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TITLE OF THESIS/TITRE DE LA THÈSE

The Influence of the Greek Colonization in the

Early Period of Canadian History

(Central West Canada)

UNIVERSITY/UNIVERSITÉ

University of Toronto

DEGREE FOR WHICH THESIS WAS PRESENTED/

GRADE POUR LEQUEL CETTE THÈSE FUT PRÉSENTÉE

Master of Arts

YEAR THIS DEGREE CONFERRED/ANNÉE D'OBTENTION DE CE GRADE

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The Evolution of an Urban Culture Core:
A Study of French Canadian Institutions and
Commerce in Central East Montreal

by

Paula Kestelman, B.F.A.

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A Thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfilment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts
in Geography

Department of Geography

Carleton University

Ottawa, Ontario

© September 26, 1983

The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate

Studies and Research acceptance of the thesis

"THE EVOLUTION OF AN URBAN CULTURE CORE: A STUDY OF FRENCH
CANADIAN INSTITUTIONS AND COMMERCE IN CENTRAL EAST MONTREAL"

submitted by Paula Kestelman, B.F.A.

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for

the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

The longevity and diversity of French Canadian institutions, associations, and particular retail outlets in a central east Montreal study area from 1818 to 1982 is discussed in this thesis. The consecutive occupancy of institutional buildings and properties by social and cultural organizations through the successive efforts of philanthropists, private interests, and the provincial government is emphasized. The presence of survivals of late nineteenth and early twentieth century central business activity, juxtaposed to continuing and recently revived social and cultural institutions, are together identified as a focus of innovative French Canadian-dominated institutions and commerce in the city.

The author suggests existing theory of central business district and central city structure requires more insight into cultural and associated institutional dimensions. This thesis is a contribution to the study of urban cultural geography.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis is dedicated to a better understanding between Anglo and Franco Canadians in Quebec.

The thesis was completed with generous input from members of several university departments, libraries, and archives in Ottawa, Montreal, and Toronto. Professors G. C. Merrill, as a member of the thesis committee, is to be thanked sincerely for his guidance during the latter phases of the writing of the thesis. Professor J. E. Tunbridge must be acknowledged for his role as advisor since the commencement of the thesis. Professors S. Olson, of McGill University, and D. Hanna, of the Université du Québec à Montréal, permitted me frequent access to their unpublished research at McGill University. Consultations with members of the geography, history, and sociology departments of Carleton University, the University of Toronto, the Université du Québec à Montréal, the Université de Montréal, McGill University, and Concordia University allowed me to regularly refocus and revise my research and perceptions. Technicians, librarians, and archivists at the Archives Municipales de Montréal, the Service des Archives of the Université du Québec à Montréal and of the Université de Montréal, the Salle Gagnon of the Bibliothèque Central de Montréal, the Rare Books Collection of McGill University and at Concordia University never failed to direct me to vital sources. Professor S. R. Aiken of Concordia University assisted me in preliminary research. Consultation for cartographic work was provided by Professor J. M. Anderson of Concordia University. The maps and figures for Chapters One and Three were drafted by D. Trim and for Chapters Three and Four by S. Kishewitsch. E. Lougheed typed the final drafts of the thesis.

The constant patience, encouragement, and sound advice from my parents and friends saw me over many obstacles toward the completion of the thesis.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ANM	Archives Municipales de Montréal
BEM	Bureau d'Enregistrement de Montréal
CECM	Commission des Ecoles Catholiques de Montréal
CEGEP	Collège d'Education Générale et Professionnel
DCB	Dictionary of Canadian Biography
IPCM	Insurance Plan of the City of Montreal
SAUM (35)	Services des Archives, Université de Montréal, fonds Secrétariat (35)
UQAM	Université du Québec à Montréal

CHAPTER ONE

PURPOSE, OBJECTIVES, DEFINITIONS, STUDY AREA, LITERATURE REVIEW, METHODOLOGY, AND SOURCES

1.1 Purpose and Objectives

The purpose of this thesis is the identification of a Montreal study area as a French Canadian urban culture core, spanning the period 1818 to the present. The study area, located within the eastern periphery of the city's central business district, is bounded by St. André Street to the east, St. Denis Street to the west, St. Antoine Street to the south, and Sherbrooke Street to the north. The term "culture core" is borrowed from the cultural geographical article by Donald W. Meinig (1965) in which the Mormon culture core, comprising a large portion of Salt Lake City, Utah, is defined as the religious, cultural, administrative, and commercial centre of the larger Mormon culture region in the American West. On a smaller scale than Meinig's research, the present study is concerned with an urban culture core of the portion of the French Canadian culture group which is largely based in the city of Montreal. The definition of the study area as a culture core is based on a discussion of the diversity and longevity of French Canadian social and cultural institutions in the area and of the existence of an early French Canadian-dominated central business area.

The primary objective of the thesis is research into the establishment of the diversity of institutions and associations in the study area and into their continuous occupation by successive French Canadian social and cultural organizations. This is the subject of Chapter Three. The secondary and complementary objective of the thesis

is the recognition of a thriving French Canadian-dominated central business area within the study area from the 1870s into the 1920s. This discussion is based on the presence of the few surviving retailers and commercial edifices in the study area from this early period: Chapter Four addresses this question. The large and often distinctive institutional and commercial buildings are cited as the most salient urban landscape features in the study area, and, as such, set the study area apart from other adjacent social areas in the city.

1.2 Definitions of Institutions and Nineteenth Century Central Business Activity

Social and cultural institutions, as well as societies and associations, are defined in this thesis as non-commercial landuses, the objective of which is not primarily the accumulation of profit and which seek voluntary participation from distinct social and interest groups.

The word association is used ... as a synonym for formal organization or, simply, organization ... a voluntary association is formed by the joining of mutual interests ... whether religious, economic, political, or recreational Members characteristically retain effective freedom to withdraw ... or to vary their contributions (Broom and Selznick, 1977:194-195).

When an association serves public rather than merely private interests, and does so in an accepted, orderly, and enduring way, it may be called an "institution." The most important public interests are cultural values and social order.

Cultural values define ways of action or belief that are important to a society's sense of identity These values define our "way of life," and a great deal of energy and resources are expended to promote and defend them. Churches, schools, and courts are examples of institutions that are based on and serve cultural values. The public interest in social order concerns the regulation of internal conflict and the safety of the community against external threats. These are the main functions of government institutions. Other public interests include the promotion of economic welfare, science, public health, and peace (Broom and Selznick, 1955:29).

By the end of the nineteenth century, a rich diversity of French Canadian social, cultural, and religious institutions and associations was situated in the study area. The construction of the city's first permanent Roman Catholic cathedral in the study area established the initial aesthetic and institutional focus in the area. Charitable facilities at three convents in the study area served the large working-class populations adjacent to the study area. The presence of a prestigious French Canadian residential district within the study area, until the 1920s, influenced the establishment of private schools, colleges, gentlemen's clubs and the Université Laval à Montréal, the city's first French-language university.

The early nucleus of post-secondary educational institutions formed the city's lively Quartier Latin into the 1940s. Subsequently, the complex of academic and charitable institutions evolved into French-language education and health care nodes which were directed primarily at the working-classes in the vicinity of the study area and within a larger urban and regional hinterland. These institutions were complemented by workers' associations and labour union headquarters.

The cultural centrality of the study area continued into the present century and has been revived with the recent opening of the provincially sponsored Université du Québec à Montréal campus (the city's second French-language university) on the former sites of the cathedral and the earlier university. The successive occupation of the institutional properties by French Canadian social and cultural organizations has resulted in the continuous orientation of the study area toward French Canadians from many sectors of Montreal and Québécois society.

Central business activity, initiated by French Canadian merchants in the study area during the nineteenth century, further contributed to the urban and cultural centrality of the area. Two French Canadian-owned department stores competed for dominance near the corner of St. Catherine and St. André Streets in 1872, almost two decades before the first English Canadian businessmen relocated their large stores uptown from the old city core. The French Canadian central

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business area prospered until the 1930s when it began to be overshadowed by the emergent Anglo Canadian-dominated CBD core to the west. The existence of middle and large-scale retailing in the study area served as an early commercial pole of gravitation in the early development of central Montreal and of the city's major retail axis along St. Catherine Street east to St. André Street. Since the 1960s, the municipal and provincial governments, French Canadian corporate interests, and small scale merchants have pursued the institutional and commercial revitalization of the study area within the context of redevelopment in the larger area of central east Montreal.

1.3 The Study Area

Montreal is a particularly good city in which to study the history and continuity of cultural institutions in view of the city's multicultural population, with distinctive spatial patterns and districts having been established by each ethnic group. The dispersal and spatial distinctiveness of ethnic and institutional foci in the city is at least partially the result of social, cultural, and public institutions in Montreal being exempt from property taxation and as such not being restricted in their locations.

The study area has been situated within the Catholic parish of St. Jacques since 1866 and within the similarly constant boundaries of the provincial electoral district of (Quartier) St. Jacques Ward. Consequently, the ecclesiastical and administrative boundaries of St. Jacques will be used in the following chapters when references are made to the larger area surrounding the study area (Figure 1.1).

By 1900 St. Jacques Parish, within which the study area is situated, contained the largest number of French Canadian Catholic religious, cultural, and social institutions and associations outside the old core of the city. Most of the institutional sites in St. Jacques were established within the confines of the study area (Le Diocèse, 1900). Similar to most long surviving ethnic and culture groups in large North American cities, much of the French Canadian,

Figure 1.1

population has long since dispersed into suburban communities where large and small institutions have been established locally (Racine, vol. 1, 1975). The study area is not regarded as the only French Canadian culture core in the city, but is among the oldest and has been most varied in institutional composition through time. The study area is composed of an institutional corridor bounded by St. Denis and St. Hubert Streets (which, during the nineteenth century, also hosted one of the most affluent French Canadian residential districts in the city) and of a longstanding central retail axis along St. Catherine Street between St. Denis and St. André Streets.

The study area has been traditionally situated adjacent to four other distinctive urban social areas. Old Montreal, the former cultural, commercial, and residential core of the city, is situated south of the study area. To the west of the study area lies the city's immigrant corridor which straddles a six-block area east and west of St. Laurent Boulevard; St. Denis Street forms the eastern boundary of this multi-ethnic business and residential area (Greer-Wootten, 1972) (Figure 1.2). North of the Sherbrooke Street elevation extended the fashionable French Canadian residential district to Pine Avenue, north of which were developed the working-class districts of Plateau Mount Royal. To the east of St. André Street have been situated the predominantly French working-class districts of "east end" Montreal.

Since the 1960s, the study area has been situated at the centre of a 25-block quadrilateral, informally bounded by Papineau Street to the east, Jeanne Mance Street to the west, St. Antoine Street to the south, and Sherbrooke Street to the north. Situated to the east of the city's dominant CBD core and known as central east Montreal, the large urban tract has been the focus of several major government funded redevelopment projects (Figure 1.1 and 1.2). The projects represent effort by all three levels of government to redirect CBD expansion toward the French Canadian east end of Montreal by equipping central east Montreal with social, cultural, and commercial edifices and institutions which could act as poles of attraction for subsequent large

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AREA, NINETEENTH C

- 1 Maison Radio-Canada
- 2 Place Viger
- 3 U.Q.A.M.
- 4 Berri-de-Montigny Metro Station
- 5 Edifice Hydro-Québec
- 6 Palais du Congrès
- 7 Complexe Guy Favreau (still under construction)
- 8 Complexe Desjardins
- 9 Place des Arts
- 10 Philips Square
- 11 Dominion Square
- 12 Place du Canada (formerly Dominion Square)
- 13 Place Ville Marie
- 14 Place Bonaventure
- 15 Cathédrale Marie-Reine-du-Monde
(formerly Cathédrale St. Jacques)
- 16 Windsor Station
- 17 McGill University Campus

Source: Ville de Montreal (1981), Service de L'Urbanisme, Cartograp

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT AREA, NINETEENTH CENTURY FOCI, TWENTIETH CENTURY REDEVELOPMENT

Source: Ville de Montreal (1981), Service de L'Urbanisme, Cartographie

Figure 1.2

scale private investment. Within the study area the projects include the Berri-de-Montigny Metro Transfer Station (1966) and the new campus of the Université du Québec à Montréal (1979).

The selection of the French Canadian-dominated central east and east end Montreal for planned CBD growth bears obvious (Démers, 1983:221) political significance in view of the increasingly nationalist orientation of the Québec administration since the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. The government initiation of and participation in the redevelopment of economically deteriorated downtown areas, however, is characteristic of many Canadian cities in the last twenty to thirty years (Nader, vol. 2, 1976). The study area may, therefore, also be described as part of the 'zone of transition' or 'frame' of the city's CBD core (Griffin and Preston, 1966; Horwood and Boyce, 1959). Urban decline in and recent revitalization of the study area since the 1930s are mostly attributable to its situation in the eastern periphery of Montreal's central city area.

1.4 Literature Review

Two particular gaps in geographical research are addressed in this thesis. The first is the study of the placement and distribution of social and cultural institutions in the CBD areas of large North American cities. The second gap, being specific to the study of Montreal, is the contribution of French Canadian directed urban development to the morphology and structure of central Montreal.

While public landuses, other than roads and utilities, comprise over 15 percent of land in large North American cities (Yeates and Garner, 1976:201-203), the concept of institutions as non-commercial urban growth foci has been cited by only a few North American geographers. They include Griffin and Preston (1966) and Weaver (1969) who made reference to the subject in their studies of the 'zone of transition' in large North American cities. Ward (1966 and 1971), in his studies of the history of the CBD and central city development in large North American cities, made little reference to the significance of the

establishment and initial locations of social and cultural institutions. The attributes of urban-based institutions have been studied more extensively by European geographers (Conzen, 1978). Philip L. Wagner, in his 1974 presidential address to the Association of Pacific Coast Geographers, called for the "institutional scale" of research in human geography, in terms of both the spatial and conceptual influence of institutions on human behaviour, especially within urban and industrial societies (Wagner, 1975:13). Wagner left the definition of "institution" open enough to be interpreted as the physical structure, such as a school, hospital, government building, or private business on one hand; and as the conceptual entity, such as the Church and the Family on the other (Wagner, 1975:12). The two definitions do, of course, overlap when, for example, the Church and the Family are also manifested physically, respectively, in the place of worship and the dwelling place or the home. McLafferty (1982) published a brief article on the distribution and accessibility of inner city public services where she found a surprising concentration of longstanding institutions such as central libraries and social and health care facilities. Traditionally, it has been sociologists who have studied the role of institutions in the structure of society; Breton (1964) suggested that the "institutional completeness" of an urban ethnic group helps to ensure the survival of its people as a distinct group in pluralistic or multi-ethnic North American cities.

The French Canadian population in Montreal is most appropriately referred to as a dominant culture group. Their ancestors founded the original colonial settlement on the Island of Montreal in 1642 and, except for a short period of time between about 1830 and the late 1860s, they have maintained a majority population in the city (Blandchard, 1953:228-239 and 281-288).

The location of the French Canadian study area is comparable to the locations of early immigrant communities such as the Chinatowns and the Little Italys often cited in the "zone of transition," "frame" of a city's CBD core, or "zone of discard" (Burgess and Park, 1925;

Horwood and Boyce, 1959; Griffin and Preston, 1966). Dawson and Gettys (1935), in their Montreal adaptation of a Burgess urban social model, placed the study area, then known as the city's "Latin Quarter" (centred on the Université de Montréal), among the city's ethnic areas within the "zone of transition" (Figure 1.3).

There is, however, a distinct difference between the origin of the French Canadian study area and those of smaller ethnic groups in the city. The nineteenth century social and cultural institutions and associations in the downtown ethnic communities usually emerged as makeshift or store-front locations which were occupied by successive waves of immigrants. The institutions of the privileged and of the poor in the nineteenth century French Canadian study area, by contrast, were established (with one exception) under the impetus and with the financial support of the local French Canadian aristocracy and the Church. Many of the institutions were housed in structures of quality and were distinctive in architectural design. During the decades which followed, institutional edifices and properties in the study area continued to host social, cultural, and public functions of central importance, always directed at selected social and economic groups in the city's French Canadian community.

The early prestigious residential and institutional landscape of the French Canadian study area resembled, in many respects, the mid-nineteenth century "New Town" development on the lower slopes of Mount Royal which, by the turn of the twentieth century, evolved into the dominant Anglo Canadian central business core to the west. The English "west end" development was characterized by elegant terrace residences, several large Protestant churches, an Anglican cathedral, and the early foundations of McGill University (Hanna, 1977 and 1980). It is contended, in this thesis, that the nineteenth century upper and upper-middle class residences and prestigious social and cultural institutions in the study area, which included a cathedral, two elegant city squares, businessmen's associations, colleges, and a university--all meeting places of the wealthy and the upward aspiring--provided significant initial foci for the growth of a French Canadian central

Figure 1.3

Burgess and Park Urban Social Model adapted to Montreal. a) Latin Quarter (study area)
 b) Mont Royal. From Dawson, C. A. and
 Gettys, W. E., 1935, pp. 130 and 131.

business area in the east. Modern, large-scale retailing was, in fact, well developed in the study area until the 1930s and represented an important component in the spectrum of central cultural and urban activity in the area.

The French Canadian-dominated east end, and particularly central east Montreal, has received little attention from the authors of the more widely read histories of Montreal (consulted by geographers as well as historians), particularly (but not exclusively) those written in the English language, including Cooper (1942 and 1969), Jenkins (1966), and Roberts (1970). The research gap has been corrected in the last decade. The 1977 M.A. thesis by Carmen Soucy-Roy is a traditional historical account of settlement, commerce, and industry in Quartier Ste.-Marie 1850-1900. Quartier Ste.-Marie is a French Canadian working-class residential and industrial city ward situated just east of the study area. Paul-André Linteau (1981) published his doctoral research on private development by French Canadians in Maisonneuve from 1883 to 1918. Formerly an independent municipality located east of Ste.-Marie Ward, Maisonneuve has since been annexed as a city ward of Montreal. Jean-Claude Robert concludes his doctoral dissertation, Montréal 1821-1871 Aspects de l'Urbanisation (1977), with a discussion of and suggested further research into the social adaptation of French Canadians in nineteenth century Montreal. The recent collection of readings on Montreal, edited by Frost (1981), includes two essays on aspects of the French Canadian milieu in the city, contributed by Hanna and Remiggi and by Kestelman.

The study area's rich institutional history, combined with nineteenth century central business development, and the continuity of interest by French Canadians from many sectors of society, have instilled a cultural and larger urban centrality on the study area. Unlike the east end wards cited in the above first two studies, the present study area is situated adjacent to the old city core and the city's immigrant corridor, and is situated in proximity to the dominant CBD core; all of which make the area an integral part of the central urban structure of Montreal.

1.5 Methodology and Sources

While this thesis is cultural and urban geographical in interest, its methodology conforms to a longitudinal study in historical geography which traces the origins of and changes in one or two particular aspects of a landscape through time. The establishment and successive occupation of the diversity of French Canadian institutions in the study area has been selected as the primary subject which reflects the geographical distinctiveness, continuity, and change in the study area. Aspects of large and middle-sized retailing in the area are included as a complementary topic to reinforce the hypothesis that the study area has been a key French Canadian culture core in Montreal.

Traditional research sources have been distilled to compile a series of institutional histories contained within four thoughtfully, though arbitrarily, delineated time periods. The four time periods conform to the specific groups of institutions placed in the study area through time, the benefactors and sponsors of the institutions and the population composition of the study area. The successive occupation of institutional edifices and properties in the study area is traced within the four separate sections of Chapter Three and is illustrated on four respective maps in the sections. Short business histories are contained in Chapter Four.

Primary sources in Chapter Three include maps, public and private archival documentation on individual institutions, city directories, city water tax records, and electoral lists. Chapter Four is based on some archival data and primarily on interviews with the proprietors of the surviving large and middle-sized, family-owned businesses in the area. Secondary sources for both chapters include histories of Montreal, unpublished research and theses, and biographies of noted residents of the area.

The methodology and choice of sources were selected primarily because of the insight they could provide about the origins and processes involved in the continuity of the institutional landscape in the

French Canadian study area. Two other less subjective techniques could have been used to confirm or disprove, perhaps more accurately, the culture core perception of the study area. The first would entail a questionnaire distributed to several French Canadian social groups in the city; a small informal sample questionnaire taken on the subject indicated that there is little historical knowledge of the area. The second technique would use membership and enrollment lists to compile maps and graphs on the extent of the hinterlands of the institutions through time. This technique presents logistical difficulties in accessibility to and the completeness of such archival data. One important example is the Université de Montréal where two episodes of fire destroyed many of the early files. The element of confidentiality could restrict the consulting of such sources in the cases of the Ecole de Réforme and the Miséricorde hostel for unwed mothers on one hand and of private clubs on the other. The availability and completeness of such data for an acceptable cross-section of the diversity of the institutions and associations is questionable in view of the known destruction of some archives and the possible displacement of others. One contends that the primary and secondary sources actually employed in this study yield significant results and further an understanding of this French Canadian culture core in Montreal.

CHAPTER TWO

CENTRAL BUSINESS DISTRICT DEVELOPMENT AND
SOCIO-CULTURAL AREAS IN MONTREAL2.1. Brief History: 1672-Present

Several North American metropolises, including Montreal, Toronto, and New York, exhibit a "bi-nodal" Central Business District structure composed of an old city core, which grew out of the city's port and harbourfront facilities, and a second more dominant core of more recent development located inland and to one side of the older core (Nader, vol. 1, 1975:116) (Figure 2.1 and Figure 2.2). The emergence of an inland central business area often followed new upper-middle class residential districts which were developed away from the congested environs of the city's original waterfront settlement (Bowden, 1975:82).

While modern CBD expansion in Montreal has occurred to the north-west of the old city core since the 1890s, Old Montreal remains the centre of the city's financial community and of civic administration. The present study area may be defined as a secondary central city core because it has been the focus of many French Canadian institutions of central importance and because of its history of central business development from the 1870s into the 1920s.

In 1672 (thirty years after the founding of Montreal), Dollier de Casson, head of the city's Sulpician Order, planned Montreal's first grid of streets. The highest elevation of the grid was reserved for a grand new parish church, around which gravitated many of the city's first French Catholic social and cultural institutions. The reconstructed Notre Dame Church (1824-1829), or "La Paroisse," still graces

Figure 2.1

CBD-frame and CBD-core, Montreal's City Centre. 1964.

a) Old Montreal. From Nader, 1975, p. 120.

Figure 2.2
 Changes in the Distribution of Office and
 Wholesale-Warehouse Uses, Montreal's
 City Centre, 1949 and 1962. From Nader,
 1975, Figure 4.5, p. 121.

the Notre Dame Street ridge and has never been succeeded as Montreal's most popular Catholic Church.

Permanent stone fortification walls were constructed around the grid between 1719 and 1721 and continued to enclose the old city for another century. Shortly after the fort was completed, several south-north streets were added to the plan and the legal size of urban lots was reduced to accommodate the city's growing population. Within the western sector of the city, Place d'Armes, a public square and a market ground, were moved from the merchant's quarter in the lower city to a site adjacent to Notre Dame Church. Within the eastern sector, there evolved a nucleus of civil and administrative structures. The Château de Ramzey, residence of the governor, was built in 1705, and the Château de Vaudreuil, the residence of the governor-general of the city, was constructed in 1723-1726. During the same period, a citadel was built outside the east gate of the city. Some of the most prestigious French residences were developed around Dalhousie Square adjacent to the east gate and in proximity to the subsequent development of upper income residences in the study area (Marsan, 1974:161). The early functional distinction between the eastern and western sectors of the old city may have been the origin of the subsequent cultural and spatial distinction between the French Canadian-dominated east end of the city and the English Canadian west end.

Urban growth, however, was not confined to the area within the fortification, for as early as 1721 a visitor noted the beginnings of a "faubourg" outside the city's west Recollet Gate (Marsan, 1974:69). The 1761 map by Paul Labrosse and the Bouchette map of 1815 further reveal "suburban" expansion outside the city walls in the formal Faubourg Quebec to the east, Faubourg St. Laurent to the north, and Faubourg St. Anne to the west of the enclosure (Figure 2.3 and Figure 2.4). The limits of the present study area coincided with the small undeveloped tract of Faubourg St. Louis, situated between the densely populated Quebec and St. Laurent Faubourgs (Figure 2.4).

Figure 2.3

City of Montreal in 1761, by Paul Labrosse with additions by E. Z. Massicotte.

From Marsan, Montréal En Evolution, 1974, Plate 16.

