

Upper Class Reaction to Poverty
in Mid-Nineteenth Century Montreal:
A Protestant Example.

by

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ABSTRACT

In 1850 Montreal was entering a period of extensive industrialization and urbanization. Faced with the resulting problems of a growing population, seasonal unemployment, and increased poverty, the upper class was forced to fill the vacuum created by the lack of a state relief programme and create private charities to relieve destitution. These charities can be seen as a reflection of upper class attitudes towards both poverty and charity. This thesis is a study of the five main Protestant charities which existed in Montreal in the period 1850 - 1867 and the upper class attitudes represented by their form of organization. Basically, the wealthy saw poverty as a result of immorality, not underemployment, and oriented charity towards moral reform. The main themes running through the paper are : the Victorian emphasis on morality and work, the question of institutional versus outdoor relief, and the extension of relief to the able-bodied unemployed.

RESUME

Au milieu du XIXe siècle, Montréal entre dans une période d'industrialisation et d'urbanisation accélérée. En l'absence de politique d'assistance sociale, la bourgeoisie tente de résoudre les tensions créées par le chômage et la pauvreté en organisant des oeuvres de charité qui reflètent son attitude face aux problèmes sociaux. Cette thèse examine les cinq principales oeuvres de bienfaisance, de confession protestante, ainsi mis sur pied à Montréal entre 1850 et 1867. La classe aisée voit la pauvreté comme le résultat de l'immoralité plutôt que du chômage, de telle sorte qu'elle perçoit l'assistance comme un mouvement pour réformer les moeurs populaires. Les principaux thèmes abordés dans cette étude sont: la conception victorienne de la moralité et du travail, les mérites de l'assistance dispensée dans une institution par opposition à celle offerte à domicile, et l'hésitation à étendre les secours aux chômeurs en état de travailler.

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INTRODUCTION

The Victorian era has been studied extensively in terms of Victorian morality and attitudes. Among those attitudes readily accepted as "Victorian" are hard work, thrift, sobriety and self maintenance. The subjects of poverty and charity are somewhat less well-known. This paper will study Victorian attitudes towards poverty and charity in Montreal in the period 1850 to 1867.

I have chosen this particular period because it was the time of initial response to the increasing industrialization and urbanization characteristic of late nineteenth century Montreal. This rapid economic development and population growth resulted in many problems such as deteriorating city conditions, massive unemployment and increased poverty. As the study progresses the reader will find that poverty is synonymous with under-employment; but the "Victorian mentality" could not accept this concept. Instead, poverty was defined as a sign of immorality and charity was oriented towards moral reform.

This work is concerned with the Protestant upper class reaction to poverty. There are several reasons for limiting the study in this way. A comprehensive comparative study of the charities in Montreal, both Protestant and Catholic, would involve extensive research and is more fittingly the subject of a Ph.D. dissertation. Also Catholic charity has traditionally been an institutional function. At least in Montreal the upper class was involved solely in terms of financial support and had no control over the way in which charity developed and the various forms it took. The question

of upper class attitudes to poverty is much more directly illustrated by the Protestant charities which were both organized and directed by the upper class.

This study is particularly applicable to Montreal where the state regulation of poor relief characteristic of other Protestant countries such as England and the United States, did not develop. In the absence of such government legislation, the upper class was forced to deal with the problem of increased poverty. The charities which were established were both organized and directed by an upper class benevolent elite. In this way the charities can be seen as a barometer for upper class attitudes to poverty and "charity" in general. It is the organization of these charities and the attitudes they reflected which forms the focal point of the following study.

Little has been written about either upper class attitudes to poverty and charity or the establishment of private charitable institutions in mid-century Montreal. Several general histories of the period make passing references to the existence of such institutions but these are little more than notes of interest. Work has been done on labour organization and the conditions of city life but these also have little direct bearing on our subject matter. A thesis by J.C. Robert on urbanization in Montreal provides an excellent study of the changes Montreal was undergoing in this period, and some references to class attitudes and the use of charity for such purposes as social control, but the thesis is primarily a study of urbanization, not charity. The one work which has been done on charity in Montreal, a thesis by Hélène -Huguette Roy: "La Pauperisme et l'Assistance Sociale à Montréal," is a study of the Catholic charities in the period and can be used only for comparative purposes.


Such being the state of available literature I have looked to works on American and other Canadian cities for secondary sources. Of particular importance in helping to establish a perspective from which to complete the study and invaluable comparative material were David Rothman's, The Discovery of the Asylum; Gareth Steadman Jones's, Outcast London, Susan Houston's, "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty, and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-75"; Raymond Mohl's, Poverty in New York 1783-1825; and the articles by Judith Fingard on poverty and charity in the Maritimes and British North America. I have also found the work by E. Monkkonen on Columbus, Ohio; N. Huggins on Boston; and H. Bamman on Hamilton, Ontario very useful.

The study of Montreal is largely based on primary sources. The work on economic development and labour organization is mostly drawn from secondary sources available on the subject as are any comments on Catholic charities in the city. That on government involvement is based on government budgets and city council minutes for the period. I have used the writings of contemporaries to establish an overview of city conditions. The examination of the charities themselves is based mainly on Annual Reports. For several of the charities I was able to locate Minutes of Meetings for the period in question and found these an excellent source to supplement the Annual Report data.

The thesis is divided into five chapters. Before one can begin a study of class attitudes it is necessary to establish the situation in which these classes co-existed and the problems to which they reacted. This is the role of the first chapter which, in a sense, sets the stage for the rest of the study with a brief examination of the industrialization

C Montreal was undergoing and a discussion of the effect this phenomenon had on the city and its residents. The second chapter addresses the subject of poor relief in general and attempts to outline the amount of relief available in Montreal from all possible sources including Government, Church and National Societies. The third chapter is a study of the five main Protestant charities established in the period, their organization and the relief they provided. The fourth chapter deals with a few considerations necessary for the discussion of class attitudes; the role of external factors in the organization of private charities, a case study of upper class reaction to catastrophe, and a study of the identity of the benefactors. The final chapter discusses the attitudes that are reflected in the establishment and organization of the private charities.

In short, we are using private charity to illustrate upper class attitudes towards poverty and charity. The main themes which run through the study are: the Victorian emphasis on work and morality, the question of institutional versus outdoor relief, and the extension of aid to the able-bodied unemployed.



CHAPTER I

THE SETTING: MONTREAL AT MID-CENTURY

This chapter sets the stage for a discussion of the reactions and attitudes of the upper class with respect to poverty. Before one can move to a study of charitable institutions and ideologies, one must first have an understanding of the setting; i.e. the economic structure and the resulting class structure. We will begin with a brief examination of Montreal's economic structure and try to establish the extent of industrialization and effect of the changing economy on the city's population. We will then develop a sketch of city conditions and the problems thereby posed for the working population. Finally, we will look briefly at the extent of working class organization in the period.

The chapter is organized into two main sections, each divided into subsections: The Setting: Economy; Population; City Conditions; The Debate on Mortality; and The Working Class: The Labour Market; Labour Organization.

1. The Economy

The 15 years preceding Confederation marked general expansion and prosperity for Lower Canada and the City of Montreal.¹ Railway building in the 1850s and the American Civil War in the 1860s stimulated much of the economic growth.² Montreal developed into a flourishing metropolis: a center of railways, commerce, industry and immigration. However, the economy did experience some fluctuation and suffered from several crises during this period.³ A banking crisis in the United States in 1854 and further financial failures in the United States and England between 1857 and 1859 had negative

effects on the Quebec economy due to the subsequent contraction of foreign markets.⁴ The Quebec economy had become more stable by 1859 and by 1864 was again on the verge of a boom which would not subside until the early 1870s.⁵

In 1851 Montreal was the commercial center of Canada. Having competed unsuccessfully with New York City for commercial control of the grain trade of the North American hinterland, Montreal was beginning its struggle to maintain and extend dominance over the Canadian interior.⁶ The development of cheap transportation was imperative to these ends, but Montreal was unable to compete with the extensive transportation developments south of the border, viz., the Erie Canal and rapid railway expansion. The St. Lawrence Canal system, constructed to facilitate water travel to the Great Lakes, was finally completed in 1848, but by that time much of the wheat trade was being funnelled through the American states to New York City. Table 1.1 shows that between 1856 and 1863 not more than 13.5 percent of the grain leaving Canada in any year came through the port of Montreal. The completion of extensive port improvements and the deepening of the channel at Lac St. Pierre made Montreal accessible to ocean going steam ships.⁷ Regular overseas service to Liverpool was established in 1856.⁸ Though the merchants had lost in their bid for control of the Canadian wheat trade, Montreal was Canada's main import-export center. One third of the total value of Canadian commerce passed through the port in the years 1852-1871. (See table 1.2) Montreal's predominance was particularly strong in wholesale dry goods.⁹

Despite these water-transport improvements, Montreal was still not a fresh water port. Its difficulties were compounded by the need to close down operations around 4 months every winter. Railways promised to overcome these obstacles. Montreal developed rail links to secure access

Table 1.1 Montreal and the North American Grain
Trade from 1856-62

	Total Grain Shipped East (in bushels)	Total received in Montreal	% of Montreal
1856	57,707,769	5,811,877	10.0
1857	44,111,299	5,315,552	12.0
1858	58,872,566	5,332,481	9.0
1859	44,354,225	3,902,897	8.8
1860	78,639,436	6,782,135	8.6
1861	120,741,851	16,575,765	13.5
1862	137,772,441	18,041,839	13.5

Source: J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-1871", p. 258, quoted from: A. Harvey, "The Grain Trade", Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Québec, 1863.

Table 1.2 Proportion of Montreal Commerce in
Relation to Total Canadian Commerce

1852	34.9	1862	-
1853	31.5	1863	30.0
1854	29.2	1864	33.5
1855	22.2	1865	28.9
1856	26.4	1866	32.7
1857	29.7	1867	-
1858	27.8	1868	27.9
1859	32.1	1869	26.7
1860	31.1	1870	30.2
1861	34.2	1871	30.6

Source: J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-1871", p. 257.

to a winter port, (Portland, Maine 1853), and to distribute goods in the Ontario interior year round, (Toronto, 1856).¹⁰ Some of the capital necessary for the construction of the transportation infrastructure came from the Montreal upper mercantile community who had a personal interest in improving the connection with both internal and external markets.¹¹ The largest part though, was British capital entering Canada as portfolio investment or in the guise of long-term government debt.¹² Finance is a critical sector for a commercial city and the Montreal banking structure was established between 1814 and 1846.¹³ It was largely through their position in the Canadian banking system that the Montreal merchants were able to influence the development of transportation networks.¹⁴

The financial and transportation infrastructure, completed by the 1850s, secured and reinforced Montreal's economic dominance in Canada. This same infrastructure served as the basis for and to some extent even led to the industrialization of Montreal.¹⁵ Although industry did not become the predominant form of production until 1896,¹⁶ Montreal was already recognized as Canada's industrial center at mid-century and the number of manufacturing establishments and industrial workers were increasing rapidly.¹⁷ Much of the industrial development was linked to Montreal's position as a commercial center. This was evidenced by the establishment of the Grand Trunk Railway yards and foundries in Montreal. Also, facilities to produce engines and steamships were begun; flour mills and saw mills were constructed to process exports,¹⁸ while sugar refineries and distilleries processed imports. Even more numerous than these were the industries that sprang up to meet the growing consumer demands. These included boot and shoe,¹⁹ tanneries, soap and candle, clothing manufacturing, textile, tobacco, breweries, secondary iron and steel, and agricultural implements.²⁰ Most

of the industries were constructed along the Lachine Canal which had been opened for power development in 1846.²¹ The area was particularly attractive to industrialists since it was outside city limits and therefore not subject to municipal taxes or by-laws.²² As a precursor to what much later became known as "welfare capitalism," much of the necessary power development was carried out at the government's expense.²³ By 1856 the industries along the Canal were using a total of 3,500 horse power and were employing 2,000 men.²⁴

Tables 1.3, 1.4 and 1.5 show the industrial development of Montreal over the period 1851-1871. These tables are taken from the Census Reports and reflect the minimal extent of industrialization.

Although the census in 1851 is considered the first modern Canadian census using an established list of questions and organized by the Board of Registration and Statistics²⁵ many writers have questioned the validity of these early statistics. In his first report the Secretary of the Board admits that the 1851 Census was probably underestimated.²⁶ Other writers in the period made similar complaints and questioned the figures.²⁷ A 1974 study on these early censuses makes the same comments as to the inaccuracy and inadequacy of the early figures.²⁸ Similar results have been found by economists working on the early industrialization of Canada. Both G. Bertram and H. Firestone find that 1870 is the first year for which reliable data is available.²⁹ John McCallum has found the industry census too unreliable on which to base a study of economic development and, in spite of similar problems with the source, has used the occupational census instead.³⁰ To give an idea of the importance of each industry as an employer of labour I have included figures on the number of employees whenever these were available. Several of the firms employed large numbers of workers. Both Brown and Childs (boot and shoe), and Moss and Brothers

Table 1.3 Industries in Montreal 1851

Industry	No of Establishment	No of Workers Employers
Axe and Tool	1	-
Boot and Shoe	1	-
Brewery	5	40
Brick Yards	1	50
Chair Factory	4	-
Distillery	2	42
Foundry	7	-
Grist Mill	2	8 ¹
Hat Factory	2	77
Mill & Steam Machinery	3	65
Nail Factory	1	-
Oil Factory	6	-
Piano Forte Factory	3	-
Planing Mill	2	-
Plaster Mill	2	-
Rope Factory	1	-
Ship Yards	2	100 ²
Soad & Candle	7	-
Steam Engine Mfg.	1	257
Tanneries	8	53 ³
Thresting Machinery	2	-
Tobacco	7	23 ⁴
Type Foundry	1	60

- 1) The number of employees is given for only 1 mill.
- 2) The number of employees is given for only 1 ship year.
- 3) Only 4 tanneries returned statistics on employees.
- 4) Only 1 tobacco factory gave returns on employees.

Source: Census of Canada 1851-52, Vol.2, No. VII

Table 1.4. Industries in Montreal - 1861

Industry	No	Industry	No
Grist Mills	5	Marble Factory	5
Saw Mills	6	Starch Factory	1
Woolen Factory	1	Rope Factory	3
Distilleries	2	Agricultural Implements	3
Tanneries	6	Rail Road Car Factory	1
Foundries	14	Brass Founders	3
Breweries	5	Ginger Beer & Soda Water Fact.	1
Axe & Edge Tool	3	Shoe Peg & Last Factory	1
Cabinet Wares Factory	4	Biscuit Factory	1
Carriage & Waggon Fact.	3	Plaster Mills	3
Soup & Candle Factory	9	Hat Factory	1
Pot & Pearl Ash Factory	3	Band Box Factory	1
Paper Mills	2	Brush Factory	1
Nail Factories	4	Looking Glass Factory	1
Boot & Shoe Factories	6	Piano Factory	2
Brick Yards	3	Sewing Machine Factory	2
Cotton Factories	2	Railway Car & Spike Fact.	1
Tobacco & Cigar Manufacturers	6	Writing Slate Factory	1
Oil Factories	3	Sugar Refinery	1
Sash, Door & Blind Factory	1	Type Founder	1
Match Factory	1	Lead Pipe Factory	1
Broom Factory	1	India Rubber Fact.	4
Cooperages	6	Stone Factor.	2
Rectifier	1	Furrier	1
Varnish Factory	1	Rolling Mill	1
Drug Factory	1	Boiler Maker	1
Paint Factory	1	Silver Place Factory	2

Source: Census of Canada , 1861

Table 1.5 Industries in Montreal 1871

Industry	No of Establishments	No of Workers Employers
Agricultural Implement	3	22
Bakeries	56	
Blacksmithing	49	163
Boot & Shoe	117	5175
Brick Yards	4	203
Cabinet & Furniture	35	373
Carpenters & Joiners	74	754
Carriage Makers	34	289
Cooperage	23	153
Dress Making	100	658
Flour & Grist Mills	5	104
Fonderies & Machine Working	16	724
Lime	1	20
Saddle & Harness	23	112
Saw Mill	3	97
Tannery	10	233
Tailors & Clothiers	100	2044
Tin & Sheet	41	345
Wool Cloth Making	1	17
Breweries	6	147
Broom & Brush Making	8	91
Furriers & Hatters	38	956
Jewellers & Watch Makers	22	114
Meat Curing	2	15
Painters & Glaziers	13	68
Pot & Pearl Asheries	3	13
Photographic Galleries	12	91
Printing	26	766
Sash, Door & Blind Factories	15	399
Ship Yards	4	158
Stone & Marble Cutting Establishment	17	351
Basket Making	3	35
Book Binding	10	143
Chemical Establishments	16	99
Cordial & Syrup Manufactory	5	58
Dyeing & Scouring	4	29
Edge Tools	2	28
Miscellaneous Wares	35	3424
Oil Refineries	2	49
Soap & Candle Making	8	46
Tobacco Working	17	1110
Wood Turning Establishments	2	4

Table 1.5 Continued

Industry	No of Establishments	No of Workers Employers
Aerated Water Making	4	101
Boiler Making	2	40
Carving & Gilding	9	69
Distilleries	1	45
Engine Building	4	452
Engraving & Lithography	9	107
Gas Works	1	72
Gold & Silver Smithing	4	25
Gun Making	3	4
Musical Instruments	5	43
Paint & Varnish	2	17
Rope & Twine Making	3	38
Saw & File Cutting	2	58
Straw Works	2	234
Trunk & Box Making	13	236
Wig Making	7	31
Baking Powder Making	1	3
Bellows Making	2	18
Belting & Hose Making	3	25
Blacking Making	1	5
Cork Cutting	2	29
Cotton Factories	1	123
Fire Proof State Making	2	53
Fittings & Foundry Working	12	530
Floor Oil Cloth Factory	1	10
Glass Works	1	19
Indian Rubber Factory	1	370
Last Factory	1	17
Lead Pipe Works	1	28
Mathematical Instruments	2	6
Mattress Making	2	8
Nail & Tack Factory	5	380
Paper Collar Factory	1	67
Plaster & Stucco Work	4	19
Railway Car Factory	1	60
Scale Factory	5	29
Sewing Machines Factory	4	211
Spike & Railway Chair Factory	1	30
Sugar Refineries	2	339
Surgical Appliances	3	15
Tobacco Pipe Factory	2	88
Type Foundry	2	79

Source: Census of Canada, 1871, Vol. 3.

(clothiers), employed 800 men each.³¹ The majority of firms though were still run on a small scale employing between 10 and 80.³²

A breakdown of the sectors which employed the largest numbers of workers in 1871 and the percentage of the industrial workforce employed in each is shown in the following table.

Table 1.6 Percentage of Industrial

Workers Employed

by Industry

Industry	% of all industrial workers employed
leather	26.1
clothing	17.6
iron and steel	14.4
(above, with construct. of transport material)	15.6
wood industry	11.2
food	5.7
tobacco	5.2
printing	5.2

Source: J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71", p. 284.

Mechanization was a part of industrialization but was not a necessary component. By 1861 only 147 establishments were using machines and these were mostly powered by water.³³ Many industries, especially the garment trade and the boot and shoe firms used small hand or foot powered machines and much work was still done manually.³⁴

Thus, the industrial sector was growing rapidly, especially in the labour intensive sector. A large number of the new industries were geared to external markets.³⁵ Generally one finds a continual increase in the amounts of capital invested, the size of operation and the use of mechanization. But Montreal was still predominantly a commercial center and the upper class were merchants, not industrialists. The commercial sector, like the industrial one, employed a large unskilled labour force to work on the docks and transportation networks. Both of these groups of workers were affected by the changes occurring in the economic structure and the resulting conditions in city life. These changes in economic structure are explained in part by radical changes in population growth and the resulting availability of labour.

2. Population

The industrialization of Montreal did not take place in a vacuum. The pre-conditions for industrial development include not only an economic infrastructure of transportation and finance but also a sufficiently large labour force. Industrialization, as the final stage in the transition to a capitalist mode of production, occurs in conjunction with urbanization and is both dependent upon and responsible for the formation of a large unskilled labour force. Thus, the study of population becomes important if one is to understand the economy, particularly in periods of transition.

The expansion Montreal was experiencing in both commerce and manufacturing was accompanied by a rapid demographic increase. The population rose from 57,715 in 1851 to 90,323 in 1861, and to 107,225 in 1871.³⁶ This was an increase of 85.7% over the 20 year period with a remarkable decadal increase between 1851 and 1861 of 56.5%.³⁷ The decadal increase for the period 1861-71 is only 19 percent. The difference between the 2 decadal rates must have been largely the result of immigration. This trend corresponds with D. McDougall's findings in his work on Canadian immigration.³⁸ He finds that the net migration for the first decadal period is 154,000 more immigrants than emigrants; whereas, for the second period emigration rises to produce a negative net migration of 170,000.³⁹ These are figures for the Canadian population as a whole but the census figures for Montreal suggest that Montreal followed a similar pattern.

This growth was the result of internal migration as well as immigration from abroad. The trend in rural-urban migration characteristic of nineteenth century North America is definitely evidenced in Montreal.⁴⁰ During the 1850s and 60s large numbers of French Canadians were leaving Quebec for New England's industrial centers,⁴¹ but many others were attracted to Montreal by the possibility of employment in a French milieu. The increased rate of industrialization had created more jobs than had previously been available while the lag in immigration which began in the mid 50s left more of these new jobs open for French Canadians. Jean-Claude Robert finds that most of the increase in the French Canadian population of Montreal in this period is a result of rural migration.⁴² To verify this he has examined the Catholic marriage statistics for the period. He finds that never more than 50 percent of all people marrying had both come from Montreal. Since mixed French Canadian-Irish marriages accounted for 8 percent or

less of the total number of marriages, these non-Montrealers were in all probability rural French. Robert finds that 60 percent of these immigrants were men.⁴³

The population of Montreal can be divided into several groups by ethnic origin; Canadian, English, Irish and Scot are the 4 largest. (See table 1.7) Dividing the population along language lines one finds that in 1851, 54 percent was English and 45 percent French.⁴⁴ The English population gradually lost its majority and by 1871, 53 percent of the population was French. This decadal rate of growth for the English population was 47.5 percent while that of the French population was 67 percent. This pattern reflects the general trend of population growth for the period as discussed above. The French population being augmented by an influx of rural migrants while the English population, largely dependent on immigration, was experiencing a much reduced rate of growth due to the declining rate of immigration over the latter part of the period. This decline in immigration did not effect the French population for immigration from France was nominal⁴⁵ and any growth occurred from within Quebec itself, not as a result of stimulus from abroad.

The breakdown by religion does not correspond to that by language. Members of the Church of Rome comprised 71.8 percent of the population. The non-Catholic population was divided into a number of separate denominations, (See table 1.8). This Catholic predominance is explained by the large Irish population, the majority of which was English speaking, but of Catholic faith.⁴⁶

Thus, Montreal's population was increasing rapidly in this period. The largest increase came in the early fifties as a direct result of immigration but the population maintained a steady rate of growth even after

Table 1.7 Population of Montreal City by Origin

Country of Origin	Population	% of Total Population	% of English - French Population
England	2,858	5.0%	9.2%
Scotland	3,150	5.5%	10.1%
Ireland	11,736	20.3%	37.7%
Canada (British origin)	12,494	21.6%	40.1%
Canada (French origin)	26,020	45.1%	99.5%
United States	919	1.6%	2.9%
France	133	.23%	0.5%
Others	405	.70%	-
Total Population	57,715	100.00%	

Census 1851.

Table 1.8 Population by Religion

Religion	Population	% of Population
Church of Rome	41,464	71.8%
Church of England	3,993	6.9%
Presbyterian	2,832	4.9%
Methodist	1,213	2.1%
Baptist	272	0.4%
Jews	181	0.31%
Others	7,760	13.4%
Total Population	57,715	100.0%

Census 51

that period. Much of this later growth is accounted for by the migration of rural French Canadians to the city. It was largely as a result of this new local influx that the French-English ratio changed over the period. Both the new British immigrants and the rural Quebecers swelled the ranks of the unskilled and created a large labour force available to work in Montreal's expanding economy.

3. City Conditions

When discussing conditions of working class life it is necessary to discuss the conditions of the city itself. A survey of travellers' reports on their visits to Montreal at mid-century reveals that the general impression of contemporaries was very positive.⁴⁷ Most marvelled at the growth and vitality of the city and praised the "cathedrals" and public buildings. Descriptions were offered of the river, the harbour, the mountain, and of course, the sumptuous villas at the base of Mont Royal. Few acknowledged the presence of Griffintown or other lower class districts. Many had been so well guided about the city that they seemed ignorant of the very existence of such areas. Several called attention to the aged wooden houses and sheds in the old French town but made no mention of the new working class suburbs or the dilapidated roads and drains throughout the city. These travellers wanted to describe the highlights of North American cities and naturally enough found these in the more pleasant, if superficial, features.

But there are several sources which shed light on the more basic aspects of city life. One of these is the account told by a traveller: S.P. Day, who visited the city in 1862.⁴⁸ Although he recognized that "tangible evidences of commercial greatness and social advancement were unmistakeable," he was dismayed by the condition of the roads and sewage

system. Finding the roads "almost as bad, and in some instances worse," than those in Quebec City, Day described "flagstone in a most dilapidated condition," brick pavement too frequently "broken to pieces, rough or uneven," and "plankways made of boards either rotten from age or partially devoured by rats."⁴⁹ The imperfect drainage system had depreciated the value of property in some parts of the city until it could be "procured comparatively for nothing," and at one point he found himself unable to sit through a theatre performance because "the odour became so offensive."⁵⁰ It was obvious that the city had neglected to make the necessary improvements and he warned that something should be done to stop "so great an evil." Day felt that the city's priorities would have to change.⁵¹

. . . The public health is at least as deserving of attention as the almighty dollar. It is not when a great plague shall have broken like a storm cloud over a fated city that remedies are to be applied.

Samuel Day's concern with the condition of the city's sewage system was also shared by city officials. A study of the city surveyors' reports provides much information on city conditions and the attempts made by certain city officials to alleviate this situation. James A. McGill, city surveyor in charge of roads and drainage from 1848 to 1855, advised the Council continually of the urgent need to extend and improve the city's drainage system, particularly in Ste. Anne's Ward.⁵² In the report for 1850 he wrote that until such a drain was constructed, Griffentown would remain filled with ponds of stagnant and putrid water.⁵³ In 1854 his pleas for the urgent necessity of steps being taken to have a proper drain laid down through some of the principle streets in Ste. Anne's Ward still fell on deaf ears. He noted that no new drains had been constructed in that area since 1843.⁵⁴

Thomas C. Keefer, the civil engineer hired by the city in 1852 to design the new waterworks, supported McGill's insistence for a new drainage system.⁵⁵ Speaking before the Mechanics Institute in January 1853, Keefer stated that the health of the city called for an efficient system of drainage and sewage. He commented with the acid remark, "You have perhaps escaped the cholera at the expense of one third of the city in ashes. One fire cleans out what was not cleaned by drainage."⁵⁶

The annual work of the roads department included the building of drains along with the widening and paving of streets and the construction of footpaths. However, no attempt was made to systematically drain new areas or repair the sewage system as a whole. Finally in September, 1856, the Council directed the new city surveyor, John P. Doyle, to examine the drainage system and report on the manner in which the city's sewage problem could be solved. The resulting 61 page report, presented in May 1857, included detailed diagrams and tables outlining a whole new drainage system to be constructed in brick pipes and placed at a level deep enough to drain basements and provide a run-off for even the lowest sections of the city.⁵⁷ In making his annual report to the Council that year, Doyle justified this proposal on the grounds that the old system was so dilapidated and/or blocked that sewage could not move freely to places for its disposal.⁵⁸ In short, the sewage facilities were inadequate to ensure conditions conducive to the good health of a large city population. Like S.P. Day, and Thomas Keefer, Doyle feared the consequences of any outbreak of cholera or typhoid and warned the Council that the situation "has come to that state as to require your earliest and most serious consideration."⁵⁹ Unfortunately, the Council was not moved enough to adopt a course of immediate action.⁶⁰ It was only four years later that a loan was procured from Parliament and work

was begun using a slightly altered version of the 1857 plan.⁶¹ The construction of the five large new sewers was completed by 1866 although problems persisted with sediment, escaping gases and the sewers in Griffintown.⁶²

The concern over the sewage conditions reflected a more general concern for health of the city's population. This concern became particularly great during the cholera epidemic in the summer of 1854.⁶³ An editorial in the Montreal Gazette that July commented on the lack of adequate sanitary measures : no Board of Health existed; death rates were not systematically kept, and no fever hospital had been constructed.⁶⁴ The immigrant sheds in Pointe St. Charles, normally available to house new arrivals and protect both them and the city from infection, had been taken over by the Grand Trunk Railway as part of its construction yards and could not be used to isolate the sick.⁶⁵ By July 4th the hospitals were refusing to admit any more cholera victims.⁶⁶ Nearly frantic for adequate facilities, Council passed a motion to evacuate the sheds in the Quebec suburbs and use these for fever cases. There was much disagreement voiced since the sheds were so close to the populated areas of the city, but urgency decreed that the motion pass.⁶⁷

The subject of the city's health surfaced again in 1863 at which point the Council deemed it of sufficient importance to warrant creation of a medical commission. This body was directed to study the sanitary conditions of the city and the causes of extensive infant mortality.⁶⁸ A Sanitary Association was formed in 1866; it applied internal pressure and campaigned for preventative health regulations and the creation of a city health department.⁶⁹ A Board of Health was established that year when a government statute made the formation of such Boards compulsory.⁷⁰ The

Board of Health got off to a dubious start and only began to publish reports in 1872. Some may have wondered whether it deserved its name since its major preoccupation was the tabulation of causes of death and the recording of vital statistics.⁷¹ The health of the public was not yet seen as a priority.

4. The Debate Over Mortality

Much of the concern voiced in Montreal over mortality levels and public health had developed as a reaction to the writings of Philip P. Carpenter.⁷² An utilitarian social reformer and biologist who first visited Montreal in 1859,⁷³ Carpenter took it upon himself to study Montreal's mortality level and to work towards its improvement. It was he who in 1866 had founded the Montreal Sanitary Association which had pressured the city to form a working health department. Carpenter was to a large extent responsible for much of the increased awareness and concern illustrated by such city officials as Mayor Workman.

In the late 1860s after all of Carpenter's articles had been published in the Canadian Naturalist (1859, 1866, 1869), Andrew A. Watt, a self-styled specialist on vital statistics, began an attack on Carpenter's work in two articles which appeared in Montreal newspapers.⁷⁴ The attack focused on two main themes, the inaccuracy of the figures used to compile the mortality rate and the method used to compare these mortality rates. Watt pointed to the inaccuracy of some of the data used by Carpenter, especially the census and the religious registers. Many of these problems had been noted by Carpenter in his work but for some inexplicable reason he then proceeded to use the figures he had himself proven to be almost totally invalid. Watt then pointed out both inconsistencies in Carpenter's

figures and mathematical errors in his calculations. Among other general problems was the inclusion of the stillborn in the death rate but not in the birth rate,⁷⁵ and the inconsistency in population figures which resulted in incorrect rates of mortality.⁷⁶

Even more important than these criticisms of statistical errors, which call many of Carpenter's statements and conclusions into question, are the criticisms of his demographic methodology. Carpenter has made several basic errors in method although Watt quotes many other writers who had made several errors. To compare the health conditions in various cities, Carpenter has merely compared the death rates. This method can give only the crudest form of comparison and involves many obvious problems. There is an irrevocable connection between the death rate and the birth rate, population size and age structure. In order to establish the relative health in various cities these factors must be taken into account and the various mortality rates adjusted in the light of this information.⁷⁷ The birth rate and the age structure are particularly important factors. If we accept that infant mortality was responsible for a large percentage of deaths in this period, and that children died at a very high rate, a city with a particularly high birth rate stands a greater chance of having a higher death rate. For example, take city A. with 2,000 births in one year and city B. with 1,000, applying an infant mortality rate of 30/1000 to each of them will give 60 and 30 infant deaths respectively. Accepting this infant mortality at face value one could assume that city A. is twice as unhealthy as city B. for twice as many babies died. But there were twice as many babies to die, and we know that in reality the babies died at the same rate (30/1000) which makes the cities equally unhealthy.

Again, the rest of the population die at lower rates than the infant mortality rate of 30/1000. A larger percent of the population dying at this high rate will disproportionately increase the total death rate. Therefore it is obvious that it is necessary to know the respective birth rates, and age structures of the cities in question before a comparison of mortality rates can be used to measure the healthiness of a city.

Migration figures are as important. The death rate is calculated as the number of deaths per 1,000 people in the population. Immigration increases the number of people among whom to divide the deaths. If the immigrants are largely of an age where the death rate is lower than that of the general population (ex. 20-35), they will disproportionately lower the overall mortality rate. Similarly, a large emigration of people of prime age will increase the death rate figure by altering the age structure and the total population figure. Needless to say, in neither case has the health of the respective cities changed, unless perhaps in terms of overcrowding.

By considering all of these factors in his calculations, Watt goes on to prove that Montreal was in fact healthier than London since people died there at a rate of 1 in 28 while in London the rate was 1 in 19.⁷⁸ Although his method is more valid than was Carpenter's and his work does not include statistical errors or as many inconsistencies, his results can be called into question on several grounds. First, his calculations to account for immigration to Montreal are based on the assumption that immigrants are all 20 years of age.⁷⁹ Undoubtedly this was not the case, and since 20 is an unusually healthy age his resulting figures are somewhat misleading. Secondly, he does not adjust London's death rate to account for immigration/emigration, nor does he address the problem except to state that Montreal's immigrants were coming from London which might have resulted

in an increase in London's death rate. He does not mention the Irish immigration to London or how that compares with the English emigration from London. Perhaps he feels that they balance each other out and therefore are not worth mentioning.

Carpenter and Watt arrive at different mortality rates 35.5/1000 and 27/1000 respectively but both have used somewhat questionable methods at some point in their calculations and have been hampered by the lack of extensive and reliable data. Interestingly enough, the first Board of Health Report in 1872 listed the death rate as 37.4/1000.⁸⁰

Although it is difficult to establish the exact mortality rate due to the inadequacies in the data available, the debate between Carpenter and Watt is interesting. Their work, particularly that of Carpenter, serves as an appropriate concluding statement on the conditions of life for the poor in Montreal. Throughout his writings Carpenter describes the swampy soil, the insufficient sewage system, the wooden houses, the unpaved streets and rotting footpaths that make up the "city of wealth and death."⁸¹

. . . It may be said with very few exceptions, that in the more crowded parts of the city inhabited by all except the wealthy there is scarcely a square yard of ground which is not charged with effete matter ready to generate poisonous gasses under the influence of every summer sun.

The main thrust of Carpenter's work was the attempt to demonstrate the need for both sanitary reform and the establishment of a city health department. Carpenter's efforts as well as those of others were successful, if only to a degree.

5. The Working Class

A. The Labour Market

Industrialization involves a change in the production process to facilitate the mass production of goods. In Montreal, urbanization was necessary for the implementation of the factory system and mass immigration was needed to provide a surplus labour pool. Also changes in the production process itself resulted in the transformation of Montreal's society, economic structure, social organization and living conditions. Inherent in this process were the problems of subsistence, unemployment and poverty in general. In this section we shall examine how these problems affected the changing population of Montreal.

We have already seen that large numbers of immigrants were arriving in Montreal in this period. This immigration was undoubtedly the result of diverse factors such as the attraction of jobs, but it must be remembered that immigration at this point was still largely a result of the 'push' factor in Europe. Consequently a large proportion of these immigrants suffered extreme deprivation upon their arrival and as they were mostly unskilled, they swelled the labour market and competed for low wages.⁸²

As Montreal became increasingly industrialized a large number of its inhabitants would be working in the industrial sector. It is impossible to establish what proportion of the population was proletarianized without knowing the exact production relations of each individual establishment, since much of the expansion involved a transition within industries from skilled craftsmanship to simple factory machine work. The censuses for the period are incomplete and involve problems in terminology, (see discussion below), but they do furnish data on occupation which can be used to establish an occupational scale. Again we are faced with the

problem of internal transition, for within any given occupation one could find rich and poor, skilled and unskilled workers.⁸³ This problem could be alleviated somewhat by using sources such as assessment rolls to correlate occupation with economic status. Assessment rolls are an excellent source of data on occupation, residence, rent or property ownership and value. They are limited though to the extent that they give detailed occupational information only for the head of the household.⁸⁴ Even though they would have been extremely useful, I have not been able to use this source because the task of interpreting such data was beyond the scope of this study. I did not feel that sampling would be useful because it would not provide sufficient information to allow a useful correlation of the detailed individual data with the aggregate census figures. This subject however, would be a suitable one for further research.

