a grim determination to persist and, at best, a cautious drabness in their management."²¹ This study shows that, in the case of these two Montreal charities, the defence by the Committees of their charities and their methods was not at all a reactionary resistance to change or simply an attempt at self-preservation. Their policies and methods were far from static; rather they evolved over the century as the ladies identified and responded to problems in placement methods, with considerable respect for parental rights. Indeed, their defence of temporary aid and a range of services for poor families in crisis and their determination to provide superior protection and training for children proved to be far-sighted and more akin to twentieth century welfare methods than were those advocated by their critics.

Through the study of these charities, the thesis contributes to an understanding of a number of questions related to child charity, women's benevolence, working-class agency, placement methods and social regulation. Finally it provides a study of the Protestant charitable network in the nineteenth century and of Protestant female-managed charity in Montreal. The sources do not lend themselves to a study of particular women or of individual approaches to charity management; even any dissension within the management Committees is difficult to assess and has not been specifically developed in detail.

Historiography and Sources

This thesis is informed by the historiography in two major areas: on charity in general and child charity in particular, and on women's activism and women's culture. If there is one conclusion that can be drawn from the massive historiography that exists on poor relief and institutionalization, it is that one interpretative framework is insufficient to explain the process. Former interpretations, centred on humanitarian motivations or on deliberate and organized social control, have been justly criticized for ignoring such aspects

²¹ Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 95.

in the process as gender, institutional particularities and working-class agency,²² although more recent studies using a social control perspective (such as that of Mimi Abramovitz, for example) do include considerations of factors such as gender.²³

The work of social welfare historian Michael Katz points to the need for an analysis that looks at many factors, including working-class agency and the recognition that the role of social institutions was complex and often changed over time.²⁴ Katz's work also shows that to adequately understand charities and identify the work they did, it is important to study the characteristics of inmate populations (institutional demography) as well as the actual policies applied and services provided, rather than just the public presentation of the work as presented in statements like *Annual Reports*, which often distorted the charities' actual work and the characteristics of the recipients.²⁵ Other historians, using case studies to evaluate changing services and the influence of factors such as institutional autonomy,

²² Several debates on these issues are grouped in books of articles. See among others Walter I. Trattner, ed., *Social Welfare or Social Control? Some Historical Reflections on Regulating the Poor* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983); Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, eds., *Social Control and the State* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983). See also David A. Rochefort, "Progressive and Social Control Perspectives on Social Welfare," *Social Service Review* 55, 4 (March 1981): 568-92 and Michael Ignatieff, "Total Institutions and Working Classes: A Review Essay," *History Workshop Journal* 15 (1983): 167-73. Seminal works on social control include David Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1971) and his *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in Progressive America* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980); A.P. Donajrodzki, ed., *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain* (London: Croom Helm, 1977) and Jacques Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, Translated by Robert Hurley, (New York: Pantheon, 1979). For Canada, see Allan Greer and Ian Rathforth, eds., *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992).

²³ Mimi Abramovitz, *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston: South End Press, 1996).

²⁴ See Michael B. Katz, *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1986); *Poverty and Policy in American History* (New York: Academic Press, 1983) and "The History of an Impudent Poor Woman in New York City from 1918 to 1923," in Peter Mandler, ed., *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990), 227-46.

²⁵ A number of other historians have also identified this discrepancy between the image and reality. See, for example, Bruce Bellingham, "The History of Childhood Since the 'Invention of Childhood,'" *Journal of Family History* 13, 3 (1988): 347-58; Stephen L. Schlossman, *Love and the American Delinquent: The Theory and Practice of 'Progressive' Juvenile Justice, 1825-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977); Joan Scott, "The History of the Family as an Affective Unit," *Social History* 4, 3 (October 1979): 509-16 and Andrée Levesque, *Making and Breaking the Rules: Quebec Women, 1919-1939*, Translated by Yvonne Klein, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994).

conclude that the internal workings of charities are important to any evaluation of institutional development and that these were widely diverse, not part of a single pattern.²⁶

Both Linda Gordon in her work on women and welfare and Jean-Marie Fecteau in his studies on the charitable and penal network in Montreal have developed approaches that are useful for studying private charity and that allow for multilevel analysis. Linda Gordon uses a modified social control approach (which integrates agency) to focus on the interaction of class and gender, examining welfare agencies as scenes of contestation and women's agency. She demonstrates that poor women did not simply allow middle-class charity workers to impose their class-biased and gendered definitions without resistance and without trying to find ways around the system. Her work reveals how difficult this was and how the balance of power was tilted against the poor and especially against poor widows.²⁷ Fecteau is more interested in the establishment of the institutional network itself, something he interprets more as a process over time than a deliberate and organized imposition. His concept of social regulation is sensitive to working-class agency, and he analyzes the actual workings of institutions,²⁸ while recognizing the existence of a network of institutions or structures and policies created by the elite to regulate society. Both frameworks assume the importance of prevalent ideology and its interpretation of poverty and gender and the resulting prescriptions for proper and adequate behaviour, as well as the importance of looking at the actual workings of the regulation system. The work of Mariana Valverde on moral regulation and on the mixed model of social welfare also provides useful insights.²⁹

²⁶ See for example, Peter L. Tyor and Jamil S. Zainaldin, "Asylum and Society: An Approach to Institutional Change," *Journal of Social History* 13, 1 (Fall 1979): 23-48 and Steven Ruggles, "Fallen Women: The Inmates of the Magdalene Society Asylum of Philadelphia, 1836-1908," *Journal of Social History* 16, 4 (Summer 1983): 65-82.

²⁷ See for example, Linda Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives. The politics and history of family violence, Boston 1880-1960* (New York: Penguin Books, 1988); *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935* (New York: The Free Press, 1994) and "Family Violence, Feminism and Social Control," in Linda Gordon, ed., *Women, the State, and Welfare* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 178-198.

²⁸ Jean-Marie Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses: la pauvreté, le crime, l'État au Québec, de la fin du XVIII^e siècle à 1840* (Outremont: VLB Éditeur, 1989).

²⁹ Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada 1885-1925*, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991). See the discussion and footnotes in Chapter One for the social welfare model and charity services.

The growing historiography on working-class agency reminds us that charities were not only institutions created by the upper class for specific purposes represented in their public discourse; they were also institutions used by the working class, often for other purposes. Many poor families integrated charity into their survival strategies—as temporary child-care, labour-force training/entry for themselves or their children, or as custodial care for the old, although the aid available was not always what was needed and families often had to manoeuvre to be able to use it in the way they wanted. From this perspective, charitable institution building and social policies designed to control and reform become a complex interactive process between the charitable elite and the users of their services. Peter Mandler's *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis* is an excellent collection of articles using agency as an analytical framework to study poor families and charity in London, the United States and various European cities.³⁰ In *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*, a recent collection of articles edited by Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, a number of authors use case files to study a wide range of situations, including charity and the courts, in which the interaction of power (class, gender and a hegemonic moral culture) and working-class agency is visible in a Canadian context.³¹ In other work on Canada, Judith Fingard has examined the deliberate use by the

³⁰ Mandler, *The Uses of Charity*. M.A. Crowther has found that even the feared English workhouse was used by a large number of people and families as a temporary expedient in times of illness or unemployment, to care for the old, and to school children. M.A. Crowther, *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Institution* (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981).

³¹ See in particular the introductory article and articles by Franca Iacovetta and Margaret Hillyard Little. Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, "Introduction: Social History and Case File Research," in Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds., *On the Case: Explorations in Social History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 3-24; Franca Iacovetta, "Parents, Daughters, and Family Court Intrusions into Working-Class Life," in Iacovetta and Mitchinson, *On the Case*, 312-37. See also her "Making 'New Canadians': Social Workers, Women and the Reshaping of Immigrant Families," in Franca Iacovetta and Mariana Valverde, eds., *Gendered Conflicts: New Essays on Women* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 261-303; Margaret Hillyard Little, "Ontario Mother's Allowance Case Files as a Site of Contestation," in Iacovetta and Mitchinson, *On the Case*, 227-41. See also her 'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit.' *The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998) and "'A Fit and Proper Person': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1940," in Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan and Nancy M. Forestell, eds., *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada* (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999), 123-138.

Halifax "underclass" of the poorhouse and the jail for protection and support,³² while Wendy Mitchinson has studied how poor families used the Toronto insane asylum for the custodial care of the ill, the old, the inebriate and the violent, despite the fact that it was intended to be curative rather than custodial.³³

A number of American historians have also examined agency in their work on charity. Priscilla Ferguson Clement interprets placing out as a form of family strategy,³⁴ and Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael W. Sherraden use the St. Louis orphanage to examine charity as a response to social and economic problems such as transience and labour market changes,³⁵ while Barbara Brenzel has investigated families' use of reformatories.³⁶ One of the most interesting analyses of client agency is Marilyn Schultz Blackwell's study of the women who sued the Thomas Thompson Trust over their right to increased support.³⁷

In terms of child charity in Canada, agency is developed in one of two ways. The first is the integration of charity into working-class survival strategies evident in research such as Bettina Bradbury's study of the working-class economy and survival strategies in nineteenth-century Montreal.³⁸ The second is an approach used by historians like Tamara Myers, who examine the use families made of reformatories and the juvenile courts to "force" the state to help them discipline unwieldy or disrespectful children. Myers has pushed this interpretation to a position of almost absolute agency coining the phrase

³² Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life*, Chapter 3.

³³ Wendy Mitchinson, "Reasons for Committal to a Mid-Nineteenth Ontario Insane Asylum: The Case of Toronto," in Wendy Mitchinson and Janice P. Dickinson McGinnis, eds., *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988), 88-109.

³⁴ Priscilla Ferguson Clement, "Families and Foster Care: Philadelphia in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Social Service Review* 53, 3 (September 1979): 406-20.

³⁵ Susan Whitelaw Downs and Michael W. Sherraden, "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century," *Social Service Review* 57, 2 (June 1983): 272-90.

³⁶ Barbara Brenzel, *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905* (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1983).

³⁷ Marilyn Schultz Blackwell, "The deserving sick: Poor women and the medicalization of poverty in Brattleboro, Vermont," *Journal of Women's History* 11, 1 (Spring 1999): 53-74 and her "Entitled to Relief: Poor Women, Charity, and Medicine, 1900-1920," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Massachusetts, 1996.

³⁸ Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993).

"voluntary delinquent."³⁹ This position needs some nuance since the power parents had was severely limited by their lack of control over conditions inside the institutions and the basic power structure within which these institutions operated.

Most work on child charities and child welfare in English Canada does not use an agency approach. This historiography is dominated by Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell, who have written a number of articles on child charities and an extensive monograph, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada 1800-1950*.⁴⁰ Building on Neil Sutherland's *Children in English-Canadian Society*⁴¹ and on the theoretical perspective developed by Philippe Ariès in his *Centuries of Childhood*,⁴² these two researchers have sketched an invaluable general picture of Canadian child-charity: orphanages, infants' homes, assisted emigration and foster homes. Their work places these charities within the child-reform movement and argues that child workers used a combination of rescue and restraint to try to impose their image of a proper childhood, which the authors define as dependence, separation, protection and delayed responsibilities (although the last was not really applied before the twentieth century) on the dependent poor. This process involved first the creation of separate child institutions (the asylum) and then the slow shift toward foster care and finally state welfare. Rooke and Schnell identify ideology as more important to the charity organizers than an evaluation of working-class needs; they find that many charities used restrictive entrance requirements and that some

³⁹ Tamara Myers, "The Voluntary Delinquent: Parents, Daughters, and the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court in 1918," *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 242-68. See also Iacovetta, "Parents, Daughters, and Family Court Intrusions." For another interpretation of these courts see Dorothy Chunn, "Regulating the Poor in Ontario: From Police Courts to Family Courts," in Tino Loo and Lorna R. McLean, eds., *Historical Perspectives on Law and Society in Canada* (Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994), 184-198.

⁴⁰ Patricia Rooke and R.L. Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada 1800-1950* (Lanham: University Press of America, 1983); Rooke and Schnell, "The Rise and Decline of British North American Protestant Orphans' Homes as Woman's Domain, 1850-1930," *Atlantis* 7, 2 (Spring 1982): 21-35; Rooke and Schnell, "Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth Century British North America," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 15, 29 (May 1982): 157-79; Rooke and Schnell, "Guttersnipes and Charity Children: Nineteenth Century Child Rescue in the Atlantic Provinces," in P. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, eds., *Studies in Childhood History* (Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1982), 82-104.

⁴¹ Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*.

⁴² Philippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life*, translated by Robert Baldick, (New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1962).

even resorted to child-snatching and deliberate family separation to secure their aim. Although they thus provide examples of social control, the authors argue against a simplistic social-control model and for a more complex model that also considers factors such as psychology, ideology, religion, and institutional regulations.

Discarding the Asylum is drawn on a large canvas: both the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, a wide sampling of child-charities, and the psychological and ideological aspects of charity and philanthropy. The book provides a good conceptual framework and an impressive volume of data that shows general trends of charity development. The result of this breadth, however, is a tendency to generalise about child-charities and child-charity workers, and to depend on aggregate data from surveys of a number of different institutions and commentary from published Annual Reports—sources that can misrepresent the actual services charities provided.

In another Canadian study of child welfare, John Bullen used a more explicit social-control analysis to investigate child welfare and other aspects of childhood in nineteenth-century Ontario.⁴³ Overall, he evaluated the child welfare reform movement as class-biased and exploitative. He argued that throughout the century the dominant middle-class used the charity structure for social-control purposes, class maintenance, and the minimization of welfare costs, while emphasizing work in child-welfare undertakings.

A number of specific studies of Canadian Protestant or Catholic child charities add to this general profile and provide a comparative base for this study. The work of Diane Purvey, Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, H.C. Klassen, Susan Houston, and Joy Parr has been used as examples of Protestant charities elsewhere in Canada.⁴⁴ A number of

⁴³ Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age."

⁴⁴ Diane Purvey, "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis in Vancouver, 1892-1938," in Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds and Alwin Esai, eds., *Dimension of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute of the University of Manitoba, 1991), 107-34 and her "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis in Vancouver, 1892 to 1938," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1981; Andrew Jones and Leonard Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981); H. C. Klassen, "In Search of Neglected and Delinquent Children: The Calgary Children's Aid Society 1909-1920," in Alan F.J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 1981), 375-91; Susan E. Houston, "The Impetuous to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-1875," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1974; Houston, "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience," in Michael Katz and Paul Mattingly, eds., *Education and Social Change*:

historians—including Huguette Lapointe-Roy, Micheline D'Allaire, Bettina Bradbury, Peter Gossage and Micheline Dumont-Johnson—have examined child charities in Catholic Montreal.⁴⁵ All of these have been helpful.

Finally, several excellent recent works on American child charities are also useful for analyzing patterns and trends in the United States. Peter Holloran's book on Boston child charities is particularly interesting since it includes studies of Protestant private charities and Catholic charities. Its main focus, however, is on the institutions' overall work as presented in their Annual Reports and on portraits of the founders, a focus that limits his analysis of actual institutional populations and changes in these over time.⁴⁶ Timothy Hacsí's book *Second Home* analyzes orphan asylums in the United States from 1830, looking for patterns in child charity practices and for institutional models. Besides the almost unlimited comparative possibilities the study provides, Hacsí's framework of isolating, protective, and integrative institutions is useful for the study of child charities in other places.⁴⁷

Since the two Montreal charities under study were both run by female management committees, much of the historiography on women's history as it relates to women and benevolence is also relevant to this thesis. A number of historians, among them Frank K. Prochaska, Keith Melder, Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Nancy Cott, Mary Ryan, Suzanne Lebsock, Susan Porter-Benson and Jane Lewis, have looked at various aspects of women's

Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1975), 88-109; Houston, "The 'Waifs and Strays' of a Late Victorian City" and her "The Role of the Criminal Law in Redefining 'Youth' in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada," *Historical Studies in Education* 6, 3 (1994): 39-55; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada 1869-1924* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980).

⁴⁵ Huguette Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée: le premier réseau de lutte contre la pauvreté à Montréal au 19e siècle* (Montréal: Boréal, 1987); Micheline D'Allaire, *Les Communautés religieuses de Montréal, tome I, Les communautés religieuses et l'assistance sociale à Montréal, 1659-1900* (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1997); Bettina Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Parr, *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*, 109-28; Peter Gossage, "Abandoned Children in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1983 and "Les enfants abandonnés à Montréal au 19e siècle: La crèche d'Youville des Soeurs Grises, 1820-1871," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 40, 4 (printemps 1987): 537-59; Micheline Dumont-Johnson, "Des garderies aux XIXe siècle: les salles d'asile des Soeurs Grises à Montréal," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 34, 1 (juin 1980): 27-55.

⁴⁶ Peter C. Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for the Homeless Children, 1830-1930* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994).

⁴⁷ Hacsí, *Second Home*.

benevolent and reform work.⁴⁸ All find that this involvement in philanthropy was empowering and enabled women to develop many social and administrative skills. The original argument as developed by Melder and Prochaska and by feminists like Barbara Berg,⁴⁹ that this benevolent work formed the foundation of early feminism has been qualified by later work such as that of Nancy Hewitt.

Looking at American women's activism as a whole and using Rochester, New York as her example, Hewitt, as noted earlier, has divided female-directed organisations into three types: benevolent, perfectionist and ultraist.⁵⁰ She argues that major differences existed between the women who joined these three types of organisations and the types of work they did. While acknowledging that all organisations helped create identities for women and to legitimate women's public work, Hewitt believes that only work with ultraist institutions (and, to a lesser extent, some perfectionist organisations) really could be said to lead to feminism. Anne Boylan has identified similar groups.⁵¹ Building on this framework, Lori Ginzberg has investigated the ideology of female benevolence and its connection to morality, noting that both concepts were used differently by women of different groups.⁵² She also looks at changes over time toward a new emphasis on gender sameness (by class) and on applying efficient (masculine) business principles in the place of feminine morality.

Like many of the general works on private charity, these studies of women's charity management tend to be based on aggregate data gleaned from surveys of a number of

⁴⁸ Frank K. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980); Keith Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood: The American Woman's Rights Movement, 1800-1850* (New York: Schocken Books, 1977), 49-76 and "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th-Century America," *New York History* 48, 3 (July 1967): 231-254; Caroll Smith-Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement 1812-1870* (London: Cornell University Press, 1972); Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*; Lebsack, *The Free Women of Petersburg*; Susan Porter Benson, "Business Heads and Sympathizing Hearts: The Women of the Providence Employment Society, 1837-1858," *Journal of Social History* 12, 2 (Winter 1978): 302-312; Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991).

⁴⁹ Barbara J. Berg, *The Remembered Gate: The Origins of American Feminism, 1800-1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978).

⁵⁰ Hewitt, *Women's Activism*.

⁵¹ Boylan, "Women in Groups" and "Timid Girls."

⁵² Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*.

different institutions and on the examples of a few outstanding and devoted women. Putting the spotlight on a few great women, as researchers like Ginzberg do, risks losing sight of (or distorting) the many women in the shadows. Further, throughout these studies, there is an assumption that all members of charity boards or management committees were actively involved in the tasks connected to managing an institution. This is one of the assumptions my thesis will examine, using a detailed study of actual participation rates. The thesis also helps to draw attention to the ordinary women who worked on these charity committees but were not necessarily leaders in their community or involved in national charity movements—analyzing in detail the work they did, the decisions they took and the contribution they made to their city.

The historiography on gender, its social construction and its impact on women's lives is massive, most of it germane to this thesis. First, the relevance of gender to policy development and management style is an important topic that is all but forgotten in the usual analysis of charities. Here we can draw on the work of a number of feminist historians, among them Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Nancy Cott, Suzanne Lebsack, Susan Porter-Benson, Mary Ryan, Martha Vicinus, Estelle Freedman, and Katheleen McCarthy, who have argued for the existence of a "women's culture" based on a distinct set of values and on "personalism"—an approach to life based on people and relationships.⁵³ Several of these authors have examined the relevance this had to women's charitable work and social reform involvement; their work has also argued the importance of kin/friendship networks and even isolationism or separatism in female-institution building. Complementing this approach, other historians have studied the relationship of religion and women's charity management. In *Ladies of the Leisure Class*, for example, Bonnie Smith investigates the connection

⁵³ Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29, see also her *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985); Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Lebsack, *Free Women of St. Petersburg*; Porter-Benson, "Sympathetic Hearts and Business Heads"; Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class* and "The Power of Women's Networks," in Judith Newton, Mary Ryan and Judith Walkowitz, eds., *Sex and Class in Women's History*, (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 166-186, see also her *Women in Public*; Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930," *Feminist Studies* 5, 3 (Fall 1979): 512-529; Kathleen D McCarthy, ed., *Lady Bountiful Revisited*. For an examination of this historiography see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres" and Hewitt, "Beyond the search for sisterhood."

between a Catholic world view and female charity in northern France,⁵⁴ while, in their work on Canada, Wendy Mitchinson, Diana Pedersen, Sharon Cook and Marilyn Fardig Whitely have linked the widespread involvement of women in Protestant evangelical and church organisations with their involvement in charitable and reform work.⁵⁵

Underlying a treatment of gender and central to an examination of women's benevolence is the gendered ideology of "separate spheres." This thesis starts from the premise that the "separate spheres" ideology is relevant as an interpretative framework and that it deeply affected the bourgeois women who ran the city's Protestant charities.

The American historiography on gender construction and separate spheres is particularly extensive, beginning with the path-breaking article by Barbara Welter, who first identified the "cult of true womanhood."⁵⁶ Nancy Cott's examination of female culture and the bonds created between women in their separate sphere and Carol Smith-Rosenberg's article on the importance of friendship and ritual in female culture both used this approach.⁵⁷ Since then these concepts have been used by numerous historians to analyze women and women's reform work. Historians have debated the extent to which the ideology restricted or strengthened women, the extent to which it was imposed on or created by women, and the extent to which they either accepted it, or, in the case of maternal feminists, moulded its

⁵⁴ Bonnie Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class: The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981).

⁵⁵ Wendy Mitchinson, "Early Women's Organizations and Social Reform: Prelude to the Welfare State," in Alan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond, 1987), 77-92; Mitchinson, "The Y.W.C.A. and Reform in the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 22, 4 (November 1974): 368-84 and her "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence," *Atlantis*, 11 (1977): 57-75; Diana Pedersen, "'The Power of True Christian Women': The YWCA and Evangelical Womanhood in Late Nineteenth Century Canada," in Muir and Whiteley, *Changing Roles of Women*, 321-37, and her "Providing a Women's Conscience: The YWCA, Female Evangelicalism, and the Girl in the City, 1870-1930," in Mitchinson et al., *Canadian Women: A Reader*, 194-210; Sharon Ann Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The WCTU, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995); Marilyn Fardig Whitely, "Doing Just About What They Please, Ladies' Aids in Ontario Methodism," *Ontario History* 82, 4 (Dec. 1900): 289-304. See also Christina Simmons, "Helping the Poorer Sisters': The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds., *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991), 286-307.

⁵⁶ Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860," *American Quarterly* 18, 2 (Summer 1966): 150-176.

⁵⁷ Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual.

principles to their own advantage temporarily to challenge the dichotomy of male/public-female/private and to argue the legitimacy of increased social and political activity by women.⁵⁸ More recently feminist historians have debated the limitations of this ideology—its class and race specificity, for example, and its relevance as an interpretative framework.⁵⁹

Many Canadian women's historians have also addressed this question. Starting in the 1970s a number of historians looked at the separate spheres ideology as represented in the press and its connection with maternal feminism.⁶⁰ More recently, in the introduction to their book of articles on Maritime women, Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton have looked at the impact of this ideology, and their collection includes many interesting

⁵⁸ For the development of the notion of "moral guardian," see Glenda Gates Riley, "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditional Image of the American Woman," *The Historian* 34, 2 (1970): 210-27 and the studies of the female Moral Reform Society by Mary Ryan in *Cradle of the Middle Class* and Lori Ginzberg in *Women and Benevolence*.

⁵⁹ Hewitt, "Beyond the search for sisterhood"; Hilda L. Smith, "Female Bonds and the Family: Recent Directions in Women's History," in Paula A. Trechler, Cheris Kramarae and Beth Stafford, eds., *For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985), 272-91; Kerber, "Separate Spheres"; Joan W. Scott, "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis," *American Historical Review*, 91 (Dec. 1986): 1053-75; Joy Parr, "Nature and Hierarchy: Reflections on Writing the History of Women and Children," *Atlantis* 11, 1 (Fall 1985): 39-44; Cécile Dauphin et al., "Women's Culture and Women's Power: An Attempt at Historiography," (translated version of "Culture et Pouvoir des femmes: Essai d'Historiographie") and articles in response to it by Karen Offen, "Thoughts on 'Culture et Pouvoir des femmes'"; Nell Irvin Painter, "French Theories in American Settings: Some Thoughts on Transferability"; Hilda H. Smith, "Are We Ready for a Comparative Historiography of Women"; Lois W. Banner, "A Reply to 'Culture et Pouvoir' from the Perspective of United States Women's History"; Christine Farnham and Joan Hoff-Wilson, "Femininities and Masculinities: New Metaphor for the Nineties?" all in *Journal of Women's History*, 2 (1990); Elizabeth J. Clapp, "Welfare and the Role of Women: The Juvenile Court Movement," *Journal of American Studies* 28 (1994): 359-83. See also the work of Nancy Hewitt, Lori Ginzberg and Suzanne Lebsock on particular examples of women's activism.

⁶⁰ Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, *The Proper Sphere. Woman's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976) includes excerpts from nineteenth-century writers on the subject and is invaluable as a convenient collection of primary material. For maternal feminism in Canada, see Linda Kealey, *'A Not So Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979); T.R. Morrison, "'Their Proper Sphere' Feminism, The Family, and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," Part 1 *Ontario History* 68, 1 (March 1976): 45-62, Part 2 *Ontario History* 68, 2 (June 1976): 65-74; Wayne Roberts, "'Rocking the Cradle for the World': The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914," in Kealey, *'A Not Unreasonable Claim'*, 15-45 and Carol Bacchi, "Race Regeneration and Social Purity. A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English-Speaking Suffragists," *Histoire sociale/ Social History* 11, 22 (November 1978): 460-74.

treatments of women's experiences.⁶¹ A number of historians have examined the same topic in reference to Upper Canada. Cecilia Morgan has analyzed the gendered images of the press and the impact this social construction had on both men and women in Upper Canada.⁶² Barbara Maas has also studied the concept of separate spheres and true womanhood as they were presented in the Canadian and English press and has used women's diaries to study the way women mediated between prescribed ideals and the reality of life in a new colony.⁶³ Jane Errington has looked at women in Upper Canada, and Katherine McKenna has studied the impact the separate spheres ideology, with its norms of propriety, had on the women in the Powell family.⁶⁴ Constance Backhouse has also written extensively on gendered aspects of the law.⁶⁵ Also relevant to a study of nineteenth-century Canada is the work of Mary Poovey and Elizabeth Landland on the construction of gender ideology in the public discourse of newspapers, publications and domestic novels in Victorian England and how these also served as a reflection of the discourse.⁶⁶

In carrying out this study, and informed by the historiography discussed above, this thesis draws on four main types of source material: institutional sources from the various charities, churches and associations are used to analyze the work of these groups; government documents are used to verify the role of the government in the area of social welfare; the contemporary religious and secular press served to determine contemporary

⁶¹ Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, "Introduction," in Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*, 39-66.

⁶² Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*. See also Lykke de la Cour, Cecilia Morgan and Mariana Valverde, "Gender Regulation and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Canada," in Greer and Radforth, *Colonial Leviathan*, 163-91.

⁶³ Barbara Maas, *Helpmates of Man: Middle-Class Women and Gender Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1990.)

⁶⁴ Katherine M.J. McKenna, *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and Her Family, 1755-1849* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Elizabeth Jane Errington, *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistress and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995).

⁶⁵ See in particular Constance Backhouse, *Petticoats and Prejudice: Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1991).

⁶⁶ Elizabeth Langland, *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995); Mary Poovey, *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988).

attitudes on questions related to charity and women; and finally secondary works on other charities and policy developments provided comparative studies.

The main body of the thesis uses archival material from the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society. A case study provides the opportunity to use source material to examine the internal workings of charities in detail and the source material available on these charities lends itself to this type of study. For both, sources exist that make it possible to create extensive databases on the child recipients and on the women who were members of the Committees of Management as well as to analyze charity work and changing policy over the century. The records of these two private incorporations, which merged in 1947, are in the National Archives of Canada under the name of Summerhill Homes. The collection includes 25 volumes covering the years from 1815 to 1949; the thesis draws on all the material available for the period 1822 to 1900.⁶⁷

Documents for the LBS and the POA include Annual Reports for most of the century, either printed or copied into the Minute Books, and copies of different versions of the Rules and Bylaws. Complete admission registers also exist. The Ladies' Benevolent Society Registers cover the period August 1838 to January 1, 1900, while the Protestant Orphan Asylum Register covers the period from 1832 to 1900 (although data for most of the children entered in the 1820s was entered into the Register in 1836). The Minutes of the monthly Committee meetings are also available for both charities for the entire period: the LBS for 1833-1900, the POA for 1823-1900. Other internal charity documents include the Ladies' Benevolent Society Matron's Journal. Available for the years 1851 to 1853, 1856 to 1887, 1896 to 1900, it serves as a daily record of events in the institution. The Protestant Orphan Asylum Superintendent's Journal, a similar type of document, has survived only for the period 1884-1887. The archival collection also includes scrapbooks of newspaper clippings and collections of letters.

As many historians have noted, one must be sensitive to the type of source and its provenance; that is, aware of its nature and structure as well as the purpose for which the material was created.⁶⁸ Having access to a complete series of admission Registers,

⁶⁷ The collection number is MG 28 I 388. The author would like to thank Batshaw Youth and Family Centres for their permission to access this private collection.

⁶⁸ See for example Eric Sager's discussion in "Employment Contracts in Merchant Shipping, An Argument for Social Science History," in Iacavetta and Mitchinson, *On the Case*, 49-64.

Minutes of meetings and daily journals (all of which were designed exclusively for internal use) enables us to examine the characteristics of inmate populations and the discussions of policies and thus to analyze the actual services provided and policy shifts in these rather than accepting the public discourse in sources like Annual Reports.

Some discussion of the use of admission Registers as a source is necessary. The LBS and POA Registers provide information on the identification of recipients including name, age, sex, country of origin, and religion. Information on the children's families and the circumstances behind the request for aid is usually provided, as are details on the payment of board, re-entries, and siblings in the institution. In most cases admission and departure dates are recorded, as is the form of departure—apprenticed, adopted, returned to family. Other information is indicated, particularly in the case of apprenticed children. Although these Registers provide more precise information than the Annual Reports, they are not case files in the modern sense of the term, a point made by Mariana Valverde in her comments about some of the articles in *On the Case*.⁶⁹ But if, as she argues, we can not use them to "know" individuals as we might use psychoanalyst's case reports, we can certainly use the information included in these Registers to know the institutional demography and the circumstances that caused families to seek help from charities. Moreover we can use the compiled data on all cases to evaluate the actual work these charities did and any changes in this over the century. In the case of these two charities, the information is supplemented by commentary on admissions and departure in the Minutes and the Matron's Journals.

The information from these combined sources has been used to produce a database on 903 children in the POA and 2572 children in the LBS. The LBS Matron's Journal with its account of the events of each day, is also a particularly useful source to evaluate life inside a child charity, the regimen and policies implemented, and relations between the Committee of Management and the institutional staff. The combined sources of the Annual Reports, the Minutes and the Matron's Journal have also made it possible to build a database of the 559 women on the management Committees. The data on both children and Committee members was analyzed using SPSS to establish frequencies and cross-tabulations both for the entire period and using 20-year intervals.

⁶⁹ Mariana Valverde, "On the Case - CHR Forum," *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, 2 (June 2000), 268-69.

Other than the Montreal Boys' Home, the papers of which have also been deposited in the National Archives of Canada and for which Annual Reports, Minute Books and Registers exist for most of the period,⁷⁰ extensive source material is not available for the other Montreal child charities of the period. For most, only a selection of scattered Annual Reports are still extant, many of them thanks to the Canadian Institute for Historical Microreproductions. These Annual Reports provide only aggregate data of aid from which it is impossible to isolate individual children and therefore to establish clear trends on origin, parent situation, length of stay in the institution, and departure. This is also the case for the charitable work carried out by the Protestant churches and the National Societies, for which I have consulted all Annual Reports, Year Books, histories and committee reports that could be found, including papers in the Anglican Diocesan Archives. Notwithstanding the lack of complete information sources on any given church or charity, the sources I have consulted provide an excellent evaluation of this aid. Annual Reports have also been used as the major source for the work of other groups including the Montreal Young Women's Christian Association, the National Council of Women of Canada, the Montreal Local Council of Women and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, all of which have archival collections in the National Archives of Canada.⁷¹

The examination of the state's involvement in the relief of poverty draws heavily on government documents. Annual budget reports (Canada, Quebec, and Montreal) allow us to see the financial support the various levels of government provided for private relief work. Debates in the Assembly and the discussion in the Canada State Books have been used to investigate the government response to the 1847 fever epidemic and to the issue of granting incorporated status for charities. Inspector's reports are useful to analyze the government's regulation role. Mayoral inaugural addresses and Minutes of Council Meetings help to evaluate the role of the municipal corporation.

The final primary source is the nineteenth-century press. A large repertoire of religious and popular press was consulted for information on contemporary attitudes to, and

⁷⁰ The papers are under the name of Weredale House (NAC, MG 28 I 405). The collection contains 16 volumes and covers the period 1868 to 1975.

⁷¹ The Montreal Local Council of Women (MG 28, I 164); The Montreal Young Women's Christian Association (MG 28, I 198); The Society for the Protection of Women and Children (MG 28 I 129).

discussions of, charity, poverty, relief methods, and questions relating to women and gender. By the end of the century each of the main Protestant denominations had its own press with regular publications on a weekly, monthly or quarterly basis—such as *The Dominion Churchman* (1876-99), *The Diocesan Theological College Magazine* (1892 to 1900), the *Presbyterian Record* (1876-1900), *The Presbyterian* (1868 to 1875), *The Canadian Methodist Magazine* (1875-1900), *The Canadian Congregational Year Book* (1883-1900), *The Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* (1894 -1898). These and a number of other religious publications were checked for Montreal or for Toronto, in the case of large gaps in the Montreal sources, for most of the century. Chief among the secular press consulted was *The Canadian Monthly and National Review* (1872-78), and then *Rose-Belfour's Canadian Monthly and National Review* (1878-82), *The New Dominion Monthly* (1867-79), *Canadian Illustrated News* (1869-80), *The Dominion Illustrated Monthly* (1888-91, 1892-93), *The Canadian Magazine* (1892-1900), and *The Bystander*. City papers were also consulted, the *Montreal Witness* for the period it is indexed (1846-56) and both it and the *Montreal Gazette* for the coverage of debates such as the one on the House of Industry.

The thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first two chapters establish the setting and look at poor relief available in nineteenth-century Montreal. Chapter One examines the role of the state in poor relief and the evolution of the Quebec social welfare model based on private or Church aid organized on confessional lines. It also looks briefly at the aid established by the Catholic Church and that provided for Protestants by Protestant Churches and the National Societies. Chapter Two turns to an examination of the large number of Protestant private charities that constituted the central component of the Protestant relief network. The third chapter introduces the two charities used for the case study, looking at the identity of the charitable elite who ran these charities, their funding and the factors that influenced these benevolent women's groups, including their conservative approach to charity. Chapters Four and Five examine child charity work using an analysis of the children admitted into these two institutions: the circumstances under which families placed children in a charity, what life in an institution was like, how long children stayed, and where they went when they left. This makes it possible to identify admission and departure/placement policies and to compare Montreal to trends elsewhere. It also enables an examination of the interaction of the charity Committees and the parents requesting their

aid as well as aspects of working-class agency. The sixth chapter examines the management aspects of female-directed charities, in particular the Committee structure, the work involved in running a charity and the participation of members in this work as well as relations with the staff. The last chapter addresses policy development in more detail, specifically the impact of the separate spheres ideology and the rejection of "placing out" and "scientific charity" by these Committees and the policies they chose instead. In this, the chapter also considers the conflict between these two benevolent Committees and the more reform-minded YWCA and NCWC, both of whom actively supported the newer approaches.

Charities were part of the nineteenth-century regulation system to the extent that the elite controlled what aid would be available and under what conditions. This elite also used these charities to inculcate middle-class values; class power is evident throughout this thesis. Prevalent ideologies on poverty, its causes, and ways to redress the problem influenced and changed approaches to relief as did changes in attitudes to children. Benevolent women's groups tended to approach charity from a conservative tradition focused on helping the poor and on protecting children; later groups of activists developed more interventionist and reformist approaches. Gender is a central factor in analyzing charities, and committees constituted of women were profoundly influenced by gender prescriptions. Nonetheless, one of the most important influences on the policy choices these two charity Committees made was their years of experience with admissions and placement methods. A case study, drawing on full data sets for two different charities, provides an excellent research basis on which to study the interplay and the complexity of these various factors and to extend our understanding of poor relief, benevolent women's groups, and child charity.

Chapter One

Poverty, the State, and Poor Relief in Industrializing Montreal

As Montreal industrialized over the nineteenth century and its population grew tenfold, the precarious nature of the wage market meant that larger and larger numbers of people lived under the constant threat of unemployment, underemployment, destitution, hunger, and even homelessness.¹ Much of this unemployment occurred during the winter slowdown and was concurrent with increased fuel and clothing costs, making it even more devastating for the poor.² The large number of immigrants crowding into the city each summer was another problem, and those who remained were mostly those without the resources to continue their journey. Finally, Montreal had one of the highest mortality rates in North America.³

For most low-wage workers like the unskilled labourer or factory worker and for recent immigrants, poverty was a way of life that was accompanied by appalling sanitary and health conditions. The fragile balance of income strategies devised by individuals and families was easily upset by a sustained period of unemployment or illness or by the death of a wage-earning spouse, and the poor could find themselves faced with destitution.⁴ Particularly at risk were families with young children unable as yet to contribute to family income and elderly couples with no children to help out. Also at risk were the families of widows and other

¹ The city population went from 18,767 in 1821 to 203,178 in 1900.

² Peter Baskerville and Eric W. Sager, *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and Their Families in Late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 85. See also the testimony on Montreal in the 1889 Royal Commission on Capital and Labour in Greg Kealey, ed. *Canada Investigates Industrialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973), 71, 13, 26, 116, 144, 152.

³ Jean-Claude Robert, "City of Wealth and Death: Urban Mortality in Montreal, 1821-1871," in Mitchinson and McGinnis, *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*, 24-28; Martin Tétrault, "Les maladies de la misère. Aspects de la santé publique à Montréal 1880-1914," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 36, 4 (mars 1983): 508. In 1901 mortality rates by district were: Ste. Anne, 13.52; St. Antoine, 21.15; St. Jacques, 26.8; St. Laurent, 20.78; Ste. Marie, 27.03. *Census of Canada, 1901*, Table VIII.

⁴ For family income strategies see Richard Wall, "Work, Welfare and the Family: An Illustration of the Adaptive Family Economy," in Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith & Keith Wrigthson, eds. *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986): 261-294. For Montreal see Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families* and Terry Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty. The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), 30-42.

female-headed households who could not count on a male wage, as well as single people without the support of a family network.⁵ In times of need people turned to either kin or friends. Those without these networks made use of whatever charitable aid they could find. Applying for aid was, in effect, one of the many survival strategies used by the poor. The poor relief available, however, usually reflected the attitudes, prejudices, and concerns of the elite much more than the needs of the poor.

This chapter looks first at the system developed in Quebec to assist the poor and the role both the state and the private sector, including the Church, played in this structure. Then it begins the examination of charitable aid in Montreal, looking briefly at the Catholic poor-relief network and the aid available from Protestant Churches and National Societies. Private charities were at the heart of the Protestant relief network; given their importance they are treated in a separate chapter.

Poor Relief in Quebec — A Mixed Model

A detailed discussion of poor relief and private charity is not possible without first looking at the overall system in which this relief existed. The basic model of social welfare that developed in central Canada over the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries was one of mixed public/private responsibilities, with spheres of action taking different forms depending on the specific area of intervention—what Mariana Valverde has called a "mixed social economy."⁶ Generally, the relief of the poor was allocated to the private domain (including the Church) with some nominal public financial support. Although the state had a minimal role in this, it assumed a much more direct intervention and regulation role in other social areas including prisons, reformatories, and insane asylums as well as a more extensive financial role in schools and hospitals.

⁵ See Bettina Bradbury, "Surviving as a Widow in 19th-Century Montreal," *Urban History Review* 17, 3 (February 1989): 148-60.

⁶ Mariana Valverde, "The Mixed Social Economy as a Canadian Tradition," *Studies in Political Economy* 47 (Summer 1995): 33-60; Valverde, "La charité et l'Etat: un mariage mixte centenaire," *Généalogies de l'Etat-providence, Lien Social et Politiques-RIAC* 33 (printemps 1995): 27-35 and "Six Dimensions of Social Governance: Research Questions Beyond the Dichotomy of 'Public' and 'Private'," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 17, 1-2 (printemps-automne 1997): 40-54.

One of the biggest influences on the specific pattern of public/private responsibilities as it developed in Quebec over the nineteenth century was the growing role of the Catholic Church in both welfare and education, with religious orders assuming much of the work involved in social service delivery. Thus the Quebec model came to mirror yet another divided responsibility—that between the state and the Catholic Church—in which the Church assumed an ever increasing role in civil society.⁷ This placed the Protestant community in the position of providing for its own poor separately. The resulting model differed from that developed in Ontario, where the state took a much more interventionist role in areas such as education, insane asylums, reformatories and poor relief and the Church did not play a significant role.⁸

After the Conquest, British authorities did not change the relief system that had existed in New France. This meant that assistance for the poor remained localized, the relief of poverty being seen mainly as a family responsibility with the possibility of some supplemental aid from clerical sources. In addition, begging permits were distributed on a parish basis, and in towns like Montreal and Quebec temporary public subscription committees were organized to raise and distribute funds for emergencies and poverty relief. Early legislation empowered judges and justices of the peace to name guardians for orphans and abandoned children or to apprentice them if guardians could not be found. As they had at the Conquest, small institutions run by Catholic nuns—the Hôtel-Dieu and the Hôpital Général—continued to provide some aid to the poor, the sick and the elderly in Montreal and Quebec City.⁹ The nuns also began to accept foundlings, a group that had been supported by the state in New France.¹⁰

⁷ On this see Jean-Marie Fecteau, "La construction d'un espace social: les rapports de l'Église et de l'État et la question de l'assistance publique au Québec dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle," in Yvan Lamonde and Gilles Gallichan, eds., *L'histoire de la culture et de l'imprimé. Hommages à Claude Galarneau* (Quebec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1996), 61-90.

⁸ The model could also differ from town to town. Lynne Marks investigated this in rural Ontario and found a complex range of combinations of private, municipal and personal relief. Lynne Marks, "Indigent Committees and Ladies Benevolent Societies: Intersections of Public and Private Relief in Late Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario," *Studies in Political Economy* 47 (Summer 1995): 61-87. See also Margaret Hillyard Little, "The Blurring of Boundaries: Private and Public Welfare for Single Mothers in Ontario," *Studies in Political Economy* 47 (Summer 1995): 89-109.

⁹ Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 35-69. These institutions were quite small. The Hôtel-Dieu in Montreal had 30 beds in 1824. The average number of patients between 1815 and 1823 was 13.6 a week in Montreal and only 5.3 in Quebec City. See also Fecteau, "Between the Old Order and Modern Times: Poverty, Criminality, and Power in Quebec, 1791-1840," in Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and

This mixed and rather undefined system posed two problems. First, it was designed for a small and stable population and would have serious problems coping with an increased population and with the poverty that accompanied industrialization. Second, the central role played by Catholic institutions run by nuns within the context of their religious vocation was a problem for the Protestant population and for liberal Catholics.

The system was in effect a legacy of a feudal model based on a parish structure. The religious orders that managed small traditional charitable institutions existed under state authority and the French government had both subsidized them and used its authority to grant them seigneuries or land to support their work. Yet the state had played a much less directive role than it did (for example) in England. The Elizabethan Poor Laws of 1601 had created a local tax-supported system of workhouses and public hospitals; in this model the state system formed a base, and private charitable efforts by Churches or individuals were kept completely distinct.

In 1791, the Constitutional Act gave Lower Canada the power to determine local institutions and, in this process, to decide whether they would implement the English Poor Laws. Although both Maritime colonies applied the Poor Laws (as had most of the American States), Upper Canada rejected their implementation.¹¹ In Lower Canada, the

Susan Lewthwaite, eds., *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Vol. 4, *Crime and Criminal Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994), 306, 320, note 44.

¹⁰ André Morel, "L'enfant sans famille: De l'ancien droit au nouveau Code civil," in Renée Joyal, ed., *Entre surveillance et compassion. L'évolution de la protection de l'enfance au Québec: Les origines à nos jours* (Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2000), 17-22 and Dominique Goubau and Claire O'Neill, "L'adoption, l'Église et l'État: Les origines tumultueuses d'une institution légale," in Joyal, ed. *Entre surveillance et compassion*, 101-02.

¹¹ J.C. Levy, "The Poor Laws in East Upper Canada," in D. Bercuson and L. Knafla, eds., *Law and Society in Canada in Historical Perspective* (Calgary: University of Calgary, 1979), 23-44; Richard Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario, 1791-189: A Study of Public Welfare Administration* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), 65-68; Rainer Baehre, "Paupers and Poor Relief in Upper Canada," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1981), 58; Allan Moscovitch and Glenn Drover, "Social Expenditures and the Welfare State: The Canadian Experience in Historical Perspective," in Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds., *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987), 15; Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony: Voluntary vs Public Poor Relief in Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Ontario Historical Society* 65, 1 (March 1973): 33-49. For the Maritimes see Brereton Greenhaus, "Paupers and Poorhouses. The Development of Poor Relief in Early New Brunswick," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 1, 1 (April 1968): 103-126; James Whalen, "The Nineteenth-Century Almshouse System in Saint John County," *Histoire*

government did not address the question specifically, despite the fact that groups of English-speaking magistrates and merchants had already requested it act in this area.¹² Many factors explain this, not the least of which was the challenge to the poor laws in England itself.¹³ At a time when poverty was not yet a pressing problem, introducing the British state system and a poor tax hardly seemed worth considering, given the risk of alienating the Catholic Church as well as most of the population. This hesitancy effectively left the existing system in place.

The government was also hesitant to allocate public funds to support private relief efforts in the early years. Thus requests from the nuns for support of their hospitals and their work with foundlings were unsuccessful until 1801. So too were requests from others in 1789 and 1792, for support to create new institutions that would be nondenominational and able to cope with a larger scale of need.¹⁴ Even early applications from charitable groups seeking incorporation, like the application of the Montreal House of Industry, met with rejection.¹⁵

Undaunted by the state's rejection of these petitions, the urban elite began private relief initiatives, soliciting aid from the government afterwards. Through this process they added a new component to Quebec's poor-relief system—private charitable societies not run by the Church. In Montreal, Protestant women formed the Female Benevolent Society in 1815 (dissolved in 1822), the Protestant Orphan Asylum in 1822, and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society in 1832. Meanwhile, Catholic women formed the Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum in 1832, a group of prominent Protestant businessmen formed the Montreal General Hospital in 1822, and a joint Protestant-Catholic committee formed a House of Industry in

sociale/Social History 4, 7 (April 1971): 5-27 and "Social Welfare in New Brunswick, 1784-1900," *Acadiensis* 2, (Autumn 1972): 54-64; Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax, and St. John's, 1815-1860," *Acadiensis* 5, 1 (Autumn 1975): 32-53; Rooke and Schnell, "Guttersnipes and Charity Children."

¹² Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 39-41.

¹³ For this debate see Mitchell Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty. Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance* (London: Routledge, 1991).

¹⁴ Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 58, 65-71, 152-55; Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age," 168-69; Renée Joyal, *Les Enfants, la société et l'État au Québec, 1608-1989. Jalons* (Montréal: Éditions Hurtubise, Cahiers du Québec, 1999), 38, 43.

¹⁵ It applied in 1810 and was accepted in 1818. (See discussion below.) Jean-Marie Fecteau, "État et associationnisme au XIXe siècle québécois: éléments pour une problématique des rapports État/société dans la transition au capitalisme," in Greer and Radforth, *Colonial Leviathan*, 147.

1819. All of these societies were private, laic (but organized on confessional lines), run by the elite, and specialized.¹⁶ Most of their funding was raised by subscriptions.

Nonetheless, there was an expectation that the government should provide some support for these efforts. Thus, a year after its foundation, for example, the Protestant Orphan Asylum of Montreal applied to the Governor-in-Chief to grant them a piece of government land on which to erect a permanent building. His denial of their petition highlighted the government's position in relation to poor relief. He argued he "did not feel himself authorized to bestow the land for such a comparatively private purpose."¹⁷

Notwithstanding this hesitancy to provide support for private relief efforts, the government eventually extended to others the same type of financial aid it had provided the nuns since 1801. Thus, from the 1830s, private charities began to receive small but regular government grants. This resulted in the slow development of a mixed model—a sort of partnership between private/Church associations and the government, whereby government subsidies were granted to the associations that provided relief for the poor or other services like education or hospital care. The model was characterized by the strong presence of private organizations, by some state support of this work, and by denominationalism. Some aspects of this system were challenged, but it remained largely unchanged throughout the century.

Jean-Marie Fecteau in his work on the early Quebec state and Damien Chureau in his study of the Montreal House of Industry have both found that much debate took place in the period 1800–1860 on the role of the state in poor relief and social regulation in general. Some reformers, both Protestant and Catholic, questioned the continuity with the New France model on the grounds of amateurism and elitism; others raised concerns about providing too generous poor-relief, believing poverty to be an individual fault and fearing such relief could create dependency; still others pointed to the threat to social order and rising crime rates and called for a proactive government role in institutionalizing and reforming deviants or potential deviants.¹⁸ A subcommittee named in 1824 to investigate government support for the nuns'

¹⁶ Fecteau, "Between the Old Order and Modern Times," 307-309.

¹⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, June 1823, 28, 30.

¹⁸ Fecteau, "Between the Old Order and Modern Times," 299-300; Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 289-309; Damien Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie de Montréal (1836-1870)," M.A. Thesis, Université d'Angers, 1996, 37-52.

care of foundlings, for example, was very critical, judging the cost of the subsidies to be exorbitant and holding them responsible for the rising numbers of abandoned infants.¹⁹ From the opposite spectrum, the possibility of establishing a more organized and government-managed system of poor relief, at least for the homeless, was debated in the legislature on several occasions in crisis years like 1836 and 1847; and, in 1856, J. Morris proposed legislation to this effect.²⁰ But the legislature consistently rejected any direct intervention in the field of poor relief preferring, both for financial and ideological reasons, to simply provide financial support to private or Church initiatives.

The organization of the poor-relief system on a denominational basis was also questioned, and there are a few early examples of Catholic-Protestant cooperation. The House of Industry in Montreal from 1819 to 1847 took a parish approach—being formed by committees of leading Catholics and Protestants working together. The early Montreal Temperance Association was also nondenominational as was the Female Compassionate Society founded in 1820 in Quebec City.²¹ Other associations like child charities, although specifically Catholic or Protestant, actively cooperated in fund-raising events.²² This cooperation, however, began to wane in the 1830s in the face of increased ethnic tension, and the denominational model emerged unchallenged and stronger than ever.

Several factors were relevant to the increasing tension between Montreal's Catholics and Protestants. These included the rise of French Canadian nationalism and its linking to Catholicism; the creation of ethnic National Societies like St. Andrew's and St. George's (1835), which emphasized the importance of ethnicity for Montreal's anglophone population as well; the growth of Protestant proselytism through associations like the French Canadian Protestant Missionary Society; and the rise of ultramontanist in the Catholic Church under Bishop I. Bourget.²³ The rebellions of 1837-38 increased these tensions, as did the deliberate

¹⁹ Morel, "L'enfant sans famille," 21-23; Goubau and O'Neill, "L'adoption, l'Église et l'État," 102-03.

²⁰ Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 37-43, 49-50.

²¹ Fecteau, "Between the Old Order and Modern Times," 321.

²² Lady A. Aylmer, *Recollections of Canada*, 1831 (Quebec: A.P. Watt and Son, 1831). NAC, MG 24 A43. See also Jan Noel, "Femmes Fortes," 79.

²³ On these early Protestant missions, see Robert Merrill Black, "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855," in John

campaign led by Bishop Bourget from the 1840s to expand the role of the Catholic Church in social welfare and education.²⁴ The shifting ethnic composition of the city was a further factor. Anglophones made up a majority of Montreal's population by 1831 and, by 1844, accounted for 55 per cent. This had changed by 1867 with francophones reasserting their majority.²⁵ Some anglophones were Catholic, of course, and their number increased in direct proportion to immigration from Ireland. Thus, for much of the century, Catholics constituted a majority in the city, but these shifts in the relative numbers of anglophones and francophones, Protestants and Catholics added to tensions in the city and to frustrations in both communities.²⁶

The increasingly denominational nature of the charity system is extremely important since it had an impact for the city and the Protestant community. Under both the French system and the British one, the local government played a key role in poor relief. But in Montreal by mid-century, the city's role was complicated by that of the Catholic Church. If Catholics could secure help from a network of Catholic institutions, would a public institution serve only the Protestants or would it be paid for by Protestant rate payers (who tended to be wealthier) and serve mostly a Catholic population using it to supplement Church aid? Even more important, if neither level of government developed a local relief structure because of the Catholic system, pressure would be put on the Protestant community to organize its own system.

The best way to see these various forces at work is to look at two specific events where they were highly visible. The sporadic career of the Montreal House of Industry highlights both the denominational and the public/private factors. The government response to the 1847 Irish famine emigration is an excellent example of this system being deliberately chosen and used by the government for financial reasons.

S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, eds., *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s* (New York: P. Lang, 1988), 49-74.

²⁴ To do this he encouraged the establishment of religious orders in Montreal, extended the work of those that existed, and imported specialized orders from France and Belgium.

²⁵ Jean-Claude Robert, *Atlas historique de Montréal* (Canada: At Global/Libre Expression, 1994), 93.

²⁶ Catholics constituted more than 70% of Montreal's population from 1851 to 1900 as indicated in the Census (See Appendix 1). It is difficult to establish exact numbers earlier in the century. The Censuses in 1825 and 1827 do not indicate religion. In 1831 and 1844 data on religion is provided for Montreal county but not for the city separately. According to these figures Catholics made up more than 70% of the population. *Census of Lower Canada, 1825, 1827, 1831, 1844.*

In 1808, Joseph Conrad Marsteller left money to create a House of Industry in Montreal. At the instruction of the city's Justices of the Peace, the administrators of his estate applied to the government in 1810 for legal status for a House of Industry. After much delay, the government granted the Act of Incorporation in 1818. This Act, however, established strict government control over the private institution. Its wardens were to be named by the Governor, who could also chose an inspector and commissioners to oversee the accounts; and the rules needed approval by the Justices of the Court of Kings Bench.²⁷ The Governor named the first eight wardens and the official rules and regulations were written, but the wardens, apparently reticent to act because of their arbitrary appointment by the Governor (instead of by the incorporating subscribers which would become the norm for private incorporations), and possibly concerned about some of the interventionist stipulations in the Act, never set up the House of Industry.²⁸

Instead, a group of citizens from both the anglophone and francophone elites, opened a distinct and privately subsidized institution in the winter of 1819-20. It functioned until 1823 when it closed due to lack of funding. Appeals for government aid went unheeded; it did get a £250 grant in March 1823, but the committee found this insufficient, having asked for £500.²⁹ The institution was reopened in the severe winter of 1836-1837 and continued a sporadic existence until 1847, when it closed for good.

Basically the House of Industry functioned as a seasonal institution, reorganized in any given year at public meetings, often by completely new committees. It provided a refuge for the homeless and convalescent, as well as outdoor aid in the form of soup, provisions and fuel for needy families, whether Catholic or Protestant. Although the main emphasis was on providing shelter, it followed the tradition of Houses of Industry and required recipients to work if possible. This was designed to both discourage the casual use of its services and to "reform" recipients. The number of people aided shows that a real need existed: 572 persons in 1836-

²⁷ *Statuts du Bas-Canada*, 1818, 58 George III, c. 15. New acts were passed in 1822, 1823, 1827 and 1829 to amend the number of wardens and their powers. For a history of the House of Industry see Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie." See also Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 189-97; Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 200-09.

²⁸ Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 55.

²⁹ The money was from "unappropriated money in the hands of the Receiver General." *Statuts du Bas-Canada*, 1823, 2 George IV, c. 29.

1837, 1382 in 1842-1843, and 600 in 1845-1846.³⁰ In 1843, for example, the total provisions used included 12,168 pounds of oatmeal; 1,824 pounds of bread; 600 bushels of potatoes; 1,285 pounds of beef; 896 pounds of barley and 133 quarts of milk.³¹

The institution's location varied from year to year. In 1836, while it was temporarily housed in the former city jail (on loan from the Governor for two years), the Sulpicians offered land for a permanent institution. Unable to find funds to finance the construction of a building however, the committee returned the land in 1839.³² In 1843, they used the immigrant sheds that were vacant during the winter hiatus in ship arrivals. The cost of having to set up a shelter annually was a forceful argument for a permanent institution.³³

During the first years, the committees were formed of both Catholics and Protestants but by the 1840s tension mounted between the two communities. The confessional and nationalist tensions already mentioned were certainly a factor in this but also important were the ideological differences in the Protestant and Catholic approach to relief. Protestants preferred an institutional approach to deter frivolous applications, while the Catholic Church supported outdoor aid in the home as the best way to solidify and support the family. Protestants also linked the House of Industry to the fight to reduce crime. The House of Industry was thus a "matter not merely of charity but of prudence."³⁴ Further, Protestants supported some state intervention (minimally a donation of land and financial aid towards building costs) while the Catholic Church was not keen to encourage state intervention in an area in which the Church was establishing its own control. There was also some disagreement as to the responsibility of the Sulpicians.³⁵

³⁰ *Montreal Transcript*, 10 March 1837, quoted in Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 196; *Montreal Gazette*, 2 February 1843, 12 May 1843; *La Minerve*, 19 February 1846, quoted in Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 201. Totals in 1843 included a daily average of 400 in February and 625 in April.

³¹ Bread was particularly expensive in that year and potatoes difficult to store, hence the dependence on oatmeal. *Montreal Gazette*, 4 March 1843.

³² Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 202-03; Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 85-87.

³³ See, for example, the House of Industry Committee's report in the *Montreal Gazette*, 4 March 1843.

³⁴ *Montreal Gazette*, 3 March 1847.

³⁵ For a discussion of this see Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 83-106. For the Sulpician's social role see Brian Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986), Chapter 7.

By 1843, the organizing committee was mainly Protestant. In 1847, they proposed a separate Protestant institution, due to "a lack of cordial cooperation and liberal sacrifices" and the fact that the institution was not supported by the "whole community" despite the "great majority of poor being French Catholic." They deplored "the limitation" of a separate institution but saw no choice.³⁶ This proposal resulted in a vigorous debate in both the English and French press in March 1847 that ended in a public meeting to organize yet another non-denominational committee while the city looked into the matter.

This debate emphasized Catholic-Protestant ideological differences and the issue of whether the maintenance and management of a poor house was a private or a state responsibility. Many of the letters to the English press proposed a sort of partnership model whereby the government would pay for construction costs but the institution would subsequently be managed and paid for by private interests, since Christian charity was "best suited to sort the poor."³⁷ The matter was raised in the Legislative Assembly, but members rejected the idea of tax support for such institutions.³⁸

In this context, beginning in 1847, city council considered forming a municipal institution that would be non-denominational, but its efforts ultimately failed. The major stumbling block was funding. The commissions named in 1847 and 1848 to look into a city institution supported by a property tax identified problems with the legality and desirability of such a tax and registered concerns about both attracting poor people to the city and potentially increasing pauperism.³⁹ In an attempt to resolve the funding problem and avoid a tax, council arranged to transfer the Marsteller estate to the city in 1855. By that point, however, much of the estate money had been squandered, and the buildings were old and dilapidated.⁴⁰ Petitions to the Governor in 1856 and 1857 for a grant of land

³⁶ "Editorial," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 March 1847.

³⁷ *True Witness*, quoted in Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 50. See also the *Montreal Gazette*, 3 March and 8 March 1847.

³⁸ See Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 43-52.

³⁹ Chureau, "La Maison d'industrie," 57-58.

⁴⁰ (AVM), *Minutes of the Council Meetings*, Vol.56, 16 February 1855, 38; 21 February 1855, 47; 13 March 1855, 66; Vol.58, 11 January 1856, 53; Vol.68, 12 September 1859, 49; "Special Committee on the House of Industry," in *Minutes of the Special Committees*, 14 May 1856, 28 May 1856, 2 June 1856, 6 September 1856. *Annual Report of the City Treasurer of the City of Montreal*, 1856, 36.

and funds toward the cost of building both a House of Industry and a Reformatory for juvenile delinquents failed.⁴¹ Committees were named annually from 1855 to 1862, but, with no state aid forthcoming, funding remained an insurmountable problem.

In the continued absence of a city institution, a Protestant institution was opened in 1854-1856. In 1863 the Protestant elite formed the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, opening it to Catholics as well, and applied to the city for the Marsteller estate to support their work. Arguing the desirability of a denominational model, the city agreed to transfer half of the estate; it retained the other half for an eventual Catholic institution.⁴² St. Bridget's House of Refuge, run by the Grey Nuns, was opened in 1866. At that point the city ended its dalliance with the idea of a municipal institution, the work being assumed by these two private and denominational institutions.⁴³

The example of the care of orphans in the 1847 immigration crisis also clearly shows the denominational and private/public attributes of the welfare system developed in central Canada to that point. The state had assumed some responsibility for immigration and poor immigrants as early as 1820 when it opened the first immigrant hospital in Quebec City, followed by the Marine Emigrant Hospital in 1830,⁴⁴ and the quarantine stations at Grosse Isle and other port facilities. During the Irish immigration of 1847, linked to the famine, the costs connected to quarantine, orphans, and transportation skyrocketed as ship after ship arrived at Grosse Isle with fever on board; some immigrants, already exposed to fever, continued on to other entry points like Montreal.⁴⁵

⁴¹ *Minutes of the Council Meetings*, Vol.58, 11 January 1856, 53-54.

⁴² Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, February 1864, 54 and "Account of the Annual Meeting," in *Minute Book*, April 1864, 61; *Minutes of the Council Meetings*, Vol.77, 16 December, 1863, 94; Vol. 78, 10 August, 1864, 130; Vol.79, 18 January, 1865, 129, 134-135; *Report of the City Treasurer*, 1865, 28.

⁴³ The city did not open a shelter for the homeless, the Refuge Meurling, until 1913. The city paid 60% of the cost, or \$100,000, the Meurling estate legacy paid the rest. See Jean-Marie Fecteau, "Un cas de force majeure: le développement des mesures d'assistance publique à Montréal au tournant du siècle," *Généalogies de l'État-providence, Lien Social et Politiques-RLAC* 33 (printemps 1995), 113 and Marcela Aranguiz, *Vagabonds et sans abris à Montréal: perception et prise en charge de l'errance 1840-1925* (Montréal: Collection «Études et documents» RCHTQ, numéro 12), Chapter 4.

⁴⁴ Fecteau, *Un Nouveau ordre des choses*, 306.

⁴⁵ On the 1847 immigration generally, see Leslie Anne Harvey, "The Canadian Response to the Irish Famine Emigration of 1847," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973.

In July 1847, the Grey Nuns and Bishop Bourget wrote to the Executive Council indicating their readiness to assume the care of the growing number of Irish Catholic orphans in Montreal on payment of a monthly stipend per child. In his letter, Bishop Bourget argued from the standpoint of the Quebec model—that Church institutions would "relieve the Government from the expense of building or hiring a building for their [the orphans] reception."⁴⁶ The government agreed to the arrangement, thereby establishing the denominational and private form that immigration aid would take during the 1847 crisis.

The Protestant Orphan Asylum also wrote to the Executive Council offering to take in Protestant orphans if paid actual costs, and assuring Council that they would use the "utmost economy [...] in carrying out this arrangement."⁴⁷ Clearly unwilling to make an undefined financial commitment, Council recommended that Protestant orphans be placed with Protestant religious societies on the same terms as those agreed to by the Grey Nuns. This was done in Quebec City, but in Montreal, Protestant child relief work was done by private charities not by the Church. The Protestant Orphan Asylum finally accepted the same terms as the nuns but secured an authorization for additional funds to pay for medical assistance.⁴⁸

Thus, faced with the problem of large numbers of orphaned children in the immigrant sheds of Quebec City and Montreal, the government opted to pay Catholic and Protestant associations a small per-diem amount to care for the orphans and arrange apprenticeship situations, rather than set up government-run facilities. In this way they adopted Montreal's denominational poor relief structure. They carefully minimized government costs by limiting the payments and by controlling the payment period. Within a month, the government was already instructing the Immigrant Agent to report semi-monthly on the children's health and to "use due diligence in procuring places for the[ir] permanent residence."⁴⁹ In November, after only five months, they reduced the per-diem

⁴⁶ (NAC), *Canada State Books*, Vol. G (1847), Reel C-113, "Executive Council report on letter from the Bishop of Montreal," 12 July 1847, 111.

⁴⁷ *Canada State Books*, "Report by W. Morris on letter from the POA and the committee's recommendation," 12 July 1847, 113.

⁴⁸ *Canada State Books*, 26 July 1847, 214. In the end, Council considered the doctor's bill too high and paid only one quarter of it. *Canada State Books*, 10 September 1847, 379.

⁴⁹ They reissued this order in October, having received no reports. *Canada State Books*, 4 August 1847, 219; 25 October 1847, 499; 3 November 1847, 560-62.

amounts paid for each child. This effectively encouraged the societies to send the children into service as soon as possible. Furthermore, Council restricted its aid to orphans. When the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society offered to take in widows and fatherless children on the same payment terms as orphans, Council refused, indicating that they "have given this subject their most earnest attention and see much difficulty in any proceeding which would render the Government liable to the support of destitute widows."⁵⁰ Council was clearly wary of establishing any unwanted precedents in terms of future government responsibilities by helping widows or their children.

State Support for Private Relief Initiatives

Although the government did not take a central role in poor-relief distributions, it did assume a supportive role for private relief initiatives. Small but regular subsidies provided some financial support for these efforts. The legal infrastructure established for incorporating voluntary associations facilitated their work but it also provided the government with a way to normalize the charters of charitable organizations across the country. Further, the government placed all of the charities receiving grants under the jurisdiction of the Prison Inspection Act and thus established an inspection mechanism that could be used if desired.

The government began to extend small subsidies to a few private charities by the early 1830s.⁵¹ Government budgets published after 1840 can be used to study this support. The number of Montreal charities receiving some state support increased from 3 in 1840 to 25 in 1899, as private and Church benevolence mushroomed into a wide spectrum of specialized institutions. Nevertheless, the government controlled the overall cost of these grants by decreasing individual grants from 1884 on. Table 1.1 below uses the grants to Montreal's Protestant charities from 1840 to 1900 to illustrate this pattern.

⁵⁰ *Canada State Books*, "Report on response to Ladies Benevolent Society," 4 August 1847, 218.

⁵¹ As noted earlier, the Grey Nuns received a government grant in support of their work with foundlings, insane and the sick from 1801. A Legislative Assembly committee recommended these be discontinued in 1837 but they were maintained. Fecteau, *Un nouvel ordre des choses*, 255-60.

Table 1.1
Government Aid to Montreal Protestant Charities, (1840-1900), in Dollars

Institution	1840	1843	1863	1884	1885	1887	1894	% Decrease ¹
Ladies' Benevolent Society	360	400	850 ²	756	680	595	637	25.1
Protestant Orphan Asylum	360	400	640	576	512	448	336	47.5
Home and School of Industry, 1857 ³		400	320	288	256	224	168	58.0
House of Industry and Refuge, 1869 ³			800	720	640	560	420	47.5
Protestant Infant's Home, 1873 ³			400	360	320	280	210	47.5
Church Home, 1878 ³			200	180	160	140	135	32.5
Home for Friendless Women, 1880 ³			200	180	160	140	105	47.5
Sheltering Home, 1891 ³						200	150	25.0
Day Nursery, 1892 ³						250	187	25.2

¹ Decrease from the highest amount granted.

² Includes the grant for the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge.

³ First year of grant.

Source: *Public Accounts Of Canada in Journals Of The Legislative Assembly, 1840-67; Quebec Sessional Papers, No. 1, 1868-1900.*

After an initial increase in 1843, grants remained stable for the next twenty years.⁵² In 1863, most were increased and in 1864 the assistant auditor visited thirty-two institutions in Lower Canada and a number in Upper Canada. His report was overwhelmingly positive and grants remained at their 1863 level until 1883.⁵³ But the trend of decline began in 1884 with cuts of 10%, followed by 11% (1885), 12.5% (1887) and 25% (1894). By the end of the century, government grants for most Montreal Protestant charities had been cut to almost half their 1863-1883 level; nonetheless, these grants still served as a public support for what were basically private institutions.

⁵² Except for a slight drop in 1846. The government did not request budget information on a very regular basis. The Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society, for example, received a request for budget information from the Inspector General of Hospitals in 1838 and another from the Auditor General in 1855. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, July 1838, 72; Vol.5, December 1855, 139.

⁵³ He concludes: "Taken as a whole, the Hospitals and Charities of Canada are creditable to the Province, and the alleviation of human suffering, the food and homes furnished to the helpless, and the fitting preparation of orphans for the struggles of life, effected through the stimulus given by the grants of about \$65,000 of Provincial money annually, constitute a proof of the wisdom and a justification of the Philanthropy of these grants." John Simpson, Assistant Auditor, *The Municipal Loan Funds, and the Hospitals and Charities of the Province of Canada* (Quebec: Morning Chronicle, 1864).

On the municipal level, the city council did not develop a system of subsidies for charities, but it did provide them with an exemption from city taxes from 1856.⁵⁴ In areas where the state or its institutions like the police or courts were directly involved in institutional placements, there was more likely to be financial support. Thus, on several occasions the city granted small amounts to the Sisters of Providence for the support of foundlings placed there by the police.⁵⁵ The city's largest and most important charitable implication, though, was in the area of delinquent and problem children. The Society for the Protection of Women and Children, for example, received a small annual grant towards its work from 1884.⁵⁶ Even more important, from 1887, the city paid substantial sums for the board of children placed by the Recorder Court in the city's four Reformatories and Industrial Schools; by 1892 this aid had reached an annual total of \$30,000.00.⁵⁷ (See discussion below.) Part of this was the result of a shifting of financial responsibility from the provincial government to the city as Quebec forced local governments to pay for half of the cost of children committed to these institutions.⁵⁸ In 1894, Quebec further reduced its financial responsibilities in this area by placing an upper limit on the number of children it would subsidize. The city did not follow suit although it implemented a one-year admission rule, renewable. By 1910, the city was paying \$47,852.53 for 547 children while Quebec paid \$2,183.83 for 52 children; that is, Montreal was paying more than twice as much per child and for many more children.⁵⁹ The city had clearly made these children its welfare priority.

Besides funding, the state facilitated private welfare initiatives by using its legislative powers to grant incorporated status to voluntary associations. By controlling access to incorporation, the state also attempted to establish some control over private associations. Although this control was reduced over time as incorporation became more and more

⁵⁴ Until that date, charities paid city assessments.

⁵⁵ *Minutes of the Council Meetings*, Vol. 51, April 7, 1853, 52; Vol. 52, 18 May, 1853, 26. See also Montreal, *Report of the City Treasurer*, 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, and 1860.

⁵⁶ *Report of the City Treasurer*, 1884-1899.

⁵⁷ *Report of the City Treasurer*, 1887-1899.

⁵⁸ Amendments were passed to this effect in 1884, 1892, and 1894. The city also contributed to the cost of the city jail (1/2) from 1851 and insane asylums (1/3) from 1884.

⁵⁹ Fecteau, "Un cas de force majeure," 112.

common, the government used the process to regulate the form such associations took and to standardize the rules included in charters across the country.

Incorporation was essential to voluntary associations since it gave them a legal existence as a collective entity and therefore secured them the right to own, buy and sell property; to collect, keep and use funds; to participate in legal actions, engage in contracts and otherwise act as a corporate entity; and to establish rules and make members respect them. Many incorporations also included specific clauses establishing limited liability whereby directors were protected from any personal liability in relation to debts and contracts incurred by the corporate entity.⁶⁰ Charters for charities directed by female boards usually included clauses granting them the legal status to carry on business affairs without permission from their husbands despite the coverture laws and the fact that married women were not legal persons under the law.

When voluntary associations appeared in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the issue of incorporation was a sensitive one and many states hesitated to recognize them legally.⁶¹ As already noted, the first groups to apply for incorporated status in Lower Canada, like the Montreal House of Industry, had to wait years to have their request accepted. By the 1830s, much of the resistance had subsided as voluntary associations became more and more common in economic, political and social areas.⁶² Nonetheless, on several occasions there was extensive debate in the legislature on the subject of incorporation and the facility with which it should be made available.

Applications from groups of citizens wanting to be incorporated were reviewed separately and the process was time consuming. This procedure was discussed at length in the 1849-1850 session and a more standardized process established.⁶³ Another long debate took

⁶⁰ Fecteau, "Etat et associationnisme," 150; David Stevens, "Framing an Appropriate Corporate Law," in Jim Philips, Bruce Chapmam, and David Stevens, eds., *Between State and Market: Essays in Charities Law and Policy in Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001), 547-94.

⁶¹ Fecteau, "Etat et associationnisme," 146-47.

⁶² Fecteau, "Etat et associationnisme," 147-51.

⁶³ Elizabeth Gibbs et. al., eds., *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada 1841-1867*, (Montréal: Centre de recherche en histoire économique du Canada français), 1978, Vol. 9, Part 2, 1850, 879, 1136-37, 1194, 1529-30, 1626. *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 1850, 13 & 14 Vict., c. 32.

place in 1852-1853 when Attorney General George Drummond introduced a bill to further simplify the application process and eliminate the need to discuss each application.⁶⁴ Ethnic and religious factors entered into this debate as several Upper Canada members, led by George Brown, argued that semi-automatic incorporation would lead to an uncontrollable profusion of Catholic and other sectarian institutions with recognized incorporated status, property rights, and so on. They preferred to retain the power to examine and validate each case. Although the bill eventually passed second reading it was not finalized. Drummond reintroduced his bill in 1856 at which point it was accepted, with the addition of a clause to limit property acquisition to that actually needed by the corporation to carry out its specific realm of activity. This clause was added in response to Brown's concern that otherwise the bill could lead to an endowment of incorporations by allowing them to amass untold property at an advantage.⁶⁵

Although the incorporation process was thus simplified, the aims of standardization remained. In 1857, the government extended its control over private charities receiving public funds by placing them, along with prisons and hospitals, under the jurisdiction of the Prison Inspection Act and the newly formed Board of Inspectors.⁶⁶ According to the statute which outlined their powers, the inspectors were "to visit, examine and report [...] upon the state and management of every Hospital or other Benevolent Institution supported wholly by grant of public money" and to extend the same duties to those institutions "supported in part by grant of public money [...] when requested by the Governor."⁶⁷ At Confederation, this responsibility passed to the provinces. The new Quebec board listed its duties as including the inspection of twenty-five public institutions, as well as "more than thirty charitable or benevolent institutions, sustained in part by grants from the public chest [...] when we are instructed to do so."⁶⁸

The government, however, did not seem very interested in actually exercising its control since instructions to inspect charitable institutions were rarely given. The *Reports of the*

⁶⁴ Gibbs, *Debates of the Legislative Assembly*, 1981, Vol. 11, Part 3, 1852-53, 629-30, 1925-38, 1947-2005.

⁶⁵ Danielle Blais et. al., eds., *Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada 1841-1867*, (Montréal: Centre de recherche en histoire, 1991), Vol. 13, Part 4, 1856, 1645-51.

⁶⁶ *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 1857, 20 Vict., c. 28.

⁶⁷ *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 1857, 20 Vict., c. 28, section 35.

⁶⁸ "Report of the Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, etc. For the Years 1867 & 68," Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1869, No. 23.

Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, etc. from 1860 to 1899 include only a few comments on private charities other than those for the disabled or those that also served as industrial schools.⁶⁹ These latter institutions were inspected annually and the government used the inspection as a control mechanism to ensure that government guidelines on admissions and internal regime, as outlined in the contract signed with each institution, were followed.⁷⁰

The final form of government support for poverty relief was emergency aid. This included supplemental aid to boost the capacity of charitable networks during economic crises and of relief efforts associated with natural disasters. In a few particularly bad crisis years (1854, 1856, 1871 and 1872) the city introduced a special "wood account" under which it transported green wood to Montreal in the summer, thereby ensuring the availability of reasonably priced fuel the following winter.⁷¹ Non-denominational ad-hoc Relief Committees were formed in 1855,⁷² 1858,⁷³ 1871,⁷⁴ and 1892 to distribute municipal grants. In recognition of the charitable model, the money was distributed through existing charities.

Just as they do today, governments granted emergency funds for the relief of natural disasters such as fire, floods and epidemics.⁷⁵ Montreal received such grants from the

⁶⁹ "Report of the Inspector of Prisons, Asylums, etc. for the Year...", Canada, *Sessional Papers*, 1861-67; Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1869-1900; "Annual Special Report of L.L.L. Desaulniers as Special Inspector of Reformatory Schools, etc. of the Province of Quebec for the Year," Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1883-1896. The published reports after 1884 do not include a separate report from the inspector for Protestant Reformatories. See "Special Report of Mr. Walton Smith to the Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums, etc.," Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, 1883-1884, No. 10, 108.

⁷⁰ Jean-Marie Fecteau, et al., "Une politique de l'enfance délinquante et en danger : La mise en place des écoles de réforme et d'industrie au Québec (1840-1873)," *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés* 1, 2 (1998), 98; Véronique Strimelle, "La gestion de la déviance des filles et les institutions du Bon Pasteur à Montréal, 1869-1912," Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1999, 148-150, 154.

⁷¹ *Minutes of Council Meetings*, Vol. 46, 5 November 1851, 125, 130; 26 November, p.133-34, 11 December, 164; Vol. 47, 12 January 1852, 13.

⁷² In 1855, two separate \$1000 grants were distributed among seven city charities. *Minutes of Council Meetings*, Vol. 56, 10 January 1855, 28; 21 February 1855, 40; *Report of the Treasurer*, 1855, 38; 1856, 34. W. Nelson, "Mayor's Address," in *Report of the Treasurer*, 1854, iii; *Annual Report of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge*, 1855, 1856 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1855, 1856), 8, 5.

⁷³ *Minutes of Council Meetings*, Vol. 66, 13 December 1858, 131; *Report of the Treasurer*, 1858, 16.

⁷⁴ The Archduke Alexis of Russia had donated \$1000 for the poor during his visit. *Reports of the Treasurer*, 1871; M. Coursol, *Mayor's Inaugural Address*, 1871.

⁷⁵ *Report of the Treasurer/Auditor*, 1851-1899. For a study of the impact of such natural disasters see John C. Weaver and Peter DeLotinville, "The Conflagration and the City: Disaster and Progress in

provincial government during the 1832 cholera epidemic and the 1852 fire that destroyed a large part of the city and left more than one fifth of the city's population homeless, but most of this emergency aid came from the local government.⁷⁶ Special flood committees were formed in 1861, 1869, 1885, 1886 and 1887 to deal with the spring floods that caused a lot of damage in the low-lying working-class districts along the docks. The main emergency relief cost for the city, however, was the control of epidemics, especially the recurrent smallpox epidemics.⁷⁷ Vaccination programs were in place from 1861 and a Health Committee and sanitary police were established, but a large part of the cost of epidemics was hospital care. The city paid the Montreal General and the Hôtel-Dieu to accept fever cases⁷⁸ and during severe epidemics it erected temporary shelters and hired doctors. Plans for a special hospital for contagious diseases are mentioned by Mayors as early as 1872,⁷⁹ and a 130-bed Civic Hospital for smallpox patients was built in 1886.

Delinquent Children and the State

Despite its hesitancy to intervene directly in terms of poor relief, from mid-century, as Canada went through a process of state formation, the government extended its regulatory role to prisons, reformatories, and insane asylums, areas in which the maintenance of social order was thought to be at stake; and to areas designed to form future citizens such as the subsidizing of education. The government thus played a major role in the wider field of "charity," as defined under Elizabethan law to include education, prisons, and purposes beneficial to the country.⁸⁰ This larger system represented

British North America during the Nineteenth Century," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 13, 26 (Nov. 1980): 417-449.

⁷⁶ For a general discussion of this fire and the emergency measures established afterwards see Harvey, "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty," Chapter 4.

⁷⁷ See Michael Bliss, *Plague. A Story of Smallpox in Montreal* (Toronto: HarperCollins, 1991).

⁷⁸ Entries for these payments appear in the 1854 cholera epidemic, the 1873-1874 smallpox epidemic and in 1890. In other years these payments must be included under the general heading of "epidemic costs." *Reports of the Treasurer/Auditor*, 1851-1899.

⁷⁹ *Valedictory Statement*, 1872, 1876; *Mayor's Inaugural Address*, 1873, 1874, 1878.

⁸⁰ *The Charitable Uses Act* of 1601 outlined the definition of charities in relation to charitable trusts in the law's preamble. This definition has been upheld by Canadian courts ever since. For a discussion of

substantial costs and extensive government involvement, given that institutions were either built and managed by state agencies (the case of prisons, and immigrant hospitals), or they were partially funded by the government but managed privately (the case of hospitals and most schools), or the government contracted out for services on a per-diem basis to private institutions (the case of insane asylums,⁸¹ industrial schools and reformatories in Quebec).⁸² This latter model of contracting out was the most cost-efficient for the government since the private institutions assumed responsibility for the infrastructure and for administrative costs, although in the process they retained more management control.⁸³

Unlike children who were merely destitute and needed shelter, as in the case of the fever children already looked at, delinquent children were seen as a possible threat to social order, and hence the government became much more directly involved in their regulation. Much of the concern vocalized by mid-century was a reaction to the growing number of street children, seen as a problem waiting to happen.⁸⁴ In the process of developing a policy on the treatment of *bona fide* juvenile offenders, the state also extended its intervention to cover pre-delinquent children that were thought to need protection—children referred to as "at risk." The way in which this was done is relevant to this study for two reasons. First, it is an excellent example of the Quebec government deliberately using the mixed public-private model, and thus extending that model to areas of direct government intervention; and, second, with the extension of child protection laws to include "at-risk" children, the laws affected one of the

this see Jim Phillips, "The Federal Court of Appeal and the Legal Meaning of Charity: Review and Critique," in Phillips, et. al., *Between State and Market*, 219-50.

⁸¹ Only the short-lived asylum at Saint-Jean d'Iberville (1861-1873) was state-run and it suffered from severe under-funding. See Peter Keating, *La Science du Mal: L'Institution de la psychiatrie au Québec, 1800-1914* (Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 1993).

⁸² In the Quebec budget for 1869, charities (including insane asylums and hospitals but excluding schools, prisons and reformatories) cost a total of \$192,185 or 8% of total expenditures. If schools, prisons and reformatories are added, the total jumps to \$757,807 or 31%. Quebec, *Sessional Papers*, No.1, 1869.

⁸³ Despite this cost efficiency, Quebec under-funded the institutions, consistently paying lower per-diem fees than were paid to similar institutions in Ontario or the United States. See André Paradis, "Le sous-financement gouvernemental et son impact sur le développement des asiles francophones au Québec (1845-1918)," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 4 (printemps 1997): 571-598.

⁸⁴ See Houston, "The Impetus to Reform," and her "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency."

charities studied in this thesis, the Ladies' Benevolent Society, which was accepted as an industrial school in 1883.

In a first intervention in terms of delinquent children, the Union government responded to calls to classify offenders and to reform the treatment of minors by passing legislation in 1857 to remove juvenile offenders from common prisons, where they were kept among adult prisoners, and to place them in separate reformatory prisons.⁸⁵ One was opened in Lower Canada at Ile-aux-Noix in 1858 and another in Penetanguishene in Upper Canada in 1859. The law was limited from a reform perspective since its provisions as to age, offence and sentencing resulted in mostly older, more serious offenders from state prisons being moved to the new institutions. Most of the young offenders guilty of minor infractions remained in common jails and the laws did not even begin to address the problem of street children.

When the Quebec government assumed control over reformatories under the BNA Act, it extended and reoriented this legislation, passing two laws in 1869, one to establish reform schools for young offenders and a second to establish industrial schools for pre-delinquent children.⁸⁶ The aim of these two laws was to emphasize the reformation of young offenders through education and training rather than punishment (hence the shift to a reform school) and to widen the scope of government intervention to include the education and moral training of children judged to be at risk of exposure to moral dangers and delinquency.⁸⁷ The

⁸⁵ *Statutes of Quebec*, 1857, 20 Vict, c. 28, c.29. A similar law had been passed in England in 1854. Reformatory schools already existed in France and the United States. For this law see Jean Trépanier, "Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Protection: The Historical Foundations of the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908," *European Journal of Crime, Criminal and Criminal Justice* 71, 1 (1999): 41-62; Sylvie Ménard, "L'Institut Saint-Antoine: Problématique de réforme des garçons délinquants au Québec, 1873-1909," Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Québec à Montréal, 1998 and Strimelle, "La gestion de la déviance des filles."

⁸⁶ *The Industrial Schools Act*, 1869, 32 Vict., c.17; *An Act Respecting Reformatory Schools*, 1869, 32 Vict., c.18. See Renée Joyal, "L'Acte concernant les écoles d'industrie (1869): Une mesure de prophylaxie sociale dans un Québec en voie d'urbanisation," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 2 (automne 1996): 227-239 (reprinted in her *Entre surveillance et compassion*, 35-48), and *Les Enfants*, 67-81. For a discussion of the development of a policy on children in Quebec see Jean-Marie Fecteau, "Note sur les enjeux de la prise en charge de l'enfance délinquante et en danger au XIXe siècle," *Lien Social et Politiques – RLAC* 40 (automne 1998), 129-138 and Fecteau et al., "Une politique de l'enfance délinquante et en danger."

⁸⁷ More emphasis was placed on moral/religious and skills training than on education per se. As Joyal points out, the schools were placed directly under the Provincial Secretary, not under the department of Public Instruction and hence the curriculum was not monitored until 1945. Joyal, "L'Acte concernant les écoles d'industrie," 234-35.

latter group (entered into industrial schools) included neglected, homeless or abandoned children, children with parents in jail, and those known to associate with delinquent adults. Children could also be placed in an industrial school by parents if found to be uncontrollable.

The new legislation regarding industrial schools represented a major extension of government intervention. The definition of "at risk" was largely subjective (to be decided by the Recorder Court or the Provincial Secretary) and provided a wide range of possibilities for future state intervention. Moreover, by establishing a process whereby the state gave courts the power to issue orders to place children in institutions for their protection, the government was able to circumvent the usual need for paternal permission for such placements. A series of amendments over the century expanded the notion of protection and extended the scope of the law to include children with parents unable to care for them and child victims of violence, and eventually provided a way for the state to intervene directly against parents.⁸⁸

This increased intervention did not, however, lead to the direct state control of these reformatory institutions. On the contrary, Quebec rejected the model that had been used by the Union government whereby the reform prisons were government institutions managed by lay directors; instead it adopted the model used in England whereby reform institutions were managed by voluntary associations under state certification and inspection and with some state funding.⁸⁹ A clause requiring the respect of religious affiliation ensured a parallel system of Catholic and Protestant institutions and resulted in the application of the private confessional model, even in the area of reformatories and industrial schools. The Catholic Church had lobbied hard for this structure, and it had specialized religious orders standing by ready to take on the work.⁹⁰ They immediately received certification to manage the Catholic institutions.⁹¹

⁸⁸ See Strimelle, "La gestion de la déviance des filles," 178-83 and Joyal, *Les Enfants*, 70-72, 75-79.

⁸⁹ The British laws of 1854 and 1857 (amended in 1861 and 1866) set up reform schools and industrial schools. For these laws see Margaret May, "Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century," *Victorian Studies* 17, 1 (1973): 7-28.

⁹⁰ Joyal, "L'Acte concernant les écoles d'industrie," 232.

⁹¹ A reform school and industrial school for Catholic girls was opened by the Soeurs de Bon Pasteur in Montreal in 1870; the Frères de la Charité opened a reform school for Catholic boys, L'Institute Saint Antoine, in Montreal in 1872; and the Compagnie des pères de Marie, formed an industrial school for boys, at Montfort in 1883. For this last institution see Christelle Buban, "Les origines institutionnelles de la protection de l'enfance au Québec: l'école d'industrie de Notre-Dame de Montfort (1883-1913)," M.A. Thesis, Université de Rennes, 1997.

Religious orders were seen as being particularly well suited to direct the moral/religious training of problem children; and, certainly from the government's perspective, the adoption of a private model such as this under Church control had major cost advantages. Rather than building institutions and managing them, the state had only to negotiate a per-diem payment with the religious orders that would then assume all the organization and management costs.

The model was to pose particular problems, however, for Montreal's Protestant community, which could not count on existing institutions or on religious orders to do the work. The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge discussed the need for a reformatory institution from the 1870s; but despite many motions to this effect at annual meetings the Board never found the funding necessary to extend their work into this area.⁹² In 1882 the government called a special meeting with leaders of the Protestant community and representatives of the Protestant charities to request that they set up Protestant reformatory institutions.⁹³ Only the Ladies' Benevolent Society agreed to assume this work.⁹⁴ They were certified as an industrial school in 1883. Protestant reformatory institutions were not opened until the twentieth century.⁹⁵ In the meantime, Protestant boys were sent to a makeshift reform school in a wing of the Sherbrooke prison in 1873 while girls went to the Catholic institution.⁹⁶

Thus, even in areas such as reformatories where there was direct government involvement, Quebec used a model of denominational institutions managed privately or by the Church. Nonetheless, this area involved a much greater level of state intervention and control since reformatories and industrial schools, receiving per-diem payments per child, were subject

⁹² Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, October 1872, 435; May 1873, 474; Vol.2, October 1882, 411; January 1884, 484.

⁹³ An account of this meeting is given in the Minutes of the Protestant Orphan Asylum. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1882, 260-62.

⁹⁴ See discussion in Chapter Four.

⁹⁵ The Boys' Home opened a reform school for Protestant boys in Shawbridge in 1907 and The Girls' Cottage Industrial School was opened for girls in 1911 in St. Lambert. For these latter institutions see Prue Rains and Eli Teram, *Normal Bad Boys: Public Policies, Institutions, and the Politics of Client Recruitment* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992) and Tamara Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montreal, 1890-1930," Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1995, Chapter 6.

⁹⁶ In 1882 the government reported that five Protestant girls were in the Catholic institution. A few Protestant boys also entered the Catholic Reform School for boys in Montreal. See Rains and

to government certification, regular inspection, and legislation. It also involved much larger costs for the government. The global welfare model, therefore, was more complex than it seems at first glance and involved varying amounts of public and private control. The government became more directly involved through regulatory control and/or extensive funding in the case of reformatories and industrial schools, prisons, insane asylums, and institutions for deaf and handicapped children; but, for the most part, private Protestant and Catholic charities controlled the relief available to the city's poor.

This model satisfied the elite (and the Churches) who ran the voluntary associations since it left them with control of their benevolent projects but able to depend on some state funding. It left the poor, however, in a less than ideal situation—forced to turn to their Church or to private charity for what relief or help with child-care they could find. Furthermore, in this situation, private charity was not a supplement to relief provided by the state, but *de facto* the only charity available, a situation that gave the elite control over the forms of aid available. This makes the study of private charity both interesting and important to an understanding of nineteenth-century Montreal.

The Private Relief Network

Montreal's Catholic community had no problem with the private welfare model, a model they had actually lobbied for and one that gave the Church the opportunity to create a place for itself in the public realm. During the nineteenth century an extensive Catholic charitable network was established, organized by the Sulpicians, religious communities and lay societies like the Ladies of Charity and the St. Vincent de Paul Society.⁹⁷ The actual

Teram, *Normal Bad Boys*, 16; Strimelle, "La gestion de la déviance des filles," 193-95; Ménard, "L'Institut Saint-Antoine," 181.

⁹⁷ Given the excellent secondary works that exist and our aim to only briefly outline services, this section is based on secondary sources. General studies include D'Allaire, *Les communautés religieuses* and Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*. This is supplemented by Peter Gossage's work on foundlings, "Abandoned Children in Nineteenth-Century Montreal" and "Les enfants abandonnés;" Micheline Dumont-Johnson's on daycares, "Des garderies aux XIXe siècle;" Bettina Bradbury's on the St. Alexis orphanage "The Fragmented Family," and on the elderly, "Elderly Inmates and Caregiving Sisters: Catholic Institutions for the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," in Iacovetta and Mitchinson, *On the Case*, 129-55; as well as that by Marta Danylewycz and Andrée Lévesque on the Sisters of Misericorde: Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920* (Toronto: McClelland

management of the Catholic network was largely the work of the religious orders. Over the century a total of 32 communities were formed and/or worked in Montreal; seven (six of them female) worked in the field of social welfare. By the end of the century they had formed an extensive network of charitable institutions: five hospitals, seven dispensaries, an insane asylum, a number of institutions for orphans and children and for the elderly, two industrial schools and reformatories as well as institutions for the blind, the deaf, and for unwed mothers.⁹⁸

The most extensive relief work was done by the Grey Nuns and the Sisters of Providence. Both sheltered the elderly and orphans as well as children from families having problems caring for them. The Grey Nuns also accepted foundlings and abandoned children into the Hôpital-Général. The nuns added new services as needs became evident—such as the *salles d'asile* or daycares for working parents.⁹⁹

In addition to institutional aid, the nuns also increased the levels of outdoor relief over the century and thus attempted to help families and individuals overcome bouts of unemployment or illness without having to enter an institution. Totals for several years illustrate the volume during crisis years. Huguette Lapointe-Roy estimates that the Grey Nuns helped 9,822 families or approximately 33,501 persons between 1850 and 1871.¹⁰⁰ The Sisters of Providence record helping 11,452 persons through their Dépôt and dispensary in their 1868 Annual Report. Between 1843 and 1887, approximately 40,418 persons used their soup kitchen.¹⁰¹ The nuns also visited substantial numbers of sick and provided medical supplies at their dispensaries. In 1900, the Grey Nuns provided 8,322 meals, made 8,395 visits, and helped 1,309 persons with outdoor aid; the Sisters of

& Stewart, 1987); Lévesque, *Making and Breaking the Rule*. See also De la Broquerie Fortier, "Les 'enfants trouvés' au Canada Français (1754-1950)," *Union Médicale du Canada*, 101 (avril 1972): 715-25.