Figure 2.4

City of Montreal in 1815 by Joseph Bouchette.

From Marsan, Montréal En Evolution, 1974, Plate 23.

The French faubourg is different in origin and by definition from the North American suburb. The three largest faubourgs, Quebec, the most aristocratic; St. Laurent, with the largest population; and St. Anne were multi-functional, residential, commercial, and industrial extensions of the old city even before the walls were removed. The densest cluster of houses and subsequent shops and industries in these "suburbs" were located along the extension of Notre Dame Street, St. Joseph Street to the west, and St. Mary Street to the east, and of St. Laurent Street, the northward extension of St. Lambert Street.

The British conquest of 1760 had no immediate impact on the urban and demographic structure of the old city core. French governing officials at the Château de Ramezay and adjacent residences were replaced by English governors and administration (Marsan, 1974:146-147). Control of the fur trade, the staple of the colony's economy, fell into the hands of English, American, and particularly, Scottish immigrant merchants who gained financial and political dominance as a result. British immigration did not reach high levels until the 1840s while only a relatively small proportion of the French population returned to France or migrated to rural Quebec. The French Canadian population within Montreal's old city core and faubourg area declined below fifty percent for a short period between the 1830s and 1860s (Marsan, 1974:162).

In 1786 James McGill was the first of the Scot fur barons to build his mansion on the upper slopes of Mount Royal, northwest of the congested city. The mountain location commanded, as of course it still does, a magnificent view of the city and the river. Mount Royal estates were thus established as the most prestigious of residences for the Anglo Canadian elite in Montreal (Hanna, 1980:39). Subsequently, during the transition period of the first half of the nineteenth century, the centre of economic and social power was slowly being displaced from the governor's residence, the religious institution of the old city, and the aristocratic French districts in the eastern faubourgs to members of the emergent leading Anglo Canadian community on Mount Royal (Marsan, 1974:149).

In 1792, the Government of Lower Canada extended the city limits about two kilometres around the fortification, encompassing the faubourgs (Marsan, 1974:162). The government also subdivided the city into an east ward and a west ward with St. Laurent Street (now St. Laurent Boulevard) as the civic administrative boundary between the two. This division had little or no cultural significance until the second half of the nineteenth century when the bicultural and multi-ethnic character of the city was manifested in spatial distinctiveness between its groups.

With the continued popularity of the faubourgs, the number of gates in the city walls was increased from an original four until each street within the fort had an outlet to the exterior. The census of 1825 reveals that from a population of 26,154 (14,380 of which were French Canadian and 11,324 Anglo Canadian) only 5,316 or twenty percent of the total lived within the limits of the former fortification walls (Marsan, 1974:162, quoting Raoul Blanchard, 1953, vol. 1:229-231). The 1815 map by Joseph Bouchette, cited for its accuracy, shows that when the walls were finally removed, the street axes in the faubourgs were well integrated with the old grid (Bouchette, 1815; Le Blond, 1890:326). The area defined by the former fortification evolved into the first central business area of the city during the nineteenth century.

The fur trade had run its course by 1825. Within the next fifteen to twenty years, Montreal found its place as the centre of warehousing and of the export and import trade between the Canadas and Great Britain. By the mid-nineteenth century, the stage was set for large-scale industrialization. The large influx of Irish Catholic immigrants and of rural French Canadian migrants provided the required cheap labour force. Several charitable and public institutions, directed at French Canadian migrants and the working-class, were situated in the study area. Typically, heavy industry gravitated to either side of the city centre. The greatest proportion of industry was situated along the Lachine Canal, southwest of the old city, and included the Redpath Sugar Refinery, two large flour mills, ship-building yards, and the Grand Trunk Railway shops (Cooper, 1969:29). To the east of the old core of

the city (and of the study area), the St. Mary (iron) Foundry and several shipyards had long since joined the always expanding Molson's brewery, located in the study area since 1786. The city's French, Irish, and English working-class populations concentrated in the vicinity of heavy industry. The shoemaking industry, situated east of St. Laurent Street since the 1840s, was the one industry of note in the study area.

East European immigrants, by contrast, were drawn to the textile and garment industries on lower St. Laurent Street since the 1870s and the 1880s. Subsequent groups of immigrants have since perpetuated the "immigrant corridor" which occupies six blocks east and west of St. Laurent Street. The immigrant corridor emerged as the socio-cultural buffer between the French Canadian-dominated east end of the city and the English-dominated west end.¹

The old city core, thus relieved of its residential and industrial functions, underwent a major landuse and architectural transformation between 1850 and 1875. The one and two storey house-over-shop landscape was replaced by four to five storey (and later taller) office buildings and warehouses with retail outlets at street level. The new grand City Hall, situated adjacent to Bonsecours Market, was constructed between 1872 and 1878. The area of the old city core emerged as the business and administrative centre of the city and is now known as Old Montreal.

Characteristic of an industrializing city is the spatial separation of dwelling place from work place, as well as the separation of middle and upper-class residences from those of the working-class. The greater accumulation of wealth by the middle-class, combined with innovations in intraurban transportation, freed the upward aspiring classes from the socially mixed, high density residential character of the older districts near the city centre.

¹Census reports through time reveal the French-English spatial distinction in Montreal have not been mutually exclusive or entirely segregated as there have existed pockets of Anglo Montrealers in the east end and vice versa; while French Canadians have continuously comprised the majority population within the immigrant corridor (Lacoste, 1953:113-123).

Perhaps the most prestigious of new upper-middle class suburban housing for Anglo Montrealers, initiated during the mid-nineteenth century, was the "New Town" terrace development on the lower slopes of Mount Royal. From the mid-1840s to the late 1860s, several land developers participated in the construction of elegant terrace housing in the vicinity of Dominion Square and McGill University (Figure 1.2) (Hanna, 1977:12-13).

the 1860s must be marked in the annals of Montreal's development as a decade of profound transformation. Up to 1850 it could be said there was an "old" Montreal. After 1850 a "new" Montreal emerged, mirrored in the dawn of a central business district and a new upper-middle-class suburb, the "New Town" (Hanna, 1980:51).

The city's central business area subsequently gravitated uptown in proximity to the affluent "New Town" residences. Between 1890 and 1894 three department stores, Ogilvy's, Henry Morgan's, and Murphy's, and a large jewelry store, Birks, were relocated along St. Catherine Street West. The Dupuis Frères department store and its former rival, A. Pilon et Cie., however, were established on St. Catherine Street East in the study area some two decades before the Anglo merchants occupied west end downtown locations. The French Canadian-dominated middle and large-scale retailing within the study area represented a late nineteenth-early twentieth century central business area in the city.

St. Catherine Street then evolved as the new major retailing axis in the city. With the construction of new office buildings (especially in the vicinity of Dominion Square), the diversification of business activity led to the transformation of the lower Mount Royal residential environs into the city's emergent dominant CBD core to the west by the 1920s. Civil administration and the headoffice activity of much of the city's financial community have retained their historic edifices in Old Montreal, which is presently undergoing a multi-faceted revitalization.

There was little CBD growth in either business core from the 1930s to the mid-1950s when a group of American developers initiated renewal of an unsightly tract of land around the open CNR tunnel on

Dorchester Street West. Place Ville Marie (1962) was the first of the buildings completed; at 45 stories it was Montreal's first modern office skyscraper and remains the anchor of the downtown core (Figure 1.2). Within a decade, many other office towers were constructed in the vicinity, including the C.I.L. and Bank of Commerce buildings, the Stock Exchange Building just west of Old Montreal, and Place Bonaventure, a hotel and merchandising complex (Pelletier and Beauregard, 1967:8-12).

The pace of construction in the CBD core subsided markedly after Expo 1967 and has been resumed since about 1980. The recent boom in privately funded office building development has been concentrated along a south-north axis, centred on Place Ville Marie, and forms a sort of corridor between Old Montreal and dominant CBD core. Major occupants of the recently completed office towers include French (from France) and American corporations; still under construction are the twin Banque Provinciale and Bell Canada towers.

During the lapse in downtown construction of the 1970s, the federal and provincial governments sponsored the construction of large office and commercial buildings in central east Montreal in an effort to redirect CBD growth toward the French Canadian-dominated milieu of the city. The projects have included the Hydro-Quebec building (1962); the Place Dupuis (1972) and Complexe Desjardins (1976) hotel-retail-office complexes which were financed by private, as well as provincial, interests; the federally funded Complexe Guy Favreau and the federally and provincially sponsored Palais du Congrès (convention centres) (Figure 1.2). Government participation in the expansion of the city's CBD core since the 1970s has been a response to the loss in confidence by Anglo Canadian and foreign capital in Montreal, as well as to the generally depressed economy which has restricted growth in many North American cities.

CHAPTER THREE

FRENCH CANADIAN INSTITUTIONS AND ASSOCIATIONS: CAPSULE HISTORIES AND SUCCESSIVE OCCUPANCE

3.1 Introduction

Chapter Three focuses on the origins and continuity of French Canadian institutional sites and the locations of societies and associations in the central east Montreal study area through time. The diversity and longevity of the institutional sites are the basis of the discussion of the study area as an ongoing French Canadian culture core in the city. The presence of a major French Canadian-dominated business area, from the 1870s into the 1930s, reinforced the early centrality of the study area vis-a-vis the city's French Canadian community and in relation to the development of Montreal's modern CBD core (the subject of Chapter Four).

The inhabitants of the study area and those people who have participated in the evolution of a central core of institutions and commerce in the area have represented a spectrum of French Canadian society. The survival and revival of particular institutional and commercial activity have reflected the ongoing participation and interest in the study area by members of the elite, the bourgeoisie, and by bureaucrats in Montreal and Quebec. The constant presence of a predominantly low-income population in the larger St. Jacques Ward area has been complemented by a specialized node of social and health care institutions and associations for French Canadian migrant and urban destitute groups which were being adapted to the nineteenth and early twentieth century city.

There have been three key participant groups in the evolution and continuity of the French Canadian institutional landscape of the study area through time. The first group consisted of several philanthropists

or benefactors who established a variety of charitable and prestigious institutions and associations up until the late nineteenth century. The philanthropists were influential members of the French Canadian elite, many of whom also lived within the study area's fashionable residential district bounded by St. Denis and St. Hubert Street. The second group of participants consisted of merchants and professionals who were primarily active in the establishment of the commercial and academic centrality of the study area until the early 1940s. Businessmen and professionals also formed an important residential presence in the area until about 1920. The third, and most recent, group of participants has been the provincial and municipal governments and young businessmen who have taken an interest in the revitalization of the central institutional and commercial potential of the study area. The public and small-scale private interest in the study area followed a period of drastic social and economic decline in central east Montreal.

The chapter is thus subdivided into four (rather arbitrarily selected) time periods. Each coinciding section encompasses a different stage in the evolution of and participation in the varied institutional landscape of the study area. Section One, 1818 to 1879, deals with the philanthropic financing and the Church's direction of religious and charitable institutions in the area. It was also during this period that public open spaces were donated, around which important cultural and commercial edifices were subsequently established. Section Two, 1880 to 1929, traces the establishment of the academic focus and Quartier Latin activity in the study area. This late nineteenth-early twentieth century period also represented a transitional stage between philanthropic and Church participation in institution building and public or governmental financing of socio-cultural institutions in the area. Section Three, 1930 to 1969, follows the decline of the socio-economic diversity of the French Canadian study area as it fell within the shadow of the city's dominant CBD core to the west. During this time period, it was both new and longstanding working class institutions and associations of city-wide and regional importance which predominated in the study area. Section Four, 1970 to 1982, focuses on the results

of the continuity and revitalization of the French Canadian institutional landscape under the direction of the Provincial government and by the initiative of young businessmen.

Vestiges of and, indeed, surviving institutions and associations from each of these periods have been maintained in the area, either by inertia or by intent. The continuity and diversity of the French Canadian social and cultural institutions is basic to the identification of the study area as a culture core in the city.

Foundations--Private Philanthropy and the Influence of the Church: 1818-1879

3.2 Introduction

Many of our urban habits and institutions are survivals from innovations of the nation's first big city era [1830 to 1860]--hospitals, charities, parks ... and public schools. These municipal amenities and institutions are the living reminders of Americans' positive response to the destruction of their old town community (Warner, 1968:50).

From 1818 to 1879 the diverse and lasting urban social foundations of the study area was laid with the adjacent establishment of both charitable and elite institutions, largely through the efforts of a small group of French Canadian philanthropists who were often under the direction of the Catholic Church. During this first period and into the next, the study area's prestigious French Canadian residential district was situated, typically, in close proximity to the addresses and workshops of artisans and labourers of St. Jacques Parish (Tables 1 and 2). This heterogeneity, or "jumble of occupations [and] classes ..." was characteristic of pre-industrial European and North American cities.

¹The residential development in much of the area was intensified after about 1880, while retailing was maintained exclusively along St. Catherine Street East until the turn of the twentieth century (Lovell, 1865 ... 1879; Beauregard, 1951a).

TABLE 1: FAUBOURG ST. LOUIS, 1825

<u>Occupations</u> ¹	
Artisan	90
Domestic	55
Day Labourer	26
Carter	13
Shoemaker	12
Clerical and Sales	9
Self-Sufficient	7
Peace Officer	7
Bailiff	6
Merchant	5
Professional and Artist	3
Farmer	2
Pedlar	2
Housekeeper	1
Stonecutter	1

<u>Religious Affiliations</u> ²	
Catholic	635
Anglican	191
Presbyterian	42
Methodist	6
Baptist	1
TOTAL POPULATION	875

¹Source: Perrault, 1977:219²Source: Perrault, 1977:218 and 219

TABLE 2: OCCUPATIONS BY STREET IN THE STUDY AREA, 1881.

	Merchants and Manufacturers (including agents)	Artisan	Professional	Clerk	Carter, Labourer Shoemaker	City Official	Widows	Gentlemen	Other	TOTAL
Craig	8	1	1	1	1		1			13
Dubord	14	1	10	2	1	1	1		1	31
Lagauchetière	2	3	1						1	7
Dorchester	8		13	4		3	2	4		34
St. Catherine	12	7	5	1	1	1	5	1		33
Mignonne	8	1	1	2	1		1			14
Ontario	18	15	6	4	5		5			53
Sherbrooke	2		3					1		6
St. André	58	72	32	56	45	14	25	8	4	314
St. Christophe	22	50	11	20	18	7	11	5	5	149
St. Hubert	55	15	40	24	3	5	19	3	3	167
Labelle	5	13	3	5	10	1	7	2	2	48
Berri	24	1	12	1	4	2	6	4	1	55
St. Denis	51	13	42	16	6	5	25	9	3	170
	287	192	180	136	95	39	108	37	20	1094

Source: Montreal Water Tax Records, 1881.

(Warner, 1968:50; Conzon, 1975:148). During this early time period, more institutions of charity than those of the elite were constructed in the study area. The spatial and social proximity of the nineteenth century city institutions is discussed and reconstructed in this subsection.

Early nineteenth century maps of Montreal illustrate Faubourg St. Louis as a narrow, conspicuously undeveloped, tract of land wedged between Faubourg Quebec to the east and Faubourg St. Laurent to the west (Bouchette, 1815) (Figure 2.4). Located northeast of the old city core, the area of St. Louis Suburb evolved into the proposed French Canadian institutional and central business core by the close of the nineteenth century.

The largest parcels of land in Faubourg St. Louis were owned by Denis-Benjamin Viger, Joseph Papineau, the Paul-Joseph Lacroix family heirs, and Louis Guy into the mid-nineteenth century. The interrelated Viger and Papineau families (Figure 3.1) were among the most influential in nineteenth century Quebec. Members of the three above families and Monsieur Olivier-Antoine Berthelet were primarily responsible for the construction of most of the churches and of the charitable institutions in the study area.

The families who owned the large properties in Faubourg St. Louis either left the land unoccupied or, like the Vigers and the Guys, maintained them as rustic estates (Perrault, 1977:208-218; Beauregard, 1950:13). It was Madame Denis Viger, née Charlotte-Berinne Cherrier, who initiated the first two civic improvement projects in the Faubourg: Viger's Market Place (now Viger Square) and St. Jacques-le-Majeur Cathedral. Madame Viger was like several other wealthy and civic-minded Montrealers of her time who gave portions of their estates toward the expansion, social facilitation, and beautification of the city.

3.2.1 Place Viger

In 1818 Madame Viger and her nephew, Louis-Joseph Papineau, donated a small parcel of land to the city on the condition it be

converted for use as a marketplace. Soon after the donation was made, the first length of St. Denis Street was opened across the tract (AMM, Viger Square, file No. 1901.136). The Viger-Papineau donation, situated on the marshy bank of the Petite Rivière (which lay moat-like outside the old city walls), was partially drained in the 1820s and was known as the Viger Cattle Market (The Gazette, April 18, 1981). The creek was diverted under Craig Street in 1849 (Craig Street was renamed St. Antoine Street in 1977). By 1844 three donations of land were made east of Viger's market to St. Hubert Street by Denis-Benjamin Viger, Louis Guy, and by Marie-Charlotte and Louise Lacroix; the women stipulated that the land not be used as a market, but rather a park be improved on it as soon as possible (AMM, Viger Square file No. 1901.136) (Figure 3.2). By the 1860s Place Viger, or Viger Gardens, evolved into one of the earliest and most fashionable squares outside the old city core (Trudelle, 1975:66). By 1874 the characteristically Victorian city square was complete with voluminous shade trees, decorative water fountains, a bandstand, and a glass house (l'Opinion Publique, July 2, 1874; Marsan, 1974:292-293) (Plate 1). Place Viger, bordered by some of the most elegant of French Canadian residences in the city, remained a popular social and political meeting place for French Canadians into the present century.¹

While many nineteenth century squares and public spaces in Montreal have long since disappeared, a select few continue to be the focal points of commercial and institutional development, including Place d'Armes, Place Jacques Cartier, and Place Victoria in Old Montreal, and Dominion and Philips Squares within the modern CBD core to the west of the study area. From 1897 until about 1925, the Canadian Pacific Railway's Place Viger Station and Hotel and several important French Canadian institutions and societies were established along the perimeter of Viger Square (Plate 2). In its pivotal position between the old city core and

¹Several nineteenth century Montreal Squares and markets were developed just outside the former old city wall boundaries and became the focus of elegant residential districts (Marsan, 1974:158-160).

Figure 3.2

Plate 1: Place Viger with Glasshouse, Bandstand, and Fountain, 1870.
From Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Collection E. Z. Massicotte, Album des Rues

Plate 2: Surroundings of Place Viger, c. 1978.

a) Place Viger, 1818-present.. b) C.P.R. Place Viger Hotel and Station, 1898-1931, 1950; Edifice Jacques Viger, 1951-present. c) Parking lot formerly part of Place Viger: d) Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, 1969-1979; Hôpital St. Luc annex, 1980-present.. e) Union Nationale Française, 1909-present. f) Union Catholique des Cultivateurs, 1936-1981. g) Dawson CEGFP, 1971-present. From AMM, file No. R3082.2.

the French Canadian cultural and business centre under study, Place Viger remained a dynamic city node until the 1930s. Presently completely under excavation for an extension of the Trans Canada Highway, the resurrection of Place Viger is being planned by City Hall (The Gazette, April 18, 1981).

3.2.2 Cathédrale Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur

The construction of a Roman Catholic cathedral and bishop's palace was the second project initiated by Madame Denis Viger. In 1822, Viger offered a tract of land from her late husband's estate on St. Denis Street to her nephew, Bishop Jean-Jacques Lartique, on which to build Montreal's first permanent cathedral (Maurault, 1923:14). The cathedral would replace temporary episcopal facilities at Notre Dame Church and the Hotel Dieu in the old city, and symbolized the Montreal Diocese's separation from Quebec City. Lartique was subsequently officially appointed the first Bishop of Montreal in 1836 (Le Diocèse, 1900:8-9; Cooper, 1969:19-20).

Denis-Benjamin Viger, Madame Viger's son, completed the transfer of land to Lartique and extended the grant along the east side of St. Denis Street between St. Catherine and Mignonne Streets (subsequently renamed de Montigny, and, since 1966, Boulevard de Maisonneuve). When the construction of Cathédrale Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur began in 1823, Louis-Joseph Papineau also ceded to Bishop Lartique a small parcel of land opposite the projected church.¹ Place Saint-Jacques, renamed Place Pasteur in 1910, was set aside as a public place in an effort to preserve the tranquility of the church environs (Maurault, 1923:15). The isolated location of Cathédrale St. Jacques (Plate 3), on the edge of

¹ Papineau and Viger, as leaders of the French Canadian nationalist and anti-clerical Patriote Party during the 1830s and 1840s, were nonetheless fierce political opponents of their conservative cousin, Lartique, and of his successor, Bishop Ignace Bourget (both staunch defenders of the Church's stronghold in Quebec and of the status quo of British domination over the colony of French Canadians).

Plate 3: Eglise St. Jacques, 1823-1972, fronting on
St. Denis Street and Place St. Jacques in foreground.
Chapel and South Transept, 1972-present.
From Le Diocèse, 1900, p. 162.

the Viger estate in Faubourg St. Louis, appears to have been criticized from the beginning:

... enfin le projet d'une nouvelle et immense église paroissiale devint fatalement faire surgir le contre-projet d'une église épiscopale dans un des quartiers excentrique (Maurault, 1923:14).

In 1854 Bishop Ignace Bourget, successor to Lartigue, took the opportunity to begin the relocation of the cathedral complex to the west. The decision followed the Great Fire of 1852 which laid waste a large portion of east end Montreal between St. Laurent Street and Papineau Avenue (Figure 1.2). While provisional episcopal buildings were built on the new site soon after Bourget's decision, the much grander St. Jacques Cathedral was not completed until 1894.¹ Controversy over the new location, far from the affluent French Canadian residential districts to the east (within and adjacent to the study area) and financial restraints were responsible for the delay in construction (Pouliot, 1963:340-362).

The new cathedral site was located on the edge of a former Roman Catholic cemetery. By the 1870s the green space was transformed into the beautiful Dominion Square surrounded by fashionable terrace housing which was occupied primarily by upper-middle-income English Canadians (Collard, 1977) (Figure 1.2).

Bourget's ecclesiastical motive for the placement of his grand cathedral in west end Montreal was to establish a strong Catholic presence in the larger area where the city's Protestant religious leaders were building their own large churches, as well as an Anglican cathedral (Pouliot, 1964:482-485). Bourget is, however, more commonly recognized as having also correctly envisioned the future promise of the site; since the late nineteenth century, Dominion Square has been situated within the heart of the city's emergent central business core. While Bourget and his successor, Archbishop Fabre, vigorously promoted completion of the cathedral in order to ensure the residential presence of the French

¹Presently known as the Basilica Marie-Reine du Monde, it is Montreal's one-quarter-size replica of St. Peter's Cathedral in Rome.

population in the west, their efforts were largely in vain (Hanha, 1977: 153). Situated within view (and downslope) of the Mount Royal mansion estates established by the Scottish English elite late in the eighteenth century, the new terrace housing was far more attractive to upward aspiring English Montrealers than to the French. Significantly, the new St. Jacques Cathedral, like the former Cathédrale St-Jacques-le-Majeur to the east, continued to be overshadowed by the historic Notre Dame "La Paroisse" in Old Montreal.

Eglise St. Jacques, on St. Denis Street, rebuilt by 1859 (and reconstructed twice subsequently), was reassigned as a parish church in 1866 by Bishop Rouget.

L'établissement à partir de 1823 de l'église cathédrale St-Jacques et du palais épiscopal à l'angle nord-est des rues St-Denis et Ste-Catherine aurait pu [could have] constituer un centre de polarisation très fort (Marsan, 1974:163).

The spatial influence of St. Jacques Church on St. Denis Street remained strong long after the 1852 fire. With a seating capacity of more than three thousand, St. Jacques, at the busy intersection of St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets, became a centre of polarization for parishioners, as well as for the siting of subsequent religious and social institutions in the study area, including several charitable institutions, a primary school, and the city's first French-language university.

By the close of the nineteenth century, once St. Catherine Street had evolved into the city's major retail axis, St. Jacques became the most easterly of the large downtown churches, the others being Presbyterian and Anglican places of worship (Cooper, 1969:74). Sold in 1973, the belfry and the façade of the south transept of St. Jacques Church have been preserved and incorporated into the new UQAM campus, thus reflecting and continuing to draw attention to the historical significance of the church (Kestelman, 1981:120).

