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"The Big Ladies' Hotel": Gender, Residence, and Middle-Class Montreal

A Contextual Analysis of the Royal Victoria College, 1899-1931

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July 1998

A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research in partial fulfillment of the requirements of the degree of Masters of Architecture

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Abstract

This thesis analyses the architecture of the Royal Victoria College (Bruce Price, 1896-1899), a purpose-built women's residential college of McGill University, Montreal, and its first extension (Percy Nobbs, 1930-1931), as material evidence of the rhetorical construction and negotiation of gender. A contextual analysis of the original RVC reveals the gender significance of the building's relationship to its affiliate institution (McGill), to an urban geography (Phillips Square), and to a commercial typology (the railway hotel), while a spatial analysis examines the significance of its women occupants as 'architects', and of changes to the building over time. The thesis concludes that the building served as an important site in turn-of-the-century gender negotiations—one that helped to contest "separate spheres" rhetoric and that stands as evidence of women's active participation in the shaping of spatial relations and social identities.

Résumé

Cette thèse porte sur l'architecture du Collège Royal Victoria à Montréal (Bruce Price, 1896-1899) et son extension (Percy Nobbs, 1930-1931), un édifice de l'Université McGill conçu pour abriter une résidence collégiale pour femmes. La thèse analyse l'édifice en tant qu'évidence matérielle de la rhétorique de construction pour femmes et des négotiations de genre. Une analyse contextuelle de l'édifice original du CRV discute de la relation du dit bâtiment avec son institution affiliée (McGill), avec la géographie urbaine (carré Phillips) et la typologie commerciale (l'hôtel de la gare) et ce, du point de vue de l'étude des genres (ou identité féminine). L'analyse spatiale examine la signification des femmes qui occupaient le CRV comme si elles en étaient les architectes et présente les changements apportés au bâtiment au fil des ans. La thèse conclue que le bâtiment a été un lieu important au tournant du siècle en ce qui a trait à la négociation des genres—un exemple qui a aidé à contester la rhétorique des "sphères séparées"et qui a été le témoin de la participation active des femmes dans le façonnement des relations spatiales et des identités sociales.

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I am grateful as well to the archivists and librarians at the Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University; the Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill University; the Rare Books and Special Collections Division of the McLennan Library, McGill University; the Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal; the Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal; and the Notman Photographic Archives at the McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal. I am also grateful for the assistance of Henri Pilon at the Trinity College Archives in Toronto. Research at the Trinity archives was funded by a grant from the McGill Centre for Research and Teaching on Women. Special thanks are due too to Marcia King and Helen Dyer for administrative assistance at the McGill School of Architecture.

Florence Tracy, Head of McGill University Residences, graciously supplied a tour not only of the current women's residence at McGill, but of the warden's private apartments in the 1931 extension. This revealed dimensions of the space in a way that only a visit to the space can, and I am most appreciative. I am likewise grateful to Elizabeth McDonald Shapiro, who generously shared her memories of life at RVC, along with letters and photographs. Her hospitality and spirited reminiscences brought the spaces of the college to life in a telling way.

Last, but far from least, my thanks go to friends and family: to fellow students at the School of Architecture, in particular Tania Martin and Pamela Plumb-Dhindsa, for shared enthusiasms, challenging conversations, and unfailing companionship and support; and to Lorraine Emmrys, Rajindar Dhindsa, and again Tania Martin, whose assistance in the preparation and production of the final manuscript was truly invaluable.

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Abbreviations used for sources

CAC: Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, Montreal
CPA: Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal.
MUA: McGill University Archives, McGill University, Montreal.
Notman: Notman Photographic Archives, McCord Museum of Canadian History, Montreal.
RBSC: Rare Books and Special Collections Division, McLennan Library, McGill University, Montreal.

Sources found in Bibliography are also abbreviated.

Introduction

"'Earn Her Living': Certainly we can imagine few things more praiseworthy in a woman than a determination to earn her own living, to live her own life, to meet her own expenses . . ."

"'Guardian of the Home': The assertion has become almost a commonplace that woman is the natural guardian of the home. The more she is prohibited from all external spheres the more she is recognized in her aspect of home keeper. If, then, she is responsible for the home, she should look at it in all its aspects. . . . It is she . . . who should study the material side of the home, and all the constant changes brought to it by the changing customs of society."

These two items appeared in the same "Our Homes Column" of the December 1, 1888 issue of *Dominion Illustrated News*. By virtue of the juxtaposition, these items did indeed serve to illustrate, quite succinctly, a dominion-wide, if not altogether new dilemma, architectural in its dimensions and social in its repercussions, that faced Canadian women during the late nineteenth century: how to earn their own livings and live their own lives despite/given their prohibition from "spheres" beyond that ostensibly defined by the home? The middle-class assertion that women were the guardians of the home was, as the above quote implies, widely dispersed, and had the object, and to varying degrees the effect, of constraining women and localizing the range of their experience. Assumptions and environments intermingled, creating a barrier that, both romanticized and concretized, was indeed formidable.

But, and there is always a 'but', the very dimensions configuring women's confinement would also suggest a means of negotiating this dilemma and through it, oppressive relations of gender. By addressing the contours of domesticity through "the material side of the home", the contours of both femininity and female opportunity might undergo gradual transformation. It was an approach being suggested, again as the above quote indicates, by women at the time. In admonishing women to study the design of the home, housing and feminist reformers agitated for both new dwelling types and new architects, and pointed to the "changing customs of society" as demanding new concepts and altered forms.[1]

Taking its cue from these women, this thesis examines the "material side of the home" as evidence of both women's history and gender history.[2] Drawing on a nexus of 19th-century

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[1]See Dolores Hayden's *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981) for an overview of this movement in America. See also Polly Wynn Allen, *Building Domestic Liberty: Charlotte Perkins Gilman's Architectural Feminism* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); and Lynn F. Pearson, *The Architectural and Social History of Cooperative Living* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

[2]An approach to architectural and social history based on concepts of material culture is outlined in "A Statement of Policy," *Landscape* 6, No. 1 (Autumn 1956), 2-5; and *Landscape* 10, No. 1 (Fall 1960). See also

buildings, the thesis examines one dwelling in particular—McGill University's Royal Victoria College, a purpose-built women's residential college opened in Montreal, Quebec in 1899—in relation to women's lives and the rhetorical construction and negotiation of gender.[3] While the gender legacy of "house and home" has become the subject of a growing body of research, much of it has focused on conventional housing types and/or has focused on domestic environments as a site of women's victimization.[4] Such work has helped to explain gender as a function of the built environment, but it has not addressed the way in which the contestation and transformation of gender is/has been an ongoing function of that environment as well. In considering the built landscape as a site of cultural negotiation, it is necessary to reconsider the relationship of women to housing, and to rephrase the questions asked: How has domestic architecture functioned, not just as a site of oppression, but also as a site of women's resistance and self-definition? If, for example, expanding the parameters of gender has meant expanding the definition of house and home, how might atypical dwelling arrangements and new housing types have served to redefine gender categories and relationships? And how have women themselves, as occupants, actively contested and redefined the presumptions of patriarchal space?[5]

Among the less conventional dwelling types women have occupied, the residential

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J. B. Jackson, *The Necessity for Ruins, and Other Topics* (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1980); Dell Upton and John Michael Vlach, eds., *Common Places: Readings in American Vernacular Architecture* (Athens: Univ. of Georgia Press, 1986); and Dell Upton, "Black and White Landscapes in Eighteenth-Century Virginia," *Places* 2, No. 2 (1985): 59-72.

[3]On gender as a category of historical analysis, see Joan Wallach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History* (NY: Columbia Univ. Press, 1988). On gender as a category of architectural and environmental analysis, see Jo Boys, "Is There a Feminist Analysis of Architecture?" *Built Environment* 10, no. 1 (1984): 25-34; Cheryl Buckley, "Made in Patriarchy: Toward a Feminist Analysis of Women and Design, " in *Design Issues* 3 (fall 1986): 3-24; Beatriz Colomina, ed., *Sexuality and Space* (Princeton: Princeton Architectural Press, 1992); Christine Erlemann, "What is Feminist Architecture?" in *Feminist Aesthetics*, eds. Gisela Ecker, trans. Harriet Anderson (Boston: Beacon, 1986): 125-34; Matrix, *Making Space: Women and the Man-made Environment* (London: Pluto, 1984); and Gerda R. Wekerle, "Women in the Urban Environment," in *Signs* 5, no. 3, suppt (1980): s188-214.

[4]See for example, Clifford Edward Clark, Jr. *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986); Clarke, "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1890," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (Summer 1976); David Handlin, *The American Family Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1976) and Sam Bass Warner, Jr., *Streetcar Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (Cambridge: [-], 1978).

[5]Some recent historical works have begun to respond to such questions. See for example, Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996); *Corpus Sanum in Domo Sano: The Architecture of the Domestic Sanitation Movement, 1870-1914* (Montreal: Canadian Centre for Architecture, 1991); "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," in *Material History Review 40* (Fall 1994): 29-41; and "The Eichler Home: Intention and Experience in Postwar Suburbia," in *Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture* V, eds. Elizabeth Collins Cromley and Carter L. Hudgins (Knoxville: Univ. of Tennessee Press). See also Allen; Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York's Early Apartments* (Ithica: Cornell University Press, 1990); Hayden; Tania Martin, "Housing the Grey Nuns: Power, Religion and Women in fin-de-siècle Montreal," M.Arch thesis (McGill University, 1995); and Pearson.

college appears notable for its overt coincidence with feminist reform. Its very emergence as a building type during the nineteenth century was predicated on women's struggle to gain access to higher education. Because of its educational objectives however, the residential college has generally been researched from the perspective of academic institutions. Its significance within a feminist history of housing, meanwhile, remains unexplored. How was this collective, middle-class housing type related to other emergent building types identified with women? How did it differ from more conventional middle-class dwellings such as the detached, single-family home, and in what ways was it similar? How did its architecture compare with the architecture of traditionally 'male' spaces? How were social changes represented by the type adapted to familiar patterns, and made to appear non-disruptive? How did all of this affect both the rhetoric of gender and the lives of actual women? Did the occupants further adapt, subvert or redefine its prescriptions through use, and if so, how? Did different groups of female users experience the space differently? How did tensions continue to be negotiated through subsequent alterations and additions to the original type?

In attempting to answer some of these questions, the thesis conducts both a contextual and a spatial analysis of the building. The contextual analysis begins with a brief look at the institution, prior to the construction of the college, with which the college was affiliated. While McGill did not commission the building—it was commissioned by Lord Strathcona and then handed over to the university fully equipped—Strathcona was guided in his approach to both women's education and the design of the college by the university's policies and the attitudes of its then principal, Sir John William Dawson. Drawing largely on Dawson's papers contained in the McGill University Archives, Chapter 1 examines these policies and attitudes, and concludes that the new building was conceived, at least by the institution, as a form of 'damage control'. In the face of disruptive social forces, which saw women gain admission to the university, one of the objectives of the architecture would be to separate and to domesticate McGill's female population in accordance with more conventional social norms.

Chapter 2 is devoted to an analysis of the site, which is considered in terms of overlapping cultural geographies. The choice and development of the site proved to be particularly significant, both in confirming RVC's auxiliary relationship to McGill and in structuring an alternate, independent, and highly prominent relationship to the nucleus of bourgeois women's spaces then emerging around Phillips Square. The chapter also considers the site's relationship to Sherbrooke Street as an upscale residential address. These analyses rely in part on extant architecture, campus maps, and archival photographs, as well as on fire insurance maps found in the Rare Books and Special Collections Library of McGill University. In tracing the formation of Phillips Square as gendered space, the various buildings that came

to shape its borders are analyzed using photographs culled from the McGill University Archives and from the Notman Photographic Archives of the McCord Museum. Turn-of-the-century guidebooks also provided a richly descriptive source. Plans, where available, were used, but sadly (and perhaps significantly), many of the plans for early women's spaces in Montreal have disappeared.

Much of the chapter is devoted to the social and architectural development of Phillips Square as 'feminine' space, women's space, and urban space. Buildings that were located around the Square are analyzed in considerable detail and some, such as the gallery of the Montreal Art Association, are also related to comparable spaces designed primarily for men. These analyses and comparisons are meant to establish both the presence and the features of gendered space within the larger built landscape of middle-class Montreal, and to reveal the gradual transformation of feminine and urban rhetoric that both preceded and informed the design of RVC. In tracing this transformation, the chapter emphasizes the unique significance of Phillips Square as an alternative source of activity, identification and heritage for Montreal's middle-class women in general, and for the future occupants of RVC in particular.

The reconstruction of histories other than those represented by McGill is also the subject of Chapter 3, which locates the building's prototypes not within the history of collegiate design, but within the history of large-scale, commercial dwelling types devised by and for the middle-class. While comparison with traditional collegiate architecture relegates RVC's single, all inclusive structure to a 'lesser' status, an examination of developments in domestic design, particularly as represented by the work of the building's architect, Bruce Price, reveals the transformative and innovative character of the building. Price's designs for large-scale luxury hotels, for example, represented an emergent domestic tradition that combined intimacy and refinement with public monumentality and sociability, and that rivaled other 19th-century public types in prestige and urbanity. An examination of Price's Canadian commissions, meanwhile, reveals RVC's relationship to certain architectural and cultural developments specific to Canada's emergence as a dominion, and thus to developments of national, and not just local, significance. Drawing again on archival photographs, guidebooks, and, where available, plans and drawings, this chapter also looks at promotional material published by the CPR.

The concluding section brings all of this to bear on the RVC itself. Through a spatial analysis of the building, the fourth chapter examines the building's design in relation to the traditions represented by Phillips Square and Price's hotels. The analysis is based on extant architecture, archival photographs, and Price's plans. By drawing on administrative records, student yearbooks and student publications, the chapter is also able to consider some of the ways in which the architect's design was subverted through the techniques of habitation. This

proved the most difficult aspect of the process to reconstruct, due mainly to the scarcity of traces left by the women themselves. While those in charge of the college did leave something of a footprint (visible in terms of the first extension) as well as a paper trail, evidence of students' use was less forthcoming. The domestics who worked at the college, meanwhile, seemed to have disappeared without a trace.

The final chapter moves beyond the 19th century to examine the first extension of the college, and thus the development, over time, of the ideas and attitudes represented by the building, along with any changes its occupants might have wrought. As in earlier chapters, this development is assessed in relation to the development of the McGill campus as a whole, and to other works by the extension's architect, Percy Nobbs. The extant wing; architectural drawings, records and photographs contained in the Percy Nobbs archive at the Canadian Architecture Collection of McGill University's Blackader-Lauterman Library; and the papers of Susan Cameron Vaughan, RVC's warden at the time of the wing's design and construction, aided in the analysis of the extension, as did the letters and memories of a former student, Mrs. Elizabeth MacDonald.

In looking at these various buildings and extensions, all levels of spatial analysis, from urban networks to the details of interior decor, have been deemed significant, and wherever possible, an attempt has been made to combine artifacts of intent with those that speak of use. Modeled in part after the work of cultural landscape and housing historians such as Annmarie Adams, Carolyn Brucken and Elizabeth Collins Cromley, as well as the work of Margaret Gillett, Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, and Martha Vicinus, feminist historians of women's institutions, the thesis constitutes a reappraisal of the building's architectural origins, relationships, and importance. At the level of type, the thesis argues the cultural and historical significance of a dwelling space typically overlooked by housing research. It also argues the significance of its occupants (similarly overlooked) in their role as participating 'architects', actively negotiating spatial relations and social identities.

In referring to the college, Hilda Oakeley, the first warden of RVC, said that "there was the sense of being in a great adventure." What the history of the building illustrates, perhaps above all, is that adventure is not only prompted by rejecting the familiar. Sometimes it is stirred by the familiar reconsidered.

I.

Footprints and Shadows:
Women at McGill, 1884-1899

1.
Institutions:
Space and the Single Woman

In 1884, the landscape inhabited by the women of Montreal's anglophone middle class expanded to include the world of the university, traditionally an enclave of male prestige and power.[1] While this 'territorial' expansion allowed women their first foray onto the McGill campus as students of the university, their presence was not completely without precedent. Though missing from early class lists and yearbook photographs, and all but absent from pay rolls and administrative records, they had made an appearance in the second to last verse of a McGill college song, published in 1879:

> When first I saw the ladies,
> On Convocation Day,
> Sit smiling all in Molson Hall,
> It took my breath away
>
> (followed by the chorus)
>
> We'll have a lady too,
> With lectures done and prizes won,
> We'll have a lady too.[2]

According to the imagery of the song, women first figured on campus as guests rather than as occupants, as demure but appreciative spectators to male ceremony rather than as participants or agents of the action, and as rewards for men's work and achievements. While they appear in the song both collectively ("smiling all") and individually ("We'll have a lady too"), they are perceived indiscriminately and are represented without a voice. Men by contrast, given a voice and subject status through the first-person enunciator, the "I" of the song, are depicted as central to the action, rowdy, active and ambitious, and McGill College, toasted as their "home of fun and knowledge".

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[1] On the history of women at McGill, see Margaret Gillett, *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1981); and Margaret Gillett and Kay Sibbald, eds., *A Fair Share: Autobiographical Essays on McGill Women* (Montreal: Eden Press, 1984). See also Zina Dudkiewicz, "The Women's College, with Special Reference to the Royal Victoria College, McGill University," MA thesis (McGill University, 1982); Donna A. Ronish, "The Development of Higher Education for Women at McGill University From 1857 to 1899 with special reference to the role of Sir John William Dawson," MA thesis (McGill University, 1972); and Muriel V. Roscoe, "The Royal Victoria College, 1899-1962—A Report to the Principal" (Multilith, 1964).

[2] "Our Sheepskin Song," *A Pocket Songbook for the Use of the Students and Graduates of McGill College* (Montreal: 1879); reprinted in Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning, Vol. I, 1801-1895* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985).

Within the culture of the early university, women evidently appeared primarily as evidence of an objectified world (a world to "have") beyond, and distinct from, this male bastion.

The song's construction of the relative positions of margin and center stage as distinct, hierarchical and gendered within the institution was consonant with the rhetorical construction of 'separate spheres' which informed much late nineteenth-century thought and practice. Summarized briefly, this basically middle-class notion defined two realms, or spheres, of social existence to which the different sexes were supposedly suited. Defined in terms of the 'public' and the 'private', this construct functioned to differentiate community enterprise from domestic enterprise, and to organize a series of hierarchical distinctions, as between paid and unpaid labor, recognized and unrecognized political agency, the industrialized world and the natural world, male and female genders. The built environment was similarly territorialized and hierarchized, defining spatially the centrality and dominance of the 'public' city (identified with an urban core) in relation to the secluded 'private' home (increasingly identified with a suburban periphery). While masculinity became a function of commercial and industrial environments, femininity became a function of domestic ones. Sequestered in the home, women, first as dutiful daughters, then as wives and mothers, were construed as virtuous 'helpmeets' to figures of male authority. As ideology, this system of separate spheres presumed to legitimize and naturalize the economic and political dependence of women as a social group within industrial capitalism, and their lack of economic, legal or civic status.[3]

In the example of campus culture discussed above, women's auxiliary status vis-à-vis the *paterfamilias* of the Victorian home is reproduced in the auxiliary position of the song's women vis-à-vis the all-male student body. Given this systematic structuring of gender and the relations of dominance it sought to naturalize, the prospect of women occupying the space of the stage rather than the seats at its margins was effectively problematized. At issue, for the institution involved, was the appropriate socialization,

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[3]On women and their participation in the work force in 19th-century Montreal, see D. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal," *Histoire Sociale—Social History*, vol. 6, no. 12 (Nov. 1973): 202-223. For a feminist analysis of women's history in Quebec, see the Clio Collective, *Quebec Women: A History*, trans. Roger Gannon and Rosalind Gill (Toronto: The Women's Press, 1987). On women's history in the Canadian context, see Linda Kealey, ed., *A Not Unreasonable Claim: Women and Reform in Canada, 1880-1920s* (Toronto: Women's Educational Press, 1979) and Alison Prentice et al, *Canadian Women: A History* (Toronto: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1988). For a useful survey of the rather extensive literature which has addressed the theory of separate spheres, see Linda Kerber, "Separate Spheres, Female Worlds, Woman's Place: The Rhetoric of Woman's History," *Journal of American History*, 75, No. 1 (June 1988): 9-39; see also Mary P. Ryan, *Women in Public: Between Banners and Ballots, 1825-1880* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1990). Recent historians are not alone in contesting the notion of separate spheres. For 19th-century voices of dissent, see for example Charlotte Perkins Gilman, *Women and Economics: A Study of the Economic Relation Between Men and Women as a Social Factor in Evolution*, 2nd ed., ed. Carl N. Degler (Boston: Small, Maynard and Co., 1899; repr., New York: Harper and Row, 1966).

participation and status of middle-class women within an emerging culture of urbanism and professionalism. At stake were certain parameters of patriarchal power.

McGill's relative conservatism on this issue extended beyond the lyrics of the popular drinking song to encompass official policy, which was not amended to admit women until the comparatively late date of 1884. At Mount Allison in Sackville, New Brunswick, women had been eligible for degree programs for more than a decade.[4] Women had been attending Queen's University in Kingston, Ontario, since 1876.[5] The University of Toronto, Ontario had begun accepting women for degrees in 1877, with Acadia in Wolfeville, Nova Scotia and Dalhousie, in Halifax, Nova Scotia, following suit in 1880 and 1881 respectively. Nor did McGill's conservative stance with regard to gender end with its amended policy. Particularly enlightening in this regard are Principal William Dawson's papers, which suggest how the gendered role of women and the notion of separate spheres, seemingly contradicted by women's participation and peer status as students, was to be preserved by the university. His papers also suggest how the organization and articulation of space would prove a crucial component of this conservatism.[6]

McGill, like most North American universities, had developed as an essentially middle-class institution that catered to the upwardly mobile aspirations of the community's young men.[7] Built largely on the numerous endowments it received throughout its early history (the investments of a small but powerful local community of self-made men—

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[4]See John A. Reid, *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963. Vol. 1: 1843-1914* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), pp. 119-120. In 1875, a Mount Allison student, Gracie Annie Lockhart, became the first woman to be awarded a Bachelor's Degree (BSc) in the British Empire.

[5]Isabel Maddison's *Handbook of British, Continental and Canadian Universities with Special Mention of the Courses Open to Women*, 2nd ed. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1899), notes that Queen's had been open to women on the same conditions as for men since its founding in 1830, but that women had only been in attendance since 1876.

[6]Dawson's papers are held at the McGill University Archives, McGill University, Montreal. For an autobiographical collection of Dawson's writing, see Rankin Dawson, ed., *Fifty Years of Work in Canada: Scientific and Educational* (London: Ballantyne, Hanson, 1901). See also Frost, Ronish and Gillett on Dawson, as well as Susan Sheets-Pyenson's *John William Dawson: Faith, Hope and Science* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1996).

[7]For a general history of McGill, see Stanley Brice Frost, *McGill University: For the Advancement of Learning, Vols. I-II* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1985). See also Hugh MacLennan, *McGill: The Story of a University* (Toronto: Nelson and Sons, 1960) and Cyrus MacMillan, *McGill and Its Story, 1821-1921* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1921). In the Quebec context, see Roger Magnuson, *A Brief History of Quebec Education* (Montreal: Harvest House, 1980). On the development of university education in Canada, and for a useful bibliography, see Paul Axelrod and John G. Reid, eds., *Youth, University and Canadian Society: Essays in the Social History of Higher Education* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1989); see also Robin Harris, *A History of Higher Education in Canada, 1663-1960* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976). For a historical analysis of higher education in North America as a predominantly middle-class development, see Burton J. Bledstein, *The Culture of Professionalism: The Middle-Class and the Development of Higher Education in America* (New York: Norton, 1976).

barons of industry, trade and commerce who prospered through the development of industrial capitalism and colonialism), McGill developed a curriculum that prepared its students to enter an expanding array of professions. It sought to foster a spirit of 'friendly competition', independent initiative and social ambition within an increasingly normative framework of rational discipline, standardization and specialization. Ideally, these men were trained not just to improve their social standing but to occupy positions of responsibility within the larger community. The "academical village" of the campus, an expanding group of prestigious, independent buildings overlooking the city, stylistically and functionally varied but organized around a common center, helped manifest these concepts of public life, expansion and power.[8]

In its construction as public space and in its articulation of professional objectives, the 'sphere' of the university had been organized in opposition to that which ostensibly defined the Victorian woman of the middle class, yet it was precisely middle-class women that were requesting access in 1883. Notably, Principal Dawson felt that what was inappropriate, and what posed the threat, not to women, but to womanliness and the stability of gendered relations, was not an education as provided by the liberal arts curriculum, and not the activity of studying (the argument in some quarters), but the environment in which it occurred and the purpose towards which it was put. And therein lay the basis for McGill's approach toward women and education, its solution to its 'woman problem'. In the relationship it would attempt to cultivate between physical environment and social purpose, McGill would deploy its essentially conservative response to social change, one aimed at confirming and maintaining gendered norms of the period.

Dawson's administration oversaw the early stages of both this change and its regulation. He had begun his tenure as Principal of McGill in 1855, a post he retained until ill health and advanced age led to his resignation in 1893. During this time he both encouraged and contributed to a growing network of educational opportunities for women within Montreal: he acted as Principal and lecturer at the McGill Normal School, a teacher's

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[8]Thomas Jefferson introduced the concept of an "academical village" in discussing his campus plan for the University of Viriginia. The plan consisted of a mall lined with buildings, with a central structure as a focal point. A key presumption of the plan was growth by extension. The design, which embraced both traditions and aspirations characteristic of the development of higher education in America, would eventually become both a potent symbol and an influential planning prototype. For a comprehensive history of American university planning and a useful bibliography, see Paul Venable Turner's *Campus: An American Planning Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1984). Women's colleges are examined in greater detail by Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz in *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, (New York: Alfred Knopf, 1984). For a summary architectural history of the McGill campus, see John Bland, "The Story Behind the Buildings of McGill," Part I, *The McGill News*, (Autumn 1958): 2-4,-39; Part II, *McGill News*, (Winter 1958): 14-17; Part III, *McGill News*, (Spring 1959): 24-28. Frost is also useful in outlining the growth of McGill's physical plant. For more on the McGill campus and its relation to the city, see below.

training school for men and women which he had helped to organize when it opened in 1857; a little over a decade later, he assisted in the organization of the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association, which offered lectures and held examinations on a wide range of subjects given by professors of McGill. During this time he was also involved in the establishment of the public Montreal High School for Girls and with the Trafalgar Institute, a private equivalent. He obviously endorsed, and did much to provide for, a comprehensive system of formal education for women.

In pursuing such endeavors however, he maintained that, though women were, "not inferior and incapable of higher learning," there remained a "certain difference of . . . temperament in the sexes, requiring to be regarded in their education."[9] He also assumed that while, "the greater number of young men who pass through our colleges do so under the compulsion of a necessity to fit themselves for certain professions....the great majority of those [young women] who obtain what is regarded as higher culture, do so merely as a means of general improvement and to fit themselves better to take their proper place in society."[10] Dawson felt that women's 'proper' place was not, "as future lawyers, physicians, politicians or even teachers, but as future wives and mothers." Dawson saw women—defined as universally possessing, by virtue of their sex, an inherent and superior sense of virtue, "a true instinct of goodness . . . nature to the heart of woman, in all climes and in all states of civilization," as well as a refined sense of culture and "high mental qualities"—as 'naturally' suited to roles as wives and mothers.[11] He felt that they needed only appropriate "direction" to ensure that such family-oriented assets, which would be of service to men, were not lost to "low and pernicious tastes." Higher education would thus ensure professional men a supply of 'helpmeets' of similar sense and sensibilities: women of cultured tastes, Christian virtue, and disciplined intellect who could assist men in their careers and serve as both, "the guide and ornament of the family."[12]

A passage from Dawson's 1871 *Introductory Lecture to the First Session of the Ladies' Educational Association of Montreal*, also entitled *Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women*, is particularly revealing in this regard,

> No influence is so powerful for good over young men as that of educated female society. Nothing is so strong to uphold the energies or to guide the decisions of the greatest and most useful men, as the sympathy and advice of her who can look at affairs without, from the quiet sanctuary of home, and can bring to bear on them the

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[9]Sir J. William Dawson, *Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women—the Introductory Lecture to the First Session of the Classes of the Ladies' Educational Association of Montreal*, Oct. 1871, p. 5. See McGill University Archives (MUA), RG 42, C 1, F 30, "Dawson, Sir William, 1871-1897."

[10]Dawson, *Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women*, p. 6.

[11]Dawson, *Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women*, p. 7.

[12]Dawson, "Educated Women," Dec. 1889, p. 9, MUA, RG 2, C 44, F 58.

> quick tact and ready resources of a cultivated woman's mind. In this, the loftier sphere of domestic duty, companionship and true co-partnership with man, woman requires high culture quite as much as if she had alone and unshielded to fight the battle of life.[13]

What is perhaps most significant about Dawson's address to the MLEA with regard to the argument being made here is that it was *not* a "vindication of the rights of women,"[14] but rather a vindication of the institution within the social order. While women's intellectual ability was not in question, women's social function was. As an apologist for women's higher education, Dawson saw the university as a way of channeling that ability back into the home, the realm of women's ostensible function, augmenting women's social 'value' in that regard (as well as augmenting the social value of the university), and thereby confirming existing social relations.

In ascertaining how best to do this, Dawson undertook a study of the available prototypes among educational institutions open to women. His findings appear in the *Report on the Higher Education of Women,* presented to the Corporation of McGill University in October, 1884.[15] While Dawson admired American women's colleges, the report constitutes a study of British examples, conducted while on a trip to England in 1883. One section of the report is devoted to "Separate or Mixed Education." In this section, examples of each method are discussed and their relative merits weighed. The issue of separate versus co-education, central to the construction of the debate which surrounded women's higher education not just in Canada, but in the United States and abroad, was both a social and a spatial one. Maintaining the physical separation of men and women served a number of functions. Favored by Dawson and many, though not all, of his colleagues, it had allowed McGill to stall initially on the issue of admitting women.[16] The most costly of the various possible options, McGill was able to rationalize its early inactivity on a chronic shortage of funds. When the money was finally provided, in the form of an initial benefaction of $50,000 (later enlarged to a sum total of $1,000,000), the benefactor, Donald A. Smith (later Lord Strathcona) made explicit his intent that it be used to provide entirely separate classes for women, with the aim of establishing a separate

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[13]Dawson, *Thoughts on the Higher Education of Women*, p. 8.

[14]See Mary Wollstonecraft, *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman*, 1792

[15]Dawson, *Report on the Higher Education of Women*, 1884, MUA, RG 42, C 1, F 30, "Dawson, Sir William, 1871-1897."

[16]A notable exception was John Clarke Murray, who felt women should be admitted "without any more ado" and maintained, unlike Dawson, that woman's education should provide her with the means to support herself economically, and this as a means of freeing herself from her enforced dependency on men: "It was but a cruel jest to preserve social usages by which vast numbers of women must either marry or starve, and then jeer [at] them for the eagerness with which they choose the more tolerable of these fates." Quoted in Frost, p. 255.

women's college.[17] Such were the administrative, financial and legal incentives for a gendering of institutional space.

Reasons for Strathcona's interest in the training and education of women remain conjectural. In *We Walked Very Warily: A History of Women at McGill*, educational historian Margaret Gillett speculates that Strathcona's sister Margaret, who died in 1841 at the age of twenty-seven, may have been influential, and quotes a letter written by Strathcona to his brother John: "You are quite right in thinking that, in the matter of this college, the memory of our sister Margaret was present in my mind. You well remember her gifts and her ambition to become a scholar." Gillette also notes, however, that there is no other mention of his sister in relation to the college. She then draws attention to the probable role of Lucy Stanynought Simpson, a longtime friend of Lord Strathcona, who was head of one of Montreal's most prestigious girl's schools and also active in the Montreal Ladies' Educational Association. According to one of McGill's earliest women graduates, it was at the instigation of Mrs. Simpson that Donald Smith, "called upon the Principal whom he had not hitherto met, and offered him the Donalda Endowment with the result that the financial obstacles were removed."[18] Gillette also concludes that Strathcona's views on separate education were guided in the main by Dawson. The initial benefaction, which came as a surprise to Dawson, did not specify separate education as a condition of the gift, but as his connection with McGill increased, so did his conservatism in this regard.[19]

Thus the territorial expansion experienced by McGill's first female students was to be incomplete at best. Initially it was restricted to the Redpath Museum, albeit an imposing building of resolutely classical design, in which separate classes, a waiting room and a chaperon were hastily provided.[20] By 1886 these classes had been moved to a space between the central Arts building, the original seat of the university, and its east wing, which housed the Principal's residence. It is worth noting that despite the building's state

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[17]For the terms of Strathcona's endowment, see MUA, RG 42, C 2, F 152, "Lord Strathcona - Deed of Gift." See also RG 42, C 1, F 3 and 8 for "Extracts from the Will of the Founder and Royal Charters," and RG 4, C 189, F 11171, "Royal Victoria College: Charter and Incorporation, 1886-1921." For biographical accounts of Lord Strathcona, see Donna McDonald, *Lord Strathcona: A Biography of Donald Alexander Smith* (Toronto: Dundurn Press, c. 1996); William T. R. Preston's *The Life and Times of Lord Strathcona* (Toronto: McClelland, Goodchild and Stewart, 1915); and Beckles Willson's *The Life of Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal, 1820-1914* (Toronto: Cassell, 1915). Among the products of Strathcona's many endowments was the nurses' residence at the Royal Victoria Hospital, which bears pronounced similarities to the design of RVC and suggests a consistent gendering of spaces for women within the urban landscape. On the residence, see Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Revue/Revue d'histoire de la culture materielle* 40 (Fall 1994), pp. 29-41.

[18]Mrs. F. P. Shearwood, quoted in Gillett, p. 159.

[19]See Gillett, pp. 70, 82, 89-90, 151-159.

[20]For more on the Redpath Museum, see the following chapter.

of disrepair at that time, Georgina Hunter, one of McGill's first female students, recalled the pride of place invoked by this "local habitation that we could proudly call our own."[21] Recollections of incoming rain and the occasional invasion of rats notwithstanding, its location had fostered a sense of identity with the student body and university purpose. Ms. Hunter was also able to recall fondly the adventure of walking across campus commons in academic dress, the outward symbol and ritual enactment of a newfound independence. According to an article published in *Old McGill* in 1902, McGill women were, under this early arrangement, "a law unto [them]selves."[22] By 1899, however, these so-called 'make-shift', or temporary arrangements came to an end with the completion of the Royal Victoria College. In keeping with the terms of Lord Strathcona's endowment, female students had been provided with a single, purpose-built structure in which to house the varied functions of a separate college. Set back a slight distance from Sherbrooke Street, between University and Shuter Streets, it stood removed from the academic village that comprised the main campus, its architecture imbued with domestic references. Fifteen years after first gaining access to the campus, women at McGill once again found themselves relegated to the perimeter. And once again they found themselves cast as genteel guests, this time by virtue of a building that resembled, among other things, a "big ladies' hotel".[23]

This "big ladies' hotel" was, however, no mean building. As an emergent type, grand hotels provided, like the Royal Victoria College, architectural confirmation of women's presence within the built landscape, as well as new ways of perceiving domesticity. If the occupants of RVC would still be, in many ways, 'at home', they would now be at home within the middle-class city. And they would not be home alone.

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[21]Georgina Hunter, "In the Beginning," *McGill News*, X (March, 1929), p. 14.

[22]"Donalda Class History," *Old McGill*, 1902, p. 47.

[23]The reference to the hotel comes from the following anecdote which appeared in the *McGill Fortnightly* (Dec. 9, 1897), p. 97: Two people were passing our [the Donaldas'] College-to-be. "What a fine building!" one exclaimed. "Yes," replied her companion. "A big ladies' hotel, is it not?"

II.

Perspectives and Prototypes:

A Contextual and Genealogical Analysis

2.

Geographies:
Campus Greens, Commercial Grids and Gendered Connections

In keeping with both prevailing ideology and institutional intent, the design of Lord Strathcona's residential college would seek, like other late 19th-century buildings designed primarily for women, to separate and to domesticate.[1] Given the domestic ideals of the time, however, residential experience as shaped by the new building would prove rife with contradictions and inconsistencies. Some of these contradictions and inconsistencies would take shape even before work on the building began. The site, for example, purchased by Lord Strathcona in 1886 for the express purpose of building the new college, was one that stood just north of Sherbrooke Street opposite the termination of Union Avenue (fig. 1). Previously the site of an elegant Italianate mansion owned by Alexander Buntin (fig. 2), it was cut off from the main campus plan and surrounded by residential properties to the east, north and west. Its location thus appeared in keeping with Strathcona's and Dawson's wishes to create a 'separate sphere' for women at McGill. Yet the site was also at the head of a public axis and, by 1899, sufficiently urban in both orientation and location to be inconsistent with 'separate sphere' rhetoric in the larger sense. Informed by a surprising array of spatial relationships and conflicting significations, the site would belie centrality as well as marginality, connection as well as separation, urbanity as well as domesticity, and in its use, change as well as continuity.

The Home of Fun and Knowledge: McGill University

Among the principal spatial relationships shaping the site's social dimensions was its relationship to the main campus of the university. By 1899, the McGill campus represented a considerable tract of prime Montreal real estate located on the southern slopes of Mount Royal. Fronting Sherbrooke Street, a principal thoroughfare that ran from Papineau in the east to the western limits of the city and outlying municipalities, the campus continued north, occupying most of the area bordered by University Street to the east, McTavish Street to the west and Carlton Road to the north (fig. 3).[2] It thus held a commanding position within, and covered a sizeable portion of, Montreal's famed 'Golden Square Mile', an area bordered by Dorchester Boulevard, Cotes des Neiges Road and

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[1] One of the only scholarly works to examine domesticity as a defining characteristic of women's institutions during the late 19th century is Martha Vicinus' *Independent Women: Work and Community for Single Women, 1850-1920* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, c. 1985).

[2] The length of Sherbrooke Street represented the extent of continuous development (both urban and suburban) on the island of Montreal at the time. The street itself was renown for the many mansions and collegiate institutions that bordered it.

Bleury Street—an area roughly synonymous with the St. Antoine Ward.[3] Once the rural estate of James McGill, the gently sloping campus had, by the end of the 19th century, lost neither its scenic quality nor, topographically speaking, its lofty position with respect to the city's predominantly industrial districts to the east and its mercantile districts to the south. Unlike the earlier Burnside estate however, which had been surrounded by fields, the 1899 campus was surrounded by the grid of a populous and elegant neighborhood, one that laid claim to being the enclave of the nation's richest and most powerful citizens.[4] It was a neighborhood that boasted a preponderance of notable mansions and elegant townhouses, as well as a variety of prestigious clubs, luxury hotels, department stores, theatres, museums and galleries.[5] The university, its campus open to the surrounding neighbourhood, had developed as an integral part of this elite urban district.[6]

The university's campus also expressed, however, many of the spatial attributes of a distinct community. Roughly U-shape in plan, the expanding institution had grown in a manner suggestive of Jefferson's academic village, that is, along three sides of an open, extendible mall. But unlike Jefferson's arcaded University of Virginia, separate faculties and/or departments were housed in freestanding buildings, and residential accommodation was conspicuously absent.[7] According to a campus plan circa 1901 (fig. 3), all of the

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[3]The city of Montreal, strategically located at the confluence of the Ottawa and St. Lawrence Rivers, had become the commercial centre and social hub of the new dominion of Canada, and its Square Mile, home to the country's commercial elite. By the end of the 19th century, 'Square Milers'—historically "fur traders, Victorian merchants princes and Edwardian capitalists"—controlled two-thirds of Canada's wealth and represented the largest concentration of capital within the British Commonwealth outside of England. See Donald Mackay, *The Square Mile: Merchant Princes of Montreal* (Toronto: Douglas and McIntyre, 1987). For architectural histories of the Square Mile, see François Rémillard, *Demeures Bourgeoises de Montreal: Le Mille Carré Doré, 1850-1930* (Montreal: Editions du Méridien, 1986); Julia Gersovitz, "The Square Mile, Montreal, 1860-1914," Masters thesis (Columbia University, 1980); and Christina Cameron, ed., *Mansions of the Golden Square Mile* (Montreal, 1976). On McGill's (symbiotic) relationship to the development of the Square Mile, see Frost.

[4]By the turn of the century, Montreal's social geography was clearly keyed to elevation, with the wealthy occupying a continuous zone at the foot of the mountain. Above Sherbrooke Street between University and Guy Streets, for example, where owner occupied mansions were predominant, the median annual rent was over $540. From Sherbrooke to Dorchester, and west to Victoria, the median annual rent was $301-$540, and $181-$300 respectively. Rental rates dropped sharply south of Dorchester and east of Bleury. See *The Historical Atlas of Canada, Vol. III* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1987), Plate 49.

[5]While the greater part of the originai Burnside estate had been sold, the value of the property retained by the university had increased greatly due to the surrounding development. McGill had, to a remarkable degree, been able to control the nature of that development. All lots between Dorchester and Sherbrooke were sold on special conditions that barred all industry from the area and 'zoned' it for polite residential, commercial and professional use, i.e. for bourgeois development. See Edgar Andrew Collard, *The Saint James Club: The Story of the Beginnings of the St. James's Club* (Montreal: Gazette Printing Co., 1957), p. 35.

[6]Much of its physical plant had been financed by benefactors residing in the Square Mile—most notably Redpath, Macdonald and Strathcona.

[7]In these respects McGill's campus development owed more to earlier American, as well as Scottish, prototypes. McGill's first men's residence would not be constructed until 1937. The university's

university's principal facilities were either represented within this developing 'U' or located within the city block that it occupied. The Arts Building, the original seat of the university and focal point of the plan, stood at the head of the mall; Engineering, which already consisted of three independent structures, formed the eastern side; while cultural facilities—museums and libraries—occupied the western side.[8] The Medical Building, which housed McGill's most celebrated faculty, was situated slightly northeast of the Arts Building, giving it a slightly loftier, more visible position and one closer to the Royal Victoria Hospital.[9] The Diocesan and Congregational colleges were denominational branches of an avowedly nondenominational institution and were correspondingly marginalized in their respective locations outside the campus proper.[10] Only the Presbyterian College, which represented the denomination of many of the city's most influential citizens, was permitted along the university's main circulatory route. This was a route that began at Sherbrooke, at the termination of McGill College, where both pedestrian and carriage traffic entered the campus and continued north towards the Arts Building along a gradually ascending, tree-lined extension of the McGill College axis. Traffic was then allowed to branch out along tributary footpaths toward the various buildings that faced onto the campus lawn. All of these buildings, though stylistically varied, were of grey Montreal limestone and imposing dimensions.

McGill was therefore in possession of a centralized, outward-looking campus by the turn of the century. Both spacious and dignified, it was coherent in its organization, expansive in its assumptions, and ceremonial in character. Having developed around an open, communal green space, a unifying focal point, and processional, as well as casual, forms of circulation, it had created a public stage for university life. It was a stage imbued with a sense of growth, collective purpose and public ceremony and served to distinguish the institution as both a distinct community and a powerful presence within the Square Mile.[11]

The site selected for the new women's college was located just east of this campus.

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position on housing for male students is discussed in Frost. On the development of the colonial campus as a loosely knit group of freestanding buildings, see Turner.

[8]On the development of the pre-1900 campus, see Bland and Frost.

[9]RVH, a teaching hospital affiliated with the university and endowed by Lord Strathcona and Lord Mount Stephen, was located farther up the hill, at the juncture of Pine Avenue and University. For more on the hospital and its evolving relation to McGill, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

[10]On McGill's staunch position as a nondenominational university, see Frost. In *History of Montreal including The Streets of Montreal: Their origin and history* (Montreal: D. Gallagher, 1897), p. 208, the Rev. J. Douglas Borthwick notes that McGill was originally intended as a Church of England institution, but had long since become a "cosmopolitan unsectarian Alma Mater."

[11]The key elements of the turn-of-the-century campus remain intact as the nucleus of McGill's lower campus yet today.

Like the respective locations of the denominational colleges, this location placed the college outside the main campus block and the village community it signified. Bound by Sherbrooke Street to the south and residential properties to the east and north, the women's site was cut off from the nearby campus and its flow of circulation by the residential properties lining the eastern side of the campus along University Street, the street itself, and the intervening residential properties of Mrs. Learmont and Joseph Tiffin. In this manner, RVC's potential identification with McGill's academic village was effectively minimized, despite the proximity of the two sites.

A number of other identifications would be enhanced, however. A photographic view taken by the Montreal photographers Wallis and Shepherd—one looking east on Sherbrooke Street shortly after the college opened—is revealing in this respect (fig. 4). The photograph is rare in that it is taken of the street rather than of the college, and so conveys some sense of the college's immediate surroundings. Yet neither it nor the more typical, commissioned representations of the college (fig. 5) give any indication of RVC's institutional context. Instead, the streetscape depicted in the Wallis and Shepherd scene, which reveals some of the private homes that surrounded the RVC site in its early years, places the college within a strictly residential context. This impression is strengthened by the steep gables of the college's picturesque roofline and the graceful arches of its sheltering portico, features that are accentuated by the oblique angle of the photograph. The photo's composition exploits these features by linking the arched windows of the two foreground houses, the arched portico of the college in the middle ground, and the arching boughs of the distant trees into a single trajectory of rhythmic repetitions, thus creating an unbroken flow of movement that not only directs the eye along the street and into the picture plane, but blurs the distinction between the RVC, its neighbouring buildings and the tree-lined street. While effectively obscuring the freestanding nature of the RVC structure, the sharply angled viewpoint also helps to minimize what was in fact a considerable discrepancy in scale between the new college building and the private homes that surrounded it.

Photographs of the original St. Hilda's college (Eden Smith, completed in 1899), the women's college of Trinity College, Toronto, reveal a similar tendency to downplay the institutional function of such buildings and accentuate instead their domestic character. Notably, the photograph most commonly chosen to represent the early college (it appears in an unpublished commemorative album on Trinity as well as the only published history of the college) is also taken at an oblique angle and provides only fragments of picturesque, shaded verandas, shuttered windows and shingled, gabled roofs glimpsed from behind the

foliage of trees, shrubs and vines (fig. 6a).[12] The view is of a side entrance and a narrow, diagonal approach of flagstones which, cast in shadow and apparently emerging from a wooded area, leads to the building. This romantic image suggests a relaxed, informal building of modest dimensions nestled in a protective natural surround and is intended to evoke notions of domestic coziness. This photo is in sharp contrast to a full frontal photo of the college found in the institution's archives. In this early photograph (fig. 6b) the viewer is allowed a clear view of the college which, built of brick and not yet obscured by foliage, actually rises above the surrounding landscape.

Like the more widely circulated St. Hilda's photograph, the Wallis and Shepherd photograph's identification of RVC with/as an essentially residential environment, while a deliberate construction on the part of the photographers, owes much to both the choice of site and the subsequent design of the college itself as a single, multi-purpose structure. If the main campus of McGill, with its group of buildings arranged around a common green, suggested the academic 'village' and 'public' life, RVC suggested, through its single building status and relative marginalization, 'private' life and the residential periphery, a socio-spatial zone commonly prescribed for women by both popular advice journals and such influential author/architects as Andrew Jackson Downing. The architectural pattern books of Downing, for example, which had helped to disseminate and popularize the detached suburban villa as an 'ideal' dwelling type among North America's growing middle-class, included not just architectural plans and romantic etchings done in perspective, but accompanying text that elaborated on the ideals of domesticity as a protected sphere of womanly influence (fig. 7).[13]

In keeping with this spatialization of 'separate spheres' ideology, the majority of women's colleges found themselves located not only some distance from their affiliate universities, but well outside the city or town proper. The women's residential college of

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[12]See Trinity College Archives and T. A. Reed, ed., *A History of the University of Trinity College, 1852-1952* [Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1952]

[13]A. J. Downing, *The Architecture of Country Houses* (1850; repr. New York: Da Capo Press, 1968). See also Henry Hudson Holly, *Modern Dwellings in Town and Country* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1878). On the architectural organization of the home as a 'separate sphere', see Clifford Clark, Jr., *The American Family Home, 1800-1960* (Chapel Hill: Univ. of North Carolina Press, 1986; Clark, "Domestic Architecture as an Index to Social History: The Romantic Revival and the Cult of Domesticity in America, 1840-1890," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 7 (Summer 1976) and David Handlin, *The American Family Home: Architecture and Society, 1815-1915* (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1979). For a discussion of countercurrents, see Dolores Hayden, *The Grand Domestic Revolution: A History of Feminist Designs for American Homes, Neighborhoods and Cities* (Cambridge: MIT Press, 1981). On the advice literature directed at women, see Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, *For Her Own Good: 150 Years of Experts' Advice to Women* (London: Pluto, 1979). See Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Model Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); and Margaret Marsh, *Suburban Lives* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1990), on the relationship of ideologies of women and nature to the process of suburbanization.

Girton (Alfred Waterhouse, 1873), located two miles outside of Cambridge, England, is a well-known example. Newnham College (Basil Champneys, 1874-1910), though less remote, was built in a Cambridge suburb. The site for Royal Holloway (W.H. Crossland, opened 1886) meanwhile, was an estate eighteen miles from London. An early college prospectus had this to say about the location and site: "[the Founder] decided in favour of Mount Lee, Egham, chiefly on account of the great healthfulness and beauty of the situation and the large extent of the grounds, which would enable the students to lead a thoroughly open-air country life."[14] The 'Seven Sister' colleges attest to a similar trend in the United States: Mount Holyoke (1837) was built on a 10-acre pasture in the provincial setting of South Hadley; the much-admired Vassar (James Renwick Jr., 1865) was erected on a secluded, picturesque country site two miles from Poughkeepsie; Wellesley (Hammett Billings, 1875) rose on a country estate outside Boston; and Bryn Mawr (1885) was built five miles outside Haverford, Conneticut. Radcliffe (1879), though based in Cambridge, Massachusetts, and conceived as an annex to Harvard, "built no college structures, and thus had no physical presence in the town." Only Smith (1875), which was located near the centre of Northhampton, and Barnard (1889), which was located across from the Morningside Heights campus of Columbia in New York city, occupied town or city sites.[15]

Not only women's educational institutions, of course, were located near the outskirts of towns and cities. During the 19th century, ideas about men's higher education and the design of their educational institutions, particularly in North America, developed according to many and varied models and complex cultural influences, some of which encouraged monastic or pastoral settings. English models, for example, continued to be

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[14]*The Royal Holloway College for Women*, 1895, quoted in Caroline Bingham, *The History of Royal Holloway College, 1886-1986* (London: Constable and Company, 1987). For discussions of Newnham, see Mark Girouard, *Sweetness and Light: The Queen Anne Movement 1860-1900* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) and "Victorian Sweetness and Light: Newnham College, Cambridge," *Country Life*, 16 Dec. 1971, 1704-6. Very brief but useful mention of Newnham is also found in Nicholas Ray, *Cambridge Architecture: A Concise Guide* (NY: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994). See also Katharine St. John Conway, "Life at Newnham," *The Young Woman*, Vol. 3 (Oct. 1894); "The Education of Women. A Visit to Somerville College," *The Young Woman* (Vol. 5, Oct. 1896); "A Visit to Alexandra House," *The Young Woman*, Vol. 8 (Oct. 1899); and "Girls and Their Colleges," The Woman's Herald (Jan. 21, 1893), (March 2, 1893), (May 25, 1893) and (June 15, 1893) for women's accounts of the British colleges. General Scottish developments can be traced through Shiela Hamilton's "The First Generation of University Women 1869-1930," *Four Centuries: University Life 1583-1983*, ed. Gordon Donaldson (Edinburgh: Univ. of Edinburgh Press, 1983).

[15]Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* (NY: Alfred Knopf, 1984). For gender-oriented analyses of collegiate architecture elsewhere in America, see Annabel Wharton's "Gender, Architecture and Institutional Self-Presentation: The Case of Duke University," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 90 (1), 1991: 175-217; and Ned Crankshaw's "Changing Images at Shimer College: From Rural Home to Collegiate Quadrangle," *Illinois Historical Journal* Vol. 86 (Autumn, 1993): 159-180.

informed, in the main, by the collegiate ideals and cloistered forms of Oxford and Cambridge, which first took shape during the 14th century.[16] Consisting of enclosed, defensive structures in which students and teachers lived and studied together in tight, self-contained communities, 'Ox-bridge' quadrangles nonetheless emerged as extendible forms within, not outside, their respective towns. Continental models, meanwhile, were based on non-collegiate traditions. Such models interpreted the university as a fundamentally urban institution and located their facilities accordingly. Scottish models, though tending to adopt the quadrangular form of their British counterparts, developed according to a non-collegiate tradition and were also located in or near cities. It was the developing North American type, vacillating between collegiate and non-collegiate models, that introduced the Romantic notion of the college set in nature. By the latter decades of the century however, this ideal was realized not so much through the rural or suburban isolation of institutions of higher education, as through the development of the campus as a green space within towns and cities.[17] Men's universities and colleges therefore occupied a variety of locations by the turn of the century, some more urban than others. Dominant traditions and developments favored central, accessible sites, however, and by the turn of the century, secluded men's institutions were the exception rather than the rule.[18] Only land grant colleges, a North American development of the late 19th and early 20th centuries that targeted agricultural communities, favored remote locations consistently.[19] Where men's institutions *were* remotely situated, affiliated women's institutions were typically even more removed in their location. Such was the case with many Canadian women's colleges, such as the original St. Hilda's, and Hellmuth's Ladies' College (fig. 8), an affiliate of Western University in London, Ontario. Illustrations in a college handbook place both Hellmuth and its Ladies' College in pastoral landscapes, but the accompanying text points out that the two colleges were a mile apart, the ladies' being one mile from the city (the text also stressed that the ladies' college was surrounded by 40 acres of land).[20]

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[16]For a discussion of an alternate model evident in England during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, see Sophie Morgan, "The Architecture of Science and the Idea of a University," in *Studies in History and Philosophy of Science*, Vol. 20, No. 4, 1989: 405-434.

[17]See Turner.

[18]Economics obviously played a role in the siting of these institutions, but it did not become a major factor until the 20th century, by which time many major universities and colleges had experienced not only unprecedented expansion, but expansion crises complicated by the high cost and growing scarcity of urban land. Formal campus planning emerged to address the challenge of the next century and the new planner-architects, with optimistic zeal, frequently recommended outlying locations, where land was both plentiful and cheap. See Turner.

[19]North American schools of household science and home economics, which were aimed at women, were developed as part of land grant/agricultural colleges.

[20]Hellmuth College and Hellmuth Ladies' College Handbook, 1869. Note that in depicting the ladies' college environment, an adjacent church was included in the illustration.

That RVC was not more remotely situated is therefore rather surprising. For while its location was consistent with the positioning of a domestic suburb—i.e., at the outer margins—in the context of the 'village' hierarchy mapped out by the main McGill campus, it was *not* located in the literal hinterlands.[21] On the contrary, its location vis-à-vis the larger city was essentially that of McGill's: a central one of power and prestige.[22] One explanation for RVC's unusual proximity to its parent institution is suggested by a "Special Announcement" published on the occasion of the college's opening. It explains, as if by way of apology, that the college was erected, ". . . in close proximity to McGill University, so as to render it possible for the Professors and Lecturers of the University to give their services in the conduct of the College classes,"—i.e., for the convenience of the male professors of McGill.[23] Ironically, it was the complete autonomy of many women's institutions that made their physical isolation possible. RVC, however, would benefit from the best of both worlds. While administrative independence was guaranteed by the College Charter, which stipulated that RVC would retain its own corporate identity, separate administration and separate government, as well as its own resident Warden (or 'Lady Principal') and a small resident teaching staff, RVC's partial use of McGill professors apparently helped to secure the college its unique urban location.[24]

Whether consideration for McGill professors was the only, or even primary, reason behind the choice of location, the site's prominent position within the evolving middle-class city was an extremely significant one, and hints at the complexity of spatial relations that would shape life both within and beyond RVC. For while the site appeared a peripheral, and therefore minor one in its relation to the landscape of McGill, it was otherwise prominent, both in its relation to other important sites within the city (in particular, others shaped by and/or for middle-class women), and as a residential site. With its southern

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[21]The Macdonald Agricultural College of McGill University, which included McGill's School of Household Science, was located outside Montreal in Ste. Anne de Belleview. Unlike RVC, its campus, consisted of multiple freestanding structures. On the history of the college, see Helen R. Neilson, *MacDonald College of McGill University, 1907-1988: A Profile of a Campus* (Montreal: Corona Publishers, 1989).

[22]While atypical, RVC's central location was not entirely without precedent among Canadian women's colleges. Mount Allison, though located in the small rural town of Sackville, New Brunswick, occupied a prominent site and had long marked the heart of the local community. John A. Reid's article, "The Education of Women at Mount Allison, 1854-1914," *Acadiensis* XII, 2 (Spring 1983): 3-33; and Volume 1 of his two-volume history of the university, *Mount Allison University: A History, to 1963* (Univ. of Toronto Press, 1984) provide the only discussion of Mount Allison's architecture to date.

[23]"Royal Victoria College, McGill University, Montreal—Special Announcement, 1899-1900," MUA, RG 42, C. 1. The convenience of the female staff and students of RVC was evidently not the principal consideration.

[24]College Charter. The charter also stipulated that the college was to have a 'Matron-Housekeeper' and a resident servant staff. Unless other evidence surfaces, any further speculation as to the reasons behind the location remain conjectural.

orientation, for example, the new residential college would provide the grand and elegant termination of a vista linking it, not to the university, but to the middle-class cultural and commercial district that was then emerging along Ste. Catherine Street to the south.[25]

—Some Further Considerations regarding the local Scene, whereupon our Heroine turns Forty-five Degrees due South, surveys the Grid below, and sets out to explore her Relationship to the Middle-Class City—

Axes to Grind: Union Avenue

The building's position at the culmination of this vista was significant for a number of reasons. Historically, major urban focal points had been reserved for palatial, governmental and/or ecclesiastic buildings. The placement of such buildings at the termination of urban axes heightened the buildings' visibility and facilitated processional rituals, thus underlining their public stature and collective significance. Such configurations also figured as impressive spatializations of masculinity.[26] Striking in their command over public space, buildings so situated structured the surrounding area by *centralizing* both vision and movement and directing them, in a compelling and linear fashion, toward a singular, culminating thrust (thus attempting to control deep perspectival space through direct penetration). They were also fitting spatializations of the nature and role of state and church institutions in pre-industrial cities. Within such cities, which were fuelled by agrarian economies and were therefore primarily administrative in function and relatively stable in character, governmental and/or ecclesiastic sites served as the principal seats and symbols of authority; as functional points of origin, destination and/or convergence during public rituals and ceremonies; and as major architectural landmarks, or orientation devices.

By the latter part of the 19th century, however, these privileged and heavily coded locations were being given over, at least in part, to a wide array of new, middle-class

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[25]Although the commercial district was spreading west along St. Catherine, it had originated, and remained centered, around the intersection of Union and St. Catherine, just two blocks south of the RVC site.

[26]Like this paper's use of the term femininity, masculinity is meant to refer not to an 'essential', or positivist concept of identity and behaviour, but to a cultural construct. The masculinist paradigm referred to here corresponds to the traditionally dominant paradigm of western civilization, as theorized by such French philosophers, literary critics and feminist writers as Luce Iragary and Hélèn Cixous. Their theories are based, in part, in psychoanalytic theory and relate modalities of sexuality and sexual pleasure to modalities of human existence and interaction. Put simply, masculine sexuality, represented by the phallus, is understood to privilege the visible over the invisible, the singular over the plural, the centralized over the diffuse (the 'big bang', as opposed to 'polymorphous perversity'), the end over the means, and the desire to penetrate, i.e., colonize, and subjugate, over the desire to receive and cultivate. Masculinist paradigms are also understood to privilege the linear and the rational, or scientific. See Elaine Marks and Isabelle de Courtivron, eds., *New French Feminisms* (NY: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1981) and Irigary's *This Sex Which Is Not One* (Ithaca: Cornell Univ. Press, 1985) for the early crystallization of such thought.

building types, types that no longer signalled the centralization of power in the state and the church. Representing industry, trade, commerce and culture, these new urban focal points emerged as emblematic of a revised socio-economic order (one contingent on the newly industrialized, commercial city) and an amended hierarchy of urban spaces. They also took on new and expanded significance as key coordinates in the rationalization of cities. Cities, now conceived in terms of dynamic, constantly expanding, and integrated models, rather than as static, highly stratified compositions of discrete units, were being consciously reorganized as a series of extensive and interconnecting networks. With a new emphasis on systemic communication and efficiency, urban areas were now being linked together by public sewage, lighting and transportation services, and related in other broad, practical ways. Accordingly, axial focal points were no longer perceived as ends in themselves, but as strategic links in a chain, or nodes in a network.[27]

It is in relation to this evolving history of the axial focal point then, a history concerned with public prominence and masculine constructs, with socio-economic shifts and urban transformations, that the feminist implications of the RVC site begin to emerge, at least in the context of 19th-century paradigms of femininity. In occupying the terminal point of a public axis, the women's residential college would not only enhance its visibility and stature, but would assume an essentially masculine stance.[28] As a seat and symbol of secular, middle-class culture and authority, it would also typify the new building types now gracing the vistas of bourgeois cities, and act as an emblem of the new socio-economic order. As a seat and symbol of middle-class women however, it was unique among such building types. Indeed, it would set a precedent as such, at least among the axial focal points of Montreal.[29] As a seat and symbol of middle-class women it would not stand alone, however, and this was perhaps the most significant, and most 'modern', aspect of the site. As a link between the prestigious residential and collegiate development running

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[27]The redesign of Paris, implemented by Baron Haussman from 1850-1870, exemplified these new tendencies in urban design and development, and set an international precedent for many years to come. On the transformation of Paris and the design and coordination of its many axial focal points, see Howard Saalman, *Haussman: Paris Transformed* (New York: George Braziller, 1971) and Norma Evenson, *Paris: A Century of Change, 1878-1978* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1979). On the late 19th-century city's preoccupation with circulation and systems, see Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses and Women, 1870-1900.*

[28]It should be noted however, that Sherbrooke Street veers slightly north at this point, and the college axis, which runs perpendicular to Sherbrooke, is therefore not a true, i.e. geometrically precise, continuation of the Union Street axis (unlike the neighbouring McGill University axis, which *is* a direct continuation of the McGill College Avenue axis). Nor was Union Avenue planned or developed in the manner of a baroque avenue, i.e, as a broad, formal axis given emphasis by subsidiary, uniform building facades.

[29]In occupying the terminal point of an urban axis, it was also unique among Canadian residential colleges for women.

east-west along Sherbrooke Street and the new commercial and cultural development to the south, it would serve to connect key sites, not just of bourgeois life, but of feminine culture and women's enterprise. The intersection of Union and Ste. Catherine, for example, two blocks due south, had emerged during the latter half of the 19th century not just as a centre of urban activity, but as one catering primarily to middle-class women. Its continued growth would impact profoundly on Montreal's urban development, as well as on the 'feminization' of its public spaces.

'An Oasis of Gracious Living': Phillips Square

This intersection first began to take shape as bourgeois women's space in 1842, when the land fronting the southeast corner of the intersection was ceded to the city by the family of Thomas Phillips, a Montreal alderman and landowner, for use as a public square.[30] Developed as a small park surrounded by speculative housing, the new square would assume the identity of a residential enclave. Residential enclaves, or garden squares, were largely an English development of the 17th and 18th centuries, and represented, by the 19th century, not only a distinct form of urban housing, but a distinct urban form.[31] Moreover, as costly housing designed almost exclusively for the elite, residential enclaves came to figure among the most prestigious addresses in London. Originally open to the public, many were later enclosed and made accessible only to local residents, thus emphasizing the insular and exclusive nature of their basic form.[32] By the 18th century many were also noted for their use of grass and trees, a trend which flourished during the 19th century, both in England and abroad, where residential squares had also become popular.[33] Surrounded by elegant terraced housing, the most noted of London's squares

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[30]The neighborhood was still semi-rural at the time.

[31]On the history of the residential square as an urban form, see Michael Webb, *The City Square: A Historical Evolution* (NY: Watson-Guptill Publications, 1990); Donald Olsen, *Town Planning in London: the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1964); Jere Stuart French, *Urban Space: A Brief History of the City Square* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt Pub. Co., 1978); and Mark Girouard, *Cities and People: A Social and Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1985). On its place within the history of domestic design, see Norbert Schoenauer, *History of Housing* (Montreal: McGill Univ. Printing, 1992), pp. 237-250.

[32]The private, insular nature of London's residential squares was also supported by the general absence of formal spatial relationships among them, i.e., by the absence of continuous axes or through streets. An impediment to traffic and visual access, this further enhanced their protected, exclusionary character, while catering to conventions associated with both domesticity and femininity.

[33]Jean-Claude Marsan, in *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's Univ. Press, 1981), p. 292, notes that there were at least 20 such squares in Montreal by the turn of the century. Marc H. Choko, in *The Major Squares of Montreal* (Montreal: Méridien Press, 1990), p. 19, comments that real-estate speculators could raise the value of their property by donating lots to the city for the establishment of public parks. Phillips Square, one of the city's first park-like squares, was established in this manner. See also Jean de Laplante, *Les parcs de Montréal des origines à nos jours* (Montreal: Méridien, 1990).

were deemed, "the very focus of . . . grandeur, fashion, taste and hospitality."[34]

Though considerably less grandiose than London's Grosvenor or Regency Park, Montreal's Phillip's Square did represent one of the city's 'better' residential districts. Like Beaver Hall Square, which stood slightly to the south, its terraced stone houses quickly became popular among middle-class professionals.[35] Adding to its middle-class appeal was a girls' school run by Mrs. Robert Lovell, which also faced onto the square. The square itself was planted with shady elms and featured a small fountain at its centre. Its "British flag" pattern was common to small squares, the paths serving as informal promenades.[36] While intended mainly as ornamental park space for the surrounding residents, Phillips Square was, unlike the majority of its English counterparts, unenclosed and therefore remained accessible to anyone walking through the district. Public in terms of access and urban by virtue of type, it nonetheless remained private and suburban in character. Contained, discrete, and made charming by the effects of chiaroscuro beneath the trees, the square represented an "oasis of gracious living"—a middle-class exemplar of genteel residence, and thus 'appropriate' women's space.

Informed by the precedent and prestige of upper middle-class housing trends in England, the local popularity of park-like squares was also linked, by the latter half of the nineteenth century, to urban reform movements and a flourishing of romantic sentiment. This in turn linked such squares to both women's activism and feminine culture.[37] As cities became increasingly congested, polluted and disorderly places in which to live, proponents of urban reform advocated the introduction and proliferation of urban green spaces, not only as a physical and psychological restorative, but as a means of moral and

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[34]Webb, p. 96, quoting an 18th-century observer.

[35]Medical men in particular took up residence around the two squares, thus linking it to McGill. The slightly more 'tony' terraced houses of Beaver Hall Square, also ceded to the city in 1842 by the Phillips family, were designed circa 1860 by architect William T. Thomas.