⁹⁸ D'Allaire, *Les communautés religieuses*, 151-52.

⁹⁹ The Asile Saint-Joseph, opened in 1858, was the first daycare in North America. More than 50,348 children attended the daycares between 1858 and 1902. Dumont-Johnson, "Des garderies au XIXe siècle," 28-29; D'Allaire, *Les communautés religieuses*, 85-86; Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal," in Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds., *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 76.

¹⁰⁰ Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 264, 282.

¹⁰¹ Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 262, 276.

Providence provided 39,642 meals, made 14,255 visits, and helped 3,700.¹⁰²

Much of this aid was paid for by the Sulpicians, whose main role was to supervise and provide funding support for the nuns' work.¹⁰³ They made regular grants to the Grey Nuns and other orders for institutional work with children,¹⁰⁴ but their major cost was outdoor relief. The cost of outdoor relief increased steadily over the century as the city population grew and in response to economic crises; by the 1870s it was never less than \$15,000 annually.¹⁰⁵

The role of lay women in the Catholic charity network is complex and changed over the century. Although they never monopolized the work in the way lay women monopolized much of the Protestant charity network, in the early part of the century they set up institutions to care for orphans, the elderly, unwed mothers and widows. These private charities had constant funding problems; by late century few remained and lay women were left with only a marginal and supportive role.¹⁰⁶ Two trends can be isolated in this. Either charities set up by lay women were taken over by nuns (the case of the Roman Catholic Orphanage formed in 1832 but taken over by the Grey Nuns in 1899),¹⁰⁷ or the lay women doing the work became nuns themselves to ensure their work's permanence (the case of the Sisters of Providence and the Sisters of Miséricorde).¹⁰⁸

This Catholic charitable network is important to the study of charity in Protestant

¹⁰² Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 88, 112.

¹⁰³ Until 1846, the Sulpicians themselves visited the poor and distributed vouchers for outdoor relief from their dépôt, the Bureau des Pauvres. Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*, 163; Lapointe-Roy, *Charité bien ordonnée*, 19-38.

¹⁰⁴ Annual grants to the Grey Nuns averaged \$1,500. They took a special interest in St. Patrick's Orphanage (1849) and St. Briget's Refuge, both of which had Sulpician directors.

¹⁰⁵ For these expenditures see Young, *In Its Corporate Capacity*, Appendix 13 and 14, 214-17.

¹⁰⁶ Marta Danylewycz, "Changing Relationships: Nuns and Feminists in Montreal, 1890-1925," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 14, 28 (November 1981): 416. For lay women in the twentieth century, see Aline Charles, *Travail d'Ombre et de Lumière. Le Bénévolat féminin à l'Hôpital Sainte-Justine 1907-1960* (Montréal: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1990).

¹⁰⁷ Danylewycz, "Nuns and Feminists," 415-16. This was also the case with Saint Patrick's Orphanage and Le Refuge de la Passion. Cross, "Neglected Majority," 78.

¹⁰⁸ Encouraged by Bishop Bourget, both Emilie Tavernier-Gamelin (the Sisters of Providence, 1843) and Rosalie Cadron-Jetté, (the Sisters of Miséricorde, 1851) created religious communities. The Grey Nuns themselves had been formed in the same way in 1753.

Montreal since, on occasion, the existence of Catholic charitable services within their city stimulated the Protestant elite to provide similar services for its own population to avoid the threat of possible Catholic proselytism. The predominant role played by the nuns also seems to have had a positive influence on the prominent role taken by Protestant women in Montreal's Protestant private network.

In the Protestant tradition as developed in England and the United States, the state played a major role in poor relief through its poor law provisions, but the Quebec system of private relief organized on confessional lines obliged Montreal's Protestant community to develop new models. The resulting Protestant network was the combined effort of the Churches, National Societies and private charities or voluntary associations. The rest of this chapter looks at the aid established by the Churches and National Societies.

According to Protestant dogma, charity was an individual duty with numerous obligations and rewards. Writing about charity, editors of the nineteenth-century Canadian religious press referred to it as a "fundamental law of our moral being,"¹⁰⁹ informing readers "it is as much every Christian's duty to give as it is to pray."¹¹⁰ Charity was also seen as a way to strengthen one's commitment to God, a privilege¹¹¹ that gives life its "best dignity and its most essential importance"¹¹² and serves as a proof of faith.¹¹³

By the nineteenth century, however, few Protestants advocated that charitable giving should be unrestricted. The combination of Protestant notions of work, success and sin with the increasingly popular liberal economic belief that most poverty was the result of moral failings (and as such was an individual responsibility) rendered the concept of charity-as-duty somewhat ambiguous. This ambiguity was aggravated by the growing fear that if the poor were helped too readily, too regularly or too much they would become

¹⁰⁹ "Beauty of a Benevolent Life," *Christian Guardian* 19, 11, December 29, 1847, 41.

¹¹⁰ "Christian Beneficence," *Christian Witness* 9 (1852): 421.

¹¹¹ "How Much Should a Christian Give?," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 41, 5 (November 1894): 3.

¹¹² "A Young Man's Duty to the Church," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 43, 51 (December 1896): 3.

¹¹³ Rev. E.K. Kendall, *Christ Seen in the Stranger. A Sermon, Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto, Canada West on the Evening of St. George's Day, 1860 on Behalf of the St. George's Society* (Toronto: Roswell & Ellis, 1860), 5-6.

permanently dependent on charity. The resolution of this seeming contradiction was found in the careful definition of what comprised "charity" as opposed to "indiscriminate giving," and resulted in a largely moralist approach to the poor and poor relief discernable in reforms like the English New Poor Law (1834) but even more clearly present in private charity. Accordingly, the Montreal Protestant community was torn between the need to create its own relief network to alleviate destitution and keep Protestants from using the Catholic network and the prevalent ideology against making relief too easily available or too abundant. This tended to result in a somewhat constrained benevolence on the part of the bourgeois elite, a benevolence that did not reflect the real wealth of the Protestant community as much as it reflected their moral attitude to poverty. This ideological approach to relief is particularly clear in the private charities to be examined in the next chapter; it is somewhat less evident in the aid provided by Churches and National Societies working with their members rather than the anonymous poor.

The Anglican Church

Without the substantial landed endowments of the Sulpicians or the access of the Catholic religious orders to the free labour of nuns, and with the Protestant population divided among several different denominations, Protestant Churches did not play a leadership role in poor relief the way the Catholic Church did. They provided some temporal aid for their congregations throughout the century and began active mission and welfare work among immigrants and in poor working-class districts by the 1880s, but their main role was to encourage their congregants to support private charities.

The Anglican Church consistently comprised at least forty-one per cent of the Protestant population and, it must be emphasized, had as members many of the Protestant poor. (See Appendix 1.) As such it is central to a discussion of Protestant Church aid in nineteenth-century Montreal. As the most prominent Protestant denomination in the city, the Anglican Church set up a network of services but did not establish an outdoor relief depot or child charities like the Catholic Church. Until late in the century when the Diocese began to establish a few centralized services, relief was mainly provided by individual Churches. Existing sources for Christ Church Cathedral, including a full set of Annual Reports from 1851 to 1899 and scattered reports for the period before that,

illustrate the type of aid provided for Anglicans by their Church.¹¹⁴

Christ Church Cathedral served as both a parish Church in central Montreal and as the Cathedral. From the first remaining reports it is clear that the Cathedral saw assistance to the congregational poor as its responsibility. First the Guardian of the Poor, then the Temporal and Pastoral Aid Society, and finally the Church Wardens dispensed a Poor Fund, using it to supply a group of "pensioners" with small sums of money and goods such as food and wood, to help some "casual poor," to pay for boarding children and the elderly in city charities, to assume burial costs, and to provide odd jobs for needy parishioners.¹¹⁵ All applicants were visited to ensure "worthiness." At several points in the 1860s, references indicate that the number of recipients was "very small,"¹¹⁶ but the amount spent rarely dropped below \$500 and in some particularly bad years in the late sixties and seventies was over \$1,000. Anglican women's groups played a major role in this. The Ladies' Clothing Society or Dorcas, founded in 1838, met regularly to make clothing. Aided by the Ladies' District Visiting Society, they visited the parish poor once a month from October to May, and more regularly in the case of illness, and distributed clothing and boots, grocery tickets, fuel, and Christmas dinners.¹¹⁷

The Dorcas also ran the Church Home.¹¹⁸ Founded in 1855 by Mary Fulford, wife of the Bishop, and financially supported by the Cathedral's Vestry, the Church Home was opened for "strangers, friendless women, aged and infirm females, boarders for pay,

¹¹⁴ Reports for other Anglican churches are rare. An 1843 report for the Trinity Church Visiting Society indicates the church distributed some outdoor relief and had a Ladies Clothing Society and a clergyman "devoted entirely to work with the poor." Trinity Church District Visiting Society, *The First Annual Report*, 1843 (Montreal: Lovell & Gibson, 1843), 5-6. CIHM, #41585. The Anglican Church also set up missions in working-class areas. For St. John the Evangelist mission, see J.P. Francis, "Edmund Wood," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Volume 13, 1108-1110.

¹¹⁵ Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral* (Montreal: Burtons, 1941), 69; Temporal and Pastoral Aid Society of Christ Church, *Annual Report*, 1839, 1851. CIHM, #A02067; Church Wardens and Select Vestry of the Christ Church Cathedral, *Reports*, 1851-1900. In 1838, a paid agent visited 375 poor families connected to the Church.

¹¹⁶ See Church Wardens, *Reports*, 1865, 3; 1866, 4.

¹¹⁷ Christ Church Cathedral Montreal, *The Year Book*, 1903-04, 33; Societies in Connection with Christ Church Cathedral, *Annual Report*, 1892-93, 9-10.

¹¹⁸ The Church Home still exists. Records for the Home, including Minute Books (from January 1876), Annual Reports (from 1878), and financial records (from 1870) as well as several short histories and reports are in the Anglican Diocese Archives (A.D.A.).

students in the normal or other city schools, needlewomen, servants out of place, young females out of health, aged persons in reduced circumstances."¹¹⁹ It rented facilities on Aylmer Street. There were, on average, ten residents, most of them elderly.

In 1870 the Diocese took over the Home's management.¹²⁰ Following its incorporation in 1875,¹²¹ several "ladies in reduced circumstances" and "aged and infirm gentlewomen" were admitted. For a few years the two classes of inmates lived together, albeit with "marked social distinction" in both accommodation and diet. This differential treatment created some discontent and in 1889 the Directors decided to no longer admit the indigent. From that point the institution was known as the Ladies' Home.¹²²

As the Anglican population increased, the Diocese began to supplement and extend the relief work of the individual Churches, forming the Committee on Works of Mercy in 1876. This committee, chaired by Reverend Robert Lindsay until his death in 1891,¹²³ had the overall responsibility for a number of services including the Immigration Chaplain, the city missionary, the district visitors, the Girls' Friendly Society, the Church Home, and Andrews Home. Its reports are in the *Proceedings of the Annual Synod*. Many of the new services were aimed at recent immigrants. An Immigration Chaplain, named in 1883, helped immigrants find accommodation and jobs in Montreal or forwarded them to other localities.¹²⁴ The Diocese also appointed an Anglican City Missionary in 1884 whose responsibilities included the supervision of rural migrants in the city and of Anglicans in hospitals or charities as well as general mission work in working-class suburbs where no

¹¹⁹ (A.D.A.), *Outline of Church Home History 1855-1890*, typewritten manuscript written by the First Directress for the Executive Committee and Advisory Committee (November 1889), 1.

¹²⁰ "Dedicated to Service," *Montreal Gazette*, September 18, 1890; John Cooper, *The Blessed Communion. The Origins and Histories of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960* (Montreal: The Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960), 132.

¹²¹ *Statutes of Canada*, 1875, 39 Vict. c.70.

¹²² Bishop Bond, "Bishop's Address, 1892," in *Proceedings of the Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal* (Montreal: Lovell, 1892), 20. For these changes see *Outline of Church Home History*, 2-3; *History of the Church Home of Montreal Founded 1855* (privately printed, 1955), 3; Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 132; "Dedicated to Service," and "Church Home," manuscript 1889.

¹²³ Reverend Lindsay was the Rector of St. Thomas' Church in the center east of the city.

¹²⁴ Bishop Bond, "Bishop's Address," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod*, 1883, 592; 1884, 85-6; 1885, 247-48; 1890, 93-96; Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 133-35.

parish Churches existed.¹²⁵ Finally, in 1884, Bishop William Bennett Bond organized the official opening of the Montreal chapter of the Church of England's Girls' Friendly Society, designed to befriend single young immigrant women.¹²⁶

Despite these new undertakings, Bishop Bond did not feel the Church was doing all that it should to aid the poor and immigrants. In his Synod addresses in 1891, 1892 and 1893, he called for more effort to establish "general diocesan charity" and to find a way "of ministering to the waifs and strays of a great city, to the unknown men and women, strangers to the country, who creep into our cities in winter seeking the shelter of our streets and refuges."¹²⁷ A timely bequest from Henry Ogden Andrews in 1894 made it possible to open a Home in connection with the immigration chaplain.¹²⁸ Andrews Home ran a placement bureau for domestics and provided lodging and meals for immigrants searching for work. By 1904, the home provided board for 2,339 individuals and served 34,844 meals in a year.¹²⁹ In its early work with women immigrants, the Church cooperated with the Women's Protective Immigration Society (1881), but after Andrews Home opened it often competed with the secular organization.¹³⁰

The Anglican charitable network was completed by two health services. The Saint Margaret's Anglican Home for the Incurable and Infirm was opened for women on Ontario Street by the Anglican order of Sisters of Saint Margaret in 1883. They added a nursery

¹²⁵ Bishop Bond, "Report of the Committee on Works of Mercy," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod*, 1883, 592; 1884, 186.

¹²⁶ Some of the older girls in the Ladies' Benevolent Society joined but most of the work was with immigrants. Bishop Bond, "Report of the Girls' Friendly Society," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod* 1885, 242-43; 1890, 97-98; 1891, 107-08; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1886, 153.

¹²⁷ Bishop Bond, "Bishop's Address," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod*, 1892, 20.

¹²⁸ Bishop Bond, "Bishop's Address," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod*, 1895, 18; 1896, 18. For a short history see Richard Virr, *Andrews Home. Ninety Years of Service* (Anglican Diocesan Archives, unpublished paper).

¹²⁹ Virr, *Andrews Home*, 7.

¹³⁰ In his 1891 Synod Address the Bishop lists the Women's Protective Home under the Committee on the Works of Mercy and the City Missionary reports visits to the Home. "Bishop's Address," and "Summary of the City Missionary's Report," in *Proceedings of the Anglican Synod*, 1891, 21, 109. For the work of this organization and its conflict with the Anglican church, see Barbara Roberts, "Sex, Politics and Religion: Controversies in female immigration reform work in Montreal, 1881-1919," *Atlantis* 6, 1 (Fall 1980): 25-38 and Women's Protective Immigration Society, *Annual Reports*, 1888; 1893; 1897; 1899; 1900. CIHM #02091.

service for foundlings from 1887 to 1892.¹³¹ In 1893, they moved to a permanent building and focused on the care of the elderly and the sick. The Robert Jones Convalescent Hospital for Anglican Children was opened in Lachine by the Diocese in 1895. The hospital could hold 14 children at a time.¹³²

The Presbyterian Church

Due to the limitations imposed by the sources, it is possible to systematically evaluate the relief provided by Presbyterian Churches, which served a third of Montreal's Protestant population, only for the latter part of the century. Most of these Churches, even St. Gabriel Street that dates from 1792, did not publish Annual Reports until the 1870s and 1880s. The following discussion draws on histories and the remaining Annual Reports for several Churches, including Crescent Street (1878-1900), St. Paul's (1878-1900), St. Gabriel Street (1873-1900), St. Andrew's (1897, 1899) and the American Presbyterian (1897, 1905). A brief examination of The Deacon's Court Minutes and the Minutes of the Session for St. Gabriel Street Church for the period 1846 to 1865 turned up only a few references to poor relief—a pension for an old woman, funeral expenses, and the establishment of a relief fund in 1854.¹³³ It is probable then that the later reports are fairly representative of the aid available from the Churches once missions were established.

The Kirk Session of most Churches managed a poor fund to help the parish poor, to support city charities, and to pay for mission and Sunday school work. The Church with the largest budget entries for local charity/mission work was the Crescent Street Church, formed in 1878. From 1878 to 1900, it spent more than \$1,000 a year, and in several years in the 1890s almost \$2,000.¹³⁴ In its first report, the poor fund was referred

¹³¹ Cooper, *Blessed Communion*, 203-05. In several years the Montreal Maternity thanks the Sisters for receiving mothers and infants. (MUA, RG 95), Montreal Maternity, *Annual Report*, 1888-1891.

¹³² It was incorporated in 1894. *Statutes of Canada*, 1894, 57 Vict., c.89.

¹³³ (Presbyterian Church Archives, Montreal) *Minutes of the Session*, 1846-1863; St. Gabriel Street Church, 20 September, 1852, 66; 1 January, 1855, 117; 7 December, 1854, 115; *Deacons' Court Minutes* 1849-1858. See also Rev. Robert Campbell, *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel Street Montreal* (Montreal: W. Drysdale & Co., 1887).

¹³⁴ Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, *Annual Reports for the Year Ending 31 December*, 1878-1900 (Montreal: Bentley & Co.) CIHM #00394.

to as being "largely drawn on."¹³⁵ A Missionary and Benevolent Society managed the poor fund until 1885 at which point it came under the jurisdiction of the Deacon's Court. The work of St. Paul's Kirk Session was similar, and over the period 1878-1900 the average annual expenditure was \$617.¹³⁶ These funds benefited a relatively small number of people—8 families in 1883, 12 in 1884, and 9 in 1885—but the Session indicated in 1886 that all the poor "having claims on the fund have been liberally dealt with." By 1891, however, they were worrying about the "many and urgent demands on funds at hand,"¹³⁷ and, over the 1890s, annual expenses increased somewhat. Other Churches provided similar aid.

Like the Anglican Church and the Presbyterian Women's guild,¹³⁸ both Dorcases and Ladies' Aid Societies¹³⁹ made clothing and blankets to distribute to the parish poor, to Missions, Sunday Schools, city charities, and hospitals.¹⁴⁰ They also collected funds to aid families with rent payments, and visited the elderly and sick. Young women helped in this work through the Young Women's Association and The Dominion Order of King's Daughters. This latter group carried out a range of activities including paying for district nurses and running a summer crèche for infants.¹⁴¹ Missionaries working in connection with the Montreal Woman's Missionary Society also did relief work in poor districts.¹⁴²

¹³⁵ Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, *Annual Report*, 1878, 11.

¹³⁶ The 1878 report is the first published and includes a short history. St. Paul's Church Montreal, *Reports for the Year Ending 31 December, 1878-1900* (Montreal: J. Starke & Co.)

¹³⁷ St. Paul's Church, *Reports*, 1891, 13.

¹³⁸ Other women's groups did missionary work. Wendy Mitchinson discusses these in "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies."

¹³⁹ These groups also contributed to other church costs. See Fardig Whitley, "Doing Just About What They Please"; Nancy Hall, "The Professionalization of Women Workers in the Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada," in Mary Kinneer, ed., *First Days, Fighting Days. Women in Manitoba History* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 1987), 122 and John Thomas McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925* (Toronto: Presbyterian Church, 1925), Chapter 8.

¹⁴⁰ They also distributed goods bought from the Industrial Rooms. The Industrial Rooms thanks the societies for this support in every Annual Report.

¹⁴¹ National Council of Women of Canada, "Report of the Dominion Order of the Kings Daughters and Sons," *Annual Report*, 1899, 1890.

¹⁴² McNeill, *The Presbyterian Church in Canada*, 142.

The largest single item in the Benevolent or Missionary budgets was the cost of mission work. Every Church contributed towards the support of missionary Sunday schools in working-class districts or in outlying areas. Many also paid towards city mission work and/or established their own missions in poor districts. Crescent Street Church ran the Nazareth Street Mission in Griffintown, the American Presbyterian Church ran the Inspector Street Chapel from 1842, and St. Paul's established the Victoria Mission in 1875 and the Centre Street Mission in 1896. These missions provided some temporal aid and job referrals and the Inspector Street refuge had a night shelter, but even more important was their major role in the Church's fight against poverty, based on educating and socializing the poor. This included Sunday schools for children as well as mothers' meetings, temperance groups, sewing classes and libraries. Several missions paid nurses and bible women to visit and guide families.¹⁴³ These missions enforced moral and gender prescriptions on the poor and on immigrants but also provided them with facilities that were in sharp contrast to the hard conditions of their lives, places where they could meet, listen to Church music, and learn practical skills.¹⁴⁴

Thus, Montreal's Presbyterian Churches are good examples of applied Christianity, the institutional Church movement whereby a wide variety of means were used to save souls and attract the poor to the Church while also seeing to at least some of their temporal needs.¹⁴⁵ As the Crescent Street Church missionary in Griffintown pointed out in 1886: "The relation of the Church to the poorer classes is demanding more and more

¹⁴³ *Manual of the American Presbyterian Church*, 1899, 26-27; George R. Lighthall, *A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1823 to 1923* (Montreal, 1922), 28; St. Paul's Church, *Reports*, 1878, 16; 1896, 18.

¹⁴⁴ For a discussion of some of these efforts see Ann Perry, "Manliness, Goodness and God: Poverty, Gender and Social Reform in English-Speaking Montreal, 1890s-1930s," M.A., Queen's University, 1999.

¹⁴⁵ For this movement see, among others, T.R. Morrison, "The Child and Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario," Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1971, Richard Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971) and John S. Moir, *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada* (Don Mills, Ontario: Presbyterian Church in Canada, 1987). For the twentieth century see Nancy Christie, and Michael Gauvreau, *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

attention, and not only in Montreal, but in every city on the continent."¹⁴⁶

Other Churches and Missions

It is likely that the other Protestant Churches took a similar approach to poor relief, but documentation for these does not permit detailed studies. Reports on several Congregational Churches in the *Congregational and Canadian Independent* refer to Ladies' Aid and Dorcas Societies, bible women and Church visitors, and we know several established missions.¹⁴⁷ Zion Congregational Church, for example, co-founded the Inspector Street Mission with the American Presbyterian Church but formed a separate mission after a few years.¹⁴⁸ The young men's bible class of Calvary Congregational Church established the Welcome Hall Mission in 1892 on St. Antoine Street. A year later, they hired a full-time superintendent and reorganized the mission on a non-denominational basis.¹⁴⁹ It was incorporated in 1905 and provided both rescue work and practical aid to families and the homeless; that is, shelter, meals, fuel, clothing, and job referrals.¹⁵⁰

In 1865 the Protestant Churches coordinated some of their outreach and charitable work when the city missionaries formed the Montreal City Mission and the Montreal City Missionary Relief Society. The YMCA, which had done city mission work since 1853, was a member. Its downtown rooms served as the headquarters until 1867, when the Relief Society joined the United Board of Outdoor Relief connected to the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge.¹⁵¹

¹⁴⁶ Crescent Street Church, *Annual Reports*, 1886, 1835.

¹⁴⁷ See *Congregational and Canadian Independent*: "Report of Montreal Calvary Church," 43, 6 (February 1896): 3; "Point Ste. Charles Congregational Church," 44, 9 (March 1897): 3; "Montreal Zion Church," 44, 4 (January 1897): 3. Other articles in the same periodical refer to the importance of mission services including relief, gyms, reading rooms, clubs, and so on to attract the poor and save souls. See for example, Rev. William Byron, "What Does it Mean?" 42, 2 (January 1895): 6-7; Rev. T. Hall, "Institutional Churches," 41, 7 (December 1894): 6-7.

¹⁴⁸ Lighthall, *A Short History*, 24.

¹⁴⁹ Welcome Hall Mission, *Annual Report*, 1893, 3-4; Allan Swift, *The Least of These: The Story of Welcome Hall Mission* (Montreal: Welcome Hall Mission, 1982), 24-25.

¹⁵⁰ Welcome Home Mission, *Annual Reports*, 1893-1911. In 1915 the mission sponsored a home for unwed mothers and their babies known as the Friendly Home. See Olive Roulson, *Adventures with God and Little People* (Montreal: The Friendly Home, 1988).

¹⁵¹ Alfred Sandham, *Ville Marie or Sketches of Montreal, Past and Present* (Montreal: George

By 1884, the Salvation Army was also active in Montreal, immediately starting rescue work with men and opening the Young Women's Lodge boarding house for young working women. In 1899 they added the Working Women's Home for charwomen and an Industrial Home for men.¹⁵² By 1905 they had added to their Montreal services a home for the elderly, relief bureaus, and food and clothing distribution.¹⁵³

Montreal had a number of other evangelical missions, such as the Old Brewery Mission on St. Antoine Street, established in 1890 as a soup kitchen in two rooms.¹⁵⁴ A permanent building was occupied in 1892 and the mission offered bed, meal and bath for \$0.10 a night. By 1905, it offered mothers' meetings, children's summer camps, exercise and kitchen garden classes (to teach children simple domestic skills), a saving's bank and job referral services. Missionaries also visited the poor and held evangelical services.¹⁵⁵

Religious organizations, like the Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society created in 1820, supplemented this work. By 1891, the Bible Society ran several mission rooms with mothers' meetings, clothing clubs, sewing and bible classes for children; and it employed six bible women who distributed bibles and helped with hospital and school admissions as well as with job referrals.¹⁵⁶ For most of the century there also existed a number of other Missionary Societies, religious tract societies, Sunday Schools and Bible Societies.¹⁵⁷

Bishop Co., 1870), 301. See also Harold C. Cross, *One Hundred Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal YMCA, 1851-1951* (Montreal: Southam, 1951), 96-98.

¹⁵² William Henry Atherton, *Montreal, 1835-1914* (Montreal: Clarke, 1914), 473.

¹⁵³ "The Citizen's Charities," *Montreal Daily Witness*, November 7, 1905, 12. For the Salvation Army's work in Canada, see R.C. Moyles, *The Blood and the Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1976* (Toronto: P. Martin Associate, 1977); Robert Collins, *The Holy War of Sally Ann: The Salvation Army in Canada* (Saskatoon: Western Producer Prairie Books, 1984); Judith Fingard, "Evangelical Social Work in Canada: Salvationists and Sailor's Friends, 1890-1920," in D.C.M. Platt, ed., *Social Welfare, 1850-1950. Australia, Argentina and Canada Compared* (London: Macmillan Press, 1989), 33-42.

¹⁵⁴ Atherton, *Montreal*, 473.

¹⁵⁵ Old Brewery Mission, *Annual Report*, 1905, 16-25. For its work see Anne Perry, "Manliness, Goodness and God," Chapter 2 and *A Story of the Old Brewery Mission*, (privately printed, 1903).

¹⁵⁶ Bible women were usually paid and came from the working class. Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society, *Reports*, 1857; 1859; 1861; 1863; 1868; 1890; 1891. For England, see F.K. Prochaska, "Body and Soul: Bible Nurses and the Poor in Victorian London," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 66, 143 (October 1987): 336-48.

¹⁵⁷ The list changes but in most years at least seven societies existed. Lovell's/Mackay, *Montreal*

The Protestant Churches, therefore, all provided some aid for the poor and elderly in their congregations. The missions established by the Churches and other Protestant groups extended temporal aid and spiritual services to the poor and homeless in working-class districts who had no other connection to a Church. On the whole, though, the aid available was limited and mainly concentrated in the winter season. Further, unlike their Catholic neighbours, Protestants could not depend on their Church for help with child-care since they did not establish any child charities. Moreover, at least until late in the century, little tangible aid existed for the homeless or recent immigrants. For these services, the Protestant poor turned to the National Societies and to private charities.

Protestant National Societies

Much of the Protestant population was British born, and ethnicity served as a focus of identity for them as much as religion did, especially in an ethnically diverse city like Montreal. The National Societies were central to this ethnic identity. Although they also satisfied needs of a political and social nature, these societies were basically aid societies by which ethnic communities cared for their own.¹⁵⁸ They constituted one of the major components of the Protestant relief network, providing aid for the elderly poor and outdoor relief in the winter season for members of their community. But their main contribution was the services they provided through their immigration reception homes for the large number of sometimes destitute and friendless immigrants entering the city every summer. Overall, their charity work was on a much larger scale than that of the Protestant Churches but was more limited in its range. Evidence of their relief work can be found in their histories and Annual Reports.

The St. Andrew's Society was formed in 1835 and helped immigrants from Scotland and residents of Scottish descent.¹⁵⁹ Over the winter months, the Charitable

City Directory, 1842-1900.

¹⁵⁸ See also Gerald Tulchinsky, "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16, 32 (November 1983): 359-80.

¹⁵⁹ See St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, *Narrative of the Proceedings of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal From its Formation on the 9th March, 1835 Until the 1st January, 1844* (Montreal: J.C. Beckett, 1855), 3-8 and St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, *A Summary of the First Fifty Years Transactions* (Montreal: McQueen & Corneil, 1886). It was incorporated in 1858.

Committee, aided by a large Ladies' Committee, met once a week to distribute outdoor relief. This aid included small sums of cash towards rent; provisions like bread, oatmeal and fish; second-hand clothing and footwear; and wood or coal. From 1860, the Society ran a soup kitchen and organized Christmas dinners. Applicants could also receive help with burial costs, job referrals and passage money to return to Scotland or to move west. An average of 111 families, or between 300 to 500 persons, were helped each year over the winter months. The average annual cost of relief from 1860 to 1880 was \$2,000; this rose to \$3,000 in the 1890s.¹⁶⁰

The joint Committee visited all applicants in their homes to establish eligibility. Their duties were described in 1873 as follows: "To separate the deserving from the undeserving, to know when it was charity to give and when not to give, to guard the funds of the Society so that there should be neither careless lavishness, nor worthy poor sent away empty-handed." Care was taken to determine "worthiness," but the Committee admitted occasionally aiding others out of "feelings of humanity" and "fear they might perish from cold and hunger."¹⁶¹ A few regular pensioners received help year long, often for many years. Two such pensioners died in 1891. One, a 101-year-old woman, had been aided, along with her husband, for 25 years; the other, an old man with a crippled son, had been receiving aid for 15 years.¹⁶²

Representatives of St. Andrew's always met newly arrived Scottish immigrants at the docks to offer help to those who needed it. In 1857, the Society made this help much more tangible with the opening of St. Andrew's Home under the joint management of the Charitable Committee and the Ladies' Committee.¹⁶³ The Home served as a temporary shelter for immigrants and housed up to 200 persons a year, most for several days during the summer months. By 1900, close to 5,000 persons had been residents. The Home also

Statutes of Canada, 1858, 22 Vict., c.138.

¹⁶⁰ The Charitable Committee of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, *Annual Report* (Montreal: J.C. Beckett, 1857). CIHM #01328; St. Andrew's Society, *Annual Reports*, 1867-1900. CIHM #00702.

¹⁶¹ St. Andrew's Society, *Annual Reports*, 1867, 4; 1872-1873, 19.

¹⁶² St. Andrew's Society, *Annual Reports*, 1892-1893, 6.

¹⁶³ A permanent home was constructed on Dorchester in 1866. In 1888 they moved to a bigger house on Mountain Street and in 1891 to one on Aqueduct Street.

ran an outdoor soup kitchen since there were always large numbers of applicants whom the Committee judged to be "tramps" and who "could not properly claim a shelter." The compromise was to provide them with meals.¹⁶⁴ As well as providing temporary shelter and food, the Committee helped those who wanted to remain in Montreal to find employment and permanent housing; and it helped those who wanted to move elsewhere with subsidized passage.

St. George's Society was created in 1834 to provide services similar to St. Andrew's but for English residents and immigrants.¹⁶⁵ It thus served a much larger population. The Charitable Committee met once a week over the winter months to receive applicants and to distribute food, clothing and fuel.¹⁶⁶ Following the tradition, applicants were visited before being accepted. In 1903 it was estimated that, since 1834, a total of 10,000 families or 56,000 people had benefited from outdoor relief over the winter months, and, that in 1878, a particularly "dreadful season of distress," 8,116 families had received food over the winter.¹⁶⁷ Between 1872 and 1903, 8,499 families received Christmas dinners and 751 persons were helped to return to England, while others were aided with passage to other places in Canada. In the late 1860s, the Society established St. George's Home on St. Antoine Street to receive immigrants in the summer months. From 1872 to 1900, a total of 22,816 persons were admitted.¹⁶⁸ Like St. Andrew's, the home was managed by the Charitable Committee and a Ladies' Committee.

The Irish Protestant Benevolent Society was established in 1856 when the Protestants left the Saint Patrick's Society.¹⁶⁹ Its services were similar to those provided by

¹⁶⁴ St. Andrew's Society, *Annual Reports*, 1894, 6; 1895, 6.

¹⁶⁵ St. George's Society, "St. George's Society of Montreal. Historical Sketch 1834-1903," in *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report* (Montreal: James H. Oxley, 1904). It was incorporated in 1860. *Statutes of Canada*, 1860, 23 Vict., c.41.

¹⁶⁶ St. George's Society, "By-Laws Adopted October 10th 1894, Embodying Amendments to January 15th 1901," in St. George's Society, *Annual Report*, 1903, 55-62.

¹⁶⁷ St. George's Society, "Historical Sketch," 27. Since these figures count each family every time they received aid, the number of separate families would be much lower.

¹⁶⁸ St. George's Society, "Historical Sketch," 28.

¹⁶⁹ It was incorporated in 1865. *Statutes of Canada*, 1865, 28 Vict., c.61. For its history, see Edgar Andrew Collard, *The Irish Way: The History of the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society* (Montreal: Price-Patterson, 1992).

the other National Societies. Outdoor aid was distributed weekly from December to April from the Society's rooms at St. George's Home, until their own institution was established on Belmont Park late in the century.¹⁷⁰ The Society also rented a wood yard in Point Ste. Charles from which it distributed fuel. Over the 1870s and 1880s approximately 50 families a week received assistance for a cost of about \$1,500 yearly.¹⁷¹ The Committee always kept some funds in anticipation of the spring floods since many of the Irish lived in high-risk flood areas and regularly needed help during this period.

Thus, National Societies established front-line services for immigrants in the summer and, in the winter, they supplemented the aid provided by Protestant Churches to city residents with larger-scale outdoor relief. Although they helped many people, this aid was designed to be temporary and did not directly address the problems of the elderly, the homeless, or families unable to support their children. For these needs Protestants turned to the private charities founded by groups of philanthropic citizens.

¹⁷⁰ Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, *Annual Report*, 1883, 6.

¹⁷¹ Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, *Annual Report*, 1883, 7; 1889, 12; Suzanne D. Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1969, 163-64.

Chapter Two

Protestant Private Charities in Nineteenth-Century Montreal

The fact that no structured government aid existed in Montreal forced the city's elite to create its own charitable services, thus giving them the power to define poverty in their own terms and to control what aid was given, to whom, and under what conditions. This effectively enabled them to determine the rules by which the poor in Protestant Montreal could get help and thus both to regulate behaviour and to impose their middle-class beliefs about domesticity, family, childhood and morality on the rest of society. Their ideology is central to the way Protestant relief developed in the city.

In the evolving liberal economy, work was central to social relations and social integration. From this perspective poverty was increasingly seen as an individual responsibility and the result of personal moral failings or as a temporary problem.¹ This, combined with the fear that easily available relief would create dependency, led philanthropists to distinguish between the poor who deserved charity—those too young, too old or too infirm to work and some widows—and the "undeserving," and to carefully define what comprised "real charity" as opposed to "indiscriminate giving."²

The faith that reformers had in institutions, as the best way of coping with crime, illness, and insanity, was echoed by many philanthropists, who believed institutional aid had definite advantages over the regular and large-scale distribution of aid to people in their homes. It was cost-efficient and held out the possibility of individual reformation and/or retraining. Thus, rather than spending money repeatedly to support the poor, institutions were seen as an investment in improving the poor and thus in reducing costs

¹ For the development of liberal ideology in relation to issues like poverty see Dean, *The Constitution of Poverty* and Gertrude Himmelfarb, *The Ideas of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age* (New York: Random House, 1983). For the persistence of some of these assumptions in the United States today, see Michael B. Katz, "The Urban 'Underclass' as a Metaphor of Social Transformation," in Michael B. Katz, ed. *The "Underclass" Debate: Views from History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993), 3-23.

² Michael B. Katz, *The Undeserving Poor. From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1989), 5-16. See also Alexander Keyssar, *Out of Work. The first century of unemployment in Massachusetts* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986) and Joey Noble, "Classifying the Poor: Toronto Charities 1850-1880," *Studies in Political Economy*, 2 (Autumn 1979): 109-30.

in the long term. Work was key to this, both as the standard admission test to poorhouses and as part of the therapeutic training programs inside institutions.³

The elite's conviction that the poor were morally inferior and susceptible to relief dependency was reflected in the language they used and the images they constructed to describe the poor and poor relief. Even more important, by using charged language and labelling, they reinforced their ideology in relation to poverty and restrictive relief and gave their actions a legitimacy; in other words they used the power of language to "construct" reality and to justify their social dominance. Their constructs presented poverty as a form of deviance and justified a restrictive institutional approach based on regulating and reforming. Terms like "deserving" and "undeserving" are key examples. So too are the categories of "pauper" and "pauperism" used to describe relief dependency; terms that were consistently and graphically linked to other social evils including indolence, intemperance, crime, illiteracy and disease.⁴ The social construction thus created reinforced these associations and was more than a matter of simple language or imagery—it became an indictment of the poor, an assertion of poverty as a social problem, a justification for control, and a check on too generous and unrestricted aid.⁵

The elite and especially self-styled "child-savers" used similar constructs by mid-century to refer to poor children working in street trades, helping out at home, or simply not attending school as "abandoned" or "neglected," in this way justifying the intervention of child-welfare workers and legislators to "rescue" or "save" these children. Terms like "street arab" added associations of racial stereotypes. Women who violated social and sexual norms were "fallen women," victims of the same type of labelling.

With this moral and class-biased perspective, the organizers of relief efforts often visited applicants to ensure that they were deserving and that relief would neither be wasted nor create dependency. This process asserted their control over aid distribution,

³ For a discussion of this idea see Eric H. Monkkonen, "Nineteenth-Century Institutions: Dealing with the Urban 'Underclass,'" in Katz, *The "Underclass" Debate*, 341.

⁴ For two insightful discussions of the development of the concept of dependency in the United States see Nancy Fraser and Linda Gordon, "A Genealogy of *Dependency*: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19, 21 (Winter 1994): 309-336 and Amy Dru Stanley, "Beggars Can't Be Choosers: Compulsion and Contract in Postbellum America," *The Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1265-1293.

⁵ See Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap and Water*.

but it involved a balancing of ideological beliefs about poverty with basic feelings of humanitarianism, and was not always straightforward. As the wardens of Christ Church Cathedral explained in 1871: "Those who claimed to be the poor of the Church have given your Wardens a great deal of trouble and anxiety, lest by a rigid weeding out of the impostors and unworthy, and those having no claims whatever upon the funds of the Church, they should cast off some one who might possibly be worthy of charity."⁶

Children were normally seen as deserving, but, as more emphasis was placed on children's need for guidance and protection, charitable aid for children was also influenced by overtones of reform and control and by evangelical notions of soul-saving. Another aspect of this was the urge to rescue poor children from the potentially bad influence of their parents, especially if those parents were themselves dependent. Institutional charities were the key here, providing the opportunity to retrain children and to break the cycle of relief dependency by isolating them from their families.

The elderly were also usually seen as deserving, but the provision of aid to young mothers and widows was much more complicated, and, although women were considered more deserving than unemployed men, the working class in general and women in particular remained morally suspect. Generally the ideological tendency by the nineteenth century was to define women as dependent on a male "breadwinner." The elite was hesitant to help two-parent working-class families since they feared this would make it too easy for men to shirk their responsibilities for familial support. Even widows or deserted wives, however, could become victims of this deeply held belief in self-reliance and the equally strong fear of pauperism. They were usually seen in terms of a dual role as mother and provider and were often criticized for not fulfilling both, in terms of middle-class standards.⁷

The families of widows, deserted wives and single mothers, however, were especially poor as a result of the gendered labour market that undervalued the work of women and children. Much of the aid available to them was designed to help fulfil their

⁶ Church Wardens, Christ Church Cathedral, *Report*, 1871, 3.

⁷ See Gordon, *Heroes of Their Own Lives*, Chapters 2-4 and her *Pitied But Not Entitled*. See also Priscilla Ferguson-Clement, "Nineteenth-Century Welfare Policy, Programs, and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study," *Feminist Studies* 18, 1 (Spring 1992): 35-58.

dual role. Child charities took in children to reduce their family costs and enable mothers to work, while other charities provided women with work or work referrals. It was only with the introduction of mothers' allowances in the twentieth century that mothers were accepted foremost as mothers, but the moral ambiguity about helping women remained.⁸

Montreal's Protestant private network grew slowly over the century. The earliest charities provided institutional care for children and elderly women, both of whom were identified as "proper" objects of charity. Other early charities provided destitute women with work. The creation of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge in 1863 added night shelters for the homeless and permanent outdoor relief services, including a soup kitchen. As the community and its leaders adjusted to new economic and social realities, new needs were identified and new more reform-oriented associations were created. These charities slowly filled the gaps that existed in the services available.

Some of the charities, particularly the early ones run by women, emphasized need and protection and were designed to alleviate poverty; others like the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge enforced notions of worthiness much more strictly; still others like the Home and School of Industry, the Boys' Home and the organizations formed by the YWCA emphasized training and self-improvement. All of them, though, approached relief from the perspective of middle-class cultural and moral values.

Protestant Montreal was part of a larger process of Protestant institution building and organized private charities that was reproduced in cities across Canada, the United States and England as urban elites responded both to need and to the perceived threat to social order, but the process had several particularities. To begin with, unlike many cities where men did much of the organizing, many of Montreal's private charities, including most of the earliest ones, were run by women.⁹ Furthermore, due to a lack of state support, a permanent House of Industry did not exist until 1863. Thus, Montreal did not

⁸ For mothers' allowances in Canada see Nancy Christie, *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000) and Margaret Little, *'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit.' The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998).

⁹ See for example Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987), 419-30; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 30-31, 143-44; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 109-10 and Ryan, "The Power of Women's Networks," 170.

follow the usual pattern where the House of Industry or poorhouse was one of the first institutions established, if not the first, and specialized charities, such as those for women and children, followed. By the time the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was opened in 1863, there already existed three female-directed Protestant charities for women and children dating from 1822, 1832, and 1847 as well as a sewing room for widows from 1855. Moreover, the earliest Protestant charity, the Female Benevolent Society (1815-1822), was established not by men but by women.

Finally, the establishment of specialized child and female charities as early as 1815 was much earlier than in the rest of Canada, where few such institutions were formed before the 1850s.¹⁰ This was partly due to the lack of a poorhouse—a situation that spurred benevolent women to create charitable institutions and resulted in their early and central involvement in organized charity. Indeed it was the women of Montreal who responded to the plight of the destitute early in the century. While men applied for charters and funds and debated the wisdom of state poor-relief systems versus private ones, the women simply rented facilities and began to provide relief. In this, they could look to examples of women in the United States, who had been organizing charities since the early 1800s,¹¹ and to the example of the Catholic nuns in their own city.

Most of the women's charitable work, though, was limited to women and children. Except for the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, which existed from 1854 to 1856, there is no evidence of Montreal Protestant women running a large general charity that distributed outdoor relief as women did in several other North American cities.¹² Nonetheless, many Montreal women did charitable work that involved providing aid to

¹⁰ Rooke and Schnell, "The Rise and Decline of the P.O.H.," 23. Committees from several cities including Kingston, Ottawa, London and Halifax wrote to the Protestant Orphan Asylum requesting information and copies of the Rules and bylaws.

¹¹ The Protestant Orphan Asylum Committee wrote to the Boston Female Asylum (1800) for copies of its constitution to use as a model. By 1835, New York and Boston each had 11 women-directed charities. Boylan, "Women's Benevolent Organization," 498.

¹² See for example those charities referred to by Melder, "Ladies Bountiful." The Hamilton Ladies' Benevolent Society provided outdoor relief to sick and destitute women and children from 1846-1853. Haley P. Bamman, "The Ladies' Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Philanthropy," in M.B. Katz, ed., *The Canadian Social History Project, Interim Report, No. 4* (Toronto: 1972), 161-217, and T.R. Morrison, "Their Proper Sphere" Feminism, the Family and Child-Centred Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900," *Ontario History* 68, 1 (March 1976): 60-62.

men: some visited the poor in their homes and distributed outdoor relief for the Church Dorcas or the National Societies; others visited the inmates in the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge; and the members of the YWCA organized a visiting committee to work with the Montreal Sailors' Institute.

Thus a gender division developed in Montreal's Protestant private charity network roughly along the lines of the gender-defined separate spheres. Women established and managed institutions and services for the care of other women and children, and, with the exception of the Boys' Home, the Mackay Institute for Deaf Children, and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, all of the welfare work with women and children was done by female-directed charities. It was men, however, who supervised larger-scale work like outdoor relief and who managed the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge once it was established. This pattern seems to have been influenced by the scope of the work involved and by an inferred restriction on women giving aid to men.

Another unusual influence on Montreal's Protestant network was the existence of a large Catholic network. The Catholic network served as a model of women managing charities, but it also created a serious religious concern among the city's Protestants. Referring to the importance of child charities at the annual meeting of the Protestant Orphan Asylum in 1863, John Greenshields indicated: "It would do well to take a leaf out of the book of the Roman Catholics, and while viewing their charitable institutions, and looking at the good they were accomplishing, ourselves also determine to go and do likewise."¹³ In the absence of corresponding Protestant services, many feared that Protestant families would be forced to apply to the nuns and would be lost to the faith in the process. This was certainly a factor, for instance, in the creation of the Protestant Infant's Home in 1870 to avoid more Protestant infants being abandoned to the Grey Nuns.¹⁴ Protestant children were also often admitted into the child charities if there was a chance they would be sent to the nuns instead.

Charities were also seen as a way of bringing wayward Protestants back to the faith. The Reverend Charles Bancroft, addressing the Ladies' Benevolent Society in

¹³ POA, *Annual Report*, 1863.

¹⁴ See discussion below.

1858, pointed to this as grounds for expanding the Protestant network. Praising the LBS's new building and speaking of the need for many such institutions, he continued:

He had often looked upon the great buildings in the city, connected with a Church of another faith, with interest, and yet with feelings of sadness when he felt that the Bible was kept out of the hands of the multitudes who worshipped and found asylums there. If we had a better way, should we not be zealous in providing for our own people, for, in providing for their bodily wants, had we not the opportunity of training them for heaven?¹⁵

With only a few exceptions, Protestant charities limited their services to non-Catholics. This was not so much a form of discrimination against the city's Catholics, who had access to a much larger charitable network in any case, as a sort of unwritten understanding whereby Protestants hoped to avoid the Catholic Church using its charitable services to proselytise. It was far different from the pattern adopted by Protestant charities in cities like Boston, for example, where Protestants were in a majority and openly used child charities to proselytise Catholics.¹⁶

The Montreal private charities began as voluntary associations and eventually were incorporated for legal and property-holding purposes. This was especially important for those institutions run by women's committees since it gave them a legal status and scope of action which, as married women, they otherwise lacked. Every charity held annual public meetings to present the financial statement and an account of the year's work, and to allow subscription members to elect the management committee and officers for the following year.

These charities mainly depended on funds from private sources—annual subscriptions from members, or donations and collections from individuals, companies, and Churches. Fundraising events brought in funds from the general public, and a few societies raised money by charging board to those able to pay it or by selling work done

¹⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1858.

¹⁶ Peter Holloran argues that Boston Catholics created their own child charities largely in response to the fear of Protestant proselytizing. Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children*. For other American cities see Rachel Marks, "Institutions for Dependent and Delinquent Children: Histories, Nineteenth-Century Statistics, and Recurrent Goals," in Donnell M. Pappenfort, Dee Morgan Kilpatrick and Robert W. Roberts, eds., *Child Caring Social Policy and the Institution* (Chicago: Aldine, 1973), 46-47.

in the institution. Legacies and endowments helped set up building funds and investment funds. Finally, most received small government grants (see Table 1.1). By the 1890s, despite several cuts, these grants often accounted for up to ten per cent of revenue.

This chapter briefly surveys the Protestant private charities set up over the nineteenth century. The aim is to establish both the extent and form of aid available in the city as well as to shed some light on the approaches to poverty, the poor, and poor relief. This puts in a clearer perspective the more detailed analysis of the two main child charities that follows in the rest of thesis. Each charity is dealt with separately. This has the advantage of more clearly representing the range of aid available, the particularities of any given charity and the play of factors such as gender and reform. This is important given that as yet there is no portrait of the Montreal Protestant aid network. Further, the charities are organized roughly from a chronological perspective to enable the reader to see the network taking form over time, and to highlight the different concerns and the recognition of needs as they evolved within different groups inside the Protestant elite.

The brief presentations included here draw on whatever Annual Reports or archival material could be located, but the detail of the various portraits is uneven as a result. Services for women and children are developed in more detail given the content of the rest of the thesis. In each section, and as sources allow, I will look at the services provided and policy development. Unless otherwise stated, all institutions received some government subsidy but generated the bulk of their funds from private sources. Appendix 2 provides an overview of the network emphasizing its evolution by listing the services by date of foundation. Appendix 3 presents the same information by type of service.

The Female Benevolent Society

Montreal's first private Protestant charity was formed in 1815 when a group of women organized the Female Benevolent Society to help the growing number of needy immigrants. As the only Protestant charity in the city, it aimed to provide all the services needed by women and children. In the summer of 1816-17 the organizers helped a number of recent immigrants with food, firewood, clothes and medicine. They rented a house in the Récollet suburb in 1817 and a second one in 1819. These served as a school and boarding home for children, as a House of Recovery for sick women, as a soup

kitchen and a dispensary for the city's poor.¹⁷ In 1817-18 they aided some 370 people including twenty permanent inmates. In their work with immigrants the women were helped by the Society for the Relief of Emigrants, an association of Catholic, Anglican and Presbyterian ministers that organized assisted passage westward.¹⁸

Slowly, some of these services were taken over by others. Between 1819 and 1822, the patients were transferred from the House of Recovery to the early Montreal General Hospital, established by businessmen and doctors.¹⁹ About the same time several ladies formed a National School, and the British and Canadian Schools Society began setting up schools.²⁰ In light of these developments the Benevolent Society was dissolved in 1822. The children were given into the care of the Protestant Churches; the soup kitchen and dispensary services were discontinued. However, the ministers found the children's care too demanding and called a meeting of women to establish an orphanage.

The Protestant Orphan Asylum

The Protestant Orphan Asylum (POA) was founded at the meeting called in 1822 to provide for the children from the disbanded Female Benevolent Society.²¹ Many of the women who had worked in the Female Benevolent Society were members. The POA was incorporated in 1843;²² its official Constitution and bylaws were written in 1844 and revised in 1852. At this point, it is enough to briefly outline the POA's work since it will be examined in more detail in the rest of the thesis. Although the Orphan Asylum was

¹⁷ The history of the Female Benevolent Society is found in Pearse and Mitchel, *History of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society*, 9-25.

¹⁸ Noel, "Femmes Fortes," 76.

¹⁹ It received its charter in 1823. The history of the Montreal General dates the transfer of patients as 1819, the LBS history as 1822. It probably took several years before all patients were transferred. See H.E. MacDermot, *A History of the Montreal General Hospital* (Montreal: The Montreal General Hospital, 1950), 2-11.

²⁰ Another committee of women was active in this organization. Noel, "Femmes Fortes," 81.

²¹ The early history of the POA is outlined by the Secretary in her historical sketch and in the first volume of the Minutes of Meetings. Mrs. A. McCord, *Historical Sketch of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum From its Formation on the 16th of February 1822 to the Present Day* (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860); POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, January 6, 1823 - January 7, 1833.

²² *Statutes of Canada*, 1843, 7 Vict., c.52.

designed for the care of "children of both sexes, having lost both parents,"²³ non-orphans were admitted until the Ladies' Benevolent Society was established in 1832. The orphanage rented premises first on St. Lewis Street, and then on St. Antoine. In 1849 it constructed a permanent home on St. Catherine Street, near Drummond. Several businessmen donated the building lot, which was part of the McTavish estate, and the Committee purchased an adjoining lot.²⁴ They added a third lot in 1856 as a playground and garden. In 1894, the orphanage moved to a larger building on Summerhill and Côte-des-Neiges. Both buildings included dormitories, a dining room, one or two classrooms, committee rooms, and a small infirmary.

Over the years 1822 to 1900, a total of 939 Protestant children between the ages of two and twelve were admitted.²⁵ The number in the institution at any one time, though, was relatively small. Using as an indication the number listed as present at the time of the annual meeting, we find an average of 33, the largest number being 59, in 1891. The total number of children aided over the course of a year averaged 42, with the largest yearly total being 68 in 1899. The Committee took a special interest in military orphans, who were entered in the institution's Register in red ink. This helped them justify their funding appeals to the government and the Montreal regiment.

The Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society

In 1832, Montreal experienced a cholera epidemic that left many orphans, as well as widows and widowers in its wake. Knowing that the POA was unable to respond to the increased number of destitute Protestant children and that it was not designed to help needy women, a group of Montreal women reorganized the Female Benevolent Society, now named the Ladies' Benevolent Society (LBS).²⁶ The new society was designed to extend aid to "widows with small children and to all others who either from infirmity, age

²³ POA, *By-Laws*, # IX.

²⁴ "Statement Furnished to Hew Ramsey, Esq. by the Secretary, POA," *Minutes*, in Appendix, November 1848.

²⁵ The number listed in the Register (including re-entries) is 951. By 1945, 1551 children are recorded in the Register.

²⁶ Discussions of its founding are included in Pearse and Mitchel, *History of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society*, 9-25 and in the *History of the L.B.S.*, 1933.

or want of employment are unable to procure the means of subsistence."²⁷ It was incorporated in 1841.²⁸ The official rules and bylaws were drawn up at that time and revised in 1896. The institution's work with children is treated in the rest of the thesis. At this point we will introduce its general features and look briefly at its services for women.

Between 1832 and 1856, the institution moved regularly, renting accommodations on St. Lawrence, Lagauchetière, St. Urbain, St. Charles Borromée and finally, on Mountain Street. Sufficient space was constantly a problem, and between 1847 and 1854 they complained that as a result they were able to help only one half of all applicants.²⁹ In 1856, the LBS built a large three-story home on Berthelot Street (later Ontario) but within a few years space was again a problem. Additions in 1871 and 1881 helped relieve overcrowding; but in years when the house was full, the attic, infirmary and even the Committee's meeting rooms were used as dormitories.

Over the nineteenth century the LBS performed many different services, acting as a sort of poorhouse for women and children. A description of the inmates in 1871 included "the aged widow, the deserted wife, the forsaken child, the deformed, the infirm, the paralysed, the blind, the incurable invalid, and the otherwise houseless wanderer."³⁰ The institution's main work, though, was with destitute children between the ages of two and twelve, and by 1900, 2,572 children had been admitted.³¹ The admissions policy stipulated children from one-parent families, but some children with both parents were admitted as were some children whose parents paid board for their stay. In 1883, the LBS was also certified as an industrial school under the 1869 Industrial Schools Act.

Using the number present at the time of the annual meeting on October 1 as an indication of the number of children in the institution at one time, we find an average of 43 from 1832 to 1852, and 61 in the early 1850s. The number increased dramatically with the larger building, and the average number present from 1856 to 1900 was 98; the most

²⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, April 30, 1833, 42; LBS, "Rules and Regulations of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society," July 18, 1833.

²⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 1841, 4 and 5 Vict., c.66.

²⁹ They applied to the government for special funding to rent larger premises but were refused. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1847; 1851; 1852; 1853; 1854.

³⁰ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1871, 4.

³¹ By 1946, the Register records admissions of 4624.

crowded year was 1894 when 124 children were resident. Since many of the children remained for only a short period, the total number of children helped in any given year was much larger than this, at 154 on average for the 46-year period from 1856.

In addition to children, the LBS housed elderly and infirm women as well as convalescents and destitute younger women.³² When it was originally formed in 1832, the LBS organized outdoor relief for widows through a system of weekly food tickets, it opened a repository for work, and it granted widows funds toward rent and passage elsewhere. Insufficient resources, space problems, and the amount of work involved made these services problematic. The repository was closed within a year and a half,³³ and by 1837, the LBS decided to concentrate their efforts on institutional care stating that they did not "feel warranted in applying their resources in any other way than to relieve those who are under their especial [sic] charge."³⁴ Aware that this shift limited services for indigent women, the Committee contemplated expanding their services at several points during the century, but insufficient funding and space kept them from doing so.³⁵

It is difficult to know exactly how many women were admitted since numbers are not consistently indicated in either the Annual Reports or the Registers, although a combination of the two sources provides some idea. Close to 200 elderly or invalid women were recorded from 1832 to 1900. Many did not remain for very long. Nonetheless, there were a number who stayed for long periods of time, several for upwards of fifty years, often until their deaths. Most needed constant care as a result of illness or infirmity, but those who were healthy enough sewed and knit clothing for the institution. A number of younger women—abandoned mothers, widows unable to support their families, adolescent girls without work, recent immigrants, discharged prisoners, and women in poor health needing a rest—also entered the LBS, sometimes with their children. More than 100 are recorded in the Register. Most remained for less than six months, only for the time it took to rebuild their strength and find work.

³² The reception of elderly women was disbanded in 1917. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1917-1918, 8.

³³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, August-September-October 1832, 28-34; March 1833, 41.

³⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, 1837, 43.

³⁵ See for example the 1860 discussion of the need for an additional wing that would allow for an industrial department and a refuge, as well as an infirmary. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1860, 8, 12.

In 1856 the LBS took over the charter of the defunct Protestant Industrial House of Refuge and began receiving female convalescents.³⁶ Again the institution's Registers tend to underestimate these admissions, but by combining sources we know that about 350 convalescents entered from 1856 to 1900. The number per year was small, averaging 5 from 1856 to 1884 and 16 for the period 1885-1900. These women usually remained less than a month, and they helped with household chores as much as their strength permitted. When the LBS assumed this service, it successfully applied for the transfer of the former Industrial House of Refuge's annual \$600 government grant. The new grant went into the general fund and, due to its strained budgets, the LBS tried to keep the costs of the new service to a minimum. They did not hire additional staff, for example, which meant a considerable increase in workload for the matron and servants. However, the convalescents needed both dedicated space and special foods. The LBS largely depended on donations to provide the convalescents (and the elderly) with the necessary vegetables, fruit, beverages (meat broth, raspberry vinegar, wine, alcohol), and meat jellies.

As far as the Committee was concerned, however, the biggest problem with the reception of convalescents was admissions. Since doctors or hospitals sent convalescents with an admission order, the LBS had no control over eligibility. In 1891 they addressed one aspect of this problem—its impact on workload—when they requested that hospitals not send convalescents until they were able to dress themselves.³⁷ But the Committee's main concern was morality. Indeed an examination of the way in which they dealt with this service reveals their basic suspicion of working-class women.³⁸ Given this reticence, the LBS designated a special ward for convalescents, limited the normal stay to two weeks,³⁹ and drew up a special set of rules for the convalescent ward.⁴⁰

³⁶ They particularly resisted admitting maternity cases.

³⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, January 1891, 15.

³⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, January, March 1895, 132, 136.

³⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, April 1884, 93.

⁴⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, May 1884, 95.

The Home and School of Industry

The 1847 typhoid fever outbreak resulted in much hardship, especially among immigrant families. In response to this, Miss Eliza Hervey, herself recently arrived from Ireland, opened the Home and School of Industry as a training school for Protestant girls to help them secure work as domestics.⁴¹ The institution rented premises at various locations on Lagauchetière, German Street, Juré, St. Antoine and Dorchester. In 1875, it moved to Mountain Street, and, in 1908, to Windsor Avenue in Westmount. This is a particularly interesting charity. First, its founder was not from one of Montreal's old elite families, and she brought what appears to be a reform perspective to her work. Further, she founded several other charities—the Industrial Rooms, the Protestant Infants' Home, the Murray Bay Convalescent Home⁴²—and was instrumental in the founding of the Montreal YWCA.⁴³

Focussing more on reform and training than on shelter, the School of Industry was designed for "the training of young girls for service and giving them a plain education."⁴⁴ It was originally a day school with 30 students, but when larger accommodations were found in 1854, the girls were lodged as well.⁴⁵ Schooling included reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, history, and singing. Emphasis was also placed on a practical education aimed at developing work skills. In 1889, the Committee began special training classes focused more directly on training servants.⁴⁶ Many of the girls interrupted their education and training to return to their families or friends. The Committee had no difficulty placing the others as domestics in the city once they were old enough.

⁴¹ The name was changed to the Hervey Institute in her honor when it was incorporated in 1875. *Statutes of Canada*, 1875, 38 Vict., c.59.

⁴² Annual reports remain for the years 1874-1877, 1882-1883 and 1885. Murray Bay Convalescent Home, *Annual Reports*. CIHM #00569.

⁴³ See Janice Harvey, "Eliza Hervey: Fondatrice de la Home and School of Industry," in Maryse Darsigny et. al., eds., *Ces femmes qui ont bâti Montréal: La petite et la grande histoire des femmes qui ont marqué la vie de Montréal depuis 350 ans* (Montréal: Les éditions du remue-ménage, 1994), 90-91.

⁴⁴ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1859, 3. CIHM #A01955 and A00284.

⁴⁵ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1859, 5; 1864, 7; 1869, 5.

⁴⁶ Hervey Institute, *Annual Report*, 1889, 8-9.

Girls between the age of eight and fourteen from one or two-parent families were eligible for admission. Although the institution was designed for girls, their brothers were admitted to keep families together. According to the rules, boys were to leave at seven years old but this rule was not enforced. The Committee made several unsuccessful appeals to the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Boys' Home to accept the boys as transfers. When they requested such a transfer in 1879 there were 20 boys between the ages of five and ten in the asylum.⁴⁷ Once the Society had a larger building in the 1900s, they established a separate department for boys to the age of fourteen.⁴⁸

The number of children admitted at any one time was limited by the building's size. In 1859 there were 24; in 1863, 29. The move to a larger house in 1864 allowed for an increase to 38 (with 18 day students).⁴⁹ The Mountain Street building housed more again; 61 children were living in it in 1889; in 1909, there were 75.

Parents paid what board they could afford, but some of the children were accepted free of charge since they were cases "of utmost destitution."⁵⁰ All twenty boys in the home in 1879 had a monthly board of between two and three dollars paid for them by parents or friends; in 1889, 36 of 61 children (or 60 per cent) paid board. The institution depended on this board for much of its funding.

In addition to their work with children, the School of Industry also helped women find employment through a job register and provided some relief and visiting services to needy families.⁵¹ A work repository was added in 1847 and sewing rooms opened during the winter months from 1855 for "the relief of the industrial poor by their own labour."⁵² Applicants were visited "as by this means industry is encouraged, deception in many

⁴⁷ The Boys' Home, "Annual Report, 1879," in *Weredale House General Minute Book*, February 1879.

⁴⁸ Atherton, *Montreal*, 469.

⁴⁹ Applications often exceeded available space. School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1859, 5; 1863, 6; 1864, 7.

⁵⁰ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1864, 7.

⁵¹ In 1859, they refer to 12 families receiving aid; in 1864, to 80. School of Industry, *Annual Reports*, 1859, 4-5; 1864, 4-6.

⁵² Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1883 (Montreal: Lovell, 1883), 7. CIHM #A02340.

ways detected, and a spirit of self-reliance fostered."⁵³ The services for women were always kept separate from those for children. Judging that "experience shows that the best way of relieving the poor is to assist them to help themselves,"⁵⁴ the work with women was extended, and in 1861 the workrooms became a completely separate organization known as the Industrial Rooms.⁵⁵

The Industrial Rooms

The Industrial Rooms Committee moved their workrooms into the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge to save rent when that institution opened in 1863, but maintained the Committee's autonomy with distinct funding and reports. In 1899, the Industrial Rooms was incorporated and moved to a newly purchased house on Metcalfe Street.⁵⁶

Running the Rooms involved a lot of hands-on work for Committee members, some of whom worked several days a week purchasing and preparing the material to be given out to the sewing women and then examining the finished products.⁵⁷ The Committee met on Fridays to distribute work and to receive new applicants. One of them served as Lady Superintendent; she supervised the work aspects, helped by a paid matron. Committee members also visited applicants to confirm their need and eligibility.

A yearly average of 121 women over the century, most of them Protestant, found employment at the Rooms.⁵⁸ In the 1890s numbers increased and were usually more than 150. Most of the women had "young families depending on them, having been left to help themselves as best they can; either from desertion or being widowed, or from the fact that the natural bread-winner cannot or will not find employment."⁵⁹ Work was available

⁵³ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1860, 4.

⁵⁴ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1860, 4.

⁵⁵ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1869, 5; Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1883, 5-8.

⁵⁶ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1899, 6; 1900, 5-6.

⁵⁷ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1863, 15; 1883, 3; 1885, 5; "Constitution and By-Laws," in Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1885, 12.

⁵⁸ There were always a few Catholics. Industrial Rooms, "Annual Report, 1865-1900," in House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1-4.

⁵⁹ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1890-1891, 3.

mainly in the winter; only women in extreme need received work in the summer. The Committee always tried to help as many as possible, rather than fully support a few.

The Rooms were basically self-supporting. The exact wages paid are unknown, but in their 1872 Annual Report the Committee explained that "the great object of the Rooms" was "to give a higher price for work than can possibly be given by any other business Establishment."⁶⁰ Certainly they used a form of "fair wage policy" similar to that used by some other charities, as there is no evidence of any wage cuts or layoffs in the depressions of the 1890s; rather aid numbers increased substantially in those years.⁶¹ Some work was done on order and some sold to the public. The ladies also sold clothing to the poor at below cost and to other charities and Churches at reduced cost.

Most of the sewing women took the work home, although a few worked in the Rooms to get the instruction and supervision the Lady Superintendent offered.⁶² The Committee bragged that this instruction quickly enabled women who "scarcely knew how to hold a needle" to produce "very creditable work."⁶³ Most of the women were not skilled seamstresses, however, and could not produce decorative needlework or "fancywork." This resulted in large quantities of "coarse" work that was hard to sell. The Committee encouraged supporters to buy these goods as donations to other charities or for needy families, presenting this gesture as a form of "perfect philanthropy" that benefited both the Industrial Rooms and the final recipients.⁶⁴ Annual bazaars were held, but the Rooms were unable to sell the goods as quickly as the sewing women produced them.⁶⁵ By 1895, 4,700 surplus garments were on hand; by 1899, the number had increased to 7,000.⁶⁶

The combined cost of wages and materials as well as their inability to sell all of the work or to produce greater quantities of more marketable goods kept the financial

⁶⁰ Industrial Rooms, "Annual Report, 1872" in House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 415.

⁶¹ For a discussion of this see Porter Benson, "Business Heads and Sympathizing Hearts," 303.

⁶² Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1869, 11; 1883, 8-9; 1895, 3; 1903, 7; 1904, 6.

⁶³ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1869, 11.

⁶⁴ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1884, 5-6; 1887, 6; 1896, 5.

⁶⁵ By 1898 it was reported that garments arrived at a rate of 300 a week in the winter months.

⁶⁶ Industrial Rooms, *Annual Report*, 1895, 3; 1899, 6.

margin of manoeuvre relatively narrow. The Committee assured supporters that they could employ many more women if they could sell the sewing or secure other sources of revenue. Despite these budget problems, the Industrial Rooms provided several support services for the women it employed, including an interest paying Provident Fund to encourage saving and a Gratuity Fund used to provide cheap clothing, fuel, food and small sums of money to those in need over the winter months. They also held weekly mothers' meetings on Friday mornings, distributed annual Christmas dinners and baskets of warm clothing to needy regular workers, and organized summer outings to the country.

The Protestant Industrial House of Refuge

By mid-century, the city's population was growing quickly and industrialization was underway. In the wake of the 1851 recession, the demand increased for outdoor relief for poor families and unemployed single men and women. Although the Churches and the National Societies provided some outdoor aid, it did not cover all Protestants and they were unable to keep up with demand. It was becoming clear to the Protestant establishment that the situation called for an organized response.

In March 1854, a group of philanthropists (both men and women) met to discuss the lack of a municipal institution to meet the needs of the destitute. They agreed that

in a city like ours, exposed as it is to the influx of impoverished strangers during the months of navigation, and to the protracted and intense cold of the winter season, a House of Industry should exist upon a commensurate scale, and liberally supported by public funds [. . .] for the purpose of furnishing employment to industrious but destitute women and affording temporary shelter to strangers and immigrants, who are often exposed to many temptations and dangers.⁶⁷

Their experience with the joint Protestant-Catholic House of Industry had proved that a separate Protestant institution would be the easiest way to address the problem until the city did. They responded with the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge (1854 to 1856), and, in 1863, the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. Through the provision of outdoor relief, temporary night shelters, and work departments, these

⁶⁷ Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, *1st Annual Report*, May 1855, 3. CIHM, #A01861.

institutions considerably widened the services available to the Protestant poor. Rejecting "indiscriminate alms-giving and the habits of dependence and mendacity it fosters,"⁶⁸ the elite aimed to reform the poor as much as to shelter them. Mary C. Lyman, Secretary of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge presented this position succinctly when she explained that the institution was not a refuge as much as a House of Industry and that it was designed to provide an "opportunity to earn an honest maintenance, to foster habits of industry and remove as far as possible temptations to pauperism."⁶⁹

The Industrial House of Refuge was opened in May 1854, run by a Committee of Management made up of 32 women, most of whom were already active in other city charities, a six-member Advisory Committee of men, and a visiting committee of eight single women. The timing was excellent since Montreal suffered from a cholera epidemic that summer and the winter of 1855 was one of such extreme temperatures and high unemployment that the city set up emergency poor relief committees. The Protestant Female Servant's Home (formed in 1852) merged with the new institution in 1855, but the Industrial House of Refuge itself was closed in 1856, after only two years.

Over its two years, the charity aided 1,000 families or women. It provided a wide range of services: widows found work in the laundry or sewing rooms or through the servant's register, female convalescents had several weeks of rest after they left hospital, homeless women found either temporary or more permanent residence in the night refuge, and families received food from the soup-kitchen.

The institution ran a laundry that employed approximately 100 women in 1855 and 36 in 1856, as well as sewing rooms that employed 130 women in 1855 and 84 in 1856. Most of the women were widows. They worked from 8 a.m. until 6 p.m. Not wanting to refuse work to any needy applicant, the Committee hired more women than were needed in 1855, and the service ran a deficit. Although the number was cut back in 1856, the deficit was not entirely absorbed.⁷⁰

The night refuge contained ten beds. These were occupied by a total of 80 women in 1854-55, 12 of whom were convalescents and 20 were recent immigrants. Some

⁶⁸ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Report*, 1855, 3.

⁶⁹ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Report*, 1855, 5.

⁷⁰ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Reports*, 1855, 6; 1856, 4.

remained the entire season. A further 27 widows and 54 children lived in the institution. From May 1855 to May 1856, a total of 102 adults and 34 children received either temporary or more permanent shelter. The institution also operated a soup kitchen four days a week for seven weeks during the winter months. A single large room, the shelter was open only to women; and, other than its soup kitchen, the new institution did very little to address the problem of homeless men.⁷¹

At the second annual meeting in 1856 the Committee and Advisory Board voted to close the Industrial House of Refuge. The members explained that the burden of work having been unequally shared they were unable to continue in this manner. Finances were also a problem as the society tried to absorb the deficit from 1854 amid sharply reduced donations.⁷² The reduction in financial support was partly explained by the formation of the Protestant Poor Relief Committee in October 1855, a group that was also soliciting public support. Fifteen men and eighty women were associated with the new effort, which had a considerably different ideological approach than the Industrial House of Refuge. The new group questioned the advisability of institutional aid in any form; they preferred job referrals and hoped to work in cooperation with the Industrial House of Refuge and the city missionaries to coordinate temporary relief with the aim of eventually eliminating outdoor aid entirely.⁷³ Between October 1855 and May 1856, they provided 1,897 meals and helped 232 families with food, employment referrals, lodging or fuel. No reports are found after 1856 and, other than the minimal outdoor relief the School of Industry provided through its poor relief fund, once the Industrial House of Refuge was closed the Protestant poor would have to wait until 1863 to again have access to a soup kitchen and night refuge in their own community.

The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge

In the early 1860s several of the men who had been active in the Protestant Poor Relief Committee, joined by others, decided that the volume of poverty in the city called

⁷¹ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Reports*, 1855, 7; 1856, 5.

⁷² Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Reports*, 1856, 6-7.

⁷³ Protestant Poor Relief Committee, *Report*, Winter of 1855-1856 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1856). CIHM #01327.

for a renewed effort. In 1863, they formed the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge (the House of Industry) to provide general relief services.⁷⁴ The new organization was informed by many of the ideological concepts popular at mid-century and aimed to reform or improve the poor through work and self-reliance. Its organizers emphasized work departments and job referrals, imposing a strict regimen of rules on residents and a work test for the use of its shelters.

The House of Industry greatly increased the involvement of men in the Protestant charitable network. It had a male Board of Governors that oversaw the corporate aspects of the work and a male Board of Management responsible for the institution itself.⁷⁵ The Industrial Rooms moved their operations to the House of Industry and ran the rooms as a separate service. Within a few years the men had also convinced most of those involved in outdoor relief distribution of the advantages of coordinated relief. The United Board of Outdoor Relief was formed in 1865 and, although it worked out of the House of Industry, it was separate from the institution both in terms of management and funding. The Board included the House of Industry Poor Relief Committee, representatives of the Protestant Churches, the National Societies, the YMCA, and the city missionaries.⁷⁶

The male-run corporation was able to attract a lot of public support, and financial contributions were much larger than for the city's female-managed charities. As a result of the original fund-raising campaign that generated subscriptions and donations for \$82,829, the institution opened with two new mortgage-free buildings constructed on the corner of Bleury and Dorchester and an endowment fund of \$28,829. Receipts from the purchase of Life Governorships and regular legacies added to this fund, and interest from it provided an important source of steady operating revenue. The choice of using one-

⁷⁴ It was incorporated immediately. *Statutes of Canada*, 1864, 26 Vict., c.62. This institution's role and services changed over time. Eventually the downtown building and the shelters were closed and only the hospital and residential services at Longue Pointe were maintained. The original Country House buildings still exist and have become the Grace Dart Extended Care Centre. The author thanks this institution for access to their archival collection.

⁷⁵ \$400 bought a Life Governorship; \$100 or an annual \$25.00 subscription made one eligible for an elected position on the Board. There were 85 Life Governors in 1865, 111 in 1899. One's financial contribution determined voting rights. House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1865, 7.

⁷⁶ "Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief of the Protestant Poor for the Winter 1866-1867," in House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1867, 9.

time Life subscriptions rather than annual subscriptions, however, had its own problems in that it limited the annual subscription revenue and the institution ran deficits in several years by the 1880s. Some income was secured from a government grant and donations, but the major revenue was generated from rentals on buildings the Board constructed on the rest of their lot and income from the work of inmates.⁷⁷

The main institution had residential facilities for the elderly poor as well as temporary night shelters for unemployed and homeless men and women. Typical of nineteenth-century philanthropists, the House of Industry Board considered the elderly—many of whom "were without a home or means of subsistence, and [...] were incapable of doing anything for themselves"⁷⁸—as "deserving" and referred to them as the "permanent poor." They referred to other inmates like the homeless—whom they described as "destitute and wretched, without either home or friends"—as the "casual poor."⁷⁹ Interpreting the circumstances of the "casual poor" as being either temporary or their own fault, the Board tended to view them as "undeserving." Due to this differentiation, they made every effort to distinguish between the two categories, and the architecture of the buildings was designed to keep them completely separate.

The elderly were housed in the upper floors of the building. From the beginning, plans existed to move them to the country, but funding problems made this impossible until 1884 when the Country House at Longue Point was opened; in 1894 the Moore Convalescent Home was opened on the same grounds.⁸⁰ In the 1860s, there was an average of 80 permanent residents. Before 1869 a few children were admitted with their parents and a day school existed. After that children were sent to the LBS or the POA. The number of inmates grew steadily to an average of 120 in the winter months by the 1870s, and 129 over the 1890s. (See Appendix 4.) The number was slightly higher in the

⁷⁷ They built 10 houses in 1871 once they succeeded in amending their Act of Incorporation to hold additional property. House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, January 1869, 253; November 1870, 350; February 1872, 400.

⁷⁸ House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 25 October 1865, 121.

⁷⁹ House of Industry, "Annual Report, 1868," in *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 223.

⁸⁰ House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1884, 6; 1893, 6; 1894, 6. Thomas Molson bequeathed the land and William Workman left a \$20,000 legacy towards the construction costs of the Country House. James Moore paid for the Convalescent Home.

winter months but seasonal differences were small. In the early years there were more men than women, but from 1870 no gender breakdown is provided.

Despite their categorization as deserving, even the elderly were governed by the standard rules of a House of Industry designed to reform recipients. Men and women, even married couples, were segregated and followed strict rules in relation to cleanliness, sobriety, and work.⁸¹ Men worked making kindling wood and, after the move to the country, doing farm work; women sewed, knit, made quilts, and did the housework. Generally, though, efforts were made to make the elderly as comfortable as possible and to keep their quarters clean and well ventilated.

Alongside its work of sheltering the elderly poor, the House of Industry established the first permanent facilities for homeless men and women among the city's Protestant population. Originally designed to be open from October to May, the Night Refuge was in fact kept open year-long, although it was used more extensively in the winter season. Strict rules were enforced: lights out at 8 p.m. and no smoking or alcohol in the building. Inmates were to leave by 8 a.m.⁸² No-one was meant to remain more than a week without special permission, but from the beginning many returned night after night and the Board found it impossible to impose this rule.⁸³

The shelters certainly filled a need, and they were often crowded. (See Appendix 5.) The total aggregate nights' lodging increased from approximately 6,715 in the 1860s to more than 14,000 by the late 1870s. An annual average of 25,000 nights' lodging was provided in the 1880s and 32,000 in the 1890s, with as many as 40,563 in 1889. These numbers decreased sharply in the early 1900s. In a few years data is given on the number of separate individuals present, rather than simply aggregate totals.⁸⁴ Thus we know that 68 men were in the Refuge in November 1867 and that 33 men and 6 women were the most present at any one time in 1873. By 1888, however, references are made to 220 men present and in the 1890s, up to 235.⁸⁵ Although in the first two years many Catholics used

⁸¹ House of Industry, "Rules for the Permanent Residents," in *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 126.

⁸² House of Industry, "Rules of the Night Refuge," in *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 127.

⁸³ House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1866, 6.

⁸⁴ Unfortunately inmate registers no longer exist for the nineteenth century.

⁸⁵ House of Industry, "Annual Reports," 1867, 1873, 1888, in *Minute Book*, Vols.1-3.

the shelters, this stopped once St. Bridget's Refuge was opened in 1866.⁸⁶ Gender was also a factor; there were always more men than women, and this difference grew over the century. At points it is not even clear that a separate women's Refuge existed. Although the question was never discussed in the Minutes, this is likely linked to the suspicion with which homeless women were viewed in the nineteenth century.⁸⁷

Within a few years of opening, the House of Industry began to impose a work test, requiring two to three hours of work as payment for a bed and two meals.⁸⁸ Women sewed and, originally, men did stone breaking. Finding this work too difficult for many, the Board switched to the production of kindling wood that was then sold to the public. In 1875 they started an outdoor labour service, advertising in the city papers that the House of Industry had men available to shovel snow, carry coal, attend furnaces, or do "any kind of jobbing work about a house."⁸⁹ Part of the men's wages went to the Refuge. Both the outdoor labour and the kindling wood service were popular in the city; the revenues they generated quickly became substantial and made the Night Refuge almost self-financing.

Despite its low cost and the strict application of the work test, there was always some ambivalence about the Night Refuge. The attitude to the recipients rarely moved beyond the judgmental, and the physical conditions of the Refuge left much to be desired. When several men died from typhus fever in 1877, the Montreal General Hospital blamed the disease on "the perfect unsuitability of the present apartments for the purpose intended."⁹⁰ In their Annual Report that year the Board themselves described the Refuge as "the best shelter we can afford them [the lodgers], but which in crowded seasons is not far removed from the 'black hole of Calcutta.'"⁹¹ Nonetheless, they did not move the

⁸⁶ In 1864, there were 2,363 Catholics compared to 1,684 Protestants; in 1865, 1,684 Catholics and 5,022 Protestants. House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1866, 6; 1867, 6.

⁸⁷ See Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls," and Mary-Ann Poutanen, "The Homeless, the Whore, the Drunkard, and the Disorderly: Contours of Female Vagrancy in the Montreal Courts, 1810-1842," in McPherson et al., *Gendered Pasts*, 29-47.

⁸⁸ House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1866, 4, 6.

⁸⁹ House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, January 1875, 528.

⁹⁰ House of Industry, "Letter from the Montreal General Hospital," *Minute Book*, Vol.1, February 1877, 66.

⁹¹ House of Industry, "Annual Report, 1877," in *Minute Book*, Vol.2, 70, 76.

Refuge from its basement location to the upper floors until 1890, five years after these quarters had been vacated by the elderly.

The Soup Kitchen was another important service, one the Board saw as a "ready and efficient way of relieving the poor at a trifling cost."⁹² Providing food for the permanent residents, for those in the Night Refuge, and for families applying for outdoor relief, this kitchen was operated mainly over the winter months. In the early years to 1874, an average of 30,000 quarts of soup were distributed a year. The amount increased steadily, and from 1875 to 1900 the yearly average was 76,000. In a few bitter winters more than 100,000 quarts were given out. (See Appendix 4.)

The United Board of Outdoor Relief co-ordinated outdoor relief for the Protestant community. Its members visited the homes of all applicants for relief to ascertain their circumstances and "as much as possible the Board withheld aid from such as were able thus to help themselves, but who would not do so."⁹³ They tried to find work for unemployed men through the institution's job registers, and they apprenticed children to masters in the country to relieve their families of their support. For the most part, though, outdoor relief took the form of goods in kind, usually firewood, coal, provisions such as bread and oatmeal, clothing, shoes and linens. These were given out on Thursdays from late December to early April. Many families also received soup on a daily basis and a hot meal once a week from the Soup Kitchen.⁹⁴ Small amounts of aid were also distributed in the summer. As early as 1868, the Committee was already evaluating their work as "eminently successful," explaining that "street begging on the part of Protestants had almost entirely ceased" and "the appearance of those relieved had greatly improved."⁹⁵ Aggregate annual totals for aid are shown in Appendix 4. Over this period, outdoor relief was dispensed an average of 3,400 times in any given year. Data from several years shows that between 400 and 500 families received some aid, or about 200 a week over the winter months.

⁹² House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1866, 6.

⁹³ "United Board of Outdoor Relief," in *Annual Report*, 1867, 9.

⁹⁴ "United Board of Outdoor Relief," in *Annual Report*, 1867, 9.

⁹⁵ United Board of Outdoor Relief, "Annual Report, 1868," in House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol. 1, 225.

With the Montreal House of Industry and Refuge and the United Board of Outdoor Relief, the Protestant elite created a central institution providing shelter for the unemployed or homeless and the elderly as well as a depot for outdoor relief similar to those managed by the Catholic nuns. This aid was available to all Protestants irrespective of nationality or religious affiliation as long as they were deserving. Beginning in 1869, another spurt of institution building by two separate groups within the benevolent elite created a number of more specialized institutions that addressed the lack of services for infants, adolescent boys, disabled children, and children of working parents. One group was led by the women associated with Eliza Hervey and the School of Industry; the other was led by men like Charles Alexander, a city alderman and philanthropist,⁹⁶ many of whom were already involved in charitable work through the House of Industry. Both groups approached charity from a reformist perspective aimed at resolving the poverty problem in the long term by educating and training the poor for employment and self-reliance—that is, by improving them rather than simply relieving their periodic needs.

The Protestant Infant's Home

Poverty forced many women, especially unwed mothers, to abandon their infants or young children and take on employment as wet-nurses or servants. In a study of the Grey Nun's foundling hospital, the Crèche d'Youville, Peter Gossage found a substantial increase in both the rate of illegitimate births and the number of children abandoned to the institution between 1821 and 1872.⁹⁷ There is no reason to believe that the same trend to increased illegitimacy and child abandonment would not have been true of Montreal's Protestant population. One important difference did exist, though, and that was the total absence of a Protestant institution where infants could be left. We know that many of the Protestant women who delivered in the University Lying-in Hospital established in 1843,

⁹⁶ Charles Alexander served as the President or Vice-President of many of the city's charities during the nineteenth century. See Janice Harvey, "Charles Alexander," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 13, 10-12.

⁹⁷ Gossage, "Les enfants abandonnés," 543-48. For a discussion of attitudes to unwed mothers see Peter Ward, "Unwed Motherhood in Nineteenth-Century English Canada," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1981): 48-56.

subsequently left their babies with the nuns when they found employment.⁹⁸ These babies received a Catholic baptism and had only a small chance of survival.⁹⁹ By mid-century, Protestant philanthropists were increasingly concerned about this and hoped not only to stop the exodus of babies to the nuns but also to find a way to reduce mortality rates and to prevent child desertion.

The Home and School of Industry made the first attempt to address this problem, setting up three nurseries for infants and their mothers in 1855, but funding problems forced them to close after only two years.¹⁰⁰ In 1869, they began to investigate the feasibility of a separate nursery institution.¹⁰¹ This led to a public meeting in 1870 at which the Protestant Infants' Home was formed.¹⁰² The new charity was designed to accept young children and infants with their mothers and was managed by many of the same reform-minded women who ran the School of Industry.¹⁰³ It opened in 1870 in rented facilities on St. Antoine Street. In 1879, the Infants' Home purchased the home of the late Dr. Philip Carpenter on Guy Street, where it remained until 1909.¹⁰⁴

From 1875 to 1905, a total of 2,329 children and 747 nursing mothers were admitted.¹⁰⁵ By accepting mothers with their infants the new institution broke with the tradition established by the Grey Nuns, who placed infants out to wet nurses.¹⁰⁶ The Infants' Home's policy was based not only on the reform perspective that women should

⁹⁸ Sherry Olson's study on 1859-1860 found that up to two thirds of the infants (of whom 45% were Protestant) were immediately abandoned to the nuns. See Sherry Olson et. al., *A Geography of Little Children in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Shared Spaces, no. 10 (Sept. 1987), 9.

⁹⁹ The nuns sent the infants to paid wet nurses. Gossage calculates their mortality rates as 90.1% for 1824-1834, 95.7% for 1845-1854, and 94.7% for 1864-1874. See Gossage, "Abandoned Children," 4.

¹⁰⁰ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1855.

¹⁰¹ School of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1869, 5.

¹⁰² It was incorporated immediately. *Statutes of Canada*, 1870, 34 Vict., c.56.

¹⁰³ Atherton, *Montreal*, 469-70.

¹⁰⁴ Philip Carpenter had been secretary of the Montreal Sanitary Association. The Infant's Home doctors were convinced that the building's superior sanitary conditions reduced mortality rates.

¹⁰⁵ "The Poor of Montreal," *Montreal Daily Herald*, November 7, 1905, 10.

¹⁰⁶ The Sisters of Miséricorde, on the other hand, who ran an institution for unwed mothers encouraged the women to keep their babies, but only 15% of them took their children when they left. Andrée Lévesque, "Deviants Anonymous: Single Mothers at the Hôpital de la Miséricorde in Montreal, 1929-1939," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers*, (1984), 168-79.

assume responsibility for their motherhood but also on the desire to reduce infant mortality and the practical recognition that mothers were the most efficient providers of "good care and plenty of nourishing food."¹⁰⁷ As a result, the institution was an important addition to the Protestant network, and its novel approach made it a curiosity among city charities.¹⁰⁸ The Committee outlined its aims in their bylaws as follows:

To receive the children of Protestant parentage who, in consequence of sickness, poverty or intemperance, are unable to provide suitable nourishment and care for their offspring in their own homes, homeless, motherless, fatherless, destitute infants and foundlings under four years of age and by giving them proper food, good care and attention, endeavour to save, if possible, their lives.

Also to receive Protestant mothers with their new-born infants, and by providing a refuge and place of safety, the mothers may, by nursing and caring for their innocent babies (disowned and abandoned by their inhuman fathers), give their offspring "a good chance for life."¹⁰⁹

The institution opened with 93 children. It usually housed between 130 and 170 children a year. The Committee admitted unwed mothers and illegitimate children on the assumption that the "inhuman fathers" were to blame and the babies were "innocent," but their Protestant morals led them to institute a strict policy against recidivism.¹¹⁰ They also strongly disapproved of child desertion. For this reason they insisted on meeting mothers before admitting a child and encouraged mothers to remain with their infants or at least to pay board towards their care. Hence, the institution was designed for infants left by their mothers, not for actual foundlings or abandoned babies, and no foundlings are recorded in the 1870s. From 1893 to 1898, only 8 of 445 children were listed as abandoned. In the same years, 41 per cent of infants were listed as illegitimate.

Since not all mothers agreed to enter the Home, a number of infants were received alone and the mothers present nursed their own infant plus one other. Nursing mothers

¹⁰⁷ Infants' Home, *Annual Report*, 1894, 5. CIHM #00520.

¹⁰⁸ Infants' Homes founded in other parts of Canada would introduce similar policies. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 114-30.

¹⁰⁹ "By-laws of the Corporation," in Infants' Home, *Annual Report*, 1898, 31.

¹¹⁰ "Rules Relating to the Admission of Children to the Protestant Infants' Home," in Infants' Home, *Annual Report*, 1894, 31.

remained until the babies were weaned; when they left their babies could stay in the Home. Mothers paid up to half of their wages as board and were encouraged to visit once a week. Echoing the reform aim of building self-reliance, the Committee justified what could be seen as excessive board fees in the following way: "The aim is only to assist, and not to relieve the parent from the duty of supporting his or her family."¹¹¹

Keeping the infants alive was a challenge, but the Infants' Home soon acquired an excellent reputation. Its mortality rate hovered between 25 and 41 per cent in the first years but had dropped to only 16.8 per cent in 1879. The 1880s saw a rate of between 13 and 26 per cent; the 1890s, from 11 to 18.6 per cent.¹¹² Most of the deaths were of babies under one year old, many soon after their admission. The main killers were debility and lung problems. These rates compared very favourably to the 90 per cent mortality rate for infants left with the Grey Nuns, and many contemporaries commented on this.¹¹³

Several factors help explain this major difference. First, unlike the Grey Nuns who placed no restrictions and received many infants less than one week old, the Infants' Home imposed admission requirements that effectively reduced endogenous mortality rates.¹¹⁴ Accordingly, only infants more than eight days old and with no signs of "contagious, incurable or other disease" were admitted. Furthermore, all infants were immediately vaccinated and were attended to regularly by a doctor; the nuns provided very little medical attention.¹¹⁵ The most important factor in this lower rate, though, appears to be the system of admitting mothers. Since there were always more infants than nursing mothers, some infants were bottle-fed. Mortality rates among these infants were much higher.¹¹⁶ In 1876, mortality statistics are given for each group—only 12 of the 54

¹¹¹ Unfortunately we know very little about the mothers. Infants' Home, *Annual Report*, 1894, 7.

¹¹² Infants' Home, *Annual Reports*, 1873; 1876; 1879; 1894; 1896; 1898; 1899; Fortier, "Les 'enfants trouvés'," 723. The same rates were common in similar institutions in English Canada. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 122.

¹¹³ See, for example, A.B. Laroque, *Report of the Medical Officers of Health of the City of Montreal for the Year Ending 31st December 1875*.

¹¹⁴ Gossage finds that 51% of infants admitted by the Grey Nuns from 1820-40 were less than one week old and that many were in very poor health. Gossage, "Abandoned Children," 106.

¹¹⁵ Infants' Home, "Rules Relating to the Admission," 31; Fortier, "Les enfants trouvés," 722; Gossage, "Abandoned Children," 10.

¹¹⁶ Infants' Home, *Annual Report*, 1876.

nursed babies or 22.2 per cent died, while 27 of the 35 bottle-fed ones or 77.1 per cent died. This latter rate is quite close to the Grey Nun's rate once the eight-day admission policy and medical care are factored in. It emphasizes the wisdom of admitting mothers.

Children could remain in the Infants' Home until they were four or five. At that point most either returned to their families or relatives or were placed in the LBS or the POA, depending on their familial status. Believing that a family was preferable than institutional placement, the Infants' Home placed 134 children in adoptive homes from 1871 to 1898. This number included orphans as well as a number of children whose parents were unknown or had never paid board and were thus considered to have effectively abandoned the child.¹¹⁷ Interestingly, for reasons we will discuss in Chapter Five, during the same period the Protestant Orphan Asylum did not use adoption.

The Boys' Home of Montreal

Although the child charities often admitted teenage girls to train them for service, they were hesitant to keep adolescent boys in their institutions. Hence, boys from families experiencing difficulties and homeless boys alone in the city had nowhere to turn for help. Further, boys who worked in the street trades (as bootblacks, newsboys, and the like) or as apprentices without a board arrangement had low wages and faced difficulties finding inexpensive lodgings. Three-quarters of the lodgers at Joe Beef's Canteen in the 1870s, for example, were boys paying 20¢ a day for food and lodging.¹¹⁸ Establishments like Joe Beef's were not considered respectable by middle-class standards, and by mid century concern was raised over the number of boys working and loitering in the streets and the threat they posed to moral order in the city.¹¹⁹ Many believed that it was imperative to find ways to expose these boys to proper values. Providing an inexpensive boarding alternative was one way to do this.

¹¹⁷ Infant's Home, "Rules Relating to the Admission," 31.

¹¹⁸ In the original establishment beds were available for 40; this number increased to 200 when the Canteen moved in 1876. See Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (Autumn/Spring 1981/82): 18-19.

¹¹⁹ For Toronto see Houston, "The 'Waifs and Strays.'" For an example of this in Montreal see Philanthropy, *Care of Our Destitute and Criminal Population. Series of Letters Published in the Montreal Gazette* (Montreal: Salter & Ross, 1857).

