





NAME

Zakuta, Leo

Natural areas of the  
Mex met. community

NO.

Map No 8

between p. 56  
and 57

THE NATURAL AREAS OF THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY  
WITH SPECIAL REFERENCE TO THE CENTRAL AREA

A

Thesis

submitted in

partial fulfilment of the

requirements

for the Degree of

Master of Arts in Sociology

- Leo Zakuta McGill University -

September 1, 1948.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

PREFACE	Page
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	i
PART I - THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY	
1. The Rise of Montreal as a Center of Dominance . . . . .	1
2. The Concept Metropolitan Community . . . .	10
3. The Metropolitan Area of Montreal - Greater Montreal . . . . .	22
4. The Transportation Network and Land Use Patterns of Greater Montreal . . . . .	32
PART II - THE NATURAL AREAS OF THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY	
5. The Concept Natural Area . . . . .	40
6. Methods of Determining Natural Areas . . .	46
7. Classification of the Natural Areas of Greater Montreal . . . . .	52
8. Three Representative Natural Areas of Greater Montreal . . . . .	68
Category "A" . . . . .	71
Category "B" . . . . .	81
Category "C" . . . . .	92



### PART III - THE CENTRAL AREA AS A NATURAL AREA

9.	A Brief Impression of Downtown Montreal . . .	104
10.	The Boundaries of the Central Area . . . .	108
11.	Central Area Institutions - Main Types and Their Location . . . . .	116
12.	The Major Factors in the Location of Central Area Institutions - Their Functions . . . . .	122

### PART IV - SUGGESTED LINES OF FURTHER RESEARCH

13.	SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH . . . . .	160
-----	--	-----

### APPENDIX

A.	POPULATION STATISTICS FOR GREATER MONTREAL . . . . .	164
B.	SOURCES, TREATMENT, and LIMITATIONS of DATA . . . . .	176
C.	OTHER REPRESENTATIVE and ATYPICAL NATURAL AREAS	
	Category "A" - Hampstead . . . . .	188
	Category "B" - Ahuntsic . . . . .	191
	Category "B" - Lachine . . . . .	196
	Category "B" - Central Apartment ...	200
	Category "C" - Cremazie . . . . .	205

BIBLIOGRAPHY . . . . .	210
------------------------	-----



## LIST OF MAPS

following page:

1.	Montreal and Environs . . . . .	26
2.	Growth of Montreal, 1801 - 1935 . . . . .	32
3.	Transportation Network . . . . .	34
4.	Traffic Density . . . . .	37
5.	Predominant Land Uses . . . . .	37
6.	Family Earnings . . . . .	53
7.	Housing Standards . . . . .	53
8.	Natural Areas of Greater Montreal . . . . .	56
9.	Population Density . . . . .	66
10.	Central Area of Montreal . . . . .	115



## PREFACE

This is one of a series of studies of the Montreal community. A group of three students, working together, each in his specialized field, studied the community, and the central area in particular. The work and the discussions among the three students in relation to the work have contributed a great deal to the development of this study.

Rudy Papanek, one of the group, drew several of the maps and provided valuable assistance in the preparation of some of the others. Professor Spence-Sales held a number of meetings with the group in the early stages in order to clarify the scope of these studies.

Professor Bland gave very generously of his time, effort, and advice in the preparation of the maps for this study. His help made the inclusion of these maps possible.

The original maps on family earnings, standards of housing, and population density were obtained for the author by Mr. Nathan Keyfitz from the Housing Atlas, prepared by Mr. Harold Greenway of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. These maps formed the backbone of this study since they provided essential data for a great portion of the Montreal community.



All of the blank maps used by the group were obtained from the City Planning Department of Montreal. Special thanks are due to Major Belanger of this department for his generous efforts in patiently fulfilling our constant requests for maps.

In the preparation of the manuscript, the author is heavily indebted to Miss Chippy Batshaw, who aided immeasurably in revising and improving the original draft. She also provided valuable assistance with many other aspects of this study.

The author owes many thanks to Miss Estelle Leibovitch, who typed this manuscript, for her concern, interest, and advice.



## INTRODUCTION

While the large North American cities are a comparatively recent phenomenon, they have come to play a role in national life, hardly commensurate with their age and amount of territory they occupy. There has been a continual tendency for the city to grow both in population and area at the expense of the rural areas, small towns, and the nearby semi-rural countryside. While the last of these have often grown remarkably as a result of this expansion, they have lost their isolation and relative independence from the nearby city. And even if they still retain a measure of administrative autonomy, they have become integral parts of the enveloping and expanding city. The exigencies of planning for the larger metropolitan community and the sharing of common problems threaten this last vestige of independence.

Writing in 1933, R.D. McKenzie traces some of the main features and implications of the urbanization process: "Fully one-half of the people of this country, (United States), now live within fifty miles of a city of 100,000 or more, and over 80% reside within an hour's motor journey of a city of 25,000 or more. Growth has been much more rapid in the territory adjoining the

larger cities than in the nation as a whole or even within the large cities themselves. Small cities and rural territory within motor access of a metropolitan center have increased several times as fast as similar territory lying outside the local sphere of influence of a large city....

"The metropolitan community....offered an increasing variety of jobs as well as more steady employment. It also offered a wider variety of economic and cultural services. It took on more and more the aspect of a coherent economic and cultural state, more realistic in many ways than the existing political states.

"These supercommunities have not only been increasing in population, but have been taking on definite attributes. Wherever population concentrates in aggregations of several hundred thousands, it tends to break up into a multiplicity of communal units. Every large city is the center of a constellation of smaller centers, some of which are the direct products of the outward movement from the main city; others were formerly independent centers that have now become economically and socially integrated with the dominant city. Among these various units of local settlement, there is arising an ever increasing refinement of division of labor and



interdependence of relationship. This has the effect of creating within the city region bonds of common interest that are much stronger than any ties that bind one region to another.

"The city region as here defined is largely a product of modern means of communication, developed more intensively in local areas than throughout the nation as a whole....

"The supercommunity, therefore, absorbs varying numbers of separate local communities into the economic and cultural organizations. In this pattern, a dominant city--that is, dominant relative to surrounding settlement--functions as the integrating unit.... There is developing within the United States, and, in fact, throughout the modern world, a pattern of settlement, which may be designated as city regionalism. This new city regionalism differs from the regionalism of former times in that it is a product of contact and division of labor rather than of mere geographic isolation."<sup>1</sup>

The increasing tendency for the North American to be a city dweller has focussed a great deal of attention on the various aspects of urban life. The age-old

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," pp. 311-13

interest in the factors responsible for the growth and decline of cities has not lagged, but a new set of problems has been added. These new studies are concerned with the natural structure of urban communities, the processes which produce this structure, and the effects of an urban environment on the lives and personalities of its inhabitants.

These are not discrete and unrelated problems, although they do permit the selection of any of the above topics for special emphasis. This study is concerned primarily with the natural structure of a large urban community, and with the processes which have given rise to the specialized entities within it, known as natural areas. In this latter regard, particular emphasis has been placed upon the natural area known as the central area.

Any research which purports to study various aspects of the life of an urban populace, or sections thereof, will of necessity have to consider the environment of these people.

The present study, then, and the Census Tract Survey, upon which much of the material is based, serve a twofold purpose. They are both an end and a means to an end. They are meant to contribute towards an



understanding of how the competitive process operates in selectively distributing people and their institutions into characteristic patterns. These give the city its natural structure.

In so doing, it is intended to provide some of the basic information, which will make possible adequate sampling for more specialized research problems.

These research problems, in whatever field of urban life they may be, are in desperate need of uniform, consistent and reliable figures on such matters as rentals, ethnic distribution, family earnings, housing standards, for the city as a whole and for particular natural areas.

This type of study, along with the Census Tract Survey, hopes to provide such information, and in so doing, to facilitate further research and improve its quality.

The use of the Census Tract as a census subdivision area will go a long way towards hastening this process.

Finally, from the viewpoint of civic administration, studies of this type are indispensable. For electoral and administrative purposes, the city of Montreal is divided into wards. While in many cases these

show a rough correspondence to the more homogeneous natural areas, they suffer from the ever-present danger of being subject to change for purely political purposes. In many other cases they ignore the natural boundaries and groupings almost entirely. The natural area provides the administrator with an area having fixed boundaries and a fairly homogeneous population.

The sharp differences in character among the natural areas of any city provide varied problems for civic administration, social service administration, and business activities. A city, divided into natural areas, possessing the basic information noted above, has established the groundwork upon which planning by any of these, or other groups, may best proceed.

Since all of these bodies must reckon broadly with segregation as a direct outcome of the competitive process, their chances of success will be greatly enhanced by reducing the factor of guesswork as much as possible. The collection and organization of the essential "facts" about the natural areas of the city is an important and necessary step in this direction.

PART I

THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY



## CHAPTER 1

### THE RISE OF MONTREAL AS A CENTER OF DOMINANCE

Every Canadian schoolchild is taught two important things about Montreal. He learns that it is the largest city in Canada and that it is the world's furthest inland ocean port. The very close relationship of these two facts is evident from the principle formulated by Cooley: "Population and wealth tend to collect wherever there is a break in transportation."<sup>1</sup> "The term 'break' is used to indicate an interruption in or stoppage of movement of goods sufficient to necessitate a transfer or storage."<sup>2</sup>

It is Montreal's geographic position at the head of the St. Lawrence waterway system, and as the last point of the system accessible to ocean shipping, that has given rise to the greatest urban center in Canada.

While the break in transportation caused by the Lachine Rapids has been a long-run determinant in Montreal's development, a number of other factors were

---

<sup>1</sup> C.H. Cooley, "The Theory of Transportation," quoted in Gist and Halbert, "Urban Society," p. 78.

<sup>2</sup> N.P. Gist and S.A. Halbert, "Urban Society," p. 78.

also instrumental in giving the town its initial impetus.

In early days, the island of Montreal enjoyed a distinct trading advantage. It was at the junction of the two most important trade routes leading to the interior of the country, and very near the terminal point of a third. The only practical routes of long distance transportation in early North America were the waterways. The island of Montreal was located at the point where the Ottawa River met the Great Lakes-St. Lawrence system. And very near at hand was the point at which the Richelieu River flowed into the St. Lawrence. The importance of the Lachine portage was, therefore, coupled with Montreal's location at, or very near, the conflux of early Canada's important rivers, the vital trade arteries of the time. These factors made Montreal the gateway to the interior and the logical trading headquarters of the country. Thus, Montreal became the center for the fur trade, Canada's first important export commodity.

Discussing the importance of transportation as a factor in the growth of cities, R.D. McKenzie states:

"It is axiomatic that commercial centers tend to arise in points of break in traffic."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," p. 157.

"The commercial center is the type of community that fulfills the secondary function in the distributive process of communities. It collects the basic materials from the surrounding primary communities and distributes them in the wider markets of the world. On the other hand, it redistributes the products coming from the other parts of the world to the primary service communities for final consumption. This is commonly called the commercial community; it may, however, combine other functions as well. The size of this type of community depends upon the extent of its distributive functions. It may vary from a small wholesale town in the center of an agricultural plain to that of a great port city, whose hinterland extends halfway across the continent. Growth depends upon the comparative advantages of site location....

"Some advantage in transportation is the most fundamental and most important of the causes determining the location of a distributing center. It may almost be said to be the only cause for the formation of such centers .... It is the railroad and the steamship that determine where a new business shall be developed, quite as often as the government policy.... It is this quickening and cheapening of transportation that has given such stimulus in the present day to the growth of large cities. It



enables them to draw cheap food from a far larger territory and it causes business to locate where the widest business connection is to be had, rather than where the goods or raw materials are most easily produced. And the perfection of the means of communication intensifies the same result."<sup>4</sup>

Not only did geographic location give Montreal singular advantages as a trading center, but it added to these the potentialities of an important industrial and commercial city, capable of supporting a large population.

The fertile lowlands, which surround the city, have been largely given over to agriculture. This area provides a readily accessible source of fresh dairy products and vegetables for the metropolitan center. At the same time, Montreal is at no great distance from the lumbering and mining activities of the Laurentian Shield. This means, of course, the manufacturing can be carried on more cheaply here than elsewhere.

Lying athwart the transportation lines from the Maritimes, and with excellent communication and transportation facilities to north-eastern United States,

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The City," edited by R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, pp. 66-69.

Montreal has other obvious advantages. Not only can the city receive coal and steel more quickly and cheaply, but it can secure more readily the specialized information and techniques, associated with business and industry.

Finally, the development of the nearby water power resources to provide electricity at low rates was an important factor in attracting industry.

During this time industrial expansion went hand in hand with a large scale migration on the part of the French-Canadians from the rural areas.

The large size of the average French-Canadian farm family, plus the custom of handing the farm intact from one generation to the next, meant that a number of the children were left unprovided for. The exhaustion of new areas of good agricultural land in the province, and the growing lure of the cities with their more attractive standards of living, contributed to the movement away from the rural areas.

In ever-increasing numbers these people left their homes to seek a livelihood in the expanding industrial activities of the urban centers. As outlined previously, Montreal was rapidly forging ahead as the foremost industrial center of Canada. Her industries

needed a large unskilled and semi-skilled labor force. The rural French-Canadian had little or no industrial skills, no tradition of trade union activity, and lacked great expectations or familiarity with a high standard of living. He was thus an ideal source of unskilled labor supply. The availability of cheap and plentiful labor was an attraction of no small importance in attracting industries to this area.

A center of dominance arises at the focal points of transportation and communication. It contains the specialized agencies which integrate it with its hinterland and other centers.<sup>5</sup> Changes in the means of transportation inevitably affect the existing centers of dominance. Old ones may fall, new ones rise, or further impetus may be given to an existing center. This last development took place in Montreal.

McKenzie points out that not only breaks in transportation, caused by geographical factors, but those caused by "breaks in freight rates,"<sup>6</sup> give rise to the establishment of commercial centers. The building of the railroads sharply accentuated both of these factors,

---

<sup>5</sup> Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 172.

<sup>6</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," p. 157.

and in so doing contributed immeasurably to the growth of Montreal, both commercially and industrially. The desire to ship imports as far inland as possible in order to benefit by the lower cost of shipping meant that most goods from overseas were brought as far as Montreal before being transferred to rail. On the other hand, Canadian exporters, eager to take their materials off the more expensive railroad system and on to ships at the first opportunity also found Montreal the logical transfer point.

Montreal's superior harbor facilities expedited and cheapened this process. Thus, the city's natural position as Canada's great redistributing center made her not only the main terminal point of shipping, but also the most important railroad center in the country.

Advantages in transportation and communication, the abundance of nearby natural resources, and the availability of an adequate, inexpensive labor supply, contributed to Montreal's development as a commercial and industrial center. Banking and finance are intimately linked with industrial and commercial activities, and all of these seek to locate as closely together as is conveniently possible. There is a tendency for the federal



government to play a role of increasing importance in all of these activities. The proximity of Montreal to the nation's capital at Ottawa has become a distinct factor in making this area a desirable location.

No attempt has been made to trace the factors responsible for Montreal's growth in any rigid order of historical sequence. Such an attempt would be both impossible and misleading. Given the broad ecological pattern and the competitive process, the other factors are inseparably interwoven. Growth of a large city, such as Montreal, is a cumulative process without any single cause-effect sequence. What has once been effect may become in turn, cause of further growth.

McKenzie calls attention to the cumulative nature of this process in "The Metropolitan Community."

"There is a tendency on the part of different organizations to select the same regional headquarters for financial and administrative purposes. The process is cumulative. Once a city becomes established as a regional distributing center, its banking, transportation, and other facilities compel new concerns entering the region to select it as their point of operation."<sup>7</sup>

---

<sup>7</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," p. 314.

The development of motor transportation and the telephone have permitted the city to expand at a greatly accelerated pace, and over a far wider territory. They have also given a very strong impetus to the process of decentralization.

Finally, the inevitable selection of Montreal as the air center of eastern Canada is an excellent illustration of the way in which the cumulative process of selective distribution has made this city the metropolis of Canada.

## CHAPTER 2

### THE CONCEPT METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY

The beginning of the twentieth century brought with it the motor car. This new means of transportation wrought marked and important changes in the life and structure of the cities of North America. The railroads influenced the broad network of relationships of an urban center with a vast region or the nation as a whole. On the other hand, the truck, bus, and automobile have radically altered the relationships of the city to the rural and semi-rural areas, which lie in proximity to it. While motor transportation has had other far reaching effects, these are, for our purposes, the only ones under consideration.

A description of some of the main features of urban settlement, as affected by changing means of transportation, is presented by McKenzie in "The Metropolitan Community."

"During this period of population dispersion (the migration westward) the city was for the most part the child and servant of expanding rural settlement; it followed rather than directed population spread. Gateway cities arose at entrance points to producing regions

and functioned as collecting centers for the basic products from surrounding settlement, and as distributing points for the manufactured goods brought in from outside territory. These gateway centers maintained contact with tributary territory through a community hierarchy of villages, towns, and cities, established on the basis of railway transportation. Thus, the basic pattern of modern American settlement was formed....

"Toward the close of the nineteenth century the city began to play a new role in the evolution of settlement in the United States. With the rise of manufacturing, population and wealth became increasingly concentrated in the larger cities....with the growth of population and wealth throughout the nation, the city acquired an increasing range of economic and social functions, which it performed not only for its own inhabitants but for rural settlements as well. Accordingly it increased in economic and cultural dominance.

"The third period of settlement....began about 1900 or shortly thereafter. It may be referred to as an era of city regionalism, which is developing under the influence of motor transportation. As previously indicated the railroad laid the foundation for modern regionalism by creating a network of large gateway cities, which



served as focal points in the integration of surrounding territory, and which drew the entire nation together into a single economic unity. The motor vehicle has not changed the main outlines of this railway pattern of settlement. The great economic forces in operation when the automobile was introduced compelled accommodation of this new agency of transportation to the existing settlement structure. Despite this fact, it may be fairly stated that the gross effect of motor transportation upon American civilization has been quite as fundamental as that produced by the advent of the railroad.... This new motor-highway net, which has been superimposed upon the existing pattern of settlement is developed most intensively around the margins of cities and has brought the city and surrounding territory within a common transportation system. In so doing, it has erased the boundaries and bridged the distances, which formerly separated urban from rural territory, and has introduced a type of local community entirely without precedent in history.

"Generalizing, it may be said that the railways set the main structural outlines of American settlement.... (They), however, did not materially change the traditional pattern of life within the local

community.... Local institutions and social relations persisted in the railway regime on much the same basis as in the previous era. But the coming of motor transportation revolutionized this traditional pattern of local relations and effected institutional and cultural changes more disturbing to the social fabric than the more conspicuous developments induced by the advent of rail transportation.

"By reducing the scale of local distance, the motor vehicle extended the horizons of the community and introduced a territorial division of labor among local institutions and neighboring centers which is unique in the history of settlement. The large center has been able to extend the radius of its influence; its population and many of its institutions, freed from the dominance of rail transportation, have become widely dispersed throughout surrounding territory. Moreover, formerly independent towns and villages and also rural territory have become part of this enlarged city complex. This new type of supercommunity, organized around a dominant focal point, and comprising a multiple of differentiated centers of activity differs from the metropolitanism established by rail transportation in the complexity of its institutional division of labor and the mobility of

its population. Nor is this new type of metropolitan community confined to the great cities. It has become the communal unit of local relations throughout the entire nation. Its development has induced a vast amount of rearrangement of populations and institutions, a process which is still far from having attained an equilibrium."<sup>1</sup>

The expanding city has encompassed the scattered communities on the fringes. The result was the development of a large urban area, composed of a great number of communities, each autonomous, yet, all undeniably part of one larger community; for they share common problems and are intimately connected by the division of labor.

Nonetheless, they are separate political entities, and, in most cases, there is no over-all political body, corresponding to the wider community.

Dawson and Gettys define the community as "a unit of territory within which is distributed a population, which possesses in their simpler or more specialized forms the basic institutions by means of which a common life is made possible."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," pp. 4-7.

<sup>2</sup> Carl A. Dawson and Warner E. Gettys, "An Introduction to Sociology," p.7.

In short, the community must contain those institutions necessary for the routine of everyday living. In the metropolitan community such functions as residence for those who work in the heart of the city are increasingly found in the outlying suburbs.

The people in these areas share with the residents of the city proper not only physical facilities--electric, water, and sewer service and retail store delivery--but also similar everyday problems such as the tramway fare or the price of eggs, butter and vegetables. Each day they drive in by car, or commute by bus and train to the heart of Montreal, where the offices, business enterprises or factories in which they work are located. Their shopping and recreation, while to some extent local, take them "into the city" with a certain degree of regularity. Often, educational pursuits and reasons of health bring them into the centre of the city.

> The metropolitan community therefore includes the geographical area within which the inhabitants are dependent upon the urban center for the routine activities of day to day living. This area is far greater than the city proper.

The terms, city, town and village may all be grouped under a single heading, incorporated area. This

latter is a legal and administrative term; unlike the term community, it does not describe a functionally interdependent entity. However, incorporated areas have boundaries which are precisely defined by law. The community, on the other hand, not being a political unit, cannot be as readily defined geographically. Interdependence in everyday living is the main criterion determining the extent of the community. Dependence is a matter of degree, not easily defined and measured. Therefore, it is obvious that the drawing of precise boundaries about a community, especially a metropolitan area, with far flung suburbs, is a difficult matter.

In attempting to set up a theoretical basis for such a purpose, two main criteria of dependences present themselves. These are the use of the same physical and institutional services. Nor is the difference between these two clear cut, as will be pointed out shortly.

Sharing of both these facilities gives rise to a feeling of common participation in and belonging to a body larger than any of the individual political areas. The sharing of a common problem of grievance or a common pride, is part of the deeply ingrained sentiments of nearly all residents of the metropolitan community. Thus there are few Montrealers, no matter in which political

area they reside, who do not grumble about the inadequacies and discomforts of the local transportation system. At the same time, residents of all areas identify themselves as Montrealers when far away from home. And when questioned about the size of Montreal's population, they inevitably give the figure for Greater Montreal, i.e., the metropolitan area, rather than the city proper. Thus they reveal their pride that "their city" is the nation's metropolis and one of the largest cities in North America.

This feeling results, as has been noted, from the sharing of common facilities, physical and institutional. The physical facilities may be described as the public utilities, but this classification is never very clear cut. (In Montreal, for instance, one body operates all tramways and busses within the city, but this body is a private company). The public utilities which may be used as an index of the extent of the metropolitan community are:-

1) water service 2) gas service 3) electricity service 4) sewage disposal 5) local transportation service 6) commuting service 7) telephone service 8) mail delivery.

These tend to be less competitive than the



institutional services and are often referred to as public utilities.

The institutional services include:- 1) retail store delivery 2) newspaper delivery 3) residential membership in social clubs, religious organizations, etc. 4) area of operation of local real estate companies 5) soliciting and collecting routes 6) the market area supplying the city daily with vegetables and dairy products 7) the area covered by the City Directory, or its equivalent.

The use of so many and such varied indices, and the question of the relative importance to be assigned to each index, underline the difficulty of simply setting up an adequate, non-controversial technique for determining the exact extent of the area.

In order to come to grips with this problem, the U.S. Bureau of the Census and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics took over the concept "metropolitan area" for official purposes.

The U.S. Bureau of the Census set up "metropolitan districts" on the following basis:

"If we are to have a correct picture of the massing or concentration of population in extensive urban areas, and of the size and relative importance of the

aggregations of urban population in different parts of the country, it is necessary to establish metropolitan districts which will show the magnitude of each of the principal population centers taken as a whole, by including in a single total both the population of the central city itself and that of the suburbs or urbanized areas surrounding it--or, in some cases, the population of two or more cities which are located in close proximity and that of their suburbs."<sup>3</sup>

After using several methods of defining this area in 1910 and 1920, the following was introduced in the census of 1930:

"The metropolitan districts for the census of 1930, as here presented, include, in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile, and also, as a rule, those civil divisions of less density that are directly contiguous to the central cities, or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil divisions that have the required density. This is essentially the same principle as was

---

<sup>3</sup> U.S. Census, 1930, "Metropolitan Districts," p. 5, quoted in R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," p. 39.

applied in determining the metropolitan districts for cities of over 200,000 inhabitants at the censuses of 1910 and 1920, except that the area which might be included within the metropolitan district was then limited to the territory within 10 miles of the city boundary. At this present census, no such limit has been applied."<sup>4</sup>

The definition of the "metropolitan area" by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics is far more general.

