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**DOMESTICATING PARKS AND MASTERING PLAYGROUNDS:
SEXUALITY, POWER AND PLACE IN MONTREAL, 1870-1930**

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of
the requirements of the degree of Master of Arts

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ABSTRACT

Late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Montreal witnessed the proliferation of parks and playgrounds. Products of urban capitalist development, these deeply ideological spaces, inscribed with different gender, class, ethnic, and sexual meanings, are the subject of this thesis. Moving from the scenic park to the neighbourhood park to the playground, this study examines the relationship among the power to construct a space, the values inscribed in it, and a system of regulation designed to either bar the less powerful or eject those who challenged these values. It links the uneven development of parks and playgrounds in Montreal to the unequal power of the different classes and ethnic groups. It connects the construction of parks as domestic enclaves for families generally and women specifically to the function of parks, places to uphold female propriety, respectable (hetero)sexuality, and bourgeois domesticity. It traces how those who embodied social unrest, economic disorder, and sexual chaos (the drinking man, the vagabond, and the "promiscuous" young working woman) were subject to a policy of exclusion. It charts the process by which the proponents for playgrounds, the elite anglophone organization the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, manipulated play space as a means to curb male vices and contain male heterosexual urges, as well as train working-class boys to be good citizens and obedient workers in the (Anglo-Saxon) nation. This thesis is a history of how the powerful architects of these gendered spaces helped construct the norm and justified the punishment of the deviant.

RESUME

La ville de Montréal a été témoin d'une prolifération de parcs, de jardins et de terrains de jeu pendant la fin du dix-neuvième et le début du vingtième siècle. Produits par le développement du capitalisme urbain, ces espaces profondément idéologique empreints d'un genre, d'une classes, d'une ethnicité et d'une sexualité particuliers constituent la matière du présent mémoire. Passant du parc panoramique au jardin public et au terrain de jeu, la présente étude recense les rapports entre le pouvoir de construire un espace, les valeurs qui y sont marquées, et un système de réglementation conçu soit pour en interdire l'accès aux moins puissants ou en expulser ceux et celles qui défiaient ces valeurs. Ce mémoire fait le lien entre le développement inégal des parcs, jardins et terrains de jeu, à Montréal, à la puissance inégale des différentes classes et groupes ethniques. On y relie l'installation de ces lieux, en tant qu'enclaves domestiques pour les familles en général et les femmes en particulier, à leur fonction: lieux où faire respecter la bienséance féminine, une (hétéro)sexualité respectable et la vie de famille bourgeoise. Le mémoire donne à voir comment les personnes qui incarnaient les troubles sociaux, les désordres économiques et le chaos sexuel - le buveur, le vagabond et la jeune ouvrière aux moeurs légères - subissaient une politique d'exclusion. L'auteure relève le mécanisme par lequel les partisans des terrains de jeu, la *Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association* de l'élite anglophone, manipulaient l'espace réservé au jeu et s'en servaient pour réfréner les vices masculins et maîtriser les pulsions hétérosexuelles des hommes, ainsi qu'à former les garçons des classes ouvrières à devenir de bons citoyens et des ouvriers soumis dans le pays (anglo-saxon). Le mémoire constitue ainsi une histoire au cours de laquelle on peut recenser les moyens employés par les puissants bâtisseurs de ces espaces sexuellement marqués pour faciliter la codification de normes et justifier la punition des déviants.

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I am also grateful to my friends and family: my room-mate, Chantal, who heard about small revelations about turn-of-the-century Montreal with genuine excitement, picked up the pieces amid late night (computer and mental) breakdowns, and who put up with me and my thesis for far too long; my friends on the Plateau, Mary, Michael and Candida, who made Montreal a great place to live; my family, the Trainor-Schmidts, for being so generous and loving, and for creating a wonderful home to which I love to return; and Brad, for showing me that fighting the cuts to education was as important as finishing this thesis, and, of course, for everything else.

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Archives de la ville de Montréal	AVM
Archives gaies du Québec	AGQ
Bureau des Commissaires	BC
Canada Steamship Lines Limited	CSL
Commission de la police	CP
Commission des parcs et traverses	CPT
Dossiers de presses	DP
Girls Cottage Industrial School	GCIS
McGill University Archives	MUA
Montreal Local Council of Women	MLCW
Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association	MPPA
Montreal Street Railway Company	MSR
National Archives of Canada	NAC
Notre Dame de Grâce	NDG
Parks Protective Association	PPA
Recorder's Court	RC
Young Men's Christian Association	YMCA
Young Women's Christian Association	YWCA

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INTRODUCTION

A 1995 visit to the *Parco d'Amore* in Lima, Peru sparked my interest in the study of sexuality, power, and one's place in public parks and playgrounds. Located in the wealthy district of Mia Flores, this "park of love" was announced by an immense statue of a man and woman in a passionate embrace. I stopped at this park for a rest while touring this city where the distance between rich and poor is immense and a person's skin colour determines if she will be a server at a restaurant or be served. I soon realized that I was an anomaly in this space. A designated *rendez-vous* for respectable (heterosexual) couples, I was surrounded by men and women of Spanish-descent entwined sexually and a park policeman who, while preventing children from playing on the carefully landscaped grass, watched the couples approvingly. This scene inspired my thesis topic: illustrating in a blatant manner the relationship between economic privilege and access to open spaces, the class- and race-specific definition of respectability, and the extent to which sexuality, class, and ethnicity are inscribed in space, I returned to Montreal interested in writing a history of the city's parks and playgrounds through this lens.

Scholars have tended to treat parks and playgrounds as distinct subjects of historical inquiry, thereby leading to two separate historiographies.¹ Despite this compartmentalization, the debate within both, divisible into three stages, has evolved along similar lines. Both early park and play historians argued that park architects and playground advocates sought to liberate the urban poor from the constraints of their material conditions by providing them with open and play spaces. This early park historiography, in which Frederick Law Olmsted loomed large, was dominated by

¹For exceptions to this general rule see Paul Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America 1880-1920* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1978), chap. 16; Galen Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design: A History of Urban Parks in America* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1982); Robert Weyeneth, "Moral Spaces: Reforming the Landscape of Leisure in Urban America, 1850-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1984), chap. 2, 3, 5; Susan Markham, "The Development of Parks and Playgrounds in Selected Canadian Prairie Cities: 1880-1930" (Ph.D. diss., University of Alberta, 1988), and Stephen Delehanty, "San Francisco Parks and Playgrounds, 1839-1990: The History of a Public Good in One North American City" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard University, 1992).

architectural and landscape historians. Studying landscapes, gardens, or parks as artistic creations, they tended to remain uncritical of this "artistic genius;" while they saw the park as an embodiment of democracy and the essence of civilization, they identified its chief architect, Olmsted, as an enlightened social reformer who used the environment as a site of moral reform for the urban working classes.² Similarly, early playground histories, a subset of urban, social reform, sport, recreation and leisure history, portrayed this play space as one which alleviated the evils of urban poverty brought on by capitalist enterprising and urbanization, identified organized play as a vehicle of freedom, and saw its middle-class promoters as champions of democracy and social justice.³

As part of a larger pattern in the discipline of history in the 1970s, park and play historians, while accepting this interconnection between environment, morality and class, dismissed these urban reformers as agents of social control rather than moral uplift. Indicting Olmsted as a conservative reformer and the park as a mechanism for moral control, Paul Boyer synthesized this more cynical interpretation of park promoters in his history of urban reform.⁴ Cary Goodman's particularly harsh charge that the playground

²On early histories of landscape design see George Chadwick, *The Park and the Town: Public Landscape in the 19th and 20th Centuries* (New York: F. A. Praeger, 1966), and Norman Newton, *Design on the Land: The Development of Landscape Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1971). On positive assessments of Olmsted's work see Albert Fein, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the American Environmental Tradition* (New York: G. Braziller, 1971); Laura Wood Roper, *FLO: A Biography of Frederick Law Olmsted* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973); Elizabeth Stevenson, *Park Maker: A Life of Frederick Law Olmsted* (New York: Macmillan, 1977), and Cynthia Zaitzevsky, *Frederick Law Olmsted and the Boston Parks System* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1982). For a recent reaffirmation of Olmsted's artistic genius and social conscience see the illustrated book by Charles E. Beveridge and Paul Rocheleau, *Frederick Law Olmsted: Designing the American Landscape* (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1995).

³See Clarence Rainwater, *The Play Movement in the United States: A Study of Community Recreation* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1922); K. Gerald Marsden, "Philanthropy and the Boston Playground Movement, 1885-1907," *Social Service Review* 35 (1961): 48-58; E.M. McFarland, *The Development of Public Recreation in Canada* (Ottawa: Canadian Parks/Recreation Association, 1970); Benjamin McArthur, "The Chicago Playground Movement: A Neglected Feature of Social Justice," *Social Service Review* 49 (1975): 376-395; Richard F. Knapp and Charles E. Hartsoe, *Play for America: The National Recreation Association, 1906-1965* (Arlington, VA: National Recreation and Park Association, 1979), and Richard Gruneau, "Freedom and Constraint: The Paradoxes of Play, Games, and Sports," *Journal of Sport History* 7 (Winter 1980): 68-86.

⁴Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 233-242. On negative interpretations of Olmsted's work specifically see Geoffrey Blodgett, "Frederick Law Olmsted: Landscape Architecture as Conservative Reform," *Journal of American History* 62 (March 1976): 869-889; Robert Lewis, "Frontier and Civilization in the Thought of Frederick Law Olmsted," *American Quarterly* 26 (Spring-Winter 1976): 385-403, and Roger Starr, "The Motive Behind Olmsted's Park," *Public Interest* 74 (Winter 1984): 66-76.

served as a tool of cultural imperialism which destroyed the Jewish immigrant working-class street culture in New York City, as well as Dominick Cavallo's use of psychological theories to describe the playground movement's commitment to controlling youth, illustrate particularly well this second phase in playground historiography.⁵

These histories of parks and playgrounds, in which the subordinate classes were completely absent, was challenged soon after by pioneers of working-class history.⁶ Ignoring the way in which public space was shaped through social and political negotiation and how park use, in particular, reflected this negotiation, park historians devised a new framework beyond the narrow contours of landscape histories and Olmsted biographies. Whereas Galen Cranz fused a history of park design with a social history of park use,⁷ Roy Rosenzweig and Stephen Hardy provided forceful challenges to the social control model by highlighting workers' agency in securing their own park space in Worcester and Boston, Massachusetts respectively.⁸ Hardy and David Nasaw also reassessed the play

⁵Cary Goodman, *Choosing Sides: Playgrounds and Street Life on the Lower East Side* (New York: Schocken Books, 1979), and Dominick Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals: Organized Playgrounds and Urban Reform, 1880-1920* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1981). Although less harsh than Goodman also see Mark Kadzielski, "The Origins of Organized Children's Recreation in Philadelphia," *Journal of Sport History* 4 (1977): 169-188. For a review of this historiography see Stephen Hardy and A.G. Ingham, "Games, Structures, and Agency: Historians on the American Play Movement," *Journal of Social History* 17 (Winter 1983): 285-301.

⁶For an early critique of the social control model in relation to leisure see Gareth Stedman Jones, "Class Expression versus Social Control? A Critique of Recent Trends in the Social History of 'Leisure,'" *History Workshop - A Journal of Socialist Historians* 4 (Autumn 1977): 162-170.

⁷Cranz, *Politics of Park Design*. Although Hazel Conway attempts to follow Cranz's lead by redressing the imbalance in the literature which privileges design over use, she nevertheless favours the former. See Hazel Conway, *People's Park: The Design and Development of Victorian Parks in Britain* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

⁸Roy Rosenzweig, "Middle-Class Parks and Working-Class Play: The Struggle Over Recreational Space in Worcester, Massachusetts, 1870-1910," *Radical History Review* 21 (1979): 31-46, and Stephen Hardy, "Parks for the People: Reforming the Boston Park System, 1870-1915," *Journal of Sport History* 7:3 (Winter 1980): 5-24. Subsequently, local studies on urban parks proliferated with attention to how local ethnic, class, and racial patterns shaped the design, location, regulation, maintenance, and use of urban public parks. See, for example, Gail D'Avino, "Atlanta Municipal Parks, 1882-1917: Urban Boosterism, Urban Reform in a New South City" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1988). In Canada, historians tended to focus exclusively on class in their discussion of the development of a particular city's parks system. Identifying a movement to develop parks in Canada's burgeoning urban centres as one which was driven by either real estate promoters, businessmen, or the social elite, they illustrated well the link between class privilege and civic boosterism. See William McKee, "The Vancouver Park System, 1886-1929: A Product of Local Businessmen," *Urban History Review* 9 (June 1978): 33-49; Paul André Linteau, *Maison neuve: Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981), chap. 7, 8; Mary Ellen Cavett, H. John Selwood, and J.C. Lehr, "Social Philosophy and the Early Development of Winnipeg Parks," *Urban History Review* 11 (June 1982): 27-39; R.A. McDonald, "'Holy Retreat' or

movement in a similar manner; while Hardy highlighted residents of poor neighbourhoods lobbying the municipal government for play areas for their children, Nasaw focused on children's and mothers' resistance to playgrounds and their corollary, "child savers," in favour of the street. In short, they emphasized agency and resistance rather than control and cultural assimilation.⁹

Although women's historians and feminist geographers have been writing on and theorizing about gender, sexuality and space for over two decades, historians of parks and playgrounds have tended not to incorporate gender as a category of analysis in their discussion of spaces designed predominately for women (the park) and boys (the playground).¹⁰ This is a remarkable feat because references to the park as a "moral space" used by the gatekeeper of morality, the middle-class mother, abound in park histories.¹¹ Similarly abundant are allusions in play histories to the relationship between muscular training in boys and their moral fibre, as well as the loss of sporting opportunities for working men and boys in the industrializing city and the rise of the athletic field.¹² This

'Practical Breathing Spot?': Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park, 1910-1913," *Canadian Historical Review* 65 (1984): 127-153, and Beverley Williams, "Leisure as Contested Terrain in Late Nineteenth Century Halifax (M.A. thesis, St. Mary's University, 1991), chap. 3. For a recent reaffirmation of working-class agency see Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar, *The People and the Park: A History of Central Park* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1992), in which they argue that the democratic development of Central Park was not a result of Olmsted's vision, but rather a project of the disenfranchised classes.

⁹Stephen Hardy, *How Boston Played: Sport, Recreation, and Community, 1865-1915* (Boston: Northeastern University Press, 1982), chap. 5, and David Nasaw, *Children of the City: At Work and At Play* (Garden City, N.Y.: Anchor Press, 1985). Contrary to Goodman's claims, Stephen Reiss also argued that playgrounds reinforced ethnic barriers rather than assimilated the immigrant. Stephen A. Reiss, *City Games: The Evolution of American Urban Society and the Rise of Sports* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989), 133-135, 146.

¹⁰For the exception see Galen Cranz, "Women in Urban Parks," in Catharine Stimpson, ed., *Women and the American City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980), 76-92. She argues that women's function in the pleasure garden was that of stabilizer; her presence set a tone which demanded high standards of behaviour.

¹¹See, for example, Weyeneth, "Moral Spaces." Also see Delehanty, "San Francisco Parks and Playgrounds," in which the author does not even acknowledge that the park movement targeted mothers specifically. He insensitivity to gender is evidenced by his gender-exclusive language, as appears in his introduction (3): "San Francisco's parks are as *man-made* as *her* streets and buildings. They are not places *man* accidentally left undisturbed, but rather tracts over which *men* have fought." Emphasis mine.

¹²For a glaring example see David B. Jones, "Playground Association of America: A Thwarted Attempt at the Professionalization of Play Leaders" (Ph.D. diss., University of Oregon, 1989). On gender-specific play theory as related to morality see Benjamin G. Rader, "The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behaviour, Moral Reflexes and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940*

literature, by engaging in a debate as to the merits of the social control model generally and the moral prerogative of the privileged architects of the parks and play movements specifically, under-theorizes these spaces as social constructs inscribed with gender, class, ethnicity and sexuality.

However, it is from this vantage point that I approach the history of parks and playgrounds. Committed to converging historical narratives which have, to date, remained disparate (park and playground histories, women's history, and history of sexuality), I rely on the theoretical work of geographers. Pointing out that "'time' is equated with movement and progress, 'space/place'... with stasis and reaction," geographers remind us that this is a false claim; we "cannot regard space either as simply a container for social life and its artifacts, a backdrop for the drama and drudgery of existence, a theater for the enactment of history, an unproblematic and unchanging set of surroundings within which practices and events occur, a fixed field for the play of social action."¹³ However, historians, who tend to privilege time over space, often under-theorize the latter. Commenting on this trend in the discipline of history, Michel Foucault argued nearly two decades ago that "[a] whole history needs to be written of spaces - which would at the same time be the history of powers - from the great strategies of geo-politics to the little tactics of the habitats."¹⁴

Some New Left historians in the 1970s, who wrote histories of socio-political inequalities and charted how disparity manifested itself in space, were, in fact, informed by the work of Marxist geographers, who theorized about the link between the exercise of

(Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 123-134; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Boy Culture: Middle-Class Boyhood in Nineteenth-Century America," in Mark C. Carnes and Clyde Griffin, eds., *Meanings for Manhood: Constructions of Masculinity in Victorian America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 15-36, and Donald J. Mrozek, "The Natural Limits of Unstructured Play, 1880-1914," in Kathryn Grover, ed., *Hard at Play: Leisure in America, 1840-1940* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1992), 210-226. On sports and the athletic field see Hardy, *How Boston Played*; Reiss, *City Games*, and Colin D. Howell, *Northern Sandlots: A Social History of Maritime Baseball* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). Howell does deal explicitly with gender in his analysis.

¹³Doreen Massey, *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), 151, and Allan Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 7.

¹⁴Michel Foucault, *Power/knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), 149. For this common complaint also see Edward W. Soja, *Postmodern Geographies: The Reassertion of Space in Critical Social Theory* (London: Verso, 1989), 11, and Gillian Rose, *Feminism and Geography* (Minneapolis: Minnesota University Press, 1993), 141, 142.

class hegemony and access to space.¹⁵ However, the work of historians such as Roy Lubove and Roy Rosenzweig were the exception rather than the norm.¹⁶ In 1979, *Radical History Review* published a special edition entitled "The Spatial Dimension of History," in which the editors criticized historians for using time as their operative frame of reference while neglecting the category of space: "space is so deeply a part of our context that we allow it to slip almost imperceptibly into the background." Identifying space as a "social category, a changing set of lived social relations - a social construction - whose understanding allows us to remap the mental and physical terrain of social struggle," these New Left historians were committed to charting historical accounts of class struggle over space.¹⁷ Although an important step in the discipline of history, *History Workshop Journal's* recent edition, in which the editors included a special feature entitled "Spatial History: Rethinking the Idea of Place," is evidence of historians' reluctance to incorporate geographers' work on space. Sounding strikingly similar to the editors of *Radical History Review* sixteen years prior, they wrote: "think of space, not as areas on maps, but as constantly shifting articulations of social relations through time."¹⁸ Interdisciplinary work is put forward as a way to achieve this end: "the identity of places is very much bound up with the histories which are told of them, how those histories are told of them, and which

¹⁵See David Harvey, *Social Justice and the City* (Baltimore: Edward Arnold, 1973). Also see his most recent re-affirmation of his position in *The Condition of Postmodernity: An Enquiry into the Origins of Cultural Change* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1989).

¹⁶In his 1975 review article of park literature, Roy Lubove cited geographer Edward Hall in his attempt to persuade historians to use space as a conceptual framework: "everything that man [sic] is and does is associated with the experience of space. Nothing occurs, real or imagined, without a spatial context, because space along with time, is one of the principal organizing systems for living organisms." See Roy Lubove, "Social History and the History of Landscape Architecture," *Journal of Social History* 9:2 (Winter 1975): 268-275, and Rosenzweig, "Middle-Class Parks." On early calls among Canadian historians for interdisciplinary work see, for example, John U. Marshall, "Geography's Contribution to the Historical Study of Urban Canada," *Urban History Review* 1:73 (May 1973): 15-24, and James T. Lemon, "Approaches to the Study of the Urban Past: Geography," *Urban History Review* 2:73 (October 1973): 13-19.

¹⁷Jean-Christopher Agnew and Elizabeth Blackmar, "Editors' Introduction," *Radical History Review* 21 (Fall 1979): 3-9. Also see Jon Amsden, "Historians and the Spatial Imagination," *Radical History Review* 21 (Fall, 1979): 11-30.

¹⁸Felix Driver and Raphael Samuel, "Rethinking the Idea of Place," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995): vi.

history turns out to be dominant... In trying to understand the identity of place we cannot - or, perhaps, should not - separate space from time, or geography from history."¹⁹

However, as feminist geographers inform us, there are basic limitations to Marxist geographers' theories, thereby pointing to a void in the scholarship of working-class historians. Identifying the historical struggle over space as a gendered (and race-specific) as well as a class-based process and rejecting Marxists' belief that the only axis of power which matters in relation to forms of domination is that which stems directly from the relations of production, feminist geographers critique Marxist scholars' inability to identify spaces as sex- and gender-coded. Feminist geographer Doreen Massey explains: "[f]rom the symbolic meaning of spaces/places and the clearly gendered messages which they transmit, to straightforward exclusion by violence, spaces and places are not only themselves gendered but, in their being so, they both reflect and affect the ways in which gender is constructed and understood."²⁰ Central to feminist geographers' argument about the patriarchal meaning of physical (gendered) spaces is the cultural distinction between public and private and the relationship between the limitation of a woman's mobility and her subordination; "the attempt to confine women to the domestic sphere [is] both a specifically spatial control and, through that, a social control on identity."²¹ These vital contributions to theories on space and power can only enrich the history of particular places.

Although women's historians tend not to incorporate the work of feminist geographers explicitly, they nevertheless write extensively on gender, sexuality and space. Like feminist geographers and other scholars who see power as embedded in geography and point to "the dichotomy between the private and the public [as] central to almost two

¹⁹Doreen Massey, "Places and their Pasts," *History Workshop Journal* 39 (Spring 1995): 186, 187.

²⁰Massey, *Space*, 179. Also see Shirley Ardener, ed., *Women and Space: Ground Rules and Social Maps* (London: Berg Press, 1981), Rose, *Feminism*, chap. 6, and Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose, "Introduction," in Allison Blunt and Gillian Rose, eds., *Writing Women and Space: Colonial and Postcolonial Geographies* (New York: Guilford, 1994).

²¹Massey, *Space*, 179. Also see Rose, *Feminism*, 125, 144.

centuries of feminist struggle," women's history developed within this Western intellectual tradition.²² Relying on the conceptual framework of separate spheres, early women's historians, drawing from Barbara Welter now-classic essay published in 1966, incorporated the public:private dichotomy (and its gendered meaning) into their work.²³ Placing woman firmly within the home (figuratively and literally), identifying female virtue as a spatialized construct whereby the private (moral) was juxtaposed to the public (immoral), and attributing her powerlessness to her inability to transgress into the public, early women's historians established important precedents which subsequent historians of women have either expanded upon, revised, or dismantled.²⁴

Although women's historians have since qualified that this early nineteenth-century emergence of the public:private division was part of cultural project of an emerging middle-class and criticize the ideological construct of separate spheres as an inaccurate account of

²²Carole Pateman, *The Disorder of Women: Democracy, Feminism and Political Theory* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1989), 118. For anthropological work highlighting the relationship between woman's exclusion from the public sphere in history and her subordination also see Michelle Zimbalist Rosaldo and Louise Lamphere, eds., *Woman, Culture and Society* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), and Rayna Reiter, ed., *Toward an Anthropology of Women* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1975). On the public:private distinction informing Western social and political thought see Jean Bethke Elshtain, *Public Man, Private Woman: Women in Social and Political Thought* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1981), in which she traces how Plato, Aristotle, Aquinas, and Machiavelli assumed and deployed some form of a distinction between the public and private as conceptual categories. Also see Joan Landes, *Women and the Public Sphere in the Age of the French Revolution* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1988). She explains the passage from French absolutism to bourgeois society as a process which entailed the replacement of the older patriarchal order with a more pervasive gendering of the public sphere.

²³Barbara Welter, "The Cult of True Womanhood: 1820-1860", *American Quarterly* 18 (1966): 151-174. This article was later incorporated into her book *Dimity Convictions: The American Woman in the Nineteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1976). Early anthologies on North American women rely on this metaphor of separate spheres and emphasize, like Welter, the debilitating effects this ideological construct had on women's access to power. See, for example, Wendy Mitchinson and Ramsay Cook, eds., *The Proper Sphere: Woman's Place in Canadian Society* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976), and Martha Vicinus, ed., *A Widening Sphere: Changing Roles of Victorian Women* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1977).

²⁴Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, Nancy Cott, Paul Baker, and Mary Ryan, for example, reformulate middle-class women's relegation to the separate sphere as a source of empowerment, in which they either discovered a "woman's culture" (Smith-Rosenberg), used domestic ideology to engage in activist work (Cott and Baker), or identified the home as a site for domestic feminism (Ryan). See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs* 1:1 (1975): 1-29; Nancy Cott, *The Bonds of Womanhood: "Woman's Sphere" in New England, 1780-1835* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Paula Baker, "The Domestication of Politics: Women and American Political Society, 1780-1920," *American Historical Review* 89 (1984): 620-647, and Mary Ryan, *Cradle of the Middle-Class: the family of Oneida County* (Cambridge, U.K.: Cambridge University Press, 1981). For an excellent historiographical essay on women's history use of "separate spheres" see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Women's History," *The Journal of American History* 75:1 (June 1988): 9-39.

the experiences of working-class women, women of colour as well as middle-class women,²⁵ this more recent literature nonetheless elucidates the relationship between gender, class, race, sexuality, and space. For example, they note that a woman's physical act of stepping out in public was perceived as a sexual one, whether it for activist work, fun, or economic necessity; "the lure and danger of the urban street had... a particular significance for all women. It was by their visibility or invisibility in street life that the state of their sexual and social reputations were judged."²⁶ Although a woman's virtue had a spatial dimension, historians of underprivileged women find that their subjects and the spaces they occupied were judged more harshly. Leading to sophisticated analyses of the class and racial underpinnings of an urban sexual geography and its corollary, a moral geography,²⁷ Judith Walkowitz illustrates particularly well how discourses on sexual danger in the urban landscape acted as a gendered regulatory mechanism.²⁸

²⁵On the class-specificity of the rise of separate spheres see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1980), and Leonore Davidoff and Catharine Hall, *Family Fortunes: Men and Women of the English Middle Class, 1780-1850* (London: Hutchinson, 1987). On working-class women occupying public space see Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1850* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986); Kathy Peiss, *Cheap Amusements: Working Women and Leisure in Turn-of-the-Century New York* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1986), and Joanne Meyerowitz, *Women Adrift: Independent Wage Earners in Chicago, 1880-1930* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1988). On women of colour in public see Deborah Gray White, *Ain't I a Woman?: Female Slaves in the Plantation South* (New York: Norton, 1985), and Elsa Barkley Brown and Gregg D. Kimball, "Mapping the Terrain of Black Richmond," *Journal of Urban History* 21:3 (March 1995): 296-346. On middle-class women in public see Mary Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990). In their recently published anthology on Maritime women, Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton rightfully identify that the public/private trope remains a useful conceptual framework because it was used in the past as an ideological tool to restrict women's lives. Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, "Introduction," in Janet Guildford and Suzanne Morton, eds., *Separate Spheres: Women's Worlds in the 19th Century Maritimes* (Fredericton, N.B.: Acadiensis Press, 1994). Also see Ryan, *Women in Public*, 6, 7, in which she writes: "[a]s long as these concepts retain such resiliency in modern Western culture, their theoretical obituaries are premature."

²⁶Martha Vicinus, *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1985), 45. Also see Esther Newton, "The Mythic Mannish Lesbian: Radclyffe Hall and the New Woman," *Signs* 9 (1984): 557-575; Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The New Woman as Androgyne: Social Disorder and Gender Crisis, 1870-1936," in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, ed., *Disorderly Conduct: Visions of Gender in Victorian America* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1985), and Sheila Jeffreys, *The Spinster and Her Enemies: Feminism and Sexuality, 1880-1930* (London: Pandora Press, 1985).

²⁷This term was coined by Perry Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983). In their article on the sexualization of working-class African-American women occupying public space in turn-of-the-century Richmond, Barkley Brown and Gregg Kimball reformulate it to incorporate gender and race. They write: "[b]y moral geography we mean both the coding of some behaviors as immoral and the confinement of these activities to certain regions of the

This literature, which illustrates the sexual subtext underlying this spatial metaphor, is particularly useful for this study of Montreal parks and playgrounds. Explaining how a particular space's "moral" status is contingent on the class and race occupying it and suggesting that all spaces are imprinted with gender and sexuality as well, the dated historiography on Montreal parks, centred predominantly around Mount Royal Park, and the near absence of literature on the city's playgrounds do not explore these themes. Whether analyzing Mount Royal Park through the lens of an architect interested in landscape design, an art historian committed to highlighting Frederick Law Olmsted's artistic genius, or an historical geographer writing an history of the class-specific nature of Mount Royal's early development, these scholars did not benefit from the more recent work of feminist geographers and historians.²⁹ Similarly, the author of the dated institutional history of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association (1953) preceded such work and the more recent sympathetic article of one of its leaders (Julia Drummond) does not even broach the issues of gender and sexuality.³⁰

Identifying parks and playgrounds as socially constructed spaces inscribed with gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality, I frame my analysis both temporally and spatially. Products of particular historical moments, I move from the scenic park to the neighbourhood park to the playground, the second a by-product of the first and the third an

city, and the adoptions of a moral mapping which codes neighborhoods and their residents as moral and immoral, respectable or not, by virtue of their location rather than their behavior." Barkley Brown and Kimball, "Mapping the Terrain," 344.

²⁸Judith Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late-Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

²⁹See A.L. Murray, "Frederick Law Olmsted and the Design of Mount Royal Park," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 26 (1967): 163-171; David Bellman, "Frederick Law Olmsted and a Plan for Mount Royal Park," in David Bellman, ed., *Mount Royal, Montreal* (Montreal: McCord Museum, 1977); Janice Eleanor Seline, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Mount Royal Park, Montreal: Design and Context" (M.A. thesis, Concordia University, 1983), and Lawrence Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal Park, Montreal, 1874-1900: Ideal vs. Reality" (M.A. thesis, York University, 1983). Also see Luther A. Allen, "The Politics of Parks: The Central Park Model and the Fate of Olmsted's Design for Mount Royal," Paper presented at the New York State Political Science Association meeting, March, 1989.

³⁰E. Laird Wilson, "The Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association Inc." (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1953), and Jeanne M. Wolfe and Grace Strachan, "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association," in Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, eds., *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1988), 65-80.

outgrowth of the second. Although structured linearly, I also link the rural park, small park, and playground spatially. This is not to say that I merge these spaces into one spatial identity.³¹ Rather, it allows me to move from the large, seemingly natural, open, and unregulated space, the scenic park, to the small, artificial, closed and overtly controlled space, the supervised playground. In so doing, I link these distinct spaces by elucidating how these gendered spaces engaged in similar projects, to protect female propriety, promote bourgeois values, contain sexuality and uphold capitalist principles, but carried them out differently.

In the first chapter, I discuss the process by which Montreal's rural park, Mount Royal, was constructed as a domestic enclave for anglophone bourgeois families generally and mothers specifically, and trace how the park developed accordingly, thereby inscribing it with a particular gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality. An obvious example of the extent to which economic power manifests itself spatially, I then chart, in the second chapter, the significance of class and ethnicity in the development of neighbourhood parks in Montreal,³² identifying this smaller park as the geographic and ideological extensive to the larger domestic enclave.³³ In the third chapter, I trace how those who embodied values which were antithetical to those inscribed in parks, namely the drinking man (social chaos

³¹ Boyer and Weyeneth, who amalgamate them into one (moral spaces), fall into this trap. See Boyer, *Urban Masses*, and Weyeneth, "Moral Spaces."

³² The period in question, 1870-1930, was a particularly dynamic time in the history of Montreal. The largest city in Canada, not only did Montreal's population increase dramatically, but the ethnic composition of that population changed significantly. For example, of a total population of 107,225 in 1871 (as compared to Toronto's 56,092), the francophone population (58,856) constituted a majority (53.0%) of that population for the first time in the city's history. Compare these numbers to fifty years later: of a total population of 818,577 in 1931, 523,063 (63.9%) were francophone. Consider, also, the following statistics:

Year	Total Population	Francophone (%)	Anglophone (%)	Other (%)
1881	140,747	78,684 (55.90)	45,402 (32.26)	16,661 (11.84)
1891	219,616	n/a	n/a	n/a
1901	267,730	155,236 (57.98)	82,453 (30.80)	30,041 (11.22)
1911	470,480	298,878 (63.53)	121,128 (25.74)	50,474 (10.73)
1921	618,506	390,168 (63.08)	148,630 (24.03)	79,708 (12.89)

Source: Canada Census

³³ David Scobey makes this point about neighbourhood parks in "Empire City: Politics, Culture, and Urbanism in Gilded Age New York" (Ph.D. diss., Yale University, 1989).

and domestic discord), vagabond (economic disorder), and "improper" courting couple (untamed female heterosexuality) were subject to spatial regulation. I then look, in the fourth chapter, at how the playground and athletic field (as well as their chief proponents, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association), targeting boys and young men generally, sought to entrench the values of the Anglo-Saxon nation, promote a gendered concept of citizenship, curb male vice, contain young men's heterosexual urges, solidify capitalism, and entrench a sexual division of labour modeled on the bourgeois family by inscribing these values into these (mainly) male spaces.

CHAPTER 1

MOUNT ROYAL PARK: STRUGGLING FOR RESPECTABILITY

At the height of the 1917 controversy over building a rail-line through Mount Royal Park, Médéric Martin, Montreal's French-Canadian populist mayor (1914-1924, 1926-1928), articulated succinctly the class, ethnic, and gender dimensions of the debate:

I yield to no one in my pride of the Mountain Park, and in a desire to preserve this heritage intact and unspoiled for the people. But because it is the people's, because it belongs to the citizens of Montreal as a whole and not to any one privileged class, I say the people ought to be given reasonable and adequate facilities for reaching it. At the present time the very people who most need the park - the tired mothers and their little children, and our working-class families, who have to live in crowded streets - are largely debarred from the innocent and healthful pleasure which this park affords because they cannot reach it.¹

Elsewhere, Martin denounced "the deputation of millionaires [who] are protesting against any street line being run to Mount Royal Park, and are giving as the ground of their protest the plea that it would spoil Mount Royal for the poor working man and his wife." He argued that, in reality, "[t]hey don't want the poor people to be able to ride to the park because the poor people might get in the way of their fine horses and carriages and make the place vulgar."² Alluding to Mount Royal as a space built for and occupied by Montreal's anglophone elite men and women, denouncing the poor mother's exclusion from it, and highlighting the popular belief that class and respectability were interconnected, Martin encapsulates the debate which frames this park's early history.

This chapter, a discursive history of Mount Royal Park from 1876 to 1928, examines the ways in which a particular gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality were inscribed into this park space. Constructed as a domestic enclave for privileged Anglo-Saxon families, I first look at how a language of discovery was used to invent Mount

¹"Objector's views shows prejudice," unmarked, McGill University Archives (hereafter MUA), Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association of Montreal (hereafter MPPA), m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

²"Mederic takes slam at local millionaires," *Montreal Daily Mail*, 21 April, 1917, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

Royal in this particular light;³ I juxtapose the "French discovery" of Mount Royal and the subsequent English appropriation of it to its representation as sacred, virgin land. Insodoing, I link the economic power of a particular group, elite anglophones, to their ability to carve out Mount Royal's identity and "freez[e] that identity at a particular moment and in a particular form... [when and] where they had... power."⁴ I then look at how this particular narrative, favouring a particular class (bourgeois), ethnicity (Anglo-Saxon), and gender (virtuous woman), played itself out in the late nineteenth- and early-twentieth centuries, when controversies about the development of a rail-line in Mount Royal Park arose.⁵

The Making of Mount Royal

The creation of the rural park, a product of nineteenth-century Western intellectual thought,⁶ marked the beginning of parks systems in numerous North American cities. Opened in 1876, Mount Royal was one of Canada's first such parks.⁷ An important visual landmark, the image of Montreal had always been closely associated with Mount Royal, the

³On playing "discovery" and "invention" against one another see the special issue entitled "Discovering America," *Journal of American History* 79:3 (December 1992).

⁴On the intimate relationship between access to space and the power to define that space see Roselyn Deutsche, "Boys Town," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 9 (1991): 5-30. She points out that "no founding presence, no objective source, or privileged ground of meaning ensures a truth lurking behind representations and independent of subjects." Although Deutsche rightfully argues that it would be a mistake to lose sight of the material reality underpinning the process of urban representation in history, she also notes that the power to scan the city is neither objective nor "politically innocent."

⁵Historian Raymond Williams remarks that to make sense of the society in which we live "we [must] understand it not abstractly but in the process of making it... [T]he activity of language is central in this process." As cited in Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion,' 1786-1789," *Journal of American History* 79:3 (December 1992): 843. I thus privilege language in this chapter: "[l]anguage shows clearly that memory is not an instrument for exploring the past but its theatre. It is the medium of past experience, as the ground is the medium in which dead cities lie interred." Walter Benjamin as cited in Mike Savage, "Walter Benjamin's Urban Thought: A Critical Analysis," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995): 208.

⁶See section below, "Pre-Park Days: Laying the Foundations," for a discussion on romanticism and nature.

⁷For a popular history of Canada's first scenic parks see Linda Martin and Kerry Segrave, *City Parks of Canada* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1983).

mountain which purportedly gave the city its name.⁸ One nineteenth-century Montrealer commented that "nature ordained that the plateau of Mount Royal should be the site of a great city. Man's [sic] part in the making of Canada's metropolis has been but secondary." Other contemporaries echoed this sentiment: "[s]ince the world began its Creator planned for Montreal. The beauty of this city has been handed down through the ages... less than four hundred years of the ages that old Mount Royal has stood guard over our home."⁹ Naturalizing an highly artificial process (building a city on conquered land), this particular depiction of the mountain in the works of turn-of-the-century writers is a useful introduction to an history of a park which was vast, open, and seemingly in a natural state, but was in fact controlled and artificial. This is not to say that the topographical specifications of Mount Royal are irrelevant, but rather that "every social space has a history, one invariably grounded in nature, in natural conditions that are at once primordial and unique in the sense that they are always and everywhere endowed with specific characteristics (site, climate, etc.)."¹⁰

Mount Royal, "discovered" by Jacques Cartier in 1535,¹¹ became the home of wealthy English-speaking fur traders in post-Conquest Montreal, on which they built

⁸On the naming of the city see *The New Guide to Montreal and its Environs* (Montreal: Armour & Ramsay, 1851), 3; W.D. Lighthall, *Montreal after 250 Years* (Montreal: F.E. Grafton & Sons, 1892), 11; N.M. Hinselwood, *Montreal and Vicinity* (Montreal: Desbarats & Company, 1903), 6, and Marcel Séguin, "Le Mont-Royal," *L'Ecole Canadienne* (novembre 1948), Archives de la Ville de Montréal (hereafter AVM), Dossiers de presse (hereafter DP), bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 2-89. Also see Ludger Beauregard, *Dossier Toponymique de la Région de Montréal* (Québec: Commission de toponymie du Québec, 1980), 28. On Mount Royal as the city's focal point see D.E. Dawson, *Hand-book for the City of Montreal and its Environs* (Montreal: Dawson Brother, 1884), 46; D.B. Macfarlane, "Mount Royal Domineering Focal Point," *Montreal Star*, 1 July, 1967, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, and Aline Gubbay, *Montréal: Le fleuve et la montagne* (Montréal: Livres Trillium, 1981).

⁹*The Book of Montreal* (Montreal: The Book of Montreal Company, 1903), 21 and Lorenzo Prince et al., *Illustrated Montreal. Old and New* (Montreal: International Press Syndicate, 1915), 1. Also see M.C. Robins, "American Parks. Mount Royal, Montreal," *Garden and Forest* (20 December, 1893): 523, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A.

¹⁰Henri Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, trans. Donald Nicholson-Smith (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1991), 110. On the concept of nature as containing human history also see Richard White, "Discovering Nature in North America," *Journal of American History*, 79:3 (December 1992): 874.

¹¹On narratives which highlight the "discovery" of Montreal by Cartier (1535) and Samuel de Champlain (1608) by rendering indigenous peoples invisible see, for example, J. Douglass Borthwick, *History of Montreal and Commercial Register for 1885* (Montreal: Gebhardt-Berthiaume Lithographic and Print Co., 1885), 19, and E.Z. Massicotte, *Faits curieux de l'histoire de Montréal* (Montréal: Librairie Beauchemin Ltd., 1922), 119. As English literary critic Anne McClintock aptly states: "[t]he language of discovery was a language of disavowal and dispossession, robbing the discovered classes of originary authority and

country homes and designed ornamental gardens.¹² In his history of the development of Montreal's architecture and urban environment, Jean-Claude Marsan comments on the significance of fur traders' movement north to what had previously part of Montreal's agricultural hinterland, the slopes of Mount Royal:

for the first time the rich were separated from the poor. The fur magnates withdrew from the city as if the human beehive were but a means of providing for their comfort on the virgin, airy slopes of Mount Royal... The anglophones settled in the most beautiful spots, thus starting a trend, characteristic of Montreal, towards the subdivision of the city along ethnic and social lines superimposed on the geography of the metropolis.¹³

Replacing their fur trading forefathers, the newest members of Montreal's anglophone elite, the emerging capitalist bourgeoisie, moved into and expanded these mansions in this city above the hill by the mid-nineteenth century;¹⁴ as of the first decade of the twentieth-century, the 25,000 residents of this opulent neighbourhood on the Southern slope of the mountain were said to have held seventy percent of Canada's wealth.¹⁵ The wealth of this homogeneous "anglophone merchant ghetto," characterized by an "English Protestant imprint," superimposed on the abject poverty of French and Irish in the city below the hill reminds us that this history of conquest manifested itself spatially.¹⁶

It also reminds us that the history of this place, which was English-speaking, wealthy, and rural rather than French, Irish, poor, or urban, cannot be disassociated from

erasing their power to represent themselves as well as their power to make history." Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 121.

¹²David Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal': Creation of an Upper Middle Class Suburb on the Slope of Mount Royal in the Mid-Nineteenth Century" (M.A. thesis, University of Toronto, 1977), 15.

¹³Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 130.

¹⁴On the social composition of the residents of this "New Town" and the breakdown by occupation from 1844-1866 see Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal," 84, 136-138, 182-184.

¹⁵Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution*, 257.

¹⁶Hanna notes that the influx of churches and educational facilities into this areas were solidly Anglo-Saxon, with the exception of St. Patrick's Church. He also links the rise of Classical terraces in the 1840s and 1850s to the larger pattern of the British-inspired architecture of the Gothic churches. Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal," 79, 128-133. On the living conditions of the poor in south-west Montreal see Herbert Brown Ames, *"The City Below the Hill": A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (Montreal: Bishop Engraving and Printing Co., 1897; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

the "myth of origin" which underlies its history.¹⁷ Referring to Mount Royal as an "elevated spot [from which] the heart instinctively sympathized with the majesty, and beauty, and purity of nature," nineteenth-century writers spoke of the triumphant stories of explorers Jacques Cartier and Chomedey de Maisonneuve, the former in 1535 and the latter in 1642, leading processions up the mountain, erecting a cross on the summit, and christening this "untouched" land as sacred.¹⁸ Although "a purely natural originate state of affairs is nowhere to be found[.] [h]ence the difficulty of thinking of origins,"¹⁹ these writers nevertheless relied on two interconnected tropes in propagating this myth: purity, an ethnic-specific concept, and virginity, a gender-specific reference to virtue. As in other historical writings, they referred to the "powdered white earth" as pure, thereby attributing a colour (ethnicity) to its definition,²⁰ and incorporated the Elizabethan conceptualization of the New World as "gendered feminine and sexed as a virgin female body" and conquered land, more generally, as a metaphor for the woman's body subject to the male's mastery.²¹ Although, as Michel de Certeau astutely remarks, "[t]his is writing that conquers,"²² this writing nevertheless shaped the making of Mount Royal.

¹⁷David Scobey also identifies this myth of origin in the history of New York City. Scobey, "Empire City," vii.

¹⁸John G. Manly, *Canada: Its Geography, Scenery, Produce, Populations, Institutions, and Condition* (London: Ward & Company, 1860), 14. On Cartier, de Maisonneuve and the christening of the mountain see, for example, J. Douglas Borthwick, *History of Montreal Including the Streets of Montreal, Their Origin and History* (Montreal: D. Gallagher, 1897), 32; A. Leblond de Brumath, *Histoire Populaire de Montréal depuis son origine jusqu'à nos jours* (Montréal: Granger Frères, 1890), 16, 17; Lighthall, *Montreal History*, 48; *The New Guide*, 3, and Auguste Bourbeau, "Parc Mont-Royal," *Le monde illustre* (20 février, 1892), AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A. On Montreal's sacred origins and the planting of the cross on Mount Royal in works of fiction see Jovelle Marchessault, *Les origines mystiques de Montréal* as cited in Monique Larue, comp. Jean Francis Chassey, *Promenades Littéraires dans Montréal* (Montréal: Editions Québec/Amérique, 1989), 34. Also see *Jacques Cartier and the Little Indian Girl* (1848) as cited in Mary Jane Edwards, "Fiction in Montreal, 1769-1885" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1969), 112, 113. The author describes a fictional account of Jacques Cartier's first view of Hochelaga, "when first beheld by the eye of the civilized man."

¹⁹Lefebvre, *The Production of Space*, 190.

²⁰Mark Wigley, "Untitled: The Housing of Gender," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (New York: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 354-356.

²¹Louis Montrose, "The Work of Gender and Sexuality in the Elizabethan Discourse of Discovery," in *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to AIDS*, edited by Domna C. Stanton (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 154. On virgin land as woman see Annette Kolodny's pioneering *The Lay of the Land: Metaphor as Experience and History in American Life and Letters* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1975), in which she does a textual analysis of nineteenth- and twentieth-century literature and illustrates vividly the link between the pastoral impulse and the archetypal

Pre-Park Days: Laying the Foundations

In a civic procession ladden with cultural significance and modelled on Cartier and de Maisonneuve's climb centuries earlier, Montreal's anglophone elite hoisted the Union Jack on Victoria Day 1876 over their mountain and new park.²³ The celebration was the culmination of a request three decades prior to allocate this land, spatially and socially detached from the increasingly impoverished and crowded industrial district along the water-front, to the "public." In a petition presented to City Council on 11 January, 1845, eleven prominent men who resided on the slopes of Mount Royal requested that a public boulevard be built at the southern base of the mountain. Although the Council rejected this request, as it did to their second petition of 10 April, 1851, these two petitions are of great significance.²⁴ Not only the precursor to the movement in the 1860s and 1870s to construct a park on Mount Royal, but the authors of these petitions invoked classist and gendered arguments in their attempt to secure respectable "public" recreational space for themselves and their families.

The authors of the first petition argued that the public boulevard at the base of the mountain would serve as a place for Montrealers to engage in healthy exercise, promenade, and pleasure drive, as well as enhance the property value of the surrounding residences.²⁵

feminine (Mother/Mistress/Virgin) in nature by noting the repeated use of the images of eroticism, penetration, rape, embrace, enclosure, and nurture. Also see Patricia Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies: Rhetoric, Gender, Property* (New York: Methuen, 1987), 134-146, and McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, chap. 1.

²²Michel de Certeau, *The Writing of History*, trans. Tom Conley (New York: Columbia University Press, 1988), xxv-xxvi.

²³This procession included A. W. Ogilvie, President of A.W. Ogilvie Flour Mills and resident of the city above the hill and D.R. McCord, son of prominent Judge John Samuel McCord and owner of mansion on the slopes of the mountain. See "God Save the Queen," *Montreal Herald*, 25 May, 1876; "Her Majesty's Birthday," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 May, 1876, and "The Queen's Birthday," *Montreal Star*, 25 May, 1876.

²⁴See the Gentlemen of the Boulevard Committee (petition) to the Mayor, 24 December, 1844; Road Committee Report to the Mayor, 29 January, 1845; Gentlemen of the Boulevard Committee (petition) to the Mayor, 10 April, 1851, and extract from minutes of City Council, 11 June, 1851, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A, 6-10.

²⁵Gentlemen of the Boulevard Committee (petition) to the Mayor, 24 December, 1844, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A, 6-10.

The Road Committee, comprised of neighbours of the petitioners,²⁶ responded favourably to this argument seemingly devoid of gender-, class-, and ethnic specifications. Arguing that the space would be useful for the poor, the committee maintained that a symbiotic relationship existed between class, morality and geography: "au milieu de la foule où des rues étroites d'une ville engagée aux affaires commerciales où on voit les avantages dans l'amélioration de la condition morale des bases classes partout où ces boulevards ont été établie, par l'abandon qu'elle fait des cabarets pour l'air pur."²⁷ As the Road Committee had argued unsuccessfully six years prior, the authors of the second petition presented themselves as the champions of the working-class family in general and women and children in particular. In the spring of 1851, they wrote:

... the immense incalculable benefit the Citizens of all classes would derive from the Boulevard, in respect of health and recreation of themselves and their families... the wives and children and particularly the infants of our citizens of all classes, who don't have country residences, at present shut out from all access to the mountain, and who often now pine away and die from their inability to respire the air of that elevation.

Astute political actors, they not only highlighted the alleged benefits such a boulevard would have for all classes, but they also reiterated the financial advantages of such an expenditure: "the character and importance of Montreal in eyes of strangers and visitors from neighboring states, visit, spend money, indirectly adding to prosperity of Montreal and enhance value of property, increase city revenue."²⁸

Although the authors alluded to the moralizing effects that such a promenading ground would have on the working-class, men and women "[qui] n'avaient pas conservé les mœurs pures,"²⁹ they misrepresented those whom they wanted and who would

²⁶John Redpath, the owner of 235 acres of land in the city above the hill, served as chair of Road Committee from 1840-1843. Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal," 33, 34, 39. It is unclear if he signed the petition; only two of the eleven signatures are legible (R. Mackay, H. Taylor). Of the men who signed the second petition, the prominent judge John Samuel McCord was on the them.

²⁷Road Committee Report to the Mayor, 29 January, 1845. The Council did not accept the committee's recommendation. See the extract from the minutes of the City Council, 11 June, 1851, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A, 6-10.

²⁸Gentlemen of the Boulevard Committee (petition) to the Mayor, 10 April, 1851, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A, 6-10.

²⁹de Brumath, *Histoire populaire de Montréal*, 368.

actually enter such a space. Granted, these members of the anglophone elite articulated their concern for the health of Montreal's citizenry, a seemingly gender-, class-, and ethnically-neutral construct. However, the boulevard's location, "a pleasant drive out of town toward the mountain,"³⁰ and its intended use, to promenade and pleasure drive, would render this public space a place for elite anglophone men and women residing near the mountain to engage in these class-specific heterosocial activities. As David Scobey's thoughtful study of promenading in nineteenth-century New York has informed us, it was a rite of sociability based on the exclusion and, failing that, expulsion of the working-classes. A celebration of social distinction and aristocratic exclusiveness, as well as a "performative utterance of gentility," Montreal's gentry was not interested in challenging this "anatomy of the promenade."³¹ In fact, it was its intention to use this seemingly politically vacuous institution to sanction the city's economic inequalities and further entrench gender roles: a space for a privileged lady escorted by a male companion to engage in a public heterosocial leisure activity, the demoralizing masses would have to be barred as a gendered protective measure. Recall that the very reason Montreal's anglophone elite moved from the old city to the slopes of Mount Royal was to distance themselves from the working-classes, whether Irish or French; an 1850 commentator on the nineteenth-century suburban movement remarked that "nothing so contributed to drive away the opulent from the dwellings of the poor as the dread of their unwholesomeness and dirt."³² Residents of this suburb would never have requested a boulevard if they thought it would compromise their salubrious neighbourhood.

Although these two attempts to secure a public promenading ground at the foot of Mount Royal failed, the public space allocated to the gentry to engage in this activity at mid-century was already great. In addition to inheriting continental squares from the French

³⁰William Chambers, *Things as they are in America* (London: William and Robert Chambers, 1854), 63.

³¹David Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade: The Politics of Bourgeois Sociability in Nineteenth-Century New York," *Social History* 17:2 (1992): 203-227.

³²As cited from Lewis Mumford, *The City in History: Its Origins, its Transformations, and its Prospects* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1961), 488.

regime such as Place d'armes and Champs de Mars, the Parliament of Lower Canada called for the preservation of land for public squares and gardens in 1799.³³ Undergoing physical changes in the first half of the nineteenth-century, this self-conscious attempt to allocate public space for walks translated into the proliferation of intimate, self-contained public gardens and squares.³⁴ Whether promenading in Victoria Square, located at the foot of Beaver Hall Hill where "[t]here [was] perhaps no wealthier city area in the world," or Dominion Square, which was surrounded by stately mansions and scenic, tree-lined streets and was considered "a fine place to spot celebrities," or Phillips Square, the first uptown square located on the northern limits of the city "far removed from the bustle of city below the hill," the residents of the city above the hill were not in want of public space in which to engage in this class-specific rite of sociability.³⁵ Champs de Mars, touted as Montreal's most fashionable promenade by the 1820s, symbolizes particularly well how spatial domination was a basic component of the rapid ascendancy of anglophone power in Montreal. The property of Imperial Britain in post-Conquest Montreal,³⁶ the Champs de Mars doubled as an English military training ground and a fashionable promenade for the conquering class. The "most eligible place for the association of fashion to be found," Lieutenant-Colonel B.W.A. Sleight commented on the ethnic specificity of the fashionable in 1846: "[t]he assemblage of well-dressed people and the assemblage of beauty would

³³Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution*, 134.

³⁴For example, the city acquired Dalhousie Square (1823), St. James (1826), Jacques Cartier (1836), Victoria Square (1841, extended in 1888), Phillips and Beaver Hall squares, ceded by Alfred Phillips (1842), Viger Square, ceded by Viger and Lacroix (1844), Richmond Square (1844), Parthenais Square (1845), and Queen's Square (1845, renamed Papineau in 1890). For a comprehensive list of Montreal's public squares, the years in which they were created and improvements made see Borthwick, *History of Montreal* 62, 63, and Municipal Archivist C. Archambault to City Surveyor E. Fabre, 17 May, 1943, AVM, DP, bobine 252, 1901, 4-A. Also see Marc Choko, *The Major Squares of Montreal* (Montreal: Meridian Press, 1990).

