

DUFFERIN DISTRICT,
AN AREA
IN TRANSITION

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D U F F E R I N D I S T R I C T

An Area In

T R A N S I T I O N

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FOREWORD

When Jacques Cartier the first white man to visit the island now known as Montreal came in 1535, he found the prosperous Indian village of Hochelaga with a population of 1500. Strangely enough, this population was made up of "two different races, with different tastes, characters, and modes of living," the Senecas and the Wyandottes. Seventy years later Champlain visited the island which was then called "Minitik 8ten Entag 8 gibon" ("Island where there was a town") and found no traces of the settlement. It had disappeared completely. Thirty-seven years later Maisonneuve, accompanied by seventeen companions founded the frontier colony of Ville-Marie.^{1.} The growth of the city from that time has been phenomenal.

In 1667 it had a population of 766. In 1672 the town was formally laid out in streets. By 1725 the first Englishmen came to the town. Fifty years later the population was nearing 8000. In 1801 the old French walls, built about the city in 1722 were demolished to make room for expansion. Even at that time 700 of the 1200 buildings of the town were outside the walls. The contraction within the walls themselves, had been felt in the old French days, for today we still see evidences in the narrowness of the streets of the oldest section of the city.

Interesting as this growth may be to the historian, more interesting is the expansion of the city in process today.

"No study of expansion as a process has yet been made, although the materials for such a study and intimations of different aspects of the process are contained in city planning, zoning and regional surveys. The typical processes of the expansion of the city can best be illustrated, perhaps, by a series of concentric circles which may be numbered to designate both the successive zones of urban extension and the types of areas

1. See Appendix No.1

differentiated in the process of expansion.

The chart represents an ideal construction of the tendencies of any town or city to expand radially from its central business district "The Loop" (I.) Encircling the downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light-manufacture. (II.) A third area (III.) is inhabited by the workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration (II.) but who desire to live within easy access of their work. Beyond this zone is the "residential area" (IV) of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive "restricted" districts of single family dwellings. Still farther out beyond the city limits, is the commuters' zone - suburban areas, or satellite cities - within a thirty to sixty minute ride of the central business district.¹

In the early days of Montreal, expansion was natural and no thought was given to the future. Today, with town-planning, one has to take account of all eventualities and even probabilities.

In this paper we offer as an object for study a small area in the city of Montreal, which although a few minutes walk from old Ville-Marie was in those days a forest lying north of a brook which ran along what is now Craig Street. The first mention in history, that we have of this district was when an enterprising settler built a house called "Près de Ville" where now stands the Christian Brothers' School on Côté Street.

The "Dufferin District" (the area we propose to study) bears somewhat of an analogy to the old Indian village of Hochelaga. Cartier found two races - today in Dufferin district, we find twenty - each differing from the other in tastes, characteristics, and modes of living, and even as Hochelaga had to give way to "fratricidal war, racial animosities and foreign

1. "The Growth of the City" by E.W. Burgess in "The City" page 50.

invasion," so too, we believe will Dufferin District be eventually displaced by commercial invasion. At present it is torn asunder, at least socially, with racial animosities and cultural clashes - for the district lies in the area of deterioration, in a slum.

" In the zone of deterioration encircling the central business section are always to be found the so-called "Slums." The slums are also crowded to over-flowing with immigrant colonies - the Ghetto, Little Sicily, Greek-town, Chinatown....." 1.

It will be our purpose to show the gradual encroachment of commercial interests on the district, but that we may do this with some completeness, we intend at the same time to give the reader a picture of the neighborhood as it is today - with its seething mobile polyglot population, its almost entire lack of social control and its concomitant disorganization. We intend also, to give a short natural history of the area, both as regards the population and the institutions, native and imposed.

1. E.W.Burgess; Op. cit. pps. 54-56.

CHAPTER I

Introduc ti on.

Relation of the District to the Growth of the City.

Geographical Relation of District to the City.

"Dufferin District" is that part of St. Laurence Ward bounded by St. Catherine Street on the north, St. Laurence Street on the east, Craig Street on the south and Bleury Street on the west.^{1.} It thus includes a little more than the western half of St. Laurence ward. On these four boundaries are street-car lines, and it seemed at the outset that these steel-tracks formed a bound encircling the district and hemming it in. The four streets on which the trolley-cars run are given over to commerce. Retail businesses flourish along the boundaries and have made invasions part way into the intersecting streets. Residences are crowded into the heart of the district and in the very centre is the play-ground from which the district derives its name.

Near the park, and facing it on three sides we find the district school, the police station, an Anglican Mission House, a Chinese Y.M.C.A. and school, and a United Church Chinese Mission. Nearby is the University Settlement and a House of Refuge. Thus we see that the geographical centre coincides with the social centre. People from the district congregate around the "Park" or playground. They seem to stay pretty well within the steel girdle formed by the car-tracks, and once they step across them they step into a different world.

To the west there are business offices, printing establishments and warehouses; to the south lies the financial and business centre of the city; to the east is an almost entirely French population,

1.

In determining the boundaries of the district the opinion of the residents of the district as to what they considered the limits to be, as well as the "drawing power" of the Settlement, were taken into account. Over 60% of the clientele of the Settlement lives within these boundaries.

and to the north is St.Catherine Street, the great retail street of the city. The district is thus marooned in a sea of industry. Here people live out their lives; many of them heedless of the greater city around them.

But this district in our great Canadian Metropolis was not always so isolated. Years ago it was an area of high respectability and sobriety of life. It was a little neighborhood where life was on a primary group basis - where contacts were face-to-face. The change has a geographical reference. At one time, this district which is now almost in the heart of the city was outside the walls of the old French town of Ville-Marie.

Gradually people began to build houses along the road which lead to the country to the north. A settlement soon grew up, to be known for many years as St.Laurence suburb.

St.Laurence suburb was one of the first suburbs of the city. As early as 1759, over forty years before the walls were torn down, to allow for expansion, we notice on a map of that year, that some houses had been built along what is now St.Laurence Street. These houses extended from the "Creek" (Craig Street) north to about where Dorchester Street now is. A few houses had their site where St.Charles Barommée Street was later to be laid out, and what is now Bleury Street was entirely devoid of habitation.

In 1801 the city walls were torn down and by 1819 we find that the city had extended well beyond the limits of the old city walls. There were at that time six suburbs to the "town" the streets of which, with the exception of those in the Recollect suburb and St.Antoine Street, were as yet unnumbered. The suburbs

13

were known as the Recollect suburb, St. Antoine suburb, St. Laurence suburb, St. Anne's suburb, St. Louis suburb and the Quebec suburb. At this time the first city directory was compiled by Thomas Doige.

This publisher assigned numbers to the houses in many of the streets, "which they would have borne had the numbering been continued." We find that the streets running north and south, viz. St. Laurence, "St. Charles Barommée," "St. Urbein," "Cheuneville," St. George and Bleury, are numbered, while Dorchester and "Lagouchetièr^e" are not. Craig Street also is numbered but there is no mention of Vitré Street. Even in the names of the streets we see changes; "St. Charles Barommée" has since become Clarke Street, "St. Urbein" is St. Urbain, "Cheuneville" is Chenneville and "Lagouchetièr^e" is Lagauchetière.

1

There were only 146 dwellings on St. Laurence Street, 75 on St. Charles Barommée, 32 on St. Urbein, 7 on Cheuneville, 5 on St. George, and 34 on Bleury, while on the two streets, Dorchester and Lagouchetière, which cut across the suburb we find 68 and 38 names respectively. Of the 525 names listed on all these streets, we find that 327 are presumably French.

For the most part, the population was made up of laborers, bricklayers, "nailors" carters and carpenters. On St. Laurence Street there were tavernkeepers, merchants, grocers, "taylors," saddlers, tinsmiths, tanners, shoemakers, bakers, chandlers, tobacconists, milliners, "Sawyers" and carriers as well as baliffs, schoolmistresses, notary publics, and the "rector of the English Church."

1.

These figures were compiled by the writer from "An alphabetical list of Merchants, Traders and Housekeepers of Montreal." -

Thomas Doige 1819.

The district was very much like a "suburb" of the Montreal of today; it was an area of working mens' homes, situated at what was then considered to be some distance from their work. "The respectable people with few exceptions, resided within the limits of the old city.

"Log fences divided the fields on the west (today we would say north) of Craig Street as far as Beaver Hall Hill, which was a grassy lawn..... All to the west of this was open fields where now (1870) stands the city of our richest people.... Four streets leading to the country - St.Mary's, St.Laurent, St.Joseph and St.Antoine, were bordered by houses mostly of wood, one storey; but intervening streets were short and vacant ground extensive... A quaint French house called "Près de Ville" stood in a garden, quite retired, where the Brothers' School now is on Coté Street." ^{1.}

By 1851 all the streets of the district were laid out as they are today, with the exception of Cheuneville and Anderson Streets which had not yet been extended up to Dorchester. In 1879 a survey of the city was made, and maps of that date show the extension of these two streets to Dorchester Street.

The city had by now grown well around Dufferin District, yet the expansion had been largely of a residential nature. Up to this time St.Laurence Ward had been little open to the attacks of invading industry, to which it was later to give way. St.Laurence Street had become rather retail in appearance; it was then the "Main Street," and the dividing line between the eastern and western parts of the city.

"A convenient land-mark is the intersection of the city by two principal business streets - St.Catherine running across it from east to west, and St.Laurence from north to south."^{2.}

1.

"Montreal Fifty Years Ago." T.S.Brown. p.21.

2.

"Montreal After 250 Years." p.17. W.D.Lighthall. 1892.

An indefinite line located about Dorchester Street separated "Uptown" from "Downtown," so that in reality Dufferin District was near the heart of the city.

Today the district is in the "zone of transition" ^{1.} which in all cities immediately surrounds the business centre. Such zones soon become the area of first settlement for immigrants, and in no time colonies of foreigners are formed such as "Little Italy," "Greektown," "Chinatown" the "Ghetto" etc. Vice then comes to be associated with the district.

"It is well known that the central parts of the city, because of decaying neighborhoods, have very little resistance to the invasion of vice resorts.".....

"The area of deterioration encircling the business district, furnish the native habitat for the brothel type of prostitution.... In the slum the vice emporia not only find very accessible locations, but also experience practically no organized resistance from the decaying neighborhood adjacent, and furthermore, they are located in regions where the pattern of vice is an inevitable expression or product of great mobility and bad social disorganization." ^{2.}

The allied institutions, the blind-pig, the gambling den, the opium joint and other forms of vice less open to moral censure, such as the tavern, dance-hall, and burlesque show, tend to locate near the area of commercialized vice.

To counteract the influences of such play grounds of the demi-monde the "good" people from "uptown" establish Missions, Rescues, Settlements, Playgrounds, etc.

"It is well known that the Rescue-Mission has pioneered among the brothels and vice-resorts of the urban community.... these rescue missions are located on or adjacent to the notorious rialtos of the underworld." ^{3.}

1.

E.W.Burgess P.20 "The City" by Park and Burgess.

2.

W.C.Reckless in "The Urban Community." p.193,196.

3.

W.C.Reckless. op. cit. p.198.

(2

For this reason, when we see a number of such "uplifting" influences clustered together in a district, we may presume that the area is disorganized. In the early 90's partly because of an awakening interest in "Social problems," and partly because there were social ills to correct, the "elevating" agencies began to locate in Dufferin District. Our presumption is that with the tide of emigration from Europe, and with the appearance of missions, etc. towards the beginning of this century, Dufferin District then became a slum.

As it more and more took on the characteristics of the slum, the city itself expanded all about it. The former residents of the district moved "farther out" from the centre of the city, while at the same time, the centre of the city advanced upon the district. Eventually Dufferin District became engulfed and marooned.

With this change of the "face" of the neighborhood - this change of the life of the district and its institutions - there was also a change in the geographical relation of the district to the rest of the city. We have attempted to show in this section how the district relatively became closer and closer to the centre of the city. In the early days of Ville-Marie it was quite distant from the city. Later, as the city grew, the district actually became the seat of the summer homes of the more prosperous citizens. Still later it came to be looked upon as a suburb. Eventually it was the social centre of the city in so far as many of the city's institutions were located therein. At present it is in a transitional stage.

Its' present condition is likely to be the last stage of the

district as a neighborhood. Depopulation will soon set in; and finally, when all the people will have moved out, the present business centre will so far have extended its boundaries that the identity of the district as a separate unit will be lost.

In the growth of all cities, the same pattern of expansion takes place. A district lying at some distance from the centre becomes relatively closer and closer to the centre of the city so that, in time, if it originally was not too spatially distant, it comes to be identified with the city's centre.

Description of Life in the District.

When one turns south off St.Catherine Street on to any of the side-streets between Bleury and the Main he feels that he has walked into a different atmosphere. The streets are narrow, dirty and busy. Tradesmen's carts and trucks, private autos, the messenger boy on his bicycle, the young gangster with his home-made cart used for junking purposes, the ambulance, police-patrol, weave their way through the streets. On the sidewalks there are crowds of children, old men and loiterers - the non-workers.

In all the rush and bustle there is a note of disorder. Something seems to be going wrong..... something is not right. Crowded up to a deteriorating tenement there is a machine shop - next to it a factory, across the road a tavern, beside it a Greek Coffee House or a Chinese barber-shop - everywhere one looks there seems to be disharmony. The clash of interests, cultural and economic, the conflict between old ways and the new, the discord of individuals and groups, all reflect to a marked degree the disunity of the district.

A seething mobile population lives here. An old Jewish patriarch with flowing white beard is jostled by a huge Polish laborer - a Chinaman steps out of the way of a passing Italian - a negro youth loiters in a door-way - a crowd of boys hurry to the Public Bath, a group of girls scamper off the road-way where they have been skipping. All about them are evidences of the cosmopolitan character of the district.

A big lorry backs up to a newspaper office to discharge its burden of newsprint - the grocer's boy pulls a cart loaded with beer to the laborer's home across the corner - the police patrol clangs its way down St.George street to the police station - the

postman hurries along the side-streets stopping only infrequently at private houses.

Later in the day during the lunch hour the streets are filled with private cars hurrying from the business district to the uptown cafés and restaurants. One car jams another and in no time the whole street is blocked; impatient drivers insistently blow their horns, eager to get to lunch so that they will have a few minutes to themselves before they return to work. A group of laborers make their way to the open lot that is called a "Park" and undo their pails and newspapers to eat their lunch, a crowd of school children scamper to the Settlement for, "You can get a meal for a nickle there." The rest loiter on their way home. Lady Bountiful's car stops at a humble dwelling.

At five o'clock there is the same mad jam of traffic. Street cars line Bleury and St. Laurence Streets filled to capacity - with always room for one more. The streets become more thickly thronged for the people of the district are returning to the homes they left in the morning. Rush and bustle, shrieks of sirens, blasts of whistles, clang of bells proclaim the day's work over. Then for an hour the streets are quiet.

In the evening the youth of the area hang around the streets. A group gathers in one of the corner hang-outs, drinking pop and eating ice-cream. A few more gossip across the way. A girl passes by proudly leaning on the arm of her beau, an erstwhile member of the gang; a good-natured razzing follows. The parish priest passes and hats are doffed. A settlement-worker comes around the corner and cigarettes are hidden or dice hastily thrust into pockets while the

gang sheepishly says "Hello." The police file out of the station to go on their beats and the gang gives them the laugh.

"They always go around in two's at night. I'll never forget the time we busted an electric light bulb; you should have seen 'em scatter." 1.

A laborer sits in his door-way smoking a pipe while his wife sings in the kitchen. A Polish woman sitting in a chair on the sidewalk nurses her baby. Small children play in the alley-ways leading into the "courts." A girl pushes her small sister in the baby-carriage. Couples hurry eastward to the Main eager to see the next chapter of a movie-thriller. A hobo asks for enough for a cup of coffee. All seems quiet and normal. It is the twilight hour.

Later on when the theatre crowds have returned home, when the park, swimming-pool and Settlement are closed for the day, and when most of the children have gone home the district takes on another complexion. The taverns are closing, the clubs perhaps are discharging their patrons and where there was once good-natured fun there is now quarrelling and fighting. A boy of eight hurries home after selling the Morning Gazette; another lies huddled up in an alley-way, "scared to go home because me old man's drunk again and thrung me out."

The prostitute loiters in a door-way with tired eyes and painted smiling lips; a group of Greeks step out of a "Kaphenion" walk to a corner, gossip a while and disperse; a Chinaman silently makes his way in slipper-clad feet to his "club;" a roadster speeds by with its shouting laughing cargo; a "slummer" hesitatingly and timorously peeps in alley-ways; a taxi-cab pulls up at a darkened house and after a brief moment its fare slink in to "Ruby's;" a

1. From notes of an interview with a gang-boy of the district.

crowd hurries to a nearby dance-hall to make some pick-ups before the place closes; a window crashes and a beer-bottle breaks on the street below, no one pauses or makes comment; a gramophone shrieks "What'll I Do;" a cat scampers over a fence; a family is moving to evade the rent. It is the "mystery hour."

Later on in the early hours of the morning a couple linked arm in arm stagger out of the club. As they pass up the street they sing - then pause and quarrel, link arms again and pursue their way homeward. A laborer hurries to work. A char-woman, who has just finished sweeping out a theatre hurries home to get breakfast ready for the children before she takes a few hours sleep. The ambulance rushes through the streets. The milk-cart appears on the round. Dawn breaks and another day begins.

Day after day, year after year, the same round of activities. No let-up, no pause; hurry, hurry, hurry; the routine is broken by a street-fight, a fire, a parade, but always there is the same rush. highlights and shadows - little of substance. Always there is the exaggerated, seldom the normal. Clash of color, clash of interests, clash of culture, clash and clang of industry..... always discord, seldom harmony. This is Dufferin District.

Not far to the north is an area of private homes and apartment houses where there is no clash or noise. To the south is the business centre of the city where, at least at night, there is quiet; but in Dufferin District, all day and far into the night there is noise and dirt, stimulation, little rest, exaggerated life, poverty, vice and too often despair.

General Movements-Process of Deterioration.

General Movements - Process of Deterioration .

"The City Below the Hill" or at least that part of it which is now known as St. Lawrence ward was at one time the place of residence and early training of several of Montreal's most successful business men, most prominent thinkers and most brilliant social leaders. To-day in the same district we find economic failures, illiterates, criminals and prostitutes all herded together in dingy, ramshackle, tumbledown dwellings reproducing their kind and giving them little or no training save that of example. "Dufferin District" as the ward is called, is known to the Social Agencies, the police and the city at large as a slum. In it are working all the forces that make for personal demoralization and social disorganization, for disintegration of family life and the destruction of neighborliness, for impersonal relationships, detachment and divisiveness, high mobility, relative instability and general deterioration.