The occupational scale I have developed is based on the Census Reports of 1851, 1861, and 1871. This involves a number of problems, the largest of which is the inadequacy of the census. This inaccuracy has already been commented on. The underestimation of these censuses is particularly evident in the census by occupation. The occupation census of 1851 includes statistics for only 8,398 persons or 14.6 percent of the total population, while that of 1861 covers a workforce of 26,443 or 29.3 percent of the total population.⁸⁵ It is only in the census of 1871 which gives occupations for 35.5 percent of the population that we find information which would come close to adequately representing the workforce and its division into occupations.

A further problem inherent in the use of census data is the limitation imposed by aggregate figures.⁸⁶ Other problems arise from the terminology used in the census. Problems of terminology are inevitable

when every resident decides his own occupational title but these are increased in a period when the definition of many occupations is changing and new occupations are being introduced. Take for example the occupation of Brush Maker. Does this title refer to the owner of the single brush factory in Montreal, one of his employees, or to some independent craftsman? This question of terminology centers around the effects of industrialization in the economy as a whole and on the internal workings of individual industries. Industrialization and the resulting new methods of production bring with them the creation of the factory system and the unskilled factory operator. As mechanization increases skilled craftsmen are replaced by 'green' workers.

While some skilled crafts disappear, others, such as engineer and mechanic, are created. But when considering the destruction of the 'artisan class', one does not need to wait for the advent of industrialism. This group had long been undergoing a process of transition by which master craftsmen became small capitalists and their journeymen were increasingly relegated to the level of skilled wage workers.⁸⁷ It was among the journeymen that the first unions were formed in 16th century Europe,⁸⁸ and the same holds true for 19th century Canada. If the old 'craft' system still existed one would not find journeymen organizing to protect themselves against the master craftsmen. As can be seen it is impossible to distinguish artisans as petit bourgeois and distinct from the working class.⁸⁹ Beyond a doubt the master craftsmen were petit bourgeois but the journeymen should be seen as members of the working class. Without detailed information giving the breakdown between masters and journeymen it is safest to place these 'crafts' in the category 'skilled workers', for the number of journeymen would undoubtedly surpass the number of masters.

Taking into account all the problems involved in the use of the census data, I have used occupational categories that are as comprehensive as possible but still give some idea of the class structure as it existed in mid-century Montreal, (See table 1.9). The category Bourgeoisie includes the capitalists (manufacturers, merchants, and bankers) and the professionals,⁹⁰ and is the only group which could be labelled upper class. I have grouped shopkeepers and clerks as a middle group. Anyone below this group is for the most part wage-dependent and therefore potentially financially insecure. The category low civil employees includes police constables and customs men.

I have placed anyone who referred to himself as a "maker" as opposed to a manufacturer in the category of skilled trades.⁹¹ To a large extent this eliminates the possibility of including an entrepreneur in this category,⁹² but there is no real way of determining whether the process concerned involved a skill, (i.e. requiring a period of apprenticeship), or merely a factory technique so there is some possibility of unskilled workers being categorized among the skilled trades. Boot and shoe workers have been isolated because of their large numbers which makes it impossible to distinguish between skilled and unskilled.⁹³ The category Transport is divided into railway employees (wage earners) and carters, (largely independent).⁹⁴ "Servants" was an occupational category in the census itself as was "factory operators." "Labourers" includes labourers, dock workers and grave diggers, washerwomen, and straw workers.

Looking at the transformation in the labour force between 1851 and 1871 one can see that the larger categories: bourgeois, middle, and wage-dependent occupied about the same percentage of the labour force over the period. The transition came within each group with a marked increase in

Table 1.9. Division of the Population by Occupation, Montreal, 1851, 1861, 1871

	Census 1851		Census 1861		Census 1871	
Occupation	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total	No.	% of Total
Bourgeoisie						
Merchants	354	4.1	1005	3.7	1365	3.2
Manufacturers	36	.42	103	.38	822	1.9
Banks/Ins.	113	1.3	260	.96	260	.6
Professionals	551	6.5	2597	9.66	2275	5.3
Private Means	20	.23	355	1.3	376	.9
Total	1074	12.6	4320	16.0	5098	11.9
Shop Keepers	1109	13.0	2399	8.9	3645	8.5
Clerks	477	5.6	1988	7.4	3138	7.3
Total	1586	18.6	4387	16.3	6783	15.8
Low Civil Employees	112	1.3	165	.61	542	1.2
Skilled Trades						
Building	1007	11.8	2955	11.0	3867	9.0
Other	1505	17.7	4635	17.2	7075	16.5
Apprentice	-	-	276	1.02	112	2.6
Boot and Shoe	406	4.8	1396	5.2	1851	4.3
Transportation						
Carters	250	2.9	1154	4.4	1309	3.0
R.R. Employees	-	-	208	.8	162	0.4
Servants	1143	13.4	3465	12.9	4423	10.3
Factory Operator	-	-	7	.03	22	.05
Labourer	1393	16.3	3457	12.9	4362	10.2
Other*	44	.5	336	1.3	872	18.3
Total	5860	68.8	18004	67.6	31055	75.8
GRAND TOTAL	8520	100.0	26711	100.0	42936	100.0

Source: Census of Canada 1851, Table VII, 1861, Table 7, 1871, Table XIII.

* 7524 Nuns are included in Other in 1871

professionals, clerks, skilled trades, boot and shoe workers, and the building trades. These are the effects of increased industrialization and modernization. As is normal in any economic system, the working class is proportionally very large compared to the upper class. Throughout the period approximately 70 percent of the population was wage-dependent.

The labour market is the central determinant of the economic position of the wage-dependant class. If we accept subsistence wages as one of the maxims of nineteenth century industrial society, full employment is mandatory to secure any form of economic security. But in Montreal's economy, centered on the commercial activity of its port, all activity is disrupted by the arrival of winter, the closing of the harbour and the resulting general slowdown. Thus, full employment becomes an impossibility in any sectors susceptible to seasonal fluctuations in supply and demand, and in those industries connected with the docks and the building trades where not only the supply of raw materials but also the production process itself is affected by seasonal factors.⁹⁵

Although no statistics exist to accurately measure the extent of this seasonal unemployment in Montreal we know that it must have affected a large number of the working force. As a result of the way the economy was structured and had developed, a large proportion of the population was employed in sectors which were susceptible to seasonal conditions. The compiler of the 1871 Census noted that the aggregate wage statistics could not be used to calculate individual wages since many industries employed their workers on an irregular basis or shut down completely for the winter months.⁹⁶ Furthermore, we will discover in the next two chapters that the entire charity organization operating in Montreal assumed widespread need during the winter months which would then taper off as spring and employment returned.⁹⁷

Seasonal unemployment was still an important determinant of working class poverty by the end of the nineteenth century.⁹⁸ An examination of Herbert Ames' The City Below The Hill gives an indication of its level in 1896. Ames finds that 23 percent of the population of the south west Montreal ward he studied suffered from irregular employment.⁹⁹ Out of the total population of the area he considered 11 percent to be 'the poor'.¹⁰⁰ Even if we assume that all 11 percent were seasonally unemployed rather than infirm or unemployable, we are left with 12 percent of what Ames calls 'the real industrial class' regularly affected by seasonal unemployment. In compiling these statistics Ames did not include everyone who worked irregularly. He assumed that anyone who was able to earn more than \$10.00 a week (the average wage was \$10.25), for some part of the year would be able to save money for the period of unemployment, and he did not include these workers in his calculations.¹⁰¹ The figures for seasonal unemployment might have been much larger had Ames not superimposed this capacity for saving.

Thus, in Montreal, the 'eight month city', seasonal unemployment still affected up to one quarter of the labour force by 1896. It could only have been worse in 1850 when industrialization was just beginning and diversification had not yet occurred to an extent where workers could move from one sector into another and in this way 'dovetail' different occupations.¹⁰²

As well as seasonal unemployment, structural unemployment, caused by the large population and the constant influx of immigrants was an important factor in this period. Basically commercial by nature, the cities were unable to provide employment for such massive unskilled labour forces.¹⁰³ As industrialization began and the cities grew, unskilled jobs became available in the building trades, roads, railways and canals and finally in the

industrial sector itself. The exact correlation between the industrial development of North American cities and the labour force available is imprecisely understood but reflects some interdependence. It should be noted that cyclical unemployment was also a problem and the result of the continuous economic fluctuations of the time.

The workers most affected by these forms of unemployment were the unskilled. They worked in the sectors most susceptible to economic and seasonal fluctuations and could be easily laid off and replaced at any time from within the large, permanent labour pool. The size of this labour pool was maintained constantly by the lay-off of other workers. This only further depressed wages and increased competition for employment.¹⁰⁴

Thus, unemployment, underemployment and the poverty that accompanied them were a regular part of the nineteenth century worker's experience. S. Thernstrom in his work on Newburyport found that in 1870 workers could expect to work only 240 days a year.¹⁰⁵ E. Monkkonen found similar results in his work on Columbus, Ohio where in 1879 workers lost an average of 8 whole weeks of work a year.¹⁰⁶ R. Mohl also commented on the problem of unemployment in New York City.¹⁰⁷

The life of the unskilled worker is summed up by Mohl as follows: "The irregular nature of employment available to the unskilled workers dictated that they would always dwell on the verge of poverty."¹⁰⁸ Due to subsistence level wages and the subsequent impossibility of saving for bad days ahead, unemployment could mean total ruin. For a large percentage of the population, poverty became "a mode of existence even in prosperous times."¹⁰⁹ Terry Copp has shown that some workers were able to overcome this precarious situation by sending women and children into

the labour market to increase family income.¹¹⁰ No statistics exist to measure the number of women and children on the labour market in the 1850s and 60s so I am unable to state whether this policy could be used as effectively in this period as it was in the 1920s. It should be noted though, that the labour intensive sector, which is the largest employer of women and children was only just beginning to expand in Montreal in this period. As well, the influx of women and children often resulted in a depression of wages across the labour market which probably tended to exaggerate the situation of the male worker.

Most early industrial workers faced unemployment's legacy of hardship and insecurity. There was also a high mortality rate caused by bad living conditions. These problems were even worse for the Montreal worker who had to deal with the Canadian climate as well. To a large extent unemployment was concurrent with the rise in the cost of living brought on by the winter's cold. Fuel was a very expensive necessity,¹¹¹ warmer clothing and extra lighting were essential and the price of food and other commodities rose sharply in response to decrease in supply. At the very point when workers needed extra money to meet the increased cost of living, they ran the greatest chance of losing their jobs and income.¹¹² Being a member of the labour force brought with it the threat of the labour pool.

B. Labour Organizations

Threatened unemployment and bad living conditions were not the only problems workers faced. The growth of the industrial sector resulted in the formation of larger enterprises and more widespread mechanization. These factors also accounted for the increased division of labour. Workers lost their sense of independence and pride in production; they toiled long hours for low pay in workplaces not yet covered by legislation to improve

working conditions and prevent accidents.¹¹³ They were constantly at the mercy of external factors, from changes in the international market to the vagaries of the Canadian weather. In the face of these problems the relationship between the workers and their bosses became increasingly hostile. Workers began to organize themselves against the employers and to use strikes, picketing and parades to further their demands for increased wages and better conditions.¹¹⁴

Although the stike was not used on any large scale until 1880s the 50s and 60s saw the tentative beginning of its use in Quebec. Over that 20 year period workers staged a scant 24 strikes.¹¹⁵

Table 1.10 Strikes Held in the
Province of Quebec
1850-1869

Year	Strikes	Year	Strikes
1850	0	1860	0
1851	0	1861	1
1852	1	1862	1
1853	1	1863	0
1854	1	1864	1
1855	2	1865	0
1856	0	1866	2
1857	0	1867	3
1858	0	1868	1
1859	0	1869	10

Source: Les Travailleurs Québécois, 1851-1896, p. 117
Répertoire des Grèves, pp. 12-27.

No strikes at all were held in the period of slight depression 1856-1860 probably because the workers were less able to withstand the loss of wages and manufacturers would be less badly affected by a diminished production of stock for a depressed market. The strikes in the early 1850s all involved the transport sector. 1861-65 saw two more transport strikes and a strike in the manufacturing sector, while those in 1866-70 largely hit manufacturing 6, transport 4, and building trades 2.¹¹⁶

Until 1868 only 4 of Quebec's 13 strikes took place in Montreal. These involved workers on the Grand Trunk Railway 1955, the Montreal Horse Railway 1861, the Carters 1864, and the Union of Carpenters 1867. In the years 1868 and 1869 though, Montreal was hit by 3 strikes in the manufacturing sector, (2 in tobacco and 1 in boot and shoe), a strike by the Stone Workers Union and another strike by Carters.¹¹⁷ As was the case in other newly industrializing societies, the use of the strike weapon was definitely increasing with growth of industry.

For the most part these strikes were isolated and largely unorganized events involving only 1 enterprise. Most lasted less than two weeks and were unsuccessful.¹¹⁸ They often resulted in violence, especially those strikes organized by unskilled workers. This violence was normally directed against strike breakers and men still working and became particularly bad if the military was called in.¹¹⁹ Workers were as yet not unionized. The unskilled workers such as railway workers, dockers and carters who frequently resorted to strike in this period were organized to some extent but the temporary nature of the work kept their organization from becoming too well developed.¹²⁰

It was mainly among skilled workers that unionism gained a foothold. Although references can be found to unions as early as 1827 it was

only in the late 1840s and 1850s that these bodies became active. By the 1860s many of these unions had developed connections with foreign labour organizations, either American or British and many foreign organizers arrived to introduce new international unions.¹²¹

Before 1866 most of the strikes in Quebec took place among unskilled workers and did not involve unions, but after that point unions played a very prominent role in organizing the workers' protest, (See table 1.11). They were responsible for all 5 of the Province's strikes in 1866 and 1867, and for 6 of the 10 strikes held in 1868 and 1869. In this way the late 60s, to some extent can be seen as a turning point after which most of the strikes involved skilled workers and were organized by their unions. Like the unskilled workers before them, these workers were fighting for increased salaries but were also beginning the struggle for decreased working hours, tighter apprenticeship regulations, and better working conditions.

In the face of increasing organization the employers responded in the true spirit of confrontation, enlisting the help of scab labour,¹²² the army and Militia,¹²³ blacklists,¹²⁴ lockouts,¹²⁵ the criminal code,¹²⁶ and legal arbitration.¹²⁷ Working from a more powerful position, owners were able to use their political influence in an attempt to undermine and destroy the embryo union movement. Three times in the period strikes were settled by arbitration committees. The Québec City Chamber of Commerce intervened as arbitrator in the Docker's strike in 1866 and in the Ships Carpenter's strike in 1867.¹²⁸ The strike of the Montreal Carters in 1864 is even more interesting. In this case the "partie patronale" was supported by the Mayor and a "Committee of Citizens" who organized arbitration by Judge Monk. Not surprisingly, the Judge came to the rather one-sided

Table 1.11 Strikes and Union Involvement,
Quebec, 1850-1869

Year	Industry	Union
1850	-	
1851	-	
1852	Railway Const. (Richmond)	-
1853	Railway Const. (Richmond)	-
1854	Police (Que.)	-
1855	Railway Const. (Mtl.)	-
	Dockers (Que.)	-
1856	-	
1857	-	
1858	-	
1859	-	
1860	-	
1861	Horse Railway Empl. (Mtl.)	-
1862	Wood Mfg. Empl. (Que.)	-
1863	-	
1864	Carters (Mtl.)	-
1865	-	
1866	Dockers (Que.)	Ships Labourers Benevolent Soc.
	Printers (Que.)	Union of Printers
1867	Carpenters (Mtl.)	Union of Carpenters
	Chippers (Que.)	Ships Labourers Benevolent Soc.
	Boat Carpenters (Que.)	Ships Carpenter Union
1868	Tobacco Mfg. (Mtl.)	-
1869	Stone Workers (Mtl.)	Stone Workers Union
	Tobacco Mfg. (Mtl.)	-
	Printers (Mtl.)	Union of Printers
	Glass Workers (Hudson)	-
	Wood Workers (Mtl.)	-
	Boot & Shoe (Mtl.)	Knights of St. Crispin
	Dockers (Que.)	Ships Labourers Benevolent Soc.
	Boot & Shoe (Que.)	Knights of St. Crispin
	Boot & Shoe (Que.)	Knights of St. Crispin
	Carters (Mtl.)	-

Source: Hamelin et al., Répertoire des Grèves.

conclusion that the actions of the Grand Trunk Railway, "favoured the common good!"¹²⁹

The test of the employers' strength came with the arrest of striking workers on charges of conspiracy. The most celebrated case is that of the 24 Toronto printers who were arrested in 1872 during their struggle with, none other than George Brown, M.P. and Master Printer,¹³⁰ though 2 striking Montreal Tobacco workers had been fined on the same charges in 1868.¹³¹ Under Common Law any combination of workers against employers was treated as conspiracy, and the strikers were all found guilty.

The employers ability to use old Common Law precedent making unions illegal was removed by Sir John A. Macdonald when he passed the Canadian Trade Act in 1872, which legalized workers combinations.¹³² This labour victory was somewhat dampened by the Criminal Code Amendment Act passed in the same year which enforced penalties on the use of violence and intimidation during strikes,¹³³ but the organization of the labour movement was well under way and by losing their legal weapon, the employers had suffered a major setback.

Even though unionism was taking hold by 1870 and workers were beginning to organize against undue exploitation by the capitalists, organization still involved only skilled workers and was piece-meal at best. As well, the organization was carried out on the basis of craft unionism which militated against the mutual support of skilled and unskilled workers. The unskilled worker in 1870 was still unorganized, alone, and helpless in the face of industrialization and urbanization.

6. Conclusion

At mid-century Montreal was still basically a commercial city but the industrial sector was fast becoming significant in terms of the numbers of industries, capital invested and the number of workers employed. The period was basically one of prosperity and growth in which Montreal was established as the Canadian metropolis. As well as growth in both commerce and industry the period saw a rapid expansion of the city's population. This increased population provided the labour force needed for industrial development and labour intensive industries began to flourish. As a result of industrialization and division of labour the breakdown of the 'artisan class' was accelerated and the unskilled labour force was swelled by the creation of factory operators. I have used the term 'wage dependant' to refer to the working class because it describes their position in the economic structure and allows for the easy integration of the skilled crafts. Journeymen must be seen as workers and not as potential members of the petite bourgeoisie. Throughout the period never less than 70 percent of the population fell into the wage-dependant category.

Subsistence wages and the constant threat of unemployment kept this working population on the verge of poverty. Their position was aggravated by the problems of the Canadian winters and the areas of the city they populated. Mortality was constantly present as the city neglected to clean sewers and roads and to practise even the most rudimentary forms of preventative medicine. Working class organization was not yet sufficiently developed to challenge the economic structure. Even attempts to raise wages, stabilize employment and improve general conditions often proved futile. The unskilled worker did not benefit from these marginal developments for only the skilled (and few at that) were organized.

The unskilled worker then, survived in the midst of bad living conditions, subsistence wages and unemployment at a time of year when the cost of living was the highest. Some supplement to their economic condition was necessary. No relief being possible within the labour market, this help would have to come from government sponsored welfare or private charity.

Notes

¹For an account of the economic history of the period see Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec 1851-1896 (Montreal: 1971); John C.P. McCallum, "Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario to 1870" Ph.D. Dissertation, McGill University, 1977; H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalist Labour Market in Canada" in A.E. Kovacs ed., Readings in Canadian Labour Economics (Toronto: McGraw-Hill Co. Ltd., 1961); H.C. Pentland, "The Role of Capital in Canadian Economic Development before 1875," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. XVI, No. 4 (November 1950), pp. 457-476.

²The American Civil War opened up new markets for Canadian producers and stimulated the agricultural sector in particular. With the temporary removal of American competition new sectors, particularly tobacco, leather and textile, developed in Montreal. See Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 85, 371.

³For a discussion of the general economic trends in the period. See Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec pp. 76-87.

⁴Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 80-84. For the effects of these banking crises on Canadian banks see A.Shortt, "Currency and Banking in Canada, 1840-1867" in Canada and its Provinces, A History of the Canadian People and their Institutions by 100 Associates, ed, Adam Shortt and Arthur G. Doughty, Vol. V, (Toronto: 1914) pp. 261-295.

⁵Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 84-87.

⁶The interior at this point was Upper Canada. For a discussion of the St. Lawrence System project see Donald Creighton, Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850 (Toronto: 1937). For the developing rivalry between Montreal and Toronto for the control over the Ontario interior see Donald Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal. The struggle for Financial Hegemony, 1860-75", Canadian Historical Review, Vol. XXII, No. 2. (1941), pp. 133-147; Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 335-363, 101-119.

⁷Ibid., pp. 7, 360-361.

⁸For an account of the politics behind this steam service and the development of the Montreal Ocean Steamship Company see Gerald Tulchinsky, The River Barons, Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation 1837-1853. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977), pp. 112-118.

⁹ Jean-Claude Robert, "Montreal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'Urbanisation" Ph.D. dissertation, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, 1977. For Montreal's control of the wholesale trade to Upper Canada see Michael Katz, The People of Hamilton, Canada West Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City (Cambridge, Mass.: 1975) p. 193.

¹⁰ For a discussion of railways, financing and construction see Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 129-141; Tulchinsky, The River Barons, pp. 148-168.

¹¹ Tulchinsky, The River Barons, p. 25. For a discussion of investment patterns see Tulchinsky, The River Barons, passim.

¹² Tom Naylor, The History of Canadian Business, The History of Canadian Business 1867-1914. 2 Vols. Toronto: James Lorimer & Co., 1975, Vol. 2. For an account of British investment in canals and railways see Naylor, p. 20-30.

¹³ Tulchinsky, The River Barons, pp. 125-6. For the development of the Canadian Banking System see Tom Naylor, History of Canadian Business, Vol. 1 pp. 66-74; Adam Shatt, "Currency and Banking," B. Hammond, "Banking in Canada Before Confederation" in Approaches to Canadian Economic History, ed. W.T. Easterbrooke & J.M. Watkins, (Montreal: McClelland & Stewart, 1967).

¹⁴ Their political positions also provided them with much influence over the granting of contracts and capital grants.

¹⁵ This was particularly true of the canals and railways which stimulated much industrial development.

¹⁶ Naylor, History of Canadian Business, Vol. I.

¹⁷ Tulchinsky, The River Barons, pp. 228-31, see Hamelin et Roby, Histoire Economique du Québec, pp. 261-76 for a description of the main industries. Also Jean-Claude Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," pp. 277-301. The capital for these early industries did not come from the merchant class (with the exception of the processing industries) since such an investment involved large amounts of fixed capital with only long term returns and also demanded close management. There was as yet, no real division between corporate ownership and management in the 1850s, see Tulchinsky, The River Barons, pp. 203-31. For the development of industry and its investment patterns, see Tom Naylor, The History of Canadian Business, pp. 37-64. This source deals with the Post-Confederation period but has references to the historical development and establishment of different industries.

¹⁸ Sawmills and gristmills were responsible for more than 50 percent of manufacturing's share of the G.N.P. in 1850. By 1870 this share had been decreased to about 33 percent owing to the increased importance of the consumer durable sector. In both years manufacturing accounted for approximately 18 percent of the G.N.P. Naylor, History of Canadian Business, Vol. 1 p. 4.

¹⁹ Boot and shoe was the main Montreal production sector by 1872 with 30 large establishments, 7,000 workers and more than 25,000 people dependent on the industry. Jean-Claude Robert, "Montreal 1821-1871," pp. 278-9. For a discussion of these workers see Joanne Burgess, "L'industrie de la Chaussure à Montreal: 1840-1870, le passage de l'artisanat à la fabrique," Revue d'Histoire de l'Amérique Française, Vol. 31, No. 2 (Septembre, 1977), pp. 187-211.

²⁰ For contemporary sources on industrial development in Montreal see Montreal in 1856; a Sketch Prepared for the Opening of the Grand Trunk Railway in Canada. (Montreal: 1856); The Commerce of Montreal and Its Manufacturers. (Montreal: 1888). Census of Canada 1851-52, Vol. 1; Census of Canada 1860-61, Vol. 2; S.P. Day, English America or Picture of Canadian Places and People, Vol. 1. (London: 1864).

²¹ For the development of the Lachine Canal see Tulchinsky, The River Barons, pp. 220-28.

²² J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 161.

²³ Tulchinsky, The River Barons, p. 231.

²⁴ Montreal in 1856, p. 38.

²⁵ The Board of Registration and Statistics was first established in 1847. J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 63.

²⁶ Census of Canada 1851-52, p. IV.

²⁷ P.P. Carpenter refers to the inadequacy of the census data in his articles on mortality in Montreal. See this chapter pp. ; John Langton "The Census of 1861," Transactions of the Literary and Historical Society of Quebec 1863-64. New Series Part 2, pp. 105-129, (quoted in J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 64).

²⁸ David P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861." Social History, Vol. VII, No. 14 (November 1974), pp. 353-66.

²⁹ G.W. Bertram, "Historical Statistics on Growth and Structure of Manufacturing in Canada, 1870-1957" in J. Henripin, ed. Canadian Political Science Association Conference of Statistics, 1962 and 1963, Papers, (Toronto: 1964), pp. 93-146. O.J. Firestone, Canada's Economic Development 1867-1952 with Special Reference to Changes in the Country's National Product and National Wealth, unpublished paper prepared for the third Conference of the International Association for Research in Income and Wealth, Castelgandolfo, Italy, September 1953.

³⁰ J.C.P. McCallum, "Agriculture and Economic Development," pp. 346.

³¹ Montreal in 1856; The Commerce of Montreal and its Manufactures, passim.

³² Ibid., Census of Canada, 1871.

³³ J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," pp. 280-81.

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 282: On the boot and shoe industry, see Burgess, "L'Industrie de la Chaussure," p. 206.

³⁵ J.C.P. McCallum, "Agriculture and Economic Development," pp. 366-369.

³⁶ Census of Canada 1851-52. Vol. 1.

Census of Canada 1860-61. Vol. 1.

Census of Canada 1870-71. Vol. 1.

³⁷ This increase in population is evidence of the urbanization Canada was undergoing. The percentage of the population which was urbanized took the following pattern:

<u>Year</u>	<u>Percentage Increase</u>
1825	10
1851	13
1861	15.8
1871	18.3
1901	35

The urban population was increasing at a much faster rate than that of the population as a whole. The respective rates of increase were 62 percent, and 33 percent in 1851, and 31% and 13 percent in 1861. These figures also illustrate how the rate of growth experienced in the 1850s accelerated faster than that of the 1860s. Leroy A. Stone, Urban Development in Canada. An Introduction to the Demographic Aspects. (Ottawa: 1867), pp. 28-29.

³⁸ Duncan McDougall, "Immigration into Canada, 1851-1920"; Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, Vol. 27, (1961), pp. 162-176.

³⁹ Ibid., pp. 170-172. The British Parliamentary figures for emigration to British North America bear out this premise.

<u>Year</u>	<u>No. of Emigrants: BNA</u>	<u>Percentage of total British Emigrants</u>
1850-54	257.000	11.4
55-59	187.000	9.0
60-64	72.000	8.9
65-69	101.000	9.5

The percentage of the total British emigration destined for Canada was definitely decreasing. The average over this period was 9.7 percentage of British emigration. The average for the period 1815-50 was 46.9 percent and it had been as high as 70.5 percent in 1830-1824. For a discussion of British emigration to Canada, its components and fluctuations etc., see Helen Cowan, British Emigration to British North America, The

First Hundred Years, (Toronto: 1961); W.A. Carrothers, Emigration From the British Isles with Special Reference to the Development of the Overseas Dominions (London: P.S. King & Son, 1929); Lloyd G. Reynolds, The British Emigrants, His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, (Toronto: 1935)

⁴⁰ Rural migration to the city was a widespread phenomenon John Modell in his work on Reading, Pennsylvania finds that most of these immigrants came from countries immediately surrounding the city and tended to move into the unskilled workers category. John Modell, "The Peopling of a Working Class Word Reading Pennsylvania, 1850," Journal of Social History, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Fall, 71), pp. 71-96; See also Eric H. Monkkonen, The Dangerous Class. Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio 1860-1885. (Cambridge, Mass.: 1975).

⁴¹ For a discussion of the French Canadian emigration to New England, see Yolande Lavoie, L'Emigration des Canadiens aux Etats-Unis avant 1930. Mesure du Phénomène, (Montreal: Les Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972); Yolande Lavoie, "Les Movements Migratoires des Canadiens Entre Leur Pays et Les Etats-Unis an XIX^e et au XX^e Siecles: Etude Quantative" in La Population du Québec, Etudes Retrospectives ed. Hubert Charbonneau, (Les Editions du Boréal Express, 1973), pp. 73. Iris S. Podea, "Quebec to 'Little Canada:' The Coming of the French Canadians to New England in the Nineteenth Century," in The Aliens: A History of Ethnic Minorities in America, ed. L. Dinnerstein and F.C. John. (New York: 1970); Ralph Vicero, "Immigration of French Canadians to New England, 1840-1900: A Geographical Analysis." Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Winsconsin, 1968.

⁴² J.C. Robert: "Montreal 1851-71," p. 181. As is the trend in other rural migrations (see ft. 38) upto 80 percent of these migrants came from districts close by, p. 191.

⁴³ Ibid., pp. 181, 190-192.

⁴⁴ Census of 1852. Vo. 1.

⁴⁵ An examination of the Census 1852, 1861 and 1871 for the origin of the population shows that "French" residents made up approximately 0.0019 percent of the population in 1851, 0.0026 percent in 1861 and 0.0023 percent in 1871. In numerical terms, there were 173 Montrealers of French origin in 1851, 170 in 1861 and 279 in 1871. An increase of 146 persons over a 20 year period does not represent a very significant contribution. Census of 1852, Vol. 1.; Census of 1861, Vol. 1., Census of 1871. Vol. 1.

⁴⁶ See Table 1.6.

⁴⁷ I have looked at a number of travellers' reports. These are listed in the Bibliography under primary sources.

⁴⁸ S.P. Day, English America, pp. 156-229.

⁴⁹ Ibid., p. 164.

⁵⁰ Ibid., p. 165.

⁵¹ Ibid.

⁵² James A. McGill, "Report of the City Surveyor" in Surveyors' Reports 1841-69. (City Archives), 1848, p. 3-4; 1850, p. 3; 1852, p. 9; 1854, p. 5.

⁵³ Ibid., 1850, p. 3.

⁵⁴ Ibid., 1854, p. 5.

⁵⁵ The waterworks were also totally inadequate for the growing population. Taken over by the municipality in 1845, the system consisted of 2 engines with a pumping capacity of 93,000 gallons and 14 miles of pipes. By 1850 the city had constructed a reservoir with a capacity of 3,000,000 gallons and laid 25 miles of pipe. The construction of a waterworks to secure water from the river above the Lachine Rapids and to store it in a reservoir 37 feet above the harbour level capable of holding 5,000,000 gallons was completed by 1856. Even though water was available for distribution by 1856 there were still problems with ice blockage in the winter and large districts of the city were still not supplied with water-mains. In these areas the masses still bought water in the street from water sellers or collected it in rain pails or rain pits. By 1863 only 13,000 houses were connected to the water supply. By 1870 this number had risen to 18,059 houses and the water supply was beginning to become widespread. See Clifford F. Smith, The Montreal Water Works. Its History Compiled from the Year 1800-1912. (Montreal: 1913), pp. 13-17.; J.W. Hughes, "How Plumbing was done in Montreal Fifty years ago" in Montreals' Yesterdays, ed. E.A. Collard. (Don Mills: Ont.: 1965), p. 133; J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 231.

⁵⁶ Thomas C. Keefer, "Montreal" - Lecture delivered at the Mechanics Institute, January 1853. (Montreal: 1854). He was referring here to the large fire of July 1852 which destroyed 1,100 houses. See chapter 4, pages 155 - 61. The Cholera he anticipated became a reality by the summer of 1854.

⁵⁷ John P. Doyle, "Report on the Drainage and Sewage of the City of Montreal," and "The Appendix to the Report on the Drainage and Sewage" both in Surveyors' Reports 1841-69, Montreal City Archives.

⁵⁸ J.P. Doyle, Report of the City Surveyor for the year 1857. (Montreal: 1857) pp. 5-11.

⁵⁹ Ibid., p. 36

⁶⁰ Peter Macquisten, city surveyor, was still arguing the necessity of immediate action in 1860. "Report of the City Surveyor for year 1860," in Surveyors' Reports 1841-69., pp. 40-41.

⁶¹ P. Macquisten, "Report of the City Surveyor 1861, 1862," in Surveyors' Reports 1847-69, 1861, p. 40; 1862, pp. iii-iv.

⁶² Ibid., 1865, pp. 3, 6; 1866, p. 4; 1867, p. 6.

⁶³ In a two month period 1186 deaths were reported.

⁶⁴ The Montreal Gazette, 8 July 1854, "What Sanitary Measures Have Been Adopted?"

⁶⁵ Ibid.

⁶⁶ The Montreal Gazette, 4 July 1854.

⁶⁷ Minutes of the City Council Meetings, 4 July

⁶⁸ Minutes of the City Council Meetings, Vol. 77, 7 October 1863, p. 64, 4 November 1863, pp. 76-8.

⁶⁹ The Sanitary Association was formed by Philip P. Carpenter. For a discussion of his work and his influence on Montreal see below pp. 24-27.

⁷⁰ The 1863 Health Committee was integrated into the Board of Health. Minutes of the City Council Meetings, Vol. 83, 10 August 1866, p. 62; Consolidated Statutes of Canada, chapter 68; Eugene Gagnon, "Notes on the Early History and Evolution of the Department of Health of Montreal," Public Health Journal, Vol. 29, No. 5, May 1938, p. 216.

⁷¹ Gagnon, "Notes on the Early History - Department of Health," pp. 216-17.

⁷² Philip P. Carpenter, On the Relative Value of Human Life in Different Parts of Canada, (Montreal: 1859); "On the Vital Statistics of Montreal," The Canadian Naturalist and Quarterly Journal of Science, December 1866, pp. 135-56; "On Some of the Causes of Excessive Mortality of Young Children in the City of Montreal," The Canadian Naturalist and Quarterly Journal of Science, June 1869, pp. 188-206.

⁷³ Andrew Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - Montreal Compared with London, Glasgow, and Manchester," Montreal Witness, August 1869, p. 14.

⁷⁴ Andrew Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - Montreal Compared with London, Glasgow, and Manchester". "Notes on the Principles of Population - The Vital Statistics of Montreal, by Philip Carpenter," Daily News, September 1869.

⁷⁵ This is basically a problem with the sources. The death rate is derived from the cemetery returns which include the burial of still-born and non-baptized babies, while the birth rate is calculated from baptisms which do not include either of these children.

⁷⁶ Carpenter quotes the Montreal population in 1865 as both 106,375 and 103,363 in different sources. He has the population from 1865-1868

increasing at annual rates of 7.8, 4.4. and 4.4 with no explanation for these figures or the different rates. In the Sanitary Association Report he has quoted the rate of increase in this period as 4.7. Watt has calculated the rate for the same period as 5.1. See Carpenter, "On Causes of Excessive Mortality," p. 189; "On Vital Statistics," p. 141, 6. Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - The Vital Statistics," p. 17.

⁷⁷Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - Montreal Compared to London," p. 11; "Notes on the Principles of Population - The Vital Statistics," p. 22.

⁷⁸Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - Montreal Compared to London," p. 10.

⁷⁹Watt, "Notes on the Principles of Population - The Vital Statistics," p. 21.