³⁵Francis Duncan (1836-1888) cited in Edgar Andrew Collard, *Call Back Yesterdays* (Don Mills: Longmans Canada, 1965), 180: "Dominion Square Same but Environs Changed," *Montreal Star*, 12 November, 1977, AVM, DP, bobine 255, 1901.267, 7-A, and Edgar Andrew Collard, "Phillips Square," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 November, 1969, AVM, DP, bobine 254, 1901.211, 6-A. Note that popular historian Collard does not reference a significant portion of his material and thus must be used with caution.

³⁶The city's formal use of Champs de Mars did not begin until 5 December, 1889 when the city began leasing it from the federal government for one dollar annually. See "Three Nations have Drilled Troops on Board Expense," *Montreal Star*, 29 April, 1939, AVM, DP, bobine 254, 1901.223, 6-A.

reflect credit on an English city."³⁷ Although class and ethnicity were inscribed in this square, it is important to remember that there were those who crossed these invisible boundaries. Whether "infested" with prostitutes, as stated by an 1836 Grand Jury,³⁸ or covered with men in drag escorted by other men,³⁹ these alternative couples remind us that space could not be as exclusive and homogeneous as its architects had envisioned.

This same phenomenon occurred on the slopes of Mount Royal prior to its park days. Although private property, the property-holders gave a particular class of Montrealers access to Mount Royal. Historians of courtship have emphasized a nineteenth-century spatial dynamic which situated the privileged courting couple squarely within the woman's home (parlour).⁴⁰ However, some of these respectable courting couples enjoyed the mountain as a respectable place of recreation prior to the opening of the rural park. While property owners threatened to prosecute the "mischief-makers and hoodlums," class-specific degenerates, for trespassing on their property,⁴¹ the same people welcomed respectable courting couples onto the slopes of the mountain. A writer commented on this courting ritual in 1845:

go quite a way up into the tree to have the fun of letting of big apple drop on a boy friend's head, and then to seem very busy, as if it was pure accident, and to laugh up your sleeve. Work hard to fill your measure before the others, then pretend to be tired, lie down on the grass at the foot of a tree... The most lively well-being, the silliest merriment, the heartiest enjoyment

³⁷As cited in Edgard Andrew Collard, "Promenade," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 February, 1969, AVM, DP, bobine 254, 1901.223, 6-A.

³⁸Mary Anne Poutanen, "Reflections of Montreal Prostitution in the Records of the Lower Courts, 1810-1842," in Donald Fyson, Colin Coates, and Kathryn Harvey, eds., *Class, Gender and the Law in Eighteenth- and Nineteenth-Century Quebec: Sources and Perspectives* (Montreal: Montreal History Group, 1993), 105, 116. Also see her "To Indulge Their Carnal Appetites: Prostitution in Early Nineteenth-Century Montreal, 1810-1842" (Ph.D. diss., Université de Montréal, forthcoming), chap. 2.

³⁹"Une association nocturne," *La Presse*, 30 juin, 1886, Archives gaies du Québec (hereafter AGQ), Coupures de presse 1869-1980. Also note that the Champs de Mars, the site of demonstrations against the execution of Louis Riel, resonated with French-Canadian nationalist sentiment.

⁴⁰Ellen Rothman, *Hands and Hearts: A History of Courtship in America* (New York: Basic Books, 1984); Beth Bailey, *From Front Porch to Back Seat: Courtship in Twentieth-Century America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988); John Modell, *Into One's Own: From Youth to Adulthood in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1989), and Peter Ward, *Courtship, Love, and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century English Canada* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990).

⁴¹Edgar Andrew Collard, "Mount Royal before the Park," *Montreal Gazette*, 10 June, 1972.

always go with apple-picking. The work goes on amid crazy sayings, double-meanings and practical jokes.⁴²

Although this woman expressed sexual undertones of her encounters on the mountain, she was constructed, by virtue of her class and ethnicity, as pure and unspoiled, like the ground on which she lay. The same was not true in the case of prostitutes who consorted with soldiers in these common fields and farms around the city. Popular places for streetwalkers to congregate, Mary Anne Poutanen has informed us that some of these "improper girls," relying on the apple orchards for food and the farmers' fields for shelter, were arrested if caught.⁴³ The respectable young woman "picking" apples with her male companion under the approving gaze of the proprietors of these farms in the mid-nineteenth century juxtaposed to the policed prostitute either "stealing" apples or having sex with a soldier at the foot of one of these trees is only further evidence of the inability to rid a space of "impurity," even though constructed as the purest of spaces. Nevertheless, sex did not (discursively) play a part of the adventures of the mid-century courting couple.⁴⁴

Although the public promenading ground did not reach the base of the mountain, the rural cemetery, the American-invented precursor to the rural park, found its home on Mount Royal in 1852. The first of its kind in Canada, the city purchased Dr. Michael McCulloch's farm and established a Protestant cemetery. Three years later, the city converted a portion Dr. Beaubien's farm into a Catholic cemetery.⁴⁵ After considering

⁴²Translation of "Histoire de la semaine," *La revue Canadienne* (18 Octobre 1845) as cited Collard, *Call Back Yesterdays*, 81.

⁴³Poutanen, "Reflections of Montreal Prostitution," 115.

⁴⁴The author of a short story published in 1832, "*La Tour de Trafalgar*," and twentieth-century commentators of it removed sex from this story about two lovers murdered at Trafalgar Tower, a gothic tower on Mount Royal. Although the author alluded to the "horrible deed of which this was the scene," the deed to which he was referring and which scholars have subsequently discussed was the slayings committed by a stranger in love with the woman, not a sexual act. See Edwards, "Fiction and Montreal," 45, 46.

⁴⁵Jean-Claude Marson, "Le centenaire du parc du Mont Royal. L'héritage d'un idéal social," *Le Devoir*, 9 juin, 1973, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, A-1, 3-41. The first in North America was Mount Auburn Cemetery, established in Cambridge, Massachusetts in 1831. This was followed by Laurel Hill in Philadelphia in 1836 and Greenwood in New York City in 1838, precursors to Fairmount Park and Central Park respectively. See Stanley French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution: The Establishment of Mount Auburn and the 'Rural Cemetery' Movement," *American Quarterly* 26 (March-December 1974): 53. On the Montreal cemeteries and the purchasing of the land see "Historic Notes" (undated), AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1-A, 3-75, and Edgar Andrew Collard, "Mountain Cemetery," *Montreal Gazette*, 7 November, 1970.

over one hundred farms, the Mount Royal Cemetery Company, a non-profit organization which also assumed the managerial responsibilities of the cemeteries, concluded that the property on the mountain was ideal because of its remoteness from the urban core: the old city cemeteries, located in the increasingly congested downtown core, were now considered wholly inadequate for a generation of reformers who were influenced by an American rural cemetery movement which was re-evaluating the meaning of death, burial, and nature.⁴⁶

In this new intellectual environment, the crowded city graveyards located amid decrepit dwellings and commercial establishments were associated with physical and moral degeneracy: "[b]oth remains and the memorials of the dead are presented to the mind in circumstances so gross... to give to those which remain a coarseness and commonness destructive of all moral influence. Nor is it unreasonable to suppose that the proximity of these sepulthral fields to human habitation is injurious to health."⁴⁷ Transplanting the burial ground to a rural setting also represented a shift in the conceptualization of nature. The Christian conception of the wild in history has either been a symbol of the moral chaos for the unregenerate or a sanctuary for the virtuous. Prior to the rise of romanticism in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-centuries, popular conceptions of the wild and nature were subsumed under the former: a symbol of the dark and sinister, the Devil's den, evil and temptation, or a moral vacuum with a harsh and forbidden character.⁴⁸ The romantics, however, stripped the wild country of its repulsiveness and re-conceptualized nature as a sublime inculcator of morality, the medium through which God "soothes the spirit of man [sic]."⁴⁹ The use of rural aesthetics in the design of the rural cemetery was a by-product of this intellectual climate which identified the city graveyard as a breeder of immorality and

⁴⁶The trustees of the company hired American landscape pioneer Andrew Jackson Downing, who they replaced, upon his death, with J.C. Sydney, the landscape architect of Laurel Hill Cemetery. Marson, "Le Centenaire du parc."

⁴⁷French, "The Cemetery as Cultural Institution," 41.

⁴⁸Roderick Nash, *Wilderness and the American Mind* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1967).

⁴⁹Henry Nash Smith, *Virgin Land: The American West as Symbol and Myth* (New York: Vintage Books, 1950), 4-29, 44.

saw the country as morally superior to the town.⁵⁰ Reformulating death as natural and redefining nature as virtuous, the rural cemetery fused two sacred spaces, the burial ground and the natural environment, into one. This could only help absolve the living of their sins: "[t]he sweetest memorials of the dead are to be found in the admonitions they convey, and the instructions they give, to form the character, and govern the conduct, of the living."⁵¹

A great public utility, the rural cemetery's architects did not envision a space restricted to those in mourning. Renowned landscape architect A.J. Downing hired by Mount Royal Cemetery Company saw the cemetery as the "country laborer's only library," in which "the moral sentiments and general taste of all classes, and more especially of the great masses of society [would be improved]."⁵² Although a space from which the degenerate class could emerge as moral citizens, it is highly unlikely that this class of Montrealers visited the Mount Royal cemetery. Described as a picturesque tourist attraction not to be missed, *The Canadian Tourist* wrote in 1856: "about two miles from town... the interest is laid out into carriage drives and narrow footpaths for pedestrians through the tress; these last have only been thinned out and removed to such an extent as to give the whole the appearance of a park."⁵³ Without a carriage or the capital to hire one, Downing's "library" was most likely frequented by people like Goldwin Smith, a Canadian political commentator and acquaintance of the Governor-General who, while visiting the city in 1864, "took a pretty drive to the cemetery." Smith, however, "did not like this bright-looking churchyard. He said death was so gloomy that only cypress and yews were suitable for a churchyard, not bright flowers."⁵⁴ However distasteful this traveler found the park-like cemetery, it was out of this sacred space, the product of romanticism's belief

⁵⁰Henry W. Lawrence, "The Greening of the Squares of London: Transformation of Urban Landscapes and Ideals," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 83:1 (1993): 90-118.

⁵¹J.B. Jackson, "The American Public Space," *Public Interest* 74 (Winter, 1984), 57.

⁵²A.J. Downing, *Rural Essays: Horticultural, Landscape Gardening, Rural Architecture, Trees, Agriculture, Fruits, Etc.* (New York: H.W. Hagermann Publishing Co., 1894), 141.

⁵³As cited Collard, "The mountain that seemed so far away," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 June, 1972. For other descriptions of the rural cemetery by mid-century writers see Edwards, "Montreal and Fiction," 64, 65.

⁵⁴Frances Monck, sister-in-law of the Governor General, cited in Collard, "Mountain Cemetery."

in nature's moralizing power, that the park movement evolved.⁵⁵ A space in which acts that fell outside the contours of bourgeois public morality were identified as an affront to the dead, God, and nature, the same laws applied a generation later in Montreal's rural park.

Early Park Promoters: The Reconstruction of History

Subsequent to the opening of the rural cemeteries, another decade passed before municipal authorities entertained the question of creating a public park on Mount Royal. In May 1863, a sub-committee was named to determine "where land [was] required for the establishment of a park on the mountain." The following year, a special commission of Council submitted a plan for a public park on the summit of Mount Royal. In April, 1869, the Provincial Legislature lent the Corporation of Montreal \$350,000 for the purpose of acquiring and establishing a public park on and in the vicinity of the mountain.⁵⁶ An arrangement which empowered the city to acquire the land on and surrounding the mountain at a price to be determined by a city surveyor without the consent of the landowners, the two petitions to the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec from these property-holders objecting to this process of expropriation were futile.⁵⁷ This marked the beginning

⁵⁵Situating women in nature generally and near Mount Royal particularly is a theme explored by Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Review* 40 (Fall 1994): 29-41. Women's historians have also highlighted the work of early twentieth-century social reformers who adopted reform schemes for young women set in the country rather than the city because of the perceived corrective power of rural life. On the Children's Aid Society's programs see Karen Dubinsky, *Improper Advances: Rape and Heterosexual Conflict in Ontario, 1880-1929* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993), 153. On the YWCA's recreation programs set in the country as a way to awaken religious feeling and pure thoughts in young women who had become disconnected from the traditional "rural" values, see Diana Pedersen, "The Young Women's Christian Association of Canada, 1870-1920: 'A Movement to Meet a Spiritual, Civic and National Need'" (Ph.D. diss., Carleton University, 1987), 263-265. Tamara Myers interprets the move of Montreal's two girls' reform schools outside the city in the 1910s in similar terms. Tamara Myers, "Criminal Women and Bad Girls: Punishment and Regulation in Montreal, 1890-1930" (Ph.D. diss., McGill University, 1996), 250-256.

⁵⁶See "Mount-Royal Park, Montréal" and "Historique Général," AVM, DP, bobine 258. 1903, 1-A, 2-86. Also see the *Annual Report of the City Surveyor* (1863), in which he remarked that "the necessity, owing to the rapid extension of our city, of having one or several parks, has been frequently discussed in the Council and in the press. Several sites have been mentioned - south west of Hotel Dieu, the Priest farm, the mountain."

⁵⁷Property owners forming and constituting that part of the mountain which was outside the limits of the City of Montreal (petition) to the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, 27 February, 1869 and Property owners

of a six year legal battle between the city and proprietors of the mountain, during which three property-holders unsuccessfully took the city to court and four others endured forced expropriations.⁵⁸ Although the city had acquired the land of the sixteen property-holders by the end of 1875, the total cost amounted to \$789,422.07, nearly half of million dollars in excess of the city's budget; renegotiating the loan with the province, the city secured an additional \$650,000.00 to cover these costs.⁵⁹

on that part of the mountain which was within city limits (petition) to the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, 27 February, 1869, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A. These petitioners objected to the law as laid out in chap.60, sect.20, which stipulated that the city had the power to open, continue or widen any street or highway, establish public parks and squares beyond the limits of the city, and acquire any piece of land for these purposes. Note that John Redpath, one of the signatories of one of the petitions, had, nine years prior, offered to cede a portion of his property (at no cost) to the city for a public park. The Road Committee rejected his offer. See "Historique Général," AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 2-86. On access as a class- and ethnic-specific term and protection as a gendered construct see section below entitled "The Rail-Line Debate: Negotiating Access and Protection."

⁵⁸Stanley Bagg and Picault & Lamothe lost their court cases with the city and Alfred Dalbec, Edouard Ferland, Pierre Bélanger, Louis Lamontagne, and William O. Smith endured forced expropriations. On the court cases see Extract from *Annual Report of the Treasurer of the City*, 1872, 38, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-1, 6.68. On forced expropriations see C. Glackmayer, City Clerk to Rouer Roy, April 1875, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-011: Parc Mont-Royal - Expropriations particulières. The following is a complete list of the appropriations (source: Extract of *Annual Report of the City Engineer*, 1873-1875 and Finances, Grand Livre No.1 et 2, 1873-1879, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-1, 6-135):

Date	Property-Holder	Cost
June 13, 1872	Estate H.B. Smith	\$110,000.00
June 13, 1872	Soeurs de l'Hotel-Dieu	42,080.00
June 28, 1872	Stanley C. Bagg	69,498.00
January 4, 1873	Picault & Lamothe	27,500.00
May 26, 1873	Louis Lamontagne	7,801.68
May 26, 1873	Alfred Dalbec	4,994.00
May 28, 1873	Pierre Bélanger	2,673.00
May 28, 1873	Edouard Ferland	1,750.00
July 14, 1873	William O. Smith	30,750.00
July 14, 1873	Robert Campbell	13,778.28
July 21, 1873	Estate B. Hall	210,000.00
January 7, 1874	D.J. Bannatyne	9,000.00
January 13, 1874	Sir Hugh Allan	13,576.00
January 13, 1874	John Meyers	11,000.00
April 15, 1875	Hugh Taylor	61,000.00
July 24, 1876	Hugh Taylor	36,358.30
November 30, 1875	John Redpath	83,271.72
October 27, 1876	Stanley C. Bagg	54,391.09
TOTAL (to December 1876)		789,422.07

⁵⁹By an act of provincial legislature (36, vic., chap. 54, sect. 11) dated 24 December, 1872, the city was authorized to borrow a total sum of \$1,000,000.00, including the former sum of \$350,000, for the establishment of Mount Royal Park. See "Mount Royal Park, Montréal," AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3: Parc Mont-Royal: Etablissement: Indicateur. Despite this difficult process popular historians

Amid these monetary problems and legal battles with Mount Royal property-holders,⁶⁰ other wealthy and influential residents of the city above the hill whose property was not being expropriated sustained the political pressure to make Mount Royal a public park. They included many leaders of Montreal's anglophone business community: A.W. Ogilvie, President of A.W. Ogilvie Flour Mills, H. Lyman of Lyman's, Clare and Co., John Young, President of the Board of Trade, M. McLennan, President of the Montreal Transport Co., R.W. Shepard, President of the Ottawa River Navigation Co, H. Starnes, President of the Metropolitan Bank, and M.P. Ryan, Vice-President of the Bank of Montreal.⁶¹ A generation earlier, these members of the anglophone elite used their money to distance themselves from the poor francophones of the East End and the impoverished Irish of the Western water-front. They were now calling for a rural park in their exclusive neighbourhood in the name of the commoner: "give us a noble park on the top of Mount Royal, from whose summit a succession of the most beautiful landscapes can be seen, and where the commons may go with their families to breathe the fresh air."⁶² These wealthy park promoters' use of class was simply a political strategy. In 1870, John Young acknowledged privately that

from the narrowness of the strip of land between the Mountain and the River, it is evident that whatever increase of the city does take place, it must be east and west of the present limits... While, therefore, the more wealthy citizens will occupy the mountain slope and the higher levels of the city, the great bulk of the people will live on the lower levels, as they do now... But

⁶⁰Despite this conflict, popular historians, highlighting two particular incidents, recount a different sequence of events leading up to the creation of Mount Royal Park. They point to Alderman A.A. Stevenson's march to the summit of the mountain in March 1863 from which he fired gun shots, and a property-owner on the slopes of the mountain defacing it to sell timber in February 1872 as pivotal events; whereas the first persuaded city officials that Mount Royal was accessible, the second pointed out that it needed to be protected. See, for example, *Montréal fin-de-siècle: Histoire de la métropole du Canada au dix-neuvième siècle* (Montréal: The Gazette Printing Company, 1899), 65; Lighthall, *Montreal History*, 47; Prince et al., *Illustrated Montreal*, 36; Edgar Andrew Collard, "How Mount Royal was captured," *Montreal Gazette*, 8 November, 1952, AVM, CP, bobine 258, 1903, 2.100; Edgar Andrew Collard, "How Mount Royal became a Park," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 June, 1972, and Kathleen Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City of the St. Lawrence* (New York: Doubleday & Company, Ltd., 1966), 412, 413.

⁶¹Lawrence Kredl cross-referenced those in attendance at public meetings in the early 1870s in support of the Mount Royal Park with Lovell's City Directory. See Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal Park," 78-84.

⁶²*Montreal Gazette*, 1 August, 1867 as cited in Seline, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Mount Royal Park, Montreal," 114.

this Park of the Mountain top would be comparatively inaccessible to the poorer classes of society and others who live in the valley below... By inaccessible, I mean that without a carriage, men, women and children could not get to the Park: for on a hot day many could not walk there, while their means might, to a large extent, prevent the hiring of carriages.⁶³

However, these members of this English business elite also understood that the exclusivity of the space "would be one of the greatest boons they could confer on prosperity."⁶⁴ They also knew, however, that they could not acknowledge publicly that the *de facto* exclusion of the working-classes was intimately linked to this potential prosperity.⁶⁵

Just as the representation of Mount Royal as unspoiled land required a writing of history from the perspective of the conquerors, so did the process of park formation. First, these self-interested businessmen became "stalwart businessmen [who] save[d] for the people almost by miracle [the mountain by]... certain landgrabbers."⁶⁶ Second, after this tenuous battle over land subsided, the park became essentialized: "Mount Royal, that

⁶³As cited in Collard, "The mountain that seemed so far away." On Young's public support for the mountain park see *Montreal Witness*, 24 November, 1873 as cited in Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal Park," 79.

⁶⁴Henry Lyman as cited in *Ibid.*, 79.

⁶⁵See the maps of Montreal from 1859 and 1879 which follow on p. 30 and 31: the first map illustrates the early development of Montreal and situates the city above the hill in relation to the neighbourhoods along the waterfront, and the second highlights the city's boundaries, with Mount Royal Park serving as its most northern point.

⁶⁶Fred Williams, "Mount Royal Park", *Montreal Gazette*, 25 May, 1943, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A. Also see Hugh MacLennan, "Montreal: The Mountain in the City," *Mayfair* (June 1952), AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 2-101. On the relationship between park promotion and self-interested businessman's civic boosterism in Canadian cities see, for example, McKee, "The Vancouver Park System," and Cavett, Selwood and Lehr, "Social Philosophy." On the corruption and greed of Montreal businessmen in relation to the development of a Montreal park see Rodrigue Langlois, *Scandale du parc de Maisonneuve* (Montréal: s.n., 1918).

This is a detailed black and white map of Montreal, Quebec, Canada. The map shows the city's layout, including the St. Lawrence River (RIVER ST. LAWRENCE) and Mount Royal Park (MOUNT ROYAL PARK). The city is divided into several districts, with labels for 'MONTREAL', 'ST. LAWRENCE RIVER', 'MOUNT ROYAL PARK', and 'QUEBEC'. A compass rose is visible in the bottom left corner. The map is oriented with North at the top.

Henry W. Hopkins. *City of Montreal*. In: *Atlas of the City and Island of Montreal*. Quebec: Provincial Surveying and Pub. Co., 1879.

which forms such a picturesque background to city, was formed by nature for a park."⁶⁷

Federick Law Olmsted: Domesticating Mount Royal Park

It was not nature, but rather renowned landscape architect Frederick Law Olmsted who molded Mount Royal into a park.⁶⁸ Engaged by City Council on 28 December, 1874, Olmsted, as his romantic contemporaries, attributed therapeutic and refining powers to the "unspoiled" natural environment and thus envisioned Mount Royal as a refuge for city-dwellers in search of the wholesomeness of rural life amid a vulgar-ridden urban environment: a pastoral oasis. Mount Royal would be "an educative and civilizing agency, standing in winning competition against the sordid and corrupting temptations of the town."⁶⁹ Olmsted identified the poor and immigrants as those most in need of civilizing: whereas the former lived a "dumb beast" existence and a "precarious and dog-life subsistence," the latter, enjoying the freedom of the New World, had shed their guise of "servile obsequiousness" and revealed their "insolent self-regard," long hidden under the "old overcoat of forced civility."⁷⁰

⁶⁷M.C. Robins, "American Parks. Mount Royal, Montreal." Also see Frederick Todd, "The Lookout on Mount Royal," *Canadian Municipal Journal* (January 1905), AVM, DP, 259, 1903, 2-A. Juxtapose this comment to Mayor Bernard's in 1874: "[i]n view of the apparent reluctance of the owners to part with their property for park purposes, of their utter refusal to accept the awards of competent and honorable commissioners, and of the determined manner in which they persist in throwing every possible obstruction in the way of fair and legitimate expropriation proceedings, it has been a question in my mind whether it would not be wise and proper to allow them to retain their respect properties. As cited in Edgar Andrew Collard, "Of many things," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 May, 1976, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1-A, 3-56.

⁶⁸On Olmsted's writings see Albert Fein, ed., *Landscape into Cityscape: Frederick Law Olmsted's Plans for a Greater New York* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); S.B. Sutton, ed., *Civilizing American Cities: A Selection of Frederick Law Olmsted's Writings on City Landscapes* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1971), and Charles E. Beveridge and David Schulyer, eds., *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted, Creating Central Park, 1857-1861*, vol. 3 of *The Papers of Frederick Law Olmsted*, ed. Charles C. McLaughlin (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

⁶⁹Frederick Law Olmsted, *Mount Royal, Montreal* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1881), 63. For the correspondence between Olmsted and city officials see AVM, CPT, vm 44, 121-11-01-00, 3: Mont-Royal: Etablissement: Indicateur.

⁷⁰Olmsted cited in Lewis, "Frontier and Civilization," 394. Using Central Park as his model, Olmsted argued that this experiment worked: "[n]o one who has observed the conduct of the people who visit the park, can doubt that it exercises a distinctly harmonizing and refining influence upon the most unfortunate and most lawless classes of the city." Sutton, ed., *Civilizing American Cities*, 96.

The success of Olmsted's class- and ethnic-specific genteel program of civilization, rooted in his conceptualization of urban (immoral) and rural (moral) as binary opposites,⁷¹ was contingent on his ability to reconcile his pledge to preserve the natural (unrestrained) environment with his commitment to control the most unrestrained, the poor immigrant. Nineteenth-century philosopher Henry David Thoreau proclaimed that nature stood for "absolute freedom and wilderness."⁷² As such, the scenic park, the embodiment of nature, is often conceptualized as an area in the heart of a city where "we become free, by becoming free of others. We then commune effortlessly with the birds and the trees, refresh our weary faculties, and rid our systems of the physical and moral poison of urban life."⁷³ Although Olmsted espoused Thoreau's belief that Mount Royal's utility depended on its "wildness and seclusion of its natural elements,"⁷⁴ he could not leave it as a place in which citizens (especially the poor, non-Anglo-Saxon) wandered freely: "if thousands of people are to seek their recreation upon it unrestrainedly, each according to his [sic] special tastes, it is likely to lose whatever natural charm you first saw in it."⁷⁵ At the same time, however, he underplayed this human imposition of rules governing behaviour by discursively situating these regulatory mechanisms within the landscape itself: the beautiful landscape will "make no amends for rudeness, coarseness, and vulgarity in the borders... it

⁷¹On the city as evil and evil as female see Elizabeth Wilson, *The Sphinx in the City: Urban Life, the Control of Disorder, and Women* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1991). In a recent article, Wilson, who used this town:country framework in *The Sphinx in the City*, reconsiders the utility of this dichotomy. Concluding that binary thinking is a trap, she calls for scholars to stop conceptualizing rural and urban as mirror opposites. Elizabeth Wilson, "The Rhetoric of Urban Space," *New Left Review* 209 (January-February 1995): 146-160.

⁷²As cited in Raymond Williams, *The Country and the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1973), 84.

⁷³Roger Scruton, "Public Space and the Classical Vernacular," *Public Interest* 74 (Winter, 1984): 8. He notes this pattern in the writings of Ebenezer Howard, Lewis Mumford, and Le Corbusier.

⁷⁴Olmsted, *Mount Royal*, 26.

⁷⁵*Ibid.*, 26, 73-75. In her study of rural parks in Britain, Hazel Conway also notes this tension between the wild (free) and the rural park (restrained): "[t]he controlled way in which nature appeared in the parks was quite different from nature in the wild, and reflected the ways in which working people were controlled in life, and generally speaking, the way middle class people like things to be." Conway, *People's Parks*, 183.

will but make what is crude and unnatural the more conspicuous, as a jewel set upon soiled linen makes it the more offensive."⁷⁶

A project to save the mountain from those with "sacrilegious hands and feet," Olmsted not only attributed a class to those with "special tastes" and a sex to those who "soiled" this sacred terrain, but he also added another gendered dimension to this project.⁷⁷ When designing Mount Royal, Olmsted advised City Councilors "not to allow the mountain to be in all parts left open to be wandered over and used at will at all times by all comers. You cannot afford the force of police which, if you do so, will be necessary for the protection of its finer elements of value."⁷⁸ The bourgeois mother embodied the finer elements to which he was referring. A space to be occupied by the most virtuous and moral, Olmsted thus insisted that "provisions [be] made for... women and children," which included "comfortable seats and intelligent guardians moving briskly through it." Serving as a "countenance and confidence [for] mothers to come with their daughters and little ones," Olmsted thus spoke of the scenic park as a domestic enclave in which the refined mother assumed the role of informal guardian: "[w]hen the ground shall be constantly and largely used in the domestic ways, the danger of its misuse in any way will be slight... no men are reckless in their conduct in a place in which good women and children seem to be at home."⁷⁹

The construction of this rural park as a gendered domestic space was part of a larger pattern which identified the garden as a metaphor for private, feminine, space and equated the rural environment, more generally, with the domestic ideal. In his lecture on Victorian sexual politics in 1864, Englishman John Ruskin used the metaphor of garden in this context as a way to naturalize the boundaries of a woman's existence: "wherever woman

⁷⁶Olmsted, *Mount Royal*, 51.

⁷⁷*Ibid.*, 51. This evokes an image of the female virgin soiling the white sheets with her blood.

⁷⁸*Ibid.*, 55.

⁷⁹*Ibid.*, 56. On the popularly held notion that female spectators at baseball games had a civilizing effect on the crowd and the players see Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 76, 77.

was became a home."⁸⁰ In constructing Mount Royal as an unsoiled garden designed by "the original Gardener of Eden,"⁸¹ Olmsted reflected this larger pattern mapped out by historians Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall. In their path-breaking study of the rise of English middle-class, Davidoff and Hall interconnect the popular association of the privileged woman as gardener, rooted in the image of the pure home and garden, with the biblical evocations of sexual purity in the Garden of Eden: "[w]omen's virtuosity lay in her containment, like the plant in the pot, limited and domesticated, sexually controlled, not spilling out into spheres in which she did not belong nor being overpowered by 'weeds' of social disorder."⁸² The garden, an emblem Victorian domestic ideal, was, in turn, contextualized into the idealization of rural purity: "[t]he very core of the ideal was home in a rural village community."⁸³ Although Olmsted accounted for the physical departure of the mother from the home, he, like his contemporaries, reconstructed the scenic park in such a way as to keep her ideologically housed: "[t]he virtuous woman becomes woman-plus-house or, rather, woman-as-housed, such that her virtue cannot be separated from the physical space."⁸⁴ Seen as part of nature, she thus became part of the natural feminized landscape which had to remain unspoiled.

The Rail-line Debate: Negotiating Access and Protection

Once Olmsted had completed his work and Mount Royal was open to the seemingly neutral "public" on 24 May, 1876, the park's history was riddled in controversy for the next half century. More specifically, the building of a transportation system to carry the

⁸⁰As cited in Rose, *Feminism*, 18. On the garden as a place where the middle-class woman (situated in the feminine domain of the home) and man (located in the masculine public world) "could meet in complementary tranquillity" see Leonore Davidoff and Catherine Hall, "The Architecture of Public and Private Life," in Derek Fraser and Anthony Sutcliffe, eds., *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Arnold, 1983), 334-336.

⁸¹Olmsted, *Mount Royal*, 51.

⁸²Davidoff and Hall, *Family Fortune*, 191-192.

⁸³Leonore Davidoff, Jean L'Esperance, and Howard Newby cited in Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 151.

⁸⁴Wigley, "Untitled: The Housing of Gender," 337.

(English and non-English speaking) poor, residing at a great distance from the mountain, to the top of Mount Royal, sparked extensive public debate as to the way Mount Royal was to develop. During this lengthy conflict over accessibility,⁸⁵ a classist notion of immorality and a gendered concept of the land became fused into one; to deny access to the impoverished class was to keep the environment clean, a metaphor for unscathed female virtue. Feminist literary critic Patricia Parker's comments on the inherent paradox built into a feminized landscape encapsulates the contradictory nature of debate over this "public" park. She argues that the "gendering of landscape [is] not just the language but a logic of private property that is as double and contradictory as that of the blazon: the desire simultaneously to display a possession to others' eyes and to control it or protect it from 'theft.'"⁸⁶ What follows is an analysis of this contradiction.

In 1875, civil engineer A.G. Nish, watching Olmsted work, noted that the poorer classes were "at present debarred from taking advantage of the natural beauties of the mountain."⁸⁷ Although he did not secure the contract, the city commissioned another engineer to build an incline railway.⁸⁸ Opened in 1885 at a cost of five cents up and three cents down for adults and a reduced rate for children, the English press declared that "the mountain, which had hitherto been in the power of the wealthier could now be made by the poorest in the city."⁸⁹ Popular historian Edgar Andrew Collard reiterated this sentiment a century later; with the inauguration of the incline railway, "suddenly all objections to Mount

⁸⁵For class-analyses of similar debates about access and transportation in New York City (Central Park) and Vancouver (Stanley Park) see Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, and McDonald, "Holy Retreat."

⁸⁶Parker, *Literary Fat Ladies*, 153.

⁸⁷As cited in Jean-Marie Lafortune, "Le funiculaire du Mont Royal (1875-1921)," *Seminaire de maitrise*, Université de Montréal (mai 1988), AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A, 6-3. This was a common complaint. See, for example, "The mountain park," *Montreal Herald*, 8 April, 1883; "The mountain park," *Montreal Herald*, 14 May, 1884, and "The mountain park," *Montreal Herald*, 18 August, 1884, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A.

⁸⁸The city entered into a contractual agreement with Xavier Lefebvre on May 24, 1876 to build an incline railway up the southeast slopes of Mount Royal. Phillip Mason, "Man Conquers Mountain: A History of Montreal's Mountain Park Railway," *Canadian Rail* 209 (April, 1969): 108-112.

⁸⁹"By rail to the mountain," *Montreal Herald*, 17 September, 1885, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A. Note that inmates of charitable institutions and orphan asylums traveled free. On an objection to the fee for adults and children see "The mountain for all the people," *Montreal Herald*, 2 May, 1899, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A.

Park Park, on grounds of inaccessibility, were ended. For little more than nominal rates, anyone could now reach the top of the mountain with ease."⁹⁰ An inaccurate statement which did not reflect the material reality of working families in industrializing Montreal,⁹¹ this was the beginning of a long and embittered struggle over two seemingly irreconcilable visions of the Mount Royal: a "public" park to be enjoyed by all Montrealers or a park space to "remain" "pure" and "virginal."

In 1895, the Montreal Street Railway Company (MSR) petitioned the municipal government to erect two miles of double tracks in Mount Royal, sparking a debate as to utility and morality of a rail line to the summit of the mountain park. Although the MSR withdrew its proposal in January, 1896,⁹² the controversy reappeared in the first decades of the twentieth-century when the company re-submitted variations of the same proposal. There were three constants in the arguments put forward by the proponents of a rail line. Self-proclaimed spokespersons of the francophone working-class of the East End, French-Canadian populist mayors J. Raymond Préfontaine (1898-1902) and Médéric Martin classified the struggle (publicly) as class-, ethnic-, and gender-specific.⁹³ They identified Mount Royal as a space used exclusively by Montreal's west-end anglophone elite and argued that the rail line would carry poor francophone women of the East End to the mountain; whereas Mount Royal was "a recreation ground for the millionaires of the city

⁹⁰"Elevator up Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 2 October, 1981, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903, 2-A.

⁹¹As documented by Bettina Bradbury, Montreal's working families residing in the wards of St. Ann and St. Jacques did not even make enough money for the basic necessities of food and lodging. Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Survival in Industrializing Montreal* (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993). For a similar point also see Jean De bonville, *Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit. Les travailleurs Montréalais à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975), 107.

⁹²See fn 99.

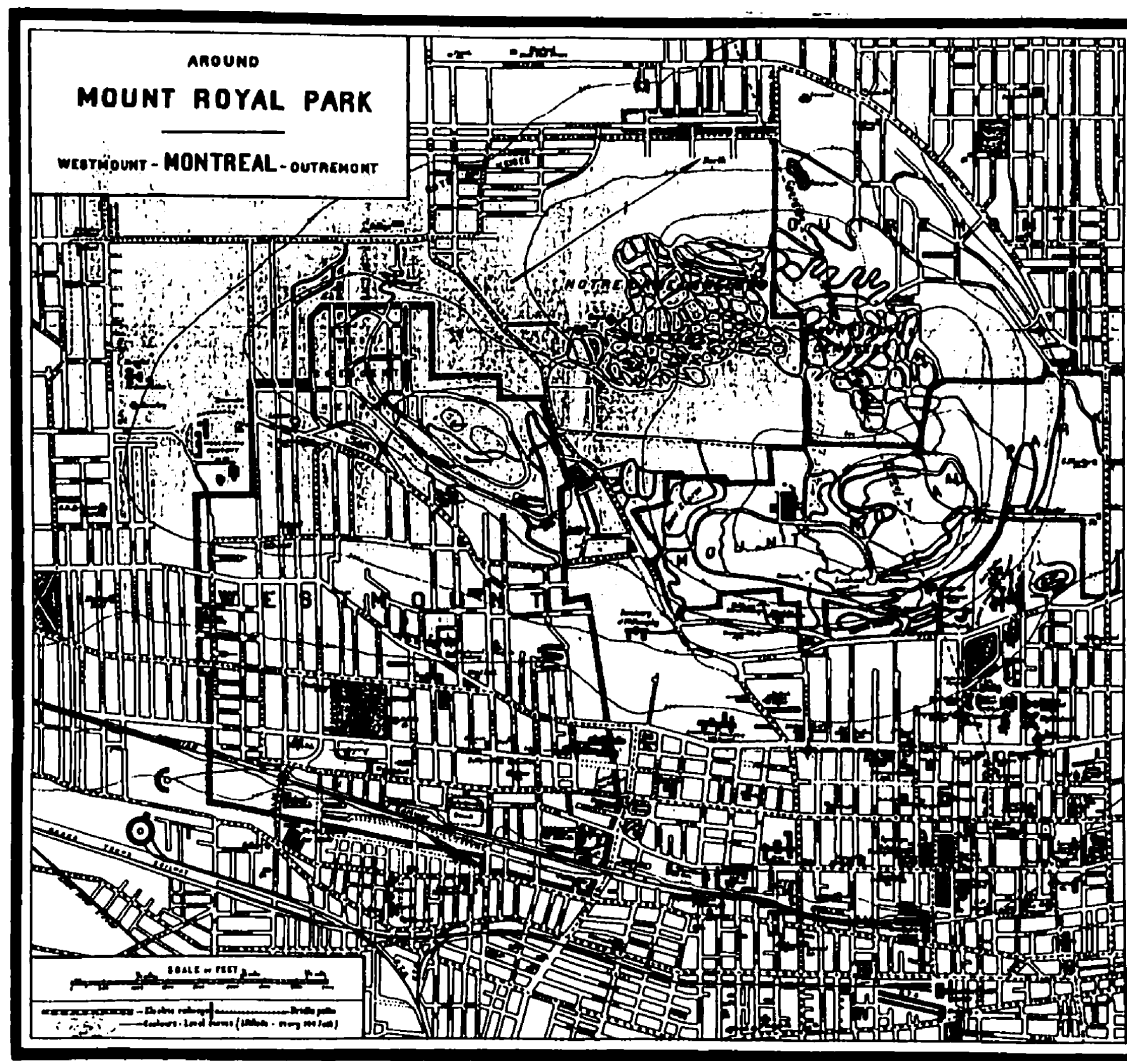
⁹³Préfontaine was intimately allied to and had a vested interest in the MSR. His law firm represented the company and under his reign the MSR enjoyed (as did the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company) low yearly fees and paid no taxes on wires and rails. See Michel Gauvin, "The Municipal Reform Movement in Montreal, 1886-1914" (M.A. thesis, University of Ottawa, 1972), chap. 2. Also see Michel Gauvin, "The Reformers and the Machine: Montreal Civic Politics from Raymond Préfontaine to Médéric Martin," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 13:2 (Summer 1978): 16-26, and Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montréal: Boréal, 1992), 253-277.

and the neighboring Westmount," they argued that "[t]he right place for the working women and children of the East End... was on the top of the mountain."⁹⁴

Others spoke more generally about the rights of Montreal's poor, which included the impoverished Irish who lived predominantly in the south-west. In 1903, Alderman F.E. Nelson articulated this position: "it was always my feeling that the rich were a little selfish in regard to the mountain. The mountain should be for rich and poor alike. It has scarcely been this."⁹⁵ Arguing that "the mountain belongs to the people, not only to the rich who ride there in their carriages and also on horseback with the ladies," these proponents identified the rail-line as the poor person's carriage.⁹⁶ More specifically, it was the mother for whom they spoke. "[P]lead[ing] for the women and children," they explained that "[a]t the present time the very people who most need the park - the tired mothers and their little children... who have to live in crowded streets - are largely debarred

⁹⁴See letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Daily Mail*, 30 April, 1916, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and "Trams on Mount Royal banned," *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1926. On the location of the Mount Royal Park in relation to Westmount see the map entitled "Around Mount Royal Park. Westmount-Montreal-Outremont," on p. 39. ⁹⁵"Hackmen invade the civil palace," *Montreal Star*, 30 January, 1903. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

⁹⁶"Trams on the mountain," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Daily Mail*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 22 January, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Although Préfontaine, Guérin, Sadler and others presented themselves as the champions of the working-class, workingmen consistently articulated their opposition to the various rail-line schemes. On the Knights of Labour opposition see Knights of Labour resolution, February 1895, AVM, Commission de la Police (hereafter CP), vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1895. The hackmen, the most outspoken workingpeople against the rail-line, also articulated their discomfort with the claims of the movement. A delegation of hackmen in 1903 argued that "[i]t is not true that the poor want electrical cars to run to the top of the mountain. Those who want such a line built only desire to earn dividends for the St. Railway Company." "Hackmen invade the civil palace," *Montreal Star*, 30 January, 1903. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see the Hackmen's Union (petition) to the Mayor, undated, AVM, CPT, 121-11-02-00, 169: Parc Mont-Royal: Circulation. The union wrote: "we are mostly poor, hard working industrious and sober men who have large families to support and have no other means of supporting the same except by business." The running of a rail-line up Mount Royal would "not only render them an injustice but really deprive the of the means of supporting themselves and their families." In 1917, the St. Jean Baptiste Club summarized organized labour's opposition to the rail-line to the top of the mountain: "[i]t had never been desired or [sic] asked for by any of the legitimate labor bodies representing the working class of the city." "Labor men object to mountain cars," *Montreal Gazette*, 29 May, 1917, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.



A. deGrandpré. *Around Mount Royal Park. Westermount-Montreal-Outremont.* Montréal: A. DeGrandpré, c. 1920. Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture/Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montréal.

because they cannot reach it."⁹⁷ Although women's historians have identified the working-class woman as the embodiment of sexual chaos in the city, these rail-line proponents were actively encouraging working women to enter the public. However, the impoverished mother with child in a rural park is a strikingly different image than the single young woman allegedly on the prowl in the city streets.⁹⁸

In direct response to the MSR proposal of 1895, wealthy anglophone women, under the presidency of Lady Hingston, wife of Sir William Hingston, formed an organization to fight against the encroachment of a rail-line on Mount Royal, the Parks' Protective Association (PPA). After successfully forcing the company to withdraw its request in January 1896 and lobbying the Council to insert a protective clause for Mount Royal in the City Charter, these women established a permanent association to continue their work. Reincarnated as the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association (MPPA) in 1902, it is through this body that Montreal's anglophone elite women and men, under the Presidency of Hon. George A. Drummond (1904-1905), Sir. William Hingston (1906), Sir Alexander Lacoste (1907-1922), Richard O. Johnson (1923), and A.D. Braithwaite (1924-1925) protested against the building of rail-line on Mount Royal in the early twentieth-century.⁹⁹ An anglophone group comprised of "millionaires, stockbrokers,

⁹⁷"Access to Mount Royal Park," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Daily Mail*, 30 April, 1916, and "Objector's views shows prejudice," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. For other examples also see "Board favors a tram line on the mountain", *Montreal Star*, 4 May, 1916, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and the editorial "The street railway and Mount Royal," *Montreal Star*, 23 June, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. For a mother opposing the tramline see "A mother's plea," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 22 January, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

⁹⁸It is important to recognize the difference between park discourse and use. As Ellen Ross and Bettina Bradbury illustrate, working-class mothers in London and Montreal in the late nineteenth-century often did not have the time to accompany their children to the park. Often unwaged labourers, they worked every day of the week. See Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), and Bradbury, *Working Families*.

⁹⁹The MSR purportedly withdrew its proposal on the day the PPA presented a petition signed by twenty thousand women to the City of Montreal. The protective clause to which I am referring is 62 vic., chap., 38, sec. 546 of Council. This protective clause in the City Charte made such an encroachment (rail-line on the mountain) an illegal act: "[t]he city shall, in perpetuity, preserve and maintain the whole of Mount Royal park, according to its present limits, as a public park; and the City Council shall not have power to alienate any part of the said park for any special rights, privileges or franchise thereon, nor shall the Council permit the laying of tracks, poles, wires, or electrical apparatus, for steam, electric or traction purposes by any person or corporation." See "History of the Parks and Playgrounds Association" (undated),

merchants and people of wealth," they were dubbed as "one of the most influential delegations that ever went to the City Hall."¹⁰⁰

These wealthy anglophone, defenders of a "pure" Mount Royal, accepted and propagated a sanitized history of the mountain. Beneficiaries of the Conquest of 1763, they naturalized this artificial process by constructing Mount Royal Park as "rugged wilderness," "untouched terrain," "unimproved and unspoiled," and "virgin woodlands."¹⁰¹ Identifying this "precious asset in its original and undefiled beauty" as that which "belong[ed] to God, was created by Him [sic]," these opponents of the rail-line articulated their mission in sacred terms.¹⁰² Basic to this conceptualization of the project as sacred was the popular identification of the undefiled mountain as a symbol of female

MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents, and MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 358. History of the MPPA 1902-1924. On the PPA's lobbying see minutes, CPT, 30 December, 1895 and 28 March, 1896, AVM, CPT. The organization, incorporated in 1904, had a two-fold mandate: to promote the preservation and extension of parks and open spaces and establish public playgrounds. See "An Act to Incorporate the Parks and Playgrounds Association of Montreal, 1904," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 355. Correspondence re Incorporation. On the Presidents from 1902 to 1952 see William Bowie, *A Half Century of Service, 1902-1952* (Montreal: Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, 1953), 27. ¹⁰⁰The 1903 delegation included Mr. and Mrs. H.V. Meredith, Sir William Hingston and Lady Hingston, Principal Peterson, Senator R. Mackay, R.H. Drummond, Mrs. Cox, and Mrs. Redpath. See "They urge city to stand firm," *Montreal Gazette*, undated, and "No street cars on the mountain," *Montreal Herald*, 3 February, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see "Médéric takes slam at local millionaires," *Montreal Daily Mail*, 21 April, 1917, and "Board favors a tram line on the mountain," *Montreal Star*, 4 May, 1916, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. The reporter from the *Star* wrote: "[t]he scene of a band of wealthy men going to the Tramways' Commission and asking that Mount Royal park be closed to everyday except themselves was disgraceful."

¹⁰¹See "Mount Royal Park. Sir William Hingston makes an appeal for its protection," unmarked: "Keep the mountain for the people," *Montreal Star*, 23 November, 1916; "The mountain and cars," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, and "The Mountain and cars," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. For other references to an "unspoiled" Mount Royal see, for example, "Mount Royal," *Montreal Star*, 12 February, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁰²"Hands off Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 November, 1922, and "The park and the people," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 18 February, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. On the park as an open air church see "Mount Royal Park: More protests against the proposed trolley line," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. On Mount Royal as sacred and the building of a rail-line as an act of desecration see "Aldermen stand pat on proposal to allow autos," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and "The street railway and Mount Royal," *Montreal Star*, 23 June, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. This religious discourse can only be understood within the larger context of the repeated use of the mountain motif in biblical writings. Among the several mountains regarded as sacred, where the divine touches the human spirit, Mount Sinai and Mount Zion loom large. On "Mountains in the Biblical Cosmos," see Robert L. Cohn, *The Shape of Sacred Space: Four Biblical Studies* (California: Scholars Press, 1981), 25-42. Also see Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible: A Historical Geography*, trans. A.F. Rainey (London: Burns and Oates, 1967, and Richard Clifford, *The Cosmic Mountain in Canaan and the Old Testament* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1972).

virtue: "[n]ature, in her unviolated sanctuary, has for ages laid her fruits and flowers on His altar!"¹⁰³ The unscathed virgin needing to be "jealously preserved,"¹⁰⁴ one man explained aptly the seriousness of this project in sexual terms: "[I]et all who wish our glorious park to remain unimpaired... - a divinely provided flower garden and arboretum - vigilantly oppose the first inroad upon it, as once its sanctity is broken in upon there is no telling where Gothic spirit of destruction will terminate."¹⁰⁵ These Mount Royal advocates, sounding strikingly similar to moral reformers' analysis on fallen womanhood,¹⁰⁶ saw encroachment on the mountain as an assault against the female body: body once spoiled (fallen), it (she) loses its (her) value.¹⁰⁷

Buried beneath this construction of Mount Royal Park as a divinely-sanctioned natural retreat was a class-specific body which threatened the park's sacred character and targeted a gendered body. In a rare glimpse of truthfulness, an opponent of the rail-line chastised his "aesthetic friends of the west end" for grossly misrepresenting their "preservationist" movement: "the cars would bring such crowds of common people! We might as well be honest about it. I am a West Ender myself. We don't want crowds of

¹⁰³"Hands off Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 November 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1920-1926.

¹⁰⁴Montreal Women's Club (petition) to the CPT, 2 April, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-07; Parc Mont-Royal: Améliorations demandées.

¹⁰⁵"Mount Royal Park," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 16 January, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

¹⁰⁶See, for example, C.S. Clarke, *Of Toronto the Good, a Social Study: The Queen City of Canada as It Is* (Montreal: Toronto Publishing Co., 1898; repr., Toronto: Coles Publishing Co., 1970), 118. He wrote: "I think I may consistently say that any woman or girl, once entered upon a life of shame... her fate is certain... There is only one means of safety, and that is to avoid the first step. Once place your foot on the downward part, and you are lost forever."

¹⁰⁷In her analysis of the land-as-lady metaphor, Annette Kolodny argues that the crucial intimacy between language and perception has led to the perpetual continuity of this metaphor: "we may indeed have long ago ceased to self-consciously or attentively think about the feminine in the landscape, but that does not mean that we have ceased to experience it or to act in such a way that our behavior apparently manifests such experience at its deepest level or motivation." Kolodny, *The Lay of the Land*, 149. In his 1986 article, Montreal journalist Mark London relied on this dated metaphor, evidence of the extent to which landscape is inherently gendered and sexualized. He writes: "Mount Royal is... Montreal's priceless treasure: the past century and a half has seen a continuing struggle between those who attempted to exploit its virtues, taken advantage of its natural charms and cheapen its reputation, and those who have struggled with mixed success to protect its unspoiled beauty." Mark London, "Tower proposal is latest threat to original plan," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 February, 1986, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 3-90.

common people there... It is not the cars, but their passengers."¹⁰⁸ Unveiling their own class prejudice, another opponent echoed the same concern: "[w]hat are the guardians of our cemeteries doing to protect their 'Cities of the Dead' from being defiled by the class of visitor that is sure to find its way to the Mountain park under the new conditions?"¹⁰⁹ A.D. Braithwaite of the MPPA specified the gendered nature of this concern: "of what benefit [would such] a public park be, to the mother and children?"¹¹⁰ Lord Shaughnessey, in his letter to Premier Henri Taschereau, emphasized these classist and gendered assumptions about the immoral and the moral. In addition to destroying the carriage drives, he argued that "a place frequented by ladies encompassed a moral side too... tram cars covering that route at night and scattering all sorts of people over 770 acres of park territory, would be a menace to public order."¹¹¹ Another man referred to a moral geography of Montreal which he sought to keep in tact:

it [the electric car line] will afford an easy access for numbers of loafers, who at present generally 'hang out' along the water front, and other loose characters to run up there and lie under the trees... our wives and daughters would in a short time become disgusted with what is at present one of the most beautiful pieces of natural scenery in the world.¹¹²

¹⁰⁸"The Mountain Park," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 6 February, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. As noted in fn 103, a portion of Montreal's working-class objected to the rail-line. Commenting on this strange alliance with Montreal's wealthiest anglophones, the author also noted the irony of an 1903 gathering of "the notables and their wives at City Hall to keep the poorer classes out of the park[:];... amazed they even united with cabdrivers... it seems to me that the spokesmen of the deputation are deficient in the sense of humor, as otherwise they would surely have perceived the incongruity of appearing in the same lobby as the cab-drivers, in their united endeavor to keep the poorer classes out of the park." A stark image of the most and the least privileged sharing space, the former were willing to be close physically to these workmen in the short term to avoid it in the long term.

¹⁰⁹"Defend Mountain Park!," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. It is unclear whether the writer is male or female.

