

# The Montreal Sheltering Home: Registering Architecture, Gender, and Class in Montreal, 1870–1910

Laura Josephine O'Brien

Peter Guo-hua Fu School of Architecture, McGill University, Montreal

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## Abstract

This dissertation explores a single artifact to contribute an architectural history of women's poor relief institutions in Montreal, Quebec: the Montreal Sheltering Home register. What does a focused study of a register reveal about women and architecture in nineteenth-century Montreal? What does the register suggest about how different classes engaged with, perceived, and experienced architecture? In contrast to traditional architectural histories that investigate the designs of prominent architects or typologies, this study contends that narrative, grounded by data from the register and animated by building plans, elevations, sections, site plans, and photographs, contributes a sharpened image of women's social, spatial, and material worlds during this period. I study a network of buildings that emerges from the register, and relationships among indigent women, charitable women, architects, and doctors that flowed through this network.

This approach presents the register as a critical intervention into the architectural history of Montreal at three scales. Aggregating paths between places frequently visited by, and therefore important to, serving-class women links together buildings that have never been studied as a network. At the scale of the building, I engage narratives from the register to explore how women of various classes encountered and experienced railway stations, women's shelters, hospitals, prisons, and bourgeois homes. At the scale of the individual, the register allows me to follow a woman's path, from her birthplace and through the network of poor relief. Moreover, studying buildings of different pedigrees that are united through the register shows a range of architectural responses to the social problem of the so-called fallen woman.

Through assessing alternative sources such as the register, annual reports, and photographs, this study challenges what buildings are considered important or worthy of study in architectural history. Through analyzing the network of buildings that emerges from the register, I aim to place serving-class women in their worlds, according to their words.

## Résumé

Cette thèse explore un seul artefact pour contribuer à l'histoire architecturale des institutions d'aide aux femmes pauvres à Montréal: le registre des maisons d'hébergement de Montréal. Que révèle l'étude ciblée d'un registre sur les femmes et l'architecture à Montréal au 19<sup>e</sup> siècle ? Que suggère le registre sur la façon dont les différentes classes sociales percevaient l'architecture, la côtoyer dans la vie de tous les jours ? Contrairement aux histoires traditionnelles de l'architecture qui focalise sur les projets d'architectes éminents ou sur les typologies, cette étude soutient que la narration, fondée sur les données du registre et animée par des plans de construction, des élévations, des sections, des plans de site et des photographies, apporte une image plus précise des mondes sociaux, spatiaux et matériels des femmes au cours de cette période. J'examine un réseau de bâtiments qui émerge du registre, ainsi que les relations entre les femmes indigentes, les femmes charitables, les architectes et les médecins qui circulaient à travers ce réseau.

Cette approche présente le registre comme une intervention critique dans l'histoire architecturale de Montréal à trois échelles. L'agrégation des chemins entre les lieux fréquemment visités par les femmes de la classe ouvrière, et donc importants pour elles, permet de relier des bâtiments qui n'ont jamais été étudiés ensemble en tant que réseau. À l'échelle du bâtiment, j'utilise des récits tirés du registre pour explorer comment les femmes de diverses classes ont rencontré et vécu les gares, les refuges pour femmes, les hôpitaux, les prisons et les maisons bourgeoises. À l'échelle de l'individu, le registre me permet de suivre le parcours d'une femme, depuis son lieu de naissance et à travers le réseau des secours aux pauvres. De plus, l'étude des bâtiments de différentes origines réunis par le registre montre un éventail de réponses architecturales au problème social de la femme dite déchu.

En évaluant des sources alternatives telles que le registre, les rapports annuels et les photographies, cette étude remet en question les bâtiments considérés comme importants ou dignes d'être étudiés dans l'histoire de l'architecture. En analysant le réseau de bâtiments qui émerge du registre, je cherche à replacer les femmes de service dans leur monde, selon leurs propres mots.

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3.15 — Blackburns, *Delivery room, Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1925, Silver salts on paper mounted on card — Gelatin silver Process, 18.6 x 24.2 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.8.

3.16 — Blackburns, *Ward at the Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1925, Silver salts on paper mounted on card — Gelatin silver Process, 18.4 x 24.6 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.4.

3.17 — Blackburns, *Operating Room, Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1925, Silver salts on paper mounted on card — Gelatin silver Process, 18.6 x 24.2 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.5.

3.18 — Blackburns, *Nurses, Cribs, and Baby Trolley, Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1925, Silver salts on paper mounted on card — Gelatin silver Process, 19.2 x 24.3 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.7.

3.19 — Blackburns, *Cradles, Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1925, Silver salts on paper mounted on card — Gelatin silver Process, 17.2 x 20.2 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.6.

3.20 – William Notman and Son, *Montreal Maternity Hospital, Montreal, QC*, 1906, Silver salts on glass Gelatin silver process, 20.2 x 25.3 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-4294.

3.21 — William Notman and Son, *Grey Nunnery, Montreal, QC*, 1872, Silver salts on paper — Albumen process, 10 x 8 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. VIEW-221.

3.22 – Unknown, *Majestic Hall, Frederick W. Norman's dancing academy, Guy Street, Montreal*, 1925, Photograph – Silver salts on glass – Gelatin dry plate process, 8 x 8 cm, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-0000.25.229.

3.23 – Edward Maxwell, *Protestant Infants' Home (unbuilt) Roof plan and end elevations, Additions*, 1897, Ink on linen, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University.

3.24 – Edward Maxwell, *Protestant Infants' Home (unbuilt) Ground Floor Plan*, 1897, Ink on linen, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

3.25 – Edward Maxwell, *Protestant Infants' Home (unbuilt) First Floor Plan*, 1897, Ink on linen, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University.

3.26 – Edward Maxwell, *Protestant Infants' Home (unbuilt) Front Elevation and Cross Sections, Additions*, 1897, Ink on linen, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

3.26 – Etching of the Women's Hospital on Mountain Street. "The Women's Hospital's New Home." In *The Montreal Daily Star*, 16 June 1900, 19.

## Introduction. “Something About the Home”: the Montreal Sheltering Home

### Register

#### *Introduction: Laura in the Archive*

*I enter the reading room at the McCord Stewart Museum on 10 April 2023. The museum is a warm respite from outside, which is cold, blustery, and grey. I take my seat at one of two long, wooden tables in a narrow room with cavernous vertical space over my head. Bookshelves line the walls in front of and behind me. To the right of the bookshelf I am facing, there is a window. In my sightline is a partial view of several buildings that now belong to McGill University in Montreal, Quebec. The closest to me is a modernist limestone block of the Otto Maass Chemistry Building by architects Fleming and Smith, with uniform windows and topped with a steel penthouse. Beyond, toward the northwestern side of the campus, I can see another limestone structure, the Classical Revival Redpath Museum designed by Alexander Hutchison and Alexander Steele. Looming over the Redpath Museum is the brutalist Rimel Building designed by Affleck, Desbarats, Dimakolopoulos, Lebensold and Sise. Beyond still the turrets and vibrant red brick of the Victorian Lady Meredith House by Edward and William Maxwell. Behind all this, the undulating shape of Mount Royal Park, designed by landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted. I look down at the objects that archivist Heather McNabb has laid out for me: the Minute Book, the Visitor Book, and the focus of the last seven years of my life: the Montreal Sheltering Home register (fig. 0.1). These sources reveal narratives about life, birth, illness, work, and death of indigent women at the turn of the twentieth century. Importantly, they reveal spatial stories, that, when stitched together, form an alternative landscape of institutions that helped and housed*



*indigent women at the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>1</sup> In the layered, rich, and epic architectural history of Montreal, where do these lives and buildings lost to time fit in?*

My project explores this single artifact to contribute an architectural history of women's poor relief institutions in Montreal, Quebec. The yellowed, crumbling edges of the document contain records of 3000 entries to the stone dwelling at ninety-two St. Urbain Street between 1887 and 1897. I engage the register as architectural evidence, as it reveals a network of formal and informal architectures where serving-class women sought poor relief. Purpose-built institutions that are important to Montreal's architectural history like the Montreal General Hospital, Windsor Station, and the Royal Victoria Hospital were supported by a network of smaller organizations set in repurposed homes that housed or helped serving-class women. Importantly, my dissertation situates serving-class women, who are understudied in architectural histories, in these important buildings. I also explore overlooked or unknown places, like prizefighter Tommy Boyle's Horseshoe Tavern, tucked away on St. Sulpice Street behind the Notre-Dame Church (now called the Notre-Dame Basilica) in the port, or St. Bridget's Refuge on Lagauchetière Street next to St. Patrick's Church.

The white paper that envelops the register crinkles as I unwrap it. Carefully, I set the object down on two sheets of white paper. The register measures thirty-three by twenty-one centimetres, about the size of a small computer monitor. Years of wear have eroded the cover and disintegrated the binding, revealing the tome's material composition. Bundles of around twelve pages were sewn together with thread. A dozen of these bundles are compiled and bound by two strips of wax paper. These strips were then reinforced by thick string in the

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<sup>1</sup> Spatial theorist Michel de Certeau writes that "a spatial story is in its minimal degree a *spoken* language, that is, a linguistic system that distributes places insofar as it is *articulated* by an 'enunciator focalization,' by an act of practising it." (De Certeau's emphasis) In other words, "spatial stories" are stories created by the embodied practice of people moving among places. Michel de Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1988), 130.

middle and at the ends of the spine. Finally, these aggregated bundles were pressed between two thick pieces of binder's board, each wrapped in a deep maroon pebbled leather and bound with glossy black leather at the corners and spine. The edges of the mass of paper were coloured with marbled dye that has faded. Despite the wear of the object, gilded embossed letters on the cover read clearly: "WCTU Sheltering Home."<sup>2</sup> The thread, string, waxed paper, and leather give structure, coherence, and linearity to the inked entries within. Without these material bindings, the register would be a flutter of pages, dates, names, and stories. Without historical context, these stories are incoherent. Without architectural context, these stories are placeless. In this project, I spin these entries into stories, and place them in the historical and material context of the built environment of nineteenth-century Montreal.

I remove my cotton glove to touch my bare finger to the paper. It feels smooth, heavy, and waxy. The register has the familiar, earthy, slightly stale smell of an antique bookstore. I drag my finger across the paper to count twenty rows divided into fourteen columns: "name," "age," "profession," "last residence," "place of birth," "religion," "entered," "where received from," "when and how fallen," "how many times in the home," "left," "where to," "conduct," and "observations" (fig. 0.2). Each row represents the self-reported story of an indigent woman arriving at the Montreal Sheltering Home. The head of each column extracts a piece of her story that the governing committee of the home thought was relevant. Importantly, the "where to," "received from," and "when and how fallen" columns reveal an index of buildings that were managed by Montreal's middle-class charitable women to help or house women in need. These entries were recorded by the longtime superintendent, Agnes Montgomery, in her office at the Montreal Sheltering Home. At the monthly meetings of the

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<sup>2</sup> The Quebec WCTU would not agree to support the Montreal Sheltering Home in their application to incorporate as a private company, so the Montreal Sheltering Home committee elected to drop their association with the WCTU after that point, becoming known simply as the Montreal Sheltering Home or the "Sheltering Home of Montreal."

home, Montgomery would relay how many women entered, how many women left, and details of special cases to the two committees that governed the institution: the ladies' committee (which I will refer to as the committee of management) and the gentleman's committee.

I brought my tools with me: a pair of crisp white cotton gloves and a glossy white spatula. The material integrity of these instruments contrasts with the fragile, crumbling patina of the objects. Bits of paper, leather, and dried glue speckle my white gloves and the sheets of paper beneath. These fragile documents have outlived the Montreal Sheltering Home, which was razed in 1980 to make way for the Guy Favreau Complex, a massive brick building that contains the passport office. This complex is connected to Montreal's vast Underground City, a labyrinthine system of tunnels and passageways that connects hotels, civic, and commercial buildings. Before it was part of this underground network, this site belonged to a landscape that aimed to shelter and help serving-class women.

The landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home was a network of social and spatial relationships among the philanthropic élite, middle-class charitable men and women, serving-class women, architects, doctors, and buildings in Montreal. Some of these buildings were permanent, purpose-built structures designed by well-known architects, and others were derelict homes used as ad hoc shelters or other residential institutions. I argue that exploring the relationships among charitable reformers, architects and buildings reveals the extent and limitations of women's power in turn-of-the-century Montreal.

### *The Register as Material Object*

No extant photographs of the façade or interior of the Montreal Sheltering Home have surfaced in extensive archival research. Two photographs show the home from above. The first is a photograph by William Notman from the tower of the Notre-Dame Church in the area now called Old Montreal. To the left of the trees extending from public park Dufferin Square, the Montreal Sheltering Home is recognizable by its square massing, pitched roof and chimneys (fig. 0.3). The elusive home reveals itself once more in an aerial photograph from 1947, which shows the home and its long and narrow yard leading to the park, and several other extensions (fig. 0.4).

Citing the work of anthropologist James C. Scott, architectural historian Marta Gutman writes that each institution holds two records: the “public transcript” and the “hidden transcript.”<sup>3</sup> The premise of these two transcripts are that interactions between the dominant and the subordinate are always performative and highly mediated according to expectations for each subject.<sup>4</sup> According to Scott, the “public transcript” is composed of “interactions between subordinates and those who dominate.”<sup>5</sup> The “hidden transcript” contains private moments, actions and conversations between “subordinates” that reveal more authentic reactions and desires which, if expressed in public, would have negative consequences for the subordinate.

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<sup>3</sup> Marta Gutman, “The West Oakland Home” in *A City for Children: Women, Architecture, and the Charitable Landscapes of Oakland, 1850–1950* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2014), 118 footnote number 32.

<sup>4</sup> Scott uses the example of an employer and employee and tenant and landlord. James C. Scott, *Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts, Domination and the Arts of Resistance* (Yale University Press, 2008), 14.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid, 2.

These two transcripts exist in the Montreal Sheltering Home, in the form of the register and the Visitor Book (which I see as the hidden transcript) and the Minute Book (which I see as the public transcript). Each month, a member of the committee of management was elected to visit the home a few times during that month.<sup>6</sup> They would record their visit — making note of how many inmates were in the house, the general state and cleanliness of the house, or any repairs that needed to be made — in the Visitor Book. The Minute Book kept the minutes of the monthly meetings at the home and was recorded by the secretary in the presence of the committee of management and the gentleman's committee.

The Visitor Book, Minute Book and register have limitations. They were not written by the inmates, and they do not offer first-hand accounts of the inmates' experiences of space. They do reveal, however, instances of vandalism to the interior of the stone dwelling. On 6 December 1892, Mary Sheppard remarked: "the double windows needed to be fastened and frosted all over the outside and ventilators put into the frames. She recommended these alterations to prevent the inmates from communicating with people on the street."<sup>7</sup> The following April, Mary M. Savage noted that "[m]any truly deplorable creatures have been taken in as of late. It has been found necessary to put stronger wire netting on the windows as attempts were made to tear it apart by the inmates."<sup>8</sup> These are traces of inmates expressing their discontent through vandalizing their material surroundings. Through these instances, we

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<sup>6</sup> The number of visits was never consistent. Some managers visited the home once during the month, others twice.

<sup>7</sup> Minute Book, 6 December 1892, P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>8</sup> Minute Book, 1897 1887, P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives, 7 April 1893.

learn that the inmates were not always passively enacting daily routines of meals, prayer, and sewing within the Montreal Sheltering Home. They wanted people outside on the streets to know that they were inside, to know that they existed. The wire netting put up over the windows represented the committee of management's desire to contain the women within, and the inmates showed their discontent through tearing through that material boundary. I picture a woman by the window, struggling and fiddling with the netting, the wire leaving white imprints on the flesh of her hands, the tension finally breaking the wire and cutting the hands of the woman in the process. Historian of the built environment Cynthia Hammond writes that "[a]rchitectural details and fragments from archives provide crucial evidence of working women's lives and struggles, so important as counter-theses to the ongoing romanticization of ongoing Victorian emblems of ideal femininity."<sup>9</sup> Indeed, I understand these small interventions as instances of dissent that complicate the narratives written by the managers in the Visitor Book.<sup>10</sup>

The register is a framework. It summarizes complex circumstances in a word or a sentence. The structure of the register expresses ideas of progress, scientific order, and rigid categories that emerged during the Enlightenment and persisted in the nineteenth century. Unlike medical registers, this document leaves room for moral judgments and mentions places by their informal names, which were known to other managers, but cryptic to the present-day

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<sup>9</sup> Cynthia Imogen Hammond, *Architects, Angels, Activists and the City of Bath, 1765–1965: Engaging with Women's Spatial Interventions in Buildings and Landscape* (Farnham, Surrey, England: Ashgate, 2012), 142.

<sup>10</sup> For instance, Ellen Day may have been taking creative liberties when she wrote: "Our sheltering home is truly such in every sense of the word, although containing so many sinful sorrowful cases the atmosphere throughout is pure & beautiful [...] all is harmony as in the work room where I found the girls dressing dolls for Xmas [*sic*] a reminder of their pure and happy childhood." "Visitor Book," 15 December 1903, P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

observer. Through implementing a scientific order, the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home asserted their expertise and authority as charitable women.

The register — like many other primary sources — is mediated and contains inconsistencies and absences that can never be reconciled or recovered through research. Historian Carolyn Steedman emphasizes the significance of absences in the archive: “An absence speaks; the nameless watchmaker’s apprentice is important *because* he is nameless. We give his namelessness *meaning*, make it matter.”<sup>11</sup> Geographer Paul Groth shares this conviction: “[a]s with manuscript sources, what is erased often proves to be as culturally telling as what remains. In demolition records (where they survived), the nature of the struggle between the official and the ordinary became most clear.”<sup>12</sup> The register goes beyond the limitations of diaries, which were written by women with the time, space and resources to keep a journal, who were aware of their status and privilege and therefore mindful of their future audiences.<sup>13</sup> The register contains thousands of short stories that together form a map of both grand and ordinary spaces.

Montgomery used the “observations” column to report deaths, and, if she knew, where the woman died. Women who entered the home were subjected to strict rules that did not fit with their previous lifestyles. Just by looking at the first few pages of the register, it is clear that many of these women were struggling with addiction. Entry number fifty, a woman named

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<sup>11</sup> Carolyn Steedman, *Dust: The Archive and Cultural History* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002), 151.

<sup>12</sup> Paul Groth, *Living Downtown* (University of California Press, 1994), xi.

<sup>13</sup> In her social history of elite women in Montreal, historian Elizabeth Kirkland mines their private papers, such as diaries, to reveal their stories. Elizabeth Kirkland, “Mothering Citizens: Elite Women in Montreal, 1890–1914” (Montreal, McGill University Libraries, 2011).

Margaret Andrews, left because she “couldn’t do without snuff.”<sup>14</sup> Emma Andrews, number eleven, jumped out the window as soon as she desired alcohol. Margaret Crawford, number ninety-two, “could not do without snuff or a drink.”<sup>15</sup> These women’s desire for human needs like warmth, shelter, and food were at odds with their bodies real dependence on substances. Montgomery would also update the entries upon hearing about an inmate’s death. Many young inmates died from illness or after childbirth upon leaving the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>16</sup> The fact that Montgomery received information about the women even after they left is testament to the enduring relationship between the women and the home.

I do not mean to suggest that the Montreal Sheltering Home was a maternalistic utopia: the inmates were subjected to strict rules, were expected to work in poor conditions (the laundry room was ill-equipped. The Minute Book documented that the Montreal Sheltering Home could not keep a laundress because of the bad working conditions) and their behaviour was closely monitored by Montgomery. However, I follow historian Rhona Richman Kenneally’s assertion (in her Master’s thesis on the Montreal Maternity Hospital) that the women of the Montreal Sheltering Home committee of management did what they thought was “right, good, and necessary.”<sup>17</sup> In other words, the women of the committee of management were

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<sup>14</sup> “Register. WCTU Sheltering Home,” 29 August 1887, case 50, Margaret Andrews. P590, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>15</sup> Ibid, 5 October 1887, case ninety-two, Margaret Crawford.

<sup>16</sup> Matilda Davis, 18, died of typhoid fever in the Montreal General Hospital; Catherine Graves, 50, also died in the hospital, as did Annie Taylor, 31; Sadie Blodgett, a twenty-four-year-old school teacher, died in Maternity; Charlotte Flynn, 20 years old, who left the Montreal Sheltering Home on 13 July 1888, died at the Western Hospital; Emma Tuch, 17, left for the Montreal General Hospital on 9 April 1889 with an unspecified illness and died there (the register notes that the Home buried her); Twenty-year-old Christina Flynn was sent to the Fresh Air Fund at Murray’s Bay on 13 August 1888. Montgomery later went in with a pencil and wrote “dead”; Twenty-six-year old “Mrs. Edwards” died following giving birth at the Montreal Maternity Hospital in March 1889.

<sup>17</sup> Rhona Richman Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926: Evolution of a Hospital” (MA Thesis, Montreal, McGill University Libraries, 1983), 10.



practical women doing their best to manage multiple crises — female vagrancy, an unforgiving industrial environment, and an elevated infant mortality rate — the best way that they knew how and with limited resources.

The register complicates how we think about architecture in three ways. First, it challenges what sources we consider architectural. The register must always be supplemented by traditional architectural history sources such as floor plans, site plans, sections, details, elevations, and maps. But the document is the tissue that connects a network of buildings and defines the scope of my research. Without the register, we might not know to what extent the architectures of different religious organizations were connected. Second, the register sharpens our understanding of how serving-class women experienced the built environment. Finally, the register situates women in various circumstances in time and space.

In this way, this dissertation responds to a lack of representation of serving-class women in the visual culture of these spaces. As Steedman observes, “[...] working-class people, their image, their appurtenances, were used to tell other people’s stories: to tell the story of some kind of bourgeois self.”<sup>18</sup> The register presents an opportunity to situate ordinary women in the world according to their accounts, instead of how artists, reformers, doctors or reporters perceived them. Essentially, it proves that women were there, under the majestic vaults of a Richardsonian Romanesque train station waiting room, in the lock ward of the hospital, or walking through the street in a crowd. The register reveals real women with names, birth dates and distinct life stories.

Understanding how women engaged with the built environment means finding ways to read alternative sources for architectural evidence. Architectural historians have mostly

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<sup>18</sup> Steedman, *Dust*, 127.

investigated women's experience of built space through housing, activism, charitable work, material culture, and women's professional lives.<sup>19</sup> However, women's organizations have left behind a rich archive of written sources with potential for architectural and spatial analysis. I hope that my project encourages future studies of a single document in pursuit of a landscape.

The managers of the home were aware of the public perception of certain sites. This became particularly apparent in 1892, when they convened to discuss changing the Montreal Sheltering Home into a reformatory. Reverend James Douglas Borthwick (a prison reformer, whom we will encounter in Chapter 2), reportedly thought that ninety-two St. Urbain would make a suitable reformatory for women. However, the managers disagreed with this assessment. The official reason for keeping the Montreal Sheltering Home a shelter was that "[...] a Reformatory should not be situated in the centre of the city. It should stand by itself with ground around it [...] we shall therefore dismiss the idea for the present."<sup>20</sup>

In public appeals for funding, committees of various institutions lamented the condition and spatial arrangement of their "accommodations." The Montreal Sheltering Home took great

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<sup>19</sup> See Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods, and Cities* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1981); Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (New York: Knopf, 1984); Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850–1920*, *Women in Culture and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789–1860*, 1st ed. (New York: Knopf, 1986); Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825–1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Univ. Press, 1992); Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870–1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); Jessica Ellen Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City: Public Space in San Francisco, 1890–1915* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011); Hammond, *Architects, Angels, Activists*; Gutman, *A City for Children*; Annmarie Adams, "Encountering Maude Abbott," *Feminist Encounters: A Journal of Critical Studies in Culture and Politics* 2, no. 2 (27 September 2018); Elizabeth Darling and Nathaniel Robert Walker, *Suffragette City: Women, Politics, and the Built Environment* (Routledge, 2019); Tanya Southcott and Michael Windover, eds "Women and Architecture," special issue, *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* 44, no. 1 (2019).

<sup>20</sup> Minute Book, 6 December 1892. P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

care to make visible the inside of their institutions in newspaper articles about their work, assuring the reader that they had appropriated the building to separate women from two “classes” — those perceived as capable of moral reform and those who were not — through housing them in two adjoining structures.”<sup>21</sup> Another example of this awareness occurred in 1885, when the Montreal Maternity Hospital bought land to try and build a new hospital. Since the city was in the middle of a smallpox outbreak, citizens were skeptical and fearful of hospitals — especially ones that cared for indigent women — and therefore protested the building project.<sup>22</sup> These instances show that committees considered ventilation, sunlight, grounds, location, and proximity to their institutions. Organizations chose their “homes” deliberately, according to shared assumptions about architecture, sanitation, and planning.

Looking at the register as a data frame yields a view of the larger trends of the itinerant female population in Montreal during this period. The narratives within the register problematize the larger trends that emerge from quantitative analysis. I supplement this data with maps, drawings, photographs, and narratives that emerge from archival research in the form of grey papers, censuses, and birth, death, and marriage certificates. My approach contributes a nuanced understanding of how middle- and serving-class Montrealers experienced urban space.

### *The Register as Dataframe*

I engage the Montreal Sheltering Home register intentionally to access women’s paths among and between institutions. Women’s paths link geographically and socially disparate places

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<sup>21</sup> “The two houses admit of classification of the inmates, one being for the girls and the other for girls out of hospitals, women who have been arrested for drinking, and girls who are more sinned against than sinning.” “The Sheltering Home,” *The Gazette*, 23 April 1913, 7.

<sup>22</sup> “Montreal’s New Maternity Hospital Is a Noble Institution Worthy the Metropolis,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 21 October 1905, 8.

into a “common landscape” of fallen women.<sup>23</sup> Reading a row in the register from left to right tells an individual woman’s story. Reading a column from top to bottom tells us the common reasons women fell and their most frequented places. Aggregating different combinations of the columns “received from?” and “where to?” reveal inmates’ well-trodden paths. This study is an architectural history of these stories, places, and paths.

This chord diagram (fig. 0.5) visualizes the flow of women to and from places on the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home. Each colour represents an institution, and each ribbon represents the aggregated paths of women. The thickness of the ribbon correlates to the number of women who went to that place. The strongest connections are between the Montreal Sheltering Home and the Montreal Maternity Hospital (light pink) and the Montreal Sheltering Home and the Montreal General Hospital (dark pink). The U-shape ribbons represent women who both arrived from and returned to the same place. Taking the example of the Montreal Maternity and Montreal General hospitals again, we can see prominent U-shaped ribbons. This means that women stayed at the Montreal Sheltering Home between visits to the hospital. As I will explain in Chapter 3, this suggests that the Montreal Sheltering Home functioned as a kind of overflow unit for indigent women when there was no space at these hospitals.

This data, “taken in the aggregate,” shows paths that women frequently travelled between institutions.<sup>24</sup> If we find unique combinations of places listed in the columns “received from”

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<sup>23</sup> Architectural historian Elaine Jackson-Retondo describes a similar process in her study of a nineteenth-century prison. “The path traveled by Whittier and his friends during this one afternoon united four otherwise unrelated places into a common landscape of casual didactic entertainment.” Elaine Jackson-Retondo, “Manufacturing Moral Reform: Images and Realities of a Nineteenth-Century American Prison,” *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* 8 (2000): 117.

<sup>24</sup> Danielle Gauvreau, Sherry Olson, and Patricia Thornton, “The Harsh Welcome of an Industrial City: Immigrant Women in Montreal, 1880–1900,” *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 40, no. 80 (2007): 351.

and “where to,” we can see that most women were sent to places near the Montreal Sheltering Home. The most common paths were between the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal Maternity Hospital and Montreal General Hospital, which were all within half a kilometre radius. Other common paths included the Railway Station, the Working Girls’ Home at Bleury Street, the Protestant Infants’ Home, Foundling Home, Ste. Margaret’s Nursery, the Old People’s Home at Longueuil, and the Home for Friendless Women. These paths represent narratives of waiting, convalescence, incarceration, aging, and loss.

Throughout the dissertation I will discuss relationships between institutions through tracking how many times a place was mentioned in the “received from” and “where to” columns. These figures are from a table that I have included in an appendix that follows the bibliography. This chart is not the input for the chord diagram, but a simple tally chart of these columns.

A distinguishing feature of the Montreal Sheltering Home was that there was no minimum for how long the inmates had to stay. Other residential or custodial institutions like the Home for Friendless Women or the Female Jail preferred to have women stay for longer periods so that the inmates would be isolated from the outside world, removed from former “friends,” and, in theory, be recast as ideal servants through strict rules, work, and inhabiting the institution.<sup>25</sup> Calculating the average length of stay using the columns “date entered,” “date left,” “received from?” “where to?” And “how fallen?” yields the following information.<sup>26</sup> The longest stay was 129 days, by a woman who was received from Knowlton, Quebec, and

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<sup>25</sup> Hammond writes that women in the Bath Penitentiary were “retrained to properly occupy private space[...].” Hammond, *Architects, Angels and Activists*, 142.

<sup>26</sup> Many entries have blank spaces in multiple columns. Blank entries cannot be used for data analysis, so I must exclude those entries. In this case, these averages are from a population sample of 771 women, with complete entries for the columns “date entered,” “date left,” “received from?”, “where to?” and “how fallen?”

went to the Montreal Maternity Hospital. The average length of a woman's stay at the Montreal Sheltering Home was thirty-two days. In some cases, the length of stay indicates the physical limitations of the "inmate." For instance, intemperate woman stayed for only eight days on average. This indicates that women were possibly suffering from alcoholism and had to leave the Montreal Sheltering Home to obtain drink. Women who were "changing situations," or looking for work, stayed thirteen days on average.

The managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home would use their social connections to try and find women placements as servants. Interestingly, the matron made the distinction between falling through seduction, and falling through maternity. "Seduced" women stayed forty-one days on average, and women who fell through "Maternity" stayed seven days on average.<sup>27</sup> Of the 221 women who were "seduced," twenty-one of them arrived from a railway station. This indicates that women who had been seduced arrived from rural towns to conceal their pregnancies and give up their babies to the adoption agencies in Montreal, like the Protestant Infants' Home or the Maternité Ste. Pélagie. "Seduced" women departed the Montreal Sheltering Home for the Montreal Maternity Hospital or the Western Hospital, or the Protestant Infants' Home or the Maternité Ste. Pélagie. Out of all of the "seduced" women, only one was married. In contrast, out of the thirty-two women who fell through "maternity," ten were married. All maternity cases went to the Montreal Maternity Hospital, except one who went to the Western Hospital.

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<sup>27</sup> Some figures are rounded up or down to the closest whole number. Actual figures within two decimal points for average length of stay, seduced and maternity cases are as follows: average length of stay, 31.78; seduced, 40.96; Maternity, 6.66.

The inmates, the superintendent, and the managers participated in what art historian Lynda Nead calls the “authorized philanthropic language of female sexual passivity.”<sup>28</sup> This language comes through the register in the contrast between “seduced” and “maternity” cases. This distinction indicates the importance of the way that women reported their stories. Women who were “seduced” were approached by the managers as subjects of pity. Through denying their agency and presenting themselves as victims, women were perceived as more deserving of care. I am not suggesting that women who were “seduced” were maliciously deceitful. Seduction and rape were realities that serving-class women faced. I intend to highlight the importance of presenting oneself to the managers in a society that rewarded helplessness in women – especially for single mothers. This way of presenting oneself meant a higher likelihood of access to shelter and employment.

Among the shortest stays were women who arrived from the Female Prison and were sent to either the Home for Friendless Women or the Montreal General Hospital, maternity cases who were received from the Montreal Maternity Hospital and left for the Protestant Infants’ Home, and a woman arriving from a railway station and leaving for the Maternité Ste. Pélagie. These figures point to multiple uses of the home. It was a long-term shelter for women waiting out their pregnancies, a place for women to recover from alcoholism, a place where servants could stay between jobs, and where women could go and seek advice for whatever their condition was.<sup>29</sup>

The “received from” column is concise. The superintendent recorded a few words, often place names, like “Prison,” “Saint Margaret’s” or “Gen[eral]. Hos[pital].” The “where to”

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<sup>28</sup> Lynda Nead, “Fallen Women and Foundlings: Rethinking Victorian Sexuality,” *History Workshop Journal* 82, no. 1 (2016): 184.

<sup>29</sup> Out of the 3102 entries, 221 left the Montreal Sheltering Home for the Montreal Maternity Hospital; 449 fell through “intemperance,” 93 were “changing situation,” and 59 were sick, injured, or convalescing.

column was part of the final sequence of columns: “where to,” “conduct,” and “observations.” The matron treated these three columns as one continuous writing space where she recorded, sometimes in detail, where the “inmate” left to and why. In this way, the “where to” column tells a story. Looking at the aggregated responses for the “where to” column shows that women often left of their own will, without notifying the matron of where they were going. I think that this is more a testament to the lenience of the Montreal Sheltering Home in comparison to other residential institutions – the home was not a penitentiary and women were not forced to remain within its walls.

### *The Visitor Book*

The Visitor Book, Minute Book, and “Sheltering Home History” by Helen Rugh accompany the register in the fonds. The Visitor Book and Minute Book are both black leather books with soft covers of around the size of a tablet. The Visitor Book has a glossy cover and the Minute Book has a matte pebbled leather cover with an embossed signed that either says “Montreal Sheltering Home” or “MSS.” The Sheltering Home History is a thirty-two-page typed document that was created in 1960.

The letters that accompany the Minute Book and “Sheltering Home History” show that these materials continued to be passed between women with some connection to the home. An undated note from “Eleanor” written in pencil is tucked into the front of the Minute Book. “Eleanor,” apologizes to “Miss Finley” for not getting the book to her sooner (fig. 0.6). Another note dated 23 June 1975, from Lois McTaggart accompanies the Sheltering Home History (fig. 0.7).<sup>30</sup> These notes show that the women related to the institution were

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<sup>30</sup> In the letter she explains that Emma Finley and Mary Skelton were cousins, and both served on the Ladies’ Committee of the Montreal Sheltering Home.



custodians of these important objects long before they were acquired by the McCord Stewart Museum.<sup>31</sup>

As I previously mentioned, the home was governed by a symmetrical and gendered infrastructure. Ten women made up the committee of management, and ten men made up the “gentleman’s committee.” The by-laws of the Montreal Sheltering Home stated that “all property shall be held in the name of the Home, but no sale, exchange, hypothecation, lease or other dealing therewith affecting title or possession shall be valid unless authorized in writing by at least eight of each committee.” Compared to the gentleman’s committee, the committee of management possessed far more knowledge of the material and spatial composition of the home, and the social demographic of the inmates.

The Visitor Book documents all visits to home between 1895 and 1904. Louisa Gault wrote the first entry of the Visitor Book on 11 April 1895. She began by referring to herself in the first person with her married name at the top of the entry (fig. 0.8). Over time this changed, and the visitors began signing off with their first name initials at the end of each entry, like a diary. Writing their own names or initials instead of their husbands’ was a small but deliberate assertion of agency, individuality, and authority, during a time when women were expected to be dependent and subservient.

### *The Minute Book*

The tone and format of the Minute Book — which documents meetings held between 1892 and 1900 — is markedly different than the tone of the Visitor Book. While the Visitor Book was a collaborative document between the managers, the Minute Book entries were recorded

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by the secretary treasurer.<sup>32</sup> The monthly meetings took place in the meeting room on the first floor, and followed a rigid structure: “Meetings were held once a month in the Home at 4 P.M. and were opened with Bible reading, then Prayers [...] ‘That took 15[sic] minutes, reports were read and discussed and the matron was called in to give her report.’”<sup>33</sup> The secretary referred to women by their married names and the initials of their husbands. Importantly, the Minute Book is an index of minor maintenance to the home that was similar to the type of work for which middle-class women were responsible in their own homes.<sup>34</sup> At the meetings, the women mentioned alterations that were done to the home: tinting (whitewashing), a new roof, a repaired wall, changes in ventilation, repairs to windows. This index could be used to justify or keep record of expenses, as this was the committee’s duties as well. The committee of management seemed to have full reign of the Montreal Sheltering Home. This authority was nonetheless limited by the official by-laws of the home, which stipulated that eight members of each committee had to agree to make any kinds of decision vis-à-vis property sale.

#### *Atlases, Fire Insurance Plans, and the Censuses of Canada*

Atlases, fire insurance plans, and the census are invaluable tools to locate, describe, and track the development of lesser-known buildings. Atlases — particularly Henry Hopkins’ from 1879 and Charles Goad’s of 1881 and 1890 — are helpful to understand Montreal’s built environment. Goad’s plans from 1881 and 1890 were created around the same time as the Canadian censuses were collected; therefore, they are useful cross-reference tools for

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<sup>32</sup> This was a member of the Ladies’ Committee. Savage and Shepherd assumed this role, with Sarah Frost and Jane M. Smith occasionally assuming this role in an interim capacity for one to two months in May 1896 and February 1898, respectively.

<sup>33</sup> Helen S. Rugh, “The Sheltering Home History,” 1966, McCord Stewart Museum Archives, 3.

<sup>34</sup> Annmarie Adams, “Female Regulation of the Healthy Home,” in *Architecture in the Family Way*, 73–102.

tracking institutions when they relocated. Fire insurance plans, too, are essential resources for this research. They indicate the material composition of the building (brick, stone, wood), number of storeys, roof shape and material, and windows. Tracking the building over time allows me to note when additions or back buildings were constructed or demolished. For larger buildings, fire insurance plans often record the function of a section of the building, like a laundry.

### *Newspapers*

Newspapers provide descriptions of hospitals and charitable institutions. Showing the public that their homes and hospitals were clean and functional was essential to soliciting donations from the public, and accounting for the donations that they had already received. The Montreal Sheltering Home and Montreal Maternity Hospital both invited reporters to tour their premises, and these visits resulted in good descriptions of interiors.<sup>35</sup> As we will see in Chapter 2, the best images and description of the Home for Friendless Women come from a newspaper article from *The Montreal Star*, when the home was repurposed as a tuberculosis hospital. These first-person walk throughs by reporters are valuable sources for understanding the use and arrangement of rooms within these organizations.

The discourse in both the French and English newspapers provide important evidence of different perspectives of the same building from French-Catholic and Anglo-Protestant communities. Newspaper coverage of the Female Prison, which we will see in Chapter 2, was a nexus of tensions between the French Catholic and English Protestant communities in Montreal. Newspapers reveal that even the name of the prison was fragmented between these

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<sup>35</sup> The only description of the inside of the old Montreal Maternity Hospital comes from an annual report published in *The Gazette*. "Maternity Hospital," *The Gazette*, October 6, 1888, 5; an excellent history of the Montreal Sheltering Home and description of the interior comes from *The Montreal Star*. "The Sheltering Home," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 20 February 1904.

two communities. To the French Catholics, the jail was known as the Asile Ste.-Darie. The English-speaking newspaper did not recognize the prison's Catholic title and referred to the prison as the Female Jail, Female Gaol, or Female Prison.

### *Theoretical Framework*

To understand the landscape from the Montreal Sheltering Home register, I engage feminist theory and methodologies. In particular, I turn to feminist scholar Donna Haraway's formulation of "situated knowledges." Haraway posits a "feminist objectivity" approach that "knows" through fragmented perspectives rather than an objective single perspective.

Haraway writes: "[t]he moral is simple: only partial perspectives promise objective vision [...] Feminist objectivity is about limited location and situated knowledge, *not* about transcendence and splitting of subject and object. It allows us to become answerable for what we learn how to see."<sup>36</sup>

"Situated knowledge" allows me to harness the perspectives that emerge from the register and associated documents — the managers and the inmates — to posit counter-narratives of women and the city. In this way, I do not claim to know all spaces and places frequented by indigent women in Montreal during the nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. I concede that my knowledge of the landscape is limited to the scope of the register, Minute Book, and Visitor Book, and the "spatial stories" of the serving-class women who encountered the Montreal Sheltering Home, as recorded by the matron and the managers.

My own situation, too, informs my investigation of gender and the built environment in Montreal. For eleven years, I lived in different neighbourhoods all over the city, and this

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<sup>36</sup> Donna Haraway, "Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective," in *Feminist Theory Reader: Local and Global Perspectives*, ed. Carole R. (Carole Ruth) McCann and Seung-Kyung Kim, 2nd ed (New York: Routledge, 2010), 373.

experience largely informed my research practice. While completing my dissertation remotely, when I referred to a fire insurance plan or a cadastral map of Montreal, I knew the rhythm of inclines and plateaus along the north-south axes of St. Lawrence and St. Urbain Streets and the gentle curve that Sherbrooke Street takes as it extends east along Parc Lafontaine, because I travelled these thoroughfares on foot or by bicycle to my summer jobs in cafés, yoga studios and denim warehouses. Though I have more privilege, freedom, and agency than most of the inmates of the Montreal Sheltering Home, we share the experience of walking in the city as a woman alone.

I also engage with De Certeau's formulation of the "spatial story." De Certeau posits the "spatial story" as a narrative created through the embodied practice of people moving among places.<sup>37</sup> De Certeau writes: "[...] where stories are disappearing (or else are being reduced to museographical objects), there is a loss of space: deprived of narrations [...] the group or the individual regresses toward the disquieting, fatalistic experience of formless, indistinct, and nocturnal totality."<sup>38</sup>

I see the register as a feminist artifact that, in tandem with rigorous architectural and spatial analysis of the built environment, has the potential to retrieve and reveal the "spatial stories" of the serving-class women from the Montreal Sheltering Home.

### *Methodology*

The register is an extensive document of seemingly endless permutations of people, places, and events. The people and places recorded in the register each have their own associated

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<sup>37</sup> De Certeau, *The Practice of Everyday Life*.

<sup>38</sup> Ibid, 123.

landscapes. Following each person, tracking their interactions with space and with their interactions with the paternalistic court and police system, locating their family homes, would be a never-ending project. To make sense of this information, I employ feminist methodologies.

Throughout the dissertation, I write short vignettes that unite data from the register with thorough investigations of what architectural historian Jessica Sewell calls the “built landscape.”<sup>39</sup> According to Sewell, the “built landscape” encompasses “[...] the built environment and its spaces [...] it includes the pavement, the sidewalk, streetcars, buildings, and store windows as well as the interior and exterior spaces they define.”<sup>40</sup> Sewell’s “built landscape” is important to this study because most buildings in this network have disappeared completely and sometimes have left no archival trace. I am guided to the protagonist of the vignettes through the availability of primary sources. I choose a protagonist based on her journey to a place mentioned in the register, the circumstances under which she was leaving, and availability of other sources (such as the census, birth certificates, or passenger lists).

These vignettes are deliberate feminist interventions in the dominant history of serving-class women, whose lives are reconstructed through what archivist Terry Cook calls “citizen-state

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<sup>39</sup> In using the term “vignette,” I follow Ryan K. Smith, who names such short texts “imagined vignettes” where the researcher “[...] describes a hypothetical scene set within the broader study.” Drawing on the work of James Deetz, Smith writes that these vignettes “[...] invite the reader inside [...] they are friendly introductions to the reader.” Ryan K. Smith, “Viewpoint: Building Stories,” *Buildings & Landscapes* 18, no. 2 (Fall 2011): 4.

<sup>40</sup> Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*, xv – xvi.

interactions,” where a subject is only visible in the archive when they interface with patriarchal state institutions like the legal system or hospital intake records.<sup>41</sup> Cook writes:

At these points of sharpest interaction of the structure, function, and client that the best documentary evidence will be found. The culmination of that evidence, if chosen on this basis even by hundreds of archivists in scores of locations, will over time add up to a “reality” at the broadest levels of discourse or metahistory ideals.<sup>42</sup>

Instead of a patriarchal “meta-narrative” that claims to know the experience of serving-class women through an aggregate of “citizen-state interactions,” through writing the vignettes, I aim to explore the experience of one woman that may speak to the experience of others.

I understand my task — writing the story of one woman that may speak to many — through historian Jill Lepore’s definition of microhistory:

If biography is largely founded on the belief in the singularity and significance of an individual’s life and his contribution to history, microhistory is founded upon almost the opposite assumption: however singular a person’s life may be, the value of examining it lies not in its uniqueness, but in its exemplariness, in how that individual’s life serves as an allegory for broader issues affecting the culture as a whole.<sup>43</sup>

I engage the story of Charlotte Millicent, who arrived at the Windsor Station pregnant, to speak to one of the most persistent narratives of the register and its accompanying documents: the pregnant servant from a rural town. Bridget Kinley, Clara Bell, Alice Hutt, and Maud Williams speak to stories of women who momentarily escaped their social and material spaces of confinement. Two women from very different perspectives — Princess Louise, looking down from her suite at the Windsor Hotel, and Mattie Edwards, a servant

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<sup>41</sup> Terry Cook, “Mind Over Matter,” in *The Archival Imagination: Essays in Honour of Hugh A. Taylor*, ed. Barbara Craig (Ottawa: Association of Canadian Archivists, 1992), 50.

<sup>42</sup> Ibid.

<sup>43</sup> Jill Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography,” *The Journal of American History* 88, no. 1 (2001): 133.

emerging from the stuffy lock ward in the basement of the Montreal General Hospital — help me investigate the complex relationship between gender, power, architecture, and care. These stories reveal women’s agency and survival despite a hostile urban environment and spaces designed either to exclude or contain them.<sup>44</sup>

In some cases, institutions connected to the Montreal Sheltering Home were just one part of a larger structure that expanded, developed, and took form over years or decades. Approaching these places through archival photographs and plans was often disorienting. Where, exactly, did my protagonists enter and exit the building? What portion of the building did they occupy? What story do the form, scale, and orientation of this portion of the building tell about the inmates? While I was researching the Female Prison for Chapter 2, the only three photographs I could locate showed partial views of the institution. I therefore indicate the position where the photographer was standing on an aerial photograph of the prison. Through this method, I orient both myself and the reader to this building and deepen our understanding of both the interior and exterior of the building.

This study casts the Montreal Sheltering Home register as one layer of a complex cultural landscape. Framed by the narrative arc of the fallen woman, I investigate the themes of arrival, falling and care. This work demands methods used by landscape scholars: rigorous analysis of primary sources, field work, and walking between sites. Through this approach, I seek to answer questions about the buildings themselves: when were they constructed and by whom? How did they transform over the years? Did the organizations that occupied the

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<sup>44</sup> Survival despite difficult circumstances is a central theme to architectural historian Dell Upton’s edited collection of letters by Madaline Edwards. Upton writes: “In the face of the glib talk of ‘resistance’ and ‘subversion’ current in social history scholarship and cultural criticism, Edwards reminds us a more common experience is just to get by, hoping for small forward steps rather than enormous leaps and usually achieving neither.” Madaline Selima Edwards and Dell Upton, *Madaline: Love and Survival in Antebellum New Orleans* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1996), xii.



buildings alter them structurally or materially? I also seek to understand the experiences of inmates who encountered these spaces: How did serving-class women experience the built environment? How did the landscape of the fallen woman care for these women? Did it harm them? What drew serving-class women to enter certain buildings more frequently than others? What does the relationship between women and architecture reveal about class relations?

According to Groth, a key tenet of cultural landscape studies is analyzing landscapes that are not considered important or worthy of analysis in traditional architectural histories.<sup>45</sup> Some buildings in the landscape of the fallen woman survived the fervour of urban renewal in the 1970s in Montreal, thanks to the efforts of architectural historians and activists.<sup>46</sup> The neighbourhood proper of the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal's Chinatown, has been preserved by members of the Chinese-Canadian community. I made numerous site visits to the buildings in the landscape that escaped demolition. These included architect Andrew Taylor's former Montreal Maternity Hospital on St. Urbain and Prince Arthur Streets (fig. 0.9), Bruce Price's Windsor Station, the old Montreal General Hospital (fig. 0.10) and St. Bridget's Refuge (fig. 0.11).<sup>47</sup> I documented the exterior of the buildings and, where possible, I ventured inside to photograph as well. I created my own archive of the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home through gathering photographs, plans and elevations of significant buildings.

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<sup>45</sup> Paul Groth, "Frameworks for Cultural Landscape Study," in *Understanding Ordinary Landscapes*, ed. Irving Rouse (Yale University Press, 1997), 2.

<sup>46</sup> During the 1960s and '70s, Montreal was the setting for a valiant struggle for architectural heritage conservation against developers. Key activists included Phyllis Lambert, Michael Fish, Brian Merrett and Blanche Lemko Van Ginkel.

<sup>47</sup> Over the course of my project, the ruins of St. Bridget's Refuge (which had been used as a public park) were redeveloped as a business school.

Once I compiled the list of significant buildings, I realized that the managers often wrote the names of the matron or other affiliates of institutions instead of the locations. I therefore made an index that listed the names, institutional affiliations, and addresses of the workplaces and residences of people mentioned in the register. Many of these people were the wives of physicians, which was significant because they would have had access and limited influence at the hospitals where their husbands work.<sup>48</sup> So for these cases I included the woman's husband and his place of work as well. Once that was complete, I replaced the names of people with their institutional affiliations. Another challenge at this point was making sure that the names of places were accurate and consistent. The register was a shared document with contributions from multiple managers, and they did not always use the same names for places. Moreover, the register was transcribed to Excel from the original, therefore the person who entered it could not always decipher what the managers had written. For example, I deduced that "maternity" meant the Montreal Maternity Hospital. However, "Maternity Nuns" or "Pilgrimage Nuns[sic]" referred to the Maternité Ste. Pélagie, the Catholic maternity hospital managed by the Sisters of Mercy.<sup>49</sup>

I share Gauvreau, Olson, and Thornton's default assumption of agency on behalf of young inmates: "[...] women, even the youngest, least experienced, and most constrained, were making rational choices; they had a better understanding than we do of the context; and their decisions, taken in the aggregate, are meaningful."<sup>50</sup> Although inmates were frequently

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<sup>48</sup> Indeed, Kenneally observes that wives of doctors on the committee of management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital were "channels through which their husbands could exert influence on the Committee," Kenneally, "The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926," 32.

<sup>49</sup> For scholarship on the Maternité Ste. Pélagie, see: Andrée Lévesque, "Deviant Anonymous: Single Mothers at the Hôpital de La Miséricorde in Montreal, 1929–1939," *Historical Papers* 19, no. 1 (26 April 2006): 168–184; Micheline Lachance, *Rosalie Jetté Et Les Filles-Mères Au XIXe Siècle: Récit Biographique* (Montréal: Leméac, 2010).

<sup>50</sup> Gauvreau, Olson, and Thornton, "The Harsh Welcome of an Industrial City," 345–80.

brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home by police officers or representatives from other charitable institutions, I take seriously the fact that they made an active choice to enter the home, to take advantage of the few resources they had, and to try and make a better life for themselves or their children.

### *Montreal's Built Environment*

Over the nineteenth century, Montreal's landscape underwent major changes.<sup>51</sup> The construction of the Lachine (completed in 1824) and Welland (completed 1829) Canals facilitated trade between Montreal and other important North American cities.<sup>52</sup> Montreal was a key North American merchant trading centre with a bustling port and fertile plots of land that stretched toward the mountain. A contemporaneous account of Montreal describes the city:

The slopes of the mountain are wooded nearly to the summit, but toward the base of the forest, trees have been succeeded by orchards that produce apples, pears,

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<sup>51</sup> Geographers Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson found that the space allocated for working-class residents remained “stable” despite a dramatic shift in the built environment in the second half of the nineteenth century. Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson, “Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth-Century Montreal,” *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire Urbaine* 26, no. 2 (1998): 3; For a detailed exploration of the “forces” that transformed the built environment of Montreal during the nineteenth century, see David B. Hanna, *The Layered City: A Revolution in Housing in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Montreal*, *Partage de l'espace*, no. 6 (Montreal: Department of Geography, McGill University, 1986); Jean-Claude Marsan, “New Forces,” in *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* (McGill-Queen's Press, 1990), 169–92; Shelley Hornstein, “The Architecture of the Montreal Teaching Hospitals of the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien* 13–14, no. 2–1 (1990): 12–25; Robert Lewis, “The Segregated City: Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montreal, 1861 and 1901,” *Journal of Urban History* 17, no. 2 (1 February 1991): 123–52; Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem, eds., *Montreal Metropolis, 1880–1930* (Toronto: Buffalo, NY: Canadian Centre for Architecture: Stoddart, 1998); Alan Stewart and Gilles Lauzon, “The Bourgeois Town: The New Face of the Expanding City, 1800–1850,” in *Old Montreal: History Through Heritage*, ed. Joanne Burgess (Sainte-Foy, Quebec: Publications du Québec, 2004), 107–50; Sherry H. Olson and Patricia A. Thornton, *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840–1900* (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011); Charmaine Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire in Nineteenth-Century Marine Landscapes of Montreal and Jamaica* (London: Routledge, Taylor & Francis Group, 2016); Dany Fougères and Roderick Macleod, eds., *Montreal: The History of a North American City*, vol. 1, 2 vols. (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2017.)

<sup>52</sup> Harold Kalman and Douglas Richardson point out that these canals connected Montreal to Toledo, Cleveland, and Detroit. Harold Kalman and Douglas Richardson, “Building for Transportation in the Nineteenth Century,” *Journal of Canadian Art History/Annales d'histoire de l'art Canadien* 3, no. 1/2 (1976): 21.

and plums of the choicest flavour; and it is worthy of remark that, although the fruit of the Island is universally excellent, all other parts of it yield to the vicinity of the mountain in the luxuriance of the orchards, and the deliciousness of the fruits they produce.<sup>53</sup>

In the summer of 1852, a fire destroyed nearly half of Montreal's houses in twenty-six hours. As historians Michèle Benoît and Roger Gratton point out, this led to two developments that changed the built environment. One was the construction of the Atwater Canal. This canal, along with a new pumping station, forced water from the St. Lawrence River to the McTavish Reservoir on the slope of Mount Royal.<sup>54</sup> Second, building new wooden dwellings was prohibited in the faubourgs.<sup>55</sup> By the end of the nineteenth century, the construction of the railway and the opening of two major train terminals — Windsor Station and Bonaventure Station — resulted in an influx of people looking for work, the majority of whom were young women.<sup>56</sup> These developments are often celebrated as an exciting and prosperous time for the city, but they came at a great cost. Indeed, costly housing, the influx of vulnerable populations, and a housing shortage resulted in devastating poverty for many.

The period under study marked further changes to the visual and material landscapes of Montreal. The Montreal General Hospital transformed from a modest three-storey building at the corner of Dorchester and St. Dominique Streets to a multi-pavilion complex that took up half a city block between Dorchester, Cadieux, Lagauchetière and St. Dominique Streets.<sup>57</sup>

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<sup>53</sup> Newton Bosworth, James Duncan, and P. Christie, *Hochelaga Depicta: The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal* (Montreal: William Greig, St. Paul Street, 1839), 89.

<sup>54</sup> Michèle Benoît and Roger Gratton, *Pignon Sur Rue: Les Quartiers De Montréal* (Montréal: Guérin, 1991), 34.

<sup>55</sup> Wooden dwellings were prohibited in Old Montreal after 1721. Ibid, 39.

<sup>56</sup> Gauvreau, Olson, and Thornton, "The Harsh Welcome of an Industrial City," 346.

<sup>57</sup> Hugh Ernest MacDermot, "The Early Days of the Montreal General Hospital," *The McGill News, Montreal*, 1932; Hugh Ernest MacDermot, *A History of the Montreal General Hospital* (Montreal: Montreal General Hospital, 1950); Montreal General Hospital, *The Montreal General Hospital, 1821 – 1956: A Pictorial Review*, vol. 2 (Montreal: The Osler Library, 1956); Christos Kaltsas, *The Montreal General Hospital*, School of Architecture, McGill University, 1976; David S. Mulder, "The Montreal General Hospital, 1821–2002,"

New hospitals like the Montreal Maternity Hospital at Prince Arthur and St. Urbain Streets and the Royal Victoria Hospital on Mount Royal were constructed.<sup>58</sup> The wealth accrued by the Canadian Pacific Railway project and the commercial trade it facilitated enabled the construction of grand monuments by American architects, like Bruce Price's Windsor Station and in 1889 and the New York Life Assurance Building at Place d'Armes by the New York firm Babb, Cook, and Willard in 1887.<sup>59</sup> Booming industry created a quasi-aristocratic ruling élite of bankers and railway magnates who had enormous mansions built on the slopes of Mount Royal. Amid this dizzying landscape of architectural and social change was a network of charitable institutions led by and meant for women, which struggled to maintain their authority and commitment to their self-appointed duty to care for and shelter indigent women.

Particularly vulnerable were the young women who arrived from rural areas to find employment, flee dysfunctional family situations, seek medical attention, or a combination of any of these factors. These women turned to a wide-ranging network of Protestant and Catholic benevolent institutions that helped the city's poor. According to historians Jean-Marie Fecteau and Janice Harvey, this network was incohesive and divided along religious

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*Archives of Surgery* 138, no. 7 (1 July 2003): 701–2.

<sup>58</sup> For an architectural analysis of the Royal Victoria Hospital, see Adams, "1893," in *Medicine by Design: The Architect and the Modern Hospital, 1893–1943* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), 1–32. For a social history of the Montreal Maternity Hospital's transformation from a charitable institution to an obstetric teaching hospital, see Kenneally, "The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926"; see also Caroline V. Barrett and John R. Fraser, *The Royal Victoria Montreal Maternity Hospital, 1943: The Hundredth Anniversary of the Founding of the Hospital* (Royal Victoria Montreal Maternity Hospital, 1943).

<sup>59</sup> For architectural analysis of the New York Life Assurance Building and other contributions to Montreal's built environment by American architects, see Isabelle Gournay, "Prestige and Professionalism: The Contribution of American Architects," in *Montreal Metropolis*, eds. Gournay and Vanlaethem (Toronto: Buffalo, NY: Canadian Centre for Architecture: Stoddart, 1998), 113–131. See also Anthony Sutcliffe and The Canadian Centre for Architecture, *Montréal Métropole, 1880–1930* (Montréal: Boréal, 1998).

and linguistic lines.<sup>60</sup> These institutions had disparate approaches and various functions but were united by three characteristics: they were mostly run by women, connected by women's movement among places, and they all sought to provide some respite to women and children from the brutal conditions of industrial capitalism.

### *The Montreal Sheltering Home*

The home on St. Urbain was part of the first wave of expansion after the city walls were demolished in 1804.<sup>61</sup> During this time, the small river that ran parallel to Craig Street was canalized and thoroughfares connected the central city area to the mountain.<sup>62</sup> Merchants built new houses of cut stone, a departure from the rough-rubble stone used within the old fortifications.<sup>63</sup> The Montreal Sheltering Home moved into the St. Urbain Street location in 1891. Earlier that year Charles Alexander and Emma Barber (both of whom I will introduce in the next section) purchased the property from James G. Hearle, a soap manufacturer.<sup>64</sup>

Though the home was in a dense neighbourhood, the managers made some effort to afford the inmates some kind of contact with green space in the form of a public park called Dufferin Square. In 1797, leaders of the Protestant community purchased the land for a burial

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<sup>60</sup> Fecteau and Harvey write: "[...]because of religious segregation, it is illusory to speak of a true unified citywide 'network,' especially as the private management of various organizations made it tough to make joint decisions in the Protestant community, each association jealously guarding its independence and decision-making autonomy." Jean-Marie Fecteau and Janice Harvey, "Montreal's Network of Social Regulation" in *Montreal*, 684.

<sup>61</sup> Stewart and Lauzon, "The Bourgeois Town," 108.

<sup>62</sup> Ibid 109.

<sup>63</sup> Ibid, 112.

<sup>64</sup> The deed of sale indicates that Hearle had purchased the property from siblings Heriot (possibly "Harriet") and Alfred Lindsay, who were heirs to the estate of their late mother, Sarah E. Mountain. Deed of Sale, act 7429, notary Robert Andrew Dunton, 7 July 1891. Fonds Cour supérieur. District judiciaire de Montréal. Grèffes de notaires. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, BAnQ Numérique.

ground and served as such until 1852, when, through the influence of John Samuel McCord, a new Protestant cemetery atop the mountain was opened.<sup>65</sup> Families who could afford it had the bodies of their relatives exhumed from the old burial ground and interred at the new cemetery on the northwestern slope of Mount Royal. By 1879 Dufferin Square had a reputation as a location of unsavoury trysts, weekly congregations of groups of “roughs,” and general disorder.<sup>66</sup> By 1893, a special police tent, outfitted with heated from a box stove, was situated in Dufferin Square.<sup>67</sup> The square provided the illusion of an open space from the yard of the Montreal Sheltering Home.

The home on St. Urbain Street encompassed a series of material, social, and spatial inconsistencies. It was actually two interconnected homes united under one roof. In this way, the home resembled the early settlement homes described by historian Martha Vicinus: “Usually starting with the rental of one building, expansion simply became a matter of knocking connecting passageways into the building next door or renting a building down the street.”<sup>68</sup> These dwellings, which were constructed for single families, were now inhabited by indigent women. While other residential or custodial institutions like the Home for Friendless Women and even the Protestant section of the Female Prison favoured dormitories, the Montreal Sheltering Home had individual rooms for inmates, each with a single bed with a

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<sup>65</sup> According to MacLeod, McCord was a proponent of the “rural” cemetery, which was influenced by Romantic landscape design. Roderick MacLeod, “Interlude 1: Montreal’s Old Cemeteries” in *Montreal*, 375. For a social history of the Mount Royal Cemetery, see Brian J. Young and Geoffrey James, *Respectable Burial: Montreal’s Mount Royal Cemetery* (Montreal, Quebec: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2003).

<sup>66</sup> Montreal newspapers frequently reported vagrancy and disruption in Dufferin Square. “Loitering on Dufferin Square,” *The Gazette*, 26 July 1879, 4; “By the Way,” *The Gazette*, 23 March 1882, 3; “City Hall Matters,” *The Gazette*, 24 April 1884, 3.

<sup>67</sup> “The Police Patrol,” *The Gazette*, 20 December 1893, 5.

<sup>68</sup> Vicinus, *Independent Women*, 216.

blanket and a pillow. Doctors from the Montreal Maternity Hospital and the Montreal General Hospital could visit the home because it was so close to these institutions (fig. 0.12).

*Emma Barber, the Female Home, and the WCTU*

Barber is an important figure in this story and to the history of Montreal's Protestant network of poor relief (fig. 0.13). Barber was born in 1827 to Dr. Jonathan Barber, a homeopath, and Elizabeth Barber.<sup>69</sup> In 1861, Barber lived with her father and stepmother in their house on Little St. James Street, a small portion of the Great St. James Street between Place d'Armes and the Champs de Mars. Jonathan Barber died in 1864, followed by Martha in 1866. At this point, Barber left to live with her sister, Mary Dunkin (née Barber) and her family at a large home in Brome, a small village in the Eastern Townships.<sup>70</sup>

Central to Barber's life work was the conviction that fallen women needed a home: a place of belonging as well as a shelter. Barber was heavily involved in institutions that provided shelter and moral instruction to supposedly deviant women and girls.<sup>71</sup> She had connections to the Knowlton, which I will discuss in Chapter 1, the Female Home, the Evangelical Rooms and the Working Girls' in addition to founding the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>72</sup> She was

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<sup>69</sup> Jonathan Barber's first wife died at some point and he was left alone with his two daughters, Mary and Emma. He remarried to a widow, Martha Dunkin Hemming. Census records state that she was born in the US. For an article detailing Jonathan Barber's various careers as a phrenologist, homeopath, and professor of elocution and oration, see James Duncan, "Dr. Jonathan Barber's Unlikely Odyssey," *Montreal History Website*, 26 January 2010, accessed 20 June 2023, <https://montrealhistory.org/2010/01/dr-jonathan-barbers-unlikely-odyssey/>, accessed 20 June 2023.

<sup>70</sup> In 1831, Emma's sister Mary married their step-brother, Christopher Dunkin. Library and Archives Canada. Census of Canada, 1871. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Library and Archives Canada, n.d. RG31-C-1. Statistics Canada Fonds. Microfilm reels: C-9888 to C-9975, C-9977 to C-10097, C-10344 to C-10388, C-10390 to C-10395, to C-10540 to C-10570.

<sup>71</sup> Janice Harvey, "Mademoiselle Barber," in Maryse Darsigny, *Ces Femmes Qui Ont Bâti Montréal* (Montréal, QC: Editions du Remue-Ménage, 1994), 111–112.

<sup>72</sup> Multiple sources report that Barber "opened her home" on St. Charles Borromée Street in 1866 to receive fallen and destitute women. However, there is no evidence in the census or the Lovell's directory that Barber lived on St. Charles Borromée during that time. Indeed, the 1861 census places her with her parents on Little St.



radical for the time in the sense that she believed that so-called fallen women — those with substance abuse problems, who were single and pregnant, or otherwise in need of help — were worthy of care and shelter. Indeed, when Barber began visiting inmates at the Female Prison, she reported to the Female Home Society that a place for female prisoners to go following their incarceration was urgently needed:

Another difficulty arises as to how far the work for the class of whom I am now speaking, and that for discharged prisoners and friendless women sent to us in various ways, can be carried on in the same building. [...] to carry on the work effectually we need three homes in one — one where the poor and mothers could be attended, one of the children and one for the prisoners, and those gathered in from the streets, etc.<sup>73</sup>

Another key figure in the history of the Montreal Sheltering Home is Alexander, a philanthropist, politician, and confectioner. Through his involvement with and endorsement of several organizations that aimed to shelter or reform women and children, Alexander made clear his belief that indigent women and children were deserving of sheltering space. Alexander was on the committee of management for the Montreal General Hospital and served as Vice-President of the Hospital for 1895-1896.<sup>74</sup>

The Montreal Sheltering Home originated as a subsidiary of the Montreal WCTU for women who had just left prison and was originally called the Woman's Christian Temperance Union Sheltering Home. The WCTU was primarily a temperance organization that fought for

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James Street near the Place d'Armes. See Rugh, "The Sheltering Home History," 1; and Edna Ross, "Century of Service," *The Gazette*, 1966, 6

<sup>73</sup> Emma Barber, "Report of the Female Home Society for the Twelfth Year of the Seigneurs Street Home and the Ninth Year of the Society" 1878, 9.

<sup>74</sup> "Annual Report of the Montreal General Hospital, with a List of the Governors, Officers and Subscribers for 1895-96," 1896-1895, Canadiana Online.

prohibition, but its activities eventually spread out to suffrage and social purity.<sup>75</sup> Though the Montreal Sheltering Home ceased its WCTU affiliation in May 1896, the Montreal Sheltering Home retained many of the same principles as the organization.<sup>76</sup> The lady managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home frequently invoked religious themes and clearly promoted abstinence from alcohol. However, the register shows us that the Montreal Sheltering Home was more strongly connected to charitable organizations within Montreal, cities in Quebec and Ontario, and immigration schemes from Great Britain than to any American organizations.

Rugh's history of the Montreal Sheltering Home claims that Barber maintained a "policy [...] of non-discrimination as to Race, Colour and Creed."<sup>77</sup> Despite these noble intentions, the register reveals itself as a product of a colonial society that privileged whiteness, Christianity, and middle-class social norms above all else. For example, the columns "religion" and "place of birth" reveal a homogenous profile of the average "inmate". Most were white European women from Canada, the United States, and England. Some women were from Spain and France. No Jewish women were recorded in the Montreal Sheltering Home register. The lack of representation of Jewish women in the register is perhaps because Jewish women could turn toward their own charitable organizations. When indigent Jewish immigrants arrived in Montreal from 1840, the small but wealthy Montreal Jewish community mobilized and created a charitable network to help. The first was founded in 1847, called the Montreal

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<sup>75</sup> Sharon Anne Cook, *"Through Sunshine and Shadow": The Woman's Christian Temperance Union, Evangelicalism, and Reform in Ontario, 1874–1930* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014), 41.