In 1870 a group of men from Zion Congregational Church called a public meeting to discuss this problem and to judge the level of potential support for a newsboys' home modelled on those created by Lord Shaftesbury in England. The proposal brought unanimous support from those at the meeting, and the Boys' Home of Montreal was opened in February 1871.¹²⁰ Unlike most of the Montreal charities for children, the Boys' Home was managed by a men's committee. The Board was small, with approximately ten members and five directors, and turnover was minimal. Charles Alexander, for example, was President from 1870 until his death in 1905. A Superintendent was responsible for the institution. He was a member of the Committee and ran the Home with his wife.

The institution was built on Mountain Street. Additions were made in 1883, 1889 and 1893. By the latter date, the three-story stone buildings were organized in three wings. The newest addition held carpentry and blacksmith shops in the basement, an assembly hall with a capacity of 200 persons, four classrooms, and the superintendent's rooms. The other two wings had dormitories, dining rooms, bathrooms, sitting rooms, workrooms and a library. The entire complex was described as "very commodious." In 1905, a new wing was added with a swimming pool and exercise rooms.

The new institution was designed to "take boys off the streets and place them in situations to learn trades, or other useful and profitable industries, and enable them, while so learning, to pay their board and buy their clothing out of their earnings."¹²¹ Self-reliance and self-improvement were key factors in this work. The Boys' Home opened a savings bank, reading rooms and a library. By late century, the School Commissioners ran both educational and vocational evening classes in the institution. In addition, Board members regularly gave lectures on the value of education, thrift and morality. Moral regulation was also important in this reform work with working-class boys. The Boys' Home used daily family prayers and imposed strict rules to inculcate cleanliness and orderly conduct. The day began with breakfast at 6:30 a.m. and the institution doors

¹²⁰ They had originally set up an Infants' School Association but the school was taken over by the School Commissioners. *Statutes of Canada*, 1869, 32 Vict., c.88.; 1876-1877, 41 Vict., c.42.

¹²¹ *Report of the Superintendent of the Boys' Home*, 7th June 1883-February 1884 (Montreal: Witness Printing House, 1884), 3.

closed at 9:00 p.m. No liquor or tobacco was allowed, and boys could be discharged for inappropriate behaviour.

From 1871 to 1900, more than one thousand boys used the institution. In the early years total admissions averaged 42 yearly, with an average of 13 boys in the home on January 1. After 1884, the number increased substantially. An average of 60 boys were inmates on January 1 from 1884 to 1900, and an average of 181 boys were admitted over the course of the year.¹²² Boys between eight and twenty-two were admitted, but the institution was designed for teens and 75 per cent of the boys were between 13 and 20. Most entered alone; barely 8 per cent had siblings in the home. Almost all were Protestant although there was no policy against admitting Catholics.

The institution provides some insight into the "street boys" who caused so much concern among middle-class citizens. According to the Superintendent's description and the entries in the Register the Home had homeless orphans, recent immigrants, boys who had run away from family violence, and boys whose working mothers or fathers were unable to supervise them. A number were destitute and needed help to secure a position; others were already working or apprenticed and needed lodging cheap enough to match their meagre wages. Only 23 per cent of the boys identified themselves as Montreal-born. Fifty per cent came from the British Isles, a further 10 per cent from the United States, and the same from elsewhere in Canada. One quarter had emigrated without parents.

In fact, the Boys' Home provides a good example of the limitations of the child emigration programs. A number of the boys had come to Canada with British emigration workers like Annie Macpherson or with a Church-assisted passage.¹²³ They had worked for years as apprentices in the country but had come to Montreal once their term was completed, either not finding work in the country or drawn to a familiar environment. Since the emigration organizations had no follow-up procedures to help these boys find

¹²² Boys' Home, *Annual Reports*, 1871-1900. This is substantially more than the Newsboys' Lodging and Industrial Home in Toronto which was designed for fifty but sheltered from twenty-five to thirty-five boys a night. Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age," 145-46.

¹²³ Boys' Home, *Register*, #755, 882, 1139, 767, 602, 626, 625, 889, 883, 967. Annie Macpherson set up a Distributing Home in Knowlton in 1874 run by her sister, Louisa Birt. See Ivy Pinchbeck and Margaret Hewitt, *Children in English Society Volume II. From the Eighteenth Century to the Children's Act 1948* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973), 564, 573.

work, they found themselves alone in Montreal with neither home nor protector and turned to yet another charity service for help.

Most boys did not remain in the Boys' Home for long. Sixty-one per cent had come and gone again in less than three months, and 82 per cent remained less than a year.¹²⁴ Many simply left with no explanation, probably a reaction to the strict discipline and regulations. Others left to rejoin families, or found lodgings with their employer or in a private boarding house. A number entered into apprenticeships arranged for them by the Superintendent. Six per cent of boys were expelled for non-compliance with the rules or general bad influence on the others. Another one per cent or 11 boys left because they were sentenced to terms in prison or reformatory school, usually on charges of stealing.

The Boys' Home was designed to be self-supporting. All of the boys worked and paid a large proportion of their wages as board. Family or friends paid board for the few boys who attended school. Originally board was set at \$0.10 a night;¹²⁵ by 1873 it was \$1.30 a week. In that year most of the boys made \$1.50 a week wage; the highest wage earned was \$3.00.¹²⁶ This meant that the majority paid \$5.20 out of their \$6.00 monthly wage for board. The paltry \$0.80 that remained was placed in a fund to buy necessities such as clothes. Sliding board rates connected to wage were established in 1883, ranging from \$0.60 to \$2.00 a week. In 1893, the highest rate was \$2.75.¹²⁷

The institution's budget data as seen in Appendix 6 reveals that the boys' board generated more than one half of total income in every year but two, and in some years it accounted for up to 80 per cent. This was usually sufficient to pay operating expenses. The money needed for expenses connected to the building and its maintenance, normally about \$1,000 a year, came from private sources including subscriptions, donations and occasional legacies. Not seeing the institution as a charity, the Directors never applied for a government grant and did not use fund-raisers. Investment income was also minimal since no Permanent Fund existed, but we know that some investments existed, since in

¹²⁴ We have data on length of residence for 875 cases or 87 per cent of boys; on departure we have data for 70 per cent.

¹²⁵ Boys' Home, *Minutes*, Vol.1, January 31, 1871, 38.

¹²⁶ Boys' Home, "Annual Report, 1873," in *Minutes*, Vol. 1, 55.

¹²⁷ Boys' Home, *Minutes*, Vol.1, March 24, 1880, 68; March 7, 1883, 83. Newspaper clippings, "The Boys' Home," in *Minutes*, Vol.2, December 5, 1891, 57.

1889 and again in 1893 discount notes or shares were cashed and appropriated to general use. On the whole, the institution ran on a tight budget, just barely meeting expenses as the small annual opening balances indicate.

The Mackay Institute for Deaf Mutes and the Blind

Another group of children who needed specialized care and had difficulty finding help in the existing city charities was Protestant children with disabilities or handicaps. This problem was addressed by a group of the charitable elite including some of the same men who formed the Boys' Home. A residential school for Protestant children with disabilities—The Protestant Institution for Deaf-Mutes and the Blind—was created in 1869. The institution was managed by a mixed male-female Committee of Management, led by Charles Alexander. The Committee had trouble finding adequate funding for the institution until Joseph Mackay became interested in the project and made a large donation in 1878. The society's name was changed at that point to The Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes in his honour, and he became President.¹²⁸ In 1883, a legacy from his brother Edward Mackay put the institution on a more solid financial footing and enabled the Committee to admit and train blind children as well as the deaf.¹²⁹ As an institution working with handicapped children, the Institute also received a substantial government grant, which had reached \$3000 annually by 1889.¹³⁰

The Institute housed both boys and girls, although, until the 1880s and 1890s, the number of boys was always much larger, reflecting gender-biased assumptions about the need for schooling. Before 1877 the number of children in a year ranged from 16 to 22; from 1878 to 1883 there were 33 on average. With the admission of blind children, the total increased, on average, into the 40s although it was as high as 68 in 1895-1896. The children were between the ages of 7 and 15. There were always some children who paid board, but usually about half of them were admitted free. The school was presented as a

¹²⁸ *Statutes of Canada*, 1869, 32 Vict., c. 89; Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf-Mutes, *Annual Report*, 1883, 94. *Annual Reports* exist for 1870-1897. CIHM #00532.

¹²⁹ Mackay Institute, *Annual Report*, 1883, 94.

¹³⁰ *Quebec Sessional Papers*, No. 1, 1889-1900.

boarding school for the "secular instruction and religious and moral training,"¹³¹ of children as well as special vocational training. Boys were trained in carpentry, printing, type setting, chair caning, and cabinet making; girls in dressmaking and cooking.

The YMCA/YWCA

Although not really charities, the YMCA and YWCA, formed in Montreal in 1851 and 1874 respectively, increased the social services available in the city for young people, especially in the areas of education/training and affordable lodging. The YMCA ran an employment register and helped young immigrants find safe boarding facilities. They opened a reading room and a library in their building in 1873 and ran bible classes and prayer meetings for young men as well as educational classes and lectures.¹³² From 1898, they provided boarding themselves in their new building on Dominion Square. As part of their "four-fold" approach that emphasized physical activity as well as spiritual and intellectual endeavours, the new building (opened in 1891) included a swimming pool and other sports facilities.¹³³ The YMCA was also very active in missionary work in the city, opening its first mission in 1852 and hiring a full-time missionary the next year.

A group of reform-minded women formed the YWCA in 1874. They addressed "the girl problem" by immediately opening a boarding house to provide inexpensive and supervised lodging for young working women and by starting educational classes and lectures not otherwise available for women.¹³⁴ By 1899, they added a second boarding

¹³¹ Mackay Institute, *Annual Report*, 1883, 105.

¹³² For a study of the Montreal YMCA see Harold Cross, *100 Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal Y.M.C.A. 1851-1951* (Montreal: Southam Press, 1951). For a more general discussion see David MacLeod, "A Live Vaccine. The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11, 21 (May 1978): 5-26.

¹³³ Cross, *100 Years of Service*, 170.

¹³⁴ The Annual Reports of the Montreal YWCA are in the National Archives of Canada (MG 28 I198) and the CIHM series #02158. For studies of the YWCA elsewhere in Canada see Diana Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good: The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem' 1870-1930," *Canadian Women's Studies* 7, 4 (Winter 1986): 20-24; Pedersen, "'The Power of True Christian Women,'" and "Providing a Women's Conscience" and Wendy Mitchinson, "The YWCA and Reform in the Nineteenth Century."

facility. In that year 364 young women stayed in the new facility and another 775 at the main home. The society also ran a servant's register.¹³⁵

The YWCA members felt that existing charities working with children were not providing young girls with adequate training in household skills. To fill this gap they started a Helping Hand sewing school in 1875; in 1881 they added courses in general household skills; in 1894, they opened a cooking school.¹³⁶ By 1899, a "Kitchen Garden Association" provided classes in general housekeeping skills.

Their philanthropic work extended to other areas as well, their members founding the Montreal Diet Dispensary (1879) and the Day Nursery (1888), both of which later became independent incorporated societies. In addition, they opened a convalescent home, organized lecture series and other public education services, and did a lot of visiting work. In this latter context they organized a jail visiting committee and a committee to visit the Sailors' Institute, and worked distributing outdoor relief for the United Board of Outdoor Relief. In effect, the YWCA was responsible for many of the late century charitable societies managed by women's committees.

The Montreal Diet Dispensary

Benevolent and civic-minded Montrealers began lobbying for sanitary reforms and other health reforms from 1866 with the creation of the Montreal Sanitary Association. Influenced by the public health movement originating in England and sweeping through North American cities, they tried to sensitize both citizens and the city council to the importance of a healthy environment and to the city's particularly high mortality rates.¹³⁷ One of the charitable institutions established to address health problems among the poor was the Montreal Diet Dispensary. This diet kitchen, a sort of early version of meals-on-wheels, was opened by a group of women from the YWCA and

¹³⁵ YWCA, *Second Annual Report*, 1876.

¹³⁶ YWCA, *Annual Report*, 1876; 1899.

¹³⁷ In its first year members of the Sanitary Association attended 70 council meetings and gave 25 public lectures. A number of different health associations were formed and specialized journals published. *1st Annual Report of the Montreal Sanitary Association, 1867* (Montreal: Gazette, 1867). CIHM # 00469. For this campaign see Claudine Pierre-Deschênes, "Santé publique et organisation de la profession médicale au Québec, 1870-1918," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 35, 3 (décembre 1981): 357-74.

the American Presbyterian Church in 1879 to supply the poor with nourishing food beyond their financial capacity.¹³⁸ Associated with the YWCA, it was originally situated in the YWCA building, but moved within a year to the basement of the American Presbyterian Church where it stayed until 1897. It was incorporated separately in 1890.¹³⁹

Open six days a week, the Dispensary made and delivered foods such as beef tea, chicken broth, calf's foot and wine jelly, gruel, light puddings, cooked meats, milk, eggs, fruit and vegetables, at no cost to individuals with an order signed by a physician, clergyman, city missionary or Committee member, and at or below cost to others. The number of orders filled increased dramatically over the years. From 300 in the first year the total had increased to 2,560 in 1884, and to 17,336 in 1899, of which 16,338 were free.¹⁴⁰ The work was done entirely by volunteers for the first few years; a full-time cook being hired in 1882. As of 1885, the dispensary also hired a visiting nurse; two more nurses had been added by 1899. They accompanied the volunteers on many of their deliveries and attended the sick, arranged referrals to hospitals and other services, helped with births and deaths, and occasionally brought supplies of food, bedding and clothing. In 1899, for example, they made 5,240 visits and attended at 74 births and 13 deaths.¹⁴¹

The Day Nursery

The YWCA addressed another gap in the charitable network when they opened the Montreal Day Nursery in 1888.¹⁴² With its opening, poor Protestant women, mostly widows or deserted wives, finally had access to a daycare service where they could leave their children while they worked and then take them home again at night. It was located

¹³⁸ For a short history, see Orville F. Denstedt, *A Chronicle of the Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1879-1957*, typed manuscript, McGill University Rare Book Room (MS474) and Renée Rowan, *A Beacon of Hope: The Montreal Diet Dispensary*, Translated by Fred A. Reed (Montreal: Éditions Ordine, 2000). The McGill collection also includes letters and a few Minute Books.

¹³⁹ Denstedt, *A Chronicle of the Montreal Diet Dispensary*, 1-4; Rowan, *A Beacon of Hope*, 15, 21-23.

¹⁴⁰ YWCA/Montreal Diet Dispensary, *Annual Reports*, 1884-1899.

¹⁴¹ Diet Dispensary, *Annual Report*, 1887; 1894; 1899.

¹⁴² It was incorporated in 1900. Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1900, 11. *Statutes of Canada*, 1900, 63 Vict., c.104.

at 50 Belmont Park. Unfortunately no Annual Reports remain from before 1897, so this analysis can cover only the period at the very end of the century.

The Nursery opened with 10 children. This number increased steadily, and by the late 1890s an average of 170 attended a year. Approximately 120 families a year used the service, many of them sending more than one child. The average daily attendance was about 25. The highest attendance was in the spring and summer, a time when many mothers worked out by the day as charwomen or at other seasonal jobs.¹⁴³ At these peak periods it was not unusual to find up to 65 children on a given day.¹⁴⁴ Although the Nursery accepted infants, most children were between two and ten.

Children attended from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. and were "fed, kept clean, medically treated and, when necessary, clothed."¹⁴⁵ These long hours were specifically designed to allow mothers to work a full day and meant that they did not have to worry about feeding the children supper. Children could be admitted by the day or by the week. Parents paid a small fee: 10 cents a day for one child, 15 cents for two, or 50 cents for one if paid by the week. A few children, whose mothers could neither care for them nor find a place in one of the child charities, remained overnight.¹⁴⁶ Admission requirements included a doctor's certificate of good health, a vaccination certificate, and short hair.¹⁴⁷

The Nursery provided the management Committee with the opportunity to train the children as well as to provide a service for their mothers. The children spent their morning in school and their afternoon learning practical skills like sewing, mending and housewifery. Gymnastics and singing classes were also given.¹⁴⁸ Sickly children went to the Murray Bay Convalescent Home for a short respite in the summer; the others went on regular excursions and spent two days a week outdoors over the summer months.

The Nursery also ran an employment centre for charwomen—to find work for the children's mothers, thereby teaching them "to help themselves by work faithfully and

¹⁴³ In 1898 the data is given for each quarter. We find that one third more children attended in the spring/summer than in the fall/winter. Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1898, 5.

¹⁴⁴ Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1897, 3; 1898, 5; 1899, 5.

¹⁴⁵ Atherton, *Montreal*, 470.

¹⁴⁶ Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1898, 4.

¹⁴⁷ "Day Nursery Rules," in Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1898, 4.

honestly done."¹⁴⁹ The service had the added advantage of providing workers for the society's supporters.¹⁵⁰ In 1905, 126 women found work for a minimum of four days a week; 646 different employers were involved.¹⁵¹ Potential employers contacted the centre early in the morning. Knowing that the Nursery closed at 7 p.m. and that it gave children supper, many employers made sure the charwomen worked a full day. The Committee also organized weekly prayer and "lecture, tea and cake" meetings for mothers.¹⁵²

The Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital

The Associated Charities (founded in 1883 to coordinate Protestant relief)¹⁵³ raised concern in 1886 about the 60 Protestant infants a year who still ended up with the Grey Nuns, most of them foundlings. They judged the cost of placing that many infants out to nurse as prohibitive, but the child charities were unable to meet the need.¹⁵⁴ The opening of the Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital in 1891 resolved the problem. Designed for "deserted and sick children under the age of two years,"¹⁵⁵ it supplemented the work of the Infants' Home and provided care for foundlings, who made up about one-half of its admissions.¹⁵⁶ A special ward for sick babies was opened in 1897. Located on Argyle Street, the hospital was managed by a committee of women aided by a Medical Board. When it was incorporated in 1914 the hospital was located on St. Urbain Street.¹⁵⁷

A yearly average of 167 infants were admitted between 1891 and 1905, with approximately 36 present at any point. Another 20 babies were admitted annually to the sick baby ward. Following the example of the Infants' Home, the hospital originally

¹⁴⁸ Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1897, 4; 1902, 9.

¹⁴⁹ Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1897, 7.

¹⁵⁰ This was the norm across Canada. See Patricia Vandebelt Schulz, "Day Care in Canada: 1850-1962", in Kathleen Gallagher Ross, ed., *Good Day Care: Fighting for it, getting it, and keeping it* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1978), 141.

¹⁵¹ Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1905, 10.

¹⁵² Day Nursery, *Annual Report*, 1900, 7.

¹⁵³ See discussion in Chapter Seven.

¹⁵⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1886, 154-55.

¹⁵⁵ Foundling and Baby Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1897, 3.

¹⁵⁶ Foundling and Baby Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1905, 12.

admitted mothers but this was discontinued in 1897.¹⁵⁸ Since the special sick baby ward was opened that same year, it appears the decision was linked to the need to create space for the new ward. From that point on infants were fed with modified cow's milk prepared in the institution.¹⁵⁹ This might have had some impact on the mortality rate, which was 53 per cent in 1897 and still 48 per cent in 1905. The hospital established a milk depot in 1901, and the next year sold 4,000 bottles of modified milk at cost. This fed two babies year long and up to ten over the summer months.¹⁶⁰ Thus they pioneered the distribution of milk several years before the Gouttes de lait movement gained force in Montreal in 1910 or Well Baby Clinics opened in Toronto in 1912.¹⁶¹

Other Specialized Institutions

The network of charities we have seen was formed in response to need but had aspects of social regulation. Alongside these charities, a number of medical charities such as dispensaries and hospitals provided medicine and medical care for the poor. Moral regulation also played a large part in the elite's charitable undertakings, but such regulation found its most visible manifestation in institutions created directly to "rescue" groups thought to pose a particular threat to moral order such as sailors, unwed mothers, prostitutes and former prisoners. This survey will end with a brief comment on these institutions.

Montreal was a major port city, and many of the elite were concerned about the potential violence and lawlessness they associated with sailors in town temporarily. Led by shipping magnate Hugh Allan, a group of leading citizens established the Montreal

¹⁵⁷ *Statutes of Canada*, 1914, 4 Geo., c.151.

¹⁵⁸ Foundling and Baby Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1897, 9.

¹⁵⁹ On the American debate around safe milk substitutes see Richard A. Meckel, *Save the Babies. American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality 1850-1929* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989) and Harvey Levenstein, "'Best for Babies' or 'Preventable Infanticide'? The Controversy over Artificial Feeding of Infants in America, 1880-1920," *The Journal of American History*, 70 (1983): 75-94.

¹⁶⁰ Foundling and Baby Hospital, *Annual Report*, 1902, 5.

¹⁶¹ See Denyse Baillargeon, "Fréquenter les Gouttes de lait. L'expérience des mères Montréalaises 1910-1965," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 1 (été 1996): 29-66 and Cynthia Comacchio, *Nations are Built of Babies: Saving Ontario Mothers and Children 1900-1940* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 48-49.

Sailors' Institute in 1862 in a building near the docks to offer sailors recreational facilities other than the area's taverns.¹⁶² Reading rooms equipped with newspapers and journals, a writing room with paper and a postal service, a smoking/games room, Friday evening concerts, and inexpensive coffee with bread and butter were available during the shipping season from May to mid-November; a savings bank was added in the 1890s. Regular gospel, prayer and temperance meetings were also held. Many sailors used the facilities (8,647 visits were recorded in 1869, 15,470 in 1870 and 16,500 in 1889), but they self-selected the secular services and the Board's evangelical aspirations were not terribly successful. Only 2,900 of the 16,500 visits in 1889, for example, were to attend Gospel, prayer and temperance meetings.¹⁶³

From the late 1840s Montreal also had an institution for the moral reform of women who had violated moral codes.¹⁶⁴ The support for this work was ambivalent, and the institution went through several transformations as the Montreal Protestant Magdalene Asylum (1848-1866), the Female Home (1868-1885), and the Sheltering Home (1886 on).¹⁶⁵ Before 1885, when the Sheltering Home was taken over by an all-female committee, the institutions were run by mixed male-female Committees. Although some of the women admitted were prostitutes, most were young pregnant domestic servants, alcoholics, former prisoners and, from the 1890s, women placed by the Recorder in lieu of a prison sentence. In the 1890s, the mandate was widened to add female convalescents, the feeble-minded and inebriates, as well as "incompetent, idle girls

¹⁶² It was incorporated in 1869 and a larger building purchased in 1897. Sailors' Institute, *Annual Report*, 1870. See Atherton, *Montreal*, 510, for a contemporary description. For a more critical evaluation see DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal" and Judith Fingard, "Evangelical Social Work in Canada," 25-33.

¹⁶³ Sailors' Institute, *Annual Reports*, 1870; 1871; 1889; 1896.

¹⁶⁴ The history is outlined in *The Home*, 480 Upper Seigneurs Street, Montreal, May 1870, CIHM #00636 and Atherton, *Montreal*, 479. The Sheltering Home purchased a building on St. Urbain Street in 1891; it was officially incorporated in 1897. See The Montreal Council of Social Agencies, *The Sheltering Home of Montreal. A Study of Services and Facilities* (Montreal: The Montreal Council of Social Agencies, 1948).

¹⁶⁵ For the unpopularity of this type of work see Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life*, 136; Danylewycz, *Taking the Veil*, 86-87; Lynne Marks, "Working-Class Femininity and the Salvation Army: Hallelujah Lasses in English Canada, 1882-1892," in Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds., *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History* (Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman Ltd., 1991), 194 and Cook, *Through Sunshine and Shadow*.

who, not vicious, would however, if allowed, sink to the abandoned class."¹⁶⁶ Thus the interventionist dimension increased as the moral concerns of the elite about inappropriate female sexuality grew. The institution aimed to provide shelter as well as reformation and used a regimen of prayer and sewing and laundry work in the latter effort.

The Evangelistic Committee of the Women's Christian Temperance Union also ran a Protestant Home for Friendless Women, from 1874,¹⁶⁷ for "destitute and friendless women" "intemperate and fallen women," and maternity cases.¹⁶⁸ Over the years the institution narrowed its focus, and, by 1888, most inmates were young female minor offenders sent by the Recorder for a one-year sentence in lieu of a prison sentence.¹⁶⁹ The WCTU Home also admitted maternity cases on the condition that they promised to enter the Infants' Home from the hospital. This differed from the Female Home, which tried to convince the Infant's Home to allow them to send infants with a servant and thus protect the mother's identity. The Infant's Home refused to waive its admission rules.¹⁷⁰

Much poverty was linked to the illness (and subsequent unemployment) or the death of a wage earner. As the public health movement gained support more emphasis was placed on questions of public health and problems of diet and sanitation among the poor. Hospitals were traditional charitable institutions, but over the nineteenth century, under the influence of both a medicalized approach to poverty and the needs of the massively increased population, they grew in number, size, and specialization; and general hospitals established large outpatient departments and clinics which acted as dispensaries of medicine and advice. Many more people used these services than were hospitalized.¹⁷¹ Specialized institutions, like the Montreal Dispensary formed in 1853,

¹⁶⁶ Atherton, *Montreal*, 480.

¹⁶⁷ It was incorporated in 1876. *Statutes of Canada*, 40 Vict. 1876, c.53.

¹⁶⁸ "Constitution #3", in Montreal Home for Friendless Women, *First Annual Report* (Montreal: Lovell, 1876). CIHM #01070.

¹⁶⁹ Home for Friendless Women, *Annual Report*, 1888, 4.

¹⁷⁰ The Female Home, *Annual Reports*, 1870-1879. CIHM # 00334.

¹⁷¹ For an interesting analysis of medical charities see Barry and Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State* (London & New York: Routledge, 1991). For Canada see David Gagan, "For 'Patients of Moderate Means': The Transformation of Ontario's Public General Hospitals, 1880-1950," *Canadian Historical Review* 70, 2 (1989): 151-79.

provided outpatient services.¹⁷² Over the century a number of other private Protestant hospitals were established, including the Montreal Maternity (1843),¹⁷³ a chest hospital, and an Insane Asylum—in all fourteen by the end of the century.¹⁷⁴

The lack of green spaces and the overall unhealthy conditions in working-class districts raised other public health concerns. The city opened a park on Saint Helen's Island in 1874 and another on Logan's farm (Lafontaine Park) in the 1880s, both designed for the working class. Mount Royal Park was also opened in 1876, but it was mostly used by the anglophone elite who lived at its base.¹⁷⁵ Several charitable associations addressed the problem by taking people to green spaces in the country. One of the earliest was the Murray Bay Convalescent Home for delicate and sickly women and children formed in 1874. The Fresh-Air Fund Committee, formed in 1887, also sent women and children for two-week stays at a country house in Chambly and organized day excursions for others. From 1887 to 1894, 8,356 women and children stayed at the home and a further 18,762 went on excursions.¹⁷⁶ These medical charities helped to round out the services to the poor, but, like the other charities we have seen, they did little to address real conditions in poor city districts.

Personal Charity

Alongside the organised charitable network, individual personal charity continued in Montreal. Although it is difficult to measure its extent, something that is beyond the

¹⁷² Atherton, *Montreal*, 303-04.

¹⁷³ For a general discussion of its work see Rhona Kenneally, "The Montreal Maternity, 1843-1926: Evolution of a Hospital," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1983. The Annual Reports are in the CIHM series #01914 and #01916 and in the McGill University Archives.

¹⁷⁴ Annual Reports are available for the Protestant Hospital for the Insane at Verdun, from 1893-1900, CIHM #01947. For a discussion of the use of insane asylums by the poor see Mitchinson, "Reasons for Committal." For a complete list of the Protestant hospitals and their founding dates see D'Allaire, *Les Communautés Religieuses de Montréal*, 49-50.

¹⁷⁵ Both were on land leased from the Federal government. For a discussion of these working-class parks and the creation of Mount Royal Park as an elite park, see Sarah Schmidt, "Domesticating Parks and Mastering Playgrounds: Sexuality, Power and Place in Montreal, 1870-1930," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1997.

¹⁷⁶ Fresh-Air Fund Committee, *8th Annual Report*, 1894.

scope of this thesis, the files of the Protestant Orphan Asylum (POA) and the Ladies' Benevolent Society (LBS) provide some idea of the forms it took.

Occasionally when children were not admissible or the institution had no space, Committee members contributed money to help the family. This was also done to help some families overcome temporary setbacks without being forced to place their children in the asylum.¹⁷⁷ The charity files also include references to Committee members using their connections to secure apprenticeship placement situations for children they had recommended for admission or, as one Committee member expressed it, "in whose welfare she was most interested."¹⁷⁸ Thus we find examples of two forms of personal charity—financial aid and the securing of apprenticeship situations—among the Committee members. It is impossible to know how many destitute families were able to avoid applying to one of the child charities because someone had "taken an interest" in them and how many people received financial aid at private homes or on the streets.

In many ways the private charities themselves were a new vehicle for personal charity. Often, instead of helping families directly in their homes as they might have done before, well-to-do citizens recommended cases to the charities and used their influence to ensure admission. The admission Registers indicate that this was done for children of employees and for elderly former servants or employees unable to care for themselves as well as for children of families in whom charity supporters took a "special interest." In some of these cases, especially in that of former servants, the sponsor paid the institution for the woman's board and/or sent special gifts of clothing, food, and treats to make institutional life more comfortable. In other instances such as the board for the children of a current servant, they acted as guarantor for board payment.

On a larger scale the private charities were the continuation of personal charity in that they survived through the financial contributions of the wealthy and would have closed otherwise. Supporters paid annual subscriptions, left legacies and responded to special funding appeals. Many individuals also made regular donations of provisions and

¹⁷⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, June 1824, 67; Vol.1, June 1825, 95; Vol.4, April 1853, 276; Vol.11, September 1885, 113; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, March 1859, 25; Vol.7, May 1872, 271.

¹⁷⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, June 1869, 218. See also Vol.1, May 1824, 65; Vol.4, April 1849, 46-47; May 1850, 87; Vol.8, February-March 1867, 100-01, 106; April 1869, 212; Vol.11, December 1884, 73.

old clothing and at Christmas time sent donations for the traditional dinner. Throughout the year professionals such as doctors, lawyers, notaries, chemists, printers and photographers donated their services and their products to the charities, donations that helped to reduce operating costs and keep the charities viable. Others donated money that they had received from unusual circumstances like juror fees, witness fees, prizes, and so on. All of these are evidence of the continuity of personal charity.

Many of the private charities, and most of those for women and children, were managed by women. The rest of the thesis uses two of these charities—the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society—to examine female-directed private charity in Montreal from 1822 to 1900.

Chapter Three

The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society

Two of the first Protestant private charities—the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society—continued their work across the century and in fact still exist today in altered form.¹ This chapter introduces some of the more general aspects of these two charities, setting the framework for the more specific discussions of services (admissions, departures), management work and structures, and policy development that follow in subsequent chapters. The chapter looks at the elite who sat on the management boards and those who supported them, paying attention to the conservative benevolent approach of this elite and the woman's culture they brought to their works of charity.

The Charitable Elite

Charity work was an accepted and even expected activity for elite women in the nineteenth century and the wives of many of Montreal's Protestant anglophone elite were involved in their community's charities. A total of 559 women served on either the POA or the LBS Committee during the nineteenth century: 220 in the POA and 369 in the LBS. About thirty were members of both. Although several women worked for many years in both charities, either consecutively or concurrently, most tended to focus their efforts on one charity or the other. (See Appendix 7.)

Many Montreal women were connected with the city's other charitable institutions: the Home and School of Industry/Hervey Institute had 253 members from 1867 to 1900; the Protestant Infants' Home had 155 (1871-1900); the (Anglican) Church Home another 116 (1855-1900); and the Industrial Rooms had 86 (1864-67, 1884-1900).² Sixty-six of these women were also on the POA or the LBS Committee, and a number served on more than one of the other charity Committees. Other women were involved in Dorcas or Missionary

¹ The two societies merged in 1946. They are currently subsumed under Batshaw Youth and Family Services. This organization runs group homes and other residential services as well as working in youth protection, adoption, and foster care.

² Lists of committee members were included in Lovell's/Mackay's *Montreal Directory* under Benevolent or Religious Societies sporadically from the 1840s and more regularly after 1867. *The Montreal Directory* (1842/1843-1855/56); *Mackay's Montreal Directory* (1856/57-1867/68); *Montreal Directory* (1868/69-1874/75); *Lovell's Montreal Directory*, 1875/76-1900.

societies in their respective Churches or on the Ladies' Committees of the National Societies.

A closer look at the 559 women on the POA or the LBS Committees reveals numerous family interconnections; and it becomes apparent that, rather than the Montreal bourgeoisie as a whole running these large charities, several groups of linked families account for many of the members and for most of the Directresses. There was almost always a representative of the Ross/McCord/Tylees, the Moffatts, the Greenshields, the Lymans and the Armour/Ramsays in the POA; of the Mackenzies, the Ogdens, and the Evans in the LBS; and of the Torrances and the Molsons on both Committees.³

Mothers and daughters, sisters and sisters-in-law worked together in the same bonds of kin, friendship and sisterhood as those found in other women's associations and charities, as a number of studies show.⁴ A minimum of twenty-nine family units of mothers and daughters appear in both the POA and the LBS. In addition, many of the LBS members had daughters working on the Young Ladies' School Committee that supervised the institution's school. At least nine groups of sisters worked together in each charity, as did about as many sisters-in-law, who were often linked through family business connections as well as marriage. Suzanna Lyman Corse and Anne Jones Corse, for example, were both on the POA Committee in the 1830s and 1840s. The family's connection was maintained into the next generation by Mary Corse Lyman. Other family connections such as aunts/nieces, and grandmothers/granddaughters were also found.

A number of families had connections that spanned several generations. Jane Davidson Ross, for example, served on the POA from 1823 until her death in 1866. Three of her daughters—Elisa Ross, Anne Ross McCord and Mary-Jane Ross Tylee—were also members, as was her grand-daughter Anne McCord. In fact, this family virtually monopolized the positions of POA Directress for four decades from 1835 to 1875, during

³ Specific references to family connections in Annual Reports, Minutes, and biographical sources such as Atherton, *Montreal, 1835-1914, Biographical*; Morgan, *The Canadian Men and Women of the Times*; Borthwick, *History and Biographical Gazeteer*; and *The Dictionary of Canadian Biography* revealed many family interconnections but these are an underestimate as authors of biographical studies did not always consider family information relevant.

⁴ See Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual"; Cott, *Bonds of Womanhood*, 187-94, 201-03; Lebsack, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 208; Porter Benson, "Business Heads and Sympathetic Hearts," 302-06.

which time two or three of the four POA Directress positions were held by Ross-McCord family members. Jane Ross was the Treasurer from 1823 to 1851, and then First Directress until 1866. When she left the Treasurer's job, the position went to her daughter Mary-Jane, who held it until 1875. Mary-Jane Ross Tylee was also First Directress from 1879 to 1883. In 1834, when the original POA Secretary died, neither of her daughters was willing to succeed her, and the woman who was elected left the city within a few months. At that point, the POA turned to Jane Ross's 27 year-old daughter, Anne Ross McCord, to take on the job of Secretary, a position she held until her death in 1870. When she was ill her sister Elisa filled in for her, but at her death the Committee decided to ask her daughter Anne (who was only 22 years old) to accept the position "notwithstanding her youth, as a way to perpetuate the record and name of her mother."⁵ Here we also see excellent examples of the deliberate tendency to request daughters to take the place of their mother on the Committee to maintain family connections to the charity.

The family of Thomas and E. Evans was another example of extensive involvement at the leadership level. Fanny and Jane Evans, unmarried sisters, consecutively held the position of LBS Secretary from 1856 to 1892. Mrs. E. Evans joined in 1886 and was LBS First Directress in 1889 and 1890; J. Francis Evans, introduced as a member of the same family, joined in 1893 and held the position of Treasurer in 1896, and again from 1898 to 1903. There are only four years from 1856 to 1900 in which a member of this Evans family was not an LBS Directress.

The families encountered so far were all members of Montreal's elite, most of them associated with the *grande bourgeoisie*. The class position of Committee members was examined using the occupation of either a woman's husband or father as indicated in the *Montreal Directory* and the biographical sources consulted. Each woman was checked in her first or second year on the Committee. Positive identification was problematic for women with common surnames, for those from the early years before the city directory existed, and for those who lived outside the city limits. Nonetheless, occupation was established for 152 of the POA members and 219 of the LBS.

A detailed occupation scale is not necessary for our purposes. Occupations are organized using general categories—merchants (import-export, retail and general),

⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, May 1870, 258-59.

general managers, agents (land and insurance), brokers, and government employees (Sheriff, PostMaster General, Customs' Controller). A category of businessman was created to identify those families whose investments crossed over into many areas, such as the Molsons, the Torrances, and the Van Hornes. Many others also had multiple business interests and several had rental income from urban real estate or seigneuries, but none were found to have income from landed wealth only. (See Table 3.1 below.)

Table 3.1
Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society and Protestant Orphan Asylum Committee
Members, by Husbands' Occupation (1830-1900)

Occupation	LBS		POA	
	No.	% of Known Members	No.	% of Known Members
Merchant	64	28.6	48	31.6
Manufacturer	19	8.5	6	3.9
Businessman	21	9.4	22	14.5
General Manager	18	8.0	8	5.3
Broker	15	6.7	11	7.2
Agent	8	3.6	3	2.0
Publisher	2	0.9	6	3.9
Building Contractor	3	1.3	2	1.3
Total Bourgeois	150	67.0	106	69.7
Doctor	19	8.4	8	5.3
Judge	6	2.7	8	5.3
Clergy	21	9.4	9	5.9
Lawyer	12	5.4	10	6.6
Other Professional ¹	5	2.2	2	1.3
Total Professional	63	28.1	37	24.4
Military	5	2.2	3	2.0
Government	6	2.7	6	3.9
Grand Total	224	100.0	152	100.0
Total Members	369	100.0	220	100.0
Known Members	224	60.7	152	69
Members not in data	145	39.3	68	31

¹Includes Architect, Professor and Photographer.

Source: *The Montreal Directory* (1842/1843-1855/1856); *Mackay's Montreal Directory* (1856/1857-1867/1868); *Montreal Directory* (1868/1869-1874/1875); *Lovell's Montreal City Directory*, (Montreal: Mackay, John Lovell, 1875/1876-1900).

The largely upper middle-class origin of Committee members holds no surprises.⁶ Neither does the fact that, in a commercial city like Montreal, the most common occupation was that of merchant. Grouped together, the bourgeois occupations (merchants, manufacturers, brokers, contractors, publishers, and the powerful general managers of banks and large family companies) comprised more than 66 per cent of Committee members.

Professionals were the next largest group, accounting for approximately one quarter of the members. Most were from the upper strata of their profession—doctors who serviced an upper-class clientele and were lecturers at the McGill Medical School, and lawyers who later became judges or successful politicians. The wives of the city's leading Protestant clergymen were also prominent and lent their moral authority to the Committees. Less than ten per cent of members did not fit into one of these two categories. As the wives of the military elite stationed in Montreal when it was a British garrison post or wives of high-level government officials such as sheriffs, however, they were undoubtedly associated with the upper middle-class.

Analyzed over time (examining the occupations of new members each decade), the occupational structures show little change other than an increase in the number of company managers and agents and of several professions after the 1870s, an increase that mirrors the growing importance of these occupations in the Montreal economy. The proportion of professionals and bourgeois, as a group is fairly stable. This masks changes in the profile of the city's elite, however, and by late century the wives of some of the new industrial elite (like the Drummonds, the Van Hornes, and the Stephens) were not associated with these charities or were only marginally involved.

The Montreal charitable elite had more in common than membership in the bourgeois or professional occupational strata. Class is not simply economic; it is, as E.P. Thompson and others have explained, a "lived experience," a conscious identification with a group through the recognition of common experiences and in distinction from (or in opposition to) other groups; that is, it is a socially constructed formation.⁷ Sociologists like

⁶ Other studies of female societies find the same predominance of upper middle-class and especially merchant's wives. See Lebsack, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 207; Porter Benson, "Business Heads and Sympathetic Hearts," 303; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 215; Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 153; Boylan, "Women's Benevolent Organizations," 511, 520.

⁷ See E.P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working-Class* (Harmondsworth, Middlesex:

Dorothy Smith and historians like Katherine McKenna have studied the crucial role upper middle-class women played in this social organization of class and class identification.⁸ Charities were an integral part of this social network, and being a member of a charity Committee was a way to assert a family's membership in the elite as well as its respect for the elite's role in the community.⁹ This is one reason why so many of the women from upper- and middle-class families served as members on these Committees at some point.

Charities were also a part of the institutional network by which the elite interacted with other social groups and, in the process, imposed their views of society and morality through both the moral and social regulation of these groups. These aspects of gender and class power permeate the work of the POA and the LBS, as will be shown in the examination of admission and departure policies and of life inside the institutions. But it is also clear in the language and symbolic representations used by these Committees to describe themselves. The fact that Committee members deliberately and clearly differentiated between themselves as "Ladies" and their female clients and their hired staff as "women," speaks eloquently to their class-defined self-image. This labeling both united the Committee members as a group and separated them from women who either worked for a living or who applied for charity and who were, therefore, of an inferior social class. We find very few examples of cross-class gender affinity between the ladies and these "women" other than the fact the LBS was created to help needy widows, elderly or infirm women and convalescents and that it occasionally sheltered a battered wife. The rhetorical trope of the "lady" also evoked specific notions of both domesticity and respectability and thus had gender as well as class connotations.¹⁰ In recognition of the importance this language

Penguin Books Ltd., 1972), 9-12; R. J. Morris, *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850* (London: McMillan, 1979), 27-31; Dorothy Smith, "Women, Class and Family," in Roxanna Ng, ed., *Women, Class Family and the State* (Toronto: Garamond, 1985), 1-44; Noble, "'Class-ifying' the Poor," 109-11.

⁸ Katherine M.J. McKenna, "The Role of Women in the Establishment of Social Status in Early Upper Canada," *Ontario History* 83, 3 (September 1990): 179-206 and *A Life of Propriety*.

⁹ Leonore Davidoff finds that charity membership was almost an adjunct to "Society." Bonnie Smith finds the same sort of emphasis in northern France where it was fashionable to belong to many organizations at once. See Leonore Davidoff, *The Best Circles. Society Etiquette and the Season* (London: Croom Helm, 1973); Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*.

¹⁰ For the impact of this on the work of these two charities see the discussion in Chapter 7. For the trope of the "lady" see Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 210 and Leonore Davidoff,

had for these elite women and for their self-image and the way they approached their charity work, I refer to the Committee members as ladies throughout the thesis. In the same way I have systematically capitalized "Committee" to distinguish it as a corporate body, and I have adopted some of the capitalization norms used in the nineteenth century in terms of elected officers such as First Directress, Treasurer and so on.

Occupational and class links among the families connected to the charities were reinforced by layers of other business and financial connections. These economic links were in turn reinforced by personal, social and cultural links. Intermarriage was common, and many Committee members were neighbours on the estates built on the south side of the mountain known as the Golden Square Mile.¹¹ Ethnicity, religion, and language were additional unifying factors for this Protestant anglophone elite in a city that for most of the century had a Catholic majority and where, except from approximately 1831 to 1867, the majority was also French speaking. During the period of its ascendancy the Protestant elite established institutions and associations to build a unified community. The National Societies—where men served together as Office Bearers and ladies served on the Ladies' Committees—were central to this ethnic cohesion.¹² So too were the Protestant Churches, whose clergy served as moral leaders in the community. As well, the English-speaking community established educational facilities—like McGill University, the Presbyterian and the Diocesan Theological Colleges and public and private schools; it established facilities for a thriving cultural life—newspapers, newsrooms, coffee houses, the Montreal Royal Theatre (1825-44),¹³ an Art Association (1860), the Montreal Museum of Fine Arts (1864),

"Class and Gender in Victorian England," in Judith Newton, Mary Ryan & Judith Walkowitz, eds., *Sex and Class in Women's History* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1983), 21.

¹¹ For a description of the opening and development of this area see David B. Hanna, "Creation of an Early Victorian Suburb in Montreal," *Urban History Review* 9, 2 (October 1980): 38-64; Donald MacKay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Vancouver/Toronto: Douglas & McIntyre, 1987) and Roderick MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile. 1840-1895," Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1997.

¹² E.A. Collard, *Montreal Yesterdays* (Toronto: Longmans, 1963), 204-20.

¹³ See Owen Klein, "The Opening of Montreal's Theatre Royal, 1825," *Theatre History in Canada I* (Spring 1980): 24-39; Neil Forsyth, *The Molsons in Canada, the first 200 years* (Public Archives of Canada, 1986), 8.

the Mercantile Library, and the Fraser Institute as well as sporting clubs and other associations of a political, literary, scientific or education-related nature.¹⁴

Membership in these various associations or service on a charity Board of Directors or Committee of Management was a sign of class membership and served as a way to build class coherence as well as to reflect a family's social status and standing in the community. It was a natural extension of this power and social prominence, then, for the wives and daughters of the elite to manage the Protestant child charities and for some of the male elite to serve these same charities as special advisors.

Married women and widows predominated on the Committees.¹⁵ In the LBS, there were 298 married women and 71 single ones; in the POA, 174 married and 48 single. While it is impossible to determine any clear patterns as to when ladies joined these Committees in relation to their marriages and family size, the data we have for twenty-four ladies provides some indication. Three ladies married while they were Committee members, maintaining their connection uninterrupted. One of them died in childbirth within a few years; another remained an active member for many years but was childless; and the third remained an active member for seven years at which point, with four young children, she found the work too demanding and left the Committee, becoming an Honorary member. Ten ladies are known to have joined the Committees within ten years of their marriages, but these tended to be childless or to have small families and several had been very active in philanthropic work when unmarried. Another seven joined from nineteen to twenty-six years after their marriages, when the demands on them as mothers were considerably reduced.

From this small sample there appears to be a connection between the ability to work actively on a charity board and the number and age of one's children. Understandably, few ladies with large families were able to devote a lot of time to charitable work when the

¹⁴ Yvan Lamonde, "La sociabilité et l'histoire socio-culturelle: le cas de Montréal, 1760-1880," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1987): 102; Lovell, *City Directory*, 1860; 1865. For sporting clubs see Gerald Redmond, *The Sporting Scots of Nineteenth-Century Canada* (Toronto: Associated University Presses, 1982), 20; Alan Metcalfe, *Canadians Learn to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1870-19* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987) and Robert Collins, *The Age of Innocence, 1870-1880 Canada's Illustrated Heritage* (Toronto: McClelland, 1977), 13-15.

¹⁵ Both Hewitt and Boylan find the same predominance of married women in the benevolent societies in Rochester and Boston. Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 153; Boylan, "Timid Girls," 780-82.

demands on them as mothers were greatest.¹⁶ The four exceptions to this that we know of were Anne McCord, who joined three years after her marriage and who raised six children while she was the Secretary of the POA; Jane Mackay, who joined at her marriage and raised nine children;¹⁷ and Harriet Thomas and Rachel Ferrie, who joined within 11 and 13 years respectively of their marriages, when their large families (9 and 6 children) must have been very demanding. All four were active members.

A number of single women (119 of 559) worked on these Committees. Unlike the pattern found by Susan Porter Benson in her work on the city of Providence, this number was not disproportionately large nor did these ladies demonstrate a higher level of commitment than their married counterparts,¹⁸ possibly because most lived with family in the city and therefore had extensive family obligations.¹⁹ Nonetheless, a number of single ladies were among the most dedicated and active Committee members. Probably even more than their married co-workers, single women brought a need for social recognition and personal fulfillment to their charity work. It is also clear that, to some extent, the charity children served as a substitute family for some of them, and several regularly volunteered to do visiting duty and extra teaching in the asylums. Louisa Goddard Frothingham, for example, was a POA member for 64 years, from the age of 18, continuing after her marriage to J.H.R. Molson. Marrying at 46, she remained childless, and still organized annual

¹⁶ Anne Boylan finds the same general pattern in her study of New York and Boston where she was able to determine the age at which women joined charity committees for 26% of her sample. Boylan, "Timid Girls," 781-85.

¹⁷ Mackay Papers, (NAC, MG 24 D 115), Senator Robert Mackay, Correspondence.

¹⁸ Single women on the Providence Employment Society Committee tended to remain almost twice as long as the norm. Porter Benson, "Business Heads and Sympathetic Hearts," 304. For other examinations of single woman in benevolent and reform work, see Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Ruth Freeman and Patricia Klaus, "Blessed or Not? The New Spinster in England and the United States in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *Journal of Family History* 9, 4 (Winter 1984): 394-414; Kathleen McCrone, "Feminism and Philanthropy in Victorian England: the Case of Louisa Twining," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1976): 123-39; Harriet Warm Schupf, "Single Women and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The Case of Mary Carpenter," *Victorian Studies* 17 (March 1974): 301-17.

¹⁹ Lee Chambers-Schiller found this was a crucial factor in explaining levels of commitment in her study of single American reformers. Lee Chambers-Schiller, "Single Women: Family and Vocation among Nineteenth-Century Reformers," in Mary Kelly, ed., *Woman's Being, Woman's Place. Female Identity and Vocation in American History* (Boston: G.K. Hall & Co., 1979), 338-44.

Christmas-Eve celebrations for the children and the POA staff in her home and actively worked on projects connected to the institution's diet and the building's condition, projects designed to improve the children's health.²⁰ Elisa Ross worked on both the LBS and the POA Committees for more than thirty years. She visited the asylums regularly and taught the children singing and religion, as well as teaching a young deaf and dumb girl in the orphanage. Emma Badgley was a Directress of the LBS Young Ladies' School Committee for many years before she joined the main LBS Committee, where she worked for twenty-four more years until her death. Over these years she visited the children regularly and taught them singing, and she often ran the institution over the summer months when the First and Second Directresses were away on holiday.

It is interesting that despite the level of commitment illustrated by the example of these three women, very few single women served as office holders. Both societies had single Secretaries (six for the LBS, one for the POA) and single Treasurers (three in the LBS and one in the POA), but, with one or two exceptions, single woman did not serve as either First or Second Directress in the POA or the LBS. Although a discussion of this was never recorded in the Minutes, it is probable (if we consider the experience recorded elsewhere) that as much as possible the Committees restricted key leadership roles to married women.²¹ These charities served as substitute homes, and notions of domesticity and family were central to their work and to their public image. From this perspective, leadership positions like that of Lady Directress called for the moral authority more "naturally" associated with middle-aged married women or widows than with single women.

Charitable Support

As private charities, both the POA and the LBS depended on private support—from subscriptions, donations, fund-raising events and investment income—for the bulk of their funds. (For their budgets see Appendix 8 and 9.) Indeed, subscriptions and

²⁰ She actively supported a number of the city's charities but her longest and most involved work was with the POA. See Janice Harvey, "Louisa Goddard Frothingham (Molson)," *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 13, 362-63; S.E. Woods, *The Molson Saga* (Scarborough: Avon Books of Canada, 1983), 180-81.

²¹ Anne Boylan found that this was common in the charities she studied. Boylan, "Timid Girls," 780-89.

donations were the main way in which these charities received the support and approbation of the bourgeoisie. Many women who did not work directly on the Committees contributed to the work through annual financial support, as subscription members and through occasional donations to the charities or to special fund-raising projects. Further, from the 1860s, an increasing number of businesses made regular contributions to the LBS. As a result, the two charities had somewhat different income profiles—as can be seen from Appendix 10 and 11, organized on the basis of the contributor's gender.²²

The total number of contributors to the POA's General Fund was small and decreased over the century with an average of 109 across the century, but only 71 in the 1890s. Most were subscribers, paying an annual subscription of at least five dollars. More than three quarters of contributors were women, and they donated 66 per cent of total funds. In 1855 the Secretary proposed that they solicit more "gentlemen to become permanent annual subscribers,"²³ but the suggestion was never followed up.

The LBS records reveal a very different pattern. First, as a bigger institution with more than three times the number of residents and much larger needs, the volume of annual operating funds collected through subscriptions and donations was substantially larger than in the POA, with an average of \$1,702 over the century compared to \$623 for the POA; the LBS contributions had passed the \$1,000 mark by the early 1850s. Furthermore, the subscriptions and donations lists were much larger, with an average of 467 persons. The large street canvasses begun in the 1890s (see Chapter Six) increased the number of donors substantially, and by 1899 there were close to 1,400 persons. The average donation, however, was always below the standard five-dollar subscription level, especially after 1890, since most of the street collections were for small sums less than one dollar.

The gender pattern of contributions is also an important difference. The percentage of women contributors to the LBS's yearly income, at 61 per cent, is much smaller than those of the POA, and they accounted for only 49 per cent of total contributions. This is due

²² Total contributions have been adjusted to remove contributors who could not be identified by sex. This included those listed as friend, stranger, unknown, poor box, as well as by initials. All those referred to as Mrs. or Miss and the married couples are counted as women. All first initial, last names are counted as men. So are companies. Due to the large number of contributors, the LBS lists were checked at five-year intervals.

²³ POA, *Annual Report*, 1855.

to the large number of male and business contributors (counted as male) who, starting in 1865, were reached by special collections in the financial district. It is also due to the fact that company donations tended to be much larger than the five-dollar subscription fee women normally donated. Before 1865, women made 73 per cent of contributions; after the business collections their proportion dropped to 39 per cent. It is clear that, with its much larger budget needs, the LBS depended on the financial support of the male elite to ensure its survival but that the POA, as a smaller charity with more circumscribed needs, could manage on the subscriptions of its female members. This financial independence ensured the POA's autonomy; but, as will be seen in the last chapter, the LBS maintained its policy-making autonomy despite its dependence on male financial support.

In an attempt to avoid fluctuating income levels and constant appeals for support, both charities created endowment funds for special donations and legacies—the POA in 1851, the LBS in 1858. It was at this same period they purchased land and constructed buildings to reduce their costs. This landed capital was also an asset for the two charities.²⁴ Interest payments from the Endowment Funds went towards annual operating costs, but the capital was kept entirely distinct from the General Fund to ensure the funds would grow over the years. Ideally, the ladies hoped these funds would soon become large enough to make the Societies self-financing. Although they never reached this point, the interest they generated had become a major source of revenue by the 1880s. This was especially true for the POA whose Endowment Fund grew quite rapidly. Income from the fund contributed approximately 50 per cent of revenue in the 1880s and 69 per cent over the 1890s. By 1899, the POA Endowment Fund had reached \$100,000. The LBS Permanent Fund was somewhat smaller, but investment income accounted for 25 per cent of income in the 1880s and close to 30 per cent through the 1890s. By 1899, the Fund had accumulated \$50,268.²⁵

Looking at these funds we see that a number of supporters and Committee members left legacies to the charities or made donations directed to the Endowment Funds rather than

²⁴ In 1893 the POA sold their property on Ste. Catherine Street for \$70,000. With this capital they were able to purchase two lots on Côte-des-Neiges and Summerhill for \$28,000 and to construct a larger institution. The remaining money was added to the Endowment Fund. POA, *Annual Report*, 1893.

²⁵ Pearse and Mitchel, *History of the LBS*, 72; LBS, *Annual Report*, 1899, 17.

to current expenses. This was the best way to ensure continued future support to the charities. Although historians Frank Prochaska and Susanne Lebsack have found that women predominated among legators in the charities they looked at, this is not the pattern in Montreal.²⁶ Indeed, the gender pattern that emerges is quite different, given that a significant number of men left legacies to these two charities or they made special donations to the endowment funds, and their contributions tended to be large. (See Table 3.2.) This different pattern is probably due to the fact that a man wanting to support charitable work with children in Montreal was forced to leave legacies to the female charities, since no male-directed child charity existed. In England and Petersburg, men had the option of leaving their money to a much wider range of male-directed charities.

Table 3.2
Contributions to the Permanent Funds of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum (1850-1900)

	Total Number	Women	Men	Women as % of total	Total Funds	% of funds from women
Protestant Orphan Asylum						
Donations	15	5	10	33%	2413.91	22%
Legacies	71	26	45	37%	23069.17	21%
Unknown	8				1830.00	
Total	94	31	55	33%	25483.08	21%
Ladies' Benevolent Society						
Donations	12	3	9	25%	13106.00	83%
Legacies	83	40	43	48%	52181.55	49%
Unknown	1				100.00	
Total	96	43	52	45%	65247.55	56%

Source: LBS, "Account of the Permanent Fund," in *Annual Reports*, 1860-1900;
POA, "Account of the Endowment Fund," in *Annual Reports*, 1856-1900.

In the POA, only 33 per cent of contributors to the Endowment Fund were women and their legacies represented only 21 per cent of total funds. Thus, although female subscribers paid much of the orphanage's operating costs, it received substantial support

²⁶ Lebsack finds that women were twice as likely as men to leave parts of their estate to charity, but found charity donations in only 6.7% of the wills she examined. Lebsack, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 224. See also Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 33-35.

from men to its Endowment Fund. In this way men contributed indirectly to much of the POA's financing by late century.

In the LBS, women made up 45 per cent of contributors to the Permanent Fund and accounted for more than half of total funds. This seemingly different pattern with the POA, however, is largely explained by two unusually large sums given to the LBS in the 1890s by Louisa Frothingham Molson (a \$10,000 donation) and by Agnes Gale Stuart, a former Young Ladies' School Committee member (a \$12,775 legacy). With these two amounts removed, the remaining sums donated by women represent 33 per cent, an amount closer to that found in the POA. Nevertheless, these two large gifts reflect the central role charity played in the lives of many women.²⁷

Both charities, therefore, received substantial financial support from the Protestant community. A large number of women supported them through regular subscriptions or donations and many also left small legacies. Men provided most of their support through legacies to the Endowment Funds although businesses provided substantial donations to the LBS's annual collection.

As was the case with most private charities, both the POA and the LBS received small government grants from 1832. This support was important to the charities, although as noted in Chapter One the amount of these government grants fluctuated over the century. Despite the cutbacks beginning in 1884 to the POA grant, this source contributed about 20 per cent of POA income until the 1890s. In the LBS, the government grant represented about 20 per cent of revenue in the 1830s and 1840s; but, as a result of decreases to the grant and increases in overall income, its proportional importance dropped to 15 per cent by the 1860s and 12 per cent in the 1870s. The LBS applied repeatedly but unsuccessfully for an increase to this grant. Board income paid from 1884 for children in the industrial school by both the province and the city increased income from government sources to 22 per cent of total revenue by the 1890s. As well as this

²⁷ With the exception of the \$25,000 endowment allotted to the LBS by Edward H. King in 1896, both were much larger than the sums left by men. This endowment is not included in the statistics since, as Mrs. King retained usufruct on the sum for 21 years or until her death or remarriage, the LBS did not actually receive the money for many years. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1896.

external funding, the LBS generated approximately 10 per cent of its income from board payments, income that was especially important in the latter part of the century.²⁸

Although investment income was substantial by late century, and, combined with the government grant, certainly provided the charities with a dependable base income, it was never large enough to entirely eliminate the need for fund-raising. Over most of the century the largest part of the charity funds had to be raised each year. Organizing fund-raising events and finding ways to encourage people to become subscription members or to donate money was demanding work, and these Committees often had problems raising more funds than the bare minimum. (See Chapter Six for fund-raising.) As a result, budgets were frequently very tight and in some years funds were insufficient to cover costs. Adequate income was especially a problem before the charities had their own land and buildings, but it remained problematic in years when provisions were costly, when the Committees were trying to raise funds for construction and renovations or land purchases as well as for operating costs, and when the city was in an economic recession. Although both charities experienced revenue problems, the financial situation of the LBS was often more precarious than that of the POA, since the LBS was a larger, more populous institution with higher costs and less investment income. This situation was complicated by the fact that the LBS fiscal year began October 2, just before the winter supplies were purchased. Too many unpaid or late subscriptions could cause havoc and in several years, especially in the 1880s and 1890s, the winter accounts were in the red and expenses were sometimes carried on the books to the next year.²⁹

In relation to their finances, the ladies were always conscious of their dependence on private contributions and of the implied responsibility. Speakers at the annual meetings often complimented the ladies on their economical management and, in their reports, the ladies themselves regularly referred to this frugality. On several occasions the Committees decided against expenses such as a piano or specialized teachers for reasons of frugality. In 1853, for example, when the LBS School Committee proposed raising special funds to hire

²⁸ Board payment was rare in the POA (only 4 cases). If friends or relatives of the children sent contributions, the money was invested for the children's future use.

²⁹ In 1888, for example, the LBS had carried the coal bill as a debt on the books for two years. In many years debts were covered by borrowing from the Permanent Fund, and that fund was repaid when finances allowed.

a singing teacher, the Committee rejected the idea, arguing that in light of "the low state of funds and difficulty of raising means to meet the necessary expenses it was thought better not to give the children any lesson, which the public might call an accomplishment."³⁰

Even with the moral and financial support of the establishment and the Protestant community, these charities nonetheless were constantly worried about the appearance of waste and about securing enough funds to run their institutions. Perhaps budget constraints and minimal conditions inside charitable institutions were simply in the nature of private charities and accepted as such.³¹ It was with some fatalism that the LBS Committee carried on in spite of precarious finances, pointing to the social and religious role of the work to justify renewed and continued efforts. Thus the Secretary noted in the 1885 report:

The yearly reports of an Institution such as the Ladies Benevolent Institution must, of necessity, be monotonous; the same record of want of means, of occasional sickness and death, and continual evidence of so much obliged to be left undone, that ought to have been done, in spite of all the endeavours of those managers and friends who take an active interest in the affairs of the Society. Still something has been accomplished, children rescued from want, and worse than want, taught to read and write, given the chance, at least, to become useful men and women, and no destitute case has been turned away from their door.³²

Benevolent Women's Societies

The POA and the LBS are both examples of the type of benevolent women's societies identified by Nancy Hewitt in her work on women's activism; and, although we will see that their specific policies changed somewhat over the century as they responded to new needs and/or concerns and as they gained experience on which to base new orientations, their basic benevolent perspective remained. One important characteristic of this perspective was its conservatism. These women came from established families and most were members of the Anglican or Presbyterian Churches. From this class and religious perspective they understood the world as being ordered on hierarchical

³⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, November 1853, 39.

³¹ Rooke and Schnell find that funding was a problem in most of the charities they examined. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 109-11.

³² LBS, *Annual Report*, 1885.

principles. One of these principles was the duty of the privileged to help the poor; another was the status differences accorded to different social classes.

The ladies of the POA, in particular spoke of this hierarchical order on several occasions. In an address to the visiting Governor General in 1874, for example, the POA Committee assured supporters that they "ever endeavour to train the children entrusted to their care in a manner which will qualify them to fulfill the duties of the station in life which they will be called upon to occupy upon leaving this institution."³³ For the POA there was no ambiguity about what "station" that would be. Although they wanted to ensure the children became useful citizens, they did not harbor any aspirations of real social mobility for them. In 1858 the Committee engaged a teacher to supplement the work of the superintendent since "the ladies felt convinced, that, without exceeding the limits to which children in their station of life were entitled, much useful knowledge might be added."³⁴ The next year they invited supporters to visit the orphanage and witness the "happy little faces that may be seen, industriously employed in the acquisition of that humble knowledge suited to their station in life."³⁵ Twenty years later they explained, "it has ever been our desire to make the children feel that the mere drudgery of life, the common household routine can be made a means of offering God service."³⁶ Their beliefs do not seem to have changed much in this regard. In 1893, when they fired their last male superintendent, he claimed it was because he was teaching the children to aspire to more social mobility.

Another characteristic of benevolent women's groups shared by these two Montreal societies, was the support they had from the male elite. The prominent role of Church leaders at their annual meetings lent moral approbation; other male supporters in attendance lent public support and credibility. Both Committees had the support of regular male advisors and/or men's committees who helped with building matters and questions of finance. (See Chapter Seven.) Nancy Hewitt has argued that this cross-gender class collaboration was important to the success of women's public activism,

³³ "Address to the Governor General," in POA, *Minute Book*, Vol.7, 1874.

³⁴ POA, "Historical Sketch," in *Annual Report*, 1860, 25.

³⁵ POA, *Annual Report*, 1859, 9.

³⁶ POA, *Annual Report*, 1879.

providing the three crucial resources of legitimacy, money and material, and political contacts.³⁷ An interesting example of this is found in the LBS records in 1852 when the LBS received a £50 donation from the Provincial Secretary. The LBS Secretary identifies it as "money they [the government] had on hand" and explains that the First Directress "heard of this," applied, and received the funds.³⁸ Even more interesting in this example is the comment in the Annual Report that year thanking the First Directress' husband, David Davidson, for procuring the said money.³⁹

Elite women's moral authority rested on their class status but it also was grounded in women's religious and spiritual qualities.⁴⁰ Religion played a crucial role in the lives of many men and women at the time, but it was of special significance to the culture these elite women shared, to their understanding of the world, and to the way they acted in it.⁴¹ Thus, they saw benevolence as a class duty but even more importantly as a Christian duty; a duty and obligation that quite naturally fell to women. In this they reflected the beliefs of many of their contemporaries.

In the sermon he gave on the opening of the Female Benevolent Society, and which was later published to raise funds for the charity, Reverend Robert Easton used the lesson of the good Samaritan to illustrate the duty of charity and reminded his audience of the role of both poverty and charity in the divine design: "Yea verily, Heaven created

³⁷ Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 50-53.

³⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, April 1852, 213.

³⁹ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1852, 6.

⁴⁰ For a discussion of women's moral authority and their twentieth-century struggle to transform this into the more secular professional authority, see Angela Woollacott, "From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain," *Journal of Women's History*, 10, 2 (Summer 1998): 85-111.

⁴¹ Ruth Compton Brouwer writes about the importance of recognizing the significance of religion and personal spirituality for women and of religious ideology as a cultural force, in her "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into English Canadian Women's History," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3 (Fall 1992): 47-61. Lynne Mark's study of small-town Ontario examines the importance of religion in Protestant culture and especially in the lives of women, *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996). William Westfall's study of Protestant culture also looks at the central role of religion in establishing a culture in a changing economy. *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989). Bettina Bradbury calls attention to the intersection of class, religion and gender in the work the Sisters of Providence did with the elderly in her "Elderly Inmates and Caregiving Sisters."

these inequalities, that compassion and liberality on the one hand, and gratitude on the other might be carried through all varieties of human woe. In order to promote the exercise of these virtues, the tender Parent of the human race has promised his blessing to the merciful man, and blighted with a curse the person and possessions of the churl."⁴² Touching also on the importance of "discriminating" aid and "the assiduity of female tenderness," he encouraged the ladies not to let the difficulties they might encounter discourage them from "pursuing a plan of benevolence, which is as becoming in your sex, as it is highly profitable."⁴³

Years later, Reverend William Snodgrass opened the 1864 POA annual meeting with another typical commentary on the duty of charity in relation to the work of the POA Committee: "It was a great Christian duty performed on behalf of a portion of our fellow creatures who were very helpless, to maintain this institution, and manage it so efficiently, [...] a privilege as well as a duty—a solemn Christian obligation incumbent upon them."⁴⁴ Throughout the nineteenth-century, writers in religious and secular press in both Montreal and Toronto echoed these words, consistently presenting benevolence as a Christian duty⁴⁵ and a privilege that gave life its "best dignity and its most essential importance."⁴⁶ Authors emphasized the personal advantages to be gained by donors and

⁴² Rev. Robert Easton, *A Sermon Delivered Before the Members of the Female Benevolent Society, in Montreal, September 8, 1816* (Montreal: Lovell, 1816), 10.

⁴³ Easton, *A Sermon*, 19, 18, 20.

⁴⁴ POA, *Annual Report*, 1864.

⁴⁵ "Benevolence," *The Christian Guardian* 18, January 14, 1847, 53; "The Christian Law of Giving," *Dominion Churchman* (August 1876): 372; "Christian Giving," *Presbyterian Record* 4, 4 (1881): 103-04; "Systematic Beneficence," *The Presbyterian Record* 17, 2 (1892): 35; "How Much Should a Christian Give?," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 41, 5 (November 1894): 3; Rev. W.A. Fyles, "The Method of Almsgiving," *Montreal Diocesan Theological College Magazine* 3, 2 (1894): 25; Charles R. Black, "Generous Giving," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 42, 48 (November 1896): 2. See also J.W. Williams, D.D. Bishop of Quebec, *A Sermon Preached before St. George's Society in the Cathedral, Quebec, April 23, 1868*, 4. These concepts were also current in the secular press. See for example IRUS, "Rich Folks," *The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* 5, 1 (1823): 441-46; "Systematic Benevolence," *Montreal Witness* 6, 1, January 6, 1851, 4; "Beneficence as a Means of Revival," *Montreal Witness* 6, 20, May 12, 1851, 159; "Charity and its Motives," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 2 (August 6, 1870): 82; Rev. W.R.G. Mellen, "Wealth and its Uses," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly* 2 (1879): 343.

⁴⁶ "A Young Man's Duty to the Church," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 43, 51 (December 1896): 3.

promised "that to him who patiently continues in well-doing, there is reserved glory, honor, immortality, eternal life."⁴⁷

The Annual Reports, historical sketches and Minutes of these two charities reveal this same orientation. Recognizing charity as a "high and solemn duty,"⁴⁸ the ladies emphasized the responsibility of the wealthy to help the "poor and needy whose wants would otherwise have cried unto heaven against those amongst us whom God has given the means to help."⁴⁹ They referred to their charitable work as "their humble mission," "endeavors to do good," "quiet usefulness," and "cheerful and self-denying work." They repeated lessons of proportional giving, pointing to the personal and spiritual value of charity, "which gives rise to the benevolent suggestions of sympathy and succor for those who have been purposely placed among us, as objects on whom we may manifest our love of that Divine Master"; and they invited donors "to the honor of being God's almoners, and to be twice blessed in being bountiful to the poor."⁵⁰ To encourage generosity, the Committees frequently alluded to the benefits bestowed upon the benevolent: "the possibility of being instrumental in averting such temporal and spiritual evil from so many human beings must surely gladden the heart of the Christian and philanthropist"⁵¹; or "an offering thus thrown into the lap of the poor will ascend to heaven in more delightful streams than the incense of the altar, and return again in showers of blessings on the heads of the givers."⁵² They reminded donors that supporting charities allowed them to "carry out their benevolent designs" while being "spared much personal effort."⁵³

⁴⁷ "Religion True Benevolence," *Christian Mirror* 1, 16 (1842): 125. See also Julia B. Schauffler, "Concerning Women's Missionary Societies," *The Methodist Magazine* 35 (1892): 272; Black, "Generous Giving," 2; "Why I Give," *Presbyterian Record* 7, 7 (1882): 199 and "The Ladies' Benevolent Society," *Montreal Witness* 10, Oct. 17, 1855, 48.

⁴⁸ POA, *Annual Report*, 1852; LBS, *Annual Report*, 1852.

⁴⁹ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1880.

⁵⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1852.

⁵¹ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1858.

⁵² POA, *Annual Report*, 1854.

⁵³ POA, *Annual Report*, 1855.

The ladies' work was motivated by the belief that individual salvation was possible through carefully guided education, faith, and virtue. This was one of the major roles they saw their institutions fulfilling in terms of destitute children. The LBS pointed out the religious aspect of its work on many occasions. In 1867, for example, they spoke of how "[e]ntrusted with the care of childhood it is ours to surround these little ones with holy influences watching as we sow the seeds of the precious Gospel."⁵⁴ By the end of the century they still highlighted this aspect in their funding appeal, referring to "every opportunity being used to draw them [the children] into that better knowledge that pertains to everlasting life."⁵⁵ The POA spoke of its "higher responsibilities" in relation to the children, explaining that "while training them for usefulness in this world, we endeavour to inculcate in their hearts the higher aims, principles and motives which will lead their steps to the Good Shepherd,"⁵⁶ and appealed for endowments "whereby donors may see their seedlings produce fruit, to the honor of God, and the comfort and happiness of their fellow creatures."⁵⁷ This was not social reform work; it was moral rescue.⁵⁸

Convinced of the religious importance of their charitable undertaking and their work with children, both Committees had faith that the public would recognize it as their Christian duty to help the poor and thus provide the funding necessary to run the charities.⁵⁹ Annual Reports opened with thankful prayers to Providence and hopes for future support. The 1878 POA Report, for example, begins with an interesting comment on the mixture of work and Providence responsible for their success: "Therefore, let us plan wisely, work patiently, and wait prayerfully, confident that He that has begun this work, and thus far blessed us, will be with us to the end."⁶⁰

⁵⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1867.

⁵⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1889.

⁵⁶ POA, *Annual Report*, 1875.

⁵⁷ POA, *Annual Report*, 1844.

⁵⁸ Joy Parr makes this important distinction in her article on the child emigration homes: "'Transplanting from Dens of Iniquity': Theology and Child Emigration," in Linda Kealey, ed., *'A Not Unreasonable Claim'*, 169-83.

⁵⁹ The work of the LBS also included the care of many elderly women and chronically infirm for whom the charity's religious mission was equally important although of a slightly different quality.

⁶⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1878.

Charity was a duty thought to be particularly well suited to women because of their natural benevolence. As F.K. Prochaska has pointed out, "it remained an article of faith right through the century that in the performance of good works women's nature and mission joined in near perfect harmony."⁶¹ On several occasions, speakers at annual meetings made allusions to the appropriateness of charitable work being carried out by women. The Reverend Donald Fraser thus ended his opening comments as chair of the 1855 LBS meeting: "I must not omit to say that we place great confidence in the internal management of the Institution, because it is in the hands of *Ladies*. All the gentlemen present concur in acknowledging and admiring the peculiar aptitude of the other and more amiable sex for conducting institutions of mercy."⁶² Recognizing and accepting this, many ladies used their charity work to initiate their daughters into their role as ladies of the elite and in class relations generally. Daughters worked with mothers on the Committees or in the LBS Young Ladies' School Committee. Younger children attended the Christmas dinner and other celebrations at the institutions with their mothers, and some shared their birthday celebrations with the charity children. Children were encouraged to donate funds individually or through school collections, and a few offered prizes at the year-end school presentations. Subsumed within this lesson in religious benevolence was another class lesson—the role of charity in social regulation.

In child institutions such as these, the religious and humanitarian aspects of child-saving were mixed with a social regulation role connected to training useful citizens as well as good Christians. It has already been noted that by mid-century the middle-class association of poverty with vice and crime made the elite increasingly concerned about the children of the poor and their potential delinquency. Many recognized that child charities could play a role in the fight against social disorder by rescuing children from the streets or from their families and by inculcating middle-class values. For about a twenty-year period at mid-century, these concerns were vocalized at several of the annual meetings by supporters of the charities and occasionally by the ladies themselves. Speakers referred to charity as a "safety-valve" for society, assuming that, if left to themselves, destitute children would inevitably become criminals who would "prey upon

⁶¹ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 225.

⁶² LBS, *Annual Report*, 1855.

society" and cause innocent citizens "to go to bed in terror."⁶³ They spoke of the savings to society this represented and thanked the ladies for their social contribution. In 1858, one speaker applauded the LBS in the following terms: "Public institutions of benevolence forced themselves upon communities from the very wants and exigencies of the masses, and it was not a question of will, but of necessity—the very law of self-defense, if he might use the expression, demanded such provisions and asylums."⁶⁴ In 1871, *Gazette* editor Thomas White Jr. offered thanks to the LBS for "the great good that was done by rescuing these children, who otherwise would become the social pariahs of society, revenging themselves upon it for its neglect of them and training them up to be useful members of society."⁶⁵

As early as 1849 the LBS Annual Report repeated this construct of poverty as linked to crime, reminding supporters that their work helping destitute women "has afforded a home to many houseless wanderers, who would otherwise have become abandoned to misery and destitution, and their concomitants vice and crime."⁶⁶ Echoing contemporary beliefs that bad environments also led children to vice and crime, they spoke of their work with children as "preserving the young from the paths of vice, and fitting them for becoming useful members of society";⁶⁷ or, in another instance, as "to extend the manifold advantages of kind treatment, careful training, and useful education to so large a number of children who would otherwise, in all human probability, grow up in ignorance and vice, and reap the fruits of their neglected youth in the gaol or penitentiary."⁶⁸ On occasion, the POA expressed similar views as to its role, but social-control and anti-parent discourse is much less evident in its Annual Reports. Still, a comment made in 1854 is a good example: "Let us consider that without such an Institution, to rescue the poor and abandoned Orphans from the contagion of vice to

⁶³ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1861.

⁶⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1858.

⁶⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1871.

⁶⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1849.

⁶⁷ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1854.

⁶⁸ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1873.

which they must be otherwise inevitably exposed, they would most assuredly be consigned to the ranks of that host of juvenile offenders, which throng our prisons."⁶⁹

Particularly in the case of the LBS where this discourse is more prevalent, we find evidence of a profound suspicion of working-class parents. When it occurred, this social control commentary tended to cast parents in a negative light, emphasizing their immoral character and the debilitating, even dangerous environments to which they exposed their children. Thus charity children were characterized as the "illused [sic] and neglected children of worthless parents" who were exposed to "that training which fills our prisons, disturbs our streets, and leads on ever towards a dreadful death."⁷⁰ Intemperance was often presented as the cause of parental immorality. Parents were described as "drunken, worthless, and degraded" and children as having to be untaught everything they knew.⁷¹ Committee members were particularly appalled by "drunken mothers."⁷² In 1861, the LBS Secretary described the children in the institution as

truly unfortunate in their remaining parent, and are consequently worse than orphans, with drunken fathers, and alas! sometimes with drunken mothers also, whose only anxiety is to keep them with them for the purposes of mendicity or intemperance, and by whom they are too often taught to lie, to steal, and to deceive, from which dreadful preparation for greater crimes they are rescued by this Society.⁷³

The LBS Annual Reports in the 1860s also began, on occasion, to include lists of descriptions of cases and entries taken from the admissions Register, although they used this technique infrequently "from consideration for the unfortunate."⁷⁴ In a few years they

⁶⁹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1854.

⁷⁰ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1857.

⁷¹ "The Eight Annual Report of the Visiting School Committee," in LBS, *Annual Report*, 1859.

⁷² On the unacceptability of intemperate women see Cheryl Krasnick Walsh, "'Oh, Lord, pour a cordial in her wounded heart': The Drinking Woman in Victorian and Edwardian Canada," in Cheryl Krasnick Walsh, ed., *Drink in Canada: Historical Essays* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 70-81. In her study on women in Montreal, Tamara Myers finds that drunkenness was the most common cause for female arrest until World War I. Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls," 40.

⁷³ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1861, 1875.

⁷⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1875. For use of this technique by American charities see Bruce Bellingham, "The 'Unspeakable Blessing': Street Children, Reform Rhetoric, and Misery in Early Industrial Capitalism," *Politics & Society* 12, 3 (1983): 303-30 and Stephen L. Schlossman, "The

simply referred to "the same calamitous effects, from the same miserable causes, with only a few honorable [sic] exceptions."⁷⁵

The emphasis on this role of social regulation, however, was limited to the mid-century period as the city first adjusted to massive immigration, industrialization and economic depressions. By 1872, the LBS Annual Reports began to make less of a distinction between the children of immoral parents and the respectable temporary aid cases in the institution, even merging the two in descriptions such as "and all with the usual melancholy story of destitution, or desertions by one or more parents, or the equally sorrowful tale of the remaining parent, a widow or forsaken wife, being unable to support them."⁷⁶ By the mid-1870s the anti-parent discourse and the emphasis on rescuing children from crime had all but disappeared.⁷⁷

It is also important to note that this mid-century discourse did not reflect any real change in the ladies' work. Actual patterns of admissions and discharges did not change; the majority of children were still admitted by their parents and then returned to them after a short stay. (See Chapter Five.) Moreover, it is almost exclusively a feature of the charity's public representation; the discourse found in internal sources like the admission Registers and Committee Minutes was much more focused on responding to need and on protecting children than on social control and child rescue.

Women's Culture and its Impact on Charity Work

Class and class concerns played an important role in the way these ladies approached their charity work. But gender was equally important. As mothers and daughters, benevolent women brought their "ethic of caring" and their maternal approach to their charity work.⁷⁸ They also brought a culture shared among women of the elite that

'Culture of Poverty' in Ante-Bellum Social Thought," *Science and Society* 38 (1974): 150-66.

⁷⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1864.

⁷⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1872.

⁷⁷ With the exception of 1875.

⁷⁸ For this ethic of caring in relation to twentieth-century women, see the essays in Carol T. Baines, Patricia McEvans, and Shelia M. Neysmith, eds., *Women's Caring: Feminist perspectives in Social Welfare* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998), especially Carol Baines, "Women's Professions and a Ethic of Care," 23-46.

was grounded in domestic values and close personal contacts with family and friends.⁷⁹ Kathleen McCarthy identifies this "personalism," that is women's emphasis on people and relationships as well as on a personal approach, as an important factor in female philanthropy. She argues that "the Board members identified with their charges and sought to establish ongoing relationships and programs tailored to individual needs."⁸⁰ This same emphasis influenced the admission policies and the management of the two Montreal charities. Both charities were basically designed to respond to the needs of families, and the ladies viewed the children under their care as individual young people in need of protection and training, not as a social category like "the poor" or "dangerous children."

Although it will be seen in Chapter Six that many of the ladies did not visit the asylum on a regular basis other than for meetings, the Committee members' interest in the children as individuals is evident in the structure of their monthly meetings. These were organized around reports on the children and the institutional home. One does not find discussions of abstract ideological approaches to poverty or charity; even the business aspects of the work such as funding and building considerations were discussed only when they were a problem. Every meeting included reports by the Committee members who had supervised the charity homes in the previous month; a reading of the Matron or Superintendent's Journal outlining daily events, special needs and problems; and the reading of all correspondence from or about child apprentices or inmates. In recording these reports and discussions, the Minutes are filled with comments on the children and on the daily occurrences in the institution. Through these reports, one can follow the cases of children having difficulties or those returning to visit. Both the structure of the meeting centered on these reports, and the fact that all of this detailed information on the children was considered important enough to be recorded in the official Minutes are a clear representation of the primacy the ladies accorded to these very personal aspects of their work.

⁷⁹ See Lebsack, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 112-13; Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood*; Vicinus, *Independent Women*; Dauphin, "Culture and Power," 74 and Hewitt, "Beyond the Search for Sisterhood," 303-10.

⁸⁰ McCarthy, "Parallel Power Structure," 4.

The ladies who ran these charities were volunteers, not charity professionals trained in social work. Their conservatism did not lead them to try to reform the poor, to force self-reliance, or to solve the problems of dependency and pauperism. Rather, they saw their work as helping families in difficulty, looking after the children placed in their care and as doing their best for each child. This practical and rather personal approach of addressing the issues at hand rather than theoretical concepts predominated.

Another aspect of this personalism was the place the institutional home itself played in their work. All meetings were held in the institution, both the LBS and the POA having been specifically designed with a Committee meeting room on the first floor. This meant that Committee members could visit the home and the residents before or after monthly meetings. Holding the annual meeting in the institution gave supporters the same opportunity, placing the institutional home and its residents front and center as the reports were being read and discussed. Comments by journalists or speakers referring to the children confirm that they were presented to supporters at the meeting and that they frequently closed the proceedings with the singing of hymns.

In the POA at least, an emphasis was placed on each individual child. Children were introduced to the Committee at the monthly meeting following their admission, and the ladies also met with each child before she or he was apprenticed to give them personalized advice. The Minutes occasionally recount the earnestness with which children received this advice and their sorrow at departing. After 1868 the ladies had each child photographed just before they left for an apprenticeship.⁸¹ These photos were kept in the institution. Often when ladies were going out of town, the Committee asked them to check on an apprentice or to scout out potential new apprenticeship situations. Finally, the ladies regularly made special personal donations at their meetings to purchase Christmas presents for the children and other "luxuries" they wanted to provide them but did not feel warranted to use the official funds—such as a piano, a singing teacher and occasionally toys.

Personalism is also evident in the organization of the Committees themselves on the basis of kinship and friendship networks—a group cohesion that helped give the

⁸¹ The ladies use their Annual Reports to thank the photographers for their help in this undertaking.

ladies the confidence in their ventures into the public world they otherwise might have lacked. This very personal aspect of the Committee's work and the bonds they built with the other elite women who worked alongside them are eloquently demonstrated by the funeral soliloquies composed at the monthly meetings and occasionally published later in the year in the Annual Report.⁸² These are filled with the heartfelt sense of the personal loss of a close friend, but they also specifically recognize the loss of a fellow worker—the valued ideas, the good judgement, the experience, special skills and knowledge, and the mutual support. Again and again, we find tributes to women's commitment and to the moral and religious qualities that suited them to charitable endeavours.

This personalism as an element in charity management was associated with women's committees and with women's culture. In studying the American Charity Organization Society, John Cumbler has found evidence of women's personal approach. His work illustrates that when women gained control of the Lynn, Massachusetts COS, substantial policy changes were implemented to make the aid less restrictive, designing aid more to meet the needs of the poor women than the precepts of ideology.⁸³ In a comparative study of two homes for the indigent elderly in Ottawa, Sharon Cook has identified several differences that she accredits to gender. The charity run by women was more consciously modeled on a home and family, and the Committee was more frugal and budget conscious as well as more socially conservative.⁸⁴ Martha Vicinus has found that many benevolent women focused on the personal aspects of charity—visiting, settlement houses, summer camps for children, and the like.⁸⁵ The arguments of modern gender theorists like Carol Gilligan, that women build their sense of self and that they conceptualize moral issues in terms of relationships to other people and from a caring

⁸² Jane Errington argues that eulogies had a code used to construct the qualities of the good woman but that they were also personal testimonials. Errington, *Wives, Mothers, Schoolmistresses and Scullery Maids*, xii-xiii.

⁸³ John Cumbler, "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy," *Journal of Social History* 14, 1 (Fall 1980): 99-110.

⁸⁴ Sharon Anne Cook, "A Quiet Place ... to Die": Ottawa's First Protestant Old Age Homes for Women and Men," *Ontario History* 81, 1 (March 1989): 25-40.

⁸⁵ Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 212-36.

perspective, seem to be equally appropriate for the women doing charitable work in the past.⁸⁶

These findings about the emphasis women placed on the personal are confirmed by our examination of these two female-directed charities in Montreal. Further, a reading of the nineteenth-century Minutes for the Boys' Home of Montreal, a charity for adolescent boys run by a committee of men, reveals no evidence of this type of personalism although we know this charitable project was important to the men who founded the Boys' Home by the fact they remained involved in it for many years. Nonetheless, their Minutes read like the reports of a business and include very few references to the boys themselves or even to aspects of charitable/reform work with boys. The emphasis was consistently on the state of the finances and the property, that is, on the institution itself. It was rare to find a report on the boys, rarer still for an individual boy to be singled out for extensive comment, both of which were common in the Minutes of the ladies' Committees. The Superintendent started to make regular monthly reports on the boys in the 1890s, but even these included only general comments on overall health and conditions, rather than personalized reports on specific boys and their work.

A reading of the nineteenth-century Minute Books for the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, another male-directed charity, reveals the same lack of personalism.⁸⁷ Buildings and budgets also have a predominant place in these Minutes. As a charity dealing with adults, it is perhaps not surprising that these men did not discuss individual cases; still this was not uncommon in the LBS where commentary on the elderly women resident in the institution is often included in the Minutes.

⁸⁶ Carol Gilligan, *In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982). See also Linda K. Kerber, Catherine G. Greeno and Eleanor E. Maccoby, Zella Luria, Carol B. Stack, and Carol Gilligan, "On *In a Different Voice*: An Interdisciplinary Forum," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 11, 2 (Winter 1986): 304-33. For the influence of gender in communication, management, and the relation to power and authority see, among others, Hilary M. Lips, *Women, Men and the Psychology of Power* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1981); Hilary M. Lips, *Sex & Gender* (Mountain View, California: Mayfield Publishing Co., 1988); Dale Spender, *Man Made Language* (New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980); Robin Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place* (NY: Harper Colophon Books, 1975).

⁸⁷ House of Industry, *Minute Books*, 1863-1900.

It is entirely possible that these two male committees discussed many matters related to the inmates in their institutions at length in their meetings but did not consider these subjects important enough to include in the official Minutes. Notwithstanding this possibility, they seem to have focused on the global project and its business aspects more than on the work in relation to people as individuals. Most important is the fact their official Minutes reflect this preoccupation and this hierarchy of importance. In both these aspects the comparison with the women-directed charities is striking.

Gender was thus an important influence on these benevolent women in terms of the values and the culture they brought to their works of charity and the way in which they managed their charities. They developed a protected female world inside institutions organized around a charity infused with caring and personalism—an emphasis on the children and their needs, on friendship ties among the Committee members and on their common religious dedication. But gender was not the only factor at play. In the next chapters, an examination of the policy changes implemented by these Committees and of their reaction to new ideological approaches such as the placing-out movement and the scientific-charity movement in the last part of the century, will show that the ladies did not follow the same policy orientation as some of the other women's groups in Montreal, like the National Council of Women for instance. Two other factors are key to this: first, their traditional benevolent approach spoken of earlier in this chapter; and second, their years of experience working with children and running child charities and the expertise they developed as a result. These factors, as well as their protective attitude towards the children and their care, led both these Committees to moderate the social-control approach to charity work and to develop policies that differed from those of other charity workers in the city. In the more detailed analysis that follows in the rest of the thesis, although the two charities under study had many similarities, the reader will also see that there were several important differences. These are a result of specific institutional factors linked to the type of services, the number of children in the institutions, the influence of parents and the level of budget independence.

Chapter Four

Admissions: The Children and Their Families

The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society were both originally formed early in the century to care for the growing number of children left orphaned or in need of help as a result of epidemics, immigration, or economic dislocation. The ladies aimed to shelter these children and to create a wholesome environment where they would be cared for and protected, thus they were basically protective asylums as described by Timothy Hacsí in his work on American orphanages.¹ The institutions however served two other roles: religious salvation through Protestant religious instruction and example; and a regulation role through the training and educating of destitute children and the inculcation of Protestant middle-class values. It is important to note, though, that these traditional charities aimed to train working-class children according to middle-class values, not to create middle-class children. They were thus protective but minimalist and had no aspirations of social mobility for the children.

The best way to understand the institutions and how they worked is to look at the actual circumstances under which children were admitted and discharged. This chapter and the next one draw on admissions Registers, supplemented by information in the Minutes of Committee meetings, the Matron's or Superintendent's Journals and Annual Reports to do this. Although it is difficult to ever know what life was really like for the children who found themselves inside the institution walls, the same sources can help us gain some appreciation of their experience.²

These sources clearly show the situations that led families to deliberately place children in private charities. They also show the admission criteria used by the Committees as well as their change over time. My discussion here also examines the tendency of children to return to their families and the placement by the Committees of other children as apprentices or through adoption. Both charities show evidence of changing policies over the century, modifying their placement policies to improve the

¹ Hacsí, *Second Home*.

² In accordance with access rules, the real names of children and their families have not been used and surnames are represented as initials.

education, training and protection offered to children. Over the century, the LBS also changed its admission policies in response to changing needs among poor families, increasing its admission of child boarders, of children from two-parent families and of abandoned children.

The discussion also reveals the interaction of parents/relatives and the charity Committees. These charities—at the intersection of power, class, and gender—serve as an excellent window on the existence and limits of working-class agency. We find a few eloquent examples of such agency, but on the whole this agency played itself out in the context of an institutional power dynamic where the elite management Committee held significantly more power than did the working-class recipients. The interaction of parents and the ladies occurred mainly around admissions and departures. The application process was structured by the charity's power to determine who could be admitted. This was one of the main ways in which regulation took place, as private institutions defined eligibility and controlled access to services, using these requirements to impose middle-class standards of acceptable behaviour.

Several historians have found that working-class applicants often found ways to present their case in the best possible light and in this way managed to circumvent these rules, and there are some examples of this in these two Montreal charities. Applying for aid could become a real "negotiating process" or a "carefully orchestrated performance" that involved using the appropriate "language of desert" as Sandra Cavallo has called it.³ An important part of this "language" was the demonstration of adequate deference and gratitude in recognition that charity was not a right but rather part of a complex ordering of social classes. The lack of gratitude was one of the only reasons for which a request to readmit a child was refused by these two charities, and the ladies occasionally made a specific note to that effect beside a child's admission record in the institution's Register.⁴

³ Sandra Cavallo, "The motivations of benefactors: An overview of approaches to the study of charity," in Barry and Jones, eds., *Medicine and Charity*, 56. For specific examples of this see Lynn Hollen Lees, "The Survival of the Unfit: Welfare Policies and Family Maintenance in Nineteenth-Century London," in Mandler, *The Uses of Charity*, 68-91; Ellen Ross, "Hungry Children: Housewives and London Charity, 1870-1918," in Mandler, *The Uses of Charity*, 161-96. and Katz, "The History of an Impudent Poor Woman."

⁴ Some relief, of course, involved a direct repayment through work or board; other charity hinged on expected moral reform.

Once the admission process was completed, a family's power became more circumspect as children came under the control of the institution and its rules, some of which specifically controlled parents through restrictions on visiting, re-admission, and board payment. Even more important, release from the institution could only occur with the Committee's agreement. The unequal power of the Management Committee and the working-class recipients over departure will be examined in the next chapter. This chapter begins with an examination of the children admitted and the circumstances of their admission, and then continues with an evaluation of life inside the institutions.

The Child Recipients: General Characteristics

Over the course of the nineteenth century, the POA admitted 939 children and the LBS, 2572.⁵ Admissions policies were less restrictive than those of many Protestant child institutions across the country,⁶ but some clear policies did exist, mainly connected to parental status, age, and religion. The POA accepted all the orphans who applied but, after 1832, restricted the admission of children other than orphans. The LBS was designed for the children of destitute widows, and destitute children were always given preferential admission. But if space permitted, and increasingly over the century, the Committee admitted other children, including children with working parents (as boarders) and abandoned or neglected children. After 1883, when the LBS was certified as an industrial school as well as a charity, children who had become wards of the state while their parents were in prison and others sent by the Recorder Court or the Provincial Secretary were admitted, and, by the end of the century, so were illegitimate children.

From the 1850s, and unlike many private child charities elsewhere in Canada, the LBS and to a smaller extent the POA, admitted some of what Rooke and Schnell have identified as the "alarming or desperate cases." In other Canadian cities these children went into poorhouses or Catholic institutions.⁷ Given Montreal's religious and ethnic particularities, the Montreal Protestant elite tried to avoid letting any Protestant children

⁵ Only 903 children have been included in the POA database for analysis. A number of the children admitted into the special William Street annex during the 1847 fever epidemic were removed since they were much older than the norm and remained only a few days.