But this change from organization to disorganization, from a life of primary relationships to one of secondary relationships from neighborliness to impersonality of contacts, from social well-being to deterioration was not a sudden transformation. The present condition did not displace the first in a moment or a year, but was the result of a process. It was not according to our norms, an evolution by a devolution; it was not progress but decadence and like all processes upon analysis shows steps or stages. The first neighborhood in which everyone knew everyone else and was interested in him and his welfare, in which there was a civic

pride in the tidiness of gardens, the cleanliness of streets, and¹³
the orderliness of life - this first neighborhood was peopled with
a population which owned its homes. Proprietorship of homes meant
an interest in them and accordingly they were comfortable both
as to structure and table and wholesome as an environment in which
to bring up and train children.

As time went on these early residents began to prosper in
worldly goods and possessions, and seeing that in the progress of
civilization the ordinary comforts of the home such as better
lighting, improved heating and more sanitary plumbing could be had
in the newer homes, forsook their old-fashioned dwellings to
occupy the more up-to-date residences. But whether for this reason
or to escape from associations which evoke sorrow because of the
death of a dear one, or to live closer to work or for one of many
other reasons - these first residents began to move out of the
1.
district.

As they went north and west the homes they vacated were quickly
occupied by their less prosperous though industrious fellow cit-
izens - who because they were less prosperous were for the most
part unable to buy the homes they now invaded. But there were some
who were left behind in this struggle for self-improvement. These
were the old and the less successful. The newcomers belonging to
a different social status or age group did not participate in the
life of those who remained in the district. Moreover the newcomers
were strangers to each other and hence was aggravated the degree
of impersonality of relationships which was already setting in.

1.

The reason for moving is specific. It always has a personal
reference.

See also; Lind: "Mobility of Population in Seattle" Chap. IV.

As ownership was not in the hands of the occupants it is not surprising to find that signs of depreciations began to appear. In some cases the houses were remodelled and turned into flats. This increased the rental but at the same time increased the wear and tear on the buildings, as well as made for a selection of poorer tenants. At the time this second stage was in progress the old part of the city in which industry was located, began to feel a pressure on its boundries. On the south was the river so expansion could not be had southward. In the extension of its boundries it went north as well as east and west. To the north was Dufferin District where the houses were beginning to show the signs of disrepair. This provided an easy entry for machine-shops, ware-houses and some forms of light manufacturing which did not require new buildings and could get along with a bit of patching.

With industry came noise and dirt. This made the houses less desirable for occupancy and rentals fell. Those who could escaped and again the left-behinds formed an adverse selection. About this same time the foreigner started to come to Montreal in ever-increasing numbers. He was poor and had to live in places distasteful to him. The district was open to him; there were no restriction ordinances and those who were already there were too poor themselves to do anything about his coming even if they did mind. With his advent there was even greater crowding of houses. The cheap rents were not cheap enough so he was forced to take in lodgers. Very often several people would live in a single flat where there was really room for only half the number of occupants. Congestion in dwellings and the general crowding of the whole

district with the lessening of primary group control allowed still another invader to enter the district.

1.

The vice area it is true was located just east of Dufferin District but that section of the city was and is undergoing the same process of disorganization as Dufferin District. The break-up of the Red Light Area by the police caused a redistribution of the houses of prostitution. Quite naturally some of the houses moved into the district as entry here was easier.

Keeping pace with this congestion and aggravating it was the invasion of industry. At present about half the houses of the first residents are now in the hands of industry and there is a very strong likelihood that the time is not very far distant when the house dweller in the district will be a mere memory. Some city-planners favour the erection of the new railway station in the area; they look forward to it as a means of ridding the city of an eyesore. They claim that with it, the widening of St. Urbain Street or Clarke Street as an artery for traffic to the north, and the erection of a down-town parking place, all the residents will be forced to move away and surrender the entire district to commercial enterprise. We have thus indicated the five stages in the progress of neighborhood disorganization. Viz.-

- (a) The house-ownership stage.
- (b) The rent stage.
- (c) The invasion of industry.
- (d) The invasion of foreigners.
- (e) The invasion of vice.

1.

Cfr. Ch.111. p./02

The last three stages in the process go on concurrently and continue to do so until the economic forces of industry and commerce completely conquer.

If the hopes of the town planner are realized the ultimate surrender to industry will be speeded up. But what will become of the people who are forced to vacate their places of residence? Will a new slum grow up closer to the periphery of the city? Or will as W.C.Reckless has pointed out in his study of commercialized vice areas, will there be a period of floating about to be followed by another segregation?

Such then is the "Natural History" of the area; and its' history is much the same as that of any other area which becomes a slum.

CHAPTER II
DESCRIPTION OF THE AREA

Nationality Groups.

Specific Groups.

The extremely polyglot population of Dufferin District has replaced a more homogeneous group. Formerly the English, Irish, Scotch and French, occupied the St. Laurence suburb in rather equal proportions. These four races have since the time of the Succession formed the bulk of the population of Canada. However with the beginning of the twentieth century we see the coming of the "foreigners."

Today the workers at the University Settlement tell us that they serve some twenty different nationality groups. A worker of some ten years ago says that in his time the Settlement had a very high Jewish clientele, and a former Settlement boy claims that before this the district was known as "Little Ireland."

The District then has a natural history of occupants; Irish, Jewish and "mixed." In this first section of chapter 2 we propose to make a brief survey of some of the more important groups of the district.

The Irish.

"There always seems to have been, since the conquest, some Irish in the city. Some may have come over with the regiments and settled here; but their first conscious knowledge of themselves as a body was about 1817. A number had been found worshipping in Bonsecours Church..... an English priest of the seminary known as Richard (his name seems really to have been Jackson) was appointed chaplain to them. The Recolett Church was bought in 1818 and fitted up for them. This church was used as the Irish church until St. Patrick's Church was ready." ¹.

By 1825 there were 4015 Irish in the city and in 1851 there were over 14,000. The potato famine in Ireland was responsible for the great tide of emigration to America.

1.

From notes of a conversation with Dr. Wm. H. Atherton, one of the foremost historians of the city.

Several of the immigrants settled with the French, and today we sometimes see, on the farms along the St.Laurence, their descendants, red-headed Frenchman, with Irish names. With their coming in 1847, the city was struck with a plague. As the boats docked at the harbor many were found to be stricken with typhus-fever. Temporary shelter was afforded them in "fever-sheds" at Point St.Charles. The religious of the city, as well as other public-spirited citizens rendered service to them in their extremity. When the plague subsided the immigrants procured humble homes in the suburbs of the city and worked as laborers.

Several of them located in "Griffintown" and another settlement grew up in the St.Laurence suburb. When the Recollet Church was found to be inadequate the site chosen for the new church was in what is now the western boundary of St.Laurence Ward.^{1.}

In 1847 St.Patrick's church was formally dedicated; since then to the present day St.Patrick's has remained the headquarters of the Irish Roman Catholics of the city. At one time "St.Patrick's Society" met in a coffee shop at the corner of Craig and St.Alexander Streets.

The Irish population of St.Laurence ward increased steadily from the middle of the last century until the beginning of the present.^{2.}

1. Three sites were suggested; we presume that one of the factors in determining the final choice was that many Irish lived in the vicinity.

2. The Irish population in St.Laurence ward was 2441 in 1861, 4341 in 1871, 5249 in 1901, 3792 in 1911 and 2833 in 1921.

At no time could St. Laurence be said to be the Irish ward. Both St. Anne and St. Antoine wards have had large numbers of Irish. However, the Dufferin District about twenty years ago was known as "Little Ireland."

There are many "marooned" Irish families in the District... in fact most of the old residents of the district are Irish. They are scattered throughout all the streets, living quietly while everything about them changes. One street is made up entirely of English speaking people, a large proportion of whom are Irish. The Irish have lived on all the streets but have never formed a colony.

Since the Irish are not sufficiently distinct¹ from other English-speaking peoples they do not constitute a class. They do not move about in a body as do other racial groups and hence it is extremely difficult to plot their movements. Because of the lack of differences from others they more easily intermarry and lose their identity.

Russians.

The Russian group in Montreal has never been very great. At the beginning of the century there were not 150 Russians in the city and only 17 lived in St. Laurence ward. After the war, by 1921 there were just over 2000 Russians in Montreal and over 12% or 258 had settled in Dufferin District. These 258 represent the fourth highest Russian ward population for that year.

There are three types of Russian immigrants;

- (a) The Intellectuals represented by the professions; czarists.
- (b) The Bourgeoisie who came to America for political reasons, being in sympathy with neither bolshevism or czarism.
- (c) The Land-Settlers who were peasants in Russia and non-active politically.

In Montreal there are few intellectuals; the early post-war czarists who came to the city numbered about twenty-five and at present there are even fewer. Most of the Montreal Russian population is made up of the second type viz: the Bourgeoisie or shop-keeper. Here many of them work in factories, although a few keep Russian restaurants, groceries and small photography businesses. Most of the peasants who come to the city, of necessity work in the factories; however as soon as they have saved a bit they make an effort to take up farming.

In Montreal the Russians do not live in colonies, there is, however, a fairly large settlement along Frontenac Street, and a lesser settlement on St. Urbain Street immediately north and south of St. Catherine Street (from Ontario to Dorchester.) Here in the district may be found Russian restaurants, groceries and one or two steam-ship agencies, which also act as land offices. There is also a club.

To the Russian, with the exception of the Doukhobors, Canada is a jumping off place. Emigration to the United States is however almost at a stand-still because of quota restrictions. For this reason we find great mobility among the Russians. The peasant who comes to the city soon finds factory work too tiring and jumps at any opportunity to move away. The president of one of the Russian clubs claims that it is almost impossible to organize the Montreal Russians because of their mobility. The small shop-owners when possible move to Detroit, Mich. and when this cannot be done, go to Windsor, to be ready to get to the States whenever an opportunity presents itself.

The mention of Lagauchetière Street, when one is considering it in reference to the district under study, immediately conjures up a picture of the Orient, for Lagauchetière Street from the Main west to Chenneville Street is Montreal's Chinatown. Chinatown in Montreal is in reality a very small area but it is a distinct mosaic set down in our area. In extent it is only three city blocks long but it has spread itself to a very marked degree up and down the three intersecting streets, Clarke, St.Urbain and Chenneville. These intersecting streets are the residential streets of Chinatown; Lagauchetière is the business street.

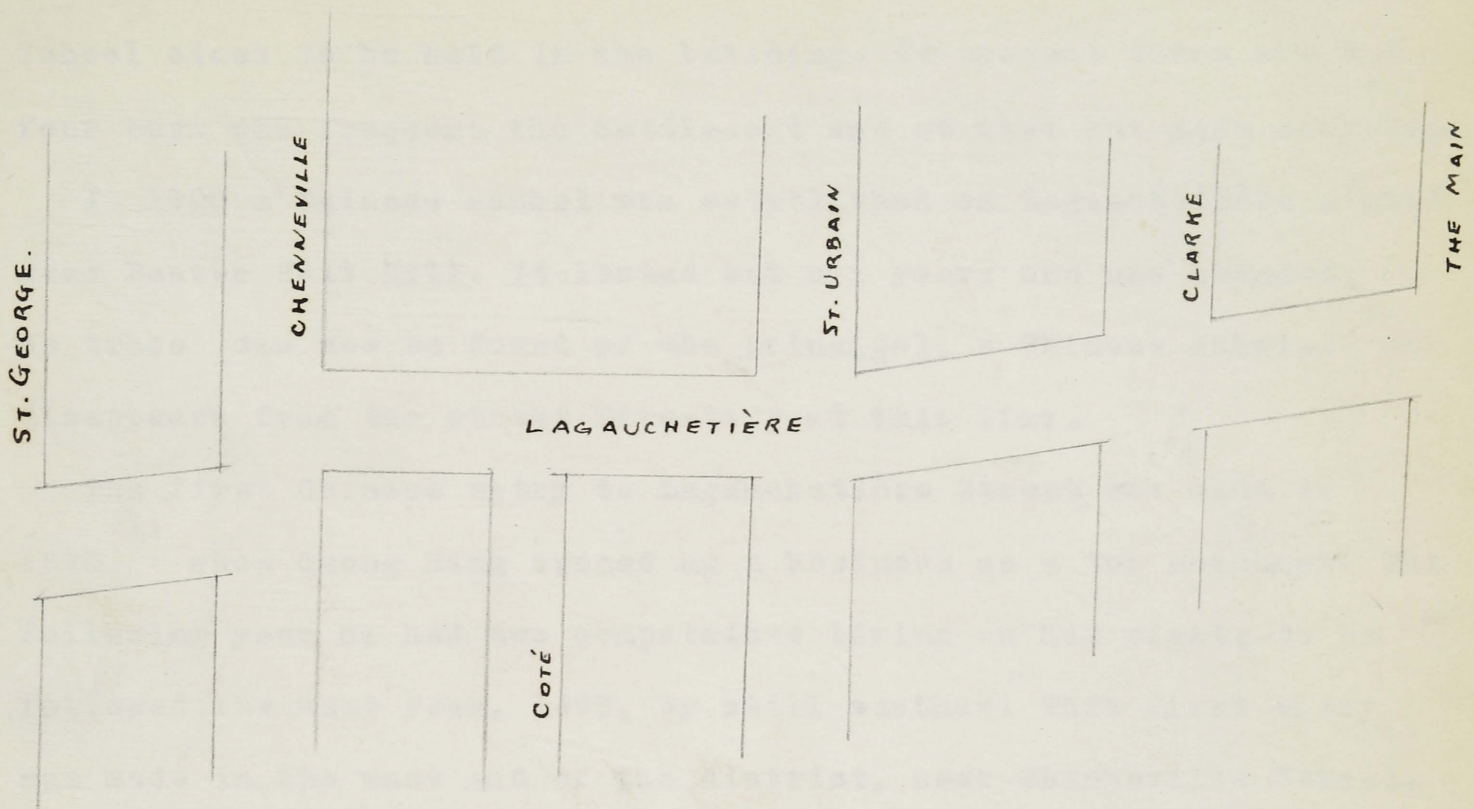
Business is concentrated between Clarke and St.Urbain streets for the block between the Main and Clarke Street is very short and here the four French-speaking householders, who are resident in Chinatown are located. From St.Urbain Street to Chenneville Street we find institutions and English and French firms squeezed in between Chinese enterprises. In this block we find but one holder, an Englishman.

In the concentrated business block we find seven clubs. These societies are of different types; there is a Commercial Club known as the Merchants' Club, a Political Club, the Chinese Republic Club and the rest are social or Tong clubs; others are situated on the intersecting streets. On Lagauchetière we find Chinese restaurants, grocery stores, general merchants, jewellers, a poolroom and other small shops. Pasted in the windows we find signs advertising the wares of the merchants and between the shops, on the walls are pasted the news items of interest. These posters are the newspapers and

one sees clustered about them the old and the young, the more ¹²² prosperous and the more humble. One seldom sees Chinese children on this street but they are to be found on the side streets, which further indicates that the intersecting streets are residential. However, even on these residential streets we find tailors, jewellers, barbers, printers and clubs which shows us that Chinatown is still growing. The side-streets are the only outlets and growth must be along them. On the east Chinatown is hemmed in by the Main and on the west Chenneville Street runs across Lagauchetière making an S shaped intersection. Furthermore in this westerly block we have, as we have said above, several institutions and a few commercial houses.

Among the institutions which serve the Chinese is a Roman Catholic Chapel and school; beside it is the Chinese hospital and next to that in turn is the Chinese Masonic Temple, across the street is the French Patronage d'Youville.

In 1920 the old Jewish Synagogue at 76 Lagauchetière was abandoned and turned into a Chinese Hospital and Chapel. It still stands and in 1922 the Chinese Free Masons acquired the building next to it. The accompanying sketch will more graphically show how Chinatown if it is to grow at all must push itself up and down the side streets.



The growth is north and south but the tide is now from east to west. On Clarke Street there are now (28) twenty-eight residences occupied by Chinese, on St. Urbain eleven, on Chenneville eight and on St. Georges seven. East of the Main there are very few Chinese householders.

There are two other institutions which cater to the Chinese. These are located on Dorchester Street just east of St. Georges. They are the Chinese branch of the Y.M.C.A. and the United Church Chinese Mission.

However the clientele is very limited. The Settlement House at one time had a Chinese Kindergarten and permitted a Chinese Sunday School class to be held in the building. At present there are but four boys who frequent the Settlement and at that but most casually.

In 1900 a Chinese school was established on Lagauchetière Street near Beaver Hall Hill. It lasted but six years and was abandoned. No trace can now be found of the principal, a Chinese scholar who disappears from the street Directory at this time.

The first Chinese entry to Lagauchetière Street was made in 1. 1893 when Quong Hing opened up a business as a tea merchant. The following year he had two compatriots living on his right; to be followed the next year, 1895, by still another. This first entry was made in the west end of the district, near Chenneville Street. However in 1896 we find that three merchants had opened shops in the next block east between St.Urbain and St.Charles Borommée (now Clarke St.) This eastern frontier was further strengthened in '97 when we find six Chinese merchants in that block and a Chinese boarding house located near Chenneville Street on the west. In two years' time the boarding house was divided up into a boarding house and grocery store; while in the same year, 1900, we find Chinese merchants gradually displacing the French along the whole block between St.Urbain and St.Charles. It was not until 1921 that the last French Canadian gave up residence on this block; for three years he was the sole white resident but finally had to give way.

1.

See Appendix No.2

In 1903 we see the first Chinese to settle in the block further east, between Clarke and the Main. In 1905 he left but another took the house next to his old shop. In 1914 this man had another neighbor and the following year the Chinese Benevolent Society had its quarters in the same block along with a Chinese club. The same year, 1915, we see no fewer than five Chinese clubs between St. Urbain and Clarke Streets. In 1918 there was established a Chinese hotel. Previous to this time the shop owners, living in the rear and over their stores took care of their compatriots but now for the first time we see a Chinese hotel.

The Chinese seem to find sufficient social life in their own milieu. There are very few Chinese women and hence we find that the many clubs cater to the men. At night the men, who do not go to the clubs, go to the different small shops and spend the evening in gossip and card playing.

The gambling spirit has often been ascribed to the Chinese and to support this one has but to point to the great organization of the Chinese lotteries. There are two lottery-houses on Dorchester Street. In them one can buy a ticket to be drawn in Paris, New York, New Orleans, Hong-Kong or many other great cities. To operate a lottery such as this, which is drawn at least once a day, calls for an organization far in advance of even so complex a drawing as the ^{1.} Calcutta Sweepstakes.

