MONTREAL'S GREAT EXPERIMENT: POVERTY AND THE MONTREAL PROTESTANT HOUSE OF INDUSTRY AND REFUGE, 1863-1901

By

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ABSTRACT

The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge (MPHIR), founded in 1863 by a group of prominent business elites, rapidly became one of the most important sources of indoor and outdoor relief for the city's protestant poor in the nineteenth century. The institution was designed to function both as a refuge for the city's aged and infirm poor and as a house of industry where the able-bodied were expected to work in return for assistance. Over the course of the century, labour lost its importance as a principal means of reform in the MPHIR. The reformatory potential of the environment began to dominate the ideology of the institution, as its internal geography increasingly reflected concern for health, Victorian notions of domesticity, and the beneficial influence of the natural environment. This author argues that far from being simply an instrument of reform, the MPHIR constituted a social experiment that re-shaped the reformist ideologies of the managing governors through constant interaction with Montreal's destitute population.

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CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

For the city of Montreal in the later half of the nineteenth century, it was both the best and worst of times. Formerly an unremarkable city built on the economy of the fur trade and other staple commodities, Montreal had begun to be reshaped by a class of wealthy merchants and entrepreneurial elites that developed a highly diversified and specialized industrial base in the first decades of the century. By 1850, the old artisanal social organization of labour was being rapidly replaced by a new, rationalized wage-labour system that was gathered more and more frequently around large factories and enterprises, rather than small artisanal workshops. While artisanal and small-scale industry continued somewhat successfully in certain parts of the city, particularly the predominantly French Canadian sections in Saint Jacques ward and elsewhere in the east, other portions of the city exhibited a striking physical transformation associated with industrialization. Around the Lachine Canal, in St. Anne's ward, the sky was filled with smokestacks and their accompanying air pollution, and large, industrial complexes littered the landscape more than anywhere else in Montreal.

Robert Lewis identifies the period between 1861 and 1891 as a 'transition from craft production to modern industry and to the spatial organization of the initial movement to a modern industrial complex'.[1] The seeds of this massive transformation were sown decades earlier, however, with the development of the Lachine Canal in the 1820s and 1840, which allowed a concentration of industries that required water for motive power. The expansion and modernization of Montreal's port facilities, as well as

[1] Robert Lewis, Manufacturing Montreal (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2000), 6.

the expansion of rail and telegraph infrastructure, facilitated the accumulation and re-investment of wealth, and helped to secure Montreal's ascendant position in the regional and international markets.[2] These investments in infrastructure were accompanied by corresponding industrial activities. The Grand Trunk Railway in Point St. Charles was the city's largest employer in 1871, with over 1200 workers.[3] Nearby Lachine was host to related metalwork and spike manufactories. The city's port facilities employed large numbers of unskilled labourers during the summer months, charged with the task of loading and unloading raw materials and manufactured goods, an increasing number of which were being made in Montreal. The completion of the Lachine Canal in 1846 spurred further expansion and diversification of manufacturing.[4] The most important manufacturing industries in the city were clothing, boot and shoe manufacture, cigar making, and food processing. Cigar and clothing manufacture tended to be more common in the eastern part of the city, while heavier, power- and water-intensive activities like metalwork, leather and woodworking were concentrated around the Lachine Basin. A gendered division of labour developed, with more women than men employed in the clothing and cigar making industries as the century progressed, while the heavy industries remained largely male dominated.[5]

The opportunities provided by industrial employment made Montreal an attractive destination for immigrants who joined the city from surrounding rural settlements, the

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[2] Gerald Tulchinsky, The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation 1837-1853 (Toronto and Buffalo: University of Toronto Press, 1977), p. 81

[3] Bettina Bradbury, Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993), 26.

[4] Tulchinsky, 1977, 204.

[5] Bradbury, 28.

United States and Europe. Along with French Canadians, the most numerous groups of immigrants originated from Great Britain and Ireland. These groups settled in patterns that corresponded to language, religion and ethnicity. French Canadians settled more commonly in the eastern wards, whereas the Irish and English predominantly settled in the west. The poorest Irish immigrants settled in Griffintown, a notorious slum located in St. Anne's ward, while a growing suburb of wealthy homes developed along the slopes of Mount Royal in Saint Antoine, populated largely by English-speaking Protestant elites.

The success of Montreal as a dominant centre for commerce and industry is evidenced by the rapid increase in population that took place in the second half of the nineteenth century. Between 1861 and 1891, the city more than doubled in size from 90,000 to 182,000 inhabitants.[6] At the same time, the number of wage-earners increased more than five-fold, reflecting the revolutionizing effect of industrialization on the city's employment patterns.[7]

The industrialization of Montreal did not occur in a uniform fashion, however; nor were the beneficial results of economic expansion felt uniformly by all residents of the city. Montreal's economy from 1850 to 1900 was characterized by a succession of economic recessions and periods of rapid development. Recessions in the 1850s and 1860s were followed by a catastrophic economic crash that originated in the United States but struck Montreal in 1874 and lasted until the end of the decade. Alongside these long-duration economic cycles was the problem of seasonal variability, common in many North American cities, but particularly severe in Montreal, where the freezing of the Saint Lawrence in the winter effectively shut down the large scale import and export

[6] Bradbury, 39.
[7] Ibid., 35.

of goods.[8] Capitalists who were able to organize their business cycles appropriately could weather seasonal economic fluctuation, but unemployment and high fuel prices in the winter were especially difficult for the working class. Certain workers, particularly skilled labour and some small-scale entrepreneurs, were able to thrive throughout changes in Montreal's economic environment, while other groups such as unskilled construction workers and dockhands were at the mercy of economic conditions and the availability of provincially or municipally funded infrastructure improvement projects. The pay for unskilled labour was low, about $1 per day, compared with the $2 or more per day that could be earned by skilled tradesmen.[9] When times were tough, however, many workers found it difficult to secure even $1 per day on a consistent basis, as chronic underemployment forced the price of labour down. The common practice of paying less in wages during the winter months exacerbated the problem and made working-class subsistence particularly difficult. In 1877, for example, contractors threatened to lower wages for day labourers on the Lachine canal to 80 cents from 90 cents a day. This resulted in a widespread strike that failed to achieve any tangible results, largely because workers could not afford to strike for very long (see Figure 1.1).[10] As Robert Lewis has pointed out, industrialization brought increased spatial class segregation and an uneven geographical distribution of wealth to the city. Middle and upper class families left the commercial center for more isolated suburbs in increasing

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[8] Peter Baskerville and Eric W. Sager, Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and Their Families in Late Victorian Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998), 37.

[9] Herbert Ames, The City Below the Hill (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 68.

[10] Bradbury, 83.

Figure 1.1 Lachine day labourers on strike in 1877 (Source: BNQ Albums Massicotte).

Figure 1.2 Seasonal flooding in Griffintown (Source: BNQ Albums Massicotte).

numbers after 1850, while the working class filled wards like St. Anne's and St. Jacques'. While not very distant from one another spatially, neighborhoods like St. Antoine and Griffintown shared striking differences. In the poorer parts of the city, the streets and sewers were barely maintained or non-existent, with outdoor privies common in much of Montreal up until the end of the century. Farm animals like pigs and chickens populated crowded yards behind terrace or duplex-style homes, and poorly constructed rear tenements attracted some of the harshest criticism from contemporary observers for their typically unsanitary condition and lack of breathing room. Griffintown was often referred to as the 'swamp', due to its low relief and its tendency to flood when the Saint Lawrence rose (see Figure 1.2). These factors, combined with crowded conditions, poor sanitation and proximity to industry, made most working class neighborhoods very unhealthy places to live, and this was reflected in higher-than average death rates for poor districts. The city as a whole suffered from high death rates as a result of a continuing series of epidemic outbreaks, and various commentators (including the founder of the Montreal Sanitary Association, Dr. Philip Carpenter) placed the blame squarely on the city's poor sanitation and sewage infrastructure, and the abominable condition of working class housing.[11]

Housing was the issue that attracted perhaps the most attention from reformers, health researchers, and city officials. As Hertzog and Lewis point out, the rates of homeownership across the entire city were low, and decreased steadily over the course of

[11] David Bellhouse, 'Stillbirth of a Canadian Statistical Society in 19th Century Canada,' Seminar, University of Western Ontario, 2003.

the century.[12] The majority of working-class Montrealers were tenants, either because they could not afford their own home, or because transportation fares between their workplaces and more affordable suburbs were prohibitive. There is some debate as to the level of overcrowding in poor neighborhoods. Gilliland and Olson have demonstrated that housing size varied by ethnicity and age, and the number of rooms per household increased as tenants advanced in years.[13] Bradbury has suggested that census-taking methods at the time failed to account for the subdivision of larger dwellings into smaller parts, giving observers the impression that numerous families were being crowded into single, autonomous houses.[14] Certainly, contemporaries considered high densities to be a very real and serious threat to the salubrity and healthfulness of the city, and often cited extreme cases of crowding when discussing the housing problem in Montreal. Herbert Ames' survey of St. Anne's Ward in 1896 showed, rather surprisingly, however, that most working-class families lived in houses with a ratio of one room per person, and that overcrowding was far from the norm, even in relatively poor areas. Nevertheless, poor quality housing represented the centerpiece of a widespread condemnation of Montreal's poor neighborhoods by the city's middle and upper class. As with other industrializing cities, Montreal's less privileged areas came to signify a vast array of social problems and threats to Victorian morality. The propensity for working class families to lodge together and rent to boarders assaulted Victorian notions of sexual propriety, while middle- and upper class imaginations, fueled by sensational journalism and urban fiction in the

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[12] Stephen Hertzog and Robert Lewis, 'A City of Tenants: Homeownership and Social lass in Montreal 1847-1881,' Canadian Geographer 30, 4 (1986) 316-323.
[13] Jason Gilliland and Sherry Olson , 'Claims on Housing in Nineteenth Century Montreal,' Urban History Review 26, 2 (1998) 7-9.
[14] Bradbury, 76-77.

Dickensian tradition, made a tenuous connection between unsanitary conditions and immorality, or, as Mariana Valverde puts it, the horizontally linked concepts of poverty, vice and crime.[15]

As several historians have pointed out, Victorian social commentators moved somewhat uncritically between religious, moral, and scientific explanations for the iniquities that existed in the distribution of wealth. A common belief was that some moral or spiritual deficiency on the part of the poor was the leading cause of their indigence. Speaking before a conference of other Methodists in Montreal, one minister proclaimed that it was no wonder that the majority of wealth accrued to Christians, because their 'temperance, industry, honesty, reliability and intelligence naturally contribute to their temporal prosperity.'[16] The only reliable way to arrest poverty, in his view, was to spiritually educate the poor through evangelical home visits. The claims made by moralists, religious groups and societies such as the WCTU shared the public forum with other voices that placed the blame for poverty elsewhere - on the shoulders of the state for failing to control the exploitative practices of industrialists or for meddling too much in economic affairs, on unfavorable immigration policies, and on natural, biological laws of science and human nature. Many observers placed much of the blame for growing poverty on the institutions of charity themselves -- particularly the British Poor Laws -- because they were seen to legitimize pauperism by providing indiscriminate charity as though it were an inalienable right. The tendency of paupers to view state-sponsored assistance as a right, many proponents of reform insisted, posed a grievous

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[15] Mariana Valverde, The Age of Soap, Light and Water: Moral Reform in English Canada, 1885-1925 (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1991), 133.
[16] Rev. Chancellor Sims, 'The Problem of Home Evangelization,' The Evangelical Alliance Conference, 1888, 263.

threat to the continued prosperity of the nation and empire as a whole. Perhaps as a result of the multitude of opinions about the causes of poverty in the nineteenth century, causes and effects tended to overlap. When Herbert Ames made the claim in 1897 that the consumption of alcohol was a symptom, rather than a cause of poverty, he was contradicting a well-established discourse that related causes and effects together uncritically. For most Victorian reformers, whether alcohol was a cause or effect of poverty was moot -- the combination of elements like weak morality, propensity for alcohol, spiritual deficiency, unsanitary living conditions, sexual impropriety and lack of education were all endemic to the underprivileged. Addressing those deficiencies individually or collectively was seen as an effective solution.[17]

A common tendency was to relate poverty symbiotically with the neighborhoods where the poor congregated. Urban slums became both signifiers of poverty and environments that could potentially corrupt and impoverish inhabitants. In 1882, the Daily Star described the scene of a theft in St. Charles as 'one of the vilest dens in the city, a rookery' and advised that 'the Inspector of the Health Committee should give special attention to the horrible condition of those people and of their dwellings, of which the detective gave the most unfavorable account'.[18] The article went on to describe, in colorful detail, the theft of a barrel of lobsters from Bonsecours market by three of the neighborhood's 'most colorful ornaments'. Newspaper reporters, pamphleteers and novelists alike contributed to the perception that slums were a threat to the morality of their inhabitants by attempting to satiate a curious public with scandalous and sensational

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[17] See Valverde, 133, and Keith Gandal, The Virtues of the Vicious: Jacob Riis, Stephen Crane, and the Spectacle of the Slum (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 27-33.
[18] Daily Star, 3 January 1882.

news about the mysterious and largely invisible underbelly of the industrial metropolis. No less than three Montreal novelists, writing in the popular gothic style, wrote books entitled '*The Mysteries of Montreal*' between 1850 and 1900.[19] In one of these fictional episodes, the narrator becomes visibly frightened at the prospect of journeying to Point St. Charles at night, and notes that she could not altogether control her emotions as she 'drove through the lowest and dirtiest parts of Griffintown, which at that time had the reputation of harboring all sorts of fenians, thieves and marauders.'[20] Later, the narrator encounters a notorious 'house of vice' in St. Jacques, where she is met by 'a bad character, a great bony female about forty years of age, with painted face and attired in disgusting finery.'[21] In both cases the author made a connection between the moral character of the poor and the spaces they inhabited, a practice that was common among many different forms of commentary, high and low, over the Victorian period.[22]

Herbert Ames, armed with statistics and approaching the issue of urban poverty from a more scientific perspective, nonetheless perpetuated the connection between environmental factors and the condition of the poor by insisting that the root of Montreal's urban problem could be traced to the abominable condition of working class housing. His sociological survey of Saint Anne's ward, performed in the tradition of Charles Booth's statistical survey of London, was intended to rouse the city's

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[19] These include French Canadian journalist and author Hector Berthelot's *Mysteres de Montreal* in 1879, Charlotte Fuhrer's 1881 Mysteries of Montreal: Memoirs of a Midwife and a third, anonymous author's contribution to the canon in 1896.
[20] Charlotte Fuhrer, Mysteries of Montreal (Vancouver : University of British Columbia Press, 1984), 65.
[21] Ibid., 167.
[22] On popular fiction and the city, see Robert Mighall, A Geography of Victorian Gothic Fiction (London: Oxford University Press, 1999).

philanthropic community to construct model tenements and improve the city's haphazard sanitation infrastructure. Proper housing, Ames argued, 'is not without its effect upon [the worker] and his family. It tends to make him independent and self-reliant, preserving as it does all that pertains to separate family life.'[23]

If environmental conditions were considered to be one of the primary contributors to urban poverty, it was logical for Victorian reformers to turn to environmental solutions in their attempt to reform the poor. This was widely the case for English-speaking Montreal in the second half of the nineteenth century, when myriad institutions were created in response to the perceived threat of societal decay brought on by the new industrial social order and its accompanying rampant poverty. Along with wide scale changes to the city's architectural and economic landscape described by Robert Lewis, the period from 1850 to 1900 witnessed an explosion in the number and variety of institutions devoted to caring for the needy, the sick, the helpless and the insane. Early organizations, such as the Ladies Benevolent Society and the various national societies, including the Saint Andrew's Society (1835) and the St. Georges Society (1834), tended to be small, rather than large-scale institutional structures. The Saint Andrew's society, similarly to its Irish and English analogues, dealt only with individuals of Scottish descent, and concerned itself primarily with the well-being of new immigrants and their families. The Society ran a small home, which offered temporary residence for destitute immigrants and served as a base for the distribution of charitable aid throughout the city. Later institutions, such as the Protestant Orphans Asylum and the Protestant Hospital for the Insane (1881), marked the apotheosis of large-scale institutionalization in Montreal,

[23] Herbert Ames, The City Below the Hill (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 43-44.

and were characterized by elaborate, imposing architecture and their removal to locations somewhat distant from the core of the city. By the end of the century, Montreal's suburban outskirts were littered with a variety of Protestant institutions, all located on large tracts of land, where they commanded virtually unlimited vistas and testified to the wealth, power and beneficence of Montreal's WASP bourgeoisie.[24]

Protestant and Catholic institutions sprung up apace parallel to one another, although the scale and diversity of the Protestant institutions often eclipsed the latter, where the Catholic Church was a hegemonic force in the distribution of charity. Rivalry between the Catholic and Protestant religions was a motivating force in the development of separate institutions, but this did not appear to attract criticism for the resulting high number of institutions. Most Protestant observers felt that Montreal was blessed, rather than hindered, by the redundancy of charitable institutions that resulted from religious and linguistic rifts that differentiated the city's population. As John Redpath stated in 1866:

> May the struggle with wretchedness, to which all Christians are summoned by their founder, be the one source of rivalry between the two great sections into which they are divided, and Catholic be found vying with Protestant, and Protestant with Catholic, in the noblest strife of benevolence and good works.[25]

One journalist described the laying of the cornerstone of the Protestant Country Home in 1884 as an event that would be hailed with satisfaction by the entire community, stating that 'all who believe in the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of mankind, if they

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[24] On the importance of monumental civic structures and commemorative architecture among Montreal's various linguistic and religious groups, see Alan Gordon, Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930 (Montreal & Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2001).
[25] MPHIR Annual Report, 1866, 5.

do not actually cooperate in the self-same objects, can, at least, aid each other's exertions and rejoice in each other's successes.'[26]

If Protestants and Catholics in late nineteenth-century Montreal did indeed rejoice in each other's successes in the realm of philanthropy, their efforts were nonetheless divided along very well drawn religious lines. Almost all public institutions, from orphanages to schools to asylums, were designated as either Protestant or Catholic, and they rarely served members outside of their own religious community.

Perhaps the most important force in organized charity for the Protestant poor in Montreal during this period was the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge (MPHIR), founded in 1863. This institution was the single largest source of charitable relief available to destitute Protestants in Montreal, and had a larger annual budget than any other Protestant charity of its kind. The activities under its purview ranged from home visitation and outdoor relief to the institutional care of the able-bodied and the elderly. The primary offices of the MPHIR were located on Dorchester Street, and shared the property with a House of Industry, temporary night refuge and soup kitchen. Later, in the 1880s, the institution expanded to include a home for the indigent and elderly on Molson Farm at Longue Pointe (see Figure 1.3).

The study that follows will chart the inception, growth and maturation of this influential establishment from the point of its creation in 1863 until the end of the century. An analysis of the annual reports, institutional records, financial statements and minutes of board meetings provide the basis for this study, and afford a comprehensive

[26] Montreal Gazette, 13 June 1881.

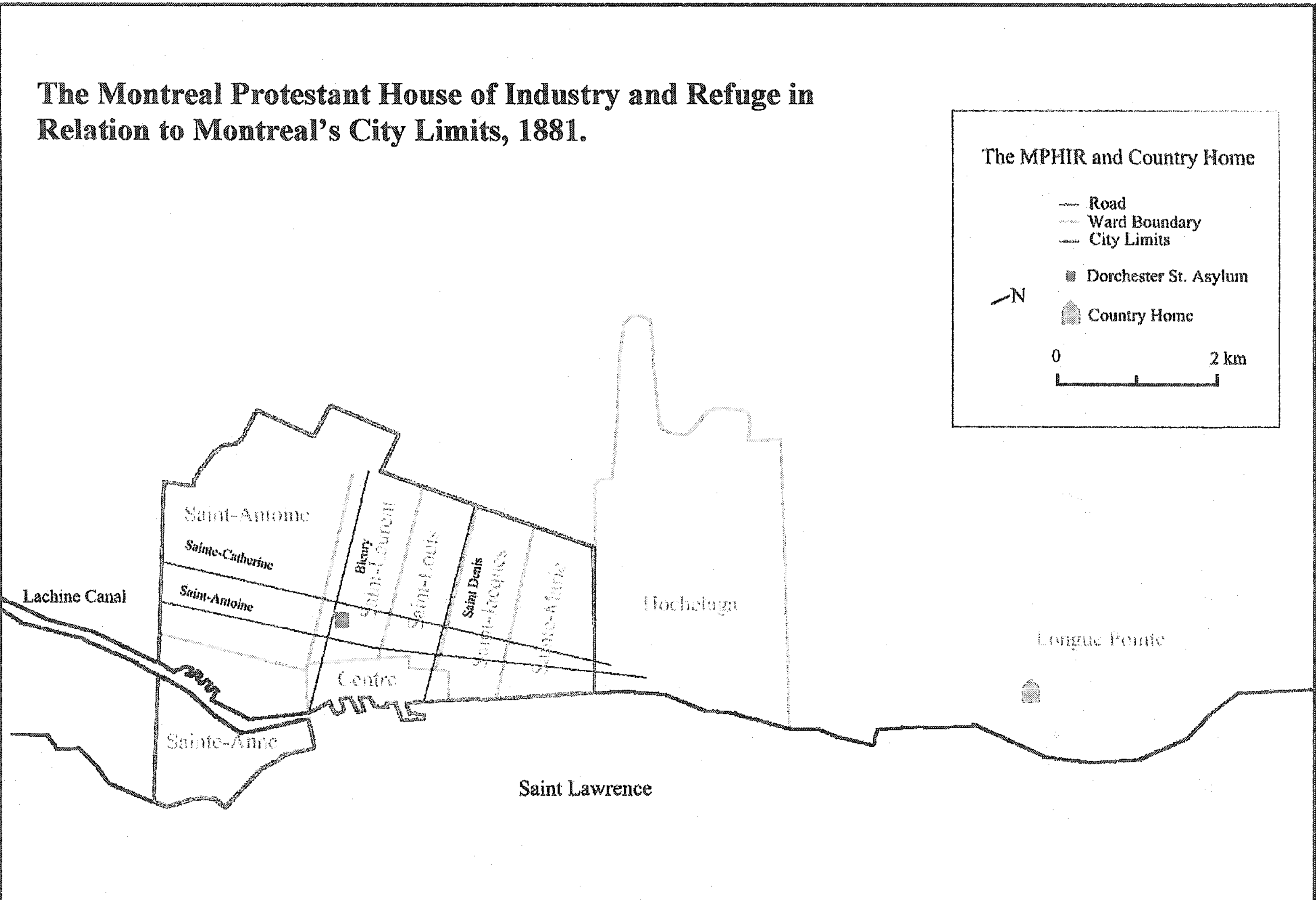

Figure 1.3. The location of the main offices of the MPHIR on Dorchester Street, and the Country Home, completed in 1884.

overview of the material, ideological and political underpinnings of the institution.[27] The early lifespan of the MPHIR is a worthy subject of study inasmuch as it reveals in fine grain the specificities of Protestant philanthropy in Montreal and allows us more fully to understand the process of institutionalization that took place throughout the city in the late Victorian period. While this study deals uniquely with the MPHIR, it is hoped that a detailed investigation of the history of this establishment contributes something to our wider understanding of institutionalization and social reform in industrializing Canada. The purpose of the MPHIR was twofold: to provide the city with an institution to house the indigent and idle poor, and to unite the various Protestant charities under a single banner. Ideologically convinced of the benefits of centralized charity, the governors of the MPHIR followed the lead set by other similar institutions in Great Britain and the United states by offering an architectural solution to the evil of imposition and deceitfulness on the part of the poor. As a result, the most important aspect of the MPHIR at its inception was the House of Industry. This consisted of a series of dormitories for male and female inmates who were unable to support themselves independently, due to illness, age, or inability to work. These individuals were considered to be 'permanent inmates', and they were permitted to remain in the House of Industry on a long-term basis, even during the summer. The institutional environment and compulsory labour requirement of the House of Industry was intended to teach

[27] The Annual Reports of the MPHIR for the years 1863 to 1901 were gathered at the McGill University Rare Books Collection, and various years have been reproduced on microfilm. The annual reports contain the yearly institutional budget, as well as comments from the President and various committees associated with the institution. The minute books for the MPHIR during this period are contained three bound volumes and held at the Grace Dart Memorial Hospital Archives in Montreal. These minute books contain transcripts of yearly and semi-yearly meetings, as well as special reports by individual committees, and financial records.

inmates the value of labour and the habits of hard work and thrift. While this program was considered to be the most important part of the MPHIR, it was not the only form of relief practiced in the institution. A Night refuge, located in the basement of the structure on Dorchester Street, provided shelter to a different class of inmates, termed 'temporary lodgers' by the Board. Temporary boarders could stay for a maximum of one or two consecutive nights during the winter when the refuge was operational. A soup kitchen was associated with the Night Refuge, and provided food to the temporary lodgers as well as to casual poor from the surrounding districts. Additional outdoor charity was provided by the Board of Outdoor Relief, a department of the MPHIR that was funded separately by casual donations from the public. This branch of the institution distributed material aid during the winter months from an office located in the main buildings on Dorchester Street. The MPHIR also housed an independent department called the Ladies Industrial Rooms. The Ladies Rooms provided assistance in the form of contract sewing work that women could perform either at home or in the space provided on the ground floor of the Dorchester Street institution.

While it might appear that the various branches of the MPHIR opposed one another ideologically (for example the strict institutional rules of the House of Industry compared with the practice of outdoor relief), the departments were in fact closely related in practice. A central tenet of the MPHIR was the importance of control and centralization, and this was expressed in all branches of the institution. Institutionalization could potentially limit pauperization by imposing checks on the distribution of aid, and the Board applied this logic to the provision of outdoor relief, by investigating appeals for outdoor aid and attempting to maintain lists of those assisted by

each individual charity. The MPHIR also attempted to unite all of the outdoor charities in the City under a 'United Board of Outdoor Relief' that consisted of a committee of members from other national and religious charities.

Despite strong efforts to do so, the Board of Outdoor Relief failed to completely secure the cooperation of all of Montreal's Protestant charities. Many of the national societies agreed to distribute outdoor aid through the offices of the MPHIR on Dorchester Street, but they maintained their own relief rolls and operated more or less independently from the central Board. The Board's failure to secure the cooperation of many national and religious charities testifies to the religiously and ethnically diverse nature of Montreal, but the efforts on the part of the Board to overcome this diversity is suggestive of a new large-scale form of institutionalization that transcended traditional sectarian boundaries.

Philanthropic organizations in Montreal were often governed by members of the entrepreneurial elite. Many prominent businessmen sat on the governing board of more than one institution, as with Charles Alexander, who was on the Board of the MPHIR as well as Saint Andrew's Society. The subscription list and managing Board of the MPHIR consisted of a comprehensive list of some of the most influential capitalists in the city, including John Redpath, William Workman, Alexander Hutchison, William Murray, Charles Alexander and William Molson.

William Workman, who was a founding member of the MPHIR and served as president of the institution from 1874-1877, is typical of the class of industrial capitalists who were involved with protestant philanthropy in Montreal. Workman was born in Ireland in 1807, and immigrated to Canada in 1829, where he and his brother joined John

Frothingham's hardware wholesale business. Within less than a decade, both Workmans were full partners in the firm, and William was establishing himself as a successful capitalist with considerable influence in the city. He invested extensively in both the banking and rail transportation sectors, which, as Tulchinsky suggests, revealed a particular belief in the necessity of technological progress and civic infrastructure for Montreal's continued prosperity.[28] Concurrent to his membership on the Board of the MPHIR, Workman was also mayor of Montreal from 1868-1871. His interest in philanthropy was, like many other members of the board, far-reaching. He was president of the St. Patrick's society, and later involved with the Irish Protestant Benevolent society when the former became exclusively Catholic after 1856.

Following Workman's death in 1877, the reins of the MPHIR fell into the hands of Charles Alexander, another prominent Montreal businessman. Alexander's life, like that of William Workman, followed a similar trajectory of immigration to Canada and the application of a powerful entrepreneurial spirit and work ethic in the accumulation of wealth. Soon after finding employment with Keiller & Sons marmalade manufacturers, Alexander began his own confectionery shop in 1842 with the use of borrowed capital. His business expanded successfully over the course of the century, moving to larger and larger premises until he turned control of the company over to his two sons in 1896. Like Workman, Alexander was also interested in politics, serving as both city councilor and alderman in the 1860s and 1870s.[29] Alexander differed from Workman in the intensity and variety of his philanthropic efforts. A believer in environmentalism, Alexander was

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[28] Gerald Tulchinsky, 'William Workman,' Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), 717-718.
[29] Janice Harvey, 'Charles Alexander,' Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto: University of Toronto Press), 1994, 11.

personally interested in the emerging science of rehabilitative institutionalization, and helped to found a number of important medical and rehabilitative establishments. In the 1860s, Alexander traveled to Boston and New York to investigate their innovative prison systems. Upon returning to Montreal, he successfully lobbied for reforms that included an increased focus on rehabilitation and the segregation of women and children to more appropriate facilities.[30] Alexander's environmentalist ideology is further shown through his involvement with the Society for the Protection of Women and Children, and the Fresh Air Fund, a charity that sent mothers and children for vacations in the countryside.

The presence of so many industrial capitalists on the Board of the MPHIR influenced the design and operation of the institution both on practical and ideological levels. John Redpath and William Murray, the first two presidents of the institution, shrewdly managed the financial aspect of the organization, ensuring that an endowment fund was created and invested profitably. Since the MPHIR did not have an endowment from the city, and received only small yearly grants from the Government of Quebec, managing the subscriptions and charitable donations raised through appeals to the public was of utmost concern. Inmate labour was used to generate profits, and the Board was obsessed with the profitability of this enterprise, no matter how small a fraction of the overall revenue of the institution was generated through compulsory labour. The Board maintained meticulous ledgers and itemized nearly all expenditures and sources of income in great detail.

Figure 1.4 shows the yearly income of the MPHIR from 1864-1900. Colored bands represent the proportion of revenue that was generated from each source. The

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[30] Ibid.

institution was almost entirely privately supported, with a very small yearly grant from the Government of Quebec representing the only governmental source of funding. The regular and increasing pattern of income demonstrates that the MPHIR was funded from year to year by a judicious management of investment resources that generated predictable levels of income in the form of rent and interest. The regularity of the pattern was punctuated occasionally by large infusions of cash in the form of subscriptions and legacies. These large sums of money were used to fund extensions to the institution and to increase the size of the endowment fund, thus ensuring the continued financial viability of the institution.

While the institution's financial documents have proven invaluable, and form the foundation of this analysis, they also point to the influence that the professional history of many participating board members had on the management of the institution. Every decision was carefully planned and calculated in terms of profit and liability; as eager as they were to extend the assistance provided by their institution, the Board was always careful not to extend themselves beyond their financial capability. Capitalist profit motive was a primary ingredient in the culture of the managing governors of the MPHIR, something that served the institution well through periods of financial hardship but undoubtedly shaped the design and ideology of the House of Industry.

