CANADIAN THESES ON MICROFICHE

THÈSES CANADIENNES SUR MICROFICHE

National Library of Canada
Collections Development Branch

Canadian Theses on
Microfiche Service

Ottawa, Canada
K1A 0N4

Bibliothèque nationale du Canada
Direction du développement des collections

Service des thèses canadiennes
sur microfiche

NOTICE

The quality of this microfiche is heavily dependent upon the quality of the original thesis submitted for microfilming. Every effort has been made to ensure the highest quality of reproduction possible.

If pages are missing, contact the university which granted the degree.

Some pages may have indistinct print especially if the original pages were typed with a poor typewriter ribbon or if the university sent us an inferior photocopy.

Previously copyrighted materials (journal articles, published tests, etc.) are not filmed.

Reproduction in full or in part of this film is governed by the Canadian Copyright Act, R.S.C. 1970, c. C-30. Please read the authorization forms which accompany this thesis.

AVIS

La qualité de cette microfiche dépend grandement de la qualité de la thèse soumise au microfilmage. Nous avons tout fait pour assurer une qualité supérieure de reproduction.

S'il manque des pages, veuillez communiquer avec l'université qui a conféré le grade.

La qualité d'impression de certaines pages peut laisser à désirer, surtout si les pages originales ont été dactylographiées à l'aide d'un ruban usé ou si l'université nous a fait parvenir une photocopie de qualité inférieure.

Les documents qui font déjà l'objet d'un droit d'auteur (articles de revue, examens publiés, etc.) ne sont pas microfilmés.

La reproduction, même partielle, de ce microfilm est soumise à la Loi canadienne sur le droit d'auteur, SRC 1970, c. C-30. Veuillez prendre connaissance des formules d'autorisation qui accompagnent cette thèse.

THIS DISSERTATION
HAS BEEN MICROFILMED
EXACTLY AS RECEIVED

LA THÈSE A ÉTÉ
MICROFILMÉE TELLE QUE
NOUS L'AVONS REÇUE

Canada

NL 339 (r 86/09)

Political Economy and Community:
A Study of Montreal West

Lillian Reinblatt

A Thesis

in

The Department

of

Sociology

Presented in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements
for the degree of Master of Arts at
Concordia University
Montréal, Québec, Canada

April, 1981

Abstract

Political Economy and Community: A Study of Montreal West

Lillian Reinblatt

This thesis is a historical study of the community of Montreal West. Based on the finding that the local population had either themselves come from Scotland and England or were descended from those who had, the history of Canadian immigration between the British conquest of New France and the present century was investigated. Since this immigration was closely tied to the political economy and since the assumption of this thesis is that political economy has major implications for the local community, that too was studied.

An investigation of the geographical origins of the Town showed that the railways were instrumental in the establishment and development of this community, again showing the close relationship between it and the political economy. The cultural background of the residents was, of course, closely tied to the fact of their immigration from Great Britain and the institutions and social structures which they were to establish in Montreal West reflected this background.

This approach to the field of community studies implies that local organizations are linked to the institutions at the community level but are also widely supported by their relationships within a much wider institutional and interpersonal network. Their existence, then, is closely linked to their relationship with various aspects of the political economy and to the role and the identity of the elites.

The relations between state and society have been changing and so has the degree of autonomy enjoyed by the small community. Denied its control of local institutions, it is undergoing gradual change in many areas.

DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to my mother, whose devotion to myself and my family supported this undertaking at every stage.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

To my husband and daughters, my gratitude for their forbearance and patient endurance. More specifically, my thanks to my husband for his very extensive editorial assistance and to my older daughter for her help in the tabulation of certain quantitative data.

Special thanks are due to David Watson who, as the director of the Montreal West Historical Society, provided me with a wealth of data and constant assistance.

I am most grateful to the three members of my advisory committee, Professors Hubert Guindon, chairman; Kurt Jonassohn and John D. Jackson.

It was Professor Hubert Guindon who first made me aware of a broader perspective within the field of community studies. His enthusiasm and his keen intellectual powers inspired me and sustained me throughout the lengthy period of this project.

My thanks to Professor Kurt Jonassohn for his constructive readings of the text. His stringent criticisms were crucial to the organization of the final manuscript.

Professor Jackson introduced me to the theoretical perspective of community studies through a special tutorial. His gracious assistance was extended further by his making available to me his own manuscript.

Special thanks to the countless individuals who contributed

their time in personal interviews and also to the numerous organizations which provided me with access to their archives.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Illustrations

Figure

Maps

Tables

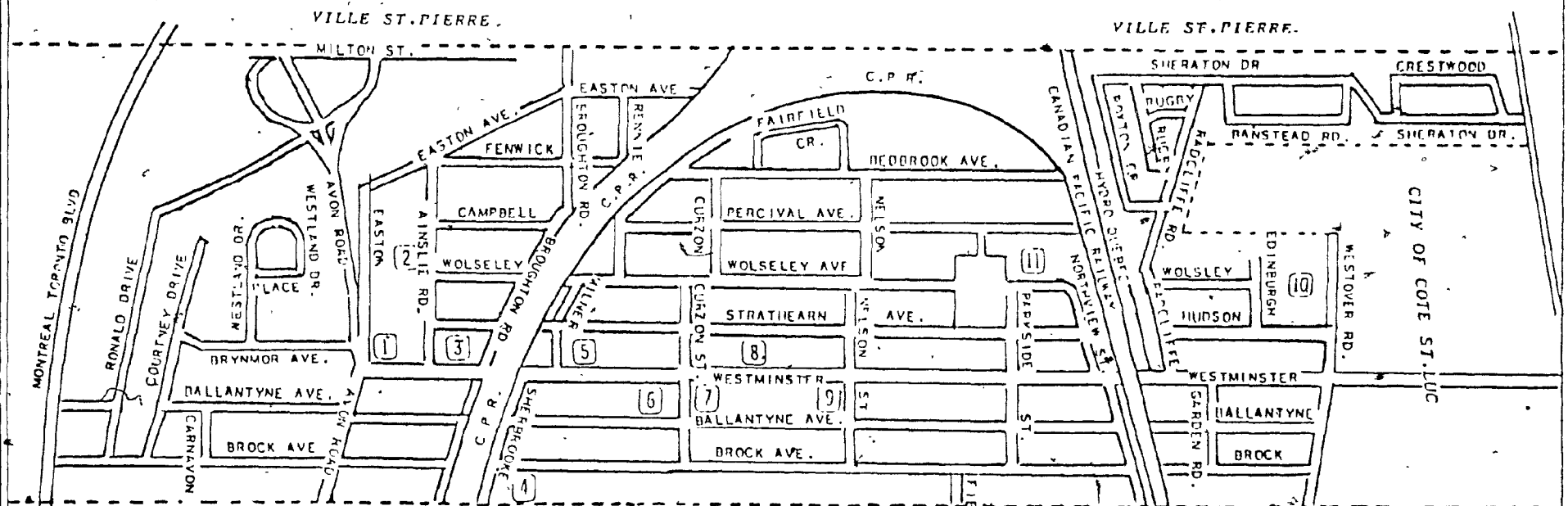
VILLE DE

MONTREAL OUEST

TOWN OF

MONTREAL WEST

1980



INDEX DES RUES A MONTREAL-OUEST · TOWN OF MONTREAL WEST STREET INDEX

AINSLIE ROAD	EDINBURGH ST.	RADCLIFFE RD.
AVON ROAD	FAIRFIELD CR.	RENNIE AVE.
BALLANTYNE AVE.	FENWICK AVE.	RONALD DR.
BANSTEAD RD.	FIELDING AVE.	ROXTON CR.
REDBROOK AVE.	GARDEN RD.	ROXTON CR.
BROCK AVE.	HUDSON AVE.	RUGBY PLACE
BROUGHTON RD.	MILNER ST	SHERBROOKE ST.
BRYNMOR AVE.	MILTON ST.	SHERATON DR.
CAMPBELL AVE.	MONTREAL TORONTO	STRATHEARN AVE.
CARNARVON ST.	BOULEVARD	WESTLAND DR.
COURTNEY DR.	NELSON ST.	WESTLAND PLACE
CRESTWOOD AVE.	NORTHVIEW ST.	WESTMINSTER AVE.
CURZON ST	PARKSIDE ST.	WESTOVER RD.
EASTON AVE.	PERCIVAL AVE.	WOLSELEY AVE.

CITY OF MONTREAL
VILLE DE MONTREAL

INDEX DES LIEUX PUBLICS · INDEX OF PUBLIC PLACES

1	TOWN HALL
2	MONTREAL WEST HIGH SCHOOL
3	SOUTH PARK
4	ANGLICAN CHURCH
5	ROYAL BANK OF CANADA
6	UNITED CHURCH
7	BANK OF MONTREAL
8	POLICE & FIRE STATION
9	PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH
10	EDINBURGH SCHOOL
11	ELIZABETH BALLANTYNE SCHOOL

PREFACE

During the 1950's, as a student in the local high school, I had first become aware of the marked segregation between the Protestant and the Jewish students in the social life of the school.[1] This was also the case among the parents. Eventually, a high school was constructed in a neighboring suburb and the Jewish population shifted to another area while the high school in Montreal West maintained the level of its population by bussing students from outlying areas.[2]

Some twenty years later, I once again became interested in the social life of this community. Looking at the composition of the Municipal Commission, the executive of the Citizens' Association and the local organizations of the same period, it seemed to me that their composition was rather homogeneous. Moreover, almost the entire group of Commissioners lived on the same block at one point.[3] The Protestant Anglo-Saxon middle class background of these groups and of the population they represented was immediately apparent. Even the names of the local streets appeared to be of English or Scottish origin.[4]

The conservative nature of this homogeneous population had also become apparent.[5] One resident of many years complained that her house was still being referred to by the name of its former owner. Others in the older part of the town echoed this same regret. Moreover,

one gentleman, who had lived in his house for nearly twenty years and had participated in the activities of many local organizations over the years, mentioned that he was still being treated as a new arrival. These conditions were particularly interesting in the context of the 1970's when communities and their populations had been changing so rapidly elsewhere.

This initial interest in local conditions led to the publication in the community newsletter of a request for information about the local community. It resulted in an offer of assistance from a local historian whose family had lived in the Town for four generations. He made available to me a wealth of material including personal scrap-books of newspaper clippings, monthly municipal publications from the Town's early years, old publications by various local community organizations and churches and a local telephone directory from the year 1917.

The identification of current residents whose family roots went back to the days of the founding citizens was not difficult if one made a comparison of the names in the 1917 and 1977 local telephone directories. After several conversations with these 'reporters' as well as with other individuals who were active in the community, it soon became apparent that the community's development was closely linked with the railway companies. The written evidence supported these observations. In fact, records have indicated that the CPR made some very specific contributions to local community facilities and organizations. The examination of the material in the CPR archives was to confirm that this Company in particular was extremely interested in this community's development.

A specific benefit to the community was the presence of railway stations within its territory. Even before the twentieth century, the Grand Trunk Railway had erected a small station here. Not long afterwards, the Canadian Pacific Railway had built and then rebuilt a station in this area which had previously been a tract of three farms. In the light of all of the above factors, the role of the railways in Montreal West would have to be one of the areas of investigation in any study of this Town. However, this role could not be studied in isolation from other local conditions.

In an investigation of the role of the railways, many questions had presented themselves. For instance, why would twenty-five audit clerks all wish to live in this area? Why would their position within a company be such that their request could reach the ears of the comptroller? How did they come to own land in Montreal West when local records indicate ownership of all the land by only two families? Such questions impelled the research well beyond the local community. This seemed to call for not only a historical study but also for one that looks at the political economic context of local conditions.

Throughout the research, interviews with current and former residents were carried out. This promoted either the confirmation or the rejection of various explanations as they came out of the research. Among the written material which had been made available for this research was an anniversary booklet published by the local curling club. Among the extensive information included were lists of the founding and recent executives. The correspondence in some of the family names was unusual considering the wide time span between 1912 and 1976. When questioned about this, local 'reporters' showed a

predictable diversity of opinion. One resident, whose family connections with the Town went back to its earliest days, described incidents that showed the extremely powerful political role of the curling club at the municipal level. She also described the elitist and restrictive procedures for obtaining membership in this local organization. Another resident, whose grandfather and husband had been active in the Town as members of the local political 'executive' from its earliest years, provided a different explanation. In her opinion, there was a need for the provision of suitable candidates for local leadership and the curling club fulfilled this need.

