

# New Building Technology in Canada's Late Nineteenth-Century Department Stores: Handmaiden of Monopoly Capitalism

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The emergence of a handful of large-scale distributive enterprises in the 1880s and 1890s [added to] independent proprietors' concerns [about an increase in 'destabilizing' competition].... These stores were all characterized by their 'departmental' organization (the separation of display stock, workforces, accounts, and buying by type of goods) and by the centralization of their administration and management. But it was not their form that made them so singular; it was their size. These businesses came to be called 'mass merchandisers' not because they sold 'to the masses,' but because they sold so much.<sup>1</sup>

This assessment by David Monod of late nineteenth-century retailing in Canada describes one fragment of a much larger economic reorientation — from mercantile to monopoly capitalism — the consequences of which were at least as far-reaching as any precipitated by free trade or modern retail giants like Wal-Mart. By the 1890s department stores were cutting out local wholesalers and buying directly from overseas agents to assure their profit margins. As for their smaller retail competitors, the big-store discounts on volume buying, together with loss-leaders, mass-marketing campaigns, and mail-order services, drew customers away to such an extent that many faced bankruptcy. Dislocations occurred not only in the urban centres, but in the surrounding rural areas, and nationwide. In the cities, business districts formerly made up of single shop-fronts with residential accommodation upstairs gave way to entire blocks occupied by single enterprises. When a major retailer began land assembly for a new store, the focus often shifted to a less densely developed area of the city, leaving the old commercial core in a state of decline.<sup>2</sup> In architectural terms, the concentration of capital dictated an unprecedented growth in building scale, the dimensions of which could be sustained only with the help of new technology. Iron and steel quite literally supported the ample stage upon which the premier economic and social upheavals of the age were being enacted. Structural "modern-ness" and size became the hallmarks of the successful department store. Entrepreneurs knew that the latest in built form could establish a corporate profile commensurate with the best stores in Chicago, New York,

Paris, or London. As a result, Canadian architects had to master innovation or lose major commissions to their American counterparts, whose audacious synthesis of European theory heralded a new era in commercial design. At first, the Canadian response was cautious and freighted with older conventions, which scholars have regarded in pejorative, evolutionary terms. But inscribed in these dissonances is a distinctive architectural topography negotiated in relation to specific market pressures.

The nineteenth century has often been described as an age of secularization, in which architects dedicated their talents to "the modern Mammon worshipper."<sup>3</sup> The department store — that emporium of profligate consumerism — was the supreme culmination of this tendency. Its large open floors, designed for the storage and display of goods in volume, were adapted from the conventions of the wholesale warehouse. The open, flexible interiors were ideally suited to a new consumer culture in which shoppers wandered at will, selecting according to their own preferences, instead of relying on a proprietor to draw down items from stock in response to specific requests. The peripatetic buying expedition was replaced by one-stop shopping that offered both variety and personal selection. Ultimately, coat-check and restaurant facilities were also introduced to encourage customers to linger all day, in the expectation that this would boost sales still more. It was an environment calculated to appeal to women, whose traditional role in the management of household resources was now harnessed to the engine of consumer demand. Department store salons were conceived as places to see and be seen.

In these venues for public display, away from the confinement of domesticity, aspiring middle-class matrons might demonstrate their taste and status simply by cutting a figure in the right sort of setting.

The vigorous entrepreneurialism of the late nineteenth century is still clearly inscribed in the building stock of many Canadian cities, not least in Montreal, the country's main port of entry in this period. In the old city near the harbour are small retail stores and warehouses of the mid century, whereas the large departmental stores of the 1890s are clustered on rue Sainte-Catherine beneath the mountain brow, near a suburb known as the Golden Square Mile, where the families of nouveau-riche railway barons practised the conspicuous consumption of the Gilded Age.

In the narrative lineage of "significant" architectural form, much has been made of the historical continuities between the warehouse type and later retail emporia. Montreal's place in this modernist paradigm was described by Jean-Claude Marsan in 1974, when he identified the mid-century warehouses as "proto-rationalist" and first credited them as worthy of recognition among "the authentic types of architecture in the province." They were, he wrote, similar to American examples like the 1824 Quincy Market stores in Boston, designed by Alexander Parris, the Granite Block and Roger Williams Bank in Providence, Rhode Island, and the 1849 Jayne Building in Philadelphia, designed by William Johnston. These buildings had already been described by American scholars Henry-Russell Hitchcock and Winston Weisman as conceptual precursors of the Chicago School.<sup>4</sup> The Spartan aesthetic of their skeleton facades and their open interiors supported by post-and-beam construction were proposed as exemplars of rational structure. Yet this synthesis was far from being fully realized in all cases. Philadelphia's Jayne Building, for example, had only a single file of columns aligned with the centre bay of its five-bay facade. By contrast, Montreal's warehouses were usually planned on a common mathematical grid

that dictated the placement of both exterior stone pilasters and internal wooden framing. Recent scholarship, however, has largely avoided the issue of rationalism, which lends itself too conveniently to the construction of an artificially linear narrative, and has focused instead upon the sociological changes that accompanied the growth of the department store. The two strands meet in the understanding of *use* as an expression of cultural ritual, and technological innovation as a factor that responded to or facilitated cultural change.

Historical narratives are constructed in part by the questions we as historians choose to ask, and in part by the records that survive to form the object of our inquiry. One can, for example, peruse nineteenth-century publications for descriptions of different types of commercial premises, such as the warehouses in old Montreal, which had a "first [floor] flat utilized for show and salesrooms [while] the remaining two storeys [were] a manufactory." Such accounts usually appear in chronicles of commercial prowess intended to celebrate the city's progressive spirit, whereas today they provide evidence of how the economic order was structured.<sup>5</sup> Criticisms written in the 1890s about the social costs of these changes offer lucid insights, but no recognition of their ubiquity and permanence.<sup>6</sup> In the professional journals, theorists heralded the aesthetic superiority of facades with windows extending from street level to cornice over earlier commercial designs, in which large areas of plate glass, sustained by cast-iron stanchions, seemed overweighted by conventional masonry in the upper storeys. Yet these same reports rarely mentioned either the framing techniques or the materials used to achieve these results, or, more broadly, the changing character of business that required larger areas for display on the building facade.<sup>7</sup> Debates often centred on whether or not structures so functional and so utterly devoid of ornament could be called "architecture." Frequently, the only secure evidence to reconstruct the technological response comes from insurance atlases, surviving architectural drawings, or details revealed through

the renovation, decay, or demolition of the structures themselves. The challenge is to describe or perhaps construct a sociology of change from fragmentary writings that conceptualized economics, technology, and aesthetics as discrete issues instead of aspects of a single problem.

By examining one of the earliest extant stone building skeletons in the old city, it is possible to recognize both the pattern of future design in the sparse geometry of the four-bay, four-storey facade, and what this represented in terms of the market at mid century. The Urquhart Building of 1855, at 434 rue Saint-Pierre, was planned for the retail sale of European specialties (Figure 1).<sup>8</sup> Instead of living upstairs, however, the owner dedicated the entire premises to his business, a decision that implies a significant increase in the volume of business, and a growing separation between residential and commercial uses within the city commensurate with the upward social mobility of the mercantile class. The building's load-bearing grey-stone piers, which ascend without interruption through the four storeys, frame large glass lights mounted and mullioned in wood. In all, the design is a direct response to the demands of commercial life, not to the conventions of architectural precedent. With party walls of conventional rubble construction and an interior almost certainly wooden post-and-beam (now extensively renovated), the resulting open floors, lit by natural light, facilitated display and inspection of a varied range of goods without any need for oil lamps or gasoliers.

Urquhart's architect, George Browne, like most practitioners of his day, is remembered more for his neoclassical public buildings than for his commercial designs. A native of Belfast



Figure 1. Urquhart Building, 434 rue Saint-Pierre, Montreal; George Browne, architect, 1855. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, 1970)

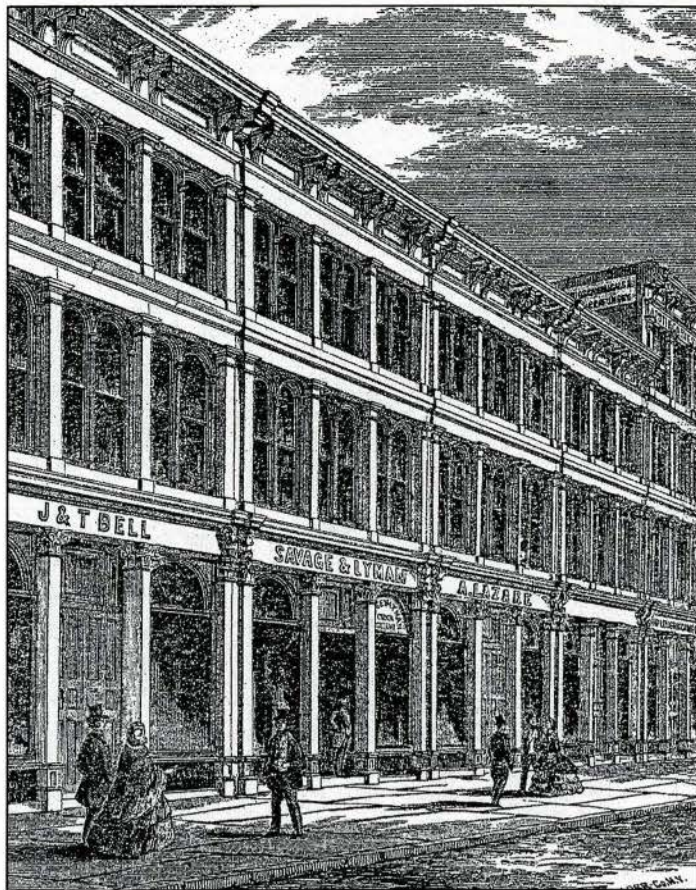


Figure 2. Cathedral Block, boulevard Saint-Laurent, Montreal; Michel Laurent and William Spier & Sons, architects, 1859-60. (Canadian Illustrated News 6 [30 November 1872]: 339)

and educated by his father, Browne immigrated to Quebec City in 1830, where he taught architectural draughting and established a reputation, in collaboration with John Howard, for his work on the city's legislative buildings. Apart from the street architecture to which he was exposed in his youth, the most likely influence on his commercial work was a five-year period he spent in the United States, beginning in 1835. When he returned to Canada — this time to Montreal — he founded an architectural school and sustained himself through investments in real estate.<sup>9</sup> It is significant in the context of architectural practice of the day, and the emphasis placed by historians since, that commercial commissions have figured so little in later assessments of his career.

There were many similar projects undertaken in the old city in those years, but one, the Cathedral Block, has attracted particular attention because of its size (Figure 2). Its facade extends some 176 feet along boulevard Saint-Laurent on lands left vacant by a fire in Christ Church Cathedral in 1856. Although the scale prefigures that of the later department stores, it is important to note that the building was conceived as eight separate but similarly articulated units, executed independently for different clients by two firms of architects,



Figure 3. Ives & Allen Company, 261, rue Queen, Montreal; Alexander Cowper Hutchison, architect, 1872. (Canadian Inventory of Historic Building, 1974)

Michel Laurent and William Spier & Sons. In addition to the increased size, the designers also experimented with monolithic greystone piers instead of ashlar construction to frame the window bays. Otherwise, the methodology was conventional, with rear walls of brick enclosing a separately framed interior.<sup>10</sup>

Within a decade, as Renée Losier has described, cast iron was also in use for Montreal's commercial buildings, after favourable tariffs encouraged its import and a modest level of manufacture. Of the half-dozen foundries established in the city, one operated by Americans Hubert R. Ives and Roger N. Allen flourished from the 1860s, in des Recollets quarter. A single four-storey, seven-bay structure, purpose-built in 1872, has survived on what was once a very extensive site on rue Queen (Figure 3). Rémillard describes the building as the last cast-iron skeleton facade in the city, but recent deterioration reveals that the main piers on the ground floor are cast iron, while the transverse beams are wood sheathed in metal, like the posts and beams of the upper facade. Similarly, the interior is, at least partially, slow-burning wood construction. Most remarkable, however, is the brick infill in the spandrels beneath the windows. The brick is carried on the wooden frame in a manner similar to medieval nogging, a concept adapted by Viollet-le-Duc in his project for a brick and iron shopfront, and later realized with great success in the facade of the Meunier chocolate factory.<sup>11</sup>

The designer of the Ives & Allen building at 261 rue Queen was Alexander Cowper Hutchison, a Montrealer of Scottish descent. He apprenticed as a stone cutter in his father's building practice and was proficient enough by age twenty to

execute the masonry for Christ Church Cathedral on rue Sainte-Catherine, before receiving an invitation to work on the Parliamentary precinct in Ottawa. When he returned to Montreal four years later he began teaching architectural and geometrical drawing, first at the Mechanics' Institute and then for the Board of Arts and Manufactures. In 1863 he went into business as an architect, and became sufficiently well-recognized by 1880 to be named a founding member of the Royal Canadian Academy by the Marquis of Lorne. Subsequently, in 1895, he was elected president of the Province of Quebec Association of Architects.<sup>12</sup> His thoughtful solution for Ives & Allen reflects a level of professional competence on the leading edge of his contemporaries. It foregrounds the client's field of specialty rather than the architect's, and, together with the stone building skeletons, underlines both the pace of economic expansion and the degree to which new technologies played a part in the process. By the same token, it is important to recognize that stone and wood construction dominated work in the old city throughout this period, because Quebec's economy was centred on forestry products rather than on iron and steel, and masonry was an established part of the province's heritage.