[36]French, p. 92. French notes that while more Romantic, picturesque layouts had become popular for squares during the 19th century, they were ill suited to small squares.

[37]Women were a driving force in urban reform throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, particularly in the area of public health and sanitation. On the involvement of women in Montreal's urban park movement, see Jeanne Wolfe and Grace Strachan, "Practical Idealism: Women in Urban Reform, Julia Drummond and the Montreal Parks and Playground Association," in Caroline Andrew and Beth Moore Milroy, eds., *Life Spaces: Gender, Household, Employment* (Vancouver: Univ. of British Columbia Press, 1988): 65-80. On the history of the American park movement, to which the Montreal initiative was indebted, see David Schuyler, *The New Urban Landscape: The Redefinition of City Form in Nineteenth-Century America* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1986). While this work concerns large-scale, picturesque parks as opposed to smaller neighborhood ones, it is useful in explaining the manner in which the middle-class of the late 19th century romanticized and *über*-valued nature, and appropriated it for the purpose of urban improvement. For a specifically gendered analysis of the early urban park, see Galen Cranz, "Women in Urban Parks," *Signs* 5, no. 3 (Spring supplement 1980): S80-85.

cultural improvement.[38] Frederick Law Olmsted, one of the movements most influential practitioners, advocated urban parks for, "their harmonizing and refining influence . . . an influence favorable to courtesy, self-control and temperance."[39] Such an influence was deemed particularly important in the socialization of girls and young women. Downing, meanwhile, based the capacity of parks in this regard on "the elevating influences of the beautiful in nature and art," an influence similarly attributed to women themselves.[40] Supposedly sharing in this elevating capacity were public libraries, art museums and galleries, all of which were viewed as inspirational and educational devices, popular means of supplying the "refining influences of intellectual and moral culture . . . By these means, you would soften and humanize the rude, educate and enlighten the ignorant, and give continued enjoyment to the educated."[41] Not surprisingly, Downing also equated the role of public parks with that of the home, or, more specifically, with the role of the drawing-room, a place where people, "gain health, good spirits, social enjoyment, and a frank and cordial bearing towards their neighbors."[42] The drawing room, the European counterpart of the American parlor, was both the quintessentially female space within the middle-class residence, the room to which ladies withdrew after dinner, and the site of a quintessentially feminine culture, one based on refined sensibilities and polite sociability.[43] Thus, through

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[38]Sanitary reformers heralded the ability of parks to purify the air; cultural critics lauded them as a source of beauty and pleasure; and moral reformers promoted them as devices for disseminating 'family' values outside the home, i.e., as a means of extending women's presumed moral influence throughout the city.

[39]Quoted in Webb, p. 126. Olmsted's theories were promoted locally by Lady Hingston, among others, and would become familiar to Montrealers through the design of the city's picturesque Mount Royal Park (1873-1881). On the history and design of the park, see David Belleman, ed., "Mount Royal, Montreal," *Racar*, Supplement No. 1, Dec. 1977. Olmsted was also active in the design of American land grant colleges. See Turner.

[40]Downing, quoted in Schuyler, p. 65.

[41]Downing, quoted in Schuyler, p. 65. On the social and architectural history of the American public library, see Abigail A. Van Slyck, *Free to All: Carnegie Libraries and American Culture, 1890-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995). On its design as, more specifically, gendered space, see Van Slyck, "The Lady and the Library Loafer: Gender and Public Space in Victorian America," *Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 1996): 221-241, and "'The Utmost Amount of Effectiv [*sic*] Accommodation': Andrew Carnegie and the Reform of the American Library," *JSAH*, (December 1991): 239-383. For more on galleries and museums, see below.

[42]Downing, quoted in Schuyler, p. 65. Interestingly, Downing's conflation of drawing room and public park was not simply metaphoric. Exterior *salóns* were in fact installed at the edges of Seville, Spain during the 1820s. Elevated above street level, paved in flagstone, and sealed off by a high border of plantings, these areas were filled with elegant furniture, fountains and exotic plants. See Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled: The Elements of Urban Form Through History* (Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1992), p. 165.

[43]Many works have elaborated on the 'feminine' character and gendered history of the parlor and drawing room. See for example, Downing; Clarence Cook, *The House Beautiful: Essays on Beds and Tables, Stools and Candlesticks* (NY: Dover Publications, 1995; rpt. NY: Charles Shribner's Sons, 1881); and Lucy Orrinsmith, *The Drawing Room: Its Decoration and Furniture* (1877). Contemporary writers who discuss the architectural and social history of these rooms include Clark; Hamlin; Mark Girouard, *Life in*

a circular cosmology that linked nature, beauty, culture and morality with femininity and domesticity, urban parks emerged as gendered spaces—feminine additions, nurturing, informal, and sociable in character and function (regardless of size), within a manly tradition of mercantile, monumental, and/or militaristic public squares.[44]

Conceived and constructed as rhetorically familiar landscapes, parks, both large and small, thus segued into the cityscape as appropriate spaces for the 'gentler' sex. Designed to attract women of the middle-class, many of these parks resulted in urban spaces that were in fact sensitive to, and did accommodate, bourgeois women users. For example, for some years after the surrounding area had lost its strictly residential status, Phillips Square maintained the genteel character of a small local park.[45] A (male) observer, writing in 1903, commented on its pleasant ambiance and attractive, shady trees, but complained about the lack of any type of seating.[46] While this inconvenienced persons wishing to rest and watch the passing scene, the lack of seating also meant women, walking through the park, were less likely to be harassed by the stares, or "rude scrutiny", of loitering males.

Cultural historian Carolyn Brucken, in an article entitled, "In the Public Eye: Women and the American Luxury Hotel," has drawn attention to the manner in which public space was problematized for women by the regulatory function of the 'gendered gaze'.[47] Such a gaze, defined as a bold, direct stare through which both the observer and/or the sexual aggressor flexed his/her power, was considered the social prerogative of men and prostitutes (and children, one might add). Lowered, averted eyes, meanwhile, understood as a defensive, rather than offensive, posture and as a sign of modesty and

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the English Country House: A Social and Architectural History (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978) and Jill Franklin, *The Gentleman's Country House and Plan, 1835-1914* (Boston: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981). See also Karen Halttunen, "From Parlor to Living Room: Domestic Space, Interior Decoration and the Culture of Personality," Simon J. Bronneur, ed., *Consuming Visions: Accumulation and Display of Goods in America, 1880-1920* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1989) for an analysis of the evolving literature on interior decoration in America. For a critique of the parlor as embodiment of the 'separate' sphere, see Wright. On the prevalence and cultural influence of the commercial, or public parlor, see Katherine C. Grier, *Culture and Comfort: People, Parlors, and Upholstery, 1850-1930* (Rochester NY: Strong Museum, 1988). On parlor decoration and its links to both nature and culture, see Jenny Cook, "Bringing the Outside In: Women and the Transformation of the Middle-Class Maritime Canadian Interior, 1830-1860," *Material History Review* 38 (Fall 1993): 36-49.

[44]In *The City Square: A Historical Evolution*, Webb divides the history and typology of urban squares into six categories: the medieval market, the princely showcase, the parade ground, the residential enclave, the symbol of worldly glory and the pedestrian precinct, or public park. The gendered associations persist yet today. Webb, for example, refers to "the moist green womb of the garden" in describing the Bloomsbury district's Bedford Square (p. 96).

[45]The character of the park was not radically altered until 1914, when its elms were cut down and a large statue of King Edward VII was added.

[46]*Montreal and Vicinity* (Montreal: Desbarats, 1903), p. 77. The cover of the May 19, 1879 issue of *Canadian Illustrated News* shows benches placed alongside the footpaths. These had evidently been removed by 1903.

[47]*Winterthur Portfolio*, Vol. 31, No. 4 (Winter 1996): 203-220.

chastity, were demanded of 'respectable' women. The moré that such women avoid the "vulgar stare of the public eye" posed quite a challenge. A common architectural response during both the 19th and early 20th centuries was the provision of separate women's entrances to, and spaces within, public buildings frequented by ladies (the construction of wholly separate buildings was, of course, another response). Such entrances and spaces allowed women "to bypass both the street and the scrutiny of idle men," who tended to congregate where they could lounge and/or sit for stretches at a time and take in the passing scene (e.g., on the front steps and in the public lobbies of downtown buildings).

Segregating parks, however, would have undermined their very *raison d'être*, namely their purportedly 'civilizing' agenda which hinged, in part, on the presence and emulation of refined women. The removal of benches from Phillip's Square therefore suggests a strategy designed to dislocate potential scopophilics, rather than women users, from the pedestrian pathways—a strategy aimed at facilitating women's movement through, rather than their avoidance or circumvention of, public space.[48] By being made less attractive to loiters, the square would also have been deemed safer for women and children, a likelihood further enhanced by its small scale; its constant and easy surveillance by the surrounding homes; the nature of its plantings, which, at ground level, were low in density; and its proximity, in later years, to other 'women-friendly', publicly accessible sites located on or near the intersection of Union and Ste. Catherine.

The 'good, moral, Christian life': Christ Church Cathedral

The first such site to take shape was that of the new Christ Church Cathedral (1857-1859), which was erected diagonally opposite the square on property also previously owned by the Phillip's family.[49] Purchased by the church for the purpose of building the new cathedral, the 198' x 231' site fronted Ste. Catherine and was bound by Union to the east and University to the west.[50] At the time, the surrounding area was still primarily residential and the cathedral was considered by many to be 'out in the country'. The cathedral's suburban location, as well as its proximity to the residential square, was in fact

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[48]Segregating techniques were nonetheless employed in some large urban parks, where the scale made them more difficult to police.

[49]The home of the Phillips family, who were members of the Anglican Church, was situated on nearby Beaver Hall Hill. The original Christ Church cathedral, which burned in 1856, had been located on Notre Dame Street, just east of Place d'Armes. For more on the original cathedral, see Marsan.

[50]In selecting the property, the Church rejected two other nearby sites also under consideration: one with frontage on Sherbrooke, between McGill College Avenue and Victoria Street; and one forming the northeast corner of Bleury and Ste. Catherine. See Frank Dawson Adams, *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal* (Montreal: Burton's Ltd., 1941), pp. 76.

in keeping with the recent 'feminization' of North American religion.[51] Due in part to the active participation of women in voluntary church societies, the first half of the 19th century had seen spiritual and moral authority become increasingly detached from the ideology of masculinity and the spaces of governmental institutions, and become realigned instead with the ideology of femininity and the spaces of domesticity.[52] By mid-century, Christian religions had adopted a 'softer' approach, which placed a greater emphasis on God's loving nature; definitions of femininity had come to encompass the guardianship of morals and the nurture of spirituality, which were now seen as the special province of women; and domestic environments had been reconceptualized as sources of moral guidance and spiritual succor. Formal houses of worship meanwhile, as public places of assembly that had traditionally emphasized not only a spiritual function, but submissive and reverent behaviour, had proved particularly adaptable to the rhetoric of Victorian femininity. They had also figured as one of the few architectural types beyond the home that 'respectable' women might enter alone, as well as public places in which women might congregate and from which they might organize collective activity.

The construction, just off Phillip's Square, of Montreal's new Anglican church was thus in keeping with current trends, which now associated religion with femininity and domestic life, as well as with the area's formation as women's space. The proximity of Christ Church to this particular square and its well-heeled residents was also in keeping, however, with the building's special status as the cathedral church. In this respect, the pairing of the church and the square was at odds with the modesty and worldly withdrawal presumed of women's environments, and would give the area transformative, as well as normative, significance. As the social, administrative, and symbolic centre of Anglican church life in Montreal, the Cathedral would be expected not only to house and to embellish church operations, but to do so on a grand scale, with an eye to diocesan-wide, and not just local parish needs. It would also be expected to attract, accommodate and represent the city's more affluent anglophone community. In *A History of Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal*, Frank Dawson Adams notes that the cathedral's new location did in fact favour the wealthier members of the congregation. A considerable distance from the city centre, the site was most accessible to those who could afford to come by carriage, and most attractive to those espousing romantic ideologies and a genteel aesthetic.[53]

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[51]On such a change within institutionalized religion, see Barbara Welter, "The Feminization of American Religion, 1800-1860," Mary Hartman and Lois W. Banner, eds., *Clio's Consciousness Raised* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974): 137-157.

[52]Also instrumental in bringing about this shift was the increasing secularization of power in industrial societies, and the church's growing isolation from worldly affairs.

[53]Poorer members continued, after the opening of the new cathedral, to worship at the interum

In selecting the renowned ecclesiologist and Gothic Revival architect Frank Wills for the commission, the church was assured of an edifice with similar appeal.[54] A native of England, Wills had first risen to prominence in connection with the design of Christ Church Cathedral in Fredericton, N.B. (1845-53), an important landmark in North American architecture, and had gone on to design several churches in the American south in partnership with Henry C. Dudley. He was also editor of *The New York Ecclesiologist*; the architectural expert for the New York Ecclesiological Society; and the author of several articles and a book, *Ancient Ecclesiastical Architecture*.[55] As an ecclesiologist, Wills presumed that the 'good, moral, Christian life' was best expressed through the reinterpretation, in plan, massing and ornament, of 14th-century English churches, and his designs demonstrated an appropriately rigorous historicism. His designs were also inclined to set new North American standards however. Cambridge's prestigious *The Ecclesiologist*, for example, in expressing its approval of Montreal's grand new edifice, congratulated it on being, "the largest completed cathedral in America of our communion."[56] Cruciform in plan, picturesque in effect, and built of Montreal limestone, the new church measured 203' in length and 109' at its greatest width, while its nave reached a lofty 67'.[57] While this was modest in comparison to the cathedrals of England, it was large in relation not only to other existing Anglican structures in North America, but to the size of its local congregation. Its massive stone spire, which rose to a height of 230', dominated the surrounding landscape and quickly became a celebrated landmark (fig. 9).[58]

As the pinnacle of new Victorian Gothic design in Montreal, Christ Church Cathedral proved well suited to its then residential, semi-rural site and to the institution's cultural heritage as a branch of the Church of England. It also proved well suited to the aspirations of its middle-class congregation. In frequenting their new church, members could identify, and be identified, with both current trends and learned traditions; with propriety, the 'correct type of a church' and the 'good, moral, Christian life'; and with the

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'Chapel of Ease'. Frank Dawson Adams, p. 82.

[54]For a succinct discussion of ecclesiology, the Victorian Gothic Revival, Frank Wills, and his work in the Canadian context (to which this section is indebted), see Kalman, pp. 279-290. See also Marsan, pp. 200-204.

[55]Wills' remarkably productive life came to a sudden end in 1857; he died at the age of 35, while the foundations were still being laid for the Montreal cathedral. He was succeeded on the project by Thomas Seaton Scott, another English architect, who carried out the work according to Wills' plans.

[56]Quoted in Kalman, p. 288.

[57]For a more complete description of the building's design and construction, see Phillip Turner, "Christ Church Cathedral," McGill University Publications, Series XIII (Art and Architecture), No. 17 (rpt. *Construction*, Nov. 1927).

[58]Unfortunately, the Cathedral's spire was soon renowned for its structural instability as well. Built on a soft bed of clay, the foundations of the stone spire began to sink and would later need to be rebuilt.

superior achievement of the building's architect, stone masons, and craftsmen (sinking spire notwithstanding). The new cathedral was also expressive of neighborhood aspirations. Like the up and coming district, the building's quest for monumental stature and international acclaim belied not only its conservatism in terms of style, ideology and cultural affiliations, but its standing as a local building serving a basically domestic sphere. Hardly a modest parish church, the new cathedral evinced a desire for both visibility and influence, and presumed increasing diversification for the surrounding area.[59]

"To delight, instruct, and inspire":[60] *The Art Association Gallery*

The first visible support in the architecture of this diversification came with the construction of the Montreal Art Gallery. Begun in 1877 and completed in 1879, the new gallery occupied a prominent corner lot opposite the northeast corner of Phillips Square, with frontage on both Ste. Catherine Street and Phillip's Place (fig. 10a). It had been built for the Montreal Art Association, and marked an important transition in the square's development. While the construction of the nearby Cathedral had introduced a scope and stature to the immediate neighborhood that were atypical of the worldly withdrawal presumed of residential districts (thus representing something of a breech of Victorian rhetoric), the cathedral had nonetheless been of a type associated with such districts and with the bonds, and binds, of tradition. The buildings facing directly onto the square, meanwhile, had remained strictly residential (in type, if not necessarily in function), and the square had retained its architectural integrity as insular, domestic space.[61] With the construction of the public art gallery however, the square took on significant new dimensions. As a place of popular assembly, the gallery gave the square a more expressly public identity. As one of a number of new bourgeois building types geared toward the

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[59]In his 1927 article, Phillip Turner reasoned that, because the "Diocesan Authorities" had nothing to do with the management, preservation or control of the building, Christ Church was "first and foremost a Parish Church . . . a Cathedral in name only". A number of factors would seem to contradict this conclusion however, not the least of which was the church structure itself. In 1850, Queen Victoria had proclaimed that, "the parish church called Christ Church in the said city of Montreal shall henceforth be the Cathedral Church." At the same time, she had named Francis Fulford as the first Bishop of the newly created Diocese of Montreal. Six years later, Fulford sat on the building committee that guided the site selection, as well as the design and construction, of the new church, which then served as the site of most of the public services of the Diocese. Given the ambitious scale and design of the building, which with furnishings and ground cost $204,627, relative to the size and resources of the congregation (a shortage of funds had compromised initial construction, which was later blamed for the building's structural problems); coupled with the close involvement of the Bishop in the planning stages, and the building's subsequent usage, it appears more reasonable to assume that the building *was* in fact intended as the principal church of the Diocese, and that it was perceived in that light by the local community.

[60]Charles Hutchinson, "Art: Its Influence and Excellence in Modern Times," (1888)

[61]As noted earlier, a girl's school operated in one of the residential structures facing the square, as did, for a short time, the Metropolitan Club.

reform and regulation of urban culture, it gave the square a more 'progressive', expansive, and distinctly modern character. And, as the first public building erected in Canada "wholly for Fine Arts purposes," its presence moved the square into the national vanguard of certain cultural and museological developments.[62] Meanwhile, in advancing the 'feminization' of urban space and in providing women with a setting in which to pursue cultural, and collective, activities outside the home, the new art gallery not only maintained, but expanded upon the square's identity as bourgeois women's space.

At the time of its construction, public museums and galleries were novel not just in Canada, but throughout North America.[63] Their formation, as both institutions and building types, was expressly related to the formation of modern, bourgeois culture that had begun during the late 18th century. Prior to that, collections had remained the private property, and their spaces of display the privileged domain, of a limited elite. Integral to aristocratic contexts and palatial or ecclesiastic environments, these collections were subject to techniques of restriction and exclusion. The collections themselves, which entailed a focus on the rare and the exceptional, harbored objects for their singularity rather than for their typicality and encouraged principles of display aimed at a sensational rather than at a rational and pedagogic effect. While some of these features would continue to inform the new public museums, particularly those devoted to art, their conception and design would be largely transformed by new proprietors, new social agendas and new organizational strategies.

This transformation of the museum's form and function was just part of the broader attempt, on the part of the middle-class, to reform urban society through a reform of its institutions and environments.[64] These reforms, which were effected in the name of science, enlightenment and liberal forms of government, were novel in their intent to support a reform of the inner self, and in their reliance on a new understanding, and a new

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[62]Inaugural address of Justice R. Mackay, president of the MAA, quoted in Rosalind M. Pepall, *Construction d'un musée Beaux-Arts / Building a Beaux-Arts Museum* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, 1986), p. 16.

[63]New York's Metropolitan Museum of Art, Boston's Museum of Fine Arts, and Chicago's Art Institute were all founded in the 1870s, while the continent's first purpose-built museums of natural history were opened during the 1860s, 70s and 80s. McGill University's Peter Redpath Museum, the first Canadian building designed to house a museum of natural history, opened on the McGill campus in 1882, just three years after the inauguration of the Art Gallery.

[64]Tony Bennett, in *The Birth of the Museum: History, Theory and Politics* (New York: Routledge, 1995), analyses this 19th-century "transfer of objects and bodies from the enclosed and private domains . . . into progressively more open and public arenas," as a similar, if complementary trend to Foucault's 'carceral archipelago,' which represented changes in modes of punishment and relied on the development of such specialized spaces of incarceration as the penitentiary, the asylum and the hospital. Bennet's 'exhibitionary complex' refers to changes in modes of culture and consumption, which relied on a number of specialized spaces of exhibition, such as the museum, the exhibition hall, and the department store.

exploitation, of public space. Once envisioned as the representational theatre of power and its inverse (of order and disorder), public space was now to be harnessed as a 'technology' for the formation, dissemination, and regulation of bourgeois hegemony.[65] To this end, many of the newly public sites of culture were conceived as arenas of "sweetness and light": as containers and purveyors, through the means of exhibition, observation, emulation and diffusion, of beauty, refinement, reason and knowledge.[66] In theory, the new museums, designed as formally undifferentiated spaces, would rely on their architectural organization and expression, their display techniques, and their occupants to embody middle-class culture and to communicate it to members of the working class, who would now be able to share in the use of such spaces and, ideally, partake in the absorption and reproduction of bourgeois habits, manners, tastes, values and aspirations.[67] In rendering the bourgeois public 'visually present' to itself, such spaces were also designed to support corporate self-consciousness on the part of the middle-classes. Thus the new civic-minded museums, like public parks and public libraries, would be defined by a rational and improving orientation, one that sought to educate and to 'civilize' the urban masses, while serving as a form of class validation and as a prompt to self-regulation. They would attempt to make cities, and their citizens, more dignified, moral and cultured and would function as indices of both urbanity and modernity.

The building of Montreal's new art gallery was clearly linked to these developments. Intended as a permanent home for the Art Association of Montreal, an association founded in 1860 to promote the arts, it would enable the association to display its permanent collection to the public, organize temporary exhibits and conferences, and hold public lectures and classes. The value of such enterprise was explained in the inaugural speech of Justice R. Mackay, who was then the association's president:

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[65]As reform 'technologies', public museums were equated not just with other progressive institutions, but with other progressive initiatives directed at the environment: "A Museum and Free Library are as necessary for the mental and moral health of the citizens as good sanitary arrangements, water supply and street lighting are for their physical health and comfort." Thomas Greenwood, *Museums and Art Galleries* (London: Simpkin, Marshall and Co., 1888), quoted in Bennett, p. 18.

[66]Mathewe Arnold's highly influential *Culture and Anarchy: An Essay in Political and Social Criticism*, urged the middle-class to cultivate the Hellenic virtues of beauty and intellectual curiosity, which he summarized as ones of 'sweetness' and 'light'. On the corresponding aesthetics of the progressive movement in England, see Girouard's *Sweetness and Light: The 'Queen Anne' Movement, 1860-1900* . On the newly rational, pedagogic approach of museum planning and displays, see Bennett, *The Birth of the Museum*; Carol Duncan, *Civilizing Rituals: Inside Public Art Museums* (London: Routledge, 1995); and Thomas A. Markus, *Buildings and Power: Freedom and Control in the Origin of Modern Building Types* (New York: Routledge, 1993).

[67]The 'example' of public building types introduced by the bourgeoisie was conceived, in part, as an antidote to earlier places of popular assembly, such as taverns, market places, and fairgrounds, which were associated with rowdy, licentious and/or seditious forms of behaviour.

> We not only believe that the love of the beautiful in nature and art is a source of some of the purest pleasures of life, but that it stimulates and supports our highest aspirations, and we think that the influence of the Fine Arts is especially important in refining and ennobling those practical aims which necessarily tend to absorb the energies of a people actively engaged in developing the material resources of our young and rapidly growing country.[68]

The gallery was supported in these endeavors by members of Montreal's professional, business, and artistic elites, many of whom were linked to other ventures aimed at propagating and disseminating the refining and 'civilizing' influences of intellectual, moral, and aesthetic culture.[69] The building's architect, John Williams Hopkins, was himself a member of a number of 'progressive' associations, including the MAA, and had already designed two important Montreal structures in keeping with a reformist agenda: the city's Mechanics Institute (1853-1855) and its Crystal Palace (1860).[70] Hopkin's Mechanics Institute and Crystal Palace, along with Alexander Cowper Hutchison's Peter Redpath Museum of Natural History, which was designed for McGill University in 1880 and opened in 1882, were all similar to the Gallery in type, function and progressive objectives. Unlike the Gallery, however, these buildings presumed to address a predominantly male constituency. A comparison of these buildings with Hopkin's design for the Gallery reveals certain conventions that not only informed the architecture of gender at the time of the Gallery's construction, but that would persist, locally, into the 1930s and the designs of Percy Nobbs. The Crystal Palace and the Redpath Museum are particularly instructive in this regard, and therefore merit some discussion.

The Crystal Palace and the Redpath Museum both exemplified the era's exhibition techniques, as well as its glorification of science and technology. Monumental in scale and organized around open, skylit courts, they implied expansive vistas, grand and lofty ambitions, and collective enterprise. The Crystal Palace had been commissioned by the Board of Arts and Manufacturers, a regional body that had "usurped many of the functions

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[68] *Report of Council for 1879*, MAA, Montreal, quoted in Pepall, p. 16.

[69] Among the MAA's members was Benaiah Gibb, a local businessman and collector who donated the land, the start of a collection, and $8,000 toward the construction of the Gallery. Many of its members were also linked to McGill and/or Christ Church Cathedral. For more on the early history of the MAA, see Jean Trudel, "Aux origines du Museé des Beaux-Arts de Montréal: La fondation de l'*Art Association of Montreal* en 1860," *Journal of Canadian Art History* Vol. 15, No. 1 (1992): 31-60.

[70] Hopkins, remembered as one of Montreal's "best known citizens, . . . a prominent architect . . . [and] a prominent figure in the social world" (Obituary notice, *The Gazette*, Montreal, Dec. 12, 1905, p. 9, col. 3), was typical of the Art Association's early constituency. His partnership, from 1855 to 1859, with Frederick Lawford and James Nelson was one of the most successful practices in the city. The partnership was dissolved in 1859, and at the time of the Art Gallery commission Hopkins was associated with Daniel B. Wily. An active member of the Mechanics Institute and the Art Association, Hopkins also became, in 1890, the founding president of the Province of Quebec Architects Association.

of the Mechanics Institute."[71] The structure itself was intended as a permanent exhibition building and museum for the display of industrial and technological products. The board had been responsible for developing the preliminary programme for the building and had selected the site, a large stretch of open land fronting Ste. Catherine, opposite Victoria Street. Bordered by Cathcart to the south, University to the east and McGill College to the west, the location placed the structure in direct proximity to the Natural History Society, which occupied the southeast corner of the same site, and the McGill campus (this location also placed the hall in the more general vicinity of Christ Church Cathedral and Phillips Square).

The building, designed as a cruciform basilica with a barrel vaulted nave, was to be one of the largest public buildings in the city (fig. 12a).[72] It had been loosely modelled on Paxton's Crystal Palace in London, and, like the London prototype, used ferro-vitreous building materials and construction methods. Developed initially for industrial and commercial use, these materials and methods also linked the building to such monumental and internationally acclaimed feats of civic engineering as Montreal's Victoria Bridge, also completed in 1860.[73] Unlike the original Crystal Palace however, the Montreal building was of mixed construction. While the principal facades were constructed of cast iron, the side walls of the nave and the transepts were constructed of brick, with brick piers separating each bay. As Gilles Hawkins notes in his thesis on the building, the name 'Crystal Palace' was therefore something of a misnomer. The local building, which contained, "neither the extensive use of glass nor the particular faceted character of the 'ridge and furrow' glass roofing system of Paxton's design," had, in marked contrast to the prototype, "a decidedly non-crystaline character."[74] Many of the more rhetorically

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[71]Giles Hawkins, "The Montreal Exhibition Building and Museum, 1860: A Monument to Pre-Confederation Canadian Economic Nationalism," MA Thesis (Montreal: Concordia University, 1986), p. iii. The Mechanics Institute, founded in 1828 (one year before classes began at McGill), was one of the first teaching institutes in the city. It had been modelled on the Mechanics' Institutes of England and Scotland, with the objective of advancing men's public education. More specifically, it sought to establish a training centre oriented toward workmen and apprentices that would emphasize, "the various branches of Science and useful Knowledge." On the history of the Institute, see *The Mechanics Institute of Montreal*, a pamphlet first issued in 1920 to mark the opening of the Institute's new headquarters on Atwater Avenue. For an interesting architectural analysis of the British institutes and their lecture theatres, see Markus, Chapter 9.

[72]Hawkins, p. 55. The design was based on a 20' module. The nave extended 60' in each direction from a 40' x 20' central crossing, while the transepts extended 20' in each direction. Hopkins' original proposal had been a true Greek-cross, with the transepts, like the knave, extending three 20' bays in each direction. See Hawkins, p. 44-46.

[73]The technological 'advance' of Paxton's prototype had been in allowing the enclosure and illumination of large spaces. Hawkins speculates that the Montreal building's use of cast iron, both structurally and in the facades, probably represented the most extensive local use of this material up to that time (the Victoria Bridge relied on imported iron work and technology).

[74]The relative opaqueness of Hopkins design was attributed to the climate, which was deemed too harsh for a permanent structure of glass and iron. See Hawkins, pp. 55-58.

feminine qualities that had distinguished the earlier design (i.e., its delicacy, the indeterminacy of form and scale prompted by the extensive use of glass, and its multi-faceted, "jewel-like" quality) were thus compromised, if not altogether lacking, in the Montreal design.[75] Nor did it contain the trees, gardens and fountains sheltered by the London structure, features that introduced both pastoral and exotic elements; evoked the design's conservatory (i.e., domestic) sources; and added to the "sensual disintegration" of interior forms, colors and sounds.[76]

It was more consistent with the London prototype in its interior configuration however, and typified, in this regard, recent developments in exhibition techniques and the disciplinary organization of public space. The three-storey interior, which reached a height of 80' under the barrel vault, was surrounded by two tiers of twenty-foot wide galleries (fig. 12b). Both the cruciform, galleried plan and the reliance on modular geometry would facilitate future expansion via simple extension. The use of open galleries in conjunction with cross-axial planning and a repetitive unit of measurement also meant that the formal and structural logic of the hall, as well as its internal arrangement, would be both readily apparent and easily mastered from anywhere within the space. Individual displays, meanwhile, would appear in relation to a larger organizational framework, or plan. Championing growth and mastery, the design of the exhibition hall sought to obviate disorder by stressing the prototypical, the rational, the structural and the visible. Similar configurations, featuring lofty, sky-lit courts surrounded by galleries, scaled for grandeur, and designed, not for intimacy, meanderings, or privacy, but for collective spectacle and instruction, rational and structural legibility, and scopic reciprocity and regulation, were at the heart of a number of public structures of the period.[77] Indeed, this was to be the basic scheme used in the Redpath Museum's public spaces twenty years later (figs. 13a, 13b).[78]

Hopkins was obviously abreast of contemporary and progressive trends in the

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[75] For vivid visitor accounts that clearly identify the 'feminine' quality of Paxton's design, see John McKean's *Crystal Palace: Joseph Paxton and Charles Fox* (London: Phaidon, 1994), especially pp. 29-33. The more 'masculine' character of Montreal's Crystal Palace was reinforced by its intended, and principal, uses. While it served as the venue for a series of local spectacles ranging from prize fights to celebrations of the tricentenary of Shakespeare's birth, it was intended primarily for the public display of scientific knowledge and industrial/technological prowess, and was subsequently rented to the local militia, which trained there throughout the 1860s.

[76] McKean, p. 32.

[77] A comparable building type designed for a primarily female public was the early department store, as developed in Europe and America. For more on the department store, see below.

[78] For an excellent discussion of the arrangement of the Redpath Museum's interior spaces, displays and specimens; their relation to the building's architectural expression; and the manner in which these features were designed to make typologies, chronologies and schemas legible to visitors, see Susan Bronson, "The Design of the Peter Redpath Museum at McGill University: The Genesis, Expression and Evolution of an Idea About Natural History," M. Sc. A. thesis, Université de Montréal, 1992.

design of public instructional and exhibition spaces. Yet Hopkin's design for the Art Association gallery would remain remarkably untouched by those features that had distinguished the Crystal Palace.[79] It would also remain largely untouched by the design of continental art museums.[80] Unlike the local exhibition hall and the local natural history museum, and unlike the great art museums of Europe, the art gallery would rely on an intimate scale. It would pay homage to the Art Association's domestic and club-like origins and to its commercial and philanthropic support. Designed primarily to encourage aesthetic appreciation and genteel behaviour, it would make public a cultured, 'feminized' environment that was both familiar and available to women of the bourgeoisie. In contrast to the local museums of science and technology, it was an environment designed without broad, formal axes or a collective centre; it was without 'spectacle' or expansive vistas; and it was without grand circulatory or disciplinary devices.

Designed as a two-storey structure facing onto Phillips Square, the Art Gallery was residential in both scale and location, and its simple massing harmonized with the surrounding terraced housing. Clad entirely in limestone and embellished with finely carved sculptural ornament, the gallery's exterior facades appeared both costly and refined, and suggested the cultural objects found within.[81] Culture was also expressed through the building's Italianate styling, as were links to clubs and commerce.[82] The choice of a style based on Renaissance palaces rather than Greek temples, also popular for museums at the time, showed a preference for residential and mercantile associations over civic ones. The commercial element was not simply one of association, however, as shops, which would supply the gallery with additional revenue, occupied the ground floor.[83] And like commercial structures, as well as the neighboring row housing, the building occupied the entire site, and was bereft of landscaping. All of these features, with the exception of its

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[79]Such features would, however, inform Hutchison's designs for the Redpath Museum.

[80]Hopkins was born and trained in Britain, where the approach to art differed significantly from continental, and in later years American, approaches. In his design for the MAA gallery, Hopkins would heed British precedent. See below.

[81]Note the classical urns above the crowning cornice.

[82] Various writers have observed that Montreal's 19th-century fondness for Italianate forms, both in domestic and commercial design, reflected the pride and prosperity of the city's 'merchant princes'. The style's evocation of the palaces of Florence and Venice, centres of commerce and culture during the Renaissance, undoubtedly contributed to the style's appeal in this case. Montreal's art collections, like its wealth, originated with men of trade and commerce. The Italian Renaissance also enjoyed a privileged position in the art historical schemes of the period, thus rendering the Renaissance prototype particularly suitable for an art gallery.

[83]The Association planned to expand into the lower floor of shops when more space was required. Pepall, p. 24. These shops were evidently rented with a view to attracting female patrons. According to a Notman photo of the gallery, the lettering in the shop window, while partially obscured, appears to read: "MRS. HALLEY[—] fash[-ion?] MILLINERY."

stone cladding and sculptural ornament, were in marked contrast to McGill's Redpath Museum, which, given institutional status by virtue of its location, was monumental in scale, lofty in situation, classical in style, and devoted entirely to museological functions.[84]

The entrance to the gallery was off Phillips Square, while the shops were entered from Ste. Catherine Street. The gallery's unassuming doorway, located on the right hand side (the side furthest from Ste. Catherine Street) of an otherwise symmetrically composed elevation, was sheltered by a recessed arch and elevated just slightly above street level. Off the main thoroughfare, facing a park and differentiated only by an inscription carved in the frieze over the doorway, it was similar to the discrete side entrances commonly allocated for women in public buildings.[85]

Once across its threshold, visitors encountered an interior space more suggestive of the Victorian mansions of the Square Mile than the Renaissance palazzo presumed by the facade, and certainly more domestic, in concept, programme, plan and materials, than the local history museum and the exhibition hall.[86] In accordance with the plan (fig. 10b), visitors would have passed through a shallow vestibule, then entered an enclosed rectangular hall that contained a grand oak staircase.[87] The double return stair led to a landing and an adjoining sitting room supplied with closets, and then to the second storey, where the picture galleries were located. The provision for informal socializing and rest spaces was in keeping with both residential and club prototypes; such spaces did not appear, however, in the plans for the science museum, or in descriptions of the Mechanics

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[84]The two were a study in contrasts. For more on the Redpath Museum, see Bronson. The privileging of science and technology over art by Montreal's academic and business communities was indicative of British and Canadian trends throughout the 19th century. In Europe and, by the late 19th-century, America, art museums, which were endowed with national significance, were given more prestigious locations and monumental treatment. For a brief overview of European developments, see Kenneth Hudson, *Museums of Influence* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987) Chapter 3, and Edward P. Alexander, *Museum Masters: Their Museums and Their Influence* (Nashville, Tenn.: American Association for State and Local History, 1983). American developments are discussed in Duncan. For a brief compendium of British models, see *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain, 1790-1990* (London: Dulwich Picture Gallery, 1991).

[85]The Crystal Palace and the Redpath Museum both had central and well-articulated entrances, the museum's being particularly imposing.

[86]While the programmatic distribution within the gallery was legible from the facade, the use of blind windows on the gallery story alluded to domestic treatments. The idea of the art museum as an ideal home, complete with bourgeois interior that would serve as an inspiration to all, was not without precedent. It had been present, for example, in the museum projects of Ruskin and Morris, which constructed 'model' settings for collections of decorative art. Another trend, which developed in American museums during the 1890s, was to feature replicas of actual rooms, purchased more or less whole from dealers. Others rooms, often decorated by prestigious decorators such as Tiffany studios, who specialized in home interiors for the rich and fashionable, were simply fitted out and decorated to look like stylish domestic interiors. These too provided settings for decorative art collections. See Duncan.

[87]The Art Gallery's asymmetrical plan was in contrast to the symmetrical plan of both the Crystal Palace and the Redpath Museum.

Institute. To the rear of the ground floor hall, behind the stairs, was a square room allocated for committee or office use, while on Hopkins' plan a proposed library was positioned to the left of the hall.[88] At the top of the stairs was a lobby, which fed into the main picture gallery. Vaulted, sky-lit and wood panelled, this gallery ran the length of the building and gave access to a smaller, adjacent gallery allocated for water colors, and to a small office.[89]

Most noticeable, in contrast to the internal organization of the Crystal Palace, the Redpath Museum, and 19th-century art museums of both Europe and America, were the techniques of enclosure that prevailed in the gallery's design. More expressive of early 19th-century domestic prototypes than contemporary trends in exhibition space, the art gallery employed floor-through construction and expressed the various exhibition spaces as discrete units, or rooms. In place of arcades or columned screens, large panelled doors set in elaborate door frames restricted communication between these rooms, and between the main gallery and the lobby (figs. 11a, 11b). Such strategies maintained a sense of intimacy and separation that was at odds with the public 'pooling' and visibility encouraged by most exhibition spaces of the period, although the design of the double return stair did provide for some tiered and multiple vantage points. The broad landing off the sitting room, for example, would have been visible from the lobby outside the main gallery, and vice-versa. During vernissages, it would have served as a place from which to both see and be seen.

The use of enclosed galleries was not without precedent, however, and reflected both the nature of the Art Association's permanent collection, which at the time consisted mainly of paintings, and conventions regarding the display of art, which dictated that pictures be hung on the wall surface of a room's perimeter. An enclosed, top-lit room optimized the display space available for 'dependent', two-dimensional objects, and provided a standard module for picture galleries, while open or arcaded spaces were usually designed for the display of freestanding, three-dimensional objects.[90] The MAA

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[88]With the completion of a new wing along its Phillip's Square facade in 1893, a purpose-built library and reading room was provided. Designed by Andrew T. Taylor, another noted Montreal architect, the new wing doubled the size of the original gallery and provided storage areas, classrooms and a new picture gallery. It retained the same entrance as the original gallery.

[89]The 1879 plan made no special provision for lectures, classes or a library. Judging from the markings sketched over Hopkins' plan, the main gallery must have doubled as the lecture hall and probably accommodated the classes for the association's school of fine arts, which was founded in 1880. It is not evident where the early library (established in 1882) would have been located. The absence of a purpose-built studio indicates the priority given to art appreciation over artistic instruction and production.

[90]The distinction between picture galleries and sculpture galleries was typical of English models. According to historian Giles Waterfield in *Palaces of Art: Art Galleries in Britain, 1790-1990* , p. 24, "pictures were hung, almost always, in rooms from which the plastic arts were excluded. . . . It was rare in public museums even to show furniture [public seating excepted] in the same room as pictures. . . . The period room, much imitated in the U.S., did not exert much appeal in England."

gallery's main display space had thus been designed and arranged in accordance with these norms. With the exception of park-like benches placed at the room's centre and arranged for contemplative viewing rather than for discursive purposes (they faced away from, rather than towards, the centre), all objects embellished the room's perimeter. Significantly, this peripheral arrangement of objects within picture galleries also typified interior spaces designed for and/or occupied by women. While distinct from the typical arrangement of objects found in science or natural history museums and exhibition halls, where the centre as well as the perimeter of the space was commonly utilized for display purposes and exhibits were organized in a structural way, breaking up the space and directing the flow of traffic, the standard arrangement of picture galleries echoed a standard treatment of salons and drawing rooms.[91]

Defined by asymmetry, relative intimacy and contained spaces, fine woods, elegant decorative detail, and the embellishment of its peripheral planes, the MAA gallery emphasized the more personal over the collective, restraint over ambition, 'finish' over tectonics, or surface over structure, and the margins over the centre. Despite its public status and exhibition function, the gallery's design favoured, in location, scale, massing, style, programme, plan, materials and interior decoration, architectural sources that represented the private, domestic and traditionally feminine realms of bourgeois power and influence, rather than its collective, civic, or masculine expression. Locally, the latter were inscribed in those exhibition spaces devoted to science and technology. In designing the art gallery, Hopkins had been guided not by public structures, civic enterprise, or technical culture, but by the private mansions in which local art collections had originated, and by the private enterprise and mercantile culture that supported 19th-century museums and cultural philanthropy. He had also been guided by a progressive agenda linked not to ideologies of masculinity, but to 19th-century notions of femininity.

While women had been rent, both rhetorically and actually, from the realms of science and technology, they had long been identified with culture, albeit in the form of polite accomplishments. During the 18th century, a woman's familiarity with the fine arts, music and dancing were seen as signs of refinement and gentility—skills thought to make her more charming and entertaining to family, friends, and prospective husbands. By the early 19th century, the domestic utility of women's knowledge of the arts, expressed in conduct and in cultivated tastes rather than in artistic production, was being promoted as well. Women, thought to be the more innately sensitive, receptive, and moral sex, had become the designated bearers of culture within the middle-class home, setting behavioral,

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[91] For further discussion, and examples, of common differences in the interior arrangements of 'feminine' and 'masculine' spaces, see Chapter 4, part ii, of this thesis.

moral and aesthetic standards for their families. As women later gained importance as consumers, their knowledge of the arts was also thought beneficial in directing their consumption. By the latter part of the 19th century, by which time high culture had come to be regarded as a resource for regulating social behaviour, women had emerged, not surprisingly, as its preferred, and mobile, agents. To quote an anonymous article in *Ladies Garland*, "a female of cultivated taste, has an influence upon society wherever she moves."[92]

Accordingly, women were not only permitted, but were increasingly encouraged, to attend museums.[93] While women could avail themselves of any type of museum, they were encouraged to attend museums of art in particular for instruction that would benefit them in their role as both consumer and purveyor of culture. As signifiers of culture, bourgeois women were also thought to add, by their mere presence, to the museum's civilizing influence. Valued largely as objects of beauty, grace and refinement, women, like works of art, were to form part of the museum's 'enlightening' and pleasurable display.

Women, meanwhile, were able to exploit the identification as a means of expanding their public roles, activities, and influence.[94] When the Montreal Art Association was founded, no women were listed among its members. By 1879, 18% of its members were women and a woman, Princess Louise (daughter of Queen Victoria), had been named its patron.[95] Aspiring to engage in both cultural criticism and cultural production, women also attended the MAA's classes and were regularly represented in its spring exhibitions.[96] The

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[92]Quoted in Karen Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Art Associations in America, 1830-1930* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1994), p. 15.

[93]Bennett, p. 29. It is worth noting that museum visits encouraged a mute form of cultural engagement, unlike other cultural arenas and forms of bourgeois assembly such as coffee-houses, academies and literary and debating societies, which, still largely reserved for men, were premised on verbal and intellectual exchange.

[94]On the development of American conceptions of culture, cultural institutions, and women's use of them, see Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Culture and the City: Cultural Philanthropy in Chicago from the 1880s to 1917*. (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1976;/ rpt. 1989). See also Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Art Associations in America, 1830-1930* .

[95]MAA, Annual Report (1880). Princess Louise, a renowned artist and one of the most highly ranked sculptors in the United Kingdom, was a prominent and active supporter of, as well as contributor to, the arts during her stay in Canada as wife of its governor-general, the Marquis of Lorne. The princess helped found the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts, and was patron of both the Ladies' Educational Association and the Society of Decorative Arts. See Edgar Andrew Collard, "Queen Victoria in Montreal," in *Montreal Yesterdays: More Stories from All Our Yesterdays*, (Montreal: The Gazette, 1989), pp. 182-183.

[96]Among those who studied at the MAA was Mary Martha Phillips, an accomplished painter, teacher, and co-principal of Montreal's Victoria School of Art (later The School of Art and Applied Design), who went on to co-found, in 1894, the Women's Art Society of Montreal, a branch of the Toronto based Women's Art Association of Canada. The WASM also exhibited at the gallery. For more on the WASM, see the exhibition catalogue prepared by Elaine Holowach-Amiot, *The Women's Art Society of Montreal: A Century of Commitment to the Arts* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1993). Among those whose work was also exhibited at the MAA gallery was Miss Hannah Lyman, the head of a prestigious Montreal girl's school for 30 years and the first principal of Vassar College.

new gallery also provided space for the Society of Decorative Art, one of the earliest women's cultural associations in the city. According to a report in *Canadian Illustrated News*, its rooms were opened during the inauguration of the Gallery in 1879.[97] Saturday "Teas" were also held at the Gallery and were, according to the reminiscences of one Florence Mary Ramsden, well attended and much enjoyed.[98]

The author of a Montreal guidebook of 1903 compared the city's public gallery to the local YMCA, "[a]nother institution having for its object the development of character."[99] Geographically and architecturally however, the gallery had been linked not to the YMCA, but to a small park surrounded by genteel residences, a church and a local girls' school. Domestic in scale and largely so in design, its costly and refined interiors provided women with an elegant, "well-mannered" (and, for women from bourgeois households, largely familiar) arena in which to exhibit their artistic production, pursue training in the arts, and conduct both administrative and social activities.[100] All of which framed the design of Canada's first public art gallery as both 'feminine' space and women's space. Its presence, meanwhile, would redefine the character, if not the contours, of the square. As an architectural type, the aim of the residential square had been to *insulate* its occupants from the world outside, while serving as an *emblem* of cultivation and gentility. The aim of the late 19th-century public art gallery, as emergent institution and type, was to *welcome* the outside world and to then *disseminate*, by way of public art exhibitions, public lectures and general public commingling in a refined and 'edifying' environment, a taste for bourgeois cultivation and gentility. The changing character of the square thus corresponded to shifting cultural perceptions about women and the social roles and activities they might adopt, i.e., from ones of insularity and relative passivity, to ones of increasing public agency. It was a change that would have far reaching consequences for women, the neighborhood and the middle-class city.

"Migrating to 'Brighter Things'"—Henry Morgan's Colonial House

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[97]"Inauguration of the Art Gallery," *Canadian Illustrated News*, May 31, 1879, p. 339. It is not clear from Hopkins plans where these rooms were located. For more on women's clubs and associations, see Cynthia Rock, "Building the Women's Club in 19th-Century America," *Heresies* II, vol. 3, no. 3 (1981): 87-90 and Karen Blair, *The Clubwoman as Feminist: True Womanhood Redefined, 1864-1914* (NY: Holmes and Meier, 1980). On women's art associations in particular, see Blair, *The Torchbearers: Women and Their Amateur Art Associations in America, 1830-1930* .

[98]Mrs. Florence Mary Ramsden's manuscript, reprinted in Edgar Andrew Collard, *Call Back Yesterdays* (Don Mills, Ont.: Longmans Canada, 1965), p. 224.

[99]*Montreal and Vicinity*, p. 71.

[100]The gallery's domestic configuration and lack of observational and circulatory devices suggests that the 'public' it sought to serve was not the vast, undifferentiated one presumed by its British and American counterparts, but a distinctly female one drawn mainly from the middle-classes.

It was not until after the square's formation as a public gathering spot for women, particularly of the middle classes, that the Ste. Catherine-Union intersection began to take shape as an elegant shopping sector. Not just any shopping district, it would expand west along Ste. Catherine Street and become *the* retail corridor in the city. In the process, the character of the local area would again be altered; the city's commercial geography would be reconfigured; and the character of commercial, and public, environments, redefined such that they too would now be synonymous with both feminine space and women's space. The transition began in 1891 with the arrival, opposite the square, of Henry Morgan's Colonial House, Canada's "first true department store."[101] Already a successful dry goods emporium, Morgan's had been located on St. James Street, hitherto the city's principal shopping thoroughfare, since 1866. In 1878 it had converted to the departmental system, putting it in the vanguard of urban retailing and making it a model for department stores throughout the county.[102] Then in 1889, looking to expand and eager to capitalize on the growing carriage trade prospects of the Square Mile, the store once again bucked precedent by considering three Ste. Catherine Street locations for the site of its new store: the block north of Ste. Catherine between Union and Aylmer; a site two blocks to the east, which was later occupied by the St. James Methodist Church (now St. James United); and the former site of the Crystal Palace, near McGill College Avenue.[103] Of the three sites considered, that between Union and Aylmer, which fronted Phillips Square and neighbored both the Cathedral and the Art Gallery, was selected.[104] Here the company would expand its retail operations substantially, employing an unprecedented 400 workers, and erect an impressive, and equally unprecedented, new building, one capable of conveying the company's status as one of Canada's leading department stores, as well as the "authoritative role of mercantile activity in the life of the city."[105]

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[101]John W. Ferry, *A History of the Department Store* (NY: Macmillan, 1960), quoted in David Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal* (self-published, 1992).

[102]On the store's administrative transformation, see Morgan. According to Susan Porter Benson in *Counter Cultures: Saleswomen, Managers, and Customers in American Department Stores, 1890-1940* (Urbana: Univ. of Illinois Press, 1986), the department was created as the administrative unit for the buying and selling of a given class of goods within stores of unprecedented size and variety: "The department became the defining feature of this new type of store, distinguishing it on the one side from the chaotic jumble of the general store and on the other from the small, specialized shop." See pp. 14-16.

[103]Morgan, pp. 68-70. The Square Mile, while increasingly diversified in character, was still mainly a residential district. Shops had begun to appear along Ste. Catherine during the 1860s, but the majority of its structures were still private homes and only one or one-and-a-half stories in height.

[104]At the time, the site was occupied by a terrace of three two-and-a-half storey stone houses.

[105]Joseph Siry, *Carson Pirie Scott: Louis Sullivan and the Chicago Department Store* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1988), p. 46, with reference to department stores in general. "In their organization and development department stores were a new phenomenon, whose methods as commercial enterprises were thought to be the forerunner of the economic order of the 20th century", Siry, p. 119.

The new location was well chosen. While the Square, the Cathedral and the Art Gallery positioned the store within a framework of middle-class, 'feminine' values (family, nature, church and culture), Ste. Catherine's provided a major thoroughfare that, traversing the heart of the Square Mile, extended east to the limits of the city and west to the suburbs. It was both a wide street and "the straightest" in Montreal, and thus had excellent potential as a major streetcar route. The general vicinity meanwhile, graced with elegant brick and greystone townhouses, picturesque villas, schools and churches, had grown increasingly attractive to middle-class residents. A Montreal guidebook, *The Streets of Montreal*, noted that "a large, populous community, of the better class are settled or are settling in all the streets intersecting Ste. Catherine." Within a decade of Morgan's relocation, Ste. Catherine's had moved firmly into the middle-class spotlight, on its way to becoming, "the great business centre of the city." Property values had risen, double street car tracks had been laid, and observers marvelled at the mixed development that had taken place since the store's arrival: "it is [now] difficult to count the number of grand stores, churches, dwellings, theatres, and other places, dotted over its whole length."[106] The preponderance of lavish stores in particular, and the unprecedented scale of retail activity they provided for, prompted the 1898 edition of *The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal* (now subtitled, "With a Shopping Index and Directory") to declare that Ste. Catherine's had become to Montreal what Broadway was to New York, and Washington Street was to Boston.[107]

Proving itself an urban magnet, Morgan's had not only been able to sustain its growing business in the new location, but had prompted a new generation of like-minded retailers to follow suit, ultimately attracting other businesses and the bustle of week-day traffic away from the city's established commercial centre. Montreal's first department store had thus both anticipated and precipitated a dramatic shift in the city's commercial geography, one which saw the center of retail activity move north to the Square Mile. This shift was characterized by Montreal historian John Irwin Cooper, writing in the 1930s, as,

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[106]See *The Streets of Montreal.*

[107]*The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal: With a Shopping Index and Directory* (Mtl.: International Railway Pub. Co., 1898) p. 63. For a brief architectural survey of Montreal's major anglophone department stores, all of which would establish themselves on Ste. Catherine Street, see Guy Pinard, "Les grands magasins de l'Ouest montréalais," in *Montréal: Son Histoire, Son Architecture, Tome 5* (Montreal: Éditions du Méridien, 1992), pp. 440-452. For a series of brief articles surveying the design history of Quebec department stores, see "Les Grands Magasins," special edition of *Continuité*, No. 42, Winter 1989. No comprehensive history of Canadian department stores exists as of yet, although individual stores and their founders have been chronicled. See for example, David Morgan and Joy L. Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of his Department Store* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990). On the architecture of the Hudson Bay stores, see *Bulletin: Society for the Study of Architecture in Canada* (1995-96).

"the business world . . . leaving its grim haunts downtown for the spacious Ste. Catherine [and migrating] to brighter things."[108] Stephen Leacock described the transformation as follows:

> Let us say that Rip Van Winkle fell asleep in what he understood, in 1845, to be Montreal. When he woke up fifty years later he would find himself still in the arms of Henry Morgan and Company, bigger arms than ever, . . . transported somewhere away uphill, . . . to a pleasant road called Ste. Catherines. Nearby he would find, as he walked about, other familiar names, and would realize that Montreal had moved uphill, had moved or was on the move.
>
> A few old Rips like myself still lingered on in the old town below, leaning over empty counters and fumbling empty tills. The old place was gone, and the grand old shopping district of Great St. James Street, once gay with bright dresses and loud with the sleigh bells of society on the shop. Such little shops as remain are tucked in edgeways, as neat and bright as ever, selling cigars to brokers, neckties to the banker, expensive silverware and diamonds to anyone whose stocks had suddenly risen, and umbrellas to those out of luck. You couldn't buy a corset, let alone a pair of them, within half a mile.[109]

As this last line suggests, women, and not just entrepreneurial audacity and male perspicacity, played a key role in the development of the new shopping district and the demise of the old one. A conservative and mainly local clientele of male bankers, stockbrokers and businessmen continued to support business along the old shopping thoroughfare, while female shoppers, 'on the move' themselves, had been quick to endorse the new Colonial House. Women's support of the new store and its new location was not inconsequential. Socialized to handle the consumption needs of their families, women now comprised the majority of consumers, with bourgeois women figuring as the key demographic behind the expanding, upscale retail trade and a growing culture of consumption. Not surprisingly, theirs was the patronage targeted by the new store's design.[110]

Lavish buildings, urban in scale and elegantly appointed, were one of the defining

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[108]John Irwin Cooper, *Montreal, the Story of 300 Years* (Mtl: Impr. de Lamirande, 1948), p. 100.

[109]Stephen Leacock, *Montreal, Seaport and City* (NY: Doubleday, Doran and Co., 1942), pp. 215-216.

[110]Issues of gender and class are central to Benson's analysis, which explores the conflicting cultures that shaped the American department store: department stores are understood as predominantly women's space—'Adamless Edens'—and bourgeois space; i.e., as spaces shaped largely by middle-class feminine culture and catering mainly to middle-class women. Other authors who have explored the institution and environment of the department store in terms of women and the middle class are Gunther Barth, in *City People: The Rise of Modern City Culture in Nineteenth-Century America* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1980); William R. Leach, in "Transformations in a Culture of Consumption: Women and Department Stores, 1890-1925," *The Journal of American History*, Vol. 71, No. 2, September 1984 and Harvey Green, *Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (NY: Pantheon Books, 1983).

features of department stores and the principal means by which these new commercial institutions attracted their key demographic; introduced 'civility' into downtown districts; nurtured a culture of consumption; and conveyed the importance of retail activity in an increasingly consumer-oriented society. The architecture of these buildings was thus in marked contrast to earlier retail design. Specialty or small-scale shops, for example, typically occupied the ground floor unit of a residential or mixed-use commercial building, while department stores, free-standing, purpose-built and free of other tenants or offices, "signalled [their] commitment to a sole purpose."[111] Specialty shops were often cramped, dark and poorly ventilated, whereas department stores were typically spacious, bright, and featured sophisticated ventilating systems.[112] And while specialty shops were typically designed in terms of a single function, department stores, through their innovative programming, reconceptualized consumption in terms of amenity and convenience; recreation and relaxation; and cultural improvement. Drawing on domestic, clubhouse and cultural models, the type introduced a variety of convenient, social and 'civilizing' spaces that included elaborate rest room facilities; lounges or parlors stocked with reading and writing materials; restaurants and tea rooms; concert areas; art galleries; children's nurseries; beauty salons and barber shops; and even emergency 'hospitals'. They also introduced telephone, telegraph and postal services; parcel checks and cloak rooms; and free delivery service.[113] By the early 20th century, many American department stores had become "practically self-sufficient mini-cities."[114] Grand, commodious and up-to-date, with an emphasis on sophistication and service, these stores rose in decided contrast to such small-scale specialty shops, discreet and outmoded, as had been typical of St. James.

Informed by these changes, Morgan's new building was indeed unique within both the landscape of the Square Mile and Montreal's existing landscape of retail trade. Most notable was the building's aggressive scale. Where the Art Gallery had conformed to the domestic scale of the surrounding architecture, the department store boldly surpassed it, rivalled in height only by nearby church spires. Touted in advertisements as "the finest building in America devoted to the retail dry goods business," the new Colonial House measured 80' x 260' and stood 4 stories above grade, plus basement, when it opened in April of 1891 (fig. 14).[115] Given its location opposite Phillips Square, this impressive size

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[111] Barth, p. 130.

[112] For more on the structural and technological sophistication of department stores, see below.

[113] Of course not all department stores included all of these features. On the new service orientation of department stores see Benson, especially pp. 82-91, and Barth.

[114] Alan Gowans, *Styles and Types of North American Architecture: Social Function and Cultural Expression* (NY: Harper and Collins, 1992), p. 228.

[115] "The Colonial House. Henry Morgan and Company," full page advertisement in *The Streets of*

could be seen to full advantage. Having tripled the floor space of the St. James Street store, it was now not only the biggest building on its new block, but the largest retail store in Montreal.[116]

Designed by architect John Pierce Hill and constructed, not of local grey limestone, but of red sandstone imported from Scotland, it comprised a rectangular block that gave equal emphasis to the frontage on both Ste. Catherine Street and Union Avenue.[117] Both elevations were symmetrically composed and featured large public entrances, which were given formal emphasis. The doorways stood out in relief, were centered within the composition of the facade, and were surrounded by ?. They remained level with the street however, in keeping with commercial conventions. The facades themselves were both lively and distinguished, interweaving sturdy piers, bold Romanesque Revival arches and their decidedly robust rhythms, with the 'poise' and polish of Italianate pilasters, a crowning cornice and smoothly cut stone. The resulting elevations conveyed, within a balanced composition of horizontal and vertical accents, both energy and elegance, stability and refinement. They also signified modernity and 'progress', in so far as these stylistic features overlaid an open, grid-like organization of the facade that belied the use of new, rather than conventional, systems of structural support. In this the design borrowed from other areas of commercial, as well as industrial, architecture.[118] The glazed portions of the facade had gained in size, prominence and rectilinear regularity, and the wide structural bays of the base, sheltered by protective awnings, had been devoted entirely to large

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Montreal. p. 275. As originally planned, the building was to include a fifth floor. See Morgan, p. 70. This was a common height of early department stores.

[116]Morgan, pp. 70-72.

[117]The use of red sandstone characterizes all of Hill's known works. In this regard his buildings were among the first in the city to break with local building tradition, which had hitherto relied almost exclusively on the area's grey limestone. The introduction of the imported sandstone is attributed to Peter Lyall, one of the city's leading contractors, with whom Hill is known to have worked (Canadian Centre for Architecture, Vertical file 97-A144, "John Pierce Hill"). Unfortunately, little more is known about Hill other than that his practice flourished between 1885 and 1891. According to a piece in *Canadian Architect and Builder* (March 1889), p. 32, the Colonial House commission was the subject of a competition. Hill is also known to have designed the Wells & Richardson Co. building (1888) and a row of houses on Bishop Street for Robert Tyre and W.W. Watson (1889).

[118]Siry compares department stores to other "monuments of commercial civilization such as wholesale stores, grain elevators and railway stations" (p. 123). As a type, the department store had been quick to embrace the structural, technological and aesthetic innovations transforming commercial architecture at the time. The first tall building to employ so-called skyscraper construction in Canada was Toronto's Robert Simpson Store, which was built four years after the Colonial House to designs by Burke and Horwood. On the Parisian department store, the first to emerge as a uniquely urban institution and specific building type, see Michael Barry Miller, *Au Bon Marché: Bourgeois Culture and the Department Store, 1869-1920* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, c. 1981). On the development of department store design in America, see Siry. See also Carl Condit, *The Rise of the Skyscraper* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1952) and *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Buildings in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press, 1964).

display windows. Broad protective awnings were an amenity of department stores that both encouraged and helped mediate, in ways that were unobtrusive and pleasing, a transition from the exterior world of the street, with its expansive and elusive dimensions, to the interior world of store, with its enveloping and more apprehensible dimensions. Minimizing, but not eliminating, the effects of the outdoor climate, awnings drew passersby in toward the building's facades, where the store's window displays vied for pedestrians' attention. These window displays sought in turn to shift the focus of the pedestrian from the scale of the street, experienced as a vast panorama in constant flux, to the more intimate scale of goods displayed and featured inside, which were experienced as individual items, fixed in time and space and hence, graspable, appropriable. Thus the intermediary zone created by the awnings, in concert with window displays, not only facilitated a physical transition into the space of the department store, but affected an appropriate psychological one, one premised on scale. The generous glazing of the new pile had other uses as well. Some years later, Emily Post, author of *The Personality of a House, the Blue Book of House Design* and daughter of RVC's architect, Bruce Price, would refer to windows as "the smiles of the house."[119] In the welcoming, obliging world of the new service-oriented department store, the "smiling" facade was indeed appropriate. Notably, department store window displays, which were changed frequently and were often highly imaginative in their design, not only invited potential customers into the store, but legitimized, as 'window shopping', women's loitering outside on the street and hence, their occupation of public space.[120]

Thus the new Morgan's department store, large and red in a surround of mainly smaller, grey buildings, drew on a number of architectural sources to define an exterior facade that was both distinguished and bold, traditional and innovative, monumental and engaging. Similar qualities defined its interior. Vast and costly, it was technologically sophisticated, richly appointed and, itself a sight to see, was endowed with a view.[121] According to a *Gazette* report of 1891,

> . . . in all there was 15,000 feet of plate glass, seven miles of piping for heating and gas lighting. The cash room on the first floor receives cash from 63 stations all over the building . . . The store resembles a little palace. The view from the 4th floor is

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[119]*The Personality of a House, the Blue Book of House Design* (NY: 1930, 2nd ed., 1948).

[120]Benson, p. 18. On the elaborateness of window displays, see Leach. See also Siry, pp. 128-139, who links them to the museum and the exposition.

[121]The luxurious Windsor Hotel, one of the city's first 'public' spaces to accommodate women and incorporate feminine culture, also offered female patrons a privileged vantage point. See Cromley, *Alone Together* on the new rooftop spaces of apartment buildings.

superb. Cost $400,000.[122]

Like similar features in the store's American counterparts, these attributes conveyed to its customers that Morgan's, "embodied all that was up to date and in urban bourgeois good taste."[123] And like its American counterparts, the Colonial House also drew on a variety of models, both public and private, in developing its interior spaces. Featured alongside its selling spaces, for example, were spaces and amenities characteristic of bourgeois residences, private clubs, and cultural facilities, all of which were pervaded by an aura of luxury, comfort and refinement. In an advertisement of 1897, for example, the new store boasted of being,

> the only dry goods house in the city having a ladies waiting and reception room. It is most richly furnished and carpeted, with immense mirrors set on the walls. Connected with it are lavatories with mahogany fixtures. The firm's great enterprise in this respect is duly appreciated by the ladies of Montreal and vicinity."[124]

Montreal ladies were no doubt appreciative of more than the building's plumbing (though to be sure, it was no mean part of the store's attraction),[125] for here was a 'public' place[126] where women could gather and/or circulate (at will, without accompaniment and in relative safety) well beyond the designated waiting and reception rooms, enjoying urban-

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[122]Quoted in Morgan, p. 71. According to a company advertisement, the actual cost, including land, was $425,000.

[123]Benson, p. 19. Department stores were quick to incorporate new technologies such as elevators, electric light, forced-air ventilation, telephones, pneumatic tubes and modern plumbing and heating systems. See Benson, p. 39, and Siry. They were also among the first modern institutions to disseminate the new technologies of color, glass and light. See Leach, pp. 323-325.

[124]"The Colonial House. Henry Morgan and Company." Full page advertisement in *The Streets of Montreal*. p. 275. By the turn of the century the Colonial House also included, as was typical of the type, art galleries willing to showcase women's artist production. In 1900, for example, the store's new galleries featured an "Exhibition of Arts and Handicrafts" prepared by the Canadian Handicraft Guild, an offshoot of the Montreal Women's Art Association. The exhibit was opened by Lord Strathcona and attracted 8,000 visitors. See Elaine Holowach-Amiot, *The Women's Art Society of Montreal: A Century of Commitment to the Arts* (Montreal: McCord Museum of History, 1993), p. 6.

[125]Rest rooms in department stores, hotels and theatres not only provided the first instances of public toilet facilities for women, which greatly aided women's mobility within the city, but preceded the installation of public 'comfort stations' elsewhere. This put women's spaces in the vanguard of urban sanitation. See William R. Taylor, "The Evolution of Public Space in New York City: The Commercial Showcase of America" in *Consuming Visions*, pp. 301-302. On women's crusade for improved sanitation through design, see Adams.