"For Census purposes, the 'greater' cities (or metropolitan areas) indicate those cities having well-defined satellite communities which are outside the boundaries of the city proper, but are in close economic or geographic relationship to them."<sup>5</sup>

This definition allows wide latitude in deciding which areas should be included. Decisions can be made upon a rather arbitrary basis; but this does not indicate that they produce less realistic and effective results than the more detailed and painstaking American definition. Rather, the generality and the terms in which the Canadian definition is formulated seem more in keeping with the

---

<sup>4</sup> Ibid., p. 39.

<sup>5</sup> Census of Canada, 1941, V. 3, Appendix B, p. 838.

meaning of the concept, community. The omission of any specific method for determining the exact extent of the community permits variation in methods to meet local conditions.

CHAPTER 3THE METROPOLITAN AREA OF MONTREAL - GREATER MONTREAL

The 1941 Census of Canada gives no detailed explanation of the manner in which the metropolitan community was defined for any of Canada's large cities. It simply states: "The following table shows the areas and population at the 1941 Census included in the metropolitan area of Montreal....<sup>1</sup>

(see table on next page)

---

<sup>1</sup> Other Canadian metropolitan areas are, by Census definition, Toronto, Vancouver, and Winnipeg.

AREA	CATEGORY <sup>3</sup>	POPULATION
Greater Montreal <sup>2</sup>		1,139,921
Montreal Island:-		
Montreal	city proper	903,007
Baie d'Urfe	T	236
Beaconsfield	T	706
Cote St. Luc	Vl	776
Dollard-des-Ormeaux	Mun	324
Dorval	T	2,048
Hampstead	T	1,974

<sup>2</sup> Greater Montreal thus referring to the Montreal metropolitan area.

<sup>3</sup> C-city; T-town; Vl-village; Mun-municipality; Pr-Parish



AREA	CATEGORY	POPULATION
Ile-aux-Soeurs	Mun	50
Ile Dorval	T	--
Lachine	C	20,051
La Presentation-de-la-Vierge	Mun	323
La Salle	T	4,651
Montreal East	T	2,355
Montreal North	T	6,152
Montreal West	T	3,474
Mount Royal	T	4,888
Notre Dame de Liesse	Mun	1,629
Outremont	C	30,751
Point-aux-Trembles	T	4,314
Point Claire	T	4,536
Roxboro	T	23

AREA	CATEGORY	POPULATION
Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue	T	3,006
Ste-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Ile	Mun	686
Ste-Genevieve	Mun	1,362
Ste-Genevieve-de-Pierre-fonds	VI	489
St-Jean-de-Dieu-Asylum	Mun	7,276
St-Joachim-de-la-Pointe-Claire	Mun	536
St-Joseph-de-la-Riviere-des-Prairies	Mun	912
St. Laurent	Pr	1,151
St. Laurent	T	6,242
St-Leonard-de-Port-Maurice	Pr	340
St-Leonard-de-Port-Maurice	T	518
St-Michel-de-Laval	T	3,956
St-Pierre	T	4,061
St-Raphael-de-l'Ile-Bizard	Mun	783

AREA	CATEGORY	POPULATION
Saraguay	VI	263
Senneville	VI	555
Verdun	C	67,349
Westmount	C	26,647
Jesus Island (part):		
L'Abord-a-Plouffe	VI	1,773
Laval-des-Rapides	T	3,242
Pont-Viau	Pr	1,342
Chambly County (part):		
Greenfield Park	T	1,819
Longeuil	C	7,087
Montreal South	T	1,441
St. Lambert	C	6,417





PLAN OF THE  
ISLAND OF  
MONTREAL  
AND ENVIRONS

CITY PLANNING DEPARTMENT  
MONTREAL

November 1937  
Revised: January 1944

Scale 1"=1 mile

PLAN DE  
L'ÎLE DE  
MONTRÉAL  
ET DE SES ENVIRONS

SERVICE D'URBANISME  
MONTRÉAL

Novembre 1937  
Révisé: Janvier 1944

Échelle 1"=1 mile



Thus, the metropolitan area of Montreal, as defined by the Census of Canada 1941, includes forty-six political entities,--cities, towns, villages, municipalities, and parishes. It is composed of the entire island of Montreal, a portion of Jesus Island, and the large towns and cities on the "south shore."

The postal authorities define the Montreal area as including most, but not all, of the territory named in the Census.

The Montreal postal zone includes:-

L'Abord-a-Plouffe	Outremont
Beaconsfield	Point-aux-Trembles
Dorval	Pointe Claire
Greenfield Park	Pont Viau
Hampstead	St. Lambert
Lachine	St. Laurent
Mount Royal	Verdun
Montreal East	Ville La Salle
Montreal North	Ville St. Michel
Montreal South	Ville St. Pierre
Montreal West	Westmount

(A small number of unincorporated areas have been omitted from this list, since for both Census purposes and telephone service they have been assigned

to the larger incorporated units listed above).

The telephone service is organized for an area far exceeding the city proper. There is a twofold division in this service, on a geographic basis. The local exchanges include all of Montreal city proper, the suburbs within the city, and those immediately adjacent to it. These are:-

Hampstead	Montreal East (part)
Montreal North	La Salle (part)
Montreal West	St. Michel
Mount Royal	Saraguay
Outremont	Verdun
St. Laurent	Westmount
St. Pierre	Point-aux-Trembles (part)

St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice (part)

All calls within this area may be made directly.

The other grouping consists of a wide surrounding area, known as the Montreal suburban or zone subscribers. Calls from the above areas to these cannot be made directly. They are, however, within the Montreal area in the sense that they are all grouped in a single telephone directory under Montreal and vicinity.



The suburban or zone area includes:-

L'Abord-a-Plouffe	Montreal East
Baie d'Urfe	Montreal South
Beaconsfield	Pointe-aux-Trembles
Caughnawaga	Pointe Claire
Dorval	Senneville
Greenfield Park	Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue
Ile Bizard	Ste-Genevieve-de-Pierrefonds
Lachine	St. Lambert
Laval-des-Rapides	St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice
Longueuil	St, Vincent-de-Paul
	Vaudreuil

All of these areas plus a great number of unincorporated places are grouped in eleven zones. These are:- Boucherville, L'Abord-a-Plouffe, Longueuil, Pointe-aux-Trembles, Pointe Claire, Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue, Ste-Genevieve, St. Lambert, St. Vincent-de-Paul, and Vaudrueil.

Lovell's Montreal Directory also covers an area far greater than the city proper. Like these other services, it cannot possibly limit itself to Montreal proper. Instead, it covers what it defines as Greater Montreal. This includes, beside the entire City of Montreal:

Hampstead	Mount Royal
Lachine	Outremont
La Salle	St. Lambert
Longueuil	St. Laurent
Montreal East	St. Pierre
Montreal South	Verdun
Montreal West	Westmount

The Directory is restricted to built-up, urban areas, but it corresponds closely to the other three indices in most areas. While the telephone service, Montreal Directory, and postal service areas do have great similarities, they have nonetheless, substantial differences. Nor do any of these indices tally exactly with the metropolitan area of Montreal as defined in the 1941 Census. It is somewhat beyond the scope of this study to measure in any great detail the exact extent of the metropolitan community. Therefore, the other indices will not be investigated at present.

A composite picture of all indices would result in a substantial amount of agreement regarding the area to be included in the metropolitan community. While slight differences regarding exact boundaries are likely to arise, these would alter the population of the whole area only slightly.

For our purposes, reliable population statistics are the most useful type of information for the Montreal community. Since the 1941 Census furnishes these statistics, its definition of the Montreal metropolitan area has been used in this study.

The problem of determining the boundaries of the Montreal area has only theoretical importance here, since limitations in data do not permit the division of all of Greater Montreal into natural areas. (These limitations, as well as sources of information, are discussed in further detail in Appendix B).

That part of the community which has been divided into natural areas, falls within the section, which all indices include in the Montreal metropolitan community.

## CHAPTER 4

### THE TRANSPORTATION NETWORK AND LAND USE PATTERNS OF GREATER MONTREAL

The early community of Montreal developed as a result of its location at the crossroads of natural transportation routes.

"The axial or skeletal structure of a community is determined by the source of the first routes of travel or traffic. Houses and shops are constructed near the road, usually parallel with it. The road may be a trail, public highway, railroad, river, or ocean harbor."<sup>1</sup>

The first settlement of Montreal was, therefore, on the banks of the St. Lawrence. But the patterns of expansion and further settlement upon the island of Montreal were primarily determined by the mountain and the railroads. The latter, of course, are closely related to the terrain upon which they are built; but their construction opened up new sectors in the Montreal area.

The building of the Lachine Canal was the

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The City" edited by R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, P. 73.

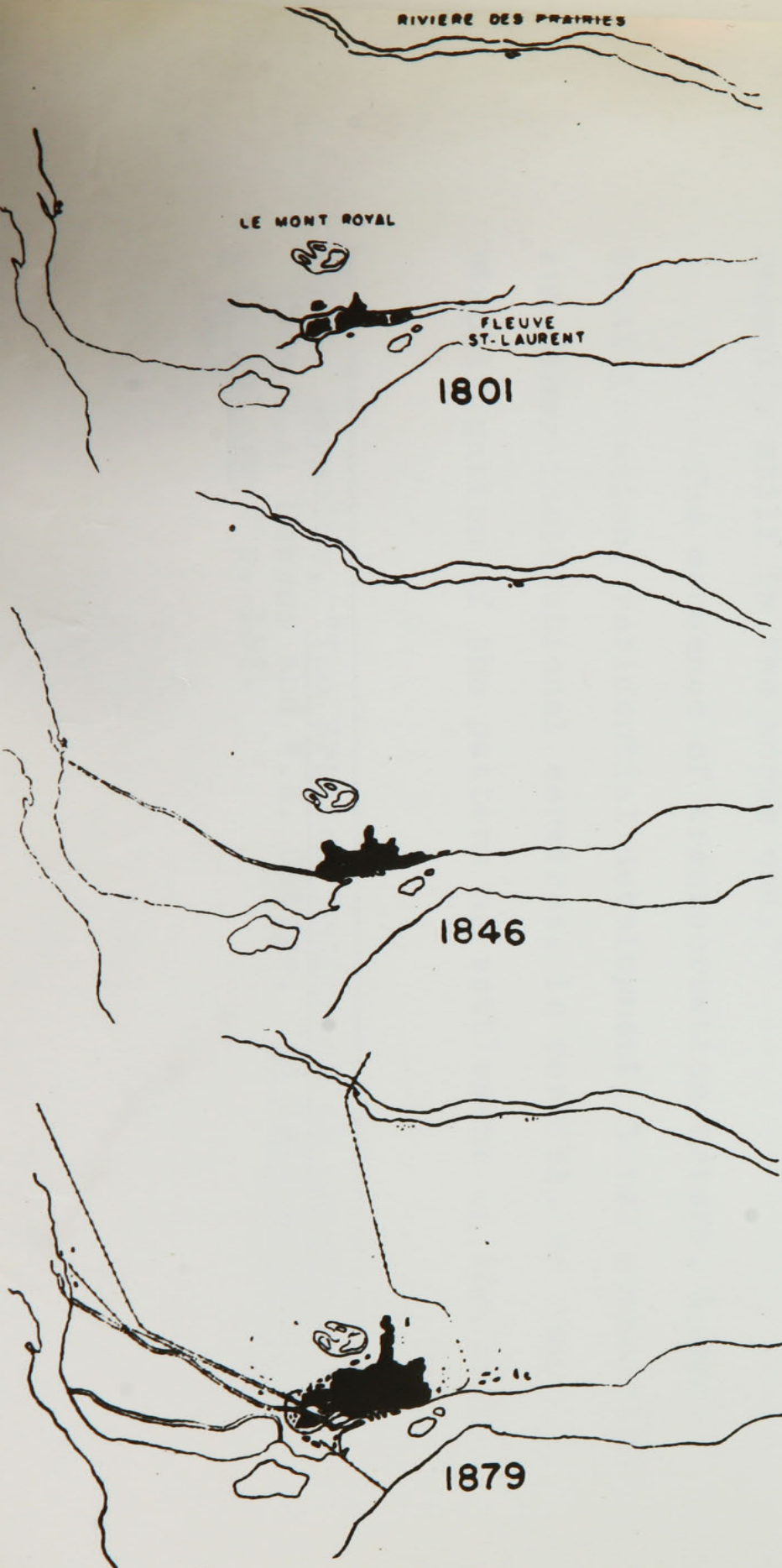


Fig. 10

# GROWTH OF MONTREAL

1801 - 1935

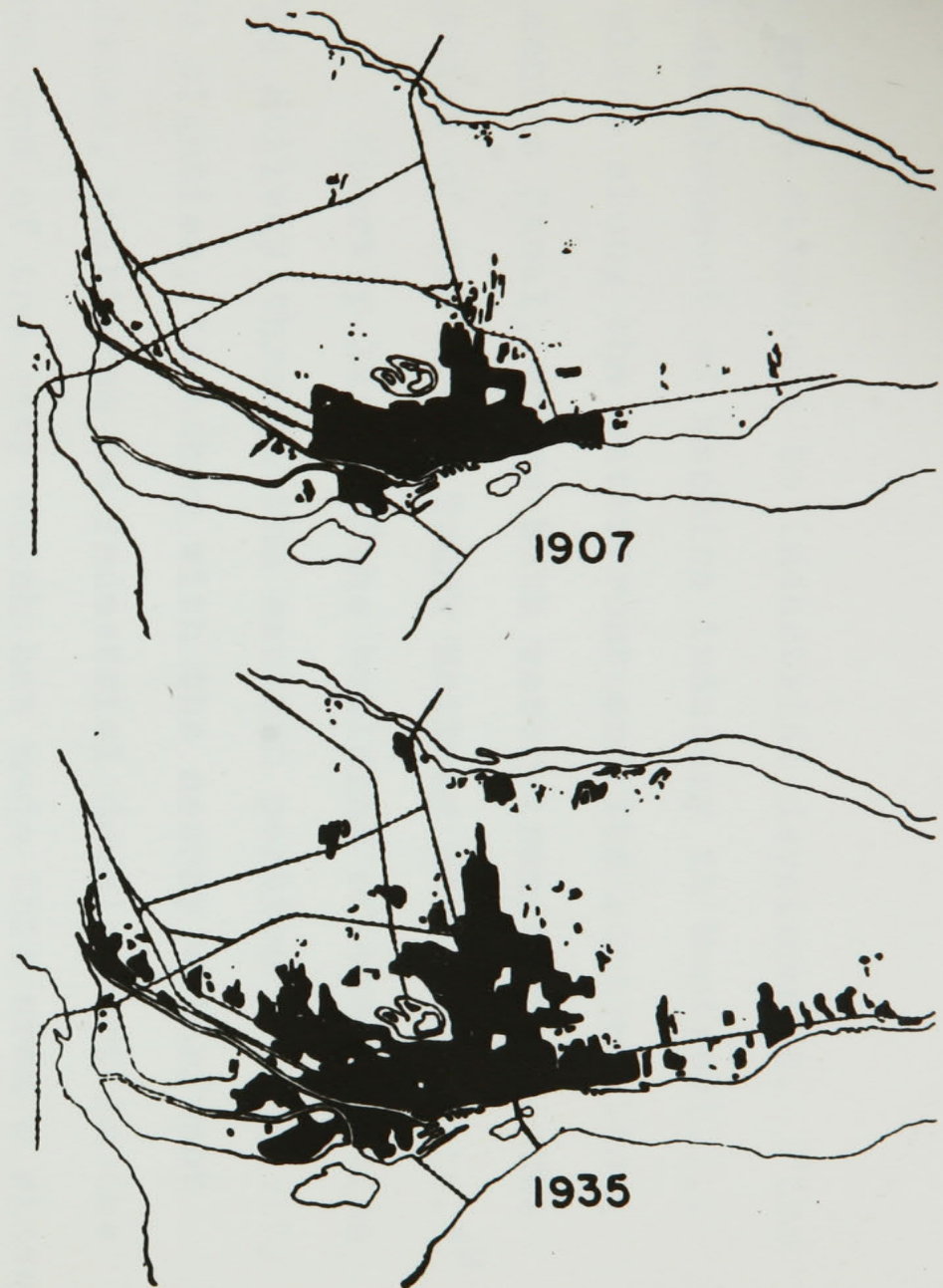


Fig. 10 (suite). — Evolution de la surface bâtie à Montréal de 1801 à 1935.  
(Communiqué par le Service Municipal d'Urbanisme.)

rst great stimulant to industrial development. "The  
rst development of machine industry in Montreal....  
ok place along the waterfront and its continuation,  
e Lachine Canal, where both water transport and the  
cilities of the Grand Trunk Railway were available."<sup>2</sup>

Shortly later, "the building of the Canadian  
cific Railway through the eastern portion of the city  
the eighties, together with the nearby waterfront  
cilities, initiated an industrial development in the  
stern end of the city which has made this area a close  
val of the canal bank area in productivity. And since  
OO a development of lighter industry has taken place  
ong the C.P.R. tracks in the north end of the city.  
rking-class residential areas have developed in the  
cinity of each of these industrial belts--first in  
e canal bank area, later in the east end, and more  
cently still in the north end."<sup>3</sup>

The sequence of transportation artery, indus-  
ial location, residential development, local commercial  
d other institutional services, is possibly an over  
mplification of the pattern of settlement in the city.

---

L.G. Reynolds, "The British Immigrant in Canada,"  
from C.A. Dawson and W.E. Gettys, "An Introduction to  
Sociology," p. 156.

Ibid

It ignores the processes of invasion by low income and alien ethnic groups, nor does it take into account the tendency on the part of the upper income groups to move out to the suburbs or higher up on the mountain--movements made possible by the automobile.

Nonetheless, this sequence has been the broad pattern of Montreal's expansion and settlement.

Montreal's importance as a railroad center has been mentioned in Chapter 1. As a result, the island is crisscrossed by numerous railway lines. There are many large switching and repair yards and special facilities to service the industrial and waterfront areas.

The accompanying Transportation Network Map shows the great number of lines running through the metropolitan area and converging upon several points on Montreal Island. The main points of convergence are the Montreal West-Ville St. Pierre-Lachine area in the south-west, the district of the great railroad stations in the "downtown" central area, the Hochelaga yard in the south-east, and the Outremont yard in the north-central district.

The great number of rail lines in the northern section of the city have stimulated the development of industry in the Ville St. Laurent-Town of Mount Royal



area. This concentration has been considerably spurred on by the improvement of motor transport facilities. The Cote de Liesse Highway, the new highway (near the lakeshore) to Toronto, the prospective Metropolitan Highway, and the wide, speedy Decarie Boulevard artery have resulted in an extensive concentration of light industry in this area. These industries are dependent upon truck transportation as much, if not more, than upon rail transportation.

Land in this area was at one time plentiful and cheap, owing to the distance from the center of the city. While the rush to this area has resulted in a large scale development, there remains, however, abundant land at rates considerably lower than those in the older industrial areas. The availability of large tracts of land at fairly inexpensive prices was particularly suited to those industries operating on the assembly line principle. These require a large floor space, all on one level. The aircraft manufacturing plants, an example of this type, are, with one exception, located here. That exception is in a somewhat similar area on the south shore.

This area is readily accessible by truck and automobile. In addition, the availability of large

parcels of land at relatively low prices, has led many of Montreal's large industrial and commercial enterprises to decentralize, by locating certain of their functions here. The tendency for production, storage, delivery centers, etc. to concentrate in this area will probably continue. However, administrative and certain other specialized functions will have to remain in the central area of Montreal.

Whether the pattern of transportation artery, industry, residential population, local commercial and institutional services will be repeated in this area is not yet certain. But all signs point towards the fulfillment of this pattern here in the not too distant future.

Within the city, the automobile, truck, bus, and tramway arteries converge upon the central area, where there is an intense concentration of industrial and commercial enterprises and all types of other institutional services. This has resulted in a tremendous number of people and buildings within a relatively small geographical area.

The mountain remains an insurpassable physiographic barrier for either commercial expansion, or the development of transportation arteries. This is in a

large measure responsible for the congested transportation network which connects the central area with the outlying residential and industrial areas.

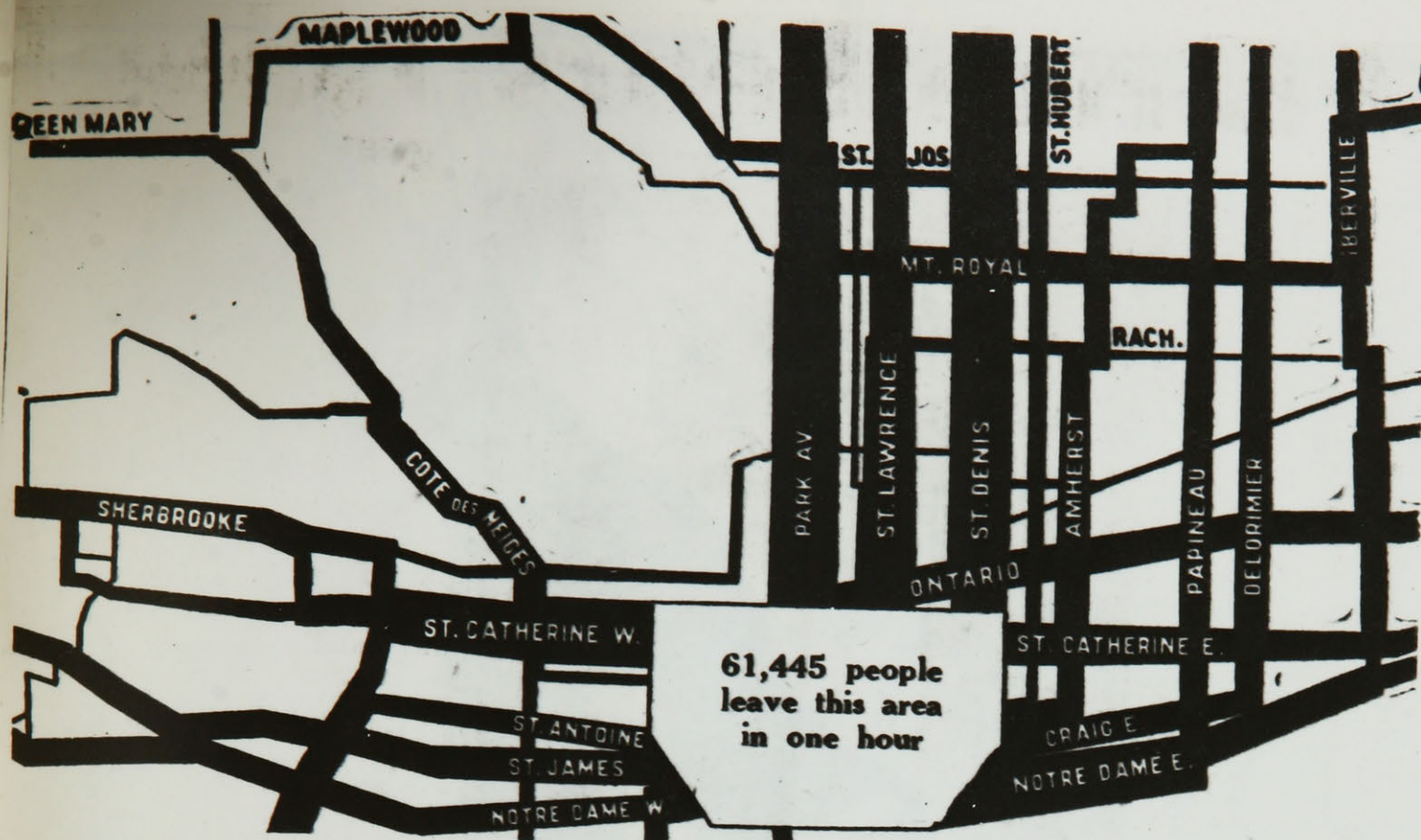
A glance at the accompanying Traffic Density Map shows the amount of bus and tramway passengers leaving the central area between 5:15 p.m. and 6:15 p.m. daily. This gives an indication of the heavy load which these arteries bear, and the manner in which they converge upon a small focal point.

The relationship of the central area to transportation routes will be dealt with more thoroughly in Part III.

Transportation arteries, industry, ethnic invasions, and the movement to the suburbs and up the slopes of the mountain have been instrumental in giving the city its basic patterns of settlement and land use.

The accompanying map of Predominant Land Uses gives a very general picture of the location of several broad categories of land use of Montreal Island. No attempt was made to define precisely on this map the exact extent of any of these land use areas. Instead, boundaries were drawn about certain sectors and the entire sector assigned to the predominant land use. The great expanse of agricultural land and open space in the





**TRAFFIC DENSITY** — Relative thickness of black lines shows the number of tramways passengers using each thoroughfare between 5.15 p.m. and 6.15 p.m. Some actual figures are cited in the accompanying article.