⁸⁰Gagnon; "Notes on the Early History - Department of Health," p. 217. A Study of the mortality rate of Quebec City during this period places the crude rate at approximately 29.8/1000. See André Lespérance, "La Mortalité à Québec de 1771 à 1870," M.A. thesis, University of Montreal, 1970, p. 138.

⁸¹Carpenter, "On Causes of Excessive Mortality," p. 205.

⁸²For the condition of the emigrants on their arrival, see G.J. Parr "The Welcome and Wake, Attitudes in Canada West Towards the Irish Famine Migration." Ontario History, Vol. LXVI, No. 2. (June '74) pp. 101-113; D.C. Lyne, "The Irish in the Province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation." Ph.D. dissertation, McGill, see discussions of these problems, M. Katz, The People of Hamilton, pp. 69-71.

⁸³Lucie Blanchette; Paul-André Linteau, Nicole Saint-Denis, "Les Rôles d'Evaluation de 1851," Groupe de Recherche sur la Société Montréalaise au 19^e Siècle-Rapport 1972-73. No. 2, pp. 3-5

⁸⁵The 1851 Census only gives occupational data for the head of the household. It is unclear who all has been covered in the 1861 Census. J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 248.

⁸⁶Given only aggregate figures, it is impossible to make correlations between different pieces of information, for example occupation, religion, residence, income etc.

⁸⁷For a discussion of the transition within the guild system to industrial capitalism see M. Dobb, Studies in the Development of Capitalism. Rev. ed., (London: Kegan Paul Ltd., 1963), pp. 134-144, 229-230; Leo Huberman, Man's Worldly Goods, The Story of the Wealth of Nations (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1963), pp. 64-70; Eugene J. Rice, The Foundations of Early Modern Europe, 1460-1559, The Norton History of Europe Series (New York: W.W. Norton & Co. Inc., 1970), pp. 48-53.

⁸⁸ L. Huberman, Man's Worldly Goods, pp. 66-70; E.J. Rice, Foundations of Early Modern Europe, p. 49.

⁸⁹ This is the main problem with the work done by François-Albert Angers and Patrick Allen, "Evolution des emplois au Canada" L'Actualité Economique, Vol. XXIX, No. 1 (April: 1953), pp. 75-104.

⁹⁰ The category Professional includes government officials such as City Counsellors, Chief of Police, Sheriff, City Surveyor & Inspectors. Clergymen are also included in this category.

⁹¹ In his work on Hamilton, Upper Canada where he uses the "five cities occupational scale", Katz has grouped all the "makers" with the skilled trades in Group No. III.

⁹² The manufacturers are somewhat underestimated in the occupational scale. In 1851 only 36 appear by title whereas there are 63 industrial establishments. In 1861 the figures are 103 and 146. The missing owners must be either in the skilled trades or the shopkeepers.

⁹³ For a discussion of the transition to mechanization in the boot and shoe industry see Joanne Burgess, "L'industrie de la chaussure à Montréal," *passim*.

⁹⁴ Most of these carters were independent owning their own cart and horse but were very susceptible to changes in economic circumstances. An increasing number of poor carters had lost their independence and were working for "master carters." For a discussion of these problems see Margaret Heap, "La grève des charretiers à Montréal, 1864," Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Vol. 31, No. 3 (Décembre, 1977) pp. 371-397.

⁹⁵ For a discussion of the effects of these factors on London see Gareth Steadman Jones, Outcast London. A Study in the Relationship Between Classes in Victorian Society (Markham, Ontario: 1971) pp. 31-4, 56.

⁹⁶ Census of Canada, 1871, p. X.

⁹⁷ During the winter season poverty was often so widespread that even the municipal government, which had no organized system of poor relief, would be forced to give aid to the poor in the form of subsidized fuel and soup kitchens.

⁹⁸ Testimony given to the Royal Commission on the Relations of Capital and Labour, 1889 proves the existence of seasonal unemployment. See especially the testimony of Frederick Nichols, Secretary of the Canadian Manufacturing Association., p. 71; also pp. 13, 26, 116, 144, 152. Canada Investigates Industrialism, Greg Kealey ed. (Toronto: 1973).

⁹⁹Herbert Ames, The City Below the Hill (Toronto: 1972, c. 1897), p. 73.

¹⁰⁰Ibid., p. 68.

¹⁰¹Ibid., pp. 73.

¹⁰²G.S. Jones, Outcast London, p. 39. This was the pattern followed in London where a sophisticated relationship developed between different seasonal occupations.

¹⁰³Stephan Thernstorm, "Urbanization, Migration and Social Mobility in Late Nineteenth-Century America" in American Urban History, ed. A.B. Callow (Toronto: 1969), p. 264; J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71", p. 307.

¹⁰⁴See G.S. Jones, Outcast London, p. 36.

¹⁰⁵Stephan Thernstorm, Poverty in Progress, Social Mobility in a Nineteenth-Century City (New York: 1974), p. 36.

¹⁰⁶Monkkonen, The Dangerous Class, p. 192.

¹⁰⁷R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, (New York: 1973), p. 96. The lack of economic security in the face of unemployment and the large labour force is also commented on by Leon S. Marshall, "The English and American Industrial City of The Nineteenth Century" in American Urban History, ed. A.B. Callow (Toronto: 1969), p. 152.

¹⁰⁸R. Mohl, Poverty in New York, p. 96.

¹⁰⁹S. Marshall, "The English and American Industrial City", p. 152.

¹¹⁰Terry Copp, Anatomy of Poverty, the Condition of the Working Class in Montreal 1896-1929 (Toronto: 1974), esp. pp. 30-75.

¹¹¹Helene Huguette Roy, "Paupérisme et l'Assistance sociale à Montréal, 1822-54", unpub. M.A. thesis, McGill University, 1971, p. 9; J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71", p. 311.

¹¹²Working class housing compounded these problems. Their limited means dictated that they live in the cheap low-lying areas of the city which were more susceptible to floods in the spring. As well most of these houses were constructed of wood and were expensive to heat. A study of the Census Reports will show that in 1851, 63 percent of Montreal houses were constructed in wood. In 1861 this was still true of 42.7 percent.

Census of Canada, 1852, Vol. 2, p. 463; Census of Canada, 1861, Vol. 2, p. 360.

¹¹³ Such legislation was not passed until 1885 when the Quebec Factory Act became law. For a discussion of working conditions in Quebec see Jacques Bernier, "La condition des travailleurs 1850-1896", in Les travailleurs québécois 1851-1896, ed. Noel Bélanger et al. (Montréal: 1975), esp. pp. 30-44.

¹¹⁴ On the early development of the labour movement in Canada see C. Lipton, The Trade Union Movement in Canada 1827-1959. (Montreal: 1969), pp. 1-58; Jack Scott, Sweat and Struggle. Working Class Struggles in Canada (Vancouver: 1974), pp. 1-94; H.A. Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, Their Development and Functioning (Toronto: 1948), pp. 23-43. For this development in Quebec see Hamelin et Roby, Histoire économique du Québec, pp. 304-14; Jacques Rouillard et Judith Burt, "Le monde ouvrier", in Les travailleurs québécois 1851-1896, esp. pp. 61-82.

¹¹⁵ To give a more comprehensive treatment of workers' organization and strikes I have used information for both Quebec and Montreal. Any figures which represent Montreal are specified as such. The information on strikes is taken from Jean Hamelin, Paul Laroque et Jacques Rouillard, Répertoire des grèves dans la Province de Québec au XIXe siècle (Montreal: 1970). The authors have used the four major newspapers in the province (The Montreal Gazette and The Herald in the case of Montreal) to compile detailed information on every strike held in the province.

¹¹⁶ See Table 1.10 for a detailed list of strikes and the industries involved.

¹¹⁷ For a description of these strikes see Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 12-27; also Paul Laroque, "Les Grèves", in Les Travailleurs Québécois 1851-1896, pp. 128-31.

¹¹⁸ Paul Laroque, "Les grèves", p. 129.

¹¹⁹ Ibid., p. 148. For an account of these early railway and dock strikes see Hamelin et al, Répertoire des grèves, pp. 10-17.

¹²⁰ Jacques Rouillard et Judith Burt, "Le monde ouvrier", p. 63.

¹²¹ For an account of this development see Lipton, The Trade Union Movement, pp. 22-5; Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, pp. 28-31. The earliest English unions were the Amalgamated Society of Engineers and the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters and Joiners. The early American unions with Canadian affiliates included The Iron Moulders Union of North America, The National Typographical Union, The Union of Cigarists, The Brotherhood of Firemen and Engineers, and the Knights of St. Crispin. This latter

union is of particular interest. They began the organization of the boot and shoe workers in Quebec in 1867 and by 1869 had organized three separate strikes on the issues of salary, mechanization and apprenticeship control (a closed shop). See Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 24, 26, 27; Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, pp. 30-4.

122 The use of scab labour was one way employers could maintain production levels during a strike. This policy was used during the Montreal Printers strike in 1869 and also that of the boot and shoe workers the same year. Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 22, 27.

123 A policy first used on the striking Lachine Canal workers in 1843 (Scott, Sweat and Struggle, pp. 67-74), the use of the military as strike breakers continued to be an effective method to put down strikes. The strike by the Grand Trunk Railway workers in 1855 proved to be the most violent in Montreal. The militia or police were called in for the following strikes. Dockers (Quebec, 1855, 1866, 1869); Railway Construction workers (Richmond, 1855); Boat Carpenters (Quebec, 1867) and Carters (Montreal, 1869). See Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 11-13, 16-17, 19, 26, 27.

124 Blacklisting union men was one way of maintaining employer control over the "shop". This method was used to attack the Ship Labourers Benevolent Society in 1867 and 1869; the Ship Carpenters Union in 1867 and the Montreal Typographical Union in 1869. In the case of the Ship Labourers Benevolent Society in 1869 the blacklisting had been the cause of the strike. Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 18, 19, 21, 25.

125 This method of attacking the union/workers, was used against the Union of Stone Workers in their strike in Montreal, 1869 and against the sawmill employees of Benson Hall & Co., Montmorency in the same year. Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 22, 23.

126 See discussion below p. 41.

127 Arbitration was used to end strikes in Montreal, 1855 and Quebec 1867 and 1869. See discussion immediately following.

128 Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 19, 25.

129 The strike had begun as a protest against the monopolistic policies of the Railway which had included carter service in their railfare and in this way undermined the independence of the city's carters. For a discussion of the strike see Margaret Heap, "La grève des charretiers à Montréal, 1864", pp. 377-395. The arbitrators of

the Dockers strike in Quebec, 1869 came to a similar decision when they refused to rule against blacklisting. Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, pp. 15,25.

¹³⁰ For a discussion of the 1872 Printers strike see Lipton, The Trade Union Movement, pp. 28-34; Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, pp. 37-40; Scott, Sweat and Struggle, pp. 81-89.

¹³¹ Twenty one strikers had been arrested on charges of conspiracy but only two were prosecuted. Hamelin et al., Répertoire des grèves, p. 20

¹³² Lipton, The Trade Union Movement, pp. 32-34; Logan, Trade Unions in Canada, p. 40; Scott, Sweat and Struggle, p. 94.

¹³³ This act was amended in 1876. Lipton, The Trade Union Movement, pp. 39-41.

CHAPTER II

POOR RELIEF

The economic fluctuations and instability characteristic of nineteenth century Canada placed a large number of its population in a very precarious situation. It was possible that in the case of sickness or unemployment many would find themselves with no resources for their maintenance and would become dependant on some form of income outside of the labour market.

The relief of poverty can take many forms. It can be a part of a government system regulated by Parliament and carried out by paid government officials; part of a system whereby funds are funnelled through the church to the poor; or part of network of private associations established for some broad purpose such as national societies or for the specific purpose of aiding the poor as in the case of charitable institutions.

In this chapter we will examine all the forms of aid available to the Montreal poor other than the charitable institutions which are the subject of the next chapter. We will look first to the example of a government relief system in Britain and then compare the role assumed by the governments in Canada - both that of the central state and that of the municipal council. Having established the amount of relief available in this area, we will turn to a brief outline of the relief provided by the various Montreal churches and the national societies.

1. The British Poor Law

As a British colony dominated by a British-Canadian merchant class it is probable that Canada would look to Britain's example when dealing with the problem of its own poor relief. It would therefore be useful to examine the British system of poor relief before we examine the way in which the problem was dealt with in Lower Canada, and more specifically, in Montreal.

The dominant attitude towards poverty in Britain and in most nineteenth century countries undergoing industrialization is exemplified by the New Poor Law passed by the British Parliament in 1834.¹ Based on the virtues of "self-help" and "laissez-faire," this new law assumed that poverty was an individual responsibility, and made relief available only within the confines of a workhouse. In response to the economic instability England was experiencing in the late eighteenth century, a system of supplementing wages and providing help in the home (outdoor relief) had developed in some areas of England.² In the 1834 bill this system was totally rejected and replaced by a system of efficient and impersonal centralized relief.³ The new system combined national and local organizations. Poor relief was organized by a National Control Board, paid for by local poor rates, and was administered by local boards. Cases requiring specialized care were the responsibility of private charity.⁴

The underlying intent of the New Poor Law was to eliminate extensive dependence on state aid (pauperism) by ending all outdoor relief. Through the implementation of a "workhouse test" which made relief available only inside a workhouse, the administrators hoped to separate the "deserving" from the "undeserving" poor.⁵ When an application for relief

was made, the applicant was offered a place in the workhouse. Life in the workhouse was deliberately made worse than that of the poorest worker on the labour market (principle of less eligibility).⁶ Thus, acceptance of a place was a clear indication of extreme need. If the applicant refused the workhouse, he did not really need relief; if he accepted, it proved his extreme need and his willingness to work, i.e. his "deserving" nature.

Elimination of outdoor relief to the able-bodied poor was unrealistic in the larger industrial centers where under-employment was a central cause of poverty. Although never completely implemented in these cities,⁷ this principle is representative of the Victorian approach to poverty. Based on the dubious assumption that employment was available for all who wanted to work, unemployment was seen as a sign of laziness and immorality. Poverty was defined by the Poor Law Commission as "the state of one, who in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour."⁸ This definition reflected the general belief that poverty was the natural condition of the working class, therefore posed no problem. It was feared that indiscriminate relief would undermine the workers' independence and encourage too many to choose poverty rather than work.⁹

As a result of this new system, the able-bodied poor were refused help. The destitute and indigent received aid, but in the process they became paupers since the workhouse inmate was totally dependent on state aid. Therefore, pauperism was dealt with by harsh treatment in the workhouse while the real problem of poverty and its role in the economic system went unrecognized and unchanged. As we will see later, many of the assumptions underlying the British approach to poverty were shared by the Protestant upper class in nineteenth century Montreal.

2. The Refusal of Central Control

Unlike the British government, the Canadian governments never established central systems of poor relief.¹⁰ Faithful to the "Ancien Regime" tradition from which it developed, charity in Lower Canada was, for the most part, the responsibility of the Church. In Upper Canada, the very idea of a poor law had been rejected by the first Assembly in 1792 and this also resulted in the shifting of responsibility for the poor from the State to private institutions.¹¹

The State first assumed some responsibility with its subsidization of private charities. By 1850s substantial sums were being granted to various institutions.¹² A study of the Public Accounts for the period 1850-67 shows that many Montreal institutions were receiving government grants.¹³ Table 2.1 indicates the annual amount of the grants and the year in which each institution began to receive aid. The number of institutions subsidized increased over the period 1850-1866 from three in 1850 (2 Protestants, 1 Catholic) to eleven in 1866 (4 Protestant, 7 Catholic). The amounts granted were fairly consistent over this period with an obvious downward trend beginning 1863. Some attempt might have been made to correlate the amount of the grant with the services performed by the individual institutions, for similar institutions received grants of equal amounts.¹⁴

In 1859 the central government made an attempt to supervise these charities by placing them within the jurisdiction of the Prison Inspection Act.¹⁵ Even though the government provided financial support, the criteria for aid was determined independently by each charity's Management Board. This new Inspection Act empowered the government to establish and enforce guidelines. However no inspection was forthcoming and guidelines were never established.¹⁶

Table 2.1 Government Grants to Charitable Institutions (in Dollars)

Year of Grant		1850	1851	1852	1853	1854	1855	1856	1857	1858	1859	1860	1861	1862	1863	1864	1865	1866
NAME OF INSTITUTIONS RECEIVING GRANTS	Ladies Benevolant Society	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	320	320	--	320
	Mtl. Protestant Orphan Asylum	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	600	600	600	800	800	800	640	640	--	640
	Charitable Ass. of Ladies of Roman Catholic Asylum	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	400	--	320	320	--	320
	Montreal House of Refuge						600	600	--	600	600	600	600	600	480	480	--	480
	Grant in Aid - Soeurs de la Providence							1400	1400	1400	1400	1400	1400	1000	1120	1120	--	1120
	St. Patrick's R.C. Orphan Asylum								800	800	800	800	800	800	640	640	--	640
	Home and School of Industry								400	400	400	400	400	400	320	320	--	320
	Bonaventure Street Asylum (RC)											1000	1000	1000	430	430	--	430
	Magdalen Asylum (Soeurs du Bon Pasteur)											400	400	400	320	320	--	320
	Asylum for Blind & Destitute Children													600	430	430	--	430
	Nazareth																	
	St-Vincent-de-Paul Ass.															430	--	430
	Roman Catholic Orphan Asylum															320	--	320

Source: Public Accounts for the Province of Canada
Journal of Legislature Assembly Appendix 1850-59
Sessional Papers 1860-67.

The central government took no direct role in the relief of poverty and concerned itself merely with subsidizing private institutions. It would be useless to hypothesize what the government policy would have been had no private organizations existed. In fact, we will find that the main reason given for the establishment of several of the Protestant charities was the failure of the various governments to relieve the needs of the community.¹⁷

3. Limited Responsibility - The Montreal City Council Deals with Poverty.

No coherent municipal relief system was developed to compensate for State inertia. An examination of the "Report of the Treasurer of the City of Montreal" for the years 1850-1866 and the "Minutes of the City Council Meetings" for the same period (volumes 43-83 of that series), show the extent of municipal involvement in poor relief. Municipal relief expenditures fell into 5 main categories: natural disaster, economic crisis, fuel, vaccinations¹⁸ and foundlings.¹⁹

When natural disasters occurred, the city government formed a special relief committee to organize the necessary relief measures, and often made financial contributions to such works. In 1852 the city council apportioned \$4,000.00 for the relief of the 10,000 victims of the blaze which devastated the eastern section of the city.²⁰ This grant financed the building and the repairing of sheds to house the victims over the winter months. The relief of these fire victims will be discussed in more detail in the fourth chapter.

During the cholera epidemic in 1854 the city paid the hospitals for the care of all these stricken.²¹ Another relief committee was established in 1861 when a flood destroyed parts of St. Anne's and St. Joseph's wards and the council granted \$2,400.00 for relief.²²

An unavoidable problem faced by the poor in Montreal was the high

cost of fuel during the winter. Since fuel was a vital necessity, its purchase became crucial to survival. Montreal citizens and newspapers expressed great concern for the poor, unable to afford both fuel and food. The unfortunates were faced with the choice of freezing or starving.²³ Several times during the period in question, the city council provided relief for its poorer citizens by selling firewood at reduced prices. By an agreement made with the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway in 1851, green wood, for use the following winter, was transported to Montreal at reduced rates.²⁴ The wood was to be sold to the poor at cost plus charges. The budget for the year 1854 includes the following entries: under debits, "wood purchased and re-sold to the poor at cost price: 276 cords, \$1,200.00;" under proceeds: "wood sold to the poor: 219 cords, \$1,424.00".²⁵ It seems that the city was an advocate of the principle later advanced by H.B. Ames: "Philanthropy and 5 percent."²⁶

In its attempt to decrease fuel costs, the city ran up against the problem of monopoly. It appears that several large dealers were able to monopolize the market by purchasing whole shipments of firewood as it was unloaded on the docks. This practice not only raised the general price of firewood but also prohibited the poor from buying their supplies directly from the producers.²⁷ To end this monopoly, a city by-law was passed in July 1855, "to regulate the sale of firewood and other woods and to prohibit the sale thereof on the wharves, streets and other public places of this city except in certain cases."²⁸

In times of economic crisis poor relief committees were established. The Poor Relief Committee of 1855 was established to distribute the three "appropriations to the poor" granted by the City Council. The first of these for \$444.00²⁹ was granted to the Sisters of Bon Pasteur for the support

of 30 destitute Irish female immigrants.³⁰ The remaining two appropriations, both totalling \$600.00, were distributed for use by the following existing charities: Sisters of the Widows Association, Sisters of the General Hospital, Ladies of St. Joseph's Asylum, Ladies of the Provident Asylum, The Methodist Association and the Protestant House of Refuge.³¹ References to these grants made by both Mayor Nelson and the Protestant House of Refuge, indicate that they were specifically allocated for the provision of soup and bread.³²

During the next financial slump in 1858, a public meeting was held to discuss poor relief and a total of \$2,400.00 was distributed through private charities.³³ In 1865, a notice of motion was brought before Council to grant a sum of money for the relief of the poor but the motion does not appear in the subsequent minutes.³⁴

In both 1857 and 1859 attempts were made by several council members to institute employment-relief projects during the winter.³⁵ These projects had the advantage of securing labour at cheap winter rates while relieving the destitution caused by season unemployment. No definite action ever resulted from these proposals, and it seems that the city had little interest in such make-work programmes.³⁶

The municipal government had an indefinite, almost sporadic policy regarding poor relief. It acted only in response to specific problems and, even then, distributed the sums it granted through the network of existing charities.³⁷

As we have already seen, this policy was followed despite the efforts of several aldermen to implement more permanent methods of dealing with the problem. One such effort concerned the establishment of a municipal "House of Industry."³⁸ In 1808, John Conrad Marsteller³⁹ left a legacy to establish

such an institution but no action was taken for nearly half a century.⁴⁰ When the city indicated its intent to establish such a 'House' in May 1855, the legacy was transferred to the municipal treasury.⁴¹ Although several committees were formed to study the necessary course of action and repairs were made on the property, no House of Industry materialized.⁴² Believing it had fulfilled the requirements of the Marstellar Estate,⁴³ the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge applied to have the funds transferred to their institution in 1863, and again in 1864. In January 1865, the estate was divided and transferred to the Montréal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge and the Roman Catholic House of Refuge, the latter still in the planning stages.⁴⁴ When finally established in 1865, the Montreal House of Industry was not a municipal institution. Rather, it was a private institution benefitting from funds legally set aside for the purposes of the civic-welfare programme, a programme which failed to materialize.

It is clear that to the municipal government, poverty was not an economic reality which demanded a consistent policy, but a problem to be patched up when it became particularly bad. The City established no permanent relief institution and supplemented private charity only in times of massive unemployment or natural disaster.⁴⁵

4. The Church and Charity

The Church, Catholic and Protestant, advocated charity as a religious duty. This is important not only in reference to the aid granted directly by the churches themselves but also in its effect on private charity which was largely motivated by religious fervor and the application of religious duty to secular life.

Although this paper is not directly concerned with the Catholic charities, it is still important to briefly examine them since the majority

of Montreal's poor were Catholic. The relief of the Catholic population was the responsibility of the church. There were several lay organizations, such as the St. Vincent de Paul Society, but they were closely linked with the church. At this time, the most active work in the field of poor relief was carried out by the female religious orders. The forms of aid they provided included visits to the sick (Soeurs Grises, Soeurs de la Providence, Dames de la Charité), free dispensary service (Soeur Grises, Soeurs de la Providence), refuge for unemployed female servants and others in need (Soeurs Grises, Soeurs de la Providence), day-care centers for the children of working mothers (Soeurs Grises, Soeurs de la Providence), orphanage services (L'Aisle de la Providence, Hôpital St. Joseph, Dames de la Charité), and soup kitchens (L'Aisle de la Providence, Hôpital St. Joseph).⁴⁶

As well as these specific forms of aid, "dépôts des pauvres" were established by "les Soeurs Grises," "les Soeurs de la Providence," and "les Dames de la Charité". These dépôts provided food, fuel and clothing mainly to the seasonally unemployed.⁴⁷ Before aid was granted, applicants were visited in their homes to determine the extent of their need; the same pattern was to develop in the Protestant charities. Over the period 1850-63, the dépôt established by "les Soeurs Grises" helped 2,925 families and clothed 2,909 persons. The average number of families aided each year was 225.⁴⁸

The Sulpicians and La Société Saint-Vincent de Paul played an indirect role in this assistance by providing the financial support for many of the institutions.⁴⁹ The Sulpicians also expended large sums of money on alms and "projects d'assistance" such as the distribution of cards to secure bread at half price, aid in paying rent, the provision of beds, clothing, tools, etc., and the granting of interest-free loans.⁵⁰ The fear of

encouraging laziness led both the Sulpicians and Bishop Bourget to devise methods of aid which would involve some sort of active participation on the part of the recipient.⁵¹ It was Bishop Bourget who was responsible for the establishment of "les Associations de Tempérance et de Charité" and the Montreal City and District Savings Bank both of which involved forms of self-help. The role of the bourgeois French was one of financial support for church-controlled charities.⁵²

The Protestant Churches provided aid for their congregations too. A detailed study of one Protestant Church for which information is available will give an idea of the type of aid offered. The Reports of the Church Wardens of Christ Church Cathedral (Church of England) include a statement of expenditures for poor relief (the Poor Fund) and can be used to illustrate the part played in poor relief by the Anglican Church.. Table 2.2 includes a detailed account of all expenditures. The Church provided free burial services for its poorer members and distributed fuel supplies free of charge for winter use. The Poor Fund also paid for the upkeep of several destitute children and widows at the Ladies Benevolent Institution and of infirm persons at Mrs. Mather's. Employment was provided for the poor as pew-openers, organ blowers, and casual labourers.⁵³ The largest item in the budget was for the support of a number of pensioners and distressed poor. This aid included the provision of small sums of money, probably for rent, as well as food and fuel supplies. Money was given to 32 pensioners and 142 distressed families and persons in 1851, but by 1853 this number had fallen to include only 10 pensioners and 53 families and distressed persons, perhaps as a result of the work of the Association. No specific figures are given after 1856 at which point there were 12 pensioners and 92 families and distressed persons.⁵⁴ In 1851, an "Association

Table 2.2 Major Items in the Poor Fund Disbursement,
Christ Church Cathedral, 1851-1867 (adj. to dollars)

Year	Wood	Paid to LSB	Paid to Mrs. Mathers	Pensioners and Casual Poor	Association for the Relief of the Poor	Burrials	House of Charity- Church Home	Employment (Pew Openers Bellows Blowers)	Widows & Orphans Fund	Total Expenses of Poor Fund
1851	180	64	168	1068	-	-	-	-	-	1480
1852	100	20	-	-	1288	-	-	-	-	1408
1853	-	148	176	276	216	136	-	-	-	948
1854	156	84	232	512	-	202	-	-	-	1192
1855	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1428
1856	432	132	240	552	-	-	164	80	-	1600
1857	384	176	300	488	-	-	556	232	-	2137
1858	-	72	296	568	-	-	620	268	-	1824
1859	-	40	304	548	-	-	400	244	-	1536
1860	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861	-	20	312	396	-	-	456	96	-	1280
1862	-	16	316	520	-	-	308	140	-	1300
1863	-	-	272	384	-	-	264	96	-	1016
1864	-	-	-	-	-	-	1066.52	-	49	1363
1865	-	-	616.97	-	-	-	1151.64	-	66	1995.37
1866	-	-	260.90	-	-	-	927.78	-	180	1851.96

Source: Report of Church Wardens, C.C.C. 1851-67.

for the Relief of the Poor" was created in an attempt to centralize the distribution of poor funds for all the Anglican Churches. The Cathedral gave a grant of \$1,500.00 over a two-year period. After this the Association no longer appears in the budget and possibly was disbanded.⁵⁵

Until 1856, church relief consisted of immediate relief, make-work programmes and payments to private institutions for the care of children, the aged and the infirm. In that year the church established a House of Charity, enabling it to extend its own relief measures.⁵⁶ It appears that the Church Home, as it was later called, performed duties similar to those of the Ladies Benevolent Institution. Although the amounts paid to Mrs. Mather (care of the infirm) remained at a slightly higher level than before 1856, those granted to the Ladies Benevolent Society decreased drastically and had stopped altogether by 1862.⁵⁷ An examination of the Table shows that the new Church Home aided many more people than had previously been aided by the Ladies Benevolent Institution.⁵⁸ Since we know that the number of pensioners and distressed persons remained constant over the period, this increased aid must have been benefitting persons who had not been helped before. In this way the establishment of the Church Home enabled the Cathedral to extend relief to many more people than had previously been possible.

Thus the Anglican Church provided its congregation with outdoor and institutional relief. More detailed information about the Association for the Relief of the Poor, the Dorcas Society (a ladies group which provided aid to the poor), and the specifics of the Church Home can probably be found in the Anglican Church Archives. Although such a detailed study would be extraneous to this paper, it would undoubtedly furnish much information of interest and relevance to the larger topic of the poor and charity in

Montréal.

We know that other Protestant Churches supplied relief to their congregations by the various references made to such aid by both the Poor Relief Committee of 1855⁵⁹ and the Fire Relief Committee in 1852.⁶⁰ The Presbyterian Churches, especially St. Gabriel's Street Church, must have had some relief programme. Many of the people involved in private charity were Presbyterian, and what was held to be individual religious duty must certainly have been fulfilled by the Church as well. Specific information on the modalities of such aid cannot be obtained from the extant church records. No annual reports have remained, and the sources available, such as the Deacons' Court Minutes 1849-1858 and the Minutes of the Session 1846-1863, contain only a few references to relief.⁶¹ These include the provision of a pension for an aged destitute woman, the assumption of funeral expenses for the poor, and the establishment of a relief fund in 1854.⁶²

The Methodist Church must have had some organized form of poor relief since the city grant, Appropriation No. 2, 1854-55, included a sum of money for this Church.

5. Specialized Societies

Along with the churches, the YMCA and the National Societies were active in providing forms of specialized relief to certain sections of the population. One-third of the population of the city was foreign-born.⁶³ In a city where large sections of the population are cut off from familial relief, associations must develop to assume some responsibility for this function. It was largely in response to this problem that the YMCA and the National Societies developed. The YMCA directed its efforts toward the care of single young men coming into the city to

take jobs as clerks or factory workers. The work was mainly evangelical in purpose and orientation⁶⁴ but provided a vital service for many young men working in the city. Hoping to meet the needs of these young men, the YMCA held lecture series, prayer meetings, and debates and provided a reading library. It also offered housing assistance and established a labour agency.⁶⁵

The National societies: La Société Saint Jean Baptiste, St. George's National Society, St. Andrew's Society, St. Patrick's Society and the German Society, were formed to meet the needs of immigrants arriving in Montreal. The History of the St. Andrew's Society, prepared in 1886, serves to illustrate the type of activities carried out by these societies. Relief was extended to needy residents, and many new-comers were helped to continue their journeys to Upper Canada or the United States. In 1857, the St. Andrew's Home for immigrants and homeless Scots needing temporary relief opened.⁶⁶ A labour agency was established in 1859 to provide immigrants with situations in the city or information as to the availability of employment elsewhere. The Society provided fuel, and in 1860 opened a soup kitchen in the Home.⁶⁷ A breakdown of the relief granted is available for several years. In one of these, 1861, the Society supplied 84 families with wood, sent 299 persons to relatives in Canada, provided shelter in the Home for 165, and secured employment for 88 persons.⁶⁸

Other national societies provide similar forms of aid. St. Patrick's opened an orphanage in 1847 and also had both an employment agency and a refuge; St. Bridget's.⁶⁹

Thus the churches and other specialized institutions only partly filled the vacuum created by the lack of direct government activity in the realm of poor relief. Although the aid provided by the Catholic Church

was quite comprehensive, the aid available to the Protestant poor was not quite so developed, and was never extended to large numbers of people. Because the religious institutions did not provide enough of the necessary relief the need for secular aid became obvious. Many factors were involved in the gradual recognition by the rich of the need for private charitable institutions. These include a certain sense of paternalism towards the poor, a strong dedication to evangelicalism and the moral elevation of the poor, a fear of increasing social unrest and a definite desire to maintain social control. In the following chapters, we will examine the way in which private charity developed, the forms it took, and the assumptions upon which it was based.

Notes

¹The New Poor Law was passed to replace the Old Poor Law legislated in 1601. It attempted to destroy the concepts of social responsibility for poverty on which the old system was based. The provision of employment and aid in the home both carried out under the old regulations were abolished. For discussion of the Poor Law see: J.O. Marshall, The Old Poor Law, 1795-1834, Studies in Economic History, (Toronto: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1968); Michael E. Rose, The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914, Studies in Economic History, (Toronto: MacMillan & Co. Ltd., 1972); Samuel Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, Economic Security Policy in Britain and the United States, (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1967); J.R. Poynter, Society and Pauperism, English Ideas on Poor Relief 1795-1854, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Robert Pinker, Social Theory and Social Policy, (London: Heineman Education Book Ltd., 1971); Maurice Bruce, The Coming of the Welfare State, (London: B.T. Batsford, 1961); W. Lubenow, The Politics of Government Growth, Early Victorian Attitudes towards State Intervention 1837-48, (Hamden, Connecticut: David Charles Ltd., Archan Books, 1971).

²The most well known of these systems was "The Speenhamland System" introduced in that county in 1795. It was a system of supplementing wages. The amount of the supplement was determined by the price of bread and the number of children in a family. Critics claimed this method increased the cost of poor relief, decreased wages and increased population growth.

³S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 106; W. Lubenow, Politics of Government Growth, p. 63

⁴S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 123; W. Lubenow, Politics of Government Growth, pp. 35-39.

⁵M. Bruce, The Welfare State, pp. 97-98

⁶M. Bruce, The Welfare State, p. 96; E.P. Thompson, The Making of the English Working Class, (London: Victor Gollancz, 1965), p. 267. As Thompson comments it would have been almost impossible to reproduce conditions worse than those of certain workers.

⁷Legislation and regulation for the provision of outdoor relief was passed in the 1840s and 1850s. M. Bruce, The Welfare State, pp. 104-105.

⁸S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 94.

⁹Ibid.

¹⁰Both Nova Scotia and New Brunswick adopted versions of the Elizabethan Poor Law in the eighteenth century. Jack Blyth, The Canadian Social Inheritance, (Montreal: The Copp Clark Publishing Company, 1972), p.10; Whalen, "The 19th Century Almshouse System in St. John's County", Social History, Vol. 4. No. 7, (April, 1971), p.5.

¹¹Richard B. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario 1971-1893, A Study of Public Welfare Administration, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1965), pp. 40, 65, 68.

¹²These grants were never enough to make the institutions financially secure and they depended on private donations for much of their money.

¹³Under the same item in the budget, grants were given to medical institutions. The Montreal hospitals receiving these grants were the Montreal General, The Deaf and Dumb Institute, St. Patrick's Hospital, L'Hôpital Générale des Soeurs de la Charité, The University Lying-in Hospital, The Montreal Dispensary, and The Montreal Eye and Ear Institution.

¹⁴Richard Splane contends, on the basis of his study of the government grants to Ontario charities, that no system of correlation was developed. R. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, p. 40.

¹⁵A separate Inspection Act for charities was passed in 1859 (Consolidated Statutes 1859 c.110) but still inspection was not carried out. Splane, Social Welfare in Ontario, pp. 35-41.

¹⁶Ibid.

¹⁷Refer to chapter 3 for the development of this idea.

¹⁸An 1861 Statute obliged the city government to enforce compulsory vaccination for all children. Public clinics were to be set up for this purpose. Vaccinations were given at a cost of 25 cents per person; the City was to assume the cost of vaccination for the poor. Such payments are first cited in the 1862 budget and at the cost of a quarter per person represented the vaccination of 142 children in 1862, 242 in 1863, 1390* in 1864, 984 in 1865 and 918 in 1866. Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 73, January 15, 1861, pp. 240-242, Annual Report of the Treasurer of the City of Montreal, 1862, p. 14; 1863, p. 46; 1864, p.54; 1865, p.22; 1866, p.18.