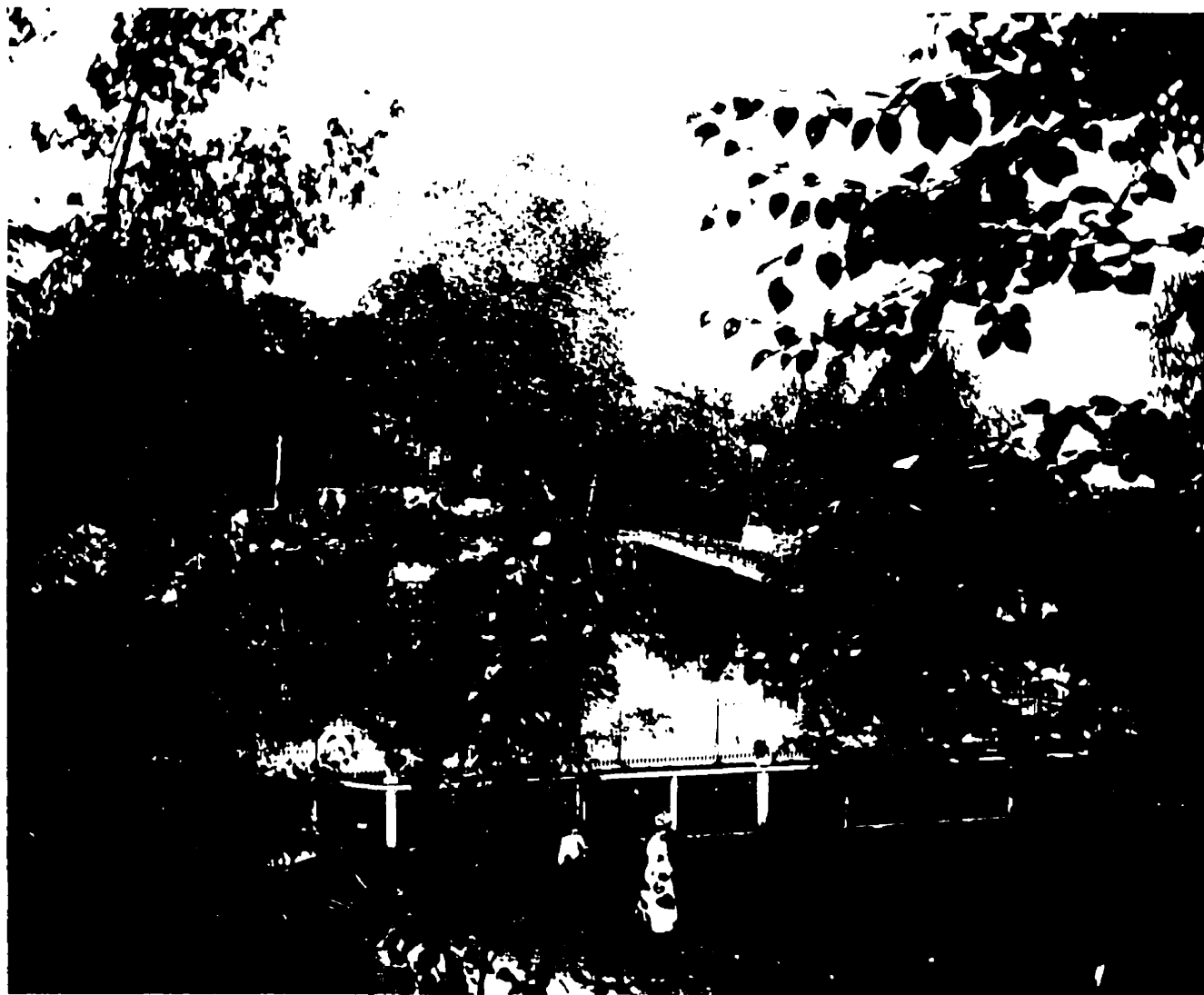
¹¹⁰A.D. Braithwaite to MPPA supporters, 27 November, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

¹¹¹Lord Shaughnessey to Premier H. Taschereau, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. Shaughnessey's reference to 770 is an exaggeration. According the MPPA's 1912 recreation survey, Mount Royal Park encompassed 464 acres. See "Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 333. The illustrations of women, children, and carriages in Mount Royal Park which follow on p. 44 and 45 show pictorially the context within which the these opponents were operating.

¹¹²"Strongly opposed to mountain car line," *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.



Mount Royal Park, 24 May, 1899. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, MP 002779 (105).



Upper Reservoir, Mount Royal Park, 21 August, 1898. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, MP 067(80)

Rather than relying on the metaphor of land as an ethnic- and class- specific woman, some opponents were forthright in their concern for Montreal's respectable lady and disdain for the city's poor.

The same pattern, the reliance on a seemingly neutral argument to veil a class-specific attack, is also discernible in the more the general discourse on commercial companies encroaching on Mount Royal Park. Operating within an intellectual climate which interwove religiosity, anti-capitalism, and environmental protection, opponents of the rail-line were certainly aware of this tradition, as articulated by nineteenth-century thinker John Muir: "[t]hese temple destroyers, devotees of ravaging commercialism, seem to have a perfect contempt for Nature, and instead of lifting their eyes to the God of the Mountains, lift them to the Almighty Dollar."¹¹³ Like Muir, Mount Royal's protectors argued that any sign of commercialism on Mount Royal was antithetical to God's designs for "His" gendered sanctuary. An unique space to which capitalists should not have access, they portrayed the Montreal Street Railway Company as either "vulturous exploiters" or a "roup of capitalists" to whom Mount Royal "should not be handed over... in order that they may exploit it to the filling of their pockets."¹¹⁴ Anticipating that the rail-line would be the beginning of the fall, after which Mount Royal Park would be "at the mercy of power corporations," the MPPA couched the familiar sexual metaphor of the "fall" in religious terms to articulate its contempt for the MSR: "[t]he glory is departed from Mount Royal. The first chapter of its downfall has been written. Upon the altar of commercialism it has been sacrificed."¹¹⁵

Expressed in less masked language, opponents of the rail-line argued consistently that the laying down of tramlines on the mountain would be followed soon after by

¹¹³As cited Williams, *The Country*, 161.

¹¹⁴"Mount car scheme," *Montreal Witness*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and "Let Mount Royal alone," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹¹⁵ "Will make fight to stop invasion," *Montreal Herald*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 6 March, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926.

amusement games, a class-specific symbol of sexual chaos.¹¹⁶ A bourgeois movement to save the "pure" Mount Royal in the name of the bourgeois family, which "was as its core desexualized,"¹¹⁷ it is of no surprise that the rail-line, the precursor to the "hurdy-gurdies and other abominations," became the object of attack.¹¹⁸ In a frank letter to one the editors of a local paper, a Montrealer hypothesized that railcars to the top of the mountain would "be followed a little later on by... the introduction of attractions in the shape of merry-go-rounds, shooting galleries, wheels of fortunes, etc., in fact, anything that will bring the poor people there, to earn dividends for the company. Is it not time some steps were taken to prevent such a catastrophe?"¹¹⁹ The catastrophe to which this citizen was referring was not the desecration of nature, but rather the opening of Mount Royal to the wrong class who would, in turn, engage in improper behaviour. Equating the poor with sexual immorality, another citizen denounced the clergy for remaining silent on an issue which had clear such moral consequences:

[d]o they know that the advent of the trolley means that, sooner or later, the building of an hotel and that other 'attractions' to bring people to the top of the mountain are certain to follow? Do they not know the condition of affairs now existing on the mountain slope? If not, let them take a walk any Saturday night in summer, from the English cemetery gates to the Cote des Neiges Road and see for themselves. I will guarantee they will find

¹¹⁶Thomas Laqueur's study of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century England, in which he argues that passion and desire were integral to the new economic order brought on by the industrial revolution, can be applied to this early twentieth-century crisis. Not only does he identifies an order with "no clear conceptual boundary between its sexual and economic manifestations," but points to the perceived class- and gender-specific threat of this merging of the economic and sexual: "[t]he old elision of the difference between consuming goods on the one hand and consuming sex on the other could not be raised to the level of a general principle. And while these middle-class observers seem to have regarded their own class as sufficiently rooted in home, work, and family to resist the slide from one side to the other, the same did not hold for the working class... Working-class women in particular were seen as dangerously vulnerable to the freedoms, the allure, of the marketplace." Thomas W. Laqueur, "Sexual Desire and the Market Economy During the Industrial Revolution," in Domna C. Stanton, ed., *Discourses of Sexuality: From Aristotle to Aids* (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1992), 185-215.

¹¹⁷*Ibid.*, 189.

¹¹⁸"Park Cars," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

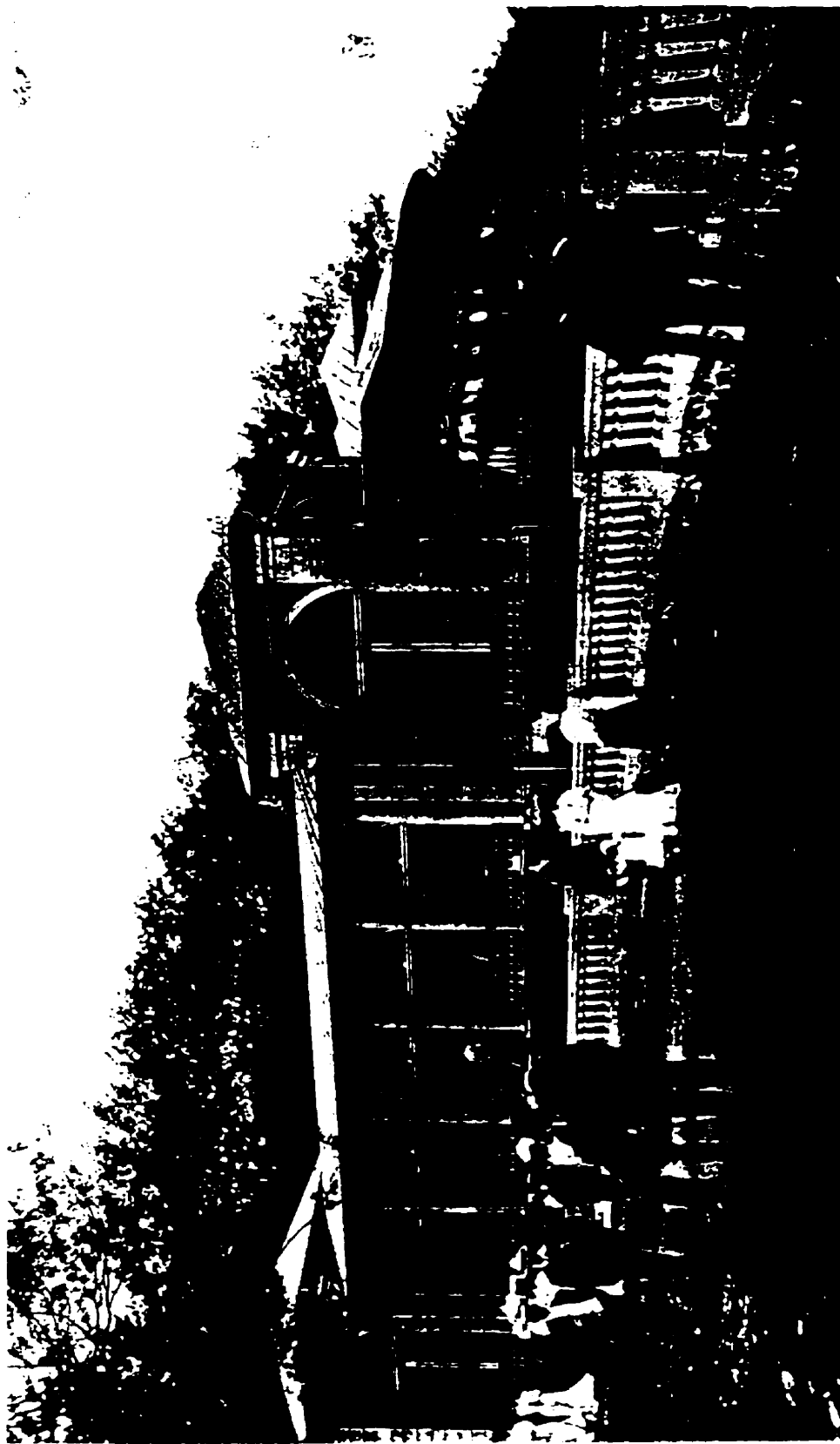
¹¹⁹"Defend Mountain Park!," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see "The Railway and the Park," unmarked, and "The Mountain Line," *Montreal Witness*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. On the Mountain park becoming an elevated Sohmer Park, a working-class commercial amusement park located along the water-front, as a result of the rail-line see "Will make fight to stop invasion, *Montreal Herald*, undated, and "They urge city to stand firm," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. On a socio-cultural history of Sohmer Park see Lamonde and Montpetit, *Le Parc Sohmer de Montréal 1889-1919*.

something there that will open the eyes of even those who are acquainted with the ways of continental cities. Do they wish to increase and enlarge this field of assignation?¹²⁰

Constructing a triad among commercial amusements, the poor, and sexual impropriety, opponents of the rail-line saw in this trolley a chance to restrict the abominable scenes among Montreal's degenerates to the waterfront, or, at worse, to the base of the mountain. This spatial containment was seen as vital because the summit of Mount Royal was constructed for the respectable woman, the middle-class anglophone mother: "[w]ith electric trollies, electric lights and electric games... the wooded park will soon become a place to which decent people cannot resort, and from which mothers and children will be driven away."¹²¹

¹²⁰"Mount Royal Park: More protests against the proposed trolley line." *Montreal Gazette*, undated. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. For a pictorial display of bourgeois domestic harmony on the summit of the mountain see the illustration of the lookout on Mount Royal on p. 49.

¹²¹"Mount car scheme." *Montreal Witness*, undated. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. When an entrepreneur submitted a tender to open a restaurant on the summit in 1905, a deputation of prominent men under the rubric of the MPPA, including Sir George Drummond and Senators Beique and Casgrain, presented themselves before City Council and argued that a restaurant on the summit would not only be a blot on the mountain which would interfere with the picturesque association of such a view, but it would also "[bring] in undesirable accompaniments in a place so frequented by ladies." See Platform presented to the City Council, 11 October, 1905. AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-03-2: Parc Mont-Royal: Observatoire. Also see minutes of the emergency meeting of the Park Committee of the MPPA, 6 October, 1905, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 2, file 50. MPPA Subcommittee on Parks Minute Books 1905-1909. The restaurateur who did have the contract with the city, John McClanaghan, understood the gendered nature of his work. In his successful request to renew his contract with the city in 1900, McClanaghan wrote: "[p]ermit me to say I believe no man should be selected on account of the dollars and cents he may offer for the position and privileged, as there are many ladies and children visiting the Park frequently." J. McClanaghan to the CPT, 20 March, 1900. AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 667.



Mount Royal Lookout, 1906. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, MP 019/74.

The "Other": St. Helen's Island

While Mount Royal was a space inscribed with class- and ethnic-privilege from which the working-classes and their corollary, commercial amusements, were barred, St. Helen's Island was constructed as these debased people's alternative. Bordering the poor districts on the waterfront and located a great distance from the mansions in the city above the hill, some nineteenth-century Montrealers identified the island as a more logical place to establish a public park. Six years before Mount Royal Park even opened, one Montreal paper wrote: "[o]n parle beaucoup, à Montreal, d'acheter l'île Ste. Hélène pour en faire un parc; celui de la Montagne, que nous n'avons pas encore, en nous suffit plus."¹²² The property of the federal government, the city entered into a contractual agreement with the Minister of Militia and Defence in 1874 to lease a portion of the island to use it as a public park.¹²³ The island park, which opened appropriately on St. Jean Baptiste Day in 1874,¹²⁴ quickly gained the reputation as the "working man's park" or the "poor man's park."¹²⁵

¹²²An 1870 reporter cited in Pierre Voyer, "L'Île Sainte-Hélène," *La revue populaire* (juin 1908), AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17-1, 1-A, 29-79. In his farewell report of 1872, Mayor Charles J. Coursol put forward a similar argument: "[p]opular opinion has long been demanding that St. Helen's Island should be obtained for the purpose of being converted into a Park. As a resort for the general public there is no doubt no more desirable spot could be selected." As cited in Edgard Andrew Collard, "The glamor of the isolated Island," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 June, 1976, AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17-1, 1-A, 30-87.

¹²³See the Report of the meeting of the Privy Council, 3 June, 1874, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-1: Île Ste.-Hélène - Parc LaFontaine. The federal government sold the island to the city for \$200,000 in 1908 with the stipulation that it be used as a public park and that it could be used by the military authorities for parade purposes. See AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-2: Île Ste-Hélène - Parc LaFontaine, especially extract from minutes of City Council, 29 May, 1905; extract from minutes of City Council, 15 October, 1906, and F.W. Borden of the Minister's Office of Militia and Defence to Senator L.O. David, 1 December, 1906. On the final sale see AVM, CPT, vm 44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-3: Île Ste-Hélène - Parc LaFontaine, especially Secretary of the Department of the Interior to Hon. L.O. David, 28 August, 1908, and extract from minutes of City Council, 1 May, 1908. For a summary of the legal history of the island from May 28, 1611, when Champlain "baptized" it and named it in honour of his fiancée Hélène Boulé, to 1908 see Louis Sabourin, "L'Île Sainte-Hélène," *La Samedi*, 2 janvier, 1937, AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17, 1-A, 29.143.

¹²⁴This "semi-official" opening on St. Jean Baptiste Day was far less extravagant than the inauguration of Mount Royal Park two years later on Victoria Day. Juxtapose the only Montreal daily which covered the story, "Round town," *Montreal Star*, 25 June, 1874 with the reports of 25 May, 1876 in the *Montreal Gazette*, *Montreal Star* and *Montreal Herald*.

¹²⁵William Carre (1898) cited in Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal Park," 74. Also see De Bonville, *Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit*, 145. Implying that the island park had become working-class because the city had made it accessible to the poor through a free ferry service, the Canada Steamship Lines

Infused with a different meaning than the exclusive anglophone terrain of the mountain, amusements, appropriately, became basic to what defined the island park. Less than a decade after the park opened, the carousel and shooting gallery, symbols of working-class leisure, appeared on the island. Denouncing this type of development, the English press pitted the unworthy island (poor woman) against the worthy mountain (bourgeois woman): "[f]or ladies and children, the Mountain possesses great inducements owing to the absence of the rowdy elements so conspicuous of the Sundays, at the island. Swings, roundabouts and shooting galleries are not beneficial surroundings."¹²⁶ Attracting a particular class of men and woman who undermined middle-class notions of respectability and threatened its gate-keeper, the middle-class lady, St. Helen's Island was inscribed with a different (lower) moral standard. In fact, defenders of Mount Royal, spokespersons for the privileged lady, held the island park up as that which the mountain park was not and would never be. When entrepreneur James McCarthy petitioned the park commissioners to establish a merry-go-round, swings and other amusements on Mount Royal in 1885, arguing that such amusements would induce more people to visit the mountain and enjoy the benefit of "pure air and innocent recreation," his request was denied.¹²⁷ The logic at work was simple: the "merry-go-round and other tawdy

Company (CSL) requested in 1917 that the Bureau des Commissaires grant the company the privilege of operating the ferry-boat service. The company explained the classist rationale behind this request: "while the free ferry plan is undoubtedly a very worthy conception in actual practice it has not worked out to the advantage of all classes. The very poor have no doubt benefited [sic], but as they comprise of the very small percentage of the population in this prosperous city, the great middle class... have practically been deprived of the benefits of the Island, as they very rightfully take the view that they will not submit to the crushing and crowding that has always been necessary to reach the island." CSL to the Bureau des Commissaires, 23 April, 1917, AVM, Bureau des Commissaires (hereafter BC), vm17, 127-07-02-03, dossier 35162.

¹²⁶*Montreal Star*, 23 June, 1883 cited in Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal," 165.

¹²⁷James McCarthy (petition) to the CPT, 15 May, 1885, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 200.01: Mont Royal: amusements. Note that all other requests to establish amusement games on Mount Royal were denied. See John Moulin to the CPT, 22 April, 1886; Joseph Bezeau (petition) to the CPT, 7 July, 1891; J.B. Mathyl to the Mayor, June 1892, and M.M. Payette and J.B. Mathyl to the CPT, 1 June, 1908, AVM, CPT, 121-11-02-00, 200.01: Mont Royal: amusements. For a review of these proposals and others (such as a 500-foot tower in 1896) see Guy Pinard, "Le Mont-Royal encore la cible du 'progres'," *La Presse*, 4 mai, 1986, AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17, 1-A, 30-103; Mark London, "Mountain's nature beauty being eroded: Mount Royal has been target of many schemes," unmarked, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1-A, 3-89, and Mark London, "Tower proposal is latest threat to original plan," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 February, 1986, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 3-90.

attractions" could not be allowed on Mount Royal because "they [would] be followed by the obscenities on Sundays and holidays which [were] fast making St. Helen's Island disreputable and [would] drive away the respectable in proportion as they attract the vile. The sacred quiet of nature... would give way to the rivalry of a Vanity Fair."¹²⁸

This logic was deeply entrenched in Mount Royal park promoters' consciousness. During the tramway controversy which arose in the spring of 1917, one Montrealer cited St. Helen's Island as his case study: "if you introduce tramways, it will bring in those elements which have already, to a certain extent, been introduced in St. Helen's Island: shooting galleries, merry-go-rounds... [I am] not trying to prevent access [but] protect people against inroads of undesirable elements."¹²⁹ Granted, the MPPA successfully lobbied against the CSL's two-fold proposal of 1917 to take control of and implement a fares system for the ferry service and convert the island park into an amusement resort;¹³⁰ identifying the scheme as a "veritable Coney suggestion," the association did not want the "noise and riot and vulgarity associated with it."¹³¹ However, seven years later, when another company proposed to City Council to convert the summit of Mount Royal into a Coney Island, some opponents of the scheme put St. Helen's Island forward as a possible

¹²⁸*Montreal Witness*, 20 May, 1885 cited in Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal," 131.

¹²⁹"Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

¹³⁰See J.R. Gardiner of the MPPA to Sir George E. Foster, acting Premier in Ottawa, undated; Commissioner Ross to J. R. Gardiner, 7 May, 1917, and "Statement for Senator Dandurand regarding Mount Royal and St. Helen's Island," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. Unlike its protests against the rail-line on Mount Royal Park, the MPPA did not essentialize the Island Park nor did it rely on religious metaphors. Rather, the association argued in a straightforward manner that any lease to the CSL would shut out the working-class from the park because fares would be introduced for the ferry service, as would entrance fees to the various shows. In the end, the city granted the CSL the permission to operate amusements already existing on St. Helen's Island and the right to operate the ferry service *at no charge*. See CSL to the BC, 3 May, 1917, and a copy of the contract between the CLS and the city, May, 1917, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-07-02-03, dossier 35162. On the legal arrangement also see "St. Helen's Island," *Montreal Gazette*, 2 May, 1917; "Want government to modify contract re St. Helen's Isle," *Montreal Daily Mail*, 3 May, 1917; "Free ferry service to St. Helen's Island," *Montreal Star*, 17 May, 1917, and "City to maintain free ferry service," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 May, 1917, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926. For other opposition see letters of protests from the Historical Landmarks Association of Canada, the Imperial Naval and Military Contingency Fund, the Comité central de Montréal, and the Parti ouvrier du Canada, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-07-02-03, dossier 35162.

¹³¹"Ambiguous plans for development of St. Helen's Island," *Montreal Star*, 25 April, 1917, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2070, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

alternate site. A scheme seen as "nothing less than vandalism" and an act of desecration against "the beautiful hill not made with hands." St. Helen's Island was nevertheless seen as expandable: "[i]f an amusement centre is sought, if it is desired to provide Montreal with a Luna Park or Coney Island, St. Helen's Island might not be inappropriate for the purpose."¹³² The significance of this claim is further elucidated by the popularly-held belief that "Coney Island" meant social chaos:

[t]he old Coney Island used to be the most popular meeting place for professional sharks, swindlers, confidence men, fashionable adventuresses, pickpockets, and prostitutes of all descriptions... This same Coney Island did furnish as much material for the under-world's vicious life as any other known source... They were more young girls led astray through the dazzle of the gay, flashy life, and it certainly was the home of the white slavery... All these particular kind of people will gather in this city; they will go there in the spring and they will prey and ravish upon the public.¹³³

A space associated with the working-class, Montreal's anglophone elite identified the island rather than the mountain as the more appropriate space for the "Other" to gather within the city: a great distance from the island park, this particular sexual geography would not put in jeopardy the domestic enclave on the mountain.

¹³²"Hands off Mount Royal!," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 23 June, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926. Also see "Would build hotel on Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 21 June, 1924; "Want no resort on Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 28 June, 1924, and "No desecration of the park," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 21 June, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

¹³³"No Montreal Coney," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926. Not only was St. Helen's Island seen by some as dispensable, but some also felt that the Island Park cost the city too much, an issue which arose during the spring of 1917. The CSL, proposing a plan "based on sound business principles," wanted to "change the island park from being a source of expense to a revenue producing proposition." CSL to the BC, 23 April, 1917, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-07-02-03, dossier 35162. In his defence of their decision to entertain such a proposal, Commissioner Ross explained that the city paid nearly \$40,000 for the maintenance and ferry subsidy for the island, "to say nothing of the interest charges on purchase price, \$200,000 paid to the government." Commissioner Ross to J.R. Gardiner of the MPPA, 7 May, 1917, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. Recall that the city spent \$789,422.07 from 1872 to 1876 on acquiring land for Mount Royal Park. For a contemporary's critique of this double standard see "L'Île Sainte-Hélène," *Le Canada*, 8 septembre, 1904, AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17.1, 1-A.

Epilogue: The Un-Making of Mount Royal Park

An emblem of anglophone power and wealth as manifested spatially, Mount Royal endured three distinct attacks in the 1920s. Although the francophones, comprising over sixty-three percent of Montreal's population in 1921, remained "une majorité dominée," this was nevertheless a pivotal decade in the history of French-Canadians in Montreal.¹³⁴ Long after the era of English ascendancy in this city had passed, the 1920s saw a resurgence of French-Canadian nationalism. Furthermore, the pattern of alternating between anglophone and francophone mayors, a tradition dating back to the nineteenth-century, had come to an end. An office occupied exclusively by French-Canadians since the election of populist leader Médéric Martin in 1914, this symbolic shift in power relations was further elucidated by the fact that Martin and his successor Camillien Houde (1928-32, 1934-36, 1938-40, 1944-54) were both from working-class families of East End (francophone) Montreal.¹³⁵ A symbolic challenge to the Conquest of 1763, a French-controlled City Council, under the Mayoralty of Martin, ceded 60 arpents of Mount Royal Park to l'Université de Montréal on 22 May, 1922.¹³⁶ Two years later, the city allowed the société St. Jean Baptiste to erect a 100-foot electrically-illuminated cross at the eastern summit of the mountain; inaugurated and blessed appropriately on 24 June, 1924, the cross faced the predominantly francophone East End.¹³⁷ In December 1927, the construction of a rail-line over Mount Royal began.¹³⁸ The first was a subtle reminder to the anglophone

¹³⁴Out of a total population of 618,506 in 1921, 390,168 (63.08) of Montrealers were francophone, as compared to 148,630 (24.03) anglophones. See Canada Census, 1921. By 1941, the percentage of francophones in the city of Montreal reached 66.3, as compared to 20.3 of Montrealers of British-descent. Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 318.

¹³⁵Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 406-411.

¹³⁶See letters to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 1, 3, 7, and 10 June, 1922, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NAC), Montreal Local Council of Women (hereafter MLCW), m.g. 28, i 164, v. 6. Projects 1893-1964. Also see Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 393-395.

¹³⁷Cecile Grenier and Dinu Bumbaru, "Historique," undated, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 3-73. Also see "History of cross on Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 April, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

¹³⁸Jim Telfer, "Building the Tramway Line Over Mount Royal 1927-1929," *Canadian Rail* 347 (December 1980): 370-382. Although the city awarded the contract to Cooke Construction on 9 December, 1927, negotiations between the city and Mount Royal cemetery authorities, three years in duration, were not

elite, who had appropriated this mountain in post-Conquest Montreal, that a francophone elite could re-possess this land. The second represented a symbolic return to the French colony; recall that Cartier (1535) and Champlain (1642) both erected crosses on the summit of the mountain. The third denoted the triumph of French-Canadian populism (as embodied in the mayors who negotiated the tram-line deal, Martin and Houde) over Anglo-Saxon privilege (as personified in the most vocal opponents of the plan, the MPPA).

During the l'Université de Montréal controversy, the MPPA, backed by the anglophone elite, publicly portrayed the ceding of land to this French institution as an act of vandalism against sacred terrain devoid of ethnic, religious or linguistic undertones.¹³⁹ Allan Smith wrote that "it was about robbing the poor of their vacation on the slopes of mountain[,] ... giving their invaluable land to an institution that can only serve the comparatively rich... [, and] tak[ing] what belongs to everybody and hand[ing] it over to a privileged class."¹⁴⁰ Juxtaposing this public rhetoric with private concerns is a useful introduction to the wide discrepancy between the MPPA's ethnically-neutral public campaign for the poor and its ethnically-driven private crusade against a francophone elite. In a letter which appeared in a Montreal paper, Smith explained that by "voting away Mount Royal to a rich private institution... instead of his family sitting in the shade the poor citizen will... swelter in the sun [while] putting bricks and mortar together where the children of the rich may receive higher education."¹⁴¹ Although Smith knew that the rich to whom he was referring were francophone, he also understood that he could not admit

resolved until February 1928: the cemetery ceded the city eight acres of land in exchange of a certain amount of city property. See "Mountain carline problem solved," *Montreal Star*, 4 February, 1928 and "Le tramway du Mont-Royal," *La Presse*, 11 février, 1928. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

¹³⁹Note that MPPA did not object to the city ceding a portion of Mount Royal Park to McGill University on 9 February, 1929. On the transfer of land see "Historique," AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 3-73. On the MPPA's silence see "Report of the Parks Committee of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association - 1922-1934 inclusive," 13 May, 1935, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 12, file 293. Parks Committee: Miscellaneous.

¹⁴⁰See his letters to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 5 June and 10 July, 1922. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

¹⁴¹"The Property of the Poor," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Herald*, 13 June, 1922. I would like to thank Suzanne Morton for this reference.

that publicly. In private correspondence to the MPPA, he warned the association "not make [the] issue a language one (some claiming that the city ceded it because a French-Catholic institution)... [I]t will not make the two races closer, but rather it will be a story of its alienation."¹⁴² David McGill, a resident of Westmount, also expressed similar concerns privately to the MPPA: "we must get French-Canadian support to oppose this project... The campaign is important but points out that it is almost exclusively carried out by English speaking organizations in Montreal, resulting as it has in the past, in affording the protagonists of this scheme an opportunity, which they will not be slow to grasp, of raising the old race issue."¹⁴³ Although the Parks Committee of the MPPA made a valiant attempt in "getting some French ladies to come on the Committee," the struggle did not cut across ethnic lines.¹⁴⁴ Because it is through space that power manifests itself, this act of ceding this elite anglophone land to a francophone elite represented a symbolic re-adjustment of power relations.

Although Montreal's English Protestant community was able to stop the erection of a statue of the Virgin Mary on the summit of Mount Royal in 1888,¹⁴⁵ the MPPA could not prevent another Roman Catholic marker from being erected in the park in 1924.¹⁴⁶ In 1888, the spokespersons of Montreal's Protestant community objected to the statue because they found it "as an abuse of images" and "extremely offensive to the consciences of the Protestant population of the city." The statue, "representing as it does a dogma which Protestants everywhere positively reject," would obviously appear incongruous in a space

¹⁴²Allan Smith to Parks Committee of the MPPA, 20 June, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

¹⁴³David McGill to J.L. Todd, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. Also see the J.L. Todd to D. McGill, 28 November, 1922, in which the MPPA acknowledges the "importance of securing cooperation of French-Canadian citizens of Montreal," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

¹⁴⁴Minutes of the Parks Committee, 6 June, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

¹⁴⁵See AVM, CPT, minutes of 16 April, 1888.

¹⁴⁶Although it did not oppose the erection of the cross *per se*, the MPPA did object to the installation of "unsightly poles and wires" which accompanied the proposal. See "Report of the Parks Committee of the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association - 1922-1934 inclusive," 13 May, 1935, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 12, file 293. Parks Committee: Miscellaneous.

inscribed with Protestantism.¹⁴⁷ Although Mount Royal remained imprinted with the language and religion of the conquering English in the early twentieth-century, francophone Mayor Charles Duquette nevertheless accepted the société St. Jean Baptiste's proposal to erect an hundred-foot illuminated cross on the eastern summit of the Mountain Park in 1924. Although the anglophone press presented the cross as that which "commemorate[d] the coming of the white man," the man was a French-Catholic.¹⁴⁸ Re-creating "la grande procession allégorique" on 24 June, 1924, Mgr. Deschamps headed a procession up the mountain akin to the ones led by Cartier in the sixteenth-century and Champlain in seventeenth and christened the rock on which the cross was to be built.¹⁴⁹ This cross, erected on the same site as the one planted by Cartier in 1535, was not only a visual marker of the power of French-Catholicism in a space which embodied Anglo-Saxon privilege. A permanent fixture on the mountain, it also altered Mount Royal's physical landscape as well as the park's social space.

¹⁴⁷Petition against the erection of the Virgin Mary on the Mountain, undated, and the City clergy of the Church of England (petition) to the Mayor, 16 April, 1888, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 443-1: Parc Mont-Royal: Permis spéciaux demandés.

¹⁴⁸"The Cross of Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 March, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

¹⁴⁹See "Le programme de la fête d'aujourd'hui," *La Patrie*, 24 juin, 1924; "Fifteen bands and three choirs will accompany parade," *Montreal Herald*, 24 June, 1924; "Manifestations où se sont affirmées notre foi et notre race," *La Patrie*, 25 juin, 1924; "La fête nationale," *La Presse*, 25 juin, 1924; "La fête nationale," *La Presse*, 25 juin, 1924; "Half the city at big parade," *Montreal Herald*, 25 June, 1924; "Blessing on cross on mountain top," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 June, 1924.



Cross on Mount Royal, c. 1960. Archives de la ville de Montréal.
Photographie A-79-9.

In the aftermath of these two losses, the MPPA experienced another crushing blow. As we have seen in this chapter, the *raison d'être* of the Parks' Protection Association, the MPPA's predecessor, was to prevent a rail-line from being built through Mount Royal Park. Successfully opposing the plans which the city considered in the first two decades of the twentieth-century, it could not stop Martin from negotiating a deal with the Cooke Construction Company in 1927.¹⁵⁰ In a premature statement, the President of the MPPA declared two years prior that he was "glad to say that the fears we entertained... as to the destruction of Mount Royal park so far proved groundless, but our watchword must always be unceasing vigilance."¹⁵¹ While the MPPA vigilantly opposed this latest proposal to extend the rail-line through Mount Royal Park,¹⁵² the francophone press painted this project, which was completed in 1929, as a victory for the working-class residents of the francophone East End and an end to Mount Royal's exclusive character.¹⁵³

Conclusion

The focal point of the city above the hill, the home of the anglophone elite in post-Conquest Montreal, Mount Royal Park embodied, from the onset, anglophone wealth. Constructed as a domestic enclave for these privileged families and mothers in particular, this space was inscribed with a specific ethnicity (Anglo-Saxon), class (bourgeois), gender (virtuous woman), and sexuality (respectable heterosexuality). By charting the discourses on the early development of Mount Royal Park, the physical changes which the park

¹⁵⁰Telfer, "Building the Tramway Line."

¹⁵¹"Memo for remarks at Annual meeting, 1925," undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 363. Annual Meeting 1925.

¹⁵²The MPPA argued that the estimated cost (\$660,000.00) of this rail extension would be better spent on providing supervised playgrounds for the children of Montreal's congested districts. See, for example, "Protests tramway on Mount Royal," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 February, 1926, and "Playground body opposes tram line," *Montreal Star*, 13 February, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹⁵³ See, for example, "Le tramway du Mont-Royal," *La Presse*, 11 février, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

underwent in the 1920s only further elucidates the extent to which the notions underlying the rail-line debate, access and protection, were ethnic-, class-, and gender-specific.

CHAPTER II

THE SOCIAL GEOGRAPHY OF PARKS: DRAWING CLASS AND ETHNIC LINES

As noted in the first chapter, the early history of Mount Royal Park was marred by the claim that Montreal's working-classes were barred from the mountain park on account of its great distance from the city's congested districts and the absence of a public transportation to compensate for that distance. Criticized for its exclusive anglophone character, many saw Mount Royal as public in name only.¹ As in other North American cities, the failure of the suburban park in the late nineteenth-century to meet the needs of the residents of the urban slums led to rise of small park movement in Montreal.² The city thus witnessed the proliferation of neighbourhood parks in this period. Although over eighty percent of park space, totaling eight-hundred and twenty-seven acres in 1912, was subsumed within the city's three large parks, Mount Royal (464 acres), St. Helen's Island (128 acres), and Lafontaine (99 acres), the city nevertheless had nearly fifty small parks and squares in 1912, over sixty in 1921, and seventy-five in 1928.³

In this chapter, I examine the discursive and actual development of these small parks in turn-of-the-century Montreal, a growing city in which ethnicity and class were inscribed in its geography. I first look at reformers' intellectual commitment to providing

¹Roy Rosenzweig and Elizabeth Blackmar uncover a similar pattern in the early history of Central Park: "[t]he decision to build the park, although clothed in democratic rhetoric, was fundamentally rooted in the interests of New York's wealthiest citizens." Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *The Park and the People*, 7.

²On the development of the park movement in the U.S. see Cranz, *Politics of Park Design*, and Galen Cranz, "The Changing Role of Urban Parks: From Pleasure Garden to Open Space," *Landscape* 22:3 (Summer 1978): 9-12.

³See "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," 52-55, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 333; "A Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9:9 (September 1913): 358-360; Helen McArran, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178, and "More Recreation Centres Needed," *Montreal Gazette*, 30 November, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. Note that of the city's total park acreage (1,667 acres) in 1928, over 56% was subsumed by the five large parks: Mount Royal, Lafontaine, St. Helen's Island, Jarry, and Angrigon.

neighbourhood parks, conceptualized as small domestic enclaves,⁴ to residents of Montreal's congested districts. I then examine how the inhabitants of these neighbourhoods interpreted the movement (or lack thereof) of these gendered open spaces into Montreal's unique social geography.

The Urban Poor and Sexual Mores

In 1889, an European traveler described Montreal as being a city in which "le luxe est un fléau commun... Il n'y a pas d'habitants pauvres, dont la femme ne porte des fourrures en hiver; une malheureuse mère de famille, logée dans une cabane en poutres non équarries, aura une plume de 50 francs à son chapeau."⁵ This man certainly did not visit the Montreal uncovered by historian Bettina Bradbury. Charting the daily survival strategies of working families in two of the poorest districts in industrializing Montreal, the predominantly anglophone ward of St. Ann in the south-west and francophone ward of St. Jacques in the east end, the women in Bradbury's case study did not sport fur coats nor did they wear expensive hats. Rather, these working-women, contributing to or providing the basis of the family economy, devised ways to prevent their children from either starving or freezing to death.⁶ Although the Canada Steamship Limited declared in 1917 that these working-class Montrealers, who had constituted a majority in 1871,⁷ had been displaced by a middle-class,⁸ historian Terry Copp, describing an economic system which did not provide enough jobs or adequate wages and a city with horrible housing conditions and

⁴Although he does not use gender as a category of analysis, Martin Dauntton identifies parks as "moral enclaves" in his study of working-class housing. Martin Dauntton, *House and Home in the Victorian City: Working-Class Housing, 1850-1914* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983).

⁵L. De Cotton, *A Travers le Dominion et la Californie* (Paris: Retaux-Bray, 1889), 70.

⁶Bradbury, *Working Families*.

⁷*Ibid.*, 35.

⁸CSL to the BC, 23 April, 1917, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-07-02-03, dossier 35162. The company argued that while "the very poor... comprise a very small percentage of the population in this prosperous city, the great middle class... have practically been deprived."

deplorable health standards, has informed us that early twentieth-century Montreal was, in fact, deeply impoverished.⁹

Herbert Brown Ames' detailed investigation of the social conditions of a working-class district in 1896 is a useful window through which to see a Montreal absent from the pages of travel books and tourist guides.¹⁰ In his sociological study of a portion of west-end Montreal, Ames found that the living environment of working-class Montrealers was defined by the common evils of life in the industrial city - density, congestion and overcrowding.¹¹ Not only did Ames identify a positive relationship between these variables and a high morality rate, but he also noted a cause-effect relationship between material poverty and what he perceived to be moral vacuousness.¹² Whereas Ames pointed to the lower mortality rate among the residents in the city above the hill as a marker of moral health, he looked at the impoverished Montrealers, "herded together in huge caravansaries where privacy was impossible," and concluded that they were morally degenerate.¹³ The city slum was thus not only the "lurking place of disease and impaired health," but also "the holding place of crime, the haunt of immorality... [which] inevitably tend to drunkenness in parents; to delinquency in children; to disorderly conduct; to wife and family desertion by men who get tired of it all; to immorality in the growing generation

⁹Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974). Among Canada's major urban centres, the average number of persons per dwelling in Montreal was significantly higher. Between 1901 and 1911, the number in Montreal increased from 7.6 to 13.3. Compare Montreal's 13.3 to Calgary's 3.9, Vancouver's 4.8, Toronto's 6.2 and Winnipeg's 6.8. Bryce M. Stewart, "The Housing of Our Immigrant Workers," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 139.

¹⁰Part of the district was located in St. Antoine's Ward, the other in St. Ann's. Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada* (Montreal: Bishop Engraving, 1897; repr., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).

¹¹In one of the most densely population blocks, there were over three hundred persons per acre. *Ibid.*, 60.

¹²On the relationship between environment and morality in the minds of reformers see the pioneering work of Roy Lubove, *The Progressives and the Slums: Tenement House Reform in New York City, 1890-1917* (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962) and Boyer, *Urban Masses*, chap. 15. Also see Gareth Stedman Jones, *Outcast London: A Study of the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), 233-235, in which he notes the same pattern in London: the wealthy Victorians' conceptualized London's unregenerate poor as a "moral poison" festering in dark and filthy dens.

¹³Ames, *City Below the Hill*, 44.

owing to the lack of privacy and the consequent loss of modesty."¹⁴ Constructed as a necessarily sexual environment by virtue of the lack of space, the slum was not only a great physical distance from the spacious bourgeois neighbourhood, but also an immense ideological leap.

To further expose this physical and ideological distance, reformers relied on a racialized discourse. While William H. Atherton of Montreal's City Improvement League expressed outrage in 1911 that Canada had "outdone" the slums of London,¹⁵ his English contemporaries spoke of the poor in the urban slum as a "race wholly apart" and positioned the working-class and bourgeoisie as "two radically dissimilar nations, as unlike as difference of race could make of them."¹⁶ A city in which "the herding of the very poor in cities bre[d] a degraded race,"¹⁷ Montreal reformers' reliance on the language of degeneration to describe the city's working-class districts was thus not incidental: "the rhetoric of race [was used] to invent distinctions between what we would now call classes."¹⁸

Ames pointed to the small park in the urban slum as a moral alternative to the various vices close at hand. To persuade city officials to create this anomaly in congested districts, he juxtaposed the amount of open spaces in Montreal's wealthiest district to the total in one of the poorest: "[i]n 'the city above the hill' are noble parks and numerous breathing places. Mount Royal is close at hand. By contrast look at this section... Here

¹⁴J.J. Kelso, "Can Slums be Abolished or Must We Continue to Pay the Penalty," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 167. On the relationship between girls' sexual immorality in particular as a result of slum conditions see Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 233-235. For an excellent study on the sexualization of the urban slum see Deborah E.B. Weiner, *Architecture and social reform in late-Victorian London* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1994), chap. 2. She cites the founder of the Salvation Army, who commented on the perceived effects of overcrowding on the young: this situation "compel[s] the children to witness everything. Sexual morality often comes to have no meaning to them. Incest is so familiar as hardly to call for remark." On the relationship between incest and poverty (both real and discursive) see Linda Gordon, *Heroes of the Their Own Lives: The Politics and History of Family Violence* (Boston: Viking, 1988).

¹⁵William H. Atherton, "Child Welfare and the City," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 7:10 (October 1911): 393.

¹⁶Friedrich Engels cited in McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 45. She points to the use of a language of imperial missionary enterprise to justify reformers' penetration into the urban slum, a colonial landscape.

¹⁷"Small parks in the city," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

¹⁸McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 54.

dwelt 15,000 people... One paltry plot of ground, scarce an acre in extent, dignified by the title of Richmond Square, is the only spot where green grass can be seen free of charge in all that district."¹⁹ The contrast could not have been more stark: whereas there were one hundred and five licensed saloons and eighty-seven liquor selling groceries engulfing this one acre of park land, there were over four hundred and sixty acres, "laid out with drives, rustic steps and... footpaths leading in every direction to wander amidst an undergrowth of ferns and flowers," in the city above the hill.²⁰

However, to have encouraged the residents of the city below the hill to cross the invisible border and enjoy the open space laid out in the city above the hill would have been to undermine the popular notion that degeneration was a social construct rather than a biological fact; "[t]he poetics of contagion justified a politics of exclusion and gave social sanction to the middle class fixation with boundary sanitation."²¹ A middle-class reformer influenced by this popular belief which equated degeneration with contagion, Ames saw the neighbourhood park as the "purest and most ennobling of external influences" to offset the unwholesome environment in Montreal's working-class districts.²² Another Montreal reformer, rationalizing this *de facto* policy of containment in 1914, explained why the rural park was no longer adequate. Although providing the labouring classes with a space physically distanced from their morally depraved neighbourhoods, "[i]t is desirable that the transformation of the individual and the environment should go forward, side by side. To transform one without the other is not enough."²³ According to this logic, Mount Royal Park, external to the burgeoning working-class districts, could neither transform the

¹⁹Ames, *City Below the Hill*, 105.

²⁰Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*, 18, 19.

²¹McClintock, *Imperial Leather*, 47, 56. She further explains how boundaries were constrictive: "the so-called degenerate classes were metaphorically bound in a regime of surveillance, collectively figured by the images of sexual pathology and racial aberration as atavistic throwbacks to primitive moment in human prehistory, surviving ominously in the heart of the modern, imperial metropolis." David Scobey also discusses the importance of boundaries in a city defined by class difference: "[a] metropolis was... a place of boundaries, of functional divisions and social distinctions inscribed in space... the drawing of boundaries lay at the heart of middle-class culture." Scobey, "Empire City," 375.

²²Ames, *City Below the Hill*, 61.

²³S.W. Dean, "The Church and the Slum," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 160.

environment nor the individual. Identifying the small neighbourhood park rather than the exclusive rural park detached from the slum as that which would trigger a "moral revolution,"²⁴ these turn-of-the-century reformers thus ensured that the ideological divide erected between the city above and below the hill remained intact. In so doing, park promoters could simultaneously restrict the movement of the contagious (working-classes), shield their vulnerable victims (bourgeoisie), as well as put forward a solution to the social ills of turn-of-the-century Montreal.

This shift from the rural to the city park entailed not only the geographic, but also the ideological extension of the rural park into the neighbourhood.²⁵ Recall that Olmsted and his twentieth-century spokespersons, the MPPA, identified the rural park as a domestic enclave. In his sociological study, Ames saw the home as a particularly immoral site: representing "the dilapidation, stench, and general misery of mothers and children," it was especially injurious to women and children, he argued.²⁶ In his call for the neighbourhood park, he thus envisioned it as a place to which the mother and child, in particular, could flee. Another advocate of small parks, arguing that they were necessary at frequent intervals to prevent slums, also singled out the mother with child as basic to this project: "[m]otherhood, childhood, youth, society, and the race demand the abolition of the soul destroying slums."²⁷ David Scobey comments of the significance of this development: "[b]y breaking the frame of the scenic park... the reformers opened up prospects of landscape design and cultural influence that had been available only figuratively within the park grounds... They literalized the park's metaphors, so to speak, laying out actual landscapes of domestic intimacy, propertied order, and tutelary improvement."²⁸ Incorporating this ordered and gendered vision of park space into the cityscape, park promoters were no longer content with allowing the city to grow wildly.

²⁴"Small parks in the city."

²⁵Scobey, "Empire City," 384.

²⁶Ames, *City Below the Hill*, 167.

²⁷John Burns cited in Atherton, "Child Welfare and the City," 393.

²⁸Scobey, "Empire City," 384.

Like Ames, other Montrealers identified the neighbourhood park as basic to congested districts generally and to the lives of impoverished mothers particularly. No longer to be regarded as a "form of luxury" but rather part of a "very radical remedy,"²⁹ some appealed to the city on behalf of the gender-neutral working-class. While the MPPA worked furiously to keep Mount Royal "unspoiled" and "sacred," euphemisms for its exclusive character, it committed itself to an equally class-specific project: to secure land for park purposes "wherever a district is being laid out with a view to providing homes for workingmen near to the factories where they are employed."³⁰ Critical of the city's refusal to adopt this philosophy amid rapid growth, an alderman expressed his outrage at the city's shortsightedness: "je ne vois pas pourquoi la ville de Montréal qui s'aggrandit avec une rapidité alarmante ne prendrait pas des mesures immédiats pour réserver les terrains dont elle aura besoin dans un avenir rapproché pour faire des parcs publiques."³¹ Granted, it was a "little like marking out a swimming pool in mid-ocean."³² However, if the city wanted to "avoid the population density... such as exists in the old,"³³ and the social and sexual chaos which accompanied it, city officials would have to establish parks in areas of the city which were, "at present, practically surrounded by park lands [but were] fast becoming settled, and within a few years [would] be as densely populated as any other section of the city."³⁴ However, if it continued to provide "luxurious drives for the rich...

²⁹J.O. Miller, "The Better Government of our Cities," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 343, and Clifford Sifton, "Address of Welcome to the City Planning Conference," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 216.

³⁰MPPA, *Annual Report* (1906). For other gender-neutral calls for parks in congested districts see, for example, Report of A. Pinoteau and Henderson of the Annual Convention of American Association of Park Superintendents, August 1907, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 2199; BC, *Annual Report*, (1910), and Helen McArran, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 5, 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178.

³¹AVM, CPT, minutes of 12 September, 1905. For a similar argument see petition signed by over two hundred and twenty-five (predominantly) men to CPT, undated, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 1163.

³²"Two western parks," *Montreal Star*, 15 July, 1905, AVM, DP, bobine 251, 1901.67, 2-A.

³³Elzear Pelletier, Secretary of the Provincial Board of Health (1909) cited in Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*, 73.

³⁴"New Park Presented to City," *Montreal Herald*, 20 May, 1911. The city did acquire land in the newer, less populated wards of St. Gabriel (1910), Longue-Point (1913), and Rosemount (1913, at a cost of

[and] nothing was done, Montreal [was] going straight to hell."³⁵ To avoid this process, some highlighted the gender-specifications of this project. Holding up the dilapidated home as evidence of the need for neighbourhood parks, the Metropolitan Parks' Commission, appointed in July 1910, for example, argued that parks should be provided for the "women and children of wage-earning families because of their numbers, and of the direct influence of their health and vigor upon the efficiency of the coming generation."³⁶ The MPPA, citing Mount Royal Park as inadequate in its call for neighbourhood parks in working-class districts, also singled out the impoverished mother: "there are few women and children who will travel daily a mile from their homes for outdoor pleasure. The question of car fare is an item that must be considered in the budget of the working family."³⁷ To equate immorality with the domestic conditions under which the working-class lived and to focus on women and children as being particularly endangered in this environment made the city park the public alternative to save the private.³⁸

\$145,102.00). See BC, *Annual Reports* (1910, 1913). Also see AVM, BC, minutes of 14 March, 1914, in which the city accepted the offer from Beausoleil Limité to purchase land to establish a park in Hochelaga Ward at a cost of \$100,000.00 and F.A. Gauthier's offer of \$101,262.72 to establish a park in the village of Turcot. On requests for neighbourhood parks in the periphery of the city see Report of A. Pinoteau to the CPT, 7 December, 1905 (re Rosemount and Point aux Tremblés), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, dossier 1958, and AVM, BC, minutes of 19 September, 1913 (Ahuntsic), 14 March, 1914 (Emard), and 8 May, 1914 (St. Cunégonde).

³⁵W.D. Lighthall to the Mayor, 2 July, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-01, dossier 310.

³⁶As cited in "A Recreational Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 333. On the creation of the Metropolitan Parks' Commission see "An Act to Establish a Metropolitan Parks Commission," AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-01, dossier 68, and *Sessional Paper* No. 44, A.D. 1911 (I Geo. V, 2nd Session), 1-21. Although the Commission was to have sweeping powers, it collapsed a few years later with the advent of the war. See Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*, 84-86.

³⁷"As cited in "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 333. Also see W. J. Webster to the BC, 18 May, 1914, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-04-02, dossier 20200. He articulated his concern over the city's refusal to give proper attention to Notre Dame de Grace Park in similar term: "this particular district has thousands of people - a great many young mothers - infants and growing children - with no place for an outing without walking along the very dusty street for a mile or more in to west - Mount Royal." On Mount Royal Park as adequate see the Mayor's *Inaugural Address* (1889): "Our two greats - Mount Royal and St. Helen's Island have been well attended to and continue to afford to the public, and to the working classes especially, a source of recreation and amusement which is more and more appreciated every summer." Also see *Montreal and Vicinity*, 77, in which the author claims that "Montreal is but moderately well off in the way of public squares, although the magnificent Mountain Park in the rear of the city makes up for any shortcomings elsewhere."

³⁸Others relied on business principles in their calls for neighbourhood parks: they highlighted, in particular, the increased taxation value of surrounding properties. See, for example, Robert Reford to the BC, 17 April, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-02, dossier 695. On "enterprising merchant princes...

The East End

While these reformers and politicians were engaged in this intellectual exercise of constructing parks for the working-class generally and mothers specifically, residents of working-class districts were clamouring for parks in their under serviced neighbourhoods. Reflecting a city in which class and ethnicity played themselves out spatially, they voiced their concerns within a class-, ethnic, and gender-specific framework. Divided into "three chief race divisions,"³⁹ in which the wealthy English Protestants lived near the mountain in the West End, the French Catholics in the east end and in the adjoining cities of St. Cunégonde and St. Henri, and the impoverished anglophones in St. Ann's ward in the south-west, this socio-cultural landscape defined the politics of park development (see maps of Montreal, 1890 and 1930). More specifically, Montreal's underprivileged and disenfranchised spoke of this development as the spatial manifestation of class and ethnic prejudice.

Montreal's East End housed a significant portion of the city's francophone population. A great distance from the English in the city above the hill, one French tourist commented that "sociallement et littéralement parlant, nous sommes de beaucoup plus étrangers les uns aux autres que ne le sont les Anglais et les Français d'Europe."⁴⁰

turn[ing] their enterprises, their energy and their accumulated capital to the advantage of themselves and [the] community" through the development of a parks system see Prince, et. al., *Illustrated Montreal*, 44.