## 1,000 Passengers Per Minute Board Trams During Peak Hours

By T. H. HARRIS

After careful study of the city's geography, its present population distribution and the directions in which Montreal's growing population is spreading, two basic subway routes were proposed in the Tramways Company report of 1944.

Before discussing these routes, however, it would be well if Montreal's street car riding public had a clear picture of today's actual traffic conditions.

The statistics presented here are somewhat over three years old but their age does not invalidate them. If anything, conditions have become worse during the past three years. For one thing, there are far more automobiles on the city's streets; for another, tramways statistics indicate that a greater number of passengers are being carried today on street cars and autobusses.

The largest number of Montrealers outbound from work in the evening start their journey somewhere in the area bounded by St. Catherine, St. Denis, Notre Dame and Windsor streets. In the peak hour—from 5.15 p.m. to 6.15 p.m.—it is estimated that 61,445 passengers move out of that area on their way home.

### THOUSAND A MINUTE

That is over 1,000 passengers per minute which offers striking evidence of why there is congestion in the downtown area during the evening rush hour.

The largest number of these, 7,375, moves north on street cars using the Bleury-Park avenue thoroughfare.

Over the three principal north-

bound circuits, Bleury street, St. Lawrence boulevard and St. Denis street, over 20,000 passengers are carried in one hour. To this number must be added the several thousand who use the St. Hubert street autobus line. If that means anything, it means congestion, lack of headway, discomfort and loss of time for the travelling public.

The story is the same for traffic moving west and east during the same hour.

Westbound on St. Catherine street, 7,210 passengers are carried, with another 800 or more using the Dorchester street lines. Eastbound on St. Catherine and Ontario streets, 8,210 people are moved from 5.15 p.m. to 6.15 p.m. To the south, eastbound along Craig and Notre Dame streets, 12,590 passengers use street cars in one hour. In the same general area, but westbound over St. Antoine, St. James and Notre Dame street routes, the traffic density in the same period is 10,680 passengers.

### STATISTICS IMPORTANT

This may be a confusion of statistics (cleared up in part by the accompanying diagram) but they are important statistics because they show relative density of traffic movement and are in part, at least, the statistics upon which experts relied when they determined the best routes for Montreal's first subway system.

Before turning to the proposed routes themselves, attention should be focussed upon two important points:

1. No matter how and in which direction Montreal grows, the bulk of the city's business is likely to remain confined to the present

downtown area. That, in turn, means that more and more people will be funnelling out of that area to their homes during the evening rush hour;

2. Except for that part of the population which moves south, or east or west in the extreme southern section of the city, main traffic routes, cannot be altered. The mountain makes impossible any change and the mountain is here to stay.

It is obvious, therefore, that subway routes under or close to the most heavily congested streets are the only solution to our traffic problem.

T  
R  
A  
F  
F  
I  
C  
  
D  
E  
N  
S  
I  
T  
Y



eastern and western sections of the island was not closely checked, and doubtlessly contains many inaccuracies. Land use data was not available for these areas.

The land use pattern shows that the commercial area is near both the waterfront and the most important industrial areas. It is easily reached from all the residential sections of the community. The two smaller commercial areas are Snowdon Junction in the north-west and the St. Hubert Street district in the north-central part of the city.

Industrial location in Montreal has been a function of the transportation routes. The main industrial centers follow the river bank, the Lachine Canal, and the railways. Where water and rail transport converged, the major industrial concentrations of the community arose.

The development of the light industry--truck transportation complex, has been instrumental, along with the railways, in the development of new industrial areas.

Around the industries, and in nearby areas, have grown the residential sectors. Most of these are readily accessible to the central area, this often being an important consideration in their location. The

automobile and commuting facilities have permitted the upper income groups to move away from the noise, smoke and bustle of the central city to newer and better homes in areas which are cleaner and quieter. These are located on the more spacious grounds of the outlying suburban areas, where land is often not too expensive, or, in the case of the very wealthy, these homes are further up the slopes of the mountain.

The invasion of different ethnic groups and lower income groups into already established areas, has pushed the previous inhabitants further out on the fringes of settlement. The expanding commercial center of the city is another important factor in the growth of the metropolitan community. This expansion has been and will continue to be reflected in changes in the transportation network and land use.

PART II

THE NATURAL AREAS OF THE MONTREAL METROPOLITAN COMMUNITY

## CHAPTER 5

### THE CONCEPT NATURAL AREA

The preceding chapters have dealt with the major reasons for Montreal's growth to metropolitan status and the present extent of the Montreal community.

However, "as the community grows, there is not merely a multiplication of houses and roads but a process of differentiation and segregation takes place as well."<sup>1</sup>

These differentiated and segregated sectors are "the whole system of diverse areas that constitute the metropolis. Each is characterized by its physical individuality, institutions, and population types. Financial and retail districts, theater area, hotel district, fashion center, automobile row, radio town, apartment districts, and suburbs are typical areas in the metropolitan pattern of distribution. These areas are organically linked with each other by the means of transportation and communication focused in the series of business centers. Each area becomes specialized as to the use of the land for business, industry, residence, play, and cultural interests, and each breaks up into

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The City," ed. by R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, p. 73.



its sub-types. Each draws about it the appropriate age and sex groups and repels those who do not fit into its web of life. Chinatown, the apartment area, or the suburb is a function of the city as an organic whole. Its location and characteristics have come from its interaction with all other areas....

"Natural areas is the concept used to designate the areas mentioned in the preceding paragraphs. Such areas have their own particular kinds of buildings whether used for housing or other purposes, their own institutional adjustments, and natural selection of popular elements. Each may be clearly set off from other areas by barriers such as rivers, canals, hills, railroads, parks, vacant frontage, industrial and commercial frontage, or racial differences.... Each of these areas tends to have some specialization of function, physical differentiation and social distinctiveness, yet it is a symbiotic unit of the city as a whole. Such areas are the natural and inevitable products of the ecological processes.... Natural areas are to be distinguished from administrative areas such as wards and school districts whose boundaries are drawn artificially."<sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> C.A. Dawson & W.E. Gettys, "An Introduction to Sociology," p. 132-33.

These natural areas are formed by the process of segregation. The main causal factors, which seem to be operative in the selection of population into any given area, are economic status and ethnic affiliation. Other factors may be important in many situations; but on a broad basis these two may be accepted as the most powerful determinants in the selective process.

People usually choose residential areas in accordance with their economic status. In addition, members of the same ethnic group tend to live close to each other. This is especially true of immigrants. As a result of language handicaps, lack of vocational skills, and unfamiliarity with the mode of life in their new country, these immigrants tend to seek out their kinfolk or other members of their ethnic group. This segregation acts as a stepping stone in the accommodative process and as a cushion against the likelihood of rejection by established groups. The possibility of maintaining many features of the Old World culture is often feasible only when the group is fairly large and concentrated in one place. This may serve to keep the immigrant close to his group, as do more personal ties, even when he is economically able to move to a residential area of higher status.

The strength of ethnic ties in our large cities is indicated by the significant groupings along ethnic lines. A random distribution of all ethnic groups - or distributions approaching it - are rarely found.

"As a consequence of this tendency of like individuals to become segregated in space, the large city tends to become a sort of mosaic of little cultural or racial islands--areas, as Park has put it, which 'touch each other but do not interpenetrate.' These ecological clusters have been termed natural areas because they are the results of a natural process rather than the products of a deliberate plan. Existing in a symbiotic relationship to other areas of the city, the natural area represents a type of individual and collective adjustment the urban population has made to its social and geographic milieu. Products of competition and social selection, the areas become, then, relatively homogeneous, with a cultural or racial complexion that sets them off from other areas within the same community. Each area tends to select certain population types, this selection being based on economic status, racial characteristics, religious beliefs, moral codes, and the like."<sup>3</sup>

---

<sup>3</sup> N.P. Gist and L.A. Halbert, "Urban Society," pp. 175-6.

The process of segregation thus produces the homogeneous entities, which we call natural areas. In saying that homogeneity is the essential characteristic of any given natural area, we mean merely that its internal parts more closely resemble each other than they do areas outside the boundaries. This resemblance may be in respect to social and economic status, ethnic composition, housing, land usage, etc., or to any combination of these.

There is a tendency, however, for all of these factors to be interrelated. Therefore, when a boundary is crossed from one natural area to another, there is a strong likelihood that there will be substantial changes in all or most of these features.

Our society determines class position in many ways. The ethnic group and family into which an individual is born, his occupation and income, and the type of house he has, are among the important determinants of class position. In accordance with these indices the individual assumes his residential location in the city. The use of the above indices to determine and classify natural areas gives us an opportunity to study the relationship of the natural structure of the city to its class system. It also facilitates the assignment of a

class position to any given individual or selected groups for research purposes.<sup>4</sup>

---

<sup>4</sup> See Warner and Lunt, "The Social Life of a Modern Community," Vol. 1, Yankee City Series, for an example of a study using this kind of approach.

## CHAPTER 6

### THE METHODS OF DETERMINING NATURAL AREAS<sup>1</sup>

The natural area, by definition, is a specialized and differentiated part of the community in its selection of population types, in its performance of particular functions in the community, and in its separation from other areas by distinguishable barriers.

Therefore the two main criteria determining these natural areas are (a) maximum homogeneity of population, (this takes in the first two of the above factors), and (b) boundaries that are natural and readily distinguishable. These are discussed in the above order in the following paragraphs.

The term "maximum homogeneity of population" is the vaguest sort of generality. Nevertheless, it is the framework within which much more precise work can be done. There is obviously no single determinant of homogeneity of population. It might be suggested that income, or housing or ethnic group membership, or

---

<sup>1</sup> For a full discussion of the sources of data, the techniques used in gathering and assessing this data, and the limitations of both the data and the manner in which it was gathered and treated, see Appendix B.

even density of population is the best indicator of homogeneity.<sup>2</sup>

From the variety of relevant factors suggested, it should be evident that there is more than one type of homogeneity. A good number of factors may be legitimately employed as useful indices of homogeneity in each case. The importance of these indices varies with the area. For example, in the large sector of Montreal east of St. Denis, ethnic distribution cannot be used as an index since it remains relatively unchanged over a territory far exceeding one natural area. For the presence of natural boundaries, combined with corresponding sharp differences in income, rents and housing standards, clearly indicates the necessity of several divisions within this large territory. In other districts the reverse may be true. The ethnic factor may divide economically undifferentiated areas.

Another important determinant of homogeneity is one which does not readily lend itself to statistical measurement. It is local self-consciousness. There are a number of areas within the city that have informal names and which can be best identified by these names.

---

<sup>2</sup> See Appendix B for a discussion of the methods of gathering data for these indices.

Part of St. Jean Ward, for example, is known throughout the city as Park Avenue Extension, or Park Extension. This entity has little correspondance to the legal subdivisions in which it is located, whether they be municipal, provincial or federal.

It also differs widely from the surrounding areas, from which it is separated on all sides by almost insurpassable physical barriers. It differs from them in ethnic distribution, income, rentals, housing, and in historical tradition and self-consciousness.

Another example of the role of local self-consciousness is found in Rosemount. It has rather distinguishable boundaries, but they are not as clear-cut, or as great barriers, as those of Park Extension. Though it is not as different from adjacent areas as is the latter, it is, nevertheless, a definite entity, determined largely by the feeling that Rosemount is an area with its own distinct character.

In the case of the separate municipalities, some with town or city status, this feeling of local self-consciousness becomes accentuated. As a result of this one factor, Verdun, Westmount, and Outremont stand out immediately as separate natural areas. The ethnic and income groups composing these areas are the main



forces responsible for this distinction. Nevertheless, the feeling of belonging to a separate area is to a large extent independent of the factors from which it stems.

The combination of the sense of local distinctiveness, the separation of administrative services, and the wide differences in ethnic composition, economic and social status in these suburbs, has led to the retention, in most cases of the municipal limits. However, where natural barriers were more effective boundaries, they were used as the boundaries of the natural areas.<sup>3</sup>

In the previous paragraph, as well as in most of this chapter, the importance of boundaries has continually come to fore.

This is the second of the two criteria employed in determining natural areas, and it is obviously very closely related to the other criterion, homogeneity of population.

Boundaries of natural areas may be divided into two types, the physical and social. The fact that these two are usually characteristic of every boundary is an

---

<sup>3</sup> See Ahuntsic and Lachine, Appendix C, for examples.

indication that they are by no means contradictory.

The physical boundaries are such barriers as rivers, canals, hills, gullies, railroad tracks, rail yards, extensive industrial belts, large vacant areas, etc. These barriers prohibit easy movement, and consequently there is very little interaction between adjoining areas. More important, they prevent gradual invasion from one area to another. Where physical barriers of this nature exist, areas which are immediately adjacent to each other often show remarkable differences in land usage and population types. The C.P.R. in the "north end" of the city illustrates this point in striking fashion.

The radial street, serving as an important traffic artery, and extensively commercialized, is another physical boundary. Unlike the former group, it does not function quite as effectively as a barrier. The differences between the two sides of this type of boundary are seldom as clear-cut as those produced by the more insurpassable barriers.

Often land use, economic status, ethnic distribution, etc. change very gradually. Consequently, distinct natural areas may lack clearly marked boundaries. In these instances, where there are no great physical

barriers, the most convenient line in the gradient of change is taken as the boundary. The commercial, radial traffic artery is often most suitable for this purpose. Not only is it easily distinguishable, but it usually marks the point of greatest change.

In all cases where streets are used, the boundary line is drawn along the middle of the road in order to facilitate the identification of the boundary, to permit clearer graphic representation of the area, and to facilitate the gathering of data.

## CHAPTER 7

### CLASSIFICATION OF THE NATURAL AREAS OF GREATER MONTREAL

#### A. Introduction

The previous chapter and Appendix B indicate the theoretical bases for determining natural areas, and the manner in which the various indices were used in this research and the Census Tract survey.

The availability of uniform and reliable data on housing standards and family earnings for most of Greater Montreal made it possible to determine natural areas throughout all of this territory. More important, it enabled a comparison of natural areas in terms of each of these indices.

In order to classify these natural areas, a more complete and accurate picture of each area was necessary. Accordingly, this classification was made in terms of both family earnings and housing standards rather than either one of these indices. Equal weight was assigned to each since it was felt that they were equally important in determining the status of a natural area. This procedure is open to question, since in this instance it was impossible to test its validity. The assumption was made that there is no perfect

correlation between housing standards and levels of family earnings. Therefore it was necessary to employ both.

The maps showing Family Earnings and Standards of Housing, which accompany this chapter, bore out this assumption. Wide differences between these two indices were found in a number of places.

While the combination of the two indices was intended to give a rough indication of the status of the areas, it must be emphasized that the divisions set up in this study are not intended to correspond with social class.

The limitations in data, did not, for instance, permit the separation of the upper and middle classes. Any attempt therefore to interpret the threefold classification of natural areas as corresponding to upper, middle, and lower class, would be entirely misleading.

It is possible that this classification of natural areas may be helpful in determining the class position of individuals or groups. The extent of its usefulness depends on the correlation of these two indices (family earnings and housing), with a number of others, for example, occupational status and ethnic membership. These latter are more elusive and difficult to work with.

If a high correlation between these four could be established, this would be a promising technique for determining class position.

In order to facilitate the identification of the natural areas, a name was assigned to each. Whenever possible, the name by which it is popularly known was used, as in Park Extension, Rosemount, and Point St. Charles. This was done even though there is no corresponding administrative unit for Park Extension and Point St. Charles.

The suburbs all retained their administrative names, but not necessarily their legal boundaries.

In those parts of the city proper, where no informal names were available, the names of the ward, or wards, which are included in the area, were employed. These are relatively difficult to identify for those unfamiliar with the names and locations of Montreal's thirty-five wards. However, the ward names are far better known, in most cases, than the federal and provincial electoral sub-divisions. Where there is more than one ward in a natural area, all wards are included in the name of that area.

In the classification and population tables which follow, only the first name of a double or

multiple name area was used. Although this may render identification of the area more difficult, it was necessary for the sake of convenience in setting up these tables.

To make identification easier in these cases, the ward or area best known, or comprising the largest portion of the natural area, was designated as the name of that area.

The natural areas<sup>1</sup> into which Montreal has been divided are:-

1. Ahuntsic - Montreal North - Cartierville - Bordeaux
2. Central Apartment and Rooming House
3. Central Area (only part of this area is shown on the  
Map of the Natural Areas)
4. Cremazie - St. Lawrence - St. Louis - St. Jean  
Baptiste - Laurier - St. Michael
5. Hampstead
6. Lachine
7. Lafontaine
8. La Salle
9. Lower Notre Dame de Grace (N.D.G.)
10. Maisonneuve - Hochelaga - Prefontaine

---

<sup>1</sup> The name underlined is the name henceforth assigned to the area.

11. Mercier
12. Montreal West
13. Mount Royal
14. Notre Dame de Grace (N.D.G.)
15. Outremont
16. Park Avenue Extension
17. Point St. Charles
18. Rosemount
19. St. Edward - Montcalm - St. Jean
20. St. Henri - St. Cunegonde - St. Joseph
21. St. James - Papineau - Bourget - St. Marie - St. Eusebe
22. St. Laurent
23. St. Michael - Laurier - St. Louis
24. St. Michel (Ville)
25. St. Paul
26. St. Pierre
27. Snowdon - Cote-des-Neiges
28. Verdun
29. Villeray
30. Westmount - St. Andrew - St. George

The exact boundaries of these natural areas are shown on the "Natural Areas of Greater Montreal" Map on the following page. It should be remembered that many of these boundaries have been set only tentatively and



require further investigation. There is one final note of caution. The boundaries shown on the Classification and Population Density Map are not necessarily the boundaries of the natural areas. In most cases they are, but in several instances they exclude large tracts of unhabited land within a natural area. This was done intentionally since this map was intended to show density of population in relation to residential areas only. The circles (each representing 5,000 people) show the number of people living within the residential parts of the natural areas in 1941.

---

<sup>2</sup> Minor adjustments in the boundaries between a) Rosemount and Maisonneuve b) Lachine and St. Pierre, and the separation of Lower N.D.G. from N.D.G. are not shown in the Classification and Population Density Maps. They are, however, on the other maps showing the natural areas.

## B. Method

In order to classify the areas in terms of a single index including both family earnings and standards of housing, the following system was devised:-

The four categories of the Family Earnings Map were assigned short names for the sake of convenience.

These were:-

- HIGHEST (income group - \$2,500 per year and above).
- SECOND (income group - from \$1,750 to \$2,499 per year).
- THIRD (income group - from \$1,000 to \$1,749 per year).
- LOWEST (income group - under \$1,000 per year).

The three categories of the Housing Standards Map were assigned the following names:-

HIGH

MEDIUM

LOW

Each natural area was closely examined and scored on a numerical ranking scale as shown on the next page.

CATEGORY OF FAMILY EARNINGS IN EACH NATURAL AREA	POINTS
all HIGHEST	1
most HIGHEST plus some SECOND	3
most HIGHEST plus (SECOND & THIRD & LOWEST)	5
half HIGHEST plus half SECOND	7
half HIGHEST plus half (THIRD & LOWEST)	9
all SECOND	11
most SECOND plus some THIRD	13
most SECOND plus (THIRD & LOWEST)	15
half SECOND plus half THIRD	17
half SECOND plus half (THIRD & LOWEST)	19
all THIRD	21
most THIRD plus some LOWEST	23
half THIRD plus half LOWEST	25
most LOWEST plus some THIRD	27
all LOWEST	29

CATEGORY OF HOUSING STANDARDS IN EACH NATURAL AREA	POINTS
all HIGH	1
most HIGH plus some MEDIUM	4
most HIGH plus (MEDIUM & LOW)	7
half HIGH plus half MEDIUM	10
half HIGH plus half (MEDIUM & LOW)	13
all MEDIUM	16
most MEDIUM plus some LOW	19
half MEDIUM plus half LOW	22
most LOW plus some MEDIUM	25
all LOW	28

The differences in the intervals (2 for income and 3 for housing) were necessary in order to avoid giving more weight to family earnings. These intervals were also essential so that intervening numbers could be assigned to the gradations which are not listed above.

As the above charts indicate, the areas with the

highest standard of housing and highest income would have the lowest score; and those with the lowest income and lowest standard of housing, the highest score. These scores were added up to produce a total score. Then they were divided into three categories - A, B, and C.

The scores, total score, and category of each area are shown on the following pages:-

NATURAL AREA	FAMILY EARNINGS	HOUSING	TOTAL SCORE	CATEGORY
Ahuntsic	23	21	44	B
Central Apartment	24	17	41	B
Cremazie	27	21	48	C
Hampstead	1	1	2	A
Lachine	12	21	33	B
Lafontaine	22	19	41	B
La Salle	21	20	41	B
Lower Notre Dame de Grace	21	16	37	B
Maisonneuve	23	20	43	B
Mercier	25	22	47	C
Montreal West	1	5	6	A
Mount Royal	1	6	7	A
Notre Dame de Grace	3	12	15	A
Outremont	4	11	15	A
Park Extension	13	16	29	B
Point St. Charles	24	24	48	C

NATURAL AREA	FAMILY EARNINGS	HOUSING	TOTAL SCORE	CATEGORY
St. James	26	24	50	C
St. Laurent	16	20	36	B
St. Michael	22	18	40	B
St. Michel (Ville)	27	28	55	C
St. Paul	22	21	43	B
St. Pierre	11	19	40	B
Snowdon	4	11	15	A
Verdun	21	19	40	B
Villeray	23	20	43	B
Westmount	5	11	16	A

### C. Classification

All the natural areas have been divided into three categories. These three main groups are listed below together with the total score and population of each natural area.

CATEGORY "A"	TOTAL SCORE	POPULATION <sup>3</sup>
Hampstead	2	2,300
Montreal West	6	3,000
Mount Royal	7	4,400
Notre Dame de Grace	15	43,000
Snowdon	15	31,100
Outremont	15	28,100
Westmount	16	30,900
		143,100

<sup>3</sup> All population statistics for the natural areas are for 1941, and are to the nearest hundred.



CATEGORY "B"	TOTAL SCORE	POPULATION
Park Extension	29	7,700
Lachine	33	20,000
St. Laurent	36	6,900
Lower Notre Dame de Grace	37	5,900
Rosemount	39	42,500
Verdun	40	65,700
St. Pierre	40	3,900
St. Michael	40	42,700
Central Apartment	41	20,200
Lafontaine	41	103,200
La Salle	41	4,000
Maisonnette	43	80,300
St. Paul	43	28,700
Villeray	43	66,400
Ahuntsic	44	26,000
St. Edward	44	81,000

CATEGORY "C"	TOTAL SCORE	POPULATION
Mercier	47	21,000
Cremazie	48	75,800
Point St. Charles	48	28,900
St. Henri	48	81,600
St. James	50	104,000
St. Michel (Ville)	55	3,300
		315,200

These three categories and the population of the natural areas are shown on the Classification and Population Density Map on the following page.







The data suggests a division of the immense "B" category into two groups. The more prosperous of these consists of a group of outlying suburban areas with one exception, St. Michael, the Jewish sector. They are in the main, areas of skilled artisans, lower salaried white collar workers, and small, independent merchants.

These are:- (showing Total Score)

Park Extension	29	Rosemount	39
Lachine	33	Verdun	40
St. Laurent	36	St. Pierre	40
Lower N.D.G.	37	St. Michael	40

The lower group consists of:-

Central Apartment	41	St. Paul	43
Lafontaine	41	Villeray	43
LaSalle	41	Ahuntsic	44
Maisonnette	43	St. Edward	44

## CHAPTER 8

### THREE REPRESENTATIVE NATURAL AREAS OF GREATER MONTREAL

From each category one natural area, believed to be most representative of the group, has been selected for fuller description. Owing to the great variety within each of these categories, no single area can adequately represent the entire group. Rather they fall into types, and it is the dominant types which are represented in this chapter. There are a few areas which are quite unique and atypical. The areas which represent smaller groups, and those that are completely non-representative are described briefly in Appendix C.

In the descriptions which follow, the factors discussed with respect to each natural area are:-

- a) The geographic location of the natural area with reference to the whole community.
- b) The wards and/or the municipalities which it includes.
- c) The boundaries of the natural area, and the reasons for their selection.
- d) Population trends within the area, the rates of growth or decline, or tendency towards stability; the potentialities for continued expansion.
- e) The presence of any great institutional clusters,

e.g. commercial or industrial centers, railroads and railway yards, etc., and the effect of such groupings upon the area.