By the 1870s Montreal's stone skeleton facades were being conceived on a still larger scale, sometimes with interiors of cast-iron columns. One of the most notable examples is Cours Le Royer, a vast complex of stores and warehouses built for the Sisters of Saint Joseph on lands formerly occupied by the Hôtel Dieu (Figure 4). Now restored as a precinct of offices, stores, and cooperative apartments, the five-storey commercial



Figure 4. Cours Le Royer, Montreal; Victor Bourgeau, Michel Laurent, Albert Mesnard, Henri-Maurice Perrault, architects, 1861-74. (A. Carr, 1993)

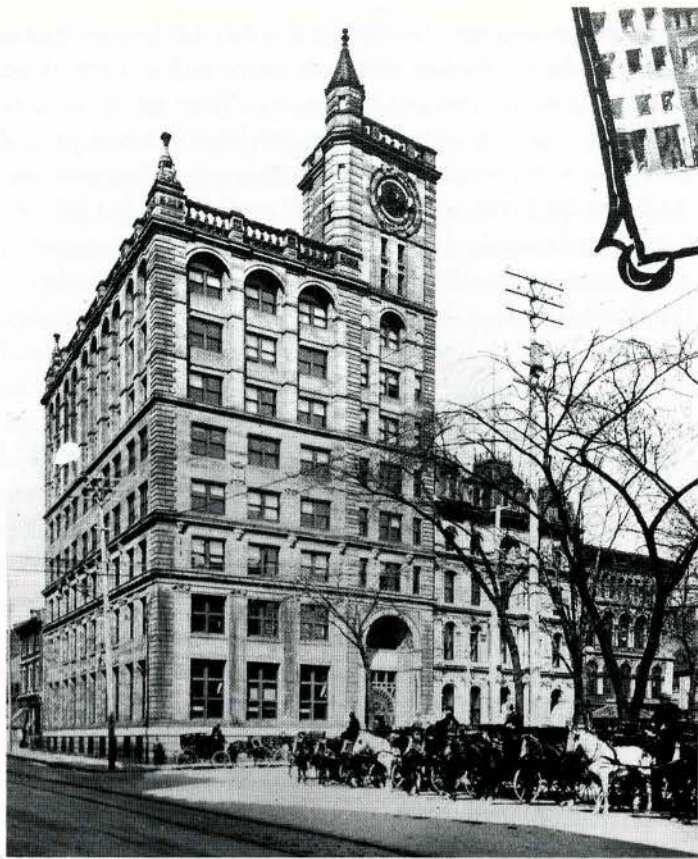


Figure 5. New York Life Insurance building, Place d'Armes, Montreal, 1889; Babb, Cook & Willard of New York, architects. (National Archives of Canada, PA-45937)

blocks are fully articulated on every side with minimal skeletal facades of Montreal greystone. Undertaken in four stages between 1861 and 1874, the complex still occupies two full city blocks and parts of two others, abutting Saint-Paul, Saint-Dizier, de Bresoles, and Saint-Sulpice streets. Initially, the Sisters commissioned ten shops on Saint-Paul from architect Victor Bourgeau, which were rented to reputable merchants. This strategy, recommended by the Order's financial advisors to support the cost of running their hospital, proved so successful that a further expansion was initiated a decade later. Eleven more storefronts were completed on Le Royer by architect Michel Laurent in a similar if less elaborate idiom. Then, in 1872, a third section by Albert Mesnard opened on Saint-Dizier. Surviving drawings of this latter project confirm that Mesnard introduced cast-iron columns to support the structure's interior wooden lintels and red-pine floors. Meanwhile, a fourth phase in 1874 by Henri-Maurice Perrault brought the enclosed area to 43,000 square metres. The repeated expansions speak to the lucrativeness of the undertaking, while the result in architectural terms represents a high level of mastery. Still, the stores and warehouses of the Sisters of Saint Joseph were conceived as a series of units that housed no fewer than thirty-three tenants. Within two decades the same floor space, united through a common system of structural support, would

be occupied by a single retail enterprise.<sup>13</sup>

By the late 1880s insurance companies and banks had begun building not for their immediate needs, but for future growth. Expansion was clearly anticipated in the construction of the New York Life Insurance building on Place d'Armes in 1888 (Figure 5). Much of the space was initially rented to lawyers and wholesale merchants, but New York Life preened its corporate image and covered its future needs by erecting a large building claimed to be "a quarter of a century in advance of anything in the Dominion" to "place at the disposal of the Montreal public a series of offices which challenge comparison with any in the world." It was no idle boast. For the first time Montreal had the type of multi-storey structure that had been a feature of American cities for about a decade. New York architects Babb, Cook & Willard used load-bearing walls and internal metal piers to carry iron girders that sustained its eight floors, fireproofed in brick. The red Scottish sandstone exterior, in the Romanesque Revival idiom of American architect Henry Hobson Richardson, reflected both commercial fashions south of the border and the heritage of the Scottish-descended railway barons whose businesses and fortunes fuelled the economy of the city. The load-bearing wall construction ignored the structural economies of the curtain wall to articulate an air of corporate gravity through sheer mass and solidity — "the enormous size and solidity of the company is well exemplified by the building it has erected and owns on Place D'Armes Square." The fireproof character of the interior, claimed by its rental agent to be the first of its type in the province, was a selling point — even the internal division walls were brick. Each office had separately controlled steam heat and electric light, and individual wash-stands, while the building's elevators ensured that the view from the upper storeys, well above the height of human climbing endurance, would command premium rentals. For the era the technology was conservative, but its execution represented a significant turning point in the context of Canadian practices of the day. American commentators were unimpressed, however:

Canadians are rather slow in adopting novelties .... Their elevators are few and far between, and are looked at askance by many who would as soon attempt to walk upon the waters, as Peter did of old, as to trust their precious lives in one of those "bird-cages."<sup>14</sup>

While it is not possible in many cases to document all aspects of the technical developments as they were assimilated throughout this period, it is clear that the transition from load-bearing to curtain-wall construction was under study as part of the increased scale and international competitiveness of commercial enterprises in major urban centres. Within two years of the opening of the New York Life Insurance building, attempts were made to translate Romanesque Revival vocabulary into a less weighty idiom. The skeletal facade of the Brunet



Figure 6. Brunet Building, boulevard Saint-Laurent, Montreal; Daoust & Gendron, architects, 1890. (Gordon Fulton, 1996)

Building, designed by Daoust & Gendron, was part of an 1890 urban renewal project on the west side of boulevard Saint-Laurent intended to give Montreal its own version of the Champs Élysées (Figure 6). Four round-arched bays framed in greystone enclosed a sparse grid of verticals and horizontals that supported large areas of glass on three floors. The internal framing consisted of iron, so the result may be described as a hybrid of the proto-rationalist architecture of the old city and elements of the Chicago School. Yet, the facade is still articulated as a series of four conjoined shopfronts, despite an internal space that may have been contiguous. (The result was sufficiently commodious to include a concert stage for the Montreal Symphony.) Indeed, in a similar project metal posts were placed immediately behind the building facade to support the floor upon which the stone pilasters of the exterior were carried.<sup>15</sup>

In the meantime, the character of retailing in the city was undergoing significant change. The urban population had doubled in a decade and residential areas in the city were spreading to the north and west. As a result, some business people found it possible to operate successfully outside the traditional mercantile core. Among them was Joseph Nazaire Dupuis, who in 1868 established a dry-goods business on rue Sainte-Catherine est at the corner of Montcalm, close to the French-speaking districts that were the mainstay of his clientele. Through hard work and a singular reputation for honesty, Dupuis built up his enterprise sufficiently by 1871 to support a move to larger premises next door. He then expanded his stock into the upper storeys of the building, which were previously residential, and added an annex. By 1872 Dupuis considered his returns sufficient to justify semi-annual buying expeditions in Europe, a practice that seems to have continued despite a world-wide economic downturn that plunged Canada into a recession between 1874 and 1879. His premature death in 1876 left his younger brothers to continue the firm as a partnership until 1907 (then under federal incorporation, and

finally, in 1921, as a provincial corporation; the pace of expansion slowed in this latter period). In 1877, just a year after the founder's death, Dupuis Frères built a new three-storey warehouse at the corner of Sainte-Catherine and Amherst streets (Figure 7). The design was a larger version of a conventional mixed-use property, with load-bearing masonry in the upper two storeys and plate-glass windows at street level to attract passersby.<sup>16</sup>

While Dupuis Frères seem to have relied upon the loyalty of its customers rather than upon the glamour of technical innovation to preserve its market share, a second retailer, farther west on rue Sainte-Catherine at the corner of University, was quick to take advantage of the new aesthetic as soon as the opportunity presented itself. W.H. Scroggie had occupied three out of six shopfronts in a row known as the Queen's Theatre Block since the 1880s, when the firm decided to alter the ground floor of its rented premises by mounting plate-glass windows between iron uprights. In the course of this work the entire building collapsed dramatically, as terrified bystanders rescued a startled night watchman. A year later, in 1890, Scroggie's reopened in a fashionable three-storey "palazzo" with a minimal skeletal facade (Figure 8). Without mentioning the building methods, the newspapers described the new premises as a "modern department store" of the type favoured by "popular demand." Its principal attractions were said to be the convenience of shopping in one location and the economies available through volume buying. On opening day visitors noted the brightness, cheerfulness, and freshness of the interior, where they were treated to a fashion show and found a millinery department well stocked with the latest fashions from New York, Paris, and Rome. The premises also boasted a well-furnished

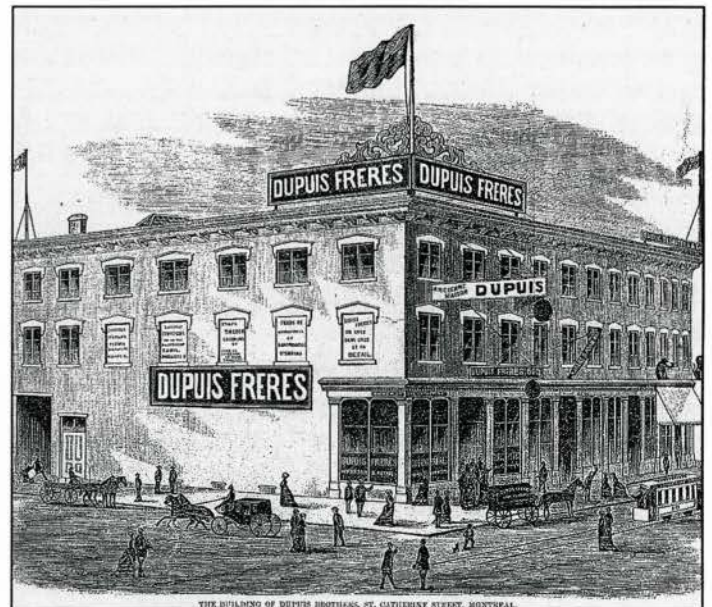


Figure 7. Dupuis Frères, Sainte-Catherine and Amherst streets, Montreal; architect unknown, 1877. (*Canadian Illustrated News* 11 [10 November 1877]: 301)