The Chinese in Montreal are in the restaurant service, the laundry business and in their own local enterprises catering to their

1.

vide. p. 106

own needs. Their tenacity to old customs is seen especially in regard to food. Other customs noticed on the street are funeral processions, banners and flags floating from poles which are to be found over every shop on Lagachetière Street and an adherence, especially among the older, to customs of dress.

Montreal's Chinatown caters almost exclusively to the Chinese population. It is not a "show" place but there are many "whites" who frequent Chinatown - especially after dark. They are generally members of the underworld or "pigeons" the dope-fiends, dope peddlars and gamblers.

Dufferin District was for about thirty years the habitat of Jewish immigrants. Previous to that time there were Jews in the city but they were comparatively few in number. The first known entry of the race into the city was in 1757 when Lazarus David came to Montreal with the army. Presently other settlers came to the city and entered into the commercial field. These early settlers became very prominent and were highly respected citizens holding very responsible positions in the city.

Early in their history, in 1768, the Jews became self-conscious. In that year they formed the first Jewish Congregation, "Shearith Israel" and met for worship in a room on St. James Street. Eleven years later they built a synagogue which eventually (1835) moved to Chenneville Street. Until 1851 this Synagogue was the only one in British North America.

In 1881 the Jews in Russia began to suffer persecution. In consequence many left Europe; some of them came to Canada, and to Montreal. From then on the Jewish population in the city increased by leaps and bounds. Already in Dufferin District there was a considerable colony of Jews; the new-comers quite naturally tended to settle nearby. As a result we find that in 1881, over 1.
30.50% of the Jewish population of the city was resident within the ward. The wards immediately to the east and west had the next highest percentages. The remaining population, throughout the entire city did not total the number in any one of the three wards, St. Antoine, St. Louis or St. Lawrence.

Numerically, the greatest Jewish population living in St. Lawrence Ward was in 1911. At that time there were nearly eight thousand Jews resident within its confines.

Although they lived on most of the streets, the greatest concentration was between Dorchester and St. Catherine Streets on St. George, Benoit, St. Urbain and Clarke Streets. About ten years ago they slowly started to move out of the district.

Using the school as an index of the place of residence of the Jew we find that there is a general movement north^{1.} with a concentration near Mount Royal Avenue. In the Mount Royal School there were in 1924, 2073 pupils, 2007 of whom were Jewish. In the same year over 55% of the pupils attending Dufferin School were Jewish, when the Jews of the District formed but 12.48% of the total Jewish population.

Bleury Street seems to be a western boundary for Jews living nearby. In the two schools nearest to the District (both within a ten-minute walk of Dufferin School) we find a remarkably small percentage of Jewish pupils. In Belmont School, which is almost due west of Dufferin School, less than 5% are Jewish; in Berthlet School they form over 20%.

The movement northward was brought about largely by financial success. As the people became more prosperous, they sought to escape from their less well-to-do neighbors. They wished to get better homes, and as the city grew towards the north they followed. Here were to be found better dwelling-places "away from the foreigners" as many have put it, and as the Pole began to

1.
cfr. Appendix No. 4

move into the district the Jew moved out. "The Poles were a low-
 class..... about fifteen lived in one room." ^{1.}

A considerable number still live in the streets of the district. There are fringes of them on all the streets; Benoit, St. Urbain, and Clarke Streets being largely Jewish. Craig Street, the Southern Boundary is given over to commerce. Many of the merchants on the North side of this street are in the pawn-brokerage business. In practically every instance they are Jews and live over their shops. Although Dorchester Street is becoming more and more commercialized, there are relatively fewer Jewish merchants on this street.

Many of the younger generation of Jews in the district are employed as operators in cap-factories, as garment makers in the clothing trade and as clerks in the small shops. There are several Jewish merchants near "the Park." The neighborhood shoemakers, grocers, tailors, bakers etc are Jewish. There is no Kosher Delicatessen shop in the district, though the Jewish grocers serve the purpose.

The Jews get along rather well with the rest of the community. They mingle socially with the Gentiles though the number of mixed-marriages is negligible.

"About twenty-five years ago when Dufferin Park was a "tough" district the Jews didn't have a chance. The Irish beat them up whenever they appeared. Later on they came to understand each other and now a Frenchman has no chance." ^{2.}

1.

From notes of an interview with a former Jewish resident of the district - who explained the motive for the northern movement on the basis of antipathy to the Poles.

2.

From notes of interview with a former Settlement Boy.

A vestige of the Irish antipathy to the Jew still remains among the older boys of the district. Young Irishmen in their twenties still feel prejudiced against the Jew, while their younger brothers do not share this feeling.

The Jews make use of all the local institutions. They patronize the Settlement, the Park, the theatres and the school. The Monument National is the locus for the presentation of Yiddish theatricals. The Hebrew Free School, located on Clarke Street, apart from the Synagogue is the only local Jewish institution. The Baron de Hirsche Institute, now housed in a fine building on Bleury Street just north of St.Catherine Street was at one time located on St.Elizabeth Street, which, in a sense, is in the district.

Apart from the numerous synagogues, the Jewish Settlement House, and other Jewish social agencies of the city, there is also the headquarters of the Federation of Zionist Societies. There are two Jewish newspapers published in Montreal, the "Jewish Chronicle" in English and "Der Adler" ("The Eagle") in Yiddish.

The Greeks.

The Greeks of the city in 1921 numbered 1446, of which number 362 or 25% were resident within St.Laurence ward. This represents the highest single ward population for the Greeks. They are scattered about the District. The only concentration that can be noted is in a grouping of "Kaphenia" "Estiatra" and Greek and Greek barber shop at the corner of Clarke and Vitré Streets.

Another "Kaphenion" is located on Clarke Street near Dorchester, while still two more are on Dorchester just east of the "Main." On St.Laurence Street two "Estiatra" are open for business over the stores below. In these cafés and restaurants the Greeks of the city congregate every evening. The coffee-house is to them what the club is to the stronger groups. Here they discuss the news of the day, politics, or the latest news from home, while they play cards or sip very black thick coffee.

The coffee-houses are frequented solely by the man, although in practically every one of them, the wife prepares the coffee. Although poorly furnished the places are kept clean and neat.

The Greek Orthodox Church is located at the corner of Clarke and Sherbrooke Streets. Only twelve Greek boys attended the University Settlement.

One boy was a member of a gang which caused the most trouble to the settlement workers. He was attractive looking and well-mannered. However, whenever there was trouble "Tony" was always found to be in it. Finally when he was expelled he turned to the neighboring mission and there to protect himself made the clergyman in charge his Father-confessor.

The Italians.

The Italians of Montreal according to the last census numbered close on to 14000. Only 235 were resident in St.Laurence Ward, which at that time had the third lowest Italian ward population of the city.

Before the beginning of this century there were very few Italians in the city. In 1881 there were only 136, and at that time St.Laurence ward contained but 15 Italian residents. However by 1901 the ward population had increased to over 300. They were then of sufficient numerical strength to be looked upon as a group. In 1897 an Italian school under ecclesiastical auspices was opened on Bleury Street. After a short time it was found necessary to give evening classes to adults.

By 1900 a congregation, formed in 1893, of Italians numbering 1400 met for religious exercises in the chapel of the Institute for the Blind on St.Catherine Street, facing Benoit Street.

Previous to this, from 1878 to 1885, an Italian Mission occupied the church vacated by the congregation of St.John the Evangelist, on Dorchester Street at the corner of Benoit Street. This Mission was under the pastorage of the Jesuit Fathers of the Gesu.

At present the Italian population is concentrated in Ahuntsic, Maisonneuve, St.Denis and St.Josephs' Wards. In these four wards there are over 6300 Italians. Two churches, Notre Dame de Carmel and Notre Dame della Difesa, look after the spiritual needs of the Italians. As they form so small a percentage of the ward population it is not surprising to find that there are no institutions formed for or by the Italians in the district. As a matter of personal observation, it is interesting to note that during the past two years only three Italian boys frequented the University Settlement.

Other Nationalities.

33

The other groups of the district with the exception of the English, Scotch and French groups form very small proportions of the ward population.^{1.} The only group which has shown a decrease is the German. In 1901 there were nearly 350 Germans in the ward. The Germans in the city were at one time a rather strong group. In 1835 the German Society was established, It was the first national society to be formed in the city. At present there is a German Club on Mountain Street and a German Evangelical Church on Jeanne Mance. These two institutions alone cater to the Montreal German population.

The Poles have never been a strong group in the ward. In the city there are less than 2500 Poles and 50% live in St. Mary's ward, which is in the east end of the city. In the district they are scattered about on all the streets. Only five Polish families have made a contact with the Settlement in the past two years.

2.

Although the Negro group is located along St. Antoine Street, there has been a steady increase in the negro group in the district. Seven colored families are known at the Settlement. The boys of these families have all managed to maintain status in the play groups with which they became associated.

1. In 1921 there were 58 Belgian, 59 Dutch, 73 Austrians, 133 Germans, 118 Poles, 60 Scandinavian, 41 Ukranians, 27 Syrians, 3 Indians and 38 Negroes.

2. cfr. W.E. Israel "The Montreal Negro Community" (in preparation.)

The Streets of the District.

The Streets.

In tracing back as far as possible the early history of the streets of this district we will pay particular attention to changes in the use of the streets. To indicate these changes we will give examples of the different uses to which particular sites on the street have been put.

In the early days of Montreal the territory just north of the fortifications was a wooded slope rising to where St.Catherine Street now is. Here was a plateau which extended some little distance north until there was another gentle rise to Sherbrooke Street. Beyond this rose Mt. Royal. In time, as the city within the walls became too crowded, people began to build outside. Besides the lateral expansion east and west there was some expansion north. The settlements formed were St.Antoine suburb on the west, the Quebec suburb, east of the Quebec gates, and the St.Laurence suburb to the north. Early in the history of Ville-Marie an enterprising citizen laid out a garden in which he built his home. The site of the homestead, known as "Prés de Ville" was where Côté street now is.

In time a few people crossed the creek and cleared the land beyond. The community they formed was somewhat like the shack towns we see now-a-days in the outskirts of some of our cities in as much as they built frame houses. The buildings within the walls had from the earliest days been constructed of stone, and later when good clay was found, of brick. The first settlers of the St.Laurence suburb built their homes along the road leading to Mile End. This was the region of St.Laurence (Main) Street.

Expansion was for a long time immediately east and west of "The Main" and even in the early years of the 19th century Bleury Street was only a lane with very few residences.

Up to the middle of the last century, however, the whole of what is now St.Laurence Ward and most of the ward to the north was gradually becoming occupied. St.Laurence street had become a business street and Bleury street was well developed both as a street of residence and business. The intersecting streets, St.Charles Borommé (Clarke) St.Urbain, Côté, Chenneville, St. George and Anderson were quiet residential streets on which were focalized some of the institutions of the city. This was the period of house ownership, which, as we indicated in Chapter 1 was the first stage of neighborhood deterioration. Gradually this section of the city became the social centre. Here were to be found numerous churches, which had been forced to move out of the Old City, either because of commercial development or to follow their congregations which had for a like reason been forced to change their residence. Besides churches, there were schools, a hospital, the theatre and other recreational places.

But this was not to last very long. About fifty years ago we find that some of the churches have moved away, one of the schools is disbanding and the theatre which formerly catered to the "best" people is losing their patronage. A few small factories are creeping in and gradually the owners of homes are moving away.

From then on the process of deterioration accelerates and an adverse selection of population is taking possession of the residences, until the characteristics of the slums appear in all their hideousness and hopelessness.

To-day the district is a slum district. Here and there, gradually, being engulfed in the morass of the slum and encircled by the tentacles of industry, we see a neighborhood - a city block - putting up a fight against inevitable annihilation. Soon it will succumb and where once there were happy, though humble, families living in tenements, there will be unneighborly neighbors, not understanding each other and not mindful of or concerned with each others' wants, hopes, or aspirations. Each will pursue his own selfish self-centered existence; each in continual conflict with the other - and then, when all vestiges of hope have disappeared, the entire district will sink still lower and be unable to make a last stand against the common invader - industry.

To-day we can see the different stages of the struggle reflected in different streets. At one extreme we see St. Laurence Main given over entirely to commerce :- at the other Anderson Street, which for some reason or other is still a street of private families. Children play on the street while their mothers engage in a bit of gossip out the tenement windows. It is a marooned street which has so far withstood the invasion of industry. Mid-way between these two extremes we have streets like St. Urbain and Clarke, which have practically surrendered to industry. At one end of these streets we see warehouses, machine-shops, garages and printing establishments; while at the other extreme there are the houses of the less well-to-do of the district. Here the English speaking resident lives next to, or on the same flat with, a Russian, a Chinaman or a Frenchman. In some cases the foreigner

has penetrated into the very home and is a lodger. The one does not understand the other and cares even less. Contacts are impersonal and life self-centered. The struggle is about over and the ultimate hopelessness of the situation quite apparent - so losing faith and hope, the residents of these streets seek only to hold on until they have to give way.

Such then, is a general picture of the district. We propose to be more specific and take certain streets which typify the gradual change of the district. To give a complete history of the streets from their first opening until the present does not fall within our province.

We will indicate, as accurately as possible, the successive changes in the streets, and as we have said, pay more attention to changes in the use of particular sites, for in the ultimate analysis, a change in the use of streets is really the sum total of the changes in the use of the particular sites of the streets.

Chenneville Street.

Chenneville Street is the third street east of Bleury Street and runs from Craig Street to Dorchester Street. The first map on which the street appears was made in the late thirties. It shows the street running between Craig and Lagauchetière Streets. A map of about ten years later indicates a further opening of the street about half way up through the old Protestant Burial Ground. In 1871 the cemetery was expropriated by the city and it is likely that the street was then extended to Dorchester Street.

In the older days of Montreal the street was famous because on it were to be found two places of worship, the Scotch Secession

Church at the corner of Lagachetière and the Jewish Synagogue. The two buildings remain as places of worship to this day but the congregations have changed. The history of the Scotch Secession Church is epitomized by Alfred Sandham in his "Montreal Past and Present," written in 1870.

"A plot of land at the corner of Lagachetière and Chenneville Streets was secured and a building was erected." 1.

"During the process of the erection the cholera again broke out, and the want of funds occasioned the work to be hastily finished before the building was raised to the height originally proposed. The first intention was however carried out at a later period, and the congregation continued to increase until in 1866 it was thought advisable to move to a more suitable locality."

"Notre Dame des Anges is the building lately occupied by the congregation now worshipping in Erskine (Canadian Presbyterian) Church. The building was purchased by the Sisters of the Congregation of Notre Dame and services are now held under their direction." 2.

At present Notre Dame des Anges Church is a chapel run in connection with the Patronage de St. Vincent de Paul. The Patronage is a working boys' home conducted by the Frères de St. Gabriel.

The Synagogue too has changed its congregation. Originally the congregation which built the Chenneville Street Synagogue worshipped on Notre Dame Street. When the property on which their meeting place was built reverted to the family of the owner of the ground, the congregation built the present structure after temporarily meeting at the corner of Recollet and St. Helen Streets.

1.

"At the time of its erection (1834) great complaint was made at its being placed so far from the centre of the city." - "Montreal Illustrated" C.R. Chisholm Bros. 1875.

"We may briefly notice a few buildings in a cluster in the centre of the city; viz. The Scotch Secession Church and the Jews' Synagogue in Chenneville Street." p.29 "Montreal Guide" 1851. Armour and Ramsay.

2.

Alfred Sandham "Montreal Past and Present." p.252.

The building was erected in 1835 and completed in 1838. In 1890 the congregation moved to Stanley Street. The building was then used by other Jewish congregations. At present the Roumanian Jews worship there.

The district Police Station is located on Chenneville Street facing Dufferin Park. Naturally enough Chenneville Street often presents exciting scenes to the passerby. However, the inhabitants of the district do not seem to pay much attention to arrests. No one cares, no one bothers.

Until recently a Chinese doctor lived near the police station - and close by him there were several Chinese families. For the most part the residents of upper Chenneville Street are Jewish. Towards Craig Street there are few residents. Industry is rapidly encroaching. At the corner of Craig Street is the district fire-station; opposite it a tavern; a little up the street is the "Maison de Saint Nom de Marie" - and beyond it are residences up to Vitre Street.

Between Vitre and Lagauchetière there are no residences, the west side of the street being occupied by a printing company and the east by the Christian Brothers' School.

Coté Street.

Coté Street is but two blocks long but has a history extending back to the days of Ville-Marie. As we have stated above on this street was located the property which even to these days is known as "Près de Ville." The ownership of this villa changed from time to time until in 1832 we find that Madame Cotté,^{1.}

1.

The street may have been named after her, but we are not sure of this, as the Cottés were always a prominent Montreal family.

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a philanthropic woman of the time deeded over the ground to a charitable organization to be used as an orphans' asylum.

Près de Ville then became known as "L'Asile de Montreal pour les orphelins Catholique Romains." Various additions were made to the buildings until now there is very little open space. At present the entire block bounded by Vitré, St. George, Lagauchetière and Côté is owned by the Christian Brothers.

In 1830 the southwest corner of the block was given over to a Civic Market-place. This market did not prosper and nine years later it was abandoned. The "Asile" subsequently became a school (1839) and the mother house of the Christian Brothers who were engaged in teaching throughout the city.

Another link with the past is to be seen in the building directly opposite the Christian Brothers on Côté Street. Today a huge sign proclaims it to be occupied by Benson and Hedges Tobacco Company. Originally the building was a church.

"..... A new Presbyterian congregation was formed in Montreal which worshipped for a time in a wooden building on Lagauchetière Street near the head of Côté Street, which had been hastily and cheaply erected, being only intended to accommodate the congregation temporarily, until the projected new church to be built on Côté Street should be ready for occupation..... At this time (1845) this locality was most respectable and quite uptown and the new church which was proposed to be erected there turned out to be the largest and finest Presbyterian Church building of its day in the city. It was opened for the people on Sabbath the 16th day of May 1848 and the name chosen for it was "The Free Church Côté Street."

Eventually ".... the character of the locality by 1877 had completely changed. The Protestant part of the population had mostly moved westward to an inconvenient distance from the church and the remnant were gradually moving away in the same direction. The consequent dropping off of families who were going to churches much more convenient to their dwellings made the absolute necessity of the removing of the church building westward quite apparent." ^{1.}

1. Quoted by Dr. W. H. Atherton in "Montreal"
Vol. II. p. 277.

The church was soon abandoned and industry seized on the property. The interior of the church was remodeled and a new front was built. It was occupied successively by the Davis Cigar Co., The American Tobacco Co., The Empire Tobacco Co., The American Light Heat and Power Co., and for the last eight years by Benson and Hedges Limited.