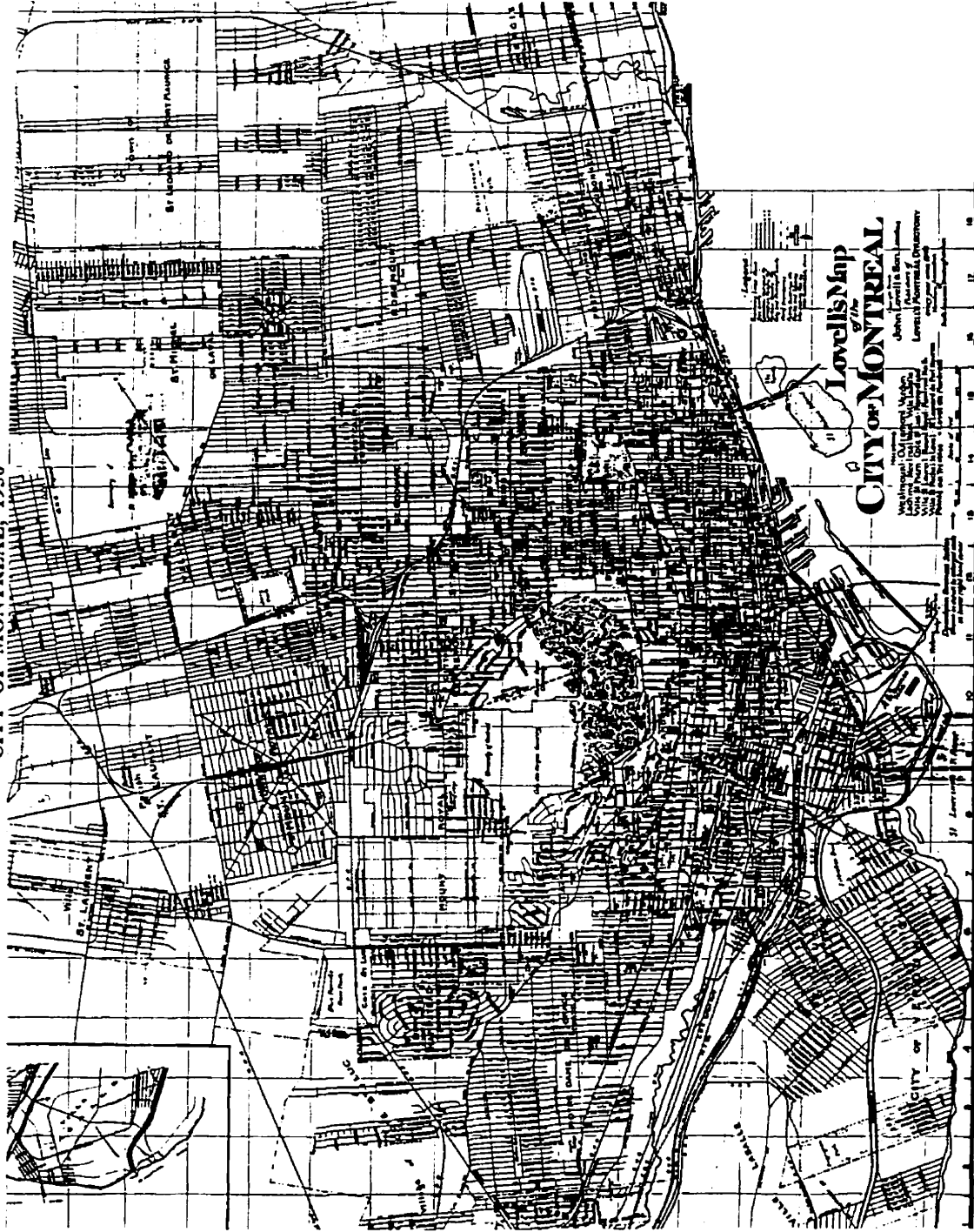
³⁹Lighthall, *Montreal After 250 Years*, 17. On the portrayal of this rigid divide in nineteenth-century works of fiction see Edwards, "Montreal and Fiction", 93, 160.

⁴⁰Allard, *Promenade au Canada*, 37.

[illegible]

Chas. E. Goad. *General Index Plan of Montreal and Suburbs*. In: *Atlas of the City of Montreal*, vol. 2 (Montreal: Chas. E. Goad Co., 1890)..

CITY OF MONTREAL, 1930



Lovell's Map of the City of Montreal. Montreal: John Lovell & Son, Limited, 1930.

Describing how the English and French were "visibly cut apart, as if with a knife," another late nineteenth-century contemporary identified Montreal as "a striking exception to the text that a house divided against itself cannot stand. Its divisions are so fundamental and persistent that they have not diminished one iota in a century, but rather increased."⁴¹ Just as ethnicity could not be divorced from geography, nor could class from ethnicity. Juxtaposing the wealth of the West to the poverty of the East, a mid-century English tourist remarked that "[a] journey of a few miles [had] transferred him from towns of brick and painted wood, spacious streets with as many trees as houses, bright green jalousies and shady verandas, to a city of stone, houses covered with tin, iron window-shutters, and narrow thoroughfares with designations in French."⁴² Although Ames exposed the deplorable conditions under which some inhabitants of the south-west of Montreal lived, the wards in the east were in fact much more densely populated and the francophone infant mortality rate was higher than any other ethnic group in the first two decades of the twentieth-century.⁴³ In his analysis of the representations of Montreal in the popular novels of the nineteenth-century, Gille Marotte notes that a particular morality was, in turn, ascribed to the neighbourhoods of both ethnic groups:

[l']imagination urbain du Montreal francophone court les rues, se perd dans les rues... sans craindre les mauvais lieux, les bagarres, le débraillé. Celle du Canada anglais se tient sur les hauteurs, celles de la ville et celles de la morale... Le récit anglo-montréalais est toujours en position surplombante. In voit grand, il voit large, il occupe tout l'espace - à l'exception, le plus

⁴¹Rev. A. J. Ray and H. Farnham cited in Collard, *Call Back Yesterdays*, 175, 203. Based on three trips to Montreal between 1898 and 1906, André Siegfried, in *The Race Question in Canada* (London: E. Nash, 1907) also described the city in almost total separation: "[y]ou might spend many weeks among the English of Montreal without another letting you realize that the city is two-thirds French. Many travelers never suspect this." As cited in Kenneth Price, "The Social Construction of Ethnicity: The Case of English Montrealers" (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1980), 15.

⁴²Chambers, *Things as they are in America*, 63. On "les deux Montréal," see Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 93-118.

⁴³The averages in population density in 1898 were as follows: 117 in St. Louis, 96 in St. James, 67 in St. Lawrence, 63 in St. Mary, and 56 in St. Jean Baptiste. Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*, 25. Also see *Ibid.*, 96: Copp attributes the higher infant mortality rate among francophones to the fact that the city provided the east end wards, inhabited by the highest proportion of low income wage-earners, with the least adequate public health facilities, including parks.

souvent, des details et des rues sombres, ou grouille une humanité qu'on ne saurait voir.⁴⁴

Although the dominant discourse identified the immoral congested district as most in need of parks, this numerical yet disenfranchised majority's lack of economic and political power manifested itself in the unequal proliferation of municipal services, including parks.⁴⁵

Soon after the opening of Mount Royal Park, some residents of the predominantly francophone east end articulated their outrage at the unequal distribution of and access to park space in Montreal. Granted, Bellerive Park, which opened in the impoverished ward of St. Mary's in 1884, was one of the first neighbourhood parks in this city.⁴⁶ Although its francophone residents thanked their alderman for securing this space, they nevertheless articulated their contempt for a municipality which serviced the wealthy anglophones: "lorsqu'il s'agit de faire plaisir aux Anglais du haut de la partie ouest... les Canadiens-Francais ont tout autant de droit que ces messieurs."⁴⁷ Although they clamoured for equal rights to park space, they also understood the relationship between space and power: while these wealthy anglophones lived at the foot of a four-hundred and sixty-four acre park, the

⁴⁴Gille Marcotte, "Mystères de Montréal: la ville dans le roman populaire au 19ème siècles," in Pierre Nepveu and Gille Marcotte, eds., *Montréal Imaginaire* (Québec: Fides, 1992), 136.

⁴⁵As noted in the introduction, the francophone population surpassed the anglophone population in 1871, and this small majority (53%) grew increasingly, particularly with the annexation of surrounding municipalities, a process which began in 1883. On the tradition of City Council as the stronghold of encrusted privilege whereby only property holders voted and the mayor's office as honorific and passed on by seniority among Montreal's leading merchants see Gauvin, "The Municipal Reform Movement," chap. 1. Also note that Gauvin highlights 1887, the first time francophones enjoyed a majority in City Council, and 1898, the years French-Canadian populist Raymond Préfontaine was elected as Mayor, as pivotal moments in the history of the municipal government. On the composition of municipal (all- male) politicians from 1880 to 1914, as broken down according to ethnicity, linguistics, and class see Paul-André Linteau, "Le personnel politique de Montréal, 1880-1914: Évolution d'une élite municipale," Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, Montreal, August 1995.

⁴⁶"Le parc mont," *La Minerve*, 19 juillet, 1884, AVM, DP, bobine 250, 1901.62, 2-A. In 1883, the North Shore Railway Company offered the city this property for ten years on the condition that it would transform it into a public park. When Canadian Pacific took control of the North Shore Railway in 1893, it ceded the land to the city in exchange for another piece of land. On the legal history of the acquisition of this park see AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1854: Parc Bellerive: acquisition et transformation.

⁴⁷"Le parc mont," *La Minerve*, 19 juillet, 1884, AVM, DP, bobine 250, 1901.62, 2-A.

residents of St. Mary's, suffering from one of the highest death rates,⁴⁸ were only able to secure three acres of park space by 1921 (see figure 2.1).

Disenfranchised francophones of the neighbouring ward of St. Louis, identifying a spatial arrangement in Montreal which reflected class- and ethnic-privilege, also voiced their anger at this "colonial" structure in a "postcolonial" Montreal. In a petition dated October 1903, nearly sixty men who lived in the vicinity of St. Louis Square juxtaposed the absence of protectionist legislation for east end parks to its abundance in the wealthy anglophone districts of the west. Complaining that heavy trucks were allowed to pass through the park, thereby harming the park and deteriorating the nearby homes, the petitioners wrote: "il est opportun d'adopter un règlement municipal y interdisant le passage aux camions et grosses voitures de charge de meme qu'il leur est interdit au parc Mount Royal et dans quelques-unes des belles avenue de Westmount."⁴⁹ Ten years later, residents of the same ward petitioned the Bureau des Commissaires to establish a park in St. Louis, a ward which had three squares, amounting to less than five acres of open space.⁵⁰ Although the city officials refused this initial request in the spring of 1914, the ward's alderman, Abraham Blumenthal, did not accept this decision. Explaining to the Mayor that his constituents were in dire need of a park, he attached an architectural plan for a proposed park: "[y]ou will notice that same is located in the most thickly populated part of St. Louis ward, and affords welcome breathing space, so necessary in this district." A way to dislocate the "undesirables" who used this section of the ward for "undesirable" acts, Blumenthal wrote: "it will do away with many slum buildings that are not only an eyesore to the neighbourhood but as many of them are inhabited by houses of prostitution they have a tendency to draw an undesirable class of people to the immediate

⁴⁸In 1895, the death rate was 33.2%. Ames, *City Below the Hill*, 81.

⁴⁹Petition to the CPT, October 1903, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00. 1882: Reservoir Jean-Baptiste: Square St. Louis. Also see the petition from residents in the vicinity of the St. Louis Park to the Mayor and members of the Road Committee, 10 July, 1882.

⁵⁰After considering the petition, the commissioners rejected the request. See AVM, BC, minutes of 14 May, 1913. Note that St. Louis Square, St. James Square and Viger Square were located in this ward. See Comptroller and Auditor, *Annual Report* (1914), 218-221, and "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 350.

neighbourhood and their elimination will greatly increase the value of the property bordering the park."⁵¹ At a cost of \$228,584.00,⁵² the city could put into practice what it had envisioned the park's function as: moralize the residents of an urban slum by replacing the fallen woman (prostitute) in the brothel with the domestic woman (mother) in the park. However, unmoved by Alderman Blumenthal's moral tract, the Bureau des Commissaires chose not to invest the city's money in this congested francophone ward.⁵³

The English-controlled City Council did, however, provide the francophone majority residing in the east end with nearly one-hundred acres of park space in 1875 to offset the appropriation of more than four times that amount to the wealthy west end Englishmen and women in the city above the hill. In that year, the city began to lease the land known as Logan's Farm from the federal government. Opened as a public park in the late 1880s, the city re-negotiated this contractual relationship into a ninety-nine year lease in 1908 at the cost of one dollar per year.⁵⁴ Renamed Lafontaine Park in 1901, this park was inscribed with the language of its benefactors from the onset.

In support of the creation of such a park in the east end, Alderman H.B. Rainville hoped that Council "would be considerable enough to allow the French to have a park on Logan's Farm" in light of the fact that "Mount Royal Park had been laid out in the interest

⁵¹Alderman A. Blumenthal to the Mayor, 1 May, 1914, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19697. The Red Light district was bound by St. Lawrence Blvd., St. Denis, Sherbrooke, and Craig streets. See Andr  e L  vesque, "Eteindre Le Red Light: les r  formateurs et la prostitution    Montr  al entre 1865 et 1925," *Urban History Review* 17:3 (February 1989): 191-201. On the larger trend of City Councillors in the American context approaching the issue of park development parochially see Reiss, *City Games*, 129.

⁵²Report of the Engineer-in-Chief, undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19697.

⁵³AVM, BC, minutes of 11 December, 1914.

⁵⁴Note that the federal government sold a portion of the park to the city in 1909. See the Ordinance of Sale to City of Montreal, 26 January, 1909, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-02: Parc LaFontaine. On the history of this legal arrangement see the lease between the City of Montreal and the Ministry of Militia and Defense, 10 October, 1874, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-1: Ile Ste-H  l  ne - Parc LaFontaine. The stipulations were as follows: the lease began 1 May, 1875 for a period of twenty-one years. The city was to pay \$1,000.00 annually for ten years, after which it was to pay \$4,000.00 annually. In January 1888, the city renewed the lease for twenty-one years, but reduced the cost of rental to \$1 annually on the condition that the city spend \$5,000.00 on improvements in the next five years. See Lease of that part of Logan's farm lying east of Panel St. between the City of Montreal and the Ministry of Militia and Defense, 17 October, 1908, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-01: Parc LaFontaine. For a summary of this history see "Parc LaFontaine, Sommaire historique," 1 December, 1943, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-1: Ile Ste-H  l  ne - Parc LaFontaine.

of the English community."⁵⁵ Other members of Council, in direct contradiction to the dominant discourse on urban planning and park development, however, argued that the unequal distribution of open spaces in Montreal rightly reflected the unequal contributions to the city's taxation revenue: because the largest proportion of the city's revenue came from the anglophone ward of St. Antoine, they posited that its residents were the rightful beneficiaries of city development.⁵⁶ In fact, it was this belief that disparity in wealth should manifest itself spatially which halted the expropriations in October 1909 to extend Lafontaine Park into the impoverished francophone wards of St. Jean Baptiste and St. Mary's; although the project would cost approximately \$34,000.00, a fraction of the amount spent on the appropriations of land for Mount Royal Park thirty years prior, "so exorbitant were the demands of the proprietors that... the Council resolved to stop them."⁵⁷

These attempts by certain members of Council to uphold what they perceived to be a balance between financial contributions of working-class francophones of the east end (cost) and services rendered to them through Lafontaine Park (benefit) were offset by a francophone community defending its right to municipal parks. Officially changing its name from Logan's Farm to Lafontaine Park in June 1901, French-Canadian populist Mayor Raymond Préfontaine announced the name change in front 150,000 Montrealers during the celebrations held at the park for French Canada's national holiday, St. Jean Baptiste Day: "en souvenir de l'homme d'Etat distingué qui fut le champion de nos droits constitutionnels... C'est un acte de justice tardive à la mémoire de ce grand patriote."⁵⁸ By amalgamating the two events, during which "tout le Canada-français et catholique règne une atmosphère... de fierté nationale,"⁵⁹ Préfontaine declared that the park was a sanctuary for Montreal's francophone residents as well as an emblem of French-Canadian nationalism. Commenting on the politics of street-naming in nineteenth-century

⁵⁵H.B. Rainville (1883) cited in Krel, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal," 122.

⁵⁶Alderman G.W. Stephens was a particularly outspoken proponent of this position. *Ibid.*, 122.

⁵⁷Treasurer, Comptroller, and Auditor, *Annual Report* (1909).

⁵⁸"Notre Fête Nationale," *La Patrie*, 22 juin, 1901.

⁵⁹"Le Souvenir des aïeux," *La Presse*, 25 juin, 1901.

Stockholm, human geographer Allan Pred's analysis can be applied to the naming of this park:

[a]s an on-the-ground effort to impose ideology, as an attempt at making cultural hegemony concrete, street-naming revision involved both the emplacement of new signifiers and the displacement of old signifiers... In its employment of linguistic manipulation, it was resistance... it was the type of resistance that, by struggling over naming and meaning, attempted to prove who it was that really reigned in the streets.⁶⁰

J. Allan Kennedy certainly understood the significance of this name change. In his letter of complaint to the Commission des parcs et traverses just prior to the official name changing ceremony, he explained that there was "much dissatisfaction among the English speaking citizens" over the proposed name. Although he suggested that the name should be "acceptable to all loyal Canadians of both nationalities,"⁶¹ it was the "French-Canadian race"⁶² who resisted, named, and reigned in Lafontaine Park.

A process which was exclusionary by definition, conflicts over rights to and uses of this public space arose when those who did not belong to this "race" settled in the east end. In 1910, citizens residing near Lafontaine Park appealed to the Bureau des Commissaires to keep their neighbourhood park free from encroaching immigrant populations: "le quartier comprenant le parc Lafontaine qui est habité par une grande partie de polonais... est très dangereux le soir, ce qui nous empeche de louer aux familles canadiennes, ce qui nuit beaucoup à la valeur de nos propriétés."⁶³ Although the wealthy anglophone community looked eastward and saw "prowlers and night-hawks of every kind ... [and a] stamping-ground for men and women of the lowest class,"⁶⁴ these francophone east enders constructed the "Other" as the immigrant and asserted their right to Lafontaine Park by inscribing a strong nationalist sentiment in this space.

⁶⁰Allan Pred, *Making Histories and Constructing Human Geographies* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1990), 212, 214.

⁶¹J. Allan Kennedy to the CPT, 7 June, 1901, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 845.

⁶²"Notre Fête Nationale," *La Patrie*, 25 juin, 1901.

⁶³Petition to the BC, March 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-01, dossier 469.

⁶⁴*Montreal by Gaslight*, 152.

The South West

Like the francophones of the east end, the English-speaking residents of the impoverished south-western ward of St. Ann objected to the city's scant appropriations for neighbourhood parks in their ward. Citing Mount Royal as inadequate and singling out the underprivileged mother and child, men of a particularly poor section of the ward, Point St. Charles, petitioned the City Council in 1888 to acquire a public park:

the inhabitants are mainly poor; and are exposed to all those classes of disease produced by indifferent drainage and an absence of public air; that Mount Royal Park is practically inaccessible to those from its distance and situation; that they desire to have a pleasant, cheerful place of resort which their wives and children may easily reach on foot in reasonable proximity.⁶⁵

Although the Mayor acknowledged the numerous signed petitions submitted to City Council from residents of Point St. Charles and remarked that it was a good idea to establish a park in this neighbourhood,⁶⁶ open spaces in this neighbourhood remained rare. Residents of the Point thus returned to the Commission des parcs et traverses in 1907 to request that the old St. Gabriel Market be converted into a public park; declining the request, the city maintained that there already were enough little parks in the surrounding area.⁶⁷ Perhaps the City Council thought the provision of an half an acre of park space two years prior for residents of another section of St. Ann was adequate.⁶⁸ Perhaps the Commission des parcs et traverses thought that St. Ann's five small parks, comprising just over seven acres, were sufficient for the predominantly Irish residents of Griffintown, the poorest district in the ward in which no park existed.⁶⁹

⁶⁵ Petition cited in Kredl, "The Origin and Development of Mount Royal Park," 160.

⁶⁶ Mayor's *Inaugural Address*, 1889.

⁶⁷ See extracts of minutes of City Council, 28 November, 1907, and Report of Superintendent Pinoteau, 5 December, 1907. AVM, CPT, vm-44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 2229.

⁶⁸ AVM, CPT, minutes of 5 September, 1905. The park in question was named Montmorenci Park, located between Montmorenci, Centre, Richmond, and Richardson streets. On the size of the park see Helen McArray, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, 13. In her study on Griffintown, bounded by William, Colborne, Smith, and McCord streets, Suzanne Cross juxtaposes the absence of parks in this poor Irish district to the excess of rowdy taverns and shebeens along the waterfront, notes that Mount Royal was a half a days journey away, and St. Helen's Island was as difficult to access because public transit to the ferry services did not go through any part of

Although these English-speaking residents of the impoverished south-west, like their francophone counterparts of the east end, were discursive targets of urban reformers, they too fell outside actual urban plans and felt disgruntled as a result: "Point St. Charles has been given a raw deal by the city for years," they decried in 1922. However, Point St. Charles resident Philip J. Elliott situated the English-speaking poor as adversaries of their francophone counterparts:

the only little park that we have is the little affair run by charity over the track in the French district. There is as much difference between over the track and below the track in the Point as there is between Westmount and St. Henry. Our little Wellington Park is the one bright spot in the Point, it is in a 95% English-speaking locality, and over the track to our kids is like no man's land to them. Now, here is a chance for the city to step in and give the Point a square deal. The Point sent over 4,000 men to the war and that is 95% English-speaking people [sic].⁷⁰

This resident not only highlighted the commonalties between his poor anglophone neighbourhood and Montreal's anglophone elite by referring to his community's proven allegiance to the British flag during World War I, but simultaneously distanced himself from the "foreign-speaking" and "treacherous" francophone poor.⁷¹ In constructing a "natural" alliance between his fellow English-speaking residents of Montreal who enjoyed ample breathing space while denying the existence of an alliance between his fellow impoverished residents who lacked park space, Elliott privileged linguistics over class in this polarized city. He did not realize, however, that the privileged anglophone community identified all poor, whether French- or English-speaking, as another race to be contained in their respective neighbourhoods.

Mrs. Bowles, however, was not as naive. In her letter to the Bureau des Commissaires in December 1910, she identified the politics of location as a manifestation

this residential district. Suzanne Cross, "The Irish in Montreal, 1867-1896" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1969), 212-219. The MPPA noted the same problem of accessing parks in the early 1920s: "anyone familiar with conditions in Griffintown knows the difficulty of those people in getting to any park without a transfer [on public transit]." Untitled note, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

⁷⁰Untitled, letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 24 August, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 257. Scrapbook 1900-1926.

⁷¹On Montreal's francophone community opposition to conscription in World War I see "The Struggle for the Nation," chapter IV.

of class privilege. Complaining about the city's decision to build the Forum in the lower (and underprivileged) part of St. Antoine's ward, Mrs. Bowles' astute analysis about the location of this particular establishment can be applied to city parks. She wrote:

[b]eing the most interested proprietor in the vicinity (next door), - I am in a position to state without error what it means... The music, the incessant grind of hurdy-gurdy, night after night, in the summer with the windows open, an unbearable, and a nuisance of the worst kind [sic]... I understand a number of aldermen live in St. Denis ward, why not have it removed and erected alongside one of their Homes. See how they like it, or place it next door to the Mayor's house... Why discriminate against localities?⁷²

Understanding the politics of location as a question of the rights of the privileged (as represented by the Mayor and Aldermen) superseding those of the economically disenfranchised and politically insignificant (residents of a poor neighbourhood), Mrs. Bowles explained this relationship vividly: a spatial manifestation of power and privilege, the former used their power to shield themselves (and their property) from such "distasteful" scenes.

Conclusion

From this vantage point, we can make sense of the wide discrepancy between the rhetoric of urban reformers and reality of park locations. Despite their claim that neighbourhood parks were desperately needed in poor districts to "civilize" the working-classes and provide a space for mothers to escape their physically and morally dangerous homes, Montreal's poorest wards contained the fewest acres of green space; just as the Forum, a "demoralizing" establishment," was built in a poor neighbourhood, the beautiful city park, which increased the property value of surrounding homes, entered working-class districts at a slower rate than the privileged ones. The near absence of parks in these neighbourhoods translated into, for example, the 56,710 residents of Laurier ward sharing less than two acres of green space in 1921, St. Joseph's 44,445 enjoying one and a half

⁷²Mrs. H. Bowles to the BC, 24 December, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-02-03, dossier 4395.

acres, the 47,155 of St. Louis benefiting from just over three, St. Laurent's 38,292 sharing just over two, and the 32,104 residents of St. Ann enjoying seven acres (see figure 2.1).⁷³ Experts estimated that the minimum amount that a city should allow for parks was five percent of its total area.⁷⁴ Although Montreal was hailed as the "wealthiest and most progressive city of the fair Dominion" in which "la variété... des parcs et des promenades magnifiques, on peut dire, sans crainte d'erreur ou d'exageration, ... offre à ses habitants le bonheur matériel,"⁷⁵ this was untrue. Compared to other North American cities in 1912, Montreal had the lowest percent of park to total area, 2.8.⁷⁶ Although

⁷³Also see Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*, 18. Drawing from statistics tabulated for the years 1900 to 1910, he notices a similar trend: the city provided the thirty-eight thousand inhabitants of the south-western section of the city with two squares (Richmond and St. Patrick's), the twenty-six thousand residents of St. Louis with Viger and St. Louis squares, and the residents of St Laurent with two acres of open space.

⁷⁴See, for example, Lee Hamner, Director of the Recreation Department of the Russell Sage Foundation, to Dorothy Shepherd of the MPPA, 30 January, 1923, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. Although 5% was the accepted average, the New York Bureau of Municipal Research, based on statistics collected and compiled in 1915 and 1916, considered cities with 10% of their area in park lands as "well provided." George Butler, corresponding secretary of the Playgrounds and Recreation Association of America, to Miss. D. Shepherd of the MPPA, 22 December, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924.

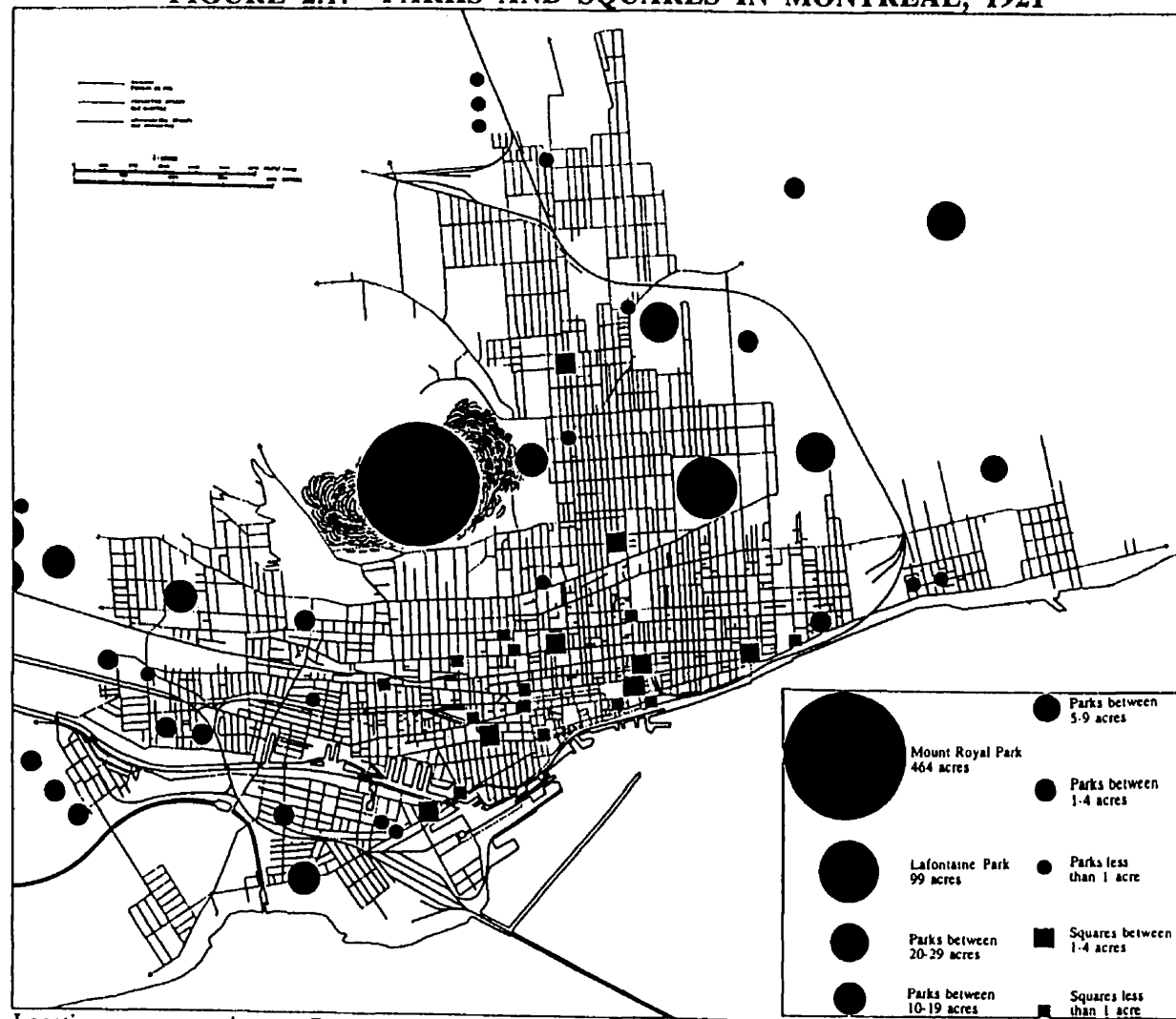
⁷⁵*Montreal Illustrated*, 37, and de Brumath, *Histoire Populaire de Montreal*, 429.

⁷⁶The following statistics were compiled by Miss Julia Schoenfeld, Field Secretary, Parks and Playgrounds Association of America, as published in "A Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal."

City	People to Acre of Park	Percentage of Park to Total Area
Montreal	666	2.8
Toronto	265	3.7
Winnipeg	303	3.9
Pittsburg	403	5.1
St. Louis	259	6.7
Boston	278	8.8
Rochester	138	10.4

By 1921, the percentage of park to total area had increased to 3.5%. See Helen McArran, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178.

FIGURE 2.1: PARKS AND SQUARES IN MONTREAL, 1921



Locations are approximate. Base map of Montreal, 1901: David Hanna, 1984. Source for Parks and Squares in Montreal, 1921: Helen McArray, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal, 1921," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178, 11-14.

Ames and his contemporaries identified the genius of the neighbourhood park, a domestic enclave which simultaneously moralized working families and mothers and contained them in their own communities, the City of Montreal did not carry out this experiment adequately; privileging the former, city officials found alternative means to achieve this end.

CHAPTER III

BOOZE, BUMS, AND SEX: REGULATING PETTY CRIMES IN PARKS

As we have seen in the previous chapters, neither the scenic park nor the neighbourhood park were devoid of ideological meaning. Constructed as a moralizing space for families generally and a respectable place for mothers particularly, bourgeois domestic harmony, respectability heterosexuality, and female propriety were inscribed in this space. The use (and misuse) of this space, therefore, greatly concerned the architects of this dominant discourse, who, in turn, devised rules and punished those who transgressed them.

Historians committed to writing social histories of the multiple ways parks were used have uncovered those who transgressed and those who punished. Hazel Conway, conceding that the best documented use of park space are the petty misdemeanors and antisocial behaviour, identifies a variety of offenses: "[t]rivial in nature," Conway cites picking flowers, bad language, drunkenness, attempted theft, gambling, and walking on the grass.¹ Historians who have written more complete social histories chart other misuses. For example, Roy Rosenzweig, making the workingman central to the history of urban parks, emphasizes agency in his subject's drinking habits in the public park.² Nan Hesse Dreher's corrective history on the uses rather than designs of parks emphasizes the policing of "verminous" parkgoer (in the guise of the vagrant or loafer) and the recurrence

¹Conway, *People's Parks*, 206. She maintains that the "everyday" use of the park is an "hidden history." On the punishment of these menial infractions in Montreal parks see Recorder's Court, *Annual Reports* (1880-1914).

²Rosenzweig, "Middle Class Parks." Although Rosenzweig's work is dated insofar as he does not incorporate gender into his analysis, recent assertions remind us of the importance of his early work. While F.M.L. Thompson argues that parks were somewhat successful at providing alternatives to drinking, Conway concludes that parks "solved the problem of working-class recreation through an almost total ban on alcohol." See F.M.L. Thompson, *The Rise of Respectable Society: A Social History of Victorian England, 1830-1900* (London: Fontana, 1988), 346, and Conway, *People's Park*, 207. Also see Nan Hesse Dreher, "Public Parks in Urban Britain, 1870-1920: Creating a New Public Culture" (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1993), 114. Referring to the decline in alcohol consumption in particular, he argues that class divisions became blurred and park activities less segregated in the early twentieth-century park.

of "sexually indecent" acts in the park.³ These histories of the social uses of parks serve as an important reminder of the place of agency in park histories as well as challenge the persistent belief that the park is essentially "open to our uses, ... an open arena, in which the modern individualist may roam freely, pursuing his [sic] private satisfaction. It is a place of 'outdoor privacy' - or rather 'subjectivity,' since to call this privacy is once again to presuppose the constraints of an objective order."⁴

However, those who have uncovered evidence of this "alternative recreation [of] gambling, sunbathing nude, making love, drinking, [and] loafing,"⁵ tend not to explore the drinker and loafer ("him") and his target ("her") as gendered, racialized, and class-specific beings. Similarly, they do not problematize the meaning of "inappropriate" displays of (heterosexual) affection in the wholesome park. In this chapter, I pit the transgressive behaviour of drinking, loafing, and having sex in the park against its identification as a sober place in which families participated in clean recreation and respectable heterosexual couples engaged in proper behaviour. More specifically, I analyze how the drinking man, vagabond, and "improper" courting couple challenged the very values upheld by park promoters (domestic harmony, capitalism, patriarchy, female propriety, and bourgeois sexual morality), and were subject to spatial regulation as a result.

The Drinking Man

Park promoters identified liquor, and its antecedent, the saloon, as antithetical to their vision of park space. Constructing the former as a gendered vice and the latter as a gendered space which represented the loci of male working-class sociability,⁶ drinking in

³*Ibid.*, 98-106, 124-131.

⁴Scruton, "Public Space," 13.

⁵Weyeneth, "Moral Spaces," 84.

⁶On the saloon as the embodiment of working-class male culture see Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours*, and Perry R. Duis, *The Saloon: Public Drinking in Chicago and Boston 1880-1920* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1983). For Montreal see Peter DeLottinville, "Joe Beef of Montreal: Working-Class Culture and the Tavern, 1869-1889," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 8/9 (Autumn/Spring, 1981/82): 9-40.

the park thus undermined three basic functions of the park: to provide mothers with a place of refuge, uphold the rules of bourgeois public decorum, and display the model family.

Progressive reformers understood the historical legacy of the debasing effect drink and the tavern had on Montreal's urban landscape. Identifying intemperance as basic to Montreal's problems in the 1830s, a nineteenth-century writer contended that "tous ses habitants n'avaient pas conservé les mœurs pures de ses premières années, et l'intemperance surtout, ce fléau des grandes villes, qui a fait... plus de victime que la guerre, exerçait à Montréal de cruels ravages."⁷ In concert with this general sentiment, a select committee of the Legislative Assembly at Montreal, inquiring as to the evils of intemperance, concluded at mid-century that one-half of the crimes committed, two-thirds of the cases of insanity, and three-fourths of pauperism were ascribable to intemperance.⁸ A generation later, Montreal's Chief of Police stated without reserve that "intemperance is to be found as the universal... cause of all evils."⁹ Pointing to the saloon as the breeding ground of immorality by the close of nineteenth-century, this gendered and class-specific vice had a particular target, the home. Whether employing the saloon as a way to escape their domestic surroundings¹⁰ or using drunkenness as an excuse to beat their wives,¹¹ male intemperance and the breakdown of the family were thus seen as intimately connected.

Aware of this popular association, Montreal entrepreneurs who sought tenders at the various city parks had a clear understanding that parks were to be respectable, familial,

⁷de Brumath, *Histoire populaire de Montréal*, 368.

⁸W.F. Burgess, "Liquor and Crime," in Paul Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974), 94.

⁹*Ibid.*, 95. Several citizens, temperance organizations, and aldermen complained about the immoral character of saloons generally and the intemperance on Sundays particularly in the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-centuries. See for example, AVM, CP, vm43, minutes of 27 January, 1885, 22 April, 1885, 14 April, 1887, 26 May, 1887, 10 April, 1901, 24 February, 1904, 22 July, 1908, and 25 November, 1909.

¹⁰Duis, *Saloon*, 108, 109.

¹¹Kathryn Harvey, "To Love, Honour and Obey: Wife-Beating in Working-Class Montreal, 1869-79," *Urban History Review* 19 (October 1990): 128-140. Also see S. Carpenter, Chief of Detectives to the CP, 8 May, 1901, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1901. Carpenter commented on the power of the saloon to destroy a family: "a fascination for mechanics and laborers who patronize them and who are lulled into a state of indifference.... and as a result neglect their wives and families. They lead men - young and old - acquiring drinking habits, and are the cause of a great deal of misery in the homes of those who patronize them."

and, by association, temperate. In April 1869, M.L.M. Gilbert, for example, solicited permission to sell ice cream at Viger Square in the name of temperance, family and female propriety. Men who came to the park with their wives and children would no longer have to leave this sanitized space or abandon their female companions to purchase a refreshment in a local bar, Gilbert argued; if such a service was not offered, men would "enter a place where spirituous liquors are sold." However, selling ice cream within the confines of this controlled space "would diminish the sale of intoxicating liquors which many who enter saloons for the purpose of obtaining ice cream are unfortunately tempted often to take, as also help to lessen crime, prevent many young and highly respectable men from being led from the path of virtue to the den of vice [sic]."¹² Ice cream in the park would thus curb a two-prong assault on the institution of the family: it would protect the (male) head of the family from falling from virtue to vice and would protect his (female) subordinate from being left unescorted in public, a symbol of his impotence and her disrespectability.¹³

Whereas Gilbert used ice cream as the solution to intemperance in 1869, Miss Josephine Samson used the water fountain to the same end in 1917. Undoubtedly aware of the "many disgraceful scenes... which make our streets discreditable to any civilized community" as a result of the hundreds of saloons and licensed grocers in Montreal and worried about the physical and moral health of Montreal's working-class families,¹⁴ Samson requested that the water fountain become a staple prop in every Montreal park: "[c]ela favoriserait beaucoup la temperance et l'ouvrier raporterait, sans doute, plus

¹²He further argued that the sale of ice cream in the park would also prevent men from leaving their female companions unescorted. See M.L.M. Gilbert (petition) to the Mayor, 30 April, 1869, AVM, DP, bobine 252, 1901.136, 4-A. On the "family" or "ladies" entrance to the saloon as a euphemism for prostitutes' point of entry see Duis, *Saloon*, 254.

¹³Elizabeth Wilson explains the meaning of the unattended Victorian woman: "[t]he very presence of unattended - unowned women constituted a threat both to male power and to male frailty." Elizabeth Wilson, "The Invisible Flaneur," *New Left Review* 191 (January/February 1992): 92.

¹⁴W.D. Munro of the International Order of Good Templars to the City Clerk, 26 September, 1907, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-01-00, Rapports 1907. This association claimed that Montreal had 400 saloons and as many licensed grocers. In the Y.M.C.A.'s Survey of the Eastern section of the city in 1924-1925, it counted 175 taverns, 380 stores selling beer ale, etc., and 12 licensed cafes. It also noted that there were no taverns, licensed cafes or stores in Montreal West, Outremont, Town Hamsted, Town of Mount Royal, Verdun, or Westmount. See "Montreal Y.M.C.A. Survey, 1924-1925," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c 5, file 332.

d'argent pour subvenir aux besoins de sa famille."¹⁵ Seeing the park as a sanitary place in which the institution of the family could become more solid among the working-classes, her underlying assumption about gender relations within the domestic realm (the male breadwinner providing for his dependents, his wife and children) also led her to identify the park as that which protected working-class wives from their husbands squandering the family budget in the saloon. Although unsuccessful in her plight for the working mother,¹⁶ Samson's vision of the neighbourhood park as the mirror opposite of the saloon corresponded with the city's perception of the two dialectic spaces.

Others who sought tenders from the city were less creative than Gilbert and Samson. Throughout the years, restaurateurs flooded the municipal government with proposals to use a particular park as their enterprising site. They used two distinct strategies in their attempt to secure a contract: assured the city that they would not sell intemperate drinks or declared that alcoholic drinks would not reduce the park to a space akin to the saloon. Alexander Duclos used the first argument when he requested permission to set up a café-kiosque at Fletcher's Field in May 1914. Because "the workmen [were to] be the first to profit by such a creation," Duclos assured the city that "it will never be a question of selling alcoholic liquors, any performances or theatrical representations;" knowing that he could not mix working-men with alcohol if he wanted "to satisfy the demands of the well to do class."¹⁷ Duclos was undoubtedly aware of city officials' great concern over "cigar stores and cheap restaurants where liquor [was] sold [and] many of these places [were] kept by men and women of unsavoury reputation and

¹⁵Miss Josephine Samson to the Mayor, 8 May, 1917, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-06-01, dossier 36425. Note that as early as 1867, temperance supporters in Chicago lobbied for public drinking fountains on street corners and at public places, calling it "practical temperance." Duis, *Saloon*, 190. Also see Conway, *People's Park*, 125. She cites a study from 1857 which highlighted a relationship between drinking fountains in parks and decreased cases of drunkenness.

¹⁶Secretary of the BC to Josephine Samson, 29 May, 1917, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-06-01, dossier 36425.

¹⁷Alexander Duclos to the BC, 14 May, 1914, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-05-02, dossier 30586. He was persistent. He sent the city three more letters in the next two years. All requests were declined.

[were] frequented and patronized for the most part by low characters."¹⁸ Despite Duclos' attempt to distance himself from these "low-grade" entrepreneurs and avoid the same mistake committed by men like M.J. Gauvreaux and M. Desmares, the Bureau des Commissaires nevertheless refused to grant him a tender. In 1910, Gauvreaux wanted to establish a restaurant in Lafontaine Park. Rather than inform the city that he would not sell alcoholic beverages, he assured the city that his establishment would not be "un lieu de rendez-vous pour les personnes d'une conduite immorale qui pourront porter scandale à la bonne classe."¹⁹ In 1915, Desmares asked for permission to sell beer at St. Helen's Island, arguing that this beer "est tout-a-fait inoffensive." The Park Superintendent outlined his objection: "la vente de la bière à l'île Ste. Hélène a attiré dans la passé une certaine classe de gens non désirables."²⁰ Associating the consumption of alcohol with an undesirable class, the city wanted to prevent the saloon's vice-ridden clientele from entering the park and thus barred the source, alcohol.

St. Helen's Island looms large in the public discourse on alcohol in the city's parks. Constructed as the working man's haven, it was thought that St. Helen's Island could assuage the class-specific vice of drink.²¹ Placed at the disposal of the corporation of Montreal in 1874 for the use of its citizens as a public park on the condition that no intoxicating liquors be sold on the island, the city adopted a by-law two years later forbidding park visitors to carry any intoxicating liquors with them.²² However, businessmen and visitors quickly challenged these rules. Whereas some entrepreneurs to whom the city granted tenders violated their contracts by selling intoxicating drinks,²³

¹⁸Chief of Police to the Mayor, 15 February, 1906, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-11-04-00. Rapports 1906.

¹⁹M.J. Gauvreaux to the BC, 9 February, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-01, dossier 524.

²⁰See M. Desmares to the BC, 9 June, 1915, and Report of Superintendent of Parks, 18 June, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-05-02, dossier 27671.

²¹This is not to say the middle- or upper-classes did not drink. Rather, they had access to private space in which to drink. Duis, *Saloon*.

²²See extract from minutes of City Council, 9 February, 1874, AVM, DP, bobine 245, 1901.17, 1-A, and By-law 95, sec. 1, 8 May, 1876. Note that this law applied to all parks.

²³See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of 13 September, 1882 and 20 February, 1895. On intoxicating liquors sold in Mount Royal Park see minutes of 21 September, 1889.

some visitors smuggled in their own liquor; on a typical Sunday, when it was estimated that 15,000 people visited the island park, policemen ejected, on average, between ten and fifteen men, for being intoxicated.²⁴

Surely the Protestant Ministerial Association was aware of these statistics when it appeared before the Commission des parcs et traverses to request that the city force the Richelieu Company to stop its ferry services to the island park on Sundays, a "Holy Day many spend much of... in mere pleasure-seeking." Although the association spoke of its proposal in neutral terms by alluding to the "obligation to keep it holy [as] laid alike upon all classes of society," its plan was an outgrowth of the failure to assuage a certain class of men from consuming alcohol: it called for the closure of the island park on the only day that the working-class were able to visit it.²⁵ Although the city did not have the legal authority to strip the transport company of its privilege,²⁶ city officials remained concerned with the question of intemperance in this park. In fact, among the nine applicants for the position of Superintendent of St. Helen's Island in 1909, two cited keeping the island park a temperate space as the superintendent's primary function.²⁷

A larger problem arose in Montreal parks when the men hired to keep this space free of alcohol drank themselves. Because the image of the drunk employee policing a space which was suppose to inculcate sobriety greatly concerned city officials, they fired

²⁴AVM, CPT, minutes of 24 June, 1891.

²⁵Rev. Lindsay of the Protestant Ministerial Association to the CPT, 31 March, 1887, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 266. He explained the importance of the Sabbath: "[i]t is our glory. Our welfare as a Christian land is inseparably associated with its reverent and willing observance... To violate this command is to dishonor God and bring moral weakness and ruin upon ourselves." Also see Lamonde and Montpetit, *Parc Sohmer*, 52, 53, 196-203. Although they rightfully note that St. Helen's Island was different from Montreal's commercial amusement park, they nevertheless chart a similar battle (with different results). This conflict between Sunday as the working family's day versus the Lord's played itself out during a two year legal and political battle with the city (May 1891 to June 1893), after which the city granted Sohmer Park permission to sell beer on Sundays. Lamonde and Montpetit argue that the city accepted intemperate Sundays at Sohmer Park because of its unique character in the socio-cultural life of Montreal, as well as the outcome of an evolution of values which defined it as respectable.

²⁶City Attorney to the Protestant Ministerial Association, 12 May, 1887, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 266.

²⁷See comments of M. Auclair and M. Depatrie, 21 June, 1909, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2471.

special guardians and private constables found in a state of intoxication while on duty.²⁸ Commenting on the meaning of such a transgression among constables in turn-of-the-century Stockholm, Allan Pred provides a useful context in which to analyze the drunk policeman in Montreal parks: "beat constables, like industrial laborers, construction workers, and dockers, were known to struggle over their working-hours' use of time and space, to drink on the job, and to employ a variety of tactics to avoid their responsibilities which had to be met seventeen out of every eighteen days."²⁹ Perhaps the park constables who found the time to carve out a space to drink on duty made a self-conscious decision to reject both the working person's restrictive time schedule and the park's constrictive ideological make-up. However, regardless of motive or intent, they threatened the values which they were hired to salvage, domestic harmony and bourgeois propriety, and thus subject to expulsion.³⁰

The Vagabond, Loiterer, Tramp and Flaneur

Just as the city enacted policies to dissuade drinking in public parks and, failing these, removed the drunken visitor or employee from that space, it followed a similar process with the vagabond and flaneur. City officials embarked on a three-step program to keep these "undesirables" out of the domestic enclave: they ensured that the space

²⁸See, for example, untitled, *Montreal Gazette*, 9 September, 1899, AVM, CPT, vm44, 054-01-04-01. Enquête McGibbon: Articles de journaux; Transcripts of proceedings, McGibbon Inquiry, 18, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00. 3-08-2: Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance: Report of Superintendent A. Pinoteau, 15 October, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 773, and AVM, CPT, minutes of 24 March, 1903.

²⁹Pred, *Making Histories*, 208.

³⁰On a man of higher standing drinking on the job, namely Superintendent of Mount Royal Park W. McGibbon, see Affidavits, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00. 3-08-1: Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance: Transcripts of proceedings, McGibbon Inquiry, 4-7, 14-21, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00. 3-08-2: Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance, and unmarked, AVM, CPT, vm44, 054-01-04-01. Enquête McGibbon: Articles de journaux. McGibbon, who lived "in lordly style," was in the habit of "hanging over a buggy as though he was drunk," which was purportedly two or three times a week throughout the 1890s. Note that at the close of this three month investigation (September to December 1899) headed by the Chair of the Commission des parcs et traverses Herbert Ames, McGibbon was fired. On the McGibbon Inquiry as a battle between reformers and the machine see Gauvin, "Municipal Reform Movement," 43-46, and D.J. Russell, "H.B. Ames as Municipal Reformer" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1971).

remained physically clean, removed the props which encouraged loitering, or, as last recourse, removed the vagabond.

Living in an intellectual environment which equated the physical with the moral state of affairs of a particular place,³¹ concerned citizens and watchful politicians complained numerous times of the physical state in which they found the various parks. The common thread underlining their grievances was the identification of physical cleanliness as a barometer for the moral standards of those who frequented the place. They argued that to neglect the physical state of the various parks was to invite, in an indirect manner, moral chaos in two ways: while a lady or a mother would not enter a physically dirty space for fear of compromising her reputation, her nemesis, "the undesirable," would feel "at home" in such a filthy space. In effect, baring the moral upkeepers of society and enticing the morally depraved, park visionaries wanted to prevent this virtuous family space from being ceded to Montreal's ugly side.

This was the subtext of the numerous requests for trees to be planted in Montreal parks³² and of the many complaints about the disgraceful appearance of a particular park.³³ A Montrealer explained: "[c]hildren and grown-up vandals who would, almost as a matter of natural duty, work destruction of some sort on an unkept bit of property will hesitate about despoiling a well-kept bed of flowers... [I]t is [thus] worth while for the city to make the park just as attractive as possible."³⁴ Proprietors in St. Louis ward found this to be true for their neighbourhood square. In 1903, over fifty petitioners, pointing to the

³¹Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 221-232. Also see "The Urban Poor and Sexual Mores," chapter II.

³²See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of May 26, 1896; J. Rawson Gardiner to the CPT, 3 July, 1904, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 1743; W.A. Kneeland to the CPT, 23 September, 1904, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 1759, and AVM, BC, minutes of 22 April, 1913, 15 November, 1913, 8 September, 1914, 18 September, 1914, 9 June, 1915, 19 June, 1915, and 4 May, 1916.

³³See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of 24 July, 1891 (Mount Royal), 22 April, 1893 (Fletcher's Field), and 21 March, 1907 (Phillips Square); Mr. A. Browning to the CPT, 21 June, 1900 (Victoria Square), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 732; Jacob Levinson to the CPT, 14 August, 1907 (Champs de Mars), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 2076; Montreal Society for the Protection of Women and Children to the CPT, undated (Mount Royal), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 2198, and AVM, BC, minutes of 20 May, 1913 (Rosemount), 13 June, 1913 (St. Helen's Island), 6 May, 1914 (Lafontaine), and 23 October, 1916 (Molson).

³⁴Ernest Chambers to the CPT, 30 April, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-08-3; Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance

dilapidated and unsightly fence, the horrible condition of the basin, and the poorly paved paths, charged that the park was in an unsatisfactory state. Asking that this thoroughly neglected square be cleaned up so as to "reprimer les désordres de toutes sort qui s'y produisent dans la journée et dans la soirée," these citizens constructed a cause-effect relationship between physical and moral filth; in order to prevent the latter, the former had to be avoided.³⁵ It was the vagabond, specifically, who embodied moral filth. David Ross McCord named the culprit in his letter of complaint of November 1900 about the portion of Mount Royal in the rear of his estate: "[t]his place of our most beautiful Park has been neglected since it was purchased [and] it is now a place of security for roughs and vagabonds."³⁶ Fusing the unkept physical environment with the downtrodden visitor, the same had purportedly held true for Dufferin Square. When it was converted into a public square in 1874, it was "one of the prettiest and most restful breathings spaces in the heart of Montreal." However, by the second decade of the twentieth-century, "it had [fallen] on evil days [because] the city had failed to keep it in pink condition," reducing it to a "barren waste and rendez-vous for undesirable characters."³⁷

To permit a Montreal park to become the site of barren waste and its corollary, home of the "roughs and vagabonds," directly undermined park promoters' particular domestic vision of the park. In their petition to Alderman G.W. Sadler in 1896, tax-payers of the west end anglophone ward of St. Antoine voiced the gender-, class-, and race-specific aspects of this conflict. In the name of public morality, these citizens asked the city to clean up the "shamefully neglected" condition of Richmond Square, located in the heart of the burgeoning "black district" of Montreal.³⁸ "What was once the glory and pride of

³⁵Petition to the CPT, October 1903, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1882: Réservoir Jean-Baptiste - Square St-Louis.

³⁶David Ross McCord to the CPT, 29 November, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 782.

³⁷"Cemetery where founder of McGill was buried is now a playground," *Montreal Standard*, 16 September, 1933, AVM, DP, bobine 253, 1901-158, 4-A.

³⁸On the geography of the Montreal black community at the turn-of-the-century, bounded by Windsor St., Glen Rd, the Canadian National Railways and the Canadian Pacific Railways, in which St. Antoine St. represented the centre of the district see Wilfred E. Israel, "The Montreal Negro Community" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1928), chap 1.

your petitioners," they wrote, "has been allowed to fade away until it has now more the appearance of a barren wilderness than a beautiful garden." By allowing "[t]he flowers that once delighted the eye and refreshed the sense by their beautiful colors and perfume... to wither away until not a vestige of them remains," the petitioners argued that two-fold effect had taken place. "Polluting the air with the most vile expressions and frequently engaging in drunken brawls," the deplorable physical environment invited "depraved and vicious young hoodlums [and the] ill-bred blackguards [who] congregated nightly and on the Sabbath day in swarms." It simultaneously "dr[ove] away... all self respecting persons," including "the ladies and children, who would come and sit for hours."³⁹ Privileging the rights of bourgeois mothers, who had time to "sit for hours," over those of the undesirable, constructed as a poor man, these petitioners exposed the class-, gender- and race-specificity of this struggle over space.

The belief that the bourgeois mother had the right to this particular public space over that of the poor man was commonly held. In fact, the very purpose of the park was to rectify a situation which a reporter described in 1853 in the following way: "[t]here is... about Montreal... not a single place where respectable females can take open air exercise alone; we do not know a single bench in the whole of the city where a Lady could rest in the open air."⁴⁰ Although Mount Royal Park, which opened in 1876, was presented as a solution to this problem insofar it was constructed as a harassment-free space for anglophone bourgeois women,⁴¹ a gentleman noted in 1879 that "[u]nless the lives and honor of our females can be properly protected, the Mountain Park may prove to be a greater disadvantage than... a blessing... [L]adies and children, unattended by gentlemen,

³⁹Petition to Alderman G.W. Sadler, 19 August, 1896. AVM, CP, vm-43, 121-12-02-00. Documents Administratives 1896. On lady as a white construct see Evelyn Books Higginbotham, "African-American Women's History and the Metalanguage of Race," *Signs* 17:2 (Winter 1992): 251-274. On working-class women's lack of time to visit the park regularly because of their seven-day work week as unwaged labourers see Bradbury, *Working Families*, and Ellen Ross, *Love and Toil: Motherhood in Outcast London, 1870-1918* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

⁴⁰As cited in Edgar Andrew Collard, "Park safety not a modern problem," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 October, 1991.