Figure 8. W.H. Scroggie's store, rue Sainte-Catherine, Montreal; architect unknown, 1890; demolished. (Archives of Ontario, Eaton Fonds: AO 4010, F229-308-0-604)

ladies' parlour on the second floor, which was expected to become "a favourite meeting place for the women of Montreal." For Scroggie, the new design was a coup that placed its bargain business in direct competition with several of its more prestigious neighbours.<sup>17</sup>

Scroggie's was so successful at attracting customers that it soon became the object of censure for its cut-throat business practices. Its reputation for deep discounts persisted until the enterprise finally closed its doors in 1914, when one employee painted a vivid picture of the store's reputation and clientele:

Scroggie's is one of the best known names in Montreal, and well it ought to be, the firm having paid enough out in advertising to make it so. [It] is a departmental store, one of the sort the great body of the public goes to in the full conviction that here may be obtained goods at a low price.... [Always] a liberal patron of the advertising columns of the newspapers, its half-page and full-page advertisements have furnished interesting reading matter to thousands of economic housewives who search diligently for bargains every night and get up with the lark in the morning and fall into line at eight o'clock to secure first chance at the counter. These are the people of whom the patrons of the store are largely composed. Even in these hard times they buzz to and fro from one floor to another like bees, spending their money frugally and elbowing their way around with a determination deserving of results.<sup>18</sup>

By this time Scroggie's was in a new location at Sainte-Catherine and Peel streets, having abandoned its three-storey palazzo in 1908 to John Carsley's firm. A year later the building passed to Rea & Company, then to Goodwin's, and finally, in 1925, to Eaton's, whose reputation for fixed prices and cash sales presented as formidable a presence in the retail sector as any to which Scroggie's aspired. Shrewd business decisions propelled Eaton's to national prominence, so that it came to outrank even stores like Macy's and Gimbel's in New York. The key to its dominance, like its Toronto competitor, Simpson's,

was that it seized upon the potential of mail-order to extend its influence across the country. Following a major three-storey addition in the year of its acquisition, the former Scroggie-Goodwin's store became Eaton's flagship in eastern Canada. A second expansion on the same scale five years later underlined the retailer's determination to master the Montreal market; even as the country sank into the Depression in 1931, an elegant new Art Deco restaurant by no less a light than French architect Jacques Carlu was opened on the building's ninth floor. By that time the departmentals were sufficiently well established to pretend imperviousness to even the most dramatic of economic reversals.<sup>19</sup>

As for the assimilation of ideas in the 1890s, Montreal's architects came to grips with the principles of new construction methodologies just as the city's retail enterprises expanded on a scale never before seen. On 21 April 1891 Henry Morgan & Company opened Colonial House on rue Sainte-Catherine ouest, on the doorstep of the Golden Square Mile (Figure 9). For two years the opening had been anticipated by everyone from Morgan's competitors to the architects who served them. One among the latter group, A.F. Dunlop, remarked prophetically that the "establishment of Messrs. Morgan's store on St. Catherine street will be followed by the erection of others of the same class; the other down-town traders of importance will be forced to go up the hill." Within five years, rue Sainte-Catherine ouest was home not only to W.H. Scroggie, but also to firms including John Murphy & Company and James Ogilvy's. But Morgan's was the largest of them all, and the most prestigious.<sup>20</sup>

It had not always been so. The first dry goods business founded in the old city in 1845 by Fifeshire emigrant Henry Morgan lasted only six years before an economic downturn caused his partner David Smith to move on. Morgan then allied with his brother James, who sold a dry-goods interest in Glasgow to come to Montreal. They began buying goods directly from an agent in London, and within a year had established themselves sufficiently to move to a larger premises with twice as many employees. Over the next five years of 15-hour days the firm grew. First it expanded into an adjoining building in the next block, then in 1866, with a staff of a hundred and stock worth \$50,000, it relocated to Great Saint James Street and Victoria Square. A decade later the firm was forced to reorganize on a departmental system in order to control the growing enterprise in the recession of the 1870s. Each section was headed by a manager responsible for his own purchasing and sales. Results were positive, and by 1889 it was clear that a far larger building would be required so the lot on Phillips Square "in the suburbs" was purchased. There was not so much as a streetcar stop nearby, but within a year one was installed immediately outside the front door.<sup>21</sup>

The architect of Colonial House was a virtual unknown by the name of John Pierce Hill, who set up his practice in the

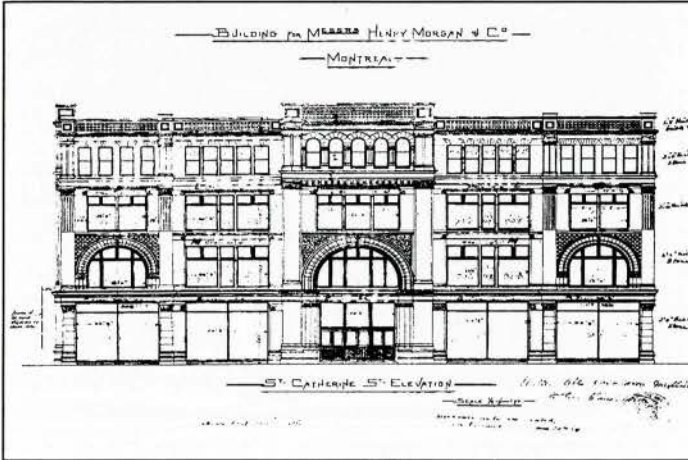


Figure 9. Henry Morgan & Co., rue Sainte-Catherine at Phillips Square, Montreal; John Pierce Hill, architect, 1889-91. (A. Carr, 1993)

Figure 10. Front elevation of the Henry Morgan & Co. store, rue Sainte-Catherine, Montreal; John Pierce Hill, architect, 1889-91. (Courtesy of W. Hyndra, The Hudson's Bay Company, Montreal)

city about 1886 with a series of small residential commissions. He then completed two larger works, Mountain Methodist Church and an office tenement, also on rue de la Montagne, owned and occupied by Messrs. Wells, Richardson & Co., makers of diamond dies. The tenement was noteworthy not only for its imported Scottish sandstone facade but also for its fireproof construction, which included sprinklers activated by temperatures in excess of 150 degrees and an elevator shaft enclosed at every level by automatic steel doors. At the time there was no expertise in Canada that could have trained Hill in this field — the area of specialization was little more than five years old in the United States.<sup>22</sup>

One can imagine the consternation among the established architects in the city when it became clear that a commission for what was then the largest department store in Canada had been awarded to a neophyte. In March of 1889 the *Canadian Architect & Builder* reported that a temporary architectural furore occurred when ten designs submitted for the new Morgan store were adjudicated privately, then returned “without note

or comment” to the unsuccessful competitors. Hill was named to undertake the project, estimated to cost \$150,000, a figure that inflated during the course of construction to \$325,000. In the year of completion Hill disappeared from the Montreal street directory, but his monumental red sandstone edifice (now The Bay) still stands in Phillips Square in the midst of the new commercial core — just as Dunlop had predicted in January 1889 it would.<sup>23</sup>

Of the annual building starts reported in Montreal between 1865 and 1888, the years 1871 and 1887 were the most active, each with a thousand or more new projects. In 1888 there were a further nine hundred new projects. Of these, the largest number were tenements, followed by stores, factories, and offices, a statistic that reflects the growth in urban population and a concomitant escalation in the industrial and retail sectors. Unlike the previous year, in which \$1.9 million had been concentrated in Saint-Antoine ward, the values in 1888 were almost evenly divided between Saint-Antoine and Centre wards. It was clear that the city was in the process of a significant reorientation, which Morgan’s anticipated and promoted through its project on Phillips Square.<sup>24</sup>

Proclaiming “the tendencies of the present age to break loose from the traditions and customs of the past ... in every phase of life ... religious, political, social and commercial,” the *Montreal Gazette* heralded the opening of Morgan’s new “dry goods palace” as part of a developing trend towards mammoth enterprises. So many “precious goods” were displayed, the columnist thought it difficult “to be modest in one’s desires in the presence of so much that is seductive.” Phillips Square had been transformed by a building that stood forth as a “triumph of architecture.” Comparisons were not to other enterprises within the city, but to world-class establishments that competed on the international stage:

A New York lady who visited the new Colonial house yesterday expressed the opinion that there was nothing in Gotham to equal Messrs. Morgan’s new store, except perhaps A.T. Stewart’s.<sup>25</sup>

A.T. Stewart’s was the first American department store. In the 1840s the firm initiated the process of buying from overseas suppliers, and had established its own manufacturing plants by the 1860s. Its New York emporium, known as the “marble palace,” was designed by architect John Kellum in 1859. It was fully framed and faced in iron, but was not fireproof. By sheer good fortune the structure survived as part of its successor Wanamaker’s until 1956, when it burned to the ground during demolition. The metal framing, which facilitated its grand scale, was vulnerable to collapse in extreme heat of the kind that developed very rapidly in open floors. For this reason, many considered the technology unsuitable for crowded public settings such as department stores until better protection methods were refined in the latter part of the century.<sup>26</sup>



Between 1859 and 1889, when Hill began his plans for the Phillips Square store, a great deal had occurred in the United States in the field of retail design. In 1877, *American Architect & Building News* published plans of James MacLaughlin's John Shillito store in Cincinnati. Its exterior was lined with free-standing brick piers, which, in turn, were pinned to the internal metal frame by means of metal rivets. A year later, in Chicago, William Le Baron Jenney adapted this concept for his first Leiter store in Chicago by introducing metal columns immediately behind the load-bearing pilasters of the exterior. Within five years Jenney had made the conceptual leap that brought the underlying structural frame to the surface of the building, where it was lightly veneered with cladding to protect it from the elements. This synthesis, partly realized in his design for the Home Insurance building, was later refined in his second Leiter store of 1889, the same year Hill conceived his scheme for the new Morgan's store in Montreal. Fireproofing the metal frame with concrete, brick, or terra cotta simply extended the principle of cladding to the building's interior. Judging by reports of Hill's other works in Montreal, these techniques and the use of sprinkler systems, only just being introduced in Canada, were already known to Hill before he submitted plans for Morgan's in 1889.<sup>27</sup>

Instead of Jenney's skeletal facades, however, Hill adopted the still fashionable Richardsonian Romanesque and introduced a light well into the centre to illuminate the four-storey interior. His choice of idiom was consistent with Canadian commercial tastes of the day, which still saw Richardson's work as a progressive contrast to the Gothic Revival, long established and sustained in Canada by a generation of British-born immigrant architects.<sup>28</sup> Like the New York Life Insurance building completed one year earlier, the exterior of the new Colonial House was of imported Scottish sandstone, evocative of Morgan's own heritage and that of the city's railway barons, whose money was at least partly responsible for the store's success. A solitary surviving copy of Hill's front elevation for the new store confirms that the facade is load-bearing, the marginal notations revealing that the stone is three feet thick at the base and only 1.8 feet at the cornice (Figure 10).<sup>29</sup> There is no clear indication of the nature of the internal framing nor how it was connected to the sandstone facade, but the size of the bays and the scale of the interior, reportedly covering some 94,000 square feet, suggests that the new idiom owed its dimensions to the tensile strength of the metal I-beam.