At this point, other questions became apparent. What is the role of this organization today? If it is no longer as powerful, then why has its local position changed? Moreover, the report of the membership restrictions of the early years raised other questions. Of the early residents, such as those listed in the 1917 directory, who did and who did not qualify for membership in the one social and recreational organization that included all denominational groups within the town.[6] The comparison of an original curling club membership list with the names in the early directory proved useful. A social profile of the residents was begun in order that one might understand this relationship. Questions as to the ethnic origin of the early residents were included in all the interviews. When it had become apparent that about half the founding residents had been immigrants from Britain and Scotland, research was carried out into the reasons for emigration from these lands to Canada as well as into the various periods or 'waves' of immigration.

Recent years have seen a marked change in all of the above 'local conditions'. Other local developments such as the population changes in the High school, professionalization of the fire fighters and the transfer of the police force were among the changes that were initially difficult to comprehend. The closing of the Montreal West Elementary School is another issue that cannot be explained within a simple local and ahistorical context. These changes must be seen against the political economic background and within their historical context.

Notes to Preface

[1] This refers to segregation between the Jewish population, who lived almost entirely in the Northern section over the railway tracks and in neighbouring Cote St. Luc and the Protestant population who tended to live in the older Southern section of Montreal West.

[2] Candiac is an example of this.

[3] 1975-1978 is the period referred to.

[4] Westminster, Campbell, Ballantyne, Easton and Ainslie Avenues are examples of this.

[5] According to the 1971 Census published by the Government of Canada, 4,230 of the residents came from the British Isles out of a total of 5,340 (.799). Moreover, according to the 1951 Census, the figures were 3,053 of 3,721 (.827).

[6] At first this was almost entirely Presbyterian, Anglican and Methodist. After Church Union in 1925, it was almost entirely Presbyterian, Anglican and United Church.

Chapter One

Concepts and Classification

This study has several major areas of concern. How and in what way did the local organizations reflect the core institutions? How did the political culture of the community of Montreal West come about and how did it manifest itself in the early years?

The theoretical perspective implied in this study is that a community is not an object of spontaneous generation; local institutions and cultural traditions must be considered in the context of their historical and cultural origins. It assumes that local institutions and structures are all meshed with the political economy of the nation and that change can originate in any institutional area, whether it be demographic, educational, economic, political or ideological.

A. Epistomology and Logic of Analysis

The social scientist is committed to knowing the world beyond his immediate experience. In order for him to know what sense data to consider more than others and to be able to exchange ideas with others, he needs to have concepts. These concepts are a product of cultural experience and they create a frame of reference which limits, defines and in this way determines the social facts which are knowable to him.[1]

This issue of epistomology, of looking into the "presuppositions for the experience of something" involves the determination of "the necessary conditions for the possibility of experience."[2] The consideration of epistomology brings to our attention the fact that the particular Weltanschaung or world outlook of a particular social scientist or researcher will have a crucial effect on the theoretical and methodological organization of his topic. For instance, the 'world outlook' of Karl Mannheim, referred

to as the sociology of knowledge, is focused upon this concern with the effect of the culture of one's own society upon one's thinking and creativeness.[3]

The effect of epistomology is often imperceptible; the thinkers and the creators of a society are motivated by the prevailing social philosophy to proceed with their research in some directions and to avoid the investigation of other directions. The formation of concepts is related to our classification of experiences. By grouping our experiences into certain areas of similarities and differences, classification provides "economy of thought", a "conceptual unity for further study and the direction of our attention to new aspects of the experience." In this way it enables us to bring an experience to a more intellectually meaningful level. Classification, as a process which both forms categories and places individual cases into these categories, enables us to think rather than to merely experience with the senses. It is crucial for the researcher to be aware of the effect of classification upon cases. As pointed out by Good and Scates "Nature provides the objects, man provides the classes."[4]

The effect of our classification of our experiences is also considered by Sjoberg and Nett. They point out that our concepts toward observed social phenomena will affect our interests and in turn will influence the level of theory within which a researcher chooses to operate and whether he is likely to search for casual or explanatory variables.[5] For this reason, among the first steps in this community study will be the classification of the varying definitions of the concept of a community.

B. Research Methods and Techniques

This study of the Town of Montreal West differs in orientation and emphasis from the traditional community studies. It is essentially the application of the political economy framework to the 'society' or 'field' of Montreal West. The conditions of political economy and immigration that brought the founding residents to what was to become Montreal West will be described, as will the characteristics of the people themselves. Certain economic conditions, both external and local, assisted and encouraged local institutions such as those representing religion and education. The latter in turn fed back into the occupations and thence into the economic structure. As will be shown, the occupations of the residents are closely related to the other institutions and will, therefore, be studied as such. This framework implies the use of particular research methods and techniques.

Pauline Young views the community as

> "characterized by a territorial area, common interests, common patterns of social and economic relations, a common bond of solidarity from the conditions of its abode, a constellation of the social institutions, and subject to some degree of group control."[6]

Young believes that a community study should consider "the historical setting, the social influence of physical configuration," social isolation, social contacts, economic centers, demographic characteristics and population mobility. She adds that the community survey should cover the constellation of social institutions, the local government and the various organizations.[7]

Gorden notes that community studies must combine data from various sources and use various techniques. They must refer to public records,

personal documents and newspapers. Researchers often find it necessary to conduct interviews with local persons and to do participant observation and pure observation. This multi-method approach is referred to as triangulation.[8]

Denzin expands this strategy to a technique referred to as multiple triangulation which implies a combination in a single investigation (of a single set of events) of "multiple observers, theoretical perspectives, sources of data and methodologies." He suggests that this is the most refined research perspective that can be achieved.[9]

The use of a combination of methods is a flexible technique that generally emphasizes one approach but avails itself of a variety of other techniques in order to maximize the acquisition of relevant data. Moreover, a multi-triangulated research design is likely to yield more valid and more reliable findings than one that uses any single method.

In light of the above recommendations, the investigation began with interviews of local persons such as past and present members of the local citizens' association in a casual and unfocused manner. The research then referred to the literature in order to become acquainted with other studies of communities such as the Aiken and Mott anthology, The Structure of Community,[10] the Hawley-Wirt study of The Search for Community Power[11] and the Viditch and Bensman study of The Small Town in Mass Society.[12] Having developed more ideas with respect to the community being studied, this writer set out all the propositions which seemed relebant. For instance, one hypothesis was concerned with the elitist model of community power and another with the pluralist model.

The use of unobtrusive measures was used throughout. However, it was particularly useful at the initial stage in order to develop the data. For instance, newspaper clippings and personal diaries from a private collection, as well as records of local churches and other institutions such as the local curling club were also investigated. The triangulation of time, space and person demanded the checking of data over time with persons who were living or had at some point lived in the community.[13]

It soon became apparent that power was itself derived from institutions far beyond the local community. It also became evident that the understanding of the social forces that were in operation in this community could not be adequately understood by means of a localized study of community power; rather it would be far more fruitful to look at the social background of this community through an investigation of its historical setting in terms of the national political economy.

This conclusion led to the examination of Canadian history from the time of the British conquest of New France to the present day in order to locate the community of Montreal West within the political economy. It also called for the investigation of the values and institutions of Great Britain, that is, for the purpose of this study, of Scotland and England, in order to locate the values, attitudes, institutions and social structures of the community of Montreal

West. Furthermore, census data was required to explain the changes in the community in recent decades. Newspapers and community newsletters were also useful to highlight the local changes.

C. Review of the Literature

There are several types of community studies. Much of this can be attributed to differing definitions of the concept of community.[14] One definition is:

> "that a community consists of persons in social interaction within a geographic area and having one or more additional common ties."[15]

Poplin notes that "this definition includes a territorial variable. . . a sociological variable . . . and a psycho cultural variable."[16] The traditional "community studies" literature had tended to emphasize one or another of these elements, almost in a cyclical pattern.

The type of study which is primarily concerned with patterns of interaction is rooted in a philosophical background which concerns itself with the classical dichotomy of community and anti-community. This subject has been discussed in great detail by the German scholar Ferdinand Tönnies. It has been applied to American sociology by Dennis E. Poplin and by Charles Loomis. Tönnies had sought to understand social relationships and had proposed a scheme based on a polarity of ideal types which he had referred to as Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft.[17]

As an ideal type, Gemeinschaft was said to be based on harmony and to be developed by folkways, mores and religion. It was considered to predominate in underdeveloped and nonindustrialized countries. Its polar opposite, designated as Gesellschaft, was said to be based upon instrumentality, with social relations being of an impersonal nature.[18]

Social change, such as the change from one mode of production to another, that is, from feudalism to capitalism, involves both town and country as parts of the altered economic system. The change ought, therefore, to be examined in that light. Moreover, as a primarily perceptual scheme, this model would lead us to overlook issues such as the class struggle or the interpretation of power and leadership in a human settlement.[19] Change can originate in any of the social institutions whether they be demographic, political, economic, ideological or educational.

The Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft scheme has been applied to the field of community studies. Robert Redfield had proposed a continuum along which communities might be ranked. They were placed according to their folk or urban characteristics, with the urban characteristics being implied as the logical opposites of those describing folk society, particularly in terms of its social relationships.[20] Just as Redfield sets up and describes the ideal type for folk or rural society, so Louis Wirth, in his essay "Urbanism as a Way of Life," describes the ideal type for the city. He sees it as: "a relatively large, dense and permanent settlement of socially heterogeneous individuals."[21]

Dealing with demographic differences, Loomis and Loomis question the assumption that population density correlates with degrees of rurality or urbanity or even with population size.[22] Other criticisms have also been directed against the application of this typology to the field of community studies. Jackson finds that it gives undue emphasis to the role of the city as a source of social change thereby neglecting rural/urban interaction in a wider setting. Also, being so locale-oriented, this approach fails to consider the territory in the context of the overall political economy.

While the rural-urban typology has been rejected in recent years, other schemes for the study of communities have been proposed to take its place. Albert J. Reiss, Jr., in his essay "Rural-Urban and Status Differences in Interpersonal Contacts" found that primary contacts seem to be more a function of occupation than of status and notes that conclusions about change should not be drawn in the absence of historical data as a base.

Daniel Bell, in his critique of theories of mass society, also rejects the theme of community/anti-community. He suggests that a theory about American society should work from the empirical to the theoretical level rather than to oversimplify by means of grand theories such as that of the existence of alienation and exploitation in mass society. Bell, in his objection to the emphasis on alienation and exploitation as the primary elements of mass society, notes that "Politics today is not a reflex of any internal class divisions but is shaped by international events."[24] He finds that the community/anti-community approach blinds us to this truth.

Mass society is defended against the accusation that it leads to radicalism, with Bell maintaining that the latter arises not from mass society but from society's inability to meet popular expectations. He makes the point that change is occurring more rapidly in the United States than in any other country, yet we find less violence today than we did in the past, so that the social life fails to support the assumption that social disorder and anomie accompany the changes.[25] Bell prefers to take the position that mass society is "the bringing of the masses into the society from which they were once excluded."[26]

The theory of mass society does not, according to Bell, explain the interrelations of the parts of the society that would help us to locate the sources of change. This is why he has taken pains to esta-

blish the distinction between a literary and a sociological analysis. Bell points out that:

> "A literary analysis is textual, it takes the work as its world. A sociological analysis is contextual, it seeks the wider setting, in order to relate its distinctions to the society as a whole."[27]

He is advocating then a recognition of external factors in the study of a society, or by implication, of a community.

In the classical studies of American communities, we also see the gradual recognition of the role of historical data in a community analysis. The Lynds' study of Middletown was an attempt to study a sample American community in the anthropological style. It presented the contemporary Middletown as a reflection of the same community in 1890, including the historical setting along with the various economic and domestic features.[28] Middletown has since been studied a third time.[29] This underlines the importance of the historical dimension. We find the same interest in the historical setting in the Warner and Lunt study of Yankee City.[30] This study, which also looks at the relationship between social change and the community, goes back to consider the period after the Revolutionary Wars as the root of this community's social structure.[31] In this way, even a transition stage is interpreted in the light of the historical background.[32]

Other community studies have also focused on social interaction. There has been particular interest in the role of status and power in the development of a community. The Yankee City study by Warner and Lunt, which concerned itself with the rise and decline of an elite,[33] the Hunter study of various types of community leadership[34] and Gold's study of St. Pascal[35] all relate the study of social power to community change. However, the emphasis remains on specific types of social relationships. As we depart further from the anthropological rural-urban

typology and incorporate historical elements in the study of communities, we find that certain structural models highlight other sets of data.