In the two quotations above I have underlined sentences which indicate the status the street once had and migration from the district. The subsequent history of the church building indicates one of the stages in the process of deterioration. The history of this building is one of the most significant in the district.

At the head of Côté Street, also opposite Près de Ville stood one of the oldest English schools of the city. It was established in 1822 for the promotion of education among, "the young of the laboring classes of every persuasion." This building was completed by 1827 and was capable of holding 400 boys and 250 girls. The school was never up to capacity. The rebellion of '37 prevented many from attending, and later on the establishment of schools throughout the city further reduced the number. In 1850 about 250 attended, in 1890 when the school was closed the number had increased by about 100. Today the site is occupied by distributing warehouses and small manufactures.

Below Vitré Street, there stood from 1851 to 1913 the "Theatre Royal." In 1825 a theatre was built opposite Rosco's Hotel on St. Paul Street and remained there until 1851 when it was demolished to make room for Bonsecours Market buildings. The theatre then removed to Côté Street.

12

"This theatre in its palmiest days enjoyed the patronage of the élite and military of the city, and when any stars visited Montreal, such as Jenny Lind, Patté and Kean, the Theatre Royal was the scene of their triumphs." 1.

It was also in the Theatre Royal that Charles Dickens played with local talent during his visit to the city. In its last years the theatre became cheapened by catering to the immediately local people and in 1913 "ignominiously closed its doors."

An attempt to revive the theatre was made from 1917-19 when the building was reopened under the name of "Thomashapky's Peoples Theatre." At present the site is occupied by the Montreal Tramways Company Craig Street terminus. The Tram Company has a repair shop and a garage on the west side of Côté and has laid tracks through the block to form a loop. Just above the theatre a map of the city dated 1879 shows a "Racket Court." This court was built in 1851 and no doubt it too had its "palmy" days.

Such was the earlier history of Côté Street. The only institution which survives to this day is the Christian Brothers' School - the first property built on the street. An old city guide thus describes the street.

"We may briefly notice a few buildings in a cluster in the centre of the city; viz. the Theatre Royal, the British and Canadian School, the Christian Brothers' School, the Free Church on Côté S Street....." 2.

Today Côté Street is no longer "in the centre of the city." It is in the centre of the transitional zone of the city. The entire east side of the street between Vitré and Lagauchetière has surrendered to industry and only thirteen names appear in the Street

1.

Atherton. op. cit. p.362.

2.

Armour and Ramsay p.29 "Montreal Guide." 1851.

directory as householders in eight dwellings. Today the British and Canadian School is forgotten and the church is no more. Until last year there was a lane running off Vitré Street known as Theatre Lane but now all the buildings have been razed to the ground to make place for a down-town parking place, so that now there is not left even a memory of the Theatre Royal.

Craig Street.

Along Craig Street, (named after Governor Craig) there was even as late as 1816 a creek spanned at Bleury and St.Laurence streets by small wooden bridges. In the days of "Ville-Marie" the northern fortifications ran along the length of the slope from the town down to the marsh which was formed by the creek. A very short distance from these walls was later to be laid out Craig Street.

Today Craig Street compares to the "Stem" of Chicago for^{1.} it is the street of the hobo. Here are to be found cheap dirty restaurants, cheaper and dirtier boarding-houses, where beds can be secured from 15cents up, employment agencies, steam-ship agencies, innumerable pawn-shops and second-hand stores, and many taverns.

It is the southern boundary of Dufferin District and forms the frontier separating the district from the downtown area of the city.

Being on the frontier, it has become more highly commercialized than any of the other streets of the district. The type of business however, is not of a very high order. There are but two buildings of any note; the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Building

1. cfr. Nels Anderson "The Hobo."

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and the Craig Street Terminus of the Street Railways. One old building of the street is the District Fire Station at the corner of Chenneville Street.

St. Laurence Hall, one of the most famous hotels of Old Montreal is located on the south side of Craig Street. It had as its guests, royalty, celebrities, and the most famous politicians of Canada. It gradually deteriorated and only last year its fittings were sold at public auction. For some years previous to its closing it did not enjoy a good name.

Just east of the district, stands the Drill Hall, and across the way "Champ de Mars" the old parade ground. In the crush of industrial expansion this public place has been able to hold its own. However, it has changed considerably. Today it is entirely paved and is used as a parking-space.

Many of the former professional men of the city used to live on Craig Street. A glance through any of the street directories of sixty or seventy years ago will show listed as residents many doctors, dentists and "professors." But even in those days there were "iron-works," "paper-collar factories," "brass-polishers" and store keepers. At one time the Daily Star occupied a building near the corner of St. George Street; the entrance to the Star office was on St. George. The Advent Christian Church met in the Oddfellows' Temple near Bleury Street and the St. Patricks' Christian Young Mens' Association had a reading-room just east of Bleury Street.

Today all this air of respectability is lacking. The street is crowded with loiterers. Hanging over the shop-windows are rows of old clothes and wedged in between these second-hand stores are the places which cater to the hobo. There, are to be

found the cheap restaurants, the doss-houses, the employment agencies and taverns. This section of the street is in reality the eastern end of the "Stem." Closer to the Railway Stations the "Stem" is more colorful, but as the "Main" - the playground of the hobo is farther east the hobo drifts in his pursuit of pleasure eastward.

St.Urbain Street.

St.Urbain Street, two blocks west of the "Main," shows a wide range of variety. It is one of the old streets of the District, and like the other streets was the home of some of the city's famous citizens. Henry Alexander of Hudson Bay Company fame, the Rev. George Jenkins "Chaplain to the forces," and the Hon. Justice George Pyke are a few among many prominent people who once lived on this street.

Today it has largely been taken over by the Russians and Chinese. At the northern end of the Street, near St.Catherine there are clustered together two Russian restaurants and the Russian Progressive Mutual Aid Society. Lower down the street, north and south of Lagauchetière are to be found the Chinese. Below Vitré Street it is entirely commercialized.

The Gayety Theatre on St.Catherine Street has a side entrance on St.Urbain. Between acts the patrons step out on to St.Urbain Street for a smoke, or a drink at the corner tavern. Many park their cars along here and thus afford the gang-boy an opportunity to earn a few cents by acting as "guard."

There is but one institution of the past that is of interest. The "University Lying-In Hospital" which was later known

as the "Montreal Maternity Hospital" was located from 1865 to 1906 on St.Urbain Street mid-way between Dorchester and Lagauchetière. It has now become part of the Royal Victoria Hospital, and the site it once occupied now houses the "Montreal Russian Bath."

Some few institutions of the present time have been located on this street for many years. In 1891 the "Sheltering Home" moved from Dorchester Street to St.Urbain. Dufferin School opened in 1894. The James M.Aird Bakery located a branch on St.Urbain Street in 1899. It has since made extensive additions and has thus crowded out residents. The "Refuge de la Passion" at the corner of Lagauchetière extends back on St.Urbain Street for some distance.

Below Vitré Street, one side of the street has been torn down to provide a parking-space for down-town autoists and to provide trackage for a street-car loop. Across from this open space stands the Montreal Light Heat and Power Building, and below it two other buildings which have been erected to satisfy the commercial expansion from the south.

St.Catherine.

St.Catherine Street, the northern boundary of Dufferin District, is the great retail street of the city. Within the limits of the District it is relatively unimportant. The only institution that has any significance to the District is the Gayety Theatre located just east of St.Urbain Street. The Gayety or the "Mission" as it is sometimes called, is the one burlesque house of the city that is at all well known. The burlesques on the

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"Main" are of a much lower order, and for the most part the players are located in the city more or less permanently. There is a new company at the Gayety every week. Consequently there is always a change of properties and program. This makes the Gayety one of the most popular theatres of the District.

The ushers and candy and souvenir vendors generally are people who live in the District; while the players usually stay at an apartment house on Benoit Street.

Vitré Street.

Vitré Street, which was probably named after the pilot impressed into service to guide the English fleet through the "Traverse" below Quebec, just before Wolfe's capture of that city, is a continuation of Jurors Street. It cuts across the District one block north of Craig Street. Being located so near the business section of the city it has become very highly commercialized.

The "Près de Ville" property is bounded on the south by this street. At the intersection of Clarke Street there are clustered together on three corners, Greek coffee-houses, and next to one of them, on Vitré Street, is a Greek barber shop. Along Vitré between St. Urbain and one of the coffee-houses at Clarke Street is the open parking space referred to above.

Clarke Street.

Clarke Street lies one block west of the "Main" and is greatly exposed to business invasion. It is of interest chiefly because of the invasion of the Chinese just north and south of Dorchester streets, and of the Greeks around Vitré Street. There is but one institution which has remained there for some time.

The Hebrew Free School established in 1874 meets for classes every day after four o'clock. It is a strictly orthodox school.

Benoit Street.

Benoit Street is one of the few streets of the District which has remained to any great extent residential. It is a short block running between St. Catherine and Dorchester Streets. A back-court houses several of the residents of this street while many transients find lodging in an apartment house near Dorchester Street.

On this street there are living some of the old residents of the District. They are Irish. The other residents are Jewish and Polish.

St. George Street.

St. George Street, which originally was largely an English-speaking street has undergone an interesting change. About ten years ago, it was largely Jewish between St. Catherine and Dorchester Street. Today the Jews are moving out and French are coming in. There are a few Chinese families mixed in. Below Dorchester there are remnants of English people with an ever increasing number of Poles and Chinese. From Craig to Lagauchetière Street it has become very highly commercialized.

The street has more families living on it than any other street of the District. There are two courts lying back from St. George Street. The only institutions located on this street are the Public Bath, the residence for the workers of the Settlement, the Patrol-House of the District Police Station, and an extension of the Patronage de Saint Vincent de Paul.

In former days St. Andrews Home, St. George's Hall, a "Racket Court" and the Daily Star's office were located on St. George Street.

Anderson Street.

Anderson Street has always been one of the "respectable" streets of the District. It has never been exposed to the invasion of immigrants, and has withstood the invasion of industry. Originally this street extended from Vitré to Lagauchetière Street, but has since been opened up to Dorchester Street. Practically all the residents are English-speaking people. There are only a few French and fewer foreigners. It has been an Irish street until recently when the English and Scotch began to come in. The only encroachment of industry has been made by the Herald Publishing Company. A small block of houses juts into the Herald property and shows its defiance to the encroachment.

Deviègne, Vallée de Verchères and Bronsdon Lane.

These four streets are relatively unimportant as they are very short. Only one side of Deviègne Street is tenanted; the shops on St. Catherine Street extending back to this street prohibit the erection of any buildings on the north side. Vallée Street lies just south of Deviègne Street and is of importance only because of the Coca-Cola factory at the corner of St. George Street.

Both de Verchères Street and Bronsdon Lane are tenanted on only one side. The opposite sides of these streets are enclosed by a lumber yard.

Bleury Street.

Bleury Street is the western boundary of Dufferin district. Today it has become highly commercialized and there is not one house on the street into which commerce or industry of some form or another has not crept. This street in the early days of the 19th century, commenced at the foot of the bridge over the creek in Craig Street. It was at that time a narrow lane, known as "Flirtation Lane" extending up to Dorchester Street. When it was formally opened up as a city street it was called after a prominent citizen of the past, De Bleury, and was known as De Bleury Street until popular usage had shortened its name to its present form. Two institutions remain on this street to link it with the past. These are the "Church of the Gesu" and "St. Mary's College."

On the south-east corner of St. Catherine Street there is now a United Cigar Store over which is a cafe. This site was previously occupied by the "Nickle" movie theatre, which had replaced a convent-school. The street previously to its being widened, had remained rather residential above Lagauchetière Street. Several "Terraces" in which lived some of the professional people of the city, have since been displaced by commerce.

The Charles Gurd gingerale factory is perhaps, one of the oldest firms of the street. It commenced in a rather humble way just off the street, but today is housed in a large modern building.

In 1894, the McGill Alumae Girls' Club which was later to develop into the University Settlement, took up quarters on Bleury Street. After the work extended it moved across the street to

occupy a larger dwelling-house and an adjoining shop. It remained here till 1905 when it moved to a school-house.

The only amusement place on the street is a Dance-Hall located just south of St. Catherine Street. It caters to the shop and factory girls and to their friends. Although there is a matron in charge, acquaintanceships are made very readily. A long bench, elevated from the floor, like the bench of a shoe-shine parlor, lines one wall. Here the girls sit waiting for a "pick-up." At one end of the hall a refreshment-parlor has been fitted up on a platform. At the opposite end there are check-rooms, wash-rooms and the orchestra.

Life here is accentuated, though not to the same degree as in the Dance-halls on the "Main." Paled lights, the sob of the saxophone, the tinny sound of the jazz-band, and the girls' dresses of many hues create an artificiality approaching the life in the cabaret. The "sheiks" in carefully pressed wide trousers and meticulously parted "patent-leather" hair glance over the bench on which the girls sit with cool appraisal, make their choices and drift onto the floor. And thus the evening passes.

When the dance is over more often than not the girls are deserted by their partners of the evening, and leave in two's and three's as they have come. Everyone pays for himself, and goes his own way.

This is the one colorful spot of the street.

Dorchester Street.

Dorchester Street, one block south of St. Catherine Street, is the social centre of the district. In French times it was known as "Le grand chemin du Roi," but was later called after a Governor of Canada. Although one of the old streets of Montreal it has been developed only within the last hundred years.

Today the street presents a scene of commerce. The roadway is always filled with a stream of traffic- for Dorchester Street has become one of the trunk roads across the city.

That part of Dorchester which lies within the limits of Dufferin District has become very highly commercialized. In its length there are but four dwellings into which commerce or industry has not crept. On the ground floor, at least, of all the other buildings there is a shop or office.

In spite of this great invasion many people live on this street. With very few exceptions, the upper stories of the buildings have been turned into flats. There are two apartment blocks on the street, one known popularly as the "Red Block" has a very poor class of resident,- the other, a newer building has the ground-floor converted into shops, while above there are small one-and two-room apartments which cater to a very transient clientele.

Dorchester Street, being one of the newer streets of the district, has not undergone the changes which characterize the streets running north and south. Consequently it is not surprising to find that it was on this street that "elevating" agencies made their entry into the district. As the district began to change from an area of residence to one of mixed industry and residence,

the whole tone of the area began to deteriorate.

The "imposed" agencies, which saw that the area was fast becoming a slum showed some discretion in choosing Dorchester Street as their "locus agendi." Dorchester Street, they realized was the street to which the people of the District would come. It represented a rather central street, where interests would converge and people congregate. The localizing of welfare agencies on this street has further aggravated the concentration of peoples here, for what social life there is in the district.

In 1799 a plot of ground on Dorchester Street was purchased by the Protestant Community of Montreal to be used as a Burial Ground. A chapel was erected which subsequently was used to house the first congregation of the Church of St. John the Evangelist. When sufficient funds had been raised the congregation moved to the corner of St. Philip and Dorchester Streets. It remained here until 1878 when it moved out of the district to its present quarters on Ontario Street.

When the property was vacated an Italian Mission Church, the Church of St. François d'Assise, moved into the Chapel and remained there till 1885.

Another religious institution, which remained for over twenty years in the district, was the Wesleyan Sabbath School, which stood on the north-east corner of St. Charles Barromée Street. It later became known as the Primitive Methodist Church, and housed at the same time, the St. Laurence Sunday School. In 1883 it closed its doors.

A French Mission Church was established previous to 1864 near Bronsdon Lane; it subsequently changed its name to "The

French Presbyterian Church" and later to "St. Johns' French Protestant Church." In the early 80's it too left the district.

The St. Andrews' Society opened a home for "dispensing relief to distressed ~~Scottish~~ people" on Dorchester Street, just east of St. Philip Street. This institution which was known as "The St. Andrews' Home" remained here from 1866 to 1888 when it was replaced by a ginger-ale manufactory.

The Salvation Army in the year 1885-86 had a mission on Dorchester Street near Anderson Street. For some reason or other it did not flourish. An important Salvation Army institution, "The Metropole," a "doss-house" is located just out of the district on Hermine Street. Strangely enough, the Salvation Army workers are not seen to enter into the District to carry on their social-work program.

The Protestant House of Industry and Refuge is the one institution now located on Dorchester Street which can trace its history back over a period of years. It has remained on the same site for over fifty years. It still operates as a night refuge for the homeless man.

Among the other institutions of today which we find on this street, are the University Settlement, the Chinese branch of the Y.M.C.A, the Chinese United Church Mission, and St. Michael's Mission, the mission of the Church of St. John the Evangelist. These institutions will be more thoroughly studied in a section of the following chapter.

The people who live on this street are of every race and condition. It has not at any time been the street of any particular

nationality. At present there seems to be a rather high percentage of French and Jewish people resident on the street.

Lagauchetière Street.

Lagauchetière Street was named after an officer of Carignan's regiment of the French regime. When the regiment disbanded he built a house on the street which was afterwards to bear his name.

For many years this street, like the other streets of the district, was entirely residential. On it were located several institutions, only one of which has remained unaltered to the present time.

Certain institutions, located on the cross-streets touched Lagauchetière Street. These were the Christian Brothers' School, the British and Canadian School and the Church of Notre-Dame des Anges and are more fully treated in the discussion of Chenneville and Côté Streets.

In 1865 the Victoria University School of Medicine and Surgery opened its doors on Lagauchetière Street. It remained there till 1873 when it moved to Craig Street.

The Ladies of the Sacred Heart conducted a young ladies boarding school on Lagauchetière Street facing Côté Street until 1873 - when it moved to St. Catherine Street. An old map of the city dated 1851 terms this institution as "The Female Diocesan School."

From 1876 to 1889 the congregation of the Portuguese Synagogue on Chenneville Street maintained a Hebrew school at the corner of Chenneville and Lagauchetière Street.

The sites of all these institutions of the past have now

been taken over by commerce.

In 1874 the "Refuge de la Passion," a hostel for Catholic working girls was established at the corner of St.Urbain Street. It still occupies its old site.

Adjoining Notre-Dame des Anges Church is the "Patronage de Saint Vincent de Paul." This institution, under the supervision of the Brothers of St.Gabriel, is a home for French orphan boys of the apprentice class. It was established in 1892, and after a few months moved to its present site. So extensive was its work that three additions have been made to the original building. It now extends well up St.George Street.

Since the entry of the Chinese into this street in 1893, the street has gradually changed its face. The French and Irish have been gradually displaced. Today, for one short block, between Anderson and St.George Street, there are houses into which industry has not yet come. It is the only block in the district which is entirely free from the encroachment of commerce.