The competitive atmosphere was such that within months of the Morgan's opening, John Murphy & Company had determined to construct a new five-storey building of red sandstone two blocks to the west, at the corner of Sainte-Catherine and Metcalfe streets (Figure 11). Like Colonial House, Murphy's boasted a fire-proof interior, an elevator, and a centralized cash system, as well as large plate-glass windows. A report in the *Daily Herald* on 1 December 1894

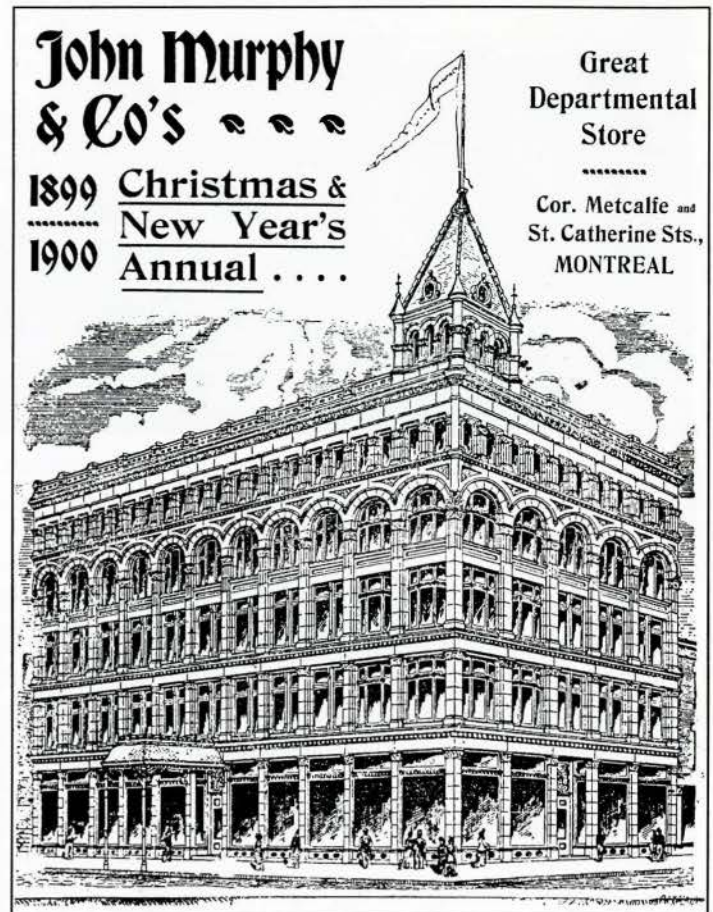


Figure 11. John Murphy & Co., Sainte-Catherine and Metcalfe streets, Montreal; architect unknown, 1894; demolished. (John Murphy & Co's 1899-1900 Christmas & New Year's Annual, National Archives of Canada)

emphasized that the store made "no pretensions to great architectural beauty, utility having been the chief point kept in view," although the new premises were stylistically "by no means behind the other buildings on this thoroughfare." Advertisements at the same time offered assurances consistent with claims made by many departmentals that customers would see the same goods at the "usual low prices," despite the lavish new surroundings.<sup>30</sup>

The John Murphy enterprise grew in a series of defined stages, just like its competitors. The son of Irish immigrants, its founder took over the family linen importing business with his brother in 1867. Within three years their partnership had ended, but John Murphy, now incorporated, moved into the Tiffin Building on northeast corner of Notre-Dame and Saint-Pierre streets in the old city. There the firm remained until 1891, when it relocated to rue Sainte-Catherine ouest in the wake of the Morgan's move. Retailers no longer needed proximity to wholesalers in Montreal's lowertown; the primary consideration was location — in a place and manner suitable to attract customers.

Murphy's proved to be an early casualty of Canada's concentration in the retail sector, which was more severe than in

the United States because of the smaller size of the market. The firm was bought by Simpson's of Toronto in 1905 as part of the latter's campaign to confound the ambitions of its chief rival Eaton's in the national market. Eaton's had just opened a new branch in Winnipeg to challenge the power of the Hudson's Bay Company in the west. Murphy's was Simpson's toe-hold in the east. The name remained unchanged until 1929, but the new owners quickly doubled the size of the rue Sainte-Catherine store, employing architects Ross & MacFarlane to undertake the concrete and steel extension. A quarter-century later, on the eve of the Great Depression, Chapman & Oxley began a second major renovation. They extended and converted the old red sandstone building into a sleek Art Deco monolith with six times the floor area of the original, a rate of growth that exceeded even that of the city's population.<sup>31</sup>

The gradual concentration of businesses on rue Sainte-Catherine ouest continued throughout the 1890s as upscale entrepreneurs like jeweller Henry Birks and retailer James Ogilvy joined the contingent, in 1894 and 1896 respectively. The red granite Romanesque Revival edifice commissioned by Birks occupied a prominent position on Phillips Square opposite Morgan's. A sparser design more in keeping with the grid facades of the American mid-west defined the new Ogilvy store, located still farther west at the corner of rue de la Montagne (Figure 12). The architect, David Ogilvy, son of the owner, took a leaf from Scroggie's book and worked in a manner consciously evocative of the Chicago School. But the technology stopped short of a fully realized free-standing metal frame — the prerequisite for true curtain-wall construction. The piers of the facade were massively built to bear the weight of the I-beams from the internal framing (Figures 13, 14). Announcements proclaimed the result to be "splendid," and



Figure 12. James A. Ogilvy store, Sainte-Catherine and de la Montagne streets, Montreal; David Ogilvy, architect, 1896. (A. Carr, 1993)

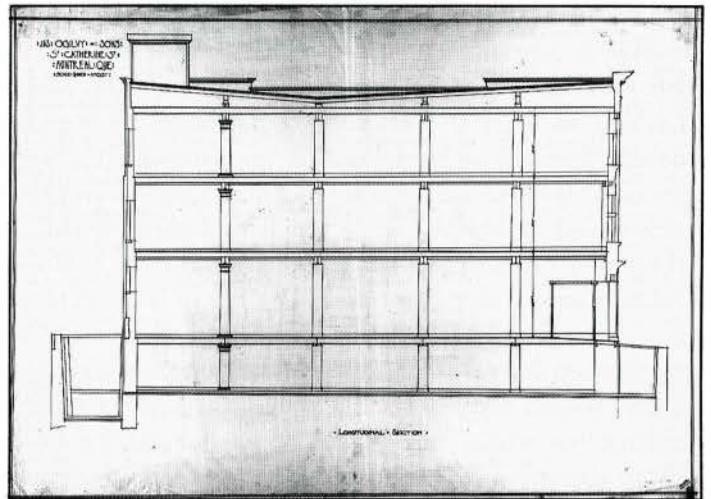
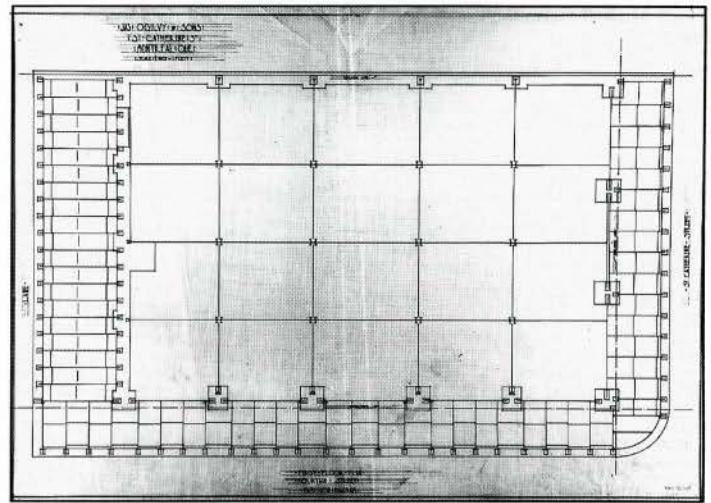


Figure 13. Plan of the James A. Ogilvy store, Sainte-Catherine and de la Montagne streets, Montreal; David Ogilvy, architect, 1896 (National Archives of Canada, NMC 56076)

Figure 14. Section through the James A. Ogilvy store, Sainte-Catherine and de la Montagne streets, Montreal; David Ogilvy, architect, 1896. (National Archives of Canada, NMC 56078)

correctly predicted that the rather isolated location well to the west of Phillips Square would "yet be the centre of a large retail shopping district."<sup>32</sup>

Like most of the other rue Sainte-Catherine entrepreneurs, James Angus Ogilvy had moved from lowertown. His first store of 1866 was at the corner of Bonaventure and de la Montagne streets, across from the old St. Antoine market. At the time of his arrival from Kirriemuir, Scotland, the population of the city was 100,000, concentrated in the southeastern part of the island. Over the next decade it doubled in size, and residential districts began to spread closer to the Ogilvy's location. Just one decade later a move was essential, so the firm took premises a block farther north on Saint-Antoine, east of rue de la Montagne, where several wealthy public figures lived. After another seven years Ogilvy was obliged to build

an entirely new store nearby, and within four years that premises, in turn, had to be enlarged. When the time came “to move up the hill” in 1896, nothing but courage and intuitive business sense could have guided the selection of what was then an extremely remote site. Ogilvy, like his competitors, survived by playing the odds, and was richly rewarded for his audacity. Judging by the pattern that characterized these early years, firms such as his simply ignored the recession that slowed the economy after 1874, and left the less aggressive to fall by the wayside.<sup>33</sup>

The pattern of the retail development in Montreal was mirrored in Toronto. King Street East had been the old commercial centre of the city, but by the 1890s the core had moved north and west.<sup>34</sup> Eaton’s and Simpson’s squared off in a battle for market share on opposite corners of Yonge and Queen streets. Both firms had survived shaky starts in the 1860s to emerge as giants of retailing two decades later. Timothy Eaton left a modest dry-goods and grocery business in St. Mary’s, Ontario, to move to Toronto in 1869, where he hoped to benefit from the larger population base. Initially, the upper floors of his mixed-use premises on Yonge Street below Queen were rented to tenants, but the volume of trade soon displaced them and necessitated additions. Then, in 1873, Robert Simpson arrived from Newmarket, Ontario, to establish himself in a similar property a few doors up the street. Within a decade the thirteen dry-goods businesses in the block had diminished to two serious competitors. Each tried to outdo the other in pricing, but when Simpson succeeded in impeding future Eaton expansion by renting an adjacent property, the latter reacted by building a new store at 190 Yonge Street. When it opened in 1883, Eaton’s had an enclosed area of 25,000 square feet on four floors, its plate-glass display windows measured sixteen feet square, and the interior was illuminated by electricity and light wells. There were also two hydraulic



Figure 15. Eaton’s store, Yonge and Queen streets, Toronto; architects unknown, 1883-93; demolished. (Archives of Ontario, Eaton Fonds: AO B387, F229-308-0-390)

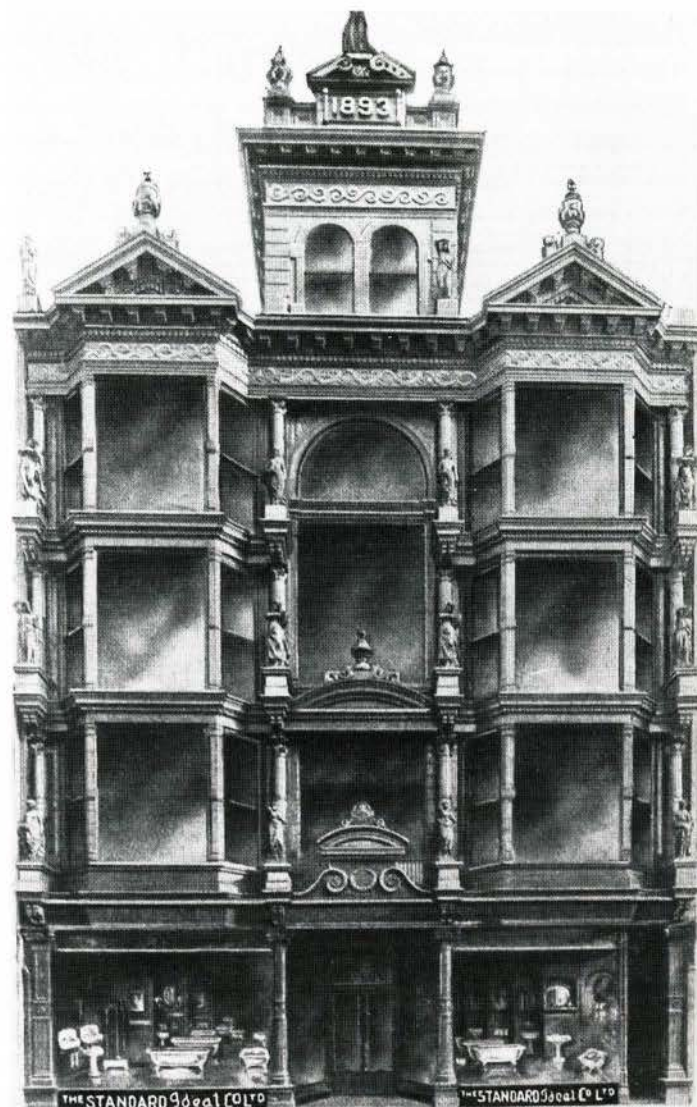


Figure 16. Oak Hall, Toronto; architect unknown, 1893; demolished. (*Construction* 3 [September 1910]: 83)

elevators to ferry shoppers to the upper floors. Within a year the company had also introduced the earliest mail-order catalogue in the country, which had a dramatic impact on sales and made further additions imperative. An extension along Queen Street more than doubled the store’s floor area, its convenience promoted in advertising that trumpeted the store’s “Mammoth Buildings.” Over the next decade 190 Yonge Street grew to more than ten times its original size (Figure 15). It was predictable, therefore, that Robert Simpson would answer Eaton’s challenge by relocating his enterprise directly across the street, on the southwest corner of Yonge and Queen, going his rival one better in 1894 with the very latest in Chicago-School design.<sup>35</sup>