¹⁹ This last item involves payment for the board of orphans placed in the Provident Asylum by the Mayor or the police. Approximately 2 orphans a year benefitted from this at the cost of 10 cents per month per child. Minutes of Council Meetings, City of Montreal (Montreal City Archives, Microfilm), Vol. 52, May 18, 1853, p. 26; Annual Report of the City Treasurer of the City of Montreal, (Montreal: John Lovell), 1853, 1854, 1855, 1856, 1857, 1860.

²⁰ Report of Treasurer, 1852, p. 38, 1853, p. 38.

²¹ *Ibid.* 1854, p. 38; 1855, p. 38.

²² Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 71, April 17, 1861, p. 65. A conversion of \$4.00 to the pound was used to convert pounds into dollars for references before 1858.

²³ "Letter to the Editor", Montreal Gazette, 30 October 1854; "Letter to the Editor", La Minerve, 21 October 1851, quoted in Hélène Huguette-Roy, "Pauperisme et l'Assistance Sociale à Montreal 1832-1854" (M.A. thesis, McGill University, Department of History, 1971), p. 21. The problem of securing fuel in the winter was widespread. Many historians have commented on the way in which this aggravated poverty. See Raymond Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825 (New York: Oxford University Press, Urban Life in America Series, 1973), pp. 108-109; Judith Fingard, "The Winter's Tale: The Seasonal Contours of pre-industrial poverty in British North America 1815-1860," unpublished copy, pp. 8, 39; Susan Houston, "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-75" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975, p. 215.

²⁴ Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 46, 25 November, 1851, p. 134. Both New York City and Hamilton also provided fuel for their poorer citizens. R. Mohl, Poverty in New York, p. 20. Haley P. Bamman, "The Ladies Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Philanthropy," in The Canadian Social History Project, Interim Report, No. 4, ed. M.B. Katz (Toronto, 1972); p. 178.

²⁵ Report of Treasurer 1854, pp. 12, 38.

²⁶ See H.B. Ames, The City Below the Hill, (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972), p. 9.

²⁷ "Mayor's Address," in Report of Treasurer, 1854, p. IV.

²⁸ Minutes of Council Meeting, Vol. 57, 24 July, 1850, pp. 77; Several temporary moves had been made in 1854 through the Harbour Commissioner for ref. see Minutes of Council Meeting, Vol. 55, 25 September 1851, pp. 79-80; Mayor Nelson claims that these measures had resulted in the price of wood falling to one half of the expected winter price. "Mayor's Address," in Report of Treasurer, 1854, p. 11:

²⁹ Report of Treasurer, 1854, p. 38; 1855, p. 38.

³⁰ Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 56, 11 December 1854, p. 2.

³¹ Minutes of Council Meeting, Vol. 56, 10 January 1855, p. 28; Vol. 56, 21 February 1855, p. 40; Report of Treasurer, 1854, p. 38; 1855, pp. 38, 40; 1856, pp. 34.

³² "Mayor's Address" in Report of Treasurer, 1854, pp. iii; Annual Report of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, 1855, 1856. (Montreal: John Lovell, 1855, 1856) p. 8, p. 5.

³³ Minutes of Council Meeting, Vol. 66, 13 December 1858, p. 131; Report of the Treasurer, 1858, p. 16

³⁴ *Ibid.*, Vol. 79, 18 January 1865, p. 127.

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Vol. 64, 5 February 1857, p. 96; Vol. 68, 21 December 1859, pp. 110-111.

³⁶ In contrast to this see Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax and Saint John's, 1815-1860" *"Acadiensis"*, Vol. V, No. 1 (Autumn, 1975), pp. 32-55, where she discusses the prevalence of such programmes in the Maritimes; also S. Houston finds reference to such public works programmes in Toronto, S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 57.

³⁷ Contrast this with the case of New York City where in the period 1783-1825 relief expenditures were the largest single item in the budget and during the war from 1812-1814, 19,078 people or one fifth of the population were receiving some form of aid from public agencies. R. Mohl, Poverty in New York, pp. 88-91; also Haley Bamman finds that the Hamilton House of Refuge was directed by a body of 12 men appointed by the City Council. H. Bamman, "The Hamilton Ladies Benevolent Society", pp. 176-179.

³⁸ House of Industry is the North American term used to refer to a workhouse.

³⁹ References to the Marstellar Estate are found in Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 56, 16 February, 1855, p. 38; 21 February 1855, p. 47; 13 March 1855, pp. 66; Vol. 58, 11 January 1856, p. 53; Vol. 68, 12 September 1859, p. 49.

⁴⁰ The House of Industry in Montreal had been incorporated by the Lower Canadian Legislature in 1808 in accordance to the Marstellar Estate. Margaret Kirkpatrick Strong, Public Welfare Administration in Canada, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1930) p. 36. A working House of Industry was established in 1836 but this was a private institution providing immediate relief in the winter and not benefitting from the Marstellar legacy. For further information on this topic see H. Hugette Roy, "Pauperisme et l'Assistance Sociale," pp. 123-135.

⁴¹Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 56, 13 March 1855, p. 66.
The act of transfer was assented to 19 May 1855. Statutes of Canada
1854-5, 18 Victoria c. 142.

⁴²Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 58, p. 54; Vol. 59, pp. 18, 93;
Vol. 61, p. 92; Vol. 66, pp. 125-126; Vol. 68, p. 130; Vol. 70, p. 94;
Vol. 71, pp. 80, 128; Vol. 73, p. 56.

⁴³Minutes of Council Meetings, Vol. 77, 16 December 1863, p. 94;
Vol. 78, 10 August 1864, p. 130.

⁴⁴A Statute passed January 1865, Canada Statutes 27 and 28 Victoria,
chapter 60.8.55, authorized the council to transfer the Marsteller Estate
to any permanently established institution for the relief of the poor.
Reference to these proceedings are found in Minutes of Council Meeting,
Vol. 79, 18 January 1865, pp. 129 134.

⁴⁵In contrast with Montreal the example of Toronto should be cited.
A permanent House of Industry was established in that town in 1836. Al-
though entirely private organization the institution was receiving an
annual \$1,000.00 grant from the municipal government by 1858. The city
had no specialized department for poor relief administration but gave
small annual grants to most of the private organizations and often granted
free use of civic facilities and tax refunds. See Stephen A. Speisman,
"Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony". Ontario History (March
1973) pp. 37-47.

⁴⁶H. Huguette Roy, "Pauperisme et l'Assistance Sociale," pp. 77, 89,
94-96, 104, 116-118. 138; Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Minority: The
Changing Role of Women in XIXth Century Montreal", Social History (November
1973), pp. 212-15.

⁴⁷H. Huguette Roy, "Pauperisme et l'Assistance Sociale," p. 106.

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 115.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 76, 89.

⁵⁰Ibid., p. 109,

⁵¹Ibid., p. 74.

⁵²Ibid., p. 86.

⁵³See Report of the Church Wardens and Select Vestry of Christ Church
Cathedral for the Year ending Easter 1851-1863 incl. (Montreal: James Potts).

⁵⁴Report of Church Wardens C.C.C., 1851-1856

⁵⁵Report of Church Wardens C.C.C., 1851, pp. 11; 1852, p. 7; 1853,

⁵⁶ The House of Charity was supported by the charity fund collected at the Cathedral and also private donations. Report of Church Wardens C.C.C 1856, p. 6; 1857, pp. 5-6.

⁵⁷ See table 2.2

⁵⁸ These statements are based on aggregate amounts of money spent since no figures as to the numbers of persons aided are available.

⁵⁹ The Poor Relief Committee was concerned for these Protestants not affiliated with a specific church and consequently not receiving church aid. "Poor Relief Committee", Montreal Gazette, 24 November, 1855.

⁶⁰ The relief of fire victims was organized along church lines and involved all the Protestant congregations. See chapter 4 for further development.

⁶¹ These are available in the Presbyterian Church Archives, Montreal.

⁶² Minutes of Session, St. Gabriel Street Church, 20 September 1852, p.66; 1 January 1855, p. 117; 7 December 1854, p. 115.

⁶³ Census of Canada, 1851, refer to Table

⁶⁴ R.E.G. Davies, "The Montreal Young Men's Christian Association as a Religious and Social Institution", Ph.D. dissertation: McGill University, 1927, p.13.

⁶⁵ R. Davies, "The Y.M.C.A." pp. 36-39; Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Minority", pp. 63-70.

⁶⁶ A Summary of the First Fifty Years Transactions of the St. Andrew's Society of Montreal (Montreal: McQueen Corneil, 1886), pp. 29-35. Aid was provided to the victims of the steamer "Montreal" in 1857, pp. 36-37.

⁶⁷ Ibid., pp. 39, 42. Soup cost half a penny per person.

⁶⁸ Ibid., p. 44.

⁶⁹ J.J. Curran, ed. Golden Jubilee of St. Patrick's Orphan Asylum (Montreal: Catholic Institute for Deaf and Mutes, 1902), p. 2; William H. Atherton, Montreal 1535-1914, Vol.2: Under British Rule 1760-1914. (Montreal: S.J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1914), p. 379. For other services provided by the St. Patrick's Association see George R. Keep, "The Irish Migration to Montreal 1847-1867". M.A. thesis. McGill University, 1948), pp. 73, 86-88; David C. Lyne, "The Irish in the province of Canada in the Decade Leading to Confederation" M.A. thesis McGill University, 1960, p. 74

CHAPTER III

THE PROTESTANT CHARITIES AT MID-CENTURY

1. Private Charity

The spirit of philanthropy has always existed and has been the motivating force behind the establishment of private charitable institutions aimed at alleviating the condition of the poor. In both Britain and the United States private charities grew up alongside a government relief programme both to supplement that programme and to extend help to those categories of poor who demanded more specific forms of aid. In Canada, in the absence of any state poor law or mechanism for direct relief, private charity was the sole form of help available to the poor.

Most private charities had certain common characteristics.¹ The organization and direction were usually in the hands of a small group of civic leaders who formed an elite within society. They were mainly financed by private subscriptions and fund raising events such as bazaars, concerts, and charity sermons and often derived some funds from government grants. Annual meetings were held to report on any progress made and to appeal to the public for funding. Concern for the moral condition of the poor was ever present. Charity was commonly used to instill the work ethic which in turn reflected positively on moral development.

Whereas public charities attempted to meet all needs within one institution,² the workhouse or poorhouse; private charity was based on a concept of specialized relief. Often organizations were established in response to specific emergencies such as cyclical depression or a particular-

ly hard winter and were disbanded once the emergency passed. Many, such as fuel societies, soup kitchens, and night refuges provided help only in the winter season. Overall charities provided a wide spectrum of services. Dispensaries and lying-in hospitals gave free medical care to the poor. Bible reading associations and associations to promote education were established. Societies existed to extend care to those unable to care for themselves (orphans, the aged, the infirm), to rehabilitate the wayward (juvenile delinquents, prostitutes, alcoholics), and to provide employment to the industrious unemployed.

Those charities established to relieve physical distress were of two basic types - institutional and outdoor. In the distribution of aid great care was taken to ensure that all recipients were deserving of help. In the Victorian period the concept of the deserving poor basically referred to one who was not responsible for his situation. Normally this included the young, the sick and the disabled, but could be extended to include widows and the old. Generally the able-bodied male was suspect because popular ideology concluded that his condition was self-imposed.

Institutional aid had the advantage of distinguishing the undeserving from the deserving since only the real needy would be willing to enter an institution to secure relief. At the same time relief was extended, the institution could try to improve work habits and provide general moral and religious instruction. Outdoor relief was less popular because it involved the possibility of fraud. The most widely used forms were the provision of day employment, the distribution of soup, and the establishment of night refuges for temporary shelter. Any other distribution of aid to families in their homes was done in kind: clothing, fuel and food. Money was rarely included in such aid. The movement in early nineteenth century Britain and the

United States was increasingly towards the exclusion of all outdoor relief.³ In Montreal most of the charities were institutional and it was only in the 1860's that any permanent outdoor relief facilities were established.

2. The Case of Protestant Montreal

Thirty percent of Montreal's population in this period was Protestant. Undoubtedly a large proportion of this number was poor; although statistical clarification of this is difficult. Very few of the 1851 and 1861 census schedules for the city of Montreal are still available, making the correlation between occupation and religion impossible. The Protestant elite established charities to service these poor. An important question to raise here concerns the exclusive nature of these Protestant secular charities. Some could argue that it is possible that religion was not the central factor in the selection of worthy recipients. They might even argue that language and British origin could be of equal importance. Thus, the argument would follow that Irish Catholic immigrants may have had more in common with the English Protestant community than with the French Catholic one, and conceivably might have turned to the former in time of need. We will see though, as we continue the study, that this argument is not borne out by the data and that Catholics never constituted more than a very small proportion of those aided. In the final analysis charitable help was extended along religious lines and the Protestant charities basically serviced the Protestant population.

There are several general trends established by the Montreal Protestant Charities in the 1850s. All the charities were run by women. Aid was given exclusively to women and children, and most of the aid was institutional in form. These trends were reversed in the mid-1860s with the establishment of a large private workhouse, the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. Run by a committee of men, this institution

extended aid to males and established facilities for outdoor relief.

In this chapter we will examine the five main Protestant charities in the period 1850-1867: the Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Montreal Ladies' Benevolent Society, the Home and School of Industry, the Industrial House of Refuge, and the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. The descendents of these institutions still exist in Montreal today, although in a much altered form. The Protestant Orphan Asylum and the Ladies' Benevolent Association were amalgamated in 1941 and are today known as Summerhill Homes. The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge has now become the Montreal Extended Care Center. No modern successor to the Home and School of Industry can be found.

The information presented is based on a study of the Annual Reports of the charities and any other sources such as the Minutes of the Meetings, Admissions Books and letters which were available. Following the same general format for each institution, I begin with a study of the society itself, its foundation, management committee, financing, etc., and then move on to general trends and totals aided, and finally to an examination of specific relief extended.

3. Aid to the Deserving - Charitable Institutions for the Relief of Widows and Children

For the most part children and women were accepted as deserving poor. The first charitable organizations⁴ to be established in Montreal were for their relief. These specialized societies were run by upper class Montreal women and were mainly institutional in form. Children were taken in, instructed in the basic principles of religion and literacy and then apprenticed, usually as servants or farm workers. By the 1840s philanthropists had established reformatories in American cities to deal with the problem of the child delinquent.⁵ Although there was a consensus that such

Table 3.1 Montreal Charities 1850-1867 - Forms of Aid Provided per year.*

	Ladies Benevolent Society, 1850-1867	Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1850-1867	Home and School of Industry, 1860, 1863, 1864	Industrial House of Refuge, 1855, 1856	House of Industry, 1863-67
Children Boarded	144	47	29	44	
Women Boarded		-	-	27 in 1854	98
Men Boarded		-	-	-	
Children/Women Apprenticed	-	-	-	-	28 in 1867 UB of O.R.**
Women Employed by Day	-	-	77	217	176 in 1866/67
Servants Register	-	-	-	57	-
Soup Kitchen	-	-	-	134 families/ind.	20871 quarts of soup
Night Refuge	-	-	-	91	4897 "total nights lodging"
Provisions of Goods	-	-	46 families	-	574 fam. UB. of O.R.**
Open School	-	-	18 in 1864	-	no data available

* The numbers represent the average number of persons aided per year.

** UB of OR : United Board of Outdoor Relief

an institution was needed in Montreal, none was established during the period.⁶ Unless they were too old or infirm, widows were generally made to work inside the institution. By the late 1850s, charities were being established to provide day employment for needy widows. This service enabled women to live in their own homes, and secure a wage with which to support themselves.

A. The Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum

The need for organized aid to relieve the suffering of the city's orphans was recognized early by the Montreal elite. The Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum was founded in 1822 and established a permanent location on St. Catherine Street in 1849.⁷ It was run by a committee of upper class women, among them Mrs. McCord, Mrs. Fulford, Mrs. Ogden, Mrs. Ross, Mrs. Moffat, Mrs. Workman, Mrs. Tylee and Miss Frothingham,⁸ and provided institutional relief for Montreal Protestant orphans.

The orphanage was financed by a combination of government grants, subscriptions and donations,⁹ an annual grant from the City and District Savings Bank and the interest on invested funds (see Table 3.2). The institution saw the government and the Bank as its two main creditors because these grants were consistent and constituted a large part of the budget.¹⁰ An endowment fund was established in an attempt to make the institution self-sufficient.¹¹ It was hoped that this fund would support annual expenses and would supplant the continual quest for donations. Although all benefactors were encouraged to become life members by a fifty dollar contribution, the plan was never really successful and the institution was forced to depend on annual subscriptions to balance its budget.

The information available does not provide any detailed description of the house. Presumably the Ladies felt that all interested parties had

Table 3.2 Protestant Orphan Asylum, Sources of Income 1850-67, in Dollars (adjusted)

Year	Gvt. Grant	Subs.	Donations	Grant from City & District	Bazaar, or Concert	Work Done	Board of Immater	Interests	Total Private	Total Funds
1850	400	460	-	-	-	-	-	-	460	860
1851	-	-	-	-	1012	-	-	-	-	-
1852	400	616	-	-	-	-	-	36	652	1052
1853	400	552	-	-	-	4	-	108	664	1064
1854	400	692	-	-	628	16	-	-	1336	1736
1855	600	688	944	-	-	-	40	180	1852	2236
1856	600	748	352	-	648	4	-	188	1940	2540
1857	600	699	-	-	40	2	-	248	982	1582
1858	600	633	234	300	-	-	-	320	1487	2087
1859	800	-	-	300	-	-	-	-	-	-
1860	800	601	-	300	-	-	-	361	1262	2062
1861	800	673	135	300	-	-	-	390	1498	2296
1862	800	545	90	300	-	-	-	452	1387	2187
1863	640	525	61	300	-	-	-	472	1358	1998
1864	640	840	128	600	-	-	-	561	2129	2769
1865	640	535	20	600	-	-	-	623	1778	2418
1866	640	781	277	600	-	-	-	752	2410	3050
1867	-	735	859	300	-	-	-	848	2742	2742

Source: P.O.A. Annual Reports, 1850-1867.

visited the Institution, if only for the Annual Meetings, thereby rendering any description unnecessary. From various scattered references we find that the house had at least two floors with dormitories in the west front of the building and that there were separate committee rooms, a schoolroom, an infirmary and a vegetable garden.

The aim of the institution was to provide "temporal relief" to young orphans and "to instruct their youthful minds in the duties of faith and obedience."¹² Provision was made for orphans of all ages, but the ladies preferred to receive them as young as possible. In this way the children would receive "the advantage of a long Christian training and education" and the ladies would be in a better position to answer for their conduct and character once they became apprentices.¹³

The sources available for an examination of the specific functioning of the orphanage include the Annual Reports for 1850-1867, the Minutes of the Monthly Meetings for the same period and a small collection of letters which have for one reason or another been kept in the charity's files.¹⁴ The file includes twenty-seven letters dating from the period prior to 1847 and ten letters from the period after 1870. Fifteen letters are extant from the period 1847-1870, eight of which deal with the general workings of the Institution and seven of which refer to the children. These letters include requests for apprentices and letters concerning children already apprenticed. The collection is definitely incomplete for the women assert in committee meetings that every child sends a yearly progress report but none of them are in the file. Still, these letters give some insight into the problems the children faced once they became apprentices.

The Annual Reports include information on relief extended, financial statements, membership lists and general comments by the Secretary. The

data on relief is limited in its use since it consists mainly of aggregate figures of "total aided" in a given year. We will discuss this problem at a later point.

The Minutes of the Meetings are a good source for information to supplement the Annual Reports. In them we find discussions of apprenticing policy, the situations of children already apprenticed, and problems such as funding and maintaining the institution.

Over the 17 year period an annual average of 47 children were aided by the institution. The number in the orphanage over any given year remained fairly constant ranging from 41 to 53 with the exception of 1855 when 61 were present.¹⁵ Table 3.3 gives a breakdown of the aid provided. Any attempt to find the total number of children aided over the period poses methodological problems. The data in the Annual Reports includes the number of children who left the institution in a given year and the total aided that year. Although a breakdown according to sex is provided, no data is given on the age of the children or the duration of their stay. Without such information it is impossible to determine how long any given child remained in the institution, i.e. how many times the same child had been counted in the "total aided" figures. Another possible method would be to use the number of children present in 1850 as a base figure and add onto this the number of children "admitted" in subsequent years. Unfortunately the Annual Reports do not include information on the number of children "admitted." Thus the only way to secure a figure for the "total aided" over the 17 year period is to add together all the "total aided" columns. This gives a total of 756 children. We know that this figure is much too high for several reasons.¹⁶ Over the period an average of 10 children left the institution each year but an average of 47 received help. Thus, each year approximately

Table 3.3 Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum,
Assistance to Orphans 1850-67

	Admissions	Apprenticed	Adopted	Sent to Relatives	Died	To Beauport	Remained at end or year	Total aided	Unaccounted for
1850	11	2	1	3	-	-	39	45	-
1851	-	8	3	2	1	-	-	-	-
1852	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1853	-	7	-	3	1	-	-	48	-
1854	-	3	-	-	1	1	-	53	-
1855	-	7	-	13	3	-	38	61	-
1856	-	6	-	2	1	-	-	41	-
1857	-	4	-	-	-	-	-	45	-
1858	-	8	-	7	-	-	35	50	-
1859	-	-	-	-	-	-	46	46	-
1860	-	2	-	-	-	-	42	44	2
1861	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	43	-
1862	-	1	-	-	-	1	35	49	12
1863	-	3	-	10	-	-	37	52	2
1864	-	4	-	8	-	-	36	48	-
1865	-	5	-	6	-	-	38	49	-
1866	-	10	-	2	1	-	30	43	1
1867	-	3	-	6	1	-	-	41	-
Total aided	-	73	4	62	9	1	-	756	17

Source: P.O.A. Annual Report, 1850-67

37 children, or about 78 percent of those present remained for at least two years, possibly longer. As well, only 149 children are reported as leaving the institution out of 756 counted. Knowing that the ladies were constantly receiving requests for apprentices we can only assume that had the remaining children been old enough they would have been apprenticed. This assumption is verified by statements in the Annual Reports explaining that the majority of the children were too young to be placed out and that many had been "received almost in infancy."¹⁷ If a large number of the children were received as infants they might have remained in the institution for up to 14 years and in this way been counted in the total aided figure many times over. Due to the inadequacy of the available data we are unable to determine the total number of children aided. We will look instead at the number of children who left the institution and the various options open to them.

Even here we find some inaccuracies in the data. An examination of Table 3.2 will show that in several years children seem to be unaccounted for and it is impossible to even speculate as to their whereabouts. The children who left the institution fall into one of four categories: death, reclaimed by relatives, apprenticed and adopted. Only nine children over the period died. 62 were reclaimed by relatives.¹⁸ This number represents 42 percent of the children who left the institution over the period. Even more common than this was apprenticeship. A total of 73 children or 49 percent of those who left, did so to become apprentices.

Children had to remain in the institution for at least one year before they could be apprenticed.¹⁹ Boys were apprenticed at the age of 12, girls at 14.²⁰ There was a large demand for apprentices and applications for the children were received long before they were of age.²¹ These applications had to be made in writing, accompanied by a supporting letter

from the clergyman, and were reviewed at the monthly meetings. The ladies believed that a home in the country was preferable to one in town and acted accordingly sending children to live with farmers throughout the province.²² The details of the indenture contract are outlined in the Constitution of the Asylum.²³ A copy of such an indentured contract is found in Appendix I. The recipient must be a "worthy and respectable member of a Protestant church" (hence the letter from the clergyman), and is "contracted to feed, clothe, and instruct the child in the principles of the Protestant religion, reading and writing." Wages were set at 20 shillings yearly plus a new set of clothes. The money was sent to the corporation which then placed it in a savings account for the child in question. Over most of the period, apprentices were in such demand that they were able to secure wages over and above the set 20 shillings for their last two years of service.²⁴ The length of any contract could not exceed seven years.²⁵

Contact with the children was maintained throughout their apprenticeship. They were instructed to write once a year to inform the ladies of their progress and their health. In the event that such communication was not received, the secretary was to make inquiries as to the condition of the child.²⁶ As well, the annual fees were collected if not paid, providing an opportunity to check on the children.²⁷ As a result of this constant surveillance, many instances of maltreatment were discovered.²⁸ Normally the minister in the area was contacted and asked to rescue the child. The indenture was then either cancelled or transferred as the case warranted.²⁹ There were also instances of doctors being contracted by the Institution to visit and care for specific children.³⁰ In the case of a runaway apprentice, the ladies were responsible for finding and returning the child to the master or making alternate arrangements to ensure that the child did not

become "a vagrant and outcast on society."³¹

Adoption was another possibility for the children but was not widely used. In fact, while 73 children were apprenticed and 62 were returned to relatives during the period, only four were adopted.

This is possibly due to the fact that only childless families were allowed to adopt orphans.³² There seems to be a possibility that some people saw adoption as a way to secure extra labour without paying an apprenticeship fee. In one of the four cases it was necessary to rescue the child, a seven year old girl from her new parents. Although under close medical supervision, she died within two months of returning to the institution as a result of excessive malnutrition, maltreatment and exhaustion.³³ One of the other three adopted children was sent back to the institution following the accidental death of a newly arrived baby placed in her care.³⁴

All accounts seem to indicate that the orphans were well cared for while in the institution. They were instructed by a hired teacher and a "school committee." The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, arithmetic, geography, grammar, needlework and housework, depending on the age and sex of the child. Moral and religious training were also stressed.³⁵ There was also a vegetable garden and yard for them to work in and exercise. Even once they had left the institution contact was maintained with them and the ladies seemed constantly concerned for their well-being.

The Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum provided an important service for the Protestant orphans in the city. Although we are unable to establish the total number of children aided over the period, we know that the orphanage housed a yearly average of 47 children and that there was never an instance of the ladies refusing any orphans who were brought to be admitted.

B. The Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society

One of the largest and oldest of the private Protestant charities was the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society established in 1824.³⁶ Run by a committee of women similar to that of the P.O.A. including Mrs. P. McGill, Mrs. G. Moffatt, Mrs. I. Gould, Mrs. Ogden and Mrs. J. Redpath, the society provided institutional relief for destitute women and children. The society was financed by annual subscriptions and donations, and annual government grants, proceeds from concerts, bazaars and fêtes and any board paid by the inmates (see Table 3.4). A Board of Directors, largely made up of the husbands of committee members, provided assistance on legal and financial matters.

As with the Protestant Orphan Asylum we have no description of the institution. In 1850 the institution was on Mountain Street in a building that was too small for the needs of the charity. By 1856 a new house had been constructed on Bertholet Street between City Councillor and Bleury. Although in 1856 the ladies found the building large, comfortable and spacious,³⁸ by the next year the house was full most of the time. As for the details of the building we know that there was no sick ward until 1863 when one was constructed in the garret,³⁹ that there was a large school room, a committee room and that a garden was planted in back of the house. Still other improvements were necessary such as the construction of a "reception room" to isolate new arrivals until the state of their health could be examined. The ladies were constantly complaining that the institution was not large enough to meet the demand for help. According to the 1863 Report, "They have been most unwillingly obliged to refuse admittance in some cases, from actual want of room, or when sickness has been in the institution."⁴⁰ All applications were reviewed at the monthly

Table 3.4 Ladies Benevolent Society,
Sources of Income, 1850-66, in Dollars

Year	Gvt. Grant	Subs.	Donations	Grant from City & District	Bazaar or Concert	Board of Inmates	Work Done	Total Private	Total Funds
1850	400	208	352	-	676	272	-	1508	1908
1851	400	168	792	-	604	248	-	1812	2212
1852	400	380	1100	-	308	392	-	2180	2580
1853	400	552	912	-	-	396	4	1864	2264
1854	400	2240	-	-	-	396	-	2636	3036
1855	400	1328	-	-	124	584	40	2076	2476
1856	400	1896	-	-	-	484	-	2380	3180
1857	400	2372	400	400	668	736	-	4176	4576
1858	1000	2689	400	400	1447	651	18	5205	5605
1859	1000	1685	400	400	1115	430	-	3630	4630
1860	1000	-	-	400	1217	-	-	1616	2616
1861	1000	-	-	400	995	-	-	1395	2395
1862	1000	-	-	400	1471	-	-	1871	2871
1863	800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1864	800	1822	-	600	-	-	-	2422	3222
1865	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1866	800	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source: LBS, Annual Reports 1850-67.

meetings. Preference was always given to the "totally destitute" and many applicants were refused or deferred until such time as a place became available.⁴¹ Often in the case of a destitute woman with a family, several of the children were admitted in order to at least partly alleviate the situation.⁴²

The sources available for an examination of the Ladies Benevolent Society are more complete than those for the other charities. As well as a complete set of Annual Reports from 1850 to 1867 and the Minutes of the Monthly Meetings for the period 1858-1867, both the Admissions Book and the Matron's Journal are still extant.⁴³ The Matron's Journal does not provide much information pertinent to our present topic, but could prove very useful to a more in-depth study of the conditions inside charitable institutions. The Admission Book, on the other hand, is an excellent source with which to supplement the Annual Reports and Monthly Minutes. The data on age, nationality, religion and individual circumstances not provided by the former sources, is found in the Admission Book. In the first decade 1850-1859, aid was given to an average of 122 persons a year. The number of people helped increased each year, and had reached an average of 166 per year in the 1860s. Table 3.5 gives more specific information on the assistance given over the 17 year period.

Finding the total number of individuals aided for the 17 year period poses the same problem as we found in the study of the Protestant Orphan Asylum. The Annual Reports make no distinction as to the number of different people but only record people per year aided. Adding all the total aided figures we get a 17 year total of 2,421. Knowing that the number of people leaving the institution in any given year was, on the average, 36 persons and never went higher than 63, we can establish that many inmates remained in the institution for longer than one year and that the 2,421 figures in

Table 3.5 Mtl. Ladies Benevolent Society,
Assistance to Poor 1850-67

	Admissions	Women discharged	Procured situations	Return to relations	Sent to P.O.A.	Left at own wish	Died	Adopted	Remained at end of Year	Unaccounted for	Total Aided
1850	23	1	7	11	-	1	2	-	52	-	74
1851	40	3	3	12	-	1	2	-	65	6	86
1852	46	13	10	11	-	-	3	-	64	10	101
1853	47	7	11	17	1	-	2	-	75	2	113
1854	59	5	10	18	-	-	13	-	76	12	122
1855	51	9	14	21	5	-	2	-	71	5	122
1856	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	87	-	87
1857	110	3	14	-	2	44	3	-	113	18	179
1858	48	3	17	16	-	-	3	-	109	13	148
1859	-	-	9	14	2	2	2	-	121	-	150
1860	39	-	-	27	-	-	4	-	119	10	150
1861	-	1	-	4	3	2	3	-	119	-	132
1862	36	-	9	12	-	8	2	-	122	2	153
1863	51	-	12	15	4	8	5	-	128	1	173
1864	47	-	12	28	-	-	2	1	131	1	174
1865	64	1	13	30	4	-	3	1	141	2	193
1866	37	-	18	29	-	-	1	2	131	3	181
1867	43	4	11	23	-	-	2	-	130	4	170
TOTALS		57	170	288	21	66	63				2421

Source: LBS, Annual Reports, 1850-62

definitely too high. It is impossible to determine exactly how exaggerated this figure is, and what the actual number of people aided was, without access to data on every admission over the period. Fortunately we do have data for all admissions over the eight and a half year period May 1858-January 1867.⁴⁴ In this period, 323 individuals entered the institution. The Annual Reports record 1,380 for the same period (taking one half of the total for 1858). Therefore, the number of people actually present was only 23 percent of the "total aided" figure. If we apply this same proportion to the figures for the entire period we find that the Ladies Benevolent Society aided a total of 557 persons.

The institution housed many more children than women. The Annual Reports provide data on the number of women and children present at the end of each year. This information is found in Table 3.6. From the table it can be seen that on the average children made up 76.9 percent of the attendance. An examination of the Admissions Book reveals the same trend. Of the 323 cases, 216 or 67 percent were children.

The children admitted were not orphans, but children either abandoned by their parents or received from parents unable to care for them. Common situations included widowed or deserted mothers who were sick, often in hospital, and parents who drank too much or had thrown the children out onto the street.⁴⁵ The ladies believed that these children suffered a fate worse than orphans since their environment held such potential dangers for them.⁴⁶

An examination of the Admissions Book shows that the average age of children on entry differed for boys and girls. For boys it was 6.7 while for girls it was only 5. Any statistics on the average length of stay would not be very representative as the length of stay depended on the

Table 3.6 Women/Children Present,
October 1850-1867, Ladies
Benevolent Society

Year	Children	Women	Total	Children Present as % of Total
1850	40	12	52	76.9
1851	49	16	65	75.4
1852	58	16	74	78.4
1853	57	18	75	76
1854	63	13	76	82.9
1855	55	17	72	96.4
1856	67	20	87	77
1857	89	24	113	78.8
1858	82	27	109	75.2
1859	91	28	119	76.5
1860	87	30	117	74.4
1861	87	30	117	74.4
1862	96	30	126	76.2
1863	100	31	131	76.3
1864	-	-	-	-
1865	100	31	131	76.3
1866	100	31	131	76.3
1867	104	26	130	70.0
Total	1325	400	1725	76.9

Source: Ladies Benevolent Society, Annual Reports 1850-1867.

age of the child at entry and the circumstances under which he or she entered the institution.

Once in the institution, the children were cared for until their parents were able to reclaim them or, if legally bound to the Ladies, until they were apprenticed. The young children and girls were given instruction by a hired teacher and a committee of young ladies. The older boys were sent out to school.⁴⁷ Moral and religious training was stressed and the girls were also instructed in household arts.⁴⁸ It was hoped that the influence of the institution and its instruction would help the children "become useful and respectable members of society".⁴⁹

The largest proportion of children who left the institution did so to return to their relatives.⁵⁰ The Annual Reports record 288 such cases. Although this total refers to both widows and children, an examination of the Admissions Book indicates that most of those who returned to relatives were in fact children. Of the 216 such cases 209 or 97 percent were children. It also reveals that 178 or 85 percent of these children were returned to their parents rather than to more distant relatives.⁵¹ Assuming this trend is representative for the entire period, 279 of these 288 cases were children and 237 of these were returned to their parents.

In this capacity, the institution served as a means to help families in temporary financial difficulties by taking in several of the children for a short period. These children were returned once the family's economic situation was less insecure. It is also possible, as Susan Houston finds in her work on Toronto, that some of these children were released to their parents or relatives because the latter were leaving the city to search for employment elsewhere.⁵²

When the children who remained in the institution were old enough

(girls 14, boys 12) they were procured situations in good homes as domestic servants or apprentices. Similar to the practice followed by the P.O.A, the children were usually sent to the country, although boys were indentured to such trades as tailor, merchant and shopkeeper over the period.⁵³ The indentured contract used was the same five to seven year contract used by the orphanage.

The Annual Reports record that 170 persons procured situations over the period but does not supply a breakdown according to women/children. The Admissions Book shows that for the period 1858-1867, 29 women and 13 children "procured situations," and that 30 more children left the institution to live with a strange family.⁵⁴ This last group raises what was probably just a question of legality. Unless a child was actually legally bound by its parents to the institution, the Committee was unable to legally apprentice him or her to someone else. Instead, it seems that the child was "sent to live with" the people who applied for its services. These contracts were not as iron-clad as real indentured service contracts since the children could be legally removed to join their parents at any time. This problem seems to have created difficulties for the Ladies. Many references are found in the minutes to both the reluctance of parents to bind their children over to the Institution and the Committee's desire that this be done in as many cases as possible.⁵⁵ If we add these 30 children to the 13 who were officially bound out, we find that over the period 43 children procured situations as did 29 women. Supposing that this trend is representative of the entire period, out of the 170 persons who procured situations, 60 percent or 102 were children.