⁴¹See chapter I.

[are] completely at the mercies of the villains who infest the place.⁴² The gender- and class-specifications of these harassers and their targets remained a constant. A decade later, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children complained to the Mayor that women who went to Fletcher's Field accompanied by their children "[were] not free from the ribald jokes and unsought company of men and youths." Referring to these men as "lazy loafers," the Society made it very clear to which class it thought these men belonged.⁴³ Concerned about creating a safe space for their wives, five prominent men were also explicit about the class of men who harassed a particular class of women in their May 1904 letter to the Commission des parcs et traverses: they complained that Mount Royal "est infesté des vagabonds et demandent les services des gardiens de la paix pour empêcher les femmes et les enfants d'être insultés."⁴⁴ These men of privilege, speaking for and protecting the interests of bourgeois women at the expense of the most impoverished man, the homeless tramp, understood that the latter's presence in Mount Royal de-stabilized the bourgeois domestic harmony inscribed in this park.

Their contemporaries often spoke of the vulnerability and danger in which ladies found themselves on Montreal's streets; either "men were in the habit of congregating on street corners... and insulting ladies as they pass," or "[t]ramps and vagabonds expose[d] themselves [and] things ha[d] got to such a bad state that ladies [were] liable to insult in open day light."⁴⁵ However, the park was not the street; heterogeneous and boundariless,

[t]here one might be cast adrift in a social hodge-podge, in a sea of pedestrian promiscuity, where the banker and the bum, the wholesaler and the whore, the retailer and the rag-picker, the respectable and the disrespectful, the high and the low, the clean and the dirty, flowed and

⁴²As cited in Edgar Andrew Collard, "The 'Mountain Park' was home for villains," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 September, 1987.

⁴³President of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children to the Mayor, 26 June, 1890, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-07: Parc Mont-Royal: Améliorations demandées.

⁴⁴M. Allan, C. Campbell, and C. McEachan to the CPT, cited in AVM, CPT, minutes of 3 May, 1904 (letter not indexed).

⁴⁵"Round town," *Montreal Star*, 25 June 25, 1874, and C. DeWitt to Alderman C. LeBoeuf, 16 November, 1900, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents Administratives 1900. On the moral danger of the physical closeness between woman and vagabond on the street (Hampton Street) also see Walter Watson to the BC, 26 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-06-02-01, dossier 31919.

jostled, side-by-side, over the same spaces... There one was subject to contamination, there one might be infected by the disease-carrying, unsanitary, morally impure, proletarian Other.⁴⁶

However, parks, with their well-defined boundaries and located in class- and linguistically-specific neighbourhoods, were intended to be marked by interactional absences rather than interactional presences.⁴⁷ Typically, "the law lies in wait to attack [women's] respectability as soon as they enter the public arena."⁴⁸ However, different rules applied in the park, an urban space carved out of this sea of promiscuity. Her rights to this particular space, therefore, superseded those of a certain class of men, the source of contamination.

It is for this reason that the park, the mother's domestic enclave during the day, could not double as the vagabond's actual home, night or day. "Private" for a particular constituency and "public" for another, the ideological boundaries of the park were fluid. Consider, for example, the park bench. As well as a prop on which ladies sat and rested, city officials knew that it also doubled as the vagabond's living room couch and bed. It was the appropriation of the benches in Victoria Square by the vagabonds which led a delegation of citizens to request that these seats be removed in spring 1903.⁴⁹ Alderman

⁴⁶Pred, *Making Histories*, 206.

⁴⁷Interactional absences are defined as the opposite of 'co-presence,' or the simultaneous physical presence of others at specific locations, or 'settings of interaction.'" Pred, *Making Histories*, 21.

⁴⁸M.J.D. Robert, "Public and Private in Early Nineteenth-Century London: The Vagrant Act of 1822 and its Enforcement," *Social History* 13:3 (October 1988): 285.

⁴⁹AVM, CPT, minutes of 3 May, 1905. For other examples of citizens proposing to the city that it remove benches as a strategy to prevent the vagabond, tramp, or drunk from using a particular park or square see M.A. Bélanger to the CPT, 3 April, 1906 (Parthenais Square), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2000; M.F.B. Mathys to the CPT, 27 May, 1909 (Viger Park), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2381, and Transcripts of proceedings, McGibbon Inquiry, 72 (Mount Royal), AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-00-11. 3-08-2: Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance. Other cities experienced a similar struggle with the bench and the vagabond. For example, in Birmingham, England, city officials, as a result of complaints about vagabonds lying down on them, ordered park benches with seat dividers. Dreher, "Public Parks in Urban Britain," 104.



Women on bench in Lafontaine Park, c. 1900. Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, MP 840A (7).



Respectable men on bench in Viger Square, 29 April, 1937. Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Conrad Poirier, P48, P1646.

J. McKenna also called for the removal of another prop in Victoria Square which doubled as a toilet: "[fait] disparaître le bassin du square Victoria, ce bassin favoriseraient le séjour des flâneurs."⁵⁰ However, the Commission des parcs et traverses believed that closing parks at night was a more effective way to prevent vagabonds from using the parks as their bedroom. In May 1907, it passed a resolution to close Mount Royal from 10:30 p.m. to 4:00 a.m. and all other parks from 12:00 a.m. to 4:00 a.m.⁵¹ Although the city did not implement this time-based mechanism of control due to legal reasons,⁵² they dispatched mounted policemen and a larger number of foot patrolmen to Montreal parks instead, "afin que les femmes et les enfants puissent aller y respirer l'air frais, sans courir le risque de se faire insulter par les voyous."⁵³ Conceptualized as a private space for a particular group at a specific time, the park could not be used in an identical way by a different group at a different time; a mother's private space, the vagabond could not use the park as his living room, the bench as his bed, or the basin as his lavatory.

A constant reminder of the structural problems of capitalism, of the park's inadequacy in countering the socio-economic ills brought on by this economic system, as well as a vivid example of man's inability to assume his patriarchal duty to provide for his family, the vagabond housed in the park threatened more than female propriety. Unable or refusing to be a good worker for his boss and provider for his wife, the vagabond represented nothing less of an assault on capitalism and patriarchy, two systems which framed bourgeois values and were inscribed in park space; while the neighbourhood park in the congested district was supposed to appease temporarily the working family by

⁵⁰AVM, CPT, minutes of 2 September and 4 November, 1909.

⁵¹AVM, CPT, minutes of 16 May, 1907: "Mountain Patrol," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 May, 1907, and "Gare aux Flâneurs!," *La Patrie*, 17 mai, 1907.

⁵² The city attorney declared that this resolution was of no effect because park hours had to be determined by by-law. See AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 2171: Parcs de la Villes - Heures d'admissions.

⁵³"Le bon ordre dans les parcs," *La Patrie*, 19 mai, 1913. On more police protection in the parks and squares see AVM, CP, minutes of 30 May, 1883, 3 August, 1887, 23 April, 1884, 15 June, 1898, 24 October, 1900, 15 May, 1901, 16 October, 1901, 11 December, 1901, 15 January, 1902, 11 July, 1903, 7 June, 1905, and 16 November, 1906. On mounted police see W.H. Craigie to the CP, 14 April, 1888, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-0. Documents Administratives 1888, and AVM, CP, minutes of 15 January, 1902, 1 May, 1902, 19 October, 1903, 22 December, 1904, 16 January, 1907, 29 May, 1907, and 2 December, 1907.

removing it from its poverty-ridden home, the park in the privileged neighbourhood was a scene of bourgeois domesticity.⁵⁴

The vagabond, the most in need of "civilizing," was thus banned from the very space constructed as that which civilized. City officials and interested citizens disentangled this seemingly unsolvable contradiction by distinguishing between the deserving poor, the working-class for whom the park was suppose to inculcate notions of domesticity and bourgeois morality, and the undeserving poor, the homeless and jobless vagabond for whom the park was off-limits.⁵⁵ In their petition to the Mayor of July 1880, proprietors and residents near Dufferin Square pitted the deserving against the undeserving poor:

[q]u'en ouvrant le carré Dufferin au public, la cité de Montréal a voulu contribuer à l'embellissement et à l'amélioration du quartier dans lequel il se trouve, mais si ce carré continue d'être ce qu'il a été jusqu'ici, il deviendra une nuisance au lieu d'être une amélioration. Que le mal augmente tous les jours et qu'aujourd'hui ce carré est le rendez-vous de toute la canaille des environs et que les personnes honnêtes et tranquilles n'osent pas s'y aventurer après les heures de travail.⁵⁶

While the honest employee of the capitalist barren, a vital component of the economic system, had the right to visit the neighbourhood park after a hard day's work, the vagabond, a de-stabilizing factor in the economic system, lost all privileges to this

⁵⁴On the male vagrant as a threat to capitalism and vagrancy laws as a mechanism of control for the poorest classes see James Pitsula, "The Treatment of Tramps in Late Nineteenth-Century Toronto," *Historical Papers* (1980): 116-132; Jeffrey S. Adler, "Vagging the Demons and Scoundrels: Vagrancy and the Growth of St. Louis, 1830-1861," *Journal of Urban History*, 13:1 (November 1986): 3-30; Susan Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur, the Sandwichman and the Whore: The Politics of Loitering," *New German Critique*, 39 (Fall, 1986): 99-140; Nicholas Rogers, "Policing the Poor in Eighteenth-Century London: The Vagrancy Laws and Their Administration," *Histoire sociale/Social History*, 24:47 (mai/May 1991): 127-147; Gilles Vandal, "Le vagabondage et la loi: le contrôle des classes dangereuses à la Nouvelle-Orléans, 1850-1885," *Canadian Review of American Studies*, 22:2 (Fall 1991): 153-171; and David Bright, "Loafers Are Not Going to Subsist Upon Public Credulence: Vagrancy and the Law in Calgary, 1900-1914," *Labour/Le Travail*, 36 (Fall 1995): 37-58.

⁵⁵Historians of vagrancy note how deeply entrenched this differentiation between the deserving and undeserving poor was by the twentieth-century. Gilles Vandal articulates particularly well this legal truism in his study of vagrancy laws in New Orleans from 1850 to 1885: [s]ous le couvert de éthique du travail, on distinguait deux sortes de pauvres: les bons et les mauvais. Le bon pauvre était résigné et n'était pas sa misère sur la place publique. Par contre, le mauvais pauvre était un mendiant professionnel qui détestait le travail et vivait de soutier public." Vandal, "Le vagabondage," 155. Buck-Morss notes the irony of this position: "capitalism, rather than paying the idler-on-the-street royally, turns its reserve army of the unemployed out onto the street and then blames them for being there." Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur," 113.

⁵⁶Petition to the Mayor, 30 July, 1880, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1880.

stabilizing space. In his letter to the Commission des parcs et traverses nearly thirty years later, F.B. Mathys appealed to the same principles. A proprietor near Viger Square who often walked in the park with his family after working hours, he criticized the city for servicing the undeserving itinerant rather than the deserving working family: "[t]outes les grandes villes entretiennent des jardins publiques pour l'ornement de la ville, et la salubrité de ses habitants mais je n'ai jamais vu nulle part, exister un parc pour y donner abri et domicile à tous les vagabonds, les ivrognes et les voyous de la ville comme c'est le cas pour le parc Viger." Mathys, identifying it as a question of rights of citizenship and pointing to particular members of the Montreal community, namely its vagabonds, drunks, and tramps as non-citizens, concluded that municipal services should not reach them as a result: "[c]ette année la sollicitude civique pour ce genre d'individus semble même s'être accrue: on vient d'augmenter le nombre des bancs pour les recevoir."⁵⁷

Although I have, thus far, constructed the vagabond as a jobless man who represented a threat to female propriety, capitalism, and patriarchal family values, historians Mary Anne Poutanen and Tamara Myers have challenged vagrancy historiography, which has tended to construct it as a male crime, by reminding us that the female vagrant appeared in nineteenth- and twentieth-century Montreal.⁵⁸ Myers writes that "[t]he vagrant, that unemployed male rogue, had a female counterpart: it was the fallen woman who crossed the line between respectable and immoral living."⁵⁹ Although she wisely cautions us against equating the female vagrant with prostitute, she nevertheless identifies the crime as inherently sexual and vagrancy laws as a tool to control women's sexual morality: "in the popular imagination these women were to be feared for their power to unleash the erotic in the public sphere."⁶⁰ Although the male vagabond dominated the attention of park promoters, the appearance of the female vagrant in Montreal parks did not go unnoticed.

⁵⁷M.F.B. Mathys to the CPT, 27 May, 1909, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2381.

⁵⁸Poutanen, "Reflections of Montreal Prostitution," and Myers, "Criminal Women," chap. 2.

⁵⁹Myers, "Criminal Women," 73.

⁶⁰*Ibid.*, 74.

Just like her nineteenth-century counterpart who was arrested in Montreal's common fields and public squares,⁶¹ the female vagrant in early twentieth-century Montreal parks was also subject to arrest and removal.⁶² Varying from loitering in Lafontaine Park to "flaneuring" in Bellerive Park to being drunk in Dominion Square to begging in Victoria Square, the female vagrant was also an affront to the image of the park.⁶³ However, this attack differed slightly from that of the male vagabond: explicitly sexual, this embodiment of untamed female sexuality could potentially entice the respectable woman into fallen womanhood and victimize the respectable man with her unleashed female sexual power. Recognizing the seriousness of this sexual attack on the moral character of the park, the Commission des parcs et traverses introduced "the old age question" of closing Montreal parks immediately following the arrest of a woman at night in Viger Square.⁶⁴ As reported in the press, these two events were intimately connected.

Just as contemporaries spoke overwhelmingly of the "undesirable" in the park as a man, they also used various terms interchangeably: vagabond, drunk, tramp, loiterer, and flaneur. Some scholars, in turn, mistakenly combine these various constructs into one single conceptual category.⁶⁵ Others, however, single out the flaneur and treat "him" as a separate analytical category.⁶⁶ Feminist scholars, in particular, engage in a useful discussion about the significance of this gendered construct (male).⁶⁷ A man of pleasure

⁶¹Poutanen, "Reflections of Montreal Prostitution," 105, 116.

⁶²Of the one hundred and sixty-nine women cases of female vagrancy which Myers uncovered from a 2230 case sample from Montreal's Recorder's Court (1899 to 1929), twenty were specific to Montreal's parks and squares. I would like to thank Tamara Myers for sharing her data base with me. All subsequent references (whether referring the vagrancy or having sex in public parks) are drawn from her data base.

⁶³Recorder's Court Archives (hereafter RC), 15 September, 1905 (Lafontaine Park), 7 July, 1903 (Bellerive Park), 18 September, 1905 (Dominion Square), and 24 August, 1910 (Victoria Square).

⁶⁴"Mounted Patrol," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 May, 1907, and "Heures d'admission," *La Presse*, 17 mai, 1907.

⁶⁵Adler, "Vagging the Demons," 4.

⁶⁶First appearing in mid-nineteenth century Paris and primarily associated with the writings of poet Charles Baudelaire, the flaneur re-appeared in the criticisms of German Marxist Walter Benjamin in the 1930s. See Mike Savage, "Walter Benjamin's Urban Thought: A Critical Analysis," *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 13 (1995): 201-216.

⁶⁷Janet Wolff, "The Invisible Flaneuse: Women and the Literature of Modernity," *Theory, Culture & Society*, 2:3 (1985): 37-46; Buck-Morss, "The Flaneur"; Griselda Pollock, "Modernity and the Spaces of Femininity," in Griselda Pollock, ed., *Vision and Difference: Femininity, Feminism and the Histories of Art* (New York: Routledge, 1988); Wilson, "The Invisible Flaneur;" Jenny Ryan, "Modernity and the City," *Theory, Culture & Society* 11 (1994): 57, 58, and Sally Munt, "The Lesbian Flaneur," in David

who took visual possession of the city, these scholars, operating within a heterosexual paradigm, identify his voyeuristic gaze as the embodiment of male privilege and man's "mastery" over woman; with his "male gaze," he "penetrates" his object, thereby reducing her to a sexual object and restricting her freedom.⁶⁸ Like the flaneur, the park embodied patriarchy and heterosexuality. Nevertheless, park architects' refusal to welcome the flaneur into their fold was understandable. Like the female vagrant, the flaneur was a sexual predator voyeuristically consuming the female body. However, female park visitors, whether mothers or respectable ladies, were not women he could consume. Rather, the park was a space in which these two desexual female icons were suppose to wander freely within its protected walls. Turn-of-the-century Montrealers did not specify whether they meant this pleasure gazer or the homeless rough when they chastised the "flaneur" for entering park space. However, neither the vagabond nor the flaneur were acceptable appendages to this domestic space.

The "Improper" Courting Couple

Like the vagabond, loiterer, tramp, female vagrant, and flaneur, the "improper" courting couple was also subject to spatial regulation. There were numerous variables at work which dictated which side of the divide, proper or improper, a particular form of sexual expression in turn-of-the-century Montreal parks fell: class, age, gender, race, and marital status, as well as the orientation, extent, timing and place of that sexual expression.⁶⁹ A process of "normalizing, rendering natural, taken for granted, in a word

Bell and Gill Valentine, eds., *Mapping Desire: Geographies of Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1995), 114-125. There is debate within this literature as to the feasibility of a female flaneur. Whereas Wolff argues that there could never have been a flaneuse, Wilson and Buck-Morss conceive of the prostitute as the female version.

⁶⁸Munt, "The Lesbian Flaneur," 120. Wilson, "The Invisible Flaneur," 102. Also see E. Ann Kaplan, "Is the Gaze Male?" in Ann Snitow, Christine Stansell and Sharon Thompson, eds., *Powers of Desire: The Politics of Sexuality* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1983), 321

⁶⁹"Improper" was a fluid, historically-specific term. In his thoughtful study of sexuality in history, Michel Foucault informed us that "inconsequential bucolic pleasures, could become, from a certain time, the object of not only a collective intolerance but of a judicial action, a medical intervention, a careful

'obvious,' what are in fact ontological and epistemological premises of a particular and historical form of social order," this is precisely what occurred in Montreal parks.⁷⁰

An heterosexual privilege, limited public displays of affection between a respectable courting man and woman or a well-groomed husband and wife at a specific time and place were constructed as proper. To promenade in Montreal's parks and squares in daylight was, for example, seen as a respectable courting ritual. A class-specific past-time, the couple's presentation, marital status, and willingness to follow the various "rules" of the promenade, such as "'a gentleman [knowing] not to ask a young lady to compromise herself by driving with him at an unseemly hour,'" shielded them from community and state harassment.⁷¹ Therefore, when a park policeman, dubbed as the "insolent park ranger" in the Montreal press, insulted a gentleman and his wife for engaging in what he perceived to be improper behaviour in Mount Royal Park on a Sunday afternoon in Spring 1891, the community and the state came to the couple's defense.⁷² Called in front of the Commission des parcs et traverses to explain his actions, the officer recounted the incident. While policing on horseback, he noticed a gentleman sitting on a bench with his arms around a lady's waist; concluding that this behaviour transgressed society's informal "sex" rules, he ordered the man to remove his hands.⁷³ However, the man's relationship to the woman (husband), his race (white), his ethnicity (Anglo-Saxon), his class (bourgeois), and his age (mature) all protected him from such a command. Reporting that "a small row on the Mountain park" had occurred the day prior, the *Montreal Gazette* cited "a mounted park ranger[as] the cause:"

clinical examination, and an entire theoretical elaboration Michel Foucault, *History of Sexuality: Volume I: An Introduction*, trans. Robert Hurley (New York: Random House Inc., 1978), 31.

⁷⁰Philip Corrigan and Derek Sayer cited in Mary Louise Adams, "In Sickness and in Health: State Formation, Moral Regulation, and Early VD Initiatives," *Journal of Canadian Studies* 28:4 (Winter 1993-94): 118.

⁷¹Scobey, "Anatomy of the Promenade," 215. Also see John Kasson, *Rudeness and Civility: Manners in Nineteenth-Century Urban America* (New York, 1990), and Guy Szuberla, "Ladies, Gentlemen, Flirts, Mashers, Snoozers, and the Breaking of Etiquette's Code," *Prospects* 15 (1990): 169-198.

⁷²"An insolent park ranger," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 May, 1891.

⁷³AVM, CPT, minutes of 12 May, 1891.

[h]e was riding around the park and when he came within 25 feet of one of the seats he saw seated there a lady and gentleman. The latter is a prominent lawyer and the lady with him was his wife. They were deeply engaged in conversation, the gentleman having his arms on the back of the seat, behind his wife. They were startled all at once by the ranger shouting at the top of his voice, 'Say, take your arm from behind that girl,' at the same time pointing a riding cane at the couple. The lady's face was immediately suffused with blushes, and the gentleman was so thunderstruck at the man's insolence that he could not say anything... Some of [the bystanders] went towards the man and, as they said afterwards, intended to pull him off his horse for his conduct.⁷⁴

Not only did the reporter highlight the couple's economic and marital status, but also emphasized that they had followed the rules of respectability: the gentleman had his arm on the bench, not on his wife's waist. Attempting to regulate the sexual practices of an economically privileged and politically powerful couple, this officer learned that there were those who were protected from such state harassment and there were those who were the targets.

The underprivileged young single woman, subject to more vigilant supervision and less sympathy, fell within the latter category.⁷⁵ Surely had an officer seen former prostitute Maimie Pinzer walking on the mountain unchaperoned on a June evening in 1915,⁷⁶ neither the community nor the state would have defended her: unlike the ladies who were "unfairly" accosted for enjoying afternoon strolls by Mount Royal Superintendent W. McGibbon prior to his dismissal in 1899,⁷⁷ Pinzer, of the wrong class, was occupying the wrong space at the wrong time.⁷⁸ However, if reformers, parents, and city officials were able to restrict the mobility of women like Pinzer through the supervision of their leisure activities, the less concerned they would be with possible sexual

⁷⁴"An insolent park ranger," *Montreal Gazette*, 11 May, 1891.

⁷⁵On the regulation of Canadian women's sex lives see Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, and Myers, "Criminal Women." On the (non-sexual) regulation of boys and young men see Lynn Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights and 'Lasses': The Social Dimensions of Religion and Leisure in Late Nineteenth Century Small Town Ontario," (Ph.D. diss., York University, 1992), chap. 4.

⁷⁶Ruth Rosen and Sue Davidson, eds., *The Maimie Papers* (Indianapolis: The Feminist Press, 1977), 279.

⁷⁷AVM, CPT, minutes of 31 May, 1890 and the transcripts of the proceedings, McGibbon Inquiry, 47. AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-08-2: Parc Mont-Royal: Surintendance.

⁷⁸On a woman's class and race, as well as the time and place she stepped into public as determinants in the extent to which she was subject to moral regulation see, for example, Walkowitz, *City of Dreadful Delight*, and Brown and Kimball, "Mapping the Terrain."

misdemeanors.⁷⁹ With this in mind, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association conducted a recreation survey in 1912 to determine, in part, the extent to which the various commercial leisure establishments contributed to the youth's moral downfall.⁸⁰ Granted, the association did not describe a treating system akin to the one uncovered by historians Kathy Piess in New York City and Carolyn Strange in Toronto, in which "charity girls" engaged in a system of sexual barter.⁸¹ However, the MPPA concluded that the uncleanness of moving picture houses, by far the most popular form of leisure among Montreal's youth, the demoralizing and obscene picture shows, and the presence of the "poor and crude" in these establishments "did not make for the moral uplift of a community."⁸² The association also knew that these were "the only places open and convenient to thousands of our young people."⁸³

Recognizing that "recreation value is high[,] its moral value is good [and that] it is only when these amusements are not in decent surroundings that their influence is vicious,"⁸⁴ these park visionaries thus devised a way to entice the youth into Montreal parks. Rather than encourage the youth to frequent commercial amusement venues, which "drew sons and daughters out of familial surroundings and often into the night,"⁸⁵ the

⁷⁹On juvenile delinquency as a gendered construct (the young woman charged with sexual promiscuity and the young man arrested for property-related infractions) see, for example, Mary Odem, "Single Mothers, Delinquent Daughters, and the Juvenile Court in Early 20th-Century Los Angeles," *Journal of Social History* 25 (Fall 1991): 27-43; Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*; Joan Sangster, "Incarcerating 'Bad' Girls: The Operation of the Female Refugees Act in Ontario, 1920-45," Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, Montreal, 1995, and Myers, "Criminal Women," 178.

⁸⁰"The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.5, file 333. On numerous occasions, citizens and aldermen complained to the Commission de la police about commercial amusements. See, for example, AVM, CP, minutes of 6 March, 1901, 19 February, 1902, 6 July, 1906, and 25 April, 1907. Also see W. Blakemore to the Chief of Police, 21, March, 1900, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1900, and Chief of Police to the CP, 25 April, 1907, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-01-00. Rapports 1907.

⁸¹ Piess, *Cheap Amusements*, and Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*.

⁸²"The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," 25, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.5, file 333. The average attendance per week at the city's moving pictures was 375,438 (as compared to 64,643 at the theatres and over 2,000 at the six licensed dance halls on the average winter night).

⁸³Rev. E.I. Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal! Commercialized Vice and Its Contributors* (Montreal: The Witness Press, 1919), 54.

⁸⁴"The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.5, file 333.

⁸⁵Myers, "Criminal Women," 179.

MPPA successfully convinced the city to inaugurate moving pictures in the parks, a familial surrounding constructed as the antithesis of commercialized leisure space. in the summer of 1912.⁸⁶ Despite the fact that Reverend E.I. Hart, author of *Wake Up! Montreal! Commercial Vice and its Contributories*, surmised that movies were greatly responsible for juvenile delinquency in Montreal, that the YMCA saw "[t]he influence of the cinema [as] intensifying the sex problem among Montreal's youth, and that Judge J.O. Lacroix of the Juvenile Court believed that it was "'the long kiss' in the movies and the desire to experiment and see what it was like that marked the first step downward... for young girls,"⁸⁷ the MPPA nevertheless felt that a movie shown in a wholesome, green space would have strikingly different effects than a movie in an unsupervised, dirty theatre.

However, both prior to and following this experiment to bring young men and women into the parks as a wholesome alternative to the dance halls and movies theatres, Montreal's youth had discovered the multiple ways in which to use this "wholesome" space in "unwholesome" ways. In fact, some used the park as their "sex-stop" on their way home from the movies and other commercial leisure venues. Take, for example, the five

⁸⁶This was one of the suggestions in its recreation survey of 1912. See, MPPA, *Annual Report*, 1912; AVM, BC, minutes of 15 May, 1913; W.H. Atherton of the City Improvement League to the BC, 26 May, 1913 and Report of Director of Municipal Assistance, 10 June, 1913. AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-03-02, dossier 14646, and "Moving Pictures in the Parks," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9:9 (September 1913): 362. Judge F.X. Choquet of the Juvenile Court was a proponent of a similar scheme. Although he knew that moving pictures had "injurious effect on children," he also acknowledged that they "are here to stay. It is no longer a question of abolishing them, but one of bringing them up to a higher moral tone." Judge Choquet, "The Juvenile Court," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10:6 (June 1914): 232, 233. On the appropriation of the moving picture as a "great silent social worker" also see Orrin G. Cocks, "Moving Pictures a Factor in Municipal Life," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10:11 (November 1914): 447, and "Teaching Citizenship Via the Movies," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 13:2 (February 1920): 43. On a more general call for more respectable leisure opportunities for young women rather than commercial amusements see Committee of Sixteen, *Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal*, 1918, 36: "[u]nder bad recreation conditions we have noted numbers of instances where girls are connected with no properly supervised recreation centres, and have no way to meet young men except on Dominion Square, St. Catherine Street, in dance halls and 'movies'... At present young men and girls are seeking recreation in the public dance halls which are without adequate supervision. Attractive recreation must be provided under respectable conditions to counteract the insidious influence of other recreation."

⁸⁷Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal!*, 56: "Y.M.C.A. leaders discuss problem of sex morality," *Montreal Star*, 4 August, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926, and "Moving pictures blames for theft," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 May, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. While reformers and judges sexualized the effects of movies on girls, they argued that its negative effects on boys were non-sexual (theft). See, for example, "Imitated exploits of 'movie' Buglar," *Montreal Star*, 23 October, 1916.

couples, all under the age of seventeen, who appeared before Judge Lacroix in 1927 after being arrested for indecency in a Montreal park. Lacroix provided the rationale for such behaviour: they were so excited by a movie that they had just watched in a movie house that they stopped off at the park instead of going straight home.⁸⁸ Although non-commercial and thus presumably moral, the vastness of some of Montreal's parks, coupled with the ingenuity of those in search for "private space" to engage in "private" acts led to the misuse of park space. Although reformers identified "the demoralizing lack of privacy" in the congested district as "one of the worst features of the overcrowding,"⁸⁹ it was the park's privacy, ironically, which enticed lovers to use it to engage in "demoralizing" behaviour. Nevertheless, the MPPA and the city, loyal to the belief that non-commercial meant moral, continued to show movies in Montreal parks in the summer months as a way to encourage young men and women to use this space.⁹⁰

Like Lacroix, who pointed to the way the non-commercial (park) was used in immoral ways during the warm weather, the Catholic clergy also challenged this popular conception in the winter months. During the winter carnival held in Montreal from 1883 to 1889, the clergy repeatedly denounced the city's skating rinks and tobogganing hills as places where promiscuous young women congregated: "[à] travers la ville, les curés de nos églises catholiques se sont fortement prononcés, hier matin, contre les glissoires et les patinoires alléguant que c'étaient des endroits d'immoralité pour les jeunes filles."⁹¹ Asking members of the Church to pray "pour les crimes qui vont se commettre pendant le

⁸⁸As cited in Myers, "Criminal Women," 180. On a couple caught having sex in a Los Angeles park in after meeting at a movie theatre see Janis Appier, "Gender and Justice: Women Police in America, 1910-1946" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Riverside, 1993), 236.

⁸⁹S. P. Breckinridge and E. Abbott (1911) cited in Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 234.

⁹⁰See MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1913, 1916, 1917, 1919). It is unclear whether the program was offered every year.

⁹¹*La Minerve*, 19 février, 1885 as cited in Sylvie Dufresne, "Fête et société: le carnaval d'hiver à Montréal (1883-1889), in Annette Bleau et al. eds., *Montréal: activités, habitants, quartiers* (Montréal: Fides, 1984), 171. On women and skating in Montreal see Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City*, 406, 407. She argues that prior to the mid-nineteenth century, "no properly brought-up young lady indulged in such unseemly exercise."

carnaval," the clergy identified these non-commercial leisure activities as equally dangerous as the burgeoning commercial leisure establishments.⁹²

Despite the clergy's warnings about the compromising positions in which they found young men and women on Montreal's public rinks and slides,⁹³ the dominant ideology had erected a rigid divide between commercial and non-commercial leisure. Because the rink was conceptualized as a sanitized space which led to "an endless source of pleasure to the boys and girls,"⁹⁴ the city thus responded favourably to the many requests for rinks,⁹⁵ as well as oversaw the popular toboggan slide in Mount Royal Park during the winter months. Perhaps the young people who petitioned city officials to convert public squares and parks into skating rinks simply wanted to skate.⁹⁶ However, they could have successfully subverted the dominant ideology by carving out a sexual space for themselves in the most unlikely place. Like the girls in Toronto, who purportedly "did not skate from a love for the outdoors, but to 'bump' into strange men,"⁹⁷ perhaps Montreal girls may have seen this as a way to meet possible suitors, or better, as a "love-making medium."⁹⁸

⁹²*La Patrie*, 28 janvier, 1889, as cited in Dufresne, "Fête et société," 173. A late nineteenth-century writer relied on hyperbole to describe the Catholic Church's repression of women's sexuality in the seventeenth-century: "Montreal was not a very pleasant place for the pleasure-loving. The priesthood strongly denounced from the pulpits gaiety, such as dances or the wearing of costly or showy dresses. In fact, so far did they go that young ladies who might be spending the evening out were sometimes forcibly seized by priests and carried to the convent." *Montreal Illustrated*, 48.

⁹³For a (fictional) same-sex romance at the carnival see W.S. Humphreys, "Mr. Rodmington's experiment: A romance at the Carnival," *Canadian Illustrated News*, 2 June, 1883 as cited in Edwards, "Fiction in Montreal," 199. In this short story, Humphreys describes how a wealthy member of the English gentry visited Montreal during carnival and advertised in the *Montreal Star* for a female companion ("young lady") for the duration of the carnival. Among the applicants, he chose "Rose," with whom he fell in love. Immediately after Mr. Rodmington asked for her hand in marriage, "Rose," "with a merry peal of laughter" and a "mocking cry," revealed that she was John Sterrington, a young man from Toronto who decided to "have a bit of fun."

⁹⁴M.G. Holland to the CPT, 27 August, 1902, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 979.

⁹⁵See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of 13 January, 1903, 12 October, 1903, 21 December, 1903, 25 October, 1906, 29 November, 1906, and 25 November, 1909. Also see AVM, BC, minutes of 23 September, 1914, 23 December, 1915, 20 January, 1917, 5 February, 1917, and 29 November, 1917.

⁹⁶AVM, CPT, minutes of November 20, 1900. The petition is not indexed.

⁹⁷Clarke, *Of Toronto the Good*, 122.

⁹⁸Guide book (1866) as cited in Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *People and the Park*, 79. Note that those who requested lights for the various rinks did not specify the reason (physical or moral safety). See AVM, CPT, minutes of 6 December, 1904, 28 December, 1905, and 20 February, 1908, and AVM, BC, minutes of 9 January, 1911, 13 December, 1913 and 18 January, 1915.

Perhaps the following man, describing his courtship experience on Mount Royal's toboggan slide at the turn-of-the-century, was being truthful when he said that

I sincerely hope the gentle lady who rode behind me on the toboggan and entwined my waist with her supple limbs has pardoned the panic of fear that caused me to lose hold upon the rope handles and to cling to what appeared more substantial support. When one is descending an icy declivity at the rate of a mile in 48 seconds, thoughts moral or immoral, sacred or profane, have no place.⁹⁹

But perhaps he was not. Whether this man was telling the truth, however, is less significant than the dominant perception of this winter leisure activity. Although young men and women "defile[d] through the dark," a scene at which "[t]heir grandmothers would have been shocked at the goings on," sexual misconduct was written out of the script.¹⁰⁰ Describing the courting ritual, a contemporary wrote: "good looking young men and lovely girls, all garbed in the becoming blanket suits and wearing moccasins, are all around you, and a voice asks you would you care to slide...; sweet voices tinkle in your ears and lull your suspicions, - the magic of the novel scene overpowers you."¹⁰¹ Another participant explained: "petticoated, of course, she sits in front, her skirt tucked in and feet drawn up, you behind."¹⁰² Although C.S. Clarke claimed that winter sports offered as many opportunities as summer outings for young women to excite men's passions,¹⁰³ these Montrealers buried sex beneath a veil of order and respectability. First, they evoked an image of class privilege by describing equipment (skates and toboggans) which Montreal's poorest (and sexually debased) classes could not afford. Second, they used the multiple layers of expensive winter clothing as a symbolic discourse of respectability.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹J. Chambers as cited in Prince et al., *Illustrated Montreal*, 56.

¹⁰⁰*Montreal and Vicinity*, 90, and Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City*, 407.

¹⁰¹*Illustrated Montreal*, 77.

¹⁰²As cited in Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City*, 407.

¹⁰³Clarke, *Of Toronto the Good*.

¹⁰⁴Rev. Hart expressed his sentiments about women's clothing in his 1919 moral treatise: referring to "immodest female attire," he wrote that "the demoralizing influence of such immodesty upon young men can only be imagined and it has placed all young women who follow such a senseless fashion in the moral 'danger zone.'" Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal!*, 60. In a similar vein, C.S. Clarke attacked young women who dressed "immodestly:" "one girl in a bloomer costume will create far greater and more widespread

Although the Montreal skating rink *may* not have provided a space in which young men and women expressed (hetero)sexual attraction and the toboggan *may* not have served as a prop on which to show that affection, the public park in the warm weather certainly did function as the former and the park bench as the latter. These class-, time- and season-specific sexual encounters, which caught the attention of either legal authorities or concerned citizens, are not only evidence that Victorian sexual ideology was contested but that the spatial dynamic of sexuality was also challenged.¹⁰⁵

"Normal" (hetero)sexuality was constructed as that which was housed or closeted within the walls of the private domain.¹⁰⁶ Commenting on "public" sex in 1898, Toronto journalist C.S. Clark wrote that "[h]ouses of ill-fame are blots on the morality of a country, not necessarily because adultery is a sin, but because everyone knows of them, and the fact of their being public is what constitutes the sin, because sin, as far as my observation has carried me, is only sin when it is found out."¹⁰⁷ One of Clark's contemporaries in Montreal echoed the same message: "Montreal will allow vice to any extent, but it must not offend the public eye. It may play its sad vocation in dark streets and behind closed doors, but it must not walk in the light of publicity."¹⁰⁸ These seemingly neutral assertions about sexuality and public sex were, in fact, deeply gendered: "it is the scarlet woman [who] flaunts her sin in our faces."¹⁰⁹ Although the dominant discourse stipulated that

corruption amongst boys than a city full of show bills, so will a well developed girl in a short dress." Clarke, *Of Toronto the Good*, 112. Season, as well as class, were obviously important factors in a young woman's ability to present herself "modestly;" cold weather and money facilitated this process.

¹⁰⁵For a sanitized version of sexual morality in a working-class Montreal neighbourhood see Lucia Ferretti, "Marriage et cadre de vie familiale dans une paroisse ouvrière montréalaise: Sainte-Bridge, 1900-1914," *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française* 39 (1985): 23-51. She argues that "[l]es travailleurs brigidains et montréalais n'ont ni contesté, ni refusé la modèle familial proposé par l'Eglise," and points to few illegitimate births and divorces as evidence.

¹⁰⁶Mark Wigley, "Untitled: The Housing of Gender," in Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 358. Accompanied by an ideology of privacy, the husband and wife were free from moral regulation. In her study of heterosexual conflict in turn-of-the-century Ontario, Karen Dubinsky identifies a relationship between this ideology and familial sexual abuse: "the privacy of the 'antisocial' family or household has long kept hidden sexual abuse of daughters, nieces, sisters and domestic servants. Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 165.

¹⁰⁷Clarke, *Of Toronto the Good*, 90.

¹⁰⁸*Montreal by Gaslight*, 95.

¹⁰⁹*Ibid.*, 10.

"public woman" was "fallen woman," park promoters nevertheless constructed the park as an urban space for women in particular. They were able to reconcile this apparent paradox, which encouraged and facilitated the movement of the source of disorder, woman, into the public, in two distinct, contradictory ways: they simultaneously identified the park as both a private and a desexual space, private insofar as the park was constructed as a domestic enclave amid public immorality and "desexual" insofar as it fell outside the "specifi[ed]... appropriate time, mood, and temperature for intercourse."¹¹⁰ However, because it was in the home that (hetero)sexual sex was to occur, the park could not be both private and desexual. But since space was malleable and thus never still, park promoters reformulated the park, as they did with the vagabond, as "public" when visitors used this "private" space to engage in the most "private" of acts.¹¹¹

Mandated to keep "public" space free from "private" acts of "public" disgrace, those who were subject to moral regulation were bound by age, class, and marital status. Among the 169 cases of female vagrancy which Tamara Myers collected from a sample of cases heard before the Recorder's Court, she found seventeen in which a woman and man were charged for indecent exposure for either fornicating or petting in a public park.¹¹² Of the seventeen couples who appeared before the Recorder's Court, all but one were young and

¹¹⁰Wigley, "Untitled," 350. To say that a space was desexual, however, does not preclude that a particular sexual orientation was inscribed in that space. A space for the family, the primary symbol of heterosexuality, as well as for the respectable courting man and woman, heterosexuality was very much inscribed in parks.

¹¹¹On the de-stabilization of the public/private framework, with particular reference to sexuality see Mariana Valverde and Lorna Weir, "The Struggles of the Immoral: Preliminary Remarks on Moral Regulation," *Resources for Feminist Research* 17:3 (September 1988): 32.

¹¹²The cases were as follows: RC, 5 June, 1902 (Alice Morin and Arthur Dupuis), 30 June, 1902 (Lena Mooney and Robert Lancey), 5 September, 1905 (Delima Desrosiers and Albert Dunn), 18 September, 1905 (Gertrude Andrews and James Bailey), 17 May, 1907 (Mary McGaugh and William Dunlop), 11 June, 1908 (Bertha Dufoff and Isaac Davis), 2 July, 1909 (Omer Lescarbeau and Délia Baril), 2 July, 1909 (Martha Taylor and Thomas Dairs), 8 August, 1910 (Edna Deguise and Jean Baptiste Charest), 10 August, 1910 (Mathilda Chenier and Michel Cheray), 10 August, 1910 (Mathilda Chenier and Michel Cheray), 10 August, 1910 (Frances Waring and Herbert McIntyre), 22 August, 1910 (Adélina Courneil, Harold Wood), 4 September, 1912 (Jeanne Cameron and Thomas Laflame), 12 September, 1913 (Sarah Jarvis and William Jones), 6 October, 1916 (Leazzi O'Neil and Charles McGreer), 23 October, 1916 (Marie Louise Deschamps and Henri Lamarre), and 26 October, 1916 (Nicola Féranio and Louis Laroque)

unmarried. This couple was married, but not to each other.¹¹³ Of the accused whose occupations were cited in the reports, there was a domestic servant and dressmaker among the women and a molder, printer, journalist, peddler, and plasterer among the men.¹¹⁴ Young, single, and working-class, the reasons these lovers turned to Montreal parks were age- and class-specific. Surely fifteen-year-old Arthur Dupuis, living with his parents at 305 Mount Royal, and his young lover, Alice Morin, who also lived with her parents a few doors away (293 Mount Royal), felt that Lafontaine Park late at night was a safer place to have sex than in either of their parents' homes.¹¹⁵ Surely Mary McGaugh, a domestic servant, thought it was safer to have sex with William Dunlop in Mount Royal Park than in the home of her employers.¹¹⁶ Surely Bertha Dufoff did not want her husband to catch her having sex with her lover, neighbour Isaac Davis.¹¹⁷ Evidence of desperation and ingenuity, these couples appropriated public space for sex because they did not have sufficient capital to access a private (sanctioned and unregulated) space, whether it be a home or a hotel room.

As a consequence, these couples, found guilty by the Recorder, discovered that they were in a legally volatile, economically vulnerable and socially precarious position. Although Arthur Dupuis' father, in an attempt to protect his family social standing, offered a bond of \$100.00 as a promise that his teenage son and his young girlfriend would keep the peace,¹¹⁸ others did not enjoy such economic flexibility. Although dressmaker

¹¹³RC, 11 June, 1908. The arresting officer presumed that this man and woman were married to each other and were thus booked them as Bertha Davis and Isaac Davis. However, the court admitted that "there seems to be some mixing of her name - she is married to Morris Dufoff."

¹¹⁴See RC, 5 September, 1905, 18 September, 1905, 17 May, 1907, 11 June, 1908, and 2 July, 1909.

¹¹⁵RC, 5 June, 1902.

¹¹⁶RC, 17 May, 1907. Note that young women ranked domestic service as their least favourite type of employment precisely because of the lack of freedom and privacy. See Strange, *Toronto's Girl Problem*, 4-6. They were also portrayed as a particularly immoral group of women. C.S. Clarke, for example, recounted two stories which entrenched this stereotype: while an eighteen year-old boy bragged that there had not been a domestic in his parents' house in a span of five years with whom he had not had improper relations, a sixteen year old stated that it was "a rare thing for him to have a domestic with whom he did not have improper relations. Clark, *Of Toronto the Good*, 89, 97, 104-108. Also see Committee of Sixteen, 36. On domestic service as a particularly dangerous place to work because of the threat of rape see Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*.

¹¹⁷RC, 11 June, 1908: She resided at 409 St. Dominique, he at 393.

¹¹⁸RC, 5 June, 1902.

Gertrude Andrews and molder James Bailey were both able to pay the ten dollars fine imposed on them for fornicating in Mount Royal Park. Délia Baril spent a month in prison because she did not have the ten dollars (her lover got suspended sentence).¹¹⁹ Although Thomas Laflame could afford the five dollars charged to him for fornicating on St. Helen's Island, his lover, Jeanne Cameron spent two weeks in the gaol because she did not have the disposable capital to pay for her transgression.¹²⁰ Commenting on the same system which imprisoned Cameron and sent Laflame free, Dubinsky astutely remarks that "[p]rivacy was, in important respects, class and gender bound - the rich could afford more privacy than the poor, and men could afford more than women."¹²¹ Thus, the absence of privileged middle-aged or young middle-class couples brought before the Recorder's Court for fornicating in Montreal parks does not mean that they did not engage in sexual improprieties. Rather, it means that they enjoyed the economic means to build a "private world of the middle-class"¹²² and were less open to community surveillance and legal scrutiny as a consequence.

That middle-class Montrealers were absent in the court documents is less surprising than the lack of gay Montrealers caught in homosexual embraces in Montreal parks, among other public places. Public gay sex clearly fell outside the turn-of-the-century construct of "normal" sexuality on three basic fronts: it occurred between two people of the same sex,

¹¹⁹RC, 18 September, 1905 and 2 July, 1909.

¹²⁰RC, 4 September, 1912. The Recorder handed down sentences which ranged from five dollars or fifteen days to fifty dollars or six months. Some of these variances help us understand why some sexual transgressions were deemed more serious than others. Perhaps Lena Mooney and Robert Lancey, charged for an Indecent Act under article 177 of Criminal Code were penalized the most severely (fifty dollars or six months) because they not only fornicated in Lafontaine Park, but did it in the presence of the arresting officer and other park visitors. RC, 30 June, 1902. Recorder S. Weir, who heard ten of the seventeen cases, was far more severe on Isaac Davis, the man who was caught fornicating with a married woman on Mount Royal (and insodoing making a mockery of the institution of marriage and male privilege), than any of the others who appeared before him: whereas Weir sentenced him to one month in jail as well as a fine of thirty dollars, or an additional three months, all others were given the choice to either pay a fine or go to jail. On marriage as the code of moral behaviour in an ordered society see James Snell, "The 'White Life for Two': The Defence of Marriage and Sexual Morality in Canada, 1890-1914," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 16:31 (mai/May, 1983): 111-128.

¹²¹Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 95.

¹²²John D'Emilio and Estelle Freedman, *Intimate Matters: A History of Sexuality in America* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 73.

outside the heterosexist institution of marriage, and in public. As historians of gay men illustrate vividly, those engaging in this three-pronged sexual transgression were subject to vigilant moral regulation. They also inform us that the pattern of public heterosexual sex was discernible among gay men: the public park loomed large and wealthy homosexuals enjoyed the financial flexibility to purchase their privacy.¹²³

However, in mining the dossiers from the Court of Sessions of the Peace from 1890 to 1960, Pierre Hurteau found very little evidence of a gay man's subculture of public sex in Montreal prior to 1930;¹²⁴ with respect to parks specifically, he only found two cases.¹²⁵ Other gay men certainly engaged in public sex in Montreal parks and did not get caught. In fact, beyond the court records, there are a few snapshots of gay life in nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Montreal. In the summer of 1869, the *Montreal Star*, for example, ran three stories about a store where crimes of Sodom and Gomorrah

¹²³See, for example, the excellent monograph of George Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York: Gender, Urban Culture and the Making of the Gay Male World, 1890-1940* (New York: Basic Books, 1994), and Steven Maynard, "Through a Hole in the Lavatory Wall: Homosexual Subcultures, Police Surveillance, and the Dialectics of Discovery, Toronto, 1890-1930," *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 5:2 (1994): 207-242. For a later period see John Howard, "The Library, the Park, and the Pervert: Public Space and Homosexual Encounter in Post-World War II Atlanta," *Radical History Review* 62 (1995): 166-187. Research, to date, points to subcultures of public sex as the purview of gay men. Joan Nestle, however, disagrees: although "[it is] tempting for some lesbians to see themselves as the clean sex deviant, to disassociate themselves from public sexual activity, multiple partners, and intergenerational sex... [p]ublic bathrooms have been social bedrooms for young Lesbians through the years who had no safe home to take their lovers back to [sic]," Joan Nestle, *A Restricted Country* (Ithaca, NY: Firebrand Books, 1987). To explain, in part, the lack of pursuit of lesbian sex crimes, Julie Abraham writes: "[e]ven if that extensive history of religious and legal attention was punitive, it still offers a wide and complex range of sources for contemporary study... Not only is there no comparably extensive history of reference to lesbian sexuality, but assertions of lesbian sexuality is still not easily marked as transgressive." As cited in Howard, "The Library," 184. The trend holds true for Canada. On gay men and the Canadian law see Terry Chapman, "Male Homosexuality: Legal Restraints and Social Attitudes in Western Canada, 1890-1920," in Louis A. Knafla, *Law and Justice in the New Land: Essays in Western Canadian Legal History* (Toronto: Carswell, 1986) and Terry Chapman, "An 'Oscar Wilde Type': The Abominable Crime of Buggery in Western Canada, 1890-1920," *Criminal Justice History* 5 (1983): 97-118. There is no equivalent on lesbians in Canadian history.

¹²⁴Pierre Hurteau, "L'homosexualité masculine et les discours sur le sex en context montréalais de la fin de XIXe siècle à la révolution tranquille," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 26:5 (mai/May, 1993): 41-66. He argues that in the 1930s, the "Theatre Midway" on St. Lawrence Blvd. and a section of Mount Royal Park known as "the jungle" became important to Montreal's burgeoning subculture of public gay sex.

¹²⁵In the early evening of 19 June, 1891, two men were caught lying on the grass at St. Helen's Island with their pants down and private parts touching where "tout le public pourrait les voir de l'endroit où ils étaient." Report of Police officer Ovila Tessier, 20 June, 1891, AGQ, 1987-11. Hurteau deposited a copy of this report in the archives. On the night of June 29, 1897, a man was caught performing fellatio on another man in Lafontaine Park. Pierre Hurteau, "Homosexualité, religion et droit au Québec: Une approche historique," (Ph.D. diss., Concordia University, 1991), 152.

were committed, a well known sodomite Joseph Gagnon caught in the company of a soldier, and a man and boy caught committing an indecent act on Champs de Mars.¹²⁶ Seventeen years later, *La Presse* reported that twenty men, dressed in drag, promenaded on Champs de Mars on a summer night. Recounting that one of these "voyous, hommes-femmes" propositioned an undercover officer, the reporter wrote: "[l]e misérable n'a été condamné qu'à \$20 d'amende ou deux mois de prison! La sentence est bien légère. Pourquoi ne pas envoyer ce voyou au pénitencier? Probablement [Constable] Viau et ses compagnons rougiraient d'un tel compagnon."¹²⁷ Perhaps William Robinson's request two years later, that the Chief of Police put a stop "to the disgraceful way in which men and boys of all ages were allowed to bath both above and below the Victoria Bridge,"¹²⁸ was driven by the same sentiment which propelled the reporter to attack the cross-dressers at Champs de Mars.¹²⁹

Although Mount Royal was an important part of gay men's sexual subculture in post-war Montreal,¹³⁰ the mountain park on warm turn-of-the-century evenings was a popular spot in which heterosexual couples expressed themselves sexually.¹³¹ Despite the claim that "nothing new and exciting ever happen[ed] on Mount Royal,"¹³² the park's superintendent was correct in 1899 when he asserted that "if he were to close his eyes to

¹²⁶"Sodomie en 1869: Trois cas à Montréal," *L'Archigai. Bulletin des Archives gaies du Québec* 1 (novembre 1992): 3. The articles were found by Kathryn Harvey.

¹²⁷"Une association nocturne," *La Presse*, 30 juin, 1886. AGQ, Coupures 1869-1980. On other evidence of gays in Montreal at the turn-of-the-century see *Jack Canuck*, 14 April, 1917, AGQ, Coupures 1869-1980.

¹²⁸AVM, CP, minutes of May 30, 1888. His letter was not indexed. He may have been referring to the common practice of men bathing nude.

¹²⁹Although the historical evidence, to date, of a subculture of gay public sex in turn-of-the-century Montreal is scant, this does not tell us that it did not exist, but rather that more research is needed in this field.

¹³⁰Hurteau, "L'homosexualité masculine," and Maurice Leznoff, "The Homosexual in Urban Society" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1954).

¹³¹Of the seventeen couples who appeared before the Recorder's Court, fourteen were caught in Mount Royal Park, two in Lafontaine (RC, 30 June, 1902 and 23 October, 1916), and one on St. Helen's Island (RC, 4 September, 1912). With the exception of three couples who braved the cold October nights, they all engaged in public sex during the warm weather. There was no discernible pattern about the day of the week: while eight appeared after a weekend or holiday, the others appeared between Tuesday and Friday.

¹³²"Mount Royal 64 years ago," *Montreal Star*, 8 June, 1933, AVM, DP, bobine 259, 1903,1-1, 6-132.

everything that went on in the park, it would not be fit for respectable people to go."¹³³ Interestingly, historians tend to blind themselves to the sexual possibilities of the scenic park by praising it as a space in which visitors "seclude[d] themselves in privacy from participants and spectators."¹³⁴ Mount Royal, described by its architect and contemporary writers as private, romantic, secluded, charming, picturesque and sublime, fits into this larger historiographical trend.¹³⁵ A place where a "moonlight [was] not soon be forgotten" and where the visitors "repose[d] in grateful seclusion,"¹³⁶ these couples must have seen what these writers saw and learnt subsequently that "the right to privacy [was]... illusory."¹³⁷

As in the historiography, the press remained remarkably silent to the fact that the park, a romantic and secluded place was used for sex. Of the seventeen cases, only one Montreal newspaper reported one of these cases.¹³⁸ In order to understand the significance of and theorize about the code of silence about sex in Montreal's parks, we must first take a closer look about what the Montreal press was in fact talking about at the time.

In April 1902, Alderman J. Lamarche complained that the Montreal press had given too much attention to public immorality generally and police raids on disorderly houses specifically. As "a father of a family he regretted to see so much space taken up in newspapers accounts; he wanted his children to read papers, but not that kind of news."¹³⁹ Lamarche would certainly have been mortified if his children read that fifteen-

¹³³Untitled, *Montreal Gazette*, 9 September, 1899, AVM, CPT, vm44, 054-01-04-01. Enquête McGibbon. Article de Journaux.

¹³⁴Cranz, *Polices of Park Design*, 29.