⁶ See Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*.

⁷ Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 81, 111-12; "The POHs," 165.

enter Catholic institutions; and, since a real poorhouse did not exist until 1863, these children entered the mainstream child charities instead.

Both charities also housed some children who had been abandoned as infants or institutionalized by parents unable to support them. These children in particular lived in the LBS or the POA for long periods. Five per cent (121) of the LBS children and 12 per cent of POA children (108) had entered the institution from another child charity, usually the Infants' Home. Several made the transition from the Infants' Home to the LBS and then to the POA as their parental situation changed. These included a few children who were deaf, blind, or crippled. Children with disabilities were admitted to both the POA and the LBS as long as they met other admission requirements, but neither institution was in a position to provide them with much specialized care. The POA ladies taught one deaf and dumb girl and organized special manual training classes for a number of crippled boys in the 1890s, but usually they attempted to send these children to specialized institutions if acceptable payment arrangements could be made.⁸

The age profile of the children in the institutions was a result of a combination of two factors: admission policies that specified children aged from two or three to twelve, and the family stage at which families tended to need help. The most common age of entry was six or seven. There was a slight preponderance of boys over girls, a statistic that did not reflect sex ratios in the city, where the ratio of girls to boys was always greater than one. Boys made up 52.7 per cent of children for whom sex is known in the POA and 56.6 per cent in the LBS. In the LBS, the imbalance was particularly significant from 1880 to 1900, when the percentage of boys increased to 60 per cent.

Some of this imbalance was due to the fact that girls could also be admitted into the Home and School of Industry, an institution that did not take many boys. Gender roles also appear to have played a part in this, given that families seemed more likely to keep a girl at home than a boy—perhaps because young girls were more useful in domestic labour, household tasks, and child-minding. Added to this was the general perception that boys were "more difficult of management than girls because they are naturally less

⁸ The cost of one blind boy sent to the Blind Asylum in Brantford was \$80.00 a year. The LBS paid \$36.00, the balance was made up by one of the Committee members. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.8, May 1872, 271. See also the case of a blind girl paid for by the POA, the LBS and the Anglican church. POA, *Register*, 18, #343; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, September 1852, 226.

tractable."⁹ This perception seems to have encouraged some families to give up boys more readily than girls. For their part, the ladies on the two charity Committees certainly believed that boys were more troublesome, and they made many more references to boys having discipline problems and running away. In fact, boys did run away more often. Forty-five boys ran away from the LBS but only nine girls. For the POA the totals were twenty boys and five girls.

Almost all of the children in these two charities were Protestant, and neither charity ever knowingly admitted a Catholic child. On the few occasions where Catholic children were admitted by mistake they were discharged as soon as the error was discovered. In the LBS, even children with one Catholic parent were refused admission after 1888 on the advice of the institution's lawyer.¹⁰ In one of the few discussions the LBS recorded about the possible admission of Catholics, they decided that Catholics could not be admitted since even Protestants were sometimes refused due to a lack of space.¹¹ But the refusal to help Catholics or to use their relief work for proselytizing was unusual for Protestant charities and was also the result of the fact noted in Chapter One that Protestants were a minority in Montreal.

Table 4.1 below indicates the religion of the children in the two institutions. The number of Anglicans among the children, especially in the LBS, is of particular interest. Although only 41 per cent of Montreal's Protestants were Anglican (See Appendix 1), 58 per cent of the children in the LBS or 69 per cent of those indicating a religion were Anglican. Other denominations are under-represented in relation to the religious profile of Montreal's Protestant population.

⁹ Rev. Newcomb, "The Management of Boys," *Mother's Assistant*, February 1847, quoted in McLoughlin, "Evangelical Childrearing in the Age of Jackson, 23. In her study of the applications for the Halifax orphans in 1917, Suzanne Morton finds similar conceptions of girls being more obedient, affectionate and adaptable, "'To Take an Orphan': Gendered Family Roles Following the 1917 Halifax Explosion," in McPherson et al., *Gendered Pasts*, 110-13.

¹⁰ Discussion of the policy occurred throughout the century. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, April 1837, 42; Vol.9, November 1876, 26; Vol.10, April 1888, 203; Vol.12, January 1899, 95.

¹¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, November 1876, 26.

Table 4.1
Religion of Child Recipients, Ladies' Benevolent Society and
Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899

Religion	LBS		POA	
	No.	%	No.	%
Anglican	1,482	57.6	267	29.6
Presbyterian	356	13.9	87	9.6
Methodist	112	4.4	13	1.4
Baptist	24	0.9	15	1.7
Wesleyan	0	0.0	19	2.1
Protestant ¹	155	6.0	9	1.0
Catholic	11	0.4	3	0.3
Total known	2,140	83.2	413	45.7
Unknown	432	16.8	490	54.3
Total cases	2,572	100.0	903	100.0

¹ Includes: French, Italian, and German Protestant, Congregational, Plymouth Brethren, Unitarian, Wesleyan, Independent, the Free Church and "Protestant."

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1838-1899; POA, *Register*, 1832-1899.

Although both Societies were officially non-denominational and ministers from different Protestant denominations presided at the annual meetings, the Anglican Church had a disproportionate influence in both charities. The Reverend W. B. Bond, visited both institutions weekly for more than 30 years until he became Bishop of the Anglican Church; few clergy from other churches visited regularly. The LBS Committee discussed this problem in 1876 and resolved to speak to the Reverend Dean Bond about it. At the next meeting, though, they changed this position, deciding instead to invite other clergy to attend as well.¹² Few did, although city missionaries are mentioned as visiting. Both charities also mainly hired Anglican matrons, and the children attended Anglican Sunday school and Church with the matron every week.

This situation caused some tension among the early LBS Committee, and in 1844 the Presbyterian Churches requested that adults and children be permitted to attend their own Church. Following the ensuing discussion, two Directresses and several Presbyterian members resigned. The remaining ladies voted to allow Presbyterian Church attendance and to find a way to escort the children to Church. In 1846 a delegation of Presbyterian

¹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, April 1872, 174; Vol.8, May 1872, 3.

ladies indicated their willingness to rejoin on the condition that Presbyterian women and older children could attend Church services on their own.¹³ They were welcomed back and from that point on the Committee made great efforts to be non-denominational. The LBS remained, though, largely under Anglican or Presbyterian influence. In April 1855, the Committee decided that each child would be taught the catechism of either of the established Churches, but not of both.¹⁴ Teaching the catechism of other Churches was not mentioned, and Anglican or Presbyterian baptisms took place on several occasions.¹⁵

It is possible that the Protestant poor were disproportionately Anglican, but the influence of the Anglican Church in these institutions is almost surely relevant to this religious profile. Certainly, this visible Anglicanism might have discouraged the poor of other denominations from applying for aid. It is equally possible that it encouraged others to identify themselves as Anglican in a deliberate bid to make their application more acceptable. Professing to be a member of the dominant Church would definitely not hurt an admission request!

The religious affiliation of a substantial number of children is unknown. In the POA this is largely a problem of data collection since information on religion is provided very irregularly. The recording of religion in the LBS records, however, was extremely precise. Membership in thirteen different denominations was noted, and many entries included references to specific Churches and ministers. With such precise information for more than 2,000 cases, it is unlikely that the 432 unknowns were mere omissions. It is more likely that a good number of these families had no real connection to a specific Church or denomination. No wonder the Anglican Bishop was concerned about the number of poor people in the city without a Church affiliation.

Many of the families needing help were recent immigrants with as yet no well-developed kin and family economies. The POA Register does not systematically include information on origin, but the orphanage did not use a residency rule, admitting children from across the province, from elsewhere in Canada and even from the United States.

¹³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1844, 55; October 1844, 61; December 1844, 63; January 1845, 64; August-September 1846, 95, 97. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1846.

¹⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1855, 103.

¹⁵ On at least one of these occasions the children's parents had been Baptist. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, December 1838, 86. See also February 1841, 124; Vol.4, April 1853, 275.

Many recent British immigrants were admitted, including groups of immigrant children in both 1832 and 1847, although by 1885 the Committee told the Emigrant agent that to be admitted children should have been in Montreal "at least for a few months."¹⁶ In years when there was room in the orphanage the Committee advertised at both the Anglican and the Presbyterian Synods that they were "happy to receive orphans from rural areas."¹⁷

The LBS was much more restrictive, introducing a two-year residency rule in the 1860s, and using it to refuse several recent immigrants as well as children from elsewhere in Quebec.¹⁸ Still, a large majority of the LBS children (61.9 per cent) listed their place of origin as the British Isles. Some of this trend is probably the result of the way the data was recorded. Although by the end of the century the column "country" clearly indicated a child's place of birth, in earlier years it often referred to nationality rather than birth-place. As a result it is possible that some Canadian-born children are incorrectly represented as immigrants. (See Table 4.2 below.)

Table 4.2
Place of Origin, Ladies' Benevolent Society Child Recipients, 1835-1899

	No.	%	% of Known Cases
Montreal	278	10.8	12.0
Canada	331	12.9	14.2
England	733	28.5	31.6
Ireland	594	23.1	25.6
Scotland	264	10.3	11.4
USA	30	1.2	1.3
Other ¹	91	3.5	3.9
Total Known	2,321	90.3	100.0
Unknown	249	9.7	
Total cases	2,572	100.0	

¹ Includes France, Italy, Germany, Switzerland, Norway, Denmark, the West Indies.

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1835-1899.

¹⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, May 1885, 99.

¹⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, February 1870, 250.

¹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, March 1860, 63; Vol.10, June 1883, 64; January 1884, 87. This policy was changed in 1917 when they accepted seven "out-of-town" children from Drummondville, Sorel, and Stanstead. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1917-18, 8.

Over the century, the charities increasingly served a local population whose children had been born in Montreal; and, by the last twenty-year period, 1880 to 1899, 28 per cent of the children entering the LBS were Montreal-born while another 24 per cent were Canadian-born. Nonetheless, 41 per cent of children in the 1880-1899 period were listed as from the British Isles, even though the proportion of British immigrants in the general Montreal population had dropped to only 12 per cent in the 1891 census and only 9 per cent in 1901. (See Appendix 12.)

Parents and Kin

The first line of defence against death, illness, unemployment, and poverty was the kin network.¹⁹ Kin could take in orphaned children, care for the children of parents hospitalized or jailed, find work for adolescents, share food and fuel and clothing, and provide daycare for working widows. The charity files provide many examples of these kin networks in action, and a number of the children came to the charities after they had already received help from relatives who could no longer help them, or they had brothers or sisters who were still with relatives.

Ellen, Thomas and James F., for example, were admitted into the LBS when their mother entered the lying-in hospital with the birth of another child. They came from a family of five children; their siblings were with an aunt who was also looking

¹⁹ For the discussion of the role of kin as a support network see Michael Anderson, *Family Structure in Nineteenth Century Lancashire* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1971); Tamara Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time. The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Gail Cuthbert Brandt, "'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1900-1950," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 7 (Spring 1981): 113-25; Ellen Ross, "Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working Class Mothers, 1870-1916," in Jane Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love. Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*, (New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986), 73-96 and her *Love and Toil*; Carol Dyhouse, "Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home c. 1870-1914," in Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love*, 27-47; Diana Gittens, "Marital Status, Work and Kinship, 1850-1930," in Lewis, ed., *Labour and Love*, 249-67; Elizabeth Roberts, *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984), Chapter 5; Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, Chapter 7. Michael Katz develops the example of the Sullivan family and their dependence on kin as well as neighbours in *Poverty and Policy*, 17-54 and that of the Kennedy family in "The History of an Impudent Poor Woman."

after their mother. A widow with children of her own, she was unable to take in the entire family.²⁰ Sophie and William T. were brought to the POA in 1860 by their grandmother when she was unable to care for them any longer. They remained only two days because the grandmother found her home too lonely without them and came to retrieve them.²¹ George M.'s mother was dead, his father intemperate. He and his younger brother were placed in the LBS in 1865 by their grandfather, who could no longer support them. A sister removed the youngest boy one year later and George, already 11, was apprenticed.²² Some families were also helped by "kind neighbours," friends, or even "strangers." Many examples of this type of community support among the poor were found in the charity records.²³

The majority of the children in the POA, however, did not have kin networks. Seventy per cent of those for whom we have parental information (or 64 per cent of all admissions) were orphans; across the entire century only four children in the orphanage had both parents still alive. Almost all of the non-orphans admitted to the orphanage were admitted in the period before the LBS opened in 1832. In later years the POA occasionally admitted children from particularly destitute one-parent families or children with parents they considered immoral, but for the most part it applied an orphans-only policy. Charles K., described as "a great object of charity," is an example of these special cases; so is Fanny H., described as the daughter of a "depraved woman, still living and the ladies hope by removing the child from the haunts of vice, to reclaim and save her."²⁴ The POA does not seem to have had any preference for helping widows in this regard; the number of children from one-parent families headed

²⁰ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 112, #1737-1739.

²¹ POA, *Register*, 22, #631,632. LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 79, #1106, 1107.

²² LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 79, #1106-07.

²³ POA, *Register*, 39, #820-823; 29, #715; 35, #783; 15, #548; LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 12, #256; 93, #1335; Vol.2, 212, #2887. For a discussion of this neighbourhood support elsewhere see Ellen Ross, "Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before WWI," *History Workshop Journal*, 15 (Spring 1983): 4-27 and James Winter, "Widowed Mothers and Mutual Aid in Early Victorian Britain," *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1983): 115-25.

²⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, October 1840, 121. See also Vol.3, March-April 1842, 17-8; Vol.5, October 1854, 51-2; Vol.9, May 1873, 108; Vol.13, October 1896, 138.

by a father was slightly larger than those headed by a mother. Table 4.3 below presents information on the children's parental circumstances.

Table 4.3
Parents of Child Recipients, Ladies' Benevolent Society and
Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899

Parent	LBS		POA	
	No.	%	No.	%
Both parents	487	18.9	4	0.4
Father widowed	444	17.3	55	6.1
Father deserted	31	1.2	0	0.0
Father known ¹	99	3.9	63	7.0
Mother widowed	644	25.0	70	7.8
Mother deserted	240	9.3	4	0.4
Mother known ¹	387	15.1	32	3.5
Parents dead	7	0.3	578	64.0
Other kin	26	1.0	9	1.0
Total known	2,365	92.0	815	90.2
Unknown	207	8.0	88	9.8
Total cases	2,572	100.0	903	100.0

¹ In these cases reference is made to only one parent but they are not identified as either widowed or deserted.

Source: LBS, *Register* 1838-1899; POA, *Register*, 1832-1899.

Although the LBS was designed for children from one-parent families, almost 500 children from two-parent families were admitted. The Committee made a policy against admitting children with both parents in 1839,²⁵ but the policy was not stringently enforced if circumstances were such that it was impossible for the parents to care for their children. A good example are the two C. children, whose father was hospitalized and whose mother, forced to work out as a wet nurse, was not able to supervise them.²⁶

Nonetheless, seventy per cent of the children in the LBS came from one-parent families, the majority of them from families headed by women who had been widowed or deserted. This overrepresentation of women is explained both by the LBS's specific mission to help widows, indicative of a certain gender bias, and by the fact that a woman

²⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, August 1839, 94, 100.

²⁶ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 29, #447-48; 10, #1507-71.

without the resources of a male wage-earner was likely to face poverty. Furthermore, according to Census data for Montreal from 1851 to 1901, the number of widows outnumbered widowers in all age groups.²⁷ With no daycare facilities available, a widow's dual roles as mother/wage earner competed for her time and energy, often making her situation untenable, especially if her children were too young to participate in income strategies. The LBS Committee often helped these women by taking in several children to "lighten her burden" and improve her chances of finding work.

Some widows or deserted mothers placed their children almost immediately; others were able to support their family until illness, unemployment or other problems overcame them. Lizzie J. was admitted with her two brothers and two sisters; her twelve-year old sister remained with her widowed mother. The LBS Register indicates that they had been accepted for admission "at a former date but the Mother had struggled on and managed to keep them until now." Anna L.'s mother supported four children for five years following her husband's death, but when rheumatism forced her to enter the hospital she gave the children into the care of the LBS. She took them out five months later.²⁸

Many widowers or fathers left to raise children on their own also turned to the LBS for help, as the B. family illustrates. The recently widowed father placed his four children in the institution in 1875. He removed them soon after but was forced to return them. They remained for nine more months before he was able to care for them on a permanent basis. Similarly, Mr. M. put his four children in the LBS in 1886 when his wife died. In 1893 he took the two boys out, but allowed the girls to be apprenticed.²⁹

For a number of children (about 20 per cent in the LBS and 11 per cent in the POA), a reference is made to only one parent but no information is provided on their situation. Although it is impossible to know exact numbers, the category probably includes some widows/widowers and deserted wives. But there is a good possibility that it also includes some two-parent families who thought it more prudent not to mention a second parent given the admission preference for one-parent families, as well as some unwed mothers who did not want to take the chance of their application being rejected

²⁷ Canada, *Census Of Canada*, 1851-1901.

²⁸ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 117, #1838-40; 97, #1395-98.

²⁹ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 104, #1548-51; Vol.2, 48, #2128-31.

due to their status. Assuming this is so, it is another example of the poor deliberately designing their admission applications to circumvent the rules meant to control them.³⁰

The charity files do not provide systematic information on the occupation of the children's parents. The POA Committee did not see this information as relevant to the admission process, and it is indicated for only 10 per cent of children. From this data, however, we find in the POA the orphaned children of a number of skilled workers, professionals, farmers, and clerks as well as those of unskilled workers, seamen, soldiers, factory workers and domestic servants. Parents' occupations were noted more consistently for the LBS. We have data for about 22 per cent of parents, which, although not a very large sample, does give some idea of the occupational strata of the people who used child charities. (See Appendix 13.) Although a few teachers, shopkeepers, small merchants, clerks or government employees like policemen were among them, most of the parents worked in unskilled jobs and almost all were working class. Most of the mothers worked as domestic servants, laundresses, charwomen, seamstresses or nurses, all service-related jobs where women could use domestic skills to earn a living.³¹ The children's fathers were mostly unskilled workers, often labourers. A few were factory workers or railway workers working out of Montreal. A number of skilled workers were listed, all of them widowers.³² Several of these men worked in seasonal trades such as construction or as employees in city bakeries; others included a cutter, two hairdressers, and a furrier.

³⁰ Cross-checks with the parent removing these children only revealed a few cases where the unknown parent retrieved the children and it is possible these were recent marriages.

³¹ In the nineteenth century before nursing was established as a skilled profession most nurses were untrained and their work was closer to that of a servant. Protestant Montreal did not have a nursing school until 1890. The Montreal General opened a school in 1890, the Montreal Maternity in 1892 and the Royal Victoria in 1894. See Kenneally, "The Montreal Maternity," 86-93; Edouard Desjardins, Eileen C. Flanagan and Suzanne Giroux, *Heritage: History of the Nursing Profession in the Province of Quebec*, Translated by Hugh Shaw, (Montreal: The Association of Nurses of the Province of Quebec, 1971); Judi Coburn, "I See and am Silent: A Short History of Nursing in Ontario," in Janice Acton et. al., eds., *Women at Work: Ontario 1850-1930* (Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974), 127-64.

³² This shows some interesting differences with the Saint Alexis Orphanage that also serviced mainly one-parent families and is examined by Bettina Bradbury. Bradbury's sample was smaller (10% of children) but showed the same tendency towards working-class occupations (90%). Although, 23% of these Catholic parents were laborers, a good number were skilled workers albeit from poorly paid trades undergoing structural changes like shoemakers (19%) or where work was irregular like carpenters/joiners (9%). Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family." 117, 206.

Family Situation: Poverty, Illness, Death and Life-Cycle

Most of the children in the POA were orphans but the children in the LBS had living parents. For many families, placing children in a charity was one survival strategy among many. It helped to decrease family costs and gave parents time to overcome temporary problems or to adjust to the death of a spouse. For those faced with more chronic problems, placing children in an institution was often the only choice they had to ensure survival. Although the institutionalized child carried the main burden of the family's decision—being separated from his/her family and treated as a charity child—the experience was not entirely negative. The institutions were heated, the diet was regular, and the schooling and skills-training were potentially advantageous.

Nonetheless, placing children in a charity meant applications and explanations and the emotional stress of being separated from their children; parents did not make this choice lightly. A number of parents, unable to care for their children while they worked, applied to the LBS for the admission of their children, usually offering to pay board towards their cost. Almost 500 children were admitted under these circumstances. Their admission was often debated and is discussed in more detail below. For the vast majority of LBS children and their families, however, figuring prominently in the explanations given to support admission requests were unemployment, chronic low wages, illness or the birth of an additional child, the death of a spouse, and diverse family problems.

A large number of children entered the LBS because their families were unable to support them due to unemployment or insufficient income. In light of the admission policy favouring destitute cases this is probably the situation of most of the 608 unknown cases as well. Another large group stayed in the institution while their parents were ill and unable to work or to care for them. Without savings, prolonged periods of illness that reduced income made children a financial burden some families were unable to manage. Some of these children were in the LBS while their mother recuperated from the birth of another child; others had parents in hospital. These circumstances are presented in Table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4
Family Circumstances of Child Recipients on Entry into the
Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899

Parent Situation	Number	%
Works	499	19.4
Unable To Support	458	17.8
Health Problems	351	13.7
Mother In The LBS	306	11.9
In Jail	82	3.2
Family Problems	98	3.8
Moral Reasons ¹	170	6.6
Total Known	1964	76.4
Situation Unknown	608	23.6
Total Cases	2,572	100.0

¹ Refers to children for whom parental "immorality" was given as the major cause for admission.

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1838-1899.

A number of children came from families that had been left literally homeless by the death or desertion of the male wage-earner, and their mothers entered the LBS with them. Some of these women were admitted to work as cooks, laundresses, or nurses; others needed a period of convalescence and rest. Most only stayed for a short while, leaving once their health was improved or they found employment elsewhere. When they left, the LBS almost always agreed to allow their children to remain as boarders (despite the rule discouraging the admission of boarders). Probably some of these women entered the institution as workers for a short time knowing that this was the easiest way to circumvent the board rule and to secure a cheap and safe boarding place for their children. Still, all of these women and their children were homeless and are among some of the most tragic of the LBS cases.

George B. and his mother are a typical example of these cases and illustrate the difficulties families often faced. George entered the LBS with his widowed mother in January 1852. She left when she found a job in service three months later but was again in the LBS from May to November 1853, at which point both mother and son left. Unable to support him, she returned George to the LBS in November 1854. At age 11, he finally

went home in December 1855.³³ He is not again mentioned in the Register, and we can assume that somehow his mother succeeded in supporting the small family.

Another small group of children were cared for by the LBS while their parents were in jail or were admitted with no information about their parents having been given other than the fact that they were considered immoral or that the children had been abandoned or were neglected. This was the case with close to ten percent of children in the LBS and twelve per cent of the non-orphans in the POA. Most of them were found and brought to the charities by ministers, missionaries, bible women, or Committee members. A few had actually been abandoned by parents unable to cope with the burden of child-care under difficult circumstances, and the Minutes and Register include several descriptions of children huddled under doorsteps, dressed in rags, famished, and in various states of disarray. Some of these children, though, were probably not really abandoned or neglected—they lived with parents who did not meet middle-class ideas of morality or were found on the street. Despite the Committee's concern about their parents' immorality, most of these children were eventually returned to their parents.

Other diverse family problems, such as step-parents refusing to provide for children or mistreating them, were common. So too were parents leaving Montreal temporarily in search of employment. All of the circumstances pointed to situations in which families or parents were unable to provide care and supervision for their children alone and turned to the charities to help either temporarily or for a longer term.

Family life cycle was also a determinant factor in families being forced to place their children in an institution like the LBS and in relatives deciding to place orphans in the POA. More than half of the children in both institutions (52 per cent in the POA and 68 per cent in the LBS) had brothers and sisters in the institution with them. Occasionally parents would place one child, and then another when that one left; but, for the most part, siblings entered the charities together when their family was having difficulty. Available data does not allow us to determine exact family stage for all families, but indications point to a preponderance of relatively recent and small families with few, if any, children of working age. For many children (43 per cent in the POA and 30 per cent in the LBS)

³³ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 27, 39, #439, 571; Vol.2, 108, #2391-92; LBS, *Matron's Journal*, Vol.2, December 13, 1855, 60.

there is no reference in the files to any siblings, although only a few children were clearly identified as an only child. A large number of children (44 per cent in the POA and 52 per cent in the LBS) had specific references to one or two siblings. Families known to have more than four children represented only 13 per cent of admissions to the POA and 18 per cent in the LBS. This impression of families in their early stages is reinforced by the large number of children entering the asylums while their mother recuperated from the birth of another child and by the fact that most of the mothers who entered the LBS with their children were in their late twenties or early thirties.

Changing Admission Policies and New Services

Over the century the charities adjusted some of their admission policies in response to special circumstances or to new needs among the poor. Three of these stand out as worthy of analysis. First, the admission to the LBS of children whose parents were able to pay something towards their cost. For a charity specifically designed for destitute cases these children posed a problem, but their need for shelter was undeniable and was not being addressed by any other charity. One of the most gaping holes in the Protestant charitable network was the lack of any reformatory institution. The 1869 Quebec legislation had allocated this work to the private sector with government financial support. The certification of the LBS as an industrial school in 1883 was the first step in filling this gap and providing some institutional structure for Protestant children. Finally, the role of the child charities in major epidemics such as the 1832 cholera epidemic and the 1847 fever epidemic is also important to measuring their overall social role in the city. These three special services are considered next.

The Ladies' Benevolent Society as a Boarding Facility

Over the century the services provided by the LBS increased as new needs were identified among the city's poor. One of these was the need for an inexpensive boarding facility where working parents could leave their children in safety knowing they would be cared for and educated. Unlike many of the Protestant child charities in other Canadian cities where some form of board payment or fee was common, both the POA and the LBS were designed for destitute children and neither charged board as a regular admission

requirement. In the POA, board payments ceased to exist after 1832, and there is no instance where the relatives of orphans were charged board. In the LBS, board was more common, given that children with working parents were admitted throughout the century.

Between 1832 and 1899, one third of all LBS children, and never less than one quarter, paid some fees. This became much more common in the last twenty years of the century when almost one half of LBS children (including the 116 children in the industrial school) were boarders. Nonetheless, board payment was never made a condition of admission for children and was mainly used as a way to justify the admission of children from two-parent or working families. Some of the elderly women in the LBS also had board paid towards their costs by friends, family or their Church. In the case of one woman whose sons refused to contribute towards her care but where the ladies were convinced they were more than able to do so, the Committee mandated the two Directresses to visit them and "frighten them into doing their duty."³⁴

The admission of children from families able to pay board led to some debate among LBS Committee members. The bylaws and Charter clearly referred to destitute cases, thereby giving these children priority, but the society's precarious financial situation made board receipts very attractive. This seems to have been a factor mainly early in the century and again in the last twenty years. So many children were admitted as boarders in the 1840s and early 1850s that in November 1854 the First Directress reminded the Committee that they were infringing on the policy that gave priority to destitute cases. In fact some needy cases had been refused admission due to a lack of space. She proposed that boarders be discharged to free space for the destitute children. The question was debated again in 1855; the majority refused to discharge children once admitted but agreed to admit only destitute cases in future.³⁵ The working compromise that was finally struck was to admit boarders as long as this did not jeopardize the admission of destitute cases. Once in the institution, however, board children were allowed to remain even if the space situation worsened. As the Committee explained

³⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, February 1852, 208.

³⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, November 1854, 73; January 1855, 95; February 1855, 98-99; May 1855, 110.

when the question was debated yet again in 1885, "the house is a 'Home,' [they] hope in the real sense of the word, and those who are in can not be put out."³⁶

A Church, National Society, or a private individual (usually a Committee member or another elite woman who had an interest in a particular family) paid for the board of some of the children in the LBS, yet almost eighty per cent of the board received was paid by parents or kin. (See Table 4.5 below.) Almost all of the working parent(s) who applied to the LBS paid board for their children. More mothers than fathers paid board in absolute numbers, but fathers were more likely to be asked to pay board than mothers. Fifty-seven per cent of the 574 fathers paid board, while this was true of only thirty-two per cent of the 1271 mothers. In addition, in recognition of their low wages, many widows paid a reduced rate. Nonetheless, board payment was often a substantial part of a parent's wage. The case of John D. is fairly representative. His mother paid \$3.00 a month, which was the standard payment for one child. Her wages as a servant were \$7.00.³⁷

Table 4.5
Board Payment for Children in the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1838-1899

Payment Made By	Number	% All Cases	% Board Cases
Mother	403	15.7	41.8
Father	329	12.8	34.0
Sibling/Relative	25	0.9	2.6
Church	23	0.9	2.4
National Society	17	0.7	1.8
Personal Charity	28	1.1	2.9
Parent's Employer	5	0.2	0.5
State/City (Industrial School)	116	4.5	12.0
Source Unknown	19	0.7	2.0
Total Board Cases	965	37.5	100.0
No Board Paid	1,607	62.5	
Total Cases	2572	100.0	

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1838-1899.

³⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1885.

When a parent had agreed to pay board the LBS encouraged them to pay it, occasionally using pressure tactics such as removing visiting rights, writing to the parent's employer, or threatening to send children home to non-paying parents.³⁸ In 1856 the First Directress was empowered to enquire about the Society's legal powers to refuse to release a child to parents for non-payment.³⁹ No follow-up is included in the Minutes, but in 1856 when one mother requested her daughter's release, she was told she must first pay the outstanding board for her son. We cannot be sure if the ladies meant to enforce this or not since the mother stole the girl out of the institution instead.⁴⁰ No other incidents of children denied discharge are recorded, however, and occasionally we do find references to parents not having paid board as arranged. Furthermore, the Committee never apprenticed a child because of a parent's failure to pay board, and no examples were found of a child actually being discharged as a result of non-payment, despite threats to this effect. This is in stark contrast to many other Canadian child charities, where families often lost their right to retrieve children if they defaulted on board payments or were forced to surrender legal control over their children to the charity.⁴¹

The Ladies' Benevolent Society as an Industrial School

In Chapter One it was noted that in 1869 Quebec created industrial schools and reformatories to deal with juvenile delinquents and children who were considered at risk of becoming delinquent and therefore in need of training and protection. The Industrial Schools Act specified that private institutions having a certified teacher on staff could apply for state certification. Under this Act, the Recorder Court or the Provincial Secretary could commit children to the institution for a minimum of one year. The Act

³⁷ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, 112, #1753. Timothy Hacsí has found that substantial board payments like this were common in the United States as well. Hacsí, *Second Home*, 94-95.

³⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, July 1846, 92; Vol.4, February 1852, 208; Vol.5, March 1858, 208; Vol.6, July 1859, 34; Vol.7, May 1867, 69; Vol.10, November 1887, 203; Vol.11, March 1891, 18.

³⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, March 1856, 72.

⁴⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, March 1858, 208.

⁴¹ This was the case, for example, with the Alexandra Orphanage in Vancouver. See Purvey, "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis," 124. For other Canadian charities see Rooke and

was designed for "at risk" or pre-delinquent children, including children who had become wards of the court when both parents were imprisoned and children who were neglected or had been abandoned. Parents could also apply for the admission of children they found "uncontrollable."⁴² The institution received a per-diem payment from the province and the city and was to be inspected annually by the Prison Inspectors.

The Protestant community recognized the need to establish their own institutions like the city's Catholics had, and the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge passed motions to this effect at subsequent meetings in 1872-1873 and again in 1882 and even amended their Charter for this purpose.⁴³ All assumed that when the House of Industry eventually constructed a building on its farm at Longue Point, it would include a special wing for a reformatory school. In 1882 representatives from the government and the prison met with existing charities and Protestant leaders to present the urgent need for a reformatory institution for Protestant children and to request that the charities consider extending their work to include these children.

Following this meeting, the POA convened a special meeting to discuss the proposal, inviting the Finance Committee (all men) and their lawyer to attend. The Secretary then met with the Inspector of Prisons. He confirmed they would have to take all children sent to them and advised that if they intended to limit admissions to orphans they "would not get a sufficient number of children to make it worth the trouble."⁴⁴ In the end, the orphanage decided against proceeding, calculating that the board receipts would not compensate the additional cost of a certified teacher and the potential problems associated with forced admissions.⁴⁵

Schnell, "Childhood and Charity," 168-69, 175-78. Timothy Hacsí finds several American orphan asylums followed similar policies, *Second Home*, 126.

⁴² Neil Sutherland finds that the category "neglected children" included beggars, newsboys, waifs, strays, and vagrants. Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 97-98.

⁴³ House of Industry, *Annual Report*, 1873, 1884; House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, October 1872, 435; May 1873, 474; Vol.2, October 1882, 411; December 1882, 421, January 1884, 489.

⁴⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1883, 273.

⁴⁵ The Boys' Home also considered applying for industrial school status in 1896 but rejected the idea for the same reasons. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1882, 260-62; January 1883, 264-66. February 1883, 273. Boys' Home, *Minutes*, Vol.2, July 7, 1896, 31; September 3, 1896, 34.

The board payment available from the government for receiving these children was a major consideration, however, in the LBS's decision to apply for certification. Since it had a diploma teacher on staff anyway and therefore met the only criteria imposed by the government, and had, in the past, occasionally admitted children whose parents were in jail, the new status would mean it would now receive board for this type of child while incurring no additional costs. For an institution with severe budget problems by the 1880s, this was a winning proposition. The LBS was accepted as an industrial school in March 1883. It was the only Protestant industrial school in Montreal and added an important service for Protestant families, although it did not establish any reformatory facilities. Before its certification most of the Protestant children appearing before the Recorder Court had been placed in Catholic institutions, in the city jail, or in the Sherbrooke prison.

The LBS Register lists 116 Recorder children, as they called the industrial school children, from 1883 to 1900. Despite their special status these children lived in the institution with the other children and received no special training or care. Certainly there was never any discussion of designating a wing of the building to isolate them from the other children as was done for convalescents, for example. It appears that the ladies did not consider these children and their circumstances as very different from others in their care. From their perspective, all of the children in the institution were at risk and needed training and protection—the only difference between these children and those entered by their families was that the government was willing to pay board for Recorder children, a situation of which the LBS was more than willing to take advantage.

It is important to note that, at first, the LBS considered their industrial school status to be temporary since they assumed that the House of Industry would soon open an industrial and reformatory school in their country building.⁴⁶ However, by 1885 when the Country House was actually being planned and constructed, the House of Industry had effectively abandoned the idea of extending its work into this area. Thus, all Protestant children were sent to the LBS. The LBS quite quickly accepted its more permanent status and on occasion even checked to make sure that the Recorder was in fact sending them

⁴⁶ This understanding is made clear in their discussions at the meeting following the public protest to their new status. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, April 1884, 93.

all the Protestant children.⁴⁷ Usually the children remained for the time period indicated at their admission, but they could be removed earlier with permission from the Court. This sometimes happened through the intervention of their parents or the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, an organization that was implicated in the admission of many of these children in the first place.

Although the LBS Committee did not make a distinction between these children and those normally admitted, some of the public did. As soon as the first case entered—a young Scottish girl sent by the police magistrate until her parents could be located—protest began. Several supporters opposed the new industrial school status and reduced their subscriptions in protest. The public outcry against the reception of these children was such that the LBS First Directress printed an explanation in defence of the decision in three of the city's newspapers.⁴⁸ Moral issues surrounding child abandonment were clearly of much more importance to some members of the philanthropic elite than they were to the LBS Committee.

Epidemics and Special Annexes

Crises like recurring epidemics brought the charities to the fore. During the cholera epidemic in 1832, the POA admitted 23 children, coordinating the effort with the Friendless Emigrant Society through Peter McGill. A donation from the latter group enabled them to rent the upper floors in the building adjoining the orphanage to receive the children. Six children died, but the rest seem to have been subsequently shifted into the main institution or returned to families/relatives.⁴⁹ Three years later four children

⁴⁷ See for example, LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, October 1891, 28.

⁴⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, March 1884, 90; April 1884, 93. This is perhaps due to the confusion over the definition of an industrial school. Quebec made a distinction between an industrial school and a reformatory. This distinction was less clear in places like Ontario where industrial schools were often designed as reformatories, for example, and might have been ambiguous for some Montrealers as well. For industrial schools in Ontario see Paul W. Bennett, "Taming "Bad Boys" of the "Dangerous Class": Child Rescue and Restraint at the Victoria Industrial School 1887-1935," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 21, 41 (May 1988): 71-96 and Peter Oliver, "'To Govern by Kindness': The First Two Decades of the Mercer Reformatory for Women," in Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Vol. 5, *Crime and Criminal Justice* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994): 516-572.

⁴⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, July 1832, 147-49; August 1832, 154.

were sent to Mr. Scott in Lanark to be apprenticed to families in his neighbourhood.⁵⁰ This was an unusual procedure used again only in relation to the 1847 fever children, leading one to believe that the four had been cholera admissions but this is impossible to determine since the cholera children were not clearly distinguished in the Register. In the end, the POA was unable to cope with the massive need during the epidemic, especially among widows and their children, and the LBS was founded for that purpose.

During the 1847 typhus fever epidemic, the need was even greater. The POA admitted 13 orphans over June and July, but feared their presence endangered the health of the other children.⁵¹ They wrote to the government requesting support. As already noted in Chapter One, they reached an agreement with the Executive Council for per-diem payments and set up a special annex in rented premises on William Street near the docks (the main orphanage building was on St. Antoine at the time).⁵² In the end, 95 orphans were admitted to the annex. The government had agreed to pay for the children until they were placed in rural apprenticeships but directed that this should be done as quickly as possible. To ensure compliance, in October they ordered the POA to send the children to the Immigration Commissioner or to accept a reduction in the payment to one-third its original level. The ladies refused to turn the children over to another group once they had been admitted but proceeded to find placement homes for them as quickly as possible.⁵³

As a result, most of the William Street children remained only for a few months or until they had recuperated sufficiently to be placed. To be able to place so many children so quickly, the POA used a method they would never use again—they sent the children in groups of five to seven, to contact persons in country towns in Quebec and Ontario. These persons arranged to place them with farmers in the area. The POA did not evaluate any of the final placement situations, but sent sets of indenture forms with the children.⁵⁴ In these ways the method circumvented the institution's normal apprenticeship

⁵⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, July 1835, 26.

⁵¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, June-July 1847, 158-63.

⁵² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, August 1847, 164-67; *Canada State Books*, 26, July 1847, 214.

⁵³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, October 1847, 175-76.

⁵⁴ The government paid for the travelling expenses. Some of these children went to the same Mr. Scott of Lanark who had taken children in 1832. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1847, 179.

rules, but the help provided for these children while they were stranded in Montreal was nonetheless crucial and their placement in families ensured some support until they were eighteen. The ladies convinced the government to provide funds for winter clothing, fuel and a stove to maintain the William Street annex for the 23 children who were too young or too ill to be placed.⁵⁵ In May 1848 these children were transferred to the main institution.⁵⁶

The LBS had also written to the government offering to admit children of one-parent families and widows among the famine victims, but the government rejected the proposal.⁵⁷ A few children were admitted according to available space, but the lack of any special budget made it impossible to set up a special annex. Thus many widows and non-orphaned children who needed help were left to fend for themselves with some help from the St. Patrick's Society or the Protestant Churches.

In the Institutional Home

Historians have written about the sense of abandonment, rejection, deprivation, and misery of the British emigration children surrendered by parents and sent to Canada, where few accepted them.⁵⁸ The children in local charities must have experienced some of these same feelings on a lesser scale. The orphans in the POA had lost their parents; most of the children in the LBS had lost one parent and then had been surrendered or deserted by the remaining one. A few had lived for periods of time with relatives and probably established new emotional ties that were now also broken. Children with parents in the city might understand that their stay in the institution was a temporary measure, but the emotional pain of separation must have been difficult even for them.

The institutional environment, so different from the homes to which they were accustomed, was not likely to lessen the feelings of disorientation and loss. Children were

⁵⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1847, 176-77; December 1847, 184, 187.

⁵⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1848, 205; POA, "Historical Sketch," 16.

⁵⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, July 1847, 140-42; Vol.4, August 1847, 1; *Canada State Books*, 4 August 1847, 218.

⁵⁸ See Rooke and Schnell, "The "King's Children" in English Canada: A Psychohistorical Study of Abandonment, Rejection, and Colonial Response (1869-1930)," *Journal of Psychohistory* 8 (Spring 1981): 387-99 and the accounts by some of these children included in Gail Corbett, *Barnardo Children in Canada* (Peterborough: Woodland, 1981), 79-118.

immediately faced with the institutional reality when the doctor gave them a physical examination on arrival to check for signs of communicable diseases and immediately vaccinated them. They were then washed and dressed in institution clothes. It is not clear if their heads were shaved, but this was certainly done to any children that needed delousing. Everything was different from their usual working-class surroundings and probably somewhat intimidating if only because of the scale of a three-story building with a number of dormitories, a large dining room, classrooms and so on.

The ladies running these charities believed that the children they admitted would benefit from a home-like environment designed to provide them with the education, moral training and skills they would need for the future. Both institutions were Protestant in every sense of the word. In creating a proper Protestant "home," the ladies emphasized the middle-class values of obedience, order, discipline, and cleanliness, and they designed the institutional routine and activities to this end. Religious instruction was central to the charities' work. Family prayers were held twice a day, ministers visited regularly and both moral education and religious instruction were part of the school curriculum. Education and work were also basic Protestant values and central components of a proper middle-class upbringing; these activities took up most of the children's day.

As a result, despite the ladies' desire to create a real "home" institutional life was highly regimented and routine. Children followed a daily schedule of prayers, meals, school and work, a routine that was rigorous and unchanging except for Sundays and holidays: up at six, morning prayers followed by breakfast, school from nine to noon, dinner at one, play, school from two to four/four thirty (LBS) two to five (POA), play, supper at six, evening prayers, and bed at eight. Minor alterations in the winter had them rising later and retiring earlier. On Sundays they attended Church and Sunday school. Bells rang the time and signalled the different activities. It was the teacher's duty to march the children to the appropriate room in orderly style and to keep them quiet. This was not an environment in which the spontaneity and energy of childhood could find a place. There was certainly little room for freedom or individuality.

Determined to protect the children from unsavoury and unhealthy influences, the ladies permitted very little contact with the outside community. The children attended school inside the institutions and for the most part had no contact with other children

except at Sunday school.⁵⁹ Parents were allowed to visit, but these visits were limited to once a week on Saturday afternoon. Complaints about visitors bringing too many sweets and children being sick afterwards led the POA to limit visiting rights to once a month by 1895.⁶⁰ The LBS introduced a rule to limit sweets, but it was disregarded by parents.⁶¹ Because of this and the Committee's evaluation that regular visits were too disruptive, by 1899 they had reduced parental visits to twice a month.⁶²

Discipline was important in the institutions but severe punishment was not tolerated. The LBS dismissed a teacher in 1846 for disciplining a boy with a strap, and dismissed a matron in 1853 for "great cruelty and intemperance of language to the children."⁶³ No references to staff being fired for excessive discipline are found in the POA papers. At one point in 1848, though, a boy accused the superintendent of "undue severity and harsh treatment." The superintendent was exonerated after investigation.⁶⁴ In 1888, the POA Committee added a specific rule requiring the superintendent to record in his journal any time he used severe punishment, although they specified that judicious punishment was allowed.⁶⁵ The POA ladies pointed to their ideal the next year when they described their approbation of the Campbell's who "by their judicious discipline, tempered with kindness and love, render the children under their care useful and happy."⁶⁶

This environment with its isolation and its routine and the emotional strain of separation caused a number of children to run away. In the LBS during the period under study, fifty-four children ran away. Almost all of these children returned to their parent's home and it appears that separation from their families was the main cause. In the POA,

⁵⁹ This isolation was common in children's charities. See Hacsí, *Second Home*, 128; Purvey, "Alexandra Orphanage," 50.

⁶⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, May 1895, 26.

⁶¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, May 1877, 43; Vol.11, April 1895, 144.

⁶² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, February 1899, 98.

⁶³ The matron had also stolen LBS property. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, September 1846, 100; Vol. 5, April 1853, 19, 21.

⁶⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, July 1848, 209-11.

⁶⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, May 1889, 362-63.

⁶⁶ POA, *Annual Report*, 1889.

on the other hand, most of the twenty-five children who ran away were adolescent orphans who presumably wanted to escape the institutional regimen.

Most children, though, eventually adapted to their new institutional life with its regime and its middle-class values. The LBS Young Ladies' School Committee Secretary explained this process in 1863:

Still the apparently hopeless plodding task goes on quietly but surely, day after day, and little by little the good finds a place, and the children begin to like the new life with all its great changes from their former one, they once thought so hard to bear; and obedience, cleanliness, and order, now become as much a part of their daily duty, as disobedience, dirt, and uncleanness belonged to them before.⁶⁷

Conditions in the Institutions

Charities, the ladies believed, called for healthy but simple and minimal conditions. Depending on private funds for most of their income, they were always conscious of possible criticisms of extravagance; economy and thrift were obvious in all aspects of the charity households. Still, overall health conditions in the two institutions were generally good. Mortality rates among the children were lower than those in Montreal as a whole, at just under three per cent for the LBS and eight per cent for the POA (although this latter statistic is distorted somewhat by the 1847 fever children who had a particularly high mortality rate).⁶⁸ Neither institution admitted infants or children who were visibly ill, and from mid-century on children were checked for contagious diseases on entry and vaccinated.⁶⁹ Additional children were rarely admitted when there was an epidemic in the city. (The reader will remember that the children admitted during the 1832 and 1847 epidemics were housed in separate annexes.) Despite these policies both institutions were affected over the century by epidemics including cholera, scarlet fever, and smallpox; and both had some problems with serial contamination common to child institutions, especially with regards to measles, whooping cough and ring-worm as well as ear, eye, and skin

⁶⁷ LBS, "School Report," in *Annual Report*, 1863, 13.

⁶⁸ Seventy-five of the 95 fever children have been included in the POA data for the purposes of the thesis. They had a mortality rate of 17.4% and account for 22% of all POA deaths.

⁶⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, February 1841, 5.

infections, and colds or respiratory disorders. The fact that the mortality rates were so low is testimony to the effort the Committees and their hired staff put into maintaining healthy conditions.

The institutions were visited regularly by doctors who served as the house physician; and, by the 1880s and 1890s, eye doctors and dentists also donated their services, but neither institution consistently had a dedicated and equipped infirmary throughout the period. Both of the new buildings had been planned to have an infirmary. In the LBS the space was quickly converted into a dormitory; the same thing happened whenever an addition to the house raised the possibility of available space. It was only near the end of the century that a functioning infirmary existed. In the POA, an infirmary had been set aside but in 1859 it was explained that since it was not needed it had never been fitted up.⁷⁰ This changed at some point and the ladies began to see the infirmary as central to admissions; they even considered suspending admissions when the infirmary needed repairs in 1878.⁷¹

As much as possible the ladies sent children with communicable diseases to the Montreal General Hospital.⁷² In 1854, for example, when first typhus fever and then whooping cough hit the LBS, so many children were infected that the MGH devoted an entire ward for three months to their care. When sick children remained in the charity, the Committee implemented quarantine procedures, setting aside an area such as the meeting room as a temporary infirmary when an infirmary did not exist. The ladies did not share the opinion of the POA Superintendent, who in 1893 argued against isolation since it was better for the children to have measles while young and in the care of a charity. In fact, the LBS Committee lost the services of one doctor when, in their haste to isolate measles cases, they sent children to the hospital without waiting for his instructions.⁷³ The staff were instructed to thoroughly disinfect and whitewash the house after the outbreak of contagious disease, but sometimes, when one outbreak followed another, it could take months between the

⁷⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1849.

⁷¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1878, 41-42.

⁷² LBS, *Annual Report*, 1854.

⁷³ The Committee argued expediency, but the doctor believed they had "infringed on his prerogatives." LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, March 1853, 17.

beginning of an epidemic and the disinfecting process. In the LBS, financial problems were also a factor with whitewashing occasionally postponed due to budget considerations.

Besides the long list of children's communicable diseases, the most common health complaints were ear, eye, and skin infections and colds or other respiratory disorders. These conditions were exacerbated by dampness and heating problems. As the buildings aged (the POA home was built in 1849, the LBS home in 1856), poor ventilation and faulty drains also proved problematic. The city sanitary inspector began making regular visits in the 1880s. He identified problems in both buildings and, acting on his advice, major drain repairs were made to the LBS building in 1884 and 1891 and to the POA building in 1891. In 1893, at the POA Committee's request, the city inspector verified the sanitary specifications for their new building; his recommendations were implemented except for tile in the bathrooms, which the ladies considered an unnecessary luxury.⁷⁴

Summer was a particularly dangerous time in city institutions due to the increased risk of disease in the city. After 1872 both charities sent a few frail or sickly children to the Murray Bay Convalescent Home for several weeks on the banks of the lower St. Lawrence. By the late 1890s, Anglican children went to the Robert Jones Convalescent Home in Verdun. In 1896 the LBS had the use of six beds in this institution, sending children for three-week stays.⁷⁵ Starting in 1873, the LBS began to send a few of the children with parents in the country, home for a summer holiday to get them out of the city. By the 1890s this summer vacation was a common practice, and almost all of the children visited relatives or friends for several weeks. The aim was to get the children if not out of the city then out of the institution with its increased summer risk of serial contamination. The policy had the added advantage of reinforcing family ties; and, in the fall, many of the children remained with their families rather than returning to the LBS.

In both institutions, children slept in gender segregated dormitories, although up to three of the same sex might share a wooden bed and its straw mattress.⁷⁶ A shift to iron beds

⁷⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, March 1893, 223; September 1893, 319. This was the year before the government established minimum norms for public buildings, requiring that construction plans be submitted for approval by a government inspector. This law was not officially extended to orphanages until 1908. Joyal, *Les enfants*, 106.

⁷⁵ LBS, *Matron's Journal*, June 1896, 17-18.

⁷⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, January 1894, 87.

was made gradually in the LBS between 1878 and 1898, and in the POA in 1888. At least in the LBS, the move to iron beds meant the even more important step of securing an individual bed for each child. The new iron beds were equipped with new ticking, three sheets, two pillow slips, one pillow sham, one blanket, one comforter, and one quilt.⁷⁷

Institutional diets were simple, bland, and limited by budget considerations, seasonal availability of food, and storage problems. The ladies believed in the advantages of "simple, hearty fare"—consistent with the children's health needs, but not more. Since neither charity had stable animals or land to raise crops, almost all food had to be purchased.⁷⁸ The exception was milk and some vegetables. Early in the century, the charities occasionally owned cows and rented grazing land; both maintained gardens when they could.⁷⁹ Further, Committee ladies who had farms sent milk as well as apples and vegetables, and both charities received donations from nearby farmers.⁸⁰ A donation of 23 apple trees in 1849 provided the POA with a small orchard.⁸¹ Despite the apparent availability of milk, dairy products like butter were seen as luxuries and cheese was never mentioned.

The original POA diet list, as drawn up in 1823 and revised in 1849, provides an example of diet in Montreal child charities. (See Appendix 14.) The diet was based on carbohydrates. For breakfast and supper the main staples were bread, porridge or "pudding."⁸² At dinner, soup, meat or fish with pudding or vegetables, and beans and pork as well as milk, cocoa, rice and molasses might be included. This diet, more nutritious and

⁷⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, January 1898, 65.

⁷⁸ François Rousseau finds similar restrictions in his study of the diet in Quebec City's Hôtel-Dieu. The nuns, though, had large gardens and kept some animals for slaughtering which enabled them to purchase directly from farmers instead of butchers. The resulting diet was more varied than that of the POA or LBS and included more meat. See François Rousseau, *L'oeuvre de chère en Nouvelle-France: le régime des malades à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec* (Québec: Les Presses de Université Laval, 1983).

⁷⁹ The LBS sold cows in 4 years; the POA 3 times.

⁸⁰ By mid-century, many of the Committee lived on large estates with gardens and orchards on side of the mountain. See MacLeod, "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families," 220-25.

⁸¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, June 1849, 93.

⁸² The hasty pudding, described by a contemporary as the symbol of "simplicity of diet," was a boiled pudding made of powdered maize with milk, to which beans, butter, bacon or other ingredients could be added. "The Hasty Pudding," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 13, 74 (July 1856): 145-60.

varied than that of British working-class families,⁸³ was closer to that found by Donald Fyson in his examination of food purchases and diets of English-speaking Lachine canal workers in the 1820s and 1830s, with less emphasis on bread.⁸⁴ It was also similar to the diet in the Boston Female Asylum, which the POA had used as a model.⁸⁵

The provision of dairy products generated some debate in the POA meetings by the 1870s and 1880s. Butter was added to the Sunday menu in 1872,⁸⁶ but a motion to provide it daily was rejected in 1888. In that same year, the Committee decided that children should have milk twice a day, preferably whole milk.⁸⁷ To that point the institution had used a solution of milk mixed with water and treacle, but several of the ladies believed whole milk was necessary for the children's health. For her part, the matron opposed whole milk, arguing that it made some children sick and that the children preferred the treacle mixture. It was finally decided to permit children to request whole milk if they wanted it.

This debate over butter and milk led to the establishment of a subcommittee of three ladies in 1888 to investigate the entire diet. They studied dietary lists of institutions like the Montreal General Hospital, and their suggestions were incorporated into a new diet that was much more nutritious.⁸⁸ Children now had butter daily and milk twice a day; the amounts of beef, mutton and fish, vegetables (carrots, cabbage, turnips and onions), rice, and molasses were all increased; and potatoes and apples were added to the diet. (See Appendix 14.)

Diet lists for the LBS were never clearly specified and none remain in their archives. It is likely, however, that their diet was less varied than that of the POA. In 1848, for

⁸³ Derek Oddy finds that the British popular diet featured bread/pudding and potatoes. Tea, drippings, butter, jam, sugar and greens were used basically as flavouring not components and meat was consumed on average once a week, more often for male wage-earners. See Derek Oddy, "A Nutritional Analysis of Historical Evidence: The Working-Class Diet, 1880-1914," in Derek Oddy and Derek Miller, eds., *The Making of the Modern British Diet* (London: Croom Helm, 1976), 214-31.

⁸⁴ See Donald William Fyson, "Eating in the City: Diet and Provisioning in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1989 and his "Du Pain au Madère: L'Alimentation à Montréal au début du XIXe siècle," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 46, 1 (été 1992), 74-9.

⁸⁵ For the Boston asylum see Hacsí, *Second Home*, 151.

⁸⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, April 1872, 77.

⁸⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, February 1888, 211-12.

⁸⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, November 1888, 329-30.

example, the LBS Committee drew up a reduced-cost diet list due to budget problems;⁸⁹ in both 1848 and 1854, potatoes were added to supplement bread, which was more expensive.⁹⁰ A resolution in 1853 added rice to the diet once a week and mutton for the elderly women. Butter was gradually added to the elderly women's diet between 1864 and 1869.⁹¹ An 1878 discussion rejected butter for the children on the grounds of its prohibitive cost and the fact that it was not thought necessary for their health, but another discussion in 1883 modified this and added butter twice a week.⁹² In 1885, responding to complaints from inmates, the Committee concluded that the diet was "suitable and plentiful and good."⁹³ Insufficient funds also led to ongoing problems in the LBS dining room. In 1852, for example, the lack of tin mugs and spoons forced some children to wait until others had finished before they could eat. Knives and forks for the older children were not purchased until 1866.⁹⁴

Clothing was also a problem for the LBS. In many years the LBS matron repeatedly complained that the boys could not go out as they were "literally naked," that it was impossible to keep the children clean without changes of clothes, that she mended the children's clothes every night while they slept, that they had "quite grown out" of their clothes, or that clothes were "no longer fit to be worn out of doors."⁹⁵ When coats and cloaks were made in 1882, boys and girls were given the first new outfit in a decade. Clothing was a particular problem on Sundays when the children went out in public to Church and Sunday school. In many years, they attended in rotation since they needed to share clothes. In 1898, 35 new Sunday uniforms were purchased, enabling 85 children, rather than 50, to attend Church at once. Clothing was not as much a problem in the

⁸⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, December 1848, 78.

⁹⁰ In 1854 mutton replaced beef as well. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, July 1853, 28; December 1853, 51; January 1854, 58.

⁹¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, March 1864, 236; Vol.7, June 1869, 145.

⁹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, December 1878, 110; Vol.10, March 1883, 58.

⁹³ Another investigation took place in 1894 and led to minor changes. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, September 1885, 122; Vol.11, February 1894, 70; April 1894, 98.

⁹⁴ LBS, *Matron's Journal*, January 1852, 62; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, March 1866, 27.

⁹⁵ LBS, *Matron's Journal*, December 1851, 60; February 1852, 74; April 1852, 92; July 1855, 115.

POA, and occasionally references are made to children wearing uniforms—the girls dressed in blue frocks with pink bonnets and boys being dressed in grey.

School

Both institutions operated schools inside the institution, and children spent between five and six hours a day in the classroom.⁹⁶ In the POA, the male Superintendent was in charge of the school for much of the century, a specialized teacher being considered "inconsistent with economy," but in 1858 a female teacher was added for half days to cover the "many useful branches of education in which they [the children] were deficient."⁹⁷ A permanent teacher was added in 1893. The LBS had one teacher from 1846, two after 1858 and three by 1894. In spite of this, there was usually a ratio of forty to fifty children per teacher. Schools in both institutions also worked on the Lancastrian system, in which older children helped with the teaching. Two of the assistant teachers in the LBS were girls trained in the LBS and then in the Normal School.

Schooling was aimed at basic literacy, skills-training, and moral and religious instruction. In 1873 the POA described their education role as "guiding and supporting those little ones entrusted to our care, so as to bring them up in the 'nurture and admonition of the Lord'; and fit them to occupy the positions in life they may be deemed to fill."⁹⁸ By 1852, the POA curriculum included "spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, and grammar."⁹⁹ Skills-training complemented this: both boys and girls were taught to make beds, to mend clothes and to knit. Girls learned gender-appropriate skills including sewing, cooking, laundry, and general cleaning while boys learned to clean boots, shovel snow, chop wood, garden, and do general work on the grounds. By the end of the century, this training was supplemented in both institutions with specific manual training: domestic service for girls and carpentry classes for boys. The LBS also introduced cobbling classes for boys while the POA taught chair caning and book-binding.

⁹⁶ The LBS children began to attend public school in 1917. One teacher was kept on staff to supervise pre-schoolers and school homework. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1917-1918, 8.

⁹⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.6, July 1858, 45.

⁹⁸ POA, *Annual Report*, 1873.

⁹⁹ POA, *By-Laws*.

Moral and religious education was assured through religious instruction, regular attendance at Church and Sunday school, and structured prayers both morning and evening.¹⁰⁰ Furthermore, the entire routine of the institution—the discipline, the household chores, singing classes and even work in the garden,¹⁰¹ was designed to build character and instil Protestant qualities like obedience, respect for order and authority, patience, frugality and cleanliness. School prizes presented at the annual meetings are a good indication of these priorities. The POA awarded prizes for progress and proficiency in literacy, sewing and knitting. Other prizes were given for "helpfulness and good example," "respectful obedience and industry," "good conduct and faithfulness," and "general improvement." The LBS offered a prize for "neatness in dress," "politeness of deportment," "application to study" and "good conduct."¹⁰²

By the 1890s, the Committees tried out several new educational approaches. The children had callisthenics and gymnastics classes; young girls were trained in "kitchen garden" exercises to help them learn domestic service skills, and a few of the older girls attended the YWCA cooking school. Temperance volunteers also organized branches of the children's Band of Hope.

Work

Like children in working-class homes and in other asylums, the LBS and POA children were expected to help alleviate the workload of cooking, cleaning, washing and sewing. This was thought to train them in housework skills, discipline, and industrious habits; it also kept them busy and saved on wage bills. Both boys and girls helped with the general housework, cleaning and tidying, while gender-specific jobs were divided: girls answered the door, set the table, and helped with food preparation and clean-up;

¹⁰⁰ For a discussion of the role of moral training in education see Karen Clarke, "Public and Private Children: Infant Education in the 1820s and 1830s," in Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin and Valerie Walkerdine, eds., *Language, Gender and Childhood* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1985), 78-79.

¹⁰¹ Davidoff & Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 373.

¹⁰² The prizes were not the same each year. These are the prizes listed for 1893 in the case of the POA and 1881 for the LBS. POA, *Annual Report*, 1893; LBS, *Annual Report*, 1881.

boys helped with the grounds and gardening, shovelled snow, carried water and coal, chopped wood, cleaned boots and shoes, and ran messages.

In both institutions, and helped by the matron and Committee ladies, children made most of the clothing. Seamstresses were hired only when entire new outfits were needed. Children also knitted stockings and other woolen items, and mended clothes. Comments in 1835 and 1836, for example, stated that POA children were "all well and knitting warm stockings and making comfortable winter cloaks under the supervision of the Matron."¹⁰³ In 1883, the LBS Committee, checking into the girls' sewing practice, found that they sewed two hours a day making all of the institution's underclothing.¹⁰⁴ Once manual training was begun in the institutions, the children used their new skills to help reduce bills even further. The LBS 1899 Annual Report explains that the boys did all the carpentry repairs in the house and outdoors, and did all the patching, soling and heeling of the boots; while the girls all grew vegetables in their gardens.¹⁰⁵

A few of the LBS boys helped Committee members with their gardens or errands. The practice of using boys as messengers (for the institution or for ladies' private errands) was disputed by some Committee members who argued that it allowed the boys to circulate unescorted in the city where they might commit delinquencies or be reunited with questionable acquaintances. The LBS School Committee also protested, pointing out that the practice meant that the boys missed school. An 1874 bylaw directed that boys be sent out as messengers as infrequently as possible and only for official LBS business.¹⁰⁶ Twenty years later, though, boys still ran messages and teachers still complained of the resulting disruption to their schooling.

Child labour was important in both charities. The LBS matron frequently appealed to the Committee to postpone apprenticeships because she needed the older children's help in the house, but this happened on occasion in the POA as well. Both charities apprenticed girls to the Society at points over the century to train them as servants and reduce wage costs. (See Chapter Six.) Their work meant that the institution

¹⁰³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, October 1836, 39; November 1835, 29.

¹⁰⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, May 1883, 62.

¹⁰⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1899.

¹⁰⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, October 1863, 216; Vol.8, June 1875, 141; LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874.

could avoid hiring servants to do the light work, with only demanding and specialized work such as cooking, laundry, and major house cleaning being done by hired workers.¹⁰⁷

Play

Although most of the children's time was spent at school or doing household chores, set times were designated for play after lunch and before supper. Outdoor exercise in particular was considered healthy, and in their search for buildings in the early years and in their permanent institutions, both Committees ensured they had some area available for an outdoor playground and garden for the children. On the other hand, they did not feel that toys or sporting equipment warranted the use of charity funds. References to these are rare until the end of the century when occasionally skipping ropes, footballs, swings and sleds are mentioned. Most of these were donated by friends at Christmas, although most patrons preferred to send food treats like oranges, cakes, and candy or books.¹⁰⁸ Indeed, subscribers and supporters seemed to consider sports equipment and toys in general as unnecessary for charity children. Although the YMCA and some schools were already beginning physical recreation programmes by the 1870s and 1880s, the advocacy of exercise and organized play popularized by the playground movement did not result in donations to outfit child charities to implement this type of training.¹⁰⁹ When the LBS Young Ladies' School Committee helped the children organize a sale of their fancywork in 1899, the children used the profits to purchase skipping ropes and footballs themselves.¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁷ This was better than the Halifax Home where children did all of the work. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 94 and "Childhood and Charity," 178. For American institutions see Susan Tiffin, *In Whose Best Interest? Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era* (Westport Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1982), 70-71.

¹⁰⁸ All of these were common presents for children in the century. See Janet Holmes, "Toys and Games," in Donald Blake Webster, ed., *The Book of Canadian Antiques* (New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974), 187-202.

¹⁰⁹ For the playground movement in Montreal see Schmidt, "Domesticating Parks"; for Ontario, see Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice," *Material History Bulletin*, 22 (Fall 1985): 21-30; for the United States, see Dominic Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals. Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1888-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981).

¹¹⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, March 1899, 102.

Furthermore, any playing the children did was done within the confines of the institution or on carefully supervised outings. Except for Sunday School, they had very little contact with children outside the institution. In fact the ladies refused almost all invitations to attend public activities, due to their fear of exposing the children to communicable diseases. Forced to remain in the institution or its grounds but without many toys or equipment, children did not always take advantage of the play hour. In 1889 the POA Monthly Visitors reported with evident dismay that the children remained sitting on their school benches at their noon break rather than playing outdoors and that if they did go outside, only the boys went, "the girls being seldom or never seen with them."¹¹¹

Even walks were not a regular activity. In both the 1840s and the 1890s, the Committees passed resolutions requiring the children be given daily walks or fresh air exercise,¹¹² but the Matron's and Superintendent's Journals reveal that these resolutions were not implemented. In fact, other than the trek to Church and Sunday school, walks were limited to perhaps once a week, sometimes twice a month. In the winter this was largely due to the logistics of dressing large numbers of children, and, at least in the LBS, the availability of warm clothing. In the summer, concern was expressed that extreme heat would harm the children's health. Still, occasional day-long summer outings and picnics were common from the 1860s. These were much easier by the late 1870s once both Ste. Helen's Island and Mount Royal were opened as parks.¹¹³ Most of these outings were paid for by supporters, who sent wagons to pick up the children and provided the refreshments. In the latter part of the century several times a year the ladies also organized some kind of indoor entertainment for the children including picture slides (views) and magic shows.

¹¹¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, March 1889, 354-55.

¹¹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, February 1842, 12; Vol.4, March 1848, 35; Vol.11, January 1894, 87; POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, May 1839, 100; Vol.11, March 1889, 354-55. The 1894 LBS motion was seen as important enough to include in the revised 1897 *By-Laws*.

¹¹³ St. Helen's Island was opened as a park in 1874. A free ferry service linked it to the city making it more accessible. The children also went to the mountain in wagons sent by supporters and occasionally used the incline railway constructed in 1885.

A Home?

The "home" was a central concept in middle-class domestic ideology, and both charities spoke of their desire to make their institution home-like. Patrons at the annual meetings often commented on the children's happy faces and neat appearance, comparing the atmosphere favourably with institutions they had visited in other cities. The description of the children given by the journalist covering the LBS open house following renovations to the building in 1898 is an excellent example: "plump little bodies, sparkling eyes and shining faces. Surely, the old stories of institution children are only nightmares to be forgotten."¹¹⁴

In his study of English-Canadian attitudes at the turn of the century towards children and the ideal childhood, Neil Sutherland concludes that people "showed little awareness of children as individual persons" and that "they saw nothing of the inner, emotional life of youngsters."¹¹⁵ Looking at these two child charities, however, we find some evidence that, alongside the inevitable discipline and strict character-building regimen, the ladies recognized the importance of the psychological and emotional aspects of a family home for children and that they tried to emphasize and deliberately nurture these. This was easier in the POA, a smaller institution with about thirty children and where many of the matrons and superintendents acted as surrogate parents to children over long periods of time. This stability was reinforced by the lengthy stays of many of the children themselves and the fact that most had siblings with them in the institution. Celebrations at Christmas and Easter, daily family prayers and family dinners reinforced the sense of belonging to an institutional family.

Recognizing the importance of sibling ties to children, the POA Committee ladies tried to apprentice siblings to families in the same community as much as possible (although this was not always done); a few children were even apprenticed to the same family. Further, letter-writing was introduced as a way to "cement early ties of affection or friendship, although they [the children] were widely separated from each other in the world."¹¹⁶ On letter-writing day children wrote letters to siblings who had already left the

¹¹⁴ Quoted in the *LBS Minutes*, Vol.12, April 1898, 73.

¹¹⁵ Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 6-8.

¹¹⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.6, March 1860, 131.

POA usually as apprentices; those without siblings wrote to one of the former POA children who was now serving as an apprentice, preferably a boy or girl they had known before he or she left.

The pen-pal policy was probably even more important for the apprentices than for the children still in the institution and represents a real appreciation on the part of the Committee ladies of the possible difficulties and alienation experienced by apprentices alone in a new family, especially if they were also far away and in an unfamiliar rural setting. The Christmas letter was another policy directed at maintaining contact with the apprentices. All of them were encouraged to write Christmas letters to either the ladies or the matron. As a further incentive, those who did were sent a book. In addition, from 1876, the matron made a yearly visit to most apprentices. (See discussion next chapter.) This trip served to ensure that masters were respecting their contractual obligations and that apprentices were well, but such visits had the further advantage of maintaining the contact between the apprentices and the institution. By 1878 the ladies reported that the apprentices looked forward to these visits with pleasure. In 1885 they pointed to the importance of the visits for the children as one of the visiting system's most important features: "Each year more fully impresses upon us the desirability of this system of visiting the absent children, as it tends to keep unbroken the tie which binds them to their former home, and causes them to feel that their welfare is closely watched over by those who gave them their early training."¹¹⁷

Another indication of the recognition of the children's personal needs and interests is the fact that many of the apprenticeship placements were individually chosen with a boy or girl's particular capacities or likes/dislikes in mind. Although sometimes the ladies simply sent the next child who was of age when an application was received, on occasion they skipped over a child in deference to his/her individual circumstances, waiting for the appropriate apprentice application.

The LBS Committee members also emphasized their institution's home-like quality with shared family dinner, Christmas/Easter celebrations and family prayers, but it was harder to create a family atmosphere in an institution that housed from sixty to one hundred children and in which the turnover rate was high with most children staying less

¹¹⁷ POA, *Annual Reports*, 1878, 1885.

than a year. A further complication was the fact the children shared the home with elderly women and convalescents. On the other hand, most of the LBS children had siblings with them and parents often visited on Saturdays, so they were not really alone. Further, for some, the transition to institution life was eased by the fact that their mothers had entered the institution with them at least temporarily, and many children knew that they would be returning to their families as soon as possible.

Several indications point to at least some minimal success in the efforts to create a real home for these children. In both institutions some children returned to visit once they left; others sent letters or attended the Christmas dinner or the summer picnic. A few even helped the Committees with donations or by working on the house, as did two former LBS boys in 1893 when they helped lay new floors and do plumbing repairs. In the best publicized instance of this, a former POA inmate donated more than \$1,000 to the funds over the years and his widow furnished a dormitory in the new building named in his honour.¹¹⁸

These charities had characteristics of both the isolating and the protective asylums found by Timothy Hacsí. Although the Committees isolated children in the asylums with little outside contact and limited contact with parents, they did this from within a protective perspective and did not try to break children away from their parents as many more isolating child charities did. Their overall aim was to create a refuge for the children.

There were contradictions within this aim, however, and clear class overtones. Rather than simply protect or provide for, the ladies also aimed to regulate and improve. They believed in the importance of the environment and wanted to make their institutions into proper homes for the children, but also aimed to turn the children into useful, God-fearing citizens by educating them in basic literacy skills, training them in domestic and

¹¹⁸ Robert F. entered the POA as an orphan during the cholera epidemic in 1832. He was apprenticed as a cooper and subsequently moved to California where he became quite prosperous. He made a number of donations to the Endowment Fund from 1851 until his death in 1892, contributing a total of \$1,370. POA, *Annual Reports*, 1852, 1853, 1854, 1866, 1873, 1882, 1887, 1888, 1892, 1895. Newspaper clipping, "A Home for the Orphans," May 12, 1892, in POA, Scrapbook.

manual skills, and providing abundant Protestant religious and moral instruction. In this, their middle-class and Protestant belief in the importance of the home and of a protected childhood intersected with their suspicion of working-class values and child-rearing practices. Nonetheless, both Committees recognized destitution as the most important admission criteria and rarely refused to help children on the basis of parental morality.

The institutional schedule was rigid and unchanging, but many of the children did not remain in the institutions long enough to worry about whether they were really home-like or not. As will be seen in the next chapter, in both charities, but especially in the Ladies' Benevolent Society, a large number of children returned to their families after a brief stay. For a good number, however, residence in one of these two child charities represented a substantial part of their childhood. The policies that governed the conditions under which children left the charities and the placement methods used are the subject of the next chapter. Departure policies represented an arena of much potential conflict as the Committees interacted with parents applying to remove their children and with other families who contracted to take children from the charities in adoption or as apprentices.

Chapter Five

Leaving the Institution

The ladies who ran the child charities brought their Protestant upper middle-class culture with its ideal of the family and the home to their work, attempting to create a family atmosphere in their institutions despite circumstances that often made this difficult. Nonetheless, their primary focus was on protecting the children, educating and training them to be good Christians and good citizens, thus making their work more child-centred than family-centred. This focus, merged with their class perspective and their suspicion of poor families, influenced their departure policies both in terms of returning children to parents or using adoption/apprenticeship. The respective rights of parents and of the charity, temporarily assuming responsibility for children, were occasionally unclear; and this situation could result in conflict over their apprenticeship or over the release of children from the institutions. Still, most children with a living parent returned to their families, and some of the POA orphans were eventually taken in by relatives. Other children were generally apprenticed, although a few were adopted. (See Table 5.1 below for the departure patterns of these two charities.)

Table 5.1
Departures of Children from the Ladies' Benevolent Society
and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899

Departure	LBS		POA	
	No.	%	No.	%
To Relatives	1802	70.1	308	34.1
Left/Ran Away	(84) ¹		30	3.3
Apprenticed	253	9.8	393	43.5
To Service	23	0.9	45	5.0
Adopted	15	0.6	18	2.0
Died	65	2.5	68	7.5
To Another Institution	89	3.5	23	2.6
Known Cases	2247	87.4	885	98.0
Unknown	325	12.6	18	2.0
Total Cases	2572	100.0	903	100.0

¹ Includes 30 children removed by parents (usually stolen) and 54 who ran away. These cases are included in the category "To Relatives."

Source: LBS, *Register, Minutes*; POA, *Register, Minutes*.

Returning Home and Parental Rights

Returning to the care of parents or relatives was the norm for more than 70 per cent of LBS children. This category includes the 54 children who ran away from the institution to rejoin their families and the 30 who were removed by parents without the Committee's permission (see discussion below). Since records were usually kept of children who died, were apprenticed or sent to another institution, the 13 per cent of LBS children for whom we do not have specific departure information probably also returned to their families. This likelihood is reinforced by the fact that many of them left on the same day as their siblings, giving the impression of children leaving together to return home. With its high percentage of orphans, returning home was much less common in the POA, where only 34 per cent of children (308) went to family or relatives. However, this represents 78 per cent of children with a known parent. Sometimes parents failed in their attempts to support retrieved children. In 111 such cases in the LBS and 5 in the POA, children were readmitted two or even three times.

Designed to protect, educate and train destitute children, both charities had clear policies against admitting children temporarily. LBS policy specified that children should stay at least one year to give them "time to imbibe some good impressions which may be of service (to it) [sic] hereafter."¹ In a similar vein, the original POA policy (reconfirmed in 1846) stated "no child should be allowed to leave until it [sic] has learned to read and write."² This POA policy was strengthened and made much clearer in 1880 by specifying that children could not leave until they were old enough to be apprenticed (fifteen for girls and thirteen for boys) even if they were returning to family or kin. Although they had not systematically applied the first policy, the POA Committee informed all relatives admitting children post-1880 of the new policy and enforced it very strictly.³

Despite these policies, the charity Committees, particularly the LBS and the POA pre-1880, agreed to shelter many children temporarily, and placing children in the

¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, October 1832, 33; February 1840, Vol.2, 103.

² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1844, 68; March 1846, 148.

³ In July 1887, for example, they refused to release one boy to his brothers even though he was already twelve. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, July 1887, 206-07.

charities during a family crisis and then retrieving them was one way in which the poor successfully used the charities for a purpose other than that for which they were designed. A large number of children entered and left the charities within a three-month period, and one half of all LBS children and 30 per cent of those in the POA left in under a year.⁴ Over 1000 children in the LBS and 540 in the POA, though, remained more than a year. For these, one or two years were the most frequent stays, but some children were resident for a good part of their childhood, if not for all of it. See Table 5.2 below.

Table 5.2
Children's Length of Stay in the Ladies' Benevolent Society
and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1838-1899

Length of stay	LBS		POA	
	No.	%	No.	%
Less than 3 months	892	34.7	178	19.7
3 Months to 1 year	454	17.6	88	9.8
1-5 Years	912	35.5	347	38.4
6-10 Years	172	6.7	168	18.6
More than 10 years	14	0.5	25	2.8
Known Cases	2,444	95.0	806	89.3
Unknown Cases ¹	128	5.0	97	10.7
Total Cases	2,572	100.0	903	100.0

¹ For these cases exit date is not indicated.

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1838-1899; POA, *Register*, 1832-1899.

Although the Committees occasionally lamented the power that parents had to claim children or to interfere with apprenticeships,⁵ generally they respected the rights of parents and relatives to retrieve children on request and even wrote to find out if, and when, families wanted the children or to arrange an apprenticeships in collaboration with the family. A number of children, however, were released to parents (in the words of one

⁴ If the 1847 fever children, most of whom remained less than three months, are removed from the data one sees that 26 per cent of other children remained less than a year, a more realistic representation of the normal POA trend.

1856 LBS entry) "unwillingly,"⁶ a characterization that betrays reluctance in certain cases.

The reluctance to release children placed in charities was not unusual among nineteenth-century charity directors. Many child-savers saw the mere act of surrendering a child to a charity as proof of parental negligence and justification for keeping the child away from such parents. Some charities forced parents to legally bind children to the charity, making them sign surrender agreements that came into effect either immediately or after a specific lapse of time, usually six months.⁷ Many believed the best course of action in these cases was to place the children in other families, who would provide supervision and a stable family life. Some, like the English Emigration societies, used a form of what Joy Parr has called "philanthropic abduction," making consent to emigration a precondition for admission. Likewise, the American Children's Aid Societies, starting with the one created by Charles Loring Brace in New York in 1850, sent urban children to rural families. In both cases putting distance between the children and their parents was seen as critical to their future well-being.⁸ Historians have argued that the same type of vigilance existed in Canadian charities with Committees forcing parents to bind their children to the charity on their admission and using a placement or apprenticeship system to remove children from parental influence.⁹

Close examination of these two Montreal charities reveals that they were somewhat less extreme in terms of these practices. For example, neither institution forced parents to legally bind their children to the society on admission. Motions to this effect

⁵ They were particularly concerned about what they perceived as parents waiting until children were finally of some use to the charity and just about to be indentured before they took them home. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, February 1891, 16.

⁶ LBS, *Register*, Vol.1, #621, 622, 43.

⁷ For examples see Hacsí, *Second Home*, 126.

⁸ Barnardo's, for example, often sent children to Canada without informing the parents of the sailing date. However, they did not succeed in permanently separating families and many of the children eventually returned to England or their parents came to Canada. See Joy Parr, *Labouring Children*, Chapter 4. Bruce Bellingham has found evidence of the same forceful child rescue and the same family persistence and reunion among the children sent west by the early New York City Children's Aid Society. See his "Waifs and Strays" and "Institution and Family."

⁹ See Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 95, 142, 147; "Guttersnipes and Charity Children," 87; and "Childhood and Charity," 175-78.

were passed by the POA in 1824, 1844, and 1852 but were rarely implemented.¹⁰ In the end, only 9 children or 4 per cent of non-orphans are identified as legally bound to the POA. According to circumstances, the LBS occasionally told people they must either bind children or pay board and discussed a general binding rule in 1847, but no official policy was adopted.¹¹ Only 68 children or 3 per cent are listed as bound to the Society. Furthermore, neither charity placed children in foster homes and, for the most part, both secured parental agreement before apprenticeships were arranged and certainly cleared all apprenticeships with legal guardians or tutors, if these existed.

Nonetheless, despite their general acceptance of the rights of parents and relatives to retrieve children when they wanted, both the LBS and the POA refused to return a few children to parents or relatives and deliberately apprenticed a few children to remove them from the influence of parents or relatives. It is essential to emphasize that these cases involved only about one per cent of children in the POA (12) and even less than one per cent in the LBS (13) and thus do not reflect the overall character of these charities, but they are extremely important since they demonstrate the situation in which this resistance occurred and the refusal of these two charity Committees to accept absolute parental power. There were two situations in which the Committees are known to have challenged and effectively violated parental rights by refusing to relinquish a child: when Catholic relatives or parents tried to claim a Protestant child and when the ladies considered the parent or relative applying for the child to be completely unsuitable. While the ideals of the family and the home were central to the ladies' values, when they considered the home in question to be a moral or a religious threat to the child, their protective concern overrode other considerations. Several of these cases also reveal agency on the part of parents/relatives fighting back against such child-rescue attempts by stealing their children from the charity or an apprenticeship home or by appealing to the courts to uphold their rights.

The children's spiritual salvation and the role these two charities played in keeping Protestant children away from Catholic charities were both taken very seriously.

¹⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, January 1824, 53; Vol.3, August 1844, 53; Vol.4, December 1852, 249.

¹¹ See, for example, LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1844, 55; February 1847, 127.

Although the ladies did not use their institutions to proselytise and in this way cohabited peacefully with the city's Catholics, both Committees refused to release a child to Catholic relatives, even parents, when they were convinced the child was a Protestant. From this perspective, protecting children from Catholicism was seen as more important than parental rights, especially those exercised by kin. For example, the LBS turned over the two K. boys to their aunt and brother who wanted to move them to St. Patrick's Orphanage only after they produced a court order and Catholic birth certificates for both children, and had paid board for their entire stay.¹² In another case a Catholic mother was refused her five children when she applied for their discharge in order to place them with the Nuns, because the ladies had promised the deceased father to raise the children as Protestants and to protect them from their alcoholic mother. Determined that her children were to be raised as Catholics, the mother stole them from the LBS by climbing over the wall at night.¹³ This case reveals some of the complications involved in these decisions over discharging children, including the rights of the deceased father, the promise made by the Committee, and the mother's questionable character.

The POA resisted turning orphans over to Catholic relatives if the parents had been Protestant, believing that the parents' intentions in relation to the children's religion should be respected. Thus they required relatives to produce Catholic birth certificates for the children as proof that the parents had intended them to be raised as Catholics. Anna M., for example, for whom the POA had Protestant baptism papers, was never released to her Catholic uncle even though he was already sending her brother to a Protestant Church and promised to do the same for her. Backed by their lawyer (who advised that, since they had the baptismal papers, they stood a 50/50 chance that the courts would uphold their refusal to release a child to kin on the grounds of religion), the ladies persisted. Eventually the uncle gave up, dropping all claims.¹⁴

The case of another girl, whose uncle wanted to send her to Catholic relatives in Ireland, did end up in the courts. When the uncle applied, the POA refused to release the

¹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, September 1870, 190.

¹³ LBS, *Matron's Journal*, Vol.2, May 24, 1858, 29; July 3, 1858, 36; LBS, *Register*, #780-86.

¹⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, September 1880, 112; November 1880, 119, 123-24; December 1880, 126; March 1881, 142-43; February 1882, 205-07.

girl on the grounds that she was Protestant. This case was further complicated by the fact that the girl, who was twelve, did not want to go. The uncle began legal proceedings to become her official tutor and then took the case to court. The POA lawyer argued on the basis of religion and challenged the legality of the tutorship since the man was Irish, not Canadian. The judge ruled that the key factor was the rights of the tutor (he declined to challenge the legality of the said process) to possession of the child, not the question of the child's religion, and ordered the POA to hand over the child.¹⁵ It is not clear if the ladies would have resisted releasing the girl had the uncle been her tutor when he first applied, since as a norm they were extremely respectful of the rights of tutors. Nevertheless, the case exposes the legal invalidity of their position in relation to religion and parental rights. The ladies feared the press coverage of this case would encourage other Catholic relatives to claim children, but these fears proved unfounded.

The Committees also occasionally resisted releasing children to families on moral grounds or to protect what they saw as the interests of the children. They reluctantly returned children to parents they described as unworthy, but when they judged a parent to be totally immoral, or "wicked" as they called it, they sometimes refused to release children into that person's care. In 1889, for example, the LBS refused to return Mrs. P's children and wrote to the man who had applied for their admission suggesting he become their legal tutor, and thereby protect them from their mother.¹⁶ In August 1850 and again in 1851, the POA Committee referred to their decision to keep a child for moral reasons, in spite of the fact they knew they had "no legal right to retain the child," since it was a parent applying for the child's release.¹⁷ However, the POA ladies believed that relatives did not have absolute rights to claim children, and in 1852, began to request that relatives produce a certificate of fitness (similar to that used for apprentices) when they applied for a child's discharge.¹⁸ The rule was applied irregularly, but its existence probably served to

¹⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, September-October 1887, 214-15, 218-19.

¹⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, March 1889, 104.

¹⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, August 1850, 154; November 1851, 181-82.

¹⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, March 1852, 206.

intimidate some relatives; and it was certainly used in at least three cases after 1852 when relatives were judged to be "undesirable."¹⁹

On a few occasions both the LBS and the POA deliberately apprenticed children to keep them from parents or relatives. In two cases the LBS Committee used this method to keep girls from intemperate mothers and in another they decided not to tell a mother where her son was placed as "she is known to be such a character that she would do him more harm than good."²⁰ In 1869, one boy was apprenticed by the POA with the following explanation: "it was very desirable to remove [W...] from the influence of his relatives in Montreal."²¹ Another boy was apprenticed, even though his father was in town, so that, if he appeared, the child would "be out of his interference."²²

In the two POA cases above, the ladies' actions were precautionary since neither the relatives nor the father in question had actually applied for the boys. In the case of two other orphan children, however, their actions were much more deliberate. They apprenticed one boy in 1843 against his relatives' wishes, arguing that the family's position was "detrimental to the child's welfare" and that the ladies "stood in relation to parents to the children," and thus must protect their interests.²³ In the other case a girl's aunt had applied for her release and been told to wait until she reached the age to leave. Shortly before this time arrived, though, the ladies apprenticed the girl to avoid returning her to the aunt, described as "very undesirable and intemperate," since "it would never do to let her have the child." This aunt's attempt to reclaim the girl once she had completed her indentures was again denied, with the argument that she was under the legal protection of the society until her majority.²⁴

Faced with this challenge to their legal rights and the charity Committees' unilateral actions, some parents and/or relatives acquiesced, but others, as we have seen, fought back by appealing to the courts or by taking their children from the asylum

¹⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, December 1855, 116; Vol.8, October 1870, 272; Vol.10, June 1880, 109.

²⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1855, 104; Vol.10, August 1886, 166.

²¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, June 1868, 166.

²² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, November 1875, 213.

²³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, July 1843, 28.

²⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, April 1881, 147; Vol.11, March 1887, 180-81, 184.

without permission. Thirty children "left" or were taken away from the LBS "without the Committee's approval," "enticed away by abandoned relatives."²⁵ These children disappeared from the institution grounds while playing, from the street while walking home from Church, or from the house during a visit. Some of these parents, like the Catholic mother who stole her children at night, had unsuccessfully applied for the children's discharge at an earlier point. Fear of a similar refusal is the best explanation for the other abductions. There were also a few instances of parents or relatives enticing children to leave their apprenticeship homes. Only two cases of parents stealing children are recorded in the POA papers.²⁶

Parental power over children was clear under the Quebec Civil Code and no law specifically outlined the powers of charities in relation to those of the parents or relatives of children placed in institutions. It was not legally clear therefore if indeed a charitable corporation "stood in relation to parents to the children" as the POA argued. In 1871, however, a first step was taken in this direction when an act was passed giving charitable institutions the right to apprentice "any child being an inmate of the institution, or having the protection or aid thereof," and establishing that "during the whole term of any placing out or apprenticeship of any child under this act, the rights, power and authority of the parents over and in respect of such child, shall cease and be vested in and exercised by the managers of the Industrial or Reformatory School, or managers of the institution having charge of such child." A parent had the right to apply to the superior court to have the child "restored to his or her custody and control," but had to prove to the judge that they were "fit and proper person[s] to take charge of the child, and that the child's condition will not thereby suffer."²⁷

This act was one of a series connected to industrial and reformatory schools and the creation of a policy on child protection, the thrust of which gradually shifted from

²⁵ This was the phrase used to describe these removals in 1861. LBS, *Annual Report*, 1861.

²⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, July 1824, 69; Vol.7, October 1870, 272.

²⁷ "An act to empower the managers of Industrial and Reformatory Schools, and of certain Charitable Institutions, to apprentice or place out children under their charge," *Statutes of Quebec*, 1871, 35 Vict., c. 13.

absolute paternal power over children.²⁸ The law clarified the power of charities to apprentice a child under their care and their continued responsibility over children once apprenticed as well as introducing the notions of parental fitness and the child's best interests. As such, it provided the charity Committees with some legal justification in the cases cited above where they had decided parents were unfit, and certainly the POA had lobbied for its passage.²⁹ These notions are crucial in any discussion of the respect or non-respect of parental rights. Readers must remember, however, that evaluations of fitness were often fraught with class prejudice, as the charity Committees imposed their middle-class definitions of appropriate behaviour on working-class individuals with a different culture and economic possibilities. Nonetheless, two POA cases point to the complicated issues surrounding parenting and the need to interpret the respective rights of charities and parents and the actions of the charity boards in this regard with some measure of nuance.

The case of Thomas B. reveals some of the complexity of jurisdiction in these cases. Thomas had been apprenticed by the POA. His apprenticeship completed, his master arranged a post-apprenticeship position for him in Trois-Rivières. This was a procedure the POA ladies regularly used, often admonishing masters to help former apprentices find good positions so they would have adult supervision at least until their majority. Honestly believing the position to be an excellent one for the boy, the ladies enthusiastically wrote to inform his grandfather and stepmother of the good news. The relatives were unhappy at not having been consulted and informed the ladies they wanted the boy returned to them in Montreal. In the end, the ladies decided to maintain the placement, which they believed to have been made in good faith. Their Minutes reported that the grandfather "behaved in a very rude manner accusing the Ladies of dividing families and could not be persuaded that the Ladies had, in ignorance of these relatives, endeavoured to act in the best manner for the boy's interest." In this instance the ladies,

²⁸ For the government policy on children and in particular delinquent children, see discussion in Chapter One. For the apprenticeship law see Joyal, *Les Enfants*, 76-77.

²⁹ The ladies had originally asked their lawyer, George Macrae, to prepare a request to amend their Act of Incorporation "in order to have more power over the children." They were even happier that a law was passed instead. They thanked both their lawyer and Hon. Luther Holton, M.L.A., for advice, preparation of documents and lobbying in relation to the bill. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, September 1871, 35; December 1871, 54; POA, *Annual Report*, 1872.

aware of the relatives but not of their desire to claim the boy, had attempted to ensure that he was safely placed and earning wages. The relatives, however, believed the charity to have disrespected their right to reclaim the boy at any point, and argued that they should have been warned when the apprenticeship was about to end.³⁰

The case of Sarah, a mulatto child from New Orleans who ended up in the POA, exposes some of the problems involved in determining parental fitness and in drawing the line between the rights of parents and the interests of the child. Assuming Sarah was an orphan, the ladies arranged an apprenticeship placement for her as a domestic servant. Some months later they received a letter from her half-sister (Sarah was the child of this woman's father and his housekeeper) introducing herself and indicating her indignation that the child was required to work. She requested that Sarah be placed in a paying institution or be returned to the mother. The ladies refused to divulge the apprenticeship address or to send Sarah to New Orleans unaccompanied, agreeing to return her if the mother came to Montreal and could prove her identity.³¹

Concurrently they wrote to a minister in New Orleans to ascertain more information. Having gone to meet the relatives, he warned the ladies that "people of her colour have a very dubious position in New Orleans, and he feared much for her future fate," and strongly advised them to retain the child in the POA if at all possible.³² Meanwhile, oblivious to these events, Sarah herself was writing letters to the ladies telling them how happy she was in her apprenticeship home.³³ The ladies continued to refuse to return her without having met the mother. The intervention of the American Vice Counsel finally forced them to send the girl to New York where she was met by relatives.³⁴ Two years later, however, the POA received a letter from Sarah (now 15). Indicating that her mother "had no use for her," she requested a reference to enable her to go into service. (No mention was made of the half-sister.) The ladies sent her the reference, commenting in the Minutes on their sadness that she "is now neglected in a

³⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, April 1887, 186-87.

³¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1878, 7; March 1878, 11.

³² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, April 1878, 16.

³³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, March 1878, 13.

³⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, May 1878, 20-21; June 1878, 27; September 1878, 31.

strange country."³⁵ This case, showing the complicated nature of child protection, is one of the few in the charity papers where we can see a follow-up on cases where the ladies had resisted releasing a child to relatives.

Parental rights and fitness were not an issue for a number of children whose parents could not provide for them at any point and those who no longer had parents. These children, however, posed another problem for the Committees since it was not the norm for children to remain in child charities once they were in their early teens; instead, they were sent to live in families. In this, these Montreal charities used two methods that were common at the time—adoption and apprenticeship. But, as modern social workers and adoption agencies know from experience, sending a child into an unknown family in any historical period can be fraught with potential danger. The Montreal Committees were at times forced to grapple with rather complex questions in relation to these placements; and over time, as they encountered problematic situations, they adapted their methods to accommodate their protective approach.

Adoption

The legal status of adoption was ambiguous in the nineteenth century. Although adoption seems to have occurred regularly, it was not included in the 1866 Quebec civil code.³⁶ No detailed study has been done on this subject in Quebec, but Michael Grossberg, studying the United States, has found that prior to specific adoption legislation, many American judges ruled that a father could not arbitrarily make someone a member of his family. This situation posed several practical problems since it meant that adopted children were not legally family members and therefore had no inheritance rights. In 1851 a Massachusetts law legalized adoption in that state, and by the 1870s several other American States had followed Massachusetts' example and outlined adoption processes and inheritance rights in laws.³⁷ In Canada, New Brunswick

³⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1880, 132.

³⁶ For the use of informal adoption or *adoption de fait* in Quebec see Goubau and O'Neill, "L'adoption, l'Église et l'État," 100-103.

³⁷ Michael Grossberg, *Governing the Hearth. Law and Family in Nineteenth-Century America* (Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985), 268-80. In his study of adoption law, Jamil Zainaldin finds that the groundwork for the legal recognition of adoption and

introduced legislation in 1873 to specifically allow for the adoption of illegitimate children, and Nova Scotia passed a more general adoption law in 1896; but adoption legislation was not passed in other provinces, including Quebec, until the 1920s.³⁸ The 1871 apprenticeship law had granted charities the right to send a child out to be adopted, but the law did not include any legal clarifications or definitions as to the process or the rights, obligations and responsibilities of the various parties.³⁹ It was not until 1924 that the process of adoption was legally outlined in Quebec in a specific adoption law.⁴⁰

Despite the lack of legal guidelines, many nineteenth-century charities gave children to families in an arrangement they referred to as adoption. These two Montreal charities were no exception, although they rarely used the method. Only 15 children in the LBS and 18 in the POA were adopted.