3.2.3 Convents and Large Charitable Institutions--Introduction

It was some two decades after the completion of St. Jacques Cathedral (in 1825) that formal institution building had recommenced in

the study area, with the new sites initially focused on Eglise St. Jacques (Figure 3.3). From 1843 until 1879, it was mainly community-orientated institutions which were established in the study area, including public and private schools and three large convents and associated charitable works. The institutions catered to the interests of upper-income residents within and in the vicinity of the study area and to the large working class population in the larger St. Jacques Parish and Ward area.

During the 1840s and 1850s, Bourget introduced several religious orders to aid in the delivery of education and health care in the growing urban area of Montreal's Catholic parishes. Members of the orders were directed to houses or institutions made available to them by either the Church or by private donations. Bourget encouraged the establishment of a variety of Catholic institutions to care for the rising numbers of rural migrants in the city. Harsh living and industrial working conditions often put severe pressure on the health, resources, and unity of the traditional family support structure (DCB, 1966, vol. 9:111; Bradbury, 1980). The construction and funding of many of the larger institutions (including hostels, hospitals, and asylums) depended on the Church, private philanthropy, and on fund-raising efforts of charitable associations.

Bishop Bourget knew the area of St. Jacques well, for it was there that his first official residence and cathedral had been. It was with such areas of poverty, intemperance, and disease in mind that he stressed the importance of charity work (Bradbury, 1980:6).

The largest charitable institutions in St. Jacques Parish were established within the study area's institutional corridor by a small group of philanthropists, notably Olivier-Antoine Berthelet, Paul-Joseph Lacroix, and Côme-Séraphin Cherrier (Appendix A), whose elegant residences also graced the study area. The largest charitable compounds in the study area were those of the Soeurs de la Providence orphanage, hostel, and nursing home complex; the Soeurs de Miséricorde hospital and refuge for unwed mothers; and the Frères de la Charité reform school for boys. While the hinterland for the Providence services lay increasingly

CHURCHES, CONVENTS and SCHOOLS 1818-1879

INSTITUTIONS, ASSOCIATIONS and RESIDENCES

- 1 Place Viger
- 2 (Cathedral) Eglise Saint-Jacques-le-Majeur & Bishop's Palace
- 3 Place Saint-Jacques
- 4 Asile de la Providence
- 5 Hospice Saint-Joseph
- 6 Orphelinat Saint-Alexis
- 7 Maison-Mère des Soeurs de Misericorde
- 8 Freres de la Charité Ecole de Réforme
- 9 Ecole Saint-Jacques
- 10 Académie Saint-Denis

Sources; Waterlow and Sons, 1859; Hopkins, 1879

Figure 3.3

with the large working-class population in and around St. Jacques Ward, the services of the Miséricorde and the reformatory were found at few other locations in the city and thus were institutions of a wider urban scope (Bradbury, 1980:9).

The individual day schools and charitable institutions described in this chapter may be similar to those in other parishes in the city. It is, however, the institutions of the French Catholic working-class, juxtaposed spatially with the later unique and prestigious institutions of the French Canadian middle and upper-classes (as well as a group of large retail outlets beginning in the 1870s), which completes a spectrum of French Canadian culture core activities in the study area through time.

3.2.4 Soeurs de la Providence--Asile de la Providence (Motherhouse and Asylum), Orphelinat St-Alexis and Jardin de l'Enfance

The Order of the Soeurs de la Providence was founded in 1828 and was first established in a very modest house several blocks west of the study area. By 1836 the Sisters were relocated in a larger house situated near the present day intersection of St. Catherine and St. Christophe Streets within the study area (Giroux, 1869:53). The houses were donated to the Providence Order by Monsieur Olivier-Antoine Berthelet, who subsequently financed the construction of the institutional edifices of two other orders in the study area (Soeurs de la Providence, 1922:18).

Several years later, the Order purchased a large parcel of land and house on the south side of Mignonne Street (now Boulevard de Maisonneuve) near St. Hubert Street (Soeurs de la Providence, 1922:25). By 1880, the Order had acquired three institutional buildings in the study area, including the Asile de la Providence (Motherhouse and Asylum), the Hospice St-Joseph for old and infirm priests (Appendix B), and the Orphelinat St. Alexis and Jardin de l'Enfance.

The largest financial contributions for the construction of the Asile de la Providence were made by Messieurs C. Hubert Lacroix and

Olivier Berthelet, and by Thérèse Berthelet (Giroux, 1869:52). The Lacroix family had resided in the study area since the 1840s and the Lacroix mansion was situated on Sherbrooke Street near St. Hubert Street, a short distance from the Providence institution, from 1864 to 1892. Olivier Berthelet moved into the study area in 1863 (Lovell, 1863 ... 1892; La Minerve, September 10, 1887). (Figure 3.3).

The first wing and gardens of the Sisters of Providence compound were opened in 1843 (Plate 4). In 1888, the Motherhouse facility was relocated many blocks to the east, which allowed for the expansion of nursing services for elderly women both with and without means (Le Diocèse, 1900:185). Three other services made the institution a vital centre for thousands of low-income and poverty-stricken people each year. These included a dispensary (operated by the doctors of the Ecole de Médecine et de Chirurgie), a soup kitchen, and a depository for clothing, firewood and bread (AMM, file No. 3153.2).

The Orphelinat St. Alexis for girls was opened on the north side of St. Jacques Church in 1854. The orphanage occupied the upper stories of the buildings, while the Ecole St. Jacques for boys (Appendix C) occupied the lower floors until it was granted a separate building on the south side of the church in 1863. By the 1860s, Orphelinat St. Alexis was one of more than twelve such refuges in the city. The institution depended in large part on locally collected alms and fees received from the paying students of the Externat St. Jacques Girls School. The Externat was also conducted at the orphanage where the Sisters encouraged the mingling of paying students and the homeless girls (Le Diocèse, 1900:186; Bradbury, 1980:2, 7-8).

The contributions of two benefactresses bought basic necessities for the orphanage and provided some of the funds necessary for the construction of a private school annex, the Jardin de l'Enfance, which subsequently became a major source of revenue for the orphanage (Bradbury, 1980:7-8). Opened in 1881, the Jardin de l'Enfance was quickly favoured as a day and boarding school for the children of both influential and middle-class French Canadian families in the city

Plate 4:
Soeurs de la Providence, 1843-1963.
From *Le Diocèse*, 1900, p. 183.

(Le Petit Journal, March 15, 1953). The school and orphanage were maintained in the area until the mid-twentieth century.

The Jardin de l'Enfance and Ecole St. Jacques were subsequently joined by two private girls' schools, the Académie St. Denis (1861) and the Externat St. Ignace (1871) (Appendix D) and by two other Catholic public schools in the study area. The case of the Orphelinat St. Alexis, the Externat St. Jacques, and the Jardin de l'Enfance, housed in one institution, represents the social and spatial proximity of the institutions of the rich and of the poor in the study area which extended well past the nineteenth century and pre-industrial period.

3.2.5 Soeurs de la Miséricorde--Sisters of Misericord Convent and Hospital

The Soeurs de la Miséricorde, founded in 1845, was the first Montreal order dedicated to the care of expectant unwed mothers. Similar to the early history of the Providence Order, Olivier Berthelet donated to its foundress a very modest refuge several blocks west of the study area. The refuge was abandoned for a larger house rented on Wolfe Street (to the east of the study area), which was soon viewed with disfavour in the neighbourhood (Le Diocèse, 1900:191). In 1847 Monsieur J. Donegani (an Italian immigrant who had entered the circle of the city's leading French Canadian real estate speculators) donated to the Order a third house on the south-east corner of St. Catherine and St. André Streets (Le Diocèse, 1900:181, DCB 1976, vol. 9:207-208).

In 1851 Berthelet purchased a large parcel of land on which to construct the Miséricorde Order convent, hostel, and nursery facilities. The tract was bounded by Dorchester, LaGauchetière, Campeau (the southward extension of St. André Street) and, after several subsequent acquisitions, extended east to St. Hubert Street. Berthelet financed the construction of the chapel and southwest wing of the large complex which was completed piecemeal between 1852 and 1897. By 1863 Berthelet had moved from his residence on Great St. James Street in the old city to a large estate on Dorchester Street near Labelle Street, adjacent to the Miséricorde Convent. Several other benefactors were involved in

the construction of additions to the compound, including the City which ceded a large house on Campeau Street (Giroux, 1894:96-100; Le Diocèse, 1900:182) (Plate 5).

3.2.6 Frères de la Charité--Hospice Saint-Antoine Ecole de le Réforme

Monsieur Berthelet was a key figure in the establishment of the three large asylums or refuges in the study area: the Asile de la Providence, the Miséricorde Convent and Hospital, and the Brothers of Charity Ecole de Réforme. From his early retirement in 1836 onward, he devoted most of his energy to charitable work. He was occupied primarily with the providing of shelter for homeless boys and men in the city with the construction of a small three-storey refuge, l'Hospice Saint-Antoine on Labelle Street near St. Catherine Street in 1859 (Euclide, 1956:28). Berthelet subsequently provided members of the Frères de la Charité Order with a larger hostel from the Miséricorde Convent (which he established fourteen years earlier), situated near the northeast intersection of Dorchester and St. Hubert Streets.

In 1867 Berthelet undertook the financing of the construction and furnishing of a much larger edifice for the Brothers on a spacious parcel of land donated by him and Côme-Séraphin Cherrier (Euclide, 1956:48). The new Hospice St. Antoine and large gardens were opened in 1868, fronting on the Sisters of Providence Motherhouse on Mignonne Street (Plate 6). In 1872 the Brothers of Charity came to an agreement with Quebec to take charge of the young delinquents who had been the responsibility of the Province (at a public facility at St. Vincent-de-Paul, near the eastern limits of the Island).

The men's hostel did not appear to inhibit the maintenance and future development of fashionable addresses on adjacent St. Hubert, Berri, and St. Denis Streets. It was not until the end of the century that affluent French Canadians had begun to abandon the area residences, while they supported their nearby institutions and associations into the 1930s and longer.

Plate 5:

Soeurs de la Miséricorde Motherhouse and Chapel, 1852-1973,
fronting on Dorchester Street. St. Jacques parish
presbytery and site of Hôpital Jacques Viger, 1974-present.

From *Le Diocèse*, 1900, p. 179.

Plate 6: Frères de la Charité, Ecole de Réforme,
1868-1930, fronting on De Montigny Street.

From Le Diocèse, 1900, p. 175.

3.2.7 Trinity Church and Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes

St. Jacques-le-Majeur was not the only nineteenth century church constructed in the study area. In 1865 Trinity Church was completed at the corner of St. Denis and Dubord (subsequently Vitre and now Viger) Streets, on the perimeter of Place Viger. The land on which the Church was built was purchased by the Anglican Bishop of Montreal. While the construction of its belfry and spire was funded by Mrs. William Molson, it was mainly through donations, loans, and the long-term efforts of two members of the congregation that Trinity weathered successive financial difficulties (BEM, Quartier St. Louis, cadastral No. 165). The Church served the small Anglican community which had taken root within the study area and in adjacent districts northwest of the old city. Until the 1880s, about ten percent of St. Denis Street residents, for example, were of British origin (Mackay, 1842 ... 1852; Lovell, 1863 ... 1880). Trinity Church also served the many British soldiers who were stationed at the military barracks located just east of St. Jacques Ward (Gazette, January 22, 1983).

Until the late 1870s, the ethnic heterogeneity of Montreal neighbourhoods was as characteristic as their socio-economic diversity. Subsequently, while Montreal's English language institutions and residents were increasingly gravitating toward west end districts from the old city and from pockets in the east end, it was not until 1922 that Trinity Church was also relocated many blocks to the west on Sherbrooke Street West. In 1923 the former Trinity Church was purchased by the city's Catholic Byzantine community (members of which had probably initially settled within the "immigrant corridor" west of St. Denis Street (see pages 6 and 23) and was renamed Eglise St. Sauveur. While the larger Egyptian, Greek, and Syrian Catholic population has long since resettled in the north end of the city, it continues to maintain the old church on St. Denis Street, albeit with increasing financial difficulty (Plate 7).

The other Roman Catholic Church in the study area is the Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes. In the early 1870s, a Sulpician brother,

Plate 7: Trinity Church, 1864-1922, Eglise
St. Sauveur, 1923-Present, corner of
St. Denis and Viger Streets. Photo c. 1978.
From AMM, file No. R3886.2.

Monsieur Hugues Lenoir, initiated the building of a small chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary. Côme-Séraphin Cherrier donated a parcel of land opposite Eglise St. Jacques, on St. Catherine Street, for the project, while contributions from local parishioners aided in its construction. Until the 1880s, the Chapelle occupied one of the few developed tracts of land on the east side of St. Denis Street between Dorchester and Sherbrooke Streets as Cherrier was unwilling to sell or develop large portions of his estate (DCB, vol. 11, 1982:188). This portion of the study area has been subsequently dominated by institutional landuse.

Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, a Byzantine Revival style chapel, designed by the renowned Québec architect Napoleon Bourassa, is referred to as one of the jewels of Montreal churches (Le Diocèse, 1900:164). Opened in 1876, but not completed until 1881, it also served as the chapel for the Université Laval and the Université de Montréal between 1895 and 1943. The convent of the Petites Filles de St. Joseph was constructed beside the Chapelle in 1877 (Le Diocèse, 1900:167). Presently situated at the perimeter of the UQAM campus, Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes continues to be a well-frequented downtown church (Plate 8 and Plate 18, p. 102).

3.2.8 Societies and Associations

Like the educational, medical, and religious institutions described in the previous subsections of the chapter, the societies and associations in the proposed French Canadian culture core area served many socio-economic and interest groups of French Canadian society in Montreal. Like most of the above institutions, many of the societies and associations were sponsored, or at least recognized, by the Church. The societies and associations, unlike the schools, refuges, and hospitals were not initially housed in formal or attractive institutional edifices; nor did they have important individual benefactors. During the nineteenth century, members of small social and cultural organizations usually met in a spare floor

Plate 8: Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes,
1879-Present, fronting on St. Catherine Street.
From Le Diocèse, 1900, p. 165.

of a house or in unused space in some of the larger institutions. Today, two of the longstanding societies or clubs occupy their own prestigious properties in the area, or in its vicinity, while the spatial imprint of other associations is less obvious.

3.2.9 Union St. Joseph and Mutual Benefit Societies

St. Jacques, like many Catholic parishes in Montreal, contained the small branch offices of several mutual benefit societies. The quasi-commercial societies offered an "egalitarian" alternative to conventional life insurance companies, which employed more stringent age and health requirements. Such societies were particularly attractive to lower-income artisans and labourers (Sweeny, 1978:264-265). Founded in 1852, Union St. Jacques was the first French Catholic mutual benefit society in Montreal and possibly the first in North America (Plinquet, 1866:24; Le Diocèse, 1900:188). The Union had several successive temporary meeting rooms within an area of six blocks east and west of the study area.

In 1857 the Union constructed a three-storey building on the corner of St. Catherine and St. Elizabeth Streets (two blocks west of the study area) near the first meeting place of the society. Most of the over 130 members of Union St. Joseph who subscribed to the construction of the headquarters lived within central east and east end Montreal. Many of the prominent French Canadian (not members) who contributed to the construction of the headquarters lived within the nearby prestigious residential and institutional corridor between St. Denis and St. Hubert Streets (Plinquet, 1866:67-70). Until 1921, the building housed the permanent offices, meeting hall, and library of the Union which were shared with another large mutual fund, Union St. Pierre. The facilities of the Unions were also put at the disposal of other societies and clubs (Le Diocèse, 1900:190-191).

The branch offices of other Catholic Montreal-based mutual benefit societies and those of Ontario and the United States, such as the Catholic Mutual Benefit Association and the International Order of

Foresters, tended to cluster at three locations within the study area into the 1920s. These included two former St. Denis Street residences, one of which hosted the Club St. Denis and the Union des Commis Marchands (a salesmen's mutual fund and recreational society), and a Berri Street house near the corner of Lagauchetière Street (Le Diocèse, 1900:146 and 155; Lovell's, 1870 ... 1910).

3.2.10 Club Canadien and Club St. Denis

The Club Canadien and Club St. Denis, two gentlemen's clubs, are the longest surviving of the societies located in the study area; they have maintained addresses in the area, or just outside its boundaries, since the 1870s.

Cercle St. Denis was organized in 1865 as a recreational and meeting place for professionals and businessmen of St. Jacques Parish. Established with the encouragement of a former parish priest, the club was located in the basement of Ecole St. Jacques (Le Diocèse, 1900:165). The Cercle was renamed the Club Canadien in 1874 when it was also relieved of any religious or political affiliation; while its church-associated predecessor survived into the present century (Le Diocèse, 1900:195; Le Club Canadien, 1972:7). By 1881 the Club Canadien had moved into a fashionable residence on Dorchester Street at the corner of Berri Street and since 1926 has been located in a larger and more elegant residence on the always prestigious Sherbrooke Street (Plate 9).

The Cercle de l'Union, founded in 1874 and renamed Club St. Denis in 1880, was initially situated in a St. Denis Street house near Lagauchetière Street (Plate 14). The house and adjacent addresses were the former residences of several prominent French Canadian businessmen. In 1900 the secular Club St. Denis was also relocated to a more spacious Sherbrooke Street house at the corner of Laval Street, just outside the study area. The St. Denis clubhouse has since undergone significant expansion and continues to occupy a modern austere-looking building opposite the former Académie Mont

Plate 9:

Club Canadien, 1924-Present, fronting on Sherbrooke Street. c. 1949.

From AMM, file No. R3080.2.

St. Louis (Appendix E). The club's former St. Denis Street premises remained in use by several other cultural and recreational associations and societies until 1908 when it became the first wing of Hôpital St. Luc.

The elite gentlemen's clubs grew out of the interests of the middle and upper-income groups in the study area and complemented the central commercial-retail activity on St. Catherine Street East and, to a lesser extent, on St. Denis Street from the early 1870s into the 1940s (the subject of Chapter Four).

The two gentlemen's clubs are among the few survivors of the upper and middle-class institutions and associations in the study area (since its socio-economic decline which began in the mid-1930s) and, thus, represent a continuing interest in the culture core under study by affluent French Canadians in Montreal. The longevity of the clubs' locations may be attributed to their elegant Sherbrooke Street addresses. Sherbrooke Street, a unique Montreal axis which has never lost its prestige despite functional and social changes in its environs, continues to complement and reinforce the attractive image of the study area. Other factors contributing to the clubs' locational longevity may be the socio-economic stability of the members themselves and thus the stability of their preferred societies. While the Clubs Canadien and St. Denis are not the only French Canadian gentlemen's clubs in Montreal, they are the largest, with memberships which, unlike other clubs of their kind, are not expected to decline (La Presse, March 31, 1979).

3.2.11 Time Period 1818-1879--Conclusion

The social proximity which was reflected in the institutional and residential diversity of the study area was not unusual in old nineteenth century cities. In the "pedestrian city" the poor man and the wealthy, the artisan and the professional lived within walking distance of, or a short ride from, closely bound places of work, recreation, and socialization. The degree of social heterogeneity in the study area was greater than in most nineteenth century Montreal wards (Hanna and Olson, 1983:264).

In the Montreal study area, a small group of philanthropists donated the early institutional sites and public areas which have provided the foundations for the diverse and ongoing French Canadian institutional landscape which has characterized the study area through time.

Eglise St. Jacques and Place St. Jacques, initiated by the Viger and Papineau families, became urban fixtures around which central academic and commercial institutions, as well as regional charitable facilities, would cluster in the following century. Charitable institutions (some rather innovative in the city), which provided social and health care services for the large regional working-class population, were established by three other benefactors. Messieurs Lacroix, Berthelet, and Cherrier, who ceded lands and money for the construction of the large Providence, Miséricorde, and Frères de la Charité compounds also chose to live in proximity to their "oeuvres."

Concurrently, a prestigious residential district was being developed within the evolving institutional corridor of the study area. The area attracted wealthy French Canadian residents from the major social, cultural, and political circles in Quebec. They proceeded to establish or demand institutions and associations which served the specific needs of the bourgeoisie and the elite. These institutions were, however, situated adjacent to the growing social services for the poor.

Early in the nineteenth century, the Soeurs de la Providence convent (and charities) were constructed adjacent to the Cathédrale St. Jacques. The public schools, Orphelinat St. Alexis and Ecole St. Jacques, were situated a short distance from (and some functioned in association with) the private schools, Académie St. Denis, Externat St. Ignace, and the Jardin de l'Enfance St. Joseph. Similarly, the Union St. Joseph mutual benefit society was situated within walking distance of the prestigious gentlemen's clubs, St. Denis and Canadien; the construction of the workingmen's society headquarters was partially supported by men who may have been

attracted to those exclusive clubs. This social and spatial proximity in the study area was mostly disintegrated during the post World War II years.

The cluster of community and central city institutions and associations (complemented by the affluent residential district and central business development) which was established in the study area by 1879 proceeded to be expanded as it provided the foundations for a French Canadian culture core area in the city. The characteristic longevity of institutions and of institutional sites, the successive inhabitation and participation in the area by French Canadians from many niches of society (including significant interest in the area by the Province since the 1960s) have all contributed to the continuity and revival of the early central French Canadian cultural focus of the study area.

Quartier Latin and Emergent Health Care Node--1880-1929

3.3 Introduction

The construction of cultural and social institutions was pursued more intensely during this second time period of the study. The result was the evolution of a Quartier Latin juxtaposed to an expansion of charitable social and medical facilities. The Quartier Latin consisted of elite cultural and academic institutions and related retail and industrial activity. This core of central and innovative French Canadian cultural institutions and associations was centred on the Université Laval à Montreal and rested within the affluent French Canadian residential district, the prestige of which lasted until the 1910s. The Quartier Latin, however, was at its peak of activity during the 1920s, while its popularity persisted into the early 1940s (Lovell, 1900 ... 1940). French Canadian-dominated central business activity was also pursued successfully during this second time period.

By contrast, new and existing health care facilities were directed primarily at the growing population of working-class families and the homeless of St. Jacques Ward and central east Montreal. The development of a medical or health care node in the area grew out of the proximity of the Université, many doctors' offices, and the early concentration of social and health care facilities operated by religious orders.

The continued diversity of institutions in the area contributed to the dual structure of the study area as both an emergent central city area and French Canadian culture core.

3.3.1 The Université de Montréal and the Quartier Latin

The single most important institution which was established in the study area was the Université Laval à Montréal. The university instilled a cultural centrality in the area and contributed to the institutional and commercial diversification of the study area.¹ The university quarter, or "Quartier Latin," which emerged during the 1920s, is the historical and functional basis for the institutional and commercial revitalization in the area since the early 1970s.

In 1893 the Sulpicians donated to the Université Laval a relatively modest-sized parcel of land on St. Denis Street, south of St. Catherine Street, and advanced a leniently-termed loan for the construction of the main university edifice (SAUM, (D35), no. 1440; Maurault, 1952:23). This tract was previously endowed to the

¹ Académie Marchand, a women's college, and Académie Mont St. Louis, a noted private boys' high school in the city, preceeded the establishment of the Université Laval in the study area (Appendix E).

Sulpicians by a fellow priest, Victor Rousselot,¹ who had purchased the land from the Séminaire du Québec after it had acquired the land from Côme-Seraphin Cherrier (Appendix A) in 1882.

Opened in 1895, the city's first French Catholic university campus, the Université Laval (a branch of the Quebec City institution), was appropriately located adjacent to Eglise St. Jacques, the site of the city's first permanent cathedral. The Beaux Arts style edifice on St. Denis Street, the Central Building (Plate 10), housed three of the four original faculties of the university, established between 1878 and 1887 at Old City and Pine Avenue locations (Université de Montréal, 1933:4; Maurault, 1952:22). The Université Laval à Montréal gained autonomy from the Quebec City campus and from the Church and was renamed the Université de Montréal in 1919, by which time several other buildings and respective new affiliated and annexed schools were added to the campus within the study area (Figure 3.4) (Appendix G).

The Ecole Polytechnique, a college for the applied sciences, was founded in 1873 by the premier of Québec² at the urging of two leading Quebec educators. The Ecole was one of Canada's first engineering colleges which promised to reduce the country's total dependence on British and American expertise (La Presse, January 20, 1973). The polytechnical institute became affiliated with the Université Laval in 1898 (having been annexed in 1887) and its engineering and architectural departments were transferred to a new building behind Place St. Jacques in 1905 (Plate 11). Loan guarantees for the construction of the building were provided by the provincial government, as were the college's subsequent yearly subsidies (BEM, Quartier St. Louis cadastral

¹Father Rousselot put a condition on the bequest which stated that if the Sulpicians chose not to complete payment on the tract the proceeds of its sale were to be used to build a social centre for the youth of St. Jacques Parish (BEM, Quartier St. Jacques cadastral Nos. 432-1 to 432-18).

