

**Reclaiming Le 9^e:
Public Heritage at the Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant, Montréal**

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A Thesis
in
The Department
of
Art History

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts (Art History) at Concordia University, Montréal, Québec, Canada

September 2011

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CONCORDIA UNIVERSITY
School of Graduate Studies

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ABSTRACT

Reclaiming Le 9^e: Public Heritage at the Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant, Montréal

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In 1931 Eaton's matriarchal figure Lady Flora McCrea Eaton (1880-1970) oversaw the opening of the Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant, Le 9^e, designed by the famous French architect Jacques Carlu after her favourite ocean liner *L'Île-de-France*. In 2000 Le 9^e was officially declared a Québec heritage site by the Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine after operating at the corner of rue University and rue Ste-Catherine Ouest in Montréal for nearly seventy years. The present owner, property management company Ivanhoe Cambridge, denies all access to the public as well as to professionals working in the heritage industry.

Drawing on interdisciplinary primary resources such as Carlu's architectural plans, photographs, archival records and Lady Eaton's autobiography, this research investigates the site's heritage value within a broader historical context. Representing an emerging culture of luxury and transatlantic travel amongst the middle class in the 1930s, Le 9^e is one of the last surviving Art Deco interior spaces in Montréal. Reaching beyond the restaurant's architectural value, Lady Eaton's crucial role in choosing the Art Deco style and her management of the restaurant allows for a new interpretation of the restaurant's heritage value as well as a rethinking of the notion of biologically determined "separate spheres" for men and women. The site's social and cultural value as a gendered space is especially highlighted, contributing equally to the site's heritage value and to the growing discourse of feminist architectural history.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis would not have been possible without the ongoing encouragement and support of my thesis supervisor, Dr. Cynthia Hammond. She has continuously challenged me to look beyond the obvious, to dismantle binary oppositions, and to find the “hidden program” within the built environment and within myself as a scholar. Her passion for writing feminist architectural histories has truly been an inspiration for me as a scholar and a person. I am very thankful to have had the opportunity to be her student.

I would like to express my sincere gratitude to Dr. Jean Bélisle, who very generously gave me Le 9^e memorabilia from his own collection and enthusiastically offered his expertise as my reader. He also graciously shared his unpublished research on the restaurant and its relationship to naval architecture of the period, an area of research that was completely new to me.

I would also like to thank James McCallan-Malamatenios, Georges Drolet (Fournier, Gersovitz, Moss), Sandra Cohen-Rose (Art Déco Montréal), Lorraine Gagné (Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine), Jennifer Mabee (The Carlu), Dinu Bumbaru (Heritage Montréal), Catherine Martin (director of *Les dames du 9^e*), and Tux (Urban Explorers Montréal), for making this project come to life.

Finally, I am grateful for the support of my family, Yann Geoffroy (and the entire Sorge-Geoffroy family) Olivia Pipe and Emily Kirkman, as well as all of my colleagues and professors in the Department of Art History and the Digital Image and Slide Collection at Concordia University.

DEDICATION

To Mum and Dad.

To my grandparents George and Fridel,
who went on their first dates at Le 9^e in the 1950s.

To Lady Eaton, the ladies of the ninth floor and les dames du 9^e.

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INTRODUCTION

Towards a Socially Inclusive History

In 1931 Eaton's matriarchal figure Lady Flora McCrea Eaton (1880-1970) oversaw the opening of the Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant, located in downtown Montréal at the corner of rue University and rue Ste-Catherine Ouest (Figs. 1, 2). Designed by the famous French architect Jacques Carlu (1890-1976), the restaurant was partly inspired by the Art Deco *style paquebot* of her favourite ocean liner, *L'Île-de-France*. From 1931 until 1999, the restaurant known as "Le 9^e" was a fixture in the hearts of generations of loyal patrons, located on the imaginary dividing line between French and English Montréal. After over seven decades in business, several years of financial troubles, rebranding in the 1990s and the eventual bankruptcy of Eaton's Québec, in August 1999 the rue Ste-Catherine Ouest Eaton's store closed its doors. Two months later, in October 1999, Le 9^e was also closed. Unfortunately, today's Montréalers do not have the opportunity to enjoy the restaurant and its unique architecture and design. With the Complexe Les Ailes and numerous offices occupying the building, it is difficult to envision from street-level (and almost hard to believe) that a 1930s Art Deco restaurant, hidden from view, still exists on the ninth floor.

In 2000 Le 9^e was officially classified a Québec heritage site by the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications after operating for sixty-seven years. This important piece of local and national heritage remains, however, closed to the public.¹ The present

¹ In 2007, Le Ministère de la Culture et des Communications merged with Le Ministère de la Condition féminine. It is now known as Le Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine. See the "Ministère Éphémérides," *50^e Anniversaire Historique* online document for a complete timeline.

owner, property management company, Ivanhoe Cambridge denies virtually all access to the public as well as to professionals working in the heritage industry. The restaurant is, then, privately owned but has a cultural designation that situates it as part of public heritage. This situation has been in effect since the restaurant's closure in 1999.

Since the 1972 Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO has considered cultural heritage to be of outstanding and universal value to humanity, with “the need to be preserved as part of the world heritage of [hu]mankind as a whole.”² The UNESCO Convention also states “the deterioration or disappearance of any item of the cultural or natural heritage constitutes a harmful impoverishment of the heritage of all the nations of the world.”³ According to this definition, the cultural heritage of Québec can effectively be considered to be of universal value to the Québec public. While the restaurant was, arguably, only truly accessible to people who could afford to enter it and therefore, private even before it was closed to visitors and clients, I believe that the current inaccessibility of Le 9^e to the public constitutes a great impoverishment to the cultural heritage of the province and its people. When I first began researching the site in 2009, I was puzzled by this conundrum: how could the restaurant be closed to the public domain, if heritage is supposed to be collective, if not universal?

I grapple with this question in the present thesis, addressing the paradoxical nature of the restaurant as a space of “public” heritage that is controlled by private interests. I also investigate the restaurant's heritage value within a broader historical

² Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage, UNESCO World Heritage Convention, 12 June 2011.

³ Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage.

context, which requires an understanding of the entire building's historical and architectural significance. Representing an emerging culture of luxury amongst the middle class in the 1930s as well as anglophone wealth and power, Le 9^e is one of the last surviving Art Deco interior spaces in Montréal.⁴ In this thesis, I argue that the site's social and cultural value as a gendered space is of vital concern, as it was one of relatively few public places where it was socially acceptable for middle and upper class women to convene without a male companion in the 1930s. Lady Flora McCrea Eaton's crucial role in the conception and management of the restaurant, as well as her status as a nationally important public figure will also be examined in terms of the "gendering" of the space. One major research question will be addressed: what is the relationship between Le 9^e's closure to the public domain and its heritage value as a symbol of English wealth and femininity?

As of this writing, I have not been allowed to enter the restaurant. In November 2009 I did explore, however, the office floors accessible via the 1500 rue University entrance, including some of the ninth floor. As my research progressed, I found that many people have been trying to enter the restaurant since its closure and subsequent heritage classifications.⁵ Perhaps Urban Explorers Montréal (UEM) made one of the most

⁴ Other examples of existing Art Deco interiors in Montréal include the Snowdon Theatre (now a gymnastics studio though the ceiling and wall decorations have been mostly preserved), the lobby of the Aldred Building, the Canadian Pacific Railway Avenue du Parc station (now a Loblaws supermarket and a Société des alcools du Québec store) and many Art Deco apartment buildings in the neighbourhoods of Outremont and Côte-des-Neiges. On 28 June 2011, Art Deco Montréal hosted a guided walking tour of Outremont's Art Deco apartments, making the private residences publicly accessible for one afternoon. However, this is not a comprehensive list and I do not believe these examples parallel the grandeur of the total Art Deco interior of Le 9^e, even after thirteen years of neglect since its closure in 1999.

⁵ Written requests to Complexe Les Ailes Director Johanne Marcotte for access to the restaurant have not been answered. Dinu Bumbaru (Policy Director of Heritage Montreal) has not been in the restaurant since 2001, nor has Georges Drolet (associate architect of Fournier, Gersovitz, Moss) since 2002 or Catherine Martin (Director of *Les dames du 9^e*, a 1998 film about the restaurant) since 1999. In 2009, the Art Deco

successful attempts in 2002. UEM refer to sites like the Eaton's restaurant as "unspace," which is loosely defined as any abandoned or hidden places in cities that are explored by urban spelunkers.⁶ At some point since the restaurant closed in 1999, the group managed to enter the foyer and have subsequently documented their exploration on their website, although they did not enter the restaurant itself.⁷ When I visited the ninth floor however, I was only able to progress as far as a door just beyond the elevator that barricades the visitor from entering the foyer (Fig. 3).

Until I interviewed researcher James McCallan-Malamatenios in April 2010, it was my belief that aside from the UEM intervention, the restaurant had seen very little activity since its closure in 1999.⁸ McCallan-Malamatenios' Master of Interior Design thesis entitled "Le 9^e: An Adaptive Re-Activation of the Former Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant as an Art Déco Microtopia" (2010), proposes a redevelopment plan that carefully considers the conservation of the restaurant. He describes his design as "part museum, part enterprise, and even part activist... operat[ing] as both a social and analytical epicenter."⁹ Like many native Montréalers, McCallan-Malamatenios describes

Society of Montréal hosted the World Congress on Art Deco. The Society was not welcome to host any events at Le 9^e.

⁶ This is a term used in the urban exploration community. It is referred to in (and may have originated from) Steven Hall's novel, *The Raw Shark Texts* (New York: Canongate, 2007). Urban Explorers Montréal refer to this text on their website.

⁷ Photographs of the UEM Eaton's intervention can be viewed on their website.

⁸ James McCallan-Malamatenios, personal interview, 5 April 2011. McCallan-Malamatenios holds a Bachelor of Art History from McGill University, a Bachelor of Environmental Design from Dalhousie University and a Master of Interior Design from the University of Manitoba (2010). He is also a member of the Art Deco Society of Montréal.

⁹ James McCallan-Malamatenios, "Le 9^e: An Adaptive Re-Activation of the Former Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant as an Art Déco Microtopia," (M.I.D. thesis, University of Manitoba 2010), ii.

his memories at Le 9^e with fondness.¹⁰ However, when speaking about his experience at Le 9^e on a visit to the restaurant in 2007 (navigated bureaucratically, by a municipal counselor¹¹), and as I believe, one of the last researchers to be permitted entrance, McCallan-Malamatenios was filled with sadness:

I'm not a licensed architect... but I can say that the condition was not at all how it had been left when Eaton's closed... It was a startling difference. I know that they had converted at least half of the floorplate into offices, cubicle space with dropped ceilings and the kitchen had been gutted completely and a lot of the interiors towards the periphery of the floor plate were also gutted, the bathrooms were in a bit of a mess... The outer base towards the front where the public interiors are (which contains the bathrooms, office space, elevators, that sort of thing), walls were taken down. I do know that some of the reasons for that were seismic bracing but there were things that I saw from, I guess, my perspective, that didn't quite add up... there were holes in the ceiling and there were dry wall partitions erected in the public corridors really compartmentalizing the space, including the foyer and there was missing trim work...¹²

McCallan-Malamatenios' observations imply a breach of Ivanhoe Cambridge's ethical and legal obligations to uphold the restaurant's condition since its official heritage designation in 2000.¹³ Certain aspects of McCallan-Malamatenios' assessment, such as

¹⁰ James McCallan-Malamatenios, personal interview, 5 April 2011.

"I used to go from the ages of 5 to 19 with my grandparents... and we used to go for lunch on the weekends... especially as a young child, it was unlike any other space I had been to in Montreal... it was very magical."

¹¹ McCallan-Malamatenios was not able to provide me with the name of the municipal counselor, nor was he allowed to use their name in his thesis.

¹² James McCallan-Malamatenios, personal interview, 5 April 2010.

Complexe Les Ailes Director Johanne Marcotte initially told McCallan-Malamatenios that he would be allowed to take photographs of the site. Upon his arrival he was informed that photographs would not be permitted.

¹³ Ivanhoe Cambridge is legally obliged to maintain the restaurant's condition under chapter three, section 1.18 of *La Loi sur les biens culturels*. Any plans for restoration, alteration, or demolition of the site must be presented in writing to the Ministère de la Culture with at least sixty days notice.

"Nul ne peut altérer, restaurer, réparer, modifier de quelque façon ou démolir en tout ou en partie un bien culturel reconnu et, s'il s'agit d'un immeuble, le déplacer ou l'utiliser comme adossement à une construction, sans donner au ministre un avis d'intention d'au moins 60 jours. Dans le cas d'un immeuble, une copie de

the holes in the ceiling, the drywall partitions, and the deterioration of the public washrooms (Fig. 4) are consistent with the UEM's documentation from 2002.¹⁴ Since I have not been able to personally visit the restaurant, it would be extremely difficult to speculate about its physical state in 2011. My exploration of the site rests, therefore, on a variety of interdisciplinary resources that have allowed me to interpret the site from multiple perspectives, including a visit to the Seventh Floor of the former Eaton's building at College and Yonge Streets in Toronto, which was also designed by Carlu (1930). Printed descriptions, architectural diagrams and photographs of the space such as those found in Carlu's 1931 entry in *The Architectural Record*, Sandra Cohen-Rose's book *Northern Deco: Art Deco Architecture in Montreal* (1996), and Carol Anderson and Katharine Mallinson's book *Lunch with Lady Eaton* (2004) have been extraordinarily helpful. Interviews have also been an important aspect of my primary research. In addition to my interview with McCallan-Malamatenios, in November 2009, I conducted an interview with Georges Drolet, associate architect at Fournier, Gersovitz, Moss who developed the conservation strategy for the restaurant in 2002. I also interviewed Montréal architectural historian Dr. Jean Bélisle (Concordia University), who has conducted extensive research on Le 9^e with regard to its relationship with French naval architecture of the period. Catherine Martin's film *Les dames du 9^e* (1998) offers great insight into the restaurant as a social space, incorporating firsthand accounts of the site from women who frequented the restaurant from the 1930s through to the 1990s. The Archives of Ontario's records of the T. Eaton Co. of Montreal, the Canadian Centre for

cet avis d'intention doit, dans le même délai, être transmise au greffier ou secrétaire-trésorier de la municipalité locale sur le territoire de laquelle est situé le bien culturel." (trans. Maya Soren) L.R.Q., chapitre B-4, Loi sur les biens culturels, Publications du Québec, 22 June 2011.

¹⁴ See the Urban Explorers Montréal "Occupied: Eaton's" photo gallery on their website.

Architecture's Ross & Macdonald fonds, the McCord Museum's photographic collections and the Ministère de la Culture heritage evaluation records have also proven to be extremely valuable sources of archival information for this project.

This thesis contributes to the growing body of research on gender and space, which includes the scholarship of Annmarie Adams ("Rooms of their Own: The Nurses' Residences at Montreal's Royal Victoria Hospital," 1994; *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900*, 1996; *Medicine by Design: The Architect and The Modern Hospital, 1893-1943*, 2008), and Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers (*Negotiating Identities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Montréal*, 2005) on gender in public spaces in the nineteenth and twentieth-century Montréal. The work of other feminist scholars such as Sherry Ahrentzen, and particularly her 2003 essay, "The Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture," has encouraged this project to take part in the current "feminist praxis and growth in architecture [as] a project of bricolage, in building stronger and stronger layers or linked threads so that beliefs about feminist theories and practices draw strength from one another."¹⁵ As Ahrentzen notes, in the 1980s and 1990s a divide developed in the field of feminist architecture, with some scholars such as Joan Rothschild and Victoria Rosner (*Design and Feminism: Re-visioning Spaces, Places and Everyday Things*, 1999) focusing broadly on recuperating histories about neglected female architects, women, domesticity and the notion of separate spheres, and masculine and feminine differences in architecture's theory and built form.

¹⁵ Sherry Ahrentzen, "The Space between the Studs: Feminism and Architecture," *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society* 29.1 (2003): 200.

Feminist scholar Joan Wallach Scott, however, analyzes in her essay “Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis,” (1988) the history of women’s studies and the ways in which it has evolved to be about a whole new kind of history that considers race, class, and gender while recognizing that these terms do not exist in parity.¹⁶ Scott argues that merely studying women’s history in relation to political events in Western history creates a kind of isolation that does not further feminism’s cause. Scott remarks how the term ‘gender,’ which implies both women and men (rather than reinforcing the terms’ dichotomous relationship), works to reject the notion of a biologically determined social organization of men and women into historically separate social spheres because it is both essentialist and ahistorical. Adams also makes this argument in her book, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (1996), rejecting the division of separate spheres for men and women and demonstrating how the “professionalization” of domestic science in Victorian England granted women agency and independence from their husbands through the systematization of sanitary knowledge. She writes, “[i]f anything, the range of spaces accessible to Victorian women was far wider than that open to Victorian men.”¹⁷ Other feminist scholars such as Mary McLeod (“Everyday and ‘Other’ Spaces,” in *Architecture and Feminism*, 1996), Jane Rendell (*The Pursuit of Pleasure: Gender, Space and Architecture in Regency London*, 2002), and Daphne Spain (*Gendered Spaces*, 1992) likewise reject the notion of separate spheres in their writings on women and architecture. While feminist historians have been

¹⁶ Joan Wallach Scott, “Excerpts from Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden (London: E & FN Spon, 2000) 74-87.

¹⁷ Annmarie Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 1996) 77.

concerned with context, focusing their efforts on descriptions of women's accomplishments, Scott argues further, that feminist historians have not convinced theorists working with theories such as psychoanalysis, Marxism, and Lacanian theory because their work has not dealt with structure. Ultimately, Scott recommends that feminist historians concern themselves with theorizing feminism and using gender as an analytic category for investigation, as does Doreen Massey's chapter, "Politics and Time/Space" in *Space, Place and Gender* (1994) in which she dismantles another binary opposition, the notion of space as passive and feminine, which is dichotomous to time as active, as History.¹⁸

Rather than taking a totalizing or separatist approach within the debate about feminist architecture, this thesis strives toward a multiplicitous and pragmatic understanding and rethinking of the gendering of built form and experience at Le 9^e.¹⁹ While I thoroughly appreciate Scott's concern for the creation of a theoretical feminist structure, I consider it alongside Charlene Haddock Seigfried's *Pragmatism and Feminism* (1996), which positions its feminist architectural projects within the everyday world, stressing active engagement with problems of the day and fighting academic elitist language [Massey challenges Edward Soja's *Postmodern Geographies* (1989) as well as David Harvey's *The Condition of Postmodernity* (1989) for their "denial" of feminism entirely, but also for alienating the reader by using inaccessible language]. Dolores

¹⁸ Doreen Massey, "Politics and Time/Space," in *Space, Place and Gender* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994) 175-248. Where time is traditionally conceptualized as masculine because it is linked to "History with a capital H," space is therefore subsumed to the feminine. Massey ultimately argues that space is in fact directly connected to history and calls for the dismantling of this dichotomous social construct as well as the male/female dichotomy because they as essentialist generalizations they are unproductive to critical thinking.

¹⁹ Ahrentzen 201.

Hayden (*The Power of Place*, 1995) does not analyze the terms “women” or “gender,” in her approach to women’s history and urban preservation, and like Ahrentzen, I admire how “her work has acted as a compass to show how changes in the landscape of life create new contexts, new experiences, and new meanings.”²⁰ Hayden offers many different ways of interpreting and analyzing space historically whether it is through photographic exhibitions, public workshops, or cognitive mapping. I especially appreciate her approach to public history commemoration for her emphasis on the collaborative work of historians, designers, artists and citizens on community-based initiatives over projects that promote preservation as museums or reuse via the real estate market, although as of this writing the latter seems the likely fate for Le 9^e.