Some writers, including Harvey (1978: 186) and Valverde (1991), have characterized Canada's network of Protestant charities as a material expression of the conscious desire by wealthy elites to reproduce and legitimize Victorian middle class value systems. The tendency to view philanthropic charity as a form of class control has

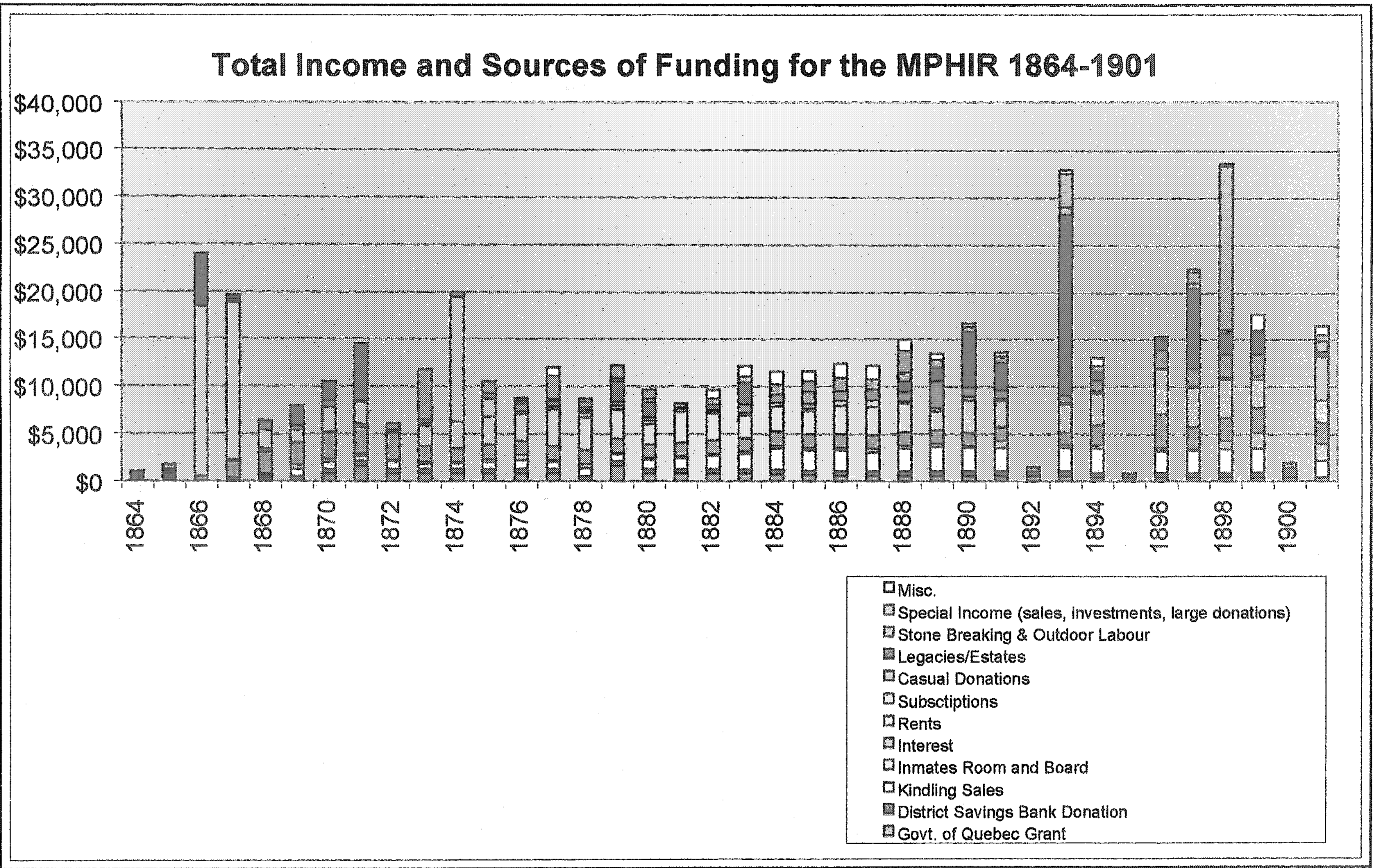

Figure 1.4. Sources of Funding for the MPHIR 1864-1901. (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports 1864-1901)

its basis in a very real set of historical realities and attitudes. Contemporaries openly expressed a fear of the working classes and their potential to corrupt, damage or overthrow the established order of industrial capitalism. At the ceremony for the laying of the cornerstone of the House of Industry at Molson farm in 1884, the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec spoke not only to the beneficial effects that the House provided to the city's underprivileged, but also its ability to 'prevent the kindling in their hearts of the fire of social antipathies'. Speaking before a congregation of Protestant ministers on the subject of reforming the poor, one speaker said of his charges that 'in our efforts to reclaim them, one of our first difficulties is that, as a class, they do not like us.... We have exposed their sins, and antagonized their methods,' he continued, 'and they are offended at us.'[31] A wide body of nineteenth-century literature identified the working class as a threat and proposed social reform as a means of preventing potential civic disorder. However, historians who conceptualize the Victorian reform movement as a one-directional pathway that channeled social attitudes and mores downwards through the social hierarchy often fail to acknowledge the potential for communication and exchange that these institutions offered the reformers and the would-be reformed.

The MPHIR was shaped as much by the social and physical geography of Montreal, as it was by middle-class reform ideology. For example, the city's northern location and dependence on shipping trade from the Saint Lawrence resulted in a marked seasonal fluctuation in employment. This caused the Board to adopt particular strategies in an attempt to alleviate the problem, including the creation of a penny savings bank to encourage thrift among summer labourers. Behind this action was an acknowledgement

[31] Rev. Chancellor Sims, 1888, 264.

on the part of the Board that scarcity of employment during the winter, rather than laziness on the part of the working class, was a leading contributor to poverty in Montreal. In 1864, only one year into the life of the House of Industry and Refuge, one of its managers reported to the Board of Directors that he and the other managers of the institution were engaged in a learning process, one in which their ongoing contact with the lower class was essentially teaching them how to make their institution more effective:

> The past winter has brought to every member of this sub-committee such experience and knowledge of the poor as may be turned to very profitable account hereafter. But we feel that as yet we are only groping in the dark, and that we have very much to learn.[32]

Although made in the context of an ongoing effort by the institution to reduce the amount of aid potentially available to the 'undeserving poor', this statement makes it clear that the physical and social organization of the institution was subject to flux: new strategies and configurations were needed to cope with problems that had not been anticipated at the point when the institution was formed. Secondly, the flow of ideas did not travel in one direction. The institution was a space that enabled a form of negotiation between the Board and Montreal's working class. It will be argued here that it was not only the inmates of the House of Industry who were being reformed, but also the nature of the relationship between the managers and the city's poor.

While the methodology of the Directors of the MPHIR was informed by a worldview that was heavily shaped by conceptualizations of class, their experiences with the institution on a functional level cannot be characterized simply as a form of class-motivated social control. The institution at 121 Dorchester Street bore a functional and architectural resemblance to similar structures in other European and American cities

[32] MPHIR Minute Books, 1863, 66.

when it was completed in 1865. However, the organizational form of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry soon began to diverge from the standard model as its managers were increasingly faced with practical challenges presented by daily contact with the city's working class. The Board tailored the environment of the MPHIR to confront the causes of poverty by reforming the inmates of the institution. They were forced to modify their widely held belief that laziness and weakness of character were the primary source of working-class indigence, however, as it became evident that structural rather than personal causes were to blame for the indigence of many families that applied for relief. During the 1870s and 1880s, the MPHIR admitted mounting numbers of applicants, motivated by desperation as economic downturns weighed heavily on the city (see figure 1.5). The majority of these applicants were undeterred by the institution's strict rules and compulsory labour requirement, and this contributed to a growing acknowledgement by the directors that unemployment was a leading cause of working-class destitution.

In her evaluation of the MPHIR, Janice Harvey asserts that the Board of Management overcame its fear of pauperism and developed empathy for the growing number of unemployed that crowded the institution's walls in the 1880s and 1890s, contributing to a tension within the institution as its managers struggled to reassure the public that they were supremely concerned with the dangers of indiscriminate aid. In order to maintain public support for the institution, however, Harvey argues that in their publications and rhetoric, 'their overall moral approach to poverty and the poor changed very little'. This author contends that the experiences gained through the daily management of the MPHIR impacted the Board to a much greater degree than Harvey suggests, and resulted in a wide scale transformation of the institution on a functional and

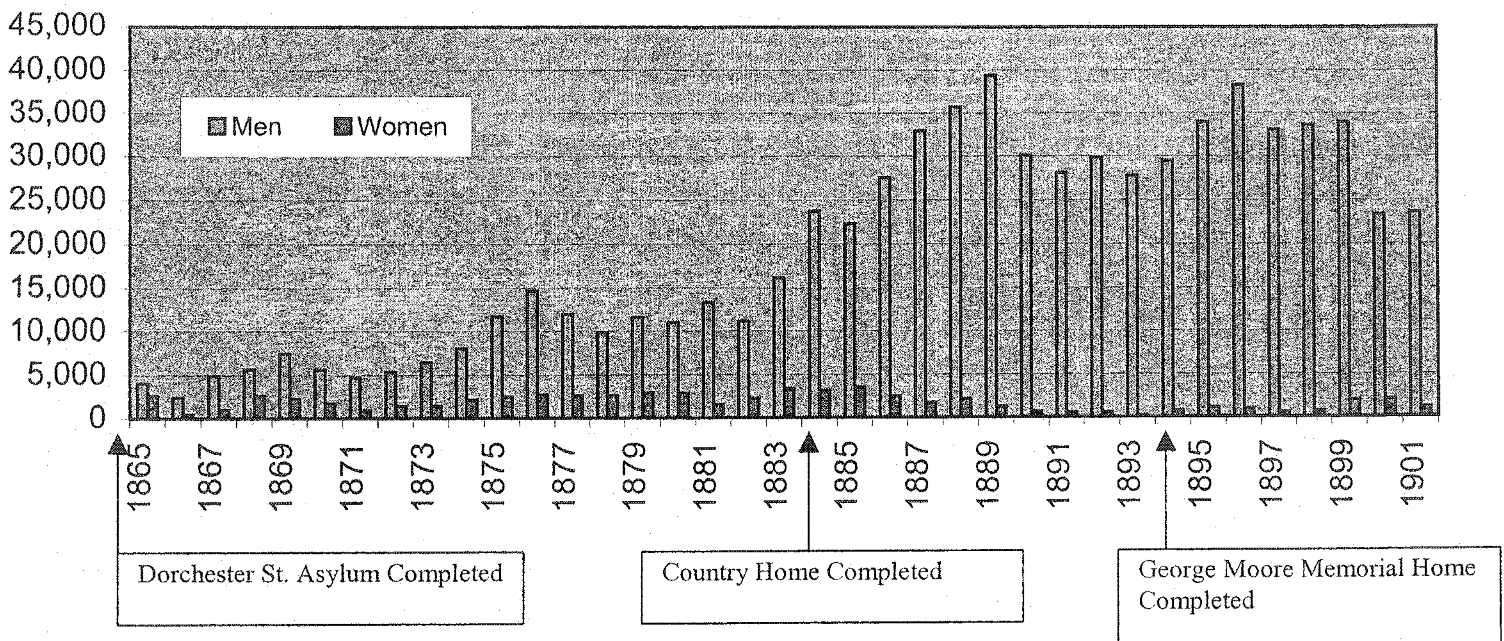

Figure 1.5. (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports 1864-1901)

ideological level. As the Board became aware of the deficiencies in their program of compulsory labour, their focus shifted to favor other more subtle, environmental influences as a means of reform. They incorporated prevailing notions about the positive influence of the middle-class Victorian household into their design, and embraced contemporary pseudo-scientific conceptions of the rural landscape as a rehabilitative environment. The transfer of attention and resources away from the old House of Industry on Dorchester Street to the newly-built Country Home after 1884 suggests a fundamental shift in the ideology and purpose of the institution as a whole. This changing ideology was reflected in the spatial organization of the institution -- a spatial logic that came to reflect the growing influence of environmentalism and the declining importance of compulsory labour in the minds of the institution's managers.

The next chapter will provide a brief overview of the reform movement in the nineteenth century, and trace the origins of the almshouse as a general model for institutional charity. It will be argued that the MPHIR was heavily influenced by conventions that governed the institutionalization of the poor at that time in England and the United States, and that the building constructed on Dorchester Street fulfilled many of the spatial requirements of an almshouse when it was built in 1864-1865.

The following chapters will demonstrate how the organizational structure of the House of Industry came to differ substantially from the established form, through an exploration of three main themes. The principal themes to be discussed in this study are (1) the institution's use of labour as a means of reform; (2) the physical removal of the institution outside of the city in 1884; and (3) the influence of Victorian domesticity on the organization of space inside the institution. A discussion of these aspects of the

history of the MPHIR is intended to demonstrate that the institution underwent both an ideological and organizational transformation between 1863 and 1901. Changing ideas concerning the causes of poverty had a direct impact on the spatial organization of the institution, as its directors began to embrace environmentalism as an effective reformatory tool.

CHAPTER 2: THE INFLUENCE OF THE ALMSHOUSE

It was suggested in the previous chapter that the MPHIR was part of a late nineteenth-century trend that favored the large-scale institutionalization of the sick, the insane, and the indigent. The founding members of the MPHIR were aware of contemporary arguments about the benefits of institutionalization, and some members of the Board, such as Charles Alexander, were involved in other large-scale medical and rehabilitative institutions. This chapter will chart the history of the movement toward institutionalization in Great Britain and the United States, and suggest that there was an ideal model for institutionalized poor relief. The ideal institution for reformers in the latter half of the nineteenth century was the almshouse, a structure whose design characteristics enabled complete control and surveillance of inmates, and whose function was to reform the character of the poor through strict regimentation of the daily schedule and a heavy compulsory workload. It will be argued here that the institution constructed by the directors of the MPHIR in 1864 met almost all of the requirements of an almshouse in design and purpose, but this design and organization of space began to change as the managers of the institution were faced with contingencies specific to late nineteenth-century Montreal.

The Origins of the Design

It is curious that The Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was named the way it was, because a conflict quickly emerged between the competing notions of 'industry' and 'refuge' in its title, something that became increasingly apparent as the institution

matured. Part of the reason that both terms appeared in the name may have simply been convention. Montreal already had a House of Industry by the time the MPHIR was founded; Toronto had a similar institution called the Toronto House of Industry. Major cities across North America and Great Britain possessed their own houses of Refuge, Industry and any number of combinations in between. What role industrial activity would play in the MPHIR however, was never fully made clear by the institution's governors, even if they had a clear idea themselves. It does not appear that they knew what it would be in 1863, as no specific mention of industrial activity is made in the charter of the institution. This might have been because the governors did not consider the charter an appropriate place to spell out the precise nature of the establishment, or it might have been because it was assumed that most interested parties already knew what a 'House of Industry' was and what was supposed to go on there. It is very likely that the latter was the case, considering the penetration made by the almshouse in American society by this time, and the number of other similar institutions already extant in Canada. Thomas Molson's will specified only that a 'House of Industry' be founded within five years of the release of Molson Farm[33], but did not make any mention of what kind of an institution was intended. Consequently, it is reasonable to imagine that the term 'Industry' in this case referred to a particular form of institution for the relief of poverty that was already well defined and accepted in the public consciousness and therefore did not require any explanation on the part of Molson or the institution's governors.

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[33] The exact wording was that the lands were for "the endowment of a House of Industry at Montreal, provided that such House of Industry be duly established and incorporated within five years from my decease and in the event of such establishment and incorporation, I authorize and require my executors to convey the said property to such corporation by suitable deeds and conveyances."

The almshouse was already a common sight in North American cities by the time the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was formed. It was a relatively new invention, however, that had undergone significant transformations over the course of the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the century, almshouses had tended to be very small, often nothing larger than a farmhouse where poor from the surrounding area could receive assistance. By mid-century, the almshouse had become typical of a wider process of institutionalization that included a diverse array of institutions like penitentiaries and asylums designed to reform the deviant and the insane. According to Michel Foucault, this trend signified a transformation in judicial systems in Europe and the United States that began to use imprisonment to 'cover the whole middle ground of punishment, between death and light penalties'.[34] For the first time, punishment was removed from the public gaze, and became a project of reformation of the individual, rather than a collective deterrent.[35] There were differences in the designs of individual institutions depending on their location and purpose, but there was an ideological similarity across most of the institutions that reflected a common set of reformist principles. While the physical design of the almshouse varied according to geographical location and time, the popularity of the notion of reforming the poor within the walls of a well-ordered institution persisted well into the late nineteenth century. It is to this persistent definition of the almshouse as a space for reformation that we must turn now, if we wish to understand the place that the MPHIR occupied within the imagination of those who founded and subscribed to it, and if we wish to gain some appreciation for the design decisions that were made even before the institution welcomed any inmates.

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[34] Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison (Toronto: Random House of Canada Ltd., 1979), 115.
[35] Foucault, 116.

In England, almshouses for the poor had existed since the Elizabethan poor laws of 1597 and 1601. They were generally small and organized on the parochial scale, since the law dictated that relief was to be distributed at the scale of individual parishes. Later, amendments made to the law enabled parishes to cooperate in groups and thereby increased the size and efficiency of almshouses, but these institutions were primitive by Victorian standards, in terms of their orderliness, scale and reformative vision.[36] Almshouses in England prior to the new poor law reforms in the 1830s often filled a variety of roles, sometimes even maintaining the sick and insane, because asylum costs were prohibitive for many parishes.[37] It wasn't until the publication of Jeremy Bentham's '*Panopticon*' in 1791, that the possibilities for the poorhouse as an institution really began to take shape in the public consciousness. The complete title of Bentham's proposal was "*Panopticon; or, the inspection-house: containing the idea of a new principle of construction applicable to any sort of establishment, in which persons of any description are to be kept under inspection.*" In Bentham's view, these 'persons' included the able bodied and indigent poor, as well as the insane and the reprobate. He envisioned the extension of his basic design to workhouses, schools, insane asylums and hospitals. The physical design of the 'Panopticon', so much as it enabled complete visibility of inmates at all times, was ideal, in Bentham's view, for any application that required complete control over a large population by a relatively small group of overseers. It consisted of a large, circular building with cells located around the

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[36] Anthony Brundage, The English Poor Laws, 1700-1930 (New York: Palgrave, 2002), 2. It was Thomas Gilbert's act of 1782 that permitted the union of parishes for the purpose of poor relief. Interestingly, this act also represented the first legislative attempt to limit indoor assistance to those who were physically unable to work. Brundage, 21.
[37] Brundage, 18.

Figure 2.1: Bentham's Panopticon, Elevation and Plan Characteristically circular, the Panopticon allowed constant supervision of inmates. Note the demarcation of space for various classes of inmates in the plan view. (Source: Jeremy Bentham, Panopticon; or, the Inspection House, 1791).

outer edge, and the overseer's lodge located at the center. In this configuration, the overseer would be able to constantly survey the activities of the inmates and thereby exercise more complete control over them (see Figure 2.1).

Bentham even insisted that the design could be extended to ordinary factories, where "whatever be the manufacture, the utility of the principle is obvious and incontestable in all cases where the workmen are paid according to their time."[38] If factories were designed so that workmen were constantly supervised, they would be less inclined to waste time, and at the very least, would be able to communicate more efficiently with the factory supervisors.

Bentham proposed to apply the Panopticon model to poor relief under a 'National Charity Company', which would operate a large number of Panopticon-style workhouses throughout the country. Some parishes were already engaged in 'farming out' – the practice of contracting a distant workhouse for the upkeep of indoor poor – however Bentham's plan was much grander in scope. He foresaw putting an end to the evils of pauperism, idleness and inefficiency that were associated with the old poor law by doing away with outdoor relief entirely and replacing it with a more efficient indoor system. The labour that could be forced from the inmates, he argued, would not only be sufficient to cover the cost of their relief, but would actually generate a profit for the company, something which had been impossible for individual parishes to accomplish. Bentham may have been overly optimistic in his proposal, and many contemporary critics attacked his design on the grounds that it was inhumane and totalitarian, but he did manage to garner some support, especially from the ranks of those who opposed the existing poor

[38] Bentham, 60.

laws. He was awarded a start-up grant from Pitt's government to implement his plan, but ultimately this proved insufficient to make the National Charity Company a reality.

With '*Panopticon*', Bentham did not intend to create a new form of institution (Britain already possessed workhouses, penitentiaries and hospitals for the insane) but rather he sought to revolutionize those existing institutions by rendering them more efficient. Besides allowing for the complete surveillance of inmates, Bentham's design sought to more rigorously categorize and segregate various classes of inmates within his institution. He was critical of the contemporary penitentiary act, because the existing prison design enabled the corruption of 'minor delinquents' at the hand of more hardened criminals, when they were allowed to congregate un-segregated in large crowds.[39] Bentham's ideal prison would differentiate not only the sexes, but also the various classes of criminal. His architectural plan depicting the layout of a model prison contained separate yards for 'Old and riotous' offenders and the 'old and quiet'. If different classes of individuals were permitted to mingle with one another freely, Bentham argued, the reformatory value of any environment, no matter how well planned, would be lost.

By including the poor in the group of 'persons to be kept under inspection', Bentham's plan had the effect of criminalizing them. While many contemporary observers criticized his plan of 'improved pauper management' on the grounds that is was overly totalitarian and inhumane, the overall rhetoric of the day reflected an increasing suspicion toward any able-bodied individuals who sought relief. Bentham's design offered a solution to this problem, because it called for the separation of the truly indigent (those who were unable to support themselves by any form of labour) from the poor more generally, those who were able to work but for whatever reason refused.

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[39] Ibid, 138.

Since all of Bentham's inmates would be expected to work, the circumstances of their indigence were less important. This logic, sometimes referred to as 'the workhouse test', negated the necessity of inquiring into the conditions of the poor, because the workhouse was considered a self-administered test of destitution.[40] Those that passed the 'workhouse test' and assented to live in Bentham's proposed institution would be put to task in order to offset the costs of their upkeep. This system, Bentham asserted, would not only appease opponents of the poor rates by offering a more efficient money-saving alternative to indiscriminate relief, but it would have a beneficial effect on the nation as a whole. The almshouse built on the model of the Panopticon would not merely be an instrument for the relief of the poor – it would contribute to the reversal of all of the evils associated with poverty and restore the economy and morals of the nation:

> What would you say, if by the gradual adoption and diversified application of this single principle, you should see a new scene of things spread itself over the face of civilized society? – Morals reformed, health preserved, industry invigorated, instruction diffused, public burdens lightened, economy seated as it were upon a rock, the Gordian knot of the Poor Laws not cut but untied – all by a simple Idea of Architecture![41]

Ultimately, Bentham's proposal to privatize poor relief under a system of Panopticon-inspired workhouses was never adopted in England. His ideas did however have a significant impact on future almshouse designs in England and North America, and his obsession with the differentiation of different classes of the poor was shared by reformers who sought to overhaul the Elizabethan poor laws on the grounds that they had the effect of treating two very different classes equally, to the detriment of both.

Following the Swing riots in the 1830s, the government of Great Britain began to seriously examine the usefulness of the existing poor laws, because it perceived that the

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[40] Brundage, 12.
[41] Bentham, 66.

laws had failed to prevent widespread unrest among the working class while continuing to drain an increasing amount of wealth from the upper and middle classes in the form of poor rates. In 1832, a royal commission was appointed to perform an investigation of the poor laws and their application throughout the country. The resulting report, published in 1834, was unequivocally damning of the old system and called for sweeping reforms. Among the suggestions put forward in the report were the termination of all outdoor relief to the able bodied, the creation of a central governing Board, and the grouping of parishes for the purpose of constructing more efficient workhouses.[42] Overall, the reforms reflected the suspicion toward the able-bodied poor that was present in Bentham's work, and offered a somewhat similar architectural solution. The Poor Law commission engaged an architect named Sampson Kempthorne to design a generic workhouse that parishes could use as an example when constructing their own. He drew up plans for two workhouses, one cruciform and one hexagonal. Both designs were suggestive of Bentham's *Panopticon*, because they placed the overseer's quarters at the center of the institution, where the impression of constant surveillance could be achieved, at least symbolically.[43] The new workhouses were also designed with provisions for the segregation of the sexes and various classes of inmates, something that had been central to Bentham's prison and workhouse designs.

Following the reforms of 1834, the relief of poverty in England became increasingly institutionalized, while outdoor relief was increasingly limited. While outdoor relief was never fully curtailed, it became subject to much closer scrutiny and investigation on a case-by-case basis. Parishes employed the strategy of 'Less-eligibility'

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[42] S.G. and E.O.A. Checkland, eds. The Poor Law Report of 1834 (Baltimore: Penguin Books, 1974[1873]), 9-51.
[43] Brundage, 77.

– the notion that able-bodied paupers should receive less than the lowest wage paid by industry – to limit the number of dependents in cases where indoor relief was impractical. Other parishes opted to compel any able bodied men whose families were on the outdoor rolls to work inside an institution in exchange for outdoor relief. Perhaps the greatest deterrent of all, however, was the workhouse itself. An imposing, intimidating building with narrow windows and a stark exterior, within which the poor would find an endless supply of hard work, a monotonous diet, and separation from their loved ones and the outside world. Following the Anatomy Act of 1832, indoor paupers even faced the terrifying possibility of having their bodies given over for dissection after their death, a prospect that exemplified the complete loss of dignity and personal freedom that accompanied admission to the workhouse.[44]

Efforts to reduce the number of recipients of outdoor relief in England appear to have met with success. In a census taken in 1801, there were 3765 workhouses with a total of 83,468 indoor paupers. However, in the same year, over one million people were receiving some form of poverty relief, so the number of indoor poor was fairly negligible compared to the total number of poor in the country and the ratio of outdoor to indoor poor was approximately 12:1.[45] By 1850, roughly 50 in every 1000 people in Britain were receiving outdoor aid, while 10 out of every 1000 were institutionalized. By 1900, the number of outdoor poor had declined significantly to only 20 in every 1000, while thenumber of indoor poor remained steady and the ratio of outdoor to indoor poor had been reduced to 2:1 (see figure 2.2).[46]

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[44] Brundage, 81.
[45] Ibid., 40.
[46] Margaret Anne Crowther, The Workhouse System 1834-1929 (Athens, Georgia: University of Georgia Press, 1981), 59. (from T. Mackay, A History of the English Poor Law (1899) 603-4.)

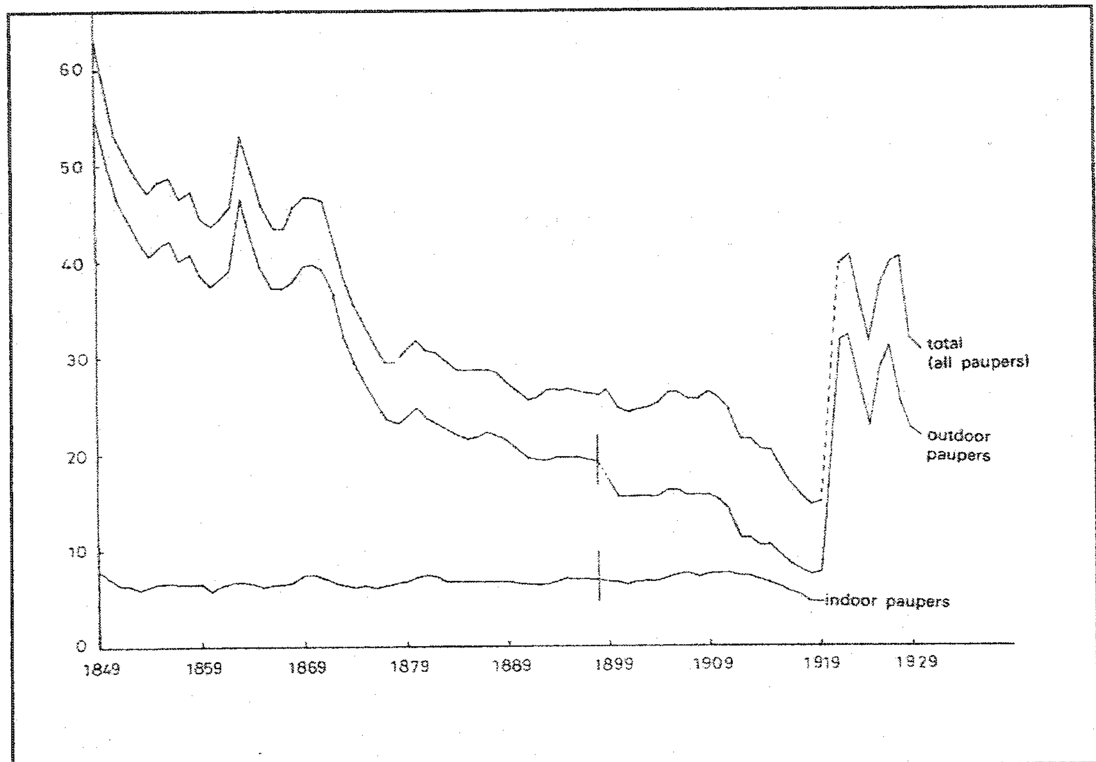

Figure 2.2 Number of paupers per 1,000 estimated population in Great Britain 1849-1930. Figures include lunatics and the casual poor, other figures exclude them after 1898. (Adapted from Crowther 1981, 60).

In the United States, the transition from small, county poorhouses to widespread institutionalization of the poor followed a similar trajectory. While neither Canada nor the United States chose to adopt legislation on the scale of the English poor laws, there was nevertheless a similar move toward compulsory indoor relief and forced labour on the workhouse model, that began around the same time as England, in the 1820s. The primary role of these new, modern institutions was not only to incarcerate the poor in an attempt to dissuade them from laziness, but also in an increasing sense to reform their moral character, which was seen to be one of the principal causes of their poverty,

especially among the able-bodied. The practice of distributing relief in the form of food and clothing to the lower classes through out-door relief was considered just as dangerous in America as it was in England, if not more so, because Americans did not suffer the same Malthusian anxiety about overpopulation that so vexed English reformers who were critical of giving indiscriminate aid.[47] David Rothman has argued that strong belief among Americans in the inherent prosperity of the new world prevented them from viewing poverty as anything other than a moral failure on the part of the poor.[48] If poverty existed in England and elsewhere in Europe, it was due to old world practices like oppressive landlords and overbearing government. In the new republic, there was no excuse for poverty, other than moral weakness and an unwillingness to work on the part of the poor.

Canada, although a British colony, did not legislate the mandatory relief of the poor in the same manner as England. However, there were laws that attempted to limit the behavior of the lower classes, and especially to deter them from begging. A bill brought before the legislative council of Lower Canada in 1816 advised that authority be granted to the police 'to send to the House of Correction of the District every person found begging, to be therein kept at hard labour until the next general Quarter Sessions of the Peace.'[49] In the absence of a suitable almshouse, the house of correction was appropriate accommodation for the able-bodied poor in the eyes of many early Lower-Canadians:

[47] David Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Boston: Little Brown & Co. 1971), 158.
[48] Ibid., 162.
[49] 'A Bill introduced in the House of Assembly of the Province of Lower Canada, For the relief of such persons who are really in a state of indigence, and more effectually to compel vagabonds and idle persons to earn a livelihood by their labour,' 1816, 6.

> Whereas humanity and justice alike require that relief be afforded to such persons as are really indigent and honest, and that they be discriminated from the vicious and the idle; ends which may be effected by the establishment of Regulations, tending to destroy every inducement to avoid labour which the expectation of succour from other sources might create, compelling the idle to abandon the practice of begging, and to adopt that of working for their livelihood, and rendering them thereby useful to society, to their families and to themselves.[50]

The authors of this bill clearly saw the need to differentiate between the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' classes of poor, and believed that it was their legal duty to compel the idle to work. Later in the nineteenth century, the ongoing struggle with pauperism would make the almshouse a very attractive solution in the minds of reformers, lawmakers, and government.

In Canada, as in England, institutionalizing the poor promised reformers total control, and would therefore, among other things, prevent the undeserving from receiving assistance. Anyone who entered the almshouse would be expected to work for their daily bread. Only those who were physically unable to perform laborious tasks would be excused from labour inside the institution.

