

Université de Montréal

Revealing New Dynamics in the Industrial City: A Study of Human/Horse Relations in Montreal's
Public Space, 1860-1916

par

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Ce mémoire intitulé :

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Résumé

Ma recherche vise à mieux comprendre comment les relations entre les humains et les chevaux ont été négociées à Montréal, à l'époque où la ville est en voie d'industrialisation. Je montre comment l'idée du « Progrès » s'incarne à Montréal et entraîne des changements importants dans la façon dont les gens voient, littéralement et allégoriquement, la ville en relation avec la place accordée aux animaux, et plus spécifiquement aux chevaux, entre 1860-1916. En m'appuyant sur une analyse de données recueillies dans les archives de la Ville de Montréal, du Musée McCord, de Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec et de l'Université McGill, tels que les Fonds de la Commission de Police de Montréal et les règlements municipaux, ainsi que des images, photos, plans d'époque et des articles de journaux, je montre comment ces relations changeantes s'inscrivent de façon tangible dans la ville qui s'industrialise.

Cette recherche examine la question en utilisant trois méthodes exploratoires, et parfois expérimentales. En premier lieu, une recherche dans les règlements municipaux et leur analyse révèlent la façon dont les autorités abordent l'agentivité des chevaux. Ensuite, au moyen d'articles de journaux d'opinion tirés des archives de la Parks and Playgrounds Association, nous nous penchons sur l'espace partagé par les chevaux dans le parc du Mont-Royal. Pour terminer, nous examinons, grâce à une modélisation 3D, le partage de l'espace dans un cadre plus urbanisé, à l'angle des rues Sherbrooke et Guy. Nous retraçons le déplacement des chevaux des cochers pour visualiser les changements apportés dans le cadastre urbain et son impact sur les relations humains/chevaux.

Mots Clés : négociations de l'espace, relations humains-animaux, histoire environnementale, industrialisation, histoire urbaine, parc du Mont-Royal, modélisation, Montréal

Abstract

My research aims to better understand how human-horse relations were negotiated in Montreal at a time when the city is in the process of industrialization. I show how the idea of "Progress" is embodied in Montreal and brings about important changes in the way people see, literally and allegorically, the city in relation to the place given to animals, and more specifically horses, between 1860 and 1916. Based on an analysis of data collected in the Archives de Montréal, the McCord Museum Archives, the BAnQ and McGill University Archives, such as the Montreal Police Commission's funds and municipal by-laws, as well as images, photographs, maps, plans and journal articles I demonstrate how these changing relations inscribe themselves onto the city which is becoming industrial.

To achieve this, this research project examines the issue using three exploratory and sometimes experimental methods. First, the question of municipal regulations and how to approach the agency of horses is examined. Then, through newspaper articles from the Parks and Playgrounds Association, we look at the space shared by horses in Mount Royal Park. Finally, we examine, by 3D modeling, the street corner of Sherbrooke and Guy, as well as trace the movement of the horses of coachmen to visualise the changes brought about in the urban cadaster and its impact on human/horse relations.

Keywords : Negotiating space, Human-Animal Relations, Environmental History, Industrialisation, Urban History, Mount Royal Park, Modeling, Montreal

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Introduction

“Since its distant beginnings, thinking about history has never been about animals. It couldn’t have been. It is a problem we can only even grasp now.”

-David Gary Shaw, 2013¹

Problematic

Including animals in a history which has long been based on human achievement is no simple task, and it is one which is filled with methodological and theoretical obstacles. The main problematic is changing our own point of view to one which is more inclusive of differences in ways of experiencing life and space, as well as of our own conception of history. To allow animals to become visible in a history which essentially renders them invisible and expects them to be on the sidelines requires new approaches, new questions and especially, an open mind.

In order to bring to light the relations and contributions of any animal in history, one needs to first consider its expected role in society. This is why the horse becomes of interest, as an animal whose relations with humans is both complex and varied. Consider these two sentences written by Donna Haraway about companion animals: “Companion animals can be horses, dogs, cats, or a range of other beings willing to make the leap to the biosociality of service dogs, family members, or team members in cross-species sports. Generally speaking, one does not eat one’s companion animals (nor get eaten by them); and one has a hard time shaking colonialist, ethnocentric, ahistorical attitudes toward those who do (eat or get eaten).”² As an animal whose multiplicity is evident in a western worldview, and whose role as a biosocial companion, as a work animal, as a pet and as a leisure animal is noticeable in a mutually exclusive or inclusive manner, its visibility in history is somewhat easier to track, and its impact,

¹ David Gary Shaw. « A Way with Animals », *History and Theory*, vol. 52, n° 4, 2013, p. 1.

² Donna Haraway. *The Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*, Chicago, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003, p. 14.

somewhat more measurable. This plurality of utility and, also, of races, as well as its capacity to infiltrate the urban cadastre in the most subtle and unquestioned of ways reminds us that humans aren't the only ones who live, experience and affect the city.

Nonetheless, this work requires finding the proverbial needle in the haystack. If written sources are the first ones historians typically turn to, this research, to achieve anything at all, requires a re-lecture, a re-evaluation and a strong accompaniment of these types of sources. When the rare sentence mentioning horses at all becomes a boon, what becomes significant is the subtle changes in language when discussing animals and horses, the absences as well as the presences, and a new way of looking at data. Therefore, this research project presents graphs as representations of data found in archives, as well as a 3D model in order to see, tangibly, what the sources can say in only several words and numbers. The use of software allowing for the visualisation of data becomes necessary to accompany any analysis of the written texts, by-laws and archives, since it becomes the meat on the bones of our research. The use of imagery and maps is also a way of interpreting and bringing to light complex relations which would otherwise remain hidden in written archives.

There is always the risk of downplaying the role of human citizens, or pushing for an agency which doesn't exist. To which extent can we give credit to the role of horses in history? And, to which extent is this role voluntary or equivalent to that of other beings in the city, including humans? For the purposes of our research, "agency" will be considered as a personal will to be or not be somewhere, based on the innate ability to interact with one's surroundings through the use of senses, through an ability to experience space positively or negatively, as well as the ability to change, through the presence of one's being, how a certain space is experienced by others. To this extent, horses may not be able to physically modify a space as much as humans, but their agency is undeniable, and their experience of space incontestable. Slow

change does not mean no change; absence of written record does not mean no trace left; no voice does not mean no agency.

Historiography

How can we better conceptualize the presence of humans and animals, as well as their relations, in an urban space? Bettina Bradbury, in 1984, has demonstrated in an article about the place animals hold in the household economy in Montreal, how the tolerance for certain species, such as pigs and cows, was determined according to social status.³ The place reserved for horses is particularly revealing because of the dualisms ascribed to it as a species. Necessary as a resource (transportation services and as a workforce) as well as for recreational purposes, the horse reveals even more about relations in the city than other species. Darcy Ingram, interested in the Montreal Hunt Club, has demonstrated how the foxhunt was a way to maintain an elite social status through spectacle and performance. The pureblood horse was therefore useful to maintain the social status of the urban hunters.⁴ The horse was at once a symbol of prestige as well as muscle for the workforce; if on one side he was associated with prestige and a higher social status, the other had to be framed in a stricter manner by city by-laws. According to Ingram, the legislation for the protection of animals, introduced in the second half of the 19th century, could help maintain the social order as well as help regulate the behavior of individuals of the middle class in the city.⁵ In Quebec City, horse abuse by cabbies was notorious, and laws against animal cruelty helped stop the abuse which was offensive to the middle classes.⁶ Thus, the presence of horses in the city was contested and complex, as well as revealing of power

³ Bettina Bradbury, « Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91 », *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 14, 1984.

⁴ Darcy Ingram, « Horses, Hedges, and Hegemony: foxhunting in the countryside », in Stéphane Castonguay et Michèle Dagenais, dir., *Metropolitan Natures: environmental histories of Montreal*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011.

⁵ Id., « Bestly measures: Animal welfare, civil society, and state policy in Victorian Canada. », *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 47, n° 1, 2013, p. 225.

⁶ *Ibid.*

relations between different social classes. Cab drivers, holding a notorious place in the city both spatially and socially, reveal a lot about the place of their co-worker in Montreal.

Beginning in the 2000s, Canadian historians pay more attention to the presence of animals in the city and their fate. In environmental history, this period saw the redefinition of human/animal divisions and culture/nature dualities. Sean Kheraj addressed these issues in his article "Living and Working with Domestic Animals in Nineteenth-Century Toronto," in which he considers the process of urbanization leading to a human/animal and city/nature separation in Toronto. Domestic animals such as cats and dogs retain a place of choice, but other animals are no longer considered by citizens to have their place in urban areas.⁷ Darcy Ingram is interested in the movement for the protection of animals that developed at the time, and how to reconcile economic values with the recreational value of animals.⁸ Other studies deal with horses in particular. In *Metropolitan Natures*, the contributors examine various environmental histories of Montreal and the surrounding area, including the elitism of fox hunting as a leisure activity in the city and its countryside, including the role of the horse to the sport.⁹ In their book *The Horse in the City*, McShane and Tarr analyze the rules governing the presence of the horse in urban centers in the 19th century. They consider it as a convenience and even a "machine".¹⁰

Other works deal with the effects of industrialization in the public space of large cities such as San Francisco and Montreal. These works are often inspired by geography as much as by history. Andrew Robichaud, for example, examines San Francisco's butchertown, tracing the

⁷ Sean Kheraj. « Living and Working with Domestic Animals in Nineteenth-Century Toronto », in L. Anders Sandberg *et al.*, dir., *Urban Explorations: Environmental Histories of the Toronto Region*, 2013, p. 120-140.

⁸ Darcy Ingram. « Beastly measures: Animal welfare, civil society, and state policy in Victorian Canada. », *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 47, n° 1, 2013, p. 221.

⁹ See "Horses, Hedges and Hegemony: Foxhunting in the Countryside" by Darcy Ingram in Stéphane Castonguay et Michèle Dagenais. *Metropolitan Natures: Environmental Histories of Montreal*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, 1-16 p.

¹⁰ Clay McShane et Joel Tarr. *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007.

tangible transformation of meat production in the abattoirs.¹¹ This study is part of a larger project, the Spatial History Project, an interdisciplinary research group that wanted to trace the presence of animals in the city in the 19th century to demonstrate how these spaces were shared.¹² Chris Otter does the same, but with slaughterhouses and dairy farms in England.¹³ Although without expressly considering the presence of animals, the work of Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton remains significant: it allows us to better understand the effects of immigration and the extent and concentration of the population, from 1840-1900 to Montreal. This book also provides an example of a large-scale research that traces urban changes in the cadastre of the city in a qualitative way, but also in a more tangible and quantitative way.¹⁴ The techniques borrowed from geography or even from archeology thus make it possible to better visualize the sharing of space.

In anthropology, several works provide interesting insights into the relationships between humans and animals, calling into question what it is to be human, and therefore questioning human/animal dichotomies. The posthumanities, as the theoretical trend is called, therefore offers a perspective to reconsider a being's potential for agency, their or its involvement in history and the interconnectivity of beings and things in a given space. Donna Haraway, as one of the first and major thinkers of this trend, reconsiders human/animal relations through a concept of significant otherness, whereby one's relation to another being is explored on a much more equal terrain.¹⁵ A collective work edited by Agustín Fuentes in the *American*

¹¹Andrew Robichaud. « Trail of Blood: The Movement of San Francisco's Butchertown and the Spatial Transformation of Meat Production, 1849-1901 », *Spatial History Lab*, 2010.

¹² CESTA. *The Spatial History Project*, [online], <http://stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/project.php?id=1047>.

¹³ Chris Otter. « The vital city: public analysis, dairies and slaughterhouses in nineteenth-century Britain », *Cultural Geographies*, vol. 13, n° 4, 2006, p. 517-537.

¹⁴ Sherry Olson et Patricia A. Thornton. *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1900*, Montreal, McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.

¹⁵ Donna Jeanne Haraway. *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

Anthropologist also offer interesting thoughts “On Nature and the Human”: What is the dividing line between the social and physiological? What is human history – historical interactivities even? Is being human transcending nature? Or is it – as hinted at by Tim Ingold – something beings have to continually work at?¹⁶ Ingold’s concept of the “meshwork” is also one which is of value in reconsidering how things and beings are linked together throughout history – it is “entangled lines, of bodily movement and material flow”; it is “nothing more than the web of life itself”. A web of life which considers the impact, movement and flow of living beings and non-living beings together.¹⁷ These theories and reflections influence this research into reconsidering the role of animals, or even of the environment, throughout history, hoping to provide a less anthropocentric interpretation of how the past, as a shared history, and not “our” human past, has played out through time.

Approach & Methodology

Applying different and varied perspectives to the historical city helps us to reveal space as shared, agency as complex and humanity as subjective. It helps to decentralize the importance of humans in the past, recognizing the past as a common phenomenon to living beings and even of non-living things alike. Applying concepts from a mix of bio-social anthropology, we are able to reconsider what humanity is and what being an animal is, aiming to go beyond the nature/culture divide. As posited by Ingold, in order to break free from the concept of the “human being”, we must first “dismantle[] the anthropological machine”, “[a]nd the first step in doing so is to think of humans, and indeed of creatures of all other kinds, in terms not of what they *are*, but of what they *do*.”¹⁸ In this sense, all lives are constantly in a

¹⁶ Agustín Fuentes *et al.* « On Nature and the Human », *American Anthropologist*, vol. 112, n° 4, 2010.

¹⁷ Tim Ingold. « Toward an Ecology of Materials* », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 41, n° 1, 2012, p. 427-442.

¹⁸ Tim Ingold. « Prospect », in Tim Ingold et Gisli Palsson, dir., *Biosocial Becomings: Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 8.

state of “*becoming*”, of growing, of moving, of creating.¹⁹ One goal of this thesis is to begin thinking in these terms, not to completely abolish a human/animal distinction but at least to consider how, in time and space, all *biosocial becomings*²⁰ (a term proposed by Ingold) have a role to play in history, in the city and in how they contribute to its multiple inter-relations. “Becoming” means being part of a meshwork of interrelations that cannot be restricted to humans only, if we are to stop thinking in terms of species but rather in terms of action.²¹ Animal becomings can be a part of biosocial relations, and as expressed by Palsson, this way of thought suggests that “the study of humans is inseparable from the study of other animals”.²² Non-humans can be understood as contributing equally to the experience of space and place.

A sensory description of an individual’s perception of the environment reflects the human experience of place; a perception much more easily accessible than is the case for other living beings, although it remains a controversial approach in research. Nicolas Kenny in his book *The Feel of the City* expressly considers which meaning historians can afford to human sensorial experience, coming to the conclusion that although personal experience cannot be taken at face value nor used to represent a group’s perception, nonetheless, “giving meaning to these episodes was about defining, quite simply, what it meant to live in a city.”²³ Having access to descriptions of experience, no matter from which time period, offers the opportunity to linguistically analyse and comprehend how someone could perceive and feel space and place. Although individual narratives remain just that, the combination of multiple similar or differentiating opinions can help historians better comprehend the living experience of place.

¹⁹ Ingold referencing to Ortega Y Gasset in Fuentes, Agustín *et al.* « On Nature and the Human », *American Anthropologist*, vol. 112, n° 4, 2010, p. 519.

²⁰ Tim Ingold. « Prospect », p.9.

²¹ Ibid, Tim Ingold on “action” in « Prospect ».

²² Gisli Palsson. « Ensembles of Biosocial Relations », in Tim Ingold et Gisli Palsson, dir., *Biosocial Becomings*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 28.

²³ Nicolas Kenny. *The Feel of the City: Experiences of Urban Transformation*, U.S.A., University of Toronto Press, 2014, 300 p. 18.

Accessing and understanding a non-human experience of place is more complex, as non-humans have been for a long time not considered historical actors or agents in the production of history. Michel-Rolph Trouillot offers significant insight into how history is produced, memory, and its collective and/or individual relevance: He considers “pastness” as a position with no predetermined content.²⁴ It is the collectivity and individuals, as historical agents, actors and subjects that voice the past in specific contexts²⁵, and the process of historical production that reveals or conceals historical narratives.²⁶ Although Trouillot writes to counter racist perspectives of the past, his theories on power and the production of history lends itself well to other concealed narratives. Without the express “fact retrieval” of sources regarding non-human actors, animals would not enter into any “retrospective significance” of the past.²⁷ Reading between the lines, understanding human narratives and focusing on a variety of sources can help reveal any living being’s experience of place and space, although to a limited extent.

This is why the production of graphics, 3D models and the use of images and maps becomes important to this research. Not only does this help with visualising discrete archival data, but it is also a way of considering on a more tangible level the power relations in space. As noted by Henri Lefebvre:

Is it conceivable that the exercise of hegemony might leave space untouched? Could space be nothing more than the passive locus of social relations, the milieu in which their combination takes on body, or the aggregate of the procedures employed in their removal? The answer must be no.²⁸

²⁴ Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, Boston, Beacon Press, 1995, p. 15.

²⁵ Michel-Rolph Trouillot. *Silencing the Past*, p. 23.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 25.

²⁷ Ibid, p. 26.

²⁸ Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, Donald Nicholson-Smith, Cambridge, Basil Blackwell, 1991, p. 11.

Therefore, to Lefebvre, space is a place where knowledge and power can be made manifest, or visible. It is not untouched by power relations.²⁹ Used as a method to better perceive the environment, 3D modeling helps to better grasp changes in time and space, changes in power relations and negotiations in space. It also allows the researcher to interpose other variables in space, such as transportation services (tramway, cabstands) into this same area. By adding layers, it also becomes possible to track changes through time, demonstrating how space is shared and negotiated visually. The same can be said of the identification of stables on 2D maps. Another way to visualise and exploit textual archives is through the creation of graphics, which demonstrate trends or non-trends through time. Offering infinite possibilities, but also infinite challenges to the researcher who only just begins to use these available softwares and methods, the goal of this research and especially of Chapter 3 was to experiment and demonstrate their use to historians and the potential in revealing new dynamics.

Industrial Montreal, 1860-1916

Situated in Montreal, this research focuses on a time period when the city is industrialising and growing at a rapid rate. If the boundaries remained the same between 1792 and 1874, they slowly begin changing afterwards with the purchase of terrain on Mount-Royal Park, and the annexation movement which began in 1883.³⁰ A rapidly increasing population, either through annexation, immigration or births, the population went from a total of 58,000 in 1852 to 267,000 by 1901.³¹ Four municipalities were annexed between 1883 and 1893, with the city integrating areas more rapidly between 1905 and 1918.³² As such, a total of 26 annexations, sometimes done in several steps for joining wards, merged with the city between 1905 and

²⁹ Henri Lefebvre. *The Production of Space*, p. 10-11.

³⁰ Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, Montréal, Boréal, 1991, p. 75-76.

³¹ Paul-André Linteau. *The History of Montréal: The Story of a Great North American City*, Montréal, Baraka Books, 2013, p. 87.

³² Paul-André Linteau. *The History of Montréal*, p. 90-105.

1914.³³ This rapid growth meant that the significance and importance of places and space also grew, that struggles would inevitably arise, and that new strategies for the sharing of space would have to be put in place.

Although our work examines the municipal rules as well as selects two case studies for research, it is limited geographically to Mount-Royal Park and the corner of Guy and Sherbrooke street. The larger context, however, is not irrelevant to our analyses. The industrial, growing city is the environmental context guiding our comprehension of how power struggles for space and place play out for interspecies relations. The notion that progress was positive, unilinear and correlated to growth underlies the tensions that arise between how space is shared, regulated and conceptualised. This is an underlying notion which guides the three exploratory chapters, aiming to better understand how to achieve an understanding of new and changing interspecies relations in the city, or at least, of attempting new ways to reach such a comprehension.

Sources Examined

This research was made available due to the analysis of a wide variety of sources dating from between 1860 and 1916. The sources examined include, from the Archives de Montréal, microfilms classified by themes, the Commission de l'Incinération, the Fonds de la Commission de Police, the Fonds de la Commission des Parcs et Traverses, the Fonds de la Commission d'Hygiène et de Statistiques, annual reports, and the municipal by-laws. The Parks and Playgrounds Association Fonds found at the McGill University archives, as well as images from the McCord Museum photographic Archives and maps and plans from the BANQ (Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec) were also examined. The three chapters, which base their analyses on these sources, aim to be exploratory and experimental; the final goal is not to

³³ Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, p. 202.

profoundly reveal everything that can be revealed, but rather to discover what works best to uncover human/non-human relations in space, irrelevant of whether the return is a great success or not for every attempt. Nonetheless, we believe that every method can highlight different dynamics, and that it is through these attempts that historians can eventually reveal these hidden or lesser-known dynamics.