- f) The location of the area in reference to the places of employment of its residents.
- g) The Standards of Housing, as indicated by the map on Housing, Ch. 7, and the types of homes as reported in the Census Tract survey.
- h) The prevailing levels of family earnings, shown on the Family Earnings map.
- i) Average rentals for the area (residential rents only) as indicated by the Census Tract survey.
- j) The occupational levels of the inhabitants, (a rough estimate).
- k) The area's ethnic distribution; the large groups, their size, and wherever possible, their location within the area.

These factors will not necessarily be treated in the order of their appearance here. It should be obvious that the space allocated to each will vary with the natural area, in terms of the importance of that factor and the data available for it.

The descriptions of the areas in Appendix C are in terms of these same factors, but not all eleven

are included in each area, and those which do appear are treated much more sketchily.

CATEGORY "A"

This category may be divided into two main groups. The first consists of Westmount, N.D.G., Outremont and Snowdon. These are the large middle and upper class residential areas, which except for N.D.G., surround the mountain and climb its slopes. There is a marked correspondance in these districts between physical altitude and social level. The section of Westmount above The Boulevard, the area from Sherbrook to Pine Avenue and Cedar, and the section of Outremont above Cote St. Catherine contain almost all of Montreal's upper social groups.

The other set of areas are the small garden suburbs, Hampstead, Town of Mount Royal, and Montreal West. These are located farther from the center of the city and are inhabited by an upper middle class population, preponderantly of British origin.

While the British are in the majority in the first group of this category, they are, however, outnumbered by both French and Jews in Outremont, and in Snowdon all three groups are found in large numbers. Both N.D.G. and Westmount are predominantly British, but, here too, there are substantial minorities of



French, Jews, and others.

Of the 143,100 people in the entire "A" category, the British are about 58%, the French 25%, the Jews 14%, and others 4%.

All of these areas are in the western part of Montreal. The one chosen to represent this category is Notre Dame de Grace. Hampstead, representing the minor group, is discussed briefly in Appendix C.

Notre Dame de Grace (N.D.G.)

Stretching west from Westmount at a short distance north of the Lachine Canal lies the middle class area of N.D.G. The natural area, as defined here, is made up of the greater part of N.D.G. Ward, the second largest ward in the city. The southern section of the ward, the area south or "below" the C.P.R. tracks, has been made into another small natural area called lower N.D.G. The C.P.R. is the boundary along the entire southern edge of the N.D.G. area. It forms an effective barrier between widely divergent income groups. The markedly different character of each area is reinforced by the fact that the tracks can be crossed at only two points between Montreal West and Westmount.

On the west, the city limits of N.D.G. Ward separate this natural area from Montreal West. The latter is not very different from the western section of N.D.G., but has a higher standard of housing, and is separated by a vacant area, as yet scarcely built upon.

The northern boundary is Cote St. Luke (St. Luc) Road and, in the section adjoining Montreal West, the C.P.R.

In the western part of the natural area, both

Cote St. Luke and the C.P.R. clearly divide N.D.G. from the rural areas to the north. In the eastern sections, Cote St. Luke separates N.D.G. from the Town of Hampstead, which is substantially different from N.D.G. A large tract of partially developed land lies between the two areas. But this land is in N.D.G., and the recent building development taking place upon it indicates that it will be very different in character from Hampstead. (See Appendix C - Hampstead). Differences in administrative services and building restrictions in Montreal, (of which N.D.G. is a part), and Hampstead are the main factors responsible for this division. East of Hampstead, the extension of N.D.G. ward north of Cote St. Luke has been placed in the Snowdon natural area. This section just west of Decarie hinges far more around Snowdon Junction than does the rest of N.D.G. This latter part has its local institutional services in the commercial areas of Sherbrooke West and Monkland.

Cote St. Luke is the natural boundary between Snowdon and N.D.G. The huge church property east of Decarie prevents any of the streets in the Snowdon area from linking with Cote St. Luke. This vast tract of territory divides the two areas very effectively; and

Cote St. Luke is the best dividing line between them, as well as being a major traffic artery for the north-western part of the city. In Westmount, Cote St. Luke changes its name to The Boulevard, and the Cote St. Luke-Boulevard artery funnels a great deal of traffic into and out of central Montreal.

The eastern boundary of N.D.G. corresponds closely, but not exactly, to the city limits dividing N.D.G. from Westmount. Claremont, a wide street with a street car line, has been used as the boundary. The actual civic limits run for a distance along Claremont and then continue just west of that street. There is no sharp difference between Westmount and N.D.G. here, but, as in Hampstead, the variations in administrative services and building restrictions are the main dividing forces.

N.D.G. is generally known as a British, white-collar area. It has a greater number of British inhabitants than any other natural area.

Originally, the British in Montreal were divided into two main groups. One was composed mainly of skilled artisans; and the other, smaller in size, was the owners, shareholders, and managers of many of the great industries of Montreal and vicinity. A number

of British professional people in the higher income brackets were also part of this latter group. Its members lived in Westmount and the area just east of Westmount, which goes north from Sherbrooke up the slopes of the mountain. The main British group, the artisans, was concentrated in Point St. Charles, Verdun, Rosemount, and Maisonneuve. The increasing amount of paperwork in the great British owned industrial, financial, and other commercial enterprises was largely instrumental in the rise of the salaried "white collar" workers. These were largely the children of the artisan group. They were mainly British, and the more successful members of this group emphasized their superior occupational status by moving to the newer middle class area of N.D.G. They thereby consolidated superior social status as well.

Other ethnic groups, mostly French and Jews, made their way into the district. The original inhabitants responded to this invasion in the manner characteristic of the British in Montreal. They moved westwards to the fringe of settlement; and thus, at present, the western portions of N.D.G. and all of Montreal West have a much higher proportion of British than do the eastern sections of N.D.G.

The ethnic distribution for N.D.G. ward, shown

below for 1941, is much the same as for the natural area of N.D.G.

---

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Notre Dame de Grace	11,415	41,276	4,267	2,444

---

The Family Earnings map shows that earnings in N.D.G. are predominantly in the highest category, over \$2,500 per year, with several small scatterings in the \$1,750 to \$2,499.

Before discussing standards and types of housing in N.D.G., the following note may be relevant.

Except for the rooming house areas, the apartment belts, and the outlying commuter areas, Montreal has three main types of homes. These correspond rather closely to the three categories into which the city has been divided. The "A" areas feature the larger, more expensive, detached and semi-detached duplexes and cottages. The "B" areas have row housing with outside staircases and larger homes than the "C" group. This latter also has row housing, but these houses have their stairway inside, and are small, narrow, and almost invariably of plain red brick. They are close to the curb

and, since there are no basements, the front door is at sidewalk level. All of this combines to give the street of this kind of housing, a rectangular, boxcar appearance.

These types of housing are not limited to the particular areas described here, but there is a high correlation between them.

The homes of N.D.G., mainly detached and semi-detached duplexes, are of the "A" type described above. The Standards of Housing map indicates that housing in this area is in the High but mainly Medium categories. It is in the Medium category in the south and west. The High concentrations occur in the east and northeast.

Rents in N.D.G. are largely between \$300 and \$500 per year; but in many parts of the area, the rental averages are as high as \$700 per year.

The rapid growth of N.D.G. is illustrated by the figures for the ward below.

	1931	1941	1944 <sup>1</sup>	1945 <sup>1</sup>
N.D.G.	47,570	60,557	63,541	66,300

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 1944 and 1945 are from the Special Report of the Health Department of the City of Montreal. All other figures are from the Census of Canada, 1941.

Considerable room for further expansion remains in most parts of N.D.G., particularly in the western and northwestern sections, and these areas will no doubt be rapidly filled.



### Category "B"

Except for the central apartment and rooming house district, the natural areas in this category correspond rather closely to the main features of Burgess' Zone 2. They are the areas of workingmen's homes, widely scattered throughout the entire community. Sixteen natural areas make up this category, and it is by far the largest of the three. Its population is slightly over 600,000, the very great majority of whom are French.

Of the areas within the city, or at no great distance from its center, Lafontaine has been chosen as the most representative. The large residential areas of Verdun and Rosemount stand somewhat above it on the classification scale, while Maisonneuve, St. Edward, and Villeray are at about an equal distance below.

Of the commuting areas in the "B" group, Lachine is close to the top of the scale and Ahuntsic at the bottom. Consequently, these two have been selected for shorter treatment in Appendix C. Lachine has other characteristics which make it somewhat atypical and worthwhile describing.

The most unrepresentative area in this group is the Central Apartment and Rooming House area. It has none of the characteristics of the others; it too is described

in Appendix C.

Lafontaine - St. Denis - Delormier - St. Jean Baptiste

This natural area takes its name from the three largest wards, which are included in it. With the exception of a tiny fragment of St. Denis, all three are totally within the area. Lafontaine Park, Montreal's best known park, is the outstanding feature of this area. As a result, the name of the park and ward has been assigned to the whole natural area.

About half of St. Jean Baptiste Ward is in this area, as well as the northern parts of St. Eusebe and Bourget wards.

The boundaries of the area are Sherbrooke Street on the south, St. Denis on the west, and the C.P.R. tracks on the north and east.

Sherbrooke is Montreal's most important traffic artery for automobile, truck, and bus. It is the only downtown artery free from street cars. It is a very wide street and stretches from Montreal West to the eastern tip of the island. In consequence, it is used extensively for both local downtown traffic, and as a link between the eastern and western parts of the community. Sherbrooke is also a provincial highway and is used by buses going to and coming from all parts of the province. Therefore, a ceaseless stream of traffic flows along this important

artery.

The continual traffic and the width of the street have combined to make it an important barrier. Along most of its length it is one of the city's best divisive lines.

It is, however, a more effective boundary in the east than in the west. In the Lafontaine area, topographic features serve to make this street a particularly good boundary.

A steep hill rises from the St. James area, in the south, ending abruptly at Sherbrooke Street. From this point the terrain is level for a very great distance to the north. Sherbrooke Street, on the crest of the hill, marks a very sharp change in the character of the areas on either side of it.

The St. James area (see next section) lies to the south, and Lafontaine to the north.

In St. James, housing is visibly poorer, and rents and family earnings much lower than in Lafontaine. These characteristics of St. James continue right up to Sherbrooke Street.

Once across this street, rents, housing standards, family earnings, and the appearance of the homes and streets improve instantly. Below Sherbrooke, rents,

for example, are usually \$100-\$200 per year; above, they are nearly always \$200-\$300, and, in certain places, higher than that.

Much of the southern boundary is the Parc Lafontaine area, and this large park effectively divides north and south.

St. Denis Street is the western boundary. It is an important traffic artery and radial street. It is not very important as a commercial street, although it does have some large stores. But it ranks second only to Sherbrooke as the great institutional street of the area. The latter is the best-known street in Montreal in this respect.

The importance of St. Denis as a boundary lies in another function which it fulfills. From Craig Street as far north as the C.P.R. tracks, St. Denis is the dividing line between the predominantly English-speaking areas in western Montreal and the almost exclusively French areas in the east. To the average western inhabitant anything on the other side of St. Denis is "in the east," although actually the Lafontaine area, for example, is centrally located.

While there is a substantial French population on the few streets immediately west of St. Denis, this

group invariably increases to at least eighty-five to ninety-five percent of the population at St. Denis. From this point eastward, the French form about ninety to ninety-five percent of the inhabitants.

So, from the City Hall, in the south, to the St. Louis yards of the C.P.R., in the north, St. Denis Street divides Montreal's major ethnic groups rather sharply. The British and other ethnic groups who are in the east are mostly concentrated in the far eastern section of Maisonneuve and, more particularly, in the north-eastern area of Rosemount.

The C.P.R. is the boundary on both the north and east of the Lafontaine area. The railway involves not only a set of tracks, but also railroad yards and industries bordering on the tracks. Thus, the Lafontaine area is cut off from St. Edward, to the north, and Rosemount, to the east, by the C.P.R.

It has somewhat better housing, incomes, etc. than either of the latter. The fact that the railroad can be crossed only at a few points--tunnels on the major traffic arteries--contributes markedly towards the separation of Lafontaine from these areas.

The Lafontaine area covers a large territory. The great number of people living within it (103,200 in

1941) indicate that it is very densely populated. While it is mainly an area of workingmen's homes, several outcroppings of somewhat higher rentals may indicate that higher income groups also live here.

The factors responsible for this exception are the history of the area, the location of Lafontaine Park, and the surprising (for Montreal) number of other parks located here. The combination of Lafontaine Park, St. Louis Square, and fashionable Sherbrooke made this at one time an attractive residential area for the higher income groups. Their legacy was a number of large houses, the institutions on Sherbrooke Street, and a middle class area in the southern part of the area, immediately about Lafontaine Park.

The only other blocks of rentals above the \$300 per year mark are immediately adjacent to Laurier Park in the north and Baldwin Park in the south-east. These rentals demonstrate the influence of the parks of residential values. Excluding the Category "A" areas, no other part of Greater Montreal has so many parks. But Lafontaine is not, for all this, one of the more prosperous "B" areas. It is classified halfway between Rosemount and Maisonneuve, and is undoubtedly the most representative of the areas of workingmen's homes. Higher rental sections

are rare in Lafontaine, and these have been discussed. Rents are mainly between \$200 and \$300 per year, with strong tendencies to decrease near the C.P.R. and between St. Hubert and St. Denis. Here, many blocks are in the \$100-\$200 range. A substantial number of other blocks, scattered throughout the area, fall into this group as well, some of them in close proximity to the three large parks.

Family earnings show much the same tendencies. They drop to the bottom group (under \$1000 per year) near St. Denis, and rise around Lafontaine Park. They are, however, preponderantly in the next to lowest group (\$1000 to \$1749 per year).

Housing is all in the medium category, except for several places near St. Denis and a small area just north of Lafontaine Park, both of which are in the low group.

Lafontaine has mainly the "B" characteristic of row housing with outside staircases. But it has streets of "C" housing as well.

As in most other things, Lafontaine's age places it in about the middle group chronologically. Montreal's first growth was up to Sherbrooke. Then it expanded to the C.P.R., and finally, north of the tracks to Back River. Lafontaine is between Sherbrooke and the tracks, thus



falling clearly into the middle group. This natural area has been developed for a considerable time, and has a very limited capacity for further expansion. However, there is little evidence of deterioration.

The population table on Page 90 indicates a slow and steady growth in population. This tendency will likely continue for a number of years. As the area becomes obsolescent, and the movement northward and to the suburbs continues, the population will become stabilized. Then it will slowly dwindle, as is now the trend south of Sherbrooke, from Maisonneuve as far west as St. Henri.

The following are the population figures for the wards in the Lafontaine area. It should be remembered that about half of St. Jean Baptiste Ward is outside of this area. The segments of Bourget and St. Eusebe wards within it are too small to warrant inclusion of the entire ward.

	1931	1941	1945 <sup>1</sup>
Lafontaine	9,856	10,656	11,291
St. Denis	22,211	23,595	25,515
Delormier	42,800	46,489	49,838
St. Jean Baptiste	27,379	29,245	30,688

The majority of the labor force here tends to be skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled industrial workers, and lower salaried white collar employees. For all these groups the area is conveniently located. It is near the great waterfront industrial area in Maisonneuve and, at the same time, close to the central business area of downtown Montreal. In short, it has all the general characteristics of Zone 3.

Like all of Montreal, east of St. Denis and west of about Iberville, this area is almost exclusively French. The following table indicates the relative size of the groups.

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 1945 are from the Special Report of the Health Department of the City of Montreal. All other figures are from the Census of Canada, 1941.

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Lafontaine	9,467	573	109	256
St. Denis	21,605	1,244	79	315
Delormier	40,272	4,856	91	745
St. Jean Baptiste	21,217	1,215	5,073 <sup>2</sup>	988

<sup>2</sup> Almost half of this ward is in a heavily concentrated Jewish area outside of Lafontaine. In Lafontaine the Jewish population is as small as in the other wards shown in the above table.

### Category "C"

The "C" areas are in the oldest part of Montreal. With the exception of Ville St. Michel (pop. 3,000) and part of Cremazie, they are all south of Sherbrooke Street and are either on the riverbank, the canal bank, or between the two. There is a strong tendency for them to be criss-crossed by railroad tracks. These tracks, together with the industries and warehouses located about them, lower the residential status of these areas.

Not all of these areas are old or congested. Mercier and Ville St. Michel are neither. But deterioration and congestion are the main characteristics of the other four, Point St. Charles, St. Henri, St. James, and most of Cremazie. Since this latter group contains about ninety percent of the total population in this category, (total is about 315,000), they may be taken to represent the whole category. None of these are former upper or middle class areas. Point St. Charles was originally an area of British skilled artisans working for the most part in the Grand Trunk Railway repair shops, which had been largely responsible for the new settlement.

However, the noise and smoke of the heavily industrialized adjacent canal bank district and of the

railroad yards, and later, the pervasive odor of the stock-yards combined to lower the desirability of the Point as a residential area.

The area between St. Denis and McGill, from the river to Craig, is the heart of old Montreal; and the four large "C" category areas, surrounding it, were the main residential areas of the old city. Since the people who lived here were not middle and upper class, their homes were rather small and poorly constructed. They have not been able to take the wear and tear, and many of them have become obsolete or are obsolescent.

The people living here were, for the most part, unable to move out because of the higher rents in other areas. The present prosperity would enable many of them to do so were there not such an acute housing shortage in the city.

There are other potent factors keeping people in these areas. Being near to work is often an important factor. Even more important are neighborhood ties, especially in the case of the European immigrants. For a more thorough development of this latter factor, see the description of Cremazie in Appendix C.

All areas in "C" category are low income areas. Of the population of over 300,000 the great majority is

**French.** In the large group, (St. James, St. Henri, etc.), the "C" type of housing prevails, with some "B" housing as well. (For the description of these housing categories, see Ch. 8, Category "A").

Mercier and Ville St. Michel are sparsely populated; the former has about 21,200 inhabitants, excluding St. Jean de Dieu, and the latter around 3,000. Mercier has some fairly old row housing. Both areas have many small detached homes, characteristic of Ville Emard (in north-western St. Paul) and of certain parts of Ahuntsic.

The invasion of European immigrants into Point St. Charles accentuated the movement out of the Point of the original British inhabitants. Those who were willing to break old neighborhood ties, and had the financial means to do so, moved to Verdun, Rosemount, and in some cases, N.D.G.

St. James, St. Henri, Cremazie, and Point St. Charles all bordered on the center of old Montreal. St. James was on the east, St. Henri on the west, Cremazie on the north, and the Point on the south. It should be noted that the St. Henri natural area consists of St. Henri, St. Cunegonde, St. Joseph, and part of St. Ann wards. The eastern boundary of this natural area is McGill Street. The southern boundary of Cremazie is Craig, and the

western boundary of St. James is St. Denis and Berri, just west of the Viger Station.

The residential areas which surrounded the old central area of Montreal are still residential areas. Now they are the four large "C" areas, St. Henri, St. James, Cremazie, and Point St. Charles. Each of the four has been heavily invaded by industry, which has in turn speeded up its deterioration. Now all four are low income areas, partly residential and partly industrial.

St. James - Papineau - Bourget - St. Marie - St. Eusebe

This natural area stretches along the banks of the St. Lawrence River from the St. Denis Street-Viger Station district, in the west, to the C.P.R. tracks and Hochelaga Yards in the east.

St. James, Papineau, and St. Marie<sup>1</sup> wards are entirely within this area, as are almost all of Bourget and St. Eusebe wards. A segment of Ville Marie ward, small in size, but containing a large proportion of the ward's population, is also in this area.

This is one of the old areas of the city, lying directly east of the present City Hall district. It functions as a residential area for low income workers, most of whom are in the unskilled or semi-skilled categories.

Sherbrooke Street separates it from the Lafontaine area to the north. The effectiveness of Sherbrooke as a boundary between these two areas has been pointed out in some detail in the description of Lafontaine, which precedes this section. It should suffice here merely to point out that the low income, low standard of homes and

---

<sup>1</sup> One or two small blocks of St. Marie, east of Hochelaga C.P.R. yard, is actually in the Maisonneuve natural area.



prevalence of "C" housing continue as far as Sherbrooke, where they change abruptly.

St. Denis is the western boundary from Craig to Sherbrooke. It separates this area from Cremazie with its more heterogeneous ethnic composition. St. Denis, too, has been treated at much greater length in the preceding section on Lafontaine.

From Craig and St. Denis, the boundary turns east, running along the northern edge of the Viger Station area. At the eastern end of the station it turns directly south to the river, which is the southern boundary.

On the east, the C.P.R. bounds the area. From Sherbrooke down to Ontario, these tracks can be crossed only along the main streets. From Ontario to the river, the great C.P.R. Hochelaga Yard limits movement between St. James and adjacent Maisonneuve to the two main streets, St. Catherine and Notre Dame. There are industries and warehouses on either side of the C.P.R., especially around the Yard. These help to create an almost insurpassable barrier between St. James and Maisonneuve.

From Notre Dame to the river there are almost no residences. In part, this is the waterfront area, and towards the east there is the beginning of the great industrial district between the tracks and the river.

These industries gave rise to the Maisonneuve area, but they undoubtedly employ many of the residents of St. James.

The inhabitants of this area are located between the eastern industrial area and the central business area, at no great distance from either. These factors cannot be ignored in assessing the features of this area which are advantageous to its inhabitants.

Another factor of great importance is the proximity of a major shopping area. St. Catherine Street runs through the middle of St. James. It has been extensively commercialized, so that St. Catherine East, the part in St. James, is one of Montreal's four or five large shopping centers. It probably ranks third in the city after St. Catherine west and St. Hubert.

It serves the south central and south eastern parts of Montreal, and because of the immense population in these districts its commercial character is not of the neighborhood type. This latter kind of commercial area is found on Ontario Street, also within the area, and at scattered other points, such as Amherst and Papineau.

The presence of the railroads, their accompanying industries, and the important shopping district are in some ways advantageous to the area. They are,

however, largely responsible for assuring and hastening its deterioration for residential purposes. The noise, smoke, dirt, bustle, and heavy traffic make it an undesirable residential area, especially for families with children. In the years before the housing shortage and relative prosperity, both resulting from the war, this area was inhabited mainly by the lowest income groups and unemployed. During the past few years, the lack of accomodation has prevented all but a very few people from leaving it.

The area is old, and no new residential construction has taken place here for some time. Nearly all of its available residential land has been built on. What remains vacant is either near the tracks or the Montreal Tramway Company's barns, which take up a good deal of the far eastern part of the area. Consequently, there is little likelihood of new residential construction upon this vacant land.

The population of the area has increased slowly during the past seventeen years, and shows signs of levelling off and eventually declining. This tendency has also been noted in St. Henri, Point St. Charles and the older parts of Cremazie.

At present, however, St. James with 104,000

inhabitants is the most heavily populated of Greater Montreal's natural areas.

(see table on Page 101)

	1931	1941	1944 <sup>1</sup>	1945 <sup>1</sup>
St. James	22,833	25,042	27,480	27,876
Papineau	15,709	17,160	18,162	18,162
Bourget	24,078	24,849	26,145	26,522
St. Marie	14,809	15,624	16,619	16,858
St. Eusebe	20,671	22,494	23,674	24,015
Ville Marie	10,707	10,000	11,287	10,051

This population is between ninety and ninety-five per cent French as the following table indicates.  
(see table on Page 102)

<sup>1</sup> Figures for 1944 and 1945 are from the Special Report of the Health Department of the City of Montreal. All other figures are from the Census of Canada 1941.

	French	British	Jewish	Others
St. James	22,935	878	27	797
Papineau	15,859	811	49	311
Bourget	23,479	962	30	213
St. Marie	14,643	466	21	197
St. Eusebe	18,352	845	23	2,574
Ville Marie	9,029	519	31	191

The only noteworthy concentration of groups, other than French occurs in the very far northeastern corner of St. Eusebe. Here a group of central and eastern European immigrants has settled very close to the C.P.R. tracks.

The Family Earnings map shows that incomes are divided rather evenly between the lowest group (under \$1000 per year) and the next group (\$1000 to \$1750 per year). The lowest income districts tend to be in the older section of the area, west of Papineau Street. But both groups are found throughout St. James.

Housing is poor, most of it of the "C" type

described in the section preceding; but there are many streets which have "B" homes. The houses are tiny and in very bad repair. Some of them are located so that the only access to the street is through a dirty, cluttered, and often muddy "courtyard."

The Standards of Housing Map indicates that almost the whole area is in the Low category. The exceptions are a small concentration east of St. Denis, mainly on Berri and St. Hubert, and a larger one on the hill south of Sherbrooke, between Papineau and Iberville. These and a number of other small scattered areas are in the Medium category.

Rents, of course, correspond closely to housing standards. "C" type housing usually rents for a sum between \$100 and \$200 per year. This is the prevailing level in the area. There are, however, many exceptions, and nearly all of these are in the \$200-\$300 range. These are scattered. The only concentrations of higher rentals are in the two areas of better housing noted above.