<sup>76</sup> "As the Prov.[incial] WCTU had decided that it could not assume the responsibility [for the Montreal Sheltering Home incorporating] the Home now had no connection with the WCTU Mr. [Seth] Leet said the Home could become incorporated under the general act for charitable institutions, or by an Act of Parliament." Minute Book, 4 May 1896. P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>77</sup> Rugh, "The Sheltering Home History," 1.

Hebrew Philanthropic Society, followed by the Young Men's Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1863 and the Ladies' Hebrew Benevolent Society in 1877.<sup>78</sup> The Jewish poor relief landscape was further bolstered by the concept of *tzedakah*, which established charity as a responsibility on Jewish people from all classes.<sup>79</sup>

In the register, Montgomery identified five Black women in the register.<sup>80</sup> This low representation of Black women in the Montreal Sheltering Home raises the question, did Montreal participate in the displacement of African people through the Atlantic slave trade? The answer is yes: Montreal participated in a slave economy in a less visible way than cities in the southern United States. Indeed, art historian Charmaine Nelson points out that while Montreal was not a slave society like plantation economies in the southern United States, Montrealers belonged to what she calls a "society-with-slaves": a society that was complicit

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<sup>78</sup> Fecteau and Harvey, "Montreal's Network of Social Regulation," in *Montreal*, 679. For a history of Jewish charity in Montreal, see Gerald Tulchinsky, "Immigration and Charity in the Montreal Jewish Community before 1890," *Histoire Sociale/Social History* 16, no. 32 (1983); On 14 March 1901, Shepherd recorded that a Jewish boy, who had been brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home by George Marshall, the secretary and agent for the Society for the Protection of Women and Children. The boy's father, along with a member of the Baron de Hirsch Institute (a Jewish benevolent institution on Bleury Street) arrived to the Montreal Sheltering Home and told Montgomery that the Institute would reimburse the Home for the boy's board. Shepherd wrote that she told Marshall that "[...] it would do no harm, when in reporting cases rescued to mention, also, the Home, that is always ready to give Shelter and help." Shepherd, Visitor Book, 14 March 1901. McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>79</sup> According to *tzedakah*, charity was a duty rather than an act of altruism. Sociologist Morton Weinfeld explains: "[t]he Jewish concept of *tzedakah* (this Hebrew term has the same root as the word for 'justice') differs dramatically from the Christian concept of charity. The Jewish approach sees giving as an obligation, a commandment. The Christian view sees giving more as an act of loving-kindness. Jews should rejoice when approached by a beggar, since they now have a chance to fulfill a commandment." Morton Weinfeld, Randal F. Schnoor, and Michelle Shames, *Like Everyone Else but Different: The Paradoxical Success of Canadian Jews*, Second edition (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018), 173.

<sup>80</sup> Montgomery used the word "coloured," an obviously dated term used during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries when the southern United States were under the Jim Crow laws. Annie Lewis was Protestant and born in England, cases 1798 and 1849. The register indicates that the WCTU sent Lewis back to England in 1892 but does not explain why. Catharine Felix, also known as Mrs. Felix, was Catholic and born in either Ireland or Montreal, cases 2200, 1922, 2056 and 1986. "Aunt" Eliza was Protestant, born in either England or Virginia, cases 687 and 1926. Mrs. Buckham (Montgomery did not record her first name) was Protestant from Chatham, Quebec, case 2342; and Emma Como was Catholic, from Gaspésie, Quebec, case 2409.

in the consumption and distribution of goods produced by slave labour.<sup>81</sup> The landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home reveals a direct connection to the plantation economy of the United States. The Western Hospital, which I discuss in Chapter 3, was funded by Major Hiram Mills, an American philanthropist who emigrated in 1861 from Virginia — a slave-holding state — at the outbreak of the Civil War. Mills inherited his fortune from his plantation-owner father.<sup>82</sup>

According to Nelson, environmental factors like the harsh, long winters prevented wealthy Montrealers from operating a plantation.<sup>83</sup> Instead, Black and Indigenous slaves worked indoors as domestic servants and were therefore invisible for most of the year. Most Black community support initiatives in Montreal were founded from 1902 onward, so it is unclear what support was available for single, Black women between 1870 and 1900, the time during which many young Black men emigrated from the United States and sought work as railway porters in Montreal.<sup>84</sup> Despite the good intentions of Barber and the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home, the home and affiliated institutions were all instrumental in a larger colonial project to bring servants of a certain “class” – white, British, “respectable” – to Canada to work as servants.

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<sup>81</sup> Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 16.

<sup>82</sup> The original Western Hospital completed circa 1877 was subsidized by Major Hiram Mills. “Home and Foreign News,” *Irish Canadian*, 10 August 1882, 3.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 15.

<sup>84</sup> Steven High, “Little Burgundy: The Interwoven Histories of Race, Residence, and Work in Twentieth-Century Montreal,” *Urban History Review/Revue d’histoire Urbaine* 46, no. 1 (2017): 28.

## Literature Review

This dissertation draws from and contributes to three main subfields of inquiry: gender and architecture, cultural landscape studies, and the history of women's social reform. During the 1980s, scholars expanded the canon of architectural history to include women. Dolores Hayden, Helen Lefkowitz-Horowitz and Gwendolyn Wright published groundbreaking studies that challenged the "separate spheres" ideology and demonstrated how women, through reform or domestic practices, influenced architecture. This decade also saw the issue of class brought into the fold, exemplified by Christine Stansell's *A City of Women*, where she argues that class formation was tied to the reconfiguration of gender relations during the first half of the twentieth century in New York City. In the following decade, architectural historians Annmarie Adams, Elizabeth Cromley, Abigail Van Slyck, Christine Stansell, Despina Stratigakos, and others investigated sites or typologies to explore how architecture "reshaped gendered experiences."<sup>85</sup> In the 2000s, social historians and scholars from other fields took a spatial turn in their analyses, looking to the built environment to assert their arguments. Through my dissertation, I aim to continue the investigation of gender and architecture.<sup>86</sup>

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<sup>85</sup> Despina Stratigakos, *A Women's Berlin: Building the Modern City*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2008), xv.

<sup>86</sup> Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class 1780–1850* (London: Routledge, 1987), Ryan, *Women in Public*; Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material Culture Review/Revue de La Culture Matérielle* 40, no. 1 (6 June 1994): 29–41; Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way*; Iain Borden, Barbara Penner, and Jane Rendell, *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2000); Jane Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space & Architecture in Regency London* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 2002); Sewell, *Women and the Everyday City*; Abigail A. Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America," *Winterthur Portfolio* 31, no. 4 (Winter 1996): 221–43; Stratigakos, *A Women's Berlin*. Carla Yanni, *Living on Campus: An Architectural History of the American Dormitory* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2019).

Historians Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall write that “sexual identity is organized through a complex system of social relations, structured by the institutions not only of family and kinship but at every level of the legal, political, economic and social formation.”<sup>87</sup>

Indeed, the Montreal Sheltering Home was a place within which women’s class distinctions were brought into stark relief through their activities within and outside the home.

Since the 1950s, architectural historians have also looked to cultural landscape studies to investigate the built environment through fieldwork and oral histories. Merging cultural landscapes with post-structural and visual theories, Dianne Harris and D. Fairchild Ruggles posit the landscape as a site of spatial, sensory and psychological encounter. My dissertation is especially indebted to Gutman, who articulates the “charitable landscape,” a network of formal and informal spaces reused by charitable women to improve the lives of impoverished children through adaptive reuse in Oakland, California.<sup>88</sup> Architectural historian Tania Martin contributes a dissertation on what she calls the “conventual landscape of women religious,” which refers to the “[...] convents, charitable institutional buildings, and their sites” which were managed by women from Catholic religious orders in Canada.<sup>89</sup> My dissertation contributes a focused analysis that links the register to broader issues of gender and class — female immigration, female vagrancy, single motherhood, women and alcoholism, and women and venereal disease — in nineteenth-century Montreal.

Finally, this dissertation draws on histories of women and social reform in North America.

Most of this scholarship focuses on the United States, during what is known as the

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<sup>87</sup> Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 29.

<sup>88</sup> Gutman, *A City for Children*.

<sup>89</sup> Tania Martin, “The Architecture of Charity: Power, Religion, and Gender in North America, 1840–1960” (Ph.D Thesis, Berkeley, University of California, 2002), 12–13.

“progressive era.” Dolores Hayden, Ruth Bordin and Barbara Epstein investigate the overlaps and tensions between suffrage, temperance and industrialization.<sup>90</sup> Recently, Thomas John Lappas has written about the relationship between Native American women and the WCTU.<sup>91</sup> Scholarly contributions on women’s evangelical groups like the WCTU in Canada are rare – Wendy Mitchinson’s contribution to Linda Kealey’s 1979 anthology on women and reform remains the only comprehensive overview of the WCTU in Canada. My dissertation contributes to scholarship on women’s social history of Montreal, an already rich body of literature from the Montreal History Group, notably Bettina Bradbury, Elizabeth Kirkland, Tamara Myers, Mary Anne Poutanen, and Sherry Olson.

### *Contribution*

My central contribution is to user-based architectural history. To speculate on how serving-class women experienced space, I engage a form of historical fiction writing where I situate a woman from the register inside a building or recount her journey between two places. I modelled these texts after Gutman’s book *A City for Children*, where she opens her chapters with short texts that introduce protagonists and places that are important to the history of the “charitable landscape” of Oakland, California. Adams’ “spatial biography” method, which I will revisit in Chapter 2, also informed this writing.<sup>92</sup> During this writing process I was

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<sup>90</sup> Ruth Birgitta Anderson Bordin, *Woman and Temperance: The Quest for Power and Liberty, 1873–1900* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981); Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution*; Barbara Leslie Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity: Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

<sup>91</sup> Thomas J. Lappas, *In League Against King Alcohol: Native American Women and The Woman’s Christian Temperance Union, 1874–1933* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2020).

<sup>92</sup> Adams writes a “spatial biography” of Canadian cardiologist Maude Abbott through examining spaces that were significant to Abbott’s life and career. Adams, “Encountering Maude Abbott,” 21.

guided by two questions: how did the landscape enable or limit women's movement? And how did women's life circumstances inform her experience of these places?

This dissertation shows the potential of particularly rich archival sources for revealing women's relationships to and experience within a landscape. Social historians of Montreal have long used registers and census records to uncover women's histories.<sup>93</sup> A source like the register, which lists women's names and occupations as well as places where they lived, worked, and sought shelter provides the structure of the "built landscape" of indigent women. Using a source as an index of places and people contributes part of an institutional or organizational history, and a layer of a city's history. It is one thing to assume that since Lizzie Davis arrived to Canada from Liverpool that she was probably at the Liverpool Sheltering Home at some point or arrived through the British Home Child program (which I will discuss in Chapter 1).<sup>94</sup> The register tells us that she came from the Knowlton Home, which we know was a receiving home for the British Home Child programs.<sup>95</sup> Then, we find her name scrawled on a passenger list on the Buenos Aryan ship with her sister Kate and 115 other children who departed from Liverpool in May 1880.<sup>96</sup> From the register, we now know that Lizzie travelled through a series of spaces. She started in the cramped, overcrowded slums of Liverpool. She then she spent weeks at sea in a small cabin. Once she arrived in

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<sup>93</sup> See, for example, Gauvreau, Olson, and Thornton, "The Harsh Welcome of an Industrial City"; Sherry Olson, "Feathering Her Nest in Nineteenth-Century Montreal," *Social History/Histoire Sociale*, no. 65 (2000): 1–36; Mary Anne Poutanen and Sherry Olson, "Public Houses and Hidden Networks: Roles of Women in Mid-19th-Century Montreal," in *Micro-Geographies of the Western City, c. 1750–1900* (Routledge, 2020).

<sup>94</sup> Lizzie Davis was one of the first women recorded in the register. She spent six months at the Montreal Sheltering Home after being "seduced" by her employer.

<sup>95</sup> Case 7, Lizzie Davis, "Register. WCTU Sheltering Home," 1897 1887, P590, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>96</sup> "Lizzie Davis" (Library and Archives Canada, 5 May 1880), *Passenger lists from 1869 to 1921 and 1925 to 1932* (RG76), Library and Archives Canada.



Canada, she was brought to a large country home on a sprawling property only to return to a city as a servant and then seek refuge at the Montreal Sheltering Home. The register spatializes and connects such moments and lends material context to serving-class women's life trajectories.

### *Structure of the Dissertation and Terminology*

The scheme of arrival, falling and care mimics the narrative arc of the fallen woman. This was popularized through fiction such as Elizabeth Gaskell's *Mary Barton* (1848).<sup>97</sup> The narrative of the fallen woman unfolded as follows: an indigent woman arrived to the city, perhaps to a new placement as a servant; then, the woman "fell," meaning an event took place that threatened her respectability and livelihood; finally, the woman in question sought help from a friend or institution, in hopes of salvaging or restoring her virtue. The misfortunes, motivations and lives of serving-class women were undoubtedly more complicated than this order of events suggests. Regardless, stories of arrival, falling and care were the only acceptable narratives for serving-class women to give upon their entry to the Montreal Sheltering Home, and the only one that charitable women would accept.<sup>98</sup> And yet, if the inmate were seen entering the Montreal Sheltering Home, her reputation could also be jeopardized. Indeed, Walter Drake of the Society for the Protection of Christian Women and Children insisted that no young Protestant woman should enter the Montreal Sheltering

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<sup>97</sup> In this novel, Mary's aunt, Esther, begins work at a factory, falls in love with a soldier, with whom she has a child. When the child dies, Esther disappears only to return announcing that she has become a prostitute. She warns John Barton, Mary's father, to make sure that young Mary does not suffer the same fate.

<sup>98</sup> Of the archive of the Foundling Hospital in London, England, Nead writes: "I have tried to imagine these women sitting with the form and with one or two friends and discussing how to fill it in; knowing what the Foundling Hospital was looking for and how their stories needed to be told. These were real women in a desperate fix, but they might also have had their wits around them sufficiently to think tactically – to try and use their power in an otherwise powerless and nearly invisible situation." Nead, "Fallen Women and Foundlings," 184.

Home, since “[...] a certain stigma would ever afterward attach to her.”<sup>99</sup> Likewise, the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home used the narrative of the fallen woman to justify their contact and benevolence toward these women.

In Chapter 1, I explore places on the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home that enabled or restricted women’s entry to Montreal. I argue that these places of arrival were sites of tension that simultaneously enabled the entry of women from the so-called desirable classes while restricting the entry of others through siting, design, and surveillance. This chapter places eighteen-year-old Charlotte Millicent, a servant from Knowlton, in the grand general waiting room of Bruce Price’s Windsor Station.

In Chapter 2, I look to the column “how fallen?” of the register to understand what falling meant in the context of nineteenth-century Montreal. Architectural approaches to fallen women in Montreal — the Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women — are the focus of this chapter. I argue that through design and reuse, charitable reformers used architecture to divide women into “good” and “bad” categories. Through isolating women of different temperaments in separate parts of the building, they continued the nineteenth century obsession with categorization and created the subjects they sought to reform.

Chapter 3 looks to sites of care, where women received medical, spiritual, or practical care: the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Protestant Infants’ Home. I argue that the landscape of care reveals that a subject’s relationship to care depended on their relationship to power, which in turn was determined by their class and gender. I explore the extent and limitations of power through moments when a new building or alterations to an existing structure were proposed by committees of management. Rather than a woman from

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<sup>99</sup> “Suggested Girls Reformatory,” *The Gazette*, 14 July 1897, 3.

the register, I open Chapter 3 with a vignette featuring Princess Louise. The focus of this chapter is on the philanthropic women and their encounters with architects and doctors.

Charitable women engaged with architecture through their social networks to make a place for themselves within institutions, and also for their charges. Architects, doctors, and charitable women all used “care” of the “unworthy poor” to justify new builds. Within these new buildings, there were still designated spaces for vulnerable women, but these women were no longer the focus of the hospital. The charitable women who worked in these places, too, struggled to find a place for themselves amid these new arrangements.

My understanding of class is informed by historian Janet M. Bujra’s book *Serving Class: Masculinity and the Feminization of Domestic Service in Tanzania*. Bujra writes: “[...] domestic service is not a matter simply of service to class-defined employers. It is an institution which both expresses and facilitates the reproduction of class as a set of social relations.”<sup>100</sup> Bujra’s understanding of class goes beyond “emerging structures of material inequality” toward class identity as a form of agency. In other words, employers’ identities were formed in relation to their domestic workers just as much as domestic workers were defined in relation to their employers. While some women held jobs outside of service, nearly all the women who entered the Montreal Sheltering Home were servants.<sup>101</sup> I therefore refer

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<sup>100</sup> Bujra writes: “It is an institution which both expresses and facilitates the reproduction of class as a set of social relations. I argue that the study of domestic service can cast a novel light on processes of class formation and consolidation in a post-colonial setting. ‘Class’ is here understood not only as a matter of emergent structures of material inequality, but also of agency and subjectivity in the making of history. There are class projects tied in with the employment of domestic servants – for those who employ them as much as for those who are employed.” Janet M. Bujra, *Serving Class: Masculinity and the Feminization of Domestic Service in Tanzania*, International African Library 24 (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, London, 2000), 4.

<sup>101</sup> Out of 3102 entries, forty-nine had jobs outside service: an actress; a bookkeeper; seven women worked in factories; a “charity woman”; three compositors (typists); seven dressmakers; a forewoman; two fur sewers; one worked in a brewery; eleven nurses; two rubber makers; a teacher; two seamstresses; two stewardesses; and six “tailoresses.”

to the women as serving class, rather than working-class, because it fits their circumstances more accurately.

### *Conclusion*

The work of the managers at the Montreal Sheltering Home goes beyond what they intended. The immediate purpose of the register was to keep intake records that could be compiled to demonstrate the value of such an institution in Montreal to patrons and government officials. In the twenty-first century, the register is a written trace of women whose lives would otherwise be lost to time. This resonates with architectural educator Jos Boys' and scholar Julia Dwyer's reflection on feminist artifacts: "[...] these artefacts are perhaps best investigated as moments made solid within longer complex processes. This meant paying attention to processes of doing, i.e. the underlying work and the time that it takes to generate an object, and the effects that it has through time, beyond its immediate life."<sup>102</sup>

The register calls for scholarly attention to unlock its potential as a feminist artifact. The register is a critical intervention into the architectural history of industrializing Montreal. It shows the complexity of indigent women's lives, and the range of spaces that they occupied. In their need to show expertise in a culture that prioritized categorization and scientific order, women's organizations in the United States, United Kingdom, and British colonies produced an enormous amount of written material on women and cities. I hope that my dissertation shows how these rich sources, coupled with feminist methodologies and architectural analysis, can establish connections between women, power, and architecture.

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<sup>102</sup> Jos Boys and Julia Dwyer, "Revealing Work. Interrogating Artifacts to (Re)View Histories of Feminist Architectural Practice," *Architecture and Culture* 5, no. 3 (2 September 2017): 494.

## Chapter 1. “The City Below the Hill”: Female Immigrants, Railway Stations, and Large Country Homes

### *Introduction: Charlotte Millicent Arrives at Windsor Station*

*At midday on 26 April 1896, Charlotte Millicent disembarked her train car and stepped onto the platform at Windsor Station in Montreal, Quebec, Canada.<sup>103</sup> The steam and smoke from the locomotive hung in the air, giving the atmosphere a hazy quality under the diffused light of the pitched train shed roof. As she passed the conductor, Millicent asked him how to reach Lagauchetière Street.<sup>104</sup> He instructed her to take the hallway to the far left of the general waiting room, out of the main exit onto Osborne Street, turn right, and cross Windsor Street toward Lagauchetière Street. Millicent passed through a set of doors and found herself in a cavernous room with high ceilings, hardwood floors and rhythmic archways supported by six ornate polished granite columns (fig. 1.1). She followed the flow of well-dressed passengers through a corridor to the left. Millicent was struck by the sudden change from a wide open space to a narrow corridor. Through a wide archway on her right was the ladies’ waiting room, which contained a fireplace framed by ceramic tile, and emitted a warm glow. Women dressed in hats, satin and furs sat on wooden chairs with plush leather seats at carved wooden tables. Some women cast their eyes up at Millicent as she walked past, over their novels and embroidery projects. The sound and aroma of the crackling fire gave way to damp*

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<sup>103</sup> Bruce Price’s Windsor Station was the west-end terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway east-west train line. It was therefore a terminal, not a station. It was called “Windsor Station” in contemporaneous newspaper articles, architectural periodicals, and architects’ drawings and plans. Following the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home, journalists, Bruce Price and William Van Horne, I call it Windsor Station throughout this dissertation.

<sup>104</sup> Primary sources suggest that train conductors and dispatchers noticed when young women were alone on the train. On 12 January 1894, Montgomery recorded that a train conductor directed Hattie Lapointe to the Montreal Sheltering Home. “Register” case 2420; Williams, whom we will meet in Chapter 2, was at the Montreal Sheltering Home because a Canadian Pacific Railway train dispatcher saw her on board a night train from Quebec City to Montreal. “Maud Williams Returns Home,” *Boston Evening Transcript*, May 25, 1896.

*air that smelled like wet stone and horse droppings. As Millicent exited the station through the archway onto Osborne Street, she locked eyes with the stare of a small face, its visage twisted into a grin, nestled among oak leaves, carved into the decorative column of the archway (fig. 1.2). Millicent reoriented herself, crossed Windsor Street, then Cathedral Street, and headed down Lagauchetière Street toward the Montreal Sheltering Home.*

This chapter investigates places of arrival in the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home, woven together with events from the lives of women from the register. I argue that these locations were sites of tension that simultaneously enabled the entry of women from the so-called desirable classes while restricting the entry of others through siting, design, and surveillance. I begin by introducing the British Home Child programs and their affiliated homes in Knowlton, Quebec and Belleville, Ontario. I dedicate the rest of the chapter to analyzing the Canadian Pacific Railway Windsor Station. Through triangulating the register with the original plans for Windsor Station and the Ross House, I understand the station as one part of a network of spaces that facilitated the movement of affluent women while restricting the movement of serving-class women. Although the plan of the original Windsor Station does not reflect the intentionally separate spaces that architectural historian Catherine Boland Erkkila observes in her study of “railway space,” the site and design of the station maintain class and gender hierarchies in more nuanced ways.<sup>105</sup>

For women like Millicent, the railway station and the port were their first points of contact with their new city. Initiatives like the British Home Child program and the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society attempted to regulate the “class” of immigrant children and women who entered the workforce in Montreal. Spatial strategies employed by Price and the

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<sup>105</sup> Catherine Boland Erkkila, “American Railways and the Cultural Landscape of Immigration,” *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 22, no. 1 (2015): 36–62.

Canadian Pacific Railway reinforced the divide between affluent and indigent, and crystallized associations between Windsor Station, masculinity, and colonial and economic power. Through contextual and architectural analysis of American architect Bruce Price's Windsor Station, I show how the Canadian Pacific Railway line functioned as a material and ideological boundary that actively shaped the built environment and reinforced the cities "above" and "below" the hill.

Train stations are traditionally viewed as public spaces, and therefore assume the public side of the public/private paradigm that supposedly pervaded Victorian culture. However, a comparative architectural analysis of one of Price's residential designs — the Ross House — shows how the plan of Windsor Station incorporated elements of Victorian domestic architecture, traditionally viewed as private, to maintain class and gender hierarchies inside the station and in the areas around the station.<sup>106</sup> In this way, the network of arrival facilitated entry and mobility for middle-class white women of European descent while limiting the movement of other women.

### *The City Below the Hill*

During the nineteenth century, Montreal was the most important industrial city in Canada.<sup>107</sup> Situated at the confluence of major waterways, railways and trails, the city rippled with the flow of commercial goods, travellers and immigrants.<sup>108</sup> Between 1840 and 1890, the

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<sup>106</sup> Price produced many institutional and residential designs in Canada. For the purposes of this chapter (and because Price's Royal Victoria College, have already been the subject of thorough architectural analysis, see Miller) I focus on the Ross House and Windsor Station as they are linked to the register through Millicent and Sarah Bacon. As we will see, Baker was a servant at the Ross House in 1894.

<sup>107</sup> Fougères and MacLeod, *Montreal*, 294.

<sup>108</sup> On the social and architectural development of industrial Montreal, see Paul-André Linteau, "An Industrial City 1850–1896," in *The History of Montréal: The Story of Great North American City*, trans. Peter McCambridge (Montreal, Quebec: Baraka Books, 2013), 87 — 100; Annie-Claude Lebreque and Dany Fougères, "The Montreal Economy During the Nineteenth Century," in *Montreal*, 474 — 525; Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution*; Bettina Bradbury, Tamara Myers, and Montreal History Group, eds., *Negotiating*

population of Montreal grew by 290 percent.<sup>109</sup> In particular, the middle-class St. Antoine ward experienced the largest population increase during this time. As the middle class swelled, so did the demand for servants. Young women arrived to meet this demand, with the hope of earning some money to send to their families or perhaps to live an independent life. With too many female servants seeking work, bourgeois families were free to discriminate in the hiring process, and let their servant go if their standards were unmet. This led to a large population of young women, without a family member in the city, who oscillated between employment and life in the network of poor relief or the street.<sup>110</sup> At the same time, middle-class women answered a professional call to help women in need. Since women were perceived as “natural” caregivers, charity was a suitable and even noble line of work. The result was a complex situation where the female urban poor were perceived as a burden on society and subjects of pity that charitable women aimed to reform.

The division between rich and poor, virtue and disorder in Montreal was ideological, geographic, and material. “If one were to draw a line across the map of a portion of Montreal,” writes sociologist Herbert Brown Ames, “following Lagauchetière from its junction with Bleury Street to the Windsor Station and thence along the tracks of the Canadian Pacific Railway as far as the city limits, he would divide the southwestern half of our city into two occupied districts of nearly equal extent.”<sup>111</sup> So opens Ames’ 1897 survey of Montreal, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal*.

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*Identities in 19th and 20th Century Montreal* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2005); and Gournay and Vanlaethem, eds., *Montreal Metropolis*.

<sup>109</sup> Dany Fougères, “The Modern City” in *Montreal*, 383.

<sup>110</sup> Gauvreau, Olson, and Thornton, “The Harsh Welcome of an Industrial City.”

<sup>111</sup> Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada*, The Social History of Canada (Toronto, Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 6.



“To pass from the former to the latter,” continues Ames, “it is necessary to descend a considerable hill and with this descent becomes noticeable a marked change in the character of the inhabitants and in the nature of their surroundings.”<sup>112</sup> Perhaps Ames’s view of the city was informed by his charitable work, for the same year, he was listed as a founding member of the gentleman’s committee at the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>113</sup> Ames may have talked over his observations of the city when he met his fellow gentleman’s committee member, Samuel Arnold Finley Sr., at his home at Bishop and Dorchester Streets.<sup>114</sup> As the two walked east along Dorchester Street, they may have observed the sharp decline of the north-south streets toward the St. Ann’s ward, with its wooden houses, crowded squares, smokestacks, immigration sheds and train tracks.

*The City Below the Hill* was a sociological study but also a call to action for Ames’s fellow “dwellers of ‘the city above the hill’.”<sup>115</sup> His intention in publishing the survey was to make the upper classes aware of the poor living conditions of the inhabitants of the lower wards. Through publishing and circulating the text and its associated maps, plans, and figures, Ames spatialized an ideological boundary between rich and poor in the “spatial imaginary” of the upper classes.<sup>116</sup>

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112. Ibid.

113. Rugh, *Sheltering Home History*, 2.

<sup>114</sup> Samuel A. Finley Sr. was the father of architect Samuel A. Finley, Jr. Emma Finley, wife of Finley Sr., was also on the committee of management of the Montreal Sheltering Home. As I will discuss in later chapters, Finley Jr. gained experience as an architect through his parents’ connection to the Montreal Sheltering Home.

<sup>115</sup> Ames, *The City Below the Hill*, 9.

<sup>116</sup> The “spatial imaginary” is a term that human geographers and allied fields employ at various “scales.” Human geographer Josh Watkins identifies three types of spatial imaginary: places, idealized spaces, and spatial transformations. I locate Ames’s formulation of the upper classes “above” the hill and the lower classes “below” the hill in the second category, idealized spaces. Josh Watkins, “Spatial Imaginaries Research in Geography: Synergies, Tensions, and New Directions,” *Geography Compass* 9, no. 9 (2015): 511.

Ames's formulation of the two cities exemplifies what historian Mary P. Ryan calls a "cognitive method of ordering public space" wherein "[...] urbanites in general [...] defied an untidy social-spatial reality and had sketched the rudiments of a mental map that sorted the city's motley population into a few reassuring categories."<sup>117</sup> Ryan notes that this "ordered space" was produced by and regulated by men.<sup>118</sup> As we will see, the presence of serving-class women in unexpected places complicates this neat perception of public space.

Historians generally do not acknowledge the role that architecture and the built environment, especially the construction of the eastern branches of the Canadian Pacific and Grand Trunk Railways, had in shaping this division.<sup>119</sup> Architectural historian Paula Lupkin, for example, posits the railroad as part of the "cultural economy" – which she defines as "[...] an intricate series of financial, industrial, and commercial connections between clients and designers and linked by common transportation and communication systems[...]" – in the industrial southwestern United States.<sup>120</sup> Terry Copp, in his book *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1897–1929*, acknowledges the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks as the northwestern boundary of Ames's Montreal.<sup>121</sup> Further, scholars who study Windsor Station reference this text and take for granted that the station appeared along

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<sup>117</sup> Ryan, *Women in Public*, 62.

<sup>118</sup> Ibid, 64.

<sup>119</sup> An exception is historian Robert Lewis, who notes that the image of the city divided by class was already legible in the built environment as early as 1850. Lewis, "The Segregated City," 137.

<sup>120</sup> Paula Lupkin, "Rethinking Region Along the Railroads: Architecture and Cultural Economy in the Industrial Southwest, 1890–1930," *Buildings & Landscapes: Journal of the Vernacular Architecture Forum* 16, no. 2 (2009): 16.

<sup>121</sup> Fougères and Shaffer acknowledge Ames's sociological contribution, but remain uncritical of the built environmental factors that transformed this porous line into a fissure in the spatial imaginations of nineteenth-century Montrealers. Fougères and Shaffer, *Montreal*, vol. 1 pt 2, 452; Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty*, 15.

this axis.<sup>122</sup> Considering that Windsor Station and the tracks demarcate this boundary, and *The City Below the Hill* was published over a decade following the inauguration of the terminus, I ask to what extent Windsor Station was an active agent of this fractured city.<sup>123</sup> I argue that the Canadian Pacific Railway responded to and actively shaped the architecture of economic disparity in Montreal through a variety of strategies: the geographical situation of the terminus, the timing and execution of the grand opening, and the proximity to the Windsor Hotel and Dominion Square. The ladies' waiting room of the Windsor Station, the ladies' entrance of the Windsor Hotel, and the Woman's Protective Immigration Society on Osborne Street were all part of a network that enabled and enticed "respectable" women to the city while excluding the so-called undesirable class of women.

#### *From Cramped Quarters to Wide Open Spaces*

Four years earlier, Millicent had arrived at Montreal from Liverpool, England.<sup>124</sup> Millicent was one of thousands of children who crossed the Atlantic Ocean during the nineteenth century as a British Home Child. Millicent was born in West Derby, Lancashire, a village east of Liverpool, England. When the 1881 census was collected, she was living at 115 Robsart Road with another family, the Hampsons. Her father, John Millicent, was a comedian.<sup>125</sup> In 1890, Millicent's mother, Jane, died at the age of forty. Millicent's father was

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<sup>122</sup> Deborah L. Miller, "'The Big Ladies' Hotel': Gender, Residence, and Middle-Class Montreal: A Contextual Analysis of the Royal Victoria College, 1899–1931" (Master's Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1998), 75.

<sup>123</sup> Sarah Schmidt recounts how debates over working-class access to Mount Royal via rail line were coded by gender and ethnicity: "[...] to deny access to the impoverished class was to keep the environment clean, a metaphor for unscathed female virtue." Sarah Schmidt, "Domesticating Parks and Mastering Playgrounds: Sexuality, Power and Place in Montreal, 1870–1930" (Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 1996), 35.

<sup>124</sup> Library and Archives Canada; Ottawa, Ontario, Canada; Series: RG 76-C; Roll: C-4538

<sup>125</sup> Census Returns of England and Wales, 1881. Kew, Surrey, England: The National Archives of the UK (TNA): Public Record Office (PRO), 1881, Class: RG11; Piece: 3660; Folio: 11; Page: 15; GSU roll: 1341877.

likely unable to care for his girls while also working as an entertainer. His girls went to Canada under the care of the British Home Child programs the same year. On 27 November 1891 the SS. *Mongolian* carrying Millicent among other children and adult passengers docked with a jolt in the Montreal Harbour. Louisa Birt — sister of Scottish philanthropist Annie Macpherson, who founded the British Home Child Immigration program — led Millicent, her sister (also named Jane) and around twenty other children down the ramp and onto the dock next to the immigration shed.

The shed was a long, rectangular, basic building with a pitched roof and constructed of wood (fig. 1.3). From the deck of the ship, Millicent could see crowds of people gathered to meet their friends or relatives. As Birt, Millicent, and the rest of the children approached the exit toward the wharf, Millicent heard the chattering of the crowd, people exclaiming toward their loved ones, the hooves and whinnying of horses attached to carriage taxis waiting to pick up fares from weary passengers. And so Millicent arrived, into the bustling chaos of the port of Montreal.<sup>126</sup>

### *Victorian Britain*

To illustrate the sharp contrast between British industrial cities and rural Quebec and Ontario, I turn briefly to the urban and social context that the British Home Child immigrants left behind. Historian Eric Hopkins explains that while the first few years of the 1870s showed promise of prosperity through the success of various commercial enterprises, 1873 marked an

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<sup>126</sup> The immigration record notes that Millicent and the other children were part of “Mrs. Birt’s party to Montreal.” Monteyne points out that the Canadian government decreed that all steerage passengers had to disembark at the Louise Embankment in Quebec City as of 1893. Since Millicent’s arrival predates this decree, I place her and Birt’s party at the Montreal immigration shed. David Monteyne, *For the Temporary Accommodation of Settlers: Architecture and Immigrant Reception in Canada, 1870–1930* (Montreal; McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2021), 42.

economic downturn that would last for twenty years.<sup>127</sup> This period of scarcity had material consequences for the quality of life and dramatically changed the landscape of London.

Slums were demolished and replaced with railway stations and factories to keep up with the demands of industry, leaving thousands homeless. The buildings that were spared from demolition were decrepit (fig. 1.4).

Congregational minister Arthur Mearns (under the pseudonym R. Sims) published a popular text titled *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London* where he observed the ostensible moral and palpable material decomposition of the working classes. Mearns writes:

The buildings are in such miserable repair as to suggest the thought that, if the wind could only reach them, they would soon be toppling about the heads of their occupants [...] Every room in these rotten and reeking tenements houses a family, often two [...] Even when it is possible to do so, the people seldom open their windows; but, if they did, it is questionable whether much would be gained, for the external air is scarcely less heavily charged with poison than the atmosphere within.<sup>128</sup>

As Elizabeth Wilson puts it, an “army of surplus middle-class spinsters” in Victorian Britain intervened in the dismal urban housing conditions through social welfare.<sup>129</sup> Among them was Macpherson, who saw the connection between overcrowded slums and the abundance of open land and work to be done in Canada. Macpherson’s solution was to bring children from

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<sup>127</sup> Hopkins explains that historians contest the cause of this economic downturn: “A variety of reasons has been examined: they include an alleged shortage of gold on world markets, a switch to home investment from foreign investment, the growth of industry abroad using more modern methods, the failure of second-or third-generation sons to maintain the drive of the industrial pioneers, the lack of adequate technical education, and so on. It is not proposed to examine any of these arguments here, since our main concern is with the social results of industrial change rather than with the changes themselves.” Eric Hopkins, *Industrialisation and Society: A Social History, 1830–1951* (London: Routledge, 2000), 58.

<sup>128</sup> Andrew Mearns, *The Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, ed. Anthony S. Wohl, The Victorian Library (Leicester: Leicester U.P., 1970), 4.

<sup>129</sup> Elizabeth Wilson, “Women, Social Welfare & Social Work in Victorian Society,” in *Women and the Welfare State* (London: Routledge, 1977), 43.

impoverished families to Canada where they would receive temporary lodging in “receiving homes” to train for positions as servants or labourers.

British Home Children arrived at Canadian ports through a spate of small, cramped spaces. First, the children stayed for several months at the Liverpool Sheltering Home, where they began their training as domestic servants and farmhands. Once in Canada, the children lived in temporary accommodations in country homes donated by wealthy benefactors and retrofitted to resemble dormitories. These homes — in Knowlton, Quebec and Belleville and Niagara-on-the-Lake in Ontario — were eventually called Macpherson Homes, after their founder. The fresh air and spacious homes of the British Home Child programs contrasted sharply with the crowded conditions of England’s industrial cities. The advent of frequent commercial passenger steam ships made the journey between Great Britain and its colonies more comfortable and accessible and thus increased the likelihood that those arriving by sea would survive the trip. The register reflects this mass emigration, as according to the register, almost one thousand inmates of the Montreal Sheltering Home were born in England (fig. 1.5).

The first dispatch centre of this kind was in Belleville, Ontario, known as the Marchmont Home: a two-storey brick house with a wraparound porch (fig. 1.6).<sup>130</sup> Ellen Bilborough, who was mentioned in the register, served as the superintendent for this receiving home. Birt recognized the need for farm labour in rural Quebec, and established the Knowlton Home on 1 May 1872, in the Eastern Townships (fig. 1.7). Barber — who founded the Montreal Sheltering Home — later took over operations for the home. Birt hired Elizabeth Meiklejohn,

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<sup>130</sup> The original Marchmont Home burned down in 1872. Members of the community in Belleville gathered funds to find a new property after the fire. The home pictured is the third Marchmont Home, which was procured and financed by Belleville Senator Billy Flint. Marjorie Kohli, *The Golden Bridge: Young Immigrants to Canada, 1833–1939* (Toronto: Natural Heritage Books, 2003), 93.

the daughter of a Quebec banker, as the superintendent of the Knowlton Home. This Home was a retrofitted tavern on a well system and had paraffin lamps as the main light source.<sup>131</sup> The children's dormitory was a converted ballroom.<sup>132</sup> The Knowlton Home operated as a kind of rural orphanage, set in a large home in a picturesque setting.

Home, as an image and an idea, featured prominently in the British Home Child programs. Sheltering the children in symbolic "homes" — the Liverpool Sheltering Home, the Macpherson Homes, and eventually the home where they would be employed — also disguised the more troubling aspects of this program by invoking domestic imagery. Birt regularly placed advertisements in the newspapers to encourage people who needed farm labour to apply to "adopt" the children. One advertisement in *The Gazette* from 1895 read: "A few little boys between five and seven years of age would make splendid adoptions. Persons prepared to receive one of these little children into their homes and train them as their own may like to send for one of their photos in Knowlton."<sup>133</sup> In later advertisements of this type, Birt describes the children in terms of their disposition and appearance, ex: "fair eyes, dark hair," presumably to make them more attractive to potential employers. As immigration to Montreal increased, so did anxieties about inheriting a supposedly degenerate "class" of immigrants. In this context, Birt's descriptions are attempts to entice prospective employers and reassure them that the children were attractive, sturdy and obedient.

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<sup>131</sup> Meiklejohn is also written into the register; This was a fitting use of an old tavern considering Barber's interest in the temperance movement. Kohli, *The Golden Bridge*, 125.

<sup>132</sup> Ibid, 95.

<sup>133</sup> Louisa Birt, "The Distributing Home," *The Gazette*, 11 February 1895, 2.

Architectural historian Helen Lefkowitz-Horowitz writes that “[a] form meant to give protection may create new, unanticipated dangers.”<sup>134</sup> Indeed, the register and Minute Book reveal an unsettling truth about a similar receiving home, called the Fairknowe Home, in Brockville, Ontario. On 10 April 1894, Savage recorded the following discussion at the monthly meeting:

We received many young English girls who are brought to this country and placed in [...] by Mr. Burgess of the Fairknowe Home, Brockville. There young creatures are very often seduced and their prospects in life ruined, by the sons and sometimes by the heads of the families whom the young girls are bound to serve. What can be done to remedy this terrible evil is a question about which the Com. [ittee] never cease to think about and pray.<sup>135</sup>

Indeed, between 1890 and 1892 four women and girls in between the ages of fifteen and twenty-three entered the Montreal Sheltering Home as “seduced.” All of them left for the Montreal Maternity Hospital, with the exception of fifteen-year-old Sarah Ann Spiers, who departed from the Montreal Sheltering Home to return to Brockville, where she was going to “give evidence at the trial of the man who had committed rape.”<sup>136</sup> This passage challenges the idea that middle-class reformers all definitively knew that the home was the best place for servants. Through committing these events in writing to the official record of the Minute Book — and declaring them in front of their supervisory board — the committee of management demonstrated their awareness that the inmates did not only find harm through “[...] the grid city’s temptations.”<sup>137</sup> The home could protect and contain its inhabitants while also concealing dysfunction from the outside.

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<sup>134</sup> Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater*, xviii.

<sup>135</sup> Savage, Minute Book, 10 April 1894.

<sup>136</sup> “Register,” case number 1293.

<sup>137</sup> Ellen Day, “Visitor Book,” 17 November 1903.



*The Woman's Protective Immigration Society*

While British agencies made efforts to export working-class children to Canada, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society in Montreal was positioned to vet these servants and ensure that only "desirable" female domestics were hired to work in the homes of Montreal's Protestant elite. The Woman's Protective Immigration Society was founded in 1886 in response to the influx of female immigrants to Montreal. Initially at 141 Mansfield Street, the society ostensibly aimed to "protect" women once they arrived to the city.<sup>138</sup> There are no extant photographs of the Mansfield Street home or the Osborne Street home, though the Mansfield Street home could apparently accommodate up to thirty women "for a couple of days."<sup>139</sup> The significance of this place lies in its connection, through women's mobility, to the Montreal Sheltering Home, its intentional situation next to the Windsor Station to intercept women arriving to the city who were perceived as belonging to a "lower" class, and its importance as a landmark in this network of tension between letting particular women in while keeping others out.<sup>140</sup>

The Woman's Protective Immigration Society and British Home Child program were active agents of the white settler-colonial project. In public appeals for funding, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society emphasized their concern for the physical welfare of female immigrants, but they also expressed apprehension about women of "delicate health" or "weak

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<sup>138</sup> Between St. Catherine Street and Burnside Place. Mrs. Mahony, matron. Mrs. Rippon, resident secretary. Lovells directory 1887-88, Street Directory, 146.

<sup>139</sup> Etta Cornell, the matron of the Quebec Woman's Protective Immigration Society, in a letter to the Department of Agriculture, wrote: "I was requested to go to Montreal (as the party [of 30 women from California] wished to remain there for a couple of days) to make arrangements for their accommodation. I did so, and secured rooms at the Mansfield St. Home." M. S. Macpherson, "Ltr. on Care of Immigrants by the Women's Protective Immigration Society," n.d., Library and Archives Canada.

<sup>140</sup> For an architectural history of gender and mobility in the mid-twentieth century, see Ipek Mehmetoğlu, "'Les Girls En Voyage': Gender, Architecture, and Mobility in the Mid-Twentieth Century" (Ph.D Dissertation, Architecture, Montreal, Quebec, McGill University, 2021).

intellect,” which were also considered undesirable attributes in a servant.<sup>141</sup> In other words, the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society wanted to protect female immigrants – but only those who were white, anglophone, and preferably Protestant.

This discernment was articulated at the inaugural meeting of the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society. The chairman, Matthew Henry Gault, proclaimed that this new society “[...] would tend not only to promote the comfort, welfare and safety of those who, landing on our shores, found themselves strangers in a strange land, but it would also tend to promote the cause of immigration, and the building up of our Dominion by giving us a desirable class of immigrants.”<sup>142</sup>

The Woman’s Protective Immigration Society was affiliated with English, Irish, and American emigration societies, which sent women over to the home on Mansfield Street.<sup>143</sup> These immigrants embarked on the two-week voyage across the Atlantic Ocean in the steerage class, which was obligated to disembark the steamer at Quebec City, while the first- and second-class passengers continued to the Allan Line docks in Montreal. A representative of the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society met the women in Quebec City and escorted them to the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society, where they were given shelter and food for twenty-four hours before they were sent to situations as domestic servants.<sup>144</sup> The society wanted to make sure that the so-called desirable female immigrants were employed to work in bourgeois homes, and direct the less “desirable” women toward different

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<sup>141</sup> “Woman’s Protective Immigration Society,” *The Gazette*, 16 May 1887.

<sup>142</sup> Gault was the husband of Elizabeth J. Gault, manager of the Montreal Sheltering Home. “Woman’s Protective Immigration Society,” *The Gazette*, 12 December 1882.

<sup>143</sup> “Female Immigration,” *The Gazette*, 27 September 1884.

<sup>144</sup> “Protection of Women Immigrants,” *The Gazette*, 29 April 1892.

organizations. Sometimes, female immigrants were returned to England if they did not meet the physical and moral standard of the Woman's Protective Immigration Society. This was also standard practice for the Montreal Sheltering Home, where the managers sent several women back to England during the period under study.

The general managers of the Woman's Protective Immigration Society used their social connections to find women from Britain and place them as servants in bourgeois Montreal homes. The Montreal Woman's Protective Immigration Society branch was socially connected to the British Female Emigration Society in Winchester, England.<sup>145</sup> Indeed, Ellen Joyce — the founder of the British Female Emigration Society — corresponded with the Montreal Woman's Protective Immigration Society to tell them that she had arranged, through the Deputy Minister of Agriculture, to provide her charges with “colonist rates” for their journey inland from Quebec City to Montreal.<sup>146</sup> “Colonist rates” refers to a passage for the “colonist car,” an austere sleeping car for new immigrants furnished with hard wooden benches and overhead compartments that lowered into a stiff, uncomfortable bunk bed (fig. 1.8). Giving train tickets to the women from the British Female Emigration Society to travel to the Woman's Protective Immigration Society in Montreal ensured an influx of servants that had been vetted by another British organization. Historian Marie Ruiz writes that “[t]he female emigration societies were engaged in the pursuit of female perfection. Good-looking, feminine and educated female emigrants – ‘perfect’ wives able to manage a house – represented the Holy Grail that they hoped to find or to create via domestic

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<sup>145</sup> William Edgar, “Ltr. from President of Montreal Women's Protective Immigration Society on Arrangement for the ‘Colonist Rates’ for Immigrants Sent Out by Hon. Mrs. Joyce,” Library and Archives Canada, July 1891.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid.

training.”<sup>147</sup> This kind of social connection assured the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society that the women they were sending out into the workforce were of what they thought was a “superior” class of woman: British, white, and educated.

The Woman’s Protective Immigration Society placed middle-class matrons to intercept women arriving at ports in Montreal and Quebec. Summaries of the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society annual reports reveal that this organization placed posters that directed women towards their organization on boats and in ports. In the context of these practices, I understand the relocation of the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society directly next to Windsor Station as an effort to enable the emigration of women of “good” character and keep women of “bad” character out. As of 1881 a matron accompanied the young women bound for the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society on the journey as a “[...] guarantee of protection and safety to those sending young girls to the society to which they are consigned, by preventing their being tampered with on the route and induced to branch off to other places, often to their disadvantage.”<sup>148</sup>

The Woman’s Protective Immigration Society also expressed gratitude to customs officials who met female immigrants as they debarked steamships or trains “[...] in order to gather in and guard any young women who are unprotected and so liable to fall into unsafe hands [...]”<sup>149</sup> Indeed, the matron from the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society branch in Quebec City gave cards for the society in Montreal to all of the women headed to that city.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Marie Ruiz, “Selecting and Training Female Emigrants,” in *British Female Emigration Societies and the New World, 1860–1914* (Cham: Springer International Publishing, 2017), 98.

<sup>148</sup> “Satisfactory Year’s Work,” *The Gazette*, 12 December 1887.

<sup>149</sup> Ibid.

<sup>150</sup> Macpherson, “Ltr. on Care of Immigrants,” 1889.

As of 1888, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society hired a chaperone, Etta Corneil, to meet all incoming steamships in Quebec City, and "personally forwarded all the young women consigned to the Society to Montreal [...]"<sup>151</sup> The Woman's Protective Immigration Society kept track of the women and girls whom it brought to Montreal once they left the home to go to their placement. Indeed, if women who had arrived to the city through the society went to jail for a misdemeanor, they were sent to the Home for Friendless Women on St. Antoine Street once they were released.<sup>152</sup> This institution, which we will encounter in Chapter 2, was a repurposed mansion at the corner of St. Antoine and Dominion Streets, was approximately one-and-a-half kilometres west of the Home for Friendless Women.

The society enticed women to enter the Woman's Protective Immigration Society on Mansfield Street through posters. The society placed posters at Euston Station in London, the Allan Steamship Line office in Liverpool, and on steamships bound for Canada.<sup>153</sup> Once the Windsor and Bonaventure railway stations were completed in 1889, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society changed its approach to monitoring female immigration: in addition to sending Woman's Protective Immigration Society representatives to meet immigrants they knew were arriving, and passively accepting referrals from authorities and other institutions, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society actively dispatched representatives to railways stations to seek out single women arriving to the city alone. This practice was in line with a

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<sup>151</sup> The 1889 annual report from the Woman's Protective Immigration Society names "E. Corneil" as the appointed chaperone. Etta Corneil is the only E. Corneil in Quebec the 1881 and 1891 censuses. She was the daughter of a foreman, Charles R. Corneil, an Irish Protestant. Her mother was from England. The family lived in Quebec City in 1881 then Montreal in 1891. "Woman's Protective Immigration Society, Annual Report," 1889; Library and Archives Canada; *Census of Canada, 1891*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Library and Archives Canada, 2009. Statistics Canada Fonds. Microfilm reels: T-6290 to T-6427; Canada. *Census of Canada, 1881*. Statistics Canada Fonds, Record Group 31-C-1. LAC microfilm C-13162 to C-13286. Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

<sup>152</sup> "Satisfactory Year's Work."

<sup>153</sup> The Allan, Beaver and Dominion Lines. "Satisfactory Year's Work."

broader strategy of the Protestant poor relief network toward female immigration, as both the YWCA and the WCTU hired police matrons to look after women who had been arrested in railway stations or the port.<sup>154</sup> By 1888, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society had also moved from the home on Mansfield Street to eighty-four Osborne Street, which was one block away from Windsor Station. This new location enabled those working at the Woman's Protective Immigration Society a view of passengers exiting Windsor Station.

The Woman's Protective Immigration Society sent girls who strayed from Victorian standards of femininity to the Montreal Sheltering Home. During the period under study, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society sent ten women to the Montreal Sheltering Home, and the Montreal Sheltering Home sent only two to the Woman's Protective Immigration Society. The women were all between nineteen and twenty years old, from England, Ireland, Scotland, and Sweden. They fell into two camps: those who were caught stealing or were "dishonest," and those who were seduced or pregnant. Families needed to trust that live-in servants would not steal their possessions, therefore women who were caught stealing or perceived as "dishonest" were not suitable for service. A visibly pregnant, unmarried woman employed as a servant within a family home was perceived as scandalous because her presence would raise embarrassing questions about her employers. For these reasons, accused thieves and visibly pregnant women were sent to the Montreal Sheltering Home. The register indicates that the home found most of the women placements as servants, and those who were pregnant waited in the home until they went to the Montreal Maternity Hospital to give birth.<sup>155</sup> Through dispatching women to ports and train stations, placing posters in strategic

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<sup>154</sup> Tamara Myers, *Caught: Montreal's Modern Girls and the Law, 1869–1945* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2006), 123.

<sup>155</sup> The women were Lizzie Mann, Edith Balchim, Caroline Light, Francis White, Margaret Smithers, Lizzie Smith, Annie Telf, Matilda Fisher, and Mable Black. "Register," case numbers 797,865, 1268, 1486, 2249, 2250, 2423, 2429, 2529, 3006, respectively.

locations, and occupying a home near Windsor Station, the Woman's Protective Immigration Society on Osborne Street was a material intervention in the landscape of arrival that aimed to control what "class" of female immigrants could find work as a servant.

### *Windsor Station*

The Woman's Protective Immigration Society on Osborne Street was 600 feet from the main entrance to Windsor Station. Each corner of the station had an octagonal tower that extended from the base to the roofline, capped with a conical roof, and tall, narrow windows. From street level, Windsor Station was a mesmerizing amalgamation of small, deliberate flourishes and details. The stone blocks were expertly cut and finished to different levels, some chunky and faceted, other rough, and then at the main entrance, the stone was smooth, showing off the striae. The main entrance was flanked by two stout decorative Corinthian columns topped with carved leaves. An arc of stars demarcated the outer limit of the main archway, and a band of dentils lined the inside. An intricate carved signet was the crown jewel of the archway: "CPR" (fig. 1.9).

Prior to his commissions for the Canadian Pacific Railway, Price designed elite hotels and residences in the United States. After studying architecture in Maryland and New Jersey, Price opened his own firm in Baltimore in 1868.<sup>156</sup> He married Josephine Lees in 1871, and the following year the couple moved to Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania, where Price practised until he moved his office to New York after 1877.<sup>157</sup> Between 1876 and 1886, the architect designed residential, commercial, and institutional projects on the eastern coast of the United

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<sup>156</sup> Samuel Huiet Graybill, "Bruce Price, American Architect, 1845–1903" (Ph.D., Connecticut, United States, Yale University, 1971), 5.

<sup>157</sup> Ibid.

States. Price's style during this period was characterized by irregular masses with towers at varying heights and cladding with various textures and colours. This is exemplified by "The Craigs" cottage in Mount Desert, Maine, of which architectural historian Vincent Scully writes: "Price's design at this period is without discipline, and it is hearty, violent, and free. His sense of tumultuous open space and his love of texture and variety represented in 1880 some of the vitality which marked the new summer hotel and cottage architecture."<sup>158</sup>

Price designed several residences in Tuxedo Park, New York. These commissions likely inspired him to write his only book, titled *A Large Country House*, in which he outlines in exhaustive detail the conditions, masonry, metalwork and even the plumbing and heating conditions of the ideal American country mansion. Importantly, Price outlines his opinion of the ideal site for a country house:

The house is built upon a site well chosen, sloping gently toward the south and overlooking a beautiful stretch of country. The garden front is placed to command this view, the entrance is from a porte cochère over the drive upon the north side. The rooms and offices are planned in accordance to the requirements of the site, and studied to gain all the advantages of the sun and view, or seclusion from sight, that their various purposes demand.<sup>159</sup>

This description of the ideal site for a country home coincides with the siting of Windsor Station.

Windsor Station marked a departure from Price's previous designs in scale and purpose. Indeed, the station was also dramatically different from anything previously built in Montreal. Windsor Station was part of a new era of architecture as ego projects for corporations who wished to communicate Canada's economic strength. Lupkin writes that

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<sup>158</sup> Vincent J. Scully, *The Shingle Style and the Stick Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1971), 78.

<sup>159</sup> Bruce Price, *A Large Country House* (W. T. Comstock, 1887), ix.



during the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries, “[a]rchitecture was the major currency of self-promotion, enacting geographical commitment and permanency.”<sup>160</sup> The terminus was the second in a series of designs by Price for the Canadian Pacific Railway that included Viger Station in Montreal and two railway hotels: the Château Frontenac in Quebec City (fig. 1.10), and the Banff Springs Hotel in Banff, Alberta. The station also marked a significant departure from the first generation of railway stations. Early stations were single-storey buildings made of cost-effective wood, with a ticket booth and waiting room on the ground floor and an apartment for the station master and his family on the first floor.<sup>161</sup> By contrast, the enormous rectangular massing and unified limestone cladding made Windsor Station distinct on the skyline of nineteenth-century Montreal. Windsor Station marked Montreal’s first monumental railway station.

Windsor Station’s design brought class difference, particularly for women, into relief. The tile fireplace, plush furnishings, and scenic view of Dominion Square from the windows of the ladies’ waiting room were design elements coded for genteel femininity. In contrast, the absence of seating in the general waiting room encouraged a constant flow of passengers in and out of the station. Women standing still and waiting alone within this vast interior were highly visible. Indeed, feminist researcher Elizabeth Wilson writes that “[t]he very presence of unattended — unowned — women constituted a threat both to male power and a temptation to male ‘frailty’.”<sup>162</sup> As we know, the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society

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<sup>160</sup> Paula Lupkin, *Manhood Factories YMCA Architecture and the Making of Modern Urban Culture* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2010), 86.

<sup>161</sup> During this time, the CPR also encouraged station masters to cultivate their gardens on the grounds, even providing seeds yearly through the post. Harold Kalman, “The Railway and the Opening of the West,” in *A History of Canadian Architecture* (Toronto; New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 481-3; “C.P.R. Floral Department: How the Great Railway Promotes the Love of Flowers,” *The Globe*, 13 June 1902; “CPR Sends Seeds to Employees,” *The Globe*, 5 April 1911; “Flower Day at Windsor Station,” *The Gazette*, 10 April 1913.

<sup>162</sup> Elizabeth Wilson, “The Invisible Flâneur,” in *The Contradictions of Culture: Cities, Culture, Women*

and allied organizations dispatched matrons to sites of arrival like Windsor Station to identify and intercept supposedly wayward or unaccompanied women. In this way, the station displays what Adams identifies as the “paradoxical relationship” between freedom and restraint inherent to domestic architecture for women.<sup>163</sup> The ladies’ waiting room recognized unaccompanied bourgeois women’s mobility between destinations. The station, however, was still a controlled site that limited women’s movement, through assigning women to a particular location (such as a dedicated waiting room) and making visible unaccompanied women in the general waiting room.

### *Historical and Architectural Analysis of Windsor Station*

Viewed from a distance, the station looked like a castle (fig. 1.11): the limestone cladding contrasted sharply with the dark glass of the recessed arched windows (fig. 1.12). The lantern tower was eight storeys tall, and the station stretched 225 metres along Windsor Street.<sup>164</sup>

A promotional booklet published by the Canadian Pacific Railway compares the view from a train car departing from Windsor Station and the city’s most coveted view, from the top of Mount Royal: “As the train rolls along upon this elevated way, a fine view is afforded of the many stately buildings which make Montreal the greatest of Canadian cities, and also of many outlying points of interest [...] there is but one better point of observation than this, and that is from the top of Montreal’s well-known Mountain.”<sup>165</sup> The site, heavy massing, and unified limestone cladding of the station communicated power. Through comparing the view

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(London, United Kingdom: SAGE Publications, Limited, 2001), 74.

<sup>163</sup> Adams, “Rooms of Their Own,” 30.

<sup>164</sup> Dandurand, “Bruce Price and His Railway Stations,” 49–50.

<sup>165</sup> Canadian Pacific Railway Company, *Summer Tours by the Canadian Pacific Railway*, 5th ed (Montreal: Issued by Passenger Dept., Canadian Pacific Railway, 1891), 17.

from the train departing Windsor Station and the view from the top of Mount Royal, the Canadian Pacific Railway evoked the permanence of a geological feature.

As architectural historian Charles Davis argues, designing a railway station to correspond with nature in a timeless way disguised the fact that these stations were part of the new colonial project that benefitted the white, western bourgeoisie. In this way, we can see Windsor Station as part of what Nelson calls the “colonial landscape.” She defines it as “[...] that combination of cultural and scientific rendering of specific geographies which employed both the aesthetic, stylistic and material tropes of Western ‘high’ and popular visual art as well as the claims to accuracy, reason and authority of the western eye/I as proximate to and thereby mastering of that which it saw and claimed to know.”<sup>166</sup>

When designing Windsor Station, Price and Van Horne struck a delicate balance between forward-looking American zeal and deference to the British Empire while firmly rooting the project in Canada through local materials, especially masonry. The station was built in a Richardsonian Romanesque style, which was named after American architect Henry Hobson Richardson. Further, the terminal was named in connection with the Windsor Hotel, which in turn was named after the British royal family.<sup>167</sup>

Comparing early published drawings and elevations of the station show Price’s early vision for the terminus. An elevation from *The Gazette* in 1887 pictures a dramatic sloped roof that

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<sup>166</sup> Nelson, *Slavery, Geography and Empire*, 8.

<sup>167</sup> The name Windsor is connected to the British royal family. Windsor Palace, for example, was built in the 11<sup>th</sup> century and has served as the primary residence of several monarchs including Elizabeth II. After WWI King George V. changed their family name from the German Saxe-Coburg Gotha to English Windsor due to anti-German sentiment. Edward Owens, *Family Firm: Monarchy, Mass Media and the British Public, 1932-53* (London: University of London Press, 2019), 11.

risers to almost meet the main tower (fig. 1.13).<sup>168</sup> Since this elevation faces Windsor Street, the roofline would block the dramatic view of Mount Royal (fig. 1.14) and the south view of St. Ann's ward, the Lachine Canal, and the St. Lawrence River. This issue is rectified in a later drawing in 1888 that shows a lower roofline and prominent tower with a lantern (fig. 1.15). The view from the top of the tower made the user feel powerful and omnipresent. By contrast, the views from the ladies' waiting room were lateral and limited by the window frames.

Though Windsor Station is one of the most influential buildings in Canadian architectural history, plans and elevations of Price's original design are scarce.<sup>169</sup> Sources of the original building and new photographic documentation of the building came only from preservation efforts. In 1974, an activist group called Friends of Windsor Station championed the historic significance and contemporary importance of the station through highlighting its unique design and local materials. Windsor Station was eventually spared through these efforts.

The entrances of the original Windsor Station reflected the class divide between the city "above" the hill and the city "below" the hill. The principle entrance on Osborne Street was oriented toward Mount Royal, the Square Mile, and the Windsor Hotel (fig. 1.16). It also

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<sup>168</sup> Price explains to Russell Sturgis in an interview that he had to change his roof well into construction:

"[...]The Windsor Street Station [...] was not built under as favourable conditions as some of the later buildings. After the building had been raised to the cornice, I was required to completely change my roof. It had been designed with a high sloping roof with great dormer windows which would have given the building a character it now lacks. There was nothing to do but to submit to the inevitable and substitute the present low roof and the somewhat insignificant windows [...] the lantern on the tower was also omitted, though there is now some talk of building it."

Russell Sturgis, *A Critique of the Works of Bruce Price*, 81–82.

<sup>169</sup> "Perhaps more than any other Canadian building, Windsor Station has influenced the architecture of this country. This influence is clearest in the subsequent works of the Station's architects: across Canada, they designed a series of buildings for the CPR in a truly national style which became known as the Canadian Railroad Chateau Style." Friends of Windsor Station. et al., *Windsor Station = La Gare Windsor*, 20.

faced St. George's Anglican Church, which hosted weddings and funerals for Montreal's anglophone elite. Once inside, users followed a long hallway flanked by the ladies' waiting room on the left, and offices on the right. The corridor opened to the spacious waiting room with vaulted ceilings. The secondary entrance was marked by a smaller archway near the southeastern corner of the building (fig. 1.17). Through this door, there was a men's toilet and the stairwell that led up to the main waiting room. Importantly, this entrance was toward the southern extremity of the station and faced east, toward small, working-class homes and dilapidated wooden dwellings. Whereas other train stations employed more direct means of maintaining class hierarchy through separate interior spaces, Windsor Station found class separation through separate entrances.

### *Viewing Platforms for Picturesque Landscapes*

Windsor Station's aristocratic allure was constructed in relation to monumental landmarks like the Windsor Hotel and Dominion Square, and in contrast to the principle terminus of the main competitor of the Canadian Pacific Railway: the Grand Trunk Railway's Bonaventure Station. Van Horne had a sharp understanding of the power of siting and landscape. As author Valerie Knowles recalls, Van Horne visited the construction site of the Banff Springs Hotel and was horrified to see that the contractor had laid out the plan backwards, which meant that the best view would be from the kitchen.<sup>170</sup> In another vignette, Knowles recounts that when Van Horne commissioned Price for another Canadian Pacific Railway hotel, he took the architect out in a small boat on the St. Lawrence River, with the goal of ensuring that

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<sup>170</sup> Valerie Knowles, *From Telegrapher to Titan: The Life of William C. Van Horne* (Toronto, ON: Tonawanda, NY: Dundurn Group; Dundurn Press, 2004), 224.

the most impressive feature of the Château Frontenac, a grand round tower (fig. 1.18), was “sufficiently majestic.”<sup>171</sup>

Taking into consideration Van Horne’s knowledge of the power of viewpoints and landscape, the south and north elevations of Windsor Station demonstrate how the passengers’ experience of the station depended on whether they entered from the principle or secondary entrance. Indeed, Deborah Miller points out that the elevation facing the Square Mile was unobtrusive compared to the elevation to the north, which showcased the five-storey tower.<sup>172</sup> To this end, Miller notes that “[b]ourgeois women, who were perceived as the principle inhabitants of the upper-residential sector, were thus sheltered, through the station’s organization and massing, from industrial-like spaces and dissociated from commanding ones.”<sup>173</sup> This strategy served to discourage working-class inhabitants from accessing the main entrance that faced St. George’s Church and Dominion Square. While the scale of the principle entrance was meant to impress, the exaggerated scale of the rear entrance was designed to intimidate. Van Horne knew how to offer sublime views of the surrounding city or nature to his peers. He also knew how to use design to make people at street level feel intimidated by his monuments to the Canadian Pacific Railway. And Price knew how to keep supposedly undesirable people away from Windsor Station through design.

### *A Tale of Two Rival Railways*

The new Canadian Pacific Railway station was only one block from the Bonaventure Station. This may have encouraged residents of the neighbourhoods of the southern wards to choose

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<sup>171</sup> Ibid.

<sup>172</sup> Miller, “‘The Big Ladies’ Hotel’”, 75.

<sup>173</sup> Ibid.

Bonaventure Station instead of Windsor Station. The platforms and train line of the Grand Trunk Railway formed a barrier between Windsor Station and the southern wards of Montreal. Although it was only one block east, Grand Trunk Railway's Bonaventure station had a different character and atmosphere. Whereas Dominion Square was surrounded by two major churches, a regal hotel, and Windsor Station, the major landmarks near Bonaventure Station were a brewery, and a fire station.

In contrast to Windsor Station, where the train shed and high stone walls kept the smoke contained from the surrounding environment, the open platform and rail yard at Bonaventure Station let coal smoke dissipate into the open air. Early photographs of Bonaventure Station show the station affected by nature (vulnerable to perennial spring flooding) and a lack of control over the byproducts of technological advancement (fumes from train stations). The inauguration of Windsor Station was timed perfectly to showcase how the station controlled the natural environment. Curved paths lined with benches and trees gave Dominion Square the appearance of a low-density area in the city centre. The Montreal Sheltering Home on St. Urbain Street employed a parallel strategy through choosing a property that backed on to Dufferin Square. The managers of the home and other institutions for indigent women chose locations next to green spaces, to mitigate the negative health consequences of urban life, which were perceived as harmful to women.

"The necessity of locating the Canadian Pacific Railway traffic at the western end of the city had become indispensable, and not more than two years have elapsed since the foundations of the present magnificent structure were laid [...]"<sup>174</sup> wrote a reporter from *The Montreal Daily Witness*. The praise for this new station followed accounts from passengers arriving from

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<sup>174</sup> "Carnival! A Snowy Second Day," *The Daily Witness*, 5 February 1889, 6.