St.Laurence Street.

St.Laurence Boulevard, the "Main," from Craig Street north to St.Catherine Street, is the eastern boundary, and the centre of commercialized recreation, exchange, marketing and traffic of the district. It serves as such a centre for several groups and neighborhoods. Here the homeless man finds a place of amusement and a stamping-ground for hand-outs. He, as well as the younger people find cheap and stimulating recreation in the numerous penny-arcades, shooting-galleries, low class burlesque houses, wax-work

musea, dance-halls, taverns, pool-rooms and lunch-counters. The visitor to the city soon finds his way to "The Main" for it has acquired somewhat of a notoriety.

We find here several second-hand stores; the Barbers' Colleges, where one can get a hair-cut and shave at a very nominal cost or even gratis; tobacco stores and small book-stores carrying a line of souvenirs calculated to arouse the baser senses; fortune tellers who come to the city late in the summer and leave early in the spring; photographers who cater to transients and foreigners who wish to send tangible evidences of their success to the old world; third and fourth rate theatres fronted with lurid posters pregnant with life; cheap restaurants of the white-tile front, or lunch-counter variety; several hotels which once enjoyed a good reputation; taverns and a government liquor store; pool-rooms of a low order and all other highly exciting and stimulating places of amusement.

St.Laurence Street is also of interest because of the different types of people who patronize the places of amusement located between St.Catherine and Dorchester Streets. It has become the playground of the foreigner, the hobo, the visitor to the city, and the younger people of the districts lying closest to it.

It is essentially a man's street, and very few women are to be seen unaccompanied on this stret, after dark. The commercialized amusements, the movie-palaces, burlesque and vaudeville houses, peep-shows, penny-arcades etc., cater very largely to the sex-impulse. The restless and homeless find cheap stimulation

in such shows, the two dance-halls, the mind-readers', fortune-tellers', shooting-galleries, tattoo parlors etc. The taverns attract very few of the working-men of the district. They find social life in the taverns of the quieter streets.

The commercialized vice area, in so far as the area exists as a unit today, is but a few minutes walk from "The Main" and hence the fringers of the underworld, the pimp, the dope-pedlar and the "guides" to blind-pigs pursue their trade on this street of restless, excitement-seeking men.

The hobo finds his fellow in the pool-rooms, barbers' colleges and cheap "eating houses." The foreigner seeks companionship in the "estiatron," the dance-hall and the theatre. The sailor patronizes the shooting gallery, the tattooing-parlor, and the theatre. The visitor to the city "takes in" the whole street, and leaves for home with his pockets filled with souvenir post-cards, favors etc., of a pornographic nature.

To the foreigner there is a wealth of substitution for the sociality he craves. The mind-reader advertizes that she can speak "Polsk - Ruska - Italian - Vorowka." The restaurant windows bear the word "Estiatron," "Kaphenion," or the like. The photographers' windows are filled with pictures "developed while you wait" of peoples of every nation, class and condition.

The street also attracts the gang-boy. With the few cents he has made from junking he hurries to the "Starland" or the "Midway." In time, as he grows older the spell of the street is upon him and he frequents the pool-rooms, and dance-halls. Here he meets the fringers of the demi-monde and is thus recruited into their ranks.

But along-side of all this amusement there is the commercial aspect. An extensive retail trade is carried on in the southern end of the street; while an old institution - the St.Laurence (Civic) Market still carries on in the very centre of the amusements. There are no private homes in the street but in some very few instances people live over shops.

This in brief is a picture of the street as it is today. In Chapter 1 we saw the first beginnings of St.Laurence suburb along St.Laurence Street. In 1816 the street was created, and took its name from the river. A picture of the street as it appeared in that year has been preserved by Borthwick.

"St.Laurence suburb, commenced at a bridge over the creek at the foot of St.Laurence Street. This street, as far up as where Ontario now intersects, was quite thickly lined with low wooden buildings. Above Sherbrooke Street and before the Mile End Tavern, there were but two houses, both of them stone....." ¹.

By 1875 the nature of the street changed considerably. It had by then become quite important commercially.

" We now ascend St.Laurence Main Street, the oldest street leading from the city.... It therefore need be no source of surprise to find here and there, along its length, houses one-storey in height, with the high-pitched roof covered with shingles on which the moss has grown luxuriantly; in some cases the tottering frames of these 'old ones' speaks more loudly than words, and tells that we stand in the presence of a 'centenarian.' Our tourist will however notice that such buildings are the exception, the rule being fine new stone edifices vieing with those of any other street. In fact this is one of the principal business streets of the city." ².

Today the "fine new stone edifices" have become so covered with signs that they can hardly be recognized as such. The buildings, according to modern standards are rather small and dowdy. One building, the "Monument National" is quite extensive. The initial cost

1.Quoted in Borthwick's "History of Montreal." 1897 p.152.

2.p.112-13. "A Strangers' Guide to Montreal" - C.R.Chisholm & Bros. 1875.

of this building was over half a million dollars, which at the time of its erection, was a considerable sum.

The "Monument National" was built by the Saint Jean-Baptiste Society of Montreal and was intended to serve as the headquarters of French-Canadianism. It took as its motto "Rendre le peuple meilleur" and instituted technical classes. In time these classes became very extensive; courses were given in metallurgy, commerce, hygiene, drawing (free-hand and mechanical) sculpturing, architectural designing, lithographing, garment cutting, etc.

Space in the building was rented to stores and in 1897, Boiseau's exhibition of colored lights, as well as the Musée Eden were two of the features of the city. The Museum still exists, though it is now housed in the basement.

Today the "Monument National" has greatly changed in character. It is no longer the headquarters of French-Canadianism that it once was. Its theatre has become the locus for the presentation of foreign theatricals. The Jewish, Chinese and other racial groups have come to look upon it as "National" to themselves. Only occasionally does a French company make use of the "Monument."

Another survivor on the street is the "St. Laurence Market." The market was established in 1861. Today it houses several butcher shops but is still known as A market.

The most important institution which has disappeared is the "Ecole St. Laurent," founded in 1793 by the Sulpician Fathers "for poor young girls of the district." It stood until 1845 at the corner of St. Catherine Street.

As St. Laurence Street early became commercialized there have been very few institutions located on it.

CHAPTER III
SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

In an area which on the surface appears to be characterized by impersonality of contacts, high mobility and consequent relative anonymity, segregation of racial groups, poor housing conditions, vice and poverty, and all the other indices of disorganization - in a word, in a slum area - one would not expect to find stable social organization. But even in such areas we find institutions both formal and informal.

In this chapter we will look into some of these institutions but first of all we must point out that the formal institutions fall into two classes viz: the "Native" and "Imposed." By a "native institution" is understood those forms of institutions which grow up in any community. They are institutions formed by and for the people of the locality which they serve. Among them we would list the School, the Church, the cultural (national) societies etc.; "imposed institutions" on the other hand, are formed by outsiders to serve the interests of the locality in which they are located. These are the Missions, Settlement Houses, and the Playground when it is organized on a Social Service basis.

Borderline between the Native and Imposed Institutions we find the institutions of control, the government, especially city-government. Politics in the city is based on a restricted locality basis. The alderman of a city ward must know the voters and manifest an interest in their regard. In city-government there are many departments but those most closely related to the neighborhood are the institutions of the Police and City-Playgrounds. Another borderline institution is vice in so far as it is commercialized. Such borderline institutions are formed in part by the people of the locality and also in part by the outside. Their purpose is to serve primarily

the wider community but more directly the people of the smaller area.

Besides these formal institutions we have the informal, more personal ones, organized on a basis of primary contacts. These are the family, the neighborhood and the informal play-group or the gang. Wherever people live a home-life we find the family and wherever there are families there are children who form their associations.

Informal Institutions.

The origin of the family, like that of any other social institution is obscured in the period of pre-literacy. However, we can get back to the time when we find the family in the form of a folkway controlling the relations of the sexes. At first these folk-ways were experimental but in time they became mores and policies, subsequently to be sacredized by religion. A rational definition was later given to the policies, and family practices became conventionalized and acquired a body of tradition. The family was then an institution. Crises in the life of the institution are reflected in movements to take over a part of the functions of the family. Today we have movements to care for children - Juvenile Courts, Play-Schools, Kindergartens, institutionalized recreation etc.

In spite of this, certain basic functions of the family still obtain. The family continues its attempt to regulate the relation between the sexes; its chief function is the reproduction of children and the development of their personality. To carry this out it is the vehicle of tradition, it interprets the moral codes of the community, directs the child positively or negatively as to the contacts he shall make and is his social and recreational centre.

In the modern family the characteristic that is causing most alarm is disunity. The factors making for this crisis are laid at the door of mobility. Today there is an ever-increasing variety of social contacts, loss of social continuity through residential mobility, and a consequent decrease in neighborly interest.

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1. In this first section we only attempt to give a hastily drawn picture of the family and of the play-life of the district. These primary associations have been sufficiently studied for our purpose by socialologists. We refer the reader especially to Mowrer's "Family Disorganization" and Thrasher's "Gang."

1.

Family life in Dufferin District reflects to a great degree the weakness of social control. In the first place we find that parents do not get along well with each other. Many casual laborers live in this district, and the uncertainty of employment frequently leads to bickering and tension conducive to desertion. As often as not the mother has to supplement the family budget with her own labor and very often during periods of employment depression she is the sole bread-winner. When she manages to keep the family together with her earnings she realizes that she is independent of her husband. Consequently when he subsequently becomes unemployed she can by her nagging indirectly induce desertion. The following case came under my observation while at the University Settlement.

1.

The mother of a family of four children was forced to seek employment. She obtained a position cleaning out tramcars for two or three hours each morning. Her husband is much older than herself and has no trade. He was willing at times to do night-watchman work for three hours in the evening, five nights a week, for which he received \$2.50. The family budget was further increased by the employment of the oldest boy in the messenger service at \$5.00 per week and also by relief from the Social Agencies.

The mother soon realized that her husband was not indispensable and continually nagged at him until he left her. He disappeared for three days and then returned. Since the first desertion he has left on two or three occasions yet always comes back. How this case will terminate is unknown, yet it seems not improbable that he will eventually leave for good or else the mother will refuse to accept him when he returns. The mother was described by a clergyman as a "primitive mother" - one who will lie, steal, beg or borrow for her children. They are always kept clean and the house is most orderly.

This case is rather typical of the neighborhood. There is a selection of laborers in the district. In a survey of the relation of occupation to desertion made in nine states of the Union it was found that laborers ranked 15th out of the first 35 classes. Seasonal labor in Montreal is rather extensive because of the harbour.

Another case of family disorganization due to incompatibility is that of a very young couple who married in 1926. The boy is 21 years of age, a French Canadian Protestant. The girl an Irish Roman Catholic, met her husband at dances held in the Settlement. They were married in a Catholic Church and lived together for six weeks. The wife deserted because her husband was unable to take her out very much. The family lived with his mother. Last fall a child was born and an attempt was made to rehabilitate the family. The wife remained with her husband for two days after being discharged from the hospital. She returned to her own home taking the child with her. They still see each other at Settlement dances though they do not speak.

This case demonstrates the not infrequent result of early, hasty marriage. The husband was very much attached to his mother and stayed at home to keep her company. The wife, a young girl who had just begun to enjoy life felt the restraint irksome, and when the husband was out of work left him on the ground of non-support.

However, there are many instances of great family unity, particularly among the Jews and the Roman Catholics. Two families that live side by side show a great deal of unity in spite of difficulties. In one case the mother is a Roumanian Jewess married to a West Indian Negro. In the other case the couple are Irish and parents of seven children. Because of ill-health the husband has been a most irregular worker since the war, yet the family stays together. At one time last summer the house was being run by the eight-year old daughter while the father, mother, elder brother and elder sister were in the hospitals. In both families there is a great deal of affection shown to the children.

The Gang.

Most of the homes as we have seen are crowded and unattractive. There is little room for adequate play for the children. Quite naturally they turn to the street and there meet other children likewise in search of spare-time activities. The street gamin and the boys' gangs are products of crowded down-town areas and inadequate community

Spontaneous play-time associations grow up everywhere. It is^{1.} in the "Interstices of society" as Dr. Thrasher has pointed out in his study of Chicago gangs, that such free-time associations are characterized by associations on a conflict basis. The gang is a conflict group with a high degree of selection of locality and age. Boys of a certain street band together to pursue their pleasures where they will. Gangs from other streets united for a like purpose naturally come into contact with them when a common goal is desired. This brings about conflict, and street-fights are the result.

These rows however are not very common as the gang soon learns where it can enjoy uninterrupted. The excitement of conflict for this reason must be sought in other channels. Conflict loses much of its physical nature and becomes more and more a game of brains. To "put it over" someone is just as exciting and less dangerous.

The small-boy gang (10-13 yrs.) gets a kick out of a forbidden smoke, petty thieving, and the enjoyment of forbidden pleasures. Junking they find is a profitable game, and when bottles, lead-pipe and rags cannot be obtained legally there is an added zest in taking such things surreptitiously from neighbors' sheds and yards. Ball-playing on the street is more exciting than in the play-ground for the younger boy. There is always the prospect of a chase either from the cop or from some irate neighbor. In the play-ground they haven't much opportunity to secure the better diamonds, as their elder brothers soon put them off.

The older gangs (13-15 yrs.) having learned of the joy of "putting it over" disdain "junking." The more criminally inclined

1. cfr. F.M. Thrasher. "The Gang."

find pleasure in breaking into houses and small shops. Usually they make their raids out of the district though not infrequently they break into the Settlement at night.

One Sunday afternoon two of the Settlement workers had occasion to go to the Settlement. They entered through the basement door and as they mounted the stairs heard someone running across the floor above. When they entered the office they found that the desk in which petty cash was usually kept had been forced open and some money missing. Being satisfied that the culprit was still in the building they started to search. One boy was found under the pool-table, and another behind a counter. When questioned they denied that they had been in the office or that they had taken the money.

These two boys were members of the same gang. A third member had been stationed outside but was unable to give the alarm.

Boys of this age begin to feel that they can secure recognition under a more socially recognized organization. They not infrequently give themselves a name and attempt to organize. The gang very often becomes a club with regularly elected officers. At this age the formality and restraint is often felt to be too irksome and the club deserts the Settlement as far as regular meetings are concerned.

However, as they grow older they definitely take on a formal organization. Boys from 15 to 17 years of age become "Club" members. The club is usually formed by the old gang and recruits other members of like ages and interests from unattached boys. The club is generally an "athletic and social" one and participates in most of the seasonal sports.

Occasionally a club is formed on an interest basis. A group of boys interested in Water Polo last winter, banded together and formed a club. When the Polo season was over the club - as such - disbanded until next year when they will resume their activities.

Although the gangs are continually in conflict with one another they will always join together when a large gang from another district invades their territory. Every year during the

hockey season a gang of French boys from farther east, come to Dufferin Square where hockey games are in progress. They are spoiling for a fight. Some trivial incident occurs to which they take exception. This situation is seized upon and so magnified and distorted that a general fight ensues. The older boys sometimes use knuckle-dusters, sand-bags, black-jacks or pieces of pipe. Casualties are then frequent and all join in the fray. It is only infrequently that there are serious results. The fight stops as suddenly as it starts with the appearance of the "cops" or an unexpected reinforcement of one of the gangs. After the retreat another attack sometimes takes place and always a considerable gang hangs around waiting for more trouble or to discuss the fight. In these fights the older boys of the neighborhood play their part. An invasion cannot be tolerated and in no time the gangs of former days reunite to uphold the dignity of the neighborhood.

Girls' Cliques.

But associations are not confined to the boys. The girls often join together and form clubs. Their associations are less formal and less enduring; jealousies soon break up the Girls' Club.

The girls usually go in twos and threes once they start to work. Association really starts in early childhood but is most casual until a common interest is found. When the girl starts work she finds a companion who walks with her to and from the factory or departmental store. Occupational selection is the factor in most cases of spontaneous associations. A common interest is generally the factor in associations arising out of formally organized Girls' Clubs.

The girl who joins a sewing- or dancing-class or the girl who wants to play basket-ball or hockey meets another in the same group. Associations and friendships are sometimes built up in this way but

for the most part, when the basket-ball season ends or the classes are finished just as with the Water Polo among the boys, there is a disintegration of the club. The members seek other interests and unless all share the new interest the club disperses.

About three years ago a group of girls (11 and 12 yrs. of age) came to the Settlement in a body wanting to form a club. They were all Jewish girls with the exception of their leader, a girl of English extraction. Their leader was very much interested in stage dancing and had been coached by a man who had taken an interest in her.

The girls had become associated at school, and were well acquainted with each other. After they had been given a meeting room and had been formally banded together as a club, they approached a Settlement worker with a view to putting on a concert. Their idea was to secure coaching in dancing and present some chorus and acrobatic dancing.

As their plans didn't go through the club soon broke up.

Unlike the boys' gangs, this group of girls were not recruited from one street. They formed their association at school and admiring the talent of one of their number, set her up as leader. They were an interest-group, and as is the case with so many interest-groups, leadership devolved upon the one who was most skilful. When this leadership had to be shared with a Settlement worker, dissention set in and the club dispersed.

A group of Jewish girls approached a Settlement worker with a view to organizing a basket-ball club. These girls for the most part lived out of the district. One or two had formerly been residents of the district and were known to the Settlement. They brought friends with them and formed a club. A school gymnasium was secured for their use once a week. The club has held together for some years but the contact with the Settlement is most casual. Few of the girls ever come to the Settlement for anything other than to see a worker about matters pertaining to basket-ball.

Here again is an interest-group of girls. They have managed to hold together because the interest has been satisfied. Their contact with the Settlement workers is casual and organization as a club is not very strong. They seldom have meetings apart from their

practices and games. The only type of club that meets regularly at the Settlement that enjoys any degree of continuity are those that are of a formal nature, viz: Girl Guides and Brownies. They are not in the strict sense of the word a club - nor are they in any sense an organized or formalized clique.

Formal Institutions.

The Church.

Among the formal organizations of any community the church is perhaps the most significant institution that may be used as an index of change in the particular community in which it is located. The movement of peoples in or out of a district is reflected in the church. In general a distinction between the Catholic and Protestant church may be made regarding organization. The Catholic Church is organized on a locality basis; the Protestant Church, on the other hand, is usually organized on a membership basis. For this reason, the Protestant church is largely dependent on its lay leadership. A membership crisis is therefore, more serious to the Protestant than to the Catholic church.