One of these, the Berri - St. Hubert sector is a small district of large, former single family homes. These are the only buildings of that type found in the area, except some on Sherbrooke Street, and they have been converted into rooming houses.

### PART III

#### THE CENTRAL AREA AS A NATURAL AREA



## CHAPTER 9

### A BRIEF IMPRESSION OF DOWNTOWN MONTREAL

The central area of an urban community is not necessarily at the geographic center of the community. Rather it is the center of innumerable varied activities and the focal point of transportation for the city and its hinterland.

Every aspect of city life is represented in the central area of a large metropolis such as Montreal. The commonplace and the bizarre are part of the central area's daily routine.

The white collar workers pour into the office buildings at their appointed hour. Throngs push and jostle each other in the department stores and along the main retail shopping thoroughfares. At night, the crowd congregates on St. Catherine, Montreal's street of bright lights, and the city's amusement center. And while the individuals differ from day to day, the movies and restaurants inevitably experience their peak hours at the expected time.

Almost around the corner from the grey, forbidding buildings, which house the nation's great financial and commercial institutions, children run about the street in

bare feet and torn, dirty clothes. Ragged, unshaven old men sit in groups on park benches, or wander aimless and unseeing along these same streets near the pawn shops, cheap restaurants, and flop-houses. A stone's throw from the ultra-respectability of Montreal's financial and administrative district is the center of the city's subrosa activities. Gambling, cheap prostitution, and mission houses are often grouped onto the same blocks. Farther west, the "bookies" operate almost in the heart of the fashionable retail shopping district.

In the central area are located the offices of the C.P.R., Bell Telephone, Liberal Party, T. Eaton & Co. In the same neighborhood are a multitude of tiny, unheard of societies with lofty principled panaceas for all of the world's ills and an unshakeable determination to reform or overthrow the existing order of society.

A transient, anonymous population shuttles through the hotels, rooming houses and apartments, and along the streets of the central area. A woman is selling a parrot on Catherine. On Craig, a street vendor is displaying a cheap new gadget to the vaguely interested passerby. The blind and crippled sit on the sidewalk selling pencils while the crowd hurries by, ignoring them and forgetting their existence a moment later.

The workers, shoppers, movie-goers, and many others, pour into and out of the central area in an uninterrupted flow. Automobiles, streetcars, and trucks congest the narrow streets. The central area, in short, has a pervasive aura of bustle and activity, and of sharply contrasting success and failure.

The atmosphere of hurry, of accomplishment and continual unfinished business in no way belies the true nature of the central area. It is the vital headquarters of the city, intimately connected with all parts of the community, and many places beyond it. Each natural area is much more closely tied to the central area than to any neighboring district. The modern urban community would be paralyzed without its highly specialized central area. It is the hub of the wheel.

Most Montrealers have never heard the term, central area, but all use the word "downtown" as part of their regular vocabulary. The two terms are quite synonymous. If the people who use it were asked to define the area covered by this word, they would find it extremely difficult to assign precise boundaries to it. What they mean by downtown is the area of department stores, specialty shops, the city hall, the financial center, the office and loft buildings, the nightclubs, movies,

theaters, restaurants, sports arena, lecture halls, hotels, railroad stations, newspaper offices, the industrial area, the docks, etc. To many, downtown is essentially St. Catherine Street, combining, as it does, so many of these activities. To others, it is everything between Sherbrooke and the river. To the great majority, the term, downtown, is associated with only specific streets and institutions rather than with a distinct, defineable area, having many diverse institutions. The specific institutions of the downtown area, their location and function are discussed in the following chapters.

## CHAPTER 10

### THE BOUNDARIES OF THE CENTRAL AREA

The institutions, listed in the previous chapter, determine the extent of the central area. The most important single feature of this area is that it is predominantly non-residential. Not that it is devoid of residence, but the residential function of the central area is highly specialized, and the dominant institutions of the area are commercial, financial, industrial, transportation, and administrative.

The main guide therefore in defining the extent of the central area is to exclude the districts which are predominantly residential. The industrial areas along the Lachine Canal and the St. Lawrence River, in the western and eastern parts of the central area, also merit special consideration. They are areas largely given over to heavy industry which continues uninterrupted for a very great distance in either direction from the central area. The industries continue along the canal bank into Lachine and along the river almost to the eastern tip of the island. By no stretch of the imagination could the entire industrial area be included in the central area. This would destroy the usefulness of the concept, central area.

In similar manner, the St. Catherine Street retail shopping center continues into the eastern part of the city. While it is considerably less concentrated than in the Bleury to Guy area, nonetheless, it is a very important commercial street. The same is true of the commerce and light industry along St. Lawrence Boulevard, and, to a lesser degree, Park Avenue and St. Denis.

In all these cases, industry and shopping alike, it is necessary to divide these institutions arbitrarily in order to limit the central area to a meaningful and useful size. Accordingly, the boundaries which separate the residential from the non-residential areas, arbitrarily divide the industries and shopping areas, eliminating parts of them from the central area.

A detailed study of the Montreal City Planning Commission's Land Use Maps indicates that the central area has few clear-cut, indisputable boundaries.

Indeed, it is possible to make a number of rather rapid generalizations from the data, setting the boundaries at different places in each instance.

It is debateable whether any one of these generalizations is more valid than the other.

The largest reasonable estimate of the central area would place the western boundary at Atwater, the

southern boundary on the banks of the St. Lawrence River, and the eastern limit on Papineau or possibly as far east as Delormier. The northern boundary would be along a line formed by Cote des Neiges, Pine Avenue, Cherrier and Lafontaine Park.

These boundaries have the advantage of including many highly concentrated institutional districts, other than commerce and industry. The institutional sector of McGill University, Montreal High School, and the Royal Victoria Hospital, is an example. These may be considered central area institutions which are located on the periphery of the central area.

However, these boundaries enclose a tremendous area, too large to be considered realistically as Montreal's central area. The real central area encompasses a much smaller territory.

Of the boundaries of this area, Sherbrooke, the northern boundary, is the most distinct. While Sherbrooke Street is taken as the northern boundary of the central area, the institutional sector mentioned previously, (McGill-Royal Victoria Hospital), will be considered a zone of the central area.

The rooming house and apartment zones which center about Sherbrooke Street are considered as a separate natural

would have to be drawn along the southern edge of Point St. Charles Yard and along the C.N.R. tracks. Or, this southern limit might be drawn along Centre Street.

However, none of these alternatives are very satisfactory. The C.N.R. property is an essential part of the Point St. Charles area. The tracks, the railroad yard, the surrounding industrial belt, and the great sector of heavy industry on the southern bank of the Lachine Canal are inextricably bound up with the history and development of the Point St. Charles area. They are responsible for its settlement and for the character of the area from its beginning to the present time. They are part of Point St. Charles rather than the central area.

The elimination of Point St. Charles leaves us with an excellent boundary for the central area - the Lachine Canal. The Canal separates the Point from the downtown area. It is crossed only at several points, and although Cote St. Paul and Point St. Charles are on the other side, they seem more like industrial suburbs than part of Montreal city. To most Montrealers, the city ends at the canal bank. Not many are aware that St. Paul and the Point are on the other side and contain no less than 60,000 inhabitants. Most people are aware that Verdun lies to the south of the canal bank. However, Verdun is a



area. They are discussed in Appendix C under the heading Central Apartment and Rooming House area. This Central Apartment area is really part of the central area. However, this study has employed differences in the character of residential areas as the main criterion in the establishment of natural areas. Since it was felt that the central apartment and rooming house districts were sufficiently homogeneous in character and large in population, they were taken out of the central area and grouped into one distinct natural area.

While the northern boundary of the central area has been definitely established at Sherbrooke, the other limits are less distinct. The southern boundary is indisputably the St. Lawrence River as far west as the Lachine Canal. At this point there are a number of alternative boundaries. The boundary can continue along the riverbank to Verdun, thus including all of Point St. Charles, industrial districts, railroad yards, and a sizeable residential area.

Point St. Charles has close to 30,000 inhabitants and is a distinct natural area. Consequently, it seems advisable to exclude it from the central area. The canal bank industries and railroad yards could be included in the central area. To do this, the boundary of that area

would have to be drawn along the southern edge of Point St. Charles Yard and along the C.N.R. tracks. Or, this southern limit might be drawn along Centre Street.

However, none of these alternatives are very satisfactory. The C.N.R. property is an essential part of the Point St. Charles area. The tracks, the railroad yard, the surrounding industrial belt, and the great sector of heavy industry on the southern bank of the Lachine Canal are inextricably bound up with the history and development of the Point St. Charles area. They are responsible for its settlement and for the character of the area from its beginning to the present time. They are part of Point St. Charles rather than the central area.

The elimination of Point St. Charles leaves us with an excellent boundary for the central area - the Lachine Canal. The Canal separates the Point from the downtown area. It is crossed only at several points, and although Cote St. Paul and Point St. Charles are on the other side, they seem more like industrial suburbs than part of Montreal city. To most Montrealers, the city ends at the canal bank. Not many are aware that St. Paul and the Point are on the other side and contain no less than 60,000 inhabitants. Most people are aware that Verdun lies to the south of the canal bank. However, Verdun is a

separate city in the far south-west, which is never in any danger of being identified with the central area.

In order to give the natural areas easily-identified, continuous, and distinct boundaries, the great radial traffic arteries have been used in preference to the little known streets. The only through streets between Sherbrooke and the Lachine Canal in the western part of the central area are three such arteries, Mountain, Guy, and Atwater. The only logical boundary is one of these three. A fairly strong case can be made for each of these streets as the western limit. Mountain marks a sharp decline in the concentrated commercial zone. Most of this decline is taken up by increased land use for residential purposes. Nevertheless, the central area institutions continue as far west as Atwater, though they are less concentrated. Atwater, however, is too far west to serve as a boundary of the central area.

Approximately 30,000 to 35,000 people live between Atwater and Guy, south of the C.P.R. They belong properly to the St. Henri - St. Cunegonde natural area. North of the tracks, between Guy and Atwater, is the large apartment and rooming house sector. This section, too, has been assigned to another residential area, although, as has been previously explained in this chapter, it

could also be included in the central area.

The net result is that Mountain is too far east to be the boundary, and Atwater too far west. Guy is, therefore, the western boundary. It also marks a noticeable decline from commercial and industrial land use to residential. While Guy is to be considered the western boundary of the central area, the transition noted above is equally clearly marked off by a number of other streets between Guy and Atwater. This indicates the gradual transition of the central area to the residential zones. However, like the McGill - Royal Victoria Hospital sector, the district just east of Atwater, including the Forum and Western Hospital, is a peripheral zone of the central area, containing central area institutions.

The same problems which made it difficult to determine the western boundary of the central area operate in defining the eastern limit. The important streets here are from west to east -- St. Lawrence, St. Denis, St. Hubert, Amherst, Papineau, and Delormier. From St. Lawrence to Delormier, commerce and industry gradually give way to residences and churches. But this change is very gradual. St. Lawrence and St. Denis are still in the heart of the downtown area, while Papineau and Delormier are too far to the east. This leaves either St. Hubert or Amherst as the

logical eastern boundary. There is little to choose between them. But since Amherst and Guy are equidistant from Bleury, which is the best east-west dividing line of the central area, it has been chosen as the eastern boundary. While Amherst ends at the C.P.R. Viger Yard, a line extending from Amherst across the Yard brings the boundary down to the river. Thus, the Viger Station and most of the yard are included in Montreal's central area.

As in the west, a considerable portion of other natural areas, (St. James and Cremazie), are included in the central area. A sector of rooming houses and non-commercial institutions on Laval, St. Louis Square, Sherbrooke, St. Denis, Berri, and St. Hubert streets could well be included in the central area. The majority of the residential sectors, however, belong unquestionably to the St. James and Cremazie natural areas. (See Ch. 8, Category "C" - St. James, and Appendix C - Cremazie).

The boundaries assigned to the central area of Greater Montreal are as follows:

West - Guy

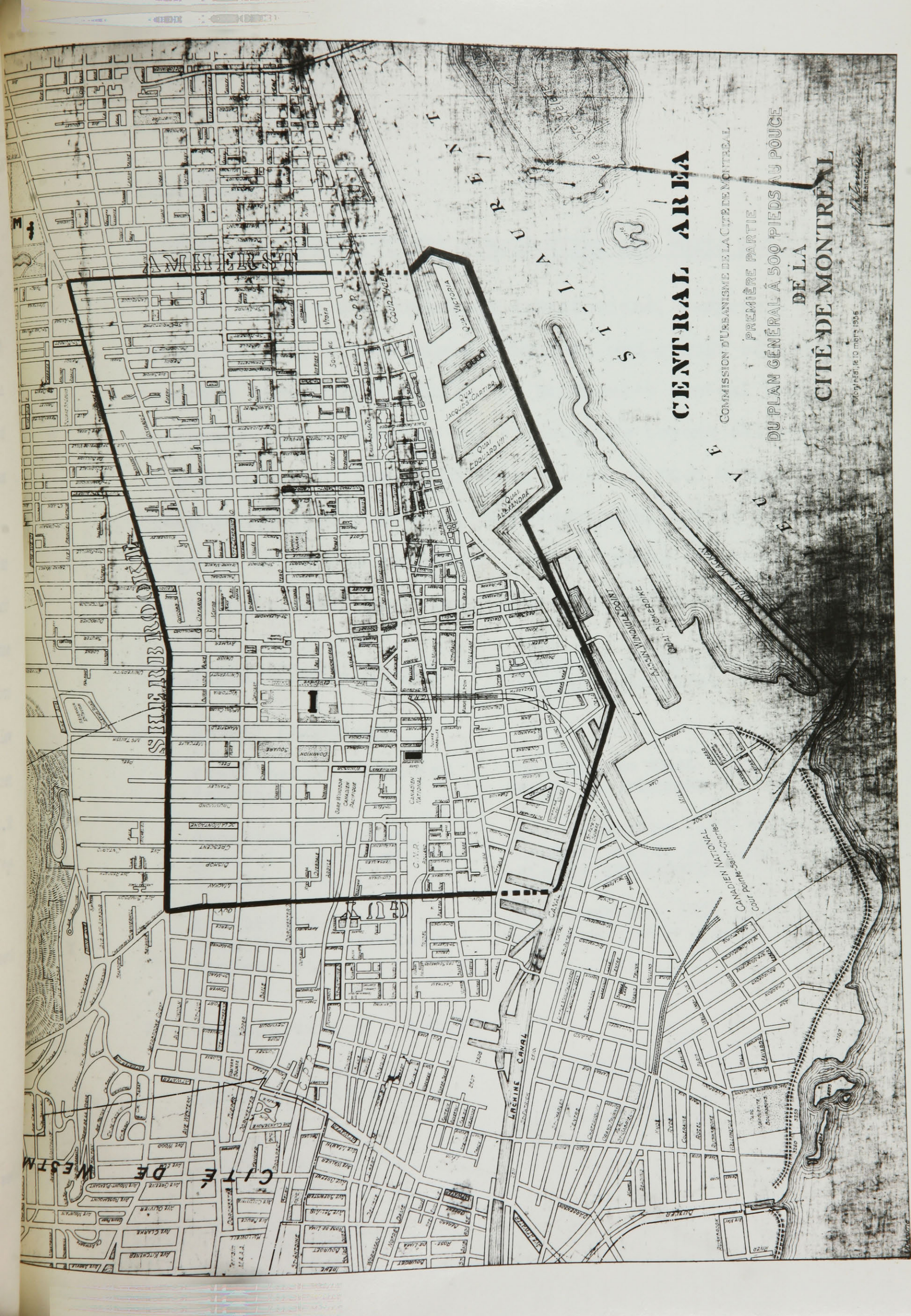
North - Sherbrooke

East - Amherst

South - St. Lawrence River and Lachine Canal.

(see adjoining map)





# CENTRAL AREA

COMMISSION D'URBANISME DE LA CITE DE MONTREAL  
PREMIERE PARTIE  
DU PLAN GENERAL A 500 PIEDS AU POUCE  
DE LA  
CITE DE MONTREAL

1935  
MONTREAL  
RESIDENT



CHAPTER 11CENTRAL AREA INSTITUTIONS : MAIN TYPES AND THEIR LOCATION

There are countless institutions, temporary organizations, fly-by-night ventures, and groups of every type and description located in Montreal's central area. To enumerate and discuss all of these is beyond all realms of possibility. Nor would doing so be of much help. In order to make this mass of data meaningful, it is necessary to group these bodies into a limited number of types. Accordingly, they have been assembled into twenty-one groups.

The Institutional GroupsLocation of the Groups  
(major concentrations only)

## 1) Retail Shopping:

fashionable exclusive  
"shoppes"Sherbrooke West (Guy to Peel)  
Peel (Sherbrooke to St. Cath.)department stores,  
apparel and specialty  
stores, etc.St. Catherine (all through  
central area, particularly  
Bleury to Mountain)low priced goods,  
pawnshops, furniture  
stores, etc.St. Lawrence (St. Cath. to Craig)  
Craig - north side - (Bleury to  
St. Denis)

## 2) Transportation - local:

street car and bus  
terminal pointsCraig Terminus (Craig at St. Ur-  
bain)Place d'Armes (Notre Dame and  
St. James at St. Francois Xavier)

Transportation - out of town:

airline offices	<u>all</u> (Dominion Square district)
railway stations	<u>Windsor, Central and Bonaventure</u> (Dominion Square district)
intercity bus	<u>Provincial Transport Terminus</u> (Dorchester, two blocks west of Dominion Square)
steamship	waterfront (St. Denis to McGill Street)

3) Central Area Residence:

largest, best-known hotels	<u>Laurentian, Mount Royal, Windsor</u> (Dominion Square district)
most fashionable hotels	<u>Ritz Carlton, Berkeley - Sher-</u> brooke West (Peel to Mountain)
small, less expen- sive hotels	waterfront district (around Bonse cours Market and Place Jacques Cartier)
apartments, tourist and rooming houses	See Appendix C - Central Apart- ment and Rooming House area.

4) Communication:

daily and other newspapers	<u>La Presse, Le Canada, Daily Star,</u> <u>Standard</u> (Place d'Armes district)
magazines, publishers	throughout central area
radio studios and allied services	<u>CBM, CBF, CFCE, CJAD, CHLP</u> (St. Catherine at Mountain)
telegraph	all companies (Place d'Armes district)

5) Commercialized amusement and recreation:

large, first-run and small, specialized movie houses	<u>all</u> - St. Catherine (Bleury to Peel)
--	--



stage productions (drama, ballet, opera)	<u>His Majesty's, MRT Playhouse</u> (Guy at St. Catherine)
vaudeville	<u>Gayety</u> (St. Catherine at St. Urbain)
low-priced movies	St. Lawrence (St. Catherine to Dorchester)
night clubs, bars, cafes	on, or near, St. Catherine and Dorchester)
bowling alleys	throughout central area and on its fringes
sports arenas	on fringes of central area; <u>Forum</u> (St. Catherine and Atwater) <u>Baseball Stadium</u> (Ontario and Delormier)
6) Restaurants:	
high-priced, fashionable often reconverted old stone houses	between Sherbrooke, St. Cather- ine, Peel, and Mountain.
larger cafeterias, chain and self-service	all along St. Catherine, especially from University to Mountain.
small, bottom-priced, undecorated	St. Lawrence (St. Catherine to Craig)
7) Office Buildings:	
	Dominion Square district Phillips Square district Dorchester - Beaver Hall district along St. Catherine, especially Peel to Guy Craig - St. James - Notre Dame district
8) Financial:	
banks, stock brokers, insurance, trust companies, the stock exchange	St. James - Notre Dame - Place d'Armes district

## 9) Political:

municipal government:-  
legislative, adminis-  
trative and judicial  
headquarters; local  
branches of provincial  
and federal governments;  
local headquarters of  
major political parties

St. James - Notre Dame - Place  
d'Armes district

## 10) Lawyers and Notaries:

St. James - Notre Dame - Place  
d'Armes district

## 11) Wholesaling:

wholesale merchandising,  
import and export trade,  
warehousing, distribu-  
tion points, customs

between St. Lawrence River,  
St. James, Viger Station and  
Bonaventure Station.

## 12) Wholesale Food Markets:

Bonsecours Market (Waterfront)  
most of the others are on the  
fringes of the central area

## 13) Heavy Industry:

dependent on rail and  
water transportation

St. Lawrence River and Lachine  
Canal banks (from Lachine to  
Montreal East, Pointe-aux-  
Trembles; railroad switching  
and freight yards.

## 14) Light Industry:

scattered throughout central  
area except for main retail  
shopping streets, rooming houses  
and apartment districts

needle trade

loft buildings (between St.  
Catherine, Mayor, St. Alexander  
and Bleury); small factories  
above stores (St. Lawrence from  
Mount Royal to Sherbrooke)  
new large factory district  
(around Jean Talon and St.  
Lawrence)

## 15) Public Meeting Places:

hotels for conventions,  
service club luncheons,  
etc.

Mount Royal and Windsor  
(Dominion Square)

lecture halls

scattered points in central area

largest "rallies, mass  
meetings" at large  
sports arenas

Montreal Forum and Montreal  
Baseball Stadium (see 5, sports  
arenas)

## 16) Education:

McGill University, high  
schools;

between Sherbrooke and Pine

schools of the University  
of Montreal; specialized  
trade and technical  
schools

scattered points in central  
area

## 17) Health Services:

hospitals

mostly fringes of central area,  
largest group in Pine Avenue  
district

specialist doctors  
(mainly English  
speaking)

between Sherbrooke, St. Cath-  
erine, Mountain and Guy

specialist doctors  
(mainly French  
speaking)

St. Denis - Sherbrooke -  
Cherrier - St. Louis Square  
district; St. Joseph Blvd. East

## 18) Religious:

scattered throughout central  
area

19) Clubs (non-commercial,  
limited membership):

on, or near, Sherbrooke

20) Historical and Tourist  
Sites:

throughout central area, mostly  
in the oldest part of the city  
around Place d'Armes and Bonse-  
cours Market

## 21) Sub Rosa Activities:

gambling, prostitu-  
tion

former center around St.  
Catherine and St. Lawrence;  
detailed information lacking -  
see Ch. 12, section 22.

## CHAPTER 12

### THE MAJOR FACTORS IN THE LOCATION OF CENTRAL AREA

#### INSTITUTIONS - THEIR FUNCTIONS

The scope and nature of this study have made it impossible to consider in detail many of the topics with which it deals. (A detailed list of these subjects may be found in Part IV).

Such a topic is the central area. The questions arising from it are innumerable. Indeed, there are countless questions which can be raised about each institution or type of institution in the area.

The restaurants are an example. Why are they concentrated in the central area? The answer seems too obvious.

Why is this concentration narrowed down to a certain part of St. Catherine Street? The answer to this question is a little less obvious.

Who patronizes these restaurants? Is it the St. Catherine Street shoppers, or the movie-goers? Or is it the great army of white collar workers who are employed in the retail stores on St. Catherine, and the office buildings on St. Catherine, Dorchester, Beaver Hall Hill, and many

other surrounding streets? Certainly all of these groups eat here.

But what per cent of the patrons does each group form? How can one explain the absence of a restaurant district in the St. James - Notre Dame district around Beaver Hall Hill and Place d'Armes? Thousands of white collar workers are employed in the offices of this area. Travelling time from here to the St. Catherine Street restaurants is considerable. Consequently, where do these people eat lunch?

Not only the institutions concerned, but also the city planners, must be able to answer questions like these.

Some of them are more easily answered than others. But further significant problems remain. Each of the institutions and institutional groupings of the central area raises similar pertinent questions. Most of these queries cannot be answered conclusively without a vast amount of further research. This explains why it is impossible to give adequate consideration to the central area in this study, since that area is only part of a wider framework. Therefore, this chapter, and the one which follows, treat the institutions of the central area in a generalized rather than a detailed manner.

The questions arising from even a superficial

study of the central area are too challenging to be completely ignored. In the absence of an authoritative accumulation of empirical data, a good deal is left to the deductive capacities of the author. The conclusions reached by this method are intended to be only tentative and speculative. While too much validity cannot be claimed for these conclusions, it is hoped that they may guide the direction of further research.

The main questions upon which attention will be focused in this chapter are the following:

What institutions and services are located in Montreal's central area?

Where are they located or concentrated within the central area?

Why are these institutions and services in their present location, i.e., in the central area and in a particular part of that area? This leads to a consideration of some of the functions of these institutions.

The functions of an institution are self-evidently the main determinants in selecting the location of that institution. Institutions having roughly similar functions will, therefore, tend to locate together. Every institution has manifold functions. We are interested here only in those functions which are important in determining location.