> To the feeble, the old, the weak, and the sickly, the almshouse would offer care and attention, ministering to them with solicitude and compassion. To the unemployed, the able bodied victims of hard luck, it would, either in its own quarters or in conjunction with a workhouse, provide the opportunity for labour, and thus dispense relief without enervating the recipient.[51]

While the indiscriminate aid offered by outdoor charity was criticized by contemporary observers in North America and by opponents of the old poor laws in Great Britain because it promoted idleness and dependence, the almshouse offered the perfect alternative – it would produce individuals who had been taught the value of a day's work and would be better suited to join society as productive citizens. The didactic effects of

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[50] Ibid., 6.
[51] Rothman, 188.

institutionalized aid gained increasing importance in the eyes of reformers as the century went on. No longer content simply to deter would-be applicants from the relief rolls, reformers began to see the possibilities that these institutions offered for moral, spiritual and social reform.

Alongside a strict commitment to labour, the first institutional almshouses were designed to maintain control over all other aspects of inmates' lives. While they were not designed on the circular plan favored by Bentham, the new almshouses were built with many of the same objectives in mind. The sexes were segregated, usually physically within the building, each having its own 'wing' in the institution. Efforts were also made to segregate the able bodied inmates from the infirm and aged, because it was thought that the different classes of poor could be mutually corrupting. In an effort to teach the kind of discipline required for regular industrial work, time was strictly regimented in the almshouse: a bell would ring for wake-up call in the morning and at various times throughout the day to signify meal times and after dinner curfew. For purposes of hygiene as well as discipline, the dress of inmates would be uniform in appearance and conform to the standard of clothing worn by labourers. Finally, the institution itself would be designed in such a way that it provided isolation from the perceived temptations and vices of the outside world. Since reformers at the time were convinced that the environment played an important role in determining the moral character of individuals, the type of environment offered by inner-city lower class neighbourhoods could be as potentially damaging to their enterprise as the institutional refuge could be constructive. To that end, outside visits were strictly controlled, and if possible, almshouses were located at a distance from the parts of the city that were considered to provide negative

influences. Furthermore, the almshouse was designed to house inmates for long-term periods of a month or more, since real behavioural reform would need time to take root.

Ultimately, the supreme function of the almshouse was to deter the poor from idleness and pauperism by offering labour as the only means to obtain assistance. Overseers of the almshouse in New York considered labour to be the most necessary ingredient in poverty relief, predicting that it would 'revolutionize the entire system of charity and alms'.[52]

Considering the composition of its founding members and the prevailing sentiment propounding institutionalized poor relief, it should come as no surprise that the MPHIR closely resembled other American and English almshouses at its inception. Externally, it exuded rigidity and control, its imposing facade and narrow, orderly windows characteristic of many contemporary almshouse designs. One aspect that vexed several governing members was the institution's location near the downtown core; it was felt that the proper location for the house of industry was in the countryside, as far from the negative effects of the city as possible. This sentiment was entirely consistent with the ideology that had influenced the design of almshouses in the United States. For practical reasons, the governors eventually settled on a central location, although as will be discussed in further detail later, the opinion was persistently expressed that the countryside would offer many advantages over the urban location.

Inside the MPHIR, space was very consciously ordered and demarcated, not only to provide segregation of the sexes, but the various classes of the poor as well. In a conscious effort to isolate the transient poor from the long-term inmates, the night refuge was located in an entirely separate building. This is consistent with design features of

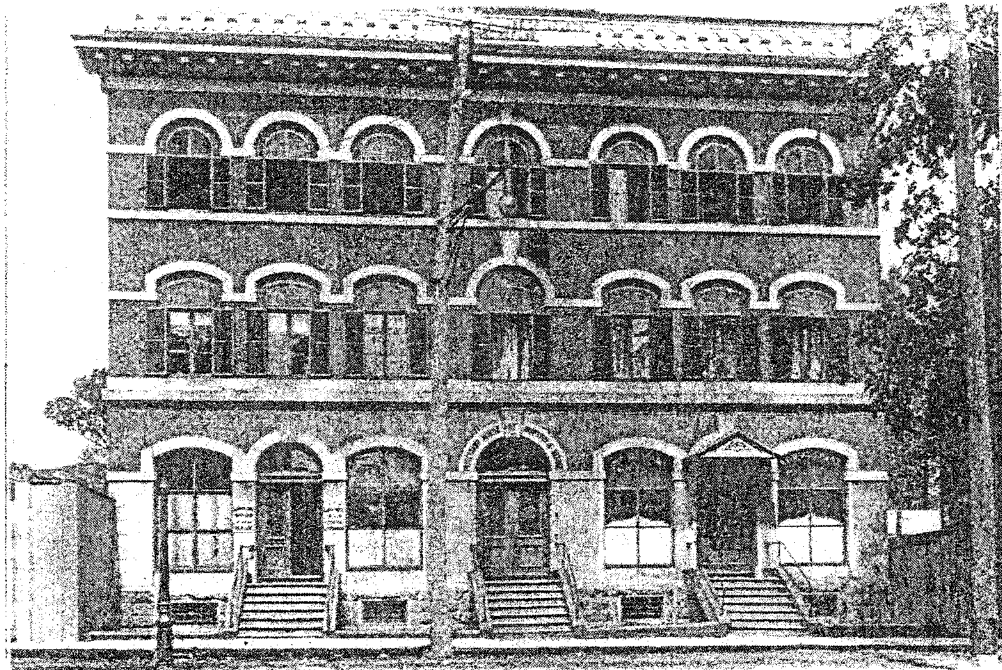
[52] Ibid., 190.

American houses of industry, where there was, as Rothman states, 'an elementary but important degree of classification, the separation of inmates by age, health and history.'[53] While no architectural plans for the institution survive today, the board of governors gave a detailed description of the internal layout of the institution when it was completed in 1865:

> The front building on Dorchester Street contains on the first story, the Ladies industrial department and a large room now used as the school room and that may be appropriated for religious services and other objects as may be considered most advantageous in carrying on the design of the institution, there is also a commodious basement story that may be appropriated as advantageous to different purposes and which has recently been used by the inmates as a work room.
>
> The Second story of this building contains the Board Rooms and dwelling for the Superintendent.
>
> The third story is intended for dormitories.
>
> The rear building is specifically appropriated for a night refuge and Soup Kitchen... The basement story is very commodious, containing the coal and wood rooms, washing room and bath rooms for male and female. Your board have endeavoured as far as possible to provide means for the separation of the sexes, and they trust that on examination of the whole of the buildings, the governor will be satisfied that everything had been done to carry out their intentions on providing a suitable Soup Kitchen and Night Refuge.[54]

Since Montreal had no workhouse to complement the work of the House of Industry (Montreal had experimented with workhouses in the 1820s and 30s without widespread success[55]), labour was considered from the very start to be an important facet of the institution. It was made clear to subscribers at the outset that all able-bodied inmates would be expected to engage in some form of industrial labour, and that this would help to offset the costs of running the institution. This, of course, is also consistent with the American and British model, at least in theory. In practice, as we will see shortly, the

[53] Ibid., 190.
[54] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 92.
[55] Harvey, 2001, 75.



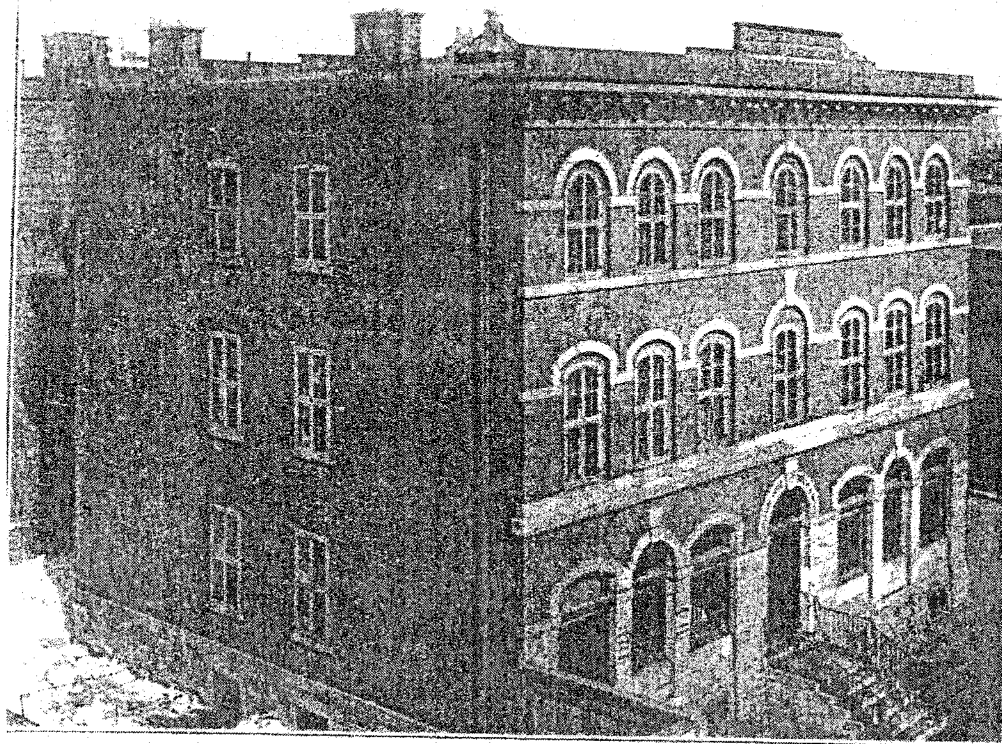


Figure 2.3 The MPHIR on Dorchester Street (Source: Grace Dart Memorial Archives)

governors found it very difficult to organize the institution around laborious activities to the extent that they initially intended.

Early efforts to regulate the dress of inmates in 1866 and 1868 received support from the governors, but ended in failure due to costs and impracticality. There was, however, a concerted commitment to hygiene and decorum on the part of the managing governors that further illustrated the desire to reform inmates in a similar fashion to almshouses in other cities. The relative success of these initiatives varied throughout the life of the MPHIR, but their inclusion in the design and written rules of the institution illustrate the strength of reform ideology at the base of the establishment.

The MPHIR can be seen as typical, therefore, of many contemporary almshouses in America and Great Britain both in terms of its underlying reformist ideology and physical layout. Design features like the live-in superintendent, separate wings for male and female, and an entirely separate building for able-bodied night lodgers are all aspects that Bentham considered important in his Panopticon design and could be found in almshouses built throughout the nineteenth century. While the MPHIR was not as monumental and impressive as some of its American and English counterparts, it nonetheless exhibited many similar design features that permitted its managers to control the behavior of inmates within its walls.

CHAPTER 3: LABOUR IN THE MPHIR

The concept of the almshouse was attractive to contemporary middle and upper class reformers because it presented a solution to the vices of pauperism, vagrancy and indolence that they felt characterized the poor and were so antithetical to industrial capitalism. The new poor law was enacted in England largely as a reaction against the practice of indiscriminate aid on moral, economic and spiritual grounds, areas where the institutionalization of the poor promised to have the greatest effect.

Morally, institutional aid was considered superior to the old system of outdoor relief because it ensured that the poor would not be corrupted and become paupers when faced with an establishment that forced all able-bodied inmates to work for their relief. Institutionalization ensured fairness, because it was argued that even the meanest laborer who could subsist on his own industry was better off than those who could work but chose to apply for institutional relief. The almshouse ensured the spatial and social separation of the truly indigent from the able-bodied poor, thus protecting the morality of the independent worker.

Economically, the old system was seen as potentially disastrous for the health of the nation: Malthus had decried indiscriminate aid because he considered it to be hostile to the natural balance of population and food supply. He believed that artificially increasing the available food supply through charity would only stimulate population growth among the poor, thus lowering wages and increasing competition among those who were already living at or below subsistence levels. Bentham had made the argument that indoor relief could in fact be made profitable through the exploitation of inmates'

labour and careful, efficient management. At the same time, the workhouse would act as a physical deterrent to able-bodied pauperism, thus increasing the overall industriousness of the working class.

Allied closely with economic and moral considerations, and central to the notion of institutionalized poverty relief, was a strong conviction among reformers that labour be mandatory for those who received aid, especially in an institutional setting. The primary purpose of institutionalizing the poor was to teach them the value of hard work and to render them productive to society. As Michel Foucault points out:

> This useful pedagogy would revive for the lazy individual a liking for work, force him back into a system of interests in which labour would be more advantageous than laziness, form around him a small, miniature, simplified, coercive society in which the maxim, 'he who wants to live must work', would be clearly revealed.[56]

The institutional setting of the almshouse was carefully crafted to foster this form of 'coercive society' and impart particular forms of behavior to inmates. A program of compulsory work, such as the one practiced in the MPHIR, was the most common method of achieving this goal. This chapter will examine the various roles that the Board of Management assigned to labour within the MPHIR, and evaluate the success of compulsory labour as a reformatory tool. It will be argued that although work occupied a dominant position within the Board's reform ideology in 1864, its importance gradually waned due to impediments such as meager profits and the poor physical condition of inmates. More importantly, the failure of the compulsory labour requirement to deter an ever-increasing number of applicants in the 1870s and 1880s forced the Board to acknowledge that local employment patterns and more general economic downturns were

[56] Foucault, 122.

likely contributors to Montreal's poverty, rather than laziness or moral weakness on the part of the poor.

The Protestant Work Ethic

Labour was particularly important as a means of reforming those who were considered to be a drain on the city's growing industrial society, not only on moral and economic grounds, but spiritual as well. The lower classes were largely considered by reformers to be spiritually deficient, and this was considered one of the primary causes of their material poverty. Institutionalization offered the chance to teach the poor Protestant values like hard work, temperance, prudence and self-discipline, things that reformers believed would surely help to elevate the poor from their abominable condition. Max Weber identified a strong connection between Protestantism and what he termed 'organized' or modern capitalism. He points out that for many Protestants, work fulfilled a purpose beyond simply supplying the material necessities of life and actually occupied a place in their religious worship of God. In Weber's view, industrial capitalism would never have sprung from more traditional forms of economic organization had it not been for the transformation of work from a merely material pursuit to a spiritual one, since for a fully developed consumer society to function, work needed to be performed as if it were 'an absolute end in itself, a calling.'[57] Where Protestantism differed substantially from other religions, according to Weber, was the way in which it was capable of justifying profitable material enterprise on spiritual ascetic grounds. Where Catholicism upheld the importance of individual worldly acts as a means of gaining salvation, puritan Protestants

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[57] Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1958), 54.

adopted a philosophy of a unified 'system' of good works, with active self-control as the necessary ingredient[58]. Work, no matter how profitable, was considered a sacred duty, because it led to the betterment of the individual and the strengthening of the bond between the believer and God. This 'worldly asceticism' was complementary to the rational division of labour under industrial capitalism, because the specialized worker with a well-marked calling was able to perform more efficiently than the traditional artisan who worked 'in confusion'[59]. Those who did not recognize their 'calling', or perform it with a sufficient sense of duty were seen to lack 'the systematic, methodical character which is... demanded by worldly asceticism'[60]. Thus the beggar or the able-bodied pauper could be condemned on spiritual grounds, because their refusal to work signified a rejection of their religious responsibility.

The implications of Weber's argument for the directors of the MPHIR are twofold. First, it helps to explain their obsession with work as a means of reforming poor inmates whom they considered to be morally and spiritually corrupt. If work had the potential to bring one closer to God, then its place in the MPHIR alongside traditional forms of worship like Sunday Mass and evening prayer could be considered complementary. As highly religious members of Montreal's elite, it is not surprising that the Protestant reformers at the head of the MPHIR placed so much emphasis on institutional, supervised, rational labour. Secondly, as Protestants themselves, the work that the Governors performed at the institution would have brought them spiritual satisfaction, as well as a means of employing their accumulated wealth in the betterment

[58] Ibid., 117.
[59] Ibid., 161.
[60] Ibid., 161.

of the community.[61] John Wesley, the founder Methodism, identified a paradox in his own faith that resulted from the constant accumulation of wealth, 'for religion must necessarily produce both industry and frugality, and these cannot but produce riches'[62]. If wealth was an impediment to spiritual salvation, the only way to overcome it was to return as much as possible in the form of charity. In the case of the founding members of the MPHIR, there could be no greater act of charity than one that provided both material relief and spiritual education to the city's poor.

As well as being Protestants, a large number of the founding members of the MPHIR were successful entrepreneurs. As business elites, the board of governors were unlikely to accept that poverty was in any way related to the chaotic nature of the capitalist markets, and they were even less inclined to make such a claim publicly at the risk of losing financial support from their subscribers. It is important to remember that in the minds of mid-nineteenth century reformers, the notion of 'unemployment' was not yet fully formed.[63] The governors of the MPHIR were compelled to conform to the widely held view that the poor were the cause of their own indigence, and could only be helped by forcing them to help themselves. This created considerable tension within the institution, as its governors were forced to contend with an ever-increasing number of able-bodied homeless men, while still attempting to convey to the public the sense that the MPHIR was a place where the able-bodied were the least welcome of all[64]. To this end, the governors took every opportunity to place conditions on the relief that they were

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[61] On the importance of Protestantism in the creation of social reform institutions in Canada, see Ramsay Cook, The Regenerators: Social Criticism in Late Victorian English Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
[62] Weber, 175.
[63] Gertrude Himmelfarb, Poverty and Compassion (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).
[64] Janice Harvey (2001) has explored this in some detail, arguing that the institution was forced to soften its stance on institutional labour while at the same time outwardly condemning able-bodied pauperism.

distributing, and to engage any inmate who was capable of work in some kind of task if they were to stay in the institution for very long.

The Labour Test

From the perspective of the Board, labour would only have didactic effects if the inmates were bound to stay in the institution for a prolonged period of time – long enough to teach them the usefulness of industry and to condition them to work diligently and consistently. Otherwise, the only benefit to forcing the inmates to work was the fact that it might prevent the truly lazy from requesting assistance and essentially frighten them into finding work to support themselves. The United Board of Outdoor Relief commented on this issue when they presented their findings to the Board of Directors in 1864, even before the main building at Dorchester and Bleury had been completed:

> The class of persons admitted [to the night refuge] has been, as might have been expected, the very lowest of the social scale. The dregs of society have furnished the large majority of the inmates, and they have come back upon our hands from week to week, until many have become permanent residents or boarders, which is not the design of the refuge at all. This evil – and it is a great evil – could not well be avoided; but as soon as the House of Industry is erected, the inmates of the Refuge should be drafted into the head institution after two or three nights shelter. A regulation which would reduce the numbers admitted by three fourths of the whole number now received, and entirely change the character and working of the house.[65]

Clearly, the governors believed that imposing a labour requirement on inmates of the House of Industry would significantly reduce their number, in the same way that proponents of the 'workhouse test' in England believed that it would deter undeserving cases. The House of Industry would thus fulfill two functions. First, it would enable the

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[65] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 63.

governors to differentiate more clearly between the 'deserving' and undeserving poor and sort them into various parts of the institution accordingly: short-term lodgers could use the refuge, but long-term inmates would be required to work. Second, the impending completion of the House of Industry heralded the end of freeloading because the 'workhouse test' would discourage the return of a large number of the 'dregs' that had become a burden on the night refuge.

The need to sort out the difference between the deserving and the undeserving was a vexing issue in other branches of the institution as well. Besides providing for the poor within its walls, the MPHIR was engaged in out-door relief, something which seemed to be in opposition to the reformatory purpose of the institution. If it was difficult to prevent pauperism within the House of Industry, it was even harder to control in the city at large. The first strategy used by the Directors to combat the problem of indiscriminate aid was to try to unite the various charitable organizations of the city under the umbrella of a 'United Board of Outdoor Relief'. This was largely unsuccessful, as most charities were specific to a particular religious or immigrant group and preferred to distribute aid themselves[66]. Nevertheless, the governors of the MPHIR were convinced that their institution could offer the most efficient means of outdoor relief and could distribute it in a discriminate and judicious manner.

The United Board of Outdoor Relief encountered resistance to its scheme of uniting the various national societies and charities. The Saint Andrew's Society, Scotland's national society in Montreal, discussed the proposal to join the MPHIR relief Board at a meeting in 1867.[67] The managers of the Saint Andrew's Society were

[66] One exception was the Irish protestant benevolent society, which often distributed firewood in cooperation with the Board of Outdoor Relief.
[67] Saint Andrew's Society Annual Reports, 1867, 21.

reluctant to give up their own outdoor relief efforts because they objected to the sectarian nature of the MPHIR, and did not wish to limit their aid based on religious affiliation. However, the Society recognized the opportunity that cooperation with the MPHIR presented more closely to regulate and limit potential abuse by double claimants, stating that 'the advantages of this are plain, as there would always be a watch kept on the applications made by the Scotch poor to the relief Board'.[68] Certain members of the Society were opposed to participating with the MPHIR on the grounds that it would weaken public support for the St. Andrew's Society and reduce the amount of donations received. Other members expressed doubt that the MPHIR would be able to provide assistance to all of the Scottish families that were currently supported by the St. Andrew's Society. Ultimately it was decided that representatives would be sent to sit on the Board of Outdoor Relief, but that outdoor assistance provided by the St. Andrew's society would continue independently.

The Board of Outdoor Relief distributed aid from the building at Dorchester and Bleury, and applicants were obliged to come in person to pick up their supplies from the institution once a week. This form of centralization ensured greater control over the distribution of aid, and situated the House of industry squarely at the center of all outdoor relief efforts. To further control the flow of outdoor charity, the board made use of the City Missionaries and the YMCA, who performed home visits and ascertained need on a case-by-case basis. It was not uncommon for relief to be refused altogether, if the missionaries determined that recipients were undeserving. For example, in 1865, the board reported that 'care has been exercised, as much as possible, in the distribution of relief… in one of the districts, out of 163 families applying for relief, 26 were, after

[68] Saint Andrew's Society Annual Reports, 1867, 22.

investigation, refused assistance for various reasons.'[69] Another tactic used by the governors to ensure that aid was being distributed only to the most destitute families was to compel unemployed husbands to work at the House of Industry before they could receive provisions for their household.[70] In this way, the governors used labour as the primary acid test for deservedness, both inside and outside the walls of the institution.

The governors of the MPHIR were determined from the very beginning to make sure that work became part of the equation of relief, and quickly set about deciding how to initiate it. Their commitment to work was reflected in the second rule of the institution, 'that all the inmates, without exception, when in health, shall cheerfully engage in such employment as shall be deemed proper to foster them in the habits of industry.' [71] The challenge that the governors faced was to find work that they considered appropriate for the purpose of reforming the poor. The first mention of the need to find tasks for the inmates appears in the Minute Books in 1864, and the governors make constant reference to the issue throughout the early part of the institution's lifespan. As late as 1874, for example, the poor relief committee made the suggestion that 'more work be found that could be done *inside* the institution,' after it was discovered that men assigned to outside jobs had been spending their wages on alcohol.[72]

One of the first ideas the governors had was to engage the inmates of the refuge in the Sisyphean task of stone breaking. It was difficult labour, reserved for inmates of the

[69] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 145.
[70] MPHIR Annual Report, 1867, 9. It appears that in most cases, the men were very willing to perform labour at the House of Industry. "Quite a large number of those so relieved were families, the husband being unable to obtain any kind of labour. To such the Board gave employment at stone breaking in the vacant lot belonging to the House of Refuge. As much as possible the Board withheld aid from such as were able thus to help themselves, but who would not do so."
[71] MPHIR Minute Books, 1866, 126. 'Rules for the Permanent Residents of the House of Industry and Refuge.'
[72] MPHIR Minute Books, 1874, 556.

night refuge who were unable to find work outside the institution and returned night after night. The Governors decided that this arrangement was unacceptable and opted instead to engage the men at stone-breaking in exchange for room and board in the Night Refuge:

> An arrangement was therefore made by which so many hours labour was given each day as an equivalent [for board], and this plan has been productive of the best results both to the institution and to these homeless men themselves, for your committee find it is of little or no use, so far as reformation is concerned, to take these men in at night and turn them again upon the street each morning to fall in the way of temptation.[73]

Whatever minimal profit was earned from this endeavor was intended to offset the upkeep of the night refuge. In 1866, the first year that stone breaking was used, the City purchased 215 loads of crushed stones from the Board for $128, and this amount trailed off to nothing in subsequent years[74]. It was clear that the venture was never going to be especially profitable for the institution, but the governors were happy that they had found a form of labour for the inmates. It appeared to assuage their worry that night refuge lodgers were taking advantage of the institution without reaping the benefits of labour that they felt were impressed less problematically upon the permanent inmates. Unfortunately, it soon became impossible to carry on the project because many of the permanent inmates were too old or unhealthy to perform the difficult work and it had 'the effect of sending away a number of those who declined to work for their breakfast in the morning.'[75] At a Board of Management meeting in March of 1866, a member complained that only 6 inmates were regularly engaged at the task.[76] The governors needed to find a task that could be performed by the majority of the inmates of their institution, so that the positive effects of labour would be universal.

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[73] MPHIR Annual Report, 1866.
[74] Ibid.
[75] MPHIR Annual Report, 1866, 4. Interestingly, they continued to use stone breaking for the recipients of out-door relief.
[76] MPHIR Minute Books, 1866, 139.

They eventually found an acceptable form of labour in the manufacture of kindling wood. Since it involved less strength than stone breaking, more inmates were capable of performing the work. Each year after 1868, a load of unprocessed wood was purchased by the institution and deposited in the yard, where it was processed throughout the fall and winter and sold to the general public. After some initial setbacks, the profits from kindling were more considerable than they had been with stone breaking, although the funds generated by kindling never made up more than a small percentage of the institution's overall income. The chart in figure 3.1 shows kindling wood profits until the end of the century. The income generated was highly variable from year to year, depending on demand, the cost of the initial shipment and the quantity produced.

The two activities, stone breaking and kindling wood manufacture, were the principal means chosen by the governors to force the inmates of the MPHIR to engage in some form of industry. Some inmates were also given work outside the institution at various tasks, but the governors constantly expressed concern that this kind of work was not as beneficial as the work done inside the institution, because the men were unsupervised, and the demand was not sufficient to keep all of the able bodied inmates occupied.

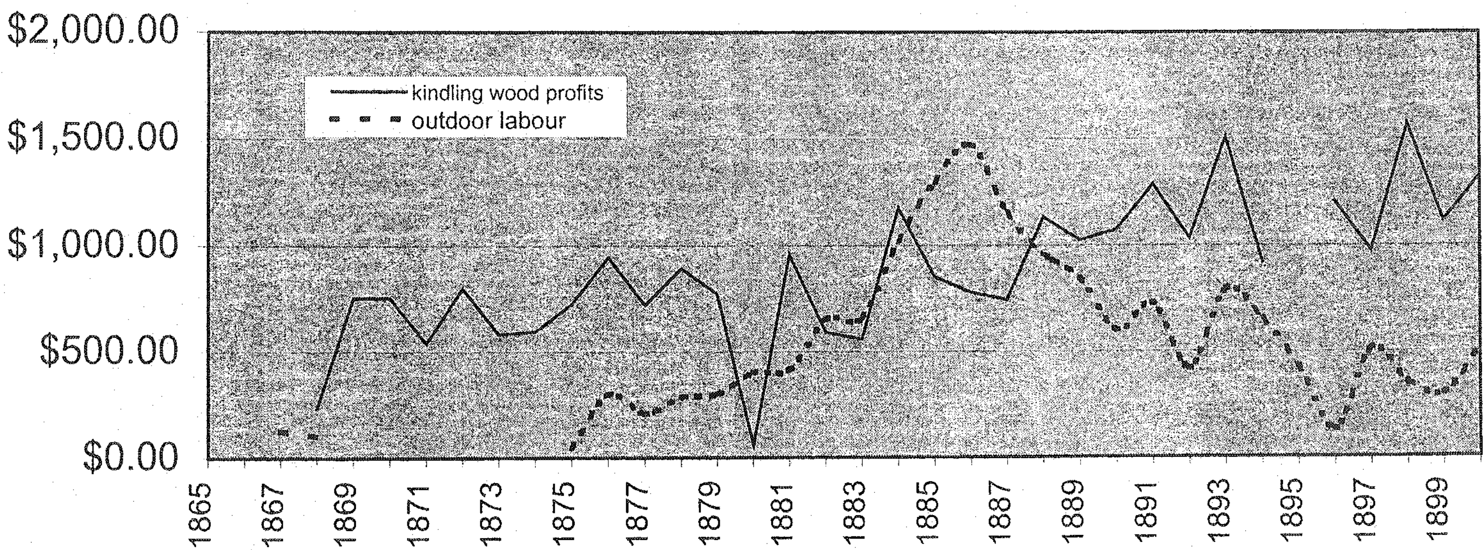

Figure 3.1 (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports 1865-1901).

A by-law in 1874 established a 'Poor Relief Committee' to maintain tighter control over the institution during the period between meetings of the Board of Management, and to investigate any problems facing the institution. When this new committee presented their findings to the Board at a meeting on October 5th of that year, they made the issue of outdoor labour a central point of their report:

> Several persons, confirmed drunkards, seem to make a permanent home of the House. They go out as they choose, get work, consume their wages in drink, and return to the house for board and shelter. Others with similar habits seem to be kept as boarders at a very low rate in summer, and in winter are kept for nothing. These cases your committee think should also be well looked into, as it seems wrong to furnish to such characters a permanent home, merely to enable them, with greater gusto and impunity, to consume their earnings by indulging in one of the worst of vices.[77]

The governors were deeply concerned that work performed beyond the walls of the House of Industry was outside of their control, and thus could undermine their efforts to reform the behavior of inmates. Following the sub-committee's complaint, The Board adopted the policy the following year of claiming a percentage of wages earned through out-door labour. These funds begin showing up on the ledger in 1875, and continue to be reported until the end of the century, peaking at $1500.00 for the year 1886 (see Figure 3.1). This would have enabled the governors to control how inmates spent their wages, and provided a new source of income at a time when the institution faced financial strain. After 1890, however, the funds generated by through out-door labour contracts declined considerably, and kindling wood manufacture remained the most profitable form of work undertaken by the institution.

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[77] MPHIR Minute Books, 1874. 556.

Women and Work

It was not only men who were expected to engage in labour at the House of Industry. Work was assigned according to gender, with women assigned to help in the laundry or perform other domestic tasks. In 1869, A board member revealed his opinion on the appropriateness of work for women in the institution, suggesting that "females may be employed in sewing, knitting, quilting, washing, dressing, scrubbing &c., just as may be best suited to their several habits and capacities."[78] Gender played an important role in the distribution of relief both within and outside the walls of the MPHIR. Outdoor relief was more readily supplied to widows and other women without means to support themselves than it was to families where men headed the household. Able-bodied men were seen as potentially lazy or irresponsible if they could not provide for their families, whatever the state of employment in the city as a whole. Within the institution, women were still expected to work, however their work did not receive the same amount of attention as the industrial labour reserved for the men. This could be because the Directors were all male and did not concern themselves with domestic work that went on within the institution, but its cause was more likely due to a difference in attitude towards female labour. Able-bodied males were put to work at stone breaking or kindling manufacture because it was hoped that the act of working would have beneficial moral effects. Female labour was viewed as necessarily supportive of the operation of the House of Industry, but did not convey the same didactic effects as industrial work did for the men.

[78] MPHIR Annual Report, 1869, 14.