The first chapter is widely based on the close analysis of the city of Montreal's by-laws between 1860 to 1910, as well as statistics found in the annual reports of the police department. The by-laws, as regulations upheld by the local authority and applicable to all those within the vicinity of the city, reveal ways in which humans attempted to control the space allowed for use by horses, as well as their companion species (cabbies). The statistics accumulated yearly by the police department of the city allow a better analysis of why these by-laws existed, as well as, by their existing alone, the significance accorded to the horse or other beings in the city. We end this chapter in 1910 due to the fact that, already around 1886 and in an even more pronounced manner by 1894, most statistics stop comparing the total animals impounded, diminishing the value of the few numbers left to include in graphs. By 1896, as another example, all animals found dead are regrouped in one category, instead of continuing to offer separate numbers to compare the horses found dead vs all animals. This trend of lessening statistics regarding animals reflects the by-laws, which, by approximately 1900, show less changes in by-laws regarding animals to focus more on the appearance of vehicles. By continuing to study the by-laws up to 1910, we hope to offer as complete a picture as possible regarding how the presence of animals was dealt with by the municipal authorities.

The second chapter is based on an analysis of journal articles, opinion pieces and a poem found in the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association Fonds, found at the McGill University Archives and dating between 1900 and 1916. *The Witness*, *The Daily Mail*, *The*

Montreal Daily Star are examples of the journals from which these newspaper clippings were taken. A difficulty of this chapter is the sources themselves, which, as clippings glued into a scrapbook by the association over a century ago, sometimes lack dates, journal names or article titles. Nonetheless, these sources speak a lot to the importance of the place of the horse on Mount Royal Park, especially when paired with other sources. As such, images and maps from the McCord Museum Archives reveal more about our main source as well as offer a visual and more tangible analysis of the negotiation of space ongoing between different beings and social classes in the park. Letters from the Commission des Parcs et Traverses of the Archives de Montréal also support our analysis.

The third chapter is based on a debate about the place accorded to cabstands on the corners of Guy and Sherbrooke in 1906, as revealed in the Fonds Commission de Police of the Archives de Montréal. By reading letters and in putting information retrieved from them in chronological order, such as the number of cabstands, direction faced by the horses and requests for displacement or actual displacements, we were able to create a 3D model of the street corner that reflects these changes spatially and temporally. This 3D model is based on measures taken from Goad fire insurance plans and the Goad Montreal Atlas found at the Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec. A conversion from pixels (taken on the image, comparing the count to the scale on the maps) to actual measures in inches allows us to reproduce, to scale, a 3D model. Plans of tramway lines found at the Archives de Montréal, as well as images from the McCord Museum Archives, help to maintain a higher level of precision by offering visual comparisons.

1. Policing lives in a shared space: An analysis of Montreal's by-laws, 1860-1910

“To be is to inter-be” – Thich Nhat Hanh

Considering a functionalist approach to society, by-laws can be understood as an attempt at regulating and supervising the lives of individuals in society. Scholars of thought and sociology have long noted the relationship between society and law, including Émile Durkheim, himself producing seminal work in the late 19th century which later influenced many sociologists and anthropologists of the 20th century. With the onset of industrialisation in large cities such as Montreal in the 1860's, theories posited by Durkheim at the time would appear sensible to the 19th century individual aiming to comprehend how to live peacefully in a larger and more diverse population. As expressed by Durkheim :

En effet, les actes qu'il [le droit répressif exprimé par la solidarité mécanique] prohibe et qualifie de crimes sont de deux sortes : ou bien ils manifestent directement une dissemblance trop violente contre l'agent qui les accomplit et le type collectif, *ou bien ils offensent l'organe de la conscience commune*. Dans un cas comme dans l'autre, la force qui est choquée par le crime qui le refoule est donc la même; elle est un produit des similitudes sociales les plus essentielles, et elle a pour effet de maintenir la cohésion sociale qui résulte de ces similitudes.³⁴ (Emphasis added)

Although typically lacking violence, and although certainly less serious than many other crimes, most by-laws regulating the actions of carters between 1860 and 1910 fall into the second category described by Durkheim; that is, carters tend to have a way of offending the collective consciousness. If the carter is easily analysed through a Durkheimian analysis, in our proposed context, we wish to integrate both humans and non-humans into a common social structure. Carters are of interest specifically because they are a category most frequently associated with animals in municipal archives. While the inter-human relations regarding the carters and other

³⁴ Émile Durkheim. Jean-Marie Tremblay (ed.) « Définitions du crime et fonction du châtement », 2006 (1893), p. 11.

humans are relatively simple to analyse, complications arise when one considers by-laws aiming at regulating directly the lives of other beings living in the city: non-human animals. If the carter offends the collective, it is through laws and complaints aimed at his horse that we can better comprehend how individuals of the industrial city cohabit. If we speculate that living beings do have a sense of individual agency, no matter to which extent that is, then rules, social norms, mores and written laws easily appear as an attempt at limiting a potential agency (positive or negative) of humans and animals alike through persuasion, consent, or punishment. “To be is to inter-be”³⁵, and the city cannot be understood by isolating the influence of humans from that of other beings and even of things.

By-laws are applied to a particular space and timespan, as well as being aimed at chosen becomings, in order to ensure the most social cohesion possible. It would be wrong to think that by-laws only affect humans in a chosen society, as we will see. The analysis of the city of Montreal’s by-laws, between 1860-1910, demonstrate how the city, despite being considered a human-owned and human-ruled space at the time, had to regulate other lives within its limits. Human hegemony, although assumed, is in a constant power struggle for space, exhibiting that the meshwork of relations was just as complex then as it is now since they are the types associations that contemporary cities still struggle to frame. Although limited in how we can make animal³⁶ agency ‘speak out’, for lack of a better term, this chapter will show how all lives had to be considered in laws regulating space within the city lines. To achieve this, the chapter will be divided in four distinct sections which analyse an aspect of the by-laws. First, the by-laws which are evidently directed at a control of movement in space will be analysed, followed by those linked to health considerations, public security and, lastly, those which consider the

³⁵ Thich Nhat Hanh. « Part Three: Peace is Every Step », *Peace Is Every Step: The Path of Mindfulness*, Bantam Books, 1991.

³⁶ The term “animal” will be used in the same manner as in the archives, to demonstrate thought at the time, although we do not use it to reify a hierarchy of living beings.

protection of animals and cruelty to animals. Our analysis, although officially beginning in 1860, will still consider previous by-laws when pertinent to the analysis of more recent ones. Our analysis therefore officially begins with #265 of a first series of by-laws, proposed in 1860, and ends with by-law number 417 of a second series, proposed in 1910. Nonetheless, the by-laws were examined up to by-law number 1800 of the second series, proposed in 1922.

Limiting Movement, Controlling Space

In the increasingly crowded industrial city of the second half of the 19th century, space and place gains a newfound importance that is impossible to ignore. The city council, aware of the progressively limited environment of the city or, as expressed by Ingold, of its limited “zone of interpretation”³⁷ for shared relations, conceptualises by-laws that aim to limit movement, lack of it, and the exploitation of space and place. Howell says that it is possible to argue that “animals found themselves more and more restricted as to what they could be and where they could, how they could behave and how they could be treated, viewed and understood” in the modern city.³⁸ He later cites Patrick Joyce, who aptly states that “The undisciplined subject had an undisciplined dog, the disciplined one a pet. The pet was social, the dog remained in the natural world.”³⁹ We would argue that these two phrases, in fact, effectively demonstrate one of the difficulties of the interpretation of historical material aimed at the physical control of live bodies in general. How people considered living beings in the past is only starting to be explained in research prior to historical interpretation, and we would argue that it is a necessary step to analyse the meshwork of relations and its changes through time. Joyce hits a chord when he describes what differentiated the control of lifeforms: discipline. A discipline that would have

³⁷ Tim Ingold. « Prospect », in Tim Ingold et Gisli Palsson, dir., *Biosocial Becomings: Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 11.

³⁸ Philip Howell. « Between the Muzzle and the Leash: Dog-walking, Discipline, and the Modern City », in Peter Atkins, dir., *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*, Great Britain, Ashgate, 2012, p. 223.

³⁹ Patrick Joyce in Philip Howell. « Between the Muzzle and the Leash: Dog-walking, Discipline, and the Modern City », p. 224.

to be applied to the agency of all life in general. It is also, however, about available space, responsibility and the ability to comply. The analysis of by-laws aimed at restricting movement of beings in general shows that contemporaries understood that animals did possess agency; an agency that was not, however, compliant to the increasingly important rules for social cohesion discussed by Durkheim, as well as in the limited space of the city.

The concern with mobility was a newfound physical issue for industrial cities, Montreal included. Alain Corbin describes the concern linked to “gaps, uncertain spaces, and abandoned sites” as a “sensory confusion”.⁴⁰ All senses became constantly engaged, particularly odor, sight and sound. Uncontrolled movement in public spaces caused the same concern as a lack of movement, which could both be either cause for anxiety because of the possibility of dangerous interactions between living beings or could be cause for annoyance because of unrest and uncontrolled noise. To reassure citizens and maintain control, the Montreal city by-laws included guidelines and fees for public pounds, rules on the use of sidewalks and the loitering of animals, the issuing of permits for public transportation and on the use of public spaces such as parks.

The spaces which were most susceptible to have applicable by-laws considering a non-human presence are those of transience, such as streets, parks and sidewalks. These spaces of the city are not only subject to a lot of movement, but also to loitering. Both movement and lack of it are cause of concern in a growing industrial city, as can be shown by both the by-laws and police annual reports which indicate the number of animals and vehicles which had to be impounded by the police force. An analysis of the statistics from the annual police reports between 1863 and 1910 demonstrate that the right to wander for animals was limited and that

⁴⁰ Alain Corbin. « Urban Sensations: The Shifting Sensescape of the City », in Constance Classen, dir., *A Cultural History of the Senses: In the Age of Empire*, India, Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 53.

they risked being impounded if they were found to stroll without proper restraints, ownership or control. The same analysis demonstrates that, through time, the type of animals included in the statistics changed from including what would be considered more typical “farm” animals (cows, oxen, sheep, geese, pigs, and goats) to, starting around 1896, almost exclusively animals with a use in the city either for leisure, transportation or as pets (horses, dogs) (Figure 1). Horses are also the only animals which are continually counted for statistical purposes through time, showing the significance of the horse in the city. Without suggesting that other animals would have been suddenly absent from the city (for example, it is possible to see that 4 cows were impounded in 1901), it is possible to infer that the municipal government had switched to considering the city limits as urban, and the place for farm animals, butchering and other such activities as restricted to the retreating hinterlands. The presence of such statistics in the municipal archives also suggests that animal movement was considered enough of an issue to hold and compare annual statistics on the matter.

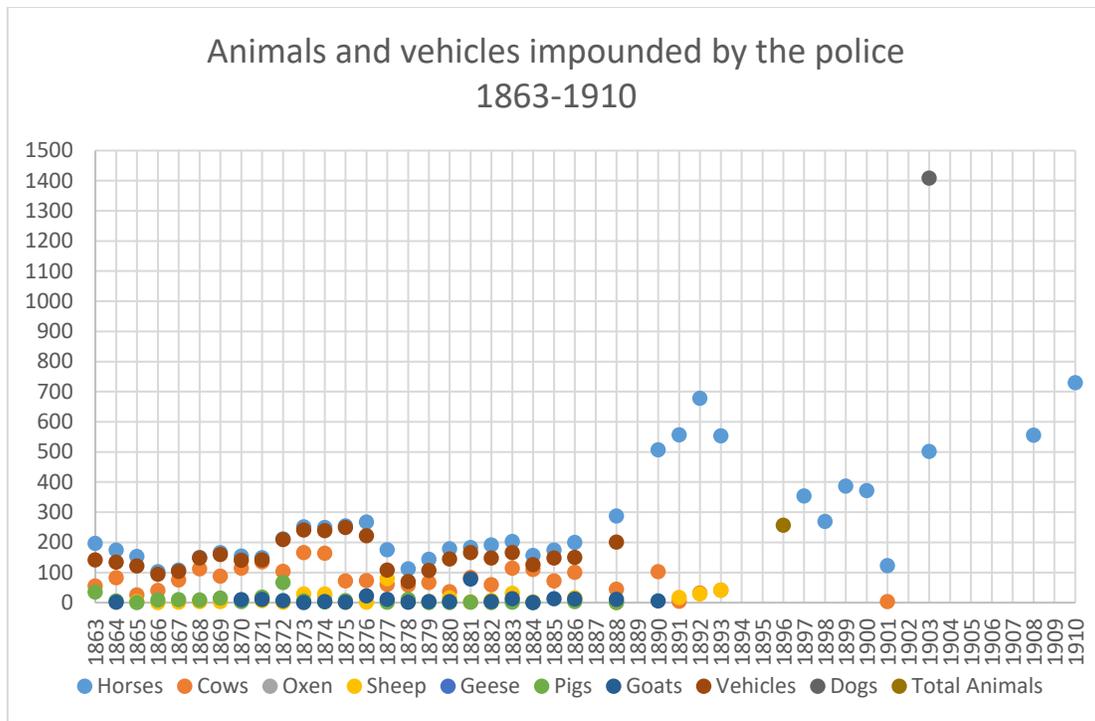


Figure 1 : Graph showing, per year, the animals and vehicles impounded by the police between 1863 and 1910⁴¹

Public pounds could be considered the animal equivalent of a nighttime jail, whereby undesired presences in transient and public spaces could be held to limit concern by the collective. It would be presumptuous to believe that only the non-human presence caused concern in the city when, effectively, it can be understood that it was not the beings taxonomic rank which determined them as being a disturbance, but the action of *being* and of *doing* in a public space at the wrong time. Already in 1840, Mayor Peter McGill stipulated in by-law 004 that a pound would be set-up to “for the purpose of shutting up and impounding therein all horses, horned cattle, sheep, goats and hogs found straying on or damaging the property of any person or straying on the beaches, highways or public grounds within the city limits”.⁴² A fine would be charged for owners to retrieve their animals guilty of wandering the city. In 1847, it is

⁴¹ *Annual Police Reports* (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

⁴² Règlement régissant la fourrière, le marché à foin et à bétail de la Place Viger, rue St-Denis, dans le faubourg St-Louis, et réservant une certaine somme d’argent pour la construction d’enclos à bétail, etc., version anglaise, December 14th 1840, *Municipal By-laws* (VM1-33-1-004-1840), Archives de Montréal.

the presence of dogs which is addressed in by-law #191 : “Il ne sera permis à aucun chien de rôder çà et là, ou en liberté, dans aucune rue, ruelle, allée ou cour, ni en aucune place publique ou ouverte, dans cette cité” with the exception being those whose owner’s have payed an annual stipend of “sept chelins et six deniers” and who make their dog wear a dog collar and medal which indicates its “nom et son surnom”.⁴³ Already, it is impossible to isolate animal from human wrongdoings, since to ensure control over the agency of beings which are less likely to be complacent, responsibility would fall to those who can ensure control over them. In the case of dogs, it is even suggested that they are an integral part of the family, since they are provided not only with a name, but the surname of the humans he or she cohabits with. It ensures that those who could afford the luxury of paying for and restricting a pet dog had a social advantage over those who could not, but the result was that all dogs saw their agency restricted to being owned or to being an urban nuisance. As noted by Philip Howell, “Dogs in the city might best be accepted as pets [...] rather than beasts of burden, but the banishing of working dogs in the streets ensured that the pet’s place, like the woman’s, was in the home; dogs’ presence in the public sphere became all the more suspect when a domestic hearth was assigned to them.”⁴⁴ This distinction also further emphasises who is capable of “owning” versus those who cannot, those who have power over other beings, versus those not deemed able for the years to come (Figure 2 : *Mrs. Hamilton's pony and sleigh, Montreal, QC, 1896, II-114222, McCord Museum Archives*).

⁴³ Règlement concernant les chiens qui rodent çà et là dans la Cité de Montréal, 1847, *Municipal By-Laws* (VM1-33-1-191-1847), Archives de Montréal.

⁴⁴ Philip Howell. « Between the Muzzle and the Leash», in Peter Atkins, dir., *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*, p. 223.



Figure 2 : Mrs. Hamilton's pony and sleigh, Montreal, QC, 1896, II-114222, McCord Museum Archives

The wandering animal which must be controlled in the 1840's is only increasingly problematic in the busy industrial city. In 1863, two public pounds are established in the city: The first at the Marché aux animaux in Saint-James ward, and the second at the Marché Saint-Gabriel in Sainte-Anne ward.⁴⁵ In addition to the pound keeper and police officers, the by-law includes the payment of half of the fee as an incentive to citizens who bring wandering animals to the pound.⁴⁶ In 1870, the same by-law is amended but still applicable.⁴⁷ In a further attempt to limit the movement and space shared with animals in the city, in 1870, those deemed unclean

⁴⁵ Règlement pour l'établissement et le règlement d'enclos publics et pour empêcher les chevaux, bestiaux, cochons, pourceaux, moutons et chèvres d'errer dans les rues de la Cité, 1863, *Municipal By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0284-1863), Archives de Montréal.

⁴⁶ Règlement pour l'établissement et le règlement d'enclos publics [...], 1863, *op. cit*

⁴⁷ Règlement concernant les enclos publics, March 15th 1870, *Municipal By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0043-1870), Archives de Montréal.

and more of a nuisance⁴⁸, such as pigs and swine, saw the spaces where they would be allowed in the city framed carefully when not outright outlawed in certain areas of the city.⁴⁹ By September 21st, 1874, the rearing of swine in the city was made illegal, explaining the increasing number of goats and sheep impounded in the years following (Figure 1 : *Graph showing, per year, the animals and vehicles impounded by the police between 1863 and 1910*).⁵⁰

If, by the 1870's, farm-type animals were gradually considered more troublesome in the city, others still had their place out of necessity and utility. Horses, as animals used not only for labour but also transportation and leisure activities, maintained or even increased in importance, although they remained a concern for the public pounds while others were slowly not even considered in statistics anymore due to diminishing numbers (Figure 3 : *Graph showing the horses impounded by the police out of the total animals and vehicles, 1863-1910*). Their presence in the city is far from signifying a strong acceptance, but rather a tolerance out of necessity. This same tolerance is shown to carters and cab drivers, as by-laws demonstrate a desire to restrict and control every movement or lack thereof of the public horse-drawn carriage and its carter as a unique entity (Figure 4).

⁴⁸ Bettina Bradbury. « Pigs, Cows, and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91 », *Labour / Le Travail*, vol. 14, 1984, p. 9.

⁴⁹ Règlement concernant les cochons, version anglaise, March 15th 1870, *Municipal By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0044-1870), Archives de Montréal.

⁵⁰ Règlement pour défendre d'élever des Cochons dans la Cité de Montréal, September 21st 1874, *Municipal By-laws* (VM1-33-2-077-1874), Archives de Montréal.

Horses impounded by the police out of total animals and vehicles announced as impounded
1863-1910

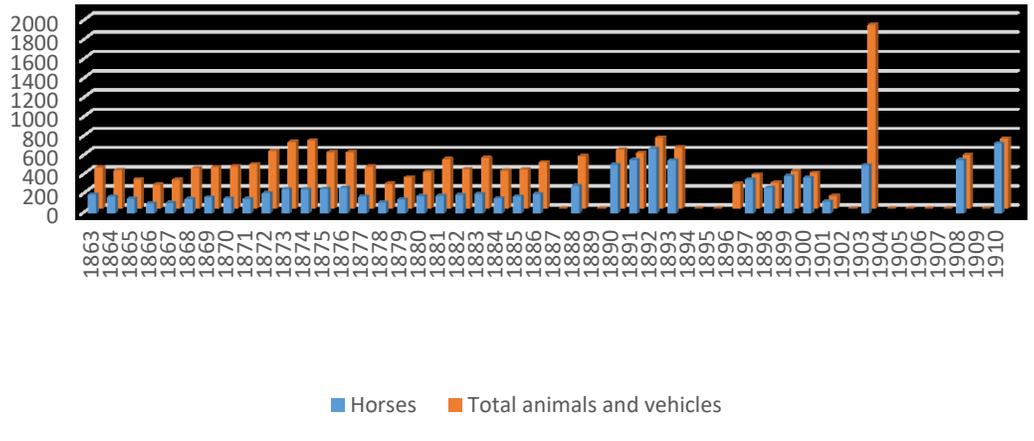


Figure 3 : Graph showing the horses impounded by the police out of the total animals and vehicles, 1863-1910⁵¹



Figure 4 : Public carriage, Montreal, QC, about 1875, VIEW-1063.1, McCord Museum Archives

⁵¹ Annual Police Reports (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

Cab drivers and carters are a significant example of the strong link between beings of different species in the city, as well as restrictions for movement and the sharing of space. By-laws which mention them and the horses they work with demonstrate a desire to impose limitations on both the horses and the human drivers, in an increasingly busy city. Already in 1848, by-law #199's opening statement mentions a need to augment the quantity of cab stands for the city, as an argument for the upcoming 44 rules of conduct which affect both the horses and drivers.⁵² By 1874, at which time swine and pigs aren't even allowed in the city, by-law #83 mentions 24 amendments to different rule categories for cab drivers and carters (out of a total of 55 having appeared in 1870).⁵³ ⁵⁴ Being a carter or cab-driver was considered a serious responsibility, and as such was carefully framed in terms of how to share the streets, where to park, where to drop off passengers, how much to charge depending on the type of vehicle (one horse, two horses) and also to not leave the horses without any supervision. These multiple rules, as written in section 4 of the by-law, stipulate that "Le chef de police n'accordera pas de licence à aucun individu de mauvaise réputation, ou qui aura été convaincu d'aucune offense contre ce Règlement ou tout autre Règlement du dit conseil concernant les voitures de louage."⁵⁵ It is understood that the horse also had some agency, and had to be supervised at all times. In Section 15: "Il ne sera pas permis à aucun cocher, ou autre personne en charge d'une voiture et d'un cheval de laisser *la dite voiture et le dit cheval*, quand il est sous harnais, dans

⁵² Règlement révoquant les règlements y mentionnés et établissant des règles et règlements relativement aux charrettes, cabs, calèches et voitures de louage, et pour le meilleur gouvernement des conducteurs de telles voitures, 1848, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0199-1848), Archives de Montréal.