Dennis E. Poplin applies the concept of interaction both within and between social systems to the study of communities. Poplin notes that 'face to face interaction' at the level of the community is manifested within the subsystems of which the community is composed. The social systems analyst, therefore, sometimes analyzes the relationships between social systems in terms of 'systemic linkage', a concept defined by Loomis as "a process whereby one or more elements of at least two social systems is articulated in such a manner that the two systems in some ways and on some occasions may be viewed as a single unit." [36] Poplin understands this to mean that "interaction occurs not only between individuals but also between groups and other groups, between groups and institutions, and even between two or more institutions." [37]

A related way to study community interaction is to look at the 'inputs and outputs which flow between its various subsystems'. According to Roland Warren, within this scheme "every subsystem in the community will receive inputs of various types from other local units, inputs involving the attitudes and behaviors of those it employs or with whom it deals." [38]

Social system theory is often supplemented by functionalism, another basic type of modern sociological theory. Although social system theory and functionalism are closely related, there are differences between the two approaches. Specifically, the social system theorist focuses upon units of social organization and upon the structural relationships which develop between them. Thus the concept of

external pattern tells us only that social systems are interrelated. It does not tell us why these relationships exist or what they entail. Functionalism,on the other hand, examines these relationships in terms of their context and consequences. For instance, functionalism might consider the contributions of a particular religious system to the community as a whole.[39]

The study of Middletown by Helen and Robert Lynd is an illustration of the functionalist way of looking at a community. The main purpose of the above research had been to study the effects of industrialization on community life. They carried this out by tracing these effects through six major areas of life classified according to W.H.R. Rivers' scheme as "getting a living, making a home, training the young, using leisure, engaging in religious practices, and engaging in community activities."[40] The Lynds had assumed that changes in any one area would reverberate throughout the others to a greater or lesser degree. As it turned out, the area that reverberated most widely was 'getting a living' because it encompassed many of the central changes wrought by industrialization.

According to Jessie Bernard, the functionalist scheme, as well as the other earlier paradigms, are no longer appropriate for the study of the local community.

> "Since so many of the most vital social systems thus now transcend local communities, the urban settlement can no longer be viewed as an appropriate unit of observation, let alone as a community. It has to be viewed simply as a nodal point of a region, country or international system."[41]

The weakness inherent in these various social system theories is their ahistorical nature. They deal only with the present, thereby eliminating

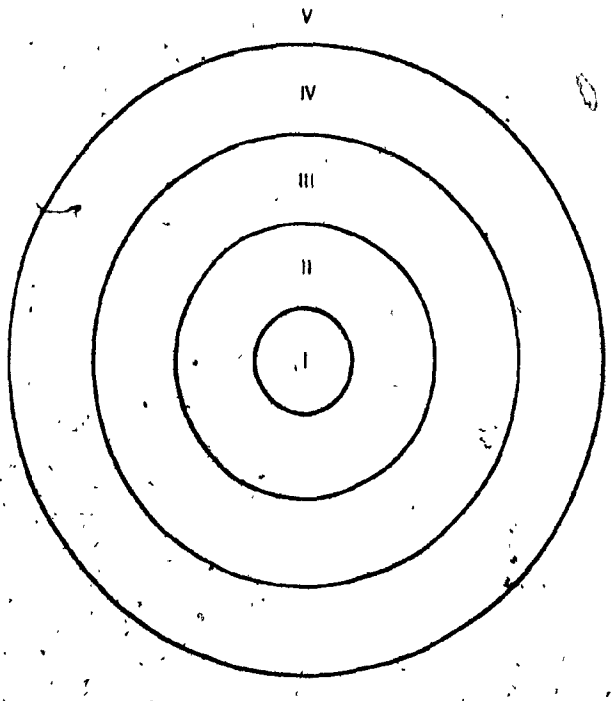
the potential contribution of the light which the past could shed on the present, nor do they look at either of these in terms of what light they could shed on the future.

The style of study that is discussed in this paper has tended to emphasize the interaction aspect of community. However, some of the earliest work in this field has tended to stress the territorial aspect of community and has been done in the ecological style which assumes that the regularities of land use are interpreted in terms of the ecological processes of the natural sciences. The ecological interpretation of community assumes that communities develop in locations possessing either an abundance of natural resources or a well-developed transportation system.[42] Human ecology tries to interpret the layout and the development of urban communities, assuming that these, their populations and their institutions, follow regular, recurrent patterns. The human ecologist is expected to discover these basic patterns of city growth and to explain the occurrence of these characteristic spatial configurations.

It has been said that Robert Park, an exponent of this form of community study, was the father of modern human ecology.[43] According to Park, the basic levels of human organization are the biotic and the social. "The biotic level, which occurs whenever living things share a common habitat," is a result of competition while the social level arises from the common ties and purpose among men.[44] Therefore, the ecologists claim that the spatial organization is determined by competitive forces. On this basis, Park proposed that as the city grows, it tends to assume certain clearly delineated patterns of spatial

organization. Park claimed that the city was divided into a series of homogeneous concentric zones which he conceived to be natural areas within the heterogeneous urban milieu.[45] He referred to this as "the concentric zone pattern."[46]

The Concentric Zone Pattern.



Zone I: Central Business District. Large department stores, skyscrapers, large hotels, theaters, and so on.

Zone II: Zone of Transition. Slum housing, skid-row hotels and drinking establishments, industry, and so on.

Zone III: Zone of Independent Workingmen's Homes. Modest homes interspersed with an occasional school, park, corner grocery, and so on.

Zone IV: Zone of Better Residences. Single family dwellings, apartment houses, and bright-light areas.

Zone V: Commuters' Zone. Suburban residential areas, satellite cities, and so on.

Dennis E. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Methods and Theories of Research (New York: Macmillan, 1972), p. 77, Fig. 1.

This ecological form of analysis has been developed on the basis of the divisions within the city of Chicago.

Park's interpretation of urban growth has been criticized on several grounds. The concept of the biotic versus the social aspects of organization, in which competition determined a city's spatial organization, was criticized for implying 'biological and geographical determinism'. Hollingshead maintains that even ecological development is influenced by 'sociocultural systems'. Also the observability of competition has been questioned and the viability of the ecological approach to community studies has therefore been challenged.[47]

A contemporary version of ecological analysis of a community is the social area analysis. A social area simply consists of one or more census tracts which display a unique configuration of traits as measured by indexes of social rank, urbanization and segregation. However, in contrast with the natural area, the social area is not defined geographically. Also, in contrast with the concept of the local subculture in the natural area, the social area is not defined according to the degree of interaction between persons in the local community.[48]

Poplin observes that actually the spatial organization of every city tends to be somewhat unique, thereby challenging the very basis of the human ecologists' approach.[49] However, he has noted that

Park's hypotheses concerning natural areas are useful for the study of community organization and disorganization in American cities in the 1920's. As such, they can be applied to modern problems of social organization such as the growth of slums and the increase of delinquency.[50]

Both British and French theorists have been moving in the direction of historical materialism in the study of 'human settlements'. A Canadian expression of the historical materialist perspective is presented in a collection of readings edited by Leo Panitch. An essay by Reg Whitaker notes the position that economic determinism must be shown by "concrete linkages between the base and the behaviour of individuals".[51] In order to do this, Whitaker relates the class conflicts and the political conditions of Canada and Quebec. This is illustrated in his observation that there was a link between the Conservative's political triumph, the success of Montreal's merchant class and the legitimation of British loyalties and elitism. Whitaker discusses the role of the state in the economic and ideological sphere to show the extra-national and historical links in conditions that are a part of the Canadian experience.[52]

D. Political Economy: An Alternate Perspective

As we have shown in the preceding review of the traditional body of literature on 'the community', most community studies tend to emphasize either interaction, social bond or territory. The importance of these characteristics in a community tend to have been overemphasized. That is not to deny, for instance, that a population is linked through social bonds or that alienation can occur inside or outside of the context of a community. Nor do we overlook the role of the natural and geographical aspects of a community. Rather, it is the issue of orientation and emphasis which concerns us here.

The traditional sociological explanations deal inadequately with social change in respect to a particular society. For instance, they resort to vague generalizations "referring to such broad, impersonal forces as technological change, industrialization and urbanization," while they avoid more important issues such as "how, by whom and to whose benefit the passage of a society from one stage to another took place."[53]

The more dynamic field of macrosociology, which focuses on structures, types of relationships, and their degree of dependence or independence, in short, how social systems work, is far more suited to deal with such issues.[54] Some of the early writers who have worked within the tradition of macrosociology include Karl Marx, Max Weber and C. Wright Mills.

They themselves have close intellectual links with one

another. For instance, those between Marx and Weber have been noted by Gerth and Mills. In "From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology", they highlight "Weber's skillful application of Marx's historical method and his attempt to round out Marx's economic materialism by a political and military materialism." [55] Mills again discusses these issues and the historical method in "The Sociological Imagination" wherein he notes that "No social study that does not come back to the problems of biography, of history and of their intersections within a society has completed its intellectual journey." [56] In this discussion, Mills proposes a variety of related questions for study which highlight elements of a given social structure within a particular historical location, ways in which that society is undergoing change and the characteristics of the people in that society.

Macrosociology is an orientation rather than a sociological theory. Thus, the theory of historical materialism is macrosociological in orientation. It might focus on issues such as social class, unequal life chances, exploitation and political struggles in its more radical form. However, despite the fact that the macrosociological explanations have greater scope than conventional sociological explanations, Glenday et al. caution that, in their extreme form, these explanations tend to mystify rather than truly explain social processes, stressing as they tend to, concepts such as exploitation, in place of the application of rigorous scrutiny to the workings of the whole social process. [57]

The British sociologist, C.G. Pickvance, has applied the historical materialist perspective to urban sociology. He defines 'historical materialism' "as the theoretical corpus based on Marx' fundamental theses that the material economic base of society determines the superstructure of social, legal and political institutions, rather than vice-versa and that each historical society is characterized by struggles between the opposing social classes arising from the particular processes of production within it."[58] His collection of essays on the theme of "Urban Sociology" is primarily concerned with urban land use and urban social movements in France.

In a more moderate form, the macrosociological theory of historical materialism can be extremely useful. The Canadian sociologist, Wallace Clement, also works within the perspective of historical materialism yet within a much broader interpretation. His realm is that of the political economy, defined as:

> "the connection between a country's economy and social relations, viewed with a historical perspective: in the Canadian case, its relationships with foreign economies have moulded the nature of the Canadian economy and the capitalists who control it while they in turn shape social relations within Canada."[59]

Clement looks at the relationship between the state and the 'capitalist class'. He draws widely on material by T.W. Acheson to link social class with regionalism, ethnicity and a variety of other cultural concepts. Moreover, he studies the economic elite in Canada and the United States in terms of issues such as the links between career, class and kinship, the effects of the continental economy on Canadian society and of the Canadian state on the continental economy.[60]

Clement maintains that there is a complementary relationship

between sociology and political economy. In "Continental Corporate Power" he describes how

> "The broad trends evident in capital formations, accumulation and concentration, foreign investment, and other economic indicators are expressed in the way people relate to one another and provide the content for these relationships."[61]

Clement attributes Canada's secondary status in the world economic order and her 'distorted economic system' to its colonial origins and to the fact that Canadian industrialization followed on the shirttails of the United States. He finds that "Canadian capitalists and members of the state elite have adapted Canada's economy to the capitalist world economic order" - and in this century "as an integral part of a continental economic system."[62]

At the turn of the twentieth century, the American economy was undergoing tremendous expansion. Clement explains that this rapid growth led to mergers, consolidation and concentration, resulting in the establishment of large corporations. These large corporations, 'if they were to function in any regular, routine and profitable fashion' required the planning and coordination of 'corporate capitalism' which Clement defines as

> "private ownership of the means of production, increased participation of the state in the political economy, centralization of the major institutions, imperialism, efficiency and functionalism."[63]

He notes that first in the United States and then in Canada, this has come to mean the merging of economic and political policy.[64]

The perspective used here implies a particular interpreta-

tion of change. It assumes that

> "New social forces represent the emergence of new sources of power. If these emerge and remain autonomous from existing power, new social types will develop in power positions." 65

Social mobility therefore becomes a crucial concept in this perspective.

In Canadian history, there have been a number of 'new social forces' that have influenced 'the emergence of new sources of power' and the development of 'new social types' in power positions. The primary periods of change in the political economy and consequently the primary periods which affected the elites and were affected by them include the Conquest, Confederation and the National Policy, World War I and the Post World War II period.