To borrow Ahrentzen’s words once more, above all, this project requires the active act of looking for “the space between the studs,” just as Alice T. Friedman exposes the “hidden program” at Aline Barnsdall’s Hollyhock House and the Olive Hill theatre complex as a rethinking of the meaning of home and a woman’s place in the home, which conflicts with Frank Lloyd Wright’s vision of the home as built for a traditional nuclear family.²¹ A similar “bottom-up” approach will be taken with the Le 9^e, which is necessary in order to understand how Lady Eaton contributed to the design, social life, function and politics of the restaurant and why her role has been overlooked in its cultural heritage designation.²² I also examine current Québec public heritage discourse, specifically

²⁰ Ahrentzen 199.

²¹ Alice T. Friedman, “No Ordinary House: Frank Lloyd Wright, Aline Barnsdall, and Hollyhock House,” in *Women and the Making of the Modern House: A Social and Architectural History* (New York: Harry N. Abrams, 1998) 32-63.

²² Many other feminist architectural historians have looked for the “hidden program” in order to understand the gendering of both private and public spaces. See Vanessa Chase, “Edith Wharton, The Decoration of Houses, and Gender in Turn-of-the-Century America” (1996), also Cynthia Imogen Hammond, “Dearest

through the scholarship of Alan Gordon (*Making Public Pasts: The Contested Terrain of Montreal's Public Memories, 1891-1930*, 2001) and Martin Drouin (“L’affaire de la maison Van Horne: une lutte pour la sauvegarde d’un patrimoine montréalais?” in *Identités urbaines: Échos de Montréal*, 2003 and *Le combat du patrimoine à Montréal* (1973-2003), 2005), in order to historically frame my understanding of the restaurant as a Québec heritage site.

It is necessary to begin this discussion of Le 9^e with an outline of the history of the Eaton’s store in Montréal, with a focus on the development of its built environment from 1925-1931. I also examine its currently mothballed state under the management of Ivanhoe Cambridge. In an attempt to understand the restaurant’s heritage value, I make three main points that legitimize the space as a unique and historic cultural landmark. First, I discuss the restaurant’s Art Deco style as a reflection of the architectural trends in Montréal that were contemporary with its construction, and I determine what attempts are currently being made to preserve it as a classified heritage site. Second, I argue that the restaurant is a gendered space, which played a major role in its years of financial success and acted as a setting where women negotiated space, which was largely due to the matriarchal figure of Lady Eaton. Last, I argue that instead of simply symbolizing the historically divisive bi-cultural politics of Québec, the restaurant emphasizes a shared *lieu de mémoire* for both French and English communities and for this reason should be made public once again.

Aside from the UEM intervention, James McCallan’s site visit, and a handful of

City I am Thine”: Selina Hastings’ Architectural Vision (2006), and “Past the Parapets of Patriarchy? Women, the Star System, and the Built Environment,” (2009).

commercial and film shoots, the restaurant has seen little activity since 1999.²³

Yet this thesis does not position itself as a lament, outlining the failure of Eaton's, the subsequent mothballing of the restaurant, and its state of disrepair. Instead, in addition to celebrating the architectural value of Le 9^e, this thesis encourages public interest in the restaurant as both a heritage site and as a unique, gendered space. Perhaps with enough public interest, Ivanhoe Cambridge and the Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine will allow the restaurant to be publicly accessible. With this goal in mind, this essay acts as a tactic, a proactive and pragmatic attempt to reclaim this once-loved restaurant for the public of Montréal.²⁴ Ultimately, I hope that as a public document this thesis will incite further discussion about the future of Le 9^e in order to revive the public nature of this important space.

²³ Since its closure, Le 9^e was used as a film set for the Hollywood film, *The Whole Nine Yards* (2000) and the television docudrama, *Nuremberg* (2000).

²⁴ Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pivaro, "Things, Flows, Filters, Tactics," in *The Unknown City: Contesting Architecture and Social Space*, ed. Iain Borden, Joe Kerr, Jane Rendell and Alicia Pivaro (Cambridge, Mass. And London, England: MIT Press, 2002) 11.

SECTION 1

The Eaton's Building, Montréal

In 1925, the Timothy Eaton Company bought the three-storey Ste-Catherine store and property belonging to Goodwin Limited (Fig. 5), another retail and mail order business, for \$5.3 million.²⁵ At this time, according to fashion historian Elizabeth Sifton, “Eaton’s certainly already had a clientele in Montreal”²⁶ due to their Canada-wide catalogue business. Extra floors and large show windows were added in sections so as not to disrupt daily operations (Fig. 6), and by 1927 a new six-storey building was constructed; Eaton’s occupied the whole city block.²⁷ By 1931, the roof elevation and addition of three floors were complete (Fig. 7), including Jacques Carlu’s restaurant on the ninth floor. Engaging architects Ross & Macdonald of Montréal and Sproatt & Rolph of Toronto as consulting architects for all of the exterior and structural renovations, the Eaton family took great pride in hiring local contractors and in using Canadian steel and concrete as high quality, modern, building materials.²⁸ The final three-storey expansion to the store was made possible due to a new 1929 city by-law, which permitted downtown buildings over 130 feet (40 metres) as long as they allowed for a setback of “one foot for every four feet

²⁵ This was the first large acquisition of Robert Young Eaton’s (nephew of company founder Timothy Eaton). Known as RY, he was the third company president after the death of his cousin John Craig Eaton (Flora McCrea Eaton’s husband) in 1922 from pneumonia. William Stephenson, *The Store That Timothy Built* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1969) 86.

²⁶ Elizabeth Sifton, “Montreal’s Fashion Mile: St-Catherine Street, 1890-1930,” *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 219.

²⁷ Stephenson 86.

²⁸ Ross & Macdonald Architects, “General Specifications for Extensions to Store for The T. Eaton Co. Limited of Montréal,” 19 Feb. 1930, Ross & Macdonald Fonds (Canadian Centre for Architecture – Archives) 5-10.

additional height.”²⁹ This by-law was instrumental in adopting the pyramid silhouette so characteristic of the New York skyscraper, which influenced many Montréal buildings of that era, such as the University Tower (Fig. 8) in 1929 and the Aldred Building (Fig. 9) in 1931, among others.³⁰ The Eaton’s store also capitalized on an additional stipulation for department stores that allowed for the square footage of the floors to be up to eight times the area of the lot if the building provided public entryways on a minimum of three streets.³¹ Because of these by-laws, which “protected urban morphology, but also began to generate contrasts in scale that were increasingly difficult to manage”³² it became “possible to constantly modernize the range of the commercial and residential facilities required for a North American city the size of Montréal.”³³ The Eaton’s building reflects this trend in modernization and captures the spirit of the booming construction era; after a mere six years, it had transformed massively in height and area (Fig 10). In Montréal between 1880 and 1930, “commercial gigantism – though here more technological and programmatic than stylistic in nature – remained the principle vehicle of architectural modernity.”³⁴ Certainly these transformative renovations were practical, but also lucrative measures, which were taken in order to maintain the company’s world-class reputation as the biggest, and perhaps the most prestigious, retail company in Canada at the time. Upon

²⁹ Isabelle Gournay, “Gigantism in Downtown Montréal,” in *Montréal Metropolis: 1839-1930*, ed. Isabelle Gournay and France Vanlaethem (Toronto/Montréal: Canadian Centre for Architecture/Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1998) 177.

³⁰ Gournay 177-178.

³¹ Gournay 178.

³² Gournay 182.

³³ Gournay 182.

³⁴ Gournay 182.

completion of these renovations, the Eaton's Montreal store was renowned as "the finest outlet in the whole Eaton chain."³⁵ As a new institution in twentieth century Montréal, the Eaton's store perfectly reflects the evolution toward a modern metropolis seen in architecture, and the increased importance of commercial leisure, shops, and consumers.³⁶

The late 1920s and early 1930s were important years for the expansion of the Eaton's empire throughout Canada. Within a short span of time, Eaton's opened department stores in Regina (1926), Saskatoon (1928), Halifax (1928), Edmonton (1929), and Calgary (1929), although not in Vancouver until after World War II with the acquisition of a Spencer's department store in 1948. By the early 1930s, the eight-storey Eaton's Winnipeg store, which opened in 1905 and included a fifth floor lunchroom and restaurant known as The Grill Room, had already enjoyed several years as a major commercial and mail-order distribution centre. Anderson and Mallinson note in *Lunch with Lady Eaton* (2004) how, "Winnipeggers flocked to the Grill Room, with its oak paneling, beamed ceilings, and iron chandeliers."³⁷ Some of the Winnipeg store's catalogue offerings were food, spices and condiments, which were sold and shipped to the rural population on the prairies. The Winnipeg store also had an extensive grocery department and during the 1930s, "the Winnipeg store boasted the largest area of refrigerated displays and food sales counters in Canada, if not on the entire continent."³⁸

Similarly at the Eaton's College Street store in Toronto, the Eatons were planning

³⁵ Stephenson 4.

³⁶ Bettina Bradbury and Tamara Myers, "Introduction," in *Negotiating Identities in Nineteenth and Twentieth Century Montréal* (Vancouver/Toronto: UBC Press, 2005) 13.

³⁷ Carol Anderson and Katharine Mallinson, *Lunch with Lady Eaton* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2004) 21.

³⁸ Anderson and Mallinson 59.

a monumental complex with architects Ross & Macdonald and Sproatt & Rolph that was “to cover a full city block and include a 38-storey office tower, making it the most ambitious real estate development in North America until the opening of the Rockefeller Center in New York, several years later.” (Fig. 11)³⁹ However, only the primary seven-storey construction phase was completed due to the financial pitfalls of the Great Depression and the onset of World War II. Opening on the southwest corner of Yonge and College Streets on 30 October 1930, “the highlight of the project would be, without exception, the Seventh Floor,”⁴⁰ which featured the Round Room Restaurant (Fig. 12) and Concert Hall, also designed by Carlu. For decades, both the Eaton’s College Street store in Toronto and Montréal’s rue Ste-Catherine Ouest store flourished. Beginning in 1957, under the direction of John (Jack) Wallace Eaton (1912-1990) another series of renovations brought the rear portion of the Montréal store up to the nine-storey height of the section on rue Ste-Catherine Ouest.⁴¹ Monumental in size, the Eaton’s store’s legacy is anchored amongst other department stores such as Ogilvy’s, Dupuis Frères, and The Bay, which for a time were also successful in changing the ways in which citizens shopped. According to Toronto historian William Denby, after the death of company founder Timothy Eaton,⁴² “First in Toronto, and then elsewhere, [Eaton’s] started to

³⁹ The Carlu, *Carlu: Social, Corporate, Cultural* (Toronto: Sonnik Inc., n.d.) 4.

⁴⁰ The Carlu 4.

⁴¹ Katherine Bosnitch, “A Little on the Wild Side: Eaton’s Prestige Fashion Advertising Published in the *Montreal Gazette*, 1952-1972,” in *Fashion: A Canadian Perspective* (Toronto, Buffalo and London: University of Toronto Press, 2004) 340-341.

⁴² William Denby, *Lost Toronto* (Toronto Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978) 157. Timothy Eaton established his business on two principles, ‘One price and cash only’ and ‘Satisfaction or money refunded.’ After his death in 1907, however, these policies were changed and Eaton’s began to cater more of its goods and services to the upper classes.

challenge the smaller specialty shops with new services and new lines of merchandise that would attract the wealthier ‘carriage trade,’ who were as interested in fashion as in cost.”⁴³ By simultaneously democratizing material consumption through the sale of affordable, mass-produced goods, the middle class could also take part in a culture of luxury, where shopping trips downtown were often a weekly ritual, even if the customer lived in a suburban area. While this cultural shift was positive for department stores, it severely hurt the catalogue business. By the 1970s, the Eaton’s catalogue was no longer a profitable business venture; the 1976 spring-summer catalogue was the company’s last edition.

In the 1990s, Eaton’s quickly started to see a decline in sales, which is largely due to competition from discount and dollar stores (as well as poor management decisions), perhaps best exemplified with the emergence of Wal-Mart in Canada, its first store being opened in Mississauga in 1994. The department store would have great difficulty competing with cheaper stores like Wal-Mart, Zellers, and Costco (a problem that department stores like Sears and The Bay still face), and the closure of Eaton’s could perhaps be called inevitable. After 74 years in business and several years of financial troubles, on 27 August 1999 the rue Ste-Catherine Ouest store closed its doors following the bankruptcy of Eaton’s Québec stores, which affected over 2,000 employees across the province.⁴⁴ Remarkably, the ninth floor restaurant was able to remain open until a final day of service nearly two months later. On 14 October 1999, after sixty-eight years of

⁴³ Denby 157.

⁴⁴ For additional details about the bankruptcy of Eaton’s Québec see Noble, Fine, and Nicol, “Eaton’s Goes Bankrupt,” Canadian Encyclopedia Online, 30 Aug. 1999.

service, the restaurant and its staff said goodbye to Montréalers during an emotional ceremony. Journalist Marie-Andrée Amiot describes this poignant moment: “In the background bagpipes were playing the very beautiful Amazing Grace, while many employees and their guests burst into tears.”⁴⁵

Following the closure of the Montréal store, the former Eaton’s property was acquired by Ivanhoe Cambridge, the real estate arm of the Caisse de Dépôt et Placement du Québec, specializing in the property management of shopping malls and office space. In 2000, Ivanhoe Cambridge hired Architects Lemay et Associés for a \$250 million renovation of the building, which would henceforth be known as Le Complexe Les Ailes. Today a high-end shopping centre and the chain’s flagship store Les Ailes de la Mode operate in 360,000 square feet in the basement and first three floors of the building (Fig. 13), while floors three through eight are designated for office space, housing major tenants such as Computershare Trust, L’Oréal Canada, Hydro Québec and Nuance Communications. The main renovation to the existing building is to be found in the glass roof and central atrium, as well as the indoor winter garden (Fig. 14), accessible only to the office tenants from floors five through nine (but not accessible from the restaurant). The year 2000 marked an important historic moment for the former Montréal Eaton’s building for another reason: Lady Eaton’s famed restaurant was designated a Quebec heritage site by the Ministère de la Culture et de la Communication. Both the English and French media covered the occasion and Heritage Montreal Policy Director Dinu

⁴⁵ Marie-Andrée Amiot, “Allez, au revoir les amis,” *La Presse* (Montréal), 15 Oct. 1999. “Sur fond de cornemuses jouant le très beau *Amazing Grace*, plusieurs employés et leurs invités ont fondu en larmes.”(trans. Maya Soren).

Bumbaru discussed the implications of the classification in a Radio-Canada interview.⁴⁶ While the restaurant still exists today on the ninth floor, Ivanhoe Cambridge gutted the kitchen following the acquisition of the building in order to facilitate the creation of office space. The removal of the restaurant's kitchen certainly complicates not only Ivanhoe Cambridge's responsibility to maintain the heritage site, but it also detracts from the site's original integrity, putting the future function of the restaurant into question.

⁴⁶ "De l'art au 9e étage," *Les Archives de Radio-Canada*, Société Radio-Canada, 25 Aug. 2000.

SECTION 2

Le 9^e: Naval Architecture, Art Deco and Heritage Site

In the early 1900s, it was customary for businessmen living in urban centres to return home for lunch to dine with their wives. Timothy Eaton (1834-1907), however, often found himself too busy to make the trip home, preferring to stay at work and eat a sandwich in his office at the Toronto Queen Street store. Eventually, a table was set up for him and progressively a few more for customers in the grocery department, becoming a forerunner of the Eaton's snack bars and restaurants.⁴⁷ By 1929, Simpsons (now The Bay) in Toronto opened the famous Art Deco-style eighth floor *Arcadian Court* at its flagship store and restaurants could be found in the great department stores of London and New York, establishments Lady Eaton frequented on her travels. According to Anderson and Mallinson, "London's Debenhams, Selfridges and Harrod's and New York's the B. Altman Company and Lord & Taylor were her natural terrain."⁴⁸ When Lady Eaton joined the Eaton's Board of Directors in 1921, she "began to entertain the idea of a modern restaurant, equipped with first-class equipment and food."⁴⁹ The ninth floor restaurant (Fig. 15) and foyer (Fig. 16) opened on 26 January 1931 and the event was widely advertised in full-page advertisements in many of both the English and French Montréal newspapers (Figs. 17, 18, 19, 20) The grand opening of Le 9^e served as a manifestation of Lady Eaton's vision for restaurants in the Eaton's stores and added to

⁴⁷ Anderson and Mallinson 39.

⁴⁸ Anderson and Mallinson 40.

⁴⁹ Anderson and Mallinson 41.

the institution's sophistication within a culture of luxury.⁵⁰

Designed by Jacques Carlu, the famous French architect, winner of the *Premier Grand Prix de Rome* in 1919, and professor at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology,⁵¹ the restaurant was inspired by the elongated formality and elegance of Lady Eaton's favorite transatlantic ocean liner,⁵² the 1927 *S.S. Île-de-France*. Carlu had worked on the *S.S. Île-de-France* under Pierre Patout (1879-1965) and Lady Eaton was a passenger on its premier voyage from Le Havre, France to New York City in 1927.⁵³ While the interior of the Eaton's College Street Round Room Restaurant in Toronto is much closer stylistically to the Montréal Ninth Floor than the *S. S. Île-de-France*, Le 9^e is often referred to as a copy of the ship's dining room (Fig. 21).⁵⁴ Carlu's Art Deco design aesthetic, however, more accurately relates to his training in Beaux-Arts gigantism and the modernist tendencies popularized at the *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels de Paris* in October of 1925, which allowed him to explore a new direction known as "Streamline Moderne."⁵⁵ It should also be noted that the term "Art Deco,"

⁵⁰ Gournay 178.

⁵¹ Carlu is most famously known for designing Le Palais du Chaillot (Le Nouveau Trocadéro), for the 1937 *Exposition Internationale*, in Paris, in collaboration with L.H. Boileau and Léon Azéma.

⁵² Anderson and Mallinson 71.

⁵³ Sandra Cohen-Rose, *Northern Deco: Art Deco Architecture in Montréal* (Corona Publishers: Montréal, 1996) 85-87. Cohen-Rose notes "understandable" similarities between the Maison Cormier and Le 9^e, considering how both Ernest Cormier and Carlu attended the Beaux-Arts school in Paris and worked with Patout on the ocean liner. From 1946-1951, Cormier, Carlu, Le Corbusier and others also collaborated on the United Nations headquarters in New York.

⁵⁴ Georges Drolet, personal interview, 20 Nov. 2009. Drolet states that it is a misconception that Carlu was entirely responsible for the design of the interior of the *S. S. Ile-de-France* and that it is a myth that Le 9^e is a replica of the ocean liner. While Lady Eaton did travel aboard the *S. S. Ile-de-France*, the restaurant's association with it is more a lucrative maneuver in order to give it a sense of European prestige in a world-class culture of luxury, rather than bearing specific architectural relationships aside from the Art Deco style.