New York state via Bonaventure Station, who reportedly described their travel experience as “[...]‘simply beastly,’ as they were packed together like herrings in a barrel, and many of them had to indulge in the doubtful luxury of standing throughout the entire journey.”<sup>175</sup>

Windsor Station announced its monumental status through contrast, leading the public to form their own glowing reviews and spread them through their social networks organically.

### *Women and the Windsor Hotel*

The opulent status of Windsor Station was cemented through its connection — in situ and name — to the Windsor Hotel. One of the most anticipated events of the Winter Carnival was the Carnival Ball, held in the opulent dining hall of the Windsor Hotel (fig. 1.20).<sup>176</sup> The Windsor Hotel referred to itself as Montreal’s “crown jewel” in the hotel’s self-published guide to the city. This language emphasized its connection to the British monarchy. Indeed, the Windsor was the material embodiment of wealth and glamour. The hotel hosted royalty, vicereignty, and other aristocratic visitors to Montreal. The ballroom was the setting for events attended by the highest-ranking members of Montreal society. Indeed, McGill University was connected to this hotel through the annual University dinner and the McGill Medical Association dinners, which were held in the ballroom. The St. Andrews Society, a charity for people of Scottish descent that funded Scottish cultural activities, held its Annual Society Ball at the hotel. The scale of the dining hall was impressive with twenty-seven-foot-high ceilings and a polished marble floor.<sup>177</sup> The ceiling featured three domes, from which hung rings of lights that illuminated frescoes of scenes from Canadian landscapes (fig. 1.21).

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<sup>175</sup> Ibid.

<sup>176</sup> By 1913 the dining hall was called the “Grand Ballroom.”

<sup>177</sup> W.S. Weldon, *Windsor Hotel, Montreal* (Montreal: Desbarats, 1898), 24.



This scenery introduced guests from abroad to Canada and allowed Canadians to revel in their country's scenery from their seats at banquet tables.<sup>178</sup>

Philanthropist Margaret Polson Murray offered a first-hand account of a railway journey departing from Windsor Station to *The Dominion Illustrated* in 1889, in which she lauded the benefits of exposure to the Eastern Townships.<sup>179</sup> Her article began at Windsor Station and followed the Canadian Pacific Railway to the Townships, aboard a car named "Memphremagog," which referred to a lake of the same name in that region. As the train pulled out from the station, she voiced her dislike for the new Windsor Station: "[...] quietly and gracefully we glided out of what, if it was ever seriously intended to form the handsomest station in the Dominion, provides one more proof of the evanescent nature of the hopes of man – the certainty of uncertainty."<sup>180</sup> Polson Murray further noted, "the orchards and gardens of capital to the north and the yards and washing days of labour to the south [...],"<sup>181</sup> which suggested that the division between the city above and below the hill was a conception of the city shared by charitable reformers.<sup>182</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Elsa Lam's dissertation demonstrates how the CPR used "spatial techniques, architecture and landscape" to create the notion of "Canadian wilderness." Given the close connection between the CPR Windsor Station and the Windsor Hotel, the art in the grand dining room can be understood as part of this broader "spatial technique." Elsa Lam, "Wilderness Nation: Building Canada's Railway Landscapes, 1885–1929" (Ph.D Dissertation, New York; New York, Columbia University, 2011).

<sup>179</sup> The Eastern Townships are a region of southeastern Quebec, where many residents of the affluent Square Mile had summer homes. Polson Murray also published under the name Mrs. Clark Murray, since she was married to McGill Professor John Clark Murray.

<sup>180</sup> Margaret Polson Murray, "Among the Mountains," *The Dominion Illustrated* 3, no. 69 (26 October 1889): 267.

<sup>181</sup> Ibid.

<sup>182</sup> Polson Murray was a founding member of the Montreal YWCA, and founder of the Daughters of the Empire. The register, Visitor Book and Minute Book yield no evidence to support that she had a direct connection to the Montreal Sheltering Home. Murray and her husband were Square Mile residents, living at 111 MacKay Street according to the 1889-90 Lovell's directory.

Like the ladies' waiting room at Windsor Station, the Windsor Hotel acknowledged bourgeois women's presence through design. The path from the station to the Windsor Hotel further shows that the Canadian Pacific Railway recognized the increased mobility of middle-class women. A woman arriving at the Windsor Hotel via Windsor Station could bypass street traffic and city sights altogether by following the paths through Dominion Square (fig. 1.22) directly to the "ladies' entrance," which was situated at the southeastern corner of Windsor and Dorchester Streets.<sup>183</sup> The *Windsor Hotel Guide* of 1890 describes the "ladies' entrance":

The ladies' entrance opens on Dorchester Street, and is protected from the rain and sun by a broad canopy, which stretches to the street. In close proximity to the entrance are the waiting rooms for guests, and the ladies' reception room, which is elaborately furnished and decorated in the richest style, and is, undoubtedly, the gem of the house. It is situated beneath the tower, and commands a view up and down Dorchester Street and across Dominion Square.<sup>184</sup>

Women could therefore be sheltered by the canopy of the entrance, and continue to be sheltered from the city and its unpleasant sights, sounds and smells by the canopy of the trees in Dominion Square.<sup>185</sup>

The exterior of Windsor Hotel does not reveal much about the interior use of space. All four elevations are nearly identical from a distance, except the ladies' entrance. Women entered through their covered entrance into a hallway through a revolving door. To the right of the entrance was a ladies' waiting room with a rounded wall (fig. 1.23). From a bird's-eye view, the ladies' waiting room was prominent (fig. 1.24). The situation of the ladies' entry at the

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<sup>183</sup> *The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal*, CIHM/ICMH Microfiche Series 44748, 1890.

<sup>184</sup> Ibid.

<sup>185</sup> For an in-depth exploration of the sensory experience of the urban dweller in Montreal at the turn-of-the-twentieth-century, see: Nicolas Kenny, *The Feel of the City: Experiences of Urban Transformation* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2014).

corner of the square suggests that the ladies' waiting room of Windsor Station and the ladies' reception room at Windsor Hotel were part of a larger strategy of protecting bourgeois women who were travelling alone from the perceived dangers of urban settings. Adams explains how separate entryways for women in men's clubs in Montreal were "[...] an explicit architectural gesture of separation-cum-dominance."<sup>186</sup> An exclusive entrance that led to women-only spaces indicated that women were secondary users of the space, and their presence within these clubs was also a mark of an élite institution.<sup>187</sup> The path through Dominion Square toward the hotel's dedicated entrance for women was therefore both a marker of status for all patrons of the Windsor Hotel and an apparatus to shield bourgeois women from the harmful influences that were supposedly inherent to an urban environment.

The tree-lined path between the station and the hotel is in line with architectural trends for women's residences at the turn of the nineteenth century.<sup>188</sup> In this photograph by William James Topley, for example, it appears that Windsor Station is situated in a green space, not a city centre (fig. 1.25). In this image, the slope of the hill and the landscaping of the park completely obscure the southern boroughs below Lagauchetière Street. A woman's journey from Montreal to a country house in the Eastern Townships therefore started before she boarded the rails. It began with a sequence of spaces deliberately constructed for women, such as the ladies' waiting and reception rooms, as well as sites that were coded as suitable

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<sup>186</sup> Annmarie Adams, "The Place of Manliness: Architecture, Domesticity, and Men's Clubs," in *Making Men, Making History: Canadian Masculinities Across Time and Place*, ed. Peter Gossage and Robert Allen Rutherford (Vancouver, BC: UBC Press, 2018), 118.

<sup>187</sup> "Admitting women to the building at all was a signal of elite status, showing clubmen to be above all the childish nonsense of keeping women out." Ibid, 119.

<sup>188</sup> Adams demonstrates how nineteenth-century women's residences were typically situated at the edge of cities or campuses. Adams explains that the association between women and green space "stemmed from long-established conceptions of nature, understood in the late nineteenth century as healthier, safer, and more beautiful than the unpredictable, industrialized city." Adams, "Rooms of Their Own," 32.

for women, the sheltered atmosphere of the Square protected the “purity” and “femininity” of these women. Dominion Square, which was lined with places of worship, the YMCA, and Windsor Station, acted as a visual and material buffer between the affluent Square Mile area and the rest of the city. Windsor Station and St. George’s Anglican Church visually blocked the southern “washing days of labour.” The siting of Windsor Station and Windsor Hotel ensured that women walking between them were enveloped in a picturesque park framed by some of the most impressive civic, ecclesiastical, and commercial architecture in the city.

### *The Mansion on Top of the Hill*

If you emerged from Windsor Station through the main exit and continued north toward the outline of Mount Royal, past Dominion Square and the Windsor Hotel, within ten minutes the rows of terraced houses of greystone and Scottish red brick that lined Peel Street would give way to the lush residential slopes of the Square Mile (fig. 1.26). Sherbrooke Street marked the beginning of a steep incline toward Pine Avenue, at the base of Mount Royal. At about the halfway point between Sherbrooke Street and the Peel Street steps, set back from the street by a circular driveway and a neatly manicured lawn, was the Ross House. To the east of the Ross House was an escarpment toward McTavish Street, and below was McGill University. The area surrounding the Ross House featured equally palatial residences each on their own large plot of land which was perfectly landscaped to give the impression that the home was on a rolling hill in the countryside instead of a ten-minute walk from the main train terminus of one of the largest cities in North America. Indeed, the Ross House — with its towers, turrets, siting, and viewpoints — was an ornate keep perched on a perfectly manicured motte.

The Ross House was a château-style mansion designed by Price for Canadian Pacific Railway entrepreneur James Ross, his wife Annie Kerr, and their only son, John Kenneth

Leveson “Jack” Ross.<sup>189</sup> It was completed in 1892, during which time Price’s Château Frontenac in Quebec City was under construction. The house was an irregular block with dynamic elements like advancing and receding turrets on the south side. Tall chimneys emerged from a steep, pitched roof. The viewpoint from the southeastern corner of the property shows both the east and south sides of the home (fig. 1.27), accentuating the circular turrets that disappear in the elevation drawing (fig. 1.28). The home was clad in rough-cut Credit Valley limestone with quoined edges and windowsills.<sup>190</sup> The roofline and main entrance were ornate and intricate. Two pilasters flanked the archway above the main entrance, like at Windsor Station, and directed the eye upward (fig. 1.29). The most impressive view of the home was the south elevation that faced downtown, with a large veranda supported by six polished granite columns (fig. 1.30). Two wide chimneys on either end of the southern façade anchored and framed the drama of the alternating small and large conical towers. The driveway approached the house diagonally, from the southeastern corner of the property. The drive extended past the private space of the veranda, but the distance between the visitor and the family was communicated through a steep incline.

Price designed the Ross House as a stronghold for respectable domesticity meant to maintain class distinctions from the outside and within the home. A flight of ten steps led up to two solid carved wood doors. Like at Windsor Station, the points of entry and exit were the most detailed and ornate. The double door was framed by two ornamental columns and rococo details — swirling leaves, flowers, and half shells — were carved into the stone. This motif continued with the first-floor window casements, which also fanned out like half-shells. The

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<sup>189</sup> John Kenneth Leveson (J.K.L.) Ross had architectural duo and brothers Edward and William Maxwell design a mansion for him across the street from the Ross house, which was completed in 1910. He famously spent the family fortune on lavish parties and horse races. J. K. L. Ross declared bankruptcy in 1935.

<sup>190</sup> “J. K. L. Ross House,” John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection (CAC), accessed 25 November 2022, [https://cac.mcgill.ca/campus/buildings/Ross\\_House.html](https://cac.mcgill.ca/campus/buildings/Ross_House.html).

impressive outside continued to a luxurious inside, where dark-stained wood panelling and iron details enveloped the visitor or inhabitant. A fireplace immediately greeted the visitor arriving in the winter. Yet the veranda on the south side of the home was not visible from the principle entrance. Perched atop the faux columns that flanked the main entrance (fig. 1.31), under the main window of the façade, and atop each polished granite column of the veranda (fig. 1.32), were small carved faces with delicate features and aquiline noses. These portraits were elevated, stoic, and stared blankly toward Peel Street.<sup>191</sup> The decorative faces at Windsor Station greeted the passenger at eye level, and those of the Ross House seemed to look at the guest or interloper from above.

In contrast to the south and east elevations, Price exercised restraint on the north elevation, which featured the servants' entrance. Though there were turrets, that façade was flat and stunted compared to the south elevation. The servants entered through a faux double door that opened into a winding staircase downward, which itself ran directly under the grand staircase of the first storey (fig. 1.33). As was typical in grand houses, the servants had access to a smaller, secondary staircase at the north end of the home, so they could displace themselves at the needs of their employers without being seen by some inhabitants or guests. This exemplifies Adams' observation that Victorian domestic architecture employed horizontal and vertical spatial filters to separate inhabitants according to social mores of the day.<sup>192</sup> The

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<sup>191</sup> In 2019, Hammond based a performance piece on a similar kind of design detail captured by photographer Brian Merrett in 1973: a marble caryatid on the pilasters of a fireplace at Shaughnessy House of the Canadian Centre for Architecture. Attendees listened to an audio piece exploring the gendered history of Shaughnessy House, while 15 architects, artists, art, and architectural historians performed the "contemporary embodiment of the lost lipstick caryatids" who "offered the first commemoration of the former occupants of the Residential Club for Girls" that had once been based in the Shaughnessy House. Cynthia Hammond, "The Lipstick Caryatids, April 2019," *Cynthia Imogen Hammond: Art, Projects, Spatial Practice*, accessed 29 August 2023, <https://cynthiahammond.org/2020/03/01/the-lipstick-caryatids-april-2019/>.

<sup>192</sup> Adams, "Domestic Architecture," 14.

separate yet parallel staircase exemplifies the conflicting role of the domestic servant: she needed to be omnipresent yet unobtrusive within the home. Price used design to divide visitors and residents and prescribe paths that would ensure minimal contact between occupants who were serving and those who were served.

Gwendolyn Wright traces how the residential designs of famous architects were influenced by and therefore indebted to women reformers.<sup>193</sup> Following this argument, Price's residential and institutional designs were linked through a dialectical process where one typology informed the other.<sup>194</sup> The Ross House, which was completed three years after Windsor Station's grand opening, shows that the architect applied the same considerations of siting and plan that he did with the railway terminus. Domesticity and defence were expressed spatially and architecturally in both Windsor Station and the Ross House. To reinforce this point, I turn to "The Suburban House," one of Price's only essays, published in 1893, one year after the Ross House was completed. In particular, the siting of the home, the viewpoints from the southern veranda and front entrance, and the plan of the home reflect Price's particular approach to residential and institutional design.

Price's language in his essay suggests that defence was a key tenet of his approach to residential design: "[...] the house must be oriented toward the street so that the centre of family life was difficult to access: If the road to the house crosses the lawn and comes at once

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<sup>193</sup> Gwendolyn Wright, "Domestic Architecture and the Cultures of Domesticity," *Design Quarterly*, no. 138 (1987).

<sup>194</sup> Wright also explains how colonial styles in domestic architecture "suggest an underlying xenophobia [...]" Wright, "Domestic Architecture," 18.

upon the hall, veranda, and seat of the home life, the home life is open to intrusion at any time. And so it is important to keep these features separate.”<sup>195</sup>

The veranda of the Ross House was placed to maximize the view and privacy. Although visible from the street, it could only be accessed from inside the house. Double doors that opened to the veranda were directly opposite to the grand staircase (fig. 1.34). Due to the incline on Peel Street, the veranda of the Ross House, which protruded from the home between two protective cylindrical towers, had a direct sightline to the city below, including Dominion Square and the Windsor Hotel. The tower of Windsor Station may also have been visible. There was no footpath from the street to access the veranda, and the raised mound of grass around the veranda implied that this area was for family only.

Price’s insulated design is legible through the layout and sightlines of the main entrance and vestibule. According to Price, the entrance was for access to the house, but the more intimate family spaces should not be directly accessible from the main entrance. Price writes, “[t]he entrance is for access; the hall, veranda, lawn, and the prospect beyond, belong to the private life of the house. Tradesmen or visitors, however welcome, cannot be dropped into the midst of the family group [...] Even Liberty Hall must have its defence.”<sup>196</sup>

As with Windsor Station, Price carefully considered the landscape in all of his designs to control the impression of the house to those who approached it, and also to protect the heart of the home from supposedly undesirable people:

If the approach [to the house] is from the north, and the site falls off gradually to the south, with the view toward that quarter, then the solution of the problem is simple and direct, and at its best. The house is placed well to the northern

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<sup>195</sup> Bruce Price, “The Suburban House,” 76.

<sup>196</sup> Price, “The Suburban House,” 76.



boundary, leaving it sufficiently away from the thoroughfare to ensure privacy and space for the turn of the drive [...] The house is placed with its long axis east and west, its approach and entrance upon the north [...] and it stands thus in itself a barrier between the turmoil of the world and the peace and privacy within and beyond its portals.<sup>197</sup>

The veranda was oriented toward Dominion Square, and beyond that, the Centre, East, and West wards, as well as St. Ann's ward, the centre of industry and the working classes. The veranda of the Ross House could be seen from the tower of Windsor Station, but not from the street level. Harnessing the power of the landscape, Price's design provided discretion and privacy while ensuring a sprawling view of the city below. James Ross could see the Dominion Square, the elite nexus of commerce and tourism, from his veranda. His privileged position — in society and from the slope of Mount Royal — allowed him to see all of Montreal, but only a select few could see him.

Price's description of the site of the suburban house echoes the siting of Windsor Station, which was situated on terrain that sloped toward the south. The southern exit faced the public markets, the port, and the St. Lawrence River. Continuing Miller's observation that the south elevation of the station intimidated people approaching from the southern wards, I posit that the long south-north axis of the station acted as a buffer or barrier for the north elevation. For, as we can extrapolate from Price's text, and as shown by Miller, the northern principle entrance was meant for the people who lived in the Square Mile and the patrons of the Windsor Hotel. The orientation of Windsor Station thus used the geographical feature of the hill as well as the social concept of "the city below the hill" to presume the class status of its passengers and direct them toward their respective entrances. Windsor Station both engaged and reinforced pre-existing notions of class divisions within the city.

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<sup>197</sup> Ibid, 76–77.

*The Ross House Plan*

Like other Victorian mansions, the plan of the Ross House was designed to separate inhabitants, guests, and servants by class and gender.<sup>198</sup> Indeed, Adams observes that “nineteenth-century householders lived independently in boxlike rooms arranged horizontally and stacked vertically, with carefully positioned circulation spaces intended to mediate spatial togetherness [...]”<sup>199</sup> According to Adams, formality and rigidity were inherent to these spatial configurations.<sup>200</sup> Indeed, each floor of the Ross House — besides the servants’ spaces in the basement — had a hall in the centre of individual rooms. The hall was an informal buffer between private living quarters and semi-public spaces where inhabitants, guests, and staff mixed. The formality or privacy of these rooms increased with each floor. Servants working in such mansions were acutely aware of these separations. They had to navigate both worlds, without being seen by the family outside of their rehearsed duties.

Adams points out that in large houses like the Ross House, “[...] the library, study, smoking room, and billiards room were designed especially for the man of the house.”<sup>201</sup> All of these “masculine” spaces were accessible from the public entryway. The “feminine” space of the

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<sup>198</sup> Annmarie Adams, “Domestic Architecture as a Mode of Separation,” in *Companion to the History of Architecture* (John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 1–16.

<sup>199</sup> Adams, “Domestic Architecture,” 1.

<sup>200</sup> *Ibid.*, 2.

<sup>201</sup> Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way*, 77.

first floor, the drawing room, was only accessible from the corridor between the main staircase and the veranda.

Sarah Bacon, who stayed at the Montreal Sheltering Home for three weeks in 1894, was intimately acquainted with the spaces of the Ross House.<sup>202</sup> Sarah occupied one of the three bedrooms available for staff on the third floor of the mansion.<sup>203</sup> On the north side of the house, the cook, housekeeper and footman were greeted by a flat and relatively sombre north elevation. Staggered windows on the outside indicated the servants' stairwell. The spaces that were exclusively for servants were located in the basement and on the top floor, connected by a lift and a small, winding staircase with a few windows to let light in. Price logically placed all of the staff-specific spaces on the north end of the house. The laundry room, the butler's pantry, and the servants' quarters in the attic storey all face north. The servants' entrance opened into an enclave directly underneath the main staircase. While the grand stairwell stopped at the second floor and continues to the attic through a secondary staircase hidden behind a door, the servants' staircase extended uninterrupted from the basement all the way to the attic. Adams argues that men's clubs established their exclusivity through the "presence and subjugation" of women, rather than their complete exclusion.<sup>204</sup> The Ross

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<sup>202</sup> Sarah was left at the Montreal Sheltering Home on 16 June 1894, by "Mrs. J. Ross" aka Annie Kerr, and left the Montreal Sheltering Home on 11 July 1894. The register says that she left for a "situation" but it does not specify the Ross House. Clara M. Shelton also mentions Sarah in the Visitor Book: "Sarah Bacon sent by Mrs. James Ross on Peel Street for one week. Mrs. R will pay her board." "Visitor Book," 23 June 1894.

<sup>203</sup> The Ross family had a pared-down servant roster compared to their neighbours. Neighbouring families in the 1901 census counted table maids, nurses, and house valets among their staff. The Ross family employed a housekeeper, cook, and footman, which corresponded to three servants' rooms on the attic level of the home. Census, 1901, Library and Archives Canada.

<sup>204</sup> Adams, "The Place of Manliness," 119.

House suggests that Price designed the house to accommodate presence and invisibility of servants throughout the home in a similar way.

The guest accommodations and billiards room on the attic floor of the Ross House shows the interplay between the invisibility of servants and the proximity of the home's inhabitants. As Adams observes, family members and servants only interfaced during "highly controlled situations."<sup>205</sup> The billiards room was on the third floor, nestled between the servant and guest rooms (fig. 1.35). If James and Annie Ross had a dinner party, their guests would be bound to the standard, gendered, rigid, lateral movements of reception, dining, and entertainment. As the guests arrived, they would be ushered into the drawing room, where James and Annie would receive them. Once dinner was ready, the guests as a group would make their way into the dining room and take their seats at a long, polished table elaborately set with silver and crystal. After dinner, the ladies and gentlemen would retire to their respective gendered spaces. Later in the evening, though, at the invitation of James Ross, the men would perhaps go up the grand, wide staircase. On the second floor, Ross would lead his friends into another set of stairs behind a door. On the third floor, this narrow stairwell opened to a large billiards hall. The placement of this recreational space among the private quarters of the servants increased the chance of an unstructured encounter between master and servant, or servant and guest. This arrangement of rooms suggests that where a separate area for servants (like the basement of the Ross House) was not possible, servants understood that the presence of a guest or employer in an unstructured situation meant that they had to stay away. Besides the prescribed separate vertical (such as the stairwell and elevator) and lateral compartments (like the basement and upper-level bedrooms), the most significant cue for servants was to avoid

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<sup>205</sup> Adams gives the examples of dining, greeting guests, childcare, and gardening. Adams, "Domestic Architecture," 9.

their employing family. It was a relational, rather than spatial, cue, which the billiards room brings into relief. I posit that this relational cue is how Price maintained class hierarchies within Windsor Station.

### *Sorting by Class*

If you approached Windsor Station from below Lagauchetière Street, the façade of Windsor Station and the faint outline of St. James Cathedral were architectural symbols of the threshold of the wealthy Square Mile. As I discussed earlier, the entrance on the southern façade was barely distinguishable, since it kept the pattern of the transomed windows that flanked the door. Erkkila argues that at the turn of the twentieth century, “railway space” — train cars, sheds, and stations — both reproduced and reinforced nineteenth-century social hierarchies and racial biases through segregated passageways and spaces.<sup>206</sup> At first glance, the plan of the first floor of Windsor Station does not seem to separate people through design. However, in observing the plan in relation to the Ross House, we can see that the plan of Windsor Station incorporated elements of the Victorian home to maintain class and gender hierarchies.

Nineteenth-century prisons or reformatories presumed the inmates within were disordered and therefore must be kept away from the public. The design of other residential and non-residential spaces, like nurses’ residences, private men’s clubs, and hotels, presumed that those inside its walls needed to be protected from the disordered outside.<sup>207</sup> Conversely, train

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<sup>206</sup> Erkkila shows how European immigrants who could afford tickets to luxury cars were allowed to do so, but non-white immigrants were not permitted into these spaces, even if they could afford it. Erkkila, “American Railways,” 56.

<sup>207</sup> For literature on gender and institutional architecture in North America, see: Annmarie Adams, “The Place of Manliness”; Adams, “Rooms of Their Own”; Adams, “Patients,” in *Medicine by Design*; Horowitz, *Alma Mater*; Martin, “The Architecture of Charity”; Yanni, *Living on Campus*.

stations were understood as public spaces.<sup>208</sup> People of different classes entered the terminal and were siloed into different cars according to fare, or racial and ethnic groups. Windsor Station was not a true public space, but one part of a two-tiered railway system. The siting and orientation of the entrance encouraged access of wealthy passengers through the main corridor. Price implemented domestic design elements to keep supposedly undesirable people out. Further, through the presence of the ladies waiting room, we see that Price counted on middle-class women's propriety and the presence of a matron to "protect" the space.

Surveillance and restriction of movement were two inherent characteristics of domestic architecture. Another was impenetrability: domestic architecture protected the inside from the outside. The interior, according to this formulation of space, was the family and the hearth, and the exterior was the street and the stranger.

The design of the station also assumed that serving-class women did not take the train alone. Serving-class women, like those who sought refuge at the Montreal Sheltering Home, had neither the time nor the money to travel for leisure. Women like Millicent were displaced from English cities as children and moved to Canada. As adult servants, their movement was limited. They travelled to church, the bank, the grocer, and the department store, usually in the company of their mistresses.<sup>209</sup> Women passengers could retire to the ladies' waiting room voluntarily.

Surveillance and sorting passengers according to class and health status were inherent to the architecture of immigration reception. Architectural historian David Monteyne observes that "[...] to sort these different classes of arrivals, inspections and detention joined reception as

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<sup>208</sup> Stations built before 1850 were unremarkable, flat buildings with an apartment above for the conductor and his family to live. Kalman, "The Railway," 481.

<sup>209</sup> For a detailed history between women and the department store in Victorian England, see Erika Rappaport, *Shopping for Pleasure: Women in the Making of London's West End* (Princeton University Press, 2021).

key functions of certain immigration buildings of the early-twentieth century.”<sup>210</sup> In contrast, part of the luxury of Windsor Station was the perceived absence of surveillance and classification. Instead of distinct first-class and general waiting rooms, the Windsor Station had one main general waiting room and a small ticket booth. However, to divide passengers from one another, Price employed micro-strategies through design and plan. Rather than employing police constables or ticket agents to sort passengers, the design of the station sorted the people through separate entrances: one for the city “above” the hill, the other for the city “below.”

The absence of benches and class-specific waiting areas demonstrates that Price employed design tactics inherent to domestic architecture to separate people within the station. A photograph by William Notman shows the Bonaventure Station Waiting Room (fig. 1.36) as an enormous open volume with mosaic floors and wooden bench seating, out of which emerged candelabra-style brass lamps. Toward the far end of the room, we see an arched doorway, with signage that indicated the first-class waiting area. This bench seating recalls Adams’ observation of the material contrast between private patient pavilions and outpatient waiting spaces in Boston- and Toronto-based architects Stevens and Lee’s Ross Memorial Pavilion at the Royal Victoria Hospital, named for James Ross.<sup>211</sup> The Bonaventure Station general waiting room attempted to create the illusion of personal space through the addition of arm rests to carved wood pews. The ample vertical space and the gesture toward individual seating on the benches suggested luxury. In Notman’s photo, the painted letters “1<sup>st</sup> Class

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<sup>210</sup> Monteyne, *For the Temporary Accommodation of Settlers*, 7.

<sup>211</sup> “This bench seating, where outpatients sat next to strangers without separation, echoed the public wards in which acoustical, visual, and tactile privacy was minimal.” Annmarie Adams, “Patients”, 41–42.

Waiting Room” over the door at the far end of the general waiting room announced the differentiation between the general and first-class waiting rooms.

Windsor Station did not have a separate first-class waiting room, relying instead on the absence of benches and design cues to direct people toward the north or south exits. In a photograph of the Windsor Station general waiting area, by the same photographer and in the same year, shows sparse seating against the walls of the station (fig. 1.37). The arms of the benches line up with the pilaster columns, making use of the projection from the wall as a divider between the seats. Passengers in these seats could not see each other completely, and instead looked inward at the room. However, an illustration by a sketch artist for the francophone newspaper *La Presse* depicts the general waiting room with pew-style benches piled up in the foreground as a result of a tragic train accident (fig. 1.38).<sup>212</sup> This discrepancy suggests that at some point, pew-style benches were introduced to the general waiting room and transformed the space into a typical waiting room rather than a grand hall. From the platform, the most direct exit was the staircase that led toward the basement, the dining area and the exit onto St. Antoine Street. Through vertical (descent toward the basement and secondary exit onto St. Antoine) and lateral (exit through the corridor onto Osborne Street) separation of people of different classes in domestic architecture, Price employed this typology familiar to upper-class passengers (who lived in bourgeois homes) and serving-class

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<sup>212</sup> The article covered an incident on 17 March 1909, where a train from Boston lost control and crashed through the platform all the way to the wall on Peel Street. Three people were killed and fourteen injured, according to the initial report. “Désastre Terrifiant à La Gare Windsor,” *La Presse*, 17 March 1909: 1.



passengers (who worked in bourgeois homes) to direct people toward the north and south exits.

The Ross House and Windsor Station shared an architect. Price imbued each structure with a castle-like gravitas through siting, scale, and design. Though they are a small detail, the carved faces — two groups of three on either side of the main entrance of Windsor Station, and lone ones on the columns at the Ross House — establish material continuity between these buildings. I understand the north-south axis from the main entrance of Windsor Station to the veranda of the Ross House as a corridor of power and wealth. Between these two sites are the Windsor Hotel, Dominion Square, élite churches and elegant mansions. Just inside these two portals (the entrance to Windsor Station and the entrance through the veranda of the Ross House) are two gendered spaces: the drawing room, which is associated with entertaining and socializing, and the ladies' waiting room, a space designed by Price expressly for women.

The view through the east-facing windows in the ladies' waiting room offered a pleasant view of Dominion Square.<sup>213</sup> The room was elevated so that people on the street could not see in. On the other side of the room, across from the windows, there was another view available to the ladies who waited by the fire: the passengers entering and exiting the station from Osborne Street. The ladies waiting room was directly adjacent to the general waiting room, and the space spanned the entire length of the corridor.<sup>214</sup> The space speaks to women's leisure travel and also to their supposed authority as monitors of who gets let in and who gets left out. The ladies' waiting room was a space explicitly designed for women,

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<sup>213</sup> Miller, "'The Big Ladies' Hotel,'" 78.

<sup>214</sup> "In accordance with domestic paradigms, it [Windsor Station] was marginal in its location and both smaller and more informal than its 'public' counterpart." Miller, "The Big Ladies' Hotel," 80.

where they were visible. Passengers entering the station through the main entrance could see women in their designated area. The women, as well, could see the people entering and exiting the station.

In contrast to the general waiting room, the ladies' area was compact, feminine, and tactile (fig. 1.39). In scale and furnishings, it resembled the parlour of a bourgeois home. It was a single storey, outfitted with polished wood tables and chairs with plush velour seats and backs. A stone arch above the principle entrance, a wide arch on the west side of the room, and another leading to the restroom established visual continuity from the general waiting room to this space. A large carpet covered nearly the whole floor. The main feature of the room was a ceramic tile fireplace. Above the hearth, a large mirror reflected light and made the room appear larger. Between the top of the fireplace and the ceiling was a decorative nook featuring three small arches and columns, with a ceramic pot between each. Even the light fixtures were delicate and feminine. Chandeliers with long tendrils extended from the ceiling and hovered over each table, with blown-glass, tulip-shaped lampshades directing light both downward to the table and upward toward the ceiling. On the wall next to the fireplace hung a landscape painting of mountains, perhaps to serve as a preview of the scenic journey that awaited female rail passengers.

Miller posits that the ladies' waiting area emerges as a "marginalized" space in the plan. I interpret the space as a central part of the semi-public spaces of the first floor of Windsor Station. An early plan of the first floor of the station from *The Engineering and Building Record* shows that the ladies' waiting room occupied only a portion of the east side of the corridor, in between the general waiting room and an office (fig. 1.40). In the actual plan, the ladies' waiting room was two spaces joined by a smaller room that contained the women's toilets that spanned the entire east side of the main corridor. The general waiting room

expedited the flow of entry and exit of passengers, while the ladies' waiting room invited women to sit, relax, and observe.

The ladies' waiting room expressed gendered difference and gendered deference. In comparison to the general waiting room, the scale, design, and materiality of its counterpart were expressly feminine. The separate room for women acknowledged gendered difference and the urge to "protect" women and limit their interactions with men.<sup>215</sup> The wide archway that connected the ladies' waiting room to the hallway was redundant as a means of access to the ladies' waiting room, since there was a door right next to it. The archway was intended for women to see who was entering and exiting the station. The wide arch of the ladies' waiting room was a design feature that acknowledged middle-class women's new role as moral guardian of respectable femininity through charity work.

*On 26 April 1896, the ladies in the room saw nothing worth noting. When the passengers exited the train, Millicent must have noticed the difference in dress and stature of the people heading out of the main exit (toward Windsor Hotel, Peel Street, Dominion Square) and those descending through the stairwell in the middle of the hall, quickly disappearing from sight down the staircase in the centre of the waiting area. Millicent had been trained as a servant in the Knowlton Home, so she knew how to disappear into a crowd of elegant people in a grand environment. She kept a pace just close enough to the fur-clad woman in front of her to give the appearance to suggest they were together, yet enough distance so as not to*

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<sup>215</sup> Abigail Van Slyck investigates the emergence of women's-only reading rooms within libraries. Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Library Loafer," 221–243.

alarm her.<sup>216</sup> Anyone suspicious would assume she was a servant headed to the Windsor Hotel.

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, we have visited the general waiting room of Windsor Station, the Liverpool Receiving Home in England, the Knowlton Receiving Home in rural Quebec, the Windsor Hotel, and the Ross House at the base of Mount Royal. What do these places have in common? They are all linked to the Montreal Sheltering Home through the social connections of the managers or the spatial journeys of serving-class women (sometimes both, as was the case with Knowlton Home). The railway, Windsor Station, and the Windsor Hotel are material evidence of the increase of élite women travelling. The steamship and railway made the journey between Britain and Canada faster and easier, which strengthened the aristocratic connections between these places and necessitated the design of new women-specific spaces like the ladies' waiting room in Windsor Station and the ladies' entrance to the Windsor Hotel. At the same time, middle-class charitable women, like Barber, Macpherson, and Birt, participated in a network that displaced young girls from England to Canada to place them in middle-class dwellings as servants. As middle-class women, they perceived a link between the poor sanitation of living conditions to moral disorder.<sup>217</sup> Even large Canadian cities, like Montreal and Toronto, where some of the children would later be employed as servants, were less densely populated and had better water and air quality than the slums in Britain. The women affiliated with the British Home Child scheme believed that through exposure to domestic life, children could become ideal servants. Through placing the

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<sup>216</sup> This detail is speculation. The register does not indicate through which exit Millicent left the station.

<sup>217</sup> Davidoff and Hall explain that "[o]ne of the distinguishing characteristics of the middle class was their concern with decorum in bodily functions and cleanliness of person. Thus, maintaining purity and cleanliness was both a religious goal and a practical task for women." Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortunes*, 90.

children temporarily in country homes in rural Ontario and Quebec, they believed that they were saving the children's health, providing them a pleasant place to live, and getting them used to the spatial practices of servants and farm hands. The Woman's Protective Immigration Society on Osborne Street purposely interrupted the flow of female immigration through dispatching women into space, guiding women toward the home, and relocating next to Windsor Station.

Historian Amy Richter writes that "[t]he women who boarded the trains during the second half of the nineteenth century shared cultural assumptions that they simultaneously challenged."<sup>218</sup> Richter's observation may be true of women who travelled for leisure, but not for women who emigrated. Upper-class women challenged societal expectations by travelling unaccompanied by men. Millicent challenged the perception of the ideal servant. She was British, white, and raised in what the managers of the home would have deemed a respectable environment.<sup>219</sup> Millicent was being displaced yet again, to avoid the shame imposed on single pregnant woman by norms of Victorian respectability.

Throughout this chapter, I have emphasized Price's engagement with the landscape to accentuate class difference in his designs. To understand Price's mastery of the city toward the benefit of his clients, all you have to do is visit the Ross House today. The Ross House now houses the Faculty of Law at McGill University. The view of the Ross House from Peel Street is still impressive, but the formerly imposing and omniscient southern view is now obstructed by high-rise apartment buildings. An extension protrudes from the north side of the home, on top of the former carriage porch. Another extension to the west of the home has

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<sup>218</sup> Amy Richter, *Home on the Rails: Women, the Railroad, and the Rise of Public Domesticity* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005), 32.

<sup>219</sup> The Millicents lived with the Hampsons, Millicent's late mother's family, the head of the Hampson family was a bookkeeper.

ruined the symmetry of the southern façade and bifurcated the veranda. Apartment buildings and hotels have obstructed the view of the city from the Ross House veranda and severed the view of Dominion Square. Price tailored these designs to a landscape that is lost to time.

While the Ross House looked out to a sprawling view of Montreal, Millicent's view from her room on the second storey of the Montreal Sheltering Home faced the multi-paned windows of the Montreal Maternity Hospital.<sup>220</sup> The hospital was a three-storey building of cut stone wedged between two other structures of a similar scale and appearance. Three wooden pointed-dormer windows protruded from the top storey, a faux-mansard roof made of slate.<sup>221</sup> Fixed louvre shutters framed each window, which enabled concealing the interior while maintaining airflow. After three months at the Montreal Sheltering Home, Millicent finally crossed the street to the Montreal Maternity Hospital to give birth.

The proximity of the Montreal Sheltering Home to the Montreal Maternity Hospital meant that pregnant women could get to the hospital quickly. However, the proximity of this institution also made women waiting to give birth acutely aware of the potential perils of childbirth. Emily Holmes, a 25-year-old servant from England, was “seduced” and waiting to give birth when Millicent arrived at the Montreal Sheltering Home. On 3 May 1896, Holmes went to the hospital. She returned on 25 May without her baby. Holmes's child had died in the maternity. The matron recorded that Holmes was staying at the Montreal Sheltering Home while “waiting to get strong.”<sup>222</sup> The matron probably meant physically strong, but

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<sup>220</sup> Note that between 1847 and 1905, the Montreal Maternity Hospital was at ninety-three St. Urbain Street in a repurposed home. Taylor's design, completed in 1905, was further north, at the corner of St. Urbain and Prince Arthur Streets.

<sup>221</sup> Details from fire insurance plan. Underwriters' Survey Bureau, *Insurance Plan of the City of Montreal, Volume I*, Fire Insurance Plan, 1:600 (Toronto: The Bureau, 1940), plate 14.

<sup>222</sup> “Register,” case no 2986.

Holmes was also recovering from the heartbreak of losing a child. If she had not already been wary of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, Millicent surely would have become so through witnessing Holmes's ordeal.

Through crossing the boundary of St. Urbain Street and entering the obstetric hospital, she emerged from the enclosed life at the Montreal Sheltering Home with group meals, light work, and prayer, into bed rest in an unfamiliar place. A nurse led Millicent up the stairs to a large ward with rows of neat beds and polished wood floors, where she got into a bed and waited. Millicent did not return to the Montreal Sheltering Home after her birth, but on 6 October 1897, Mary Shepherd recorded that Millicent's baby had been adopted and Millicent was ready to resume work as a servant.<sup>223</sup> Millicent's story ended relatively happily. She must have once again boarded the rails at some point, for in 1903, she married Augustus Hannaford, an American salesman, in Boston, Massachusetts.

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<sup>223</sup> This means that the baby had either been adopted or waiting to be adopted at the Protestant Infant's Home. Shepherd, Minute Book, 6 October 1897, 103.

## Chapter 2. “Those Fallen Ones”: Inmates and Institutions

### *Introduction: Bridget Kinley Escapes from the Home for Friendless Women*

*On 23 June 1895, Kinley lay awake in her bed until the early morning hours. She rose from her cot in the first-floor dormitory and walked silently on the pads of her feet toward the door. She paused at the top of the stairs to listen to the matron's room on the ground floor. Though she knew the sound of rain outside would mask creaking floorboards or groaning stairs, Kinley still walked down the steps with care.<sup>224</sup> She followed the staircase down to the laundry room in the basement.<sup>225</sup> The window she had left ajar at the end of her long workday in the laundry remained open. Slowly, she pushed the heavy, wooden casement open and hoisted herself through the window and out onto the wet grass (fig. 2.1). The rain softened the dirt road under her bare feet and dampened her institutional uniform as she walked east on St. Antoine Street, toward the Montreal Sheltering Home. She could feel the looming presence of the Home for Friendless Women recede behind her (fig. 2.2).*

Though it was called a Home, and it operated out of a former mansion, Kinley did not feel at home within this place. This was by design. The Home for Friendless Women was a hefty stone building at the corner of St. Antoine and Dominion Streets (fig. 2.3). Constructed for Canadian politician Francis Hincks circa 1877, since 1887 it was repurposed as a reformatory for women who were “friendless” and fallen. It was a perfect cube with quoined edges, flat cut-stone window casements, a mansard roof and carved wood decorative elements around

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<sup>224</sup> “Daily Data Report for June 1895 – Montreal, McGill, Quebec,” accessed 28 August 2023, *Government of Canada*, [https://climate.weather.gc.ca/historical\\_data/search\\_historic\\_data\\_e.html](https://climate.weather.gc.ca/historical_data/search_historic_data_e.html).

<sup>225</sup> I locate the dormitory on the first floor and the laundry in the basement from a newspaper article that describes this arrangement. “Home for Friendless Women,” *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 25 January 1888, BaNQ Numérique, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 3.



the upper dormer windows and the roofline. The fact that Kinley was wearing institutional clothing reveals that this was not her first time running away.<sup>226</sup> Kinley's escape from the Home for Friendless Women to the Montreal Sheltering Home, another residential institution for indigent women, reveals that some shelters were more restrictive than others. All of the sites in the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home restricted indigent women's movement, to varying extents.

This chapter looks at extreme architectural approaches to fallen women: the Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women. I argue that through design and reuse, charitable women and prison reformers used architecture to categorize women as either "good" or "bad." Through isolating women according to behaviour together in separate spaces, they created the subjects they wanted to reform. The register, too, attempted to put women into these moral categories. However, fallen women and the institutions that were designed or adapted to contain them consistently evaded categorization.

In the previous chapter, I argued that spaces of arrival expedited the movement of the "desirable" class and limited the mobility of women of an "undesirable" class through design. This chapter looks at the opposite of mobility: confinement. The Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women were the sites of confinement mentioned most frequently in the Montreal Sheltering Home register. I define a place of confinement as a place where inmates were not permitted to leave. These places limited movement through material boundaries: walls, locked doors, and closed cells.

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<sup>226</sup> The constitution of the Home for Friendless Women states: "No inmate after running away will get any clothes that belong to her except at a Weekly Meeting." Protestant Home for Friendless Women, "First Annual Report of the Managers of the Montreal Home for Friendless Women" (The Lovell Printing and Publishing Co., 1876), 16.

Within the Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women, architecture separated women of different “classes” from one another. The building itself was separated from the rest of the city through siting at the eastern and western boundaries of Montreal, and women were not permitted to leave. Inmates within these institutions followed a strict schedule and had to abandon all notions of their past life, including their clothes. All women within the Female Prison and Home for Friendless Women were perceived by the public as either inherently immoral, or fallen and capable of being reformed.

The chapter starts with the register: what does the register tell us about falling? Were particular sites or spaces associated with fallenness? I then move on to an architectural analysis of my case studies. The Female Prison, which was located at the extreme east end of Montreal, outwardly resembled a custodial institution, but the organization of space inside reflected a mixed model of contradictory approaches to fallen women: punitive (isolation through individual cells, silence) and reformatory (common spaces, shared dormitories, work rooms). The Home for Friendless Women repurposed a mid-nineteenth-century mansion at the extreme west end of the city to reform fallen women that operated more like a prison. Inmates were not permitted to leave, they were punished for running away, and they were cut off from their social connections once they entered the home. I then interrupt this narrative through introducing moments of escape from the register and Visitor Book. Escape subverts the narrative of the fallen woman, where she mobilizes the spatial knowledge of her prison — be it an actual prison, or the confines of her own home — to experience momentary freedom. In keeping with the rest of this dissertation, this chapter makes an original contribution through spatializing stories of women from the register to explore how women resisted categorization.

Historians of nineteenth-century women's prisons draw on the premise that the prison was the built result of prison reform ideologies. They discuss the implementation of the "separate system" in England, as well as the Auburn and Philadelphia plans, which originated in the United States.<sup>227</sup> Architectural histories of women's prisons focus on sexual difference in reformers' efforts to create new prisons for women.<sup>228</sup> Elaine Jackson-Retondo seeks to understand prisoners' diurnal experiences, and the workshop as a "dynamic space" within the women's prison.<sup>229</sup> While these works look to reform ideologies manifested as design, I position the Female Prison as a fragmented site of tension and negotiation between inmates, administrators, and reformers where ideas about religion, sexual difference, and class unfolded as the interior and exterior of the building evolved.

Over the past fifteen years, architectural historians have investigated connections between architecture, confinement, and insanity. Carla Yanni and Leslie Topp, in particular, have approached the asylum as both a potential tool to treat the insane and as a paradoxical mode of both containment and freedom. Yanni's study of asylums in the United States investigates the role of architecture as part of treatment for the insane during the nineteenth century.<sup>230</sup> Topp explores the paradox between freedom and confinement through seven case studies of

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<sup>227</sup> Estelle B. Freedman, *Their Sisters' Keepers: Women's Prison Reform in America, 1830–1930* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1981); Myers, Tamara Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Regulation and Punishment in Montréal, 1890–1930" (Ph.D Thesis, McGill University Libraries, 1996), especially Chapter 5, "The Soeurs du Bon Pasteur and the 'Brebis Fugitives et Rebelles': Incarcerating women in Montreal, 1870–1930", 194–236; Heather Tomlinson, "Design and Reform: the 'Separate System' in the nineteenth-century English Prison" in Anthony D. King, ed., *Buildings and Society: Essays on the Social Development of the Built Environment* (London: Taylor & Francis, 1984), 51–66.

<sup>228</sup> Nicole Hahn Rafter, "Prisons for Women, 1790–1980," *Crime and Justice* 5 (1983): 129–81.

<sup>229</sup> Jackson-Retondo, "Manufacturing Moral Reform."

<sup>230</sup> Carla Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness Insane Asylums in the United States* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

asylums from the Habsburg Empire.<sup>231</sup> Although this literature is not focused on institutions designed for women, I see parallels between madness and fallenness. Insanity, like prostitution, was a criminal offence. But, like falling, madness was a disease of uncharted origin that professionals suspected was in some part caused by the built environment and industrialization. Architectures of madness and architectures of fallenness thus share themes of restraint, reformation, care, and infantilization of supposedly deviant subjects.

French philosopher Michel Foucault's work *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* is an important text in the history of prisons. Foucault posits that the shift of imprisonment from punishing a criminal's body to enclosing the criminal in a prison meant that torture was shifted from the subject's body to their soul. Through separation between different "classes" of women, the administrators and matrons of the Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women were ostensibly trying to preserve the souls of the prisoners while annexing the "bad" souls in separate quarters.

Foucault asserts that criminal subjects are trapped in a closed network of institutions that he calls the "carceral network."<sup>232</sup> He also emphasizes the role of surveillance in this network. Foucault would include the Montreal Sheltering Home and the Home for Friendless Women in this typology. Architectural historian Anna Andrzejewski criticizes Foucault's assertion that discipline or punishment were the end goals of surveillance. Through studying surveillance across building types, Andrzejewski shows the complex forms of surveillance in what she calls "Victorian America."<sup>233</sup> I also take a critical stance toward Foucault's model of

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<sup>231</sup> Topp, *Freedom and the Cage*.

<sup>232</sup> "The carceral network does not cast the unassimilable into a confused hell; there is no outside. It takes back with one hand what it seems to exclude with the other. It saves everything, including what it punishes." Michel Foucault and Alan Sheridan, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Vintage, 2012), 539.

<sup>233</sup> Anna Vemer Andrzejewski, *Building Power: Architecture and Surveillance in Victorian America*

surveillance, discipline, and control through asserting that separation and containment — rather than surveillance — were the main concerns for architects and reformers during the construction or alteration of the Female Prison and Home for Friendless Women.

After looking at architectural approaches to fallen women in Montreal, I turn to the “spatial stories” of three women from the register during moments of escape. Hammond’s notion of escape as evidence of women’s agency is crucial to this chapter. In her chapter “‘The Ghost of Ladymead’: the Bath Female Home,” Hammond explores a moment when an inmate named Ann Wheeler escapes the penitentiary by climbing a wall.<sup>234</sup>

This chapter makes an original contribution to this literature in two ways. First, since falling had multiple meanings, the register presents a unique opportunity to explore the multiple conditions, and corresponding architectural approaches, to fallenness through the column “how fallen?” Second, the inmates of the Montreal Sheltering Home led me to select my case studies through reporting from whence they had arrived at the home.

While the other chapters are anchored by well-documented buildings that were designed by known architects like Price’s Windsor Station and the Montreal Maternity Hospital by Taylor, visual sources for the Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women in Montreal are scant. I therefore lean heavily on non-visual primary sources like the register, annual reports, newspaper articles and written accounts for this chapter, to triangulate with the few existing visual sources for the Female Prison.

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(Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2008), 7.

<sup>234</sup> Hammond, “The Ghost of Ladymead” in *Architecture, Angels, Activists*, 129–159.

The Female Prison, Home for Friendless Women, and Montreal Sheltering Home are not notable buildings in terms of style or architect. They are significant in the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home because 183 women were received from the Female Prison between 1887 and 1897. The movement of indigent women from the Female Prison and the Montreal Sheltering Home indicates that the Prison was a significant site. Importantly, the original purpose of the Montreal Sheltering Home at ninety-two St. Urbain was a prison gate mission. Women who had recently been released from prison, instead of returning to their homes or the street, were offered the option of heading to the home. The news of the Montreal Sheltering Home was broadcast by the *Union Signal*, the WCTU's international periodical:

Some time since the WCTU of Montreal, Canada, conceived the idea of establishing a "Sheltering Home," or Prison Gate Mission, for the reception of their fallen sisters, for the temporary use of those who have no friends to receive them or no home to go to when released from jail [...] a meeting was held at which the project received the hearty endorsement of the first people of the city.<sup>235</sup>

This function of the Montreal Sheltering Home occurred in 1887, nearly twenty years after the Protestant section of the Female Prison was allocated.

### *How Fallen?*

Fallenness as a concept was embedded in the structure of the register. Indeed, the heading of the ninth column was "When and How Fallen?" This column was the final question a potential inmate had to answer before she was admitted to the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>236</sup>

The reasons given for falling ranged from the most general (shelter) to states of being

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<sup>235</sup> The Frances Willard House Museum and Archives hold the only microfiche copy of *The Union Signal*. "A Life-Saving Station," *The Union Signal*, 30 June 1887, 8, Frances Willard House Museum and Archives, Evanston, Illinois.

<sup>236</sup> The following columns were number of admissions, when left, where to, all questions that would be answered by Montgomery after.

(intemperance, seduction, maternity) to names of people and places. These entries were produced in conversation between the woman who wanted to be admitted and the matron.

Montgomery would condense the register data that had accumulated over the past month and present it at the monthly meeting to the managers.<sup>237</sup> The Minute Book did not transcribe the matron's report, but some traces of the fallen women come through in the Visitor Book.

Entries from the Visitor Book suggest the complexity of the fallen woman's identity. In an entry on 23 June 1895, Clara M. Shelton noted the following admissions and dismissals from the home:

1. Martha Whitely, Johnville, Maternity Case
2. Bella Tope, Maternity Case
3. Sarah Bacon sent by Mrs. James Ross Peel Street. For one week. Mrs. R. will pay her board.
4. Bridget Kinley run away from "Home for Friendless" Mr. Marshall will see about getting clothes from her.
5. Mrs. Fitzgerald sent by Mr. Cormier of the Old Brewery Mission until her husband can obtain work.

Whitely and Tope were women waiting out their pregnancies until they crossed the street to the Montreal Maternity Hospital to give birth.<sup>238</sup> Sarah Bacon, whom we encountered in Chapter 1, was only staying in the Montreal Sheltering Home for a week, perhaps while her employing family was on holiday.<sup>239</sup> Kinley had escaped from the Home for Friendless Women and brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home by George Marshall from the Society for the Protection of Women and Children. Instead of returning her to the Home for

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<sup>237</sup> I deduce this from black dots that appear on consecutive lines of the register. I picture Montgomery counting lines of the register with her pen to tally the inmates that entered that week or month.

<sup>238</sup> The Montreal Maternity Hospital was at ninety-three St. Urbain until 1905 when it moved north to Prince Arthur and St. Urbain Streets.

<sup>239</sup> The "Personals" section of *The Gazette* and *The Montreal Star* do not record any trip for the Rosses around 23 June 1895. However, on 27 July 1895, Annie Kerr (Mrs. James Ross) travelled to New York with a friend to join James Ross for a cruise on his yacht. "Personals," *The Montreal Star*, 27 July 1895, 10.

Friendless Women, he was going to get her clothes. This excerpt speaks to the diversity of circumstances through which women fell, the multiple functions of the Montreal Sheltering Home, and the ways in which institutions for fallen women had varied approaches toward how to reform fallen women.

Falling is a nineteenth-century descriptor with class connotations that was reserved exclusively for women. A literary trope that made its way into common parlance, a fallen woman was a female subject who, through her own actions or some other misfortune, had supposedly plummeted from the heights of virtuous womanhood. As Hammond observes, the opposite of the fallen woman was the “angel in the house.”<sup>240</sup> The “angel in the house” was another nineteenth-century trope that referred to a woman who was a mother and wife who existed within women’s supposed realm, the home. A fallen woman had betrayed her supposedly virtuous nature in one or more of many ways. Places, such as the “Horseshoe” and the “house of ill fame” were often entered in the “how fallen?” column. Instead of commenting on the individual character of the woman in question, through responding to “how fallen?” the matron drew upon place-based knowledge of the city.

Falling was an appealing metaphor for women reformers in particular because they could engage in a struggle to lift women toward what they perceived as redemption. Urban life in general was an easy antagonist to combat, relative to the dizzying social, colonial and technological developments of the era: rail and sea travel, industrialization, colonization, and a population increase that the built environment could not accommodate. Middle-class managers understood their duty as charitable women to remedy the chaos and disorder that was supposedly inherent to the industrial city. With the limited power that they possessed,

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<sup>240</sup> Hammond, *Architects, Angels and Activists*, 142.



these women earnestly wanted to improve the lives of their fallen wards. Through the register, they sought to prove the valour of their work through a positivist approach used by male professionals in scientific fields. In this way, we can see the prompt, “how fallen?” as an attempt to apply scientific rationalism to a situation that was qualitative and emotional.

As architectural historian Diane Ghirardo argues, a woman’s identity as a prostitute in renaissance Ferrara was produced through relationships to space, rather than the actual exchange of money for sex.<sup>241</sup> Indeed, Myers writes that “[w]hile activities could define women as fallen, so too, could the associations with particular public spaces.”<sup>242</sup> Women who were found at brothels and brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home were presumed to be prostitutes. Only five women, all between the ages of eighteen and twenty years old, were received from brothels.<sup>243</sup> Extending Ghirardo’s argument to the complex identity of the fallen woman, I look to institutions of confinement, the prison and the reformatory. Entering one of these institutions put a woman’s respectability in question.

The Female Prison and the Home for Friendless Women were the only buildings designed or adapted as custodial institutions for Protestant fallen women. They were different from each other in a few key ways. The Female Prison was designed by an architect, and the Home for Friendless Women was adapted from a mansion built in the 1870s. The Female Prison was meant to contain women who had been found guilty of a crime in the courts. The Home for Friendless Women was for women who were sex workers (or who had engaged in sex work) who reported that they wanted to change their lives. Both of these institutions were used to

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<sup>241</sup> Diane Yvonne Ghirardo, “The Topography of Prostitution in Renaissance Ferrara,” *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 60, no. 4 (2001): 402–31.

<sup>242</sup> Myers, “Criminal Women and Bad Girls,” 65.

<sup>243</sup> The women were Maude Ellwood, Stella Snow, Nellie Murton, May Leonard, and May Garland.

conceal, confine, and reform criminal women. Since sex work was a crime, entering the Home for Friendless Women in itself was seen as an admission of guilt.

*Precedents: The Common Jail and the House of the Good Shepherd*

Before 1870, both men and women prisoners served their sentences at the Au Pied du Courant prison.<sup>244</sup> The Common Jail was named so because it was built directly facing the St. Lawrence River. Extant etchings and plans of the Pied du Courant Prison show that the prisoners were separated hierarchically by offence, and laterally from each other through walls of individual cells. The central block of the jail functioned both as an administrative centre and as a mediation zone between the men's and women's wings.<sup>245</sup> A map from 1846 shows the T shape of the prison, with the horizontal axis extending east toward Colborne Street and west toward Parthenais Street, and the central administrative block connecting to a rear wing projecting out of the main axis to the north (fig. 2.4). The main façade was oriented toward what was then called St. Mary Street (later Notre-Dame Street East). A drawing from the prison in 1839 shows the main façade of the prison. Ashlar clads the building. The central block was topped with a pediment connecting the lateral and vertical wings. From this block protruded two wings of three storeys each with a pitched gable roof. It also contained the entrance hall, guard rooms, receiving rooms, magistrates and grand jury rooms, and the jailer's apartments and living spaces.<sup>246</sup> A modest post-and-lintel doorway indicates the main entrance.

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<sup>244</sup> I will call the Au Pied Du Courant Prison the "Common Jail."

<sup>245</sup> The plans for the original prison were drawn up by Quebec architect George Blaiklock, but architect John Wells is responsible for alterations, the final design, and supervision of the project construction. Luc Noppen, "La Prison Du Pied-Du-Courant à Montréal : Une Étape Dans l'évolution de l'architecture Pénitentiaire Au Bas-Canada et Au Québec," *RACAR: Revue d'art Canadienne* 3, no. 1 (1976): 39–40.

<sup>246</sup> Bosworth, Duncan, and Christie, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 160.

The windows of the jail point to a hierarchical separation of prisoners depending on the severity of their sentence. The basement storey contained thirty-two cells for solitary confinement: this level only got light and air through small slits in the ashlar façade. The first and second storeys were for regular prisoners, whose windows were blocked save for a half-moon opening at the top third of the window, covered in bars. The top floor was for debtors or day prisoners and this wing had full windows.<sup>247</sup> All windows of the central block were open to allow light and air into the administrative centre of the prison. All “classes” of prisoners were separated along the horizontal axis of the floor and the vertical axis of the cell. The only time they all convened was to the chapel, which occupied the fourth floor of the central block. However, even in this togetherness they were kept separate, since each “class” accessed the chapel by a separate entrance.<sup>248</sup>

From the primary sources, there is no information on whether the hierarchy between solitary confinement, debtor, and day prisoner was continued through the women’s wing. The secondary sources do not reveal this information. Indeed, *Hochelaga Depicta* from 1839 and architectural historian Luc Noppen’s article on the Pied du Courant Prison from 1976 each only reference the women prisoners once, to locate them in the rear wing that extended from the main building.<sup>249</sup> Like the men, the women were detained in separate cells. Myers observes that by 1850 the old jail was in spatial crisis: “[...]the edifice was overcrowded, the women’s section was not sufficiently separate from the men’s, and it lacked female staff to

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<sup>247</sup> Noppen notes that all windows, despite the level of openness, had the same arched shape, lending visual continuity from the outside. Noppen, “La Prison,” 44.

<sup>248</sup> Bosworth, Duncan, and Christie, *Hochelaga Depicta*, 161. The book refers to five “classes” of prisoners: solitary confinement prisoners, regular (male) prisoners, debtors, day prisoners, and female prisoners.

<sup>249</sup> “The cells in the back wings of each story are used for the female prisoners.” *Hochelaga Depicta*, 160; “On sépare également les sexes en incarcérant les femmes dans l’aile arrière.” Noppen, “La Prison,” 42.

supervise the women 'inmates.'"<sup>250</sup> For prison reformers, the proposed Female Jail represented a tabula rasa, a fresh start, and a chance to test theories of architecture and reformation.

Concerns over the categorization and separation of women prisoners by religion and class predated the actual construction of the Female Prison. An anonymous article published in *The Gazette* points to the critique of incarcerating both men and women in the same jail:

As to the advantages of such an institution, there can be no two opinions. The evil of the present system is that it is merely one of punishment, and in no way contemplates the reformation of the offender. In its practical effects, it is more than that. Its direct tendency is to sink the poor wretches lower and lower in the degradation in which they are wallowing. The young woman, brought up for the first time as a dissolute person, is comparatively pure when contrasted with those who have gone through the hardening process of a few terms in the common jail. The object of this new institution will be to unite reformation with punishment [...] In a well-regulated establishment, where suitable work will be combined with mental and bodily recreation, and where the whole aim of the necessary restraint will be to cultivate a spirit of cheerfulness and hope [...] <sup>251</sup>

In the Common Jail, men were isolated from one another in individual cells, but close to others who had committed similar offences.

Discourse surrounding the planning, construction, and use of the Female Jail were based on three premises. First, Protestant prisoners needed to be completely separate from the Catholic prisoners: they needed their own matron and their own chapel. Second, the prison itself could produce bad women through mixing women who were admitted for the first time with women who were often imprisoned. Within this Protestant section, new offenders, who had not been in contact with the prison system before, needed to be kept away from the older, supposedly hardened female criminals. Finally, the building and the grounds needed to accommodate feminine work and recreation. Cultivating healthy and productive bodies was

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<sup>250</sup> Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls," 207.

<sup>251</sup> "The Female Prison," *The Gazette*, 1873, 2.

perceived by administrators as the key to reformation. The first two required material separation by religion and by disposition, effectively siloing women into smaller and smaller groups that required dedicated spaces. Work and recreation, however, required communal spaces, to enable effective supervision of work quality and behaviour.

In 1873, an anonymous opinion in *The Gazette* claimed that “[t]he objects of this new institution [the Female Prison] will be to unite reformation with punishment [...] In a well-regulated establishment, where suitable work will be combined with mental and bodily recreation, and where the whole aim of the necessary restraint will be to cultivate a spirit of cheerfulness and hope[...].”<sup>252</sup> Though the Female Prison promised to “unite reformation with punishment” it was modelled after a reformatory on the upper east side of Manhattan, New York City, that claimed that women remained within the walls of the reformatory by choice rather than force. (fig. 2.5). The reformatory was called The House of the Good Shepherd, and was managed by the nuns of the Third Order of St. Teresa.<sup>253</sup>

The House of the Good Shepherd aimed to reform fallen women through isolation from the outside world, categorization of women within the enclosure of the prison, and work. The House of the Good Shepherd professed to reform women, “[...] by moral means alone [...]”<sup>254</sup> and claimed that any woman could leave if she made an application to the Mother Superior.<sup>255</sup> While they were inside the prison, they were separated into four categories: Magdalenes,

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<sup>252</sup> Ibid.

<sup>253</sup> “The House of the Good Shepherd,” *Frank Leslie’s Illustrated Newspaper*, 21 August 1869, Nineteenth Century US Newspapers, 361.

<sup>254</sup> Ibid.

<sup>255</sup> Ibid.

penitents, preservation, and criminals.<sup>256</sup> The Magdalenes were former penitents who had converted within the institution. Penitents were girls who were in the process of conversion. The preservation class was for children who were at risk of falling through poverty or what the sisters perceived as inadequate parenting. The criminal class included girls between fourteen and twenty-one years old who had been found guilty of a crime. Though they claimed to reform women through solely moral means, the design of the building was integral to separating women of different classes from one another.

The plan of the reformatory suggests that it was constructed to separate these four categories. It was composed of two buildings. The first building was three wings of five storeys each in a T-plan. At the western end of the property stood another building of six stories. In an etching from 1869, an external corridor from one of the wings toward the central wing indicates that there were multiple entrances to the chapel, which is indicated by the long pointed-arch windows in the centre of the wing (fig. 2.6). This suggests that women from separate classes could access the chapel through dedicated entrances. Religious iconography decorated the buildings: “Along the staircases and corridors and in every room, little altars, shrines, statues and pictures greet the visitor’s eye.”<sup>257</sup> Etchings of the House of the Good Shepherd show only the Magdalens at work in the laundry and sewing room (figs. 2.7 and 2.8) and the preservation class in the school room (fig. 2.9). Through these etchings, we can see that the large rooms are crowded, with lofty ceilings and tall windows to let in natural light. These same features would have welcomed drafts and allowed heat to escape toward the ceiling during long winters. In the laundry room, we can see iron bars covering the windows. Every

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<sup>256</sup> This final group did not have an official name. I refer to them as the “criminal” group because they were sent there by the magistrate after being found guilty of a crime.

<sup>257</sup> “The House of the Good Shepherd,” *Franks Illustrated Newspaper*, 362.

surface — the benches, tables, and chairs — looks hard and unforgiving. These images depict women becoming reformed through doing work that was considered appropriate for women of their class, and the promise of rescuing children from a life of crime or poverty.

*“The Big, Gaunt, Gloomy Building on Fullum Street”<sup>258</sup>: The Female Prison*

The Common Jail and the proposed Female Prison were one kilometre apart. The site of the Female Prison belonged originally to the Sisters of the Good Shepherd of Angers. In 1876, the sisters engaged in a contract with the government, under the condition that the government would fund a prison for women. When the Female Prison was first constructed, there was likely a direct visual connection between the two prisons.<sup>259</sup> Circa 1907, this visual connection was severed by the construction of large factories producing oil cloth, bronze, lead, glass, and shirts in between. The large-scale factories that appeared in this area are architectural evidence of Myers’s claim that “[...] as the economy expanded and the city grew, there were increasing opportunities for women to break the law.” Indeed, the proposed Female Prison indicated growing public concern over female criminality.

*Inception and Intention*

The Female Prison was part of a frenzy of building contracts for homes and institutions throughout Montreal in 1875.<sup>260</sup> Joseph Roch Poitras, a young architect with no experience

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<sup>258</sup> The Female Prison was called such by a reporter from *The Standard* newspaper upon his visit in 1907. “Through the Montreal Female Jail: A Standard Man’s Visit to the Big, Gaunt, Gloomy Building on Fullum Street” *The Standard*, 16 February 1907 in “D272-4: Justice – Prisons: Femmes, Prison Des. —[18-] – [19-],” circa -1900 1800, Archives, Ville de Montréal.

<sup>259</sup> An atlas by Henry Whitmer Hopkins created in 1879 shows that only a Catholic school and a tannery, oilcloth factory, and rope-walk (all constructed from wood) stood between the Female Jail and the Common Jail. Henry Whitmer Hopkins, “Atlas of the city and island of Montreal, including the counties of Jacques Cartier and Hochelaga from surveys, based upon the cadastral plans deposited in the office of the Department of Crown Lands” (Quebec: Provincial Surveying and Publishing Company), 1897, plates 14 and 17.