The defeat of the French which culminated in the 'Conquest' of New France was such a new social force. It led to the replacement of the French economic elite with businessmen of British background. Gradually a new economic network was established by linking British and Anglo-Canadian businessmen. The latter were to become the 'new social types' in power positions and were to play a major role in subsequent major political events including Confederation, the establishment and extension of the National Policy, World War I and the Post World War II period.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century, the growth of business was such that private property had become concentrated into giant

corporations. Those in positions of power within these giant corporations, that is, what Clement calls the economic elite, have had a wide-ranging influence on the national economy.[66]

Aside from their extensive power over costs and prices, they are also in a powerful position in the field of capital accumulation, determining the proportion of retained earnings and corporate dividends. With regard to access to capital resources, the members of the elite are in an advantageous positon. The corporations are frequently linked to financial enterprises such as giant banks and insurance companies. Thus, in addition to the capital resources of their own corporations, the elite are able to monopolize the capital available from the large financial intermediaries for the benefit of their corporations.

However, the power of the Canadian corporate elite, that is the economic and the media elite, extends far beyond the more conspicuous financial domain.[67] In their sphere of influence over the nature of production, that is "whether it will be capital or labour intensive, clean or dirty, safe or hazardous, secure or intermittent,"[68] the corporate elite influence the very quality of life. Furthermore, in their control over funds for research and development, they also influence the development and subsequent uses of technology.

Moreover, the members of the corporate elite also exert a strong influence on the nature and composition of the labour force. Within the corporation, the differential in the allocation of rewards for particular skills and elements of the labour force affects not only the proportions attracted into various job categories but also feeds into the educational system itself by its influence on the choice of course and educational program. Furthermore, this influence over the labour force extends to the values of society. Having influenced career choice by its reward allocation, the corporate elite promotes performance standards within

given careers, thereby according to Clement, 'moulding certain types of individuals'.

The influence of the corporation and its elites is also extensive beyond the sphere of personal careers. Whether directing the economy by influencing decisions such as those concerning the location of economic facilities and the types of activities carried out, or by influencing consumers through advertising, the elite is a powerful force. Clement concludes that

> "They are a self-selecting, self-perpetuating set of people who have wide-ranging control over the lives of Canadians and the shape of Canadian society."[69]

With the development of continental corporate capitalism in the last century, there has been a mutually reinforcing but nontheless unequal alliance forged between the elites of Canada and those of the United States. The Americans are at the forefront of production, dominant in both manufacturing and resource extraction, while the Canadians provide financial services, transportation and utilities. The Canadian corporate elite is actively involved in the American extraction of Canada's natural resources as well as in the commercial activities involved in the absorption of American manufactured goods, leading Clement to conclude," that both the economies and the elites of the two countries are intertwined ".[70]

The First World War had established American dominance in the international economy and saw the continued expansion of American corporations.[71] With the development of the branch-plant economy which was to be consolidated after the Second World War, the elite were to play the role of supporting the parent plant, usually in the United States.

In Quebec, since the Quiet Revolution, there has been a growing attempt by the province to regain control of its own economy.

With increased provincial freedoms in the fields of taxation and natural resources, there has been a displacement of the British and American-controlled comprador elites with French Quebecers who had been pressing to become 'Maitres Chez Nous'.[72] With changes in the political economy both at the provincial and the national level, the composition and also the role of the elite have been shifting. The growth in the power of the labour unions has also put more focus upon the role of the corporate elite. The relationship between political and economic policy and between the elites in the two respective domains extends back to the colonial era in Canada. The alliance of colonial powers in Britain and the internal colonial elites in the Canadas was to set the stage for the role of the state in Canadian society. The economic factors leading up to Confederation and the National Policy's position on the state's support of economic institutions will be discussed within the paper as further illustrations of the role of the state. The provincial and municipal 'states' have also had a changing role in the evolution of Canadian society.[73]

Within the political economy, Clement notes that it is through the institutions and social structures that policy and change is carried out. To illustrate, he points to the British takeover of the political and economic institutions following the conquest of New France.[74] He also notes the relationship between education and power. With respect to corporate power, he adds that "access . . . by particular social types can be complemented by other social institutions such as education. If education is defined as a prerequisite for mobility and if access to education is restricted to certain social types, then this will further restrict mobility to those social types

able to gain access to education."[75] Considering that those who have acquired power can pass along this access to education to their offspring, this adds to the likelihood that their children will possess the same prerequisites for mobility and power. According to this perspective, education is treated "as a consequence of inequality which appears elsewhere in the society and as an institution which further reinforces inequality but it is not itself the cause of that inequality."[76] Due to its importance as a link between the community and the political economy, education will be among the issues discussed in this study of the Town of Montreal West.

Clement cautions that "macrosociological structures and laws can claim validity only within a specified period of time and therefore must be considered historically."[77]

He notes, in a related vein, that Marx and Weber were concerned with "the interrelations of all institutions and orders making up a social structure." He defines social structure as "a stable set of relationships among the various parts or elements making up the totality of a society."[78] A guiding question for Clement is:

> "how do major inequalities such as class, regionalism, ethnicity, education, occupation, income distribution, foreign control, etc., offset and reinforce one another."[79]

A community also can be studied according to this theoretical perspective. The British sociologist, Rosemary Mellor, has pointed out that any human settlement can be studied by the same theoretical approach. She maintains that local communities should be studied "as definite articulations of the social structure."[80]

However, while Mellor's concern is with the community's relationship within a matrix of other communities, our own point of departure is the national political economy rather than any given matrix of communities.

Summary

The 'World Outlook' of a researcher will influence the theoretical and methodological organization of his topic. In this case, the concern with the political economy calls for a multi-triangulated research design.

The various traditional approaches to the study of communities have been reviewed in order to provide a basis for the formulation of an appropriate method which, by its emphasis on institutions and the resultant social structures, highlights the social forces which affect a community and provides the key to either its stability or its dynamism.

Notes to Chapter One

[1] S. Greer, The Logic of Social Inquiry (Chicago: Aldine, 1969), pp. 28-33.

[2] M. Nathanson, ed. Philosophy of the Social Sciences: A Reader (New York: Random House, 1963), pp. 9,14.

[3] C.V. Good and D.E. Scates, Methods of Research (New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954), pp. 485-500.

[4] Good and Scates, Methods of Research, pp. 485-500.

[5] G. Sjoberg and R. Nett, A Methodology for Social Research (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), p. 59.

[6] Good and Scates, Methods of Research, p. 565.

[7] Ibid, p. 565.

[8] R.L. Gorden, Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques and Tactics (Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1969), p. 40.

[9] N.K. Denzin, Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook (Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1970), p. 310.

[10] M. Aiken and P.E. Mott, eds., The Structure of Community Power (New York: Random House, 1970).

[11] W.D. Hawley and F.M. Wirt, eds. The Search for Community Power (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, Inc., 1968).

[12] A.J. Viditch & J. Bensman , The Small Town in Mass Society (Princeton: University Press, 1958).

[13] Denzin, Sociological Methods, pp. 300 - 307.

[14] Dennis E. Poplin, Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research (New York: the Macmillan Company, 1972) pp. 8 - 9.

[15] Ibid, pp. 8 - 9.

[16] Ibid, pp. 8 - 9.

[17] Ibid, p. 114.

[18] Charles P. Loomis., Social Systems (Princeton: Van Nostrand Company, Inc., 1960), p. 59.

[19] John D. Jackson, Locale and the Political Economy: An Alternative Perspective For Community Studies, (Montreal: Unpublished manuscript, 1980)p.73.

[20] Poplin, Communities, p. 126.

[21] Jackson, Locale and the Political Economy, p. 91.

[22] Charles P. Loomis and Zena K. Loomis, Modern Social Theories (Huntingdon: Robert E. Kreiger Publishing Compnay, 1975), p. 30.

[23] Jackson, Locale and the Political Economy, p. 91.

[24] Daniel Bell, The End of Ideology: On the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties (Glencoe, Ill: Free Press, 1960), pp. 14, 16.

[25] Ibid, pp. 31-32.

[26] Ibid, p. 36.

[27] Ibid, p. 14.

[28] Robert S. Lynd and Helen Merell Lynd, Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, Inc., 1956).

[29] Theodore Caplow, "Middletown Fifty Years After" Vol. 9, 1 (January 1980), pp. 46-50.

[30] Warner, W. Lloyd, Yankee City (New Haven and London: Yale University, 1963).

[31] Ibid, p. 16.

[32] Ibid, p. 355.

[33] W. Lloyd Warner and Paul S. Lunt, The Status System of a Modern Community (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942).

[34] Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

[35] Gerald L. Gold, Saint Pascal: Changing Leadership and Social Organization in a Quebec Town (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1975).

[36] Dennis E. Poplin, Communities, p. 154.

[37] Ibid, p. 154.

[38] Ibid, p. 156.

[39] Ibid, p. 114.

[40] Maurice R. Stein, The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies (Princeton: University Press, 1960), p. 49.

[41] Jessie Bernard, The Sociology of Community (Glenview: Scott, Foreman and Company, 1973), p. 182.

[42] Poplin, Communities, p. 10.

[43] Ibid, p. 66.

[44] Ibid, p. 68 - 69.

[45] Ibid, p. 77.

[46] Ibid, p. 77, Figure 3-1.

[47] Ibid, pp. 77 - 100.

[48] Ibid, p. 102.

[49] Poplin, Communities, p. 104.

[50] Ibid, pp. 24 - 33.

[51] Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State in Canada," in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed., (Toronto: University Press, 1977).

[52] Ibid, pp. 41-44.

[53] Daniel Glenday, Hubert Guindon, Allan Turowitz, "Introduction: Modernization and the Canadian State - Issues and Paths of Inquiry," in Modernization and the Canadian State, Glenday, Guindon and Turowitz, eds. (Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1978), pp. 3-4.

[54] Wallace Clement, "Macrosociological Approaches Toward a 'Canadian Sociology,' Alternate Routes: A Critical Review, I (1977), p. 7.

[55] H.H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills, From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, trans., ed. introd'n. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), pp. 46-47.

[56] C. Wright Mills, The Sociological Imagination, (New York: Oxford University Press, 1959.

[57] Glenday, Guindon, Turowitz, "Modernization and the Canadian State," pp. 1-4.

[58] C.G. Pickvance, ed., trans. Urban Sociology: Critical Essays, (London: Tavistock Publications, 1976), p. 1.

[59] Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power: Economic Linkages between Canada and the United States (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), p. 7.

[60] Idem, The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975).

[61] Idem, Continental Corporate Power, p. 2.

[62] Ibid, p. 8.

[63] Ibid, p. 8.

[64] Ibid, pp. 55 - 56.

[65] Idem, Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 4.

[66] Ibid, p. 4.

[67] Ibid, p. 10.

[68] Idem, Continental Corporate Power, p. 302.

[69] Ibid, p. 289.

[70] Ibid, p. 6.

[71] Idem, "The Corporate Elite, The Capitalist Class and the Canadian State," in The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed. (Toronto: University Press, 1977).

[72] However, during the era of primary interest to this study, that is, the era between 1890 and 1920, continental capitalism was consolidating and the corporate elite held the economic and the political power.

[73] Clement, Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 47.

[74] Ibid, pp. 3 - 4.

75 Idem, "Macrosociological Approaches," pp. 7-9.

76 Ibid, pp. 7-9.

77 Ibid, pp. 7-9.

78 Ibid, pp. 7-9.

79 Ibid, pp. 7-9.

80 Rosemary Mellor, "Urban Sociology in an Urbanized Society," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 26, 1975, p. 228.

Chapter Two

Historical Perspective

The historical perspective of the community of Montreal West implies the study of immigration patterns to Canada following the British conquest of New France. It shows the factors which were to encourage the departure of substantial populations from Scotland and England to what had become a British colony. Furthermore, the historical perspective implies the study of the Canadian political economy in order to determine the attractions which this new colony held for the British and the relationship between the political economies of Great Britain and Canada. This historical review will serve to locate the residents of the community of Montreal West in terms of their ethnicity, religion, socio-economic characteristics and other factors.

A. Immigration

The physical aspect of the development of this community was closely bound to the railways which in turn were a major element of the contemporary political economy at the turn of the nineteenth century. The cultural aspect of the development of this community is also closely intertwined with the political economy of that particular historical era.