⁵⁵ Gournay 178.

which has come to be broadly used to describe trends in architecture, interior design, the decorative arts, fashion, jewelry, and even cinema from about 1910 to 1935, was not coined until the 1960s,⁵⁶ although to retroactively name a style in the visual arts is not unusual.⁵⁷ In an attempt to associate the ninth floor with French magnificence, it “was originally to be called François Premier, after the 15th-century French king, but the name did not catch on and the restaurant was simply known as Le 9^e.”⁵⁸

Le 9^e perfectly demonstrates the aesthetic of the Art Deco era and was often referred to as a manifestation of modern trends during the 1920s and 1930s. French writer René Chavance refers to Le 9^e and Toronto’s Round Room as Canada’s first encounter with modern design.⁵⁹ From Paris, in the first three decades of the twentieth century the Art Deco movement quickly caught on in North America and worldwide as a reaction against Art Nouveau’s “romanticism, sentimentality, asymmetry, intricacy and biomorphism”⁶⁰ as well as the “Victorian clutter and fussiness”⁶¹ of previous periods. On 16 February 1931, less than a month after Le 9^e opened, Carlu gave a lecture at the Art

⁵⁶ Lucy Fischer, “Designing Women: Cinema, Art Deco and the Female Form,” (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003) 11.

⁵⁷ For example, according to the Grove Dictionary of Art the term “baroque,” refers to the principle European style of the seventeenth century and the first half of the eighteenth century. Archaeologist and art historian Johann Joachim Winckelmann (1717-1768) first coined the term in his 1755 treatise, “Thoughts on the Imitation of Greek Works in Painting and Sculpture” (paragraph 113). Kerry Downes, “Baroque,” Grove Dictionary of Art, 19 July 2004.

⁵⁸ Anderson and Mallinson 71.

⁵⁹ René Chavance, “Deux réalisations de Jacques Carlu au Canada,” *Art et décoration* [Paris] (April 1932): 109. Chavance writes, “Il est intéressant de penser que, le Canada, jusqu’alors fidèle aux styles révolus, doit à un Français sa première expérience d’aménagement moderne.” (trans. Maya Soren)

⁶⁰ Fischer 14.

⁶¹ Alistair Duncan, *American Art Deco* (New York: Abrams, 1986) xi. Quoted in Fischer.

Gallery of Toronto entitled “Tradition and Modernism.”⁶² In this lecture, Carlu described how the modernist movement was becoming increasingly strong both in Europe and North America. He praised Frank Lloyd Wright as “America’s pioneer of modern architecture,” assuring his public that, “Modern architecture is here to stay.”⁶³ Carlu was enthusiastic about “the new age of steel and machines... [as] a period of great architectural expression... a period of analysis and expression.”⁶⁴ At Le 9^e, Carlu was clearly influenced by both the new modernist tendencies of the Art Deco style and exploring his own previous work on the *Île-de-France* oceanliner, a style coined the *style paquebot*. But as architectural historian Dr. Jean Bélisle argues, Le 9^e was never meant to be a copy of the *Île-de-France* dining room. Instead, Carlu’s aim was to recreate the atmosphere and the ambience of being on an oceanliner, an abstract bridge over the Atlantic.⁶⁵ According to Bélisle, “When you’re on a ship like that you’re cut from reality. The moment you’re boarding at Le Havre you’re in another world, [until the moment] when you’re disembarking in New York.”⁶⁶

The early twentieth-century adoption of the steam turbine engine by the British Cunard line, and its ships, the *Mauretania* (1907) and the *Lusitania* (1907) drastically changed the ways in which people travelled and popularized the transatlantic theme in architecture. Today the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania* are hailed as the first great liners,

⁶² This lecture was published in the May 1931 edition of the Journal of the Royal Architectural Institute of Canada. Jacques Carlu, “Tradition and Modernism,” *The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 8.5 (May 1931): 178.

⁶³ Carlu, “Tradition and Modernism,” 178.

⁶⁴ Carlu, “Tradition and Modernism,” 176.

⁶⁵ Jean Bélisle, personal interview, 11 April 2011.

⁶⁶ Bélisle.

carrying two thousand passengers each weekly across the Atlantic, faster and more efficiently than ever before.⁶⁷ As with so many inventions and discoveries, after the inauguration of the *Mauretania* and the *Lusitania*, European nations set out to compete to build the fastest, largest and most famous oceanliners, and so the *Compagnie Générale Transatlantique* (known as the French Line to North Americans) built the *Île-de-France*. Beginning with the *Île-de-France*, liners started to emerge with a fully integrated design, with the formerly traditionally eclectic interiors now transformed in marble, glass and lacquered surfaces and relating in their design to the hull and superstructure.⁶⁸ “Up to the *Île-de-France*, liner interiors tended to recall land-based architecture. After the *Île-de-France*, liners would become a design source for land-based architecture.”⁶⁹ Considering that the Eaton’s restaurant used to stand amongst some of the tallest buildings in Montreal in the 1930s and that through large foyer windows on the ninth floor patrons would have once been able to see the St. Lawrence River and ships, to which the restaurant belonged through its aesthetics, Carlu’s ambition to recreate the feeling of being on an oceanliner seems absolutely plausible. In my interview with Bélisle he noted how, “the organization on the ninth floor follows word for word the arrangement you have on the liner.” Specifically, the foyer of Le 9^e wraps around the dining room exactly as it had done on the *Île-de-France*, with windows lining the perimeter of the foyer just as at Le 9^e. Furthermore, in two unpublished drawings he has shared with me (Fig. 22), Bélisle demarcates how the Eaton’s ninth floor could be perfectly inserted into the typical

⁶⁷ Richard B. Oliver, “The Oceanliner: Speed, Style, Symbol” (New York: The Smithsonian Institution, 1980) 9. Exhibition catalogue, Cooper-Hewitt Museum, New York, January 22 - 6 April 1980.

⁶⁸ Oliver 32.

⁶⁹ Oliver 32.

layout of an oceanliner of the period, regardless of its individual architectural details or decorations. The Eaton's Seventh Floor Concert Hall in Toronto, both its design and entertainment function, were also characteristic features of the oceanliners of the period.⁷⁰ Given this important relationship to naval architecture, it seems evident that recreating the feeling of being at sea was an idea that Lady Eaton wanted to be transposed to the department store.⁷¹ According to Bélisle, this reference to naval architecture was meant to give department store patrons an optimistic worldview after several years of economic crisis in Canada during the Great Depression.⁷² Having tea at Le 9^e was an affordable way for the growing Montréal middle-class to temporarily escape from their daily woes, but it also gave the Eaton's store a social function that was both prestigious and lucrative.⁷³

Jacques Carlu's detailed visual description of Le 9^e's Art Deco interiors printed in a 1931 edition of *The Architectural Record* has provided invaluable insight for this project, especially when read in combination with the architectural plan (Fig. 23) and existing photographs. Stepping out of one of fourteen elevators in either of the halls that flanked the restaurant into a total Art Deco environment, the client was reminded of still being in the department store by the glass display cases advertising the latest Eaton's goods and services. Nearby, these display cases still in the elevator halls, were semi-private telephone booths that permitted clients access to the outside world. Walking either to the left or right (depending on which elevator was used) along the hallway's parquet floor in walnut and oak, the patron would turn the corner into the foyer lounge

⁷⁰ Bélisle.

⁷¹ Bélisle.

⁷² Bélisle.

⁷³ Gournay 178.

area and hang up their coat in the cloakroom adjacent to the main entrance of the restaurant. Through the ornamented grand entranceway, drawn by Carlu in a cross-section plan (Fig. 24) was the “central nave,” or main seating area of the restaurant (Fig. 25), which Carlu also drew in detail (Fig. 26). Accommodating up to 750 patrons, the main dining room was of “imposing” proportions (131 feet wide, 75 feet and 6 inches in length, 35 foot ceiling).⁷⁴ Adorned with a clerestory “ringed with horizontal windows admitting, through panels of opal glass, natural and artificial light well under control,”⁷⁵ the main dining room and its two side aisles were “illuminated indirectly with light placed in inverted wells in the ceiling.”⁷⁶ Carlu’s incorporation of lighting into the design reflects a new consideration for light architecture, a field that emerged in the early 1930s due to innovations in electric lamps.⁷⁷ On either side of the main entrance, there were two private dining rooms, the Silver Room and the Gold Room, which were available for rental and for exclusive Eaton’s functions. Notable on Carlu’s plan (Fig. 23) were the windows in each of these private rooms that looked onto the foyer and vice-versa, but which also afforded the elite patrons who were entertained in these rooms the magnificent front-row view of the St. Lawrence River through the foyer windows. The use of glass here, as well as in the display cases and telephone booths in the foyer, demonstrate how the Eaton’s department store continuously capitalized on a culture of

⁷⁴ Anonymous, “The New Restaurant in the T. Eaton Company Building, Montreal,” *The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 8.5 (May 1931): 186.

⁷⁵ Jacques Carlu, “The T. Eaton and Co. Department Stores in Toronto and Montréal,” *The Architectural Record* 69.6 (1931): 447.

⁷⁶ Carlu, “The T. Eaton and Co. Department Stores in Toronto and Montréal,” 447.

⁷⁷ J. W. Bateman, “Modern Lighting for Exteriors and Interiors of Buildings,” *The Journal, Royal Architectural Institute of Canada* 12.11 (November 1935): 178, 180.

looking and of being seen. Columns in pink and gray *escalette breche* marble surrounded the nave and the lintels between each of the columns contain bas-reliefs by Denis G lin. Each bas-relief depicts imagery reflecting the function of the space (i.e. eating and drinking in a space that provides a high level of service), an ornamental element that is typical of the Art Deco style in architecture.⁷⁸ At either end of the restaurant and along the north and south walls are low raised balconies with railings of Monel metal and steps of black Belgian marble. The platforms at each end of the main space had dining tables on them, however the tables were sometimes removed for staging fashion shows, speeches, and presentations. In 1981, a buffet was added in the middle of the main seating area. The walls of the restaurant were covered with a horizontally striped French fabric in beige and pink⁷⁹ and its *Ruboleum* floor tiles arranged in what Carlu called “an unusual pattern of colours.”⁸⁰ At each end of the room were two murals, one entitled the *Pleasures of the Chase* and the other, the *Pleasures of Peace*, by Carlu’s wife, Natacha Carlu (n e Anne Pecker, also referred to as Anne Carlu, birth date unknown). At both ends are also two huge alabaster vases (visible in Fig. 1) illuminated from the inside and resting on Belgian marble bases. These vases are characteristic of the six porcelain Art Deco vases French interior designer  mile-Jacques Ruhlmann (1879-1933) designed for the * le-de-France* first-class *Salon de Th * (Fig. 27).⁸¹ According to *Ruhlmann: Genius of Art Deco*, the Eaton company admired Ruhlmann’s work. In September 1928 the Eaton’s

⁷⁸ There are fourteen *moulage en stuc* bas-reliefs around the periphery of the main dining room. They are signed “D. G lin & A. Bottiau” and contain seven different still-life themes (two reliefs for each theme): fruits, vegetables, game, poultry, wild geese, and serving vessels (tea pot, cup, goblet, pitcher and straws).

⁷⁹ Carlu, “The T. Eaton and Co. Department Stores in Toronto and Montr al,” 447.

⁸⁰ Carlu, “The T. Eaton and Co. Department Stores in Toronto and Montr al,” 447.

⁸¹ Georges Drolet, personal interview, 20 November 2009.

Paris office ordered three cabinets (possibly for one of its Toronto stores) and in 1929, sponsored a dining room by the designer on display at an exhibition at the Art Gallery of Toronto called *Architecture and the Allied Arts*.⁸²

Carlu's design and use of imported European materials, underscore the sophistication and elegance of the space, which "serves to counterbalance the building's neutral exterior."⁸³ On the state of the art (in 1931) radio system behind the Monel metal grilles, Carlu wrote, "music from the outside can be enjoyed, or in the case of a large banquet or gathering, the voice of the speaker can be well distributed about the dining room."⁸⁴ Under the direction of his patron, Lady Eaton, Carlu was concerned with designing a total environment, from its streamlined layout, use of luxury and innovative materials and Art Deco inspirations, to the ways in which the space was experienced not only in the culinary sense, but also as a visual and cultural experience. There is also a "striking contrast" between Le 9° and "the other large halls built in Montréal in the 1920s, all of which were highly eclectic – particularly the neo-Tudor concert hall constructed in 1929 in Ogilvy's,"⁸⁵ another work by architects Ross & Macdonald. Cohen-Rose demonstrates that Montréal is home to numerous public and private buildings in the Art Deco style, such as schools, fire halls and theatres, and especially emphasizes the role of Ernest Cormier (1885-1980) and his works (most notably the Main Pavilion at the Université de Montréal, see Fig. 8). Yet it is rare, as associate architect of Fournier,

⁸² Emmanuel Bréon and Rosalind Pepall, eds., *Ruhlmann: Genius of Art Deco* (Boulogne-Billancourt, New York, Montréal: Somogy editions d'art, 2001; Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, 2001) 114.

⁸³ Gournay 178.

⁸⁴ Carlu, "The T. Eaton and Co. Department Stores in Toronto and Montréal," 447.

⁸⁵ Gournay 178.

Gersovitz, Moss, Georges Drolet points out, to find an extant, *interior* space in the Art Deco style; this, along with the remarkable design details described above, are what make Le 9^e unique and worthy of preservation.⁸⁶

The Seventh Floor in Toronto (Fig. 28) was an earlier, equally exceptional design in the Art Deco style by Jacques Carlu and the Eaton's in-house interior designer René Céra (b. 1895 in Nice, France), a former assistant manager who worked in the architectural and interior department at Atelier Martine [founded by Paul Poiret (1879-1944)] a renowned French fashion designer) during the 1925 Paris *Exposition internationale des Arts décoratifs et industriels de Paris*.⁸⁷ Cera was recruited to the Eaton's Paris office in 1928.⁸⁸ Also commissioned by Lady Eaton, the Eaton's Seventh Floor consists of the Concert Hall (Figs. 29, 30), the Round Room Restaurant (Figs. 31, 32), the Grand Foyer (Fig. 33), a full-service kitchen, and additional dining rooms known as The Clipper Rooms (Fig. 34) for a total of more than 45,000 square feet of entertaining space on the top floor of the department store.⁸⁹ According to Toronto historian William Denby, the Round Room was “the finest of the College Street interiors.”⁹⁰ It boasts many similar design elements that echo Le 9^e, such as the Monel metal doors, the Natacha Carlu murals depicting the “characteristically French evocation of the simple pleasures of

⁸⁶ Drolet.

⁸⁷ Hilary Russell, “Eaton's College Street Store and Seventh Floor,” Unpublished paper (Historic Sites and Monuments Board of Canada, 1983) 406.

⁸⁸ Russell 406. Cera also involved in designing the Eaton's Georgian Room at the Queen Street store in Toronto.

⁸⁹ “History,” The Carlu, 2 June 2011.

⁹⁰ Denby 162.

country life,” and eight terracotta “elongated peasant” statuettes by Denis G lin.⁹¹ The main feature of the Round Room, however, is its Lalique fountain (Fig. 35). Lady Eaton “was actively involved in the planning and designing of Eaton’s College Street and the Seventh Floor,”⁹² and it became a place that she visited often in her personal time:

She often took tea there, preferring the relative privacy of the alcoves to the room’s open central area. She favoured it for social occasions as well, and it became part of the public and private celebrations of the Eaton family. Lady Eaton would often call the Round Room to have lunch delivered to her while she was visiting the store’s hairdressing salon.⁹³

The Seventh Floor hosted high society events including luncheons, tea dances, opera, theatre, classical music performances, gala dinners and debutante balls; the vision had been realized through Lady Eaton’s collaboration with Carlu.⁹⁴ For the next three decades, the Concert Hall, which seats up to 1500, hosted many of the popular performers of the era including Billie Holiday, Duke Ellington, Frank Sinatra and Glenn Gould. Yet in 1976, Eaton’s closed the College Street store and Seventh Floor dining room and entertainment facilities due to financial difficulties. After being designated a National Historic site,⁹⁵ on 1 May 2003 after twenty-six years of inactivity, the site now known as The Carlu reopened. Redeveloped by Toronto entrepreneurs Jeffry Roick and Mark Robert with architectural work led by ERA Architects Inc. and Webb Zarafa Menkes Housden Architects, the seventh floor has again become an extremely successful

⁹¹ Denby 162.

⁹² “History,” The Carlu, 2 June 2011.

⁹³ Anderson and Mallinson 70-71.

⁹⁴ “History,” The Carlu, 2 June 2011.

⁹⁵ In 1982, the *Friends of the Eaton Auditorium* successfully lobbied the Supreme Court of Canada to designate the floor a National Historic Site.

event venue, setting a positive example for repurposing and restoration of Le 9^e in Montréal.

While the Montréal Eaton's building has also transformed, the ninth floor restaurant has been protected, mainly due to the efforts of Heritage Montréal. On 16 February 1999 Dinu Bumbaru, the Policy Director of Heritage Montréal, sent a formal request to Madame Agnès Maltais, the former Ministre de la Culture et des Communications du Québec, calling for the official classification of Le 9^e as a protected heritage site under Quebec law:

Heritage Montréal hereby requests the classification of the dining room, “Le 9^e,” of the Eaton's department store (677 rue Ste-Catherine West, in Montréal) and its original connecting interiors, as a historic monument under the Law of Cultural Goods in order to formally recognize the heritage value, the architectural and artistic interest and the high integrity of this unique manifestation in Quebec.⁹⁶

In this letter, Bumbaru noted how the dining room and its connected spaces form a remarkable total interior, for the quality of its Art Deco finishings but also for its exceptional state of conservation.⁹⁷ He described how, at the time of his writing, the general layout of the space, the Natacha Carlu murals, the ornamentations in metal, glass, plaster and wood, as well as the telephone booths and the washrooms were practically in their original conditions.⁹⁸ Bumbaru also called on the Ministère de la Culture et des

⁹⁶ “Heritage Montréal letter to Madame Agnès Maltais, 16 Feb. 1999,” *Le Restaurant Le 9^e du Magasin Eaton à Montréal Heritage Evaluation File* (Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Montréal). “Par la présente, Héritage Montréal demande le classement de la salle à manger, «Le 9^e» du grand magasin Eaton (677, rue Ste-Catherine ouest, à Montréal) et les anciens espaces intérieurs connexes, à titre de monument historique en vertu de la Loi sur les biens culturels pour reconnaître formellement la valeur patrimoniale, l'intérêt architectural et artistique et l'intégrité élevée de cette réalisation unique au Québec. (trans. Maya Soren)

⁹⁷ “Heritage Montréal letter to Madame Agnès Maltais, 16 Feb. 1999.” “...cette salle à manger et les espaces connexes forment un ensemble intérieur remarquable, par la qualité achevée de son Art Déco mais aussi par son exceptionnel état de conservation.” (trans. Maya Soren)

⁹⁸ “Heritage Montréal letter to Madame Agnès Maltais, 16 Feb. 1999.”

Communications to take responsibility for the affirmation of the public value of the ninth floor in order to assure its safeguarding and preservation since only the government of Québec is capable of recognizing and protecting interiors.⁹⁹

On 24 August 2000 the Québec Ministère de la Culture et des Communications classified the restaurant as a *monument historique* upon Heritage Montréal's request (Fig. 36).¹⁰⁰ According to the *Loi sur le patrimoine culturel* (Loi no. 82), a *monument historique* is defined as a building with a historic interest, for its function or for its architecture.¹⁰¹ Therefore, no transformation, modification, or demolition of the ninth floor and its contents can be made without the consent of the Ministère de la Culture des Communications and *La Commission des biens culturels*.¹⁰² Before undertaking any construction projects, renovations or excavations the owner must also procure a permit from the Ville-Marie arrondissement.¹⁰³ In other words, the city of Montréal will decide

“L'aménagement, les oeuvres d'art intégrées dont les toiles de Natacha Carlu, le mobilier, les décors en métal, verre, plâtre ou bois, voire les cabines téléphoniques et les toilettes, subsistent pratiquement à l'état d'origine.” (trans. Maya Soren)

⁹⁹ “Heritage Montréal letter to Madame Agnès Maltais, 16 Feb. 1999.”