The POA adoptions showed a clear preference for girls, with thirteen girls and five boys, but this gender imbalance was not repeated in the LBS. Adoptive parents were all from Quebec and tended to be artisans and farmers. Families tended to choose children who were between six and thirteen, slightly younger than apprentices but at an age at which they would soon be useful. This pattern is very different from the modern one whereby adoptive parents tend to adopt children as young as possible.

voluntary transfer of parental rights was laid down through developments in custody rights cases which hinged on the courts' evaluation of the welfare of the child. Jamil S. Zainaldin, "The Emergence of a Modern American Family Law: Child Custody, Adoption, and the Courts, 1796-1851," *Northwestern University Law Review*, 73, 6 (1978-1979): 1038-89.

³⁸ British Columbia in 1920, Ontario in 1921, Manitoba and Saskatchewan in 1922, Quebec in 1924, Alberta in 1927, Prince Edward Island in 1930.

³⁹ *Statutes of Quebec*, 1873, 35 Vict., c. 13, section 4. Adoption had also been referred to with the same lack of clarification in pre-confederation legislation. Canada, *Statutes*, 1863-1864, c. 63; 1864, c.145.

⁴⁰ *Revised Statutes of Quebec*, 1923-24, c. 75; 1925, c. 196. For this law see Joyal, *Les enfants*, 140-44; Goubau and O'Neill, "L'adoption, l'Église et l'État," 97-130; B.L. Vigod, "History According to the Boucher Report: Some Reflections on the State and Social Welfare in Quebec Before the Quiet Revolution," in Moscovitch and Albert, eds., *The Benevolent State*, 179; Esdras Minville, *Labour Legislation and Social Services in the Province of Quebec: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1939) and Alastair Bisset-Johnson and Julius Grey, "Adoption," in *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., Vol.1 (Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988), 6. The Quebec law included children who had been abandoned in a charity for two years (modified in 1925 to six months for illegitimate children) as eligible for adoption. After much negative reaction, the law was modified in 1925 to limit adoption to illegitimate children and orphans.

Adoption did not generate much discussion in the LBS, but the POA discussed the process several times. In the absence of any legislation, the POA asked the adopting family to sign a waiver relieving the charity of all responsibility for the child, even though a legal transfer of parental rights was not possible under law.⁴¹ The ladies appear to have sincerely believed that adoption made a child a member of a family, not a helper like an apprentice, and hence there was no contract or payment. At the same time, they were aware of the practical problems posed by the legal ambiguity of inheritance rights and of the possibility of families using children as free labour.⁴² Nevertheless, they believed that adoptive parents acquired rights over the child and that the POA lost the right to interfere to protect an adopted child as a result of the adoption waiver. Considerations like these led the Committee to use adoption infrequently.

Under these circumstances, the POA ladies attempted to do what they could to make adoption a better and safer option by using their own bylaws to tighten the rules governing adoptions from their institution. The original POA rules included a trial period for three months, and adoptions were to be by childless families with the father promising to make the child his heir.⁴³ These rules were reconfirmed and strengthened in 1851. Under their new rules, only childless families could adopt POA children and then only on signing a legal waiver that specifically included the child in any future inheritance.⁴⁴ By attempting to make adoption a process centred on completing a family through the addition of a child and one that involved the acceptance of familial obligations like inheritance, the POA apparently hoped to reduce the chances of a family adopting a child if what they really wanted was a free apprentice. The childless family rule was also designed to minimise potential future conflicts with other heirs.

No rules, however, could actually eliminate the possibility of sending a child into an unhappy home, and in 1853 a young girl adopted under the revised rules died from

⁴¹ In the case of one girl the family's lawyer is said to have executed the adoption, so some legal contract must have been signed. POA, *Minutes*, Vol. 4, November 1849, 111.

⁴² One little British emigrant child told British Poor Law Inspector, Andrew Doyle, "doption,' sir, is when folks get a girl to work for free." Andrew Doyle, *Emigration of Pauper Children to Canada*, 11-12, quoted in Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, 10.

⁴³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, November 1824, 77.

⁴⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, February 1851, 137; September 1851, 171-72.

overwork and starvation. Five-year old Anna D. was adopted by a Granby couple in April 1851. The adoptive mother attended the Committee meeting seventeen months later in September 1852 to ask that the child be accepted back into the POA given that they could not control her and felt no affection for her. Although it was against the policy, the ladies agreed, since they felt that otherwise "the poor child might soon be cast upon the wide world," but they insisted that the couple deposit a penalty fee in a savings account for the child, a requirement the woman effectively refused. Informed soon afterwards by people in the area that the home was "a very uncomfortable one," the POA wrote in December to ask the couple to return the child. Six months later they finally sent Reverend Dr. Henry Wilkes, the Anglican minister who had given the original character reference, to collect her. When she arrived it was found she had been "insufficiently fed and cruelly overworked," and had "little hope of a recovery," although the institution's physician told the Committee that there were insufficient grounds for a criminal prosecution. The ladies did what they could to save her, but Anna died on 1 August 1853, aged seven years old.⁴⁵

The ladies were deeply saddened and shocked by this case. As a direct result of Anna's death, they rescinded their policy of giving children in adoption, removing adoption from their bylaws in January 1855. Thus, as if recognizing their inability to ensure the safety of adopted children, the ladies eliminated the possibility of the problem recurring. The no-adoption policy was reaffirmed at Committee meetings in 1867 and 1873.⁴⁶ After 1855, the charity agreed to adoption in only two exceptional cases. Since neither child was an orphan they did not feel bound by the rules. One was an abandoned infant; the other was a deserted mulatto child whom they feared would be a problem to apprentice because of her colour. Both were adopted by childless couples.⁴⁷

Anna's case highlights the risk implicit in sending a young child into an unknown family and the difficulties involved in protecting her or him. The POA Committee attempted to prevent abuse by using their bylaws to fill the void in the province's legal code, but, faced with a family who treated a child badly, they imposed a fine (to protect

⁴⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, April 1851, 148; September 1852, 237; December 1852, 250; June 1853, 282-83; August 1853, 293; POA, *Register*, 16, #557.

⁴⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, July 1867, 120; Vol.9, February 1873, 232.

⁴⁷ Coincidentally they occurred in the same month. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, March 1866, 54-55.

the child's interest) and waited for the family to return the child as requested. The legal ambiguity of adoption as a process complicated the situation somewhat as the ladies were unsure of their legal right to intervene. As women and given the distances involved,⁴⁸ they were also restricted in their freedom to intervene directly themselves, but their decision to have someone act on their behalf could have been more timely. The failure to press legal charges was also linked to this reluctance to actively intervene in the public sphere, a centrally important factor to be analysed in more detail in Chapter Seven.

The reluctance of the POA Committee to bring legal proceedings in abuse cases was not limited to this one case. In 1863, when an adopted girl was banished from her adopted home, the POA lawyer intervened and resolved the problem. But in 1869 when the same girl consulted the Committee about legal action against these adoptive parents from whom she had "experienced much unkindness," the ladies were sympathetic, but dissuaded her from proceeding.⁴⁹ Similar difficulties in protecting children from abuse as well as a tendency to avoid legal action will also be apparent in relation to children apprenticed from the charities.

Apprenticeship

Like most nineteenth-century child charities, both the POA and the LBS favoured apprenticeship to place orphans and children whose parents were unable to resume their care. In the POA, 393 or 44 per cent of children were apprenticed;⁵⁰ in the LBS, 250 or 10 per cent. Although historically apprenticeship was the means of training an artisan, the form used by charities in the nineteenth century was usually focussed as much on providing a family home as on accessing specialized training. Nonetheless, the process involved a detailed legal contract modelled on that of a standard apprenticeship form that ensured financial recompense at the end of its term and made the master or mistress responsible for continued education, regular Church attendance, the teaching of skills, and the provision of adequate support. According to the same contract, the apprentice was expected to work as training and as payment for room and board and was bound to

⁴⁸ Granby is about 100 kilometers from Montreal.

⁴⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, September 1869, 228; Vol. 7, February-March 1863, 117, 121.

⁵⁰ This included one half of orphans and 20 per cent of children with parents.

"faithfully serve" his or her master or mistress and to "demean him/herself as a good and faithful apprentice ought to do."⁵¹ (For the standard POA form see Appendix 22.)

The standard POA form specified these responsibilities as follows:

And the said party of the second part, in consideration of the labour and services to be received from the said child, doth hereby promise and undertake to feed and clothe the said child in a fit and proper manner, according to the respective station of the parties, to bring up the said child in the principles of the Protestant Religion, to instruct the said child in reading and writing, to teach and instruct, or otherwise cause to be taught and instructed, the said child in the Art or Science of [the trade in question] after the best manner that [he/she] can.⁵²

The lower status of the apprentice in relation to the master was clear in the wording and the Committees were aware of the unequal power of master and servant under the law. They were also aware that, despite the legal contract, the potential for exploitation was real. As the POA Secretary noted in 1868, "There is always an anxious responsibility involved in placing out the Orphans, especially the girls, which the Ladies never undertake without prayerful deliberation."⁵³ In recognition of this, the contract clearly outlined the charity's right to remove an apprentice from an abusive situation:

and it is hereby expressly understood that in the event of the death of those under whose care the said child is hereby placed, or of treatment inconsistent with the obligations of this Indenture, the party of the first part reserve to themselves the right of resuming their control over the said minor, or taking such other measures for securing its rights as they may be advised.⁵⁴

Over the century the charity Committees attempted to reduce the risk of exploitation or abuse by increasing the age at which children were apprenticed, the fees paid, and their control over the mechanism. In the early years POA children were apprenticed as young as age eight, but in 1847 the Committee increased the age to twelve.⁵⁵ In 1854 they raised it to fourteen for girls and to thirteen for boys.⁵⁶ By the

⁵¹ POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, XV.

⁵² POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, XV.

⁵³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, March 1868, 156.

⁵⁴ POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, XV.

⁵⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, April 1847, 150.

1880s, girls were indentured at fifteen and boys at thirteen or fourteen, depending on their health and their strength. In the LBS, apprenticeship age was set at ten in 1835.⁵⁷ A few years later it was raised to twelve for boys and fourteen for girls, but it was decreased again to ten for boys in 1876.⁵⁸ Originally, LBS apprentices were bound until the age of twenty-one, but this was decreased to eighteen in 1847.⁵⁹ The POA contract was until eighteen.⁶⁰

Annual fees for POA apprentices were also raised over the period from the yearly rate of \$4 to \$6, to \$8, and then to \$10. Apprentices also received a new set of clothes on completion of their term. Although masters complained that these fees were high, they were less than those charged by some of the British emigration societies like Barnardo's where, by the end of the century, a boy could earn more than \$100 in his final placement from 14 to 18.⁶¹ Apprenticed boys from the POA indentured at 13 for five years would only earn \$50.00, plus a new set of clothes; girls apprenticed at 14 or 15 would earn proportionately less.⁶² These fees were also much less than the wages received by hired farm hands, many of whom were the same age as apprentices, and it was common for boys to complain of this to the Matron or in their Christmas letters. The ladies reminded them of the advantages of being in a family and of acquiring a new set of clothes. Some of the apprentices who ran away did so because of this wage differential, remaining in the

⁵⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, August 1854, 42; December 1854, 63.

⁵⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, October 1835, 9.

⁵⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, May 1876, 2.

⁵⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, November 1847, 19.

⁶⁰ A resolution was passed in 1851 to raise the age to twenty-one in the case of trades with wages paid in the last two years but it was not added to the rules and does not seem to have been enforced. POA, *Minutes*, July 1851, 168; September 1851, 174.

⁶¹ Barnardo's sent their children out in three stages, usually in different families. In the last stage from 14-18 which was set up as a formal apprenticeship, in addition to room, board and clothing children earned monthly wages, paid to them monthly or at the end of the indenture and increasing each year. Some Ontario charities, like the Toronto Protestant Orphan's Home, also used a sliding fee scale. In the 1890s, fees averaged between \$4 and \$6 in the first year with a raise of \$2 per year. By 1900, they started at between \$8 and \$12. See Parr, *Labouring Children*, 85-88; Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age," 183.

⁶² This was more, though, than the fees charged by the Girls' Home in Hamilton, for example, which apprenticed girls for \$5.00 a year in 1895. "Girls' Home, Hamilton," in Beth Light and Joy Parr, eds. *Canadian Women on the Move, 1867-1920* (Toronto: New Hogtown, 1983), 21.

same area as a hired hand. From 1897, the POA attempted to forestall such reactions by giving boys small amounts of their apprenticeship fee monthly so they would not feel exploited.

Apart from these cases late in the century where the fee was paid monthly, the apprenticeship fees were placed in trust with the POA or LBS Treasurer to be awarded to apprentices if and when they completed their term. Otherwise, all fees were forfeited. This procedure was designed to discourage apprentices from absconding. In the POA, forfeited fees were placed in a Reward Fund established in 1876 to defray the costs of apprentices returning to Montreal for medical treatment, and to reward apprentices for good service. From that point, every apprentice who successfully completed his or her term received a \$12 reward.⁶³ This served as a further incentive to complete an apprenticeship. Similar rewards did not exist in the LBS, and references suggest that forfeited fees were added to the charity funds.⁶⁴

To prove eligibility to take an apprentice, both charities required prospective masters to produce a reference letter from their clergyman testifying to their Church membership and their fitness to receive and raise a child. In the LBS, apprenticeships were arranged by the First or Second Directresses or by the Monthly Visitors and were not regularly discussed at Committee meetings. Although the application and reference letter were supposed to be submitted before the process could be concluded, many apprenticeships were arranged in the presence of the applicant without this procedure being respected. In addition, the LBS files refer to some children as being "sent on the same terms as" or "as if apprenticed," indicating some apprenticeships were arranged without an official contract, but it is unclear why and when this method was used.⁶⁵ Some of these children were indentured in the early years before the LBS was sure of its power to indenture children who were not bound to the society.⁶⁶ In 1846 they added a bylaw

⁶³ This fund also paid for the books sent to apprentices who wrote their Christmas letter.

⁶⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, January 1848, 27. This was also the case with other orphanages such as the Hamilton Orphan Asylum. Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 173.

⁶⁵ These children are counted as apprenticed for the purposes of this study. One of them was badly treated and the ladies indicated they had no recourse due to the lack of a contract. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, June 1848, 54.

⁶⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, April 1843, 34.

specifying their power to apprentice children if parents had no interest in them or if they had been in the institution for years.⁶⁷

The POA developed standardized forms and procedures for apprenticeship by 1835.⁶⁸ Prospective masters were requested to submit an application accompanied by a reference letter. The Committee reviewed these documents at their monthly meetings. If accepted, the master/mistress attended the following monthly meeting to sign the forms, pay the first year's fees, and escort the child home.⁶⁹ Only in rare instances, like the imminent closing of river navigation, would the POA agree to an apprenticeship being arranged without these delays being respected.

Masters/mistresses were required to send a yearly report on the child's health and progress, but the letters were not always sent and there was no way to verify the contents. Thus the charities had few ways to ensure that apprentices were not exploited or abused although the files of both charities include references to Secretaries writing for information on apprentices if the requisite letter was not sent. For its part, the LBS named a specific visitor to check on city apprentices in 1846, but it did not institute follow-up measures for rural apprentices, who represented about one half of their apprentices.⁷⁰ The POA distinguished itself from many other nineteenth-century child charities by developing an organized visiting system to provide some follow-up for apprentices and to screen potential apprenticeship homes.⁷¹

The POA began to consider a system for visiting and monitoring apprentices in Montreal in 1846, and in 1849 they named a visitor to carry out these inspections.⁷² Establishing a visiting mechanism for apprentices outside the city was much more difficult and, in the end, occurred almost accidentally. In the summer of 1876, the matron requested a vacation and used it to visit some of the POA apprentices in the region of

⁶⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, March 1846, 76.

⁶⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, February 1835, 20; April 1835, 23.

⁶⁹ The only cases of children sent to indentures on their own were the children admitted during the epidemics in 1832 and 1847.

⁷⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, March 1846, 78; Vol.4, October 1848, 75.

⁷¹ Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 93-94.

⁷² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1846, 123; "Account of the Annual Meeting, 1849," in *Minutes*, Vol.4, 66.

Lachute. Her account of this visit convinced the Committee of its value, and from that point on, the matron or superintendent made an annual inspection tour of most of the rural apprentices. There is no specific mention of continuing reports on city apprentices, but it is possible that the matron checked up on them in the course of her normal duties or that the Committee trusted neighbours and supporters to inform them of any problems.

After 1876, the POA apprenticed as many children as possible into areas visited by the matron to facilitate the inspection tour and ensure most apprentices would be monitored. Information the matron or superintendent collected on the apprentices and their homes also helped the ladies identify and respond to problems. In 1879, for example, the sisters of an apprenticed girl complained about her placement and requested permission to remove her. In the past, the ladies would have refused such a request outright arguing the legal contract took precedence; but, having determined from the inspection tour that the farm where the girl was placed was very isolated and underdeveloped, they were concerned about leaving her in "so wild a place where she could learn very little." The charity cancelled her indenture once the sisters paid a penalty to the master.⁷³ In 1881, another apprentice was returned to the POA by his rural master as being too weak for the work required.⁷⁴ Since no other boy was considered stronger, the POA cancelled the indentures and refused an application from another farmer in the same area on the grounds that the work required was too difficult.⁷⁵

These cases exposed problems in selecting apprenticeship families solely on the basis of a character reference and made the ladies aware that it was also useful to verify the type of work to be done and the skills that could be acquired. This led the POA to increase their scrutiny of the type of farm an apprentice could be sent to and to use the inspection tour as a form of pre-inspection. From 1882, rural applicants were requested to include the exact acreage, age and location of their farm, as well as the type of work expected. These details were then verified by the matron during her inspection tour. Several farms were subsequently vetoed as too large, too rough and rocky, too new, or

⁷³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, October 1879, 80-85.

⁷⁴ Joy Parr finds that it was common for Home children to be returned as too small or too weak for the work required. *Labouring Children*, 92.

⁷⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, June 1881, 154-55.

too far from either Church or school. Following an unfortunate accident involving one of their girls, the POA also refused to send girls out as nursemaids where they would have major child-care duties.⁷⁶ Potential city homes were also visited if unknown to the Committees. On at least one occasion an application was rejected because of the unsuitability of the home.⁷⁷

The Committees also attempted to minimize potential abuse by introducing flexibility into the process. The LBS almost immediately introduced the possibility of waiving one year's fees if the apprentice proved to be sickly or unable to work.⁷⁸ By 1840, they had outlined a process for transferring an indenture, although the original master retained ultimate responsibility for the apprentice's well being.⁷⁹ This type of flexibility was advantageous to the master, but it could also be instrumental in avoiding abusive situations to the extent the master could reduce his costs or transfer an apprentice if the placement was not working out. On the other hand, since the placements were basically stable and transfers made infrequently, the apprentices did not experience the level of instability associated with the British emigration societies, many of whom used a one-year trial period and moved children from home to home quite regularly.⁸⁰ If problems persisted, the LBS tended to accept the apprentice back into the institution without too much delay and rarely attempted to impose fines for default of contract.

The POA had a stricter interpretation of the apprenticeship contract, originally allowing a master to break a contract only if it was necessary for the apprentice's welfare or for reasons such as a death in the family.⁸¹ Still, on several occasions in the 1840s⁸² and again in 1854, the ladies allowed a master to cancel an indenture. In the last case they remarked that from the tone of the master's letter it was obvious he "entertained a most

⁷⁶ One application was rejected on these grounds, for example, in 1862. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.7, April 1862, 91.

⁷⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, November 1853, 305; December 1853, 308.

⁷⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, May 1834, 57; Vol.2, August 1840, 138.

⁷⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, July 1840, 107-08.

⁸⁰ See Parr, *Labouring Children*, 92; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*, Chapter 1.

⁸¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1855, 86; May 1855, 90.

⁸² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1847, 154; November 1848, 218.

unfriendly feeling towards the poor boy."⁸³ As it happened, the shoemaker who had trained the boy's brother had also applied for him, and a transfer was easily arranged. On the basis of these cases, the ladies decided that more flexibility was needed, "past experience having painfully taught the managers that the child might abscond if not removed to another protector."⁸⁴ The following year they added a bylaw hoping increased flexibility would reduce potential conflicts and eliminate abuse or keep apprentices from running away. The new rules permitted masters to break contracts on the grounds of "incompatibility of character or other cause sufficient enough to interrupt the cordial and mutual discharge of the relative duties between master and apprentice,"⁸⁵ on the payment of a \$20 fine. The fine was seen as financial recompense for the apprentice in case an alternate situation could not be arranged quickly and was waived if the master arranged a transfer. The text of the bylaw was integrated into the apprenticeship form.

There are many references in the POA files to masters using this rule to transfer an apprentice to another family in the area. Usually he/she wrote for the Committee's permission but sometimes simply informed them after the fact, or the ladies learned about a transfer when they wrote inquiring about late fees. In these cases the Committee requested a reference from the new master and sent the new indentures by mail to be signed and returned. By 1871 the POA also allowed masters to cancel apprenticeships on the grounds of an apprentice's delicate health.⁸⁶

The POA used their inspection/visiting system, once it existed, to resolve problems before they became too serious and in this way to minimize transfers. In 1884 the Secretary explained that "As might be supposed, in such a number of children there are always various small faults of temper and disposition to be reported and if possible amended, but it is very rarely that the misunderstanding between master and apprentice becomes so great as to render separation advisable."⁸⁷ The next year she explained the role of the annual inspection in maintaining contacts with the apprentices and in resolving

⁸³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, February 1854, 9-10.

⁸⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, March 1854, 21.

⁸⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1856, 86.

⁸⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, November 1871, 42.

⁸⁷ POA, *Annual Report*, 1884.

small problems: "To the employers also it is equally satisfactory, as then any little difficulty or misunderstanding which may have arisen can be much more advantageously arranged than could be by means of writing."⁸⁸

Apprenticeship Occupation and Locality

Generally, both charities apprenticed children to respectable families: middle-class farmers, skilled artisans or shopkeepers, merchants and professionals including doctors, lawyers and ministers. A large number of children were indentured to farmers to work on the farm (boys) or in the house (girls). Although some of the children apprenticed to skilled artisans were learning the master's trade, many were also apprenticed to learn general domestic skills. Apprentices who went to merchants, for instance, were normally in training as servants, not as merchants. It was also not unusual for boys to be apprenticed to female artisans like dressmakers and girls to artisans working in male trades like tailors, chandlers, or watchmakers. These children were also in training as domestics. The occupation of masters/mistresses to whom children were apprenticed is known for 74 per cent of POA apprentices. (See Table 5.3 below.) In the LBS, occupation is known for only 34 per cent of apprenticeship masters; we find some of the same tendencies although a reduced likelihood to apprentice children to farmers.

Table 5.3
Occupation of Apprenticeship Masters,
Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1838-1899

Occupation	No.	%
Farmer	143	36.4
Artisan/Shopkeeper	79	20.1
Merchant/Professional	61	15.5
Others	8	2.0
Total Known	291	74.0
Unknown	102	26.0
Total Apprenticed	393	100.0

Source: POA, *Register*, 1838-1899.

⁸⁸ POA, *Annual Report*, 1885.

The clearest trend in the POA apprenticeships is the number of children apprenticed to farmers. This was the result of a combination of factors. First, most of the applications for apprentices came from farmers, who made up a majority of Quebec's English-speaking population and could almost always use the cheap labour an apprentice represented.⁸⁹ Equally important, though, was the fact that the ladies believed, as did most charity workers in North America, that the country, especially farm life, was more wholesome and held fewer temptations for young people than the city.⁹⁰ This belief in the cleansing power of the country, juxtaposed with the fear of the moral and social degeneration of urban working-class districts, convinced charity workers that country placements were morally preferable for charity children.⁹¹

These factors were reinforced by the belief that the apprenticeship fee and subsequent wage work on a farm would enable boys to accumulate enough capital to buy a farm and provide for their future. For girls, domestic service on a farm was seen as excellent training for housewifery.⁹² On several occasions the POA Committee decided "that in every respect, a home in the country was preferable to town life."⁹³ In 1872, they agreed not to place boys in town situations if possible. They passed a similar resolution for girls in 1874.⁹⁴ The LBS Committee had this same idealized view of the country, but many of the children's parents did not share this perspective. Over the century, as the LBS increased its coordination with parents in relation to apprenticeship decisions, parents

⁸⁹ In 1871, for example, 54.6% of anglophone Quebecers were farmers. This included 59.8% of Irish Protestants, 43.2% of English and 60.1% of Scots. A Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein, "Ethnicity and Occupational Structure in Canada in 1871," quoted in Ronald Rudin, *Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980* (Québec: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985), 71, see also 77-90.

⁹⁰ For a discussion of these concepts see Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water*, 130-33. This was true in Canada and the United States. See, among others, Rooke and Schnell, "Guttersnipes and Charity Children;" Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children* and Nathan I.H. Huggins, *Protestants Against Poverty. Boston's Charities 1870-1900* (Westport: Greenwood, 1971).

⁹¹ It also influenced the placement of reformatory institutions as witnessed by the choices of Shawbridge and St.Lambert (and then St. Bruno) for the Protestant reformatories opened in the twentieth century.

⁹² Many did just that, a few even marrying into their master's family.

⁹³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, March 1851, 143.

⁹⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, October 1872, 90; September 1874, 168.

often vetoed apprenticeships in the country. In 1877, for example, 16 LBS children were sent to places in Montreal found by parents or friends when their families all refused to allow them to be indentured in the country as the LBS proposed.⁹⁵

The apprentices themselves also had some influence on the occupation to which they were apprenticed. The POA refused several applications on the grounds of the child's preference or aptitude, "deeming it their duty not to bind a child to a business for which he had no taste or for which he was unqualified."⁹⁶ Although many boys indicated a preference for a skilled trade, many were as intrigued as the ladies were by country life, possibly as a result of their training in the institution.

A number of the children were apprenticed to skilled artisans to learn their trade including coopers, carpenters, ropemakers, saddlemakers, dressmakers and printers, many of them in rural areas. John Adams, a La Tortue rope maker, for example, trained nine POA boys; at one point he had three at a time. He stopped applying for boys only when his rope-works burned down. Early references exist to the ladies' preference to apprentice children to skilled trades rather than as servants. In 1846, for example, the POA refused an application from a minister to take a boy as a servant on the grounds that it was "more advisable the boy should be taught some respectable trade."⁹⁷ In 1855, the Secretary noted that "the ladies were unwilling to place out either Boys or Girls in the capacity of servants, when good trades could be imputed to them, which would make them useful members of society."⁹⁸ Indicating an overall interest in trades apprenticeships, the final clause of the 1852 bylaws instructed the Superintendent to "make the boys acquainted with the various trades and manufactories in and about the City, in order that their knowledge may be increased, and their tastes and minds developed, with a view to their subsequent adoption of one or other useful trades or occupation."⁹⁹

Thus, to some extent, the idealization of the country was balanced by the ladies' interest in trades, at least for boys. Both of these aims could be secured by arranging

⁹⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1877.

⁹⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, July 1852, 227.

⁹⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1846, 135.

⁹⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, August 1855, 100.

⁹⁹ POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #XXVIII.

apprenticeships with rural artisans, but apprenticing young people to skilled trades in Montreal proved more difficult as the city industrialized. As a result of changes made over the century to the normal practices in trades apprenticeships (boarding arrangements, clothing provisions, age, etc.) and the ladies' reluctance to alter standard procedures to adjust to this situation, apprenticing children to city artisans posed serious practical problems. This difficulty was a further factor in the popularity of rural placements.

Apprenticeships in trades began to change as trades themselves changed in the nineteenth century. Several works on apprentices in nineteenth century Montreal have found indications of these changes. Mary Anne Poutanen, for example, found that as the size of a dressmaking firm increased, clear changes were apparent and that by 1840-1842, almost half of apprentices (42 per cent) lived at home rather than with the dressmaker. Many parents provided clothing themselves (37-38 per cent), and most paid a fee for their daughter's training.¹⁰⁰ Joanne Burgess found that, even in the period prior to 1790, the substitution of a clothing allowance in place of the provision of clothing by the master was a well established custom among shoemakers, and by 1830 it was used in almost 75 per cent of apprenticeships.¹⁰¹

It is not surprising, then, that when artisans applied to the charities for an apprentice they often wanted a child on terms other than those specified in the standard apprenticeship contract, which was basically pre-industrial in its form. In particular, city tradesmen did not want to take responsibility for the religious training of an apprentice or to be bound by the regular schooling specifications in the standard contract. Even more important, they did not want to provide clothing nor did they necessarily want an apprentice living in their family home. Finally, neither charity was in a position to pay any type of binding fee in trades where this had become the norm.

By the 1850s, both charities experienced problems arranging apprenticeships to city artisans as a result of these changes. In 1857, for example, a well-educated thirteen-year-old orphan was admitted to the POA, and the Committee immediately started to arrange an apprenticeship for him. Since he indicated a preference for printing, they

¹⁰⁰ Mary Anne Poutanen, "For the Benefit of the Master: The Montreal Needle Trades During the Transition, 1820-1842," M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1985, 106-57.

approached their printer, John Lovell. He was willing to accept the boy and even to pay him wages rather than the standard apprenticeship fee, but did not want him to live in his home. He proposed that the boy board in the POA instead. The ladies believed this would be a "bad precedent" and refused. They were always reluctant to let teens return to the institution for a substantial length of time for fear it might have an unsettling effect on the other children. They were not willing to make an exception in this case, and the boy was finally indentured to a tobacconist who accepted to board him in his house.¹⁰² The LBS had a similar experience when a cabinetmaker applied for a boy in 1851.¹⁰³

The LBS case also highlighted another problem—that of age. By mid-century, apprenticeships in the skilled trades usually began in the mid-teens, but both charities apprenticed children, especially boys, well before this age.¹⁰⁴ This age differential is probably one of the reasons why few artisans applied for apprentices. The ladies tried to circumvent this problem by including the possibility of a future transfer in the indenture contract. The LBS boy in the 1851 case mentioned above, for example, was indentured the next year at 13 as a servant but the contract specified that in two years he would be transferred to a carpenter if he still wished to do so.¹⁰⁵ It is unclear, however, whether these transfers occurred and whether the LBS Committee had found an effective way to circumvent the age problem.

The subject of apprenticeships to skilled trades and how to increase their number was not debated seriously by the POA Committee until 1887. At that point, the Secretary noted poignantly that it had been "felt for some time past by several of the Committee that it would be desirable if possible to give the boys a trade, if they shewed [sic] any

¹⁰¹ Joanne Burgess, "Work, Family and Community: Montreal Leather Craftsmen 1790-1831," Ph.D. Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986, 64-102.

¹⁰² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, May 1857, 203; September 1857, 219.

¹⁰³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, April 1851, 177. They used the same method in 1850. July 1850, 146.

¹⁰⁴ Burgess finds that the average age of boys entering shoemaking in 1831 was 15.3. Poutanen finds that, by 1842, girls entered dressmaking at 14-15 and boys tailoring at 15-16. Burgess, "Work, Family and Community," 63, 82-3; Poutanen, "For the Benefit of the Master," 130.

¹⁰⁵ LBS, *Register*, #347. Grace Laing Hogg found that binding a child as a servant with the possibility of a future transfer to a trade was common in early nineteenth-century Montreal. Grace Laing Hogg, "The Legal Rights of Masters, Mistresses and Domestic Servants in Montreal, 1816-1829," M.A. Thesis, McGill University 1989, 57.

predilection for such."¹⁰⁶ The ladies identified boarding arrangements as the main problem and decided to organize carpentry classes in the asylum while they looked for a solution.

The next year a city plumber applied for a boy. Although willing to pay the boy's board, he was unwilling to board him in his home. As an alternative to having the boy remain in the POA, the Committee arranged for him to board at the Boys' Home. (Several POA boys were already boarding there either following a problem near the end of their apprenticeship or once their apprenticeships were completed.) The plumber agreed to pay his board and to give the POA a clothing allowance of \$0.50 a week for his use. The standard indenture fee was deposited in the bank.¹⁰⁷

The new arrangement worked well, and the POA amended the bylaws in 1890 to allow indentures using an irregular form where the master was not responsible for lodging, schooling, clothing or moral supervision.¹⁰⁸ The POA was now free to secure situations "to the best possible interests" of the children.¹⁰⁹ In 1890, one boy was indentured to a plumber and another to a man working at the Grand Trunk Railway who promised to put him into a mechanical trade in two years.¹¹⁰ By 1900, several POA and LBS boys boarded in the Boys' Home while working as apprentices. But, despite these changes, a lack of applications from artisans meant that most boys were still apprenticed to farmers.

Thus, the choice of master's occupation for apprenticeships and the preference for farmers does not seem to have been a deliberate plan by the charity Committees to limit the children's social mobility or the result of a class-biased notion that charity children were more suited for menial occupations, as Rooke and Schnell suggest on the basis of their research.¹¹¹ Many of the children were apprenticed to the occupation they chose, and on several occasions the ladies of both charities indicated a preference for skilled trades,

¹⁰⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, November 1887, 231.

¹⁰⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, November 1888, 323-24.

¹⁰⁸ The plumber suggested possible modifications to the form.

¹⁰⁹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1889; 1890.

¹¹⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, April 1890, 74; May 1890, 76.

¹¹¹ Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 94.

at least for boys. But the practical problems noted above and the Committees' hesitancy to modify their customs (and the standard form) to accommodate the necessary changes compromised apprenticeships to trades, at least in the city. To some extent as well, it appears that the ladies considered training in general farm work as akin to a trade and as holding out real possibilities for independent support thereafter. For this reason they preferred farm apprenticeships to apprenticeships as servants for boys. Girls, on the other hand, were regularly apprenticed as servants in the city or the country. This was seen as good training either for subsequent wage work or for housewifery.

Given the number of children who were apprenticed to farmers or to rural tradesmen, it is not surprising that almost three-quarters of POA apprentices (72 per cent) left the institution for situations in the country. This trend was weakening by the end of the century, and, in the final twenty-year period, was true for only 58 per cent of apprentices. Over the century there was also a difference by gender as more girls were apprenticed to city families as servants and more boys went to farmers or rural artisans.

Most of the POA children were apprenticed within a 100-kilometre radius of Montreal. By mid-century the POA deliberately sent apprentices within easy reach of Montreal to facilitate the investigation of problems. An application for an apprentice from a family moving to St. Louis, for example, was refused in 1857 as "beyond the limits of that surveillance which the ladies deemed it their duty to keep on all their protégés, notwithstanding their Indentures."¹¹² Only four children were apprenticed outside Lower Canada/Quebec after 1860.

Many of the POA children were sent into the same areas. Concentrations appear in the region around Lachute (27 children), spilling over the Ontario border into Prescott County towns such as Hawkesbury and Vankleek Hill (a total of 49 children in all for the region).¹¹³ On a much smaller scale there were clusters on the south shore around

¹¹² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, October 1857, 228.

¹¹³ This area was originally settled by Scottish immigrants and Loyalists; groups of English and Irish immigrants were added later. W.E. Greening, "Historic Argenteuil County," *Canadian Geographical Journal* LIV, 5 (May 1957): 206-16. See also G.R. Rigby, *A History of Lachute: From Its Earliest Times to January 1, 1964* (Lachute, Quebec: Brownsburg-Lachute Rotary Club, 1964); B.N. Wales, *Memories of Old St. Andrews and Historical Sketches of the Seigniorie of Argenteuil* (Lachute, Que.: Watchman Press, 1934).

Laprairie, St. Philippe and La Tortue as well as the Richelieu Valley around Noyan and Hemmingford. These concentrations can be seen in Map 1 and in Appendix 15 and 16.

All of these areas had large Protestant populations as well as English schools and Protestant Churches. Geographic groupings of apprentices facilitated the inspection tour, but there were also other reasons they occurred. Once the children were known in an area, applications from the region tended to increase; some families even took children in sequence. The Committees were "very glad to intrust [sic] the children into hands that have already proved themselves able and willing to train them up usefully,"¹¹⁴ and preferred applications from the same families or families in the same area since they could evaluate them on the basis of previous experience and on the basis of character references made by ministers they knew. They also hoped to depend on these families to act as protectors for apprentices in the area. They believed these factors would reduce the chances of sending a child into an abusive situation.

Most LBS apprentices were also sent to families within Quebec. (See Appendix 16 and 17.) The original rules did not establish any geographic limits, stating that children "shall be bound to any person bringing satisfactory references in and out of this province,"¹¹⁵ but by the last half of the century applications from the United States were refused as "out of the jurisdiction of the society."¹¹⁶ A few children were still occasionally sent to Ontario.

Apprenticeship in the LBS did not follow the POA pattern. First, there was an almost equal number of urban (49.5 per cent) and rural (50.5 per cent) apprenticeships.¹¹⁷ This trend varied slightly over the period, but at no point was there a clear rural preference such as that found in the POA. Some of this was due to a lack of contacts in the countryside and few rural applications, but the assertion of parents' rights was also instrumental in creating this pattern. Many parents did not want their children apprenticed to farmers and vetoed these proposals. Either they did not consider this good training or they wanted the children closer to them and in surroundings more akin to those they

¹¹⁴ POA, *Annual Report*, 1888.

¹¹⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, February 1833, 38.

¹¹⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, May 1876, 1.

¹¹⁷ Data on apprenticeship place was given for 78 per cent of cases.

knew. At points this combined situation made it difficult to find apprenticeship placements, especially for the boys. In 1879, for example, five boys were of age to be apprenticed but no applications had been received. A year later they were still waiting for places, and the LBS placed an advertisement to this effect in the *Star*.¹¹⁸

Furthermore, we do not find the POA pattern of large numbers of children being apprenticed into the same areas, and only a few families took more than one child. Map 1 shows some smaller concentrations, again in the Upper Richelieu Valley such as Hemmingford, Hemlock, and nearby Lacolle as well as around Rawdon and Farnham. The popularity of the Lachute area, however, was not repeated.

Problems and Cases of Abuse

The apprenticeship contract established a framework for basic conditions and outlined the responsibility of masters to provide adequate support for apprentices; but placing a child, even a teenager, in the care of an unknown family implied risks, and charity children placed in this way were sometimes exploited or abused. We know that some problems occurred in a number of apprenticeships of children from both charities. Documentation on particular LBS apprenticeships is sparse, but references are made to approximately 15 problem cases. Six of these apprentices were returned to Montreal and found alternate situations.¹¹⁹ In six other cases the Committee wrote for information, but no follow-up is provided in the Minutes.¹²⁰ Only two children were readmitted after running away due to abuse. In one case the girl's fees were used to buy her clothes, indicating the ladies felt her charges were well founded, but no action was taken against the master.¹²¹

In the POA, slightly over ten per cent, or thirty-nine of the 393 apprentices, ran away or were sent back by their masters. Some of them returned to the asylum, whereupon the Committee contacted the master to see if the problem or the

¹¹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, March 1879, 126.

¹¹⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, May 1834, 34; Vol.2, February 1840, 104; Vol.3, March 1846, 78; Vol.4, December 1847, 27; June 1848, 27; Vol.5, August 1857, 181.

¹²⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, December 1835, 13; July 1835, 78; March 1840, 105; June 1840, 106; Vol.4, September 1848, 64; Vol.6, June 1861, 112.

¹²¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, February 1840, 104; Vol.3, September 1845, 73-74.

misunderstanding could be resolved. Failing that, they found another placement and transferred the indentures. Other runaways took refuge in a neighbour's home. Sometimes the indentures were subsequently transferred to these families, or the original indentures were cancelled and the former apprentice remained with the new family as a wage-worker. The ladies were very concerned should an apprentice end up alone, without the protection and support of an adult. If they did not know the whereabouts of a runaway, they sent the superintendent or even the police to find him "so as to prevent, if possible, his becoming a vagrant and outcast in Society."¹²² Likewise the Committee criticized masters who did not immediately inform them about runaways. They wanted the chance to trace the young person and ensure he or she found another position.¹²³ Even though apprentices were no longer resident in the charities, the Committees, as the surrogate parent and signatory to the apprenticeship contract, had the ultimate responsibility for these boys and girls, especially in cases of contractual default or abuse.

About thirteen POA cases involved more serious problems than simply a misunderstanding and the apprentice was removed by the ladies or returned to the orphanage by his/her master. Terms such as "severely beaten and overworked," "dreadfully illused [sic]," "unhappily placed," and "cruel treatment in every way," describe their circumstances.¹²⁴ When the ladies spoke of abuse and used terms like "ill-used" or "severely neglected," however, they could be referring to a range of situations from things that today would be considered minor like not attending Church and Sunday school, to more serious circumstances like a lack of schooling or insufficient clothing, up to and including overwork, physical abuse, or sexual assault. A reading of the Minutes of Committee meetings reveals the ladies' concern for these young people and their well being, but ensuring this well being was often problematic. The POA files include much more detailed information on follow-up than those of the LBS. Analysing these cases allows us to see the problems the ladies encountered in their attempt to protect the young people indentured out as apprentices under their authority.

¹²² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, March 1849, 79.

¹²³ See for instance POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, February 1872, 65.

¹²⁴ See cases discussed below and also POA, *Minutes*, Vol.6, October 1859, 114; Vol.8, December 1866, 84; Vol.12, June 1894, 370.

The first problem was information. The ladies usually learned of a problem through a letter from neighbours, the local minister, the apprentice's family or either the master or apprentice themselves. They investigated all accusations by initially contacting the master and then writing to the local minister or using their informal networks of friends in various localities. Often this process involved lengthy delays. If the apprentice was in the city they sent a Directress or the superintendent/matron to investigate. Urban placement speeded things up considerably, but most of the problem cases were in rural areas. The inspection tour proved helpful for information gathering, but not all homes were visited.

Also problematic was denial of accusations by master or apprentice or lack of cooperation on the part of a master. Several cases of reported abuse exist where both master and apprentice denied the charges, and the apprentices absolutely refused to leave the placement.¹²⁵ In a few of these cases this was probably explained by different understandings of abuse. The ladies described one girl, for example, as "deplorably neglected" but it seems the main problem was no Church attendance; it is not surprising that the girl refused to leave and risk more serious neglect in another family.¹²⁶ In another case, a neighbour reported seeing the master striking the boy with a hoe. When the POA lawyer wrote asking that the boy be returned, the master sent his notary with affidavits from the boy denying all charges and requesting to stay. The master invited the matron to visit but she was unable to see the boy alone. Without proof of abuse, the ladies could do nothing, and were only able to remove the boy three years later when the master died.¹²⁷

In several cases where the ladies had determined an apprentice must be returned and had invoked their right to resume control over the child as outlined in the contract, the master agreed but then took months to comply. In the case of one girl suffering from eye problems, for example, the total delay was two years during which time the master

¹²⁵ In one LBS when the Committee followed up on complaints that a brother and sister apprenticed to the same master were being abused, both the master and the girl attended the next monthly meeting and denied all charges. Since the children refused to leave, the matter was dropped. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, November 1866, 51; December 1866, 53; January 1867, 57-58.

¹²⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol. 4, July-August 1853, 291-92; Vol. 5, May 1855, 92; June 1855, 96.

¹²⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol. 9, June 1874, 163; October 1874, 173; September 1875, 274; April 1877, 279. See also Vol.4, March 1849, 79; Vol.5, April 1854, 23.

exchanged many letters with the ladies and their lawyer.¹²⁸ In another case it took seven months for the master to return a boy to Montreal, after reports of ill-treatment reached the POA and the ladies had arranged for his return. The ladies' exclamation that they were "glad to obtain possession of the boy" reflects their dependence on the good-will of masters to comply with removal requests.

Two further complications—the distance involved and the penalty fee—also often came into play. In the case of the girl with infected eyes mentioned above, the ladies were very conscious of the problem of distance. When the master first applied for the girl, he was the postmaster general in the area near Lachute, but he must have subsequently moved since the home was not included in the inspection tour. Further, despite comments in the Minutes indicating their concern about possible permanent damage to her eyes and the lack of adequate medical care available in the country, the ladies never sent anyone to check on her or to retrieve her. When she was finally returned, however, they noted: "The Ladies were fully impressed with the inadvisability of again placing a child where she could not be visited whenever necessity required."¹²⁹ Sending someone for the girl does not appear to have been very feasible in this case.

The penalty fee imposed for cancellation or default of contract also proved to be problematic. Designed to protect apprentices from financial loss and to minimize the transfer and cancellations of contracts, the fee itself often became the stumbling block to having an apprentice returned quickly. Most masters were not willing to pay the penalty and attempted to avoid it by stalling for time. In a few cases the POA finally waived the fee, but the time delay was severely lengthened by their initial attempt to impose it.

When a master refused to return an apprentice or to transfer the indentures, the range of possibilities was limited. While in the early years the LBS Committee believed they did not have the right to interfere in an apprenticeship contract or to remove apprentices,¹³⁰ the POA seemed sure they could intervene in the case of a problem. Perhaps feeling the need to clarify this further, they added a bylaw in 1850 to specify

¹²⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1881, 196; February 1882, 208; February 1883, 276; March 1883, 282-83; April 1883, 290; Vol.11, December 1883, 12.

¹²⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, April 1883, 290.

¹³⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, September 1839, 95; October 1839, 100.

their "duty to interest themselves in the subsequent career and welfare of children once apprenticed" especially in cases of improper treatment or apprentices absconding.¹³¹ In 1852 they added their right to resume control over an apprentice in the case of a master's death or of "treatment inconsistent with the obligations of [the] Indenture" to the apprenticeship contract. (See Appendix 22.) Any uncertainty that might have remained about their power to intervene was removed by the 1871 apprenticeship law, which specified that, for children apprenticed by charities, "the rights, power and authority of [the] parents over and in respect of such child shall cease and be vested in and exercised by [. . .] the managers of the institution having charge of such child."¹³²

Although the Masters and Servants Act gave masters many rights and extensive power over servants or apprentices, they were legally liable in cases of undeniable violation of contract.¹³³ Proving abuse sufficient to unilaterally break an apprenticeship contract or proceed with legal action, however, was not easy. When one master denied abuse charges, the ladies discussed their inability to prosecute without at least two witnesses willing to testify.¹³⁴ Finding no neighbours ready to do testify in this case, they were forced to abandon the idea. In another case they admitted they had not discovered anything serious enough "to admit of interference of the Corporation."¹³⁵

A final relevant factor in explaining the charities' response to problems or abuse is gender. The fact they were women restricted the ladies' actions in public, and they had less freedom than their husbands to intervene in terms of rescuing young people miles away, confronting a male master possibly disrespectful of their gender (and their Corporation), or proceeding with a court case against a master. An analysis of the abuse

¹³¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, May 1850, 87.

¹³² *Statutes of Quebec*, 35 Vict. 1871, Cap 13, clause 7.

¹³³ See Brian Young, *The Politics of Codification*, 138; Hogg, "Legal Rights of Masters, Mistresses and Domestic Servants," and Grace Laing Hogg and Gwen Shulman, "Wage Disputes and the Courts in Montreal, 1816-1835," in Donald Fyson, Colin M. Coates, and Kathryn Harvey, eds., *Class, Gender, and the Law in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Quebec: Sources and Perspectives* (Montreal: Montreal History Group, 1993): 127-43. For Ontario, see Paul Craven, "The Law of Master and Servant in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ontario," in David H. Flaherty, ed., *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Vol.1 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981): 175-211.

¹³⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, October 1852, 242.

¹³⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1854, 23-24.

cases reveals that the ladies were extremely reluctant to intervene legally to challenge a master, and several times they also dissuaded former apprentices from pressing charges themselves. In 1859, for example, they assured one master, who feared his apprentice intended to sue him for unpaid fees, that only the Committee, as signatory to the agreement, had the right to sue; that they did not do so if it could be avoided; and that they could not, and would not, authorize an apprentice to sue for fees in their place.¹³⁶ In another case of a boy who had been apprenticed from the age of six to eighteen and had never learned to read or write in clear violation of the contract stipulations, the POA voted him money from the reward fund to help pay for his schooling but withheld the money until he promised not to use it to prosecute his master, as the master feared.¹³⁷

Nonetheless, legal action was initiated by the POA in two very serious cases: one for sexual assault and another for aggravated assault. In the first case, the girl's sister informed the POA of the situation. Confronted, the master confessed but disappeared once legal proceedings were begun. Once the girl was returned to the orphanage, the charges were dropped, the Committee deciding that sufficient punishment had resulted from the man having been "disgraced and driven from his home."¹³⁸ The assault case involved a boy who had taken refuge with a farmer in a nearby town. The boy's feet were severely frozen, and he had been inadequately clothed. The local magistrate's investigation found the master guilty of aggravated assault; he and his wife were fined \$150, and the man served one month in jail. The boy was returned and immediately hospitalized for an operation on his feet. The indentures were later rescinded. In the end the POA did not force the master to pay the penalty fee believing that, in light of the boy's subsequent misbehaviour in Montreal, he probably shared some blame for the situation.¹³⁹

The ladies were faced with the powers of masters over apprentices in the law; with masters who refused to comply with removal requests or did so tardily; with boys and girls who were attached to their masters and afraid what the unknown might hold or

¹³⁶ The master paid the fees the next month. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.7, July 1859, 100; August, 1859, 106.

¹³⁷ POA, *Minutes* Vol.6, February 1859, 78; March 1859, 85.

¹³⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, October 1881, 174; November 1881, 176.

¹³⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, March 1871, 12-13; April 1871, 15-17; June 1871, 25.

simply afraid of the possible repercussions of complaining; and with long kilometres separating the charity and the apprentices formally under their care. Yet the ladies attempted to protect the apprentices' interests and ensure they had a home to live in and some training. In this they also had to contend with differing notions as to how much work a child should do, what level of discipline was acceptable, the range of possible character problems children and teens might have, and possible prejudice against the apprentices as charity children. As well, they had to deal with their own attitudes to charity children and the country, attitudes that to some extent influenced the fact so many children were placed in distant rural regions. Occasionally they allowed untimely delays while they tried to resolve a situation and hesitated about intervening in public space to rescue children or to prosecute masters, but overall they tried their best to get children out of unfortunate situations and to deal with a range of problems. This determination is evidenced in their comment in relation to one young girl who a local minister had informed them was "dreadfully illused [sic] by her master." Indicating the girl's apprenticeship term would be over in a few months, they exclaimed: "but the Ladies resolved to endeavour to procure her freedom before that period."¹⁴⁰ In this case the master returned the girl when they threatened to send someone to get her, but the examples above demonstrate that this process was often much more difficult.¹⁴¹

Post-Apprenticeship

The Committees encouraged masters to arrange positions for their apprentices in their neighbourhoods once their apprenticeship term was over, but many returned to Montreal at the end of their contract. They were admitted into the charities for a few days and isolated from the younger children while the Committee found them a position. A good illustration of this concern to help former apprentices get established is provided by the case of Selina L.¹⁴² In April 1868 she wrote the POA Committee to ask them to find her a job as a domestic when she completed her apprenticeship. In the end she remained

¹⁴⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, August 1852, 233; October 1852, 243.

¹⁴¹ In this case it is possible the strain of an abusive placement led to severe mental stress; the girl was placed in the Beauport lunatic asylum in June 1854. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, February 1853, 266; March 1853, 272; May 1854, 28; June 1854, 34; POA, *Register*, #466, 553.

¹⁴² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, February 1868, 154; April 1868, 168; April 1870, 254.

in the country, and the ladies wrote to her master hoping he would watch over her interests. Two years later she wrote that she was finally coming to Montreal, and Louisa Frothingham, one of the Committee members, arranged for a situation. The Committee sometimes also arranged the young people's board, often in the Boys' Home once that institution was opened in 1870. After 1855, the POA arranged for a tutor to look after the interests of orphans until their majority;¹⁴³ this was rendered unnecessary by the 1871 apprenticeship law, which made it legal for an apprentice over the age of fourteen to access his/her fees and legally discharge a charity from all future responsibility.¹⁴⁴

We have very little data about what happened to the young people once they left the institution, although some information can be gleaned from the POA Minutes. In the report of the annual inspection tour, the POA matron reported on former POA children still living in the Lachute area, and others occasionally sent letters or visited the institution, both of which were reported. We also know that the ladies sent money from the Reward Fund to help several boys while they learned a trade or continued their schooling after their apprenticeship was completed, or to help with land purchases. From data of this type on 101 former children, we find that most of the girls had married, fifteen of the boys had bought small farms, and three had become ministers or teachers. A further thirty worked in trades, fifteen as servants, and three as farm labourers.¹⁴⁵ Frail health had resulted in the deaths of twenty within a few years of their departure, and at least five former charity children spent some time in a Reformatory School or a prison. Unlike the results found by Carol Lasser in Salem where a number of former charity children were later located in the poorhouse or on relief roles, no references exist to any having entered the LBS or the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, although since the Registers of the latter institution no longer exist, we are unable to verify entry data.¹⁴⁶

¹⁴³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, May 1855, 90. An interesting example was in 1858 when Judge J. S. McCord (husband of the long-time POA Secretary) was made tutor for three boys in the same procedure. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.6, November 1858, 61.

¹⁴⁴ *Statutes of Quebec*, 1871, 35 Vict., c.13, section 6.

¹⁴⁵ This is not surprising. Joy Parr, whose sources allowed her to follow some of the Barnardo children into adulthood, found that most of them ended up in urban working-class jobs. Parr, *Labouring Children*, 130.

¹⁴⁶ Lasser, "Pleasingly Oppressive Burden," 171-74.

One former POA girl, however, returned to the POA to work as a servant, entering with her young child who was handicapped.

To Service

Throughout the century, a number of children had occasionally left the charities to enter directly into domestic service for wages instead of into an apprenticeship. This usually happened in cases of teens admitted into the institutions temporarily while the ladies found them a position or while they regained their health. Most of the 23 cases in the LBS were of this type, although a few boys were hired out to jobs in the city in the 1890s and boarded in the LBS or in the Boys' Home. In the POA, however, with 45 cases or 5 per cent of children leaving to go directly into domestic service, this was the result of a deliberate policy shift late in the century. In the years after 1850, a few POA girls had been apprenticed to the Society and remained in the institution to train as servants rather than going into a family. In 1885 the ladies explained that they were "desirous of retaining the girls in the asylum for a longer period than formerly in order to give them a more thorough training in household work."¹⁴⁷ By the 1890s, the POA no longer officially apprenticed girls to the Society but used a new policy whereby girls began training in sewing and domestic service in the institution at 14 and did not leave until they were between fifteen and seventeen and ready to work for regular wages. Almost no girls were apprenticed from the POA to families after 1890.

This new method allowed the Committee to eliminate potential maltreatment and to avoid the problems of inadequate schooling, supervision, and training, problems apprentices had sometimes encountered. The system had several additional advantages. At \$5 to \$10 a month rather than \$10 a year, servants earned much more than they would have received as apprentices and the POA avoided collection problems. Furthermore, due to their age, the young people were both stronger physically and in a better position to defend their own rights.

Girls were found positions in Montreal in private domestic service, most of them with families known to the Committee. The method was used less regularly for boys, for whom it was more difficult to find positions. A few boys, believed too weak to apprentice

to trades or farmers, remained in the institutions and left to work in city offices as clerks. Some boys, however, were still apprenticed.

Evaluating the success of the new policy to that point in 1900, the Secretary indicated that the young people were doing well and that several were "already receiving considerable increases in wages." She mentioned that there was no problem finding positions for the girls, who were all trained as table maids or upper servants, but that this was more difficult for the boys.¹⁴⁸ The new policy, combined with not allowing anyone to leave the POA younger than thirteen or fourteen not even to return to relatives, resulted in children remaining in the POA longer than in former years and certainly much longer than in the LBS. By the last twenty-year period, for example, 54 per cent of new entrants to the POA remained more than six years, while this was true for only 7 per cent of LBS children. Conversely, only 5 per cent of the children who entered the POA from 1880-1899 remained less than one year.

Over the century the ladies running these two Montreal charities grappled with issues such as the rights of parents or relatives to retrieve children, the rights of adoptive parents in relation to their new children, and the rights of masters in relation to apprentices. As well, the ladies had to deal with questions of parental fitness, child abuse and with the challenge of ensuring the children placed by them as apprentices received adequate education and training. Their attempt to protect the children under their care and the problems they encountered in doing so led them to refine and even modify some of their departure policies over the years. Some of the children sent out as apprentices received love and attention, but for a few, it was an unloving, perhaps even violent and abusive experience. The ladies encountered many problems in their attempts to act in the best interests of these young people and eventually altered their policies as a result.

Changes in placement policies are discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven. The next chapter looks at the management aspects of these female charities and their Committees.

¹⁴⁷ POA, *Annual Report*, 1885.

¹⁴⁸ POA, *Annual Report*, 1900.

Chapter Six

Charity Management and Work

Administering aid to the less fortunate and even directing charitable societies were recognized as acceptable activities for elite women for whom humanitarian and religious motivations merged with the sense of social obligation and duty that accompanied their wealth and social status. Class, power and gender intersected in their work on many levels. The aim of this chapter is to examine the work of charity management as illustrated by the management Committees of the Protestant Orphan Asylum (POA) and the Ladies' Benevolent Society (LBS).

Historians who have looked at women's activism and benevolence have found that the management of charitable institutions provided women with important work that helped them develop administrative and leadership skills. Nancy Hewitt, Anne Boylan and Lori Ginzberg have corrected former assumptions that much of this activism led women to feminism,¹ finding that women activists tended to fall into one of three categories: benevolent, reformist (perfectionist) or feminist (ultraist) and that certainly women in benevolent societies like these two Montreal charities did not inevitably become feminists—a position that is confirmed by this thesis.² Nonetheless, all agree that running private charities involved challenging work that required these women to develop a wide range of administrative skills. To date, little work has been done on the actual work these Committees performed. The sources used for this study—Minutes of Monthly Committee meetings, daily Matron's Journals, and Annual Reports—enable us to fill this gap in our knowledge of women's activism by studying the work of these two Montreal Committees in detail for a seventy-year period, approximately 1830 to 1900.

This case study also provides an opportunity to address another underlying assumption present in most of the work on female activism—that is, that the vast majority of women listed in Annual Reports as members of charity Boards or Committees of Management actively

¹ Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*; Berg, *The Remembered Gate*, 145-222; Melder, *Beginnings of Sisterhood*; Stansell, *City of Women*.

² Hewitt, *Women's Activism*; Boylan, "Women's Benevolent Organizations"; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*.

participated in the Committees' work and acquired many new skills as a result. Clarifying this assumption is important to our understanding of the extent to which individual women were involved in charity work, but even more important it helps us to better understand the actual workings of the charities and the problems encountered by the women running them. Given the public nature of these Committees—members and Directresses were elected at annual public meetings and the lists were published in the charity's Annual Report and often even in the City Directory or in city newspapers—being elected to a charity Board was an excellent way for a lady to assert her family's social standing and to publicly demonstrate her own respect for social conventions and duty. Certainly the newspaper reporter took the class and status aspect of charitable work for granted when he commented on the POA annual meeting in 1863 as being "largely and fashionably attended by ladies,"³ as did the LBS Secretary who reminded supporters in 1896 that "on the LBS's list of Subscribers and Managers can be found many names of our wisest and best."⁴

It is quite possible, therefore, that some Committee members were motivated more by a desire to gain this public recognition than by a real interest in immersing themselves in charity work. Were the lists of members really lists of ladies (or families) who publicly supported the charities and their work—a kind of public relations document, or were they lists of ladies who were actually actively working in the management of the institutions? This analysis uses several indexes to judge this—the number of years ladies remained members on the Committees, their attendance at monthly Committee meetings, and their participation in specific work activities such as visiting the institution, fund-raising and subcommittee work.

At first glance, on the basis of the published lists, the two Montreal charities fit the pattern of large active Committees. However, an examination of the actual involvement of individual members forces us to qualify generalizations about widespread participation. For some, charitable work was a serious commitment of time and effort that undoubtedly helped these women to develop or perfect numerous administrative skills. Most of the members, however, were largely uninvolved in the hands-on work of charity management, which

³ POA, *Annual Report*, 1863.

⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1896.

included attending meetings, discussing policies, doing admissions, organizing departures, visiting the institution, and fund-raising. Their involvement was short-term and minimal, possibly a question of social obligation or family pressure and they were not actively enough involved to develop new skills. This situation often led to a scarcity of volunteers for crucial work like visiting the institution and fund-raising, and made the management of these two institutions more difficult than it would otherwise have been.

The chapter is divided into three parts. The first part looks at the organizational structure of these Committees; the second deals with the work involved in charity management and the extent to which Committee members participated in this. The third part looks at the interaction of the Committees and the hired institutional staff.

Organizational Structure

Voluntary associations like these two charities, especially those that were also incorporated societies, had well-developed organizational structures. Their purpose or mission was clearly stated in their statutes, bylaws and Act of incorporation. These also outlined the number and rhythm of meetings, the number of elected officers, the size of the Committee of Management, the election process, and the accountability and duties of all officers, as well as the internal rules by which the institutions would be run. These documents became, in effect, a form of self-regulation and were one of the ways the private societies and their Committees established and proved their credibility to the public whose donations they managed. Thus, although membership on a charity board had an important social aspect, it involved clear responsibilities of an administrative, political and economic nature.

Both of these societies elected Committees of Management of at least twenty members and four or five Directresses.⁵ Membership on the Committee and nomination as a Directress were determined at the last Committee meeting of the year, with elections ratified at the annual public meeting usually held the next month. Although the POA constitution set the size of the Committee at twenty-nine, it was smaller than that until 1851. The LBS Committee was much larger for much of the century. Ranging from twenty-two to thirty from 1832 to 1846, it

⁵ For the purposes of this thesis, I will refer to the women on the Committees of Management as members. They referred to themselves as managers, but I have not used this term due to a possible confusion with the modern usage that assumes the person is paid to carry out organization duties.

increased at that point and remained near sixty until 1869. In that year the Committee list was divided between those ladies who agreed to be actively involved—the Committee—and those who were unable to devote the necessary time but wanted to maintain their association with the LBS—the Honorary Managers.⁶ The new Committee averaged thirty-five throughout the 1870s but dropped to a membership in the low twenties after 1885.

Both Committees held regular monthly meetings in the institution's Committee room. In the event of contagious illness, the meeting was held at the home of the First Directress. A quorum—set at eight for the POA and five for the LBS—was necessary for the meeting to officially do business; otherwise only reports were read. The meetings were structured and regular minutes and attendance records kept. Reports were given at each meeting by the Secretary, the Treasurer, and the ladies who had visited and supervised the institution over the previous month (the Monthly Visitors). The Secretary read the written reports of the (hired) matron and the teacher as well as any correspondence regarding the children. The Committee reviewed any issues raised. The monthly Minutes were also read and approved.

Elaborate and careful record-keeping systems existed. The Minutes included records of attendance at monthly meetings as well as discussions and decisions. Careful records were kept in the Registers of all the children entering and leaving the institutions, including descriptions of the circumstances for most cases. Contracts were entered into for the adoption or apprenticeship of children as they left the institution. The Annual Reports included lists of subscription members, donations, collections made, and details of all budgets. In both institutions the matron or the superintendent kept daily journals of events, "the monthly domestic transactions" as the POA Secretary described them in 1844 when this procedure was begun in that charity.⁷ These journals were read at the monthly meetings and enabled the members to keep up to date with occurrences inside the home.

Both Committees had a small core of experienced members who remained for many years. Almost twenty per cent of the ladies on the POA Committee were members for more than twenty years and, in the LBS, where the tendency for such long memberships was less

⁶ Fifty-nine women served as Honorary Managers at some point between the 1860s and 1900. All but eight had been former Committee members.

⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, August 1844, 55.

marked, eight per cent.⁸ Another group (16 per cent in the POA and 19 per cent in the LBS) were members between ten and twenty years. The majority, however, (65 per cent in the POA and 73 per cent in the LBS) remained for less than ten years, most of them for less than five years, and a third, for either one or two years. Table 6.1 illustrates these trends.

Table 6.1
Length of Membership, in Years, on the Committee of Management of the Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum (1822-1900)

Length of Membership	POA		LBS	
	No.	%	No.	%
1-5	99	45.0	206	55.8
6-10	44	20.0	62	16.8
11-15	16	7.3	51	13.8
16-20	20	9.0	20	5.4
21-25	10	4.5	9	2.5
26-30	12	5.5	8	2.2
31 Plus	19	8.7	13	3.5
Total Members	220	100.0	369	100.0

Source: POA, *Annual Reports*, 1822-1900; LBS, *Annual Reports*, 1833-1900.

With so many members remaining for short periods of time there was a constant turnover. In more than half the years from 1835 to 1900 in the LBS, at least ten members were replaced; in several years half the membership changed. The POA was a little more stable, with two or three members changing each year. This pattern of turnover was the norm in other Montreal charities. (See Appendix 18.) In both the Protestant Infants' Home and the Home and School of Industry, for example, 90 per cent of members remained less than ten years and 75 per cent less than five years. In the Church Home 74 per cent remained less than ten years and a majority for less than five years. Eighty per cent of the Montreal Maternity's Board remained less than ten years; as did 93 per cent of the Diet Dispensary's.⁹ It appears that many ladies of the Montreal elite were associated with charities at some point but only for a few years.

⁸ Nancy Hewitt finds that 25 per cent of women associated with charities in Rochester were members for more than 15 years. Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 229. This number is 22 per cent for the POA and 13.5 per cent for the LBS.

⁹ Lovell, *Directory*, 1865-1900.

It is difficult to determine why some ladies remained on these Committees longer than others and why so many remained for only a few years. Changing life experiences seems to be the only explanation. We know that thirty-four ladies maintained their membership until their deaths but that many others left active Committee duty as a result of poor health, a move from the city, the demands of a growing family, commitments in other charities or church groups, or, as in the case of the LBS Honorary Managers, because they were no longer able to actively participate. Patterns of meeting attendance were also affected by similar factors. Some of the short-term members might have joined the Committees intending to be active members but then left because of changing personal or family priorities, because they found the work too demanding, the power too centralized in the hands of a few members, or because they disagreed with policy directions; others might have joined the charity Committees mainly as a result of social pressure or simply to demonstrate support for the charity and its work.

A lot of the administrative work and certainly the daily management was done by Directresses elected to their positions on an annual basis. The responsibilities of each position as outlined in the bylaws reveal the range of duties. The First Directress presided at meetings, determined the agenda, and called special meetings; she was also responsible for all contacts with city officials like the sanitary inspector, and with the institution's doctor, lawyer and notary.¹⁰ In her absence, the Second Directress assumed her duties. Besides her duties as official representative of the Committee, the First Directress tended to assume a direct supervisory role in relation to the institution, visiting almost daily.¹¹

The Secretary was responsible for correspondence and records. She kept minutes of meetings, maintained lists of Committee members and the admissions Register, wrote the Annual Report, and sent out the notices of meetings.¹² The POA's Secretary was also in charge of apprenticeships and all dealings with masters and parents, except for fees, which were administered by the Treasurer. In the LBS, a special position of Secretary for the Children was created in 1843 to carry out these duties.¹³

¹⁰ LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #II, III; LBS, *By-Laws*, 1897, #VIII, IX; POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #III.

¹¹ The LBS *Matron's Journal* records these daily visits.

¹² LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #VII; 1897, #XII; POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #IV.

¹³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, October 1843, 49; Vol.5, May 1855, 100-11. LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874,

The Treasurer managed and paid accounts, kept lists of subscriptions and donations, as well as legacies and special subscriptions,¹⁴ and wrote the annual Treasurer's Report. She also managed numerous accounts including the general operating account, building/land funds, in-trust accounts for apprentices or children, the Reward Fund (POA), and the Endowment or Permanent Funds, which included the stock portfolio, savings and mortgages. Her job was quite complicated, especially in years when several concurrent accounts existed and once the Endowment Funds became substantial; the job also crossed gender boundaries. For this reason the Treasurer was aided by a men's committee or an advisor (discussed in the next chapter). In the POA, from 1851, two other Committee members also helped audit the monthly accounts.

From 1835 to 1900, a total of sixty-nine ladies, or nineteen per cent of LBS members, held one of these leadership positions at some point: sixteen First Directresses, twenty-one Second Directresses, fifteen Secretaries, eleven Treasurers, and fourteen Secretaries for the Children. A number of them had lengthy terms of office—three more than twenty years and six for periods ranging from eleven to seventeen years—but most terms were shorter than this, and in two thirds of the years from 1835 to 1899 at least one LBS Directress position was vacated and filled by a new candidate. This regular turnover often caused problems since many members were unwilling to accept elected office, given the amount of work and responsibility the positions entailed.

Turnover was less of a problem in the POA where Directresses tended to serve for many years; as a result, only twenty-seven ladies or 11 per cent of members held office in the century. By 1895, for example, the POA had had only four Secretaries (with terms of 11, 1, 36, and 24 years) and three Treasurers (with terms of 28, 25, and 21 years). The new Secretary and Treasurer, elected in 1895 and 1896 respectively, remained in office into the twentieth century. The offices of First and Second Directress changed a bit more frequently, with eleven First Directresses and twelve Second Directresses over the century, serving an average term of office of seven years.

Not surprisingly, women elected to Directress positions were usually long-term and/or active members. Several were chosen in deference to their evident leadership and

#VIII; 1897, #XIII.

¹⁴ LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #VII; 1897, #XII; POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #IV.

management skills, others out of respect for their family connections. A few were asked to become Directress because of their social importance in the city and the status that might be associated with their name.

Given these executive functions, these ladies had substantial power in the charities as well as doing much of the actual work. Nonetheless, all major policy decisions were made at Committee meetings. The POA Committee was also involved in most decisions concerning admissions and adoption or apprenticeship placements since, except in urgent cases, these were all organized at the monthly meetings. In the LBS, as a much larger charity and one that dealt with several types of clientele, most admissions and departures were dealt with on an on-going basis by the Directresses and the ladies acting as Visitors in any given month. The First Directress reported on these at the monthly meetings, but the Committee discussed individual cases only if there had been a gross irregularity, which was rare. This is perhaps one factor in explaining why the LBS often had problems securing quorum at meetings despite the large size of its Committee.

Over the century, the process for making decisions in the LBS was centralized, and the position of First Directress became more powerful. Under the 1874 version of the LBS bylaws, the First and Second Directress were listed as ex-officio members of all subcommittees and given the power to act as a committee in their own right.¹⁵ The increase in the power of the First Directress was largely due to the personality of several Directresses combined with the general weakness in the Committee as a result of constant turnover. One woman who played a large role in this was Annie Wheeler, a doctor's wife who from 1877 to 1882 brought her energy and organizing skills to the position of First Directress. During this time she made several administrative and organizational changes. In 1878 she instituted a monthly report at the beginning of each meeting; in 1879 she established weekly meetings between the First Directress and the Monthly Visitors to review applications and make admission decisions; and in the 1880s she increased contacts with the Young Ladies' School Committee.¹⁶

It is unclear whether all of these innovations were maintained after her resignation, but certainly the regular reports were. By the 1890s, some discontent had evolved with this highly

¹⁵ Examples included investigating the diet and arranging for building repairs or purchases.

¹⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, February 1879, 115.

centralized model, especially among the other Directresses. The situation came to a crisis in 1893-1894 when a series of resignations occurred as a result of a conflict between the First Directress, Mary-Anne Cramp and the Treasurer, Harriet Thomas, who accused her of a lack of consultation.¹⁷ A decisive shift to move the balance of power back to the larger Committee occurred in 1896 when the Committee forced the First Directress, (a member since the 1860s) to resign, believing she had exceeded her powers when she reprimanded the institution's doctor.¹⁸ The following year when a teacher was needed, a hiring committee was named. In the past, hiring would normally have been left to the First Directress, but the Secretary indicated pointedly that the Committee now felt that "such an important duty should not be left to one person alone."¹⁹ Clearly the LBS Committee was beginning to challenge the power they had allowed First Directresses to assume and to decentralize some of the decision-making back to the general Committee. Accordingly, the stipulation that the First and Second Directress could act as an ad-hoc subcommittee was dropped in the 1897 version of the bylaws.

A similar pattern evolved in the POA. Despite the involvement of the Committee in most major decisions, the POA Directresses did most of the work between meetings and thus wielded a great deal of power. This centralization of real power in the hands of the Directresses was aggravated by the Ross-McCord family's hegemony over Directress positions for fifty years. By the late 1870s, the POA began to slowly shift to a model where more members were directly involved in running the institution between meetings through subcommittees. The first of several ad-hoc subcommittees was created in 1878 to look into necessary building repairs, another investigated possible improvements to the institutional diet, and a third (of twelve members) was created in connection with planning for the new building. In the early 1890s a series of permanent subcommittees were formed, including a purchasing committee, a school committee, and a finance committee.²⁰ These broadened the ladies' participation in areas such as investments and also increased the number of POA members involved in on-going work.

Although on the whole the Committees seem to have worked fairly harmoniously, there were several serious disagreements recorded in the Minutes of both societies on

¹⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, March 1893, 61; November 1894, 119-21.

¹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, March 1896, 194-95.

¹⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, February 1897, 27.

²⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, November 1891, 145; December 1891, 147-48.

important questions. Both charities were officially nondenominational, but in the early years religious tensions erupted dramatically on at least one occasion in each Committee. As noted in Chapter Four the Presbyterian members left the LBS Committee in 1844 to protest the fact that Presbyterian inmates were forced to attend Anglican Church services with the matron. They returned only in 1846, when a way was found to facilitate Presbyterian Church attendance. In the POA, similar tensions erupted in 1851 when two Unitarian members threatened to resign over a proposed change to adoption policy that discriminated against members of their faith. That situation was diffused by removing the offending restriction.²¹

Two key policy issues—the admission of board cases in the LBS and of non-orphans in the POA—also led to long discussions and some disagreement. In both of these cases the institutional charters established a policy orientation against such admissions, but some of the members felt that they should adapt to changing circumstances and admit needy and deserving applicants whenever possible. The compromise in the LBS was to admit board cases as long as such admissions did not jeopardize space for the charity's specified work with destitute cases. The POA agreed to admit non-orphans in cases of extreme need. The apprenticeship of children to city trades and the problems posed by the need for unusual apprenticeship arrangements also generated debate and disagreements in the POA. There were also some disagreements about the institutional diet in both Committees and over the use of institutional funds to purchase goods such as pianos, which some ladies felt would be seen as luxuries.

Management Work

The work of charity management was multidimensional and time-consuming—attending meetings; visiting to ensure healthy living conditions in the institution; hiring and supervising staff; purchasing supplies; overseeing the children's education and training; attending to the special needs of the elderly residents (in the LBS); making policies on apprenticeship, adoption and the rights of relatives; arranging for the placement of children; creating a budget; and raising the necessary funds through collections or fund-raisers. Since policy decisions were made at Committee meetings, attending meetings regularly was the best way to be involved. Some specific tasks like purchasing, hiring, and supervising the school

²¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, September 1851, 172; December 1851, 202; POA, Correspondence files, Vol.12, File 32.

were done by subcommittees, and both Committees attempted to involve as many members as possible in the sometimes onerous and time-consuming work of visiting the asylum and fund-raising. Here I will consider the various aspects of management work in that order, and in the process also examine the participation of members in the work.

In regards to participation rates, it is important to remember that Committee members brought their own personal likes and dislikes and individual needs to the work. A need for the companionship or emotional satisfaction gained from working with a group of other women or caring for children might lead some ladies to be more likely to attend meetings, organize social events like bazaars and act as Monthly Visitor. Other ladies might be well placed to take advantage of large networks of affluent and sympathetic friends and family and choose to act as charity collector for this reason. Participation in any given activity was probably also a reflection of the amount of time involved and possibly of the specific skills it required. Serving as Monthly Visitor, for example, demanded a lot of time and required supervising the staff and dealing with any and all problems as they arose. Other activities implied other levels of time commitment. All of these factors are probably relevant to explain the findings.

It was by attending Committee meetings that members kept abreast of developments important to the charity's work and participated in policy discussions and decisions, but this demanded much more effort than simply allowing oneself to be elected to a Committee list. The ladies' attendance records (Table 6.2 below) reveal that a large number of members rarely attended meetings. Forty per cent of POA members for whom we can establish an attendance record and more than half of LBS ones, attended fewer than two meetings a year, on average. Many never came at all. At the other extreme we find a small core of ladies who were very involved. Seven per cent of the POA members for whom we have data and five per cent of those in the LBS attended seven or more meetings per year. Since normally nine or ten meetings were held a year, this is an excellent attendance record. Another 53 per cent of POA members and 38 per cent of LBS members were involved in a substantial number of discussions, attending on average between three and six meetings a year.

Table 6.2
Mean Attendance at Monthly Meetings, per Year, per Member, for the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society (1835-1900)

Mean	No. POA	% Known Cases	% Total Cases	No. LBS	% Known Cases	% Total Cases
0	23	13.9	10.5	64	21.6	17.3
1,2	43	26.1	19.5	105	35.4	28.5
3,4	55	33.3	25.0	66	22.2	17.9
5,6	32	19.4	14.5	48	16.2	13.0
7,8	11	6.7	5.0	13	4.4	3.5
9-11	1	0.6	0.5	1	0.3	0.3
Known Cases	165	100	75.0	297	100	80.5
Missing Cases ¹	55		25.0	72		19.5
Total Cases	220		100.0	369		100.0

¹ Women who were members for only one year have been removed from the data to avoid skewing the results.

Source: POA, *Minutes*, 1835-1900; LBS, *Minutes*, 1835-1900.

A clear correlation emerges between the length of time ladies were members of these Committees and their attendance at meetings. In both charities, the ladies who were members for more than twenty years attended meetings more regularly than the norm. One third of long-term members had almost perfect attendance. Conversely, the majority of ladies who were members for five years or less left after a few years of public association, not an extensive involvement. Only 10 per cent of short-term members in the POA and 15 per cent in the LBS attended more than half the meetings in the years they were members. The majority (66 per cent in the LBS and 55 per cent in the POA) either never attended a single meeting, or, at most, came to one or two meetings a year.

On the basis of this examination, three general types of Committee members are evident. The first formed a group of silent or token members. They remained on the Committees for less than five years, rarely attended meetings, and were not involved in administrative work. There was also a small group of very active members who attended meetings regularly, many of them for more than twenty years, and another group who attended meetings and participated in the charities' decisions but less regularly. My examination of other work aspects including subcommittee work, visiting the institution and fund-raising will find

this pattern reproduced, for the most part.

Subcommittees were organized for specific work such as purchasing, hiring staff, and overseeing the school or for special ad-hoc projects such as overseeing building construction or house repairs, or revising the bylaws. The POA rarely used subcommittees before the last part of the century, but the LBS used ad-hoc committees quite regularly and had several standing committees. One of these was the Purchasing Committee. Created in 1857, this Committee consisted of one or two members; between 1857 and 1900, seventeen ladies acted in this capacity.²² They purchased fabric, household items, and bulk food supplies. Purchasers also cut out all the patterns for the clothing and bedding made inside the institution to minimize errors and wastage and sometimes helped with the actual sewing. This last duty took many hours, often entire days, and made the job of Purchaser a fairly time-consuming one.

The methods used to hire staff varied over the century. Servants and household staff were generally hired by the Monthly Visitors or the Directresses. In the LBS many of these workers were entered into the Admission Register as if they were inmates. The main qualifications seem to have been a willingness to enter the institution and abide by its rules. The hiring of matrons and teachers was much more structured and considered. Usually the charity placed an advertisement in the city papers or, in the case of a teacher, made inquiries at the Normal School. In the POA, all applications for these positions were reviewed at the monthly Committee meetings from 1871 on, and a six-member hiring committee carried out the interviews and checked references.²³ In the LBS, the Directresses did much of the hiring, but on occasion a special hiring committee was struck.

Both charities ran schools inside the institutions, and these called for monitoring and supervision. In the POA where the hired (male) superintendent ran the school as part of his duties, the Committee, bowing to gender realities, attempted to avoid potential jurisdictional problems with him by minimizing what might be perceived as interference. Thus, rather than a regular standing school committee, "as many of the Ladies of the Board of managers as can

²² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, October 1857, 194.

²³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.6, October 1858, 58; Vol.6, November 1860, 163, 167; Vol.8, October 1867, 130-31; November 1867, 132-33; November 1870, 275; Vol.9, December 1871, 47-50; Vol.13, April 1895, 20-22. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, March 1871, 139; Vol.9, December 1876, 29; Vol.10, March 1882, 6; May 1887, 193.

make it" were invited to check on the students' progress on Fridays.²⁴ An actual functioning school committee was not established until 1891, but even then its jurisdiction was limited to specialized needs such as the training of disabled children. These limited committee duties were maintained once a female teacher assumed responsibility for the school in 1893.²⁵

The LBS did not have to worry about a male superintendent's sensitivity to interference since they had hired a female teacher, and there was a clear power hierarchy relating the teacher and the Committee. (See discussion below.) The LBS formed a School Committee to supervise the school on its establishment in 1832, but this committee was disbanded and reconstituted several times.²⁶ Difficulty maintaining a functioning and effective committee led the LBS in 1851 to assign responsibility for the supervision of the school to a separate and autonomous committee called the Young Ladies' School Committee. From 1851 to 1900, this subcommittee had 160 members and twenty-three Directresses.

Two School Committee members visited the school weekly, and the members of this committee organized the yearly exams and prizes as well as the children's Christmas celebrations. They also raised money to buy schoolbooks, supplies, and fabric and, in 1888, purchased a piano for the classroom.²⁷ Some of the young women gave the children singing lessons and ran Sunday School classes for those too young to attend Church.²⁸

The School Committee was virtually autonomous, with separate annual reports and budget statements, although they were supposed to submit quarterly reports to the larger LBS

²⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, March 1848, 184; May 1848, 198-99. POA, *Annual Report*, 1849, 1853; POA, *By-Laws*, 1852.

²⁵ A committee was set up in May 1890, but never acted. In 1891 there were several disabled boys and their training was arranged in association with the Mackay Institute. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, May 1890, 75; November 1891, 145; Vol.13, April 1895, 24; March 1898, 203; April 1898, 206.

²⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, August 1832, 24; March 1835, 69; Vol.2, June 1837, 48; Vol.4, February 1849, 89; August 1851, 187; LBS, *Annual Reports*, 1847, 6.

²⁷ An annual grant from the LBS general budget was established in 1861. The School Committee donated money to the LBS's general fund in 1886, 1887 and 1888. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, December 1861, 140-41; Vol.8, November 1873, 78; Vol.11, October 1892, 40.

²⁸ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1860, 10; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, December 1861, 140-41. Originally done on a volunteer basis, by 1897 this teaching was included in the *By-Laws* as one of the Committee's duties. LBS, *By-Laws*, 1897, #XVII, section 8.

Committee of Management.²⁹ Contact between the LBS Committee and the School Committee was increased in the 1880s, when Annie Wheeler was First Directress and her daughter Isabella was School Committee President, but an official coordination between the two Committees was not created until 1897.³⁰ It was only at the end of the century then, that the LBS Committee regained some input into the supervision of the school.

Apart from the Young Ladies' School Committee and the Purchasers, membership on standing and ad-hoc subcommittees was not always indicated, and I can identify only twenty-six ladies who worked in LBS subcommittees (other than the School Committee) and a few in the POA. Almost all were long-term members who did other work such as visiting and collecting and who attended meetings regularly; a few served as Directress at some point. Here we find clear evidence of the small group of active members who largely ran the institutions.

Visiting the Institution

The Committees established policy guidelines and rules on daily routine, health, exercise, diet, schooling and medical procedures that were implemented by the hired staff; and they maintained a direct supervision over household management. To ensure this supervision was carried out efficiently and to avoid these duties falling solely on the Directresses, both Committees instituted visiting subcommittees. Each month two members, known as the "Monthly Visitors," were named to be responsible for the institution's management. The LBS bylaws empowered them to make decisions on all issues that needed immediate action as long as there was no policy impact, and the POA bylaws instructed them to "fulfil whatever duties may arise from existing circumstances."³¹

Specifically, Visitors supervised the matron and the workers, gave out the weekly supplies, maintained the household inventory, approved any purchases, examined the accounts before they were paid, and made sure that everything ran smoothly. They checked the children's health, diet, conduct, and progress in school, and attended to any health problems or building repairs. A case in point was the 1888 diphtheria epidemic, which was discovered

²⁹ None of these reports remain in the LBS archives.

³⁰ LBS, *By-Laws*, 1897, #XVII, section 1.

³¹ The duties are outlined in the *Rules and By-Laws*. POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #VII, #VIII; LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #XI; 1897, #XIX.

when the Monthly Visitors sent two children with sore throats to the hospital. In this instance they attended daily to check on the other children and arranged for a sanitary inspection and plumbing repairs.³² Besides acting as the link between the Committee and the matron, Visitors also had the most direct contact with the children and their families. They received all admissions and arranged transportation for anyone who was leaving. In the LBS, they also made decisions on admissions and apprenticeships jointly with the First Directress.

Visiting duty greatly increased a lady's personal involvement with the institution and its residents, and it was common for them to bring special donations and treats during their month and even to arrange entertainment events for the children. But it was also a difficult, time-consuming, and onerous undertaking. The LBS bylaws specified that visitors should visit three times a week. According to the visits recorded in the LBS Matron's Journal, Visitors tended to do this and more, visiting daily when sickness or problems required. Most made it a point to visit during meals, both to verify the quality of the food and to reinforce the personal links between the institution's residents and the Committee.³³ In the same way, the Directresses and some of the ladies who visited regularly made it a point to attend the Christmas meal, usually accompanied by their husbands, sometimes by their children.

Although the Visiting Committee reports were usually short, they kept the Committee in touch with the needs of the institution and the children. Occasionally Visitors made pointed comments and recommendations on the diet, school curriculum, clothing needs, health problems or building repair needs; or they transmitted requests from the servants or the matron for extra pay or special privileges. Most of the policy discussions on these matters were initiated by such comments.

Ideally each Committee member was supposed to do this work once a year; thus, a Committee of 25 was perfectly placed to supervise the institution in teams of two. But the ideal remained just that. Since members volunteered as Visitor at the monthly meetings, the brunt of the work tended to fall on those who regularly attended meetings. Both the POA and the LBS attempted to distribute the work more evenly through alphabetical lists, but this was largely

³² POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, April 1888, 255-56.

³³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, September 1884, 54-56; October 1884, 59.

unsuccessful.³⁴ The LBS Minutes refer to fines in relation to this: "no case short of illness or an absence of some weeks from the town can exempt a member from their duty,"³⁵ but there is no indication that this policy was enforced since no entries for fines are ever indicated.³⁶

The LBS Matron's Journal (1851-1899) provides a daily account of events, including all visitors. From 1850 to 1900, 150 ladies or 58 per cent of LBS Committee members during those years acted as official Monthly Visitor. Therefore, although it involved a lot of responsibility and work, more than half of the members accepted Visitor duty at least once. But a full 42 per cent never carried out this crucial duty. Further, of those who did accept Visitor duty, most did not do it very often. In fact, 56 ladies (37 per cent) served as Visitor only once and a further 42, from two to five times. Only 40 ladies (15 per cent) accepted Visitor duty once a year, the way it was designed to be done. A few filled the gap left by their companions and visited more than once a year. (See Table 6.3)

Table 6.3
Frequency of Visitor Duty for Members Visiting, Ladies' Benevolent Society
(1850-1900)

Frequency	Number	Percentage of Visitors
Once	56	37.3
Two - Five Times	42	28.0
Six -Ten Times	12	8.0
Once A Year	19	12.7
> Once A Year	21	14.0
Total	150	100.0

Source: LBS, *Matron's Journal*, 1850-1900.

The visiting data reveals both the seriousness with which some of the ladies took charity work and the fact that most of the Committee members never visited the institution outside of the annual meeting. Those who accepted the job of official Visitor, tended to do

³⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, March 1843, 23; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, March-April 1833, 40, 42; Vol.5, March 1855, 105; May 1855, 109-11; LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #XI; 1897, #XIX.

³⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, June 1835, 76; Vol.2, October 1836, 30.

³⁶ Bonnie Smith also finds a system of fines for failure to fulfil visiting duty in northern France. Although her data does not specifically prove that they were indeed collected, she assumes that they were and that they were effective. Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*, 140.

this only a few times rather than annually. Echoing the pattern we found with attendance at meetings, the likelihood of acting as monthly Visitor increased with the length of time a lady was a member on the Committee. Short-term members were the least likely to visit. Only thirty-five per cent served as Monthly Visitor, and only 9 per cent (11 ladies) accepted to do this annually. Conversely, 81 per cent of the ladies who were Committee members for more than ten years served as Visitor, that is 73 ladies, and 22 of them did it on an annual basis. This latter number includes 12 ladies who visited at least once a year for terms of office spanning more than twenty years.³⁷

Fund-Raising

Fund-raising was a source of frustration for these Montreal charities. It demanded a great deal of effort since both depended on private support for approximately 80 per cent of their funds. Finding ways to encourage people to donate money—as subscriptions or donations—or organizing special fund-raising events like bazaars or concerts was a demanding job, and these Committees often had problems commandeering sufficient volunteers to raise more funds than the bare minimum.³⁸ This was especially true for the LBS, which had larger needs and less investment income. Its mounting investment income basically freed the POA from having to worry about fund-raising by the late 1880s.

All LBS and POA members paid an annual subscription fee. These fees were the backbone of the charities' finances, but the volume of subscriptions never covered operating expenses. Moreover, when subscribers neglected to pay, the money had to be collected and in this way even subscription income represented some work. This was done by Committee members collecting the subscriptions "as per friends," or by the matron collecting them when she delivered the Annual Report.³⁹ By the 1880s unpaid subscriptions were such a problem in the LBS that the subscription list was regularly reviewed and unpaid accounts were collected

³⁷ However, long-term membership was not a guarantee of active participation since almost half of long-term members accepted Visitor duty less than six times in their years with the Committee.

³⁸ For charitable fund-raising in England see Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, Chapter 2.

³⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, May 1848, 205; Vol.4, March 1849, 16-17; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1846, 117; July 1846, 92; Vol.4, October 1848, 73-74.

by the Treasurer and four ladies designated for that purpose.⁴⁰

Given the importance of a solid basis of subscription income, there was a constant pressure on Committee members and other subscribers to interest "a generous public in their favour,"⁴¹ and thus expand membership (and subscription income). In 1852 the POA Secretary estimated it would take only 230 annual subscriptions of \$25 each to make the institution self-sufficient.⁴² However, at 109, the average number of POA subscribers remained substantially smaller than this and the average contribution considerably less, with the standard subscription being five dollars. (See Chapter Three)

Charity Committees used the press to appeal to the general public for support; they also used specialized appeals to ladies targeted as potential supporters. The POA mounted campaigns of the latter type in 1837, 1842, 1849, 1863 and 1897. In the 1837 effort, for example, they sent notices of the annual meeting to selected new residents and newly married ladies thought likely to support the orphanage, with a request they become members and subscribers. The superintendent then visited to collect donations.⁴³ Appeals could also be made using the charity's Annual Reports. These reports were often published in the city newspapers, a way of getting the message across both to supporters at the annual meeting as well as the general public. Many of the LBS Annual Reports, for example, included specific sections on "The State of the Funds" or "The Needs of the Society."

In a rapidly growing city, as supporters died or left town, it was important to inform newly arrived families of the work of charities as well as to focus attention on their financial needs. The POA began to refer to this problem in their Annual Reports by the late 1870s. Thus, in 1879 they commented: "We record with regret that within the last few years we have lost, by death or removal from the city, many of those old and tried friends who were the early supporters of this Asylum, and we must endeavor to make known our claims to those who occupy their places in our community, and, whose sympathy, once obtained, will support and cheer us in the future."⁴⁴ The next year the Secretary pointed to the need to address their

⁴⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, October 1884, 101; October 1886, 171; September 1888, 233.

⁴¹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1851.

⁴² POA, *Annual Report*, 1851, 1852.

⁴³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, December 1837, 65; February 1838, 73.

⁴⁴ POA, *Annual Report*, 1879. The Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society also identified this as a

declining subscription list: "If each member were to interest even one or two new friends in our behalf, we feel confident that the list of our benefactors would be restored to its former dimension."⁴⁵

At the same time, the claims on charitable donations in the city had increased with the creation of a wide range of new institutions and services that directly competed with the older charities for donations. This situation was complicated by two factors. First, the fact, as will be discussed in Chapter Seven, that both the POA and the LBS rejected some of the newer popular approaches to child charity and potential supporters might have considered them to be out of step with modern methods. Second, the fact that their Endowment Funds led some supporters to assume they no longer needed support. This combination of factors was particularly of concern for the LBS due to their precarious budgets. In the Annual Report of 1890, for example, the Secretary made a direct allusion to this problem:

The impression seems to have gone abroad, that the Ladies' Benevolent Society is never at a loss for funds, and some of the old helpers have stopped their subscriptions to it, and given their money to newer efforts. The Managers wish God-speed to every effort for good, but they *feel* the loss of their old friends, and they hope that those charitable citizens may see their way to help the new without cutting off this old and worthy Society.⁴⁶

The ladies mainly depended on their personal contacts and networks to attract supporters, but they remained convinced that "there was a mine of wealth unopened in Montreal."⁴⁷ Regular accounts of the charities' work and of their needs in the city newspapers and the Annual Reports was one way to reach new supporters; the "collection" was another.

The most favoured and lucrative way to collect donations was for Committee members to appeal to their network of personal friends; special collecting cards were occasionally designed for this purpose,⁴⁸ or Committee members "promised to exert

problem. Its 1891 report included a table indicating the decrease in contributions from 1850 to 1890. *Seventy First Annual Report of the Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society for the Year 1891* (Montreal: Lovell, 1892), 17.

⁴⁵ POA, *Annual Report*, 1879.

⁴⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1890.

⁴⁷ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1887.

⁴⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, November 1846, 117; Vol.4, October 1848, 73-74. Mary Ryan finds that the Female Moral Reform associations used the same type of approach. Ryan, "The Power of

themselves to the utmost to procure subscriptions from their friends."⁴⁹ Attracting donations from businesses was another potentially lucrative source. A few companies, including the Hudson Bay Company (in the early years) and the City and District Bank (annually from 1858), made regular contributions, but these donations were isolated. The POA never made an effort to develop this source of income, but the LBS began to tap it in earnest in the 1870s when two members of the charity's Gentlemen's Committee began collecting in the business district. From that point, business donations to the LBS increased, and, by the end of the century, they were the largest single revenue source.