Whereas Eaton made a point of pursuing every innovation in retail sales by carefully monitoring the market trends tested by his American counterparts, his approach to architecture was less inventive. His store grew in increments of convenience

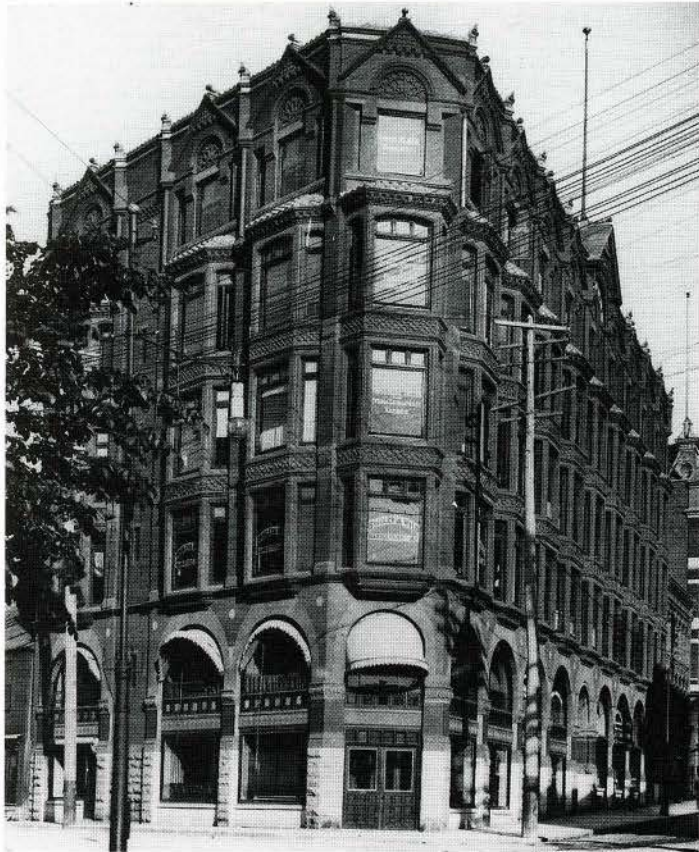


Figure 17. Central Chambers, Confederation Square, Ottawa; John James Browne, architect, 1890. (W.H. Carre, National Archives of Canada, C-7029)

to cover most of the block north of Queen Street. On the other hand, Robert Simpson determined to create a coherent architectural statement when he retained Toronto architect Edmund Burke, then president of the Ontario Association of Architects, to build a new premises in time for the 1894 Christmas rush. Earlier that year, delegates to the convention of the OAA had attended a lecture by Gambier Bousfield on “Shop Fronts During the Next Decade.” The speaker explored how the profession might respond to the needs of retail marketing by opening up the facade to the display of goods on every floor. The load-bearing systems of the past were dismissed in favour of facades of iron or steel with glass, like that of Oak Hall in Toronto (Figure 16). During the discussion, several observed that plate glass facades “could not be accepted as high art, but ... might be tolerated as what was demanded by commercial requirements of to-day.” Specifically, Ottawa’s Central Chambers was cited as having a pleasing effect, although it could not be considered “pure architecture” (Figure 17). Its floor-upon-floor of plate-glass oriels, supported on steel girders set in load-bearing brick and sandstone walls, answered the purpose of Seybold & Gibson, the dry-goods firm for whom it was executed in 1890-91 by John James Browne, son of Montreal architect George Browne. Many architects were still troubled by these new ideas, but Burke, who two years earlier had read

a lecture on “Structural Iron Work” before the same body, was more venturesome. His correspondence with former colleagues then living in New York and Chicago told him that the “Chicago men had solved [the problem] as nearly as it was possible to do, having resolved their supports into simple iron stanchions with sufficient masonry to protect the iron from damage in the case of fire.” Prophetically, he added that his experience with proprietors of retail establishments led him to dread any attempted solution of a problem of that kind.<sup>36</sup>

In the summer of 1894 Burke began Simpson’s six-storey retail palazzo on the corner opposite Eaton’s (Figure 18). The facade was undoubtedly influenced by one that Chicago architect Louis Sullivan had recently published, but structurally the design drew back from the idea of a fully freestanding metal frame in favour of an internal steel cage enclosed by self-sustaining brick piers, like the Shillito store in Cincinnati. Burke did introduce I-beams in the lower two storeys of the facade, so the bricklayers could start constructing the upper piers while masons veneered the metal framing at street level (Figure 19). This decision, made to meet the deadline of the Christmas shopping season, engaged directly with ideas then being explored by leading practitioners in Chicago and formed part of a coherently expressed exterior of dimensions that spoke directly to the new economic order. In the haste to complete the project, however, the owner also decreed shortcuts that

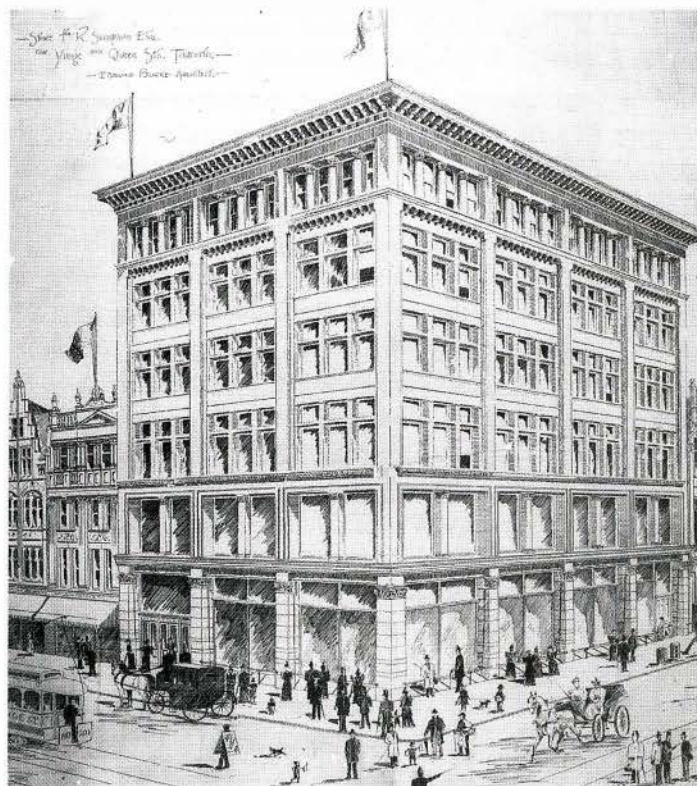


Figure 18. Robert Simpson store, Yonge and Queen streets, Toronto; Edmund Burke, architect, 1894; destroyed. (*Canadian Architect & Builder* 8, no. 1 [January 1895]: after 18)

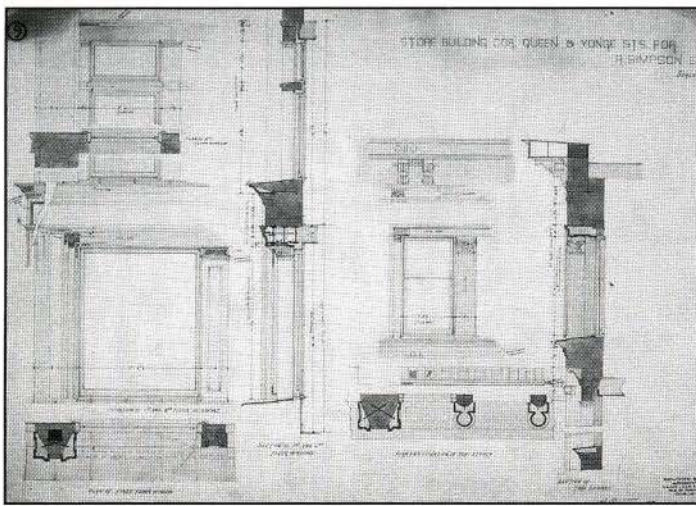


Figure 19. Section through the Robert Simpson store, Yonge and Queen streets, Toronto; Edmund Burke, architect, 1894; destroyed. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection, C 11-24-0-1 [26] 8)

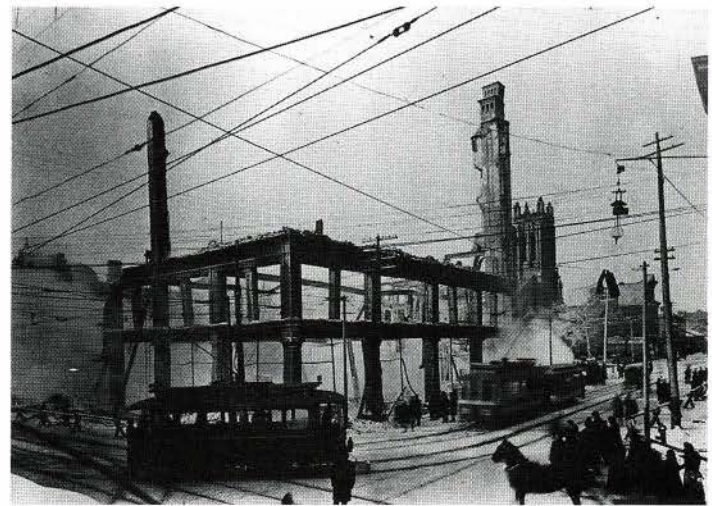


Figure 20. Remains of the Robert Simpson store, Yonge and Queen streets, Toronto, 4 March 1895. (Toronto Reference Library, T-13288)

proved to be the building's undoing in the months to come. Pine floors were laid over the steel frame without either cement or concrete to protect the metal. Consequently, when an arsonist torched the building in March 1895, fire raced through the open flats, quickly heating the steel to a temperature that precipitated a complete collapse of the structure within twenty minutes (Figure 20).

A chastened Robert Simpson announced that a new structure would be rebuilt immediately, this time with every fireproofing measure that modern technology could provide (Figure 21). Burke, now in partnership with his old colleague John C.B. Horwood, who had recently returned from New York, redesigned the building with a fully realized curtain wall and concrete fireproofing in the interior. Visitors to the annual agricultural exhibition that year were astonished to see the freestanding iron frame of the new and larger building outlined against the sky, as the project proceeded. Utilizing the same proportions and configuration as its predecessor, the result was generally agreed to have "succeeded in giving a dignified solution without in the least entrenching upon the first requisite of such a building — abundance of light." The success of the rebuilt design enhanced Simpson's prestige, and earned Burke & Horwood a well-deserved reputation as the country's premier retail design firm.