²Gédéon Ouimet, the premier of Quebec and Ministre de l'Instruction Publique, was a St. Hubert Street resident from 1863 to 1873.

Plate 10: Central Building of the Université Laval à Montréal and of the Université de Montréal, 1895-1942, Ecole Centrale des Arts et Métiers, 1947-1952, Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux, 1955-1966. Fronting on

St. Denis Street. From Service des Archives, Université de Montréal, Maurault, 1952, p. 25.

QUARTIER LATIN and HEALTH CARE NODE 1880-1929

Figure 3.4

Plate 11: Ecole Polytechnique, 1902-1958, Ecole des
Arts Appliquées, 1959-1968, Bibliothèque Nationale
du Québec annex, 1979-Present. St. Denis Street.
From Communauté urbaine de Montréal, 1981, p. 187.

Nos. 441-445, Acte E47 105898). The building underwent several expansions and was occupied by the faculty until 1958 when the Ecole Polytechnique was removed to the new Université de Montréal campus.

The Ecole des Hautes Commerciales (H.E.C.) was founded by the provincial government in 1907 and, like the Ecole Polytechnique, was retained as an independent corporation. Four years later, the elegant H.E.C. building was opened opposite Place Viger, at the corner of St. Hubert Street (Plate 12). The large parcel of land was composed of several private estates, including a vacant tract owned by the French (from France) association, the Union Nationale Français (Appendix F). The H.E.C. became affiliated with the Université in 1915 and was not removed from its central east location until 1970. The H.E.C. building became the property of the Quebec Ministry of Education in 1965 which has leased it to Dawson CEGEP (an English-language college) since the early 1970s.

Both the H.E.C. and the Ecole Polytechnique represented a departure from the traditional emphasis on theological, legal, and medical training at the Université Laval and at Quebec seminaries. These innovative schools are among the most highly regarded of institutions to evolve out of late nineteenth century policies in Quebec to restructure French-language education and to direct students into the province's industrial, technological, and financial communities (Jamieson, 1938:41; Heap, 1981:597).

Following the fires suffered by the Université de Montréal in the 1920s, plans were immediately initiated to enlarge or relocate the campus which was also short of space.¹ While most suggested locations within the city's east end or the study area, it was a suburban site on the northwest slope of Mount Royal which was selected in 1927 (Maurault, 1952:28). This city-owned property was located adjacent to Outremont, by then the prestigious, upper-income, French Canadian residential enclave on the mountain (Simpson, 1979:5-6). Subsequent

¹By 1929 the Université de Montréal had occupied three additional annexes west of the study area.

Platé 12:

Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, 1909-1969,

Viger Campus of Dawson CEGEP, 1971-Present.

Viger Avenue. From Communauté Urban de.

Montréal, 1981, p. 57.

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financial difficulties delayed the relocation of the Université de Montréal from the study area until 1942 (Maurault, 1952:31).

3.3.2 The Quartier Latin--Institutional and Commercial Diversification

Centred on the Université de Montréal, Montreal's Quartier Latin was concentrated along St. Hubert and St. Denis Street from about 1920 to the early 1940s. The Quartier Latin was comprised of mainstream French Canadian academic and cultural institutions (of municipal and provincial importance), as well as cafés and other businesses which, orientated toward university activities, were popular haunts of students, academics, artists, and musicians.

... au cours des années '30, c'était le quartier, le plus vivant, le plus attachant, le plus français de Montréal. Il possédait un cachet, une personnalité, dont il ne reste plus, malheureusement, que quelque vestiges (La Presse, December 16, 1972).

Commercial diversification in the Quartier Latin area, since the 1910s, may be attributed primarily to three factors. First, a large university population supported special retail and personal services located in the area. Secondly, academic expertise and the local core of medical facilities attracted small, auxiliary technical and chemical industries. The third factor in the commercial diversification of the area was a spillover effect from the late nineteenth century medium and large scale retail activity along St. Catherine Street East (Chapter Four).

In 1915 the Sulpicians moved their library from the old city to larger premises in the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, a fine Beaux Arts structure constructed at their own expense on the west side of St. Denis Street. The new Bibliothèque St. Sulpice was one of the largest libraries of its kind in the city and in the province open to the public (La Ferrière, 1966:4). From 1921 to about 1931, the Sulpicians granted study and shelf space to the Université's overcrowded library. The Sulpician library, which continues to house a large and unique collection of French and Québécois literature and archival

material, also functioned as a popular exhibition and meeting place for Montreal artists during the Quartier Latin period (Plate 13).

The Conservatoire Nationale de la Musique, founded in 1905, was initially located in a former St. Catherine Street residence east of St. Denis Street (SAUM, (1905), No. 1067). The Conservatoire acquired a larger locale in the former mission house of the Soeurs des Saints Noms Jésus et Marie in 1928,¹ while plans to build a formal conservatory beside the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice were cancelled in 1931 (Le Devoir, May 25, 1931). Several other more ephemeral music and voice schools were located in the Quartier Latin during this period. The Conservatoire Nationale was affiliated with the Université de Montréal in 1930 and, by 1942, it became the provincially funded Conservatoire de la Musique et de l'Art Dramatique. The Conservatoire occupied temporary facilities at the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice from 1944 to 1960 when it was moved to the Old Montreal court house which is presently occupied by the province's Ministère des Affaires Culturelles.

Cafés and restaurants flourished in and added colour to the Quartier Latin. Café St. Jacques, situated in the former Ecole St. Jacques building from 1924 to 1972, was among the most popular. The restaurant Kerhulu et Odias (adjacent to the once fashionable Hôtel Pennsylvania, now Hôtel Jacques Viger) was perhaps the most prestigious. Théâtre St. Denis, a private enterprise, was constructed on St. Denis Street in 1917. It was as attractive to bourgeoisie patrons, who continued to frequent the area in the 1940s, as it was to the Quartier Latin habitués. Subsequently converted into a movie house, Théâtre St. Denis was reopened as a top-rated showcase for international and Québécois musicians in the mid-1970s (Montréal-Matin, August 10, 1978).

Chemical and pharmaceutical companies and medical and dental laboratories (of which a couple remain) were concentrated near the many

¹The former mission depot of the Soeurs des Saints Noms Jésus et Marie, originally donated to the Order, had served as a painting and dressmaking workshop for the area's well-to-do women from 1891 to 1926 (Le Diocèse, 1900:74).

Plate 13:

Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, 1915-1968,

Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec,

1969-Present. St. Denis Street.

From Communauté urbaine de Montréal,

1981, p. 25.

medical facilities and doctors' offices in the study area until the 1950s. Printing and publishing companies were at their peak of activity between 1925 and 1940: the newspaper Le Petit Journal and a printing company occupied adjacent offices on St. Denis Street. Other publications produced in the area included La Patriote and l'Actualité Economique (the latter produced at the H.E.C.). The offices and presses of the popular newspaper Le Patrie were situated a short distance to the west, on St. Catherine Street. The Librarie d'Action Canadienne and the Librairie Beauchemin, two major French-language Montreal-based publishing firms, were located on St. Denis and De Montigny Streets. The presence of the universities, the industries, and the medical facilities also spawned an unusually large number of pharmacies and bookstores in the area, some of which had remained in situ for decades (Lovell, 1920 ... 1950; La Presse, December 16, 1972). The many noted publications which were produced in the study area are cited as a vital component of the French Canadian culture and commercial core area, rather than as an early stage in the formation of a specialized printing and publishing node in the periphery of the city's downtown core.

3.3.3 Quartier Latin--Residential Facet

The presence of the affluent French Canadian residential district within the study area was an important factor in the establishment of the educational and artistic institutions concentrated around St. Denis Street and Place Viger. From the 1850s until about 1920, a list of residents in the area could have read like a "who's who" of contemporary Québec politics and socio-cultural development (Appendix I). Many of these residents were also founding or active members of the Université Laval à Montréal, and of the Ecole Polytechnique and the H.E.C. They, unlike the earlier group of philanthropists who lived in the area, did not contribute directly to the large-scale financing of the institutional sites as this initially was undertaken mostly by the Sulpician seminary and subsequently by the provincial government.

Even as late as 1901, the study area hosted what was perhaps the heaviest concentration of doctors' and lawyers' residences and adjoining offices in the city; it was a residential preference which declined gradually by the 1920s (Lovell, 1900 ... 1925; Olson and Hanna, 1981).

Concurrent with commercial growth, the residential profile of the study area was altered after the turn of the twentieth century as upper income groups sought out less congested and more exclusive suburban residential districts. In response to the increasing demand for low-rent housing in the central east study area, several four to six storey apartment and office-apartment buildings were constructed during the 1910s and 1920s; they were located primarily on St. Denis, Berri, and Sherbrooke Streets. Some of the once fashionable single-family dwellings in the area were also subdivided into apartment units, while others were maintained as boarding houses,¹ rooming-houses and, in recent decades, as tourists' rooms.

Until the 1940s, the study area continued to attract some middle-income residents, such as people associated with medical and educational facilities in the locale and merchants. Concurrently, as professional residents abandoned the area, many apartments, particularly on Dorchester and Sherbrooke Streets, were rented out as doctors' and lawyers' offices until the 1950s. The relatively small size of the apartment buildings, and the many units into which they were divided, suggests most tenants were either single persons or couples without children as the area increasingly acted as a reception centre for rural immigrants and, since the 1950s, for drifters and the unemployed (Lovell, 1910 ... 1970; Provincial Electoral Lists, 1981).

¹It should be noted that several boarding-houses had appeared in the study area before the close of the nineteenth century; some of these were "pensionnats" where men and women of means and advanced in age chose to be boarded (L'Oeil, October 15, 1948).

3.3.4 Emergent Medical Node

Social heterogeneity continued to characterize the French Canadian study area until the early 1940s (Table 3, p. 81). The set of nineteenth century social and health care institutions, directed primarily at the poor, was expanded during the second time period. Medical care and disease prevention were greatly lacking in the low-income, high-density populations of St. Jacques and St. Louis Wards which were traditionally situated adjacent to the study area's elite institutional and residential corridor.¹

The specialized medical node for the poor, however, grew parallel to and in association with the expertise available at the university community. The spatial and social proximity of medical nodes to educational and other cultural nodes within the CBD area or downtown periphery is not unusual in large North American cities (Yeates and Garner, 1976:315-316). In central Montreal, to the west of the study area, McGill University and several English-language medical institutes have long dominated the southern flank of Mount Royal (Figure 1.2).

The first wards of the Hôpital St. Luc were opened in 1909 in the former Club St. Denis address on St. Denis Street (Plate 14). The 1909 charter of this secular French-language hospital specified that it specialize in the diseases of school-age children, administer to the health needs of the poor, and provide health education free of charge. The privately-administered hospital depended on private donations and municipal subsidies. Hôpital St. Luc became a teaching hospital of the Université Laval and operated a nursing school; likewise, the Miséricorde maternity centre (which was expanded into a regional metropolitan hospital) had been a teaching hospital since 1914. Hôpital St. Luc underwent major site expansions during the 1930s and the 1950s (l'Union Médicale du Canada, 1932, vol. 61, No. 2:211) (Plate 15; Figure 3.5, p. 87).

¹In the 1910s, as in previous decades, mortality rates in east end working-class wards were among the worst in Montreal and in Canada (Bernier, 1975:48-49).

Plate 14: Club St. Denis, 1880-1900. First wing
of Hôpital St. Luc, 1909-c. 1930, fronting on
St. Denis Street. 1912. From Bibliothèque
Nationale du Québec, Collection E. Z. Massicotte,
Album des rues.

Plate 15:

Hôpital St. Luc, c. 1935, fronting St. Denis Street.

From AMM, Photography Collection N. Z-121.

The Hôpital St. Luc was complemented by the establishment of the Institut Bruchesi tuberculosis hospital (which remained in the area until 1955), ephemeral small private clinics, and the expanded convent facilities. These were components of an evolving social and health care node in the study area which also contained an important concentration of physicians' offices and residences and medical laboratories. New social and charitable facilities included both the Jardin de l'Enfance St. Joseph, an early form of day-care centre for working-class mothers (Appendix B) and the men's hostel, l'Assistance Publique (Appendix H). It was the continuing need for increased medical and social facilities in St. Jacques Parish and the larger central east area, combined with the professional and academic activity in the university quarter, which contributed to the development of a medical node in the study area.

3.3.5 Societies and Associations

The few mutual benefit societies which escaped bankruptcy during the first World War were situated in apartment-office buildings and the one important office building, the Edifice Dandurand, in the study area (subsection 4.10). The Union St. Joseph (subsection 3.2.9) and other mutual benefit societies were absorbed in large part by two Montreal-based insurance companies, l'Alliance Nationale (Plate 2) and the Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français (Sweeny, 1978:264-265) (Plate 16). These companies established two small office buildings which represented components of the early central business structure of the study area. Otherwise, the working-class was represented by one or two labour union offices in the area (subsection 3.4.5).

Many of the societies and associations established in the study area from 1900 to 1929 grew out of the community of academics, artists, and professionals who frequented the local cultural and post-secondary educational institutions. Some associations responded to the local working-class population and constantly increasing need for charitable services in the larger area. Some associations became obsolete or were

Plate 16:

Société des Artisans Canadiens-Français Building,
1922-1950. From Bibliothèque Nationale du
Québec, Collection E: Z. Massicotté,
Album des rues.

relocated out of the study area, while others remained in situ and indirectly helped to effect the revitalization of the area since the early 1970s.

The university and Quartier Latin drew several academic and cultural associations, as well as some professional societies, to the offices and former residential buildings of the study area. The Cercle Universitaire, an association of French Canadian academics, was situated on Sherbrooke Street adjacent to the addresses of the gentlemen's Clubs Canadien and St. Denis from 1926 to 1965. From the St. Denis Street address of the Ligue d'Action Française (another university associated association) was disseminated a large amount of literature by key French Canadian nationalist leaders of the early twentieth century during the 1920s (Trofimenkoff, 1975:28-29).

Several more ephemeral associations of artists, writers, and musicians were situated in rented offices and apartments, mainly in the area of St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets, beginning in the 1920s. These included the l'Alliance Artistique Canadiens Français, the Musicians Protective Association, and the Société des Écrivains. Some of the societies survived the decline of the Quartier Latin era and became part of the "Little bohemia" which emerged around Carré St. Louis (Square) in the early 1960s. Some of the artists and artisans who frequented the area were the young businessmen who subsequently initiated the recent commercial revitalization around the square, notably the multi-ethnic Prince Arthur Street to the west, and St. Denis Street to the east, since the late 1960s (The Montreal Star, March 26, 1977).

3.3.6 Time Period 1880-1929--Conclusion

During the second time period, a nucleus of innovative and unique French Canadian institutions of higher education, the arts, and related associations constituted the study area's lively Quartier Latin. Together these elite institutions and smaller-scale artists and academic associations formed a vital crossroad of mainstream and

2

avant garde French Canadian cultural and professional activity in Montreal until the early 1940s. The Université Laval à Montréal and the Université de Montréal were the city's first French-language university campuses. The Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, the Ecole Polytechnique, and the Académie Mont St. Louis directed students toward careers in commerce and technology. The Conservatoire Nationale de la Musique and the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice were key resource and gathering places for members of the city's French Canadian scholarly and artistic community.

Even after the Université de Montréal (the focus of the Quartier Latin) was relocated from the central east area, several elite educational institutions continued to draw some of the city's French Canadian intelligentsia to the study area. The intentional maintenance of some of the elite and bourgeoisie institutional sites and the longevity of others thus prolonged the interest in the area by members of the city's French Canadian bourgeoisie and professional classes. (Since the 1960s, contemporary Québécois bureaucrats and young merchants have initiated the institutional and commercial revitalization of the area). The university, library, and conservatory situated in the study area represented key French Canadian cultural institutions and comprised the core of the study area's Quartier Latin. These longstanding institutions, which drew people from a municipal and provincial hinterland, represent focal points of cultural and public activity in the city centre and have thus contributed to both the urban and cultural centrality of the study area in Montreal.

The concurrent reinforcement of the nineteenth century network of charitable, social, and medical institutions contributed to the (central east) regional importance of the study area to French Canadian working-class groups. The establishment of the subsidized Hôpital St. Luc, the Institut Bruchesi, and university-associated clinics, as well as the expansion of facilities at the Soeurs de la Providence and Miséricorde compounds, were stimulated by the obvious need for such services in the larger St. Jacques Ward area and were enhanced by academic activity at the Université Laval.

The social diversity of the study area began to break down as middle- and upper-income residents and businessmen began to abandon the once affluent district which subsequently merged with the adjacent working-class wards. The demographic and functional transition in the study area, evident by the end of the second time period, also coincided with the transition from philanthropic financing and Church direction of social and cultural institutions toward the private and, increasingly, governmental administration of socio-cultural facilities. Following the transition, the Province emerged as the most recent (and dominant) participant in the maintenance of the study area as a major French Canadian and institutional core in Montreal.

Working-Class Quarter and Zone in Transition--1930-1969

3.4 Introduction

The study area lapsed into a prolonged condition of socio-economic stagnation and decline beginning early in the 1930s. The support of cultural institutions and commercial growth was curtailed during the Depression period; plans to expand the Conservatoire Nationale de la Musique were thwarted, the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice was closed temporarily, and the Université de Montréal was put into trusteeship. Following the Depression, central city economic activity was increasingly directed away from central east Montreal and the old city, toward the present dominant CBD core to the west.

Functionally and residentially, the area gradually took on characteristics of a "zone of discard" in the CBD periphery. By 1951, two nodes of pivotal importance, the Université de Montréal campus and the CPR Place Viger Hotel and railway station (discussed in Chapter Four) were removed from the study area. Functional change was most evident in the transformation of the École de Réforme and Soeurs de la Providence institutions into merchandising and transportation nodes. By the 1940s, the migration of middle- and upper-income residents from the area was complete. The traditionally working-class population of

St. Jacques Ward finally filtered into the study area. Correspondingly, the Quartier Latin retail and service activity was largely transformed into neighbourhood supermarkets, hairdressers, and repair shops. Thus, the study area merged with the inner city districts in the shadow of Montreal CBD core (Lovell, 1930 ... 1970) (Table 3).

Several institutions involved with the socio-economic improvement of the French Canadian working-class were established in formerly elite institutional locations. The headquarters of three branches of the Action Catholique movement was established in the area. The St. Denis Street buildings of the former Université de Montréal campus were put into use by Quebec's Minister of Education as post-secondary technical and vocational institutes. The goal of the publicly subsidized schools was the retraining of French-speaking, working-class youth from across the province. Thus, aspects of the cultural and institutional centrality of the study area were maintained during the third time period.

3.4.1 The Decline of the Quartier Latin and the Emergence of the "Université Ouvrière"--Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux and Institut des Arts Appliquées

The increasing neglect of the Université de Montréal during the 1930s contributed to the subsequent decline of cultural and economic activity in the area's Quartier Latin (En Ville, January 8, 1968; Marsan, Le Devoir, June 14, 1972). Under government trusteeship (1939 to 1950), most of the Université buildings became the property of the Province (SAUM (35) file No. 1442).

The university and college buildings, formerly at the core of the Quartier Latin, lay the foundations for a continuing education node of central importance in the city and in the province. During this third time period, innovative educational institutions in the study area were directed at the French Canadian working-class rather than at the elite.

The Central and Ecole Polytechnique buildings (the latter vacated in 1958) of the former university campus hosted the provincially

Table 3- Occupations By Street In the Study Area, 1935

	Skilled Artisan ^a	Skilled Technical	Unskilled	Sales, Clerical	Professional ^c	Services ^b , Office	Doctor	Civil Service	Religious	Artisan	Other	Sub-Total	Women Without Stated Occupation	TOTAL
Grain	8	2	9	8	6	4	24	1			7	69	24	93
Viger	19	9	14	6	7	2	8	1			5	70	6	76
LaGauchetière	43	15	20	20	11	9	7	8			18	151	77	228
Dorchester	51	20	29	20	23	9	8	6		2	29	199	159	358
St. Catherine	22	1	12	2	3	4			20	3	18	109	42	147
De Montigny	17	2	7	8	4	2		1		1	13	55	54	109
Ontario	18	27	29	18	7	13		1		13	13	145	120	265
Sherbrooke	13	11	15	32	55	5	1	5			35	172	145	317
St. André	131	81	143	67	46	18	18	14	9	2	94	623	293	916
St. Christophe	131	59	109	59	31	17	5	6		2	51	490	391	881
Labelle	98	11	12	23	6	3	1	1			18	91	78	169
St. Hubert	182	223	98	165	104	85	12	25			159	1053	336	1389
Berri	79	60	60	74	55	16	35	17	2	6	88	512	218	730
St. Denis	72	54	37	78	89	18	13	14	2	4	80	461	276	737
Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Ln Saville Lane Providence Lane	23	7	25	5	4	1	4	1	28	2	12	118	91	209
TOTAL	948	582	637	585	469	226	116	101	61	22	640	5108	2310	7418

^a"Services" include waiters and drivers.^b"Other" and "Artisan" include: private businessmen and merchants.^c"Professional" includes professional offices, especially 22 doctors' offices on St. Denis Street.

Source: Federal Electoral List, 1935, St. Jacques Ward, Federal Archives of Canada, microfilm reel No. 40

funded technical schools, the Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux and the Institut des Arts Appliquées, from 1947 to 1968. These two schools, preceded by the Ecole du Meuble (in the former Académie Marchand building (Appendix E) were branches of the Ecole Technique, situated a few blocks west of the study area since 1911 (Audet, 1971:294). The Central building subsequently contained the Province's Ministry of Education offices for technical instruction.

The establishment of the schools was part of a long history of provincially subsidized technical and commercial instruction for low-income Quebecers (l'Œil, October 15, 1947; Heap, 1981). The trade schools, located within the city's central east, were appropriately situated adjacent to districts which have traditionally housed heavy concentrations of unskilled and semi-skilled workers. During its first year, the Ecole Centrale des Arts et Metiers (the previous title of the schools) received over 2,500 students from across the province.

The objective of the post-secondary, democratic, educational policy met with only partial success at the Ecole des Metiers Commerciaux and the Institut des Arts Appliquées, as it was a large proportion of students from the middle-classes, many of them Anglo Montrealers, who were attracted to the trades and technical courses (AMM, file No. R3115.2). With the existence of the Ecole Polytechnique into the 1950s and the H.E.C. until 1970, the institutions in the area also continued to attract members of the French Canadian middle-class into the fourth time period of the study (1970-1982).

While the Quartier Latin had been disbanded during the mid-1940s, innovative educational institutions continued to be located in the area, part of the explanation being the suitable provincial property in the study area. The innovative curricula at the colleges and the Université de Montréal, situated in the study area during the previous time period, represented important benchmarks in the modernization and secularization of higher elite education in Quebec. Subsequently, the establishment of the Ecole des Metier Commerciaux and the Institut des Arts Appliquées was an important transition period in the history of public education for the working-class in Quebec (Audet, 1964;

Hunte, 1964). Since the late 1960s, the limited number of technical colleges gave way to an expanded province-wide network of CEGEPs, subsidized vocational and professional education. Two CEGEPs were subsequently established in the study area and constituted early components in the institutional and commercial revitalization of the study area, beginning early in the 1970s.

3.4.2 The Bibliothèque Nationale

The other key institution of the former Quartier Latin was the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice. Closed between 1931 and 1941, it was subsequently purchased by the Quebec government. The building housed the province's Conservatoire du Musique et d'Art Dramatique until the 1960s. During the following decade, the Bibliothèque also housed a librarians' association and the privately initiated Cinémathèque Québécoise. The library was renamed the Bibliothèque Nationale in 1968 as it became part of an expanded mandate to preserve and enlarge the provincial library and archives.¹ The Bibliothèque Nationale presently rents storage space in part of the former Ecole Polytechnique edifice, now a UQAM property.

3.4.3 Hôpital St. Luc

Hôpital St. Luc underwent major expansion in the 1930s and the 1950s. The Hôpital St. Luc administration was the first in the city to sign a contract with the police department to provide beds for victims of accidents and violent crimes in the downtown area; the contract was signed in 1941. This reflected the increasing proximity of the hospital to a nearby high-crime area on the southern portion of Boulevard St. Laurent, as well as to the adjacent densely populated

¹The Bibliothèque Nationale has subsequently expanded into two more annexes, open to the public, at former institutional buildings a short distance from the study area.

working-class wards. The Hôpital St. Luc and the Hôpital Miséricorde (the Hôpital Jacques Viger since 1974; subsection 3.5.1) are presently the two remaining working-class French Canadian institutions in the study area.