A small but continuous number of women were given a form of relief at the MPHIR by the Ladies Industrial Rooms. The Industrial Sewing Room was a self-sufficient branch of the MPHIR that had existed independently for several years before the institution was formed, and shared a part of the main building at Dorchester and Bleury. This portion of the institution was maintained entirely by women, many of them wives of governors and subscribers. They provided sewing work to women inside and outside of the institution on the 'putting out' model, and sold the product at public bazaars throughout the year. They also accepted contract work and put out to various women depending on their level of skill. The low skill level of many of the women assisted by the Rooms was a constant source of difficulty, and resulted in a large quantity of 'coarse' sewing that could not be readily sold to the public. Nevertheless, the Rooms did not appear to turn away applicants based on skill level or experience, instead using the relative neediness of applicants to determine eligibility

The Ladies Rooms employed tactics similar to the House of Industry when evaluating cases. They dispatched women to visit the homes of applicants to ascertain their level of need before work was dispensed. The Ladies Rooms used the presence of dependants and the marital status of applicants as indicators when investigating cases – different criteria from the House of Industry, which was more concerned with the willingness of able-bodied applicants to work:

> The class of women applying for sewing is largely of those who have young families depending on them, having been left to help themselves as best they can, either form desertion or being widows, or from the fact that the natural bread-winner cannot or will not find employment.[79]

The managers of the Ladies Rooms constantly made reference to the utter helplessness of cases when justifying the work carried out by their branch of the institution, and cited

[79] MPHIR Annual Report, 1891, 13.

laziness or desertion on the part male members of the household as frequent causes of destitution. Laziness and unwillingness to work were traits more commonly associated with males than females in the rhetoric of the MPHIR.

The number of women assisted by the Industrial rooms was fairly small, and ranged from 100 to 150 women per year. The majority of women who accepted sewing work were Protestant, however small numbers of Roman Catholics were occasionally reported to have received aid. For example, in 1867 Jane Redpath reported that the Ladies Rooms had employed a total of 150 women throughout the winter, dispensing roughly $1900.00 in wages. The majority of women were Episcopalian (47) and Presbyterian (32) – however she reported that 20 Roman Catholics and 20 French Protestants had also been employed.[80] A decade later in 1877, the Industrial Rooms reported that $3447.00 was paid in wages to 136 women throughout the winter, only 6 of whom were Roman Catholic.[81] While the overall budget of the Rooms increased substantially from 1864 to 1900, the number of women assisted each year did not significantly increase. The average wage per worker remained meager, but increased considerably. Interestingly, although the institution never funded the Ladies Rooms, they were quite successful and earned far more money through the sale of sewing work than the kindling department in the House of Industry (see figure 3.2). In 1866, the governors urged that all women who were able to sew be compelled to assist in the industrial rooms during the day, suggesting that they assigned a certain degree of importance to the work carried out by the women in the basement of the MPHIR.

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[80] MPHIR Annual Report, 1867, 12.
[81] MPHIR Annual Report, 1877, 10. The MPHIR did not reserve its charity exclusively for Protestants, and in fact found the large number of Catholic inmates during the early years of the institution to be encouraging. Numbers quickly trailed of in the 1870s, however, a phenomenon which the governors attributed to the opening of equivalent catholic institutions in the city.

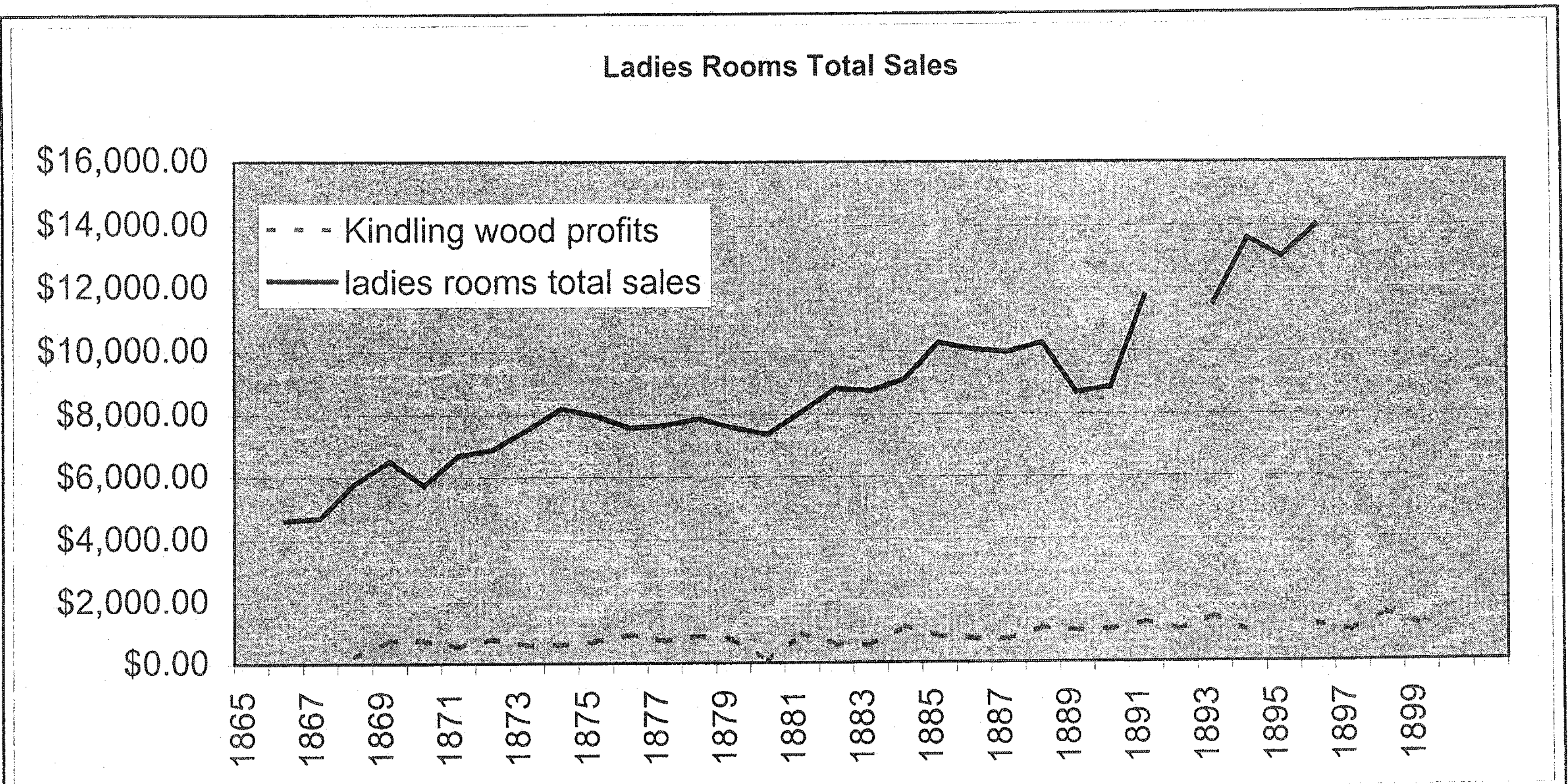

Figure 3.2 Figure 3.2 (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports 1865-1901).

The Declining Importance of Labour

Even though the governors were never able to make participation mandatory for all of the inmates of the institution, work was an ever-present condition in the MPHIR. When stone breaking was no longer used as the primary form of indoor labour after 1868, the manufacture of kindling wood took its place. Kindling wood and occasional outdoor contracts were the two main kinds of labour that were practiced in the institution from 1868 to 1900. On the whole, however, evidence suggests that the idea of labour as a method of reform lost its primacy in the minds of the governors over this period, for a variety of practical and ideological reasons.

The first factor that lessened the importance of labour in the MPHIR was practicality. The profits from stone breaking were insubstantial, and the income generated from the sale of kindling wood was not much greater, especially after deductions for cartage, the price of the wood and other expenses. Some years, such as 1880, the expenses were so high that the institution was just breaking even on the enterprise. The MPHIR also faced competition from other kindling wood suppliers, as noted in 1879 when the department was forced to reduce their prices by 20 percent in order to remain competitive.[82] The graph in Figure 3.1 shows that although kindling wood profits increased slowly over the course of four decades, it was highly variable from year to year. Other sources of income, such as legacies and revenue generated from investments, were much more important to the institution. By far the greatest contributors to the funds of the MPHIR were the donations of private citizens and the

[82] MPHIR Annual Report, 1979.

legacies left to the institution as governors and subscribers passed away. Most of the major expansions undertaken by the institution, such as the construction of the Country Home, were made possible only by large subscriptions and legacies. In the case of the Country Home, William Workman contributed $18,800 after his death in 1878[83].

Profit was not the only motivating factor behind the Board's insistence that inmates participate in laborious activities. Given that labour was considered beneficial not only as an income generating source but also as a means of reform, the governors of the MPHIR could not have been expected to lose interest in the project, even when the funds that it generated were insubstantial. Alongside the practical drawbacks, other notions of charity and alternative methods of reform were beginning to compete with the idea of labour in the minds of the governors as the institution matured. External forces continued to affect the number of poor seeking assistance in Montreal, whether they were compelled to work in the House of Industry or not. During the period from 1874 –1876, for example, the city was beset by a series of uncharacteristically long and severe winters. The MPHIR mobilized to address the crisis as effectively as possible, and assured the public that they were providing as much assistance as possible:

> The dark short days and chilling winds, heralds of a long and dreary winter are upon us, perhaps on no previous approach of this trying season, have the signs of widespread indigence and want been more appalling than at present. The want of employment now so general, will necessarily multiply demands on our charity, and in view of the present condition of our expenses, it behooves us to economize in every possible way, and to convince the public that we are doing so.[84]

Over this period, interest in kindling wood manufacture tapered off, receiving only brief mention in the annual reports, while the amount of attention paid to outdoor relief increased considerably. Figure 3.3 shows that in 1875, the number of outdoor relief visits

[83] MPHIR Minute Books, 1877, 70.
[84] MPHIR Minute Books, 1876, 556.

rose substantially, from 3000 per year to over 8000. The operating budget of the Board of Outdoor relief, gathered almost entirely from private donations, spiked from $2700 to over $6000 during the same period.

William Workman, president of the MPHIR in 1877, commented in the annual report that: 'The duties of [the Board of Outdoor Relief], are most onerous and important, in fact, they may be said to embrace the practical working of the Corporation.'[85] This was a substantial claim on the part of Workman, because it situated outdoor relief at the centre of the institution for the first time. Outdoor relief had previously been marginal to the more central concerns of the institution, the night refuge and the House of Industry, and the efforts of the Board of Outdoor Relief had never been supported by the funds of the MPHIR. The president appeared to be contradicting the principal ideology of the House of Industry and Refuge by suggesting that outdoor relief was more important than institutional relief. While the statement was made in the midst of a particularly severe winter, at a time when demands on the institution were at their greatest, it indicates that the importance given to labour within the institution may have been highly variable depending on the circumstances in which relief was being dispensed, and particularly on the perceived level of deservedness of the recipients. There could be no doubt that all of the city's poor were suffering in the winter months, regardless of their moral character or work ethic. When William Workman passed away the following year, and Charles Alexander took his place as president, the tone was entirely different. In 1878, Alexander stated that "the [Board of Outdoor Relief] have rather curtailed this part of their work, as they feel that the tramp nuisance is a great social problem, beyond the sphere of a

[85] MPHIR Annual Report, 1877.

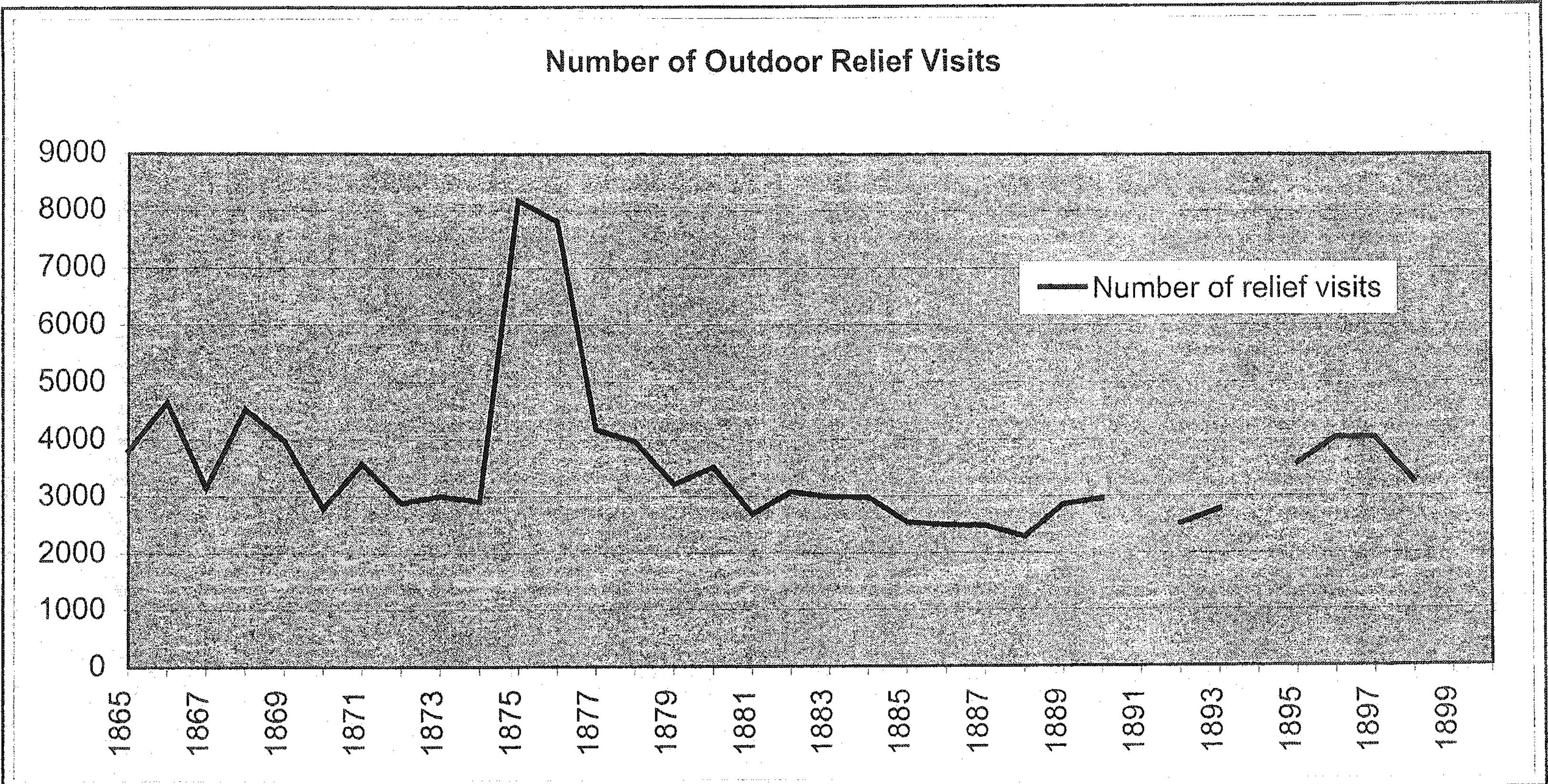

Figure 3.3 (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports 1965-1901)

voluntary benevolent association such as this."[86] By this time, the winters were considerably less severe and the governors were more inclined to be suspicious of requests for outdoor relief when times were not as bad.

Besides the effects of weather, some of the governors of the MPHIR began to acknowledge that economic and structural problems rather than laziness or lack of character could be to blame for the plight of many of Montreal's poor. The city's economy was highly variable – trade was greatest during the months when the waterways were open, and severely limited in the winter when ships could not reach the city. The Board was forced to recognize that in many cases, unemployment was seasonal, with the lack of available jobs contributing to poverty in the winter. They frequently lamented that the night refuge was overcrowded during the winter months and virtually empty in the summer. Besides relying on the 'workhouse test' to reduce the number of inmates, the governors explored other strategies that addressed the problem of seasonal unemployment more directly. At a meeting of the Board in April of 1873, it was moved that a committee consisting of William Lunn, Henry Lyman and Charles Alexander confer with the District and City Savings Bank about the possibility of setting up penny savings accounts for dock workers during the summer months 'so as to encourage labouring people to save their means, and reduce the number of those who apply for relief at the refuge during the winter.' [87] Savings could offer some protection against indigence in the winter, but it was not sufficient to protect Montreal's working class from longer, more widespread economic depressions. The physician's report in 1877 attributes the great number of poor crowding the night refuge to 'a want of employment that has

[86] MPHIR Annual Report, 1878.
[87] MPHIR Minute Books 1873, 444.

existed throughout the country for some time,' suggesting that the governors were aware that their institution was operating in an environment of economic hardship. The recognition that an unstable economy was at least partly to blame for the condition of many of Montreal's poor did not prevent the governors of the MPHIR from continuing to use labour as a deterrent and an instrument of reform. However, the burgeoning acknowledgement of the importance of economic forces, increasingly expressed in board meetings and annual reports, suggests that belief in an inherent laziness on the part of the poor was subject to reevaluation and modification in the face of the actual employment situation in Montreal.

Finally, the governors' fascination with labour as a means of reform began to wane in the 1880s, as the rhetoric of the healthfulness and moral influence of the countryside began to dominate the direction of the institution. Once the Country Home was established in 1884, references to labour all but disappeared, and the institution began to resemble more and more a care facility for the old and infirm that an almshouse for the city's poor. Labour was still carried out by some inmates on the farm, but it did not occupy the central place in the institution that earlier plans for the countryside location had anticipated. In fact, in 1883, it was proposed that the secretary of the MPHIR arrange to hire a man 'who understood farming and farm work', because nobody on the board of management knew anything about farming, and it was not expected that the inmates would be able to manage the day to day operations of the Country Home by themselves[88]. By 1887, the president of the MPHIR described the Country Home as a place of rest, rather than toil:

> In the Country Home an average of over 120 of the aged and infirm poor, many of them having formerly occupied good positions in the community

[88] MPHIR Minute Books, 1883, 461.

> are, after a life of vicissitude and anxiety, here afforded a haven of rest, where surrounded by the ordinary comforts of life, they can prepare for a fast approaching eternity.[89]

The night refuge on Dorchester Street remained open after the Country Home was established. The amount of resources expended on its operation decreased substantially, however. It appears as though the Governors of the MPHIR considered the efforts at the House of Industry to be less important than they had in the 1860s and 1870s, either because they were ineffective at stemming the tide of able bodied poor, or because they believed that labour had failed as a means of reform. In either case, it is clear that by the end of the century, the MPHIR was focused primarily on the maintenance of a constant number of old and infirm inmates in the countryside, while the activities of the House of Industry played an increasingly secondary role.

[89] MPHIR Annual Report, 1887.

CHAPTER 4: THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COUNTRY HOME

At the end of the previous chapter it was suggested that the notion of compulsory labour lost its prominence within the MPHIR in the 1880s, as the Board of Management shifted its focus toward the newly constructed Country Home. The movement of an important branch of the institution outside of the city limits was one of the principal features of the functional transformation of the MPHIR, and accompanied a corresponding de-emphasis on labour as a means of reform. The construction of the Country Home was not a sudden response to changing conditions in the 1880s. Rather, it marked the culmination of a lengthy debate that had played out between members of the governing board since the inception of the MPHIR in 1864. At times ideological, and at other times practical, arguments were raised in favor and in opposition to the movement of the institution outside of the city throughout the course of the institution's early life span.

This chapter endeavours to chart the character of those arguments over time, and determine their influence on the form of the migration to Longue Pointe that finally occurred in 1884. An analysis of early debates between members of the Board is essential, because it provides valuable insight into the transformation of reformist ideology within the institution as a whole. While many plans for the countryside location proposed in the early years were never brought to fruition, they nonetheless suggest the direction that certain board members envisioned for the MPHIR, and reflect the adaptive nature of the institution in the face of practical concerns, both internal and external. The development of the Longue Point Home will then be discussed, and its purpose within the MPHIR identified. A detailed analysis of the construction, funding and operation of the

Country Home will demonstrate that it occupied an ascendant – if not central – role within the MPHIR after 1884. Finally, it will be argued that the movement of the institution from the center of Montreal to the outskirts of the city was indicative of an ideological shift that favored environmental influences as a method of reform, over the strict institutional organization and compulsory labour practiced in the institution during the 1860s and 1870s.

A contemporary observer might have been astonished that the MPHIR began its life at a location so close to central Montreal, considering that there were some compelling reasons for the House of Industry to be located outside of the city. The first factor that could have caused the MPHIR to be located outside of the city limits was Thomas Molson's will. The wording of the document did not explicitly insist that the House of Industry be constructed in a specific location, however Molson clearly intended that the parcel of land bequeathed to the Board be used 'for the endowment of a House of Industry at Montreal', implying that the structure was to built on the donated property. The Molson farm was located at Longue Pointe, a considerable distance east of the city on the Saint Lawrence River.[90] It offered some clear advantages over other proposed sites, notably the fact that it did not need to be purchased at further expense to the institution, and had ready access to water, something that other proposed sites on the outskirts of the city lacked. Despite these advantages, however, the Board felt compelled to form a Site Committee to investigate other options, mostly in the West of the city[91]. Their desire to find a suitable site in the western part of the city is understandable, since the Board was English speaking, and the majority of English speaking Protestant poor lived in the western sections of the City, notably in St. Ann's Ward. Moreover, many

[90] MPHIR Minute Books, 1863, 31.
[91] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 60.

Board members felt that the Molson Farm was simply too distant from the City – both French and English speaking portions – to be practical, something which offset the other advantages offered by the property.

All of the locations proposed by the Site Committee were some distance from the city center, although there was considerable debate as to how far the institution should be located from Montreal. At a vote on February 3rd of 1864, a movement to locate the institution within the city limits failed, and it was carried by a majority of the Board that the House of Industry be constructed 'in the country, provided that it be within a mile of the toll gates.'[92] A special report presented to the Board of Governors at a subsequent meeting on February 6th revealed the rationale for the Board of Management's preference for a rural location. It was reasoned that it made sense on economic grounds, because the cost of obtaining a sufficient amount of land for the 'extension of buildings and the employment of inmates' would be prohibitive anywhere but at the outskirts of the city. It was suggested that by having a plot of land greater than 25 acres in size, 'the poor could be employed the greater part of the year in healthy outdoor work, and an amount of produce raised that would go towards supporting them.' Secondly, the Board of Management considered the central portion of the city to be too much of an impediment to the reformatory goals of the institution, arguing that 'the class of people who are generally inmates of such institutions should be removed some distance from their usual haunts and associates.' A third justification was that having distance between the institution and the center of the city would provide a shield against the spread of disease in the event of a serious outbreak. The board cited the 'broken down' constitutions of the poor as a condition that would make them the first victims of disease, and argued that

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[92] MPHIR Minute Books. 1864, 45.

their isolation from the more populated parts of the city would impede the spread of illness, both to and from the institution[93].

Perhaps the most interesting justification for the Board of Management's decision was their closing assertion that 'it is a well understood fact that all similar institutions in Europe, the United States and Canada, are now established at some distance from populous cities.' Considering that there were practical arguments to be made in favor of both the country and the city, this was possibly the most compelling rationale for the final decision of the Board, and may have been the reason why such a large majority of the Board supported a rural location. The physical layout, rules of conduct and labour requirement of the MPHIR all had their foundation in similar institutions in England and the United States. It is not surprising that the location of the institution would be influenced by a desire on the part of the Governors to conform to the conventional 'rules' that governed the design of Houses of Industry in other cities. Furthermore, the feeling among many governors was that the MPHIR would make a contribution to the city of Montreal that exceeded its mere practical goal of providing assistance to the needy. Its physical design and location were important symbolic characteristics that would convey its importance as a monumental civic structure and worthy addition to Montreal's modernizing cityscape:

> It is the opinion of the Committee that the establishment should be on a large and liberal scale, and should be one both in situation and appearance, that would reflect credit on the city, be an object worthy of exhibition to strangers, and serve as a model for similar Institutions in other parts of Canada.[94]

The inclusion of these closing words in the Board of Management's special report reveals that they viewed the location of the MPHIR to be inextricably linked with its status and

[93] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864. 'Special Report to the Board of Governors', 48-49.
[94] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 48-49.

worth as an essential civic amenity. Paradoxically, they did not believe that the institution needed to be located close to the center of Montreal in order to occupy an important position within the city. Locating the MPHIR in the countryside near Montreal would satisfy the widely held definition of a 'House of Industry', and strengthen its claim to membership in a large and varied group of institutions that were seen to encapsulate the ascendancy of Montreal as an economic and cultural center.

Initial Plans 1864 – 1865

Despite strong support for a rural location among members of the Board in 1864, the necessary requirements for a country site failed to materialize, and the matter never advanced past the preliminary planning phase. Several factors limited the success of the Board's initial plan and forced the Board to settle on a site much closer to downtown than they had originally anticipated.

One factor that impeded the initial adoption of a countryside location for the MPHIR was the wide variety of roles that the Board intended the institution to fill. A permanent home for indigent poor did not require easy access to the central part of the city, because it was not expected that inmates would move back and forth between the institution and their homes very often, if at all. Other types of inmates, those destined for the 'industrial' portion of the institution, were not expected to stay permanently, but would have been expected to stay for lengths of time that also did not demand close contact with the city centre. In the case of both types of inmates, proximity to downtown Montreal was viewed by many board members as a potentially disastrous scenario, due to the availability of liquor and the influence of immoral acquaintances. There were three

other branches associated with the institution -- the Night Refuge, the Ladies Rooms, and the Poor Relief Committee -- that did not view a countryside location as ideal, however. At the February 6th meeting to decide the location of the MPHIR, it was moved and carried by a large majority that the House of Industry should be located in the countryside, while the Night Refuge, Board Room and administrative offices be located 'in a central position in the city.'[95] The insistence on the part of the Board that it was necessary for the MPHIR to provide a temporary refuge to the city's poor meant that placing the institution by itself in the countryside would be impractical. The Ladies Industrial Rooms, while hardly a powerful voice among the Board of Management, also required a site that provided convenient access to the city's poor neighborhoods, because their workers would require frequent trips to the institution to pick up materials and drop off finished work. Charles Alexander had already envisioned extending the role of the MPHIR to include the provision of outdoor relief in 1863, when he proposed the creation of a soup kitchen and night refuge at the western end of the city.[96] These competing interests had a divisive effect on plans to build a unified structure in the countryside, and forced the Board to acknowledge the functional separation of the institution into two parts.

Following the successful vote to locate certain portions of the MPHIR downtown, the Site Committee was instructed to investigate possible locations near the center of the city. On March 1st, 1864 the committee reported to the Board that they had found a suitable site being offered for sale at the corner of Dorchester and De Bleury. The Board found the lot to be much larger than they had hoped for, but thought that it was more practical to purchase the entire property 'with the view of selling such portion as may not

[95] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 48.
[96] MPHIR Minute Books, 1863, 43.

be required, rather than allow it to fall into such hands as might put up buildings that would become a nuisance to the institution.'[97] The Site Committee was authorized to acquire the land for $15,000. The Board had architectural plans drawn up by Lawson, Nelson and Hopkins by mid June, and construction began at a rapid pace following the purchase of the lot on Dorchester Street. The plans called for a fairly elaborate three story building, with contracts for masonry, brickwork and carpentry estimated at $16,500.[98] The plans were so elaborate, especially in the front elevation, that the Board had the architects revise them, 'reducing the size and making the front elevation of a plainer description, thereby reducing the cost estimate probably about 20%'.[99] Nevertheless, the board calculated that even with a total expenditure of $24,000 for the night refuge, there would be ample funds from other sources for the completion of the main building in the country. The level of detail and elaborate design of the building on Dorchester Street suggest, however, that a significant shift in direction had occurred following the authorization to purchase property downtown. The architectural style, size and design characteristics that were intended for the main building in the country were instead bestowed upon the downtown building, suggesting that the Board had become preoccupied with the new site, to the detriment of their plan to construct and even more impressive structure in the countryside. The three-story building was much larger than was necessary to house a night refuge and administrative offices, and in fact contained enough space to house a large number of permanent inmates. By October of 1865, the institution was operational, and the focus of the Board's attention had shifted away from

[97] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 61.
[98] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, p.72. Interestingly, the Board did not select the lowest bids, opting for contractors in the middle range. It appears that they were somewhat more concerned with quality workmanship than they were with the cost of the building.
[99] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 74.

the Country Home to more practical concerns like the day-to-day operation of the Night Refuge. Furthermore, the institution had received less than it expected from its share of the Marsteller Estate (a legacy left to the city that was to be divvied up among various charitable organizations) and found itself increasingly strained when other sources of funding failed to materialize. Faced with financial difficulty, the Board decided to put off the construction of a country home until 'a very considerable increase of funds [had] been obtained.'[100]

From the statements made by governors in the period from 1863-1864, it is certain that most of them favored a location in the countryside. Unfortunately, the site bequeathed to them by Thomas Molson was generally considered to be too far from downtown to be practical, and was also in the eastern part of the city, which was not desirable to the governors. Their ideal location was in the west, closer to the English speaking and protestant poor, and not so far from the city as to be impractical. This meant that they were left in an awkward position of holding an inadequate piece of land, but under obligation to construct a building within five years so as not to lose the right to the land that they already held. The proponents of a site on the outskirts of town appear to have been gradually converted to supporting the Dorchester street site, however the plan to move the house of Industry to the countryside received frequent mention in the Minute Books and Annual reports even after the downtown buildings were completed.

[100] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 123.

Interim Plans 1865 – 1878

Following 1865, two principle issues dominated discussions by the Board regarding the proposal to move the House of Industry to the countryside. The first frequently raised issue was the overcrowding of inmates at the downtown site, and the need to segregate the permanent from the temporary lodgers. The second issue that received attention from the governors was the possibility of expanding the Country Home to include a Reformatory for Boys that would be partially subsidized by the provincial government. Neither of these issues could be resolved, however, as financial difficulties delayed the construction of the Country Home until 1878, when a large donation finally enabled the institution to go ahead with its original plans.

One of the primary concerns of the Board, and an important motivating force behind their desire to move the House of Industry to the country, was the perceived need to segregate the permanent inmates of the MPHIR from the Night Refuge lodgers. At a semi-annual meeting in 1865, the poor relief committee stressed the importance of separating the night refuge lodgers from the 'permanent poor', stating that under the current system, it was 'impossible to preserve order and cleanliness.'[101] Although the Night Refuge occupied the rear building and possessed separate dormitories than the portion reserved for permanent inmates, it was felt that merely by having the two classes of poor in the same institution, the negative influence of one group (the night lodgers) would corrupt the other. A separate building in the countryside for the permanent poor would complete the physical separation of the two classes of inmates and ensure the protection of the moral values that long-term stay in the MPHIR was meant to impress

[101] MPHIR Minute Books 1865, 123.

upon its charges. According to the Poor Relief Committee, the permanent inmates of the MPHIR did not only require protection from other inmates of the institution, but from the physical environment around the institution as well. Committee members struggled with what they considered to be an immoral and depraved urban environment that lay just outside the main doors of the House of Industry. Alcohol appears to have been their primary concern, although they frequently only referred to it euphemistically. They often saw a direct connection between the urban environment of downtown Montreal and the temptation of alcohol:

> Not a few have found within the [walls of the MPHIR] that security from their prevailing and enslaving vice which to all appearances they could find nowhere else. But in the heart of the city there are difficulties to encounter in administering relief to this numerous class of sufferers which can only, in the opinion of your Committee, be obviated by a removal astride of its limits and to a distance from haunts of temptation. [102]

Here the Board suggests that the urban environment was directly opposed to the reformatory purpose of the MPHIR, that it proved too tempting to that 'numerous class of sufferers' who could not be sufficiently isolated within the institution at Dorchester and De Bleury. The MPHIR did not exist in isolation, as its managers may have wished -- it formed part of a continuous landscape whose influence was impossible to ignore. The Board was forced to acknowledge the relative porousness of this boundary, stating that the prevention of intemperance was impossible 'while we remain in such close contiguity, with surrounding taverns.'[103] While the managers maintained tight control over most aspects of inmates' lives, it was very difficult to prevent them from leaving the institution, and their behavior could not be supervised while outside the confines of the House of Industry. In the annual report for 1869, the Country Home sub-committee

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[102] Minute Books 1865, 143.
[103] Annual report, 1877, 7.

complained that 'Much trouble is constantly experienced in keeping the inmates within the building... When permitted to go outside for a short season, it is found that the privilege is so often abused, that many had to be forbidden to leave the house on any pretence whatever.'[104] Since it was inhumane to confine the inmates in the building where there was 'but little room for anything like cheerful, or healthful exercise,' the only sensible solution in the minds of many members of the Board was to relocate them all to the countryside, far from any urban temptations.[105]

In 1869, the Quebec legislature adopted two acts that had a direct effect on the Board's plan to move part of the MPHIR outside of the city. The first act was '*An Act respecting reformatory schools for detention and reclamation of youthful offenders*.' The second was '*An Act respecting industrial schools for the reception and training to some useful occupation of children under sixteen*.'[106] The second act also contained a provision for the grant of money from provincial funds for every child sustained, which amounted to approximately $90 per year for each girl or boy. This legislation was especially interesting to the managers of the MPHIR because it promised a means for them to recuperate some of the costs associated with building the country home, in the form of government subsidies. It also corresponded with a strong sentiment among some members of the MPHIR board of management that the institution should turn some of its

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[104] Annual Report, 1869, 14.