⁵³ Règlement concernant les cochers et les voitures de louage, 1874, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0083-1874), Archives de Montréal.

⁵⁴ Règlement concernant les voitures, 1870, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0050-1870), Archives de Montréal.

⁵⁵ Règlement concernant les cochers et les voitures de louage, 1874, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0083-1874), Archives de Montréal.

aucune rue, carré ou ruelle, à moins qu'ils ne soient laissés sous les soins d'une personne compétente."⁵⁶ (emphasis added).

Being that the drivers and their cabs are strictly regulated, it becomes evident why, out of a list of all animal-related crimes in the city, the police force mention a large majority of crimes attributed to drivers of horse-drawn vehicles. Although many of these crimes are written differently depending on the year of the annual report, here is a short list of some of these major categories included, in no particular order:

- Absent from his vehicle
- Obstructing the sidewalk
- Loitering of the stand
- Driving without licence, without a pocket number, while concealing his personal number or with a false number
- Overcharging
- Driving without bells
- Remaining on an unlawful stand
- Refusing hire
- Careless driving/driving too quickly (over 6 miles / hour)⁵⁷

Most of these restrictions relate to the possibility to move or not move, and are mostly considered in terms of the human's agency over the horse. Section 29 of by-law 50, as an example, states that "*Toute personne conduisant une voiture quelconque, montant quelque cheval, jument, cheval hongre ou autre bête par les rues de la dite Cité, ne permettra aux dits animaux de courir, galoper, trotter ou ambler plus vite qu'à raison de six milles à l'heure ou d'une manière négligente et désordonnée.*"⁵⁸ (emphasis added). The very real possibility of not being able to control a horse that has taken fright is not considered, with human agency trumping animal agency in the written language of the by-laws.

⁵⁶ Règlement concernant les cochers et les voitures de louage, 1874, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ *Annual Police Reports* (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

⁵⁸ Règlement concernant les voitures, 1870, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0050-1870), Archives de Montréal.

Following this order of thought, the horse and carriage was, for all accounts and purposes, considered one entity ruled by the carter's or cab driver's agency. In and of itself, the cart, buggy, or wagon (Figure 5 : *Wagon for Mr. Vanneck, Montreal, QC, 1891, II-96129.1, McCord Museum Archives*) is insignificant, an object with no mobility and no chance of causing nuisance. When it becomes mobile, with the addition of the horse, it is an entity requiring control. Movement in the industrialized city became a concern that individuals had to adjust to; when uncontrolled, it required social adjustment to the "intensity and nervousness of life", while lack of it was an additional cause for suspicion.⁵⁹ Just as Howell notes the connection (the leash) between the human and dog⁶⁰, the harness and carriage is our link between the horse and carter. It is the object itself which allows one being to subdue another, masking the agency of the non-human. The risk for a sudden appearance of this agency is still ever-present, and the live, mobile "nuisance" in the city is born.



Figure 5 : Wagon for Mr. Vanneck, Montreal, QC, 1891, II-96129.1, McCord Museum Archives

⁵⁹ Alain Corbin. « Urban Sensations: The Shifting Sensescape of the City, p. 53.

⁶⁰ Philip Howell. « Between the Muzzle and the Leash: Dog-walking, Discipline, and the Modern City », p. 223.

Sidewalks, offering a physical separation from being in the street, are the *lieu par excellence* of transience. The first by-law “relating to the encumbering or obstructing of sidewalks, streets and other public places” was passed on April 21st, 1841 by the municipal council, shortly after the reinstatement of municipal institutions in 1840.⁶¹ The amendment written one year later was particularly concerned with loitering along the streets by cab drivers and carters, the riding or driving of animals and any type of cart on footpaths and sidewalks as well as being against “plac[ing] any animal, cart, truck or carriage of any description whatever or any obstructions of any kind” on any type of path in the city.⁶² The language used for writing the by-law ignores any potential agency of animals, considering them almost as items to be placed or displaced at will. This section of the by-law is still present in the 1870 writeup and amendment, and is written in the same manner.⁶³ By 1902, by-law #282 serves as an amendment to the 1870 version, offering several modifications but maintaining most of it as-is. Section 8 (a) and (b) add the following information: (a) “No owner or driver of any horse, cart, truck or any kind of summer or winter vehicle shall suffer or permit such horse, cart, truck or any kind of summer or winter vehicle to be and remain upon any side-walk or at the side thereof for a longer period than is necessary to load or unload the same” while (b) mentions a similar rule but for intercepting traffic longer than necessary.⁶⁴ There is a difference in the way the subject is brought about, from the “placing” of the animal in 1842 to the “suffering or permitting” of the animal or item to be on the sidewalk and/or blocking traffic. Human perception of other beings in the city goes from a complete absence and incapacity for animal agency, to the difficult

⁶¹ Règlement relatif aux obstructions nuisant à la circulation sur les trottoirs, version anglaise, 1842, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0081-1842), Archives de Montréal.

⁶² Règlement relatif aux obstructions nuisant à la circulation sur les trottoirs, 1842, *op. cit.*

⁶³ Règlement concernant les rues, version anglaise, 1870, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0048-1870), Archives de Montréal.

⁶⁴ Règlement pour amender le Règlement no 47 intitulé « Règlement concernant les trottoirs », 1902, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0282-1902), Archives de Montréal.

possibility that animals could impose their agency by being in a place where they become an urban nuisance. It is through this change in perception that we can understand how human/animal relationships also change in an urban setting: The instauration in the late 1860's of the Canadian Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals, based in Montreal, reflects these changing mentalities as humans come to see animals as beings and not things.⁶⁵

Public spaces such as parks become potential safe and quiet zones for the citizen, away from the hustle and bustle of the city. Mount Royal Park, as a privileged environment maintained in its "natural" state (the human-made version) for leisure, promenade and all things quiet, becomes a restricted area. The park is an enclosure within the borders of the city, as well as an exclusionary place reserved only for a select few. This is applicable to both the humans and non-humans who could potentially trouble the senses of other visitors. While most people would be welcome under certain conditions (no drinking, no loud noises, no fortune-telling, no throwing of objects, no indecency, etc.)⁶⁶, carters and their working horses are required to stay on the margins of the park:

Nuls quadrupèdes exceptés ceux placés dans les parcs par les dits commissaires ou comités, et à l'exception des chevaux d'agrément qui servent à la promenade, ne seront amenés ou conduits dans les parcs, ou ne pourront y rester.⁶⁷

Il est défendu aux cochers de fiacre ou autres voitures de se tenir dans les parcs avec leurs voitures pour solliciter des passagers autres que ceux qu'ils y auraient amenés.⁶⁸

The carter or cab driver and working horses were both considered nuisances to the tranquility of the park, in part at least due to their association with vehicles, but also due to the mobility or lack thereof required by their job. By 1905, the risks associated with movement and loitering are

⁶⁵ Darcy Ingram. « Beastly measures: Animal welfare, civil society, and state policy in Victorian Canada. », *Journal of Canadian Studies*, vol. 47, n° 1, 2013, p. 222.

⁶⁶ Règlement concernant les parcs, 1876, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0095-1876), Archives de Montréal.

⁶⁷ Règlement concernant les parcs, 1876, *op. cit.*

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*

further emphasized by by-law #330 prohibiting the circulation of automobiles on Mount Royal Park between the hours of 7am to 11pm.⁶⁹

Risks to Human Health

According to Atkins, who has studied animal wastes and nuisances in 19th century London, miasmatic theories and the concern linked to animal waste disposal was prevalent in the second half of the 19th century. Even “the seemingly indispensable horse came under critical scrutiny towards the end of the century because of the manure it left on the street.”⁷⁰ Waste and manure would have, by then, been increasingly associated with disease and epidemics. By-laws in Montreal also reflect these concerns about animal waste disposal, which included the removal of dead bodies, of manure and the management of slaughterhouses and public markets. “The application of public health measures was therefore a site of emergence for the modern state, and the smells and filth associated with animal waste in towns were a focus for the politics of ‘us’, the citizens, against ‘them’, the polluters.”⁷¹ This desire for a separation in environment and a clear speciesism is apparent in the push for a purely human space in the city of Montreal, but its by-laws demonstrates a confusion in how to reconcile the interrelations of daily life, and a chosen ideal out of concern for a sudden lack of space and increasing population density apparent in many areas of the city.

In trying to reconcile how to share city space between living beings, the city council and many of the by-laws discussing animals that they proposed were often concerned with the removal of cadavers (human and animal) as well as with the removal of waste (also human and animal). As noted in by-law #15, scavengers were employed by the Board of Health for the

⁶⁹ Règlement prohibant la circulation des automobiles dans le Parc Mont-Royal, 1905, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0330-1905), Archives de Montréal.

⁷⁰ Peter Atkins. « Animal Wastes and Nuisances in Nineteenth-Century London », in Peter Atkins, dir., *Animal Cities: Beastly Urban Histories*, Great Britain, Ashgate, 2012, p. 25.

⁷¹ Peter Atkins. « Animal Wastes and Nuisances in Nineteenth-Century London », p. 27.

removal of all “house-offal”, a general category of waste which included “any dead animal, dirt, sawdust, manure, soot, ashes, cinders, shavings, hair, shreds, oyster clam, or lobster shells and all garbage whether consisting of animal or vegetable matter or other offensive substances, horses, cows, and pigs shall be removed at the cost of the owners thereof, where such owners are known”.⁷² In addition to stopping to remove filth from houses, Section 9 of the by-law stipulates that the scavengers also had the duty to “remove all dead animals or offensive matter within their respective districts found lying in the street or in any other place”.⁷³ To do this, scavengers required a licence for their cart, in the same manner that carters or cab drivers required one.⁷⁴ The creation and the removal of waste was caused by all living beings within the city, and had to be managed and removed by the association of both humans and non-humans.

The movement of bodies and their incineration had to be carefully controlled, in large part due to the concern of transmitting epidemic diseases. In 1848, the first section of by-law #197 concerning “les nuisances affectant la santé”, it was noted how dead animals, stagnant water or any other type of trash could be dangerous for the health of citizens in the city of Montreal.⁷⁵ Statistics provided in annual reports by the police department consider the yearly removal of animal carrion, as well as the rare exception of “entrails”, “meat”, “poultry” and “fish” noted in 1896. While there is a gradual diminution of animals found dead in the city streets between 1881-1893 (Figure 6 : *Graph showing the total animals found dead in Montreal streets between 1880-1903*), horses remain the exception with an augmenting trend throughout the years (Figure 7 : *The horses found dead vs the total amount of animals found dead in Montreal streets, 1880-1903*), once again possibly due to the outlawing of pig-rearing in the city and the continued usefulness of the

⁷² Règlement concernant les vidangeurs, version anglaise, 1868, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0015-1868), Archives de Montréal.

⁷³ Règlement concernant les vidangeurs, 1868, *op. cit.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ Règlement pour amender le règlement no 40 concernant les nuisances affectant la santé, 1848, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0197-1848), Archives de Montréal.

horse for transportation and leisure in the industrial city. Figure 6 demonstrates with the use of a line showing the moving average how the general trend is for a diminution of dead animals found in the street until 1893, when this amount slowly increases once again. When compared to figure 7, which compares horses with a total of all other animals (horses included), it is possible to deduce despite the missing statistics for horse cadavers starting in 1897 that the increase noticed in 1893 is mostly due to the continued usefulness of horses in the city, their presence and also their death. Animal corpses, considered carrion as stated by the following by-law were not discussed in the same sections of the by-laws considering human cadavers: “Any animal which dies without having been slaughtered and bled, or which has been slaughtered or bled because, owing to some disease or other cause, it was in such condition that it would have died within a short delay, shall be deemed to be carrion”⁷⁶. For example, by 1866, by-law #5 stipulates that regular carters could not offer the transportation of any cadaver, particularly noting the remains of children.⁷⁷ The difference in how dead bodies are discussed, as well as their disposal, is noteworthy since it emphasizes a variance in the value and emotional attachment held for human cadavers versus those of other beings. While it may seem obvious and self-explanatory, it nonetheless influences how the municipality manages the disposal and displacement of all bodies.

⁷⁶ Règlement pourvoyant à l’enterrement et à l’incinération des charognes dans la Cité, 1900, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0254-1900), Archives de Montréal.

⁷⁷ Règlement pour empêcher les charretiers de transporter des cadavres dans des voitures couvertes, 1866, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0005-1866), Archives de Montréal.

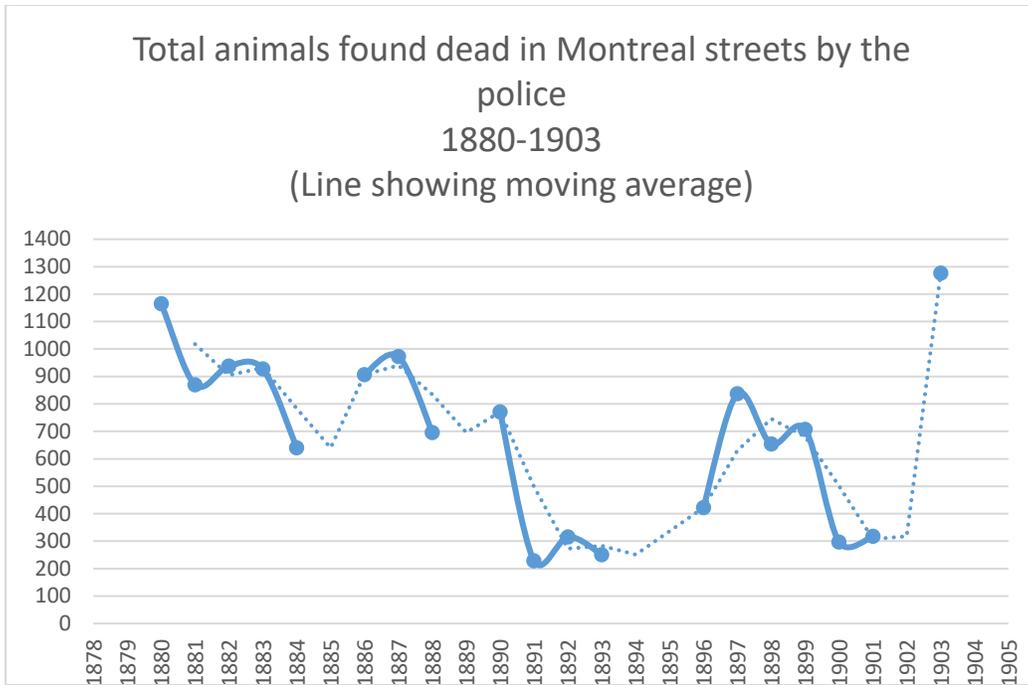


Figure 6 : Graph showing the total animals found dead in Montreal streets between 1880-1903⁷⁸

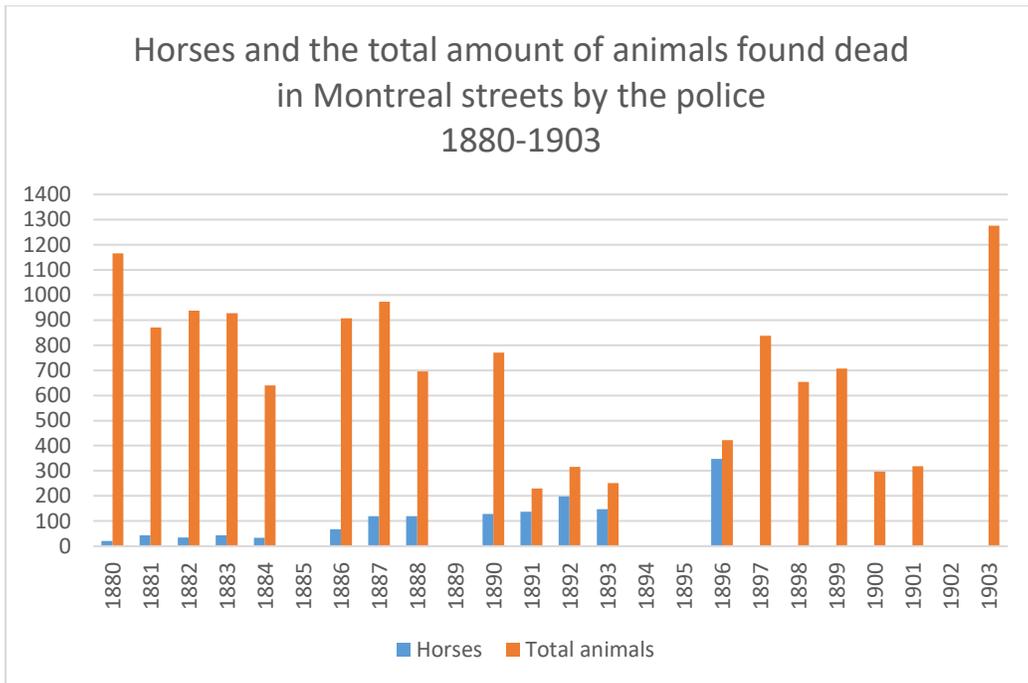


Figure 7 : The horses found dead vs the total amount of animals found dead in Montreal streets, 1880-1903⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Annual Police Reports (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

⁷⁹ Annual Police Reports (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

The management of the removal of manure and excrements in general was another subject addressed in by-laws concerned with the risks of sharing space with animals. The mere fact that horses were prevalent in the city as a mode of transportation meant that manure was a natural occurrence and could be found as much in the street as in stables. The proper and rapid management of its disposal was associated with cleanliness as well as with being human, or of becoming a proper human. As noted by Corbin, “Excrement now determined social perceptions. The bourgeois projected onto the poor what he was trying to repress in himself. The fetid animal, crouched in dung in its den, formed the stereotype”.⁸⁰ In the streets, manure-boxes were made available at certain street corners in order to maintain cleanliness (Figure 8 : ¹ Y.W.C.A. building, Dorchester Street, Montreal, QC, about 1898, VIEW-3164, McCord Museum Archive). Nonetheless, the general concern with filth and odors, linked to disease in the 19th century, was strongly associated with the presence of animals in the city.

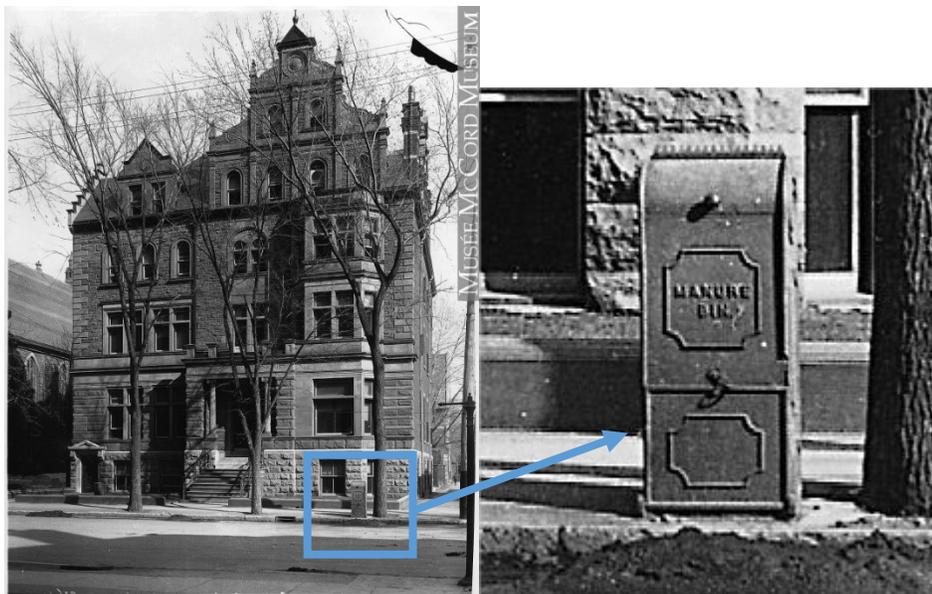


Figure 8 : ¹ Y.W.C.A. building, Dorchester Street, Montreal, QC, about 1898, VIEW-3164, McCord Museum Archives.