The exploration of the development of this community calls for an examination of the relations between the North American colonies and the British Empire. The various waves of immigration that were to flow into the City of Montreal and ultimately contribute to the population of Montreal Junction are bound up in aspects of the Canadian and British political economy. These respective political economies were to influence the role the immigrants would play and the positions they were to occupy once they arrived in Canada. An examination of the relationship between immigration and the political economy will, therefore, precede the discussion of the origins of this community.

The people who had come to make their home in Montreal Junction were of Scottish and English ancestry. Some had come via the urban centre of Montreal, others came directly from Great Britain; that is, from Scotland and England. This migration may be described in terms of 'push and pull' or repulsion and attraction.

There may be periods in the history of a country when economic, social or political conditions encourage its citizens to leave for a country where conditions are more attractive. These conditions must be

extremely powerful to induce people to abandon established patterns of living and to substitute unknown possibilities.

Migrants choose their destination by considering many factors; the possibility of maintaining their religious and linguistic traditions, political links between their homeland and host country and opportunities for equal or improved socio-economic status. Transportation conditions may attract or discourage new settlers and the presence or absence of relatives and/or friends ease the adjustment of re-settlement.

These various 'push-pull forces' were in operation in the migrations from Scotland and England to Montreal. London derived the greater benefits from the growing fur trade in Montreal between 1763 and 1821 even though Scotland made valuable contributions. The Scots had formed a consortium of fur traders in Montreal in 1779, calling it the North West Company.[1] However, the British market for furs, as well as the buyers, handlers and other business contacts had been centered in London as far back as the operations of the Hudson's Bay Company in the 1680's. As time went on, with increased Scottish immigration to Montreal, the Scots were able to strengthen their economic participation in this fur trade.[2]

Simultaneously, the increasingly protectionist policies of Britain gave Scotland a substantial share of the widening market in Britain for capital goods that were ultimately sold in the British colonies. Coastal shipping was the main transportation system used for trade between Scotland and England before the development of the railway system. Increased trade led to the expansion of shipping services and, in turn, to the stimulation of the ship-building industry. Also, roads, harbours and seaports were vastly improved. The social structures of the cities and towns that enjoyed improvements as a result of their role within the transportation system also benefited.

Increased production, which resulted from rapid industrialisation, created increased demand for manufactured goods. While transportation costs remained high, these goods were beyond the reach of the masses. It had, therefore, become necessary to improve the roads and promote the building of canals and railways.

Early ventures (1812-1826) in the railway industry were often based on the transport of mineral resources. The relationship between the transportation systems in England and Scotland was close. The early improvements in Scotland were often based on the English system that was itself a reflection of the best in the world. During the railway building era, England financed the railways in Scotland. After 1830, Scotland manufactured and exported railway locomotives and later, in the 1860's, added rolling stock and equipment.[3] This period is particularly significant in the light of its correspondence to the beginnings of the railway era in Canada in general, and in Montreal Junction, in particular.[4]

Similarly, the phenomenal growth in England and Scotland of complex commercial structures such as the banks and insurance companies proceeded along parallel lines. As the commercial structures grew in complexity, the relations between the Bank of England and the Scottish banks continued to grow closer. During the 1800's, approximately 38% of all immigrants to England were born in Scotland.[5] By the nineteenth century, the Scottish future had become absorbed by Great Britain. Due to this heavy traffic between England and Scotland this thesis makes a loose distinction between them.

The period 1870-1914 saw increased output in fields such as steel, shipbuilding, coal, heavy engineering, distilling, brewing and other food industries and construction but there were already signs of stagnation in

the fields of agriculture, cotton and jute. Problems such as tariff restrictions and foreign competition in industry and in transportation developed causing the English and Scottish economies to slow down significantly.[6]

The social conditions in both Scotland and England were similar. The growing shortage of arable land in the English country-side contributed to an increased migration to the cities.[7] Between 1800 and 1851, the urban population had grown dramatically.[8] This demographic change contributed to the poor social conditions.

English workers not absorbed into the labor force became dependent on the relief facilities of urban parishes. Although some of the excess workers joined the military, the numbers of unemployed continued to swell.[9] Unskilled and unorganized workers were faced with poor conditions where "Sleep, diet, sanitation, privacy and even respiratory air were inadequate for basic human needs."[10] However, skilled workers organized themselves into craft unions and enjoyed better conditions but with no job security.[11]

Similarly in Scotland, there was widespread financial distress, especially among the handloom weavers, of whom Wilson made the observation that, "the sturdily honest people battled with destitution rather than receive the slightest help from charity."[12] Meanwhile, the level of Scottish charitable donations was held in check by their 'national prudence.' The amounts available for relief in Scotland in the 1830's seldom approached, in proportion to the population, even one quarter of the amount raised in England. This harsh attitude was prevalent even at the top of the social structure. In his statement with respect to the reform of the Scottish 'poor law,' Lord Chalmers maintained that it was nobler to

struggle with financial difficulties than to submit to official inspection. He held that rates of relief for the deserving poor were intended to foster self-respect and charity.[13]

The nineteenth century witnessed many setbacks despite dramatic economic expansion. Increasing trade union activity after 1824 saw both periods of economic growth and economic decline punctuated by strikes attempting to benefit from the good years and to avoid the hardships of the lean years.[14]

In response to the severe economic problems created by a hungry and underemployed population and an economy desperate for new markets, the governments of England and Scotland instituted various programs to induce their surplus populations to emigrate to North America.[15] There, it was hoped, they would become self-supporting consumers providing markets for British manufactured goods.

Canada welcomed these heavy migrations and through a system of land grants, encouraged farm settlement and, simultaneously, the clearance of its vast land and territory. In addition, the fledgling industries in Canada vigorously recruited experienced and skilled personnel in Great Britain. For instance, the Canadian Pacific Railway, heavily financed in Great Britain, imported much of its technical expertise to build the railway and then continued to employ personnel from Great Britain to operate its rapidly growing network.[16]

Encouragement to settle in Canada was also present at the personal level. Scotland, a country of regions, had been characterized by an intense localism or clannishness. Scottish merchants and shipowners who did business in the colonies traded with their home ports and recruited personnel and associates from their home districts, particularly among

their kin. By the late eighteenth century, Scottish settlements were already established in North America, namely in Montreal, Quebec, Halifax, Saint John and Saint Andrews.

After the loss of the American colonies in 1773, British emigration to Canada was particularly heavy and economic ties were strengthened. The population of British North America increased rapidly from 300,000 in 1700 to three million in 1774.[17] Encouraged, and sometimes deluded, by the reports of good prospects for success from friends, relatives, business acquaintances and settlement companies, emigration from Scotland and England continued in heavy waves that did not abate until the twentieth century.

An early study on immigration describes the conditions of travel on the cargo boats which carried British passengers on the lengthy sea voyage.[18] The same study also contrasts the prosperity of the Canadian ship-building industry with the stagnation of its British counterpart.[19]

Another study of immigration by George Brown analyzes the demographic changes in terms of waves of immigration. The first wave of English-speaking people came immediately after the Conquest when a number of merchants arrived from the British Isles and from the thirteen colonies to the south. Although they were only a few hundred as opposed to 60,000 French Canadians, they became very active, taking over the business life of the colony and the fur trade of the West.[20] This migration continued during the American Revolution with groups of Loyalists entering Quebec through Lake Champlain or crossing the border at Niagara. It gathered further strength during the peace that prevailed in the winter of 1773-74 when a majority of the 70,000 refugees settled near the St. Lawrence River above Montreal in the Eastern Townships, the Ottawa Valley, the Gaspé Peninsula and smaller colonies along the southern fringe of the Laurentians

and elsewhere.[22]

The Loyalist immigrants had personality characteristics of their own that were expressed in and left their mark on their new homes. They had a strong loyalty to the British flag and the principles of self-government which they had enjoyed at home.

The Post-Loyalist settlement followed and remained strong until after 1810. Those who had come to Montreal from Great Britain, often by way of the 'Maritime provinces', had come in response to a number of religious, political and economic pressures.[23] The Scots felt the Established Church was dominated by the upper classes and so they had pressed for various forms of dissension from their Church. Politically, they favoured parliamentary and burgh reform.

The flood of United Empire Loyalists, which brought an influx of Scots to New Brunswick in 1784 and encouraged the settlement of the Eastern Townships in Quebec, was swelled by an influx of Scottish agricultural settlers, bringing with them valuable experience in improved farming methods. Similarly, the prowess of the military settlers, the disbanded highland regiments, and the role of the professional men in Kirk, law, education and medicine should not be overlooked. Those settlers arrived at a time of great opportunity in the timber trade.[24] This commerce had economic implications not only for the farmers, but also for the merchants, manufacturers and shipowners in an era of dramatic industrialization and modernization.[25] A major feature of the economic development of Scotland in the late eighteenth century had been the growth of her shipping industry. Scotland is, in fact, one of the oldest homes of heavy industry, especially in the building of large machinery and heavy ships. The dominance of lumber as a building material, its desirability as a shipping cargo and its

abundance in British North America enhanced the attraction of the colonies.[26]

The next surge of settlers came after 1815 with the Great Migration. Industrial unemployment, the rural exodus that followed the agricultural revolution, the Irish potato famine and the racial problems in Scotland were among its major causes. Immigrants came from all parts of the British Isles, lured to the British provinces by the promise of available land.

The last and greatest wave of migration to North America came at the end of the nineteenth century. It had many causes or push-pull factors. Steamships made ocean travel faster, safer and cheaper. Canada had offered land that the railways had opened up. Moreover, Prime Minister Laurier's Minister of the Interior, Clifford Sifton, pursued an active policy of encouraging immigration. Almost three million immigrants came to Canada between 1897 and 1914.[27]

We have then a pattern of migration from Scotland to England, from there across the ocean to the thirteen colonies and to what was to become Canada. The Loyalists and other New Englanders had settled on unoccupied land along the Quebec/Vermont border, land that had been offered by the Canadian government and by private land companies. This region, now referred to as the Eastern Townships, remained English and Gaelic speaking until the 1840's when the younger men from the French parishes along the St. Lawrence were pressured to move. At the same time, the earlier residents of the Eastern Townships were being attracted to the newly-opened areas further west. Similar patterns of migration could be seen in the Ottawa valley and the Gaspé pennisula.

In 1941, well over 1/6 of the English-speaking adults living in

the Province of Quebec had been born in other provinces.[28] There had been a substantial migration to Quebec from other provinces, especially in the nature of rural/urban migration in which farmers came to Montreal to take up urban occupations.[29]

The population of Montreal Junction, subsequently re-named Montreal West, came either directly from England or Scotland or was descended from immigrants who had come to Canada in one of the earlier waves of migration. The next section will, therefore, examine the Canadian political economy to discover the factors which led this population to come to Canada and to Montreal. It will also help to explain what led those who came to settle the new community to choose Montreal Junction as their home.

B. Political Economy of Canada

1. The Transfer of Power

The British conquest of New France, in 1763, was to set the tone for future social, political and economic developments in Canada. The colony lost 10,000 men, either as war casualities or through emigration.

> "A travers la guerre de la Conquête, le Canada perd 10,000 hommes du fait de la guerre ou de l'émigration. L'exodu touche environ 4,000 personnes dont 2,000 soldats, le reste étant constitué d'une partie de la noblesse celle qui se sentait encore francaise, d'officiers, d'administrateurs coloniaux et des marchands les plus importants . . . les chiffres sont considérables pour une population totale de 70,000 personnes."[30]

The Conquest saw the "beheading" of the population of New France; that is, the massive return of the officers, colonial administrators and the most important merchants to France after 1767. Among the elite, only the seigneurs, the clergy and the less important merchants remained. The "canadiens" merchants were replaced by their British counterparts who were advantageously linked to the new center of power and "the canadiens," without a direct link to the commercial center, had become marginalized on the economic level.

Demographic pressures encouraged the remaining "canadiens" to remain in a rural milieu where they provided furs and wheat for Britain through the British merchants in the colony. Offsetting this rural population was the influx of British and American settlers which had come to Canada with the several waves of migration. Although a mere 10-15% of the total population, their skills earned them a disproportionate share of the economic rewards.

Quebec had an economy based primarily on commercial relations with a colonial power. The governments discouraged the development of a manufacturing sector.

Meanwhile, Great Britain had been in the midst of an economic revolution and at war with Napoleon. Faced by the Continental Blockade, she was cut off from commercial ties with Europe. She required both wheat and wood to provide for her own industrialization and urbanization as well as to fill her war time needs.[31] A surplus of exportable commodities put pressure on merchants, manufacturers and shipowners to seek new customers.[32] Wheat and lumber were abundant in North America so Britain enacted a series of laws to encourage trade with the colonies.[33]

The lumber trade, which gradually replaced the fur trade, was monopolized by "lumber lords" who could operate on a large scale. Major capital was required to dam rivers and transport the lumber. It was available only to wealthy businessmen, working closely with and to the benefit of British banks.