“L'intérêt de ce lieu contraste toutefois avec l'absence d'une reconnaissance officielle par le Québec, reconnaissance nécessaire tant pour affirmer la valeur publique de ce lieu que pour en assurer la pérennité. Cela nous apparaît d'autant plus important que seul le gouvernement du Québec est compétent en matière de reconnaissance et de protection des intérieurs.” (trans. Maya Soren)

¹⁰⁰ The Heritage Montréal website outlines the organization's ongoing attempts to save the restaurant from further mothballing.

¹⁰¹ L.R.Q., chapitre B-4, Loi sur les biens culturels, Publications du Québec, 22 June 2011.

“immeuble qui présente un intérêt historique par son utilisation ou son architecture.” (trans. Maya Soren)
Note: Loi no. 82 has been under review from public hearings since 18 Jan. 2011.

¹⁰² “Restaurant L'Île-de-France,” Grand répertoire du patrimoine bâti, Ville de Montréal, 22 Nov. 2009. “Il doit aussi obtenir une autorisation auprès du ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec pour tous travaux extérieurs ou intérieurs sur le bâtiment et pour tous travaux d'excavation. Dans le cadre de l'étude de la proposition, le projet sera soumis à l'examen de la Commission des biens culturels.” (trans. Maya Soren)

¹⁰³ “Restaurant L'Île-de-France,” Grand répertoire du patrimoine bâti, Ville de Montréal, 22 Nov. 2009. “Avant d'entreprendre des travaux de construction, de rénovation ou d'excavation, le propriétaire doit se procurer un permis auprès de son arrondissement.” (trans. Maya Soren)

the future use of the restaurant while the role of the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications is to ensure that its architectural, historical and heritage value is protected pending any modifications. The Ministère de la Culture et des Communications also conserves all of the cultural goods associated with the restaurant, including the dishes, silverware, serving implements, furniture, mirrors, flower vases, bas-reliefs and alabaster urns.¹⁰⁴ Additionally, the site has been named an *immeuble de valeur patrimoniale exceptionnelle* in a *secteur de valeur patrimoniale exceptionnelle* (Square Phillips and rue Ste-Catherine Ouest) under Montreal's municipal jurisdiction, further supposedly protecting its architectural state, although also complicating and doubly entwining its fate with the planning policies and political agendas of both the municipal and provincial governments.¹⁰⁵ Bumbaru is quoted in a 2010 *Métro Montréal* article on the restaurant stating that Le 9^e today is not physically threatened and that the current concern of Heritage Montréal is to find a way to reopen the space for public use, with The Carlu in Toronto as a leading example.¹⁰⁶ Complexe Les Ailes Director Johanne Marcotte is also quoted in the same article, stating that the reopening of Le 9^e is an important dossier and that Ivanhoe Cambridge would like to reopen the ninth floor as

¹⁰⁴ For a complete list see "Mobilier du restaurant de l'Île-de-France," Répertoire du patrimoine du Québec," Ministère de la Culture, Communications et Condition féminine, 22 June 2011 or consult Maryse Ménard, "Inventaire du mobilier et de la décoration de la salle à manger Eaton (le 9^e) du foyer-promenoir et des cuisines," Report prepared for the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Nov. 1999 (Ministère de la Culture, des Communications, et de la Condition féminine, Montréal).

¹⁰⁵ "Restaurant L'Île-de-France," Grand répertoire du patrimoine bâti, Ville de Montréal, 22 Nov. 2009. The Grand répertoire du patrimoine bâti de Montréal website offers minimal information about the site's provincial heritage status and as an "immeuble de valeur patrimoniale exceptionnelle" (a "building of exceptional heritage value," trans. Maya Soren) under municipal jurisdiction.

¹⁰⁶ Jennifer Guthrie, "Magasin Eaton: Le joyau cache du 9e étage," *Métro Montréal*, 6 July 2010. "Le 9e étage chez Eaton n'est pas physiquement menacé... mais notre préoccupation, c'est qu'il finisse comme son équivalent à Toronto, il a fallu 30 ans avant que la vie ne reprenne. Il faut trouver une façon de réactiver ce lieu." (trans. Maya Soren)

quickly as possible while respecting the prestige of the site.¹⁰⁷ Yet since the publication of this article, and increasing public interest in the restaurant, no signs of a change in policy have been put forward.

Responsible for surveying the restaurant in 2001, architect Georges Drolet outlined a retrofit and conservation strategy for the restaurant should it be repurposed.¹⁰⁸ Since the restaurant's closure, the enormous kitchen, which also serviced the lower level snack bars, has been removed. In contrast with Bumbaru's statement that the restaurant is not physically threatened, Sandra Cohen-Rose's comprehensive 2002 article outlines how the removal of the kitchen is in breach of the restaurant's protection as an official heritage site.¹⁰⁹ While the total removal of the kitchen would seem to make it difficult to open a new restaurant in the space, according to Drolet, a modernized kitchen would in fact be a wise installation because the old one (which took up about a third of the entire restaurant, see Fig. 23) was much too big to operate at maximum efficiency. I also learned from Drolet that the restaurant, while fairly well maintained from 1931 until 1999, has in the last ten years seen signs of decay and is in need of restoration. For example, due to a minor electrical fire in the spring of 2000, the two Natacha Carlu murals have been damaged and remain, as far as Drolet knows, unrestored. Drolet is also concerned about the floor, which he believes may have been inspired by the work of graphic artist Jean Carlu (1900-1997, Jacques' brother) because of its avant-garde,

¹⁰⁷ Guthrie. "Nous comprenons l'intérêt que suscite le 9e étage, soutient Johanne Marcotte, directrice du Complexe Les Ailes. C'est un dossier important pour nous et qui a toujours été actif. Mais puisque c'est une salle très prestigieuse, nous ne voulons pas faire n'importe quoi." (trans. Maya Soren)

¹⁰⁸ Drolet.

¹⁰⁹ Sandra Cohen-Rose, "Eaton's in Montréal: Art Déco glory and future role," *Canadian Society of Decorative Arts Bulletin* 20.3 (Fall 2002): 1-3.

asymmetrical design. Jacques Carlu's design aesthetic, on the other hand, is more neo-classical, with stretched out lines and conventional Art Deco elements that do not read in the same way that the floor does, like "a cubist abstract painting."¹¹⁰ Drolet and his team analyzed the colours and composition of the floor, drawing comparisons with it and Jean Carlu's graphic design work, concluding that it could perhaps be characteristic of the artist's Art Deco poster art of that era.¹¹¹

Drolet's conservation strategy emphasizes the preservation of original (to the restaurant's 1931 construction) architectural elements as well as respect for the sequence or pattern of movement throughout the space as a whole, which requires an understanding of the "original values" in order to determine how to intervene (or not).¹¹² These priorities, as explained by Drolet, led me to inquire about the repurposing of the restaurant into a hotel, an idea that Ivanhoe Cambridge dabbled with before Le 9^e was classified as a heritage site in 2000. The proposed hotel would have encompassed the top three floors of the building. Drolet replied that this idea might have been feasible because the rooms could have been built around a central atrium, and thus avoid changing the restaurant's structure. Ivanhoe Cambridge did approach about half a dozen hotels to consider the idea, however this transformation was evidently never carried out. This was likely because (among other reasons) of the irregular rectangular shape of the floor, as General Manager of Development and Construction Jean Laramée commented.¹¹³ Drolet also discussed the

¹¹⁰ Drolet.

¹¹¹ Drolet did not find any evidence that Jean Carlu was ever in Montréal, though designing a floor was possible without physically being present when it was built.

¹¹² Drolet.

¹¹³ François Cardinal, "Un nouvel hôtel chez Eaton," *Le Devoir* (Montréal), 14 March 2000, np. "[Le] problème, c'est le format rectangulaire du plancher. Ce n'est pas l'idéal."(trans. Maya Soren).

owner's interest in turning the restaurant into a conference centre, an idea that he did not recommend because he believed that opening up the space into one large room would cause too much damage to the original structure. While Drolet was not able to share with me many more of the specific architectural recommendations for the restaurant (as they have yet to be implemented and are subject to confidentiality agreements), he did underline its heritage value for two major reasons: one, because it is a manifestation of the Art Deco style as a trend in restaurants and interior spaces in Montréal, and two, because it represents a "new way of thinking about luxury in the commercial field."¹¹⁴ Throughout the Ministère de la Culture's official heritage evaluations of the site (and its contents), documents similar to Drolet's recommendations emphasize the aspects that characterize the restaurant's architectural and artistic style from a purely aesthetic perspective. Art historian Maryse Ménard writes, for example, that the charm of the restaurant comes from the fact that it has hardly been modified throughout the years, that its patina has not been camouflaged and that it is a unique example of the *style paquebot* in North America¹¹⁵ Of the eighty-five *monuments historiques* in Montreal currently classified by the Ministère de la Culture, only four of the sites are the private residences of historical women, while the fifth is the chapel of the Grey Nuns Mother House on René-Lévesque Boulevard, the part of the religious complex where a male priest carries

¹¹⁴ Drolet.

¹¹⁵ Maryse Ménard, "Inventaire du mobilier et de la décoration de la salle à manger Eaton (le 9^e) du foyer-promenoir et des cuisines," Report prepared for the Ministère de la Culture et des Communications, Nov. 1999 (Ministère de la Culture, des Communications, et de la Condition féminine, Montréal). "Le charme qui dégage ce lieu vient du fait qu'il n'a été que peu modifié au fil des années, qu'on n'a pas tenté de camoufler sa "patine" et qu'il est un témoin unique en Amérique du Nord du style Paquebot." (trans. Maya Soren)

out religious rituals but not where the nuns actually reside.¹¹⁶ In the following section, I demonstrate how the restaurant is, in addition to its architectural and historical value, a gendered space, where women experienced social autonomy in the public sphere. The Ministère de la Culture has never officially considered the restaurant's heritage value as a gendered space, underscoring the need for the inclusion of women's history into Quebec's "mainstream" cultural heritage values.

¹¹⁶ "Patrimoine protégé par la loi sur les biens culturels," Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine, 14 March 2011.

SECTION 3

Le 9^e as a Gendered Space: Lady Eaton and Women's History

In the words of feminist architectural historian Dolores Hayden, “[a] socially inclusive urban landscape history can become the basis for new approaches to public history and urban preservation. This will be different from, but complementary to, the art-historical approach to architecture that has provided a basis for architectural preservation.”¹¹⁷ With this approach in mind, I believe that a reading of the site of Le 9^e as a gendered space offers a different perspective regarding the heritage value of the restaurant and it marks a departure from the Ministère de la Culture’s justification for the space’s heritage classification. This idea is especially relevant considering how historians over the last thirty years “have reached several shared conclusions that challenge the interpretation of women’s oppression as rooted in their confinement to the domestic sphere,”¹¹⁸ showing “empirically the multiple ways that many women were not confined to the home or to the domestic or the private realm”¹¹⁹ in nineteenth and early twentieth century Montréal. Conceiving of the restaurant as a gendered space acknowledges the enormously influential matriarchal role that Lady Flora McCrea Eaton (Fig. 37) played in the restaurant’s design and maintenance, as well as on a national level as an important public figure.

¹¹⁷ Dolores Hayden, *The Power of Place: Urban Landscapes as Public History* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 1995) 12.

¹¹⁸ Bradbury and Myers 5.

¹¹⁹ Bradbury and Myers 5.

Hailing from Omemee, Ontario, Flora McCrea was the youngest of a working-class family of eight children. In her 1956 autobiography, *Memory's Wall*, Lady Eaton recalls her childhood as the youngest of eight children growing up in a rural community. She vividly describes each member of her family, the townspeople, village stores and activities that are a part of everyday country life. Certain elements of her family history such as the McCrea family's concern for food planning and her mother's matriarchal role within the family resonate with her future roles in establishing and managing the Eaton's restaurants as well as a female leader of the company. Lady Eaton writes about her mother as "the commander-in-chief,"¹²⁰ a position Lady Eaton herself took on within her own immediate family and as I will prove below, at the Le 9^e. It was also Lady Eaton's parents whom she credits for giving her the confidence to involve herself in many public endeavours and her commitment to philanthropy later in life.¹²¹

At twenty years old, the future Lady Eaton took up a training position at Rotherham House in Toronto, a private hospital where she met John Craig Eaton, (1876-1922) a patient. The two married in 1901. The couple traveled extensively, touring in Europe for business (Eaton's operated buying offices in Paris, Zurich, Belfast, London and other centres) and pleasure, accompanied by "The Court," an entourage of children,

¹²⁰ Flora McCrea Eaton, *Memory's Wall: The Autobiography of Flora McCrea Eaton* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin & Company Limited, 1956) 5.

¹²¹ Eaton 4, 17-18. Lady Eaton's parents, John and Jane McCrea, were very active members of village and church life in Omemee. Her father served on the village Council and as a Trustee of the Wesleyan Methodist Church, where he also taught the young men's Bible Class. Lady Eaton's mother was a member of the Ladies' Aid and the Women's Missionary Society, organizing Omemee women to contribute efforts for local men who went to South Africa to fight in the Boer War. Her parents also often took in travelling Salvation Army officers and they enthusiastically encouraged her to give recitations and speeches at church functions.

governesses, maids and nurses.¹²² While her life as an Eaton was certainly a highly privileged one, especially as compared with her upbringing, Lady Eaton had a feisty and independent spirit that was never silenced, but instead heightened within her role as the wife of the Eaton's company president. As a philanthropist, advocate of arts and culture, socialite, singer, world traveler, and mother of six, Lady Eaton joined the Eaton's Board of Directors in 1921, and according to Anderson and Mallinson, "influenced decisions there until her retirement in 1943, informing every aspect of the business."¹²³ After the death of her husband in 1922 of pneumonia, "Lady Eaton stepped forward to take the reigns of the company," and one of her particular responsibilities was to reorganize the company's restaurants. In her autobiography she writes of the times, "Toronto badly needed a new, good restaurant, and I was groping toward the kind that would attract women as well as businessmen."¹²⁴ In a 1964 interview by CHCH television "Spotlight" host, Donna Soble, eighty-four year old Lady Eaton describes how as a member of the Board of Directors she "wasn't a woman whom they had to placate."¹²⁵ She hired Jacques Carlu, to whom she refers in the same 1964 interview as "a very fine Frenchman whom I knew in Paris,"¹²⁶ and she was "conscious of the connection between the development of taste and the creation of demand."¹²⁷

¹²² Bradbury and Myers 32-33.

¹²³ Anderson and Mallinson xi.

¹²⁴ Eaton 145.

¹²⁵ *Lady Eaton Interview 1964*. F 229-401, container T057719. T. Eaton Company Fonds. Records of the T. Eaton Co. of Montreal. 1922-1970. Archives Ontario, Toronto.

¹²⁶ *Lady Eaton Interview 1964*.

¹²⁷ Susan Haight, "Machines in Suburban Gardens: The 1936 T. Eaton Company Architectural Competition For House Designs," *Material History Review* 44 (Fall 1996): 24.

Though Lady Eaton may not have specifically instructed Carlu's every move for the design of Le 9^e, I strongly believe that her role as a female patron was as equally important as Carlu's, as the architect. After all, "Architecture and house-planning," as Lady Eaton wrote in *Memory's Wall*, "have always fascinated me, and I could not say for certain whether this has been the cause or the result of my many building and remodeling enterprises."¹²⁸ As a wealthy, upper-class society figure, Lady Eaton's involvement in the architectural planning of both Le 9^e and the Eaton Hall farm in King City, Ontario was not anomalous for her time. In the case of Hollyhock House and the Olive Hill complex in Los Angeles, feminist architectural historian Alice T. Friedman writes of female patron Aline Barnsdall (1882-1946) and famous male architect Frank Lloyd Wright's (1867-1959) business relationship as a *collaboration*. Their correspondences from 1915-1923 demonstrate how Barnsdall's demands as the client required of Wright an entire rethinking of his design philosophy that was formerly centred on traditional family life and domesticity.¹²⁹ Friedman's work directly opposes the modernist tendency to regard Wright as a genius and as holding a prominent position in the "star system." Friedman demonstrates through primary sources that Wright was in fact rarely present at the work site and struggled enormously with designing a house that was not intended for a conventional family life of female domesticity. Female domestic servitude within a traditional nuclear family was a major consideration for Wright, and as urban planning scholar Daphne Spain writes, his signature open floorplan focused around a central hearth is still a prevalent feature in house designs today, where "many high-priced suburban

¹²⁸ Eaton 173.

¹²⁹ Friedman 33-34.

houses are built with ‘great rooms’ in which men, women, and children all share the same space during part of each day.”¹³⁰ Like Carlu, Wright designed furniture and clothing for women in addition to his house designs.¹³¹ Furthermore, Friedman argues that it was Barnsdall’s passion for theatre that informed the house’s form and history as well as her active involvement in feminist politics, and not the architect’s “vision.” Friedman demonstrates how Barnsdall’s politics are literally manifested in the design of Hollyhock House, which *encloses* an open courtyard (central core or yonic imagery) while Wright’s earlier houses *extend* from a core (phallic imagery).¹³²

In recent decades, several feminist architectural historians such as Friedman have worked hard to correct historical inaccuracies regarding the status of women and architecture. Following up on scholar and architect Denise Scott Brown’s 1989 essay “Room at the Top? Sexism and the Star System in Architecture,” feminist architectural historian and artist Cynthia Hammond determines through examples from architectural history, recent statistics and current initiatives in her 2009 essay, “Past the Parapets of Patriarchy? Women, the Star System, and the Built Environment,” that “architectural history is still too forgetful where women are concerned.”¹³³ With this in mind, I believe it is important to consider Lady Eaton’s active role in the c. 1920 redevelopment of the Eaton’s residence at Eaton Hall farm (Fig. 38) in King City, Ontario with architects

¹³⁰ Daphne Spain, *Gendered Spaces*. (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 1992) 13.

¹³¹ Cara R. Gorman, “Fitting Rooms: The Dress Designs of Frank Lloyd Wright,” *Winterthur Portfolio* 30.4 (Winter, 1995): 259-277. In this article, Gorman demonstrates how Wright’s clothing designs reflect chauvinistic Victorian attitudes about female domesticity.

¹³² Friedman 43.

¹³³ Cynthia Hammond, “Past the Parapets of Patriarchy? Women, the Star System, and the Built Environment,” *Atlantis: A Women’s Studies Journal* 34.1 (2009): 5, 13.