The least popular collection method was the general canvas. Although teams of LBS collectors were named and assigned to designated streets in 1832, much of this supposed general canvassing was really another form of calling on friends or known supporters.⁵⁰ It was only in 1863 that the LBS developed a plan for a real collection, dividing the central Montreal area, where most of the members resided and the major businesses were located, into thirteen districts.⁵¹ Fifteen ladies volunteered and between them covered eleven districts, but this was the most systematic that any collecting ever got. The 1864 collection, for example, was cancelled due to a lack of interest.⁵² Despite attempted reorganizations in both 1879 and 1884,⁵³ collecting was very unpopular, and the Committee consistently "found it impossible to get a sufficient number of collectors to carry out the systematic plan they had arranged for that purpose."⁵⁴ In 1884 the Treasurer explained the LBS's deficit situation as "not for a want of kind friends, but from the great difficulty we experience in getting the Managers to

Women's Networks," 176.

⁴⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, November 1853, 304.

⁵⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, July 1832, 17; Vol.3, September 1843, 39.

⁵¹ Discussions on this began in 1856. The main area was from St. Denis in the east to Peel (and later Guy) in the west; from Sherbrooke in the north to St. Antoine in the south. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, October 1856, 162; January 1858, 203; Vol.6, January 1859, 59; October 1863, 197, 211-14.

⁵² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, October 1864, 259.

⁵³ In 1879, 9 districts were covered; in 1884, only 5. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, October 1879, 148; Vol.10, October 1884, 101.

⁵⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1881, 5; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, October 1881, 213-14; Vol.10, March 1882, 10. LBS, *Treasurer's Report*, 1884, 10.

collect."⁵⁵ Speaking at the annual meeting in 1873, one male supporter reminded the audience of women's reputation for fund-raising: "One thing was quite certain, that if women had the faculty of speech, they also had the faculty of getting money."⁵⁶ The actual experience of these Montreal charities proves that popular assumptions were not always based in fact.

The major work of collecting was done by a small number of members, and finding ways to divide the "burden of collecting so as to prevent too much duty from falling on only a few" was always problematic.⁵⁷ Approximately one third of LBS members in the period 1848 to 1899, or ninety-one ladies (including six School Committee members or Honorary Managers) collected for the society.⁵⁸ However, almost two thirds of them did so only once (29) or two to three times (28). In addition, many collected small sums that were probably the subscriptions of friends. The bulk of the work was done by a group of 20 ladies who collected for periods longer than nine years, and another 14 who collected four to eight years. These ladies provided continuity and were responsible for the largest collections. Usually there were five or six of these regular collectors with large lists, supplemented by other members collecting small sums. Most of the ladies who collected were active in other areas as well, visiting, attending meetings and doing subcommittee work; 40 per cent served as a Directress at some point and more than half were long-term members. But collecting was also the way in which a few ladies who were not active in other areas made their major contribution.

In 1889-90, having incurred deficits several times, the LBS Committee decided to hire a paid collector for the major districts and put a concerted effort into soliciting donations.⁵⁹ Thus, the ladies' reluctance to do this work resulted in the awkward situation whereby scarce charity funds were used to pay to collect the funds to run the charity. In the beginning, seven ladies helped the collector but by 1896 she did the entire collection. The paid collector increased the funds substantially and the number of donors more than doubled (to 1400), albeit most were for small amounts, some as little as \$0.10. (See

⁵⁵ LBS, *Treasurer's Report*, 1884, 10.

⁵⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1873.

⁵⁷ LBS, *Treasurer's Report*, 1884; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, August 1886, 66.

⁵⁸ The LBS Annual Reports list collectors and their collections from 1848.

⁵⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, September 1889, 274; May 1890, 311-13; Vol.11, November 1890, 2.

Appendix 11.)

Collecting appears to be the first area in which these volunteer charity workers reached the limit of volunteerism. In the face of rising costs and regular deficits they took a step towards professionalization by hiring a collector to take on the task the volunteers refused to assume. This general aversion to collecting, however, was not limited to Montreal. Nancy Hewitt found that the Rochester Orphanage cancelled its collection in 1849 when the collectors resigned since the task became "too onerous." Lori Ginzberg also describes women as referring to collecting as "a thankless duty," "never a pleasant task."⁶⁰ Furthermore, it was not limited to female-directed charities. In 1878, the male-directed Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge also resorted to a paid collector to call on subscribers who had failed to deposit their subscriptions to the building fund as promised.⁶¹ Interestingly, the House of Industry Board originally agreed to pay the collector a 2.5 per cent commission, but this was later adjusted upwards to 4 per cent when he complained about the difficulty of the task.

Charity balls, bazaars, and concerts were sources of financing used regularly by charities in England, France and the United States.⁶² Curiously, they were rarely used by the POA, which held two such events to raise money for its building fund but never for the general operating fund.⁶³ The LBS used them more often, organizing some entertainment event annually from 1842 to 1852, and again from 1857 to 1869,⁶⁴ but from 1870 to 1900 only five such events were held despite the charity's precarious financial situation in those years.

Several factors seem to have been instrumental in this irregular use of fund-raising events by these charities. First, by the 1840s, many of the ladies questioned the use of Charity

⁶⁰ Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 146; Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 44. See also Bradbury, "Elderly Inmates," 144, who finds that even the Sisters of Providence did not relish this task. The Ladies' Bible Association for the Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society also complained of an insufficient number of collectors. Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society, *Annual Report*, 1891, 72.

⁶¹ House of Industry, *Minute Book*, Vol.2, January 1878, 128.

⁶² Smith, *Ladies of the Leisure Class*, 146; Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 216; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, Chapter 2.

⁶³ The receipts for these two events (\$600.00 each) were credited to the Building Fund (1850) and the Land Fund (1858) and do not appear in the General Account Fund. In both 1854 and 1856, though, concerts were organized by others with receipts going to the POA General Fund.

⁶⁴ This includes the series of fêtes organized by male supporters—see discussion below.

Balls and theatrical events for religious and moral reasons.⁶⁵ Thus, although they had accepted donations from several theatrical productions in the early years, the POA stopped this as of 1840.⁶⁶ Similarly, the LBS accepted the proceeds from a Charity Ball organized by a group of citizens in 1842 and organized their own Charity Ball in 1844 as "the most effectual way of securing the largest sums," but by 1849 they had promised the clergy not to accept funds from Balls or theatricals and voted 11 to 7 against accepting money from the Oddfellows Ball.⁶⁷ Their discussions with ministers, however, do not seem to have included reciprocal promises of funding support in the form of charity sermons or special Church collections. Charity sermons were an important source of funds in the 1820s and 1830s,⁶⁸ but from that point on this support was small, irregular, and involved very few Churches. (See Appendix 19.) The LBS Committee often spoke of this situation with dismay; they wrote to the Clergy and even sent delegations to visit them, but all to little avail.⁶⁹ Although clergymen regularly attended the annual meetings and visited the institutions, their support did not extend to fund-raising directly from the pulpit.

The Charity Bazaar and Promenade Concert posed fewer religious problems than the Charity Ball although they were open to criticism for their commercialism.⁷⁰ Accordingly they were used more often, but both involved major preparations. Problems in finding enough ladies to do this work was a major factor explaining their irregular use by late century. The LBS held concerts in 1868 and 1878, and organized a bazaar almost on an annual basis from 1843 to

⁶⁵ Articles in the religious press late in century were still raising objections to entertainment fund-raisers. See "The Masquerade Ball," *Canadian Methodist Magazine* 15 (January-June, 1882): 179; Rev. W.A. Fyles, "The Method of Almsgiving," *Montreal Diocesan Theological College Magazine* III, 2 (1894): 26. Mary Ryan notes that balls were never really considered entirely respectable. Ryan, *Women in Public*, 81.

⁶⁶ Donations were received from the Gentlemen Amateurs in 1830, 1837, 1838, 1839 and 1840. "Historical Sketch," in POA, *Annual Report*, 1860. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.2, February 1838, 76-77; Vol.2, February 1840, 116.

⁶⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, August 1842, 20; December 1844, 62; Vol.4, January 1849, 82-84.

⁶⁸ POA, "Historical Sketch," 7-12.

⁶⁹ A subcommittee was set up in 1850 to visit the clergy on an annual basis. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, August 1846, 93-96; Vol.4, May 1850, 139. The LBS made a public complaint against the churches in its 1868 *Annual Report*, 5.

⁷⁰ Some ladies questioned them, arguing that true giving was not linked to receiving goods or entertainment in return, but they were in a minority.

1852, and again in 1857, 1858, 1868, 1869, and 1881 but none after that. The POA organized a bazaar in 1850 and a concert in 1858 and helped with concerts organized for their benefit by the Order of Rechabites⁷¹ in 1854 and 1856.

These events appear to have been much less elaborate than the bazaars and fairs discussed by Beverly Gordon in her work on American fundraising fairs, events that featured theatricality, amusements, and elaborate aesthetic settings.⁷² Although some emphasis was placed on creating an attractive setting, the Montreal bazaars seem to have been simple sales of goods, possibly with a meal included, and even the concert announcements carefully noted that dancing would not be included.⁷³ Still, the planning and preparation for these events began months in advance. Although many people in the community and the husbands of several Committee members helped—loaning halls, doing the set up, providing free advertising, selling tickets, bringing goods to be sold at bazaars, donating material to be made into goods for sale, or performing at concerts—their success largely depended on the voluntary efforts of Committee members.⁷⁴ They were responsible for making most of the fancy sewing and craft goods offered for sale at bazaars as well as the baked goods and refreshments, for working at the various bazaar tables, for selling concert tickets and making decorations, and for overall organization and coordination.⁷⁵

Several of the entertainment events that raised funds for the charities were organized by others, the ladies helping by selling tickets and providing the refreshments. By far the most interesting example of this is a series of "Fêtes" organized by the husbands of several LBS members from 1858 to 1866. These events were clearly much more elaborate than those

⁷¹ This was a temperance organization that also provided funds for the support of members in the case of illness (hence the fund-raising events.) *Canada Temperance Advocate, Devoted to Temperance, Education, Agriculture News Etc.* (Montreal: John C. Beckett), April 1842, Vol. 11, No.7, 102; February 1, 1849, Vol. 15, No.3, 35.

⁷² Beverly Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies. The History of the American Fundraising Fair* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998).

⁷³ The lack of dancing was probably driven more by religious concerns than work aspects.

⁷⁴ Tickets were also sold by the Mechanics Institute and the National Societies. The military and militia bands performed at the concerts for free as did other city talent. The POA had close contacts with the militia through John Samuel McCord, husband of the POA Secretary.

⁷⁵ In some years funds were set aside to pay for material, but most goods were contributed free of charge. Notices requesting contributions were placed in the city newspapers. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, November 1850, 159-60; Vol.5, September 1855, 118; Vol.7, May 1868, 109.

organized by the ladies themselves and probably closer to the fairs described by Gordon in the United States and by Prochaska in England.⁷⁶ They were very popular and netted profits in excess of \$1,000 annually.⁷⁷ The ladies recognized that this money was "nearly necessary to the existence of the Society,"⁷⁸ but they did not attempt to organize a similar event themselves when the men were no longer able to do so. They organized a dog show in 1875, an entertainment in 1879, and a lecture series in 1889, but, on the whole, few fund-raising events were held in the last quarter of the century. This and the distaste Committee members showed for canvassing funds resulted, in many years, in tight budgets and occasional deficits.

A final reason for the irregular use of fund-raising events was the belief these charity Committees shared that supporters would respond more positively if appeals for their help were made only when the need was pressing. On several occasions this was the reason given when the Committees refused to lend their name to entertainment events in return for a portion of the proceeds. The POA Secretary's wording of the 1853 appeal made after years of budget problems while they tried to pay the building and land debt, reveals her sensitivity to these concerns: "with anxious hearts, therefore, but certainly not without hope, do the Ladies of this charity call upon the Protestant public to answer the present appeal, not made till the moment of real want is at hand."⁷⁹

It tended to be the Directresses and a small group of ladies who took responsibility for the bazaar tables. Other Committee members contributed goods for sale but numerous appeals for all members to help in these events point to the fact that only a few ladies were involved in the organizing work. In the 1881 Annual Report, the Secretary referred to the bazaar of that year as "the effort of a comparatively few of the managers," and hoped that all members

⁷⁶ Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*, Chapters 1-2; Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, Chapter 2.

⁷⁷ This involvement of men seems to have been somewhat unusual and a direct result of the lack of active commitment on the part of the ladies' Committee. Certainly in his study of British charities F. Prochaska never refers to men organizing entertainment fund-raisers for female-directed societies. Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 57. In her work on American fairs, Gordon argues that fairs were one area where women operated independently of men, although she notes that the elaborate events in the post Civil War period were often organized in coordination with men. Gordon, *Bazaars and Fair Ladies*, 9-14.

⁷⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, March 1864, 238.

⁷⁹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1853.

would help in future efforts.⁸⁰ The reluctance of ladies to engage in this extra work almost certainly explains why the 1881 LBS bazaar was the first to be held since 1869, and also the last. Only 28 ladies are known to have worked in the bazaars. Several were active members in other areas as well or had been Directresses, but bazaar work was one area that appealed to a few ladies who were not active in other areas of charity work.

"Manager" Types

Two patterns emerge from this examination of charity work. First, Committee members can be divided into three groups. The majority contributed to the finances by paying their subscription and helped to establish the credibility and respectability of the Societies by being publicly associated with them as Committee members, but otherwise were not actively involved. They rarely, if ever, attended meetings and volunteered to do very little, if any, related work. At the other extreme we find a small group of ladies who consistently attended meetings, supervised the institutions by doing visitor duty, canvassed for contributions when necessary, ran bazaars and did subcommittee work. They were aided in this work by a larger group of ladies who attended many of the meetings and helped with other work on occasion. Some of these ladies preferred one area of activity and made a major contribution as a charity collector or a bazaar organizer.

Another pattern that evolves clearly is the correlation of these "manager" types with length of membership. Most short-term associations of less than five years were characterized by little if any actual participation in the work of charity management. Long-term members—those who remained on the Committees for periods of eleven years or more, and especially those with twenty-year-plus memberships—were all involved in some way, at least minimally, although here we find evidence of both the small core of very active members and the group of supportive ones.

Within the group of active members two distinct sub-groups are identifiable. One was a small group of committed "worker-members." These women attended meetings regularly, and did Visitor Duty, fund-raising, and committee work but never held office. Some, like Emma Badgley, Miss Ray and Isabella Dorwin, regularly ran the LBS institution over the summer

⁸⁰ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1881.

months when the Directresses were out of town. All three were offered a position as Directress at some point, and refused, but very little pressure was brought to bear to persuade them. It seems that for some reason (perhaps their single status for two of them), they did not fit the image expected of a Directress. The same can be seen in the POA with the case of Louisa Frothingham Molson (whose position was possibly complicated by her being Unitarian.)

The other group was the Directresses. These women did not necessarily attend every meeting (this was only expected of the First Directress and the Secretary) and were not, as a norm, expected to perform visitor duties, although several of the First Directresses attended on a regular, even daily basis. However, they played a major role in all fund-raising and did most of the problem-solving between meetings. Many were long-term, active members. Several were clearly chosen in deference to their strong personalities and management skills. Interesting examples include Annie Wheeler and Harriet Thomas in the LBS, both of whom made major changes to the LBS's management structure, and Jane Ross and Anne Ross McCord in the POA, who actively managed that charity for several decades.

It is clear that women in both these groups of active members developed or improved their administrative skills in their work for the charities. The amount of time and effort they invested in this is testimony to their level of dedication and to the important role charity played in the lives of some elite women. It is also clear, however, that the common assumption that large numbers of women were actively involved in charity work and were developing administrative skills as a result is not true. This case study reveals that the majority of women whose names appeared on charity lists were indeed there in name alone.

Examination of the charity Committees also reveals several trends over time. Looking at the work of members by decade for both societies, we find the highest rates of participation in the 1850s to 1870s. Much of this was due to a small number of very active ladies who joined the two Committees between the 1830s and 1860s, some of them founding members, remaining active over long memberships. However, even in those years, most members were inactive and it was in 1869, with the division of the Committee list between active members and Honorary Managers, that the LBS attempted to establish the expectation that Committee members should contribute to the Society's work. This expectation triggered a trend to a smaller Committee as the Committee decreased in size at that point and again in the 1880s. Only 56 ladies were members of the LBS over the 1890s compared to 128 in the 1850s. The

new streamlined size, however, did not lead to more active involvement. In fact, a larger proportion of LBS ladies by the 1890s did not visit, the collections had been basically cancelled and no major fund-raising event was organized. Alongside this trend though, in this period, both the LBS and the POA Committees began to use subcommittees more regularly and to limit the power they accorded to the Directresses.

The importance of religion as a key motivating force behind membership and other involvement also seems to have decreased somewhat over the century. In the 1850s and 1860s there were always a number of ladies as well as other supporters who visited the LBS regularly on Sundays to read scriptures with the elderly women. These special Sunday visits decreased over the century and had almost entirely disappeared by the 1880s and 1890s. Similarly in the 1850s and 1860s, the LBS (and probably the POA as well although we cannot verify this in the absence of Superintendent Journals) was considered one of the important city sites and many visitors to the city or patrons toured the institution. This practice had also virtually disappeared by the 1890s.

Relations with the Staff

Although the Committees controlled the institution through precise guidelines, the actual running of the institutions was done by a matron or superintendent and hired workers. Guidelines established the daily routine and activities, budgets and diet lists determined menus, and supplies were kept under lock and key to be distributed weekly by the Committee member who was serving as Monthly Visitor. From the class perspective of these conservative ladies, there was little room for initiative or independence on the part of a hired matron and/or superintendent;⁸¹ and they had even less independence than did some housekeepers in wealthy homes who controlled the household stores, paid the bills, and hired and fired the junior staff.⁸² Again from this class perspective, the ladies expected obedience and subservience from their

⁸¹ This view differed substantially from that of late century professional charity superintendents like Lyman Alden who believed that superintendents, not management committees, should control all aspects of internal management including the hiring and firing of other staff. Lyman Alden, "Institutions for Children. The Practical Details of their Management," *Proceedings of the Twenty-third National Conference of Charities and Corrections*, 1896, 319.

⁸² See Pamela Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant*, 1975. Reprint. (Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton Publishing Ltd., 1996), 62-64.

staff but, ironically, they basically depended on the matrons' organizational and budgetary acumen to run the institutions. This gave matrons a lot of power inside the institutions especially over the other staff. Although they did not have hiring and firing powers, they supervised the work of the rest of the staff and could use their Journal to influence the recording of events. Thus these institutions had a double hierarchy—that between the Ladies and the matron, and that between the matron and the other hired workers.

Gender entered into the equation in two ways. First, other than the POA superintendent and an occasional furnace man, the institutional staff were all women. Both the POA and the LBS had hired a matron/superintendent couple in the early years. This parental model simulated home-life and had the advantage of providing a gender division of labour. However, both societies had switched to an all-female staff model by the end of the century—the LBS within ten years of its creation, the POA in 1893. Second, the POA Committee, which chose to retain the couple model for most of the century, mainly interacted with the matron and often had problems in their dealings with the male superintendent.

The Matron/Superintendent

It was the matrons' job to run the household. Her work included contact with parents (applications, investigations, and board payment), supervision of the other workers, house maintenance and cleaning, the production of clothing, care of the sick, and attendance at the funerals of inmates.⁸³ The matron planned the weekly meals according to the institution's dietary list, and either she or the superintendent kept books, including a daily journal and a register of all admissions and applications. Most important, matrons served the role of mothers in the asylum, overseeing the children's care. The ladies' belief that mothers played a crucial role in child nurture is discernable in rules that specifically required the matron to be present at all meals, to supervise morning and evening prayers, to accompany the children to Church and Sunday school, and to teach them good habits and industry. Entries in the Matron's Journal refer to her searching for runaways,

⁸³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, February 1833, 39; May 1833, 43; April 1834, 56; Vol.2, September 1836, 22; April 1838, 66; Vol.3, August 1842, 20; POA, *Minutes*, Vol.8, March 1868, 157; May 1869, 215; December 1869, 191; Vol.9, May 1877, 283. These duties were reaffirmed in the various *By-Laws*. LBS, *By-Laws*, 1874, #XXV, XVIII, XXIII, XXIV; 1897, #XXVII, XXVIII,

reminding the Committee when children were old enough to be placed out, defending apprentices who had absconded in the face of mistreatment or lack of remuneration, and disciplining the children while they were still in the home. It was mainly to her the children wrote letters, and to her they returned to visit from their apprenticeship homes or once their indentures were completed.

Shifting to an all female staff in 1841, the LBS was run by a matron and a female teacher until 1860. This policy was jeopardized when several matrons left to be married. In 1860, the Committee proposed that the matron's husband, Mr. Watson, live in as a paying boarder on the condition that he give some attention to the house.⁸⁴ And, although he lived in the institution, he was never hired as a superintendent and had no official dealings with the Committee. Following his death in 1879, the LBS reverted to the all-female model, hiring an assistant matron. This matron/assistant matron model was maintained until 1893 when the official management was given, "under the continued personal and vigilant oversight of the Ladies,"⁸⁵ to a lady superintendent, helped by a matron in charge of the household and the servants, and three female teachers. The Committee also hired a man for furnace and other work but he was never given a job title.

The POA opened in 1822 with a governess in charge but had adopted the matron and superintendent couple model by 1828. No reasons are given for this change, but it was at least to some extent an economy measure. The salary went from \$120 annually for the governess to \$100 for the less qualified couple. The male superintendent ran the school and the matron ran the house. This system was used until 1893, except for two short periods from 1862-1871 and 1880-1884 when the superintendent died and the widowed matron ran the institution with the help of a female teacher. In 1889 the POA discussed the possibility of switching to a matron/teacher model and voted to do so, but finally decided to try the former model one more time as they were already into a hiring process.⁸⁶ In 1893, when this last couple proved unsatisfactory, the POA adopted an all-female model with a lady superintendent and a female teacher. Gender was definitely a factor in this decision. In the final twenty years of

XXX, XXXIV; POA, *By-Laws*, 1852, #XX-XXVI, XXVIII.

⁸⁴ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, December 1860, 93.

⁸⁵ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1893.

⁸⁶ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, October 1889, 25; November 1889, 29; December 1889, 38.

the century the POA dismissed two matron-superintendent couples and had particularly negative dealings with the last superintendent, C. Thomas. He accused them of firing him for encouraging the children to aspire to upward social mobility. After the Thomas firing in 1893, the POA decided to hire only female employees.

The matron's character, her ability to manage the institution economically, and her maternal influence on the children were all crucial to a charity's reputation and respectability. The ladies regularly used their Annual Reports to reassure supporters of these facts. Carefully worded comments pay tribute to the matrons' "kind and worthy" nature, their "unwearied attention to their duties and patient kindness to the children," "careful business habits and strict integrity," and their having "faithfully and untiringly performed their duties." Most matrons and superintendents appear to have been from the respectable working class, but the Committees used the new lady superintendent model in the 1890s to improve the quality of their employees. In both, the position of lady superintendent was more respectable, received a higher salary, and required more qualifications than the position had previously.⁸⁷ Ideally they hoped to attract respectable middle-class widows for the new position. The LBS was successful in this. Mrs. Jarvis, the first LBS lady superintendent, was personally known to several of the ladies; and the next two, Mrs. Bone and Mrs. J. F. Evans, were both former Committee members.

Matrons remained in their jobs for many years. This was particularly true of the POA, where Mrs. Cribb was employed for thirty-three years; Mrs. Campbell for thirteen; and three others for six years each. In the LBS, Mrs. Watson was matron for twenty-four years and several others served for ten-year periods. The personal link between the ladies and the matrons based on years of service was reinforced by the fact the Committee regularly gave gifts to long-term matrons, paid for vacations, and, in a few cases, paid for pensions and nursing care for elderly former matrons.⁸⁸

Despite this paternalism, there was a clear power hierarchy between the Committee of ladies and the hired matron, and most of the Committees' contact with the matrons was very formal. Although the matron came into contact with the Directresses and the Monthly Visitors

⁸⁷ In the LBS the salary was almost doubled from \$20.00 to \$35.00 a month.

⁸⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, October 1871, 39; February 1876, 230; Vol.10, November 1880, 117; March 1881, 144; February 1883, 274; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1882, 5; March 1882, 6.

when the latter visited the institution, and the words of encouragement that were surely exchanged in these meetings would have been important to her relationship with the ladies individually, the matron or superintendent communicated with the Committee officially through the formal written Journal. Even more important, it was the Secretary, not the matron, who read the Journal entries at the monthly meetings. Neither Committee ever invited a matron (or a superintendent) to attend meetings where they might make their report in person, this in spite of the fact the meetings were held in the institution.

Another hierarchy existed inside the institution where the matron was in charge of the household staff. The position of teacher (other than the superintendent) was somewhat anomalous since the school was not under the matron's jurisdiction in either institution. However, to the extent that teachers lived in the institution and were required to supervise the children during the day and to help in the house when they could after school hours, they came under the matron's supervision. A matron could certainly influence the Committee in terms of a teacher's employment performance in these extra-curricular areas, and this gave her a lot of power.⁸⁹

The contact between the ladies and the teachers and the other hired staff was even more circumspect than the relationship they had with the matrons. When one of the staff wanted to make a request of the Committee, she could either inform the matron who would submit the request by way of her Journal, or speak to one of the Monthly Visitors directly and ask her to present the request at the monthly meeting. Although many of the matrons remained for years, other staff members (including teachers) more often left after relatively short periods of time. An extremely heavy work load, low wages, and the restrictive institutional regulations explain this rapid turnover; and, as Rooke and Schnell have found, it was normal for child charities to have problems keeping their staff.⁹⁰

⁸⁹ This happened in the POA when the lady superintendent accused one teacher of insufficient help after school hours (1894) and another of incompatibility (1895), and in the LBS in 1846 when the matron accused a teacher of disrespect. In all three cases the teacher was fired. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, October 1894, 395; Vol.13, April 1895, 18-19; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, September 1846, 100-01.

⁹⁰ Rooke and Schnell, "The POHs," 27.

The Teacher

The LBS had a teacher permanently on staff from 1846; before this, one was hired when finances allowed. In 1858, they instituted annual public examinations and hired an assistant teacher. By 1894, three teachers worked in the school; and, from 1882, the main teacher held a teaching diploma.⁹¹ The POA school was run by the male superintendent. In 1858, the ladies hired a teacher for half days to supplement the teaching. A teacher remained until a new superintendent was hired in 1871. A teacher was again on staff in 1880 when the superintendent died. A permanent teacher was added in the new 1893 staff model.

Charity schools were designed to instill good character and to train the children in useful work skills and industrious habits as much as to teach them basic literacy. Accordingly, alongside the normal school subjects, teachers were expected to teach practical skills such as needlework and knitting as well as singing, considered important to character development. They were also implicated in the children's moral education and were responsible for supervising them outside school hours until 8 p.m.⁹² Many Committee members, especially in the POA, considered these extra activities to be as important for a teacher as teaching the academic curriculum, if not more so. Although by the end of the century several POA ladies argued that they should hire trained teachers, there was a generalized suspicion that a certified teacher might refuse to teach work skills or resist supervising the children after school hours. For these reasons most of the POA teachers had experience working as either a governess or a nurse; none of them had a teaching diploma.⁹³ In the LBS a diploma teacher was on staff from the 1880s, but the assistant teachers did not always have teacher training.

Teachers taught large classes consisting of children at different academic levels with a constant changeover in the group. In both the LBS and the POA, teachers lived in the institution. They were on call from 6 a.m. in the summer and 7 a.m. in winter, until 8 p.m., with some time off on Saturday and Sunday and on Wednesday evenings. The regulations in the institutions were very restrictive, and staff, including teachers, were not allowed any visitors. Although in the POA, one teacher remained seven years and another four and in the LBS

⁹¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, March 1882, 6; Vol.11, October 1895, 153.

⁹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.3, December 1845, 87; Vol.5, February 1855, 144; Vol.9, December 1876, 29; January 1877, 32.

⁹³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.12, March 1893, 226, 230.

one stayed for fourteen, another for five, most of the teachers remained on staff for only one or two years.

Other Staff

The children in both institutions and the elderly women in the LBS helped do much of the housework, including making the clothing and knitted goods for the inmates. As well, both institutions hired servants, cooks and laundresses to do the heavy work; and the LBS hired "nurses" to oversee the children and sleep in the dormitories.⁹⁴ By 1900, to deal with 130 children, about 30 elderly infirm women and a number of convalescents, the LBS staff included three nurses, two maids, one cook, two laundresses, and five girls-in-training, besides the lady superintendent, the housekeeper/matron and three teachers. In addition, a sewing woman was hired when the work was more than the matron and the children could handle.⁹⁵ The POA staff in the same year was proportionately larger. It included two nurses, three servants, one cook, one laundress, a teacher, and a lady superintendent for an asylum with 30 children.

Many of the workers in the LBS were themselves charity cases, and the Committee used this as a way to minimize labour costs. In the early days, the emigrant agent sent destitute female emigrants to work in the LBS for their board while they waited to secure passage elsewhere.⁹⁶ Later, workers were paid their wage in clothing,⁹⁷ or worked for free in lieu of paying board for their children in the institution.⁹⁸ After 1846, workers who were not inmates and had no children in the institution began to be paid cash wages, but the Committee tried to minimize their number. After 1858 even women with children in the institution received cash wages, but they were paid lower wages than the regular staff (in recognition of the board cost) and still represented a considerable saving. From the 1870s, the wage bill was further minimized by having some of the older girls help in the household work before their

⁹⁴ None of these women had medical training.

⁹⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.6, June 1859, 59; September 1861, 122; Vol.8, May 1875, 137; Vol.10, March 1882, 7; August 1882, 26.

⁹⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, May 1841, 119.

⁹⁷ Payment in clothing remained the method used for rewarding extra duty during sickness and spring cleaning.

⁹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, June 1841, 121; Vol.3, March 1842, 14; Vol.5, June 1858, 214; Vol.8,

apprenticeships, to train them as "capable and efficient servants."⁹⁹ A few girls were also apprenticed to the Society to train as servants. In 1893 and 1896, when finances were particularly strained, several girls were removed from school and trained to take the place of paid help.¹⁰⁰

The POA was a smaller institution and, with no women residents who could double as workers, it had a small paid staff responsible for multiple duties. In 1887, for example, the cook also worked in the laundry.¹⁰¹ In recognition of this general duty, the wages paid were higher than in the LBS.¹⁰² Even in the POA, however, an effort was made to minimize wage bills by apprenticing girls to the Society to train as servants. In the 1850s this was done with three girls each for a six-year term.¹⁰³ In 1854 the POA dismissed the domestic arguing that all the older girls would help in the housework since it was "useful and healthy training"; and on several occasions in the same years the apprenticeships of boys were postponed to keep them to help the superintendent in the summer months.¹⁰⁴

The LBS Registers permit identification of 303 of the women who worked in the institution.¹⁰⁵ Most were between 25 and 40 years of age. Almost half entered the institution with their children, although this proportion is probably exaggerated by the data for the 1870s when few other workers were recorded. (See Table 6.4 below.) Admitting women with their children was ideal for the LBS since as well as reducing costs it enabled maintenance of

May 1875, 137.

⁹⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.8, June 1873, 52. See also March 1873, 41; April 1873, 45; March 1875, 127.

¹⁰⁰ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1893; LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, 1896;

¹⁰¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1881, 190.

¹⁰² Information on wages was given in a few years. Examples of monthly wages in the POA included in 1873, \$8.00 for the cook and \$7.00 for the housemaid; in 1881 both received \$8.00; by 1887, \$9.00 and in 1889 the cook made \$10.00. In the LBS, in 1873 the cook made \$4.00 a month which had been raised to \$5.00 by 1892. In 1895 nurses were paid \$8.00 or \$9.00 a month.

¹⁰³ Girls were apprenticed to the POA, the First Directress, or the superintendent in 1851 (2), 1855, 1863, 1875, 1883, and 1896. POA, *Annual Report*, 1858; POA, *Minutes*, Vol.4, June 1851, 157; November 1851, 184; Vol.7, May 1863, 130; Vol.9, May 1875, 202; Vol.10, March 1883, 285; Vol.13, April 1896, 115.

¹⁰⁴ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, September 1854, 45; Vol.6, April 1858, 28.

¹⁰⁵ The POA *Registers* do not include entries for their workers.

parental discipline. Occasionally children were accepted for admission on the condition that their mother entered as well, although this was neither an official policy nor the norm.

Table 6.4
Working Women in the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society

Length of service	With Children	Without Children	Totals	%
Less than 1 Year	85	101	186	61.4
1 to under 2 Years	17	13	30	9.9
2 to 5 Years	11	9	20	6.6
More than 5 Years	5	6	11	3.6
Unknown	15	41	56	18.5
Total Cases	133	170	303	100.0

Source: LBS, *Register*, 1845-1900.

As Table 6.4 illustrates, workers did not remain in the institution for long. A majority of those both with and without children in the LBS, left in less than one year, most within a few months. The women for whom it is impossible to determine a precise length of employment also probably came and went in a very short period. There was a small number, however, for whom the LBS served as an employer for several years; three women worked between eight and nine years and one for fourteen.

Some of the women probably used the LBS as a way to get short-term help or as a period of training. The heavy workload was also probably a factor in this rapid turnover. So too were the strict rules of conduct. No tobacco or alcohol was allowed on the premises, and workers could be dismissed for rough language or disrespectful conduct. They could leave the asylum only once a week, and then only for a few hours; they were never allowed visitors. Although these conditions were similar to those of regular resident servants who were often treated like second-class citizens or children needing strict discipline, they posed difficulties for women accustomed to autonomy.¹⁰⁶ There were constant references to drunkenness and to discipline problems, especially on the way home

¹⁰⁶ For relations between employers and servants see Horn, *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant*, esp. chapter 7; Faye Dudden, *Serving Women. Household Service in Nineteenth Century America* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983) and Judith Rollins, *Between Women. Domesticity and Their Employers* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985).

from Church. The matron regularly used her Journal to appeal to the Committee for compassion and leniency in the case of women who were faithful workers but had a weakness for alcohol. She also often requested bonuses (like a new dress) for the women in recompense for extra work done during spring cleaning or during bouts of illness in the institution.

On several occasions, the ladies demonstrated the same paternalism towards the institution's ill or aged teachers and workers as they did for matrons. In 1847, they offered to care for a former teacher who was ill, and several ladies sent special bedding for her.¹⁰⁷ In 1889, a former laundress returned to the asylum "to claim the shelter of its roof" when she was dying of consumption,¹⁰⁸ and in 1894 the ladies paid to send another laundress, who had worked for them for several years and was described as "worn out and ill," to the Murray Bay Convalescent Home.¹⁰⁹ In 1895, a woman who had worked as head nurse for six years was sent on a paid vacation to visit her family in England.¹¹⁰

As we have seen, class and sometimes gender intersected in the management of these charities. The class structure that determined the relations between the ladies on the Committees and their female (and occasionally male) employees put the ladies in a position of power. This power, however, was relative since, in the context of the larger society, gendered ideological constructs like the "cult of true womanhood" and the notion of "separate spheres," which defined woman's place in society, imposed major restrictions on women, including the Committee ladies. The extent to which these constructs had an impact on their management and their policy decisions is addressed in the final chapter.

¹⁰⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.2, January 1841, 124.

¹⁰⁸ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1889.

¹⁰⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, May 1894, 94.

¹¹⁰ She was also given a two-week bonus and money to buy presents for the other nurses. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, May 1895, 144-45.

Chapter Seven

"Women's Public Sphere"

The belief that men and women had different characteristics (or qualities) that fitted them for different activities or "separate spheres," what Mary Poovey refers to as "the binary model of differences articulated by sex," was a belief widely held in the nineteenth century and regularly repeated in the contemporary Canadian press.¹ According to this construct, women's sphere, referred to as her "appropriate element" or her "empire,"² centered on her role as mother, wife, and household mistress and was private or domestic; whereas men's sphere was public and included the world of business, politics, and government.

Nineteenth-century Canadian writers argued that women's special qualities—constancy, chastity, modesty, submissiveness, obedience, affection, piety, charity, sincerity, prudence, morality, and cheerfulness—made them ideal for domestic responsibilities.³ These very qualities, though, disqualified women from activity within the men's sphere. This effectively limited women's social role, as well as their power and authority outside of the home, and it left public space under the control of men.

Buttressed and indeed imposed by legal, political, economic, social and even spatial restrictions on women, the ideology was used to maintain power relations based on gender and class. The definition of these spheres, however, was not absolute or impermeable as witnessed by the fact that women ran a large part of the Montreal Protestant charity network. Charity management was closely associated with women's caregiver role as well as with the duty of Christian benevolence and the exertion of moral and religious

¹ Poovey, *Uneven Development*, 6. For the separate spheres ideology in the early nineteenth-century Canadian press, see Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*; Errington, *Wives and Mothers*; and Maas, *Helpmates of Man*.

² "Industry and economy essential qualification in a female," *Christian Guardian* 1, 1 November 21, 1829: 5; Z, "Woman," *The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository* 3, 1 (September 1823): 230.

³ "Qualities of a Good Wife," *Christian Guardian* 1, 2, November 28, 1829, 13; "Woman's Mission," *Christian Guardian* 19, 8, December 8, 1847, 29; "Advice to Young Women," *The Montreal Museum* 1, 2 (January 1833): 65. For a discussion of the origin of these ideas see Janet Wilson James, *Changing Ideas about Women in the United States, 1776-1825* (New York: Gerland, 1981).

influence over the poor, and as such it was an accepted undertaking for elite women even though a very public activity.

Mary Ryan has argued that we should make a distinction between the formal public sphere, "the authoritative, legally sanctioned public arena," and charity work that was mainly "conducted under private auspices."⁴ Denise Riley and Cecilia Morgan speak of voluntary societies as being included in a "social sphere" rather than a public sphere.⁵ I prefer to think of these charity directors as working in a women's public sphere, or as Estelle Freedman calls it, a "public female sphere."⁶ Certainly the charities that Montreal women ran were recognized as important institutions serving a critical social function, and the ladies were regularly involved in "public" sphere activities that included fund-raising, hiring and disciplining staff, keeping books, interacting with government officials and inspectors, and petitioning and communicating with the government in relation to their incorporation and changes to it (their government grant, special funding, inspection requests, and matters related to the LBS industrial school).⁷

The women's public sphere, as represented by the female committees that ran the POA and the LBS, was characterized and inscribed in two ways: by the limits imposed by the ideology of "separate spheres" and by the empowerment these women gained from their own interpretation of women's special qualities. Gender conscious and conservative, the ladies defined themselves in terms of the "cult of domesticity" and the ideology of "separate spheres," accepting and conforming to both the prescribed gender-defined qualities of the first and the social/spatial restrictions of the second, but they were equally sure of their own abilities and their authority within the women's sphere. This chapter looks at both of these aspects. The first part examines the limits placed on women's

⁴ Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle Class*, 217.

⁵ Denise Riley, *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History* (London: Macmillan Press, 1988), 47-55; Cecilia Morgan, *Public Men and Virtuous Women*, 182, 214-15.

⁶ Estelle Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy."

⁷ See NAC, *Canada State Books*, 1847, and ANQ, Registry of Letters of the Provincial Secretary. The LBS submitted special budget reports in 1838 and 1855 and both societies submitted special reports in 1864 to the Auditor-General. Gail Campbell has argued that petitioning was a common way women and women's groups ventured into the political arena. Gail Campbell, "Disfranchised But Not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19th Century," in Strong-Boag and Fellman, *Rethinking Canada*, 81-96, reprinted in Guildford and Morton, *Separate Spheres*, 37-66.

public appearances and on their public discourse by spatial restrictions and etiquette as well as the ladies' tendency to depend on men to advise them in activities defined as male. The second part considers the empowering aspects by looking at examples of policy development. Willingly deferring to men's advice in areas like investments, the ladies kept their own counsel when it came to the admission and placement policies used in their charities—areas they identified as within the women's domain.

Both charities developed policies on the basis of their experience in running the charities as well as their evaluation of need, and they defended their policy choices against criticism. In this they sometimes challenged changing trends in charity work, trends often propagated by members of the city's male elite and reformist women's groups. Indeed, in the widespread discussion and reevaluation of poor relief methods that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century, two major trends questioned institutionalization itself: one was the placing of children in families rather than in child institutions (placing out) advocated by many of the new professional child workers and groups like the Children's Aid Societies; the other was the scientific charity movement that attacked traditional charity as sentimental, injudicious, and unscientific and was advocated by groups like the Charity Organization Society. Rather than adopting the popular new method of placing out, the two Montreal charities defended and even extended their use of institutionalization. They also rejected the notions of scientific charity, defending their institutional autonomy against male-led initiatives to rationalize the city's charity services and from the potential incursions of the newly formed Charitable Organization Society. These two movements and the ladies' response to them shape the third part of the chapter. The chapter ends with an examination of the interaction between these two benevolent female societies and the reform-oriented women's groups such as the Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) and the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC), groups with whom the charities differed in terms of basic orientation as well as in type of charitable experience.

Public Appearances

Given the nature of their work, it was imperative for these women to maintain the support and approbation of the male Protestant establishment. They depended on this for

their social legitimacy and their moral authority within the community, a moral authority that was class-based and that rested on their status as elite women or "ladies" with all its connotations of special female qualities. Public acceptance of the prevailing gender ideology on women's "proper" place in society was key to their maintaining this support.

The annual general meetings held by each charity, open to the public and attended by a mixed audience, represented one of the most public activities these Committees performed. Furthermore, it was here, in the context of the Secretary's report on the events of the year and the expenditure of funds, that the political, economic, and administrative nature of their work was publicly exposed although the official Reports tended to underestimate the actual work involved in charity management. Thus, these annual meetings were crucial to their charitable work and to its social acceptance and its funding, but the meetings also represented a public action by which the ladies risked being seen as transgressing social convention as defined by the separate spheres ideology. The charity Committees were, therefore, extremely careful to present an appearance of respect for the norms of polite society in their public actions, and particularly at these public meetings.

The clearest and most pervasive of the separate sphere's prescriptions on appropriate behaviour defined and regulated women's public appearances, or their incursions on geographic public space usually reserved for men. Thus, under these norms, respectable women could attend public meetings, but social convention and expectations held that they could not address a mixed audience or speak in public.⁸ This was the norm throughout the nineteenth-century in Canada. When Lady Aberdeen addressed the mixed audience at the opening meeting of the National Council of Women in 1893, the *Toronto Empire* (which supported the organization) noted: "Hitherto it has not been the correct thing, from a Canadian society standpoint, for a woman to speak on a platform."⁹ At their conference meetings, the YWCA managed to circumvent this rule by restricting much of the meeting to women only, thereby enabling women to address the

⁸ Hence the backlash against the "platform" woman. For an excellent study of the restrictions on women's public appearances and how women managed to overcome some of these, see Mary Ryan, *Women in Public*.

⁹ *Toronto Empire*, 1893, quoted in Cheryl MacDonald, *Adelaide Hoodless. Domestic Crusader* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1986), 36.

same-sex audience and exchange ideas relating to their work.¹⁰ The private charities, however, were not in a position to adopt such an approach at their annual public meeting due both to their need for public support and to the obligations outlined in their charters.

In deference to this rule against women speaking in public and the implicit restriction on women doing public work, a public meeting of men often formally initiated nineteenth-century female charities. With the official framework (the legal structure, the constitution, and the bylaws) established, the men requested a Ladies' Committee to undertake the actual management, either alone or under the jurisdiction of a male Board or Advisory Committee.¹¹ A founding member of the Ottawa Protestant Orphan Home described this process in connection with that society as follows: "It was not customary for Ladies to occupy platforms in 1864 and they took over the business once the official arrangements were completed."¹²

The Protestant Orphan Asylum partly fits this pattern, having been formed at a public meeting called by Protestant ministers after the Female Benevolent Society was disbanded. In its *Historical Sketch* the POA credit Reverend John Bethune and Reverend Henry Esson with drafting the original constitution.¹³ However, the POA *Minutes* indicate that the ladies themselves were also involved in this process, writing to the Boston Female Orphan Asylum to request copies of their constitution and rules to use as a model. Since these rules are remarkably similar to those adopted by the POA, right down to the diet list, it seems that the ladies were actually responsible for much of the POA's working framework.¹⁴ The account in the Minutes of the actual founding meeting also explains that the two ministers drew up a number of resolutions, read them, and then retired. The women at the meeting then reread the resolutions, filled in the blanks and voted on them one by one.¹⁵ This account appears to give women a much more directive

¹⁰ See Pedersen, "The YWCA and Evangelical Womanhood," 330-32.

¹¹ See Prochaska, *Women and Philanthropy*, 142-44; "Report on the Home for Young Women Seeking Employment, Halifax, 1876," *Atlantis* 5, 2 (Spring 1970): 195-99; Splane, *Social Welfare in Ontario*; Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony;" Rooke and Schnell, "The POHs."

¹² Mrs. Thornburn, quoted in Rooke and Schnell, "The POHs."

¹³ POA, *Historical Sketch*.

¹⁴ For the Boston charity, see Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children*.

¹⁵ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.1, January 1823, 2.

role than they had in the Ottawa example. It is extremely pertinent, however, that in their official history the POA publicly associated the charity's foundation with the leaders of the Anglican and the Presbyterian Churches rather than with the committee of ladies who sought advice from Boston's women and who finalized the organization at the semi-private meeting.

The account of the founding of the LBS stands out even further from the norm in that it makes no reference to men even being present and specifically refers to a woman chairing the meeting: "At a meeting of Ladies called by Public announcement and held at the National School House on Wednesday the 18th July, Mrs Richardson having been called upon to preside and Mrs. Bancroft requested to act as Secretary, the following resolutions were proposed and unanimously adopted."¹⁶ Since it was unusual for a woman to chair such a meeting, it is probably safe to assume that no men were present. The resolutions included the decision to form the Ladies' Benevolent Society, to rent a house, and hire staff. Those present also drafted and adopted the constitution and bylaws and outlined the duties of office bearers.¹⁷

Regardless of the events that marked their founding, the actions of these female Committees at their public annual meetings left no ambiguity concerning their respect for the rules of public etiquette and propriety that controlled public appearances. The demonstration of female modesty and submissiveness was evident at every annual meeting.¹⁸ These meetings served to provide subscribers and supporters with an accounting of the year's work and expenditures, as well as to officially elect the new officers and Committee of Management. They also provided the Committees with a platform to demonstrate their social usefulness. Committee members and both male and female subscribers and supporters attended. Meetings were held in the institution, which gave patrons the opportunity to examine the home and the residents and which also

¹⁶ "Rules and Regulations of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society," in LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.1, July 1833, 1-10.

¹⁷ The Female Benevolent Society (1816) was also set up at a meeting convoked in the city papers by three women. Jan Noel, "Femmes Fortes," 75-76.

¹⁸ This was not unusual and Jane Lewis finds that even social activists like Octavia Hill and Beatrice Webb respected propriety and the delineated separate spheres in public despite their active work in social service. Jane Lewis, *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 8-9.

placed the meeting in the physical domain of the ladies' work—"the home" as it were. Appropriately, this was a much less public place than a meeting hall elsewhere in the city; it was also a gendered space controlled by the ladies' Committee and where mainly women and children resided.

Conforming to convention, Committee members never spoke at their public meetings, this despite the fact that meetings were held in the semi-public space of the institutional home and that the ladies had written all the reports. As was the norm in charities across America, women delegated men to speak on their behalf. A minister always opened the meeting to set the religious and moral tone and to establish the institution's moral authority. Male supporters, often the husbands of Committee members, read both the Annual Report and the Treasurer's statement.¹⁹ Men moved, seconded and spoke to all motions. Publicly, then, the male elite participated actively in these charities and certainly gave them their approbation and in so doing lent credibility.

This prominent public role for men, however, masked the reality, which was that the ladies had completely orchestrated the meeting in advance and had agreed on the list of Directresses and Committee Members at the monthly Committee meeting preceding the annual meeting. The election of the slate of office bearers and Committee members at the larger meeting was strictly a public legal formality. The Committee also chose and arranged for specific men to chair the meeting, to read the reports, and to move and second each motion. The motions were all prepared in advance, and the men had only to read them and add some comment. Of course the ladies could not control what comments men added, and this occasionally posed problems for them; but the discussion in the next part of the chapter shows that they were very adept at avoiding suggestions.

For most of the nineteenth century, men made the motions at the LBS meetings. The Annual Reports mention ladies seconding motions for a few years in the late 1840s, but these references ended by 1851. The POA meetings are much more intriguing and reveal an interesting example of female assertiveness within the bounds of the rules of public etiquette. Early reports of these meetings indicate that "the members present"

¹⁹ This was the norm in Montreal charities. The 1883 Report of the Mackay Institute, for example, indicates that the Lady Superintendent's report was presented "through Mr. Ross." Mackay Institute, *Annual Report*, 1883, 96. This was also the case in American charities. See Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 34-40 and Hewitt, *Women's Activism*, 246.

elected the Committee and officers, which suggests that the women participated in the meeting by raising their hands to vote. Motions to name committees, accept reports, thank the chair, and so on, were all made by men as was the norm. Interestingly, though, from 1860 on, although no lady spoke, their names were included as both movers and seconders in the text of each motion as it was read by the male delegate. This anomaly was explained by the chair of the 1876 meeting: "it was usual for the ladies to make the motions but as they did not speak he would call on the gentlemen present to support them."²⁰ In 1879, Reverend W.B. Bond, called upon to speak to the acceptance of the Secretary's report, commented that "He wished he could get the ladies to speak themselves, as they were equally well qualified to do so as the gentlemen,"²¹ but comments in the 1880s and 1890s such as "Canon Norman, speaking on behalf of Miss Blackwood" and "Mr. J.C. Dunlop, on behalf of the secretary," confirm that the traditional method was still used at the end of the century.²²

The name by which women presented themselves and the changes in this nomenclature is another area where historians have detected possible public submissiveness or assertiveness. Suzanne Lebsock, for example, argues that clear changes in nomenclature occurred in Petersburg, Virginia over the century, from the use of first name format to a married name format; a change she interprets as indicating a loss of power.²³ In these Montreal charities, however, nomenclature is consistent. The Secretaries always signed the Annual Reports with their first names, for example, Anne McCord or Janey Evans, rather than the more formal and submissive Mrs. or Miss. (Although married women did use their husband's name rather than their maiden name.) First names were also used publicly in newspaper appeals for donations to bazaars or the official postponements of meetings. Even more important, they were used in official documents. The Acts of Incorporation refer to the founding members by their first names, and both constitutions are signed with first names—the LBS in 1874 by C.K. Mackenzie and Fanny Evans; the POA in 1852 by Sophia Molson and Anne McCord. In addition,

²⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1876.

²¹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1879.

²² POA, *Annual Report*, 1881; 1895.

²³ Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, 230-31.

the official report the POA submitted to the government in 1848 on their work with the fever children was signed by the First Directress as S.S. Wilkes; so too were letters directed to the Provincial Secretary in relation to requests for funding and the like.

The Annual Reports (other than the Secretary's signature) were the exception to first name usage but this was a practice consistent throughout the century. Here, Committee members and Directresses were always listed under their married names. So too were subscribers. In the subscription lists, Mrs. appears as the norm even for widows. Unmarried women were referred to simply as "Miss." Furthermore, the married name format used was often that which listed a woman under her husband's first and last name, that is, Mrs. John Smith. Although Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall have argued that this married name format was a form of respect paid to middle-class women, it also meant that a woman gave up both her maiden name and her Christian name, the texts effectively erasing her own identity.²⁴ Of course the Annual Reports were the major public documents the societies produced and, in effect, were the core of their public discourse. It is important that in these very public documents the ladies used their married names while in internal documents and even in correspondence with the government, which, while official, was not publicly seen, they quite naturally presented themselves using their Christian names, and this throughout the century.

Thus, a shift to increased "ritual submission" through a change in nomenclature is not evident in Montreal in the 1840s and 1850s, contrary to what Susanne Lebsock found in Petersburg. Neither is there any evidence of the trend she found whereby the male elite moved into the sphere of philanthropy to take control of the female-directed charities or to set up competing male-directed ones in the areas already staked out by women's Committees.²⁵ Jan Noel's contention—that Montreal merchant princes "overshadowed" female benevolent activities early in the century and turned "the women's wooden hospices and rented houses into the great pillared and iron-railed institutions of Victorian Montreal"—is born out only by the early example of the Montreal General Hospital

²⁴ Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 273. For a discussion of the role of language and the significance of women being described in terms of their marital status, see Lakoff, *Language and Woman's Place*, esp. 36-42.

²⁵ Lebsock, *Free Women of Petersburg*, xvi.

taking over the House of Recovery in 1822.²⁶ The formation of the MGH, though, did not in fact point to the beginning of a trend for men to usurp women's charitable institutions, and Montreal women did not lose any of their power to run charitable institutions over the course of the century.

In fact, the male charities did not at all challenge the gender division of the city's Protestant network and women's predominant role in charitable work with women and children. No children remained in the House of Industry any longer than it took to clarify their parental situation, at which point they were transferred to the appropriate female charity. The Boys' Home and the Mackay Institute are the only examples of male boards directing child charities, but both were designed for adolescents not children, and they did not in any way duplicate or infringe on the ladies' work. Indeed, when the ladies' Committees appealed to the Boys' Home in 1896 to extend their work and accept younger boys, the men refused. The only other male Committee that worked with children was the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, but this group was a lobbying and protective agency, not a charity, and it consistently worked in amicable coordination with the female-directed charities.

Furthermore, as noted earlier, cooperation and collaboration between these elite women and their male supporters continued throughout the century—donations from both businesses and men increased over the century; the male elite continued to provide favorable press coverage and supportive sermons from the pulpit; and politicians lobbied on their behalf for government grants, changes to incorporation charters, and so on. Rather than challenge the ladies' work, high profile representatives of the Montreal male elite attended the charities' public annual meetings and supported the important contribution the women's Committees made to the city. It was common for men to thank the ladies for their work. On at least one occasion, a speaker commented on the "great obligation they undertook, which actually ought to be fulfilled by the men,"²⁷ but the comment was meant as a compliment to their management abilities, their self-sacrifice and the importance of their work, not as a threat of impending male incursion.

²⁶ Noel, "Women and Social Welfare Work in Montreal," 262, 278.

²⁷ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1866.

The Montreal ladies' respect for social convention was surely one of the ways they maintained this enthusiastic and public male endorsement. Their representation of their work as their "humble endeavours" emphasized this deference. And it was indeed in terms of these same adjectives that men also spoke of women's charitable work. Thus one supporter described the LBS in 1873 as a "society, which is doing so much good in the quiet, unassuming manner characteristic of all institutions in which ladies are the working power."²⁸ These descriptions pointed to the belief that women had special qualities that distinguished them from men.

Gendered Special Qualities

The separate spheres ideology and the respectability associated with it were not limited to prescriptions on public appearances. At the core of the ideology was the concept of special qualities and separate activities. Women were thought to be natural nurturers and thus ideally fitted for home-making and child rearing; among those activities normally defined as male were finance, business, and politics. On the whole, the Montreal ladies accepted these distinctions, and they appear to have been much more concerned by gender distinctions of appropriateness than historians like Lori Ginzberg have found in the case of American societies, where women did not seem "troubled" about business aspects not being "adequately feminine."²⁹ The POA and LBS ladies were quite confident of their abilities to manage the institutions and to make decisions about admissions and departures, but they were much less confident about constructing buildings and managing large investment portfolios, activities clearly within the "male sphere." In light of this, they depended on special male advisors to advise them on these matters; and they established committees of men to help with questions like building construction. This had the added advantage of forging even stronger links to the male elite and providing an additional appearance of decency and legitimacy.

In fact, men's committees often existed in connection with female-directed charities. Several patterns were possible. In the many Canadian cities where women's

²⁸ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1873.

²⁹ Ginzberg argues that this seemed to generate little, if any, self-examination. Ginzberg, *Women and the Work of Benevolence*, 42.

charities were set up by men, committees of women supervised domestic management but men maintained control over all legal and financial dealings.³⁰ Many other female-directed charities had official male Advisory Boards from their foundation, but the actual control of the charity rested firmly in the hands of the female management Committee. This was the case with the Home and School of Industry, which had a male Advisory Board and an official male Treasurer. It was also true of the Protestant Infants' Home. The original Infants' Home Board had been mixed but the men left to become an Advisory Committee within a year. The position of honorary President was still held by a man. The POA and the LBS represent yet another pattern. Neither society formed men's advisory committees at their inception. Thus, these women did not depend on men's committees to legitimize the organization itself or its work. Rather, they conceived of the men's committees as task-specific—created when the task at hand fell clearly within the male sphere and/or required specialized knowledge and business contacts.

In the early years the ladies ran the charities in rented premises and relied on the husband of one of the Directresses to provide advice on business and building-related questions. Once they began to contemplate constructing buildings, however, both Committees called on male supporters to aid them in a more formal way. The LBS decided in January 1852 that a Gentlemen's Committee "should be formed to act for them in cases of difficulty."³¹ The Finance and Building Committee was formed the next year at a special meeting of men called to discuss the society's need for permanent facilities. Specifically organized to carry out this construction project, most of the original members left the Committee once the newly built institution opened its doors in 1856.

The men's Committee was established on a more permanent basis in 1869, as the Finance and Advisory Committee with eleven members. From that point the membership list was published regularly in the Annual Reports. (See Appendix 20.) Membership was fairly consistent, with a few additions, but gradually members died or left due to other commitments and by 1887 only three remained. Beginning in 1889, new recruits were

³⁰ Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 24-5. The assumption that men were better suited than women for administrative and financial work was still current in the twentieth century. See James Struthers, "Lord Give us Men": Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918 to 1953," in Moscovitch and Albert, *The Benevolent State*, 126-43.

³¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, January 1852, 206; *Annual Report*, 1853, 4.

added and the Committee had grown to thirteen members by 1897. A majority of the men, and certainly most of the active long-term members, had either a wife or a mother on the LBS Committee.

In 1853 the original Committee did most of the work involved with the new building on Bertholet Street: finding a site, overseeing the construction, and soliciting special funds to cover the debt.³² The LBS ladies gave the final approval on all proposals, but left the initiatives to the men. They also left most of the subsequent decisions on renovations and additions "to the discretion of the Gentlemen's Committee,"³³ and one member of this Committee served as the regular special advisor on sundry matters such as repairs, landscaping, and fuel purchases.³⁴

Further, the men managed the Permanent Fund and, as noted in Chapter Six, a few of them helped with fund-raising, organizing an annual "Fete" from 1858 to 1864 as well as the collection in the business district during the 1870s.³⁵ On occasion the ladies requested their male advisors to help them with other official tasks that they saw as out-of-the-ordinary or very important, believing that the men "would better understand the arrangements likely to ensure their success."³⁶ This was the case, for example, with the petition for government aid in 1856 when the LBS had assumed some of the work of the defunct Protestant Industrial House of Refuge and wanted the government to give them the entire joint grant. The ladies also requested aid from the men in 1873 to help prepare the address to the Governor General. From 1894, a few gentlemen began to visit the asylum to advise the lady superintendent and the staff, but they did this very irregularly.³⁷

The POA also created a Gentlemen's Committee when it began to prepare for the eventual construction of a permanent home on St. Catherine Street in 1845. This

³² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, December 1853, 50; January 1854, 52; April 1854, 61; December 1854, 91; January 1855, 95.

³³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.7, October 1864, 73; Vol.7, October 1866, 166; Vol.7, August 1869, 148; Vol.7, March 1870, 178; Vol.8, April 1875, 133; Vol.12, May 1897, 39.

³⁴ This included A. Simpson, C. Geddes, F. Mackenzie, T. Gordon and F.W. Thomas.

³⁵ The idea of asking the men to form a collecting committee was raised as early as 1856 but was dropped because they were too busy. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, July 1856, 163.

³⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, December 1856, 166; Vol.8, June 1873, 30.

³⁷ This was the initiative of F.W. Thomas, husband of the LBS Treasurer. LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, October 1893, 76; *Annual Report*, 1894, 5; *Matron's Journal*, 1895-1900.

Committee helped organize the construction of the building, which was ready in 1849, and helped with special fund-raising campaigns in 1845 and in 1853 and 1856 to pay off the building debt and to purchase the adjoining lot.³⁸ Members were again active from 1891 to 1893, when this building was sold and a new one constructed on Summerhill and Côte-des-Neiges. Although official membership lists were not published until 1887, the POA's Minutes provide some information on who served on the committee before this. All of the men had wives on the POA Committee. (See Appendix 21.)

Although the men did all the official work connected to the construction of the asylum buildings in 1847-1849 and 1893 and certainly often provided advice, the POA Committee discussed and approved all decisions. In both instances a Ladies' Building Committee worked in coordination with the men and the professionals such as architects; similar subcommittees helped when renovations or major repairs were made.³⁹ In 1847, in fact, the Ladies' Committee was officially given the organizing work to do and the men were requested to "aid and assist."⁴⁰ Thus, the POA ladies were more actively involved in such undertakings than were the LBS Committee, but their reluctance to act on their own in these areas is still evident. In 1878, for example, the POA Committee refused to act on the advice of their ladies' building sub-committee with regards to needed renovations, waiting until the Gentlemen's Committee had been consulted and had given the same advice before undertaking the work.⁴¹

Normally one of the men on the POA Gentlemen's Committee acted as a general advisor and another as the financial advisor. This system was informal and evolved naturally from family connections. J.S. McCord and D.R. McCord, respectively the husband and the son of long-time Secretary Anne Ross McCord, served as the special advisors for most of the century; the financial advisors were all related to the Treasurer and included R.S. Tylee, J. Greenshields and E.B. Greenshields. These latter men

³⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, April 1845, 86-87; May 1845, 89; July 1847, 163; Vol.4, September 1853, 244; Vol.12, February 1891, 109-10; July 1893, 306; September 1893, 316; October 1893, 321-22.

³⁹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, February 1847, 145; Vol.11, April 1888, 255-56, 258; Vol.13, December 1897, 188.

⁴⁰ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.3, February 1847, 145

⁴¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.10, December 1878, 41-42, 47; February 1879, 55-56; March 1879, 60, 63.

invested monies, bought stock or arranged for mortgages on behalf of the POA, and they forwarded the weekly household funds if the Treasurer was out of town.

In 1874, in an effort to clarify these responsibilities and reduce the Treasurer's workload, the POA officially assigned the management of the Endowment Fund to the (men's) Finance Committee. The family advisor model (through the Greenshields family) was nonetheless effectively still in force until 1895.⁴² From that point on, the entire Finance Committee, renamed the Advisory Board, worked in conjunction with the recently created Ladies' Finance Committee to make investment decisions.⁴³ This readjustment, and particularly the addition of the Ladies' Finance Committee, reflected the shift noted in the last chapter, towards involving more Committee members in active management by late century.

Thus the ladies regularly deferred to their male advisors on matters of building and finance, which they identified as being within the "men's" sphere. But though somewhat hesitant in these areas and following social norms by requesting help from men, they were more confident of their abilities and their judgement in areas they considered within the "women's" sphere, including managing the charities and caring for their residents. When it came to matters of internal policy development in relation to caring for children or the elderly, these ladies did not solicit advice from the male elite and, furthermore, did not hesitate to disregard advice that was given. In this, their beliefs about separate spheres and special qualities actually empowered them; so did the experience they had acquired through years of running their charities.

The Rejection of Placing Out

The Ladies' Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum were part of the nineteenth-century trend to form specialized institutions for the care of destitute children. Formed in 1822 and 1832, they were at the beginning of the process. The concerted push to create separate children's institutions took place in the second half of

⁴² Mary-Jane Tylee resigned as Treasurer when her husband, who had helped her manage the recently established Endowment Fund, died. Several other ladies refused the position. It was finally assumed by Miss Margaret Greenshields, whose uncle was on the Finance Committee. POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, November 1874, 175; December 1874, 183.

⁴³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.13, January 1896, 95-96, 104-05.

the century when reformers began energetically to challenge the practice of keeping children in poorhouses with their parents and argued the need for specialized treatment.⁴⁴

Not all child workers, however, believed that separate institutions were the best answer to the problem of child destitution. Beginning in the 1850s, associations in Boston and in New York City advocated placing children in foster homes rather than in institutions. They organized orphan trains to transport children to rural homes, a method that came to be known as placing out.⁴⁵ Supporters of this method argued that children needed a home and a family. Of course, the homes they had in mind were not the children's parental homes. Just as institutionalization had been motivated by rescuing children from negative influences, placing out advocated removing children from their families to be socialized in a family environment child workers considered superior.

Many of the new professional child-care workers favoured this method and used the American National Conference of Charities and Corrections to lobby against institutional care.⁴⁶ From the late 1870s, speakers at NCCC meetings attacked institutions, arguing that rule and routine stunted growth and development, eradicated individualism and initiative, and created an institutional child. As two of these reformers

⁴⁴ For the origin and discussion of the child segregation movement in the United States see Richard A. Meckel, "Protecting the Innocents: Age Segregation and the Early Child Welfare Movement," *Social Service Review* 59, 3 (September 1985): 455-75. In his study of the Erie County Poor House, Michael Katz finds that a marked decline in the number of children was evident by 1865. Before this 30% of inmates were children but from 1875-79, only 3%. Katz, *Poverty and Policy*, 72-73 and *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse*, 103-08, 193-94. In many places in Canada, though, children were still found in generalized poorhouses into the twentieth century. See Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 74.

⁴⁵ The method was first used by the Children's Mission to the Children of the Destitute in Boston, Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children*, 41-50, but the most famous advocate was Charles Loring Brace and the New York Children's Aid Society. For this society see Bellingham, "Institution and Family" and "Waifs and Strays" as well as Charles Loring Brace, *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years Work among Them* (New York: Wiloop & Hallenbeck, 1872) and Miriam Langsam, *Children West: A History of the Placing Out System in the New York Children's Aid Society* (Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964). Two new books on the CAS had been published recently. Michael D. Patrick and Evelyn Goodrich Trickel, *Orphan Trains to Missouri* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997) and Stephen O'Connor, *Orphan Trains: The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001).

⁴⁶ Susan Tiffin analyses the writings of these reformers and the proceedings of the National Conferences in her book *In Whose Best Interest*. See also LeRoy Ashby, *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890-1917* (Philadelphia: Temple, 1984).

postulated: "The same drill which makes a good soldier annihilates the individuality of the child. He is not a unit, but a fraction of a whole"; "to live in an institution, subject to rule and routine, at the State's expense, means stunted mental and moral faculties, means irresponsibility and inefficiency."⁴⁷

Institutional life, they argued, was not an adequate preparation for real life. Children did not learn the practical skills they would learn as participating members of a family household since too much of the work in an institution was done for them by hired help. Instead, they became "singularly backward and stupid, showing a want of pluck, dependence on others, inability to shift for themselves."⁴⁸ Opponents further argued that institutions were expensive, increased health risks, and encouraged parents to forsake their duties by using charities as temporary boarding houses. Increasingly, the asylum and the home were juxtaposed. Writing in 1894, J.J. Kelso, one of the leading proponents of placing out in Canada, summarized the position: "An institution is not a home and never can be made such."⁴⁹

At these same meetings, defenders of institutions claimed that, without a judicious choice of placement homes and a strict follow-up inspection system, placing out could lead to exploitation and other forms of child abuse since children were often considered workers and not family members.⁵⁰ Pointing to the fact that neither a careful choice of homes nor follow-up inspection actually existed, they argued the method was fraught with danger. Nonetheless, by the end of the century, the new approach had largely won the day. Touted as the "modern" method, placing out was adopted by several American states,⁵¹ and its use spread through private institutions like the Children's Aid Societies

⁴⁷ Sophie E. Minton, "Family Life Versus Institution Life," in *History of Child Saving*, 45-46; Mrs. Anne B. Richardson, "The Massachusetts System of Caring for State Minor Wards," in *History of Child Saving*, 65.

⁴⁸ Minton, "Family Life," 46-47.

⁴⁹ J.J. Kelso, "Neglected and Friendless Children," *The Canadian Magazine*, 2 (1894): 214.

⁵⁰ The need for better supervision was a common criticism of placing out in speeches or presentations at the National Conference of Charities and Corrections. See *National Conference of Charities and Correction Proceedings*, 1887, 296; Robert W. Heberd, "Dangers of Careless Methods," *NCCC*, 1899, 171-177; Mrs. Willoughby Cummings, "Home-Placing," *NCCC*, 1900, 237-242; Lyman Alden, "The Shady Side of the "Placing-out System." *NCCC*, 1892.

⁵¹ For the use of the placement system in the United States see Clement, "Families and Foster Care"; Tiffin, *In Whose Best Interest*; and Ashby, *Saving the Waifs*.

(CAS) as these were created across the continent.⁵² By 1901 there were 30 CAS in Canada. Alongside these newer groups, however, more traditional institutional child charities continued to exist and new ones opened.⁵³

In Canada, high profile child workers like J.J. Kelso advocated placing out, as did the Children's Aid Society, the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) and the Canadian Conference of Charities and Correction (CCCC), once it began meeting in 1898.⁵⁴ The debate over institutions or foster homes, however, did not attract much interest in the Canadian press. Instead, the press emphasized the threat of street children to moral and social order in the city and the social control possibilities of specialized institutions.⁵⁵ Still, several prominent members of the Montreal charitable elite advocated that whenever possible children should be placed in homes. They took advantage of their attendance at the charities' annual meetings to argue this position publicly and to request that the POA and the LBS Committees adopt placing out in one form or another, as the superior and the modern method.

The most vocal Montreal advocate of placing children in families rather than in institutions was Reverend Robert Lindsay. As chair of the Anglican Synod Committee on Works of Mercy (and later founder of the Associated Charities) he was an important and influential leader among the Protestant benevolent elite. In 1875, he addressed the LBS annual meeting on the subject:

⁵² For Ontario, see Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid*, 83 and Bullen, "Children of the Industrial Age," 189-237. For Calgary, see Klassen, "In Search of Neglected and Delinquent Children."

⁵³ See Hacsí, *Second Home*; Sutherland, *Children in English-Canadian Society*.

⁵⁴ See Jones and Rutman, *In the Children's Aid* and John Bullen, "J.J. Kelso and the 'New' Child Savers. The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario," *Ontario History* 82, 2 (June 1990): 107-128. The early meetings of the CCCC were all held in Ontario and most of the elected officers were from Ontario.

⁵⁵ See, for example, "Claims of Ragged Schools," *Montreal Witness* (May 28, 1849), 170; Philanthropy, *Care of Our Destitute and Criminal Population*; "The Coming Generation of Criminals," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 4 (1871): 150; "Industrial Schools," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 10 (1874): 371; D.B. Read, "Juvenile Offenders," *Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly*, 5 (1880): 548-50; "The Boys' Brigade," *Dominion Illustrated News*, 6 (1891): 567; J. Castell Hopkins, "Youthful Canada and the Boys' Brigade," *The Canadian Magazine* 4 (1895): 551-56.

He thought that there might be too rigid conservatism in their works of mercy; as the world advanced, people engaged in philanthropy prepared new plans and devised new modes of carrying out the work. He was struck with the manner in which orphan institutions were managed in Ireland, where, for these several years, the children, no matter how young, were almost farmed out, being placed in families, and the family, of course, was God's institution, agents being sent twice a year to see if the children were doing well, and receiving proper treatment. He was persuaded that this was the true principle.⁵⁶

Later that year he wrote to the POA about the foster placement system used by Annie Macpherson in her Knowlton home.⁵⁷ He argued that "everything should progress with the spirit of the age" and that children should be "placed out by adoption at all ages."⁵⁸ In the ensuing discussion at the POA Committee meeting, several members also questioned the POA's no-adoption policy. In response, the Secretary read the account from the 1855 Minutes of the death of the young child that had led to the reevaluation and rejection of adoption. The Committee reconfirmed their refusal to place children in a family without a legal contractual arrangement like apprenticeship and filed Lindsay's letter away without a response.

Lindsay made another pitch for the superiority of adoption or placing out at the POA meeting in January 1876 and was supported by several other men at the meeting. E. E. Shelton, for instance, informed the audience that "he had offered to take children out of this institution and bring them up as his own, but could not get them."⁵⁹ Since ladies could not speak in a public meeting, it fell to D. R. McCord to defend the Committee by explaining the circumstances behind the removal of adoption from their charter in 1855. Reverend Henry Wilkes concluded the meeting with the hope that the ladies would "exercise their judgement correctly" in their consideration of changes to the

⁵⁶ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1875, 9.

⁵⁷ Reverend Lindsay had served as a missionary for many years in the Eastern Townships near Knowlton before coming to Montreal. *Anglican Synod Report*, 1891, 21. (Obituary notice.)

⁵⁸ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.9, December 1875, 221-22. Since adoption was not legal under Quebec law, it was really a form of placing out irrespective of the terminology.

⁵⁹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1876.

policy.⁶⁰ The subject was raised again at the 1879 annual meeting by Reverend D. Green. Using a Boston example, he recommended the adoption into families of as many of the children as was possible.⁶¹

Despite these letters, speeches, and even public invitations to reconsider their institutional approach and to implement the use of adoption or placing out, the POA and the LBS refused such a policy shift. Their deference to male authority kept them from openly debating or challenging the suggestions made by men and their rejection of all such proposals was at one and the same time demur and effective. They politely filed away letters without a response and listened quietly to speeches at meetings but they never raised the issue of a policy change at their monthly Committee meetings. These female child workers did not see placing out as a new method, as men like Lindsay argued; further, they were not impressed by its growing popularity as the most modern method. Even more important, the combination of their conservative benevolence and their acquired expertise led them to reject the assumptions underlying placing out—assumptions that advocated removing children from their natural families and that postulated the superiority of placement homes over institutions.

As noted in Chapter Five, other than in a few rare cases, neither charity deliberately separated families by placing their children with other families. For the most part the LBS accepted its role to bolster families with temporary problems so as to enable them to stay together in the long run. Their institution represented a place where parents could voluntarily and temporarily place children and visit them weekly. This was very different from the method underlying placing out. Most of the children in the LBS who could not be returned to their families and the orphans in the POA did not leave the charities until they reached an age at which they could be apprenticed. Placement, in the view of both these Committees, was an opportunity to live in a family and have the supervision and protection of an adult, but it was also a period of training. From this perspective the respective advantages of training in the institution and in a lower-class family became over time a crucial consideration, one that further strengthened the opposition of both Committees to placing out.

⁶⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1876.

⁶¹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1879.

The LBS Committee first discussed the limitations of apprenticeship for girls in 1848 and decided that keeping girls in the institution longer was the best way to improve their training. Applying the new policy proved problematic however, since budget constraints and space limitations made it impossible to increase the overall number of inmates. Thus retaining girls longer meant restricting new admissions, a choice the LBS was unwilling to make. Consequently, apprenticeship policy remained as it was.⁶²

The question was raised again in 1873 and a resolution passed allowing girls to remain as "servants-in-training" until eighteen "at the option of the Managers."⁶³ In effect, girls were apprenticed to the LBS and received the usual apprenticeship fee. This policy allowed the ladies to oversee their training and had the added advantage of reducing the asylum's costs, since the apprenticeship fee was less than a servant's wage. Despite these advantages, in-house training was only actually implemented in the late 1880s. In 1887, the ladies defended themselves against criticism that too few girls were sent out as apprentices, pointing to the rights of parents to remove children and the advantages of retaining girls in the institution for their training:

The Managers have heard that much disappointment has been expressed lately by those unacquainted with the inner workings of the Institution, that there are not more of the girls sent out as domestic servants. The Managers beg to say to such that theirs is a Benevolent Society, and not a training school for servants; and while they would gladly combine the two objects, and oblige their friends and the public, if it were possible, yet there are several reasons why they can not do much in that way. The children come to them very young and helpless, destitute, often deserted, and ignorant, to be fed, clothed and cared for, purely for humanity's sake. In many cases, after these young things have been some time in the house, the parents come and claim their children, and the parent's right is paramount. [. . .] Others stay long enough to be of some use, and, of these a number are retained in the house, partly that the Managers might keep them under their care, at an age when it is so important that they should be carefully watched over, and also, because of the utter impossibility of obtaining sufficient help from outside to carry on the work of the house. [. . .] the services of these girls could not be dispensed with, without extreme inconvenience.⁶⁴

⁶² LBS, "Report for the Children," in *Annual Report*, 1848, 16.

⁶³ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.8, March 1873, 41; June 1873, 52.

⁶⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1887.

This in-house apprenticeship for girls, however, did not entail an overall reevaluation of apprenticeship policy. Boys were still apprenticed to families. Further, the LBS reduced apprenticeship age for boys from thirteen to ten, based on complaints that adolescent boys were hard to discipline.⁶⁵ Considering apprenticeship as a period of skills-training, the Committee believed that the LBS matron could provide girls with the best domestic training while boys would benefit more from their training if they started at a younger age. They were unable to implement the in-house training plan for all girls due to the limited size of the building and the fact that most children returned to their parents.

The case of the POA is even more interesting. Since most of the children were orphans, the ladies could have easily adopted a policy like placing out. However, not only did the POA refuse to introduce this method, over the century they questioned the placement methods they did use like adoption and apprenticeship and, in the 1880s, introduced a new policy of prolonged institutionalization. Two factors were influential in this policy shift: the experience they had acquired from years of using placement methods and the personal protective approach they brought to their work.

Supporters of placing out advocated sending children into families on a non-contractual basis, ostensibly to become one of the family. But the POA's experience using adoption had proved to the ladies that the theories of the child-workers and their pro-family ideology were idealized and impractical. In fact, the POA had abolished its use of adoption in 1855 following the death of a child from overwork and abuse—a case that highlighted the dangers of sending children into virtually unknown homes with little ability to monitor their care. The method of placing out advocated by reformers from the 1850s was even less secure than the POA adoption process had been, since, at the least, adoption involved the impression of making a child a real family member even if the legal modalities had not as yet been clearly outlined. Hence there was little chance the POA would find placing out attractive as a policy.

Apprenticeship was a more structured process than either adoption or placing out, including a written legal contract that bound the master to provide proper treatment. Even so, years of experience using apprenticeship had exposed problems. Always pragmatic,

⁶⁵ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.9, May 1876, 2.

the POA Committee had attempted to counteract several of the potential problems in order to protect the children's interest—increasing the age at which children were apprenticed and the amount of fees paid; introducing ways to transfer or cancel a contract; and developing a visiting system to monitor children's progress and to help in the process of selecting apprenticeship homes. Despite these changes, problems persisted—the children rarely continued their schooling (despite a specific clause to this effect), many were overworked and a few were abused. Furthermore, since the children generally did their apprenticeships as helpers in lower-middle-class families, they worked hard but the training was not always well directed and did not adequately prepare them for independent action. For girls, this limited their access to jobs other than domestic service and even compromised their ability to move up inside the servant ranks from the position of general servant or kitchen helper. The same was true for the boys not apprenticed to skilled trades, most of whom were apprenticed to farmers and afterwards limited to work as agricultural labourers or unskilled workers, unless they could save enough money to purchase land.

At their annual meeting in 1881 the POA pointed to the lack of continued education as problematic and explained to patrons that they hoped to counteract this with better preparation in the asylum prior to apprenticeship: "Whilst with us the children receive a good, plain education, arithmetic and writing being particularly attended to, as we feel that after they leave us further education is almost impossible, as in so many instances they have to assume the responsibilities of life."⁶⁶ However, their fears about schooling and the quality of training were not assuaged. In 1884, they informed supporters that they were convinced that, "as soon as they leave our threshold, the children enter upon the duties of life, and have few opportunities for further instruction and training; we are more than ever impressed with the necessity of, as much as possible, employing every opportunity whilst under our care, for instilling these principles which will best fit them for their future paths in life."⁶⁷ In 1885 they launched their new proposal to keep the girls in the institution longer. They explained such a radical change

⁶⁶ POA, *Annual Report*, 1881.

⁶⁷ POA, *Annual Report*, 1884.

in policy by pointing to their distrust of the apprenticeship system as an adequate training.⁶⁸

Under the new policy the ladies intended to keep girls, and some boys, in the POA until their late teens when they were old enough to be hired as wage workers. They were convinced that only the Committee (as opposed to placement families) could be trusted to put the children's welfare first and to train them adequately in a protected environment. In direct contradiction to the arguments in favour of placing out, the POA ladies claimed that their experience using similar methods proved that in fact the only way to ensure proper care was to keep children in an institution under constant supervision. In effect, they argued that only the Committee was in a position to provide the ideal childhood middle-class culture had come to demand for children—the four aspects described by Rooke and Schnell as dependence, isolation, protection and delayed responsibility.

In the new regime, from age twelve girls spent part of their day training as specialized servants (nursemaids, table maids, housemaids) in preparation for being sent out "at the discretion of the committee" once they had "a fair prospect of earning their own wage."⁶⁹ A few girls had been apprenticed to the POA before, as noted in earlier chapters, but under the new policy girls were not officially apprenticed; they simply remained in the asylum to continue their schooling and skills-training. Consistent with their overall conservatism, the ladies did not challenge the choice of domestic service as an occupation for girls, but it is important to note that they aspired to some limited social mobility by training them as specialized servants rather than general help. The new policy was gendered. Some boys were trained as office boys, and the Committee placed more emphasis on manual training in the institution. Other boys still went into apprenticeships, including a few to skilled trades now that the problems of boarding associated with urban artisans was resolved. The result of this policy was that, by the end of the century, most POA children were trained in the asylum, not in a family. Girls (and some boys) left the institution between the ages of fifteen and seventeen, going directly into Montreal middle or upper-class homes as upper maids. Boys were sent to Montreal professionals or

⁶⁸ POA, *Annual Report*, 1885.

⁶⁹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1896; 1897

businesses as office boys or clerks. The normal wage for both girls and boys was between five and ten dollars a month.

In this policy shift the POA ladies had clearly decided that the quality of training the children received was more important than socialization in a family. Further, and increasingly by the end of the century, the POA Committee was suspicious of potential abuse in placement situations and this led them to feel safer monitoring the children's care themselves. Institutions were not alien to them as places to raise children—many of their own children had probably spent time in a boarding school—and they were not fearful of creating an institutional child as other child-workers appeared to be.

Their increased emphasis on protection was clear from statements in their Annual Reports by the end of the century. By 1896, they unequivocally stated their aim as:

To improve [the children] physically as well as morally, by giving them a liberal and varied diet and plenty of fresh air and keeping them warmly and suitably clothed; and with an elementary education for all, and a thorough training for domestic service for the girls, they are eventually sent out into the world with a fair prospect of earning their own living, as respectable members of the community.⁷⁰

Furthermore, budget conscious comments about their strict economy and prudent use of funds were replaced by comments emphasizing the importance of meeting the children's needs. Thus in their 1897 Annual Report the ladies boldly informed supporters:

We make no attempt at reducing the individual cost of each child to such a low figure, as to ensure the commendation of the public for our careful and economical management. Our chief aim is to lay out the money entrusted to us to the best possible advantage for the benefit of the children, and by improving them physically, as well as morally, eventually send them out to earn their own living, with a fair share of health and self-respect.⁷¹

By this point in the century the LBS Annual Reports also included similar comments. In 1898, for example, the Secretary closed the Report with the following remarks:

⁷⁰ POA, *Annual Report*, 1896.

⁷¹ POA, *Annual Report*, 1897.

In conclusion, the Committee desire to state that, as long as there is room, no deserving person who comes within the scope of the Society is turned away, and that the Institution is open to visitors at all times.

The funds of the Society are as carefully and economically administered as possible, the first consideration being the health and comfort of the inmates.⁷²

It must be noted, however, that this shift to keep boys and girls in the institutions longer and to focus on improving their health and their training was also advantageous to the charity's supporters, faced as they were with the same servant problem as other North American cities. At least one supporter called the decision to develop a more thorough training for the girls as "most apropos, especially at this time when so much difficulty was found in procuring good domestic servants."⁷³ Indeed in the years under study, several of the girls went into service with families like the Ramsays and the Greenshields, both long-time supporters of the POA; and several boys went to city doctors as office boys. This is probably one of the reasons why supporters stopped pressuring the POA to adopt placing out once the in-asylum training had been publicly launched.

The POA did not have the same constraints implementing their policy change as had the LBS. First, the high proportion of orphans gave them the freedom to implement policies without the fear of a disproportionate interference from families. Financial independence was another important factor. The dependence on private funding had kept the Committee very responsive to the public's concerns with cost. But the growth of a substantial Endowment Fund effectively freed them from this constraint. By the 1880s and 1890s, investment income from their Endowment Fund accounted for much of their revenue, and this seems to have provided them with more independence in policy-making. Finally, physical plant considerations were also relevant. With a small number of inmates in proportion to the size of their house, especially after their move in 1893, the POA had the space to implement a policy of prolonged institutionalization without compromising the reception of new cases.

Thus, rather than swelling the ranks of the placing-out advocates as many of their supporters encouraged, these two Montreal child charities both deliberately rejected the

⁷² LBS, *Annual Report*, 1898.

method. What is interesting about these two Montreal charity Committees then, is not just that they rejected placing out, since many child charities also rejected it but that they rejected placing out against the wishes of many of their supporters. Even more interesting is the fact that, on the basis of their negative experiences with placement methods, they concurrently began to reduce their use of apprenticeship, developing policies instead to increase the length of time children, especially girls, remained in their institutions. At the very moment placing out was gaining international acceptance, the POA developed a clear policy of increased institutionalization and in-house training. The LBS continued to offer families temporary child-care and used in-house training for a few girls.

Their rejection of placing out was not the only way in which these Committees were out of step with new developments in charitable approaches. They also rejected a number of initiatives, spanning from the 1850s to the establishment of a Charity Organization Society in 1900, to systematize and centralize Montreal's Protestant relief network. In their rejection of this so-called "scientific charity" they were as tenacious in the defence of their autonomy as they had been of their policy decisions.

Opposition to "Scientific Charity"

An uncharitable, misjudging world is somewhat prejudiced against ladies' benevolent societies. It is believed that the kind-hearted women who compose them have no very definite aims; that their exertions in the cause of the distressed are spasmodic and that the money which they collect is not always as judiciously expended as it might be.⁷⁴

The author of this *Montreal Herald* article in 1856 went on to defend the Ladies' Benevolent Society from the charges above, assuring readers that "it is not an association of Lady Bountifuls who meet at irregular intervals to find congenial occupation for time that hangs heavily on their hands, who are regarded by impostors of many kinds, but earnest and self-sacrificing women with definite and practicable objects."⁷⁵ Nonetheless,

⁷³ POA, *Annual Report*, 1884.

⁷⁴ "Christian Charity," *Montreal Herald*, October 19, 1856.

⁷⁵ "Christian Charity," *Montreal Herald*, October 19, 1856.

the statements highlight the attack on traditional charity methods that was part of the discussion and reevaluation of poor-relief policy in the century.

This attack on traditional charity and the move to find a more scientific approach to relief began to gain considerable influence with the formation of the London Charity Organization Society (COS) in 1869, although its ideological foundations dated from early in the century.⁷⁶ The movement spread to the United States in 1877 when a COS was established in Buffalo, New York. By 1893, nearly one hundred COS-type societies existed in the United States. The first Canadian Associated Charities was established in Toronto in 1880; by 1900, either Associated Charities or COS organizations existed in Toronto, Hamilton, Kingston, London, Ottawa, Montreal and Victoria.⁷⁷

The advocates of scientific charity argued for the end of indiscriminate aid through the centralized coordination of all relief in a city and the investigation of all applicants for relief. They also emphasized relief that forced the poor to take individual responsibility and to become self-reliant.⁷⁸ Although a COS was not founded in Montreal until 1900, steps in the direction of scientific charity were made much earlier in the century. Many among the nineteenth-century elite assumed that the poor were morally

⁷⁶ The original ideas were developed by Thomas Chalmers in Scotland and Joseph Tuckerman and William Ellery Channing of the Society for the Prevention of Pauperism (Boston, 1835) in the U.S. Other organizations included the New York Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor (1843) and The Halifax's Poor Man's Friend Society (1820-26). For these see Huggins, *Protestants Against Poverty*; Smith Rosenberg, *Religion and the Rise of the City*; Stansell *City of Women* and Rooke and Schnell, *Discarding the Asylum*, 55-56

⁷⁷ National Council of Women of Canada, *Women of Canada. Their Life and Work*, (1900), 323-24. For Toronto see Pitsula, "The Relief of Poverty," and Noble, "Class-ifying the Poor." No detailed study of the Montreal COS exists and unfortunately archival material other than a few Annual Reports has not survived. Anne Perry looks at its foundation and its gendered approach to relief in Chapter 3 of her M.A. thesis, "Manliness, Goodness, and God." For the intellectual movements that influenced the Montreal COS and similar developments in the twentieth century, see Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

⁷⁸ The literature on the COS is extensive. For two excellent recent additions, see Robert Humphreys, *Sin, Organized Charity and the Poor Law in Victorian England*, (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1995) and Jane Lewis, "The Boundary Between Voluntary and Statutory Social Service in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries," *The Historical Journal*, 39, 1, (1996): 155-77. For women and the COS see Anne Summers, "A Home from Home—Woman's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century," in Sandra Burman, *Fit Work for Women* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), 33-63.

inferior and that their poverty was mainly the result of immorality and bad habits. This assumption led logically to the conviction that poor relief was counterproductive unless it addressed this underlying problem. By mid-century many also believed that the overall cost and the volume of aid was out of control and that some recipients had become dependent on poor relief. As the quotation that opened this section indicated, they blamed this situation as much on "sentimental, indiscriminate" aid (that is, traditional charity) as on the "unworthy" poor who took advantage of the situation. In Montreal, the attack on traditional charity took place on two levels: the move to reorient the purpose of aid and to limit it to the deserving, and the move to rationalize relief services.

From early in the century ministers warned that aid must be inspired by moral principles and directed to remove the cause of distress, not simply to relieve suffering. Montreal Methodist minister, Reverend W. Taylor told the masons in 1843: "Let your benevolence then, go to the root of the evil—let it reach the *mind* of him who is the subject of it, instead of stopping at his *circumstances*, and endeavour to correct his errors, and reform his habits."⁷⁹ Others called specifically for a more organized system of charity. An 1868 sermon by J.W. Williams, Anglican Bishop of Quebec, is an excellent example of an early support for this idea: "Combination multiplies power—system economizes labor. On all sides organization promotes efficiency. And more than that, it elevates benevolence from a casual impulse into a permanent principle."⁸⁰

Over the century, articles in the religious and secular press supported the careful distribution of aid to the deserving and advocated charity as a personal duty that needed to be mediated by discretion—a form of considered philanthropy rather than old-fashioned charity.⁸¹ Writing in 1881, at a time when the movement for scientific charity

⁷⁹ Rev. W. Taylor, *Discourse Delivered before the Loyal Montreal Lodge of the Manchester Unity of the I.O. of O.F. at their First Anniversary*, November 1843, 18.

⁸⁰ Williams, *A Sermon Preached Before the St. George's Society*.

⁸¹ For this concept see Mariana Valverde, "Moral Capital," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 9, 1 (Spring 1994): 213-232. For contemporary discussions see "The Poor in Montreal," *Montreal Witness*, March 18, 1848, 300; "Opportunity for the Poor," *The Anglo-American Magazine* 2 (1853): 575-76; "Poverty in Large Cities," *Canadian Illustrated News* 9 (1874): 355; "Giving in Charity," *Canadian Illustrated News* 12 (1875): 302; "Pauperism and its Remedies," *The Bystander* 2 (1881): 247-48; "Relief of the Poor," *The Bystander* 13 (1883): 207-08; Bishop F.D. Huntington, "Causes of Social Discontent," *The Methodist Magazine* 34 (1891): 362-86; "A More Hopeful View of the Labour Problem," *The Methodist Magazine* 35 (1892): 512-13;

was well established, the editor of the *Canadian Illustrated News* put the position succinctly: "careless, unreasoning, uninvestigating, indiscriminate giving [. . .] is not charity—it is mere impulse."⁸² The editor of the *Canadian Magazine* added that "indiscriminate charity is one of the most hurtful of Society's modern values [. . .] The helping of people in distress is legitimate if that helping be performed with sympathy, patience and an intelligent view of the needs of the particular case to be relieved."⁸³

The emphasis on deserving and undeserving poor and the suspicion of moral weakness as the cause of poverty was evident in Montreal throughout the century. The fact that no permanent poor house was established until 1863 was not simply the result of a problem of Catholic-Protestant cooperation and a lack of government support. It also reflected the ambiguity the city's Protestant elite felt about providing easily available relief. In fact, until 1863, other than the aid available from parish Churches and National Societies and a few specialized associations like the Sailors Institute, all of the relief available was under the auspices of traditional female-directed charities that aided women and children. Even once the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was opened in 1863, aid was limited as much as possible and all inmates worked. Further, as noted in Chapter Two, the Board made a clear distinction between the elderly inmates whom they considered deserving and the homeless men and women in the Night Refuge whom they referred to as "the dregs of society."⁸⁴

In 1900, the Secretary General of Montreal's newly formed COS demonstrated no ambiguity about relief and its distribution, stating that "moral disease [. . .] must be met by the force of intelligence and sympathy—not with bread and fuel."⁸⁵ Accordingly, in its first year of action, the COS found some form of outdoor aid from relatives or charities for about half the cases they helped, found employment for others and referred others to

Richard Ely, "The Next Thing in Social Reform," *The Methodist Magazine* 36 (1892): 151-56; Rev. G. M. Meacham, "Hard Times, Their Causes and Remedies," *The Methodist Magazine* 39 (1894): 252-60; "Charities and Correction," *Congregationalist and Canadian Independent* 45, 29 (1897): 7; "Social Problems," *Methodist Magazine and Review* 44 (1899): 364; "The Tramp Problem," *Methodist Magazine and Review* 50 (1899): 561-62.

⁸² "Discriminating Charity," *Canadian Illustrated News* 23 (1881): 266.

⁸³ "Charity Organization System," *The Canadian Magazine* 6 (1896): 284.

⁸⁴ House of Industry, "Annual Report," 1864, in *Minute Book*, 1, 63.