The British merchants, protected by tariffs, expanded their business and economic influence. Having accumulated substantial capital in the eighteenth century and having access to more, they could undertake new and more demanding commercial activities; the lumber trade and financial speculation. They formed, in partnership with the state, an oligarchy that ruled the life of the colony. Integrated with this group were the first Canadian financial institutions that were established to facilitate trade; thus was effected the link between finance and trade.[34]

Directed toward the fur, fish and grain trade, these banks loaned neither to farmers nor to manufacturers.[35] They were commercial banks lending on short term and integrated with British mercantilism. These banking institutions had been founded by associations of merchants for the purpose of international and not domestic trade just as the

transportation network had been developed according to the needs of international rather than internal trade.[36]

The British merchants enjoyed the profits of the British monopoly of maritime transportation which provided investment capital. There was a transfer of economic power in international trade from French to British control.[37] The French merchants now found themselves having to trade in a foreign world, that of the British Empire and having to forge links with unknown merchants of either the new metropolis or of the other colonies. Especially following the union of the two Canadas, the French Canadians had become a minority.[38]

The British commercial elite defined the rules of the game in the second half of the nineteenth century when the elements of the Canadian economy would consolidate the French/English status quo. Meanwhile, after the Continental Blockade had been lifted, Britain re-established a free trade policy. She resumed her trade with Europe, buying Canadian products only when the latter could compete with European exports. Canada continued to purchase British manufactured goods and in 1887, the preferential tariff was restored for commonwealth countries.

Britain had, in the meantime, lost her American colonies which had undergone industrialization, their exports increasingly replacing those of Britain despite the preferential tariffs. Steps were taken to protect British financial and political interests.[39] The Durham Report and the Union of the Two Canadas were to be followed by the movement toward Confederation.[40]

The Canadian economy was closely tied to the British and American economies so that depression in Europe and America adversely affected the domestic economy.

2. Transportation, Government and the Canadian Industrial Elite

The merchant class had control of public investment and, cut off from the privileges which had united it with England, Canada experienced a period of financial decline.[41] In 1840, the new government of Canada felt the answer was a network of canals along the St. Lawrence River. Such a project had required heavy investment, an investment which the state had assumed, supported by the credit provided by the imperial guarantee. This was to be a characteristic feature of the Canadian political economy.[42]

The involvement of government in private enterprise in Canada was a direct result of the nature of the natural resources which were scattered yet abundant and could be made highly profitable by exporting them. Their development required heavy capital investment in railways and power facilities, as well as immigration and land settlement. To encourage investment, the Canadian government offered various inducements including many protective tariffs.[43]

The Quebec economy became increasingly tied to the North American economy while maintaining important ties with Britain. Three economic priorities arose for the British merchants:

1) to avoid the expensive Maritime route of the St. Lawrence by joining the port of Montreal to the Atlantic by rail;

2) to conquer the Maritime market and that of the English Antilles.

3) to negotiate a free-exchange agreement with the United States for access to the lumber industry.

The construction of railways became the 'showcase activity' for the next fifty years.[44] The latter half of the nineteenth century witnessed a period of economic growth in Canada accompanied by the rapidly expanding growth of financial institutions such as banks and insurance companies. These new institutions provided the means for channelling the savings of individuals and smaller enterprises into investments in the new railways and industries.[45]

Aside from their role as an outlet for surplus capital, the railways served other economic purposes. The railways opened new territory for settlement, extended the home market for agriculture and industry and encouraged the export trade. They opened new fields of profit to the contractors and promoters and led to the establishment of new factories, especially those devoted to the manufacture of heavy industrial machinery such as railway equipment. Thus, they were crucial factors in the industrialization, economic growth and ultimately the political development of Canada.[46]

The development of the Canadian railways is closely tied to developments in the North American and the British political economies. The Americans had built the Great Western Railway that by-passed Montreal, drawing trade away from this Canadian centre. In order to protect its trade, Canada had required a main or 'trunk' line to run from east to west from Lake Huron to Montreal and Quebec. Therefore, a group of Montreal businessmen, including Bank of Montreal interests, their friends and holders of political office, joined with some very powerful British institutions to finance the creation of the Grand Trunk Railway Company.[47] However, construction was performed by American rather than Canadian contractors due to the

preponderance of American capital.[48] A rival project, designed to draw the traffic by a different route, was carried out by the Canadian Pacific Railway Company. They negotiated highly advantageous terms and commercial concessions for the building of the railroad.[49]

The development of the Canadian railways is also closely linked to the advances in British industrial technology. The resulting economic boom provided Britain with a surplus of investment capital and the construction of the Canadian railways provided an excellent opportunity for profitable investment secured by government. Thus, British technology and expertise in railway construction and British financing in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway, were all factors involved in the hiring of Britons to staff the new railway companies in Canada.

The Canadian Pacific Railway Company had a particularly high concentration of Scottish immigrants in its upper echelons. Its first President, Sir Hugh Allan and Senator D.L. MacPherson, founder of the Company, were both of Scottish origin.[50]

The group that received the contract for the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railway was headed by George Stephen, a Scotsman who had lived in England and became President of the Bank of Montreal in 1876.[51] The Scots in the Canadian Pacific Railway Company were not only present at the executive level but also at intermediate levels in the Company. There were also many Englishmen who worked for the railways. These railway workers were often followed across the ocean to Canada by their kinsmen and countrymen.[52]

The new railway companies were creating new occupations and economic opportunities for many types of workers, especially those with either technological skills or a good educational background. Moreover, the newly constructed roads joining the United States and Canada, and the

wealth of natural resources in these countries combined with the expansion of the railroads in Canada, had opened new economic opportunities for British merchants and investors.[53] The Canadian Industrial Elite developed from this background. It was John Porter (1965) who had pointed out that:

> "Canada's ethnic mosaic is arranged hierarchically in such a way that social class membership and ethnic group membership are interwoven in a complex vertical mosaic . . . characterized by inequalities in prestige, power and control over economic resources among the ethnic groups. Perhaps the most important aspect of this interlinkage between class and ethnicity is . . . the substantial degree of dominance over the higher status occupations in the society of Canadian, of British and, in some institutional contexts, French origins . . ."

He underlines the importance of occupation stating that an individual's occupation is the "most valid measure of his class position and his particular set of life-chances."[54]

T.W. Acheson, in a detailed study of the Canadian Industrial Elite, points out that the Canadian Industrial Elite of the St. Lawrence region were Protestant, mainly Presbyterian and English speaking. The favoured occupations, therefore, tended to be in this language, a distinct advantage to Anglo-Saxon Canadians.[55] Furthermore, since the English speaking population in Montreal was so small, their 'extended network' provided accessibility to the elite and to those who could be of economic assistance to them.[56] The Anglo-Canadians tended to view as their reference group the industrial elite which are shown in Tables I and II to be predominantly of British origin.

TABLE I

Paternal Ethnic Origins of the Industrial Elite by Dates

	1885 Elite	1910 Elite
Native born:		
Maritimes	13%	9%
St. Lawrence	9%	10
Lake Peninsula		8
Non-Native-born:		
Scotland	28	30
Ireland (Prot.)	14	11
Ireland (Cath.)	3	6
England	13	17
United States	15	8
Germany	5	2
Total	100	100
Total Cases	151	175

The English-born population of Canada rose from 144,999 in 1871 to 519,401 in 1911. The Scottish-born declined from 121,074 in 1871 to 83,631 in 1901, then rose to 169,891 during the next decade. The Irish-born declined from 224,422 in 1871 to 92,874 in 1911. Canada, Census (1911, III, ix.)

Source: T.W. Acheson. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 197.

TABLE II

BIRTHPLACES OF THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE BY DATES

	1885 Elite	1910 Elite
Native-Born:		
Maritimes	18%	12%
St. Lawrence	33	31
Lake Pennisula		30
The West	0	1
Non-Native-Born:		
Scotland	20	7
Ireland (Prot.)	7	3
Ireland (Cath.)		1
England	6	7
United States	12	7
Germany	4	1
Total	100	100
Total Cases	164	227

Source: T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Originals of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910. "Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2. (Summer 1973), p. 198.

Table II indicates that, taken together for the St. Lawrence region, the Presbyterians (41%), the Anglicans (25%) and the Methodists (4%) formed 70% of the industrial elite with the Presbyterians showing the strongest representation.

Moreover, as shown in Table III, the Presbyterians, the Anglicans and the Methodists comprised a total of 74% of the 1885 elite and 77% of the 1910 elite. In 1911, they enjoyed this high representation in the Canadian Industrial Elite even though they only comprised 45% of the general population in 1911. Moreover, the Presbyterians seemed to be in a particularly strong position in this respect comprising 36% of the 1885 elite and 33% of the 1910 elite, yet they were only 15% of the general population in 1911.

TABLE III

RELIGION OF THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE BY DATES

	1885 Elite	1910 Elite	General Population in 1911
Presbyterian	36%	33%	15%
Anglican	19	27	15
Methodist	19	17	15
Roman Catholic	12	12	40
Baptist	6	5	5
Congregationalist	4	1.5	.5
Other Protestant	4	4	7
Jewish	0	.5	1
Total	100	100	98.5[a]
Total Cases	138	202	7,206,000

[a]Other categories 1.5 per cent.

Source: T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 199.

Furthermore, looking at Table IV

Table IV

RELIGION OF THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE OF 1910 BY REGION

	Maritimes	St. Lawrence	Lake Peninsula	West
Presbyterian	33%	41%	20%	28%
Anglican	33	25	26	20
Methodist	15	4	28	44
Roman Catholic	4	20	6	8
Baptist	11	1	11	0
Congregationalist	4	2	2	0
Other Protestant	0	6	6	0
Jewish	0	1	0	0
Total	100	100	100	100
Total Cases	27	97	53	25

we see that taken together, for the St. Lawrence region, the Presbyterians (41%), the Anglicans (25%) and the Methodists (4%) formed 70% of the industrial elite with the Presbyterians again showing the strongest representation.

Source: T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer, 1973), p. 200.

Also, Table V indicates that the members of the Canadian Industrial Elite were becoming increasingly well-educated. By 1910, 6% of the Elite had a high school education and 15% had attended college.

TABLE V

EDUCATION OF THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE BY DATES

	1885 Elite	1910 Elite
None	4%	1%
Common School	55	28
High School	36	61
College	5	15
Total	100	100
Total Cases	22	164

Source: T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 201.

Table VI shows that within the Industrial Elite of 1910, of those coming from a rural area, 50% had less than high school education while 79% from a town and 89% from a city had completed high school.

TABLE VI

EDUCATIONAL LEVEL ACHIEVED BY MEMBERS OF THE INDUSTRIAL ELITE OF 1910, BY SIZE OF CHILDHOOD COMMUNITY

Community	Education					
	None	Common School	High School	College	Total	Number
Rural (%)	3	47	20	20	100	30
Town (%)	-	21	74	5	100	58
City (%)	-	12	67	21	100	76

Because of the difficulties involved in identifying the size of any Canadian town before 1871, any community which was deemed a local center of the period has been considered as a "town" for purposes of this table.

Also, there is evidently a 10% error in the original data by Acheson with respect to education and rural childhood community. However, regardless of how this 10% adjustment is effected, the relationship between education and size of childhood community still exists.

By 1910, about four of every five industrialists on whom information is available were products of an urban or semi-urban environment.

Source: T.W. Acheson. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 202.

Particularly in Quebec, the Elite were religious men and tended to be businessmen who participated in their religious activities with a high level of involvement, often having held more than one religious office.

TABLE VII

RELIGIOUS OFFICES HELD BY LEADING INDUSTRIALISTS OF 1910

Office	Denomination						
	Pres.	Ang.	Meth.	Cath.	Bapt.	Cong.	Other
Local	10	4	6	3	-	1	2
Provincial	-	6	6	-	2	11	-
National	-	-	4	-	1	-	-
International	3	-	3	-	1	-	-
Church College	7	12	5	1	2	1	-
Interdenominational	3	-	3	-	1	-	-
Total Offices	20	21	24	4	7	2	2
No. of Individuals	14	15	15	4	4	1	2
Proportion	21%	28%	43%	13%	40%	25%	20%

Source: T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910." Business History Review, XLVII, no. 2 (Summer 1973), p. 203.