Allward and Gouinlock alongside my analysis of Le 9^e. As Lady Eaton writes in very well versed architectural vocabulary,

I was determined that *Eaton Hall* would be ample enough for any and all family gatherings in future years. With all of those peaceful rolling acres around us, a lake at the foot of the slope and views to entice the eye in all directions, we [the architects, her husband, and herself] decided to avoid the compact, rigidly tailored type of architecture and eventually agreed on an adaptation of the Norman chateau style. We kept the towers that are part of the tradition, incorporating two circular towers and one square, and making excellent use of that extra space in the interior plan, but we did not limit ourselves to the small windows of ancient France.¹³⁴

Through this example of Lady Eaton's involvement at Eaton Hall, it becomes possible to see that she clearly understood elemental architectural principles between form and function in architectural planning. She understood furthermore, that the luxurious Norman chateau style complimented her vision for Eaton Hall as a place that could accommodate the needs of her large family and that its forms also pleasantly framed the landscape. Similarly at Le 9^e, although Lady Eaton and Carlu's relationship was perhaps not as politically charged as Barnsdall and Wright's, Lady Eaton consciously chose the already famous Carlu as her architect and therefore, Art Deco as her visual language. These choices show how Lady Eaton intended for the restaurant to be associated with the grandeur and luxury of contemporary trends in French naval architecture, but also with a democratization of her own lifestyle of jet-setting and international travel as culturally and socially fulfilling. As a businesswoman, she was also very aware that these ideals carried extremely lucrative possibilities for the economic gain of Eaton's. Lady Eaton therefore also understood all of the Art Deco style's modernist associations with technology, innovation and progress, likewise its

¹³⁴ Eaton 174.

associations with female independence, individuality and consumer buying power, to compliment her vision for the restaurant as a new social space for women in Montréal.

In addition to influencing the architectural planning for the restaurant, Lady Eaton took on other responsibilities such as hiring female staff. In chapter nine of *Memory's Wall*, Lady Eaton introduces Miss Violet Ryley. Originally Ryley was a senior student at the Lilian Massey School of Household Science (founded in a Toronto King Street basement in 1896)¹³⁵ whom Lady Eaton hired to teach her servants what she called “scientific house-keeping.” In 1870s England, Annmarie Adams argues, the rise of feminist politics brought the “professionalization” of domestic science, which was part of a broader program to create university-level programs and jobs for women.¹³⁶ While the reform of childbirth practices and domestic sanitation did grant Victorian women agency and independence from their husbands through the systematization of sanitary knowledge, this knowledge gave women a new burden of responsibility. Women were therefore not as confined to a “separate sphere” as much previous scholarship of the Victorian period had contended, and the very notion that there were “separate spheres” historically for men and women is very much out of favour today among feminist theorists and historians. Nevertheless, with the field of domestic science emerging in Canada a few decades later, in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, a similar “professionalization” of the field was occurring during Ryley’s training.

Lady Eaton took a liking to Ryley and notes in her autobiography that they were great friends, but she also commends Ryley for her professionalism in the both the new

¹³⁵ Anderson and Mallinson 44.

¹³⁶ Adams, *Architecture in the Family Way: Doctors, Houses, and Women, 1870-1900*, 73-102.

field of domestic science as well as in dietetics. While Ryley was still a student she was hired to train Lady Eaton's household staff in food preparation and service¹³⁷ but was eventually promoted to aid Lady Eaton in setting up the Georgian Room restaurant in the Eaton's Queen Street store, which opened in 1923. Together they chose the linens, china, silver and waitresses' uniforms for the Georgian Room, but they also attended meetings with Charlie Boothe (another member of the Board of Directors who worked closely with Lady Eaton) and the architect and interior designer, René Cera. In Lady Eaton's autobiography, she writes of Ryley:

Mr. Boothe and I met Miss Ryley and won her immediate interest. We hastened to the next Board meeting with our report, and it was unanimously agreed that we could engage Miss Ryley. From that time forward she worked with us, preparing lists of requirements for kitchens and restaurant, consulting with René Cera, the Paris-trained architect who had joined the Eaton organization some time before... For long hours together Miss Ryley and I were immersed in a section of linen, china, silver, waitresses' uniforms; we had frequent meetings with Mr. Boothe and the architect, and never was I associated with a more enterprising, or stimulating, or harmonious group of people.¹³⁸

Through Ryley's acquaintance, Lady Eaton met Kathleen Jeffs, who she hired as head of Eaton's Montréal restaurant service. Jeffs would hold this position for twenty-three years, earning Lady Eaton's great respect. Jeffs went on to be the Chief Messing Officer for the Royal Canadian Air Force in WWII.¹³⁹ She was the first woman to organize food services for any of the armed forces in Canada, and received the Order of

¹³⁷ Anderson and Mallinson 44.

¹³⁸ Eaton 146.

¹³⁹ Eaton 149.

the British Empire for her work.¹⁴⁰ Lady Eaton wrote of Jeffs' return from WWII as Chief Messing Officer of the Air Force:

At a postwar banquet given in her honour by the dietitians in Toronto, the ovation which greeted her just before the unveiling of her portrait, was deafening, and no two people present were prouder than Violet Ryley and I.¹⁴¹

The Eaton's restaurants prided themselves as establishing a national cuisine, with Lady Eaton and her kitchen staff pioneering training for commercial dietitians in Canada and planning elegant menus.¹⁴² Le 9^e served many of the standard North American dishes such as roast beef, chicken potpie and club sandwiches (Figs. 40, 41, 42) as well as a children's menu by at least 1971 (Fig. 39). The Eaton's restaurants did not, however, serve any alcohol until the 1970s because as a staunch Methodist, Timothy Eaton prohibited the sale of alcohol, playing cards, and tobacco in all Eaton's stores.¹⁴³ By 1981 however, Le 9^e offered a list of wines from France, Italy, Chile and Hungary as well as beer and spirits (Fig. 43). What set the restaurant apart from traditional diner fare was not necessarily the food, but instead the ambience and the service; plates were served in the haute cuisine French style with meals delivered on silver platters, teas and coffees served in fine china and white linens dressing the table.

Lady Eaton envisioned a place where women were welcome to socialize, which would add another dimension to a store that already catered to their needs. The Eaton's business acumen capitalized on the rising buying-power of middle-class women and

¹⁴⁰ Anderson and Mallinson 107.

¹⁴¹ Eaton 149-150.

¹⁴² Anderson and Mallinson xii.

¹⁴³ Anderson and Mallinson 4.

marketed to them not only products (such as lace, linen, clothing and shoes), but also services such as free buses from outside the city, full length mirrors, private fittings, doormen and elevator attendants who helped them with their packages.¹⁴⁴ At the original Queen Street store in Toronto, “[i]n the Ladies Gallery and Waiting Room, women could rest, meet a friend, even have a bath. Their children could be cared for by nurses while they made their purchases.”¹⁴⁵ In order to further entice women shoppers, Eaton’s began the “radical practice” of hiring women buyers, which in the early 1900s was unprecedented; “[w]omen knew what women wanted.”¹⁴⁶ Contrary to a general misconception that women in early twentieth century Montréal were confined to the home, “[g]irls and women with some training were increasingly likely to find work in offices and stores as clerical and sales positions multiplied and as manufacturing declined relative to other sectors of the economy.”¹⁴⁷

Film studies scholar Lucy Fischer demonstrates how in the 1930s, the Art Deco style itself became a consumer and design culture aimed at women. As the primary patrons of the department store, female shoppers constituting approximately eighty percent of its customer base were immersed in an entirely new kind of public space for women in Canada.¹⁴⁸ Fischer argues that the Art Deco-style used the female form as an aesthetic in department store architecture, women’s magazines of the era, and in film in order to promote the rise of the so-called New Woman in North American society. At Le

¹⁴⁴ Anderson and Mallinson 5.

¹⁴⁵ Anderson and Mallinson 6.

¹⁴⁶ Anderson and Mallinson 7.

¹⁴⁷ Bradbury and Myers 13.

¹⁴⁸ Fischer 50.

9^e, perhaps the female forms in the Natacha Carlu murals and the “feminine” pale pinks and sea foam greens used in the draperies and wall coverings speak to the feminized aesthetics of the Art Deco culture. But it was more than simply aesthetics; Le 9^e had fashion shows that showcased all of the latest clothing trends for women consumers and female waitresses who attended to them (in French traditional food service, waiters are male, as was the case aboard the *Île-de-France*). While “fashion” for female consumers was about the freedom to make choices about how to display one’s economic status and personal tastes, “fashion” for the waitresses of the 1930s was dictated by Carlu’s design of their uniforms.

Lady Eaton was also responsible for establishing a minimum wage for women (the first company in Canada to do so), as well as the Eaton’s Women’s Society, a women’s mentoring network that offered recreational activities to its female employees with a focus on war auxiliary efforts during the late 1930s and 1940s.¹⁴⁹ For the Montréal store’s female employees, Lady Eaton established the Montreal Eaton’s Girls Club (a faction of the Eaton’s Women’s Society), which aimed “to promote and stimulate interest among the female employees of the Company.”¹⁵⁰ I believe Lady Eaton had a more socially progressive vision for the Club’s members than simply hosting luncheons and afternoon teas. While the women participated in activities such as “coffee and get-acquainted time,” dance instruction, and volunteering, they also partook in other pursuits such as photography and motor mechanic classes. However, I avoid labeling these kinds

¹⁴⁹ Anderson and Mallinson 35.

¹⁵⁰ *Montreal Eaton’s Girls Club Scrapbook (Presented to Lady Eaton in 1955)*. F 229-182, container B273434. T. Eaton Company Fonds. Records of the T. Eaton Co. of Montreal. 1922-1970. Archives of Ontario, Toronto.

of activities into “feminine” and “masculine” categories respectively, with feminist theorist and historian Joan Wallach Scott in mind. In Scott’s groundbreaking 1988 essay “Gender: A Useful Category of Analysis,” she analyzes the history of women’s studies and the ways in which it has evolved.¹⁵¹ She also opts to use the term ‘gender’ in lieu of reinforcing binaries such as men and women, male and female, masculine and feminine etc., because the term implies both women and men, rejecting the notion of a biologically determined social organization of men and women into historically separate social spheres, a notion that is both essentialist and ahistorical. For my purposes, therefore, this lack of feminine/masculine categorization within the Club’s scrapbook iterates a subtle opening up of gender roles that was clearly occurring in 1930s Montréal, and that as I believe, Lady Eaton encouraged through her wealth, power, and social status in order to improve social and working conditions for the women of Montréal, English and French alike.

In the twentieth century, spatial segregation along gender lines include private men’s clubs, university faculty clubs, programs in higher education, and numerous other spaces. The segregation need not be absolute – women might be permitted to attend a university class, but sit separately, or they might be allowed to enter a club as men’s guests, provided they remain in a special room reserved for ladies, and so on.¹⁵² At Le 9^e, where, as Catherine Martin’s film *Les dames du 9e* (1998) (Fig. 44) demonstrates, the restaurant was dominated by a female presence of differing classes, with a largely female

¹⁵¹ Joan Wallach Scott, “Excerpts from Gender: A Useful Category of Historical Analysis,” in *Gender Space Architecture: An Interdisciplinary Introduction*, eds. Jane Rendell, Barbara Penner, and Iain Borden. (London: E & FN Spon, 2000) 75.

¹⁵² Hayden 24.

staff of servers and a clientele base made up of multigenerational groups of women (Fig. 45). While the richest female clients might have sat in the exclusive Gold and Silver Rooms for their front row view of the St. Lawrence River or at a table on one of the raised platforms in order to see, be seen, and be served, middle-class women were more likely to have lunched in the magnificent nave of the dining room in order to mark a yearly special occasion, or simply for a weekly gathering of friends. Above all, Martin clearly illustrates how the department store and restaurant were one of the few public places that were socially acceptable for Caucasian, middle and upper-class women to explore on their own as clients in 1930s Montréal. For example, ninety-one year-old Madame Dagenais (Fig. 46), a patron of the restaurant for nearly sixty-seven years, speaks to Martin of Le 9^e with immense fondness:

Art Deco was very new, it really left an impression on me... the size of the restaurant and the table settings... The waitresses were impeccable, and they kept them all, and we knew them because they kept them all and maybe some of the older ones are there still. It's a restaurant that I truly appreciated throughout my whole life.¹⁵³

The restaurant also enabled a means of entry into a cosmopolitan world of luxury and consumerism as well as a means of economic fulfillment for working-class women as waitresses. Two other women - Madame Cortez (Fig. 47), waitress for twenty-eight years, and Mrs. Ritchie (Fig. 48), hostess at the restaurant's grand opening in 1931 - are prominently featured in Martin's film. There is a particular emphasis in the film on how Le 9^e remained a place into the 1990s where these now elderly and often widowed

¹⁵³ Martin, *Les dames du 9^e*, 1998. "L'Art Déco c'est bien nouveau, ça m'at fait bien impressionnée... la grandeur du restaurant puis l'agencement de la table... Les serveuses étaient impeccables, qu'ils ont gardés, qu'on connaissait, parce qu'ils les ont gardés et il y'en a peut être les vieilles encore. C'est un restaurant que j'ai bien appréciée au longue de ma vie." (trans. Maya Soren)

women felt comfortable frequenting. Martin shows how the restaurant was a place where, aside from solely acting as consumers, women formed friendships, interacted with the public and took on social roles outside of the private sphere. Le 9^e was a unique place in Montréal for its time and provided intergenerational continuity into the 1990s. It facilitated and afforded women of different classes different ways of finding economic, social and/or cultural fulfillment because of its location, aims, design and equally because its patron, Lady Eaton, played a key role in determining a spatial and social experience for the mostly female staff and clientele that would, in its success, even outlive Eaton's itself. In the twenty-first century, it is essential that a place like Le 9^e, which is so important to Canadian women's history, could be excluded from public access.

SECTION 4

The Politics of Space: Considering Language

The question of how Le 9^e embodied or participated in Montréal and Québec's racial and cultural politics is a necessary part of a contemporary interpretation of the restaurant and must be an active component of any future discourse on the restaurant as public heritage. While the classification of the restaurant as a provincial heritage site is meant to protect its architectural state, it raises questions about and creates problems for the very nature of heritage in a city with a population that has become evermore racially and linguistically diverse. At the time of the restaurant's construction in 1931, it clearly represented a distinct racial, linguistic and socio-economic group of citizens that was mainly Caucasian, Anglophone/Francophone (and bilingual) and middle to upper class. By 1931, the population of Montréal had grown to 1,020,018, which included 29,000 people of Central and Eastern European origin, 58,029 Jews, 22,000 Italians and 4,725 Asians, however most of the new inhabitants of Montréal were rural French-Canadians.¹⁵⁴ Over the seven decades that the restaurant was in business, Montréal evidently diversified, and the restaurant's clientele surely reflected this cultural phenomenon to a certain extent. Eaton's as an institution, however, has been highly criticized by scholars and the media for several forms of discrimination. For example, journalist Rod McQueen, who calls the Eaton's family "Canada's royal family," chides the institution for its "poor, abrupt, and offensive" treatment of minority customers, (among many other issues raised throughout his book). He describes the Eaton's catalogues as "out of step and insensitive to the

¹⁵⁴ Margaret Westley, "Remembrance of Grandeur: The Anglo-Protestant Elite of Montreal, 1900-1950," (Montreal: Éditions Libre Expression, 1990) 136.

diversity of the market.”¹⁵⁵ McQueen also refers to Fredelle Bruser Maynard’s book, *Raisins and Almonds*, which reprimands the 1928 advertisement for an “Eskimo doll”, as a “run of the mill doll in a clown suit with pom-poms and ruff at the neck,” and for portraying “darkies” as a comic-vaudeville characters.¹⁵⁶ McQueen notes the experience of Peggy Laskin, Chief Justice of Canada from 1973 to 1984, who has spoken publicly about not being able to get a job as a beautician at the Eaton’s Toronto store, “because, as it was delicately explained to her, Eaton’s did not hire Jews.”¹⁵⁷ This account is reminiscent of Franco-Manitoban author, Gabrielle Roy’s “harrowing expedition” of shopping at an Eaton’s in Winnipeg and the “misfortune of being French Canadian,” even after moving to Montréal in 1939, where treatment was little different.¹⁵⁸ Though Le 9^e may have represented independence and liberation for the ladies who lunched there, the Eaton’s building and the Eaton’s institution represented prejudice and discrimination for others. In my opinion, these voices are as important as all others to writing what Hayden calls a “socially inclusive urban landscape history” and in underscoring the multiple histories of Eaton’s.¹⁵⁹ However, I have not found evidence to support a notion that Lady Eaton favoured English-speaking staff or clients, or that discrimination based on language was ever practiced at Le 9^e. In fact, Lady Eaton spoke French quite well and at

¹⁵⁵ Rod McQueen, *The Eatons: The Rise and Fall of Canada’s Royal Family* (Toronto/New York: Stoddart Publishing Co. Limited, 1998) 81.

¹⁵⁶ McQueen 80.

¹⁵⁷ Irving Abella, “The Making of a Chief Justice: Bora Laskin, The Early Years,” *Law Society of Upper Canada Gazette* 24 (Sept. 1990): 190. Quoted in McQueen 81.

¹⁵⁸ McQueen refers to the first chapter of Gabrielle Roy, *Enchantment and Sorrow: The Autobiography of Gabrielle Roy*, trans. Patricia Claxton, (Toronto: Lester and Orpen Dennys, 1987) 5, 7. Quoted in McQueen 81.

¹⁵⁹ Hayden 12.

a 1946 Eaton Employees War Auxiliary reception and dinner held at Le 9^e in honour of more than five hundred Montréal Eaton's store employees who served in WWII, she specifically and graciously thanked the Francophone employees in their native language on behalf of the Eaton family.¹⁶⁰ She was also quoted in a 1964 interview that it was “a mistake that the Constitution didn't make the country bilingual, then there wouldn't be all this confrontation.”¹⁶¹ Perhaps, then, Le 9^e was in fact never a place of total divide or segregation based on language, but instead a shared space for anyone who could simply afford to eat there.

Nevertheless, Montréal of the 1960s was marked by the *Révolution tranquille*, which was sparked by years of underlying tension and animosity between Francophones and Anglophones in Montréal. As scholar Katherine Bosnitch explains, “Few understood the changes which were taking place until the situation escalated to the point where letter-box bombs were targeting the Anglophone elite of Westmount.”¹⁶² At 3:30am on 22 November 1968, Eaton's became a definite target of this tension when a bomb exploded in a locker on the Métro level of the Montréal Eaton's store; in the weeks that followed, others were found and dismantled.¹⁶³ As an English institution in Québec, Eaton's has also undergone much scrutiny in the media and has been used as a symbol of English Canadian hegemony in the Québec nationalist movement, especially leading up to Bill

¹⁶⁰ “The T. Eaton Co. Honours its War Veterans,” *The Monitor*, 19 Sept. 1946.

“Je suis très heureuse de vous dire quelques mots en votre langue maternelle... Si je suis capable de vous faire comprendre les sentiments sincères qui viennent du coeur de la famille Eaton, de la grande aussi bien que la petite, j'aurai reçu mon devoir agréable.”

¹⁶¹ *Lady Eaton Interview 1964*.

¹⁶² Bosnitch 68.

¹⁶³ Bosnitch 69.

101, the Charter of the French Language (1977). In 1970 at *La Nuit de Poésie*, a song and poetry benefit for Québécois political prisoners in Montréal, Michèle Lalonde recited her famous poem, *Speak White*. As François Rochon explains, “Written in an incantatory style, the poem decries the inferior cultural, social and economic conditions of French Canadians, while calling for the solidarity of oppressed peoples against all forms of colonialism and imperialism.”¹⁶⁴ The poem’s title specifically refers to the francophone experience at Eaton’s and other businesses in downtown Montréal, where racist jeers were allegedly uttered at customers who chose not to speak English when making their purchases. As a consequence of Bill 101, Eaton's stores in Québec dropped the English possessive in the chain's name (becoming simply *Eaton*) and changed store signage to French, as well as undertaking many other efforts in the 1970s to heal the wounds of its francophone customers. These efforts included hiring francophone employees and investing in marketing campaigns in the French language media. During the same decade, many Montréalers also began to take a growing interest in the rising preservation movement, spearheading activist groups like *Sauvons Montréal*. These new community-based activist groups questioned who was responsible for defining and protecting the city’s urban heritage, which was and remains a highly political process of identity-making with effects not only on a local level, but with provincial and national ramifications.