<sup>260</sup> That spring also announced the projected construction of the Windsor Hotel and extensions to St. Peter’s Cathedral on Dorchester Street. “Growth of Montreal,” *Montreal Evening Star*, 20 April 1875.

designing institutions, won the contract for the new prison. The Female Prison was among his first commissions.<sup>261</sup> Descriptions of the planned building reveal that the prison was supposed to resemble the Common Jail: a T-shaped plan with an administrative core of four stories, and three projecting wings of three stories each. A fire insurance plan from 1880 indicates that the initial built result was an L-shape (fig. 2.10). The building appears to be clad in rough-cut stone with flat quoined edges.<sup>262</sup> Four tiers of tall identical windows wrapped around the building. The only distinguishing feature was the metal mansard roof. This type of roof was popular among second-empire style mansions. It softened the overall appearance of the rectangular block structure and provided an extra storey.

The Female Prison was realized in several stages, in response to commentary from the public as well as philanthropists. Because the Female Prison was only one portion of a multi-functional building – part motherhouse, part space for reformed Catholic prisoners (called *protégées* by the nuns) part Catholic and part Protestant prison – the image of the Female Prison that appears through the archive is fragmented and disorienting. I approach this structure from several viewpoints: from within the enclosure, from outside of the enclosure, and the garden of the *protégées*. Through this method, I intend to communicate this architectural unfolding and orient both myself and the reader in relation to this building that, while perhaps not significant in terms of style, was a major landmark on the landscape of the fallen woman.

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<sup>261</sup> Indeed, at the same time Poitras was constructing the prison, his firm was also building seven houses along St. Denis, St. Hubert, and Ontario Streets. “Growth of Montreal.”

<sup>262</sup> Based on Figure 2.11 and fire insurance map. Underwriters’ Survey Bureau, *Insurance Plan of the City of Montreal, Volume III*, 1:600 (Toronto: The Bureau, 1939), plate 140.



*Perspective One: North Wing, showing side entrance, from within the wall, 1876.*

The earliest image of the Female Prison is taken from the northeastern corner and shows the east wing, which housed the prison (fig. 2.11). The westernmost block had a façade that protruded six feet from the main body. A pitched skylight, reminiscent of the roof at the Pied du Courant prison, is visible in the photograph, indicating the main administrative centre of the building.

The outward conventual appearance did not bother the Protestant community at all. In fact, the restrained exterior was in line with what Borthwick, an outspoken prison reformer, recommended. Recalling the report that he and Alexander presented to the government of Quebec for a female prison, Borthwick writes:

We then said it should be a handsome building, sufficiently large for present and future wants of the District. Equally in giving it sufficient solidity, should they be careful in not making it too massive, nor in covering the edifice with costly and useless ornaments. In a word, the necessary should have precedence over the superfluous. Luxury should everywhere make way for simplicity, and the useful should always be preferred to the pleasing. All embellishment should be put aside [...] a prison of noble and imposing exterior has the bad tendency of giving importance to the criminals and dignity to crime; splendid edifices divest crime, to a certain extent of its enormity and of its fearful ugliness.<sup>263</sup>

Indeed, the prison was singularly average. It was a solid rectangular block of cut grey stone, and the part of the building dedicated to the prison measured approximately 100 by 50 feet (fig. 2.12). Three storeys, each with a row of plain windows in flat stone casements, were stacked on each other. The mansard roof established visual continuity between the Female Prison and mansions of the mid-nineteenth century. Indeed, from this perspective, the Female Prison resembles the Home for Friendless Women on St. Antoine Street.

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<sup>263</sup> John Douglas Borthwick, *History of the Montreal Prison from A.d. 1784 to A.d. 1886*, CIHM/ICMH Microfiche 00186 (Montreal: Perriard) 228-29.

The outside of the prison gives little indication of how the building was used. A covered porch with glass windows in the centre of the wing, and another rudimentary entrance (consisting of an open staircase leading to an enclosed board porch) at the end of the wing appears to have been an afterthought.<sup>264</sup> A wooden fence extends from the side entrance and divides the yard in the foreground. The separate entrances and fence are evidence of the first form of classification in the Female Prison: the division between Catholic and Protestant women. Though these design elements were meant for classification and separation, they are material evidence of cohabitation between these two religious communities under one roof.

The cornerstone of the Female Prison was laid on 16 July 1874, at five o'clock in the evening, in the presence of members of parliament, the sheriff, and the mayor.<sup>265</sup> The contractor presented Hon. L. Archambault, Minister of Agriculture and Public Works, a trowel and hammer made of silver, a metal that suited the economical approach that the architect would take toward the design. Construction took three years, and on 7 November 1876, eighty-five Catholic prisoners were transferred to the new prison. In groups of ten, they entered their new jail, and were given new prison uniforms. A group of visitors to the new female prison lauded the space as tidy, spacious, and bright:

All was not only clean, but remarkably pure and airy. The arrangements for ventilation seem to be very effective, and the atmosphere throughout [...] was much fresher than in the majority of workshops in the city [...] English-speaking Catholics, or "Irish," as they are termed by the officials, are kept entirely distinct from French Canadian females. They have their separate workshops, dining rooms and dormitories [...] the dormitories at present are as bright and airy as could be wished.<sup>266</sup>

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<sup>264</sup> The vestibule appears to have been retrofitted using an opening that was originally for a pair of windows.

<sup>265</sup> "The gentlemen present by invitation comprised Hon. Gideon Ouimet, Premier of the Local Cabinet; Hon. L. Archambault, Minister of Agriculture and Public Works; Hon. M. Fortin, Sheriff Leblanc, Ald. Rivard, Acting Mayor; Ald. Alexander, Chairman of the Finance Committee; Hon. F. Beaudry and M. Monserau." "The Female Prison," *The Montreal Evening Star*, 17 July 1874, 2.

<sup>266</sup> "The Female Prison," *The Gazette*, 12 January 1877, 2.

The Protestant prisoners, however, remained in the women's section of the Common Jail. Poitras had included a Protestant chapel in the plan without designing a separate space to Protestant prisoners to work and sleep.

The Protestant community was outraged that no space had been allocated for Protestant women.<sup>267</sup> The central argument of various critics was that since the City of Montreal had contributed \$25,000 to the building fund, the design of the inside of the prison should reflect space for both Catholic and Protestant women.<sup>268</sup> In response to this criticism, the government approved plans for a new Protestant section. Within this section, women would be further categorized through individual cells and dormitories.

By 1877, the design of the Protestant section was underway. The Protestant prisoners would occupy the ground floor and the first floor of the northern portion of the north wing.<sup>269</sup> According to a plan accepted by the Quebec government, the ground floor of the Protestant section would have six cells, a dining room, a kitchen, a work room, a room for the matron, two parlours, washroom facilities and a pantry.<sup>270</sup> On the first floor, a large dormitory, the matron's bedroom, and a chapel. Importantly, the dormitory would be split into two parts, for "good" and "bad" prisoners. Even with limited space, the Protestant section of the prison wanted to separate women according to their behaviour.

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<sup>267</sup> "The Female Prison," *The Montreal Evening Star*, 13 November 1876, 2.

<sup>268</sup> "The Female Prison," *The Montreal Evening Star*, 2.

<sup>269</sup> The north wing of the building was 5000 square feet. The total square footage of the proposed rooms on the ground floor amounted to approximately 1800 square feet, and the first floor, approximately 2752 square feet. I took estimates from "The Female Prison," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 12 February 1877, 2.

<sup>270</sup> Ibid.

*Perspective Two: The Prison Wing, from Fullum Street, Outside of Enclosure*

This image shows the Female Prison from Fullum Street from beyond the prison walls (fig. 2.13). A tall fence and trees obscure the view of the building, but we can see that the T-shape of the prison has taken form through the south extension.<sup>271</sup> As the building expanded, however, the space for the Protestant prisoners remained the same. Indeed, by 1899 critics found the Protestant section inadequate. In a letter to the editor of *The Gazette*, N. M. Mercer wrote that the cramped quarters of the Protestant section of the prison meant that the prisoners did not have enough space to perform the sort of practical work that would enable them to become employed once their terms were over.<sup>272</sup> Mercer asserted that: “We Protestants ought to have a building large enough for all practical purposes. Above all, to admit of proper classification of the prisoners, without which the jail is, indeed, but a ‘criminal manufactory’.”<sup>273</sup> In his view, more space for the Protestant prisoners would make it possible for women to work, which in turn would reform them into more moral subjects. The inside of the Protestant section of the prison, where the women from the Montreal Sheltering Home served their sentences, was never photographed. Only written descriptions of this portion of the prison remain. Parts of the Catholic section, however, were photographed by the francophone newspaper, *La Presse*.

*Perspective Three: Garden Outside of the Maison Ste. Hélène*

The Catholic section of the Female Prison carried out a similar scheme of separation on a larger scale. The spatial and material distinctions between the spaces were more pronounced than in the Protestant section. Perhaps inspired by the House of the Good Shepherd in New

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<sup>271</sup> This addition housed the Sisters and was constructed in 1909 by architect Henri Maurice Perreault.

<sup>272</sup> “Protestant Female Prison,” *The Gazette*, 21 February 1899, 3.

<sup>273</sup> *Ibid.*

York City, the Catholic section of the Female Prison contained and separated three distinct groups of women: the cloistered sisters, prisoners, and the protected (*les protégées*). The Catholic prisoners slept in large dormitories on small beds with scarcely a chair's width between them (fig. 2.14). During the day, they worked together in a large sewing room, shoulder-to-shoulder with one another (fig. 2.15). Once the Catholic prisoners had served their sentences, they could remain with the sisters as *protégées*. These women enjoyed the relative freedom of a less crowded workspace and freedom to roam the garden (fig. 2.16). They inhabited a separate part of the prison called the Maison Ste. Hélène.

The Protestant section of the Female Prison was deemed inadequate at every visit by reporters or jail inspectors. Facilities for adequate categorization were never built, despite being the central recommendation for the Protestant section. A lack of funds and cultural differences between the anglophone Protestant community and the francophone Catholic architect contributed to this ultimate failure. The only “success,” as Myers points out, is the establishment of “[...] a public jail within the private, religious institution, one that was small and easily ignored by authorities, one whose physical design hindered the application of modern methods of female incarceration embraced by women’s reformatory advocates.”<sup>274</sup> To understand how separation through architecture unfolded in a different but related Canadian context, I turn to the Mercer Reformatory in Toronto, Ontario.

### *The Mercer Reformatory*

While the Female Prison was being constructed, the conception of another woman’s prison called the Mercer Reformatory in Toronto, Ontario, was underway. The Mercer was radically different from the Female Prison in terms of design, plan, capacity, and budget. However,

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<sup>274</sup> Myers, “Criminal Women and Bad Girls,” 219.

both prisons shared the desire for classification, and both were ultimately perceived as inadequate for the task at hand: taking in fallen women and transforming them into moral ones.<sup>275</sup> Comparing the Mercer to the Female Prison shows that even under ideal circumstances — experienced architect, financial support, and cohesive design — the prison was still considered a failure because it could not “produce” moral women, or adequately categorize them through space.

Like the Female Prison, the Mercer stood at the city limit. A reporter from the *Globe* wrote that it was “[...] far from having the aspect of a prison.”<sup>276</sup> It was built on high ground, and two railway tracks separated the reformatory from the Central Prison and the Provincial Lunatic Asylum. The Mercer was constructed in a cross shape with two wings projecting from the central pavilion, and another structure extending toward the back of the property. The rear building, connected to the main structure by a covered walkway, housed the boilers, heating, workshops, and two laundry areas (fig. 2.17).

The prison was funded by \$100,000 left to the government by Andrew Mercer after his death.<sup>277</sup> This endowment was likely the reason that the Ontario government was able to hire Canadian architect Kivas Tully to design the institution. Tully had been practising since the 1850s: by the time he was chosen to design the Mercer he had many institutional designs in

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<sup>275</sup> Peter Oliver, “‘To Govern by Kindness’: The First Two Decades of the Mercer Reformatory for Women,” in *Crime and Criminal Justice*, ed. Jim Phillips, Tina Loo, and Susan Lewthwaite (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 530.

<sup>276</sup> “The Mercer Reformatory: A Home for Female Prisoners,” *The Globe*, 16 March 1880, 4.

<sup>277</sup> Oliver, “‘To Govern by Kindness’”, 527; Mercer was an issuer of marriage licences who died in 1871. He died intestate and his estate was eventually left to the Ontario government. Frederick Armstrong, “Mercer, Andrew,” in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 2 June 2023, [http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mercerc\\_andrew\\_10E.html](http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/mercerc_andrew_10E.html).

Ontarian cities under his name, notably Trinity College in Toronto and the Brockville Asylum for the Insane in Brockville.

The exterior of the Mercer was supposed to appear welcoming and comfortable. The property was surrounded by a tall wooden picket fence (fig. 2.18). The front elevation featured a 90-foot spire that protruded from the central four-storey block and guided the visitor toward the wide, stone archway. Two identical wings of three storeys, plus a basement level, each stretched out from the central pavilion along the east-west axis of the property. Each wing had two projecting gabled pavilions, one in the middle and one at the end. Smaller pointed towers and chimneys extended from the roof of the wings, producing mirror images of each other. The total wingspan of the Mercer, including the central building, was a sprawling 346 feet.<sup>278</sup> The whole structure was enveloped in red brick, with white and black brick for the arches and decorative brickwork.<sup>279</sup> Whereas proponents of the Female Prison were concerned that an overly intimidating exterior would dignify the crimes of the prisoners, the outstretched arms of the Mercer promised that the female prisoners would be embraced with respect, dignity, and compassion.

The Mercer was thoughtfully designed for separation and classification. The plan reveals four separate parts: the main building, the prison, the refuge, and the workhouse. The main access to the building was through the central block, indicated by the spire. This main building housed the entrance hall, reception rooms, offices, and a dining room on the first floor. Superintendent departments, dining rooms for the officers, and attendants' bedrooms were on the second floor, the third floor contained a large chapel, and there was an isolation hospital

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<sup>278</sup> "The Mercer Reformatory: A Home for Female Prisoners," *The Globe*, 16 March 1880, 4.

<sup>279</sup> *Ibid.*

on the fourth floor. The eastern wing and the eastern portion of the west wing were for prisoners. The western portion of the west wing was designed for use as a refuge for young girls. This part of the building had its own entrance at the west end of the building and was completely separate from the building.<sup>280</sup>

The institutional appearance of the prison promised dignity, but the plan of the prison conveyed that respectful treatment had to be earned. Within the prison, good behaviour was incentivized through design. Prisoners were assigned to different cells of different “ranges” according to their behaviour. John Woodburn Langmuir — a reformer who was appointed as the prison inspector for Ontario in 1869 — believed that women could be reformed through the promise of increasingly pleasant surroundings. Every aspect of the prison, from the workhouse to the exercise yard, was designed with classification in mind.<sup>281</sup>

The prison cells and workspaces were arranged in a complicated scheme of increasingly comfortable cells and workspaces that were meant to entice good behaviour. The prison wing had four storeys: two levels of cells and two levels of rooms. There were four “ranges” of cells. All prisoners started out in ranges one and two, called the “receiving cells,” which occupied the north side of the first floor. The cells in these ranges measured eight feet long and five feet wide, with a height of ten feet. The cells had grated doors that faced windows to let in diffuse light from the windows facing the cells. The cells in range three were slightly bigger than those in one and two, but the real advantage of this tier was the large windows that let in natural light. Range four was slightly bigger than range three, with windows and

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<sup>280</sup> Ibid.

<sup>281</sup> “The Mercer was designed, as Langmuir proudly reported, so as to obtain ‘as perfect a system of classification as it is possible to have... There are twelve distinct corridors or wards in the building, to each of which is attached a separate workroom, and in addition the general workshop is divided into two flats and five distinct apartments ... and there are also four distinct yards for airing and exercise’. The objective was to provide distinct and separate accommodation for four grades of prisoners.” Ibid, 528.



plastered walls instead of whitewash brick. For three and four, there were “commodious and well-furnished work and bath rooms[sic]” on the two upper floors of the east wing. In addition to these ranges, there were windowless isolation cells in the basement, known as “punishment cells.” While serving their sentences, inmates could be further punished by a prison-like environment or rewarded by a homelike one.<sup>282</sup>

The siting of the prison, too, enabled classification and punishment or reward through space and the senses. The north side of the prison, where the “receiving cells” and the work rooms for ranges one and two were located, had shade trees planted outside.<sup>283</sup> The trees limited the already weak light let in by the bars on the cells. Another downside of these cells was noise. Since the cells faced north, they let in the racket from the railway lines in front of the property. Ranges three and four, and their associated workplaces, faced south. They were removed from the noise of the trains and had a pleasant view of the airing yards and Lake Ontario in the distance.

According to Langmuir, another essential element of the prison was women acting as moral guardians of the institution. Emma O’Sullivan, who was the superintendent of the Mercer for twenty five years, confirmed this during her address to the Toronto Local Council of Women in 1927: ““That this institution be officered so far as possible, by women’ the speaker quoted this, one of Mr. Langmuir’s stipulations as regards to the management of the Mercer [...]”<sup>284</sup>

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<sup>282</sup> Oliver notes that inmates would start in a small, “prisonlike” cell and, after a “period of good conduct” would graduate to a room that ostensibly did not look like a prison cell at all. Oliver, ““To Govern by Kindness””, 529; Carolyn Strange observes that incoming prisoners were supposed to start with the “most menial tasks” and eventually be “promoted” to lighter work if they behaved well for an extended period. Strange, “The Criminal and Fallen,” 84.

<sup>283</sup> “Toronto’s Western Enviro’ns: What Can Be Seen in an Afternoon’s Ramble,” *The Globe*, 28 May 1880, 6.

<sup>284</sup> Emma O’Sullivan (née Higgins) was married to Dennis Ambrose O’Sullivan, a lawyer and author. Gerald J. Stortz, “O’Sullivan, Dennis Ambrose,” in the *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, accessed 7 August 2023. “Mercer Reformatory Is Subject of Talk: Mrs. D. A. O’Sullivan Tells Local Council of Women Her Hopes for Future,” *The Globe*, 3 November 1927, 14.

Indeed, upon opening the Mercer hired women named O'Reilly as the superintendent and Laird as the assistant superintendent.<sup>285</sup> These women were both residents of Ontario who had experience working in reformatory institutions in the United States.<sup>286</sup> The Mercer was therefore built according to three premises: first, that prison architecture could produce moral subjects; second, that separation and categorization through architectural design was imperative to this moral reform; and third, that women and girls were extremely susceptible to each other's influence.<sup>287</sup>

The Mercer Reformatory had an advantage over the Female Prison in terms of financing, architect, scale, plan, and site. It had the capital to hire an experienced, well-known architect and purchase stylish materials that would lend credibility and respectability to the institution. The Mercer endowment also allowed for a deliberate implementation of classification through design. The total capacity for the Mercer reformatory was 196 women, whereas the capacity of the Female Prison was 150.<sup>288</sup> The front of the Mercer was 346 feet, compared to 150 feet of the initial front of the Female Prison.<sup>289</sup> And yet, the Mercer was still considered a failure.<sup>290</sup> Comparing the Mercer to the Female Prison suggests two things: first, that prescriptive design and female stewardship alone could not produce "moral" subjects; and

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<sup>285</sup> Ibid.

<sup>286</sup> O'Reilly worked at an "establishment" in South Framingham, Massachusetts and Laird had previously worked at a reformatory in Indianapolis.

<sup>287</sup> For example, the girls' reformatory had to be separate from the prison, and the matron of the prison, if her character were "good" and "moral" enough, could reform prisoners through her presence.

<sup>288</sup> "La Prison des Femmes," *La Minerve*, 10 November 1876, 2.

<sup>289</sup> Indeed, even when the south wing was constructed in 1909, the front elevation only measured 312.5 ft.

<sup>290</sup> Strange notes that the Mercer staff attributed the failure to three factors: short sentences for women, insufficient space for confinement, and the incorrigibility of the inmates. Strange, "The Criminal and Fallen of Their Sex," 92.

second, that fallen women who were admitted to the Mercer consistently evaded categorization.

*The Montreal Sheltering Home and Separation*

The Montreal Sheltering Home adapted homes to separate women by temperament. The home on St. Urbain was ideal for the separation by class because it was in fact two homes united under one roof. Together, the two homes contained sixteen “[...] small, neat bedrooms, it being deemed advisable for each inmate to have a separate room.”<sup>291</sup> Individual rooms were a departure from the former Montreal Sheltering Home at Dorchester and St. Charles Borromée Streets, which had large rooms converted to dormitories that held two to four inmates each. This previous home had also been two joined houses, one serving as the “mission room” and the other as the shelter.

Choosing two joined buildings, with a dividing wall and separate entrances through the front and back, aided the separation of inmates according to “class.” Historian William Atherton points out that the two dwellings that made up the Montreal Sheltering Home on Dorchester and St. Charles Borromée Streets were used to separate inmates of different classes. Social class was also maintained spatially within the home. The matron and her assistant did not eat their meals in the kitchen with the inmates, but in the meeting room.<sup>292</sup> The matron lived in the Montreal Sheltering Home full time to supervise the inmates at all hours.

Despina Stratigakos, in her chapter on the architecture of social work in early twentieth-century Berlin, points out the patronizing relationship between bourgeois women sanitary

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<sup>291</sup> “A Women’s Shelter,” *The Herald*, 18 February 1897.

<sup>292</sup> Rugh, “Sheltering Home History,” 2.

inspectors who entered working-class homes to scrutinize the sanitary practices of working-class women. “No one considered the possibility [...],” she writes, “that an inspector would take advice from the client.”<sup>293</sup> I see a connection between this one-way transfer of knowledge and influence and the spatial practices of separation within the Montreal Sheltering Home. One of their key responsibilities — as the managers saw it — was to influence the inmates through leading by example. Through their visits, they counselled inmates on their difficulties and made suggestions for improvement based on their own morals. Montgomery, too, was supposed to uphold this standard within the home when the managers were not there. Dividing inmates through two distinct (but interconnected) homes according to temperament (in one, the quiet, industrious, sober, and repentant women; in the other, the boisterous, unruly, intemperate, and unapologetic women) shows that the managers never considered that the inmates could possibly influence each other for the better. This arrangement had the paradoxical effect of infantilizing the so-called good women and attributing agency and influence on the women who were less obedient.

### *The Home for Friendless Women*

When the Home for Friendless Women moved into the premises in 1887, the mansion was the only building on a plot of land that was oriented north.<sup>294</sup> The exterior featured neat cut stone, large windows on the front, rear, and west elevations, as well as the attic level. Two chimneys on either side of the home indicated that heating during the cold winter would warm up the rooms within the stone structure. The windows on the front elevation looked up to the rear properties of even larger mansions, and further in the distance, a view of the

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<sup>293</sup> Stratigakos, *A Woman's Berlin*, 165.

<sup>294</sup> The original owner of the home was Sir Francis Hincks, a Canadian politician who served as the Canadian Minister of Finance under Sir John A. Macdonald from 1867 to 1873.

southwestern slopes of Mount Royal. This view would soon be obfuscated, however, for in 1889 the land on the north side of St. Antoine Street was raised for an elevated train track for the new Canadian Pacific Railway line that would culminate at Windsor Station.

The immediate area around the Home for Friendless Women was residential, with homes occupied by contractors, tradesmen, merchants, manufacturers, lawyers, widows, and single women.<sup>295</sup> At this location, the inmates of the Home for Friendless Women had more space to perform their work tasks. They could move around inside the home, and outside the home within the fenced-in yard. There was no tall wall surrounding the property to prevent inmates from escaping – the managers had other ways of keeping them inside. This resembles the “relative freedom” that Topp observes in the optics of late-nineteenth-century asylums in central Europe: “[a] degree of freedom, a relative freedom, is employed as a tool for patient management while institutional design is geared toward enabling free movement within the institution’s boundaries and, just as important, creating an impression, or appearance, of freedom, aimed both at the patients and the public.”<sup>296</sup> Appropriating a mansion as an ad hoc reformatory was not only economical. Through the absence of cells, enclosures, and bars on the windows, the exterior gave the impression of freedom and order within the home.

Nead writes that “[...] the term fallen is not reversible; the attitude producing it ends as helpless pity or contempt, at best, as the protectiveness of a superior being for an inferior one.”<sup>297</sup> Indeed, a woman’s admission to the Home for Friendless Women was contingent on submission to the rules of the home, and complete isolation from the outside world. From the

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<sup>295</sup> John Lovell, “Collection d’annuaires Lovell de Montréal et Sa Région, 1842-2010” (John Lovell & Son, 1887), Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, BAnQ numérique, 107 & 198.

<sup>296</sup> Topp, *Freedom and the Cage*, 3.

<sup>297</sup> Lynda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of Women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988), 80.

moment the inmate walked up the steps and through the door of the Home for Friendless Women, her movement, appearance, and conduct were heavily monitored by the matron. Upon entry, the matron had to ensure that the new inmate took a bath and wore clean clothes. While in the institution, the dress and hairstyles of the women had to be approved by the lady managers.

Importantly, the women could not communicate with anyone from their former life through conversation or writing. Any letters arriving to the home were intercepted and read by the matron. Inmates were not permitted to leave until they had found a situation that was approved by the lady managers. During work hours, inmates could speak to one another, but “[g]ossip, exciting or insulting language, and any allusion to past character (except in the way of humiliation and thankfulness)” was forbidden.<sup>298</sup> After running away, as punishment, the inmate would not be allowed to wear her own clothes.<sup>299</sup> During the 1885 smallpox epidemic, *The Gazette* reported that the managers of the Home for Friendless Women initially withheld vaccination to the inmates because “as the women did not go out, there was no risk of infection.”<sup>300</sup> To leave the home, then, meant possibly dying on the street or in a crowded hospital ward. With no money, and possibly wearing distinctive clothes from a prior escape, the fallen woman, who once could have disappeared into the crowd, could be easily found walking or running away from the Home for Friendless Women.

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<sup>298</sup> Protestant Home for Friendless Women, “First Annual Report of the Managers of the Montreal Home for Friendless Women” (The Lovell Printing and Publishing Co., 1876), Serials: Periodicals, Annuals and Newspapers, Library and Archives Canada, 16.

<sup>299</sup> Protestant Home for Friendless Women, “Second Annual Report of the Managers of the Montreal Home for Friendless Women” (Montreal, Quebec: Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, January 1877), Canadiana Online, 20.

<sup>300</sup> Once smallpox broke out in the house next door, and at the pressure of the citizen’s committee for the epidemic, the Home for Friendless Women physicians began administering vaccines to the inmates. “The Citizen’s Committee,” *The Gazette*, 29 October 1885, 5.

The women rose at six in the morning during the summer, and were permitted a half hour of extra rest during the winter. Their days were a repetitive combination of work — sewing, needlework, or laundry — dining, meetings and prayer. The passage of time within the home was structured by passage between spaces of rest, work, and reflection. Aural cues — the screech of the halting streetcar, the rumble and whirr of an approaching train, and hourly chimes of the bell tower at the nearby St. Anthony's Catholic church — punctuated long days within the home.

As of 1892, the east-west electric streetcar line ran all the way down St. Antoine Street from Craig Street.<sup>301</sup> North-south lines across the St. Lawrence, St. Louis and St. James wards all connected to this line. This meant that the Home for Friendless Women was technically accessible to women from different wards. However, the fare was still a barrier: street car tickets cost fifty cents for a sheet of ten tickets, and one dollar for a sheet of twenty.<sup>302</sup>

In 1888, a reporter from *The Montreal Herald* visited the Home for Friendless Women and took a tour of the establishment. The reporter praised the space for its bright, airy and productive environment:

Plenty of light and ventilation give a wholesomely cheerful aspect to the Home throughout [...] On the basement floor is the laundry apparatus, in the work of which a fair income is made by the institution. On the ground flat are the drying rooms of the laundry, the reflector and reception rooms. On the two upper flats are the dormitories. There are presently twenty-four women in residence.<sup>303</sup>

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<sup>301</sup> Christopher G. Boone, "The Politics of Transportation Services in Suburban Montreal; Sorting Out the 'Mile End Muddle,' 1893–1909," *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire Urbaine* 24, no. 2 (March 1996): 27, map 1.

<sup>302</sup> "Street Car Tickets," *The Daily Witness*, 27 August 1886, 8.

<sup>303</sup> "Home for Friendless Women," *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 25 January 1888.

The Home for Friendless Women was a relatively new institution.<sup>304</sup> The main objective of the Home for Friendless Women was to “receive destitute and friendless women, whatever may be the cause of their destruction, and, by timely assistance, advice and instruction, endeavour to reform and restore them to their friends, or enable them to gain an honest livelihood.”<sup>305</sup> The rules for management that followed stated that they should take care not to admit women who only wanted temporary shelter.<sup>306</sup> In this way, the Home for Friendless Women held more power over the inmates than the Female Prison did the prisoners. Since the Home for Friendless Women was privately funded, and the Protestant section of the Female Prison was publicly funded, the Home for Friendless Women could impose longer “sentences” than the magistrate.

Paranoia around fallen women is communicated in the first annual report: “[t]here is, as is well known, a continuous influx into every large city of those who have failed in life’s work elsewhere, or have lapsed into intemperance, or have gone astray, and who hopes to hide themselves in the crowd, and to make a fresh start in life.”<sup>307</sup>

#### *Development of the Environs of the Home for Friendless Women*

The home on St. Antoine Street experienced its own fall from grace between 1879 and 1887. Since Hincks purchased the land from Charles-Joseph Coursol (mayor of Montreal between 1871 and 1873) to when the Home for Friendless Women moved in, the slice of land wedged between Bonaventure and St. Antoine Streets transformed to a great extent. Geographer

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<sup>304</sup> The Montreal Sheltering Home was founded in 1866, Ladies’ Benevolent Society in 1832, and Montreal Maternity Hospital in 1843.

<sup>305</sup> “First Annual Report of the Managers of the Montreal Home for Friendless Women,” 11.

<sup>306</sup> Ibid, 12.

<sup>307</sup> Ibid, 5.



David Hanna describes the southern St. Antoine ward between 1868 and 1890 as a “fringe zone.” Hanna writes that between St. Bonaventure and St. Antoine Streets, “a transition took place, with pockets of small brick-clad working-class duplexes giving way to elegant stone or brick two-and-a-half storey mansard-roof duplexes with a basement.”<sup>308</sup> Though these two classes of dwelling were close together, writes Hanna, the working-class residences faced the Lachine Canal while the salubrious stone dwellings faced the mansions along Dorchester. When the Home for Friendless Women moved to the home on St. Antoine Street, the inmates had a view of Mount Royal from the north-facing windows. They could see the railway line, the escarpment toward the rear of grand residences, and beyond that the grey stone of the Collège de Montréal. Once the Canadian Pacific Railway line was constructed along St. Antoine, the fate of the area was sealed: the home on St. Antoine was officially part of the “city below the hill.”<sup>309</sup>

The proposed extensions of north-south streets that would have connected St. Antoine Street to the mansions on Dorchester Street were never realized. The area around the Home for Friendless Women developed in response to the two competing railway lines that served as its border. By 1907, Hincks’ home shared the block between Fulford and Dominion Streets with a few detached homes made from brick.

For inmates of the Home for Friendless Women, the institution was their place of work and their living space. The inmates performed domestic tasks at a large scale to support the

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<sup>308</sup> Hanna, “Montreal, a City Built by Small Builders,” 132. Hanna notes that less than 1 percent of all dwelling built in the Southern St. Antoine ward were single-family stone mansions. *Ibid*, 112.

<sup>309</sup> “The City Below the Hill” was the name given to the southern portion of the city by Herbert Brown Ames. For a more thorough discussion on this subject, see the introduction of Chapter 1.

home.<sup>310</sup> They held all of the responsibilities associated with maintaining the integrity of the home, and none of the respite or security that domestic life supposedly offered. They were constantly surveilled by the live-in superintendent, who ensured that they were working at all times. Unlike a domestic servant, the money that they made from their labour was not theirs, it was subsumed back into the cost of maintaining the home. Also unlike a domestic servant, the inmates slept in dormitories. Further, if the inmates ran away from the home, they were subject to punishment.

*Clara Bell and Alice Hutt Run Away to the Horseshoe Tavern*

*As we know, on a brisk June evening in 1888, Bell and Hutt ran away from their homes and walked toward the bell towers of the Notre-Dame Church.<sup>311</sup> Ironically, on this night, the towers of this religious monument were beacons of trouble. The girls were searching for the Horseshoe Tavern, a famous bar on St. Sulpice Street owned by prizefighter Tommy Boyle. As they approached the church, the girls felt flattened by the shadowy mass of the structure.<sup>312</sup> The moonlight illuminated the tall twin bell towers overhead (fig. 2.19). The girls were startled by the clanging of the bell striking nine o'clock. They continued down St. Sulpice Street, in the shadow of the church, walking the narrow cobbled stone street washed in moonlight and illuminated by warm light from the gas lamps, past the spectral pointed*

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<sup>310</sup> “48,419 pieces have gone through the laundry, 199 pairs of socks have been knitted, and [...] 180 garments made.” “Home for Friendless Women,” *The Montreal Herald and Daily Commercial Gazette*, 20 January 1882, 3.

<sup>311</sup> Actual date Thursday, 7 June 1888. According to historical climate data, the maximum temperature on this date was 20 degrees Celsius and the minimum was 10 degrees Celsius. “Daily Data Report for June 1888, Montreal, McGill, Quebec,” Government of Canada, accessed 7 August 2023. Bell and Hutt were eighteen and sixteen years old, respectively. They were childhood neighbours. Their fathers (both named James) were day labourers, and in 1881 they lived at 131 and 134 Poupart Street in the St. Mary’s ward. Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec organisme de publication, “Street Directory,” in *Lovell’s Directory of Montreal, 1842-2010* (Montreal: Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 1881).

<sup>312</sup> The bell towers are 227 feet tall. *The St. Lawrence Hall Montreal City Guide* (Montreal: Canada Bank Note, 1885), 35.

arches of the church windows. As they walked toward de la Commune Street, they could hear the St. Lawrence River in the distance, and they inhaled fresh air.<sup>313</sup> On the east side of the street, they approached a doorway, above which was a colourful glass sign decorated with horseshoes, lit by gaslight, that read in different fonts: “THE HORSESHOE, TOMMY BOYLE.”<sup>314</sup> The doorway was centred on a thin slice of a building squeezed between two others with entrances on St. Paul Street and de la Commune Street (fig. 2.20). The door opened onto a short flight of stairs.<sup>315</sup> The stairwell exhaled a warm gust of air that smelled like beer from within the tavern. Bell and Hutt ascended the steps toward the low, gruff, shouting; rhythmic, thumping piano; singing, and glasses clinking.<sup>316</sup>

Up the short flight of stairs and to the right, Bell and Hutt approached a long, wooden counter. They ordered and paid for two pints of beer from the man behind the bar and made their way toward the concert hall from the far end of the barroom.<sup>317</sup> The girls spent hours in the tavern until the buoyant atmosphere was pierced by a sharp whistle. The music and chatter stopped abruptly as the police chief Sergeant Charbonneau and six officers rushed in, looking under tables and throwing open cupboards to look inside.<sup>318</sup> During the search,

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<sup>313</sup> “Regretfully we turn down the dark and narrow street which sleeps in its shadow, and follow its quiet length until the sound of the slowly gliding St. Lawrence River reaches our ears, and we breathe with deep draughts the fresh and health-laden breezes which penetrate even here.” *Montreal by Gaslight* (New York, 1889), 98.

<sup>314</sup> “Before an open door, which reveals a flight to steps, stands a huge colored gaslight. Upon its colored glass can be traced in many different styles the words: ‘THE HORSESHOE, TOMMY BOYLE’. And upon it are colored horseshoes [...]” *Ibid.*

<sup>315</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>316</sup> “The sound of a voice roaring out a song to the monotonous thumping of a piano which, at this distance, sounds like the combination of a foghorn and the noise of ships screw, greets our ears.” *Ibid.*

<sup>317</sup> “Before us stands a long counter, and behind it a strongly built but agile-looking man attends to what seems a rushing business.” *Ibid.*

<sup>318</sup> Shortly before midnight on 12 December 1892, Charbonneau and his officers raided the Horseshoe looking for “Black Frank,” a champion prizefighter, to stop a fight that would take place that night in a barn on Lachine Road. “Black Frank” successfully hid in a closet and the fight went on at three thirty that morning. “Pugilists and Police,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 12 December 1892, 1. Montgomery recorded that the two girls were

*Charbonneau saw the two young girls and demanded that they come with him. In the police carriage, Bell and Hutt passed the towers of the church once more, perhaps with shame and dread. The carriage halted in front of a large, two-storey detached home with a pitched roof. The girls were let into the Montreal Sheltering Home by Montgomery, who escorted them up a flight of steps into two separate rooms, each with a small bed. By candlelight, Montgomery entered the girl's names, and under "How fallen?" she scrawled "Ran from home, found in the Horseshoe."*<sup>319</sup>

The entries reveal no evidence that these young women had succumbed to a life of vice. Neither girl ever entered the home again. Rather, they were two girls who ran away from home to get into some mischief. Other cases recorded in the register who arrived from the Horseshoe were in a more serious condition. Edwards, whom we will encounter in Chapter 3, entered the Montreal Sheltering Home after "falling" at the Horseshoe, between visits to the Montreal General Hospital where she received treatment in the hospital's lock ward for venereal disease. Bell and Hutt's case shows us that the very presence of a young woman in a place where she was not supposed to be suggested that she was fallen.

From the perspective of the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home, the tavern was a site of vice that produced fallen women. Once she encountered the bar, she was fallen. The managers frequently listed the Horseshoe Tavern as an explanation for "how fallen." The tavern was a location that purportedly transformed respectable women into fallen ones at its threshold.

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"found in the Horseshoe" but does not state by whom. I therefore employ the raid to explain how they were brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home.

<sup>319</sup> "Register," cases 403 and 410.

Architectural historian Robert Thorne points out the inconsistencies between gendered experiences of public houses and restaurants in Victorian England: “Men could venture in public where women could not and might, it was supposed, be educated or toughened by contact with the varieties and extremes of urban life. Their freedom of action offers possibilities of either immorality or improvement, where for women there lay only disgrace.”<sup>320</sup> The pair’s jaunt to the Horseshoe Tavern and subsequent intake to the Montreal Sheltering Home indicate that through their presence in the Horseshoe Tavern, their respectability was at stake. Because Bell and Hutt were found at the tavern, they were perceived as wayward women who needed to be brought to the Montreal Sheltering Home. The framework of the register did not allow the matron to explain that they were two girls who, through boredom or rebellion, had decided to escape their family homes and explore the seedy nightlife of Montreal. The register reproduced rigid categories of good, bad, fallen, and redeemed.

*The “Missing Heiress”: Maud Williams*

On 5 May 1896, Montgomery reached for the register and completed an intake record for Williams. Under the “profession” column, she wrote “missing heiress.” In the “observations” column, which Montgomery only sporadically filled out, she wrote, “met her as a poor girl, but she turned out to be the missing one.”<sup>321</sup> Indeed, Williams had run away from Providence, Rhode Island, six weeks before she entered the Montreal Sheltering Home. Williams’ story, as I tracked it through newspaper articles, seemed exciting, sensational, and even a bit

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<sup>320</sup> Robert Thorne, “Places of Refreshment in the Nineteenth-Century City, in *Buildings and Society*”, ed. Anthony King, 128. For scholarship on women and taverns in Montreal, see Mary Anne Poutanen, ““Due Attention Has Been Paid to All Rules’: Women, Tavern Licences, and Social Regulation in Montreal, 1840–1860,” *Histoire Sociale / Social History* 50, no. 101 (2017): 43–68 and Poutanen and Olson, “Public Houses and Hidden Networks.”

<sup>321</sup> “Register,” case no. 2983

glamorous. Her odyssey is a tale of momentary escape from the material and social circumstances that confined her.

Williams' class position — the daughter of a wealthy American family — makes her an outlier in the register. As I discuss in Chapter 1, waves of colonization carried most of the serving-class women from the register to Canada and then to the Montreal Sheltering Home. Conversely, Williams swam against a current powered by her position as the daughter from a wealthy family in Stonington, Connecticut. In pointing this out, I do not intend to imply that Williams was braver or more motivated than the women who arrived to Canada through female emigration schemes or the British Home Child programs. She was only able to escape because of her immense privilege. As a white woman in a predominantly white colonial society, she could enter spaces without being noticed. Because she had servants in her own home, she knew how to mimic a servant. When her money ran out in Portland, Maine, she manipulated the matron of the station there into letting her onto the train for free.<sup>322</sup>

Spatializing her story shows her persistence to escape places intended to confine her. Her story also shows her discontent and skepticism toward asylums, which were designed to give the impression of freedom.<sup>323</sup> In this way, her story is exceptional because of how Williams recognized and resisted the illusory freedom of these spaces.

This section employs Adams' "spatial biography" method. In her work on Canadian cardiologist Maude Abbott, Adams disrupts the genre of traditional biography by recounting Abbott's life through the spaces she encountered, instead of "narratives of constraint."<sup>324</sup> In

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<sup>322</sup> "Is Found at Last: Maud Williams of Stonington, Conn., Disappeared Six Weeks Ago," *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, 1896.

<sup>323</sup> For scholarship that investigates the complex interplay between design, freedom, and restraint, see: Yanni, *The Architecture of Madness*; Topp, *Freedom and the Cage*; and Adams, "Rooms of Their Own."

<sup>324</sup> Adams, "Encountering Maude Abbott."

this section I tell Williams' story through first presenting the "narrative of constraint," followed by a period of six weeks when she broke free of this narrative. Besides her well-documented odyssey, Williams appears on the historical record as the daughter of a wealthy Stonington family, or as an "incapable person" under a conservatorship by her younger brother, Ephraim Williams IV. Following Adams' model, I explore Williams' relationship to three spaces: her home in Stonington, Connecticut; the Butler Hospital in Providence, Rhode Island; and the Montreal Sheltering Home.

By escaping her home, finding her way to Montreal by rail and boat, only to be found by her brother and returned to the United States, Williams refused to inhabit the material and social constructs that were designed to contain her. Williams' story shows that while home could be a site of women's agency, there were also real limitations. Indeed, women could even participate in public life, as long as they were engaging in activities that were socially acceptable for their gender and class status. I contend that spatializing these limitations provides an index of women's refusal of their circumstances. Mapping Williams' odyssey shows how spaces of freedom and constraint coexist over the span of a lifetime.

### *Ephraim Williams House*

Williams' story starts at 168 Water Street, in Stonington, Connecticut.<sup>325</sup> She lived with her parents and younger brother Ephraim Jr., in a stately two-and-a-half storey Federal-style home.<sup>326</sup> Ephraim Williams' siblings, Joseph. P. Williams and Emmeline Holmes (née

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<sup>325</sup> Maud Cleveland Williams was born in 1874 to Ephraim Williams, a former insurance commissioner, and his second wife, Mary B. Williams (née Babcock). Richard Anson Wheeler, *History of the Town of Stonington, County of New London, Connecticut, from Its First Settlement in 1649 to 1900* (New London, Conn.: Press of the Day publishing company, 1900), 676.

<sup>326</sup> The current street address is 170 Water Street. The Sanborn Fire Insurance Map for Stonington, Connecticut, shows the address at the time was 168. The home was built in 1840 for Ephraim Williams Sr., Williams' grandfather. Williams Sr. passed away in 1861, after which time the home was inherited by Ephraim Jr, the oldest son.

Williams) and their families resided there as well.<sup>327</sup> Their home was at the corner of Water Street and between High and Broad Streets. The entrance faced the green property of the seasonal Wadawanuk House Hotel, a defining feature of the small coastal town. Through business ventures, Williams' father, along with his brother Charles P. Williams, amassed a large fortune which they "liberally bestowed in generous benefactions to their relatives and friends."<sup>328</sup> The scale of the house, its position facing the town's only green space, and four chimneys all indicated the Williams family's upper-class status.

Susan Moffett notes that the public facing portions of the Williams House were defined by "stately elegance" and "balance" while the upper floors and rear of the house were more disorganized.<sup>329</sup> Indeed, the principle façade, which was visible from the street, featured an entablature decorated with dentils and cresting (fig. 2.21). Two rows of two windows stacked on top of each other flanked the main entrance, and a central window with two sidelights above the portico mirrored the main entrance. This symmetry did not carry over to the north side of the house. On the ground storey, there were three blind windows and an extension that housed the kitchen and servants' quarters.<sup>330</sup> The wall that divided the attic storey blocked the middle window on this level as well. Two outbuildings obstructed the beautiful view from the first floor to the north of the Stonington Harbor. The blind windows, extension, and back buildings had the double effect of obstructing the view of the outside from within and hiding the inside of the house from the outside.

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<sup>327</sup> The servants were Javish Holmes, whose family also lived in the home, Jane and Elizabeth Curtain, Kate and Abbie Cassidy, and Bessie Hogan.

<sup>328</sup> Wheeler, *History of the Town of Stonington, County of New London, Connecticut*, 676.

<sup>329</sup> Susan Moffatt in Joan Rowley, Chelsea Mitchell, and Mary Thacher, "House History of 176 Water Street," n.d., Stonington Historical Society, 30.

<sup>330</sup> Ibid.



The public (organized and symmetrical) and private (labyrinthian, secretive and hidden) spaces of the home perhaps represented the public and private lives of the Williams family. Looking into Williams' story shows a long-established Stonington family who struggled to deal with a daughter who was both strong-willed and vulnerable to mental health crises. Reportedly, since childhood Williams was "subject to severe fits of extreme nervousness."<sup>331</sup> She was supervised by her family and "would become violent sometimes."<sup>332</sup> By another account, Williams was "prone to attacks of hysteria and extreme melancholia." Williams loved the theatre and performed in a local theatre troupe. When she was nineteen years old, Williams reportedly told her father that she wanted to earn her own living.

During one of her moments of "extreme melancholia", perhaps Williams ascended the winding rear staircase of the home to the small belvedere on the first storey (fig. 2.22) and stared out over her family's property, past the Stonington Harbor, and out into the vast expanse of the Atlantic Ocean. The Water Street home was the site of Williams' first escape, to New York, for two weeks.<sup>333</sup> Two years later, Williams' mental health apparently declined once more, and her family had her institutionalized in the Butler Hospital in Rhode Island.<sup>334</sup>

### *The Butler Hospital*

Like many other residential institutions, the Butler Hospital was designed under the premise that the pressures and perils of modern life were causing insanity, illness, and degradation of

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<sup>331</sup> "Is Found at Last," *The Buffalo Sunday Morning News*, 1.

<sup>332</sup> Ibid.

<sup>333</sup> The family could not locate Williams, and eventually she called home. She told her mother that she would return in eight days, and eight days later, she was back in Stonington. Ibid.

<sup>334</sup> Newspapers recount that Williams was sent to "a sanatorium in Rhode Island." By other accounts, she was "staying with a family friend, Dr. Moss, in Rhode Island." Since she was purportedly suffering from mental health issues, and this was the only hospital in the area addressing these at the time, I place Williams in the Butler Hospital.

character among the population. Architecture and landscape were seen as instrumental to treating patients. The Butler Hospital was sited on a green 114-acre property. It was bordered to the east by the Seekonk River, a brook to the south and west, and the Swan Point Cemetery to the north. The fifty-foot drop to the river at the east of the property was thick with trees. Over the course of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the hospital grew to include thirteen buildings. When Williams entered the hospital in 1896, it was comprised of the main building (called Center House), a recreational facility (Ray Hall), stables, a luxury ward in a standalone residence designed for wealthy men (Sawyer House), and the superintendent's residence (Duncan Lodge).<sup>335</sup>

Williams arrived to the Butler Hospital in April 1896.<sup>336</sup> She likely arrived in Rhode Island by rail, and then to the hospital by horse and carriage, perhaps accompanied Ephraim Jr.<sup>337</sup> As the carriage crossed the brook that enveloped the south and eastern bounds of the property, they entered a pleasant, lush landscape with winding paths lined by deciduous and coniferous trees.<sup>338</sup> As her carriage turned a corner, Williams observed the Butler Hospital.

The Butler Hospital was a neo-Gothic structure, broad and low to the ground, clad in brown brick with a gabled roof (fig. 2.23). It was constructed in 1847 by architects Williams Tallman and James Bucklin under the close supervision of physician Luther Vose Bell.<sup>339</sup>

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<sup>335</sup> "Rhode Island S. P. Butler Hospital" (United States Department of the Interior: National Park Service, 1976), National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program Records: Rhode Island, National Archives Catalogue, 2.

<sup>336</sup> "Maud C. Williams, a member of a wealthy Stonington family, has escaped from a Providence sanitarium, where she was placed last month." "Personal Mention," *The Hartford Courant*, 12 May 1896, 9.

<sup>337</sup> When Williams was found in Montreal, her brother was sent to collect her with a nurse.

<sup>338</sup> "Rhode Island S. P. Butler Hospital," 3.

<sup>339</sup> A heritage report from 1976 credits Bell for the design and Tallman and Bucklin for the construction. Bell had visited British insane asylums in 1845. According to the heritage report, the hospital was modelled after

According to Isaac Ray, the medical superintendent of the Butler Hospital who wrote a description of the hospital in 1848, a comfortable and homelike building in a medium scale could help relieve patients of their illnesses.<sup>340</sup>

The plan of the hospital prioritized natural light, domestic comforts, categorization, separation, and surveillance. The plan had a central pavilion from which extended two connecting galleries that each culminated in a pavilion. These side pavilions had connecting galleries of their own that extended toward rear pavilions, forming an E-shape (fig. 2.24). The patients' rooms were located on only one side of the galleries, facing large windows. Wealthy patients could buy rooms in the front galleries that extended from the administrative centre. These were double rooms with one room for sleeping and another for receiving visitors. Regular patients occupied single rooms on the rear connecting wings. Indigent patients shared dormitories. The windows of all four connecting wings faced the beautifully landscaped grounds. This arrangement of rooms, which was insisted upon by Bell, had the dual purpose of providing a pleasant view to the patients and keeping the patients out of their rooms where, according to the superintendent, "pernicious habits" may take hold.<sup>341</sup>

Attendants' rooms were positioned at the intersection of two perpendicular galleries. Through glazed doors, the attendants could see what was happening in either gallery simultaneously.

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what he called the "Morningside Asylum," the Royal Edinburgh Hospital in Morningside Place, Edinburgh, Scotland. Ibid, 2.

<sup>340</sup> "The perpetual sight of a row of doors with intervening spaces of dead, white walls, is poorly calculated to relieve the tedium of confinement, or divert the thoughts into healthier channels." Isaac Ray, *The Butler Hospital for the Insane*, Medicine in the Americas, 1610–1920 (Utica, New York, 1848), 4.

<sup>341</sup> Ibid, 4.

This arrangement, noted the superintendent in 1848, also made it easy to supervise the attendants.<sup>342</sup>

As a paying patient from a wealthy family, Williams may have occupied a large suite, with a spacious parlour for guests and a smaller room for sleeping. This type of room was in the front gallery of the hospital with a view of the winding paths lined with trees. This room was furthest from the attendants' corner suites. It was also nestled into the hospital's administrative and social core. The dining room, common rooms for paying patients, reception rooms, doctors' office, and steward's office were all clustered around the central staircase and the main entrance. Perhaps on 7 April, the day that she disappeared, Williams saw an opportunity for escape.

*When the gallery was quiet and the doors of the reception rooms and doctors rooms were closed, Williams walked swiftly and purposefully out the front door.*

#### *Williams' Odyssey*

Williams disappeared 7 April 1896. She covered a considerable amount of ground (approximately seven-hundred kilometres) in a short amount of time (two days, reportedly).<sup>343</sup> According to newspaper articles, her odyssey unfolded as follows. From the Butler Hospital, she found the railway station in the city centre near the harbour. She took the train to Boston, Massachusetts. From Boston, she took a boat from Boston to Portland, Maine.<sup>344</sup> A matron

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<sup>342</sup> Ibid, 4–5.

<sup>343</sup> The Hartford Courant reported that Williams arrived in Montreal the day after she disappeared, which was April 8. However, Williams was spotted in St. Johnsbury, on April 8 and then Chelsea, Massachusetts, on April 10. These stops are not consistent with the journey between Providence, Rhode Island, and Montreal, Quebec, so the sighting in Chelsea, Massachusetts may have taken place on a different day. "Was in Chelsea: Maud C. Williams, Stonington Girl," *The Morning Record*, 16 May 1896, 1.

<sup>344</sup> "Is Found at Last."

found Williams asleep at the station. Williams explained to the matron that her pocket had been picked. Taking pity on her, the matron referred her to the superintendent of the station, who gave her a pass to St. Johnsbury, Vermont, under a false name.<sup>345</sup> In Newport, Vermont, a Canadian Pacific Railway conductor named Sheldon took her under his charge and brought her to Montreal. From then until 22 May, when she was located at the Montreal Sheltering Home, Williams reportedly worked as a servant in Montreal and Ottawa.

The newspapers report that Williams was vague about her time employed as a servant:

According to her own story, she left Montreal, some days after her arrival here, with seventy-five cents, and yesterday she had 1.05 in her pocket [...] At the Sheltering Home yesterday, she said she only remained in Montreal a week or more, working as a servant with a family at 275 Bleury Street, where she earned enough money to take her to Ottawa. She remained in Ottawa some time, working, she says, but what her occupation was a mystery.

The reporter's repeated emphasis on Williams' survival — despite her history working as a servant in Montreal and Ottawa — cast her respectability into question. Leaving the readers to imagine what work Williams did to earn money as a lone woman in the city suggested the trope of the fallen woman. The newspaper coverage emphasized the “element of exchange” that Upton identifies in the life of Edwards: “Many of her social relationships incorporated an

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<sup>345</sup> She was spotted on the same day in Johnsbury, Vermont, by an acquaintance. “Miss Williams Seen in Vermont,” *Hartford Courant*, 13 May 1896, 1.

element of exchange or transaction that, in the nineteenth-century gendered context, evoked prostitution.”<sup>346</sup>

Williams’ brisk and fluid movement between spaces (the home, the hospital, the shelter, the railway station) and identities (the heiress, the servant, the poor girl) dissolved the supposedly fixed boundaries of the spaces within which her family tried to contain her. Rendell explains:

If patriarchal capitalism controls the ownership and exchange of property by defining boundaries and identifying thresholds which are permanent, closed and fixed around women, then spatial metaphors of porosity, flow, and openness, for example, represent a disease with female subjects and spaces, both of which operate within, but also escape, these controlling mechanisms.<sup>347</sup>

Under the social contract of “patriarchal capitalism” Williams was expected to inhabit the threshold of her family home under the control of her powerful father before marrying and moving into a home with her husband, who would then assume this control. Through escaping her family home and the hospital, Williams resisted this limited sequence of spaces.

#### *Williams and the Montreal Sheltering Home*

Williams entered the Montreal Sheltering Home on 22 May 1896. She was received from a hospital in Quebec City and was reportedly in frail condition. A train dispatcher had witnessed Williams disembark the train in Montreal and alerted her family. A scene unfolded in the Montreal Sheltering Home the following day.<sup>348</sup> Montgomery knocked on Williams’ door and told her that her brother had arrived. Williams flung open her frosted window to look at the street below. Indeed, she saw her brother, Ephraim, and a woman she did not

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<sup>346</sup> Upton and Edwards, *Madaline*, 12.

<sup>347</sup> Rendell, *The Pursuit of Pleasure*, 131.

<sup>348</sup> Events according to “Is Found at Last.” Details, such as room, the frosted window, and the people peering out of the windows of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, are speculation based on proximity between the institutions and the Visitor Book.

recognize, disembarking a cab in front of the Montreal Maternity Hospital and approaching the Montreal Sheltering Home. The windowsills of the hospital were open, and nurses and patients were peering out at the scene below. Williams “went into hysterics” – she pleaded with Montgomery not to let him inside. She exclaimed that her family was going to lock her up in an insane asylum. She threatened to jump out the window. Ephraim ascended the stairs and encountered his sister. She stopped yelling, and eventually left with him and the woman, who was a trained nurse.<sup>349</sup>

### *Conclusion*

Williams fears of being institutionalized were justified. She returned home on 23 May 1896 by train. The rest of Williams’ story comes through the census, rather than sensational headlines. The escape from the hospital in Rhode Island was her last. In 1900, Williams was living with her father, mother, and brother on Water Street.<sup>350</sup> Her father passed away in 1902. Perhaps Ephraim was exhausted from looking after his sister. Maybe her mother, too, in her old age could not cope with her daughter’s mental health struggles. Williams was institutionalized at the Hartford Retreat for the Insane sometime between 1900 and 1910.<sup>351</sup> Her mother passed away in 1911.<sup>352</sup> Williams remained there until her death in 1930 at 55

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<sup>349</sup> “The Associated Press representatives and Ephraim Williams, Jr. [...] went to the home today. Miss Williams made an effort as soon as the cab containing her brother and the newspaper man arrived, to get away, even trying to jump through the window. At the request of her brother, the matron tried to prepare her for the meeting with her brother with the result that she went into hysterics and begged her to protect her against her family who wished, she declared, to but her into an insane asylum. When she finally did see her brother, she quieted and expressed pleasure at meeting him again.” “Found at Last.”

<sup>350</sup> The United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Twelfth Census of the United States, 1900*. Washington, D. C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1900. T623, 1854 rolls.

<sup>351</sup> The United States of America, Bureau of the Census, *Thirteenth Census of the United States, 1910* (NARA microfilm publication T624, 1,178 rolls) Record Group 29. National Archives, Washington, D.C.

<sup>352</sup> *The Charles R. Hale Collection. Hale Collection of Connecticut Cemetery Inscriptions*. Hartford, Connecticut: Connecticut State Library.

years old.<sup>353</sup> Her brother Ephraim acted as her conservator and assumed her share in the Williams family estate. Ironically, through her escape, she had rejected a land title that might have secured her some freedom.

I do not intend to overstate the emancipatory freedom of these moments. None of the “spatial stories” that I have told ended happily. In a society that was obsessed with trying to locate, identify, categorize, and contain women through spatial, material, and geographical isolation, these stories emphasize two things. One, these boundaries were real. And two, women were constantly finding ways to contest, escape, and evade these boundaries and trace new contours through their movements.

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<sup>353</sup> The United States of America, Bureau of the Census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*. Washington, D. C.: National Archives and Records Administration, 1930. T626, 2,667 rolls.



### Chapter 3. “Generous Montreal”: Hospitals, Patients, and Care

#### *Introduction: Princess Louise at the Windsor Hotel*

*Princess Louise inaugurated her family’s namesake, the Windsor Hotel, as part of her royal tour in 1879.<sup>354</sup> The window of the Princess’s hotel room looked north, over rooftops, past the spire of the Erskine Presbyterian Church and up toward Mount Royal (fig. 3.1). As she cast her gaze over the spire and the stately mansions on the escarpment, she was perhaps reminded of a letter she had received from the committee of the Protestant Infant’s Home.<sup>355</sup> There were so many Protestant babies whose mothers could not take care of them. It was for this reason that during her tour of Canada, the Princess agreed to become patroness of the institution.<sup>356</sup> Though we do know her exact her motivation for choosing this charity above all others in Montreal, an obvious reason is that the Protestant Infants’ Home helped those perceived as the most vulnerable: babies and children.*

Through offering her name to an institution that helped babies, the Princess Louise completed her philanthropic duty without associating herself with more morally complex subjects.

Indigent or intemperate women, sex workers, or women pregnant out of wedlock were all perceived as having a hand in their destruction. Princess Louise had no children of her own.

Lending her name to a charitable institution like the Protestant Infants’ Home allowed her to be a symbolic mother to Protestant infants who either did not have a mother or whose mother

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<sup>354</sup> The quote in the title, “Generous Montreal”, is from “Montreal’s New Maternity Hospital is a Noble Institution,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 8; Princess Louise and the viceregal party also stayed at the Windsor Hotel during their visit. “Viceregal Movements,” *The Gazette*, 28 May 1879, 2.

<sup>355</sup> The Protestant Infants’ Home annual report states that Princess Louise became the patroness of the institution “at the solicitation of the Committee,” therefore I assume that the committee wrote her a letter.

<sup>356</sup> “Ninth Annual Report of the Protestant Infants’ Home,” 1879, McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, 7.

was unable to care for them. The Princess's endorsement of the Protestant Infants' Home shows that not all subjects were considered equally "deserving" of care, and that those in the class echelons who (either through volunteering time or donating money) supported charities had to take care of whom they were helping.

In the nineteenth century, increased leisure time meant that women were entering public life in new ways.<sup>357</sup> In Montreal, a second generation of charitable women had inherited a landscape of care, which had sprung up in the 1820s and 1850s. The committees of management of the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal Maternity Hospital and Montreal General Hospital all understood the power of architectural permanence.<sup>358</sup> As hospitals expanded — through new pavilions or new hospitals — charitable women maintained their authority within these new buildings.<sup>359</sup>

I define care as a range of activities that included providing shelter, medical care, adoption services, and direction toward employment for women. My definition is informed by Joan Tronto and Berenice Fisher's contemporary delineation of care as a "[...] a species activity that includes everything that we do to maintain, continue and repair our 'world' so that we can live in it as well as possible."<sup>360</sup> For Tronto and Fisher, care is a process that unfolds over

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<sup>357</sup> Wendy Mitchinson, "The WCTU: 'For God, Home and Native Land': A Study in Nineteenth-Century Feminism," in *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880s–1920s*, ed. Linda Kealey (Toronto: Women's Press, 1979), 152.

<sup>358</sup> Indeed, in her study on women in Berlin during the imperial period, Stratigakos writes: "With the city sprawling in all directions and new buildings going up at an overwhelming pace, women understood that their claim to urban power rested in part on being able to express it visibly in built form." Stratigakos, *A Woman's Berlin*, xii.

<sup>359</sup> I write "citizens" because although most of this chapter focusses on the women from committees of management, the Montreal General Hospital and Western Hospital had male committees of management.

<sup>360</sup> Joan C. Tronto and Berenice Fisher, "Toward a Feminist Theory of Caring," in *Circles of Care*, eds. Emily K. Abel and Margaret K. Nelson (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1990), as quoted in Joan C. Tronto, "Caring Architecture," in *Critical Care: Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet*, ed. Angelika Fitz and Elke Krasny (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2019), 29.

time, and a practice that encompasses a range of activities like contributing money to a cause and donating time. Tronto and Fisher's feminist formulation of care is useful in my discussion of women's contributions to the building process as committee members. In this role, women donated their time, raised funds, and advocated for new buildings on behalf of their charges.

I define the landscape of care as networks of repurposed and purpose-built architectures — from the register — that were designed or adapted toward these ends. What does this landscape of care reveal about the interrelations of gender, class, and power? Through investigating the institutions that made up the landscape of care and examining three moments when committees of management discussed building, altering, or rearranging their institutions, I argue that a subject's relationship to this landscape depended on their relationship to power, which in turn was influenced by their class and gender. The buildings that made up this landscape registered these complex relationships.

Fecteau and Harvey claim that Catholic and Protestant institutions were isolated from one another and fuelled by competition:

[...] because of religious segregation, it is illusory to speak of a true unified citywide “network,” especially as the private management of various organizations made it tough to make joint decisions in the Protestant community, each association jealously guarding its independence and decision-making autonomy.<sup>361</sup>

As we saw in Chapter 2, in the debate over Protestant women in the Female Prison, “fears of proselytizing” between these two religious communities were real.<sup>362</sup> The grey literature from these organizations may not show overlap. However, the Montreal Sheltering Home

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<sup>361</sup> Fecteau and Harvey, “Montreal's Network of Social Regulation,” in *Montreal*, 684.

<sup>362</sup> Ibid.

register reveals a level of tolerance and even cooperation among Catholic and Protestant institutions. The register and Visitor Book show that the matron and managers were aware of Catholic institutions that helped needy women and were willing to send inmates there.

The second part of this chapter investigates what care meant to architects, charitable women, and serving-class women. I argue that for architects, care meant contributing their expertise to charitable institutions through maintenance and alterations to the interior of buildings.

Architects Samuel Finley Jr. and Alexander Hutchison both helped charities with maintenance, which ensured the longevity of the structure and comfort for the users. I see this as a form of care because these contributions did not result in the cachet of a new building or a redesigned façade that was recognizable on the exterior. For charitable women, care was a form of power. Involvement with a charitable institution allowed women to work in a way that was considered socially acceptable. For inmates, accepting care was performative. Inmates were constantly surveilled by managers and matrons within these institutions, who were the gatekeepers of referrals for work as servants. Inmates needed to show that they could occupy space appropriately for their class and gender position – quietly, while working industriously.

The final part of this chapter looks to three episodes when the committees of management of the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Protestant Infants' Home convened to discuss a new building or alterations to an existing one. I uncover these episodes through annual reports, meeting minutes, newspaper articles, photographs, and plans. The extent of and limitations to women's power can be understood through these encounters between committees of management (usually women) and supervisory committees and physicians (always men during the period under study) over the design and use of their proposed or existing institutions. Though this chapter discusses the architectural and

institutional histories of the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Protestant Infants' Home, I weave in stories of women from the register in the framework and the case studies. The movement of fallen women among institutions thus frames this chapter.

*Relationships Between the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal General Hospital, and Maternity Hospital*

The connection between the Montreal General Hospital and Montreal Sheltering Home was reciprocal, but asymmetrical. In other words, the Montreal Sheltering Home accepted more inmates from the Montreal General Hospital than it sent out to the hospital. The Montreal Sheltering Home sent ninety-nine women over to the Montreal General Hospital for injury, illness, alcoholism or "seduction" between 1887 and 1897.<sup>363</sup> The majority of women were admitted to the Montreal Sheltering Home for shelter, which indicates the hospital's lack of capacity for female patients in need. The home received 141 inmates from the Montreal General Hospital, nearly three times as many as they sent.<sup>364</sup>

The relationships among the Montreal Sheltering Home, the Montreal Maternity Hospital, and the Protestant Infants' Home were unbalanced in the other direction. The home received eighty-seven and sent 222 women to the Montreal Maternity Hospital. Montgomery noted "maternity," "seduced," and "waiting" under "how fallen?" for these cases.<sup>365</sup> Because the maternity hospital was so close to the home, it is likely that women waited out their pregnancies there before being sent back to the maternity hospital to give birth. Sixteen

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<sup>363</sup> "Register."

<sup>364</sup> Ibid.

<sup>365</sup> See Chapter 2 for a detailed analysis of the "how fallen?" column.

women were received from the Protestant Infants' Home, and forty-six were sent there. Nine of the women who were sent to the Protestant Infants' Home had entered the Montreal Sheltering Home from the maternity hospital.

### *History of Architecture and Care*

Looking at the buildings in Montreal as a care network (instead of separate philanthropic and medical networks) allows us to view charitable institutions and hospitals as equally important parts of the same landscape. Studying the intersection of care and architecture in charitable institutions broadens our understanding of who creates architecture (architects and builders) in two ways. First, it encompasses a range of activities as they pertain to architecture; and second, it includes non-professionals like charitable women. Fundraising for a building, sheltering women, providing food and material comforts, and arguing for the need of this shelter to the public are forms of care.

Architectural historians have produced scholarship on care through design or care as design practice.<sup>366</sup> Boys points out that scholars discussing care in architecture usually focus on the intentions of the architect, at the expense of the user's experience of the built environment.<sup>367</sup> Boys writes: "[...] by locating care in designer attitudes and processes, other ways of thinking about and practising care through design is sidelined. As actual people vanish, subsumed

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<sup>366</sup> Charlotte Bates, Rob Imrie, and Kim Kullman, *Care and Design: Bodies, Buildings, Cities* (John Wiley & Sons, 2016); Angelika Fitz and Elke Krasny, eds., *Critical Care: Architecture and Urbanism for a Broken Planet* (Cambridge: MIT Press; Vienna: Architekturzentrum Wien, 2019); Christina Buse, Daryl Martin, and Sarah Nettleton, *Materialities of Care: Encountering Health and Illness Through Artefacts and Architecture* (Newark: John Wiley & Sons, Incorporated, 2018); Catharina Nord and Ebba Högstöm, *Caring Architecture: Institutions and Relational Practices* (Newcastle-upon-Tyne, United Kingdom: Cambridge Scholars Publisher), 2017.