(The blue box shows the manure box, enlarged on the right)

⁸⁰ Alain Corbin. « Urban Sensations: The Shifting Sensescape of the City », p. 57.

Public Security

Only rarely does the reflection for public security come directly into play in by-laws that consider the presence of animals in the city. Although dogs must have collars by 1842⁸¹, in 1848 by-law #204 requires them to be muzzled in particular instances such as when a rabid dog has been spotted in the city and the mayor sends out a special request for the safety of all citizens, for a period of up to two months.⁸² Later by-laws concerning dogs (1869-1870 and 1908, for example), require them to be registered, numbered and licensed every year. The by-laws also state that any dogs wandering around the city without proper registration or a collar can either be impounded or “destroyed” by the Superintendent of police.⁸³ The use of the term “destroyed”, which is recurring, is a desensitising one which depicts the animal as an object. Speeding as a concern is mostly noticeable through the analysis of statistics found in annual reports. Recurring categories, “careless driving”, or “menant chevaux trop vite”, demonstrate that fines could be handed out in such cases, although they do not make up the main criminal or safety concerns.⁸⁴

Protecting Lives for Morality

In annual police reports, animal-related crimes that don't mention carters or cab drivers are particularly rare. Among the categories mentioned are bestiality, cruelty to animals, dog fighting, cock fighting, contraventions on to the game law and refusing to pay for stables, with the major numerical category being cruelty to animals.⁸⁵ In 1870, by-law #36 concerning “les offenses contre les bonnes mœurs et la décence” mentions in section 6 that “il est défendu de

⁸¹ By-law repealing the 24th section of by-law 21 fixing the rate of assessment having relation to the owners of dogs being obliged to have collars placed round their necks, 1842, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0083-1842), Archives de Montréal.

⁸² Règlement pour empêcher les chiens d'errer çà et là en certains temps sans être bien et dûment muselés, 1848, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-1-0204-1848), Archives de Montréal.

⁸³ Règlement amendant le Règlement no 33 intitulé “règlement concernant les chiens », 1908, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0379-1908), Archives de Montréal.

⁸⁴ *Annual Police Reports* (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910.

⁸⁵ *Annual Police Reports* (V001.4), Archives de Montréal, 1863-1910, *op. cit.*

maltraiter ou d’user de cruauté envers aucun animal dans la dite cité, soit en lui infligeant des coups inutilement ou sans pitié ou en le surchargeant ou malmenant, ou en le transportant, ou en l’exhibant ou exposant en vente d’une manière inconvenante ou de nature à blesser ou à faire tort au dit animal, ou d’aucune autre manière que ce soit.”⁸⁶ It is significant to note how this section is integrated in a by-law about human decency and mores, instead of being particularly noted for other beings themselves. The by-law arrives one year after the Canadian government’s animal welfare legislation, the *Cruelty to Animals Act* of 1869, which, as stated by Ingram “stood as a statement of ethics and principles that pointed to the new nation’s modern, progressive, respectable identity”.⁸⁷ The Montreal by-law says as much about how citizens of the city identified themselves, progress and their nation as about the actual protection of animals as other living beings sharing the city.

The protection of animals was often species-specific or place-specific depending on which animals served humans in the city more. By-law #54 is one such example, as it is dedicated in its entirety to the protection of insectivorous birds, only to later mention in the various sections that it is not only applicable to these birds, but also to birds of any type.⁸⁸ In terms of place, the city council determined through its by-laws which areas were more “natural” and could welcome certain animals versus other areas in the city where they weren’t desirable. In by-law #95 concerning parks, section 5 notes that “nul ne souillera ou ne fera quoi que ce soit ayant pour but de souiller, corrompre ou troubler les eaux, ou troublera ou molestera les oiseaux ou les animaux dans les dits Parcs”.⁸⁹ Place and space could be shared with animals, but

⁸⁶ Règlement concernant les offenses contre les bonnes mœurs et la décence, 1870, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0036-1870), Archives de Montréal.

⁸⁷ Darcy Ingram. « Beastly measures: Animal welfare, civil society, and state policy in Victorian Canada. », p. 222.

⁸⁸ Règlement pour la protection des oiseaux insectivores, 1871, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0054-1871), Archives de Montréal.

⁸⁹ Règlement concernant les parcs, 1876, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0095-1876), Archives de Montréal.

under particular conditions and based on a speciesism decided upon by members of the city council, in accordance to how the city was perceived in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Conclusion

The analysis presented in this chapter demonstrates that the categories of by-laws linked directly to space and movement emphasize the control of animal living beings and their agency. The analysis of by-laws emphasizes the significance of the power struggle for space between all beings or “becomings”, through the control not only of who they are, but of what they do.⁹⁰ The meshwork of interrelations between all beings in the city plays out in the control of agency, the restriction of movement, and the control of what occurs in select places such as parks. A significant but less prevalent preoccupation is sanitation, while any physical and public security risks of welcoming animal presences in the city, such as dog bites, are the last, not to mention a minor, concern.

This chapter has also shown how by-laws are strict towards and target humans closely associated with animals in their daily lives such as carters and cab drivers, and who, in addition, are associated with movement and loitering in the 19th century city. The analysis of by-laws between 1860 and 1910 demonstrates a change in human/animal relations and the way humans perceive animals. If the earlier by-laws talk about non-human beings almost as things, the changing language shows, already starting in the 1870’s, how a potential agency is considered even if it isn’t fully accepted. While by-laws about the cost of cabbies and animal licences are continually amended, a pressing concern for the built environment, circulation in the streets of cars and tramways as well as the erection or maintenance of city stables is why our current analysis ends in 1910. The following chapter, as a case study, will consider how a re-lecture of

⁹⁰ Tim Ingold. « Prospect », in Tim Ingold et Gisli Palsson, dir., *Biosocial Becomings: Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013.

known debates about access to Mount-Royal Park, as a limited and bounded area, can be revealing about how human/horse relations play out in the city.

2. Mount Royal Park: Shared Spaces, Controlled Places

The creation of famous architect Frederick Law Olmstead, Mount Royal Park was formed partly from expropriated land bought off by the city in 1872.⁹¹ Created with the goal to embellish the city as well as to create new places for the leisure activities of citizens⁹², access to Mount Royal Park by individuals of different social classes as well as by different beings was cause for debate in the early 20th century, bringing about multiple discussions and reflections on the use of space and place in the industrialised city. Not only does the park bring about reflections about which type of “natural” space/place it is or should be, but it also pushes us to reflect on the significance of this bounded space for its users - both human and animal - and the place they are permitted to occupy in it through time. As noted by Nicolas Kenny, the height and viewpoint of Mount Royal “manipulated the relationship with space, imposing upon it modern principles of beauty, pride and pleasure”.⁹³ As a space provided with rich and modern meaning in the early 20th century, its importance is uncontested - unlike the use of it. Elites would attempt to appropriate the space, as well as other grassroots groups, since “dominer la montagne, c’est aussi une manière de dominer la ville à distance”.⁹⁴ Bringing back a concept from Chapter 1, Ingold’s concept of lives being in a constant state of “becoming”⁹⁵, it is worth wondering how these dynamics of growing, of moving and of being play out in a restricted space with significant appeal to humans at the time. Evidence of a living being’s ability to access and spend time in this park becomes quite telling of societal norms, ideals, morals and beliefs, as

⁹¹ Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, Montréal, Boréal, 1991, p. 93.

⁹² Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, p. 242.

⁹³ Nicolas Kenny. « Forging Urban Culture: Modernity and Corporeal Experiences in Montreal and Brussels, 1880-1914 », Montreal, Université de Montréal & Université Libre de Bruxelles, Histoire, 2008, p. 77.

⁹⁴ Michèle Dagenais. *Faire et fuir la ville: espaces publics de culture et de loisirs à Montréal et Toronto aux XIXe et XXe siècles*, Les Presses de l'Université Laval, 2006, p. 25.

⁹⁵ Tim Ingold. « Prospect », in Tim Ingold et Gisli Palsson, dir., *Biosocial Becomings: Integrating Social and Biological Anthropology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2013, p. 10.

well as, in a larger sense, the urban aspirations of the city for its citizens and occupants. The park can be considered as more than a human geography; it is a living geography where many beings and things interact and experience place on a daily basis.

The goal of this chapter is to offer a new way of considering the primary sources and the debates surrounding the purpose of Mount Royal Park. By seeing that it is an urban place occupied by horses in relation to other beings, we hope to offer a telling comparison between how living beings (human and non-human) react with and towards each other in the park, and how perception of the environment changes everything in these relations. Focusing on perceptions and the sensory as much as on the physical reality of the environment of the park, we aim to reveal new dynamics and new lived experiences. To examine how these interrelations play out, this chapter will first explain the chronological debates used for this analysis, occurring between 1902 and 1917 in the journal clippings accumulated by the Parks and Playgrounds Association, as well as the difficulties brought about by this particular source of information. We will then examine the use of senses in the park and why it is significant, getting to and moving in the park, the nature and perception of the park and the beings in its environment, followed by a section about how relations between non-human living beings in the environment mirror relations between humans.

[The Parks and Playgrounds Association and the debates on the use of Mount Royal Park](#)

Founded in 1902, the Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association was a grassroots initiative proposing to protect and support a chosen kind of development in Mount Royal Park as well as of other parks in the city. As a newly organized Parks Protective Association, its enterprises followed the same path: Protect the mountain and stop the encroachment of

industrialisation, often in the form of tramways.⁹⁶ It was a mostly female activist initiative with Julia Drummond as its founder.⁹⁷

The Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association archives, held at McGill University, offer a wide selection of newspaper clippings following large social debates held by the association and the cities citizens. The clippings, coming from a variety French and English media, cover the periods 1902 to 1964, including themes such as the Mount Royal tramway line debates. Although scrapbooking remains a selective enterprise, the wide selection and variety presented in these archives are more than useful for the purposes of this exploratory method. For the purposes of this chapter, the scrapbooks containing clippings from container 7, 1900-1926 (file 00257) as well as those from 1902-1917 (file 00259) were examined. The difficulty with these older clippings, manually retrieved from the newspapers following the issues of interest to the association, is the frequent lack of or incomplete dates and newspaper names. Despite this, they follow a chronological order as they were pasted in the scrapbooks, offering an evident development of the issues of interest which can be pieced together with the known dates. These clippings, used jointly with other primary sources from the Archives de Montréal (Commission des Parcs et Traverses, city by-laws) as well as secondary sources, remain useful to understand how the environment affected ongoing debates.

These debate phases, although multiple, followed a clear line of thought. Already in 1903, one year following the foundation of the Parks and Playgrounds Association, the women of the association are confronted with a renewal of a tramway project to access Mount Royal Park. Who could access the park is a question which has already been considered in the historiography, but how these questions play out in terms of interspecies relations has not.

⁹⁶ Michèle Dagenais. *Faire et fuir la ville*, p. 25.

⁹⁷ Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, p. 242.

Following the clippings presented in our archival scrapbooks, the debate resurfaces in 1916-1917. These two phases will be examined, being that they are the most unified in thought, but the second holds the most material in our archives. Following the 1920's, the debate takes a new turn which reflects a new epoch, rich with new social considerations, an increased notion that progress has already installed itself comfortably in the city, as well as different concerns for the nature in the park which is less based on the incursion of progress in the form of tramways, for example, and less based on the protection of a pure nature.⁹⁸ Our research for this chapter ends in 1917 for this reason.

Why Mount Royal Park: The 20th century use of senses in the park and its significance

The 19th century human perception of the sense of smell is revealing about how the city was conceived of as well as of how space was shared. Long considered the least advanced sense, smell was frequently considered “animalistic” and even “infantile”.⁹⁹ For those more sensible to non-human life and who were often influenced by Darwinian evolutionary thought, animals could be considered our sensory counterparts seeing that they also felt and had developed senses.¹⁰⁰ As an example, these senses made the horse sensible to his or her city environment, and could help determine the place humans ascribed to them in the busy industrial city based on this. As explained by Nicolas Kenny, “the unpredictable nature of horses made them inappropriate for the modern street [...]”.¹⁰¹ The place for the urban horse was not, therefore, on the street due to its sensibility in this type of busy environment, but could it be in the park? An increasing consideration of the sensory capacity of animals could also be a result of growing

⁹⁸ Michèle Dagenais. *Faire et fuir la ville*, p. 25-33.

⁹⁹ Constance Classen. « Introduction: The Transformation of Perception », in Constance Classen, dir., *A Cultural History of the Senses: In the Age of Empire*, India, Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 19.

¹⁰⁰ Constance Classen. « Introduction: The Transformation of Perception », p. 20.

¹⁰¹ Nicolas Kenny. *The Feel of the City: Experiences of Urban Transformation*, University of Toronto Press, 2014, p. 175.

industrialisation, and an increasing sentiment of safety in the ability to control movement rapidly through machinery. McShane and Tarr describe the late 19th century urban horse as one that was considered by humans as “machines”¹⁰², but this chapter can demonstrate how an environmental nuance needs to be put forward: The horse in the park remained a late 19th century, early 20th century, more acceptable and less dangerous sensory machine, while the century urban street horse would rapidly become considered a mechanical threat to be rapidly replaced with exponential mechanical progress of the industrialised city.

In this sense, human observations of the urban city and of parks such as Mount Royal Park affected how animals could experience and live in their designated environment. As demonstrated by the by-laws presented in Chapter 1, which spaces and places were considered acceptable for the presence of animals, and the circumstances under which they could experience these environments, was pre-determined by the relation they had with their human counterparts as well as with the human perceptions of accessibility, respectability and sanitation and/or safety. As noted by Nicolas Kenny, “[a]lthough many commentators viewed the modern city as the showcase of human achievement, its image as a place of harmony and well-being depended largely on the availability and proximity of nature”.¹⁰³ Rural/urban being frequently presented as dualities, it is easy to forget that the city itself is rich with its own contradictions. Mount Royal Park is one such paradox in comparison to the rest of the city environment. The park offered an opportunity to escape the sound, olfactory and visual pollution experienced in

¹⁰² Clay McShane et Joel Tarr. *The Horse in the City: Living Machines in the Nineteenth Century*, Baltimore, The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007, p. 2.

¹⁰³ Nicolas Kenny. *The Feel of the City*, p. 66.

the industrial and increasingly busy city zones and streets, demonstrating how “[m]odern sensibilities required physical withdrawal to cope with the sensory intensity of urban life”.¹⁰⁴

Mount Royal Park was largely considered a natural, clean, safe and noise-free zone where individuals could go to withdraw from the busy and noisy city. As noted by Nadine Klopfer, “[t]he perception of the mountain as special and precious is obviously grounded in the mountain’s imagined preservation from urbanity”.¹⁰⁵ In effect, it is an exterior place described of entirely as a significant space; the worth that is accorded to it is attributable to it being almost untouched and pure; natural and non-urban. Elizabeth Burnham, writing from Calgary, Alberta used her senses to describe this space with awe at its being untainted by the surrounding city, offering a spiritual experience:

The beautiful walks and woods, the lovely white wood lilies, the birds singing, and happy little children playing here and there under the shady trees all seemed to be in such perfect harmony when I seated myself down at the summit where all was peaceful and still, I refreshed myself by drinking in the beauty of the scene, feeling at peace with God and all mankind. [...] It is whilst under the influence of such scenes and conditions that man is brought closer to God. It is that peaceful quietude and absence of mercantile life which lends that indescribable charm to the scene and surroundings. Let the sound of approaching electric cars with that everlasting clang, clang, clang, and the accompanying ‘all aboard’ be once heard and the charm of Mount Royal is a thing of the past.¹⁰⁶

Elizabeth Burnham, who considers herself an “outsider” to the issues presented about access to the park, was a visitor who went several times to Montreal in both the summer and winter months. In 1903, she writes an opinion piece to the editor of *The Witness*, recalling how influential her visits to Mount Royal Park were for her. The senses used by Elizabeth Burnham to illustrate the park expressly determine presence as well as absence: her sight is used to describe

¹⁰⁴ Alain Corbin. « Urban Sensations: The Shifting Sensescape of the City », in Constance Classen, dir., *A Cultural History of the Senses: In the Age of Empire*, India, Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 67.

¹⁰⁵ Nadine Klopfer. « Upon the Hill: Negotiating Public Space in Early 20th Century Montreal », *Zeitschrift für Kanada-Studien*, vol. 29.2, 2009, p. 87.

¹⁰⁶ Elizabeth Burnham, *Calgary, Alberta, N. W. T., The Witness, Jan. 21, 1903, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.*

the “white wood lilies”, the sounds she hears include singing birds and happy children. The “naturalness” of the site makes it a space, but it is what is absented by Elizabeth which makes it a place. The “peaceful quietude” due to the “absence of mercantile life” gives significance to the site. Her warning is evident: “Let the sound of approaching electric cars with that everlasting clang, clang, clang, and the accompanying ‘all aboard’ be once heard and the charm of Mount Royal is a thing of the past.”¹⁰⁷ This specificity of the park is what makes it significant for our research: As a human-preserved and manipulated “natural” environment, it is a constructed space; a place maintained to provide an escape from city life, one where both humans and animals experience place differently to the rest of the city, drastically changing how they consider each others’ presence. It is one of the rare places in the city where the presence of non-humans is considered “natural” and “normal”, more so than the presence of industry and mechanization. Consequently, it is also a privileged place where both humans and non-humans of a certain social rank or, in the case of horses, of race, find easier access.

Getting to the Park, Moving in the Park

Corbin notes that “[m]odern sensibilities required physical withdrawal to cope with the sensory intensity of urban life.”¹⁰⁸ Mount Royal Park was one such a place where individuals could go to as a temporary retreat from the hustle and bustle of a busy urban city. Maintained as a “safe” space away from mechanical distractions, reaching the park was, quite literally, no walk in the park: automobiles and tramlines would have simplified access, but many considered that the park should be kept as a pure, natural space away from the industrial realities of the urban city. Accessing the park was therefore a complex affair, and led to the voluntary and

¹⁰⁷ Elizabeth Burnham, *Calgary, Alberta, N. W. T., The Witness, Jan. 21, 1903, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.*

¹⁰⁸ Alain Corbin. « Urban Sensations: The Shifting Sensescape of the City », p. 67.

involuntary exclusion of many living beings, who could not afford or were not afforded the luxury of reaching this haven.

A collection of newspaper articles and letters to editors dating between 1902-1917 in the McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association demonstrate how this debate stagnated over time, and the exclusive nature of the park. Writing to the editor of the Daily Mail, a concerned citizen signing as Wellington notes in 1916 that as a “frequent visitor to the mountain” he has “often remarked the fact to friends that only carriages, horseback riders and athletic people can climb the hills and dales of that romantic spot.”¹⁰⁹ Like the historiography before it, our research also supports the idea that Mount Royal Park was a space for leisure activities, those that could mostly afford them, and their companion species.¹¹⁰ Through an analysis of photographs, it is possible to differentiate the horses which were used for leisure activities versus the work horses necessary to the caddies who were restricted to the areas surrounding the park. The “pure” thoroughbred is slender, has a thinner face and legs, and is shaped for rapidity and swift movement. A work horse, in comparison, is of a larger build, and is shaped for strength, accepting a large workload in comparison. Although far from mutually exclusive categories, with many different breeds which could be used as both, in general an individual would not purchase a workhorse breed to serve as a leisure animal. It is this distinction which also appears in the archives, and which creates a division between which type of breed is allowed in which city space. As expressed by a by-law analysed in the first chapter:

Nuls quadrupèdes exceptés ceux placés dans les parcs par les dits (sic) commissaires ou comité, et à l’exception *des chevaux d’agrément qui servent à*

¹⁰⁹ Wellington, “Access to Mount Royal: To the Editor of the Daily Mail”, *The Daily Mail*, April 30th, 1916, *McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association*, 257, 1916-1925.

¹¹⁰ Companion species is a term used by Donna Haraway in her book, *Companion Species Manifesto: Dogs, People, and Significant Otherness*, Chicago, Prickly Paradigm Press, 2003.

*la promenade, en seront amenés ou conduits dans les parcs, ou ne pourront y rester.*¹¹¹ (emphasis added)

Getting to and from the park was therefore not only a social privilege for humans, but also for the companion species of a certain kind: the “cheval d’agrément” had an additional right to stay in the park, while work horses could only pass through and experience the park as a transient space, unless they had a special approval by the park committee. Experiencing and moving in the park was not only a human privilege, but one for beings in general. And the privilege of one being (an affluent human) meant the privilege of his/her companion species in accessing, moving and being in the park.



Figure 9- Tandem drive on Mount Royal Park, Montreal, QC, about 1890, VIEW-2551, McCord Museum Archives

¹¹¹ Règlement concernant les parcs, 1876, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0095-1876), Archives de Montréal.

(Notice that these horses are thin and svelte in comparison to work horses).