It is interesting to examine the possibility that the institution served as a labour agency for the Protestant community. There is some

validity in the above premise, as domestic servants were difficult to find once more attractive jobs became available in the industrial sector.⁵⁶

However, we have already seen that the girls trained as domestics did not work in Montreal, but were sent to the country. Although it does not seem to have performed the services of a labour agency for affluent Montrealers as a whole, the institution was self-serving to the extent that five of the children were sent to live with women who held positions on the Committee of Management: Mrs. Ogden, Mrs. Geddes, Mrs. Savage and Mrs. Freer.⁵⁷

Children left the institution in other capacities as well. 21 were transferred to the Protestant Orphan Asylum upon the death of their parents. The category in Table 3.5 "left at own wish" includes some children. An examination of the Admissions Book indicates that 11 of the 60 in this category over the eight and a half year period were children. Seven of these children were at or over the age for apprenticeship and possibly left to avoid being indentured, or to find some more palatable form of employment. We can only assume that the other four really left to join friends or relatives since some of them were very young, three, seven, ten. As well the Admissions Book includes seven cases of children who "ran away." It seems that for the purposes of the Annual Reports these children are included in the "left at own wish" category. The Admissions Book also makes reference to few children who were adopted: a nine year old female (mother dead, father deserted); a ten year old female (mistreated by mother); a ten year old female (mother widow in bad health); and a seven year old male (mother widow in hospital). It is possible that the parents in question either died or gave the institution the necessary legal permission to allow for adoption. Unfortunately no reference to these cases is made in the Minute Books.

The women aided by the institution were, for the most part, destitute widows sick or unemployed. The Admissions Books has detailed information on the 107 women who entered during the period 1858-1867. The majority of these, 47, were listed as destitute widows, unable to work or infirm. A full 21 were admitted "until they could secure a situation," while 18 were admitted as "working women" for the kitchen, laundry or as nurses. Seven were listed as boarders and 14 were convalescents⁵⁸ from the hospital. Many of these cases were young women. In all, 18 of the 107 were under 25 years of age and 78 were under 50. If able to work the women were supplied with needlework and did general household duties.

We saw that about 70 women left the institution to procure situations. As well as this, most of those in the category "left at own wish" were women. The Admission Book reports 62 cases of which 51 or 82 percent were women. Most of these women had been admitted as working women or until they could find employment. An interesting category listed in the Annual Reports is that of "women discharged." These discharges, 57 in all, were mainly the result of intemperance, bad language, and lack of respect for the Matron or the ladies.⁵⁹

A total of 63 persons died in the institution. The Admissions Book reports 16 for the period 1858-1865. Of these, nine were women and seven were children. It is impossible to establish a mortality rate without knowing how many individuals are involved. Using the data provided by the Admissions Book we find that 16 out of 323 died or a rate of 49/1000. If we use 556 as the total number of individuals for the period we find that 66 of 556 died, a mortality rate of 118/1000. If we exclude the cholera year 1854 in which an unusually high number of people (13) died, we find a rate of 94.6/1000.

One interesting thing to note here is that for the same eight and a half year period the Annual Reports indicate 26 deaths while the Admissions Book reports only 16. There is obviously some discrepancy in the institution's recording of events but the mortality rate is probably somewhere between 49 and 95 per 1000 over the period. This is much higher than that for the city as a whole (for which the highest figure given is 37.2/1000)⁶⁰ but one would expect this, since in a charitable institution there is a population made up of a disproportionately high number of the old and infirm and the very young.

In their dealings with the inmates, the Ladies attempted to make the institution as home-like as possible.⁶¹ Christmas festivities and an annual summer picnic were held. Ladies were encouraged to visit the children as often as possible and a monthly visiting committee was established. A physician was available three times weekly or when needed, and religious services were held on Saturdays.

Thus, the Ladies Benevolent Society is a good example of 19th century institutional relief. It provided a home and instruction to destitute children and unemployed or infirm widows. There was neither an organized labour department nor any form of outdoor relief to enable needy people to remain in their homes.⁶²

C. The Montreal Home and School of Industry

The Montreal Home and School of Industry was established in 1847 as a day school for working class girls, but the range of services performed increased over the years.⁶³ Six months after its foundation a repository was added to provide the students and a few women with needlework. When a larger house was secured in 1852 the institution began to admit young girls as residents to be trained in domestic service.⁶⁴ By 1861, permanent

workrooms had been established to provide day work for unemployed widows.

Similar to the other charities we have looked at, the School of Industry was privately operated and financed by government grants, subscriptions and donations, board paid by inmates, and proceeds from annual bazaars⁶⁵ (see Table 3.7). We are not given a description of the institution. We know only that it was on St. Antoine Street, included dormitories, and a schoolroom and that at some points workrooms were set up.

For most of the period 1850 to 1867 the institution offered two distinct forms of aid.⁶⁶

. . . the training of young girls for service and giving them a plain education, although considered the principal object of the Institution, is not more important than supplying deserving women with needlework (many of whom are widows, and have young families to support).

Both of these objectives placed an emphasis on work. Advocates of self-help, the Ladies believed "that the best way of relieving the poor is to assist them to help themselves."⁶⁷ The women connected with the institution were not residents as in the Ladies Benevolent Society but were employed as day workers.

The sources available for a study of the Montreal Home and School of Industry are incomplete. The only Annual Reports for the period that are still extant are those for the years 1859, 1863 and 1864. As well, the Annual Report in 1869 includes an historical account of the institution. Thus we are obliged to depend on the available data for our discussion and assume that the trends so determined are representative of the other years as well. For the discussion of the Industrial Rooms, a branch institution established in 1861, we are dependent on the Annual Reports for 1863 and 1864, and an historical account given in the Annual Report

Table 3.7 Montreal Home and School of Industry,
Sources of Income 1860, 1863, 1864 in
Dollars (adjusted)

	1860	1863	1864
Government Grant	400	400	320
Subscriptions and Donations	404	499	681
Board of Inmates	236	92	176
Grant from the City & District	-	-	100
Work Done	-	-	9
Total Private	640	591	967
Total Funds	1040	991	1287

Source: Montreal Home and School of Industry, Annual Reports 1860, 1863, 1864.

in 1883. The Industrial Rooms were amalgamated into the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge in 1865, and the account of its workings in the years 1865 to 1867 is found in the discussion of that institution later in the chapter (pp. 132-34). The limitations of the discussion are obvious. We are working with data for three years and using it to determine general trends. As well the data that we do have is only in an aggregate form. It does not provide information on the residents' age or nationality, the length of their stay, or their particular circumstances. Without such individual information, we are again unable to determine how many separate individuals were really aided.

The number of applications for relief often exceeded the accommodation possibilities of the institution.⁶⁸ The average number of girls in the house was 24 in 1859 and 29 in 1863. The acquisition of a new building in 1864 enabled the institution to offer help to 38 girls.⁶⁹ Fifteen women were provided with work in 1859; by 1864 this number had increased to 127.⁷⁰ For purposes of clarity we will examine the services provided in two sections: first, the institutional aid to young girls and then the employment of women which was a form of outdoor relief.

The girls admitted into the institution were destitute but not orphans. Most were either abandoned or were children of working widows unable to provide for them. A few of the parents were able to pay the Ladies for their board but most were unable to make any contribution, which indicates the extent of their need.⁷¹ The Annual Reports include several references to the circumstances from which the children were removed. One such example deals with three little girls whose father had deserted them and who, with their mother, were found in "a state of utmost destitution." The mother was found a position in service and the children entered the institution.⁷²

Another interesting example concerns eight very young children who "otherwise would have been sent to convent schools." To prevent this fate, the children were admitted into the home and a collection was taken to help defray the cost of their support. Interestingly enough, the City and District Savings Bank (established by the Catholic Bishop) offered a donation of \$100 at which point the collection was disbanded.⁷³

The girls' education was conducted inside the institution. Emphasis was placed on moral and religious development as well as practical training in needlework and domestic duties.⁷⁴ A number of day students, mostly the children of working widows, also attended classes at the institution.⁷⁵

The Ladies were not always successful in their objective to train servants. Many of the girls did not complete the training but left to rejoin their family or friends (see Table 3.8). The books provide such information only in 1859 and 1863. In 1859 out of 15 girls who left the institution, 11 had interrupted their training. This was true with half of those who left in 1863.⁷⁶ It is possible to assume that this trend would be more or less the same throughout the period.

Those that remained easily found situations as applications for servants were always more numerous than the number of girls ready to fill them. Four girls were sent out in 1859 and eight were sent in 1863.⁷⁷ To some extent, the institution served as a recruiting ground for the servants so much in demand by Montreal upper society but the completion of this training was not strictly enforced. It appears that the choice of this particular format for aid was more the result of the Ladies' desire to instill the girls with good work habits and to provide them with a useful livelihood than to satisfy the upper class need for servants.

Table 3.8 Montreal Home and School of Industry,
Assistance to Poor. 1860, 1863, 1864

	1860	1863	1864
Admitted	24	14	29
Apprenticed	4	8	18
Sent to friends	11	8	
Day Students	-	-	18
Average number of inmates	24	29	33
Women employed	15	94	127
Families relieved and visited (outdoor poor)	12	-	80
Total aided	90	124	272

Source: Montreal Home and School of Industry, Annual Reports,
1860, 1863, 1864

The provision of employment for women was a service gradually assumed by the institution.⁷⁸ A repository was set up in 1847 but the provision of work was not as yet well organized. A permanent work department was added in 1855 to supply women with needlework on a more regular basis. In the winter of 1859-60 a large workroom was set up in the school building. The workers were paid wages and given a free dinner. The room was opened again the next winter in Bonaventure Hall and remained open throughout the summer. Later that year, (1861) the Ladies decided to integrate this service more closely with the School of Industry, and the workrooms were finally established as a permanent department known as the Industrial Rooms.

The Rooms were organized under the direction of a Lady Superintendant and a Ladies' Working Committee. They were financed by a combination of donations and profits from work sold, but were never in a good financial position due to the costs of material, wages and rent. In 1864 a successful application was made to have the rooms incorporated as a new department of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge. The rooms would not benefit from House of Industry funds but would be given rent-free accommodations.⁷⁹ The Ladies became a departmental committee of the House of Industry and continued their supervisory and visiting duties.⁸⁰

The aim of the Industrial Rooms was stated as "the relief of the industrial poor by their own labour in their homes, or wherever it could be most effectively carried on."⁸¹ Other aims included visiting women in their homes and holding "Mothers' meetings" every week. All who applied for employment were visited in their homes to determine their need.⁸² Ninety-four women were employed in 1863 and 127 in 1864. Aid was given on a non-sectarian basis. The 221 women aided included: Church of England: 85; Presbyterian: 58; Roman Catholic: 26; French and German Protestant: 12;

Methodist: 8; Baptist: 6; no religion specified: 26.⁸³ Some preference can be seen for Anglican and Presbyterian women.

Most of the sewing was done in the work rooms supervised by the Superintendant, the Matron and members of the visiting committee. Workers were classified according to skill as plain or fancy.⁸⁴ Emphasis was placed on the provision of work in the winter at which time the women worked to prepare material to be sold at the annual bazaar. In the summer as many as possible were employed to work on orders placed with the institution by the public at large.⁸⁵ Lack of skill limited the amount of work available since they could only accept orders involving the "coarser kind of work."⁸⁶ The women were paid wages for their work. No indication is given of the level of wages paid or whether they were paid by the piece or by the day. Undoubtedly they were no greater than wages paid for similar work outside the institution. It has been found in some early nineteenth century American cities that so many women were employed as seamstresses by American charities that the wage paid to these workers became the standard wage paid by private firms as well. In this way, the provision of employment by charities resulted in a depression of the wage level available on the labour market.⁸⁷ It is possible that a similar situation might have developed in Montreal. By the end of the 1860s there were several institutions providing enough work on a regular basis to make at least some impact on the wage level.

To encourage the women to save some of their summer earnings towards the increased cost of living in the winter, a Provident Fund was established.⁸⁸ Interest was paid on any savings placed in the fund. A Gratuity Fund was also formed on the basis of donations. This was used to pay the interest due on the Provident Fund, to make up the price of clothing sold to the workers at reduced prices, and to provide help in the form of food

and fuel when necessary in extreme cases.⁸⁹

Another service organized by the Home and School of Industry was the Poor Relief Fund.⁹⁰ There is no evidence as to when this was added and whether it was a permanent service. Reference is first made to it in 1864 but it is not mentioned in the 1869 Report. It is possible that 1864 was the only year in which this service was functioning or that it functioned only in particularly bad winters. The fund provided outdoor relief (food, clothing, rent and wood) for needy families during the winter months. Eighty families benefitted from this service in 1864. Aid was non-sectarian and was provided to 34 Anglicans, 34 Presbyterians, eight Methodists, two French Protestants, and two Catholics. Again a preference was shown for Anglicans and Presbyterians.

Thus, like the Ladies Benevolent Society, the Home and School of Industry provided aid only to women and children. It differed from the older institution in that this aid was not purely institutional in form. Although young girls were institutionalized, instruction was given primarily in practical skills. Unlike the Ladies Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum, no attempt was made to provide a general education. Instead, the girls were trained to be domestics. Women though, were not made to enter the institution to secure help but were given employment while they remained in their homes, and hence were to some extent independent of the institution and its charity. If necessary, women were also provided with cheaper clothing, food and fuel and on rare occasions small pecuniary loans were made.⁹¹ The institution completed its provision of outdoor relief with the establishment of the Poor Relief Fund to help needy families during the winter months. It may be concluded, however, that the Ladies did not want to simply distribute charity; they wanted to encourage self-help and independence.

D. The Protestant Industrial House of Refuge

The Protestant Industrial House of Refuge was formed in May, 1854 by a group of interested people directly involved in the network of existing charities. They explained that:

. . . in a city like ours, exposed as it is to the influx of impoverished strangers during the months of navigation, and to the protracted and intense cold of the winter season, a House of Industry should exist upon a commensurate scale, and liberally supported by public funds.

They noted that a municipal institution should be established but, in the absence of such an institution, a private one must take its place.⁹³ They believed that the needs of the casual poor were not being met and that an institution should be formed

. . . for the purpose of furnishing employment to industrious but destitute women and affording temporary shelter to strangers and immigrants, who are often exposed to many temptations and dangers.

The institution was opened in May 1854 but closed early in 1856.

Several of the functions performed, particularly the laundry and the sewing rooms, had proved uneconomical. The number of people aided by these departments was decreased radically in the second year, but by the end of the second year the committee found itself with a \$300 debt. There was also some division within the Committee of Management over a rumored charge of sectarianism.⁹⁴ Apparently a number of committee members had withdrawn both their support and service over this issue. Without sufficient help the remaining Ladies had found the task too demanding and were unwilling to continue the work under such circumstances. At the second annual meeting in May 1856 a proposal to amalgamate the institution with the Ladies Benevolent Society was put forward by Ira Gould and Peter McGill, members of the Advisory Committee, and passed by those present.⁹⁵ The proposal to be integrated as an industrial department failed. Instead, it was agreed that

the Ladies Benevolent Society would subsequently receive immigrant girls (Servants Home) and convalescents discharged from the hospital. No provision was made for either the employment of women or for any form of temporary shelter or outdoor relief. The proposal had in fact signified the end of the special services the institution had been established to provide.

The Committee of Management was made up of many women already cited in connection with the work of some other charity, including Mrs. Freer, Mrs. Gould, Mrs. McCord, Mrs. J.G. MacKenzie, Mrs. Rose and Mrs. Redpath, and a group of six men: Ira Gould, Peter McGill, Henry Lyman, J.J. Day, Judge McCord, and D. Davidson. The institution was financed by government grants and private donations (see Table 3.9),

Again, we have neither an address nor a description of the institution. We do know that the house was "small even for proper objects of charity"⁹⁷ and that it included a nursery, workrooms and at least two separate dormitories.

In 1854 relief was available only to females and, except for a small number of women (15 in 1859) doing occasional needlework through the Home and School of Industry, was entirely institutional in form. The new charity was intended to fill the needs not met by the existing institution by providing temporary shelter and work-oriented forms of relief. It included a Laundry and Sewing Department, a Servants' Home, a Night Refuge, and a Soup Kitchen.

The discussion of the services provided by the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge is based on the Annual Reports for the years it existed: 1854-1855, (reference 1855) and 1855-1856, (reference 1856). No detailed information is available to supplement these reports but they do give

Table 3.9 Protestant Industrial House of Refuge,
Sources of Income, 1855, 1856 in Dollars
(adjusted)

	1855	1856
Government Grant	600	600
Concert	476	320
Board	104	80
Donations	2384	1192
Total Private	3632	3192
Total Funds	4232	3792

Source: House of Refuge, Annual Report 1855, 1856.

aggregate figures for the number of people aided and short separate accounts of each service.

A total of 1,000 persons received assistance in its two years of existence - 600 in 1855 and 400 in 1856. Table 3.10 gives a detailed breakdown of the aid provided. All applicants for assistance were visited by the visiting committee.⁹⁸ This allowed the Ladies to determine the extent of need and the form of aid best suited to the particulars of each case, and to inquire into the character of the recipients.

The Laundry and the Sewing Department were established to provide day work for needy women. Both departments worked on the basis of orders received from the public at large. The laundry gave more or less constant employment to approximately 100 women in 1855 and 36 women in 1856. The sewing department employed 130 women in 1855 and 84 women in 1856.⁹⁹ The women who worked in these departments were mostly widows and were paid wages. As with the Home and School of Industry, no statistics are given on the level of wages but there is an indication that wages were paid according to the quality and type of work performed and not by the piece or by the day.¹⁰⁰

A number of the women (27 in 1855, no figure given in 1856) were resident in the institution, but most were day workers, working from 8 a.m. to 6 p.m.¹⁰¹

In the first year these two departments ran a deficit. Due to their "unwillingness to refuse work to any needy applicant" the Ladies employed many more women than was necessary to do the required work.¹⁰² Since the institution had been designed to be self-maintaining there was a reduction in the number of women aided the second year by 110, but they were still unable to correct the existing deficit. It is unlikely that the Committee had expected to profit from this form of aid but it is clear that they did not approve of any type of relief which put the institution into debt. The financial difficulties

Table 3.10 Protestant Industrial House of Refuge,
Assistance to the Poor, 1855-1856

	1855	1856
Laundry	100	36
Sewing	130	84
Servant	45	68
Refuge	80	102
Inmates	27 (adults) 54 (children)	34 (children)
Soup Kitchen	150 (families) 44 (singles)	74
Total aided	610	418

Source: Montreal Industrial House of Refuge, Annual Reports,
1855, 1856.

involved in the running of these departments probably accounts for the reluctance of the Ladies Benevolent Society to assume this service in 1856.

The Servant's Home¹⁰³ was a department of the institution which provided cheap lodging for unemployed females and worked as an agency to secure them positions as domestics. Registers were kept of all inmates and of all persons desiring domestics. The Home secured employment for forty-five women in 1855 and for 68 in 1856. About fifty percent of the girls in 1856 were recent British immigrants.¹⁰⁴

The Refuge, a large room with ten beds, was available as a temporary shelter to the destitute and homeless. According to the regulations, temporary shelter entailed a sojourn of 24 hours plus meals, but the Annual Reports indicate that "in almost every case this time has been extended." And many, in fact, remained the entire winter season.¹⁰⁵ Eighty persons in 1855 and 102 in 1856 were occupants at some point during the year.¹⁰⁶ One question raised in connection with the Night Refuge is the possibility of aid to males. Since no specific reference is made to women and the occupants are referred to as either "persons" or "adults", it is possible that the service may have been available to the destitute of both sexes. On the other hand the pronoun 'she' is used in the Constitution to refer to applicants and in the 1856 Report the institution is referred to as "designed exclusively for Protestant women of every sect."¹⁰⁷ It is possible that the Refuge was basically designed for the reception of women but in some extreme cases men had been admitted, hence the use of 'persons' instead of women. This is a very important point for no other Protestant charity had yet opened its doors to destitute males.

Another question is that of 'labour'. In the Annual Report for 1855, the Secretary states that the institution was designed to be similar to a

House of Industry and that consequently all recipients were required to work.¹⁰⁸ The Reports do not include any references to the enforcement of a 'labour task' in the Night Refuge but it is possible that such enforcement was the case and that the Refuge women worked in the industrial departments during some part of the day. There is no evidence of the 'labour task' being applied to men, hence there is more reason to doubt that men received aid at all.

As well as temporary shelter (which often lasted all winter), accommodations were available for resident inmates. The Annual Reports record the presence of 27 widows and 54 children in 1855. In 1856 the number of widows is not specified, but we are told that there were 34 children present.¹⁰⁹ The women were employed in the laundry or sewing department and the children were sent out to school. Women were responsible for their families' sewing and putting their children to bed. Work occupied their time Monday to Friday; Saturday was set aside for housecleaning.¹¹⁰

Outdoor relief was made available to the population at large with the distribution of provisions and meals. Meal tickets, for use at the institution, were available year-round at low prices. In both winters a Soup Kitchen was set up to distribute soup once a week. One hundred and fifty families and 44 individuals used the Soup Kitchen in 1855.¹¹¹ In that year the institution had received part of the municipal "Appropriation #2." for the relief of the poor. Some of this \$100 grant was used to augment the distribution of soup to four times a week for a period of seven weeks. In 1856 without the financial boost of a city grant, the number of people benefitting from the Soup Kitchen dropped to 76, but the institution used the remaining grant money to distribute 100 loaves of bread that winter.¹¹² An examination of the budgets indicates that the soup was definitely nutritious, being made of meat and vegetables.¹¹³

If we take a global view of the various services, we see that in 1855 approximately 630 heads of households (ie. families counted as one entry) and single persons received some form of assistance - either through employment or relief. In 1856 the total number had fallen to 418. This is probably the result of a combination of factors. First, both the departments employing women and the Soup Kitchen had reduced their aid substantially. Next, the figure of 416 families/persons for 1856 is probably too low because no statistics are given in 1856 for the number of women residents. We can assume that a number were present since there was no indication of changed politics given at the annual meeting. Finally, the winter of 1854-55 was a particularly bad winter during a period of economic crisis. It would be normal to expect the aid given in that winter to be larger than that given in a normal year such as 1856. Even though the number of persons aided in 1856 was fewer than that in 1855 it was still extensive in comparison to that provided by the other institutions we have examined. For this reason the disbanding of the institution is very important. After the amalgamation the aid provided by the Ladies Benevolent Society increased, but an increase from 87 persons aided in 1856 to 113 in 1857 is hardly comparable to the relief of 630 or 418.

Even more important than the reduction in numbers of people aided are the differences in the type of aid furnished. The Ladies Benevolent Society provided only institutional aid for women and children. The Industrial House of Refuge had provided outdoor as well as institutional aid and although more extensive aid was given to women, it had established some facilities (Soup Kitchen and possibly the Night Refuge) for the relief of destitute males. The amalgamation of the House of Refuge with the Ladies Benevolent Society really signified the elimination of the only institution which made any sort of large scale relief available to males and the destitute in their homes.

The need to provide employment and temporary aid to the unemployed, both male and female, had been recognized. In the face of economic crisis, steps had been taken to provide for these needs, but once the immediate problem was passed these forms of relief were disbanded. The void so established was not to be filled until the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was established in 1863.

4. The House of Industry

Until the mid 1860's the trend established by private charities was that of specialized societies offering institutional relief to women and children. The limited nature of such relief is obvious. Little outdoor relief, if any, was available and men were forced to depend on aid from outside the network of charities. This trend was modified with the introduction of a workhouse in the mid 1860's.

The aim of a workhouse was to centralize relief to all categories of needy within the confines of one institution. In England this was accomplished by forcing institutionalization on all recipients. Centralization could also be obtained by providing a combination of services to meet different needs. It was the later method that was followed in Montreal. The first attempt to form such an institution (The Industrial House of Refuge) had proved unsuccessful. A permanent House of Industry, as the workhouse was called in North America, was finally established in 1863.

A. The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge

The Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was incorporated in May 1863.¹¹⁴ This new institution differed from the ones we have already studied in several important ways: the Board of Management was made up exclusively of men, aid was made available to the male population¹¹⁵,

facilities were established for extensive outdoor relief, and assistance was provided for much larger numbers of people than before. The House of Industry was seen as a cooperative effort on the part of the entire Protestant population to organize and centralize relief on a larger scale.¹¹⁶

It will be the duty of this institution as far as possible, to embrace the relief of all classes of the Protestant poor that are now supported in various ways, by individuals, churches, and national societies, excepting always such chartered institutions as have been long established for special charitable objects.

The corporation was directed by a Board of Governors, consisting of both life members (85) and those elected to a one-year term of office. The daily management of the institution itself was the responsibility of the Board of Management, the members of which were chosen annually from among the Governors. Membership on the Board of Governors was determined by the extent of one's financial commitment. A \$400 subscription entitled one to become a life Governor, while a single grant of \$100 or an annual subscription of \$25 carried with it the possibility of an elective position. Votes at the meetings were distributed in correlation to subscriptions with one vote for every one hundred dollars donated to a maximum of twenty votes per individual.¹¹⁷

A special clause in the Act of Incorporation enabled churches and national societies to appoint a governor on the payment of an annual subscription of \$25 or a single \$400 donation.¹¹⁸ Three churches and two national societies took advantage of this clause and elected governors to the Board. Cooperation between the House of Industry and other societies was also extended on the basis of personalities. Two members on the Board of Management were closely connected with the national societies. George Moffat was the President of St. George's Society while James Ferrier, Jr. was the son of the President of St. Andrew's Society.¹¹⁹

In terms of management possibilities the Board of Management stood at

the head of Montreal society. It counted among its members for the years 1865, 1866 and 1867, seventeen merchants, five manufacturers, two bank presidents, two insurance brokers, and two professionals.¹²⁰ The executive (the same for the entire period) consisted of John Redpath, of Redpath Sugar Refineries and Vice-President of the Bank of Montreal; William Murray, Manager of the "Montreal Insurance Co."; William Workman, of "Frothingham and Workman" wholesale hardware, also President of the City Bank, and William Molson connected with Molson Breweries, the St. Lawrence Steamboat Co., and Molson's Bank.¹²¹ Surely one could not have found a more impressive or competent group of men to manage a charitable institution.

The House of Industry was financed on the basis of subscriptions which included an annual grant from the City and District Savings Bank,¹²² and the rental or sale of its properties among which were included those belonging to the Marsteller Estate¹²³ (see Table 3-11). An endowment fund, made up of sixty percent of the initial subscriptions (totalling \$28,829), was established in 1863.¹²⁴ This fund was used to cover the expenses incurred in running the institution. All monies received after that time were set aside for the purchase or building of further facilities.¹²⁵

The permanent facilities constructed on the corner of Dorchester and Bleury, were opened on December 16, 1864. A description of these buildings will serve as a good indication of the range of services provided by the House of Industry.¹²⁶

The front building on Dorchester Street contains in the first story, the Ladies Industrial Department, and a larger room now used as the school room, but which may be appropriated for religious services and such other objects as may be considered most advantageous in carrying on the design of the institution. There is also a commodious basement story that may be appropriated advantageously to different purposes and which has recently been used by the inmates as a workroom. The second story of this building contains the Board Rooms and dwelling for the Superintendent.

Table 3.11 Montreal Protestant House of Industry
and Refuge, Sources of Income, 1865-1867.

	✓ 1865	1866	1867
Subscriptions*	42,924	17,862	17,800
Donations	-	-	285
Interest	297	505	1,710
Rent on Molson's Farm	160	-	160
Sale of Properties	-	697	323
Grant from City & District Savings Bank	800	-	400
Receipts from Work Done	-	12	129
Sundries	11	-	89
Marstellar Estate Grant	-	4,790	-
Total	44,192	23,866	21,044

* includes annual subscriptions and installments on initial subscription promised.

Source: House of Industry, Annual Reports, 1850-67.

The third story is intended for dormitories. The rear building is especially appropriated for a Night Refuge and Soup Kitchen. The first story contains the office of the Superintendent, Soup Kitchen, large dining room and two reception rooms. The second and third stories contain the dormitories, and these, we trust, will be found sufficiently large for a Night Refuge for many years to come. The basement story is very commodious containing coal and wood room, washing room and bath rooms for male and female. The basement of the corridor contains the boiler and heating apparatus.

The House of Industry and Refuge was just what its name indicates -- an institution which provided institutional relief for 'workhouse' inmates as well as temporary refuge and work for the casual poor.

The sources available for a study of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge include the Annual Reports for the periods covered 1864-67 and the Minutes of the Meetings for the period 12 September 1863 to 4 December 1867.¹²⁷ The Annual Reports include a general report by the Board of Management giving total figures of aid extended as well as general commentary, and the separate reports from each of the sub-committees, i.e. the Poor Relief Committee, the Ladies Committee of the Industrial Rooms and the Visiting Surgeon. The Minutes of the Meetings provide extra information and clarification of the data in the Annual Reports. Unfortunately the meetings of the Poor Relief Committee are reported on very irregularly. Although a Register of all admissions was kept during the period, it no longer exists and consequently no specific data on individual recipients is available for use in the study.

The permanent poor were housed in the main building of the institution. "Most of these were without a home or means of subsistence, and many of them were incapable of doing anything themselves."¹²⁸ The Board hoped to be able to move them to the country (Molson's Farm, Longue Pointe) as soon as possible.¹²⁹ They felt that it was important for the inmates to work outdoors and to be away from their "usual habits and associates."¹³⁰ An account of the

necessary expenditures was presented for study at the annual meeting in 1867 but the funds to construct the necessary building were not secured until 1881 and the inmates were not moved in until 1884.¹³¹ The institution maintained approximately 80 persons, at a cost of 15 cents each per day, on a regular basis during the winter and summer of 1865. This number increased to 115 in the winter of 1866, decreased to 65 over the summer months, and was again over 100 in the winter of 1867.¹³² (see Table 3.12). The data available does not allow for a more detailed study of attendance. We are only provided with seasonal averages of aid extended.

Normally the number of males resident in the institution was larger than the number of females, probably due to the availability of aid elsewhere for needy women. There were always some children resident in the institution although the Board of Management was hesitant to receive children because of the extra trouble it involved. A motion in 1866 prohibited the admission of children under two years of age and limited the admittance of children at all to cases of extreme need.¹³³ The data available gives an idea of the ratio of adults to children in the institution. On October 25, 1865 of 75 persons, 75 were children. On April 1st, 1866, we still find 25 children out of a total of 108 present. By April 1st, 1867 the number had dropped to 11 of 93.¹³⁴ A schoolroom was outfitted in the institution and a teacher was employed in 1866. Beginning in 1867 poor children from the area were admitted as day students.¹³⁵ The Poor Relief Committee wanted to make the school as useful as possible and hoped to be able to extend its services as soon as possible. They saw the opening of the institutions school as the first step toward the establishment of a Ragged School in connection with the Night Refuge.

In many ways the Montreal institution was similar to those in England. Segregation of the sexes and the wearing of uniforms¹³⁶ were a normal part of the routine and the provision of work was of central importance. If possible,

Table 3.12 The Montreal Protestant House of Industry
and Refuge, Assistance to the Poor, 1864-67

	1864	1865	1866	1867
Permanent Poor (winter average)	-	80	115	100
Night Refuge (total nights lodging)	4047	6735	2894	5912
Soup Kitchen (total no. of rations)	21000 (approx.)	25197	15156	22134
Women employed (total number)	-	-	200	151
<u>United Board of Outdoor Relief</u>				
Families relieved			525	622
Widows relieved			-	74
Children apprenticed			-	28

Source: House of Industry, Annual Reports, 1864-1867.

situations were found outside the institution but most of the inmates were "put to work" at the institution in stone-breaking, kindling making, sewing or general handy-work. Many were unable to do any kind of work due to age or sickness.¹³⁷

On the whole, conditions inside the workhouse were not as bad as those recorded for similar institutions in American cities.¹³⁸ The surgeon, Dr. Tew in his 1866 report, referred to several problems including the lack of adequate provision for the sick, insufficient new or clean clothing for the residents, and problems with ventilation and heating, but added that many of these were being corrected. The double wooden bedsteads which he had previously condemned, had been replaced by 50 single iron ones but many more were needed.¹³⁹ By 1867 an infirmary had been completed which allowed for the total isolation of the sick. This infirmary served those with minor ailments and the permanently disabled. Anyone considered seriously sick was sent to the hospital for proper treatment. Additional improvements had been made in the ventilation system but the Doctor again insisted on the need for more clothing, especially for the male residents.¹⁴⁰

Facilities for the casual poor (those in need only for a short period of time due to circumstances such as unemployment) included both a Night Refuge and a Soup Kitchen. The Night Refuge, located in the back building away from the permanent inmates,¹⁴¹ was open to provide temporary relief to all in need.¹⁴² As one of the main services provided by the House of Industry, the Night Refuge was first opened on December 28, 1863 in the Marscellar Building on Campean Street. Once the permanent facilities were constructed in December 1864, it was moved to the main building site.

The Annual Reports include data on the total "nights lodging" given but no information on the number of individuals present or even the number of

beds available. We are provided though with a breakdown of "nights lodging" by sex which will enable us to make a rough estimate of the proportion of males to females. Detailed information on religion is provided only for 1864 and 1865. The total number of aggregate "nights lodging" given was 4,047 in 1864 and 6,735 in 1865. The data for both of these years covers only the period from end of December to mid-April because of the late openings these years. The total in 1866 is 2,894 and in 1867, 5,912¹⁴³.

Looking at general trends, we are immediately struck by the sharp decrease in the number of "nights lodging" given in 1866. The Poor Relief Committee pointed to two factors to explain the decrease: the establishment of a Roman Catholic Refuge on St-Bernard Street, and the imposition of a labour task in that year. Neither of these explanations seems adequate. The first is particularly weak. Even in 1865, before a Catholic Refuge, was established, there were three times as many "nights lodging" given to Protestants as to Catholics. (See table 3.14). Thus a decrease in the number of Catholics could not possibly explain a 50 percent decrease in total aid.

The imposition of a labour task is also an inadequate explanation. The new regulation implemented a "no work, no breakfast" regime. Although the Poor Relief Committee tells us that "many were thus sent away,"¹⁴⁴ the regulation was still in force in 1867 and seems to have had no impact on the totals for that year.

Some indication of the possible reason is found in the Minutes of Meetings. At the semi-annual meeting held in October, 1865 the Poor Relief Committee pointed to the large number of permanent residents - 75 and indicated that there would definitely be a problem in the institution over the winter due to limited space. They said that there was not much room for Night Refuge people and were glad that the Catholics would not be needing relief.¹⁴⁵ One

can only assume that if the number of permanent residents was high they were moved into parts of the back building's dormitories, thus limiting the amount of space and number of beds available for temporary residents.

Although meant to provide only temporary shelter,¹⁴⁶ there are several indications that some shelter was often given on a more permanent basis. When discussing the problems encountered in the imposition of the labour task, the Committee tells us that those men willing to work were also "anxious to work all the time at stone breaking if allowed to remain for the winter in the institution, getting its shelter and food". An arrangement was made by which they worked only part of the day in return for regular shelter.¹⁴⁷ But in a board meeting on March 7, 1866, the Poor Relief Committee, referring to those men who "have remained steadily at the work from the beginning", indicated that "their number is not more than half a dozen."¹⁴⁸ They also reminded the Board that many who are aged and infirm were unable to do the stonebreaking because of susceptibility to colds. It seems that for some, probably all of the aged and infirm, and at least six of the able-bodied men, the Night Refuge provided almost permanent winter shelter and consequently the turnover in number of people aided must have been relatively small.

We can get some idea as to the ratio of men/women present on the basis of the aggregate figures in the Annual Reports. Using these figures we find that there were many more men than women using the Night Refuge.

Table 3.13 Total Number of 'Nights' Lodging' by Sex

Year	Men	Women	Total	Men as % of Total
1864	2,558	1,489	4,047	63.2
1865	4,068	2,667	6,735	60.4
1866	2,447	447	2,894	84.5
1867	4,908	1,004	5,912	83.0
Total	13,984	5,607	19,588	71.4

Source:
House of
Industry
Annual Reports

On the average, men accounted for approximately 71.4 percent of the "nights lodging" given, with a high of 84.5 percent in 1866 and a low of 60.4 percent in 1865.