<sup>367</sup> Jos Boys, "Architecture, Place and the 'Care-Full' Design of Everyday Life," in *Care and Design: Bodies, Buildings, Cities*, ed. Charlotte Bates, Rob Imrie, and Kim Kullman (Chichester, West Sussex, UK: Wiley Blackwell, 2017), 155.

under an assumed non-problematic and seductively meaningful archetype, differential and inequitable relationships to each other and to built space also disappear.”<sup>368</sup>

The register, which shows connections between charitable institutions and hospitals, offers an opportunity to critically examine care through relationships between buildings and people. Since many charitable institutions that helped women were repurposed, care-through-design is not a possible mode of analysis for all these sites. Instead, I locate care in the siting of these institutions made by the committees of management, the spatial practices within these homes, and consideration for the physical health of the inmates. Among well-known hospitals — like the Montreal General Hospital, and later the Royal Victoria Hospital and Taylor’s new Montreal Maternity Hospital — were a series of less visible spaces in which middle-class reformers created spaces of care through providing material and practical care to their charges, in the form of food, shelter, employment and referrals to hospitals.

As established by Tronto, care is both a practice and a process that unfolds and transforms over a period of time.<sup>369</sup> The register captures a landscape during a decade of rapid population growth, expansion and transformation in Montreal. Taking purpose-built architecture as evidence of support from the powerful (bankers, merchants, doctors, magnates), the built environment is material evidence of which care practices were prioritized.

### *Overlapping Landscapes of Care: Catholic and Protestant Networks*

Comparing the architecture of caring spaces between two religious groups, Catholic and Protestant, enhances my reading of the Protestant landscape of care. The landscape that

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<sup>368</sup> Ibid, 164.

<sup>369</sup> Joan Tronto, *Moral Boundaries: A Political Argument for an Ethic of Care* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 104.

emerges from the register encompassed both Protestant and Catholic institutions. These institutions formed what architectural historian Shelley Hornstein calls a “split image” of each other. Hornstein explains that this “split image” “[...] registered not only the tension between these Catholic and Protestant traditions, but the deeply embedded cultural differences of immigrants from France and Great Britain.”<sup>370</sup> In their study of the Catholic and Protestant religious claims on babies, Olson and Thornton find that the Christian population of Montreal in 1880 was divided into three cultural groups: English-speaking Protestant (Irish, English and Scottish, 27 percent combined); English-speaking Catholic (Irish, 17 percent), and French-speaking Catholic (French, 60 percent).<sup>371</sup> In general, religious women maintained the Catholic poor relief system, while women from upper-class Protestant families held roles as directresses of charitable institutions.<sup>372</sup> Within these cultural communities, there were political tensions that complicated the distribution of care. Olson and Thornton explain: “[p]olitics were polarized by Anglo-Protestants and French Catholics, between Catholics of French and Irish origins, and on occasion between aggressively ‘Orange’ or evangelical Protestants and an older upper-class Protestant ‘establishment.’”<sup>373</sup> Despite dogmatic differences, the Catholic and Protestant networks of care buildings shared one characteristic: both were launched by women’s effort, compassion, and ambition.

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<sup>370</sup> Hornstein, “The Architecture of the Montreal Teaching Hospitals,” 15.

<sup>371</sup> Patricia Thornton and Sherry Olson, “The Religious Claim on Babies in Nineteenth-Century Montreal,” in *Religion and the Decline of Fertility in the Western World*, ed. Renzo Derosas and Frans van Poppel (Dordrecht: Springer Netherlands, 2006), 208, Figure 1.

<sup>372</sup> Kirkland, “Mothering Citizens”; Janice Harvey, “The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Montreal Ladies’ Benevolent Society: A Case Study in Protestant Child Charity in Montreal, 1822–1900” (Ph.D Thesis, Montreal, McGill University, 2001).

<sup>373</sup> Olson and Thornton, *Peopling the North American City*, 207.



There was little visual or material cohesion to the Anglo-Protestant network of care for women. Unlike the Catholic network, which had large-scale, purpose-built, multi-functional institutions that were administered by nuns, much of the Protestant care network for women operated mostly out of donated houses which they altered to suit their needs. The Montreal Sheltering Home was close to both the Montreal General Hospital and Montreal Maternity Hospital.<sup>374</sup> The home could therefore receive women patients when the hospitals were under renovation or full. Roughly 10 percent of the women who were sent to the Montreal Maternity Hospital had arrived from this hospital.<sup>375</sup>

The Catholic and Protestant care networks shared some similarities. Each network was anchored by a major hospital. For the Protestant network, this was the Montreal General Hospital, and for the Catholic network, was the Hôpital Hôtel-Dieu.<sup>376</sup> At the Hôpital Hôtel-Dieu, care was administered by the cloistered Sisters of St. Joseph, and this was reflected by high stone walls surrounding the hospital. In 1861, the Hôpital Hôtel-Dieu moved north, into a new building designed by architect Victor Bourgeau, on a fertile plot of land at the base of Mount Royal (fig. 3.2).

The register indicates that sixteen women were received from Catholic institutions, and forty-seven women were sent to Catholic institutions.<sup>377</sup> On one occasion, Montgomery

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<sup>374</sup> Between 1847 and 1905, the Montreal Maternity Hospital was at ninety-three St. Urbain Street, near the corner of St. Urbain and Lagauchetière Streets. As I will explain, in 1905, the hospital moved north on St. Urbain Street, at the corner of Prince Arthur and St. Urbain Streets.

<sup>375</sup> Twenty-one women out of 221 women. "Register."

<sup>376</sup> One of the first hospitals in North America, the Hôpital Hôtel-Dieu was founded in 1645 by Jeanne Mance and the Catholic Hospitaliers of St. Joseph.

<sup>377</sup> These women were a mix of Catholic and Protestant. Eight Catholic women and seven Protestant women (plus one whose religion was not specified) were received from the Notre Dame Hospital, St. Bridget's Refuge, the Longue Pointe Asylum, the Pélagie Maternity, the Hôtel Dieu Hospital, and the Notre Dame Hospital. Thirteen Protestant women, thirty-five Catholic women (plus two unspecified) were sent to all these places, plus

accompanied a woman named Mrs. Hervey from Toronto — who had been directed to the Montreal Sheltering Home by a Canadian Pacific Railway conductor after she had lost her purse — to the “nuns at the corner,” likely meaning the Patronage d’Youville at the corner of St. Urbain and Lagauchetière Streets.<sup>378</sup> Limited space cannot be the only reason for these referrals to Catholic institutions, because Catholic women were admitted 566 times to the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>379</sup> The documented referrals of Catholic women to Catholic institutions and vice-versa suggest that nuns and charitable women were united in a conviction that women were entitled to receive care from their religious community (and, perhaps, a hesitation to devote resources to members of a different religion). This connection between the Montreal Sheltering Home and Catholic institutions, registered by the movement of inmates, is tangible evidence that the managers shared their knowledge of the Catholic care network with Catholic inmates.

Catholic “maternity cases” were directed by the Montreal Sheltering Home matron to the Maternité Ste. Pélagie at 253 Lagauchetière Street, known to the committee as the “Pélagie Nuns,” to give birth and have their children put up for adoption. The Maternité Ste. Pélagie was a fifteen-minute walk from the Montreal Sheltering Home.<sup>380</sup> Like many other buildings on the “conventual landscape,” it was a rectangular building of three storeys that ran along

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the Sisters of the Good Shepherd. The matron also recorded “nuns” which could mean the Patronage d’Youville. “Register.”

<sup>378</sup> According to Day, Mrs. Hervey only stayed at “the nuns” for three hours before returning to the home. Minute Book, 1 December 1900.

<sup>379</sup> Jenny Jeffries, for example, was a Catholic woman who returned to the Montreal Sheltering Home 20 times during this period. “Register.”

<sup>380</sup> A particularly heartbreaking case was recorded in 1894. A Roman Catholic woman named Alice Brown gave birth at the new Royal Victoria Hospital. She rested with her infant at the Montreal Sheltering Home for about three weeks, then went to a situation as a servant and left her child with the Sisters of the Misericorde. The child, five months old, died afterward. “Register,” case no 2572.

the east side of St. Hubert, between Lagauchetière and Dorchester Streets.<sup>381</sup> A mansard roof hid an attic storey and established visual continuity with the adjacent Sisters of Mercy motherhouse. Though the Motherhouse and the Maternity shared a plot of land, they were connected only by a small, wooden corridor. A three-storey hexagonal tower protruded from the southern end of the maternity, like a large bay window.<sup>382</sup>

The Catholic network was managed by nuns who had a lot more power than the committees of management of the Protestant organizations. The nuns embodied many roles in their institutions. They were nurses, making tinctures and balms from their gardens to heal the sick, they were administrators, religious instructors, and wardens. The Grey Nuns, for example, had complete power over constructing new charitable buildings. Martin explains:

Ultimately, it was the General Council (made up of twelve professed nuns who were elected from the religious community) who decided when and how to proceed on construction activities, ranging from the acceptance of a mission, new construction or additions, to the installation of new heating systems, plumbing, elevators and electricity, the undertaking of repairs, or rebuilding completely.<sup>383</sup>

Each Protestant charitable organization in the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home had a committee of management, supervisory committee, and, in the case of the Montreal General Hospital, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Protestant Infants' Home, a medical board. This arrangement exemplifies what historian of medicine Charles Rosenberg calls the "dual management" of a hospital, where "the separation of lay from medical areas of control,

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<sup>381</sup> In her dissertation Martin maps the "conventual landscape" of the Grey Nuns and the Sisters of Providence. Martin, "The Architecture of Charity."

<sup>382</sup> According to Atherton, the original Misericorde Hospital was located in the attic of a wooden building that could only be reached by a ladder. Atherton, *Montreal, 1535–1914*, 478; For a history of the Maternité de la Pélagie, see: Lévesque, "Deviant Anonymous;" "Montreal Misericorde Hospital," Maude Abbott Medical Museum, accessed 18 November 2022, <https://www.mcgill.ca/medicalmuseum/exhibits/greetings-montreal-mamm-hospital-postcard-collection/post-cards/de-la-misericorde>.

<sup>383</sup> Martin, "The Architecture of Charity," 152.

with lay trustees assuming responsibility for the institution's economic well-being, and medical boards for matters relating to admissions, therapeutics, and house staff discipline."<sup>384</sup>

### *Architects and Care*

The buildings in the Protestant landscape of care were designed by Montreal architects Hutchison and Taylor.<sup>385</sup> Both men were active members of the Scottish Protestant community who also designed parts of McGill University. Active between 1861 and 1918, Hutchison was part of an earlier generation of architects. The son of a stonemason, he worked his way up to having an architecture practice.<sup>386</sup> He designed alterations and a new façade for the Montreal YWCA building (1896) (fig. 3.3), the Western Hospital (fig. 3.4) and a large extension for the Ladies' Benevolent Society. He also enlarged and altered the Christ Church Anglican Cathedral (1887), the Montreal General Hospital (1894) and the patients' pavilion of the Protestant Insane Asylum (1896). Most notably, Hutchison designed the Erskine Presbyterian Church where he served as an Elder and a Sunday school superintendent until 1886, when he founded St. Andrews Church.<sup>387</sup> Hutchison was a devout Presbyterian, a tradition that "emphasizes a devotion to duty, and a responsibility for developing one's

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<sup>384</sup> Charles E. Rosenberg, "Inward Vision & Outward Glance: The Shaping of the American Hospital, 1880–1914," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 53, no. 3 (1979): 364.

<sup>385</sup> The exception is British architect Henry Saxon Snell, who designed the Royal Victoria Hospital in 1893.

<sup>386</sup> Janis R. Zubalik, "'Advancing the Material Interests of the Redeemer's Kingdom': The Erskine Presbyterian Church, Montreal, 1894" (masters, Concordia University, 1996), 38.

<sup>387</sup> *Ibid*, 40

abilities and using one's talents in the best way."<sup>388</sup> Taylor was the son of a religious publisher and, like Hutchison, devoted to his faith.<sup>389</sup>

The deserving/undeserving or worthy/unworthy poor paradigm explains why some organizations could afford to hire architects who designed and constructed buildings tailored to the needs of their institutions, while others adapted repurposed homes that were often decrepit and in need of frequent attention and repair. Historian Serena Romano locates the origin of the model of deserving/undeserving poor in the interstices between idleness, deviance, and discipline.<sup>390</sup> The "worthiness" of a pauper of social welfare was contingent on their willingness to submit themselves to hard work, demonstrate their adherence to religious mores through their words and actions, and abstain from overconsumption of food or alcohol and sexual activity outside marriage.

Building funds for charitable organizations relied on public donations that ranged from large subscriptions by companies and smaller donations by individuals.<sup>391</sup> The social mores of the day classified the needy into the "deserving poor" and the "undeserving poor." Middle- and upper-class Protestants who had excess capital to donate to building funds were more likely to give money to buildings for the "deserving" poor. This translated to a landscape of

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<sup>388</sup> Ibid, 21.

<sup>389</sup> Susan W. Wagg, *The Architecture of Andrew Thomas Taylor: Montreal's Square Mile and Beyond* (Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2013), 10.

<sup>390</sup> Serena Romano, *Moralising Poverty: The "Undeserving" Poor in the Public Gaze* (London: Routledge, 2017), 14.

<sup>391</sup> For example, the Montreal General Hospital's annual report from 1892 lists "subscriptions" from various companies. The sums range from \$2190 to \$55: "ordinary donations" from \$500 to \$1; and door-to-door "collections" from the wards of Montreal, ranging from \$200 to \$1. "The Seventy-First Annual Report of the Montreal General Hospital" (Montreal General Hospital, 93 1892), Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, 26-46; by contrast, the subscriptions for the Montreal Maternity Hospital of the same year ranged from only \$38 to \$2. "Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Montreal Maternity" (Montreal Maternity, 1892), McGill University, Osler Library, 10.

dedicated institutions that served the “deserving” female poor — women who aligned with tenets of Protestant doctrine and Victorian femininity — and a less visible network of initiatives set in repurposed homes that cared for women who strayed from these values and were therefore perceived as careless.

As I will explain in the following section, Hutchison helped with maintenance of the Montreal General Hospital. Finley Jr. did similar work for the Montreal Sheltering Home. His parents, Samuel Arnold Finley Sr. and Emma Finley, were on the committees of the Montreal Sheltering Home. Finley Jr. offered his services free of charge between 1892 and 1900.<sup>392</sup> He supervised the construction of a new roof and the repairs of a wall. He also advised the Montreal Sheltering Home on winterizing their Home and constructing a new laundry shed and gave estimates for both. This saved the Montreal Sheltering Home the cost of hiring an architect for consultation. Through offering his professional opinion he also saved them from overpaying for a builder’s services.

Donating his expertise to the Montreal Sheltering Home had the double benefit of strengthening his parents’ philanthropic presence in Montreal, while also introducing Finley Jr. to other influential families who may one day need an architect for one of their charitable institutions or projects. Indeed, Finley Jr. was announced as the initial architect chosen to design the new Montreal Maternity Hospital.<sup>393</sup> When Andrew Frederic Gault, husband of Louisa Gault of the Montreal Sheltering Home committee, passed away, Finley was selected to design the interior fittings for Gault’s memorial installation in St. George’s Anglican

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<sup>392</sup> Roof work was done by Drapeau & Sauvignon, supervised by “Mr. Arnold Finley, who has saved us much expense thereby, and to whom we owe most hearty thanks.” Savage, *Minute Book*, 7 October 1892; Consulted for winterizing in 1894, *Ibid*, 8 October 1894; Consulted for the wall repair in 1894, *Ibid*, 9 October 1894 and 6 November 1894; advised the Montreal Sheltering Home to construct a new laundry building and gave an estimate of 625 dollars for this work, Shepherd, *Minute Book*, 28 May 1900.

<sup>393</sup> “Will Soon Have New Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 28 November 1903, 19.

Church.<sup>394</sup> For architects, donating time, or offering their expertise at a lower rate, to charitable institutions could pay off in the future.

### *Charitable Women, Building/s, and Care*

Charitable women were burdened with nearly complete responsibility for the domestic management of their institutions. Amid the design of new, fashionable hospitals, charitable women had to negotiate their roles as experts within these new spaces. The Protestant care landscape was funded by volunteers, charity, and small government grants. When a new building was needed, as was the case of the Montreal Maternity Hospital in 1894, the administrators started a “building fund.”<sup>395</sup>

Women who were involved with charitable organizations in Montreal had different relationships to architecture because they belonged to different class echelons. This was reflected in the structure of the annual reports. At the top of the reports were women with titles were awarded elevated yet symbolic status within these organizations, like patroness or lifetime members. Their endorsement lent visibility which would garner more subscriptions and legitimize the organization in the eyes of the Anglo-Protestant public. For example, for the Protestant Infants’ Home, the patronage of Princess Louise coincided with a move to a larger house in a greener and more elevated property on Guy Street. The next rung held women from powerful Montreal families: the Molsons, Redpaths and Drummonds. These

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<sup>394</sup> Finley’s design for the A.F. Gault Memorial Installation included “a Bishop’s throne, a Bishop’s chair, the sedilia, and dado wood wall panelling throughout the chancel”. “Finley, Samuel Arnold,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada 1850–1950*, accessed 18 July 2023, <http://dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1958>.

<sup>395</sup> Laura O’Brien, ““Strengthening Their Hands’: The Committee of Management and the Montreal Maternity Hospital, 1893–1906,” *Journal of the Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada/Le Journal de La Société Pour l’étude de l’architecture Au Canada* 44, no. 1 (2019): 24.

women donated financial and social capital.<sup>396</sup> They had direct connections, through marriage or family, to architects. Finally, there were the committee members, who contributed their time. They attended monthly meetings and visited the institutions to report on the general state of the institution: sanitation, cleanliness, and order. Their position seems frustrating: out of all the members of the organization they spent the most time with the building, noticed yellowing and peeling paint, windows that jammed, undeniable drafts invading the space through gaps in the door frames. And yet, they had the least financial power, they could only suggest improvements that were always subject to approval by their male supervisory board. While the committee of management did have power over their charges, their power was limited by the paternalistic structure of the organization. Most charitable organizations had some affiliation with physicians, either through the committee of management, the board, or a visiting physician role.

Though the committee members had limited power, their involvement in charitable institutions is an example of what Fecteau and Harvey call the “principle of proximity,” which they define as “[...] the idea that help could only be effective if the donor was relatively familiar with the beneficiary. Such proximity was the only way to assess the individual circumstances and determine the actual level of need.”<sup>397</sup> Committee women were perceived as authorities on what kind of help women inmates needed because they shared a gendered position. During their visits to their respective institutions, women from committees established relationships with the inmates. In the case of the Montreal Sheltering Home, the committee women also worked closely with Montgomery, who presented a report on the

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<sup>396</sup> Taylor, for example, was related to the Drummond family through his mother, Agnes Drummond. His aunt, Jane Drummond, was married to John Redpath. Wagg, *The Architecture of Andrew Thomas Taylor*, 6.

<sup>397</sup> Fecteau and Harvey give the example of home visits by the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. Harvey and Fecteau, “Montreal’s Network of Social Regulation” in *Montreal*, 674.



home during the monthly meeting. This “principle of proximity” applies to physicians and their places of work. For example, Adams and anthropologist Stacie Burke, in their study on the design and geography of physicians’ home offices in Toronto, Ontario, find that physicians’ homes were close to the University of Toronto medical school and legislative buildings.<sup>398</sup>

When a building was proposed for one of these charitable organizations, the “principle of proximity” was inverted. Suddenly, charitable women, who spent the most time at the institution and regularly interfaced with the “inmates,” were in a subordinate position to the financial or supervisory board. We see this especially with the Montreal Maternity Hospital and Protestant Infants’ Home. Once a new building was proposed, charitable women had to involve their supervisory board to move forward with the project. Moments in the historical record when new buildings were proposed are important times in the architectural histories of these places. The events surrounding these moments show how middle-class women negotiated their positions to retain authority within institutions that they had worked hard to maintain.

Involvement with a charitable institution was not only an indication of altruism. Charitable work was a form of social capital for women in that time and place.<sup>399</sup> Significantly, property ownership was a part of electoral qualification to vote in municipal elections in Montreal. As of 1887, widows and unmarried women of legal voting age (twenty-one years old) were granted the right to vote in municipal elections, while married women’s voting rights were

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<sup>398</sup> Annmarie Adams and Stacie Burke, “A Doctor in the House: The Architecture of Home-Offices for Physicians in Toronto, 1885–1930,” *Medical History* 52, no. 2 (April 2008): 180–81.

<sup>399</sup> Kirkland points out that women’s involvement in charitable work, which was perceived as non-threatening to the patriarchal social order, allowed them to expand their worlds beyond the home. Kirkland, “Mothering Citizens,” 110.

assumed by their husbands.<sup>400</sup> Therefore, if the institution incorporated, being on the ladies' committee of an institution meant that the middle-class married women who were on the boards of charitable institutions could elude the usual joint property laws and vote in municipal elections. The constitution of the Montreal Sheltering Home stated that no sale or lease of the property could go through without an agreement, in writing, signed by a quorum of eight members from each committee.<sup>401</sup> In the 1887 Act of Incorporation of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, the directresses were named as part of the Corporation of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, along with the physicians, attending physician, medical registrar, and officers, and were therefore "[...]entitled to acquire, hold, possess, take and receive for the purposes of said Corporation [...] any real or immovable property, and stocks and securities of any description [...] alienate and dispose of, and acquire others in their stead for the purposes above mentioned."<sup>402</sup> The (limited) power over property of the committee women was written into the constitutions of the Montreal Maternity Hospital and Montreal Sheltering Home.

#### *Montreal General Hospital Committee*

At the Montreal General Hospital the committee of management were all men. These men were responsible for the "domestic economy" of the hospital, "to order all things necessary for the same, to inquire into the conduct of the Officers, Matrons, Stewards, and Servants of the Hospital. [...]They shall have general charge of the property of the Corporation, and shall

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<sup>400</sup> As of 1887, single women could own property in Montreal. However, women's property rights were assumed by their husbands once they were married. Fougères and MacLeod, *Montreal*, 399.

<sup>401</sup> Rugh, "Sheltering Home," 2.

<sup>402</sup> Acts of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Montreal Maternity (Montreal: The Gazette Printing Company, 1887), 4.

enforce all necessary attention to the economy, cleanliness, and good conduct.”<sup>403</sup> Alexander, who was on the gentleman’s committee of the Montreal Sheltering Home, was on the board of the Montreal General Hospital. Women who worked at the hospital (nurses and the matron) were subordinate to physicians and the committee of management.

### *Montreal Maternity Hospital Committee*

Starting in 1843 (the year that the Montreal Maternity Hospital was founded) the Montreal Maternity Hospital committee of management gathered at monthly meetings. While an informal board of laymen and physicians from the Faculty of Medicine at McGill University (then called the Medical Faculty of McGill College) oversaw the management of the institution, they demonstrated little interest in this role during the early days of the hospital.<sup>404</sup> Indeed, the minutes of the monthly meetings, duly recorded by Florence Drummond, demonstrate that James Chalmers Cameron — who was the chief obstetrician between 1886 and 1912 and whose wife, Mabel Cameron, sat on the committee — acted as the main liaison between the medical board and the committee.<sup>405</sup> The division of labour between these two governing bodies was gendered: the women managed the hospital and the medical and financial matters were decided by the medical board. Nonetheless, an anonymous board member asserted that the committee women oversaw the expansion of the early hospital, as two wings were added to the old hospital at ninety-three St. Urbain Street.<sup>406</sup>

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<sup>403</sup> The By-Laws of the Montreal General Hospital (Montreal, Quebec: John Lovell, 1872), 28.

<sup>404</sup> Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926,” 21.

<sup>405</sup> Ibid, 31.

<sup>406</sup> “Sir – the Montreal Maternity Hospital has been entirely managed, for some years, by a committee of ladies. They have collected funds and dispensed them. Under their management, two wings were added to the old main building, and various repairs and alterations have been made when found necessary.” “The Maternity Hospital: A Member of the Committee Explains the Situation of Affairs,” *The Gazette*, 29 January 1896, 2.

The committee of management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital subscribed to maternalist ideals, where marriage and motherhood were perceived as crucial to strengthening society. In other words, the birth of a “moral” future citizen was contingent on the spiritual health of the mother.<sup>407</sup> The women of the committee were concerned with the moral well-being of their patients. Each month, the committee appointed two visitors who would make the rounds at the hospital, speak with the patients, and comment on the cleanliness of the institution, the quality of work from the laundress and cook, and any notable behaviour from the inmates at their meeting. The women also stressed the importance of domestic work and sanitation.<sup>408</sup> Within the institution, the women of the committee delegated tasks for which they would be responsible in their homes to a team of laundresses, seamstresses, and cooks whom they hired. In this way, the women of the committee engaged in a “dialectical process” with their charges, in which they consolidated their middle-class identities through projecting morals onto another, and managing the tasks of these workers.<sup>409</sup> The committee of the Montreal Maternity Hospital demonstrated care insofar as it aligned with societal expectations for their gender and class position.

### *Inmates*

For the inmates of the Montreal Sheltering Home, care was performative. I assert that they knew they had to present themselves to the matron and managers in a certain way.

Montgomery had the power to advocate for the inmates at the monthly meetings of the

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<sup>407</sup> For a thorough study on maternalism and middle-class charitable women in nineteenth-century Montreal, see Kirkland, “‘N’oublions pas que la famille est le *royaume* de la femme’: Marriage, Maternity, and the Home,” In “Mothering Citizens,” 34–98.

<sup>408</sup> Minute Book of the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, June 1893, Osler Medical Library Archive, the Royal Victoria Hospital Women’s Pavilion Collection, box P037.

<sup>409</sup> Mariana Valverde, *The Age of Light, Soap, and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885–1925: With a New Introduction*, Canadian Social History Series (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2008), 29.

committee. The committee had power in the form of social relationships to families who needed servants. Deference to the superintendent and managers was imperative to gaining access to work as a servant, which could increase an inmates' independence if she were willing to follow the rules.

Inmates had opportunities to show obedience through the daily chores at the Montreal Sheltering Home. They also had opportunities to verbalize their appreciation for care during at least two occasions. First, to Montgomery, when she wrote their intake record into the register. The second opportunity was through "interviews" with the appointed monthly visitor from the committee. Emma Finley recorded one such "interview" in the Visitor Book: "Had an interview with Ann Morrow, who does not seem quite wise. Also saw Mrs. Berwick a most respectable old woman who was found by Mr. Marshall at the railway station."<sup>410</sup>

Through the interviews, inmates could make a positive or negative impression on the managers which could potentially lead to employment or better care within the home. An entry from Ellen Day indicates that the managers sometimes doubted the veracity of the women's self-reported circumstances. A Swedish inmate named Thelma, after listening to Day recite a Christian parable, told Day, "[...] with tears in her eyes of her Christian mother and her dream to earn enough money to take her back to Sweden." Perhaps sensing she was being manipulated, this interaction prompted Day to reflect that "[...] the sad part of many of these interviews is the absence of truth in the statements made [...]"<sup>411</sup> On other occasions, inmates effusively expressed gratitude for the home. During an informal service in the "mission room" of the home in October 1900, an inmate reportedly proclaimed that "[...] she

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<sup>410</sup> Emma Finley, "Visitor Book," 14 April 1899, P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

<sup>411</sup> Ellen Day, "Visitor Book," 21 February 1899, P235, Sheltering Home of Montreal Fonds, McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

sought shelter for her body but found rest for her soul.”<sup>412</sup> The recognition that they were providing spiritual care besides basic shelter was important enough to the managers to commit to writing.

The importance of obeying rules in residential institutions for women — especially in terms of cleanliness — comes through clearly in an annual report from the Fresh Air Fund.<sup>413</sup> The fund was an organization founded in 1887 by a committee of men — including Alexander — that sponsored impoverished women and children to send them to a large house in Chambly, Quebec. The idea was to bring small children to the country for fresh air during the summer, the panacea of Victorian medicine.<sup>414</sup> Members of the committee visited the homes of potential inmates to establish whether they “really belong[ed] to that class which the public desired should receive the benefits of this movement [...]”<sup>415</sup> Once they entered the house at Chambly, they were expected to meet middle-class standards of cleanliness, both in appearance, and through chores. The second annual report clearly lays out the expectation: “On reaching Chambly, not a few [women and children] manifested a decided aversion to the cleanliness and order which the rules of the home required. Some of these, however, in a day or two, gave up the contest and presented an improved appearance. A few, not many, on the other hand, preferred to return home rather than fall into line.”<sup>416</sup> The Fresh Air Fund exposed needy women and children to clean air, and expected them to adapt to standards of

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<sup>412</sup> “Visitor Book,” 27 October 1900.

<sup>413</sup> The register records 13 women and one infant leaving the home for the Fresh Air Fund, and 11 women and two infants arriving to the home from there. “Register.”

<sup>414</sup> Summer heat was reportedly a cause of infant mortality in Montreal. “The Fresh Air Fund: One Sure Way to Reduce the Mortality Among Infants” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 9 July 1904, 13.

<sup>415</sup> “The Second Annual Report of the Fresh-Air Fund Committee” (Fresh Air Fund Committee, 1889), 4.

<sup>416</sup> Ibid.

cleanliness. The residents of the house at Chambly had to show their gratitude through adherence to the rules, or they risked not being allowed back, or asked to leave.

This mode of performing care through actions and gratitude for care through words does not mean that the inmates were maliciously deceitful or manipulative. I do not intend to suggest that they were not grateful for the care that they were receiving. Rather, the inmates understood their roles within the landscape of care and knew that they had to express their gratitude in specific ways to receive, or continue to receive, care. I understand this mode of receiving care through Upton's articulation of the "multiple selves" of kept woman Edwards in antebellum New Orleans: "In truth, Edwards fashioned several different selves in life and in words. They were linked by her determination to take charge — however helpless she liked to think herself — to shape the ways others perceived her, and to guide her own fortunes as much as possible."<sup>417</sup>

The performance of care on behalf of the inmates — through occupying space and expressing gratitude — was not malicious, nor was it disingenuous. Rather, this behaviour was "guided," like Edwards's, by an understanding of the limitations of their class and gender positions, and a need either for immediate care or a plan for future independence. Fannie Manifold, who entered the Montreal Sheltering Home thirteen times between the ages of fifteen and twenty, is an example of what the managers of the Montreal Sheltering Home would have considered a successfully reformed fallen woman. Savage happily recorded that Manifold had returned to the Montreal Sheltering Home as "[...] a Christian woman": "[Manifold] was received into the Home several years ago at the age of fourteen. Her baby being born before she was

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<sup>417</sup> Upton and Edwards, *Madaline*, 38.

fifteen. The child was adopted and is doing well. Fannie is now [...] happily married.”<sup>418</sup>

Manifold had engaged with the Protestant landscape of care — the Montreal Sheltering Home and Protestant Infants’ Home — and had now achieved what the managers saw as the ideal situation for a woman, marriage.

*Mattie Edwards Exits the Morland Wing at the Montreal General Hospital*

*Twenty-four-year-old Edwards emerged from the basement of the Montreal General Hospital lock ward on 23 December 1888. She inhaled the sharp winter air as she exited the Morland wing onto St. Dominique Street (fig. 3.5). The air was crisp in comparison to the fetid ward where she had spent six weeks while she received treatment for venereal disease.<sup>419</sup> Heaps of snow had accumulated during her confinement and completely hid the wood-plank sidewalk. She walked instead on the dirt road along Dorchester Street, past brick row houses and a few detached wood houses that were weathered, distorted and rotting from decades of expansion and contraction during the brutal winter cold and sweltering summer heat. Edwards was in pain. Her treatment for venereal disease had been lengthy and invasive.<sup>420</sup> She turned left at the Methodist church on the corner of St. Urbain Street and passed the grocer on the corner. As she approached the Montreal Sheltering Home, she could see the towers of the Notre-*

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<sup>418</sup> Savage, Minute Book, 3 November 1896.

<sup>419</sup> The register is useful context here. Edwards entered the Montreal Sheltering Home from the Horseshoe Tavern on 3 November 1888. A later entry specified that Edwards had come from a “house of ill fame (Horse Shoe).” She left two days later for “General Hospital – L ward.” Based on the Minute Books from the Montreal General Hospital, L ward was shorthand for lock ward, an isolated ward for the treatment of venereal disease. “Register,” case 583.

<sup>420</sup> Historian Jay Cassel notes that throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, physicians considered silver nitrate or potassium permanganate the most effective treatments for venereal diseases such as gonorrhea. Cassel writes that “[...]both [silver nitrate and potassium permanganate] irritated any tissue with which they came into contact [...] both could cause considerable pain.” These two compounds needed to be injected numerous times a day to be effective. Cassel points out that physicians relied on physical inspections to diagnose venereal disease, wherein “women were [...] subject to inspection with the speculum, a mechanical dilator used to examine the vagina.” Jay Cassel, *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada 1838–1939* (Toronto; University of Toronto Press, 1987), 48–50.



*Dame Church in the distance, behind which was the familiar Horseshoe Tavern. Then she entered the Montreal Sheltering Home, where she knew that she would find a crackling fire, Christmas decorations, and a room of her own.*<sup>421</sup>

At the time of Edwards's ordeal, the Montreal General Hospital was a large institution that fronted on Dorchester Street, extended east and west to St. Dominique and St. Lawrence Streets. A central block of four storeys connected two twin wings, which together formed an H shape. A cupola, which indicated the entrance hall, protruded from the centre of the main building. The whole building was topped with a sloped roof except the Morland wing, where Edwards exited. An iron fence encircled the perimeter of the hospital, which opened only at the main entrance. The Morland wing had its own door on St. Dominique Street.

The Morland wing is the focus of this section on the Montreal General Hospital. The design, siting, and use of the Morland wing indicate that this wing, while originally intended for sick children, was used for indigent women patients and provide access to the basement wards. I understand the Morland wing as an early expression of a dedicated space for lower-class women within hospitals.

### *Origins of the Montreal General Hospital*

In 1818, a group known as the Female Benevolent Society founded the "The House of Recovery" in a small house with four beds in response to rampant disease and destitution among immigrants.<sup>422</sup> The Female Benevolent Society operated out of homes in the Recollet

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<sup>421</sup> Virginia Woolf, *A Room of One's Own*, ed. David Bradshaw and Stuart Nelson Clarke (1929; reis. Malden, MA: John Wiley/Blackwell, 2015).

<sup>422</sup> Joseph Hanaway and John H. Burgess, *The General: A History of the Montreal General Hospital, 1819–1997* (Montreal; Published for the Montreal General Hospital Foundation by McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 15; Hugh Ernest MacDermot, *A History of the Montreal General Hospital* (Montreal: Montreal General Hospital, 1950), 36.

suburb and then Craig Street.<sup>423</sup> Finally, they raised enough money for a new hospital, and on 3 May 1822, the Montreal General Hospital on Dorchester Street opened its doors.<sup>424</sup> The Montreal General Hospital is one of the few Protestant organizations of charitable origin that remained in the same building between 1870 and 1900.<sup>425</sup>

An elevation of the original hospital circa 1820 shows a building with three storeys and a basement with four rows of windows, a pitched roof, and a central tower (fig. 3.6). On the first floor were rooms for the matron, surgery and committee of management, as well as two wards for eight patients each (fig. 3.7). The third and fourth floors had two wards each on either side of the stairwell and were capable of holding thirty patients to each floor.

As the population grew, the hospital expanded.<sup>426</sup> In 1831, the Richardson wing was added to the east side of the hospital, followed by the Reid wing on the west side of the original building. These two buildings were identical and contributed to the symmetrical appearance to the hospital. Starting in 1847, typhus proliferated in the cramped spaces of famine ships that carried Irish emigrants displaced by crop failure to Montreal, and in the 1860s and again in the 1880s, smallpox gripped the city.<sup>427</sup> To accommodate immigrants with contagious diseases, and to keep them completely separate from the other patients, the hospital added a

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<sup>423</sup> Ibid, 18.

<sup>424</sup> Hornstein, “The Architecture of the Montreal Teaching Hospitals,” 15.

<sup>425</sup> Another such institution was the Ladies’ Benevolent Institution on Berthelet Street.

<sup>426</sup> For a comprehensive history of the evolution Montreal’s teaching hospitals during the nineteenth century, see Hornstein, “The Architecture of the Montreal Teaching Hospitals,” 12–25.

<sup>427</sup> Dan Horner, “‘The Public Has the Right to Be Protected From a Deadly Scourge’: Debating Quarantine, Migration and Liberal Governance during the 1847 Typhus Outbreak in Montreal,” *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 23, no. 1 (22 May 2013): 65–100.

fever and smallpox wing on the east side behind the Richardson wing in 1868. In 1875, the Reid wing was extended by the Morland wing.

### *In Pursuit of the Morland Wing*

The Morland wing stood out from the rest of the hospital. The façade broke the visual symmetry and continuity of the main building, the Richardson and Reid wings. The wing was a tall and narrow addition that extended above the roofline of the rest of the hospital. Indeed, Taylor and Gordon's later renovation introduced a mansard that lifted the roofline of the rest of the hospital closer to the height of the Morland wing. They included pointed dormers in their design to integrate the wing with the rest of the hospital. The Morland wing projected out from behind the Reid wing to meet the sidewalk on St. Dominique Street. A large, pointed dormer extended from the mansard roof. A smaller, hipped dormer is on the north side of the roof, facing Mount Royal. A photograph from 1881 shows the heavy stone masonry of the wing and texture through narrow columns extending toward the roofline and recessed window casements (see fig. 3.5).

The Morland wing is mysterious, and its eventual use is contested. It was named for Thomas Morland, a Canadian businessman who was the President of the Montreal Rolling Mills Company, a steel manufacturer.<sup>428</sup> He had just begun to amass a fortune in steel after becoming president of the company when, in 1870, he died suddenly while in Ottawa. In his will, Morland left \$1000 to the Montreal General Hospital. The committee of management

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<sup>428</sup> Lucie Paquet, "The Montreal Rolling Mills Co.: Laying the Groundwork for the Steel Industry," *Library and Archives Canada Blog* (blog), February 1, 2017, accessed 4 May 2023, <https://thediscoverblog.com/2017/02/01/the-montreal-rolling-mills-co-laying-the-groundwork-for-the-steel-industry/>. Morland lived in the Prince of Wales Terrace, a row of respectable townhouses constructed in 1860 by Sir George Simpson. Indeed, Morland lived on the opulent axis of wealth that extended from Windsor Station up to James Ross house, which I discussed in Chapter 1.

then promised to open a new building that they would call the “Morland Wing for Children.”<sup>429</sup>

The first mention of the Morland wing in the Minute Books was in 1872.<sup>430</sup> Importantly, Alexander was part of the committee that would oversee the building of the Morland wing.<sup>431</sup> On 10 March 1873, the secretary recorded “[...] that the plans before us [the committee of management] of the Children’s Hospital [the Morland wing] be sent to the medical board for their inspection and suggestions, and to report any such to the Architect and approval of the Building Committee.”<sup>432</sup> Though “the architect” is mentioned several times in the Minute Books, he is never named. The masonry work for the Morland wing was by stonemason Peter Nicholson; the carpentry was by John Allan and G. W. Reed constructed the roof.<sup>433</sup>

The annual reports and a newspaper article about the Morland wing reveal inconsistent accounts about the actual use of the wing. According to the annual report from 1874, the “outdoor service” had been transferred to the Morland wing into the new apartments meant for the apothecary and dispensary patients. Indeed, the pavilion that was built for children

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<sup>429</sup> The Morland wing was at various times in annual reports and committee minutes called the Morland Testimonial, Morland wing, the Children’s Hospital, and the Morland wing for children.

<sup>430</sup> “Messrs. Cramp and Geo. Stephens attended the meeting, and made an offer to the fund, say ten thousand dollars, including the one thousand dollars left by Mr. Morland, for the proposed ‘Morland Testimonial’ to the Montreal General Hospital, for the benefit of children, to be called ‘The Morland wing.’” Committee of Management, “Committee of Management Minute Book,” 1876 1871, Records group 0096, container 0021, file 00021, McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, 27 April 1872.

<sup>431</sup> Ibid, 3 February 1872.

<sup>432</sup> Ibid, 10 March 1873.

<sup>433</sup> Though there are several carpenters named both Allan and Allen in the alphabetical Lovell’s directory of 1875-6, John Allan is the only one listed in the business index under “carpenters and joiners.” Lovell’s Directory of Montreal, 1875-76, 48.

was now housing indigent women and servants.<sup>434</sup> In 1874, the third floor of the Morland wing was in use as a servant's dormitory. An annual report reveals that

[...] the fourth floor of the Morland wing has been furnished as a servant's dormitory; the third has been temporarily occupied by female patients, and seven private wards therein have been opened, and have proved invaluable to a class of patients that must always exist in large cities, and those whose claims for such accommodation cannot be neglected in a Christian community.<sup>435</sup>

Another annual report from 1895 describes the arrangement of the Morland wing: "It contains two large medical wards, an excellent operating room, private wards, quarters for the medical staff and a well-appointed outdoor department."<sup>436</sup> However, a newspaper article from 1896 claims that the Morland wing, since it opened, was singularly used for children.

<sup>437</sup>However, the article concedes that the former children's ward had been converted into a woman's ward in recent years: "The large increase in the number of female medical patients at the Hospital, during recent years having rendered the providing of extra accommodation an urgent necessity, the former children's ward was last year converted into a female medical patient's ward."<sup>438</sup> The siting of the Morland wing is also significant. It faced west, and was

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<sup>434</sup> "The Fifty-Third Annual Report of the Montreal General Hospital" (Montreal General Hospital, 1875), Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec, Montréal, 10.

<sup>435</sup> Ibid.

<sup>436</sup> The same annual report also reveals that the children's ward occupies one of the wards in the new Greenshields wing. Annual Report of the Montreal General Hospital: "The Seventy-Fourth Annual Report of the Montreal General Hospital, with a List of the Governors, Officers and Subscribers," 1896, McGill University, Schulich Library of Physical Sciences, Life Sciences, and Engineering, 14.

<sup>437</sup> The article also erroneously reported that the Morland wing was completed in 1872, when the Minute Book shows that it was only proposed in 1871. "The building was formally opened in 1872 since which time, and until the recent renovation took place, it has been devoted exclusively to the purpose for which it was erected." "For Suffering Children: The New Ward in the General Hospital," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 15 February 1896, 9.

<sup>438</sup> Ibid.

two blocks away from the Montreal Sheltering Home and the old Montreal Maternity Hospital.

Perhaps Hutchison was responsible for the design of the Morland wing. Hutchison was hired by the Montreal General Hospital between 1872 and 1874 to complete alterations to the inside of the hospital during the time that the Morland wing was under construction.<sup>439</sup> He prepared plans for water closets, the basement, and the post-mortem room of the hospital, and made recommendations on how to heat the hospital. If we look at the Western Hospital by Hutchison and Steele (completed in 1876), we can see continuity with the Morland wing in the form of the entrance, tall, pointed-arch windows, gables and gabled dormers.

### *Hutchison and Hospitals*

Hutchison, with his partner Alexander Steele, designed the Western Hospital in 1876.<sup>440</sup> A perspective drawing and site plan published in the *Canadian Illustrated News* in 1876 showed Hutchison and Steele's grand plan for this hospital. The hospital was supposed to sprawl the entire block between Dorchester, Essex, Quiblier Streets and the city limit. There was a central administrative block with an east-west, two-storey corridor that connected to two long north-south pavilions, forming an H (fig. 3.8). The north-south pavilions were four storeys tall and the central block was five storeys. In the proposed plan, decorative elements were limited to spires, gabled entryways, and projecting pavilions. The main pavilion was accessed by a circular drive with a fountain in the middle.

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<sup>439</sup> Committee of Management, "Committee of Management Minute Book," 14 October 1872; on 8 March 1874, Hutchison was paid \$200 for "architects services."

<sup>440</sup> The Western Hospital officially became part of the Montreal General Hospital in 1924. "Western Hospital," McGill University – Maude Abbott Medical Museum, accessed 22 August 2023, <https://www.mcgill.ca/medicalmuseum/exhibits/greetings-montreal-mamm-hospital-postcard-collection/post-cards/western-general>.

Sources suggest that the new hospital was intended to receive injured workers at the Grand Trunk Railway and the shops on the Lachine Canal.<sup>441</sup> The cornerstone for the Western Hospital was laid 29 June 1876.<sup>442</sup> In the end, only one part of the hospital was realized (fig. 3.9). The portion that was eventually built was initially called “the Mills Building,” after Major Hiram Mills, who donated \$12,000 toward the construction of the hospital.<sup>443</sup> A reporter from *The Montreal Daily Star* described hospital as a three-storey building containing large wards (public and private) with high ceilings, a room for nurses, and an outdoor department.<sup>444</sup> The hospital bears a resemblance to the Morland wing (fig. 3.10). And, like the Morland wing, the Western Hospital eventually accommodated impoverished women.

By August of 1876, some subscribers for the hospital had reportedly stopped paying their dues.<sup>445</sup> By November of that year, Mills had resigned from the Board of Directors due to ill health.<sup>446</sup> In February 1877, the hospital was still not complete, though an anonymous contributor to *The Montreal Star* assured readers that it only needed “flooring and

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<sup>441</sup> “A number of citizens [...] have for some years back been anxious to relieve this pressure and danger by the creation of another hospital toward the western extremity of the city, which, as well as affording more hospital accommodation, would also be more convenient to the great arterial currents of commerce and humanity, namely the Lachine Canal and the Grand Trunk Railway depot, where such a large proportion of accidents occur, requiring prompt hospital treatment.” “Western Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 30 June 1876, 1; “The Western Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 22 February 1877, 3; “General Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 11 February 1875.

<sup>442</sup> “Western Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 30 June 1876, 1.

<sup>443</sup> “The Western Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 8 November 1876, 3; “Home and Foreign News,” *Irish Canadian*, 3.

<sup>444</sup> “On each flat there is a nurse’s room, with baths, water closets, urinals, etc., while provision is made for three private wards. The building will be 46 feet front, flanked by two towers, and 66 feet in depth. Accommodation will be given for 52 beds – or 55 beds, including the three private wards. On the ground floor [...], provision is made for an outdoor or dispensary department.” “The Western Hospital, Montreal,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 20 May 1876, 3.

<sup>445</sup> “The Western Hospital,” August 1876, 2.

<sup>446</sup> “The Western Hospital,” November 1876, 3.

plastering.”<sup>447</sup> The Western Hospital was empty until the Women’s Hospital repurposed it in 1880.<sup>448</sup>

*“The Gaunt Building Known as the Western Hospital”*<sup>449</sup>

*On 3 March 1893, thirty-five-year-old servant Emma Cadogan approached the Western Hospital at the southeastern corner of Dorchester Street and Essex Avenue.<sup>450</sup> The building was a stout, lonely cube on a large plot of land. A mansard roof and pointed spires elongated the shape of the building, as did the pointed main entrance and pointed dormers. On this cold, crisp, winter day, the green shutters of the windows stood out against the dark cut stone. Cadogan could see the western slope of Mount Royal in the distance, its bare trees black and deep brown against the sharp blue sky. In the distance, the late-winter sun illuminated a wide and low grey stone institution framed by two advancing pavilions — the Collège de Montréal — on the escarpment. Cadogan entered through the pointed arch and found herself in an entry hall that culminated in a stairwell.<sup>451</sup> Miss Oswald, the matron, appeared and led Cadogan up the stairs to the second storey, the public wards.<sup>452</sup> Cadogan struggled with alcoholism.<sup>453</sup> The Western Hospital was a temperance hospital – it only administered alcohol in small amounts when necessary.<sup>454</sup> This is likely why Cadogan was*

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<sup>447</sup> “Western Hospital”, February 1877, 3.

<sup>448</sup> “The Women’s Hospital,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 28 July 1880, 2.

<sup>449</sup> Ibid.

<sup>450</sup> “Register,” case 2179. In 1895 and 1896, after the Women’s Hospital had relocated to Osborne Street, Cadogan worked at the Western Hospital as a servant then as a laundress. “Register,” cases 2879 and 3018.

<sup>451</sup> Based on description of arrangement of rooms on the first floor from “The Women’s Hospital,” 1880.

<sup>452</sup> There is no “Miss Oswald” in the census for 1891 that makes sense in this context, so I omit her first name.

<sup>453</sup> Cadogan entered the home four times for “intemperance” and “shelter.” “Register,” cases 2463, 2789, 3018, 1778.

<sup>454</sup> The Western Hospital was incorporated as a temperance hospital. The board of directors enforced the



*sent to this hospital, which was two-and-a-half kilometres away from the Montreal Sheltering Home, instead of the Montreal General Hospital.*

On 27 July 1880, reporters from various Montreal newspapers visited the hospital. A reporter from *The Montreal Star* provided a description of the interior and exterior arrangement of the newly occupied hospital. The top floor (the mansard roof level) was the lying-in hospital. On the second floor were the public wards, and on the first, the private wards. The ground floor was split between the administration — the board of directors, reception, and student rooms — and the kitchen and storage.<sup>455</sup> The windows had recently been outfitted with green shutters, which the reporter remarked gave a “homelike appearance” to the exterior.<sup>456</sup> So too did the recently planted garden beds in the front yard. A cow grazed lazily on the premises, whose milk was used in the hospital. The Women’s Hospital remained there between 1880 and 1894, when it moved into a repurposed home on Osborne Street.<sup>457</sup> Interestingly, this new location was connected to the Woman’s Protective Immigration Society by an extension built of wood.<sup>458</sup>

The case of the Western Hospital shows that women’s charitable organizations in Montreal not only repurposed homes to carry out their work – they also temporarily reused a hospital.

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prohibition of alcohol: “No alcoholic liquors or intoxicating fluids shall be brought in, drunk or used in said Institution except for Medicinal purposes, and then only when specially prescribed by the Physician, and in small quantities from time to time as may be needed, and any person breaking or infringing this Prohibition shall on conviction before the Board of Directors be removed from this Institution.” The board of directors remained the same when the Women’s Hospital moved in, I assume that it remained a temperance hospital. “Act of Incorporation and By-Laws of the Western Hospital of Montreal” (Lovell Printing and Publishing Company, 1875), Library and Archives Canada, 12.

<sup>455</sup> “The Women’s Hospital,” 28 July 1880, 2.

<sup>456</sup> The reporter uses the word “blinds”, but the description is under the subheading “the external appearance.” Ibid.

<sup>457</sup> “The Women’s Hospital’s New Home,” *The Montreal Daily Star*, 16 June 1900, 19.

<sup>458</sup> Goad map 1891 plate 14.

This is important because it shows that women's poor relief institutions were always perceived as superfluous, or easily relocated institutions. The Women's Hospital, even though it was settled into a purpose-built hospital, was moved as soon as the need for another general hospital arrived. The Women's Hospital then had to downgrade to smaller premises and adapt from a large-scale institution to a small home. In 1894 the Western Hospital and Women's Hospital completely separated when the maternity department from the Western Hospital was moved to the hospital Osborne Street.<sup>459</sup>

*Taylor and Gordon's Renovations and Talks of Amalgamation With the Montreal Maternity Hospital*

In 1892, Taylor and George William Hamilton Gordon renovated the hospital and made significant additions to the old building (fig. 3.11).<sup>460</sup> These additions dramatically changed the interior function of the hospital. The staircase was moved to the back of the entrance hall to a stairwell with bay windows. The complete reconfiguration of the building was most evident through the reuse of the contagious wing, which was "[...] entirely gutted and stripped of everything" and replaced with "[...] laundries and dining rooms for the whole hospital."<sup>461</sup> The isolated position of the contagious wards between the original hospital and the new extension made them the perfect location to hide domestic tasks like serving food to

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<sup>459</sup> Governors from Western and Women's Hospital met at the Mechanic's Institute. "Now that the maternity department has been entirely removed from the Western Hospital that institution will shortly open its doors to both sexes and all diseases, medical and surgical, will be attended." "Western and Women's Hospitals," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 21 September 1894, 4.

<sup>460</sup> Taylor and Gordon's renovation is an example of what Taylor calls "upgrading" or "pavilionization" instead of rebuilding a new hospital in the pavilion plan. According to Taylor, reasons for "upgrading" included preserving a "modern image" to entice volunteers and contributors to donate, and establishing "historic continuity" and "civic pride" associated with the original building. This is echoed by the front page of the 1895–1896 annual report, on which a signet of the original, two-storey hospital with its bell tower, is prominent. Jeremy Reginald Buckley Taylor, *The Architect and the Pavilion Hospital: Dialogue and Design Creativity in England, 1850–1914* (London; Leicester University Press, 1997), 106.

<sup>461</sup> "The General Hospital," *The Gazette*, 14 July 1894, 2.

staff and physicians and laundering textiles for beds in the pavilion plan hospital. Two new surgical wards — the Campbell and Greenshields pavilions — were added during this ambitious project (fig. 3.12). These open-ward additions reflected the pavilion plan style.<sup>462</sup> A long covered way with “flowers and plants [...] forming a pretty and acceptable feature to both patients and visitors” connected the new pavilions to the original building.<sup>463</sup>

### *Possible Amalgamation With the Montreal Maternity Hospital*

An exchange between the Montreal General Hospital committee of management and the medical board indicate uncertainty over where to place the gynecological and lock ward cases during the renovations. W. F. Hamilton, the Medical Superintendent of the Montreal General Hospital suggested that gynecological patients, female lock ward patients, and the house surgeon’s child patients should occupy part of a ward in the old hospital, to avoid having to build a second operating room and hiring extra staff.<sup>464</sup> The medical board continued to press this issue with the committee of management during following meetings, where they added that moving these patients to a new ward in the new hospital would alleviate the stress on the old hospital while it was under renovation:

[...] the Medical Board would acquiesce if the Committee of Management should decide to permit Dr. Gardner’s patients and those of the Lock Ward to occupy Ward in New Building [...] so as to get rid of the difficulty between the surgeons

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<sup>462</sup> Taylor, *The Architect and the Pavilion Hospital*.

<sup>463</sup> “The General Hospital,” July 1894, 2.

<sup>464</sup> The 1891 census of Canada indicates that Hamilton lived in the St. Louis ward in a shared house with other doctors. However, they are all named using initials only. “The report of Dr. Hamilton Medical Superintendent asked consideration by the Committee of the recommendation of the medical board that the Gynaecological patients and female lock ward cases and Dr. Bell’s children’s surgical patients should for the present occupy part of Ward K and Dr. Bell’s female cases should be moved from K to O. Such an arrangement will avoid the expense of fitting up a second Operating Room in the old building it will also render unnecessary the employment of extra nurses and orderlies.” Committee of Management, “Committee of Management Minute Book,” 1895 1892, Records Group 0096, container 0028, file 00028, McGill University, Rare Books and Special Collections Library, 202-3.

and the others and because it is desirable to denude the old building of what patients we can in view of coming alterations.<sup>465</sup>

Members of the committee of management did not think that the instructions from the medical board were clear enough to facilitate the transfer of gynecological and venereal disease patients to the new hospital. They replied with a series of questions:

The Committee of Management do not consider [...] the Medical Board states with sufficient clearness what is desired, they therefore wish to know

1. Is it desired that the unused surgical Ward O be opened for the reception of cases?
2. If so, for what class of cases is it to be used?
3. Are Dr. Wm. Gardner's gynecological cases to be moved to a ward in the New Pavilions? If that is the intention, is their number to be limited?
4. In the event of the removal of Dr. Gardner's cases to the New Building is the Ward his patients occupy to be closed?
5. What is the recommendation of the Medical Board concerning Lock Ward cases?<sup>466</sup>

The committee of management acknowledged existing paradigms on treating lock ward cases. The committee expressed discomfort at the idea of placing gynecological and lock ward patients of various classes in the same space. This event demonstrates the medical board's reluctance to engage with the lock ward patients since they deferred to the committee of management on where to place them within the institution.

The potential amalgamation with the Montreal General Hospital also brought forward the issue of the committee's authority within the Montreal Maternity Hospital. An anonymous committee member reported that the committee at the maternity hospital was concerned that, if the amalgamation happened, they would lose administrative control over the hospital:

The committee are at present promised, vaguely, that, after amalgamation, they will retain their power and position. This they doubt, and believe that those who offer the terms are aware that, in time, a modification must be sought. Friction is

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<sup>465</sup> Ibid, 209.

<sup>466</sup> Ibid, 222.

the necessary result of conflicting interests that the interests are likely to conflict is evident. This work is not purely a medical one: it is a strictly human one, and the variety of patients and their varying needs demand liberality and fluency of treatment.<sup>467</sup>

The amalgamation between the Montreal General Hospital and Montreal Maternity Hospital never happened. Instead, in 1895, the committee of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, through spatial and political tactics, convinced the public and the medical board of the need for a purpose-built institution.<sup>468</sup>

### *Verda Smith and the Montreal Maternity Hospital*

*On 9 September 1896, Smith entered the Montreal Sheltering Home at four months pregnant, in the company of one of her friends.<sup>469</sup> A cold wind that signalled the end of summer enveloped the pair as they continued on the final stretch of their journey toward the Montreal Sheltering Home from the railway station.<sup>470</sup> As they followed the subtle incline of St. Urbain Street, they passed detached wood houses, brick homes with wooden back buildings, and blocks of duplexes made of uniform cut stone with carved wood porticos (fig. 3.13). As they reached Lagauchetière Street, Smith noticed young women around her own age approaching the entrance of a broad, tall, and plain building, indicated by a wooden, gabled overdoor.<sup>471</sup>*

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<sup>467</sup> *The Gazette*, "The Montreal Maternity," 29 January 1896.

<sup>468</sup> "Minute Book of the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital," 1 March 1895.

<sup>469</sup> "Register," case 3036.

<sup>470</sup> The register records that Smith arrived from the "railway station" from North Nation Mills. Since North Nation Mills is west of Montreal, she must have arrived via the Bonaventure Station of the Grand Trunk Railway or the Windsor Station of the Canadian Pacific Railway. For an architectural analysis of gender, class, and Windsor Station, see Chapter 1.

<sup>471</sup> This was the Patronage d'Youville, a refuge for working girls operated by the Grey Nuns, which was located close to the Montreal Sheltering Home, on the corner of Lagauchetière and St. Urbain Streets. The Patronage d'Youville had been founded in 1732 as a shelter for working girls to sleep only, not a residence. As of 1895, the Grey Nuns had taken over operations, and transformed the Patronage into a residential institution like the Montreal Sheltering Home. The girls at the Patronage had individual bedrooms and ate meals in a dining room. *The Montreal Daily Star* reporter remarked that "[t]he home seems to be run on very generous and broad-minded lines, the girls have the full use of the telephone, and in many other ways are made to feel at home, and

*The building was made of tan-grey cut stone with four storeys and an attic storey with dormers. Smith asked her friend if this gloomy building was the shelter where she would be staying. Her friend replied no and gestured to a three-storey home with a pitched roof and side chimneys. The home was old. As she approached, Smith noticed the crumbling, uneven stone exterior. The two girls entered the front hall of the Montreal Sheltering Home and were greeted by Montgomery, who invited them into her office in the front room to the right. They sat down in two chairs opposite Montgomery's desk. Smith explained that her mother did not want her to give birth at the Montreal Maternity Hospital across the street in February 1897 when she was due, nor did she want her to go to the Protestant Infants' Home with her infant afterward.<sup>472</sup>*

*Two months later, Mary Savage recorded that she was requested, as the secretary, to write to Smith's mother and tell her that "[...] they [the ladies' committee] cannot help the girl to conceal her condition or forsake her child. Everything must be open and above board. A private room at the Hospital may be obtained by paying for it, and her board must be paid while in the Home."<sup>473</sup>*

Smith's story brings together three aspects of the landscape of care of the Montreal Sheltering Home. First, that the Montreal Sheltering Home was the first component in an axis of care for unwed mothers that included the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Protestant Infants' Home. Women waited at the Montreal Sheltering Home until they were ready to give birth at the Montreal Maternity Hospital. They returned to the

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last, but not least, girls of all denominations are welcomed, and given good care and protection by the sisters." "Working Girls Find a Refuge in This Home," *The Montreal Daily Star*, 13 June 1912, 21.

<sup>472</sup> Mary Savage recorded on 3 November 1896, that Smith had entered "two months ago." Minute Book, 3 November 1896.

<sup>473</sup> Ibid.

Montreal Sheltering Home afterward, with their children, if they had survived. Women who could not look after their children then went to the Protestant Infants' Home to try and have their child boarded there. Second, receiving care within the Montreal Maternity Hospital could permanently harm a young woman's reputation and make other milestones in her life — like courtship and marriage — difficult to achieve. Third, in the Montreal Maternity Hospital, privacy was a privilege to buy. This section presents an architectural analysis of the Montreal Maternity Hospital in its material transition from a hospital that was a repurposed home to an elegant, hotel-like hospital. In particular, I focus on an episode in 1894, when the all-female committee of management used their authority as middle-class women to secure a promise of a new hospital for their charges.

The original hospital was a small, multi-room dwelling on St. Gabriel Street near the Champs de Mars at the southern end of the St. Louis ward.<sup>474</sup> The Montreal Maternity Hospital moved around the same area, settling on St. Charles Borromée Street between 1847 and 1852, when it moved into its location at ninety-three St. Urbain Street. Caroline Barrett and John Fraser note that the move “proved an important step in the development of the institution, for the hospital activities were free to expand and the area selected was found most desirable for the many poor patients of the city.”<sup>475</sup> This section focuses on the final two iterations of the Montreal Maternity Hospital that fall within the temporal bounds of this project: the hospital at ninety-three St. Urbain Street (which I refer to as the old Montreal Maternity Hospital) and the hospital built in 1905 by Taylor at St. Urbain and Prince Arthur Streets (the new Montreal

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<sup>474</sup> Caroline V. Barrett and John R. Fraser, in their 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, state that the hospital was located on Main Street at the lower end of the St. Lawrence ward. The Lovell's directory from 1843 states that the Montreal Maternity Hospital (then called the University Lying-In Hospital) was on St. Gabriel. Barrett and Fraser, *The Royal Victoria Montreal Maternity Hospital, 1943*.

<sup>475</sup> Ibid, 10.

Maternity Hospital). The minutes recorded by the committee reveal that the new, purpose-built hospital reflected the physical and administrative infrastructure of the hospital.

Histories of the Montreal Maternity Hospital either focus on the medical men who practised at the hospital, celebrate the charitable contributions of the institution, or delineate the transformation of the hospital through technological advancements and infrastructural shifts.<sup>476</sup> Building on this research, I investigate the material, spatial, and geographic transition from an old, repurposed dwelling in a working-class area of the city, to a new, purpose-built hospital in an upper-class location. A comparative architectural analysis of the old and new hospitals, as well as a close reading of sources written by the committee, reveals that the new hospital was a site within which the all-female committee struggled to maintain their power as moral authorities through spatial tactics and alterations to the new hospital.<sup>477</sup> Situating these two hospitals within the visual and architectural landscape of nineteenth-century Montreal opens up a discussion of the intersection of class and gender within the history of the committee of the Montreal Maternity Hospital. The transition from old to new precipitated a shift in patient demographics, from working-class women to bourgeois women.<sup>478</sup> The presence of both impoverished and elite women under the same roof presented challenges and a crisis in identity for the middle-class managers of the Montreal Maternity Hospital. The new Montreal Maternity Hospital was a transitional space within which the

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<sup>476</sup> See Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926.”

<sup>477</sup> This is consistent with Gutman’s finding that “[w]omen used their perceived moral authority and ties to religious and family life to advantage in order to open a charity and secure a space of their own.” Gutman, *A City for Children*, 72; For a study on the link between identity formation and place in nineteenth and twentieth century Montreal, see The Montreal History Group, *Negotiating Identities*.

<sup>478</sup> For more on patient demographics of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, see Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity,” 23–44.



ambitions of physicians, expertise of architects, and authority of the women of the committee collided.

### *The Old Hospital*

The iterations of the Montreal Maternity Hospital between 1843 and 1905 shared three characteristics: they were all repurposed homes, located near a public park or green space, and situated within a kilometre of the Montreal General Hospital. It was common for maternity patients to be cared for in separate wards or even in separate hospitals.

Architectural historian Jeanne Kisacky credits the writings of health reformer and nurse Florence Nightingale for the widespread perception that maternity patients should be treated in small wards with fewer patients.<sup>479</sup> Historians Dorothy Wertz and Richard Wertz note that as of the 1880s in the United States, the public perception of the maternity hospital shifted from a place of disease and poverty to a place of cleanliness, comfort, and obstetric expertise.<sup>480</sup>

The old hospital on St. Urbain Street was a plain, two storey repurposed home with “good sunny exposure” converted into an ad hoc hospital with a basement and an attic, as well as a kitchen, servants’ quarters, and beds for patients.<sup>481</sup> It was primarily a teaching hospital, where students could train in obstetric medicine and witness live births.<sup>482</sup> The committee was eager to prove to the public that their premises were modern, clean, and separated by class.

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<sup>479</sup> Jeanne Kisacky, “Germs Are in the Details: Aseptic Design and General Contractors at the Lying-in Hospital of the City of New York, 1897–1901,” *Construction History* 28, no. 1 (2013): 87.

<sup>480</sup> Richard W. Wertz and Dorothy C. Wertz, *Lying-in: A History of Childbirth in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989).

<sup>481</sup> David Sclater Lewis, *Royal Victoria Hospital 1887–1947*, 268.

<sup>482</sup> The Montreal Maternity Hospital was one of the first hospitals in North America to let students observe live births. Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926,” iv.

At the Annual Meeting in 1888, Cameron invited a reporter to view the hospital, who noted that

[t]here is separate accommodation for married women and a few private wards, the total capacity of the hospital being fifty beds. The wards are all large and well ventilated, finished in polished birch and maple and are extremely clean. The new buildings have been occupied just a year and they are very satisfactory and free from debt [...] on completion of the “McDonald wing” facilities will be provided for the reception of difficult or dangerous cases which cannot receive proper attention in their own homes.<sup>483</sup>

The only extant photograph of the Montreal Maternity Hospital at ninety-three St. Urbain Street shows a two-storey home clad in stone with a basement and an attic. Multi-paned casement windows that opened inward with wooden shutters provided privacy when necessary and blocked the sun on hot summer days. The attic level featured three projecting wall dormer windows, also with shutters (fig. 3.14).

Since the institution was in a repurposed home without any signage to indicate its use, it was unobtrusive on the visual landscape of St. Urbain Street. The patients, once they entered the hospital, would also be out of sight. The facilities of the old hospital were deemed suitable up until the 1890s, when overcrowding became an issue and the hospital fell into disrepair.

Within the old hospital, the committee women were the literal gatekeepers for the nurses and medical students who wished to gain work experience at the hospital. Kenneally remarks that in some cases, doctors’ wives took places on the committee, and served as “channels through which their husbands could exert influence on the committee.”<sup>484</sup> However, in addition to influence by physicians, the archive reveals traces of resistance on behalf of the committee.

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<sup>483</sup> “Maternity Hospital,” *The Gazette*, 1888, 5.

<sup>484</sup> Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926”, 32.