A comparison of the restaurant’s current situation with the fate of the Van Horne mansion (Figs. 49, 50) in 1973, is frightening, yet it draws out important considerations with regard to Le 9^e. Sir William Cornelius Van Horne (1843-1915) was a pioneering

¹⁶⁴ François Rochon, “Lalonde, Michèle,” *Canadian Encyclopedia Online*.

executive for the Canadian Pacific Railway, governor of McGill University from 1895-1915, and an avid art collector who spent the latter part of his life in Montréal. Van Horne's mansion formerly stood at the corner of rue Stanley and rue Sherbrooke in Montréal's Golden Square Mile and was originally built in 1870 (architect unknown) for John Hamilton, a businessman and politician. In 1889, Van Horne acquired the mansion and in 1890 he commissioned Art Nouveau pioneer Edward Colonna to modify the house. "[H]is Montreal house, where in later years he often transacted business as well as painted, was always open to his friends, [for] a game of billiards, a business talk, a discussion of Byzantine art."¹⁶⁵ After months of public debate and to the chagrin of many Montréalers, on 10 September 1973, the Van Horne mansion was bulldozed with only three days notice. Since the demolition, this historically bourgeois neighbourhood has largely been claimed by the business and commercial sector; a fourteen-storey hotel stands on the site of the Van Horne mansion today. In outlining the particulars of the events that led up to the demolition of the Van Horne mansion, Martin Drouin demonstrates in his 2003 essay, "L'affaire de la maison Van Horne: une lutte pour la sauvegarde d'un patrimoine montrealais?" how the struggle to safeguard the Van Horne mansion from demolition was also a political struggle fought by citizens for the right for public involvement in the safeguarding of Montréal's architectural heritage in general. Additionally, Drouin investigates the Van Horne mansion's heritage value in the process of identity-making on local, provincial, national, and continental levels, while simultaneously highlighting the political motives that evidently nullified the mansion's heritage value from the perspective of the Québec government, particularly *La*

¹⁶⁵ Walter Vaughan, "The Life and Work of Sir William Van Horne," (New York: the Century Co., 1920) 375.

Commission des biens culturels. In Drouin's final statements, he identifies the positive outcomes of the Van Horne mansion ordeal as the founding of Heritage Montréal and the legal classification of several Montréal *monuments historiques* as reprieveable and preventative measures on the part of *La Commission des biens culturels* against future controversy.¹⁶⁶ In Drouin's 2005 *Le combat du patrimoine à Montréal (1973-2003)*, he also argues that in twenty-first century Montréal the struggle for urban preservation transcends segregation based on language and that focusing preservation efforts around an English-French dichotomy does not serve a collective cause.¹⁶⁷

Given this position and the possibility that Le 9^e may have never been a place of total segregation along language divisions, it is important to carefully consider any future preservation efforts or redevelopment of the restaurant. The fate of the Van Horne mansion, and the subsequent controversy and legal and political changes that its demolition sparked should not be forgotten within this consideration. If the Van Horne mansion had not been demolished, would Le 9^e have been classified as a *monument historique* in 2000? The demolition of the Van Horne mansion is a reminder of the historically dichotomous relationship between the French and English in Montréal and it is engrained in both the mansion's history and the history of the Eaton's institution in Montréal. The cultural connotations of anglophone wealth and power and the "untypically Québécois" architectural style of Le 9^e may challenge and complicate the

¹⁶⁶ Martin Drouin, "L'affaire de la maison Van Horne: une lutte pour la sauvegarde d'un patrimoine montrealais?" in *Identités urbaines: Échos de Montréal*, eds. Lucie K. Morriset and Luc Noppen. (Québec: Éditions Nota bene, 2003.) 224-225.

¹⁶⁷ Martin Drouin, *Le combat du patrimoine à Montréal (1973-2003)* (Sainte-Foy, QC: Presses de l'Université du Québec, 2005) 145.

"Préférerait-on laisser de vieux démons hors de ce combat collectif? ...La lutte pour la sauvegarde de patrimoine transcendait les divisions séculaires entre les anglophones et les francophones en rassemblant les Montréalais des deux côtés du boulevard Saint-Laurent."

static vision of Quebec identity that the Ministère de la Culture currently protects and projects through its legal heritage classifications. At Le 9^e, in addition to aesthetic and architectural considerations, there must be a thorough acknowledgement of the restaurant's social history by way of public memory.

Montréal historian Alan Gordon describes public memory in Québec as “a contest that pits competing pasts against one another in a struggle to define the present.”¹⁶⁸ In other words, Gordon argues that public memory is never fixed nor about one single truth, but instead it is always highly contested; public memory evolves through time and space and works to legitimize current political and cultural agendas. Gordon argues that this “contest” has been inscribed in political rhetoric and artistic production since Samuel Champlain's (1567-1635) first contact in 1608 and has been constantly present throughout centuries of struggle for political dominance between the French and English. The beginning of the heritage movement in the 1890s brought about the issue of the “tourist gaze,” which is the calculated construction of the tourist experience by state and private initiatives in order to shape the tourist's experience of the local past, while also catering to and shaping their own respective interests.¹⁶⁹ As Gordon remarks, in cultural tourism projects of recent decades the tourist gaze has only further complicated the debate around the issue of public memory. Gordon's historical analysis of Montréal underscores how the struggle to define the dominant version of public memory in Quebec has not always been as simple as the French versus the English, nor was it always an absolute divide. Gordon cites similar versions public memories shared by the Irish-

¹⁶⁸ Gordon 17.

¹⁶⁹ Gordon 12.

Catholic community in Griffintown and the Francophone working-class in eastern Montréal, in relation to the cultural hegemony of the Protestant Anglophone elite. While I do believe in the importance of acknowledging the discriminatory treatment of francophone Eaton's customers in analyzing the heritage value of Le 9^e and in the restaurant as a space that accentuated the dominating position of wealth and power generally held by the English elite in Québec prior to *La Révolution Tranquille*, the restaurant was also a significant historical place in Montréal that English and French communities shared for entertainment, recreation, and pleasure. At Le 9^e the historically segregated communities celebrated births, marriages, anniversaries, reunions and other special occasions *together*.

Cultural historian, Andreas Huyssen believes that “trauma cannot be the central category in addressing the larger memory discourse.”¹⁷⁰ While it may be difficult today for Québec politicians, ministry board members, entrepreneurs, architects, and Ivanhoe Cambridge executives to justify investment in heritage that is largely rooted in English Canada, “[m]emory, whether individual or generational, political or public, is always more than only the prison house of the past.”¹⁷¹

¹⁷⁰ Andreas Huyssen, *Present Pasts: Urban Palimpsests and the Politics of Memory* (Stanford, California: Stanford UP, 2003) 8.

¹⁷¹ Huyssen 8.

SECTION 5

Conclusion: Concerns for the Future

At the beginning of Dolores Hayden's influential book, *The Power of Place* (1996), she outlines a heated 1975 debate in the *New York Times* between Herbert J. Gans, an urban sociologist, and Ada Louise Huxtable, an architectural critic, about the meaning of heritage and for whom it belongs.¹⁷² Gans began by attacking the New York Landmarks Preservation Commission for preserving mansions of the rich and allowing popular architecture to disappear, while Huxtable defended the monuments as a "primary and irreplaceable part of civilization."¹⁷³ Gans and Huxtable debated this issue for two months, and while Gans' unpublished quantitative data proved that 105 of 113 landmark designations built after 1875 were by major architects – with 25 by one firm, McKim, Mead and White – Huxtable had the last word.¹⁷⁴ According to Hayden, the crux of their debate rested on an inability to understand each other's language as well as different underlying values:

When he said "architecture," he meant that all urban buildings, or the built environment. When she said "architecture," she meant buildings designed by professionally trained architects operating with aesthetic intent... He wanted more social history, she wanted more culture.¹⁷⁵

This thesis has positioned itself pragmatically, in order to ignite public discussion and optimistically, to create political action or commercial interest in the currently

¹⁷² Hayden 3-6.

¹⁷³ Quoted in Hayden, 3.

¹⁷⁴ Hayden 3-4.

¹⁷⁵ Hayden 4.

mothballed state of the Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant. With Gans in mind, I have considered the restaurant's past as having different meanings to different people of different classes and I have especially emphasized and given credit to Lady Eaton for her commitments to the restaurant and her choice of Art Deco.

Above all, I strongly believe that as long as Le 9^e remains a privately-operated site where public access is absolutely forbidden, it will quickly disappear from public memory. The restaurant is undoubtedly what Huxtable would call a "great building," and while Carlu's status as a major Art Deco architect has had the power to deem the restaurant worthy of an official provincial heritage classification, it has not had the power to keep the space accessible to the public. Huxtable's "great building" is analogous to the Ministère de la Culture's *monument historique*. The only thing this kind of categorization has done for the restaurant is, at best, saved it from demolition. This classification has not had the power to keep the spirit of the restaurant alive. It has not kept friendships intact, nor has it brought together mothers and daughters week after week, or supported generations of families through paid work. It also has not created jobs, nor has it helped *Les Ailes de la Mode* succeed as a profitable business venture.

The restaurant therefore remains invisible in the ongoing and shifting heritage discourse of Montréal, and this absence creates historical amnesia for its various publics. Critical theorist Andreas Huyssen suggests that "[w]e need both past and future to articulate our political, social, and cultural dissatisfactions with the present state of the world."¹⁷⁶ While the restaurant on the ninth floor of the former Eaton's department store may not reflect an ideal vision of heritage as universal, it is a manifestation of a rare Art

¹⁷⁶ Huyssen 6.

Deco interior inspired by the *style paquebot* of the French oceanliner, the *Île-de-France*. In addition to its architectural and artistic value, the restaurant represents Montréal women's active involvement in the public sphere in the early twentieth century, and it acts as a shared *lieux de mémoire* for both English and French communities, suggesting that it was perhaps one of many such *lieux de mémoire*.

Throughout my investigation of the architectural and cultural histories of Le 9^e, I am reminded of Dolores Hayden's question, "[w]hy are so few moments in women's history remembered as part of preservation?"¹⁷⁷ Does the restaurant's history as gendered space and a symbol of English wealth and power contribute to the reasons why, as a heritage site, it is not publicly accessible? While I do not have answers for this question, I hope that through my analysis of the restaurant's historical development, architectural style and current classification as a heritage site, scholars, architects, artists, and general members of the public can continue to consider Le 9^e and its embodiment of issues of gender, language and heritage. What I do know for certain is that the mothballing of the restaurant dangerously cuts this space out of women's living memory and equally out of generational memory for all Montréalers. The restaurant was shared by and produced by many different generations and it because of these differences that it is such a loss for many, rather than an elite anglophone minority.

It is my hope that this thesis will encourage a public dialogue that could eventually encourage, in turn, the Ministère de la Culture, des Communications et de la Condition féminine and Ivanhoe Cambridge to release Le 9^e from its prison in the private corporate sphere. A site as vital and rich in history as Le 9^e should not amass more dust in the collective memories of the citizens of Montréal.

¹⁷⁷ Hayden 7.

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FIGURES



Figure 1 *View of restaurant looking towards one of the two large murals by Natacha Carlu c. 1987*
Photograph.
Source: Eaton's Ninth Floor Restaurant." *Sandra Cohen-Rose and Colin Rose*. Flickr, n.d. Accessed 22 June 2011.



Figure 2 *Le 9^e in 1999*
1999
Photograph
Source: “Restaurant L’Île-de-France.” *Grand repertoire du patrimoine bâti*. Ville de Montréal, 16 Jan. 2007. Web. Accessed 22 Nov. 2009.



Figure 3 *Present-day barricaded entrance to Le 9^e.*
November 2009.
Photograph.
Source: Maya Soren.



Figure 4 *Ninth floor men's public washroom.*
c. 2002
Photograph.
Source: Urban Explorers Montreal intervention.
The 9th Floor. Urban Explorers Montréal, n.d. Web. Accessed 22 Nov.
2009.



Figure 5 *Goodwin's department store (future site of T. Eaton Co.), Ste-Catherine Street Montréal, QC, ca. 1912.*
Photographer unknown.
c. 1912.
Silver salts on paper, gelatin silver process.
Source: McCord Museum.

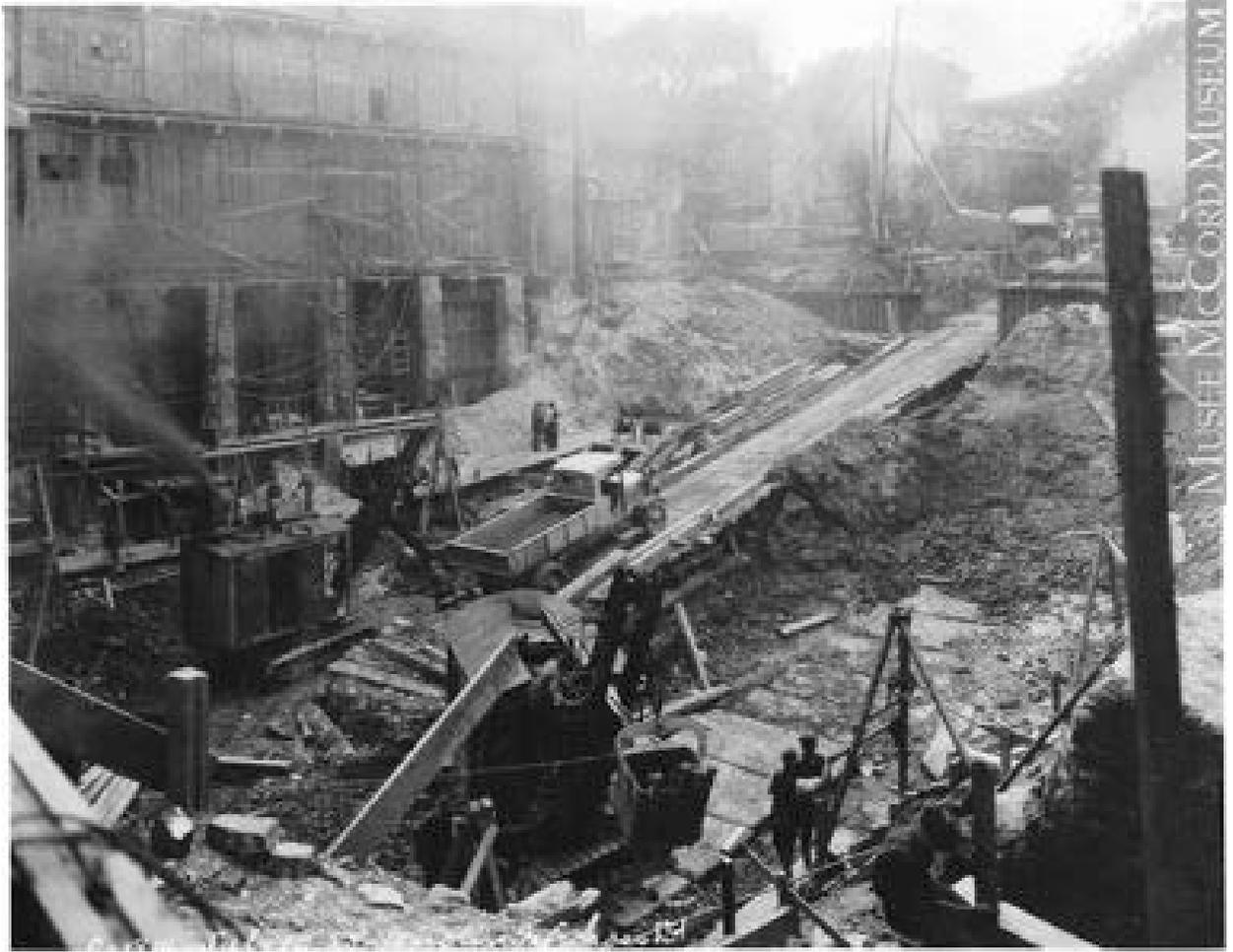


Figure 6 *Construction pit, T. Eaton Company, Montreal, QC, 1925*
E.W. Bennett, Photographer.
1925.
Silver salts on paper mounted on linen, gelatin silver process.
Source: McCord Museum.



Figure 7 *Addition to the top of Eaton's store, St. Catherine Street, Montréal, QC, 1930.*
Photographer: E. W. Bennett.
1930.
Silver salts on paper mounted on linen, gelatin silver process.
Source: McCord Museum.



Figure 8 *Université de Montréal Main Pavilion*
Architect: Ernest Cormier.
1924-1943.
Photograph
Source: Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection.



Figure 9

Aldred Building

Architect: E. I. Barrott.

1929-1931.

Photograph.

Source: Concordia University Digital Image and Slide Collection.



Figure 10

Eaton's Montreal after the 1930 addition

Date unknown.

Anne Gardon, Photographer.

Photograph.

Source: Joseph Pedrosa, "Eaton's and The Bay: a study in architectural adaptation." Montreal: McGill University, School of Architecture, 1976.



Figure 11 *412-48 Yonge Street at College (SW), 1928-30 by Ross & Macdonald, Sproatt & Rolph, associate architects.*
Date and artist unknown.
Source: William Denby, *Lost Toronto*, Toronto, Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 1978. p. 156.



Figure 12 *Round Room*
Date and photographer unknown.
Source: "History." The Carlu, n.d. Web. Accessed 2 June 2011.

The former Eaton's *Round Room* restaurant at Yonge and College Streets in Toronto was also designed by Jacques Carlu and was open from 1930-1977. Now known as *The Carlu*, a successful event venue that took 25 years to repurpose.



Figure 13 *Complexe Les Ailes, view of shopping mall from the second floor.*
November 2009.
Photograph.
Source: Maya Soren.



Figure 14 *Complexe Les Ailes, indoor winter garden, view from the seventh floor.*
November 2009.
Photograph.
Source: Maya Soren.



Figure 15 *One of the showplaces of Montréal, Canada, is the Ninth Floor Restaurant of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Department Store.*
Date and photographer unknown.
Postcard.
Source: Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.



Figure 16 *The foyer approach to the Ninth Floor Restaurant of the T. Eaton Co. Limited Department Store, Montréal, Canada.*
Date and photographer unknown.
Postcard.
Source: Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.

THE MONTREAL DAILY STAR, SATURDAY, JANUARY 24, 1931

EATON'S NEW RESTAURANT

OPENS MONDAY AT ELEVEN A. M. — NINTH FLOOR

Dressing Montreal with something entirely different in service, ambience and providing our patrons with greatly increased accommodation and facilities.

When plans were made for an additional story space in our building the chief project was the construction of a new restaurant, which would be worthy of the prominent spot in which we had. For we decided that after we were building a restaurant, we would build a large one, for it was obvious from the first planning that our building was there was something more than a mere addition to our house and service. Also we were anxious to provide for the new restaurant a new space.

It is desirable in the space to be in complete view, and it is equally desirable to have within the bounds of reason in attempting to describe its magnificence. Perhaps the best way is to allow you to think and read your own judgments when you see the interior and complete. The true approach to the new restaurant, in which dining both new, elegant, spacious from the new floor will provide you, in the first restaurant, the new, an elegant, as it came into a new world.

The restaurant will also enjoy more light in view, as we have been able to plan accordingly. This alone means, not only in view and the style in view, but certainly elegant in business center. Taking into view all of modern interior and of Canadian architecture, the new Eaton's restaurant, which has been planned and designed for us. The new space is also in view of the new restaurant in view.