Data on the religion of the occupants is available only for the years 1864 and 1865. The number of "nights lodging" given to Protestants and to Catholics was 1,684 Protestants and 2,363 Catholics in 1864, and 5,022 Protestants and 1,684 Catholics in 1865.¹⁴⁹ When it was first established, the House of Industry was ready to and indeed did serve the destitute of both religions. But the City Council decided to divide the funds in the Marstellar Estate giving one half to the Protestant House of Industry and retaining one half towards the future establishment of a Catholic institution of the same nature. This decision relieved the House of Industry of any responsibility towards the Catholic population. In the Annual Report, 1864 the Board of Management states that the decision "would relieve them of at least half the inmates."¹⁵⁰ Aid was indeed given to fewer Catholics in 1865 but the number did not become relatively insignificant until 1866 when the projected Catholic institution was established. The Annual Reports for 1866 and 1867 indicate that "nearly all" of the Night Refuge occupants "were Protestant."¹⁵¹

Any more detailed analysis of the occupants of the Night Refuge becomes problematic. The data available deals with aggregate totals and cannot be reduced to figures on occupancy. The only figures we have of the number of people present are for the period December 22, 1863 to January 16, 1864. In this period 432 "nights lodging" were given to a total of 89 persons.¹⁵² This indicates that the number of people present was about 20 percent of the number of the "nights lodging" given. Although this gives us some indication of the possible proportion, the period so represented is not long enough to enable

us to establish any general trends on the basis on the information. Also the data is probably unrepresentative of aid in subsequent years, being based on figures for the first three weeks of the institution's existence.

We can attempt to find some idea of daily occupancy for the other years using the data provided on weekly occupancy in 1865. Looking to Table 3.14 and using only the data for the four month period January to April, since the small number present in the week of December 27 introduces a distortion, we find that total "nights lodging" is 6696. The average weekly occupancy (divide by 16) is 418. Using the same method we find that the average daily occupancy is 60. Therefore the minimum number of people aided during these four months is 60 and the maximum is 6696. Both the minimum and the maximum are distorted, for the one assumes that every person - 60 in all - was present throughout the period, while the other assumes that every person - 6,696 in all - remained for only one night. But there is no way to find a more accurate figure for daily occupancy or even yearly occupancy on the basis of the data available. We do know though that, the real figure is closer to the minimum than to the maximum because of the frequent references to occupants remaining for long periods of time.

The occupants of the Night Refuge bathed once a week on Saturday afternoon and attended regular religious services.¹⁵³ No smoking or drinking was allowed on the premises. In both 1866 and 1867 the Committee commented on the exemplary behavior of the 'casual poor'. Several of the men who had worked well and many of the women were found situations outside the institution.¹⁵⁴ So many women began to apply for this work that a Servants' Register was opened in 1867 to place women looking for employment in domestic service.¹⁵⁵

The Soup Kitchen was seen as one of the most important services provided by the institution. It was opened in a building on Fortification Lane in January 1864 and moved to the permanent facilities once they were opened at the

Table 3.14 House of Industry
 Register of Nights Lodging
 Given by Week - 21 Dec. - 18 April 1865

Week Ending	No. of Prot. Males	No. of Prot. Females	No. of Cath. Males	No. of Cath. Females	Total Protestants	Total Catholics	Total Males	Total Females	Total
Dec. 27	28	3	8	0	31	8	36	3	39
Jan. 3	77	14	20	4	91	24	97	18	115
10	113	11	36	3	124	39	149	14	163
17	154	24	33	8	178	41	187	32	219
24	162	46	54	7	208	61	216	53	269
31	175	69	48	24	244	72	223	93	316
Feb. 7	218	77	61	50	295	111	279	127	406
14	209	123	70	65	332	135	279	188	467
21	214	184	61	78	398	139	275	262	537
28	231	210	60	86	441	146	290	296	586
March 7	261	179	81	58	440	139	342	237	579
14	232	182	94	39	414	133	326	221	547
21	223	203	82	72	426	154	305	275	580
28	243	175	73	55	418	128	316	230	546
Apr. 4	199	168	115	62	367	177	314	230	544
11	158	161	44	54	319	98	202	215	417
18	195	131	37	42	326	79	232	173	405
Totals	3092	1960	977	707	5052	1684	4068	2667	6735

Source: House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865

end of that year. Like the Night Refuge, it was open from the beginning of October to the end of May. Although in full operation only during this season, both services were available at other times of the year to "pressing cases."

The reports for the years 1865, 1866 and 1867 give data only on the total number of quarts distributed and not on the number of people receiving these rations. In 1865 we have a detailed report on a weekly basis but even this deals with the number of quarts distributed. It is only for 1864 that we are given a figure for the number of people aided by the Soup Kitchen. In that year about 5,000 quarts of soup were distributed monthly. The smallest number of daily applicants was 60, the largest was 114.¹⁵⁶ The total number of quarts distributed in 1865 was 25,197; in 1866, 15,156; and in 1867, 22,134.¹⁵⁷ As well as soup, the kitchen provided breakfasts for the Night Refuge occupants and meals for the outdoor poor. Figures are only given for 1865 when 6,331 breakfasts and 600 meals were given out.

The soup kitchen was seen as a "ready and efficient way of relieving the poor at a trifling cost."¹⁵⁸ Each ration cost only four-fifths of a cent and was supposedly both filling and nutritious.¹⁵⁹ This was the supreme form of aid-in-kind since it left no room for fraud. Only those who were hungry would come for the soup and it could not be exchanged for liquor or other questionable commodities as was feared to be the case with the provision of such things as money or clothing.

The employment of women, both resident and outdoor poor, was the responsibility of the Ladies Industrial Department. This department was established when the Industrial Rooms of the Home and School of Industry were integrated with the House of Industry in 1865. Although under the jurisdiction of the House of Industry the department was financed separately, mainly from

the proceeds of annual bazaars (approximately 1,100 each year) and donations.¹⁶⁰

The aim of the department was the employment of destitute women to do needlework. All applicants were visited in their homes by the Visiting Committee to determine whether or not employment would be given. The total number of women employed in 1866 was 200 with a weekly average of 80 over the winter and 47 over the summer. In 1867 the total was 150 with a weekly average of 90 in the winter and 40 in the summer.¹⁶¹ The religious denomination of the workers over the two-year period was as follows: Anglican, 113; Presbyterian, 61; Roman Catholic, 48; French Protestant, 33; Methodist, 19; Congregationalist, 6; Baptist, 6; German Church, 3; American Church, 3; Unitarian, 1; and religion not specified, 58.¹⁶² Again we find a disproportionate number of Anglicans, Presbyterians and French Protestants with relatively very few Catholics.

An attempt was made to employ as many needy women as possible even if they were only partially employed -¹⁶³

"the object of the Committee being not so much to afford permanent employment to a few as to assist the greater number who are unable to devote all their time to serving, yet who are dependent on it for part of their means of subsistence."

Work was done to fill customers' orders or to prepare items for sale at the annual bazaar. It was always a problem to secure work of a coarser nature. The women made linens and clothing for the House of Industry inmates but this type of work was limited, and most of the orders received demanded a fair amount of skilled fancy work which most of the women could not do. The Ladies regretted that due to a great want of coarser sewing for the poorer class of workers, many needy applicants had been refused employment.¹⁶⁴ Some of the work was done in the workrooms supervised by the Matron but most was done by "outdoor workers" in their homes. The Semi-Annual report in October 1865.

states that only six of the 47 women worked in the workrooms.¹⁶⁵ As well the breakdown of wages in the 1867 budget shows that \$1,701.75 in wages was paid to 'outdoor workers' and only \$212 went to room-workers.¹⁶⁶

As well as the Industrial Rooms, the Ladies' Committee was in charge of the management of the schoolroom, and the provision of clothing and clean linen.¹⁶⁷ For the most part, the Ladies had assumed responsibility for the care of women and children aided by the institution.

In November of 1865 the United Board of Outdoor Relief was formed, independent of the House of Industry and its fund, though to a large extent it worked through and cooperated with the larger institution. This Board was made up of the Poor Relief Committee from the House of Industry, the leading members of the national societies (St. Andrews, the Irish Protestant Benevolent Society, the German Society and the New England Society), the Y.M.C.A. and the Protestant churches, and the city missionaries.¹⁶⁸ The combined effort was seen as the first attempt to centralize outdoor relief in the city and it was hoped that the House of Industry would in this way become "a center from which to furnish outdoor relief to all the Protestant poor of the city."¹⁶⁹ The Board was financed independently of the House of Industry, mainly by donations of money, clothing, linens and food.¹⁷⁰ The members of the Committee met twice a week to manage affairs and served as visitors for one week periods.

The distribution of aid began on the 23rd of December 1865 and continued throughout the year. Detailed discussion of the Board's work is based on the Annual Reports for the years 1865/66 and 1866/67. Overall in 1865/66, 525 families were aided while in 1866/67 622 families and 74 widows were aided.¹⁷¹ This was a daily average of 194 families for 1866/67.

Applicants for relief were visited in their homes by the city missionaries and several gentlemen of the Board. The visitation system

allowed a better evaluation of "their true condition" and provided the opportunity for religious and moral counselling. Needless to say, the Board helped only those who found themselves in difficult circumstances, through no fault of their own, and were willing to work given the chance. Conversely, "as much as possible the Board withheld aid from such as were able thus to help themselves, but who would not do so."¹⁷² Occasionally a family was granted relief "for the sake of the children" even if the parents were found to be unworthy.¹⁷³

Relief was given in kind, and included such items as one-half a cord of firewood per month, provisions (bread, tea, meat, sugar, fish, soup and candles), clothing, shoes and linens.¹⁷⁴ Many families were provided with soup from the soup kitchen and, once a week, on outdoor relief days, the soup was replaced by a hot dinner.¹⁷⁵

The Board recognized that a large number of the families relieved needed help because the male-head of household was unemployed. These men were given work at stone-breaking.¹⁷⁶ Also, the Board attempted to secure positions for as many of the children receiving relief as possible. 28 children (19 boys, nine girls) in 1866-67 were sent to "comfortable homes in most respectable families" which had promised to provide "schooling and religious instruction" as well as a home in the country.¹⁷⁷ If the children were not orphans, the parents' permission was secured. Good clothing was provided for these children before they left the institution. The Board reported that "all but three turned out well."¹⁷⁸

Conclusion

Five private charities extended help to the poor over the period 1850-67. Three of these - the Protestant Orphan Asylum, the Ladies Benevolent Society, and the Home and School of Industry provided institutional relief for women and for children. Institutional aid was extended to men as well with the opening of the House of Industry in 1864.

Outdoor relief was less common. It was first made available by the Industrial House of Refuge in 1854. This institution had both a Soup Kitchen and a Night Refuge. Due to financial and other problems the institution was disbanded in 1856. Following a period of several years during which this form of relief was not available, the same services were re-established by the House of Industry. In 1865 the United Board of Outdoor Relief was established to centralize outdoor relief to the destitute over the winter months. This Organization provided relief in the form of goods such as food, clothing and firewood.

Industrial charities were also developed in the period. Both the Home and School of Industry and the Ladies Committee of the House of Industry provided day employment for needy women. Relief in the form of employment was extended to men by the United Board of Outdoor Relief but it is unclear whether payment took the form of wages or relief in kind.

Notes

¹ See Raymond A. Muhl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825 (New York: Oxford University Press, Urban Life in America Series, 1973); Susan Houston, "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-75" Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1975; Haley P. Bamman, "The Ladies Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Philanthropy," in The Canadian Social History Project, Interim Report, No. 4, ed. M.B. Katz (Toronto, 1972); Judith Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax and St. John's, 1815-1860," Acadiensis, Vol. V, No. 1 (Autumn, 1975).

² For the development of this all-encompassing institution attempting to deal with the insane, the disabled, the aged, the sick and the young under one roof in the United States see especially David Rothman, The Discovery of the Asylum, Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic (Toronto: Little, Brown & Co., 1971); also Gerald N. Grob, "Mental Illness, Indigency, and Welfare: The Mental Hospital in Nineteenth Century America" in Anonymous Americans, Explorations in 19th Century Social History ed. Tamara K. Hareven (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1971) pp. 250-80; Eric H. Monkkonen, The Dangerous Class, Crime and Poverty in Columbus, Ohio 1860-1885 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975).

³ See D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum; R. Muhl, Poverty in New York; Blanche D. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States. Colonial Times to 1860" in Comparative Development in Social Welfare ed. E.W. Martin (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1972), pp. 128-159 for this development in the United States. For England see J.D. Marshall, The Old Poor Law, 1795-1834 (Toronto: The Macmillan Press Ltd., Studies in Economic History Series, 1968); Samuel Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme - Economic Security Policy in Britain and the United States (Pittsburg: University of Pittsburg Press, 1967); J.R. Paynter, Society and Pauperism, English Ideas on Poor Relief, 1795-1834 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969); Robert Pinker, Social Theory and Social Policy (London: Heinemann Educational Books Ltd., 1971); Michael E. Rose, The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914 (Toronto: The Macmillan Press Ltd., Studies in Economic History Series, 1972).

⁴ An interesting contrast exists here between Montreal and Toronto. Susan Houston, "The Impetus to Reform: Urban Crime, Poverty and Ignorance in Ontario, 1850-75", p. 286, shows how general aid institutions were early established in Toronto and that separate institutions for the care of children were mainly formed in the third quarter of the nineteenth

century to supplement the work done by the House of Industry. In Montreal, the pattern is exactly the opposite. The orphanage was the first permanent institution established and it was not until 1863 that a general aid institution was finally formed.

⁵D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, p. 209.

⁶Philanthropy, Care of our Destitute and Criminal Population. Series of Letters published in the Montreal Gazette (Montreal: Salter & Ross, 1857); "Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief of the Protestant Poor for the Winter of 1866-67" in Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 4th Annual Meeting, 1867 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1867), p. 10.

⁷Historical Sketch of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum From its Formation on the 16th of February 1822 to the Present Day (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), p. 17.

⁸For a discussion of the class nature of these ladies, see Chapter IV, pp. 161-164 and Table 4.1.

⁹Donations of food, clothing, medicine and services were received as well as monetary contributions. Almost all charitable institutions at this time were financed by some combination of government grant, private subscription and donations, collections, bazaars and charity events.

¹⁰41st Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1862 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1863), p. 6.

¹¹The Endowment Fund was established in 1851. By 1867, a total of \$3,586.75 had been contributed to the fund. 46th Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1867 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1867), p. 6. \$600 of this sum had been received from a former orphan -- Robert Finnie, then resident in California. 35th Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1856 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1858), p. 8.

¹²33rd Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1854 (Montreal: John Potts, 1855), p. 5.

¹³29th Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1850 (Montreal: Armour & Ramsay, 1853), p. 6; 36th Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1857 (Montreal: Canadian Directory Office, 1858), p. 5; 42nd Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1863 (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1864), p. 4.

¹⁴The above sources were located in the files of the organization Summerhill Homes, 4444 St. Catherine Street West, Montreal.

¹⁵ In this year there was also a disproportionately large number of children sent to their relatives.

¹⁶ Interestingly enough we find that the total number of children aided in the 24 year period 1822-46 was 340. Protestant Orphan Asylum, Collection of Letters, Letter - Résumé of the number of Orphans in the Protestant Orphan Asylum, 1846.

¹⁷ Protestant Orphan Asylum, Annual Report, 1850, p. 6; 1857, p. 5; 1863, p. 4.

¹⁸ Occasionally an orphan's relatives would pay board to the Asylum. These sums were rarely substantial and are recorded in the budgets only for the years 1854 and 1855. A motion concerning the payment of board if possible was passed at the monthly meeting in January, 1859. Protestant Orphan Asylum, Minutes of the Monthly Meetings, Vol. 5, January 1859.

¹⁹ Constitution and By-Laws, Clause XI. D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, p. 225 comments that such stipulations were a general rule in institutions to allow the discipline and training to have some effect before the child was sent out.

²⁰ Constitution and By-Laws, Clause XII. Contrast this with Toronto where a law establishing ten as the minimum age for apprentices was not passed until 1870. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 299.

²¹ It appears that advertisements concerning apprenticeships were placed in newspapers and applications were received from the Eastern Townships, Upper Canada and even Vermont. Many references to the wealth of applications are made in the minutes. Often the distances involved caused problems. Letters exist citing one case where a boy, apprenticed to a farmer in Coburg, Upper Canada, never arrived at his destination. Protestant Orphan Asylum, Collection of Letters.

²² Protestant Orphan Asylum Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, July, 1850; March, 1851. The preference for sending children to the country was widespread. See Ladies Benevolent Society below; D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, p. 225. Among the places Montreal orphans were sent to we find Hemmingford, Shefford, New Glasgow, Rouses Point, Buckingham and Brompton.

²³ Constitution and By-Laws, Clauses XIII and XV.

²⁴ 30th Annual Report of the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum for the Year 1851 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1851), p. 3.

²⁵ Constitution and By-Laws, Clause XIX.

²⁶ P.O.A., Annual Report, 1854, p. 5; Constitution and By-Laws,
Clause XVI.

²⁷ P.O.A., Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, March 1850.

²⁸ The maltreatment of children sent out as apprentices is not endemic to Montreal alone. The terrible reception of many of the English gutter children sent to Canada in the late nineteenth century is common knowledge. A study is presently underway on the Barnardo children and their lives in Canada. G.J. Parr, "British Pauper and Street Children in Canada: Their Reception, Life and Labour", (Ph.D. dissertation, Yale Univ., 1977); Susan Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 308-309, refers to the abuse of apprentice sent out from institutions in Toronto. The problem of maltreatment became such a scandal in Ontario that new policies on apprenticeship and adoption were instituted in 1875.

²⁹ P.O.A., Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, August, September, and October, 1852. In this particular case, the indenture was cancelled and the girl remained in the care of the minister until she secured a position as a servant.

³⁰ P.O.A., Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, March 1850.

³¹ Constitution and By-Laws, Clause XVII.

³² P.O.A., Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, July 1851. Many applications for adoption were turned down when it was ascertained that the applicants had families of their own.

³³ P.O.A., Minutes of Meetings, Vol. 4, June, July, and August, 1852. Although she received almost constant medical care once she was back in the home, her condition was so bad nothing could be done to save her life.

³⁴ P.O.A., Collection of Letters, Letter re. Mary Quin, Rev. W Morris, Buckingham, Canada East, 1856.

³⁵ Constitution and By-Laws for the Montreal Protestant Orphan Asylum, Clause XXII.

³⁶ The Ladies Benevolent Society was established in 1824. For an account of its early history see N.C. Pearse and Mrs. Alister Mitchell, History of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society 1815-1920 (private printing).

³⁷ An interesting contrast can be made between the Ladies Benevolent Society in Montreal and that established in Hamilton in 1846. The latter institution provided mainly outdoor relief to the sick and destitute although

an orphan asylum was opened in 1853. As with the society in Montreal, aid was given mainly to women and children. A detailed study of the Hamilton institution is found in the work of Haley P. Bamman, "The Ladies Benevolent Society of Hamilton, Ontario: Form and Function in Mid-Nineteenth Century Urban Philanthropy," in The Canadian Social History Project, Interim Report, No. 4, ed. M.B. Katz (Toronto, 1972), pp. 161-217.

³⁸ 23rd Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1856 (Montreal: Lovell, 1856), p. 4

³⁹ 28th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1861 (Montreal: Lovell, 1861), p. 8; 29th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1862 (Montreal: Lovell, 1862), p. 9. During the smallpox epidemic that year the committee room had been used as a sick ward; 30th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1863 (Montreal: Lovell, 1863), p. 9.

⁴⁰ L.B.S., Annual Report, 1863, p. 9.

⁴¹ 27th Annual Report of the M.L.B.S., 1860 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1860), p. 7. Continual references are made in the minutes of the meetings to applications which are refused for lack of space. Minute Book of the Monthly Meetings of the Ladies Benevolent Society, 1858-1865, passim.

⁴² Such a case is noted in March 1859 where two children are taken in but there is no room for the mother and other children. L.B.S., Minutes of Meetings; March 1859. The Admission Book for the Ladies Benevolent Institution 1858-1867 includes many references to children of destitute widows who return to their mothers at a later date.

⁴³ The above sources were located in the files of the organization Summerhill Homes, 4444 St. Catherine West, Montreal

⁴⁴ L.B.S., Admissions Book, 1858-1867

⁴⁵ Ibid., passim.

⁴⁶ L.B.S., Annual Report, 1860, p. 7.

⁴⁷ 18th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1851 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1851), p. 6.

⁴⁸ 28th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1861 (Montreal: Lovell, 1861), pp. 10, 11; 30th Annual Report of the M.L.B.S., 1863 (Montreal: Lovell, 1863), p. 13.

⁴⁹ 25th Annual Report of the Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society, 1858 (Montreal: Lovell, 1858), p. 5.

⁵⁰ S. Houston finds the same trend to be true in Toronto institutions. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 305.

⁵¹ The other relatives included four brothers, two sisters, ten aunts, two uncles, and 13 grandparents.

⁵² S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 305.

⁵³ L.B.S., Minutes of Meetings.

⁵⁴ L.B.S. Admissions Book.

⁵⁵ References to cases to be admitted if bound to the institution are found in L.B.S., Minutes of Meetings, May 1860; July 1860, March 1859. A law to give charities legal guardianship in the face of parental requests for their return was passed in Ontario in 1872 in an attempt to obviate the problems there. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 299; D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, pp. 221-23, cites instances of many American institutions where it was necessary on entry to sign over a child till 21.

⁵⁶ On the problem of servants in Montreal, see Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Minority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montréal," Social History (Nov. 1973), p. 209; for the same problem in Toronto, see S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 199.

⁵⁷ L.B.S., Admissions Book.

⁵⁸ Convalescents were one of the categories aided by the L.B.S. after the 1856 amalgamation of the House of Refuge. The Annual Report, 1861 makes reference to the fact that these convalescents remained only until they could secure employment.

⁵⁹ L.B.S., Admissions Book. For references to specific women asked to leave, see Minutes of Meetings, February 1860, June 1862. Most of the drinking problems occurred on Sunday when the women did not return to the institution immediately after church service. See reference Minutes of Meetings, Nov. 1860.

⁶⁰ See Chapter I, p. 27.

⁶¹ The Ladies find that visitors remark on their success in making the institution home-like "as displayed in the happy countenances of most of the little ones, and by the contented, grateful remarks of all the

deserving ones of the adult inmates." 34th Annual Report of the M.L.B.S., 1867 (Montreal: Lovell, 1867), p. 2. Both D. Rothman and Susan Houston, in their work on charities in the U.S. and Ontario, find constant references to this "home" and "family" image. Rothman shows how the American institutions more closely resemble military life than family life and develops a thesis based on the reformers' desire for the institutions to serve as a critique on lax family discipline. Rothman, Discovery of Asylum, esp. p. 235-6; Houston also questions the reformers' projected home image. She cites the bad conditions in the Toronto orphanage, especially the drains which eventually led to the death of 18 children and also the R.C. Asylum where 20 percent of all the children admitted died in the institution. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 303, 304.

⁶²The only reference to aid given outside the institution is the case of a young "girl - 17 - stranger, subject to fits." She was not taken in but money was collected towards her support. L.B.S., Minutes of Meetings, March 1859. There is also a reference made in the budget for 1867 to \$12 for "aid outside the walls" but no details are given.

⁶³Montreal Home and School of Industry, 21st Annual Report, 1869 (Montreal: Lovell, 1869), p. 5.

⁶⁴School of Industry, Annual Report, 1869, p. 5. The age is specified as eight years and older. In 1855 when the Parliamentary grant was secured three nurseries were set up for infants. Mothers were admitted as nurses on the condition that they care for their own child plus one other. In this way the institution was able to provide a home for destitute mothers and infants. The service was stopped after two years for lack of sufficient funds.

⁶⁵Subscriptions and donations became increasingly more important for the institution's financing. In 1859 they were of an equal amount with the government grant but by 1869 were more than double the government grant.

⁶⁶Montreal Home and School of Industry, 12th Annual Report, 1860 (Montreal: Lovell, 1860), p. 3.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 4.

⁶⁸School of Industry, Annual Report, 1860, p. 7.

⁶⁹Montreal Home and School of Industry, 15th Annual Report, 1863 (Montreal: Lovell, 1863), p. 6; Montreal Home and School of Industry, 16th Annual Report, 1864 (Montreal: Lovell, 1864), p. 7.

⁷⁰School of Industry, Annual Report, 1859, p. 7; 3rd Annual Report of the Industrial Rooms, 1864 (Montreal: Lovell, 1864), p. 13.

⁷¹ School of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 7

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Ibid., p. 8.

⁷⁴ School of Industry, Annual Report, 1859, p. 6.

⁷⁵ Ibid., p. 5. In 1864 there were 18 such day students. School of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 7.

⁷⁶ School of Industry, Annual Report, 1859, p. 7; 1863, p. 6.

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 7; p. 6.

⁷⁸ For the history of these developments, see School of Industry, Annual Report, 1869, p. 5 and also a history of the Industrial Rooms found in Annual Report of the Industrial Rooms, 1883 (Montreal: Lovell, 1883), pp. 5-8.

⁷⁹ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1864, p. 15.

⁸⁰ See below, pp. 132-34 for a discussion of the Industrial Rooms 1865-1867.

⁸¹ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1883, p. 7.

⁸² 2nd Annual Report of the Industrial Rooms, 1863 (Montreal: Lovell, 1863), p. 15.

⁸³ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1863, p. 14; 1864, p. 16.

⁸⁴ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1863, pp. 13, 15; 1883, p. 7.

⁸⁵ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1863, p. 13.

⁸⁶ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1883, p. 9.

⁸⁷ David Montgomery in his article, "The Working Classes of the Pre-Industrial City," in Urban America in Historical Perspective, ed. R. Mohl and R. Betten. (New York: 1970), p. 109.

⁸⁸ Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1863, pp. 14-15.

⁸⁹ Ibid.

⁹⁰ School of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 5.

⁹¹ School of Industry, Annual Report, 1859, p. 4.

⁹² 1st Annual Report of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, May 1855 (Montreal: Lovell, 1855), p. 3. There had been some consideration of combining the new institution with the Home and School of Industry but the idea had been discarded as unworkable. 1855, p. 4.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 3.

⁹⁴ 2nd Annual Report of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, May 1856 (Montreal: Lovell, 1856) pp. 6-9.

⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 8. The annual government grant was still given in the name "Industrial House of Refuge" but was both applied for and received by the Ladies Benevolent Society. Significantly the grant for the House of Refuge was always larger than that for the L.B.S. proper.

⁹⁶ House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 13. These men must have had quite a lot of influence for it was they who presented the motion in 1856 to dissolve the institution. It is interesting to note that once outdoor relief was being distributed and men aided, the male advisory committee seems to become much more prominent and active.

⁹⁷ Ibid., p. 3

⁹⁸ Ibid., p. 15

⁹⁹ Ibid., p. 6; 1856, p. 4.

¹⁰⁰ House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 15.

¹⁰¹ Ibid.

¹⁰² Ibid., p. 6. In 1855 the laundry department paid \$1,000 in wages but received only \$904 for the complete work. The cost of fuel made the imbalance even greater. The sewing department paid \$364.00 in wages and spent \$32.00 in materials and received \$480.00 for the finished goods.

¹⁰³The Servants' Home had been established as a separate institution in 1852 but was incorporated as part of the Industrial House of Refuge in November 1854. For a discussion of its foundation in 1852 see The Montreal Gazette, March 5, 1852.

¹⁰⁴House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1856, p. 4.

¹⁰⁵House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 7.

¹⁰⁶House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. ; 1856, p. 9
Of the 80 present in 1855 we are told that 20 were immigrants waiting for situations and that 12 were homeless convalescents from the hospital.

¹⁰⁷House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1856, p. 6.

¹⁰⁸House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p.

¹⁰⁹Ibid., p. 7; 1856, p. 4.

¹¹⁰Ibid., p. 14.

¹¹¹Ibid., p. 8; 1856, p. 5.

¹¹²House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1856, p. 5.

¹¹³Ibid.

¹¹⁴"An Act to Incorporate the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge," in Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 2nd Annual Meeting, 1865 (Montreal: Herald Steam Press, 1865), p. 7.

¹¹⁵There may be some correlation between these two factors. Perhaps it was not only a limited definition of "deserving" but also the very make-up of the institutions which limited charity in the 1850s to women and children. It might very well have been considered both too complicated and even improper for women to extend any form of permanent or extensive aid to males. Another important determinant is the size of the accommodations. The institutions we have already examined were, for the most part, very small and worked on moderate budgets. The new House of Industry constructed two new buildings before it opened its doors and began with a subscription list of \$82,829. The sheer extent of the resources available enabled the provision of aid in larger amounts and to new sections of the population. Whether the larger scale was a result of increased credibility due to its male Board of Management, or whether the institution was "taken in hand" by the men in anticipation of its extensive character, remains to be seen. No explanation for this new assumption of responsibility by the upper class male population is given.

¹¹⁶House of Industry, 2nd Annual Meeting, 1865, p. 9. This is a reference to existing charities.

¹¹⁷Ibid., p. 7.

¹¹⁸Ibid.

¹¹⁹These men sat on the Board as individual subscribers, not representatives of the national societies.

¹²⁰All data from Mackay's Montreal City Directory 1863-4 (Montreal: John Lovell, 1864).

¹²¹Dictionary of National Biography, No. IX, p. 654; No. X, p. 524, 718; Mackay's City Directory, 1863-4; J. Tulchinsky, River Barons.

¹²²By 1867, \$3,000 had been received from the City and District Savings Bank, 4th Annual Meeting of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge (Montreal: Lovell, 1867), p. 9.

¹²³Ibid., p. 5. For an account of the Marsteller Estate see Chapter I above, p. 65. By 1872 the institution was receiving rental revenue from the buildings which had been constructed on their vacant lots. Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 9th Annual Meeting, 1872 (Montreal: Lovell, 1862), p. 6.

¹²⁴Twenty-nine of the subscriptions were over \$1,000.

¹²⁵"Act of Incorporation", p. 5.

¹²⁶House of Industry, 2nd Annual Report, 1865, p. 9.

¹²⁷The above sources were located at the Montreal Extended Care Center, 5155 St. Catherine Street East.

¹²⁸House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, 25 October 1865, p. 121.

¹²⁹This land had been bequeathed to the institution on Molson's death in 1863. House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, September 30, 1863, p. 31.

¹³⁰House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, February 6, 1864.

¹³¹ House of Industry, 2nd Annual Report, 1865, pp. 11, 13
Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 3rd Annual Meeting,
 1866 (Montreal: Lovell, 1866, p. 4; House of Industry, 4th Annual Report,
 1867, p. 7; Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge, 20th Annual
Meeting, 1884 (Montreal: Lovell, 1884), p. 6. William Workman had left
 the Institution a \$20,000 legacy with which to build the new facilities.

¹³² Ibid., p. 13, p. 6.

¹³³ House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors,
 October 24, 1866, p. 174.

¹³⁴ House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors,
 October 25, 1865, p. 121; House of Industry, 3rd Annual Report,
 1866, p. 6 ; House of Industry, 4th Annual Report, 1867.

¹³⁵ House of Industry, 3rd Annual Report, 1866, p. 6; House of
Industry, 4th Annual Report, 1867, p. 7.

¹³⁶ House of Industry, 2nd Annual Report, 1865, p. 9; 3rd Annual
Report, 1866, p. 4.

¹³⁷ Similar situations have been noted in many of the studies on
 workhouses in the United States where many of the residents were physically
 unable to work. Another problem cited in these studies is the lack of any
 type of segregation of inmates. This was not the case in Montreal where
 the residents were segregated according to age, sex and medical condition.
 See D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York;
 Blanche D. Coll "Public Assistance in the United States", G. Grob, "Mental
 Illness, Indigency and Welfare."

¹³⁸ See D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum; R. Mohl, Poverty in
New York, B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States."

¹³⁹ House of Industry, 3rd Annual Report, 1866, p. 9. The new
 beds were for the permanent poor. The old beds were put in the Night
 Refuge.

¹⁴⁰ House of Industry, 4th Annual Report, 1867, p. 9.

¹⁴¹ The Board seemed to be very worried about the possible effects
 of these "casual poor" on the regular inmates. Presumably they were afraid
 that some "underserving vagrants" might make use of the Night Refuge. The
 placement of the Refuge in the back building away from the main dormitories
 was the result of a conscious plan on their part to maintain a distance
 between the two groups of recipients. House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865,
p. 8; Annual Report, 1866, p. 9.

- 142 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, pp. 5, 6.
- 143 House of Industry, 1st Annual Report, 1864 (Montreal: Lovell, 1864) p. 9; House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 13; Annual Report, 1866, p. 5; Annual Report, 1867, p. 6.
- 144 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 4.
- 145 House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, October 25, 1865, p. 123.
- 146 Regulations stipulated that shelter could not be secured for more than seven consecutive nights without "sufficient need", House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, October 25, 1865 p. 128.
- 147 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 6.
- 148 House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, March 17, 1866, p. 139.
- 149 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 9; 1865, p. 15.
- 150 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 8.
- 151 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 5; 1867, p. 6.
- 152 House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, January 16, 1864, p. 44.
- 153 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 7; 1867, p. 6.
- 154 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 6; 1867, p. 6.
- 155 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 7.
- 156 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 10.
- 157 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 13; 1866, p. 6., 1867, p. 6.
- 158 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 6.
- 159 The ingredients of the soup are not given and it is impossible to derive them from an examination of the budget.

160 Most of the donations received were distributed among the workers particularly over the Christmas Season. House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 9.

161 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 8; 1867, p. 10,

162 Ibid., p. 9; Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, October 4, 1865, p. 115; October 24, 1866, p. 173.

163 House of Industry, Minutes of Meeting, Board of Management, October 4, 1865, p. 117.

164 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 10.

165 House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, October 24, 1865, p. 117.

166 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 12.

167 House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, October 4, 1865, p. 116.

168 "Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief of the Protestant Poor for the Winter 1866-67," in House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 9.

169 House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 3.

170 "United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 9; House of Industry, Annual Report, 1866, p. 3. It was decided that except for the expenses incurred by the Soup Kitchen the funds of the institution "cannot be applied for the support of the outdoor poor." House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, November 8, 1865, p. 131.

171 "Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief of the Protestant Poor for the Winter 1865-66." in House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, April 4, 1866, p. 146; "United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 10.

172 "United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 9.

173 "United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1866, p. 145.

174 "United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 9.

175 Ibid.

176 Ibid.

177 Ibid.

178 Ibid.

CHAPTER V

THE MANY FACES OF CHARITY

Our discussion of the Montreal charities has revealed that charity had many faces, it was not simply a matter of giving to all who needed. Certain poor were accepted as worth recipients while others were viewed with suspicion or not helped at all. Even the forms charity took varied widely. Services ranged from permanent residence and the training of children to the provision of shelter and immediate needs or even employment. It was the morality of the benefactors and the ideology to which they ascribed that determined their approach to charity. The following chapter is a discussion of these upper class attitudes to charity.

In any discussion of ideas and attitudes one finds oneself embroiled in a vicious circle where every point leads to the next and then back to itself. There are definitely interconnections between the different concepts we will be examining in this chapter, but I feel that our purpose is best served by discussions each as an entire unit. We will first look at the attitude towards poverty itself and its causation, and then move to a discussion of the role and image of charity.

1. Poverty: Crime or Circumstances?

When the Victorians approached the problem of poverty they focused on the individual and not on society. Poverty was seen as an individual fault and not as the function of the socio-economic environment. The symptoms of poverty, ignorance, intemperance, unemployment and crime, were thought of as its causes and the poor were associated with general immorality.¹ The Poor Relief Committee established in the winter of 1855

by any other single factor. Winter was indeed a problem for the poor. With unemployment at its height masses of workers were forced to rely on alternate sources of income or petty savings. At the very point when their financial situation was the most insecure, the cost of goods was the highest and the volume and number of necessary goods increased. The arrival of winter meant buying more clothes, fuel, and lighting at inflated prices, with decreased resources. The needs of the poor were most obvious at this time of year and it was to this annual display of destitution and distress that the rich reacted.

The relentless winter was responsible for the creation of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge in 1854. Similarly in the winter of 1855 the City Council suddenly established a Poor Relief Committee to organize a one year programme to subsidize soup kitchens.¹ Throughout the period charity was designed to be more readily available in the winter months. Several services such as the House of Industry's Soup Kitchen and Night Refuge were only open from November to May. All of the institutions we have examined helped larger numbers of people in the winter. This was even true of the industrial charities which organized the allotment of work so that the largest amount would be available over the winter period. For some institutions, like the House of Refuge and the House of Industry, the number aided in the summer was miniscule compared to the winter figures.