Revealed through the Minute Books of the institution, these instances of dissent are subtle, but connected to the interior arrangement of the hospital.

In 1894, financial and spatial limitations reached a crisis point. The committee sent a letter to the medical faculty, threatening “to resign if the financial needs of the present hospital were not met, and unless a new hospital was promised. Their argument centred on a lack of funds and the unsuitability of the current building.”<sup>485</sup> The following year, when the hospital was still in a dilapidated state, the committee once more challenged the Faculty using another tactic. This time, the secretary of the committee drafted a letter to the faculty, expressing that they “hesitated to issue tickets of admission to any fresh students, until some assurance of assistance could be had.”<sup>486</sup> While not radical by today’s standards, this event underlines the actual power of the committee to admit or deny medical students to the premises. The committee therefore demonstrated their power over the administration of the enterprise including the proposal to commission a new building. Eventually, the medical board acquiesced to the committee’s demands and a new building was promised. In 1895, Cameron wrote to the committee on behalf of the McGill medical faculty, stating that they “look[ed] confidently to the strengthening of their [the committee’s] hands, in the efforts they will not cease to make for the welfare of their institution.”<sup>487</sup> From this point forward, the new building became a major preoccupation of the committee. From the site, to the architect and insurance, the committee followed the progress of the new building intently.

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<sup>485</sup> Letter to the Faculty of Medicine at McGill University from the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital. “A Letter Book,” 1886–1896, Royal Victoria Hospital Women’s Pavilion Collection, Collection P037, Osler Library of Medicine, McGill University, 1 March 1895.

<sup>486</sup> “Minute Book of the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital,” 1 March 1895.

<sup>487</sup> Ibid, 25 March 1895.

*The Ascent Toward Mount Royal*

Over the course of its long history, the Montreal Maternity Hospital slowly travelled north toward Mount Royal. This exemplifies Hornstein's observation that hospitals in Montreal literally climbed the mountain in a "quest to dominate the city."<sup>488</sup> In this particular case, the hospital travelled from the southern end of the St. Lawrence ward — which was associated with unsanitary conditions and unsavoury characters — north, closer to McGill University and the affluent St. Antoine ward.

The old hospital was located at the southern end of the St. Lawrence ward, which bordered the working-class St. Ann ward, and was close to the port and the red light district.<sup>489</sup> In the spatial imaginary of middle- and upper-class Montrealers, the port was a site associated with disease and disorder, studded with taverns that were frequented by sailors and sex workers.<sup>490</sup> Recent historical accounts describe the St. Lawrence ward as a mix between commercial and residential spaces.<sup>491</sup> Positioning the southern end of the ward in relation to the red light district, the port, and Dufferin Square (an "unsavoury hangout for down-and-outs in the 1880s"<sup>492</sup>) shows that the social character of the ward was gradient; the southern end of the

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<sup>488</sup> Hornstein, "The Architecture of Montreal Teaching Hospitals," 14.

<sup>489</sup> The historical red light district, as it is reflected in the image, is delineated by historian Tamara Myers. *Criminal Women and Bad Girls*, 66.

<sup>490</sup> Poutanen writes: "Taverns in Montreal, a port as well as a garrison town, were clustered along the streets in the neighbourhood of and in front of the wharves, serving as sites where soldiers, sailors, construction workers, immigrants, and prostitutes congregated." Poutanen, *Beyond Brutal Passions*, 42.

<sup>491</sup> Fougères and Macleod, *Montreal*, 388.

<sup>492</sup> Ibid, 378.

St. Lawrence ward can thus be seen as a “transition zone” between the working and middle classes.<sup>493</sup>

While the old institution was oriented toward the Montreal Sheltering Home, the new one would face bourgeois apartments. Perhaps seeing the stately hospital as a signal of a changing neighbourhood, in 1905, Trefflé Berthiaume — who owned the francophone newspaper *La Presse* — commissioned a six-plex across the street designed by prominent Montreal architect Louis-Roch Montbriand.<sup>494</sup> This development underlines the burgeoning appeal of the northern end of the St. Lawrence ward to the middle classes, and a departure from the hospital’s origins as a place dedicated to vulnerable women.

### *The New Hospital*

“Montreal’s New Maternity Hospital is a Noble Institution Worthy [of] the Metropolis,” proclaimed a bright headline on 21 October 1905, in *The Montreal Daily Star*. “The new hospital marks the success of not the first — but the third — determined effort of those interested in the work to secure better conditions.”<sup>495</sup> What the article does not mention is that “those interested in the work” were the committee women. Indeed, the hierarchy of the institution was made clear through the images that accompanied the article. At the top, embedded in the text, a portrait of Cameron. Below him is a row of portraits of the ladies of the committee of management: the Countess of Grey in the middle, flanked by Harriet Miller, Mabel Cameron, Amy Wigmore, Maria Labatt, and Muriel Stikeman. Below them still, a

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<sup>493</sup> The southern part of St. Antoine ward was a less affluent “transition zone” that bordered on the working-class Ste Anne ward. I suggest that this transitional character extended laterally along the St. Lawrence ward. Fougères, “The Modern City” in *Montreal*, 388.

<sup>494</sup> Communauté urbaine de Montréal, Service de la planification du territoire, *Architecture Domestique, Répertoire d’architecture traditionnelle sur le territoire de la Communauté urbaine de Montréal* (Montréal: Le Service, 1987), 342.

<sup>495</sup> “Montreal’s New Maternity Hospital,” October 1905, 8.

photograph of the handsome new hospital.<sup>496</sup> This image also represents the fact that the committee women were essential liaisons in realizing the new hospital.

Throughout the article, the *Daily Star* reporter painted a bright, white, glistening, yet comfortable picture of the new hospital, celebrating Taylor's choice of materials, design, careful planning, and implementation of the latest technologies. At several points though out the glowing review, the reporter made pointed comparisons to the "shabby" old hospital, reassuring readers and potential paying patients of the complete difference in the premises. The building was made of pressed brick on a limestone base with room to accommodate up to seventy patients. "A fine entrance with a sweep of wide, high steps" escorted the visitor or patient into the premises through the principle entrance. Throughout were staircases of iron or slate, and underfoot in the entrance hall was a Venetian terrazzo floor of cement and fragments of marble.<sup>497</sup>

On the second floor of the central building were the sitting rooms and bedrooms for physicians. These quarters were painted ivory white and had American whitewood unstained mahogany floors. Across the doctors' rooms were two delivery rooms separated by a toilet. All three rooms were tiled with white marble. A photo album from 1925 (the last year that Taylor's hospital was in use) shows the streamlined delivery room (fig. 3.15) where the covered radiators and mirror-like glass surfaces promised a sanitary and safe delivery. A reporter remarked on the difference between the old and new delivery rooms: "[a] stronger

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<sup>496</sup> The 1891, 1901, and 1911 censuses do not reveal an unmarried Stikeman. However, there are photographs in the McCord Stewart Archive Online Collections that show "The Residence of Miss Muriel Stikeman" and "Miss Muriel Stikeman's Garden" in Montreal, 1913. The newspaper misspelled Maria Labatt's name as "Lebatt."

<sup>497</sup> The reporter remarked that in the private patient's wards, the floor was of asbestine, a compound of magnesium silicate, which was intended to dampen the sound of foot traffic in the corridor. "Montreal's New Maternity Hospital is a Noble Institution," 8.

contrast than these afford to the shabby little room used for this purpose in the old building can scarcely be imagined.”<sup>498</sup> Within the north wing of the second floor was a large ward reserved for women who were married. At the far end of this ward was an exit toward a rear gallery where patients could take in fresh air and a view of Mount Royal. In a photograph of the married patients’ wing, light pours in through a fan light and sidelights of the elliptical archway, casting a spotlight on a thriving fern and rocking chair (fig. 3.16). Perhaps it was this view of the married patients’ ward that inspired the reported to note that “[...] neither wall nor casings anywhere show sharp edges or depressions to catch the dust.”<sup>499</sup> The reporter mentioned the south ward only briefly, stating that it was for public patients. Up another flight of stairs was the “masterpiece” of hospital equipment, the operating room (fig. 3.17). The room was connected to the ether room and the supply room by swinging doors and outfitted in floor-to-ceiling marble walls. A large window allowed the sun to illuminate the room, and a drain in the floor allowed water to wash away remains of surgery down a pipe into a sink in the basement. This walk through of the new hospital did not mention of the committee of management or any space that was allocated to them.

The opening of the new hospital transformed a disorganized committee of physicians and laymen to a proper medical board that mirrored the organization of the committee.<sup>500</sup> This reorganization emerged spatially through the sequence of rooms around the entrance on the first floor, where the committee room and the visiting doctors’ quarters flank the main entrance.<sup>501</sup> Next to the committee room was the Lady Superintendent’s room, which was

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<sup>498</sup> Ibid.

<sup>499</sup> Ibid.

<sup>500</sup> Kenneally notes that this new medical board appropriated the organizational structure of the committee of management. Kenneally, “The Montreal Maternity, 1843–1926,” 26.

<sup>501</sup> The following analysis is based on the first-floor plans of the hospital. Andrew Taylor, *Montreal Maternity*

adjacent to the student entrance. Since the Lady Superintendent was hired by and reported to the committee, the proximity of the student entrance to the Lady Superintendent's room indicates the prevailing surveillance of the medical students by the Lady Superintendent, who was a proxy for the women of the committee. Once again, the Minute Book animates this plan: the gender symmetry of this space was temporarily upset in February 1906, when the medical board tried to move the Lady Superintendent's room up to the first floor, which would effectively limit her observation over the medical students. She refused, and insisted she be moved back to the main floor.<sup>502</sup> This sequence of rooms thus emerges as an important site for negotiating authority between the physicians and the committee.

The spatial and material distinction between the private and public wards demonstrates Adams' observation that "[e]very aspect of the architecture of private patients pavilions stressed separation and differentiation."<sup>503</sup> This is particularly salient in comparing photographs of the public and private nurseries. The public nursery (fig. 3.18) is flanked by wall-to-wall bassinets, separated from one another by wire caging. Two nurses, each holding an infant, stand behind a rolling trolley, within which three other babies lay. The private nursery (fig. 3.19) had individual, rocking bassinets outfitted with canopies. A table and two chairs are positioned next to the window in the private nursery, perhaps for a happy couple to visit their new baby. The garments, bassinets, and physical separation of the private babies indicate individuality and control on behalf of the paying patient. As we see in the collective

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*Hospital*, 1903, John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University.

<sup>502</sup> "Minute Book of the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital," 9 February 1906.

<sup>503</sup> Adams, "Patients," 34.



experience of the public ward and nursery, the hospital seems to stand in for the parent: the newborns are handled by the hospitals' nurses and carted off in groups to the public nursery.

In 1906, photographer William Notman photographed the institution (fig. 3.20). Perhaps the prospect of a famous photographer documenting the hospital stirred some concerns about the public perception of the Montreal Maternity Hospital, for this led to a discussion of a series of material alterations through which to control the optics of the building. The concern over the appearance of the building, particularly the visibility of the waiting wards from the street, suggests that the committee were taking action to shake this public perception through simultaneously concealing the waiting patients from view, and communicating the appearance of a reformatory institution from the outside. Drawings of a wire trellis to cover the waiting patient's verandas were presented to the committee, as they decided the verandas were "too open."<sup>504</sup> Further, the committee expressed the double windows of the public wards were to be taken off, and blinds put on. Through material interventions on the exterior, the committee of management simultaneously concealed the waiting patients who, through their sheer presence, could obscure the new architectural identity of the Montreal Maternity Hospital as a bourgeois institution. The selective concealment of the waiting patients ward, the material furnishings of the private and public wards, and the spatial organization of the new plan point to the contradictions and complications of the role of the committee of management within this new hospital.

Although Taylor's plan promised flexibility and expansion, the demand for in-hospital births continued to rise and eventually outgrew the institution. In 1925, the Montreal Maternity Hospital continued its ascent up Mount Royal and took its final iteration as part of the Royal

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<sup>504</sup> "Minute Book of the Committee of Management of the Montreal Maternity Hospital," 4 May 1906.

Victoria Hospital Legacy Site. I have argued that the new hospital was an intermediary space within which the committee of management established their authority through spatial tactics and alterations to the new hospital. As negotiators and communicators, they used their privileges within the old hospital to demand a new one. Once the medical board formed at the new institution, the women found other ways to assert their authority through space. Despite the fact that the new hospital attracted upper-class clientele, the committee tried to conceal the waiting patients through material interventions to the exterior of the building. The women of the committee manipulated their surroundings in the new hospital to assert their authority despite the changing role of the institution itself.

*Lizzie Davis Approaches the Protestant Infants' Home*

*Eighteen-year-old Lizzie Davis disembarked the horse-drawn streetcar at Dorchester and Guy Streets on 23 January 1888, carrying the warm weight of her two-week-old daughter in her arms.<sup>505</sup> The snow crunched under her feet on the wide sidewalk as she walked toward the outline of Mount Royal. Walking on the west side of Guy Street, she felt dwarfed by the tall, wooden fence and the looming Grey Nunnery, the exterior of which appeared a muddy grey-brown against the slate grey of the sky (fig. 3.21). As she approached St. Catherine Street, the scenery seemed to warm up a bit. There were large homes in the distance, two or three stories, with inviting wraparound porches. The Protestant Infants' home stood between brick back houses and large manors (fig. 3.22). Whereas the Montreal Sheltering Home was made of rubble stone that was cracked and crumbling, the Protestant Infants' Home had a neat, cut stone base and was clad in brick. Three ornamented window dormers protruded from a steep, faux-mansard shingle roof. A wood cornice emphasized the horizontal separation between*

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<sup>505</sup> "Register," cases 208 & 209.

*the roof and the main structure. Davis was comforted by the warm glow that radiated from the windows of the Protestant Infants' Home, and the smoke billowing out from the chimneys that protruded from either end of the flat roof. Though her journey and entry to the Protestant Infants' Home meant that she was giving up her child, she was comforted by the elegant surroundings of the home.*

This section outlines the history of the Protestant Infants' Home, a critical site within the network of the Montreal Sheltering Home. Women whose children survived birth at the Montreal Maternity Hospital were faced with a difficult decision. As evidenced by the Montreal Sheltering Home register, many women opted to give their children up for adoption.<sup>506</sup> Much like the parents who gave up their children to the British Home Child program (which we encountered in Chapter 1), serving-class single women perhaps thought that their babies would receive better care from an adoptive family through the organization. Many women from the Montreal Sheltering Home were single immigrants and had to work as servants to support themselves. With no local kin to look after their children while they were working, single servants were in a difficult position. If they were with their children, they could not work. If they could not work, they could not support their children.

I first look to the buildings occupied by the institution before it moved to the Guy Street home. The focus of this section is an episode in 1897 when the committee of management interfaced with the medical board over the potential construction of an isolation pavilion. Although this pavilion was never realized, I assert that its proposal is still an important part of

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<sup>506</sup> Forty-one women left the Montreal Sheltering Home for the Protestant Infants' Home. "Register."

the history of the Protestant Infants' Home, and the landscape of care for single women. In this way, I follow Topp, who writes:

[...] if we understand buildings as resulting from a multi-voiced discussion that sometimes sharpens into debate, then the point of tracing the building process — and especially those aspects that involve alterations to proposed designs, and counter revisions, and even barriers to completion, resulting from shortages of time or money — is precisely to mine it for evidence of those multiple voices. The architect's conception, as well as the client's is no longer something fixed and complete, which can be realized or (to a greater or lesser extent) abandoned, but a work forever in progress, formed in dialogue as it goes along.<sup>507</sup>

Investigating the correspondence between the Protestant Infants' Home committee of management and their medical board, as well as the plans drawn by architect Edward Maxwell, shows the limited power of the committee of management. Though the committee women were from a different class than the inmates, they shared a gendered position. Many of the women of the committee were mothers themselves. Through their frequent presence in the Protestant Infants' Home to do inspections, record intakes, and do interviews, the ladies of the committee were experts on what the institution needed. Despite their expertise, their informed opinion for the need of an isolation pavilion was vetoed by the medical board.

While the Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal Maternity Hospital and Montreal General Hospital were located in areas that were easily accessible to impoverished women, the Protestant Infants' Home was far removed from these locations at the corner of Guy Street and Sherbrooke Street toward the western border of the city. The Protestant Infants' Home was the only poor relief institution that bordered the Square Mile and was visible to its residents. Even though indigent mothers frequented the Protestant Infants' Home, the presence of infant "innocents" made this structure an acceptable part of the landscape. The

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<sup>507</sup> Topp, *Freedom and the Cage*, 7.

remote location of the Protestant Infants' Home ensured that women could be near their babies while far away from friends who could potentially be a bad influence.

The Protestant Infants' Home was originally located in the cramped and dense east ward on Notre-Dame Street near Dalhouse Square.<sup>508</sup> John Bell, the attending physician for the Protestant Infants' Home in 1872, pushed for a new building in a less populated part of the city so that the nurses and infants could benefit from physical exercise and fresh air. Bell recommended, "[t]he Home be removed as soon as possible to some suburban district, where sufficient grounds can be obtained for this purpose, as it is impossible for the nurses to take proper healthful exercise in a small back garden or in the crowded streets of the city."<sup>509</sup>

Medical care was a large part of the relief provided by the Protestant Infants' Home. This was reflected in the governing structure of the home, the rules for admission to the institution, and the designs commissioned by the managers. It was founded in 1870 to "[...] fill a very important place, not occupied by any of the numerous charities of Montreal, viz. to provide a Home, where destitute and neglected children of tender years could be sent and properly cared for."<sup>510</sup> The institution cared for orphans but also children of widows or parents who were otherwise incapable of caring for their own children. "Last but not least," continued the report, "[t]he Institution provides a Home for the illegitimate children of Protestant mothers,

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<sup>508</sup> Dalhousie Square was a noisy junction between Notre Dame, St. Paul and Ste. Mary Streets near the port. "Third Annual Report of the Protestant Infants' Home for the Year Ending 30 March 1873" (Montreal: Protestant Infants' Home, 1873), 7–8. Bell was the son of Reverend Andrew Bell and brother of Robert Bell, a Canadian geologist. He completed his medical education at McGill, and received his Doctor of Medicine and Master of Surgery in 1866. He was a contemporary of Dr. William Osler. Indeed, during his death from pneumonia, Bell was being considered as Osler's successor in the role of Attending Physician/House Surgeon at the Montreal General Hospital. "Bell, John, 1845–1878," John Bell Fonds, McGill Archival Collections Catalogue, accessed October 25, 2022.

<sup>509</sup> "Third Annual Report of the Protestant Infants' Home for the Year Ending March 30, 1873" (Montreal: Protestant Infants' Home, 1873), 7–8. Canadiana Online.

<sup>510</sup> "Ninth Annual Report of the Protestant Infants' Home" (Montreal: Protestant Infants' Home, 1879), McGill Library Rare Books and Special Collections, 5.

for whom there is no refuge but the Grey Nunnery, and by employing the mothers as nurses, endeavour to encourage and strengthen the tie that binds them together.”<sup>511</sup> By 1896, the Protestant Infants’ Home started publishing the home’s rules in their annual reports, revealing both religious and medical requirements for admission. For example, besides a letter from a clergyman confirming that the mother and child were Protestant, they needed to show a medical certificate from an attending physician.<sup>512</sup>

During this time, the Montreal General Hospital would not treat children under two years old.<sup>513</sup> By 1876 the Protestant Infants’ Home Board of Advisors had started a “Building Fund” to collect donations toward a purpose-built Home. The committee of management even purchased a large lot of land (26, 443 square feet) on Quiblier Street nearby, and architects Hopkins and Wiley prepared plans for this new institution.<sup>514</sup> However, the plans were never realized due to a lack of funds and protest from the medical board.<sup>515</sup> In May 1879, the Protestant Infants’ Home purchased the property at 508 Guy Street from Dr. Philip P. Carpenter who was a proponent of sanitary reform in Montreal.

The relocation to Guy Street in 1879 coincided with the royal visit of Princess Louise.

George Ross (the secretary and a member of the medical board in 1879) attributed the move

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<sup>511</sup> Ibid, 6.

<sup>512</sup> “Twenty-Sixth Annual Report of the Protestant Infants’ Home of Montreal” (Montreal: Protestant Infants’ Home, 1896), McGill Library Rare Books and Special Collections, 28.

<sup>513</sup> “The by-laws of the Montreal General Hospital,” Montreal: Lovell Print and Publishing Co., CIHM/ICMH microfiche series; no. 34977, *Canadiana Online*, 36.

<sup>514</sup> “Ninth Annual Report of the Protestant Infants’ Home” (Montreal: Protestant Infants’ Home, 1879), McGill Library Rare Books and Special Collections, 8; John Hopkins of Hopkins and Wiley was one of the architects who designed the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. “Hopkins, John William,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada*, accessed July 13, 2023.

<sup>515</sup> “Sixth Annual Report of the Managers of the Montreal Protestant Infants’ Home” (Montreal: Protestant Infants’ Home, 1876), McGill Library Rare Books and Special Collections, 10–11.

to a “marked improvement in the health” of the infants and the inmates.<sup>516</sup> Further, relocating to the St. Antoine ward meant that the ladies’ committee lived closer to the Protestant Infants’ Home and were therefore more present for their duties.<sup>517</sup>

Members of the board and the committee were satisfied with the Guy Street building until 1897, when the secretary, Annie Benallack, wrote of the need for an isolation ward.<sup>518</sup> This was necessary since the home had to shut its doors several times a year because of whooping cough, chicken pox and measles outbreaks, which discouraged the ladies’ committee from visiting “lest they carry the infection home to their own little ones.”<sup>519</sup>

The medical board’s conviction that the design of the Protestant Infants’ Home should follow the latest advancements in hospital design was obvious both times that a new building or extension was proposed. When the managers commissioned Hopkins and Wiley to draw up plans for a new Protestant Infants’ Home in 1876, they were unanimously rejected by the medical board: “[a]fter having carefully examined and considered the plans submitted to them, the members of the Board unanimously condemned them as unsuitable; and recommend that the new Home be built on the ‘pavilion’ plan, which alone combines the necessary conditions of light, ventilation and drainage.”<sup>520</sup>

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<sup>516</sup> Protestant Infants’ Home, “Ninth Annual Report,” 8.

<sup>517</sup> Ibid.

<sup>518</sup> “Twenty-Eighth Annual Report of the Protestant Infants’ Home of Montreal” (Montreal: Protestant Infants’ Home, 1897), McGill Library Rare Books and Special Collections, 6.

<sup>519</sup> Indeed, the one-year-old child of Polly Mack, a Montreal Sheltering Home “inmate,” tragically died at the Protestant Infants’ Home of scarlet fever in 1894. Register, case 2586; When disease struck the Protestant Infants’ Home, infants were often sent to the Montreal Sheltering Home. The Montreal Sheltering Home Visitor Book records whooping cough in the Protestant Infants’ Home on 30 March 1896, and chicken pox on 11 January 1901.

<sup>520</sup> “Sixth Annual Report of the managers of the Montreal Protestant Infants’ Home,” 17.

The Protestant Infants' Home committee seemed to take this suggestion seriously, for in 1896, they had Montreal architect Edward Maxwell draw up plans for an extension. Maxwell, along with his brother William S. Maxwell, were well-known architects in Montreal who designed houses for the city's élite.<sup>521</sup> Their clientele consisted mainly of Square Mile families, notably J. K. L. Ross (son of James Ross and Annie Kerr, whom we encountered in Chapter 1) and Charles Meredith.<sup>522</sup> The extension also marks the Maxwells' first foray into architecture for a charitable organization.<sup>523</sup>

Maxwell's proposed addition was a narrow, brick structure with two storeys and a basement. To the side of the extension was a semi-detached single-storey addition. The plan shows that there were no windows on one side of the building, which suggests that this addition was supposed to be tacked on to the back of the original home. The ground floor shows a secondary entrance for the staff that led down to the kitchen in the basement. The main entrance, to the side of the building — presumably for physicians, the nurse, and the committee of management — was located on the side of this smaller addition (fig. 3.23).

A cross section of the proposed building shows that a staircase provided direct access from the basement level to the second storey (see fig. 3.23). The main entrance on the ground floor

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<sup>521</sup> This unbuilt pavilion precipitated Maxwell's later pavilion additions to Montreal's hospitals. The Alexandra Hospital observation pavilion in Verdun, nurses' residence at RVH, Montreal General Hospital pavilions, all from 1905 to 1911.

<sup>522</sup> The John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection is home to the Maxwell brothers' archives. For the digital archive, see "The Architecture of Edward & W.S. Maxwell: The Canadian Legacy = L'architecture de Edward et W.S. Maxwell: L'héritage Canadien." Accessed 5 July 2023 (Montreal: John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, 2001), <http://cac.mcgill.ca/maxwells/>; for more on Square Mile residential architecture, see François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile, Montreal, 1850–1930* (Montreal, Quebec: Meridian Press, 1987).

<sup>523</sup> Both Hopkins and Wiley and the Edward and William Maxwell went on to design parts of the Royal Victoria Hospital. Hopkins and Wiley designed a building for the RVH in 1893, "Hopkins, John William." In 1905, Edward and his brother and partner William S. Maxwell designed a nurses' residence for the Royal Victoria Hospital. Adams, *Medicine by Design*, 72-9.



led to a long corridor that terminated in a ward for convalescents with a fireplace. The bath, toilet, nurses' room and main staircase were accessed through this corridor (fig. 3.24). The bath and the toilet indicate that the nurse's room was for a live-in nurse. The first floor (fig. 3.25) had a larger bathroom with the tub, toilet, and sink all in one room. Off the second-floor corridor were two large wards with a fireplace in each. The two wards had doors that led to a small gallery with wood balusters and wire netting (fig. 3.26). A skylight illuminated the hallway, perhaps to compensate for the absence of windows on this side of the building. Maxwell intended the light to travel down to the ground level through glass flooring. The basement contained rooms dedicated to the everyday tasks involved in running an institution filled with inmates, a kitchen, and a laundry. Also at the basement level, separated from the rest of the structure by a wall and a separate entrance, was the mortuary – material evidence of the sad reality of infant mortality.

The isolation building was never realized. The Protestant Infants' Home relocated to Verdun, at the southwestern tip of the island of Montreal, in 1907.<sup>524</sup> The two instances where the committee of management interfaced with architects — in 1876 and in 1897 — show the limited power of the women as members of the organization. They had access to funds to purchase land and commission drawings for a new institution. In the case of the 1876 proposal, the medical board vetoed the committee of management, stating that a new Protestant Infants' Home should be built according to a "pavilion plan." In 1897, when the Protestant Infants' Home commissioned Maxwell for a design, the plans also went unrealized.

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<sup>524</sup> Lovell's Directory, 1907-08, 1437.

*Emma McBride and the Continuity of Care*

*Emma McBride, a twenty-eight-year-old servant from Huntley, Ontario, entered the Montreal Sheltering Home on 16 February 1889. She had arrived from the Western Hospital as a fallen woman.<sup>525</sup> After waiting at the home, she left to the Montreal Maternity Hospital, where she gave birth to her daughter, Eva.<sup>526</sup> On 18 June 1889, Montgomery helped McBride, who was weak from labour and carrying her baby, down the stairs of the hospital.<sup>527</sup> The pair exited through the recessed doorway and stepped down to the dirt street. McBride was exhausted and relieved to feel sunshine and fresh air on her face. Though she was weak, she was glad to move her limbs, after being confined to bed for days. Montgomery opened the door to the home and led her upstairs to her room, where she could rest her body and nurse her child.*

In the register, this is usually where the story ends. Alone with an infant, McBride was faced with the same difficult decision as hundreds of other women from the register. Manifold, who returned to the home as a married woman, had given her child up for adoption. Emma McBride, perhaps because she was older (Manifold was only fifteen when she gave birth to her child), decided to keep her daughter. Over the next seven years, McBride returned to the home twelve times. In this way, we get a privileged glimpse of McBride's story.

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<sup>525</sup> As we know, the Western Hospital was operated by the Women's Hospital during this time. "Register," 709.

<sup>526</sup> The date for when McBride left the home is blank. Ibid.

<sup>527</sup> The Minute and Visitor Books do not indicate that Montgomery went to help women from across the street at the maternity hospital. The old maternity hospital near the Montreal Sheltering Home did not have that many beds, so it is likely that they wanted women to leave as soon as possible. The maternity hospital was so close, and McBride was likely weak from childbirth; therefore, I think it makes sense that Montgomery would go and help her out of the hospital and into the home.

McBride's story shows the struggle of raising a child as a single servant. It also shows how McBride returned to familiar caregiving institutions during a difficult period in her life. Importantly, her story demonstrates that the Protestant Infants' Home and Montreal Sheltering Home were places where mothers could leave their children temporarily while they were working. McBride left Eva in the Protestant Infants' Home between 1889 and 1890 while she worked as a servant for the Birks family in a terraced house at 25 McGill College Avenue.<sup>528</sup> In 1891, McBride and Eva entered the home, but Eva shortly returned to the Protestant Infants' Home.<sup>529</sup> In October 1892, McBride and Eva reunited in the Montreal Sheltering Home, and from then on, McBride and Eva always entered the home together. Two later stints at the Fresh Air Fund in 1895 suggest that McBride was in ill health.<sup>530</sup> While she was away, McBride left Eva at the home, "until she would be ready to take her."<sup>531</sup>

Of course, McBride was lucky enough to possess the attributes that the committee women admired. She seemed to be naturally stable, sober, and industrious. Montgomery was clearly fond of McBride: she admired her persistence and her determination to make a life for herself and Eva.<sup>532</sup> Independence seemed to be McBride's long-term plan. By 1892 she was renting a room, and by 1901, she and Eva lived together in a single-family dwelling in the St. Lawrence ward.<sup>533</sup> McBride understood her financial and social limitations as a single mother.

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<sup>528</sup> "Register," case 1304; "Lovells Montreal Directory", 1890-91, 359. Heads of house were Frederick and Sarah K. Birks.

<sup>529</sup> Eva was one of fifty-five infants and twenty-two women at the Protestant Infants' Home, including wet nurses, night nurses, a matron, a cook, and a laundress. Library and Archives Canada. *Census of Canada, 1891*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Library and Archives Canada, 2009.

<sup>530</sup> "Register," cases 2791, 2832,

<sup>531</sup> "Register," case 2791.

<sup>532</sup> In October 1891 Montgomery wrote that Emma "has done very well. Most satisfactory," Case 1682. In September 1895, she remarked that Emma "is an industrious woman and makes an honest living for herself and child." "Register," 2857.

<sup>533</sup> Library and Archives Canada. *Census of Canada, 1901*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Library and Archives

She developed relationships within these institutions — the Protestant Infants’ Home, the Fresh Air Fund, and the Montreal Sheltering Home — to care for herself and her daughter. Through strategic engagement with the landscape of care, and probably a bit of luck, McBride broke free of the narrative of the fallen woman.

*In 1911, Eva — now twenty-two years old — woke up in her bedroom on the first floor of a three-storey building. She got out of bed and walked toward her window. She swiftly heaved the sash window upward, then opened the shutters to let in fresh air. She quickly dressed in her uniform: a white linen dress with a matching apron, bib and cap. Eva was a nurse-in-residence at 172 Mountain Street – the Women’s Hospital (fig. 3.27).*<sup>534</sup>

### *Conclusion*

In this chapter, the inmates from the register guided my analysis of three key places in their landscape of care. Looking at the structure and data from a register indicate the priorities of an institution. In the early days of researching the Montreal Maternity Hospital, I consulted a medical register that coincided with the opening of Taylor’s new maternity hospital. I was struck immediately by the difference in tone and information of the medical register and the Montreal Sheltering Home register. The medical register records similar information, like the woman’s name, age, and religion. Following this information are precise, definitive statements about the woman’s body: the measurement of her pelvis, details of her labour, which operations were necessary during labour, her body’s biological response to the birth (puerperium), her child, and the “result” – if the mother and her baby survived the birth.<sup>535</sup>

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Canada, 2009. Series RG31-C-1. Statistics Canada Fonds. Microfilm reel T-6536.

<sup>534</sup> Library and Archives Canada. *Census of Canada, 1911*. Ottawa, Ontario, Canada: Library and Archives Canada, 2009. Series RG31-C-1. Statistics Canada Fonds. Microfilm reel T-20436.

<sup>535</sup> A sample page of the maternity hospital register records that all fifty women on the page survived. However, seven of their babies died after childbirth or were stillborn. “Montreal Maternity Hospital Record Book,” 1905–

The register and associated documents record women's lives over the years, their struggles, challenges, relapses, and growth.

The buildings that housed these organizations, too, register these vicissitudes through their exteriors, locations, and alterations. The Morland wing at the Montreal General Hospital, with its distinct design, peaked dormers, and separate entrance communicates that the wing was for the exclusive use of children. However, primary source information reveals that the wing was used for the infantilized female poor. The new Montreal Maternity Hospital — through separation of classes, white marbled high-tech delivery and surgery rooms, and siting closer to McGill University — demonstrates a shift from a charitable institution for impoverished women to the preferred location to give birth. While indigent women still had dedicated space within these new institutions, their care was no longer the primary function of the organization. The unbuilt pavilion at the Protestant Infants' Home shows the aspirations of a charitable institution to take a separate isolation pavilion onto the rear of the original institution so as not to disrupt the appearance of the home. These institutions existed in a continuum between medical care (scientific treatment of the body) and charitable care (spiritual care, shelter, and practical care). The movement of vulnerable women links these institutions into a landscape of care.

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1916, RG 95 C96, 13741. McGill University Archives.

## Conclusion: “The Lilacs Were in Full Bloom”

*Savage arrived at the Montreal Sheltering Home on 27 May 1904. She entered Montgomery’s office in the front room, where they discussed the recent discharges from the home. Her eyes widened as Montgomery told her about Lizzie Kane, a disruptive former “inmate” whom she had sent to the Salvation Army Home. The managers there had reportedly thrown cold water over Kane during one of her violent outbursts to “bring her to her senses.”<sup>536</sup> Kane had then told the managers there that she had received better treatment at the Montreal Sheltering Home and that Montgomery had been kind to her. After their visit, Savage ascended the stairs to the second floor to inspect the bedrooms. She admired the fresh coat of paint on the hallway as she glanced into each room to observe a neatly made-up cot and a side table. The casement windows opened outward to let in the late spring air. Satisfied with the state of the sleeping rooms, Savage descended the stairs and exited the home into the backyard through the door in the inmates’ dining room.*

*The door opened to a long yard, beyond which was the park. The leaves of the trees that were wound up in tight buds only the week before, had finally unfurled and burst open into green foliage. Savage heard children, from the British and Canadian School next to the home, shouting, running, and playing games.<sup>537</sup> To the north end of the yard, Savage passed clean sheets, pillowcases, and garments hanging on the clothesline to dry out and whiten in the sunshine and fresh breeze. In the wooden laundry shed, she found Emma Cadogan and*

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<sup>536</sup> “Visitor Book,” 27 May 1904.

<sup>537</sup> Also known as the Dufferin School. Completed in 1894 by Hutchison. “Hutchison, Alexander Cowper,” in *Biographical Dictionary of Architects in Canada*, accessed 13 July 2023, <http://www.dictionaryofarchitectsincanada.org/node/1535>.

*Mrs. Ross cleaning clothes in two large sinks.<sup>538</sup> She gladly left the stuffy and dark laundry shed to return once more outside, where she observed with delight that the tulips planted by Shepherd had bloomed in the garden.<sup>539</sup> She followed a sweet scent over to the lilac tree and twisted off three full branches of the small, fragrant flowers.<sup>540</sup> She returned inside and took her seat at the secretary's desk in the meeting room. She placed her bouquet in a cup with water and set it down on the desk. Then, she picked up her pen and began to write her entry.*

Savage's entry was the last in the Visitor Book. "The lilacs were [...] in full bloom," she wrote, "and the visitor went away with a large bunch of these."<sup>541</sup> However, this entry was not the end of the Montreal Sheltering Home. The home continued operations out of the home on St. Urbain Street until 1951, when the building was sold for \$18,000.<sup>542</sup> It then relocated to 1675 Lincoln Avenue, a twenty-room mansion near Atwater Street. Like with the previous home, the committee took care to select a property with individual rooms — as opposed to dormitories — for the women, and a large garden with trees and shrubs.

I had three main goals at the outset of this dissertation. First, I wanted to grasp this network of buildings and make it visible. Second, I wanted to push the limits of this document as a tool for architectural analysis. Third, I aimed to centre the experiences of serving-class women. Soon enough, I realized that the register was a guide or an index, rather than a tool. This index is valuable evidence of places that were frequented by vulnerable women. While writing this dissertation, I grappled with how to centre the experiences of serving-class

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<sup>538</sup> Montgomery never recorded Mrs. Ross's first name.

<sup>539</sup> "Visitor Book," 27 May 1904.

<sup>540</sup> The aerial photo shows a tree in the centre of the yard, which may be the lilac tree.

<sup>541</sup> "Visitor Book," 27 May 1904.

<sup>542</sup> Rugh, "Sheltering Home History," 7.

women while accepting the limitations of the register. This document frames what I can know about the “inmates” and limits the claims I can make about how they experienced space or their motivations for entering institutions. Throughout this dissertation, I show how narrative, grounded by data from the register and animated by traditional architectural history sources, contributes a sharp image of the social, spatial, and material world of women from different classes. In retrospect, the research makes five main contributions.

First, I contribute a study of Montreal’s architecture from the perspective of vulnerable women. This approach shows how women from different classes experienced the same places in different ways. For serving-class women, the Montreal Sheltering Home was a multi-functional space. It was a hospice, nursery, and shelter. It was almost a triage centre. But their presence within this space was contingent on their observation of strict rules that perhaps did not align with their embodied realities of alcohol dependence or mental illness. The register shows the range of buildings that serving-class women encountered.

The Visitor and Minute Books are also indices of middle-class managers’ place-based knowledge of Montreal. The managers’ perception of the built environment was nuanced and complex. Managers were aware of places like taverns and brothels, and in some cases, even knew their exact address or street name. They were also wary of the potential dangers that befell women working as servants in bourgeois homes.

Buildings enforced class differentiation, separation, and containment through design, scale, site, and materiality. Windsor Station, as we saw in Chapter 1, had a section dedicated to upper-class women who were travelling alone, where they could be separated from other passengers. The scale, details, and furnishing of this space appealed to genteel feminine sensibilities and were coded for upper-class women. A fireplace, soft seats, rounded archways, and a pleasant view toward a park out of the windows were material cues for these



women. The separate entrance and peaked roof of the Morland wing at the Montreal General Hospital indicated its intended use for children, and made sense with its eventual users, female “public” patients. In places like the Female Prison, sparse, uncomfortable furnishings, and sombre, restrained exteriors denoted punishment. Simple beds squeezed together, hard, unforgiving surfaces, and conspicuous surveillance by a superintendent, nun, or prison guard all created a punitive environment of regulation for so-called fallen women. Association with a place like the Montreal Sheltering Home had a real and lasting impact on a woman’s reputation. These presumptions about indigent women also transferred to journalists’ descriptions of the buildings, such as “gaunt” and “shabby.”<sup>543</sup>

Second, I look at a range of buildings that have never been studied together. I link grand buildings and repurposed, run-down homes as part of the same landscape. Institutional histories of women’s poor relief initiatives hardly mention the Montreal Sheltering Home at all.<sup>544</sup> In this sense, the home seems like a marginal space. But for serving-class Protestant women, it was central. No other charitable institution provided the range of care — a space to recover from childbirth or medical treatment, referrals for employment, spiritual guidance — as the home.

The landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home was not a fixed set of locations. These organizations relocated frequently. Sometimes they upgraded to more central, spacious buildings with more room for their work. Other times, like when the Women’s Hospital

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<sup>543</sup> “Through the Montreal Female Jail: A Standard Man’s Visit to the Big, Gaunt, Gloomy Building on Fullum Street” *The Standard*, Archives, Ville de Montréal; “The Women’s Hospital,” 1880, 2; “Montreal’s New Maternity Hospital is a Noble Institution,” 8.

<sup>544</sup> Barrett and Fraser’s 100-year retrospective does not mention the Montreal Sheltering Home, and Janice Harvey’s study on the Protestant Orphan Asylum and Ladies Benevolent Institution mentions the home only briefly. Harvey also incorrectly states that the Montreal Sheltering Home began its work in 1886, when according to Rugh’s history, the home was founded in 1866.

moved from the Western Hospital building to the home next to the Woman's Protective Immigration Society, they downgraded to undesirable homes. Plotting these institutions on a map over the years — which I did in a rudimentary way during my fieldwork but omitted from this study — revealed a constantly changing circuit of coordinates. In the context of this fluctuating network, the Montreal Sheltering Home was a relatively permanent fixture. The home could never afford a building with an architectural pedigree because of the controversial nature of its users: intemperate, criminal, “seduced,” or otherwise fallen women. If we ignore places like the home or assume that they were not important because they were not photographed or designed by a prominent architect, then we are reproducing moral judgments from over a century ago.

Further, studying institutional histories and mapping locations suggest that some of these places were tethered together in pairs or clusters. When we see that the Windsor Station was built in 1889, then the Woman's Protective Immigration Society moved nearby, the society's self-described mission to “protect” women gains new meaning. This institution functioned to protect the city from potentially wayward women just as much as it ostensibly protected women from the city.

Some parts of the register only make sense if you study women's movement between places. For example, you will recall that Kinley ran away from the Home for Friendless Women and arrived at the Montreal Sheltering Home in Chapter 2. In the observations, Montgomery recorded that George Marshall would get her clothes from the Home for Friendless Women. When we look at the rules of the Home for Friendless Women, we see that women's clothes were taken away if they returned after the first time they ran away. In this context, Kinley's escape becomes even more urgent, and suggests her desperation to leave the Home for Friendless Women. In Chapter 3, McBride's path shows us how hospitals, shelters and the

infants' home functioned together, as a circuit of care. The women from the register, the places, their rules, their management, looking at all these together makes connections that would be impossible to see if looking at single institutions. Through focusing on women's movement between places, I study this landscape laterally.

Third, this dissertation places importance on fragmented and ephemeral encounters with architecture. By studying episodes, even fleeting ones, where women encountered buildings, requested plans from architects, or discussed a new building in a committee meeting reveals the extent and limitations of their power and agency. Each line of the register represents a serving-class woman's journey between a series of spaces. The register, Visitor Book and Minute Book reveal moments of dissent and discontent on behalf of the inmates. Windows were particularly contested design elements at the Montreal Sheltering Home. Managers discussed frosting them and placing wire netting over them both to conceal inmates from the outside and to keep them inside the home. In turn, the inmates tore through this wire netting, literally breaking down the barrier between themselves and the outside world.

Fourth, I show that in a city divided along class, ethnic, linguistic, and religious lines, within the landscape of the Montreal Sheltering Home, these systems overlapped. There was a reciprocal system of referrals between Catholic and Protestant institutions for women. Though institutions like the Montreal Sheltering Home, Home for Friendless Women, and Female Prison aspired to isolate "good" women from "bad" women, they often lacked space and resources to accomplish this task fully. Further, the register shows that the women who entered the Montreal Sheltering Home were complex and flawed subjects who did not fit neatly into these categories.

When it came to women's poor relief, there was a level of tolerance and even cooperation between Catholic and Protestant communities. This overlap is represented materially within

the Female Prison. Each religion had to negotiate dedicated space within the prison for their community. The result was not balanced — the Protestant section was much smaller than the Catholic section — but the two communities still coexisted under one roof.

Men and women, too, negotiated power in this network. These organizations had a “dual management” system of a committee of management of “ladies” and a supervisory board of “gentlemen.”<sup>545</sup>

Fifth, I make a significant contribution to user-based architectural history through using narrative to reconstruct parts of women’s lives. This rather experimental form of writing forced me to consider how a woman’s life circumstances may have informed her experience of the landscape. In turn, it also made me consider how the landscape enabled or limited her movement between places.

I do not claim to know how these women perceived themselves, their circumstances, or the places they inhabited or frequented. However, taking the register, the census, directories, fire insurance maps, and architectural drawings and plans as points of reference, allowed me to explore parts of their story. Importantly, these narratives only depict moments, minutes, in these women’s lives. Writing these historical narratives allowed me to cast my analytical focus back to the women and keep their stories central to architectural analysis.

I return now to my meditation on the register in the introduction. The pasteboard, string, ink, and paper bind the register into a cohesive document that is contained, regular, and geometric. Throughout this dissertation, I figuratively loosen the bindings, arrange the papers into piles, and, like Montgomery, tally who arrived from where, and who left, to go where. I

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<sup>545</sup> The exception was the Montreal General Hospital and the Western Hospital (after it was the Women’s Hospital), which were managed and supervised exclusively by men.

deconstruct the register to reconstruct the lives and the landscape of women from the Montreal Sheltering Home.

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## Appendix

| Place   | Received from? | Where to? | Total |
|---|----------------|-----------|-------|
| Montreal Maternity Hospital (MMH)               | 87             | 222       | 309   |
| Montreal General Hospital (MGH)                 | 141            | 99        | 240   |
| Female Prison                                   | 183            | 4         | 187   |
| Protestant Infants' Home (PIH)                  | 16             | 46        | 62    |
| Protestant House of Industry and Refuge (PHIR)* | 54             | 3         | 57    |
| Western Hospital                                | 22             | 34        | 56    |
| Home for Friendless Women (HFW)                 | 18             | 36        | 54    |
| Railway Station                                 | 49             | 2         | 51    |
| Salvation Army Home                             | 38             | 8         | 46    |
| Fresh Air Fund                                  | 11             | 18        | 29    |
| Working Girls Home (WGH)**                      | 27             | 0         | 27    |
| Old People's Home                               | 2              | 23        | 25    |
| St Margaret's Nursery***                        | 14             | 11        | 25    |
| Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA)      | 19             | 1         | 20    |
| St. Bridget's Refuge                            | 3              | 16        | 19    |
| Ladies' Benevolent Institution                  | 10             | 8         | 18    |
| Hôtel Dieu Hospital                             | 5              | 12        | 17    |
| Protestant Insane Asylum (PIA)                  | 3              | 11        | 14    |
| Royal Victoria Hospital (RVH)                   | 6              | 6         | 12    |
| Maternité Ste. Pélagie                          | 1              | 10        | 11    |
| Foundling Home                                  | 5              | 5         | 10    |
| St. Andrew's Home                               | 7              | 3         | 10    |
| Knowlton Home                                   | 4              | 5         | 9     |
| Longue Pointe Asylum                            | 3              | 4         | 7     |
| Woman's Protective Immigration Society          | 10             | 2         | 12    |
| Notre Dame Hospital                             | 4              | 1         | 5     |
| Fairknowe Home                                  | 4              | 0         | 4     |

|  |   |   |   |
|--|---|---|---|
| Soeurs du Bon Pasteur                    | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| Goodwill Club                            | 0 | 4 | 4 |
| St. Margaret's Home for Incurables***    | 1 | 3 | 4 |
| Windsor Hotel                            | 0 | 3 | 3 |
| Hervey Institute                         | 0 | 2 | 2 |
| St. George's Home                        | 1 | 1 | 2 |
| Canteen Mission                          | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Fraser Institute                         | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Marchmont Home                           | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Rockwood Asylum                          | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Sailors Institute                        | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| St. Anns                                 | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Turkish Baths                            | 1 | 0 | 1 |
| Women's Hospital                         | 0 | 1 | 1 |
| Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA) | 1 | 0 | 1 |

\* The Old People's Home was part of the PHIR.

\*\* In 1897 the WGH rented houses that were owned by George and Amelia Burland who were on the Montreal Sheltering Home Committee

\*\*\* Montgomery made no distinction between St. Margaret's Nursery and St. Margaret's Home for Incurables. I made the distinction myself through reading entries laterally. For example, if a woman had arrived from the Protestant Infants' Home, the Montreal Maternity Hospital, or was accompanied by their baby, I counted them as part of the nursery group. If a woman was over 40, widowed, and ill, counted her as part of the incurable group.

## Figures

### *Introduction*



Figure 0.1 – This is the first picture I took of the register, from 2016. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Archives – Textual Archives. P590.

| REGISTER. |                     |     |            |                |                |            |                  |            |                  | W. C. T. U. SHELTERING HOME. |         |                                       |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
|-----------|---------------------|-----|------------|----------------|----------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|------------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------|---------|--|--|--|--|--|--|
| No.       | Name                | Age | Profession | Last Residence | Place of Birth | Religion   | Entered          | Went Home  | Remarks          | When and How Taken           | Left    | Remarks                               | Remarks |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 1         | Annice Sullivan     | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted June 17 | Protestant | Admitted June 17 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 11  | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 2         | Esther Brown        | 17  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Admitted in for shelter      | June 28 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 3         | Annice Smith        | 17  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Admitted in for shelter      | June 28 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 4         | Anna Smith          | 22  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Admitted in for shelter      | July 10 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 5         | Miss Anderson       | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Admitted in for shelter      | July 10 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 6         | Lizzie Davis        | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter      | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 7         | Emily Davis         | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter      | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 8         | Emily Davis         | 18  | "          | "              | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter      | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 9         | Johnie Murphy       | 45  | "          | "              | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 10        | Emma Brown          | 18  | "          | "              | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 11        | Miss Conquest       | 16  | Servant    | St. John       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 12        | Elyse Powell        | 16  | Servant    | St. John       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 13        | Elizabeth Henderson | 40  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 14        | Elizabeth Smith     | 50  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 15        | William Brown       | 26  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 16        | Miss Thompson       | 40  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 17        | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 18        | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 19        | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| 20        | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter      | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |  |  |  |  |  |  |

| No. | Name                | Age | Profession | Last Residence | Place of Birth | Religion   | Entered          | Went Home  | Remarks          | When and How Taken      | Left    | Remarks                               | Remarks |
|-----|---------------------|-----|------------|----------------|----------------|------------|------------------|------------|------------------|-------------------------|---------|---------------------------------------|---------|
| 1   | Annice Sullivan     | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted June 17 | Protestant | Admitted June 17 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 11  | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 2   | Esther Brown        | 17  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Admitted in for shelter | June 28 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 3   | Annice Smith        | 17  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Protestant | Admitted June 22 | Admitted in for shelter | June 28 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 4   | Anna Smith          | 22  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Admitted in for shelter | July 10 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 5   | Miss Anderson       | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Protestant | Admitted June 24 | Admitted in for shelter | July 10 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 6   | Lizzie Davis        | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 7   | Emily Davis         | 18  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 8   | Emily Davis         | 18  | "          | "              | England        | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Protestant | Admitted June 28 | Admitted in for shelter | July 16 | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 9   | Johnie Murphy       | 45  | "          | "              | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 10  | Emma Brown          | 18  | "          | "              | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 11  | Miss Conquest       | 16  | Servant    | St. John       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 12  | Elyse Powell        | 16  | Servant    | St. John       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 13  | Elizabeth Henderson | 40  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 14  | Elizabeth Smith     | 50  | Servant    | Montreal       | England        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 15  | William Brown       | 26  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 16  | Miss Thompson       | 40  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 17  | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 18  | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 19  | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |
| 20  | Miss Conquest       | 27  | Servant    | Montreal       | Ireland        | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Protestant | Admitted July 14 | Admitted in for shelter | Aug 3   | Annice, sent to work, for consumption |         |

Figure 0.2 – Page showing the first twenty entries from 1887. Lizzie Davis, whom we will encounter in Chapter 3, is entry number six. Davis was “seduced” by her employer and later gave up her child at the Protestant Infants’ Home. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Archives – Textual Archives. P590.





Figure 0.3 – This photograph was taken by William Notman, from the tower of the Notre-Dame Church in 1872, facing north. The road to the right of the frame, which extends out toward the horizon, is St. Urbain. The Montreal Sheltering Home — recognizable by its chimneys, pitched roof, and square massing — is highlighted. The spire in the middle of the frame is the Free Church on Côté Street. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. I-77455.

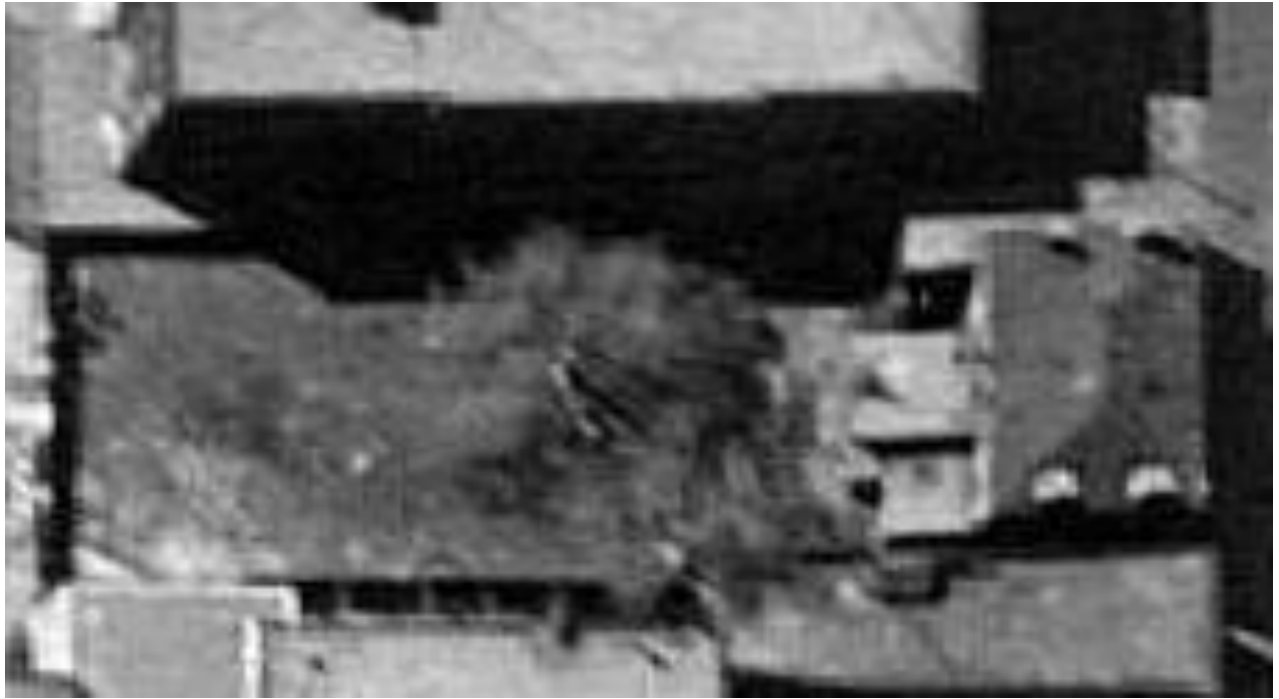


Figure 0.4 – Detail from an aerial photograph of Montreal. Note the pitched roof, chimneys, extensions, and tree in the middle of the yard. The large building next to the home is the British and Canadian School, also known as the Dufferin School. “1947 Montreal (Downtown-Plateau).” Interactive map made by Anton Dubreau. Accessed 3 September 2018. Original source, Archives de Montréal.

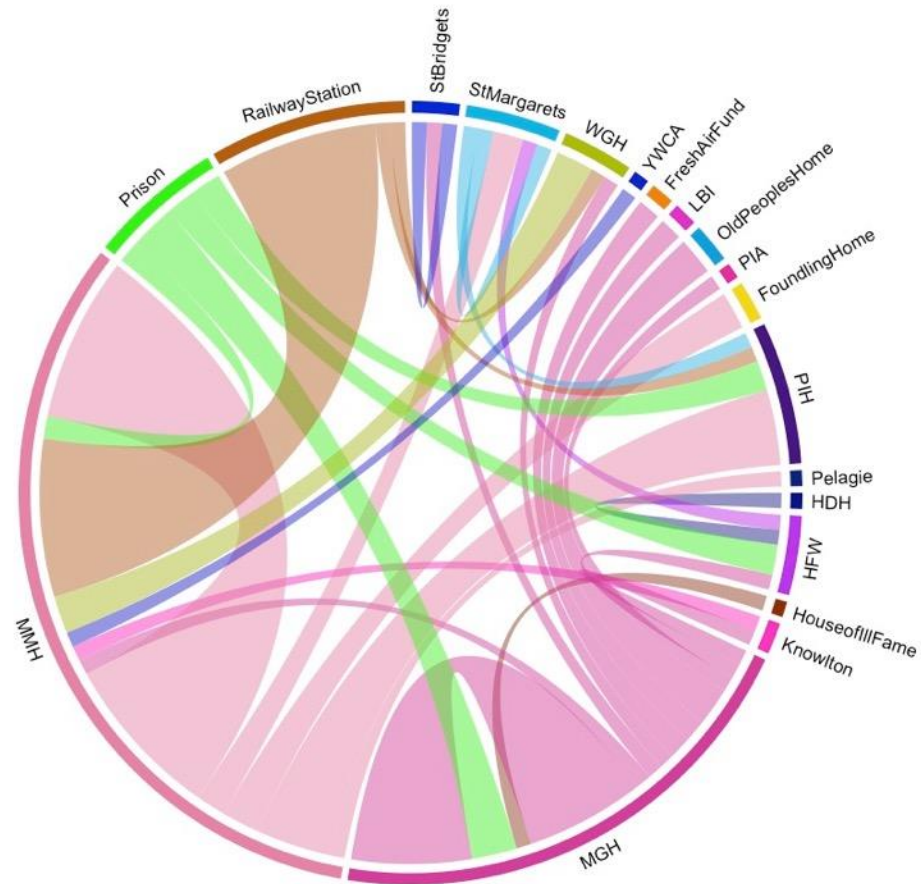


Figure 0.5 – Chord diagram showing connections among institutions. Each strand is an aggregate of paths. In other words, the thickness of each ribbon indicates the frequency with which the path was taken. The midpoint of each line is the Montreal Sheltering Home. The input for this diagram is a list of places (“nodes”) and a frequency list of the unique combinations of the “nodes” from the “received from” and “where to” columns. Graph made using R and R Studio.

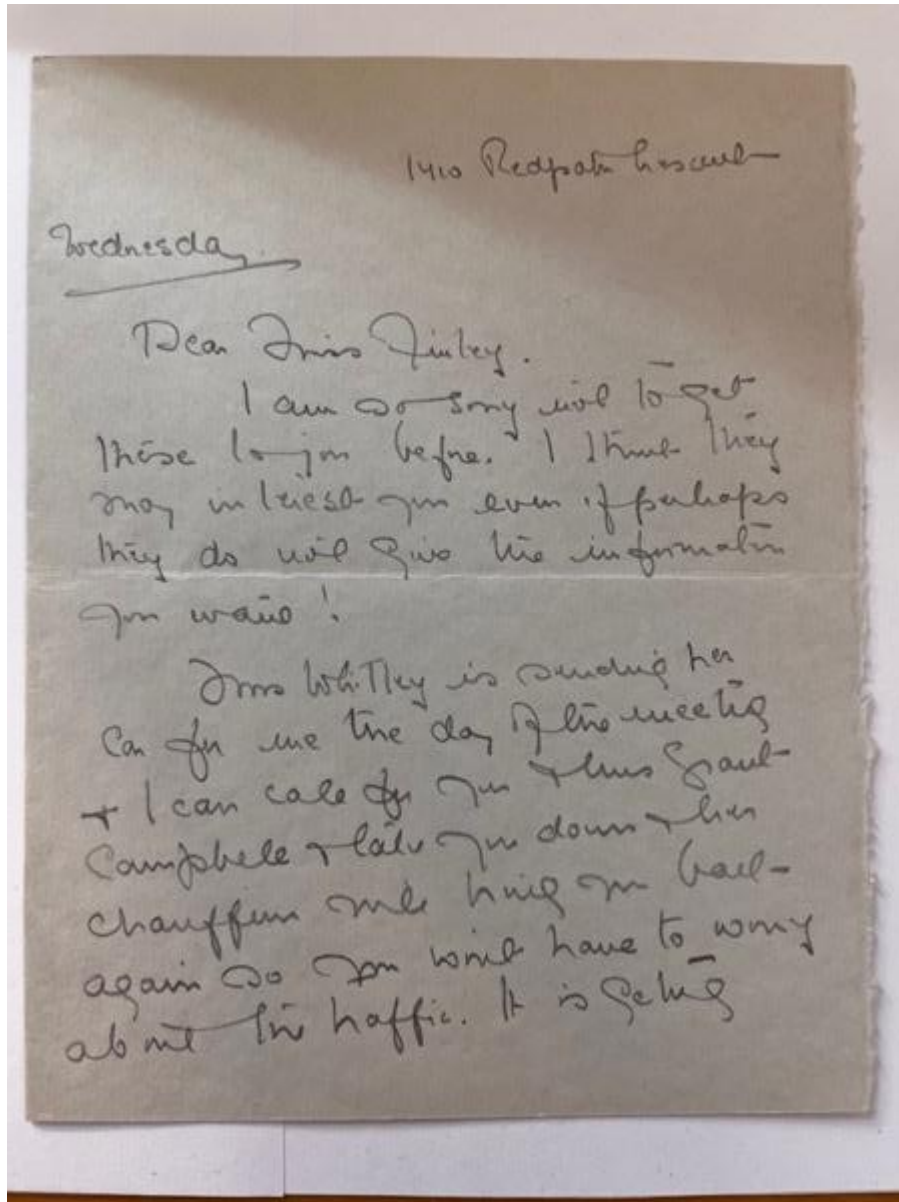


Figure 0.6 – Letter from “Eleanor”, tucked into the Minute Book. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. P037.

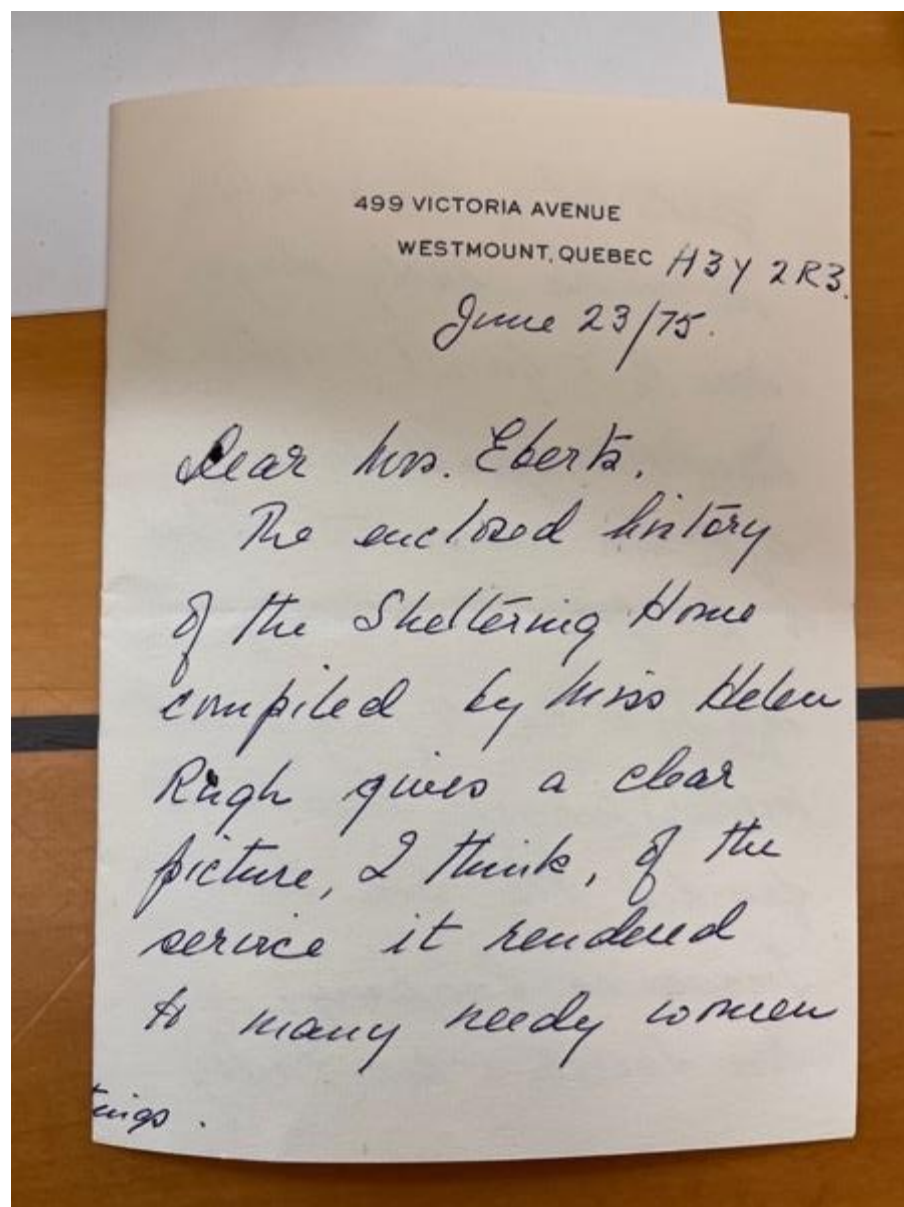


Figure 0.7 – Letter from “Mrs. Taggart” tucked into the Minute Book. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. P037.



April 11<sup>th</sup>  
 Mrs A. B. Gault found everything  
 going on comfortably & smoothly: many  
 were busy washing & whitewashing under Miss  
 Smith's supervision, preparatory to the  
 removal of double windows. Repairs  
 have been made in the plastering, and,  
 after going through both buildings, came  
 to the conclusion, that all rooms and  
 staircases should be tinted, - not only  
 because they need it after the repairing  
 but, they are much stained from the  
 leakage in roof, which occurred the first  
 new year, - and also it seems a  
 sanitary necessity after 2 years occupation.  
 Saw several of the inmates: the principal  
 number were engaged in laundry work  
 - distributed & left Ballads of W. S. Sewall's,  
 "Our Father's Care", and "Mother's Last Words"  
 hoping they may be useful & comforting  
 to the inmates.

April 19<sup>th</sup> -  
 Visited the "Home". Miss Montgomery

Figure 0.8 – Louisa Gault's entry, April 11, 1894. In the entry, she records various repairs: double windows were removed, plastering and whitewashing were carried out at the home. McCord Stewart Museum Archives, P037, Visitor Book.



Figure 0.9 – Andrew Taylor’s Montreal Maternity Hospital, corner of St. Urbain and Prince Arthur Streets (now the Montreal Addiction Rehabilitation Centre). The principle staircase has been removed and replaced with a porte cochère. Photograph taken by author, 2017.



Figure 0.10 – The original Montreal General Hospital from 1820 was demolished when Dorchester Street was widened. This shows the remains of an addition made by Taylor and Gordon in 1892. The ground floor had various waiting rooms and the surgeon's library. The surgical amphitheatre was on the first floor. The patchwork brick on the ground floor level shows where the covered walkway that connected the old hospital to the addition, was covered up. The archway on the first floor indicates a large window that illuminated the operating theatre. Photograph taken by author, 2017.





Figure 0.11 – The ruins of St. Bridget's Refuge were uncovered when St. Patrick's church removed a parking lot they had paved without the city's permission. Residents used the site as a public park, but in 2018 the land was sold to developers and the École des Hautes Études Commerciales (HEC) was supposed to build a downtown campus. Photograph taken by author, 2017.