By this time Eaton and Simpson had succeeded in dividing the Toronto retail market between them. So dramatic was the effect of their rivalry upon the local economy that one journalist became extremely exercised over the issue. Citing the commercial dislocations caused by departmentals across the continent, Joseph Clark, assistant editor of Toronto's *Saturday Night* magazine, published a series of scathing articles between February and July of 1897 under the pseudonym "Mack." He discussed in minute detail the impact of the department store

upon the retail sector in Ontario, first in terms of economic issues, then on a level of overt consumer advocacy. His tirade elicited sufficient response to merit republication of his columns in the form of a pamphlet entitled "The Barnums of Business," and even roused the politicians sufficiently to inspire an abortive piece of consumer protection legislation in the Ontario legislature.<sup>37</sup>

The campaign began judiciously, with a passing remark on mail-order services in an article about free newspaper postage:

This matter of postage, then, is not one that interests only the country editor, but the country merchant, who, while postage of newspapers is free, is submitting to a tax that assists the department stores to place their bait under the noses of the people in every hamlet in Canada. The growth of [Toronto] and its trade is a good thing for residents of the city and I am telling tales out of school in writing this, but the forces at work are bigger than even the facts here pointed out would indicate, and I think the very commercial life of the country, as it is, hangs for the present on the action of the Postal Department.<sup>38</sup>

As the writer observed, professionally written advertisements circulated free under an exemption granted to newspapers, so that Toronto department stores, through their mail-order services, could reach customers in the most remote areas of the country. The effect on the economy was to overthrow "all the mercantile, financial and industrial conditions that at present prevail."<sup>39</sup>

In the next two weeks "Mack" warmed to his task, describing how department stores were feeding off a significant demographic shift that had swelled Canada's urban population from 19 percent in 1870 to 29 percent two decades later, after



Figure 21. The second Robert Simpson store, Yonge and Queen streets, Toronto, after the addition of 1898-99; Burke & Horwood, architects, 1895. (Archives of Ontario, Horwood Collection, C 11, Additional 5)

agricultural machinery relieved much of the need for manual labour in rural districts.<sup>40</sup> At the same time, corresponding developments in the retail sector meant that “trade that was once diffused over the whole city is now concentrated on a few acres in the center, and ... the profits that were once divided among a hundred houses now enrich only two or three,” referring of course to Eaton and Simpson.<sup>41</sup> A tongue-in-cheek advertisement for KETCHEM, SKINEM & COOKEM’s Mammoth Department Store, at the corner of Skin Street and Humbug Avenue, which appeared on the same page as one of Mack’s commentaries, was a thinly disguised jab at Eaton’s. The earnest promise to “sell some goods at high prices to cover our Enormous Expenses” as part of the company’s goal to corner “all the business on earth” and “ruin trade in all locations” was a harsh indictment of the retailer’s decade-long initiative to lower prices by eliminating local middlemen in favour of overseas agents or direct purchase from manufacturers. Eaton’s made its reputation on quality goods at fair prices, but Mack’s mythical department store staged phony sales and fatuous contests to entice ingenuous female customers to part with more money than they intended. The Mack retailer used mass-marketing to push inferior quality goods at what purported to be

discount prices. Loss-leaders were just another ploy to attract shoppers and drive competitors out of business one by one, the sales being sustained through higher prices on other items.<sup>42</sup>

Whether or not there was any substance to these claims, the results were not in doubt. Mack enumerated 117 wholesale and retail businesses in Toronto, worth nearly \$4 million, that had gone into liquidation in recent years, among them houses like McMaster and Company, which had been established for sixty years. Many were victims of the direct-purchase policy that Eaton pioneered in an effort to secure the best possible prices for his customers. As for small retailers, store vacancies across the city topped 585, standing as mute testimony to the impact on shopkeepers, landlords, and the building trades that depended upon them.<sup>43</sup>

Mack also alleged that the women clerks favoured by Eaton to attract female customers were paid half the salary of their male counterparts. Joy Santink believes this discrepancy may have been a facsimile of the turnover in women employees, as gender stereotypes discouraged married women from continuing their business careers and few ever achieved the seniority that went with the highest rates of pay. Nevertheless, Mack viewed such strategies as cynical ploys to cut the payroll and cultivate

profligate consumerism. In addition, the market was fuelled not by demand *per se*, but by advertising, which artificially inflated the consumption of products, “The volume of trade was no longer regulated by the necessities of the people ... but for the things that happen to be offered at apparent or pretended reductions in price.”<sup>44</sup> Female bargain-hunters tempted by the spurious puffery of advertisers were even accused of wasting valuable domestic resources. One local minister took it upon himself to rebuke his women parishioners for ruining their husbands and for making it inevitable that both wives and daughters would have to go “out into the world to earn their own living.” Such an expedient was considered to damage the structure of the family, which, being the sole responsibility of women, left them accountable for every social evil from the neglect of children to increased rates of crime!

Legislators began to consider special licensing provisions to regulate department stores. In the United States, in Illinois, New York, and Minnesota, draft statutes were already under review. In April 1897, the Hamilton Member of the Provincial Parliament, J.T. Middleton, introduced a private member’s bill that would have provided for municipal licensing of department stores. The proposal seems to have taken the Liberal government of Arthur Sturgis Hardy entirely off guard, although Hardy himself was sensitive to the social issues. The proposal was sufficiently topical to draw a sympathetic response, but action on the bill was deferred. As readers of *Saturday Night* were quick to point out, cities like Vienna and Berlin already had legislative constraints upon sharp business practice, but the measure did not even begin to tackle the problem of misleading advertising, already under review in New York State. In the end, Canada’s response to the problem was deferred into the second decade of the twentieth century.<sup>45</sup>

Meanwhile, Mack contented himself with offering a platform for all the consumer complaints his readers were prepared to provide. He protested that he was not trying to “make water run up hill,” but that the journal wished to expose those who ground their employees to starvation along with labourers in shops, factories, cellars, and garrets in order to “sell goods cheap.” In most cases, according to Mack, these attempts to depress the intrinsic value of merchandise meant that it was not a cent cheaper than elsewhere, but retailers thereby got four profits instead of one.<sup>46</sup> Mack’s editorials were part of a movement that ultimately led to the formation of the Retail Merchant’s Association of Canada to police the conduct of all store owners.

*Saturday Night* even allowed their literary contributors to demonize the department store owners in two poetic quips. The first, signed Earnest E. Leigh, was entitled “The Departmental”:

Old Satan sticks to business well  
 Since he, the great insolvent, fell,  
 Resolving when he struck to sell  
 “Hot bargains” at “rockbottom.”

Long centuries he rack’d his brain  
 For swifter schemes of getting gain,  
 Until at last, almost insane,  
 He tour’d the earth for pointers.

What chuckles left his grimy jaws  
 When he the departmental cause  
 Espous’d amid the lowd [sic] applause  
 Of his sulfuric escort.

“Hurrah!” he said and swished his sting:  
 “Hurrah, thou blatant, bloated thing!”  
 And all hisimps with swagg’ring swing,  
 Yell’d, “Bargain day’s next Friday!” ...

“Yo ho!” said Pluto, “well I know  
 That many a faked and lying blow  
 Hath laid these looted highways low,  
 Thou scooping departmental.”<sup>47</sup>

The following week, “G.” added a briefer stanza headed “No More Room — He Hogged It”:

Said Satan, “Stir up the fire,  
 There’s room for one or two more.”  
 “Not so,” said the stoker, “the last  
 On earth kept departmental store.”<sup>48</sup>

Such vilification had no effect on the entrepreneurs to whom they were directed, an indication, perhaps, that their stores were more fitted to needs and expectations than anyone but the retailers themselves could have predicted.

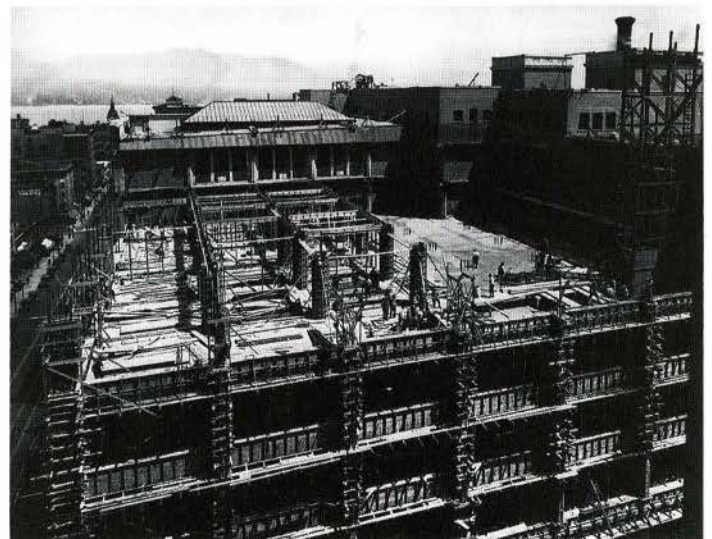


Figure 22. Poured concrete frame for the second phase of the Hudson’s Bay Co. store, Vancouver; Burke, Horwood & White, architects, 1926. (Stuart Thompson, Vancouver Public Library, 11260)

In the years to come the grand retail palazzo became the normative index of a store's pretensions in the retail market. But the trappings of success were not always so indicative of a lucrative enterprise as was the case with the national chains. Furthermore, architectural education was introduced in Canadian universities only in the 1890s, and even then the training was shaped largely by the Arts-and-Crafts rather than the Beaux-Arts tradition upon which teaching curricula in the United States was based. This meant that many Canadian practitioners learned their skills in an apprenticeship system that tended to perpetuate the traditions of an older generation of architects, many of whom were British-trained and not conversant with American technical innovation. While Burke & Horwood went on in their later work for the Hudson's Bay Company to explore both the refinements of the reinforced concrete frame and the Beaux-Arts idiom so favoured by American architect Daniel Burnham (Figure 22), some Canadian architects were still interpreting the Chicago School in an idiosyncratic fashion that reflected a lack of familiarity with the details of the construction technology.

Ottawa architect Moses Chamberlain Edey is a case in point. Despite an apprenticeship with Toronto architect William Thomas and with American Z.D. Stearns of Moravia, New York, his 1904-05 design for what later became known as the Daly Building made use of self-sustaining stone columns pinned to an underlying steel skeleton (Figures 23, 24). The piers of Gloucester limestone were sufficiently delicate to mimic the idiom of the Chicago School, but the metal frame stood outside rather than within the stone pier. The resulting mammoth department store, built not for a retail entrepreneur but for an aspiring local developer, served the pretensions of a capital city experimenting with the principles of the City Beautiful movement, but its 125,000 square feet on five floors was ultimately out of scale with the city's population. The first tenant, clothier T. Lindsay Limited, did not survive the founder's death in 1908. A succession of occupants followed — the chain store A.E. Rae & Company, then the Canadian Navy during the First World War, then H.J. Daly Company, whose name was thereafter identified with the structure, despite a brief tenancy of only three years. The property was finally subsumed within the largest of Ottawa "industries" when it was acquired by the federal government in 1921, under whose stewardship it deteriorated progressively until the National Capital Commission demolished it in 1992.<sup>49</sup>

Edey was commissioned to execute the ill-fated project in Ottawa for the simple reason that the department store had emerged as a pivotal element in the country's economy. In 1900 W.B. Phillips codified the principles of the new order in a 125-page pamphlet entitled *How Department Stores Are Carried On*. Of the "General Principles," he wrote "the first aim is to get the best and choicest goods direct from the makers; and, second, to have the lowest prices, thus enlarging the purchasing

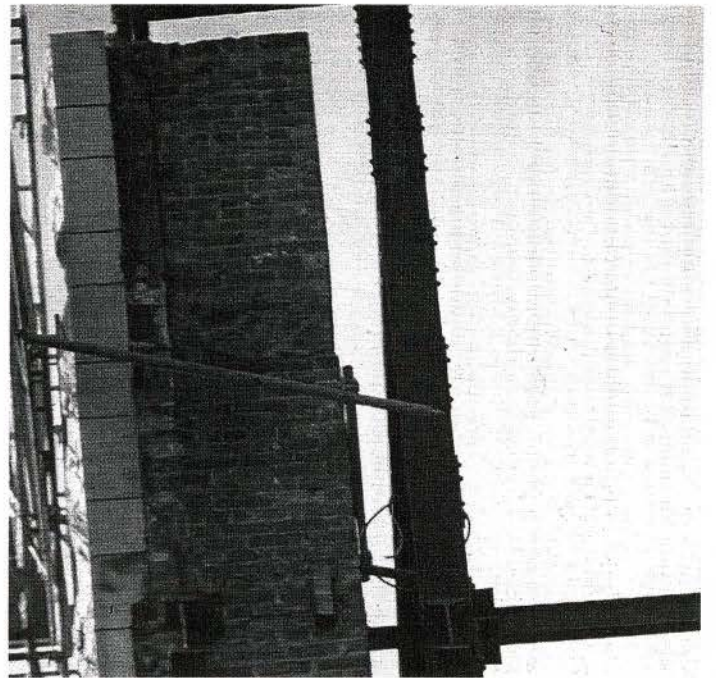


Figure 23. Daly Building, Ottawa, during demolition showing the construction of the facade; Moses Chamberlain Edey, architect, 1904-05. (A. Carr, 1992)

Figure 24. Detail of the upper facade of the Daly Building during demolition. (A. Carr, 1992)



power of every dollar." Service was to be courteous and agreeable under all conditions, with "everything done that can be done to study the convenience of customers and look after their interests." Notwithstanding Mack's allegations, Phillips insisted that "lying advertisements never built a permanent and successful business," and that a strict standard of reliability must be maintained. Among the minutia of management details, he also underlined what he considered one of the greatest factors in the success of modern retailing:

A store large enough to accommodate thousands of shoppers arranged to serve a purpose. Floor upon floor filled with merchandise, broad aisles, easy stairways, elevators to do the stair climbing, cash system for quick and easy change-making, with all the newest ideas in store mechanism; places to sit, wait, meet, lunch, talk, and rest; in short an ideal place to shop in.<sup>50</sup>

By century's end the large department stores supported overseas purchasing offices in many international cities. Instead of one store in a major centre, national chains opened branches in every major city across the country and placed mail-order outlets in the smaller towns. One commentator even characterized the department stores' engagement with the world outside as contributing to the country's educational and cultural value on a level that was "hardly to be estimated." The retail sector honed managerial skills, stimulated marketing and promotional expertise — and challenged the creativity of Canadian architects:

By the architectural excellences of the building housing the larger undertaking, standards of design and construction are set which have an incalculable influence on the business architecture and the general aspect of the town. This is seen in the gradual smartening of exteriors and more tastefully arranged show windows and interiors, and a more efficient executive administration. In the end everyone benefits.<sup>51</sup>

For those who survived the coming of age, it seemed that the department store was the quintessential symbol of Canada's new place on the world stage.