⁸⁵ COS, Montreal, *Annual Report*, 1900, 7, 18.

professionals like doctors. A telling statistic, approximately one-third of cases investigated were found to be ineligible for aid.⁸⁶ The context was clearly a moral one based on a "higher kind of charity" and the "prevention of pauperism," and moral problems were identified as the cause of most of the poverty investigated.⁸⁷

Like all nineteenth century middle-class citizens, the ladies who ran the LBS and the POA were aware of concepts of the "deserving poor" and generally attempted to verify that they had received accurate information on the circumstances of the children in their institutions. Anyone found to have given fraudulent information was summarily dismissed. The ladies assured supporters that they gave aid only to the deserving, emphasizing that "nothing could be more foolish than to be engaged in giving rashly without any knowledge of the conditions of those who received gifts. Relief imprudently bestowed often tended to encourage vice," and that "the benevolent should rejoice that a society like this existed and would be their almoner, bestowing assistance and giving instruction only to those who deserved or would be benefited thereby."⁸⁸

Yet the examination of admission policies in Chapter Four revealed that in actual fact these Committees worked more from a perspective of responding to need than from a moral attack on the poor. The POA admitted all orphans with no consideration of the deserving nature of the child's parents or family; the LBS admitted a number of children specifically because their families were considered a threat to the children's proper upbringing. Furthermore, while not necessarily incompatible with strict notions of "deserving," the LBS's work to temporarily relieve families of the burden of child-care fits somewhat uncomfortably within the confines of the forced self-reliance that came to be associated with scientific charity.

The POA and the LBS Committees also rejected scientific charity's aim to centralize, coordinate, and rationalize different charity services in a city to remove duplication and to systematize relief. Both carefully guarded their institutional autonomy and their institutions against moves by various Montreal men from mid-century on to "rationalize" the city's charity services, refusing to cooperate with any move to reorganize

⁸⁶ COS, Montreal, *Annual Report*, 1900, 6, 18.

⁸⁷ COS, Montreal, *Annual Report*, 1900, 7, 36.

⁸⁸ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1861; 1857.

child welfare in the city. Both initially refused to join the Montreal Charity Organization Society when it was formed in 1900.

The first attempt to rationalize the female charities was made in 1854 by the male Advisory Committee associated with the newly opened Protestant Industrial House of Refuge. The Advisory Committee had the responsibility "to suggest what ought to be done to interest their friends and the public in the Institution, so that means may be obtained for its support, and to extend its usefulness."⁸⁹ The men did not wait long to address the issue of overall poor relief in the city. A few months after the institution was opened, David Davidson wrote to both the POA and the LBS about the need to make the "measure of relief" in the city "more efficient and comprehensive" since "misery and want" would likely increase as Montreal's population grew.⁹⁰ His proposal entailed the entire restructuring of existing Protestant charities. First, the POA would become the only child charity and no longer an orphanage. Second, the other three female charities—the LBS, the Industrial House of Refuge and the School of Industry—would be merged into one central institution that would provide institutional care for the blind, elderly, infirm, incurables, convalescents and unemployed women as well as outdoor relief to needy widows.⁹¹ In effect, the proposal would have reduced the number of charities from four to two: one for children, the other for the old and women in need.

The LBS Committee refused the proposal and rejected Davidson's suggestion to hold a public meeting to discuss the matter, finding such a meeting unnecessary on the grounds that "twelve managers are sufficient to determine any question regarding the interests of the Institution."⁹² The POA answer was less defensive, but equally as final. They refused to accept any children from the other institutions until their Endowment Fund was large enough to finance three times the number of children that were in the POA at that point. The ladies made two basic arguments: that it was irresponsible to

⁸⁹ Montreal Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, *Constitution*, #10, Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Report*, 1855, 13.

⁹⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, October 1854, 83-88.

⁹¹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, October 1854, 83-88.

⁹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, November 1854, 90.

reorganize poor-relief services without clear funding commitments and that any changes must respect a charity's existing constitution and not compromise its legal obligations.⁹³

The men were not daunted by these responses and launched their second rationalization attempt almost immediately. The next year, as chairman of the 1856 LBS meeting, Reverend Dr. Donald Fraser suggested that the Industrial House of Refuge and the LBS be amalgamated since the latter had a new spacious building "thus saving much needless expense in house rent and otherwise obtaining a more simple and effective management."⁹⁴ Pressures continued. The Protestant Poor Relief Committee was created to centralize outdoor relief. Funding support for the Industrial House of Refuge fell accordingly and the work departments were cut back in relation to 1854-1855. At the second annual meeting of the Industrial House of Refuge in 1856, the women running the institution bemoaned the lack of support and indicated that there was too much work for so few.⁹⁵ In response, the men present voted to abolish the institution and to rationalize services to widows by amalgamating it with the LBS. A special committee, which included John Samuel McCord, Reverend Dr. Henry Wilkes, Bishop Francis Fulford, David Davidson, and Henry Lyman, was formed for that purpose.⁹⁶ The LBS agreed to the meeting, fearing it would be "considered discourteous to refuse."⁹⁷

The LBS ladies initially refused an amalgamation citing the lack of space and funds to take on new work, the technical and staff requirements of an industrial department, and the moral and religious complications of mixing the vagrant poor with their regular inmates.⁹⁸ Instead, they offered to accept two of the Industrial House of Refuge's services—the sheltering of female immigrants and convalescents—in return for its \$600 government grant. The amalgamation took place on the LBS terms, which meant that the entire industrial department (both the laundry and the sewing rooms), the soup kitchen, the night refuge and all the outdoor relief services were discontinued. Thus the

⁹³ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.5, November 6, 1854, 55-56.

⁹⁴ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1855.

⁹⁵ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Report*, 1856, 6-7.

⁹⁶ Industrial House of Refuge, *Annual Report*, 1856, 9-12.

⁹⁷ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1856, 149.

⁹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.5, April 1856, 153-54.

first successful rationalization effort in Montreal resulted in the closing of an institution and a substantial decrease of services to needy widows and families. The men involved were clearly much more concerned about eliminating duplicate services than they were about maintaining basic services for poor widows.

Rationalizing charitable services was linked to the move to establish a centralized structure to coordinate the private charities. Initiatives in this direction were made in Montreal from the 1870s. In 1874 Reverend Gavin Lang of St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church spoke at the LBS meeting of the advantages of a single centralized "financial Board for the combined charities of the city, leaving, however each charity to be managed by its own corporation as at present. This Board could estimate the necessities of each charity and then appeal for funds to provide for these."⁹⁹ In 1878 motions were passed at the annual and half-yearly meetings of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge "to unite the various charitable societies in one effort in the relief of the poor through the city,"¹⁰⁰ and in October 1881 discussions began about the possibility of organizing an Associated Charities modelled on those in the United States.¹⁰¹

The real push to form a coordinating body came as a result of the discussions with the government on the need for a Protestant reformatory. After meeting with the government in relation to possible per-diem payments like those made to the Catholic institutions, Reverend Robert Lindsay reported that the government promised Protestants the same aid "provided that the former would make their demand as a united body, and not as separate Institutions."¹⁰² A Protestant Associated Charities was formed that year to act as an umbrella organization to coordinate Protestant charitable efforts. The POA sent delegates to the preliminary meeting, but the LBS files do not refer to any representation. The Associated Charities leaders immediately began to address the gaps in the Protestant poor-relief network including the lack of a Protestant reformatory institution and a

⁹⁹ LBS, *Annual Report*, 1874.

¹⁰⁰ House of Industry, "Annual Report, 1878," in *Minute Book*, Vol.2, 14; "Half-Yearly Report, 1889," in *Minute Book*, Vol.2, 189.

¹⁰¹ House of Industry, "Half-Yearly Report, 1881" in *Minute Book*, Vol.2, 352.

¹⁰² House of Industry, "Annual Report, 1883" in *Minute Book*, Vol.2, 433.

foundling home.¹⁰³ However the Associated Charities was disbanded after a few years. Neither the LBS nor the POA had participated actively in its work.

To that point, the thrust to rationalize and coordinate relief systems in Montreal had come from the male elite, and part of the LBS and POA resistance was gender-related as they defended their institutions and the female charity network (with its duplication of services) against male incursions. The ideological aspects of their resistance became clearer, however, with the founding of the Montreal COS in the 1890s, as the push to organize a COS came from a group of women led by Julia Drummond and the Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW). Gender alone could no longer explain the POA and LBS resistance.

The members of the National Council of Women of Canada (NCWC) and certainly leaders like Julia Drummond were maternal feminists and reformers. They agreed with the COS perspective that poverty was a moral problem that called for well-directed charity with an emphasis on inducing self-help. As Julia Drummond explained in her address on Charity Organization at the 1894 NCWC meeting: "True charity needs for its fulfilment all the forces of wise minds and gentle hearts. For its ultimate aims are nothing less than these—not only to relieve poverty, but to cure it, not only to redeem the feeble and the vicious, but to do away with the conditions that create them."¹⁰⁴ Central to this, she argued, was an organization to centralize information on all applicants and coordinate relief referrals, a system that "prevents indiscriminate and duplicate giving [...] provides for the investigation of the case of every applicant for relief [...] and is a means of communication between the work and the worker."¹⁰⁵ Making a direct allusion to Montreal's proliferation of traditional charities, she explained that ultimately a COS "diminishes mere almsgiving. It substitutes for the old pleasant charity which gave and asked no questions, the charity which acts on knowledge alone, which relieves real want promptly and tenderly, which finds in the unworthy applicant a need far deeper than

¹⁰³ See discussion in Chapters One and Two.

¹⁰⁴ Mrs. (Julia) Drummond, "Co-operation as Shown in Associated Charities," *Women Workers of Canada. Being a Report of the Proceedings of the First Annual Meeting and Conference of the National Council of Women of Canada*, 1894, 57.

¹⁰⁵ Drummond, "Co-operation as Shown in Associated Charities," 57.

physical want, and which seeks to supply that need by personal service."¹⁰⁶ The reform approach is unmistakable.

Under Drummond's leadership as president, the Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW) took the formation of a COS in hand, creating a committee to this end in 1895.¹⁰⁷ Renewing their efforts in 1898, they met with a committee of influential men, many of them clergymen, to present their "plans and system" for a COS. From that point on, the joint committee worked "very carefully, leaving no stone unturned which would help to ensure the success of the undertaking."¹⁰⁸ A public meeting held in December 1899 established the COS and elected a 27-member all-male Board with eight elected officers headed by Hon. George Drummond as President. Three MLCW members were elected to the Executive Committee and others to the Ladies Auxiliary Committee.¹⁰⁹

The MLCW subcommittee recognized that the success of the enterprise depended on the "willing cooperation of all charitable societies and institutions." They believed that "these institutions will find that the benefit is mutual, for Charity Organization Society does much to lessen the labours of existing agencies for relief, and at the same time, to bring all good work that is being done in that way into public cognizance."¹¹⁰ Many of the city charities were not convinced of the potential benefits, however, and neither joined nor cooperated. This reluctance is not surprising. First, charity in Montreal was divided on confessional lines with no reason to coordinate information and a past of undisguised hostility, not cooperation. Second, Catholic charity was coordinated by the Church, which was not willing to cede any of its power; Protestant charity was controlled by private corporations, each jealous of its independence and some of which, like the POA and the LBS, did not share the COS ideology. An organization designed to coordinate efforts, to decide eligibility, to husband resources, and to distribute cases was not likely

¹⁰⁶ Drummond, "Co-operation as Shown in Associated Charities," 57, 59.

¹⁰⁷ (NAC MG 28 I 164) MLCW, "Subcommittee on Charity Organization," in Montreal Council of Women, *Projects 1893-1958*. "Report of the Montreal Local Council," *NCWC - Women Workers of Canada*, 1895, 41.

¹⁰⁸ MLCW, "Subcommittee on Charity Organization."

¹⁰⁹ MLCW, "Subcommittee on Charity Organization"; Carrie M. Derrick, "The Origins of the Charitable Organization Society of Montreal," in MLCW, *Projects* (1919), 1-5; MLCW, *Annual Report*, 1900, 9-10; 1901, 9; COS, Montreal, *Annual Report*, 1900, 3-5.

¹¹⁰ "Subcommittee on COS," in MLCW, *Projects*.

to be popular. Finally, the COS's well publicized views on poverty, pauperism and indiscriminate relief, and its vehement criticisms of private relief societies, led many of these societies to be on guard against it. In this, Montreal serves as another example of the trend Robert Humphries found in England whereby many of the provincial COS did not find ready local support in cities outside London.¹¹¹

Both the LBS and the POA refused to participate in the establishment of the COS.¹¹² Neither was willing to forgo any control over their institutions and their autonomy. They obviously believed such interference was a strong possibility, given the COS's ideology and the various proposals that had already come their way from earlier versions of rationalization initiatives. They were not alone in this, and several private charities met centralizing proposals with either suspicion or disinterest until well into the twentieth century. One of the men associated with the formation of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies in 1920 recounted in later years the resistance to that organization, indicating that the private agencies were "the 'babies' of their Boards and it was the dickens to get them interested in what others were up to."¹¹³ Rooke and Schnell found the same resistance to joining centralized organizations on the part of other female-directed child charities in the rest of Canada.¹¹⁴ Lori Ginzberg notes that many local women's societies in the United States also resisted the shift to centralized organizations, concluding that there was not a "universal rush to embrace the new emphasis on efficiency."¹¹⁵

Much of the LBS and POA's resistance to rationalizing and centralizing initiatives was explained by their defence of existing services and their concern for helping widows and destitute children. Yet, for both these Committees the charity asylum itself was the manifestation of their work, the physical proof and affirmation, so to speak, of their social usefulness; and in their resistance to centralizing tendencies they defended their

¹¹¹ See Humphreys, *Organised Charity*.

¹¹² LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, January 1898, 67. The COS is never even mentioned in the POA Minutes.

¹¹³ Douglas, "History of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children," 28.

¹¹⁴ Rooke and Schnell, "The POHs," 31.

¹¹⁵ Ginzberg, *Women's Activism*, 172-73.

continued existence as well as their policy independence.¹¹⁶ On the whole, the Committees displayed a suspicion of outsiders even of other female-directed charities and groups such as the YWCA and the NCWC, and they rejected all proposals that threatened their autonomy. The interaction with these other groups of women was further complicated by the ideological differences between benevolent Committees and reform organizations, whose members were maternal feminists and supported new charity approaches like placing out and charity organization.

Cooperation Among the Female Charities

The LBS and the POA were not against cooperation in principle. They often transferred children from one institution to another, and several ladies worked on more than one Committee. Nonetheless, there was very little real coordination or cooperation between the various charities—few recorded meetings, no joint policy discussions and no joint fund-raising efforts.¹¹⁷ Further, several attempts by the Home and School of Industry/Hervey Institute to organize inmate transfers or to coordinate their services with those of the LBS were rejected by the latter group.

Eliza Hervey, who had set up her School of Industry in 1848 shortly after arriving in Montreal, acted from a more perfectionist/reform approach than the older charities. The institution she opened was a training school more than a charity. Also an LBS member, she quickly proposed that the two charities merge. The LBS Committee received this suggestion with open hostility and also rejected proposals to transfer children from one institution to the other in 1853 and 1856.¹¹⁸ In 1889, the Hervey Institute proposed that the two Societies reorganize their work on gender lines—it would

¹¹⁶ For a discussion of female separate spheres with an actual physical component see Freedman, "Separatism as Strategy."

¹¹⁷ Other historians have also found that, although rivalry between charities was rare, inter-agency cooperation was a 20th century phenomenon. See Holloran, *Boston's Wayward Children*, 41 and Purvey, "Alexandra Orphanage," 57-78.

¹¹⁸ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.4, December 1848, 80; Vol.5, October 1853, 36; Vol.5, April 1856, 151.

take the girls and the LBS, the boys—arguing that this would allow for more efficient training. This proposal was rejected as was a similar one in 1896.¹¹⁹

The LBS and POA were equally reluctant about cooperating with the YWCA. In 1889 the YWCA invited the ladies to conference/prayer meetings to discuss methods of work among women charity workers. The LBS sent representatives only to the first meeting.¹²⁰ The POA refused to attend, noting that "The Ladies present did not see how such a scheme could be made serviceable to them as their plan of work and rules was all laid down and did not encourage the idea."¹²¹ Just as they had done when faced with the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge proposal in 1855, the POA used their constitution as a protection against any incursions on their policy independence and refused to discuss methods with outsiders.

There are several reasons, both cultural and organizational, for this hostile reaction. First, although meetings to discuss methods were normal in the YWCA, which held regular conferences attended by representatives from all over North America, they were not the norm among the benevolent organizations. Charities occasionally discussed inmate exchanges and had even met to discuss which services were missing in the city, but never to discuss methods or policy orientations. Each charity was an independent private corporation defensive of its autonomy, and little coordination existed among them. A charity's mandate and the range of services it provided as well as its orientation were outlined in its legal documents including the Act of incorporation, the constitution and the rules and bylaws; most charity Committees saw these as prescriptive and were not open to discussing modifications to them with non-members.

Furthermore, the YWCA meetings, which advocated shared "religious fellowship with like-minded women," tended to use public prayer and gospel hymns to create "emotional bonds among delegates and affirm their membership in a community of female believers."¹²² This practice was not the norm at charity Committee meetings. Although they carried out their work in a context of religious benevolence, the LBS and

¹¹⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, February 1889, 260; October 1889, 283; November 1889, 287; Vol.12, October-November 1896, 14-16.

¹²⁰ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.10, January 1889, 257.

¹²¹ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.11, December 1889, 334.

the POA were more circumspect in their religious demonstration, limiting it to an opening prayer. Finally, and most important, the members of the LBS/POA and the YWCA were not, for the most part, like-minded women. YWCA members were more reformist than the benevolent Committees, basing their overall approach on an early version of maternal feminism and publicly supporting scientific charity principles.¹²³

The LBS/POA ladies had a similar reaction to the Montreal Local Council of Women, another reform group with a maternal feminist perspective. Organized in 1893, the Montreal Local Council invited the LBS and the POA to join as affiliated associations.¹²⁴ Both did, but with a lack of enthusiasm that persisted throughout the 1890s.¹²⁵ The LBS Secretary noted rather ambiguously: "they could not well decline—that it could do no harm, and might do much good."¹²⁶ They named the Secretary as their delegate but her attendance was irregular and no reports on MLCW work are recorded in the LBS Minutes. The POA was less ambiguous about Council membership, naming the First Directress and another member as delegates and immediately taking advantage of the status value of Council membership to invite Lady Aberdeen and her children to a Christmas tea in 1894. Announcements of MLCW events were made at meetings and attendance encouraged, but the level of POA participation is called into question by the fact that in 1899 the Council President attended a POA meeting to report on the Council's work and request that the POA attend its meetings.¹²⁷

This less than enthusiastic response to the Women's Council is not surprising in view of the ladies' suspicion of coordinated efforts and their lack of interest in discussing methods and ideas with outsiders. Moreover, just as they had with the YWCA, the LBS and the POA had major ideological differences with the Council, in particular with its support of the COS and of placing out. Neither the YWCA nor the MLCW organizers,

¹²² Diana Pedersen, "'The Power of True Christian Women,'" 332-33.

¹²³ Pedersen, "Providing a Women's Conscience," 198.

¹²⁴ Yolande Pinard, "Les Débuts du Mouvement des femmes," in Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, eds. *Les femmes dans la société québécoise: Aspects historiques* (Montréal: Les Éditions Boréal, 1977), 61-87.

¹²⁵ It is impossible to know about their involvement in any detail since the Minutes of the MLCW meetings for the nineteenth century are no longer extant.

¹²⁶ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.11, January 1894, 83.

¹²⁷ POA, *Minutes*, Vol.13, March 1899, 243; October 1899, 259.

like Julia Drummond, ran a child charity, nor had they actually experimented with different placement methods; their support for placing out appears to be based on their ideological perspective and their acceptance of it as the "modern" method. This must have been somewhat frustrating for the benevolent women who worked from an experiential base, having tried placing out and found it fraught with serious problems.

Both the POA and the LBS agreed to participate, however, in a Conference on work with children organized in 1896 to discuss methods and improve "the knowledge of one another's work." To facilitate discussion at the conference, the Council prepared a questionnaire for each agency to complete. There was even a codicil designed to assuage the private societies' apprehensions about coordinating bodies: "It is hardly necessary to remind our Societies that the Women's Council expressly disclaims any right to interfere with them in respect to their methods of work, its whole object being to serve as a 'medium of communication' and 'to promote the growth of a larger mutual sympathy.'" ¹²⁸ Yet despite this codicil, the questionnaire reflected the Council's ideology and was unabashedly in favour of methods like placing out and the COS.

The questionnaire included rather pointed questions about the admission to child charities of illegitimate children and children from two-parent families (the Council clearly disapproved of both), as well as questions about the age until which boys and girls could "safely" be kept in the same institution. Other questions on how to avoid the overlapping of institutions and the "institutionalization" of children, revealed the Council's anti-institutional bias. Questions on the use of adoption and placing out were included, but there were no questions on the methods used by the POA and the LBS such as temporary aid for families, apprenticeship, or training inside the institution. Overall, the entire questionnaire was openly incongruous with the policy orientation of the two charities and exposed the major ideological differences between their Committees and the MLCW. Unfortunately, no reports remain to evaluate the discussions.

Nonetheless, despite these divergences, the meeting did lead to more cooperation among charities. Immediately organized was a joint meeting of the LBS, the Hervey Institute, the Boys' Home, and the Society for the Protection of Women and Children to

¹²⁸ MLCW, "Questionnaire submitted by the Montreal Local Council of the National Council of Women of Canada and covering letter," in *Scrapbook 1895-1899*, 49-51.

discuss the need for some charity to undertake the work of helping young adolescent boys too young to work and pay board but too old to remain in the child charities, although no solution was found.¹²⁹ In 1899, another meeting of representatives of the main female charities was convened to discuss the problems inherent in work with dependent children. Both the LBS and the POA attended. The MLCW had invited the prominent placing-out advocate J.J. Kelso as the guest speaker. But the women present identified their most important problem as the right of parents to remove children from institutions at will, not the institutionalization of children itself: "The first step towards improving existing conditions should be to secure powers of legal control over children placed in charitable institutions, with which parents should not interfere, the trouble at present being how to keep children long enough to train them usefully for after life."¹³⁰

Kelso's presentation on his work as Superintendent of the Children's Department in Ontario convinced his audience of the positive effects of the new Ontario laws and his own department's work, but they understood these within a Quebec framework based on child institutions, not placing out. Thus, almost certainly to the Council's dismay, follow-up of the meeting focussed on the needs of institutions, and no mention was made of adopting the Ontario method of placing out. An ad-hoc committee was formed to address the absence of clear rights and powers for child institutions under Quebec law and to use the Council's lobbying powers to get the Quebec government to adopt laws modelled on Ontario's. The women wanted some restriction on the power of the Recorder to commit children to jail (instead of a child charity), the appointment of a superintendent for neglected and dependent children, and specific legislation to extend the 1871 apprenticeship law to increase the legal powers of child charities over children and to require parents to prove "fitness" before removing a child from a charity. Although the committee received support from the mayor and the SPWC, the undertaking was unsuccessful and no changes were made in the law.¹³¹

¹²⁹ LBS, *Minutes*, Vol.12, November 1896, 17; Boys' Home, *Minutes*, Vol.2, July 1896, 31; September 1896, 34.

¹³⁰ MLCW, "A Society to be Incorporated to Look to Their Welfare," in *Scrapbook 1895-1899*, 28.

¹³¹ "Destitute Children, Women's Council's Scheme for Legislation for their Protection," *The Gazette*, March 9, 1899, in *Scrapbook 1895-1899*, 27. A Children's Aid Society was organized in

Thus the LBS and POA defended their institutions against proposals that jeopardized or altered the scope of their work or threatened their policy independence; and they showed a marked suspicion of outsiders. They were particularly hostile to reform groups that did not share their traditional approach to charity or that argued for methods like placing out or scientific charity. This defensive isolationism had subsided somewhat by the end of the century. In the late 1890s, both Committees were involved in some discussions and in coordinated efforts with other charities and groups of women. They even used the NCWC's lobbying powers to try to secure some legal clarification on the respective rights of institutions and parents, the absence of which had caused them problems for many years. By 1902, the LBS was listed on the MLCW membership list for the Philanthropy committee, the committee for "Work on the Young" and the committee for "Work for the Aged and Poor." The POA was on the first two.¹³²

The LBS, whose work was less well defined and more open-ended than that of the POA, continued to be more open to coordinated work. They joined the COS within a few years of its foundation and were involved in the formation of the Children's Bureau in 1918 and of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies in 1920. Under that umbrella group the LBS, the Hervey Institute, the SPWC and the Day Nursery joined forces to hire a trained social worker to investigate all applicants for relief. Representatives met once a fortnight to discuss these investigations and admissions. Some joint funding appeals were also organized.¹³³ The POA, on the other hand, continued to limit its work to orphans, as outlined in their constitution, and both this and their financial independence made it unnecessary for the Committee to worry about cooperative efforts.

1907 although it was not incorporated until 1946. It worked in coordination with the SPWC which, until that point, acted in the capacity of a CAS to prosecute parents for abuse and neglect. Terry Copp, "The Child Welfare Movement in Montreal to 1920," in Platt, *Social Welfare, 1850-1950*, 50-51; (NAC MG28 I 129), SPWC papers, Vol.12, Subject Files, *Letters Patent Incorporating "The Children's Aid Society of Montreal,"* 1946; SPWC, *History of Seventy-five Years*; SPWC, *Minute Book*, Vol.1, 96. See also Douglas, "History of the SPWC," 29-30.

¹³² MLCW, "Montreal Council of Women Membership List, 1902."

¹³³ LBS, *Annual Reports*, 1919-20.

Conclusion

Finding a means to redress poverty is a problem with which society has struggled in the past and continues to struggle today. Approaches have varied over time as the experience of poverty changed, as ideological explanations of its origin and its resolution diverged, and as resources increased. The poor-relief system as it developed in Lower Canada/Quebec over the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was basically private and confessional, and, in Montreal, two parallel networks were formed: one for Catholics, managed by the Catholic Church, and one for Protestants, largely organized by the elite. This gave the elite control over what aid would be available to Protestants in the city. Attitudes to poverty, the poor, and poor relief, especially notions of deserving and undeserving poor and the fear of relief dependency, influenced their choices. Elite women played a major role in this Protestant charity network, managing most of the charities that provided services for women and children.

This thesis has examined two of the most important private child charities and their management committees in the nineteenth century—the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society. Managed by women of the elite as private incorporated societies, these charities reflected the values of that elite—their Protestantism, their class-bias, their power—but even more important, they reflected the values of Protestant elite women. As typical benevolent women's organizations, these "ladies" tended to come from establishment families and to have a traditional perspective, based on the Christian duty of charity, the centrality of religion, and the importance of the family. Thus they moderated somewhat the moralist approach to poverty that constrained the benevolence of so many in the elite, although they did not completely escape the paradox of using Christian charity to regulate the poor and to re-socialize poor children.

Class was central to the way in which these benevolent "ladies" saw themselves and their role in society. They distinguished between themselves and the "women" who applied for charity or who worked in their institutions and at points adopted a social control discourse, speaking of teaching children to forget everything they previously knew and of training them to become "useful men and women." On occasion, they described the children's parents as "vicious" or "wicked;" other times, they reminded

supporters they aided only the "deserving" poor. Nonetheless, these conservative women basically approached charity from a helping perspective rather than a reformist one.

In their efforts to relieve poverty and help the poor the ladies also aimed to educate children deprived of parental protection to become good Christians and useful citizens and their institutional regimes were designed with this in mind. Conditions were healthy but minimal, rules were rigid, and schooling, religious training and work predominated in the daily schedule. The Committees hoped to make their institutions into substitute homes but their conservatism led them to focus on training poor children for their "proper" place in society, rather than aspiring to social mobility for them.

Child charities were thus scenes of class power and working-class agency as management Committees and parents or families interacted in relation to services. As private societies, the Committees of elite women controlled access through admission rules. Nonetheless, the poor could occasionally design their admissions applications to circumvent restrictive rules. This might mean dissimulating information to present themselves as members of the predominant church or as one-parent families, for example; or it might involve mothers entering institutions as workers to secure entry for their children as we found in the Ladies' Benevolent Society. Thus working-class families were more assertive than their position of relative powerlessness in this area suggests. Once admitted into one of these charities, however, families lost their ability to influence conditions, and children were submitted to the full range of moral-rescue and middle-class character building that constituted the institutional regime. Parents could visit, but even that right was subject to institutional rules.

Despite the elite's association of poverty with immorality, most of the families who applied to the LBS were experiencing problems connected to unemployment, illness, or the death of a wage-earner; a large majority of children admitted into the POA were orphans. For the most part, both charities accommodated the fact that many families needed only temporary care for their children. Thus, despite official rules on minimum stays and the emphasis the charity Committees placed on training children, most children with parents were returned to their families as soon as the latter were able to resume their care, often after only a few months. To this extent the poor families using the institutions were more successful in satisfying their need for temporary child-care than the charity

Committees were in securing their aim of citizen formation. Still, discharging children from the charities could become a source of conflict between charity Committees and parents or relatives. Neither charity practised "child-snatching" systematically or as an ideological or policy approach but their attempt to protect the children, combined with their general suspicion of working-class morality, led them to reject the notion that all parents had the absolute right to reclaim their children. Religion and morality were central to these conflicts. The ladies resisted Catholic relatives trying to remove Protestant children; they also resisted returning a child to parents/relatives whom they considered totally immoral.

The Quebec Civil Code did not provide charities with any clear legal jurisdiction over the children placed there, but the unequal social power of upper-class Committees and poor parents was evident. In a few cases the charities' attempts to challenge parental rights were successful; in others, parents actively rejected this by stealing their children from the institutions: one uncle successfully took the POA to court for possession of his niece. Here we see very powerful examples of working-class agency in dealing with the network of institutions created by the city elite.

Serving on a charity board was an accepted activity for women of the elite; and, since charities were an integral part of the institutional structure set up to establish the elite's control, serving on a charity board was a sign of a family's social importance and authority. Thus, a significant number of women, drawn mainly from the leading families in Montreal's Protestant elite—the wives and daughters of merchants, manufacturers, professionals, and clergymen—were associated with the charities as subscription members or as members of the Committees of Management.

The examination of these female-directed private charities set out to answer several questions concerning the identity of the women who ran them, how the Committees were organized, the work involved in charity management and the ladies' participation in this work. The thesis has demonstrated that managing a charity involved substantial administrative and organizational work, but that this work was not spread evenly among the many women who were publicly associated with the Committees. The majority were members for less than five years, rarely attended meetings, never supervised the institution, and did not participate in fund-raising. That left the bulk of the work to a

small core of members who invested a substantial amount of time and effort, attending meetings, discussing policies, visiting the institution, collecting funds, running bazaars, working on subcommittees, and solving problems. They were assisted by another group of members some of whom made a particular contribution in one area such as fund-raising or visiting.

Thus the common assumption of large committees of bourgeois women all learning many administrative skills and acting in the public sphere is proven not to be the case, at least not in these Montreal charities. This situation had two consequences for the charities. First, it made it more difficult to supervise the institutions and their schools and to organize fund-raising events than it otherwise would have been. Second, it left real power in the hands of a few families for much of the century although this highly centralized administrative model was in the process of changing by late century.

Their place as women in a highly gendered society where women did not have the same legal, political, social, or economic rights as men impacted on the work of these female Committees. So did prescriptive ideologies like that of the separate spheres, which restricted the range of women's activity and imposed norms of propriety. The public and moral authority these women had was based on their status as "ladies" with the connotations of both domesticity and respectability that this implied. Maintaining that authority and the support of the Protestant male establishment was crucial to their continued success. Both gender conscious and traditional, the ladies accepted the notion that men and women had distinct qualities and abilities, and that, consequently, they should have separate spheres of activity. Thus they left most matters of physical plant and investment to their male advisors. They also carefully respected public conventions that limited women's intervention in public space by not speaking at public meetings and by using formal nomenclature in their public Annual Reports.

Yet, the separate spheres ideology with its notions of gendered special qualities also empowered these women by giving them a certain level of confidence in their abilities and in their authority regarding activities recognized as within the women's sphere. The ladies considered charity work, which depended on women's domestic abilities in child-care and household management and on women's superior moral and religious influence, as one of

these areas. In effect, charity management formed part of a "women's public sphere"; that is, public work that was nevertheless acceptable for elite women.

Confident about the policy choices they made running their charities, these Committees rejected suggestions from the male elite about alternate policies and also defended their autonomy against male proposals to rationalize the charity network. Ever respectful of social conventions and male authority, however, the techniques they used to respond to such criticisms or policy suggestions were typically demur. They did not openly challenge the male elite, rather they used quiet avoidance—they filed away letters, they mutely listened to speeches, they met with delegations—but they did not alter their policy directions or forgo any of their institutional autonomy.

Still, the ladies' gender did bring with it huge limitations that impacted on their work. They managed to side-step the legal restrictions placed on married women by incorporating their societies, but social restrictions remained. As women, they did not have the same liberty as men to intervene publicly to rescue children from abusive situations or to challenge masters in default of their apprenticeship contract. Their reluctance to press legal charges in cases of abuse was greatly influenced by these gender questions.

As women, the ladies' approach to charity also focussed on their particular project or institution and the needs of the children or women in their charities, a characteristic historians have called personalism. This made them focussed and pragmatic. Their emphasis on protecting the children under their care increased as their experience grew and as they struggled with the many complex problems inherent in child charity work—those related to the rights of parents, the ideal institutional regime, and the risks inherent in placing children in the homes of other families. This protective approach is especially evident in changes they made to the placement policies they used for children who could not return to their parents. Neither charity used adoption very often because of the legal ambiguity over whether the child actually became a legal member of the adoptive family, and the POA discontinued its use of adoption at mid-century, when an adopted child died from abuse. Both Committees also tried to reduce the risks of abuse and exploitation in apprenticeship placements by making upward adjustments in apprenticeship age and fees (to send children out as apprentices at older ages and for higher fees) and by attempting to visit

apprentices once placed. In this, the POA in particular implemented a well-developed visiting and inspection system for apprenticed children unusual for the time. Still, several cases of abuse occurred and the ladies encountered a number of problems trying to deal with these in the child's best interests.

By the 1880s, their experience of these problems in selecting apprenticeship homes and ensuring adequate care and training led both Committees to adopt a new policy of retaining girls longer in the institution to train them as domestic servants to be placed directly in wage service when old enough. This policy was also used for some boys; other boys were increasingly apprenticed to skilled trades and given manual training inside the institutions although some were still apprenticed to farmers. In this new approach, the ladies took the institutional concept to its logical conclusion—their institutions became the substitute home where children would find protection, education and training; a home they would leave only when they were young wage-earners. Institutional factors such as funding independence and the availability of space in the asylum as well as the fact most of the children in their institution were orphans who did not return to families meant that the POA was freer to implement this policy shift than was the LBS.

Reformers and many professional child-care workers argued that family life was necessary for an ideal childhood and advocated placing dependent children in foster families (placing out) rather than in institutions. Although the Montreal Committees certainly saw their work in the context of child-saving, they did not share this type of pro-family analysis. Their pragmatism led them to value their practical experience acquired over years of placing children in families more than vague ideological concepts about the importance of the family and the home, even if these concepts were central to their own middle-class culture. Experience had proven that children placed as apprentices and even in adoption were often expected to work very hard without adequate training, rarely continued their education, and occasionally suffered from abuse or exploitation. Moreover it was difficult to monitor the care they received. Thus these charities rejected all versions of placing out as a placement method. They also rejected the use many charities made of placing out to break up poor families by placing children in the homes of other families charity workers considered superior. These two Montreal Committees cared for and

supervised destitute children but also accepted that families should be reunited if and when that was possible.

In the same way the Committees rejected the placing-out movement, both also rejected the "scientific charity" movement, which called for the establishment of centralized and coordinated charity structures to investigate all applications for aid and to ensure aid was given only to the "deserving" poor. Their traditional and humanitarian perspective meant the ladies did not agree with the ideological assumptions behind this approach. In fact, they accepted "need" as the main basis for admissions in their actual admission policies (if not always in their public discourse) and were not overly concerned with notions of "deserving" poor or "pauperism." Thus they focused more on helping the poor with child-care than on forcing them to become self-reliant. They also resisted attempts by the male elite to "rationalize" the female charities (and thus reduce services by removing duplication) or to centralize and coordinate the city's charitable services. In this they were defending both the range of services their charities provided and their institutional autonomy.

By the latter part of the century, a number of contemporaries criticized female-managed private child charities (and other traditional benevolent societies) for being amateurish and for resisting what was seen as newer and more modern approaches to charity including placing out and "scientific charity." Even historians like Neil Sutherland have characterized them as persisting in their traditional methods and resisting new ones as a form of self-preservation. This study has shown, however, that this is not a fair evaluation of these two Montreal charities. In fact, these women did not deliberately resist change; rather they based their institutional program on years of charity experience and on their personal approach to the work, centred on the children and their well being. Further, their policies were far from static nor were they developed haphazardly or in isolation from the reality of poverty or charity—they evolved in response to the needs of the city's poor families (to increase the admission to the LBS of boarding children and children from two-parent families, for example), and in response to actual cases of abuse and other problems in placement methods as well as the ladies' evaluation of the best way to protect and train children.

The study of these benevolent women's societies—their basic approach, their work and their policy development—helps to explain the ideological differences between these women and the women's groups formed later in the century like the YWCA or the NCWC, who approached social questions and charity work from a more reform-oriented perspective. These latter groups supported placing out as the "modern" way, arguing for its superiority over institutions despite their lack of any first-hand experience of its viability; they also actively lobbied for scientific charity as the best way to force the poor to be self-reliant and to address underlying problems rather than simply to relieve destitution. Thus they disagreed with the policy choices of the two charities under study and on occasion criticized the older benevolent associations. These ideological differences kept the benevolent women's groups from actively embracing policy discussion and cooperation with the reformist groups, although this was beginning to change by the end of the century.

The examination of the management aspects of these two charities and of their policy choices has also highlighted some of the differences between these two charities and the importance of considering institutional aspects such as building size, financial independence, and type of client when analyzing private charity work. As a smaller, more elite charity working with a relatively small and restricted clientele, the Protestant Orphan Asylum rarely had problems with overcrowding and its funding needs were more manageable than those of the Ladies' Benevolent Society. Further, its Endowment Fund provided the Committee with a large measure of financial independence by the last twenty years of the century. Given that most of the children in the charity were orphans, the Committee was also freer to develop and implement policies on admissions and departures than was the LBS which was constantly interacting with parents.

Conversely, the Ladies' Benevolent Society, acted as a sort of poorhouse sheltering half-orphans, elderly and infirm women, destitute widows, and convalescents. Thus it had a much larger resident population with correspondingly larger income needs. Lacking a substantial Permanent Fund, the LBS depended much more on active fund-raising than the POA and the lack of a sufficient number of actively involved members was more problematic for it than for the POA. The different clientele also meant that the LBS constantly dealt with parents and that many of the children admitted remained for

very short periods of time. Thus the Committee did not have the POA's level of autonomy to implement large policy changes on placement or institutional training.

The thesis has examined two central institutions in the Montreal Protestant poor-relief network, expanding what is known about the workings of benevolent women's charity Committees and revealing the complexity of the issues these Committees dealt with as well as the need for historians to approach the study of charity management using a multi-levelled analysis and detailed case studies. The thesis has also, and inevitably, uncovered questions that still need to be answered. The divisions of the charity network along gender lines and the interaction of men and women in charitable work needs further study; so do the overlapping memberships and the interaction of the various women's groups. Individual studies of the "leader" women in the Montreal charitable elite and the place of charity in their lives would also be an interesting area of further study. Finally, a more detailed study of the Montreal Protestant elite in its period of "grandeur" is also needed. Charities were only one part of the institutional network they created over the nineteenth century.

The two charities under study are excellent examples of benevolent women who carried out extensive and challenging charity work within the limits of their social perspective. They faced many of the same problems we still grapple with today—issues of parental rights and fitness, of child-abuse and child exploitation, of finding ways to relieve poverty. Their responses were limited by their attitudes to poverty and the poor, their suspicion of the working-class, and their belief in a hierarchical society and the superiority of middle-class culture. Nonetheless, despite their volunteer status, by the last part of the century, these Committees reveal many of the professional attributes associated with modern social work. They developed new policies on diet, health, hygiene and exercise. They improved the quality of their staff and increasingly recognized education as important. They adapted their admission and placement policies on the basis of their experience and of their evaluation of changing needs and even developed visiting and inspection systems. Finally, their general policy orientation, to keep families together, to recognize the needs of families and children, and to actively work to protect the children under their care, foreshadowed future developments.

Appendix 1
Montreal Population, By Religion, 1844-1901

Religion	1844	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Catholic	47,072	41,464	65,896	77,980	103,579	134,142	148,063
(%)	(72.5)	(71.8)	(73.0)	(72.7)	(73.9)	(73.4)	(72.9)
Anglican	7,616	3,993	9,739	11,573	14,726	19,684	20,471
(%)	(11.7)	(6.9)	(10.8)	(10.8)	(10.5)	(10.8)	(10.1)
Presbyterian	6,845	2,832	7,824	9,104	11,597	14,853	15,637
(%)	(10.6)	(4.9)	(8.6)	(8.5)	(8.3)	(8.1)	(7.7)
Other Protestant	2,682	1,484	6,290	7,972	9,885	11,173	11,963
(%)	(4.1)	(2.6)	(7.0)	(7.4)	(7.0)	(6.1)	(5.9)
Jewish	112	181	403	409	307	2457	6597
(%)	(0.2)	(0.3)	(0.4)	(0.4)	(0.2)	(1.4)	(3.2)
Unknown	570	7761	171	187	153	386	347
(%)	(0.9)	(13.5)	(0.2)	(0.2)	(0.1)	(0.2)	(0.2)
Total	64,897¹	57,715	90,323	107,225	140,247	182,695	203,078
(%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census of Canada, 1844-1901.*

¹ The data in the 1844 Census is for Montreal county, not the city alone.

Appendix 2

Protestant Charities in Nineteenth-Century Montreal, by date of establishment

Year	Charity/Society	Service
1815-22	Female Benevolent Society	Widows, Children, I,* O**
1822	Montreal General Hospital	Hospital, Outpatient
1822	Protestant Orphan Asylum	Orphans, I
1832	Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society	Children, Women, I
1834	St. George's Society	O
1835	St. Andrew's / St. Patrick's / German Society	O
1842	Inspector Street Mission	O
1843	Montreal Maternity	I
1848	Magdalene Asylum (Sheltering Home)	Women, I ("Moral-Rescue")
1847	Home and School of Industry/Hervey Institute	Children, I, Sewing
1851	YMCA	Mission work, Referrals (work, board)
1853	Montreal Dispensary	Outpatient
1854-56	Protestant Industrial House of Refuge	Women, Children, I, O
1855	Anglican Church Home	Elderly women, I
1856	Irish Protestant Benevolent Society	O
1857	St. Andrew's Home	Immigrants, I, O
1861	Industrial Rooms	Women, Sewing Work,
1862	Montreal Sailors' Institute	Men, Recreational
1863	Montreal Protestant House of Industry & Refuge	I, O
1865	United Board of Outdoor Relief	O
1867	St. George's Home	Immigrants, I
1869	Mackay Institute for Deaf-Mutes	Deaf and blind children, I
1870	Protestant Infants' Home	Infants, Mothers, I
1871	Montreal Boys' Home	Adolescent Boys, I
1871	Murray Bay Convalescent Home	Convalescence
1874	YWCA	Boarding, Educational Services
1874	Home for Friendless Women (WCTU)	Women, I, ("Moral-Rescue")
1875	Victoria Mission	O
1879	Montreal Diet Dispensary (YWCA)	Sick Poor
1882	Women's Protective Society	Women Immigrants, Work referral
1882	Nazareth Street Mission	O
1883	St. Margaret's Home for Incurables	Incurables
1887	Fresh Air Fund	Outings and convalescence
1888	Montreal Day Nursery (YWCA)	Children, Work referral (women)
1890	Old Brewery Mission	O and Shelter
1891	Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital	Hospital
1892	Welcome Hall Mission	O and Shelter
1895	Moore Convalescent Home	Hospital and Chronic
1895	Andrews' Home	Immigrants, I
1895	Robert Jones Convalescent	Convalescence
1896	Centre Street Mission	O
1890s	Belmont Park	O
1899	Working Women's Home (Salvation Army)	Women, Board

*I = Institutional; **O = Outdoor aid to people in their homes (food, fuel, clothing, medicine, etc.)

Appendix 3

The Protestant Charitable Network in Nineteenth-Century Montreal (By type of service)

Children	
Female Benevolent Society	1815-1822
Protestant Orphan Asylum	1822
Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society	1832
Home and School of Industry	1847
Mackay Institute for Deaf Mutes	1869
Protestant Infants' Home	1870
Montreal Boys' Home	1871
YWCA (boarding)	1874
Montreal Day Nursery (YWCA)	1888
Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital	1891
YMCA (boarding)	1898
The Elderly	
Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society	1832
Anglican Church Home	1855
Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge	1863
Women	
Female Benevolent Society	1815-22
Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society	1832
Magdalene Asylum (Sheltering Home)	1848
Protestant Female Servants' Home	1852-54
Protestant Industrial House of Refuge	1854-56
Industrial Rooms	1861
Home for Friendless Women (WCTU)	1874
YWCA Servants' Register	1876
Working Women's Home (Salvation Army)	1899
Immigrants	
St. Andrew's Home	1857
St. George's Home	c.1867
Women's Protective Society	1882
Andrews Home (Anglican)	1895
Belmont Park (Irish Protestant)	c.1890s
The Homeless	
House of Industry	(1819-23, 1836-47)
Protestant Industrial House of Refuge	1854-56
Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge	1863
Old Brewery Mission	1890
Welcome Hall Mission	1892

Outdoor Relief	
St. George's Society	1834
St. Andrew's Society	1835
St. Patrick's Society	1835
German Society	1835
Irish Protestant Benevolent Society	1856
United Board of Outdoor Relief	1865
Missions	
Inspector Street	1842
Victoria	1875
Nazareth Street	1882
Old Brewery Mission	1890
Welcome Hall Mission	1892
Centre Street	1896
Medical and Medical Related	
Montreal General Hospital	1822
Montreal Maternity	1843
Montreal Dispensary	1853
Murray Bay Convalescent Home	1871
Montreal Diet Dispensary (YWCA)	1879
Protestant Hospital for the Insane	1881
Saint Margaret's Home for Incurables	1883
Fresh-Air Fund	1887
Moore Convalescent Home	1894
Robert Jones Convalescent	1895
Miscellaneous	
Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society	1820
Montreal Sailors' Institute	1862

Appendix 4

Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 1865-1900 Soup Kitchen, Outdoor Relief, Permanent Residents

Year	Soup Kitchen Distributions, in Quarts	Total Outdoor Relief Distributions	Average Number of Permanent Residents
1865	64197	—	80
1866	15156	3800	108
1867	22134	3149	90
1868	26926	4529	120
1869	33656	4344	100
1870	29980	2786	88
1871	21009	—	90
1872	32554	2881	72
1873	24785	2998	90
1874	34327	2901	130
1875	46191	8172	110
1876	79659	7817	130
1877	74942	4174	121
1878	46175	3964	120
1879	58583	3205	116
1880	60332	3503	114
1881	57367	2684	117
1882	45868	3076	108
1883	60002	2984	109
1884	77456	2980	112
1885	78960	2543	117
1886	91495	2495	123
1887	101757	2485	122
1888	99343	2286	121
1889	100943	2857	122
1890	76505	2954	122
1891	73051	2984	125
1892	73862	2515	129
1893	70788	—	125
1894	77116	3745	126
1895	89106	—	129
1896	98944	—	121
1897	81819	4027	131
1898	87749	3247	132
1899	91115	2449	135
1900	69054	—	144

Source: Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, *Minute Book*, 1863-1900.

Appendix 5

Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, The Night Refuge, Total Nights' Lodging, 1865-1900

Year	Men	Women	Total
1865	4068	2668	6736
1866	2447	447	2894
1867	4908	1004	5912
1868	5643	2665	8308
1869	7454	2276	9730
1870	5594	1743	7340
1871	4714	909	5623
1872	5279	1417	6696
1873	6400	1014	7414
1874	7993	2145	10138
1875	11680	2508	14188
1876	14663	2714	17376
1877	11937	2607	14544
1878	9780	2615	12395
1879	11553	2803	14356
1880	10890	2877	13767
1881	13291	1982	15273
1882	11137	2248	13385
1883	16135	3400	19535
1884	23679	3135	26814
1885	22274	3499	25773
1886	27533	2501	30034
1887	32927	1767	34694
1888	35738	2122	37850
1889	39366	1197	40563
1890	30098	624	30722
1891	28007	519	28526
1892	29841	503	30349
1893	27744	142	27886
1894	29501	752	30262
1895	33955	1053	35008
1896	38300	904	39204
1897	33805	525	33610
1898	33621	664	34285
1899	33939	2005	35944
1900	23305	2053	25358

Source: Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, *Minute Book*, 1865-1900.

Appendix 6

General Fund Account for the Montreal Boys' Home 1871-73, 1876-1899 (in Dollars)

Year	Opening Balance ¹	Private Funding ²	Concerts	Board	Investments ³	Total Revenue
1871		1860.00 73.23%		680.00 26.77%		2540.00
1872	-500.00	651.58 57.03%		491.00 42.97%		1142.56
1873	-467.70					
1874	unknown					
1875	unknown					
1876	unknown					
1877	unknown					
1878	-615.34	579.05				
1879	-	200.00	764.80			
1880	63.00 2.5%	1839.33 73.1%		614.30 24.4%		
1881	901.12 42.00%	30.00 1.40%		1111.10 51.73%	103.23 4.81%	2145.48
1882	494.76 31.41%	40.00 2.54%		925.75 56.76%	114.50 7.27%	1575.01
1883	249.64 0.45%	613.00 20.74%		1995.87 67.52%	97.25 3.29%	2355.72
1884		1466.60		3151.35	138.17	4816.72.

¹ Balance of cash funds left at the beginning of the fiscal year, January 1.

² Includes all private donations, annual subscriptions and legacies if entered into the General Fund Account. Legacies or endowments added to the Building Fund are not included.

³ Includes interest payments and dividends on money invested in the Endowment Fund or bank balances.

Year	Opening Balance ¹	Private Funding ²	Concerts	Board	Investments ³	Total Revenue
1884	-	1466.60		3151.35	138.17	4816.72
		30.45%		65.44%	4.11%	
1885	187.13	827.00		4044.10	127.55	5185.78
	3.61%	15.95%		77.98%	2.46%	
1886	1599.36	680.50		4500.12		6779.98
	23.59%	10.04%		66.37%		
1887	118.65	1023.00		6248.99	244.21	7634.85
	1.55%	13.40%		61.85%	3.20%	
1888	218.63	1146.50	35.50	5660.46	257.31	7538.40
	2.90%	15.21%	0.47%	76.01%	3.41%	
1889	1242.17	3673.00		6135.39	1364.45	12635.01
	9.83%	30.65%		48.56%	10.96%	
1890	279.00	1048.00		5693.91	261.66	7262.59
	3.83%	14.39%		78.19%	3.59%	
1891	299.01	905.50		6580.90	264.82	8050.23
	3.71%	11.25%		81.75%	3.29%	
1892	1568.90	870.50		6660.25	206.94	9328.59
	17.03%	9.33%		71.40%	2.24%	
1893	832.43	1682.30		6004.63	2066.33	10585.69
	7.86%	15.89%		56.72%	19.52%	
1894	2714.24	1206.00		5057.59	929.48	9907.31
	27.40%	12.17%		51.05%	9.38%	
1895	1090.52	2169.80		4513.88	2.22.46	7996.66
	13.64%	27.13%		56.45%	2.76%	
1896	1806.38	1175.14		3996.16	215.72	7193.40
	25.11%	16.34%		55.55%	3.00%	
1897	890.71	964.50		4398.92	205.00	6459.13
	13.79%	14.93%		68.10%	3.17%	
1898	129.62'	980.31		3889.00	314.95	5273.88
	2.41%	18.24%		72.37%	6.96%	
1899	57.92	1380.00		3848.73	281.94	5566.59
	1.04%	24.78%		69.11%	5.06%	

Source: Boys' Home, *Annual Reports*, 1871-1899.

Appendix 7

Ladies Serving on both the Committee of Management of the Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1830-1900

Manager	Membership In POA	Decade Begun	Membership In LBS	Decade Begun
Mrs. A. Allan	9	1860s	10	1860s
Miss Armour	1	1840s	27	1830s
Mrs. Aylwin	2	1850s	25	1850s
Mrs. Bancroft	6	1830s	3	1840s
Miss Birss	1	1850s	14	1840s
Miss Barrett	17	1850s	1	1840s
Mrs. J. Boston	1	1830s	2	1840s
Mrs. Bethune	3	1830s	6	1830s
Mrs. T. Cramp	21	1860s	27	1860s
Miss David	5	1840s	1	1830s
Mrs. A. Ferrie	15	1840s	1	1840s
Mrs. J. Ferrier	19	1860s	30	1840s
Mrs. E. Freer	27	1850s	3	1850s
Mrs. J.B. Greenshields	51	1850s	2	1850s
Mrs. Gunn	8	1890s	1	1890s
Mrs. P. Holland	17	1850s	3	1850s
Mrs. A. F. Holmes	17	1830s	11	1830s
Miss Leslie	18	1840s	1	1840s
Mrs. H. Lyman	56	1840s	47	1850s
Mrs. E. Maitland	7	1860s	2	1840s
Mrs. R. Mackay	7	1850s	13	1850s
Mrs. Oxenden	8	1870s	1	1870s
Mrs. H. Ramsay	48	1830s	3	1830s
Mrs. Renaud	1	1840s	6	1840s
Mrs. C. Ross	2	1840s	4	1840s
Miss Elisa Ross	38	1830s	31	1830s
Mrs. H. Thomas	40	1850s	11	1850s
Mrs. J. Torrance	4	1850s	11	1850s
Mrs. D. Torrance	9	1860s	16	1840s

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Reports*, 1848-1900; *Minutes*, 1833-1847;
Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Annual Reports*, 1848-1900; *Minutes*, 1822-1847.

Appendix 8
General Fund Account for the Protestant Orphan Asylum,
1848-1899 (in Dollars)¹

Year	Opening Balance²	Government Grant	Private Funding³	Bazaars⁴	Board	Invest- ments⁵	Total Revenue
1848	2416.18 72.99%	400.00 12.08%	360.00 10.87%			134.23 4.05%	3310.48
1849	1129.75 57.21%	400.00 20.26%	401.95 20.36%			42.97 2.18%	1974.67
1850	149.39 9.37%	400.00 25.09%	997.93 62.60%			46.93 2.94%	1594.25
1851	843.25 44.70%	400.00 21.20%	577.66 30.62%			65.95 3.50%	1886.67
1852	624.56 35.32%	400.00 22.62%	675.51 38.20%			68.40 3.87%	1768.47
1853	544.83 32.67%	400.00 23.99%	606.32 36.36%			116.23 6.97%	1667.66
1854	212.45 8.94%	400.00 16.84%	982.30 41.34%	630.90 26.55%	16.00 0.67%	134.36 5.65%	2375.97
1855	624.16 26.08%	600.00 25.07%	947.31 39.58%		44.75 1.87%	178.05 7.44%	2393.28
1856	431.27 14.50%	600.00 20.17%	1100.39 36.99%	648.38 21.80%	4.50 0.15%	189.92 6.39%	2974.43
1857	1197.39 40.93%	600.00 20.51%	881.81 30.14%			246.12 8.41%	2925.32

¹ Conversion from British pounds was done using \$4.00 = £1

² Balance of cash funds left at the beginning of the fiscal year, January 1.

³ Includes all private donations, annual subscriptions and legacies if entered into the General Fund Account. Legacies or endowments added to the Endowment Fund or Building Fund are not included.

⁴ Includes all sources of funds such as bazaars, concerts and entertainment events organized to raise funds for the Society.

⁵ Includes interest payments and dividends on money invested in the Endowment Fund or bank balances.

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant	Private Funding ³	Bazaars ⁴	Board	Invest- ments ⁵	Total Revenue
1858	871.36 28.79%	600.00 19.83%	867.02 28.65%			687.86 22.73%	3026.24
1859	Unknown						
1860	1091.78 38.25%	800.00 28.03%	601.51 21.07%			360.97 12.65%	2854.26
1861	805.46 28.72%	800.00 28.53%	808.51 28.83%			390.31 13.92%	2804.28
1862	911.08 32.55%	800.00 28.58%	635.45 22.71%			452.18 16.16%	2798.71
1863	1055.24 38.31%	640.00 23.23%	586.95 21.31%			472.28 17.15%	2754.47
1864	1041.25 31.75%	640.00 19.52%	1037.18 31.63%			560.85 17.10%	3279.28
1865	1302.66 41.73%	640.00 20.50%	555.28 17.79%			623.78 19.98%	3121.72
1866	1173.78 32.39%	640.00 17.66%	1058.60 29.21%			751.99 20.75%	3624.37
1867	1764.65 50.83%	0.00%	858.75 24.74%			848.11 24.43%	3471.51
1868	1686.01 40.84%	640.00 15.50%	898.00 21.75%			904.55 21.91%	4128.56
1869	1316.47 30.18%	640.00 14.67%	1250.14 28.65%			1156.16 26.50%	4362.77
1870	3220.12 66.85%	640.00 13.29%	831.88 17.27%			124.84 2.59%	4816.84
1871	1850.03 56.57%	640.00 19.57%	706.67 21.61%			73.48 2.25%	3270.18

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant	Private Funding ³	Bazaars ⁴	Board	Invest- ments ⁵	Total Revenue
1872	687.64 30.95%	640.00 28.80%	855.06 38.48%			39.15 1.76%	2221.85
1873	94.52 4.52%	640.00 30.58%	844.83 40.36%			513.66 24.54%	2093.01
1874	205.05 9.07%	640.00 28.30%	859.38 38.00%	37.50 1.66%		519.32 22.97%	2261.25
1875	278.11 13.27%	640.00 30.55%	941.50 44.94%			235.57 11.24%	2095.18
1876	262.92 11.07%	640.00 26.94%	667.26 28.09%			805.09 33.89%	2375.27
1877	326.73 12.20%	640.00 23.90%	552.00 20.61%			1158.95 43.28%	2677.68
1878	293.48 15.59%	639.97 34.00%	540.26 28.70%			408.80 21.72%	1882.48
1879	758.76 26.29%	640.00 22.18%	572.34 19.83%			914.59 31.69%	2885.69
1880	313.60 15.11%	640.00 30.83%	506.00 24.38%			616.11 29.68%	2075.71
1881	264.80 13.42%	640.00 32.43%	559.20 28.33%			509.64 25.82%	1973.60
1882	99.52 4.73%	640.00 30.44%	456.00 21.69%			906.68 43.13%	2102.20
1883	110.13 4.44%	640.00 25.82%	492.35 19.86%			1236.64 49.88%	2479.12
1884	267.25 10.87%	576.00 23.44%	505.53 20.57%			1109.08 45.12%	2457.86
1885	244.58 9.65%	512.00 20.20%	460.40 18.16%			1318.18 52.00%	2535.16

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant	Private Funding ³	Bazaars ⁴	Board	Invest- ments ⁵	Total Revenue
1886	271.17 9.17%	448.00 15.15%	510.50 17.26%			1727.47 58.42%	2957.14
1887	187.33 6.79%	448.00 16.23%	465.82 16.88%			1658.84 60.10%	2759.99
1888	128.05 2.36%	448.00 8.24%	891.00 16.39%			3968.78 73.01%	5435.83
1889	327.01 10.74%	448.00 14.72%	511.50 16.81%			1757.05 57.73%	3043.56
1890	146.29 4.30%	448.00 13.16%	463.00 13.60%			2347.92 68.95%	3405.21
1891	244.28 7.28%	448.00 13.35%	416.00 12.40%			2247.21 66.97%	3355.49
1892	71.07 1.95%	448.00 12.30%	472.00 12.96%			2650.46 72.78%	3641.53
1893	463.66 10.32%	448.00 9.97%	436.00 9.71%			3144.65 70.00%	4492.31
1894	743.27 15.76%	336.00 7.12%	472.00 10.01%			3165.37 67.11%	4716.64
1895	71.50 1.38%	336.00 6.48%	578.00 11.14%			4201.98 81.00%	5187.48
1896	Unknown						
1897	329.26 5.59%	336.00 5.70%	1334.22 22.65%			3890.93 66.06%	5890.41
1898	624.33 9.98%	336.00 5.37%	1148.09 18.35%			4148.80 66.30%	6257.22
1899	1015.33 13.60%	336.00 4.50%	1513.54 20.28%		6.75 0.09%	4591.54 61.52%	7463.16

Source: Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Annual Reports*, 1848-1899.

Appendix 9
General Fund Account for the Ladies' Benevolent Society
1835-1899 (in Dollars) ¹

Year	Opening Balance²	Government Grant³	Private Funding⁴	Bazaars⁵	Board/ Work⁶	Invest- ments⁷	Total Revenue
1835	390.70 14.27%		2334.60 85.24%		14.58 0.53%		2738.87
1836	739.08 38.45%	400.00 20.81%	763.06 39.70%		20.00 1.04%		1922.15
1837	Unknown						
1838	1295.93 65.50%	400.00 20.22%	282.50 14.28%				1978.43
1839	514.25 27.46%	444.00 23.71%	851.10 45.45%		59.50 3.18%		1872.79
1840	557.82 28.31%	400.00 20.30%	874.40 44.37%		138.50 7.03%		1970.72
1841	282.38 13.01%	799.50 36.84%	974.13 44.89%		114.00 5.25%		2169.96
1842	844.86 32.06%	100.00 3.80%	1209.31 45.89%	400.00 15.18%	81.00 3.07%		2635.02
1843	421.56 24.12%	400.00 22.88%	619.40 35.43%	168.32 9.63%	137.22 7.85%		1748.03

¹ Conversion from British pounds was done using \$4.00 = £1

² Balance of cash funds left at the beginning of the fiscal year on October 31.

³ Includes the government grant for the Industrial House of Refuge from 1858 and payments by both the municipal and provincial governments for Industrial School children from 1883.

⁴ Includes all private donations, annual subscriptions and legacies if entered into the General Fund Account. Legacies or endowments added to the Permanent Fund or Building Fund are not included.

⁵ Includes all sources of funds such as bazaars, concerts and entertainment events organized to raise funds for the Society.

⁶ Includes private board paid for children or elderly inmates (not government board) as well as any profits derived from the sale of work done by the elderly inmates.

⁷ Includes interest payments and dividends on money invested in the Permanent Fund or bank balances.

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant ³	Private Funding ⁴	Bazaars ⁵	Board/ Work ⁶	Invest- ments ⁷	Total Revenue
1844	49.66 2.97%	400.00 23.96%	879.43 52.68%	107.50 6.44%	232.87 13.95%		1669.46
1845	7.63 0.29%	800.00 30.58%	973.06 37.19%	544.80 20.82%	290.85 11.12%		2616.23
1846	879.82 44.41%	300.00 15.14%	580.79 29.31%	63.20 3.19%	157.55 7.95%		1981.35
1847	48.67 1.96%	400.00 16.12%	1561.43 62.92%	203.26 8.19%	267.00 10.76%		2481.77
1848	200.87 9.75%	400.00 19.41%	684.60 33.22%	607.79 29.49%	166.20 8.06%		2061.00
1849	15.09 0.91%	400.00 24.04%	1061.00 63.78%		185.50 11.15%		1663.65
1850	0.17 0.01%	400.00 20.92%	561.53 29.37%	677.45 35.44%	272.75 14.27%		1911.73
1851	153.49 6.56%	400.00 17.11%	932.42 39.88%	603.35 25.80%	249.00 10.65%		2338.27
1852	58.35 2.21%	400.00 15.17%	1476.03 55.99%	306.95 11.64%	394.95 14.98%		2636.30
1853	66.87 2.89%	400.00 17.31%	1444.84 62.53%		398.83 17.26%		2310.65
1854	13.22 0.44%	400.00 13.37%	2180.93 72.91%		396.75 13.26%		2991.38
1855	250.70 9.19%	400.00 14.67%	1491.41 54.68%		585.35 21.46%		2727.54
1856	231.47 6.78%	800.00 23.44%	1896.23 55.56%		485.37 14.22%		3413.08
1857	529.42 10.37%	400.00 7.84%	2769.67 54.26%	669.97 13.13%	735.20 14.40%		5104.26

Year	Opening Balance²	Government Grant³	Private Funding⁴	Bazaars⁵	Board/ Work⁶	Invest- ments⁷	Total Revenue
1858	639.79 8.17%	1000.00 12.77%	1979.85 25.29%	3476.67 44.41%	669.68 8.56%	61.85 0.79%	7827.84
1859	940.06 18.95%	1000.00 20.16%	1653.84 33.33%	906.24 18.27%	430.00 8.67%	31.39 0.63%	4961.53
1860	514.22 8.16%	1000.00 15.87%	1793.58 28.46%	2462.04 39.07%	376.50 5.97%	155.76 2.47%	6302.10
1861	2455.06 39.90%	1000.00 16.25%	1661.15 27.00%	36.42 0.59%	495.45 8.05%	505.37 8.21%	6153.45
1862	624.19 9.32%	1000.00 14.93%	1891.06 28.24%	2466.42 36.83%	463.39 6.92%	251.43 3.75%	6696.48
1863	1946.81 31.63%	800.00 13.00%	1417.28 23.03%	1388.88 22.57%	368.62 5.99%	232.48 3.78%	6154.07
1864	171.89 3.55%	800.00 16.54%	2472.05 51.12%		349.54 7.23%	1042.42 21.56%	4835.90
1865	587.77 13.40%	0.00%	2591.73 59.09%	671.97 15.32%	316.25 7.21%	218.02 4.97%	4385.74
1866	573.89 10.46%	800.00 14.58%	2711.29 49.41%	621.45 11.33%	390.50 7.12%	389.68 7.10%	5486.81
1867	144.36 3.03%	800.00 16.80%	2814.89 59.10%	195.00 4.09%	456.50 9.59%	351.80 7.39%	4762.55
1868	228.03 4.09%	800.00 14.35%	2816.71 50.53%	326.75 5.86%	527.38 9.46%	875.74 15.71%	5574.61
1869	816.71 9.02%	850.00 9.39%	4319.90 47.73%	2247.79 24.83%	434.12 4.80%	383.07 4.23%	9051.59
1870	308.30 4.91%	850.00 13.55%	4199.03 66.94%		312.00 4.97%	603.73 9.62%	6273.06
1871	1170.08 18.21%	850.00 13.23%	3535.60 55.02%		371.75 5.78%	498.82 7.76%	6426.25

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant ³	Private Funding ⁴	Bazaars ⁵	Board/ Work ⁶	Invest- ments ⁷	Total Revenue
1872	546.73 8.81%	850.00 13.69%	3849.83 62.02%		492.00 7.93%	468.62 7.55%	6207.18
1873	212.95 2.48%	850.00 9.88%	6276.62 72.97%		535.50 6.23%	726.45 8.45%	8601.52
1874	354.43 4.92%	850.00 11.81%	4336.42 60.23%		457.25 6.35%	1201.40 16.69%	7199.50
1875	445.80 4.99%	850.00 9.51%	4900.85 54.81%		1131.00 12.65%	1613.70 18.05%	8941.35
1876	711.14 7.97%	850.00 9.52%	4873.98 54.61%	834.38 9.35%	818.50 9.17%	836.49 9.37%	8924.89
1877	1198.56 18.01%	850.00 12.77%	2976.87 44.73%		737.29 11.08%	892.91 13.42%	6655.63
1878	719.64 8.64%	850.00 10.20%	5238.94 62.88%		893.70 10.73%	629.13 7.55%	8331.41
1879	509.12 7.16%	850.00 11.96%	2681.35 37.72%		641.46 9.02%	2425.82 34.13%	7107.75
1880	210.50 4.30%	850.00 17.35%	2244.60 45.83%		624.45 12.75%	968.29 19.77%	4897.84
1881	252.05 3.70%	850.00 12.47%	3447.06 50.57%		554.75 8.14%	1712.60 25.12%	6816.46
1882	99.81 1.72%	850.00 14.65%	2935.86 50.61%		762.50 13.14%	1152.67 19.87%	5800.84
1883	289.71 4.63%	850.00 13.59%	2463.30 39.37%		889.75 14.22%	1763.57 28.19%	6256.33
1884	201.88 2.91%	1094.00 15.76%	2724.40 39.24%		1189.50 17.13%	1732.85 24.96%	6942.63
1885	84.03 1.29%	1408.37 21.69%	2656.63 40.92%		753.60 11.61%	1589.76 24.49%	6492.39

Year	Opening Balance ²	Government Grant ³	Private Funding ⁴	Bazaars ⁵	Board/ Work ⁶	Invest- ments ⁷	Total Revenue
1886	46.63 0.70%	1007.60 15.18%	2557.95 38.54%		852.00 12.84%	2173.01 32.74%	6637.19
1887	118.99 1.79%	1399.59 21.02%	2583.36 38.80%		873.00 13.11%	1683.78 25.29%	6658.72
1888	58.58 0.95%	1460.82 23.58%	2221.58 35.86%		812.90 13.12%	1641.65 26.50%	6195.53
1889	69.35 1.09%	1177.86 18.44%	2676.25 41.89%		820.90 12.85%	1644.50 25.74%	6388.86
1890	207.97 3.21%	1467.80 22.68%	2282.94 35.28%		711.00 10.99%	1800.80 27.83%	6470.51
1891	-470.29 -8.08%	771.95 13.26%	2387.86 41.02%		608.00 10.44%	2053.35 35.27%	5821.16
1892	-920.91 -11.06%	1714.52 20.59%	3463.75 41.60%		869.45 10.44%	2279.60 27.37%	8327.32
1893	35.11 0.49%	1957.04 27.31%	2010.87 28.06%		970.00 13.54%	2192.10 30.59%	7165.12
1894	-114.41 -1.47%	2084.02 26.79%	2244.93 28.86%		1197.60 15.40%	2251.32 28.95%	7777.87
1895	120.81 1.39%	1477.77 17.05%	3589.25 41.41%		1219.16 14.07%	2260.58 26.08%	8667.57
1896	79.66 0.92%	1467.90 17.00%	3234.03 37.45%		689.65 7.99%	3166.50 36.66%	8636.74
1897	640.96 7.01%	2159.48 23.63%	3456.07 37.82%		641.60 7.02%	2240.05 24.51%	9138.16
1898	541.43 5.31%	2571.44 25.21%	3733.73 36.61%		733.60 7.19%	2618.99 25.68%	10199.19
1899	1010.83 10.13%	2523.95 25.28%	3197.42 32.03%		665.50 6.67%	2585.32 25.90%	9983.02

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Reports*, 1835-1899.

Appendix 10

Charity Subscribers to the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1850-1895 (in Dollars)

Year	Number of Subscribers	Women	Men	% Women	Total in Dollars	% from Women
1850	112	106	6	95	492.83	89
1851	119	103	15	87	524.00	89
1852	140	114	26	81	664.00	92
1853	140	115	25	82	587.09	90
1854	163	137	26	84	914.12	94
1855	203	174	29	86	969.60	94
1856	188	155	33	82	1,096.19	95
1857	177	151	26	85	830.25	93
1858	153	124	29	81	847.02	93
1859	152	128	24	84	628.50	91
1860	108	85	23	79	577.63	90
1861	149	123	26	83	795.91	93
1862	112	85	27	76	603.26	91
1863	102	81	21	79	570.00	90
1864	162	122	40	75	915.90	94
1865	112	89	23	79	548.53	90
1866	156	114	42	73	756.60	93
1867	141	99	42	70	847.75	93
1868	137	105	32	77	891.05	94
1869	98	59	39	60	1,072.25	95
1870	111	90	23	81	822.00	93
1871	99	76	23	77	653.25	91
1872	103	73	30	71	838.53	93
1873	92	68	24	74	813.00	93
1874	104	76	28	73	808.00	93
1875	104	70	34	67	914.50	94

Year	Number of Subscribers	Women	Men	% Women	Total in Dollars	% from Women
1876	97	71	26	73	651.50	91
1877	92	71	21	77	538.00	90
1878	78	60	13	77	485.26	88
1879	80	62	18	78	529.30	89
1880	70	57	13	81	411.00	86
1881	91	70	21	77	544.00	90
1882	70	57	13	81	405.00	86
1883	87	71	16	82	483.35	88
1884	77	59	18	77	490.33	89
1885	85	63	22	74	451.00	88
1896	82	64	18	78	500.00	89
1887	72	54	18	75	441.00	87
1888	79	59	20	75	459.00	88
1889	79	57	22	72	456.50	88
1890	80	61	19	76	463.00	88
1891	72	53	19	74	411.00	86
1892	72	53	19	74	422.00	87
1893	73	56	17	77	430.00	87
1894	64	50	14	78	422.00	87
1895	68	54	14	79	341.00	84
Total	5,005	3,924	1,077	78	29,321.70	90

Source: Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Annual Reports*, 1850-1895.

Appendix 11

Charity Subscribers to the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1847-1899 (in Dollars)

Year	Number of Subscribers	Women	Men	% Women	Total in Dollars	% Women
1847	179	112	67	63		
1848	137	108	29	79		
1849	193	135	58	70		
1850	125	81	44	65	464.25	82
1851	210	115	95	55		
1852	224	124	100	55		
1853	296	173	123	58		
1854	230	139	91	60		
1855	237	161	76	68	1,117.20	69
1856	334	214	120	64		
1857	192	132	60	69		
1853	266	177	89	67		
1859	159	94	65	59		
1860	296	188	108	64	1,244.41	68
1861	175	131	44	75		
1862	271	167	104	62		
1863	unknown					
1864	216	87	129	40		
1865	404	228	176	56	1,355.61	35
1866	642	431	211	67		
1867	556	290	266	52		
1868	589	314	275	53		
1869	501	288	213	57		
1870	503	273	230	54	2,163.02	36
1871	249	191	58	77		
1872	507	292	215	58		
1873	496	302	194	61		
1874	417	344	73	82		
1875	341	309	32	91	1,206.50	38
1876	448	195	253	44		
1877	574	216	358	38		
1878	479	282	197	59		
1879	31	29	2	94		
1880	358	222	136	62	1,672.70	38

1881	402	177	225	44		
1882	592	297	295	50		
1883	433	182	251	42		
1884	523	260	263	50		
1885	590	316	274	54	2,094.95	34
1886	463	281	182	61		
1887	491	377	114	77		
1888	418	275	143	66		
1889	505	373	132	74		
1890	439	296	143	67	1,730.75	39
1891	453	307	146	68		
1892	397	272	125	69		
1893	435	282	153	65		
1894	355	255	100	72		
1895	1265	751	514	59	3,206.65	39
1896	1398	913	485	65		
1897	1356	883	473	65		
1899	1406	942	464	67		
1899	1390	954	436	69	2,426.40	51
Total	24,146	14,9377	9,209	61.49	18,732.44	49

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Reports*, 1847-1899.

Appendix 12

Reported Country of Birth, Montreal Population, 1844-1901

Country	1844	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901
Canada	44,585	38,514	65,735	85,233	116,617	150,852	169,255
(%)	(68.7)	(66.7)	(72.8)	(79.5)	(82.9)	(82.6)	(83.4)
Ireland	12,293	11,736	14,179	10,590	9,789	9,460	6,786
(%)	(18.9)	(20.3)	(15.7)	(9.9)	(7.0)	(5.1)	(3.3)
England	3,532	2,858	4,293	5,022	5,406	9,117	8,278
(%)	(5.4)	(5.0)	(4.7)	(4.7)	(3.8)	(5.0)	(4.1)
Scotland	3,155	3,150	3,196	3,111	3,289	3,776	2,795
(%)	(4.9)	(5.5)	(3.5)	(2.9)	(2.3)	(2.1)	(1.4)
USA	791	919	1,679	2,111	3,180	3,996	5,941
(%)	(1.2)	(1.6)	(1.9)	(.02)	(2.3)	(2.2)	2.9
Other	242	538	1,227	1,118	2,413	5,327	9,578
(%)	(0.4)	(0.9)	(1.4)	(1.0)	(1.7)	(2.9)	(4.7)
Unknown	299	0	14	40	53	167	445
(%)	(0.5)	(0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.0)	(0.1)	(0.2)
Total	64,897¹	57,715	90,323	107,225	140,747	182,695	203,078
(%)	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: *Census of Canada, 1844-1901.*

¹ The data in the 1844 Census is for Montreal county, not the city alone

Appendix 13

Parent Occupation for Children Admitted to the Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899

Occupation	Female-headed Households	Male-headed Households	2 parent Families	Total
Merchant	0	3	0	3
Teacher	5	0	0	5
Shopkeeper	4	4	2	10
Commercial employee	1	5	2	8
Military	3	14	3	20
Government employee	(1)	(1)	(3)	5
custom house			3	
jail matron	1			
policeman		1		
Skilled/semi-skilled	(21)	(14)	(1)	32
seamstress	4			
seamstress (in LBS)	17			
mechanic		1		
baker		3		
cutter		3		
furrier		1		
carpenter		3		
hairdresser		2		
journeyman			1	
printer		1		
Transportation	0	(10)	(7)	17
carter		2		
railways		8	7	
Factory worker	(6)	(7)	(4)	17
rubber	3	4		
cotton	1			
shoe		1		
confectioner			4	
brewery		2		
other	2			
Labourer	0	21	3	24
Domestic service	166	3	36	205
Service-related	(55)	(13)	(11)	79
nurses (hospital)	20			
charwomen	7		6	
cook	8		1	
wet nurse	7		3	
laundress	13			
waiter		8		

Occupation	Female-headed Households	Male-headed Households	2 parent Families	Total
hotel clerk		1		
hospital worker		2		
doorkeeper		2		
night watchman			1	
Work in LBS	(71)		(4)	75
nurse	16			
cook	12			
laundress	27			
other	16			
Total Known	333	95	76	504
Total Cases	1,271	574	487	2,332
Percentage Known	26.2%	16.6%	15.6%	21.6%

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Register*, 1832-1899.

Appendix 14
Diet List for the Protestant Orphan Asylum,
(1823 & 1888)

	1823	1888
Breakfast		
Sunday ¹	Cocoa and bread	Cocoa or tea, bread and butter
Others	Hasty pudding, boiled rice with molasses or milk, or milk porridge as the season admitted.	Porridge and milk, bread and butter
Dinner		
Sunday	Roasted meat with pudding or vegetables.	Joint of beef roasted, boiled potatoes, bread, pudding or apple dumplings.
Monday	Soup	Boiled beef, carrots, turnips or cabbage and potatoes, bread.
Tuesday	Boiled meat with pudding or vegetables.	Soup with meat in it, thickened with rice or barley, bread, pudding.
Wednesday	Soup	Quarter of mutton roasted, boiled potatoes, bread.
Thursday	Beans or peas with pork	Soup with beans or peas and pork, bread, boiled rice with molasses.
Friday	Broth made of mutton	Fish and potato pie, or fresh fish in white sauce.
Saturday	Fish	Irish stew with mutton, potatoes and onions, bread.
Supper		
Sunday	milk pudding thickened with flour, oatmeal or cornmeal, bread and butter	
Others	Hasty pudding, boiled rice with molasses or milk, or milk porridge as the season admitted	Monday: Milk, bread, molasses Tuesday: Milk, bread, stewed apples Wednesday: Milk, bread, baked apples Thursday: Milk, bread, butter Friday: Milk, bread, molasses Saturday: Milk, bread, butter

Source: Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Minutes*, 1823; November 1888.

¹ In 1823, Monday was the distinct diet day but in later references it was Sunday.

Appendix 15

Apprenticeship Residence in Quebec, Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1832-1899

Location	No.	Location	No.
Abbotsford	1	Mississquoi Bay	1
Acton Vale	4	Montreal	81
Alymer	1	New Glasgow	3
Barnston	1	New Ireland	1
Beauharnois	5	North Gore	1
Belle Rivière	1	North River	1
Bolton	1	Noyan	10
Brome	3	Odeltown	3
Brompton	1	Ormstown	6
Bromont	3	Phillipsburg	1
Brownsburg	1	Pointe Claire	1
Buckingham	1	Pointe Fortune	4
Carillon	2	Polycarpe	1
Châteauguay	3	Rawdon	6
Chatham	7	Rougemont	4
Clarenceville	6	Roxborough	1
Como	1	Sherbrooke	6
Côte St. Antoine	1	Sherrington	1
Cowansville	6	Shipton	2
Cushing	1	Sorel	1
Danville	12	South Potton	1
Dewittville	1	St. Andrews	7
Durham	3	St. Eustache	7
Eaton	1	St. Francis	1
Frost Village	2	St. Jean	3
Granby	2	St. Jérôme	1
Grenville	2	St. Lambert	1
Hatley	1	St. Laurent	1
Havelock	1	St. Philippe	3
Hemmingford	8	St. Rémi	1
Huntington	2	St. Rose	2
Kildare	1	St. Thérèse	3
Lachute	27	Sutton	1
Lacolle	4	Terrebonne	1
Lake Memphremagog	1	Trois-Rivières	4
Laprairie	10	Valleyfield	1
L'Assomption	1	Waterloo	3
La Tortue	13	New Paisley*	1
Longue Pointe	1	Rivière-du-Loup*	1
Mascouche	2	St. Antoinette*	1
Mille-Isles	1	West Henry*	1

* Not indicated on Map 1.

Appendix 16

Apprenticeship Residence outside Quebec, 1832-1899

Location	No.	Location	No.
Protestant Orphan Asylum		Ladies' Benevolent Society	
Ontario		Ontario	
Almonte	1	Brockville	1
Brookdale	2	Cornwall	3
Cornwall	1	Glengarry	4
Caledonia	1	Lancaster	1
Eganville	1	Matinville	6
Fitzoy Harbor	1	Middleville	6
Glengarry	3	Prescot	1
Hawkesbury	6	Vankleek Hill	6
Kingston	2		
Lanark (Perth)	13		
Lochiel	2		
London	1		
Osgoode	1		
Osnabruck	3		
Ottawa	2		
Plantagenet	2		
Prescott	1		
Queenston Heights	1		
Simcoe	1		
St. Catherines	2		
Stratford	6		
Vankleek Hill	2		
United States		United States	
Alburg, VT	2	Burlington, VT	1
Champlain, NY	8	New York City, NY	1
Highgate Springs, VT	1	New York State	1
New Haven, CT	1	Philadelphia, PA	1
North Hampton, ME	1	Portland, ME	1
Plattsburg, NY	3	Randolph, VT	1
Port Kent, NY	1	Rouses Point NY	1
		Trout River, NY	1

Source: Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Register; Minutes*, 1832-1900;
Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Register; Minutes*, 1832-1900.

Appendix 17

Apprenticeship Residence in Quebec, Ladies' Benevolent Society, 1832-1899

Location	No.	Location	No.
Adamsville	1	Montreal	74
Alymer	1	New Glasgow	3
Barford	1	Papineauville	2
Beauharnois	1	Rawdon	5
Belmour	2	Richmond	1
Beloeil	1	Roxborough	1
Chambly	1	Sherbrooke	2
Châteauguay	5	Sherrington	1
Côteau-du-Lac	1	St. Andrews	4
Côte-des-Neiges	1	St. Calixte	3
Farnham	4	St. Edwards	1
Granby	4	St. Eustache	1
Grand-Mère	1	St. Lambert	1
Hemlock	2	St. Laurent	1
Hemmingford	3	St. Thérèse	4
Huntingdon	1	Thurso	2
Lac Brûlé	1	Trenholm	1
Lachine	1	Trois-Rivières	4
Lachute	3	Waterloo	1
Lacolle	4	West Farnham	1
Lake Memphremagog	1		
Leeds	1	Not Indicated On Map 1	
Longueuil	1	Kinesa	1
Longue Pointe	2	Kissington	1
Mascouche	1	Stanfield	2
Melocheville	2	St. Bridgets	2

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Register; Minutes*, 1832-1900.

Appendix 18

Membership on the Committee of Management, Diverse Montreal Female Charities, 1870-1900

Home	Length of Membership	Number of Managers	% of Total
The Protestant Infants' Home, 1870-1900	1-5 Years	119	76.8
	6-10 Years	21	13.5
	11-15 Years	5	3.2
	16 Years +	10	6.5
	Total	155	100.0
Home and School of Industry/Hervey Institute, 1867-1900	1-5 Years	178	70.4
	6-10 Years	53	20.9
	11-15 Years	13	5.1
	16-20 Years	3	1.2
	21 Years +	6	2.4
	Total	253	100.0
The Episcopal Church Home, 1870-1900¹	1-5 Years	60	51.7
	6-10 Years	26	22.4
	11-15 Years	18	15.5
	16-20 Years	6	5.2
	21 Years +	6	5.2
	Total	116	100.0
The Industrial Rooms, 1867-69, 1883-1900²	1-5 Years	32	37.2
	6-10 Years	10	11.6
	11-15 Years	6	7.0
	16-20 Years	13	15.1
	21 Years +	25	29.1
	Total	86	100.0

Source: John Lovell, *Montreal City Directories*, "Benevolent Societies," 1850-1900; The Industrial Rooms, *Annual Reports*, 1867-69, 1883-1908, 1918.

¹ The Church Home was managed by a mixed Board. To maintain data consistency, only the female members have been included in this table. The wives of clergymen were indicated as members from 1880-1900, but were not always listed individually. The total does not include these women unless names or numbers were specified.

² The Industrial Rooms began publishing Annual Reports in 1883. Before that time they were associated first with the Home and School of Industry and then the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. The women who joined the Committee between 1869 and 1883 or for whom date of departure was unknown were not counted in the data. Those present in 1899 were followed until 1918.

Appendix 19

Funds Received from Protestant Churches, 1847-1899, in Dollars

Year	Ladies' Benevolent Society		Protestant Orphan Asylum	
	Donation	Number of Churches	Donation	Number of Churches
1847	352.00	7	0	2
1848	40.00	1	0	
1849	232.73	5	0	
1850	30.00	1	40.00	
1851	196.35	4	0	
1852	220.20	4	0	
1853	147.67	4	0	
1854	379.80	5	0	
1855	92.04	2	0	
1856	281.76	3	0	
1857	277.20	4	0	
1858	192.50	2	0	
1859	112.50	1	0	
1860	118.67	2	0	
1861	0		0	
1862	0		20.00	
1863	0		0	
1864	0		10.00	
1865	0		0	
1866	0		0	
1867	200.00	4	0	
1868	25.00	1	0	
1869	25.00	1	0	
1870	25.00	1	0	
1871	0		0	
1872	25.00	1	0	
1873	24.46	1	0	
1874	50.00	2	0	
1875	0		0	
1876	20.00	1	0	
1877	5.57	1	5.00	
1878	0		0	
1879	10.00	1	0	
1880	10.00	1	0	
1881	0		0	
1882	0		0	
1883	0		0	
1884	10.00	1	0	
1885	0		0	
1886	10.00	1	0	

Ladies' Benevolent Society			Protestant Orphan Asylum	
Year	Donation	Number of Churches	Donation	Number of Churches
1887	27.00	2	0	
1888	37.00	3	0	
1889	27.00	2	0	
1890	27.00	2	0	
1891	22.00	2	0	
1892	47.00	3	0	
1893	27.00	2	0	
1894	27.00	2	0	
1895	19.00	2	0	
1896	0		0	
1897	12.00	1	0	
1898	12.00	1	0	
1899	12.00	1	0	

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Reports*, 1847-1900;
Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Annual Reports*, 1850-1895.

Appendix 20

Members of the Ladies' Benevolent Society Finance and Building, Finance and Advisory Committees (1853, 1856, 1869-1900)

Name	Years on Committee	Wife an LBS Manager
P. McGill	1853	No
J. S. McCord	1853	No
Gen. Robinson	1853	No
A. Simpson	1853 - 1856	No
J. G. Mackenzie	1853 - 1881	Yes
J. Frothingham	1853	No
W. Workman	1853	No
G. D. Watson	1853	No
A. Howard	1853	No
Alderman Whitney	1853	Yes
Alderman Leeming	1853	Yes
Colonel Maitland	1853	No
J. Crawford	1853	Yes
D. Davidson	1856	Yes
T. Paton	1856 - 1871	Yes
I. Gould	1856	Yes
C. Geddes	1856 - 1875	Yes
T. Gordon	1869 - 1876	Yes
E. H. King	1869 - 1876	Yes
H. Lyman	1869 - 1897	Yes
T. Cramp	1869 - 1885	Yes
F. Mackenzie	1869 - 1887	No
Swanston	1869 - 1876	No
Weaver	1869 - 1881	No
J. Mckay	1869 - 1881	No
F. W. Thomas	1875 - 1900+	Yes
A. Allen	1875 - 1886	Yes
D. McCord	1875 - 1877	Yes
T. B. Wheeler	1878 - 1900+	Yes
H. Mackenzie	1889 - 1900+	Yes
W. C. McDonald	1889 - 1890+	No
G. F. C. Smith	1889 - 1900+	Yes
G. Hague	1895 - 1900+	No
W. de M. Marler	1895 - 1900+	No
J. Gault	1895 - 1896	Yes
W. Drake	1895 - 1900+	No
G. Cunningham	1895 - 1896	Yes
S. O. Shorey	1895 - 1900+	No
G. C. Dunlop	1896 - 1900+	No
A. J. Ferguson	1896 - 1900+	Yes
E. G. Penny	1896 - 1900+	No
H. R. Ives	1897 - 1900+	Yes
J. G. Savage	1897 - 1900+	Yes

Source: Ladies' Benevolent Society, *Annual Reports*, 1869-1900; *Minutes*, 1853-1869.

¹ Years for which lists are available

Appendix 21

Members of the Protestant Orphan Asylum Gentlemen's Committee, Finance Committee & Advisory Board (1845, 1870, 1887-1900)¹

Name	Years on Committee	Wife a POA Member
Rev. H. Wilkes	1845	Yes
R. Corse	1845	Yes
A. Ross	1845	Yes
J. S. McCord	1845	Yes
J. T. Barrett	1846-1860	Yes
R. Mackay	1846	Yes
R. S. Tylee	- -1867	Yes
J. Greenshields	- -1866	Yes
G. Frothingham	1870	Yes
T. Cramp	1870-1885	Yes
D. Greenshields	1870-1878	Yes
G. Moffatt	1870-1900+	Yes
H. Lyman	1870-1897	Yes
J. Torrance	1887-1900+	Yes
E. B. Greenshields	1887-1900+	Yes
G. C. Dunlop	1887-1900+	Yes
A. W. Stevenson	1898-1900+	Yes

Source: Protestant Orphan Asylum, *Annual Reports*, 1887-1900; *Minutes*, 1845-1887.

¹ Years for which lists are available.

Appendix 22

Protestant Orphan Asylum, Apprenticeship Form¹

T HIS INDENTURE, made the _____ day of _____
in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and _____
between the Ladies of the PROTESTANT ORPHAN ASYLUM, of the City of
Montreal, incorporated by Act of the Provincial Parliament of Canada, 7 Victoria,
Chap. LII., of the one part, and

of the other part, WITNESSETH, that the said Corporation, (by and with the consent of
the minor hereinafter named,) hath placed and bound

a minor child, aged _____ years and _____ months, as an
apprentice to and with the said party of the second part, from the day of the date hereof,
until the _____ day of _____ which will
be in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and _____,
during all which time the said child shall faithfully serve the said party of the second part,
and in all things demean _____ self as a good and faithful apprentice ought to
do. And the said party of the second part, in consideration of the labour and services to
be received from the said child, doth hereby promise and undertake to feed and clothe the
said child in a fit and proper manner, according to the respective station of the parties, to
bring up the said child in the principles of the Protestant Religion, to instruct the said
child in reading and writing, to teach and instruct, or otherwise cause to be taught and
instructed, the said child in the Art or Science of _____
after the best manner that _____ can, to pay to the said Corporation each year in
advance, until the expiration of the present Indenture from the date hereof, the sum of
twenty Shilling Currency, the first payment having been paid at the signing of these
presents, to be by the said party of the first part, placed at interest for the benefit of the
said child, and his or her use when the Indenture shall expire, and in default of payment
of the said sum of twenty Shillings in advance, the said party of the second part shall pay
interest on the same till paid, and also with said money transmit a statement in writing to
the Secretary of the Corporation, of the condition and welfare of the said child and lastly
at the expiration of the period of Apprenticeship or Service, provide the said child with a
good and new suit of clothes, suitable to the condition of the said child; provided always,
and it is hereby expressly understood that in the event of the death of those under whose
care the said child is hereby placed, or of treatment inconsistent with the obligations of
this Indenture, the party of the first part reserve to themselves the right of resuming their
control over the said minor, or taking such other measures for securing its rights as they
may be advised.

And it is further stipulated and agreed, that, in case of such
incompatibility of temper, or other cause sufficient to interrupt the cordial and mutual
discharge of the relative duties between Master and Apprentice and such as to render a
separation desirable, the party of the second part may surrender the child to the party of
the first part, on payment of the sum of Five Pounds Currency, (this sum to be invested in

such manner as the Directresses and Committee of Management shall direct), whereupon this Indenture will be null and void.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF, the said parties to these presents have respectively set their Hands and Seals, and the seal of the said Corporation, in duplicate, the day and year first above written.