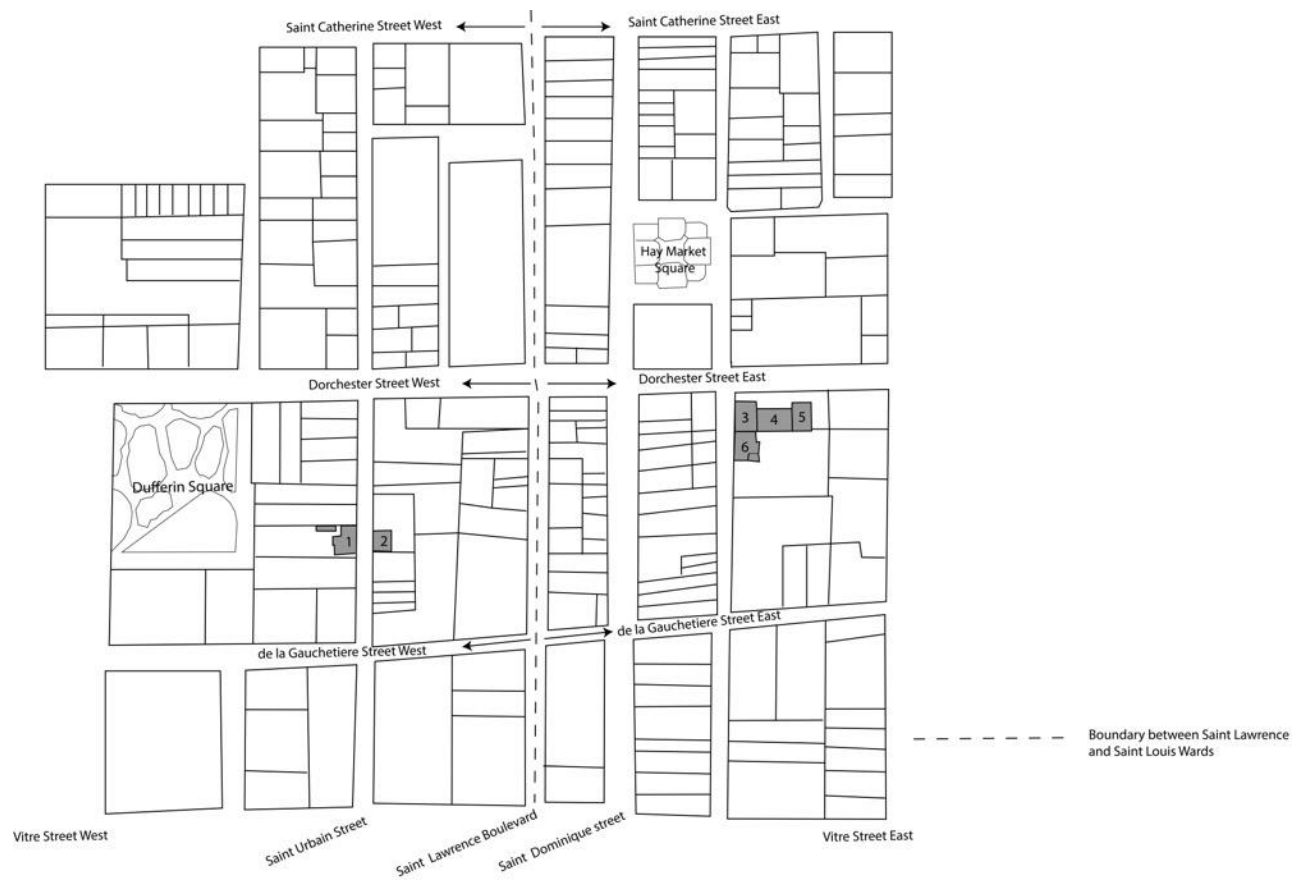


Figure 0.12 – Context map showing Montreal Sheltering Home, Montreal Maternity Hospital, and Montreal General Hospital between 1874 (when the Morland wing was completed) and 1905 (when the Montreal Maternity Hospital relocated to the new hospital.) Key: 1, Montreal Sheltering Home; 2, Montreal Maternity Hospital; 3, Montreal General Hospital Reid Wing; Montreal General Hospital main building; Montreal General Hospital Richardson Wing; Montreal General Hospital Morland wing. Map by author.



Figure 0.13 – Emma Barber (left) and “Mademoiselle Lunn” (right) in 1864. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. Object I-13305.1.

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*Chapter 1*

Figure 1.1 – View of the general waiting room of Windsor Station upon entering from the train platform. The stairwell leads down to the secondary entrance/exit on Peel Street. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW – 2510.





Figure 1.2 – Detail of faces on the west side of the main entrance. Photograph taken by author, 2023.

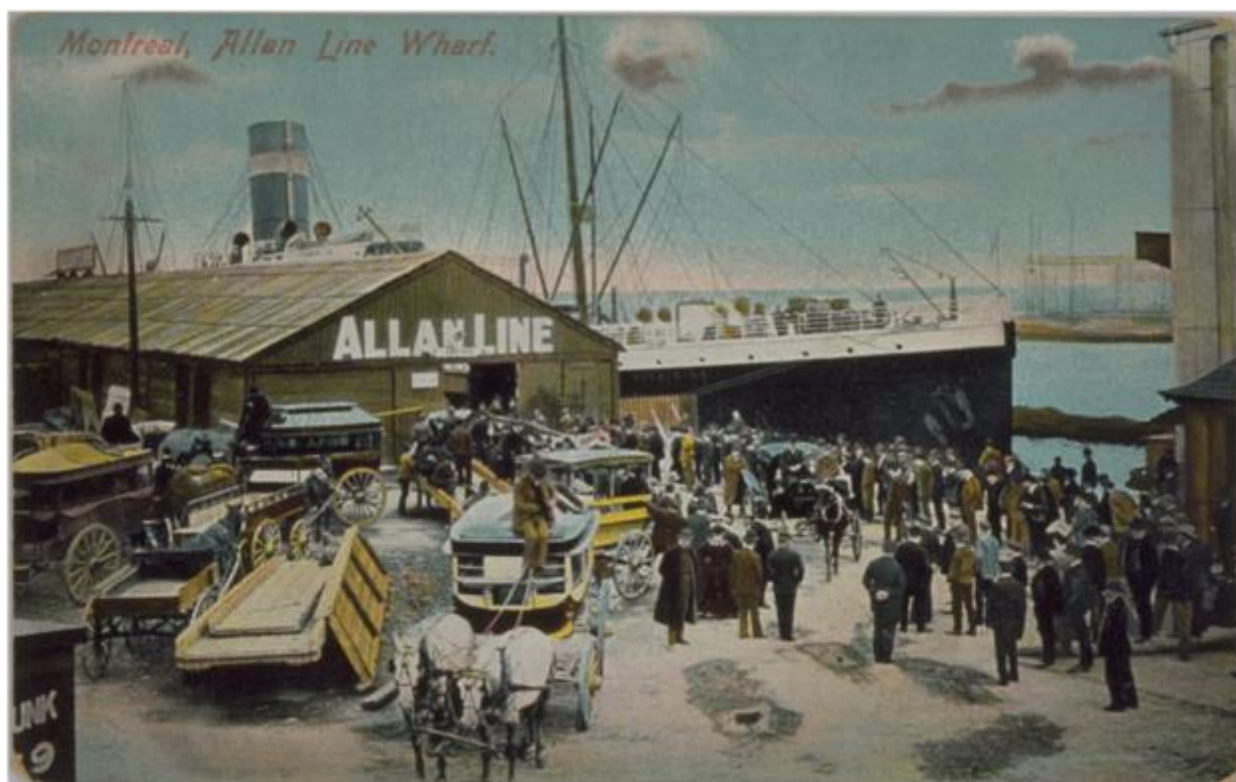


Figure 1.3 – Undated postcard showing the Allan Line wharf in the Montreal Port. BAnQ Numérique.



Figure 1.4 – Drawings by French artist Gustav Doré capture the oppressive pollution and claustrophobia of slums in Victorian London. Doré, Gustav, “Over London – by Rail.” In *London: A Pilgrimage*, New York: Benjamin Blom, 1968), 120.

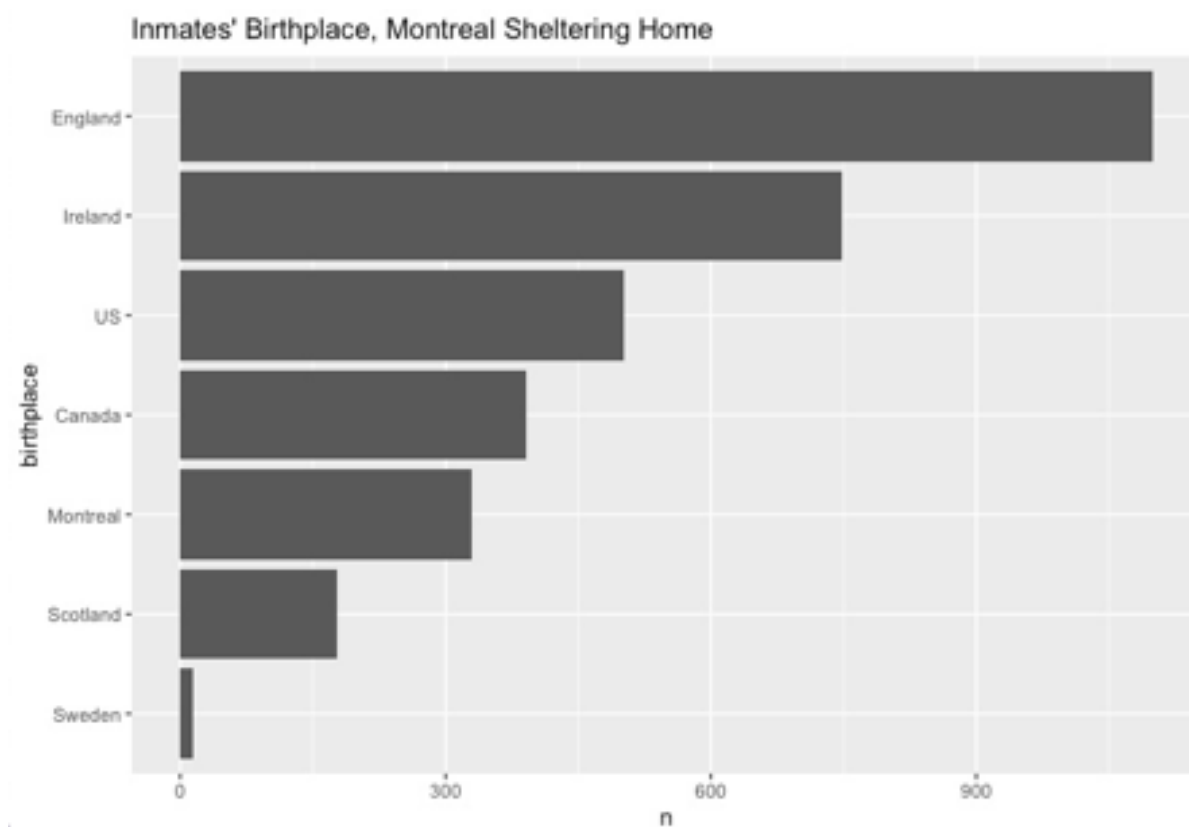


Figure 1.5 – Inmates' Birthplace, based on data from the register, 1887-1897. Graph by author.





Figure 1.6 – Marchmont Home in Belleville, Ontario. Boyce, J.W. *Belleville, Ontario, Marchmont House*. September 3, 1876. In *The Canadian Illustrated News*, 165. Montreal: Burland-Desbarats Lithographic Co., 1876. Canadiana Online.



Figure 1.7 – Knowlton Home in Knowlton, Quebec. In Lilian M. Birt. *The Children's Home-Finder: The Story of Annie MacPherson and Louisa Birt* (London: James Nisbet & Co. Limited, 1913), 134.



Figure 1.8 – The interior of the “Colonist Rate” train cars, taken by William Notman in 1891. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. II-96449.A.



Figure 1.9 – Detail of CPR signet above main entrance of Price’s Windsor Station, 2022.  
Photograph taken by Philip O’Brien.



Figure 1.10 – Château Frontenac in Quebec City, taken by William Notman and Son circa 1898. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. VIEW-3231.1.



Figure 1.11 – Photograph taken by William Notman from the Street Railway Power House Chimney in Montreal. Windsor Station is to the far right of the frame. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-2938.





Figure 1.12 – Bruce Price's original Windsor Station. Photograph taken by William Notman in 1889. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-1947.1.



Figure 1.13 – Early drawing of Windsor Station. Published on 9 November 1887 in *The Montreal Gazette*, 2.





Figure 1.14 – Dominion Square from the Windsor Station Tower in 1922. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photograph by William Notman and Son. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-6436.



Figure 1.15 – Drawing of proposed tower for Windsor Station. Published 16 June 1888 in *The Canadian Architect and Building News*, 294.



Figure 1.16 – The Windsor Hotel emanates a literal aristocratic glow in this image. Note the YMCA building on the north-eastern corner of the Square. Published 1901 by the Detroit Photographic Company. Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division Washington, DC. LOT 14184, no. 53.



Figure 1.17 – Secondary entrance to Windsor Station in 2022. Photograph taken by Philip O’Brien.



Figure 1.18 – The Château Frontenac and the citadel, circa 1898. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-3228.





Figure 1.19 – Bonaventure Station on St. Antoine Street, Montreal in 1890. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-2248.1.



Figure 1.20 – The Grand Ball Room at the Windsor Hotel in 1878. Photograph by William Notman and Henry Sandham. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-764.1.



Figure 1.21 – The landscape paintings in cornices in the Windsor Hotel Grand Dining Room in 1878. Photograph by William Notman and Henry Sandham. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-733.1





Figure 1.22 – Detail of Pinsoneault's map showing Dominion Square, St. James Cathedral, Windsor Station, and the Windsor Hotel. n *Atlas of the island and city of Montreal and Ile Bizard* a compilation of the most recent cadastral plans from the book of reference, plate 19. Montreal: The Atlas Publishing Company, Limited, 1907. BAnQ Numérique.

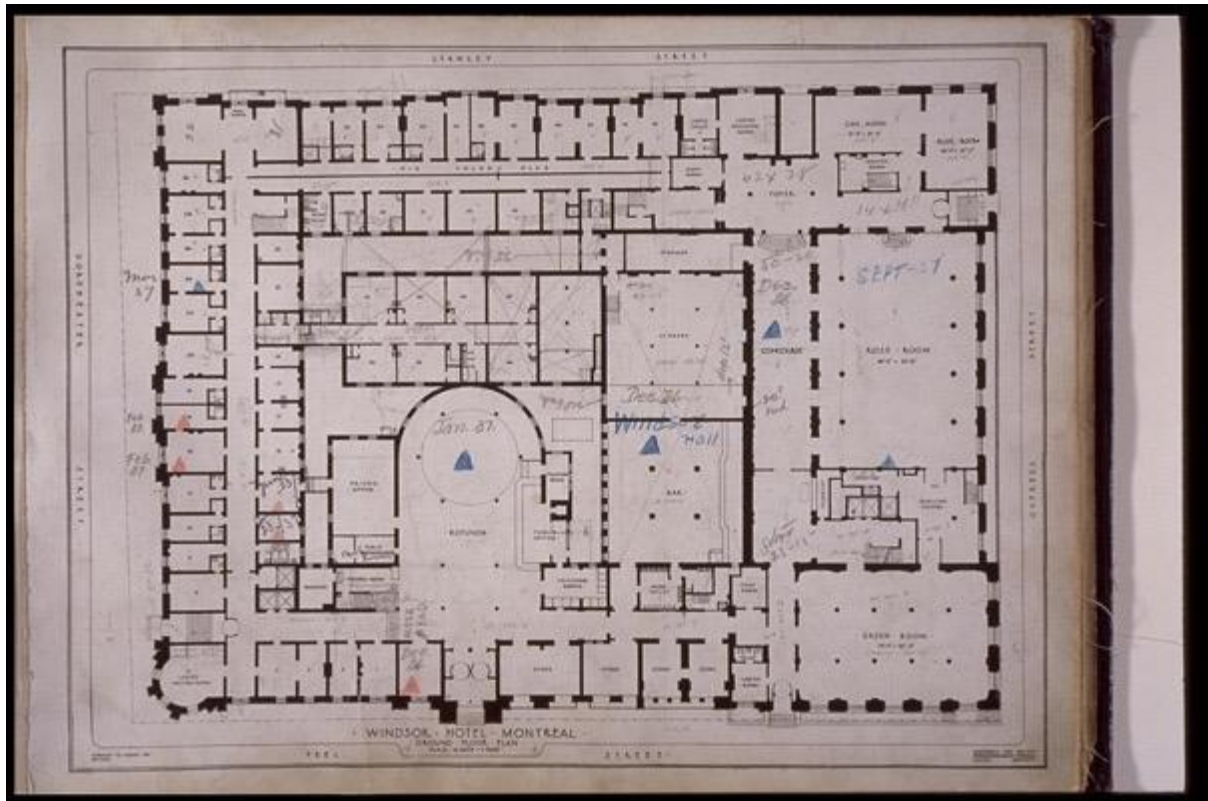


Figure 1.23 – The ladies’ waiting room, with its round wall, is visible in the lower left-hand corner of the ground floor plan of the Windsor Hotel from 1921. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Archives – Maps and Plans. P092/D.1.



Figure 1.24 – The location of the ladies' waiting room is made distinct by the cupola on the southeastern corner of the hotel. 1897. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-3176.A.

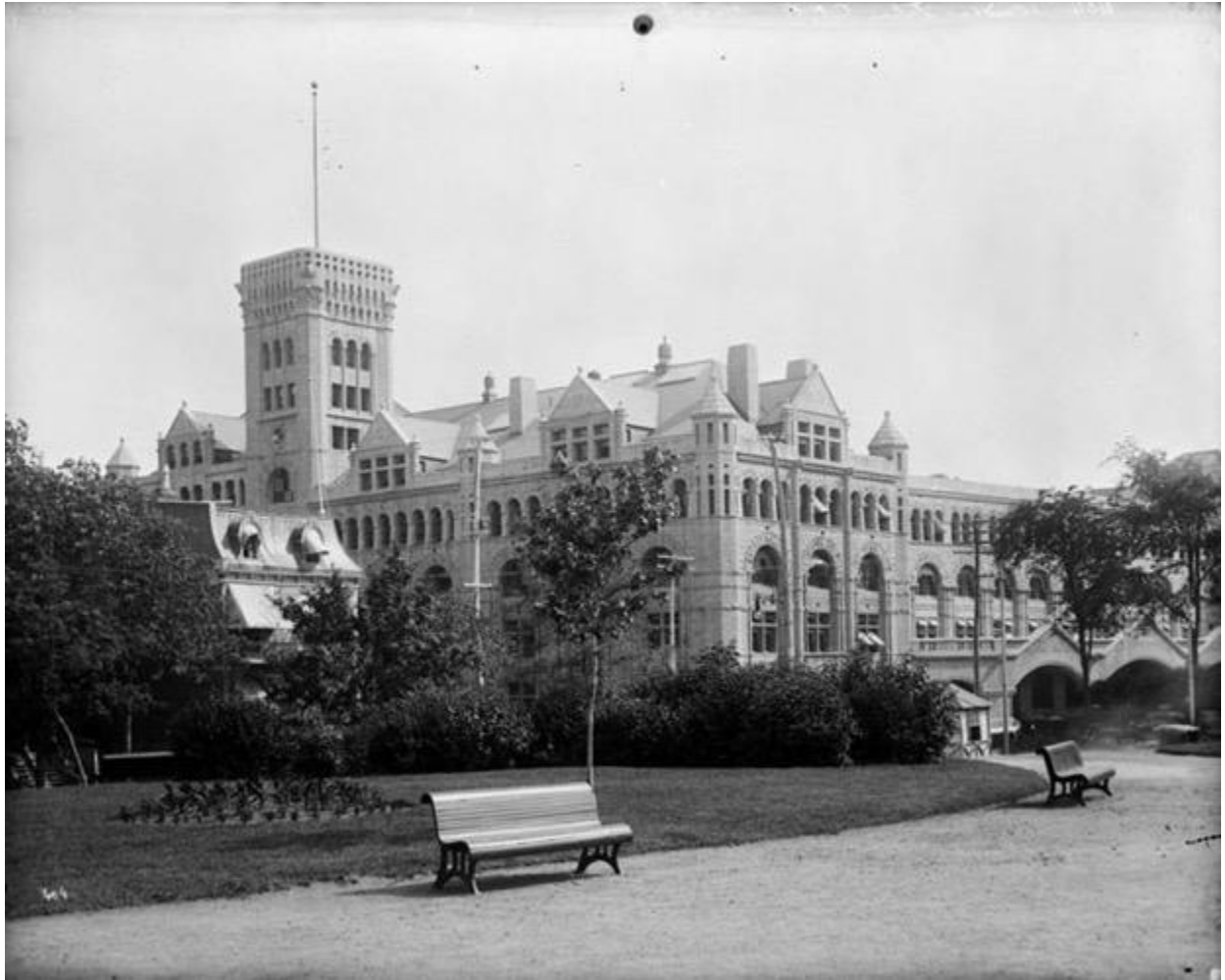


Figure 1.25 – Photograph by William James Topley showing Windsor Station from Dominion Square. The image is undated but the west extension along Osborne Street by Edward Maxwell (known as “the Maxwell wing”) means the photograph was taken after 1900. Library and Archives Canada. Topley Studio Fonds. 005931.





Figure 1.26 – View of the Ross House, from the southwest. In between 1897 and 1912, Edward and William Maxwell completed renovations that included a west extension that obscures the veranda. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-24035.1.



Figure 1.27 – The Ross House and the Ross Family in 1910. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-8715.



Figure 1.28 – South elevation of the Ross House. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.



Figure 1.29 – Front steps and principle entrance of the Ross House. Photograph by author, 2023.





Figure 1.30 – Detail showing the polished granite columns on the veranda of the Ross House. The wall in the background is the west extension. Photograph by author, 2023.



Figure 1.31 – Detail showing faces at the main entrance of the Ross House. Photograph by author, 2023.





Figure 1.32 – Faces on the polished granite columns. Photograph by author, 2023.

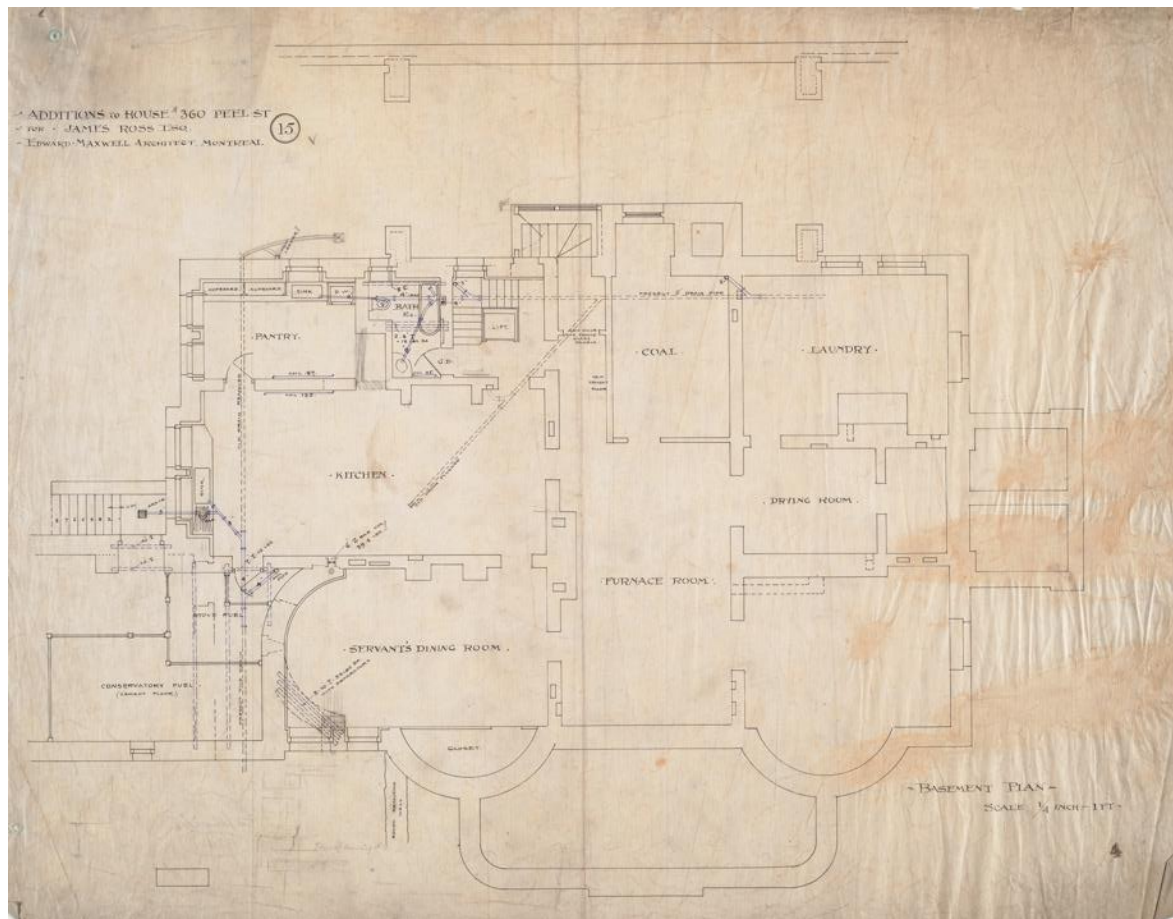
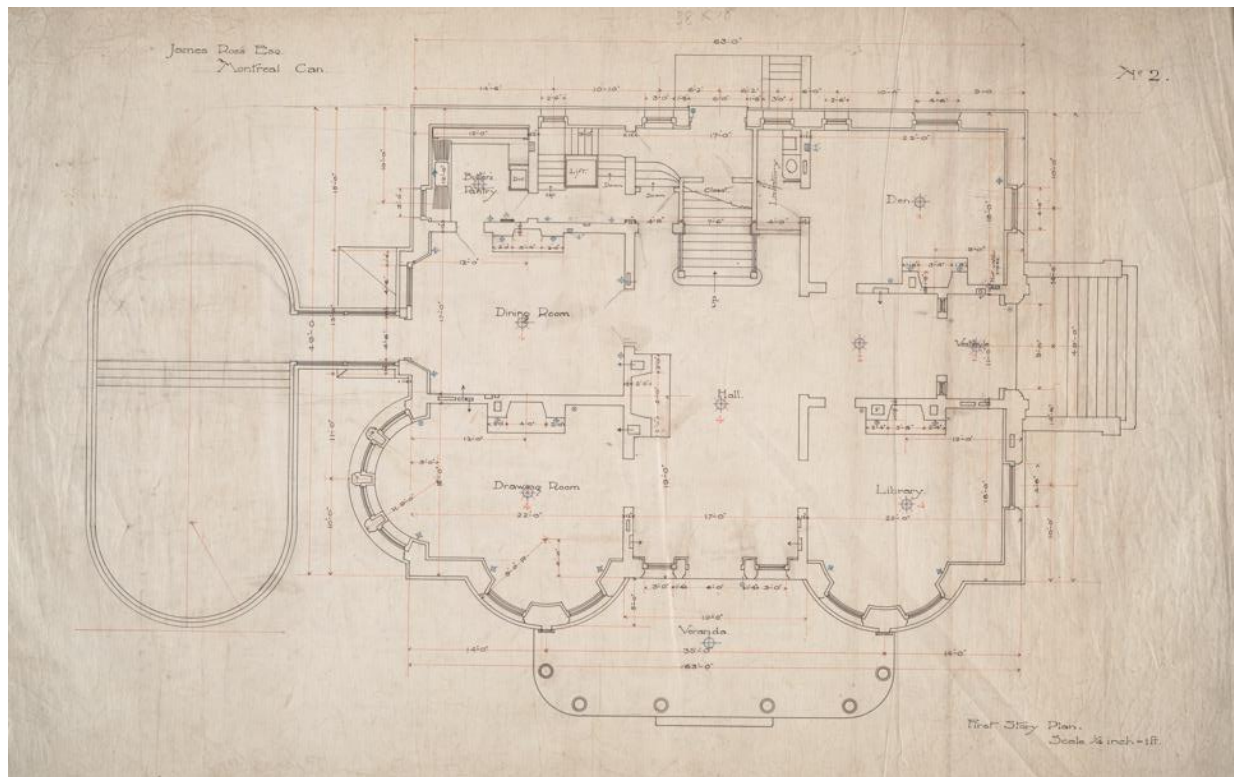


Figure 1.33 – Basement plan of the Ross House, 1892. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.





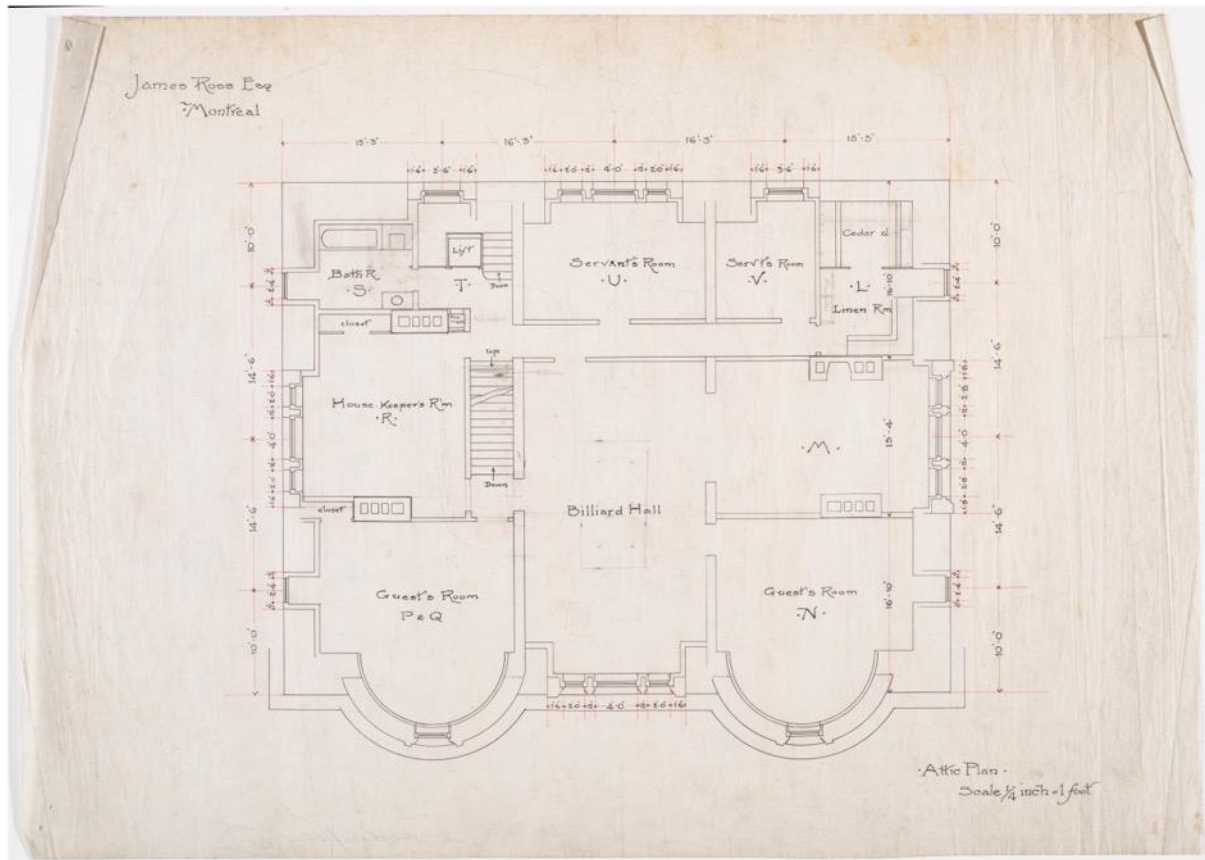


Figure 1.35 – Third floor plan of the Ross House, 1892. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.



Figure 1.36 – The Bonaventure Station general waiting room. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-2514.



Figure 1.37 – The general waiting room at Windsor Station circa 1890. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-2509.





Figure 1.38 – This is a sketch of a scene in Windsor Station when a train crashed into the waiting room published in the francophone newspaper, *La Presse* on 17 March 1909. BAnQ Advitam. Fonds La Presse. Archives nationales à Montréal. CLG50.



Figure 1.39 – Ladies' waiting room at Windsor Station. Millicent, in my narrative, would have passed this room through the hallway beyond the wide archway. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-2512.1.

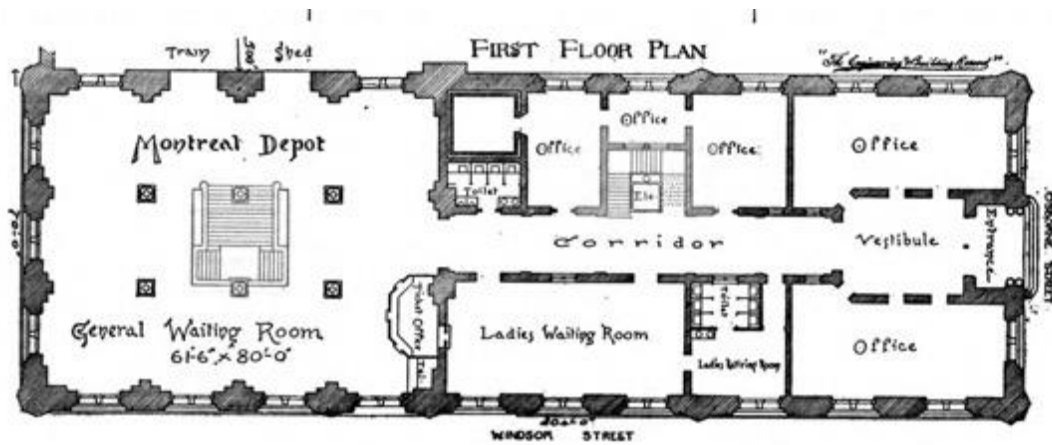


Figure 1.40 – The first-floor plan of Windsor Station published in *The Engineering & Building Record* (n.d.). In the final plan, the office next to the ladies' waiting room was incorporated into the ladies' waiting room. *The Engineering & Building Record* 17, no. 6 (n.d.): 83.

*Chapter 2*

Figure 2.1 – The laundry was in the basement of the Home for Friendless Women. Kinley may have escaped through the bottom window in the lower Centre window. See figure 2.3, where there is a window in the same place. Photograph by author, 2023.



Figure 2.2 – The patients on the rear balcony (which was likely an addition from when the home was repurposed as a tuberculosis hospital) show the imposing scale of the building. In *The Evening Standard*, Montreal, 12 September 1908, 4.

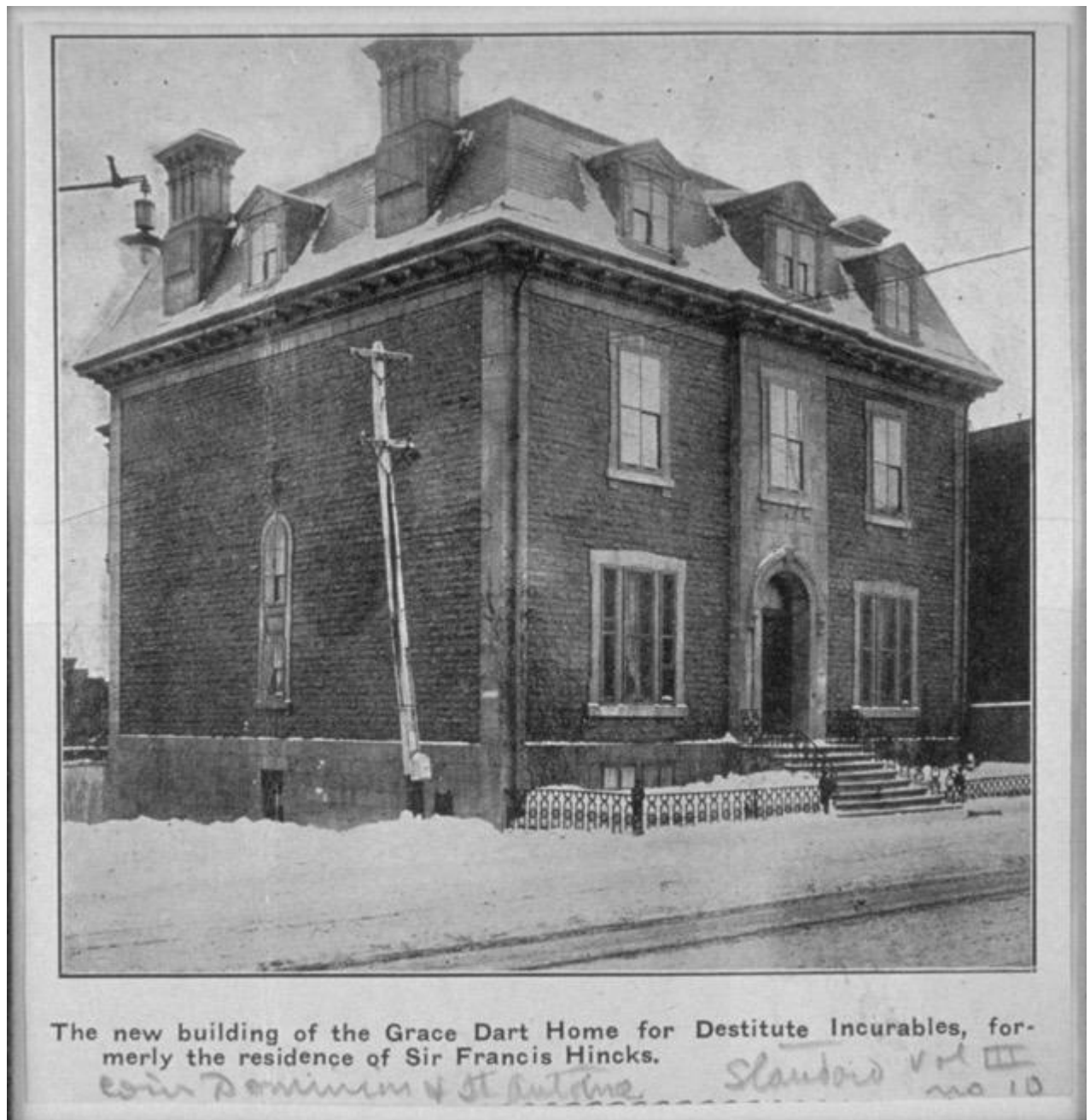


Figure 2.3 – After the Home for Friendless Women moved out, the home was repurposed as a hospital for patients with tuberculosis. This image is taken from the northeastern corner of St. Antoine and Dominion Streets. In *The Evening Standard*, Montreal, 12 September 1908, 4.





Figure 2.4 – The Montreal Common Jail. In Bosworth, Newton, James Duncan, and P. Christie, *Hochelaga Depicta: The Early History and Present State of the City and Island of Montreal*. Montreal: William Greig, St. Paul Street, 158-59, 1839.



Figure 2.5 – The House of the Good Shepherd is comprised of the the “T” and “I” shaped buildings near the Hudson River, circled in white. On a contemporary map, the former site of this institution is east 90th Street and York Avenue. Lionel Pincus and Princess Firyal Map Division, The New York Public Library. Plate 22: New York Public Library Digital Collections.



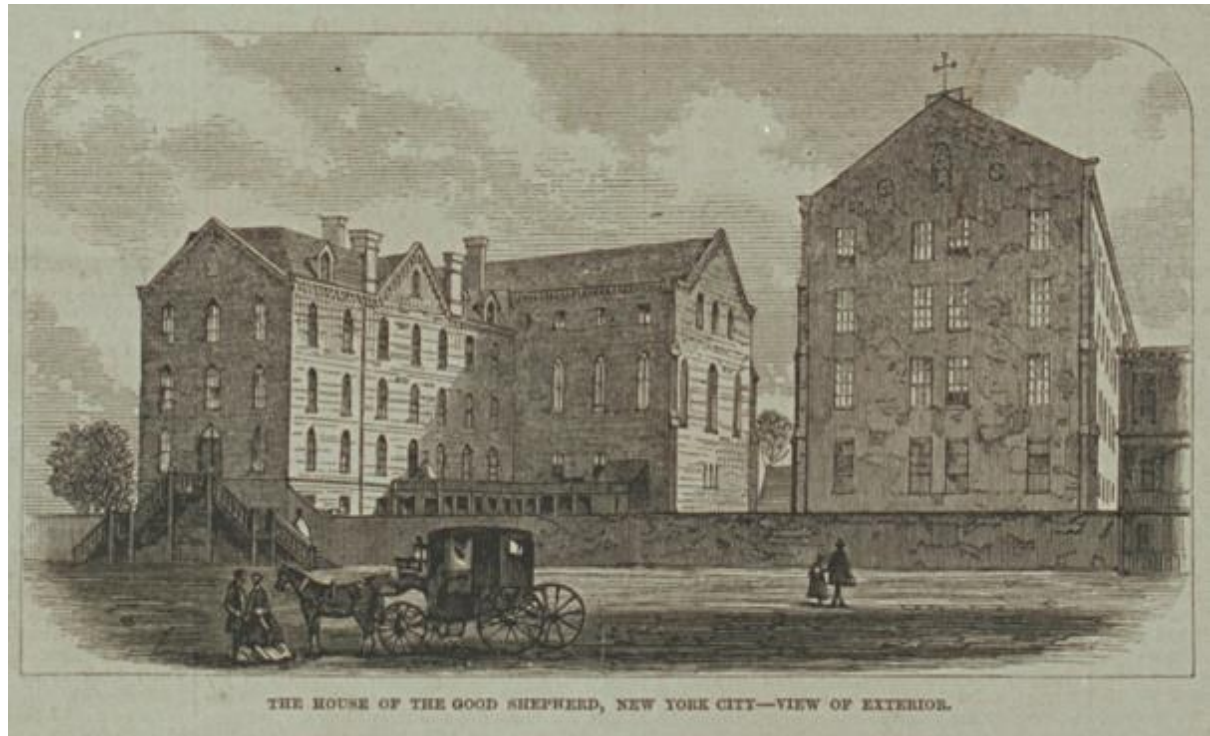


Figure 2.6 – Exterior view of the House of the Good Shepherd in New York City. Published 21 August 1866. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute. HOLLIS online image catalogue.



Figure 2.7 – Etching of women in the laundry at the House of the Good Shepherd. Published 21 August 1866. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute. HOLLIS online image catalogue.



Figure 2.8 – Etching of women in the work room at the House of the Good Shepherd.  
Published 21 August 1866. In *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Newspaper*, 360.



Figure 2.9 – Children in school at the House of the Good Shepherd. Published 21 August 1866. Schlesinger Library on the History of Women in America, Radcliffe Institute. HOLLIS online image catalogue.



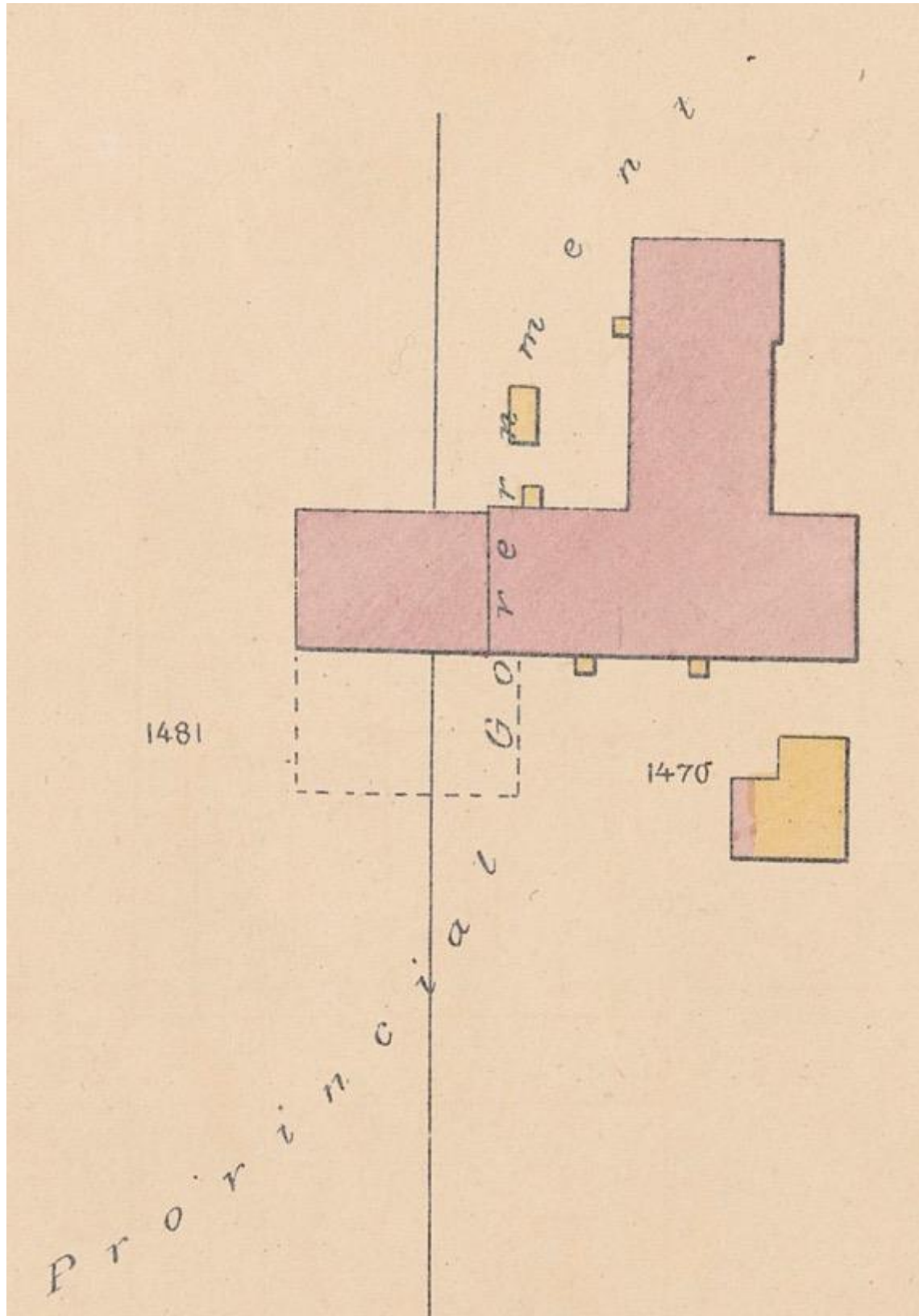
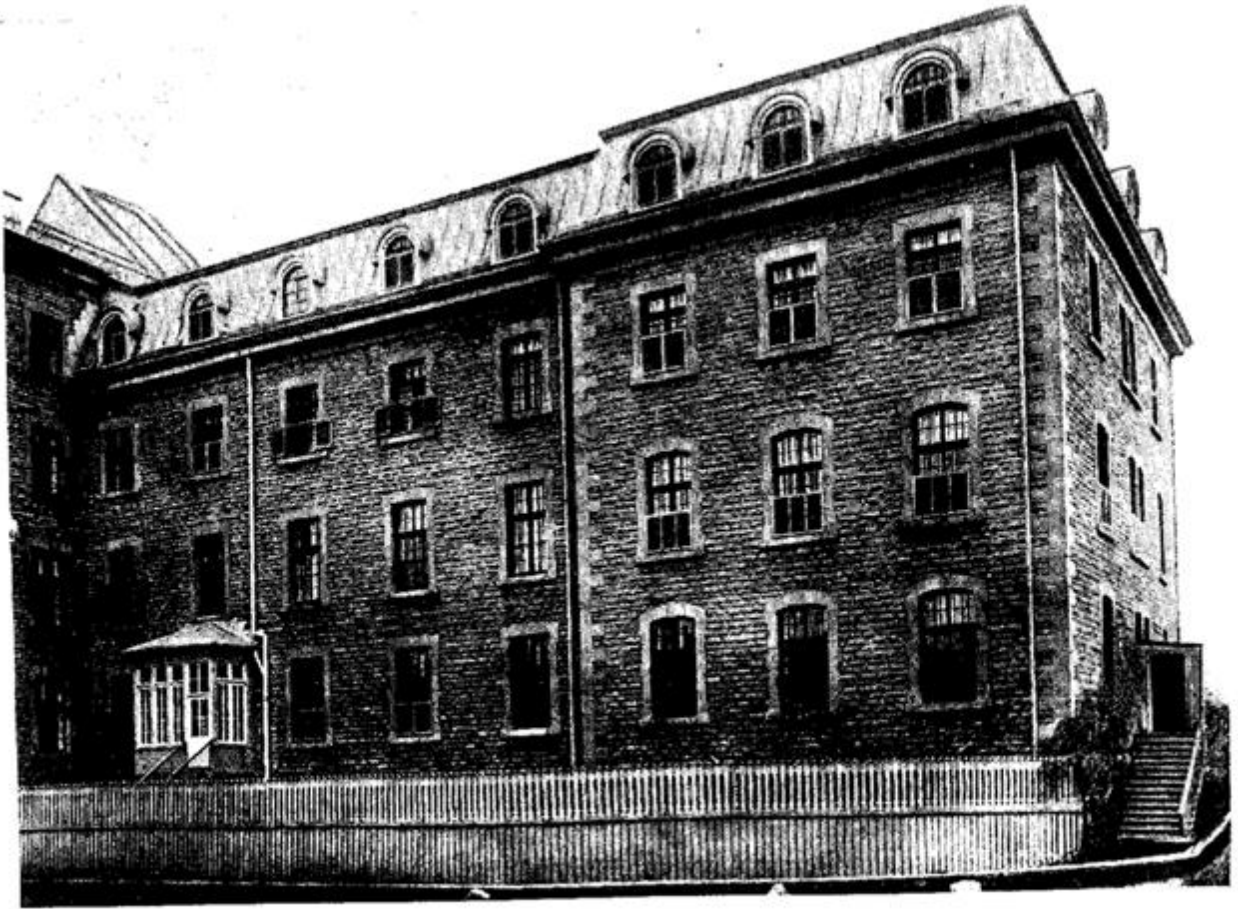


Figure 2.10 – Detail of atlas showing the plan of the Female Prison in 1881. The slight extension at the bottom of the “L” shape faces Fullum Street. Charles Edward Goad, *Atlas of the City of Montreal from special survey and official plans, showing all buildings & names of owners*, plate 42, 1881. BAnQ Numérique.



La prison (1876) .

Figure 2.11 – View of the north wing of the Female Prison, showing the side entrance, in 1876. In *Sous Les Feux Des Saints Coeurs: Le Bon Pasteur a Sainte-Darie 1870-1920*, 62-63.



Figure 2.12 –  
Three perspectives of the Female Prison on Fullum Street.

Perspective 1: (figure 2.11) Note the path that leads from the main entrance (facing Fullum Street) to the side entrance, for Protestant prisoners.

Perspective 2: (figure 2.13)

Perspective 3: (figure 2.16)

From an interactive map made by Anton Dubreau.  
<http://www.app.catbus.ca/1947satelliteview/app.html#19;45.507176010154666;-73.5611547740657>. Accessed 3 September 2018. Original source, Archives de Montréal.

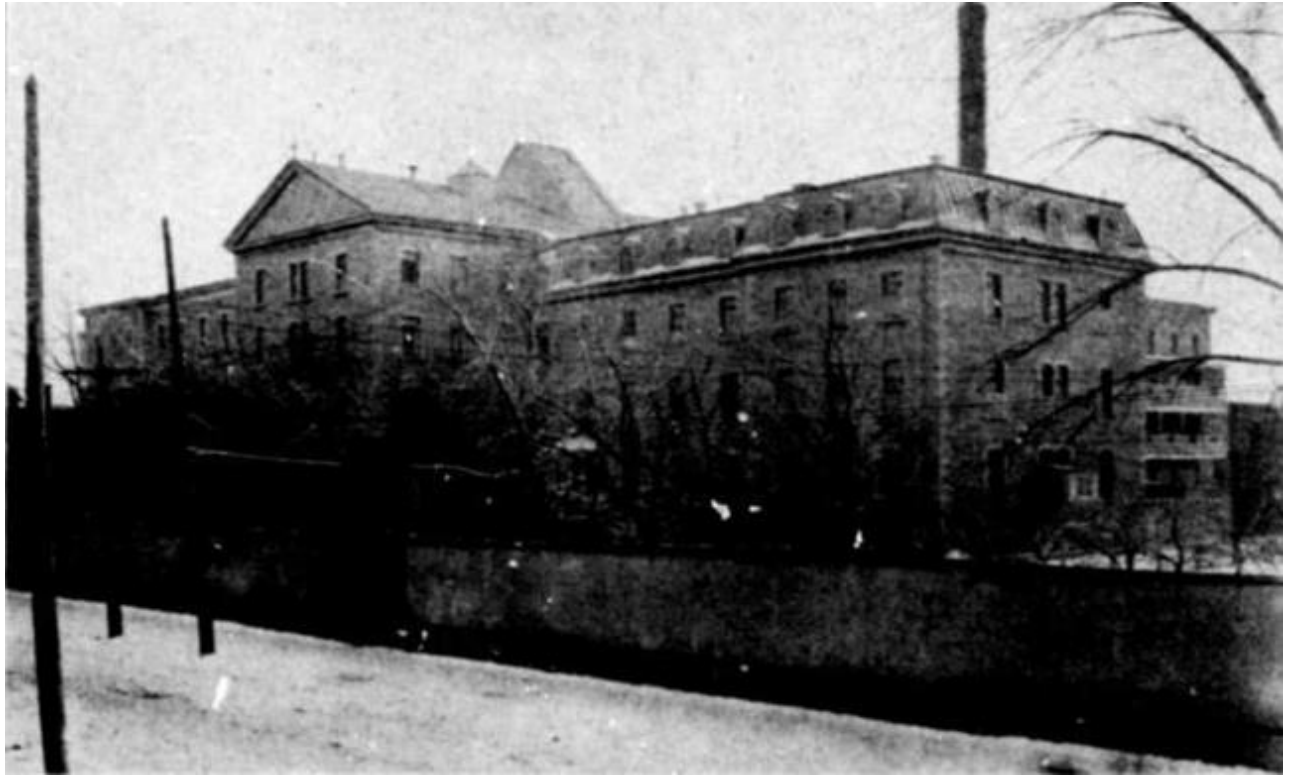


Figure 2.13 – View of full prison wing showing how it connects to the central block. The pointed skylight shows where the two wings connect to the central building. In Ives Hart Evanston, *Wake Up! Montreal! Commercialized Vice and Its Contributories*, Montreal: Witness Press, 1919, 46.



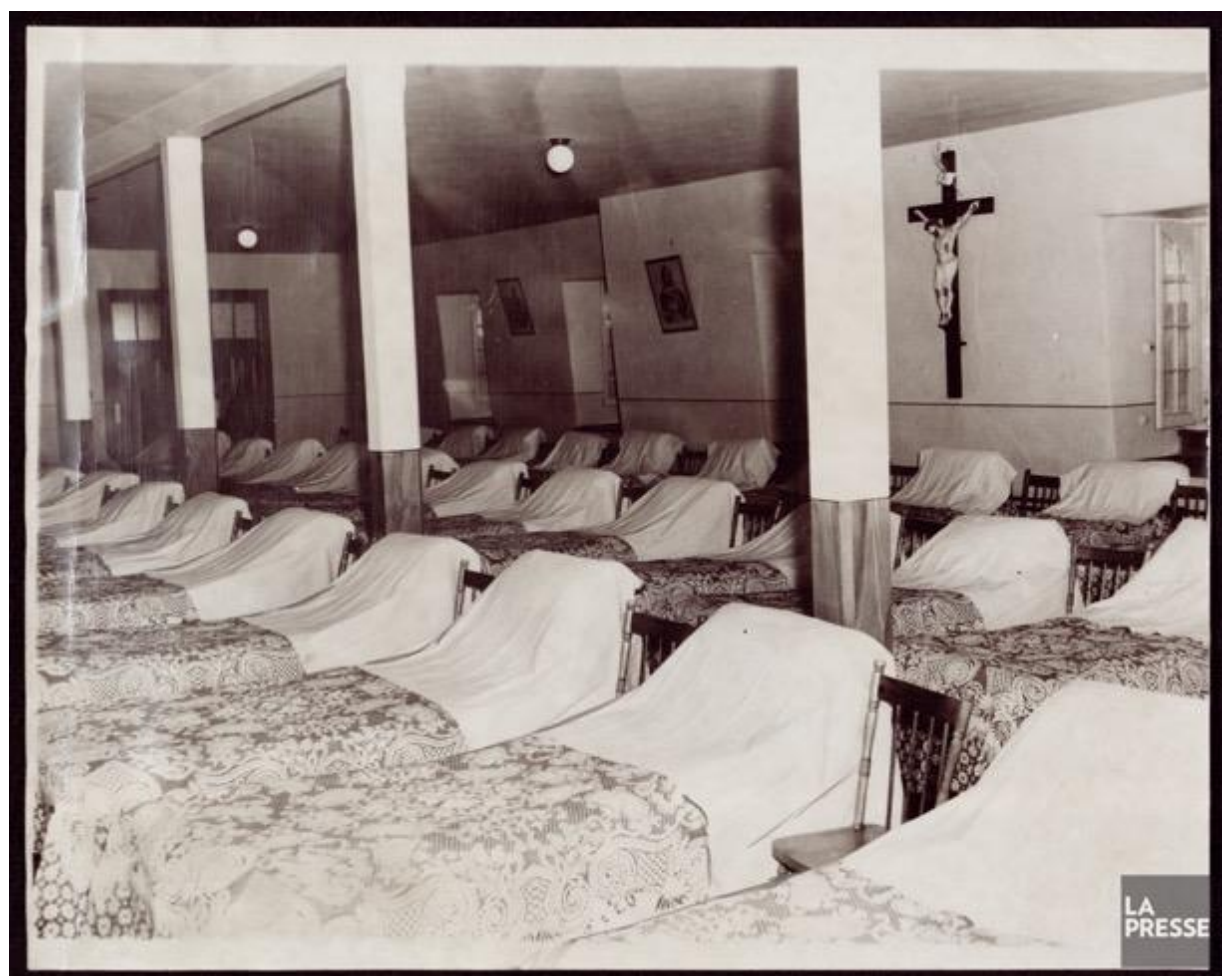


Figure 2.14 – Catholic prisoner dormitory in the Female Prison in 1946. BAnQ Advitam. Fonds La Presse. S3, Sujets avant 1949.



Figure 2.15 – Photograph of the Catholic prisoners' work room in 1946. BAnQ Advitam. Fonds La Presse. S3, Sujets avant 1949.



Figure 2.16 – This photograph is taken at a crossroads on the property of the Female Prison. It shows a path flanked by shade trees that ran east-west along the south side of the prison. The other was a north-south path extending from the main building. 1946. BAnQ Advitam. Fonds La Presse. S3, Sujets avant 1949.



Figure 2.17 – The Mercer Reformatory, photographed in 1948, showing the rear building. Published by the Toronto Star on 11 January 1948. Toronto Public Library Digital Archive, Toronto Star Photographic Archive. TSPA\_0113814F.





Figure 2.18 – Front of the Mercer Reformatory in Toronto, circa 1890. Toronto Public Library Digital Archive, Baldwin Collection of Canadiana. 2015-2-1-226.

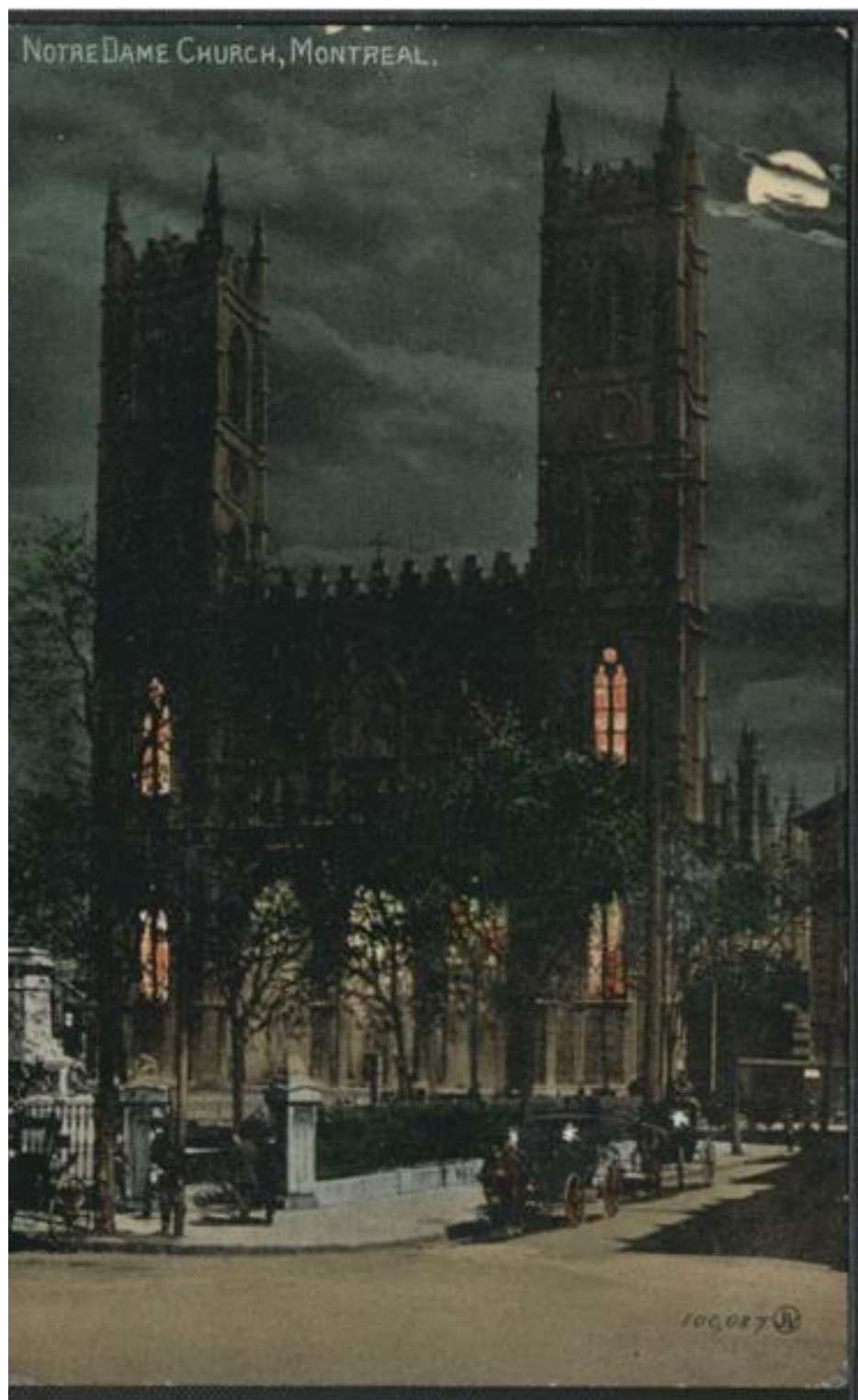


Figure 2.19 – Postcard of the Notre-Dame Church at night from 1913. BAnQ Numérique.

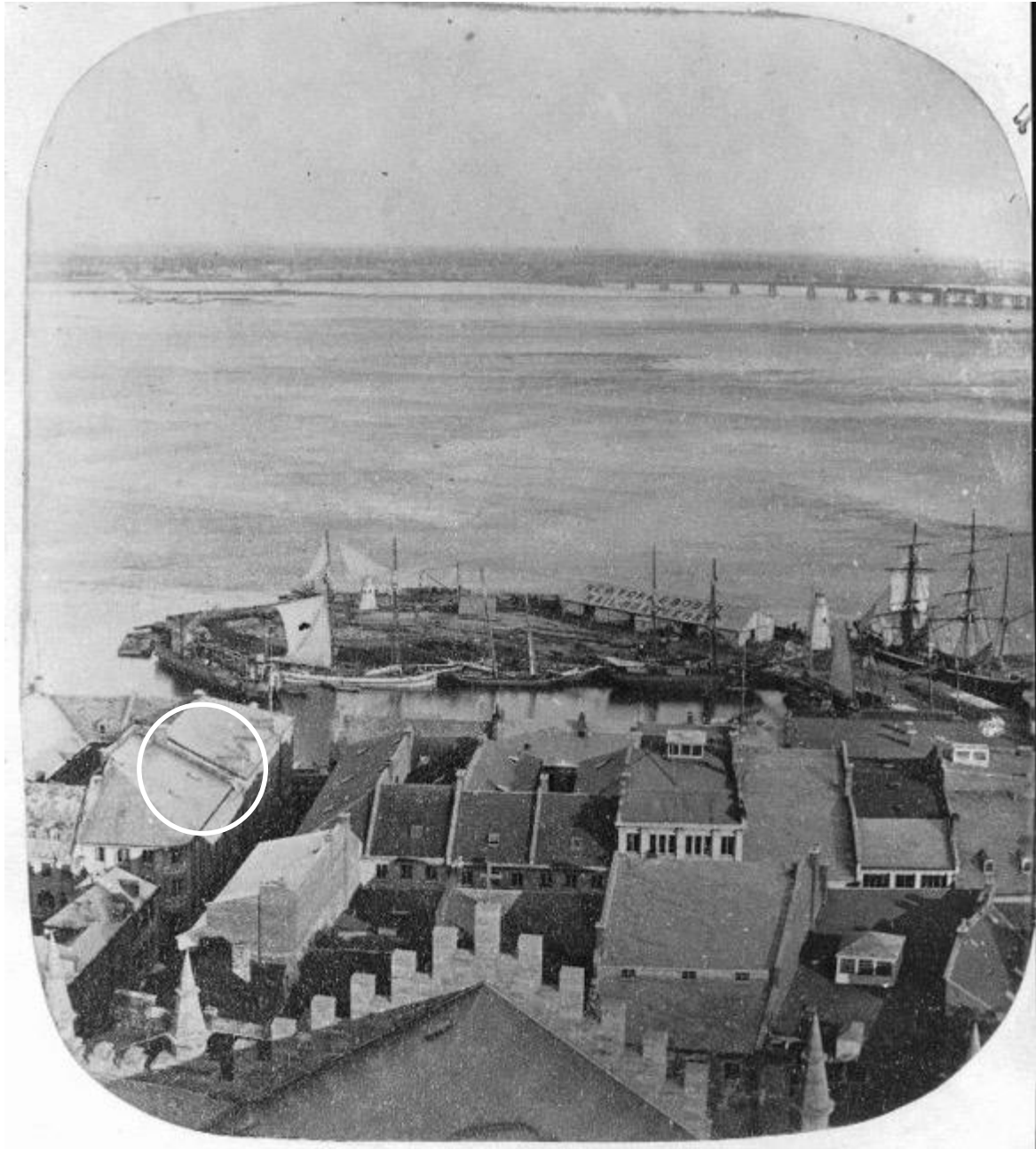


Figure 2.20 – The Horseshoe Tavern was in the narrow building wedged between two other buildings, circled in white. The space was used as a furniture storage space after it was a tavern. Photograph by William Notman, 1856. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. N-0000.193.116.1.



Figure 2.21 – Image showing the Williams family home in 1889. The back of the photograph names the subjects in the photo. “From left to right: Maggie (horse), Matthew Corrigan, Court Dix, Tom Delboise, Pink, Bessie, Daisy, Nellie, John T. Robinson, Harry W. Babcock.” Image from “Ephraim Williams, 1840, 176 Water Street, Stonington Borough, Connecticut,” 21. Used with permission from the Stonington, Connecticut Historical Society.





Figure 2.22 – View of Williams' back yard from Gold Street. Google Images, 19 June 2023.



Figure 2.23 – The Butler Hospital for the Insane. In “Rhode Island S.P. Butler Hospital” (United States Department of the Interior: National Park Service, 1976), National Register of Historic Places and National Historic Landmarks Program Records: Rhode Island, National Archives Catalogue, 16.