The Protestant church is a class, and even language institution. It is not Catholic in this respect. The Catholic church however, embraces all classes and tongues. Changes in the economic status or nationality of the peoples of a community may therefore threaten the very existence of the Protestant church. Its continuity is then only guaranteed by a successful accommodation.

If the congregation of a Protestant church moves away several eventualities arise. The church may follow its congregation; it may transfer its property to a new congregation or it may adapt itself to the changed condition. If it is sufficiently well endowed it may still be able to carry on in its old locus and attempt to win over to its membership the newcomers to the district. In this case it becomes a mission church. If the new group invades the church in sufficiently great numbers to displace all the original congregation there is usually also a change in the functionaries and even the dogma.

When however the displaced congregation still continues to return to the church in sufficiently great numbers to guarantee its economic life, that is to say, when it is not only adequately endowed but still draws some of its original members it may so adapt itself to become a characteristically down-town church. The down-town church usually has a morning service for its congregation and an evening service for transients and unattached people. These people are drawn to the church by an advertisement of some attraction - a special musical program, a pageant, a famous preacher or a talk on some vital topic of the day.

Usually the down-town church has to engage professional leaders to replace the lay leadership spontaneously produced in the original congregation. The minister continues to do the parish work, but he is assisted by a preacher and often a religious educationalist. Very often the church hires a Social Worker who takes over a part of the work originally within the province of the pastor.

In the Catholic church, the change of membership does not present a crisis. The original congregation may move away but continuity is guaranteed. In some cases there is not even an immediate change in functionaries. When however, the endowment of the church is not sufficiently great to guarantee the continuance of the church, appeals to the members of the original congregation have to be made. Usually a great many members of the original congregation still attend the church for sentimental reasons, even though they have moved some distance from the neighborhood. Slight adaptations take place in the down-town Catholic church. It tends to cater to transients and draws them by advertising in the newspapers. It alone of all the Catholic churches relies upon the newspaper to attract people to its services.

Occasionally a special musical program, or a noted preacher is used to attract people.

In the change which took place in Dufferin District we see examples of all these crises in the life of the church.

The Canada Presbyterian Church which was formerly located on Coté Street, met its crisis by moving out of the district. It followed its congregation. In speaking of this church, Atherton records that:

"..... the character of the locality by 1877 had completely changed. The Protestant part of the population had mostly removed westward, to an inconvenient distance from the church and the remnant were gradually moving away in the same direction, and the consequent dropping-off of families and members who were joining churches much more convenient to their dwellings made the absolute necessity of the removing of the church building quite apparent." ^{1.}

The Erskine Presbyterian Church, the old Scotch Secession Church on Chenneville Street, also moved out of the district. This church was built in 1834 and continued to hold its original congregation till 1866 when "it was thought advisable to secure a site ^{2.} in a more suitable locality."

St. John the Evangelist Church moved from Dorchester Street fifty years ago for the same reason. It at present has a dispersed congregation but it is so well endowed that it is able to maintain a mission house on Dorchester Street, and another to the Jews on Clarke Street.

Two other Protestant Churches were located in the District. Both of these churches were missionary. The Wesleyan Sabbath School later known as the First French Methodist Church, and the St. Johns' French Protestant (Presbyterian) Church have been forced to disband. There are not even traces of the buildings left. In the case of these churches the crisis was financial in so far as money was being

1. Quoted in W.H.Atherton's "Montreal." p. 277.

2. Alfred Sandham "Montreal Past and Present." p.252.

spent, but there was no stable congregation. The First French Methodist Church became The Primitive Methodist Church and thus tried to maintain itself by embracing a larger congregation; but even this failed.

Located just to the west of the District, on St. Catherine Street, is the St. James United Church. It is a typical down-town church. As commerce invaded the District the congregation of this church became dispersed throughout the city. As a result many of the original congregation became affiliated with other churches. This meant that difficulty was being felt in meeting the church budget. An accommodation was made by the erection of a shop and office building around the front of the church. The church is now almost hidden from St. Catherine Street. Entrance is effected through an arcade.

By this means the financial difficulty was met to such an extent that it is now able to draw its parishoners from all over the city to its morning service. In the evening it caters to a less closely knit congregation which assembles because of the offering of some attraction.

The lay-leadership also has given way to professional leadership. Besides the minister and his assistant preacher there is a religious educationalist.

Behind the St. Laurence Market on St. Dominique Street there was once a German church. As its congregation moved away it too was forced to close its doors and locate farther north.

The Synagogue on Chenneville Street has had at least three different congregations. Originally it was built by the Spanish-Portuguese congregations. When this congregation moved to Stanley

Street, the Synagogue was used for a short time by the Polish-German congregation. At present the Roumanian Jews worship here, but they are selling the property to move north.

The Catholics of the District originally worshipped in Notre-Dame Church, the Parish church of Montreal. This church is now completely marooned by commerce yet still remains. It is richly endowed, and has become somewhat of a monument. For this reason it is likely to remain impervious to all changes that go on about its doors.

When the Irish Catholic group became sufficiently large to warrant a church for themselves, temporary provision was made for them in the old Recollet Church until it became inadequate. St. Patrick's Church was then built on Lagauchetière Street just west of the District. It includes within its parish boundaries, Dufferin District. It too like St. James United Church is becoming divorced from its congregation on a locality basis. However, the congregation still returns. The dwellings vacated by its original parishoners, when they are not invaded by industry are occupied by people of a different status and often by people of a different language. The newcomers are not numerically strong enough to supersede the original Irish congregation. They attend St. Patrick's Church and have become incorporated into its congregation.

St. Patrick's Church alone, of all the Catholic churches of the city, makes use of the newspaper to attract people to its services.

The French of the District who do not attend Notre-Dame Church, worship at the Gesu on Bleury Street. It, like St. Patrick's, and Notre-Dame Church, still is able to draw its congregation to its doors.

An interesting transfer of church property is seen in Notre-Dame des Anges Church. The church building was built by the Scotch Secession Church, and when it followed its congregation the property was acquired by the Catholic Church. It is a chapel at present, not a parish, and is used by the Patronage de Saint Vincent de Paul.

A similar transfer was made when the church of St. John the Evangelist was taken over for the Italian Catholics. It was a Mission Church and therefore did not have a regular congregation. When the Italians became sufficiently strong they organized their own parishes. They now have two churches located where there is a concentration of Italian people.

The School.

In the Province of Quebec there is no compulsory education law. The Child Labor regulations, however, have a slight educational requirement. Any child under sixteen years of age may secure a working-certificate provided he can read and write. If he is fourteen and the family requires that he work he may secure the working-certificate under the same proviso but in addition he may be required to attend night-school.

Moreover, since the law allows a child to refuse corporal punishment, in which case he is expelled from the school, it is not surprising that to many people of the District, the school means very little. At any hour of the day countless children may be seen in the streets or at the playground, who should be attending school. Very often at a very young age they start to work in the street trades. In most cases they are able to pass the literacy test. However, there are some children who attend the Settlement who do not attend school and can't read or write. The number, although not very great, is sufficiently large to provide further evidence to the disorganization of the District.

In the past there were several large schools located in the District. Two of these have passed out of existence. The British and Canadian School, formerly located at the corner of Lagauchetière and Chenneville Street, was established in 1822 for the promotion of education among "The young of the laboring classes of every persuasion." It was sufficiently large to handle 650 children. It is significant that at no time were there more than a handful of Roman Catholic children in attendance. The school was closed in 1890.

The "Ecole Saint Laurent," was established in 1793 by the Sulpician Fathers "en faveur des jeunes filles pauvres de ce quartier." The direction of the school was given over to a Sisterhood. This school stood at the corner of St.Catherine and St.Laurence until 1845. It then located on St.Catherine Street between St.Urbain and St.Charles Barromée streets, where it remained until 1864.

Another "Ecole Saint Laurent," which still operates is the Christian Brothers' school on Coté Street. The "Près de Ville" property was bought by the Sulpician Fathers for the Brothers in 1839.

By 1840 over 850 pupils were in attendance. Originally the Christian Brothers taught only at this school. Today they offer their services throughout the city. Before St.Patrick's School was established in its present quarters on Lagauchetière Street, classes assembled in the Brothers' School.

The other schools of the district, still in operation are St.Patrick's Schools for the English-speaking catholics; Notre-Dame School on Clarke Street, above Ontario, for the French-speaking catholic girls; and Dufferin School for Non-catholics. The Monument National still conducts some evening classes.

The Hebrew Free School on Clarke Street, operates after school hours. It is a strictly orthodox Hebrew institution, and may therefore be looked upon as a device to preserve the culture of the orthodox group.

The two Chinese schools are included in a following section. The kindergarten school of the Settlement is also considered in the same section.

One other school, St. Mary's College, was established on Bleury Street in 1848. It does not serve the District. It draws its clientèle from the French not only of the city, but also of the province.

The District, then, is well supplied with schools; but the large schools which have disappeared offer further testimony to the fact that the District has changed from an area of respectability. It may perhaps be argued that, as these former schools were established "for the poor of the District" that we cannot draw this conclusion. In answer we may say, that the school system of the past differed very much from that of the present. Those who did not attend these schools received their education from tutors in their homes, or in the numerous private schools, finishing-schools and seminaries which are found most plentifully listed in all the street directories of the past.

The School is usually looked upon as one of the most important neighborhood institutions. In Dufferin District, they represent the one institution, apart from the church, which is doing very consistent constructive work. The social agencies established in the District, are doing what they can. Their work is avowedly preventive. As a matter of fact it is palliative; it consists of patching-up little troubles and difficulties. Because of inadequate resources they are unable to attack the larger problems presented in such an area.

National Societies.

The National Societies represent the third type of Native formal institution of the District. In spite of the extremely cosmopolitan character of the District there are very few societies formed by the different nationalities.^{1.}

In the past several National Societies were formed. The German Society was established in 1835; today a small club known as Teutonia operates on Mountain Street. St. Patrick's Society established in 1856 still operates; St. Andrew's Society established in 1880 is also functioning. Belgian and Swiss societies were also formed about the same time.

In the District, however, the only nationality group that has organized many clubs is the Chinese. Their clubs are located on Lagauchetière, Clarke and St. Urbain streets. In general they are recreational and social clubs. However, there are several political clubs, and one Merchants' Club.

The Chinese clubs presumably, are used by their clients largely for gambling purposes. A Chinese student, of an American University, a friend of the writer, who had volunteered much information about his compatriots, said that he never entered any of these clubs as by so-doing he would fall in status. The educated Chinaman enjoys prestige and for this reason he considered it would be indiscreet to mingle with the people who frequent the clubs.

1. The formation of a club by a nationality group indicates the beginning of group consciousness. As the different immigrant groups of the District, with the exception of the Chinese and the Jews, are very small, it is not surprising that there are few national societies in the District. The Jews, representing rather, a religious group, early formed congregations, but few clubs.

The only other national club in the District is the "Russian Progressive Mutual Aid Society" on St. Urbain Street. There are other Russian clubs in the city which are largely political in nature. The "Progressive Society" however, was founded for educational purposes. It boasts of having the largest collection of Russian books in the city, some two hundred volumes. The club subscribes to two Russian newspapers, one published in New York, the other in Paris. The literary nature of the club is further evidenced by the portrait of Count Tolstoi which one sees upon entering the club room. It occupies a prominent position between two flags.

This club is patronized by the men, though children are encouraged to make use of the library. They also come with their mothers to the concerts held in the club rooms from time to time. The club also has organized a Choral Society.

The organization of Russian Clubs in the city is very difficult because of the high mobility of the Russians coming to Montreal.

Somewhat akin to the clubs of the Chinese and Russians, though they do not enjoy any formal organization, are the Greek coffee houses. These "Kaphenia," have as we have indicated in Chapter II, come to be the social centre of the Greeks of the District.

The Jewish synagogue represents a national society in its organization. The congregation is usually formed on a nationality basis but for a religious purpose. The Hebrew Free School, represents an attempt by the orthodox group to preserve the Hebrew language among the children.

There are no other forms of national groups in the District. East of the "Main" on Dorchester Street, there is however, an Assyrian Mission which operates a school and several clubs.

Imposed Institutions.

The University Settlement of Montreal.

Ranking first among the imposed institutions of the district is the University Settlement on Dorchester Street. It, more than any other institution, embraces the whole area in its program of neighborhood work. It is non-sectarian, and welcomes to its doors peoples of every nation, and race. From their tenderest years, when they come with their mothers to the maternity clinics, through the kindergarten age and through the different clubs, until they become quite grown up, the Settlement carries on its work with the young of the district.

Even the grown-ups find recreation within its doors either in the Mothers' Club or at the frequent concerts and dances.

The Settlement, grew out of a Girls' Club formed by the McGill Alumnae Society in 1891. The McGill Alumnae opened a lunch-room and rest-room for girls working in the District whose homes were too distant to enable them to go home for lunch. The work then was not on a neighborhood basis. It was a purely philanthropic gesture. The management and supervision of the Club was entirely in the hands of the McGill group.

By 1894 the work had so extended that the Club moved to Bleury Street and occupied a shop. At this time the nature of the work was somewhat modified. Evening classes were inaugurated, and at Christmas the children of the District were entertained with a Christmas party. The following year a library was started.

In 1902 the Club moved to the opposite side of the street and rented a shop and dwelling. The following year a decided change in policy was made. The Girls' Club was opened in the evening to the boys and girls of the District. The "Kings' Club" was then opened. With this extension of the work the women graduates found it necessary

to invite the men graduates to assist in the supervision of the work.

The Girls' Club was abandoned in 1905, but the "Kings' Club" activities were continued. As the Alumnae Society discontinued the lease of the club-rooms the "Kings' Club" was forced to make use of the neighborhood institutions. For two years the club met in Dufferin School but in 1907-8, rented a club-room on Lagauchetière Street.

The following year the club was forced to meet in Belmont school. Here was a work-shop and materials so classes were offered under the direction of a Sloyd teacher. The girls were offered classes in needlework and drawing, and on certain afternoons kindergarten class was held.

The same year the Workers' Committee reorganized to form "The McGill University Neighborhood Club" which included several men graduates. This club was again reorganized and called "The Settlement Committee." We see in these organizations a growing consciousness of the work of the institution. The culmination of this consciousness came in 1910 when "The University Settlement of Montreal" was organized and recognized by the Corporation of the University. By 1912 the Settlement was incorporated by law and moved to its present site.

With its reorganization in 1910 there was initiated a change in leadership. Up to this time the supervision and direction of the work was entirely in the hands of a volunteer group. At the outset the women graduates carried on the work, but as we have seen, with the extension of its program the men graduates took a part. Since 1910 the staff of the Settlement has been composed of paid workers. A volunteer staff still continues to function and carry on the work of the institution under the guidance of the paid staff.

A residence for the workers was purchased and volunteers from the University were invited to live at the Settlement House. Of late

years the resident volunteer body has been very small.

The leadership has up to the past year been entirely imposed. With the dropping-off of McGill Student-volunteers it was found necessary to recruit others to the Volunteer Staff of the Boys' Department. It was then decided to enlist the help of the older boys and some of the fathers. It was found that the leader who came from the district was not able to control the boys as easily as a stranger. The fathers, however, were able to take charge of clubs and although it was felt that these leaders were unable to "give" very much of themselves the organization of the clubs was strong and loyalty to the leader very highly developed.

Local leadership is entirely lacking. The volunteer recruited from the District depends upon the paid worker for guidance and direction. He is little more than a privileged member who has been glorified to an assistanceship in the department. His control over boys of his own age is negligible.

One night a worker left an older boy in charge of a group of boys after the regular clientele had been sent home. The boys had asked to be allowed to remain to play billiards. The next morning it was found that the pantry had been raided. The lock of the kitchen door had been forced. All the food had been eaten - even cans of beans had been opened.

When questioned about it the boy who had been left in charge said that "the gang" had done it and that he was in no way responsible.

The Settlement is one of the agencies of the Council of Social Agencies of the city. It gets its publicity and support through the Financial Federation machinery which is used to raise funds for many of the agencies of the Council. The Community of Montreal looks upon it as a "rescue" work. The people of the district who are not very familiar with the work think of it as a school. To the clientèle it means many things. To some it is a good hang-out where one can keep

warm on cold nights - to others it is a playground, a piece of public property which through some process has come to be identified with their own personal property - to others it is a place to meet and enjoy the company of others - to still others it is a club or a classroom of a very informal nature. To the parents "it is a great place for the kids to go. It keeps them out of mischief." To other parents it is a place to leave younger children while they are out of their homes; to many others it is a place to seek advice when in trouble.

The purpose of the Settlement is to provide that neighborliness which is lacking in a changing urban environment and to assist in the assimilation of the immigrant. The method by which this aim is attempted is largely through recreation. The Settlement through its clubs and classes provides sociality for the children. Here they meet each other and learn in some measure, how to unite together for corporate action. The adult foreigner is not formally touched. It is only through casual contact that the parent of the foreign child comes to know the Settlement worker. The parents learn of the existence of the Settlement through their children and occasionally when there is trouble in the home the parent comes to the Settlement worker for advice or aid. But apart from the consciousness that part of the work of the Settlement is the assimilation of the immigrant, there is no program directed toward this end.

The neighborliness extended to the residents of the district takes the form of a benevolent interest in their children, and also through the giving of advice when advice is solicited.

The work of the Settlement is divided into four departments. The Girls Department conducts sewing-classes, and social and recreational

clubs. Under this department there are also held dancing-classes, a "Little Mothers' Club," a branch of "The Junior Red Cross," the "Brownies," "Girl Guides" and until recently the "Rangers."

These more formally organized groups which participate in a wider organization have been found to be more successful and permanent than the clubs formed by girls' cliques and gangs.

In the Boys' Department, the club work is decidedly of a recreational nature. The clubs form hockey, basketball, baseball and water-polo teams. When the hockey season is on the clubs meet regularly. Between seasons club meetings are infrequent and poorly attended.

The boxing-class has always been popular - for here one learns something which is of almost daily practical application. The "Cubs" and "Scouts" have enjoyed a degree of permanency though of late years the membership has been very small.

The boys' games'-room is the centre of attraction every night. Here there are table-games and books. The informality of the games-room perhaps, accounts for the tremendous popularity.

The library which was established in 1895 has always been one of the most popular departments of the Settlement. Its membership is very large and children come great distances to secure books. As they grow older and away from the Settlement, the library still draws them. The adults do not make much use of this department. An evening library is open for their use twice a week in the evenings. The clientele of the night library is limited almost exclusively to the members of the Mothers' Club who meet one of the evenings the library is open.

The Kindergarten is a fourth department of the Settlement. Here if anywhere is pursued a policy of assimilation of the immigrant, for assimilation comes under all educational programs.