The enlarged Hôpital St. Luc has been part of a twelve-block axis of hospitals and health-care facilities east and west of the study area since the 1950s. The medical care axis is one of several medical nodes within Montreal's downtown periphery. Since the 1950s, the section of St. Denis Street between Dorchester and Viger Streets has been dominated by hospital-related services, including a few doctors' and dentists' offices, a medical uniform store, a flower shop, a nurses' union, and by the administrative annex of Hôpital St. Luc.¹ The latter was purchased from the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux in 1980. The headquarters of the Société Ambulance St. Jean, situated in the study area in 1969, is the latest new health care facility in the area (Plate 18, p. 102).

3.4.4 Ecole de Réforme and Soeurs de la Providence Compounds-- Transportation Node

During the third time period, the Ecole de Réforme and the Soeurs de la Providence charitable compounds were relocated out of the study area. These two nineteenth century institutional sites were removed from the socio-cultural milieu of the study area as ensuing functional changes put the area within the "zone of transition" or "frame" of Montreal's CBD core. The transportation and merchandising nodes which replaced the institutions represented typical redevelopment projects found within the periphery of most large Canadian cities since the 1950s and 1960s (Nader, vol. 2, 1976).

¹The rest of the street is comprised of rooming-houses and restaurants, most of which are located in the once fashionable nineteenth century residences.

The Ecole de Réforme remained a reformatory until 1930, when the city purchased the entire property from the Frères de la Charité, who relocated the school many blocks to the east. While the city's purpose for the site was not clear, the timely decision was made to use the building as a municipal refuge for unemployed men until the 1940s. City Hall, however, received at least one petition from St. Jacques Ward tenants and proprietors in protest of the decision. Some of the reasons stated in a 1933 petition were:

1. ... la Cité n'aurait rien à gagner en concentrant au coeur de la Ville un nombre considérable de nécessiteux.
3. ... incompatible avec le caractère résidentiel du quartier St. Jacques.
4. ... les institutions religieuses et éducationnelles voisins ... souffriraient de sa présence.
6. ... nuirait ... aux établissement de commerce.
8. ... déprecierait la valeur de la propriété (AMM, file No. R4825.2).

While this was a small petition, the criticisms expressed well reflect the diverse residential, institutional, and commercial landscape of the study area and the perception of its location within the "heart of the city" at the time.

During the 1930s and 1940s, several alternate suggestions for the site were presented by various groups (the most active of which was l'Est Central Commercial, a local businessmen's association). The suggestions which received the most attention were the regional headquarters of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation and a major municipal auditorium or civic centre. These would have constituted, respectively, poles of gravitation for the further central business integration and the institutional continuity in the study area (AMM, file No. R4825.2; Dansereau, 1946). While the Maison Radio-Canada (CBC) was finally constructed several blocks east of the study area (1972), it is highly visible from and is generally perceived to be part of the contemporary

commercial and institutional structure of central east Montreal (Services des Archives, UQAM, Consultas October 1971) (Figure 3.7).

The former Ecole de Réforme site was converted to commercial use in 1950 as City Council sold half of the former reform school site to the Provincial Transport Company for its Voyageur and interprovincial bus terminus and leased the remaining parcel of land to Palais de Commerce (Show Mart) Inc. Each, it was hoped, would raise land values and revive business interest in the area (Le Canada, December 4, 1947; The Gazette, November 7, 1948). The result was the emergence of a short-term merchandising and an ongoing transportation node in the eastern periphery of downtown Montreal (Appendix J) (Figure 3.5).

The services for the poor and homeless at the Asile de la Providence and their Orphelinat St. Alexis and the private school, Jardin de l'Enfance, were maintained until 1963.¹ The Providence property was sold to the City in 1963 in order to facilitate the excavation of the Berri-De-Montigny Metro terminus and transfer station at the intersection of the city's first two metro lines, which were put into service in 1966.

The planning of the Montreal subway system was initiated early in the 1940s. Preliminary transportation reports recommended that the first east-west metro line be aligned to St. Catherine Street, the city's major retail axis, while the north-south subway alignment offered at least two options since "the north and south median of population in the metropolitan area was about 500 feet east of St. Lawrence Boulevard" (Montreal Tramway Company, 1944:17). Within this densely populated working-class area (which transects the Island), the two major automobile and public transportation axes were St. Laurent Boulevard and St. Denis Street (Beauregard, 1951b; Advisory Committee, 1954:5).

¹By 1952 Orphelinat St. Alexis had received over 4,000 girls and the Jardin de l'Enfance had graduated over 8,000 students (La Patrie, December 14, 1952; Le Petit Journal, March 15, 1953).

WORKINGMEN'S QUARTER and ZONE IN TRANSITION: 1930-1969

Figure

The transport commission's 1953 study opted for the St. Denis and St. Catherine Street corridors. The central transfer station would be situated in central east Montreal, thus giving the study area a new importance. During the nineteenth century, the Soeurs de la Providence site had responded to the educational needs of a small core of wealthy residents, as well as to the social needs of a large working-class population within and adjacent to the study area. The site was subsequently selected as the appropriate subway terminus location to serve the contemporary densely populated belt of transit users, where it also transects the city's main retail outlet.

In 1961 it was recognized that the excavation of metro tunnels and stations directly beneath St. Catherine and St. Denis Streets would result in the destabilization of commerce and in the destruction of favoured and historic streetscapes in the city. Instead, Berri Street, one street east of St. Denis, and Boulevard de Maisonneuve (which replaced de Montigny Street in 1965), one street north of St. Catherine, were selected to "sacrifice their tranquility" and to take the effects of the expropriation and reconstruction processes (Beaudin, 1966:10-11). Extensive lengths of Berri Street and de Maisonneuve Boulevard (relieved of their institutions, houses, and small shops) were subsequently widened into inner-city highways to accommodate the increasingly heavy downtown Montreal traffic being diverted to the periphery of the CBD core. Thus, with the regional and public transit terminals, the area was partially transformed into a transportation node typically situated in the "frame" of the city's downtown core (Horwood and Boyce, 1959).

The city's metro system, in conjunction with surface bus routes, has been an unqualified success in improving the journey to work and access to the downtown for a large proportion of Montreal Island residents. The two surface entrances of the Berri-De-Montigny metro station in the study area are located on the St. Catherine Street commercial axis and at the institutional node around Place Pasteur. The Berri-De-Montigny station and the UQAM campus have probably been the most successful redevelopment and revitalization efforts in the study area. They represent the greatest aspirations for the renewed

centrality in the study area and have brought thousands of people to the area on a daily basis. The major disadvantage of the station is the reduction of pedestrian traffic in the study area.

Several commercial and institutional buildings in the area are linked underground to the station, including: Place Dupuis, the Palais de Commerce, the Voyageur Bus Terminal, and UQAM. The remainder of the former Providence tract was maintained as parking lots by the City until 1973, by which time most of these and the nearby Eglise and Ecole St. Jacques were purchased by the Université du Québec for the construction of its new campus in Montreal.

3.4.5 Societies and Associations

Similar to most institutions established in the study area between 1930 and 1969, the new societies and associations were orientated toward the French Canadian working-class population. The area contained the headoffices of two religio-nationalist associations for young French Canadians, a farmers' association, and the locals and main offices of many labour and trade unions. Most of these associations and unions were subsequently relocated outside the area during the 1970s.

3.4.6 Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique

Organized in 1932, the objective of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique (J.O.C.) was the improvement of French Canadian working-class youth through the encouragement of education, hard work, and the traditional family structure (Benoist, 1937:107).¹ J.O.C. was an early twentieth century attempt by the Church to direct French Canadians away

¹The Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, an association of university students situated on Sherbrooke Street, was a middle-class branch of the movement, while the Ligue d'Action Française (subsection 3.3.5) had similar roots in French Canadian nationalist and Catholic movements of the early twentieth century.

from non-Catholic associations for the working-class such as the Salvation Army and the Y.M.C.A.

The Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique purchased the former Académie St. Denis building (Plate 17) for its "Centrale Jociste," the headquarters of all J.O.C. sections in Quebec, Ontario, and Manitoba. The building was occupied by the J.O.C. from 1936 to the early 1960s. It subsequently moved to a St. André Street building near Dorchester Street, which also housed other Catholic youth groups. The J.O.C. headquarters is presently located in a suburb of Montreal. The abandonment of the St. Denis Street address followed the drastic decline in family population of St. Jacques Ward during the 1950s and 1960s. The Ward increasingly became a reception area for the unemployed and transients.

3.4.7 Trade and Labour Unions and the Union Catholique des Cultivateurs

Trade and labour union offices have been ephemerally situated in the study area since the mid-1920s. The Montreal Building Council and several building trade unions were located on Ontario Street near St. Christopher Street during the mid-1920s. The Union des Employés de Tramways had long maintained a local on St. Denis Street near Dorchester, from 1928 to 1952; having been appropriately located adjacent to an important bus and tramway transfer point in the city.

The main offices and locals of several national and international unions were located in the Dandurand Building since the 1950s. These included the Canadian Union of Public Employees, the Canadian Labour Congress, and the United Steelworkers of America.¹

In 1969 the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux (C.S.N.) showed what was perhaps the first renewed interest in the study area. The C.S.N., one of the first provincially based unions in Quebec, is mostly composed of French Canadian Catholic workers. Its headquarters had

¹Concurrently, several professional and artists' associations were also situated in the building.

Plate 17:

Academie St. Denis, 1863-1935, Centrale

Jociste, 1936-1961. St. Denis Street.

From Le Diocèse, 1900, p. 172.

been situated on de Montigny Street (east of the study area) since the 1940s. In 1969 the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux opened a modern eight-storey office building for its union offices at the intersection of St. Denis and Viger Streets. By 1979, however, the C.S.N. again moved to a larger facility well to the east of the study area. The St. Denis Street building has since been occupied by clinics and offices of the Hôpital St. Luc (Plate 2).

The Union Catholique des Cultivateurs (U.C.C.) was one of several associations created by Quebec farmers early in the twentieth century to improve their livelihood in a cooperative way. Founded in 1928, the U.C.C. rented several temporary Montreal offices until 1936, when it was ceded the former Mutuelle d'Assurance-Vie building on Viger Street. The donation was made by another farmers' association, the La Terre de Chez Nous (BEM, Quartier St. Jacques, cadastral No. 220, Acte D332 713916). In 1950 the U.C.C. also purchased an adjacent Berri Street building. A rural women's association was situated nearby on St. Denis Street, and a provincial agricultural council worked out of the Dandurand Building during the 1950s.

During the 1970s, the U.C.C. offices on Viger Street were joined by several secular agricultural producers' federations and the journal of the Terre de Chez Nous, all of which have been recently relocated well to the north of the study area (Plate 2).

3.4.8 Time Period 1930-1969--Conclusion

Several nineteenth century institutions were relocated from the study area during the third time period. These included the Université de Montréal, the Frères de la Charité Reform School, and the Soeurs de la Providence orphanage, school, and nursing home. The study area thus emerged as a service area for the dominant CBD core to the west, with the development of the Provincial Transport Company's Bus Terminus, the Palais du Commerce, the Berri-De-Montigny Metro Transfer Station, and the widening of Berri and De Maisonneuve Streets.

Despite the loss of certain institutions, some degree of cultural centrality was retained in the French Canadian study area. The new institutions and associations established in the area, during the third time period, were directed primarily toward the French Canadian working-class. The Institut des Arts Appliquées, the Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux, and the Ecole du Meuble, as part of an expanded system of provincially subsidized colleges, received working-class as well as middle-class Quebecers. The tradition of innovative educational institutions was thus maintained within the buildings of the former Université de Montréal campus, which was largely transferred to the Province during the period of trusteeship. Concurrently, the provincial and regional headquarters of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, the Jeunesse Etudiante Catholique, the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, and the Union Catholique des Cultivateurs were also located in the study area. These associations were part of the French Canadian nationalistic movement which thrived in Quebec during the 1930s and 1940s.

With the commercial and residential neglect of central east Montreal, the study area was generally perceived as a downgraded area of the city, especially during the 1950s and 1960s. Nevertheless, elite and bourgeoisie interest (or perhaps tolerance) persisted in the study area. The Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, and the Cercle Universitaire remained in the study area until 1958, 1970, and 1965 respectively; while the Clubs Canadien and St. Denis remain steadfast at their prestigious Sherbrooke Street addresses.

Revitalization 1970-1982

3.5 Introduction

While private development in the downtown core to the west had waned during the 1970s, the provincial and federal governments sponsored the construction of several office-hotel-retail complexes in

central east Montreal. These include the Place Dupuis-Holiday Inn buildings (within the study area), the Maison Radio-Canada, Complexe Desjardins, the Palais du Congrès, and Place Guy Favreau, the latter being still under construction (Figure 1.2). These structures have not provided the anticipated growth poles for subsequent private investment (Marsan, 1979).

The recent institutional and small-scale commercial revitalization in the study area, however, initiated by the Province and by local merchants, has met with more favourable results. The construction of the new UQAM campus by the Province has been the centre of revitalization activity. The subsequent revival of the Quartier Latin has been enhanced by the diverse and long-sustained French Canadian institutions and institutional sites in the study area. During this last time period, many of the working-class institutions and associations, situated in the area between 1930 and 1970, have been replaced by provincially-funded academic and bourgeoisie cultural institutions. The rekindling of innovative cultural activity in the area has reinforced the interest in the cultural milieu by successive generations of French Canadians from many facets of Quebec society.

During the fourth time period, most institutional changes and additions in the study area reflected two particular social phenomena. First, demographic change in St. Jacques Ward resulted in a sharp decline in its family population. The second factor is the increased control of social and cultural institutions in Quebec by the Province since the 1960s; as Quebec has taken over or purchased social and cultural facilities previously administered by religious orders and private corporations. The Société St. Jean Baptiste is the only private association (in fact an institution in Quebecois society) to have made a large investment in the study area in the past twelve years.

3.5.1 Continuity of Education Node and Université du Québec à Montréal

Two CEGEPs, situated in and adjacent to the study area during the early 1970s, represented the initial components of the institutional

and commercial revitalization of the area (La Presse, September 25, 1976). Dawson CEGEP, an English-language institution, moved into the former Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales building (subsection 3.3.1) in 1971, while the CEGEP Vieux Montréal was established in a new campus adjacent to the former Mont St. Louis edifice in 1976 (Appendix E). CEGEPs are the latest phase in publicly-subsidized pre-university and vocational instruction in the Province. These schools have succeeded the Ecole Technique schools which included the Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux, the Institut des Arts Appliqués and the Ecole du Meuble (subsection 3.4.1) in the study area.

While the Eglise St. Jacques continued to be a centre of parish associations, the final flicker of recognition for the church was its designation as the Expo 1967 church for Roman Catholics. This decision came at a time when the eastern periphery of central Montreal was at its lowest level of economic "discard" and at a period of dramatic population decline (La Presse, December 16, 1972). In 1972 the belfry and south transept of Eglise St. Jacques were declared a historic monument by the province's Ministère des Affaires Culturelles. While the church was sold to the Université du Québec à Montréal in 1973, the belfry and transept were integrated into the new university campus and thus were resurrected as the architectural and historical focus of the area.¹

The Université du Québec was legislated into creation in 1969 by the Quebec government as a network of regional universities and research institutes.² The Université du Québec represents the most recent

¹The former Miséricorde Chapel has since served as the St. Jacques Parish presbytery and community hall. The handsome nineteenth-century Miséricorde compound, which continues to occupy an entire city block, was subsequently acquired by the Province at a nominal cost in 1965 (Montréal Matin, January 19, 1973; BEM, Quartier St. Jacques, cadastral No. 412). The hospital was re-opened in 1974 as the Hôpital Jacques Viger facility for the elderly and chronically ill.

²Montreal, Québec, Trois Rivières, Rimouski, and Chicoutimi were selected as the key urban centres for the program (Université du Québec, Renseignements Généraux, 1976-1977:9-10).

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development in the democratisation of education in Quebec and likewise reflects the trend of economic decentralization in the province during the past 25 years. The location of the Montreal campus of the Université du Québec, the Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM), was of interest to city and provincial bureaucrats, members of the French academic community, and east end merchants. All these groups agreed that Montreal's second French-language university be located in east end or central east Montreal and be highly accessible to the city centre area (The Montreal Star, December 14, 1967; La Presse, June 1, 1968).

Politicians and urbanists favoured the former Université de Montréal and Quartier Latin area, centred on St. Denis Street, for several reasons.¹ First, the central east site would complement the locations of the English-language universities, McGill and Concordia, which have been part of the city centre to the west for decades (Figure 1.2). Secondly, the central east location, situated adjacent to both the city and provincial transit terminus, is accessible to the working-class student population in the larger Montreal region (Le Devoir, July 19, 1965). The third major advantage was the study area locale which, with several institutional properties already owned by the province, also offered the opportunity of reviving the institutional and commercial character of the former Quartier Latin as an alternative to the planning of a former university campus. The former president of the City's executive committee quoted from the research on Sorbonne University in Paris:

A Paris ... les bâtiments universitaires se sont mis en place et progressivement étendus autour de la cellule mère Place a été ainsi laissée aux équipements urbains complémentaires: librairies, commerce divers, cinémas, restaurants, cafés, etc., qui jouent un rôle essentiel dans la vie et l'animation du quartier (En Ville, January 8, 1968).

¹The other suggested site was the city-owned property adjacent to Maisonneuve Park, which is the present location of the Olympic Stadium (Montréal-Matin, December 2, 1967).

The Bibliothèque Nationale, cinemas, variety stores, several bookstores, and a few remaining restaurants from the previous Quartier Latin era were already in place along St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets in the study area. Aesthetic and structural foci of the future campus were the protected belfry and south transept of Eglise St. Jacques and adjoining green space, the Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes Chapel, the open spaces of Place Viger, Place Pasteur, and the nearby Carré St. Louis (Square) (Services des Archives, UQAM, Consultas, 1971:39). Reference was also made to the under-utilized institutions and urban resources in the larger central east area between Papineau Avenue and St. Laurent Boulevard, including the city's central public library, several colleges and hospitals, and the recently developed Place des Arts and Maison Radio-Canada. South of Viger Square, in Old Montreal, were located the municipal and provincial archives, the Conservatoire de la Musique et de l'Art Dramatique, and the new Palais du Justice (La Presse, September 27, 1967.) (Figure 3.6).

It was also hoped that the new campus would help to revitalize the study area which had for decades housed mainstream social and cultural institutions of Quebec society.

Il comprend aussi un quartier commercial actif et diversifié qui serait revivifié par la présence de l'université (En Ville, January 8, 1968).

L'implantation du l'UQAM sur ce site passé université devrait redonner vie à ce quartier profondément marqué par l'évolution de la communauté québécoise (La Presse, December 16, 1972).

By 1973 the Université de Québec and UQAM had purchased (and were ceded) a large amount of institutional, commercial, and some residential property in the study area. The institutional properties acquired by the university included the former Eglise St. Jacques and Ecole St. Jacques buildings, the Central Building of the Université de Montréal, and the former Ecole Polytechnique edifice, as well as the Convent des Petites Filles de St. Joseph. Most of these properties were acquired either from the Province or from the Sulpicians. Sections of the former Soeurs de la Providence property were transferred from the city.

Figure 3.6

Small and Large-Scale Urban Facilities in the Vicinity
of Planned UQAM Campus. From Service des Archives,
Université du Québec à Montréal, Consultas, 1972, p. 53.

Opened in 1979, the first phase of the new UQAM campus occupies two almost entirely redeveloped city blocks in the study area (as well as most of its earlier downtown facilities to the west (Figure 3.7 and Figure 3.8). Designed as a "place for people," the facilities at UQAM are open to central city and suburban communities as evening and extra curricula programs invite part-time and public participation in the university (The Montreal Star, August 27, 1977). The campus has underground access to the metro while the scale of the university buildings are well integrated with the café, retail, and entertainment activity at street level (Plate 18).

Since the early 1970s, a great deal of small-scale commercial revitalization was initiated in anticipation of UQAM development. The revitalization was also an outgrowth of the artists' and artisans' quarter which had survived through the 1960s in the area of Carré St. Louis (Figure 3.6). The revitalization was also a response to the renewed interest generated in the area by the students of the CEGEPs Vieux Montréal and Dawson and by employees from the nearby Hydro Quebec and Radio Canada (CBC) buildings (Journal de Montréal, June 9, 1979; The Gazette, August 9, 1971; The Montreal Star, March 26, 1977). The survival of the colourful Quartier Latin environs has been tentatively assured by local merchants who successfully petitioned for the establishment of city by-laws to help prevent further destruction of the nineteenth century St. Denis and St. Hubert "streetscapes" and to preserve the diverse small-scale retail and residential landuse.^{1,2}

¹The result is a less varied landuse on the streets than anticipated as there has been a proliferation of small bars and restaurants rather than the reinforcement of a more sedate urban environment.

²Of the large institutional sites in the study area, only the Ecole de Réforme has been entirely transferred to the private sector. Nevertheless, since the recent decision by the Province to protect the belfry and south transept of the former Eglise St. Jacques and the former Académie Mont St. Louis building (Appendix E) as historic monuments, the future redevelopment of any large portion of the study area is under tentative surveillance (Figure 3.7).

REVITALIZATION: 1970 - 1982

Figure 3.7

Figure 3.8

Street Plan of UQAM Campus Extending Outside the Study Area.

From UQAM, Famille de formation des maitres 1980-1981,

1980, opposite p. 122.

Plate 18:

Surroundings of Université du Québec à Montréal Campus, c. 1980. From ATM, file No. R3115.2.

a) UQAM, 1979-present. b) Belfry and south transept of Eglise St. Jacques (Plate 3).
 c) Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (Plate 8). d) Former Ecole Polytechnique building (Plate 11).
 e) Portion of former Soeurs de la Miséricorde compound (Plate 5), now housing St. Jacques parish
 presbytery and Hôpital Jacques Viger. f) Ecole des Métiers Feminins, 1972-present; Ecole du
 Meuble, 1940-1971; Ecole Marchand, 1909-1940. g) Société, Ambulance St. Jean, 1969-present.
 h) Edifice Dandurand, 1915-present (now Edifice St. Denis, Plate 26). i) Ed. Archambault Ltée.,
 1928-present. j) N. G. Valiquette Ltée., 1966-present. k) Place Dupuis-Holiday Inn building,
 1974-present.

The UQAM campus is by far the most successful of the central east redevelopment projects in the past 30 years. The university has succeeded in attracting people to the study area on a daily basis and is a vital centre of activity during the daytime and night-time hours; a feat which the large office-retail-hotel buildings, Place Dupuis (1972) and Complexe Desjardins (1976), have yet to accomplish (Marsan, 1979).

3.5.2 Cinémathèque Québécoise

The Cinémathèque Québécoise is the most recent institution to be installed in the study area. Privately initiated in 1964 as a repository for Quebec and French films, the Cinémathèque was temporarily housed in the Bibliothèque Nationale during the 1970s. The recipient of increasing subsidization from the Province, the Cinémathèque was relocated just adjacent to the study area in the renovated Ecole Jeanne Mance building in 1982. This former schoolhouse (situated beside the second Ecole St. Jacques) is being rented from the C.E.Q.M. for a period of 25 years and is shared with the Province's granting agency, l'Institut Québécois du Cinéma.¹ The schoolbuilding's central city location and its proximity to the UQAM campus (where the Cinémathèque had also occupied temporary facilities) were primary factors in the decision of the Cinémathèque Québécoise to locate its library, offices, and viewing room in the study area (interview with M. Dandelin, director of the Cinémathèque Québécoise, July, 1982). Similar to the Conservatoire de la Musique, a vital component of the Quartier Latin of the 1920s, the Cinémathèque, situated in the revived Quartier Latin, is an innovative contemporary cultural institution in the Province.

¹The Centrale de l'Artisanat Québécoise, a private enterprise which was situated in a portion of the former Ecole Polytechnique edifice since the 1960s, had similarly shared its premises with the offices of an associated provincial office and library. These facilities vacated the area in 1982.

3.5.3 Societies and Associations--Société Nationale de Fiducie Building

During this period of vigorous institutional revitalization, only one association of note was established in the study area. By contrast to the publicly sponsored development of UQAM in the study area, the placement of this association was privately funded.