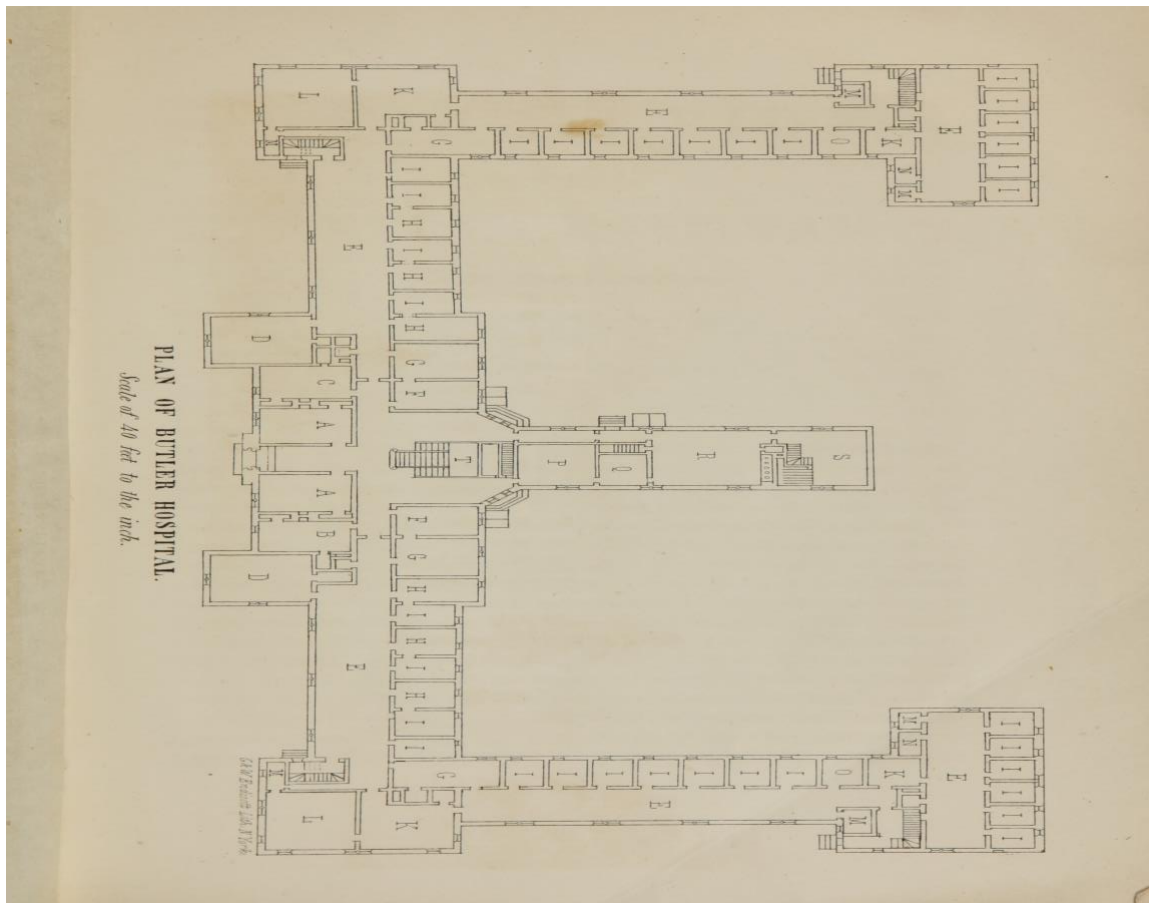


Figure 2.24 – A plan showing the first floor of the Butler Hospital for the Insane. in Isaac Ray, *The Butler Hospital for the Insane, Medicine in the Americas*, 1610–1920 (Utica, New York, 1848), inside cover.

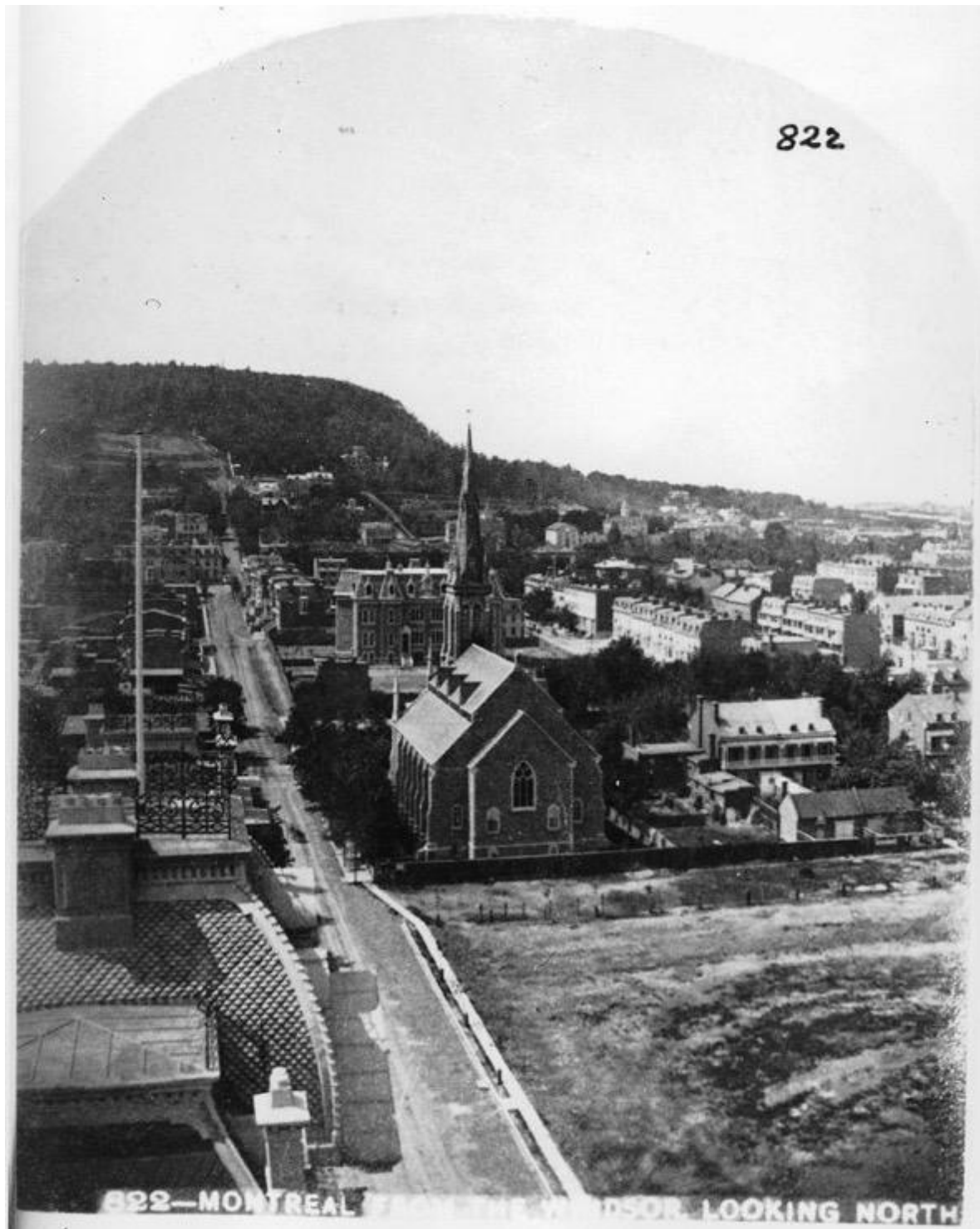
*Chapter 3*

Figure 3.1 – A view toward Mount Royal from a room at the Windsor Hotel, circa 1878. Photograph by William Notman and Henry Sandham. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW- 822.1.





Figure 3.2 – The Hôpital Hôtel-Dieu as photographed from Ravenscrag on Mount Royal in 1869. Photograph by James Inglis, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP- 0000.194.1.

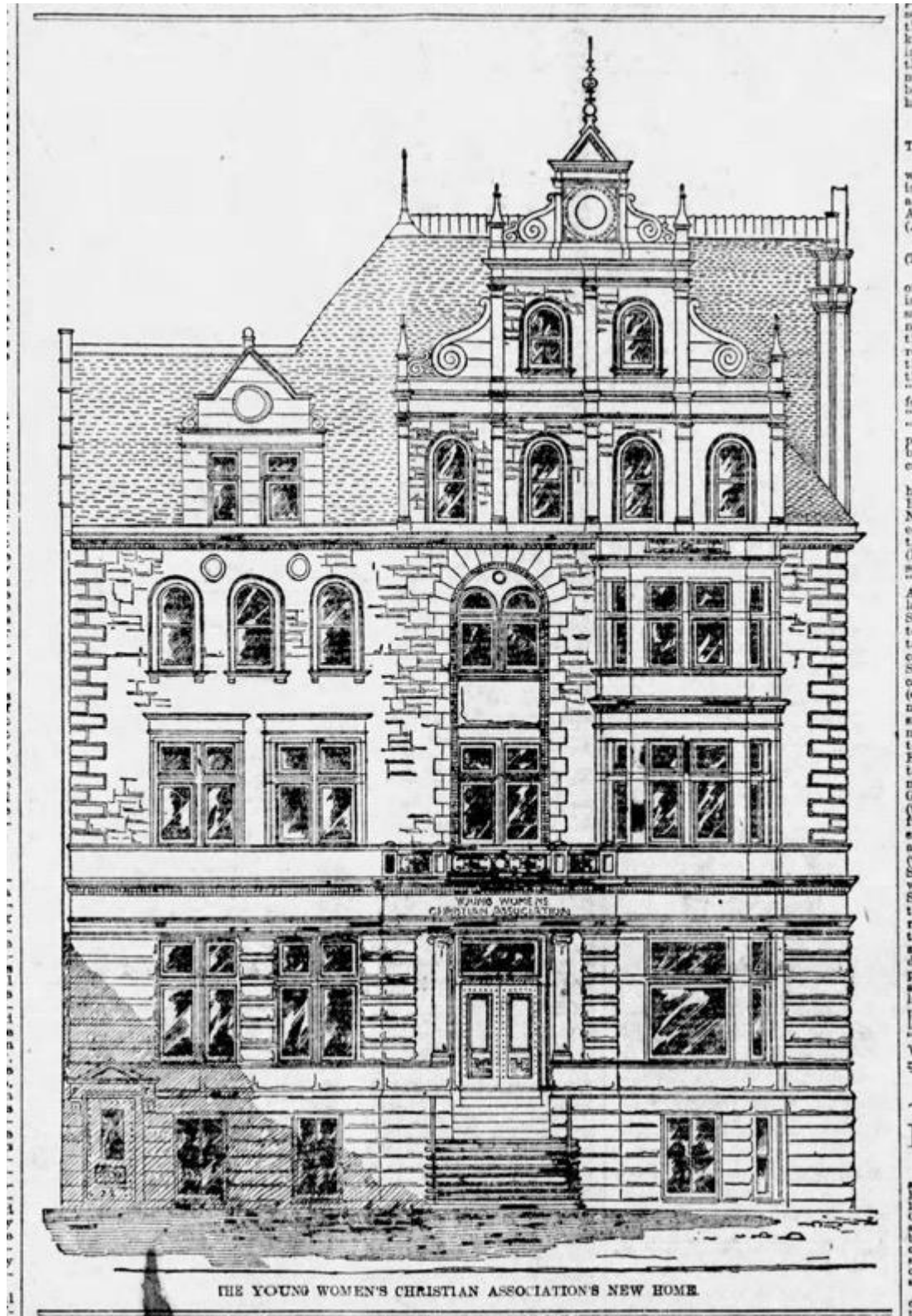


Figure 3.3 – A drawing of Hutchison’s design for the façade of the Young Woman’s Christian Association. The pointed dormer to the left looks similar to those on the Morland wing and the Western Hospital. “The YWCA’s New Home,” in *The Montreal Daily Star*, 18 July 1896, 7.

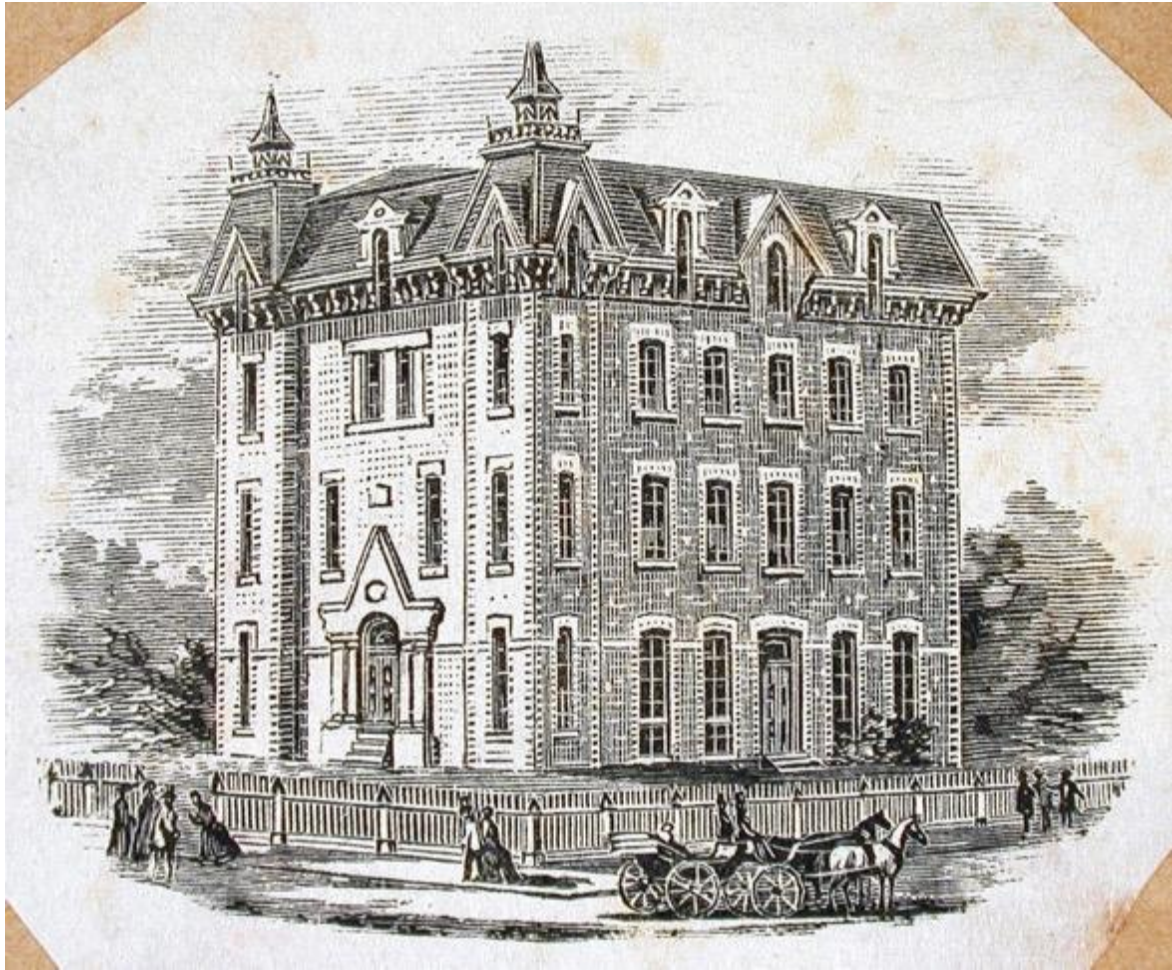


Figure 3.4 – An etching of the Western Hospital. John Henry Walker, *Unidentified Residence*, 1850–1885, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic objects. M930.50.8.118.





Figure 3.5 – A view of the Montreal General Hospital in 1881. Taken from the northwestern corner of St. Dominique and Dorchester Streets. In Abbott, Maude Elizabeth, *History of Medicine in the Province of Quebec*, 58–59.



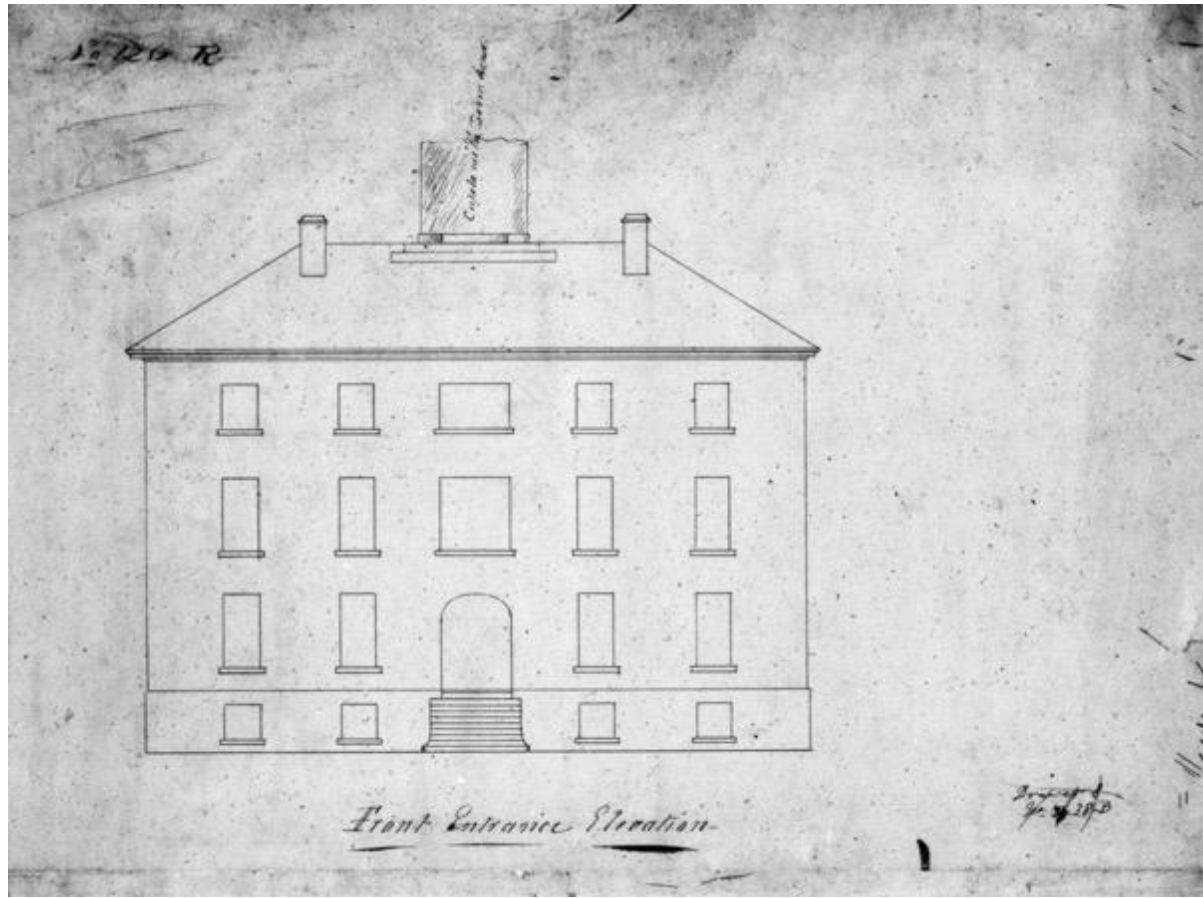


Figure 3.6 – The front entrance elevation of the Montreal General Hospital, by W. Clark, circa 1820-1821. Library and Archives Canada, Architectural and Technical Drawings. 4158327.

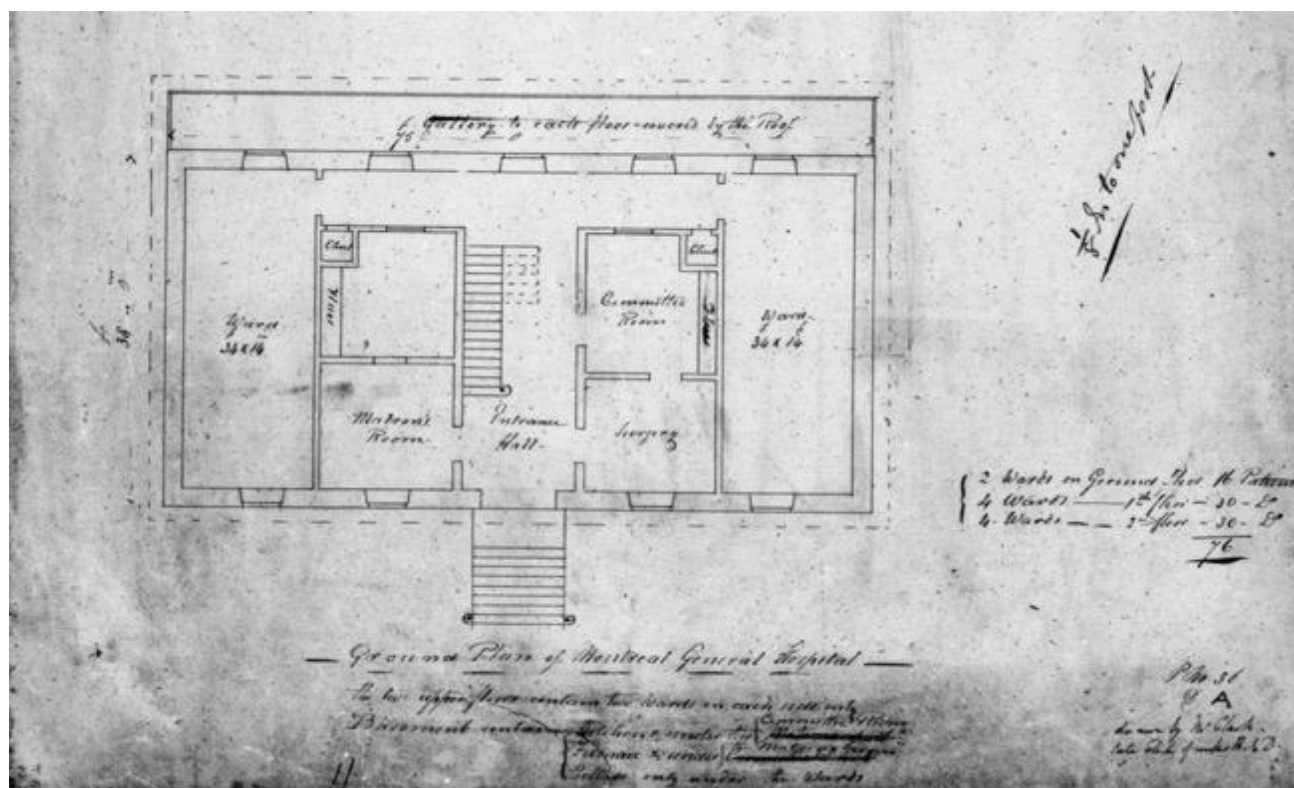


Figure 3.7 – The ground Plan of the Montreal General Hospital, by W. Clark, circa 1820-1821. Library and Archives Canada, Architectural and Technical Drawings. 4158327.

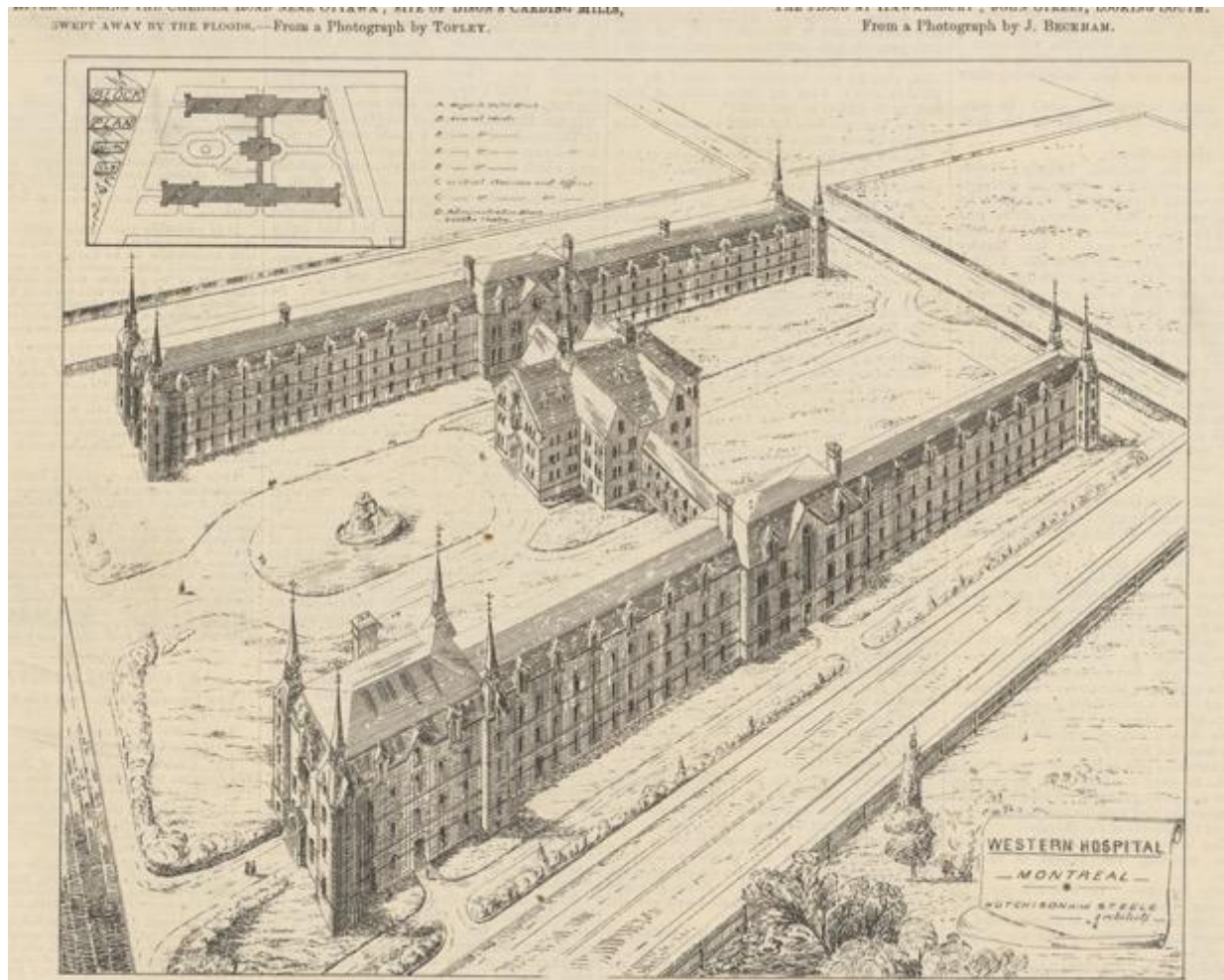


Figure 3.8 – Bird's-eye view showing the projected design of the Western Hospital. Published in *The Canadian Illustrated News*, 8 July 1876, 21. Canadiana Online.



Figure 3.9 – The Western Hospital on Atwater Avenue circa 1902. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW – 2983.



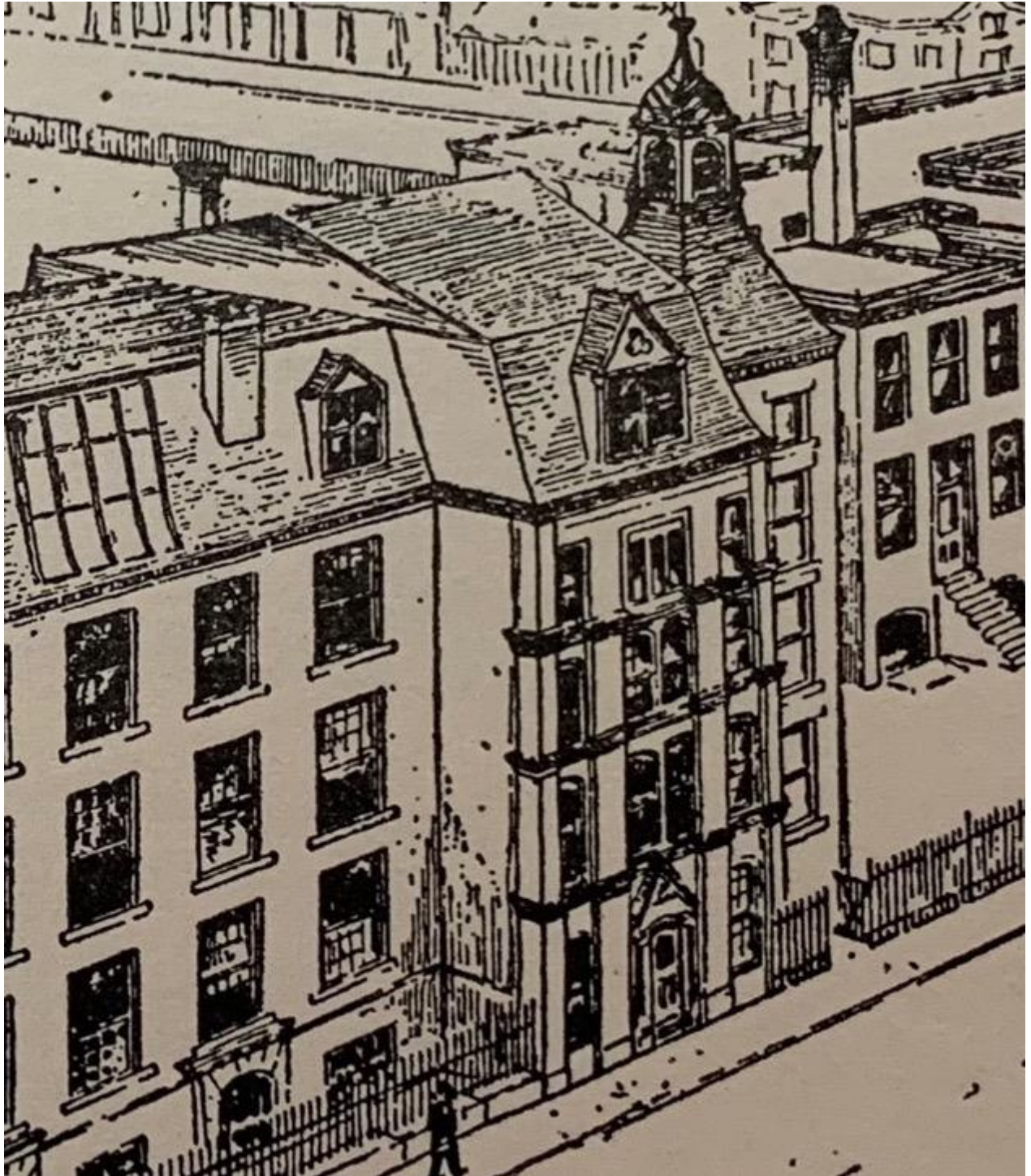


Figure 3.10 – Detail of the Morland wing of the Montreal General Hospital from Taylor and Gordon's perspective drawing. McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

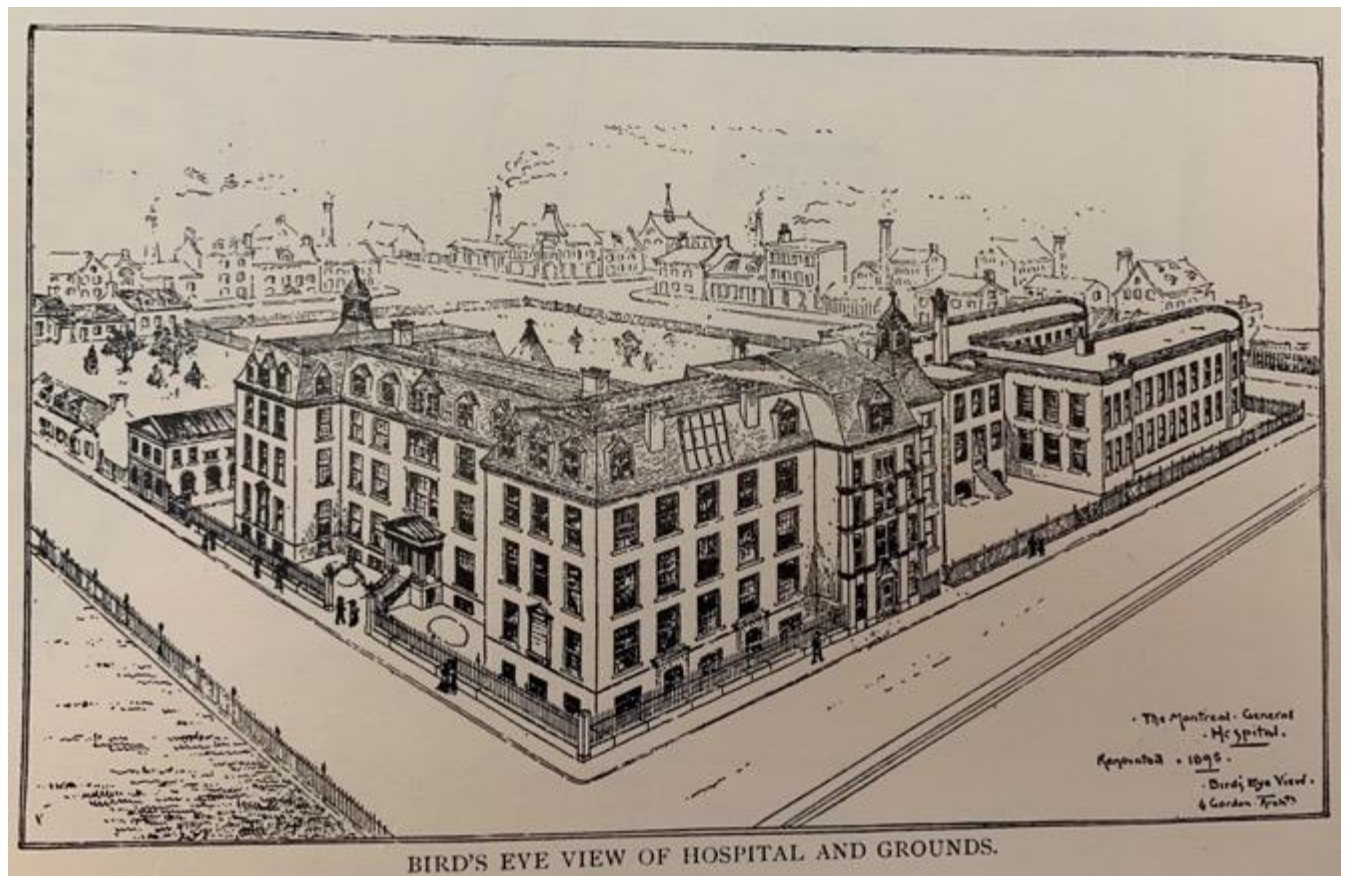


Figure 3.11 – Perspective drawing of the Montreal General Hospital by Taylor and Gordon. McCord Stewart Museum Archives.

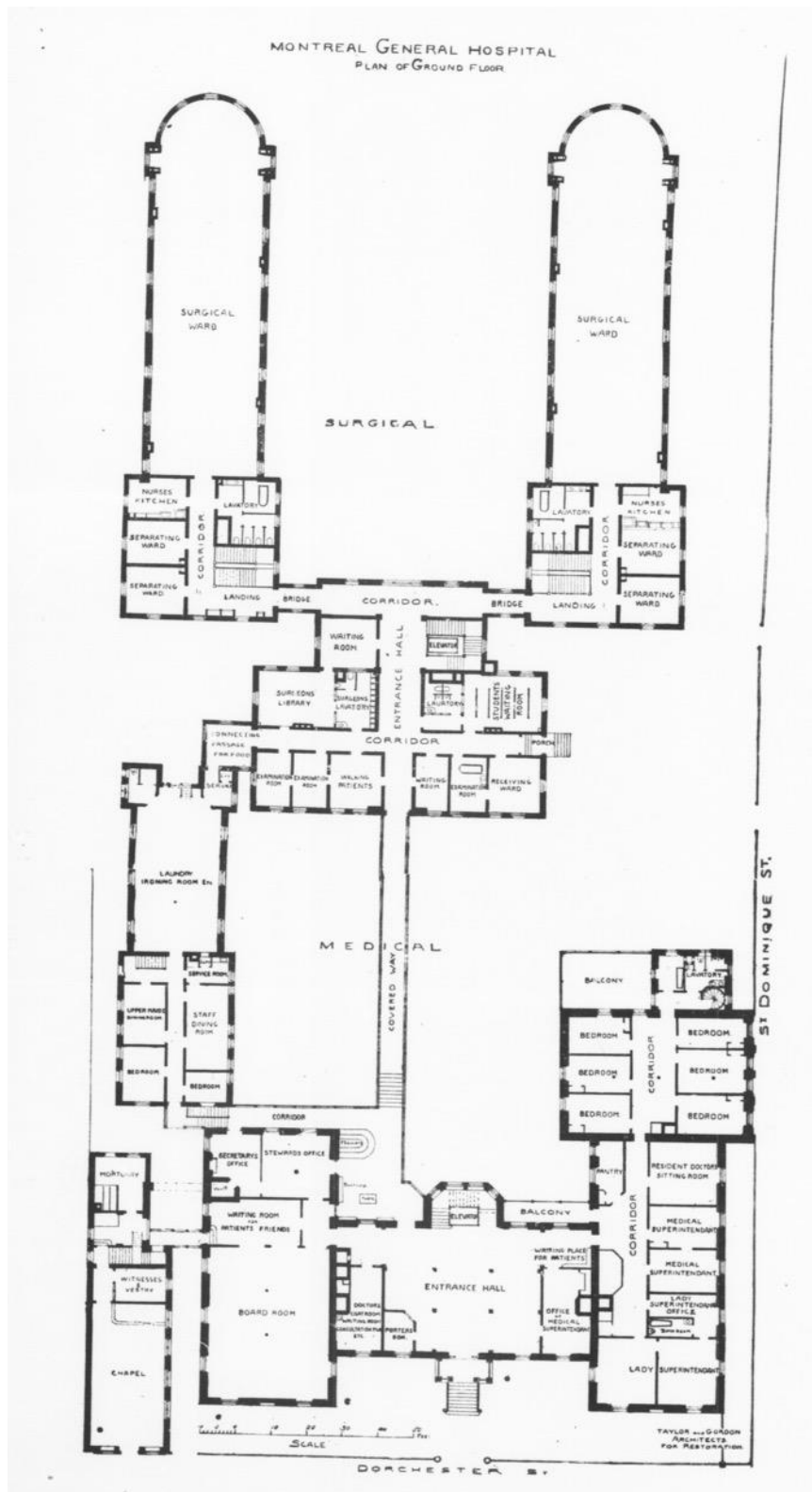


Figure 3.12 – Plan of the first floor of the Montreal General Hospital after the 1895 renovations. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. C069/A, 355.





Figure 3.13 – View of St. Urbain Street, facing south. The towers in the distance belong to the Notre-Dame Church. McCord Stewart Museum Archives.





Figure 3.14 – Undated image of the old Montreal Maternity Hospital on St. Urbain Street. In Barrett and Fraser, *The Royal Victoria Montreal Maternity Hospital*, 1943, 9.

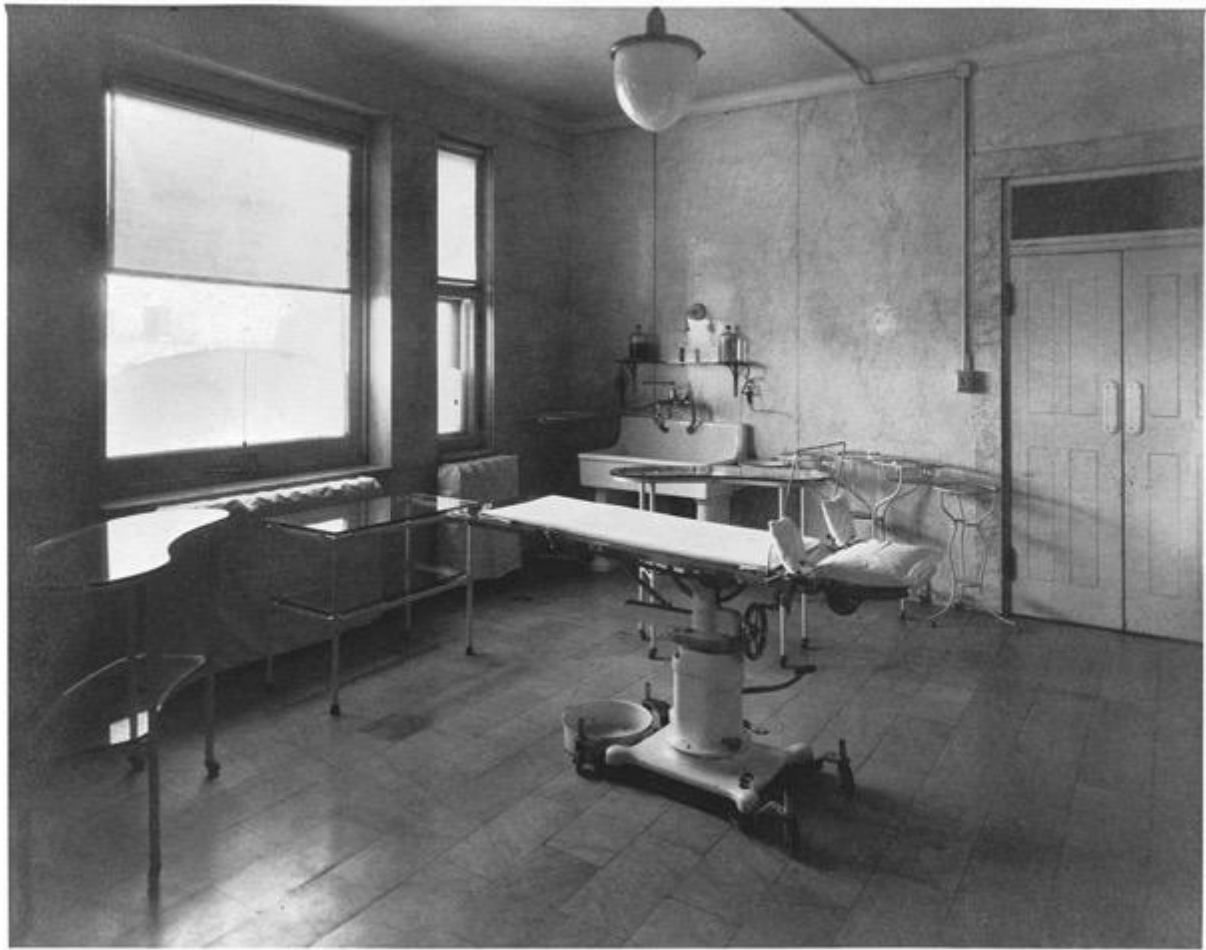


Figure 3.15 – Delivery room at the new Montreal Maternity Hospital, circa 1925. Blackburns, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.8.



Figure 3.16 – The private patients' ward at the new Montreal Maternity Hospital, circa 1925. Flowers and plants decorate the bedside tables. There appears to be a stationery box on the table in the centre of the room, possibly for patients to sit and write to their families or friends about their time in the hospital. Blackburns, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.4.



Figure 3.17 – The operating room at the new Montreal Maternity Hospital, circa 1925. Blackburns, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.5.



Figure 3.18 – Two nurses holding babies in the public nursery at the new Montreal Maternity Hospital, circa 1925. Blackburns, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.7.

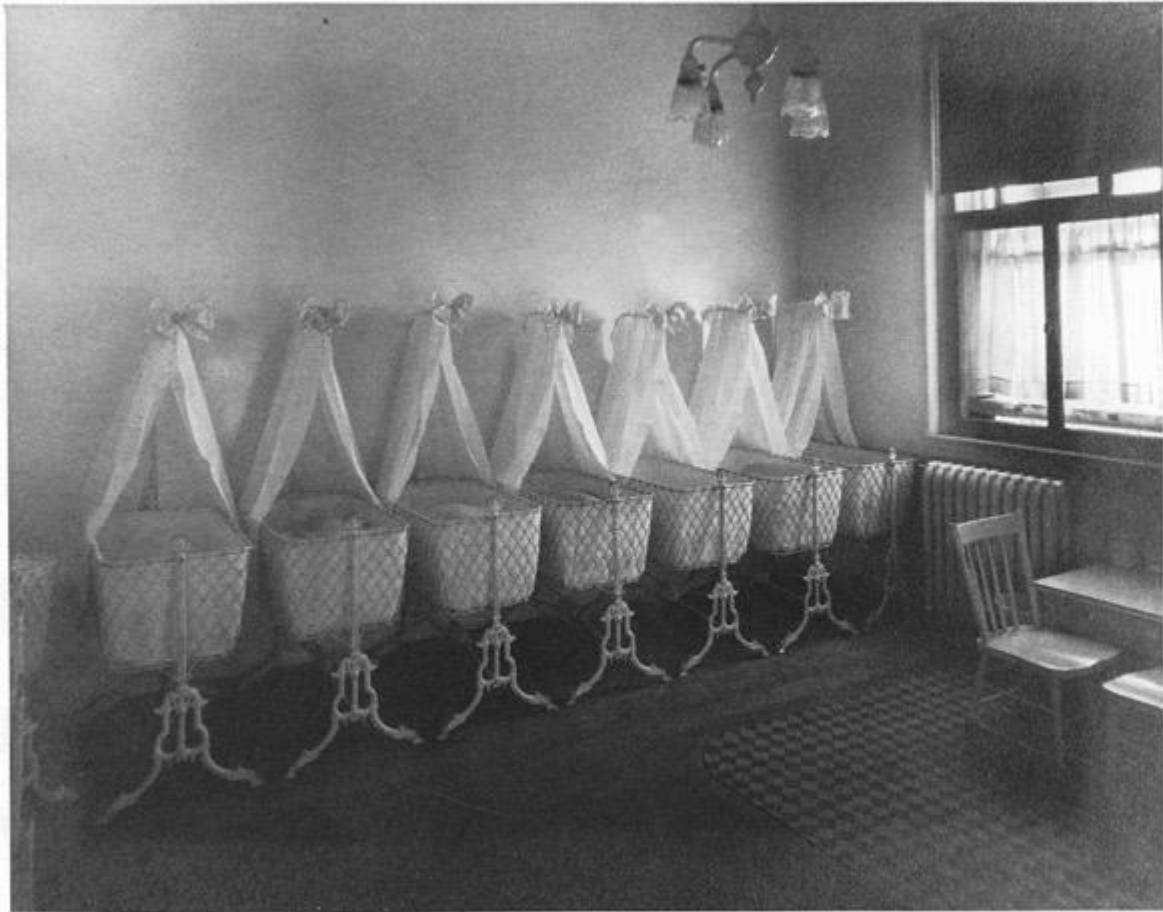


Figure 3.19 – Row of bassinets in the private nursery, circa 1925. Blackburns, McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-1973.1.6.



Figure 3.20 – Photograph of Taylor's Montreal Maternity Hospital taken from the north-eastern corner of St. Urbain and Prince Arthur Streets, 1906. Photograph by William Notman and Son. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Photography – Notman Photographic Archives. VIEW-4294.

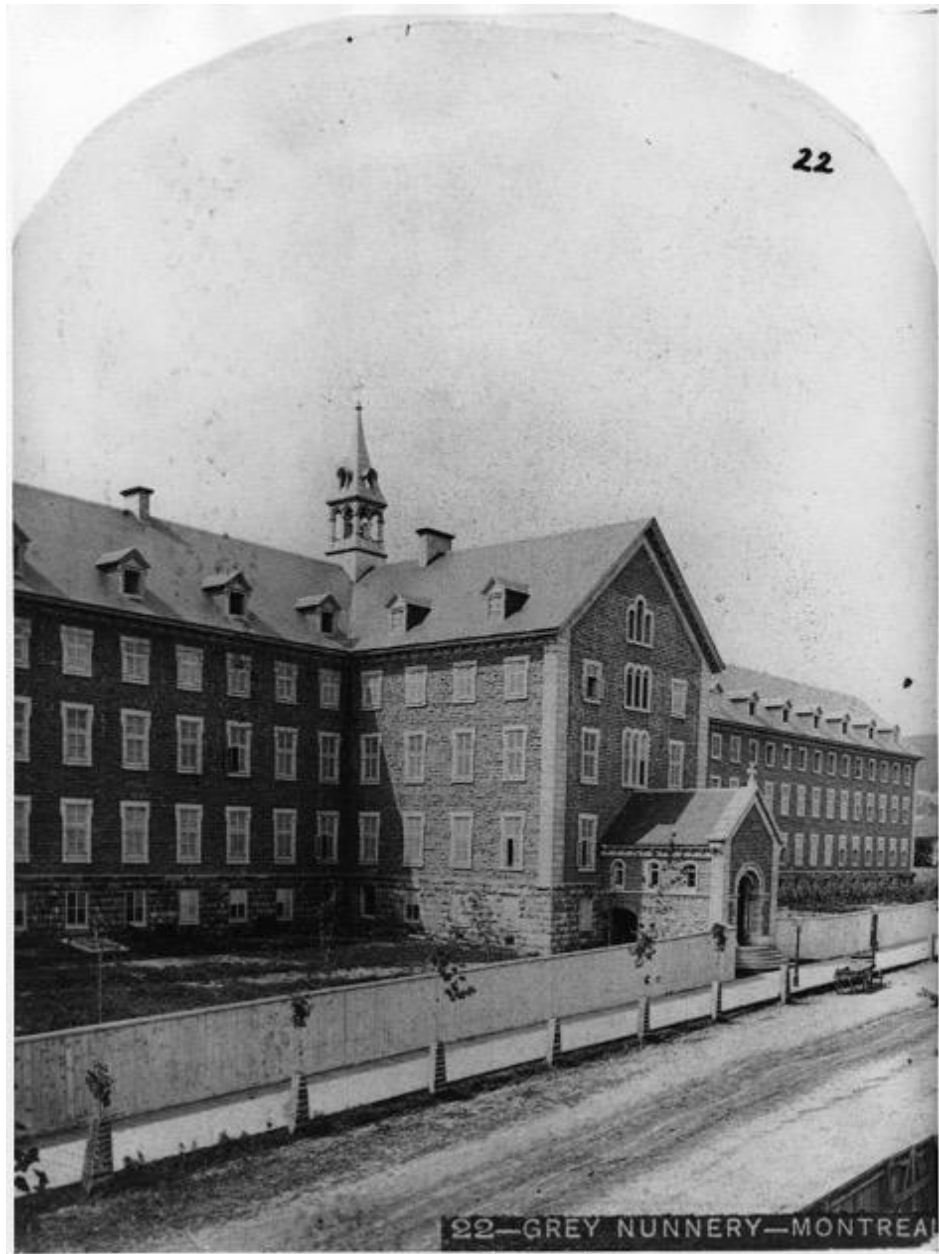


Figure 3.21 – Photograph showing the east entrance of the Grey Nunnery on Guy Street, surrounded by a wood fence. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. VIEW-221.





Figure 3.22 – The former Protestant Infants' Home on Guy Street, 1925. When this photograph was taken, the home was in use as a dancing academy. McCord Stewart Museum Archives. Communication Objects – Documentary Objects – Graphic Documents. MP-0000.25.229.

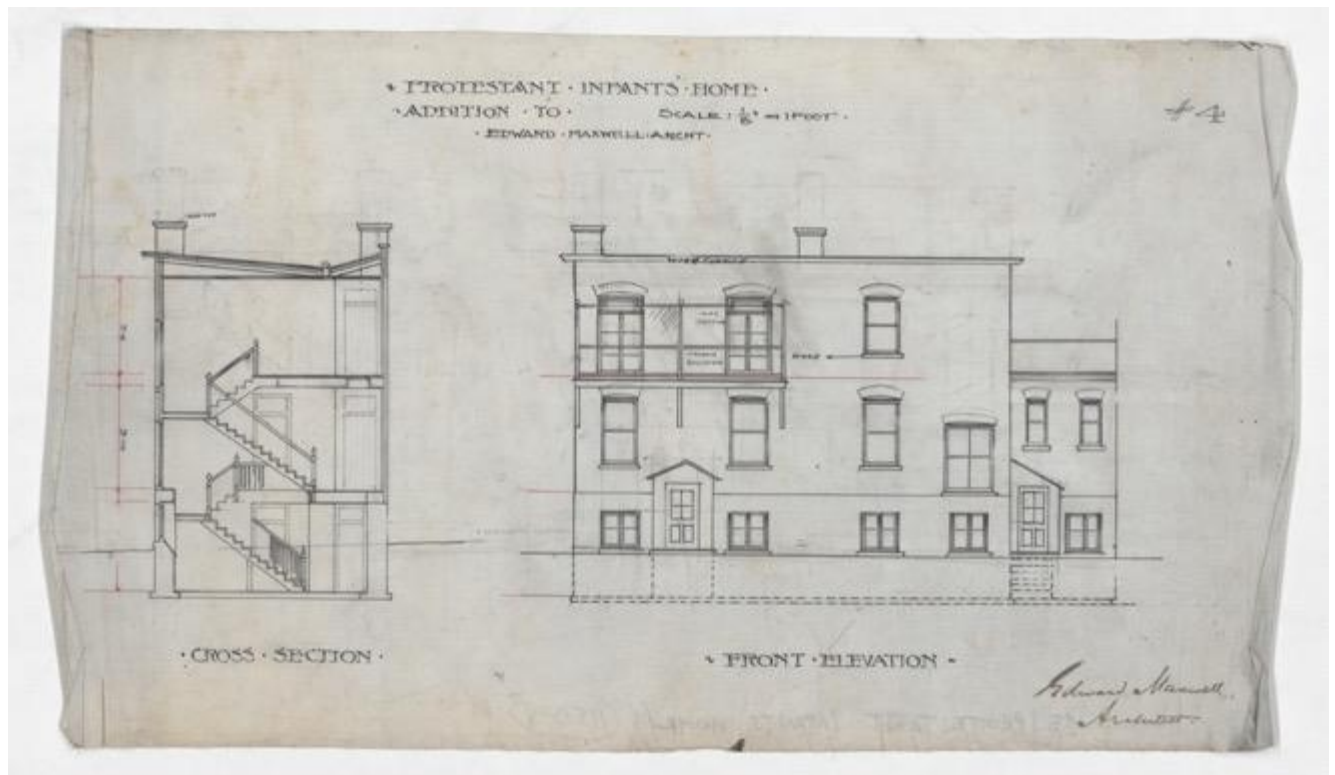


Figure 3.23 – The front elevation of an unbuilt addition to the Protestant Infants' Home (right) and a cross section (left) prepared by Edward Maxwell. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

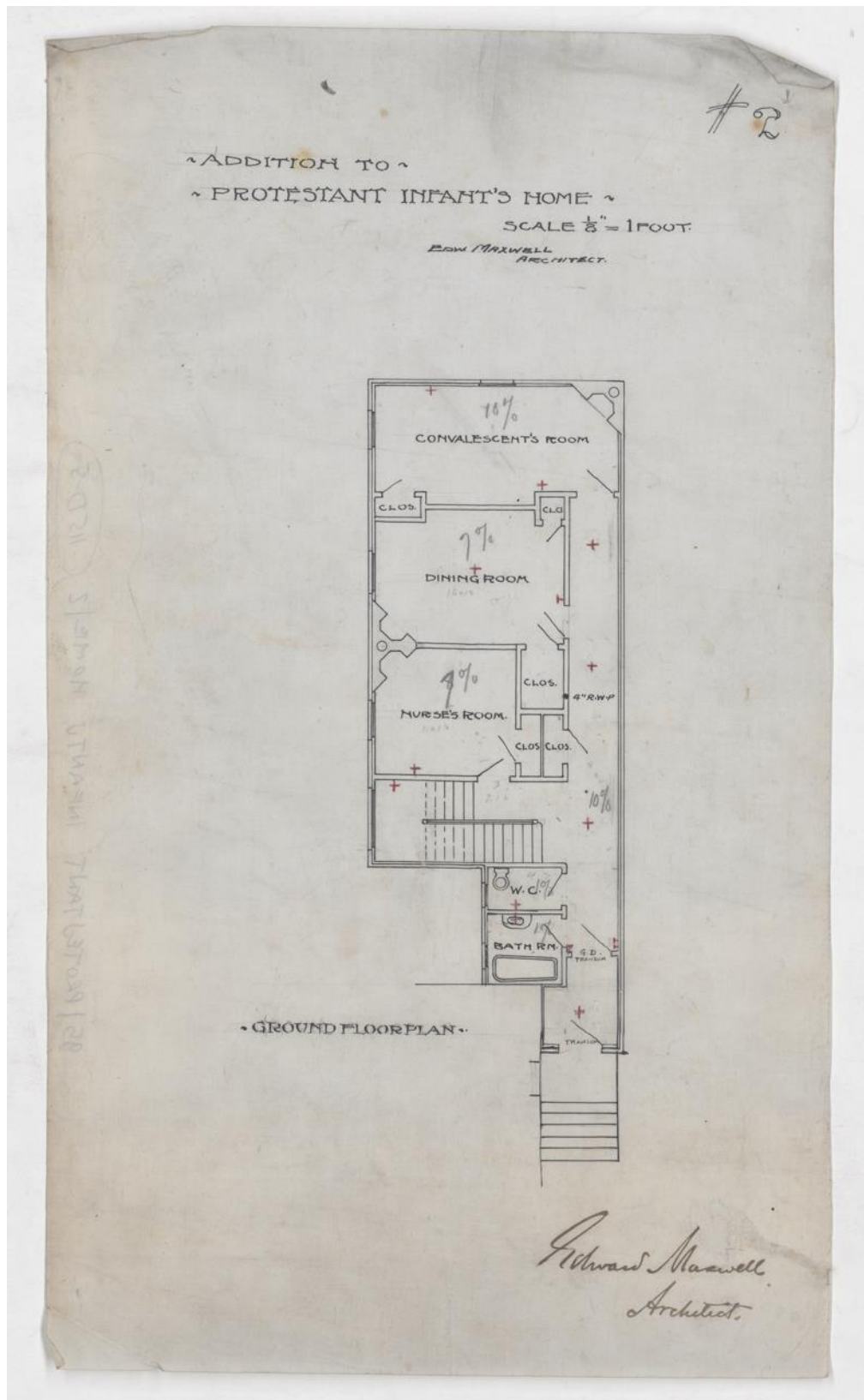


Figure 3.24 – Ground floor plan of an unbuilt addition to the Protestant Infants' Home by Edward Maxwell. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

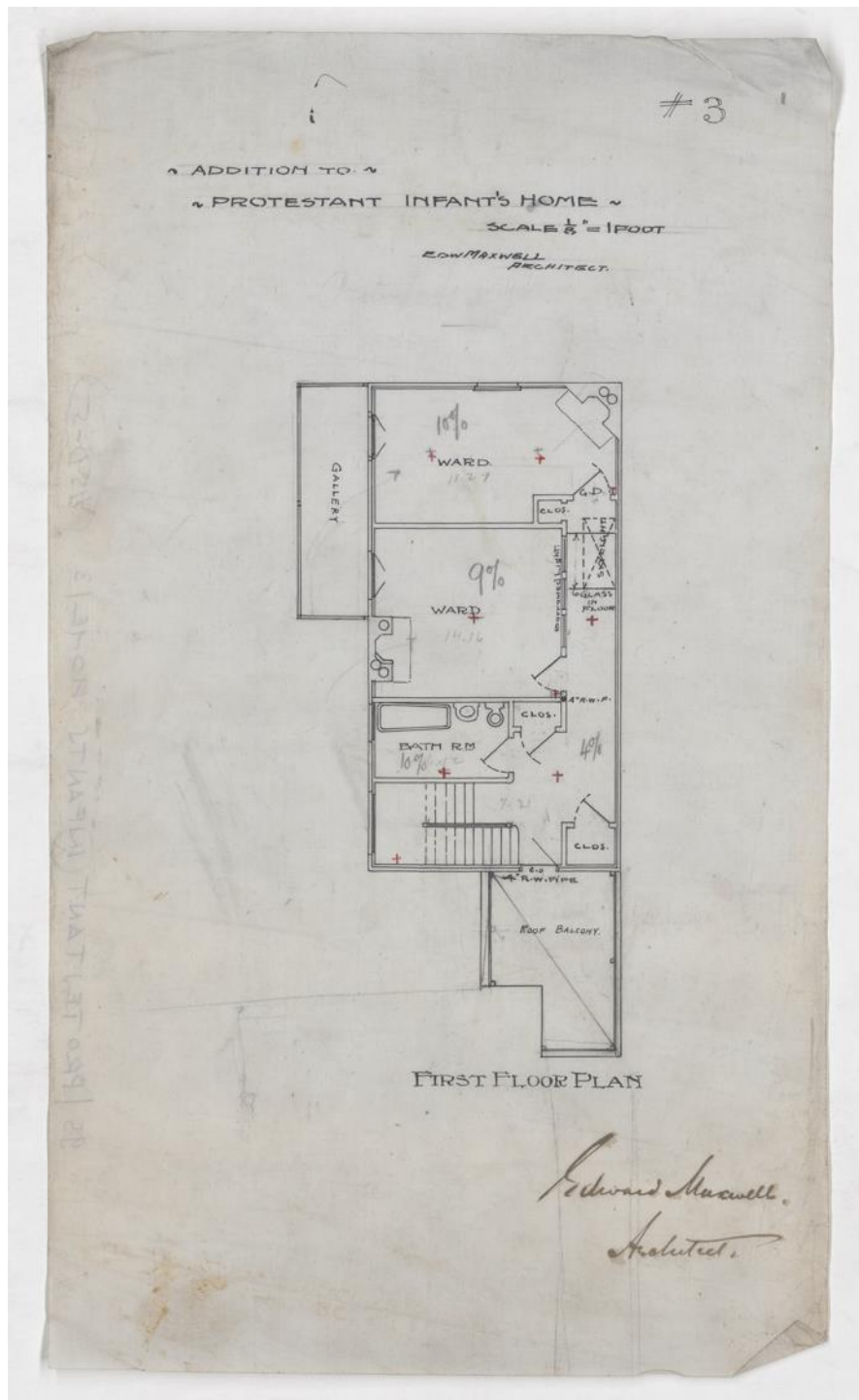


Figure 3.25 – First floor plan of an unbuilt addition to the Protestant Infants' Home by Edward Maxwell. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

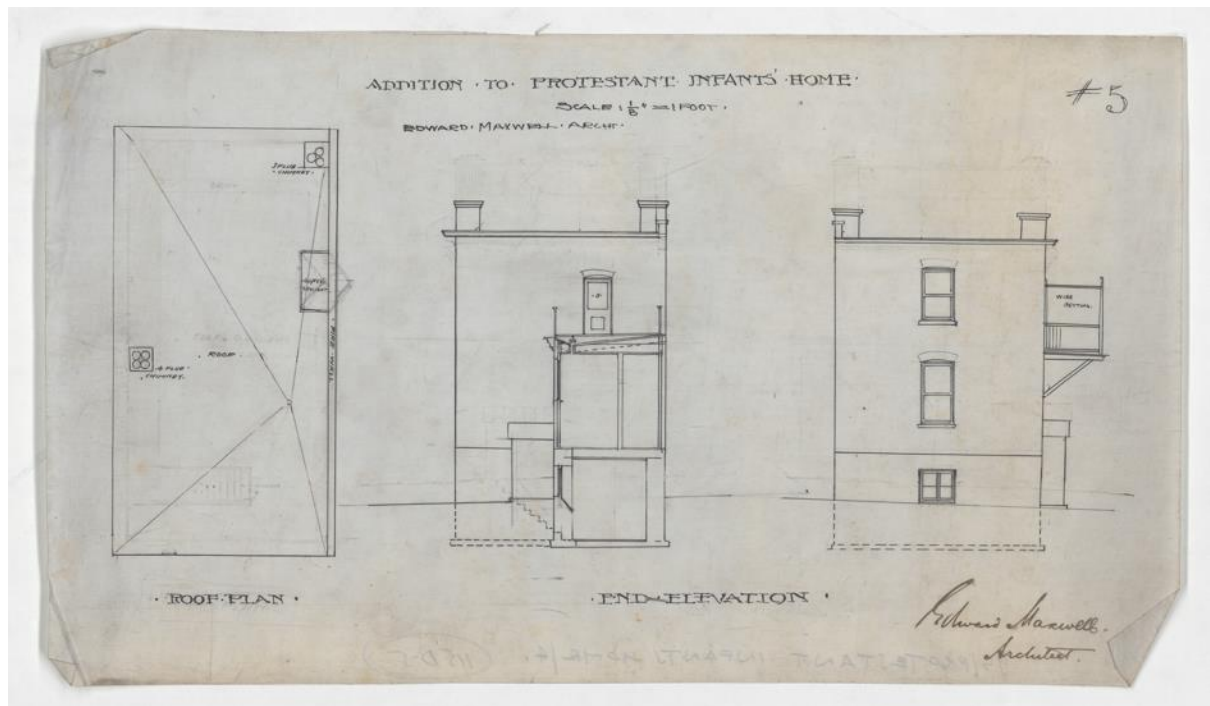


Figure 3.26 – Roof plan and elevations of the unbuilt addition of the Protestant Infants' Home by Edward Maxwell. John Bland Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University Rare Books and Special Collections.

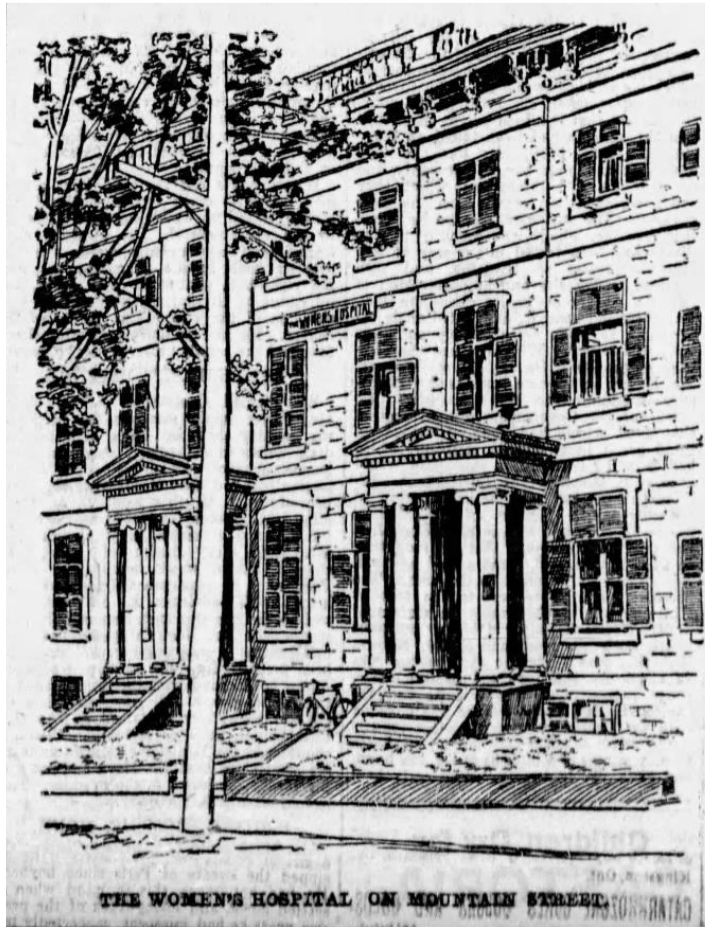


Figure 3.27 – An etching of the Women’s Hospital at 170 and 172 on Mountain Street published by *The Montreal Daily Star* in 1900. The article that accompanies this image explains that the two buildings were renovated and interconnected, so that they functioned as one institution. The pedimented entry, sash windows, columns and balustrade suggest that the exterior was inspired by Georgian houses. When the Women’s Hospital moved to this location from the previous one on Osborne Street, the YWCA Industrial School and the Crèche Day Nursery were at 174 Mountain Street. The Crèche Day Nursery appears in the register three times. In *The Montreal Daily Star*, 16 June 1900, 19.