With admittance to the park being above all a question of social status, accessibility became rapidly linked to questions of social disturbance, danger and the fear of escalating general trouble. Alderman J. Ward offered his viewpoint in 1916 on the matter of both trams or automobiles entering Mount Royal Park in the early 20th century:

I am not in favor of allowing automobiles on the Mountain for three reasons. In the first place, the roads there are the only routes where people can drive or ride without interference by automobiles; then the roads are very steep in some places, and I think it would be dangerous to have automobiles driven down them; thirdly, we should be bound to have dust in summer. In any event, I think we have enough trouble at the moment without raising more.¹¹²

Putting aside the issue meant that for years, the question of access and movement to and from as well as in the park remained problematic. Accessibility to all classes being a main concern which led to requests for tramway access, or roads for automobiles, an evident compromise was accepting and even encouraging the public horse-drawn cab service, which would disturb those capable of having their own steed or buggy much less. For others, letting in tramways or cars would simply lead to a slippery slope of excuses to disturb the peacefulness of the park even more. As a lesser evil, the cab service was accepted but not completely welcome, signifying the same for its horses, drivers and their customers. A by-law dating to 1876 indicated that they had to go to and from the park in a constant state of transience without stopping for customers or loitering: “Il est défendu aux cochers de fiacre ou autres voitures de se tenir dans les parcs avec leurs voitures pour solliciter des passagers autre que ceux qu’ils y auraient amenés.”¹¹³ Despite having some level of access to the park, the carter/horse duo had to be strictly regulated in

¹¹² Alt. J. Ward, of Saint-Andrew Ward, “Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park”, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 4th 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹¹³ Règlement concernant les parcs, 1876, *City By-laws* (VM1-33-2-0095-1876), Archives de Montréal.

comparison to other leisure horses. The cab service, however, maintained the peace and quiet afforded by the park, and was accepted to a greater extent inside of than outside of the park:

Other speakers pointed out that experience showed that if the Tramways Company were given an inch they would take a yard and if they once were allowed to operate on Shakespeare Road they would soon want to cross the whole Park, which would utterly destroy its tranquility and rustic beauty. It was also pointed out that if tram cars were admitted it would greatly injure the cab service in the city, besides endangering the lives of the women and children.¹¹⁴

Cabs, women and children were all grouped together into a category that required the help as well as the consideration of the Parks and Playgrounds Committee, while in reality they served a particular purpose well: Keeping out a nature-endangering progress in the form of trams or cars. If outside of the park, cabs were considered a source of anxiety, noise and bad odors, the discourse changed rapidly inside the park environment. A certain Dr. Guerin notes, “if we destroy the tranquil atmosphere of the park as it is to-day we will do away with one of the most delightful institutions of our city, the Cab service.”¹¹⁵ In the urban areas of the city, the horse was “a convenience accompanied by a nuisance, and the urban horses, long before they were evicted, were perceived as obsolete”.¹¹⁶ Olson discusses how horses and drivers would become marginalized until they essentially disappeared from the city.¹¹⁷ The cabbie and horse duo, depending on the environment, went from a “delightful institution” to one to be pushed outside of the urban circle (see Chapter 3 for more details and a visualisation). Although this is the case in most of the urban areas of Montreal, the reality is more complex on Mount Royal where horse and carter were both considered a boon to stop the rapid encroachment of trams and cars

¹¹⁴ “Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park”, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 4th, 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹¹⁵ Dr. Guerin (President of the City Improvement League), Dr. Guerin says Park Would be Ruined, “Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park”, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 4th, 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹¹⁶ Sherry Olson. « The Urban Horse and the Shaping of Montreal, 1840-1914 », in Joanna Dean, Darcy Ingram et Christabelle Sethna, eds., *Animal Metropolis*, University of Calgary Press, 2017, p. 67.

¹¹⁷ Sherry Olson. « The Urban Horse and the Shaping of Montreal, 1840-1914 », p. 67.

in unwanted areas, so long as the park committee maintained some social control on their movements. In fact, one could consider them the lesser evil.

If the public debate in newspapers mentions the difficulties of getting to and moving inside of the park, the municipal archives demonstrate the intensity of the leisure activities requiring the participation of both human and horse that were ongoing in the park through time. A riding track and pathways, to be built and maintained by “un certain nombre de citoyens” (going from Fletcher’s field towards the mountain) also shows up in discussions and do not seem to cause debate.¹¹⁸ The demand for the maintenance and improvements to the riding track was requested by “private individuals”, and the “parties interested” simply wished permission to purchase the materials necessary to bring about the changes.¹¹⁹ An extension to the riding track had previously been demanded by the City Surveyor on June 15th, 1896, as evidence of the acceptance of the presence of horses in the park.¹²⁰ In fact, the idea of the riding track on Mount Royal is of such significance that it appears on a topographical map of the park in 1898 (see map below). A polo club would also eventually request and be quickly granted permission to practice on Fletcher’s field between 6-8:30am in 1904.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ Letters to the Parks and Ferries Committee dated September 18th, 1900 and June 5th, 1900. *Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses* (VM44-4-2-7_01op), Archives de Montréal.

¹¹⁹ Letter from lawyers « Campbell, Meredith, Allan and Hague » to the Mayor and Aldermen of the city, 19th April 1900, *Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses* (VM44-3_09op), Archives de Montréal

¹²⁰ Letter dated June 15th, 1896, *Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses* (VM44-4-2-7_01op), Archives de Montréal.

¹²¹ Letter from William Dow & Co Brewers and Maltsters, April 23rd 1904, *Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses* (VM44-4-2-8_01op), Archives de Montréal.

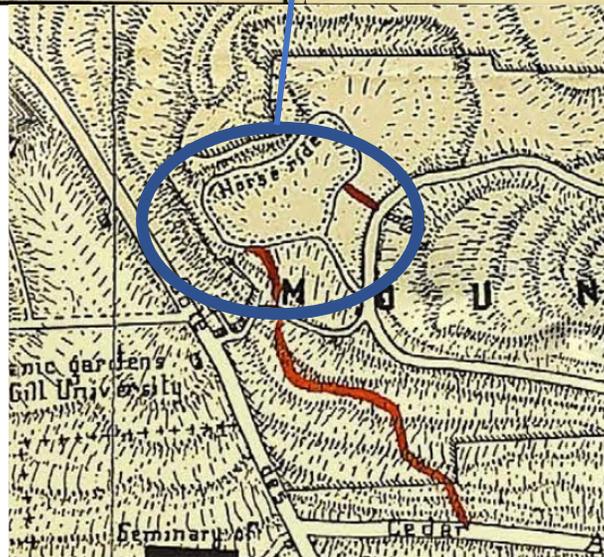
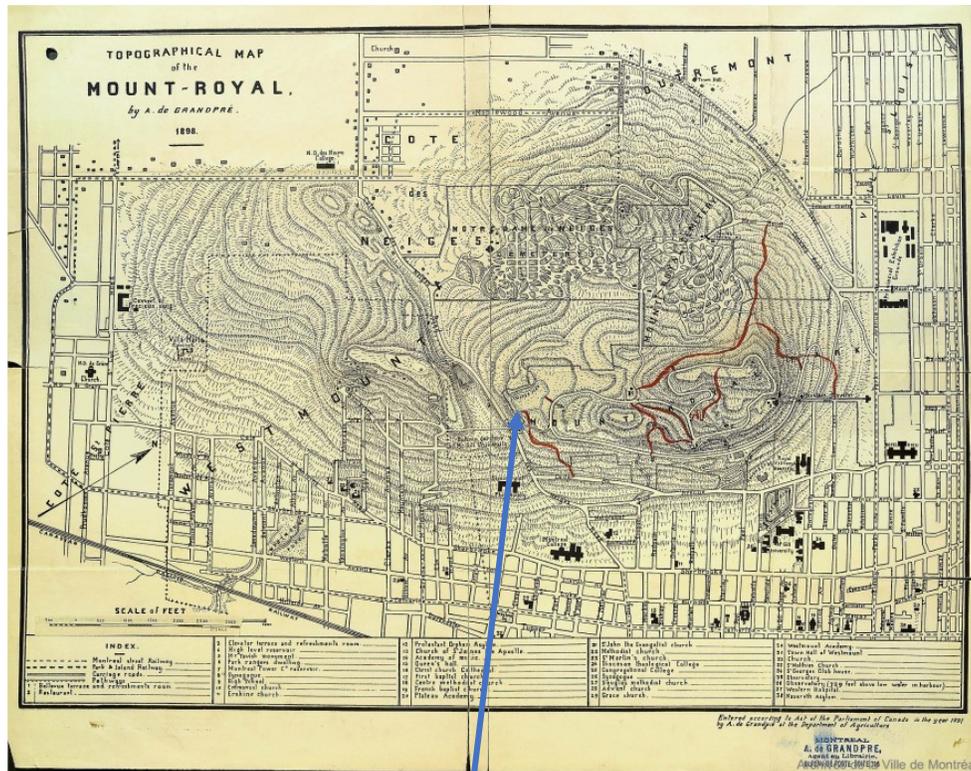


Figure 10- Topographical map of the Mount Royal, 1898, Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses (VM44-4-2-7_01-gf23-023op), Archives de Montréal.

(Circled in blue, "Horse ride"; straight doubled lines are carriage roads)

Two limitations to leisure horses and their companions are in regard to speed. In *La Presse*, on May 31st, 1898, the matter is quickly resolved by proposing a time zone for horse

racing in the park, between 5 and 9am... a proposal which is swiftly adopted.¹²² This same problem also explains the desire to prohibit the use of sulky sleighs, built for speed, on the common pathways of the park.¹²³ Mostly, however, access to the park and movement therein does not seem to be an issue in regard to leisure activities, and any requests or concerns are rapidly settled. For leisure horses and their companion beings, the archives do not depict them as a nuisance of any kind. Which begs us to question, as does Sherry Olson: Does the city accommodate the presence of the horse,¹²⁴ or does the horse simply follow similar socially constructed rules about co-living and co-dependence in an environment as other beings in the city? It seems that in the years studied, the second is more reflective of the spatial relations between beings, with the presence of horses following rules of co-living and co-dependence in a similar manner as humans. As noted by Nadine Klopfer, as a space rife with power struggles, Mount Royal revealed “diverging concepts of Montreal’s social order and shifting power relations” while it also provided a space where negotiation could occur, a “space of reconciliation”.¹²⁵ We could add that this negotiation implicates other beings which also must follow the social rules of shared space.

¹²² Letter on an assembly of the Parcs and Ferries Committee appearing in *La Presse*, May 31st, 1898, *Thematic Folder “Courses”* (259-38.1), Archives de Montréal.

¹²³ Letter to the Committee, April 2nd, 1893, *Fonds Commission des Parcs et Traverses* (VM44-4-2-7_01op), Archives de Montréal.

¹²⁴ Sherry Olson. « The Urban Horse and the Shaping of Montreal, 1840-1914 », p. 57.

¹²⁵ Nadine Klopfer. « Upon the Hill: Negotiating Public Space in Early 20th Century Montreal », p. 89-90.



Figure 11- Park Ranger's house, Mount Royal Park, Montreal, QC, 1899, MP-0000.27.105, McCord Museum Archives.

(Horses and humans sharing – negotiating - space in the park)

Sacred Nature, Sacred Place

The horse, through its agency and its possibility for movement, remained a more dangerous animal to human presence than cars in the urban zones of the city. As expressed by Nicolas Kenny, “In the face of increasing movement and speed, navigating the modern street required calculated and rational judgement. The unpredictable nature of horses made them inappropriate for the modern street [...]”.¹²⁶ If the presence of horses is increasingly less accepted in the urban streets for security reasons, the contrary is true in Mount Royal Park: Anything mechanized, such as the automobile or the tramway, is considered highly out of place and dangerous. While on the street, the car “could be stopped over the distance of only a few

¹²⁶ Nicolas Kenny, *The Feel of the City: Experiences of Urban Transformation*, p. 175.

feet, while a galloping horse required several yards to be immobilized.”¹²⁷ The carriage, and by extension the horse and human associated with it, however, had an assured place on the mountain. Considered more “natural” than anything mechanical brought about by the exponential “Progress” of modernity, animals in general had their place in the park. A “rustic beauty”¹²⁸, the park was meant to be a place where danger and the hectic lifestyle of the city could be put aside. Automobiles would “not only jeopardize the lives of the people who go there in carriages but would also jeopardize the lives of little children”, “[...] allow tramways and motor cars and there will be nothing for the cabs to do”.¹²⁹ In the park, it isn’t the place of animals which is put in question, but rather, the place of anything typically found in the lower areas of the city.

Humans also considered the nervous nature of the horse in regard to automobiles in order to make decisions as to which should have a place where in the city. Alderman E. Dubeau of Lafontaine Ward mentions that “In the old days horses were afraid of motors, but they have got used to them” as well as that “If autos are allowed, they should keep to the outside of the road, *so that horses and pedestrians* would be exposed to less danger” (emphasis added).¹³⁰ Despite the advancement of mechanical progress and the pushing out towards the hinterlands of animals and horses in the industrial city, humans perceived fresh air, the country and nature as something pure and with the capability to help maintain a healthy lifestyle. Even if “Progress” was considered as bringing about advancements to society, spaces such as Mount Royal Park demonstrate that there was still a desire to maintain some relationship with nature, the

¹²⁷ As cited in Nicolas Kenny, *The Feel of the City*, p. 175.

¹²⁸ Senator Dandurand, against the pro position, “Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park”, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 4th 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹²⁹ Dr. Guerin (President of the City Improvement League), Dr. Guerin says Park Would be Ruined, “Stormy opposition to trams entering Mount Royal Park”, *Montreal Daily Star*, May 4th 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹³⁰ Alderman E. Dubeau, Lafontaine Ward, “Aldermen Stand Pat on Proposal to Allow Autos”, in *Unknown*, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

countryside and the activities associated with it. Whether the park was a “natural” environment in the city is yet open to debate, but perceptions and the lived experience of the city at the time certainly demonstrate it to be when the horse becomes equally something to protect in the park as humans.

Relations Between Beings as Representative of Relations Between Humans

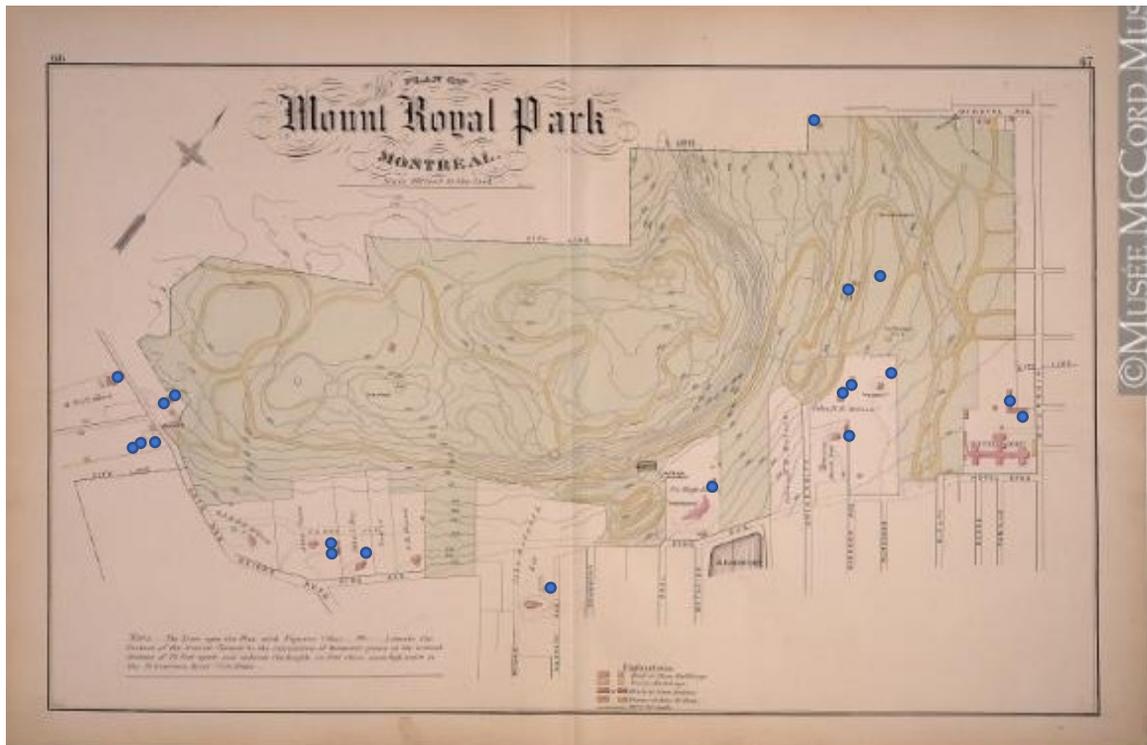


Figure 12- Plan of Mount Royal Park, Montreal, QC, about 1880, M992.22.2, McCord Museum Archives

(showing the 20 stables/sheds surrounding the park in approx. 1880. Many are for institutions and or private and wealthy individuals. The stables surrounding Mount Royal Park are identified by the blue circles)

As written in an article discussing the proposal to allow automobiles in the park - which was strictly opposed by many of the aldermen who dared say an opinion publicly - “[t]he opponents of the change maintain that the roads in the park are the only place left to the horseman, pedestrian or lover of driving free from the smell and noise of the automobile.”¹³¹

¹³¹ “Aldermen Stand Pat on Proposal to Allow Autos”, 1902-1917, *Ibid.*

This access had significant social value. The previous map (Figure 12- Plan of Mount Royal Park, Montreal, QC, about 1880, M992.22.2, McCord Museum Archives) demonstrates the space provided by the city for the creation of Mount Royal Park as well as the roads and paths going through. The blue circles were added in order to clearly identify the surrounding stables, which had a simplified access to these roads. The land on which these stables are found were for the equestrians who could afford the expensive land surrounding the park, or organisations such as the College de Montréal. Most are part of what would eventually become known as the Golden Square Mile; an area where many Montreal bourgeois, many of whom were part of the richest in Canada, moved to in the second half of the 19th century and built “de somptueuses résidences, sur de vastes terrains dominant la ville, avec une vue superbe.”¹³² Horses therefore faced the same social challenges that their human companions did: Those of a certain distinction, race and status had an easy access to places considered healthy, natural and exclusive, while the work horses and their companions had to face more social control and had to face more challenges to reach such areas of the city.

An increasingly confusing time period for beings, modernity was understood through the use of senses and through a clear differentiation of places, things and beings. As explained by Kate Flint:

Information received through the senses, moreover, led people to make, both consciously and unconsciously, discriminations and judgements about class, ethnic identity, background and gender – the tools through which one apprehends what Raymond Williams termed a ‘knowable community’ (Williams 1975: 165), and through which one tries to make sense of what has become the more familiar phenomenon of the crowded, chaotic, contradictory modern world.¹³³

¹³² Paul-André Linteau. *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération*, p. 78.

¹³³ Kate Flint. « The Social Life of the Senses: The Assaults and Seductions of Modernity », in Constance Classen, dir., *A Cultural History of the Senses: In the Age of Empire*, 5, India, Bloomsbury Academic, 2014, p. 27.

Differentiation became a significant part of daily life for class relations, social status, but also what was considered natural versus urban, etc. The differentiations that we notice between humans inevitably are reproduced with other beings as well.

Appropriation of the environment and the exclusionary nature of the Mount Royal Park to the wealthy and their companion species as well as the rapid resolution of any issues brought up demonstrates how experiencing place, and the right to, remains a social privilege as well as a social demonstration of power. This is the case for all beings who are born with the possibility to move and/are liable to be the subject of municipal by-laws and social mores. The intensity and time-span of the public debate published in newspapers evidences this innate desire to appropriate space for personal use, and also the intense consideration of the nature (as in, natural or urban) of the space and, in consequence, who should/can or cannot use it. Here is an example of this debate in action, in a poem dated 1903:

THE PARK AND THE LADIES.

All hail, those *good ladies*
Confronting our Cadies,
In opposing a scheme that looks dark,
 When some civic solons
 Wanted nolens volens
The Street Railway inside of the Park.

 And Park Chairman Couture
 We trust cannot procure
From Parliament power to proceed,
 When none but disloyal
 Would give up Mount Royal
For a *company's profit and greed.*

 Its tracks serpentining,
 While through the Park climbing,
Around curves, steep, sharp and compounded;
 Cars screeching and scraping,
 Till our heads are aching,
And senses completely confounded.

 Who would care to destroy,
 Others right to enjoy,

Pure air, free from noise and commotion,
And thus ruin the Park,
Must madness be stark
With schemes of tramway locomotion.

*What the public desire,
And from council require,*
Is that it would its duty fulfil,
Put a switch or a Y
In St. Catherine and Guy,
And send St. Catherine ears up the hill.

Then all, without broaching
The Park, or encroaching,
Which would for small good be a pity,
May with comfort get near
The main Park entrance here,
From every car line in the city.