In the case of Montreal's central area, these functions may be divided into three groups. They are the relationship of the given institution to a) other central area institutions b) all of Greater Montreal c) the outlying hinterland, which extends in some instances far beyond the boundaries of the local community.

These three will be discussed, when relevant, for all of the twenty-one groups which follow. The amount of space allotted to each group, and the order of their description are not necessarily indicative of the importance of the group.

1) Retail shopping, more than anything else, gives the central area its distinctive character. R.D. McKenzie states: "It appears that population density, income, topography, transportation facilities, and racial composition are the chief forces at work in setting up the retail pattern of a city."<sup>1</sup> This theory can be readily applied to Montreal.

The retail stores of Montreal's central area may be divided into three groups. The first of these is on Sherbrooke Street West, from Guy to Peel, and on Peel, from Sherbrooke to St. Catherine.

---

<sup>1</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The Metropolitan Community," p. 266.



This shopping district is in a recently highly fashionable residential area, and the stores do all they can to maintain and exploit the character of the area. Many of them are reconverted large, old stone houses. This lends a fashionable aura to them. Other stores are much larger. Holt Renfrew, the largest of them, and the center of the district, tries to combine "atmosphere" with a building of almost department store size.

All these stores, or "shoppes" as they usually call themselves, have a characteristic type of window display. These displays stress "simplicity" and "good taste;" they are rarely cluttered or ornate; backgrounds are usually soft, dark colors, and only a few items are shown.

The atmosphere is further enhanced by the small size of the store. Here, one never encounters the crowds of the department stores and other retail establishments of St. Catherine Street. Quick, courteous service in an exclusive atmosphere is assured. These stores charge substantially higher prices for their goods. They do so for two main reasons. The customer pays for the atmosphere and service. These stores are not primarily interested in securing a large clientele at lower prices. High prices may keep the crowds away, but to many they are a potent

attraction in themselves.

These shops obviously cater to the upper income groups. These groups are located in the western and northwestern sectors of the city, within easy reach of this shopping district. The Westmount-N.D.G. Bus, the Cote des Neiges and Guy-Beaver Hall street cars link Westmount, N.D.G., Montreal West, Town of Mount Royal, Snowdon, Cote des Neiges, and Hampstead more conveniently with this district than any other in the central area. Of equal importance is the extremely rapid automobile transportation between this shopping district and the above-mentioned residential areas. No other sector of the central area has all, or even a portion, of these qualifications.

The main retail shopping district is on St. Catherine Street. Most of it is between Bleury and Mountain; but a substantial portion is east of Bleury. The St. Catherine shopping district includes the large department stores, chain stores, including the "five-and-tens," stores selling apparel, the furniture and household furnishing stores, jewellers, druggists, and many highly specialized establishments which sell only one or two commodities.

Four of Montreal's five largest department stores

are on St. Catherine between Phillips Square and Mountain Street. The fifth is on St. Catherine East. St. Catherine has a high concentration of jewellery stores and a large branch of each five-and-ten-cent chain. But most numerous are the stores selling clothing.

All of these, especially the clothing stores, strive to be at the points of greatest accessibility and pedestrian flow. The clothing stores most of all, need a very rapid turnover in their goods, since their desirability fluctuates not only seasonably, but with every change of fashion.

McKenzie points out that "as the community increases in size specialization takes place both in the type of service provided and in the location of the place of service."<sup>2</sup>

The department stores illustrate both the specialization of service and location. One can buy almost everything in the department stores. The individual who wishes to purchase an article unobtainable in his neighborhood comes down here. Or he, more often she, may wish to get a wider choice than is available in his locality. Many

---

<sup>2</sup> R.D. McKenzie, "The City," edited by R.E. Park and E.W. Burgess, p. 73.

diverse purchases can be made in a single department store. It also offers endless opportunity for window shopping.

Since these department stores are in close proximity and carry, by in large, the same type of merchandise, the shopper can go from one store to another comparing prices and quality. If the article desired is not available in one store, one can always try the next. And one may buy on a Budget Plan, Charge Account, C.O.D. and other ways.

Most of the department stores have attractive, comfortable lounges and soda bars to rest and refresh the weary shopper. As a result of the specialization of goods and services, and the proximity of one department store to another, the shopping pattern has emerged.

This pattern is largely responsible for the crowds on St. Catherine Street. The district between Bleury and Mountain is accessible from all parts of the city. St. Catherine Street is the most important focal point of street car transportation. People come here in large numbers, not only from all of Greater Montreal, but from many of the nearby rural communities and towns.

Their individual habits differ, but their activities fall into several broad patterns. It may be a periodic trip downtown for some shopping, or shopping and

lunch in a downtown restaurant, or shopping, lunch and a movie, or numerous other possible activities. But there are always many people on St. Catherine. Therefore, retail shopping, restaurants, and movies must be located close to each other.

It seems likely that the middle income group forms the backbone of these shoppers. To what extent this may be true is unknown to the author. The central area has many other crowded streets; St. James, Notre Dame, St. Lawrence, St. Catherine East, and others. The St. Catherine west crowd is always far more expensively dressed, and more prosperous in appearance than any of the others.

Along St. Lawrence Boulevard, from about St. Catherine to Craig, is a commercial district which caters to the lowest income groups. This district continues along the north side of Craig, west to Bleury and east to St. Denis. On Craig, there is a very heavy concentration of pawnshops, selling mostly old clothes, but countless other things as well. Restaurants, serving extremely low-priced meals, inexpensive furniture stores, cheap movies, and many other low-priced commercial enterprises line St. Lawrence Boulevard.

This district is Montreal's Hobohemia. It contains

the less prosperous elements of the city's great transient population. Except possibly for the movies and other places of amusement, this district probably serves only the low income groups which surround it, many of whom are a transient, homeless population.

2) Transportation: It has been noted that the central area is central mainly because it is the focal point of both local and out-of-town transportation. The Traffic Density Map, accompanying Ch. 4, gives a good idea of the tremendous volume of traffic conveyed into and out of the central area by street car and bus. It illustrates how the public transportation routes converge upon this area. Almost all of these routes have terminal points in the central area, linking it with the residential areas of the city. It is transportation more than any other factor which makes this area the hub of the wheel.

The major street car and bus terminal points in the community are the Craig Terminus and Place d'Armes. These two are almost adjoining, and they are just west of St. Lawrence Boulevard between Craig and Notre Dame. Subsidiary terminal points in the central area are at Victoria Square, just west of these two, and at Atwater and St. Catherine, on the western periphery of the downtown area.

The central area is also the terminal point of traffic which arrives in or leaves Montreal by airplane, railway, bus or ship.

The offices of the major airlines are all located in the Dominion Square district, in the heart of the central area. (Actually, there are three "centers" of the downtown area. These are Dominion Square, Victoria Square, and Place d'Armes). Limousine service is provided by the airlines between their offices and the Dorval Airport.

All of Montreal's great railway stations are in the central area. The three most important stations center about Dominion Square. These are the C.P.R. Windsor, the C.N.R. Central, and the C.N.R. Bonaventure. This last has been largely replaced by the Central for passenger service. In the same way, the Windsor station carries the very great majority of the C.P.R. passengers, leaving freight to the C.P.R. Viger Station at the eastern end of the central area.

The Montreal and Southern Counties railroad station is near the waterfront at Youville Square. The largest inter-city bus service in the province has its terminal on Dorchester Street, two blocks west of Dominion Square. The main embarkation point for ship passengers is along the waterfront between McGill and St. Denis.

3) Central Area Residence: Like every large

metropolis, Montreal has a great transient and semi-permanent population. The transients live in hotels, tourist homes and rooming houses. Those who stay longer tend to live in rooming houses, apartment hotels, and apartment houses. They are all very closely related to many other institutional groupings, and their location is highly dependent upon them. The function of a large hotel points out the institutions most closely related to it.

To begin with, the hotel must be close to the main out-of-town transportation terminals, the railway stations, airline offices, bus terminals, and steamship offices. These are concentrated in the Dominion Square district. Since their clientele is mainly tourists or businessmen, the hotel must be very near the great retail shopping and amusement sectors, and close to the heart of the business district. Some adjoining open space adds a good deal to the value of the site.

From everyone of these viewpoints, the Dominion Square district is the ideal and logical location for the great hotels. Three of Montreal's four largest hotels, the Laurentien, Mount Royal, and Windsor are located here, as are a number of smaller ones. For the very same reasons, the travel agencies are concentrated on Dominion Square. The old Ford Hotel, on Dorchester, several blocks west of



the Square, has been replaced by the new Laurentien. It is interesting to speculate on whether its failure resulted from location a little too far from the ideal spot.

There are a great number of other hotels scattered throughout the central area. None of these approach the above-mentioned in size.

There are two other significant concentrations of hotels in the central area. A group of small, inexpensive hotels is in the waterfront district near the Bonsecours Market. Jacques Cartier Place, adjoining the market sector, is the center of these hotels. On Sherbrooke West, the highly fashionable Ritz Carlton is right across from some of Montreal's most expensive apartments in the heart of the exclusive shopping district. The apartments, rooming and tourist houses are discussed in Appendix C - Central Apartment and Rooming House Area. A similar sector between St. Denis, St. Hubert, St. Louis Square, and Dorchester has not been included in this natural area. Except that its clientele is more apt to be French, it has much the same characteristics as the larger sector, termed in this study the Central Apartment and Rooming House area.

4) Communication: The central area is the focal point of communication as well as transportation. All Montreal's important daily newspapers, with one exception,

and many other dailies, weeklies, and other journals, are located in the central area. The most significant concentration is in the St. James - Place d'Armes area, where the three dailies with the largest circulation are published. These are the Daily Star, La Presses, and Le Canada. A number of smaller papers are also located in this district. The Herald Building is very nearby, but the Gazette is somewhat further off to the west. The only large circulation paper which is not in the central area is the Montreal Matin, on Marie Anne East. The great majority of the publishers are also in the central area.

Montreal's radio stations are located on, or very near St. Catherine West. Mountain and St. Catherine is the radio center of Montreal. Within a short radius of this intersection are located the studios of five of Montreal's seven stations. Of the other two, one is on St. Catherine East, and the other in Verdun. The St. Catherine West sector includes most of the allied services as well.

All the large telegraph companies have their head offices in the Place d'Armes district. The Canadian Pacific and Canadian National, unlike the others, have branch offices throughout the city. The Bell Telephone Company's building is on Beaver Hall Hill just north of Victoria Square.

#### 5) Commercialized Amusement and Recreation in

Montreal centers about St. Catherine Street. These are mainly night time activities; and the neon signs of the movies, cafes, restaurants, nightclubs, and other places of amusement make St. Catherine Montreal's street of bright lights.

It is this function in the evening and the retail shopping during the day which have made St. Catherine and downtown synonymous to so many of Montreal's inhabitants.

All of the large movie houses, which consistently show first run features are located on St. Catherine West, between Bleury and Peel. The relationship of these movies to retail shopping and the restaurants is discussed elsewhere. Most of the smaller St. Catherine West movie houses have specialized programs of various sorts. The Cinema de Paris, Orpheum, and Strand are examples of this latter type.

His Majesty's at Guy and St. Catherine is the locale of most of the large stage productions, including drama, ballet, opera, etc. It also shows movies occasionally.

Montreal also possesses a large vaudeville theater, the Gayety, which, like His Majesty's and the large downtown movies, attracts a city wide rather than local audience. It too is on St Catherine, two blocks west of St. Lawrence, at the corner of St. Urbain.

A concentration of movie houses of another type is found at St. Catherine and St. Lawrence. These movies located on St. Lawrence, between St. Catherine and Dorchester, have a much lower admission price, less attractive appearance and highly specialized programs. They do not show any of the A type films. Instead, they concentrate on pictures featuring sex and adventure. The advertisements take great pains to point out this fact, avoiding whatever subtleties they can. It may be these two elements which attract customers; or perhaps the cheap prices appeal to the low income groups, who live in the area. Or it may be that the simplicity of these pictures, the emphasis on action, is more readily understood by the neighborhood inhabitants. Most of these are either French or recent immigrants from Europe, both groups with a low educational and vocational level, and consequently little familiarity with the English language.

The nightclubs, bars, and cafes are located close to St. Catherine. Most of those that are not on St. Catherine are between that street and Dorchester. Other amusement and recreation places include bowling alleys and sports arenas. The latter will be treated separately, but bowling alleys, like movies, are neighborhood as well as central functions. The largest alleys, however, tend to

be in, or on the fringes of, the central area.

Sports arenas are usually dependent upon a city wide audience and must be somewhat centrally located. Because of their large size and the fact that they are employed for only a small portion of the time, they are seldom located in the high land value districts of the central area. Nearby parking space is usually essential, and this is ordinarily more readily available on the outskirts of the central area, rather than in its heart. All of Montreal's sports arenas are on the fringes of the central area.

Montreal has two great auditoriums. Most widely used is the Forum (Atwater and St. Catherine). Since it is enclosed, it is available the year round. Hockey, wrestling, ice shows, and boxing form the bulk of its attractions. Occasionally, it is used for a public meeting, a six day bicycle race, etc. The Baseball Stadium (Ontario and Delormier) has the greatest capacity of Montreal's public places. It holds, for baseball, close to twenty thousand people, twice the seating capacity of the Forum. Baseball is its main function until the autumn when rugby takes over. The professional Montreal rugby team recently moved here, into the heart of the French district from McGill University's Molson Stadium, where it had languished.

The odd boxing match is held in the Stadium, but since this is a large, outdoor arena, this is usually too risky a venture.

The Coliseum (at Guy and Sherbrooke) and McGill's Molson Stadium and Sir Arthur Currie Gymnasium (at Pine and University) are the only other athletic centers of any consequence for spectator sports.

6) The restaurants are an essential part of the downtown activities. Shoppers, movie-goers, office workers, and sales personnel form the bulk of their customers. Restaurants are found in fairly large numbers throughout the central area. There are, however, three main concentrations beside the hotel restaurants.

One group consists of the small, often dirty places centering on St. Lawrence Boulevard (between St. Catherine and Craig), which serve meals at considerably lower prices than do the other two types.

The second group is by far the most important from the viewpoint of the number of both restaurants and patrons. These include almost all of the larger restaurants. A number of these are of the chain type, such as Childs and Murrays. The self-service cafeteria are in this group. The majority of the restaurants of this type are on St. Catherine or very close to it. Their proximity to the

movie district and the fact that they serve sandwiches, sodas, icecreams, etc. at all hours means that they, rather than the more expensive third group, get the after-movie crowd.

The third group tends to cater to a higher income clientele. These restaurants are mostly large, reconverted, single family homes. They place far more emphasis on atmosphere, originality, and decoration, and have correspondingly a much smaller seating capacity, than the St. Catherine restaurants. Prices here are higher, but these restaurants attempt to establish a reputation based on good food, service, and congenial atmosphere. Most of them, unlike the St. Catherine cafeterias, have a liquor license.

Because of their reputation and independence of passing trade, and because they occupy former homes, these restaurants avoid the high rentals and land values of St. Catherine. But the drawing power of St. Catherine is attested in the fact that most of these restaurants are within a block of St. Catherine, that is between Sherbrooke and Dorchester. This latter street has become a popular location of late for cafes and night spots.

7) Office buildings can hardly be called institutions. But they house innumerable institutions and more

temporary organizations of all kinds. The office building and the retail store are the two most important types of establishments in the central area. In these buildings are the headquarters of many of Canada's largest corporations and non-commercial organizations, including government offices. Countless numbers of smaller groups, who are equally dependent upon central area location, have either a single room, a suite of rooms, or perhaps a whole floor in one of the many office buildings.

Organizations such as Canadian Industries Limited, Bell Telephone, Canada Cement, the City of Montreal, the Montreal Tramways Company, the Royal Bank of Canada, Shawinigan Power, and many others may use all, or a substantial part, of the space in their buildings, and have specialized services located elsewhere within the central area.

For companies the size of these, location of their main offices in Montreal's central area is essential. It is dictated not so much by the local community as by the relationship which these companies bear to a hinterland extending throughout Canada. In the case of the Tramway Company and the City of Montreal, the relationship to the local community is the determining factor.

The major reasons for this concentration have



been enumerated in Ch. 1. Montreal is Canada's foremost center of finance, industry, transportation, and communication. Consequently, it is advantageous and often essential for organizations similar to these, or dependent on them, to establish themselves close by.

Many of the organizations situated here are decentralized to various degrees. They maintain their general offices and showrooms in these buildings, but high rentals and land values necessitate that production, storage, distribution and other specialized functions be located elsewhere.

Attention has so far been focussed largely on the great commercial, industrial, and governmental bodies. But the great majority of the office space is occupied by the smaller organizations. These are legal firms, brokers, accountants, the lesser commercial and industrial enterprises, smaller or more specialized departments of government, trade unions, doctors and dentists and the consulates of foreign governments, philanthropic and social welfare agencies, political and religious groups and innumerable other voluntary organizations. Some of these bodies have their head offices here; for others, it is the Montreal branch office; but for many the entire organization **is** located in one or several adjoining **rooms**.

The office buildings are all easily reached by street car, but are a little more difficult to get to than the retail shopping district. They form the core of the central area. While there are several large concentrations, there are many office buildings scattered throughout the central area. There are five main concentrations of office buildings in the central area. They are located as follows:-

a) the Dominion Square district, including the Sun Life, Dominion Square, Castle, and many other buildings.

b) the Phillips Square district, including the Canada Cement, Birks, new Phillips Square Buildings, and many others.

c) the Dorchester - Beaver Hall district, including the C.I.L., Beaver Hall, new Aviation Buildings, and others.

d) Many office buildings line St. Catherine, but they are scattered along the length of the street. The closest they come to a concentrated district is between Peel and Guy.

e) The Craig - St. James - Notre Dame district. This sector has excellent street car connections with all parts of the city via the Craig Terminus, Place d'Armes, Youville Square, and Victoria Square. The St. Catherine

retail district is the only other part of the central area with equally good transportation facilities to the residential areas.

This is the largest and most heavily concentrated office sector of all. It is the financial, legal and governmental headquarters of Montreal and a vast hinterland. It stretches along St. James and Notre Dame, and adjacent streets, from the Viger Station - Champs du Mars - Bonsecours Market district west to about the Victoria Square - McGill Street - Youville Square sector. Place d'Armes, the central point in this district is about halfway between its eastern and western boundaries. This district extends from about Craig to the waterfront and includes a substantial amount of light industry, warehouses, and the docks. Here, more completely than anywhere else in the community, residence has been succeeded by other land uses.

8) The financial institutions: The paragraphs immediately preceeding have pointed out that the St. James - Notre Dame - Place d'Armes district is the financial center not only for Montreal but for a vast hinterland. Often this hinterland is national and even international in scope. St. James is known as the Wall Street of Canada.

The great banks, insurance companies, trust companies, stock brokers, and others are concentrated in

the office buildings of this district. Here they are close not only to each other, but also to the important law firms, industrial and commercial enterprises, the various government offices and the Montreal Stock Exchange.

9) The political institutions: The St. James - Notre Dame - Place d'Armes district is the political center of Montreal. The administrative, legislative and judicial branches of the municipal government are here. Most of the Montreal offices of the provincial and federal governments are also in this district. The three governments employ a large number of white collar workers to handle their extensive clerical work.

The Montreal offices of the major political parties of this province (Liberal, National Union, and Progressive Conservative) are on St. James and Notre Dame streets in this sector. They are intimately related to the law firms, governmental institutions, as well as the commercial, financial and industrial enterprises.

10) Law and notary firms are highly concentrated in the same district (see above). They, quite obviously, benefit from proximity to the courts, police headquarters, and various other branches of the municipal as well as provincial and federal governments. For many of them, it

is necessary to be near the head offices of numerous commercial and industrial enterprises.

11) Wholesaling is one of the most important central area activities. Most of the large wholesale establishments are on the southern, eastern, and western fringes of the St. James - Notre Dame district.

The wholesales do not depend upon passing trade. They sell to the retail merchants only. Consequently, it is not necessary for them to occupy expensively designed, attractive buildings in the sectors of highest rents and land values. They do not have to be near the consumer, as do the retail establishments.

Many of the wholesale enterprises are concerned with the import and export trade. They find it, therefore, advantageous to be located near the railroad freight stations, the customs, the warehouses, and the waterfront, with its loading, transfer, and storage facilities.

All of these tend to be grouped in the sector between the river and St. James street from the Viger Station, in the east, to the Bonaventure, in the west.

12) Wholesale Food Markets: The municipal markets are a form of wholesale activity. They sell, however, directly to the consumer as well. Their chief products are fresh fruits and vegetables.

The largest and most important of these is the Bonsecours Market on the waterfront. It is the central market for the food merchants of the whole city.

There are seven such markets in Montreal. Two of these, the Bonsecours and the St. Lawrence (on St. Lawrence between St. Catherine and Dorchester) are in the heart of the central area. Three of the remaining five are on the fringes of the central area. They are the St. James (Amherst) Market at Amherst and Ontario, the Jean Baptiste (Rachel) Market at St. Lawrence and Rachel, and the St. Henri (Atwater) Market at Notre Dame and Atwater. The other two, the Jean Talon and Maisonneuve Markets are in the north and east respectively.

13) Heavy industry: A clear distinction between light and heavy industry is almost impossible to make. For purposes of this study we will refer to districts of light and heavy industry, rather than to specific light and heavy industries. The latter are those which are mainly dependent upon water and rail transportation. They tend to be situated on the riverfront, the Lachine Canal bank, and near the railways. They are usually larger in size, noisier, and dirtier than the light industrial factories.

Since both the river and the canal have adjacent railway lines, the area between them is ideal for heavy

industry. This type of industry does not seek a central area location. Dependence on the routes of water and rail transportation has resulted in the location of heavy industry on the fringe of the central area.

The great factories follow the Lachine Canal, the river and the tracks. These transportation arteries and surrounding concentrations of heavy industry form the southern boundary of the central area. However, these industries extend along the river, the canal, and the tracks to both ends of the island. In the west, they go to Lachine, and in the east, almost to Bout de l'Île.

14) Light Industry: Even though there has been a strong tendency for industry of this type to move to the northern and northwestern parts of the community, the central area is still the great center of light industry. This is especially true of those industries which do not operate on an assembly line bases, and hence do not require their production space to be on one level.

Light industry has been the chief invader of the low rental residential sectors around the central area. The competitive nature of many of these industries keeps them in a fairly central location. They seek sites in the central area, but except for the loft buildings, they avoid the very high land values of the main commercial

streets. When they are on a commercial street, St. Lawrence for example, they seldom compete with the stores for location, but are situated in the same buildings, on the floors above the street level.

Printing and publishing and the needle trades are examples of this type of industry. The printers and publishers must be near the communication and business centers of the city, since they print the magazines, advertisements, and paper forms for business.

The needle trades are one of Montreal's largest industries, perhaps the largest. They produce a very large proportion of Canada's apparel. This is a highly competitive industry with an extremely great number of small, individually owned establishments. These factories are concentrated in three districts. The first of these is in the heart of the central area, in the loft buildings of Bleury, St. Alexander, Mayor, and St. Catherine streets.

The loft building has the appearance and conveniences of the office building. Here, however, production, show rooms, and offices are all in one set of adjoining rooms of office size. The industry is usually too small to be decentralized, and too competitive to risk locating in an out of the way district. Because these industries are small, and success is often uncertain, the factories



tend to be built in the already proven areas, so that good rentals and building mortgages can be most easily obtained.

The other needle trade sectors are in the small factories above the stores of St. Lawrence Boulevard, between Mt. Royal and Sherbrooke. The very largest factory buildings of clothing manufacture are on St. Lawrence near Ontario, Sherbrooke, and St. Catherine.

A new area in the north has recently been established by this industry. The factories here are new and much larger and more attractive than those on St. Lawrence. This last industrial belt centers on Jean Talon and St. Lawrence.

15) Public meeting places: In a community the size of Montreal there is a need for large meeting halls centrally located. The very largest meetings or rallies are held in the Montreal Forum, at St. Catherine and Atwater, or occasionally, the Montreal Baseball Stadium (Ontario at Delormier).

Such occasions, however, do not occur very frequently. Political meetings, for instance, are often neighborhood affairs. But for lectures, meetings, and many other programs, which are in English, and need a central location, the auditorium of Montreal High School

(University and Sherbrooke) and Preston Hall (Drummond and Dorchester) are most often used.

The corresponding French meeting places are in the old University of Montreal (St. Denis and St. Catherine), Jesus Hall (Bleury and St. Catherine), and Plateau Hall (in Lafontaine Park).