¹³⁵See Olmsted, *Mount Royal: Montreal Illustrated*, 70, and Lighthall, *History After 250 Years*, 44, 49; Murray, "Frederick Law Olmsted"; Bellman, "Frederick Law Olmsted," and Seline, "Frederick Law Olmsted's Mount Royal Park," chap. 2.

¹³⁶*Illustrated Montreal*, 14, and *Montreal by Gaslight*, 124.

¹³⁷Valverde and Weir, "Struggles of the Immoral," 32.

¹³⁸I looked at *La Patrie*, *La Presse*, *Montreal Gazette*, *Montreal Herald*, and *Montreal Star* on the day the couple appeared before the Recorder's Court, as well as the day after. I also looked at the edition of the weekly publication, the *Montreal Witness*, which appeared immediately after they couple appeared in court.

¹³⁹"Name fifteen new constables," *Montreal Herald*, 24 April, 1902.

year-old Arthur Dupuis was caught having sex with Alice Morin in Lafontaine Park in June of that year. It seemed as though the press concurred. While the *Montreal Witness* provided an update of private donations to the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, the dailies reported on other less interesting cases which appeared before the Recorder's, Police and Juvenile courts.¹⁴⁰ The *Montreal Herald*, reporting on two cases of vagrancy, went so far as to say that the "business in the Recorder's Court ha[d] become quite dull... the offenses [were] nearly all of a trivial nature."¹⁴¹

Spending the day in the city's parks on holidays, whether it be the Queen's Birthday, St. Jean Baptiste Day, or Dominion Day, was a popular form of recreation for Montreal families who did not have the means to leave the city. However, others found alternate ways to celebrate holidays in the parks. Robert Lancey and Lena Mooney, for example, had sex in Lafontaine Park on the eve of Canada's birthday in 1902. Although the *Montreal Gazette* did report this incident,¹⁴² it did not include it as part of the day's holiday events. In fact, not only did the paper exclude this couple from its story on the thousands of Montrealers who enjoyed their holiday in the public parks, but the paper singled out one particular picnic party which was composed of twenty young ladies, "all of them charming to the eye, and fair to behalf, and not a single man was there to join in their mild revelry."¹⁴³ Perhaps this was a subtle message to Lancey and Mooney that there was an alternate, homosocial way in which to enjoy yourself in the park. Seven years later, two

¹⁴⁰For example, a Greek for creating a disturbance in a fellow-countryman's store, Chinaman Lee Tong for selling opium without a druggist's license, four grocers for selling liquor on Sunday, Margaret Roach for picking a woman's pocket, and two boys for stealing bikes. See the *Montreal Witness*, 10 June, 1902; "Local news in brief," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 June, 1902; "Chinaman after the city," *Montreal Star*, 5 June, 1902; "Local new in brief," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 June, 1902; "Guilty of stealing bicycle," *Montreal Star*, June 6, 1902, and "4 ans de reforme," *La Presse*, 5 juin, 1902.

¹⁴¹"Police court cases," *Montreal Herald*, 5 June, 1902.

¹⁴²"Recorder disposes fines," *Montreal Gazette*, 1 July, 1902.

¹⁴³"City takes holiday," *Montreal Gazette*, 2 July, 1902. Ignoring the lovers altogether, the *Montreal Herald* described the holiday in the parks as subdued and restful for those who were "tempted away from the buildings and pavements." "Yesterday was quiet holiday," *Montreal Herald*, 2 July, 1902. Also note that while the *Montreal Star* reported on vagrants being arrested, and *La Patrie* and *La Presse* reported on union picnics in parks. See "Local news in brief," *Montreal Star*, 30 June, 1902; "Parc Riverside," *La Patrie*, 30 juin, 1902, and "Nouvelles ouvrières," *La Presse*, 30 juin, 1902.

couples were caught fornicating on Mount Royal on Dominion Day.¹⁴⁴ Like the other papers, the *Montreal Gazette* refused to report on this alternative way to celebrate the holiday in the mountain park. Declaring that Mount Royal had been "thronged [by a] big holiday rush" of people who were engaged in "innocent past-times," the paper wrote: "looking its greenest and decked in its most attracted garb of early summer, the call to get out of the dust and heat of the city streets was irresistible... All Montreal was out of doors, and there was no incident to mar the enjoyment of the holiday."¹⁴⁵ Certainly, these two couples felt an irresistible pull to the mountain which spoiled this holiday. However, it fell outside the contours of sanctioned park use and was thus rendered invisible; observed "with good will... where thousands spent the day in family parties and jolly games," sex did not constitute a "family party" nor a "jolly game."¹⁴⁶

This type of omission remained a constant. While a (male) journalist and his (female) lover appeared before the Recorder's Court on 5 September, 1905 for committing an indecent act in Mount Royal Park,¹⁴⁷ the press thought that two ladies involved in an accident while driving down the mountain was more notable.¹⁴⁸ Less than two weeks later, another couple appeared before the Recorder's Court for fornicating in the identical place.¹⁴⁹ Rather than articulate his unease about the rate at which people were engaging in public sex in Montreal's moral enclave, Recorder S. Weir expressed his alarm at the increasing drunkenness in the city and called upon the public to "wake up" to this evil plague.¹⁵⁰ Similarly, rather than denounce the frequency with which couples appeared

¹⁴⁴RC, 2 July, 1909.

¹⁴⁵"Press - events," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July, 1909, and "Big holiday rush," *Montreal Gazette*, 2 July, 1909. Note that the paper reported on a case appearing before the Recorder's Court about a young cigarette smoker. See "Another breaker of civic by-laws," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July, 1909.

¹⁴⁶"Dominion day joyful holiday in Montreal," *Montreal Star*, 2 July, 1909. Also see "La fête de la confédération," *La Patrie*, 2 juillet, 1909.

¹⁴⁷RC, 5 September, 1905.

¹⁴⁸"Throw down on mountain side," *Montreal Star*, 6 September, 1905. The day prior, the same paper reported on two other cases appearing before the Recorder's Court (assault and trespassing). See "Pleaded guilty and was fined," *Montreal Star*, 5 September, 1905. Also note that the other two English dailies reported on other cases before the Recorder's Court. See "Laborer tried to suicide," *Montreal Gazette*, 5 September, 1905, and "Local happenings," *Montreal Herald*, 6 September, 1905.

¹⁴⁹RC, 18 September, 1905.

¹⁵⁰"The drink curse," *Montreal Witness*, 19 September, 1905.

before the court in August 1910,¹⁵¹ the *Montreal Herald* expressed its alarm at the increase in drunkenness with the arrival of a summer floating population, not this summer sex trend.¹⁵²

As historian Joan Sangster reminds us, "silence and omission may in themselves be significant."¹⁵³ This was certainly the case in Montreal's park promoters' (whether they be reformers, reporters, or recorders) discursive removal of sexuality from parks. Constructed as a desexual space in which respectable displays of heterosexuality (the picnicking family and promenading couple) were encouraged, these park promoters buried these sexual transgressions beneath this dominant discourse. Despite this attempt to tease out sexuality from space, they failed because "[t]he exclusion of sexuality is itself sexual."¹⁵⁴ Such a blatant affront to public morality and forceful challenge to the hegemonic discourses on parks, the unwritten word and unspoken utterances in the Montreal press about sex in Montreal parks, thus, resonates very loudly.¹⁵⁵

Whereas the press employed a strategy of silence, some witnesses to these "disgraceful" scenes refused to remain silent and proposed various informal policing

¹⁵¹RC, 8 August, 10 August, and 22 August, 1910.

¹⁵²"Alarming increase of drunkenness is shown by records," *Montreal Herald*, 23 August, 1910. I am referring to RC, 8 August and 10 August, 1910. Note that the other dailies reported on the first meeting of the newly created Metropolitan Parks Commission and published the weekly park concert schedule. See "La commission des parcs métropolitains," *La Presse*, 9 août, 1910; "La commission d'embellissement siège pour la première fois," *La Patrie*, 9 août, 1910; "New park board," *Montreal Star*, 9 August, 1910; "Trois concerts dans les parcs," *La Patrie*, 9 août, 1910; "Les concerts en plein air," *La Presse*, 10 August, 1910, and "Les concerts dans les parcs," *La Patrie*, 11 August, 1910. Also see "Recorder's accident keeps him from court," *Montreal Star*, 10 August, 1910. This daily thought that Recorder Dupuis' minor accident while on a fishing trip was more newsworthy than the sentences handed down by Recorder Weir to the three couples who were caught fornicating on Mount Royal.

¹⁵³Joan Sangster, *Earning Respect: The Lives of Working Women in Small-Town Ontario, 1920-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995), 112.

¹⁵⁴Wigley, "Untitled," 328. Feminist architect Catherine Ingraham's analysis of the veil of silence in regards to sexuality in popular discourses about architectural spaces provides a useful framework for landscaped space, the park: [h]ow does one begin to connect sexuality with the traditionally asexual - or at least indeterminate - character of architectural space... the so-called neutral space produced by geometry and technique... I want to suggest that it is precisely the absence of sexuality in traditional conceptions of architectural space that gives us the first clue to its presence." Catherine Ingraham, "Initial Proprieties: Architecture and the Space of the Line," in Beatriz Colomina, *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992), 261, 262.

¹⁵⁵Dubinsky notes that "to fully understand the meaning of sexuality, we must interrogate moral silences as well as panics." Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*, 36.

strategies to dissuade couples from having sex in Montreal parks. Some citizens called for the removal of a popular prop on which couples entangled themselves sexually, the bench. Describing the function of the bench in the dance hall, an academic in the 1920s wrote that it was on the bench "that acquaintanceships [were] made very easily where the girls [sat] waiting for a 'pick up.'"¹⁵⁶ Not only were acquaintances made on the park bench, but connections as well. In the spring of 1913, the Superintendent of Parks decided to place benches in the centre of the boulevard on St. Joseph Street, from St. Denis Street to Park Avenue, during the spring and summer months. By the second season, home-owners on this street complained that "ces bans sont une source d'ennui pour les résidents de ce beau boulevard." Apart from inviting children from other streets to play on their street, thereby disrupting the tranquillity, a larger issue propelled the residents to break their silence: "le soir, il se commet d'autres désordres plus sérieux." Providing a prop which could double as a bed, the disorders to which the residents were referred were of a sexual nature.¹⁵⁷ Certainly Josephine Samson had not conceptualized the park bench as a moral hazard when she called on the Mayor in 1917 to triple their number in the parks and design a bench for two.¹⁵⁸ Neither had the MPPA when it proposed that all small parks be fitted up with benches.¹⁵⁹ However, perhaps underlying Constance Marson's request of August 1910 that the city reserve benches for women only in all parks was her desire to secure an homosocial enclave so as to prevent acts of (hetero)sexual impropriety from occurring.¹⁶⁰ Perhaps she saw what policewomen in Montreal would see a few years later. When patrolling Montreal's parks and squares in the summer of 1918, Elizabeth Wand noticed

¹⁵⁶Percy A. Robert, "Dufferin District: An Area in Transition" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1928), 51.

¹⁵⁷See petition to the BC, 21 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm127, 127-02-05-04, dossier 27321, and AVM, BC, minutes of 1 June and 8 June, 1915.

¹⁵⁸Miss Josephine Samson to the Mayor, 8 May, 1917, AVM, BC, vm127, 127-01-06-01, dossier 36425.

¹⁵⁹"The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.5, file 333.

¹⁶⁰AVM, BC, minutes of 4 August, 1910. The letter is not indexed.

that men and women used park benches in an "improper manner."¹⁶¹ Unable to deny access to Montreal's "sexual delinquents," citizens saw the removal of the bench as a creative way to prevent these delinquents from engaging in public sex.¹⁶²

Similarly, other citizens thought lighting deterred couples from using the park as place in which to engage in sex.¹⁶³ Just as sex was constructed as an act which occurred within the walls of a private house and within the confines of the institution of marriage, it was also seen as that which occurred at night, in the dark. Businessman Walter Watson made a direct correlation between dark, secluded areas and public sex in his letter of complaint to city officials in May 1915. Asking that a lamp be placed on his street, he provided the rationale: "we are being troubled with men and their female friends frequenting this section of the city on account of the darkness and quietness of the place."¹⁶⁴ This is not to say that every request for better lighting in Montreal's parks was sex-related. Other reasons included protecting "ladies who have been molested by rough characters," serving as a "corrective [to] suppress rowdyism [and] the intrusion of the hoodlum element," protecting trees and shrubs from vandals, preventing parks from being

¹⁶¹Elizabeth Wand, Resume of work for Local Council of Women, July 1918, National Archives of Canada (hereafter NA), Montreal Local Council of Women (hereafter MLCW), m.g. 28, i 164, v. 7-2. K. Wand, Protective Officer - correspondence and reports 1918-1919. I would like to thank Tamara Myers for making me aware of these records. On policewomen in Montreal see Tamara Myers, "Women Policing Women: A Patrol Woman in Montreal in the 1910s," *Journal of the Canadian History Association* (1993): 229-245, and Myers, "Criminal Women," chap. 3.

¹⁶²There were other ways to deter people from engaging in sex. In 1904, John C. Olmsted cautioned against dense planting in Atlanta parks because of the "immorality of the Negroes;" bushes were the "lurking places for Negroes," he wrote. See D'Avino, "Atlanta Municipal Parks," 131. Although I did not uncover any references to the manipulation of shrubbery at the turn-of-the-century, city officials in the 1950s purportedly "cut down all the shrubs around the lake [in Mount Royal Park] and trimmed the low-hanging branches off the trees [because] "lovers and other strangers lurk[ed] [there] at night." Dane Lanken, "Park's designer... He predicted almost everything except muggers and highways," *Montreal Gazette*, 22 April, 1972, AVM, DP, bobine 258, 1903, 1-A, 3-22.

¹⁶³Although some historians note that lighting was an important issue in park development, few analyze the debate as having a sexual component to it. See, for example Cranz, *Politics of Park Design*, 59. She identifies the rationale behind placing lights in the parks as a way to make parks accessible to the working-classes at night. Also see D'Avino, "Atlanta Municipal Parks," 130. She identifies lights as a safety issue exclusively. Although Dreher found that people were concerned over the poorly lit park as being a place where courting couples would "roam about after dark... frequently seen sitting on the seat caressing each other," he nevertheless does not analyze this transgression as a time-specific one, nor discuss the historical construction of the relationship between "dark" and "sex." Dreher, "Pubic Parks in Urban Britain," 127.

¹⁶⁴Walter Watson to the BC, 26 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-06-02-01, dossier 31919.

"a perfect paradise for robbers," or for decorative purposes.¹⁶⁵ However, among all those who requested better lighting, there was a consensus that the representation of a space was strikingly different at night (dark) than during the day (light). Describing a downtown Montreal street, one contemporary commented: "a shoddy and unfashionable parade for the clerk and servant at night, in the afternoon it was the promenade of the nobility, gentry, and bank clerks of the city and the rising society belles."¹⁶⁶ (Hetero)sexual liaisons were most likely to occur in spaces occupied by the shoddy (night) than the gentry (afternoon). As in the case of Toronto in the 1940s, where the city established "morality lights" in an attempt to assuage the sexual activity occurring at night in the city's public places,¹⁶⁷ turn-of-the century Montreal engaged in a similar endeavor.

A time-specific as well as seasonal vice, reformers and concerned citizens called for better lighting as a solution to this spring and summer problem. The YWCA warned that young women faced temptations on warm evenings, thereby leading to the misuse of city parks: "the wonderful growing days of early summer bring the lure of the out-of-doors and stir the gypsy blood innate in us all. And for many a girl this natural impulse only initiates her in the terrible dangers of evenings in the public parks."¹⁶⁸ Although the "naturalness" of this impulse was in itself a construction, citizens residing near parks found this to be true and proposed an artificial solution to this problem. In 1895, the city took "the necessary steps" to light a hitherto inefficiently lighted Lafontaine Park.¹⁶⁹ However, in late August 1897, the rector of the Immaculate-Conception Church, after witnessing a summer of "désordres graves [qui] se produisaient sur le parc Logan durant l'obscurité de la nuit,"

¹⁶⁵M. Renaud to the BC, 7 March, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-02, dossier 509; Report from A. Pinoteau and J. Henderson of the Annual Convention of American Association of Park Superintendents, 15 August, 1907, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 2199; J. McCall to the CPT, 5 June, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 715; "Homeless Police," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 May, 1909, and AVM, BC, minutes of 2 June, 18 July, and 14 August, 1913.

¹⁶⁶*Montreal by Gaslight*, 150, 151.

¹⁶⁷Mary Louis Adams, "Almost Anything Can Happen: A Search for Sexual Discourse in the Urban Spaces of 1940s Toronto," *Canadian Journal of Sociology* 19:2 (1994): 217-244.

¹⁶⁸As cited in Pedersen, "Young Women's Christian Association of Canada," 266.

¹⁶⁹See AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1924: Parc LaFontaine: Aménagement

identified a cause-effect relationship between sexual improprieties and the dark: "rappelleront que cet immense terrain n'est éclairé que par quelques lumières discrètement semmés sur les rues qui le bordent. En considération de ces désordres et en faveur de la morale publique actuellement très en souffrance, nous demandons... que des lampes électriques soient placées en différents endroits du dit parc."¹⁷⁰ A decade later, businessman Harrison Demers, who resided across the street from Lafontaine Park, put forward a similar proposition: "[l]a bonne morale meme devrait porter votre comité à mettre des lumières dans un lieu aussi fréquenté par les deux sexes."¹⁷¹ Responding to the severity of the problem, the Commission des parcs et traverses took two hundred and forty dollars from the staff budget of St. Helen's Island to purchase four lamps for Lafontaine Park the following summer.¹⁷²

The popularly-held belief that the moral reputation of a space differed according to the level of lighting propelled city officials to respond as swiftly and favourably to similar complaints. In April 1915, for example, a concerned proprietor asked that a light be placed at the centre of his neighbourhood park in Mount Royal Ward: "[i]l n'y a actuellement aucune lumière qui éclaire ce parc et par suite de l'obscurité de cet endroit, les personnes qui traversent ce parc le soir où la nuit sont continuellement exposées." Specifying as to what people were exposed, this notary was as graphic as his sense of respectability allowed him: "[j]e dois ajouter que durant l'été dernier il s'est produit la nuit

¹⁷⁰J. Déry, S.J. to the Mayor, 26 August, 1897, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1897. For other general requests for better lighting for Lafontaine Park see AVM, CPT, minutes of 23 February, 1903 and 25 April, 1905, and AVM, BC, minutes of 26 May, 1910.

¹⁷¹Harrison Demers to the CPT, 4 June, 1908, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, dossier 2237.

¹⁷²A month after this money was allocated, the Commission spent an additional three-hundred and seventy-five dollars for the purchase and maintenance of other gas lamps in Lafontaine Park. See AVM, CPT, minutes of 21 May, 2 July, 20 August, and 23 August, 1909, and "More lights for the parks," *Montreal Star*, 3 July, 1909. The importance placed on lighting in parks was discernible fifteen years prior. To light the carriage roads, stairways, bridle-paths and buy-ways in Mount Royal Park for an average of two hours per night from 15 May to 15 September, 1896, it cost the city \$4,612.20. Operating with a budget of \$7,893.40, the Commission spent 58.43% of Mount Royal Park's total budget on summer lighting. See the Report of the Superintendent of Lighting to the CPT, 1 June, 1896, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-06. Mont Royal: Eclairage, and Treasurer, Comptroller and Auditor, *Annual Report* (1896).

des scènes absolument disgracieuses."¹⁷³ The city installed a light in that park that summer.¹⁷⁴ Although bourgeois notions of sexual modesty and propriety prevented these complainants from being more graphic, these same notions forced them act: devising coded messages about the moral state of Montreal parks, the discourse on lighting was indeed sexual.

A time-specific as well as seasonal vice, the call for better lighting to eradicate sex from Montreal parks on warm spring or summer evenings was a struggle between the disrespectful, sexually promiscuous young woman and her aged counterpart, the mother. In her letter to the Bureau des Commissaires in December 1910, Mrs. Bowles described how "a certain class of women... [who were] not fit to be on any street in the locality" displaced those for whom the park was constructed. Referring to the young women who entered her neighbourhood to attend shows at the Forum, she explained that they also appropriated the neighbourhood park: "[i]n the warm weather, we cannot make use of the front of the house, or the steps, and the park is a resort for objectionable couples, and cannot now be used by respectable people."¹⁷⁵ Also tired of witnessing what he deemed to be sexual improprieties in his neighbourhood park, the rector of a local parish, hoping to "protéger la morale et l'ordre public dans notre quartier de St-Zotique," wrote a letter to the Mayor in May 1915. On behalf of "[des] bonnes familles qui viennent se reposer le soir au Parc Cartier," the author complained about the young people of both sexes who undermined decency in the park, especially at night. Equally worried that the park would soon resemble a "refuge de nuit" rather than a place for family recreation, the city installed

¹⁷³M. Prudhomme to the BC, 27 April, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-04-04, dossier 26753. For other favourable decisions to general requests for better lighting in various parks and squares see AVM, CPT, minutes of 8 May, 1900 (St. Patrick's Square), 23 February, 1903 (Lafontaine Park), 5 May, 1903 (Western Square), 25 April, 1905 (Lafontaine Park and Fletcher's Field), and 21 May, 1909 (Lafontaine Park), and AVM, BC, minutes of 31 May, 1910 (Dominion Square), 4 August, 1910 (King Edward Park), 9 May, 1913 (Fletcher's Field), 9 July, 1914 (Wellington and St. Elizabeth parks), and 2 October, 1914 (Phillips Square). Also see Report of the Superintendent of Lighting, 27 January, 1914 (Victoria Square, Place D'Armes), AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-04-03, dossier 17699, and Resolution of the BC, undated (Martel Park during summer months), AVM, BC, vm17, 127-06-02-04, dossier 33942.

¹⁷⁴Report of the Superintendent of Lighting to the BC, undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-04-04, dossier 26753.

¹⁷⁵Mrs. Bowles to the BC, 24 December, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-02-03, dossier 4395.

two additional lights.¹⁷⁶ As Rosenzweig and Blackmar point out, "the account of danger faced by women and language used to express those fears lead one to suspect that the concern was as much about women as for women."¹⁷⁷ This appropriation of a space (park) by a specific class (working-class women) for a specific use (sex) thus set up a system of binary oppositions: "[t]his division was a moral categorization that... put distance between... reformers and the young women they deemed disrespectful. Neither side of the opposition makes sense without the other - healthy/diseased, pure/lascivious, normal/perverse."¹⁷⁸

This division, which separated reformers from the young women they identified as immoral, played itself out formally in Montreal parks in the summer of 1918, when the city hired four policewomen to patrol the city's public places, namely its parks, docks, barracks, stations, picture shows and dance halls.¹⁷⁹ Considered the moral guardians of female propriety and agents to prevent young women's moral downfall, neither the mounted policemen nor foot patrolmen could prevent this fall, the Montreal Local Council of Women (MLCW), the primary lobbyist for women officers, contended.¹⁸⁰

¹⁷⁶Rev. J.V. Thérien to the Mayor, 3 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-05-02, dossier 26945.

¹⁷⁷Rosenzweig and Blackmar, *Park and the People*, 323.

¹⁷⁸Adams, "In Sickness and in Health," 122. As evident in the above cases and as acknowledged by Dubinsky in her study of seduction cases in turn-of-the-century Ontario, that the community and the law also preyed into the sex lives of young men, she rightly argues that this was incidental to the larger project: to oversee the young woman's activities to keep her chaste. Dubinsky, *Improper Advances*.

¹⁷⁹Feminist historians disagree as to the meaning of the policewoman. Mary Odem identifies policewomen at the turn-of-the-century as agents of social control who became integral to the state's regulation of working-class female sexuality. Similarly, Tamara Myers argues that this broadened the definition of crime and policing and insodoing subjected working-class women to more intense scrutiny of their sex lives. Janice Appier, rejecting the social control model, maintains that the policewoman represented a necessary assault on a masculine institution: "[w]omen's crime prevention work challenged gender hierarchy and male control of public space by staking out a claim for female public authority." See Mary Odem, "Delinquent Daughters: The Sexual Regulation of Female Minors in the United States, 1880-1920" (Ph.D. diss., University of California at Berkeley, 1989); Myers, "Criminal Women," and Appier, "Gender and Justice," 63. For a pictorial representation of young women in parks with whom these female officers may have been concerned see p. 127. The young woman in question is applying make-up.

¹⁸⁰On the MLCW's lobbying efforts see Myers, "Criminal Women," chap. 3.



"Her Beauty Treatment," St. Helen's Island, 21 July, 1937. Archives nationales du Québec, Fonds Conrad Poirier, P48, P1183.

Park policemen, given the multiple responsibilities of gardening, general caretaking duties, as well as protecting property and maintaining the peace, did not focus exclusively or primarily on young women.¹⁸¹ Granted, the Police Department experimented with various strategies in its attempt to police effectively public morality in Montreal's moral (green) spaces.¹⁸² It continued to increase the number of policemen patrolling the parks, especially the most spacious ones in the warm seasons, Mount Royal and Lafontaine

¹⁸¹In fact, the city tended to privilege trees' physical safety in the early years of park development. Complying with the federal government's demand that the corporation of Montreal provide a police force large enough to protect the trees from being destroyed before it would allow the island to be opened as a public park, the city mandated the special constables, sworn in on 14 May, 1875, to prevent the trees from either being cut down or destroyed with a "distinct understanding that they shall devote the whole of their time, when not engaged as special constables, to cleaning away rubbish and keeping the Island in good condition." See AVM, CPT, minutes of 18 March, 1873 and 14 May, 1875, and CPT resolution, 3 June, 1874, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00, 1810-1: Ile Ste-Hélène - Parc LaFontaine. A basic concern ten years later, the Superintendent of Parks outlined the job description to Island park policemen: "to see that the trees, buildings and other corporation properties generally be kept free from damage." AVM, CPT, minutes of 8 December, 1884. The duties of these island policemen resembled those of their counterparts in Mount Royal Park, where the Superintendent required the constables to perform gardening and other general caretaking work. See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of 25 April, 1898. This is not to say that the moral safety of the visitors to Montreal's green spaces was of no concern to park promoters in the early years. Unconcerned with the physical condition in which they found Fletcher's Field, the Society for the Protection of Women and Children to the Mayor complained about the "officer there... who will not exercise his authority to stop such lazy loafers" from accosting women and children. President of the Society for the Protection of Women and Children to the Mayor, 26 June, 1890, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-07: Parc Mont-Royal: Améliorations demandées. Perhaps while busy juggling his dual-role of gardener and officer, he favoured the former. This is understandable when the officer's behaviour is juxtaposed with the complaints submitted to the city in the last quarter of the nineteenth- and the opening years of the twentieth-centuries about the policing of Montreal parks. Calling for more vigilant protection of the park trees and grass, a majority of aldermen and citizens emphasized the physical landscape. See, for example, AVM, CPT, minutes of 19 March, 1901, 15 October, 1901, 27 December, 1901, 23 September, 1902, and 30 May, 1904, and AVM, CP, minutes of 16 October, 1901 and 15 January, 1902. For general requests for more police protection which do not stipulate if is the tree that needed protection see, for example AVM, CP, minutes 30 May, 1883, 23 April, 1884, 3 August, 1887, 15 June, 1898, and 11 July, 1903.

¹⁸²Unlike the Park Superintendent at the close of nineteenth-century who required his men to perform gardening, forestry, and general caretaking work, the job description had changed by 1910. When asked what they perceived to be the primary duties of the park superintendent, more than half of the applicants for the St. Helen's Island position in 1909 saw his primary role as that of moral policeman. Whereas M. E. A. Desormeault promised to "maintient de l'ordre public et surtout l'ordre moral," another saw his role as being to protect "les lois de la morale." Whereas M. Brault promised to police "les moeurs... des visiteurs," another stated simply: "voir à ce que la morale soit observée." Unlike their nineteenth-century counterparts who concerned themselves with the broken branch, these men were concerned with upholding public displays of morality. See the applications for the position of Superintendent of St. Helen's Island, undated, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2471.



Policeman at Lafontaine Park, c. 1930. Archives de la ville de Montréal, Photograph Z-160-2.

parks.¹⁸³ In 1914, the Superintendent of Police looked into the feasibility of establishing policemen on bicycle patrol.¹⁸⁴ In the same year, the Bureau des Commissaires considered the Juvenile City's request to police the parks themselves.¹⁸⁵ Although it refused to grant a private agency the right to police Montreal parks in the spring of 1914, the city effectively agreed to it a year later. At the request of the Montreal Juvenile Council of April 1915, the city provided the council's volunteers with badges to police Mount Royal Park.¹⁸⁶ To further offset the chance that Montrealers would carve out a space within a park to have sex, the city also dispatched officers who covered more ground at a speedier rate than the foot patrolman, mounted policemen. First introduced to the mountain park in 1907 as a way to dissuade vagabonds from using the park as their home, the Bureau des Commissaires increased the number of mounted policemen in Mount Royal Park in 1910 in response to several complaints that "des actes d'immoralités se commettent sur la montagne."¹⁸⁷ Like the aldermen who lobbied effectively in 1903 for mounted policemen in Montreal's congested districts, areas which they thought warranted more vigilant policing,¹⁸⁸ the ruling class, comprised of a particular sex (male) and class (privileged), attempted to regulate the sexual practices of the other sex (female) and class (underprivileged) in the name of female virtue.

¹⁸³See, for example, "Le bon ordre dans les parcs," *La Patrie*, 19 mai, 1913. The city, however, was not always able to procure an officer in all the parks. For example, although Rev. J.V. Thérien asked that a police officer be stationed in Cartier Park in the spring of 1915 because young men and women used it in improper ways, the city refused his request because of lack of funds. Instead, the Superintendent of Parks asked the gardener, stationed at the park from 7 a.m. to 6 p.m., to look out for sexual improprieties. See Rev. J.V. Thérien to the Mayor, 3 May, 1915, Report of Superintendent of Police, 17 May, 1915, and Report of Superintendent of Parks, 18 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-05-02, dossier 26945.

¹⁸⁴AVM, BC, minutes of 29 October, 1914.

¹⁸⁵AVM, BC, minutes of 4 May and 20 May, 1914.

¹⁸⁶AVM, BC, minutes of April 12, 1915.

¹⁸⁷Resolution of the BC, 7 March, 1910, AVM, BC, 127-01-02-01, dossier 183. Note that in 1889, the officer in charge of the East district of the city, including Park Lafontaine, unsuccessfully petitioned for horses to enable him to perform his duties in a more thorough manner. See unnamed officer to the CP, 27 March, 1889, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1889.

¹⁸⁸See AVM, CP, minutes of 15 January, 1902, 1 May, 1902, 19 October, 1903, 28 October, 1903, 22 December, 1904, and 2 December, 1907. The number of mounted policemen were as followed: Note that three in 1903, four in 1904, six in 1905 and 1906, and seven in 1907. See Service de la police municipale - Police montée, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00. Documents administratives 1903.

In addition to park policemen's inability to police adequately the sexual practices of young women in parks, fruitful places for sexual encounters, advocates of policewomen pointed to the Morality Squad as an insufficient mechanism. Created in 1910 to enforce the laws related to indecent exposure, decency and morality among others,¹⁸⁹ the department had proven to be ineffectual in its attempts to purify Montreal. Marred with charges of immorality, C.J. Lott's letter in May 1913 was exemplary of the public's perception of this department. Claiming that "the unfortunate young women (prostitutes)" who were brought to No. 4 police station after nightly raids "openly ply their 'trade' [there] with all the brazen affrontry so common to their class," Lott attacked the police department generally and the morality squad specifically:

you will see that I am making the charge that No. 4 police station is rotten and nothing but a Brothel of house of ill-fame and the policemen and members of the so-called morality squad are nothing but libertines of the worst type and any of the girls or young women who have money and a pleasing figure can get all the liquor and cigarette and co-habitation they may need or desire... how some MEN (?) are so debased as to live and prosper by the ill gotten gains of these poor unfortunates and all the while occupying trusted positions on our police force [sic].¹⁹⁰

If policewomen assumed the role of the officers of the morality squad, proponents argued, they would invariably prevent scenes described above from occurring in the parks, among other places. Pioneer policewoman Alice Stebbins Wells of California was aware of this dynamic when she addressed a Montreal audience in 1913: "[a] policeman cannot rightly be expected to see young unattended girls home late at night. It places him in temptation and subjects him also to suspicions from evil-disposed people. This is the work of the policewoman."¹⁹¹ Critical of a dynamic defined by a gender power imbalance which

¹⁸⁹On the duties see Chief Constable of Toronto to the Chief of Police of Montreal, 9 October, 1909. AVM, CP, vm43, 121-12-02-00, Documents administratives 1909.

¹⁹⁰AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-03-02, dossier 14572, letter dated May 22, 1913 from Mr. C.J. Lott. Also see minutes of May 23, and June 10, 1913. On the toleration of vice see the reports of Committee of Sixteen (1918, 1922, 1923); and Hart, *Wake Up! Montreal*, 38. For an analysis of this policy of toleration see Myers, "Criminal Women," chapter 2. For a history of police inquiries and corruption see J-P Brodeur, *La Délinquance de l'ordre. Recherche sur les commissions d'enquete* (Montreal: , 1984).

¹⁹¹"Policewomen are needed in cities," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 November, 1913. The MLCW sponsored her visit. See minutes of 19 November, 1913, 24 November, 1913, and 11 December, 1913. NA, MLCW, m.g. 24, i 164, v. 1-4. Minute book 1913-1915.

facilitated sexual exploitation, this call for policewomen was guided by a desire to accentuate class differentiation between women.

Furthermore, the police matron and the YWCA's Traveller's Aid, the policewoman's predecessors, were deemed inadequate to do this work by the 1910s. Appearing in Montreal in 1885 and 1887 respectively,¹⁹² the former prevented "disgraceful scenes" from occurring when policemen searched detained women and the latter provided "a constant and protective alertness [to] a definite but undefined danger in the very atmosphere of the city for the girl or the young woman."¹⁹³ However, twenty-five years later, neither could adequately deal with the changing urban landscape. Although the MLCW acknowledged that the Traveller's Aid "[was] doing all that its position permits,"¹⁹⁴ its parameters were too narrow. The Council thus began calling for the establishment the office of policewoman.¹⁹⁵ Successfully lobbying the municipal government, it secured, in 1915, the necessary amendments to the city by-law to permit women to serve as sworn constables.¹⁹⁶ Although the MLCW, under the leadership of K.A. Chipman, Convenor of the Reformatory Committee, had to lobby the city for another three years before four women officers, one falling under the auspices of the Council,

¹⁹²On police matrons see AVM, CP, minutes of 26 November and 23 December, 1884. On the Traveller's Aid see Pedersen, "Young Women's Christian Association of Canada," 165.

¹⁹³*Ibid.*, 227.

¹⁹⁴K. Chipman to E. Wand, 13 August, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 24, i 164, v. 7-2. K. Ward, Protective Officer, correspondence and reports, 1918-1919. On the Traveller's Aid limitations also see minutes of 18 March, 1914, NA, MLCW, m.g. 24, i 164, v. 1-4. Minute book 1913-1915.

¹⁹⁵See Mrs. G.L. Kohl to the Mayor, 6 February, 1914, Chief of Police to Mrs. Kohl, 20 February, 1914, Mrs. Lyman to the Chief of Police, 24 February, 1914, Chief of Police to the City Attorney, 26 March, 1914, the Chief of Police to the BC, 3 April, 1914, and City Attorney to the BC, 23 April, 1914, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-04-04, dossier 17956. Also see Mrs. Kohl to the Mayor, 4 February, 1914, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i 164, v. 7-1. Women's patrols 1897-1918, 1942-1945; Minutes of 28 October, 1913 and 3 December, 1913, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i 164, v. 4-3. Minutes of the Sub-Executive 1913-1925; Minutes of 31 January, 1914, 8 February, 1914, and 18 March, 1914, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i 164, v. 1-4. Minute Book 1913-1915, and MLCW, *Annual Reports* (1913-1914). Note that Montreal did have two police women at the time. However, they were not engaged in the type of gendered policing that the council envisioned: employees of the Immigration Department, these women served deportation warrants to women who were to be sent back to their native countries. See "Local Council Move Recalled," *Montreal Star*, December 1942 and "Policewomen days here are recalled," *Montreal Gazette*, December 1942, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, v. 7-1. Women's Patrols 1897-1918, 1942-1945. Juxtapose this to the claim in 1912 that "Montreal... has a woman police officer [with the power to arrest] and has had her for some time. "Woman makes an arrest," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 September, 1912.

¹⁹⁶On this legal point and amendments to the by-law (act 62, vict. 58, art. 562A) see Myers, "Women Policing Women."

became members of and paid by the police department.¹⁹⁷ the presence of these patrolwomen in the parks and squares in the summer of 1918 altered a particular dynamic which had hitherto remained a constant in the parks, men policing the parks.

This particular need for preventive work in war-time Montreal was acute. For example, in the last two years of the war, the number of girls arrested under the Juvenile Delinquent Act had doubled.¹⁹⁸ A Quebec reformer, declaring that "there never was a time when greater moral danger confronted the girls of our large cities," correlated the presence of military men in the city with young women's moral downfall: "[t]here is also the infatuation for khaki which has led many girls to lower the standards of womanhood and recklessly toss away the age-long ideas of modesty and purity."¹⁹⁹ Called on to help these young working women, hailed as the "cancer of immorality,"²⁰⁰ the police woman was a gender-specific solution to a gender-specific problem in a particularly period in history.²⁰¹

In recognition of the seasonality of the immoral conduct it sought to prevent, the MLCW was of the opinion that "summer time offered [the] most profitable opportunity to find [the] need at its strongest."²⁰² The policewomen were thus sworn in on 4 July, 1918. Although historians have stressed reformers' emphasis on the insidious evil of commercialized vice and commercial leisure establishments as the greatest threat to a girl's

¹⁹⁷ Myers, "Criminal Women," 130, 131.

¹⁹⁸ Hart, *Wake Up Montreal*, 41.

¹⁹⁹ *Quebec: On Guard! For a City's Girlhood* as cited in Pedersen, "Young Women's Christian Association of Canada," 273.

²⁰⁰ "Social Evils," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 14:11 (November 1918): 362. These young women were placed within an historical context: "[w]hat would never have been tolerated thirty years ago years ago in decent society... are now allowed with an equanimity that would have shocked our mothers." See "The Social Evil," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 15:3 (March 1919): 74.

²⁰¹ Historians concur that the appearance of the woman police officer in numerous North American cities in World War I was not a result of a shortage in manpower. Myers explains: "[i]n North America, the hiring of women onto police forces had occurred in conjunction with the "Great War" but the motivation and inspiration had more to do with undisciplined leisure habits of the young women than with acute labour shortages. On the problem of venereal diseases during the war see Jay Cassell, *The Secret Plague: Venereal Disease in Canada, 1839-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987), 123. On prostitutes and other "loose" women as constructed as the vectors rather than the receivers of infection see Adams, "In Sickness and in Health," 121.

²⁰² K. Chipman, "Report of Patrol Work for 3 Months. Summer 1918," 18 September, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i 164, 7-1. Women's patrols 1897-1918, 1942, 1945.

virtue,²⁰³ the surviving reports of one of Montreal's policewomen of 1918, Elizabeth Wand, a trained nurse and social worker, suggest that the non-commercial has been neglected in the historiography.²⁰⁴ Surveying the public parks, St. Helen's Island, the Railway stations and the barracks prior to being sworn in,²⁰⁵ Wand's reports on her patrol work are dominated with references to sexual transgressions in Montreal's parks and squares, rather than in dance halls and movie houses. Although she visited the city's moving picture houses, she did not witness what she did in some of Montreal's green spaces.²⁰⁶ Granted, she was appalled at the lack of educational films in the movie houses and called on the city to close some of them.²⁰⁷ She did not, however, see anything akin to the way in which men and women sat on the benches in Windsor Square.²⁰⁸ Nor did she report that soldiers and girls engaged in improper behaviour at dance halls. Rather, she saw soldiers accompanied by a certain "class of women" on Fletcher's Field, the park at the eastern base of the Mount Royal. While patrolling there on a July evening after a great heat wave, she noticed that amid "the mothers and little ones who need[ed] the air were... many unfortunates who need[ed] supervision; soldiers and young girls were there in numbers." A witness to scenes of sexual improprieties, Wand concluded that the flashlight "would

²⁰³See, for example, Piess, *Cheap Amusements*; Meyerowitz, *Women: Adrift: Strange, Toronto's Girl Problem*; Myers, "Criminal Women," 178-180, and Diana Pedersen, "Keeping Our Good Girls Good: The YWCA and the 'Girl Problem,' 1870-1930," *Canadian Women's Studies* 7:4 (Winter 1984): 20-24.

²⁰⁴For example, four months before Wand began patrolling the parks and squares, the Bureau des Commissaires refused to amend by-law 432 which would have obliged proprietors of dance halls to hire a matron. AVM, BC, minutes of 22 March, 1918. Also note that fourteen years prior, the city chose not to police commercial amusements: in April 1904, the Chief of Police turned down the request of the manager of Sparrow's Theatre that constables be placed in the interior of the theatres. AVM, PC, minutes of 13 April, 1904.

²⁰⁵K. Chipman, "Report Patrol Work for 3 Months, Summer 1918," 18 September, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, v. 7-1. Women's patrols 1897-1918, 1942-1945.

²⁰⁶When policewomen were reinstituted as members of the police force in 1946 after this brief six month experiment in 1918, they were enlisted to patrol parks specifically. See "25 women to be enlisted strengthen police force, *Montreal Star*, 1 February, 1946; "City ready to act on parks conduct," *Montreal Gazette*, 2 February, 1946, and "Women accepted on police force after campaign by Local Council," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 March, 1946, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, file

²⁰⁷E. Wand, "Resume for September 1918 for Local Council of Women," 30 September, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, v. 7-2. K. Ward, protective officer - correspondence and report 1918-1919.

²⁰⁸E. Wand, "Resume of Work for Local Council of Women, July 1918," 31 July, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, e. 164, v. 7-2. K. Ward, protective officer - correspondence and report 1918-1919.

have been of great service" in the park that night.²⁰⁹ Explicitly hired to tackle the girl problem in Montreal, the policewoman was the last of a string of strategies to keep both the girls and the parks pure.

Conclusion:

As in the case of the drinker and the loafer in the park, the policewoman's target was class and gender-specific. The drinking father, loafing man, and promiscuous young working woman were also bound by the de-stabilizing force they represented in the park, a domestic enclave which was to inculcate social and economic stability generally and female propriety, domestic harmony, capitalism, and respectable heterosexuality specifically. As a consequence, all three endured informal and formal attacks to keep them out of parks so as to ensure that the values they embodied did not become inscribed in park space.

²⁰⁹*Ibid.* On soldiers and young women in depots, around barracks, and in public squares also see E. Wand, "Resume of Work for Local Council of Women During Month of August," 31 August, 1918, and E. Wand, "Resume of Work Done by the Protective Officer for Local Council and City - From June 1918 to January 15, 1919," undated, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, v. 7-2. K. Ward, protective officer - correspondence and report 1918-1919. As were policewomen in other cities, Wand concerned herself with the rampant sexual liaisons between soldiers and girls and set out to "protect girls from the excitement and thoughtlessness produced by the emotions of war playing upon the emotions of sex." Less naive than the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, whose inability to conceptualize of Montreal parks as a space in which soldier and young women entangled themselves sexually led them to place benches in the city's parks in August 1917 for returning soldiers, Wand benefited from a pamphlet for women protective officers: "the social hygiene problem created by this war is NOT a problem of commercialized vice.... It is a problem of the individual soldier and the individual girl - the man is away from his ordinary amusements and social life, the girl responding to the unusual and romantic glamour of the uniform... The soldier's uniform makes the strongest appeal to the feminine heart... kindness to him becomes a sort of patriotism." *Training School for Women Protective Officers* cited in K. Chipman, "Patrol Women (1917-1918) Report," 6 February, 1918, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, file 7-1. Women's patrols 1897-1918, 1942-1945. Also see minutes of 23 June, 1915, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i. 164, v. 4-3. Minutes of the Sub-Executive, 1913-1925. At this meeting, the Suffrage Association and the Council considered the question of immorality among soldiers in the barracks, and suggested that women patrols be established with the power to deal with women and girls in these areas. On the Imperial Order's bench project see AVM, BC, minutes of 22 August, 1917. On the use of patriotic arguments to justify the state's intrusion in the sex lives of young women see Committee of Sixteen, *Preliminary Report of an Unofficial Organization upon the Vice Conditions in Montreal*, 1918, 42. These reformers argued that "[p]atriotism demands that we bring about the moral betterment of our city, and make it safe for the return of our noble soldiers as the least that we can do to show our appreciation of their efforts in bringing victory to our cause."

CHAPTER IV

MONTREAL PLAYGROUNDS: CONSTRUCTING THE (ANGLO-SAXON) NATION AND CONTAINING (MALE) VICES

Just as the movement from the scenic to the neighbourhood park in the late nineteenth-century was a way to redirect popular leisure, so was the creation of the playground and athletic field in the early twentieth-century. This process, which began in Montreal in 1902 under the rubric of Playgrounds Committee of the MPPA, a committee composed of all women within an elite anglophone organization symbolically headed by Montreal's leading men,¹ not only led to a reorganization of open space, but also inscribed the sports field and supervised playground with a different meaning than the spacious scenic park and small neighbourhood park.² Unlike the scenic and the neighbourhood parks, the former a beautifully landscaped heterosocial space for passive recreation for the respectable family, and the latter a place of restful pleasure for the mother and child, the MPPA constructed the sports field and playground as active, age- and class-specific, homosocial, male-focused spaces in which to contain male juvenile delinquency, sublimate young men's heterosexual urges and channel Montreal's working-class (anglophone,

¹In addition to the elected positions of President, First and Second Vice-Presidents, Treasurer and Secretary, the MPPA had a Board of Directors consisting of thirty elected Directors. Subdividing the organization into two main branches, the Board of Directors appointed annually two committees: the Parks Committee, "for the purpose of protecting, preserving, and developing existing Parks and Playgrounds, and where opportunity arises, for securing desirable park-land," and the Playgrounds Committee, "for the purpose of acquiring, holding, preparing and superintending Playgrounds for children." On the structure of the organization see "Parks and Playgrounds Association, 1902," MUA, MPPA, mg 2079, c. 9, file 358. History of the MPPA 1902-1924. After the brief presidency of Mrs. William Peterson in 1902 and 1903, the office of the Presidency was occupied by men throughout the first decades of the twentieth-century. Although not exclusively male, the men on the Board of Directors, who included Recorder S. Weir, Frank Redpath, A.E. Ogilvie, Gregory Lyman, and Senators F.L. Beique and R. Dandurand far outnumbered the women, who included Lady Drummond, Lady Hingston, Mrs. Logan, Mrs. Ogilvie, and Miss Van Horne. See MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1903-1930).

²On the development of playground movement as an outgrowth of, yet separate from, the park movement see Boyer, *Urban Masses*, 236-244; Cranz, *The Politics of Park Design*, and Delehany, "San Francisco Parks and Playgrounds." On early calls for playgrounds see Bruce Curtis, "The Playground in Nineteenth-Century Ontario: Theory and Practice," *Material History Review* 22 (Fall 1985): 21-30.

francophone, and immigrant) children into their appropriate places in a nation identified as Anglo-Saxon.

A tenuous project in a bilingual city with conflicting visions of the nation, in this chapter I chart how the MPPA's gender-, class-, and ethnic- specific project essentialized basic constructs which were deeply artificial, namely the Anglo-Saxon nation, the male citizen, the heterosexual youth, the female homemaker, and the male breadwinner. I first contextualize the MPPA's work within the larger North American movement to organize play. I then juxtapose the MPPA's stated commitment to servicing impoverished neighbourhoods with its obvious emphasis on predominantly anglophone districts. I then link this bias with the association's struggle for the (Anglo-Saxon) nation inhabited by a gendered citizenry. I then chart how the MPPA, identifying the playground and athletic field as spaces in which to channel delinquent behaviour in boys and young men, fit girls into its project. Turning briefly to supervision, I then trace how the MPPA trained the supervisor to ensure the survival of the virile heterosexual man and the perpetuation of gender-specific employment opportunities.

The Discovery of the Working-Class Child and the Formulation of Play Theories

This movement for play space arose at a particular historical moment when middle-class social reformers "discovered" working-class children.³ Committed to nurturing (sentimental) rather than training (economic) children in the rapidly industrializing and increasingly impoverished city, children were now exalted as "precious" rather than valued

³On this discovery see Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform*, chap. 2. On the discovery of childhood as a separate life stage in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Europe see the pioneering work of Phillippe Ariès, *Centuries of Childhood: A Social History of Family Life* (New York: Knopf, 1962). On the rise of "youth" as a category in history see John Gillis, "Youth in History: Progress and Prospects," *Journal of Social History* 7:2 (Winter, 1974): 200-207.

as economic assets.⁴ Although incongruent with the material realities of working families,⁵ these sentimental middle-class "Child Savers" were nevertheless concerned with the conditions in which the poor children lived because they drew a direct correlation between the slum environment and moral development.⁶ In Montreal, this focus on the poor child became evident during the Child Welfare Exhibition of October 1912. The organizers of this educational campaign, positing that it was through the "concentration on the problems of childhood [that]... the Conservation of our people will occur," looked at "[a]ll the environing forces that go to make or mar the upbringing of our young people, hygienic, physical, moral and intellectual."⁷ Rather than simply serve as an educative tool, this Exhibition was designed to propel Montrealers to act, to rescue the child and salvage the young from the depravity of slum life, which included a high infant mortality rate, the poor quality of baby's milk, the unsanitary housing conditions in the congested districts, and the lack of play space and organized social life for childhood and young people. Products of

⁴Carl Degler, *At Odds: Women and the Family in America from the Revolution to the Present* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 73. Also see Tannis Peikoff and Stephen Brickey, "Creating Precious Children and Glorified Mothers: A Theoretical Assessment of the Transformation of Childhood," in Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds, and Alvin Esau, eds., *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute of the University of Manitoba, 1991), 29-62. On the "sacralization" of children at the turn-of-the-century, which entailed their removal from the "cash nexus" to that of emotional and affective asset see Viviana Zelizer, *Pricing the Priceless Child: The Changing Social Value of Children* (New York: Basic Books, 1985). Also see Neil Sutherland, *Children in English Canadian Society. Framing the Twentieth Century Consensus* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), in which he puts forward a similar argument.

⁵On child labour in Canada see, for example, Chad Gaffield, "Labouring and Learning in Nineteenth-Century Canada: Children in the Changing Process of Family Reproduction," in Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds, and Alvin Esau, eds., *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute of the University of Manitoba, 1991), 13-28; Joy Parr, *Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada 1869-1924* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980), and Bradbury, *Working Families*.

⁶On "Child Savers" in Canada see, for example, John Bullen, "J.J. Kelso and the 'New' Child-savers: The Genesis of the Children's Aid Movement in Ontario," in Russell Smandych, Gordon Dodds, and Alvin Esau, eds., *Dimensions of Childhood: Essays on the History of Children and Youth in Canada* (Winnipeg: Legal Research Institute of the University of Manitoba, 1991), 135-158. For a discussion on the relationship between environment and morality, see "The urban poor and sexual mores," chapter II.

⁷"Child Welfare Exhibition," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 8:6 (June 1912): 222, and "Child Welfare Exhibition," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 8:9 (September 1912): 350-351. Also see Child Welfare Exhibition, *Souvenir Pamphlet* (Montreal, 1912).

this era which had committed itself to rescuing working-class children, the elite anglophone women of the MPPA were propelled into action.⁸

The MPPA's call for playgrounds occurred within a particular intellectual tradition which had developed gender-specific biological and psychological theories on sports and child development. The early Victorian bourgeoisie believed that manliness was achieved through work and spiritual expression, rather than through leisure and physical activity. In the second half of the nineteenth-century, sport, however, was reformulated as a means through which manly virtues could be maintained among middle-class men and fostered in working-class boys.⁹ A period in history during which there was a sense that the nation was becoming effeminized,¹⁰ this became a struggle over the survival of the Anglo-Saxon, Christian, and manly nation. Just as heterosexual-, male-, and ethnic-privilege was inscribed in this new theory of sport, encapsulated in the concept "Muscular Christianity," it was also basic to the scientific study of play which arose at the turn-of-the-century.¹¹ Exercise, previously thought to foster indolence, and physicality, previously conceived as a corrupting force in the realms of spirit and beauty,¹² were now thought to be basic to a new scientific, rational and controlled way to play. American psychologist G. Stanley Hall's

⁸Not all Montrealers believed that reformers and city officials should employ "child saving" strategies. In an 1913 unsigned letter to city officials, the writer expressed his/her outrage at the city's preoccupation with Montreal's youth. Incensed at the request of the newly formed Association du bien-etre de la jeunesse for a \$15,000 subsidy from the city to fight alcoholism, cigarette smoking, and blasphemy by providing Montreal's youth with concerts, educational movies, playgrounds and athletic fields, he/she believed that while it was be advisable for the city to spend money on the old and orphaned, he/she objected to the money being spent on young people: "nous sommes en danger de perdre leur ame sans les \$15,000... Je n'ai pas souvenir n'avoir jamais entendu parler d'une demande aussi effrontée et audacieuse que celle-là [sic]." Unsigned letter to the BC, 23 December, 1913, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-04-01, dossier 17064.

⁹Roberta J. Park, "Biological Thought, Athletics and the Formation of a 'Man of Character': 1830-1900," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 7-34; E. Anthony Rotundo, "Learning About Manhood: Gender Ideals and the Middle-Class Family in Nineteenth-Century America," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 35-51, and E. Anthony Rotundo, *American Manhood: Transformations in Masculinity from the Revolution to the Modern Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1993).

¹⁰Park, "Biological Thought," 19, and Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 99, 114.

¹¹On Muscular Christianity see John Springhall, "Building Character in the British Boy: The Attempt to Extend Christian Manliness to Working-Class Adolescents, 1880-1914," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 52-72.

¹²Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*, 19-21.