The Canadian general architect, Henry Fox, a Montreal-based the architect of the new restaurant, has been the architect of the new restaurant, which is one of the most important additions to the new restaurant, and the new restaurant is a new restaurant. The new restaurant, which is one of the most important additions to the new restaurant, and the new restaurant is a new restaurant. The new restaurant, which is one of the most important additions to the new restaurant, and the new restaurant is a new restaurant.

Children in attendance for luncheon and afternoon tea.

The New Entrance

The New Lobby

T. EATON CO.
OF MONTREAL

Figure 17 *Eaton's advertisement in the Montreal Daily Star*
24 January 1931
Newspaper
Source: *Montreal Daily Star*, 24 January 1931, p. 22

THE MONTREAL GAZETTE, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 26, 1931

EATON'S NEW RESTAURANT

OPENS TODAY AT ELEVEN A. M. — NINTH FLOOR

Presenting, Montreal with something entirely different in interior architecture and providing our patrons with greatly increased accommodation and facilities.

When plans were made for an additional three stories to our building, the chief project was the construction of a new restaurant, which would be worthy of the progressive age in which we live. So we decided that while we were building a restaurant, we would build a large one, for it was obvious from the daily waiting-line at our luncheonette that there was something more than usually attractive about our cuisine and service. After many months of preparation this new restaurant is now ready.

It is impossible in this space to tell its complete story, and it is equally impossible to keep within the bounds of accuracy in attempting to describe its magnificence. Perhaps the best way is to allow you to think and speak your own adjectives when you see the restaurant and yourself. The best approach to the new restaurant, to which during lunch time, express elevator from the first floor will convey you, is the first sensation that you are stepping, as it were, into a new world.

The restaurant will give about three times as many seats as we have been able to secure heretofore. Two almost equal, one in width and the other in length, are particularly adapted for business parties. Tables and chairs are of modern design and of Canadian manufacture. The new Royal Warrant china from England was specially designed for us. The silver-plated hollowware and flatware is all of English make and valued for simplicity. Indeed we supplied the super-line white linen.

The Company's general architect, Messrs. Ross & McDonald, secured the services of Professor Jacques Côté of Paris, the designer of the restaurant, who is one of today's outstanding authorities on modern architecture, and this restaurant is a tribute to his genius. The fine new paintings were done by Maurice Côté, Grand Decorator, London and much of the kitchen equipment was made in Canada. The most important feature of Canadian culture and art.

Cuisine is adapted for luncheon and afternoon tea.

The First Edition

T. EATON CO.
OF MONTREAL

An Elevator Lobby

Figure 18 *Eaton's advertisement in the Montreal Gazette*
 26 January 1931
 Newspaper
 Source: Montreal Gazette, 26 January 1931, p. 14

NOUVEAU RESTAURANT EATON

OUVERT LUNDI À 11 H.M.
AU NEUVIÈME ÉTAGE

Il s'agira à Mont-
réal d'un restaurant
d'architecture distinc-
tive et de classe.
Nous n'attendons, et
mettra à la disposi-
tion de nos clients
un service de con-
fort et de service.

L'ÉDIFICE furent faits les plans pour
l'addition de trois nouveaux étages à
notre édifice. L'idée principale était
la construction d'un nouveau restaurant
bien en rapport avec l'époque où nous
vivons. Nous le voulions très vaste pour
pouvoir satisfaire les nombreux habitués
qui savent apprécier notre cuisine et nos
services. Après des mois de travaux, il
est maintenant prêt à ouvrir ses portes.

Le foyer, tournant sur le nouveau restau-
rant, ajout, la nuit, les ascenseurs
"express" vous transporteront directe-
ment au restaurant. Vous êtes le
difficile l'impression qui se présente dans un
monde nouveau. Il est impossible, et
d'entrer dans les détails et, par ailleurs, il
est aussi impossible de restreindre son
enthousiasme sur le splendide de ce res-
taurant. Donc, le mieux, c'est probable-
ment de vous en réserver la surprise.

Le restaurant pourra recevoir environ trois
fois autant de monde que nos précédents
en service auparavant. Deux salons,
l'un dédié en art à l'autre argent, accom-
modent tout particulièrement aux fonctions
en groupe. Tables et chaises sont style
moderne, et de fabrication canadienne.

La porcelaine Royal Worcester, d'Angle-
terre, a été choisie spécialement pour
nous. L'argenterie et la cristallerie vien-
nent aussi d'Angleterre, et sont d'une
élégance parfaite. L'intérieur nous a
envoyé les notes de superbe qualité.

Les architectes généraux de la Compa-
gny, S.M. Ross et McDonald, ont obtenu
les services du professeur Jacques Carlu,
de Paris, une autorité reconnue en archi-
tecture moderne, et ce restaurant, com-
me fruit d'après ses plans, nous sommes à
son genre. Les magnifiques peintures mu-
rales modernes sont l'œuvre de Hefsché
Carlu.

La structure d'acier, les meubles et pro-
posent tout l'équipement de cuisine sont de
production canadienne. Le travail a été
exécuté par des artisans canadiens.

Il y aura tables
- les le café et
à l'honneur du thé

J. T. EATON CO.
DE MONTREAL

Figure 19

Eaton's advertisement in *Le Devoir*,

24 January 1931

Newspaper

Source: *Le Devoir*, 24 January 1931, p. 5.



Figure 21 *S.S. Ile-de-France first-class dining room*
Date unknown
Photograph
Source: William H. Jr. Miller, *The Great Luxury Liners 1927-1954: A Photographic Record*. New York: Dover Publications, Inc., 1981. 22.

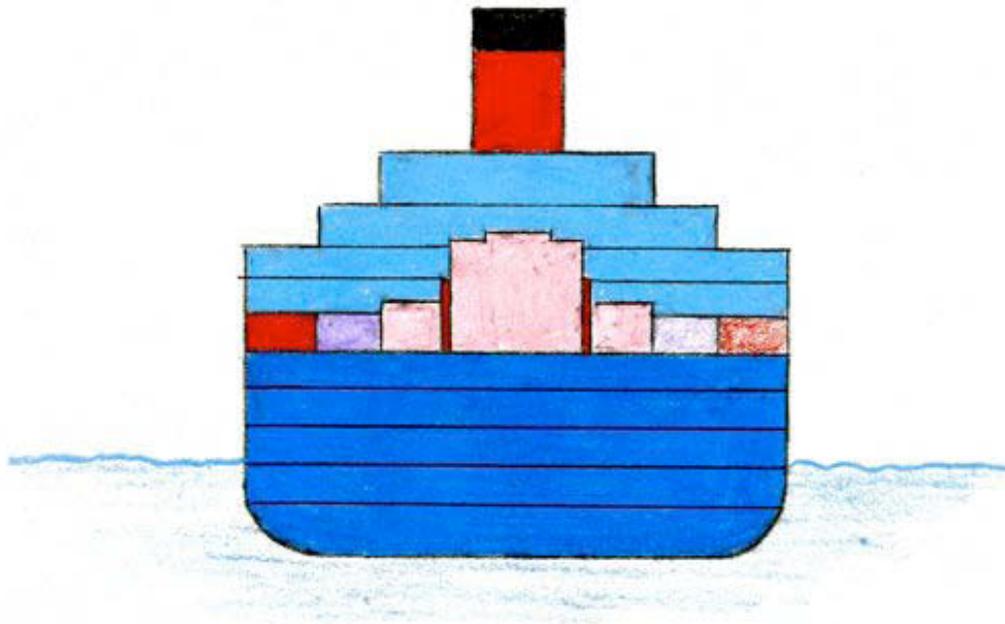
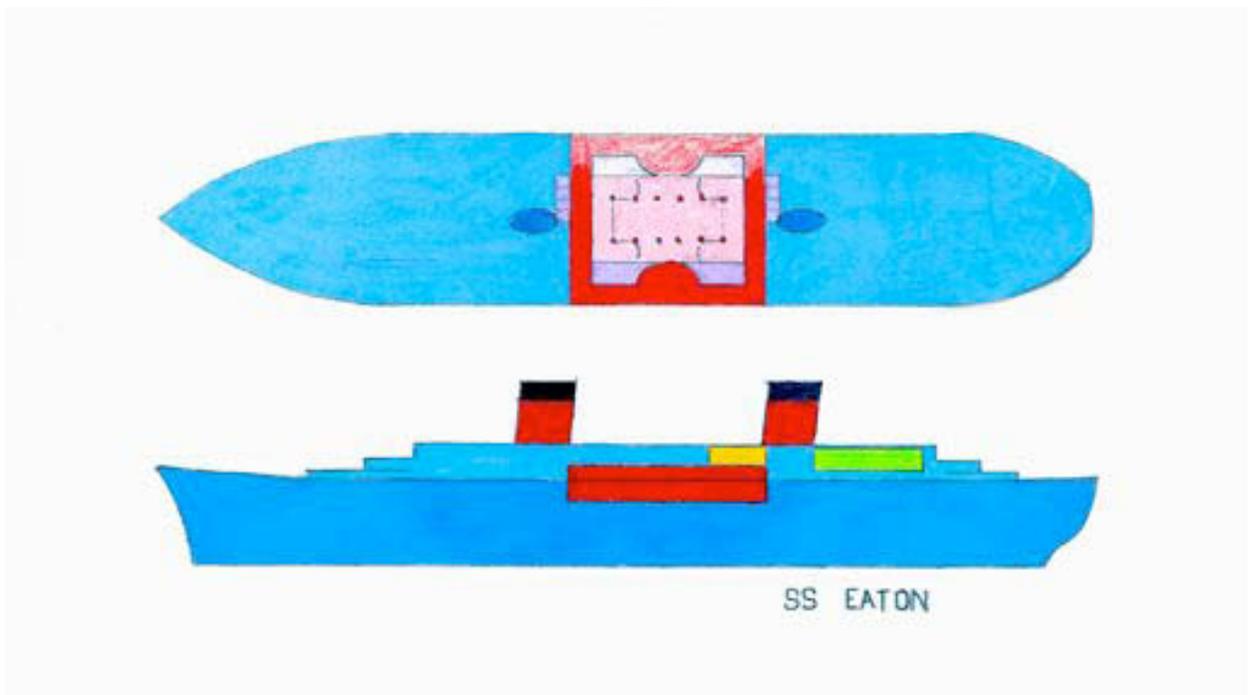


Figure 22 *S.S. Eaton*
1989
Drawing
Source: Dr. Jean Bélisle, unpublished research presented at the 1989
Society of Architectural Historians Annual Meeting.

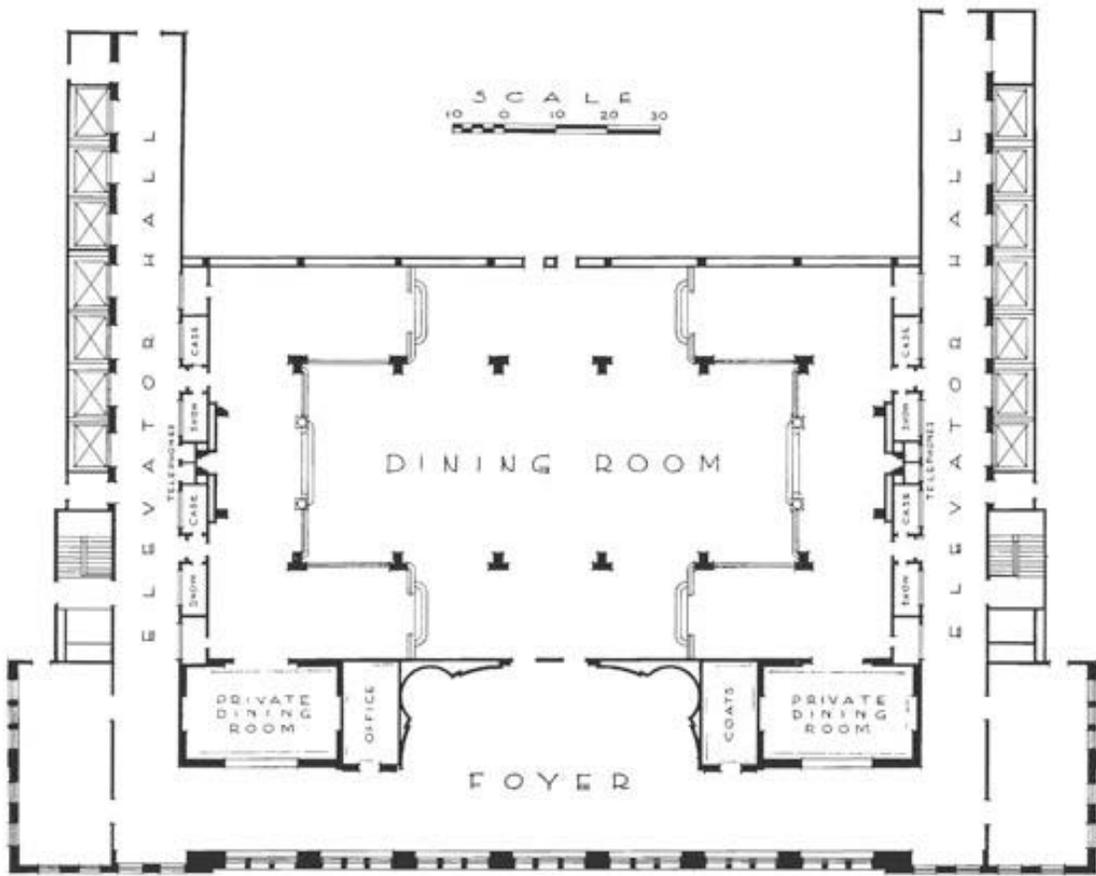


Figure 23 *Plan of Le 9° by Jacques Carlu*
 1931
 Architectural plan
 Source: Isabelle Gournay, "La salle à manger Eaton, 1931." *Section a: revue d'architecture/architecture magazine* 5.6 (January 1985): 10.

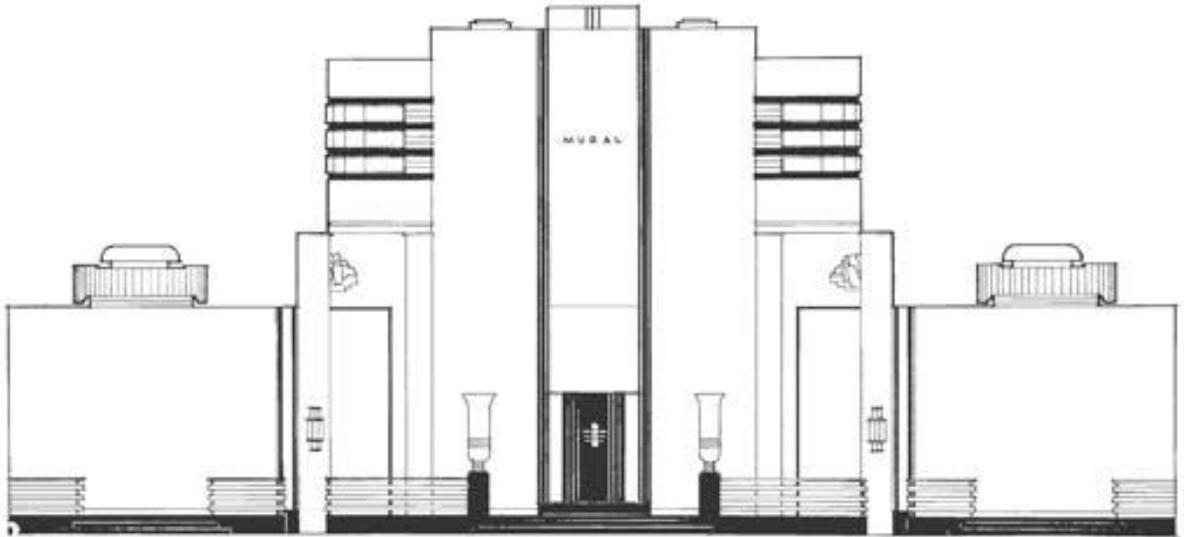


Figure 24 *Entrance cross-section by Jacques Carlu*
1931

Cross-section drawing

Source: Isabelle Gournay, "La salle à manger Eaton, 1931." *Section a:*
revue d'architecture/architecture magazine 5.6 (January 1985): 8.



Figure 25

Le 9^e main dining room

Date and photographer unknown

Photograph

Source: Isabelle Gournay, "La salle à manger Eaton, 1931." *Section a: revue d'architecture/architecture magazine* 5.6 (January 1985): 8.

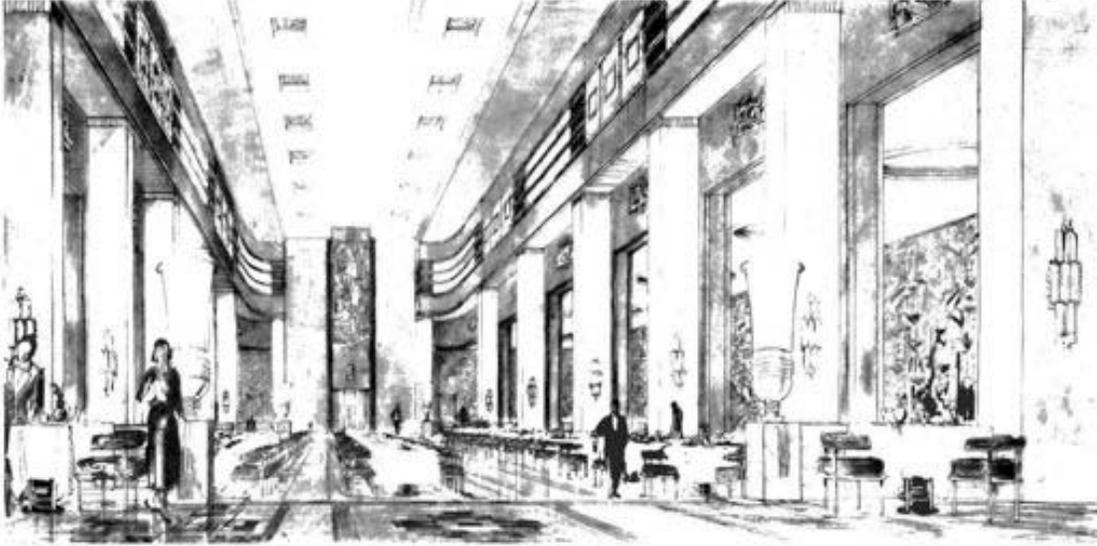


Figure 26 *Carlu drawing of Le 9^e main dining room*
Date unknown.
Drawing
Source: Isabelle Gournay, “La salle à manger Eaton, 1931.” *Section a: revue d'architecture/architecture magazine* 5.6 (January 1985): 9.



Figure 27 *Porcelain vases designed by Émile-Jacques Ruhlmann in the first-class Salon de Thé aboard the Ile-de-France.*
Date and photographer unknown.
Photograph
Source: *Ruhlmann: Genius of Art Deco*. Eds. Emmanuel Bréon and Rosalind Pepall. Boulogne-Billancourt, New York, Montréal: Somogy editions d'art, 2001; Montréal Museum of Fine Arts, 2001, p. 115.