[126]According to Leach, even many "merchants viewed the stores as public, not private, institutions and were so enthusiastic about service that their commitment to it threatened to overturn the system of profit that gave birth to it in the first place," pp. 330-331. Gordon Selfridge, for example, said of his department store, "This is not a shop—it's a community centre." Quoted in Barth, p. 129. Among the populace, the perception of department stores as public spaces was supported by the fact that they were open to anyone and everyone, who could in turn avail themselves of the premises and many of the services and amenities it provided, without being, or feeling, under any obligation.

scale anonymity and a freedom from obligation,[127] coupled with a level of beauty, comfort, service and amenity rarely found outside domestic environments.[128] Often referred to as "palatial", these large commercial spaces were designed, like costly private homes, to enhance and give pleasure to both their owners and their "guests". To this end such buildings' interiors combined a sense of stature, order and mastery (as conveyed through vast and lofty spaces; structural elements of an impressive scale; the use of costly materials; and systematic layouts and circulatory patterns), with a sense of intimacy, luxury and comfort (achieved through the dispersal of numerous counters decorated with enticing counter displays and promising personalized service; the inclusion of a number of intimately scaled socializing spaces; and the sensuous orchestration of localized lighting, refined finishes, interesting ornament, delicate detailing and engaging scents). By defining pleasure in terms of multiple sites and identifying it with public, as well as private, places, department store interiors represented the emergence of a new social and architectural paradigm premised, not on Baroque spatializations of masculinity, but on a 'polymorphous' capacity identified with constructions of femininity.

The following 'walk-through', based on David Morgan's remembrances, reconstructs the store's interior as he experienced it as a young boy. While the period he describes dates from the 1930s, many of the features mentioned, such as fine woods, marble pillars, lofty ceilings, luxurious carpets, and smoothly running elevators were already staples of department store interiors by the 1890s.[129] Such features helped to define the atmosphere of urban sophistication and bourgeois sumptuousness, at once grand and intimate, intimidating and seductive, restrained and indulgent, that characterized both the type and the bourgeois home:

> . . . I walked in the main entrance . . . I was in a huge room with a number of greenish marble pillars rising twenty to thirty feet to the carved wood ceiling. There were lots of glass counters lit with tiny incandescent lights, and a myriad of silver and gold jewellery. The friendly and pungent smell of leather goods greeted me. It seemed like a palace.
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> At the far end there were two elevators elaborately decorated with filigreed

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[127]The sense of anonymity and freedom from obligation found in department stores, due, in part, to their vast scale, was in marked contrast to the atmosphere encountered on entering small specialty shops, private homes or even residential neighborhoods, i.e., environments to which women were typically consigned, and often, confined. Department stores thus transferred attributes of the urban street, as more generally experienced by men, to the commercial interior, while minimizing its danger and discomfort, as more generally experienced by women.

[128]Through the skillful and aesthetic use of continuous display windows at street level, department stores also transferred some of the intimacy of scale and polychromatic and textural variations typically associated with interiors, particularly domestic ones, to the street, further blurring conventional distinctions between interiors and exteriors, private and public spaces, suburban and urban experience.

[129]The store had undergone two expansions by the 1930s.

> steel. Just beyond them I could see down the entire length of the store. It was a no boy's land where the cosmetics, hosiery, millinery and similar ladies' departments were located.
>
> A white-gloved attendant closed the elevator doors and we moved slowly and effortlessly to the second floor. I didn't dream of getting off there, as this was where the ladies' dress salon was located. I don't recall the third floor, but the fourth floor, with the sporting-goods department, was a favorite place of mine. . . .
>
> The Regency dining room was on the fifth floor. My mother and I occasionally had lunch there. All the tables were covered in white linen. I knew I was supposed to be on my best behavior. To the right of the dining room was the antiques department. It was a two-storey high room that had a carved, arched ceiling that reminded me of a church. It was full of dark wooden desks and tables, upholstered chairs and gold-framed paintings. There were some Persian rugs on the hardwood floor. I only went into this room with my mother. It was too imposing for me to visit alone.[130]

This account helps highlight the degree to which the department store not only acknowledged so-called 'feminine' culture, but was defined and pervaded by it. It also attests to the specific 'class' of feminine culture solicited. In targeting the all-important patronage of female consumers, department stores typically tailored their appeal to women of the upper and middle classes, those presumed to have, "developed a larger intelligence, . . . a greater culture and a wider and more refined taste."[131] They were also presumed, no doubt, to have more available time and money. The Colonial House, which set the precedent for the tenor of development along Ste. Catherine, was no exception. The following description of the store's wares accompanied a full page illustration of the new store in *Montreal, the Imperial City of Montreal, the Metropolis of the Dominion*, a turn-of-the-century guide to the city's major attractions and a "who's who" of local buildings:

> Since its establishment [Morgan's Colonial House] has enjoyed the most fashionable patronage in dress goods, silks, linens, the Fine Arts and house furnishings, etc. The foreign importations at this noted house include the most varied, the most select, and the most exclusive of special high-class lines in laces, silks, general dry goods, wearing apparel, and various novelties.[132]

In moving to the Square Mile and erecting its new building, Morgan's Colonial House hoped to enlarge on a female clientele that was considered affluent, progressive, cultured and discerning—an aesthetic clientele that appreciated "Fine Arts" and elegant

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[130]David Morgan, *The Morgans of Montreal* (self-published, 1992), preface, pp. 8-9. Unfortunately, no interior views, photographs or floor plans dating from the 1890s appear to still exist, leaving the degree of correlation between the young David Morgan's description and the earlier store interior to conjecture.

[131]Quoted in Benson, p. 22.

[132]*Montreal, the Imperial City of Montreal, the Metropolis of the Dominion* (Montreal: Board of Trade, 1909).

home furnishings, was up to date on current trends, and recognized high standards of quality and service. To quote Barth, "Successful participation [in department store shopping] demanded that the shopper possess not only money but the poise to assess shrewdly the offered goods. It involved familiarity with the ways of the world and knowledge of the value of things."[133]

In entering the 'home turf' of this increasingly powerful demographic, the new Colonial House and subsequent, similar ventures, would transform what had been a more conventional setting for women. Mainly residential in character, streets such as the earlier Ste. Catherine, known as 'Sunday' streets, typically came to life just once a week, during the ritual promenades of resident and neighboring families. W. G. Radford remembered Sunday outings as stiff, predictable affairs that occurred at rigidly regulated intervals, once after dinner and once before tea.[134] While the area had incurred an increase in traffic with the introduction of the Art Gallery (and, briefly, with the Crystal Palace) Ste. Catherine's conversion into a busy commercial corridor resulted in the novel experience, at least locally, of constant week-day traffic and a more varied, engaging street life. Unlike activity along the earlier Ste. Catherine's, activity along the commercial street was more diverse, anonymous and decidedly more fluid. Attracted by the presence of a large department store, traffic in the area now came from the rest of the city and its suburbs, as well as the surrounding area, and consisted largely of female shoppers and 'pink collar' workers.[135] The fluctuations of these crowds were in turn determined to a considerable extent by the schedules of these shoppers and by the varied and flexible rhythms of shopping excursions.[136] The crowds along the new Ste. Catherine Street tended, therefore, to disperse more evenly throughout the day than those of either office, industrial or residential districts, which were more regimented in character, thus making the area less prone to periods of isolation.

But if the character of a conventional women's environment was being altered, the character of conventional shopping environments was also undergoing transformation. Geared mainly towards women, new department stores such as the Colonial House altered both the 'persona' and design features traditionally associated with such spaces, and helped to shape new standards of conduct while defining new standards of quality, safety, service and efficiency. Businesses along department store shopping corridors, for example, were

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[133]Barth, p. 144. On an 'aesthetic' clientele as a female one, see Girouard.

[134]See Radford, quoted in Collard, p. 235.

[135]The increase in female traffic no doubt contributed to the Art Association's decision to expand in 1893.

[136]On the flexible and varied rhythms of shopping excursions (albeit determined, at its outer limits, by 'male time') see Leach, pp. 334-335.

expected to be 'respectable' in character, and the street's crowds, while gay and festive in effect, were expected to be civil in demeanor.[137] Montreal historian Edward Andrew Collard, in an article on the Castle Blend Co.'s Ste. Catherine Street "Teas and Coffees Tearooms," notes that the 'smartness' and elegance of the neighborhood helped generate a sense of occasion, and suggested comparable attire and manners on the part of those who frequented it.[138] Benson, in referring to American department stores, concurs: "The combination of great size and luxurious appointments conveyed a powerful message: consumption was not just a matter of keeping one's person decently clothed or one's linen press well-stocked, but also a way of behaving . . ." and that behaviour was linked to urban gentility.[139] Likewise Barth, in *City People*, contends that the emergence of the department store, "brought into the bustle of the downtown the civility that most men had reserved for those aspects of city life they considered properly the social sphere. Thus the store . . . open[ed] the city centre to the 'civilizing' influences of women. . ."[140]

All of these features contributed to the formation of Ste. Catherine's as a new-type, and not just newly, urban street. Representing a recognition of women within both the urban environment and the middle-class economy, as well as a new form and scale of retail development, the new shopping corridor altered more than Montreal's commercial geography: it altered the local conception of public space. Redesigned, by the turn of the century, as a modern, service-sector environment catering primarily to women, the heart of the Square Mile, not to mention the transplanted heart of Montreal's mercantile community, had been transformed. The new Ste. Catherine, once notable for its residences, was now notable, not just for its emergence as an urban shopping street, but for the character of its urbanity. And that urbanity was irrefutably linked to gender. If Ste. Catherine's had become essentially 'a weekday street', by the late 1890s, it had also become essentially 'a women's street': an environment, novel in the context of the industrial city, where women (albeit from the middle-classes) could circulate publicly, prominently, independently, at any hour during the business day, and with relative ease and pleasure, in relative safety and with purpose; an environment that was, to a degree unprecedented within the 19th-century, middle-class city, informed by the daily activities of large numbers of women and shaped

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[137]The greater exuberance (i.e., variety in color, material, design, and decoration, not to mention greater voluminousness) of women's apparel relative to men's clothing at the turn of the century added to the festive impression generated by streets filled with women.

[138]*Collard*, pp. 8-9. On women and tea rooms, see Cynthia A. Brandimarte, "'To Make the Whole World Homelike'—Gender, Space, and America's Tea Room Movement," *Winterthur Portfolio* Vol. 30, No. 1 (Spring 1995): 1-19.

[139]Benson, pp. 82-83.

[140]Barth, p. 145.

by feminine culture.[141] Both preeminent and public, it afforded women a new visibility and a new freedom within city space.[142] Most importantly perhaps, it testified to the new and remarkable influence women were exerting, not just within urban space, but over its formation.[143]

As a "bulwark of urban gentility" and the bourgeois cultures of consumption and femininity, Morgan's, like other department stores, was a monument to middle-class notions of refinement, good taste, and propriety. It was also a testament to the efficacy of persuasion rather than command, of influence over authority—a public vehicle of sociability, decorum and diversion.[144] It was also hugely successful. Business thrived in the new building and in 1902, 11 years after it opened, the 'biggest building on the block' was enlarged along Aylmer. To again quote Leacock, "The foresight of Henry Morgan and Company, the pioneer explorers of Ste. Catherine Street, was fittingly rewarded by the success and celebrity of their colossal store. Their example was widely followed in the whole orbit of retail and domestic trade."[145]

The House of Birks: Henry Birks and Sons

Among the first to follow Morgan's was Henry Birks and Sons which, in 1894, moved from its St. James Street premises to a new, purpose-built structure located diagonally opposite the Colonial House (fig. 15). Renowned as jewellers and silversmiths, the company also dealt in fine china, crystal and leather goods. Like the enterprise founded by Henry and James Morgan, 'The House of Birks' was a family business catering to a 'refined' and affluent clientele.[146] In moving to the Square Mile, Henry Birks followed the advice of Henry Morgan's sons, Colin and James, and purchased a corner lot opposite

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[141]Within the broader cultural parameters of 19th-century Montreal, conventual environments also attested to the urban presence and power of women. See Martin.

[142]Morgan's continued to serve as downtown women's space. According to the warden's notes from a discussion with resident staff and students dated October 1927, Morgan's was included among places of public entertainment considered suitable for RVC women. Other places listed were the Ritz Carlton, a posh hotel; Mount Royal, a picturesque park, and the Windsor Hotel. MUA, RG. 4, "RVC Resident Students."

[143]To again quote Barth, the emergence of the department store made the "presence of women a distinct attribute of the downtown section of the modern city" and "made the new phenomenon of a feminine public possible." It "introduced women as a new social force in city life," and "validated the downtown district as the centre for a flow of people as well as of goods". pp. 121, 145, 147.

[144]According to Benson, department stores, conditioned by the emergence of a service sector and a society based on mass consumption, revolved around "a *drama of persuasion* in which social interaction replaced production as the essence of the work process." [emphasis added] pp. 9-10.

[145]Leacock, p. 216

[146]See A. Robert George for a company history, *The House of Birks: A History of Henry Birks and Sons*, (private printing, 1946).

Phillips Square and the Cathedral, with frontage on both Ste. Catherine Street and Union Avenue.[147] He also hired a local architect, a young Edward Maxwell, to design the new building. It was Maxwell's first independent commercial commission, and his proposals drew heavily on designs for the new Montreal Board of Trade building, a project Maxwell was then supervising for the Boston firm of Shepley, Rutan and Coolidge.[148] The final design however, according to Maxwell's "Daily Journal, 1892", was greatly influenced by Birks himself, who suggested one of the building's most distinctive features, the rounded exterior corner wall with the large show window.[149] Birks also requested that a fourth floor be added to Maxwell's proposals in order to provide studio space for the celebrated photographic firm of William Notman.[150] The store itself, which would contain showroom space on the ground floor and workshops on the third, was to have more than three times the selling space of the St. James premises and would be noted in *The Streets of Montreal* as the largest store of its kind in Montreal.[151]

Both outside and in, the completed store featured a high degree of polish and pedigree, appearing, like the gems and silverware it sold, and the customers in sought to serve, both refined and elegant. Like many commercial buildings of the period, and like the art gallery and the department store across the square, the style of the building drew on the urbane and mercantile associations of Italianate designs. Its major facades featured a

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[147]Morgan, p. 75.

[148]Robert Lemire, "Edward Maxwell: Magasin et bureaux de Henry Birks and Sons" in *The Architecture of Edward and W. S. Maxwell* (Montreal: Montreal Museum of Fine Arts, c. 1991), p. 71. The commission for the Board of Trade helped bring Maxwell to the attention of Montreal's monied elite. Maxwell would go on to become one of Canada's most prominent architects, designing a number of distinguished commercial, cultural and civic buildings, as well as numerous elegant city homes and country estates for Montreal's well-to-do. His drawings are held in the Edward and William Sutherland Maxwell archive at McGill University. For a guide to the archive, see Irena Murray, ed., *Edward and W. S. Maxwell: a Guide to the Archives* (Montreal: Canadian Architecture Collection, Blackader-Lauterman Library of Architecture and Art, McGill, 1986). For more on the architecture of Edward Maxwell, seen Lemire. See also Annmarie Adams, "Rooms of Their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," *Material History Review* 40 (Fall 1994): 29-41.

[149]Unlike the final design, which turns the corner with one fluid sweep, Maxwell's earlier drawings show a standard rectilinear meeting of the two facades. Lemire brings attention to Henry Birks as the source of this change in his article. Curved forms and/or rounded protrusions distinguished many of the buildings (i.e., residences, department stores, hotels, women's colleges) frequented by women toward the turn of the century. Rounding walls also served to distinguish women's spaces within buildings, in much the same way bay and oriel windows frequently signaled domestic spaces within buildings of mixed use. While these forms were not exclusive to women's buildings, they did appear with marked regularity in buildings designed for, and frequented by, women during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, and thus helped to define women's spaces as a cultural type, i.e., as a category of spaces that cut across functional type.

[150]Maxwell specified Notman and Sons as the occupant on the studio's floor plan. According to *The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal* (1898), the photography firm also occupied the second floor, which was used for office and engagement room space. See p. 67.

[151] *The Streets of Montreal*, p. 195.

tripartite composition crowned with a cornice, restrained classical ornament, and a surface of smoothly cut beige sandstone. The treatment of the Birks store was more stylized and much less sculptural than the art gallery however, which had just been enlarged along its Phillips Square facade. And unlike the discrete entrance to the gallery, the store's principal entrance was distinguished by a monumental door decorated overhead with ironwork and a large, round clock. Such an entrance served to embellish both the Ste. Catherine Street elevation and the stature of those who crossed its threshold. Sensitive to the elite status of the store's clientele, the building's design was also sensitive to the public scale, situation and character of the store itself. The highly visible clock, for example, not only marked the threshold to the store and advertised one of its wares, but supplied a visual and temporal reference point for the surrounding area. Also expressive of the store's public situation and urban character was the special emphasis given the corner where Ste. Catherine and Union Avenue met. By allowing the facades along these intersecting streets to flow together in one seamless gesture, i.e., by rounding the corner with the continuous movement of a graceful curve, the design drew attention not only to, but around, the corner, giving the building a presence at once elegant and dynamic. A large, three-sided display window of plate glass followed this curve and further highlighted, as well as exploited, the busy intersection. Expanses of plate glass also spanned the broad structural bays facing both Ste. Catherine and Philip's Square, in keeping with the design of the nearby department store. As a vertical, and lyrical, counterpoint to the form's horizontal curve, a series of arcaded windows, continuing the line of the windows along the base, rose through the second and third stories. The resulting effect, elegant and vital, was a model of urbane sophistication.

The building's apparent imperviousness to harsh edges, sharp transitions, jarring proportions, crude materials and poor taste continued with its interior, particularly on the ground floor, which was devoted entirely to the store's showroom. Here customers were greeted with the spectacle of marbled columns, rare and glittering objects enclosed in glass showcases, enamelled and gilded furniture, and, in a separate room with its own 'display' window, works of art.[152] It was an environment not unlike that found in the department store. And like the department store, this display of 'timeless' opulence was enhanced by a modern emphasis on technical and organizational concerns. *The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal* (1898) commented that the showrooms, "for light and convenience, are unexcelled possibly by any in America."[153] A quick and effortless ride via the electric

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[152]See *The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City of Montreal: With a Shopping Index and Directory* (1898), p. 68, for a brief account of the store's wares. According to Maxwell's plans, considerable space was originally allocated for the Art Room.

[153]*The Windsor Hotel Guide to the City*, p. 68.

lift to the Notman studio located on the building's uppermost floor, and visitors could be transfixed in the same light of genteel affluence that bathed the Birks showroom below. In having their likenesses skillfully transferred to a glass negative, visitors could at once experience, confirm, and commemorate their position within an emerging world of cultured gentility and 'progressive' technology.[154]

"A place of resort for the cultivated mind": Notman's Photographic Studio

The first Notman studio had opened in 1856 on Bleury Street, two blocks away from the then commercial and retail centre of St. James and Notre-Dame. In 1860 the studio moved to larger quarters on the same street, where the business remained until William Notman's death in 1891. It was three years later that the studio moved to the Birks store building, marking the transfer of the business to William's sons, William and Charles. By this time, Notman's represented the largest photographic business in North America, having had, at one time or another, seven studios in Canada and nineteen in the northeastern states.[155] "Photographer to the Queen" since 1860 and internationally acclaimed, the studio's reputation had long been intertwined with that of the city's elite.

The business had risen to its position of prestige and prosperity mainly by pursuing a policy of photographing prominent individuals and offering their prints for sale to the public.[156]Although Notman's photographs ranged in subject matter from feats of engineering to domestic interiors, portraits had been, and remained, the backbone and mainstay of the business.[157] Among the thousands of faces and figures featured in the photographs, many correspond to names found on the membership lists of the Art Association of Montreal, of which Notman was a founding member.[158] This was perhaps

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[154]"By having one's portrait done an individual of the ascending classes could visually affirm [her] his new social status both to [her] himself and to the world at large," Gisele Freund, *Photography and Society* (Boston: David R. Godine, 1980), p. 9.

[155]Stanley G. Triggs, *William Notman's Studio: The Canadian Picture* (Montreal: McCord Museum of Canadian History, 1992), p, 57. For histories of the man, his studio and his business, as well as compilations of his photographs, see also Triggs, *The Stamp of a Studio* (Toronto: Coach House Press for the Art Gallery of Ontario, 1985); J. Russel Harper and Stanley Triggs, eds., *Portrait of a Period: A Collection of Notman's Photographs 1856-1915* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1967); Roger Hall, *The World of William Notman: The Nineteenth Century Through a Master's Lens* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993); and the National Film Board of Canada, *Notman's World* (1989). The main repository of his work is the Notman Photographic Archives of the McCord Museum, Montreal. On the archive, see Barbara M. Syrek, "Les archives photographiques notman du Musée McCord" (Montreal: McGill University Libraries, 1994), *Fontanus*, v. 7. Many of his prints and glass negatives are also held at the McGill University Archives.

[156]Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*, pp. 23-25.

[157]Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*, p. 45. While much of Notman's exterior work was done on speculation, his portraits were done on commission, as were most of his photographs of private homes and their interiors.

[158]Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*, p. 27

not surprising. It was, at any rate, good business. Notman was able, in the course of his ongoing relationship with the Association, to secure many a prominent client, happy to be "made visible in the light of their aspirations,"[159] and to thereby pursue commercial and professional aspirations of his own.

While much of commercial portraiture was concerned with the commemoration of men and the commodification of their success, "photographic portraiture, especially as it was practiced in the photographic studios of the major cities of the nineteenth century, was [also] devoted to the production of portraits of . . . families."[160] Suren Lalvani, in *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies*, notes that the family, as one of three key sites within the ideological and social formation of 19th-century bourgeois society, became a primary focus of photographic representation during this time (Lalvani refers to the two other sites as the nation-state and the individual). Lalvani goes on to argue however, that 19th-century family portraiture was a means of endorsing patriarchal hegemony, insofar as it reproduced its subjects (multiple families) according to certain discursive conventions and in the image of a particular, normative family type, one held as ideal and based, in turn, on a particular set of ideological and social relations rooted in patriarchy. While this held true for many family portraits, many others, at least among those produced by the Notman studio, avoided the standard iconography of female dependence and passivity. In fact, a large proportion of the women featured in the archive are represented independently of familial relationships. They stand alone in the centre of the picture frame, in poses and with expressions of self-assurance and/or solemnity comparable to those found in the portraits of their husbands and fathers. They attest not to women's marginalization or subjugation, but to their participation and stature in the urban life and culture that marked the arrival of the middle-class.[161] As such, these portraits owe more to the dominant discourses that informed the cult of the individual than to those that informed gender. Lalvani's argument that 19th-century portraiture rested not on the revealing of individuals, but on the construction of ideal middle-class types, suggests, in fact, that formal portraiture, public in its intent and in its use of collectively understood codes (Lalvani writes, "portraiture is always about public display, even if the photo is limited to private consumption. There is an attending to the discursive, the cultural, and the

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[159]Suren Lalvani, *Photography, Vision, and the Production of Modern Bodies* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1996), with reference to photographic portraits in general, p. 69. Photographic portraits, like the new array of buildings terminating urban vistas, functioned as evidence of advancing social status.

[160]Lalvani, p. 47.

[161]For an interesting selection of Notman's female portraits, see Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*.

social that is implicit in the portrait"), existed as a particularly potent site for contesting existing typologies.

If the studio portrait was important to women of the middle-class, the wives and daughters of Montreal's men of note, prolific among Notman's photos, were, conversely, crucial to Notman's success.[162] Visiting his studio to have their portraits taken, as well as to arrange appointments for others and to purchase prints and related items, women figured as influential clients in a business that depended in large part on the documentation of family (its members and its relationships) and on the use of such images.[163] Also influential in a business that depended in large part on representations of family, was domestic culture. It is perhaps not surprising then that photographer's studios, like department stores and hotels, sought in their location and design to provide sumptuous 'homelike' environments featuring elegant parlor/reception rooms.[164]

Many photographic studios were in fact located in, or occupied extensions to, domestic environments. Such had been the case with Notman's earliest Montreal studio. The parlor settings of his commercial studios thus had their antecedents in actual domestic practice. Photography's adaptability to domestic spaces; its growing association with culture and the arts; and the photographer's need for "painstaking" application and a "delicate touch", all helped to define the field as one available to women.[165] While advocated in the main as a suitable 'pastime' for ladies, photography also represented one of the few acceptable career options then available to women, married or single, and by the turn of the century, "city-bred," middle-class women were linked not only to the

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[162]According to Triggs, Notman's studio benefitted from well-to-do women not only as photographic subjects and clients, but as a source of business capital. Women's institutions were also instrumental in the development and expansion of Notman's business. In 1869 Miss Hannah Lyman, formerly of Montreal and principal of Vassar College at the time, had Notman photograph the college's students and staff, which led, in turn, to a lucrative sideline photographing schools in the north-eastern United States. Notman went on to become the largest producer of school photographs in the U.S. during the next ten years. Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*, p. 35.

[163]As an activity based on the display of an ornamented/ornamental body, posing for portraits would have been deemed a particularly 'appropriate' activity for women and would have justified their going into the center of the city. Posing for portraits would also have been a coveted activity from the point of view of the middle-class, given portraiture's aristocratic associations and its status implications as a display of the self. While there was nothing new about women and/or families as a subject of portraiture, there was about the class (and hence the numbers) of women and/or families that, with the advent of the photographic portrait, could now afford to have their portraits done, and about the scale of business that portraiture now represented.

[164]On the history of the public parlor as a 'model' room and influential cultural type, see Grier.

[165]In *The Positive Image: Women Photographers in Turn of the Century America* (Albany: State Univ. of NY Press, 1988), Jane Grover notes that the camera, like the 'minor' technologies of the typewriter and the sewing machine, became one of the few mechanical devices associated with women (p. 2).

consumption of photography, but to its production.[166] In establishing their own careers, many of these women fashioned their own spaces, designing them as appendages to their homes.

As an architectural type, the photographic studio hovered ambiguously between private and public spaces, just as the portrait, as a photographic type, "hover[ed] problematically between interior and exterior identities." Whether large or small, adapted or purpose-built, the majority of 19th-century photographic studios combined public parlors (elegant reception, exhibition and sales spaces, similar in scale, decor, lighting, and arrangement to domestic parlors); semi-public 'operating rooms' (sky-lit, sparsely furnished and marked by the tools of the trade, these rooms constituted small-scale theatrical spaces, or 'stages', where an iconography of time, place, personality and event could be continually reconstructed between the photographer and the sitter[s]); and 'private' work rooms (darkrooms and finishing rooms marked by chemical odours, technical equipment, an absence of decoration, and restricted access). Notman's original Bleury Street reception room, for example, measured 35'x70' and was luxuriously appointed.[167] His Maritime reception room meanwhile was described by an observer as, "a place of resort for the cultivated mind," where "the eye always rested on something pleasing and charming."[168]

While the photographer's reception space had obvious links to homes real and imagined, other domestic connections were less overt. American photographer Catherine Weed Barnes Ward, for example, likened the work rooms of the studio to the ideal home, seeing both as sheltered environments with "little noise or confusion."[169] Ward, it should be noted, advocated photography as a profession for well-educated, middle-class women "with refinement, art tastes, literary culture . . . and considerable business ability."[170] However, if the work rooms were typically enclosed, precise and stable in their arrangement, the portrait studios, or operating rooms, were usually large, sky-lit and

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[166]Women were quick to exploit both its artistic *and* commercial possibilities, gaining both international recognition and financial security. One of Canada's best-known photographers, for example, was Hannah Maynard, who opened a studio in Victoria, B.C. during the 1860s and carried on a successful business until her retirement in 1912, at the age of 78. See Ralph Greenhill, *Early Photography in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford Univ. Press, 1965), p. 56.

[167]According to Triggs, it had, "no equal in Montreal and few in other countries." For a description of the studio see Triggs, *William Notman's Studio*, pp. 49-50.

[168]George Stewart (1877), quoted in Greenhill, p. 49. His reception rooms also doubled as both commercial and gallery space: "Notman . . . frequently held exhibitions of paintings, watercolours, or sculptures, and his studio was a central fixture for those interested in the arts in Montreal." Triggs, *The World of William Notman*, p. 19.

[169]Grover, p. 51.

[170]Grover, p. 52.

amorphous. Supplied with props, these rooms were designed to stand in for any number of spaces, from a well-stocked library to an outdoor winter scene. The gradual introduction of accessories into portraiture had enabled sitters to select a particular setting, season, activity, or mood with which to be identified, i.e., to conjure a sense of place through which to represent themselves. This emphasis on fantasy and emblematic displays was similar to the decorative approach taken by department stores of the era, as well as many domestic and hotel interiors, where imaginative 'settings' were constantly being recast. In this respect, even the space of the 'operating room' was linked to a variety of landscapes commonly inhabited by women.

According to the Maxwells' plans, the new Notman studio was largely consistent with standard programmatic requirements. In addition to the studio itself, the Birk's location included reception space, office space, three dressing rooms, a stock room, artists' room, work room, copying room, negative room, bromide room, silvering room, and a toning room.[171] The Maxwells' plans also reveal, however, that the traditional parlor has been replaced by a relatively small hall. The domestic emphasis once established by the reception area was thus evidently giving way to a more business-like orientation.[172] In the studio's new location, domestic signifiers were probably not thought as necessary in attracting a female clientele.[173] Now the neighborhood set the tone. Located atop an elegant jewellery store and within the emerging hub of the new "women's" district, Notman's could both maintain and update the manner in which a genteel establishment catering to women was conceptualized.

The studio's location above the jewellery store was appropriate in a number of ways. Like the silver flatware, the expensive bric-à-brac, the antique chairs, and the paintings all sold below, Notman photographs served as objects of home decoration—highly valued items, at once status symbols, art objects and personal momentos. As decorative objects, photographic portraits were particularly well-suited to the middle-class: they mimicked the role of painted portraiture and miniatures as used in aristocratic modes of display, while at the same time showcasing 'high tech', state-of-the-art processes of representation and reproduction. As decorative objects, these photographs were also remarkably flexible. When enlarged, hand-colored and handsomely framed, they could be

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[171]The actual studio, along with a printing and dark room, occupied an upper half storey that ran the depth of the building. It was accessed by a short flight of stairs off the reception space.

[172]A fire gutted the premises in 1908, leaving only the 'looking up' room and the offices on the second floor intact. Many of the negatives from that period were destroyed in the fire, which probably explains why no interior views of the reception room for the Birks location exist. Both earlier and later reception rooms were photographed, prints of which can be found in the Notman Photographic Archive.

[173]The reception area's 'gallery' function had also become redundant in view of the nearby Art Association Gallery.

hung on dining and [boardroom] walls, in imitation of their painted precursors.[174] Smaller prints could be encased in any variety of portable frames and either related in assemblages or left isolated; assemblages could be added to, subtracted from or rearranged at will; and they could be moved about with ease, from the parlor to the bedroom, from the mantle to the table, even into the hands of an admiring guest. As such, photography/ photographic displays became one of the means whereby women wove their relationships into the decor of their homes, and the decor of their homes into their relationships. Unframed, photographs could also be used as a decorative finish (a sort of wallpaper), or as a drapery. Used in this way, photographs, serving as raw material, became a means of obscuring and redefining the interior contours of a room and creating all manner of theatrical, spatial and/or atmospheric effects. Photographic portraits also became a means whereby women and children 'entered' the environment of the office place, securing a 'watchful' presence atop desks and other pieces of office furniture. And while these photographs decorated and occupied both domestic and corporate spaces, other Notman photographs documented these spaces, noting in detail the possessions with which they were filled and rendering them, like their owners, "visible in the light of their aspirations."

Thus in a variety of ways (as emblems of family; as decorative objects and modulators of interior/residential space; and as inventories of material worth), Notman photos both chronicled and helped create, literally and rhetorically, the domestic dimensions which underscored middle-class identity during the late 19th century. The marriage, meanwhile, of jewellery store and photographer's studio, of silver frames and silver nitrate, represented not only a telling merger of aristocratic pretensions and bourgeois inventions, but a blurring of domestic relations and urban locations, and of cultural conventions and transformative intentions, that aptly summarized the shifting culture of late 19th-century middle-class women. The venture proved, like the department store, hugely successful, and drew a steady stream of customers to the new site.[175] By 1902, business had outgrown the available space and Birks store was enlarged along its Philip's Square facade. In 1906 it was again enlarged, this time extending the length of the square.[176]

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[174]Triggs notes that hand-colored portraits were particularly popular among the well-to-do. See *William Notman's Studio*, p. 25.

[175]The combination of jewellers and portrait photographer was also particularly appealing, according to *The Windsor Guide to the City of Montreal*, to well-heeled travellers (p. 67) and helped secure the new shopping core along Ste. Catherine as a tourist destination.

[176]These alterations were done by the Montreal firm of Hutchison and Wood. In 1931 the building was modified yet again, this time by Nobbs and Hyde, prompting the authors of *Architecture commerciale III*, (Répertoire d'architecture traditionelle sure le territoire de la communauté urbaine de Montreal) to observe that this architecturally prestigious building was the work of three of the most important firms for commerical architecture in Montreal. Percy Nobbs, who had taught at McGill and designed many of its buildings, would later design a new wing for the RVC. For more on Nobbs, see Chapter 4 of this thesis.

New "systems of living": 'The Sherbrooke' Apartments

With the construction of the Royal Victoria College in 1899, this network of women's spaces, which had already begun to spread west along Ste. Catherine, became linked with Sherbrooke Street. "[A] broad, handsome street at the base of the mountain," often referred to as the 5th Avenue of Montreal, Sherbrooke was at the time lined with magnificent private homes and noted for its gracious ambiance.[177] It is these private mansions that typically draw the attention of historians, but Sherbrooke was also significant as the site of a growing number of upscale housing alternatives, or new 'systems of living'. An article appearing in *Canadian Architect and Builder* in 1904, for example, commented that, ". . . [a] striking feature in the better localities [in Montreal] is the number of apartment houses which have appeared . . . "[178] This was a feature shared with such cosmopolitan cities as New York and Paris, but precocious in the context of Canadian cities, even by 1907: "Montreal is the only Canadian city in which apartment houses are at all common."[179]

Among the first such buildings to be erected in the city, and the first to rise amidst the elegant mansions and terraced housing that had hitherto monopolized the neighborhood, was an apartment hotel known simply as 'The Sherbrooke."[180] In a two-part article on the history of the apartment, Montreal historian Edgar Andrew Collard notes that the name "The Sherbrooke" emphasized the building's elegant location, which was on Montreal's most fashionable street.[181] It also gave the building the aura of an elite city club. The allusion was not incidental. Built by Roswell Fisher, a Montreal lawyer with an interest in 'progressive' housing, and designed by the Montreal firm of Hutchison and Steele, The Sherbrooke was intended as a cross between the French hotel and the British club: "All we have to do is to combine two very flourishing institutions—the great Swiss or French Hotel and the British club—into one, and we will have our co-operative mansion almost complete."[182] Accordingly, The Sherbrooke's exterior walls of red brick with masonry

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[177]Sherbrooke would remain primarily residential until the 1930s.

[178]*CAB*, Vol. 17 (Dec. 1904), p. 201, quoted in Gersovitz, p. 29.

[179]*American Architect and Building News*, Vol. XCI, No. 1619 (Jan. 5, 1907), pp. 17-18, quoted in Gersovitz, p. 28.

[180]According to the Communauté urbaine de Montréal, *Répertoire d'architecture traditionelle sur le territoire de la communauté urbaine de Montréal, architecture domestique II: les apartements*, The Sherbrooke was built in 1889.

[181]"How apartments came to Montreal," *The Gazette*, April 13, 1974. See also "Montreal's First Apartment," *The Gazette*, April 6, 1974. The apartment was built at the corner of Sherbrooke and Crescent Streets on the site of the old sports ground of the Montreal Amateur Athletics Association. The practice of naming apartment buildings helped distinguished them from private dwellings.

[182]Roswell Fischer, quoted in Collard. For more on Fischer, see Collard. On European hotels and

trim linked the building not with the majority of surrounding greystone mansions and rowhouses, but with the local St. James Club (Hopkins,).[183] And unlike the majority of surrounding mansions and rowhouses, but in semblance of the local Windsor Hotel, it rose five storeys in height (the Windsor rose to a height of six storeys, plus basement), and opened directly onto the public street. It was also designed with an eye to maintaining ties to more traditional forms of genteel residence, however. With its main entrance bay recessed between two [-], it's principal facade closely resembled a group of rowhouses located further east, at the corner of University and Sherbrooke.

This elegant new multiple housing scheme, which was in keeping with the latest 'progressive' housing trends taking place in both Europe and America, drew comment in Reverend J. Douglas Borthwick's *The Streets of Montreal*, which provided the following commentary:

> A very large venture on the plan of such residences in New York and elsewhere is found in the West of [Sherbrooke] street. It is an imposing structure, called after the street, "The Sherbrooke" and some of our most prominent citizens, prefer living there than having the trouble of domestics, etc. in keeping private residences. Roswell Fischer Esqr. is to be commended for his attempt (quite successful) to inaugurate such a system of living in Montrea! . . . .[184]

While obviously aimed at a 'high-end' market, it also sought to make elegant living more affordable, and hence more available, by keeping construction costs down, and by replacing the initial capital outlay and debt incurred in buying and maintaining a home with monthly rental payments.[185] Based on the premise of 'co-operative housekeeping', it also

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British clubs, see Donald J. Olsen, *The City as a Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986). See also Schoenhauer on the French hotel.

[183]For more on the St. James Club, see Edgar Andrew Collard, *The Saint James's Club* (Montreal, 1957).

[184]*The Streets of Montreal*, p. 228.

[185]Like Phillips Square and Beaver Hall Hill, The Sherbrooke appears to have attracted professionals, McGill's medical faculty, in particular. See Collard. According to a limited study (Barbara Maas, "The Advent of Apartment Building in Montreal: 1890-1930," Undergraduate thesis, Department of Geography, McGill University, 1977), its earliest tenants were all in a high income bracket, or of private means, with one third of them professionals. According to the same study, widows and unmarried women represented approximately one quarter of all apartment dwellers in Montreal. Miss Mary Martha Phillips, president of the Women's Art Association and of the Canadian Handicraft Guild, was listed as a tenant of The Sherbrooke in Morgan, *Canadian Men and Women of the Time* , 1912. On the architectural and social history of apartment buildings and their relationship to women, see Elizabeth Collins Cromley, *Alone Together: A History of New York Apartments* and "Apartments and Collective Life in Nineteenth-Century New York" in Karen A. Franck and Sherry Ahrentzen, eds., *New Households, New Housing* (NY: Van Nostrand and Reinhold, 1989): 20-46. See also Chapter 5 of Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way*, which looks at women's apartments in England, and Hayden. On the history of the luxury hotel as an urban space for women, see Brucken. On class variations in apartment hotels, see Paul Groth, *Living Downtown: The History of Residential Hotels in the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994).

sought to free women from "household cares [so that they] would have more leisure to devote themselves to intellectual pursuits, the training of their children and to charitable and other interests."[186] While initially the plan had called for a public dining room on the ground floor, Roswell retreated from this more daring move, and a central basement kitchen was instead designed, from which meals would be delivered, via dumb waiters, to individual apartments.[187] Both solutions were devised in imitation of hotel service, as was the apartment's provision of maid service.[188]

As signs of its modernity, the building also featured an automatic elevator and, as a fireproofing measure, solid brick interior walls between the four apartments on each floor. The apartments themselves were intended to be "large and gracious," with high ceilings, ample light and attractive views. Designed, then, with an emphasis on convenience, safety, comfort and refinement, the 'progressive' design was presumed capable of exerting a 'civilizing' and moral function much like other shared, or public, bourgeois spaces: "Young bachelors, too often driven to vice by the discomforts and social isolation of lodgings, would hail such a house with delight."[189] Thus while it would help to liberate women, it would also help to restrain men. This new 'system of living' proved popular, and an addition, the 'New Sherbrooke', was completed in 1905. Extending along Sherbrooke Street to Bishop Street, it contained twice the accommodation of the original structure, and included a ground floor restaurant and the option of fully furnished units.

Two other large and prestigious apartment houses, the Grosvenor and the Linton, both by Findlay and Spence (1905 and 1906-7) were built on Sherbrooke shortly thereafter, while just south of Sherbrooke, on Bishop Street, Bishops Court, by Saxe and Archibald (1904-5), appeared. Although these apartments were not modelled on the more radical concept of the apartment hotel, they did belong to a new class of luxury accommodation based on shared housing concepts. Like the apartment hotel, these apartments were aimed at a genteel tenancy, and were deemed suitable housing for single women, as well as for men or family groups. And like the apartment hotel, they catered specifically to those who chose to either live in, or frequent, the city. Fronting elegant sections of public thoroughfares, and with easy access to public transportation and urban amenities, they helped cultivate the concept of downtown living and counter the trend of

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[186]Roswell, quoted in Collard.

[187]The dumb-waiter arrangement did not prove entirely satisfactory, and in the New Sherbrooke, an extension built in 1905, the design reverted to the restaurant plan. See Collard.

[188]On the feminist implications/significance of kitchenless dwellings and the apartment hotel, which ranked as part of a "Grand Domestic Revolution", see Hayden's book of the same name. See also Gilman.

[189]Roswell, quoted in Collard.

suburbanization.[190]

Given its location at the juncture of Union and Sherbrooke Street and its status as collective housing, RVC would cultivate the concept of downtown living even more forcefully.[191] In stressing not just elegance and prominence, but convenience and connectedness, its location surpassed that of The Sherbrooke or other Sherbrooke Street apartments. Its auspicious site both facilitated and formalized the convergence of hitherto discrete geographies, giving emphasis to an expanding network of interrelated urban spaces rather than to isolated 'zones' or 'spheres'. It was, moreover, a network defined largely by emergent feminine culture and middle-class women. While affording its residents access to urban amenities and activities, the RVC site would give both shape and expression to 'feminized' urban identities.

Multiple and often contradictory relationships were thus shaped by virtue of the site alone. Defined as it was in relation to various overlapping and conflicting socio-spatial formations (i.e. the academic village, the commercial grid, the domestic 'sphere'), RVC's location was able to suggest both marginality and centrality, separation and connection, continuity and change. Any gendered significance 'intended' by the choice of site was rendered remarkably unstable.

As the building designed for the site would combine the functions of both college and residence, it is perhaps not surprising that similar contradictions and inconsistencies, structured at the level of type, would emerge with its completion in 1899. As collegiate architecture, the women's residential college would suggest a 'lesser' building—one less grand, less centered, less expansive, and less 'public' in concept and execution than its male counterpart. This was consistent with certain patterns of difference shaped by the larger middle-class landscape. An examination of the architectural genealogy of RVC also reveals, however, unique origins and features. These were linked to specific developments taking place within domestic design, developments that represented an expansion, rather than a diminution, of traditional middle-class prototypes. The design of the women's residential college was, in fact, not a derivation of masculine prototypes, but an adaptation of feminine ones. And like the relations mapped out between the RVC site and Phillips Square, these prototypes represented an increase in the number and types of spaces

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[190]The building of Montreal's fist apartment houses coincided with the introduction of the electric tramway to the city in 1892.

[191]For more on RVC's relation to the diversification of genteel dwelling types, and to hotel design in particular, see the following chapter.

available to women of the middle-classes; the transgression of certain traditional bourgeois constructions of femininity, domesticity, and urbanity; and an alternate built heritage through which RVC's occupants would have been able to construct a sense of both place and self.

3.

Typologies.

Railway Stations, Residential Suburbs, and Resort Hotels: The Piles of Bruce Price

In the late summer of 1900, ten young women left family homes from as far away as Victoria, British Columbia, and journeyed to Montreal. Their shared destination was the newly erected Royal Victoria College. There, in preparation for a "responsible self-dependent life", they would pursue university studies and reside collectively.[1] Five other women were also headed towards the building. Professional women already living 'responsible, self-dependent' lives, they were coming to administer and teach at the new college, where they too would be residing. Many of these incoming women, students and teachers alike, would be arriving by train, and their first encounter with the country's bustling metropolis, and the hub of Canada's railway network, would be Windsor Station (1886-89), the Canadian Pacific Railway's main terminal and administrative headquarters.

The station, a monumental pile south-west of Dominion Square, may not have felt much like home to these women, but it did have a surprising number of things in common with their home-to-be. Both buildings, for example, were the work of Bruce Price (1845-1903), a leading American architect; both represented novel, 19th-century building types, the first of their respective types to be built in Canada; and both were linked to increasing middle-class mobility.[2] Both served public functions and a national constituency.[3] Accordingly, both were costly structures, freestanding in form, monumental in scale and built of stone. Both looked out over the city and assumed the stature of landmarks. There were also, however, significant differences, differences that arose more from a "difference . . . of temperament", to recall Dawson's words (a difference associated with, and propagated by, their respective types), than from functional or social requirements.

Like the comparison of Hopkins' designs in Chapter 2, a comparison of designs by Bruce Price is instructive in revealing, within the work of one architect, certain patterns of

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[1]The quote is taken from Hilda Oakeley's *My Adventures in Education* (London: Williams, 1939), p. 93. Ms. Oakeley was the first warden of RVC.

[2]St. Hilda's College, Toronto, also opened in 1899, but it was intended as a women's residence, rather than as a residential college.

[3]Oakeley recalled: "[students] came from homes all over Canada . . . from New Brunswick to British Columbia, and occasionally an enterprising explorer from the United States. Conventions varied in their own home circles." See Oakeley, p. 92. See also the student registers for the college, MUA, RG 42, C. 1.

gendered difference. Such a comparison suggests gendered difference to be a function not just of individual buildings or architects, but of building types. Price's Canadian commissions are particularly useful in this regard, in that many of these buildings were also designed for the same client, namely the Canadian Pacific Railway. An analysis of Price's approach to domestic types, both private and commercial, reveals in turn certain innovative developments occurring within domestic design, first in the United States and later in Canada. Chapter 4 will examine how both these gendered patterns and these innovative developments informed his design for RVC, imbuing the building with both adaptive and transformative significance. Our journey begins, then, as many 19th-century journeys began, with the railway station.

The Spirit of the Conqueror

As a type, the urban railway terminal had been shaped, in large part, by the "spirit of the conqueror"[4]—a rhetorical construct related in turn to the 19th-century projects of imperialism, industrial capitalism, and technological determinism. Like the railways themselves, which had become identified with empire building, nation building, the amassing of private capital, and the so-called advance of technology, terminals became identified with male-dominated pursuits and the rhetoric of masculinity. Through station architecture and the body of commentary that came to surround it, the independence and adventure associated with the new means of transportation acquired a virile configuration, one contingent on the command of technology and the conquest of nature.[5] In celebration of the railway builders' achievements, station architecture became triumphal architecture; its spaces those of the conqueror. National terminals and terminals that served as administrative headquarters, such as the CPR's Windsor Station, were particularly likely to presume and aggrandize as masculine the domains they represented and the endeavors they served: national and public space; transcontinental transportation, trade and commerce; and administrative power.[6]

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[4]Christian Augustus Barman uses this phrase in *An Introduction to Railway Architecture* (London: Art and Technics, 1950).

[5]Phallic allusions, and the attendant connotation of sexual conquest, persists well into the 20th century in writing about the railways: "The century-old union of the British North American provinces might not have been so fully consummated had that transcontinental line not mustered the courage to penetrate the virgin wilderness of British Columbia . . . For that matter, Manitoba and all the other immense territories to the north and west might have found little in common with Ontario and Quebec had they been deprived of direct physical contact with the markets, and ready access to the protection, of those older, securer regions," Abraham Rogatnick, in describing the political significance of the Canadian railway in "Canadian Castles: Phenomenon of the Railway Hotel" *Architectural Review* 141, May 1967, pp. 364.

[6] See Angel Kwolek-Folland for a gendered analysis of the early North American office building.

Thus the railway terminal, as a new building type, became associated not just with innovation, but with changes in building technique and adventures in engineering—i.e., with structural concerns and the challenge of physical factors over human ones.[7] Like the exhibition halls discussed in Chapter 2, train sheds gained acclaim for their bold, unabashed use of ferro-vitreous building materials and construction methods, which were employed to provide roof spans and illumination for spaces of ever increasing size. The quest for monumentality (as an expression of supremacy, heroic endeavor, vigour and strength) was stressed both in these train sheds and in the scale and design of major urban station houses, which typically featured great lofty public halls and sturdy, yet costly construction and materials.[8]

Railway terminals represented a new type and scale of transportation and a new emphasis on mobility, and their architects sought correspondingly dynamic expressions of monumentality. Magnificent, bounding arches, many seeming to spring from the floor or platform itself, became a dominant motif of the type, both inside and out. These were comparable to the vast arches designed for railway bridges and tunnels, and recalled the expressive and revolutionary use of the 'marching' viaduct by Roman engineers, who were thus able to cover great distances with a new and eloquent efficiency. This was in keeping with the imperial significance of the railway, as was use of the triumphal arch. In the spirit of both 19th-century eclecticism and competitiveness, the arch was often coupled with the tower, which provided a visual counterpoint to the horizontality of train sheds; a civic reference, or "hieratic projection" dating back to medieval times; and a visual signifier of manhood (i.e., the phallus).

The type also gained acclaim for its emphasis on rational organization. Improving the speed and efficiency of train arrivals and departures; directing freight and passengers; and providing links with other urban networks all emerged as principal concerns.[9] Conceived of in terms of complex mass movements rather than collective assemblies, the railway terminal became symbolic of the shifting nature of public spaces. An emphasis on passenger circulation and station house efficiency, however, as opposed to the circulation

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[7]The classic text on the architecture of railway terminals is Carroll L. V. Meeks, *The Railroad Station: An Architectural History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1956). Barman's history is limited to British station architecture, but is representative in its approach. Jeffrey Richards and John M. MacKenzie's *The Railway Station: A Social History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986) provides a social approach and a more geographically comprehensive study, but their discussion of gender-related issues remains disappointing. For an overview and useful bibliography on the history of Canadian station architecture, see Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Vol. 2.

[8]The monumental treatment of the train shed was unprecedented in that it celebrated a space characterized by noise, smoke and soot, and used primarily to shelter machinery.

[9]The impact of the railway on the design and planning of the 19th-century city is discussed in virtually all works on the topic. Haussman's redesign of Paris was considered seminal in this regard.

of rolling stock and train shed efficiency, wouldn't come to dominate terminal design until the 20th century. Clocks and timetables, meanwhile, implements of discipline and order, along with such functional directives as signal lights, interior signage and information booths/wickets, had been part of the standard, and prominent, equipment of the railway terminal from the outset. While these features reinforced the public and 'modern' nature of the space, its commercial character was signalled by the ticket office, telegraph and postal services, and the presence of concessions selling reading material and/or refreshments.[10]

"Beats all Creation": Windsor Terminal

Windsor Station typified this tradition. As mentioned above, the station was designed for the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, a private corporation controlled by three prominent, self-made barons of Canadian trade and commerce: Donald A. Smith; George Stephen, a financier; and James Jerome Hill, a transportation magnate.[11] In 1885, the company had become the first to provide Canada with a continuous railway link from coast to coast. The company procured, in the process, substantial capital gains, tremendous political and cultural influence, and legendary status.[12] The company had also begun an immense building program, which was under the direction of William Cornelius Van Horne, the company's general manager and vice president (another self-made man, Van Horne would succeed Stephen as president in 1888).[13] Windsor Station, which was to serve as the centre of company operations and project both national and corporate prestige, would be one of the program's most important and costly edifices. Van Horne, himself a talented painter and amateur architect, selected American architect Bruce Price for the commission.[14]

Price proved an excellent, if at first glance unlikely choice. Born in Cumberland, Maryland in 1845, to a middle-class family of moderately wealthy means, Price had apprenticed at the leading Baltimore firm of Niernsee and Nelson before opening his own office in 1868. In 1871 he married Josephine Lee, and on returning from a lengthy

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[10]These features are discussed in Richards and MacKenzie.

[11]Histories of the CPR and its founders are numerous. For a pertinent bibliography, see Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Vol. 2.

[12]In negotiating its contract with the government, the company had received $25 million in cash, acquired a land grant of 25 million acres along the right-of-way, the cost of surveys, and a twenty-year monopoly on transportation from the Prairies into the United States. This "gave the CPR powerful leverage that made it a powerful player in the development of the Canadian West". Kalman, *A History of Canadian Architecture*, Vol. 2, p. 480.

[13]Biographies of Van Horne include Walter Vaughan, *The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne* (NY: Century Co., 1920); and Stephan Mayles, *William Van Horne* (Don Mills, Ont.: Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1976).

[14]Unlike the other heads of the CPR, Van Horne was, like Price, an American.

European honeymoon tour, opened an office in her home town of Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. In 1877 the couple moved to New York, where his practice soon flourished.[15] Travelling in well-heeled society circles and working mainly in domestic architecture, Price became a favorite of the city's monied elite, for whom he designed many sumptuous private dwellings and estates, both urban and suburban.[16] A recognized master of what would become known as the Shingle style, Price had also designed a number of elite seaside and wilderness resorts.[17]

The CPR commission would prove an auspicious one for Price. Still not in the first rank of his profession, the railway terminal would extend his talents, while the building's commercial, corporate and national importance would elevate his professional standing. The CPR would also prove to be a lucrative client, supplying Price with a number of subsequent Canadian commissions of equal importance and prestige.[18] While enhancing Price's career, the impressive railway building was also an enhancement of the city. The completed Windsor station quickly became one of the major sights of Montreal, as much a destination as a gateway. The boastful words of the inaugural banner flung across the station's entrance in February of 1889 would sum it up: "Beats all creation—the new CPR Station!"[19]

The station, a palpable expression of monumentality, vigour, strength and assurance, was indeed impressive (fig. 16).[20] The entire terminal occupied a steeply

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[15]Price was also the father of the best-selling author Emily Post, who published, along with her volumes on etiquette, *The Blue Book of House Design*. In it she is critical of the heavy Romanesque style often used by her father and his contemporaries.

[16]From the late 1870s, Price worked almost entirely for socially prominent and wealthy clients. In his dissertation on Price, Samuel H. Graybill, Jr., notes that, "[l]ike the architects of the Italian Renaissance, he served new merchant princes. In later years, his sphere of clients and friends included the most socially and financially prominent families of New York and the popular resorts." Graybill also notes that Price became "a man of some means" through his marriage, and that Price's in-laws were responsible for his early, important commissions in Wilkes-Barre. See Graybill, "Bruce Price, American Architect, 1845-1903", Ph.D. thesis (New Haven: Yale University, 1957). To date, the only other comprehensive treatment of Price's work is Russel Sturgis, "A Review of the Works of Bruce Price," *Architectural Record*, Great American Architects Series, No. 5, June 1899. This includes an interview with Price conducted by Barr Ferree.

[17]For more on these resorts, see below. The development of the Shingle style as an innovative trend within American domestic architecture is the subject of Vincent J. Scully, Jr., *The Shingle Style: Architectural Theory and Design from Richardson to the Origins of Wright* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955). See also his introduction to *The Architecture of the American Summer: The Flowering of the Shingle Style* (New York: Rizzoli, 1989). Many of Price's Shingle-style designs were published in *American Architect and Building News*.

[18]Price's considerable work in Canada would later warrant his opening a Montreal office, which was managed by Frederick Bullock Marvin. See "Frederick Marvin, Architect, Dies Friday at 90," *The Union Gazette*, Saturday, December 27, 1958. Price's other CPR projects are discussed below.

[19]The first drawings had been submitted in October of 1886, construction began in April of 1888, and the building was opened in February of 1889.

[20]The station is discussed in Peter Lanken, ed. *Windsor Station / La Gare Windsor* (Montreal: Friends of Windsor Station, 1973); Omer Lavallee, "Windsor Station 1899-1964," *Canadian Rail*, No. 152

sloped, 15-acre site bound by Windsor Street (now Peel) to the east, Osborne Street (now rue de la Gauchetière) to the north, and Donegana Street (a small dead-end thoroughfare that extended westward from Windsor) to the south. In keeping with the urban grid (rather than the topography), its overall scheme was governed by an abstract rectilinearity: the passenger facilities and offices were grouped within a large rectangular block, or "head house," that ran north-south, filling the eastern portion of the site, while a 500 foot long, 4-track trainshed, expressed as a separate element, stretched westward along Donegana. This two-part arrangement represented the latest in North American terminal design.

Given the local context, this bifurcated scheme also served to accentuate divisions of both class and gender. The CPR's tracks ran along the edge of a sharp geographical plateau, which also marked the territorial divide between the affluent, and mainly residential, Square Mile to the north, and the working class, industrial districts to the south. Given the steeply sloped site, the more industrial-like train shed was hidden from the Square Mile by a row of private homes that ran along Osborne Street, but visible to the city "below the hill".[21] The only face the terminal showed to the residents of the Square Mile was that of its station house.[22] Moreover, as the 'head' rose four storeys in height along Osborne and six storeys along Donegana, the elevation facing the Square Mile was the building's most modest. The principal, and most commanding elevation fronted Donegana. This elevation, which served as a visible display of power and prestige, was directed toward the lower city and the St. Lawrence. In rendering this elevation the most imposing, Price not only compensated, but *over*compensated for the topographic discrepancies inherent in the site. By contrast, the elevation that faced the Square Mile downplayed its more elevated position. Walking south along Windsor, toward the industrial sector of the city, the building grew more intimidating; inversely, it's scale diminished, becoming less imposing and more congenial, as one headed north, toward the residential sector. According to Price's earlier proposals, which were published in *Building* and which featured a six-storey tower rising along Donegana, this effect was meant to be greatly exaggerated (fig. 18a).[23] Bourgeois women, who were perceived as the principal inhabitants of the upper residential sector, were thus sheltered, through the station's organization and massing, from industrial-like spaces and dissociated from commanding ones.[24]

(February 1964); Kalman and Marsan.

[21]Lavallee, "Windsor Station 1899-1964," p. 31

[22]In many cases, the station frontage of a major terminal, which typically consisted of a large, multi-storeyed building, would itself serve to hide the train shed from view.

[23]*Building* Vol. VIII, No. 10 (March 10, 1888).

[24]The interior layout confirms that the women's point of entry was presumed to be the Osborne Street entrance, which stood opposite a church and adjacent Dominion Square, a picturesque park. For more

The discrepancy in height between the northern and southern elevations helped relieve the solidity and regularity of the building's basic form, as did other picturesque elements appearing above the roofline: hipped roofs; shallow corner turrets; a series of roof-edged gables at regular intervals; and a squared-off, eight-storey tower. All of these features however, including the tower, were secondary to, and largely distinct from, the main mass. Unlike much of Price's other work, though more in keeping with his proposals for the Union League Club House in N.Y. (1879, fig. 20), the dominant formal impression remained that of a large, unbroken block. Price's earlier proposals for the station were more consistent with his penchant for expressive, picturesque massing. All of the earlier proposals featured a massive tower with a steeply pitched roof, turrets and clocks. The verticality of this mass, which housed the general waiting room and fronted Donegana, contrasted with a lower, horizontal block, also with a steeply pitched roof, that ran at right angles to the train shed. More expressive of plan forms, these proposed designs were also more representative of recent trends in terminal design, which favoured a towered forebuilding. They were also strikingly similar to his own 1885 competition designs for the Chamber of Commerce Building, in Cincinnati, Ohio (fig. 18b).[25] Associated with civic spaces, the towered forebuilding was at the time typical of both post offices and city halls. To quote the architectural historian Carroll L. Meeks, "In the English-speaking world, the virile tower rose from every building of importance, including stations, in response to contemporary fashion."[26] Significantly, Price's proposed home for aged gentlemen, which was published in *Architect and Building News* 69, Sept. 15, 1900, p. 87, was also dominated by a tower (fig. 19).

The approved proposal for Windsor Station, however, was more in keeping with the simple massing then typical of commercial and industrial architecture, and anticipated the office block. As built, the station owes much to one commercial model in particular: H. H. Richardson's recent Marshall Field Wholesale Store (1885-87) in Chicago. Price had worked in Richardson's office, and the influence of Richardson's unique interpretation of the Romanesque, with its emphasis on weighty, simplified masses, robust arches and exaggerated, rugged textures, is nowhere more evident than in Price's designs for Windsor station. The station was one of the first buildings in Canada to adopt the style, which would become increasingly popular over the next few years for both public and corporate

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on the plan, see below.

[25]Like Windsor Station, the proposed Chamber of Commerce also occupied a sloped site, but its tower dominated the more elevated portion of the site, which fronted a main public thoroughfare.

[26]Meeks, p. 94. Price's preference for proposal 'C' is suggested by the *Building* layout, which stresses this design. Climatic and cost concerns were cited as the reasons for altering the design. See Ferree.

architecture.[27] As was typical of the style, massive masonry construction was employed in the structural supports. Foundations were up to 20' deep, with 4'6" walls. The fortress-like masonry construction on the first floor was also 4'6" thick. The profound sense of weight and bulk generated by such walls drew attention to the idea of architecture as support and, coupled with the use of a rusticated finish and sturdy Romanesque arches along the facades and over the portals, greatly enhanced the feeling of solidity and strength inherent in the basic form. The potential inertia of such weighty construction was effectively counterbalanced, meanwhile, by the movement of the arches along the facade, which were reminiscent of Roman engineering forms, and the rough, agitated wall surfaces.[28] Similar features were also deemed appropriate for Welch Hall (1891), a men's dormitory Price designed for Yale University. As in most of Price's buildings, decorative work and sculptural ornament was kept to a bare minimum.

The same set of 'virile' assumptions expressed by the building's exterior was continued by the interior architecture. The design of the general, or public, waiting room, given special prominence within the overall scheme, was particularly expressive. The heart of station house design, the public 'waiting' room was in fact circulation space writ large. Generally defined as a great hall, or enclosed concourse, terminal waiting rooms gave access to the booking offices, the rest and refreshment rooms, and the train shed, and allowed for brief, impersonal milling about. In Price's plan (fig. 21), this room occupied the southern portion of the building and marked the juncture of the terminal's two principal axes (those of the trainshed and the stone structure). It was also the building's largest single room, and its most formal. Located on the ground floor, it measured 64' x 85' and rose two storeys in height. Giving definition to the space were six stout, polished marble columns mounted on massive pedestals. These formed an arcade that marked the continuation, and convergence, of the north-south and east-west axes. The arcade intersected in turn with a stairwell that represented one of the building's principal vertical axes. Located at the centre of the room, these stairs led down to eating facilities (a restaurant with a lunch counter and dining room), the men's lavatories, and a corridor connecting to the train shed, all of which were located at the basement level (fig. 22).[29] The approach to the general waiting room was therefore via an axial corridor, or via an

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[27] Kalman, p. 489. The station remains, in turn, one of the most Richardsonian of Montreal buildings. Another building responsible for introducing the style to Canada was Toronto's City Hall (1889-99) by Edward James Lennox.

[28] According to Graybill, the agitated wall surfaces kept them active and gave them "greater plasticity and strength", p. 172.

[29] The Osborne Street entrance was thus twice removed from the railway tracks and the train shed, i.e., vertically and horizontally.

ascending stair. In either case, the high, open space of the waiting room provided a sudden and sharp contrast to the smaller, more enclosed spaces that preceded it, creating a dramatic transition. Compounding the effect of expansion were impressions of strength, vitality, grandeur and venerability. The six marble columns, for example, formal in plan and tightly compressed in section, supported, in perspective, a profusion of robust arches with 'diaphragm' walls (fig. 17). Springing from carved capitals, these divided the flat ceiling into more lively, corniced portions. Harmonizing with these arches were arched windows, two storeys in height, that rimmed the perimeter. The abundant light admitted by such lofty windows would have helped temper the room's ponderous masses, cool surfaces and coffered spaces. Judging from photographs taken by Notman, the resultant atmosphere appeared at once sturdy, disciplined, and venerable. A few wooden chairs and benches, meanwhile, comprised the only furnishings. The main embellishments were wooden wainscoting, a clock positioned over the main door, a schedule board and a glass showcase. The sparse decoration helped to keep attention focused squarely on the architecture itself, while discouraging extended loitering. Deploying costly materials and finishes, grand dimensions, large void spaces, formal cross-axes, dramatic contrasts, sturdy proportions that emphasized weight, mass and the function of support, and few spatial impediments or visual and/or decorative distractions save directional ones, it was above all a 'strong' space designed for permanence and hieratic projection, as well as for people in the aggregate (abstract, impersonal clusters or crowds), for rational clarity, or legibility, and for passage, or movement (rather than for lingering, as the name, 'waiting room', implied).[30]

The rough-hewn walls of the terminal also contained another type of reception space, however, one that ran along the Windsor Street side of the building, off the main axis that terminated in the general waiting room. This was the ladies' waiting room (fig. 23).[31] Well removed from the noise and dirt of the train shed (and hence also at an inconvenient distance from both the trains and the restaurant facilities), it overlooked the natural scenery of Dominion Square, a large and picturesque park. In contrast to the more formal and dramatic approaches to the general, or public waiting room, the women's waiting room opened directly off the Osborne Street lobby. With entrances also next to the general waiting room entrance, where the ticket office was located; opposite the parcel office; and opposite the elevators; not just the presence, but the placement and design of the

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[30]Subsequent additions would both maintain and enhance the virility of the original design. See in particular the 1910-1915 extension by L. Fennings Taylor and J.W. H. Watts in association with W.S. Painter, which continued Price's design and added a 14-storey tower.

[31]Virtually all but the simplest of North American stations contained a separate ladies' waiting room.

ladies' waiting room allowed women to minimize their encounters with male traffic. Women could bypass the main corridor, which also served the offices strung along the opposite side of the corridor, altogether if they so chose.[32] Since entering and exiting the women's waiting room involved no significant shift in scale, or sudden sense of enclosure or expansion, strategic, rather than dramatic or symbolic/ceremonial concerns appear to have governed the architecture of ingress and egress for women. This is consistent with the discrete side entrances often provided for women in public buildings, as well as the understated entrance of the AAM gallery discussed earlier, in Chapter 2.[33] Less dramatic in terms of approach, the ladies' waiting room was also considerably smaller than the general waiting room, although it was allotted significantly more floor space in the final proposal than in Price's earlier plans. Smaller in overall dimensions, it was further subdivided, again like the AAM gallery, into more intimate areas, in this case by the location of the ladies' lavatories, which, protruding into the space at roughly mid-point, cut across the main axis of the room's slightly irregular rectangular plan. The room was considerably less grandiose than its public counterpart as well: one storey in height, its ceilings were flat, its walls were painted in predominantly light hues, and the contrasting mouldings were a standard width. The space was not without the Romanesque arches characteristic of the structure as a whole, but, 'slenderized' and braced by supporting beams and columns, they were rendered considerable less virile than those found elsewhere in the building. Throughout the women's waiting room, the emphasis was on lightness and intimacy, comfort, and refined sensibilities, rather than on monumentality, vigour or ruggedness: carpets softened the impact of walking over wooden floorboards, paintings and mirrors relieved the wall surfaces, and the numerous chairs scattered about featured upholstered seats and backs. The emphasis was also on repose, rather than on movement, as witnessed by the ratio of furnishings to space. Here both architecture and space dropped into the background, mere surrounds and foils for more intimate objects and activities.

The presence of women elsewhere in the building is evident only from the inclusion of a women's toilet on the fourth floor.[34] Women employees would have been considerably more 'incommoded' than their male counterparts, who had access to toilet facilities on all but the ground floor. The remainder of the building was given over almost

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[32]Both men and women could bypass the 'ceremony' of the ground floor by using a Windsor Street entrance that led directly to a corridor connecting with the train shed. This also gave access to the terminal's restaurant, which had no direct street access.

[33]The 'fluidity', or consonance, which characterized the design of spatial transitions for women was also in keeping with the presumed placidity of women's tempers.