Montreal's importance has made the city a leading site for national conventions. Often these conventions are North American or sometimes even international. They are inevitably held in the large hotels, the Mount Royal and Windsor. The location of the hotels, and their capacity to combine meeting place, restaurant service and sleeping quarters make them the only logical place in which to hold these large assemblies.

They also are the choice of the service clubs, Rotary, Kiwanis, etc., and groups such as the Canadian Club, for their periodic luncheons. Most of the members of these organizations are employed in the downtown area, several minutes from the hotels.

16) Education: Most of Montreal's specialized and advanced education is located in the central area. Besides the universities and trade schools, there are Montreal, D'Arcy McGee, and Catholic High Schools.

The first of these serves the non-Catholic

population, who live in or near the central area, as well as those in other parts of the city, who have no high school in their neighborhood. Catholic High, D'Arcy McGee, and Loyola provide a high school education for the non-French speaking Roman Catholic population of Montreal.

Specialized and advanced education, and scientific research are the foremost functions of Montreal's largest and best known educational institutions, McGill University (English speaking) and the University of Montreal (French speaking).

McGill is located between Sherbrooke and Pine, at University, on the northern edge of the central area. It is very definitely a central area institution. Its hinterland takes in nearly all of Canada; many students come from the United States and other more distant countries. Several faculties, Medicine for example, draw students from many parts of the world.

The University of Montreal has moved in recent years from its old location in the commercial area on St. Denis near St. Catherine, to a new site, on the mountain, just west of Outremont in the Cote des Neiges area. But some of its affiliated schools have remained in the central area. These include the schools of commerce, engineering, and fine arts.

Technical schools, the larger business colleges, correspondance schools, and many trade schools are in the central area.

17) Health Services: These may, for the sake of convenience, be divided into two groups, the hospitals and the offices of the medical and dental profession. The large size of the hospitals and the advantages of a quiet, restful atmosphere tend to prohibit their location in the central area. One, however, the Montreal General (Dorchester, one block east of St. Lawrence) is right in the central area. It will soon leave this area for a new site at Cote des Neiges and Cedar on the fringe of the central area. A number of hospitals are on the fringes, while many others are in the residential areas.

Those on the fringes include the Royal Victoria, the Western Division of the Montreal General, the Children's Memorial, Hotel Dieu, Notre Dame, Ste. Jeanne d'Arc, St. Luke, and many smaller ones.

Specialization has taken place within the medical profession both with regard to the type of service provided and the location of that service.

There is a growing number of specialists, and their clientele tends to be city wide. (Ethnic affiliation is an important factor here, French speaking and English speaking

being the main division, and the Jews tending to form a third group with their own hospital, doctors, specialists, etc.).

The English speaking specialists (Jews included) tend to locate centrally, in the high prestige sectors of the central area. These enhance the doctors' position and permit them to charge higher fees. The Medico-Dental Building (St. Catherine near Crescent), the Drummond Medical Building (Drummond and St. Catherine), and the Medical Arts Building (Guy and Sherbrooke) have a very high concentration of specialists. Many others are located in large, single family homes and fashionable apartments on the streets from Mountain to Guy, between Sherbrooke and St. Catherine, and on Sherbrooke itself in this vicinity. Thus, prestige, greater earning power, and central location are combined. The doctors' offices in this district are only several minutes drive from most of the hospitals in which they practice. The erection of the new Montreal General on Cote des Neiges will make this hospital, now fairly far away in travel time, the nearest to the medical office sector.

The concentration of the medical profession and fashionable shopping into one district is no accident. Both hope to capitalize on the prestige value of the area,

and its proximity to the upper income residential areas. The Medical Arts Building is situated on the crossroads of traffic coming downtown from Westmount, N.D.G., Montreal West, Snowdon, Cote des Neiges, Hampstead, and Town of Mount Royal. No better location could possibly be found.

The main group of French speaking specialists is concentrated in two districts. The first is the Sherbrooke - St. Denis - Cherrier - St. Louis Square district. The other is far north of the central area in the new middle class apartment sector on St. Joseph Boulevard East.

18) Religious institutions: occupy a large proportion of the land in the central area. Most of these are churches, but there are also schools and other institutions belonging to the church.

Protestant religious property is confined to churches. A number of these were at one time neighborhood churches. Then, when the congregation moved away, these churches faced several alternatives. Some of them remained large downtown churches, maintaining the loyalty of former parishioners, who had moved. Others concentrated on social welfare activities among the low income groups who had moved into the area. Still others sold their churches to smaller, struggling denominations and sects, who required downtown location. Some churches were demolished, or not

rebuilt when burned down, and the sites were taken over by commercial enterprises, often office buildings.

St. James United Church, in a strategic location on St. Catherine, survived by renting a large portion of its building to commerce and light industry. On the other hand, Christ Church Cathedral, situated on what is probably the downtown area's most valuable remaining retail site (St. Catherine, between Eaton's and Morgan's), has survived the commercial invasion which surrounds it.

Churches, schools, convents, hospitals, and other buildings are part of the extensive properties of the Roman Catholic Church in the central area. The two largest are the Catholic School Commission (Jeanne Mance - St. Catherine to Ontario), and the extensive area belonging to the Sulpician order (between Sherbrooke, Atwater, and Cote des Neiges), somewhat to the northwest of the central area. The latter property includes the Theology Faculty of the University of Montreal and several other schools. The Notre Dame Cathedral (facing Place d'Armes) and many of the other old downtown churches are historical landmarks, attracting many tourists.

19) Clubs: A number of social clubs of the non-commercial, limited membership type (this excludes night-clubs, and many others) are in the central area. The largest

of these have their own buildings, serve meals, and provide many facilities for their members, who are all in the upper income groups. These clubs differ from many other sociably, voluntary organizations in that they have premises of their own. Most of them are located on or close to Sherbrooke Street since it provides not only a fashionable, prosperous, and fairly quiet atmosphere, but also is the main automobile link with the residential areas. The members of these clubs, needless to say, usually travel by automobile.

20) The historical and tourist sites are not particularly an institutional group. They are scattered throughout the community, but most of them are in the central area, particularly around the site of very early Montreal.

The Place d'Armes - Bonsecours Market district is the center of the places of historic interest. The Chateau de Ramezay Museum, preserving relics of the life and history of the province of Quebec, the old Bonsecours Sailors' Church, the Market place, the Notre Dame Cathedral, and many other "points of interest" are located here and are partly responsible for the large number of tourists in Montreal.

21) Sub rosa activities: These, by their very



nature, are hidden from the general public. This information therefore is largely based on hearsay and somewhat fragmentary evidence. The authorities deny their existence, but the central area is the scene of most of the organized prostitution, gambling houses and the "books" or bookies as they are better known.

The bookies, before the municipal police closed most of them a few years ago, were mainly in the St. Catherine and Peel district.

Other types of organized gambling and prostitution vary considerably in location with the income groups with which they are associated. Those associated with the lower income groups are usually less able to conceal their identity. In the prewar and early war years, this type of prostitution and gambling centered about the St. Catherine and St. Lawrence district, but the individual establishments were scattered over a fairly considerable area.

Somewhat more expensive prostitution seems to have been, and perhaps still is, in the rooming house sector and small apartments between Bleury and Mountain, Sherbrooke and Dorchester.

A number of gambling houses, catering to the middle and upper income groups, were located on the fringes of the city. Their patrons came out by automobile; many

other attractive features were supplied such as free food and drinks. It was undoubtedly hoped that these places would be comparatively free from police surveillance and the prying of curious neighbors.

PART IV

SUGGESTED LINES OF FURTHER RESEARCH

## CHAPTER 13

### SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This type of study indicates two main lines along which further research can be oriented. The first is the accumulation of more detailed empirical data on many of the topics which could not be treated here in sufficient detail. In the second case, the information provided by such studies could be employed in analysing the structure and function of the urban community or any of its individual natural areas. This is an essential requirement for intelligent city planning.

There are many questions which need study before authoritative answers can be given. Most of these questions have been indicated throughout the study, but a brief summary of these problems may be helpful.

Basic information, e.g. family earnings, housing standards, must be available for all of Greater Montreal. A list of those parts of the Montreal community for which this kind of information was not available is provided in Appendix B.

In Ch. 3, a number of indices of the extent of the Montreal metropolitan community were listed. These were physical and institutional services, such as

postal, telephone, water, transportation services, and others. The indices studied were in substantial agreement regarding the boundaries of the community. They did, however, show minor differences.

The factors responsible for these differences should be studied, as well as the other indices which were listed but not explored in any detail in this chapter. Only by so doing can the boundaries of the metropolitan community of Montreal be conclusively established.

The same situation holds true of the natural area boundaries. There is a distinct possibility that some of these boundaries were set too arbitrarily. The lack of thorough knowledge of the natural area in question was responsible. A more detailed study of these specific natural areas is needed to settle controversies regarding boundaries.

The central area is probably the best example of such a natural area. The size of the area, the diversity of its institutions, and the complexity of their functions have prohibited a detailed study, both of the extent of the central area, and the precise functions of its institutions. Such a study is essential.

The relationship, for instance, of the department stores to the entire community has been treated in the most

generalized manner. More specific information is needed. We must learn which income and ethnic groups buy there, and in what proportion. Where do their customers live? What areas beyond the local community are highly dependent on these stores?

Where do the downtown office workers live?  
Where do they have their lunch?

Often the reasoning with reference to the location of a specific group of institutions has been speculative. Interviews, the study of delivery routes, and the detailed tabulation, plotting and grouping of all central area groups and institutions are some of the methods necessary to prove or disprove the validity of the conclusions in the study and to add new ones.

A tremendous amount of further research is obviously essential if the central area alone is to be adequately studied. The same holds true for each natural area. Its structure and function in relation to the whole community can be conclusively determined only by more detailed investigations following from the basic data provided here.

The need for planning is urgent in the central area and in many other parts of the community. Intelligent and definitive planning can be based only on a thorough

knowledge of the structure, function and interrelationship  
of the community and its natural sub-divisions.

- - - - -

APPENDIX A

POPULATION STATISTICS FOR GREATER MONTREAL



CITIES	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1945
Lachine	6,365	11,688	15,404	18,630	20,051	27,104
Longueuil	2,835	3,972	4,682	3,890	7,087	8,407
Outremont	1,148	4,820	13,249	28,641	30,751	31,801
Montreal	325,653	490,504	618,506	818,577	903,007	986,000
St. Lambert	1,362	3,344	3,890	6,075	6,417	6,500
Verdun	1,898	11,629	25,001	60,745	67,349	74,080
Westmount	8,856	14,579	17,593	24,235	26,047	25,296

TOWNS	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Baie d'Urfe	--	--	172	211	236
Beaconsfield	--	375	578	641	706
Dorval	481	1,005	1,466	2,052	2,048
Greenfield Park	--	--	1,112	1,610	1,819
Hampstead	--	--	53	594	1,974
Laval-des-Rapides	--	1,014	1,989	2,362	4,651
Montreal East	--	210	1,776	2,242	2,355

TOWNS	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Montreal North	--	--	1,360	4,519	6,152
Montreal South	--	790	1,030	1,164	1,441
Montreal West	352	703	1,882	3,190	3,474
Mount Royal (Town)	--	--	160	3,174	4,888
Pointe-aux-Trembles	--	1,517	2,350	2,970	4,314
Pointe Claire	555	793	2,617	4,058	4,536
Roxboro	--	--	23	25	23
Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue	1,343	1,416	2,212	2,417	3,006
St. Laurent (Ville)	1,416	1,860	3,232	5,348	6,242
St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice	--	--	462	453	518
St. Michel-de-Laval (Ville)	--	--	493	1,528	2,956
St. Pierre (Ville)	505	2,201	3,535	4,185	4,061

RURAL MUNICIPALITIES	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
La Presentation de la Ste. Vierge	234	221	273	290	323
Notre Dame de Liesse	--	--	--	1,621	1,629
Pont Viau (Parish)	--	--	--	1,091	1,342
Ste-Anne-du-Bout-de-l'Ile	341	813	1,037	980	686
Ste. Genevieve	1,186	1,075	1,074	936	1,362
Ste. Genevieve-de-Pierre- fonds (Village)	--	--	405	472	489
St. Joachim de la Pointe Claire	800	805	509	546	536
St. Joseph de la Riviere des Prairies	677	638	585	595	546
St. Laurent (Parish)	2,341	2,228	1,829	1,230	1,151
St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice (Parish)	1,193	1,268	326	280	340
St. Raphael de l'Ile Bizard	682	586	688	712	783
Saraguay (Village)	--	--	55	178	263
Senneville (Village)	293	418	489	526	555
INDEPENDENT MUNICIPALITY					
St. Jean de Dieu	2,519	2,494	3,371	4,578	7,276

WARDS	1931	1941	1945
Ahuntsic	16,413	20,754	23,630
Bourget	24,078	24,849	26,522
Cremazie	17,234	18,636	19,906
Delormier	42,800	46,489	49,838
Hochelaga	21,838	23,271	26,635
Lafontaine	9,856	10,656	11,291
Laurier	18,641	21,328	22,809
Maisonneuve	30,164	33,130	35,509
Mercier	20,397	24,017	25,835
Montcalm	17,770	21,111	23,658
Mount Royal	9,794	19,842	25,446
Notre Dame de Grace	47,570	60,557	66,300
Papineau	15,709	17,160	18,162
Prefontaine	19,607	21,496	25,415
Rosemount	45,119	50,841	57,911

WARDS (cont'd)	1931	1941	1945
St. Andrew	24,831	26,875	29,942
St. Anne	15,388	15,127	15,720
St. Cunegonde	19,249	19,206	19,760
St. Denis	22,211	23,595	25,515
St. Edward	33,434	34,640	38,090
St. Eusebe	20,671	22,494	24,015
St. Gabriel	19,873	20,358	22,628
St. George	13,641	14,620	16,285
St. Henri	30,094	30,376	31,556
St. James	22,833	25,042	27,876
St. Jean	24,394	27,461	29,517
St. Jean Baptiste	27,379	29,245	30,688
St. Joseph	10,855	10,491	10,541
St. Lawrence	20,545	20,534	21,300
St. Louis	21,827	22,739	24,797

WARDS (cont'd)	1931	1941	1945
St. Marie	14,809	15,624	16,858
St. Michael	25,597	27,571	29,262
St. Paul	27,840	29,761	33,007
Ville Marie	10,707	10,000	10,051
Villeray	55,408	63,211	69,725

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Island of Montreal	699,517	273,470	63,888	79,627
Montreal	598,901	182,948	51,132	70,026
Baie d'Urfe	73	151	1	10
Beaconsfield	189	487	---	30
Cote St. Luc	246	416	13	101
Dollard-des-Ormeaux	317	7	---	---
Dorval	1,081	870	17	80
Hampstead	213	1,579	56	126
Ile-aux-Soeurs	48	2	---	---
Ile Dorval	---	---	---	---
Lachine	12,261	6,036	155	1,599
La Presentation-de-la-Ste-Vierge	240	45	---	38
La Salle	2,766	1,384	13	488
Montreal East	1,898	399	---	58

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Montreal North	4,752	1,091	9	300
Montreal West	256	3,008	18	192
Mount Royal	823	3,794	12	259
Notre Dame de Liesse	1,621	6	---	2
Outremont	11,713	7,880	10,338	820
Point-aux-Trembles	3,599	429	13	273
Pointe Claire	1,760	2,763	---	103
Roxboro	23	---	---	---
Ste-Anne-de-Bellevue	2,073	863	1	69
Ste-Anne-du-Bout-de- l'Ile	202	361	---	123
Ste. Genevieve	1,215	131	---	16
Ste-Genevieve-de-Pierre- fonds	486	2	---	1
St. Jean-de-Dieu Asylum	6,805	370	2	109
Ste-Joachim-de-la- Pointe-Claire	482	45	---	9
St. Joseph-de-la- Riviere-des-Prairies	864	24	2	32



	French	British	Jewish	Others
St. Laurent Parish	771	123	---	257
St. Laurent	4,762	1,248	4	228
St-Leonard-de-Port-Maurice Parish	308	12	1	19
St-Leonard-de-Port-Maurice	511	3	---	4
St-Michel-de-Laval	2,425	131	1	399
St-Pierre	2,417	1,268	4	372
St. Raphael-de-l'Ile-Bizard	753	27	---	3
Saraguay	88	141	---	34
Sennéville	295	249	---	11
Verdun	28,242	36,062	471	2,574
Westmount	4,038	19,207	1,625	1,177
Jesus Island:				
L'Abord-a-Plouffe	1,633	78	9	53
Laval-des-Rapides	2,960	213	2	67
Pont-Viau	1,275	37	---	30

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Chambly County (part):				
Greenfield Park	135	1,614	10	60
Longeuil	5,425	1,500	23	139
Montreal South	618	763	---	60
St. Lambert	1,959	4,200	5	253
Ahuntsic	17,160	2,611	37	564
Bourget	23,479	962	30	213
Cremazie	12,767	1,074	194	1,275
Delormier	40,272	4,856	91	745
Hochelaga	21,513	1,409	22	203
Lafontaine	9,467	573	109	256
Laurier	9,356	1,056	10,188	350
Maisonneuve	25,025	6,728	34	789
Mercier	18,588	4,000	7	985

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Montcalm	14,753	2,285	564	3,133
Mount Royal	7,715	7,661	3,610	502
Notre Dame de Grace	11,415	41,276	4,267	2,444
Papineau	15,859	811	49	311
Prefontaine	18,772	1,809	7	691
Rosemount	34,433	13,015	62	2,125
St. Andrew	6,325	17,415	776	1,213
St. Anne	6,374	5,979	95	2,302
St. Cunegonde	14,718	3,309	106	489
St. Denis	21,605	1,244	79	315
St. Edward	29,704	2,609	193	1,420
St. Eusebe	18,352	845	23	2,574
St. Gabriel	9,753	8,711	62	1,287
St. George	3,868	8,739	478	823
St. Henri	27,161	1,967	34	767

	French	British	Jewish	Others
St. James	22,935	878	27	797
St. Jean	14,773	7,446	327	4,346
St. Jean Baptiste	21,217	1,215	5,073	988
St. Joseph	4,757	3,402	89	1,082
St. Lawrence	7,404	7,329	1,127	1,655
St. Louis	5,164	1,092	10,481	2,032
St. Marie	14,643	466	21	197
St. Michael	7,417	6,504	12,749	440
St. Paul	20,623	5,903	27	2,480
Ville Marie	9,029	519	31	191
Villeray	52,505	5,909	63	3,585
	598,901	181,607	51,132	43,499

## APPENDIX B

### SOURCES, TREATMENT, AND LIMITATIONS OF DATA

The delineation of the metropolitan community of Montreal and its natural areas was dependent on five major sources of information and a number of lesser sources.

Each of the five major ones will be discussed here with regard to the type of data it contained, the methods employed in handling and interpreting this data, and, finally, the limitations and shortcomings of the sources and methods.

These five are, in the order discussed a) the maps prepared by Mr. H. Greenway for the Housing Atlas of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics b) the Census of Canada, 1941 c) The City of Montreal's Statistical Digest (Section II - Population) prepared by the Economic and Tourist Development Bureau, and d) the Census Tract Survey, which has been conducted under the auspices of the Health Department of the City of Montreal, and with which the author has been associated from the start e) the land use maps of the City Planning Department of Montreal.

#### a) The Dominion Bureau of Statistics - Housing

##### Atlas:

The maps of Prevailing Levels of Family Earnings, Levels of Housing and Conveniences (Standards of Housing),

and Population Density were the most important of these sources. Information shown by these maps was based on the decennial census of Canada in 1941. The maps on Family Earnings and Housing were transferred to a more usable format. Instead of each being on two overlapping maps, each was put on a large map and changed from black and white to color. The use of colors made it very much simpler to read these maps and pick out characteristics more readily with less likelihood of error. Such categories as commercial and industrial space, parks, non-occupied space, cemeteries, and government property were all omitted from the new maps because they were irrelevant to this study and served only to make the maps more confusing.

On the Family Earnings map, the four categories of earnings - under \$1,000 per year, \$1,000 to \$1,749, \$1,750 to \$2,499, and \$2,500 and above were left intact. It must be noted, however, that these maps represent only those people who work for wages, salaries and commissions. It does not include people operating their own businesses, or industrial enterprises, or professional practices, nor those whose income is derived from investments. These omissions are liable to lead to serious distortions. A case in point is the area between Sherbrooke and Pine Avenue, west of McGill University. The majority of the

inhabitants of this area belong to the groups which are omitted from the map, but their domestic employees, who reside here and are fairly numerous, are included.

Consequently, a number of streets in this area are shown on the map as low income sectors. On the whole, however, these more prosperous individuals live in areas inhabited by high-salaried employees, and the map, therefore, does not distort the picture very much.

The inclusion of all incomes of \$2,500 and over in one group makes it impossible to discriminate between the middle, upper middle, and upper classes. For our purpose, this was not overly essential, but it would have thrown some interesting light upon several natural areas. For example, the average family earnings in Hampstead are all in the top category, while some areas in Westmount drop below it. This cannot be interpreted to mean that family earnings are higher in Hampstead than in Westmount. More discriminating data would have undoubtedly shown that the upper ranges of income in Westmount are far higher than the upper ranges in Hampstead. However, Westmount, unlike Hampstead, drops below \$2,500 in a number of places. Hampstead's smaller range of income gives it the false appearance of a higher income area. Outremont and Snowdon, like Westmount have some very high income districts and

some low. However, income groups above \$5,000, for example, form only a very small percentage of the community's population.

Another question arising from this type of data concerns the interpretation which may be given it. For example, can a family of four or five with a total earnings of about \$2,500 afford a higher standard of living than a married couple without children, or perhaps only one child, whose total earnings are around \$2,000 per year? By ignoring the number of people per family, this system of compiling the data undoubtedly distorts somewhat the relative standards of living that these incomes can buy.

The map on Levels of Housing and Conveniences was labelled Standards of Housing for this study, the latter name being shorter and more explicit. This map was divided into six categories, and contained also the same unessential land uses noted above (parks, cemeteries, etc.). The latter were again omitted, and the six levels of housing were divided into three. This was done in order to make the map immediately intelligible, since more than three or four separate colors or shades upon a map make it difficult and confusing to read.

The top two levels were combined into one group, the third and fourth into another, and the bottom two into



the third. These three groups were then drawn in color on a map. This kind of grouping is open to question. It may be that the lumping of the finer sixfold division into three large groups did not sufficiently discriminate between various levels of housing.

The Population Density Map shows one dot for every hundred people. Since the original Dominion Bureau of Statistics map did not have street names on them, the plotting of each of these dots on another map was a prohibitive task. For purposes of this study, it was not essential to do so. What was desired was the population of each natural area. These maps were the only possible source of population statistics for the natural areas. It was relatively simple to count the number of dots within each natural area and thus get the total population of that area to the nearest hundred. The Population Density Map was based on these figures. On it, each dot represented 5,000 people, and no attempt was made to get any correspondance between the location of the dots and the streets on which the population lived.

The most serious shortcoming of these three maps is that they do not cover the entire metropolitan area. The sections omitted may be seen on the map of Montreal Island and Environs in Ch. 3.

Five areas have not been included in this map. In order of population size, they are 1) the "south shore" area, taking in Longueuil, St. Lambert, Greenfield Park, and Montreal South 2) the "lakeshore" sector (of which only Dorval is on the maps) consisting of Pointe Claire, Beaconsfield, Baie d'Urfe, and St. Anne-de-Bellevue 3) the eastern end of Montreal island, including Pointe-aux-Trembles, Montreal East, and Riviere-des-Prairies 4) the southern shore of Jesus Island, including L'Abord-a-Plouffe, Laval-des-Rapides, and Pont Viau, and 5) the large rural areas of the far northwestern part of Montreal island and Ile Bizard.

As the reader may have noted, these five areas are all on the fringes of the community. And while they are large in geographical size, they form a very small fraction of Greater Montreal's population.

b) The Census of Canada:

This source provides the most authoritative and detailed statistical information available. Since this census is taken at regular ten year intervals, the figures are useful for comparative purposes and have been employed for such purposes in this study. The 1941 Census definition of the metropolitan area of Montreal was the one employed here. The Census, however, has one serious drawback. All

of its information (population, ethnic distribution, etc.) is based upon the political subdivisions of an area. These, of course, do not correspond exactly to the natural areas; but, what is far worse from the viewpoint of research, they are subject to change. Thus, for example, the 1921 population figures for the wards of Montreal would have been useful in assessing population trends in the natural areas. But it was impossible to use these figures, because in the interval between 1921 and 1931, the twenty wards of Montreal were subdivided, some new territory annexed, and the city emerged from this process with thirty-five wards.