"recapitulation theory" provided the biological rationale for this ideological shift; Hall believed that humans had acquired the fundamental impulse to play during the evolution of the race and in each stage from birth to adulthood, a person rehearsed in a proximate way each stage of human development.¹³

The Playground Committee of the MPPA was greatly influenced by this scientific theory of play. Like the theorists who provided the scientific rationale for the playground, the women of this committee also spoke of play as a "natural instinct" and recreation as "mapped out for us... by the laws of nature."¹⁴ Directed by biology and guided by God, one playground advocate explained that "the suppression or perversion of the play instinct leads to evil results... If God gives the instinct, man [sic] ought to provide the place."¹⁵ The space in which Montreal's "youth [should] vent their natural impulses," a process these social reformers thought was "every child's birthright," was, first and foremost, a space carved out for the impoverished male child.¹⁶ Although one playground advocate identified "play as an inherent instinct," he also admitted that his focus was on the working-class boy: "there is a large class of boys from homes where conditions are not normal."¹⁷ However, before we turn to the MPPA's gender-specific project, channeling the male child's sex-specific "instincts" by "satisfy[ing] his normal craving for exciting and violent activity,"¹⁸ we must first explore the extent to which the association's gender- (male) and class- (poor) specific target was also English-speaking.

¹³See Benjamin G. Rader, "The Recapitulation Theory of Play: Motor Behaviour, Moral Reflexes and Manly Attitudes in Urban America, 1880-1920," in J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, eds., *Manliness and Morality: Middle Class Masculinity in Britain and America* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1987), 123-135, and Mrozek, "The Natural Limits." Also see G. Stanley Hall's influential *Adolescence*, vol. 1 (New York: Appleton, 1904; repr., New York: Appleton, 1907).

¹⁴Mrs. John Cox, "What the Playgrounds Association Wants for Montreal," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909. Also see "Playgrounds for the Children," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

¹⁵"Public Playgrounds in the City of Winnipeg," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 314. Winnipeg Playground Commission Programme 1911.

¹⁶"Give the children a chance," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 27 September, 1924," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925, and Helen McArran, Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal, 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178.

¹⁷"Proper guidance of boys urgent question today," *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁸MPPA pamphlet, 12 January, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3 file 129. Historical Documents

The MPPA and the West End: The Focus on English Montreal

The MPPA opened its first two playgrounds (Royal Arthur in Notre Dame de Grace and Berthelet Street in St. Antoine ward) in the summer of 1903 as a result of a loan of two school yards by the Protestant School Board. Although the association added three more the following summer on pieces of land granted by the city (Dyke and Charlevoix) and the Catholic School Board (Montcalm), it could not expand its work at a rate it deemed necessary.¹⁹ Operating, on average, six playgrounds each year between 1903 and 1930 (see figure 4.1), the MPPA, aware that Montreal ranked very poorly among other North American cities,²⁰ pressed the city for more playgrounds. An example of "private enterprise... point[ing] the way to public responsibility,"²¹ the city supplemented the playgrounds operated by the MPPA with its own two in 1913, eight in 1921, and sixteen in 1928.²² Although the MPPA did provide 467,737 children with playground space in 1925

1902-1948. Another playground advocate also essentialized male aggression in formulating his gender-specific argument: "[e]very child was born with many instincts, and these should be directed along normal expressive lines, rather than repressed... Boys should be allowed to fight their battles with their companions on playgrounds... Repressed in boyhood, the pugnacious instinct will not develop in manhood to the best results." See "Let boys battle on playgrounds," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 July, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁹MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1903, 1904).

²⁰

City (1912)	# of Plgs	Population	Expenditure	Per Cap.
Montreal	4	550,000	\$ 3,051.43	0.005
Toronto	13	376,240	\$16,694.00	0.05
Winnipeg	13	135,430	\$12,000.00	0.09
St. Louis	12	687,029	\$18,358.66	0.03
Cleveland	39	560,663	\$23,245.24	0.04
Detroit	24	465,766	\$19,214.55	0.04
Los Angeles	15	319,198	\$49,528.79	0.15
San Francisco	18	416,912	\$75,500.00	0.18
Pittsburgh	52	533,905	\$96,797.55	0.18
Buffalo	12	423,715	\$92,545.30	0.22

Source: "The Recreational Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," Appendix III, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 333.

²¹Helen McArray, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 1921, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178.

²²MPPA, *Annual Report* (1913); "The Montreal Playground Movement," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 15:8 (August 1914): 324; Helen McArray, "Survey of Playgrounds," and "The Playgrounds Question," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 July, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2070, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

as compared to 36,020 twenty years prior.²³ Montreal remained underserved despite the municipal government's contributions. Lamenting in 1924 that "little progress in last ten years had been made," Montreal still ranked far below other North American cities.²⁴

The scant services of the MPPA were, however, distributed unevenly. Although the association complained of the want of play space in the predominantly francophone east end,²⁵ an underprivileged boy's chances of residing near a playground operated by the MPPA in the first decades of the twentieth-century were greatly enhanced if he was English-speaking. As illustrated in figure 4.1, twenty-four of the thirty-three playgrounds operated by the MPPA in its first three decades were located west of St. Lawrence Blvd., the traditional divide which separated the west (anglophone) from the east (francophone).²⁶ In fact, in this period, there were some years during which the MPPA serviced only residents of the predominantly anglophone ward of St. Ann and others during which the predominantly English-speaking Montrealers residing in Notre Dame de Grâce (NDG), Côte St. Paul, Point St. Charles, and St. Antoine ward could enjoy MPPA-run playgrounds.²⁷ Stated more starkly, of the total number years of operation between 1903 and 1930, eighty-eight percent were carried out in west-end playgrounds. Thus, when the MPPA spoke publicly of the dire need for playgrounds in congested districts, it wrote privately that "more careful consideration should be given to the location of our grounds in

²³"MPPA Historical Record, 1925," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2070, c. 3, file 129, Historical Documents 1902-1948.

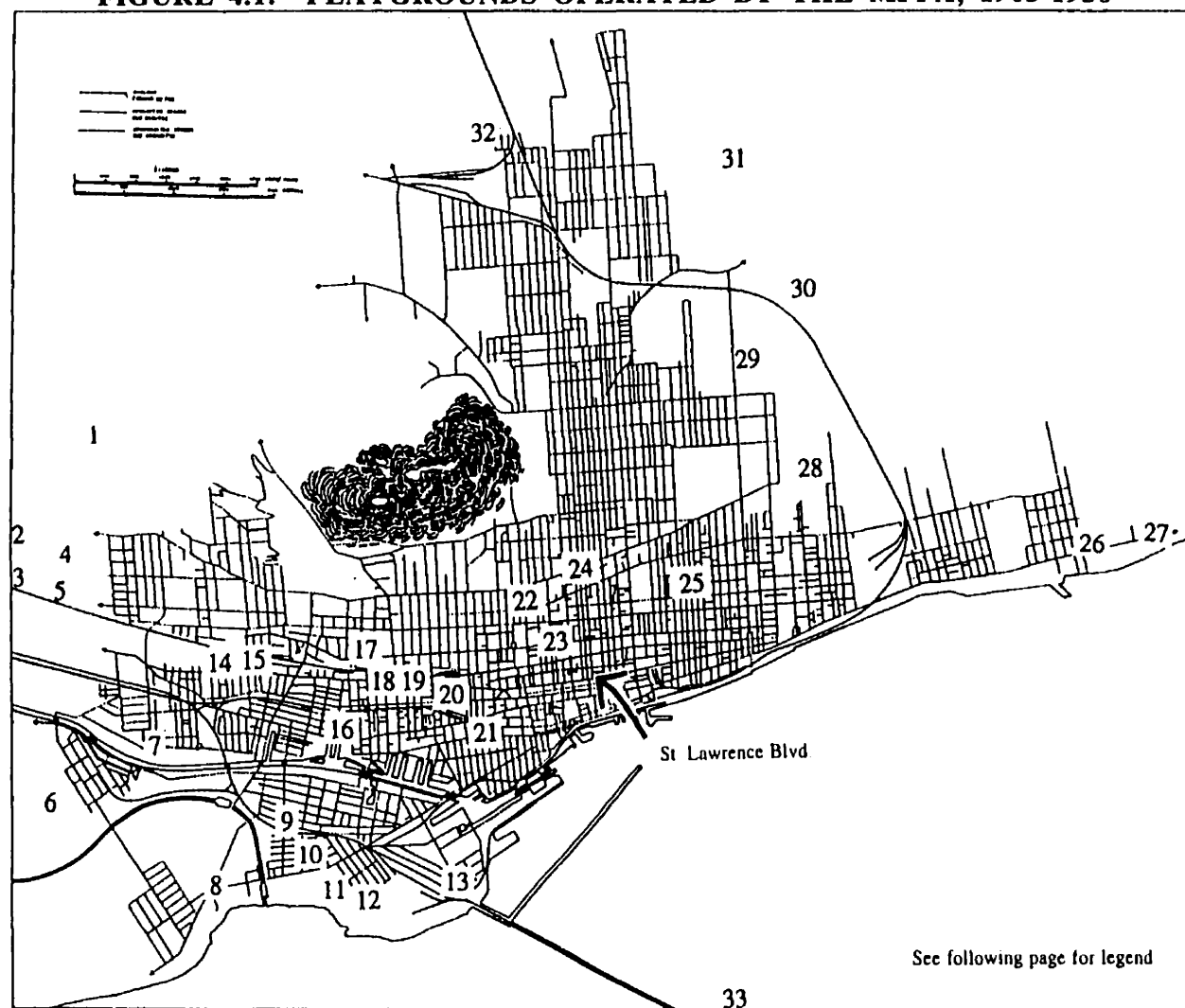
²⁴"Playgrounds are needed in city," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. Compare Montreal's eleven supervised playgrounds for a population of nearly one million people in 1926 (on which the MPPA spent \$16,000.00 and the city \$40,000.00) to Toronto's thirty-nine for a population of 650,000 (with a budget of \$162,000.00) or to Milwaukee, which had half of Montreal's population, with more than double the number of playgrounds and with an operating budget of \$281,000.00. See "City is lacking playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 18 June, 1926, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

²⁵MPPA, *Annual Report* (1903).

²⁶I have included St. Lambert's playground, located on the south shore, as falling on the anglophone side of the divide.

²⁷In 1914 and 1915, the MPPA operated Hibernia, Royal Arthur, and Dyke, all located in St. Ann's Ward. In 1923, the MPPA operated MacDonald (NDG), Cote St. Paul, Hibernia and Victoriatown (Point St. Charles), and Stephen's Estate (St. Antoine). The following year, it added DesRivières (St. Antoine). Also note that in 1903, 1910, 1912, and 1922, the MPPA only operated playgrounds located west of St. Lawrence Blvd.

FIGURE 4.1: PLAYGROUNDS OPERATED BY THE MPPA, 1903-1930



Locations are approximate. Base map of Montreal, 1901: David Hanna, 1984. Source for Playgrounds Operated by the MPPA, 1903-1930: MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1903-1930).

FIGURE 4.1: PLAYGROUNDS OPERATED BY THE MPPA, 1903-1930

Number	Name of Playground	Years in Operation
1	MacDonald	1922-1924
2	Western	1929, 1930
3	Trenholm	1930
4	Notre Dame de Grâce	1930
5	Gilson School	1927-1930
6	Côte St. Paul	1919-1926
7	St. Henri South	1927-1930
8	Verdun	1925-1930
9	Charlevoix	1904-1908
10	Hibernia	1909-1926
11	Riverside	1925-1930
12	Dyke	1904-1918
13	Victoriatown	1922-1930
14	St. Henri North	1926-1929
15	St. Antoine/Brewster	1913
16	Royal Arthur	1903-1909, 1911-1921, 1924, 1926
17	Stephen's Estate	1922-1924
18	Richmond Square	1925
19	Negro Community Centre	1927, 1929
20	DesRivières	1921, 1922, 1924
21	Haymarket Square	1925
22	Berthelet Street	1903-1913
23	Dufferin Square	1909-1913
24	Sherbrook/St. Lawrence	1913
25	Montcalm	1904-1909, 1911
26	Morgan	1926, 1927
27	Maisonneuve	1928
28	Baldwin	1925
29	Delorimier	1916-1921, 1929, 1930
30	Rosemount	1925-1930
31	Amherst	1927-1930
32	Greenshield	1917-1919
33	St. Lambert (south shore)	1927-1930

communities which have as large as possible percentage of Protestant children."²⁸ Intimately connected to this unwritten rule was this elite Protestant anglophone association's narrow conceptualization of the nation.

The Struggle for the Nation

Knowing that "[t]he nation that wishes to survive must reckon with the child,"²⁹ the MPPA identified its struggle for playgrounds as a struggle for the nation. On one level, these playground advocates spoke publicly of this struggle as one which was ethnically- and racially-blind: the playground would help provide the "new basis of civilization" and "bring up the mighty race," they argued.³⁰ Wanting "to see grow up in Canada a race of manly men and womanly women," the MPPA declared that the playgrounds were open to all, without regard to race, creed, or religion, devoid of racial or ethnic conflict, and were spaces in which English children gained knowledge of French and French children English.³¹ However, this sanitized version of nation-building did not reflect accurately the particular dynamic of an English Protestant organization headed by an elite group of women administering the playground services in a bilingual (French/English) and a multi-racial city. Conceptualizing the "nation" as a white Anglo-Protestant political entity, the

²⁸"Suggested principles for the establishment of a policy," 10 December, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948. Juxtapose this statement with the lobbying work of University Settlement to keep the municipal playground at Dufferin Square open in 1915 on the grounds that the district was largely immigrant. Dr. Hersey to the BC, 25 May, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-05-04, dossier 27355.

²⁹"The Child and the Nation," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 14:7 (July 1918): 206.

³⁰"The value of settlement work," *Montreal Witness*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and Caroline Cox, "Open Spaces," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

³¹"The children's chances," *Montreal Star*, 25 June, 1902, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917; Playgrounds' president discusses the movement," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925, and MPPA, *Annual Report* (1906). For an exception to this rule of racial harmony see "Play centres were popular yesterday," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July, 1923, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. In this article, a University Settlement worker recounts an incident at Dufferin Square during which a Swede acted as peacemaker when problems arose between a Jewish boy, a Chinese boy and a "Negro" boy. Also note that the MPPA operated a playground at the Negro Community Centre to serve the "coloured population" under the direction of a "qualified coloured supervisor" in 1927 and 1929. See MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1927, 1929).

MPPA, in fact, relied on a particular racialized discourse on the nation in its championing of the playground.³²

Although the MPPA did favour anglophone neighbourhoods, it nevertheless operated its own playgrounds and provided supervisors in municipal playgrounds in all districts of the city. A basic component of the MPPA's nationalist project was thus to incorporate the "Other" (Montreal's francophone majority and the immigrant minority) into the "whole" (a loyal British entity within the Empire). In their study of leisure in Alberta from 1896 to 1945, Donald Wetherell and Irene Kmet argue that playgrounds were designed to "encourage patriotism by promoting 'one community' through play, and specifically, a community based upon English Canadian ideals."³³ Although Captain William Bowie, Secretary-Supervisor of the MPPA in the 1910s and 1920s, stated that playgrounds in Montreal were "more complex than in other cities because of the different races and nationalities," the organization nevertheless made a valiant attempt to "uphold Canadian ideals" and teach these "numerous races and nationalities... to adopt the same methods of integrity, honesty and loyalty."³⁴

The francophone majority in Montreal constituted the first "complication." In his 1916 report, Bowie congratulated the organization for devising a strategy to minimize this obstacle. Praising the MPPA for having the foresight to send an English supervisor to the municipal playground in Lafontaine Park, located in and servicing a predominantly francophone community, he wrote: "it certainly was a genial idea to send this lady... amongst all those young French ladies. [The] young generation... learned some English while very busy at play."³⁵ A space in which to anglicize francophone youth, this telling

³²For a similar trend in turn-of-the-century England see Anna Davin, "Imperialism and Motherhood," *History Workshop Journal* 5 (Spring 1978): 10.

³³Donald Wetherell and Irene Kmet, *Useful Pleasures: The Shaping of Leisure in Alberta, 1896-1945* (Edmonton: Alberta Culture and Multiculturalism/Canadian Plains Research Centre, 1990), 100.

³⁴"Should have more playgrounds in city," *Montreal Star*, undated, and "Record attendance at city playgrounds expected this season," *Montreal Star*, 18 March, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

³⁵MPPA, *Annual Report* (1916).

report represented a direct affront to the French-Canadian nationalist movement, which identified anglicization and assimilation as the two basic fronts against which French-Canadian nationalism fought and the French language, in particular, as the "keeper of faith."³⁶ Certainly the nation to which the MPPA was committed was incongruous with French-Canadian nationalists' quest for preservation.³⁷

This Anglo-Saxon organization, declaring that "the future of the race" depended on the children for whom they provided playgrounds,³⁸ also singled out the poor immigrant as a de-stabilizing force in this project. Unlike other social reformers who supported a policy of restricted immigration and eugenic practices for the physically and morally degenerate in the name of a strong, healthy (Anglo-Saxon) nation,³⁹ the MPPA adhered to a racial ideology rooted in the principle of assimilating immigrant populations. By the time the organization was founded, the immigrant had already been constructed as a filthy foreigner who endangered Montreal children:

we have evidence that into the population of this big city some of the dirtiest and most degraded of the off-scouring of Europe - foul with loathsome skin diseases, filthy in their habits - have been absorbed. The appearances are that we are allowing the children of Montreal to be at the mercy of irresponsible, often debased and not over-clean foreigners.⁴⁰

³⁶See Denis Monière, *Ideologies in Quebec: The Historic Development*, trans. Richard Howard (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1981). Also see Susan Mann Robertson, "Variations on a Nationalist Theme: Henri Bourassa and Abbé Groulx in the 1920s," *Historical Papers* (1970): 109-119, in which she identifies a slight difference between Bourassa and Groulx, the intellectual leaders of the movement in the first two decades of the twentieth-century: whereas Bourassa prioritized religion over linguistics, Groulx believed the two could not be split.

³⁷Note that in 1929 Mgr. Robert Lagueux and Abbé Arthur Ferland founded L'Oeuvre des terrains de jeux. Affiliated with action Catholique, it had four purposes: civic, educational, moral and national. In the case of its national project, it differed greatly from the MPPA insofar as it sought to inculcate in children the Catholic and French influence. By 1936, the organization had four playgrounds under its control. See *L'oeuvre des terrains de jeux* (février 1936).

³⁸"The children's chances," *Montreal Star*, 25 June, 1902. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

³⁹See Carol Bacchi, "Race Regeneration and Social Purity. A Study of the Social Attitudes of Canada's English Speaking Suffragists," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 11:22 (novembre/November 1978): 460-474, and Angus McLaren, *Our Own Master Race: Eugenics in Canada, 1885-1945* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1990). On the "National Efficiency" movement in England expressed in terms of social Darwinism, eugenics, and imperialism see Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform*, 132. She argues that [t]he interests of imperialists, their desire to produce an imperial race, merged... with the ambitions of social reformers who had concerned themselves with health conditions and social welfare in general."

⁴⁰"An awful responsibility," *Montreal Star*, 25 June 1902. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

Operating within a system in which, according to J.S. Woodsworth, "[m]ost Canadians despise[d] the foreigner," the MPPA was committed to "Canadianize" the latter.⁴¹ In her 1921 survey of playgrounds in Montreal, Helen McArran of the MPPA was explicit as to what constituted "Canadian:" "[i]f we Anglo-Saxons have not clung to our precious inheritance of play, what about the immigrant?... Except for baseball and crap-shooting and marbles, the foreign child seems to absorb very little of our waning Canadian tradition of play." Identifying the playground as the "chief Canadianizing influence of the day."⁴² these women of the MPPA, like their British counterparts, certainly knew that "[t]rue play [was] the carrier of social traditions" and the traditions to which they subscribed were British: [t]his scheme of play [was] not for the well-behaved, clean, beribboned and pinafores children alone..., but for the crude and uncouth, the noisy, impudent little street Arabs who have had false starts in life, with everything against them."⁴³ William Bowie, in praising the daily flag raising ceremony on Montreal playgrounds, further elucidated this relationship between play space and the MPPA's conceptualization of the nation as Anglo-Saxon; the flag to which Bowie was referring and under which Montreal children were to be united was the Union Jack.⁴⁴

The particulars of this nationalist project became glaringly clear in the war years. While the MPPA declared that the "needs of children [were] most pressing of all patriotic duties,"⁴⁵ French-Canadian nationalists "unpatriotically" denounced English imperialism;

⁴¹J.S. Woodsworth, "The Immigrant Invasion After the War," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 12:4 (April 1916): 124.

⁴²Helen McArran, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal, 1921," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 178. For a blatant example in the American context see "Public playground adjoining every public school is ambition of men and women who have fought for the children's interests," *Buffalo Courier*, 12 June 1904, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Buffalo businessperson and philanthropist Melvin Porter explained the need for playgrounds: "But now rapid immigration from Southern and Eastern Europe has flooded our country with races not knowing our language, ignorant of our customs, not sharing our ideals, whose children are out of school at an early age and poorly equipped mentally or physically for the hard struggle of life."

⁴³Play advocate cited in Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform*, 174.

⁴⁴"Flag presented to playground," *Montreal Star*, 10 July, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

⁴⁵MPPA, *Annual Report* (1916). The MPPA endured financial problems during the war years; the city grant of \$2000.00 decreased to \$1000.00 with the advent of the war and plunged to \$500.00 in 1918. It was raised to \$900.00 in 1923. "History of the MPPA," undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129.

whereas Henri Bourassa considered the war a logical outcome of imperialist tendencies. Lionel Groulx "saw the real enemy not in Europe but in Canada, in the guise of Anglo-Saxon [and] conscription."⁴⁶ Allying its domestic (playground) work with the work of the British-led Canadian troops overseas, the MPPA saw its patriotic duty as inculcating loyalty in francophone children to the nation-state which had conquered their ancestors two centuries prior; unable to conceptualize the flag as anything but that which "represent[ed] a long struggle for freedom," the MPPA's wartime "patriotism" was, in fact, a direct affront to the French-Canadian struggle against Anglo-Saxon dominance.⁴⁷ Similarly, when the MPPA spoke of "reconstruction" at the close of the war, it knew that the playground, a place "to train boys and girls, that they may grow into useful men and women, and be better citizens [sic]," was of acute importance for the immigrant child in particular.⁴⁸ As Woodsworth had warned British Canada:

[t]his war has clearly revealed to us what we had only begun to suspect - that we had in our midst large numbers of undigested aliens who might at any time cause of serious disturbance within our body politic... The fact is that the Canadian unification is still far from complete, and the introduction of foreign elements is making the process extremely complicated and difficult.⁴⁹

Linking healthy play to a strong nation, the MPPA's post-war agenda was necessarily exclusionary. As Nira Yuval-Davis informs us, nationalism is not an inherently inclusive endeavor but that which entails processes of exclusion and inclusion in its definition of an ethnic and national collective.⁵⁰

Historical Documents 1902-1948.

⁴⁶Robertson, "Variation of a Nationalist Theme," 117. On the poor enlistment rates of French-Canadians, the conscription debate, and anti conscription violence see Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal*, 323.

⁴⁷Woodsworth, "The Immigrant Invasion," 124.

⁴⁸MPPA, *Annual Report* (1918).

⁴⁹J.S. Woodsworth, "The Immigrant Invasion after the War - Are we ready for it?," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 12:3 (March 1916): 87. Also see his article entitled "How to Make True Canadians," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 12:2 (February 1916): 49, in which he cites the playground as an answer to the question: "What can we do to make our foreign immigration into good Canadian citizens?"

⁵⁰Nira Yuval-Davis, "Gender and Nation," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 16:4 (October 1993): 624.

The MPPA, which believed that "[a] nation's health [was] a nation's wealth,"⁵¹ also attributed a particular sex and sexual orientation to this construction of nationhood. As will be discussed below, the organization overwhelmingly concerned itself with boys and the provision of spaces in which they could engage in athletics. Basic to this gendered physical health program was the belief that the strong man was a metaphor for a strong nation: [t]o unmake the boy [was] to unmake the nation," the MPPA argued.⁵² Placing the future of the nation in the hands of the boy, he thus had to be physically fit. Although "Canadians [were] proud of their sturdy sons,"⁵³ as one reporter claimed in 1910, World War I instilled fear among playground advocates. Dr. A.S. Lamb, Director of the McGill School of Physical Education in the 1920s and 1930s and President of the MPPA in the 1940s, was appalled that sixty percent of Canadian recruits were unfit through lack of physical training in early childhood, and connected this physical degeneracy among men to the fall of the racialized nation: unless "more care is taken in producing and maintaining physical fitness" there would be serious consequences for the "future of [the] race," he warned.⁵⁴ Because the saviour of the race was sex-specific, it was the "little soldiers of tomorrow [who] must not be forgotten in our efforts for the soldiers of to-day."⁵⁵

⁵¹"A nation's health is a nation's wealth," *Montreal Gazette*, 20 November, 1928. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

⁵²"Big problem here calls for action," *Montreal Gazette*, 30 July, 1914, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁵³"Let the youngsters breathe," *Montreal Herald*, 19 December, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-02-03, dossier 4366.

⁵⁴"Physical training for the young," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. Elsewhere, Lamb claims that thirty-three of men examined for war were found unfit. See "Physical fitness as national duty," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 October, 1924. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1924.

⁵⁵MPPA, *Annual Report* (1918). The MPPA's construction of the manly, vigorous man as the emblem of national identity is consistent with the larger pattern uncovered by George Mosse in his work on the nationalism and sexuality in modern Europe. He not only traces the idealization of masculinity as basic to national ideology, but also situates the homosexual man as the mirror opposite. The idea of the unified nation which developed in nineteenth-century Europe, Mosse argues, depended on opposing manly virtue to the heterogeneity and uncertainty of the body. Labeling the male homosexual's body as diseased, degenerate, abnormal, unhealthy, weak, and effeminate while associating heterosexuality with health and manliness, the strong nation was thus manly and heterosexual. George Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality: Respectability and Abnormal Sexuality in Modern Europe* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), esp. chap 2.

Working for a Gendered Citizenry

The MPPA's emphasis on the nation necessarily became a question of citizenship. Although a person's relationship to the state is both racialized and gendered,⁵⁶ the MPPA often spoke of citizenship in seemingly neutral terms. Whether referring to the playground as a "school for citizenship," or children as the "future citizens," or healthy activities as leading to good citizenship, or organized play as teaching "the game of citizenship according to the rules," or physical education as the greatest value in making decent, law abiding, honest, and loyal citizens of tomorrow, these claims were all variations on the same theme.⁵⁷ At other times, however, spokespersons of the MPPA, knowing that "[t]he boys of to-day will make the men of to-morrow," often equated citizen as male.⁵⁸ A prominent judge uttered this gendered definition of citizenship:

[w]e need communities who will do their duty to the 10-12-14 year-old-boy of this generation... [He] knows whether or not he is being given a square deal. And if he is being denied a place where he can give expression to his physical inclination along athletic lines, he is being denied that opportunity;

⁵⁶On citizenship understood to be in conflict with the feminine and racialized other see Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "Dis-covering the Subject of the 'Great Constitutional Discussion, 1786-1789,'" *Journal of American History* 79:3 (December 1992): 841. On a summary history of women and citizenship see Rogers M. Smith, "'One United People': Second Class Female Citizenship and the American Quest for Community," *Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities* 1 (1989): 229-293. Also see Linda Kerber, "A Constitutional Right to Be Treated Like American Ladies: Women and the Obligations of Citizenship," in Linda Kerber, Alice Kessler-Harris, and Kathryn Kish Sklar, eds., *U.S. History as Women's History: New Feminist Essays* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 17-35, and Stephen Heathorn, "'Home, Country, Race': The Gendered Ideals of Citizenship in English Elementary and Evening Continuation Schools, 1885-1914," Paper presented at the Canadian Historical Association annual meeting, St. Catharines, ON, May-June, 1996. On the gendered use of citizenship as related to leisure programs see Penny Tinkler, "Sexuality and Citizenship: The State and Girls' Leisure Provision in England, 1939-45," *Women's History Review* 4:2 (1995): 193-217. She notes that girls were not mobilized as citizens in the same way than boys during World War II.

⁵⁷See "City children need more playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 1 August, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926: "Playgrounds for the children," *Montreal Witness*, 9 July, 1910, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917: "Playground spaces," *Montreal Gazette*, 4 May, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928: "Organized games in summer time," *Montreal Gazette*, 7 May, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925: MPPA, Annual Report (1913): "Playgrounds president discusses the movement," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925: "Memo for remarks at Annual Meeting, 1925," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 17, file 363. Annual Meeting 1925, and "Record attendance at city playgrounds expected this season," *Montreal Star*, 18 March, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁵⁸"Report of Playground Work. Season 1920," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948.

he knows it, and when he knows it, his conclusion is he is being cheated. I ask you, is that a good foundation on which to build the citizenship of the next generation?⁵⁹

In concert with this man's gendered conceptualization of the citizen, a Montrealer reiterated that the city's duty to the boy was rooted in "looking towards the future complexion of Canadian citizenship."⁶⁰

The privileging of the boy through this gendered discourse on citizenship was not incidental. In a telling advertisement with the caption "Today's law breakers - tomorrow's law makers," the *Montreal Gazette* symbolically denied young women access to political power, one of the basic tenets of citizenship as outlined by T.H. Marshall in his pioneering book *Citizenship and Social Class*.⁶¹ Referring to the playground movement, the advertisement stipulated that

[n]o phase of modern social work has a more practical or more basic relationship to the interest of business, in commerce or in industry... For an investment far less than the expense occasioned by the criminal, delinquent, inefficient and malcontent, who are the products of community neglect, we can make this boyhood the type of manhood Montreal needs in business, in industry, and in citizenship.⁶²

Constructing the boy as the future breadwinner and lawmaker, the girl had neither an economic nor civic function beyond procreation, thereby excluding her from this conceptualization of citizen.⁶³ The experiment of 1914 carried out by Fletcher's Field's

⁵⁹"Strong appeal by Judge Landis for playground space." *Montreal Gazette*, 3 May, 1928. MUA, MPPA. m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

⁶⁰"Playground spaces." *Montreal Gazette*, 4 May, 1928. MUA, MPPA. m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. For other references to citizenship training as an exclusively male endeavor see "Interests will be focused on boy," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 October, 1925. MUA, MPPA. m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926. and "Care of Fletcher's Field," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated. MUA, MPPA. c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

⁶¹T.H. Marshall, *Citizenship and Social Class* (Cambridge, U.K.: University Press, 1950). He outlines three features of citizenship: civil, political, and social. By not identifying the gender particularities of "citizen" in history, he was unable to situate the disenfranchised woman and *feme couverte*, who enjoyed neither the political nor the civil features of citizenship, as outside these boundaries. For a feminist critique of Marshall see Sylvia Walby, "Is Citizenship Gendered?," *Sociology* 28:2 (May 1994): 379-395.

⁶²"Today's law breakers - tomorrow's law makers," *Montreal Gazette*, 7 October, 1924. MUA, MPPA. m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁶³On the theory underlying the exclusive definition of the "universal citizen" and the ideological function of impartiality in history see Iris Marion Young, *Justice and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1990), 111, 112. She explains why women, the poor, and people of colour, for example, have fallen outside the parameters of citizenship: "[m]odern normative reason and its political expression in the idea of the civic public... attain unity and coherence through the expulsion and

Playground Director Charles Lambert is a particularly good example of the degree to which this gendered concept dictated playground programming. Systematically excluding girls, Lambert established a "Juvenile City" with a mock government on the athletic field. Designed to inculcate this gender-specific definition of citizenship among the male users of this play space, he registered four hundred boys as citizens, drew up a charter and held mock elections for the offices of mayor and ten aldermen. A project which "[was] teaching the responsibility and privilege of citizenship," the male participants (citizens) and the female observers (non-citizens) understood the gender-specifications for such responsibility and privilege.⁶⁴

confinement of everything that would threaten to invade the polity with differentiation." On the dichotomy between public and private which underlies the original social contract as the philosophical basis and historical root of women's exclusion from the definition of citizen see Pateman, *The Disorder of Women*, chap. 1-4. She argues that although liberalism has traditionally asserted the right of all rational autonomous agents to equal citizenship, women, politically disenfranchised, legally invisible, and economically dependent within the early system of bourgeois liberalism, were considered neither fully developed nor independent and thus explicitly excluded from citizenship. There is a debate as to whether the vote can be equated with rights of citizenship. For an affirmative stance see R.A. Sydie, "Sex and the Sociological Fathers," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 31:3 (1994): 117-138. The author writes that "[s]uffrage appears to be a relatively permanent gain because it affords women a public status - that of citizen." Others, however, believe that the public status of citizen remains compromised by women's ascribed familial and sexual roles. For example, David Evans argues convincingly that even with women's movement into the public, an act which secures civic, political, and social rights, women nevertheless have to be "structurally or ideologically allowed to leave the family" before they are as "sexually responsible citizens as men." David Evans, *Sexual Citizenship: The Material Construction of Sexualities* (New York: Routledge, 1993), 249, 250. Also see Ruth Lister, "Women, Economic Dependency and Citizenship," *Journal of Social Policy* 19:4 (1990): 445-468, in which she argues that it is a woman's financial dependence which serves as an obstacle to her citizenship. As will be discussed below, the MPPA attempted to mold Montreal girls into their proper role in the polity: future mothers and homemakers. Ideologically and physically preparing them to become housed within the private sphere and mentally training them to be "feme couvert," I argue that the MPPA actively solidified a gendered definition of citizen. Recall that a Quebec woman's civil status, as codified in 1866, was defined according to her subordinate legal status to men generally and her husband specifically: based on the Napoleonic Code of 1804, the married woman was subject to the principle of legal incapacity whereby she and her children were to obey the head of the family, who, in turn, was to protect them. To be obliged to their husbands, not the state, in short, the MPPA was teaching these future homemakers about their (non) rights under the law of domestic relations. For a feminist critique of the Civil Code and the lack of amendments to it between 1866 and 1964 see Michelle Boivin, "L'évolution des droits de la femme au Québec: un survol historique," *Canadian Journal of Women and the Law* 2 (1986): 53-68.

⁶⁴"A 'Juvenile City,'" *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10:11 (November 1914): 435. Although the exclusion of girls from positions of power in this mock government reflected the reality of the maleness of the actual municipal government (there were no female members of City Council), denying these girls a vote did not reflect actual practice: women property-holders, married women and widows were given the right to vote in municipal elections in 1889, as were non-proprietied women ten years later. See Michèle Dagenais, *La Démocratie à Montréal: de 1830 à nos jours* (Montréal: Ville de Montréal, 1992), 23. Note that in 1939, the MPPA established "Playtowns" in its playgrounds. The children elected a mayor, Chief of Police and Directors of Education and Safety. It is unclear whether girls were excluded from this project, either as voters or municipal leaders. See Bowie, *A Half Century*, 33.

However, the project's architect and supporters also understood the class component of the experiment: "[i]t will at least be real to the boys, and the fact of them belonging to the working classes will make the experiment particularly interesting."⁶⁵ Inferring that the working-class boy would be considered a citizen when he assumed his rightful position in the polity, that of worker, other reformers also envisioned the playground as a space in which to train the children of the working-class to be the parents of the next generation of underprivileged children.⁶⁶ A way to "produce men... who are better and happier citizens and better workmen," the owners of the means of production, relying on a stable workforce, surely identified the playground as that which would bring them "good dividends."⁶⁷ Calling for playgrounds for the "enfants des classes pauvres[,...] ceux qui seront les travailleurs de demain,"⁶⁸ these elite reformers interpreted the absence of intergenerational upward mobility as a basic component of a stable citizenry and identified the playgrounds rather than the prison as a more useful place to house their future workers.⁶⁹ We now turn to the predecessor of the jailed working man, the male juvenile delinquent.

Dealing with Delinquent Boys

Playground advocates identified the playground as a space in which to combat male juvenile delinquency.⁷⁰ However, like play theorists and proponents of a healthy citizenry,

⁶⁵"A 'Juvenile City.'" 435.

⁶⁶For an indictment of the playground as a capitalist tool, see Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 23-30, 98-100. He argues that the process of developing hegemonic control beyond the door of the factory necessitated an institution in which to control the working-class child, the heart of this process of "colonization."

⁶⁷"Playgrounds for children," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 March, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925, and "Did useful work," *Montreal Herald*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

⁶⁸"Les enfants," *La Presse*, 23 mai, 1903, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

⁶⁹The two were often set against one another. See, for example, "Prisons or Playgrounds," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10:6 (May 1914): 172.

⁷⁰The MPPA provided evidence to back up this claim. For recreation surveys of other cities which found that juvenile delinquency increased in direct ratio with the distance from playgrounds see George Butler,

some referred to the child when they were implicitly alluding to the boy. Speaking in seemingly gender-neutral terms about the cause-effect relationship between the absence of wholesome outlets and juvenile delinquency, one writer saw the playground as an outlet "for their boisterous animal spirits."⁷¹ Although referring to the child, this boisterous animal was gendered male. Similarly, others spoke of the impoverished "child" in need of a playground as a protective shield from particular evil influences of the crowded street in the thickly settled sections of the city: petty theft, bad language, crapshooting and cigarette smoking.⁷² Others conceptualized the playground as a mechanism to reduce rowdiness and vandalism generally and, more particularly, the number of cases appearing before the Recorder's Court of "windows being smashed, door bells broken and the like on account of a surplus of energy."⁷³ Although these playground advocates identified a correlation between these seemingly gender-neutral acts of delinquency and lack of play space, both the acts and the space were gendered. Feminist historians have informed us that juvenile delinquency was a gendered construct insofar as reformers and judges identified the female delinquent according to her perceived sexual impropriety and her male counterparts with

Corresponding Secretary of the Playgrounds and Recreation Association of America, to Edith Watt, 4 January, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924, and "Ideas obtained at recreation Congress," 2 October, 1928, *Montreal Star*, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258, Scrapbook 1928. For the oft-quoted Chicago Report, which stipulated that playgrounds reduced juvenile delinquency by forty percent see, for example, "Let the children play," *Montreal Standard*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260, Scrapbook 1920-1925. In fact, the MPPA used this 40% statistic in the Montreal context. In 1925, Captain W. Bowie, in a "mental survey of the city playgrounds noticed that juvenile delinquency had decreased forty percent since supervised playgrounds had been established." See "More playgrounds are needed for city," *Montreal Star*, 26 March, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260, Scrapbook 1920-1925. Furthermore, officials of the Montreal Juvenile Court and the Montreal Police Department persistently called for playgrounds as a means to decrease juvenile crime. See, for example, "Chief Constable's Association of Canada. Juvenile Delinquency," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 7:5 (October 1911): 408-409; MPPA, *Annual Report* (1923), and "More playgrounds wanted," *Montreal Star*, 17 August, 1923, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.8, file 260, Scrapbook 1920-1925. Note, however, that neither the studies nor the advocates provided a gender break-down of the rates of juvenile delinquency.

⁷¹"Let the children play," *Montreal Standard*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260, Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁷²See, for example, "Women's Canadian Club," *Montreal Witness*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259, Scrapbook 1902-1917; "Report of Playground Work. Season 1920," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129, Historical Documents 1902-1948, and "Recreation site lost to children," *Montreal Gazette*, 28 October, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260, Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁷³"The playground and farm gardens," *Montreal Star*, 3 May, 1905, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259, Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see, for example, MPPA, *Annual Report* (1905): "Playgrounds are needed," unmarked, and "The juvenile court," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259, Scrapbook 1902-1917.

regards to property-related crimes.⁷⁴ With regards to cigarette smoking, Judge F.X. Choquet of the Juvenile Court, claiming that ninety-five per cent of the boys brought before him smoked cigarettes, identified this as a male vice almost exclusively.⁷⁵ Thus, the gang spirit which the MPPA wanted to combat was not a pack of loose young women roaming the streets in search of sexual adventures but rather groups of boys vandalizing property, smoking cigarettes and playing craps.⁷⁶

However, because this was such an obvious point in the minds of playground advocates, some used "child" and "boy" interchangeably. An headline of a newspaper article (about children) was often incongruous with the content (about boys). For example, under the banner "children at playgrounds," F. McCann of University Settlement spoke of the gender-specific utility of the playground: a means of keeping *boys* from loafing around street corners and guiding tourists into brothels.⁷⁷ Although another headline referred to the correlation between vacation time and rise in offenses committed by *children*, the reporter cited Judge Choquet's warning to parents that they not simply unload their *boys* on the police.⁷⁸ Similarly, in an editorial entitled "Young people," the writer was, in fact, writing about young men: calling for grounds on which young men could play baseball, football and lacrosse, he identified this space as that which would offset "the dangers of certain pastimes which ha[d] a peculiar fascination to young men, and which... so

⁷⁴On Montreal see Myers, "Criminal Women," 264. She cites an 1926 study which stipulated that while the majority of the inmates were sent to the Girls' Cottage Industrial School (GCIS) for sexual delinquency, a large percentage of boys at the Protestant boys' reform school had been convicted of property-related crimes. On the boys' reformatory see Danielle Lacasse, "Le Mont-Saint-Antoine: la répression de la délinquance juvénile à Montréal, 1837-1964" (Thèse de maîtrise, Université d'Ottawa, 1986).

⁷⁵Judge Choquet, "The Juvenile Court," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 10:6 (June 1914): 232. An advocate of the playgrounds as a deterrent for (male) juvenile delinquency, Choquet accompanied a delegation from the MPPA to the Bureau des Commissaires in May 1914 calling for more playgrounds in Montreal. See AVM, BC, minutes of 7 May, 1914.

⁷⁶Although the MPPA constructed the street as "a breeding place for crimes" in which its users learnt sordidness and sorrow and sin," it nevertheless focused on the male (non-sexual) vices and sins associated with the street. "City children need more playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 1 August, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926.

⁷⁷"61,241 children at playgrounds," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁷⁸More offenders in vacation time. Laxity of parents when children leave school cause, judge says," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

frequently [led] to vicious consequences," namely, pool rooms, cheap dance halls and 'jazz' bars.⁷⁹ Attributing specific vices as male and particular spaces as breeding grounds for these vices, other advocates were more forthright: they acknowledged that the playground was an alternative to "boys hang[ing] around and smok[ing] cigarettes... [or] slink[ing] into saloons and learn[ing] to drink... [or] spend[ing] long afternoons and evenings gloating over the vile plays in theatres."⁸⁰ As had been done with man and waged labour, the MPPA had naturalized an artificial relationship between boy and playground: "[t]he boy without a playground is the father of a man without a job."⁸¹

⁷⁹"Young people." *Hamilton Spectator*, 11 August, 1923. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. For other examples see "Playgrounds for children," 26 August, 1902, and "The need for playgrounds," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Witness*, 23 July, 1904. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see "Will stop children from playing games on city's street," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926, which is an article about two boys being prosecuted for creating a disturbance because they were playing games on streets.

⁸⁰"Summer playgrounds: delightful plan for the boys and girls of Montreal," *Montreal Witness*, undated. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. For other explicit references to boys, commercial amusements, crime, and playgrounds see "Playgrounds and sand-gardens," *Montreal Witness*, 16 April, 1902, and "About our boys," *Montreal Witness*, 6 August, 1902. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. "Ready-made playgrounds," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 May, 1924. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. "City children need more playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 1 August, 1925. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926. "Montreal needs more open spaces," *Montreal Star*, 12 February, 1926. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926, and "Playgrounds for boys," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 22 May, 1926. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926. On immoral commercial amusements and moral non-commercial playgrounds as having opposite effects on young men see the "Montreal YMCA Recreation Survey, 1924-1925," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 332. In this survey of the eastern section of Montreal, the YMCA juxtaposed the 137 bowling alleys, billiard rooms, clubs, dance halls, and theatres to the three playgrounds. For an analysis of the survey see "Amusement places hold youth back," *Montreal Gazette*, 19 June, 1926. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926. Also see "'Boyology' courses well patronized," *Montreal Gazette*, 18 September, 1926," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.8, file 261. 1924-1926. The reporter situated the 44 taverns, 17 licensed vendors of liquor, 64 grocery stores licensed to sell beer, six pool rooms, two bowling alleys and several clubs of an uncertain nature within the context of the three playgrounds in the area bound by McGill, Atwater, Ottawa and Dorchester streets, and concluded that 90 boys from this neighbourhood came before Juvenile Court in a period of eleven months.

⁸¹This famous quotation, articulated by Boston's Brahmin Joseph Lee, one of the America's foremost authorities on play, was reprinted in the Montreal press several times. See, for example, "Playgrounds and Sand-gardens," *Montreal Witness*, 16 April, 1902. MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917, and Mrs. John Cox, "What the Playground Association wants for Montreal," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909. On B.J. Lee see Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 23.

Problem Boys and Problem Girls

The call for playgrounds, a measure to prevent an age- (young), gender- (male) and class- specific (impoverished) group from engaging in delinquent behaviour, occurred within a larger context. Concerned with Montreal's "boy problem" in the first decades of the twentieth-century, the city inaugurated an annual event, "Boys Week," in 1926.⁸² F. McAdam of the Boys' Home of Montreal expressed most cogently the perceived magnitude of the "boy problem" in the city:

[i]f you are a father of a boy under sixteen, there is more than one chance in fifty that he will be arrested within the coming year... It is not possible for us to close our eyes to these facts and say, 'No, we do not have a boy problem in our city.' Those of you who are still in doubt need only to follow me down through our poorly equipped playgrounds, through our poolrooms, our dance halls and the streets of our poorer districts, and you will find whether or not we have a menacing boy problem.⁸³

Concurring with McAdam, the MPPA, in conjunction with the Knights of Columbus, the Big Brothers Federation, the Boys Club Federation and the Boys Scouts Association made a call in September 1926 to "Montreal's manhood" to better understand the boy; "[b]ounded in his nature, but inordinate in his desires," these organizations offered a ten-day course on "boyology."⁸⁴ Although this course only served as a short-term solution, the MPPA's commitment to securing and supervising playgrounds in Montreal was its long-term contribution to solving this boy problem.

This is not to say that reformers were unconcerned about the young women in Montreal. As explored in the previous chapter and illustrated by Tamara Myers, the sexual

⁸²"Interest will focus on boy," *Montreal Gazette*, 23 October, 1925, and "Organization of 'boys week' begun," *Montreal Gazette*, 27 January, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926. Also see "New plan proposed for boy movement," *Montreal Gazette*, 24 October, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

⁸³"Big problem here calls for action," *Montreal Gazette*, 30 July, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. Also see "Proper guidance of boys urgent question today," unmarked, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. On the boy problem in rural Ontario see Marks, "Ladies, Loafers, Knights, and 'Lasses.'"

⁸⁴See "Opening 'boyology' course popular," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 September, 1926, "'Boyology' course arouses interest," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 September, 1926, and "'Boyology' course well patronized," *Montreal Gazette*, 18 September, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

development of girls was of great concern to both the state and reform agencies, which identified recreation as a basic component to the rehabilitation of sexually precocious young women.⁸⁵ For example, the GCIS provided an exercise program for "oversexed" girls as "a substitute... for the pleasure derived from the gratification of sensual cravings and unclean dissipation, and it is in the intoxication of a clean, hard-fought game that she will get the best substitute."⁸⁶ While organized play was a basic part of programming within the walls of this institution, Miss Moore, an employee of the GCIS, identified the playground, in particular, as a place which should have played an important role in the lives of these young women upon release: "[h]ealthy recreational possibilities are tragically scarce in Montreal... Why do we economize in playgrounds? Work for our discharged girls is easier to find than play."⁸⁷ Miss Moore was invariably aware of "[r]eports from the police courts [which] show[ed] the bad moral effect of girls and boys of tender years playing in the streets."⁸⁸ the playground's alternative.

The MPPA was aware of the fact that recreation programs for young working women were necessary. In fact, in its "Women's Edition" of the *Montreal Witness* in May 1909, an all-female endeavor to raise funds for more playgrounds in the city, the women of the MPPA reprinted an impassioned address by Jane Addams, American settlement house worker and playground advocate, in which she alluded to the scant attention city officials paid to working girls:

⁸⁵Myers, "Criminal Women."

⁸⁶Superintendent of the GCIS cited in *Ibid.*, 280. Although Myers has uncovered evidence of reformers using sport as a way to rehabilitate young women, modern theories of medicine and play stipulated that physical exertion threatened a woman's ability to 1) reproduce the race and, 2) strip her of feminine qualities. On the biological rationales for Canadian women's exclusion from sports see Wendy Mitchison, *The Nature of their Bodies: Women and their Doctors in Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1991). On "manly" sports and the historical construction of the "mannish" or "masculine" female athlete as she who defied the bounds the femininity and heterosexuality see Helen Lenskyj, *Out of Bounds: Women, Sport, and Sexuality* (Toronto: Women's Press, 1986). Also see J.A. Mangan and Roberta Park, *From Fair Sex to Feminism: Sport and the Socialization of Women in the Industrial and Post-Industrial Eras* (London: Frank Cass and Company, 1987).

⁸⁷"Mental deficiency a grave problem," *Montreal Gazette*, 18 January, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

⁸⁸"Children and Playgrounds," unmarked, 11 December, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

[a]s these overworked girls stream along the street the rest of us see only the self-conscious walk, the giggling speech, the preposterous clothing. And yet through the huge hat, with its wilderness of bedraggled feathers, the girl announces to the world that she is here. She demands attention to the fact of her existence, she states that she is ready to live, to take her place in the world. We are quite accustomed to this bragging announcement on the part of the boy. When he begins to look upon the world as a theatre for his self-assertive exploits the city makes haste to provide him with an athletic field where he may safely demonstrate that he is braver to jump and to climb than any other boy on the street... The city wastes this most valuable moment in the life of the girl, drives into all sorts of absurd and obscure expression her love and yearning towards the world in which she forecasts her destiny.⁸⁹

Furthermore, a few articles which appeared in the Montreal press about the lack of such programs for girls in Montreal caught the attention of the MPPA. Clipping an article about the near absence of clubs for working girls, which "mean[t] that girls in search of relaxation and amusement [were] driven into the highly undesirable dance halls and other places even less fitted for healthy diversion," these playground advocates understood that there were "literally thousands of girls in Montreal between the ages of sixteen and twenty-two who work[ed] all day and who want[ed] some entertainment at night," as well as "too much 'independence' among the girls in their early teens who dance[d] until the early hours of the morning, t[ook] an occasional cigarette for frazzled nerves and an occasional cocktail to set them throbbing again."⁹⁰

Granted, the MPPA did present the playground and athletic field as alternatives to these various commercial amusements which thrived at night. It nevertheless identified these two spaces as a preventative measure against male juvenile delinquency specifically.⁹¹ The few articles that the association clipped on young working women and recreation programs for its scrapbooks are, thus, offset by countless articles on boys, male juvenile delinquency, and manly sports; like the reporter who pointed to girls' clubs rather than playgrounds as a useful way to reach these young working women, the MPPA

⁸⁹Jane Addams, "Youthful joy," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

⁹⁰untitled, *Montreal Star*, 13 February, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926, and "Independence in education, *Montreal Star*, 25 April, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁹¹See section below on evening programming in playgrounds for young, working men specifically.

identified the playground and athletic field as a solution to a gendered (male) problem. This is not to say that the boy problem overshadowed the girl problem in the minds of early twentieth-century Montrealers,⁹² but rather that the MPPA, one reform organization among many, directed its attention to solving the former and used a gender-specific strategy as a means to achieve this end. Nor is it to say that solving the boy problem could not alleviate the girl problem in an indirect manner. In August 1910, the *Montreal Herald* published a series on the street masher, a young man usually between seventeen and twenty-five years old who smoked cheap cigarettes, wore faddy cloths, and greased his hair while accosting unprotected women. This newspaper exposé stated the seriousness of this menace: these young men of this "disreputable class... fascinate and betray some unfortunate young girls and live a useless and parasital life on the proceeds of her [sic] shame. The downfall of many girls may be laid at the door of this class." Pointing out that these boys had "no place better than the street to seek recreation," the provision of playgrounds could thus not only prevent young men from becoming a "menace to society and source of misery to many homes," but also prevent many girls' fall.⁹³

⁹²For example, Judge Choquet of the Juvenile Court announced in 1913 that there were too many cases before him, "particularly those of young girls." See "Another officer is added to the Juvenile Court," *Montreal Star*, 15 November, 1913. Also see "Girl problem has become alarming," unmarked, NA, MLCW, m.g. 28, i 164, v. 7, file 3. Policewomen Press Clipping. In this article, Judge Choquet discusses the "heavy increases" in juvenile delinquency in 1917, "especially as regards to girls."

⁹³See "Unprotected women no longer safe on Montreal's streets is the charge," *Montreal Herald*, 9 August, 1910; "St. Catherine Street favorite loafing place for mashers," *Montreal Herald*, 9 August, 1910; "Appeal to police to save her from persistent masher," *Montreal Herald*, 10 August, 1910; "Few molested women like to make complaint," *Montreal Herald*, 11 August, 1910; "Thugs hold up man and girl on busy street," *Montreal Herald*, 12 August, 1910. For an alternate analysis of the masher problem see "Men not always to blame," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Herald*, 12 August, 1910. Writing "in defense of members of [his] sex," this man blames the young girls who "use the streets for parade purposes... While probably a large percentage of them mean no harm, their intentions are very liable to be misconstrued by the large number of young men who frequent the locality, knowing that they will have very little difficulty in making acquaintance of such young women." The author further argues that the police should not only arrest mashers, but also any young girl who "indulg[es] in the practice of promiscuous street flirtation," thereby destroying "the effect by removing the cause."

Homosocial Spaces, Gendered Programming, and the Heterosexual Athlete

This is not to say that the MPPA completely excluded girls from its gendered project. Informed by biological theories of play which stipulated that the instinct to fight and hunt, an expression of the principle of tribal loyalty, was strong in the male, and that the interest in dolls and "playing house" among girls was evidence of their primary loyalty to the home,⁹⁴ the MPPA included recreation programs for both species. However, interested first and foremost in constructing age-specific homosocial spaces to channel pre-adolescent boys' sex-specific instincts, the MPPA either excluded girls from playgrounds or sub-divided them according to sex. Although it disallowed girls from accessing certain playgrounds,⁹⁵ it used the second strategy more widely. The MPPA put forward this particular vision of the playground to the Mayor in July 1913; using as its model the sex-segregated municipal playgrounds at Fletcher's Field and Lafontaine Park,⁹⁶ as well as the Royal Arthur playground, which was partitioned into a girls' side, open from 3:30 to 5:30 p.m., and a boys' side, open in the afternoons and the evenings,⁹⁷ the association argued that "there should be three separate and distinct sections for small children, girls (section for girls should be made as private as possible) and boys (section for boys should contain running track, lacrosse, baseball, football.)."⁹⁸

The MPPA organized strikingly different activities on the two sides of the divide: with particular instincts, boys and girls had distinct (natural) play preferences, they

⁹⁴Mrozek, "Natural Limits," 214.