[34]Earlier proposals had also included a nursery, however, for the use of travellers.

entirely to office space, with all floors above the first, where telegraph and postal services were located, being devoted strictly to company operations.[35]

Within the overall design of the station, the women's waiting room provided a home-like oasis. In accordance with domestic paradigms, it was marginal in its location and both smaller and more informal than its 'public' counterpart. It emphasized comfort, rest and refinement rather than grandeur, strength and exertion. It privileged discretion over ceremony. It's presence also acknowledged women as independent, if differentiated, travellers, however, and acknowledged middle-class women as an increasing, and increasingly influential, constituency to be catered to within such spaces.

Indeed, the domesticity characteristic of the women's waiting room was indicative of other histories, ones not writ solely in terms of men, that had informed the development of both the railway and railway architecture. Many railway buildings, expressing the relationship of railways to the growth of commercial tourism, the increased mobility and consumer influence of women, and the spread of both residential suburbs and frontier settlements (i.e., domestic environments), emulated and/or enlarged upon the architecture of domesticity.[36] Commuter stations, for example, illustrating architectural 'good manners', made use of domestic forms, styles, and building materials in order to harmonize with the residential communities that the trains served. In the design of rural stations along intercontinental lines, domestic features were simply good sense, expressive of the actual housing that such stations provided.[37] With both types, local scale and local charm, rather than civic monumentality, was the sought-after effect.

With the emergence of grand railway hotels, however, impressive new forms of large-scale, upper and middle-class public lodgings—ones that featured both charm *and* monumentality—took shape. Like railway terminals, though unlike the majority of dwelling types, these buildings were designed and managed by professionals. And like railway terminals, they were free-standing, purpose-built and costly. The rise of the railway hotel was particularly significant in Britain and Canada, where other multi-storey dwelling types were rare before the 20th century. In these countries, upper- and middle-class accommodations consisted almost exclusively of owner-occupied mansions, villas

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[35]The management's offices and board room occupied spacious rooms on the second floor.

[36]On the relationship of the railroad to Canadian tourism, see E. J. Hart, *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism* (Banff: Altitude Pub. Co., 1983). See also Patricia Jensen, *Wild Things: Nature, Culture and Tourism in Ontario, 1790-1914* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1995) and John A. Jackle, *The Tourist: Travel in 20th Century North America* (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1985).

[37]In Canada, suburban stations were typically bungalow-like buildings: wooden structures with steeply pitched, shingled roofs, dormered windows and broad, sheltering verandas supported by prominent brackets. Small rural stations usually contained living accommodation for the station agent and his family at the back and/or in the upper storey.

and townhouses [rowhouses], or private clubhouses and boarding houses.[38] Outside Montreal and Toronto, even grand hotels were rare, if not non-existent, until the CPR began erecting, as part of its massive building campaign initiated during the 1880s, a string of luxury hotels across the country. The CP and CN railway companies would continue to dominate hotel building in Canada until the 1930s. It was therefore these luxury hotels, which from the mid 1880s onward were built almost exclusively by the railways, that provided local models, and set local standards, for other multi-storey upper- and middle-class dwelling types across the country.[39]

Representing more than just lodgings, these buildings also became key centres in the social life of their communities and represented, like the department store, the emergence of an alternate architecture appropriate to large scale, public buildings. It was an architecture that stressed the convivial and 'civilizing' qualities associated with the domestic realm, and that both privileged and courted the presence of women through an array of sumptuous public rooms designed specifically for their use. Unlike the Windsor terminal, where the ladies' public rooms were marginal to the overall design/concept, the ladies' public rooms of the luxury hotel were typically front and centre, and a sense of domestic cultivation was pervasive. Women's public rooms were in fact a defining feature of the type, and were often used to promote individual establishments. Architectural historian Carolyn Brucken, in an article on luxury hotels in antebellum America, has argued that while the type originated in the masculine and public spaces of colonial taverns, coffee-houses, and business exchanges, i.e., evolved within the male commercial and public sphere, "it was the public presence of women that set the luxury hotel apart from earlier taverns and coffeehouses and lay at the heart of its transformation."[40] In hotel design, it was the women, not the men, that were conspicuous, and the spirit of cultivation, not conquest, that was dominant.

The Spirit of Refinement

Designed for both urban centres and remote, scenic landscapes, the luxury hotels of the late 19th century contributed to a growing "architecture of pleasure," a category of buildings geared toward a monied, and mobile, middle-class and associated, much like the

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[38]This was in contrast to the large cities of Continental Europe, as well as Glasgow, Edinburgh, and New York, where five- or six-storey apartments were common during much of the 19th century.

[39]The history of Britain's luxury hotels was also largely synonymous with the history of its railway hotels, which became an essential part of the planning of new railway stations as early as the 1840s. From this point onward, the determining factor in the development of hotels in England was the railway. See David Watkin, "The Grand Hotel Style" in *Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels—An Architectural and Social History* (New York: Vendome Press, 1984), p. 15.

[40]Brucken, p. 204.

department store, with the concepts of grandeur, elegance, amenity, and public sociability, as well as with a culture of consumption.[41] As a type, the palace hotel of the late 19th century looked not to the structural accomplishments of roman civil engineers, but to the cultural accomplishments of urban gentility, taking as its prototypes, as the name implied, the residential palace. Often described as theatrical, the type became associated with the staging/enacting of social drama, rather than with feats of construction. No less monumental than the urban terminal however, many luxury hotels also incorporated new building technologies and materials, such as steel frames and reinforced concrete, in an effort to rise, particularly in America, to ever greater heights and commercially lucrative capacities.[42] Hotels were also among the first large scale structures to emphasize building safety, by switching to, and then promoting themselves on the strength of, their fire-proof construction.

Clad in traditional materials however, such structural accomplishments were not visible in the manner of exposed ferro-vitreous construction, and hotels were more often noted for their gay and elegant facades, often visually rich in sculptural ornament and/or contrasting materials, such as brick with stone trim, and/or the emphasis of bay and/or oriel windows and protective awnings. Decorative balconies (static and additive in character and observational/specular in function) became a dominant motif, particularly of resort hotels (the dominant motif of the terminal, the engineer's arch, was, by contrast, dynamic and integral in character and structural in function).[43] Like urban terminals, hotels commonly featured the "hieratic" device of colonnades and arcades, but neither towered forebuildings nor bounding and/or triumphal arches were thought appropriate. Instead, the more delicate, Italianate arch was commonly employed as a symbol of refinement, and towers, when used, were usually restrained in height, lateral rather than vertical projections of the main building masses.[44]

While in essence the grand hotel was no less a celebratory structure than the terminal, the hotel had acquired the reputation of a festive rather than triumphal type.[45]

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[41] Significantly, both types were commercial in origin (in America, the two were, architecturally, very similar).

[42] On the history of America's luxury hotels, see sources cited in Chapter 2, and Catharine Donzel, *Grand Hotels of North America* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1989). On its gendered origins, see Brucken.

[43] Balconies would, however, acquire integral and dynamic qualities in the work of Shingle style architects. See below.

[44] Towers would come to dominate many early 20th-century hotels and hotel additions, however.

[45] Watkin notes, however, that, given their origins in men's business exchanges, the "earliest English and American hotels were in fact monumental piles with a sober, classical mien . . eminently respectable [they looked] . . . like a courthouse, academy or athenaeum", p. 15. England's initial railway hotels, meanwhile, which were located on the outskirts of towns, were modelled after country houses. As railway stations moved to inner city sites, these hotels assumed more palatial aspects and "became a

Resort hotels, meanwhile, beginning with John Nash's Brighton Pavilion (1815-1823), became associated with downright frivolity—large-scale, public manifestations of the aristocrat's private folly.[46] Hotels nonetheless featured, like the department store, state-of-the-art technologies and modern conveniences. Beginning with the Tremont House (1828-29), American hotels in particular gained a reputation for advanced mechanical services and efficient organization. Compared to an "intricate machine," the grand hotel was considered a model of internal efficiency.[47]

The 'technologies' of the hotel included more than just its sophisticated services and amenities, however. The type typically featured a great array of elegant public spaces, spaces that linked the hotel to other bourgeois types such as the public museum, library, and department store. As discussed in Chapter 2, such types, which had emerged as part of a 'progressive' agenda geared toward the reform and regulation of urban life, viewed public space as a technology for structuring, disseminating and regulating bourgeois culture. Many of the hotel's public areas were circulation spaces (arcades, promenades, galleries, staircases, and verandas) designed to combine accessibility with public visibility and polite conviviality. A spacious central corridor, for example, extended laterally and designed as a public promenade, was one of the hallmarks of the luxury hotel's novel plan. Borders between such spaces were often fluid, in the manner more typical of public and/or traditionally 'masculine' interiors, and the spaces themselves could be occupied freely, by hotel guests and visitors alike and by both men and women, at any hour of the day and for extended duration. Their embellishments, however, were typically lush, suggesting the comfort and intimacy of more domestic and/or 'feminine', interiors.[48]

The main corridor usually intersected with a large central rotunda. Having evolved from the business exchanges of the 17th and 18th centuries, early hotels had maintained much of the architectural vocabulary of public and commercial buildings, including the domed lobby of the exchange. Like the spacious common corridor, this form helped distinguish the new type from earlier inns and taverns (where customers were typically confronted with a bar upon entering). It too would remain a standard feature of the luxury

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formidable rival to such traditional centres of attention as the city hall and the market place," Christopher Monkhouse, "Railway Hotels," in Marcus Binney and David Pearce, eds., *Railway Architecture* (Toronto: Van Nostrand Reinhold Company, 1979), p. 125. It was not until the 1880s, however, that palace hotels, drawing inspiration from recent Parisian projects such as Garnier's opera house, became increasingly 'festive' in appearance. For an account of the early railway hotels, see Richards and MacKenzie, pp. 26-27.

[46]Kenneth Lindley, *Seaside Architecture* (London: Hugh Evelyn, 1973), p. 12. According to Lindley, Nash, in transforming the 'folly' into an acceptable form of public building, suggested "the possibilities of the fantastic in architecture as a setting for enjoyment."

[47]"New York Hotels: Hotels of the Past and The Modern Hotel," The *Architectural Record*, Vol. XII, No. 5 (Oct. 1902) p. 460.

[48]These new hotel corridors lined with potted palms were akin to the new tree-lined boulevards gracing the bourgeois city.

hotel. And like the promenade, it was typical of public and/or 'masculine' interiors in terms of the scale and the fluidity of space, but more typical of 'feminine' interiors in its embellishments. The hotel reading room was also important in continuing many of the traditions of the exchange; like the railway terminal, the hotel would serve as a centre of news and information. This space too, while indicative of 'masculine' configurations of space, was often modified to suit the new tenor of mixed hotel life.

The grand hotel also distinguished itself from the earlier travelling facilities of inns and taverns by incorporating, alongside these street-like corridors and public rooms adapted from the exchange, a number of highly specialized rooms adapted from the private middle- and upper-class dwelling: the parlor, the ballroom, the dining room, and the private bedchamber (later hotels would introduce private bed-sitting room suites as well). While the corridor, rotunda and reading room emphasized the essentially public and commercial traditions of the hotel, its parlors, ballrooms, dining rooms and private suites emphasized its links to middle-class domesticity and the traditionally/rhetorically 'feminine' projects of propriety, polite sociability, refined hospitality, intimacy and refuge, as well as commercial consumption.

Within these new environments, which brought middle-class strangers of both sexes together under one roof, the domestic resemblance was useful in guiding the organization of social rules pertaining to dress and demeanor. Such rules were meant to ensure a degree of predictability and legibility in encounters with other hotel guests. Varying degrees of formality in both dress and demeanor, for example, were keyed to the degree of publicity, type of activity and time of day associated with various spaces both within and around the hotel. Such familiar 'zones' as private chambers, breakfast rooms, dining rooms, and drawing rooms thus helped guide the occupant's attire, behaviour and expectations in social situations. "Resort wear" meanwhile, emerged as its own line of consumer goods, indicating that the resort hotel, while similar to domestic space, was also distinct. Although directed largely towards women, costume changes were expected of men as well (everyone was expected to 'dress' for dinner, for example), and constituted a prominent part of the hotel experience.[49]. Like the wide variety of rooms designed for specific functions, times of the day, types of behaviour and nuanced degrees of publicity and formality, appropriate changes in clothing presumed a degree of cultivation and social awareness. And like the wide variety of specialized rooms, such rituals also contributed a sense of occasion to hotel life.

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[49]A number of period accounts comment on ritual costume changes as a daily part of hotel life.

While the program of the luxury hotel was adapted from both public and private types, the organization of its rooms followed, in general, the vertical separation typical of private middle-class dwellings, with public, reception and dining spaces at entry level; semi-public and communal spaces on the first floor; and private bedroom suites on the upper floors. By the late 19th century, elegant public and semi-public rooms represented a major portion of the program. Men's public rooms, which typically included one or more reading rooms, smoking rooms, billiard rooms, card rooms and/or game rooms, were typically located on the ground floor and/or in the basement, which also housed service rooms and rooms containing mechanical equipment. Shared and women's public rooms, which typically included one or more parlors, drawing rooms, reading rooms and/or libraries, were usually located on the ground and/or first floor.[50] Women's public rooms were typically the most elaborate, and drew considerable attention in hotel literature. These public rooms were generally held to be an index of an establishment's status and respectability. Exhibiting a high degree of refinement and taste in their materials, finishes, ornament, decor and furnishings, such spaces helped foster and legitimize public loitering and display, not just as popular pursuits, but as 'proper' pursuits with a 'civilizing' function.

With its generous, public scale; its diversified program of elegant public spaces and private rooms and suites; its emphasis on modern amenities and high standards of safety, cleanliness, efficiency and comfort; its costly embellishments and its cultural refinements, the luxury hotel redefined public lodgings as bourgeois space. With its emphasis on a variety of specialized, prominent, and costly public spaces for women, it helped, like the variety of other late 19th-century buildings discussed in Chapter 2, to redefine public space as women's space. As part of a growing, service-sector economy, it catered not only to bourgeois men, but to bourgeois women, upon whom this economy was becoming increasingly dependent.[51]

Resort hotels in particular were dependent on a female clientele. They depended in large part, for example, on the honeymoon trade. Honeymoon tours, which became popular during the early 1800s, often lasted a number of months and were frequently arranged by the bride and her family (Bruce Price's European honeymoon, for example, was a wedding gift provided by his wife's parents). Summer resorts, meanwhile, often

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[50] In discussing some of America's earliest modern hotels, Brucken observes that women's public rooms occupied the most visible and prestigious locations within the plan, i.e., those directly behind the principal facade, overlooking the public street.

[51] While hotel environments were suggestive of domestic ones, they typically provided accommodation more grand, and more convenient/efficient, than the bourgeois guest enjoyed in her/his own home, thus fueling desire and impacting, in turn, on the design of private residences. See Grier.

within commuting distance of large cities, served both hotel guests on extended stays, and individuals and groups on day excursions. These 'day trippers' were more likely to include women and children than men. Women and children also figured prominently among the regular guests, with men commuting on week-ends.[52] This meant that the hotel catered, much of the time, to a clientele defined largely by women and children. In her article on early American hotels, Brucken notes that female travellers also stayed at hotels while enroute to and from another city to attend school; and as part of fashionable tours that initiated young women into society, and then kept them abreast of it. She further notes that women often travelled in groups, without male accompaniment (i.e., with just female family members, friends or servants). Grand hotels therefore provided highly refined environments that not only welcomed but depended on women occupants.

In the case of the resort hotel, the cultivated environment of the hotel proper was in sharp contrast to the highly romantic natural settings with which the type was generally associated—the sea, the mountains and other untamed forces of nature. Yet unlike the railway terminal, which celebrated the *conquest* of natural forces by man and machine, the resort hotel celebrated the *utilization* and the *appreciation* of nature. In the case of health spas, nature was utilized to aesthetic, recreational, medicinal and commercial ends, all areas in which women were growing increasingly active by the end of the century.

As the resort's main *raison d'être*, nature was allowed to inform its architecture in multiple ways. It was the principal determinant in the choice of location, the choice of site, the building's orientation, and often, though not necessarily, its massing, plan, and surface treatment, which generally emphasized romantic forms, the 'organic' interpenetration of interior and exterior spaces, and the use of vernacular forms and indigenous materials. The natural world infiltrated hotel design as concept, as art (scenery), and as medicinal science (physical and mental restorative). It was incorporated through myriad windows, balconies, porches, verandas, arcades, outdoor promenades, rooftop observatories, open-air terraces, courtyards, gardens, pools and/or baths.[53] In the romantic tradition, it also entered resort design as decorative surface, flourishing in the intricate woodwork, plasterwork, tilework, wallpapers, upholsteries, carpets, tapestries, paintings and ornaments (bric-a-brac) that

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[52]According to Betsy Blackmar and Elizabeth Cromley in, "On the Veranda: Resorts of the Catskills, " *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 8, Nos. 1-2 (1982), p. 54, "women came for the season, from six to ten weeks, while husbands and fathers usually came by train for weekends. By virtue of a summer's stay, women established their own communities, both within the individual hotels and among . . . hotels in [neighboring] resort towns . . ."

[53]Many of these features were also emergent in Shingle-style dwellings, sanatoriums and hospitals during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, which had begun to promote the healthful properties of fresh air and sunlight. See Adams.

embellished and/or muted the building's interiors, often obscuring or detracting from the structural features.

The exoticism of nature-brought-indoors, or displaced nature, even inspired a fixture of the luxury hotel: the palm room. Serving not just as decorative devices but as spatial dividers and privacy screens in public terraces, lobbies and dining areas, the large and elegant potted plants became *de rigeur*, and palm rooms became a standard feature of both urban and resort hotels. While hotel interiors acquired organic elements, the surrounding landscapes frequently acquired man-made amenities and conveniences such as paths and trails, seating, shelters, and lavatories. As architectural historian James de Jonge has noted, resort hotels "humanized nature, making the little understood and potentially frightful, as well as downright tiresome, more palpable for touristic consumption."[54]

"The Apex of Elegant Living": The CPR Hotels

The interplay between romantic location and refined accommodation provided the inspiration for, and guiding concept behind, the CPR's early hotels, all of which were designed as resorts. The history of these hotels was, in turn, "inseparable from the dynamics that led the country into modernity."[55] The railway company had embarked on hotel building immediately following the completion of its transcontinental line in 1885.[56] Representing the first initiative of its kind in Canadian history, the company commissioned three resort hotels in the mountains of British Columbia in order to stimulate passenger traffic along remote but scenic routes. With an eye to seducing well-to-do tourists, among whom women would be prominent, these trains traversed the untamed wilderness with many of the comforts of home. First-class travel accommodation featured elegant dining and parlor cars (figs. 24a, 24b). Both the cars and the service were thoughtfully designed, setting international rail standards.[57] They nonetheless posed certain difficulties to the late 19th-century female traveller. Historian E.J. Hart, in his book *The Selling of Canada: The CPR and the Beginnings of Canadian Tourism*, quotes the following observation found in an 1895 published tourist account, *On The Cars and Off Again*, by the English writer and tourist Douglas Sladen:

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[54]Canadian Pacific Archives, Montreal, "Banff Springs Hotel, Spray Avenue, Banff, Alberta," Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada Agenda Paper, 25 (1988).

[55]Catherine Donzel, "Canada: The Citadels of the Transcanadian", trans. Glenn Naumovitz, in *Grand Hotels of North America*, p.191.

[56]The company had been granted a charter to operate hotels and restaurants as early as 1881.

[57]See Donzel, pp. 194-195. Elegant dining cars and hotel restaurants were introduced to alleviate the mad, undignified scramble for refreshments that characterized early rail travel.

> Sleeping cars test the stuff a woman is *made of*, perhaps I should say *made up of*. She cannot undress until she gets into her bunk, which is about as convenient as her coffin, being hardly higher than the space between the shelves of a cupboard.
>
> There is nowhere to pile up the multitudinous garments, hair, teeth [?], and so on, that she may shed, except for the foot of her bunk, and she has to dress in the same commodious way in the morning. Under the circumstances, it is hardly surprising that the ladies who come on board looking the daintiest go off looking the worst. . .[58]

The aim of the resorts was not only to extend but to surpass this level of accommodation, in terms of service, comfort and design excellence, at various destinations along the route. While the CPR's earliest hotels were relatively modest timber structures, the most celebrated of the three, Glacier House, proved so successful it was enlarged a number of times.[59]

A more ambitious project, the Banff Springs Hotel, was commissioned by Van Horne in 1886 and opened in 1888, a year before the opening of Windsor station. For this project, as for Windsor station, Van Horne selected Price as the architect. This commission, which was in keeping with the architect's most recent and most successful work, was less surprising than the station commission, and more plausibly explains, in fact, Price's association with the CPR.

The Rustic and the Refined: Tuxedo Park

At the time of the two commissions, Price's most significant work was his plan for Tuxedo Park (1885-1886; -1900), a project commissioned by Pierre Lorillard.[60] Set on seven thousand acres of land that Lorillard had inherited in Orange County, approximately 40 miles northwest of New York city, the project was originally intended as a remote wilderness resort for sportsmen and as a romantic retreat for their families. It was to serve New York's monied elite and would be open only during the autumn hunting and fishing season.[61] In keeping with the scheme's romantic premise, the area's heavily wooded hills

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[58]Hart also notes that Sladen complained that it was impossible to keep the ladies out of the smoking room of the parlor car.

[59]These hotels are discussed in Donzel; Harold D. Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Château Style in Canada*, University of Victoria Maltwood Museum Studies in Architectural History Number 1 (Victoria, 1968) and Bart Robinson, *Banff Springs: The Story of a Hotel* (Banff: Summerthought, 1973).

[60]Lorillard was the owner of a number of American railroads. The Tuxedo Park project is discussed at length in Graybill's dissertation. A discussion of its cottage architecture as the apex of certain innovative trends in American domestic design is found in Scully's *The Shingle Style*.

[61]Originally the Park's cottages were rented for the season, but the project proved so popular that more cottages were added, many by individual members, and the 'season' grew to encompass the full year. The design concept shifted accordingly, and the objective become the creation of a permanent, rather than temporary, dwelling place—an exclusive and highly romantic residential suburb, which would eventually

had been left as undisturbed as possible. Initially, the only buildings planned for the site were an imposing gate house to restrict access, a number of individual cottages based on various gabled house types, and a clubhouse and bachelor's annex.

The gate house was essentially a defensive structure (fig. 25a). It stood at the top of the ascending approach off the highway, and was preceded by a stone wall built of enormous boulders. The gate house, also of massive masonry construction, contained the gatekeeper's lodge, or living quarters, which was expressed as a tower with an entrance porch, and a keep for trespassers, which spanned a stream with one single, broad arch. The inspiration for the design was H. H. Richardson's Ames Gate Lodge of 1880-81, which Price considered the first example of a "Megalithical" style (fig. 25b).[62] Richardson's plan, which contained a "bachelor's hall", suggests that these designs presumed their occupants to be single men. Despite its domestic scale, Price's design incorporated the 'virile' features, discussed above in connection with railway terminals, of both the tower and the bridge-like arch. And in both designs, the most striking feature was the supporting wall, which, by virtue of its crude but powerful masonry construction, was structural in emphasis and conceived as a rampart. It was thus akin, despite its domestic scale and location, to the conceptualization of the Windsor terminal.

While many of the Park's family cottages also sat on a pedestal, or base of rusticated stone, the upper portions of these dwellings were clad instead in shingles and/or expressed their timber frame construction. The earliest, and simplest of these designs did not even feature the rusticated base. The dominant design feature of the cottages, exaggerated to excessive, monumental proportions in the manner of the rustication of the gate lodge, was the gabled, or sheltering, roof, while the supporting wall was all but dispensed with. Compressed along the principal facade between the massive gable and the base in such designs as the W. Chandler House (1885-86, fig. 25c), the William Kent House (1885), and a cottage of 1886, the sturdy, enveloping wall of the gate house had become a highly permeable ribbon of alternating solids and voids, of advance and recess (or comings and goings), above which the gabled masses of the building all but floated, in more remote containment.

Though picturesque in effect, all of these designs were bold and 'modern' (precociously post-modern, in fact) in spirit, exaggerating and playing with more abstracted, 'archetypal' forms and meanings in an expressive and calculated manner. While the use of shingles as a surface cladding allowed for more refined and detailed effects

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contain a church, a library, a hospital and even various commercial buildings. Price would continue work on this phase of the project until 1900. See Graybill.

[62]See Graybill.

among the cottages, in particular the rhythmic surface undulations for which the so-called 'Shingle' style would become famous, extraneous, decorative ornament had been reduced to a minimum, supplanted instead by the expressive and polychromatic effects of the materials used, and the dramatic play of chiaroscuro.

These designs, significant in terms of changing trends in architectural design and theory, were also significant in terms of new attitudes towards domesticity and domestic planning. As 'progressive' architecture, these designs expressed the opening up of domestic space at the ground floor level. The hall, once a formal reception space, or 'holding cell' of sorts which intervened between the public world of the street and the private world of the home, was, in the work of Shingle style architects such as Price, gaining in size, situation and attitude in order to serve not as a buffer, or regulatory zone, but as a central, more casual living space.[63] Clarity and order were maintained, meanwhile, through the use of compact, cross-axial plans.

Thus, while the cottages at Tuxedo Park, distinct from the more 'manly' architecture of the gatehouse, appeared at once protective, picturesque and more refined, and thus in keeping with the architectural traditions and domestic ideology espoused and promoted by Downing, Holly, *et al*, they were also formulating new approaches, and accommodating new lifestyles, within this tradition. While the more private sleeping areas of the upper storeys remained under the sheltering embrace of the gable, an increased interpenetration of interior and exterior space, particularly at the ground floor, or entry level, reflected a breaking down of internal/external boundaries—a decreased emphasis on the compartmentalization and privacy of earlier domestic plans and an increasing engagement with the surrounding landscape. The entire ground floor space was being converted to the purposes of a polite, yet more open and informal, sociability, one that extended beyond the confines of interior space. Rational relationships, meanwhile, were being constructed between clear, axially ordered plans, picturesque massing, symbolic forms and expressive ornament. According to architectural historian Vincent Scully, the Tuxedo cottages of Price represented "a simplification and clear ordering of all the plan and spatial elements of the cottage architecture of the early 80s."[64]

In contrast to the relative informality of these cottages, as well as to the park's rugged natural landscape, the centre of the park's social life, the clubhouse, was a highly refined affair designed to host a variety of elegant social and cultural events on a large scale—balls, concerts, plays and the like. It featured a 75 foot circular ballroom with a

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[63]See Scully. Scully's work established the Shingle style as a precursor to the modernism of Frank Lloyd Wright.

[64]Scully, p. 129

domed ceiling, an inlaid floor and numerous chandeliers illuminated by "twenty-five candle-stick gas lights." In an article in *Harper's Weekly* , this spectacular ballroom, which could be converted into a theatre, was lauded, "the handsomest ball-room in the United States . . . one of the most attractive auditoriums ever constructed."[65] Like the cottages, the clubhouse featured a rusticated stone base, shingled walls, pitched roofs and an open piazza surrounding the ground floor, but here the walls were again more prominent, and the hipped roofs subordinate. The most prominent design feature was in fact the clubhouse lawn which, both serviceable as an outdoor socializing area and a sign of cultivation, was one of the only two stretches within the park where the natural vegetation had been cleared.[66]

In sum, Tuxedo was a project boldly conceived and skillfully executed, and proved Price a master of the Shingle style. It demonstrated his ability to interpret not only difficult sites but demanding clients, and revealed his dexterity with romantic resort schemes, innovative domestic planning, and an aesthetic that encompassed both the luxurious and the informal. It also represented certain distinctions that persisted in terms of the manner in which bachelor, shared, and ladies' spaces were conceived.

In his dissertation on Price, Samuel Graybill speculates that it was Price's association with Lorillard that brought him to the attention of the directors of the CPR.[67] This seems highly probable, although both Graybill and Kalman appear to assume that it was in connection with the Windsor station commission that Price came to their attention.[68] While Price had also designed parlor cars for the Pennsylvania and Boston & Albany Railroads, he had no other previous experience in railway design.[69] If it was, therefore, Price's domestic work, Tuxedo Park in particular, that impressed his future clients, it was more likely to have recommended him, not for the station project, but for the series of picturesque resorts also being initiated by the CPR at that time.

In support of his resort credentials, Price had also designed a number of stick and shingle style structures for seaside resorts during the late 1870s and early 1880s that anticipated many of the features of the Park, its dwellings, and its clubhouse. Significantly, these had included a number of large hotels as well as cottages. In his design for an annex

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[65] *Harper's Weekly*, XXX (18 December, 1886), p. 827, quoted in Graybill, p. 82.

[66] The other was the polo field. In contrast to the varied massing of the cottages and the clubhouse, the Bachelor's Annex consisted of an unbroken form with a suspiciously 'phallic' footprint. The only balcony featured was along the curved end facade.

[67] This is not unlikely, as Lorillard was also a railway baron, albeit south of the border.

[68] Graybill, p. 171; Kalman, pp. 7-8.

[69] These parlor cars were in fact more relevant to Price's subsequent hotel designs than to his Windsor terminal design. The emergence of the parlor car as a public type which in turn influenced domestic fashion, is discussed in Grier.

to the West End Hotel at Bar Harbor, Maine (1878-79), for example, set in the rugged coast and countryside of Mount Desert, many of the Tuxedo concepts were already apparent. As Graybill has pointed out, the Bar Harbor hotel was, in Stick style fashion, already "a free expression of its wooden construction,"[70] and, in contrast to the mansard roof of the original clapboard structure, had been crowned with a steep, picturesque roof. A summer vacation spot that catered largely to women and children, the Bar Harbor hotel resembled the Tuxedo cottages in foregoing towers, bold arches and crude finishes. The walls of the ground and basement storeys, which housed the public and men's rooms of the resort, had already completely disappeared beneath a covered veranda that encircled the entire base of the structure. The entry-level and public floors were thus expressed as a single, lateral mass, characterized by a preponderance of void space (as opposed to structure, or solid wall) and extreme permeability. The first and second storeys revealed the varied massing of the building, which gave rise to the picturesque roofline and reflected a diminishing of public space within the plan, and a growing emphasis on more intimate, private spaces. The programme gave considerable emphasis to the public rooms, which featured both elegance and refinement.

The fact that Price had already worked out a "Sketch for a Hotel" in 1886 (the same year he produced his first set of drawings for the station)—a sketch that concurs with Banff, as built, in all but the pyramidal portion of the roof—further indicates that Price most probably came to the attention of the CPR as a desirable resort architect.[71]

"Both comfortable and daring": the Banff Springs Hotel

Like the Tuxedo scheme, the Banff resort was in a remote wilderness location.[72] Its spectacular natural site, which was located at the crest of a hill situated on the eastern slope of the Rockies and overlooking the confluence of the Spray and Bow Rivers, was also in Canada's first national park. This was no coincidence. Some 260 square miles surrounding the Banff Hot Springs, already a 10 square mile reserve, had been designated a national park in 1887, a year after the hotel had been commissioned.[73] The national park and the hotel were thus taking shape simultaneously, again suggesting similarities to the

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[70]Graybill, p. 33.

[71]See Kalman, footnotes 13 and 20, on the respective dates of these projects. That Price received the commission for the terminal before the Banff Hotel commission does not alter the possibility that he was first considered in connection with the resorts.

[72]A social and architectural history of the hotel is provided by Robinson. The hotel is also discussed in terms of a developing Canadian architectural style in Kalman, *The Chateau Style*.

[73]The springs were noted for their medicinal value, while the mountains would soon be renowned for the exhilarating air, breathtaking scenery and "mad swirl of earthy outdoor activity" they afforded. Robinson, p. 28.

development of Tuxedo, where the site was to be preserved in its natural form. Nonetheless, as at Tuxedo, where a system of roads had been provided, elements of civilized ease were evident from the moment of arrival. According to one visitor's description of Banff, which appeared in *Dominion Illustrated*, "a well-appointed omnibus was awaiting our arrival, and twenty minutes drive over a fine government road rising gradually higher and higher, took us up the knoll on which the CPR is situated . . ."[74] Another tourist referred to the "very towny 'bus', a much more luxurious affair than the Fifth Avenue stage, which caters for the smartest people in New York" that conveyed "the passengers for the two miles from the station to the Banff Springs Hotel." The same tourist also wrote that one could "hire a fly, for all the world like a Brighton fly, with a pair of horses, to drive you over excellent gravelled roads to the Devil's Lake, or to very near the top of the big mountain."[75]

Construction at the site had begun in the fall of 1886, and the hotel opened in June of 1888. Rising above a ridge of evergreens, it was, like Price's earlier hotels and cottages, a timber frame structure, horizontal in emphasis and picturesque in outline (fig. 26). Like many of Price's earlier seaside resorts, private living quarters and public socializing facilities had been combined in one building. Its general configuration appears, in photos and illustrations, more 'T'-shaped than 'H'-shaped, as is commonly cited.[76] The principal elevation was comprised of a three-and-a-half storey lateral block which expressed the central corridor plan. From this a third wing abutted at right angles. A central rotunda marked the convergence of these two wings. The hotel also featured steeply hipped roofs and pointed dormers, elements that echoed the irregular formations and agitated silhouette of the surrounding trees and mountain peaks. In keeping with Price's earlier stick and shingle-style designs, the hotel's dominant design features were the corridor block, these steeply pitched roofs and, despite the climate, a number of wide verandas, both open-air and glassed-in with open galleries above, that obscured much of the exterior wall. Entrance to the hotel was, as in most Shingle-style designs, both announced and hidden by these and other deep overhangs. Sections of the exterior wall were veneered to suggest cream-colored Winnipeg brick, while others were covered with oil-finished cedar shingles from B.C., as was the roof. Given the contrasting window trim, the overall effect was lively and gay (fig. 27a).

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[74] *Dominion Illustrated*, I (July 21, 1888), p. 38.

[75] Douglas Sladen, *On The Cars and Off*, quoted in Hart, p. 57.

[76] According to the current CP archivists, all of the original architectural drawings for the early CPR hotels were lost during the 1970s. The floor plans for the first Banff Springs Hotel were evidently never reproduced, although Price's perspective for the exterior is held at Cornell and is reproduced in Robinson. A description of the building can be found in *Dominion Illustrated*, I (July 21, 1888), p. 38.

Remote, picturesque in outline, and conventionally domestic in its timber frame construction and shingled roof, the hotel was nonetheless exotic in its stylistic impressions, which recalled/evoked sources that were variously interpreted as Rhenish Provincial, English Tudor and Swiss Chalet. Catharine Donzel has summarized the resultant style, one based on general romantic associations rather than rigorous historicism, as, "a theatrical style, meant to charm and impress."[77] The hotel was also exotic in size, which, for the location, was unprecedented. It contained 250 guests rooms, as well as numerous public and semi-public rooms, service rooms, rooms for staff and a large bathhouse.[78] Given the wilderness locale, the hotel program was obviously no less exotic than its size.[79]

In the shared public spaces of the hotel, space was organized in accordance with the more public/masculine conventions mentioned above. According to period photographs and descriptions, a large, 40' square sky-lit rotunda, octagonal in shape, dominated the centre of the plan and served as the main lobby, or reception space (fig. 27b). Rising the full height of the building, it was lined with successive galleries, which connected with rooms in the upper storeys. In this it resembled the central galleried hall typical of many of the new public exhibitionary spaces (as opposed to spaces intended strictly for exhibition purposes) of the bourgeoisie, and helped institute the public gaze as a disciplinary and regulatory device[80]

This arrangement was tempered, however, by features more typical of conventional domestic and women's spaces. Entrance to the lobby, for example, was quite informal. Relatively unpronounced entryways were recessed in the Ls of the intersecting wings of the hotel along the rotunda elevations and some, though not all, were sheltered by modest, single-storey verandas with steeply pitched, shingled roofs. With little ceremony, guests would have entered directly into the lobby. The main entrance was only slightly more formal (fig. 27a). Marked by a shingled veranda supported by four bracketed posts, it was located just off the rotunda, along the length of the front projecting wing. By directing much of the incoming and outgoing traffic along diagonal axes distinct from the main

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[77]Donzel, p. 200

[78]The contractors had inadvertently reversed the plan of the building (Price evidently did not oversee construction), thus affording the kitchen staff the "million-dollar" view of the confluence of the two rivers, while the guests in the rotunda were left to view the pine trees on the flanks of Sulphur Mountain. To rectify the situation, a rotunda pavilion was added behind the kitchen. Robinson, pp. 15-16.

[79]In his book on the history of the hotel, Bart Robinson notes that the construction of such a hotel in such a location was "an event involving a high degree of imagination and boldness and great amounts of capital." Robinson, p. 14. Indeed, Price had "the entire resources of the CPR to draw upon, and hence it was possible to build with certain materials in certain ways." Bruce Price, quoted in Barr Ferree.

[80]Evidently, the plan didn't allow for more discrete modes of ingress and egress, and guests were often unwilling participants in the spectacle of the lobby. According to Robinson, the nephew of Lord Strathcona resorted to leaving by the window of his room, presumably in order to bypass the voyeuristic plan.

interior axes and circulation routes, Price's design enhanced the modern vitality and dynamism initiated by the multi-storeyed, multi-directional space of the rotunda. This was in contrast to the more rigid formal order typically stressed by large public halls, such as the Windsor station concourse. Despite the terminal's reputation as a place of bustle and movement, the Windsor's formal and stolid lobby was, architecturally, far less active a space than that of the Banff Hotel lobby.[81]

The distribution of specifically male and female space, meanwhile, also followed the pattern established by more conventional domestic spaces. Men's facilities, which included a card room, a bar and billiard room, and a barbershop, were grouped in the basement along with the steward's office, thus identifying them with the spaces used to house the machinery for the hotel's electric lights and system of bells. Men's space was also centered on the ground or entry level, along with shared spaces, while the principal ladies' rooms were centered on the first floor.[82] Unlike the men's rooms in the basement, the ladies' first-floor drawing room had "three sets of windows, from which the most beautiful views [could] be obtained."[83] By opening onto a large gallery over the north veranda, the room's identification with nature was further accentuated. While thirty-three of the hotel's bedchambers were located off the corridors of the ground floor, the majority were located on the first and second floors, the second floor being given over entirely to private rooms. The majority of servants' rooms, meanwhile, were located in the 'bridge' and rear building.

In addition to the machinery for electric lights, the hotel also featured an elevator and boilers for steam heat. The boilers were housed in a separate building that also included a large bathhouse. The bathhouse featured 10 "handsomely appointed" bathing rooms and a common pool, and all were supplied with the mineral waters of the sulphur hot springs, which were conveyed down the mountainside in iron pipes (the bathing rooms were divided into "separate sections, with different entrances for the ladies and gentlemen"). The hotel's state-of-the-art plumbing also supplied the private baths featured in many of the guest suites. According to the piece in the *Dominion Illustrated*, "no modern appliance [had] been omitted from the building."

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[81] In his introduction to *Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels, An Architectural and Social History* (New York: Vendome Press, 1984) Jean d'Ormesson, for example, writes, "A grand hotel's main lobby could scarcely be more antithetical to that of a railway station. Whereas the latter fairly vibrates with the hustle and bustle of people on their way somewhere, the former radiates the calm of people who have arrived and thus live in hushed composure," p. 10.

[82] The ground floor included a smoking room, writing room, reading rooms, parlors, large and small dining rooms, a breakfast room, offices, a servants' dining room and a nurses' and children's dining room.

[83] *Dominion Illustrated*, I (July 21, 1888), p. 38.

Along with sophisticated technologies, the hotel featured sophisticated interiors finished in red and yellow Douglas fir and white pine, oiled and varnished, and decorated with reproduction antiques specially manufactured in Montreal. Cultural sophistication was also provided by The Melrose Trio, a group of female musicians who performed nightly concerts and provided chamber music during dinner.[84] The hotel's emphasis on refinement, polite forms of sociability, and women's spaces, and by extension its cultivation of a refined and female clientele, meant that it provided not only a 'suitable' public environment for women vacationers, but a suitable venue for women professionals such as the Melrose Trio.[85]

Women could partake of more than the cultural ambiance, however. Just as the hotel afforded its guests social and natural landscapes, it proffered both cultural entertainments and rigourous physical activities and outdoor adventure: hiking, canoeing, cruises up the Bow and 'Mountain Bell' Rivers, and broncho or tallyho rides were all available, to men and women alike.[86] Judging from early promotional material published by the CPR, this was, for women as for men, a large part of the resort's attraction. Much of this promotional material was directed towards women and/or cast women in the role of outdoor explorer and/or adventurer. The first company pamphlet devoted specifically to the mountains, for example, appeared in the early 1890s. Evidently aimed at the honeymoon trade, the cover featured a fashionably attired young couple, in the company of a mountain guide, gazing back at the hotel and its natural surround from a distant mountain top (fig. 28a). An earlier ad, this one promoting the Swiss Alps as a destination of Cook's travel tours had depicted a female mountain climber in a more precarious, yet far more daring pose. Though in the company of male guides, the woman was at the centre of both the image and its drama, braving the snow-capped heights with considerable poise (fig. 28b).[87] The image of the female adventurer would acquire a similarly active expression in Canada with the publication of a CPR brochure entitled, "The Challenge of the Mountains." In its cover image, a female figure had *become* the guide to outdoor adventure (fig. 28c).[88] While advertisers have traditionally employed the female image to sell all manner of products, the female image depicted by this ad was striking in its rhetorical

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[84]Robinson, p. 23

[85]Hotels were also thought suitable venues for women interior decorators. Kate Reed, who also worked with many of the architects of the Square Mile and was wife of CPR's chief hotel manager Hayter Reed, became interior decorator for the CPR hotels in 1906.

[86]Robinson, p. 22, 27-29.

[87]Hart, p, 63. The image was not without its actual, and Canadian, counterpart. Hart notes that in 1895, for example, an excursion of twenty Appalachian Club members, many of them women, went climbing in the vicinity of Lake Louise.

[88]This image appears on the cover of Hart's *The Selling of Canada.*

unconventionality. The female mountain guide, now in 'living colour', was neither particularly exotic nor romantic. Nor was she demure. Wearing breeches and carrying a walking staff, her pose was both confident and relaxed. Cast in the role of guide, she invited the onlooker to join her in her explorations. Her role was both a welcoming one and an active one—she too was opening up the west, and making it accessible to other women, as well as to men.

De Jonge has said that, "the resort hotel offered its clientele a natural environment, yet allowed them to decide upon the level of their wilderness experience."[89] It was precisely this range of experience that the Banff hotel sought to provide, for both men and women. In the tradition of luxury hotel design, meanwhile, it also allowed guests considerable control over the level of their sociability. Guests were all provided with private bedrooms, while common rooms ranged from the large and very public rotunda to the intimate, private sitting rooms of bedroom suites.

It was indeed, as one commentator remarked, "a wonder of art and invention in the wilderness," both "comfortable and daring."[90] It proved so successful in drawing its intended clientele, that the CPR began a programme of hotel extensions and improvements, one which "fostered an addition or rearrangement of Banff Spring's structure almost every year between 1900 and 1928."[91]

As a model of domesticity, the Banff Springs Hotel had brought both bourgeois women and refinement to a remote spot of the Canadian wilderness. This was consistent with romantic ideology, which linked women to domesticity and both to nature, as well as with bourgeois ideology, which also associated women and domesticity with cultural refinements and a 'civilizing' function/role. The resort's therapeutic premise linked it to women as well, who were traditionally active in health care and recreation, while its domestic status dissociated these services from the recognition/mystification of more clinical and/or professional environments.

In these respects, the Banff Springs Hotel was consistent with the 19th-century rhetoric of both domesticity and femininity. It also introduced a number of rhetorical aberrations, however. Like its Shingle-style predecessors, its distinctive form and massing disrupted traditional distinctions between interior and exterior space. Unlike private Shingle-style dwellings, however, the hotel's large, commercial scale defied the personal isolation of the detached suburban home, as did its many common corridors and lobbies, public rooms and social entertainments, which encouraged repeated encounters and

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[89]James de Jonge, p. 555, with reference to resort hotels in general.
[90]Quoted in Robinson.
[91]Robinson, p. 38. On the subsequent architecture, see Robinson.

interaction with strangers; its cosmopolitan elegance and sophisticated technologies contradicted the local 'quaintness' and rustic conservatism presumed of rural domesticity, attracting an affluent and well-travelled clientele; and its centralized, professionally administered food preparation, laundry and housekeeping services freed female guests from the domestic roles otherwise presumed of them.

"The centre of . . . modern, everyday life": the Chateau Frontenac

Price's next Canadian luxury hotel, the Chateau Frontenac, would continue in the tradition of the Banff Springs, but would tower above both the natural scenery *and* the urban settlement of Quebec City, joining a series of historic civic monuments also located at the city's summit: the Quebec Citadel, the Governors Garden and the Grand Battery.[92] Begun in 1892, opened in December of 1893, and built at a cost of over $1, 000, 000, Canadian resort architecture had once again reached spectacular heights, both figuratively and literally (figs. 29, 30a).[93]

In view of the commanding site, the scenic panorama and the existing fortifications, Van Horne, who was again closely involved in the project, advised his architect to focus on "broad effects, rather than ornamentation and detail." Price, in an interview with Barr Ferree, concurred: "the hotel is placed in the centre of a big landscape, and hence needs every advantage of bigness, both from the materials and from the simplicity of its designs."[94] This 'big' landscape was also extremely picturesque, and therefore well-suited to the asymmetrical scheme Price devised. It was once again to be a single structure with irregular massing, only this time it comprised four wings and two principal towers, all of

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[92]A hotel had been considered for the historic and picturesque site as early as 1880. The site had been occupied by the Chateau St. Louis, the residence of the Quebec governor Count Frontenac, from 1694 until 1834, when it was destroyed by fire. The terrace was built over the ruins of the Chateau by Lord Durham in 1838 and then extended, in 1875, as part of Lord Dufferin's scheme for Quebec improvements. Price, at Van Horne's direction, was able to successfully integrate this terrace into his scheme for the hotel. Van Horne wrote: "I am planning to retain the old fortifications and to keep the old guns in place, setting the hotel well back from the face of the hill so as to afford ample room for a promenade" quoted in Kalman, p. 14. The plan echoed the treatment of seaside resorts in England, where marine artifacts, seawalls and bourgeois architecture converged. See Kenneth Lindley, *Seaside Architecture* (London: H. Evelyn, 1973).

[93]Technically, the venture was financed not by the CPR, but by the Chateau Frontenac Company, which was organized in 1892. The hotel came under the official aegis of the CPR in 1894. For a general history of the hotel, see Joan Elson Morgan, *Castle of Quebec* (Toronto: J. M. Dent, 1949). For an architectural history of the original wing, with an emphasis on its stylistic origins and antecedents, see Harold D. Kalman, *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada* (Victoria: University of Victoria Maltwood Museum, 1968). On its many subsequent additions, see France Gagnon Pratte and Éric Etter, trans. Linda Blythe, *The Château Frontenac: One Hundred Years in the Life of a Legendary Hotel* (Quebec City: Éditions Continuité, 1993).

[94]Farree, "A Talk with Bruce Price," *The Architectural Record*, June 1899. Many of the grand hotels of Europe and America built during the *belle époque* were richly ornamented. For a pictorial survey of some of the more elaborate palace hotels, see *Grand Hotel: The Golden Age of Palace Hotels, An Architectural and Social History.*

varying size and shape, arranged around a large, central courtyard (figs. 30a, 31). As an object in the landscape, it was designed, like the Banff Springs Hotel, not only to be visible, but to accentuate the romantic nature of the site.[95] Its own presence as a romantic object was enhanced by its lively roofline, which included high, hipped roofs; conical towers; slim, dormer windows; and tall, slender chimneys. The principal elevation, which looked out over Dufferin terrace (an exterior promenade along the cliff's edge), consisted of a five-storey block flanked by two broad towers, one circular and one polygonal (fig. 32a). This particular organization of the principal facade—as a recessed centre block expressive of the lateral corridor and flanked by end pavilions—appears to have been particularly popular among resorts and would reappear in many of Canada's major hotels (figs. 33, 38a).[96]

Like the Banff Springs Hotel, the Chateau's general stylistic sources were romantic and domestic, though now of more obvious European derivation, as was more typical of Price's urban designs. Inspiration for the design, its principal facade in particular, came from the 14th and 15th century chateau of the Loire valley. In this, Price was guided by earlier proposals submitted for a hotel on the same site, which were also in the style of a French medieval castle.[97]

The reference to the architecture of French aristocratic residence was particularly fitting in the case of the Chateau Frontenac, and highly successful. Appropriate to the region's cultural heritage, French sources, albeit of later derivation, were also considered appropriate to both urban apartment and hotel design. Apartment and hotel dwellings, which had their origins in the aristocratic *hôtel-particuliers* of the 17th and 18th centuries, flourished as urbane forms of bourgeois residence in France throughout the 19th century. Signifying the cosmopolitan elegance and sophistication of Paris during the Second Empire, their mansard roofs, circular towers, and decorative detailing quickly influenced hotel architecture, and the design of other multi-storey residential buildings, throughout England and America. Montreal's principal luxury hotel, the Windsor Hotel (William W.

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[95]Roughly U-shaped in plan, the arrangement also capitalized, as a place of observation rather than a place observed, on the spectacular views. For the sake of those rooms that faced onto the courtyard, it too was rendered aesthetically pleasing.

[96]See, for example, the CPR's Viger station and hotel complex in Montreal (also by Bruce Price, see below); the CPR's Empress Hotel in Victoria, British Columbia (F.M. Rattenbury, 1904-08); the CPR's Chateau Lake Louise, Lake Louise, Alberta (W.S. Painter, 1912-13); and the CNR's Chateau Laurier in Ottawa, Ontario (Ross and MacFarlane, 1908-12).

[97]See Morgan, and Pratte. Price's successful paraphrase of medieval sources from France and Scotland led to the development of the so-called Chateau Style. The majority of CPR hotels, which quickly rose in all the major cities of Canada, were built in this style. Through these buildings, the style gained public prestige, coast-to-coast exposure, and national associations. The style was so successful that it was later adopted as the 'official' style of government buildings. This development is the subject of Kalman's *The Railway Hotels and the Development of the Chateau Style in Canada* .

Boyinton, 1875), was a case in point (fig. 34). As reintroduced by Price, the concept of aristocratic French residence, though still with its attendant associations of wealth and grandeur, was rendered significantly more romantic. By drawing on medieval rather than recent sources, new types of large-scale luxury accommodation acquired identifications at once historic and picturesque.[98] It also allowed for greater informality in plan and more expressive massing. This more romantic approach would inform Canadian hotel design, and other types of large-scale, elegant residence for some years to come.[99]

While both of Price's urban designs, Windsor station and the Chateau Frontenac, clearly looked to Medieval sources, the manner in which they were exploited was vastly different. The station featured considerable regularity and rectilinearity in both its plan and massing; the hotel accentuated, by comparison, irregularity and asymmetry. The station's footprint conformed to the grid-like nature of its urban site (despite the irregular topography), while the hotel emphasized the picturesque nature of its highly scenic setting, it's irregular footprint conforming to the natural terrain and giving rise to wings that would capitalize on the spectacular views. The terminal came attired in a sober city suit of monochromatic grey limestone; the hotel, by contrast, came dressed in a colourful outfit of bright orange-red Glenboig brick enlivened with blue limestone trim and a contrasting steep roof of oxidized copper. The station featured heavy, rusticated masonry and recessed fenestration, which was a far cry from the hotel's more refined finish, and bay and oriel windows. In the design of Windsor Station, Price had sought imposing verticality through the station's tower, which was to have been a dominant feature, in sharp juxtaposition to the building's other masses. As built, vertical emphasis was achieved through the arch and spandrel system, which help to unify the composition in an upward direction. In the design of the Chateau Frontenac, the hotel's towers remained anchored to the building's main masses, lateral rather than vertical extensions. Accordingly, these disparate masses were unified with horizontal bands of contrasting brick and stone, which added to the horizontal emphasis of the overall structure. In sum, the station was conceived as a powerful fortress, an expression of might; the hotel, by contrast, was conceived as a welcoming bastion of gaiety, refinement and civility. Where one was forbidding and intimidating, the other was

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[98] In the Chateau Frontenac, reminders of a 'noble' tradition were everywhere: floors and wings took the names of significant figures in Quebec history; interiors were decorated with costly reproduction furniture; and arms and crests abounded.

[99] Stylistically, the chateaux of the Loire Valley had much in common with the baronial castles of Scotland. This apparently appealed to the CPR's mainly Scottish directors and gave Price's suggestive, rather than historically precise, style currency outside Quebec. Scottish architectural traditions were also, like the French, appropriate to the multistoried dwelling type, as Scotland, like France, had a long tradition of apartment house design (in Edinburgh, apartment house construction apparently dates back to at least the 16th century). See Norbert Schoenauer, *History of Housing*, (Montreal: McGill Univ. printing, 1992).

welcoming and warm. Where one was formal, the other was informal. Where one was rough, the other was refined. Differing 'temperaments', as rhetorical and architectural configurations, had clearly guided the two concepts. Where the national terminal had been informed by the spirit of conquest, the international hotel had been informed by the spirit of cultivation and refinement.

In the tradition of French chateaux and many French hotels, the main entrance, which opened onto a spacious inner courtyard, was neither visible to the public nor given particularly grandiose expression, although it was pedimented (fig. 32b). Nor were other access points, such as a special ladies' entrance that opened onto Dufferin Terrace, given much emphasis within the overall compositions of the various facades (fig. 32a). In these respects, points of entry resembled those of the Banff Hotel and the sheltered and/or modest entrances of other domestic and women's spaces. Accessed via a south-facing stone porte-cochère, which was announced by a large dormer and a cupola, the approach was considerably more ceremonial, however, than at the Banff Springs. It was also contiguous with the experience of entering the old walled city. Three gates gave access to the city (fig. 30b), which in turn featured an intricate network of narrow, winding roads, dominated by a sense of enclosure, that wound their way up the hill. This gave way to a sense of tremendous expansion at the city's summit. Likewise, any sense of enclosure experienced upon entering the hotel would have diminished considerably upon reaching the hotel's tower suites, which, while among the most private spaces of the hotel, were also conceived as observation towers. Thanks to the height, ample glazing and convex shape of these rooms, they were able to capitalize on the extraordinary vistas of the surrounding 'big' landscape. No other building in the city, and certainly no other residential structures, would have afforded the sense of panoramic expansion available to the occupants of these suites. In this, the design was again anticipated by earlier shingle-style designs, which often exploited the upper storeys of rounded and octagonal towers as sites for private bedrooms, giving them additional fenestration. The hotel was, in fact, so designed that "all the offices and service rooms, even the main entrance hall . . . look out upon the inner curve, leaving every bit of the outer circle, that faces the magnificent stretch of river and sky and far-off hills, to be devoted to guest rooms."[100] Notably, it was the natural "panorama of river, hill and sky that unroll[ed] to one's view."[101] In what was, in the opinion of the above observer, "a clever and difficult planning," it was the viewer's connection with nature that was carefully orchestrated.

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[100] *Historic Quebec* (Quebec: The Chateau Frontenac Company, third edition, 1894), p. 8.
[101] *Historic Quebec* , p. 10.

The urban locale was equally important, though it informed the architecture in quite a different way. The feel of the picturesque city, with its irregular and curious buildings and roads, its many ascents and descents, its sudden shifts in scale, direction, openness and enclosure, was duplicated, once inside the hotel, by both the hotel's formal shapes and sequences and its circulatory system. Faith Fenton, a well-known author, provided the following description of the hotel's interior for a 19th-century guidebook published by the Chateau Frontenac Company:

> . . . this splendid edifice possess as many interior curves and corners as outer ones. It is delightfully unexpected in its ways. Rooms that are bow-shaped, crescent-shaped, circular; rooms that are acute-angled, obtuse-angled, triagonal, sexagonal—everything except right-angled. And then the stairways—they are everywhere, and equally pretty and unique in effect. Every corner that one peeps into along these wide, curving corridors holds an inviting little stairway—bright and soft, with rich crimson carpeting and oak banisters—that tempts one to ascend or descend just to find where it leads.[102]

While intimate spaces were never very far away, arousing the impulse to explore, a sense of openness dominated the shared public areas of the hotel, and these were, as at Banff, numerous.[103] The two principal wings and towers of the ground floor plan, for example, were devoted almost entirely to a series of large public rooms. These were organized along a broad, central corridor, or promenade, and featured considerable interconnectedness and spatial movement (fig. 35b). And in a manner reminiscent of, though distinct from, the Banff rotunda, circulatory patterns and sight lines converged in dynamic and non-perpendicular ways thanks to the use of diagonal, as well as perpendicular axes.

According to the ground floor plan and period photographs, the men's rotunda (which occupied the base of the round tower); the main corridor; and the shared public lobby were all fairly open volumes punctuated by supporting columns rather than partition walls, and featured tressellated floors. While the coffee room, which occupied the entire ground storey of the dining room wing, was expressed as a self-contained volume preceded by an enclosed, if spacious, corridor, the space itself constituted "a very large square airy room," punctuated only by supporting columns.[104] In the first-storey ladies

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[102] *Historic Quebec* , p. 8. Ms. Fenton's wonderfully detailed and evocative description of the hotel also appeared in subsequent brochures published by the CPR, such as *Quebec: Summer and Winter* (CPR, 1899). It is significant that a women was chosen to speak on behalf of the hotel, while the 'voice' for the remainder of the guidebook, for which no author is given, is either anonymous or male.

[103] As at Banff, the basement, ground floor, and much of the first floor contained public and/or common rooms.

[104] *Historic Quebec*, p. 11

parlor (fig. 35a), located above the men's rotunda, something of a similar sense of openess and movement is apparent, thanks to the use of columns instead of the partition walls, doors and/or archways that generally characterized women's interior spaces. Its first floor location, however, limited its accessibility, while its interior finish and decor specified the space as a distinctly feminine one.

Ms. Fenton was particularly attentive and enthusiastic in her description of the ladies' public rooms, and is again worth quoting at length:

> Ascending the main stairway, which leads by easy turns from the vestibule, we come upon one of the most artistic effects in the building, for, standing in the broad corridor, beautiful with its white panellings, oak floor and crimson Axminster, we look between large, creamy, daintily-moulded pillars into the long drawing room, and beyond it into the ladies' pavilion. It is a wonderfully pretty and artistic entrance that these white, carven pillars afford. It brings a suggestion of the Renaissance and the white and gold days at Louis Quinze. The ladies' pavilion is delightful. It might be called the ladies' rotunda, for it corresponds with that of the one below. It is perfectly round, of course, with those fine square carven pillars forming the entrance way, and a central round pillar supporting the graceful sprays of lights. Half of the circling wall is filled with windows that look out upon a scene—than which no fairer one exists. From the gray Citadel along and adown the river to Isle d'Orleans—with Lower Town lying beneath the Terrace and all the landscape beauty across the rapid water—truly it is a superb eastern portal, a fit correspondent for Canada's magnificent mountain guardians of the west.[105]

In contrast to the "rich brown" and more sober oak panelling of the coffee room, dining room and lobby, the woodwork in the ladies' rotunda, which sought to create a gayer, more refined atmosphere, was of white mahogany, its surfaces covered in a variety of delicate gilded designs and patterns. The ground floor foyer, meanwhile, was decorated with various arms and crests, and the walls of the dining room were embellished with leather wainscoting studded with brass, and with rare tapestries depicting a historical subject, the founding of Rome. The fireplaces in the ladies' rotunda were of lamartine marble and surmounted by large polished mirrors. The floors were entirely carpeted in quality Axminsters (in contrast to the mosaic stone flooring of the ground floor, which meant one's approach was heard as well as seen) and the furniture was upholstered "partly in brocade, partly in corduroy, to match the delicate tints of the walls."[106] These too were richly patterned. Also typical was the type and arrangement of furnishings. These consisted almost exclusively of widely dispersed armchairs and occasional chairs scattered about in two rings: one located at the periphery, and one organized around the ottoman that

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[105] *Historic Quebec.*

[106] This description, which comes from a report carried by the *Quebec Morning Chronicle*, December 18, 1893, is quoted in Morgan, p. 162.

surrounded the base of the room's central column. Throughout the space the stress was on 'artistic' effects, picturesque natural vistas, elegant and tasteful decor, and on the activities of promenading and conversing in intimate groups. Immediately identifiable as women's spaces, these lavishly decorated common rooms, open yet intimate in the manner of the Shingle-style hall and devoted to informal yet polite sociability, served to illustrate, along with a tower-suite bedroom, the interior of the hotel in the company's promotional brochure of 1894. The etching of the ladies' rotunda also served as the brochure's frontispiece (the cover featured an exterior view of the Chateau), and continued to be featured in subsequent brochures.

In the company's promotional literature, the form, function and feel of this particular space became emblematic of the hotel. Indeed, the domestic character of the women's reception spaces had permeated both the hotel and its surrounding (fig. 36). Just as gender was a function of the ladies' rotunda, it became a function of the hotel proper. The refined edifice was contrasted to the surrounding Quebec wilderness, as was Banff. But unlike the marketing material produced for Banff, which stressed women's participation in wilderness adventures in what was still Canada's frontier, it was, in the more 'developed' east, the Chateau's more urbane environment that was emphasized. In a brochure from 1907, for example, the Chateau was described as providing, "the ideal resting place of such of the ladies and children as may prefer its comforts to camp life in the woods, during the angling and hunting trips of the men of their parties".[107] This theme was taken up again in a pamphlet of 1912, which described the hotel as "the centre of [Quebec City's] modern, everyday life" and conjectured, "After a glorious trip into the hunting district, [the man] returns to the Chateau where, perhaps, his family awaits him, to dine in civilization again." The hotel remained, therefore, within the tradition of Downing's domestic constructions, insofar as it defined a safe and refined haven and thus a 'suitable' abode for women and children.

Yet the modest domestic haven had come a long way. An eminence on the city's skyline, this majestic commercial edifice, like Banff, had created a space for women unlike any fathomed by Downing. As guests, women were freed from domestic responsibilities and surrounded with spaces in which to live both a private and public life; spaces characterized by cosmopolitan elegance, comfort, modern conveniences, and both cultural and physical entertainments.

As a model of domesticity, the Chateau was above all a lively, worldly place. In its "rotundas and cafes . . . and on Dufferin Terrace—the Forum of Quebec . . . the tourist

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[107] *Chateau Frontenac and Old Quebec* (Montreal: CPR Co., Hotel Dept., 1907).

rubs elbows with men and women from all countries of the world"[108]—fashionable, well-travelled men and women of means who liked to socialize not just in style and comfort, but, in true bourgeois fashion, in public. Like Banff, which had been promoted simultaneously as an isolated getaway and as part of a larger network controlled by the CPR (fig. 37), the Chateau was represented as part of an intercontinental journey.[109] By 1912, company brochures for the hotel boasted,

> Quebec is a halting place between two hemispheres; she stands on what is now the direct and more preferred route to India, Asia and the Islands of the Pacific. From the West the Pacific fleet and Transcontinental trains of the CPR bring each summer representatives of all the British Dominions Beyond the Sea. From the East the Atlantic "Empresses" of the same Company land here right at her doors tourists making the Grand Tour, Big-game Hunters on their way to the woods and the wilds, and always the mighty stream of new settlers . . ."[110]

While its 170 guest rooms and suites provided for privacy, it's many open, interconnecting public spaces provided milling space, and opportunities to both see and be seen, for both "transient" guests and "those making prolonged visits," for whom special arrangements could be made. Its many public rooms also catered to parties other than hotel guests, who could rent the hotel's elegant reception space for a variety of functions and occasions, both private and public. Hotels thus became hosts to a variety of "popular receptions, lectures and even spectacles."[111] According to historian Abraham Rogatnik, the CPR hotels, "provided for the modern Canadian," what earlier public types, such as "the church, the manse, the guild hall, and the town hall—as well as the inn—fulfilled for the ancient European."[112] These hotels differed significantly, however, from these earlier public types in their embrace of women. For women then, the hotel had particular importance, which it maintained well into the twentieth century. Henriette Baillargeon recalled, "In my youth everything took place at the Chateau."[113] As noted in an article on

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[108]*Chateau Frontenac*, 1907, p. 29. In *Historic Quebec*, Dufferin Terrace was described as "the pride and glory of Quebec . . . an unrivalled promenade and public rendez-vous," p. 12.

[109]The comprehensiveness of the public services provided by the CPR was indeed impressive: it provided Canadians with rail and steam ship service, hotel accommodation, telegraph service and parcel delivery. The company was also involved in industrial, agricultural, mineral and land development, as well as in immigration and colonization. As one oft-told tale has it, they even controlled the time (the CPR had introduced railway time in place of standard time).

[110]*Quebec and the Chateau Frontenac: The Ancient Town and Its Modern Hostelry*, CPR, 1912, pp. 1-3. In 1897, Price had designed the Citadel Wing and Pavilion to increase the room capacity. They were completed in 1899.

[111]"New York Hotels. The Modern Hotel", p. 621.

[112]Rogatnik, "Canadian Castles: Phenomenon of the Railway Hotel."

[113]Quoted in Pane Henissart, "Quebec City's Grand Old Lady", p. 160. Canadian Pacific Archives (CPA), Montreal.

modern hotels published in *The Architectural Record* in 1902, not only "the comforts of home . . . but all the comforts and luxuries of the city [were] gradually [being] included in the modern hotel."[114] The CPR's 1912 brochure for the Chateau went even further: "without boasting it may well be said that the Chateau Frontenac is Quebec—the centre of its modern, everyday life . . . [where] everyone meets everyone else."[115]

As a model of public rather than private space, meanwhile, it emphasized sanitation (of the hotel's 170 bedrooms, 93 had private bathrooms—an unheard of luxury in Canada at that time), safety (the ground and first storeys featured fireproof steel and hollow tile construction),[116] and elegance (all of the bedrooms featured reproduction 16th-century oak furniture, while three tower suites, consisting of two bedrooms and a joint sitting room, were filled with valuable antiques). The walled promenades and gaily painted, whimsical rotundas helped define a similarly genteel encounter with the surrounding landscape.

"To a discriminating public, luxury and comfort without ostentation": Viger Station and Hotel Complex

With the erection of Montreal's Place Viger hotel and station complex (1896-98), also designed by Price for the CPR, the versatility of the type was complete (fig. 38a).[117] The public stature and prestige of the type was such that it not only occupied an urban site, but served as the frontage for the CPR's new railway station.[118] This meant domestic space would not only dominate the design, but would supply it's public face. With the emergence of elegant, multi-storey hotels, domestic environments had indeed developed a new persona. As had Canada's railways. As Hart and Donzel both point out, it was the image of its 'castle-hotels' that the CPR would export abroad, helping forge, in the process, "an authentic Canadian cultural identity."[119] The Viger complex, owing more to the precedent of other CPR hotels than to Windsor Station, aggrandized, modernized and publicized bourgeois domesticity, and with it, the rhetoric of femininity and women's spaces.

The new complex, neither modest nor particularly station-like, was therefore twice removed from the old Dalhousie station it replaced. Taking its name from the picturesque

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[114]"New York Hotels. The Modern Hotel", p. 622.

[115]*Quebec and the Chateau Frontenac: The Ancient Town and Its Modern Hostelry.*

[116]The upper storeys had wood joists and floors, wood partitions and roof.