As did his predecessor of 1885, the industrialist of 1910 diligently involved himself in the political process There was virtually no change in political affiliation over the thirty year period and in the case of the region with which we are especially concerned, that is the St. Lawrence region, industrialists tended to vote Conservative.

The British had a highly literate society which embodied the 'Protestant Ethic' and particularly, the Calvinist virtues.[57] They participated in debating societies, an activity which was more useful for them as potential members of corporation boards than it would be for those in agrarian occupations. Business and industry in the growing Canadian economy could not function without a middle management class with certain verbal and mathematical skills. These are acquired not only through formal training but also by primary and secondary socialization.

The superior literary and technological education of the Anglo-Canadians not only coincided with the needs of Canadian business and industry but also provided a high degree of vertical mobility for a population that entered the socio-economic system in the middle range. Thus, it allowed many of its members the avenues to join the Canadian Industrial Elite.[58]

The Canadian Industrial Elite, then, was made up mainly of English-speaking Protestants. They were, in the Lower St. Lawrence Region, most likely to be Presbyterian, Methodist or Anglican, to live in Montreal and to be well-educated. On the other hand, the majority of Quebecers were French-speaking Catholics who lived mainly in the rural areas. The Franco-phone community also had an intelligentsia. However, the graduates of

the "colleges classiques" did not expect to do clerical work in the employ of the railway companies. One can see that the Canadians of Anglo-Saxon origin had a number of cultural advantages which would have strong implications for their participation in the economic life of Canadian society. By religion, education and language, they were prepared for full participation in the country's economic development.

The economic conditions, which had their most dramatic developments in the area of transportation, also were particularly linked to the leadership of those Canadians of British origin, with the railway builders being mainly of the latter group.

In the final analysis, it was the transfer of technology from the more sophisticated Scottish industrial economy to the more primitive Canadian, coupled with the traditional practice of providing some form of training for those sons who would not inherit, that gave the Scots their advantage. They came from an industrializing society in the mid-nineteenth century and came prepared, on the whole, to function and give leadership to the fledgling Canadian industries. Moreover, because of the Scottish Canadians' tendency to perpetuate this system of 'providing a trade' for the sons, and because of the intense ethnic loyalties which characterized the outlook of most Scottish migrants, the group managed to preserve this technological superiority over members of most other ethnic groups, even into the second generation.

This era of great economic opportunity for the entrepreneur is described by

> "The close class linkages between businessmen and politicians, the numerical insignificance of the Canadian labour movement, the subsidization of entrepreneurship in Canadian national tariff and transportation policies, miniscule taxation and the eagerness with which Canadian resources were doled out to capitalists, native and

> foreign, all suggest an environment promoting the maximum business opportunity while providing minimum social regulation of the profitmaking."[59]

The greatest opportunities were provided by the major changes in industrial technology and the new administrative and financial corporate structures. The new opportunities created at least three new professional classes; the career executive, the stock broker, and the lawyer. Each provided a specialized service necessary to the functioning of the corporate entity, and many were the products of humble origins.[60]

The Scots comprised the dominant group in most forms of commerce. They were also dominant in company ventures.[61] The Scots had a talent for mobilizing the capital resources of the community to broaden the economic capacity of the city. Their interest was, with few exceptions, limited mainly to endeavours that would enhance the commercial power and extend the metropolitan reach of Montreal. The government of Canada, in terms of assistance, encouragement and real estate, had been extremely generous to the railways. While the private capitalist taxed the population at the federal level in the form of unrepaid loans, cash and land grants and free construction materials such as stone and timber, the benefits of railway construction went principally to British investors and their Canadian junior partners. Government support was also given at the local level. The municipalities made direct loans and stock subscriptions to the railway companies as well as extensive gifts of urban land for approaches, terminals and stations and exemption from local taxes.

The close identification of the railway promoter and of the government official became particularly widespread and national and local laws were enacted to help finance the building of the railways. The extent to which the government cooperated with the railway promoter is exemplified by the huge public dept.

> "Public debt on account of the railway system had been piled up by the time of Confederation to the extent of more than 33 million by the Province of Canada and another 10.6 million by Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. In addition, the municipalities in the Province of Canada had accumulated nearly 7 million in debt due to railway assistance.[62]

The most immediate effect of the railway boom was felt in the local manufacture of railway equipment, that is, in the iron industry. The technology established in Scotland and in England during their own industrial revolution was transferred to Canada. As early as 1853, the Scottish firm of Kinmond Brothers opened a plant in Montreal. Factories for rolling and re-rolling iron rails and for repairing rolling stock were established by the railway companies and by businessmen in that field.[63] By the 1860's, boilers, steam engines, agricultural implements, mine machinery, mill gearing, stoves and grates, piping and steam fittings, tools, spikes, nails, rivets, bolts and nuts were all being made in Montreal.[64]

Most of the factories, including the two Montreal puddling and rolling mills which could supply the whole of Canada with enough nails and the Victoria Iron Works which used Scotch pig-iron to make rails, were located along the banks of the Lachine canal. Flour mills, sugar refineries, shoe factories, tobacco and cigar factories all contributed to the industrialization of Montreal.[65]

Although railway building was dominant, engineering and ship-building were also important elements in the early industrialization of Canada, with the first steam engines built in Montreal being designed for ships.[66] The changes in industry were also reflected in commercial enterprises. Banking and insurance firms and mortgage and loan companies were established.[67]

The main industry was still in forest products despite this railway related economic activity. These new establishments were related to the activities of the port of Montreal and to Quebec's abundant and cheap labour. Both were considered to be major advantages in the development of an economic structure. At this time, the shipyards of the Quebec region were still very active.

The industrial structure of eastern Canada was weak on the eve of Confederation. The businessmen, the markets and the techniques all came from the outside. In this era, 85% of the population lived in the countryside, a major obstacle to industrial specialization. The colonies of British North America were in a precarious financial position, having over-invested in railways. The general recession, the termination of the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States and the fear of invasion of the British North American territories by the United States had led those British bankers who had been providing loans to severly restrict credit.[68] A new political structure was, therefore, required to serve the needs of business and Confederation was advanced as the solution.[69]

The new economic structure was successful for a time; railway lines were extended eastward and westward and Montreal experienced important industrial growth in the various previously established sectors[70]

such as the wheat market.[71] However, between 1878 and 1896, there was a marked decline in Canadian trade and commerce. Markets for Canadian staple products were disappearing while American and British merchandise was pouring into Canada, particularly in the fields of lumber, leather, boots and shoes. Basic industries were in decline and the agricultural industry was unable to absorb its labor. Unemployment and economic distress were widespread among farmhands, lumbermen and factory workers.

The rate of industrial expansion was insufficient to absorb the surplus population from the cities and the rural areas. There was a constant overflow of rural population at each generation and there was increased migration of francophones to the United States and settlement of new regions within Quebec.[73] Other parts of Canada were also affected by the high rates of emigration. The deflationist tendencies and the resultant business imbalance, combined with American competition, prompted the government of Canada to adopt measures in 1879 that were referred to as the National Policy.[74]

The new strategy called for replacing the weakening imperial ties with a strengthened transcontinental economy. Specifically, it was expressed in terms of 1) staples and transportation, 2) tariffs and railways, 3) land and immigration policies and 4) the buttressing of enterprise by government ownership and support.

Canada was the primary producer who supplied Great Britain and the United States with cheap raw materials for their industrial production.[72]

These natural products were dependent on water transportation and, with the advent of the railways, on transportation incorporating the railway system.[76]

The development of the Canadian transportation system had meant a substantial decrease in the cost of the transportation of Canadian staples. Since the Canadian economy was dependent on the foreign exchange obtained from the export of wheat, the prosperity of the wheat production of the West was vital. The transportation of this staple product was, therefore, crucial to the well-being of the Canadian economy.

The railway system, consisting mainly of east-west lines, was closely related to the tariff imposed on imports. Prior to Confederation, the tariff raised money to finance railway construction. However, after 1867, it imposed a financial barrier to the movement of commerce across the natural frontier, particularly from the South, and thereby, established an east-west transportation pattern for commercial goods. This supported the agricultural industry of the West and assisted the manufacturing industries of the East, establishing Quebec and Ontario as the industrial heart of the Nation and linking them with the Maritimes. The aim of the tariff had been to fulfil the National Policy and its efforts to support the transportation system and to encourage the industrialization that had already begun.[77]

This tariff system remained the foundation of the Canadian financial structure throughout the years of World War I and was an important source of capital.[78] In addition to the domestic effects of the tariff, there was also an external aspect to the tariff system. The Liberal government, under Prime Minister Laurier, extended the National Policy into a wider imperialist framework, offering an imperial preference system as an added inducement to industries to locate in Canada in order to sell to the extensive hinterlands regions of the empire at preferential rates.[79]

The Imperial Preference encouraged trade cooperation between Canada and Great Britain. The tariff was so altered as to allow manufactured goods to enter Canada at a lower rate of duty than goods from other countries. As a result, trade within the empire was encouraged and the prices to Canadian consumers of British goods were lowered while the Canadian manufacturer was still left a substantial amount of protection.[80]

There was a great revival in the economy coinciding with this new National Policy and partly as a result of it. All this renewed trade caused renewed activity in the railways too.[81] Other industries also benefited from the new National Policy. According to Shull:

> "By the early nineties, Canada was supplying half of all the cheese imported into England and cheese factories were becoming important accounts with Canadian banks. There was also growth in meat-packing companies and in the textile industry. Moreover, from 1880 on, pulpwood was in greater demand as it had become the principal source of supply for papermaking and there was a growth in the metals and in minerals such as copper, nickel and oil."[82]

The National Policy implied a very specific direction for the land and immigration policies of the country. Much land, at this time an important economic resource, had been given to the railway companies as part of the encouragement by the government for the construction of an intercontinental railway system. What was not used by the company was then sold to other interests. In addition, the government, in its effort to encourage immigration and settlement, had been offering land grants to new settlers. Although the land often fell into the hands of the land companies, the government did succeed in its purpose of encouraging immigration and settlement. Immigration from other parts of the British Empire was increased and did bring heavy influxes of British immigrants into Canada.

The successful settlement of the Prairies was fundamental to

the blueprint for the east-west economy. The agricultural products of the West constituted the bulk of the cargo for the Canadian Pacific Railway and thereby assured its growth while the Prairie farmers' need for manufactured goods ensured prosperity for Eastern industries. To accomodate these needs, between 1896 and 1921, Canadian Pacific continued to bring in new settlers and to carry out produce. [83] The rising price of wheat and other grains led to growth in settlement. The growth in setlement combined with the improved quality of grain derived from new farming techniques provided more grain to sell. [84]

The National Policy had predictable results on immigration.[85] As was noted by Martel, there was little growth in the French Canadian population. [86] He also pointed out that the railways and the industries of the East, supported by the tariff system, were largely the domain of the Anglo-American and Anglo Canadian interests. [87]

The National Policy gave direction to state involvement in the buttressing of large commercial enterprise by government ownership and support. [88] For instance, the close relationship between the Grand Trunk Railway, the Montreal Business Community and some of the most powerful British banking institutions has been described by Ryerson. [89]

The buttressing of enterprise by government ownership and support is explicable in terms of the economic dependence of Canada on her natural resources. The production of these staples called for heavy importation of capital and substantial government expenditure in the field of railways, power facilities, immigration and land settlements. The government felt it had an obligation to protect its heavy investment and one of the means to accomplish this end was the tariff.[90] The

government provided an ideal environment for the entrepreneur with its protective national tariff and its transportation policies, with its generosity concerning natural resources and with its low taxation rates.[91]

Canadian development was carried out by three main actors; the British financiers, the Anglo-Canadian businessmen and the American industrialists. The changes that they had carried out together permitted the establishment of a commercial and political anglo-Canadian aristocracy.[92]

In order to legitimize the various economic elements of the National Policy, the Conservatives emphasized British loyalty. They identified conservative elitism as British in contrast with the (treasonous) reformism of the Americans. This was all linked with a concept of Canadian nationalism.[93]

The change to the vigorous National (Tariff) Policy of 1878, the creation of the Canadian Pacific Railway, the opening of the West, the Manitoba Boom, and the revival of the European market had a dramatic influence on the development of Montreal. The manufacturing of bridge work and structural steel at Montreal begins with the opening of the twentieth century. The opening of the Canadian Pacific Railway brought the Angus railway shops and the manufacturing of tobacco products expanded into a leading industry. The next decade saw the manufacturing of electrical apparatus and the manufacturing of railway cars, rolling stocks, steam engines, leather, cement and a large variety of minor goods convert Montreal of the nineteenth century from a purely maritime center to its later appearance as a great manufacturing center attached to a seaport.