⁹⁵See, for example, MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1906, 1911) re Montcalm.

⁹⁶President of the MPPA to the BC, 29 August, 1913, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-03-04, dossier 15325. On the boys side at Fletcher's Field as larger and better located see "Play centres were popular yesterday," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July, 1923, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

⁹⁷MPPA, *Annual Report* (1906). Also see MPPA, *Annual Report* (1923) re Victoriatown, and "Winnipeg Playground Commission Programme, 1911," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 314. In this city, the commission stated firmly to supervisors to "keep boys on their own side of the grounds. Do not permit mixed games."

⁹⁸"Special Report of Sub-Committee of Playground Committee," undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19607, 342-3eme série. For citizens requesting segregated playground space see, for example, T. Charpentier to the Bureau des Commissaires, 18 February, 1913, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-04-03-04, dossier 15289.

maintained.⁹⁹ As such, the association oversaw ball games, namely baseball, football, and lacrosse on the boys' side and handicrafts, such as cork work, sewing, knitting, basket making, doll making, doll outfitting, dressmaking, weaving, and rug making on the girls' side.¹⁰⁰ Although the MPPA, following New York City's lead, introduced girls to folk dancing, "old forms of dancing [which] safeguard [against] dangerous expression [and]... lie at the basis of all good breeding forms,"¹⁰¹ the domestic sciences remained the basic component of girls' recreation program throughout the first decades of the twentieth-century. In 1911, while boys took the greatest pleasure in ball-games at the Hibernia playground, girls learnt needlework, doll-dressing, embroidery, and petticoat making, as well as how to make woolen slippers for themselves and crochet woolen jackets for their dolls.¹⁰² More than a decade later, the MPPA was channeling these same "natural instincts" among children who lived near the Richmond Square playground: "young girls have learned what future home-makers should know, and boys have forgotten the questionable attractions of the street in enjoyment of gymnastics and games."¹⁰³ Even more blatant in 1928, the MPPA inaugurated "Little Mothers" classes for small girls; using a doll as her prop, the supervisor provided baby-care lessons and handicraft classes during

⁹⁹Reiss, *City Games*, 158-160.

¹⁰⁰On sporting activities for boys see, for example, MPPA, *Annual Report* (1910), and "Report of Playgrounds Work. Season 1920," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948. The MPPA's 1912 recreation survey provided the quantitative data which further fueled their sex-specific programming. Among the 350 girls interviewed, few reported participating in sports. An overwhelming number of boys, however, spoke of playing baseball, football and running games. See "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 350. On girls and the various domestic skills taught to them see, for example, MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1906, 1910, 1911, 1923, 1926); "Report of Playgrounds Work. Season 1920," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948, and "Children act in spite of heat," *Montreal Star*, 18 August, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. Note that Myers uncovered evidence of the superintendent of the GCIS trying to get the girls to play baseball, which was met with resistance. See Myers, "Criminal Women," 279. Apart from one reference to a supervisor wanting to organize a girls baseball team, girls were not encouraged to play sports. See Playgrounds at Gilson School going strong," *NDG Monitor*, 13 July, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

¹⁰¹Addams, "Youthful joy." Also see MPPA, *Annual Report* (1910). On folk dancing as a mechanism to transform "foreign" girls into American citizens see Patricia Mooney Melvin, "Folk Dancing, Ethnic Diversity and the Playground Association of America," *American Studies* 24:1 (Spring 1983): 89-99.

¹⁰²MPPA, *Annual Report* (1911).

¹⁰³"Downtown social problem solved," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 September, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

which the girls learnt how to make baby clothes.¹⁰⁴ As influential psychologist Stanley Hall had informed them, "[t]o be a true woman means to be yet more mother than wife... The elimination of maternity is one of the greatest calamities, if not diseases, of our age."¹⁰⁵ Although the women of the MPPA did not train girls in domestic sciences in real middle-class homes, as their English counterparts did,¹⁰⁶ they relied on the middle-class family as their model. Disallowing the mixing of the sexes and ascribing each sex with rigid play parameters in line with the middle-class ideal of a sexual division of labour, the MPPA inscribed these "natural" differences artificially in the playground, a space which Henry Curtis, one of the founders of the Playground Association of America, identified as a "mediated landscape."¹⁰⁷

Although the MPPA did carve out a female enclave within the playground as a means to perfect their skills in the domestic sciences, a playing field for girls was not necessary; the medical profession had informed these playground advocates that sports did not correspond to females' nurturing character and physical frailty, hereditarians had warned them that overexertion among girls and women might weaken their offspring and hurt the reproduction of the race, and reformers had cautioned them that competitive sports and strenuous exercise had exerted a masculinizing effect on women.¹⁰⁸ Rationalizing this exclusion, Hall declared that "[i]t is hard for them [girls] to bear defeat in games with the same dignity and unruffled temper as boys. They may be a little in danger of being roughened by boyish ways and especially by the crude and unique language."¹⁰⁹ In fact, sporting activities for girls undermined the very purpose of the playground, to prepare girls for their naturally-ordained role of mother, in two interconnected ways: whereas the

¹⁰⁴"Care of babies is taught with dolls." *Montreal Gazette*, 14 July, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1928. On the remaking of the delinquent girl into "a good woman and true home maker" within the walls of the girls' reform school see Myers, "Criminal Women," 246, 273-277.

¹⁰⁵As cited in Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 114.

¹⁰⁶Weiner, *Architecture and Social Reform*, 137.

¹⁰⁷As cited in Mrozek, "Natural Limits," 219.

¹⁰⁸See fn 86.

¹⁰⁹As cited in Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 109.

"pelvic disturbances" brought on by physical exertion had "a harmful effect on the all important role of motherhood."¹¹⁰ the masculinizing effect of sports on girls undermined the heterosexual paradigm rooted in clear gender-identities of the feminine woman and masculine man. Commenting on the "growing peril [which] lies in what we call a displeasing contradiction in terms, 'Female Athletics,'" Miss E.M. Cartwright, Physical Education Director at the Royal Victoria College at McGill and co-writer of the playground course established at this university, appealed to motherhood as a way to dissuade girls from engaging in athletics: "[t]he production of a healthy race of men and women depended on the production of healthy children [and the] maternal function was seriously interfered with when girls took part in such strenuous sports."¹¹¹ Although the MPPA did not equate the masculinization of the female athlete with the mannish lesbian, as other medical experts and reformers did, they nevertheless spoke of her as representing the loss of womanliness; as Gulick had warned, "[a]thletics do not test womanliness as they test manliness."¹¹² Mandated by three basic principles of female "nature," heterosexuality, motherhood, and domesticity, the MPPA constructed a (homo)social space inscribed with these meanings.¹¹³

While the dominant discourse constructed the female athlete as she who destabilized the natural order of things (heterosexuality, domesticity, and motherhood), it simultaneously presented the athletic field occupied by adolescent boys and men as a

¹¹⁰Karla A. Hendersen et al., *A Leisure of One's Own: A Feminist Perspective on Women's Leisure* (Pennsylvania: Venture, 1989), 23.

¹¹¹"Sports for women to be discussed at Olympic Congress," *Montreal Star*, 25 May, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925, and "Athletic excess is harmful to college girls," *Montreal Star*, 9 April, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹¹²As cited in Reiss, *City Games*, 160. Also see "Girl Athletes told to Preserve Charm," *Montreal Star*, 15 June, 1931, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 265. Scrapbook 1930-1932.

¹¹³The relationship between female homosocial spaces and lesbianism has been explored within the context of romantic friendships between married, middle-class white women in the nineteenth-century, all-female educational institutions at the turn-of-the-century, and the military in the Second World War. See Carroll Smith-Rosenberg, "The Female World of Love and Ritual," *Signs* 1:1 (1975): 1-29; Christina Simmons, "Companionate Marriage and the Lesbian Threat," *Frontiers* 4:3 (1979): 54-59; Martha Vicinus, "Distance and Desire: English Boarding School Friendships, 1870-1920," *Signs* 9:4 (1984): 600-622; and Allan Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire: The History of Gay Men and Women in World War Two* (New York: Free Press, 1990).

stabilizing force amidst sexual chaos and socio-economic unrest. From the onset of the organized play movement in North America, its leaders identified the playground as inadequate for older boys and called for an athletic field for this particular group.¹¹⁴ Although the MPPA recognized that "it [was] not little children who [wound] up in juvenile court, but [rather] 14, 15, 16 boys," it nevertheless barred older boys from playgrounds which were particularly small.¹¹⁵ To offset this age-specific spatial dynamic, the association implemented a two-fold strategy: it reserved larger playgrounds in the evenings for working boys and men to play various games and successfully lobbied the municipal government to establish civic athletic fields.¹¹⁶ Places in which young men could engage in sports as "a preventive of evil[.]... an important adjunct of religion and a positive force for the development of real manhood,"¹¹⁷ this call for homosocial space for pubescent boys and young men was intimately connected to a particular sexual theory propagated by the intellectual leaders of the organized play movement. Operating within an heterosexual framework, these theorists believed that it was necessary to develop and maintain a psychological trait called "sex tension." Considered "one of the subtlest and most potent of all psychological agencies," sublimation became basic to this theory because "an overindulgence of sex would lead to an unleashing of wild and unmanageable emotions."¹¹⁸ In addition to helping "remove sex temptation" by channeling young men's

¹¹⁴See, for example, the "Playground Association of America's Plan for Washington, 1906." MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948; W.S. Maxwell of the City Improvement League to the Mayor, 2 December 1909, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-01, dossier 68, and E.H. Cartwright, "Moral Value of Playground Training," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

¹¹⁵"Chicago's ideal," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909. On playgrounds which excluded older boys and young men see MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1906, 1910, 1916). Also note that in 1928, the Protestant Board mandated the MPPA to exclude teenagers from the playgrounds on Protestant school yards (Royal Arthur, Berthelet, Delorimier, and Cote St. Paul). MPPA, *Annual Report* (1928).

¹¹⁶On evening programming for older working boys see MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1907, 1910, 1916, 1923), and "Children welcome spray hydrant," *Montreal Gazette*, 15 August, 1915, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926. On boys using the first two civic athletic fields, opened in 1913 at Fletcher's Fields and Lafontaine, see MPPA, *Annual Report* (1913): "Will stimulate spirit of sport," *Montreal Star*, 3 June, 1923, and "Play centres were popular yesterday," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 July, 1923, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c.8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹¹⁷"Praises sport as aid to religion," *Montreal Gazette*, 31 December, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926.

¹¹⁸See Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 132, and Cavallo, *Muscles and Morals*, 88, 89. On Muscular

(hetero)sexual urges into sports.¹¹⁹ this homosocial space also stimulated healthy (hetero)sex tension between men and women, they maintained. Intended to channel men and women into the appropriate setting of heterosexual intimacy, marriage, S. Hall commented on the utility of this (hetero)sexual tension: "[i]n place of the mystic attraction of the other sex that has inspired so much that is best in the world, familiar comradeship brings a little disenchantment. The impulse to be at one's best in the presence of the other sex grows lax and sex tension remits... This disillusioning weakens the motivation to marriage."¹²⁰

Neither the architects of this "sex tension" theory (organized play theorists) nor its modern critics (historians) have problematized the essential way in which heterosexuality is inscribed in the theory and the space (the playground and athletic field).¹²¹ Identifying heterosexuality as part of every human being's essential core, these theorists link sport, manliness, and heterosexuality. To play sports meant to be manly. To be manly meant to be heterosexual.¹²² Thus, even though the theorists encouraged man to abstain from (heterosexual) sex, a traditional marker of manliness, by playing sports, they did not

Christianity's conceptualization of sport as a substitute for (heterosexual) sex see Reiss, *City Games*, 29, 30. On the relationship between manliness and freedom from sexual passion as achieved through sublimation see Mosse, *Nationalism and Sexuality*, 13.

¹¹⁹"Y.M.C.A. leaders discuss problem of sex morality," *Montreal Star*, 4 August, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹²⁰As cited in Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 132, 133.

¹²¹These scholars have not benefited from work of historians of sexuality, who treat heterosexuality as a social construct. See the pioneering work of Foucault, *History of Sexuality*, 105, in which he writes: "[s]exuality must not be thought of as a kind of natural given which power tries to hold in check, or as an obscure domain which knowledge tries gradually to uncover. It is the name that can be given to a historical construct." Also see Robert Padgug, "Sexual Matters: On Conceptualizing Sexuality in History," *Radical History Review* 20 (Spring/Summer 1979): 2-23.

¹²²George Chauncey, Jr. has produced excellent scholarship on how gender identity, rather than sexual-object choice, demasculated normative sexuality from the non-normative. In *Gay New York*, for example, he argues that a sexual system existed in which men who engaged in anal intercourse (active role) with other men while remaining loyal to the code of masculinity fell within the bounds of normative (heterosexual) identity. Speaking more generally about nineteenth-century scientific discourse about the normal and the deviant, Iris Marion Young points out that it was crucial that deviancy manifested itself in physical signs identifiable by the scientific gaze (e.g., effeminacy in men). Young, *Justice*, 128, 129. On sexual inversion, gender identity, and the definition of the lesbian in history see George Chauncey, Jr., "From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: The Changing Medical Conceptualization of Female 'Deviance,'" in Kathy Piess and Christina Simmons, eds., *Passion and Power: Sexuality in History* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1989).

conceptualize this as a threat to heterosexuality because they saw sports as a check on effemininity; the "athlete of continence, not coitus, continuously test[ed] his manliness in the fires of self-denial."¹²³ As Hall declared, feminine men did not participate in sports: "[r]eal virtue requires enemies, and women and effeminate and old men want placid, comfortable peace, while a real man rejoices in noble strife."¹²⁴ Like these theorists, who correlated an inverted-gender identity (effeminate man) with homosexuality, historians of the playground and athletic field have unproblematically written homosexuality out of the script by accepting the theorists' equation of athletics with manliness and effeminate man with homosexuality. Unable to conceptualize the athletic ground occupied by manly young men as a space in which they could explore homosexuality, historian Cary Goodman, for example, indicts organized play theorists for forcing sporting young men to repress their sexuality.¹²⁵ However, historians of gay men have informed us that the provision of a space in which to explore homosexual relations has been central to the development of a homosexual community.¹²⁶ Perhaps this homosocial enclave, a space in which young men were to sublimate their heterosexual urges through "push[ing] and thump[ing] each other,"¹²⁷ provided a place for some to explore homosexual liaisons.

¹²³Reiss, *City Games*, 30.

¹²⁴As cited in Goodman, *Choosing Sides*, 109.

¹²⁵*Ibid.*, 165. He calls it a process of "mandated sexual repression."

¹²⁶For a broad overview of the emergence of the gay community see Jeffrey Weeks, *Coming Out: Homosexual Politics in Britain* (London: Quartet Books, 1977), and John D'Emilio, *Sexual Politics, Sexual Communities* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1983). On social space and the development of a homosexual identity see Bérubé, *Coming Out Under Fire*; Chauncey, Jr., *Gay New York*, and John Howard, "The Library, the Park, and the Pervert: Public Space and Homosexual Encounter in Post-World War II Atlanta," *Radical History Review* 62 (Spring 1995): 166-187.

¹²⁷Cox, "What the Playground Association Wants."

The Struggle Between Gendered Spaces: The Park Versus the Playground

Although playground advocates believed that the athletic field was of paramount importance for the healthy development of young men, the allotment of an athletic field within an ornamental park did not occur without conflict. Similar insofar as they were constructed as antidotes to urban pathology, the athletic field and the park, however, served (discursively) two distinct constituency groups, the working boy and man in the case of the former and the mother in the latter.¹²⁸ Consequently, the conflict which arose, as charted below, was bound by gender, class, and ethnicity.

As Alan Metcalfe argues, the records of the Commission des parcs et traverses elucidate, and the history of the MPPA illustrates, there was little interest in public recreation facilities or athletic grounds in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century.¹²⁹ Leading to a pattern of sports facilities located predominantly in the wealthy anglophone ward of St. Antoine used by the privileged men who belonged to specialized private sports clubs, these spaces were inscribed with Anglo, male privilege.¹³⁰ These men used Mount Royal Park in such a way in the last quarter of the nineteenth-century. The Montreal Cricket Club, whose "social standing of its members" made it the "leading cricket club for years," secured certain parts of the park ground to engage in a sport that "[did] much to

¹²⁸Sport historians who have traced the loss of accessible public space for play and sporting activities (among the working-class) with the rise of public parks and playgrounds mistakenly merge these two open spaces into one conceptual category. Rather than identify the park as a place designed for families and mothers in particular, they tend to refer to the park (female space) and the athletic field (male space) interchangeably. See, for example, Reiss, *City Games*, 134-146, and Hardy, *How Boston Played*, 128.

¹²⁹Alan Metcalfe, "The Evolution of Organized Physical Recreation in Montreal, 1840-1895," *Histoire sociale/Social History* 9 (mai/May 1978): 144-166. For early requests for playgrounds see MPPA to the CPT, 7 May, 1900, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-07; Parc Mont-Royal: Améliorations demandées, dossier 688, and "Report of the Chief of Police," 17 June, 1903, AVM, CP, vm43, 121-11-04-00. Rapports 1903. These two early requests were the exception rather than the rule. The majority of citizens who requested playgrounds and athletic fields did so in the 1910s. See, for example, AVM, BC, minutes of 11 March, 1913, 13 May, 1913, 11 July, 1913, 20 April, 1914, 21 June, 1915, and 23 June, 1916.

¹³⁰Metcalfe, "Evolution." On elite sports in Canada see Alan Metcalfe, *Canada Learns to Play: The Emergence of Organized Sport, 1807-1914* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1987), chap. 1 and 2. On elite, all-male sports clubs in late nineteenth-century America see Reiss, *City Games*, 53-68, and Hardy, *How Boston Played*, 127-161.

encourage healthful and manly exercises."¹³¹ A sport of the male gentry which engendered manliness and respectability.¹³² members of the club enjoyed a plethora of green space. Similarly, the Montreal Golf Club, founded in 1873 by eight prominent men, successfully lobbied the Commission des parcs et traverses to place the eastern base of Mount Royal known as Fletcher's Field at the Club's disposal to play an equally elitist game.¹³³ Entering into a contractual agreement with the city that year, the club leased Fletcher's Field until it ended this legal relationship in 1897: a "favourite [spot] for women and children," the Club was "no longer willing to expose them... to the danger." "[F]orced to seek a home elsewhere," club members not only constructed themselves as selfless, chivalrous men acting out of concern for the mother and child, but they also implicitly chastised all other men who continued to engage in sporting activities in this space, without problematizing that their own ability to find another space in which to play golf was a product of class privilege.¹³⁴

The struggle over Fletcher's Field after the retreat of the private club illustrates particularly well the gendered and class-specific aspects of the conflict from passive to active recreation space, from ornamental park to athletic field. In the early 1890s, proprietors in the vicinity, aware of the interconnection between an ornamental park and the

¹³¹Montreal Cricket Club (petition) to the CPT, 25 April, 1876, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00. 200-05: Parc Mont Royal: Polo-Cricket.

¹³²Reiss explains that cricket, the first organized team sport in the U.S., evolved from an ethnically-specific (English) sport in the 1840s to an elite sport for men of finance and commerce by the 1880s. See Reiss, *City Games*, 58-60. For cricket as an elite sport in Canada see Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 23-33, and Metcalfe, *Canada Learns*, 80-84

¹³³On golf's elitist character see Reiss, *City Games*, 62, and Metcalfe, *Canada Learns*, 37, 38.

¹³⁴See Secretary of the Montreal Golf Club to the CPT, 4 February, 1884; Report of the Mount Royal Committee, 5 May, 1894; Report of the Mount Royal Committee, 14 May, 1895, and M. MacDougall (of Lafleur and MacDougall Barristers) to L.O. David, City Clerk, 30 March, 1897, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-02-00. 200-02: Parc Mont Royal: Golf. Three years before the club ended this legal relationship, it attempted to change its site from Fletcher's Field to the western summit of Mount Royal. This request obviously sparked controversy. In the petition, members stipulated that this request was rooted in altruism rather than class privilege: "[l]a rumeur erronée allant à dire que le club se propose d'empiéter sur les privilèges des citoyens a été mise en circulation dans le public, tandis que c'est tout le contraire qui est vrai... On dit que le Parc de la Montagne est le lieu d'amusement réservé au public. Il y a là amplement de place pour tous... Cette demande est faite pour la raison que chaque année la coté est de la montagne est plus achalandé par les promeneurs, et plus employé, pour d'autres jeux. See Montreal Golf Club (petition) to the Mayor, February, 1894, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-00-02. 200-02: Parc Mont Royal: Golf.

increased property value, successfully lobbied the city to plant trees and flowers and build walking paths so "the feeble and decrepit, as well as the young children and infants [with their mothers]" would use the park.¹³⁵ Informally used as a playing field by "citizens who [could not] afford to hire grounds for their play" before the city transformed a portion of Fletcher's Field into a civic athletic ground in 1913, numerous citizens complained that the city permitted boys and young men to play baseball and other games on Fletcher's Field.¹³⁶ Unlike golf, sport historians have informed us that baseball, in particular, was popular among working-class men by the late nineteenth-century.¹³⁷ Incongruous with the pastoral image of the park, to be occupied passively by the family, the nearby proprietors complained of the "noise and boisterous conduct" of those engaged in ballplaying, "particularly on the Sabbath."¹³⁸ S. Mathewson, critical of this position, exposed the Protestant ethic and class bias built into this argument: "[i]s it not a great deal better for these boys to be here in the open than to be penned into some alleyway, in the city watching the hidden drinkers breaking the law by the side doors of saloons which do a rushing all week in making drunkards, and which should at least shut up one day out of the seven?"¹³⁹ Residing near Fletcher's Field, H.T. Barnes further elucidated the gender specifications of this class struggle. In the spring of 1906, Barnes complained that

¹³⁵Proprietors in the vicinity of Esplanade Ave. and Upper St. Urbain (petition) to the CPT, 12 February, 1892, and Joseph Comte to the CPT, 22 March, 1893, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-01-1: Parc Mont Royal: Travaux, crédits votés.

¹³⁶"Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to supervise the work in connection with Mount Royal," 23 September, 1898, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-01-2: Parc Mont Royal: Travaux, crédits votés. Also see AVM, CPT, minutes of 23 June, 1894.

¹³⁷See George B. Kirsch, *The Creation of American Team Sports: Baseball and Cricket, 1838-1872* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Rob Buck, *Sandlot Seasons: Sport in Black Pittsburgh* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Reiss, *City Games*, 65-68, 95-103, and Howell, *Northern Sandlots*, 36.

¹³⁸"Report of the Sub-Committee appointed to supervise the work in connection with Mount Royal, 23 September, 1898, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, 3-01-2: Parc Mont Royal: Travaux, crédits votés. On sports and the Sabbath see Hardy, *How Boston Played*, 75-85.

¹³⁹"About our boys," *Montreal Witness*, 6 August, 1902, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259, Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see Oliver Esperance to the BC, 18 April, 1914, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19666. Although referring to the playgrounds in downtown Montreal rather than Fletcher's Field, this complaint is further evidence of the class bias inscribed in the opposition to athletic grounds. Writing on behalf of a large number of citizens who were very much in favour of playgrounds for young children in downtown Montreal, Esperance expressed his outrage at "tramps" appropriating this space to

quiet people and the women and children... are practically ruled off from the field [Fletcher's Field] on account of the practice of allowing all classes of rough games to be played there... Fletcher's Field is the only breathing space to my knowledge west of St. Louis Square, north of Phillips Square and east of Guy St. that can be enjoyed by the women and children during the day, and I regard it as a pity to have it monopolized by a few rough men and boys."¹⁴⁰

No longer chivalrous men of a private club engaged in a gentlemanly sport, the men to which Barnes was referring were the unemployed roughs who occupied the space at a time when middle-class mothers should have been enjoying it: during the day.

Although Alderman N. Leclaire, "in consideration of the comfort and rights of the residents," proposed, in 1907, that Fletcher's Field become an ornamental park exclusively,¹⁴¹ the city accepted the plan of Architects of the Province of Quebec a year later to transform Fletcher's Field into both a playing field and a pleasure ground.¹⁴² Assuming the role of compromiser, the city fueled this gendered and class-specific debate as to the virtues of both.¹⁴³ J.W. Nelles, the owner of multiple homes on the street adjacent to the park, Esplanade Avenue, felt particularly impassioned about the debate. Submitting two letters to the Bureau des Commissaires within six days of one another in April 1910, Nelles, in the name of his tenants, echoed the same complaint that his late nineteenth-century forebears had: "the residents are seriously interfered with the noise and rows kicked up by ball players... who use the [eastern part] of Fletcher's Field on Sundays

play dangerous games such as football, baseball, lacrosse. Not only were the passers-by at risk of being hit by a ball, they were also subject to insult. Differentiating between honourable and dishonourable workmen, he situated the latter as a public nuisance and further argued that "tous ceux qui travaillent et gagnent honoralement leur vie pourraient facilement aller en d'autres endroits pour leur recreation."

¹⁴⁰H.T. Barnes to CPT, 26 April, 1906, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, 3-07: Parc Mont Royal: Améliorations demandées, dossier 2016. Also see AVM, CPT, minutes of 17 May, 1906.

¹⁴¹"Fletcher's Field," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Gazette*, 24 June, 1907, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. The MPPA disagreed with his position: the association believed that some squares would be more useful if used partly as playgrounds rather than for ornamental purposes. See, for example, "Minutes of the Annual General Meeting," 14 November, 1909, MUA, MPPA, mg. 2079, c. 1, file 49. MPPA Minutes Book 1905-1919, and "New York Playgrounds," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

¹⁴²MPPA, *Annual Report* (1908). Note that the municipal government considered selling a portion of Fletcher's Field for private, non-recreation purposes in that same year. See MPPA, *Annual Report* (1909).

¹⁴³See AVM, CPT, minutes of 1 and 17 June, 1908. At the first meeting, Alderman Leclaire led a delegation of residents of Esplanade Ave. to complain about baseball being played on Fletcher's Field, and the commissioners debated the merits of a request for permission to play games on this park space at the second meeting.

and every other day, with no regulation of any kind." In a space which he believed "could be easily made [sic] a most respectable part of the park for women and children," he objected to a particular class of young men using this portion of Fletcher's Field: "boys over 15 or 16 were usually earning wages, and they might or they should have their own private club grounds" on which to play.¹⁴⁴ Although Fletcher's Field was reported as being the primary place in which boys engaged in sporting activities,¹⁴⁵ Nelles, grossly misrepresenting the material reality of the lives of working boys and men, sought to punish a class of young men who could not afford to belong to a private club for a class of women who had the leisure time to enjoy the park.¹⁴⁶ Despite Nelles' desperate attempt, the MPPA successfully lobbied the city to transform the portion of Fletcher's Field, as well as Lafontaine Park, into supervised civic athletic fields in 1913; allocating \$10,000.00 to the city's new athletic grounds, it purchased elaborate equipment, erected new backstops, leveled the playing field, and created a space in which small children and girls could play.¹⁴⁷ Although the city did not erect a fence for "more effectual control, especially at night" until 1920,¹⁴⁸ the MPPA addressed the more immediate concern, the need for

¹⁴⁴J.W. Nelles to the BC, 19 April, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-02, dossier 628, and J.W. Nelles to the BC, 26 April, 1910, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-01-02-02, dossier 708. Interestingly, three years prior, Nelles believed that the eastern portion of Fletcher's Field should have been leveled, "where the boys can play." Perhaps he did not envision that the boys who would use Fletcher's Field would be of the "wrong" class. See J.W. Nelles to the CPT, 10 May, 1907, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-11-01-00, dossier 2165, 3-07: Parc Mont Royal: Améliorations demandées.

¹⁴⁵In 1912, Fletcher's Field was reportedly the most popular place where boys engaged in sporting activities. By the mid-1920s, it was hailed as the sports centre for the boys of Montreal. See "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 5, file 350, and "Supervised sports for boys," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, 24 April 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁴⁶A similar plan to convert Fletcher's Field into an ornamental park was proposed in the mid-1920s. An opponent expressed the class and gender ramifications of this proposal: "Surely the Aldermen of Montreal do not know what it is to live in poor districts of the city or they would not act as they are acting... What are the boys of 16, 17, 18 to do for healthful recreation after their work is done?." "Care of Fletcher's Field," letter to the Editor of the *Montreal Star*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹⁴⁷See AVM, BC, minutes of 27 May, 1913: "Special Report of Sub-Committee of Playground Committee," undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19607, 342-3eme série; MPPA, *Annual Report* 1913, and "The First Play Festival in Montreal," *Canadian Municipal Journal* 9:9 (September 1913): 361.

¹⁴⁸T. M. Black, City Recreation Secretary, "Report of the Summer Playgrounds of the City of Montreal, Season of 1913," undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19607, 342-3eme série, and "Report of

trained supervisors to oversee these children of the degenerate class; it believed that this transition from ornamental park (woman) to the athletic field (boy), riddled with gender- and class-specific problems, would be smoother with the procurement of trained supervisors, and thus provided the city with two for Fletcher's Field.¹⁴⁹

The Playground Supervisor: Em(body)ing Control

The presence of the supervisor appeased some of those concerned. Like the Playgrounds Association of America, which warned in its founding year that "[i]t [was] worse than useless to attempt to conduct playgrounds without supervisors,"¹⁵⁰ the provision of a female assistant (for girls) and a male athletic instructor (for boys) in each playground was a vital part of the MPPA's project from the onset.¹⁵¹ Unable to convince the city of the need to provide trained supervisors rather than untrained caretakers in the sixteen civic playgrounds by the close of the 1920s,¹⁵² the MPPA spent the first decades of

Playground Work. Season 1920," MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948. Note that the residents of Esplanade Ave. submitted a petition to the Bureau des Commissaires in the spring of 1915 requesting that a fence be erected along Fletcher's Field. See AVM, BC, minutes of 18 May, 1915.

¹⁴⁹Although Fletcher's Field is a particularly good example of the conflict involved in the transition from ornamental (female) park to the athletic (male) field, this conflict was not limited to the eastern base of the mountain. In the spring of 1907, a number of "gentlemen," in their petition to the Mayor, defended a "lady's" right to visit her neighbourhood park without being "rendered unconscious by a blow from a cricket ball." In his reply, the Mayor pointed out that the park had been designed originally for the women and children of Westmount, and further noted that the culprits, the baseball and cricket players, were, in many instances, nonresidents of the town. The message of the leader of this exclusive anglophone town was clear: Westmount Park was to remain a space for the privileged anglophone mother with her child. See "Westmount may stop park games," *Montreal Herald*, 17 May, 1907. On a similar conflict in NDG Park see Mr. Gardiner of the MPPA to Mr. Fosbery, 9 June, 1920, and Mr. Gardiner to H.B. Seybold, 18 April, 1922, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 9, file 354. Correspondence 1917-1924. On general complaints about children playing on the grass in parks and squares see unnamed citizen to CPT, 14, April, 1904, AVM, CPT, vm44, 121-10-04-00, dossier 1698, and AVM, CPT, minutes of 19 May, 1903, 17 May, 1906, and 2 July, 1909.

¹⁵⁰"Playgrounds Association of America's Plan for Washington," 1906, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948. The MPPA reprinted this statement as their own three years later. See E. H. Cartwright, "Moral value of playground training," *Montreal Witness*, 15 May, 1909.

¹⁵¹See "History of the MPPA," undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948, and "The Parks and Playgrounds Association Recreation Survey of the City of Montreal, 1912," MUA, MPPA, mg 2079, c. 5, file 350, in which Julia Schoenfeld writes: "experience shows that it is not desirable to establish playgrounds or athletic fields any faster than adequate supervision can be provided."

¹⁵²"Want supervisors for playgrounds," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 June, 1928, and "The Playground Situation -

the twentieth-century engaged in an intellectual debate about the necessity of the play supervisor. As in the case of the general plea for playgrounds, the need for sex-specific trained supervisors in these playgrounds required the careful construction of a gendered, class- and ethnic-specific argument. Commenting on this evolving intellectual climate, one observer noted in 1928 that

it [was] only a few years ago since those who advocated organized games and supervised play for children were regarded as zealots whose enthusiasm bordered on fanaticism. Those who had not studied the question said confidently that play comes as naturally as do eating and drinking, and to teach them how to act in the playgrounds is only to impose artificial restricts and to substitute a decorum which [was] foreign to the whole idea of their enjoyment.¹⁵³

Although the MPPA did not abandon its firm belief that the playground was a space in which children generally and boys particularly released "natural" sex-specific instincts, it nevertheless argued that the constant physical presence of the supervisor directing these innate instincts was necessary for the successful operation of the playground; able to rationalize this artificial presence by appealing to biology, the MPPA rationalized its philosophical position amid this glaring contradiction.

As we have seen in the case of playground space generally and juvenile delinquency specifically, the MPPA often used a seemingly gender-neutral discourse in its campaign for trained supervisors. Whether it praised the supervised playground for its value as a moral agent, or denounced the unsupervised playground as a danger to morals and a menace rather than an advantage, it "[could not] insist too strongly on proper supervision."¹⁵⁴

Hopeful Signs," *Dividends* 4:2 (September 1928): 2, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. On the hiring of caretakers for municipal playgrounds see reports of Superintendent of Parks to City Council, 16 April, 1914, 6 May, 1914, 10 April, 1915, and 30 June, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19607, 342-3eme série.

¹⁵³"Supervised playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 14 June, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. A reporter made a similar comment in 1926: "[t]he old-fashioned idea that a child can play naturally and instinctively and learn through play to develop its finer characteristics without tuition or supervision, has long since been exploded." "Children at play," *Montreal Star*, 4 March, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926. Also see "Civic recreation bureau criticized," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 November, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926.

¹⁵⁴See "More playgrounds are needed for city," *Montreal Star*, 26 March, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925; "Asked for views of playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 9 April, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926, and MPPA, *Annual Report* (1915).

Although the MPPA argued that without supervision "children were liable to get into mischief which may lead them towards delinquency,"¹⁵⁵ thereby undermining the purpose of the playground, it was, in fact, referring to the male child. Whether the unsupervised playground degenerated into a rowdy place in which the bully dominated or was a place in which fights were daily occurrences and the gang and casual vandals had free reign, the bully, fighter, gang member and vandal were gendered beings.¹⁵⁶ Biology had informed and experienced had shown these playground advocates that it was the boy who exhibited the instinct to fight and it was he who engaged in the destruction of property: of all the reported problems at the various playgrounds, it was the boy who was the culprit and expelled for either unseemly conduct such as smoking, using coarse language, playing craps, handling the equipment in a rough manner, stealing it, or destroying trees.¹⁵⁷ It is not incidental, therefore, that when the association decided to transform the Charlevoix playground in the impoverished English-speaking neighbourhood of Point St. Charles into a model playground in 1906 immediately following two seasons of a "gang of rowdy boys" committing such transgressions, the MPPA held up the supervisor as he who could prevent "the scandalous actions of [these] young toughs."¹⁵⁸ Thus, when the MPPA

¹⁵⁵"Organized games in summer time," *Montreal Gazette*, 7 May, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁵⁶See, for example, "Asked for views on playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 9 April, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928, and "A supervised playground - a community asset," *Verdun Free Press*, 7 May, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹⁵⁷See, for example, MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1904, 1906, 1910, 1923, 1926). On a racial component to this debate see "Recreation site lost to children," *Montreal Gazette*, 28 October, 1924, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925. Although there was a supervisor present at DesRivières Street playground, located in a "needy district where something was always likely to 'turn up,'" three colored men nevertheless usurped the space and enjoyed a games of craps.

¹⁵⁸"Where tots play," *Montreal Gazette*, undated, "For the children," *Montreal Gazette*, 13 November, 1906, and "Association reports on work done and projects planned," *Montreal Witness*, 13 November, 1906, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917. Also see "Announcement of establishment of model playground in Point St. Charles," 1906, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 3, file 328. The association stipulated that "while boys gain physical strength by play they could gain no moral good unless properly supervised." This experiment did not always work. In 1927, the MPPA reluctantly relinquished control of the operation of the Hibernia playground because of "persistent" and "malicious" damage to the property; Hibernia replaced Charlevoix as the playground servicing the residents of Point St. Charles in 1909. MPPA, *Annual Report* (1927).

argued that immoral practices were common where there was no supervisor and that "this [could] be proved to the hilt," its evidence as well as solution were gender-specific.¹⁵⁹

This call for supervised playgrounds rather than simply the provision of play space shifted the terms of the debate. Initially, the MPPA argued that the playground was a necessary alternative to both the street and commercial amusements. Responding to this call, the city operated sixteen by 1928. However, it did not provide supervisors in any of these play spaces; although the playground had become part of the urban landscape, the trained supervisor had not. Rather than continue to pit the playground against the street, saloon, pool rooms and dance halls, the MPPA thus formulated a new argument which set the supervised against the unsupervised playground, thereby replacing the street and commercial amusements as the movement's greatest enemy.¹⁶⁰ In fact, the association went so far as to redefine symbolically the unsupervised playground as the street, a space in which boys engaged in gender-specific transgressions such as loafing, smoking, swearing, gambling, and congregating into gangs. Dr. A.S. Lamb described a scene in the unsupervised playground, "the headquarters of the gang," which could have doubled as an indictment of the young male street culture: "the gang instinct is promoted and fostered for unwise ends, the quarrelsome nature has full sway, obscene and profane language go unchecked, discourtesy and persecution go unabated, petty thieving is rife, degeneracy and vice are rampant."¹⁶¹ Framing the debate within the same parameters, William Bowie went so far as to say that "[i]t [was] better for children to be exposed to the dangers of the street

¹⁵⁹"A supervised playground - a community asset," *Verdun Free Press*, 7 May, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926. Also note that when the MPPA pointed to the success of the supervisor, it referred to the proper behaviour of the male child in particular; it was presumed that it was not in a girl's instinct to engage in disruptive behaviour. See, for example, MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1906, 1909), and "Summer playgrounds," *Montreal Witness*, undated, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 7, file 259. Scrapbook 1902-1917.

¹⁶⁰For example, Mrs. J.H. Elliott of the MPPA explained that "[o]ne of the city's greatest assets is supervised playgrounds and one the greatest menaces the unsupervised playgrounds." "Suffrage Outlook growing brighter," *Montreal Gazette*, 6 March, 1928, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928.

¹⁶¹"Civic Recreation Bureau Criticized," *Montreal Gazette*, 3 November, 1925, and "Stresses menace of unsupervised playing grounds," *Montreal Star*, 3 November 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 11, file 263. Scrapbook 1925-1926.

traffic than unsupervised playgrounds, which [was] merely a meeting place for neighbourhood gangs."¹⁶² Bowie may have been over zealous in making this statement. However, to portray the unsupervised playground as more dangerous than the street, the embodiment of urban disorder, if only to prove a point, is a vivid example of the importance playground advocates placed in supervisors.

In their attempt to prevent the street from being transplanted to the playground, these advocates of the supervised playground diverged from their predecessors, the rural and neighbourhood park promoters. Whereas the latter envisioned more subtle forms of spatial regulation in these larger spaces (for example, in the form of the upkeep of the physical environment and the removal of benches), the former identified the physical presence of a person in the playground as a more effective (and overt) way to oversee this much smaller space. As we have seen in the first two chapters, park promoters spoke of the need for open space for those living in congested neighbourhoods. This call for breathing space did not include a request for the police officer, at worst, or guardian, at best, to serve as a prop in this space. However, playground advocates had more than one criterion, play space, in their call for playgrounds and athletic fields. Bowie described particularly well the perceived danger of open, unattended play space: "[p]layground equipment and space is needed, but these alone will not solve the problem of juvenile delinquency - more character building values can be derived from a programme of supervised play without equipment than can be achieved from the most wonderfully equipped playground in the world without supervision."¹⁶³ Lamb further explained the gender particularities of this necessity: "[t]he providing of grounds is not sufficient [because] [g]roups of larger boys form themselves into gangs and overrun the place."¹⁶⁴

¹⁶²"Playgrounds - supervised or unsupervised," *Montreal Star*, 17 April, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926. On the street as a physically dangerous place for boys to play and the call to arrest and punish children who did so see Coroner E. McMahon to the Chief of Police, undated, AVM, CP, Documents Administratives 1900, and AVM, CP, minutes of 1 November, 1900.

¹⁶³"Want more space for playgrounds," *Montreal Gazette*, 12 February, 1925, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925.

¹⁶⁴"Supervised play idea is spreading," *Montreal Gazette*, 17 June, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

Unlike the call for huge rural parks, in which their proponents emphasized the amount of green space, the opposite dynamic was at work in the playground: supervision was more important than space.

The supervisor to which the MPPA was referring was the trained professional. Unlike park promoters and citizens concerned about the moral fabric of the park, who called for more police protection as a way to rid that space of unacceptable behaviour, the MPPA believed that men (for boys) and women (for girls) trained specifically for playground supervision were more important than policemen.¹⁶⁵ As such, the association made provision for a female *assistant* and a male athletic *instructor* at its sex-segregated playgrounds in 1903, and offered, in conjunction with University Settlement and the Y.M.C.A., its first training class for play leaders in 1911.¹⁶⁶ The MPPA, arguing that "it [was] just as necessary for them to be educated on these lines as it [was] to be educated for a business or professional career," also welcomed the founding of the McGill School of Physical Education the following year.¹⁶⁷ Working intimately with the association, this school offered a summer playground course until 1918, and expanded the program into a two year endeavor that year: the students, who took courses such as "playground problems," were thus "fully equipped" to undertake the supervision of playground.¹⁶⁸

file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

¹⁶⁵ See, for example, Helen McArran, "Survey of Playgrounds of City of Montreal," 1921. MUA. MPPA. m.g. 2079. c. 5. file 178.

¹⁶⁶ "History of the MPPA." undated. MUA. MPPA. m.g. 2079. c. 3. file 129. Historical Documents 1902-1948.

¹⁶⁷ Miss Watt of the MPPA to President of the Hamilton Playground Association, 6 May, 1914. AVM. BC. vm17. 127-03-04-04. dossier 19607. 342-3eme série. The first in Canada, it was open to men and women between the ages of eighteen to twenty-seven who possessed "high ideal, moral character, [and] noble aspirations." In 1919, the school was placed under the control of the University. See *McGill University Calendar for the Session 1919-1920* (Gazette Printing Co.: Montreal, 1919). Note that it was in this era that the McGill School of Social Work was founded. See Marlene Shore, *The Science of Social Redemption: McGill, the Chicago School, and the Origins of Social Research in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1987).

¹⁶⁸ The playground courses were inherently gendered: the men took first aid and athletic instruction for boys and the women games and dances for girls. See *McGill University Calendar for the Session 1915-1916* (Gazette Printing Co.: Montreal, 1915); *McGill University Calendar for the Session 1916-1917* (Gazette Printing Co.: Montreal, 1916); *McGill University Calendar for the Session 1917-1918* (Gazette Printing Co.: Montreal, 1917), and *McGill University Calendar for the Session 1918-1919* (Gazette Printing Co.: Montreal, 1918).

Hired by the MPPA, these graduates from this elite anglophone institution supervised Montreal's working-class (francophone, Irish, non-white or immigrant) children on only one particular side of the playground divide: whereas the lady grads supervised the girls' sewing techniques, the men organized the boys' baseball games.¹⁶⁹

The bad behaviour of the boy contrasted to the proper behaviour of the girl in the playgrounds and the power of the (male) *instructor* juxtaposed to the docility of the (lady) *assistant* altered the meaning of the presence of these supervisors in the two spaces. As stated above, it was the boy who engaged in transgressive behaviour in the playground. In the rare instance when the MPPA was unable to secure the funding for two supervisors, as illustrated at the MacDonald playground in 1922, "the inability of lady supervisors to control boys' activities" only emphasized this point.¹⁷⁰ This became even clearer in the MPPA's gendered instructions to its supervisors. With no mention of behavioural problems, the MPPA informed its female supervisors to transform these girls into young ladies by placing special emphasis on courtesy and etiquette. However, its instructions to the men were strikingly different. Anticipating problems, the association focused on what techniques would best prevent delinquent acts: "try to check the use of bad language and the use of tobacco as much as possible. Great tact is necessary in this part of your work. The boy must be shown why he should not do a certain thing. The blunt 'don't' will never suffice to change the boys' ways."¹⁷¹ Assuming different roles, the two supervisors (one assistant and one instructor) situated on the appropriate side of the playground divide

¹⁶⁹On McGill graduates working on playgrounds operated by the MPPA see, for example, AVM, BC, minutes of 11 May, 1917: "Cooling showers for juveniles," *Montreal Gazette*, 25 June, 1925, c. 8, file 260. Scrapbook 1920-1925; MPPA, *Annual Report* (1926), and "Vacant lots and real playgrounds," *Montreal Star*, 8 May, 1928, c. 8, file 258. Scrapbook 1928. On women supervisors for girls and men supervisors for boys see, for example, MPPA, *Annual Reports* (1910, 1913); AVM, BC, minutes of 27 May and 2 July, 1913, and "Special Report of Sub-Committee of Playground Committee," undated, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-03-04-04, dossier 19607, 342-3eme série.

¹⁷⁰MPPA, *Annual Report* (1923). For a similar problem at the Dufferin Square playground in 1915 because of the absence of a female supervisor see E. Brown and J.A. Dale of University Settlement to BC, 20 April, 1915, AVM, BC, vm17, 127-02-05-01, dossier 26638.

¹⁷¹"Instructions to lady supervisors," 24 June, 1926, and "Instructions to men supervisors," 24 June, 1926, MUA, MPPA, m.g. 2079, c. 8, file 261. Scrapbook 1924-1926.

further differentiated the one homosocial space from the other, as well as placed the supervised playground further away from the subtleties of the park.

Conclusion

The supervisors in these small play areas represented the most blatant mechanism of control: they were placed in playgrounds to ensure that the artificial constructs inscribed there were upheld among users, namely allegiance to the (Anglo-Saxon) nation, a gendered concept of citizenship, manliness, heterosexuality, and a sexual and class-specific division of labour. However, the supervisor was only one among many strategies used to ensure that this ethnic-, gender-, and class-specific project was successful. The MPPA, the organization which was the primary operator of and lobbyist for playgrounds and sports fields in Montreal, not only favoured the English-speaking boy who lived in poverty, but also sought to inculcate in its francophone and immigrant clients a sense of loyalty to the (Anglo-Saxon) state, engender in them a sense male privilege, and discourage upward mobility. Engaged in gendered programming in these homosocial spaces, the MPPA also used sports as a way to prevent improper heterosexual relations by sublimating young men's (hetero)sexual urges and domestic science classes to train the girls of Montreal to be future home-makers. This was an immense task. The association wisely chose to manipulate the physical space of the city in its attempt to enforce these rigid social constraints.

CONCLUSION

When I walk through a park or accompany my little nephew and his father to the neighbourhood playground, I now identify the political significance of seemingly meaningless daily acts. I cannot help but notice the importance of the presence of the couple holding hands ahead of me in Mount Royal Park: surrounded by multiple displays of the "traditional family," these two women and their baby are subverting two systems which underlied the creation of this park more than a century ago - bourgeois domesticity and respectable heterosexuality. I cannot help but catch myself struggling between my apprehensions of sharing a bench in Jeanne Mance Park (formerly known as Fletcher's Field) with a homeless man who is using it as his bed, and my sense of justice which tells me that the system which failed to provide this man with proper housing should be the focus of my frustration. I cannot help but notice that my brother-in-law, who brings his son to the neighbourhood playground in the middle of work day, is an anomaly amid stay-at-home moms. Although he has chosen to challenge the patriarchal assumptions of the sexual division of labour by being the primary care-giver, the concept of the family wage on display at this playground has yet to be overturned in the last years of the twentieth-century. I cannot help but recoil at the comment of a mother of a little girl who proudly declares that her daughter and my nephew will make the cutest couple one day: assuming both children are (or will be) straight, she is further entrenching heterosexuality in this space for little people.

A lesbian couple with a baby in a park on a Sunday or a father (who voluntarily left the paid workforce) with his son in a playground in the middle of the work week may not have appeared in Montreal parks and playgrounds a century ago. However, these contemporary scenes serve as a useful window through which to understand the central argument of this thesis. An history of the relationship among the power to construct a space, the values inscribed in it, and a system of regulation designed to either bar the less

powerful or eject those who challenged these values, these incidents speak to these power issues.

Evidence of how access to physical space served as a barometer of political and economic power, the politics of park and playground location, for example, was a battle between rich and poor and among anglophones, francophones, and immigrants. It was not incidental that the city above the hill, inhabited by Montreal's wealthiest anglophones, became the home of Mount Royal Park, the city's largest and most costly park. Nor was it odd that the most impoverished neighbourhoods, whether English-speaking, French-speaking, or multi-linguistic, were the most under-serviced in regards to parks. Nor was it shocking that the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, the elite, Anglo-Saxon organization which headed the battle for playgrounds in the city, privileged neighbourhoods inhabited by English-speaking boys. Built in specific neighbourhoods, these parks and playgrounds helped entrench invisible boundaries in the city which put further physical and ideological distance between the different classes and ethnic groups.

These rigid boundaries also helped inscribe gender, class, ethnicity, and sexuality in these already deeply ideological spaces. Identified as solutions to urban pathology brought on by industrial capitalism, the park, focussing on mothers and families, was constructed as a domestic enclave in which to uphold female propriety and bourgeois domesticity and the playground, targetting working-class boys and young men, was seen as a homosocial space in which to contain male vices and heterosexual urges and train the future citizens of the (Anglo-Saxon) nation. Although these two spaces differed in their approach to providing superficial solutions to basic problems brought on by industrial development, they nevertheless embodied identical values: an affinity to capitalism, bourgeois (hetero)sexual morality, and a sexual division of labour.

These artificial values, in turn, dictated a policy of exclusion. Whether he be a drinking man, vagabond, or flaneur or she be a "promiscuous" young woman in the park, these gender- and class-specific bodies, representing a particular affront to the beneficiary

of the park, the bourgeois woman, did not fit into these rigidly defined spaces, and were subject to expulsion as a consequence. Herein lies the ultimate manifestation of unequal power relations in a deeply unequal city: the power to define meant the power to regulate.

A century ago, the powerful manipulated public spaces, in this case parks and playgrounds, to further entrench their position in Montreal. Although the poor (e.g. the vagabond) and disenfranchised (e.g. young working women and mischievous boys) found ways to subvert the dominant values inscribed in parks and playgrounds, they paid for their transgressions. However, attempts to redefine the park and play spaces that we occupy, today, as in history, are vital if we are to dislodge the dangerous principles inscribed in these particular spaces: bourgeois domesticity, compulsory heterosexuality, a rigid sexual and class division of labour.

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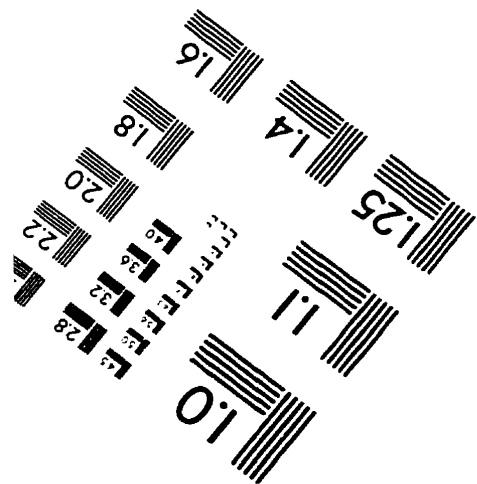
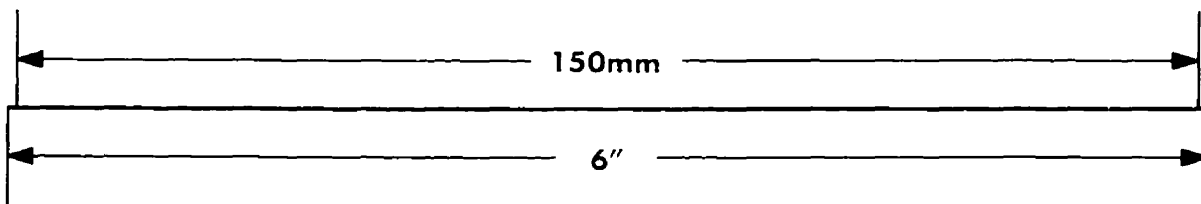
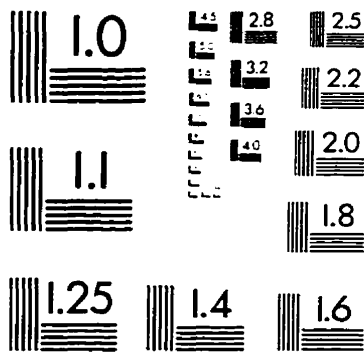
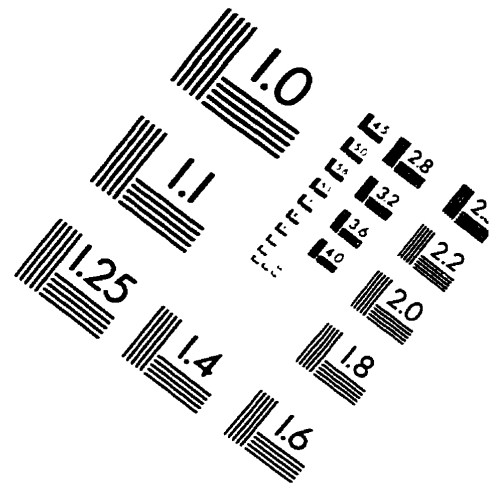
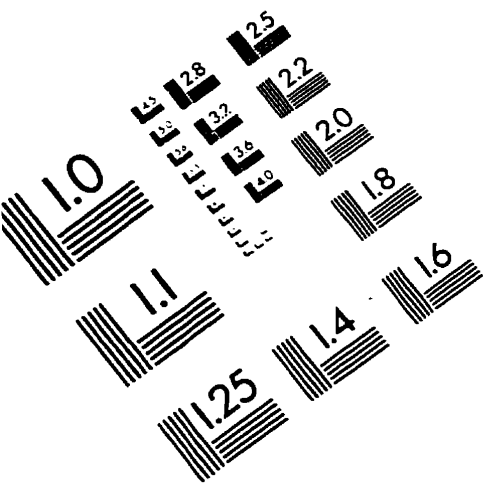
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