[117]The plans were submitted in April of 1896; construction, by the firms of Félix Labelle, of Sainte-Rose, and Peter Lyall & Sons of Montreal, began in May; and the building was inaugurated in August of 1898. A description and brief history of the building is found in Guy Pinard, *Montreal et Son Architecture*, pp. 73-78.

[118]The combined hotel-station was common in Britain, where it was first introduced, but remained rare in North America. The Viger complex was the first of its type in Canada.

[119]Donzel, p. 191.

Viger Square which stood opposite the hotel's main facade,[120] it's Craig Street (now rue St. Antoine) frontage measured a lengthy 302 feet.[121] Four and six storeys in height, it's centre tower rose 136 feet, while at its widest point, the building measured 96.5 feet. The main mass ran parallel with Craig. The tracks, which ran behind the station, were therefore hidden from public view. Turning its back to the tracks, the complex, like the ladies' side of Windsor Station, faced onto a public garden square, signifier of both nature and cultivation within the urban environment. Enhancing the ornamental nature of the square, the Viger's silhouette, though not asymmetrical, was highly picturesque. Like both the Banff Springs and the Chateau Frontenac hotels, the structure featured a highly romantic roofline of steeply pitched hip and conical copper roofs, corner turrets, oriels, dormers and tall, narrow chimneys. And like both prior hotels, the building's emphasis was, despite a steel frame skeleton, horizontal, it's towers expressed more as lateral bulges than vertical extensions. The building's horizontality was given additional emphasis by a "magnificent" stone arcade of twenty-one arches that fronted the ground storey of the principal facade. Unlike the use of the arch along the Windsor Station facades, where it served to articulate verticality and a defiance of the descending slope, the use of the arch along the hotel facade was limited to the ground storey, where it expressed continuity with the street. In echoing the horizontality of the railway track, and by extension, the direction of railway expansion, it was in fact more symbolic of its railway function than the Windsor terminal (though this was not the source of inspiration for the design).

The entrance loggia, which was extended visually along the end facades by arched fenestration of comparable dimensions and height, was strongly reminiscent of the wrap-around verandas of Price's earlier Shingle-style resorts and suburban dwellings, though more formal in materials and execution. A Long Beach hotel Price designed circa 1880, for example, bore a striking similarity to the Viger, not only in the handling of the porch, but in the overall composition (compare figs. 39a and 39b).[122] In both designs, a continuous, open base of exaggerated length (the Long Beach hotel was 900 feet long [!] and 150 feet

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[120] A hotel brochure from c. 1900 was able to promote the hotel as being situated in area that was central, yet seemed secluded and picturesque: "Although located amidst historical, quiet and restful surroundings the Place Viger Hotel is only a few minutes' walk from the business portion of the city, and convenient to the city's street car system." *Place Viger Hotel*, n.d., n.p. CPA, Mtl., Brochures Collection.

[121] Excessive width, like excessive height, was a common hieratic device. Alexis Gregory, in an article on America's grand hotels, notes that before the steel skeleton and elevator allowed for extreme height, resort hotels often sought length. A "longest-porch contest" was won by Mackinac's Grand Hotel whose 700-foot veranda was supported by 40 three-storey pillars. Gregory, "USA: Size and Fantasy" in *Grand Hotels of North America*, p. 11.

[122] A description of the hotel is provided in "Seaside Resorts—Long Beach," an article that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1888. The resort complex also included individual cottages, bath houses, a lunch pavilion and an open-air music pavilion.

wide) and visual prominence was topped by essentially three massings of romantic roof-top forms, two subordinate and one dominant, creating something of a laterally-extenuated pyramid.[123] In both cases, the emphasis of the composition lay with these two elements: the essentially undifferentiated and repeated interpenetration of interior and exterior space on the ground level, which, defined not just as a distinct layer or storey but as a single, unified form, expressed a public function; and the variegated roofline which, housing the private rooms and suites, consisted of minor cross axes, independent dormers, and a variety of hipped and gabled roofs.[124] While the Long Beach design reduced the hotel to these two romantic elements—sheltering roof and porch—all but eliminating the exterior wall in a manner also seen at Tuxedo, the Viger complex, in deference to the northern climate, year-round function, and urban location of the building, gave greater emphasis to intervening floors.[125]

The broken mass and varied forms of these floors continued the picturesque silhouette of the Viger's agitated roofline through the main body of the building. Unlike the solid office block that formed Windsor Station, the Viger design featured both curvilinear and rectilinear forms that advanced and receded along the main facade: two *avant-corps*, linked at ground level by the continuous covered arcade, framed a recessed central portion that also contained the bulge of a round tower. Kalman has commented on how the open loggia accentuated, with its repeated punctuation of space, the romantic rhythms of the facade, and helped lighten the overall effect of the main elevation. Despite the use of more substantial building materials, Price evidently sought to reproduce in the Viger complex some of the lightness, airiness and informality that had characterized his Shingle style buildings, and to evoke the breezy, modern elegance they had come to represent. This visually lighter effect was in sharp contrast to the much weightier effect produced by the Windsor terminal. The open loggia also heightened the building's appearance of accessibility by 'multiplying' the actual points of entry, which it expressed as a string of identical archways. By evoking the permeability of earlier resort forms, ingress and egress were kept relatively non-hierarchal and informal, despite the historically hieratic significance of the stone arcade, which marked the public stature of the entrance.

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[123] The Long Beach Hotel echoed the extended horizontality, flatness of the landscape, which was characterized by nearly seven straight miles of gently sloping, hard-packed, sand beach, "as smooth and even in its contour as a floor of asphalt, and equally agreeable for walking or driving."

[124] In an article on the hotel that appeared in *Harper's Weekly*, the style is referred to as "Queen Anne, with low roof and projecting gables, running up with half-timberings and shingled spandrels. The roof, gables, and curtain walls are covered with California redwood shingles. The timbering and curtain walls are brought out in dark green and dead gold tones."

[125] Both designs stressed in massing and elevation the vertical organization of public and private functions within the overall design, a distribution comparable to the vertical separation of public and private functions typical of the private middle-class dwelling.

The Viger's facing of smooth Scotch buff firebrick with contrasting stone trim also helped lighten the bulk and enliven the surfaces of the various masses, much as the same materials had lightened and enlivened the facades of the Chateau Frontenac. Like Price's other buildings, it featured very little in the way of decorative detail, but like both his Shingle style work and the Chateau Frontenac, it was a highly expressive and ornamental building, achieved without the use of ornament *per se*. Such was Price's intent: "There is no detail on this building, which depends for its effect wholly upon the general masses of the design, the breadth of wall, and the sequence of windows."[126]

While the Viger design suggested an adaptation of the earlier Shingle style hotel to more complex functions, permanent materials, urban locations and northern climates, it also suggested an adaptation of earlier urban forms to more sociable functions and informal characteristics. The organization of the Viger's principal elevation, for example, also suggested significant revisions to another, more famous prototype, namely the Gare de l'Est (François Duquesney, 1847-52) in Paris, which for many years, served as *the* model of railway terminal design (fig. 38b).[127] Though highly classical in design, the Gare de l'Est featured many of the same basic elements that appear in Price's much later facade: both comprised a recessed centre block flanked by two end blocks, all of which was fronted by a continuous entry-level arcade. Like the *avant-corps* in Price's design, the end pavilions of the Gare de l'Est contained three bays each and ran perpendicular to the arcade. Both facades were essentially horizontal in emphasis.

The central volume and dominant element of the Gare de l'Est, however, was the train-shed, which ran perpendicular to the principal elevation. Its distinctive vaulted shape was given expression, and emphasis, along the recessed portion of the principal elevation, where the end of the train-shed was allowed to pierce the facade in a monumental, semi-circular arched window: "thus the finest and most important element of the plan [was] allowed to give character and meaning to the architecture."[128] In Price's design, the central volume and recessed portion of the facade were expressive instead of elements distinctive of the hotel plan, namely the lateral corridor and central rotunda or lobby. For added emphasis, the lateral corridor, which ran parallel with the facade, was extended beyond the projecting bays. The depth of the Gare's train shed was anticipated, in part, by the depth of the recess, which ran back four bays, while the Viger's lateral emphasis was maintained by a shallow recess of only one bay.

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[126]Ferree, p. 83.

[127]It is credited with being the first model station of the head type. According to Meeks, "In its prime and long after, it was acclaimed as the finest station in the world" and was hailed, in 1865, as "the most striking example of railroad architecture." Quoted in Meeks, p. 61

[128]Meeks, p. 65.

In keeping with the shift from station to hotel, Price also replaced the formality and rigidity of the Gare's classical vocabulary (cornice lines, crowning balustrades and statuary), with the more informal and picturesque vocabulary of domestic dormers and steeply pitched roofs discussed above. And while the arcade of the Gare de l'Est, which marked the location of the *salle des pas perdus*, or concourse, supported a clock and more statuary, the arcade of the Viger complex supported an extension of the interior programme, "a shaded balcony which, with its flowers and palms, afford[ed] a delightful promenade and a charming place for meals during the summer months."[129]

Like the building's exterior, its program and interior plan appear largely indebted to earlier resort hotels, the Long Beach Hotel in particular.[130] While the ground floor housed train activities and included a 64' square waiting room, its assortment of public offices, cloak rooms, cafe and refreshment room had also been part of the ground floor plan of the Long Beach Hotel, which served visitors enjoying day excursions to the beach, as well as guests of the hotel.[131] This most public floor also provided, for the benefit of day guests, a restaurant, a ladies' retiring room and gentlemen's lavatories, as well the more 'masculine' spaces of a large billiard room, a smaller wine cafe and several private dining rooms of varying size. In both cases the ground floor plan was dominated by a large central common room (a 175 x 80 foot refreshment room at Long Beach, a lobby/rotunda at the Viger), intersected by a wide central corridor than ran the length of the building.[132]

While one can only speculate on the interior finish and decor of the Long Beach Hotel's main reception area, it is known that a 20 foot wide staircase led to the first floor, which housed parlors, dining rooms and other public rooms for the guests of the hotel. Its west wing also contained select suites of parlors and sleeping rooms. The Viger's foyer, meanwhile, featured, like the lobby of the Chateau Frontenac, an intricately tiled floor and oak furniture with leather upholstery. It also featured a grand staircase of Carrara marble that led to the first floor, where, as in the Long Beach plan, the hotel's public rooms—a dining room, ballroom, drawing room and parlors—were located. The Viger's drawing

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[129] *Place Viger*. CPA, Brochures Collection. This was later (sometime circa 1920) enclosed to serve as a year-round garden and promenade. The large rectangular panes of glass only emphasized the similarity between the Viger and Long Beach hotel facades.

[130] Very faint blueprints from Price's original plans for what appear to be the 3rd and 4th floors of the Viger Hotel (drawings Nos. 4 and 5) are contained in Henry E. Gelba, "Place Viger" (1959), an unpublished student paper held at the Blackader-Lauterman Library, McGill University. The paper also includes blueprints of the hotel elevations and a section, as well as alterations made to the ground floor plan in 1912-13.

[131] The ground floor plan of the Long Beach Hotel also included all the serving rooms "necessary to wait upon and serve 5,000 people, all hungry, and clamoring to be waited upon at the same time." See the *Harper's Weekly* article.

[132] The Long Beach Hotel also featured four north-south corridors, while the Viger, shorter in length, featured two.

room and parlor suites were "elaborately and richly" furnished, and gave access, in turn, to the balcony, or summer promenade, supported by the entrance arcade.[133] This too was after the Long Beach arrangement, where a 20 to 25 foot wide porch encircled the first floor. The third storey of the Long Beach Hotel contained bedrooms, baths and lavatories, as well as two or three more "snug little parlors . . . forming pleasant reception quarters for those wishing to avoid the bustle below."[134] The fourth floor, directly under the picturesque roofline, was devoted entirely to sleeping chambers. In a similar fashion, the Viger hotel's 88 private sleeping apartments occupied the upper floors and the tower. As at the Long Beach Hotel, both single rooms and suites were available. The more elaborate of these now included not only private parlors but dining rooms, and most rooms included a private bath.

Clearly, the Viger station and hotel plan, like its exterior, drew on Price's earlier resort hotel plans, rather than his urban terminal plan. Its emphasis on "tasteful surroundings," which offered, "to a discriminating public, luxury and comfort without ostentation," was also a direct continuation of the Shingle style aesthetic, which was rooted in the affluence and civility, yet relative informality, of suburban, middle-class domesticity. As the "discriminating public" was now a significantly female public, the hotel's promotional literature emphasized accordingly that the hotel's "general effect [was] home-like and pleasant."[135]

Indeed, the hotel sought to maintain a number of permanent as well as temporary, borders. In a letter to Lord Shaughnessy, dated October of 1899, the hotel's superintendent supplied a list of "permanent boarders that we have been able to secure for the Winter months" noting that, "at the same time we cannot afford to overlook the wants of transients, the majority of whom demand rooms with baths." In view of this he asks permission to up the number of connecting bathrooms from 20 to 26.[136] He concludes with the happy note that "the rate per day has gone up as against the corresponding month last year from $3.76 to $4.28, demonstrating the earning power of the Hotel and how it is appreciated by the travelling public".[137] Occupancy rates for the month of September had almost tripled in the space of a year.[138]

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[133]While the ladies' suites fronted the park, the more masculine zone of the dining room overlooked the tracks and the St. Lawrence.

[134]*Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1888.

[135]*Place Viger.*

[136]In the hotel's promotional literature, both the safety of its fireproof construction and the "special attention" devoted to sanitation and ventilation were emphasized.

[137]CPA, RG-1 (57565). The permanent boarders comprised three single persons [sex not indicated], five childless couples and three small families—much the same demographic occupying the Sherbrooke apartment at the time. While the hotel is more generally identified with the francophone community, due to its location, five of the eleven permanent boarders appear to have been anglophone, judging from the

With its emphasis on public rooms and spacious corridors, however, the hotel offered more diverse stimulations and varied opportunities for social interaction than the typical private dwelling, as well as more public visibility, and visible status. Like the Chateau Frontenac, it had immediately become, "one of the social centres of Montreal, not merely a stopover hotel for passengers using the CPR's eastern line."[139]

The private suburban dwellings prescribed by Downing *et al* had sought to separate and to isolate domestic bodies in space, cocooning them in layers of romantic rhetoric and drapery, partition walls and buffer zones, foliage and fences. As charted by Hitchcock and Scully, this tradition underwent a partial metamorphosis that culminated in the more open interiors and expressive architectural approach of Frank Lloyd Wright. The development of the Shingle style was also related, however, to the emergence of a more 'social butterfly', namely the resort hotel, which was in turn linked to the development of the grand, or luxury hotel, and a more modern approach to public as well as private buildings, and to social as well as architectural concerns.[140] Modelled after both the private type of the aristocratic residence and the public types of the business exchange and coffee house, these commercial hotels represented a significant reconfiguration of middle-class typologies. Atypical of the domestic ideal set forth by many architects and builders of the period, the hotel was designed and administered by professionals; accommodated both permanent and temporary occupants; and emphasized interconnected as well as discrete spaces. A large-scale, often monumental type in which strangers shared dining and socializing facilities as well as entry halls and corridors, the hotel represented the bringing together, rather than the dispersing, of bodies both within and by domestic space. The new importance of the interior corridor as shared social space was reflected in the massing and orientation of these buildings, many of which were expressed as horizontal blocks. The buildings' frontages corresponded to the lengths of these blocks, which were often monumental. Many of these blocks were recessed and flanked by end pavilions that defined lesser, perpendicular axes. These typically housed individual suites, or spaces with more limited access, and attested to a continued cultivation, by the type, of more intimate and individuated spaces as well.

In this respect, the hotel represented a significant development within the history of communal/shared lodgings. As an elegant middle-class type that emphasized informal intimacy, polite sociability and cultural refinement as attributes of public life, and that foregrounded spaces designed specifically for women as well as for men, the new hotels

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[139]Hart, p. 79.

[140]I use the term 'modern' to refer to historically and culturally specific constructions, as opposed to progressive, i.e., ostensibly superior, ones.

represented a 'feminization' of so-called public space. This in turn facilitated and signified, architecturally, the occupation of this arena by bourgeois women. The resort hotel in particular, with its links to the natural landscape, emphasized, like the Shingle style dwelling, both informality and an organic continuity between interior and exterior space. This interpenetrability, which guided the type's architectural development, resulted in such features as picturesque or irregular massing, balconies and veranda extensions, and an emphasis on the protective roof over the supporting, or impenetrable, wall. The emphasis on cultural refinement and sociability, meanwhile, resulted in elegant exterior finishes, detailing, and gay effects, as well as luxurious interiors characterized by elaborate surface decoration and ornament.

Certain gendered conventions persisted, however, at the level of the hotel plan. The relative enclosure of interior spaces specific to women remained typical of resort hotels, as of other building types that featured women's rooms, and continued to differentiate male and female space. Social spaces specific to women also continued to define the periphery rather than the centre of the plan, although the hotel plan, like that of the private dwelling, typically arrayed these spaces along the front periphery. Women domestics, meanwhile, continued to labour in the basement and to reside in the uppermost floor, under the roof.

In Canada, resort hotels would acquire not just local importance but national significance through the building programme of the Canadian Pacific Railway and the work of, ironically, the American architect Bruce Price. Like the railway line they served, Price's designs for the CPR's luxury hotels were part of a transcontinental network of services that both enabled and stimulated national communication and development. They also helped to generate both awareness and a cohesive 'image' of the recently constituted country, and thus a sense of national identity. As a tourist destination and an advertising ploy, Price's luxury hotels also served to represent the country to the rest of the world, depicting it as an affluent place of abode, rich in natural resources, technological sophistication and cultured sensibilities. Within a more local radius, the CPR hotels also provided facilities for both domestic and public life which fledgling communities, particularly in the Canadian west, otherwise lacked.

As models for both domestic and public architecture, the influence of these hotels went well beyond the issue of style, suggesting both formal and programmatic methods for transgressing the notion of 'separate spheres' and for both facilitating and announcing, architecturally, women's participation in public as well as private life. They would also serve as the prototypes for the Royal Victoria College.

III.

The Three "R's": Residence, Resistance and Redesign

Royal Victoria College and the Architecture of Feminism, 1899-1933

4.

Morphologies:
Design and Use of the Royal Victoria College

"There was the sense of being in a great adventure . . ."
—Hilda Oakeley, first Warden of RVC

Any of the young women coming to RVC by train from the direction of Quebec City, the Laurentians or the Quebec side of the Outaouais River, would have had to pass Price's Viger station. Had any opted for a night's stay at the hotel before coming to the college, they might have been struck by the remarkable similarity, or continuity, in their surroundings. For while the RVC had ostensibly been designed as a college, the prototype for its design was more truly the CPR luxury hotel. The Viger complex, which had been under construction at the same time and also served a dual purpose, was particularly similar. Perhaps this is not surprising. RVC, begun in 1896, completed in August of 1899, and opened in September of 1899, was built at the height of grand hotel construction and popularity, by Canada's premier railway hotel architect, for a client who had helped both to finance and to promote these hotels. The choice of architect is not surprising either, when one remembers that during the 19th century women of the middle classes travelled not only for health and recreation, but for education. A stay at the RVC, designed for the same middle-class clientele that the new hotels accommodated, could be viewed in much the same light: as part of an educational tour undertaken by young women about to enter society. Such women were presumed willing to travel and live away from home, accustomed to (or attaining) a certain status, and interested in self-improving pursuits. In referring to the RVC as a ladies' hotel, the casual observer quoted at the end of Chapter 1 was not, therefore, far off the mark.[1] There were also differences, of course, concessions

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[1]The hotel analogy was also made explicit in an article published on the opening of the college: "the commodious parlor . . . , giving one the impression of a first class hotel than of what is generally imagined to be such a sorry substitute for a home—a girl's boarding house." The Royal Victoria College for Women," *Weekly Star*, September 24, 1899

. An advertisement for Alma College (James Balfour, 1881), a girls' college in St. Thomas, Ontario, also used the hotel analogy: "Students need bring nothing with them for their comfort other than would be required going to a first-class hotel." The ad also stressed that the institution would be "ever watchful of [the girl's] health, habits and morals . . ." See, "'Manners and Morals'? or 'Men in Petticoats'? Education at Alma College, 1871-1898," in Ruby Heap and Allison Prentice, eds., *Gender and Education in Ontario: An Historical Reader* (Toronto: Canadian Scholar's Press, 1991), p. 247. While middle-class apartments designed exclusively for women, which typically provided accommodation for single, working women, did exist in 1899, there were none in Montreal. See Adams, Cromley and Hayden on ladies' apartments in England and New York.

to its McGill affiliation and collegiate status and function. But predominantly, Donaldas, as they were known at the time (after their benefactor, Donald Smith), were to be cast in the image of the elegant cosmopolitan, an image meant to glamourize, no doubt, the more pejorative image of female academics as 'bluestockings', and to help legitimize these women's absence from a 'real' (i.e., permanent) home. And, as RVC's first warden later revealed, these women *were* adventurers of sorts, exploring the relatively uncharted territory of an independent community of women.

The Big Ladies' Hotel: The Original Royal Victoria College, 1899

Like its location, the building was equivocal in its gendered significance. Relative to collegiate architecture, it's design was indeed in keeping with Dawson's wish to separate and to domesticate McGill's female students. While McGill's male community identified with a village configuration, one arrayed around a public campus, McGill's female students would be encouraged to identify with a single, multi-purpose building set on a lawn and set apart from the 'village' centre. Intended as an all but total environment, this structure would house a varied program of residential, educational, recreational, and administrative functions under a single roof. The expansiveness of the village concept vs. the containment of the single building was in keeping with the traditional structuring of male and female horizons, which offered men the world, while confining women to the home. The multi-purpose building was also in keeping with the non-specialized function of the home, in which mothers were expected to carry on activities similar to all of the aforementioned. By contrast, men's facilities at McGill comprised an array of buildings devoted not only to specific functions, but to specific faculties. Notably absent, however, from the campus facilities for male students, were residential quarters and quarters for socializing. While a student union was built in 1904, the first men's residence was not erected until 1937. In contrast to the limited geographies that RVC's all-inclusive facility presumed of McGill women, the geographies of McGill men were presumed to extend beyond the campus to encompass public lodgings, public dining rooms and public entertainments.

As collegiate architecture, RVC's was closest to the female seminary (fig. 40).[2] Like the seminary, it contained a varied program under one roof. And like the seminary, RVC followed a modified house plan, one based on a vertical separation of public and private functions typical of middle-class dwellings. This meant public assembly and class rooms were combined with front parlors and upstairs bedrooms. RVC also resembled the

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[2]For a discussion of the female seminary and its significance with respect to the planning of women's colleges, see Lefkowitz Horowitz, *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s* .

seminary in that it did not shape or contain a landscape, as did other collegiate forms such as the quadrangle or Jefferson's village, but was surrounded by one, as was more typical of domestic types.[3] This was consistent with the majority of women's colleges in England and elsewhere in Canada. Both St. Hilda's and Mount Allison, for example, had been designed as single, dwelling-like structures. In England, Royal Holloway (1886, fig. 41b) was the first to take shape according to more traditional institutional formation, as was Vassar (1865, fig. 42) in America.[4]

Other features of the early seminary were inconsistent, however, with RVC's design. At Mount Holyoke in South Hadley, Massachusetts, for example, the building's facades and interiors were plain, and students shared bedrooms and household duties. Little distinguished its plain rectangular form from other contemporary buildings, except for a two-storey wooden piazza across the principal facade, which identified the structure as a dwelling type. In its rectangular form and more utilitarian design, the seminary differed significantly from the RVC concept.

The type RVC most closely resembled was not, as indicated above, collegiate in origin, but commercial. Its real inspiration was the railway hotel, which it resembled in concept, plan, massing and treatment. As in Price's CPR hotels, the concepts of monumentality, public sociability and luxury combined with the concepts of intimacy and refinement to define the overall design. Like the hotel, the building's distinguishing features were the lateral corridor, the elegant common room and the private suite. The key organizing principle was the double-loaded, public corridor, which ran the length of the building and found expression in the structure's massing. Like the hotel, this corridor—and therefore the building's greatest width—ran parallel with the street. As demonstrated in Chapter 3, the spacious interior 'promenade' was not only typical of Price's hotels, but was distinct from most private middle-class dwelling types. Also consistent with hotel design was RVC's row of semi-public and common rooms arrayed along the street, or entrance side, of the corridor on the first floor. A range of private suites and single rooms, meanwhile, was located, also as in hotels, along the upper level corridors and in clusters/groupings that protruded slightly from the corridor plan. These too found expression in the massing of the building. Significantly, however, the open rotunda, or common centre, of the hotel type had disappeared and a new plan form, a block containing a dining room on the ground floor and an assembly hall above, appeared in its place.

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[3]While very little in the way of grounds (about 30 feet) separated the building from the street, considerable grounds were allotted to the rear of the building. Thus what RVC had was not a public courtyard or commons, but a private backyard.

[4]On the history of Royal Holloway College, see Bingham. See Horowitz on Vassar.

Basilica-shaped in plan and expressed as a distinct mass, this form was relegated, much like the railway platform of the Viger complex, to the rear of the design, where it projected at right angles from the main corridor. The only suggestion of it along the principal facade was a central, roof-top gable.

Like grand hotels, RVC asserted itself not only through scale, but through costly building materials and advanced construction techniques, rather than through engulfing configurations.[5] As a single, freestanding structure, RVC's size was sufficiently monumental to distinguish it from traditional residential types and to affiliate it instead with the new commercial ones, as well as with public institutional types. Five storeys in height with a basement, and 15 bays wide, it measured 191 feet in length, 95 feet in depth (177 1/2 feet through the assembly hall wing) and rose to a height of 81 feet. Set back only thirty some feet from the public street, its bulk, which loomed overhead, appeared all the more substantial. Indeed, the building dominated both its site and the Union Avenue vista.[6]

Its steel frame construction with limestone exterior walls was no less impressive. While RVC's steel frame was not used to high-rise effect (the building's emphasis was, like that of Price's hotels, horizontal rather than vertical), it did put the building in the vanguard of large-scale construction, which, until the last decades of the century, consisted primarily of iron frame construction.[7] The building's construction identified it not only with the grand hotel, but with new commercial types such as the department store, and such innovative residential types as the apartment building. Certainly in terms of residential construction in Montreal, the RVC represented a significant departure, superceding even the Windsor Hotel and The Sherbrooke in this regard. It was also in advance of much of McGill's physical plant. Its advanced construction included, according to an article in the *Weekly Star*, "[t]he most improved methods of heating, ventilation, and plumbing." It featured electric lighting, steam heating, and an elevator, and "every care [had] been taken in the sanitary arrangements, even to the point of luxury."[8]

Like many a grand hotel however, its 'modern' construction was used to picturesque effect and enveloped in a romantic facade. A variation of the Hotel Viger's main elevation, RVC's principal facade featured a similarly recessed central portion

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[5]The college was erected at a cost of some two hundred thousand dollars.

[6]In terms of scale and urban presence, RVC was unique among Canadian women's colleges. Many American women's colleges, however, were considerably larger. In England, Royal Holloway was the leader in terms of sheer scale.

[7]While it is difficult to assess the extent of steel frame construction in Montreal at the time, it is known that some of the world's earliest *high-rise* steel-frame buildings only rose during the 1890s. The type would revolutionize the construction and scale of grand hotels and apartment buildings.

[8]"The Royal Victoria College for Women," *Weekly Star*, September 24, 1899.

enclosed by two gable-ended pavilions, and was again marked by the punctuations of a connecting loggia (seven-arched, in this case, with a crenellated balustrade). This formal and compositional treatment of the main facade had already appeared in a variety of 19th-century public dwelling types geared toward middle-class women: American resort hotels, railway hotels, and normal schools had all made use of this particular formula (figs. 43a, 43b, and 44). In Canada, meanwhile, consistency was found in Eden Smith's Shingle-style design for St. Hilda's, which featured, yet again, a lateral block, covered balcony and flanking, gable-ended pavilions. At RVC, further undulations along the facade were created through the use of bay and oriel windows. Also enhancing RVC's romantic silhouette was the building's now familiar roofline, which featured prominent gables, steeply hipped roofs, gabled dormers, and tall narrow chimneys. Price's original design for the college (which was modified due to cost constraints) had also included picturesque turrets, and would thus have borne an even greater resemblance to the Hotel Viger.[9]

Picturesque features characterized the facades of the majority of women's colleges. As examples of the Queen Anne style, the women's colleges at Cambridge were particularly fanciful, as was Royal Holloway.[10] A classic quadrangle in plan, this extraordinary red brick building with contrasting stone trim let loose, in perspective, with a riot of irregular forms, surfaces, skylines and decorative trim (figs. 41a, 41b). Other collective residences designed for women, such as the nurses' residence at the Royal Victoria Hospital and the local YWCA, also presented a picturesque, if somewhat more sedate, face.[11]

As with Price's other buildings, the stylistic sources for RVC's design were suggestive rather than archeological. This allowed Price to emphasize a refined, rather than forbidding, version of Scottish baronial castles and Loire Valley chateaux—more aristocratic residence than mighty fortress. As executed, the style was in fact closer to the country houses of Norman Shaw than the medieval keeps of H. H. Richardson. And while RVC's sober limestone cladding, which harmonized with other McGill and Sherbrooke Street buildings, differed from the more colorful treatment of Price's hotels, its smooth, highly refined finish was consistent. As with the Chateau Frontenac and the Hotel Viger, an elegant surface helped lightened the appearance of such a large structure, as did the use of a broken, or picturesque form and the alternating solids and voids of an entrance loggia.

Though domestic in origin, the building's broad loggia, with its imposing, terraced flight of stone steps, suggested, like the loggia of the Viger Hotel, public importance and a

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[9]"A Talk With Bruce Price," p. 83.

[10]See Girouard, *Sweetness and Light*.

[11]On the design of the nurses' residences, see Adams.

grand interior. In an article in *The Montreal Daily Witness*, RVC's entrance was contrasted with the typical entrance of a more common residential type for single women, "Here is no humble entrance to a dingy hall, with dingier staircase leading to small and stuffy bedrooms, such as is so often found in Montreal boarding houses."[12] The diminished length of the loggia, however, which was now strictly *in antis*, and the greater flight of steps separating the main entrance from the street, also reflected the college's more restricted access, or semi-public status. The entrance now appeared more protective in character than had the Viger's. This too was in keeping with domestic rhetoric, although again, the manner in which it was expressed was hardly typical of domestic design. A towering statue of Queen Victoria, perhaps the most striking, and certainly the most unique, feature of the entrance, had been positioned in the midst of the steps leading up to the loggia (fig. 45). It was a bronze cast from a design by Queen Victoria's daughter, Princess Louise, and had been commissioned as an integral part of the design for the college.[13] Enthroned on a massive pedestal of grey limestone with scepter in hand and countenance directed straight ahead, the figure of the Queen, staunch and upright, appeared both regal and sentry-like—an emblem of Womanhood and a symbolic guardian of the college and its female charges. While the scale of the statue and its position of visual prominence allowed for easy identification from a distance, its physical placement also reinforced its protective, or 'regulatory' function spatially. Given its central location on the steps, this imposing piece of statuary was not only a highly visible symbol, but a material impediment blocking the free flow of traffic, an obstacle or barrier in accessing the college.[14]

Thus, like the railway hotels, RVC's exterior architecture combined highly picturesque domestic imagery with public monumentality and importance. It sought to convey both the reassurance of a safe haven, and the stature of a 'progressive' institution. In confirmation of this, the building was linked with the image of its namesake, Queen Victoria, who figured, in the popular imagination, as an equally complex construction of conservative rhetoric and progressive function. She was both mother and head of state, and hers was certainly suggestive iconography for young women about to embark on adulthood.

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[12]"Royal Victoria College," *The Montreal Daily Witness*, Sept. 14, 1899.

[13]The original statue in white marble was located in England, in front of Kensington Palace. Other casts were located in the lobby of the Royal Victoria Hospital, Mtl., and in New Zealand, India and Australia.

[14]The statue added to the landmark status of RVC as well. According to the Reverend Borthwick's guidebook, *The History of Montreal*, this statue was one of only six public monuments in Montreal at the time.

As noted above, the similarity of the RVC to the railway hotel extended beyond the entrance. Like the railway hotel, the building combined public, non-residential functions with residential ones, and like the railway hotel, these functions were distributed vertically. In this, both the railway hotel and the residential college followed the vertical separation, or 'zoning', typical of the middle-class family home. In both the Hotel Viger and RVC, the most public functions of the building occupied the ground floors. In the Hotel Viger plan, these comprised the functions of the train station and dining facilities, to which anyone had access. In the RVC plan (fig. 46), these comprised the functions of the college, to which all women students (resident and non-resident) had access, and again included the more 'masculine' space of dining facilities (which were used by women day students as well as resident students). The station and college components were thus virtually interchangeable. In both schemes, the more 'feminine' and semi-public rooms occupied a loftier position on the first floor. In the hotel plan, a suite of public rooms occupied the front of the building overlooking the public street. In Price's plan for the RVC (fig. 47), a similar row of socializing spaces was privileged along the front of the building. This included a formal parlor (fig. 48), a music room and an informal common room (fig. 51a). Forming a suite opening off the parlor to the west were a library (fig. 58a) and reading room. The reading room, parlor and music room occupied the recessed portion overlooking the loggia, while the library and student common room occupied the two end blocks. This elegant array of reception and common rooms faced the two stairwells that gave access to the floor. Classrooms occupied the less visible rear portions of the end blocks, opposite the library and the common room. To the rear of the plan opposite the parlor, was the assembly hall. Both its location and treatment rendered it the equivalent of the hotel's ball room. The remaining floors, like those of the hotel, were devoted to private bedrooms, bedroom suites and bathrooms.[15]

The ground floor plan of the women's college differed somewhat from the average hotel [or station] plan, however. While CPR hotels were open to both sexes, who, technically, were free to come and go as they pleased, RVC was designed to limit male ingress and female egress.[16] In this manner McGill sought to regulate behavior among the student community and to sustain certain perceptions within the community at large. The attempt to physically contain McGill's female population for example, under the guise of 'protection', was an attempt to regulate and to differentiate, among other things, female

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[15]While the CPR hotels boasted private bathrooms, RVC made do with shared facilities. Few women's colleges provided private baths, but some had the necessary financial resources and did. This was unheard of among men's facilities, despite the greater resources commanded by men's institutions.

[16]While hotels did regulate their clientele through various means (consider, for example, the rotunda of the Banff Springs Hotel), technically, hotel lobbies were open to the public.

sexuality, which the institution assumed, *in loco parentis*, as its responsibility.

A widely quoted story first told by Carrie M. Derrick in *Old McGill* is revealing of the concerns McGill catered to in defining the 'problem' of student sexuality, and is therefore worth repeating,

> One [Donalda], at least, was innocently under the impression that it was the girls who were being guarded, until one day in 1891 she had a conversation upon co-education with the wife of a college dignitary. The latter feared that love affairs, possibly serious ones, might occur between men and women listening to the same lectures. When in answer the platitudinous opinion was advanced that women mature faster than men and are unlikely to fall in love with students of their own age, she received the crushing retort, "I was not thinking of the young women, but of our sons."[17]

In light of this story, it was women's sexuality that was perceived as threatening, and the futures of sons that was thought to be threatened. But the university, in restricting women (as initially through the segregation of classes and the presence of female chaperones), constructed a 'cautionary tale' that implied the dangers of both male sexuality and male space, the world outside the 'protective' sphere of home and hearth which women now threatened to transgress.[18]

With the opening of the Royal Victoria College, both the implication of danger and the techniques of 'chaperoning' were enhanced architecturally. Regulatory strategies began with the plan of the ground floor, which gave access to the street. A suite of offices, flanking the front vestibule and entrance hall and running parallel to the recessed loggia, was to be occupied by the warden, her secretary, administrative personnel and a professors' common room. All of these rooms had windows opening onto the loggia. In shadow for much of the day due to the loggia's low roof, these windows were not immediately visible from the street, but nonetheless afforded the office's occupants a clear view of the approach to the college. This effective orchestration of the building's apertures functioned much like the *mishrahbyahs*, or lattice-work windows typical of Islamic housing (a resemblance not wasted on Stephen Leacock, see below), which, in allowing the inhabitants to look out without being seen, introduced techniques of mystification and surveillance. The twenty-four-hour presence of supervisory personnel, as implied by the establishment of a resident staff which was to occupy the same dormitory floors as the students, also contributed to the regulatory character of the college, both physically and

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[17]Carrie M. Derrick, "In the 80's [sic]," *Old McGill* '27, p.200.

[18]On the cultural construction of sexual difference and the cautionary narrative of public space, see Judith R. Walkowitz, *The City of Dreadful Delight: Narratives of Sexual Danger in Late Victorian London* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1992).

symbolically. Even more significant was the location of the staff offices, which, on the ground floor and in the vanguard of the building's 'defence', reflected the jurisdiction of the staff over their female charges—their authority, as surrogate parents, to control leaves, curfews, visitors and activities within the building. Notably, these positions of power and surveillance were occupied, as at most other women's colleges, by female, rather than by male staff.

The reception desks and offices of hotel clerks were, by contrast, usually placed at the rear of hotel lobbies, and were typically preceded by a range of public reception areas and circulation spaces. This indicated that hotels were more penetrable by the general public. Hotel clerks did control access to suite keys and to porters, however, and could survey the comings and goings of guests, who still had to pass the front desk to gain access to the upper floors.

In both the hotel and college plan, staff supervision was facilitated by the buildings' vertical zoning, which grouped all private and sleeping areas together and located them on the uppermost floors. In the RVC arrangement, two stairwells and an elevator, located adjacent to the dining room which projected from the center rear of the main block, opened directly onto the corridors of the bedroom floors and provided the only means of access, thus allowing for both ease and opportunity of supervision. It also served to reiterate, not just *as* but *within* the plan of the college, the theme of a distinct and guarded sphere protected from public penetration (its definition within the plan as sleeping quarters made the sexual nature of the 'danger' more explicit).

By contrast, men's lodgings at this time were, as mentioned above, completely *un*regulated. Not only were men not expected to eat, sleep and study in the same building, they were not expected to reside on campus. Male desire, unrestrained, was by inference 'unrestrainable' and the regulation of male sexuality, not deemed within the province of the university, a male-run institution. Integrating dormitory accommodations within the walls of the women's college, meanwhile, made physically manifest the extent of the university's jurisdiction over its female students, greatly facilitated the regulation of the young women's 'nocturnal' habits and surrounded female sexuality with an aura of prohibition. Humorist and McGill alumnae Stephen Leacock commented on the irony inherent is this spatial organization of sexuality according to narratives of gender and danger,

> Sir Donald Smith,...[s]haring the fear of women common to his time, ...insisted that the college girls not come near the men for two years. The Royal Victoria opened thus, as safeguarded and secluded as an Indian purdah, a harem in Hyderabad. Its very doors and its curtained windows looked mystery.[19]

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[19]Quoted in Ronish, "The Development of Higher Education For Women at McGill", p. 90. The

As late as 1958, it remained 'mandatory' that out-of-town students live at the college.[20] Local women attending classes, still 'safe' within the sphere of family influence and the family home, were exempt from the around-the-clock supervision of the university. In the context then, of the definitions organized spatially by the university and the college, women's, but not men's, sexual activity was defined as 'deviant' and their foray into the sphere of male/sexual power, cautioned against.

In reality, the general containment of women presumed by the design of the college was impracticable.[21] While junior year classes (first and second) could be accommodated, the duplication of all senior (third and fourth) and honours classes was deemed too costly, which the small number of students, it was felt, would not warrant. Thus mixed classes, taken on the main campus, were permitted for upper-level students. According to an "Announcement" of 1902-03, RVC students were also entitled to use the University Library and the Peter Redpath Museum, and to work in the Physical, Chemical, Zoological, Botanical and other laboratories (the college had no comparable facilities), and in the Botanic Gardens. In this arrangement, McGill's policy resembled the 'eclectic' method pursued at Girton and Newnham Colleges, Cambridge; Somerville and Lady Margaret Halls, Oxford; and the classes of the Edinburgh Ladies' Educational Association.

Budgetary restraints on teaching thus undermined, to some extent, the purpose of the elaborate expenditures on physical plant. Ironically, the relatively small numbers of students, which made the duplication of classes too costly, was in fact a condition of the building itself. In an address delivered to the Delta Sigma Society of McGill in 1894, Dawson stated that the college was to be, "a model college, honorable to Montreal and giving to students all that can be desired in home and social life, and with facilities for study not heretofore enjoyed [by women] in this country".[22] While it took relatively little to provide "facilities for study not heretofore enjoyed [by women] in this country," providing "all that [could] be desired in home and social life" meant that the finished building would accommodate only 32, rather than the desired 100 students. According to Hilda Oakeley,

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comment about curtained windows is interesting. A sign of domesticity, they were incongruous with the traditional concept of a monumental, institutionally-run building, and thus attracted, rather than deflected, attention.

[20]"Only in exceptional cases can out-of-town students live out of residence, and each case is decided on its particular merits by the Warden." MUA, RG 42, C 4, "Residence Regulations For Non-Montreal Women Undergraduates," 1958.

[21]In the earliest years of the college, it was not yet mandatory that women attending RVC from out of town live in residence. See the early college calendars and student registers, MUA.

[22]J.W. Dawson, "An Ideal College for Women," an address Delivered Before the Delta Sigma Society of McGill University, December, 1894, p.15. Quoted in Gillette, p. 159.

this "small number of residents' rooms in proportion to the plan," was the building's chief defect.[23]

Both the presence of men and the public role of the college were also much greater than the plan, and Leacock's quip, would suggest. This was foreshadowed by the publicity that surrounded the opening of the college in 1899, when it's doors were thrown open to the general public and the building was presented as an exemplar in the manner of other progressive institutions. According to one journalists covering the event, there was "not an inch of space in the whole interior, 'upstairs and downstairs and in my ladies' chamber,' but has been explored and critically inspected by all having a mind to do so."[24] One striking feature of the new college that impressed the inspecting public was, not surprisingly, also a prominent feature of grand hotels: a luxurious emphasis on socializing and reception areas, or, as Ms. Oakeley described it, "a noble scale as regards public rooms."[25] These not only occupied a remarkably high proportion of floor space, but received elaborate and costly decorative attention. Such rooms were to be found on all floors, ranging from the intimate, private sitting rooms of the bedroom suites, to the formal public assembly and ball rooms. In privileging such spaces within the plan, the design of RVC, like many other women's colleges, deviated from the design of many men's colleges, which frequently emphasized the institutional and regimental over the social. Indeed, this emphasis was in marked contrast to the main McGill campus, which was noticeably lacking in such environments.

The inclusion of such rooms was, however, part of the legacy of earlier women's academies, which focused on training women in polite accomplishments. As a result, even the most spartan of women's colleges featured an elegantly appointed communal parlor. As part of the RVC environment, such spaces would presumably accustom its occupants to the hostessing duties expected of middle-class women and associated with bourgeois domesticity, and would instill in students a corresponding air of quiet elegance. Certainly in plan, lessons in parlor skills, or gracious behaviour, were on a par with lessons in Greek, Latin, Science and Philosophy. In moving beyond the confines of private establishments, however, to a place of prominence within more public domains such as the college, the hotel, and the department store, such spaces were helping to redefine civility and cultivation as properties of public life and were helping to stress the value of polite sociability and cultivation to bourgeois ascendance and bourgeois 'progress' in general.

Indeed, just as the public spaces of Canada's railway hotel provided for a variety of community functions in the absence of purpose-built facilities, and served as public models

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[23]*My Adventures in Education*, p. 75.

[24] "The Royal Victoria College for Women," *Weekly Star*, September 24, 1899.

[25]Oakeley, p. 74.

of elegance and refinement, the superior public facilities of the women's college became the object of both campus-wide envy and demand. RVC's assembly room was the most coveted of these spaces (fig. 49a). Large (it could seat 700) and elegant, it featured a vaulted ceiling, arched windows, excellent hard wood floors, a proscenium stage, and a spectator's gallery. The Windsor Hotel concert hall was one of the few local public rooms of comparable design and elegance (fig. 49b).[26] RVC's assembly room, which was also designed in the manner of a concert hall and was intended primarily for musical and theatrical performances, was soon being used for a wide variety of public events, including dances, receptions, visiting lecturers and convocation ceremonies. Many of these events were sponsored by the male community at McGill, who booked the space on behalf of both student groups and the university. In accessing the spectator's gallery, which opened off the second floor corridor, visitors would, in fact, have had to enter the dormitory floors.[27] So in-demand was the space that RVC's first warden, Hilda Oakeley recalled,

> The equipment of fine rooms and a hall useful for important university functions, [and] also desirable for social functions and dances in the eyes both of students and of the public generally, was not an unmixed blessing . . .
>
> The demands upon our Hall for students' dances, because in those days there existed no other hall in the university adapted to this purpose, was at times a cause of a good deal of harassment. Occasionally when the number of claims seemed excessive I wished to refuse, and was overborne by the McGill authorities, who naturally preferred that the students' functions should take place under the aegis of the university. There were various distinct groups to make the claim, according to faculties, years, etc., but the women being a comparatively small number were always brought in, and our life much interrupted thereby. . . . As for the use of the Hall on ceremonious occasions, such as Convocation, this was of course welcome, and the students could enjoy the feeling that it was for the time being the centre of the university.[28]

The hall kept a steady flow of visitors streaming into the college, and made RVC the site of many of the university's most important and/or memorable collective rituals and/or events, not to mention some of the most elegant. Many of these events were not only held at, but were instituted by the college.

Somewhat ironically, given its refined treatment, the assembly room's day-to-day use soon became that of a gymnasium. The building had been provided with a purpose-

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[26] The Windsor in turn hosted dances, recitals, luncheons and teas that were attended by both the students and the staff of RVC. See for example the "Daily Records" of Susan Cameron Vaughan, MUA, MG 4014. Ms. Cameron Vaughan was Acting Warden of RVC from 1905-1907, Vice-Warden from 1907-1918, and Warden from 1931-1937.

[27] In her "Daily Record" entry for May 11, 1906, Ms. Vaughan notes that when sitting in the gallery, one "could read unnoticed when proceedings got dull or inaudible." MUA, MG 4014.

[28] *My Adventures in Education*, pp. 90-91, 99-100.

built gym but, located in the basement along with service, storage and servant spaces, it was found sorely wanting (fig. 50). It received inadequate light and ventilation and the floor space was obstructed by numerous pillars. The apparent disregard, on the part of both the architect and client, concerning these pillars suggests that the space was intended only for individual exercises, rather than for competitive team sports. RVC women, however, as evident from early college yearbooks, showed a penchant for basketball, along with a variety of other team sports, and the assembly hall on the ground floor, with its excellent hard wood floors, large unobstructed area, bright light and central location, one accessible to both house and day students, quickly became the gym in use. Archival records reveal that the hall was converted to gym use prior to 1909.[29] Subsequent records document a long and tenacious struggle on the part of the RVC administration to acquire proper athletic facilities.[30] The presumption of the initial design was in keeping with traditional gendered practices and morés, which attempted to restrain the female body, and thus any active or aggressive behaviour, through a variety of means: sartorial (corsets), social (etiquette), medical ('rest' cures) and architectural (parlors). Students and staff alike were quick to contest these assumptions, but purpose-built facilities would not be forthcoming.[31]

Students were also quick, evidently, to reject the traditional parlor, by far one of the most elegant, constraining, and iconic of the building's spaces, in favour of the more informal common room, or lounge (fig. 51a).[32] Large and airy with wicker furnishings scattered about, the lounge was suggestive of the relaxed ambiance of resort verandas (fig. 51b).[33] In keeping with the common room's general popularity and veranda-like function, it had been relocated from the first to the ground floor by 1904. The parlor, meanwhile, remained intact, if unused. One of the intended functions of the college parlor was the entertainment of gentlemen callers. By 1900, however, formal parlors in private homes were falling out of favour, and male visitors to the college had, in practice, considerable latitude in the areas they could visit. Indeed, men would appear to have had many

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[29]'Royal Victoria College': New Buildings, MUA, RG. 42, C. 4.

[30]This issue, along with the need for increased dormitory accommodation, took priority in the Annual Reports of the College throughout the 1920s. In a 1920 "Report on Accommodation", the Warden, Ethel Hurlbatt, wrote, "In one new department, the school of physical education, a need for accommodation is already pressing." From October to April of each year, the School of Physical Education all but monopolized the use of the hall, and the warden commented on the incompatibility of such use with the rest of the college's design, noting "damage to the floor, [and] general disturbance in vicinity of the lecture rooms, reception rooms and study bedrooms." Its constant use as a gym also meant that "no music was heard."

[31]On the history of women's physical education at McGill see Zerada Slack, "The Development of Physical Education for Women at McGill University, " MA thesis, McGill University, 1934, and Gillett.

[32] The November 1899 reception for the inauguration of the college was held in the parlor.

[33]See Katherine B. Menz, "Wicker: The Vacation Furniture," in *Nineteenth Century*, Vol. 8, Nos. 1-2 (1982).

opportunities and occasions to venture in and explore (and on occasion exploit) much of the facility. Women, on the other hand, were still barred from entering male bastions such as the engineering building under any circumstances. As late as 1937 they were allowed into the engineering building only once a year, as guests of the engineers, in order to view an engineering debate.[34]

The numerous smaller reception rooms at the college proved useful for hosting a variety of social events and encouraging informal networking. According to Ms. Oakeley, such events were appreciated by both staff and students. In recalling the 'At Homes' she had instituted as Warden, Ms. Oakeley pointed out that, "not only other members of the staff [were invited], but Montreal friends, whilst the students asked friends of their own. These were a great success, and the students, I think, enjoyed meeting the older people as well as their contemporaries, and gained experience in this way."[35]

Women not residing at RVC were also able to avail themselves of the variety of spaces contained within the building. The Alumnae Society, for example, met in the Student's Common Room; as did women's student societies such as the Delta Sigma Society, the Société Française, the Athletics Association and the Student's Christian Association. The college's Library and reading room were open to day students during the week from 9-5 and on Saturday mornings; and its dining hall also provided luncheon facilities for many of the day students. During the summer, the college's accommodations were rented out to visiting groups. The hall was likewise rented out to groups such as the Women's Canadian Club and the Local Council of Women, for lectures and receptions.[36]

As was the case with other collective middle-class living arrangements such as the hotel and the apartment building, shared 'public' space extended beyond a proliferation of designated rooms to encompass common corridors and stairwells.[37] And like the hotel and apartment building, the domestic concepts of comfort and sociability were extended to these public circulation areas by extending characteristics of more private, living spaces. Katharine Wisdom, in a letter to her sister, Jennie Wisdom, describes a dance held in the assembly room, and comments on the wide, carpeted corridors as suitable for 'promenading' with her beau: "I didn't dance at all, but in that building there was lots to

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[34]Letter from Elizabeth Mcdonald to her parents, Nov. 22, 1937.

[35]Oakeley, p. 104.

[36]For a visit by the Countess of Aberdeen and the International Council of Women in June 1909, the program included meetings and receptions at RVC, a luncheon at the Viger Hotel, services at Christ Church Cathedral and a reception at the Art Association Gallery. A postcard of the delegates gathered in front of the steps to the college and flanked by Queen Victoria's statue was also issued. See MUA, RG 42, C 2, F 99, "Local Council of Women - 1909."

[37]See Cromley on the manner in which such spaces were being negotiated in apartment buildings.

do—you could take [your guests] downstairs and show them the gym and music room, or upstairs to the gallery of the Assembly Hall, and then there's nothing like those corridors for promenading or those broad stairs for sitting on."[38] As discussed in Chapter 3, both interior and exterior promenades were an important and innovative feature of palace hotels, just as broad, elegant boulevards were an important innovation of the bourgeois city. And like the new city streets, these corridors featured not only new dimensions, but a new concern for rational planning and illumination: "There was certainly no air of mystery in the wide, well-lighted corridors and broad staircases."[39] Central to the plan, hotel corridors were often as lavish in their decor as room interiors. Stair landings at the college, also generously scaled and carpeted, proved conducive to gatherings among students as well. According to one account, "We soon found that the thickly carpeted stair-ways were first the place for impromptu meetings . . ."[40]

Thus the Royal Victoria College featured both intimacy in the midst of community, and community through intimacy. It also featured, like the hotel, considerable privacy. Unlike the open dormitory, which featured no privacy; the seminary, where students shared bedrooms; and many individual houses, where siblings, and husbands and wives, also shared bedrooms (leaving young girls and married women no private personal space, or 'room of their own'), the private bedroom was a standard feature of most late 19th-century women's residential colleges. Also common were semi-private suites of the type found at RVC. These consisted of single bedrooms and shared sitting rooms. According to the plan (fig. 52), the RVC occupant would, like the occupant of the hotel, have been able to avail herself of both intimate sociability and complete privacy on the upper floors.[41] Privacy was available for both study and leisure time. College suites stopped short of the full living suites available in apartment hotels such as the Viger, however. The parlor suite also distinguished both the residential college and the hotel from the boarding house, which offered private rooms and communal parlors, but no intermediate reception options.[42]

Reminiscent of the irregularity and variety that characterized the bed-sitting rooms of the Chateau Frontenac, the bed-sitting rooms at RVC also varied in size, shape and

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[38]Letter of March 3, 1900. MUA, MG 2015, The Wisdom Family Papers, 1897-1911.

[39]"The Royal Victoria College for Women," *Weekly Star*, September 24, 1899.

[40]"Donalda Class History", *Old McGill*, 1902, p. 47. By the 1920s, overcrowding resulted in lockers for day students being moved into the corridors, changing the character of the corridors considerably.

[41]Both the resort hotel suite and the residential suite of the college were descendants of the French hotel, which provided the lady of the house with a sequence of increasingly private, yet no less elegant, spaces that culminated in her *boudoir*, a private salon adjoining her private bedchambers. The boudoir, intended as a "calm space where one read, gossiped or rested," was where women entertained their closest friends. The English sitting room was similar in concept and function, though less formal in plan.

[42]For more on the distresses and inadequacies of boarding house life in Montreal, see below.

combination, thus emphasizing an 'organic' or picturesque (and therefore more residential) character. This invested the upper storeys with an air of informality that was in contrast to the more ordered and public life emphasized on the lower floors. It also served to emphasize the ways in which personal space, and by extension, the individual, was unique. At the level of the individual, space was designed in such a way as to evoke both delight and differentiation.[43] This could be furthered by the rooms' occupants, who could personalize their private bedrooms through both furniture arrangements and decoration (figs. 53a, 53b).[44] As with hotels, the variety of rooms and room arrangements also represented variation in the cost of accommodations, thus implementing differentiation at the level of consumer means: "The expense of board and residence in the college will, for students entering in 1902, range from $290 to $440, according to the room or rooms occupied by the student."[45]

While the design of the dormitory floors encouraged a sense of individual identity and purchasing power, it also discouraged a sense of professional rank, as no real distinction was made on Price's drawings between the sleeping quarters allocated to the young female students and those allocated to the professional women charged with running the college. Instead, the warden, staff and students were all expected to live within the college as one extended household. Helen Lefkowitz Horowitz, in her book *Alma Mater: Design and Experience in the Women's Colleges from Their Nineteenth-Century Beginnings to the 1930s*, discusses the attempt of early women's colleges to duplicate the mother-daughter bond in the relationships formed between female authority figures and their charges. The encouragement of just such a relationship, one based on the mechanisms of intimacy rather than on those of formality, on familiarity rather than hierarchy, on bonding rather than discipline, is indeed suggested by the design of RVC's dormitory floors. With their emphasis on intimacy, informality and individual, rather than group differentiations, these floors were designed to support the formation of casual, interpersonal relationships.[46] As Ms. Oakeley recalled, "One of the things most prized by the resident students, as one of them told me later, was the opportunity of association with

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[43]The plan was therefore evocative of the Colleges' "Household Order", which read in part: "In things essential Unity, In things indifferent Liberty."

[44]A white enamelled and brass bed; a white oak or cherry washstand and a custom-made bureau with an oval mirror; a desk; a 'tasteful rug' and linens were supplied by the college. Beyond that, students were largely free to arrange and decorate these spaces as they wished.

[45]"Announcement, 1902-03", MUA.

[46]The architecture did differentiate, however, between collegiate women and the servant staff, who occupied living quarters on the uppermost floors, under the roof, and in the basement. This too was in keeping with models of middle-class domesticity and domestic architecture. For documentation on domestic servant spaces, see Claudette Lacelle, *Urban Domestic Servants in 19th-Century Canada* (Ottawa: National Historic Parks and Sites, Environment Canada, Parks, c. 1987).

the resident staff . . . I remember the first resident, after a week or two, wandering into my office to tell me how *she* would govern a college of this kind . . . . We soon became real friends."[47]

In socializing women, the architecture of these floors therefore stressed the scale and familiarity of the household over that of the institution, arranging within the larger, rationally-ordered frame small clusters of less disciplined spaces. As seen in Chapter 2, this approach grew directly out of Price's earlier Shingle style cottages, as well as his hotels, where rational organization informed compact, axial plans; the facades of the public floors expressed conformity; and the upper, more private floors expressed picturesque variation. A domestic prototype was also supported by the college's relatively small size, which, as noted, was initially designed to accommodate only thirty-two students. This too allowed for the largely informal and interpersonal forms of discipline manageable within, and characteristic of, extended households (the viability of this arrangement appears to have been such that house rules pertaining to the college did not need to be formalized until the 1920s).

While the suite plan supported the notion of feminine bonding, it also supported other assumptions about women, their work and their 'maidenhood'. In regulating sexuality, it saw fit to include all women, regardless of age or position, within this regulation, while in providing for a staff of female professionals, it defined them as single women and provided them with few distinctions of status or rank acknowledging their station. Vassar, an American women's college opened in 1865, was also designed with a resident administration and staff in mind. It housed its staff however, which was to be primarily male, in separate, family-size pavilions.

Subsequent patterns of use shaped by the wardens and staff of the college reveal, however, that many of the intentions and presumptions delineated by RVC's dormitory plans were subverted. An early college pamphlet, for example, reveals inked-in changes, in the warden's hand, to the room plan (fig. 54). In response to the chronic shortage of sleeping accommodations, a problem that would plague the residential college throughout most of its history, many of the shared sitting rooms, as well as classrooms on the first floor, were converted into private bedrooms. This reduced the range of social experiences intended by the luxurious suite arrangement. More significantly, however, most of the rooms comprising one alcove of the dormitory floor were consolidated and designated the warden's, despite the shortage of bedchambers. Resident tutors and the housekeeper, meanwhile, occupied some of the other more private alcoves grouped around the end axes

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[47] *My Adventures in Education*, p. 91.

perpendicular to the main corridor. Through the spatial articulation of professional rank and status, collegiate women had obviously begun to reorder and contradict some of the more domestic presumptions of the design.

These changes also appear to have informed the architecture of the building's first extension, which was opened in 1931 (Percy Nobbs, 1930-1931, figs. 55a, 55b).[48] Intended as a dormitory wing, or strictly residential extension, professional distinctions were, somewhat ironically, now enhanced architecturally. In the new wing, the warden was provided with an elegant and spacious apartment suite at ground level, one which also occupied a lynch pin position in the massing of the building and acted as a 'hinge' between the converging axes of the two main corridors. The 'adult' status of the warden's apartment was further registered in terms of an independent street address and an independent mailbox.

The street-side entrance to this apartment was particularly interesting in terms of various architectural techniques that demonstrated spatially, albeit subtly, the warden's 'elevated' status and position of power within the college. The entrance's exterior door was both relatively unimposing and on a level with the street, and gave no indication of the interior arrangement that lay behind it. This in turn worked to disrupt, if only momentarily, the visitor's expectations, which in turn disrupted her/his sense of equilibrium, or sense of control over her/his situation. The vestibule to which the door gave access, while fairly shallow in depth and narrow in width, rose one and a half storeys in height. A rather steep flight of steps opposite and to the right of the entrance led up to a door on the storey above, which then gave access to the central hall of the apartment. The main embellishment of the vestibule's space was an elegant lighting fixture suspended from the ceiling. The only natural light source, a window above the exterior door, was also overhead. The gaze of visitors left to wait in this disproportionately small, high vestibule was thus inevitably directed upward, whether by the architectural features, or by the appearance of the warden in the upper doorway. Devices of the picturesque, which incorporate the surprise of the unexpected, thus coupled with more traditional strategies of height, access and containment to orchestrate a discretely destabilizing set and sequence of spatial experiences, ones which rendered the warden, as the occupant of the apartment, in a position of both superiority and 'control.' Confounding the experience further was the elegance and delicacy of the vestibule's surfaces and detailing.[49]

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[48]For more on Nobbs and the 1931 extension, see below. The warden at the time, Susan Cameron Vaughan, was both a member of the building committee for the college and in constant consultation with the architect. Ms. Vaughan's papers indicate that she met with Nobbs, whom she also knew socially, on a number of occasions. She also accompanied him on a visit to some of the American women's colleges.

[49]I am grateful to the head of McGill residences, Ms. Florence Tracy, for providing a tour of both

Smaller suites similar to the warden's (though without the all-important street entrance) occupied a corresponding position on the upper levels, and were designated as floor mistresses flats. These were to be occupied by resident tutors. In this increasingly hierarchal arrangement, students became the less fortunate occupants of the rows of standardized cells that opened onto the main double-loaded corridors of identical floors (fig. 56).[50]

Hierarchy was now also a function of the wings' relationship to one another. While the warden enjoyed more elaborate accommodations in the new wing, the more luxurious articulation of the original wing's dormitory floors, with their greater emphasis on individuality, was, according to the reminiscences of Elizabeth Mcdonald, BSc. 1941, now the more prestigious 'address' for students. As RVC House President, one of Ms' Mcdonald's privileges was being allowed her choice of dorm room. Throughout her stay at RVC, she chose rooms in the original wing, opting, in her final year, for a room on the second floor along the south side, overlooking Sherbrooke. Containing both a bay window and a commanding view, it was a room with 'character' and distinction.[51] In her first year at RVC, which was also her first experience living away from her family, Ms. Mcdonald was also provided with a room in the old wing. She was enthusiastic about both the new environment and this new personal space. Descriptions of it, along with a diagram of the floor's layout, filled much of her first letter home to her parents.

Observations of an architectural nature would, on occasion, resurface in Ms. Mcdonald's weekly letters to her parents. Of particular interest is an account of a dinner which she attended at McGill's new men's residence, Douglas Hall (Fetherstonhaugh and Durnford, 1936-1937, figs. 57a, 57b). As a special guest, she found herself seated at the head, or 'high' table. Again, the experience formed an impression worthy of illustration in a letter home. The sensations she describes were prompted in part by the unfamiliar and hierarchal dining arrangement, which was patterned after the traditional dining halls, or refectories, of Oxford and Cambridge: ". . . and had the honor (?) of being the very first

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this apartment and the current women's residence at McGill, which now occupies the Nobbs extension and a 1963-64 addition designed by Durnford, Bolton, Chadwick, Ellwood. Nobbs' gracious 'power' apartment still functions as a private dwelling for the warden of the women's residence.

[50]Note though that the students of the college had access to the warden's private apartments from within the wing. This less public entrance, in contrast to the street entrance, minimized rather than accentuated difference. Situated at the end of the wing's main corridor, the entrance to the apartment gave direct access to a reception hall, level with the corridor, which in turn gave access to the bedrooms and the main hall. Female students were still encouraged, therefore, to 'bond' with their administrative head, while to the 'outside' world, the Warden demonstrated her elevated status.

[51]Interview with Mrs. Elizabeth Mcdonald Shapiro, April 12, 1997. Ms. Mcdonald was an enthusiastic and active participant in college life, as well as an articulate and faithful correspondent. In her four years at RVC, Ms. Mcdonald wrote home to her parents almost once a week.

McGill undergraduate to sit at their head table with all the members of the faculty. All the boys had to stare, of course, to see what professor would dare ask one of his students to dinner right out in public like that. It was really loads of fun . . ."[52] The rectangular refectory, flanked by common rooms and a library, occupied the second floor of the quadrangle's west wing, a wing which served as "the piano-nobile of the whole Residence."[53] The high table was situated on a slightly raised platform at the north end of the room. At right angles to this table were nine refectory tables, capable of seating a total of 126 students. The room's exposed roof timbers were of British Columbia fir, with adzed surfaces, and the walls were of hand-finished plaster, with a simple dado in pine.

At RVC, dining arrangements still maintained the more elegant and commercial orientation initiated by the building's original dining room design. As was typical of hotels, the original RVC had been planned with a communal dining room on the entry level, or ground floor of the building, which was in turn modelled after the dining rooms of private middle-class dwellings. In the middle-class Victorian home, mealtimes were not only structured, but elegant affairs, serving as occasions to assemble and celebrate the family unit, as well as to entertain and impress guests. As a result, the dining room was typically given a position of prominence within the plan second only to the parlor.[54] At RVC, the dining room was directly on axis with the main entrance to the college, occupying the ground floor space below the assembly hall. It was serviced by an upper and lower serving pantry and preceded by a softly lit antechamber where students and staff could gather before proceeding in, *en famille*, to dine (the antechamber also doubled as a reception room for guests calling on the college).[55] Indeed, students were expected to gather punctually and to be dressed for dinner.

The scale and organization of the dining room itself were akin to a hotel's main dining room, with twelve separate oak tables positioned throughout the space.[56] In contrast

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[52]Letter dated February 10, 1941.

[53]"Douglas Hall, McGill's First Residence for Men," *The McGill News* (Winter, 1937), p. 30. The wing also included a games room, billiard room, music room and committee room in the basement; and a porter's office and living quarters, student coat rooms, reception room and main hall on the first floor. The wing was accessed either from the commons or via a basement passageway that connected to all blocks of the Residence by stairways.

[54]On Victorian dining and dining rooms see Kathryn Grover, *Dining in America* (Amherst: Univ. of Massachusetts Press, 1987).

[55]The promenade to dinner was more pronounced in hotel plans, where the main dining room was often preceded by a lengthy corridor lined with seating. Hotel guests in appropriately elegant attire were thus presented as both public spectacle and example.

[56]As in the hotel, a communal dining room and specific meal times facilitated large-scale food service. Bearing in mind that, at the time RVC was built, the nourishment of male students was not within the province of the university, the dining room also represented a discrepancy in the degree to which McGill supervised and regulated the habits of its male and female students. Seen in this light, it was also a tacit

to the traditions of collegiate design developed for men, intimacy was ever-present at RVC as a feature of communal space and community life. So was restraint. By interacting with a localized group confined within the limited spatial radius defined by individual tables, women were more apt to speak in modulated tones and less likely to compete for attention. They were also more called upon to be sociable. The long communal tables characteristic of the refectory facilitated, by contrast, more extreme modes of behavior. Hierarchies at RVC were also more discrete. High table was not expressed architecturally, but was simply the table at which the warden chose to sit. Table service of Irish linen and silver flatware, meanwhile, adorned with the crest of the 'establishment', helped signify refinement at the intimate level of touch, and lent a sense of elegance, occasion and prestige more in keeping with the spirit of hotel dining rooms than with refectories or other public eating establishments designed primarily for men, such as taverns and coffee houses.[57]

Starched linens and fine silverware were not incidental. In providing McGill with a building in which to house the women's college, Lord Strathcona had been particular about providing one that was fully appointed.[58] Indeed, RVC's first warden, Miss Hilda Oakeley, reminisced, not without a note of irony, that, "On the day before opening, no blackboards had been furnished, although the drawing and reception rooms were already 'appropriately' furnished and mirrors were supplied."[59] An article in Old McGill boasted that, "at present the RVC for women is equipped as no other on the continent with all that can further the ends to which the institution is framed."[60] Throughout the spaces of the college, careful attention had been given to creating an air of 'good taste,' thus simulating, like the luxury hotel, the atmosphere of a refined and cultivated home. Prevailing middle-class ideas regarding appropriate home furnishings and decoration, which presumed the 'aesthetic temperament' of the chatelaine and showcased her increasingly important skill as consumer, guided the appointment of the various rooms.[61]

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means of differentiating women's health as more 'fragile', i.e., as requiring greater supervision.