SIGNED, SEALED AND DELIVERED IN THE PRESENCE OF

FORM OF APPLICATION FOR A CHILD,

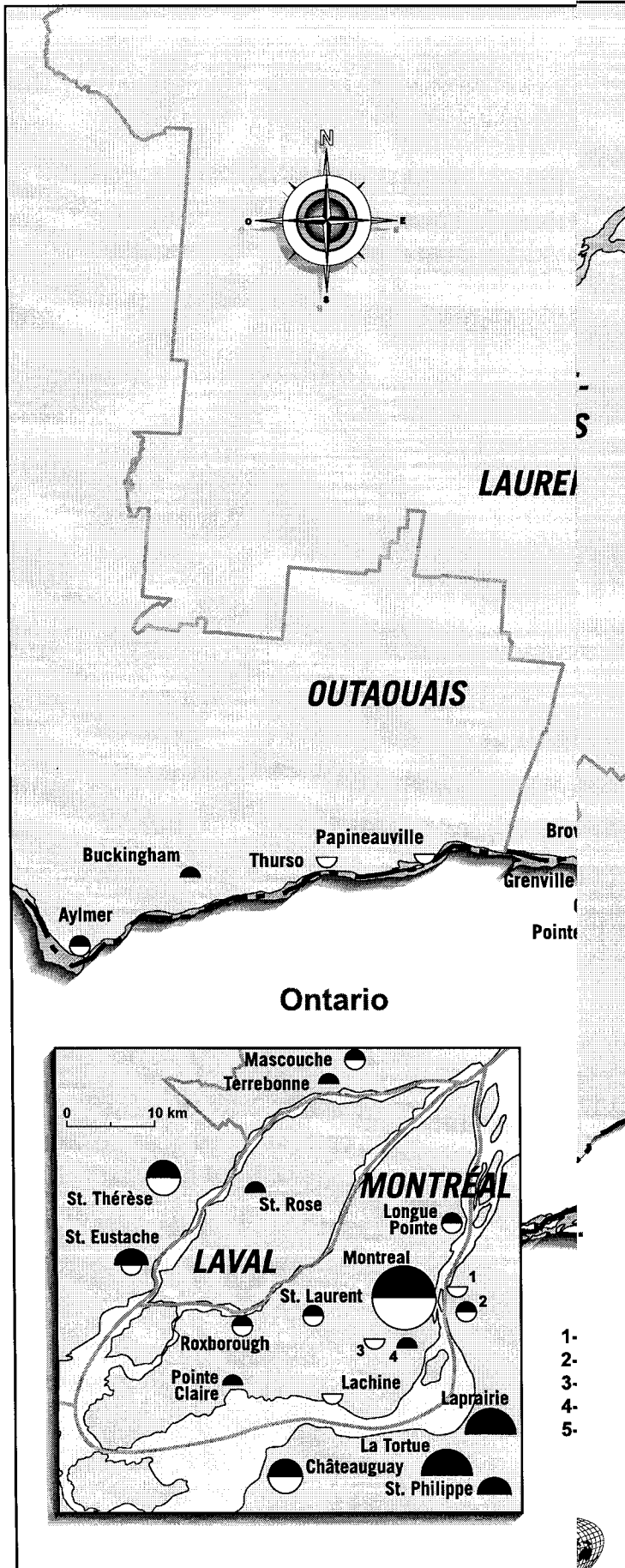
From the Orphan Asylum, to be addressed to the secretary, and left at the asylum ten days previous to the monthly meeting of the committee of management, which is held on the first Monday of every month.

*I _____
(give name in full, profession or occupation, residence & co., and religious persuasion)
am desirous of obtaining from the M. P. O. Asylum a (boy or girl) as an apprentice,
subject to the clauses and conditions set forth in the 15th By-law of the Corporation.*

¹. *Official text of apprenticeship agreement as included in the POA Constitution and BY-LAWS, revised in 1852, By-Law #XV, and the form of application.*

MAP 1

APPRENTICESHIP RESIDENCE IN QUEBEC, 1832-1899



NUMBER OF CHILDREN

Protestant Orphan Asylum	Ladies Benevolent Society
1 - 2	1 - 2
3 - 7	3 - 7
8 - 13	8 - 13
27 - 81	27 - 81

BOUNDARIES

—	Administrative region (1995)*
—	Provincial
—	International

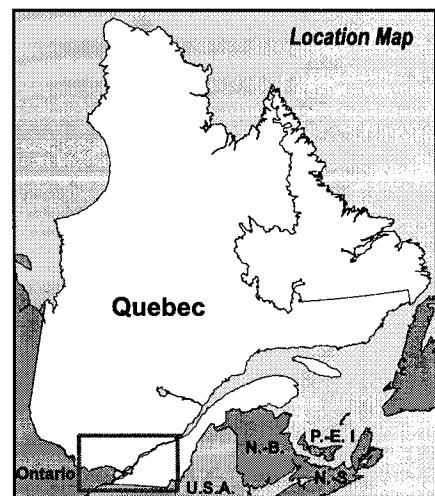
TOPONYMY

QUÉBEC Region

Sherbrooke Municipality **

* Current administrative regions have been included for the facility of the modern reader.

** Municipality names on the map are those used during the period 1832-1899.



BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. Primary Sources

a) Archival Collections

Archives municipales de la ville de Montréal

Annual Reports of the City Treasurer/Auditor of the City of Montreal for the Civic Year, 1851-1899.

Laroque, A.B. *Report of the Medical Officers of Health of the City of Montreal for the Year Ending 31st December 1875.*

Mayor's Inaugural Addresses, Valedictory Addresses, (1871-1899)

Minutes of the Council Meetings, 1850-1865.

Minutes of the Special Committees, House of Industry.

Grace Dart Extended Care Centre (private collection)

Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, Minute Books, 1863-1900.

Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, Annual Reports, 1863-1900.

McGill University Archives

Montreal Maternity (Hospital).

Montreal Anglican Diocesan Archives

Church Home, Annual Reports, 1878-1899.

Church Home, Minute Book, 1876-1899.

(Church Home) History 1855-1890, (1899).

Constitution and By-Laws of the Church Home, (1890).

History of the Church Home of Montreal Founded 1855, (1955).

Outline of Church Home History, 1855-1890.

Virr, Richard. Andrew's Home. Ninety Years of Service.

National Archives Of Canada (Collections)

Canada State Books, Vol. G, Reel C-113, July – November 1847.

Lady Aylmer Papers

National Council of Women of Canada

Annual Reports, 1893-1900.

Mackay Family Papers

Montreal Local Council of Women

Annual Reports, 1894-1900.

R.G. Dunn & Co. Collection, Canada, Vol.5-7.

Society for the Protection of Women and Children

Summerhill Homes

Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society

Annual Reports, 1833-1917.

By-Laws and Constitutions, 1874, 1897.

Matron's Journal, 1851-1900.

Minutes, 1832-1900.

Registers 1838-1900; *Index*, Books 1-4, 1838-1900.

Scrapbooks, letters and miscellaneous.

Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum

Annual Reports, 1834-1916.

By-Laws and Constitutions, 1822, 1823, 1851, 1852.

Minutes, 1823-1900.

Registers, 1835-1900.

Superintendents' Journal, 1880-1887.

Scrapbooks, letters and miscellaneous.

Weredale Homes

The Boys' Home, Montreal

Annual Reports, 1870-1900.

Minute Book, 1868-1901.

Register, 1881-1900.

Scrapbook: Newspaper clippings and memorabilia.

Young Women's Christian Association of Montreal

Annual Reports, 1876-1900.

Presbyterian Church Archives, Montreal,

Minutes of the Session.

Deacon's Court Minutes.

b) City Directories

The Montreal Directory, 1842/1843-1855/56.

Mackay's Montreal Directory, 1856/57-1867/68.

Montreal Directory, 1868/69-1874/75.

Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1875/76-1900.

c) Government Documents

Canada/Lower Canada

Census of Canada/Lower Canada. 1825; 1831; 1844; 1851/52; 1860/61; 1871; 1881; 1891, 1901.

Debates of the Legislative Assembly of United Canada 1841-1867, eds. Elizabeth Gibbs, et al., (Montréal: Centre de recherche en histoire économique du Canada Français).1978, 1981, 1991.

Journals of the Legislative Assembly for the United Canadas, 1840-1867.

"Public Accounts for the Province of Canada and Indexes." *Journals of the Legislative Assembly for the United Canadas*, 1840-1867.

"Reports of the Inspector of Prisons, Asylums..." *Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1861-1867.

Statutes of Canada/Province of Canada/Statutes de bas Canada, 1818-1829.

Quebec

Provincial Secretary, Letters.

"Report of the Inspectors of Prisons, Asylums..." *Sessional Papers of the Legislature of Quebec*, 1869-1900.

"Public Accounts..." *Sessional Papers of the Legislature of Quebec*, No. 1, 1867-1900.

Statutes of the Province of Quebec, 1867-1900.

d) Newspapers and Periodicals

Anglo-American Magazine, 1853.

The British American Journal, 1860-1862.

British American Journal of Medical Physical Science, 1845-1850.

The British American Magazine: Devoted to Literature, Science and Art, 1863, 1864.

The Bystander. 1880-1883, 1889-1890.

The Canada Protestant Herald, 1846-1847.

Canada Temperance Advocate, 1842-1849.

Canadian Christian Examiner and Presbyterian Magazine, 1838, 1840.

The Canadian Congregational Year Book, 1883 - 1900.

Canadian Illustrated News, 1869-1880.

The Canadian Magazine and Literary Repository, 1823-1825.

The Canadian Magazine of Politics, Science, Arts and Literature, 1893-1900.

The Canadian Methodist Magazine/The Methodist Magazine/The Methodist Magazine and Review, 1875-1899.

The Canadian Methodist Quarterly, 1889-1899.

The Canadian Monthly and National Review, 1872-1878.

The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist, 1856-1863, 1864-1868.

The Canadian Review and Literary and Historical Journal, 1824-1825.

The Canadian Temperance Advocate, 1845, 1852.

The Christian Guardian, 1829-1848.

The Christian Sentinel and Anglo-Canadian Churchman's Magazine, 1827-1828.

The Christian Witness and Church Member's Magazine under the Sanction of the Congregational Union of England and Wales, 1844-1852.

The Congregationalist and Canadian Independent, 1894-1898.

The Diocesan Theological College Magazine, 1892-1900.

The Dominion Churchman, 1876-1881, 1889-91, 1898-99.

The Dominion Illustrated/Monthly, 1888-1893.

Montreal Gazette, 1847-1852.

Montreal Herald, 1847.

Montreal Museum or Journal of Literature and Arts Edited by a Lady, 1832/33, 1834.

Montreal Witness, 1846-1856.

The New Dominion Monthly, 1867-1879.

The Presbyterian, 1861; 1871-1875.

Presbyterian College Journal, 1891-1893.

Presbyterian Record for the Dominion of Canada, 1876-1900.

Public Health Magazine and Literary Review, 1875.

Register, 1842-1843.

Rose-Belford's Canadian Monthly and National Review, 1878-1882.

Saturday Reader, 1865-1867.

e) Annual Reports/Institutional Histories

American Presbyterian, 1897, 1905.

Canada Sunday School Union, 1858, 1862-1864.

Charity Organization Society, Montreal, 1900-1903.

Executive Committee of the Temporal and Pastoral Aid Society of Christ Church, 1839.

Church Wardens and Select Vestry of the Christ Church Cathedral, 1851-1899.

Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, 1878-1900.

Fresh Air Fund, 1894.

The Female Home, 1870-1879.

Industrial Rooms, 1869-1904.

Irish Protestant Benevolent Society of Montreal, 1883, 1889.

Mackay Institute for Deaf-Mutes and the Blind, 1870-1897.

Manual of American Presbyterian Church, 1899.

Montreal Auxiliary Bible Society, 1857-1891.

Montreal Day Nursery, 1897-1905.

Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1884, 1886, 1887.

Montreal Foundling and Baby Hospital, 1897-1911.

Montreal Home and School of Industry/Hervey Institute, 1855, 1859, 1864, 1869, 1889.

Montreal Sailor's Institute, 1876-1896.

Murray Bay Convalescent Home, 1874-75, 1877-1885.

Old Brewery Mission, 1905.

Protestant Home for Friendless Women, 1876, 1888.

Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, 1855, 1856.

Protestant Infant's Home, 1871-1875, 1893-1898.

Proceedings of the Annual Synod of the Diocese of Montreal, Canada, 1861 to 1900.

Proceedings of the Canadian Conference of Charities and Corrections, 1898-1903.

Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction, 1882-1900.

St. Andrew's Church Montreal, 1897, 1899.

St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, 1857, 1867-1900.

St. Gabriel's Street Presbyterian, 1873-1900.

St. George's Society of Montreal, 1894, 1903.

St. Paul's Church Montreal. 1878-1900.

Societies in Connection with Christ Church Cathedral, 1892-1893.

The Year Book of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal, 1871, 1903-1904.

Trinity Church District Visiting Society, 1843.

Welcome Hall Mission, 1893-1911.

Women's Protective Immigration Society, 1888-1900.

A Story of the Old Brewery Mission. Montreal, 1903.

Campbell, Reverend Robert. *A History of the Scotch Presbyterian Church St. Gabriel's Street Montreal.* Montreal: W. Drysdale, 1887.

Lighthall, George R. *A Short History of the American Presbyterian Church of Montreal 1823 to 1923.* Montreal, 1922.

McCord, Mrs A. *Historical Sketch of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum From its Formation on the 16th of February 1822 to the Present Day.* Montreal: John Lovell, 1860.

Montreal Council of Social Agencies. *The Sheltering Home of Montreal. A Study of Services and Facilities.* Montreal, 1948.

Narrative of the Proceedings of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal From its Formation on the 9th March, 1835 until the 1st January, 1844. Montreal: J.C. Beckett, 1855.

Pearse, N.C. and Mrs. Alister Mitchel. *History of the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society 1815-1920*. Montreal: privately printed.

St. Andrew's Society of Montreal, *A Summary of the First Fifty Years Transactions*. Montreal: McQueen & Corneil, 1886.

St. George's Society of Montreal. "Historical Sketch 1834-1903." In *Sixty-Ninth Annual Report of the St. George's Society of Montreal*. Montreal: James H. Oxley, 1904.

f) Books/Articles

Alden, Lyman. "Institutions for Children. The Practical Details of Their Management." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. (1896): 318-325.

_____. "The Shady Side of the "Placing-out System." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. (1892).

Atherton, William Henry. *Montreal, 1835-1914*. 2 vols. Montreal: Clarke, 1914.

Austin, Reverend F., ed. *Woman: Her Character, Culture and Calling*. Brantford, Ont.: The Book & Bible House, 1890.

Brace, Charles Loring. *The Dangerous Classes of New York and Twenty Years Work Among Them*. New York: Wiloop & Hallenbeck, 1872.

Borthwick, J. Douglas. *History and Biographical Gazeteer of Montreal to the year 1892*. Montreal: Lovell, 1892.

Bryce, Mrs. George. *Historical Sketch of the Charitable Institutions of Winnipeg*. Winnipeg: The Manitoba Free Press, 1899.

Carpenter, Philip P. *On the Relative Value of Human Life in Different Parts of Canada*. Montreal: John Lovell, 1859.

_____. "On the Vital Statistics of Montreal." *The Canadian Naturalist and Geologist* (Dec. 1866): 134-156.

Constitution of the Charity Organization Society of London, Ontario. London, Ont.: A. Talbot, 1896.

Denstedt, Orville F. *A Chronicle of the Montreal Diet Dispensary, 1879-1957*. Montreal Diet Dispensary Records, McGill University Rare Book Room.

- Gardner, W.T. "Home-Placing." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. (1900): 237-42.
- Easton, Reverend Robert. *A Sermon Delivered Before the Members of the Female Benevolent Society, in Montreal, September 8, 1816*. Montreal: Lovell, 1816.
- History of Child Saving in the United States, National Conference of Charities and Correction, Report of the Committee on the History of Child-Saving Work to the Twentieth Conference Chicago, June 1893*. Reprint. Montclair: Patterson Smith, 1971.
- Hubbard, Robert W. "Placing out Children: Dangers of Careless Methods." *Proceedings of the National Conference of Charities and Correction*. (1899): 171-77.
- Jarvis (J. Flora Maclean). *Systematic Giving by Heirs of God, Joint Heirs of Christ*. Toronto: Toronto Willard Tract Depository, 1889.
- Kelso, J. J. "Neglected and Friendless Children." *The Canadian Magazine* 2 (1894): 214.
- _____. "Neglected and Friendless Children." *The Canadian Magazine* 11 (1899): 213-216.
- Kendall, Reverend E.K. *Christ Seen in the Stranger. A Sermon, Preached in the Cathedral Church of St. James, Toronto, Canada West on the Evening of St. George's Day, 1860 on Behalf of the St. George's Society*. Toronto: Roswell & Ellis, 1860.
- LaRocque, Dr. A.B. "Letter from Dr. LaRocque, Health Officer of Montreal." *Public Health Magazine and Literary Review*, 1, 1 (July 1875).
- Morgan, Henry James. *The Canadian Men and Women of the Times. A Handbook of Canadian Biography of Living Characters*. Toronto: William Briggs, 1912.
- Philanthropy, Care of Our Destitute and Criminal Population. Series of Letters Published in the Montreal Gazette*. Montreal: Salter & Ross, 1857.
- Sandham, A. *Ville Marie or Sketches of Montreal, Past and Present*. Montreal: George Bishop, 1870.
- Sedgewick, Reverend Robert. "'The Proper Sphere and Influence of Women in Christian Society,' A lecture delivered before the Young Men's Christian Association, Halifax, Nova Scotia, November 1856." In Ramsey Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *The Proper Sphere: Women's Place in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976: 8-34.
- Simpson, John. Assistant Auditor. *The Municipal Loan Funds, and the Hospitals and Charities of the Province of Canada*. Quebec: Morning Chronicle, 1864.
- Spenser, Anna Garlin and Charles Wesley Birtwell, eds. *The Care of Dependent, Neglected and Wayward Children*, 1894. Reprint. New York: Arno Press, 1974.

- Taylor, Reverend W. *Discourse Delivered before the Loyal Montreal Lodge of the Manchester Unity of the I. O. of O. F. at their First Anniversary, November 7, 1843.*
- Thomas, Cyrus. *History of the Counties of Argenteuil, Que. and Prescott, Ont.* Montreal: John Lovell and Son, 1896.
- Williams, J.W., D. D. Bishop of Quebec. *A Sermon Preached Before the St. George's Society in the Cathedral, Quebec, 23rd April 1868.*
- Wright, Albert O. "The New Philanthropy." *Proceedings of the National Conference on Charities and Correction.* (1896): 1-12.

2. Secondary Sources

- Abramovitz, Mimi. *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present.* Revised ed. Boston: South End Press, 1996.
- Adams, Frank Dawson. *A History of Christ Church Cathedral.* Montreal: Burtons, 1941.
- Ames, Herbert Brown. *The City Below the Hill*, 1897. Reprint. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972.
- Antler, Joyce and Stephen Antler. "From Child Rescue to Family Protection: The Evolution of the Child Protective Movement in the United States." *Children and Youth Services Review* 1, 2 (1979): 177-205.
- Aranguiz, Marcela. *Vagabonds et sans abris à Montréal: perception et prise en charge de l'errance 1840-1925.* Montréal: Collection «Études et documents» RCHTQ, numéro 12.
- Ariès, Philippe. *Centuries of Childhood. A Social History of Family Life.* Translated by Robert Baldick. New York: Vintage Books, Random House, 1962.
- Ashby, LeRoy. *Saving the Waifs: Reformers and Dependent Children, 1890-1917.* Philadelphia: Temple, 1984.
- _____. *Endangered Children: dependency, neglect and abuse in American history.* New York: Twayne, 1997.
- Ashford, David. "The Urban Poor Law." In D. Fraser, ed. *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century.* New York: St. Martin's Press, 1976: 128-48.
- Backhouse, Constance B. "Shifting Patterns in Nineteenth Century Canadian Custody Awards." In David Flaherty, ed. *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Vol.1. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981: 212-48.

- _____. *Petticoats & Prejudice. Women and Law in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1991.
- Baehre, Rainer. "Paupers and Poor Relief in Upper Canada." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1981): 57-80.
- Bagnell, Kenneth. *The Little Immigrants: The Orphans Who Came To Canada*. Toronto: MacMillan, 1980.
- Baillargeon, Denyse. "Fréquenter les Gouttes de lait. L'expérience des mères Montréalaises 1910-1965." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 1 (été 1996): 29-66.
- Baines, Carol T. "Women's Professions and a Ethic of Care." In Carol T. Baines, Patricia McEvans, and Shelia M. Neysmith, eds., *Women's Caring: Feminist Perspectives in Social Welfare*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998: 23-46.
- Banman, Haley P. "The Ladies Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Philanthropy." In M.B. Katz, ed. *The Canadian Social History Project, Interim Report, No. 4*. Toronto, 1972: 162-217.
- Banner, Lois. "A Reply to 'Culture et Pouvoir' from the Perspective of United States Women's History." *Journal of Women's History*, 1, 1 (Spring 1989): 100-107.
- Barry, Jonathan and Colin James, eds. *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State*. London and New York: Routledge, 1991.
- Baskerville, Peter and Eric W. Sager. *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and Their Families in Late Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998.
- Behlmer, George K. *Child Abuse and Moral Reform in England, 1870-1908*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982.
- Bellingham, Bruce. "'The 'Unspeakable Blessing': Street Children, Reform Rhetoric, and Misery in Early Industrial Capitalism." *Politics & Society* 12, 3 (1983): 303-330.
- _____. "Institution and Family: An Alternative View of Nineteenth-Century Child Saving." *Social Problems* 33, 6 (October/December 1986): S33-S57.
- _____. "The History of Childhood Since the 'Invention of Childhood': Some Issues in the Eighties." *Journal of Family History* 13, 3 (1988): 347-358.
- _____. "Waifs and Strays: Child Abandonment, Foster Care, and Families in Mid-Nineteenth Century New York." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 124-160.

- Bennett, Paul W. "Taming 'Bad Boys' of the 'Dangerous Class': Child Rescue and Restraint at the Victoria Industrial School 1887-1935." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 21, 31 (May 1988): 71-96.
- Benson, John. *The Penny Capitalists. A study of nineteenth-century working-class entrepreneurs*. New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1983.
- Berg, Barbara J. *The Remembered Gate: The Origins of American Feminism, 1800-1860*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Berger, Carl. *Science, God, and Nature in Victorian Canada. The 1982 Joanne Goodman Lectures*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983.
- Bilson, Geoffrey. *A Darkened House. Cholera in Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1980.
- Bissett-Johnson, Alastair and Julius Grey. "Adoption." *The Canadian Encyclopedia*, 2nd ed., Vol. 1. Edmonton: Hurtig Publishers, 1988: 16.
- Black, Robert Merrill. "Different Visions: The Multiplication of Protestant Missions to French-Canadian Roman Catholics, 1834-1855." In John S. Moir and C.T. McIntire, eds. *Canadian Protestant and Catholic Missions, 1820s-1960s*. New York: Peter Lang, 1988: 49-74.
- Blackwell, Marilyn Schultz. "Entitled to Relief: Poor Women, Charity, and Medicine, 1900-1920." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Massachusetts Amherst, 1996.
- _____. "The deserving sick: Poor women and the medicalization of poverty in Brattleboro, Vermont." *Journal of Women's History* 11, 1 (Spring 1999): 53-74.
- Boli-Bennett, John and John W. Meyer. "The ideology of childhood and the state: rules distinguishing children in national constitutions, 1870-1979." *American Sociological Review* 43, (December 1978): 797-812.
- Boris, Eileen. "Reconstructing the 'Family': Women, Progressive Reform and the Problems of Social Control." In Noralee Frankel and Nancy S. Dye, eds. *Gender, Class, Race, and Reform in the Progressive Era*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1991: 73-86.
- Boyer, Paul. *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1978.
- Boylan, Anne M. "Women in Groups: An Analysis of Women's Benevolent Organizations in New York and Boston, 1797-1840." *Journal of American History* 71 (December 1984): 497-523.

- _____. "Timid Girls, Venerable Widows and Dignified Matrons: Life Cycle Patterns among Organized Women in New York and Boston, 1797-1840." *American Quarterly* 38 (Winter 1986): 779-97.
- Bradbury, Bettina. "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness, and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885." In Joy Parr, ed. *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982: 109-28.
- _____. "Surviving as a Widow in 19th-Century Montreal." *Urban History Review* 17, 3 (February 1989): 148-60.
- _____. "Property and Marriage: The Law and the Practice in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 26, 51 (May 1993): 9-39.
- _____. *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Inc., 1993.
- _____. *Wife to Widow: Class, Culture, Family and the Law in Nineteenth-Century Québec*, McGill University, Les Grandes Conférences Desjardins, 1997.
- _____. "Elderly Inmates and Caregiving Sisters: Catholic Institutions for the Elderly in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." In Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998: 129-53.
- Brandt, Gail Cuthbert. "'Weaving It Together': Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Female Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1900-1950." *Labour/Le Travailleur* 7 (Spring 1981): 113-125.
- Bremner, Robert H. "Scientific Philanthropy, 1873-93." *The Social Service Review* 30, 2 (June 1956): 168-173.
- _____. "Other People's Children." *Journal of Social History* 16, 5 (Spring 1985): 83-103.
- Brenzel, Barbara. *Daughters of the State: A Social Portrait of the First Reform School for Girls in North America, 1856-1905*. Cambridge: MIT Press, 1983.
- Brouwer, Ruth Compton. "Transcending the 'Unacknowledged Quarantine': Putting Religion into English Canadian Women's History." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 27, 3 (Fall 1992): 47-61.
- Brush, Lisa D. "Love, Toil, and Trouble: Motherhood and Feminist Politics." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 21 (Winter 1996): 429-455.
- Bullen, John. "Orphans, Lunatics and Historians." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 18, 35 (May 1985): 133-145.

- _____. "Hidden Workers: Child Labour and the Family Economy in Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Ontario." *Labour/Le Travail* 18 (Fall 1986): 163-187.
- _____. "Children of the Industrial Age: Children, Work, and Welfare in Late Nineteenth-Century Ontario." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Ottawa, 1989.
- _____. "J.J. Kelso and the 'New' Child Savers. The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario." *Ontario History* 82, 2 (June 1990): 107-128.
- Burgess, Joanne. "Work, Family and Community: Montreal Leather Craftsmen 1790-1831." Ph.D. Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986.
- Burstyn, Joan N. *Victorian Education and the Ideal of Womanhood*. London: Croom Helm, 1980.
- Campbell, Gail. "Disfranchised but not Quiescent: Women Petitioners in New Brunswick in the Mid-19th-Century." In Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. Mississauga: Copp Clarke Pitman, 1991: 81-96.
- Canadian Book of the Road*. Montreal: Reader's Digest Association, 1979.
- Cavallo, Dominic. *Muscles and Morals. Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1888-1920*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981.
- Cavallo, Sandra. "The Motivations of Benefactors: An Overview of Approaches to the Study of Charity." In Jonathan Barry and Colin James, eds. *Medicine and Charity Before the Welfare State*. New York: Routledge, 1991: 46-62.
- Chambers, Clarke A. "Towards a Redefinition of Welfare History." *The Journal of American History* 73, 2 (September 1986): 407-433.
- Chambers-Schiller, Lee. "Single Women: Family and Vocation Among Nineteenth-Century Reformers." In Mary Kelly, ed. *Woman's Being, Woman's Place. Female Identity and Vocation in American History*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979: 338-344.
- Charles, Aline. *Travail d'Ombre et de Lumière. Le bénévolat féminin à l'Hôpital Sainte-Justine 1907-1960*. Montreal: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1990.
- Christie, Nancy. *Engendering the State: Family, Work, and Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2000.
- Christie, Nancy and Michael Gauvreau. *A Full-Orbed Christianity: The Protestant Churches and Social Welfare in Canada, 1900-1940*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996.

- Chunn, Dorothy. "Regulating the Poor in Ontario: From Police Courts to Family Courts." In Tino Loo and Lorna R. McLean, eds. *Historical Perspectives on Law and Society in Canada*. Toronto: Copp Clark Longman, 1994: 184-198.
- Chureau, Damien. "La Maison d'industrie de Montreal (1836-1870)." M.A. Thesis, Universite d'Angers, 1996.
- Clarke, Karen. "Public and Private Children: Infant Education in the 1820s and 1830s." In Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin and Valerie Walkerdine, eds. *Language, Gender and Childhood*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985: 74-87.
- Clement, Priscilla Ferguson. "Nineteenth-Century Welfare Policy, Programs, and Poor Women: Philadelphia as a Case Study." *Feminist Studies* 18, 1 (Spring 1992): 35-58.
- _____. "Families and Foster Care: Philadelphia in the Late Nineteenth Century." *Social Service Review* 53, 3 (September 1979): 406-20.
- Cohen, Stanley and Andrew Scull, eds. *Social Control and the State*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983.
- Collard, E.A. *Montreal Yesterdays*. Toronto: Longmans, 1963.
- _____. *Call Back Yesterdays*. Don Mills: Longmans, 1965.
- Collins, Robert. *The Age of Innocence, 1870-1880. Canada's Illustrated Heritage*. Toronto: McClelland, 1977.
- Comacchio, Cynthia R. *"Nations are Built of Babies": Saving Ontario's Mothers and Children 1900-1940*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993.
- Conrad, Margaret. "Recording Angels: The Private Chronicles of Women from the Maritime Provinces of Canada, 1750-1950." In Alison Prentice and Susan Mann Trofimenkoff, eds. *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*. Vol. 2. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987: 41-60.
- _____. "'Sundays Always Make me Think of Home': Time and Place in Canadian Women's History." In Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. Mississauga: Copp Clarke Pitman, 1991: 97-112.
- Cook, Ramsay and Wendy Mitchinson. *The Proper Sphere. Woman's Place in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Cook, Ramsay. *The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985.

- Cook, Sharon Ann. "A Quiet Place ... to Die': Ottawa's First Protestant Old Age Homes for Women and Men." *Ontario History* 81, 1 (March 1989): 25-40.
- _____. "The Ontario Young Women's Christian Temperance Union: A Study in Female Evangelicalism, 1874-1930." In Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds. *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995: 299-320.
- _____. *Through Sunshine and Shadow: The WCTU, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Cooper, John. *The Blessed Communion. The Origins and Histories of the Diocese of Montreal, 1760-1960*. Montreal: The Archives Committee of the Diocese of Montreal, 1960.
- Copp, Terry. *Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.
- _____. "Public Health in Montreal." In S.E.D. Shortt, ed. *Medicine in Canadian Society*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981: 395-416.
- _____. "The Child Welfare Movement in Montreal to 1920." In D.C.M. Platt, ed. *Social Welfare, 1850-1950, Argentina, Australia and Canada Compared*. London: MacMillan Press, 1989: 45-59.
- Corbett, Gail. *Barnardo Children in Canada*. Peterborough: Woodland, 1981.
- Cott, Nancy. *The Bonds of Womanhood. "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977.
- _____. "Feminist Theory and Feminist Movements: The Past Before Us." In Juliet Mitchell & Ann Oakley, eds. *What is Feminism?* New York: Pantheon, 1986: 49-62.
- Craven, Paul. "The Law of Master and Servant in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Ontario." In David H. Flaherty, ed. *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*. Vol. 1. Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1981: 175-211.
- Cravens, Hamilton. "Child Saving in Modern America 1870s-1990s." In Robert Wollows, ed. *Children at Risk in America: History, Concepts and Public Policy*. New York: State University of New York Press, 1993: 3-31.
- Cross, Harold. *100 Years of Service with Youth: The Story of the Montreal Y.M.C.A. 1851-1951*. Montreal: Southam Press, 1951.
- Cross, Suzanne D. "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1969.

- _____. "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal." In Susan Trofimenkoff and Alison Prentice, eds. *The Neglected Majority: Essays in Canadian Women's History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977: 66-86.
- Crowther, M.A. *The Workhouse System 1834-1929: The History of an English Institution*. Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1981.
- Cumbler, John. "The Politics of Charity: Gender and Class in Late 19th Century Charity Policy." *Journal of Social History* 14, 1 (Fall 1980): 99-110.
- Curtis, Bruce. "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice." *Material History Bulletin* 22 (Fall 1985): 21-30.
- _____. *Building the Educational State: Pedagogy, Punishment and Popular Resistance in Canada West, 1850-1871*. London, Ontario: Althouse Press, 1988.
- _____. "Policing Pedagogical Space: Voluntary School Reform and Moral Regulation." *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 13, 3 (Summer 1988): 283-304.
- D'Allaire, Micheline. *Les Communautés religieuses de Montréal, Tome I: Les communautés religieuses et l'assistance sociale à Montréal 1695-1900*. Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1997.
- Danylewycz, Marta. "Changing Relationships: Nuns and Feminists in Montreal, 1890-1925." *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 14, 28 (November 1981): 413-434.
- _____. *Taking the Veil: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood in Quebec, 1840-1920*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987.
- Dauphin, Cécile, Annette Farge, Geneviève Fraisse, Christiane Klapische-Zuber, Rose-Marie Lagrave, Michelle Perrot, Pierrette Pfzerat, Yannick Ripa, Pauline Schmitt-Pantel, Danièle Voldman. "Women's Culture and Women's Power: An Attempt at Historiography." *Journal of Women's History* 1, 1 (Spring 1989): 65-88. (Translated version of "Culture et Pouvoir des femmes: Essai d'Historiographie." *Annales, Économies Sociétés Civilisation*, 2 (mars-avril 1986): 271-93.)
- Davidoff, Leonore. *The Best Circles. Society Etiquette and the Season*. London: Croom Helm, 1973.
- _____. "Class and Gender in Victorian England." In Judith Newton, Mary Ryan and Judith Walkowitz, eds. *Sex and Class in Women's History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983: 17-71.
- Davidoff, Leonore and Catherine Hall. *Family Fortunes. Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850*. London: Hutchinson, 1987.

- De la Cour, Lykke, Cecilia Morgan and Mariana Valverde, "Gender Regulation and State Formation in Nineteenth-Century Canada." In Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992: 163-91.
- Dean, Mitchell. *The Constitution of Poverty. Toward a Genealogy of Liberal Governance*. London: Routledge, 1991.
- Delamont, Sara. "The Domestic Ideology and Women's Education." In Sara Delamont and Leonore Davidoff, eds. *The Nineteenth Century Woman Her Cultural and Physical World*. London: Croom Helm, 1978: 164-187.
- Deleury, Edith, Michèle Rivet, and Jean-Marc Neault. "De la puissance paternelle à l'autorité parentale: Une institution en voie de trouver sa vraie finalité." *Les Cahiers de droit* 15, 4 (1974): 782-870.
- DeLottinville, Peter. "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889." *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (Autumn/Spring 1981/82): 9-40.
- Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, Vol. 5 - 13. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983-1994.
- Donajgradski, A.P., ed. *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*. London: Croom Helm, 1977.
- Donzelot, Jacques. *The Policing of Families*. Translated by Robert Hurley. New York: Pantheon, 1979.
- Douglas, Muriel H. "History of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children from 1822 to 1966." M.S.W. Thesis, McGill University School of Social Work, 1967.
- Dru Stanley, Amy. "Beggars Can't be Choosers: Compulsion and Contract in Postbellum America." *The Journal of American History* 78 (March 1992): 1265-1293.
- Dudden, Faye. *Serving Women. Household Service in Nineteenth Century America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1983.
- Dumont-Johnson, Micheline. "Des garderies au XIXe siècle: les salles d'asile des Soeurs Grises à Montréal." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 34, 1 (juin 1980): 27-55.
- Dumont, Micheline, Michèle Jean, Marie Lavigne, and Jennifer Stoddart. *L'Histoire des femmes au Québec depuis quatre siècles*. Montréal: Les Quinzes, 1982.
- Dwork, Deborah. *War is Good for Babies and Other Young Children. A History of the Infant and Child Welfare Movement in England 1898-1918*. London: Tavistock Publishers, 1987.

- Dyhouse, Carol. "Mothers and Daughters in the Middle-Class Home c. 1870-1914." In Jane Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love. Women's Experience of Home and Family*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986: 27-47.
- Epstein, Barbara Leslie. *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America*. Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1981.
- Errington, Elizabeth Jane. *Wives and Mothers, Schoolmistress and Scullery Maids: Working Women in Upper Canada, 1790-1840*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995.
- Fecteau, Jean-Marie. *Un nouvel ordre des choses: la pauvreté, le crime, l'État au Québec, de la fin du XVIIIe siècle à 1840*. Outremont: VLB Éditeur, 1989.
- _____. "État et associationnisme au XIXe siècle québécois." In Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992: 134-162.
- _____. "Between the Old Order and Modern Times: Poverty, Criminality, and Power in Quebec, 1791-1840." In Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Law, Vol. 5, Crime and Criminal Justice*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994: 293-323.
- _____. "Un cas de force majeure: Le développement des mesures d'assistance publique à Montréal au tournant du siècle." *Lien Social et Politiques – RIAC, Généalogies de l'État-providence* 33 (printemps 1995): 107-113.
- _____. "La construction d'un espace social: les rapports de l'Église et de l'État et la question de l'assistance publique au Québec dans la seconde moitié du XIXe siècle." In Yvan Lamonde and Gilles Gallichan (dir.), *L'histoire de la culture et de l'imprimé. Hommages à Claude Galarneau*. Quebec: Les presses de l'Université Laval, 1996: 61-90.
- _____. "Note sur les enjeux de la prise en charge de l'enfance délinquante et en danger au XIXe siècle." *Lien Social et Politiques – RIAC* 40 (autumn 1998): 129-138.
- Fecteau, Jean-Marie, Sylvie Ménard, Véronique Strimelle and Jean Trépanier. "Une politique de l'enfance délinquante et en danger : La mise en place des écoles de réforme et d'industrie au Québec (1840-1873)." *Crime, Histoire et Sociétés* 1, 2 (1998): 75-110.
- Fessenden, Tracy. "The Convent, the Brothel, and the Protestant Woman's Sphere." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 25, 2 (Winter 2000): 451-478.
- Fido, Judith. "The Charity Organization Society and Social Casework in London 1869-1900." In A.P. Donajrodski, ed. *Social Control in Nineteenth Century Britain*. London: Croom Helm, 1977: 207-31.

- Fingard, Judith. "The Winter's Tale: Seasonal Contours of Pre-Industrial Poverty in British North America 1815-1860." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1974): 65-94.
- _____. "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax, and St. John's, 1815-1860." *Acadiensis* 5, 1 (Autumn 1975): 32-53.
- _____. "Evangelical Social Work in Canada: Salvationists and Sailor Friends, 1890-1920." In D.C. Platt, ed. *Social Welfare, 1850-1950 Australia, Argentina and Canada Compared*. London: MacMillan, 1989: 25-44.
- _____. *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax*. Porters Lake: Pottersfield Press, 1989.
- _____. "The Prevention of Cruelty, Marriage Breakdown and the Rights of Wives in Nova Scotia, 1880-1900." In Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994: 211-231.
- Fortier, De la broquerie. "Les 'enfants trouvés' au Canada Français (1754-1950)." *Union Médicale du Canada* 101 (April 1972): 715-725.
- Fraser, Nancy and Gordon, Linda. "A Geneology of Dependency: Tracing a Keyword of the U.S. Welfare State." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 19, 21 (1994): 309-336.
- Freedman, Estelle. "Separatism as Strategy: Female Institution Building and American Feminism, 1870-1930." *Feminist Studies* 5, 3 (Fall 1979): 512-529.
- Freeman Ruth and Patricia Klaus. "Blessed or Not? The New Spinster in England and the United States in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *Journal of Family History* 9, 4 (Winter 1984): 394-414.
- Fuchs, Rachel Ginnis. *Abandoned Children: Foundlings and Child Welfare in Nineteenth-Century France*. Albany: State University of New York Press, 1984.
- _____. "Preserving the Future of France: Aid to the Poor and Pregnant in Nineteenth-Century Paris." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 92-122.
- Fyson, Donald William. "Eating in the City: Diet and Provisioning in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1989.

- Fyson, Donald. "Du pain au madère: l'alimentation à Montréal au début du XIXe siècle." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 46, 1, (été 1992) 67-90.
- Gagan, David. "For 'Patients of Moderate Means': The Transformation of Ontario's Public General Hospitals, 1880-1950." *The Canadian Historical Review* 70, 2 (1989): 151-179.
- Gagnon, Eugene. "Notes on the Early History and Evolution of the Department of Health of Montreal." *Public Health Journal* 29, 5 (May 1938): 216-17.
- Galey, Sherry and Elizabeth Shein. *Lady Bountifuls and the 'Unfortunates' Early History of the Ottawa Day Nursery 1891-1936*. 1981 (manuscript document, National Library of Canada).
- Gates Riley, Glenda. "The Subtle Subversion: Changes in the Traditional Image of the American Woman." *The Historian* 34, 2 (1970): 210-27.
- Gilligan, Carol. *In a Different Voice. Psychological Theory and Women's Development*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982.
- Ginzberg, Lori D. *Women and the Work of Benevolence: Morality, Politics, and Class in the Nineteenth-Century United States*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990.
- Glynn, Desmond. "'Exporting Outcast London': Assisted Emigration to Canada, 1886-1914." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 15, 29 (May 1982): 209-38.
- Gordon, Beverly. *Bazaars and Fair Ladies. The History of the American Fundraising Fair*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1998.
- Gordon, Linda. "Single Mothers and Child Neglect, 1880-1920." *American Quarterly* 37, 2 (1985): 173-192.
- _____. "Feminism and Social Control: The Case of Child Abuse and Neglect." In Juliet Mitchell and Ann Oakley, eds. *What is Feminism*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1986: 63-84.
- _____. *Heroes of Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence, Boston 1880-1960*. New York: Penguin Books, 1988.
- _____. *Pitied But Not Entitled: Single Mothers and the History of Welfare, 1890-1935*. New York: The Free Press, 1994.
- Gordon, Linda and Sara McLanahan. "Family Violence, Feminism and Social Control." In Linda Gordon, ed. *Women, the State, and Welfare*. Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1990: 178-198.
- _____. "Single Parenthood in 1900." *Journal of Family History* 16, 2 (1991): 97-116.

- Gordon, Linda and Joan Scott. Debate in *Signs* (Summer 1990): 848-860.
- Gorham, Deborah. *The Victorian Girl and the Feminine Ideal*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1982.
- Gossage, Peter. "Abandoned Children in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1983.
- _____. "Les enfants abandonnés à Montréal au 19e siècle: La Crèche d'Youville des Soeurs Grises, 1820-1871." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 40, 4 (printemps 1987): 537-559.
- Goubau, Dominique and Claire O'Neill, "L'adoption, l'Église et l'État: Les origines tumultueuses d'une institution légale." In Renée Joyal, ed. *Entre surveillance et compassion. L'évolution de la protection de l'enfance au Québec: Les origines à nos jours*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2000: 97-130.
- Green, Nancy L. "To Give and to Receive: Philanthropy and Collective Responsibility Among Jews in Paris, 1880-1914." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity. The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 197-226.
- Greenhaus, Breteton. "Paupers and Poorhouses. The Development of Poor Relief in Early New Brunswick." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 1 (1968): 103-126.
- Greening, W.E. "Historic Argenteuil County." *Canadian Geographical Journal* 54, 5 (May 1957): 206-216.
- Greer, Allan, "The Birth of the Police in Canada." In Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992: 17-49.
- Greven, Philip. *The Protestant Temperament. Patterns of Child-Rearing, Religious Experience, and the Self in Early America*. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1977.
- Grigg, Susan. *The Dependent Poor of Newburyport: Studies in Social History, 1800-1830*. Ann Arbor: UMI Research Press, 1984.
- Grossberg, Michael. *Governing the Hearth: Law and the Family in Nineteenth-Century America*. Chapel Hill & London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1985.
- Guildford, Janet. "Introduction." In Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994: 9-21.
- _____. "'Whate'er the duty of the hour demands': The Work of Middle-Class Women in Halifax, 1840-1880." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 30, 59 (May 1997): 1-20.

Hacsi, Timothy A. *Second Home: Orphan Asylums and Poor Families in America*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997.

Hall, Catherine. "The Early Formation of Victorian Domestic Ideology." In Sandra Burman, ed. *Fit Work for Women*. London: Croom Helm, 1979: 15-32.

_____. "Private persons vs public someones: Class, gender and politics in England 1780-1850." In Carolyn Steedman, Cathy Urwin and Valerie Walkerdine, eds. *Language, Gender and Childhood*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1985: 10-33.

Hall, Nancy. "The Professionalisation of Women Workers in the Methodist, Presbyterian, and United Churches of Canada." In Mary Kinnear, ed. *First Days, Fighting Days: Women in Manitoba*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1987: 120-133.

Hanna, David B. "Creation of An Early Victorian Suburb in Montreal." *Urban History Review* 9, 2 (October 1980): 38-64.

_____. *The Layered City: A Revolution in Housing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Shared Spaces, No.6 (August 1986).

Hanna, David, and Sherry Olson. "Métiers, loyers et bouts de rues: l'armature de la société montréalaise 1881 à 1901." *Cahiers de géographie du Québec* 27, 71 (septembre 1983): 255-275.

Hardshaw, Josephine P. *When Women Work Together: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada*. Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1966.

Hardy, Rene. "L'Activité sociale du curé de Notre-Dame de Québec aperçu de l'influence du clergé au milieu du XIX siècle." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 6, (November 1970): 5-33.

_____. *Control social et mutation de la culture religieuse au Québec, 1830-1930*. Montréal: Boréal, 1999.

Hareven, Tamara. *Family Time and Industrial Time. The Relationship between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

_____. "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influence on Canadian Social Welfare." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 2 (April 1969): 82-98.

Harris, José. *Unemployment and Politics: A Study in English Social Policy, 1886-1914*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1984.

Harrison, Brian. "For Church, Queen and Family: The Girl's Friendly Society, 1874-1920." *Past and Present* 61 (1972): 107-38.

- _____. "Philanthropy and the Victorians." In Brian Harrison, ed. *Peaceable Kingdom. Stability and Change in Modern Britain*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982: 217-59.
- Harrison, Phylliss. *The Home Children: Their Personal Stories*. Winnipeg: Watson & Dwyer, 1979.
- Harvey Janice. "Upper Class Reaction to Poverty in Mid-Nineteenth Century Montreal: A Protestant Example." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1978.
- Harvey, Leslie Anne, "The Canadian Response to the Irish Famine Emigration of 1847," M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1973.
- Heasman, Kathleen. *Evangelicals in Action. An Appraisal of Their Social Work in the Victorian Era*. London: Geoffrey Bles, 1962.
- Hertzog, Stephen and Robert D. Lewis. "A City of Tenants: Homeownership and Social Class in Montreal, 1847-1881." *The Canadian Geographer* 30, 4 (Winter 1986): 316-323.
- Hewitt, Nancy A. *Women's Activism and Social Change: Rochester, New York, 1822-1872*. Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1984.
- _____. "Beyond the search for sisterhood: American women's history in the 1980s." *Social History* 10, (1985): 299-321.
- Heyman, Christine Leigh. "The Fashion Among More Superior People: Charity and Social Change in Provincial New England." *American Quarterly* 34, 2 (Summer 1982): 107-124.
- Higgenbotham, Ann R. "Respectable Sinners: Salvation Army Rescue Work with Unmarried Mothers, 1884-1914." In Gail Malmgreen, ed. *Religion in the Lives of English Women, 1760-1930*. London: Croom Helm, 1986: 216-33.
- Himmelfarb, Gertrude. *The Ideas of Poverty: England in the Early Industrial Age*. New York: Random House, 1983.
- Hogg, Grace Laing. "The Legal Rights of Masters, Mistresses and Domestic Servants in Montreal, 1816-1829." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1989.
- Hogg, Grace Laing and Gwen Shulman, "Wage Disputes and the Courts in Montreal, 1816-1835." In Donald Fyson, Colin M. Coates, Kathryn Harvey, eds. *Class, Gender and the Law in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Quebec, Sources and Perspectives*. Montreal: Montreal History Group, 1993: 127-143.
- Holloran, Peter C. *Boston's Wayward Children: Social Services for the Homeless Children, 1830-1930*. Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1994.
- Holmes, Janet. "Toys and Games." In Donald Blake Webster, ed. *The Book of Canadian Antiques*. New York: McGraw-Hill Ryerson, 1974: 187-202.

- Horn, Pamela. *The Rise and Fall of the Victorian Servant*. 1975. Revised ed. Phoenix Mill: Alan Sutton, 1990.
- Houston, Susan. "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-75." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1975.
- _____. "Victorian Origins of Juvenile Delinquency: A Canadian Experience." In Michael Katz and Paul Mattingly, eds. *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*. New York: New York University Press, 1975: 88-109.
- _____. "The 'Waifs and Strays' of a Late Victorian City: Juvenile Delinquents in Toronto." In Joy Parr, ed. *Childhood and Family in Canadian History*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982: 129-142.
- Huggins, Nathan I.H. *Protestants Against Poverty. Boston's Charities 1870-1900*. Westport: Greenwood, 1971.
- Humphreys, Robert. *Sin, Organized Charity and the Poor Law in Victorian England*. New York and London, St. Martin's Press, 1995.
- Humphries, Stephen. *Hooligans or Rebels? An Oral History of Working-Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1930*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1981.
- Hurl, Lorna F. "Overcoming the Inevitable: Restricting Child Factory Labour in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario." *Labour/Le Travail* 22 (Spring 1988): 87-121.
- Huskins, Bonnie. "The Ceremonial Space of Women: Public Processions in Victorian Saint John and Halifax." In Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds. *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th-Century Maritimes*. Fredericton: Acadiensis Press, 1994: 145-160.
- Ignatieff, Michael. "State, Civil Society and Total Institutions: A Critique of Recent Social Histories of Punishment." In Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, eds. *Social Control and the State*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983: 75-105.
- _____. "Total Institutions and Working Classes: A Review Essay." *History Workshop Journal* 15 (1983): 167-73.
- Inglis, Kenneth Stanley. *Churches and the Working Classes in Victorian England*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1963.
- Iacovetta, Franca and Wendy Mitchinson. "Introduction: Social History and Case File Research." In Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998: 3-24.
- James, Janet Wilson. *Changing Ideas about Women in the United States, 1776-1825*. New York: Garland, 1981.

- Johnston, Beatrice. *For Those Who Cannot Speak: A History of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, 1869-1969*. Laval: Dev-Sco, 1970.
- Jones, Andrew and Leonard Rutman. *In the Children's Aid. J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981.
- Jones, Gareth Stedman. *Outcast London: A Study in the Relationship between Classes in Victorian Society*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1971.
- _____. *Languages of Class. Studies in English Working Class History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Joyal, Renée. *Les Enfants, la société et l'État au Québec, 1608-1989. Jalons*. Montreal: Éditions Hurtubise, Cahiers du Québec, 1999.
- _____. "L'acte concernant les écoles d'industrie (1869): Une mesure de prophylaxie sociale dans un Québec en voie d'urbanisation." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 2, automne 1996: 227-239.
- Katz, Michael B. *Poverty and Policy in American History*. New York: Academic Press, 1983.
- _____. *In the Shadow of the Poorhouse: A Social History of Welfare in America*. New York: Basic Books, 1986.
- _____. *The Undeserving Poor. From the War on Poverty to the War on Welfare*. New York: Pantheon Books, 1989.
- _____. "The History of an Impudent Poor Woman in New York City from 1918 to 1923." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 227-246.
- _____. "The Urban 'Underclass' as a Metaphor of Social Transformation." In Michael B. Katz, ed. *The 'Underclass' debate: views from history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993: 3-26.
- Kealey, Linda. ed. *'A Not Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979.
- Kealy, Gregory S. ed. *Canada Investigates Industrialism: The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital, 1889 (Abridged)*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1973.
- Keating, Peter. *La Science du Mal: L'Institution de la psychiatrie au Québec, 1800-1914*. Montréal: Les Éditions du Boréal, 1993.
- Kelley, Mary. ed. *Woman's Being, Woman's Place: Female Identity and Vocation in American History*. Boston: G.K. Hall, 1979.

- Kenneally, Rhona. "The Montreal Maternity, 1843-1926: Evolution of a Hospital." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1983.
- Kerber, Linda K. "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History." *The Journal of American History* 75, 1 (June 1988): 9-39.
- Kerber, Linda K., Catherine G. Greeno and Eleanor E. Maccoby, Zella Luria, Carol B. Stack, and Carol Gilligan. "On *In a Different Voice*: An Interdisciplinary Forum." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society*. 11, 21 (Winter 1986): 304-333.
- Kessler-Harris, Alice. "Women and Welfare: Public Interventions in Private Lives." *Radical History Review* 56 (1993) 127-136.
- Keyssar, Alexander. *Out of Work. The first century of unemployment in Massachusetts*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986.
- Kirkpatrick Strong, Margaret. *Public Welfare Administration in Canada*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930.
- Klassen, Henry C. "In Search of Neglected and Delinquent Children: The Calgary Children's Aid Society, 1909-1920." In Alan F.J. Artibise, ed. *Town and City. Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development*. Regina: University of Regina, 1981: 375-391.
- Kraditor, Aileen. *The Ideas of the Woman's Suffrage Movement*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1967.
- Kymlicka, Will. "Altruism in Philosophical and Ethical Traditions: Two Views." In Jim Phillips, Bruce Chapman and David Stevens, eds. *Between State and Market: Essays on Charities Law and Policy in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001: 87-126.
- Lacelle, Claudette. "Les domestiques dans les villes canadiennes au XIXe siècle: effectifs et conditions de vie." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 15, 29 (May 1982): 181-207.
- Lakoff, Robin. *Language and Woman's Place*. New York: Harper Colophon Books, 1975.
- Lamonde, Yvan. "La sociabilité et l'histoire socio-culturelle: le cas de Montréal, 1760-1880." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1987): 86-111.
- Langland, Elizabeth. *Nobody's Angels: Middle-Class Women and Domestic Ideology in Victorian Culture*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Langsam, Miriam. *Children West: A History of the Placing Out System in the New York Children's Aid Society*. Madison: State Historical Society of Wisconsin, 1964.
- Lapointe-Roy, Huguette. *Charité bien ordonnée: le premier réseau de lutte contre la pauvreté à Montréal au 19e siècle*. Montréal: Boréal, 1987.

- Lasser, Carol S. "A 'Pleasingly Oppressive' Burden: The Transformation of Domestic Service and Female Charity in Salem, 1880-1840." *Essex Institute Historical Collections* 116 (1980): 156-175.
- _____. "The Domestic Balance of Power: Relations Between Mistress and Maid in Nineteenth-Century New England." *Labour History* 28, 1 (Winter 1987): 5-22.
- Lauzon, Gilles. "Habiter un nouveau quartier ouvrier de la banlieue de Montréal; Village Saint-Augustin (Municipalité de Saint-Henri) 1855-1881." M.A. Thesis, Université du Québec à Montréal, 1986.
- Lavigne, Marie, Yolande Pinard and Jennifer Stoddart. "The Federation Nationale Saint-Jean-Baptiste and the Women's Movement in Quebec." In Linda Kealey, ed. *'A Not So Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s -1920s*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Press, 1979: 71-89.
- Lebsock, Suzanne. *The Free Women of Petersburg. Status and Culture in a Southern Town, 1784-1860*. New York: W.W. Norton, 1986.
- Lees, Lynn Hollen. "The Survival of the Unfit: Welfare Policies and Family Maintenance in Nineteenth-Century London." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 68-91.
- Leskyi, Helen. "A 'Servant Problem' or a 'Servant-Mistress Problem'? Domestic Service in Canada, 1830-1930." *Atlantis* 7, 1 (Fall 1981): 3-11.
- Leslie, Genevieve. "Domestic Service in Canada, 1880-1920." In Janice Acton, Penny Goldsmith and Bonnie Shepard, eds. *Women at Work: Ontario 1850-1930*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1974: 85-90.
- L'Espérance, Jean Lawrence. "Woman's Mission to Woman: Explorations in the Operation of the Double Standard and Female Solidarity in Nineteenth Century England." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 12, 24 (November 1979): 316-38.
- Levenstein, Harvey. "'Best for Babies' or 'Preventable Infanticide'? The Controversy over Artificial Feeding of Infants in America, 1880-1920." *The Journal of American History* 70 (1983): 75-94.
- Lévesque, Andrée. "Deviant Anonymous: Single Mothers at the Hôpital de la Miséricorde in Montreal, 1929-1939." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers*, (1984): 168-184.
- _____. *Making and Breaking the Rules: Quebec Women, 1919-1939*. Translated by Yvonne Klein. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1994.
- Lewis, Jane. *Women and Social Action in Victorian and Edwardian England*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991.

- _____. "The Boundary Between Voluntary and Statutory Social Service in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries." *The Historical Journal* 39, 1 (1996): 155-77.
- Light, Beth and Joy Parr. eds. *Canadian Women on the Move 1867-1920*. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1983.
- Light, Beth and Alison Prentice. eds. *Pioneer and Gentlewomen of British North America 1713-1867*. Toronto: New Hogtown Press, 1980.
- Lips, Hilary M. *Women, Men and the Psychology of Power*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1981.
- _____. *Sex & Gender*. Mountain View: Mayfield Publishing, 1988.
- Lis, Catharina and Hugo Soly. "'Total Institution' and the Survival Strategies of the Laboring Poor in Antwerp, 1770-1860." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 38-67.
- Little, Margaret Jane Hillyard. "The Blurring of Boundaries: Private and Public Welfare for Single Mothers in Ontario." *Studies in Political Economy* 47, (Summer 1995) 89-109.
- _____. *'No Car, No Radio, No Liquor Permit.' The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1997*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998.
- _____. "'A Fit and Proper Person': The Moral Regulation of Single Mothers in Ontario, 1920-1940." In Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan and Nancy M. Forestell, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999: 123-138.
- Lomax, Elizabeth M.R. *Science and Patterns of Child Care*. San Francisco: W.H. Freeman and Company, 1978.
- Lubove, Roy. *The Professional Altruist. The Emergence of Social Work as a Career, 1880-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1965.
- Luddy, Maria. *Women and philanthropy in nineteenth-century Ireland*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- Maas, Barbara. *Helpmates of Man: Middle-Class Women and Gender Ideology in Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Bochum: Universitätsverlag Dr. N. Brockmeyer, 1990.
- MacDermot, H.E. *A History of the Montreal General Hospital*. Montreal: The Montreal General Hospital, 1950.

- MacDonald, Cheryl. *Adelaide Hoodless. Domestic Crusader*. Toronto: Dundurn Press, 1986.
- MacDougall, Heather A. "Public Health and the "Sanitary Idea" in Toronto, 1866-1890." In Wendy Mitchinson and Janice P. Dickin McGinnis, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988: 62-87.
- McLennan, Anne. "Charity and Change: Montreal English Protestant Charity Faces the Crisis of Depression." *Urban History Review* 16, 1 (June 1987): 1-16.
- MacLeod, David. "A Live Vaccine. The YMCA and Male Adolescence in the United States and Canada 1870-1920." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11, 21 (May 1978): 5-26.
- MacLeod, Roderick. "Salubrious Settings and Fortunate Families: The Making of Montreal's Golden Square Mile. 1840-1895." Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1997.
- Mandler, Peter. "Poverty and Charity in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis: An Introduction." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 1-37.
- Marks, Lynne. "Working-Class Femininity and the Salvation Army: Hallelujah Lasses in English Canada." In Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. Mississauga: Copp Clarke Pitman, 1991: 182-205.
- _____. "Indigent Committees and Ladies Benevolent Societies: Intersections of Public and Private Poor Relief in Late Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario." *Studies in Political Economy* 47, Summer 1995: 61-87.
- _____. *Revivals and Roller Rinks: Religion, Leisure, and Identity in Late-Nineteenth-Century Small-Town Ontario*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Marks, Rachel B. "Institutions for Dependent and Delinquent Children: Histories, Nineteenth Century Statistics, and Recurrent Goals." In Donnell M. Pappenfort, Dee Morgan Kilpatrick and Robert W. Roberts, eds. *Child Caring: Social Policy and the Institution*. Chicago: Aldine Publishing, 1973: 9-67.
- May, Margaret. "Innocence and Experience: The Evolution of the Concept of Juvenile Delinquency in the Mid-Nineteenth Century." *Victorian Studies* 17, 1 (1973): 7-28.
- McCall, John N. "Research on the Psychological Effects of Orphanage Care: A Critical Review." In Richard B. McKenzie, ed. *Rethinking Orphanages for the 21st Century*. Thousand Oakes: SAGE, 1999: 127-50.
- McCarthy, Kathleen D. "Parallel Structures: Women and the Voluntary Sphere." In Kathleen D McCarthy, ed. *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990: 1-31.

- McCord, Norman. "The Poor Law and Philanthropy." In Derek Fraser, ed. *The New Poor Law in the Nineteenth Century*. New York: St. Martins Press, 1976: 90-98.
- McCrone, Kathleen E. "Feminism and Philanthropy in Victorian England: the Case of Louisa Twining." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1976): 123-139.
- McKenna, Katherine M.J. "The Role of Women in the Establishment of Social Status in Early Upper Canada." *Ontario History* 83, 3 (Sept. 1990): 179-206.
- _____. *A Life of Propriety: Anne Murray Powell and Her Family, 1755-1849*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994.
- McKenzie, Richard B. "Orphanage Alumni: How They Have Done and How They Evaluate Their Experience." In Richard B. McKenzie, ed. *Rethinking Orphanages for the 21st Century*. Thousand Oakes: SAGE, 1999: 103-26.
- McKillop, A.B. *A Disciplined Intelligence. Critical Inquiry and Canadian Thought in the Victorian Era*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979.
- McLean, Lorna R. "Single Again: Widow's Work in the Urban Family Economy, Ottawa, 1871." *Ontario History* 83, 2 (June 1991): 127-150.
- McLoughlin, William C. "Evangelical Childrearing in the Age of Jackson: Francis Wayland's Views on When and How to Subdue the Wilfulness of Children." *Journal of Social History* 9, 15 (1975): 20-34.
- McNeill, John Thomas. *The Presbyterian Church in Canada 1875-1925*. Toronto: General Board Presbyterian Church in Canada, Contribution of 1925.
- McTighe, Michael T. "'True Philanthropy' and the Limits of the Female Sphere: Poor Relief and Labor Organization in Ante-Bellum Cleveland." *Labor History* 27, 2 (Spring 1986): 227-56.
- Meckel, Richard A. "Protecting the Innocents: Age Segregation and the Early Child Welfare Movement." *The Social Service Review* 59, 3 (September 1985): 455-75.
- _____. *Save the Babies. American Public Health Reform and the Prevention of Infant Mortality 1850-1929*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Medrick, Hans and David Warren Sabean. "Interest and emotion in family and kinship studies: a critique of social history and anthropology." In Hans Medrick and David Warren Sabean, ed. *Interest and Emotion. Essays on the Study of Family and Kinship*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984: 21-23.
- Melder, Keith. "Ladies Bountiful: Organized Women's Benevolence in Early 19th-Century America." *New York History* 48, 3 (July 1967): 231-254.

- Ménard, Sylvie. *L'Institut Saint-Antoine et la problématique de réforme des garçons délinquants au Québec, 1873-1909*. Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Québec à Montréal, 1998.
- Mencher, Samuel. "The Influence of Romanticism on Nineteenth-Century British Social Work." *The Social Service Review* 38, 2 (June 1964): 177-82.
- _____. *Poor Law to Poverty Programme. Economic Security Policy in Britain and the United States*. Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1967.
- Mergen, Bernard. "The Discovery of Children's Play." *American Quarterly* 27 (1975): 399-420.
- Merkley, Paul. "The Vision of the Good Society in the Social Gospel: What, Where, and When is the Kingdom of God?" *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1987): 138-156.
- Metcalfé, Alan. "Organized Sport and Social Stratification in Montreal: 1840-1901." In R.S. Gruneau and J.G. Albinson, eds. *Canadian Sport. Sociological Perspectives*. Don Mills: Addison-Wesley, 1976: 77-101.
- _____. *Canadians Learn to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1987.
- Miller, Pamela J., Brian Young, Donald Fyson, Donald Wright, Moira McCaffrey. eds. *The McCord Family: A passionate vision*. Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992.
- Mitchell, Juliet and Ann Oakley. eds. *What is Feminism?* New York: Pantheon Books, 1986.
- Mitchinson, Wendy. "The YWCA and Reform in the Nineteenth Century." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 22, 24 (November 1974): 368-84.
- _____. "Canadian Women and Church Missionary Societies in the Nineteenth Century: A Step Towards Independence." *Atlantis* 11 (1977): 57-75.
- _____. "Historical Attitudes Towards Women and Children." *Atlantis* 4, 2, Part 2 (Spring 1979): 13-34.
- _____. "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism." In Linda Kealey, ed. *'A Not Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979: 151-167.
- _____. "Early Women's Organizations and Social Reform: Prelude to the Welfare State." In Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State. The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond, 1987: 77-92.

- _____. "Reasons for Committal to a Mid-Nineteenth Ontario Insane Asylum: The Case of Toronto." In Wendy Mitchinson and Janice P. Dickin McGinnis, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988: 88-109.
- _____. *The Nature of their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991.
- Moen, Phyliss and Elain Wetherington. "The Concept of Family Adaptive Strategies." *Annual Review of Sociology* 18, 1992: 233-51.
- Mohl, Raymond. *Poverty in New York 1783-1825*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1973.
- _____. *The New City: Urban America in the Industrial Age, 1860-1920*. Arlington Heights: Harlan Davidson, 1985.
- Moir, John. *Enduring Witness: A History of the Presbyterian Church in Canada*. Don Mills: Presbyterian Church of Canada, 1987.
- Monkkonen, Eric H. *The Dangerous Class, Crime and Poverty in Columbus Ohio, 1860-1885*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1975.
- _____. "Nineteenth-Century Institutions: Dealing with the 'Underclass'." In Michael B. Katz, ed. *The "Underclass" debate: views from history*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993: 334-65.
- Morel, André. "L'enfant sans famille: De l'ancien droit au nouveau Code civil." In Renée Joyal, ed. *Entre surveillance et compassion. L'évolution de la protection de l'enfance au Québec: Les origines à nos jours*. Sainte-Foy: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2000: 7-34.
- Morgan, Cecilia. *Public Men and Virtuous Women: The Gendered Language of Religion and Politics in Upper Class, 1791-1850*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996.
- Morris, R.J. *Class and Class Consciousness in the Industrial Revolution 1780-1850*. London: McMillan, 1979.
- _____. "Middle-class culture, 1700-1914." In Derek Fraser, ed. *A History of Modern Leeds*. Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1980: 200-222.
- Morrison, T.R. "The Child and Urban Social Reform in Late Nineteenth Century Ontario." Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1971.
- _____. "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, The Family, and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900." *Ontario History* 68, 1 (March 1976): 45-62.
- _____. "'Their Proper Sphere': Feminism, The Family, and Child-Centered Social Reform in Ontario, 1875-1900." *Ontario History* 68, 2 (June 1976): 65-74.

- _____. "Ways of Seeing Children: Hidden Agendas in Education and Child Welfare Reform." In S. James Albert, ed. *Children and the State*. Ottawa: Carleton University, 1978: 5-43.
- Morton, Suzanne. "'To Take an Orphan': Gender and Family Roles Following the 1917 Halifax Explosion." In Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan and Nancy M. Forstell, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 1999: 106-22.
- Moscovitch, Allan and Glenn Drover. "Social Expenditures and the Welfare State: The Canadian Experience in Historical Perspective." In Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987: 13-43.
- Moscovitch, Allan, Peter C. Findlay and Theresa Jennissen. "Social Welfare and Social Policy in Canada: Historical Background and Sources." In Allan Moscovitch, Theresa Jennissen and Peter Findlay, eds. *The Welfare State in Canada: A Selected Bibliography 1840-1978*. Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1983: iii-xv.
- Mowat, Charles Lock. *The Charity Organization Society 1869-1913. Its Ideas and Work*. London: Methuen, 1961.
- Moyles, R.C. *The Blood and the Fire in Canada: A History of the Salvation Army in the Dominion, 1882-1976*. Toronto: P. Martin Associate, 1977.
- Murkasin, William. "The Social Control Theory in American History: A Critique." *Journal of Social History* 12, 2 (Winter 1978): 314-21.
- Myers, Tamara. "Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montreal, 1890-1930." Ph.D. Thesis, McGill University, 1995.
- _____. "The Voluntary Delinquent: Parents, Daughters, and the Montreal Juvenile Delinquents' Court in 1918." *Canadian Historical Review* 80, 2 (June 1999): 242-68.
- Nasaw, David. *Children of the City at Work and Play*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Noble, Joey. "'Class-ifying' The Poor: Toronto Charities 1850-1880." *Studies in Political Economy* 2 (Autumn 1979): 109-130.
- Noel, Jan. "Women and Social Welfare in the Montreal Region, 1800-1833: Preliminary Findings." In Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds. *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995: 261-283.

- _____. "Femmes Fortes' and the Montreal Poor in the Early Nineteenth Century." In Wendy Mitchinson, Paula Bourne, Alison Prentice, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light and Naomi Black, eds. *Canadian Women: A Reader*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1996: 68-85.
- O'Connor, Stephen. *Orphan Trains: "The Story of Charles Loring Brace and the Children He Saved and Failed."* Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2001.
- Oddy, Derek. "A Nutritional Analysis of Historical Evidence: The Working-Class Diet, 1880-1914." In Derek Oddy and Derek Miller, eds. *The Making of the Modern British Diet*. London: Croom Helm, 1976: 214-231.
- Offen, Karen. "Thoughts on "Culture et Pouvoir des femmes." *Journal of Women's History*, 2 (1990): 89-91.
- Oliver, Peter. "'To Govern by Kindness': The First Two Decades of the Mercer Reformatory for Women." In Jim Phillips, Tina Loo and Susan Lewthwaite, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Law, Vol. 5, Crime and Criminal Justice*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1994: 516-572.
- Olsen, Christopher, "Respecting 'The Wise Allotment of their Sphere': White Women and Politics in Mississippi, 1840-1860," *Journal of Women's History*, 11, 3 (Autumn 1999): 104-125.
- Olson, Sherry, Patricia Thornton and Quoc Thuy Thach. *Infant Mortality in Montreal in 1860: The roles of culture, class and habitat*. Shared Spaces, no. 9 (Sept. 1987).
- _____. *A Geography of Little Children in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Shared Spaces, no. 10 (Sept. 1987).
- Oren, Laura. "The Welfare of Women in Labouring Families: England, 1860 - 1950." *Feminist Studies* 1 (Winter - Spring 1973): 107-25.
- Paradis, André. "Le sous-financement gouvernemental et son impact sur le développement des asiles francophones au Québec (1845-1918)." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 50, 4 (printemps 1997) 571-598.
- Parr, Joy. "'Transplanting from Dens of Iniquity': Theology and Child Emigration." In Linda Kealey, ed. *'A Not Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979: 169-183.
- _____. *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada 1869-1924*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980.
- _____. "Nature and Hierarchy: Reflections on Writing the History of Women and Children." *Atlantis* 11, 1 (Fall 1985): 39-44.

- Patrick, Michael D. and Evelyn Goodrich Trickel. *Orphan Trains to Missouri*. Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1997.
- Pedersen, Diana. "Keeping Our Good Girls Good: The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930." *Canadian Women's Studies* 7, 4 (Winter 1986): 20-24.
- _____. "Building Today for the Womanhood of Tomorrow': Businessmen, Boosters, and the YWCA, 1890-1930." *Urban History Review*, 15, 3 (February 1987): 225-42.
- _____. "Providing a Women's Conscience: The YWCA, Female Evangelicalism, and the Girl in the City, 1870-1930." In Wendy Mitchinson, Paula Bourne, Alison Prentice, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light and Naomi Black, eds. *Canadian Women: A Reader*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1995: 194-210.
- _____. "The Power of True Christian Women': The YWCA and Evangelical Womanhood in the Late Nineteenth Century." In Elizabeth Gillan Muir and Marilyn Fardig Whiteley, eds. *Changing Roles of Women within the Christian Church in Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995: 321-338.
- Peikoff, Tannis and Stephen Brickey. "Creating Precious Children and Glorified Mothers: A Theoretical Assessment of the Transformation of Childhood." In Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds and Alvin Esau, eds. *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Childhood and Youth in Canada*. Winnipeg: University of Manitoba, Legal Research Institute, 1991: 29-61.
- Perry, Ann. "Manliness, Goodness, and God: Poverty, Gender and Social Reform in English-Speaking Montreal, 1890s-1930s." M.A. Thesis, Queen's University, 1999.
- Pierre-Deschênes, Claudine. "Santé publique et organisation de la profession médicale au Québec, 1870-1918." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 35, 3 (décembre 1981): 357-374.
- Phillips, Jim. "The Federal Court of Appeal and the Legal Meaning of Charity: Review and Critique." In Jim Phillips, Bruce Chapman and David Stevens, eds. *Between State and Market: Essays on Charities Law and Policy in Canada*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001: 219-50.
- Pinchbeck, Ivy and Margaret Hewitt. *Children in English Society, Volume II. From the Eighteenth Century to the Children Act 1948*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1973.
- Pitsula, James M. "The Emergence of Social Work in Toronto." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 14 (Spring 1979): 35-41.
- _____. "The Relief of Poverty in Toronto, 1880-1930." Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1979.

- _____. "The Treatment of Tramps in Late Nineteenth-Century Toronto." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1980): 116-132.
- Piven, Francis Fox and Richard A. Cloward. "Humanitarianism in History: A Response to the Critics." In Walter I. Trattner, ed. *Social Welfare or Social Control? Some Historical Reflections on Regulating the Poor*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983: 114-148.
- Platt, Anthony M. *The Child Savers: The Invention of Delinquency*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977.
- Poovey, Mary. *Uneven Developments: The Ideological Work of Gender in Mid-Victorian England*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1988.
- Porter Benson, Susan. "Business Heads and Sympathizing Hearts: The Women of the Providence Employment Society, 1837-1858." *Journal of Social History* 12, 2 (Winter 1978): 302-312.
- Poutanen, Mary-Anne. "For the Benefit of the Master. The Montreal Needle Trades During the Transition 1820-1842." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1985.
- _____. "The Homeless, the Whore, the Drunkard, and the Disorderly: Contours of Female Vagrancy in the Montreal Courts, 1810-1842." In Kathryn McPherson, Cecilia Morgan and Nancy M. Forestell, eds. *Gendered Pasts: Historical Essays in Femininity and Masculinity in Canada*. Don Mills, Ontario: Oxford University Press, 1999: 29-47.
- Prentice, Alison. "The Feminization of Teaching in British North America and Canada 1845-1975." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 8 (May 1975): 5-20.
- Prentice, Alison, Paula Bourne, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light, Wendy Mitchinson and Naomi Black. *Canadian Women: A History*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovitch, 1988.
- Price, Lynda. *Introduction to the Social History of Scots in Quebec (1780-1840)*. Ottawa: Musée National de l'Homme, 1981.
- Prochaska, Frank K. *Women and Philanthropy in Nineteenth-Century England*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1980.
- _____. "Female Philanthropy and Domestic Service in Victorian England." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 54 (1981): 79-85.
- _____. "Body and Soul: Bible Nurses and the Poor in Victorian London." *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 66, 143 (October 1987): 336-48.

- Pryke, Kenneth G. "Poor Relief and Health Care in Halifax, 1827-1849." In Wendy Mitchinson and Janice P. Dickin McGinnis, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988: 39-61.
- Purvey, Diane. "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis in Vancouver, 1892 to 1938." M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia, 1981.
- _____. "Alexandra Orphanage and Families in Crisis in Vancouver, 1892-1938." In Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds and Alwin Esai, eds. *Dimension of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada*. Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute of the University of Manitoba, 1991: 107-34.
- Rains, Prue and Eli Teram, *Normal Bad Boys: Public Policies, Institutions, and the Politics of Client Recruitment*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1992.
- Reitsma-Street, Marge. "More Control Than Care: A Critique of Historical and Contemporary Laws for Delinquency and Neglect of Children in Ontario." *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 3, 2 (1989-1990): 510-30.
- Répertoire Toponymique du Québec 1978*. Gouvernement du Québec, Commission de Toponymie, Éditeur Officiel Québec, 1979.
- "Report on the Home for Young Women Seeking Employment, Halifax, 1876." *Atlantis* 5, 2 (Spring 1970): 195-99.
- Rigby, G.R. *A History of Lachute: From Its Earliest Times to January 1, 1964*. Lachute: Brownsburg-Lachute Rotary Club, 1964.
- Riley, Denise. *'Am I That Name?' Feminism and the Category of 'Women' in History*. London: Macmillan Press, 1988.
- Ringenbach, Paul T. *Tramps and Reformers, 1873-1916: The Discovery of Unemployment in New York*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1973.
- Robert, Jean-Claude. "Montreal 1821-1871: aspects de l'urbanisation." Ph.D. Thesis, École des hautes études en science sociale, Paris, 1977.
- _____. "Urbanisation et population: le cas de Montreal en 1861." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 35, 4 (mars 1982): 523-535.
- _____. "City of Wealth and Death: Urban Mortality in Montreal, 1821-1871." In Wendy Mitchinson and Janice P. Dickin McGinnis, eds. *Essays in the History of Canadian Medicine*. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1988: 24-28.
- Roberts, Barbara. "Sex, Politics and Religion: Controversies in female immigration reform work in Montreal, 1881-1919." *Atlantis* 6, 1 (Fall 1980): 25-38.

Roberts, Elizabeth. *A Woman's Place: An Oral History of Working-Class Women, 1890-1940*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1984.

_____. "'Women's Strategies', 1890-1940." In Jane Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love. Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986: 223-247.

Roberts, Wayne. "Rocking the Cradle for the World: The New Woman and Maternal Feminism, Toronto, 1877-1914." In Linda Kealey, ed. *'A Not Unreasonable Claim': Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s - 1920s*. Toronto: Canadian Women's Educational Press, 1979: 15-45.

Rocheffort, David A. "Progressive and Social Control Perspectives on Social Welfare." *The Social Service Review* 55, 4 (December 1981): 568-592.

Rodgers, Daniel. "Socializing Middle Class Children: Institutions, Fables, and Work Values in Nineteenth Century America." *Journal of Social History* 13, 3 (Spring 1980): 359-367.

Rollins, Judith. *Between Women. Domesticity and Their Employers*. Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1985.

Rooke, Patricia and Rodolph Leslie Schnell. "'The 'King's Children' in English Canada: A Psychohistorical Study of Abandonment, Rejection, and Colonial Response (1869-1930)." *Journal of Psychohistory* 8 (Spring 1981): 387-399.

_____. "Childhood and Charity in Nineteenth Century British North America." *Histoire sociale-Social History* 15, 29 (May 1982): 157-79.

_____. "Guttersnipes and Charity Children: Nineteenth Century Child Rescue in the Atlantic Provinces." In P. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, eds. *Studies in Childhood History*. Calgary: Detselig Enterprises Ltd., 1982: 82-104

_____. "The Rise and Decline of British North American Protestant Orphans' Homes as Woman's Domains, 1850-1930." *Atlantis* 7, 2 (Spring 1982): 21-35.

_____. *Discarding the Asylum: From Child Rescue to the Welfare State in English-Canada 1800-1950*. Lanham: University Press of America, 1983.

Roper, Michael and John Tosh. "Introduction: Historians and the Politics of Masculinities." In Michael Roper and John Tosh, eds. *Manful Assertions: Masculinities in Britain since 1800*. London: Routledge, 1991: 1-21.

Rosenberg, Charles. "Social Class and Medical Care in Nineteenth-Century America: The Rise and Fall of the Dispensary." *Journal of the History of Medicine* 29 (1974): 223-253.

- _____. "And Heal the Sick: Hospital and Patient in Nineteenth Century America." In Patricia Branca, ed. *The Medicine Show: Patients, Physicians and the Perplexities of the Health Revolution in Modern Society*. New York: Science History Publications, 1977: 121-140.
- Rosenkrantz, Barbara. "Booby-Hatch or Booby Tap: A New Look at Nineteenth Century Reform." *Social Research* 39, 4 (Winter 1972): 733-743.
- Rosner, David. *A Once Charitable Enterprise: Hospitals and Health Care in Brooklyn and New York 1885 to 1915*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Ross, Ellen. "Survival Networks: Women's Neighbourhood Sharing in London Before WWI." *History Workshop Journal* 15 (Spring 1983): 4-27.
- _____. "Labour and Love: Rediscovering London's Working Class Mothers, 1870-1916." In Jane Lewis, ed. *Labour and Love. Women's Experience of Home and Family, 1850-1940*. New York: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1986: 73-96.
- _____. "Hungry Children: Housewives and London Charity, 1870-1918." In Peter Mandler, ed. *The Uses of Charity: The Poor on Relief in the Nineteenth-Century Metropolis*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1990: 161-196.
- _____. *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1993.
- Rothman, David. *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic*. Toronto: Little, Brown and Co., 1971.
- _____. *Conscience and Convenience: The Asylum and Its Alternatives in the Progressive America*. Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1980.
- _____. "Social Control: The Uses and Abuses of the Concept in the History of Incarceration." In Stanley Cohen and Andrew Scull, eds. *Social Control and the State*. New York: St. Martin's Press, 1983: 106-117.
- Rothman, Sheila M. *Woman's Proper Place. A History of Changing Ideals and Practices, 1870 to the Present*. New York: Basic Books, 1978.
- Rousseau, François. *L'oeuvre de chère en Nouvelle-France. Le régime des malades à l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*. Québec: Les Presses de Université Laval, 1983.
- Rowan, Renée. *A Beacon of Hope. The Montreal Diet Dispensary*. Translated by Fred A. Reed. Montréal: Éditions Ordine, 2000.
- Rudin, Ronald. *Forgotten Quebecers: A History of English-Speaking Quebec, 1759-1980*. Quebec: Institut Québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1985.

- Ruggles, Steven. "Fallen Women: The Inmates of the Magdalen Society Asylum of Philadelphia, 1836-1908." *Journal of Social History* 16, 4 (Summer 1983): 65-82.
- Rutman, Leonard. "J.J. Kelso and the Development of Child Welfare." In Allan Moscovitch & Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State. The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987: 68-76.
- Ryan, Mary. *Cradle of the Middle Class. The Family in Oneida County, New York, 1790-1865*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981.
- _____. "The Explosion of Family History." *Reviews in American History* 10, 4 (December 1982): 181-195.
- _____. "The Power of Women's Networks." In Judith Newton, Mary Ryan and Judith Walkowitz, eds. *Sex and Class in Women's History*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983: 166-186.
- _____. *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990.
- Sager, Eric. "Employment Contracts in Merchant Shipping, An Argument for Social Science History." In Franca Iacovetta and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *On the Case: Explorations in Social History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998: 49-64.
- Schlossman, Stephen L. "The Culture of Poverty in Ante-Bellum Social Thought." *Science and Society* 38 (1974): 150-66.
- Schmidt, Sarah. "Domesticating Parks and Mastering Playgrounds: Sexuality, power and place in Montreal, 1870-1930." M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1997.
- Schnell, R.L. "A Children's Bureau for Canada: The origins of the Canadian Council on Child Welfare, 1913-1921." In Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987: 95-110.
- Schultz, Patricia Vandebelt. "Day Care in Canada: 1850-1962." In Kathleen Gallagher Ross, ed. *Good Day Care: Fighting for it, getting it, and keeping it*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1978: 137-158.
- Scott, Anne Firor. "Women's Voluntary Associations: From Charity to Reform." In Kathleen D. McCarthy, ed. *Lady Bountiful Revisited: Women, Philanthropy, and Power*. New Brunswick and London: Rutgers University Press, 1990: 35-54.
- Scott, Joan W. "The History of the Family as an Affective Unit." *Social History* 4, 3 (October 1979): 509-516.
- _____. "Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis." *American Historical Review* 91 (December 1986): 1053-75.

- _____. *Gender and the Politics of History*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1988.
- Semple, Neil. "The Nurture and Admonition of the Lord: Nineteenth Century Canadian Methodism's Response to Childhood." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 14, 29 (May 1981): 157-176.
- Shapiro, Michael Steven. *Child's Garden: The Kindergarten Movement from Froebel to Dewey*. University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1983.
- Shepherd, F.J. *Origin and History of the Montreal General Hospital*. Montreal: Gazette Printing, 1925.
- Shepherd, William. "Genesis of the Montreal Council of Social Agencies." M.S.W. Thesis, McGill University School of Social Work, 1957.
- Simmons, Christina. "'Helping the Poorer Sisters': The Women of the Jost Mission, Halifax, 1905-1945." In Veronica Strong-Boag and Anita Clair Fellman, eds. *Rethinking Canada: The Promise of Women's History*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1991: 286-307.
- Singleton, Gregory H. "'Mere Middle Class Institutions': Urban Protestantism in Nineteenth Century America." *Journal of Social History* 6, 4 (Summer 1972): 489-504.
- _____. "Protestant Voluntary Organizations and the Shaping of Victorian America." In Daniel Walker Howe, ed. *Victorian America*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1976: 47-58.
- Skocpol, Theda. *Protecting Soldiers and Mothers: The Political Origins of Social Policy in the United States*. Cambridge: The Belknap Press of Harvard University, 1992.
- Smith, Bonnie. *Ladies of the Leisure Class. The Bourgeoises of Northern France in the Nineteenth Century*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981.
- Smith, Dorothy. "Women, Class and Family." In Roxanna Ng, ed. *Women, Class Family and the State*. Toronto: Garamond, 1985: 1-44.
- Smith, Hilda L. "Female Bonds and the Family: Recent Directions in Women's History." In Paula A. Treichler, Cheris Kramarae and Beth Stafford, eds. *For Alma Mater: Theory and Practice in Feminist Scholarship*. Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1985: 272-291.
- Smith, Jessie C. "'Social Purity', Woman's Christian Temperance Union." In Ramsay Cook and Wendy Mitchinson, eds. *The Proper Sphere Woman's Place in Canadian Society*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976: 230-235.
- Smith-Rosenberg, Carroll. *Religion and the Rise of the American City: The New York City Mission Movement 1812-1870*. London: Cornell University Press, 1972.

- _____. "The Female World of Love and Ritual: Relations between Women in Nineteenth-Century America." *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 1 (Autumn 1975): 1-29.
- _____. *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1985.
- Speisman, Stephen A. "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony: Voluntary vs. Public Poor Relief in Nineteenth Century Toronto." *Ontario Historical Society* 65, 1 (March 1973): 33-49.
- Spender, Dale. *Man Made Language*. New York: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980.
- Splane, Richard. *Social Welfare in Ontario 1791-1893. A Study of Public Welfare Administration*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965.
- Stansell, Christine. "Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets: Class and Gender Conflict in New York City, 1850-1860." *Feminist Studies* 8 (Summer 1982): 309-335.
- _____. *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860*. New York: Knopf, 1986.
- Strimelle, Véronique. *La gestion de la déviance des filles et les institutions du Bon Pasteur à Montréal, 1869-1912*. Ph.D. Thesis, Université de Montréal, 1999.
- Struthers, James. "'Lord Give Us Men': Women and Social Work in English Canada, 1918-1953." In Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987: 126-143.
- Summers, Anne. "A Home from Home: Woman's Philanthropic Work in the Nineteenth Century." In Sandra Burman, ed. *Fit Work for Women*. London: Croom Helm, 1979: 33-63.
- Sutherland, Neil. "'To Create a Strong And Healthy Race': School Children in the Public Health Movement 1880-1914." In Michael Katz and Paul Mattingly, eds. *Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past*. New York: New York University Press, 1975: 133-61.
- _____. *Children in English-Canadian Society: Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus*. 1976. Reprint. Waterloo: Wilfred Laurier University Press, 2000.
- _____. "'We Always had Things to do': The Paid and Unpaid Work of Anglophone Children Between the 1920s and the 1960s." *Labour/Le Travail* 25 (Spring 1990): 105-141.
- Swift, Karen. "Contradictions in Child Welfare: Neglect and Responsibility." In Carol T. Baines, Patricia McEvans, and Shelia M. Neysmith, eds., *Women's Caring: Feminist Perspectives in Social Welfare*. Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1998: 160-187.

- Taylor, John A. "Disease, Fire and Water in the Nineteenth Century City: A Bibliography." *Urban History Review* 8, 1 (June 1979): 113-115.
- Tétreault, Martin. "Les maladies de la misère. Aspects de la santé publique à Montréal 1880-1914." *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 36, 4 (March 1983): 507-526.
- Thane, Pat. "Women and the Poor Law in Victorian and Edwardian England." *History Workshop Journal* 6 (Autumn 1978): 29-52.
- Thomas, John D. "Servants of the Church: Canadian Methodist Deaconess Work, 1890-1926." *Canadian Historical Review* 65, 3 (1984): 371-395.
- Thompson, E.P. *The Making of the English Working-Class*. Harmondsworth: Penguin Books, 1972.
- Thomson, David. "Welfare and the Historians." In Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrightson, eds. *The World We Have Gained. Histories of Population and Social Structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth Birthday*. New York: Basil Blackwell, 1986: 355-378.
- Thornton, Patricia A. "Family Contexts of Fertility and Infant Survival in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Journal of Family History* 16, 4 (1991): 401-17.
- Tiffin, Susan. *In Whose Best Interest? Child Welfare Reform in the Progressive Era*. Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982.
- Tishler, Haze Sorel. *Self-Reliance and Social Security, 1870-1913*. Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1971.
- Trattner, Walter I., ed. *Social Welfare or Social Control? Some Historical Reflections on Regulating the Poor*. Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1983.
- _____. *From Poor Law to Welfare State: A History of Social Welfare in America*. New York: Free Press, 1984.
- Trépanier, Jean. "Juvenile Delinquency and Youth Protection: The Historical Foundations of the Canadian Juvenile Delinquents Act of 1908." *European Journal of Crime, Criminal and Criminal Justice* 71, 1 (1999): 41-62.
- Tulchinsky, Gerald. "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16, 32 (Nov.1983): 359-80. (Reprinted in Gerald Tulchinsky, ed. *Immigration in Canada: Historical Perspectives* Toronto: Copp Clarke Longman, 1994: 155-177.)
- Turbett, J. Patrick. "Intervention Strategies and Conceptions of Child Abuse." *Children and Youth Services Review* 1, 2 (Summer 1979): 205-213.

- Tyor, Peter L. and Jamil S. Zainaldin. "Asylum and Society: An Approach to Institutional Change." *Journal of Social History* 13, 1 (Fall 1979): 23-48.
- Ursel, Jane. "The State and the Maintenance of Patriarchy: A Case Study of Family, Labour, and Welfare Legislation in Canada." In Arlene Tigar McLaren, ed. *Gender & Society: Creating a Canadian Women's Sociology*. Toronto: Copp Clark Pitman, 1988: 108-145.
- _____. *Private Lives, Public Policy: 100 Years of State Intervention in the Family*. Toronto: Women's Press, 1992.
- Valverde, Mariana. *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991.
- _____. "Moral Capital." *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 9, 1 (Spring 1994): 213-232.
- _____. "The Mixed Social Economy as a Canadian Tradition." *Studies in Political Economy* 47, (Summer 1995): 33-60.
- _____. "Six Dimensions of Social Governance: Research Questions Beyond the Dichotomy of "Public" and "Private." *Cahiers d'Histoire* 17, 1-2 (printemps-automne 1997): 40-54.
- _____. "On the Case. Explorations in Social History: A Roundtable Discussion." *The Canadian Historical Review* 81, 2 (June 2000): 266-71.
- Van Die, Marguerite. "'A Woman's Awakening': Evangelical Belief and Female Spirituality in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada." In Wendy Mitchinson, Paula Bourne, Alison Prentice, Gail Cuthbert Brandt, Beth Light and Naomi Black, eds. *Canadian Women: A Reader*. Toronto: Harcourt Brace, 1995: 49-67.
- Vicinus, Martha. ed. *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977.
- _____. *Independent Women. Women and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920*. London: Virago Press, 1985.
- Vigod, B.L. "Ideologies and Institutions in Quebec: The Public Charities Controversy 1921-1926." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11, 21 (May 1978): 167-82.
- _____. "History According to the Boucher Report: Some Reflections on the State and Social Welfare in Quebec Before the Quiet Revolution." In Allan Moscovitch and Jim Albert, eds. *The "Benevolent" State: The Growth of Welfare in Canada*. Toronto: Garamond Press, 1987: 175-85.

- Wall, Richard. "Work, Welfare and the Family: An Illustration of the Adaptive Family Economy." In Lloyd Bonfield, Richard M. Smith and Keith Wrigthson, eds. *The World We Have Gained: Histories of Population and Social Structure. Essays presented to Peter Laslett on his Seventieth birthday*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1986: 261-294
- Wallace, Elisabeth. "The Origin of the Social Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900." *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 16, 3 (August 1950): 383-393.
- Ward, Peter. "Unwed Motherhood in Nineteenth-Century English Canada." *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1981): 34-56.
- Warm Schupf, Harriet. "Single Women and Social Reform in Mid-Nineteenth Century England: The Case of Mary Carpenter." *Victorian Studies* 17 (March 1974): 301-17.
- Weaver, John C. and Peter DeLotinville. "The Conflagration and the City: Disaster and Progress in British North America during the Nineteenth Century." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 13, 26 (November 1980): 417-449.
- Welter, Barbara. "The Cult of True Womanhood, 1820-1860." *American Quarterly* 18, 2 (Summer 1966): 150-176.
- Wesley, Margaret. *Rememberance of Grandeur. The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal 1900-1950*. Montreal: Edition Libre Expression, 1990.
- Westfall, William. *Two Worlds: The Protestant Culture of Nineteenth-Century Ontario*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1989.
- Whalen, James M. "The Nineteenth-Century Almshouse System in Saint John County." *Histoire sociale/Social History* 7 (April 1991): 5-27.
- Whitelaw Downs, Susan and Michael W. Sherraden. "The Orphan Asylum in the Nineteenth Century." *The Social Service Review* 57, 2 (June 1983): 272-290.
- Whitley, Marilyn Fardig. "'Doing Just About What They Please.' Ladies' Aids in Ontario Methodism." *Ontario History* 82, 4 (December 1990): 289-304.
- Winter, James. "Widowed Mothers and Mutual Aid in Early Victorian Britain." *Journal of Social History* (Fall 1983): 115-125.
- Wishy, Bernard. *The Child and the Republic. The Dawn of Modern American Child Nurture*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968.
- Wohl, Anthony. *Endangered Lives. Public Health in Victorian Britain*. London: J.M. Dent & Sons, 1983.

- Wolfe, Jeanne M. and Grace Strathan. "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association." In Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, eds. *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment*. Vancouver: UBC Press, 1988: 31-64.
- Woodroffe, Kathleen. *From Charity to Social Work in England and the United States*. London: Routledge and Keagan Paul, 1962.
- Woods, S.E. *The Molson Saga*. Scarborough: Avon Books of Canada, 1983.
- Woollacott, Angela. "From Moral to Professional Authority: Secularism, Social Work, and Middle-Class Women's Self-Construction in World War I Britain." *Journal of Women's History*, 10, 2 (Summer 1998): 85-111.
- Young, A.F. and E.T. Ashton. *British Social Work in the Nineteenth Century*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1956.
- Young, Brian. *In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montreal as a Business Institution, 1816-1876*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1986.
- _____. "Positive Law, Positive State: Class Realignment and the Transformation of Lower Canada, 1815-1866." In Allan Greer and Ian Radforth, eds. *Colonial Leviathan: State Formation in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Canada*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992: 50-63.
- _____. *The Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866*. Montreal and Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994.
- Zainaldin, Jamil S. "The Emergence of a Modern American Family Law: Child Custody, Adoption, and the Courts, 1796-1851." *Northwestern University Law Review* 73, 6 (1978-1979): 1038-1089.
- Zeliger, Viviane. *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children*. New York: Basic Books, 1985.