Although there are few foreign children attending the kindergarten, it is here that the Settlement makes an attempt to not only teach them our language, but to inculcate our manners and habits of life.

Handicapped, as are the other departments of the Settlement, by lack of equipment, and space, the kindergarten carries on the most constructive work of the institution. In the kindergarten is employed the only worker fully trained to her particular piece of work.

There are a few other forms of work carried on by the Settlement, which do not fall properly under any of these departments. The lunch-room provides a noon-day meal to children of the District whose mothers are unable to return home to prepare meals for their children. The Mothers' Club, the oldest club of the Settlement, meets regularly for social purposes. It is under the direction of a volunteer leader. The Dental and Prenatal Clinics held at the Settlement are of a philanthropic nature, although small fees are charged for services. The Settlement also holds dances and concerts. A summer camp is run in connection with the boys' and girls' departments during the summer months.

The clientèle of the Settlement is drawn very largely from the immediate district. Over 78% of the families registered at the Settlement in March 1928 came from within St. Laurence Ward. Sixty-seven percent was resident within the ward, west of the "Main." While 6.5% lived just outside the ward. Only 15.1 % lived at any great distance from the Settlement.

The membership in December 1927 reflects the non-sectarian character of the institution. At that time there were 324 registered members.^{1.}

The following table shows that Hebrew, Protestant and Roman Catholic groups are in about equal proportions.

1. There are countless people who make use of the Settlement who have not registered.

Religion.	Boys.		Girls		Total.	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Hebrew	70	42.1	34	20.8	104	32.1
Protestant	35	21.0	65	41.1	100	30.8
R.Catholic	47	28.3	47	29.4	94	29.0
Greek Orth.	12	7.2	-	-	12	3.7
Unspecified	2	1.2	12	7.5	14	4.0

The Mission.

There are but few missions in Dufferin District; however, there are more in this District than perhaps in any other district of the city. The Mission, like the Settlement, quite naturally finds its locus in an area of disorganization. When, therefore, we see a constellation of Missions in a district we may quite logically infer that the district is socially disorganized. Once the district becomes organized there is no place for the Mission.

In the past there were several Missions, in Dufferin District which have since disappeared. The former Missions of the District had to give way, not because they had finished their particular job, but rather because the job disappeared.

The Wesleyan Sabbath School, and the French Protestant Church, both had to close their doors because the French of the District were not interested in the work of these two institutions. All Missions ultimately hope to proselytize the people in whose midst they are established. The French, being very firm adherents to Catholicism, are therefore "stoney ground" on which to cast seed. It was not surprising then, to find that the Mission to the French generally ends in failure.

Two other Missions which formerly occupied the same building have moved out of the District. They have survived to this day but in a much different form. St. John the Evangelist Church was formerly a Mission. It later became a church. The Italian Mission of St. François d'Assise, also developed into a church. The reason that these two institutions survived was that in the strict sense of the

word they were not Missions. They were, rather, the first beginnings of churches. They did not enter the District to win over to their ranks the people about them. They found a group of people in the District willing and anxious to be served by them.

Today there are Missions to two groups of people; missions to the Chinese, and a mission to the adherents of the Church of England.

St. Michael's Mission.

St. Michael's Mission had its origin one year ago. Members of the congregation of St. John the Evangelist Church, seeing that a considerable sum of money was being sent to foreign missions, thought that some money should be expended at home.

The clergymen of this church found also that they were frequently being called upon to give relief to people of the District who claimed affiliation with their church. Not knowing exactly who were legitimate members of the congregation they decided that by opening up a Mission in the District they would be able to get to know their parishoners.

Accordingly, when an assistant clergyman who had had experience in East-London, was attached to the parish, the time was felt to be ripe to open a Mission.

The Mission is still in a formative period. Its work has not yet been fully developed. Up to the present it has made contact with seventy-two families of the District. These families assemble for service at the Mission every Sunday. The mothers have formed a club which meets once a week with an attendance of between twenty and thirty members. The fathers made an effort to form a similar club, but at present it is not functioning.

A "Kindergarten Sunday-School" meets under the leadership of some women of the parish. Up to the present there has been no attempt to develop local leadership. The clergyman in charge, with the assistance of these few women, provide all the leadership. As this clergyman is soon to take up residence in the Mission, it is expected that the work will develop much more rapidly than it has in the past.

The United Church Chinese Mission.

The United Church is operating a small Chinese mission on Dorchester Street. There is a resident clergyman in charge. He is Chinese. The congregation has never been very large. At present the average Sunday congregation numbers about twenty adults, mostly women.

At the Sunday School about forty children assemble. At both the service and Sunday school only Chinese is spoken, the clergyman being Chinese.

The Chinese Y.M.C.A.

The Chinese Branch of the Y.M.C.A. occupies the ground floor of a dwelling on Dorchester Street, opposite the "Park." The interior has been remodded to form an auditorium and a reading-room. It is interesting to note that although entrance can be had to the club-rooms at practically any time of the day, the writer has never been able to find anyone in charge. A clergyman who has become rather well acquainted with the District has said that he too has never seen the place in use.

A Chinese boy, when asked what sort of activities were carried on at the "Y" replied: "Oh, they play poker there." When asked if there were not other games he made the same reply, - "No, they only play poker."

Located on the floor above the Chinese "Y" is a Chinese Kindergarten school operated by the Presbyterian Church. The Kindergarten-er is a young Chinese girl. She stated that about seventeen children attended morning and afternoon classes under her direction. As soon as the children become old enough they attend the Public schools.

The Catholic Mission to the Chinese.

The Sisters of the Immaculate Conception are operating a rather extensive Catholic Mission to the Chinese. The mission is located on Lagauchetière street, just west of St. Urbain Street. The centre of the mission is the chapel. Regular week-day and Sunday services are conducted. In connection with the mission there is also a Kindergarten and primary school as well as the only hospital in Montreal which caters exclusively to the Chinese.

The Protestant House of Industry and Refuge.

Although not in any sense of the word a "mission" the night-refuge known as the Protestant House of Industry and Refuge is one of the institutions that have been imposed on the district. This institution has been located on Dorchester Street over fifty years. It operates very much along the lines of the English Workhouse.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the homeless men begin to congregate near the refuge. Later they line up at the entrance and carefully guard their places, for only one hundred, and no more can secure admission.

Upon entering they register, name, nationality, religion and age. Catholics as well as Protestant are admitted since the institution is receiving a subsidy from the city.

A small room serves as a smoking-room. It is poorly furnished but kept clean. The dormitory is a large room with windows on

three walls. Here the hundred who have secured admission, sleep. For beds, there are narrow wooden forms placed side-by-side, on the floor. A thin pad, placed on a wooden block, serves as a pillow.

In the morning a breakfast is served after which a few hours are spent on the wood-pile before they are dismissed.

The superintendent stated that many of the older men have been coming to the Refuge, night after night for many years.

Borderline Institutions.

The Playground.

Dufferin Square, from which the District derives its name, is located in the geographical centre of the District. It has become also the social centre, and has an interesting history.

In 1799 the Protestant community of the city purchased a property on Dorchester street to be used as a burial ground. In 1824 a¹ further addition was made to the property. It continued to remain the "Old Burial Ground" until 1847.

In 1871 the city bought the property and made of it a public park. Old residents of the district still recall the trees and lawns of Dufferin Square. As the district began to deteriorate, the Park reflected the change. In time it became an open plot of ground until the city changed it into a playground. It is now enclosed by an iron-fence and in the summer the children of the district make use of the swings, sand boxes, bars etc., which the city provides. Two baseball diamonds crowd each other at the back of the "Park." In the winter a hockey and skating rink draws large numbers every evening.

This "Park" is unsupervized. The Parks and Playgrounds Association placed workers in charge of the park during the summer months for two years, but since that time the only supervision has been through the Settlement. The policy of the Parks and Playgrounds Association has been to demonstrate the value of supervision. It is expected that after the experiment has been carried on, that the city will either place a supervisor on the park or pay the salary of a supervisor from the Association. Up to the present the city administration has contented itself with hiring a caretaker and his assist -

1. This fact indicates that Dufferin District was on the outskirts of the city till the middle of the last century. cfr. Section (a) Ch. 1.

ant.

During the winter months when hockey is in progress the different groups of the district organize hockey teams. These teams are members of the Quebec Amateur Hockey Association, and are under the convenorship of a Settlement worker. In this way a great deal of organization is maintained. Through the Settlement, the use of the hockey rink on the Park is obtained. The referees and other officials are appointed by the convenor who draws upon the older boys of the district. In this way a certain amount of local leadership is obtained. In cases of dispute or protest however, decision rests with the district convenor - or with the secretary of the Association.

In the summer months there is no leadership. The Settlement Worker goes to the Summer camp and leaves a baseball schedule for the boys to follow. Last year the umpiring was left to a local service club, but as there was no one to meet the members of this club and show them around they soon lost interest. At this point a Settlement Worker who returned to the city from the camp for a day, appointed an older boy to see that the schedule was followed. Only one of three leagues was able to carry on throughout the season.

The park is used also as the schoolyard for Dufferin School. The school is located on St. Urbain Street but runs through to the park.

The "gangs" hang around the park to gossip about past escapades or to plan new ones. Craps are a popular past-time. At one time several groups of boys and young men may be seen excitedly engaged in the game. The police station on Chenneville Street faces the park and sees the boys playing, but by the time they can get to the entrance of the park on Dorchester Street the game has stopped.

The young people of the District have come to look upon the "park" as their own property. When gangs from neighboring districts visit the playground there is liable to be a fight. The boys keep the rinks cleared of snow, and the older boys assist in flooding the rinks.

As popular as the playground is to the boy - to his parent it is the cause of all that is wrong with the boys.

"The park is a tough place. It don't do the boys no good to be there. When they're there they loaf and won't work. It should be closed up."

When however there is supervision the attitude of the parent to the park completely changes. The woman who made the complaint recorded above, at a later date said:

"The hockey games are great.... I used to see them all last year. They sure bring a big crowd every night."

The benefit of even the casual supervision provided by organized sport is further testified to by the Captain of the District Police Station.

"Captain Broden of No.5 Police Station states that since the first of the year his men have had practically no trouble in this neighborhood. He attributes this to the hockey on Dufferin Square which drew so many interested spectators." ¹.

Allied to the "Park" in so far as it is a civic recreational institution is the "Rubenstein Bath" on St. George Street. This Bath attracts people from many parts of the city, as well as from the immediate neighborhood. The supervisor is respected by all the boys of the district. He was formerly very prominent in swimming circles and has thus become somewhat of a hero to the small boy. He has a genuine interest in swimming and spends much time in coaching water polo teams.

The Bath house is used by outside swimming clubs for polo games and for practices. The neighboring institutions such as the

1. From "The Settlement News " February 1927.

Settlement and the Patronage de Saint Joseph also make use of the swimming pool.

Municipal government, like the other forms, of government, has reference to a particular locality - a particular area. Dufferin District, constitutes about one-half of the political unit known as St.Laurence Ward, and since every politician, and especially the city alderman, must know his constituency, it was thought advisable to make some brief mention of the operation of politics in the District.

The present alderman has been re-elected to office time after time. He has built up a reputation which is known throughout the entire city, for whenever there is an athletic meet or contest, the alderman from St.Laurence Ward is present - and, as often as not, - acts in some official capacity.

The ward-politician is then a very familiar figure in the District. His home was formerly in the neighborhood, but like his fellow-Jews he too, has joined in the exodus to the north. However, he has a business established on Craig Street and is therefore very often seen going to and from his work. The people he employs are all residents of the ward.

Just how far politics enters into the life of the District is difficult to determine. Before an election, there are of course evidences of campaigning. The people of the District seem unable to make use of the influence of their alderman. Usually when something is wanted a social agency makes a contract with the alderman, who, realizing the value of co-operation with any neighborhood forces, is able to accelerate action at the City Hall.

When for example, the boys of the District wanted a dressing-room erected on the play-ground in which they could change for hockey

they immediately asked the Settlement to get in touch with the Alderman. The Settlement then wrote letters to the city director of the parks and also to the alderman. The letters brought about the desired results. Again, when it was decided to hold a Carnival on the play-ground rink, the boys decided that a band should be hired. The funds necessary were provided by the alderman.

When someone wants a job on the Fire Department the first approach again is to the alderman. So we see that to the people of the District, the alderman really represents the city. They don't look upon him as their representative, but rather make of him a city representative.

It is not to be expected that in an area as disorganized as is Dufferin District that politics means much to the people. Their's is a philosophy of "laissez-faire," and as long as their representative does not openly block their interests they are satisfied.

The Police.

The policeman especially in the locality immediately surrounding the District Station, very often comes to be looked upon as a part of neighborhood. In Dufferin District this is not so. The policeman is an outsider, and represents institutionalized coercion; he is therefore the personification of opposition. For this reason he becomes the conflict-object in the minds of the people of the District.

The policeman's technique is fear. On one occasion the writer was asked to find out the name of the owner of a book which had been dropped in a "chase from the cops." Having discovered who the boy was he went to his home and asked him what he had been doing. The boy claimed that he and some other members of his gang had been having a snowball fight when the police arrived on the scene. Realizing that this was not serious he brought the boys in question to the police-station. The Desk-Sergeant immediately accused the boys of having broken windows. The boys denied this. They were ultimately let off with a warning. After they had left, the sergeant admitted to the writer that the boys hadn't broken the window, but that he had "to give them a good scare once in a while to keep them from getting too far out of bounds."

The sergeant realized how quickly the news would spread and by giving a warning to these few boys was thus able to warn the whole District.

The boys of the District living in such close contact with vice, do not look upon the police with respect. They feel that he is "out to get them," and it becomes a game to "put it over" the

police. This is the form that conflict takes. Conflict is never open. It is always a game. To do something that will bring about a chase, and yet elude the policeman offers much excitement.

The writer has seen a small boy creep up behind a policeman, kick him, and run. Incidents such as these reflect the attitude of the people to the police. "He's a mean guy," "I didn't like that big —," and similar expressions show us the status of the policeman in the District.

Everyone knows all the "dicks." Even their names are known; so that even the plainclothesman is under a handicap in discharging his duty. The "dick" is somewhat more respected than the "cop," but he is not any more dearly loved. To put it over a detective offers even a greater thrill.

The police soon come to realize that in a District such as this it is best in the long run not to be too strict but to make allowances. For this and other reasons, unless disorder becomes too open and violent, they are content to remain tolerant.

Vice.

The commercialized vice area for many years was just east of the area we are studying. Cadieux Street two streets east of the main had established a reputation which was well-nigh world wide. Practically every house between Craig and St.Catherine Streets was a house of prostitution. "Ninety two" was the most famous resort. There we have been told, the girls worked in three eight hour shifts. Solicitation was carried on in the streets, not only of the Red-light area, but wherever there were crowds. Theatre and hotel lobbies, Salvation Army street corner gatherings etc., were the favorite haunts of the procurer. Newspaper boys, taxi-cab drivers, hotel bell-hops and cabbies all had their part to play in directing the client to the house of the prostitute. If the tourist drove his car through Cadieux Street in the evening the street corner pimp would signal him, by hand or whistle, to stop; then he would proceed to solicit for trade.

However, public opinion became so strong that in 1925 the police proceeded to clean up the area. The back-bone of the district was broken. Cadieux Street, St.Elizabeth and Hotel de Ville residents moved out of their old habitats and established places of business throughout the city. Only in so far as they moved into St.Laurence ward are they of interest to us. Most of the "houses" moved right out of the district. Several are now near McGill University, for there is much street walking on Sherbrooke Street. Others stayed near the down town area and flourished on Mayor Street one block north of St.Catherine. Still others went to Inspector Street and were thus very close to the Railway Stations and hotels, while the rest spread throughout the city.

In Dufferin District there are several houses of prostitution catering to the immigrant and the homeless man. One block of houses on Dorchester Street is known to even the children of the district as the, "Red Light Block."

"The Red Light Block is patronized chiefly by foreigners,- Russians, Italians, Poles and Negroes. They pay from \$3.00 to \$5.00. One girl in the Block made \$36.00 in two hours on a Saturday night... .." The place is filthy - you wouldn't expect to see a respectable man go into a place like that.

This block is really a honey-comb of flats and one-and two-room apartments. The following cases taken from the notes of the writer are indicative of the way solicitation is carried on.

(This case is taken from notes made while interviewing a woman of the district who was asked to give some of the family background of the girl concerned.)

"I was sitting in Mrs. X's room, Mrs. X is a mulatto, when in comes "Dolly" waving \$3.00 in the air. The mother asked her where she got it and Dolly replied that she was standing in the next doorway when a man came along the street. "I caught his eye and one of the girls said, "Don't be a damn fool, take him up to my room."

When one remembers that the girl in the foregoing case is a mulatto it becomes quite evident that the clientele such girls attract is far from discriminating. None of the girls are attractive, many of them are slovenly and unkempt and even when they are "dressed up;" they show a penchant for showy, flashy, and cheap attire and ornaments. The man-about-town, the tourist and the visitor to the city do not frequent the resorts in the district. They are directed by the procurers to the more pretentious houses many of which claim to be "quiet and respectable." In these latter houses the procurers claim that one can secure "Parisian Girls" and French Canadians. The inmates in many cases show medical certificates of health.

1. Taken from notes of an interview.

In Dufferin District the houses do not claim to offer freedom from infection for the patrons, who are themselves as dirty and unattractive as the prostitutes. As in the rest of the greater community, vice in this disorganized district is not always so highly organized. The street-walker may not be under the control of a "Madame," she is often a free-lance and knows places to bring her client if she does not wish to bring him to her own home.

White slavery is practised here and the writer of the following quotations believes that Montreal is the head-quarters of the traffic.

"Rachel - - a girl of sixteen, appeared before one of our judges not long ago and told a sad and revolting story. She went to a "movie" and there a man by the name of Danti became interested in her, entered into conversation with her and found out something about her life and work. He told her that he could get her more profitable employment. Unsuspicious of anything that was wrong, the innocent girl accompanied him to a house on St. Dominique Street. There she was locked in a room and kept a prisoner for a month on the threat of death if she tried to escape. At the end of a month she was removed to another house where within a week or so she was found by her distressed father."

The extent of the district is well outlined in the following extract from the same writer.

In the district just to the north of our Court House and City Hall, there were until very recently from 300 to 400 pest-houses. Some of these houses have been closed of late owing to the pressure of the Dominion Government and the good work of the members of the Committee of Sixteen but their old occupants are still here trying to do business in other parts of the city. Any hour of the day in the open streets, from the windows and door-steps, loudly and brazenly the agents of these places have been plying their trade, men could not walk a block some days without being approached a dozen times.¹

Other forms of vice, not strictly speaking criminal in themselves, also obtain in this region of laissez-faire. The

1.