[57]Many early men's colleges and/or residences did not include dining facilities, as it was considered appropriate for men to take their meals out, unescorted at either men's clubs or public eateries, such as taverns and coffee houses.

[58]According to the *Daily Witness* article, Mr. P.A. Peterson, chief engineer of the CPR, directed the furnishing of the rooms.

[59]Oakeley, p. 75.

[60]"Progress of the University," *Old McGill* (1902), p. 27.

[61]On Victorian home decoration, see for example Harvey Green, *The Light of the Home: An Intimate View of the Lives of Women in Victorian America* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1938). On the increasing importance of middle-class women as chatelaine/consumer, see Gwendolyn Wright, *Moralism and the Modern Home: Domestic Architecture and Cultural Conflict in Chicago, 1873-1913* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1980); Grier, *Culture and Comfort*; and Richard Wightman Fox and T.J. Jackson Lears, eds., *The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983).

Photographs taken by Notman circa 1903-05, show elegant floral wallpapers, chintzes, carpeting and upholstery, all tastefully chosen. Gracing the walls throughout were reproductions of academic paintings; Romantic landscapes, pre-Raphaelite and Madonna and Child themes were particularly prevalent. A sense of comfort and refinement pervaded both student and administrative areas, due in large part to the choice of furnishings and finishes. Corridors had been carpeted with fine rugs woven in Scotland; bedrooms, described by one observer as "cozy" in their arrangement and "dainty and bright" in appearance, had been furnished with custom-made dressing tables fitted with large oval mirrors; walls had been either papered with floral prints or delicately tinted, and cushions, fabric flounces and lace curtains had been used to soften and to embellish interiors. Occasional chairs and tea tables, suggestive of intimate chats, helped maintain the scale and informality of small groups and family gatherings within spaces both large and small. Even the library appeared remarkably casual, with its irregular grouping of round, square and rectangular tables in a light and airy space (fig. 58a).[62] Echoing the difference between male and female dining arrangements, this was in sharp contrast to the more solemn and reverential aura of McGill's Redpath Library, a Gothic design by Taylor and Gordon (1891), which featured not only high vaulted ceilings and stained glass windows but, like most institutional libraries, regular rows of long rectangular tables (fig. 58b). Similar formality was expressed through the interior arrangements of the earlier Arts building library (fig. 58c). RVC's library was also unlike most residential libraries of the period which, like the den and/or billiard room, were typically men's spaces fashioned with leather upholstery and dark colors.

It was the building's high standard of comfort and informal elegance that caught the attention of journalists reporting on the opening of the college.[63] Addressing a largely middle-class public (parents of prospective students included), their effusive reports, like the building itself, stressed not only the notion of domesticity, but a specifically middle-class version premised on increasing leisure, affluence, polite sociability, public display and commercial consumption. This was in keeping not only with the college's relationship to the luxury hotel as a building type, but with its geographic relationship to the elegant commercial district centered around Phillips Square, and to the environments, and social

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[62]The library furnishings were also custom-made. Note that the low bookshelves presumed a smaller collection than that presumed by the bookshelves of the early Arts library, and added to the 'lightness' of this library in comparison.

[63]See for example, "The Royal Victoria College for Women, " *The Weekly Star*, Sept. 24, 1899; "Royal Victoria College," *The Montreal Daily Witness*, Sept. 14, 1899; "Royal Victoria College," [nd]; MUA, RG 42, C. 4. Ms. Oakeley recalled that, "the college seemed to be the cynosure of all eyes [or] . . . an object of much interest to the public," pp. 90-91.

significance, of the upscale Morgan's Colonial House, Birks jewellery store, and Notman's photographic studio.[64]

The college's emphasis on cultural refinement, meanwhile, complemented the role of the Art Association Gallery, also located on Phillips Square. The Gallery had been designed mainly to stimulate an amateur, yet cultured appreciation of painting. As a counterpart to the gallery, the RVC had been designed to stimulate among its female students a similar relationship to music, which was deemed "so valuable a part of a woman's education, whether cultural or professional." RVC's programme, for example, included both a music room and a concert hall, and not the least impressive of the college furnishings were its pianos. Three Steinway pianos had been installed when the college was first opened, and by 1926, a college inventory listed nine in its possession. The significance of these pianos harkened back to eighteenth-century precedents regarding aristocratic women's education.[65] At that time, music and art were foremost among the accomplishments necessary to 'finish' a lady for polite society, and ladies were expected to perform, above all, a 'convivial' function within the household. The abundance of pianos at RVC was, correspondingly, more suited to occasional social gatherings than serious vocational practice.[66] According to various memoranda and reports issued by the Warden circa 1909, "the construction of the college [was] such that a piano in the basement disturb[ed] at least two floors of rooms above," and, "good facilities for practice [could not] be obtained in the existing building," which had no soundproofing. Needless to say, the music room on the first floor was never used as such.[67] Like the design of the art gallery, which emphasized sociability and artistic appreciation over artistic production, RVC's emphasis on music, which was so evident in both plan and furnishings, was directed more towards critical appreciation than production.

The class base of the domesticity designed by RVC was also evident in its approach to household services, which were, unlike the do-it-yourself approach of the early seminary, professionally administered and dependent on costly equipment and labour. But by centralizing food preparation and housekeeping and laundry services, a higher standard of comfort and efficiency was made possible than in smaller, or individual

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[64]See Chapter 2 for more on the history of Phillips Square. Both the Colonial House and Birks were enlarged in 1902, shortly after the college opened.

[65]On the social relationship between women and pianos in the western world, see Arthur Loesser, *Men, Women and Pianos: A Social History* (NY: Simon and Schuster, 1954).

[66]All of the college's public, or communal rooms photographed by Notman, with the exception of the library, contained at least one piano.

[67]A copy of the floor plan reproduced in the "College Announcement" for 1902-03, to which names of the rooms' occupants and any alterations in use have been added in pen, shows the Music room as a Language room. A consistent change appears as a penned correction in 1906. MUA.

establishments.[68] In this respect, RVC bore a direct relationship to both the luxury hotel and Roswell Fischer's apartments, where flat rates and rental fees covered the cost of similar services, and, for many members of the middle-class, a higher standard of both convenience and elegance was attainable than in a private residence.[69]

At the college, a large kitchen with auxiliary pantries was located in the 'invisible' space of the basement and linked to the central dining hall through a discrete ground level serving pantry. Here meals for all students and staff were prepared three times a day by a cooking staff and served by maids.[70] Maids also cleaned the rooms, served tea and relayed telephone messages. Students, like guests in a hotel, could have trays brought up to their rooms, and were not responsible for the maintenance of their chambers, for doing their own laundry or for any food preparation. The kitchen and laundry, which occupied the basement's east wing and were kept distinct from the student circulation around the gymnasium, were two rooms with which the young female collegian, like her male colleagues, need not concern herself.[71]

Support staff, like academic and administrative staff, were housed on the premises. But while the accommodations provided for the warden, tutors and students were largely undifferentiated, the accommodations designed for support, or servant staff represented clear divisions based on both class and professional status. The head housekeeper, for example, housed as a professional woman, was allotted rooms on the second floor, much like her academic and administrative counterparts. Servants however, who hailed from the working classes, were housed in a series of small rooms located on the uppermost floor. These were directly under the roof, inaccessible by the elevator, and reached by a stair separate from the main vertical circulation shafts. The servants' dining room, meanwhile, was located in the basement, along with living quarters for the building's male staff, who looked after building maintenance. Similar arrangements were featured in both 19th-century homes and luxury hotels.[72] Like these models, the class base of the domesticity the college sought to cultivate was heavily inscribed in both the running and the design of the building,

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[68]Food preparation and housekeeping were covered by board and rent, but laundry services were extra.

[69]College fees also included the use of the gym, tennis courts and and skating rinks, as well as McGill's library and laboratories.

[70]In 1899, the staff consisted of 11 servants, 8 of whom were women, and a head housekeeper. By 1920, the housekeeper supervised a staff of over twenty. The kitchen was staffed by a cook and three kitchen maids. The pantry and dining room were staffed by four table maids and two pantry maids. See *Weekly Star* article and "Report on Catering, Service and Equipment in the RVC, 1919". Both MUA.

[71]In all but the most affluent families, young women were expected to become familiar with the domestic work spaces of the home in order to supervise and/or work in them.

[72]See Lacelle.

creating divisions and distinctions that cut across the category of gender.[73]

For the students of RVC, however, the college offered a vanguard alternative to mainstream middle-class dwelling options. In a 1918 article published in *The Montreal Daily Star* and entitled, "Her Boarding House," the editor of "Margaret Currie's Weekend Page" outlined the inadequacies of local boarding houses as abodes for young women, pointing to the expense, the inconvenient locations, the "dilapidated looking furniture and shredded window curtains," and the general scarcity—"gentlemen only"—of such establishments.[74] She noted that "Montreal is poorly supplied with good boarding houses" and claimed that the "YWCA is the only large home exclusively for women in the city." She concluded by calling for a "big apartment hotel for women in a central locality," one where women might "board in comfort and safety." Such a building ought, she felt, to contain "a laundry, . . . a library, a dance hall, . . . and several small practice rooms with pianos." In addition, a "house-mother should be engaged, to act as chaperone, whenever wanted, and there should be a governing board of the girls themselves to preserve the . . . tone of the establishment." What she failed to mention was that a local prototype for such a building had already been erected, almost twenty years earlier.

The Best Downtown Club in the City: The West Wing Extension, 1931

Almost from the start, however, RVC was inadequate for the number of out-of-town female students applying to McGill. In its opening year, the total enrollment of RVC was 110, with only 10 students in residence. By 1920, enrollment had risen to 253 and, with 52 students in residence, the building was functioning well beyond its intended capacity. This trend continued, with enrollment slightly more than doubling over the next twenty years.[75] Confronted with ever-increasing numbers of qualified, out-of-town applicants, RVC administrators faced a chronic shortage of dormitory space. In response, they employed various strategies for adapting and augmenting the available facilities, such

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[73]Notably, plans of the servant and service floors were not included in the set provided for the college by the architect. While an original set of ground, first, second and third level plans appear in a showcase in the current RVC, the only existing plan for the basement level is a working drawing by Percy Nobbs showing changes later made to the plan. This can be found in the Percy Erskine Nobbs Archive, Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University. A similar absence appears in photographic documentation. The 'decorative' spaces of the college have been extensively photographed and can be found in both the McGill University Archives and the Notman Photographic Archives. No such documentation appears to exist of the classrooms, or of the other more utilitarian aspects of the college.

[74]*The Montreal Daily Star*, Saturday, Oct. 12, 1918, p. 16. I am grateful to David Theodore for bringing this article to my attention.

[75]See Muriel Roscoe, "The Royal Victoria College, 1899-1962—A Report to the Principal," (Multilith, 1964).

as converting sitting rooms and first floor classrooms to dormitories. During the 1920s, further dorm space was obtained through the annexation of two existing buildings. Then in 1930 McGill commissioned a new West Wing, which opened in 1931.[76]

The new four- and five-storey wing ran parallel with University. It was joined to the main building by a connecting three-storey block that continued the main axis of the original design. While the new wing was built of reinforced concrete, its smooth greystone cladding and general design, which featured oriel windows, expressive massing and a gabled silhouette along Sherbrooke, harmonized nicely with both Price's design and the neighboring rowhouses along University (fig. 59).

The architect of the new addition was Percy Erskine Nobbs (1875-1950). Of Scottish origin, Nobbs moved to Canada in 1903 to accept the post of Macdonald Professor of Architecture at McGill, a position he held until 1911. He relinquished the direction of the department in order to enter into a permanent partnership with Montreal architect and McGill alumnus George Taylor Hyde, but remained a Professor of Design at McGill's School of Architecture until 1940. During his many years of association with the institution, Nobbs contributed not only pedagogical orientation and classroom instruction, but much of McGill's rapidly growing physical plant. His McGill commissions included the Student Union (1904); the redesign of the Macdonald Engineering Building (1907); the University Club (1912); the University Library extension (1921); the Osler Memorial Library (1921); the Pathological Institute (1922); the Pulp and Paper Research Institute (1926); and the Royal Victoria College extension (1930). An advocate of the British Arts and Crafts movement, he designed many of the furnishings and much of the decorative detail for these buildings as well.[77] Throughout the 1910s and 20s he also generated a number of proposals for campus planning and McGill buildings that were never realized. Among these were various reworkings of an elaborate design for a men's residence and sports complex. This extensive body of work, commissioned of one architect for the same institution, was particularly expressive in its structuring of gendered relationships, and suggests both the concessions and continued presumptions of both architectural practice

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[76]According to the Building Committee Report of October 23, 1929, Percy Erskine Nobbs was authorized to prepare sketch plans for a well-equipped gym as well as for dormitory accommodation for seventy-five more students. The plans for the gym were later abandoned due to cost constraints. A student union for women of all faculties and departments had also been proposed by the college, but was not approved by the University. MUA.

[77]Nobbs had articled with Robert Lorimer, and later worked for the London County Council Fire Brigade Branch under Owen Fleming and Charles Winmill, two Arts and Crafts idealists. For more on Nobbs' relation to the Arts and Crafts movement, see Susan Wagg, *Percy Erskine Nobbs: Architect, Artist, Craftsman* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1982).

and McGill with respect to collegiate women.[78]

But if the gender significance of RVC's new wing was constructed in relation to similar building types which Nobbs designed for McGill's male population, it was also constructed in relation to the original RVC. Unlike the multi-purpose design commissioned by Lord Strathcona, the new wing was simply a dormitory extension, and as such, represented a diminished emphasis on RVC as a teaching facility. The new wing did acknowledge, however, growing enrollment on behalf of out-of-town students and implied the gradual integration of women within the larger academic community of McGill.[79] The suggestion of an increasingly 'permeable' relationship between McGill and RVC was enhanced by the placement of the new wing which, extending 133 feet west along Sherbrooke and 120 feet north along University, now occupied the corner lot facing the McGill campus. While expanding toward, rather than away from, McGill, the extension also provided a softer edge in relation to the campus than had Price's design. Nobbs, exploiting the advantages of a southern exposure, had oriented the design accordingly, with its main axis running lengthwise along University.[80] The majority of the student bedrooms, as well as common rooms and kitchenettes, were organized along this axis and, where possible, were given windows on the western elevation. As a result, the building's campus-facing facade, punctuated with ample fenestration, appeared considerably more open than had the west-facing facade of its predecessor. In the original building, where the length of the main corridors ran east-west and fenestration was concentrated along the decidedly frontal Sherbrooke Street facade, the gable-ended side elevations remained relatively opaque.[81]

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[78]The collected drawings, plans, photographs and papers of Percy Nobbs are held at The Canadian Architecture Collection, McGill University, Montreal. See Irena Murray, ed., *Percy Erskine Nobbs and His Associates: A Guide to the Archive*, (Montreal: CAC, 1986). See also his many published articles, his printed lectures, and his one published book, *Design: A Treatise on the Discovery of Form* (London: Oxford University Press, 1937). For a complete bibliography of these works, see Murray. For an overview of Nobbs and his work, see Wagg, *Percy Erskine Nobbs: Architect, Artist, Craftsman*. On Nobbs' work at McGill, see Wagg, "Percy Nobbs at McGill," *Canadian Heritage* (Aug. 1980): 14-15, and Wagg's unpublished MFA thesis, "The McGill Architecture of Percy Erskine Nobbs," (Concordia University, 1979).

[79]This concurs with Roscoe's assessment of the 1930s as a period during which "RVC students made a place for themselves on campus at large and became active co-educationally. [At this time] most of the classes moved from the College to McGill." Roscoe, p. 106.

[80]The Montreal street grid does not follow a true N/S orientation—the 'western' elevation of the extension actually faces south-west and receives the longest hours of winter sunlight, as well as protection from north winds.

[81]In extending Price's design, Nobbs nonetheless managed to establish continuity with the Sherbrooke Street facade and reiterate something of the autonomous orientation established by the original design. Not only are the main entrances to the new wing still located on Sherbrooke, but, given the diagonal axis which links the new wing to the original structure, they are both sheltered from and look slightly askance at, the main campus.

It is worth noting that, during an era in which women's initiatives were focused on gaining admission to the professional faculties, the location of the new dormitory wing emphasized women's identification with the lower arts campus. Admittedly, this was neither surprising, given the availability of a site directly adjacent the western facade of the original college (Lord Strathcona had purchased the site in 1909), nor without justification, given that RVC had been endowed as an arts college and all women of McGill, whether resident, non-resident, undergraduate, graduate, full time or partial, were considered to be members of the college. The college, in turn, was assumed to both represent and serve all of McGill's women students. In the thirty years that followed the opening of RVC however, women had succeeded in gaining admission to McGill's professional faculties of medicine, dentistry and law, and had actively campaigned for admission to engineering and architecture (which they were denied until 1939). They had also become registered in the Faculties of Commerce, Physical Education, Library Science, Nursing and Social Work. Residential and communal facilities for these women remained problematic, as they were members of McGill, but not of the college. The ambiguous status of non-arts women was therefore produced, expressed and experienced, at least in part, in terms of existing architectural arrangements, which presumed the homogeneous nature of McGill's female demographic. In planning new dormitory arrangements and the RVC extension, McGill did little to alter the situation, still failing to acknowledge, accommodate or plan for the growing number of women intent on entering diverse and professional occupations.

An elaborate identification with the professions, and a correspondingly masterful and dynamic culture, was, meanwhile, precisely the architectural conceit behind Nobbs' proposals for a McGill men's residence. Although none of Nobbs' specific proposals, which he began working on in the mid 1910s and continued to revise throughout the early 1920s, were ever realized, Douglas Hall (Fetherstonhaugh and Durnford, 1937), McGill's first men's residence, was eventually built on the same site and exploited many of the same planning features. The site, known as Macdonald Park, constitutes a nearly 27 acre tract of mountainside land which, though remote from the arts campus, is surrounded by McGill's medical facilities. The medical faculty had grown rapidly during the early years of the 20th century, both in physical size and public significance, and as it did so, it moved steadily up the hill, flanking both sides of University Street above Dr. Penfield and linking up with the massive complex of the Royal Victoria Hospital (fig. 60).[82] Nobbs' various proposals for the park, which included a 1/16 inch scale model roughly five feet wide by eight feet long

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[82]See Neville Terry, *The Royal Vic: The Story of Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital, 1894-1994* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994) and David Sclater Lewis, *Royal Victoria Hospital, 1887-1947* (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1969).

(fig. 61a), show a combined residential and recreational facility, incorporating dormitories, a stadium, a gymnasium, a field house and various lesser structures. The location and planning not only linked the men's domestic environment to both a vast playground and the surrounding complex of medical pavillions (effectively spatializing the words of the early college drinking song cited in Chapter 1, in which the singer salutes McGill as his home of fun and knowledge), but, in generating a setting reminiscent of terraced Greek city states of the Hellenistic era, linked it to architectural traditions associated with the public, rather than the private realm.[83] Reference to civic architectural prototypes was also fostered by the placement of a clock tower, historically a marker of the public square as well as public and/or civic buildings, at the heart of the residential complex.[84] The proposed style of the buildings meanwhile, was a direct reference to the recently erected Strathcona Medical Building (Brown and Valence, 1909, fig. 61b), which, located directly opposite the Royal Victoria Hospital, has been referred to as "the most monumental of the McGill buildings."[85]

Like the architectural conception, the viewpoints which Nobbs devised for the various presentation perspectives of the men's residence were both dynamic and heroic. Ingeniously, one such perspective (see fig. 62) enabled Nobbs to exploit the dorms' relationship to what, in both the model and a number of other perspectives, is revealed as the stadium, or competitive playing field. By portraying the stadium seats as a vast expanse of mounting steps leading to the residential complex, Nobbs both exaggerated and emphasized relationships between competitiveness, ascent and monumentality. This particular perspective also served, appropriately enough, as the basis for the illustrated cover of a 1920 fund-raising booklet entitled "The Need for Dormitories at McGill," in which alumnus Stephen Leacock solicited endowments for the proposed men's residence.[86] In an expansive, 'englobing' gesture which mimicked the architecture and its intent, the bold red, black and white rendition of Nobbs' design was bled to the edge and the image run from the front cover onto the back.[87]

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[83]See for example, replicas of the mountainside stadium at Pergammon.

[84]The clock tower was a common feature of college buildings and campuses throughout North America, England and Europe. It was also a traditional element in the design of parliament buildings, churches (cum bell tower) and other monuments to collective institutions. See Chapter 2 of this thesis. See also Nathan Glazer, ed. *The Public Face of Architecture: Civic Culture and Public Spaces*, (NY: Free Press; London: Collier MacMillan, 1987); Charles T. Goodsell, *The Social Meaning of Civic Space: Studying Political Authority Through Architecture* (Lawrence, Kan.: Univ. Press of Kansas, 1988); Turner; and Webb.

[85]John Bland, "The Buildings of McGill", *The McGill News*, Winter 1958, p. 15.

[86]Stephan Leacock, "The Need for Dormitories at McGill," (Montreal: Publicity Committee of the McGill Centennial Endowment Campaign, 1920). Rare Books and Special Collections division, McLennan Library, McGill University, Montreal.

[87]A similar fund-raising pamphlet issued on behalf of the Royal Victoria College employed a decidedly more demure stylization of the Price design. The image, a frontal perspective reproduced in royal

In rendering the presentation perspective of RVC's new residential wing, Nobbs opted for a considerably more static, intimate and ahistoric representation (see fig. 63). Filling most of the frame, the view of the gabled extension is tightly cropped. Where the distant and sharply angled view of the men's residence caused it to tower aloft, seemingly expanding to match the breadth of the horizon, the women's dorm, depicted in relative 'close-up' and from a slightly elevated viewpoint (the cinematic 'male' point-of-view vis-à-vis a female object), appears rooted to its level corner lot, clearly restrained along its two elevations by the public street.

The overall scheme for the men's complex, remarkably eclectic in its exploitation of potential signifiers (like its ambitious yet conservative middle-class clients, it sought to appear simultaneously dynamic, historic and mythic), also managed to pay homage to local referents. In its location and its use of a prominent clock tower, the plan for the complex bore an interesting relation to the dramatically sited mansion and watchtower (located north-west of the campus) of the 19th century merchant/trader Hugh Allan, a wealthy, powerful and self-made Montreal entrepreneur. The grander scale of the McGill residence proposed to reiterate the local significance of Ravenscrag in terms of an expanding, collective group and institutionalized environments.

Once 'at home' in the lofty rooms of Nobbs' residence which, like Ravenscrag, would have commanded a view of much of the campus and the city beyond, male students would have had, quite literally, a window on professional, middle-class opportunity. An impressive birds-eye perspective from 1913 emphasizes the citadel-like stance of the proposed dormitory complex and with it, the notion of guardianship/control over the growing urban sphere. This is also suggested by the configuration and massing of the design which, seen to advantage in this aerial view, was enclosed much like a fortress, or walled city.[88]

Yet unlike its fortress predecessors, the choice of topographical location was not a response to defensive needs. Anticipating a function of the skyscraper, which was to become iconic of the North American city, the location of the complex can be seen as a response instead to "scopic desire". In an article entitled "Walking in the City," Michel de Certeau links the "panorama city," that "optical artefact" generated by looking down on and "seeing the whole" of an urban configuration, to a scopic and gnostic drive, something which, in de Certeau's analysis, is critiqued as both an authoritarian, totalizing drive, and a

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blue on a white background, was enclosed in an elliptical gold border and restricted to the upper portion of the front cover. MUA.

[88]The scheme was to consist of two main residence blocks, with a connecting link at the center adjoining the dining halls, that could later be developed in terms of regular and irregular quadrangles.

fiction.[89] The panorama is the result of a distancing viewpoint that reduces the city—complex, opaque, labyrinthian and both sensually and emotionally engaging when experienced "up close"—into an ordered, rational *picture*, rendering its immense and complex "texturology" suddenly (presumably), readable. Akin to the distancing 'male' gaze, which objectifies the female subject, this "fiction of knowledge", the "authority" of the "space planner urbanist, city planner or cartographer" who objectifies the physical landscape, was also the authority of a burgeoning medical science, which objectified the physical body, and, increasingly, of professional discourse in general (this distancing objectification was implicit in the discourses of medicine, pedagogy and patriarchy). The siting of Nobbs' men's residence, like that of the neighboring hospital, was thus not just a symbolic gesture of elevated status meant to be read by the city, by those outside and "down below," but a spatial means of objectifying that environment, that which McGill's young, male, middle-class occupants were expected to someday control.[90]

Clearly Nobbs, in designing *domestic* space for men, sought to organize both collegiate and civic identifications and to supply a sense of control—a spatial and conceptual means of mastery—over the 'big picture'. As the example of the Allen residence (and that of the Chateau Frontenac discussed in Chapter 3) make clear, the objectifying vantage point was not the preserve of collegiate and/or civic architecture, but it's objectification of the urban environment was typically associated with men and power. Price, meanwhile, in designing a *collegiate* space for women relied, to a much greater degree, on domestic identifications and more intimate levels of relationship, although Price's design obviously did much toward redefining, architecturally, the range of identifications that domesticity might encompass and/or foster. Indeed, by virtue of RVC's elevated location and orientation, it too represented an objectifying vantage point within the urban landscape.[91] It is significant, however, that RVC also remained engaged with the city itself, directly connected to the sights, sounds, and activities of Sherbrooke Street, one of the city's main thoroughfares. As a descendent of the Shingle style resort and as a site of urban sociability, engagement with the surrounding landscape was a key aspect of the building's design. The proposed men's park, aloof in its isolation on the hill, would, by contrast, have remained remote from the city it overlooked.

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[89]Michel de Certeau, "Walking in the City," in Simon During, ed., *The Cultural Studies Reader* (NY: Routledge, 1993).

[90]Notably, they could not 'see' the predominantly francophone flank of the city/mountain. While the Chateau Frontenac suggests obvious similarities in terms of its commanding site and citadel-like configuration, its general orientation was *away* from the city, such that the views it commanded were of the natural, as opposed to the urban landscape.

[91]Significantly, RVC commanded a view of the central city, but not of McGill.

In carrying out the extension to Price's building, Nobbs not only retained, but enhanced RVC's proximity to the street. The University elevation, for example, bordered the public sidewalk, and a street-level entrance gave direct, curbside access to the building. Because of the ample fenestration along this facade, the building supplied a means of 'policing' what would otherwise have been a relatively isolated street. Notably, it was the occupants of RVC that were thus empowered to supply the watchful gaze and provide the policing.[92] From their bedroom windows, students could maintain both visual and aural communication with the street below. In the evening, the illumination from the building would also have helped to brighten the street, adding to its safety. The shallow entrance portal, meanwhile, minimized dark shadows and any 'lurking' dangers. The recessed portion of the extension meanwhile, with its curving walkway, faced Sherbrooke, a busier, less isolated street. In addressing the issue of women's safety and protection, the design thus relied on the close and watchful presence of other women, rather than on the isolation, or containment, of women.

In 1927, Charles Z. Klauder, the author of *College Architecture in America and It's Part in the Development of the Campus* , wrote, "A dormitory of the simplest type for women must have features peculiarly its own. It must have several important rooms for purposes other than lodgment, for it is more nearly a home than is a men's dormitory." In keeping with this advice, which was consistent with the tradition established by the original building and its prototypes, the new dormitory extension to the college featured the requisite "important rooms for purposes other than lodgement." These included four reception rooms on the second floor, three of which were arrayed, in a manner now familiar, *enfilade* along University Street. The fourth was located adjacent the main Sherbrooke Street entrance to the wing, which projected from the three-storey block that connected the main building with the extension. Both a common room and a study were also featured on the first, second, third and fourth floors, which comprised the dormitory floors. This vertical separation of public and private spaces was also consistent with the design of the original wing.

Nobbs' plan deviated from Price's concept, however, in identifying the household unit as more a function of the individual dormitory floor, than of the entire building. In Nobbs' plan, each of the dormitory floors featured a mixed program of private bedrooms and shared lavatories, laundry facilities and, located on the mezzanines between floors, kitchenettes. With the repetition of identical self-service centres at each level, the dormitory

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[92]The exploitation of "eyes watching the street," as a means of creating safer urban environments, is discussed by Jane Jacobs in her seminal critique *The Death and Life of Great American Cities* (New York: Random House, 1961).

floor began to emerge as a semi-autonomous living space. This was suggestive of emerging trends in American domestic design, which had begun to embrace the concept of the bungalow and its lateral, rather than vertical zoning of domestic functions. Insofar as the dormitory floors could presumably be repeated vertically *ad infinitum*, they were also suggestive of the standardization driving the design of new office towers. As discussed earlier, the plan of the new wing also differed from that of the original by introducing more hierarchal distinctions between the warden, the staff, and the students. Women in the new wing would therefore ostensibly experience greater autonomy, as well as a keener sense of professional rank.

In the treatment of the shared interior spaces of the ground floor, however, traditionally 'feminine' identities, rather than professional ones, were still paramount. Two photographs taken by Notman are particularly revealing of this. Fig. 64a is of the lounge in Nobbs' RVC West Wing extension, while Fig. 64b is of the lounge in the students' Union building (see also figs. 67a, 67b), which Nobbs also designed. The Union, a square, three-storey greystone building (now the McCord Museum) was Nobbs' first commission for McGill and was completed in 1906. Intended as a club for McGill's male students, it represented a distinct and well-established building type, one with its own history and architectural conventions. Nobbs, in deference to this history, chose to model the building after the *palazzo* clubs of London, which had been made popular during the early Victorian period by the English architect Charles Barry.[93] But while men's clubs constituted a distinct building type, their principal function, which was to serve as a 'home away from home,' remained essentially a domestic one.[94] In planning the Union, for example, Nobbs provided for a program similar to that served by the 'masculine' spaces found in the 18th- and 19th-century manor homes of the English aristocracy, namely dining spaces, offices, reading and magazine rooms, lounges, a billiard room, an exercise room, a communal hall and bedrooms.[95] Moreover, Nobbs, in true Arts and Crafts fashion, was responsible for much of the interior furnishings and decorative detail of the buildings he designed. The two lounge interiors make, therefore, for an interesting and instructive comparison.

Corresponding points of view help to indicate the basic similarity between the two rooms. Both lounges are viewed down their length and are revealed as extended rectangular spaces with window bays running along one wall. Despite obvious formal similarities

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[93]Wagg, *Percy Erskine Nobbs: Architect, Artist, Craftsman*, p. 15.

[94]See for example Donald J. Olsen, *The City As A Work of Art: London, Paris, Vienna* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1986), Chapter 12.

[95]See Girouard, *Life in the English House*; and Franklin, on the history of English houses; see Adams, and Grover, on the 'masculine' decor of dining rooms.

however, the nature of the two spaces appears remarkably different. While due largely to the choice and arrangement of furnishings, the use of finishes, and the handling of decorative touches, subtle differences also distinguish the volumes themselves: the men's lounge is defined as one continuous, open space, while two archways, emphasized by wood trim, subdivide the women's lounge into three smaller spaces; an 'open' colonnade of rather massive, square pillars links the men's lounge with an adjoining hall, while the women's lounge is separated from an adjacent access corridor by a solid wall punctuated with sets of French doors. As has been seen, the design of women's common rooms, whether in private homes or public buildings, were commonly conceived in this manner, i.e., as a sequence of more contained spaces arranged *enfilade* (see for example, fig. 65a). Men's common rooms, meanwhile, were typically conceived as more expansive spaces articulated by columns (see fig. 65b). As discussed in Chapter 2, similar formal properties also distinguished the more 'feminine' space of the picture gallery from the more 'masculine' spaces designed to showcase natural history and technology (note that in the case of Price's design for a picture gallery in a men's club, mentioned in Chapter 2, the design was more open, in the manner of masculine spaces).

Both lounges were intended as communal, or public spaces, but were orchestrated so as to facilitate different types of communal activity and modes of social interaction. The women's space was defined primarily as an elegant socializing and promenade space. The organization of seats around the perimeter of the room took as its prototype the European salon and the ballroom, rooms fashioned around 'cultured' entertainment and discrete forms of spectacle, and thus referred back to 18th-century precedents regarding aristocratic women's function in polite society. As chronicled by observers of manners such as the novelist Jane Austen, promenades around the salon were customary rituals for displaying physical beauty, graceful deportment and sartorial finery (fig. 66a).[96] In accommodating such rites, spatial arrangements organized participants in terms of essentially visual relationships, relationships that, particularly in the case of interiors, focused on the display and regulation of the body. The spatial intent was to optimize 'viewership' for those seated around the perimeter of the room, offering potentially unobstructed, full-length views of those occupying the center space, who might in turn find themselves exposed to gazes originating from multiple points around the perimeter. Persons occupying the central space had no clearly defined function other than display, nor were they encouraged, in terms of the arrangement, to any form of sustained interaction with persons at the periphery. In attempting to structure what has become known as the 'gaze', the furniture arrangement of

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[96]See for example Jane Austen's, *Pride and Prejudice*.

the women's lounge suggested not just a regulatory intent but one premised on loosely voyeuristic relations.

The term 'voyeuristic' is used imprecisely here, as the 'voyeurs' in this arrangement are themselves visible (if not necessarily to the object of their gaze), and the gazes can presumably be returned (if only one at a time). This term is used rather than 'spectator', however, to suggest the potentially unsolicited and sexual nature of the relationship, i.e., as one premised on cultural relations of desire and objectification. It should perhaps also be pointed out that this furniture arrangement was neither exclusive to spaces designed for women, nor did it restrict women to the display 'zone'. What is of interest here is that this appears to have been an arrangement adopted as particularly appropriate to public or common rooms frequented by women. In occupying 'public' space, women were thus 'trained' in this particular mode of social interaction, one premised on the notion of an objectifying and regulating gaze. The 'gaze', as a gendered one, has been the subject of considerable scholarship since the 1970s, and has been shown to have structured much of western art and culture. The argument being made here is that it has also informed western interior architecture.

In prioritizing such relationships, the room arrangement defined socializing mainly in terms of brief, superficial encounters. In the event of very large gatherings, the open floor space would have been conducive primarily to 'mingling' or short conversations, and possibly dancing, although the narrowness of the room would probably have inhibited this. Too narrow for dancing, it was nonetheless too wide to converse comfortably across its width. The linear configuration of the seating, meanwhile, would have limited the ease with which conversations could have been conducted among more than two or three seated persons, and the scarcity and placement of side and end tables, which rendered such tables largely ornamental, would have limited any serious indulgence in food (i.e.. expression of appetite). The presence of the ubiquitous (though in this case quite extraordinary—note the elaborately carved surface) piano also recalled 18th-century precedent, music and art having been foremost among the accomplishments necessary to finish a woman, and enhanced the salon-esque program implicit in the furnishings and their arrangement (note also that the piano did not occupy a central or intrusive position, but was lined up along the circumference of the room with the other furnishings).

Visual stimulation (as generated by the surroundings rather than by the occupants), was achieved largely through applied decoration and varied surface treatments: witness the well-ordered display of wall mirrors and 'pleasant' paintings (the adjective comes from Muriel Roscoe, warden of RVC from 1940 to 1962); the careful placement of vases and floral arrangements on tables; the touches of patterned fabric and the sophisticated mixing

of materials (consider, for example, the addition of cane mesh to 'lighten' the appearance and weight of wooden chairs, and the interplay of hard, polished surfaces which reflect both light and sound, with upholstered and cushioned surfaces, heavy window drapery and generous oriental carpets, which absorb light and sound)—all of which served to engage and lead the eye around the room. No element of the decor is seen to penetrate the central volume of the room, however (even the lighting fixtures hovered just below the ceiling, itself decorated with delicate plaster detailing in a circular motif). Instead, the choice of interior design, which defined two distinct and contrasting zones of periphery and center, emphasized the periphery, or the container: the boundaries of walls, ceiling and floor.

If the women's lounge catered to being seen rather than heard, to restrained, rather than sustained interactions, and to polarities of center and margin, the men's lounge suggested just the opposite (see also figs. 65b and 66b). Taking as its prototype the work room and the tavern, the men's lounge evoked not the refined, confined world of soothing sentiments, gracious manners and ornamental display that continued to symbolize middle-class domestic environments well into the nineteen thirties, but the 'coarser', more aggressive worlds associated with commercial and professional work and political debate.[97] Here the room arrangement encompassed various degrees and types of social contact: single chairs allowed for solitary reading, relaxation and/or light refreshments by the window; groupings of movable chairs around small, round tables provided for intimate conversations, as well as handy ashtrays and some food or drink; while long, rectangular tables reminiscent of early tavern and work room furnishings spanned the width of the lounge at periodic intervals, accommodating large groups and collective interactions. Organized for the most part around tables rather than empty space, seating was conducive to lengthy discussions and was both work and appetite-oriented, with accommodation for papers, books, etc. and the comfortable consumption of food and beverages. Numerous lamps, both utilitarian and masculine in their association, were suspended directly over the

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[97]Historically, the men's club was the gentleman's equivalent to the tavern, and taverns, according to Myra Vanderpool Gormley, "...were a major part of Colonial community life. Styled after English coffeehouses, they provided food, drink, and accommodations to local citizens and travellers. In many cities, before government buildings were erected, taverns were the meeting places of the city fathers and merchants.....The taverns of Boston served as the original business exchanges, combining counting houses, the exchange office, reading rooms, and the bank." See "Genealogy: Inns, Taverns, and Ordinaries" in *Colonial Homes*, Feb. 1995, p. 26. On the social history of inns, taverns and coffeehouses, see Aytoun Ellis, *The Penny Universities: A History of the Coffee-Houses* (London: Secker and Warburg, 1956); and Kym S. Rice, *Early American Taverns: For the Entertainment of Friends and Strangers* (Chicago: Regnery Gateway, 1983). See also Ray Oldenburg, *The Great Good Place* (NY: Paragon House, 1989), especially Chapter 10. For a Canadian-based history, see Margaret McBurney and Mary Byers, *Tavern in the Town: Early Inns and Taverns of Ontario* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press, 1987). For a discussion of interior arrangements, see Constance V. Hershey, "Furnishing an Eighteenth-Century Tavern for Twentieth-Century Use," in *Winterthur Portfolio* 13, pp. 139-160. See also Edgar de N. Mayhew and Minor Myers Jr., *A Documentary History of American Interiors* (NY: Charles Scribners' Sons, 1980).

tables and reinforced the utility of the tables as active or work spaces.[98] Many of the chairs, such as those seen in the foreground, were so-called 'corner' chairs. Also evocative of eighteenth-century precedent, they prompted the sitter to assume a straddled position, thus stressing a masculine prerogative.

In the treatment of the men's lounge, visual interest was stimulated mainly through structural relationships rather than through applied decoration and sumptuous finishes. The room's furnishings, which were relatively uniform in materials, intersected and structured the space of the room in various ways. A row of individual round tables, for example, which ran the down the centre length of the room, articulated the room's main axis. This row was intersected by two long rectangular tables, which, running counter to the room's main axis, articulated the entrance axis to the lounge. Acting as barriers, these tables also channelled circulation to the periphery of the room and served to structure a number of interior 'zones'. These zones either focused around the tables themselves, or consisted of circulatory, or void spaces. Still other zones were created by more random groupings or individual pieces of furniture that disregarded the three-dimensional grid of tables, axes and entrance columns. Something of a horizontal plane, meanwhile, was made to slice through the room by the dispersal of mostly waist-high furniture (low-hung light fixtures, supported by horizontal bars, also defined an intermediate horizontal plane). Regions of privacy and exposure were therefore structured horizontally rather than vertically, with lines of sight directed above the waist. This tended to minimize, rather than orchestrate, privileged points of view.

Surface variation, meanwhile, was kept to a minimum. Walls were unadorned with paintings or mirrors, furnishings were free of patterned coverings—only the area rug in the foreground and the plaster detailing on the ceiling provided decorative relief. Little in the way of upholstery or plush fabrics served to subdue or muffle sound or manners here, where the collective and verbal communication of ideas appeared as a primary consideration. The redundant use of wood and leather in the furnishings served, moreover, to extend throughout the room the 'manly' materials found in the pillars, wall panelling and trim. This helped to integrate, conceptually, the room's various architectural aspects: support systems, the envelope and objects in space. The volume and its container, the center and periphery, therefore served to stress relations of identity rather than ones of difference. The distinction between space and surface was further diminished by the low ceiling molding, a device that served to reduce, optically, the height of the room while expanding its width. The furnishings seemed therefore, to occupy and organize a greater

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[98]This particular design was common in billiard and work rooms.

proportion of the room's central volume.

References to sturdy, structural materials and exterior finishes figure throughout much of the Union's interior. While highly refined in their execution, finishes of stone, wood and brick clad the walls of the hallways, dining rooms, and lounges. The Great Hall, which in section drawings appears frescoed and in photographs is papered, is the notable exception. The more delicate (less durable), applied and, in Canada's climate, interior, finishes of plaster and paint, meanwhile, dominate the surfaces of the women's residence. While plaster and paint were not exclusive to interiors designed for women, finishes of stone or brick were, at least by the late 19th- and early 20th-centuries, rare among women's rooms. American architect Jens Fredrick Larson's selective descriptions of college dormitories in *The Architectural Planning of the American College* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1933), a reference book sponsored by the Association of American Colleges in 1931 as part of its architectural advisory service, reinforce these common distinctions. While Larson makes note of the painted interior finishes and the use of acoustic tiles at various women's dormitories, he elaborates, in discussing men's dorms, on Douglass Hall at Wooster College, which featured entrance hall walls of random coursed limestone, floors of variegated slate, and ceiling paneled with oak ribs. Further mention is made of the floor-to-ceiling wood panelling of the living room, and the simply finished attic space, used for dances and other social functions, with its exposed beams and rafters and plain wainscott.

An analysis of the corresponding floor plans for both the RVC extension and the Student Union suggests that many of the gendered assumptions that guided the treatment of the interior spaces also guided the larger design. The RVC extension (fig. 55a), for example, was organized along two double-loaded, asymmetrical corridors which merged at an acute angle. Discrete groups of rooms, defined by the activities they housed and kept separate by virtue of the corridor, partition walls and staggered doorways, lined the perimeter walls. Circulation space had once again, in contrast to the trend witnessed in the development of the reception floors of the Shingle style home and the grand, or resort hotel, become a discrete zone—a means of separation rather than co-mingling. The expression of difference, as opposed to commonalities or unity, also informed the wing's irregular massing. The principal reception zone, for example, defined as a self-contained suite of lounges, was located within a linear block. The warden's apartment, meanwhile, was expressed as a separate mass that joined this block at an irregular angle. The sick bay and another reception space, which opened off opposite sides of the corridor that connected with the main building, were also given individual massing. Entryways were staggered and there were no formal cross-axes.

By contrast, the floor plan of the Student Union (fig. 67b) was organized not along

corridors but, like the classic quadrangle, around a shared centre, or common meeting space. Defined as an open hall, this space was at the heart of Nobbs' cross-axis plan. As these cross-axes served to create direct formal links between the main stairwell and the lounge, and the billiard and magazine rooms, this hall was the place where vertical and lateral circulation also converged. The borders between the hall and these rooms all made use of colonnades rather than partition walls, which allowed for visual and aural communication and facilitated group access. Only the reading room had been defined as a discrete space with a door and placed off the main axes. Thus the plan, like the lounge it contained, emphasized communal interaction over intimacy, convergence over separation, the centre over the periphery. The homogeneity of the interior concept was also evident in the massing of the building, which comprised a uniform, three-storey block with a symmetrical facade (fig. 67a). Indeed, from the street as well as from inside, the Student Union sought to both structure and express what its name implied: a unified student body.

Conclusion

Winston Churchill once said that we shape our houses and thereafter they shape us. This is true, but we also continually reshape our houses. Housing, as part of the cultural landscape, is constantly in process, defined as much by contradiction and alterations as by identification and proposal. Housing is about shelter, but it is also about cultural directives, tensions and negotiations. For middle-class women of the 19th century, who had been relegated, rhetorically, to the domestic 'sphere', housing was a particularly significant site of cultural transformation.

For the women residents of RVC, their new purpose-built home suggested varied, often conflicting identities. Some aspects of the design confirmed existing constructions of gender, while others suggested alternatives to, or reconfigurations of, these constructions. Certainly the architecture of the original building had helped to create, along with the garden square, the art gallery, and the department store, with which it was linked, a more public presence for women in the city. It had also provided for a communal lifestyle premised, like the hotel, on intimacy, polite sociability and cultural refinement, and mindful of privacy. What neither it nor the West Wing extension did, however, to the degree exhibited by men's colleges, dormitories and men's spaces in general, was to foster an identification with the professions or the pursuit of administrative and/or civic power. Women's space remained, to a remarkable degree, either the space of the periphery or the space of objectification, and thus continued to define gender in terms of hierarchical difference. Women, meanwhile, simply went about redefining the spaces of the college, and many of its presumptions, through use.

Perhaps most importantly, however, the new residential college, like the CPR hotels it resembled, encouraged a sense of shared adventure, one linked to expanding horizons, new perspectives, and collective identities. For the young women at RVC, housing had become a way of entering the world, not of retreating from it.

Figures

Fig. 1. Map showing McGill University, Royal Victoria College and Phillips Square. Source: RBSC. Chas. E. Goad, *Atlas of the City of Montreal and Vicinity* (Montreal: Publishing Company of the Island and City of Montreal Ltd., 1912), Plate 19.

Fig. 2. Mansion of Alexander Buntin, circa 1870. Alexander Henderson, photographer. Source: Notman. MP 116/77.

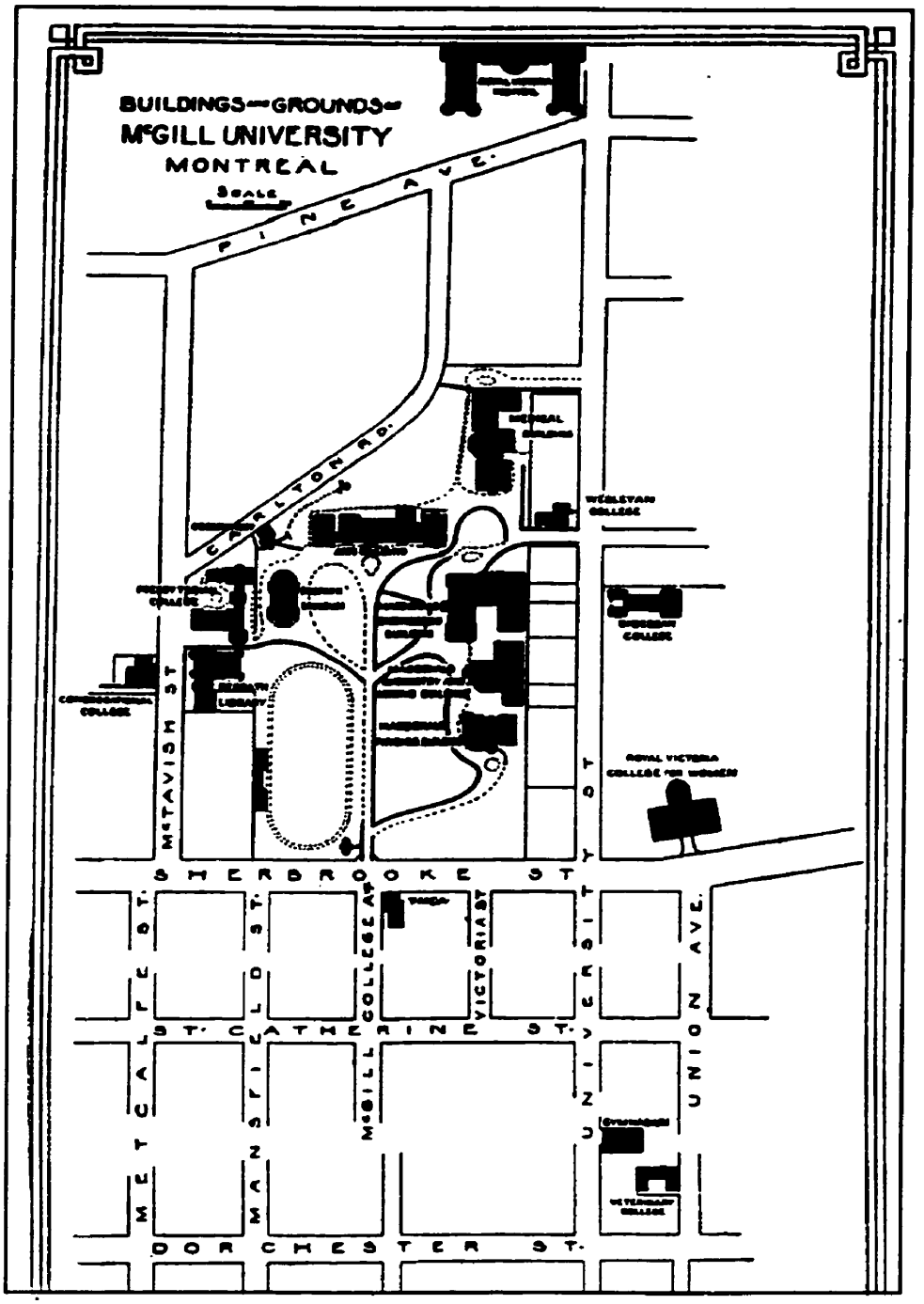


Fig. 3. Buildings and Grounds of McGill University, Montreal. Source: MUA. *Annual Calendar of McGill College and University, Montreal, session 1900-1901.*

Fig. 4. View from University looking east on Sherbrooke Street, circa 1900. Wallis and Shepherd, photographers. Source: Notman. MPO22/79(61).

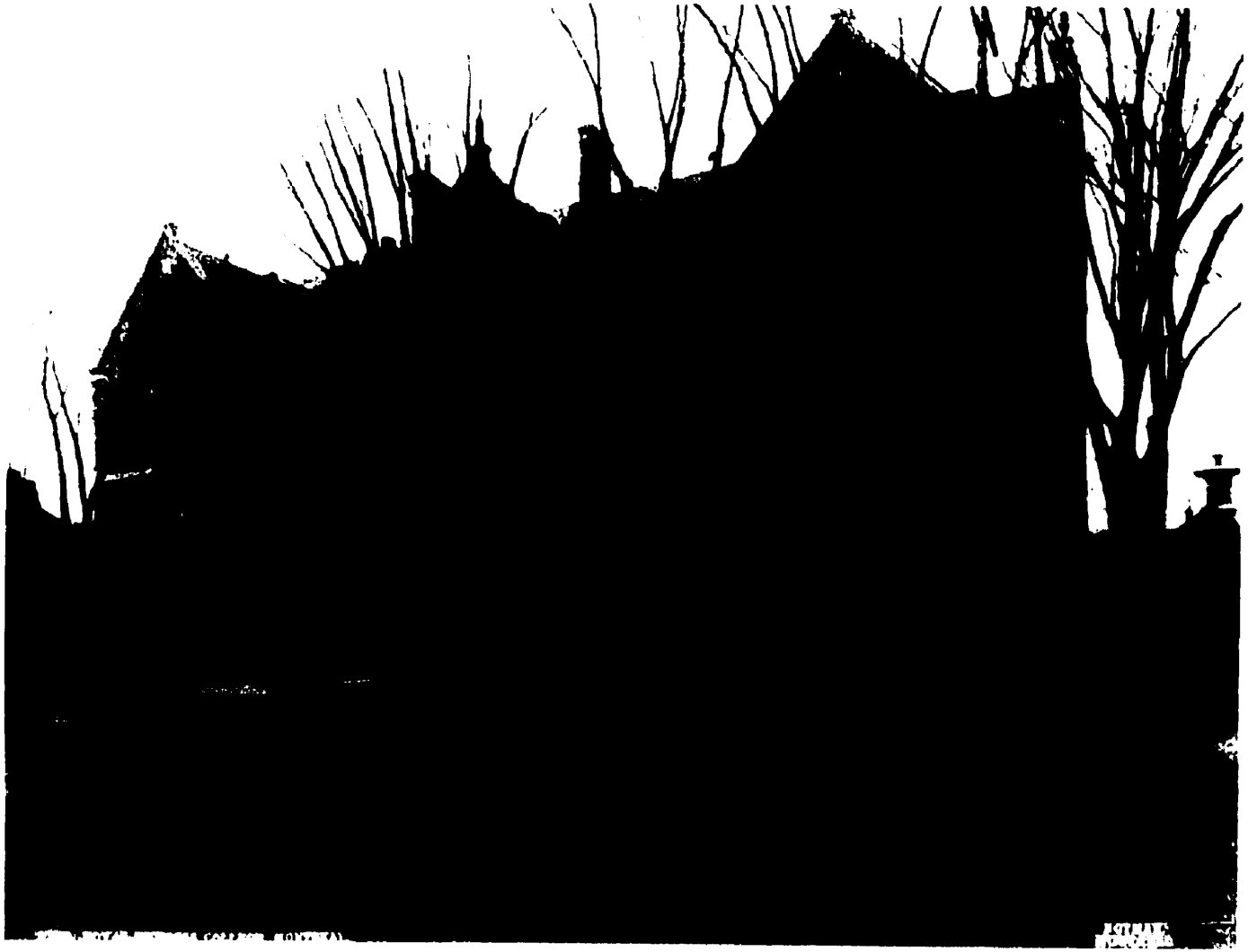


Fig. 5. The Royal Victoria College, Montreal, 1898. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 3149.

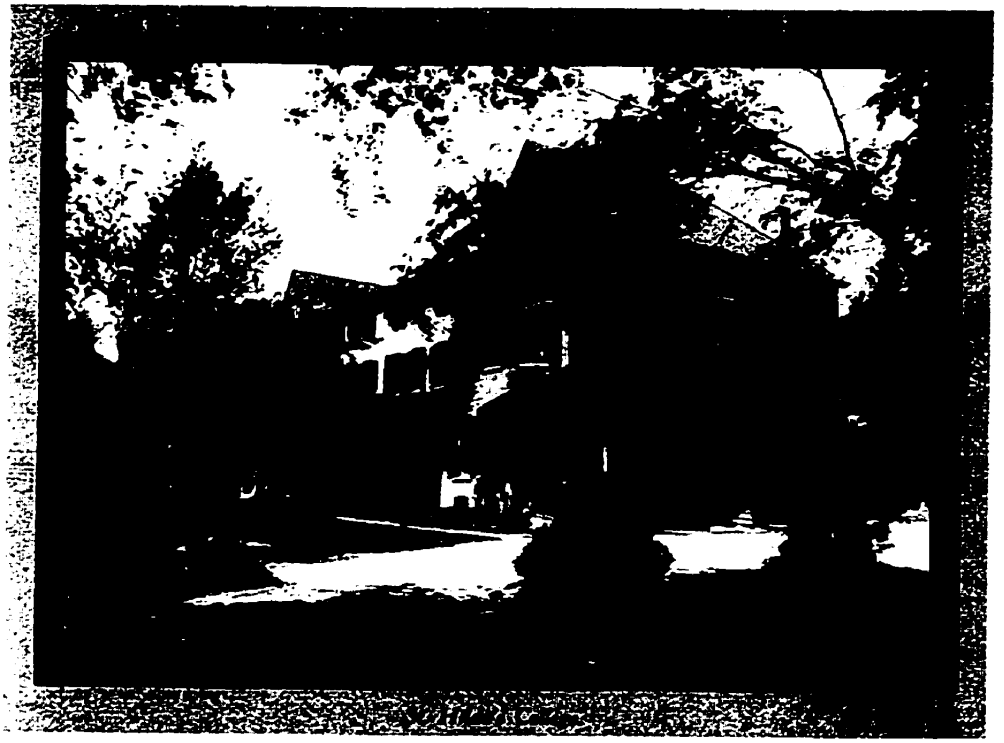


Fig. 6a. A commonly reproduced view of St. Hilda's College (1890), Trinity University, Toronto. Source: Reproduced in Reed.

St. Hilda's College.
THE WOMEN'S RESIDENCE.

Fig. 6b. A less familiar view of St. Hilda's College, taken circa 1899-1900. Source: Trinity College Archives. Photograph 1152-1.

DESIGN XXI.

VILLA IN THE ITALIAN STYLE

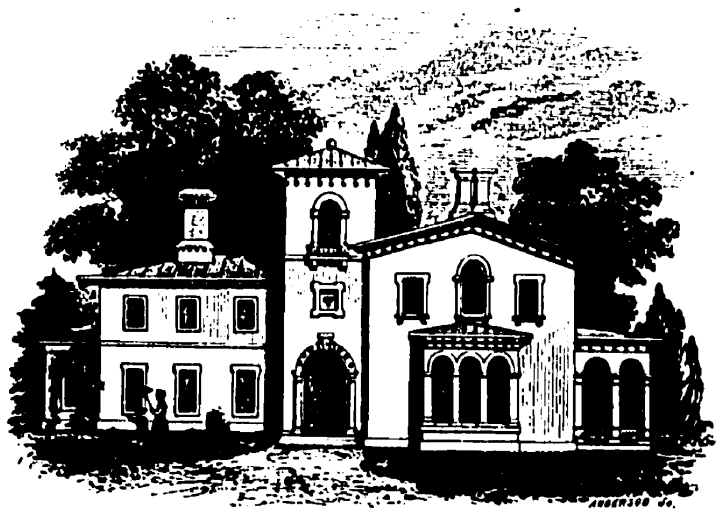


Fig 119

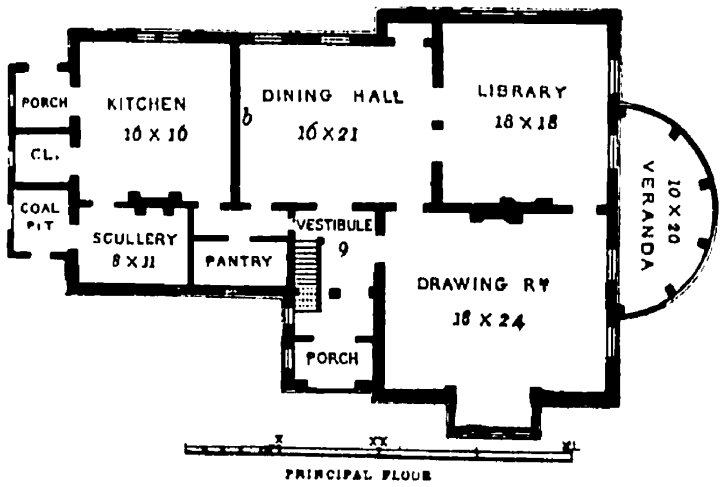


Fig 120.

by having a broad strip of copper built into the wall of the tower, and turned up the roof, so as to form a valley of suffi- rapid descent to shed storms at all seasons.

All the rooms in the interior of this house should be finished with oak wainscot, or wood grained to resemble it, and the effect aimed at should be something between modern luxury and the quaintness of the antique Norman architecture. Hints for interiors in this manner, will be found in a succeeding page. But only simple and characteristic ornaments and mouldings should be introduced in the interior of this villa, as its exterior indicates simplicity rather than variety of detail.

Estimate. The estimate for building this house of stone, when a good quarry, easily worked, is upon the premises, is **$7,500.**

DESIGN XXI.—*A Villa in the Italian style.*

THERE is a strong and growing partiality among us for the Italian style. Originally adapted to the manifestation of social life, in a climate almost the counterpart of that of the Middle and Southern portions of our country—at least so far as relates to eight months of the year, it is made to conform exactly to our tastes and habits, with, perhaps, less alteration than any other style. Its broad roofs, ample verandas and arcades, are especially agreeable in our summers of dazzling sunshine, and though not so truly Northern as other modes that permit a high roof, still it has much to render it a favourite in the Middle and Western sections of our Union.

As a rural style, expressing country life, the Italian is inferior to pointed and high-roofed modes. If it is not so essentially country-like in character, it is however remarkable for expressing

HELLMUTH LADIES' COLLEGE,

(Affiliated with the Western University.)

LONDON, - ONTARIO.

INAUGURATED BY H. R. H. PRINCE ARTHUR, SEPT. 23RD, 1869

Lady Patroness :
H. R. H. PRINCESS LOUISE.

Founder :
The RIGHT REV. BISHOP HELLMUTH, D. D., D. C. L.

President :
I. F. HELLMUTH, L L. B.,
(Trinity College, Cambridge, England.)

Visitors :
THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF HURON. THE RIGHT REV. THE LORD BISHOP OF TORONTO. THE VERY REV. THE DEAN OF HURON.
THE HON. ADAM CROOKS, L L. D., M. P. P., Minister of Education, Ontario.

Fig. 8. Hellmuth Ladies College, London, Ontario. Note the inclusion of an adjacent church in the illustration. Source: Reproduced from *Hellmuth College and Ladies' College Handbook*, 1869. Microfiche.

Fig. 9. Christ Church Cathedral, Montreal. Source: RBSC. *Canadian Illustrated News*, February 5, 1870.

Fig. 10a. Montreal Art Association Gallery, Montreal, circa 1890. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2543.

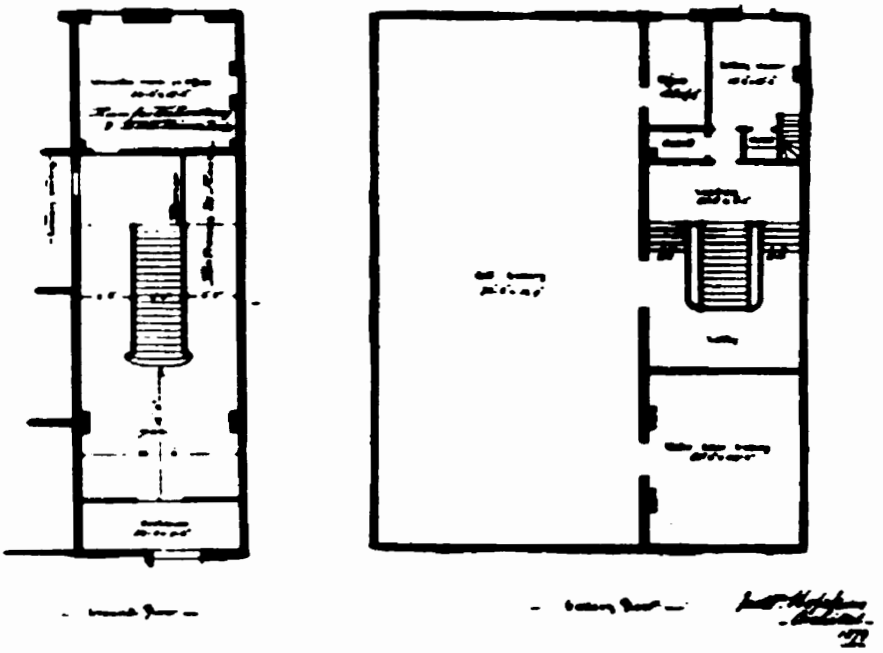


Fig. 10b. Ground and gallery floor plans for the Montreal Art Association Gallery. Source: Reproduced from Pepall, 161.

Fig. 11a. Interior view of the main picture gallery, Montreal Art Association Gallery, circa 1879. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 1053.

Fig. 11b. Entrance to the main picture gallery, Montreal Art Association Gallery, circa 1879. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 1051.

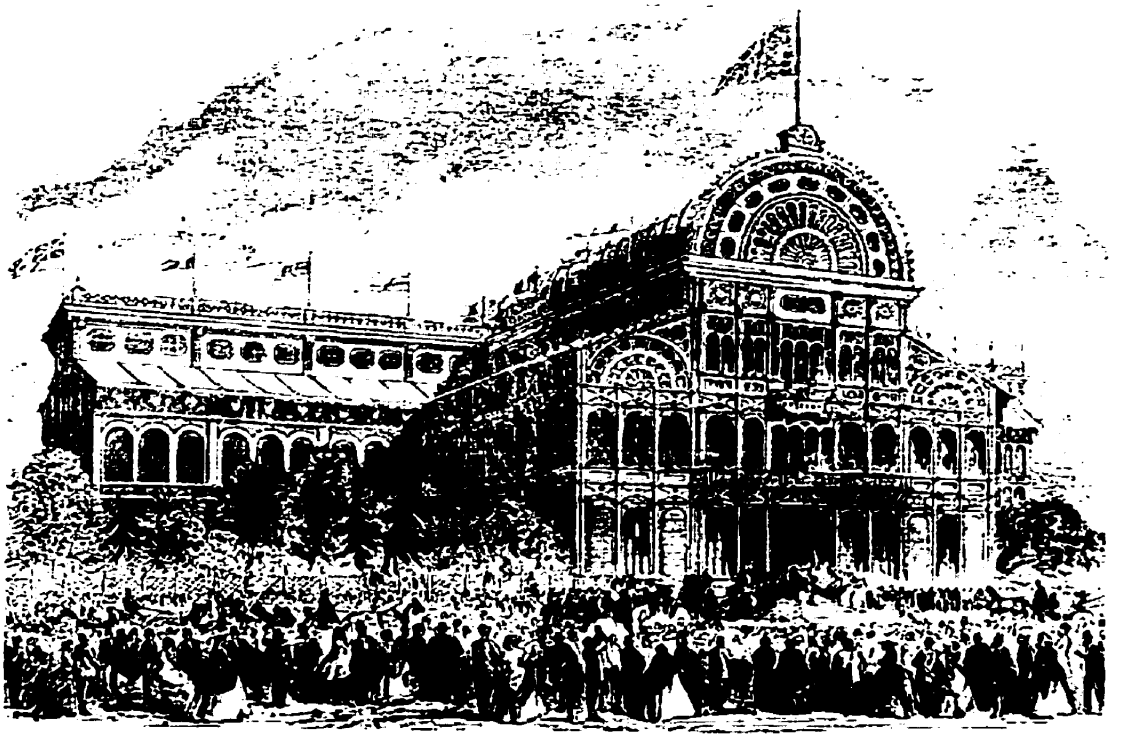


Fig. 12a. Crystal Palace, Montreal, 1860. Source: Reproduced from MacKay, 47.