## Endnotes

- 1 David Monod, *Store Wars: Shopkeepers and the Culture of Mass Marketing, 1890-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 27.
- 2 One of the best short summaries, referenced by Monod, who elaborates these issues at some length, is the *Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads* (Ottawa: J.O. Patenaude, 1935), 204-12.
- 3 Marshall B. Aylsworth, "Departmental Store Buildings," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 8 (March 1895): 48.
- 4 Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of the Development of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981), 231, quoting Henry-Russell Hitchcock, *Architecture: Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries*, 2nd ed. (Baltimore: Penguin, 1964), 234; and Winston Weisman, "Philadelphia Functionalism and Sullivan," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 20 (March 1961): 6. See also "Ante-bellum Skyscraper," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 9 (October 1950): 25, 27, 28, and "The Jayne Building Again," *ibid.*, (March 1951): 25.
- 5 *Dominion Illustrated*, special number on Montreal (1891).
- 6 Joseph Clark, pseudo. "Mack," *The Bannums of Business* (Toronto: Sheppard Publishing, 1897), reprinting weekly articles from *Saturday Night* 10 (13 February-31 July 1897).
- 7 W.H.R., "Design in Shop Fronts," *Building News* (22 April 1870): 293-94.
- 8 François Rémillard and Brian Merrett, *L'architecture de Montréal: guide des styles et des bâtiments* (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1990), 64. A slightly earlier example, also by Browne (and later altered), is Frothingham & Workman at 157 rue Saint-Paul ouest; see Josette Michaud, *Vieux Montréal: cité marchand* (Montréal: Ville de Montréal et Ministère des affaires culturelles, 1983), 7. Also, the Hagar Building at 367-373 Place d'Youville was designed by John Springle in 1855; see *Repertoire d'architecture traditionnelle sur le territoire de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: architecture industrielle* (Montréal: Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, 1982), 10-13.
- 9 For George Browne (1811-85), see the Archindont Index, Toronto Reference Library (MTRL), Toronto, and Jennifer McKendry, *With Our Past Before Us* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1995). For other information on Browne, see J. Douglas Borthwick, *History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal to the Year 1892* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1892), 259, and *Bulletin of the Association for Preservation Technology* 2, no. 3-4 (1970): 76-7 (references courtesy of Parks Canada, Ottawa).
- 10 Guy Pinard, *Montréal: son histoire, son architecture* (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1992), 5:114-19, and *Repertoire d'architecture traditionnelle sur le territoire de la Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: les cinémas, les magasins* (Montréal: Communauté Urbaine de Montréal, 1985), 19-22. For a brief biography of Michel Laurent (1833-1891), see Gerard Morisset, *L'architecture en Nouvelle-France* (Québec: Collection Champlain, 1949), 133.
- 11 Renée Losier, *Façades en fonte à Montréal* (Montréal: Héritage Montréal, 1986), and "Façades en fonte à Montréal: aspects technologique et stylistique," MA, Concordia University, 1984 (Ottawa: Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1986). See also André Giroux, *Études sur divers bâtiments anciens de Montréal, série Travail inédit n° 370* (Ottawa: Parcs Canada, 1973-75), 2:422-26; and *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: architecture industrielle*, 133-35. The files of the Ministère des affaires culturelles, Direction régionale de Montréal, record the use of metal beams in a structure of 1866-67 at 438-442 Place Jacques-Cartier. For a biography of H.R. Ives, see J. Douglas Borthwick, *Montreal: Its History, Biographical Sketches, Photographs of Many of its Prominent Citizens* (Montreal: Drysdale, 1875), 147. For similar information on Quebec City, see Sylvie Thivierge, "L'architecture commerciale de Québec, 1860-1915," MA, Université Laval, 1985 (Ottawa: Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1986), and Christina Cameron, *Charles Baillargé: Architect & Engineer* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990). For additional material on Ives & Allen, see the *Dominion Illustrated* special number on Montreal (1891): 195; Marsan, *Montreal in Evolution*, 162-63; and Giroux, *Études*, 2:422-26. For other Canadian examples, see *A Sense of Place: Granville Street, Halifax, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Heritage Trust of Nova Scotia, 1970); Nancy Patricia Volesky, "The Exterior Use of Decorative Iron Work in Ottawa Architecture during the Latter Half of the

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- 12 For Hutchison (1838-1922), see William Cochrane, ed., *The Canadian Album: Men of Canada ...* (Brantford, Ont.: Bradley, Garretson, 1891-96), 2:172, and "Mr. A.C. Hutchison, RCA," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 8 (October 1895): 117. For information on the Quebec economy at this period, see André Gosselin, "Histoire économique du Québec: 1867-1896," in *Économie Québécoise* (Québec: Les Cahiers de l'Université du Québec, 1969), 105-41.
  - 13 "Le Cours Le Royer: une seconde jeunesse à des bâtiments du 19<sup>e</sup> siècle," *Habitat 20/21* (1977-78): 20-24; *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: les magasins, les cinémas*, 96-111, which refers to a contract of 7 June 1873 signed before notary F.J. Durand (minute n<sup>o</sup> 4331, Archives nationales du Québec à Montréal [ANQM]). See also contract drawings 5-06-70-5A of the same date, ANQM (reference courtesy of M. Ferron, *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal*); Guy Pinard, "Les magasins-entrepôts des sœurs hospitalières," *La Presse* (Montréal), 5 novembre 1989, D6; Pinard, *Montréal*, 4:263-72; and Michaud, *Vieux Montréal*. For Victor Bourgeois (1809-88), see Raymonde Gauthier, "Victor Bourgeois et l'architecture religieuse et conventuelle dans le diocèse de Montréal, 1821-1892," PhD, Université Laval, 1983 (Ottawa: Bibliothèque nationale du Canada, 1986), and "Une pratique architecturale au XIX<sup>e</sup> siècle — Victor Bourgeois, 1809-1888," ARQ 41 (1987): 10-23. For very brief biographies of Michel Laurent, Albert Mesnard, and Henri-Maurice Perrault, see Morisset, 133, 137. See *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: architecture industrielle*, 20-21, for the James McCreedy factory at 361 d'Youville and the building at 108-110 Saint-Pierre, also by Michel Laurent (1873) and in a similar idiom.
  - 14 Quote from *Inland Architect & News Record* 27 (March 1896): 16. "A Magnificent Structure: The New York Life Building Unsurpassed on the Continent," *Gazette* (Montreal), 2 January 1889, 5; "Montreal," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 2 (January 1889): 9; *Dominion Illustrated*, special number on Montreal (1891); Lawrence F. Abbott, *The Story of NYLIC: A History of the Origin and Development of the New York Life Insurance Company from 1845 to 1929* (New York: The Company, 1930); Madeleine Forget, *Les gratte-ciel de Montréal* (Montréal: Éditions du Méridien, 1990), 37-41, quoting Hélène Trocmé, "Les premiers gratte-ciel," *L'histoire* 22 (avril 1980): 16-26; Kelly Crossman, *Architecture in Transition: From Art to Practice, 1885-1906* (Kingston, Ont.: McGill-Queens University Press, 1987), 17-19.
  - 15 See "View during the widening of Notre Dame Street, Montreal, December, 1890," in *The Dominion Illustrated* 6, no. 133 (17 January 1891): 56. See also Rémillard and Merrett, *L'architecture de Montréal*, 146; *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: les magasins, les cinémas*, 172-73; and Cochrane, *Canadian Album*, 2:389.
  - 16 No further additions were undertaken until the post-war boom of 1950 encouraged renewed entrepreneurial optimism. In the end, the enterprise was forced to close its doors in 1978, along with many of its nationally known competitors, all of whom were brought down by unexpected pressures in the Canadian retail market. See "The House of Dupuis Frères," *Canadian Illustrated News* 16 (10 November 1877): 291, 301; Paul Trépanier, "Le grand magasin: une tournée des magasins qui ont fait les beaux jours des rues commerçantes," *Continuité* 42 (hiver 1989): 36-39 (reference courtesy of Madeleine Forget); *Special Committee on Price Spreads and Mass Buying: Proceedings and Evidence* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), 3860-61. For information on the Quebec economy at this period, see Louis Maheu, "Développement économique du Québec: 1896-1920," in *Économie Québécoise*, 143-59.
  - 17 "Désastreux effondrement: une partie de l'édifice du Queen's Block s'écroule," *La Presse* (Montréal), 18 septembre 1899, 1; "Bad Collapse: Part of the Queen's Theatre Block Falls," *Gazette* (Montreal), 18 September 1899, 5; "Scroggie's New Store," *Star* (Montreal), 10 September 1900; "Un agréable magasin," *La Patrie* (Montreal), 10 September 1900; *Saturday Night* 28 (14 November 1914): 19; Al Palmer, "Ourtown: Scroggie's," *Gazette* (Montreal) 21 April 1967. Palmer notes that George, W.H., and Ernest Scroggie were among the members of the family involved in the business (references courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal).
  - 18 *Saturday Night* 28 (14 November 1914): 19; Monod, *Store Wars*, 118.
  - 19 "Annual Review of Trade & Commerce," *Montreal Herald* (1922); George Radwanski, "Mini-Store to Empire in 100 Years," *Gazette* (Montreal), 8 décembre 1969; Lily Tasso, "La maison Eaton célèbre cette année le centième anniversaire de sa fondation," *La Presse* (Montréal), 8 décembre 1969; "T. Eaton Company," *Trace Magazine* 1, no. 2 (April/May/June 1981) (references courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal); Elisabeth Naud, "Pour oublier la Crise: le 9<sup>e</sup> chez Eaton," *Cap-aux-Diamants* 40 (hiver 1995): 42-44 (reference courtesy of the Canadian Centre for Architecture, Montreal). See also Isabelle Gournay, "Le restaurant Eaton," *Continuité* 42 (hiver 1989): 20-24 (reference courtesy of Madeleine Forget). Michael Bliss, *A Canadian Millionaire: The Life and Times of Sir Joseph Flavelle, Bart., 1858-1939* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1992), 80, points out that neither Morgan's nor Ogilvy's found it worthwhile to launch a mail-order service to serve the Quebec hinterland. In this respect Eaton's and Simpson's had a distinct advantage over their Montreal competitors.
  - 20 "Sermons in Stones: The City's Buildings Preach of the City's Growth," *Gazette* (Montreal), 17 January 1889, 2.
  - 21 For Henry Morgan (1819-93), see Henry Morgan & Co. Ltd., "One Hundred Years," Henry Morgan & Co. Papers, McGill University Archives, Montreal; and Pinard, *Montreal*, 5: 440-44.
  - 22 *J. Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1883-84* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1884) contains no reference to Hill. His name appears first in the 1885-86 edition and vanishes again in 1890-91. His business address was a room at 162 St. James St., and his home was at 17 Drummond St. For an account of the first two years of Hill's career in Montreal, see "Sermons in Stone," *Gazette*, 2; additional information on the early house commissions from *Le Prix Courant*, courtesy of M. Ferron, *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal*. Hill may also have been awarded the commission for the Methodist training college at Côte Saint-Antoine in 1889; see *Canadian Architect & Builder* 2 (January 1889): 9. For information on the history of fireproof building, see *American Architect & Building News* 15 (26 January 1884): 37; *ibid.*, 16 (9 August 1884): 69; and *ibid.*, 17 (11 April 1885): 179.
  - 23 Morgan's served Montreal for 120 years before being taken over by the Hudson's Bay Co. in 1972.
  - 24 "The City's Buildings: Annual Report of the Building Inspector during the Past Year," *Gazette* (Montreal) 15 January 1889, 5; "Montreal," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 1 (January 1888): 9; *ibid.*, 2 (January 1889): 9; and *ibid.*, 2 (March 1889): 32.
  - 25 "A Dry Goods Palace: Something About the New Colonial House on Phillips Square," *Gazette* (Montreal) 25 April 1891, 2.
  - 26 Joy Santink, *Timothy Eaton and the Rise of His Department Store* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1990), 42; Alan Burnham, "Last Look at a Structural Landmark," *Architectural Record* 120 (September 1956): 273-79.
  - 27 For the influence of American ideas on stores in the province of Quebec, see Sylvie Thivierge, "Commerce et architecture," *Continuité* 48 (hiver 1989): 25-29 (reference courtesy of Madeleine Forget); for the influence in Toronto, see Angela Carr, *Toronto Architect Edmund Burke: Redefining Canadian Architecture* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1995), 114-25. The best discussions of the American development have been published by Art Institute of Chicago: John Zukowsky, ed., *Chicago Architecture, 1872-1922* (Munich: Prestel Verlag, 1987-88); Carl Condit, *The Chicago School of Architecture: A History of Commercial and Public Building in the Chicago Area, 1875-1925* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1964); Gerald Larson and Roula Geraniotis, "Toward a Better Understanding of the Iron Skeleton Frame in Chicago," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians* 46 (March 1987): 39-48.
  - 28 Crossman, *Architecture in Transition*, discusses the problem, particularly in relation to the competition for the Ontario legislative buildings.
  - 29 I am indebted to William Hyndra and The Bay, Montreal, for providing me with a whiteprint of the front elevation under the seal of John Pierce Hill, for reproduction in this paper.
  - 30 "From the Old to the New!" and "John Murphy's Block," *Montreal Daily Herald*, 15 September and 1 December 1894; "Simpson's Reorganizes," C.L. Burton, J.E. Golding on the New Directorate," *Toronto Daily Star*, 12 March 1925, 14; "Un soixantenaire commercial: l'histoire de la