Of greater significance, perhaps, than the construction of the C.S.N. building in 1969 (subsection 3.4.7) was the 1961 decision by the Société St. Jean Baptiste to build its nine-storey headquarters and the headoffices of its associated financial companies, l'Economie Mutuelle d'Assurance (1898) and La Société Nationale de Fiducie (1918), at the northwest intersection of Sherbrooke and St. Denis Streets. The office building would replace the magnificent headquarters of the Société St. Jean Baptiste, the Monument National, situated on St. Laurent Street since 1894.

The once prestigious Sherbrooke Street locale was purchased from the city; the lot was previously occupied by a row of fashionable nineteenth century residences which were subsequently converted into doctors' offices (Goads, 1881:pl. 30; IPCM, 1954:pl. 130). The selection of the site was a conscious and deliberate one to renew both the image of the Société and of the city's central east milieu:

Dans le contexte de l'évolution urbain qui se poursuit à une vive allure dans tout le carrefour Sherbrooke et Saint-Denis, l'érection du prestigieux édifice de la Société Saint-Jean-Baptiste s'affirme comme un puissant symbole du renouveau dans la communauté canadienne-française (l'Information Nationale, June, 1965).

The politically influential Société St. Jean Baptiste was one of the first French Canadian societies in the city. Founded in 1834, the Société was closely associated with the French Canadian nationalist Parti Patriote which was led by Louis Joseph Papineau and Denis Benjamin Viger. The Viger family and Papineau, it will be remembered, initiated the improvement of Place Viger (1818), Place St. Jacques (1823), and the construction of Cathédrale St. Jacques (1925) in the study area. It was around these nodes that successive religious, social, and cultural institutions have gravitated through time. While the Société

St. Jean Baptiste did not previously have an important presence in the study area, its new office building at the intersection of Sherbrooke and St. Denis Streets represents a return to its sources.

Le retour de la Société Saint-Jean Baptiste de Montréal à ses sources lointaines est ainsi marqué.

Notons ... que la nouvelle centrale vient giter à l'un des endroits les plus vieillement dénommés dans ce coin de l'île de Montréal.

... des témoins du passé restent comme des sentinelles ... le Mont Saint-Louis ... le ... vieux square Saint-Louis, ... les clubs sociaux: Saint-Denis, Canadien ... et Universitaire, qui reçoivent tour à tour les membres de l'élite canadienne-française

C'est le saisissant contraste du carrefour entre la tradition et la novation, entre les structures qui ont un passé et celles qui débutent avec l'espoir tourné du côté de l'avenir (l'Information Nationale, June, 1965).

These statements emphasize the continuous participation and the present revitalization in the study area by the French Canadian elite and bourgeoisie of Quebec, as well as the consecutive occupation of institutions of tradition and of innovation during the past 165 years.

3.5.4 Time Period 1970-1982--Conclusion

While the government sponsored Université du Québec à Montréal campus represents the most recent phase in the democratisation of higher education in the province, the university largely remains an institution of the middle-class. The Société de Fiducie Nationale building, as well as the axis of cafés and bars which have emerged in the vicinity of the UQAM campus, similarly display bourgeoisie "taste" and initiative which is typical of revitalized areas in many large North American cities (Holcomb and Beauregard, 1981:64).

The revitalization of institutions in the study area, however, has particular historical significance linked with the traditional French Canadian identity of the area. The reviving of the Université, colleges, and cafés is a return to past landuse. The revitalization of the academic and cultural environs appears to be an effort to revive the

past urban and cultural centrality of the area. The installation of a new university as an institution which is longstanding and middle-class in orientation will extend and preserve the French Canadian cultural and institutional identity of the study area. The situation of the institution has also renewed small-scale bourgeoisie commercial activity in the area. The subsequent popularity of the cafés and shops has led to the reintegration of the study area with the central city.

The predominant elderly and transient population within and adjacent to the study area persist in their low-rent apartments and roominghouses relatively late into the period of revitalization (Table 4). Some of these buildings have been taken out of speculation very recently for renovation into the more profitable housing of an anticipated return of affluent French Canadian residents to the area. This form of residential revitalization would result in a partial revival of the earlier Quartier Latin era without the heterogenous social character which had lingered in the study area from the previous century.

3.6 Chapter Three-Conclusion

There are probably few places in the province with a texture and diversity of institutional history as rich as in this Montreal study area. Institutional diversity and continuity are cited in Chapter Three as the key attributes in the identification of the study area as a French Canadian culture core in the city. The diversity of institutions and associations located in the study area through time has been established by and directed at members of many social and economic groups in French Canadian society. The continuity of the institutional core is the result of two factors. First, the longevity of institutions such as churches, universities, hospitals, and libraries is within the norm in large North American cities (Mladenka, 1978). Secondly, there has been a sustained interest in the study area by successive leading groups of Quebec society including the Church, philanthropists, political and cultural figures, and the provincial government. These elite sectors of society, which initiated the placement of institutions in

Table 4. Occupations By Street in the Study Area, 1982

	Skilled Artisan	Skilled Technical	Unskilled	Sales, Clerical	Professional	Services, Office	Book	Civil Service	Religious	Artist, Media, Generalist	Retired, Pensioner, Unemployed	Student	Managerial	Businessman	Welfare	Not Specified	Other	TOTAL
St. Antoine				1							1	3				3	1	9
Viger	2		1	2	2					1		2				1	2	15
Leguachetière	7	6	25	6	7	5		1		2	22	5	1				4	91
Rochester	3	2	2		2	2		1	3		12	11		1		8	3	50
St. Catherine	1		2								3				2	3	1	12
De Maisonneuve			1			1					2		1	2			1	8
Ontario	2	1	6		1	8		1			6	2		1	2	20		48
Sherbrooke	3		4	5		8			1	1	3	2	4	1	1	1	2	51
St. André	26	18	39	12	30	22	2	6		5	48	32	9	7	12	164	20	452
St. Christophe	23	5	20	5	17	12				8	74	23	2	1	6	55	35	244
Labelle			4									2	1	1		7	18	14
St. Hubert	51	8	115	13	39	20		4			94	48	6	5	12	116	184	548
Berri	2	3	8	7	9	6	2	2		2	3	9				28	1	84
St. Denis	16	9	32	4	18	13		5		7	20	24	1	3		78	9	239
Notre Dame de Lourdes Savane Lanes Providence			3								2							12
TOTAL	136	52	262	55	125	95	4	20	4	27	280	163	27	22	35	507	80	1907

* Add subsidized residential building of 120 persons.

b Add subsidized residential building of 132 persons.

"Services" include orderlies, waiters, and drivers.

c The population sizes in 1935 and 1962 were 6619 and 1903 respectively. Compare Tables 3 and 4.

Source: Municipal Electoral Data, 1982, St. Jacques Ward, 38, and Ville Marie Ward, 40. Ville de Montréal, Bureau des Elections.

the area, have been continuously complemented by the traditionally heavy concentration of working-class French Canadians in adjacent city wards for which several of the institutions were directed.

Emphasis of presentation in Chapter Three was placed on the first two time periods, 1818 to 1879 and 1880 to 1929 (the periods of philanthropy, church direction, and academic foundations) for two reasons. First, the initial diversity of the French Canadian institutions was established in the area during those decades. Secondly, the institutional sites which were set aside during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have had a longstanding impact on the urban structure of this central east Montreal study area. The influence of nineteenth and early twentieth century planning initiatives on the commercial, residential, and institutional structure and morphology of the central areas of large North American cities has been well documented (Ward, 1966 and 1971; Warner, 1968; Artibise and Stelter, 1979). The present chapter cites the effect of early institution building in the study area on the cultural geography of a central Montreal area and on contemporary revitalization and planning trends in the area.

During the first time period, institutions of the elite, the bourgeoisie, and the working-class were contained in close proximity within the study area. The Cathédrale St. Jacques acted as the centre of gravitation for the subsequent placement of charitable facilities and of the institutions and associations of upper and middle-income French Canadians who resided at prestigious addresses in the study area. Place St. Jacques and Place Viger provided the aesthetic urban environs for many of these institutions. French Canadian philanthropists and the Church had set aside large tracts of land for the construction of the Providence, Miséricorde, and the Frères de la Charité charitable compounds. Concurrently, the upper-income residents of the study area established their own gentlemen's clubs and private schools in the same locale. The diverse institutional heritage of the study area was thus established by the 1870s and continues into the present.

During the second time period, the Université Laval à Montréal (succeeded by the Université de Montréal) prevailed over the former

Cathédrale as the institutional focus of the study area. During this period, many groups contributed to the reinforcement of the institutional and cultural centrality of the study area. Political and cultural leaders (many of whom were residents of the study area) urged the creation of the colleges and university; the Church and the Province funded their construction while private corporations, benefactors, and, increasingly, public subsidization have maintained and expanded social and charitable facilities in the study area. The Université de Montréal was the centre of the Quartier Latin until the early 1940s. The largest edifices of the campus were the Central Building, Ecole Polytechnique, and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales; while the Quartier Latin was comprised of the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, the Conservatoire de la Musique et de l'Art Dramatique, several academic and artists' associations, and related retail activity and services. Social services in the study area were also expanded under the increased need for such services from the adjacent working-class city wards, while the health care facilities were also enhanced by the input of the university's medical faculty and nursing department.

There was a greater spatial division among participant social groups in the institutions of the study area during the subsequent two time periods. During the third time period, 1930-1969, while two of the large charitable compounds were removed from the study area, all new institutions and associations, many of these situated in former institutional locales, were orientated toward the French Canadian working-class. The provincially subsidized Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux and the Institut des Arts Appliquées (situated in former Université de Montréal buildings) were organized as a symbol of the new concern for the working-class in Quebec; the workingman's youth association, the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, was a product of the Church's similar concern for the workingman during the 1930s and 1940s. The Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux trade union headquarters in the study area reflected the always large French Canadian Catholic working-class population in the adjacent city wards. While working-class institutions and associations predominated and the study area was undergoing functional change (having

acquired the transportation and merchandizing nodes typical of a zone of transition), several elite academic institutions and associations were maintained in the area, notably the Ecole Polytechnique and the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales.

During the fourth time period, 1970-1982, institutional continuity in the study area has been based on the revival of its innovative education node. Since 1979, it has been the Université du Québec à Montréal campus which has dominated social and cultural activity in the area, while increasingly fewer of the early charitable institutions and working-class associations remain. Since the 1960s, Quebec has acquired most of the institutional properties in the study area. With the recently expanded role of the Province in social and cultural activity in Quebec (the construction of the UQAM campus being a key example), the spatial imprint of nineteenth century philanthropists and of leading cultural figures will be perpetuated in the study area.

The reuse of the Ecole des Hautes Commerciales and of the Ecole Polytechniques buildings may have been initially a matter of convenience. However, with growing institutional importance of the area, the recycling of these historically significant buildings enhances the cultural integrity of the study area. The continuity of certain institutional sites is to be expected, while the longevity of others in the study area is more remarkable. Hôpital Jacques Viger (formerly the Hôpital Miséricorde) and the Hôpital St. Luc, as inner city medical facilities and the Bibliothèque Nationale, a central city library, are examples of the most longstanding of institutions in many large North American cities (Mladenka, 1978). The former Soeurs de la Providence, Eglise St. Jacques, and Ecole St. Jacques properties remain in public and cultural use as they were found to be appropriate sites for redevelopment into the Berri-De-Montigny Metro Transfer Station and the UQAM campus. Their locations at the intersection of the city's traditional high-density working-class population axis on one hand, and at the eastern-most section of the St. Catherine Street central retail axis on the other, thus have been again drawn into the crossroads of both French Canadian working-class and bourgeoisie in the city.

Societies and associations have represented the continuity of private interest in the study area. Gentlemen's clubs are characteristically longstanding structures in the central core areas of many older cities. Within the study area, the Clubs St. Denis and Canadien maintain their prestigious Sherbrooke Street addresses despite the decline in the commercial aspirations for the central east area decades ago. The recent construction of the Société Nationale de Fiducie building by the Société St. Jean Baptiste, complemented by the construction of the UQAM campus and Place Dupuis (subsection 4.2), represents the renewed interest in the history and central urban potential of the study area by contemporary French Canadian cultural and corporate protagonists in Quebec. The following chapter traces French Canadian-dominated commerce in the study area.

CHAPTER FOUR

CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA4.1 Introduction

The French Canadian culture core area under study also housed a prospering French Canadian-dominated central business area along St. Catherine Street East, several of the leading components of which remain in situ and are the subject of the present chapter.

... cette partie de l'est de la rue Sainte-Catherine qui va de la rue Saint-Denis à la rue Amherst ... est la berceau [cradle] du grand commerce de détail canadien-français (Benoist, 1923:28).

Central business development in the study area was commenced in the early 1870s, thrived into the 1910s, and was curtailed during the early 1930s.

French and English Canadian merchants and professionals had traditionally occupied business outlets and offices side by side in the old city core and subsequently along St. Laurent Street (now St. Laurent Boulevard). Since the 1870s, the city began to take on a less heterogeneous structure. New residential districts were being distinguished by socio-economic standards and by culture groups. Concurrently, the old city core was undergoing the final phase of commercial development as the house-over-shop and office structure in the old city and along St. Laurent Street was on the decline. Subsequently, business expansion was being pioneered upcity toward two emergent central business areas along St. Catherine Street: one a French Canadian-dominated node centred on St. Catherine and St. André Streets, the second centred on St. Catherine Street West around Philips and Dominion Squares (Figure 1.2). By the 1880s and 1890s, St. Catherine Street emerged as the central retail axis in Montreal, overtaking Notre Dame and

St. Jacques Streets within the old city and St. Laurent Boulevard. Two French Canadian-owned department stores established the east end pole of gravitation along the St. Catherine Street retail axis.

The favoured residences of the study area were occupied by French Canadian wholesalers and merchants (many of them with businesses in the old city and St. Laurent Street), as well as by political and cultural leaders.¹ The early stages of central business area development in many large North American and European cities were often initiated by enterprising and innovative merchants who followed their affluent clientele out of the overcrowded old city cores to the vicinity of their preferred residential districts (Ferry, 1960:10; Bowden, 1975:82). The trend occurred simultaneously in the French Canadian study area and within the Anglo-dominated CBD core to the west. The central business activity of French Canadian businessmen during the period 1850-1914 has been largely neglected by Quebec academics (Linteau, 1976:55).

Chapter Four focuses on the most salient of surviving commercial structures of the late nineteenth and early twentieth century central business structure in the study area. These enterprises include a department store, five remaining family-owned middle and large-sized retail businesses in the area, the former Canadian Pacific Railway Place Viger Railway Station and Hotel, and the Edifice St. Denis (originally the Edifice Dandurand).

Three factors contributed to the disruption of central business development in the study area since the 1920s. The first factor was the inability of the French Canadian financial community to forge important economic and social linkages within the larger Canadian and North American economies (Porter, 1974:526; Linteau, 1976:59-60, 63 and 64). Secondly, the lack of office building development prevented the diversification of central business functions in the area. The ten-storey Edifice Dandurand was the only early effort toward the

¹Typically, there was an overlap among these groups with many politicians and professionals who were involved in the province's financial community (Linteau, 1976).

establishment of a modern office building sector in the area. The third factor was St. Laurent Boulevard which, as the centre of the city's immigrant corridor (Figure 1.2), emerged as a social barrier to the continuity of middle and large scale retailing between St. Catherine Street East and West early in the twentieth century. The barrier contributed to the isolation of the central east business area from the larger Anglo-dominated focus to the west. The crime element along the southern portion of St. Laurent Boulevard has produced an unseemly zone between the two business poles since the 1940s.¹

Government efforts for the commercial redevelopment of central east Montreal since the 1960s have been focused on an axis situated several blocks west of the study area, with varying effects on the longstanding and lately revitalized elements of the business community in the area under study. Complexe Desjardins, Place Guy Favreau, and the Palais du Congrès are redevelopment projects sponsored in whole, or in part, by government in an effort to balance modern CBD activity between central east Montreal and the dominant business core to the west (Figure 1.2).

4.2 Department Stores: Dupuis Frères Limitée

Nineteenth century departments stores established in the downtown areas of large North American and European cities may be referred to as cathedrals of retailing. The term is appropriate as these large and innovative enterprises drew their clients from a large urban and regional hinterland. Department stores influenced the land value hierarchy in new central business areas and have determined the orientation of a city's main retail axis.

The city's immigrant corridor has since gravitated north of Sherbrooke Street, along St. Laurent Boulevard. The ethnic business and residential axis has acted as a social and cultural buffer area between the French Canadian east end of the city and the English Canadian west end (Greer-Wootten, 1972:28).

Until the second world war, the downtown cores of most large North American cities underwent a great deal of spatial flux and extended over a wider area mainly because of the opening of new department stores and the movement of others (Ward, 1966:104; Pasdermadjran, 1976:128-129). Yeates (1965) documented the expanded area of prime CBD land values in Chicago of 1910 compared to the contracted area of high values in the city in 1960 (Figure 4.1). Until the 1940s in Montreal, well-established and fledgling department stores and large specialty stores were situated less discriminantly over a larger extent of St. Catherine Street, between Guy and Amherst Streets, than at present (Lovell, 1880 ... 1940; Bibliothèque Nationale, Collection E. Z. Massicotte, Album des rues, St. Catherine Street).

The relocation of the well-known Henry Morgan department store and Henry Birks jewellery store, during the 1880s and 1890s, is generally cited as the benchmark in the uptown movement of the city's central business area from Old Montreal onto the Mount Royal Plateau and centred on the St. Catherine Street retail axis. Modern retailing, however, was initiated on St. Catherine Street East some two decades before the uptown move by these English retailers to the west. In 1868 Nazaire Dupuis, an enterprising migrant from rural Quebec, opened a small dry goods store on St. Catherine Street, near Montcalm Street (four blocks east of the study area); Dupuis resisted the tendency to locate in the old city (Duhamel, n.d.).¹

The Dupuis store grew rapidly and within two years was relocated at the corner of Amherst and St. Catherine Streets (two blocks east of the study area) (Figure 4.2). From 1872 to 1880, two large French Canadian-owned "dry goods" stores, Dupuis and A. Pilon et Cie (Plate 19) (the latter a true department store by that time) were competing for dominance on St. Catherine Street East (La Patrie, September 9, 1956). The Dupuis and Pilon department stores were characteristically located

¹By the 1870s, several small grocery and corner stores were situated along the eastern and western extremities of St. Catherine Street (Lovell, 1865 ... 1875).

Figure 4.1

Contracting Area of High Land Values for Central City Chicago, 1910-1960. From Yeates, 1965, Figures 1 and 2, pp. 60-61.

- a) Expanding suburban area.
- b) Note the contracting area of high land values.

CENTRAL BUSINESS A

- ★ Dupuis Frères
 - 2 1869-1881
 - 3 1882-1889
 - 4 1890-1978
 - Place Dupuis
 - 5 1974-present

- ★ A. Pilon & Co.
 - 1 1872-1877
 - 2 1878-1882

- Ch. Desjardins
 - 1 1877-1908
 - 2 1909-1968
 - 3 1969-present

- N.G. Valiquette
 - 1 1893-1898
 - 2 1899-1965
 - 3 1966-present

- △ Ed. Archambault
 - 1 1898-1927
 - 2 1928-present

- ▽ Langelier
 - 1 1916
 - 2 1917-1920
 - 3 1921-1965

- ▲ Omer Deserres
 - 1 1908-1912
 - 2 1913-1973
 - 3 1974-present

Pharmacie Montréal
 2 1933-1973
 Pharmacie Jean Coutu
 1974-present

Place Viger Hotel and Station
 1898-1931-1951

○ Edifice Dandurand 1915-1921
 Edifice St. Denis 1922-present

● Alliance Nationale 1910-1936

◆ Société des Artisans Canadiens-
 1 Français 1922-1950
 2 Société des Artisans 1951-c.1980
 Les Coopérants c.1981-present

◆ Confédération des Syndicats
 Nationaux 1969-1979
 Hôpital St. Luc - annex 1980-present

□ Société Nationale de Fiducie
 1980-present

□ Berri - de - Montigny Metro
 station surface entrances
 1966-present

0 50 100 150 meters
 0 150 300 450 feet

Note: Store locations
 indicated do not
 include warehousing.

Source: Goad, 1881

De Montigny St. E.

Figure 4.2

Plate 19:

A. Pilon et Cie. Department Store, c. 1872.

From AMM, file No. R3153.2

adjacent to upper and middle-income residences; in this case to the elite French Canadian residential and institutional enclave of the study area. Typical of nineteenth century department stores, they also depended on accessibility to public transportation and on a locale which was within walking distance of a large working-class population (Nystrom, 1978:156).¹ Key public and tourist tramway nodes were situated at the intersections of St. Denis and St. Catherine and St. Denis and Dorchester Streets. The adjacent working-class populations of St. Jacques and St. Marie Wards to the east were also cultivated by the stores. Pilon did not survive the Depression of the 1870s, while the variety and volume of merchandise and the number of clientele increased regularly at Dupuis. By 1882 the store, by then known as Dupuis Frères, was relocated to larger premises on St. Catherine Street at the corner of St. André Street, which it was long to occupy and constantly to expand (Plates 20 and 21; Figures 4.2 and 4.3).

By the 1950s, Dupuis Frères occupied the entire area bounded by St. Catherine, De Montigny, St. André, and St. Christophe Streets.² During the 1960s, two suburban Montreal stores and branches in Trois-Rivières were opened while the company was increasingly moved out of family hands and absorbed by French Canadian corporate interests (The Gazette, January 26, 1978). During the following decade, the corporation planned and executed the Place Dupuis hotel-retail-office building (Plate 22).³ The leaders of the corporation had envisioned such a development of the former Soeurs de la Providence property since the early 1960s (The Montreal Star, November 30, 1960; Metro-Express,

¹The innovative merchandising techniques of nineteenth century department stores introduced a large and diverse inventory; organization by department, attractive surroundings, and, perhaps above all, competitive prices for a rapid turnover of inventory (Pasdermajian, 1976:26-27, and 40).

²Dupuis Frères was, by this time, the second oldest department store in the city after the Henry Morgan stores (The Montreal Star, May 8, 1976).

³The Dupuis Frères store and Place Dupuis were structurally connected.

Plate 20:

Dupuis Frères Department Store, 1909,
St. Catherine Street between St. André
and St. Christophe Street. From
Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec,
Collection E. Z. Massicotte,
Album des rues.

(Photo MM — John Taylor)

Plate 21: Dupuis Frères Department Store since 1952
expansion with Place Dupuis in background, 1978.
From AMM, file No. R4825.2.

P1

Place Dupuis, fronting
From AMM, fil

Photo Jacques Grenier

late 22.
on St. Hubert Street, 1978.
le No. R4815.2.

CENTRAL BUSINESS AREA ACTIVITY

★ Dupuis Frères
4 1890 - 1978

□ Ch. Desjardins
2 1909 - 1968

■ N.G. Valliquette
2 1899 - 1965

△ Ed. Archambault
2 1928 - present

▽ Longellier
3 1921 - 1965

▲ Omer Deserres
2 1913 - 1973

▼ Pharmacie Montréal
2 1933 - 1973

— Place Viger Hotel and Station

○ Edifice St. Denis 1922 - present

● Alliance Nationale 1910 - 1936

◇ 1 Société des Artisans Canadiens-
Français 1922 - 1950

2 Société des Artisans
1951 - c.1980

0 50 100 150 meters
0 150 300 450 feet

Sources: Good, 1881
Insurance Plan of the City of Montreal, 1954

De Montigny St. E.

Figure

May 1, 1965). Place Dupuis, a three-tower commercial complex, it was hoped would function as an east end counterpart to the Place Ville Marie development which had provided the focus of modern CBD redevelopment in the dominant business core to the west (Figure 1.2) since 1962. The Dupuis Frères store, on which the Place Dupuis complex was centred, however, could not tolerate both growing pains and persistent labour difficulties. The store was closed in January 1978. Place Dupuis is presently composed of a multi-storey Holiday Inn, an office building which is occupied mostly by the province's James Bay Development Corporation, and the former modernized Dupuis department store which has been subdivided into boutiques.

Place Dupuis stands as a symbol of the successful late nineteenth-early twentieth century efforts at large-scale retailing in central east Montreal, as well as of the subsequent stagnation of central business activity in the study area.

External competition from the Anglo-dominated business community to the west has thwarted twentieth century central business integration in central east Montreal. More recently, it has been the revival of the institutional focus of the study area which further stunted modern central business redevelopment in the area.