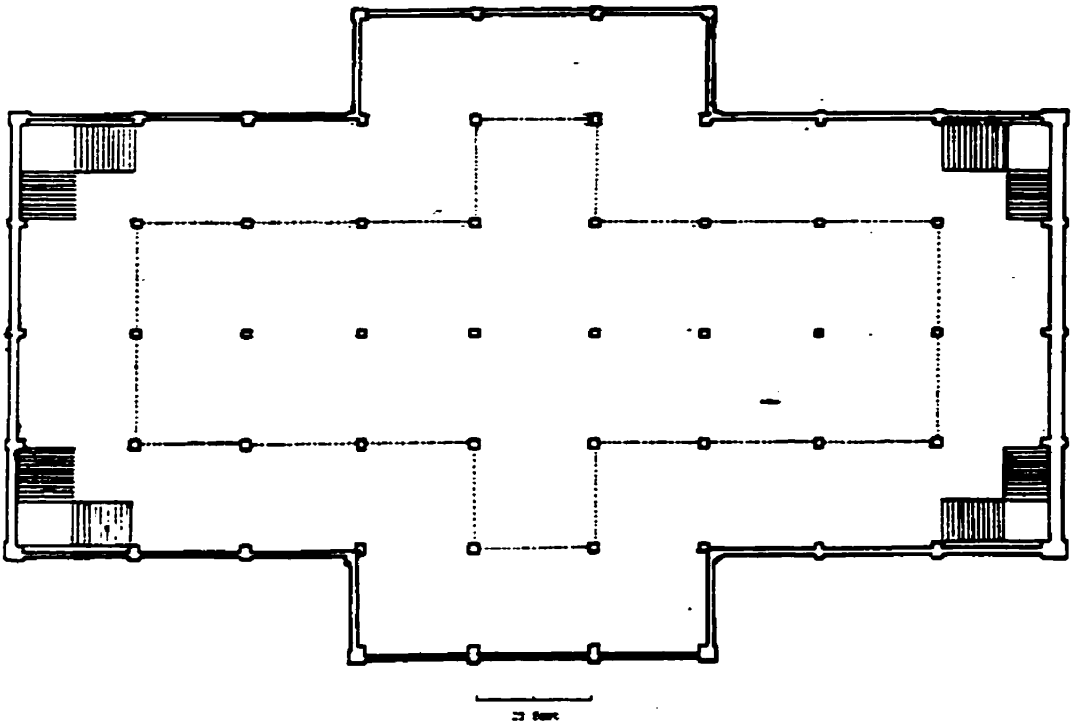


Fig. 12b. Ground floor plan, Crystal Palace, Montreal, showing interior court with galleries. Source: Reproduced from Hawkins, 101.

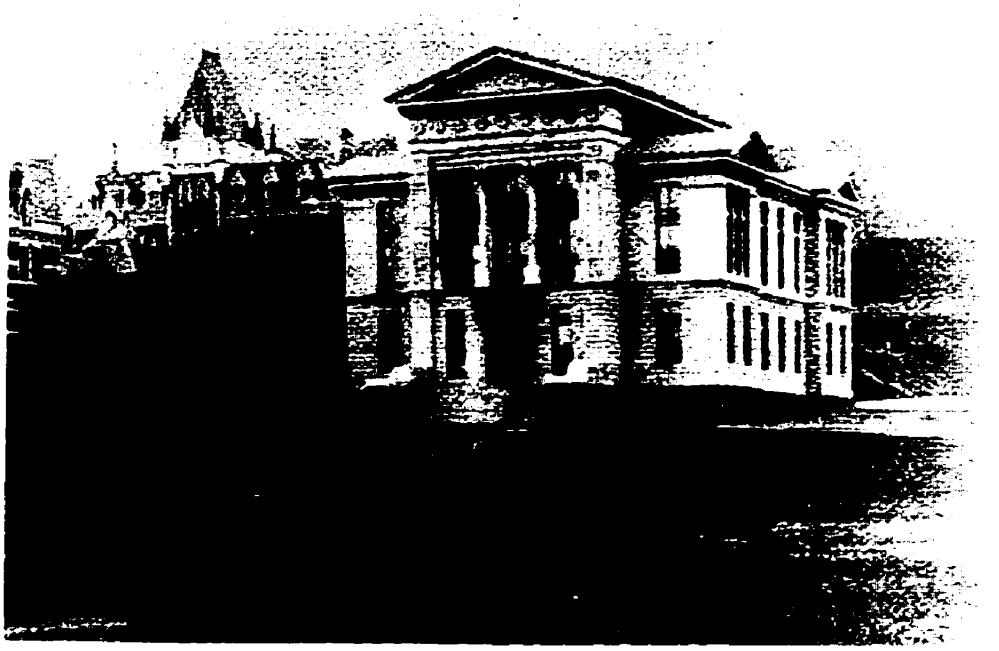


Fig. 13a. Peter Redpath Museum, McGill University. William Notman, photographer. Source: Reproduced from Frost, Vol. 1, 246.

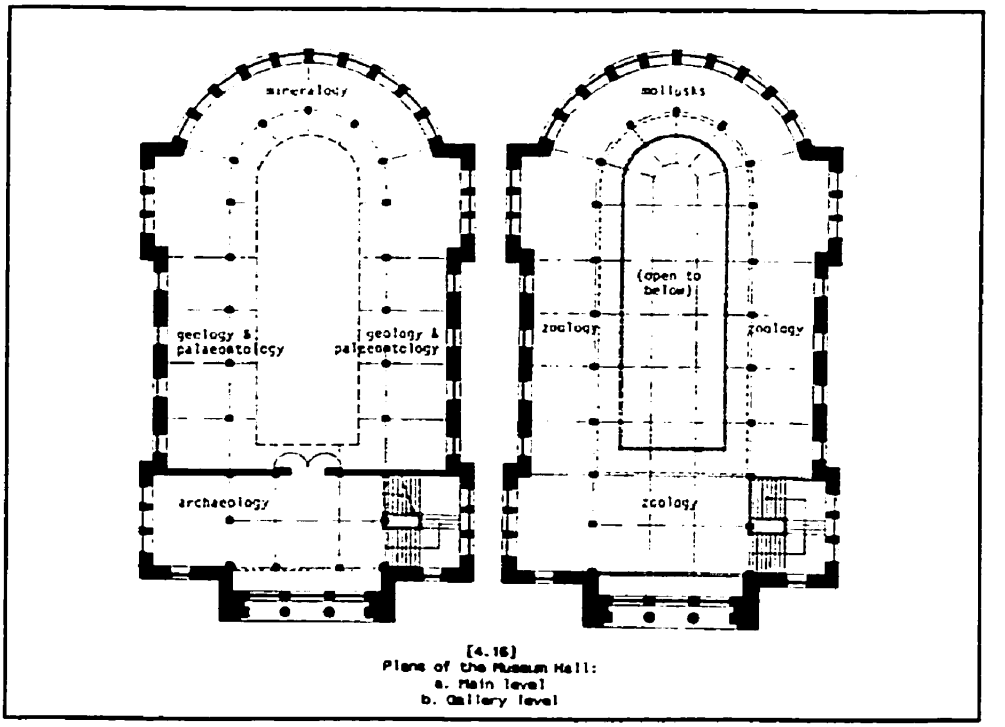


Fig. 13b. Main and gallery floor plans, Redpath Museum, showing interior court with galleries. Source: Reproduced from Bronson.

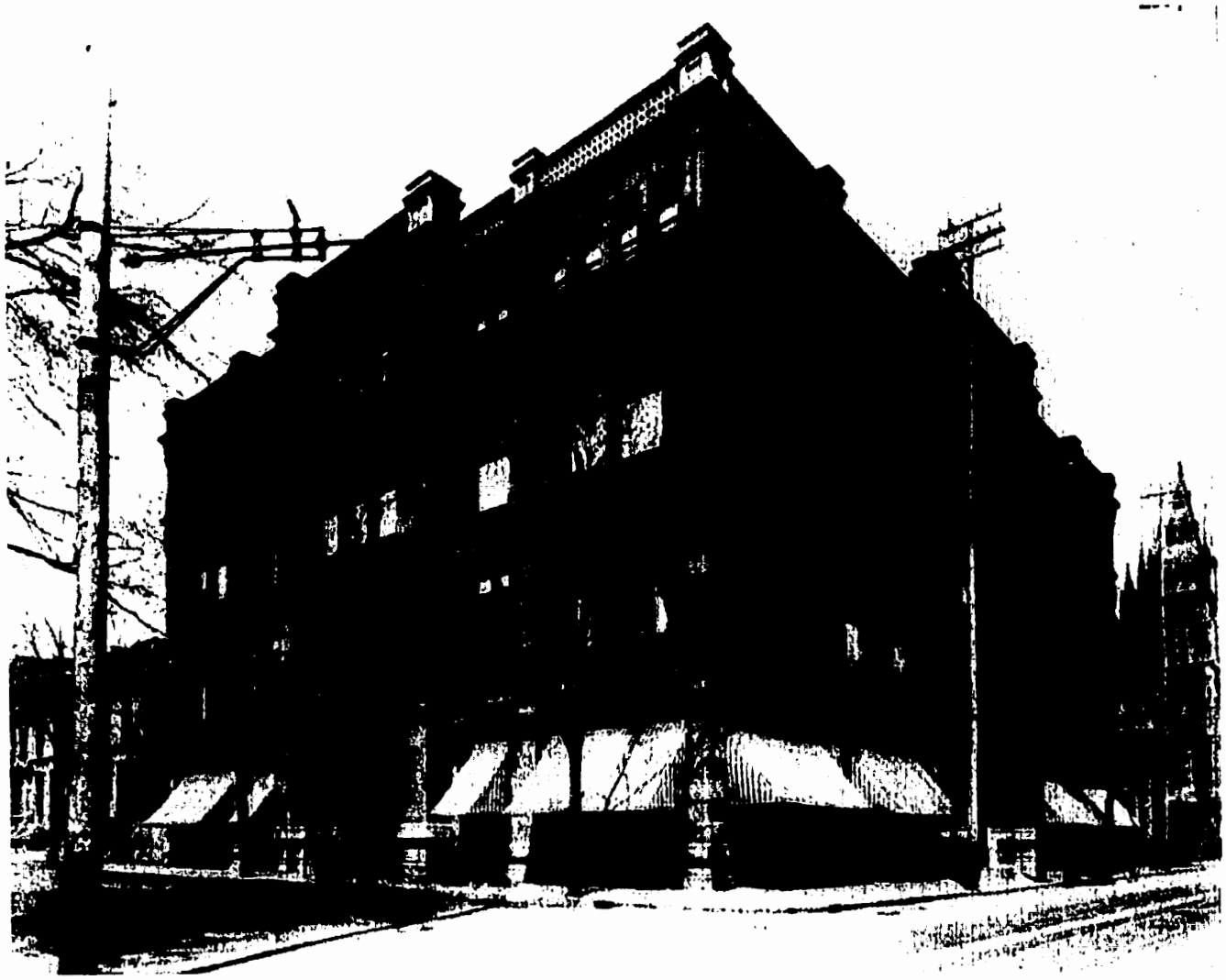


Fig. 14. Henry Morgan's Colonial House, Montreal, circa 1891. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2539.

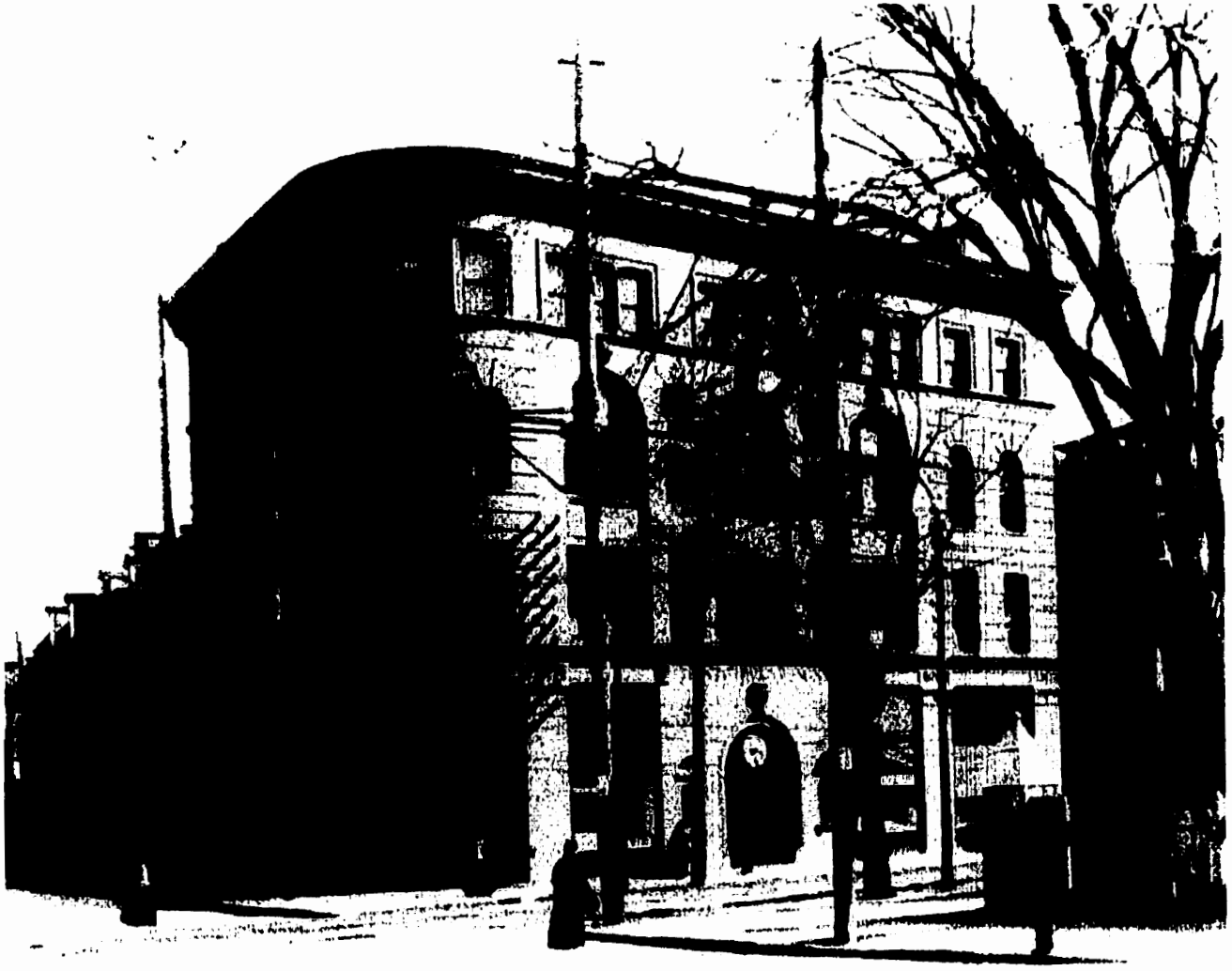


Fig. 15. Henry Birks and Sons, Montreal. Source: Reproduced from *L'Architecture de Edward et W.S. Maxwell* (Montreal: Musée des Beaux Arts de Montréal, circa 1991), 71.

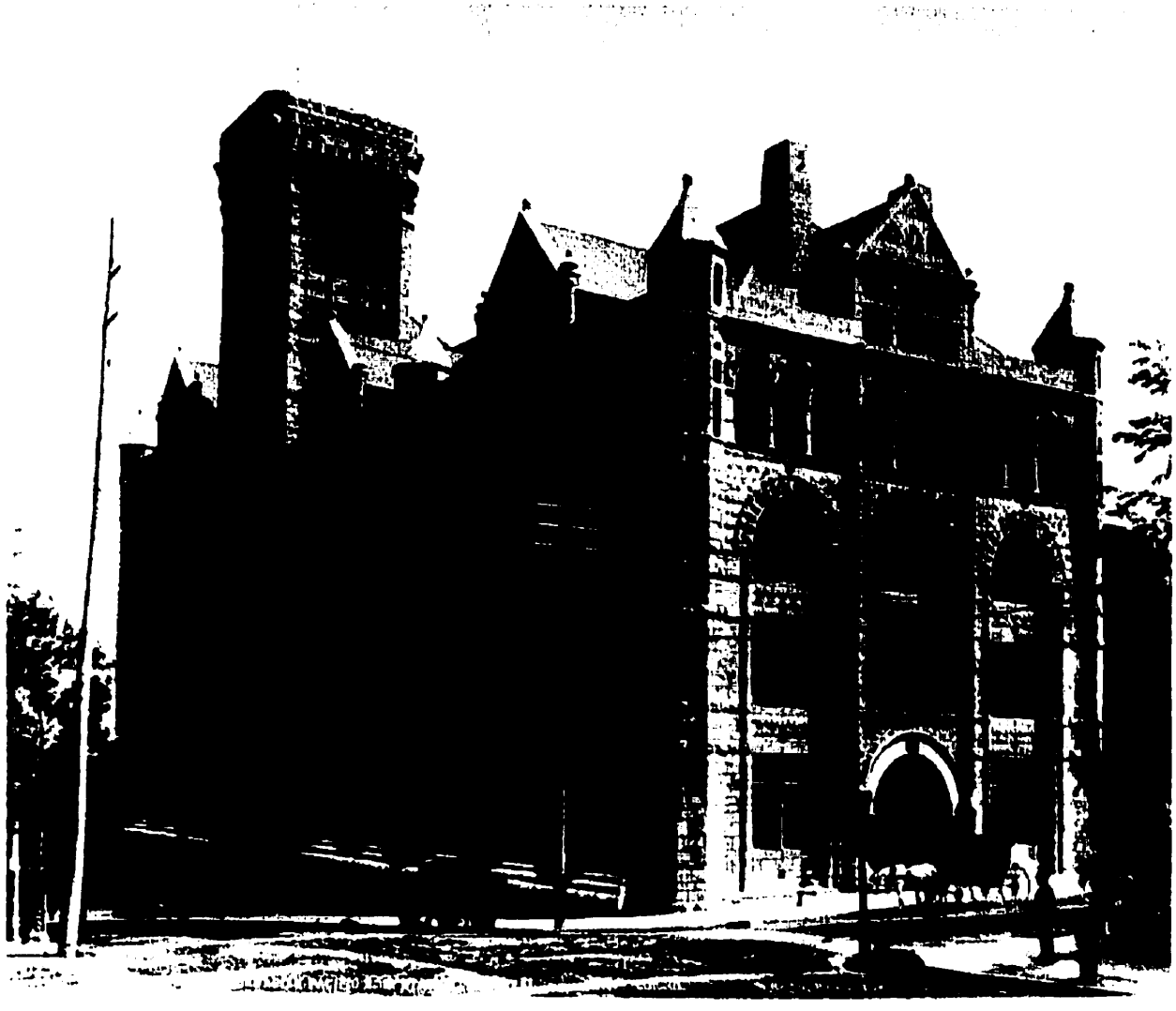


Fig. 16. Windsor Station, Montreal. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman.

Fig. 17. General waiting room interior, Windsor Station. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2509.

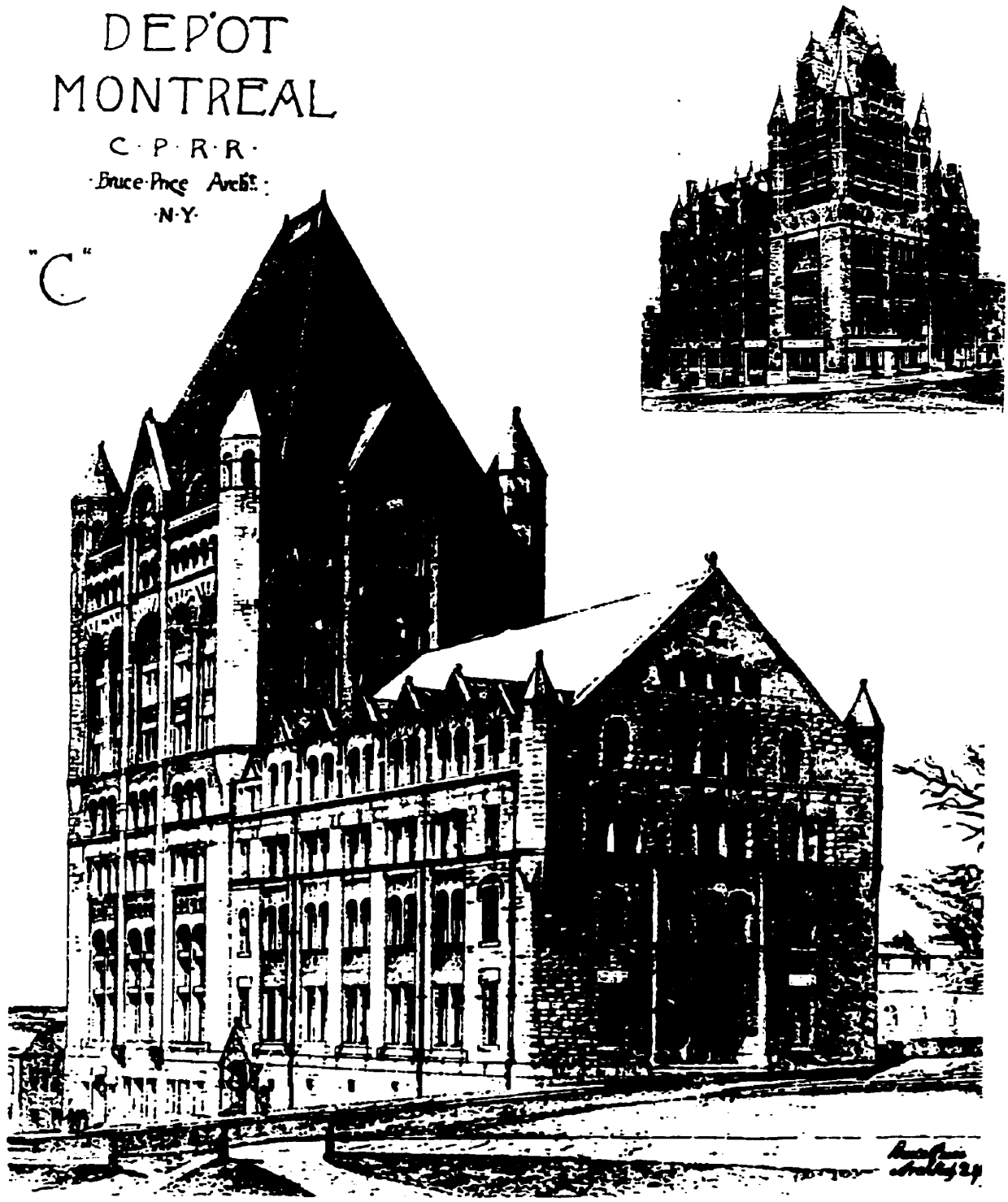


Fig. 18a. One of Price's proposed designs for Windsor Station. Source: *Building*, Vol. VIII, No. 10, March 10, 1888.

Fig. 18b. [inset] Price's competition design for the Chamber of Commerce Building, Cincinnati, Ohio. Source: *American Architect and Building News*, July 4, 1885, plate number 497.

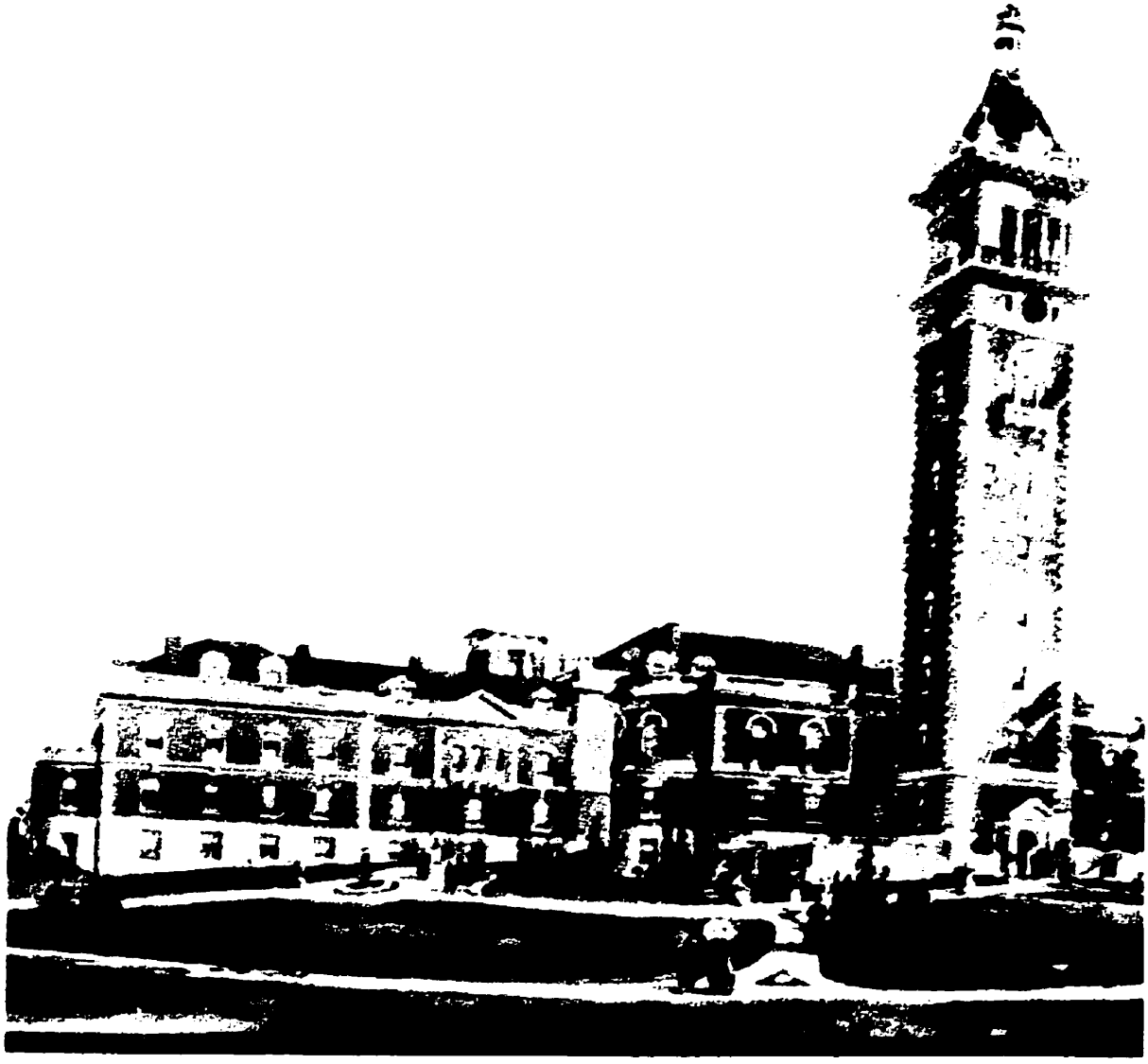


Fig. 19. Home for aged gentlemen. Source: Reproduced from Sturgis, 42.

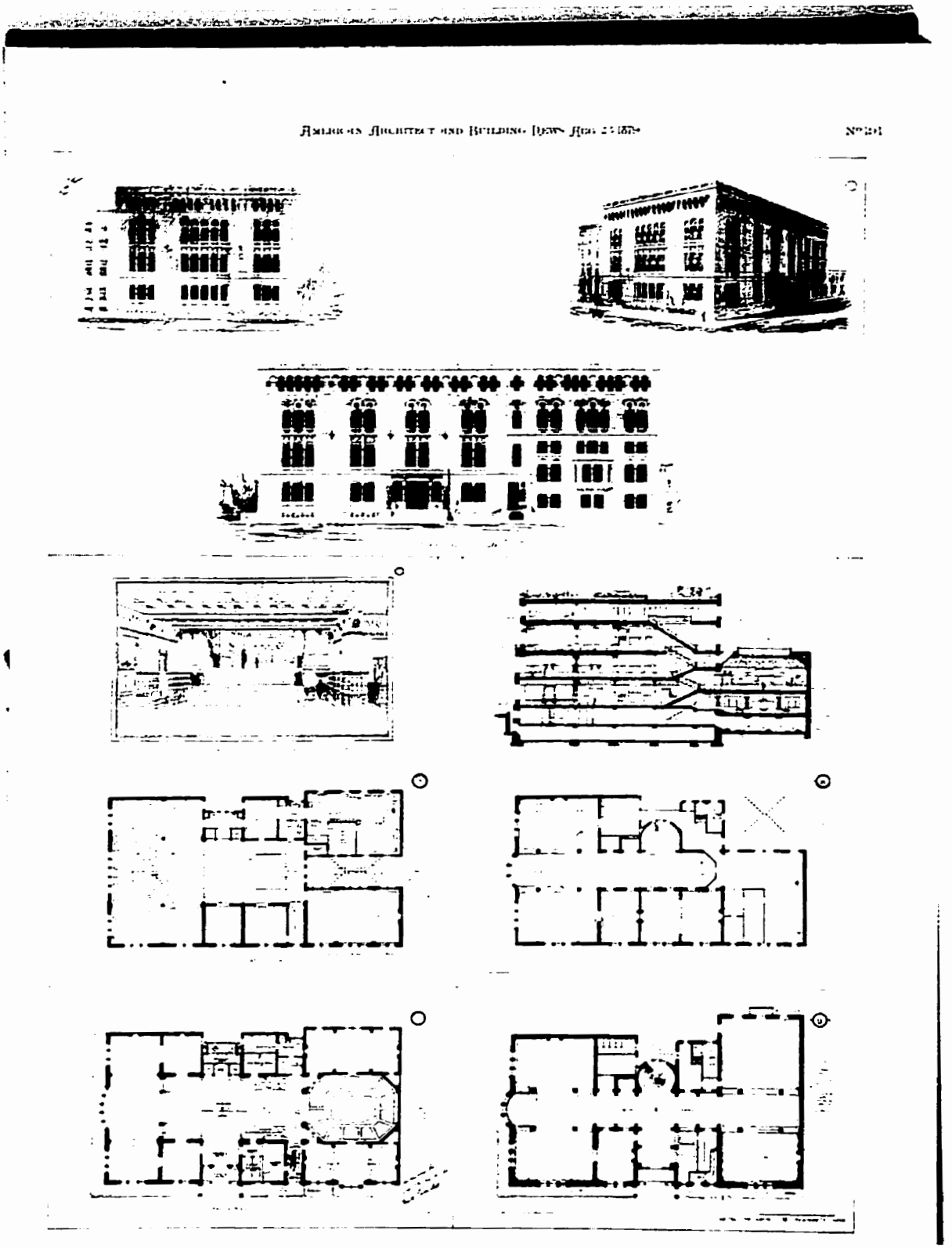


Fig. 20. One of Bruce Price's proposed designs for the Union League Clubhouse, New York. Note the use of the palazzo prototype, and a *open* picture gallery in design 'A'. Source: *Canadian Architect and Building News*, Aug. 23, 1879, plate 191. Reproduction courtesy of the Collection Centre Canadien d'Architecture / Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal.

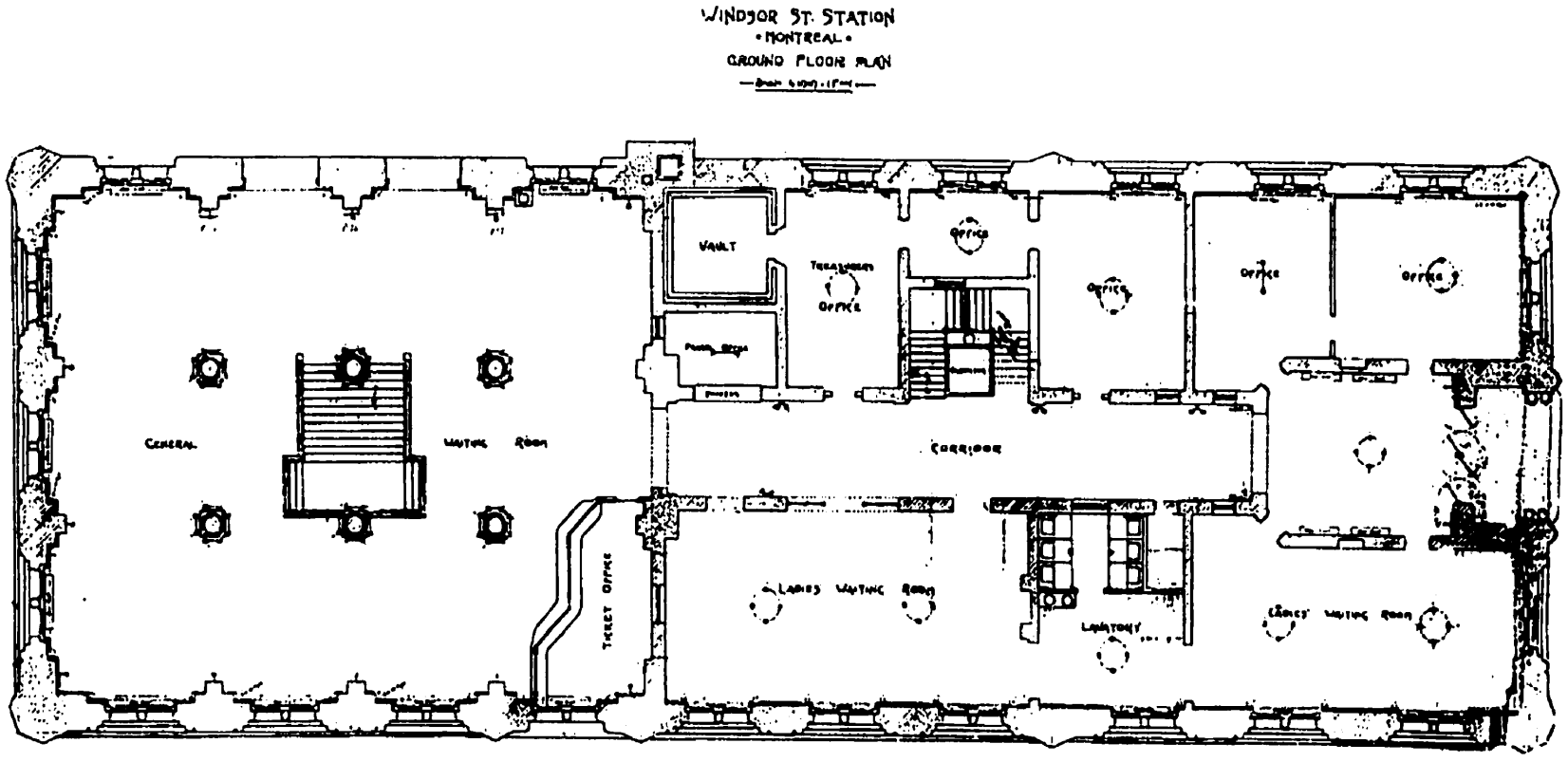


Fig. 21. Ground floor plan, Windsor Station, showing general and ladies' waiting rooms. Source: CPA.

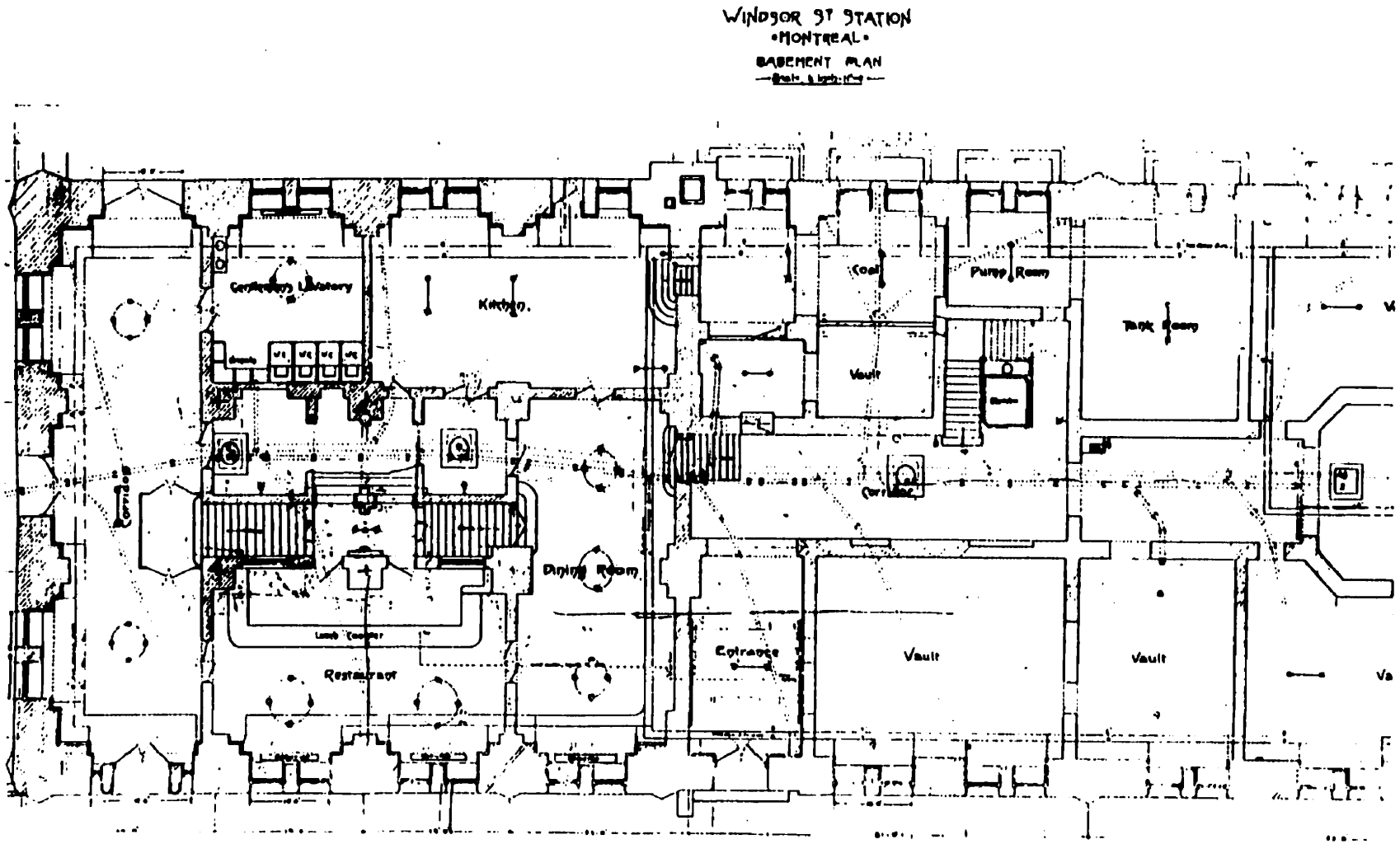


Fig. 22. Basement plan, Windsor Station, showing access to the train shed; dining and men's lavatory facilities. Source: CPA.

Fig. 23. Ladies' waiting room interior, Windsor Station, circa 1890. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2512.

Fig. 24a. Interior of a Canadian Pacific parlor car, n.d. Source: Reproduced from Hart, 79.

Fig. 24b. Interior of a Canadian Pacific dining car, n.d. Source: Reproduced from Hart, 13.

Fig. 25a. Gate House, Tuxedo Park, New York. Source: Reproduced from Sturgis, 47.

Fig. 25b. Ames Gate Lodge, exterior, North Easton, Massachusetts, 1881. Source: Reproduced from Scully.

Fig. 25c. W. Chandler House, Tuxedo Park, New York, 1886. Source: Reproduced from Scully.

Fig. 26. Canadian Pacific's Banff Springs Hotel, Banff Springs, Alberta, circa 1892. S.J. Thompson, photographer. Source: CPA. A-335.

Fig. 27a. Principal facade of the Banff Springs Hotel. The main entrance is sheltered by the shingled veranda. Byron Hamon, photographer. Source: Reproduced from Robinson, 22.

Fig. 27b. Lobby interior, Banff Springs Hotel, circa 1890. S.J. Thompson, photographer. Source: CPA. A-1956.

Fig. 28a. Cover of the first Banff Springs Canadian National Park brochure, circa 1890. Source: CPA. Brochure Collection.

Fig. 28b. Advertisement for Cook's tours to the Swiss Alps, 1885. R. Eaton Woodville, artist. Source: Reproduced from Hart, 40.

Fig. 28c. CPR travel brochure entitled "The Challenge of the Mountains," circa 1900. Source: Reproduced from Hart, 123.

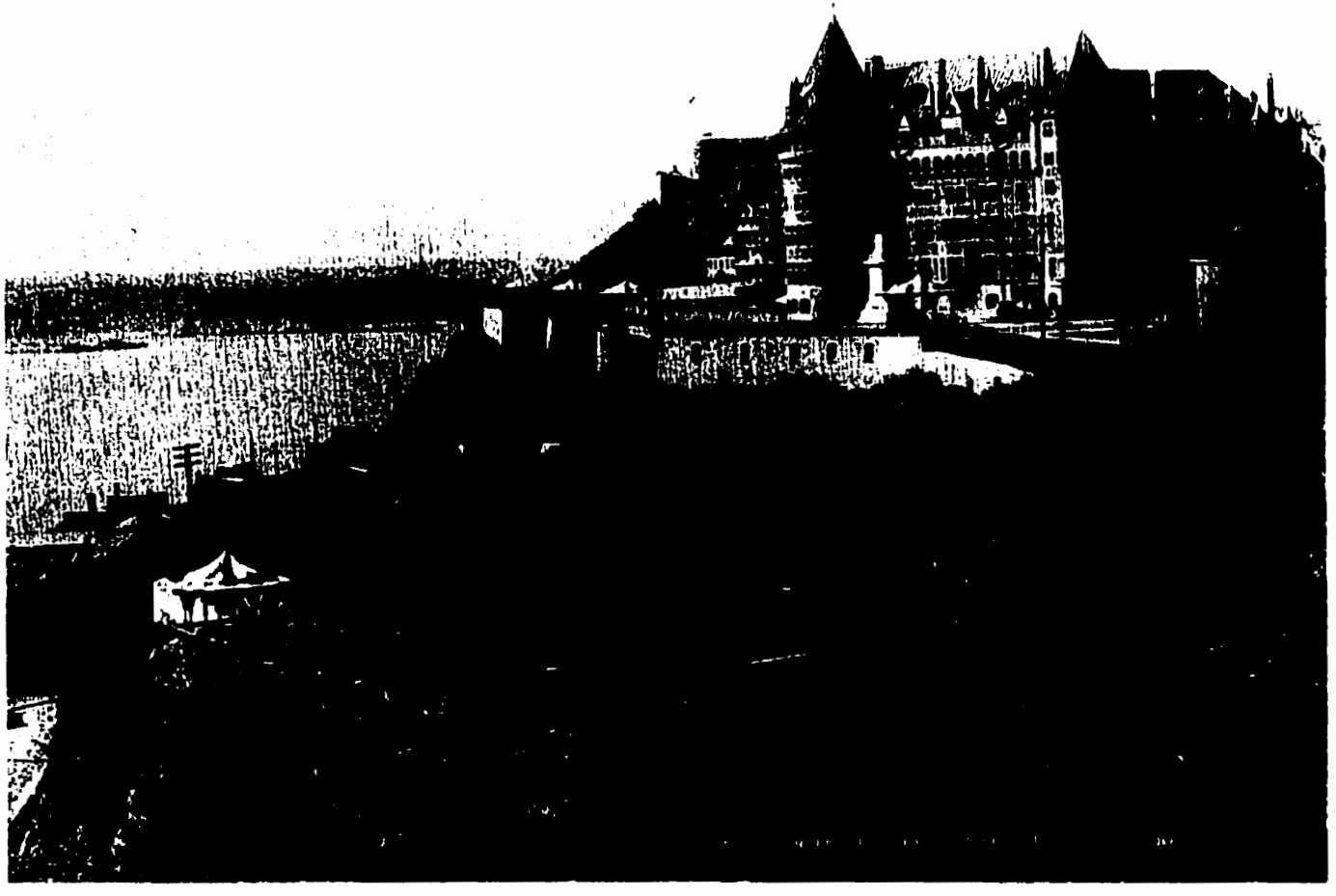


Fig. 29. Chateau Frontenac Hotel and Dufferin Terrace, Quebec City, Circa 1895. William Notman, photographer.
Source: Notman. 2761.

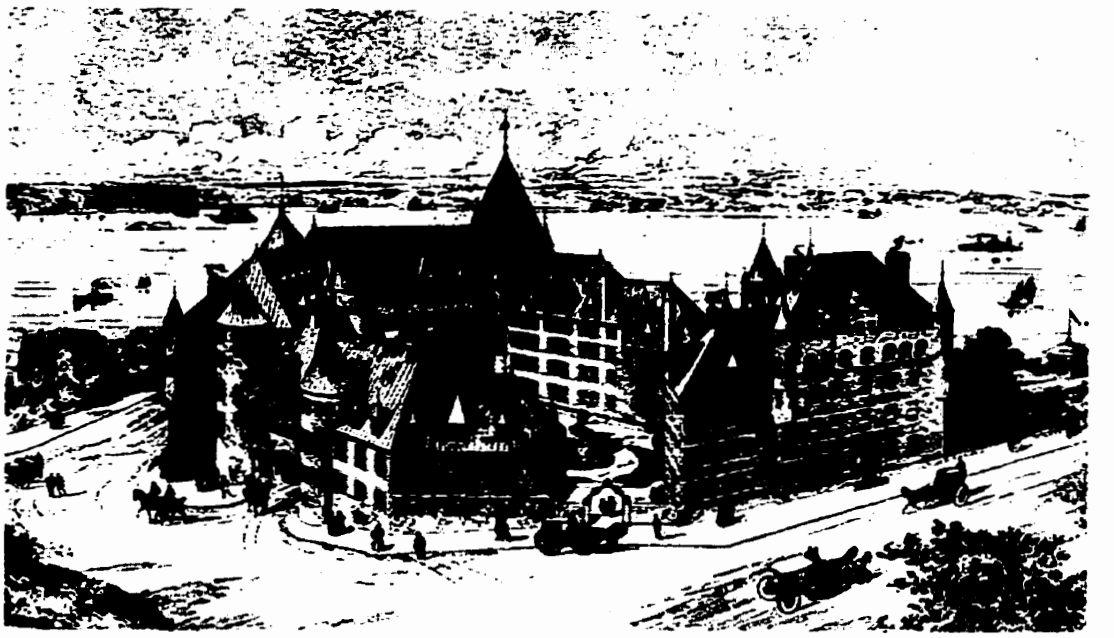


Fig. 30a. Perspective rendering of the Chateau Frontenac. The main entrance to the courtyard is to the left. Price's 1897-99 addition, the Citadel Wing, is seen to the right. Source: Reproduced from Sturgis, 30.

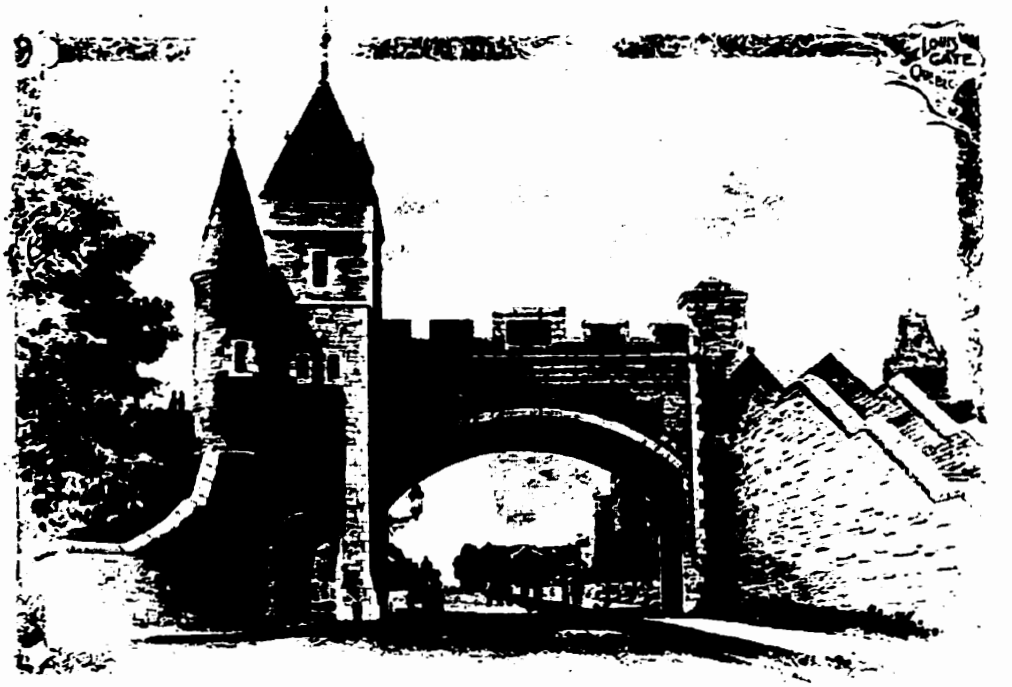


Fig. 30b. One of the gates to Quebec City. Source: RBSC. Reproduced from *Historic Quebec.*

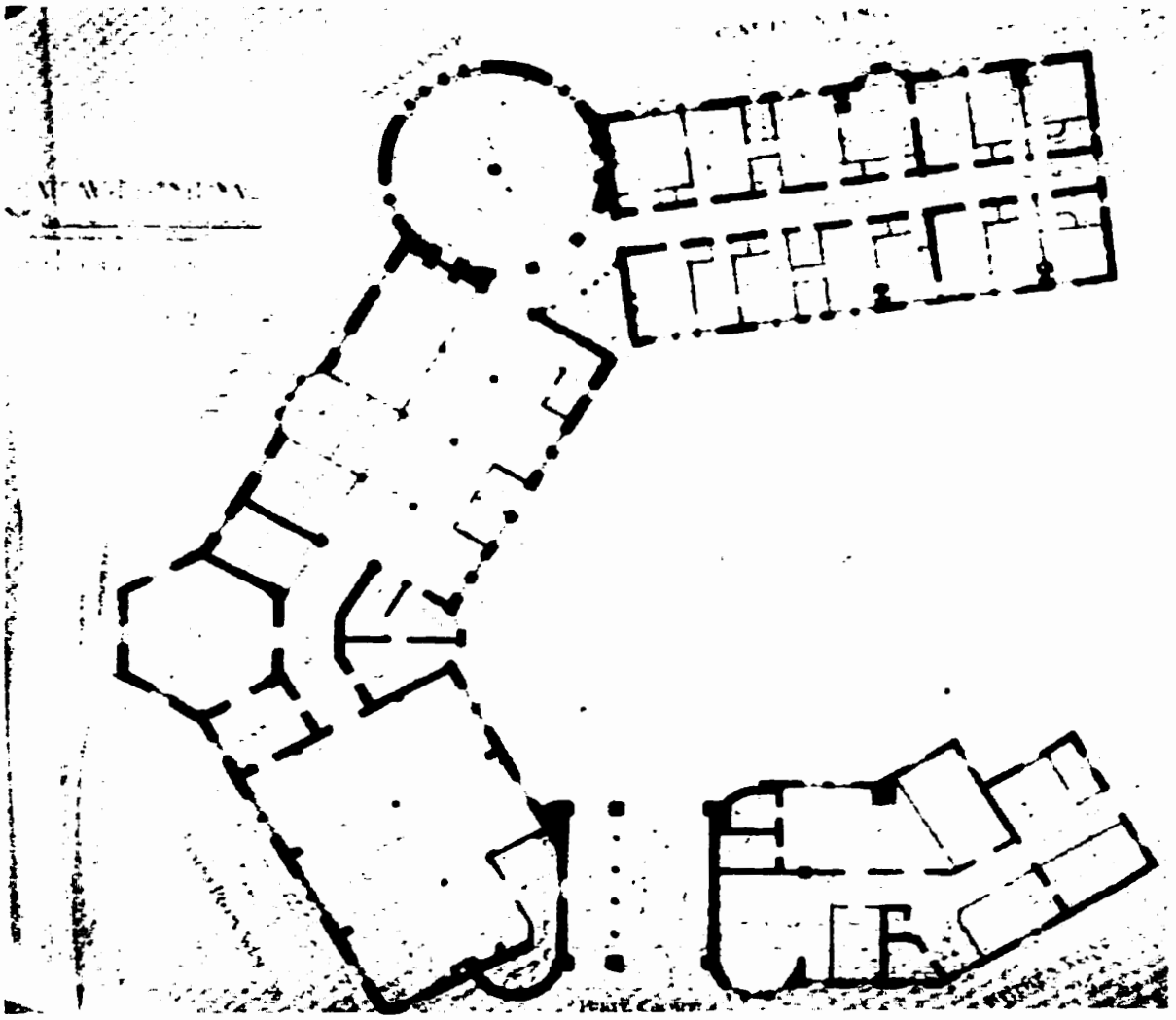


Fig. 31. Ground floor plan of the Chateau Frontenac. Source: Reproduced from Kalman, *The Railway Hotels*, Appendix.

Fig. 32a. Principle facade of the Chateau Frontenac, 1901. Joseph Heckman, photographer. Source: CPA. A-4987.

Fig. 32b. Interior courtyard and main entrance to the Chateau Frontenac, circa 1907. Source: RBSC. Reproduced from *Chateau Frontenac Quebec.*

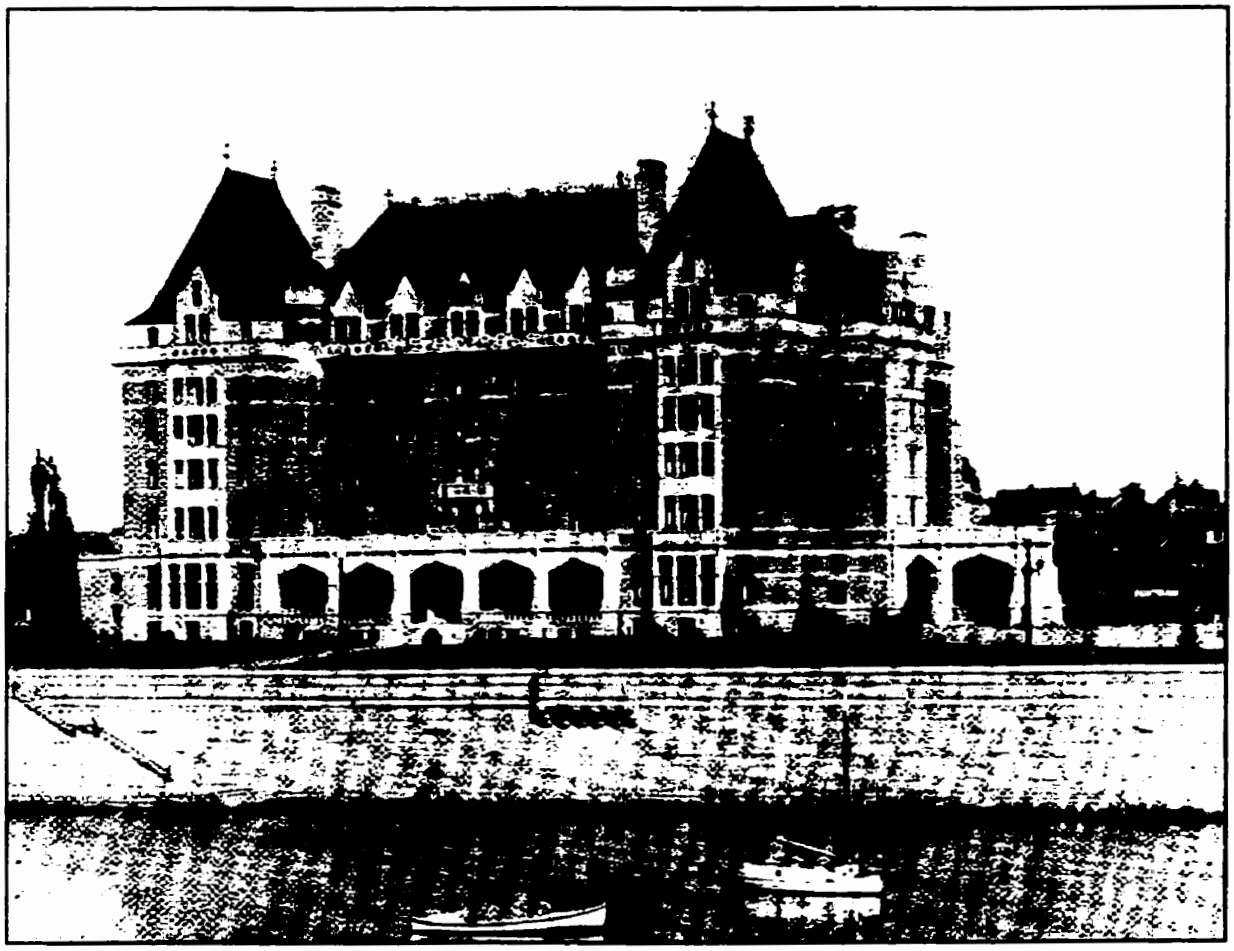


Fig. 33. Canadian Pacific's Empress Hotel, Victoria, BC, 1904-08. Source: Reproduced from Kalman, *The Railway Hotels*, Appendix.

Fig. 34.Windsor Hotel, Montreal, circa 1890. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2546.

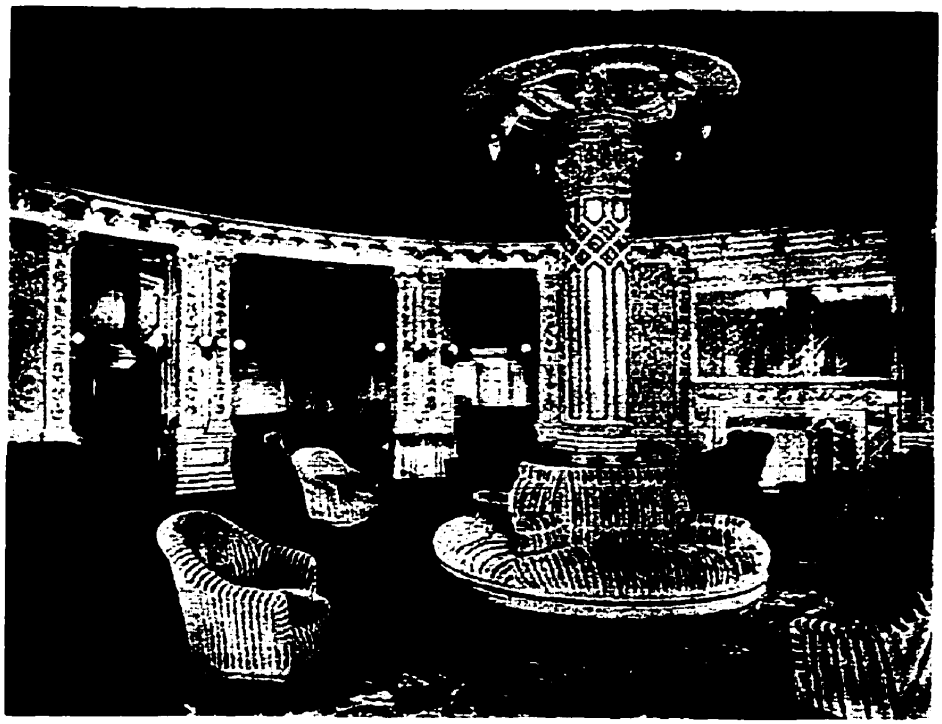


Fig. 35a. Ladies' Parlor, Chateau Frontenac, circa 1899. Source: CPA. Brochure Collection. Reproduced from *Quebec Summer and Winter*.

Fig. 35b. Main lobby, interior, Chateau Frontenac, as depicted in a 1906 postcard. Source: Reproduced from Pratte, 8.

WHERE FAMOUS HEROES FELL

Old City Walls and New Environments

General Montcalm

1759

[illegible] many of them former victims of the nauseating Hay Fever, who find erected for them upon the Heights of Quebec, a secure City of Refuge from the pursuit of all previous summer ailments.

Quebec is the gateway to the Laurentian woods and mountains, with their wealth of trout lakes and streams, and their abundance of moose and caribou and other wild game. It is the headquarters of most of the fish and game clubs owning private preserves in the wild north country; while both at the fish and game department of the Province and at the Intelligence Bureau of the Chateau Frontenac, reliable information is furnished concerning the best resorts of the many varieties of fish and game, for which the rare North land of Quebec is so justly famous. The Chateau Frontenac—Quebec's far-famed hostelry—perched upon the rocky heights whence the Citadel, Dufferin Terrace, the Governor's Garden, and the Grand

Fig. 36. **Page from a CPR promotional brochure. The caption reads: "Old City Wall and New Environments." Source: RBSC. Reproduced from *Chateau Frontenac Quebec*.**

Fig. 37. Poster advertising the Canadian Pacific Railway and Royal Steamship Line, 1893, lithograph. The company's international routes are illustrated in the upper right corner; an illustration of the Banff Springs Hotel is in the centre of the image. Source: RBSC. Reproduced from Marc H. Choko, *Canadian Pacific Posters, 1883-1963* (Montreal: Meridian, circa 1988).

Fig. 38a. Canadian Pacific's Viger Hotel and Railway Station, Montreal, circa 1898. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman.

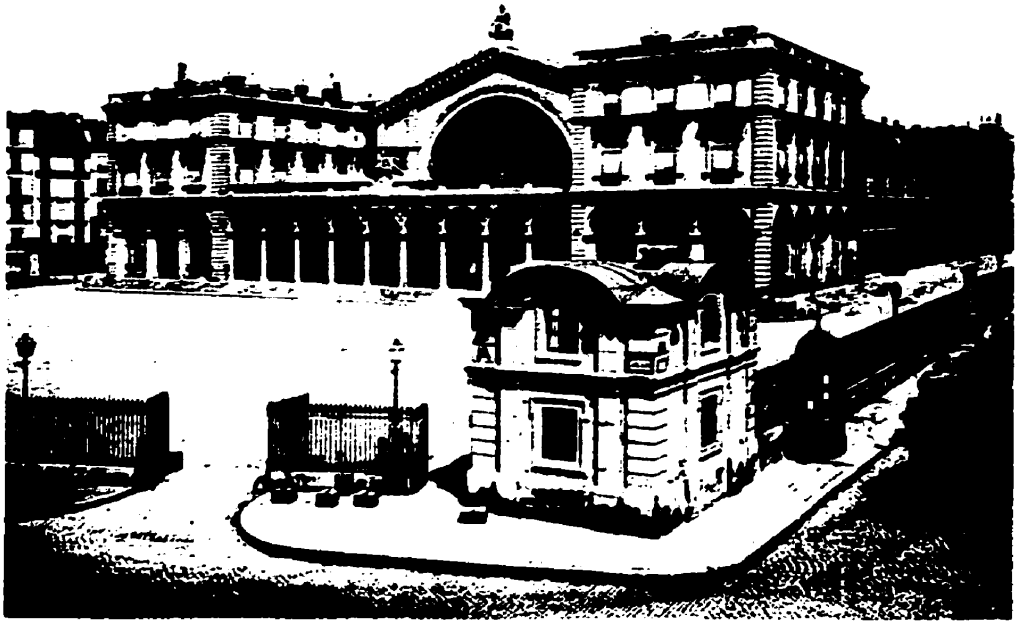


Fig. 38b. Gare de l'Est, Paris, circa 1847-52. Source: Reproduced from Meeks.

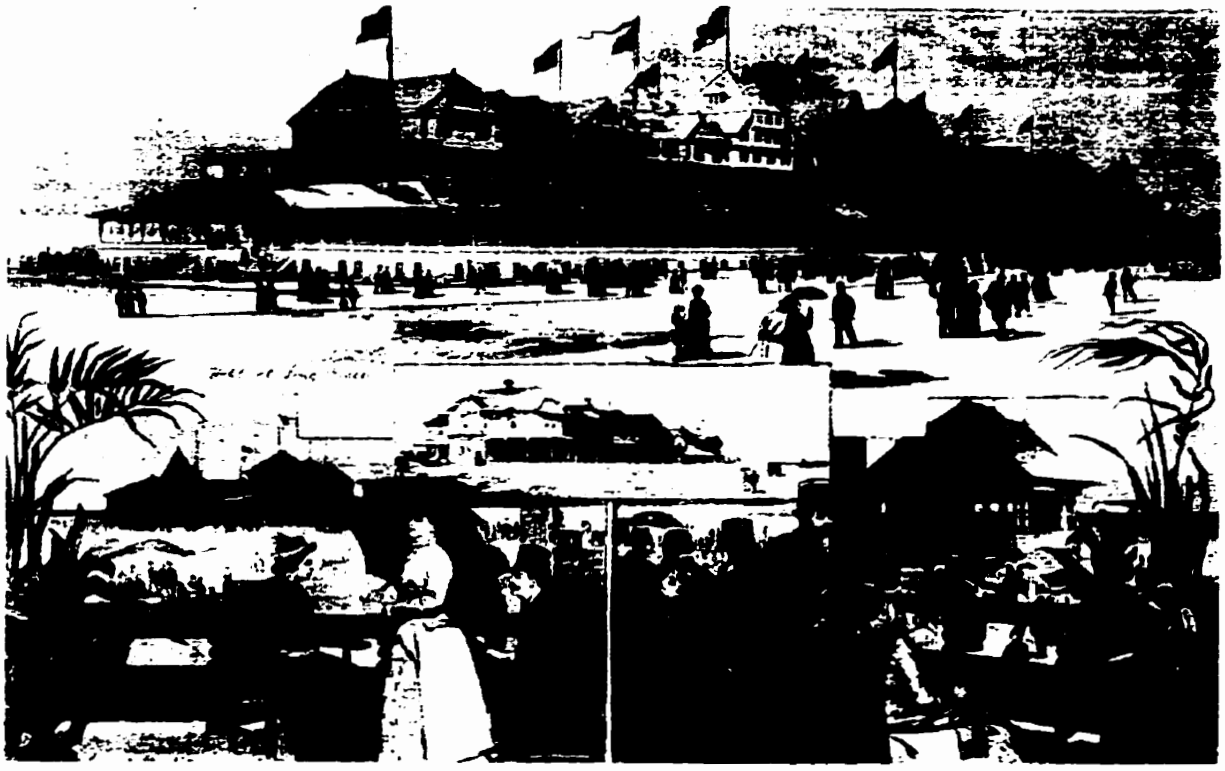


Fig. 39a. Long Beach Hotel, Long Beach, New York. Source: Reproduced from *Harper's Weekly*, Aug. 14, 1888, p.516.

Fig. 39b. Viger Hotel. After 1920, the second storey veranda was glassed in. Source: Reproduced from Pinard, 77.