"Wake up Montreal" Harte 30-31.

second-rate blind-pig enjoys the anonymity the district provides. In the province of Quebec the taverns close at 10 p.m. and as a result if one wishes to get a drink after this hour he must do so illegally. To satisfy this demand "Clubs" have been established. These "Clubs" serve beer all night to members. Membership is easily obtained and more often than not there is no membership fee. The "Club" is then really a tavern with the privilege of selling beer after hours. The blind-pigs, on the other hand, sell beer but to a greater extent liquor. There is no membership and admittance is more difficult. City "guides" taxi-cab drivers and obliging loiterers direct one to the pigs. Some of the pigs have a blind-a small shop- for a defence but for the most part they operate without them and consequently with greater discretion.

Until recently there was a rather heavy drug-traffic in Montreal, but of late years the Federal Government has been able to greatly reduce the sale of narcotics. Drugs were obtainable chiefly through individual vendors and less frequently from clubs and pigs. Often the dope-pedlar made the club his habitat and had to be sought there. Street traffic in narcotics was frequently practised. The mode of transaction was through the appointment at a certain street-corner. The pedlars are fringers of the underworld and for this reason prefer the 'shady' place as a habitat.

"In close proximity to the gambling dens that we visited are opium joints in one of which eight Chinamen were seen reclining on couches or bunks smoking away at the seductive drug. Adjoining one of these joints is the store of the Chinese "Doctor" a big fat fellow with one of the hugest necks that I ever saw on a man. Cunning is written in large letters upon the face of the doctors and about him have gathered many strange tales and legends. His store is the most curious place in the city, weird in many respects,

with dried snakes and other reptiles hanging from the ceiling and suspended from cases with all kinds of bottles, boxes and jars filled with powders made from snakes and the bones of animals sure cures for various maladies." 1.

Gambling takes its most pronounced form in the lottery.

The Chinese lottery is always carried on behind a blind. One operated behind a restaurant where not even a cup of coffee could be procured. The sign on the window and a counter visible through it were used to proclaim it as a restaurant. No attempt was made to substantiate this claim.

"One night not long ago in company with a friend and a police officer, I made a tour of some of the gaming places of our underworld. Particularly were we interested in those we visited in Chinatown on Lagauchetière Street. In one place we saw about thirty men; in another about sixty, all gathered around long tables while at the head the manager or book keeper was kept on the jump collecting the bets and drawing in the chips. The bets were anywhere from ten cents to five dollars. One Chinaman the week before, we heard, had lost one thousand dollars on the game in one of these clubs. With a large number of our Chinese population gambling is a mania. They will work in the laundry or shop all day and play all night." 2.

Craps are played by the boys and youths in Dufferin Square within sight of the district Police Station. Matching and pitching coins is far less popular than dice-playing. The stakes are never very high.

Among the older boys, and to some extent, among their parents, the placing of bets on horses, is practised. The following extract is indicative of the extent to which the practice is enjoyed. (Several of the bookies live in Dufferin District.)

" It was reported a few months ago that there were at least 50 such gambling agents (bookies) playing a most lucrative business in the downtown district alone. No one knows how many are operating uptown. When our Police Department had a reform spasm last year, these handbook men, according to the newspapers, received instructions that they were well known at headquarters, that

1. Harte. op. cit p. 14-15.

2. Harte. op. cit p. 15.

no longer the "blind-eye" would be turned upon them, but that they would be closely watched and severely punished if caught." 1.

A less illegal yet alluring practice is to play the slot machines. These machines are located in the corner-store hand-outs, and as they offer a small compensation for the loser in the form of candy, attract the very young.

Case No.

"Mrs. McC. called at the Settlement to see one of the workers. Billy, it seems, was stealing small sums of money which could not be spared at home. On investigation it was found that Billy had been playing the slot-machines at the corner grocery store. He had lost as much as eighty cents a day - and as the father was not earning at the time the family budget could not stand the strain."

1. Harte. op. cit. p.17.

CHAPTER IV
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

Summary and Conclusion.

Throughout this paper we have attempted to verify an hypothesis that has been put forth by many students of the city. It is thought that when a city gets to be of a considerable size and commences to expand, that in that expansion, certain changes take place that do not make for the best interests of that section of the city which undergoes the most violent alteration.

1.

The city, we are told, expands in concentric circles from the business section. Immediately surrounding this down-town business section is an area that is gradually being encroached upon. In the march of industry the residents of this area are being displaced - and a transitional zone grows up.

In the transitional area there is always great social disorganization. It becomes the place of first residence for the immigrant, the place where slums, areas of commercialized vice, and the underworld are likely to be found. 2. Its disorganization is reflected in the high degree of family disorganization and juvenile delinquency.

Areas in which disorganization is manifest, have long been studied by people interested in neighborhoods and neighborhood-life. Of later years, socialologists have begun to study cities. They attempt to find types of cities and to classify them. Having found type-cities, they then proceed to find out if certain types of communities develop in certain types of cities. By doing this they are attempting to find out what is peculiar and what is general about cities.

1. cfr. E.W.Burgess "The City" page 50.

2. E.W.Burgess "The Determination of Gradients in the Growth of a City." Proceedings of the American Journal of Sociology. Vol. XXI. p. 178.

The most recent (as yet unpublished) study of a community is that of Mr. Harvey Zorbaugh of The University of Chicago. In his paper on "The Lower North Side" of Chicago, he has given a very real living picture of this area. He has also pointed out the changes that have gone on.

Other studies undertaken by socialologists include "The Neighborhood" by R.D. MacKenzie, Lind's "Mobility of Population in Seattle" and "Land Values in the Community of South Chicago" by H.E.G. Macgill.

An earlier study of a somewhat similar nature is the "Hull House Maps and Papers," which treats with the different nationalities of a congested area in Chicago. These papers appeared about the same time as Booth's monumental study of conditions in London. With the appearance of these works the modern survey movement got under way on a scientific basis.

1.

The Social Survey has had a natural history. The first social survey was the "Doomsday Book," 1085-1087. Five hundred years later, in 1598, John Stow published a "Survey of London". In 1777 John Howard's "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales" was published. This investigation aroused great interest and brought about reform. In 1842 Sir Edwin Chadwick made a "Report on the Sanitary Condition of the Laboring Population of Great Britain." This report also aroused interest. From 1886 to 1904 the seventeen volumes of Alfred Booth's "Life and Labor of the People of London" appeared. This extensive work represents the first attempt to make a scientific study. In 1901 Rowntree's "Poverty: A Study of Town Life" appeared.

1. The writer wishes to acknowledge access to unpublished notes by Robert E. Park on "The Social Survey."

At the same time as these last two English studies were made there appeared in America "Hull House Maps and Papers" "The City Wilderness" by Robert A. Woods, "Tenement Conditions in Chicago" by Robert Hunter, "Americans in Process" by Robert A. Woods, and "The Record of a City" by Rev. George F. Kencott.

The beginnings of the modern survey movement were soon to follow. "The Pittsburg Survey" (1909-1914) was followed by "The Springfield Survey" (1914-1917) "The Cleveland Survey" (1915-1922), and more recently by "The Negro in Chicago" by the Chicago commission on Race Relations in 1922.

The social survey has come to mean a scientific cross-section of things as they appear at a given moment. The motive behind the making of surveys is to arouse public interest in social conditions, with a view to bringing about reform. This implies that the survey can become a device for social control.

Social research, of which the whole survey movement has been but an episode, is not interested in reform or social control. It attempts rather to investigate social phenomena and to study the facts and forces at interplay.

In the great body of fact discovered by socialologists in their research, is the phenomenon of the "slum." It has been found that slums grow up when the down-town city centre begins to invade the area immediately surrounding.

"The commencement of an invasion tends to be reflected in changes in land-values. If the invasion is one of change in use, the value of the land generally advances and the value of the building declines. This condition furnishes the basis for disorganization. The normal improvements and repairs are, as a rule, omitted, and the owner is placed under the economic urge of renting his property to parasitic and transitory services which may be economically strong but socially disreputable and therefore able and obliged to pay higher rentals than the legitimate utilities can afford. It is a well-known fact that the vices under the surveillance

1.
of the police usually segregate in such transitional areas."
Investigations in different cities have found that in all large commercial centres, this "invasion" takes place as the city grows. The slum type of community then appears in the invaded area.

This paper has been an attempt to further verify the hypothesis that it is because of this invasion that the slum appears. Dufferin District is a Slum of Montreal. We have attempted to show that it was not always so. At the same time we have, in tracing the histories of the streets of the area, been able to point out changes that have taken place in the use of the land.^{2.} We have paid particular attention to changes in the institutions located on these streets. The normal neighborhood is well equipped with neighborhood institutions. There are always churches, schools and some places of amusement and recreation. In many instances the institutions have disappeared. Witness the number of churches that were once located in Dufferin District. Even the schools have changed.

To further indicate this change, we have in Chapter III given a brief summary of the institutions now located in the District. We notice that certain "imposed institutions" have made their appearance. The "borderline" institution of vice is also noticed. Even this institution is somewhat disorganized.

As the district changes physically, the type of people dwelling therein also changes. The District that once was the home of the native-born well-to-do citizen, in time is taken over by the native-born less successful citizen. In a later stage even this resident

1. R.D.MacKenzie, "The City" - p. 76.

2. cfr. Appendix No.6 for Encroachment of Industry and Commerce.

tends to be displaced by immigrant groups. For this reason in Chapter II we spent some time in attempting to show the cosmopolitan character of Dufferin District. To do this we made short studies of the more important nationality groups. The Jewish group shows the most significant movement of people. Dufferin District was at one time largely Jewish. It was the Ghetto of Montreal. Today the Ghetto has moved north. A few of the most unsuccessful Jews still live in the District. As soon as the Jewish family makes enough money it moves away.

In this and the other shiftings of populations it is always the less successful that is left behind, so that in time there is left a residuum of economic and social failures. Accordingly we can define a slum as an area of mixed dwelling and commerce in which there is resident a residuum of economic and social failures as well as a group of people who because of economic insufficiency have as yet been unable to find their place in society.

To complete a study of this kind, and to make of it a survey it would be necessary to fully investigate, sanitation, housing conditions, wages, health, vice and venereal disease, poverty, crime, the religious life in the district, the school, and all the other phases of modern city life.

A most interesting study could be made of the mobility, not only of the different nationalities in group movements, but of changes of residence within the area. A superficial investigation unearthed four types of residents: newcomers, relatively old residents, revivals, and survivals. When asked why people lived in an area which they knew to be unwholesomely disorganized, an older resident of the

district replied that the newcomers have to move in because here rents are cheapest. Those who had been there some time (7 to 10 years) had remained because of cheap rent and small families.

"They can save money here and then get a fine house up north."

The "revivals," had come back to the District because they had met with reverses and had to get cheaper homes; moreover sentiment enters in, "We were brought up here and had a fine house on Lagau-chetière street, which was 'some' street when I was a lad." The "survivals" or marooned families because of economic incompetence had been forced to stay where they had cheap rents, and where they had established homes.

Another interesting study that arises out of such a study would be an investigation of the "marooned" family. There are several families living in the District which are quite enough well-off to move away. It is true that the homes they have established are comfortably furnished and are always clean and neat. But the question arises, "Why stay - the District isn't fit to live in?"

Juvenile delinquency might be studied with profit; and, along with it, the Police. It may well be that the recruiting of the police has some reference to the attitude the people of the District bear to the police.

There are in this, as in other disorganized districts, many interesting personality types. There are the gang boys, the gangsters, the dope-peddlers; "guides," pimps, prostitutes, stool-pigeons, gamblers, etc., who populate the underworld. They would make a very interesting subject for investigation.

These subjects have been offered as suggestions for further

study, to indicate that this study does not pretend to be in any sense of the word exhaustive. We have merely broken ground. The matter we have presented has not been fully studied, but, it is thought, that sufficient emphasis has been put on it to testify to the validity of the hypothesis we indicated above.

In the Bibliography appended to this paper there is included several books which have special reference to Montreal. In these books, as also in the Street Directories, there is a wealth of material which will be of use to other investigators of the city.

Appendix

The Growth of Montreal.

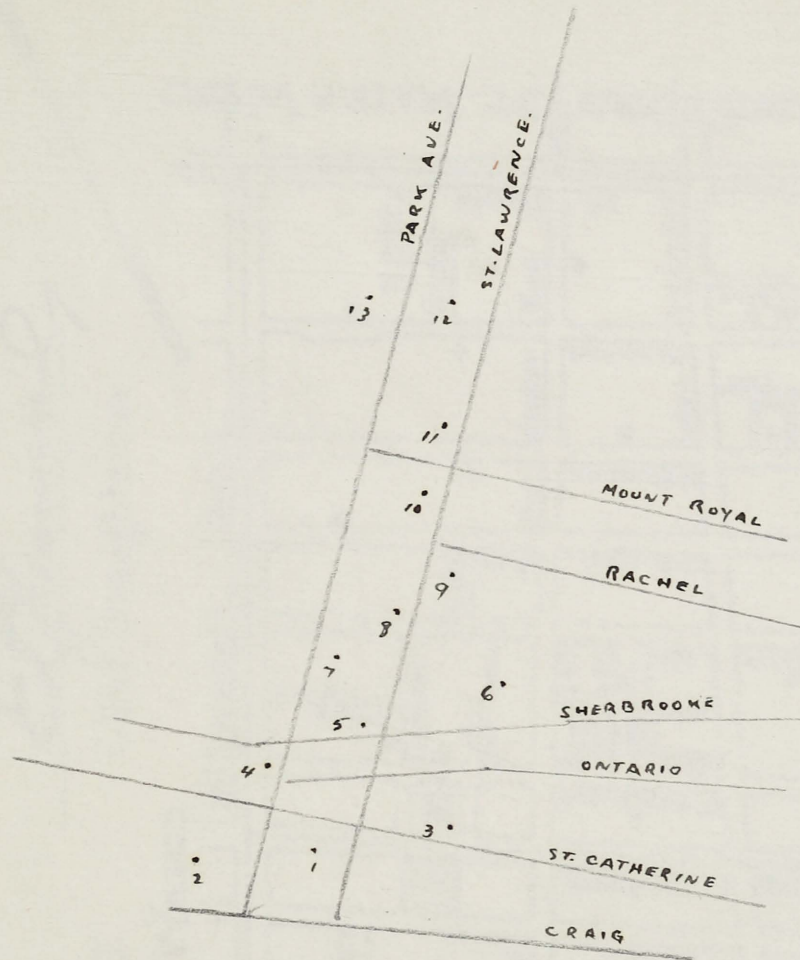
1667	-	766
1689	-	2000
1703	-	3000
1790	-	9000
1816	-	16000
1825	-	22000
1831	-	27297
1842	-	50000
1851	-	57715
1856	-	75000
1858	-	80000
1861	-	91006
1871	-	107225
1881	-	155237
1891	-	220181
1901	-	266826
1911	-	466197
1921	-	618506

Chart showing number of dwellings occupied by Chinese
on Lagauchetière Street (1897-1922)

Year.	Chenneville to Côté	Cote to St.Urbain.	St.Urbain to Clarke.	Clarke to the "Main."
1893	1	-	-	-
1894	3	-	-	-
1895	4	-	-	-
1896	4	-	3	-
1897	3	-	6	-
1898	2	-	6	-
1899	4	-	8	-
1900	3	1	8	-
1901	3	1	8	-
1902	3	1	9	-
1903	4	1	11	1
1904	4	1	11	1
1905	3	1	11	1
1906	3	1	10	1
1907	2	1	11	1
1908	2	1	11	1
1909	3	1	12	1
1910	2	1	13	1
1911	2	1	12	1
1912	2	1	12	1
1913	2	2	19	1
1914	2	2	20	2
1915	4	2	25	4
1916	4	3	24	4
1917	4	4	22	4
1918	4	3	21	2
1919	2	2	24	2
1920	2	3	22	3
1921	2	3	27	4
1922	2	3	33	5

Table showing increase in Jewish Population 1861 1921.

Year.	No. in St. Laurence Ward.	No. in City.	Percentage in Ward.
1861	62	403	15.38%
1871	134	409	32.76%
1881	247	811	30.45%
1891	619	2457	25.19%
1901	2108	6597	31.95%
1911	7733	27662	27.95%
1921	5342	42817	12.48%



School.	No. of Pupils.	No. Jewish Pupils.	Jewish Percentage.
1. Dufferin	902	497	55.09%
2. Belmont	287	14	4.87%
3. Alexandra	847	660	77.92%
4. Berthlet	584	143	24.48%
5. Commercial	654	446	68.19%
6. Aberdeen	1410	1233	87.44%
7. Strathearn	1136	906	79.75%
8. Devonshire	1437	1398	97.28%
9. Mount Royal	2073	2007	96.81%
10. Baron Byng	1022	912	89.23%
11. Bancroft	1711	1529	89.36%
12. Fairmount	1881	1174	62.41%
13. Alice Joyce	539	179	33.20%

Scale: 500' = 1"

Montreal, October. 1923.

WARD
CRÉMAZIE

St. Catherine

West

St. Catherine

East

Chief Draughtsman

VILLE MARIE WARD | ST. JAMES WARD

+ CATHOLICS
PROTESTANTS.

VILLE-MARIE WARD

ST. GEORGE WARD

ST. GEORGE WARD

Map copied from city-map spotted by Miss Muriel B. McCall. cfr. "Family Disorganization in Canada" by M. B. McCall.

ST LAWRENCE WARD

Scale: 500' = 1"

E. H. Courvoisier

Chief Draughtsman

Montreal, October. 1923.

CRÉMAZIE
WARD

CRÉMAZIE
WARD

St. Catherine

twist

Dr. Catherine

End

VILLE MARIE WARD || ST. JAMES WARD

ST. GEORGE WARD

der

төрөлтийн

Dowd

Blenny

Anderson

St. George

DUFFERIN
SQUARE

1940

Dominique

11th May

ANDBS

15

1944

VILLE-MARIE WARD

ST. GEORGE WARD

FERREY A ROBERT
APR 17/28

120

Appendix No. 6.
Map showing encroachment of down-town
business section on Dufferin District.

INDUSTRIAL AND
COMMERCE
RESIDENCE AND
COMMERCE
CHURCHES, SCHOOLS,
MISSIONS, ETC.
RESIDENCES
PARKING SPACE

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also

Maps of	1645
	1759
	1846
	1851
	1872
	1859
	1879
	1922