W. LITTLE. (emphasis added)¹³⁴

This poem demonstrates a desire to arrive at a compromise between easy access to the park for all, and the different stakes and stakeholders at play. An opinion writer who penned a couple of letters published in *The Gazette* and in *The Witness*, the author wishes to point out “the importance of having the proposed line along St. Catherine and Guy street opened up to the present terminus near the entrance to the park at the earliest possible moment.”¹³⁵ His poem mentions the stakeholders involved in the matter: The “good ladies”, the “caddies”, the “Park Chairman”, the greedy companies, city council and the general citizens of the city.¹³⁶ The Alderman Couture explains the position of the ladies mentioned in the poem, only to be rebuked by a Mr. Thompson (possible cabbie?): “Ald. Couture (impatiently) ‘They are rich ladies who are making the protests. It has to be remembered this committee has to look after the interests of the poor as well as the rich. For my part, I want to deprive no one of bread and

¹³⁴ W. Little, “The Park and the Ladies”, in *The Witness*, writing January 24th, 1903, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1917.

¹³⁵ W. Little, “The Park and the Ladies”, 1902-1917, *Ibid*.

¹³⁶ *Ibid*.

butter' Mr. Thompson – 'You will deprive the carters of their bread and butter.' "¹³⁷ If we consider the interrelations in the park, the impact is larger: Depriving carters of their bread and butter also has a direct impact on the presence of the horse in the park and the city, rendering their presence unnecessary or even, a nuisance.

The integration on new methods of transportation has a direct impact on the presence of animals and horses in the park, with the well-off ladies of the Parks and Playgrounds Association being clearly against any type of mechanical incursion into the park:

Ald. Gallery: 'Are the ladies of the Park Association willing for the line to go as far as the Park Ranger's house?' Ald. Couture: 'I am told they would not object to this.' Ald. Gallery: 'I am of the opinion they would not consent to the cars going into the park at any point.'¹³⁸

Cars going into the park would signify the slow obsolescence of the leisure horse in the city in general, a point which does not seem to necessarily bother the Mayor, who considers the park a "recreation ground for the millionaires of the city and the neighboring city of Westmount".¹³⁹ Stables surrounding the park, those found in what is presently considered the "Golden Square Mile" of Montreal, certainly demonstrate a high level of wealth in comparison to the stables which will be mentioned and examined in the following chapter (see *Figure 13 - H. Montagu Allan's stables, "Ravenscrag", Montreal, QC, 1903, II-144764, McCord Museum Archives.* and *Figure 14 - Interior, H. Montagu Allan's stables, "Ravenscrag", Montreal, QC, 1902, II-144765.1, McCord Museum Archives.*). As an ongoing debate, the importance is not so much what the solution found was, nor even if the issue was resolved. The recurring debates for access to the park, in and of itself,

¹³⁷ "A Leading Question", in *Unknown*, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 259, 1902-1916.

¹³⁸ "A Leading Question", 1902-1916, *Ibid.*.

¹³⁹ Wellington, "Access to Mount Royal: To the Editor of the Daily Mail", *The Daily Mail*, April 30th, 1916, McGill Parks and Playgrounds Association, 257, 1916-1925, *op.cit.*

demonstrates exactly the type of situation where the city environment and how individuals experience and perceive it mirrors the interspecies relations practised in the city.



Figure 13 - H. Montagu Allan's stables, "Ravenscrag", Montreal, QC, 1903, II-144764, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 14 - Interior, H. Montagu Allan's stables, "Ravenscrag", Montreal, QC, 1902, II-144765.1, McCord Museum Archives.

Conclusion

This chapter was concentrated on Mount Royal Park as its own space and place which, despite it existing because of the city it inscribes itself into, reflects its own interspecies dynamics and social interactions. Through a re-evaluation of sources which brings forward the

horse as a new main actor in the park, we reveal new interactivities. According to Augustin Fuentes, “[a]nthropologists can show that the line dividing the social and the physiological is arbitrary, that no human action or morphological trait exists in a vacuum, and that human history is the conjunctural and emergent product of social, physiological, morphological, symbolic, and historical interactivities.”¹⁴⁰ Of these historical interactivities that help make human history, this research shows that the role and presence of animals as good to think with, not just think of,¹⁴¹ is also important. The human experience of place remains significant and, quite realistically, more easily accessible and easier to analyse, but the animal experience of place can speak a lot to the living experience of the city, of interspecies as well as interhuman relations. What this chapter has demonstrated through the analysis of space and place on the Mountain is that the relations between beings are also representative of the relations between humans. The consideration of movement in space and the act of being and becoming has the power to change history and how we perceive it. That animals, and in this case mostly horses, show up in by-laws, photography and maps of the time demonstrate a special consideration for the rights and control of the animal presence in space. The following chapter will analyse, in comparison, a case study of the acceptance or refusal of having the presence of carters and horses on Sherbrooke street, demonstrating how the type of urban environment influences the discourse proposed by the municipality and how it plays out socially. Taking place directly to the south of Mount-Royal Park, this chapter and the next, taken together, reveal how these relational dynamics play out differently even when only several kilometres apart.

¹⁴⁰ Augustin Fuentes, Introduction, Vital Topics Forum: On Nature and the Human, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 112, Issue 4, p. 512.

¹⁴¹ Donna Jeanne Haraway, *When Species Meet*, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 2008.

3. Presenting the Dynamics of Human-Horse Relations on Sherbrooke Street West in 1906

“[...] almost like a walk in the country” is how one citizen described Sherbrooke street West on the corner of Guy in a letter addressed to the police committee of the City of Montreal. Part of a request to propose a shift in the cab stands on the street corner, the description was meant to convince its reader of the tranquility and value of the street corner.¹⁴² A letter amongst many others which found its way to the police committee during the months of April and May of 1906, it testifies to the spatial renegotiation amongst beings of different social classes in the area, including the occupants of the Collège de Montréal and horses in the area. At this time, the previously mentioned “walk” is situated between Mount Royal Park and what will eventually become the Golden Square Mile; it is part of an expanding and increasingly urban area of the city. Stéphane Castonguay and Michèle Dagenais, in their introduction to *Metropolitan Natures*, describe the physical reality of the city and how the environment can change the way that individuals perceive and feel the city.¹⁴³ For the purposes of this research, it is also significant to note that the space studied in this chapter is situated directly to the south of Mount-Royal Park, making any findings and differences with the second chapter of an even greater importance, and showing how all city space is not conceptualized nor prone to the same interspecies relations. The city, as a multi-sensorial experience, is constantly redefined through time and space by changing social relations, cultural traditions and technological progress.¹⁴⁴ Many of these changes occur in Montreal towards the end of the 19th, beginning of the 20th centuries, demonstrating industrialisation and its effect on the city at its highest point. An

¹⁴² Lettre au comité de police, 19 avril 1906, *Fonds Commission de Police (VM043,S4,D34)*, Archives de Montréal.

¹⁴³ Stéphane Castonguay et Michèle Dagenais, « Introduction » *Metropolitan natures : environmental histories of Montreal*, Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 2011, p. 8.

¹⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

experience prone to rapid change, the industrial city was an immersive¹⁴⁵ experience for the senses. Hence the interest in 3D modeling to better grasp the changing environment of the city.

This chapter wishes to demonstrate, with the help of the Google Sketchup software program, how relations between humans and horses are transcribed in a tangible and physical manner in the cityscape. The objective is to demonstrate and locate in space how the presence of horses on the corners of Sherbrooke and Guy, up to the Collège de Montréal, was contested, as well as how debates surrounding the presence of the cabbies reflects the changing social relations between humans and animals. The images and photographs associated with this text will be left at the end instead of integrated throughout the text, since seeing them next to each other and as a continuity offers a more telling experience of how the visualisation of space has influenced the analysis of this chapter. In fact, the goals of this chapter are to identify and model the different types of buildings and spaces, stables, carriage entrances and other types of technologies allowing people to move in space (for example, tramways). With this in mind, I wish to demonstrate the spatial proximity held by certain dichotomies that used to be associated with an urban lifestyle, such as city/nature and human/animal dualities, as well as social dynamics which demonstrate, through the debate put forward from our archival base, the power relations that take place in our selected area. It will be significant to keep this in mind while examining the images following this chapter, as a final reflection on the space considered. Similar power relations can also be transcribed to other spaces in Montreal; not only can they be found in other places, but the type of space will, in fact, affect how the debate is brought about and its outcome. While remaining aware that the city is made up of environments which can be experienced and felt through the senses, and that the environment, social relations, technological advances and buildings all influence each other to recreate a living experience of

¹⁴⁵ Term used frequently in reference to video games or augmented reality.

the city, a 3-dimensional representation allows us as humans and social scientists to better imagine the dynamics of the time than a 2-dimensional or flat representation. After all, as moving beings, both humans and non-humans experience relations in more than a two-dimensional, and through more than only one sense. Dynamic relations in space require dynamic methods in order to better grasp the complexity being presented to us.

Context and method

With the help of textual archives, plans and images from the 19th and 20th centuries, we have recreated a visual model of the negotiation of urban space which was constantly being redefined through time and space by social, cultural and technological changes. Andrew Robichaud, in a research project for the Spatial History Lab of Stanford University, has demonstrated through the use of 2D plans and graphics, how, at the end of the 19th century, spaces used by humans and animals were increasingly separated. This spatial separation changes the daily relations as well as the interactions between the city and its hinterlands. The new transportation services, such as railways, brought closer different spaces while they made them distinct and differentiated them. They also meant that humans didn't have to live as closely to animals for food or for transportation.¹⁴⁶ For this reason, it is pertinent to compare the space reserved for cabbies with those reserved for tramways. Robichaud has demonstrated how these relations can be reproduced spatially, and has questioned the links formed in space.¹⁴⁷ By reproducing these relations spatially, and by adding a third or even a fourth dimension (time), it is possible to recreate a more immersive experience. This will permit us to adopt new points of view to better interrogate our sources as well as experiment new techniques to reveal changing interspecies relations in space.

¹⁴⁶ Andrew Robichaud, « Trail of Blood: The Movement of San Francisco's Butchertown and the Spatial Transformation of Meat Production, 1849-1901 », *Spatial History Lab*, 2010, p. 1.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

Going through various files dating from February 8th, 1905 to June 12th, 1906 in an administrative record from the Fonds de la Commission de Police from the Archives de Montréal, multiple social debates were revealed concerning the presence of cab drivers in the city. Once the major events in the debates were identified, the information, placed in chronological order, permitted us to better comprehend the propositions and complaints from citizens, police officers and business people who wrote letters to the police committee. The debate about the space chosen for the cabstand at the corners of Sherbrooke and Guy streets, occurring between April 4th, 1906 and May 21st, 1906, was selected for our modeling purposes because of its documentary richness as well as its well-framed geographical area, which permits a 3D reproduction of where the cabstands were situated.

One of the methodological questions that should be asked when undertaking such a project with multiple buildings to be modeled is, of course, where to stop and what are the boundaries. To determine this, going back to our primary sources was necessary: Who wrote the letters addressed to the police committee, which street names were mentioned in these letters, as well as structures, and which technologies were evoked? Which descriptions were significant enough to be written out in letters at the time? The streets mentioned ended up being Guy, Sherbrooke, Côte-des-Neiges as well as Saint-Marc. The Collège de Montréal and the surrounding and fenced in land belonging to the institution became significant because of the place they take in the letters sent to the police committee about the presence of cabbies in the area. The rector at the time, l'Abbé Labelle, made his desire for the displacement of two cab stands facing his institution clearly known.¹⁴⁸ The "electric cars" mentioned in another letter

¹⁴⁸ Letter to Captain Leo Baker, 17 mai 1906, *Fonds Commission de Police (VM043,S4,D34)*, *op.cit.*, Archives de Montréal.

make reference to the tramways crossing Sherbrooke street towards Côte-des-Neiges.¹⁴⁹ These details were therefore chosen to be included in the visual representation of the area. Considering the importance of animals in this research, we had to identify areas which were most certainly shared by horses (stables, paddocks, etc.), and the decision was taken to identify them even if they were outside of the established perimeter. This was done to ensure a more complete analysis and ensure that outliers were considered in our understanding of the environment.

The Modeling Process

To model the elements mentioned in the previous paragraph, it was essential, first, to find and select plans dating to the period. Fire insurance plans were the best option, considering that they identified the buildings serving as stables, the materials that were used for the construction of certain buildings as well as important dimensions such as street widths (which were not all standard). For the area that was part of the Saint-Antoine district, only plans dating to 1915 could be used since those from before were incomplete and didn't show this area (Figure 1). It was therefore necessary to have a point of comparison for our cadastre: The 1890 Atlas of Montreal, which was also drawn by Charles Goad (Figure 2). If a building was determined to be on both the 1915 as well as the 1890 plan, it was deduced that the building was also present in 1906. It also became possible to identify if any modifications were made to the building foundations between both periods. Searching the available plans at the Archives de Montréal made it possible to identify the areas serviced by the tramway, including line 14 on Guy street, which went across Sherbrooke street and up the Chemin de la Côte-des-Neiges (Figure 3). With this information, it was possible to recreate a 2D cadastre of the groundwork. Dimensions were calculated by measuring the pixels and dimensions indicated on the maps.

¹⁴⁹ Lettre au Chef de Police, 4 avril 1906, *Ibid.*

Some dimensions proposed were shown to have a certain margin of error, which is understood to be practically inevitable with the scanning of images for the archives.

Pictures became essential to the creation of the model to determine certain architectural details, to better identify construction dates, certain elements and fine details which are less visible on maps. The first step was to verify at the Archives de Montréal the archives related to particular street names to see if any significant information could be found that was not on the maps, as well as any images from the time period. The same research was done at the McCord Museum Archives, which were rich in images from the early 20th century. Comparing the images found to the maps led to some precision dilemmas. Photographs of the Collège de Montréal and the Grand Seminary demonstrate that, contrary to the 1890 and 1915 maps (Figure 1, Figure 2) which depict an 8' tall wall of stone going from west to east and stopping in front of the small structures in front of the main building, the wall of stone continued, at least from 1903, up to the edge of the terrain (Figure 4, Figure 5). This was therefore included in our model as most probably having been present in 1906. The images also led to the identification of fences on the field in front of the Collège. Photographs can therefore help historians be more critical of other written or mapped out sources, permitting us to see details which are not simply not available on maps.

Photographs help us not only to perceive elements which are less permanent than those found on maps, but they also help to better visualise the resemblance of cabbies and horses at the time, as well as the ambiance of the late 19th century, early 20th century street. After having presented multiple photographs taken at the beginning of the 20th century to a certified journeyman farrier (Figure 7), he believes that the horses identified on the images and used for the transport of merchandise and/or the cabbies were most probably Canadian work horses or

other work horse races.¹⁵⁰ Observing the photographs closely does confirm that there was a different use of purebred race horses used for riding and/or at the Montreal Hunt Club, as was noted by historian Darcy Ingram¹⁵¹, versus those used for the transport of merchandise, larger loads or endurance. One rare image of a public cab allows us to visualise the three-part entity (horse, cabbie and cab) as one, but also allows us to compare it visually to other horse-drawn vehicles (Figure 8). One of the most obvious disadvantages to relying on images from that time period is that they were mostly taken of individuals who were well-off, and there is a significant overrepresentation of wealthy individuals posing with their show horses and/or shined-up selky sleighs. Other vehicles are rarely described in written sources, read not at all, and photographs to help visualise them are more than rare. If at the time, they were common and a typical part of the environment, it is now more difficult to conceive of their specificities. For this project, the model of the cabby (and tramway) used is provided from the Sketchup 3D Warehouse for its easy availability and not so much for its precise representation, which was deemed secondary to the goal of the model.

Before placing the cab stands on the model, it was preferable to question what a cabstand looked like, and how horses would be positioned in them. Photographs provided a good idea of how cabbies would ideally attempt to park their horses and vehicles, demonstrating that the feat was far from a simple task due to the agency of the horse but also of the space allowed and the strict by-laws imposing how to do so (Figure 10). For example, one of the documents examined clearly states that the horse's head must face westwards.¹⁵² Although this requirement comes without any additional explanations, an evident hypothesis is that it would be to help facilitate an already dense and difficult circulation in certain streets,

¹⁵⁰ Francis Dufresne Cyr, *Communication personnelle avec un Certified Journeyman Farrier*, Juin 2015.

¹⁵¹ Ingram, *op. cit.*

¹⁵² Lettres aux membres de la Commission de Police, 5 avril 1906, *Fonds Commission de Police (VM043,S4,D34)*, *op.cit.*, Archives de Montréal.

which could even be dangerous if the horses were to be facing any direction in the cabstand. Other documents don't necessarily mention these details, which makes it difficult to determine the direction of the horses in certain cabstands examined in this research. When the information isn't available, the horses were placed perpendicular to the street, as seen in an image of a cabstand on Saint-Jacques street (Figure 10).

Photographs of horse-drawn cabs allow us to validate what is written in municipal archives, as well as better understand the opinions presented in letters and documents. For example, an image of the cab stands next to the tramway line on Saint-Jacques street (Figure 9) demonstrates what the corners of Guy and Côte-des-Neiges could have resembled, if only we had an image. It helps better comprehend why a cabstand could not be there or would have been bothersome on that street corner, since circulation would have been difficult or there wouldn't have been enough space for the required number of cabbies.¹⁵³

Despite the arduous and difficult task that is 3D modeling, it is possible to reflect on the process and result in the framework of this project and identify the links between objects/buildings, as well as trace the changes in cabstands over a short period of time. By selecting or deselecting the layers (indicated with the exact date of occurrences), we can reconstruct what was found in the written archives spatially. This functionality was the most simple and useful way to visualise the changes over time.

Analysis and Conclusion

Examining the 3D model as well as the map of the tramway lines (Figure 3), we came to the realisation that the intersections of Guy and Sherbrooke street were at the western edge of the route. This makes the selected intersection increasingly of interest, since individuals could have need of both the tramway to reach downtown, or the horse-drawn cabs to reach areas

¹⁵³ Lettre au Chef de Police, 4 avril 1906, *Ibid.*

farther north or west. The presence of the tramway, which occupies a large section of Guy street, also explains why it became necessary to displace the cabstand situated on this street (Modeling 2).¹⁵⁴ The removal was announced by Captain Leo Baker of station 10 on April 4th, 1906, created quite the dilemma for citizens as well as the policemen who had to find an alternative solution. As stated by the Captain: "I am of the opinion that Guy street is too narrow for a cab stand since the electric cars are running".¹⁵⁵ Progress, in this case represented by the electric cars, was the societal force that pushed the cabbies westward. Côtes-des-Neiges street, as an alternative to Sherbrooke street, was rapidly put aside as an option since "[...] runaway horses often come down there at a great rate of speed and consequently would be dangerous".¹⁵⁶ The clash is evident between the machinery and pure muscle, as prone to uncontrolled movement, despite whether this type of event would occur frequently or not. Historian Sean Kheraj has noted, however, in his research on domestic animals in Toronto in the 19th century, how runaway horses in streets were more than a rare occurrence, causing incidents or accidents.¹⁵⁷ The result is that we do not know where to permanently displace a cabstand that is still in use in Saint-Antoine Ward. This type of struggle over space is representative of a growing city opening itself up to new transportation methods, as well as the fear and need to control movement; it is also demonstrative of power relations playing out spatially in a given environment in 1906.

Following a new train of thought, the 3D model also helps perceive, to a better extent although without being a great revelation, to which point there is a difference between the ambiance on Sherbrooke near Guy street and the ambiance beginning on Saint-Marc street and

¹⁵⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁵⁷ Sean Kheraj, « Living and Working with Domestic Animals in Nineteenth-Century Toronto », in L. Anders Sandberg *et al.*, dir., *Urban Explorations: Environmental Histories of the Toronto Region*, 2013, p. 126.

westward (see the last image of Modeling 1). If the fields near Guy street rapidly make place to apartment buildings, the land starting from Saint-Marc street towards the west remain without any additional buildings and are even surrounded by a fence and trees. The field of the Collège de Montréal, towards the western edge of the city, is large, includes a swamp and is also surrounded by trees. This mixture of both photography and maps allows us to better understand why citizens would consider this area a beautiful walk in the country.¹⁵⁸ Visually, it does seem to be the best of both worlds, close to the country, but still in the city. However, it is the idea of the country that is valued. Why, then, would the presence and smell of horses be a nuisance?¹⁵⁹ And if this walk is in public space, outside of the College walls, and is situated with the Mount Royal Park so close, what is the necessity of removing the cabstands and horses from the street?

By tracing with the help of the 3D model the removal and new placement of cabstands from April 4th, 1906 to May 21st, 1906, as well as the proposals that are never put in place, it is possible to see that the cabstands are continually pushed westwards towards the hinterlands, keeping them farther away from the busier street sections of the urbanized city (Modeling 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8). Despite these moves, there is still an evident dissatisfaction with the results, and the demands for displacements keep coming. Other than the policemen, there are also two individuals who's letters are found in the municipal archives to contest the administrative decisions: An individual with an illegible name writing from Greenshields Limited, DryGoods Wholesales as well as Abbé Labelle, from the Collège de Montréal. The demand by Abbé Labelle will be further studied to better understand what led to the desire to remove the cabstands from in front of this building.