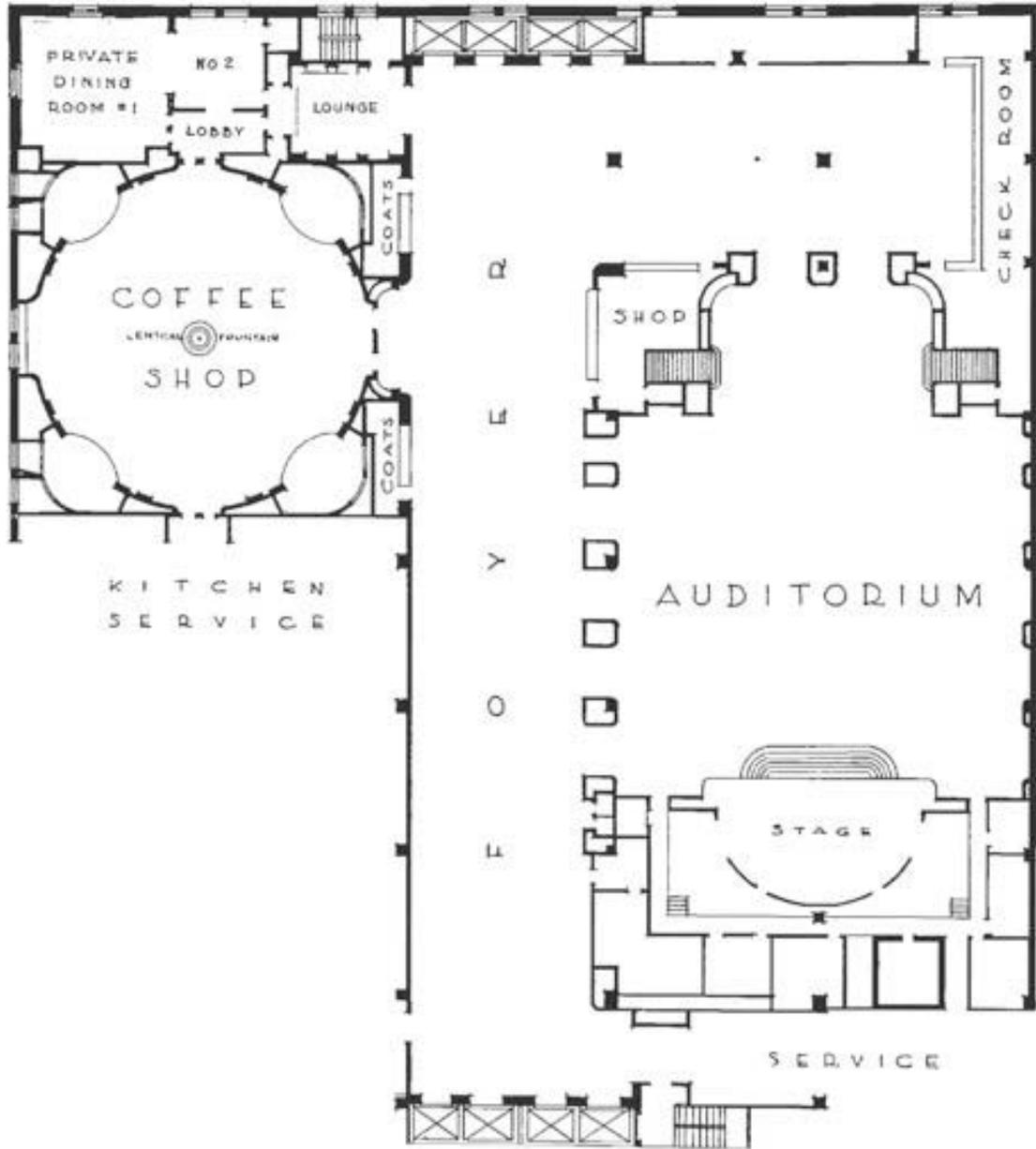


Figure 28 *Eaton's Seventh Floor plan*
 Date unknown
 Jacques Carlu
 Architectural drawing
 Source: Isabelle Gournay, "La salle à manger Eaton, 1931." *Section a: revue d'architecture/architecture magazine* 5.6 (January 1985): 10.

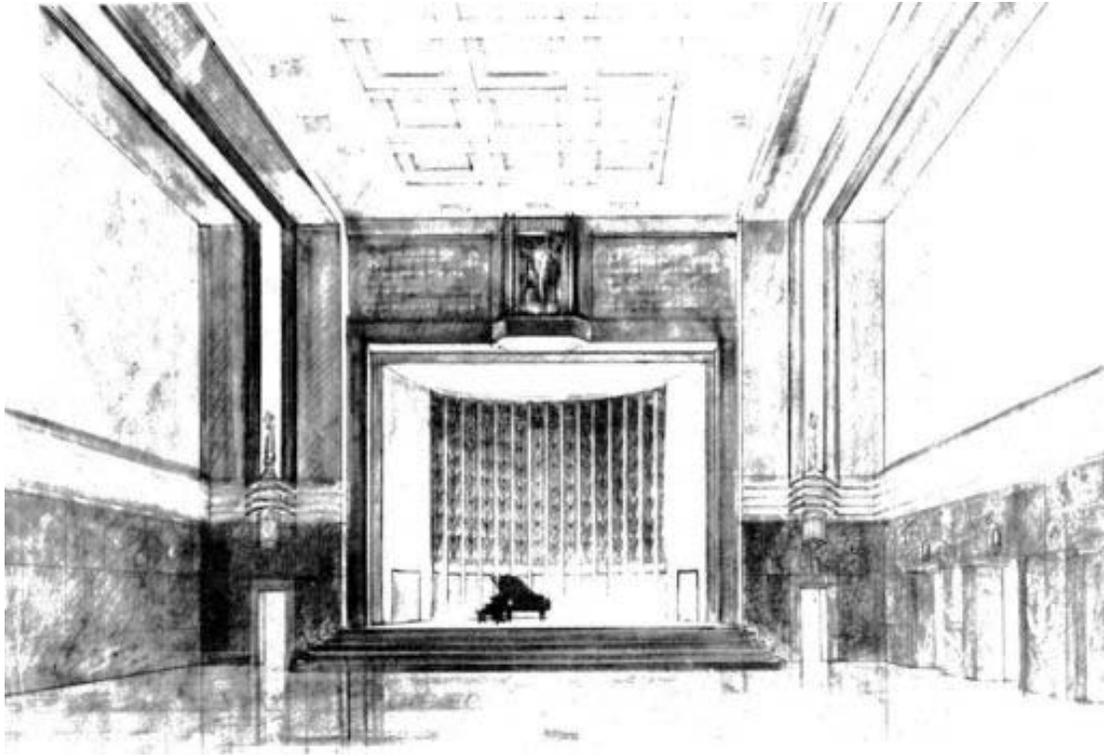


Figure 29 *Carlu drawing of the Eaton's Seventh Floor Auditorium, Toronto*
Date unknown
Jacques Carlu
Drawing
Source: Isabelle Gournay, "La salle à manger Eaton, 1931." *Section a: revue d'architecture/architecture magazine* 5.6 (January 1985): 10.



Figure 30 *Eaton's Seventh Floor Auditorium, Toronto*
Date and photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: William Denby, *Lost Toronto*, Toronto, Oxford, New York:
Oxford University Press, 1978. p. 160.



Figure 31 *Eaton's Seventh Floor Round Room Restaurant, Toronto, 1930.*
Date and photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: William Denby, *Lost Toronto*, Toronto, Oxford, New York:
Oxford University Press, 1978. p. 163.

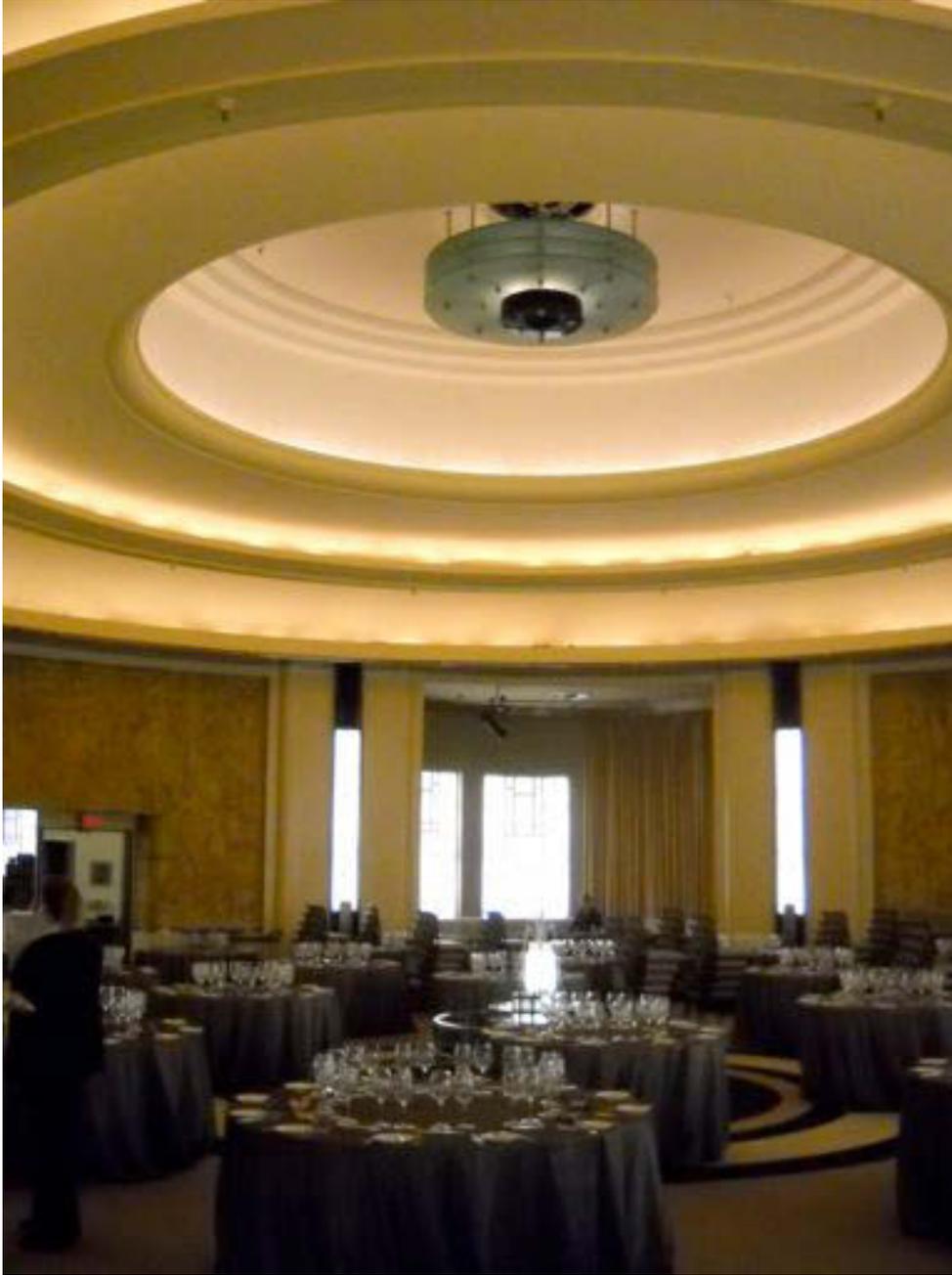


Figure 32 *Eaton's Seventh Floor Round Room Restaurant, Toronto, now The Carlu*
April 2011
Photograph
Source: Richard Soren



Figure 33 *Eaton's Seventh Floor Foyer, Toronto*
Date and photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: William Denby, *Lost Toronto*, Toronto, Oxford, New York:
Oxford University Press, 1978. p. 161.



Figure 34 *Entrance to the Eaton's Seventh Floor Round Room "Clipper Rooms" with original lettering*
April 2011
Photograph
Source: Richard Soren



Figure 35 *Eaton's Seventh Floor Round Room Lalique Fountain.*
Date and photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: Parks Canada
<http://www.pc.gc.ca/culture/proj/urbain/cartes-maps>



Figure 36 *Ministère de la Culture evaluation files*
April 2011
Photograph
Source: Maya Soren



Figure 37 *Portrait of Lady Eaton*
August 1928
Photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: Carol Anderson and Katharine Mallinson, *Lunch with Lady Eaton*,
Toronto: ECW Press, 2004, p. 40.



Figure 38 *Eaton Hall farm*
1925
Photographer unknown
Photograph
Source: Carol Anderson and Katharine Mallinson, *Lunch with Lady Eaton*,
Toronto: ECW Press, 2004, p. 144.



Figure 39 *Children's menu from the Eaton's store*
1971
Menu
22.2 x 25.6 cm
Source: Gift of Mr. David M. Lank to the McCord Museum



Figure 40 *Le 9^e menu*
1981
Menu
Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.

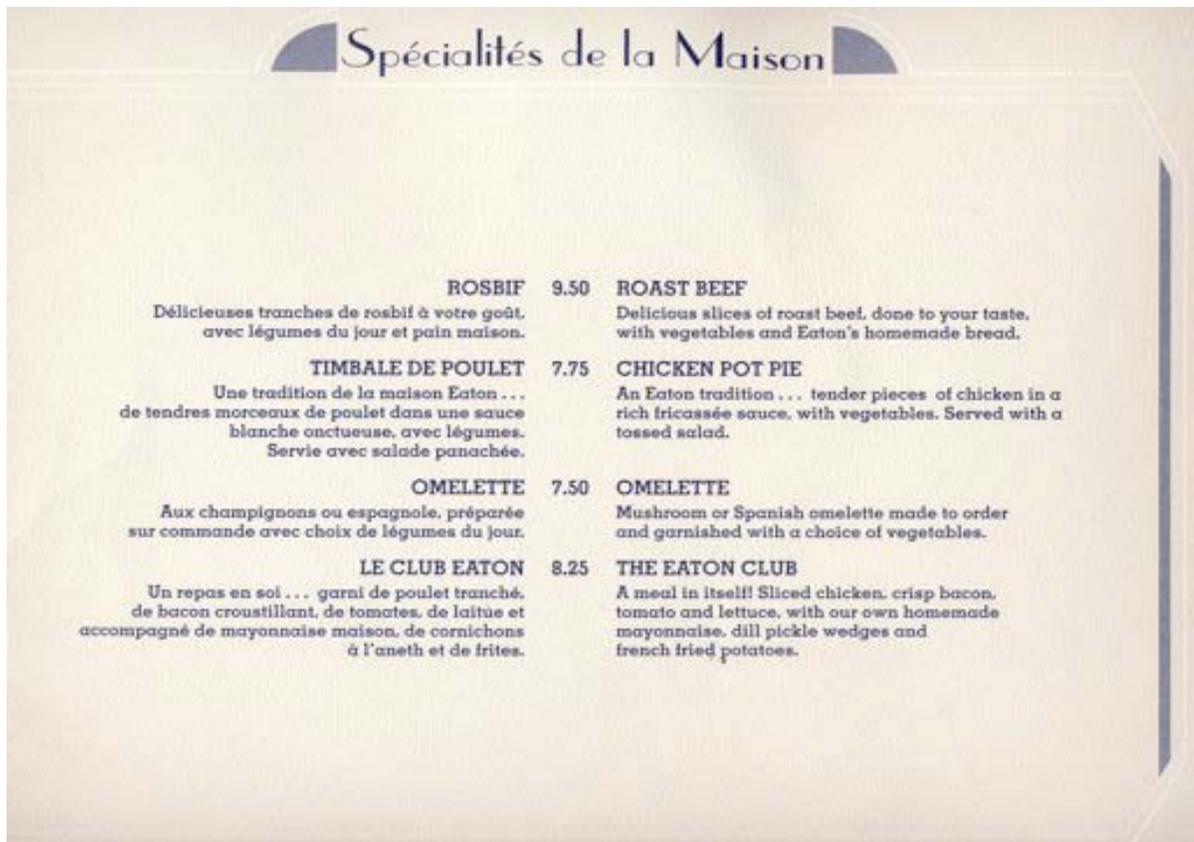


Figure 41 *Le 9^e menu*
 1981
 Menu
 Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.



Figure 42 *Le 9^e menu*
 1981
 Menu
 Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.

Vins		Carafon		Vins blancs / White Wines		Demer	Bouteille
Wines		rouge ou blanc				Half	Bottle
		Red or White					
Apéritifs							
Dubonnet	4.25						
Martini & Rossi	4.25						
Cinzano	4.25						
St-Raphaël	4.25						
Pineau des Charentes	4.75						
Campari	4.75						
Xérès							
Harvey's Bristol Cream	4.25						
Harvey's Shooting	4.25						
Emu Australian	4.25						
Spiritueux 1-1/4 or Spirits							
Scotch	4.95						
Scotch «de luxe»	5.50						
Gin	4.95						
Vodka	4.95						
Whisky (Bye)	4.95						
Whisky «de luxe» (Bye)	5.50						
Rhum	4.95						
Sherries							
		Verre	3.25				
		1/4 L	4.95				
		1/2 L	9.50				
		1 L	18.00				
Liqueurs 4.50 — 5.50							
Cognacs							
		Remy Martin	5.25				
		Paul Masson	5.25				
		Renault	5.25				
		Grand Marnier	5.25				
Bières Beers							
		Canadienne	3.25				
		Importée (Heineken)	4.25				
Vins rouges / Red Wines							
BORDEAUX							
		Château Gallaud 1990				—	21.50
		Côtes de Bourg A.C. Roger Jeanne & cie				15.50	25.75
		Maître d'Esbourne 1990 Paris France					
BOURGOGNES							
		Côte de Beaune A.C. 1992 Georges Dubouche				—	27.50
		Beaujolais-Villages A.C. 1992 Georges Dubouche				12.50	—
MIDI							
		Cabernet Sauvignon 1992				—	18.25
		Vin de pays d'Or Picoté de France				—	18.75
		Côte-de-Ventoux A.C. 1990 La vieille ferme					
CHILI							
		Cabernet-Sauvignon 1990 Cousin - Marul				—	18.50
HONGRIE							
		Merlot 1991 St-Stephen's Cross, Hongarovic				—	14.50
CHAMPAGNE							
		Pil Roger Brut Extra curée de				—	55.00
		Basacys Pil Roger & cie					
MOUSSEUX							
		Cuvée J.M. 90 1990 J.M. Monmoussens				—	27.50
ROSE							
		Château Bellevue Le Foch 1992				—	21.00
		Côte de Provence A.C.					

Les TPS et TPQ seront ajoutées à votre addition. — Merci/VGST & PST Taxes will be added to your bill — Thank you!

Figure 43 *Le 9^e menu wine list*
 1981
 Menu
 Gift of Dr. Jean Bélisle to Maya Soren.



Figure 44 *Les dames du 9^e*
1998
Screenshot from Catherine Martin's *Les dames du 9^e* (1998).



Figure 45 *Madame Cortez serving elderly female patrons*
Screenshot from Catherine Martin's *Les dames du 9°* (1998).



Figure 46 *Mme Dagenais, 91 years old, client of the restaurant for 66 years*
Screenshot from Catherine Martin's *Les dames du 9^e* (1998).



Figure 47 *Mme. Annette Cortez, 60 years old, restaurant employee for 28 years*
Screenshot from Catherine Martin's *Les dames du 9^e* (1998).



Figure 48 *Mrs. Ritchie, restaurant hostess on opening day, 26 January 1931*
Screenshot from Catherine Martin's *Les dames du 9^e* (1998).



Figure 49 *Van Horne's house, Sherbrooke Street, Montreal, QC, c. 1900*
Wallis & Shepherd
Silver salts on glass, gelatin dry plate process
6 x 8 cm
Source: McCord Museum.



Figure 50 *Living room, Van Horne house, Montreal, QC*
1920
Wm. Notman & Son
Silver salts on film, gelatin silver process
20 x 25 cm
Source: Purchase from Associated Screen News Ltd,
McCord Museum.