[105] The Board of Governors of the MPHIR was not the only group of reformers to view the Canadian Countryside as a potentially positive moral influence. Reformers such as Thomas Barnardo transported eighty thousand children from Great Britain to Canada between 1868 and 1925. This movement was motivated by a desire to rid the English streets of abandoned children and the conviction that the countryside offered positive reformative influences. Joy Parr, Labouring Children: British Immigrant Apprentices to Canada, 1869-1924 (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1980). Also see Kenneth Bagnell, The Little Immigrants: The Orphans who came to Canada (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1980).

[106] Statutes of Quebec, 1869.

attention toward the problem of young deviants. As early as 1865, the Poor Relief Committee reported to the Board of Management that ' it is felt that great benefit would arise from an effort to reclaim and educate the number of young persons, boys especially, who now crowd our streets, and the committee entertain the hope that something may soon be done in this direction.'[107] In 1866, the Board set up a school for children of inmates, and hired a teacher, Miss MacDougall to teach approximately 20 pupils, however it was widely considered outside the scope of the institution to provide anything in the way of comprehensive reformatory education for youth who were not related to adult inmates of the MPHIR. This changed following the legislation of 1869, which forced the board to re-evaluate the limits of the scope of their institution. Almost immediately, the desire to modify the MPHIR to meet the requirements of the Quebec legislation found strong support among members of the Board, who felt that the reformation of abandoned children was reasonably within the bounds of the responsibilities of the MPHIR, and would provide a necessary means of funding the expansion of the institution. A special committee called to investigate the practicality of pursuing the project in 1872 made it clear that a reformatory school fit very well both ideologically and practically within the institution, pointing out that the protection of youthful morality was no less important than the reformation of adults.

> It appears that the above Act has been designed with the most benevolent intentions towards destitute and neglected children, who may be left on the street with no one to care for them, and *whose training there must inevitably lead them toward a life of destitution and crime.* It contemplates their detention within a comfortable home, and on the warrant of a magistrate for two to five years, and their instruction in the common branches of education and in religious truth, and teaching them some useful occupation.[108]

[107] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 100.
[108] MPHIR Minute Books, 1869, 434-435.

The committee also stressed the importance of providing a Protestant institution of this type in Montreal, since approximately 25 protestant children were confined at the Saint Vincent de Paul Society, a Catholic institution, and would remain under the care of Catholics for the foreseeable future, unless an equivalent Protestant service could be provided. The committee pointed out that although institutions such as the Protestant Orphan Asylum already provided care for abandoned children in Montreal, the form of relief they provided did not satisfy the requirements for reformatory schools put forth in the legislation.

The Board was convinced that the new legislation presented them with an opportunity to provide an important service to the city that was not being offered by any other equivalent institution. The question that remained was whether to refit the downtown buildings to accommodate this new branch of the institution, or to incorporate it into the design for the House of Industry on Molson Farm. One scheme involved taking over the rear building of the Dorchester St. refuge for use as a reformatory school, where boys could be taught mechanical trades. The other, more popular plan was to incorporate the reformatory school with the Country House, and teach the boys farm-gardening. The reformatory school was closely linked with the Country House in the minds of most of the members of the Board very early on. At a special meeting held May 1, 1873 it was carried unanimously that the institution establish a reformatory school in accordance with the Act of 32nd Victoria on the Molson Farm[109]. They held a prevailing belief that the farm would offer environmental advantages over the downtown location,

[109] MPHIR Minute Books, 1873, 474. Support for the Country Home was extremely high among members of the Board of Management. A vote on an earlier motion proposing to delay the construction of any establishment in the Countryside was defeated 16 – 3.

and that the type of work that could be performed in the country would be more healthful and more conducive to raising morally sound and productive citizens:

> The Board also proposes a department in the Building for the young of both sexes, who may have had the misfortune of being deserted by their parents, and left helpless outcasts on Society, neglected and prey to evil influence. Could such be gathered in and cared for, and made to taste something of the comforts and blessings of a Home life; how much misery and crime might not this be a means of preventing? …
>
> 2nd. Train the boys to garden and Farm work, so as to fit them for farm servants or gardeners; of which there is, in our new and growing country a great lack, or learning such other handicraft as may be deemed best.
>
> 3rd. The girls, besides the ordinary branches of education, to be taught to cook, wash, sew, knit, and do ordinary household, and dairy work; preparing them for the duties of household servants of a superior and intelligent class, amply qualified to discharge such duties, with credit alike to themselves and to the Institution in which they have been educated and trained.[110]

This romantic view of rural labor was shared by a majority of members of the Board of Management who supported the inclusion of a reformatory school in plans for the Country Home. They stressed the uplifting characteristics of the domestic environment, referring to the reformatory as a 'Home'. The girls would be trained in tasks that particularly suited them to home life and the domestic sphere. The boys, trained in farm work or gardening, would not only benefit morally from proximity to the rural environment, but would be taught to make their livelihood from it, and in the case of gardening, shape and beautify it. The three ingredients of compulsory labour, exposure to the domestic environment, and the promotion of an intimate connection with the rural landscape were all seen as critically necessary to the success of the Country Home project. The ideological arguments that had pervaded discussions concerning the location of the House of Industry were logically extended to embrace the plan to create a boys'

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[110] Annual Report, 1869, 14-15.

and girls' reformatory on the Molson Farm, a project that the Board viewed as complementary to the task of reforming the indigent poor.

The Board's fascination with the idea of including a reformatory in the plans for the Country Home appeared to peak with the findings of the special committee in 1872, and waned in following years as the funds necessary for the project failed to materialize. In 1873, Charles Alexander reported to the Board that not enough serious thought had been given to the matter, and that costs would be much higher than some members of the board realized. Alexander estimated the cost of a reformatory school at approximately $25,000, including a building, teacher, farm instructor, and farm equipment.[111] The Board was struggling to raise enough money to construct a new house of Industry on the Molson Farm, which was considered a more important objective than the proposal to build a reformatory school.

Financial difficulties were a constant source of concern for the managers of the MPHIR, and were the primary obstacle that that delayed the construction of a new House of Industry on Molson Farm until the 1880s. In 1865, the Board of Management had stated that 'In regard to the site, we are prepared to recommend the farm left to the institution by the late Thomas Molson Esq. as a suitable site for the main building and the erection of the same as soon as the funds will warrant the expenditure', implying that the Board was simply waiting to raise enough money to construct the building. [112] They were clearly optimistic regarding the institution's finances, estimating a delay of only one more winter before the construction could begin. Additional funds did not materialize, however, and two efforts to raise money through subscriptions -- once in 1865 and another in 1873 -- were largely unsuccessful. A special meeting advertised in the

[111] MPHIR Minute Books, 1873, 445.
[112] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 95.

Montreal papers for May 1st 1873, called together all Members of the MPHIR with subscriptions over $25 to vote on the location of the country home.[113] A motion to proceed with the construction 'with as little delay as possible' was carried unanimously, and a circular was sent out to the city's newspapers soliciting subscriptions; but once gain the Board of Management failed to raise the necessary funds.

The MPHIR struggled financially throughout its early life, causing the Board of Management to complain about rising costs associated with the operation of the buildings at Dorchester and Bleury. In the fall of 1865, they formed a special committee to investigate the institution's expenditures, as they were running a deficit of approximately $800.[114] The Board adopted the recommendations of the special committee to curtail all outdoor aid and to close the Night Refuge during the summer months, as well as to maintain tighter control over food supplies used in the kitchen. Finances continued to stall the construction of the country house, however, and it was not until William Workman's death in 1878 that sufficient money could be raised. Workman left a legacy of $12,800 for the construction of a Country Home, with the proviso that the construction be completed within 5 years of his death.[115] This influx of capital enabled the Board to move ahead with the construction of the Home, which commenced in 1880.

[113] MPHIR Minute Books, 1873, 474.
[114] MPHIR minute Books, 1865, 552.
[115] Workman originally left $18,800 to the institution in his will. Executors could not release the full amount to the House of Industry, however, due to other claims on the estate. In 1884, the total amount of money received by the MPHIR from the estate totaled only $14,400.

Construction 1879-1884

Following William Workman's death in 1878, Charles Alexander became president of the MPHIR. He had served on both the Poor Relief and Country House Committees prior to taking leadership of the institution, and he was as committed to the Country House project as was his predecessor. The legacy left to the institution enabled Alexander and the Board to begin the construction in 1881. The planning and construction of the Country Home was a lengthy process, however, and it took several years before the first inmates were moved from the Dorchester location to Molson Farm. A number of practical and ideological issues helped to shape the final form of the Country Home during the construction process, and resulted in a structure that was radically different from the plans discussed by the board throughout the 1860s and 70s. Financial constraints limited the scope and size of the establishment, while a lack of experience on the part of the Board hindered their ability to integrate farm work with the new institution as effectively as they had incorporated labour into the House of Industry on Dorchester Street. Alongside these practical issues, the ideological focus of the Country Home extension shifted to reflect a greater concern with the physical and spiritual well being of the inmates, while the emphasis on compulsory labour waned. The Country Home that was ultimately constructed on Molson Farm more closely resembled a care facility for the old and infirm that a workhouse on the American or European model.

The first step undertaken by Alexander and the Board was to commission plans for a structure to be built on Molson Farm. The Board selected the firm Hutchison and Steele, well known architects who had been involved with a number of prominent institutional and religious buildings throughout the city, including the Crescent Street

Presbyterian Church. Alexander Cowper Hutchison was born in Montreal in 1838. He is credited with many prominent buildings constructed during the second half of the nineteenth century, including the Harbor Commissioner's Building (1875), the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University (1882) and Erskine Presbyterian church (1894). He collaborated on the design for Montreal's City Hall and was involved with the Industrial Exhibition of 1880.[116] Hutchison was influenced by the gothic and neoclassical styles, both used prominently in his work, which vacillated between institutional and religious structures. His connection with religious architecture may have been influenced by his involvement with the religious community. Hutchison was superintendent of Sunday school at St. Andrew's Church in Westmount, and was later president of the Provincial Sunday School Union of Quebec.[117] His religious involvement may have led him into contact with Peter Redpath through the Crescent Street Presbyterian Church, and his affiliations with various churches may have brought him into contact with other managing members of the MPHIR as well. Hutchison sat on the Board of Management, although his participation was not as prominent as other members. His involvement with the institution increased following the commission to build the Country Home, however, and he eventually become president of the MPHIR from 1913 to 1916.

Hutchison and Steele's design called for a three story building of an impressive scale with protruded windows, a front porch, and a very distinctive spire that separated the main portion of the building from the Workman Wing. The Board estimated that the

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[116] Susan Bronson, 'The Design of the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University: the genesis, expression and evolution of an idea about natural history,' (M.A. Thesis, McGill University, 1992), 58-63.

[117] W.H. Atherton, Montreal Biographical, From 1535-1914. Volume III. (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Publishing, 1914), 278.

main portion of the building would cost approximately $23,500, while the Workman Wing would be less costly at $17,000.[118] The shuttered windows, porch and roofline called for in Hutchison's design strongly evoked the personal flourish and aesthetic attention to detail of a home, while the spire lent the building an ecclesiastical appearance. Hutchison's treatment of the project was markedly removed from his institutional work, and instead mimicked his earlier religious buildings. Whether due to Hutchison's particular architectural style and propensity for religious designs, or because the Board specifically willed it, the proposed plan physically united the symbolic elements of religion and the home. The design was suggestive of a late Victorian residence, and represented a considerable shift away from the austere and imposing façade of the old House of Industry (see Figure 4.1).

According to the institutional records, construction on the Country Home began unceremoniously in October, 1880. The Board, ever concerned with publicity and determined to make Montrealers aware of the contribution that the MPHIR provided to the city, arranged a ceremony to mark the laying of the first cornerstone in 1881. The Board was still struggling to raise donations to cover construction costs, and was somewhat disappointed that the public did not seem very enthusiastic about the project. The special committee of Arrangements for Laying the Corner Stone reported in May of

[118] Annual Report, 1881, 6.

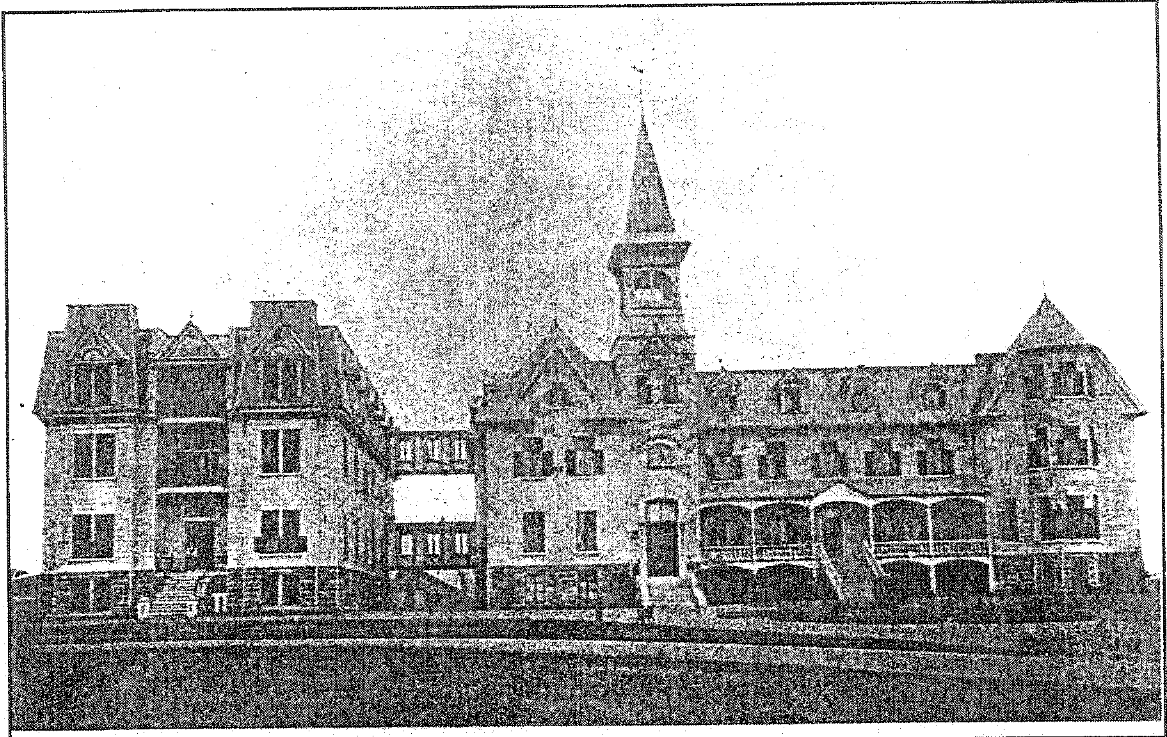

Figure 4.1. The Country Home (right) and Moore Memorial Convalescent Home (left), photographed after the Moore Home was added in 1894. William Workman's legacy contributed to the construction of the Workman Wing, which formed the center part of the Country Home (Source: Grace Dart Memorial Archives).

Figure 4.2. Alexander Cowper Hutchison designed the Country Home on Longue Pointe, along with a series of well-known religious and institutional structures in Montreal. (Source: W.H. Atherton, Montreal Biographical, vol. III, 1914, 275).

1881 that 'in the ceremony of laying the corner stone it is desirous to bring the Institution prominently before the public, so as to enlist a more general interest in the House.'[119] It was hoped that public contributions to the funds of the MPHIR would be increased and the value of the institution acknowledged by the city.

The cornerstone of the Country Home was laid on the 11th of June, 1881. A full account of the proceedings was recounted in the major Montreal newspapers, including the Gazette. Part of the ceremony called for the collection and entombment of documents such as newspapers in the masonry of the building. Copies of newspapers entombed in the cornerstone included the *Gazette*, *Herald*, *Star*, *Daily Witness*, *Evening Post*, *Minerve*, *La Patrie*, and the *Toronto Christian Guardian*. The inclusion of these publications shows the conviction on the part of the Board that the construction of the Country House was a momentous event, one that even major newspapers would undoubtedly find newsworthy. The physical encasing of newspapers in the structure of the Country Home symbolically emphasized the intimate relationship with the public that the institution hoped to engender, and underscored the importance that its managers placed on public opinion and acknowledgement.

Along with newspapers were laid a map of Montreal, a copy of Starke's almanac, the act of incorporation of the MPHIR, all of the institution's annual reports, a list of subscribers, and photographs of all four past presidents of the institution. These documents were covered over using a silver trowel that had been engraved as a gift to Theodore Robataille, the Lieutenant Governor of Quebec, who was invited to speak at the

[119] MPHIR Minute Books, 1881, 336. While the ceremony did elicit a response from the public and received notice in many of the city's newspapers, interest in the project soon declined among the general public. At a Board meeting one year later in 1882, Charles Alexander lamented that 'the Protestant Citizens of Montreal [do] not regard this Institution as they should and as its merits deserve – very few of them take sufficient interest in it, to even visit it.'

event. The Lieutenant Governor's speech was flowery and full of approbation, but it belied unfamiliarity with the reformative aspects of the work carried out by the MPHIR:

> Your institution is an admirable one, and deserves both the recognition of mankind and the blessings of heaven. To assist the unfortunate and disinherited of this world, at the cost of immense sacrifices, to help one's sick and infirm Brethren, to minister, above all, to the cares of those whose age confers a double right to assistance, to provide for them at a great expense, a place of refuge and of tranquility, to remove every evening a large number of persons from the temptations of vagabondage by offering them a protecting roof for the night, is certainly something beautiful, something great, something noble, is a truly philanthropic work, is in a word to accomplish in the most perfect manner the apostolic precept of charity. But it is not only from the religious and moral point of view that your efforts, and the result of your devotion, are worthy of praise, it is also from a social point. In fact the best and surest means of civilizing the people, of causing to be respected by the labouring and suffering classes the principles of authority and sacred government, which should prevail in all well regulated societies is to assist them, to extend to them a helping hand, to lean towards them, in order to put balm on their wounds, to prevent the kindling in their hearts of the fire of social antipathies, to give them, in fact, a proof of that Christian fraternity which is taught them as well as to superior classes. That is what the nations of antiquity, the Roman nation in particular, did not sufficiently understand, as arrogance and patrician hardness towards the miserable and starving plebeians often were the causes of social revolutions and civil wars.[120]

Robataille's assertion that the MPHIR was merely a philanthropic organization, engaged in keeping Montreal's streets clear of vagabonds, was incomplete. The Governors of the MPHIR, whether through labour or other means, believed that they were using the provision of charity as a method of reforming the character and behavior of the poor that applied to the institution for relief. The MPHIR was not engaged in the kind of philanthropy that Robataille described in his speech, at least not the 'apostolic precept of charity' that implied selfless giving, without motive or expectation. The Board was opposed to the notion that the best way to improve the lot of the poor was to extend the hand of charity freely and indiscriminately. Nor had the Governors ever publicly stated

[120] MPHIR Annual Report, 1882, 19.

that the charitable activities undertaken by the institution were intended to avert social upheaval in the manner that Robataille suggested. Rather than perceive the city's poor as a mass of 'miserable and starving plebeians', the managers of the MPHIR were more inclined to view them as underdeveloped but potentially productive citizens -- in a sense children that required behavioral and moral education. This belief in the possibility for societal betterment through charity informed the structure of the institution and was a primary motivating factor behind the construction of the Country Home.

Ironically, however, Robataille's inaccurate description of the philanthropic activities of the MPHIR prefigured a shift in the institution that rendered it more similar, in many ways, to the one described in his speech at the cornerstone ceremony. Even before the Country Home was completed, the function that it was anticipated to perform changed drastically from earlier plans discussed by the Board prior to construction. The emphasis on labour was greatly reduced, and Board members began to stress the provision of comfort and rest over the promise of compulsory work. At a half-yearly meeting in 1881, shortly after the cornerstone ceremony, the Board boasted that 'The structure promises to realize the anticipations of your Board and other friends of the Cause, who have so long looked forward to its erection as an improved means of taking care of the aged, infirm and helpless Protestant Poor of the city.'[121] The emphasis placed on the helplessness of the poor that were to be housed in the new institution implied a custodial function that differed from that of the Night refuge and House of Industry on Dorchester street, where the Board was much more suspicious about the condition of the poor, particularly those who were able-bodied. Perhaps because a large number of permanent inmates in the House of Industry were indeed infirm and incapable of

[121] MPHIR Minute Books, 1881, 354.

performing laborious tasks, the Board anticipated that labour would not be as strictly enforced at the new institution. In earlier debates concerning overcrowding at the Dorchester Street location, it was often suggested that the erection of a country house would enable the transfer of the 'permanent inmates' of the House of Industry to a more comfortable site. The permanent status of many of the inmates downtown suggested that they were afflicted with disabling conditions that prevented them from leaving the institution, let alone engaging in work. At a meeting in 1882, Charles Alexander referred in his opening remarks to 'the Country House for Aged Persons', suggesting that the notion of caring for the aged and sick at the Country Home had been further strengthened in the minds of the managers.[122] The change in direction taken by the MPHIR following the construction of the Country Home became even more apparent in October of 1882, when the institution was approached by the Quebec government about the possibility of erecting a building for the purpose of relocating the reformatory at Sherbrooke to the Molson Farm.[123] The Poor Relief committee was divided on the issue and voted against recommending the plan to the Board of Governors. The insistence on behalf of the Board that the Country Home should be devoted to the care of the aged and infirm, coupled with the demise of the plan to incorporate a boys' reformatory into the plan meant that the resulting institution bore very little resemblance to proposals that had won support of the Board up to the 1880s.

As the Country Home neared completion, it became apparent that another obstacle prevented the managers from implementing a strict work regimen at the new location. The Managers lacked experience in farm work, most of them being industrial entrepreneurs. In 1883, the Board purchased two horses and farm implements in order to

[122] MPHIR Minute Books, 1882, 10.
[123] MPHIR Annual Report, 1882, 4.

cultivate the land, but still felt that they lacked the practical knowledge to successfully work the farm. It was suggested by the Board that the secretary 'arrange to hire a good farm servant, who understood farming and farm work.'[124] This unfamiliarity with farming is discordant with earlier descriptions of the countryside that romanticized rural labour and stressed its reformative potential. The willingness on behalf of the Board to hire labourers to work the farm was in opposition to the system of compulsory work practiced at the House of Industry, where all labour was performed by inmates. Nevertheless, the insistence on the part of the Board that the land surrounding the establishment should be farmed reveals their fidelity to the idea that a working farm could be beneficial to the institution, on practical if not ideological grounds.

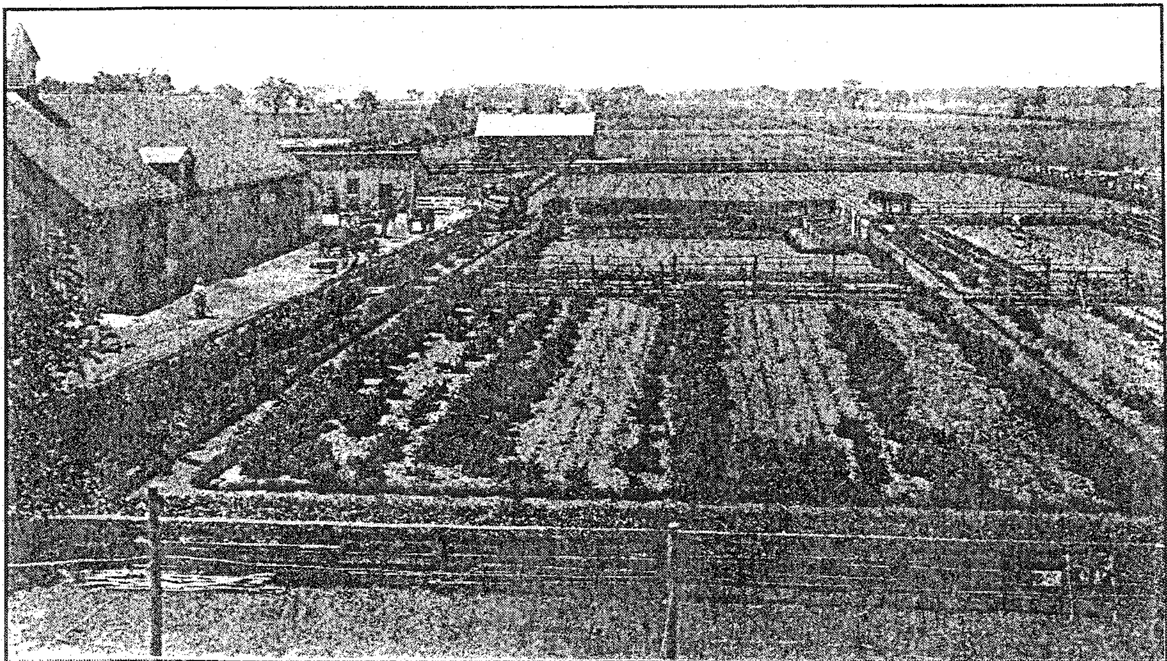

Figure 4.3. The Farm at Longue Pointe. (Source: Grace Dart Memorial Archives).

[124] MPHIR Minute Books, 1883, 461.

The first permanent inmates were transferred from the House of Industry and refuge on Dorchester Street to the County Home in July of 1885. At Longue Pointe they found a home that was significantly different from their previous one, both in terms of its appearance and function. The Lieutenant Governor's assertion that the MPHIR was engaged in a philanthropic project whose principal aim was to 'minister to the cares of those whose age confers a double right to assistance' turned out to be accurate, as the plan to construct a House of Industry on Molson Farm was altered to favor the construction of an establishment geared toward caring for the sick and elderly. Though no record of the amount of farm labour performed by inmates at Longue Point exists in the Annual reports of the institution, constant reference to the custodial function of the Home by Board members suggests that the importance of compulsory labour had declined considerably. If the managers of the MPHIR still intended to reform inmates of the institution, it was no longer going to be accomplished through a commitment to work. The new Country Home represented a turn towards environmentalism that placed importance on the uplifting influences of spiritual devotion, domesticity and the rural environment.

Ascendancy of the Country Home 1884 – 1900

The scale and diversity of activities under the purview of the Board of Management reached an unprecedented level following the completion of the Country home in 1884. Financially, the project had been the most costly undertaking in the history of the institution, with the total expenditure on the farm reaching $54,000 by 1885. In 1884 the Committee of the Country House reported that the MPHIR was in debt

by roughly $12,100 as a result of the construction.[125] The new building was larger than was required to house the roughly 120 permanent inmates of the House of Industry, and the space left vacant at the property on Dorchester Street was not immediately filled by an increased number of Night Refuge lodgers. In 1885, the Managers opted to keep the night refuge confined to the basement of the rear building, despite overcrowding and a lack of proper ventilation, because it was proposed that the upper levels of the building were too expensive to heat during the winter. Similarly, they considered concentrating the inmates of the Country Home into the main building to save heating and water expenses in the Workman wing.

The construction of the country home on a much larger scale than was necessary for the institution in 1884 reveals that the building was intended to accommodate many more inmates than the overflow population from the House of Industry on Dorchester Street. It was clear that the Board intended the Country Home, in terms of its design and purpose, to be an institution distinct from the old House of Industry downtown. They also intended it to accomplish its role on a scale that matched or exceeded that of the Dorchester Street asylum. The cost of construction and the amount of attention devoted to the project by the Board indicate that the Country Home occupied a weighty position within the MPHIR at the time of its completion. After 1884, the branch of the institution at Longue Pointe continued on an upward trajectory, overtaking the Night refuge and other elements of the MPHIR in terms of overall funding and consideration by the managing board.

With the departure of all of the permanent inmates from the House of Industry on Dorchester Street, the operating budget at the original buildings declined substantially.

[125] MPHIR Minute Books, 1884, 539.

When the two institutions were separated in 1885, the differentiation of financial records revealed discrepancies between expenditures on various branches of the institution that had not been visible when the institution's finances were recorded in one ledger. Whereas before it had been impossible to determine how much was spent on food and provisions destined for the night refuge as opposed to the permanent floors of the House of industry, it was now possible to determine that significantly greater amounts of resources were spent on the permanent inmates. Following 1885, items such as clothing and 'medical comforts' disappeared from the Night refuge expenditures, and thereafter were listed only in the financial records of the Country Home, indicating that these items were reserved for the permanent inmates.

The diet provided to inmates of the Country Home differed from that of the Night Refuge as well. The Country Home ledger lists a greater quantity and wider variety of food, and includes more meat and vegetables than the Night Refuge. In 1892-3, for instance, the inmates of the Country Home consumed $1010.00 worth of meat and fish, as well as milk, eggs, fruit and vegetables. The Night Refuge was allocated only $355.41 worth of meat and fish, and vegetables were limited to cabbage, turnips, carrots and potatoes.[126] There are several factors that most likely influenced the discrepancies in diet recorded in the MPHIR's financial ledgers. First, the quantity of meat and other items consumed was likely a result of a larger and consistent number of inmates at the Country Home, compared with a fluctuating population at the Refuge. Secondly, the farm associated with the Country Home provided it with access to fresh vegetables, fruit and milk that were prohibitively expensive not readily available and at the downtown location. It is also possible that the Board placed greater importance on the quality of

[126] MPHIR Annual Report, 1893, 9.

diet consumed by the permanent inmates, due to the fragility of their health and their utter dependence on the institution for their well-being. Night Refuge lodgers were temporary, and it is likely that the Board did not feel that it was their responsibility to provide them with three meals per day, let alone expensive produce and meat.