4.3 Specialty Stores

Department stores, in their ability to draw a large urban and regional¹ clientele to new retail axes in the city, quickly formed central poles of gravitation for higher-priced specialty stores during the nineteenth century. Following the success of the department stores on St. Catherine Street East, several fashionable French Canadian-owned stores, directed at a local high income clientele, were opened in the vicinity of Dupuis and Pilon. Specialty retailing "valued sites close

¹Dupuis and most of the middle and large-sized specialty stores employed high quality catalogues, distributed provincially, to serve rural areas until the 1950s and 1960s.

to hotels or financial districts or high-income residential areas..." (Ward, 1971:99), all of which were present in or adjacent to the study area. Business histories of the five surviving French Canadian-owned specialty stores follow, while several other important businesses had graced the street into the 1940s (Benoist, 1923; Lovell, 1942). These high value specialty stores are also referred to as middle and large-size businesses, in contrast to the small-scale merchants who have mainly serviced the Quartier-Latin environs with bars, cafés, small shops, and boutiques.

4.3.1 Charles Desjardins Compagnie Limitée

In 1877 Charles Desjardins et Compagnie, a fur garment specialty store, was opened beside the Pilon store at the corner of St. Timothée (one block east of the study area). The retail, wholesale, and manufacturing enterprise eventually occupied an entire five-storey building, with an inventory which was among the largest of its kind at the time. The Desjardins company subsequently moved into a larger, attractively decadent, edifice at the corner of Dorchester and St. Denis Streets in 1908 (Plate 24). The building, itself a city attraction, was located adjacent to a departure point for tourist tramways and buses (Benoist, 1923:14-15). This was an advantageous location because visitors to Montreal were, and continue to be, a significant portion of the company's clientele, according to an interview with Charles Desjardins, great grandson of the company's founder.

The Desjardins retail store was relocated to an adjacent smaller outlet at the corner of Sanguinet Street in 1969, while maintaining its nearby storage facilities (Figure 4.4). The colourful former Desjardins building was subsequently sold to the Vieux Munich Beer Garden (an international company) which brings hundreds of tourists to the area each week.

Charles
From Com
Servi

Plate 23:

Charles Desjardins Ltée. c. 1909.

From Communauté urbain de Montréal;

Service de la Planification.

★ Dupuis Frères
4 1890 - 1978
Place Dupuis
5 1974 - present

□ Ch. Desjardins
2 1909 - 1968
3 1969 - present

■ N.G. Valiquette
3 1966 - present

△ Ed. Archambault
2 1928 - present

▲ Omar Deserres
2 1913 - 1973
3 1974 - present

▼ Pharmacie Montréal
2 1933 - 1973
Pharmacie Jean Coutu
3 1974 - present

Place Viger Hotel and Station

○ Edifice St. Denis 1922 - present

◆ Société des Artisans 1951 - c.1980
Les Coopérants c.1981 - present

◆ Confédération des Syndicats
Nationaux 1969 - 1979
Hôpital St. Luc - annex 1980 - present

□ Société Nationale de Fiducie
1980 - present

□ Barri de Montigny Metro Station
surface entrances 1966 - present

0 50 100 150 meters
0 150 300 450 feet

Sources: Goad, 1881
Insurance Plan of the City of Montreal, 1954

C.E.

De Maisonneuve Boul.

Figure 4

Figure 4.4

4.3.2 N. G. Valiquette Limitée

N. G. Valiquette Limitée, a fine furniture and carpeting retailer, was also opened near the Dupuis Frères store in 1893. The furniture store grew quickly and annexed increasing storage space above adjacent five and dime store buildings. When Dupuis Frères expanded into the Valiquette premises, the furniture retailer moved into the second Pilon building at the corner of St. André Street (Benoist, 1923:36) (Figure 4.3). In 1926 the Valiquette family sold the company to its manager, Hector Langevin (and an English Montreal business partner who was bought out in 1946), who maintained the original name. Drawn to the proximity of the Berri-De-Montigny metro station, N. G. Valiquette Ltée was relocated to a large modern eleven-storey building near Berri Street in 1967 (Plate 18). The new building is located on the former site of the Langelier building. Valiquette Ltée had previously bought out J. Donat Langelier Cie Inc., a piano and phonograph retailer and manufacturer.¹ The Valiquette building has since also contained the Langelier-Valiquette division of musical instruments (interview with Robert Langevin, July 1982).

4.3.3 Ed. Archambault Incorporée

The Archambault music store was opened as a sheet music counter on the second floor of a St. Catherine and St. Hubert Street building in 1896. Edmond Archambault, a music teacher, subsequently moved into a larger second floor outlet above the Hurteau Piano store at the corner of St. Denis Street. Situated near the Université de Montréal and

¹The Langelier piano company was first opened in 1916 in a spare niche of Théâtre Denis (Figure 4.2). The enterprise was a success and from 1917 to 1920 the store expanded rapidly at the corner of a St. Catherine and Labelle Street address. Langelier subsequently constructed an attractive six-storey commercial building. This edifice subsequently housed the company's piano and phonography store and workshop, a house appliance division, a small concert hall, and rentable premises for music schools (Benoist, 1923:63).

the Conservatoire de la Musique et de l'Art Dramatique, the store was known as a meeting place for teachers and musicians until 1927.

By 1928 Archambault purchased a tract of land at the corner of St. Catherine and Berri Streets where he constructed a six-storey building which was surpassed in elegance, in the study area, only by the Edifice Dandurand (subsection 4.10). (Valiquette's most recent building was constructed beside Archambault). During the following decades, Archambault's inventory diversified into orchestra and band instruments, records, white goods, and religious articles. The latter two were introduced during the decline of the Quartier Latin and were dispensed with during the mid-1950s (interview with M. Edmond Archambault, July, 1982). The store also housed its own music school for several years (Le Devoir, June 21, 1956).

Sheet music, however, continues to be Archambault's largest department, with an inventory which is renowned across Canada and internationally. The Archambault company continued to be active with the sponsoring of the Prix Archambault for classical musicians and scholarships for band musicians. Since the 1940s, Archambault music opened two other companies: Select (label) which distributes European recordings pressed in Quebec, and l'Industrie Musicale which is occupied with the editing of sheet music. During the early twentieth century, many music stores were situated along the length of St. Catherine Street. Since the 1960s, the Archambault store and the Langelier-Valiquette music department have been joined by other retailers of musical instruments; a specialized functional node has thus emerged, perhaps as a result of the revived Quartier Latin activity in the study area.

4.3.4 Omer DeSerres Limitée

The Omer DeSerres Ltée hardware and sporting goods (and later marine supplies) store was opened in 1908 on St. Laurent Street near Ontario Street. In 1909 DeSerres Limitée was relocated to St. Catherine Street East, opposite Dupuis, and in 1913 the company took possession of

part of its present locale at the corner of St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets. The site was previously occupied by one of the many middle-sized dry goods stores and small department stores which were situated along St. Catherine Street. The locale, at the corner of St. Denis Street, was also a busy tramway transfer point where its always striking window displays were in view of thousands of Montrealers every day.

Omer DeSerres grew into the second largest retailer in the area, next to Dupuis, and was among the largest businesses of its kind in the province. By 1924 its St. Catherine Street building was heightened by two stories and the store was expanded into an adjacent building (Plate 24), adjoining the Ecole Polytechnique, while its warehouse was moved into a third building on Sanguinet Street. The company also subsequently expanded into ten suburban outlets.

The thriving hardware stores were forced to close as the company's St. Catherine Street properties were expropriated by UQAM in 1973. DeSerres' entire stock was sold off as the business could not be sustained without the downtown facilities. When the university's expansion phase was subsequently postponed, most of its St. Denis and St. Catherine Street properties were leased to willing merchants. Omer DeSerres has reopened with a store on St. Catherine Street East, just west of St. Denis Street, dealing in art and graphic supplies, which had previously constituted one percent of sales (interview with Roger DeSerres, July, 1982).

Similar to the music specialty node which has emerged from the sustained presence of the Ed. Archambault and Langelier-Valiquette musical instrument retailers, Omer DeSerres Ltée is the largest component of a growing artists' supply retail node in the area. The Omer DeSerres artist and graphic supply store, while presently benefitting from the new clientele generated by UQAM, was, however, almost vanquished by the institution. The history of this company is characteristic of the continuous competition between business and institutional landuse in the study area (Figures 4.2, 4.3, and 4.4).

Plate 24:

Omer DeSartre Ltée., 1940, corner of
St. Catherine and St. Denis Street.

From AMI, file No. R3115.2.

While the success of the Omer DeSerres and Ed. Archambault stores has been based on metropolitan and regional clientele, the longevity of the businesses has depended on minor and extensive inventory modifications which have coincided with changes to the demographic and institutional character of the study area.

4.3.5 Pharmacie Montréal

The last retail outlet to employ large scale and innovative merchandising techniques in the study area was probably the Pharmacie Montréal. Founded in 1923 by Charles E. Duquet, the pharmacy was first situated on St. Catherine Street to the east of the study area. In 1933 a new six-storey Art Deco building was constructed for the pharmacy near St. Timothée Street; the facade has been since designated a historical monument. The building was occupied entirely by the pharmacy's expanded stock of orthopedic supplies (the largest in Quebec), a laboratory, a photo-finishing department, as well as a vast pharmaceutical outlet for a city-wide clientele. The "store without doors," open 24 hours a day, was known as the largest retail pharmacy of its type in the world (interview with Jean Duquet, July 1982).

Pharmacie Montréal was the first franchise of the Jean Coutu chain of pharmacies in 1973. The huge downtown store was cited by Coutu as a key factor in the continued success of the Quebec chain (Virthe, 1980:55).

4.4 Canadian Pacific Railway, Place Viger Hotel and Railway Station

The C.P.R.'s Place Viger Hotel and Railway Station was the only important example of English-Canadian corporate interest in the study area during the entire time span. The departure of Canada's first transcontinental train was made from the C.P.R.'s Dalhousie Square Station and Depot in 1886. The depot (the site of the former Quebec

Gate Barracks) was situated just northeast of Place Viger.¹ In 1889 the C.P.R. opened its Windsor Station adjacent to Dominion Square to the west, from where all westward passenger traffic was directed by the company (Figure 1.2). Since 1876, however, leading French Canadian businessmen and political figures in Montreal, many of whom were residents of the study area, urged the replacement of the C.P.R. depot by a large central east railway station in the vicinity of Place Viger (La Minerve, October 19, 1882). The C.P.R. was also interested in the site because of its proximity to the harbour and the old city business core (C.P.R., Corporate Archives).

The planning of the Place Viger Hotel and Railway Station may have been one of the first publicly sponsored redevelopment programs in central east Montreal (La Patrie, June 21, 1942). In 1893 the city and the C.P.R. signed an agreement for the construction and maintenance of a central east Montreal railway hotel and station. The city subsequently purchased a large parcel of residential subdivisions along the northeast periphery of Viger Square for the company (Figure 4.2) (Plate 25). The construction of an architecturally distinctive French chateau-style hotel and station structure was the idea of C.P.R. president William Van Horne, who planned its design "à la gloire de la race canadienne-française" (Golba, 1959:6).

The Place Viger Station received passengers (many of them rural migrants) from the C.P.R.'s Quebec City and Ottawa lines and from suburbs north of Montreal. The freight yards received produce destined for Marché Bonsecours, situated adjacent to the station in Old Montreal. The Place Viger Hotel, however, which fronted on Viger Square, "must have struck a pleasant rural note in one of the busiest parts of Montreal" (Golba, 1959:23).

¹The presence of Windsor Station (and nearby railway facilities) was an important factor in the completion of the Roman Catholic Cathedral on the perimeter of Dominion Square in the western sector of the present CBD.

MONTREAL — VIGER STATION, CANADIAN PACIFIC RAILWAY
 MONTREAL — GARE VIGER DU CHEMIN DE FER DU PACIFIQUE CANADIEN

Plate 25: Place Viger Hotel and Station fronting on Place Viger, c. 1907.
 From Bibliothèque Nationale du Québec, Collection E. Z. Massicotte,
 Album des rues.

The nearest hotel to ... Old Montreal and the French cultural environs of the Université de Montréal ... [Place Viger Hotel] was the mecca and meeting ground of politicians, clergy ... businessmen and society people. Many decisions were reached in her rooms. It was the center of the highest social gatherings [for French Canadians] from 1897 to 1910 (Golba, 1959:24, citing from the Montreal Star, April 31, 1935).

The Place Viger Hotel lost much of its prestige during the 1910s with the decline of the Old Montreal business core in favour of the emergent English-dominated CBD core, which was gravitating toward Dominion Square, Windsor Station, and St. Catherine Street West.¹ The hotel was closed in 1935 amid protest from many central businessmen and local institutions; one, perhaps overwrought, editorialist wrote "la fermeture du Viger c'est le dernier [affront] to la cohésion canadienne-française" (l'Illustration, September 3, 1935). The closure of the Viger Hotel, preceded by the closing of Bonsecours Market, was a key event in the decline of the commercial centrality of the study area.

While several permanent institutional uses for the hotel structure were suggested, it served as a military refuge during the war years (Le Devoir, January 20, 1933). The railway station and yards were subsequently closed in 1951 and the entire property was ceded to the city. The complex, now known as Edifice Jacques Viger, has housed the public works annex of City Hall since 1956.

The C.P.R. station did not intrude upon French Canadian business and institutional interests in the area, but rather complemented and enhanced commercial activity in the study area, as well as in the old city core. This form of national corporate interest could have provided some of the necessary external business linkages for this vital portion of the French Canadian business community in subsequent decades.

¹While situated about two miles from Windsor Station, there was sixteen miles of trackage between Place Viger and its rival (Thompson and Edger, 1933:175).

4.5 Office Building Development

The paucity of office building construction is a key factor in the failure of the central east Montreal study area to be developed into a modern CBD core, or at least into a secondary core to the dominant core in the west. During the early twentieth century, a crucial period for the continued expansion of the French Canadian central business area, only three office buildings were established in the study area. The headoffices of Alliance Nationale (now l'Alliance Compagnie Mutuelle d'Assurance Vie) occupied a large former residence on Viger Street from 1910 to 1936 (Plate 2). The headquarters of the Société des Artisan Canadiens-Français (another insurance company, now Les Coopérants), situated at the southwest corner of Viger Square, has been gradually expanded from a three-storey building in 1922 (Plate 16; Figures 3.4, 3.5, and 3.6) to its present large six-storey stature. The ten-storey Edifice Dandurand (now the Edifice St. Denis) was opened at the intersection of St. Catherine and St. Denis Streets in 1915. Edifice Dandurand, the only office building in the study area comparable to contemporary development in the emergent central business core to the west, was among the first structures of its height in the city (Plate 18 and Plate 26). Since the opening of the Edifice Dandurand, from 10 to 25 percent of its tenants have been French Canadian societies and associations, including mutual benefit societies, businessmen's and professional associations, and, in later years, labour union locals and offices were more predominantly represented. (Lovell, 1915 ... 1980).

The propinquity of societies and associations in the study area's office spaces was not simply a case of lower rental and land values in the city's central east area. The new crop of office buildings along St. Catherine Street West, between McGill and Guy Streets, hosted many English-language social clubs, mutual benefit societies, and union offices into the 1950s (Lovell, 1915 ... 1950). This similarity in landuse was mirrored, to an extent, in both the institutional and commercial development which was being pursued concurrently both in the

Plate 26: Edifice Dandurand, 1915-1921, Edifice St. Denis,
1922-Present (Plate 18). Sketch 1913. From Bibliothèque
Nationale du Québec, Collection E. Z. Massicotte,
Album des rues.

study area and in the emergent dominant central business area to the west. The central business activity which took place within the study area until the 1930s reflected the cultural duality in Montreal in particular. The extended central business or downtown area which resulted was, however, typical of large North American cities until the Depression (Pasdermadjian, 1976:54 and 128; Yeates, 1965:59-62).

Monsieur U. H. Dandurand apparently had quite grand plans for the study area. In 1924 the former Ecole St. Jacques building (Appendix C), situated diagonally across from the Edifice Dandurand, was leased by the Sulpicians to a group of businessmen headed by Dandurand. While a larger redevelopment was planned, the former school building was only slightly expanded and subdivided into shops and recreational and service outlets (Figure 3.4). Such a project had been long advocated by St. Catherine Street merchants as retail continuity along the St. Catherine Street axis was interrupted by the corridor of religious, charitable, and educational institutions which long dominated the St. Hubert and St. Denis Street intersections (La Presse, February 6, 1924; interviews). The conflict between commercial and institutional uses in the area has re-emerged as the institutional core (which declined in importance during the 1950s and 1960s) at the intersection of St. Denis and St. Catherine Streets has been revitalized in recent years (Figure 4.4). These social and cultural landuses have acted as a barrier to potential westward retail expansion and may have limited office building construction in the area, especially in the vicinity of St. Catherine East and St. Denis Streets.

Construction of new office buildings in the study area was not resumed until the late 1960s and include the Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux building (now an annex of Hôpital St. Luc) (subsection 3.4.7), the expanded headquarters of Les Coopérants (formerly Les Artisans (Canadiens-Français)(subsection 3.5.3), the Société Nationale de la Fiducie building (subsection 3.5.5), and the Place Dupuis complex. The recent participation in the modernization of the study area by the above labour union, corporate sector of the Société St. Jean Baptiste and the corporation associated with Dupuis Frères reflects

the continuity of interest in the area by diverse social elements of the French Canadian community. Nevertheless, it is interest by other French Canadian corporations and banks which is necessary to effect a commercial centrality in the area.

4.6 Central Business Potential--Conclusion and Summary of Comments By Businessmen Interviewed

Dupuis and most of the above specialty stores attained regional, provincial, or international renown. Three of these (Dupuis Frères, Omer DeSerres Ltée, and Pharmacie Jean Coutu, the successor to the Montreal Pharmacy) have spawned many city and suburban branches. Two others, Ed. Archambault and Langelier-Valiquette, have been associated with the industrial facet of their trade in the province; all of which has contributed to the early French Canadian commercial and cultural centrality of the area.

From interviews with the above St. Catherine East retailers and from the brief business histories described above, it is evident that there has been an important measure of competition between commercial landuse and the predominant social and cultural institutional landuse in the study area since at least the 1920s. The anxiety over commercial space has been focused on the St. Catherine and St. Denis Streets intersection where, except for the Dandurand projects, institutional and public landuse has always dominated. The social and cultural institutions, and the large and medium-sized downtown businesses, which were selected as the basis for the identification of the study area as a French Canadian culture core in Montréal, have formed an uneasy central urban focus.

One St. Catherine Street businessman suggested the locale will always be a "nice little culture area," but the study area will not develop into a major French Canadian cultural and business core as long as major French Canadian-owned insurance companies and banks continue to locate their headoffices in the business core to the west. Most of the businesses agreed that the recent government-sponsored redevelopment schemes in the larger central east area, including Complexe

Desjardins, Place Guy Favreau, and the Palais du Congrès are efforts which were too late and remote from their enterprises. These three modern complexes, in particular, located several blocks west of St. Denis Street, have served to reinforce the St. Laurent Boulevard social and commercial barrier, rather than to direct shoppers eastward. While the new buildings bring some consumer traffic into the area, they have had only an indirect impact on the stores in question.

The development of the Berri-De-Montigny Transfer Station and the Place Dupuis complex have been the most promising of the programs, but have thus far fallen short of expectations. Most of the merchants interviewed did not perceive the former Université de Montréal and the present UQAM campuses (the cultural foci of the area) as particularly advantageous for business, except in the cases where their merchandise has been in demand by students, academics, or artists. The businessmen were of the opinion that the current institutional revitalization in the area has been far more beneficial for the small-scale retailers and restaurateurs; it is a viewpoint which was confirmed by an interview with a proprietor of a small art gallery (situated in the study area for over 75 years) and is evident from simple observation. (Note: Businessmen interviewed are tabulated).

CHAPTER FIVE

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS, FURTHER RESEARCH, AND APPLICATIONS

5.1 Summary and Conclusions

The central east Montreal study area may be described as a focus of tradition and innovation of French Canadian institutions and associations of city and provincial importance. The potential of the study area to mature as a full spectrum French Canadian urban culture core declined beginning in the 1920s.

The combined and separate initiatives of members of the French Canadian elite, bourgeoisie, and of the Church had produced the culture core and central business activity which characterized the study area from about 1870 until the 1920s. The major causes of the subsequent central urban stagnation and decline of the study area are thus cited as the relocation of elite institutions and the lack of further middle and large-scale business interest until the 1960s (in the wake of the abandonment of the area by upper and middle-income residents).

The institutions of tradition, still in situ, include vestiges of Eglise St. Jacques (formerly the Cathédrale St. Jacques), the Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, two city squares, and the Bibliothèque Nationale (formerly the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice), and the Clubs St. Denis and Canadien. Three large charitable complexes operated by religious orders (the Convent Miséricorde, now the Hôpital Jacques Viger, being the one remaining of these) established early and longstanding public and institutional sites in the area. Many of these institutions and associations manifested the early elite, academic, and working-class links with the study area and were innovative social and cultural establishments for their time. The institutions of innovation, with shorter periods of occupancy in the area, included the Université

Laval à Montréal, the Université de Montréal, the Ecole Polytechnique, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, and the Conservatoire de la Musique, which, with the Bibliothèque St. Sulpice, were also central elements of the first Quartier Latin period until the 1940s.

During the 1930s and 1940s, as the study area merged with adjacent low-rental residential districts, it was the new institutions and associations of the working-class which were established in the area. Publicly subsidized vocational colleges (part of the education node), the headquarters of the Jeunesse Ouvrière Catholique, and labour union offices joined the earlier charitable institutions, as well as the Hôpital St. Luc and the Institut Bruchesi, which offered health and social services for the poor. Most of these working-class institutions persisted in the area into the 1960s and represented Government and Church-directed efforts to improve the conditions (and perhaps to subdue the unrest) of the French Canadian working-class.

Most recently it has been the Province, with the funding of the construction of the new Université du Québec à Montréal campus, which has been the basis for the revival of the present Quartier Latin since the early 1970s. An education node has thus emerged as universities and colleges of regional and provincial scope have been successively located at particular institutional sites in the study area for almost a century. The succession of educational institutions has represented two key trends cultural policy in Quebec beside the ongoing democratization of post-secondary education. The first of these trends has been the direction of young French Canadians into the leading sectors of business and industrial communities in the Province while the second trend was the reinforcement of a distinct and progressive French Canadian identity.

The primary objective of this thesis is an exploration into the longevity and diversity of French Canadian institutions as pivotal to the culture core character of the study area. Four social and geographic phenomena, particular to Montreal (some of them applicable to other multi-cultural cities), have contributed to the longevity of institutions in the study area.

First, the maintenance of a large French Canadian population in the vicinity of the study area through time has preserved the French Canadian orientation of the institutions. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the charity and enterprise of philanthropists and businessmen established the initial diverse urban structure of the study area where the institutions of the wealthy, the working-class, and of the poor were situated in proximity to central business activity. This social proximity of French Canadian institutions and residences was sustained for a longer period, into the late nineteenth century, than in central areas of other large North American and Western European cities. Working-class French Canadians have predominated the area since the 1930s, while there has been an anticipated return of the middle-class since the opening of UQAM.

Secondly, the urban and cultural importance of the study area has been perpetuated by successive interest and participation in the area by influential members of French Canadian society. These have included members of the elite and academic communities respectively into the 1920s and the 1940s, the Church until the early 1960s, and most recently by the Provincial administration. The initiative and participation of the upper and middle classes (and of the Church), in the development of the institutional and business structure of the study area, has been emphasized. Ultimately, it has been these groups with the greater power of decision-making and capital which have been largely responsible for the social and commercial structure of the city in general, and of this study area in particular. The role of the Church has been down-played in an effort to identify the influence of the French Canadian elite and mercantile groups of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries in the structure of the central east Montreal study area.

Thirdly, the longevity of institutions, such as churches, hospitals, schools, and libraries, compared to the more rapidly changing residential character of the area, has resulted in an overlap of institutions of previous socio-economic groups. Some examples include the academically elite Ecole Polytechnique and Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales which lingered in the study area during the occupation

of the area by the trade and vocational schools, Ecole de Meuble, Ecole des Métiers Commerciaux, and Institut des Arts Appliquées, while the gentlemen's clubs, St. Denis and Canadien, have maintained their elegant clubhouses in the area since the 1870s through the decades of urban decline and subsequent revitalization. The fourth phenomenon is the central east location of the institutional core which remains amenable to the renewal of its previous centrality in relation to the larger French Canadian urban hinterland. The placement of the Berri-De-Montigny transfer station and the Université du Québec à Montréal campus have been crucial contemporary elements in the reinforcement and revival of the urban and cultural centrality of the study area.