¹⁵⁸ Letter to the Chairman of the Police Committee, 19 avril 1906, *Fonds Commission de Police (VM043,S4,D34)*, *op.cit.*

¹⁵⁹ Letter to the Chairman of the Police Committee, 19 avril 1906, *Ibid.*

An image taken from the 3D model begs for reflection: The Collège, which is a walled-in institution, has more than sufficient land not be bothered by the proximity of Sherbrooke street as well as of the cabstand nearby (Modeling 6, Modeling 7). Careful examination of the image Modeling 6 lets us see that by being inside of the wall, it would have been difficult to see the cabstands unless standing on a tall hill or by going up to the different levels in the College itself, the stone wall being 8ft tall. From the other side of this wall, the cabs and their horses, as well as any passersby, are excluded from the compound. The letter itself does not offer any further or more significant explanations for this desire to exclude the horses and cabbies, although the motivation seems strong:

I have the honour to say that we have very serious reason for refusing the cabmen to stay along our play grounds on Sherbrooke Street. Since two weeks they stand there any way [sic], and I will ask you to see about it.¹⁶⁰

This “serious reason” remains a mystery, but the bottom line is the desire to remove the cabbies. If the primary reason for the removal of the cabstands was the odor and the beautiful walk in the country that it would ruin, Abbé Labelle still does not offer any better justification, and the 3D model demonstrates that the cause could not be an actual visual disturbance, as we might have believed had we only examined the available 2D maps which don’t show the cabstands nor the wall. The absence of movement directly in front of the college is certainly identifiable as problematic, although little can be known about the actual issue of smells or noise from the data found.

Sherbrooke street becomes a zone where cabbies and their horses are considered a nuisance, and they are eventually displaced to Saint-Marc street (Modeling 8). The next step to analyse these displacements in space and time is to identify the stables, found with the fire

¹⁶⁰ Letter to Captain Leo Baker, 17 mai 1906, *Ibid.*

insurance plans, as well as the carriage entrances when possible. From the 3D model, it is possible to see that one stable was close to Sherbrooke street (Modeling 1; the last image shows that stables identified in red). The others were closer to or on the field belonging to the Collège de Montréal, and close to the apartments found on the southern side of Sherbrooke street. These stables would have been accessible by small alleyways behind buildings, and there seems to be a voluntary desire to make these spaces inconspicuous. No carriage entrances were identified on the maps or on photographs. Despite this, 7 stables were identified in the surroundings. The two buildings situated on the southern side of Sherbrooke, particularly, aren't presented clearly in the shared space; they seem to serve by necessity and are most certainly functional buildings instead of personal or public.

It wasn't by choice that Sherbrooke street, to the west of Guy, was shared with cabbies and their horses. These spaces were shared by necessity, for transportation, which is evident with the analysis of the 3D model. The presence of animals was a transient experience, one of constant mobility, and the areas serviced by the tramway stopped a more constant and stationary presence such as a cabstand. Robichaud states that the establishing of railways pushed away spaces, creating new relations between humans and animals, since coexistence between both in the city was less of a necessity.¹⁶¹ The tramway seems to have the same effect as railways, but on a shorter distance, pushing back the spaces reserved for cabbies and their horses.

Starting from the 3D model, we can see that the reasons provided in archival letters for the displacement of cabstands hide, at least presumptively, more complex social relations between humans. The stands are constantly moved around instead of abolished because there is still a need for this type of public transportation, despite the tramway lines which service

¹⁶¹ Robichaud, *loc. cit.*, p. 1.

multiple inter-urban destinations. The main artery in this area, Sherbrooke street, remains a space of transience where citizens and the city control movement, but especially control the lack of it: Loitering. Are the reasons invoked for the displacement of cabstands to farther away the true reasoning of individuals, or does it reflect a deeper discomfort? Does it demonstrate an intolerance towards the smells of the horses, or by the idea of the cabbies themselves? Becoming almost dissociable as a grouped entity, I would argue that the issue is one and the same.

At a time period when the city and its environment is in constant renegotiation, this type of debate is a reflection of history and the redefinition of space and place in progress: What we see is a testimony of power struggles between species as well as between human individuals. Institutions, citizens, policemen and workers all struggle to find their place in a new social system based on progress and technological advancement, requiring personal and social adjustment. Spaces change in conjunction with a redefinition of new relations which are developing and adjusting. The dynamics of these interactions are complex, and reproduced in space and time. Sean Kheraj, when discussing Toronto and Canadian cities in general, suggests that there is a “homogenization of experiences with domestic animals [altering] human perceptions of urban space and the role of animals in the cities”.¹⁶² The 3D model proposed helps to visualise, with several snapshots, the rapid speed with which these relations mutually influence each other: In the timespan of two months, many proposals, contestations and decisions are taken as these new dynamics play out, and as new social ties and meshworks are created.¹⁶³

¹⁶² Kheraj, *op. cit.*, p. 137.

¹⁶³ Tim Ingold. « Toward an Ecology of Materials* », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 41, n° 1, 2012, p. 427-442.

In conclusion, what can the 3D model offer to better grasp human-non-human relations? Far from being without limitations, we have nonetheless seen that new methods of visualisation do lead to a better comprehension and a better critique of written archives. The 3D model also offers better and more complex viewpoints, a more immersive experience, than any 2D representation. It isn't the exactitude of textures or details which are important here, but rather, to have a better understanding of the feel of space and the environment. If other senses remain difficult to capture, we can still arrive at some understanding of how interspecies relations play out in space, and how movement or lack of it is a major issue and is to be controlled in the 19th-20th century city. Finally, we can better situate ourselves, as researchers and as individuals, in a space which is tangibly unreachable to us. As noted by Walter Benjamin, "The true picture of the past flits by. The past can be seized only as an image which flashes up at the instant when it can be recognized and is never seen again".¹⁶⁴ A 3D model allows us, as historians, to grasp this past, this picture, for a trace amount longer. It helps to better seize and conceptualise the dynamics of space, and understand what is at stake. The inseparability of the cabbie, horse and vehicle is one of the dynamics which becomes easier to grasp. The analysis of urban transient space linked to by-laws for the cabstands is also further understood. Modeling evidences the links between humans and animals in space, as well as human to human relations, offering multiple analytical pathways to follow.

¹⁶⁴ Walter Benjamin. « Theses on the Philosophy of History », Harry Zohn, in Hannah Arendt, dir., *Illuminations: Essays and Reflections*, New York, Schocken Books, 1969, p. 255.

Figures

Figure 15 : Goad Fire Insurance Plans, 1915, plates 76, 77, 79, 94 (0003028613 BAnQ).

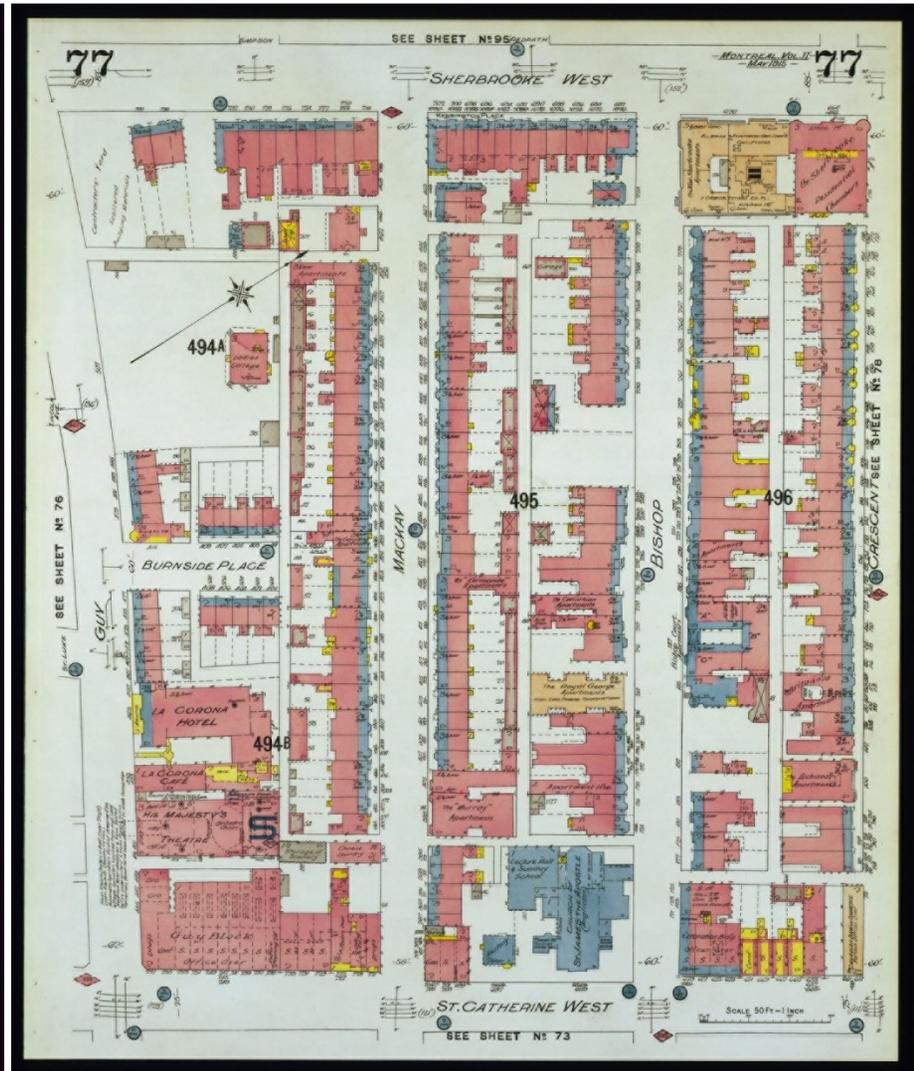
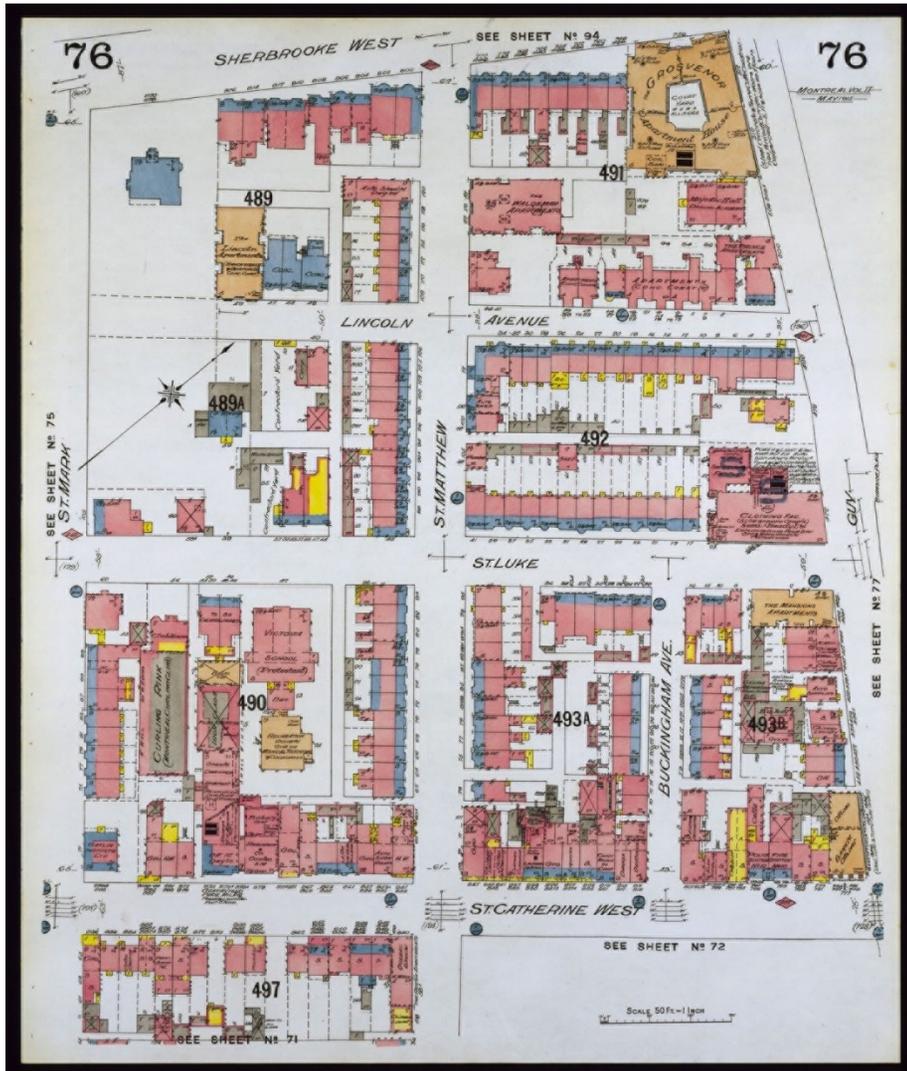


Figure 16 : Montreal Atlas, Goad, 1890, Plates 16, 17, 21 (0000174398 BAnQ).

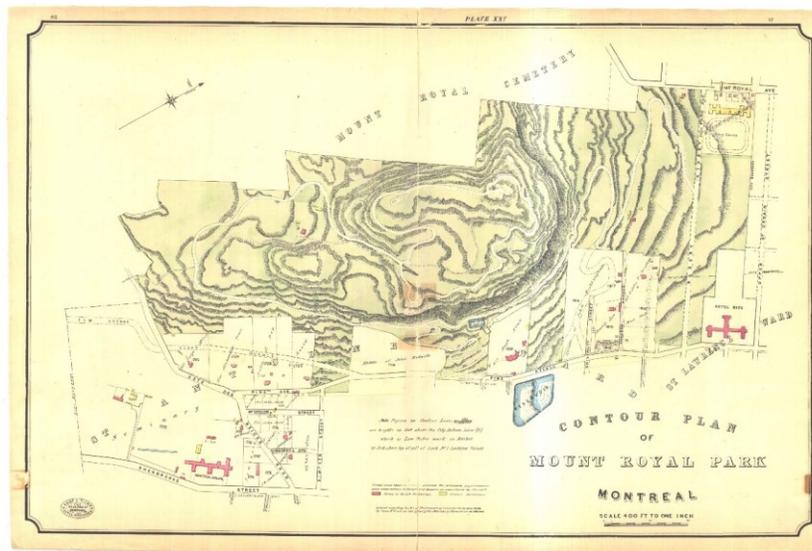
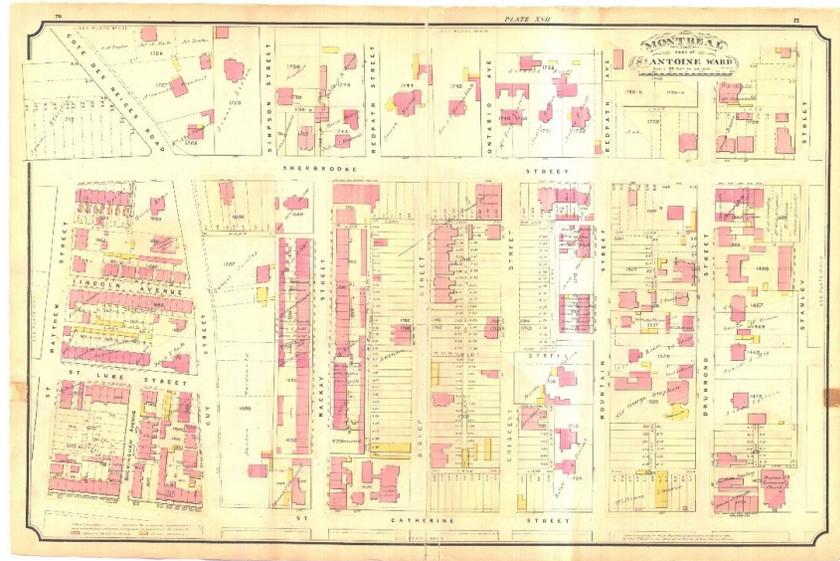
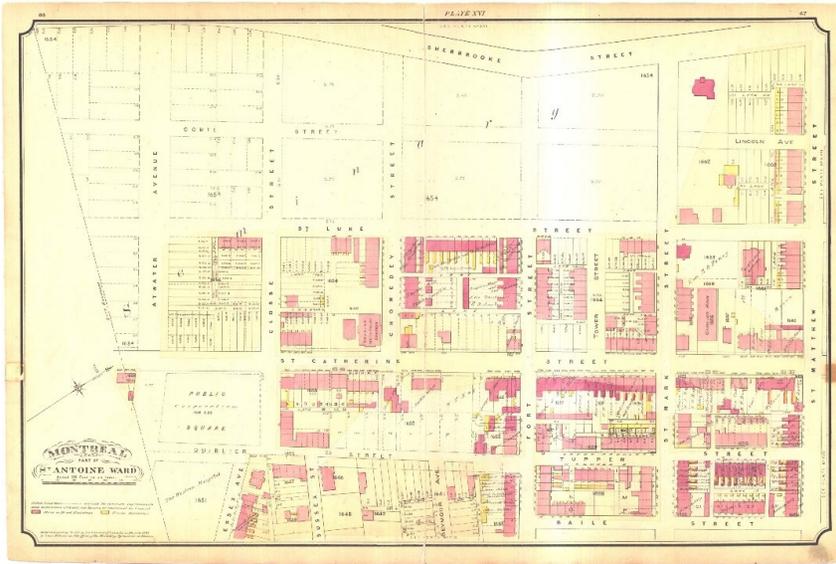


Figure 17 : Plan of electric tramway lines in the city of Montreal, 189, (CA M001 VM066-5-P058, Archives de Montréal).



Figure 18 : Collège de Montréal, 1876, II-24026, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 19 : Collège de Montréal, 1875, VIEW-966.1, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 20 : Collège de Montréal, front view, after 1903, CP 028758 CON, BANQ.



Figure 21 : Stanley Bagg's house, on the corner of Sherbrooke and Côte-des-Neiges, around 1900, MP-0000.27.76, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 22 : Public Cab, Montreal, around 1875, VIEW-1063.1, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 23 : Cab and electric tramway side-by-side on Saint-Jacques street, around 1910, MP-1978.207.1, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 24 : Cabstand on Saint-Jacques Street, around 1878, II-354075.0, McCord Museum Archives.



Figure 25- Corner of Sherbrooke and Guy streets, the Grosvenor Apartments, between 1870-1920, MAS 8-72-d, BAnQ.

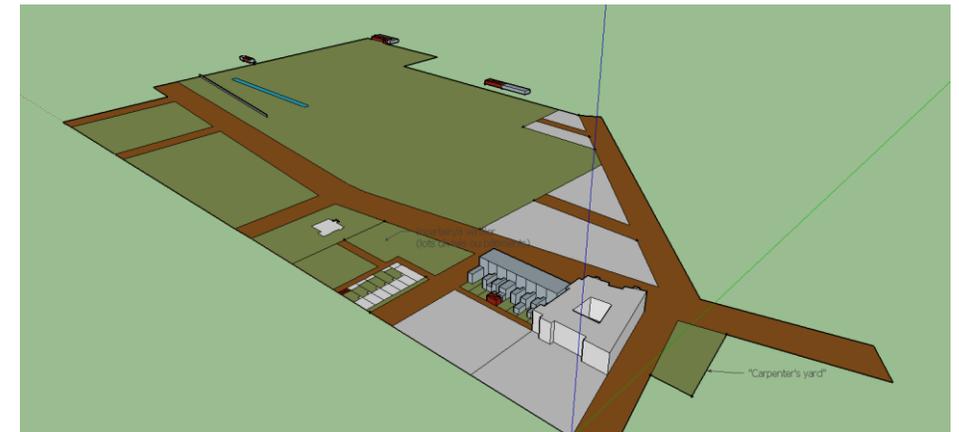
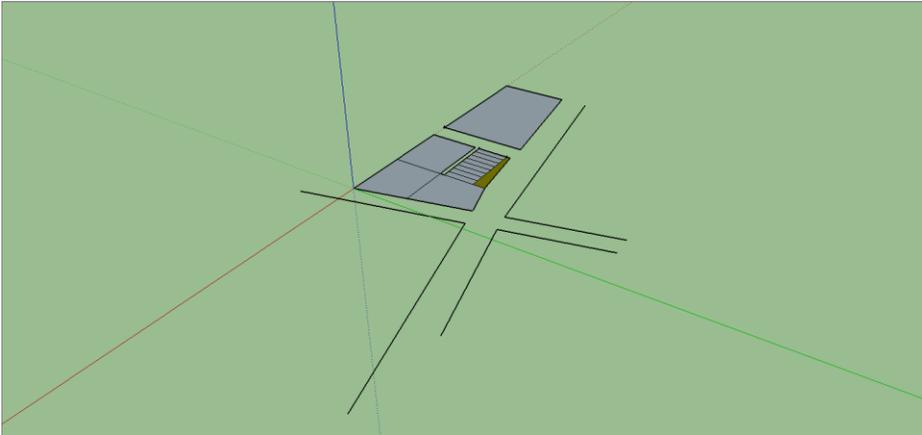


The
Grosvenor
Coin sud-
ouest de
Sherbrooke
+ Guy

Modelisation Images

NOTE: The trees, vehicles, horses, tramway and pile of wood were taken from the Sketchup 3D Warehouse

Figure 26 : Modeling 1, Left to right, images of the process.