The cost of medical supplies, food, clothing, maintenance and salaries associated with the Country Home quickly eclipsed the operating budget of the Night Refuge. By 1888 the Country Home was more expensive to operate than the building at Dorchester Street, and this trend continued until the turn of the century (see Figure 4.4). Additional development occurred at the country location with the addition of the George Moore Memorial Home in 1894, at a cost of approximately $40,000. By 1901, the Board reported the cost of running the Country Home to be $8248.88, the Moore Convalescent Home $3563.18, and the Night Refuge $4401.46 .[127]

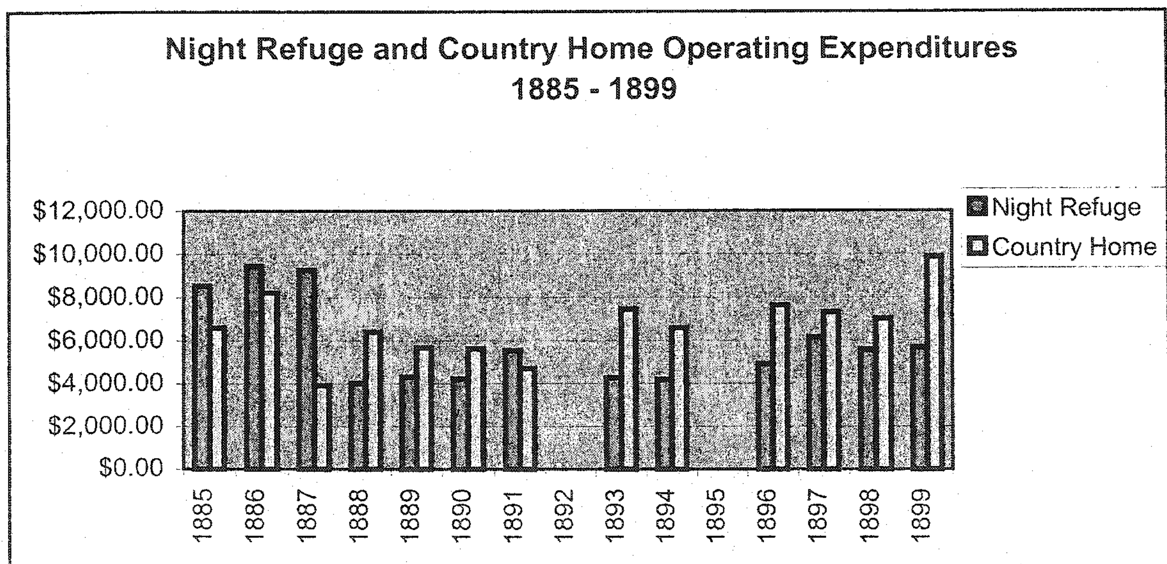

Figure 4.4. (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports, 1865-1900).

[127] MPHIR Annual Report, 1901, 4.

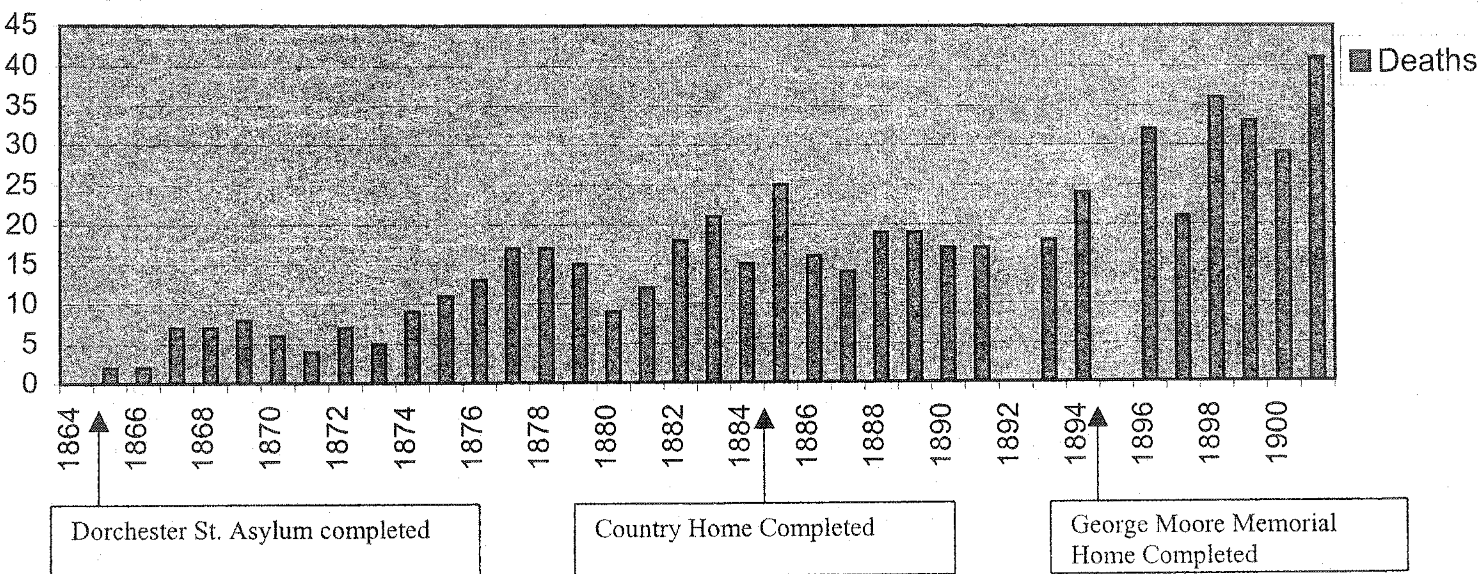

Figure 4.5 (Source: MPHIR Annual Reports, 1864-1901).

After 1885, the Country Home began to be referred to more often as the 'Old Peoples Home at Longue Pointe'. This designation reflected the changing demographic constitution of the new branch of the MPHIR. No precise figures are provided in the institutional records, however it is possible to infer the relative age of the population of the various branches of the institution based on death rates. During the winter of 1890-91, there were seventeen deaths reported across all branches of the MPHIR. Fourteen deaths occurred in the Country Home, two in the Night refuge and one outside the institution in the hospital.[128] In 1900-01 there were 41 deaths in the entire institution, 33 associated with the Old Peoples Home at Longue Pointe, and only 8 in the Night Refuge.[129] These figures are suggestive of several trends. Firstly, an increased death rate at the Longue Pointe Home reveals that the inmates housed there were most likely older and certainly less healthy than those at the Night Refuge. Secondly, the upswing in the death rate across the entire institution that can be observed from the late 1890s onwards suggests that the overall population of inmates was ageing (see Figure 4.5). As permanent inmates who were moved to the Country Home in 1885 passed away, they were replaced by inmates who were also old and in poor physical condition, thus increasing the overall death rate. The addition of the Moore Convalescent Home in 1894 further contributed to the concentration of the sick and elderly, and solidified the emerging role of the MPHIR as a rest home for the poor and infirm.

[128] Annual Report, 1891, 5.
[129] Annual Report, 1901, 8.

CHAPTER 5: THE DOMESTIC INFLUENCE

The Movement of permanent inmates from the House of Industry on Dorchester Street to the Country Home at Longue Pointe in 1885 marked a geographical shift in the MPHIR from an urban setting to a rural one. It also signified the rejection of a rigid institutional model of reform, in favor of a less rigid and less overtly structured domestic model. Alexander Hutchison's architectural design for the Home at Longue Pointe literally incorporated the concept of the 'home', resulting in a structure that physically resembled a private residence. Notions of domesticity had been appropriated within the institution since the inception of the MPHIR in 1864, and found their ultimate expression in the physical design of the Country Home. Concepts like 'family worship' and the importance of paternal and maternal figures within the organizational structure of the old House of Industry indicated the influence of domestic ideas on the early development of the institution. The Country Home marked the continuation of these ideas and physically expressed them in its design, both externally and internally.

This chapter will chart the progression of the notion of domesticity within the reformist ideology of the MPHIR, and measure its impact on the structure and organization of the institution. More importantly, it will seek to understand the origin of domestic design features and identify the contribution that these features were intended to provide to the reformist project of the MPHIR.

From very early on, the Board of Management was obsessed with the triumvirate concerns of cleanliness, religious service and familial organization. They spent considerable amounts of time and energy debating the healthful and moral benefits of particular design features, and attempted to recreate certain aspects of the Victorian

household on a larger scale within the institution. Their faith in the moralizing influence of a well-ordered design should not be surprising; after all they were engaged in a project that was predicated on the importance on environmental influences. However, the environmental features that were meant to inspire behavioral reform among inmates in the institutional setting of a House of Industry or a penitentiary were unique and were intended to resemble the domestic environment as little as possible. The isolation of inmates espoused by workhouse designers in Europe and America, the regulation of dress and comportment, the strict regimentation of time and the separation of the sexes physically within the institution, were all features unique to the workhouse and not usually attributed to the domestic sphere.

Nevertheless, the managers of the MPHIR incorporated many aspects of the domestic environment into their design, resulting in an ever-increasing level of hybridity between the institutional and the domestic. The adoption of elements of the home by the managers of the MPHIR indicates that they valued the household and saw it as potentially beneficial and morally uplifting. Ultimately the notion of the household proved superior to the institutional model in the minds of the governors, and they constructed the Country Home using design principles that differed radically from those used in the House of Industry.

Gwendolyn Wright has called the suburban home the 'apotheosis of late Victorian culture'.[130] The Victorian household, she asserts, was endowed with a level of meaning and significance that far exceeded the symbolic importance of earlier domestic forms. Certain cultural groups and historical periods had produced homes with specific

[130] Gwendolyn Wright, Building the Dream: A Social History of Housing in America (Cambridge: The MIT Press, 1981), 95.

symbolic connotations and didactic purposes, but the Victorian home captured the attention of the entire society on a scale that had never previously been achieved. The Puritan colonists were perhaps the first non-aboriginal home-builders in North America who extended the meaning of the home beyond its material function as shelter against the elements. 'For the Puritans,' Wright contends, 'architectural structures were a microcosm of God's exacting structure for the universe and a constant reminder of the way He wanted them to live'.[131] The home thus at once reflected and contained the community that produced it, expressing the values of the community to outsiders while also defining the acceptable limits of behavior to its members.

While the Puritan home identified its occupants as members of a particular spiritual community, and was accompanied by a desire to control the behavior of the group on a societal level, the Victorian home was accompanied by a desire to isolate and protect one's family from the perils of nineteenth-century urban life. Previous housing styles favored homogeneity as a means of expressing a shared set of societal values. The Victorian home expressed the values of its inhabitants through extensive use of personal flourishes and decorative variations. The home became a locus for personal expression and reflected the spiritual, social and aesthetic sensibilities of its occupants. Vibrant external color schemes, variations on building materials and decorative woodwork enabled homeowners to personalize the external façade of their homes. Inside, ornately decorated parlors welcomed visitors with displays of personal belongings, art and handcrafts. The fireplace, often a centerpiece of the room, became a common symbol of the family hearth.[132]

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[131] Wright, 3.
[132] Ibid., 109.

This emphasis on individual expression marked a distinctive split with earlier domestic forms that stressed communal membership. Late Victorians rejected communal designs as representative of urban problems that they sought to avoid, if not eliminate:

> The suspicion of urban row houses, communitarian settlements and industrial boardinghouses was both political and architectural. In builders' guides and in other forms of popular literature, detached dwellings in the countryside were taken as the symbol of certain key national values.[133]

Suburbanization in the late nineteenth-century enabled families to escape what was perceived as a morally threatening and unsanitary environment in the city center, and retreat to the relative comfort of the countryside. As technologies like electric streetcars replaced the slower, less efficient horse-driven omnibuses, commuters were able to live further and further outside the city while still commuting in for work and other necessities. An explosion in suburban developments occurred in the waning decades of the nineteenth century, fueled by speculative investment and a prevailing belief in the beneficial influences of the countryside.[134]

The environmentalism that spurred middle- and upper-class migration out of the city also influenced efforts to ameliorate conditions for those who remained in inner-city slums. The evils of poverty, disease and crime that compelled Victorian homebuyers to flee the urban core were attributed to working-class dwellings the same way that virtue, rationality and comfort were attributed to the ideal suburban household. If the middle class home could offer its inhabitants positive benefits, it was logical to assume that the deplorable conditions of inner-city housing would have injurious effects on the morality and constitutions of the poor. According to Christine Stansell, the new focus on housing conditions was suggestive of a wider change within the reform movement:

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[133] Ibid., 8.
[134] Kenneth T. Jackson, Crabgrass Frontier: the Suburbanization of the United States (New York: Oxford University Press, 1985), 89-92.

> The new reformers re-oriented themselves away from the familiar categories of pietism – virtue and vice – toward a surveillance of the material conditions of city life. Public health, mortality rates and housing conditions became their chief concerns. They pursued a pietist science of poverty, based on utilitarian premises of standardization and efficiency but also on a consideration of the moral properties of the environment.[135]

The environmental imperative was so strong in the minds of many reformers that they directly related poor housing conditions with health problems and outbreaks of disease, while ignoring more likely contributors like inadequate sewage and malnourishment.[136] The home, they contended, was the logical source of all of the evils associated with the working class, and its amelioration would undoubtedly result in the improvement of the poor themselves. Disease was not the only negative consequence of poorly constructed housing – contemporary observers believed that working-class tenements were morally corrupting as well. Overcrowding was not only condemned because of its perceived threat to public health, but also because it offended Victorian middle-class attitudes about sexuality. An overcrowded tenement provided too many opportunities for impropriety and sexual contact between members of the same family. Since working-class dwellings were often small and had limited access to amenities such as running water, bathing was often done in the same room as other activities, and rooms were intended to fill many purposes. This increased the likelihood of a father or brother seeing a female member of the family unclothed, a possibility that reformers found abhorrent. In middle- and upper-class homes, more space allowed for the differentiation of activities among a greater number of rooms, and permitted the protection of modesty and privacy. Some poor families admitted boarders in order to supplement their household income, and this

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[135] Christine Stansell, City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860 (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 200.
[136] In Montreal these included Herbert Ames and Philip Pearsall Carpenter, founder of the Montreal Sanitary Association.

situation complicated matters further. Lodgers who were unrelated to the family threatened the cohesion of the home and contributed to overcrowded conditions.

Model Homes

Reformers pursuing what Stansell describes as the 'pietist science of poverty', set about quantitatively measuring the condition of poor neighborhoods, in an effort to ameliorate them. Charles Booth's work on London is perhaps the most well known example from a torrent of similar studies that were undertaken in British and North American cities toward the end of the Victorian period.[137] In New York, outbreaks of disease like the cholera epidemic of 1849 and the typhus epidemic in 1852 motivated housing reformers to take action and led to the creation of societies such as the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor in the 1850s, and the New York's Citizens Association, founded in 1864.[138] The collection of vital statistics was typically followed by efforts to ameliorate the condition of slum housing through missionary visits, public health regulation and the resettlement of workers to suburban housing developments. This process of data collection and improvement through the use of political bodies as well as religious and philanthropic organizations was a pattern repeated throughout many urban industrial centers. Montreal was host to many similar statistical enquiries, the most notable being the Montreal Sanitary Association's attempt

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[137] Charles Booth, Life and Labour of the People in London (New York: MacMillan & Co., 1903).

[138] Stansell, 199.

to improve the city's sanitation and Herbert Ames' statistical survey of the industrial neighborhoods in Western Montreal.[139]

Herbert Ames, heir to the successful Ames-Holden shoe manufacturing business and notable municipal politician, performed the first in-depth sociological survey of Montreal's poor neighborhoods. His findings were collected and published as a book, *The City Below the Hill*, in 1897. The title referred to a low-lying portion of the city that surrounded the industrial developments in the Lachine basin and was comprised of a large proportion of working-class families. According to Ames, the district warranted attention because of its close proximity to much wealthier parts of Montreal that directly overlooked the Lachine basin from the bluffs of St. Antoine and Mount Royal. The denizens of these neighborhoods, Ames contended, knew less about the slum districts of their own city than they knew of the famous slums of Paris or London. The threat posed by ignorance of these conditions could not be overstated, Ames believed. Perhaps as a result of his own relationship with the district's industrial workforce, Ames felt strongly that the future of the city depended on the amelioration of the lower classes, which he saw as the foundation of the industrial and commercial success of Montreal. 'Careful observers and honest thinkers in every land are coming more and more to realize what is meant by the interdependence of society,' Ames wrote, 'when those who study city life are each day more fully persuaded that ordinary urban conditions are demoralizing and that no portion of the community can be allowed to deteriorate without danger to the whole'.[140] His objective was twofold: to bring the abominable living conditions of the

[139] See 'The constitution, regulations and by-laws of the Montreal Sanitary Association', adopted 24th December, 1886, and Ames, 1897.
[140] Ames, 7.

'City Below the Hill' to light, and to effect change through philanthropic model housing projects.

The practice of building model homes for the poor was well established by the time Ames' brought the notion to Montreal. Octavia Hill, one of London's more recognized housing reformers, provides an example of the kind of work that was being performed in many industrial cities in Europe and North America in the latter half of the nineteenth century. She popularized the concept of 'Philanthropy and five per-cent', insisting that even though her work was performed with charitable intentions, it could also generate a profit.[141] Over the course of several decades, Hill purchased a series of individual row houses and courts in London's East End and published the results of her reform work in an effort to inspire others to join her crusade against deplorable living conditions. She combined contemporary medical and scientific knowledge with moral evangelism in her work, insisting that 'the spiritual elevation of a large class depended to a considerable extent on sanitary reform…'.[142] Rather than tear down existing structures and rebuild, Hill made incremental improvements to existing housing. She made a point of limiting the crowding of large families in single rooms, installing running water, opening up ventilation, and supplying outdoor recreation for children.[143] Hill justified these changes in scientific terms, suggesting that they would positively impact public

[141] Octavia Hill, Homes of the London Poor (London: Macmillan and Co., 1883), 18. Hill notes that on three houses purchased for £750 in the 1860s in London's East end, she was able to realize a profit of five per cent.
[142] Hill, 17.
[143] On overcrowding, Hill stated that 'The Rooms, as a rule, were re-let at the same prices which they had been let before; but tenants with large families were counseled to take two rooms, and for these much less was charged than if let singly'. P. 27. She considered the playground to be an educative tool, and discussed its importance at great length (pp. 28-29).

health and hygiene, however she maintained that environmental improvements impacted the character and behavior of the poor as well:

> You cannot deal with people and their houses separately. The principle on which the whole work rests is, that the inhabitants and their surroundings must be improved together. It has never yet failed to succeed.[144]

Charles Loring Brace, a New York reformer and member of the Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, similarly envisioned a relationship between poor housing conditions and the behavior of slum-dwellers. Commenting on New York's worst tenements, Brace similarly considered housing to be the root cause of a series of social problems. He wrote in 1872, 'It need not be said that with overcrowding such as this, these is always disease, and as naturally, crime. The privacy of a home is undoubtedly one of the most favorable conditions to virtue.'[145] Although Canadian cities like Toronto and Montreal did not experience the levels of density recorded in New York's tenements, slum districts in both cities nevertheless attracted considerable attention from reform associations and municipal government. Toronto's Medical Health Officer, Charles Hastings, commented in one inquiry that tenement housing in the Ward was a 'scourge' and recommended its immediate destruction and replacement with 'proper homes'.[146]

Thus, Herbert Ames was typical of many of his contemporaries when he situated housing at the foundation of his inquiry. The overall and final objective of Ames' meticulous quantitative gathering was the improvement of housing. He gathered data on

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[144] Ibid. p. 51

[145] Charles Brace, The Dangerous Classes of New York (Montclair: P. Smith, 1872), 26. From Gandal, 1997, 31.

[146] Quoted in: Richard Dennis. 'Landlords and Rented Housing in Toronto, 1885 – 1914'. Centre for Urban and Community Studies, Research Paper no. 162. (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1987) pp 19-20.

the family size, ethnicity, income and place of employment of the approximately 38000 residents of the 'City Below the Hill', and all of the data were used to support his plan to erect model tenements. Despite the proximity to the working class afforded by his manufactory, Ames was not inclined to view low wages or unemployment as principle contributors to the problem of urban poverty. He was decidedly laissez-faire in his stance toward wage rates, deferring to the 'inscrutable laws of supply and demand' when addressing the low pay received for industrial work.[147] If wages could not be raised, the only thing that he and other philanthropically minded individuals could do was aid in 'making the workingman's dollar bring him the fullest return,' and provide housing that met higher standards of sanitation and comfort than the existing housing stock.[148] The provision of adequate housing would not merely alleviate some of the material discomfort experienced by the poor; it would improve the mental state and moral condition of workers, thus benefiting society as a whole. Thus the philanthropic effort that Ames hoped to inspire was intended as much as a project of reform as an act of charity, the final outcome being the amelioration of an entire class of Montreal's citizens.

> There are among the dwellers of the 'City above the hill' not a few we believe, who have the welfare of their fellow-man at heart, who realize that there is no influence more elevating than the proper home, who acknowledge that there is a need for improvement in the matter of housing the working classes of this city, and who would be willing to assist any movement of a semi-philanthropic character having for its object the erection of proper homes for the families of working men.[149]

Ames recognized that what was meant by the 'proper home' was an ideal derived from the typical middle class dwelling. He nonetheless used the ideal as a yardstick to measure the relative deficiency of existing housing. 'I think we will all agree,' he wrote,

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[147] Ames, 114.
[148] Ibid., 7.
[149] Ibid., 9.

'that the ideal home is one where the front door is used by but one family, where the house faces upon a through street, where water closet accommodation is provided, and where there are as many rooms allotted to a family as there are persons composing it'.[150] Surprisingly, the vast majority of households surveyed did not vary too far from the ideal Ames described at the outset of his investigation, at least on a functional level. Montreal did not possess the concentration of tenement apartments that raised the population density of poor districts in cities like New York and Boston, however Ames calculated that certain portions of Griffintown and 'the Swamp' exceeded the average density of Montreal by two or three times, reaching 150 persons per acre in some sections.[151] The most common housing style in Montreal was the single dwelling or duplex, and the number of rooms per dwelling roughly coincided with the number of family members sharing the house. While densities in some neighborhoods were indeed high, Ames found that the majority of families lived in dwellings that contained enough rooms to keep the number of people to rooms near a 1:1 ratio.[152] Forced to admit that overcrowding was not a pressing concern, even in this comparatively poor district of Montreal, Ames turned his attention to the evil of the rear tenement (run-down structures built behind existing houses and away from the main street) and especially to the problem of poor sanitation. The rear tenement represented the worst example of housing that Montreal was able to produce, and embodied all of the negative characteristics that reformers attributed to working-class housing. 'If one desires to find where drunkenness and crime, disease and death, poverty and distress are most in evidence in Western

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[150] Ibid., 40.
[151] Ibid., 60.
[152] Ibid.,. 61.

Montreal,' Ames asserted, 'he has only to search out the rear tenements'.[153]

The nickname 'water-closet Ames' was earned through an unyielding drive to eliminate the outdoor privy from Montreal's landscape. Proper sanitation was the one common element that Ames found lacking from the dwellings surveyed in his study, and separated the housing in poor neighborhoods from that available in more affluent parts of the city. Rather than place responsibility on the renters of poorly equipped homes, Ames directly accused the city of behaving negligently with regards to the issue and demanded that strong by-laws be adopted to combat the problems of rear tenements and out-door privies. While the city possessed the power to legislate on matters of public health, Ames believed that philanthropy could contribute to an amelioration of the situation by providing model examples to prove the cost-effectiveness of proper designs.

His own model housing development, built in 1897, was intended as an experiment to show that improved dwellings could be built and rented at rates comparable to existing homes, and still turn a profit for investors. Ames adopted the term 'philanthropy and 5 per cent', a phrase already used by housing reformers in British and American cities to encourage investment in model tenements. The property, situated on William Street on the edge of Griffintown, contained four connected rows of two-story houses, with open yards separating each row. The development, called 'Diamond Court', received its name from a large diamond-shaped flowerbed located in the center yard. Consequent with Ames' belief that homes should be as separate as possible, doors were positioned at regular intervals along each row, providing a main entranceway for no more than two families. This design feature emphasized the independence of each unit and echoed the single cottage while still maintaining cost efficiency. Each house was

[153] Ibid., 45.

spare, but rooms were clearly demarcated, with kitchens, living rooms and bedrooms well isolated. In keeping with Ames' concern for proper sanitation, every home was equipped with an indoor water closet, accessed through a door from the kitchen. Every room was provided with at least one window to ensure healthful ventilation and allow light to enter. The corner of one row of houses was reserved for a grocery store to serve the residents nearby, although Ames stipulated that no alcohol could be sold there.

Diamond Court represented a material solution to concerns about the evils of working-class housing that plagued Ames and other reformers at the end of the nineteenth century. Ames' design was unique because its units contained a variable number of rooms – anywhere from three to six – depending on the size of each family. This feature, as opposed to the more common practice of building standard sized homes, was meant to ensure that overcrowding would not occur. The provision of adequate ventilation and plumbing allayed fears about the negative environmental influences of other, less responsibly designed forms of housing. Overall, Ames' model tenement was designed to eliminate the problem of overcrowding and all of its associated evils, improve the health of residents, foster familial independence, encourage temperance and propriety, and increase the happiness of Montreal's industrial workforce. At the end of the nineteenth century, it was not unreasonable for a reformer such as Ames to be convinced that housing offered the most direct possibility of achieving all of these objectives.

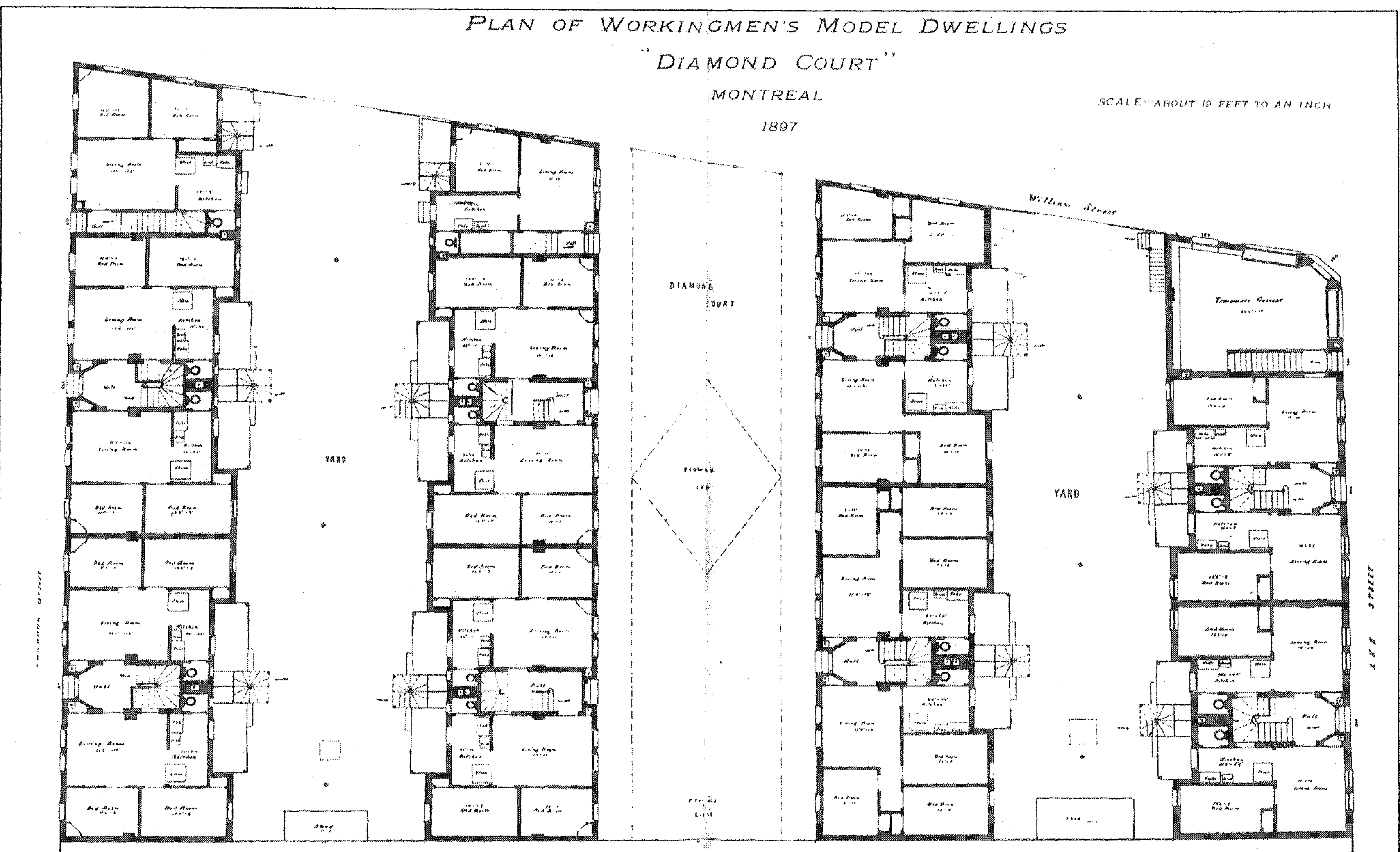

Figure 5.1 Source: Ames, Herbert. 'The Housing of the working classes,' The City Below the Hill. 1897(1972), 108.

Health and Sanitation

The Montreal Sanitary Association, founded by Philip Pearsall Carpenter in 1866, marked one of the first attempts to measure the relative health of the city using statistics, and spawned a debate over the causes of what was perceived to be a higher-than-average death rate for Montreal.[154] A series of epidemic diseases, including the cholera scare of 1866, were motivating factors behind the exploration of the problem on scientific grounds. In a series of lectures delivered in Montreal in 1859, Carpenter expressed his displeasure with the sanitary condition of the city, and attributed Montreal's excessively high death rate in part to poor sanitation.[155] He also blamed intemperance among the working class and the city's high rate of immigration. The press was largely attentive to Carpenter's claims, however he and the Sanitary Association struggled to effect any significant change within the corporation of the City of Montreal, largely due to a reluctance to spend money on public works.

The struggle by elites and members of Montreal's City Council to regulate public sanitation and health ran counter to many prevailing notions about the sanctity of the domestic sphere and the protection of private interests. Ames' condemnation of working class housing was largely fueled by Victorian middle- and upper-class standards of cleanliness and order, characteristics that they connected very closely with the 'proper' household. The regulation of public health represented the extension of these domestic

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[154] David Bellhouse. 'Stillbirth of a Canadian Statistical Society in 19th Century Canada,' Seminar, University of Western Ontario, 2003.
[155] Ibid.

values into the public sphere, and directly challenged the individual rights of working class tenants and homeowners.

The point was not lost on many Montrealers, namely the 'Association Sanitaire des Citoyens de la Cité de Montreal' (ASCM), who in 1875 challenged the city on its plan to institute compulsory vaccination. A by-law put before City Council proposed the establishment of a multi-faceted organization to combat the spread of epidemic disease, and called for:

> The establishment of offices to this effect, the nomination of officials and their authorization to perform home inspections, destroy the clothing and personal effects of the infected, effectuate the quarantine of patients, to arrange for rapid burial of disease victims and finally to undertake such measures as the Council judges necessary to regulate, control prevent or arrest the progress of smallpox (vericole) or any other contagious disease.[156]

The ASCM was opposed to this new legislation on the basis that it was overly intrusive and not grounded solidly enough upon accurate scientific data. In a petition presented to the Mayor and City Council, it was suggested that doctors were not unanimously decided on the effects of the new vaccine, and that a compulsory program could have disastrous effects.[157] More importantly, the ASCM saw the program as an affront to personal liberty and an attack on their private property:

> The citizens of Montreal express their complete disapproval of the legislation concerning vaccination, and believe that compulsory vaccination is an attack on individual freedom; every citizen and every head of household should be the only judge of the necessity of vaccinating their children, without any intervention on the part of municipal authorities.[158]

Another part of the petition continued the point that:

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[156] Archives Nationales du Quebec (ANQ). P1000, D901. Association Sanitaire des Citoyens de la Cite de Montreal, Marche Papineau Assembly 18 August, 1875.
[157] ANQ, P1000, D901. ASCM Petition signed 9 August 1875.
[158] Ibid.

> The citizens of Montreal do not recognize that a Department of Health could, more effectively than one's own family, take care of their sick and minister to their illness.[159]

The ASCM gathered approximately 1500 names for its petition to City Council, indicating strong opposition to the municipal regulation of public health, at least among French Canadians.[160] Their resolutions affirmed the dominance of the household as the most effective societal unit, rejecting the authority of the municipality at least on issues of health, which were considered the domain of the family, not the city.