The problem of winter was one faced by the poor throughout North America. In her work on poor relief J. Fingard has commented extensively on the increased needs of the poor over the winter months; a situation particularly true of these workers susceptible to seasonal unemployment.² She has found that throughout British North America charities were often formed in response to increased needs in the winter and were then disbanded in the spring.³

The seasonal nature of charity has also been commented on by American historians. Studies have revealed that in both New York City and Columbus, Ohio, the volume of aid extended increased greatly over the winter months.⁴ B. Coll in her general study of charity in the United States has found that emergency relief such as soup kitchens and clothing drives was regularly established in many American cities.⁵

As well as seasonal distress, that created by economic crisis had an impact on the distribution of charity. The formation of the Protestant Industrial House of Refuge was perhaps determined more by the fact that 1854 was the beginning of an economic crisis than that it had been a particularly harsh winter. This institution was largely established to provide services for the able-bodied unemployed, the number of which increased tremendously in a time of economic crisis. It is important to note that this charity was disbanded two years later, once prosperity had returned.

Even the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge was influenced by the factors of winter and economic crisis. Although it was established in a period of prosperity it was designed to deal with the problem of the seasonally unemployed male (Soup Kitchen, Night Refuge). In essence this was an institution created in a time of economic prosperity to deal with poverty in the midst of wealth and that poverty which might be created at any time by economic fluctuations or natural conditions.

These considerations suggest that the extent of charity was much influenced by seasonal and economic factors. But the decisions determining its characteristics were not as open to the influence of external factors themselves and can be seen as representative of their attitudes to poverty and charity. Before we go on to discuss what criteria were used in these decisions and out of what intellectual framework these attitudes were derived, let us once again test the validity of the data on which we are basing our

discussion.

We have looked at the network of charities established to deal with increased poverty over a seventeen year period. We will now look at one particular crisis in the period and see whether there was any change in the actions and attitudes manifested by the upper class. We will find that whether or not we are dealing with a time of crisis the pattern of response remains the same. Thus the patterns established by the development of private charities and the reaction in the face of crisis must be seen as part of an ideology and not as random individual responses.

2. The Great Fire of 1852, Reaction to Catastrophe

On July 8, 1852 a fire started in a backyard on St. Lawrence Main and St. Dominique. The reservoir had been emptied to facilitate the placement of new pipes.⁶ The pump worked but there was no water to be pumped. When the fire finally burned itself out on the eastern limits of the city two days later, large parts of the city had been devastated. Approximately 1107 houses had been destroyed⁷ and between 10,000 and 11,000 people were left homeless.⁸ Nearly 20 % of the population was affected, most of them artisans or labourers. Property loss was estimated at \$2,000,000.⁹ Very little of this property was insured for, as the Montreal Gazette commented, "Few of the artisans and laborers have taken the precaution to insure their furniture".¹⁰

A meeting was called at City Hall on July 10, 1852 to discuss ways to cope with the problem. A General Relief Committee was established, headed by an Executive Committee comprised of six Corporation nominees and six General Relief Committee nominees. A number of sub-committees were organized along religious lines. These committees were to determine the needs of their congregations, investigate applications for relief and submit all such completed applications to the Executive Committee. The final decision concerning the

distribution of relief was made by the Executive Committee. The sub-committee carried out all direct aid under their orders.

The Executive Committee explained their general assessment of the problem in a report to the General Relief Committee, presented July 15, 1852. They divided the affected population into three classes - "first, a class who, whatever their losses, are not reduced to absolute poverty, or distress, properly so called; secondly, a class who are; and thirdly, a class whose distress amounts to destitution".¹¹ They were unable to aid the first class except through the establishment of a loan fund. For the second class the loan fund was of no immediate value as they would be unable to procure the necessary securities. If any funds could be found, aid would be rendered to help them rebuild their property. The committee was very concerned about the possibility of such aid since this class was the class that demanded the largest consideration. "They are, besides, as a class, the most deserving".¹² They were small proprietors whose "little all" had been destroyed; to replace their loss would involve much struggle.

The third class, the really destitute, was the group which needed immediate aid. This aid was to be given in the form of supplies, not money:

The wants of those of the destitute, whom it is not desired to remove from Montreal, should be relieved only by providing them, for such time as may be necessary, with food, clothing, medical advice and shelter, according to the exigencies of their several cases.¹³

The distribution of more aid than was absolutely necessary was seen as an inducement to pauperism:

The Executive Committee are deeply impressed with the feeling that it is most important to limit the description within the narrowest limits consistent with the effective relief of real destitution. To do more than relieve their pressing wants would be to encourage pauperism, with all its attendant evils. The whole machinery they have suggested with this view:- the efficient and prompt relief of these urgent wants, and no more.¹⁴

This relief machinery involved the construction of sheds and the provision of necessities such as clothing and nourishment. The committee planned to construct sheds for use during the coming winter. As they would not be needed after the winter was over, their construction did not need to be of an expensive design. Even so it was felt that they would still be superior to the shanties which would probably be built if the poor were left to their own resources.¹⁵

Funds were granted by the city government and the provincial legislature. Also, massive amounts were received as donations from cities in the United States, England and the Canadian provinces. In all \$144,370 was collected.¹⁶

Most of this money was retained for use in the winter. During the summer, employment was available and tents and sheds provided adequate shelter for the homeless. In the end, the construction of new sheds for winter occupation proved to be too expensive. Instead, the immigrant sheds at Pointe St. Charles were repaired, and five sheds of the cheapest construction possible were erected, three on Logan's Farm, and two on St. Elizabeth Street. 950 people spent the winter in these sheds.¹⁷ At first rations were provided for 3,500 people but this was soon found to be excessively expensive and the Committee began to economize. The Montreal Gazette reported the contents of the resolution which outlined the new regulations:¹⁸

There be neither given, nor in any manner provided by this committee, any food excepting to the following persons, namely to the sick, to the infirm, to those whose age incapacitates them from labour, to widows whose work does not suffice to support themselves and their families, widows without children, and who are able to work, will be excluded from relief.

The Executive Committee's second Report, dated October 14, 1852, confirmed the success of this plan.¹⁹

They applied themselves, however, as soon as possible, to the duty of reducing these issues, and otherwise economizing in regard to them, and they have now been for sometime reduced to about their present number and quality. At present, there are 565 persons, belonging to 203 families, who receive rations more or less regularly, of soup, oatmeal and bread only.

This rationing was particularly harsh as limited cooking space in the relief areas made the preparation of food difficult.²⁰

Aid was also provided in the form of firewood and stoves. Supplies of clothing and tools enabled the poor to return to work. This latter case provoked some controversy. Rather than provide the artisans with money to purchase tools at a dealer of their choice, the committee issued orders for tools at Frothingham & Workman. This partiality towards one particular dealer was much commented upon but was not altered.²¹

The funds left over from the relief of the destitute and granted to the "deserving" class amounted to \$80,808.²² This was approximately 56 % of the total funds. This money was granted on the basis of individual application.

Two major problems occurred. In July the city council passed a by-law prohibiting the erection of wooden buildings or the covering of buildings with wooden shingles.²³ This compromised the resolution to help the poor rebuild their homes, but the Executive Committee decided that the by-law would be followed. There was much public outburst at this law since brick and stone were prohibitively expensive. Petitions were presented at council meetings and letters were published in the papers, all to no avail. The widespread conviction that the fire had been caused by the combination of wooden buildings, narrow streets and a faulty water supply was strong enough to keep the city officials deaf to the practical needs of the populace. One organ of upper class opinion - The Montreal Gazette - suggested that the lower classes were really better off having the rich build their homes for them, rather than

being proprietors themselves.²⁴

A city is not the place for poor men to build. It is neither for their own interest, certainly not for the supreme interests of the community, that poor men should build in a city at all. They cannot build so cheaply or as well as the rich man, and they consequently waste the little they possess, in doing that inefficiently for themselves, which others can more cheaply and efficiently do for them. But everything else aside is it not preposterous to say that a whole city, its prosperity and its wealth, are to be at the mercy of a man who has only the smallest stake in either?

This was a curious version of the self-help and property mobility lessons normally taught by the rich. The second calamity occurred in Pointe St. Charles when the river flooded the area during January. The inhabitants were removed to the Grey Nunnery until the flood subsided and the sheds were dried out. The committee viewed this calamity in terms of expenses incurred and the money that had been saved by not providing proper housing in the first place. They reported:²⁵

This necessarily precipitated move cost the Committee \$584, which is to be regretted, but to have avoided the possibility of having to incur it, would have involved the certainty of having to lay out a still larger sum in buildings.

Once the winter had passed and the Committee had distributed the surplus funds to the 2nd class of sufferers, it was disbanded. The last report was given on May 25, 1853. All the sheds were returned to the city, as municipal property, with an appropriate warning concerning their threat to public health:²⁶

Considering that it should be left with the Corporation, as the public health and safety of the City, to determine, as the hot weather advances, what number of persons, and under what regulations, should be permitted to inhabit those sheds; or whether the public good demanded that the convenience of the poorer class of sufferers should be sacrificed, to avoid a greater calamity by the spread of contagious disease from them as from a focus, or from their endangering the neighbourhood from fire.

A sum of \$600 was given to the city for the support of "the old and infirm widows, the blind, the halt and the imbecile, and for them alone".²⁷

The balance of \$88 was paid to the city treasurer.²⁸ The Committee defended themselves against any possible accusation that they had caused an increase in the price of labour through excessive charity. They thought that the cause for the increase in price was to found elsewhere.²⁹

It cannot be denied that the city took definite action to relieve the suffering created by the great fire. Housing was provided and extensive rations were given for 10 days, until the people were able to overcome the initial shock and begin to look after their own needs. Tools were provided to enable craftsmen to return to work. The worthy destitute (widows, sick, etc) were given rations of oatmeal, soup and bread. Others were to be aided in rebuilding their homes. However, by the time the committee was disbanded, the rebuilding had not begun and for the most part the fire victims still had no home except the immigrant sheds. The government loan to aid rebuilding carried a high interest rate thereby decreasing the chances of most working class fire victims to benefit from the project.³⁰ Thus suggestion of Brown Chamberlain, editor of the Montreal Gazette was carried out. The wealthy generally took out the loans and erected tenement dwellings, for which the poor would have to pay.

The approach taken by the Relief Committee and the language used in the reports are evidence that the general attitude to pauperism and the poor was certainly not limited to the case of relief institutions. Clearly the evidence points to a certain upper class indifference to the problem. Like the Committee, the Gazette also denounced pauperism and made a distinction between deserving and undeserving poor. Also, the newspaper reflected upper class indifference to poverty. The paper reported the fire but the following day ran an editorial on Seigneurial Tenure. For the most part comments on the relief measures occurred only in the Committee reports found in the paper and the reports of the council meetings. Most of the editorials concerned with

the fire were denunciations of the fire department and the city water supply or reports on experiments with new forms of roofing. The Gazette was more concerned to see that the fire not recur, than to demand that the victims of the present conflagration be properly cared for.

3. The Benevolent Elite

At this point let us examine the people involved in private charity. We shall investigate who they were and whether they constituted an elite similar to that found in other North American cities.³¹ To find their identity I have tabulated the names of all the women on the various management committees and then consulted the Montreal directories of the period to determine each husband's occupation. I was able to secure information for those women who had included their husband's initial in their name or whose name was rare enough to make this unnecessary. In the case of a duplication such as a merchant and a labourer, I assumed that the woman in question was the merchant's wife. The studies done on the charitable elite in other cities have revealed evidence of upper class predominance to validate such an assumption.³² In this way I was able to obtain information for 212 women or 60.7% of all the women involved in the charities. In the case of the men involved in the House of Industry, it was much easier since initials and even names/titles were supplied in almost every case. I found occupations for 106 or 97.2% of the men on the Board of Governors or the Board of Management. On the basis of the information gathered on occupation I have established two categories - upper class which includes merchants, manufacturers, professionals, clergy and government occupations, and other. Table 4.1 shows the results of this study.

Of the 212 women for whom occupational data was available 199 or 93.9% were upper class. The largest single occupational group was merchants. This trend predominates for all of the institutions except for the Ladies

Table 4.1 Economic Class of the Ladies in the
Montreal Charitable Elite, 1850-67

Institution	Total No of Ladies	Husband's Occ. Known	No known as % of total	Occ. Upper Class	% Upper Class of Total Occ.
Ladies Benevolent Society	145	80	91.25	71	88.8
Protestant Orphan Asylum	65	42	64.6	41	97.6
Industrial House of Refuge	61	42	68.9	41	97.6
Home School of Industry	78	48	61.5	46	95.8
TOTAL	349	212	60.7	199	93.9

Source: Annual Reports 1850-67

Mackay's Montreal Directory

Benevolent Society. Of the women in this society whose husband's occupation was known only 88.8% were upper class. This was 5.1% less than the general average and 8.1% less than the average of the other three institutions alone (97% upper class). Interestingly enough, occupational data was available for 91% of the women in this society, a much higher percentage than for the other societies. Also the number of women involved in the Ladies Benevolent Society was almost twice that of the other institutions. Probably some combination of these two factors explains the lower proportion of upper class women. The figures for this society are probably the most representative of involvement in charities since they are complete for the entire 17 year period, cover the largest single group of women and provide data for 91% of these women. In this case a proportion of 88.8% upper class reveals a very high level of upper class involvement.

The House of Industry follows the same trend with 104 or 98.1% of the men in the upper class category. Again merchants were the largest single group.³³ This predominance of upper class people becomes more important when we remember that only 16% of the Montreal population as a whole should fall into this same category.

To what extent was there an interconnection between the charities? We find that 50 or 14.3% of the women are on more than one of the four charity boards.³⁴ Data for the entire period is available only for the Ladies Benevolent Society and the Protestant Orphan Asylum. An examination of this data shows that 105 or 50% of the Ladies were active in these societies for more than five years.³⁵ Looking at the men in the House of Industry we find that 32% of them had wives involved in one of the other charities.

Thus there was some small elite formed not only by coincidence of occupational status but also by the fact that many of these involved had

connections with more than one institution. It would be interesting to study this group of people and determine their social influence, ie. the extent of their involvement in politics and other social activities, but that type of study, although interesting, is beyond the scope of this thesis.³⁶ Suffice it to say that, on the basis of the data accumulated, we know that these people came from the same occupational strata and that there were definitely some linkages in terms of multiple involvement within the charity network.

Thus, a close network of citizens controlled the directions of benevolent associations in Protestant Montreal. This group was largely upper class and mostly made up of women. It was people of economic means and some social importance who had both the time and the influence to run the societies and collect the necessary funds. The active management of the societies was largely the work of a small number of dedicated people³⁷ but many others served on committees or as fund raisers. Outside of this group, relatively small in comparison to the size of the population, there seemed to be little large scale public support for these activities. There were continual problems of dropping financial support and lack of interest.³⁸ Those involved showed an exaggerated sense of responsibility to the subscribers to carry out their duties and aims in a fitting manner. Even more importantly, they were motivated by a sense of the responsibilities of the upper class to those less well situated in society, and a belief that charity was a religious duty for the well-to-do.

Conclusion

We have seen that although external factors played a role in the amount of relief extended in any given year they did not really affect the decisions as to who would receive such aid and what form it would take. These

decisions were made by the charitable elite. The study of the fire in 1852 revealed that the upper class reaction to distress was consistent with the reaction and attitudes we have already seen evidenced in the chapter on private charities. Thus, the benevolent elite was held together not only by class affiliation and linkages within the network of charities but also by a system of shared attitudes and ideas. These attitudes were reflected in the way the elite both organized and controlled private charity and are the topic of the next chapter.

Notes

¹For a discussion of this Poor Relief Committee and its work, see above, Chapter II, p. 63

²J. Fingard, "The Winter's Tale," pp. 2-4; J. Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor", p. 33.

³J. Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor", pp. 41, 42.

⁴R. Mohl, "History from the Bottom Up", p. 96; E. Monkkonen, "The Dangerous Class", pp. 111-115.

⁵B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States", p. 146.

⁶The Montreal Gazette, July 26, 1852.

⁷Journal of the Legislative Assembly, Vol. II, No. 4, 1852-53. Appendix 66. Letter to E. Parent from Benjamin Holmes. (Chairman of the Executive Committee), 15 September, 1852.

⁸Proceedings of the General Relief Committee including Reports of the Executive Committee to that Body and the Account of the Treasurer of the Relief Fund, (Montreal: John Lovell, 1853), p. 14.

⁹Ibid., p. 14.

¹⁰The Montreal Gazette, July 9, 1852.

¹¹Proceedings of the General Relief Committee, p. 8.

¹²Ibid., p. 10.

¹³Ibid., p. 9.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 10.

¹⁶Ibid., Treasurer's Account.

¹⁷ Ibid., p. 26.

¹⁸ The Montreal Gazette, August 14, 1852.

¹⁹ Proceedings of the General Relief Committee, p. 17.

²⁰ The Montreal Gazette, August 5, 1852.

²¹ The Montreal Herald, July 23, 1852 - Letter to the editor.

²² Proceedings of the General Relief Committee, p. 30.

²³ The Montreal Gazette, July 15, 1852.

²⁴ Ibid., July 17, 1852.

²⁵ Proceedings of the General Relief Committee, p. 27.

²⁶ Ibid., p. 29.

²⁷ Ibid., p. 30.

²⁸ Ibid., Treasurer's Account.

²⁹ Ibid., p. 31.

³⁰ The Montreal Gazette, January 7, 1853.

³¹ See especially Richard S. Alcorn, "Leadership and Stability in Mid Nineteenth Century America: A Class Study of an Illinois Town," Journal of American History, Vol. LXI, No. 3 (Dec. 1974), pp. 685-702; Walter & Glazer, "Participation and Power. Voluntary Associations and the Functional Organization of Cincinnati in 1840," Historical Methods Newsletter Vol. 5, No. 4 (Sept. 1972), pp. 151-169.

³² W. Glazer, "Participation and Power," pp. 158, 159; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, p. 138; S. Thernstrom, Poverty in Progress, p. 170; S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 242; H. Bannan, "The Ladies Benevolent Society, Hamilton," pp. 183-187; Katz, The People of Hamilton, pp. 180-184.

³³ In her study of the Toronto House of Industry, Susan Houston finds that the largest single occupational group was clergymen. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 244.

³⁴ In her study of the four Toronto charities run by women S. Houston finds that 83% were on only one board, 14% were on 2 boards and 3% were on three boards of management. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 291-92.

³⁵Ibid., 33% of these Toronto Ladies were active in the management of charities for more than five years.

³⁶For a discussion of the Montréal elite see Guy Bourassa, "Les Elites Politiques de Montréal. De l'Aristocratie à la Démocratie," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXXI, 1 (February 1965), 35-51; Jean-Claude Robert, "Les Notables de Montréal au XIXe siècle." Social History, Vol. VIII, 15 (May 1975). 54-76.

³⁷The executive committees of the various institutions were the same for most of the period.

³⁸S. Houston finds that the Toronto Charities experience the same problems of lack of interest and support. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 228.

CHAPTER V

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1. Poverty: Crime or Circumstances?

When the Victorians approached the problem of poverty they focused on the individual and not on society. Poverty was seen as an individual fault and not as the function of the socio-economic environment. The symptoms of poverty, ignorance, intemperance, unemployment and crime, were thought of as its causes and the poor were associated with general immorality.¹ The Poor Relief Committee established in the winter of 1855

concluded that usually "poverty was the fruit of knavery, improvidence or vice."² Similarly, after two winters of working with the outdoor poor, the United Board of Outdoor Relief concluded that:³

- a. . . . the greater part of the suffering and want of those seeking relief has been caused as usual by the love of strong drink, and their improvident habits during summer months.
- b. There exists in this city a pressing necessity for a House of Correction, to which the idle and lazy should be sent, who can, but will not provide for their helpless families . . .

Those who believed that poverty was the result of immorality feared that the problem became more wide spread as a result of extensive and readily available relief. They did not see poverty itself as a problem. It was, in the words of the British Poor Law Commission, "the natural state of one who, in order to obtain a mere subsistence, is forced to have recourse to labour."⁴ The problem was pauperism, defined as a dependency on charity.⁵ Such a dependency was seen as the result of individual weakness and it was believed that all poor were potential paupers.⁶ The connection was obvious. The Immoral poor would choose charity over work, employ their time in continued depravity and sink even lower than before. Such a situation must be avoided at all costs. Pauperism must be destroyed and the poor forced to work for their livelihood. But some charity was necessary since many of the poor were incapable of self-help and could not be allowed to starve.

Hence the poor were divided into two categories; deserving and undeserving. The deserving poor, victims of age, infirmity and disability, were not held responsible for their situation and were thought to deserve some form of maintenance. The undeserving poor, which category included the able-bodied unemployed, were not to receive aid. It was believed that because of their indolence they deliberately attempted to secure a mainten-

ance without recourse to labour.⁷ This distinction between deserving and undeserving poor formed the basis for the approach to charity in the early nineteenth century.

It can be seen that the ability to work was the determining factor in these definitions. The legitimacy of the needs of the infirm, the old and the infant had always been accepted. It was the reaction to the able-bodied unemployed which changed over time. In the nineteenth century this reaction was largely a negative one. Work was the central concept of Victorian society.⁸ Prevailing ideology held that work, although a duty, was intrinsically unpleasant. Only the fear of suffering would force one to give up the pleasure found in leisure.⁹

Widespread faith in the labour market's ability for self-regulation did not allow for any notions of unavoidable unemployment. Destitution which resulted from insufficient income was seen as the fruit of indolence and the quest for pleasure. In this way poverty, which at this time was largely the result of unemployment, was associated with immorality and pauperism. Armed with this definition, the rich set out to use charity to destroy pauperism and its accompanying vices.

2. Charity

In their approach to charity, Montreal's benevolent were mainly motivated by their conception of charity as a religious duty but it fulfilled other roles for them as well. Their paternalistic perception of society and its ordering led them to view charity as one of the many responsibilities they held as an upper class. As both a religious and a social duty, charity was an important consideration. But the approach to it was not zealous. The benevolent elite were Evangelical Victorians, and while they believed God had given them the poor to be charitable to, they also believed in the

duty of work and the ethic of individual responsibility. On the whole their perception of charity was tempered by an abhorrence of pauperism, a fear of indiscriminate aid, and a recognition of the educative possibilities contained in controlled relief. There was no understanding of the economic basis of poverty; it was seen as an individual moral problem and dealt with as such.

A. "A Christian Duty"

The Montreal benevolent community were well aware of that "high and solemn duty . . . of providing for the wants - temporal and spiritual" of the poor.¹⁰ According to the precepts of the Gospel, charity was an obligation and a "sacred duty" for "all whom God has given the means."¹¹ Christians must always give first to God, and charity was the means by which this could be accomplished.¹² This applied particularly to the rich. Wealth was believed to be a gift from God given to some so that they might serve God by aiding the poor; in short, to be God's almoners.¹³

The Managers of the House of Industry believed this precept and consequently held that the wealthier citizens who had not yet contributed to the funds of the institution should be visited so that:¹⁴

. . . they may be stimulated to do their duty and to feel their responsibility to give as God hath prospered them for such a desirable object.

Charitable activities enabled the rich to manifest both their love of Christ and their thankfulness for their own prosperity. They would be using their wealth to promote the social good at the same time as they were fulfilling the precepts in the Gospel which promised that the poor would be supported.¹⁵ Speaking before the Ladies Benevolent Society's Annual Meeting in 1855, the Reverend Fraser pointed to these attributes of charity.¹⁶

There is really nothing nobler in life, than to clothe the naked and feed the poor, to instruct the ignorant and save them that are ready to perish. This is the fitting way to evince our thankfulness for the abundance we ourselves enjoy.

Similarly, the Ladies of the Orphanage pointed to the value of charity.¹⁷

. . . which gives rise to the benevolent suggestions of sympathy and succour for those who have been purposely placed among us, as objects on whom we may manifest our love of that Divine Master . . .

The rich were not merely thinking of charity as an abstract religious duty. There were many concrete advantages to be had from such activity and the rich were well aware of the ways in which they themselves would benefit from the giving of charity.

To begin with, charity stimulated the development of higher qualities such as "liberality" and "Christian love." As well, it added to personal satisfaction and enabled the rich to carry out a work which would glorify God. Finally, charity had a positive religious value. Christ had indeed left the poor as his "legacy" in assuring Christians that "In as much as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."¹⁸ In this way care for the poor was seen as demonstrating love for Christ himself. Although Protestantism did not have a well developed concept of good works, it did have a concept of work to glorify God which, if not a way to gain salvation, was still a sacred religious duty for all true Christians.¹⁹ Hence the poor became the vehicle by which the rich could fulfill their religious duties and some even went as far as to see them as²⁰

. . . a safety valve to the rich, that they might be left without excuse, for was it not written that there is nothing more stupendously difficult than for the rich man to enter the kingdom of Heaven?"

In short, benevolence to the poor would bring many blessings to the benefactor and even possibly promote his salvation.²¹

Looking at their religious approach to charity we can see that these Victorians came very close to the Medieval concept of poverty as Divine Will. They spoke of the poor as 'Christ's legacy' and referred to them as being 'purposely placed among us' and left to serve "as an incentive to Christian liberality, an opportunity to exercise our Christian love."²² The members of the Ladies Benevolent Society had an almost fatalistic view of the existence of wealth and poverty:²³

. . . With reference to the object of the society, they should never forget that poverty generally comes in contact with wealth. Where there is no wealth there is not found much poverty, but where there is wealth there is always poverty. And it was a wise provision that such should be the case, for care for the poor tended to promote charity and foster in our hearts a good disposition.

Besides revealing their simplistic understanding of social problems and the economic ordering of society, this comment demonstrates the belief that a symbiotic relationship existed between wealth and poverty and that the two states were predetermined by God. This predeterminism, it seems, was much to the advantage of the rich.

But we also know that these very same people associated poverty with moral weakness. The apparent contradiction was resolved by the distinction between deserving and undeserving poor. The deserving poor were indeed Christ's legacy and it was a Christian duty to provide for them. The undeserving, on the other hand, were responsible for their own situation and could make no legitimate demands on Christian charity.²⁴ This distinction between deserving and undeserving allowed the Victorians to balance traditional concepts with aspects of the new developing liberal ideology.

B. A Paternalist Society- the duty of the rich

It would be normal to assume that the Montreal benevolent elite, mostly merchants by occupation, would have subscribed to the liberal world view. This was not entirely the case. Although they accepted much of the new ideology with its emphasis on work and self-maintenance, they retained a modified version of the concepts of Christian charity and the paternalist duty of the rich. Without an established and powerful landed aristocracy in Canada, the merchants had come to monopolize political as well as economic power and were, in fact, Canada's upper class. Both their self-image as "the rich" and their evangelicalism account for their paternalist world view.²⁵

Paternalism is a world view, derived from a feudal milieu, which holds that the various social classes (basically two - the rich and the poor) are bound by a series of mutual obligations and privileges.²⁶ This system works to the advantage of both and maintains a form of stability within the existing social structure. Unlike individualism, it is the collectivity, not the individual, which is important and the entire ideology is based on the concept of the corporate whole. In exchange for wealth/power and the accompanying privileges, the rich owed certain responsibilities to the poor, among which was the duty of charity. The lower classes were to accept their position in society and work in exchange for this protection.

In reality, such an interdependence did not exist between the social groups in the nineteenth century. The Montreal benevolent saw private charity as one possible way to re-establish this co-operation. They pointed to "the importance of closing the chasm existing between its (society's) two extremes" and hoped that they could use charity to develop "the sympathy that should bind together the different classes of society."²⁷

In the case of Montreal, this paternalism was modified within an Evangelical framework. Evangelicalism combined the concept of the interdependence of social groups with that of individualism in a highly moral and religious context. It was the duty of the rich to care for the poor but the poor must be made to take responsibility for their own lives.²⁸ Thus, the best way for the rich to fulfill their obligation was to educate and elevate the poor and provide an example of good behavior to be followed; that is, to show the poor how to help themselves.

Within a real paternalist framework, the poor have a right to support just as the rich have a duty to provide charity, but in a nineteenth century evangelical context such a right could not be tolerated. Society could not assume responsibility for the maintenance of its citizens; the labour market existed to employ all who wanted to work. Only the deserving poor could demand charity and even this right was not recognized by all. Mayor Nelson spoke to this issue in his annual address in 1854:²⁹

While it is the duty incumbent upon society to assist those that are stricken down by poverty, or prostrated by sudden revulsions of the times, let the needy be made to understand, that it is to administer to their momentary wants, and that they have no positive claim for assistance, else charity will be a mere premium for profligacy and idleness . . .

The Mayor believed that society was bound to assist the victims of poverty but on a temporary basis alone. Charity that was extended on a more regular basis would only encourage idleness.

As well as their duty to the poor, the rich felt that they had a duty to society as a whole. This was basically a duty to maintain order. The use of charity as a mechanism for social control by which the poor would be reformed into good citizens will be discussed later in the chapter.

C. Indiscriminate Aid

For the mid-Victorian Montreal elite, charity was both a religious and a social duty, but both of these concepts come somewhat into conflict with other components of their world view, such as the work ethic and the belief that poverty was the result of individual moral weakness and not Divine Will. Such a contradiction was bound to occur when a world view contained elements of several ideologies. In the resulting ideology, charity was redefined in terms of the work ethic, that is, charity itself was a social good and a duty but it should not be distributed freely. Only the deserving poor, those unable but willing to help themselves, were worthy recipients. Charity extended to anyone else was considered indiscriminate aid.

It was believed that the easy availability of relief had a demoralizing effect on the poor.³⁰ There was always a tendency towards dependency and pauperism, but this became even greater if relief was readily available and provided a passable standard of living. In such situations, the poor increasingly came to see relief as a positive right and not as a last resort.³¹ This type of aid did not make a clear distinction between the deserving and the undeserving poor. As such, to the rich, indiscriminate aid represented an intolerable evil, for it encouraged the intemperate and slothful character that had first caused the problem. To make relief readily available to the undeserving, was, they believed, only to encourage others to choose pauperism over work.

Thus, any system which made access to relief too easy would encourage pauperism. The rich must be careful to distribute relief in a manner which satisfied the needs of the deserving without attracting the undeserving.³²

The fear of creating a pauper class dependent on charity was a central consideration in the organization of most of the Montreal Charities. The following quotes taken from the Annual Reports of three of the societies illustrate the concern that charity be organized in a manner such that only the deserving would be helped and no indiscriminate aid would be given.

. . . Your Board are well aware of the great difficulty of relieving the poor, either out-doors, or in-doors, without the dangerous tendency of pauperizing them; yet your Board are bound to say, that every effort has been used to prevent such injurious effect; almost every case being regularly reported on by the Missionaries, who visit, as far as possible, every family receiving relief.³³

. . . and when it was remembered that indiscriminate charity was but an encouragement to vice, the benevolent should rejoice that a Society like this existed and would be their almoner, bestowing assistance and giving instruction only to those who deserved or would be benefitted thereby.³⁴

The evils resulting from indiscriminate alms-giving, and the habits of dependence and mendicity it fosters, are so great and manifest that an Institution like this, which is designed to apply a remedy, though it may only be a partial one, must commend itself to the enlightened sympathies of the truly benevolent of every name.³⁵

In the first quote, the Managers of the House of Industry explained that they had been able to avoid indiscriminate aid by implementing a system of regular visits to recipients. All of the charities we have looked at implemented some form of visiting system. Even the Orphanage carried out investigations to ensure that the children in question were indeed orphans. The value of such a system was commented on by the committee of Ladies Benevolent Society:³⁶

But on the other hand nothing could be more foolish than to be engaged in giving rashly without any knowledge of the condition of those who received gifts.. Relief imprudently bestowed often tended only to encourage vice.

As the Ladies explain, knowledge of the applicants' conditions was necessary since without this information, relief might be extended to the undeserving. Visitation allowed for a first hand investigation into the character of the poor, the extent of need and the form of aid best suited to relieve distress. It also provided a opportunity for religious and moral counselling.³⁷

The Ladies of the Home and School of Industry thought visitation was justified because "by this means industry is encouraged, deception in many cases detected, and a spirit of self-reliance fostered."³⁸ Using this method the Committee thought they were able to screen out the undeserving while simultaneously encouraging habits of self-reliance and industry. The Ladies also found another way of maintaining contact and influence with the poor. They held monthly "Mother's Meetings" for the women who worked in the sewing rooms and the women whose daughters were resident in the institution. These meetings served as a social occasion as well as affording an opportunity to discuss religious and moral questions.³⁹

As much as the Ladies applauded the virtues of visiting the poor it is questionable whether this method really provided them with much more than a superficial impression of the poor and their needs. The practice of visiting on a regular basis for purposes of counselling certainly avoided the pitfalls of first impressions and must have served some function but it is probable that the investigative method revealed little that was not already obvious. Unfortunately it seems that the only charities which implemented this regular form were the Home and School Industry and the United

C Board of Outdoor Relief.

The charitable network was based on the ability to distinguish the deserving from the undeserving poor. Visitation was one method that was used; another was the application of the principle of 'less eligibility'.⁴⁰ This concept held that aid should be sufficient to relieve destitution but not sufficient to tempt anyone to choose it over employment; in short, life on relief would be less eligible, that is, less preferable than life on the labour market. When considering the possibility of providing some forms of relief on a year long basis, the House of Industry-Poor Relief Committee decided that as long as relief was minimal it would not encourage pauperism.⁴¹

The kind of relief would be of a very plain but wholesome description, confined probably to oatmeal, bread and soup, quite enough to provide for destitution, but not sufficiently tempting for those who can, by any effort, do better.

In this way relief would fill the basic needs of nourishment without being substantial enough to attract any who were not really destitute. A soup kitchen was an ideal application of this concept of minimal aid. One good meal a day would "amply sustain nature" but "not deaden its wants."⁴² Thus, the poor would still be forced to work to obtain their remaining needs.

Another way to implement "less eligibility" was the enforcement of a labour task. If it was necessary in essence to work for one's relief, no-one would be tempted to accept relief instead of employment. Again, the undeserving poor who were guilty of immorality and laziness would be identified and refused further help. All the Montreal charities working with adults applied some form of a labour task. Even children were not merely supported, but were educated and trained towards future self-maintenance.

The Montreal Ladies Benevolent Society enforced a labour duty on all the

women entering the institution who were able to work. Similarly the House of Industry enforced a labour task on the casual poor who received shelter in the Night Refuge, and also provided work for all the able-bodied permanent inmates. Another form of labour task was implemented by the industrial charities: The Protestant Industrial House of Refuge, The Home and School of Industry and The Industrial Rooms of the House of Industry. These institutions provided most of their aid in the form of paid employment, that is, relief was work. In all cases, if the recipient refused to work, his relief was cut off.

Increasingly, we find that relief was associated with work and, that the deserving poor were defined in terms of their willingness to accept work and their desire for self-improvement. In the words of the managers of the Industrial House of Refuge, aid should be extended only to "the well conducted, industrious and religious poor, anxious to help themselves if only they knew how to do so."⁴³ Charity which did not require the poor to make "exertions on their own behalf"⁴⁴ was considered demoralizing and indiscriminate. This emphasis on work was particularly characteristic of the industrial charities but as we have seen even the institutions working with widows and children enforced a labour task and viewed the encouragement of habits of industry as one of their foremost goals.

The application of a labour task became increasingly accepted as the best method of distinguishing the deserving from the undeserving. Hence the advantages of institutional relief became obvious. Only the most needy would enter an institution to secure help. Once there, they would be policed and educated by the rich. Seclusion, education and the enforcement of labour could all be carried out more effectively in the confines of an institution. Such an institution also had the capacity to centralize aid

to all categories of poor in one place and hence reduce the cost of relief.⁴⁵

Conversely, outdoor relief involved a higher risk of indiscriminate aid, did not allow for the same supervision and control, and was believed to be much more wasteful and expensive. For these reasons, outdoor relief was never as widespread in Montreal as was institution aid.⁴⁶ When it did occur, outdoor relief usually took a moderate form: the provision of soup or the provision of day employment (the value of which was self-evident) and rarely involved the support of people in their homes.⁴⁷ The Montreal Elite identified dependency as a moral weakness to a large extent caused by indiscriminate aid. In their attempts to defeat this problem, they wedded work and moral reform to relief. The resulting aid was made available only to the deserving poor and was largely institutional in form.