- maison R. Simpson s'identifie a celle de la Confederation," *La Patrie* (Montréal), 31 March 1932. "Soixante-cinq ans d'histoire commerciale: The Robert Simpson, Montreal, Ltd.," *La Presse* (Montréal), 13 octobre 1934, remarks on the fact that Murphy advertised his goods in French in *La Presse*. "Le nouveau magasin Simpson, une étape dans notre économie," *La Presse* (Montréal), 25 septembre 1954; "Present Store Capacity to be Doubled," *Montreal Star*, 15 November 1954; Madeleine Dubuc, "Simpson's: 110 ans biens sonnés," *La Presse* (Montréal), 23 janvier 1982; Jack Todd, "Writing was on the Wall for the Landmark Store," *Gazette* (Montreal), 18 January 1983 (references courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal).
- 31 Like Dupuis Frères, the final halcyon days were the post-war boom of the 1950s. The end came in 1979, when the market contracted under pressure from international competition. Simpson's itself was absorbed by The Bay (as was Morgan's), and the Montreal flagship store finally closed in 1989. See *Report of the Royal Commission on Price Spreads* (1935), 207; Cochrane, *Canadian Album*, 4:352; Pinard, *Montreal*, 5:448-49; "The T. Eaton & Co.'s Store at Winnipeg," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 18 (July 1905): 112.
- 32 "James Ogilvy & Sons," *The Herald* (Montreal), 26 November 1898 (reference courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal); *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal: les magasins, les cinémas*, 212-15.
- 33 For further information on James Angus Ogilvy (1836-1911) and his store, see Pinard, *Montreal*, 5:449-51; "Dean of Montreal Department Store Dies," *Saturday Night* 24 (13 May 1911): 19; Joshua Wolfe, "Ogilvy," *Continuité* 42 (hiver 1989): 30-31 (reference courtesy of Madeleine Forget). See also Edgar Andrew Collard, "All Our Yesterdays: Ogilvy's 119 Years of Montreal Tradition," *Gazette* (Montreal), 20 July 1985; Walter Poronovich, "Montreal's Changing Face — No. 67: Like Topsy the Store Just Grew," *Montreal Star*, 19 March 1977; "Fondés 11 ans avant la Confederation, les rayons Ogilvy's se sont élevés au rang des plus grands magasins de Montréal," *La Presse* (Montreal), 1 octobre 1955 (references courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal). It is also worth noting that the department stores assumed leadership in many areas not directly related to commerce, such as culture, which Ogilvy's encouraged with the addition of the "Tudor Hall" in 1928; see "The Ogilvy's Store, Montreal," *Construction* 22 (May 1929): 165-66, 169 (reference courtesy of M. Ferron, *Communauté Urbaine de Montréal*); Claude Gingras, "Musique," *La Presse* (Montreal), 11 novembre 1986 (reference courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal). These were not the only department stores in Montreal, only the largest and longest surviving; see "Les grands magasins à départements," *La Presse* (Montreal), 11 décembre 1900, 1, 20, reprinted 15 décembre 1985 (latter reference courtesy of Archives de la ville de Montréal). Other important examples in Quebec City have been documented in Trépanier, "Le grand magasinage," 36-39 (reference courtesy of Madeleine Forget), and Aylne LeBel, "Une vitrine populaire: les grands magasins Paquet," *Cap-aux-Diamants* 4 (été 1988): 45-48.
- 34 This subject has been treated in detail by Gunter Gad and Deryck Holdsworth in "Large Office Buildings and Their Changing Occupancy: King Street, Toronto, 1800-1850," *SSAC Bulletin* 10 (December 1985): 19-26; "Looking Inside the Skyscraper: Size and Occupancy of Toronto Office Buildings, 1890-1950," *Urban History Review* 16 (October 1987): 176-231; and "Building for City, Region, and Nation: Office Development in Toronto, 1834-1984," in *Forging a Consensus: Essays on Historical Toronto*, ed. V.L. Russell (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984), 272-319.
- 35 Santink, *Timothy Eaton*, 58-138; Edith MacDonald, pseud. "The Scribe," *Golden Jubilee, 1869-1919: A Book to Commemorate the Fiftieth Anniversary of the T. Eaton Co. Limited* (Toronto and Winnipeg: T. Eaton & Co., 1919); Harold Kalman, "Big Stores on Main Street," *Canadian Heritage* 11 (February/March 1985): 19-23.
- 36 "Ontario Association of Architects," *Canadian Architect & Builder* 7 (February 1894): 29-32. For the Central Chambers and John James Browne, see Royden Moran, "The Central Chambers, 38-54 Elgin Street, Ottawa, Ontario," paper prepared for a course on Canadian architecture at Carleton University, Ottawa, 1980; and Fred Dickinson, "Central Chambers, 46 Elgin Street, Ottawa: An Architectural Report," paper prepared for a course on Architectural technology at Algonquin College, Ottawa, 1975 (references courtesy of the National Capital Commission, Ottawa). J.J. Browne's idea was based on Liverpool's Oriel Chambers;
- see Geoffrey Woodward, "History: Oriel Chambers," *Architectural Review* 119 (May 1956): 268-69. Browne is credited with no fewer than fourteen warehouses and a significant number of commercial buildings; see Borthwick, *Montreal: Its History*, 50; *History and Biographical Gazetteer of Montreal* (Montreal: J. Lovell, 1892), 455-56; *Montreal Illustrated*, 1894 (Montreal: Consolidated Illustrating, 1894), 348; *Canadian Architect & Builder* 5 (August 1893); and Edgar Andrew Collard, "Two Architects of Old Montreal" and "Houses, Churches, Stores and Fire Stations," *Gazette* (Montreal), 18 July and 1 August 1959, respectively (references courtesy of Don Boisvenue, Parks Canada, Ottawa).
- 37 *Departmental Stores: The Modern Curse to Labor and Capital. They Ruin Cities, Towns, Villages and the Farming Community* (Toronto: s.n., 1897).
- 38 "Around Town," *Saturday Night* 10 (13 February 1897): 1.
- 39 Mack, "Around Town," *Saturday Night* 10 (20 February 1897): 1.
- 40 Clark, *Barnums of Business*, 14. For identification of Clark as "Mack," see Hector Charlesworth, "About Joe Clark," *Saturday Night* 52 (31 July 1937): 1, 5.
- 41 Mack, "Departmental Stores," *Saturday Night* 10 (27 February 1897): 3.
- 42 *Ibid.*
- 43 Mack, "Departmental Stores," *Saturday Night* 10 (6 March 1897): 7; *ibid.* (13 March 1897): 3; *ibid.* (20 March 1897): 3; *ibid.* (27 March 1897): 3; *ibid.* (3 April 1897): 3; "The Barnums of Business," *Saturday Night* 10 (10 April 1897): 3.
- 44 Clark, *Barnums of Business*, 63. For more information on how departmentals affected consumption practices, see Michelle Comeau, "Les grands magasins de la rue Sainte-Catherine à Montréal: des lieux de modernisation, d'homogénéisation et de différenciation des modes consommation," *Material History Review* 41 (spring 1995): 58-68.
- 45 Mack, "Departmental Stores" and "The Barnums of Business," *Saturday Night* 10 (3, 10, 17 April 1897): all at p. 3; and Santink, *Timothy Eaton*, 71-81.
- 46 Mack, "The Barnums of Business," *Saturday Night* 10 (10 April 1897): 3.
- 47 Earnest E. Leigh, "The Departmental," *Saturday Night* 10 (27 March 1897): 3.
- 48 G., "No More Room — He Hogged It," *Saturday Night* 10 (3 April 1897): 3.
- 49 "Departmental Store: Four-Storey to be Reared on the Clemow Lot," and "Second to None: New Lindsay Department Store Finest in Canada," *Citizen* (Ottawa), 13 June and 1 December 1904, 9 and 10 respectively; Gregory P. Utas, "The Daly Building, Ottawa, Ontario," *Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, Agenda Paper 1979-05; Heritage Renfrew, Faces and Facades: The Renfrew Architecture of Edey and Noffke* (Renfrew: Juniper Books, 1988), 5-9 (references courtesy of Don Boisvenue, Parks Canada, Ottawa); Harold Kalman and John Roaf, *Exploring Ottawa* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1983), B3; Peter Hessel, *From Ottawa with Love: Glimpses of Canada's Capital through Early Picture Post Cards* (Ottawa: National Capital Commission, 1979), 68-69. For the demise of the structure after failed restoration by the National Capital Commission, see Jack Aubry, "Daly Building to be Saved," *Citizen* (Ottawa), 21 August 1990; Jack Aubry, "Cash-Poor Governments Link Arms with the Developers," *ibid.*, 17 September 1990; Ron Eade, "Daly Building Demolition Looms," *ibid.*, 5 October 1991; and Michael Prentice, "The Daly Building Demolition: Jacques Gréber Would be Pleased," *ibid.*, 16 October 1991.
- 50 W.B. Phillips, *How Department Stores Are Carried On* (Toronto: s.n., 1900), 7-9, 12, 17, 26.
- 51 "Department Store Growth in Canada," *Construction* 21 (December 1928): 401-406, 423.

I wish to acknowledge with thanks the advice of Isabelle Gournay, University of Maryland; Madeleine Forget, Ministère des affaires culturelles, Direction régionale de Montréal; Louis Alain Ferron, Communauté Urbaine de Montréal; Susan Bronson, architecte, Montreal; Don Boisvenue and Colin Old, Parks Canada; and the staff of the Archives de la ville de Montréal and of the Canadian Centre for Architecture in Montreal.

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