The arguments both for and against municipally regulated public health in Montreal illustrate the strength of the household as a symbol outside of the physical boundaries of the home. Middle class reformers used domestic metaphors to formulate their arguments for better sanitation and public health, while those who felt that city-wide regulations were too drastic espoused the independence and familial comfort of the household, and cited the family unit as the most desirable scale for health-related decision making.

The reformers who managed the MPHIR echoed many of the statements made by critics of working class housing conditions when making the argument for improved sanitation and cleanliness in poor neighborhoods. The Board of Management commented frequently on the state of working-class districts, although it is unclear whether they had any real experience with those parts of the city considering that the Board of Outdoor Relief distributed aid from the main offices of the House of Industry. Nevertheless, they were convinced of unsanitary conditions and overcrowding among working class

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[159] Ibid.

[160] Of the 1500 Names gathered on the ASCM's petition, roughly 90% were French or French-Canadian.

tenement dwellers, two evils which were so often decried in contemporary literature and pamphlets on the subject of poverty. 'In the small, overcrowded tenements,' one board member explained, 'it may easily be inferred that the habit of cleanliness cannot be easily practiced. For example, it was found, during the past winter, that as many as 13 persons were living in one room, and in the adjoining room 6 others'[161].

The only notable contact between members of the Board and real working-class slums occurred when inspectors, usually City Missionaries, were sent out to ascertain applicants' level of need. These forays into the condition of working class households were just as intrusive as the city's plan for compulsory vaccination, but home visits were defended on the principle that they promoted the betterment of the poor. Missionaries employed by the Board of Outdoor Relief fulfilled two purposes. On one hand, they provided the Board with information concerning the level of need and deservedness of cases requesting assistance; on the other hand they helped to extend reformist principles beyond the walls of the MPHIR and provide further ammunition for the Board's claims that environmental conditions were a contributing factor to the plight of Montreal's poor. In 1866 the Board of Outdoor Relief felt compelled to comment on the state of working-class housing, and identified it as a primary cause of indigence:

> The Board is convinced that one of the fist steps toward the improvement and elevation of the poor is to put them in the way of being better clothed and lodged. The miserable houses which so many of our labouring poor are compelled to inhabit, is a fruitful source of poverty disease and crime. It would be an inestimable blessing were a better class of dwellings erected throughout the city for the occupation of our labouring classes.[162]

This comment foreshadowed Ames' later investigation into working class housing, and situated the domestic environment at the center of the reformist project of the MPHIR.

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[161] MPHIR Minute Books, 1866, 146.
[162] MPHIR Minute Books, 1866, 146.

If the conditions in which the poor lived were abominable, it provided the governors of the MPHIR with further impetus to improve the conditions of their own institution and thereby provide a model for superior sanitation and household care. If their point that unsanitary domestic conditions were the cause of indigence were to be proven, it needed to be shown that proper clothing and clean surroundings did indeed have a beneficial effect on the inmates of the MPHIR.

Concern for the healthfulness of the environment inside the MPHIR was strong. The Board frequently linked the poor with unsanitary conditions and disease, often reversing the causal relationship in the same way as other reformers did for crime and intemperance.[163] (The poor were considered susceptible to disease as a result of their proximity to unsavory environments, but they were also considered to be sources of disease themselves, a result of their being poor). These two beliefs – that the poor were likely sources of disease, and that unsanitary conditions promoted the arrival and spread of sickness – prompted the managers of the MPHIR to expend a great deal of effort on maintaining the healthfulness of the surroundings inside the House of Industry and the Night Refuge. Indeed, second only to compulsory labour in the rules of the institution was the proclamation that:

> The inmates shall observe in a special manner the habit of cleanliness, and it shall be held a part of their duty, properly to air and ventilate the beds they occupy, every morning, and attend to the cleanliness of their persons daily, failing which – such persons being warned by the superintendent – and still failing to adhere to this rule, shall be expelled from the institution.[164]

The wording of the rules governing the cleanliness of inmates makes it clear that the managers of the MPHIR saw the poor as potential sources of dirt and disease, and that the

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[163] Valverde, 133.
[164] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865 126-128.

cleanliness and healthfulness of the institution began with the hygienic habits of its inmates.

Soon after the completion of the main buildings on Dorchester Street, the Board recognized that it required the expertise of someone familiar with the medical profession to assist in maintaining the health of inmates and make suggestions regarding the design and operation of the institution. They consulted with several Montreal doctors in 1865, eventually employing Herbert S. Tew from Montreal General Hospital, who agreed to offer his services gratuitously. His responsibilities were twofold – to make calls to the institution and check on the health of inmates, and to make suggestions to the Board concerning the sanitation and healthfulness of the building. In the annual report of 1866, he summarized a list of changes that had been made to the operation of the institution under his tenure as visiting physician:

> Among such improvements the surgeon would call special attention to the system of classification and separation, of the more *respectable* and *sensitive* from the *rude* and *noisy*, as having an important moral influence. Also to the better means of *ventilation* and *heating*, which have been adopted and enforced... the double wooden bedsteads are *condemned*, and in their place *single* iron bedsteads are to be introduced... the permanent inmates are to some extent, now supplied with clean clothing, instead of continuing to wear the filthy rags in which they are generally clothed when admitted.[165]

It is interesting that the visiting physician felt compelled to comment on the moral benefits of classifying and separating different classes of inmates. He makes little distinction between morality and health in his report, returning repeatedly to the separation of inmates for both moral and sanitary purposes. Tew's attention to ventilation was in line with contemporary theories about health and the prevention of disease. Tuberculosis was commonly thought to be encouraged by 'bad air' and lack of

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[165] MPHIR Annual Report, 1866, 11.

ventilation, while a number of other diseases were believed to be a result of impure air from sewers and drains.[166] It is a recurring theme in Physician's reports throughout the life of the MPHIR, and the Board often drew on medical and scientific research from abroad when discussing the matter. (For instance, in 1868, the visiting physician condemned the ventilation as flawed, citing a report by Englishman J.R. Martin, who proposed that to 'make ventilation equable and agreeable, the windows and other apertures must be directly opposite to each other, of the same dimensions, so as to admit an equal volume, through an equally free communication with the external atmosphere', a design feature missing from the House of Industry at that time.[167]) Finally, Tew's comment that clean clothing should be supplied to inmates was indicative of the prevailing opinion that the unsanitary condition of the poor themselves put the institution at greater risk than other public establishments.

The Visiting Physician's report was a recurring feature of the MPHIR's annual reports well into the twentieth century. Each year, the visiting physician provided a breakdown of the number of deaths that occurred in the institution, reported any outbreaks of contagious disease, and sounded in on the overall cleanliness and design of the buildings.

Physicians were not the only people from whom the Board sought health-related advice, however. A significant amount of responsibility was bestowed upon the visiting Ladies Committee, a body comprised of several women, usually wives of Board Members, who visited the institution on a weekly basis for inspection. The Rules of the MPHIR in 1865 called for the formation of a special sub committee of two women who

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[166] Annmarie Adams, Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996), 31.
[167] MPHIR Annual Report, 1868, 13.

would oversee various aspects of the institution, specifically commenting on the health of inmates and the education of children:

> 1st – A Sub-Committee of two ladies from the Industrial Rooms shall visit the Refuge twice a week and shall make such report in the superintendents book as they deem proper
>
> 2nd – The Committee shall see that the school for the children is in good working order in all respects.
>
> 3rd – The Ladies committee shall supply to the female inmates such sewing or other work as shall suit their various capacities.
>
> 4th That the ladies Committee shall be specially charged with attention to the bed clothes of the permanent poor and with the cutting out and making up of clothing suitable for the inmates of the institution.[168]

The Committee made specific comments to the Board in 1866, much in the same manner as the visiting physician. They proposed that the 'bedridden and sick be separated from the rest of the inmates and attended to by one or two women selected for the purpose' and that inmates be turned out of their bedrooms every morning, 'the beds made up, the windows opened, and the floor washed every other day'.[169] It is somewhat surprising that the all-male Board placed such a high degree of value on the comments of the Ladies Committee. They could, after all, have simply relied on the expert advice of the visiting Physician in matters of health. It appears that they felt that a female presence was needed in the House of Industry, and considered women to be better qualified to comment on matters of health, insofar as they intersected with issues of domestic cleanliness and efficiency. According to Annmarie Adams, women occupied an important role in preventative medicine in the late Victorian period as custodians and inspectors of the middle-class home.[170] Their familiarity with the domestic environment granted them the authority to dispense advice concerning certain aspects of health, particularly when it

[168] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 126-128.
[169] MPHIR Minute Books, 1866, 142.
[170] Adams, 81

involved cleanliness or the layout of internal walls and furniture. She points out that 'as doctors convinced the public that houses and architects were to blame for the spread of disease, middle-class women became the physicians' most trusted allies in the domestic health movement as the chief inspectors of domestic architecture'.[171] This suggests that women played an important role in the operation of the MPHIR inasmuch as the Board considered their institution to share characteristics of a domestic environment. The inclusion of women in the daily operation and decision making of the MPHIR further strengthened the metaphorical proximity of the House of Industry and the 'home', because it represented a maternal counterpoint to the paternal leadership of the Board of Management.

The role of women within the MPHIR, with the exception of the Ladies Industrial Rooms, was limited to observation and change on a small, internal scale. Women could not make suggestions on the wider policies of the institution or shape the way in which aid was distributed. The Board seemed very clear on what the role of the ladies visiting committee was, stating that:

> [We] are happy to note that the Ladies' Committee have taken much interest in the institution, and that two of their number visit the House from month to month. Some useful suggestions they have made regarding internal arrangements have been carried out with advantage.[172]

The use of language in this passage from the institution's annual report reveals that the Board considered the ladies work to be integral only to the internal working of the MPHIR. The 'internal arrangements' that could be made by the ladies committee referred to the specific role that women were perceived to have within the institution, particularly one that was 'internal', as opposed to 'external'. Yet their visits were clearly

[171] Ibid., 8.
[172] MPHIR Annual Report, 1871, 4.

seen to be essential to the operation of the 'house', possibly because it was believed that women were a necessary factor in the smooth operation of a domestic environment.

The familial organization of the House of Industry was underscored in 1876, when the old matron, Mrs. Laughlin was fired and replaced with Mrs. McMillan, the wife of the current superintendent. The operation of the MPHIR thus fell under the purview of a married couple, 'under whose kindly but firm management cleanliness, order and quiet are maintained in a household so large, varied and varying.'[173] This metaphorical familial structure impacted the way in which male and female advice was assimilated by the Board and manifested in the design of the institution. While the advice of visiting physicians was expressed in rational, scientific terms, the advice of the visiting ladies committee was expressed in terms of domestic order and efficiency, and relied on the symbol of the household. For example, in 1872, Jane Redpath reported to the Board that:

> The House itself has been regularly visited every month during the winter, by two ladies appointed at each meeting, who, on the whole, have pleasure in testifying to the order, cleanliness, industry and good behavior of the inmates, among the women who are, of course, the special objects of their care, although the men's department also receives a due amount of attention… the room seems always clean, bright and tolerably well aired, inmates cheerful and grateful for the care taken of them.[174]

The ladies committee united medical/scientific notions of environmentalism with the emphasis on care, order and cleanliness associated with the domestic sphere. The visiting women acted both as custodial agents of change within the institution and as symbolic additions to the family structure that assisted the metaphorical construction of the MPHIR as a domestic space.

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[173] MPHIR Annual report, 1880, 5.
[174] MPHIR Annual Report, 1872. Report from Jane Redpath of the Ladies Committee, 8.

Religion and the Home

Religion was ascribed an important place within the home during the late Victorian period. McDannell and Wright have both pointed out that the Victorian notion of the domestic environment not only included God, but placed religious worship at the center of the middle-class home.[175] At the same time that God was being absorbed into the domestic sphere, the home was increasingly used as a symbolic device in the church, as ministers and pamphleteers extolled the virtues and sacredness of domestic family life. Mariana Valverde points out that the emblem of Ontario's temperance newspaper, *The White Ribbon*, published after 1886, depicted a family reading the bible together around the hearth, with the inscription 'For God and Home and Native land'.[176] A similar temperance newspaper printed in Montreal, *A Voice From The Field*, often related family and religion and commented on the wholesome influences that both could provide.[177] This use of the domestic environment as a symbol for religious virtue was common. Commentators on the quality of middle class domestic life saw religious worship as a principle ingredient in a successful home, and religious writers considered a happy and well-ordered household to be a necessary component to the spiritual well-being of the family.

The MPHIR was thus doubly influenced by Protestant conceptions about the influence of religion. Firstly, as Protestants themselves, the Directors of the MPHIR were influenced by contemporary religious ideology that identified the home as a space

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[175] Colleen McDannell, The Christian Home in Victorian America, 1840-1900 (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 48-59. Wright, 75.
[176] Valverde, 58.
[177] A Voice From the Field (WCTU Newspaper)

of worship with at least as much importance as the church. Secondly, as housekeepers, the Board made a conscientious effort to include religious worship in the daily regimen of the House of Industry, and stressed the impact that this practice had upon the maintenance of a morally sound family. The architectural design of the Country Home was a material example of the extent to which the Board considered the symbols of the Home and the Church to mutually buttress one another, although the two concepts had been present in the design of the institution since its inception.

In order to explore the influence that religious ideology had on the design and operation of the MPHIR as a domestic rather than institutional environment, it is necessary to examine the influence that religious ideas had on the governors of the institution. While sermons were regularly preached to the inmates of the MPHIR, they were not reproduced in the annual reports or minute books, and would not have been particularly useful since their intended audience did not include the managers themselves. Sermons given before general audiences in Montreal, and especially those intended for philanthropists and reformers involved with other institutions are far more useful. One institution in particular, the Saint Andrew's Society, regularly hosted sermons that were aimed at the managers, rather than the inmates of the Saint Andrew's Home. Furthermore, the Saint Andrew's Society maintained close linkages with the Protestant House of Industry, sharing many Board members with the larger institution, including Charles Alexander.

On Saint Andrew's Day, 1868, Rev. Alexander Mathieson preached before the members of the society according to annual tradition. The subject of his sermon was, in keeping with tradition, on the greatness of the Scottish nation and the various virtues of the Scottish people. He attributed the glory of Scotland to the 'spiritual defenses'

provided by the liberal quantity of both domestic and public instruction in the Bible, and the presence of religion both in the state and the home. Romanticizing the rural cottage, Mathieson evoked the pastoral, pre-industrial time 'when God's law... was the law of their lives'. For Mathieson, the most evocative image was provided by Scotland's national bard, Robert Burns, in the poem, 'The Cotter's Saturday Night':

> The cheerfu' supper done wi' serious face
> They round the ingle form a circle wide;
> The sire turns o'er with patriarchal grace
> The big ha' bible, once his father's pride;
> His bonnet reverently is laid aside;
> His lyart haffets wearing thin and bare;
> Those strains that sweet in Zion once did glide,
> He wales a portion wi' judicious care,
> And 'let us worship God' he says wi' solemn air.
> ...
> Then kneeling down to Heaven's Eternal King
> The saint, the father and the husband prays.[178]

Mathieson used the imagery of the poem to express both the simplicity and beauty of traditional Scottish domestic life, and to unite the concepts of religious worship, the family and the home. 'Can we, without the deepest emotions,' he implored, 'summon before our imaginations the venerated and much loved forms of those we were wont to meet at the domestic altar, when fervent devotion hallowed everything around?' The household, anchored around 'the saint, the father and the husband' became a complementary space to the 'House of God', and the two symbols were permitted to mutually overlap.[179] The religious education of the mother and children were dependent upon the construction of the household of a place of worship, and were the responsibility of the male head of the family. According to Mathieson, however, the benefits of the

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[178] Alexander Mathieson, 'A Sermon Preached on Saint Andrew's Day 1868,' 22.
[179] Mathieson, 23.

'Church in the House' were not confined only to individual members of the household, but 'like dews of heaven falling in peaceful silence on the tender herb, the exercises of domestic worship shed a heavenly influence on them collectively.'[180] The family unit was therefore strengthened and rendered more secure through mutual participation in religious study. Moreover, the influence of religion on the family could only have positive moral and social effects. 'Experience demonstrates,' Mathieson stated emphatically, 'that family religion has not only a salutary influence on the formation of character, but is also one of the best safeguards of our privileges; one of the strongest barriers that can be erected against the encroachments of vice.'[181] The parents' and especially the father's moral instruction, bolstered with Biblical truth, could provide a shield from the corrupting influence of the 'selfish, wicked world' and ensure the moral strength of the child. Even after parents had passed away, Mathieson asserted, their moral influence would be contained in the physical structure of the home, and serve as a powerful reminder of the benefits of virtuousness.

In his closing statements, Mathieson echoed the language of many contemporary reformers who saw it as their project not simply to provide assistance to wayward individuals, but to make a contribution to the strength and success of the nation as a whole. Referring to the recent history of Scotland, Mathieson attributed the success of the homeland to the strength of the church in the nation, the sanctity of the household, and the moral well-being of the individual. In the face of increasing secularism and the division of church and state, the importance of maintaining religion in the household was paramount:

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[180] Ibid., 23.
[181] Ibid., 24.

> And now, leaving the House of God, enter into the home of your childhood, and listen to that gentle, low voice of a mother's love that nightly taught you to repeat – "Our Father, which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, Thy Kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven." Or to those deep-toned utterances of the Father's heart, that commit you to God's holy keeping, through all your earthly pilgrimage, and then – if you retain the honest feelings of a man – refuse, if you can, practically, to tell to posterity; to tell nightly to your children, to tell weekly to the world, how the intellectual character of your country has been formed; how her moral and religious defenses were reared; how they have been preserved, and may still be maintained as the strongest of the nation's bulwarks from generation to generation.[182]

Mariana Valverde asserts that for late Victorian moral reformers, the scope of their efforts were not limited to the local scale.[183] The Board of the Protestant House of Industry, similarly to the Saint Andrew's society, viewed their work as a municipal and societal project as much as an individual and local one. Mathieson's sermon illustrates the extent to which the rhetoric of domesticity was infused in the project of reform, and the ease with which contemporary observers of social problems shifted from the domestic to the national scale. The Saint Andrew's society paid close attention to sermons such as the one given by Mathieson, and the importance that religious commentators placed on the household found its way into the design and operation of the Saint Andrew's Home, a refuge for poor Scottish immigrants and their families. The Saint Andrew's Home was organized much differently than the MPHIR was in the 1860s and 1870s, preferring a domestic form of organization to an institutional one. For its part, however, the MPHIR did incorporate certain domestic design features that acknowledged a relationship between domesticity and religious worship.

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[182] Ibid., 38.
[183] Valverde, 47.

The MPHIR maintained a close relationship with the City Missionaries, especially through the Board of Outdoor Relief. The Board made use of the missionaries' services to perform home visits and determine the level of assistance required for each case of outdoor relief[184]. The visits were considered to be more than simply a form of census taking, however. The Board and the missionaries both felt that some positive influence would be realized by giving members of the religious community a physical presence in the homes of the working class. In 1864, Reverends Caufield and Morrison reported that "the Missionaries are clearly of the opinion that the result of their visitation goes to prove the great necessity of this kind of relief, and also the good moral condition of the poor in Montreal."[185]

The spiritual condition of the poor who resided within the walls of the MPHIR was of even greater concern to the Board. In the plans for the Night Refuge on Dorchester Street, several members stressed the importance of providing a room specifically for religious worship.

> It is also of great importance that arrangements should be made in the plans for a large and comfortable room capable of accommodating not less than 100 persons, for the purpose of holding religious services as often as convenient, so that by this means those unfortunate persons who come into our hands may depart a little better than they came, having had, at all events, some good influence brought to bear upon them.[186]

For a majority of members on the Board of Management, the reformation of the poor could not be accomplished merely in material terms. The spiritual education afforded in

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[184] These included Mr. Massey of the Chaboillez square mission, Mr. Millen of the YMCA, Mr. Dart of the Episcopal Church, Mr. Van Buren of the French Protestant mission, and Reverend Balmain, of the Church of Scotland. The Board also solicited the aid of various national societies involved in outdoor relief, including the Irish Protestant benevolent society, the German Society and the New England Society.

[185] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 65.

[186] MPHIR Minute Books, 1864, 65.

the House of Industry was jut as important, in their view, as any material benefits gained through the habits of cleanliness and labour. Consequently, a space intended specifically for religious worship was included in the design of House of Industry, and the rules of the institution compelled all inmates 'to assemble every morning and evening for short exercises of a devotional character' as well as to attend Sunday service. It is important to note that the concept of 'family' worship' was extended only to include the permanent residents of the House of Industry. The rules governing inmates of the Night Refuge did not stipulate attendance at either Sunday service or evening worship, suggesting that the Board felt that they were beyond any beneficial influences offered by spiritual education, as long as they spent the majority of their time outside the walls of the institution.[187]

The Board determined that divine services should be held once a week, and family worship conducted every evening. In the interest of maintaining its nonsectarian character, Sunday afternoon services in the MPHIR rotated among the Protestant clergymen of the city. Family worship consisted of the superintendent and one or more governors of the institution reading passages from the bible, a practice that echoed the paternalistic hearth scene depicted by in Reverend Mathieson's sermon. In the same way that Mathieson envisioned the practice of family worship strengthening familial bonds and improving the moral condition of the family as a whole, the managers of the MPHIR saw collective worship as a necessary ingredient in the moral improvement of inmates.

[187] Compared to the long list of rules governing inmates of the House of Industry, the rules for the Night Refuge were concise. The Night Refuge rules were also prohibitive, rather than reformative. The lights were to be extinguished by 8 pm, smoking and drinking were strictly prohibited, and no person was allowed to spend more than 7 consecutive nights in the shelter. While the Night Refuge and House of Industry may have shared the same property on Dorchester Street, they clearly had divergent purposes. Inmates of the house of Industry were exposed to a carefully constructed didactic environment, while the Board was content merely to remove night refuge lodgers temporarily from their familiar 'haunts and associates'.

Over time, the Board's emphasis on the spiritual, rather than the material condition of the poor increased. 'As you know,' stated one board member in 1878, 'the aim of the Institution is not only to promote the temporal, but the eternal well being of our inmates'.[188] A new section in the annual reports devoted to the spiritual well-being of the institution declared in 1879 that

> While the need of the bread that perisheth drives the poor to the refuge, their moral and spiritual natures are, at the same time, nourished and built up by the stated ministration of the 'bread of life.' The Protestant ministers of the city recognize, and faithfully perform, the duty of preaching the gospel to all the inmates who are able to attend, every Sabbath afternoon, while one of the Governors holds a Bible reading and prayer meeting in the evening, the congregation filling the dining-room in their clean Sabbath attire present an orderly, devout and attentive assembly, and in no gathering of God's people are his praises more heartily sung.[189]

Religious service had earned a place alongside compulsory labour and prohibition as one of the primary practices used to transform the moral character of the poor under the care of the MPHIR.

[188] MPHIR Annual Report, 1878, 6.
[189] MPHIR Annual Report, 1879, 4-5.

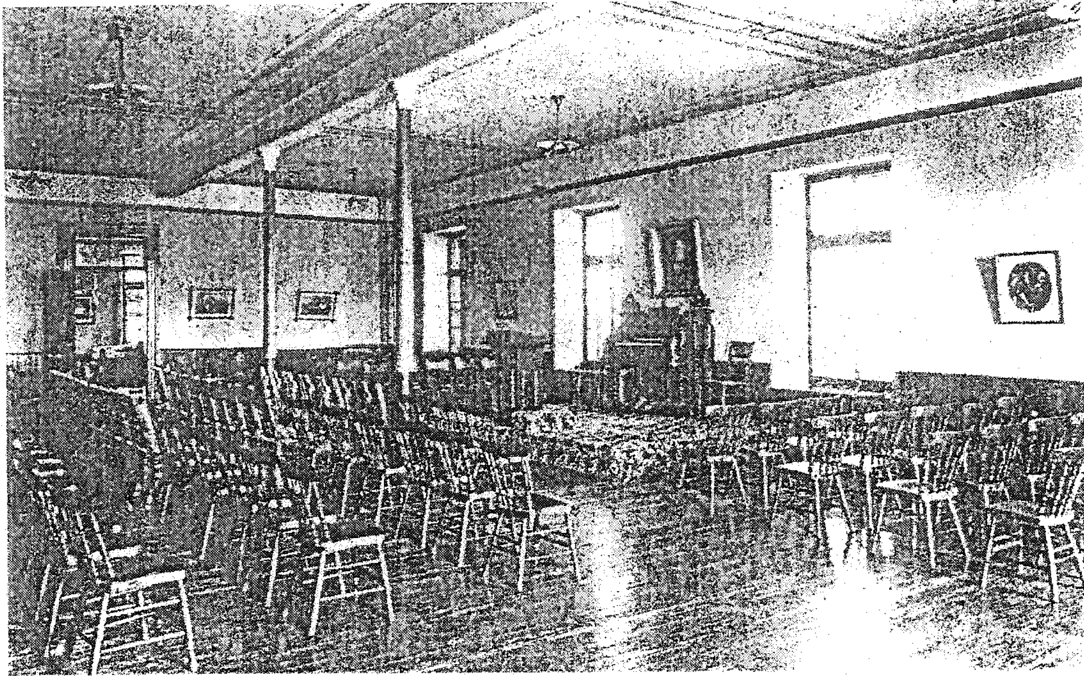

Figure 5.2. A commodious space was devoted to religious services in the Country Home. (Source: Grace Dart Memorial Archives)

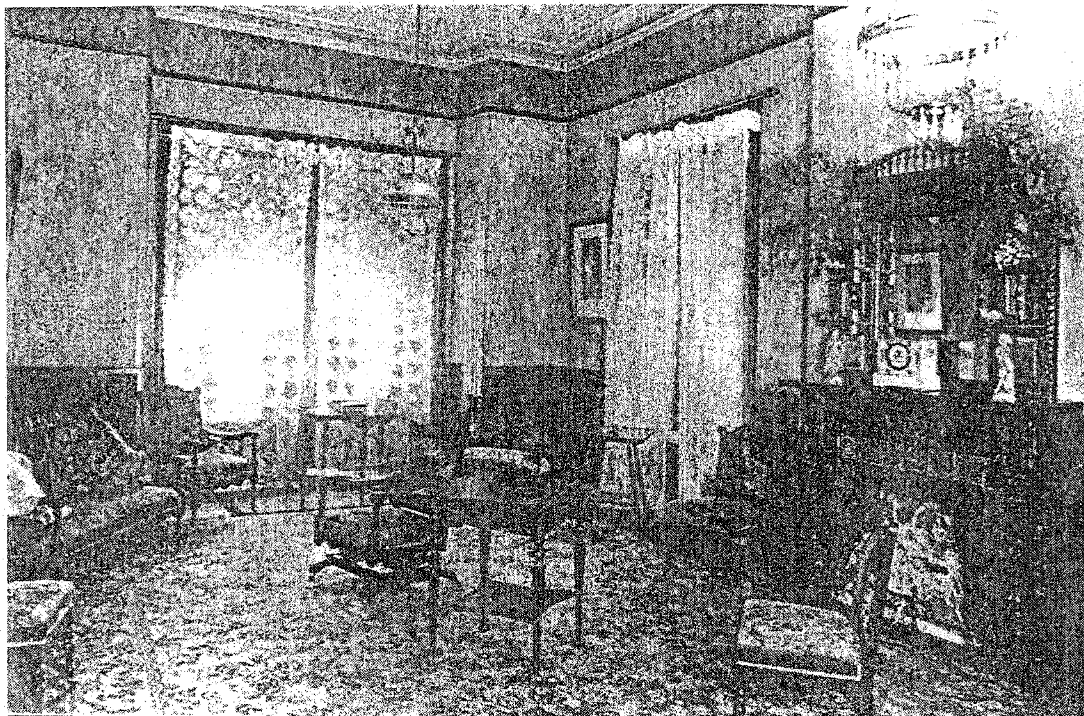

Figure 5.3. One of the rooms inside the Country Home. The furniture and ornate décor echo a parlor from a typical late Victorian household. (Source: Grace Dart Memorial Archives).

By the time that the Country Home was established in 1884, the influence of religion was so strong that it found its way into the physical design of the institution. On the outside, visitors were greeted by Hutchison's imposing and religiously inspired steeple, while inside, the Board devoted a large and purposefully designed room for the sole purpose of holding religious service (see Figure 5.2). While on one hand, the provision of a space of worship for more than 100 people contradicted the image of the family gathering depicted by Mathieson and was a radical departure from the practice of using the dining room for religious services at the Dorchester Street refuge, this new arrangement emphasized the importance that collective religious worship had achieved in the minds of the managing governors. As the demographics of the institution shifted, and the country home's primary function came to be the care of the aged and infirm, it was accompanied by a shift in emphasis from the temporal toward the spiritual. In his opening statements in the annual report of 1892, Charles Alexander identified religious worship as one of the central features of the Country Home, stating that not only did 'the old people have a place of rest before passing away to be no more, but they have from the ministers of the city weekly teaching from the Holy Scriptures'.[190]

[190] MPHIR Annual Report 1893, 1.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

The uniting feature of reformatory institutions in the Benthamite tradition, according to Michel Foucault, was their capacity to individualize punishment, 'not to efface the crime, but to transform a criminal'.[191] The architecture of reform was intended to act upon the individual, through classification and isolation, as well as through educative schemes intended to re-mold deviant behavior. A spatial organization that favoured constant surveillance and control was critical to the project of reform, and this organization was explicitly reproduced in the new array of corrective institutions that were envisaged at the end of the eighteenth century. As Foucault suggests, the Panopticon enabled the overseer to directly control each inmate individually, without the possibility for subjects to gather collectively:

> Each individual, in his place, is securely confined to a cell from which he is seen from the front by the supervisor, but the side walls prevent him from coming into contact with his companions. He is seen, but he does not see; he is the object of information, never a subject in communication ... The crowd, a compact mass, a locus of multiple exchanges, individualities merging together, a collective effect, is abolished and replaced by a collection of separated individualities.[192]

These 'separated individualities' could then be independently addressed and subjected to a disciplinary code designed to eradicate their individual flaws. Reformers applied a common set of tools to this task, that included 'time-tables, compulsory movements, regular activities, solitary meditation, work in common, silence, application, respect, [and] good habits.'[193] A new architectural science developed in the nineteenth century

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[191] Foucault, 127.
[192] Ibid., 200-201.
[193] Ibid., 128

with the aim of incorporating coercive elements into a design that enabled isolation, observation and control.

Certainly, the MPHIR was a product of this development in reformatory architecture. While the structure built on Dorchester Street in 1864 did not share Bentham's characteristic annular design, and did not fully achieve the austere grandeur of many American houses of industry, the MPHIR nevertheless incorporated a number of design features from both examples. Due to practical concerns of cost and efficiency, individual cells were absent from Montreal's House of Industry. A commitment to differentiation by class and gender remained, however, expressed in the segregation of the sexes as well as the physical isolation of the 'permanent' from the 'temporary' inmates. Bentham's explicitly omniscient central tower was replaced by the metaphorical presence of the Board of Management, manifested by the location of its offices on the second floor of the building, and the constant presence of its proxy, the superintendent. Perhaps the most influential design characteristic incorporated by the Board of the MPHIR was the compulsory labour requirement. This feature revealed the individualizing focus of the institution because it presupposed a personal weakness on the part of the poor, which was individual, moral and spiritual. The Board's early commitment to work inside the institution underscored its belief that personal flaws and a lack of work ethic were responsible for the majority of appeals to charity. The Board's Protestantism and capitalist worldview informed its evaluation of the causes of poverty and shaped the organization of time and space within the walls of the MPHIR to encourage industriousness, temperance, thrift, and personal accountability. The Dorchester Street asylum then, was an institution designed to treat individual behavioral

defects through the application of architectural, spatial, and temporal arrangements that isolated, classified, controlled, and educated the individual.