Since the Census shows figures only by electoral subdivisions or incorporated areas, these have been utilized, and usually they correspond sufficiently closely to the natural area to make their figures meaningful for that area.

c) City of Montreal Statistical Digest (Section II - Population):

This booklet, prepared by the Economic and Tourist Development Bureau of Montreal, contains the ethnic distribution of the thirty-five wards, (but none for suburban areas), taken from the Census of Canada, 1941. It also contains population figures for all of these wards for the years 1944 and 1945, but unfortunately, no figures for suburban areas in these two years. The statistics are based

upon the Special Report of the Health Department of the City of Montreal. Besides these two sets of figures, this Digest contains many other valuable and interesting statistics about Montreal and its environs. These are taken from the Census of Canada, but have been selected and organized in various ways.

d) The Census Tract Survey:

This is the most complex and controversial of all the major sources of information. This work has been carried on under the auspices of Montreal's Health Department by a group of students from McGill University and the University of Montreal during the summers of 1946, 1947 and 1948.

This survey has attempted to divide Greater Montreal into homogeneous "census tract" areas. The principles involved in so doing are identical to those cited in Chapter 6 - Methods of Determining Natural Areas. The sole difference being that an attempt is made to draw census tract boundaries about a population in the neighborhood of 5,000. A range of 1,500 either way is usually allowed. Thus, nearly all of the census tract areas have a population estimated at between 3,500 and 6,500; the actual population cannot be arrived at except by a house to house census, and this is manifestly impossible. The

estimate is made by taking the total number of the heads of families in each ward (every name in Lovell's Street Directory is taken as a head of family) and dividing this total into the total population of that ward. The figure obtained is taken as the average number of people per family, and it is assumed that this remains fairly constant throughout the ward. Then the total heads of families in each census tract area is multiplied by the average for the ward, in which the tract is located. This gives the estimated total population for that census tract. While this is an involved and dubious process, no better one seems available until a house to house census is taken.

There are two main indices of homogeneity in the Census Tract Survey. They are Ethnic Distribution and Rentals. The former are obtained from Lovell's Montreal Directory for 1944, 1945 and, in a few cases, 1943. Rental information is based upon the rental assessment made by the municipal authorities.

Since the names in Lovell's Montreal Directory are those of the heads of families, or single individuals living apart from families, there is a likelihood that ethnic groups with smaller families, or most of whom are unmarried adults will be over-represented in the ethnic count made by the Census Tract Survey. The groups selected

were British, (including English, Irish, Scottish, and other British), French, Jewish, and Others. The latter includes all other ethnic groups but the three named above. The sole criterion available for determining to which group any given individual belonged was the researchers' familiarity with names, especially surnames, but often given names and the ethnic groups to which they belonged. Many names, of course, were easily recognized, others were doubtful, while in other cases, there was no way of deciding to which of the four groups an individual belonged. In the latter case, they were not assigned to any group, but were omitted entirely.

It is readily evident how prone to error this method is. Not only are there many errors in the original data provided by the Directory, but the method of categorizing the major ethnic groups leaves much to be desired. Ethnic distribution is available on a ward basis for 1941, but the ward is much too large an area for census tract purposes. Still, it does allow a broad comparison to be made, and in this way can check to a certain extent the other method. While this latter technique of determining ethnic distribution undoubtedly suffers from a certain amount of error (estimate of error has so far not been attempted), it should be pointed out that all that is

desired is a set of approximate figures. The percentage, which each group forms of the population, is all that is required.

Another limitation is that the Directory does not include all of the metropolitan area; a number of the smaller outlying centers are omitted. However, most of these are sufficiently small that the Directory is not needed, since there is little point in breaking down the ethnic statistics given for these areas in the Census of Canada.

The Directory was put to one further use. In order to obtain as complete 1945 population statistics as possible for Greater Montreal, the figures for the suburban areas were taken from the Directory. These were based upon the counts or estimates made by the municipal authorities in each case, and reported to Lovell's.

The rental information was taken from the City of Montreal's Assessment Department. They are the assessed rather than the actual rentals paid. Since it applies to all houses, this system is particularly useful, especially in areas with a high proportion of homes occupied by the owners.

In Montreal proper, the assessed rentals seem to be somewhat more than seventy-five percent of the actual

rent. In the suburbs, the rents are assessed by local officials and then reported to the City of Montreal. So it may be that due to variations in the system of assessment, or perhaps other factors, the suburban data may not be quite as reliable as that for Montreal.

Many municipalities either have no such data or else it is compiled upon a different basis. Thus, the rental information for Greater Montreal is both incomplete and lacking in uniformity.

e) The Land Use Maps:

The two best ways of obtaining a rapid and general idea of the character of an area are to visit the area personally and to consult the land use maps in Montreal's City Hall. The main limitations of the latter are that the city of Montreal proper has not yet been completely mapped, and none of the other municipalities have been done. From these maps, a detailed land use map of Montreal's central area was copied. This map was invaluable in determining the boundaries and institutional zones of the central area.



APPENDIX COTHER REPRESENTATIVE AND ATYPICAL NATURAL AREASCategory "A" - Hampstead

More than any other part of the community, the Town of Hampstead represents the outlying, well-to-do, garden suburb. It is not the home of the very wealthy, but of the upper middle class, mainly managerial and successful professional people.

Situated in northwest Montreal, at no great distance from Snowdon Junction, with local bus connections to the Junction, it is not a prohibitive distance from the center of the city. With this advantage is combined an atmosphere of rural quiet and isolation. There are no thoroughfares to other parts of the city running through the town, and so the streets are quiet and relatively devoid of traffic.

It is an area of detached cottages, each with a green area about it, and a general appearance of well-kept lawns and gardens, and brightly colored, attractive homes.

Aside from the school and churches, there are no institutional buildings in the Town. Commerce and industry are prohibited, and shopping is done either at nearby

Snowdon or downtown.

The municipal limits of Hampstead are the boundaries of the natural area, with on small exception. A very small segment of Cote St. Luc Village has been included in order to have a readily distinguishable boundary. This segment is sufficiently small to be henceforth ignored.<sup>1</sup> These boundaries correspond on all sides with marked changes in housing, income, and ethnic distribution. They are shown on the Map of the Natural Areas of Greater Montreal, Ch. 7.

Both family earnings and housing standards are in the highest categories throughout the natural area. It is an area of occupant owned homes and rigid building restrictions. The population, as the table below shows, is preponderantly British.

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Hampstead	213	1,579	56	126

Hampstead is only partially developed. Much

<sup>1</sup> The population of Cote St. Luc Village, as shown in the Census, lives mainly in the part of Cote St. Luc Village, which is on the opposite side of Hampstead, and which has not been included here.

room remains for further expansion, and this process continues apace. The following figures show the growth of Hampstead's population.

	1921	1931	1941	1945
Hampstead	53	594	1,974	2,300 <sup>2</sup>

---

<sup>2</sup> Estimate of population given in Lovell's Montreal Directory 1945.

Category "B"Ahuntsic - Montreal North - Cartierville - Bordeaux

In size, Ahuntsic is the largest of Montreal's natural areas. It stretches along the northern shore of the island from west of the Cartierville Airport to the eastern end of the Town of Montreal North.

Placed on the banks of the St. Lawrence, rather than the Riviere des Prairies, its western boundary would be at the western end of Verdun and St. Paul, and its eastern limit at about St. Jean de Dieu. It includes nearly all of the north shore of Montreal Island, which is predominantly non-rural.

As the full name of the area indicates, it takes in several large sectors; and if these continue to grow at present rates, this area will undoubtedly have to be subdivided. This could be done easily. However, it was felt that the population of this natural area (26,000 in 1941) did not warrant such action at the present time.

The largest part of the area is made up of Ahuntsic Ward. Most of the ward is in this natural area. The eastern part is generally known as Ahuntsic, and the western section as Cartierville and Bordeaux. The entire Town of Montreal North falls into this area. It is almost

as large as Ahuntsic Ward, and is a separate municipality. The remainder of the area consists of the northern tip of Villeray Ward, where it crosses the C.N.R. tracks. The C.N.R. line has been chosen as the best natural barrier between this area and the Villeray area to the south. Whether the C.N.R. line or the limits of Ahuntsic Ward and the Town of Montreal North should have been chosen as the southern boundary of this natural area is debateable. The latter are almost but not quite synonymous with the tracks, so there is little to choose between them. The tracks are the better natural barrier, but used as a boundary, they result in the exclusion of a substantial section of Ahuntsic Ward and several very tiny fragments of Montreal North. Equally small sections of St. Leonard-de-Port-Maurice and Villeray Ward are included. Until further work is done on this area, the C.N.R. definitely the more readily distinguishable of the two boundaries, will be considered the southern boundary of the natural area. The exact boundaries selected may be seen on the Map of the Natural Areas of Montreal.

One of the most marked trends in the growth of Montreal has been the expansion of the community northwards. Nearly all of the areas on the northern half of the island have grown substantially in the past twenty-five years.

The Ahuntsic natural area is no exception to this rule. The figures for Ahuntsic Ward and the Town of Montreal North, while not synonymous with the natural area, nevertheless do give a good indication of its population growth. (see Page 195 for table).

Growth has been steady and rapid in both of these sections, and the overall trend in the movement of Montreal's population means that this growth will probably continue. The fact that vast tracts of land are available for building here at extremely low price is an attractive feature. The major drawback in living here is the distance from the center of the city, where the places of employment, the great shopping centers, and other institutions which draw the inhabitants of Ahuntsic downtown are concentrated. The commuting service to Ahuntsic station is of great benefit to those people living near the station. But even this is a long drive and involves the necessity of conforming to train schedules, while the trip, if made by street car or bus, is extremely long and wearisome. This is a residential area with only a limited portion of the institutions necessary to make it a self-sustaining community. Its dependence, therefore, on central Montreal and the time required to travel to and from the downtown district and most other residential areas, are probably the most

important forces in preventing more rapid growth in this area. Important, as well, in hampering the development of the newer areas is the lack of physical and sanitary facilities such as paved streets and sewers.

This is a fairly low income area, although there is a great amount of variation within it. Incomes are usually in the next to lowest category, (\$1,000 - \$1,749), and housing in the low and medium categories. The western part is in the medium group and the eastern part in the low.

The section of highest income, rents, and best housing is in the area between St. Lawrence Blvd. and about St. Hubert; while the lowest income areas are in the "Shacktown" developments near the C.N.R.

Living conditions in this natural area are undoubtedly raised by the complete absence of congestion. The great amount of space and the cheap price of land result in the building of detached and semi-detached houses with at least a little open space about them.

The far northern part of the whole island tends to be inhabited almost exclusively by the French. The following figures indicate the proportionate ethnic distribution in this area in 1941.

---

<sup>3</sup> Census of Canada, 1941.

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Ahuntsic Ward	17,160	2,611	37	564
Town of Montreal North	4,752	1,091	9	300

POPULATION GROWTH	1931	1941	1945
Ahuntsic Ward	16,413	20,754	23,630 <sup>1</sup>
Town of Montreal North	4,519	6,152	2

<sup>1</sup> Source for all 1944 and 1945 figures is the Special Report of the Health Department of the City of Montreal. Other population statistics are from the Census of Canada.

<sup>2</sup> No figure available.



Category "B" - Lachine

Between Montreal and the Lakeshore, on the banks of Lake St. Louis, lies the industrial suburb of Lachine. The Lachine Canal and the heavy concentration of railway tracks, which run close to its edge, have made the canal bank area, the most concentrated industrial sector of the city, especially for heavy industry. This was an early development in Montreal's history. The development of new industry spread westward along the many miles of the canal, eventually linking Montreal proper with Lachine. At no point do these two cities touch; however, Montreal West, Ville St. Pierre, Verdun, Ville La Salle, and numerous other municipalities lie between them.

The size of Lachine, its industrial and commercial institutions, combined with its distance from central Montreal all serve to give it the character of a satellite city. Despite this status and the factors responsible for it, it is still an integral part of the Montreal metropolitan community. Many Montrealers are employed in Lachine's industries and, on the other hand, many of the residents of Lachine have come to Montreal daily to their jobs, or, less often, for specialized shopping and many other of the downtown services. Lachine is the furthest west of the

of the natural areas on the southern half of the island. But it is, nonetheless, on Montreal island and is included in the Greater Montreal area by the Census of Canada, telephone and postal services, and the City Directory.

Rather than take as a boundary the highly irregular, meaningless limits of Lachine in the east, an important natural barrier was chosen instead. The new wide Montreal-Toronto highway and a line of the C.P.R. run alongside each other from the northern limit of Lachine at Dorval almost to the canal. This combination of traffic arteries separates the built-up area from the undeveloped land sharply and effectively.

Near Ville St. Pierre, they separate. From the point of their departure, the boundary follows the tracks (rather than the highway) until it meets the main C.P.R. line from the northeast. They follow this latter line to the Canal, which is the southern boundary.

The question of the eastern boundary for this natural area can by no means be regarded as settled until further work is done on this question. The boundaries, here set forth, are only tentative. They are shown in detail on the Map of the Natural Areas.

The area may be divided into three sections. Two of these are on the shores of the lake, while the

third, or most easterly, is bounded by the C.N.R. tracks on the west, and the C.P.R. and highway on the east. This last is the relatively newer section. Most of the recent growth has taken place here. It is not, however, the most well-to-do section. Its family earnings are mostly in the third (or next to lowest) category, with parts in the second. Its housing standards are about evenly divided between medium and low, with the medium exclusively in the newer northern part of this section, and the older southern sector entirely in the low.

The second division is that part of Lachine between the canal and Dixie. Dixie is an area of the summer homes of many prosperous Montrealers. This second section is built around the old nucleus of Lachine on the lakeshore. The waterfront and C.N.R. form its western and eastern boundaries respectively. Family earnings here are almost all in the next to lowest category, and housing tends to be in the bottom grouping. These first two areas are, in the main, the residences of industrial workers.

The third area, Dixie, begins at about 36th Avenue and extends northward to Dorval. It is a district of summer homes on, or near, Lake St. Louis, and is also bounded by the lake and the C.N.R. This is a summer residential area for upper income Montrealers. It is also an area of

permanent residence for those who can afford to live year-round near the scenic attractions and natural advantages offered by the lake. It is therefore hardly surprising that family earnings are all in the highest bracket and housing in the medium. The great number of summer homes without doubt accounts for this medium rating.

Lachine's population has grown with marked regularity as the following figures indicate.<sup>1</sup>

	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1945
Lachine	6,365	11,688	15,404	18,630	20,051	27,104 <sup>2</sup>

This area is an area of mixed ethnic distribution. The largest group is the French, who outnumber the British two to one. The Others form a substantial portion of Lachine's population, much higher than their proportion in Greater Montreal.

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Lachine	12,261	6,036	155	1,599

<sup>1</sup> The City of Lachine and the Lachine Natural Area are almost identical with respect to population included.

<sup>2</sup> Estimate of population given in Lovell's Montreal Directory, 1945.

Category "B" - Central Apartment and Rooming House Area

Instead of taking the name of one of the three wards which are in this area, the location and chief functions of the area were chosen for its name. This area is just north of the central business district. It is more closely allied with this commercial district than any other residential areas.

For no area in the city is it more difficult to draw boundaries. The expansion of the commercial center north from St. Catherine towards Sherbrooke, and the intermingling of residence with commerce, make the clear delineation of either land usage impossible. The boundaries which have been chosen are indicated on the Map of the Natural Areas.

This area includes sections of St. Lawrence, St. George, and St. Andrew wards. The area is homogeneous in its function rather than in population structure. There are wide differences in income and housing standards; and no single ethnic group is very predominant. Nevertheless, this area is homogeneous in other important respects. It is made up of people who are either single or are married with very few or no children. Many childless couples, both of work, usually downtown, and also the transient population

of the higher income brackets live here. It is a non-family district, or rather an area without many children. Its houses are nearly all of two types--rooming houses and small apartments, suitable for no more than two or three people.

Since the rooming house invariably represents a succession and change in the function of the building, it is seldom new. It caters to the less well-to-do transient population. An example of the latter would be the rooming house area adjacent to McGill University, stretching from University nearly to St. Lawrence Boulevard, between Pine and Sherbrooke. The great number of out-of-town students at McGill and other educational institutions is one of the mainstays of this area. Many other people, single and married, widowed and separated or divorced, and those who for various reasons seek anonymity dwell here.

Residence in the central area is especially important to those who have come from other places and seek to minimize the difficulties of finding their way about a large and strange city. The location of these rooming houses and apartments at no great distance from the railway stations, bus and air terminals, means that this is the first area in which the new arrival looks for a place to live.

In this connection, we may differentiate between the two types of rooming houses found in this area. One type has already been described; the other calls itself the tourist home. These latter are located on the important thoroughfares, Sherbrooke and Dorchester, as near the center of the city as possible. (For tourists, as for many others, the center is undoubtedly St. Catherine). These houses are usually larger and less neglected than the rooming house, and rates are without doubt correspondingly higher.

Most of the apartments are found in the western part of the central area; these vary from the rather inexpensive ones on Jeanne Mance, Durocher, etc. to the very expensive ones on Sherbrooke from Drummond to Atwater, and on streets like Bishop, Mackay, Crescent and the area between Guy and Atwater. Overgeneralizations are dangerous here, however. Each type of rooming house and apartment can be found in almost every part of the area. We have merely noted the prevailing tendencies.

There are advantages for professional people, particularly the specialist doctor, in downtown location.

Many of the downtown institutions employ people whose job tenure is fairly short-lived. For these people, and they are numerous, the downtown area is the ideal place to live.

Sherbrooke Street separates this area from a very different district to the north. This latter district is between Sherbrooke and Pine. Its large old homes with their spacious grounds correspond to certain sections of Westmount and Beacon Hill in Boston.

In the central area available space for building has long been exhausted, and new construction generally means the demolition of old, delapidated houses. The new buildings are mainly commercial and sometimes apartments.

Therefore, population in this area, has been fairly stable as the following figures for the three wards indicate. (Only part of each ward is in the area, but since no statistics for the natural area are available, these give the best possible picture). The overall tendency is for population growth to be slow and limited to the western section.

	1931	1941	1945
St. Andrew	24,831	26,875	29,942
St. George	13,641	14,620	16,285
St. Lawrence	20,545	20,534	21,300

The British are the largest group in the area,



with their majority increasing as one goes westward. The following table, showing the wards from west to east includes this trend. (Figures are for 1941).

	French	British	Jewish	Others
St. Andrew	6,325	17,415	776	1,213
St. George	3,868	8,739	478	823
St. Lawrence	7,404	7,329	1,127	1,655

Family Earnings in this area vary from the lowest to the highest category. But they fall mainly into the two bottom groups. It may be that the lower paid white collar groups are a contributing factor. But more important is the absence of families, in which grown children contribute, and the prevalence of young single or married people, whose incomes are far from their future peaks. Older people living on pensions or past their peak earning capacity are another contributing factor. The transient worker, found mostly in the poorer paying jobs also lowers the average. The higher incomes are in the western apartment sections, where professional groups are found in great numbers. Housing standards are in the middle category with almost no variation, except for a few blocks east of University Street, which are in the lowest group.

Category "C" - Cremazie - St. Lawrence - St. Jean Baptiste -  
St. Louis - Laurier - St. Michael

As the name of this area indicates, substantial portions of six wards and a fragment of the seventh, St. Denis, compose the Cremazie natural area. This name is taken from the only ward which falls entirely within the area.

The southern portion of the area is one of the oldest sections of the city; and none of the northern portion is new. Between Craig and Sherbrooke, in particular, it has all of the features of the Zone 2 area, as defined by Burgess. As a result of the expansion of the central business district, commerce, and, more often, light industry have made great inroads into the Cremazie area. It is now in a state of transition, with all evidence pointing to the eventual succession of the invading usages. Many property owners, anticipating the sale of their premises to commercial or industrial enterprise at high rates, have neglected the houses which they own but do not live in. They derive an interim income from their rental to low income groups. The present acute housing shortage has accentuated this tendency.

Therefore, this area holds little attraction for most groups. There are two exceptions to this general

rule. A number of people, who place proximity to their downtown jobs as the main criterion of desirable location, live here even though they could afford to move elsewhere. However, people do not move here in order to be close to work. It is only those who have already become accustomed to the area who do not wish to disrupt their mode of life by moving farther from work.

The other important group is the large concentration of European immigrants, especially from central, eastern and southern Europe, (Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Poland, Russia, the Ukraine, etc.). These people do not find this area any more attractive than most other people. The greater tendency which they have to remain close to their ethnic group is a factor in keeping them in this section, which is their first area of settlement. Originally they came to this area because its low rents were all they could afford, handicapped as they were by the lack of vocational skills, inability to speak the English language, and general unfamiliarity with the mode of life in the new country. Here they huddled together for the sake of sociability and in order to maintain what they could of their old culture. It protected them as well from the necessity of making too many contacts with people who did not understand them, and whose reactions would be

uncertain.

The migrant from rural Quebec, though a French-Canadian, nevertheless, for economic reasons finds it necessary to settle here or in other low rental areas.

For most of the other groups this is an area of minimum choice. Most of them would like to leave; many can now afford to do so. The acute housing shortage prevents many of them from obtaining accomodation elsewhere.

St. Lawrence Boulevard separates this heterogeneous natural area from the almost exclusively Jewish natural area to the west. Although many Jews live in the Cremazie area they are by no means a majority. The following table, showing the distribution of the ethnic groups by wards must be treated with the greatest caution. St. Louis, Laurier, and St. Michael wards all contain substantial portions of the neighboring all-Jewish area, and St. Jean Baptiste is about half in the all-French natural area east of Cremazie. (All figures are for 1941).

	French	British	Jewish	Others
Cremazie	12,767	1,074	194	1,275
St. Lawrence	7,404	7,329	1,127	1,655
St. Louis	5,164	1,092	10,481	2,052
St. Jean Baptiste	21,217	1,215	5,073	988
Laurier	9,356	1,056	10,188	350
St. Michael	7,417	6,504	12,749	440

The French and Others are predominant in the south, the Jews and French in the center, and the French in the north of Cremazie.

The invasion of commerce and light industry, while most marked in the south, extends to the far north, where the C.P.R. tracks and the St. Louis C.P.R. Yard are the nucleus of the largest industrial concentration of the natural area.

Income and housing are uniformly poor. The former is invariably in the lowest category, while the latter contains about an equal mixture of the medium and low groups. The tendency is for the older sections in the south to have the poorer housing. Rents too are low everywhere, mainly between \$100 and \$200 per year.

With regard to occupation, it is safe to hazard a guess that the wage-earners here are generally unskilled or semi-skilled.

Going in a northerly direction, these wards are:-

	1931	1941	1945
Cremazie	17,234	18,636	19,906
St. Lawrence	20,545	20,534	21,300
St. Louis	21,827	22,739	24,797
St. Jean Baptiste	27,379	29,245	30,688
Laurier	18,641	21,328	22,809
St. Michael	25,597	27,571	29,262

New residential building in this area is almost non-existent. The gradual increases noted here probably represent the number of births over deaths as well as "doubling up" caused by the shortage of homes. This is especially true since 1941.

# B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Anderson, Nels, and Lindeman, E.C., Urban Sociology, New York (F.S. Crofts) 1930.
- Dawson, Carl A. and Gettys, Warner, E., An Introduction to Sociology, New York (The Ronalds Press Co.) 1929.
- Firey, Walter, Land Use in Central Boston, Camb., Mass. (Harvard Sociological Studies, Vol. 4) 1947.
- Gist, Noel P., and Halbert, L.A., Urban Society, New York (Thomas Y. Crowell Co.) 1933.
- Hughes, E.C., French Canada in Transition, Chicago (University of Chicago Press) 1943.
- Lower, Arthur R.M., Colony to Nation; a History of Canada, Toronto (Longmans, Green & Co.) 1946.
- McKenzie, R.D., The Metropolitan Community, New York (McGraw-Hill Book Co.) 1933.
- McKenzie, R.D., The Neighborhood - A Study of Local Life in the City of Columbus, Ohio, Chicago (The University of Chicago Press) 1923.
- Park, Robert E., Burgess, Ernest W., McKenzie, R.D., The City, Chicago (The University of Chicago Press) 1928.
- Miner, H.M., St. Denis, A French Canadian Parish, Chicago (University of Chicago Press) 1939.
- Queen, Stuart A. and Thomas, Lewis F., The City; a Study of Urbanism in the United States, New York and London (McGraw-Hill Book Co. Inc.) 1939.
- Reynolds, L.G., The British Immigrant, His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada, Toronto, (Oxford University Press) 1935.
- Warner, W.L. and Lunt, P.S., The Social Life of a Modern Community, New Haven (Yale University Press) 1941.





McGILL UNIVERSITY LIBRARY

I x M



.152.1948

**UNACC.**