The illustration of a nascent central business area in central east Montreal was the secondary objective of the thesis. The existence of an early important business area outside the modern dominant CBD core was noted to be typical of CBD development in large North American cities. The structure of the French Canadian-dominated central business area was suggested to be comparable with those of other large North American cities of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. French Canadian merchants in the study area pioneered upcity retail locations in spacious and architecturally distinctive commercial edifices, contemporaneously with (and in some cases in advance of) noted Anglo businessmen in the emergent central area to the west. The French Canadian-owned middle and large-scale retail outlets, as well as the C.P.R. Place Viger Station and Hotel, gained hinterlands of urban, regional, and international scope and renown.

Middle and large-scale commercial activity in the study area was initiated by a different sector and generation of the French Canadian community in Montreal than were the philanthropists and influential residents who had established the prestigious and charitable core of institutions in the study area. This represents the diversity of inputs to the study area from many sectors of French Canadian society; Nazaire Dupuis, for example, was a rural migrant of some means. Early central business components included Dupuis Frères, a leading department

store in the city, several high-priced specialty stores, the ten-storey Dandurand office building, and the elegant Place Viger C.P.R. hotel and station. The latter represented the one interest in the area by a national corporation. Continuing business centrality depended on contemporary corporate participation in the area and on the construction of modern office buildings, both of which were not pursued in the area after the 1920s.

Since the early 1970s, it has been the Province and the initiative of young merchants which have assumed leading roles in the continuity and revitalization of the institutional structure and small-scale commercial vitality of the study area with the construction of the new campus of the Université du Québec à Montréal and the revival of the former Quartier Latin. The corporate development of the Place Dupuis complex and the Société Nationale de Fiducie building represent parallel attempts to revive the central business image of the area. These developments have released the area from its major contemporary function as a regional transportation node and service area in the periphery of the CBD since the 1950s and 1960s. Middle and large-scale business activity along St. Catherine Street East, however, continues to strain under competition from the predominant institutional landuse in the study area and from recent small-scale Quartier-Latin orientated businesses of the study area.

The physical scale and structure of the French Canadian culture core area of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries have been largely maintained due to the continuity and diversity of social and cultural institutional landuse and by the curtailed central business activity. (The residential landscape of the previous century has also been preserved despite changes in the socio-economic composition of its occupants.) The history of the study area as a French Canadian culture core in Montreal is not generally recognized. One contends, however, that a particular "image" (Lynch, 1960) has been cultivated in the area which has been the cultural and political basis for revitalization initiatives by the Province and by young merchants since the early 1970s. The revival of the institutional importance in the study area differs from

many other central city locales where revitalization has been based on the particular residential and commercial character of these areas. The modern design of the UQAM campus, with its integration of vestiges of Cathédrale St.-Jacques-le-Majeur, encompasses the history of St. Denis Street and of the study area and symbolizes contemporary socio-economic forces in Montreal and the Province (Kestelman, 1981:135),

5.2 Further Research and Applications

The limitation of the research methodology employed, based primarily on archival sources and complemented by selected interviews, is the element of subjectivity. There appears to be a lack of agreement or dispute with the culture core perception of the study area by people with daily experience in the area and by members of the larger French Canadian community in Montreal. Thus, a survey of French Canadian perceptions from a cross-section of society might be completed to further verify and complement the present study.

Several other prestigious and charitable French Catholic institutions have been situated within a more expansive area of central city Montreal since the mid-nineteenth century. The area under study, however, has housed the greatest concentration and diversity of French Canadian institutions. The role and participation of nineteenth century French Canadian socio-cultural (and business leaders) in the structure of the Montreal CBD, including the old city area, could be further evaluated through a broader study of nineteenth and early twentieth century institutional sites (and commerce).

For sociologists and historians, the establishment and continuity of institutional locations in the study area explored in this thesis may be used as a preliminary source for further research into linkages between the institutions, their ideological changes, and an evaluation of their roles in the structure of French Canadian society. Detailed study of the records of these institutions, where they exist, and a review of their publications, for example, would prove fascinating and worthwhile.

The existence of a central business area in the study area illustrates the early dual cultural and business centrality in Montreal: those areas developed by French and by Anglo Canadians in the city. The verification of the present study concerning the early urban centrality of the study area could be strengthened by a comparison of the institutional and commercial structure of the French Canadian central east with the structure of the Anglo-dominated central core of Montreal during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Further comparisons of the origins and influence of social and culturally orientated landuses in the central areas of other large North American cities would be of value to those interested in the development of present theoretical understanding of CBD structure more generally.

The longevity and distribution of institutional edifices and properties in the larger urban area bears further study in at least three particular directions. First, the diffusion of social and cultural landuses outward from the central core as the city expands may exhibit distinct spatial patterns. Secondly, a comparison of the locations and movement of institutions among ethnic and culture groups would provide insight into aspects of the social geography of the city. The more rigid structure of French Canadian Catholic parishes in Montreal, for example, combined with the large size of the French Canadian community as a dominant culture group, has probably generated a wider and more stable distribution of institutions than would small ethnic groups which usually exhibit greater movement within the city. Such studies are particularly applicable to multi-cultural and pluralistic cities where there may be replication of social and cultural institutions. A third direction of study is the implications of increasing Government ownership of institutional properties on the urban structure and on the longevity of institutional edifices in cities such as Montreal. Quebec has acquired a large amount of institutional properties since its domination of health and social services in the Province. The acquisitions of many nineteenth and early twentieth

century institutional properties, such as in the study area, has contributed to the longevity of social and cultural sites in the urban environment.

The urban history of this study area may be integrated with the literature on the growth and changes in the CBD area of large North American cities through time. The tracing of the fluctuation in the size and centre of the central business area, during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, juxtaposed to the locations of areas of recent redevelopment and revitalization would provide insight into the ongoing processes of decline and reintegration of areas of "discard" in the periphery of the CBD (Griffin and Preson, 1966). Distinctive nineteenth century urban landscapes have been left to stagnate within their respective zones of transition in large North American cities. The study of these areas may reveal much about the social and cultural structure and the commercial origins of the central city area. The nineteenth century structure of most North American central cities has been viewed as a "challenge" to modern planning by Ward (1966:171), and areas in the CBD periphery have been described as "reservoirs" for redevelopment by Hartshorn (1980:309). Planning efforts in such areas of the CBD periphery may benefit from the recognition of the salient landuses of the past in these areas and the potential for their practical and aesthetic reintegration with the present central city core.

APPENDIX A

Côme-Séraphin Cherrier: Biographical Note

Côme-Séraphin Cherrier (a distinguished advocate and president of the Banque du People from 1877 to 1885) moved from his old city residence in 1843 to one of the two residences he would occupy in the vicinity of St. Denis and Lagauchetière Streets until his death. In 1961 Cherrier inherited most of his cousin's, Denis-Benjamin Viger, urban and rural estate. Cherrier was a celebrated philanthropist as he donated many tracts of land to charities and other institutes. From his estate within and in the vicinity of the study area his donations included Chapelle Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes (subsection 3.2.7), an expansive property just north of the study area for the Sisters of Providence Institute for Deaf and Mute Women (Institut des Sourdes-Muettes) which was opened in 1864 and with Antoine Berthelet he ceded a large tract for the Frères de la Charité Hospice Saint-Antoine, later the Ecole de Reforme (subsection 3.2.6) (Le Diocèse, 1900:389; Audet, 1943:207).

"... Cherrier apparently drew criticism for unwillingness to take risks with his property, which was left an undeveloped stretch in the urban landscape to the east of Rue Saint-Denis in Montreal" (DCB, 1982, vol. 11:188). This attitude contributed to the subsequent domination of the area by institutional land use. By 1882 Cherrier did sell a large portion of the St. Denis Street tract (between St. Catherine and Dorchester Streets, to the Séminaire du Québec) which was later developed into the Université Laval à Montréal. The tract was the focus of institution building until 1929 and of revitalization since the 1970s.

Cherrier was active in the early development of the law faculty of the Université Laval, as well as in the establishment of the university's early rival for dominance, the Collège Ste-Marie, situated southwest of the study area (Lavallée, 1974:26, 29, and 109).

APPENDIX B

Hospice Saint-Joseph

In 1844 the Soeurs de la Providence Order purchased a house on Mignonne Street, opposite the motherhouse, and converted it into a hostel for the old and infirm priests. This small institution depended on local collections and housed a variety of services in its history.

Two wings were added to the hostel in 1850 and 1853 and, for a short time after the Great Fire of 1852, it hosted the Bishop's residence. In 1864 the hostel began receiving patients from the overburdened Providence Institution for Deaf and Dumb Women, located just north of the study area (Le Diocèse, 1900:185). In 1899 the hostel was renamed Jardin d'Enfance Saint-Joseph, as the sisters converted the building into an early form of daycare centre for the children of working mothers from the predominantly low-income population of St. Jacques Ward. It was one of several "Salle d'Asile" for children opened in the city since 1858; some were located in strictly working-class districts and others at more prestigious addresses (Cross, 1977: 75). The centre remained open until about 1910 when the Province purchased the site for the construction of the Ecole de Médecine Vétérinaire and Ecole des Chirurgie Dentaire (Appendix G).

APPENDIX C

Ecole Saint-Jacques

Opened by Bishop Lartique in 1827, St. Jacques boys' school was one of the earliest and longest surviving of public schools in Quebec (Hunte, 1962:38). Conducted from the Episcopal Palace and the Cathédrale St-Jacques sacristy, Bishop Bourget placed the direction of the school in the hands of the Frères des Ecoles Chrétiennes in 1843 (Latour-Huguet, 1864:127). From 1853 to 1863, St. Jacques school shared a building with the St. Alexis Orphanage, on the north side of the cathedral. In 1863 the Sulpicians opened a permanent schoolhouse which flanked the south side of the Cathedral, at the corner of St. Catherine Street, while the orphanage was granted the entire structure at the corner of Mignonne Street (La Patrie, December 14, 1952).

While elegant residences predominated in the vicinity of St. Jacques Cathedral and School since the 1860s, working-class families represented the vast majority of the St. Jacques Ward and Parish populations (Bernier, 1975:45; Bradbury, 1980:7). Through time St. Jacques as a public school "... repondit bien à l'attente de la chrétienne population de St. Jacques, qu'on y vit accourir des élèves de tous les rangs de la société (Le Devoir, June 27, 1936). St. Jacques became a highly regarded school where students were encouraged to pursue business and applied sciences programs in nearby French Catholic colleges. Ecole St. Jacques, one of the first institutions established in the study area, became an early victim of the large scale institutional and commercial activity in the area as increasingly heavy traffic prompted the Brothers to move the school to a new building in 1921-1922 adjacent to the study area.

APPENDIX D

Académie Saint-Denis and Externat Saint-Ignace

Two private girls' schools were established in former residences in the study area by 1871 which reflected the increasing popularity of the area among affluent French Canadians in the city. The Académie Saint-Denis for Girls was founded by the Sisters of the Order of Notre Dame (Congregation de Notre Dame) in 1861 in response to the wishes of wealthy families in the St. Jacques Parish area. In 1863 the private school was transferred to a neighbouring address on St. Denis Street which was a former residence of C. S. Cherrier (Le Diocèse, 1900:171-172). Expanded in 1884, the school remained open until 1936 when the building was subsequently sold to the workingmen's association, the Jeunesse Ouvriers Catholique (Plate 17).

The Externat Saint-Ignace, a less academically orientated private girls' school, was operated by the Soeurs Marianites de Sainte Croix at two successive addresses on St. Hubert Street from 1871 to 1941 (Une Religieuse de Ste-Croix, 1930, volume 2:184-186). The properties were purchased by the Sisters largely at lenient rates (BEM, Quartier St. Jacques, cadastral Nos. 510, 511, 512, 513, 846). The first house (the former residence of the Premier of Quebec, Gédéon Ouimet) was converted into an order-administered l'Ave Maria, a reception centre and boardinghouse for young French Catholic female migrants from 1910 until the 1970s (AMM, file No. R3218.2). The second house was purchased by the Pères Blanc Missionnaires d'Afrique from the Sisters and is the last remaining mission location, of which there have been several in the study area (Le Diocèse, 1900:172-3; Lovell's, 1870 ... 1942).

APPENDIX E

Académie Marchand and Académie Mont St. Louis

Two educational institutions with rather progressive curricula were opened within and adjacent to the study area in the 1880s, both of which continue to house educational facilities into the present.

The women's college, Académie Madame Marchand (and the nearby, short-lived Ecole de Mademoiselle Ida Labelle) offered the first French-language secular curriculum in teacher and, later, secretarial skills for young women in the city (Le Diocèse, 1900:171). In 1887 the Académie was moved to its fourth address (since its founding in 1869) at the intersection of Dorchester and Berri Streets; the school graduated nearly a thousand students between 1881 and 1901 (Lovell, 1869 ... 1887; Cross, 1977:80 ff. 48). Partially subsidized by the Commission des Écoles Catholiques de Montréal (CECM), the Académie Marchand was placed completely in the control of the Commission in 1909, which provided it with a new and handsome building at the same location. Quebec's Ministry of Education purchased the school in 1940 for its Ecole du Meuble, furniture and craftsmen's school, one of several provincially funded trade schools that were maintained in central east Montreal since about 1910 until the early 1970s (Le Devoir, September 17, 1941; Le Canada, May 9, 1942) (Plate 18). The Province closed the school in 1971 and returned the building to the CECM which has since operated the Ecole des Métiers Féminins and Soin à la Personne institute for the training of hairdressers and beauticians.

The prestigious high school for boys, Mont St. Louis, was opened in 1888 and expanded in stages until 1908, largely at the expense of the Frères des Écoles Chrétienne de Montréal. The Frères offered a rather unique bilingual, non-classical curriculum in commerce and the applied sciences (La Presse, May 1, 1948; Montreal Star, October 8, 1976; BEM, Quartier St. Louis cadastral Nos. 749-753). Situated just northwest of the study area along the fashionable Sherbrooke Street axis, the sprawling college edifice is one of many large religious and

educational buildings (including McGill University and other Anglo institutions) which have graced the street since the early nineteenth century. Mont St. Louis was orientated toward the French Canadian educational community that was centred on the Université de Montréal on St. Denis Street. Closed in the late 1960s, the former Académie Mont St. Louis building was subsequently sold to the CEGEP Vieux Montréal. Most of the surrounding parcel of land was expropriated by the City of Montreal which then ceded the land to the CEGEP; a small corner of the property had also previously hosted three city-owned facilities which included a police station, a fire station, and a public bath (IPCM, 1954:pl. 130). The donation of land was made on the condition that the CEGEP construct and maintain a sports complex with free access to the public (BEM, Quartier St. Louis cadastral No, 749-6). The future of the vacated nineteenth century Mont St. Louis edifice was uncertain until it was designated a historical monument by the Province's Ministère des Affaires Culturelles in 1979.

APPENDIX F

The Union Nationale Française (U.N.F.)

The Union Nationale Française was founded as a benevolent society in 1886 by members of the city's small community of French compatriots (from France). In 1902 the U.N.F. moved its headquarters, situated a few blocks west of the study area, to a small building on Dubord (now Viger) Street near St. Hubert Street. Soon after, the site was sold to and redeveloped by the Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales. The purchase and maintenance of this and subsequent buildings were subsidized by the Province and the Sulpician seminary, with subsequent grants from France, the City of Montreal, a Montreal bank, and a French Canadian charitable federation (l'Union Nationale Française, 1936; Le Devoir, July 13, 1976).

In 1909 the Union and its Maison de Refuge were relocated to two adjacent Viger Street residences. The Consulate Générale of France and subsequently the Chambre de Commerce Française au Canada occupied part of the small complex from 1908 to 1918; the U.N.F. continues to be affiliated with the Consulate (Lovell, 1910 ... 1919). In recent decades, besides the benevolent work of the society, still in situ (Plate 2), an important function of the Union Nationale Française has been the promotion of Franco-Québec commercial and industrial relations. The U.N.F. has represented an historical and economic link between Quebec and France.

The inertia which has maintained the U.N.F. on Viger Street (interview, July, 1982) may be rewarded as the City is presently proceeding with the renovation of Place Viger and its environs.

APPENDIX G

L'Ecole de Chirurgie Dentaire, l'Ecole de Médecine Vétérinaire, l'Ecole d'Optométrie, l'Ecole Menagères Provinciale, and Corps Ecole d'Officiers Canadien

The Ecole de Chirurgie Dentaire (founded in 1894) was affiliated with the Université Laval in 1904 and, beginning in 1911, occupied a large facility at the southwest corner of St. Hubert and de Montigny Street where it also operated a municipally subsidized dental clinic for the poor. The site, purchased from the Soeurs de la Providence, was the former location of the Hospice St. Joseph and subsequently of the Jardin de l'Enfance St. Joseph (Appendix B).

The Ecole de Médecine Vétérinaire, founded in 1886 and affiliated with the university in 1898, was moved from its Craig (now St. Antoine) Street location (subsequently maintained by the Université) to an annex of the dentistry building in 1916. The veterinary school was mostly funded by the Province and, in 1942, the entire complex was acquired by the Ministry of Health which occupied it until 1950 when it was demolished for the construction of the Provincial Transport Company's regional bus terminus (Appendix J) (SAUM, (D35), No. 1442; Université de Montréal, 1933:28 and 34; Maurault, 1952:23-24).

The Ecole d'Optométrie was founded in 1910 and was affiliated with the Université de Montréal in 1925. The classes of the school and a clinic were situated in a small building on St. André Street, near De Montigny, from 1929 to 1947, where the offices of its parent society, the Association des Optométristes et Opticiens, had been located since 1914 (Université de Montréal, 1933:35 and 37; SAUM, (35), No. 1268). The Ecole Menagère Provinciale, a women's college for the agricultural sciences, occupied a Sherbrooke Street address from 1927 to 1956.

The last Université de Montréal building established in the study area was the Corps d'Officiers Canadiens. The military orientated curriculum offered at the school was initiated during the inter-war years. In 1940 Madame Grace Elliott Trudeau offered a conditional

donation of another Sherbrooke Street property and large house, near Berri Street (SAUM, (D35), No. 1468) which was the former clubhouse of the St. Jacques Ward section of the Chevaliers de Colomb. The Corps d'Officiers Canadiens occupied the building until 1956 when the site was expropriated by the City for the extension of Berri Street.

APPENDIX H

Assistance Publique

In 1904 the Société de Protection des Femmes des Enfants et des Viellards was renamed l'Assistance Publique. The former society had operated out of a Dorchester Street house for several years, under the direction of a fairly large group of distinguished businessmen and professionals (AMM, File No. R.3165.2). Out of the fifteen directors, eight lived within the study area and three owned businesses in the area (Lovell, 1904). It was probably the last charitable institution in the study area which maintained a relatively close association between wealthy and poor French-Canadians. Some of the group remained with Assistance Publique and, in 1921, ceded to the society the Lagauchetière Street refuge which it had occupied since about 1907 (BEM, Quartier St. Jacques, cadastral No. 213, Acte D 73 117155). Most of its funding, however, was provided by the City and then increasingly by the French Federated Charities, while another important source of revenue was derived from the renting of a meeting hall to various French-Canadian societies and clubs (Album-Souvenir de l'Assistance Publique, 1905:17; Fédération des Oeuvres Canadiennes-Françaises, 1944:43). By the 1930s, it was mostly homeless men and derelicts who were received at Assistance Publique which remained open until 1951..

APPENDIX I

Partial List of Study Area Residents, in 1881, Who Played Important
Roles in the Political and Socio-Cultural Development of Quebec

- Dansereau, Edmond (St. Hubert). Proprietor and printer of La Minerve; editor Le Moniteur du Commerce.
- Desjardins, Alphonse (Berri). Lawyer; director l'Ordre and Nouveau-Monde; Federal M. P.; president of Banque Jacques-Cartier; director of Crédit Foncier Franco-Canadien.
- Dorion, Sir Antoine-Aimé (Sherbrooke). Lawyer; representative in Union Parliament; chief justice Court of Queen's Bench.
- Drummond, Lewis Thomas (St. Denis). Defence lawyer for two members of the 1837 Uprising; representative in Union Parliament with portfolio; judge.
- Duvernay, Ludger D. (Dubord). Proprietor of Courrier de Montréal and of Le Feuille d'Erable.
- Géoffrion, C. Alphonse (Sherbrooke). Eminent lawyer; federal M. P. with portfolio.
- Houde, Frederick (St. Hubert). M. P.; publishers of Le Monde and of Le Foyer Canadien.
- Jetté, Sir Louis-A. (St. Hubert). Federal M. P.; superior court judge; dean of the Université Laval à Montréal law faculty; lieutenant-governor of Quebec; chief justice of Québec.
- Laflamme, T.-A.-Rodolphe (Berri). Founder of Institut Canadien; editor of l'Avenir; leader of Parti Rouge; federal M. P. with portfolio.
- Laframboise, Maurice (St. Denis). Representative in Union Parliament; superior court judge for Gaspé; commissioner of Public Works.
- Loranger, Louis-Onésime (Craig). Montreal alderman; provincial M. P.; provincial attorney-general; superior court judge for Montreal.
- Mercier, Honoré (Ontario, St. Denis). Editor of Courrier de Saint-Hyacinthe; federal M. P.; leader Quebec Liberal Party; Premier of Quebec and attorney-general; author l'Avenir du Canada; early

leader in the formation of a subsidized night school system for the city's French Canadian working-class.

Monk, S. Cornwallis (Ontario). Judge Quebec Superior Court.

Mousseau, Joseph-Alfred (Dorchester). Founding member of Colonisateur and l'Opinion Publique; federal M. P. with portfolio and secretary of State (president of Council); leader Quebec Conservative Party; Premier of Quebec and attorney-general; judge Quebec superior court for Rimouski.

Ouimet, J.-Aldéric (Lagauchetière). Federal M. P.; president of the chamber; lieutenant-general (against Metis Uprising of 1885).

Pagneulo, Siméon (Sherbrooke). Judge Quebec superior court for Montreal; professor Université Laval à Montréal.

Rainville, Henri-B. (St. Hubert). Provincial M. P.; speaker of the legislative assembly; administrator Société d'utilité publique.

Rottot, J. P. (Berri). Dean Université Laval à Montréal medical faculty.

Taillon, Sir Louis-Olivier (Dorchester). Bâtonnier of the Quebec Bar; provincial M. P.; speaker and attorney-general; provisional premier; provincial treasurer; federal M. P. with portfolio.

Trudel, Dr. Eugène-Hercule (Place Viger). One of the founders of the Soeurs de la Providence dispensary. Dean of the Ecole de Medicine et de Chirurgie and Director of the Banque Hochelaga (Lovell, 1865 ... 1883).

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APPENDIX J

Provincial Transport Company and Palais de Commerce

The Provincial Transport Company's regional and interprovincial bus terminal was opened in 1951 at the northeast intersection of Berri and de Montigny Streets. By 1970 all interprovincial bus services in the city were centralized at the company's enlarged Berri Street terminal. Further expansion is expected as the company recently received special permission to demolish a row of nineteenth-century houses on nearby St. Hubert Street (La Presse, April 18, 1979).

Palais de Commerce Inc. constructed a four-storey merchandising mart of the west side of Berri Street. Opened in 1951, the Berri Street Show-Mart was a relatively successful enterprise until 1967, when Place Bonaventure (a much grander hotel, retail, and merchandising complex) succeeded in attracting exhibitors to its more modern facilities, near the core of the CBD, to the west. It is suspected that the corporate interests of Place Bonaventure became the principal leasee of the Palais de Commerce in 1967 in order to relieve the building of the show mart and thus to ensure the success of the new merchandising hall (La Patrie, week of March 19, 1967; BEM, Quartier St. Jacques, Cadastral No. 838-844; Acte 11221197). Second rate commercial exhibition facilities are still available at the Palais; while other longstanding tenants of the building since its demise have been a supermarket, a French-language radio station, a recreation centre, provincial government offices, and, most recently, the music department of UQAM.

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Businessmen Interviewed--July 1982

Edmond Archambault of Ed. Archambault Incorporée

Charles Desjardins of Charles Desjardins Compagnie Limitée

Roger DeSerres of Omer DeSerres Limitée

Jean Duquet of Pharmacie Montréal (now Pharmacie Jean Coutu)

Hector Langevin of N. G. Valiquette Limitée.

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06-06-86

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