Within the MPHIR, this rationalization of space was coupled with a deep concern for the healthfulness of the environment. Although Louis Pasteur was in the midst of advancing germ theory in the 1860s, there remained widespread skepticism regarding this new explanation for the spread of disease.[194] The miasma theory, which postulated that poor ventilation and exposed filth could cause the air to transmit disease, was more common at the time of the construction of the House of Industry in 1864. The fact that many epidemics appeared to originate from slum districts, and claimed the largest number of victims among the urban poor, added weight to the argument that the unsanitary dwellings of the working class were direct causes of contagion. The *Daily Star* reported in 1882 that 'the main sources of diphtheria and typhoid are the contamination of the air, food and water by imperfect drainage, bad plumbing and the lack of thorough ventilation.'[195] This line of reasoning profoundly affected the Board of Management of the MPHIR and caused it, among other things, to incorporate the medical advice of visiting physicians directly into the design of the establishment. The environment of the MPHIR was intended to be antithetical to the typical setting of poverty. If the homes of the poor were dirty and improperly drained and ventilated, those errors would not be reproduced in the House of Industry. Applicants may have been admitted to the institution in 'filthy rags', but their clothes were immediately confiscated and washed, in an effort to cleanse the wearer of any potential contamination acquired from their previous dwellings. The Board went so far as to attempt to regulate uniform

[194] Adams, 29.
[195] Daily Star, Jan 28, 1882.

dress for all permanent inmates, partly to emphasize institutional efficiency and control, but also to improve hygiene and cleanliness.[196]

Annmarie Adams has pointed out that women occupied a particularly important role in the science of preventative health from about 1870 until the turn of the century. Their familiarity with the domestic environment granted them unique authority over matters concerning the healthful arrangement of space within the home, and these opinions were expressed publicly in pamphlets, magazine articles and courses in domestic economics.[197] According to Adams, this gave women as much power as physicians to physically alter the shape of the home:

> As women gained more and more recognition and confidence in design through their management of the home by 'scientific' principles, they, like the physicians, were seen by an anxious public as alternative designers of domestic environments.[198]

Accordingly, the Board of Management of the MPHIR invited women to comment on all aspects of the operation of the House of Industry that had analogues in the domestic sphere. This included the state of the bedding of the inmates, the quality of the ventilation of the dormitories, the regular hygiene of inmates, and the overall cleanliness of the institution. This inclusion of women in the daily operation of the institution was indicative of an important re-conceptualization of space within the MPHIR. The environment of the institution was constantly modified based on general medical and scientific principles, many of which were put forward by female observers. However, the inclusion of women in the organizational hierarchy and the acknowledgment that their contributions were necessary to the efficient operation of the system suggested that the

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[196] MPHIR Minute Books, 1865, 101.
[197] Adams, 97-102.
[198] Ibid., 96.

notion of the middle-class family was gaining strength as a metaphor that opposed the strict institutional setting of the House of Industry.

Further similarities to the domestic environment – such as paternal and maternal figures, in the form of a married superintendent and matron, as well as a program of 'family worship' – contributed to the symbolic *rapprochement* of the House of Industry and the middle-class Victorian household. The Board began to delight in the educative potential that these environmental reforms offered their inmates, suggesting that religious worship, clean surroundings, and the stabilizing influence of the matron and her husband contributed to the 'clean and orderly state of the institution and the prevailing apparent happiness of its aged and infirm inmates.'[199]

Modifications to the initial design and function of the House of Industry continued as the directors were confronted with practical contingencies. Despite their efforts to do so, the Board of the MPHIR was not successful in isolating their institution from external influences. The challenges facing the House of Industry were ideological as well as material; while the Board fought to keep liquor from surrounding taverns out of the institution, they also struggled to reconcile the apparent failure of the 'workhouse test' with their previously held notion that individual failure was the principle cause of poverty. Montreal's geography heavily influenced the shape of the MPHIR: seasonal unemployment caused by the slowing of trade during the winter months first caused the Board to open the Night Refuge only during the winter, and later led them to attempt to create a penny savings bank for dock workers during the summer. Following a series of harsh winters and city-wide economic downturns, demands on the services of the MPHIR increased substantially in the 1870s. When a labour test for recipients of outdoor relief

[199] Annual Report, 1890, 6.

failed to deter applicants, and when the number of night refuge lodgers increased despite strict rules, overcrowding, and stigmatization of indoor relief, the Board was grudgingly forced to acknowledge that unemployment and seasonal variations in the economy were major contributors to destitution, rather than individual defects among the poor.

David Rothman has argued that, faced with similar economic realities and the gradual breakdown of their original designs, most similar institutions in America lost their reformatory purpose and 'special qualities' toward the end of the nineteenth century.[200] In the case of the MPHIR, it is perhaps more accurate to argue that the use of particular instruments of reform changed over time to reflect an ideology that increasingly moved the blame for poverty away from the individual and onto the environment. The Country Home, completed in 1885, physically expressed this new environmentalism in its rural location, its physical appearance, and its internal organization. Instead of maintaining strict architectural and organizational similarities to the workhouse, the Country Home represented a strange hybrid that Janice Harvey characterizes as 'midway between nineteenth-century forms of relief and the twentieth century...old age home'.[201] Here, the purpose was no longer to reform the individual through continual labour, but to include the individual into a social hierarchy that symbolically reflected the middle class Victorian family. In 1889, Charles Alexander described the Country Home as place where the beneficial influences of the natural setting and spiritual worship contributed more to the improvement of the poor than the hard work and rigid organization of the Dorchester Street asylum:

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[200] Rothman, 237.
[201] Harvey, 2001, 80.

> In the cheerful home on the banks of our noble Saint Lawrence, we have some one hundred and twenty-five aged inmates on an average every year, who have the comfort of a quiet residence, with such kind care as can be given them. These have not only a home, but through the offices of Christian ministers of the city, City Missionaries and other friends, give such instructions as tend to look to a better country and home than ours – a Heavenly home.[202]

The fact that the Country Home no longer resembled a workhouse did not represent a failure on the part of the Board to maintain its 'reformatory purpose'. Rather, it expressed the culmination of a series of competing methods of reform. The Board's abhorrence of working-class housing conditions, combined with medical/scientific theories concerning the spread of infectious disease, caused it to pose the institution in direct opposition to the urban slum. The middle-class household and its accompanying spiritual and moral attributes were offered as an environmental alternative. As environmentalism gained strength, and the practical operation of the MPHIR challenged the Board's conviction that individual deficits were the primary cause of indigence, the Board adopted a design that reflected a domestic, rather than institutional, rationalization of space.

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[202] MPHIR Annual Report, 1889, 1.

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APPENDIX A

Financial Records for the MPHIR 1863-1901

Report Date Ended April:	1864	1865	1866	1867	1868	1869
Deaths		2	2	7	7	8
Night refuge stays male	2,558	4,068	2,447	4,908	5,643	7,454
Night refuge stays female	1,489	2,667	470	1,004	2,665	2,276
Soup Kitchen meals	5,000	25,197	15,156	20,022	26,926	33,656
Permanent inmates winter		80	115	110		
Permanent inmates summer			80	65		
Kindling wood profits					$231.10	$750.85
Total income		$1,478.42	$23,856.42	$20,895.82	$6,401.51	$7,935.13
Govt. of Quebec grant						
District Savings Bank donation	$1,000.00	$800.00		$400.00	$400.00	$500.00
Kindling sales					$231.10	$750.85
Inmates room and board					$166.99	$496.91
Interest		$297.30	$516.66	$1,710.16	$2,333.75	$2,328.50
Rents		$160.00		$160.00	$320.00	
Subscriptions		$435.35	$17,861.93	$16,575.00	$1,950.00	$1,325.00
Casual donations				$285.00	$828.66	$440.40
Legacies/Estates			$5,486.83	$303.33		$2,000.00
Stone breaking & outdoor labour				$129.00	$100.00	
Special income (sales, investments, large donations)						
Misc.					$71.01	$93.47
Total operating expenditures	$1,517.01	$3,555.96	$7,289.72	$7,963.05	$6,296.39	$5,889.12
Food	$83.18	$784.59	$1,957.98	$3,327.61	$3,826.83	$3,397.27
Clothes, boots, shoes		$25.82				$86.03
House furnishing acct.	$416.44	$688.18	$587.76	$726.96	$323.19	$317.61
Fuel	$125.80	$542.50	$586.66	$522.65	$721.04	$622.32
Salaries	$343.25	$749.26	$898.41	$964.00	$820.00	
Maintenace, taxes light	$231.36	$135.17	$647.95	$681.74	$400.43	$255.60
Building additions/expenses	$128.71	$33,627.22	$1,597.70	$1,483.75	$122.12	$203.23
investment purchases						
balance remaining						
Kindling Wood Outlay						
Night Refuge total food and maintenance		$36,552.74				
Country House food						
Country House maintenance						
Total number of outdoor families relieved			3800	4647	3146	4529
1/4 cords firewood given					1259	843
Income (donations)				$2,725.41	$2,510.66	$3,271.36
Total expenditures				$2,725.41	$2,346.46	$3,271.36
Firewood				$762.99	$1,049.43	$1,149.12
Cartage					$12.72	
Food				$1,320.38	$897.43	$1,324.33
Soap and candles				$113.53	$25.00	
Boots and shoes/clothing				$155.90	$159.22	$160.79
Misc.						
Ladies employed			200	150	145	153
Ladies rooms total income			$4,610.39	$4,693.25	$5,798.28	$6,520.22
Received for sales			$2,590.00	$2,354.09	$2,900.81	$3,175.58
Received for work			$778.03	$754.55	$1,206.85	$1,224.34
Donations			$102.00		$66.55	$140.00
Bazaar			$1,110.00	$1,104.89	$1,514.65	$1,854.55
Misc.						

Report Date Ended April:	1870	1871	1872	1873	1874	1875
Deaths	6	4	7	5	9	11
Night refuge stays male	5,597	4,714	5,279	6,400	7,993	11,680
Night refuge stays female	1,743	909	1,417	1,414	2,145	2,508
Soup Kitchen meals	29,980	21,009	22,554	24,785	34,327	46,191
Permanent inmates winter	88		72	105	130	110
Permanent inmates summer	64		55	56		
Kindling wood profits	$750.23	$537.21	$798.35	$579.66	$593.47	$721.57
Total income	$10,446.02	$14,422.27	$6,075.72	$11,759.38	$8,706.78	$12,048.27
Govt. of Quebec grant	$800.00	$1,600.00	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00
District Savings Bank donation	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00
Kindling sales	$750.23	$537.21	$798.35	$579.66	$593.47	$721.57
Inmates room and board	$333.52	$268.93	$189.80	$187.02	$199.71	$293.51
Interest	$2,678.00	$2,792.00	$2,831.22	$1,616.71	$1,320.50	$1,549.73
Rents	$160.00	$320.00	$160.00	$2,189.40	$2,878.67	$2,951.39
Subscriptions	$2,602.72	$2,250.00	$150.00	$275.00	$13,150.00	$1,893.97
Casual donations	$603.39	$146.07	$642.00	$352.36	$483.50	$485.55
Legacies/Estates	$2,000.00	$6,000.00				
Stone breaking & outdoor labour						$49.93
Special income (sales, investments, larg				$5,235.00		$1,147.50
Misc.	$18.13	$7.37	$4.35	$24.14	$13.82	$87.32
Total operating expenditures	$5,443.11	$5,977.65	$5,551.83	$5,602.38	$7,431.72	$12,048.27
Food	$3,076.95	$3,119.07	$3,207.72	$3,141.11	$4,169.94	$5,133.85
Clothes, boots, shoes	$167.25		$139.21	$71.18	$196.19	$309.54
House furnishing acct.	$212.33	$488.13	$151.86	$333.51	$346.54	$927.58
Fuel	$412.99	$422.38	$564.23	$599.67	$916.80	$823.04
Salaries	$820.00	$820.00	$820.00	$820.00	$847.00	$1,161.00
Maintenace, taxes light	$753.59	$800.00	$668.81	$636.91	$955.25	$1,254.44
Building additions/expenses				$8,351.36		
investment purchases						$2,335.44
balance remaining						$233.82
Kindling Wood Outlay						
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc						
Country House food						
Country House maintenance						
Total number of outdoor families relieve	3973	2786	3566	2881	2998	2901
1/4 cords firewood given		1312		1579	1219	1047
Income (donations)	$3,570.11	$2,843.81	$4,019.86	$3,009.06	$2,545.48	$2,761.99
Total expenditures	$3,402.62	$2,785.85	$4,019.86	$3,009.06	$2,545.48	$2,761.99
Firewood	$1,000.00	$1,256.45	$1,610.56	$779.22	$640.00	$720.00
Cartage	$580.35		$106.08	$473.70	$340.22	$336.83
Food	$1,207.31	$957.60	$1,293.53	$1,100.00	$1,100.00	$1,000.00
Soap and candles		$46.40	$87.65			
Boots and shoes/clothing	$150.10	$88.04	$235.38	$200.00		
Misc.						
Ladies employed	159	124	119	80	80	85
Ladies rooms total income	$5,729.46	$6,696.11	$6,886.05	$7,508.50	$8,192.86	$7,956.99
Received for sales	$2,691.93	$3,276.01	$3,142.51	$3,786.26	$4,238.91	$4,163.97
Received for work	$1,308.65	$1,091.35	$1,069.15	$1,254.73	$1,106.54	$1,104.45
Donations	$144.80	$127.00	$107.75	$100.00	$150.00	$150.00
Bazaar	$1,524.71	$2,007.58	$2,382.30	$2,096.96	$2,418.29	$2,343.55
Misc.						

Report Date Ended April:	1876	1877	1878	1879	1880	1881
Deaths	13	17	17	15	9	12
Night refuge stays male	14,662	11,937	9,780	11,553	10,980	13,291
Night refuge stays female	2,714	2,607	2,615	2,893	2,877	1,506
Soup Kitchen meals	79,659	74,942	46,175	58,583	60,332	57,367
Permanent inmates winter	155	152	136	131	130	131
Permanent inmates summer	80	91	104	101	99	103
Kindling wood profits	$941.21	$717.06	$888.67	$769.10	$58.39	$953.35
Total income	$9,869.55	$11,969.21	$11,180.51	$12,190.84	$10,740.51	$8,925.21
Govt. of Quebec grant	$800.00	$800.00	$0.00	$1,600.00	$800.00	$800.00
District Savings Bank donation	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00
Kindling sales	$941.21	$717.06	$888.67	$769.10	$1,001.19	$1,171.28
Inmates room and board	$538.67	$202.50	$403.00	$154.22	$165.00	$209.50
Interest	$1,469.00	$1,496.17	$1,462.97	$1,447.91	$1,397.58	$1,406.52
Rents	$2,814.51	$3,847.81	$3,521.96	$3,097.30	$2,134.70	$3,238.38
Subscriptions	$250.00	$300.00	$470.00	$400.00	$400.00	$303.25
Casual donations	$818.88	$507.00	$222.44	$348.96	$302.40	$120.00
Legacies/Estates				$2,200.00	$1,600.00	
Stone breaking & outdoor labour	$299.23	$206.77	$285.85	$300.00	$401.23	$417.00
Special income (sales, investments, larg		$2,505.96	$588.90	$1,300.00	$894.00	
Misc.	$262.91	$885.94	$310.07	$73.35	$21.86	$12.95
Total operating expenditures	$9,869.55	$11,969.21	$11,180.51	$12,190.84	$10,740.51	$8,093.86
Food	$4,946.41	$4,523.03	$5,126.19	$4,525.04	$4,207.88	$4,687.88
Clothes, boots, shoes	$150.04	$175.50	$114.64	$155.59	$170.80	$194.10
House furnishing acct.	$444.98	$385.35	$436.63	$223.95	$164.64	$265.20
Fuel	$591.17	$650.93	$964.59	$574.19	$517.70	$739.35
Salaries	$911.00	$836.00	$568.00	$1,065.00	$800.00	$800.00
Maintenace, taxes light	$652.28	$771.80	$861.23		$319.68	$770.88
Building additions/expenses		$3,771.30	$980.38			$418.52
investment purchases	$1,308.00		$2,128.85	$3,354.27	$1,839.00	
balance remaining	$865.67	$310.07		$1,122.55	$746.33	
Kindling Wood Outlay					$942.80	$217.93
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc						
Country House food						
Country House maintenance						
Total number of outdoor families relieve	8172	7817	4174	3963	3205	3503
1/4 cords firewood given	2608		1172	1175	973	1077
Income (donations)	$6,409.90	$5,030.38	$3,649.08	$3,071.98	$2,808.20	$2,824.90
Total expenditures	$6,453.09	$5,030.38	$3,799.14	$3,071.98	$2,667.21	$2,824.90
Firewood	$1,871.10	$1,000.00	$1,889.40	$975.00	$806.00	$1,090.47
Cartage	$750.97	$532.24	$328.30	$360.00	$301.95	$218.65
Food	$3,017.39	$2,500.00	$1,250.00	$1,300.00	$1,280.80	$1,189.90
Soap and candles	$122.40				$81.52	$95.85
Boots and shoes/clothing	$492.74				$34.68	$9.00
Misc.						
Ladies employed	90	136	100	100	80	100
Ladies rooms total income	$7,574.52	$7,670.79	$7,871.97	$7,584.20	$7,370.76	$8,081.82
Received for sales		$4,043.22		$4,100.07	$3,587.55	$3,923.00
Received for work		$955.26		$889.25	$899.27	$786.44
Donations	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00
Bazaar		$2,483.92		$1,907.17	$2,292.94	$2,434.35
Misc.						

Report Date Ended April:	1882	1883	1884	1885	1886
Deaths	18	21	15	25	16
Night refuge stays male	11,137	16,135	23,697	22,274	27,533
Night refuge stays female	2,248	3,400	3,135	3,499	2,501
Soup Kitchen meals	45,868	60,002	77,456	78,960	91,495
Permanent inmates winter	123		132	132	132
Permanent inmates summer	93		99	117	115
Kindling wood profits	$587.98	$557.29	$1,177.40	$848.84	$777.68
Total income	$9,596.73	$12,129.81	$11,553.93	$11,592.46	$12,528.36
Govt. of Quebec grant	$800.00	$800.00	$720.00	$640.00	$560.00
District Savings Bank donation	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00
Kindling sales	$1,398.75	$1,593.15	$2,260.53	$2,133.07	$2,243.78
Inmates room and board	$201.05	$297.75	$284.35	$281.47	$260.50
Interest	$1,434.00	$1,415.16	$1,443.13	$1,402.73	$1,382.55
Rents	$2,776.06	$2,344.00	$2,628.82	$2,480.83	$3,008.91
Subscriptions	$205.00	$290.18	$422.35	$188.68	$516.51
Casual donations	$187.00	$849.00	$886.20	$532.00	$998.50
Legacies/Estates	$550.00	$2,250.00			
Stone breaking & outdoor labour	$650.00	$660.00	$1,022.57	$1,300.00	$1,468.90
Special income (sales, investments, larg				$1,102.50	
Misc.	$894.87	$1,129.70	$1,385.98	$1,031.18	$1,459.68
Total operating expenditures	$9,596.73	$12,129.81	$11,553.93	$10,132.78	$11,116.74
Food	$4,751.80	$5,486.17	$5,495.10	$5,515.33	$5,711.59
Clothes, boots, shoes	$151.75	$231.08	$257.59	$183.24	$201.70
House furnishing acct.	$551.92	$761.41	$1,026.90	$661.76	$902.35
Fuel	$701.38	$694.06	$768.48	$598.27	$1,074.84
Salaries	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00
Maintenace, taxes light	$589.06	$779.30		$770.59	$750.86
Building additions/expenses					
investment purchases		$2,000.00	$200.00		
balance remaining	$1,089.26	$329.43	$1,013.12	$1,459.68	
Kindling Wood Outlay	$810.77	$1,035.86	$1,083.13	$1,284.23	$1,466.10
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc				$8,529.19	$9,441.34
Country House food					
Country House maintenance				$6,588.03	$8,214.67
				$6,588.03	$ 8,214.67
Total number of outdoor families relieve	2684	3076	2984	2980	2543
1/4 cords firewood given	707	903	793	950	751
Income (donations)	$2,487.46	$2,822.35	$2,916.42	$2,634.92	$2,525.40
Total expenditures	$2,487.46	$2,750.43	$3,124.35	$2,531.70	$2,112.53
Firewood	$753.50	$1,050.75	$1,376.13	$1,072.25	$601.50
Cartage	$227.22	$351.41	$187.54	$322.70	$420.10
Food	$1,127.40	$1,025.46	$1,247.29	$901.94	$838.03
Soap and candles	$60.05	$92.80	$79.80	$82.10	$53.94
Boots and shoes/clothing	$0.00	$5.00			
Misc.					
Ladies employed	101	106	127	145	98
Ladies rooms total income	$8,814.90	$8,741.88	$9,107.28	$10,255.02	$10,040.82
Received for sales	$5,125.24	$4,736.24	$5,343.36	$6,544.55	$5,838.04
Received for work	$840.48	$1,096.03	$815.45	$694.89	$646.40
Donations	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	
Bazaar	$2,497.98	$2,759.61	$2,726.50	$2,676.23	$2,440.85
Misc.	$42.74				

Report Date Ended April:	1887	1888	1889	1890	1891
Deaths	14	19	19	17	17
Night refuge stays male	32,927	35,738	39,366	30,098	28,007
Night refuge stays female	1,767	2,122	1,197	624	519
Soup Kitchen meals	101,757	99,343	100,943	76,505	73,051
Permanent inmates winter	128	127	127	131	138
Permanent inmates summer	115	115	116	111	117
Kindling wood profits	$740.94	$1,133.14	$1,023.80	$1,076.47	$1,287.93
Total income	$13,661.96	$14,351.02	$14,079.37	$17,234.37	$13,685.85
Govt. of Quebec grant	$560.00	$560.00	$560.00	$560.00	$560.00
District Savings Bank donation	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00
Kindling sales	$2,004.92	$2,443.10	$2,591.58	$2,477.09	$2,477.30
Inmates room and board	$420.10	$294.29	$358.50	$240.50	$816.50
Interest	$1,394.74	$1,387.23	$1,367.03	$1,350.81	$1,387.88
Rents	$2,992.68	$3,065.18	$2,011.11	$3,423.06	$2,761.03
Subscriptions	$646.46	$166.00	$337.65	$342.79	$255.94
Casual donations	$1,107.05	$958.00	$2,832.86	$1,009.00	$849.62
Legacies/Estates		$1,175.64	$1,397.00	$5,850.00	$2,850.00
Stone breaking & outdoor labour	$1,155.00	$959.53	$843.09	$600.00	$726.18
Special income (sales, investments, larg		$2,234.70			
Misc.	$1,409.39	$1,240.18	$634.94	$278.49	$426.40
Total operating expenditures	$12,436.50	$14,141.69	$14,079.07	$15,997.68	$13,982.76
Food	$4,516.10	$2,002.86	$2,131.46	$1,977.09	$2,099.88
Clothes, boots, shoes	$221.35	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00	$0.00
House furnishing acct.	$717.59	$197.85	$94.45	$61.86	$102.40
Fuel	$247.90		$337.73	$317.05	$306.14
Salaries	$800.00	$800.00	$800.00	$856.00	$896.00
Maintenace, taxes light	$739.76	$1,022.32	$598.83	$468.00	$464.23
Building additions/expenses	$2,000.76		$351.29	$548.75	$1,671.89
investment purchases	$150.00				
balance remaining		$209.33			
Kindling Wood Outlay	$1,263.98	$1,309.96	$1,567.78	$1,400.62	$1,189.37
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc	$9,243.46	$4,023.03	$4,313.76	$4,228.75	$5,540.54
Country House food		$2,864.88	$3,275.56	$3,493.20	$3,454.62
Country House maintenance	$3,917.87	$3,520.82	$2,386.39	$2,123.48	$1,241.35
	$3,917.87	$6,385.70	$5,661.95	$5,616.68	$4,695.97
Total number of outdoor families relieve	2495	2485	2286	2857	2954
1/4 cords firewood given	777	781	779	1019	1054
Income (donations)	$2,915.28	$2,688.32	$2,579.60	$2,673.03	$2,362.84
Total expenditures	$2,764.03	$2,748.24	$2,433.54	$2,673.03	$2,376.17
Firewood	$687.00	$621.00	$500.00	$800.00	$490.40
Cartage	$456.15	$490.65	$592.25	$518.13	$730.21
Food	$1,258.26	$1,236.55	$1,163.41	$1,086.46	$1,031.15
Soap and candles	$79.84	$69.95	$51.97	$48.90	$55.13
Boots and shoes/clothing				$0.00	$0.00
Misc.					
Ladies employed	116	100	127	142	154
Ladies rooms total income	$9,960.21	$10,259.05	$8,680.01	$8,853.94	$11,727.70
Received for sales	$5,940.15	$6,764.32	$5,030.35	$6,963.69	$6,496.14
Received for work	$504.20	$549.09	$426.76	$488.44	$603.53
Donations	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$230.00
Bazaar	$2,544.20	$2,245.15	$2,182.76	$1,008.95	$4,043.58
Misc.					

Report Date Ended April:	1892	1893	1894	1895	1896	1897
Deaths		18	24		32	21
Night refuge stays male	29,841	27,744	29,510	33,955	38,300	33,085
Night refuge stays female	503	142	752	1,053	904	525
Soup Kitchen meals	73,862	70,788	77,116		98,944	81,819
Permanent inmates winter		133	130		131	141
Permanent inmates summer		118	122		116	121
Kindling wood profits	$1,034.13	$1,506.83	$919.06		$1,205.65	$974.58
Total income		$35,196.05	$25,395.81		$17,659.21	$23,385.83
Govt. of Quebec grant	$560.00	$560.00	$420.00	$420.00	$420.00	$420.00
District Savings Bank donation	$500.00	$500.00	$500.00		$500.00	$500.00
Kindling sales		$2,547.59	$2,590.58		$2,286.83	$2,374.21
Inmates room and board		$322.00	$324.00		$376.52	$148.21
Interest		$1,260.00	$2,093.01		$3,606.34	$2,308.00
Rents		$2,943.28	$3,295.81		$4,646.28	$4,196.85
Subscriptions		$175.00	$245.00		$125.00	$125.00
Casual donations		$785.25	$1,170.00		$1,928.57	$1,804.81
Legacies/Estates		$19,105.00	$910.00		$1,004.04	$8,569.76
Stone breaking & outdoor labour	$420.00	$793.00	$651.00	$429.00	$131.00	$513.00
Special income (sales, investments, larg		$3,501.87	$0.00			$1,157.89
Misc.		$441.20	$800.57		$285.99	$325.31
Total operating expenditures		$22,800.36	$24,355.32		$19,333.91	$23,385.83
Food		$1,768.87	$1,711.27		$2,097.76	$2,236.38
Clothes, boots, shoes		$0.00	$0.00		$0.00	$0.00
House furnishing acct.		$343.63	$27.05		$466.73	$26.94
Fuel		$279.57	$395.49		$244.00	$213.85
Salaries		$1,070.00	$1,115.00		$1,187.00	$1,250.24
Maintenace, taxes light		$487.25	$572.90		$916.62	$868.87
Building additions/expenses		$322.15	$354.50			$1,537.06
investment purchases						
balance remaining	$2,230.56		$0.00			
Kindling Wood Outlay		$1,040.76	$1,671.52		$1,081.18	$1,399.63
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc		$4,271.47	$4,176.21		$4,912.11	$6,133.34
Country House food		$3,650.65	$3,479.44		$3,706.78	$3,533.42
Country House maintenance		$3,790.77	$3,082.87		$3,911.28	$3,765.90
		$7,441.42	$6,562.31		$7,618.06	$7,299.32
Total number of outdoor families relieve		2515	2762		3574	4025
1/4 cords firewood given		1018	1041		844	952
Income (donations)		$3,081.38	$3,327.29		$4,151.39	$5,524.25
Total expenditures		$3,535.60	$3,331.85		$4,426.59	$5,524.25
Firewood		$982.00	$911.20		$1,608.52	$1,762.82
Cartage		$609.95	$744.66		$15.20	$225.40
Food		$765.57	$990.55		$1,275.73	$1,450.91
Soap and candles		$39.90	$61.67		$60.50	$98.65
Boots and shoes/clothing		$0.00	$0.00		$3.00	$3.00
Misc.						
Ladies employed		150	136		171	193
Ladies rooms total income		$11,506.82	$13,579.00	$13,000.00	$13,992.16	
Received for sales		$7,714.46	$6,411.52		$6,476.48	
Received for work		$0.00	$0.00		$0.00	
Donations		$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	$150.00	
Bazaar		$3,084.86	$3,456.96		$4,054.12	$4,576.22
Misc.					$3,252.28	

Report Date Ended April:	1898	1899	1900	1901
Deaths	36	33	29	41
Night refuge stays male	33,621	33,939	23,305	23,567
Night refuge stays female	664	2,005	2,053	1,060
Soup Kitchen meals	87,749	91,115	69,094	65,081
Permanent inmates winter	141	141	189	194
Permanent inmates summer	124	124	163	162
Kindling wood profits	$1,568.74	$1,113.80	$1,327.21	$1,784.39
Total income	$32,884.07	$18,287.63	$16,405.53	$16,421.81
Govt. of Quebec grant	$420.00	$420.00	$420.00	$420.00
District Savings Bank donation	$490.00	$490.00		
Kindling sales	$2,551.13	$2,586.96		$1,784.39
Inmates room and board	$796.51	$1,676.86	$0.00	$1,827.79
Interest	$2,503.39	$2,557.30		$2,182.75
Rents	$4,040.51	$3,044.11		$2,344.11
Subscriptions	$225.00	$350.00		$4,608.24
Casual donations	$2,366.64	$2,306.61		
Legacies/Estates	$2,250.00	$2,250.00	$1,029.39	$500.00
Stone breaking & outdoor labour	$355.00	$300.00	$516.00	$1,199.23
Special income (sales, investments, larg	$17,334.07			$650.00
Misc.	$258.07	$1,648.25		$905.30
Total operating expenditures	$32,884.07	$18,287.68	$16,405.53	$16,421.81
Food	$1,930.91	$2,505.22		$2,571.82
Clothes, boots, shoes	$0.00	$0.00		
House furnishing acct.	$0.00	$96.52		$1,829.64
Fuel	$256.40	$342.15		
Salaries	$1,396.26	$1,441.19		
Maintenace, taxes light	$708.10	$1,041.84		
Building additions/expenses	$1,270.39	$246.70		
investment purchases				
balance remaining	$3,155.75			
Kindling Wood Outlay	$982.39	$1,473.16		
Night Refuge total food and maintenanc	$5,562.06	$5,673.62		
Country House food	$3,837.82	$5,630.05		
Country House maintenance	$3,158.13	$4,213.10		
	$6,995.95	$9,843.15		
Total number of outdoor families relieve	4027	3247		2225
1/4 cords firewood given	520	367		229
Income (donations)	$4,699.43	$3,639.86		$3,721.27
Total expenditures	$4,750.78	$3,639.86		$3,721.27
Firewood	$868.16	$709.08		$641.76
Cartage	$115.70	$100.89		$0.00
Food	$1,484.58	$1,061.18		$1,015.40
Soap and candles	$62.00	$72.00		$40.80
Boots and shoes/clothing	$12.10			
Misc.				
Ladies employed				
Ladies rooms total income				
Received for sales				
Received for work				
Donations				
Bazaar				
Misc.				