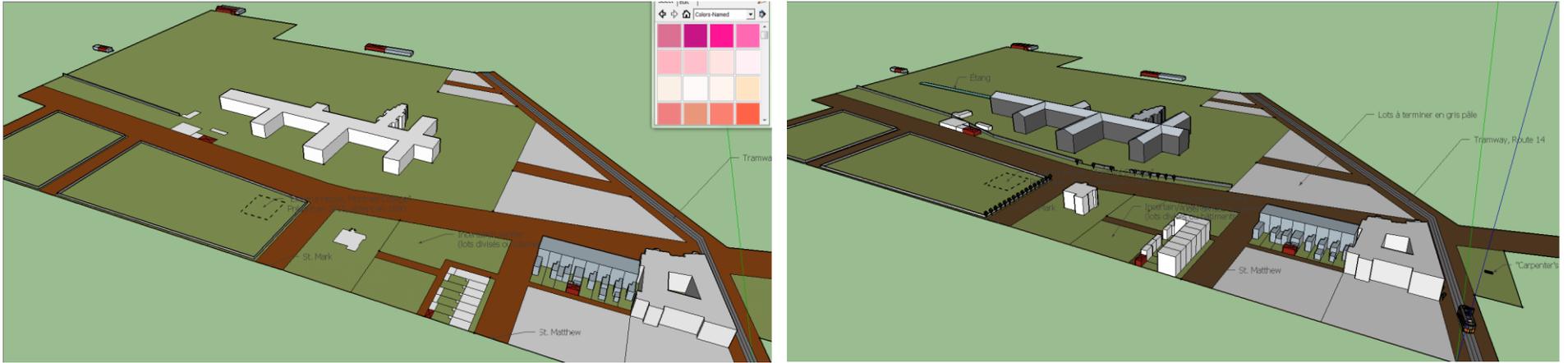


Figure 27 : Modeling 2, Cabstand on the corner of Guy, before April 4th 1906.



Figure 28 : Modeling 3, Proposal for the cabstand on Sherbrooke street, April 4th 1906.

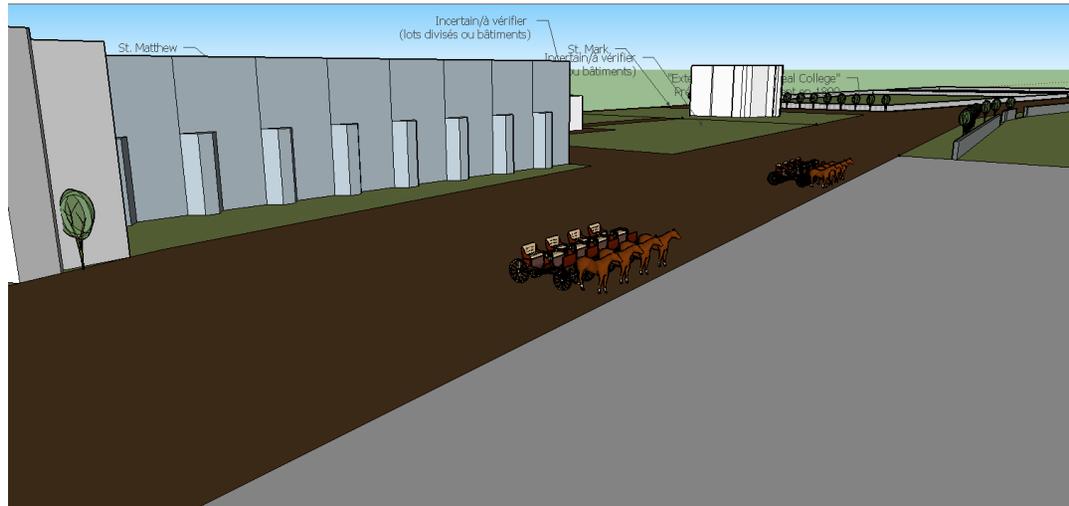


Figure 29 : Modeling 4, Proposal of the cabstand on Sherbrooke Street, April 5th 1906 (+ 2 additional cabs).

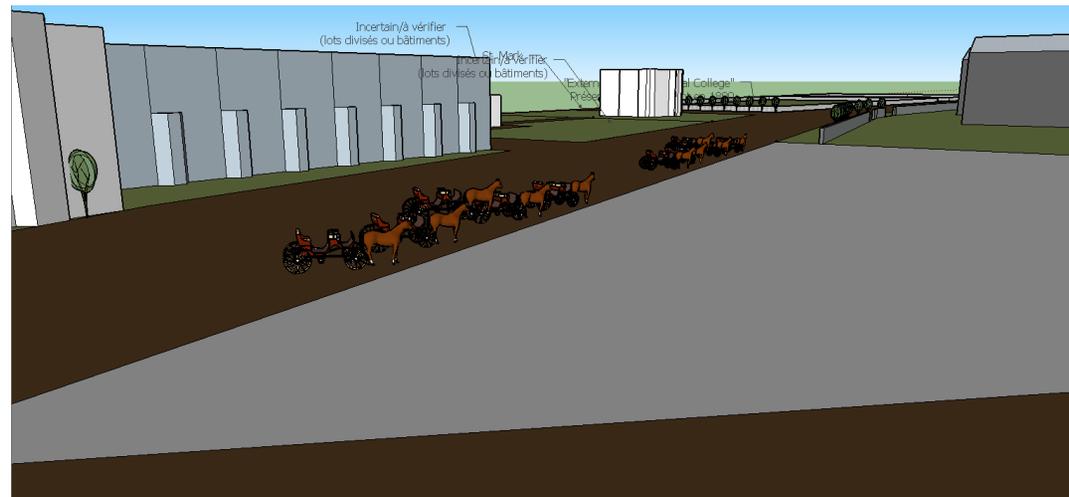


Figure 30 : Modeling 5, Proposal for the displacement of the cabstand on Sherbrooke street, April 23rd 1906.

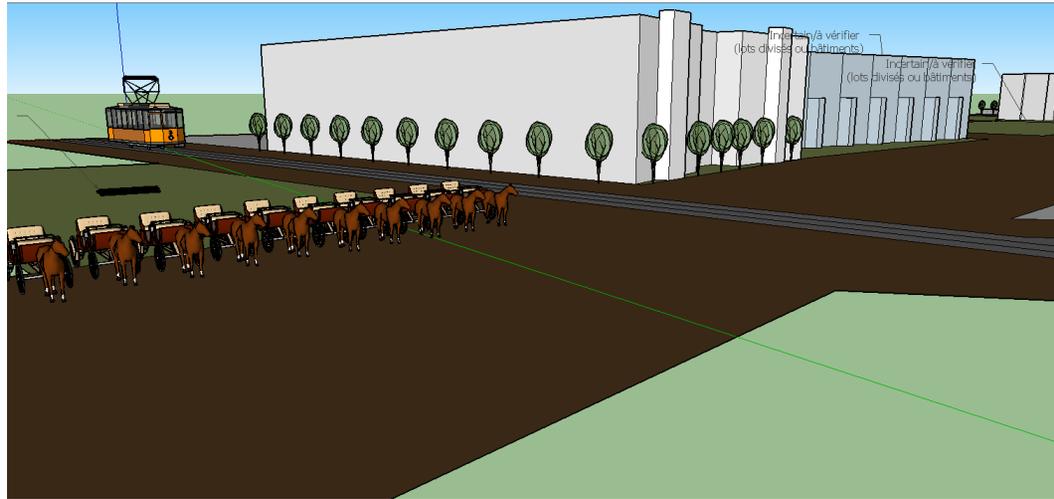


Figure 31 : Modeling 6, Cabstand on Sherbrooke and Saint-Marc, May 9th 1906 (Viewpoint from inside the Collège de Montréal).

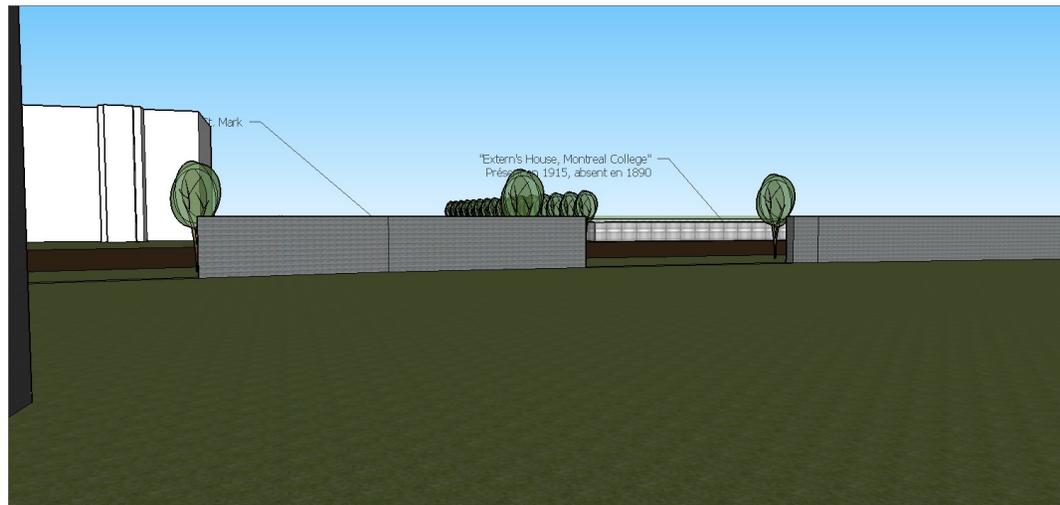


Figure 32 : Modeling 7, Cabstand on Sherbrooke and Saint-Marc, May 9th 1906.

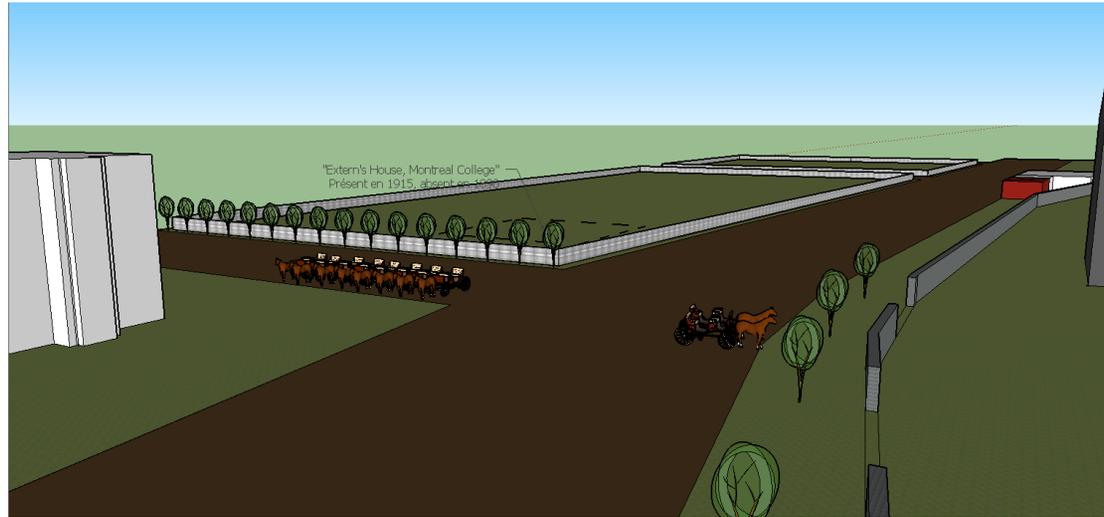


Figure 33 : Modeling 8, Proposal for the displacement of the cabstand on Saint-Marc street, May 17th 1906.



Conclusion

After having analysed with the help of three different approaches the way human/horse relations play out in the city, several key findings are significant to note. Together, all point to the deep complexity of relations in the city, of the changing definitions accorded to places in the city, and with it, the changing expectations of who or what can *be* in different spaces. It becomes evident that human/horse relations are effectively a mirror of human/human class relations in the city: Access to different spaces is negotiated based on power relations between humans, which are further reflected onto the different horses of the city. Also, despite an evident lack of consideration for the agency of animals in the beginning of the last half of the 19th century, the agency of animals and how they experience place becomes a consideration in where they can be approximately after the 1870's. Ingold's concept of the "meshwork" of things and beings, as a web of life, is more than relevant.¹⁶⁵ Analysing history through different lenses permits new considerations, as well as an understanding of how the environment, the beings, and things in the city all affect how space is lived and experienced.

The first chapter has illustrated how rules and by-laws change and consider animals, which is a good base for understand the language used, as well as how it changes with time. An early consideration of animals in the city is eventually replaced with one for motor vehicles and other modes of transportation as humans consider the place of the horse as outside of the city. The second chapter has allowed us to realise that not all spaces demonstrate an intolerance for the horse in general, although class and power relations, as well as, (for the horse) race, affects spatial expectations. In the third chapter, we notice that with modern means of transportation being increasingly accessible in Montreal, the presence of horses becomes less tolerated in

¹⁶⁵ Tim Ingold. « Toward an Ecology of Materials* », *Annual Review of Anthropology*, vol. 41, n° 1, 2012, p. 427-442.

urban areas. This repulsion of cabbies and their horses towards the hinterland is notable. We thus see a renegotiation of spaces between social classes as well as between humans and animals. Moreover, the industrial city in full "progress" is strongly dissociated from a rural way of life, although these dichotomies are not as evident or stringent in constructed natural areas such as Mount Royal Park. The presence of the working horse consequently becomes more controlled in spaces such as what becomes the Golden Square Mile, although the leisure horse is widely welcome, and even more so than motor vehicles. Chapter three, offering a spatial analysis, also demonstrates how these changes can occur quite rapidly and in a dynamic manner, a question of months sometimes, in Montreal's period of intense industrialization.

My use of three different methods is a choice which can be disputed, on both sides, as being positive or negative. If we consider this research to be an exploration of methods, a way of attempting to better understand how historians can achieve a better understanding of subtle human/non-human relations in space, then I believe this gamble was a success, despite how well each method worked out in the end. The goal of the social scientist is not only to achieve success at every attempt and not only to find him or herself to be right at every occasion. The occasional mishap is not to be hidden and can serve as a way to critically analyse new attempts at reaching knowledge. As such, this research did permit to reveal new elements which can lead future research projects.

All three chapters of this M.A. thesis offer input and demonstrate different attempts at reaching a same goal: Better understanding human and non-human relations in space. In our temporal context, this space is revealed as being particular because of the city becoming increasingly industrial. The case studies presented all confirm how the dynamics of human/horse relations were redefined as a direct consequence of this urban context which rapidly took root, changing every being's experience of place and space. A first item revealed,

through chapter one, is how horses (and animals, more generally) were not always treated nor considered in the same manner through municipal bylaws. The changing conceptualisation of the non-human and its place in the city is revealed as fluid and nonfixed in time. Perhaps the less experimental of the three chapters, its re-lecture of the city bylaws offers a new perspective on their use, goals and efficacy. The second chapter also offers a re-lecture of sources, in this case mostly newspapers articles, and its focus on space and its lived experience according to humans and non-humans clearly demonstrates how movement, its restrictions, as well as the definitions and significance imposed to space modify accessibility and acceptance in a given space. If our current time and space limits how deep this chapter can reach out, the method is nonetheless promising in hoping to better grasp dualities present in shared spaces. The third chapter, most experimental of all, is an attempt at reaching a sensory experience of the ambiance of a passerby in the early 20th century. How was the experience of place and space lived? How was space shared with non-humans, and how did the experience of place affect this? Although the success of the 3D model is disputable for our case study, it is nonetheless a method to be strongly considered by historians to achieve an immersive experience. Inspired, in this case, by the archaeological viewshed, we believe that how one experiences place is never 2-dimensional. Although little is revealed for our case study, we would not dismiss it too rapidly as a method for other occasions. It is certainly worth the trouble to try.

After the fact, we believe that a multiplicity of approaches, as well as a pursuit of interdisciplinarity, is necessary in order to better grasp and conceptualise multi-species relations in space which are still difficult for historians to situate and understand. Not all spaces and places are experienced in the same manner, as much by horses and animals as by human beings. Modern conceptions of progress, closely associated with industrialisation and new technological and motor developments, are also shown to affect how the environment is defined, as access or

non-access. If we imagine space as being cleaved (Mount Royal Park as evidently more “natural” and lower parts of the city as “industrial”), they are nonetheless closely tied and not necessarily revealing of the everyday realities and experiences of all beings in the city equally.

The contribution of this research is to begin thinking differently; to think of history in a less anthropocentric manner and to recognize that the past is a common phenomenon to all beings as well as objects. Movement, present in human and non-human beings, has been shown in all three chapters as central to the relations being forged in an urban time and space. The central and conducting line of this thesis is, first and foremost, these relations in space, and how to reveal them by testing different methods and viewpoints, both philosophical and physical. Revealing these relations also uncovers how the city is experienced and lived in the past, a knowledge that, until the time machine is invented, is difficult to attain.

Future Research

Although lacking sufficient content for a chapter analysis, we believe that an examination of stables found or desirous to be built in Montreal between 1900-1920 would also be revealing of the same findings as our current research, further enforcing our analysis. Several plans, as well as many citizen’s petitions, found in the Fonds de la Commission d’Hygiène et de Statistiques, reveal a general desire to push out animals and buildings associated with them from the residential or downtown areas of the city. Depreciation of the value of property on Stanley and Drummond Street due to the erection of a livery or veterinary stable, in what is considered a “residential part of the city”, is the main reason cited for the ongoing petition, as well as the fact that it would attract a “undesirable element of the population of the city”, as

well as affect “the freedom and safety” of the children of residents.¹⁶⁶ The petition attracts the attention of the individual making the request, who writes:

The stable which I desire to erect would not be in any sense a livery or veterinary stable. It is to be used *solely as a private boarding stable for the accommodation of owners of horses residing in the neighborhood*, who, instead of erecting and maintaining stables of their own, will keep their horses at my establishment. [...] It is *obviously necessary to erect boarding stables of this kind within convenient distance of the residences of the owners of the horses to be kept at them*. It is found *essential, moreover, to locate these establishments north of St. Catherine Street*, as owners are unwilling to allow their horses to go upon or cross streets upon which the electric cars run.¹⁶⁷ (emphasis added)

Petitions also circulated supporting the application by Mr. Sector, seeing that “at the present time the number of establishments of this nature is so limited”, and that the proposition “will fill a long-felt want”, and that Mr. Sector has the necessary experience in “managing similar establishments”.¹⁶⁸ This carefully written letter by Mr. Sector as well as the petitions supporting him were for naught, however, and the social pressure meant that, on April 20th, 1906, M. Sector and his lawyers retracted his request for permission to erect a stable.¹⁶⁹

This type of pressure is still present in the city in 2017, further making this type of analysis of human/animal or human/horse relations relevant. Written in May of 2016, “Le cheval de la discorde”, an article appearing in *Le Devoir*, mentions that:

Le moratoire d’un an sur les calèches annoncé par le maire Coderre mercredi dernier a eu l’effet d’une bombe dans le petit milieu équin montréalais. Saluée

¹⁶⁶ Emmanuel Church and Neighbors of the Proposed Stable. Petition. March 31st, 1906, *Fonds de la Commission d’Hygiène et de Statistiques* (VM21-Série 2), Archives de Montréal.

¹⁶⁷ John Sector. To the Chairman and Members of the Fire and Light Committee, and of the Hygiene & Statistics Committee. Date unknown. *Fonds de la Commission d’Hygiène et de Statistiques* (VM21-Série 2), Archives de Montréal.

¹⁶⁸ Citizens of Montreal residing in or near the vicinity of Lot. No. 1457 St. Antoine Ward. Letter to the Aldermen of the City of Montreal. February ??, 1906, *Fonds de la Commission d’Hygiène et de Statistiques* (VM21-Série 2), Archives de Montréal.

¹⁶⁹ Attorney’s of John Sector. Letter to the Secretary of the Health Committee. April 20th, 1906, *Fonds de la Commission d’Hygiène et de Statistiques* (VM21-Série 2), Archives de Montréal.

par les uns, décriée par les autres, cette décision politique remet en question la place du cheval en ville.¹⁷⁰

A place which is yet to be confirmed, or completely rejected, in 2017, as the horse and cabby duo, as companion species, remain a common sight in the Old Port of Montreal.

¹⁷⁰ Florence Sara G. Ferraris. « Le cheval de la discorde », *Le Devoir*, May 24th 2016.

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