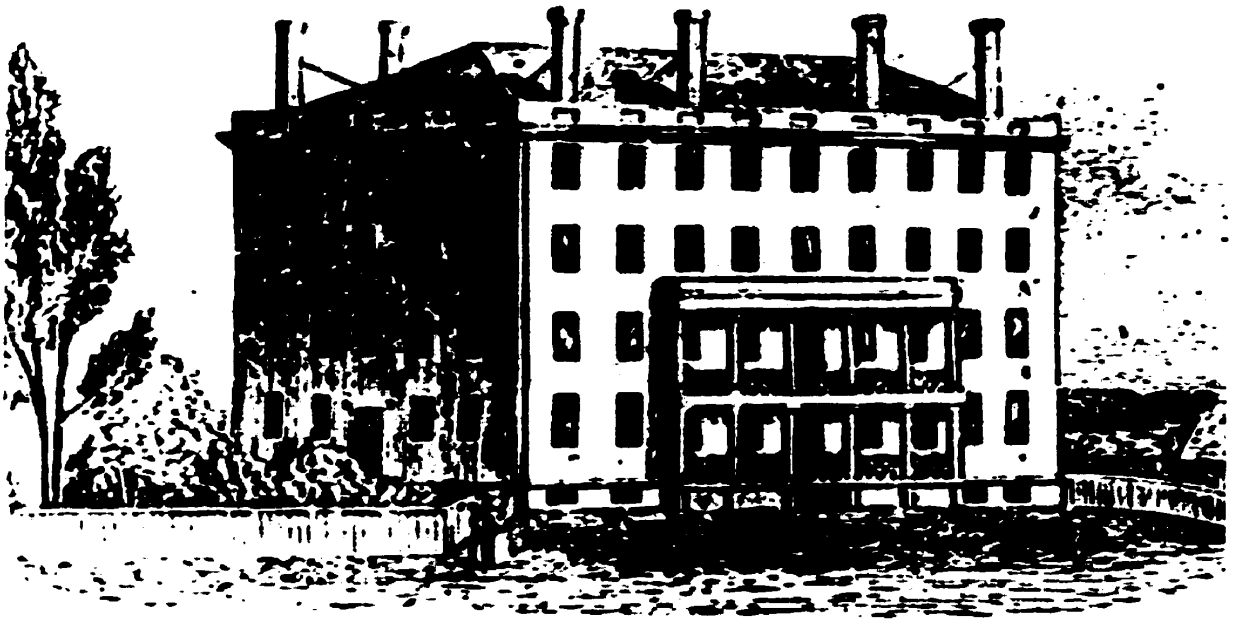


Fig. 40. Mount Holyoke, South Hadley, Massachusetts, circa 1838. Engraving by John W. Barber. Source: Reproduced from Horowitz, 20.

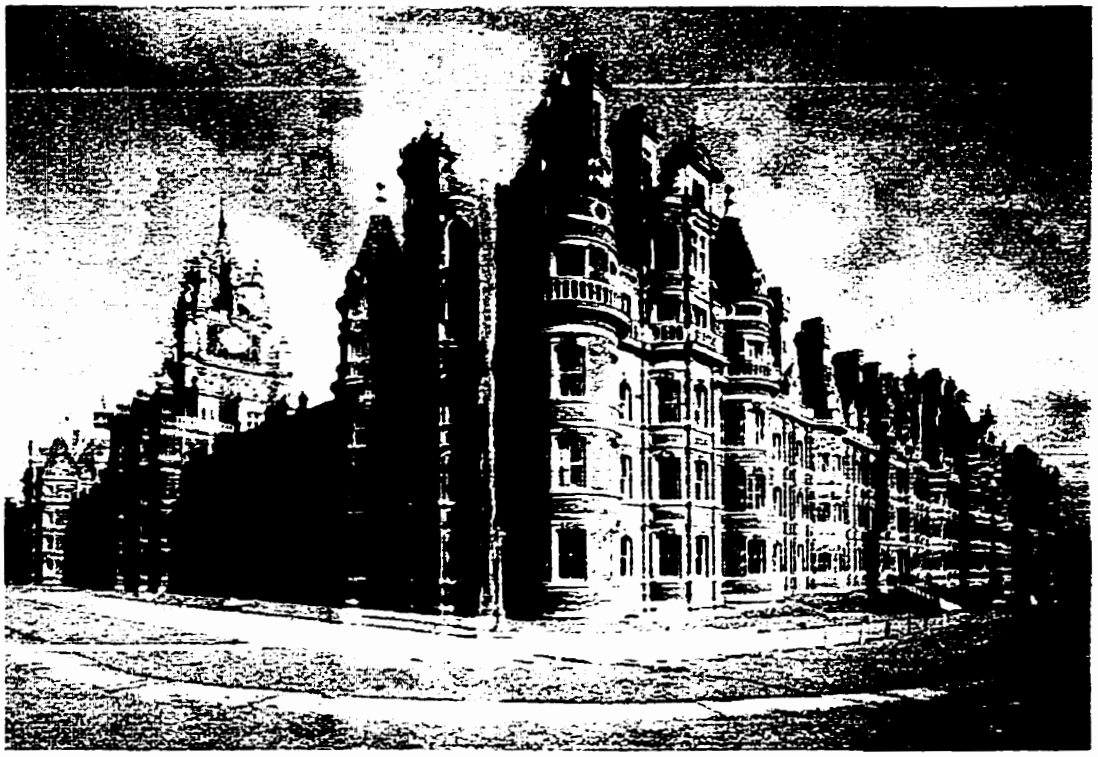


Fig. 41a. Royal Holloway College, Egham. Source: Reproduced from the dust jacket to Bingham.

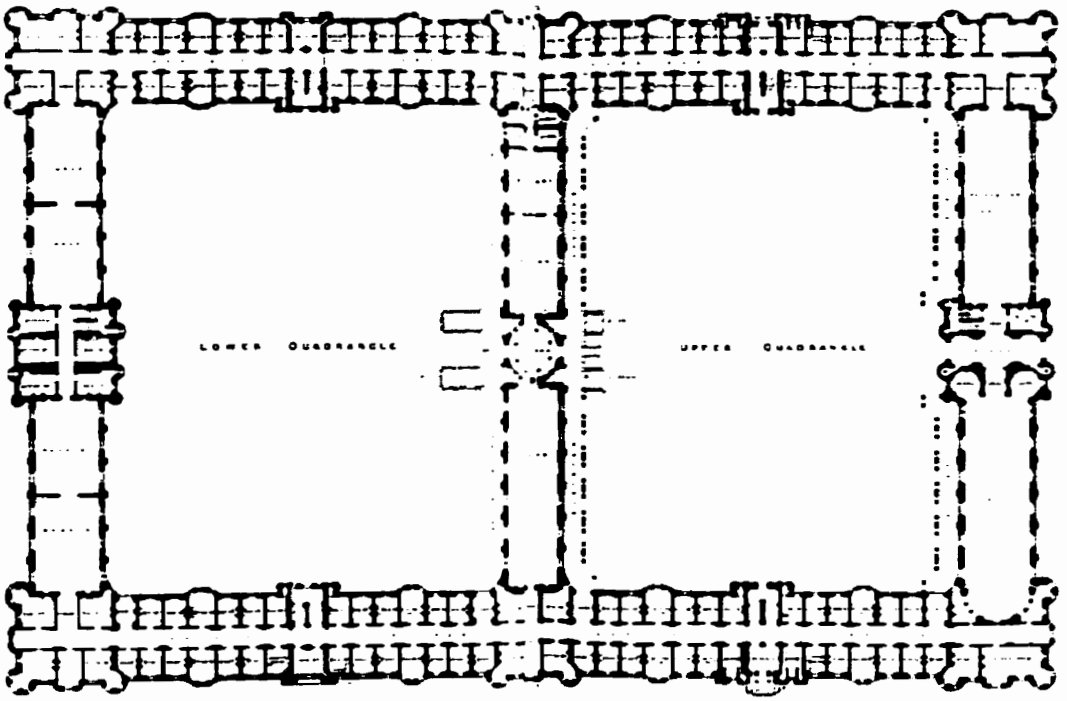


Fig. 41b. Main floor plan, Royal Holloway College. Source: Reproduced from Bingham.

Fig. 42. Vassar, Poughkeepsie, New York. Source: Reproduced from Horowitz, 34.

Fig. 43a. Nahant House, a health resort in Massachusetts, circa 1855. Source: Reproduced from *Nineteenth Century*.

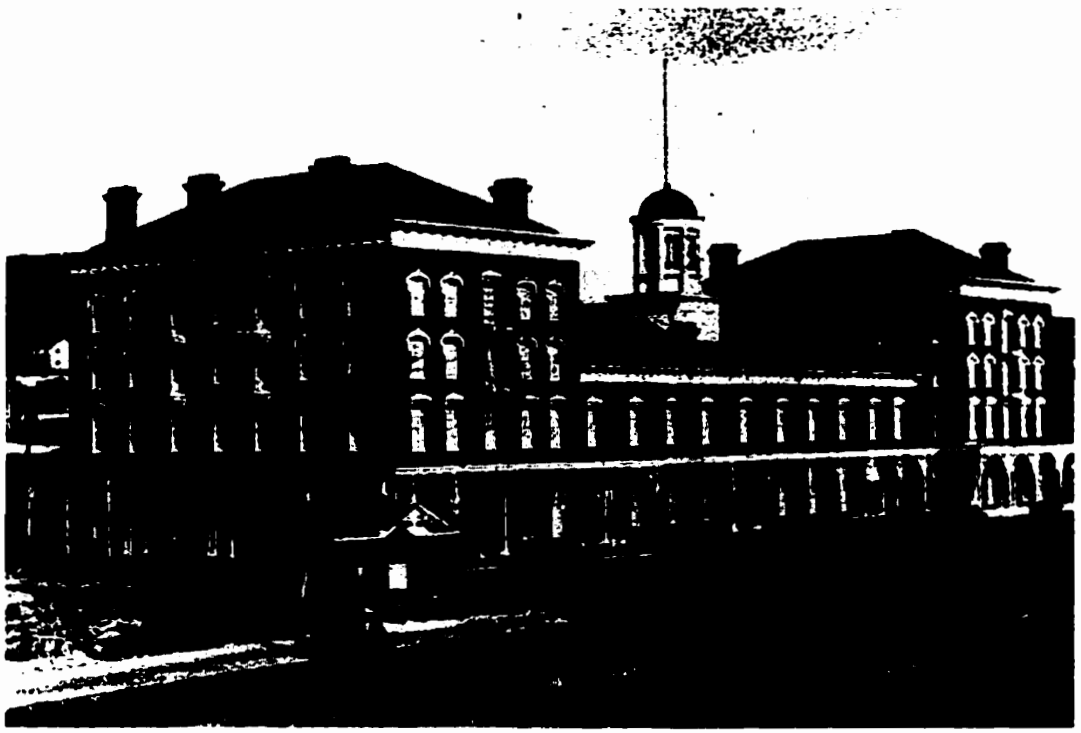


Fig. 43b. Queen City Railroad Station and Hotel, Maryland, 1872. Attributed to Thomas N. Heskett. Source: Reproduced from Potter, 542.

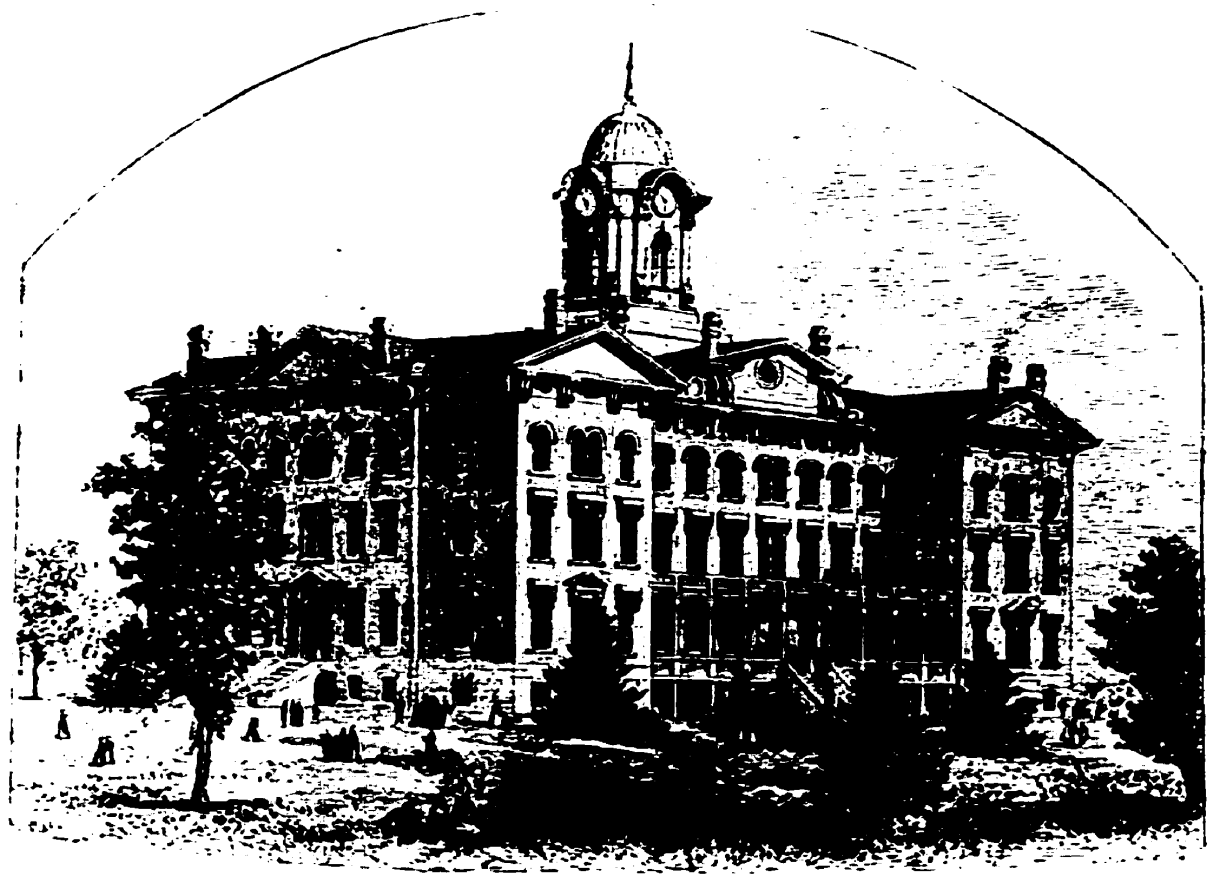


Fig. 44. Illinois State Normal University, Bloomington, Illinois, circa 1879. Building erected 1857. Source: Reproduced from Turner,139.

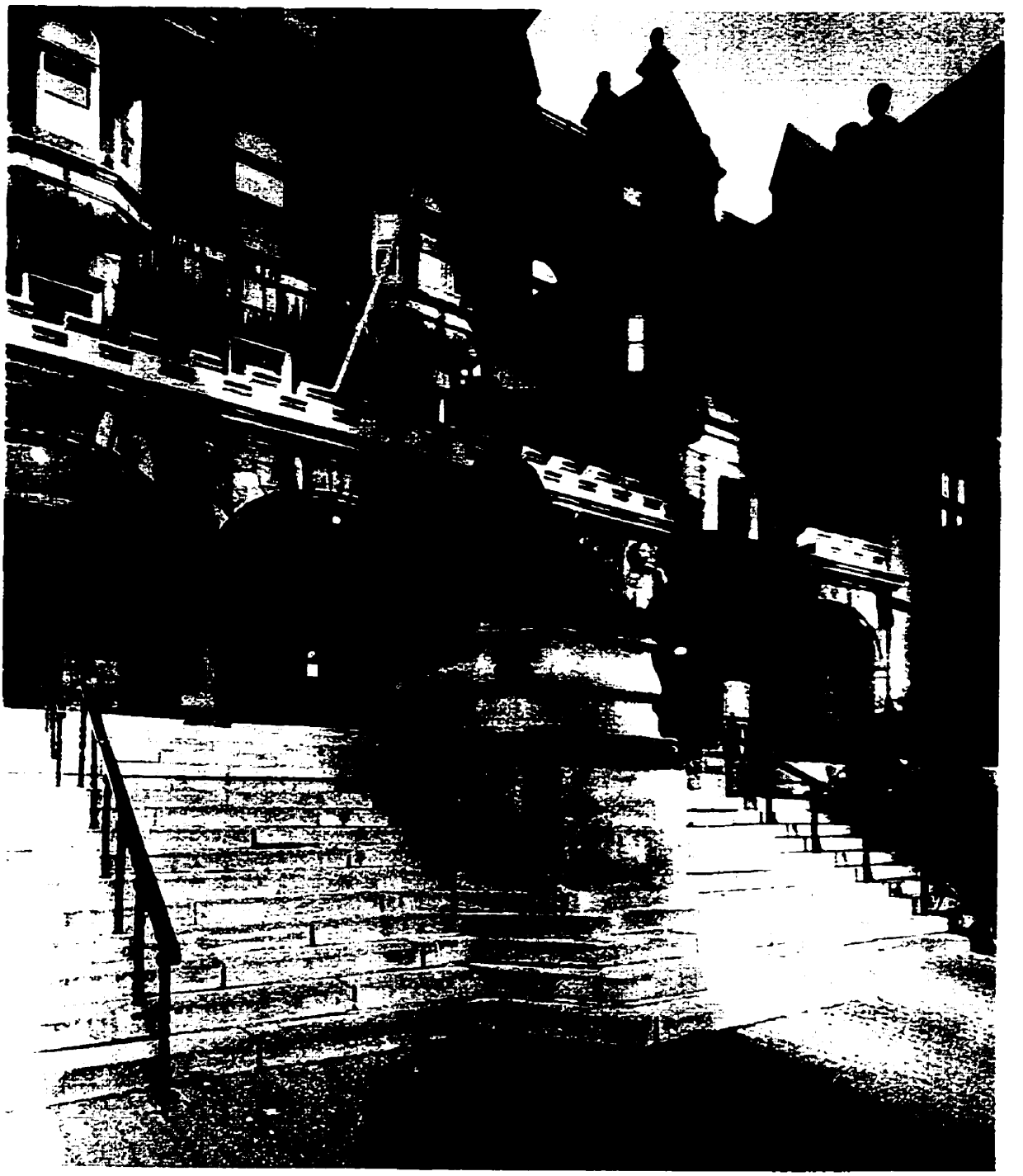


Fig. 45. Main entrance to the Royal Victoria College. The bronze statue of Queen Victoria is by Princess Louise. Source: Reproduced from *McGill, A Celebration*, 25.

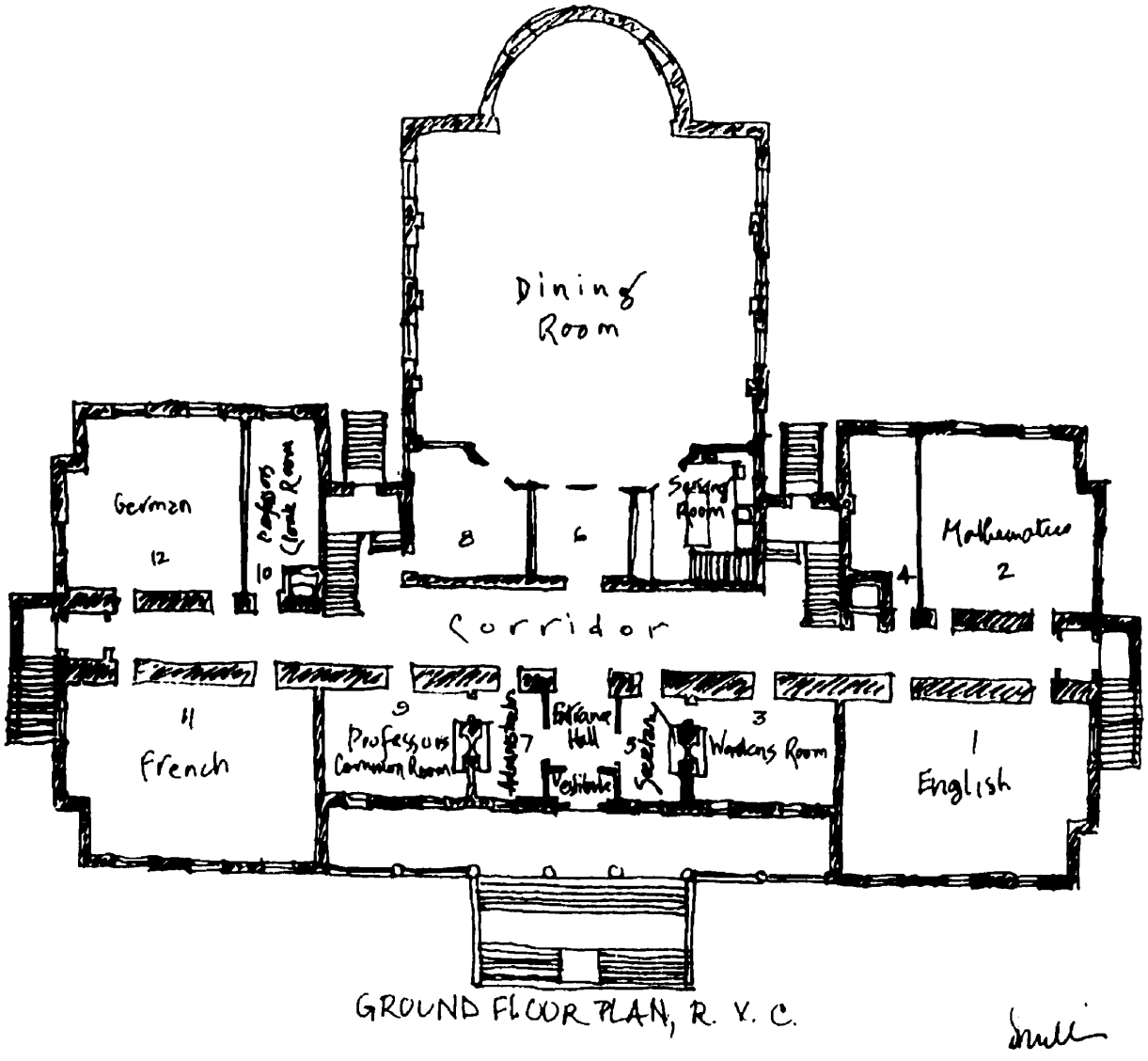


Fig. 46.Ground floor plan RVC. Source: Author, based on Price's own plans.

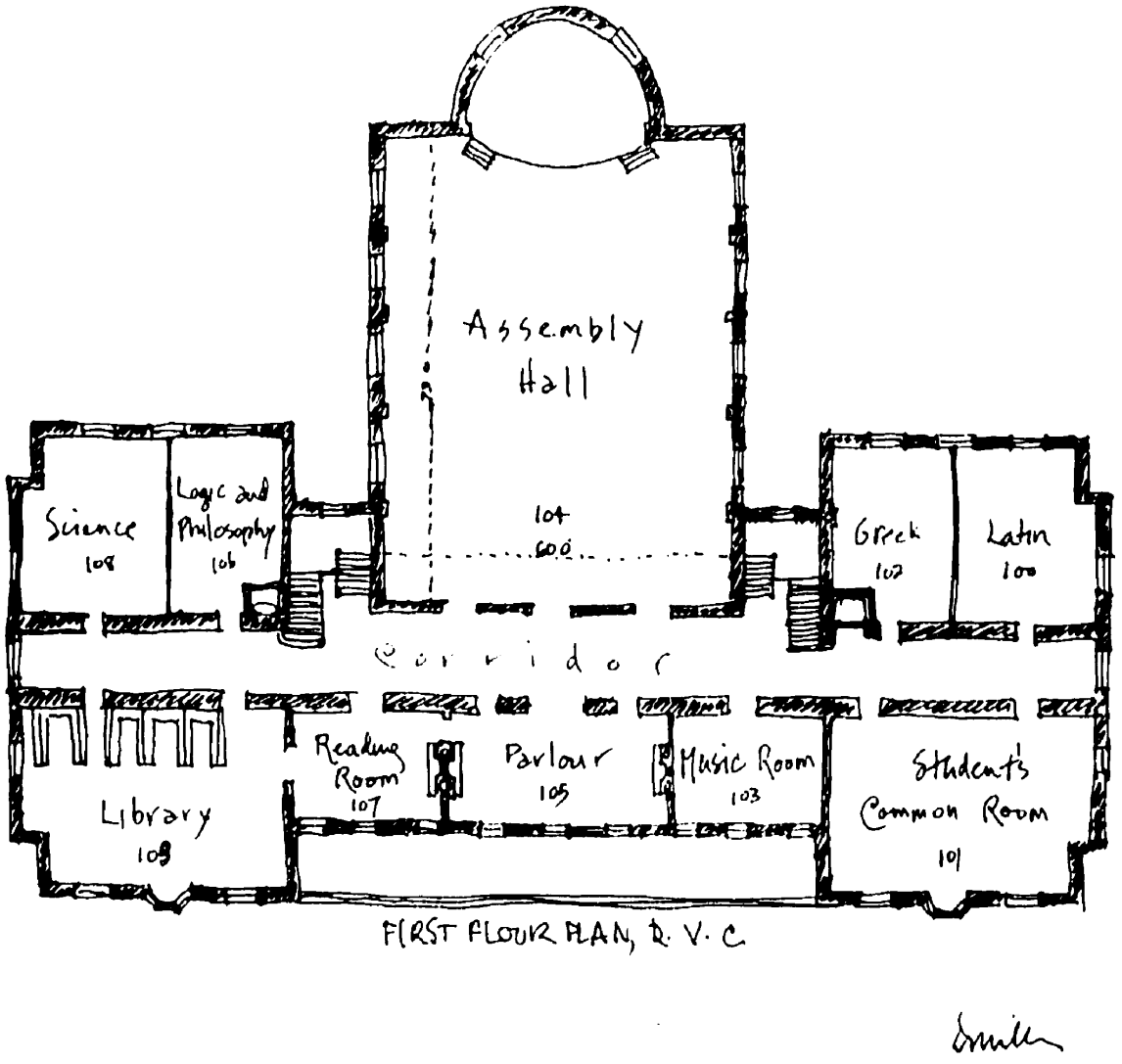


Fig. 47. First floor plan RVC. Source: Author, based on Price's own plans.

Fig. 48. First-floor parlour, interior, RVC, circa 1903. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006776.

Fig. 49a. Assembly room (Concert Hall), interior, RVC, circa 1903. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006769.

Fig. 49b. Concert hall, interior, Windsor Hotel, circa 1895. William Notman, photographer. Source: Notman. 2565.

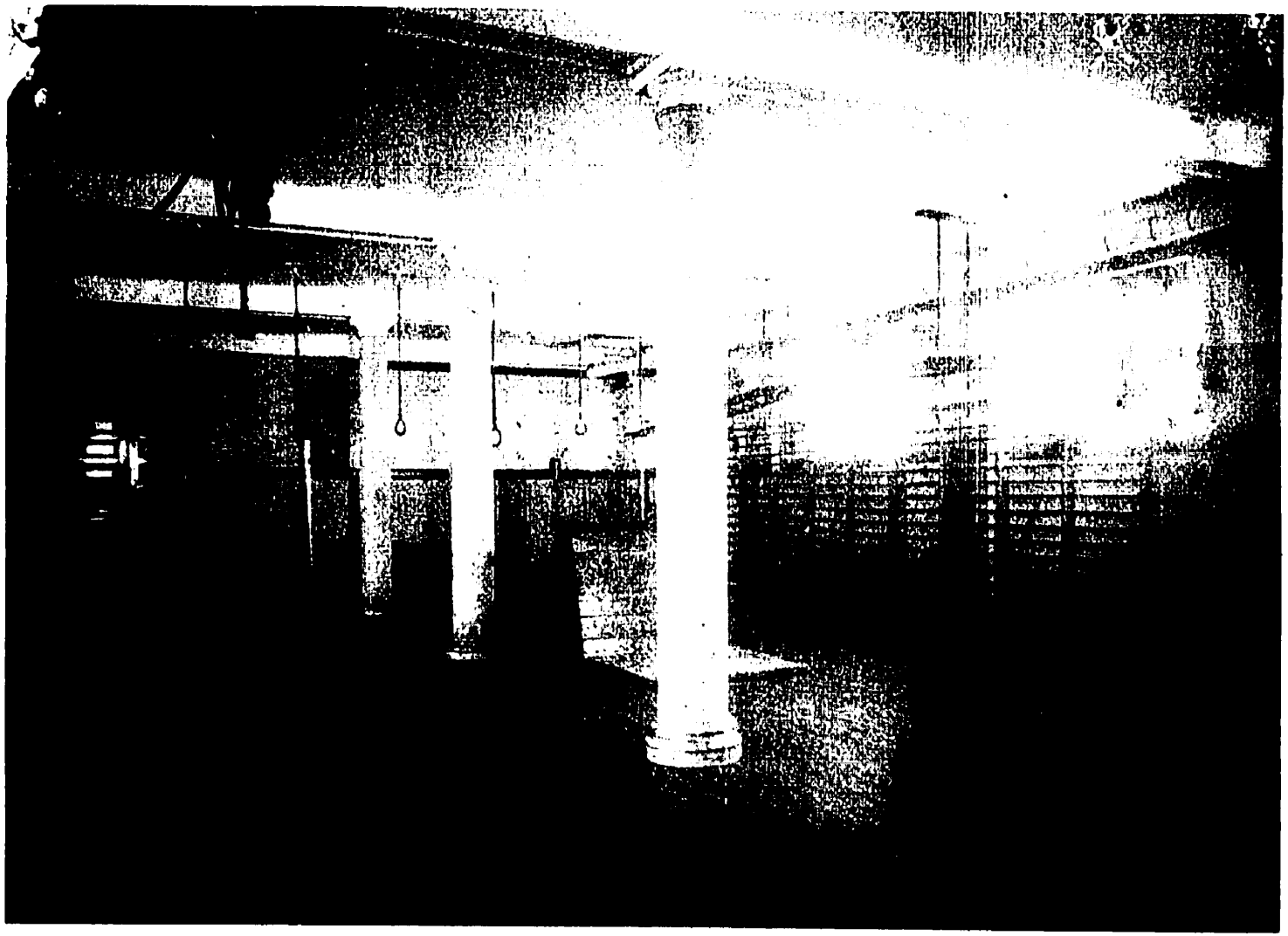


Fig. 50. Gymnasium, interior, RVC, circa. Source: MUA.

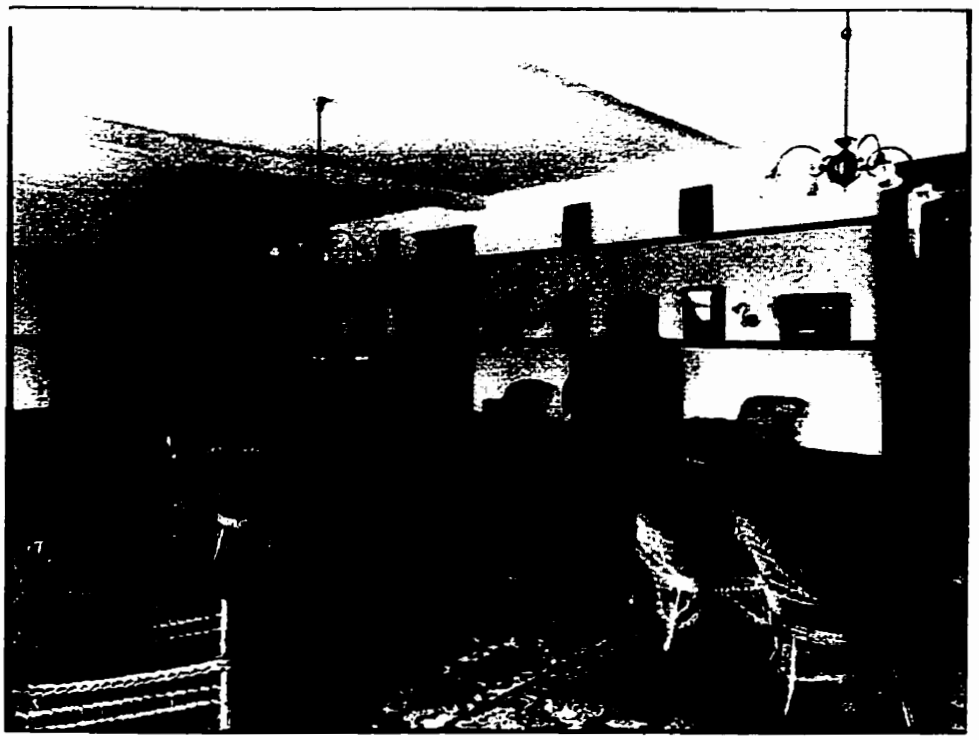


Fig. 51a. Student's Common Room, interior, RVC. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006775.

Fig. 51b. Enclosed veranda at a Catskills resort. Source: Reproduced from Menz.

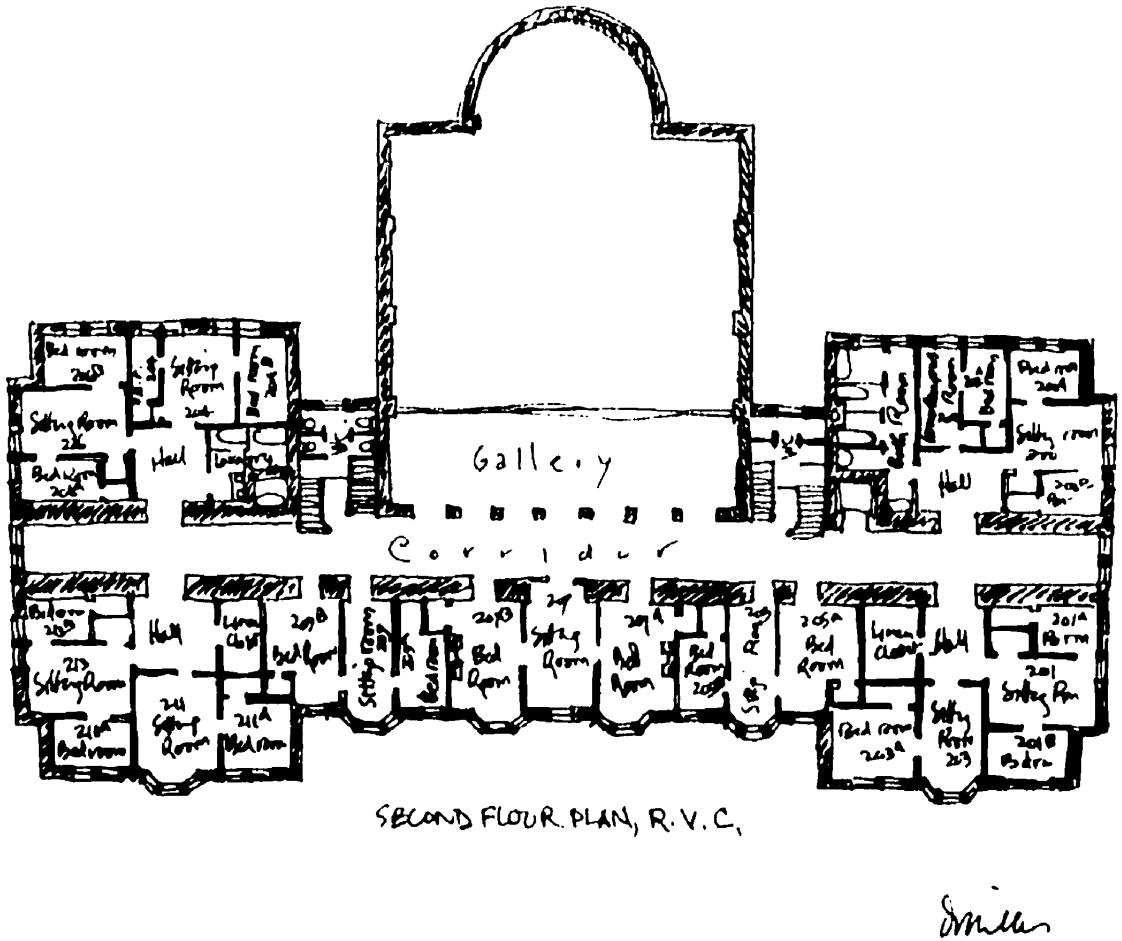


Fig. 52. Second floor plan, RVC. Source: Author, based on Price's own plans.

Fig. 53a. Student's bedroom, interior, RVC. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006771.

Fig. 53b. Student's bedroom, interior, RVC. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006768.

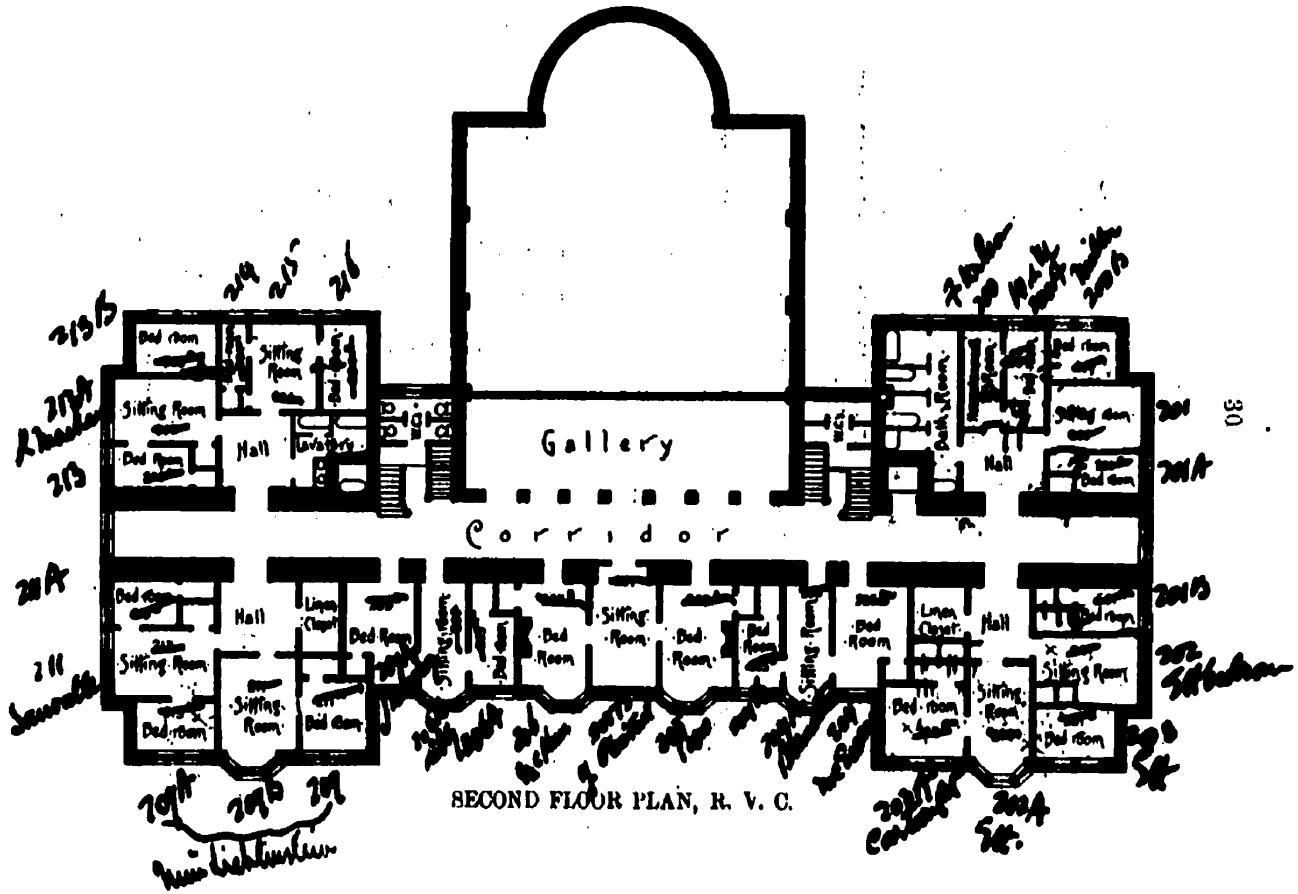


Fig. 54. Altered second floor room plan, RVC. Source: MUA. RG 42, Royal Victoria College, C1 file 14. Reproduced from *The Royal Victoria College for Women, McGill University, Montreal, Special Announcement, 1902-1903*, p. 30.

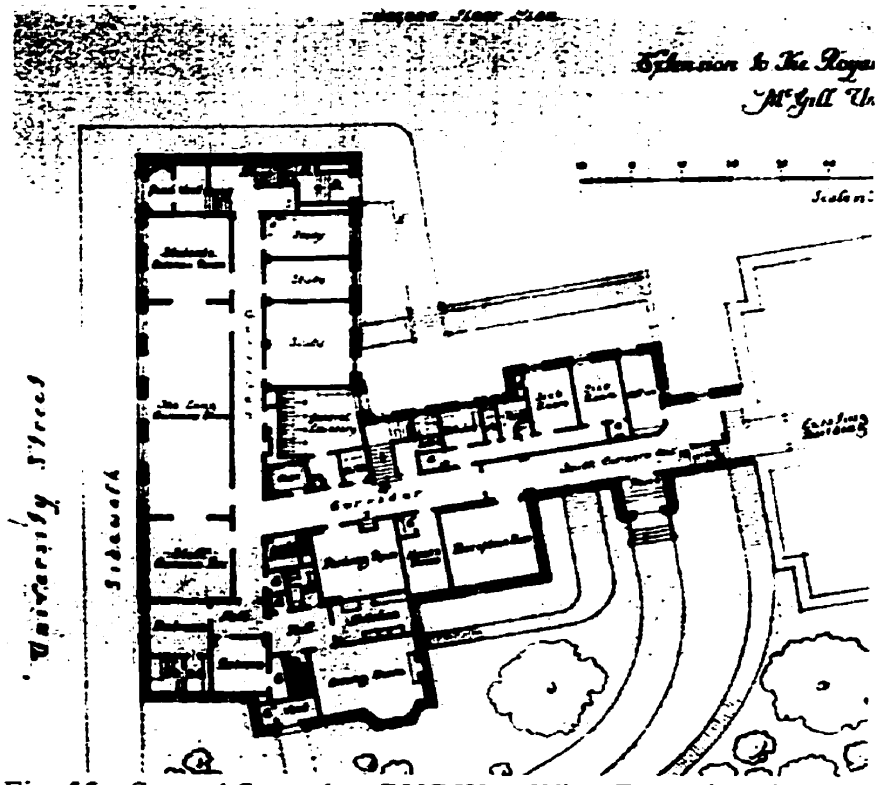


Fig. 55a. Second floor plan, RVC West Wing Extension. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/447/302. Author's own photograph.

Fig. 55b. Living room, interior of the Warden's Apartment, RVC, West Wing Extension. Percy Nobbs, photographer. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/447.

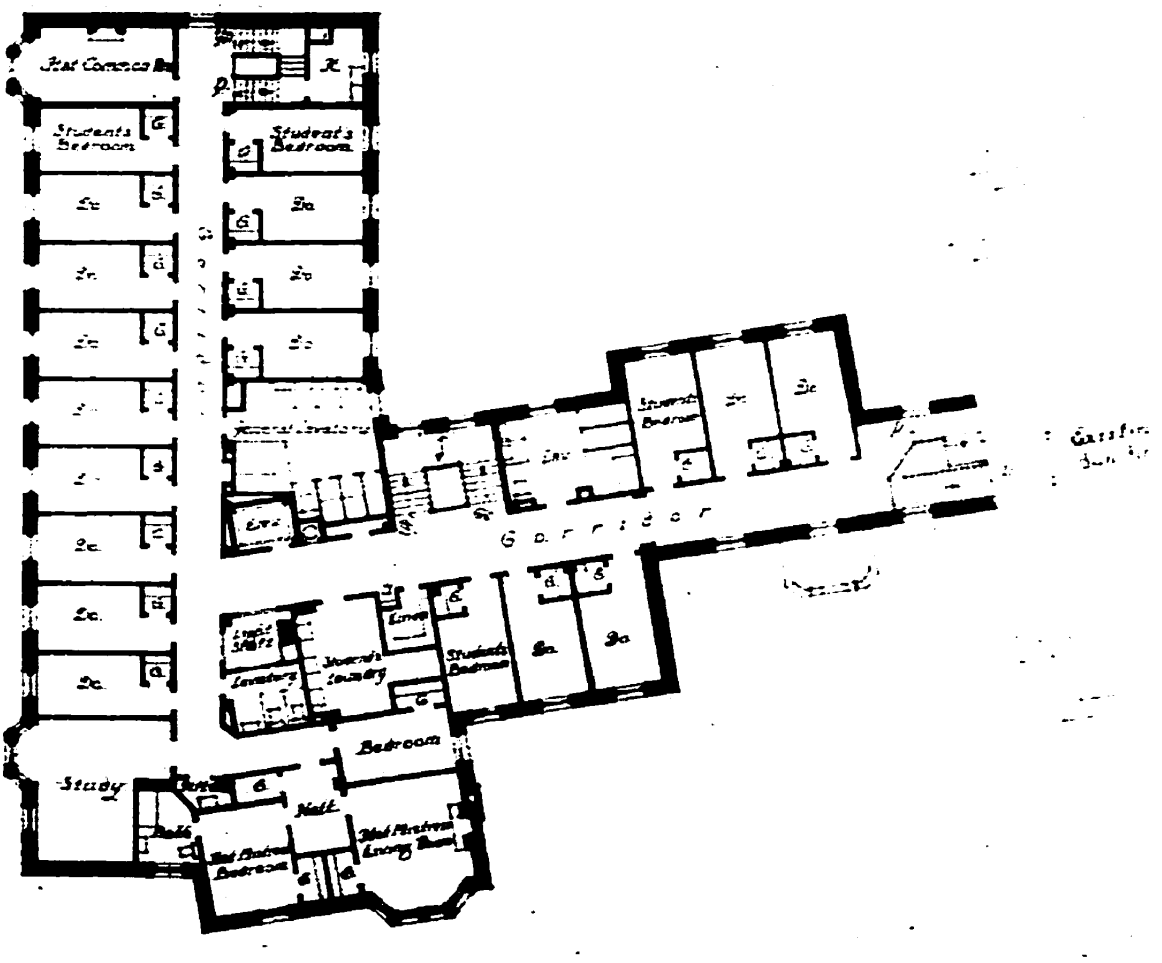


Fig. 56. Third floor plan showing typical student accommodation, RVC, West Wing Extension. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/ 447/302.

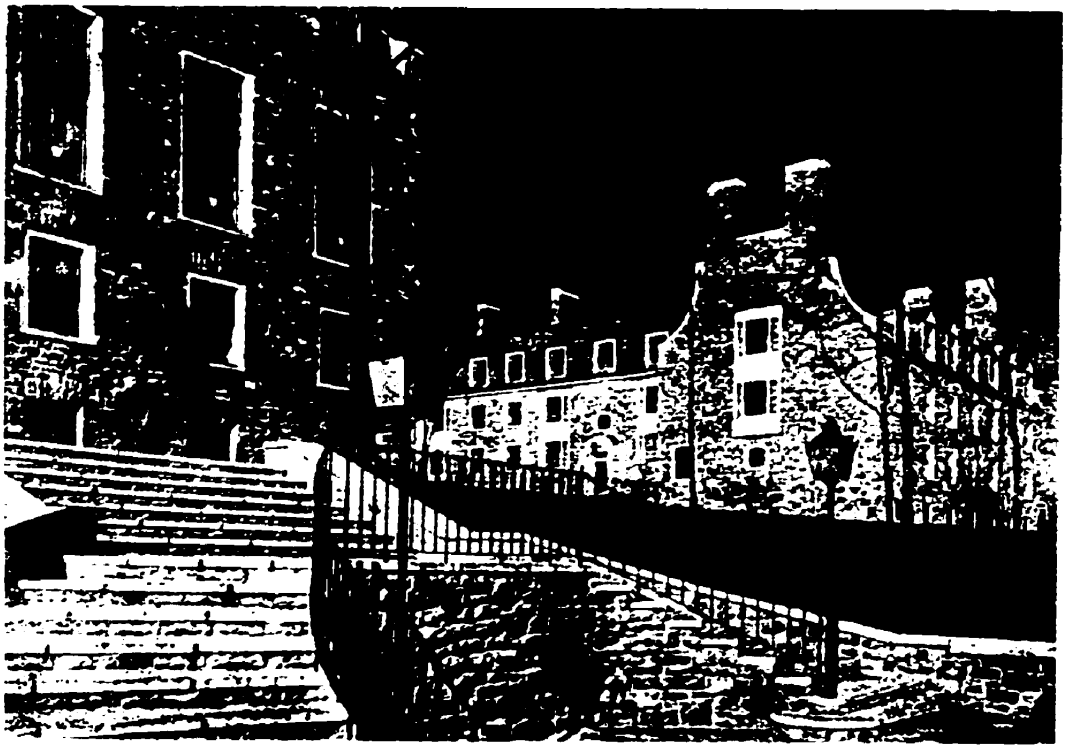


Fig 57a. Douglas Hall, McGill University. Source: Reproduced from *The McGill News* (Winter 1937), 27.

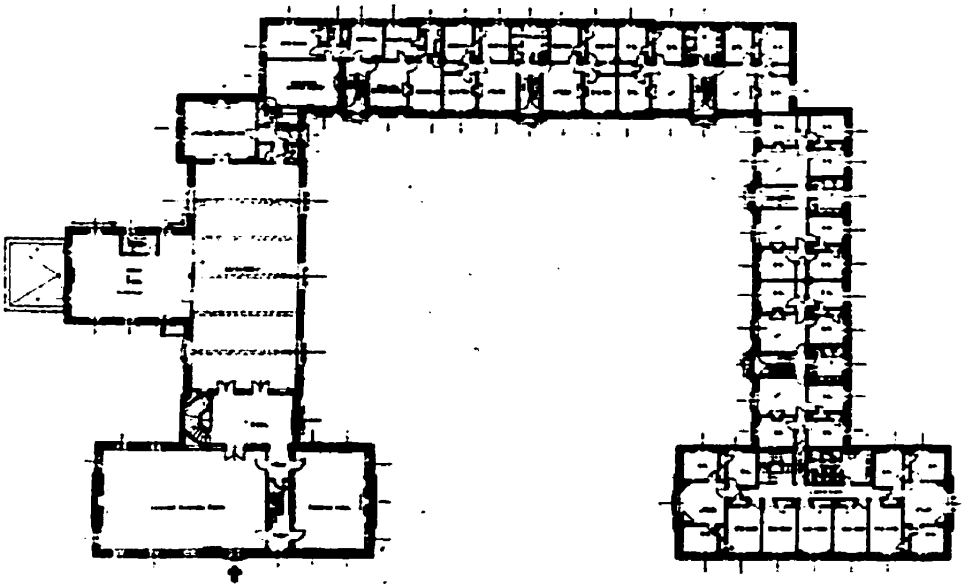


Fig. 57b. Plan showing main public rooms and typical student accommodation, Douglas Hall. Source: Reproduced from *The McGill News* (Winter 1937), 29.

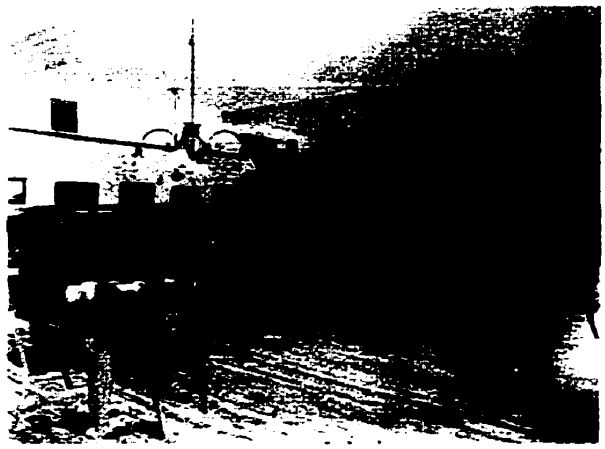
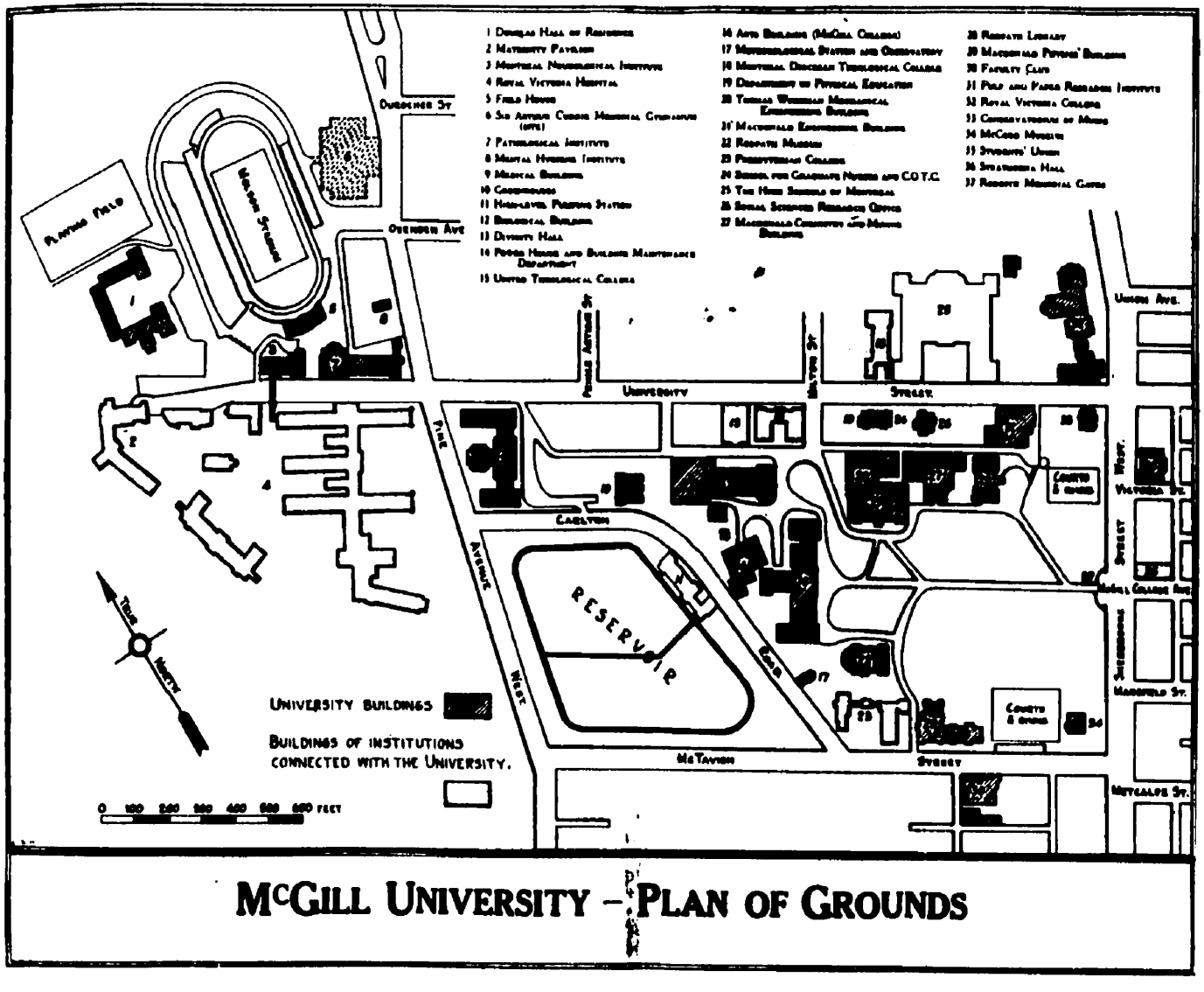


Fig. 58a. RVC Library interior, circa 1903. William Notman, photographer. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PL 006770.

Fig. 58b. Redpath Library interior, McGill University, circa 1893. William Notman, photographer. Source: Reproduced from Frost, Vol. 1, 249.

Fig. 58c. Arts Building Library interior, McGill University, circa 1890. William Notman, photographer. Source: Reproduced from Triggs, 25.

Fig. 59. View of the Royal Victoria College and West Wing Extension, looking east from the corner of University and Sherbrooke, circa 1933. Source: MUA. Photographic Collection. PR 041661.



McGILL UNIVERSITY – PLAN OF GROUNDS

Fig. 60. McGill University, Plan of Grounds, circa 1931. Source: MUA.

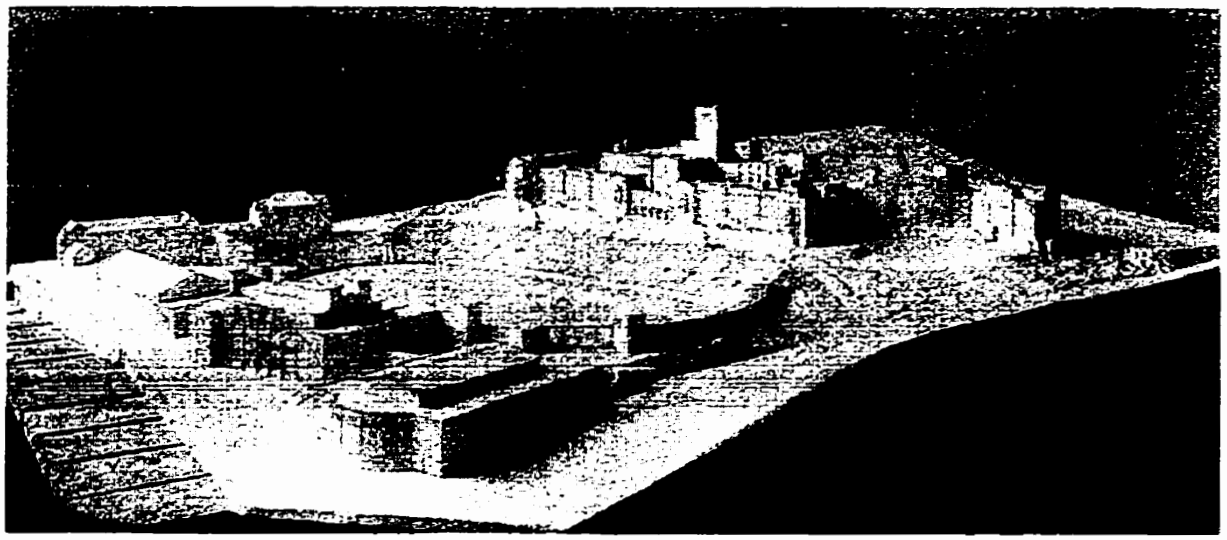


Fig. 61a. 1/16 inch scale model of Nobbs' proposal for Macdonald Park, McGill University, circa 1913. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/ 93.

Fig. 61b. Strathcona Medical Building facades. Source: Reproduced from *The McGill News*.

Fig. 62. Nobbs' watercolour perspective for the proposed men's residence, McGill University, 1918. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/93/100.

Fig. 63. Nobbs' watercolour perspective for the Royal Victoria College West Wing Extension, 1930. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/447/305.

Fig. 64a. Main lounge, or Long Common Room, interior, RVC West Wing Extension. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/447.

Fig. 64b. Main lounge, interior, McGill University Student Union. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. CAC1/57.

Fig. 65a. Ladies' Parlors, interior view, Windsor Hotel, circa 1905. Source: RBSC. Reproduced from *The Windsor Hotel.*

Fig. 65b. Gentlemen's Cafe, interior view, Windsor Hotel, circa 1905. Source: RBSC. Reproduced from *The Windsor Hotel.*

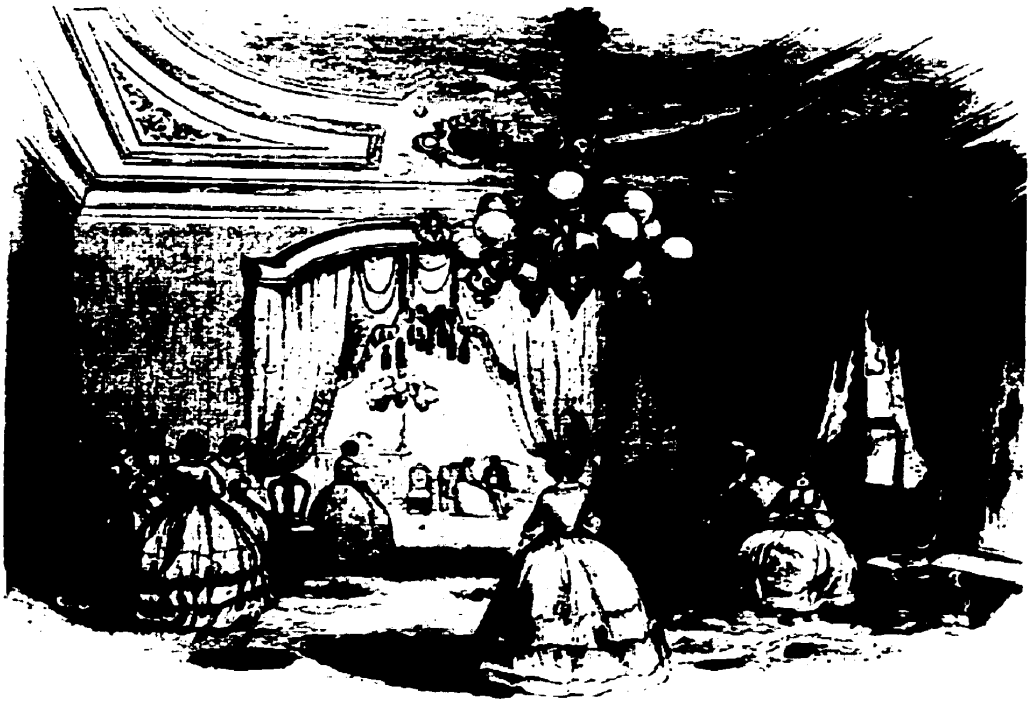


Fig. 66a. Ladies' Drawing Room, 5th Avenue Hotel, 1859. Source: Reproduced from Brucken, 216.

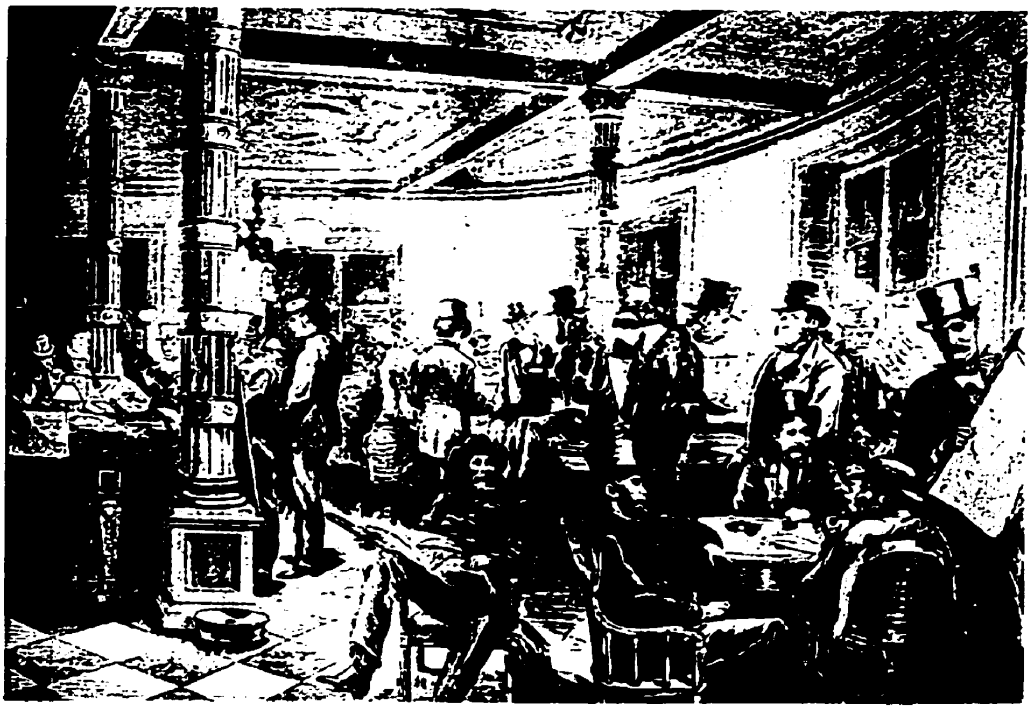


Fig. 66b. Reading Room, 5th Ave. Hotel, circa 1859. Source: Reproduced from Brucken, 69.

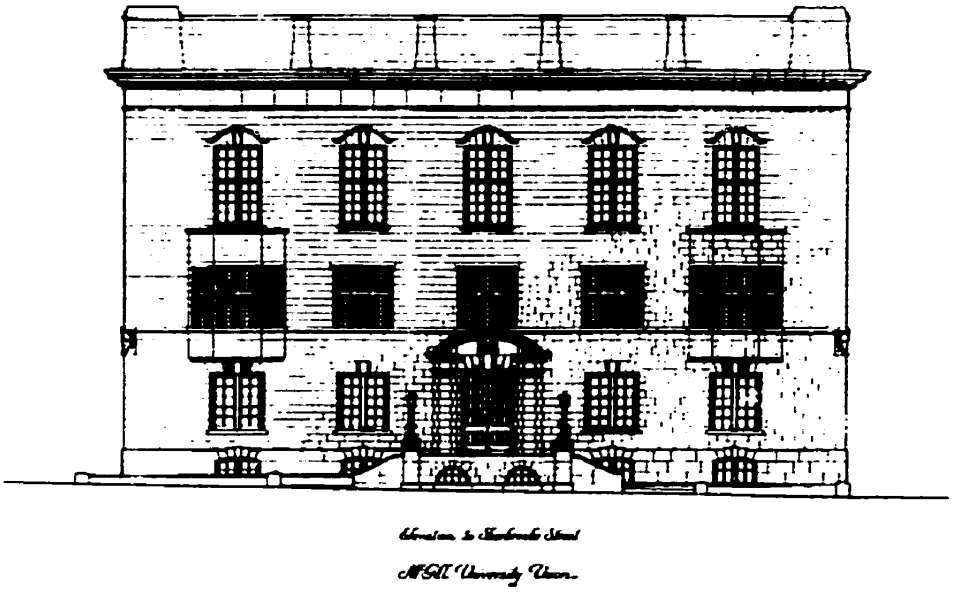


Fig. 67a. Front Elevation, McGill University Union. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. Reproduced from the guide to the archive.

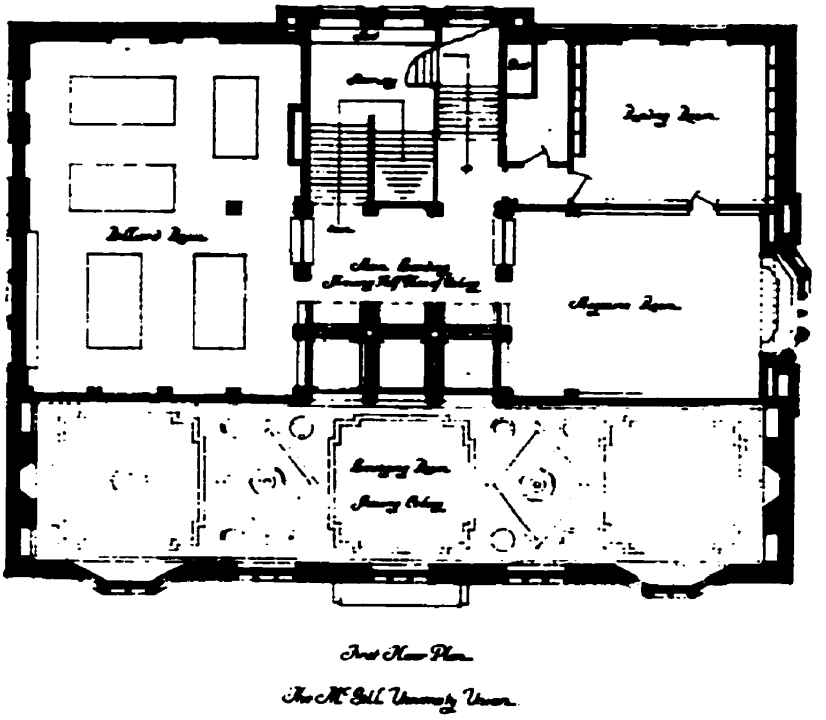


Fig. 67b. First floor plan, McGill University Union. Source: CAC. Percy Erskine Nobbs and Associates Archive. Reproduced from the guide to the archive.

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