D. Charity as reformer

The preference for institutional relief stemmed from a desire to supervise the poor, and also from a belief that, to be reformed, the poor must be removed from society and its temptations.⁴⁸ This reveals a type of early environmentalism. Although the rich did not believe that poverty and pauperism were caused by the environment which the poor inhabited, they did recognize that environment played a certain role. People surrounded by immorality would be constantly influenced by it and, if they lacked the moral strength to resist, would finally succumb. But it was believed that man was basically a moral creature and, if he was not actively so, he at least had a capacity to develop moral strength.⁴⁹ Hence, if one could remove the poor from the threatening environment and surround them with sobriety and morality they would develop moral strength and self reliance. Charity was one way of doing this.

A number of institutions reflected the belief that charity rescued the poor from the perils of their old environment. The founders of the Industrial House of Refuge referred to their institution "affording temporary shelter and protection to the destitute and friendless who, but for such refuge, would be exposed to many evils."⁵⁰ Those institutions which catered to children were even more conscious of this role since children were particularly susceptible to bad influences. The members of the Ladies Benevolent Society explained that they were sheltering children "who would otherwise in all probability, be either growing up in ignorance and vice, or reaping the fruits of their neglected youth in the prison or the penitentiary."⁵¹ The belief that an unguided childhood would almost definitely lead to a life of crime was shared by the Ladies of the Orphanage.

In their Annual Report for 1852 they spoke of protecting:⁵²

... . helpless innocent indigence snatched from all the misery and loneliness and helplessness of parentless infancy, from the wretchedness of beggary and, it may be presumed, from the consequent vicious courses into which unprotected childhood is so apt to be seduced.

These Ladies saw their role extending even further than protecting parentless children from the dangers of their environment. They felt that the environment they provided was even better than that the children could have had if their parents had lived. This self-righteous attitude is borne out by a statement made in the 1851 Annual Report.⁵³

... Thus by Divine Providence, these helpless little ones have been placed in far more favourable circumstances than in all human possibility they would have been had their natural parents been spared.

This seemingly superior environment was one of moral and religious education with some instruction in reading and writing and practical skills. Generally the children were trained for positions as domestics or farm

labourers. Several historians have commented on this preference for low paying menial occupations.⁵⁴ It seems that part of the reason for this was the belief that a continuously good environment was necessary. There must have been some suspicion that even the influence of the institution could not completely eliminate the effect of earlier experiences and that it was necessary to reinforce morality for as long a period as possible.⁵⁵

It was common belief that the country held fewer temptations than the city. Thus, the children were trained to take positions in country households.⁵⁶ It is probable that had the original analysis of the problem been socio-economic instead of moral, the children would have been apprenticed into skilled trades with a more secure future.

Children were not only affected by their overall environment, but also by their parents. The influence of alcoholic, even criminal parents, was inestimable. It was feared that these children, "trained up to vice and crime" would never escape and would eventually become threats to society.⁵⁷ A child's parents, unless they were sober and respectable, were the most dangerous influences in his environment. There was even talk of the need to forcibly remove these children for their own protection.⁵⁸

This being the case, the influence of the institution was jeopardized whenever a child was reclaimed by his or her parents. But on the whole the Ladies believed they were successful in reforming the children in their care. The Committee of the Ladies Benevolent Society admitted that often children had not reformed but that⁵⁹

. . . there have been many gratifying cases, where evil habits have apparently been eradicated, and attention to industry, a desire to acquire information and to improve in their education, have been manifested by many of the children, who would in other circumstances have already been emulators in evil and energetic in vice.

Those institutions which dealt with adults found that they too were able to have a reforming effect on the recipients. The Managers of the House of Industry reported in 1866 that⁶⁰

. . . The House of Refuge is becoming more and more a sort of reformatory for the vicious as well as a shelter for the homeless. Not a few have found within its walls that security from their prevailing and enslaving vice which to all appearances they could find nowhere else.

The House of Industry Poor Relief Committee was very conscious of the role of environment. As soon as the building in Montreal was opened they began making plans to move the permanent inmates to a home in the country away from "their usual haunts and associates"⁶¹ While the permanent poor remained in the city, care was taken to keep them out of contact with the casual poor who used the night refuge facilities. To keep any possible influence at a minimum, the two groups of recipients were kept in separate buildings.

The Ladies Benevolent Society Committee shared the fear that a few immoral residents could influence the rest. To avoid such a situation, the Ladies discharged any women demonstrating signs of moral reprehensibility such as drinking, disrespect or foul language. They saw their role basically as one of sheltering. It seems that many inmates, provided with an opportunity to escape from the influences and temptations of their old environment, were able to overcome their vices.

The Ladies of the Industrial Rooms were more concerned with the character and work habits of the poor. They felt they had been successful in this and that many of the women they employed had either developed such habits or had improved their sewing abilities.⁶²

As the last example illustrates, work served to reform the poor in the same way as did moral education and seclusion. Forcing the poor to

work or providing them with access to work, helped to foster habits of industry and to encourage self-maintenance. In this way, industrious poor could be given the occasion to work for their own relief. Thus, provision of employment was the ideal form of relief. The recipients were provided with the funds necessary for their own maintenance (self-help) while they strengthened their work habits and increased their self-reliance. The central aim of charity was to reform the poor morally, not to provide for them. This was best fulfilled through the use of work in either the form of employment or a labour task.

E. Charity as Social Control

The use of charity as a moralizer and form of social control stemmed from a recognition on the part of the upper class that the old social order was disintegrating in the face of industrialization and urbanization. This phenomenon was particularly true in the United States, and has been commented on by many historians.⁶³ The normal institutions were unable to integrate the mass of immigrants. As the number of poor increased, so too did upper class uneasiness. The lower classes were largely illiterate and ignorant of society's moral and religious values. The rich feared that the poor might become increasingly more isolated and alienated from the rest of society and eventually pose a real threat to social order.⁶⁴

Along with education,⁶⁵ charity⁶⁶ was seen as a way in which the upper class could maintain its position of dominance and ensure stability. Charity would be used to relieve extreme destitution, and thereby remove the most pressing threats of disorder. As M. Bruce comments in his work on the development of the welfare state the:⁶⁷

. . . duty of charity has long been prescribed, and has equally long been associated with concern for the social and political dangers that might arise from distress.

Charity also had qualities of the moralizer and educator. Through its influence, the poor could be taught respectable values and habits and hence be molded into moral law abiding citizens, grateful for the guidance of the wealthy. Thus charity became "an instrument to keep society orderly, stable and acquiescent."⁶⁸

If the fear of the working class found in other large cities was not quite as pressing in Montreal due to its smaller size, it was nonetheless definitely a factor. There was a recognition that facilities must exist to relieve severe destitution before it led to increased crime and social disturbances. As one speaker explained at the Annual Meeting of the Ladies Benevolent Society in 1858:⁶⁹

Public institutions of benevolence forced themselves upon communities from the very wants and exigencies of the masses, and it was not a question of will, but of necessity - the very law of self-defence, if he might use the expression, demanded such provisions and asylums.

The Board of Management of the House of Industry was sure that the city's rich would recognize the importance of their institution in containing potential disorder and would support them accordingly. Speaking of the need for increased support and the possibility of a subscription campaign they asserted:⁷⁰

It is surely worth something to the citizens of Montreal to have a building constantly open and ready to afford instant relief to the poor at all times.

The rich believed that charity could be used to stave off imminent social disruptions but they also wanted to eliminate such disruptions altogether. It will be remembered that they hoped charity could be used to reduce the 'chasm existing between its (society's) two extremes.' and to re-establish a cooperative relationship between the rich and the poor. In

this way they thought future social disorders would be avoided.

The educative value of charity was also recognized. Through the influence of the charitable institutions, with their emphasis on religious and moral development and the inculcation of work habits, the poor might even adopt Victorian social standards while being taught to accept their inferior position in society. For these reasons many of the wealthy considered "it was their duty, as well as interest, to take care of the poor."⁷¹

Montrealers were particularly aware of the use of charity to educate and mold poor children; charity would thwart any tendency they had to become criminals. It was believed that these children, brought up in the midst of crime and vice, would inevitably "prey upon society" and cause innocent citizens "to go to bed in terror." If they could be reformed while still children the city would be a safer place to live in and, as some commented, charity was much less expensive than the cost of enforcing the law.⁷²

In evaluating the benefits of the Ladies Benevolent Society, the Reverend Taylor focused on the rôle of the institution in reforming children:⁷³

It was manifest they could not do without it, and if by any calamity its doors should be shut, he shuddered to think of any consequences. What a number of children had received religious instruction and been cared for within its walls since it was first established, and especially during the past year, who but for this care would have been brought up in ignorance and vice, a disgrace to themselves and a curse to the community.

Again in 1859 a speaker singled out the training of poor children as one of the society's most important functions. He saw this as an important and necessary activity for:⁷⁴

The question of training up youth aright was a question which more and more forced itself upon the attention of society, and affected its well being in a vital manner.

Thus charity fulfilled a function of social control. This function was recognized in many North American cities outside of Montreal and has been commented on by a number of social historians. On this general phenomenon in the United States D. Rothman finds that charitable networks were "mainly an effort to ensure the cohesion of the community in new circumstance," "to restore a necessary social balance."⁷⁵ In his study of New York City, R. Mohl concludes that "middle class men and women consciously promoted moral reformation and religious indoctrination as a method of restoring order and stability to the urban community."⁷⁶ Similarly N. Huggins studying the Boston C.O.S., finds that the institution was mainly an attempt to deal with social fragmentation.⁷⁷ In his work on Newburyport S. Thernstrom finds that the Ladies General Charitable Society "sought to police community morals," by only aiding "those who were morally fit and hard working."⁷⁸

The same trend has been found in Canadian cities. S. Speisman sees the welfare ventures in Toronto as serving a "protective function for the rich," and philanthropy as being both "a means of assuaging that guilt (of wealth) and of preventing an alienated multitude from destroying the society responsible for it."⁷⁹ Judith Fingard finds that often the distribution of outdoor relief was used as coercion. For example several urban clothing societies extended relief in winter on the condition that the parents sent their children to Sunday School.⁸⁰

A similar case of coercion is found by R. Hardy in his study on Quebec City where the curé devised a system of controls linked to poor relief. To be eligible for relief the poor had to attend church, join the temperance society and send their children to school.⁸¹ This particular case raises

the question of the influence of the Protestant ethic on the Catholic charities. Although this would be an interesting topic of study it is outside the scope of this paper. We can only point to a few trends relative to this topic. J.C. Robert finds that in this period the church was indeed active in the establishment of voluntary institutions to control the lower classes.⁸² As well, we know that the attitudes manifested by the General Relief Committee in 1852 represented both the Protestant and the Catholic upper classes. These examples seem to indicate that the new approach to poverty and charity cut across religious lines.

Thus, in this period, the wealthy across much of North America and certainly in Montreal consciously used charity to maintain social order. This was accomplished by reducing general distress and by inculcating the poor with acceptable social values, that is thrift, hard work, sobriety and self-maintenance. By these means, the rich were able to ensure order and respectability in their communities while they fulfilled the duty of charity.

F. Economic Considerations and Self Interest

The motivation behind charity was many faceted. So far we have seen that it consisted of some combination of religious, social and political considerations. Is it not possible that economic factors might also have had a certain influence? Charity which involves the maintenance of the able-bodied unemployed during the winter season can definitely be seen as an attempt to retain a large unskilled labour force for use in the spring. In her work on charitable activities in the Maritimes, Judith Fingard finds that "work-projects" were sponsored by the municipality or private interests for this very reason.⁸³ In Montreal the issue is not as straightforward.

In the 1850s aid was extended almost exclusively to women and children. The only institution involving any form of outdoor relief to the able-bodied unemployed was disbanded after two years. It was not until the prosperous mid 1860s that any significant aid was extended to the unemployed male. As well, it was not until this point that upper class men became actively involved in the management of charitable institutions. It is unlikely that the Ladies who directed the earlier institutions were motivated by a desire to maintain a labour force. It is possible though that those merchants who assumed the direction of the House of Industry were motivated to some degree by the need for large numbers of dock workers and railway construction crews in the spring and summer. But the retention of a labour force is never presented as an argument in support of charitable activity and it must be admitted that these people were normally very outspoken and frank about their intentions and motivations. It is more likely that large sums of money were donated and a charity was established on a larger scale because it was a time of prosperity, and people were more willing to make such social investments. As for the direct involvement of the business class, it seems that the desire to maintain social stability was much more prominent than any consideration for a future labour force.

Historians studying New York City and Saint John, N.B. have found evidence that charity was often used to promote self interest.⁸⁴ It would be interesting to examine whether this was a factor in Montreal as well.

Although instances of fraud were never exposed in Montreal as was the case in those other cities, it was true that most goods were purchased from people associated with the charitable network. Then again, most of the prominent wholesale importers were members of the benevolent elite so this was possibly more a function of necessity than of self interest. Also many

goods and services were regularly provided free of charge and donations made up a large part of the supplies used by the various institutions.

One possible instance of self-interest can be seen in banking activities. Although every institution received grants from the City and District Savings Bank, not one had seen fit to invest its funds with this bank. It seems that Molson's Bank was the favorite with the various management committees.

The use of the institutions as labour agencies, training apprentices or directing servants, could have overtones of self-interest. No data is available on the specific households which secured servants through the facilities of the servants registers but the available data does reveal that most of the children were apprenticed to families in the country and not kept in Montreal. Although we know that Ira Gould had 2 such children,⁸⁵ and that 4 of the Ladies received children over the period, this does not represent inordinant self-interest.

It may be concluded that the economic considerations of a labour market and the possible promotion of self interest were not important factors in motivating the Montreal charitable elite. These people were largely preoccupied with the religious, social and political aspects of charity and seemingly were able to keep business and charity in two separate realms.⁸⁶

G. Alternative Methods

Charity was only one method used by the rich to deal with increasing poverty; there were many other possibilities. Among these education was paramount and had aspects of a cure-all approach.⁸⁷

Just as an ignorance of proper values had led to poverty and dependency, so too education could put an end to poverty by diminishing the immorality which was its cause. The British Poor Law Commission in 1834 had

pointed out that the problem of poverty could not be solved by the principle of less eligibility alone but that "measures to promote the religious and moral education of the labouring classes" were also necessary.⁸⁸ The movement to create common and/or charity schools had developed in England and the United States early in the century.⁸⁹ Although the value of such schools was recognized in Canada during the same period,⁹⁰ no large scale education movement developed until the end of the century.⁹¹

All five of the large Protestant charities in Montreal provided some form of education for their inmates. The possibility of opening a ragged school in connection with the House of Industry was raised but no such school was established. Instead, the institution's school was opened to admit children from the area as day students. The Home and School of Industry also accepted day students. The number of children benefitting from this was minute, but it represented a recognition of the need to extend education to pauper children.

The education campaign was not limited to children. Mechanics' Institutes were organized for the education of the working class elite, and they provided services such as reading rooms, libraries, and lecture series "necessary for the creation of better citizens and craftsmen."⁹²

Closely connected to education in intent was the self-help movement, by which the rich helped the poor to help themselves. A good illustration of this movement is the creation of savings banks. Starting from the assumption that pauperism was the result of intemperance and wastefulness, these institutions aimed to end the problem by encouraging thrift and saving. The Montreal City and District Savings Bank was formed for this purpose, by Bishop Bourget and a group of business men in 1846.⁹³

Mutual-aid associations were also a part of the self-help movement. These included such associations as co-operatives, fire and sickness insurance associations and funeral societies. They often were established under the direction of the wealthy or the church. A recent study of these associations in Quebec shows that approximately fifty existed in the period but much more research is needed to develop an adequate understanding of their organization and direction.⁹⁴

Another possible solution to the problem of poverty and pauperism was resettlement. The removal of the poor to areas where they could find employment or be supported by friends or relatives would decrease the number of poor dependent on charity in the urban centers. Both J. Fingard and H. Bamman in their work on the Maritimes and Hamilton respectively, have found instances of this policy.⁹⁵ In Montreal, the St. Andrew's Society had an employment agency to direct needy Scots to jobs elsewhere, and regularly expended funds to send these people further west to developing areas. Among the private charities, the Ladies Benevolent Society used this method on several instances to send widows and children to friends or relatives willing to provide for them.

Other alternative methods included the provision of employment and the distribution of supplementary income. Both of these methods are directed against the economic foundations of poverty. Since unemployment and insufficient income were not recognized as the causes of poverty, these methods were not implemented on any large scale and where implemented at all, were integrated into the charitable network. Several of the charities established workrooms to employ women but no such facilities were ever established to service men. Unemployed males were provided with stone breaking and similar tasks by the United Board of Outdoor Relief but it is unclear whether wages

were granted for this work.

Thus the promotion of education, the creation of saving banks and voluntary associations, and even resettlement were seen as potential cures for the problem of increasing poverty in Montreal. Other possible methods such as the provision of employment or supplementary income were not as popular among the rich.

Conclusion

In the face of increasing urban poverty the upper class was forced to act to maintain social stability and the sanctity of property. Although they did not believe that society was responsible for the provision of every being's maintenance their humanitarianism kept them from allowing people to starve. They believed charity was their duty as upper class Christians and recognized the potential it held for both social control and reforming the poor, but were fearful of creating a pauper class dependent on such aid. For these reasons the amount of relief available was limited. Poverty was seen as the natural condition of the lower class but destitution was identified as individual fault resulting from immorality. Hence the poor were divided into deserving and undeserving. Aid was extended only to the deserving poor and this aid was largely conditional on the acceptance of a labour task. To fulfill the objectives of social control and moral reform such aid was largely tempered by an emphasis on the inculcation of work habits and acceptable social values.

Notes

¹For a discussion of these ideas see S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme; R. Pinker, Social Theory and Social Policy; D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825; N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity; E. Monkkonen, The Dangerous Class; S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform"; G.S. Jones, Outcast London; Neil Betten, "American Attitudes Towards the Poor: A Historical Overview," Current History (July 1973), pp. 1-6.

²"The Relief Committee," The Montreal Gazette, November 24, 1855.

³"Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 10.

⁴S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 94.

⁵For a discussion of the ideas behind the New Poor Law see J.R. Poynter, Society and Pauperism; S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme; M. Bruce, The Welfare State; R. Pinker, Social Theory and Social Policy.

⁶B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States", p. 146; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, pp. 163-164; R. Mohl, "History from the Bottom Up: A Study of the Poor in Preindustrial New York City, 1784-1830," Social History (Vol. 3, 19), pp. 87-104; N. Betten, "American Attitudes Towards the Poor," p. 3; G.S. Jones, Outcast London, p. 286; D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, p. 162.

⁷G.S. Jones, Outcast London, p. 286; Stanley K. Schultz, "Breaking the Chains of Poverty Public Education in Boston, 1800-1860," in Jackson & Schultz, ed. Cities in American History (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1972), p. 10.

⁸R. Pinker, Social Theory, Social Policy; Robert Kelly, The Transatlantic Persuasion, The Liberal-Democratic Mind in the Age of Gladstone (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969), p. 9.

⁹S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 89; R. Mohl, "History from the Bottom Up," p. 101; G.S. Jones, Outcast London, p. 262.

¹⁰P.O.A. Annual Report, 1852, p. 5.

¹¹House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, October 25, 1865, p. 122; see also House of Industry Annual Report, 1864, p. 7; 1865, p. 9; L.B.S. Annual Report, 1851, p. 8; 1857, p. 10.

- ¹² P.O.A. Annual Report, 1852, p. 5.
- ¹³ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1852, p. 7.
- ¹⁴ House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 9.
- ¹⁵ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1851, p. 7.
- ¹⁶ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1855, p. 3.
- ¹⁷ P.O.A. Annual Report, 1852, p. 4.
- ¹⁸ Ibid., L.B.S. Annual Report, 1863, p. 17; 1867, p. 10.
- ¹⁹ J. Calvin, On God and Political Duty; On Christian Liberty.
- ²⁰ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 15.
- ²¹ The Ladies Benevolent Society were sure that one would be "twice blessed" in being beautiful to the poor." L.B.S. Annual Report, 1852, p. 7. The House of Industry also believed that charity would "invoke many blessings" among the benefactors "Report of the United Board of Outdoor Relief," 1867, p. 9. See also Stephen A. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," Ontario History (March, 1973) pp. 33-49; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, pp. 162-163.
- ²² L.B.S. Annual Report, 1858, p. 12.
- ²³ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 5.
- ²⁴ S. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," p. 33.
- ²⁵ Susan Houston finds the same type of aristocratic paternalism among the members of the Toronto elite. S. Houston "Impetus to Reform," p. 415.
- ²⁶ S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, pp. 68, 69, 206; E.K. Hunt, Property and Prophets, the Evolution of Economic Institutions and Ideologies (New York: Harper & Row, 1972), pp. 8-11, 62-64.
- ²⁷ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1859, p. 9.
- ²⁸ S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 69.

²⁹"Address by Mayor Nelson" in Annual Report of the Treasurer, 1854, p. iii.

³⁰For a discussion of indiscriminate aid and the various campaigns against it see D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, p. 162; G.S. Jones, Outcast London, pp. 244-5; N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, pp. 10-21, 45; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, p. 101, B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States," p. 148; S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, pp. 95-106.

³¹N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, pp. 23-25; B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States," p. 148; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, p. 101.

³²To many government aid came close to being indiscriminate aid based on the right of support and distributing large amounts of aid with little investigation. They were many in England and in the United States (particularly in Boston) who campaigned for the abolition of all state aid and the establishment of private discriminating charity. See N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, p. 15-25, passim., S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, p. 95.

³³House of Industry, Annual Report, 1867, p. 4.

³⁴L.B.S. Annual Report, 1857, p. 3.

³⁵House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 3.

³⁶L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 5.

³⁷The use of the visiting system to provide the poor with counselling and moral education was especially true of such organizations as the C.O.S. in the United States. See N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, pp. 9-11, 21; R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, pp. 168-169.

³⁸Home and School of Industry, Annual Report, 1860, p. 3.

³⁹The Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1864, p. 13.

⁴⁰This was the principle on which the British New Poor Law was based.

⁴¹House of Industry, Annual Report, 1864, p. 10.

⁴²"Address by Mayor Nelson," in Annual Report of the Treasurer, 1854, p. iv.

- ⁴³ House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 16.
- ⁴⁴ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 13.
- ⁴⁵ The advantages of centralized relief in terms of economic and bureaucratic efficiency are used to justify the establishment of the House of Industry, House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 9.
- ⁴⁶ This was also true of England where the British Poor Law of 1834 attempted to abolish all outdoor relief and the United States where similar attempts were made to abolish outdoor relief. For England see discussion of the New Poor Law, Chapter II, pp. 58 - 60. For the United States see D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, pp. 184-5; B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States," p. 143.
- ⁴⁷ The United Board of Outdoor Relief provided this type of aid to families in the winter but such aid was always in the form of goods.. Conversely in Hamilton the Hamilton L.B.S. gave monthly allowances to the aged. Monetary grants of this type made up 32 percent of the aid they granted in 1862. H. Bamman, "The L.B.S., Hamilton, Ontario," pp. 180-191. Also several American cities had established regular pensions to the poor. B. Coll, "Public Assistance in the United States," pp. 143-145.
- ⁴⁸ D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, pp. 179, 188.
- ⁴⁹ S. Mencher, Poor Law to Poverty Programme, pp. 80-86. This was especially the case with children. See D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, pp. 167-70, 190, 210; S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 294-99.
- ⁵⁰ House of Refuge, Annual Report, 1855, p. 5.
- ⁵¹ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 6.
- ⁵² P.O.A. Annual Report, 1852, p. 6.
- ⁵³ P.O.A. Annual Report, 1851, p. 6.
- ⁵⁴ S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 310-311; N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, pp. 86-87.
- ⁵⁵ In her study on Toronto, S. Houston finds the same suspicion of the ability to totally reform pauper children. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," p. 311.
- ⁵⁶ The children from the Toronto House of Industry were also apprenticed to families in the country. S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 215, 286.

⁵⁷ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1856, p. 9. The influence of immoral parents was also commented on in a series of letters published in The Montreal Gazette. In one the author writes: "... The evil must be reached at its source; the noxious weed must be nipped in the bud; the child must be separated from parents who would only train it up to vice." Philanthropy, Care of our Destitute and Criminal Population, p. 15.

⁵⁸ Philanthropy, Care of our Destitute and Criminal Population, p. 19. Such legislation was passed in Ontario in 1893. Tamara Hareven "An Ambiguous Alliance: Some Aspects of American Influence on Canadian Social Welfare," Social History (April, 1969), p. 87.

⁵⁹ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 7.

⁶⁰ House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, April 4, 1866, p. 143.

⁶¹ House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Management, Feb. 6, 1864, p. 49; April 4, 1866, p. 143.

⁶² The Industrial Rooms, Annual Report, 1864, p. 13.

⁶³ See R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825; N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity; Sam B. Warner, The Private City, Philadelphia in Three Periods of its Growth (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1968); D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum.

⁶⁴ N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, p. 25; S. Houston, "Impetus to Reform," pp. 238-413; S. Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, p. 56; S.G. Jones, Outcast London, p. 11; A. Briggs, "The Language of Class in Early 19th Century England" in Essays in Labour History, ed. A. Briggs and John Sarille (London: Macmillan & Co. Ltd., 1960); Walter E. Houghton, The Victorian Frame of Mind, 1830-1870. (New Haven, Conn: Yale University Press, 1957).

⁶⁵ For a brief discussion of education as social control see below pp. 192-193.

⁶⁶ The establishment of voluntary associations were also useful to this end. See below p. 194.

⁶⁷ M. Bruce, The Welfare State, p. 35.

⁶⁸ Walter Trattner, "Private Charity in America, 1700-1900," Current History (July 1973) pp. 25-29.

- ⁶⁹ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1858, p. 10.
- ⁷⁰ House of Industry, Minutes of Meetings, Board of Governors, October 25, 1865, p. 125.
- ⁷¹ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1861, p. 10.
- ⁷² Ibid., p. 13.
- ⁷³ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1855, p. 5.
- ⁷⁴ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1859, p. 10.
- ⁷⁵ D. Rothman, Discovery of the Asylum, xviii.
- ⁷⁶ R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, p. 170.
- ⁷⁷ N. Huggins, Protestants Against Charity, pp. 5-11.
- ⁷⁸ S. Thernstrom, Poverty and Progress, p. 49.
- ⁷⁹ S. Speisman, "Munificent Parsons and Municipal Parsimony," p. 35.
- ⁸⁰ J. Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor," p. 41.
- ⁸¹ René Hardy, "L'activité sociale du curé de Notre-Dame de Québec. Aperçu de l'influence du clergé au milieu du XIXe siècle," Social History (November 1970) pp. 5-33.
- ⁸² J.C. Robert, "Montreal 1821-71," p. 331.
- ⁸³ J. Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor," pp. 41-51; see also J. Fingard, "The Winter's Tale," p. 26.
- ⁸⁴ R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, p. 68-75; Whalen, "The Nineteenth Century Almshouse," pp. 21-25.
- ⁸⁵ L.B.S. Annual Report, 1862, p. 8.
- ⁸⁶ The reader will be reminded here of the case of the fire in 1852 where tool vouchers were distributed for use at only one hardware in Montreal, that of Frothingham and Workman. It is possible that this self-serving spirit was more moderate in the case of charity or was just not as obvious.

⁸⁷For a discussion of the value of education in this period see S. Schultz, "Breaking the Chains of Poverty", pp. 312-319; Alison Prentice and Susan E. Houston, ed. Family, School and Society in Nineteenth Century Canada (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975); Alison Prentice, The School Promoters. Education and School Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1877); Michael Katz and Paul A. Mattingly, ed. Education and Social Change: Themes from Ontario's Past (New York: New York University Press, 1975). This is a book of articles on education. Davey, Educational Reform and the Working Class: School Attendance in Hamilton, Ontario, 1851-1891 (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of Toronto, 1875); M. Katz The Irony of Early School Reform: Educational Innovation in Mid-Nineteenth Century Massachusetts (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968).

⁸⁸R. Pinker, Social Theory, Social Policy, p. 58.

⁸⁹R. Mohl, Poverty in New York 1783-1825, pp. 173-89; L. Marshall, "The English and American Industrial City of the Nineteenth Century" in American Urban History ed. A.B. Callow (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1969), pp. 148-155.

⁹⁰"Report of the Board of Inspectors of Asylums, Prisons, etc. 1861" in Sessional Papers, No. 19, 1862. In his report E.A. Meredith recommended the establishment of ragged schools or industrial farms to train and educate the "pauper children class." The Montreal House of Industry, Poor Relief Committee had also recognized that "great benefit would arise from an effort to reclaim and educate the number of young persons, boys especially, who now crowd our streets." House of Industry, Annual Report, 1865, p. 13.

⁹¹In the case of Montreal, Terry Copp finds that although many schools existed at the turn of the century, attendance was very low and mainly concentrated in the lower grades. T. Copp, Anatomy of Poverty, pp. 57-69.

⁹²Mechanics Institute of Montreal (privately published, 1922), p. 11.

⁹³John Irwin Cooper, "The Origins and Early History of The Montreal City and District Savings Bank, 1846-71," Canadian Catholic Historical Association Report (1945-46), p. 15. On the more general topic of Savings Banks in Canada, see J.I. Cooper, "Some Early Canadian Savings Banks," Canadian Banker, 57 (Spring 1950), pp. 135-143.

⁹⁴Gaston Deschênes, "Associations coopératives et institutions similaires au XIXe siècle," Revue d'histoire d'Amérique française, Vol. 29, No. 4 (March 1976), pp. 539-554.

⁹⁵J. Fingard, "The Winter's Tale," p. 24; H. Bamman, "The Ladies Benevolent Society, Hamilton," p. 169.

CONCLUSION

As we have seen the period 1850-1867 was one of rapid industrialization and exceptional population growth. The transformation effected by these phenomena resulted in deteriorating city conditions, massive unemployment and increased poverty. The distress of the population was great especially in the winter season when large numbers were unemployed. Some form of support outside of the labour market was necessary.

Such relief was not forthcoming from the government which had never established a system of poor relief.. The city was also hesitant to become involved in any regular relief programme. Although the Protestant churches provided some services for the poor in their congregations, this relief was never extensive.

The rich recognized the threat to social order contained in massive unemployment and distress, and established private charities in an attempt to alleviate the problem. The sources we have consulted indicate that these charities serviced mainly women and children. It was not until 1864 that aid was made available to men. The aid extended was largely institutional in form since outdoor relief was thought to be too expensive and was viewed with suspicion. The rich were determined to help only the deserving poor and the acceptance of institutionalization was considered the surest sign of both need and honesty.

The trend towards generalized relief found in the United States was evidenced in Montreal as well. With the establishment of the Montreal Protestant House of Industry and Refuge all forms of industrial and outdoor

relief were centralized in that institution which provided many services for all categories of the poor within one organization. By the end of the period we find one large institution, the House of Industry, providing generalized relief and a group of smaller institutions providing specialized institutional relief for women and children.

The hardships of winter played some role in determining the amount of relief extended as did economic crisis, but for the most part, the charities were regulated by the upper class approach to poverty. Our study of the individuals involved in the charitable network verified the assumption that the elite was overwhelmingly upper class. The study of the reaction to the fire of 1852 revealed that the upper class attitudes reflected in the establishment of charities remained consistent in the face of crisis and are part of a unified world-view.

The reader will remember that the orientation of the benevolent elite was largely that of Evangelical Victorianism. The poor were judged by predetermined standards of morality and were found to be immoral. Destitution was identified as an individual fault and charities were organized to reform the deserving poor.

Emphasis was placed on the value of work to inculcate Victorian morality. Charity was held to be a duty for upper class Christians but was also a mode of social control. It enabled the wealthy to relieve destitution while they attempted to reform the poor and in this way avoid future instability. This educative potential of charity was recognized especially in the case of poor children. In this way charity would not only contain present social disorder but might even be influential in re-establishing

the social balance which had been destroyed by the transformation the city was undergoing in the period.

It should be noted in conclusion that although the rich did indeed control the charitable network, and were in a position to impose their values on the lower classes, the number of people helped by these charities was very small in relation to the city's population, a large proportion of which was working class. This situation illustrates the irony of Victorian morality. Although the wealthy consciously saw charity as a mechanism to control the lower class, their own attitudes towards charity dictated that they relieve only the "deserving" poor. Thus their own definition of charity curtailed the effectiveness of their objectives.

It is questionable how successful the elite really was in using charity to educate and control the lower class. Certainly, the relief extended by Montreal private charity was limited and the elite were unable to comprehend the complexities and magnitude of the problem they were attempting to solve.

APPENDIX I

This Indenture, made the eleventh day of September in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty ~~five~~ between the Ladies of the Protestant Orphan Asylum of the City of Montreal, incorporated by Act of the Provincial Parliament of Canada, VII Vict. C. LV. of the one part and John Burns, Farmer residing at Rawdon of the other part, Witnesseth, that the said Corporation (by and with the consent of the minor hereinafter named) hath placed and bound William Elgy a minor child aged six years and Months, as a servant to and with the said party of the second part from the day of the date hereof until the eleventh day of September which will be in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and fifty five, during all which time the said child shall faithfully serve the said party of the second part and in all things demean himself as a good and faithful servant ought to do. And the said party of the second part, in consideration of the labor and services to be received from the said child, doth hereby promise and undertake to feed and clothe the said child in a fit and proper manner according to the respective situations of the parties, to bring up the said child in the principles of the Protestant Religion, to instruct the said child in reading and writing, to teach and instruct or otherwise cause to be taught and instructed the said child in the Art or Science of a Domestic after the best manner that he can, to remit to the said Corporation at the Expiration of each year from the date hereof the sum of fifteen Shilling Currency, to be by the said party of the first part placed at interest for the benefit of the said child and his or her use when this indenture shall expire, and also once in each year transmit a statement in writing to the Secretary of the Corporation of the condition and welfare of the said child, and lastly at the expiration of the period of Apprenticeship or service, provide the said child with a good and new .

residing at Racine -
of the other part, Witnesseth, that the said Corporation (by
and with the consent of the minor hereinafter named) hath
placed and bound William Elgy
a minor child aged six years and — Months, as a
servant — to and with the said party of the second part,
from the day of the date hereof until the eleventh day of
September which will be in the year of Our Lord one
thousand Eight hundred and fifty five, during all
which time the said child shall faithfully serve the said
party of the second part and in all things demean him-
self as a good and faithful servant ought to do.

And the said party of the second part, in consideration of
the labor and services to be received from the said child,
doth hereby promise and undertake to feed and clothe the
said child in a fit and proper manner according to the
respective situations of the parties, to bring up the said child
in the principles of the Protestant Religion, to instruct the
said child in reading and writing, to teach and instruct
or otherwise cause to be taught and instructed the said child
in the Art or Science of a Domestic — after the
best manner that he can, — to remit to the said Corporation
at the Expiration of each year from the date hereof the sum
of fifteen Shilling Currency, to be by the said party of the
first part placed at interest for the benefit of the said child and
his or her use when this indenture shall expire, and also once
in each year transmit a statement in writing to the Secretary
of the Corporation of the condition and welfare of the said child,
and lastly at the expiration of the period of Apprenticeship or
service, provide the said child with a good and new suit
of clothes, suitable to the condition of the said child.

In witness whereof, the said parties to these parties
have respectively set their hands and seals, and the seal of
the said Corporation, in duplicate, the day and year first
above written.

L. S. Wilkes. Directress

2 of 2

Signed sealed and delivered
in the presence of
Hornes Watson

Eliza C. C. C.

John J. Burns

11th Sept 1846.

Indenture of
William Elgy
to

John Wilson

of Marston L.C.

in force until 1855.

On 2 April 1855 the indenture
cancelled by Mutual Consent, and
a new one made by which Elgy was
rebound to serve partly for a further
period - see new indenture serial
number

No 364.

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