TABLE VIII

Commercial Development of Montreal:
Transportation, Communication and Finance

IMPORTANT DATES	MONTREAL
1832	Montreal becomes an ocean port and establishes its customs office
1851	Montreal Harbour Commission formed, has channel deepened permitting ocean steamers to come to city
1847	First telegraph line between Quebec and Montreal
1852	First transatlantic steamer to Quebec
1853	First transatlantic steamer to Montreal
1854	First Rail Communication on the Montreal-Portland line inaugurated
1854-59	Building of Victoria Bridge
1856	First Rail line between Montreal and Toronto inaugurated
1858	Linking of Canada and Europe by transatlantic cable (first transatlantic cable then in existence)
1861	Tramways started
1863	Establishment of Board of Brokers.
Mid 70's	Invention of Telephone.
1874	Board of Brokers becomes Montreal Stock Exchange.
1896	Inauguration of Harbour Extension

Source: Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. The Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974. Paperback edition 1976, pp. 26-27.

3. The Development of Montreal

Montreal was becoming a Canadian metropolis[94]. The harbour had been rebuilt in 1857. In 1894, the Harbour Commission, controlling the port area, docks and properties, was added to its administrative body.[95] Montreal had become the import and export centre of Canada and the export of agricultural products had overtaken that of lumber products. As the Victoria Bridge linked up with the Grand Trunk and the Canadian Pacific Railway lines, Montreal had become a railway centre and a focal point in the "in-river" network.[96] According to Bergeron, it had become the administrative and financial centre for Canadian business, organized in the interests of the English merchants and a few "bourgeois Canayens."[97] In naval transportation, the Lachine Canal was expanded, several steamship lines were established and Montreal became the headquarters of the Shipping Federation.[98]

The dominant position of Montreal in the economic life of the Dominion during this era was accentuated by the fact that it was not only a great shipping and manufacturing center but also a center of finance. The banking system set up in the province of Canada developed into a network of chartered banks with branches organized under the Dominion of Canada. The branch system naturally meant centralized finance as the head offices of banks in the chief cities, such as the Bank of Montreal and the Molsons Bank, in Montreal, added to metropolitan dominance but made for security and mutual support.

By 1911, the urban community of Montreal had a population of 590,919 of which Montreal West's population comprised 703 persons. With the advent of the street railway, the crowded city pushed outward to new rural areas that ultimately became the suburbs.[99]

The financing of the railways was linked with the other aspects of the financial growth of the country. The heavy inflow of people and large cash investments, the expansion of the Montreal harbour in 1896 and a series of successful seasons in the agricultural sector created a climate of general prosperity. The rich funds of the Klondyke, that peaked in 1900, encouraged the establishment of the mint. There was a burst of activity among the banks. New branches were opened and some amalgamated. Competition was keen and bank failures were not unknown.[100]

Speculation in stocks and in real estate was rampant. The collapse of the real estate market came in 1912. The municipal government had made too heavy an investment, with local improvements such as sewers, streets and sidewalks being more than the small proprietor could afford. The 1912 collapse accompanied by the halt of the influx of European and other investment led to pessimism in the economy and a bank panic in 1913.[101]

The growth of Montreal at the turn of the century required extensive public works and led to great opportunity for public theft. This resulted in a movement for municipal reform and took the form of a search for a method of election, of tenure of office and of area of representation that would mean honest administration. Popular concern about the dishonesty of their municipal representatives led to the formation of a Citizens Association.

4. The Imperial Connection and the Social Reform Movement

During this period, Canada was still closely tied to Great Britain. The 'imperial connection' led Canadians of Anglo-Saxon origin to see themselves in terms of the new imperialism that was dominating

European and especially British politics. In 1887, Joseph Chamberlain had spoken of "the greatness and importance of the destiny which is reserved for the Anglo-Saxon race . . . . infallibly predestined to be the predominating force in the future history and civilization of the world."[102] Brown and Cook refer to John Hobson's Imperialism (1902) to describe how this new imperialism assumed the superiority of one race over another and claimed for the white man's nations certain 'missions' and responsibilities. The spirit of Anglo-Saxon superiority and mission naturally affected the attitudes of English Canadians, creating a certain social distance between themselves and their French-Canadians counterparts.[103]

In addition to the idea of racial superiority, respect for monarchial institutions and the maintenance of a tariff preference, the imperial connection implied a strong British-Canadian nationalist sentiment. This was symbolized by the founding, in Montreal in February of 1900, of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire, to support Britain in the Boer War. The stated aims of the Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire were: "the stimulation of patriotism, binding women and children of the empire to the throne, the creation of an association for prompt and efficient action by imperial women and children should it be required, the promotion of the study of imperial questions, the care of the dependents of the British military personnel and the direction of women's influence to the bettering of all things connected with the 'Great Empire.'[104]

Stressing legitimation through the historical tradition of British rule and claiming British racial superiority, the Imperialists praised British militarism and the longing for conquest which dominated the current imperialist writings that envisioned Canada as part of an imperial federation.[105]

Ultimately, the combination of imperialism and the growing forces of capitalism were to lead to the First World War, during which the 'imperial connection' and the clash of nationalisms were brought into yet sharper focus. The declaration of war had been greeted with an outburst of enthusiastic patriotism that assumed the imperial forces would win a speedy victory. However, as casualities mounted and the war dragged on, voluntary organizations became involved in ministering to the needs of the military and to the social problems created by the war.[106]

Volunteer recruiting societies, such as the Win the War Associations and the Recruiting Leagues, assisted the recruiting efforts of government. Canadian women, assisted by several prominent British women, made speeches and spread propaganda, helping to create an atmosphere of national crisis and setting the stage for the transition of Canada's military involvement from one of voluntarism to one of compulsory military service.[107]

The active participation of women in voluntary organizations had liberalized the attitude of Canadian society to a political role for women. They had gained political recognition that was to aid the movement to establish voting rights for women.[108]

Other organizations such as the Young Men's Christian Association gave active support in various other ways.[109] The political culture of this era, as evident in the high degree of imperial sentiment expressed by some of these organizations, was reflected in the fact that the Canadian militia was, for all practical purposes, an Anglo-Canadian institution.[110] However, the cultural division continued to grow:

> "When an English Canadian pronounces the word patriotism, he wishes to say love of Empire, while the French-speaking Canadian, with the same word, thinks only of Canada."[111]

The Protestant Churches saw themselves as a seed-bed for social reform. The Methodist Church, especially, "mined militant nationalism with a call for the thorough reconstruction of Canadian society on Christian socialist principles."[112] This atmosphere, the continuing recruiting problems and the high rate of attrition in the Canadian Corps in France, gave the Borden government little choice but to introduce the Military Service Act. However, Conscription turned out to be a political disaster for French Canada.

The social and military duties created by the War imposed upon Anglo-Canadians obligations to the families and dependents of Canadian soldiers. The Imperial Order of the Daughters of the Empire identified with the war effort and played a prominent role in national relief work while the Canadian Red Cross was active with the medical corps on the battlefield and was actively supportive of soldiers wives at home.[113]

The election of the Union government in 1917 represented support for the coalition and for military conscription to win the war which desire had somehow become linked with the desire to build the Kingdom of God on earth. Symbolic of this movement was a collection of essays

edited by the Principal of Ridley College, J.O. Miller, entitled The New Era in Canada. This anthology has as its theme the position that

> "the final triumph of Democracy can only be assured by the willing subordination of the individual to the state, for the common good."[114]

A part of this desire for reform based on social principles was the Prohibitionist movement. Its strongest adherents were among the middle-class Anglo-Saxon Protestants, especially the Methodists, the Baptists, and the Presbyterians. With the growing number of immigrants from backgrounds which did not moralize against alcohol, the social reformers were becomingly increasingly concerned about the effects of this new population on the moral fibre of Canadian society.

The Catholic Church in Quebec did not support Prohibition. It favoured moderation, but was unwilling to join the Protestant Churches, especially the Methodist, the Baptist and the Presbyterian, in demanding total abstinence.

In 1898, Prime Minister Laurier called a national plebiscite on the issue of Prohibition. There was a low electoral return across the country, but in Quebec, Prohibition was clearly defeated.[115]

The War saw other developments besides Prohibition and the right of women to vote. The participation of Canada in World War I also encouraged the formation of the Canadian National Railways. The Canadian government felt it necessary to take over the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk systems and consolidated these with the Intercolonial, which it already owned, into one large public company.[116]

The war years had more unexpected consequences. The war manufacturing gave a tremendous boost to Canadian industry which was dominated by the Anglo-Canadians; thus the war had increased the social disparity between the French-Canadian working classes and the English Canadian business classes.[117]

These newly current issues were symbolized in Mackenzie King's publication in 1918 of 'Industry and Humanity', in which he maintained that Canada's future was urban industrial and that reformers would have to turn their eyes to new kinds of problems. Stephen Leacock's publication in 1920 of 'The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice' maintained that:

> "Out of the social reform movement and the rapid urban growth came the Canadian concern for municipal reform, including the question of jurisdiction in franchises such as the Bell Telephone Company, the electric light companies and the street railways. Conflicts of jurisdiction between the various levels of government led to demands for 'Home Rule' and to the formation in 1901 of the League of Canadian Municipalities. This group stood for opposition to the Ward system and political parties, both of which they believed encouraged abuses of power. 118.

The industrial leaders who were assumed to be the leaders of the community supported urban growth and at the same time encouraged municipal reform.[119]

Some suburbs wished to remain separate municipalities with administrative independence. They had a self-conscious identity which demanded recognition by a separate legal existence; they were setting up separate administrations while Montreal as a city was expanding in every direction.[120]

5. The Role of the State

The state offered an instrumentality for facilitating capital accumulation in private hands and for carrying out the construction of an infrastructure within which capitalism could flourish. Whether in the banking system, public works or railways, the state clearly put its support behind a commercial class. Just as the Canadian economy depended on world prices for staples, so the Canadian body politic was vulnerable to the pressures of the various economic interest groups.[121] The extremely close co-operation between the chartered banks, through the Canadian Bankers Association and the Minister of Finance during World War I, provided an almost centralized banking system and underlines the close relationship that existed between business and government prior to and during the war years.[122] This era saw the gradual replacement of Anglo-Canadian investment by American capital.[123] Among the more evident aspects of this industrial transition were the gradual change of factories to electricity from coal and steam and the transition to the joint stock company as the basis of corporate finance.[124] This industrial revolution in Quebec was dominated by the Anglo-Canadian population.[125]

Summary

Following her industrial revolution, Britain had accumulated a surplus of investment capital and of manufactured goods. Through the acquisition of new colonies in North America, Britain sought to acquire an outlet for its excess capital, products and population. The many attractions of the North American colonies and the powerful social forces at work in Great Britain led to several massive waves of immigration to Canada.

Britain had a highly developed commercial infrastructure which included a system of banks and insurance companies and a network of railways. The British conquest of New France saw the influx of British and later also of American settlers who were to take over the economic life of the colony. Eventually, with British and also American participation, a similar infrastructure was established here, with the greatest development taking place in the field of transportation; more specifically in railways.

A new socio-economic class developed from the establishment of the railways, one sometimes referred to as the Canadian Industrial Elite. In Quebec, between 1880 and 1919, this class had specific characteristics. These many characteristics correspond entirely to the characteristics of the residents of the community of Montreal West. The occupations of the residents of the community were closely related to the new industries, especially in the field of transportation. With so much in common, it appears likely that the Canadian Industrial Elite served as a reference group and a social network for the people of Montreal West.

With the advent of the railways and with the enacting of the various aspects of the National Policy, came the dramatic development

of the city of Montreal. Shipping, manufacturing and finance were all expanded here. Furthermore, with the advent of the street railway, Montreal pushed outward to new rural areas that ultimately became the suburbs. This too is of special relevance because Montreal West had, from 1909 on, been integrated with this system of street railways.

Again, the Canadian system of tariffs, which assisted both the manufacturing and transportation industries,was supportive of the occupational groups who lived in this community. Furthermore, the Canadian land and immigration policies had very definite implications for the residents of this community. The immigration policy attracted those residents who had come directly from Scotland and England as it had attracted the parents of others, immigrants who had themselves come to Canada in an earlier generation. The land policies gave generous grants to colonization companies such as the one which was to establish and develop this community. Due to the close ties existing between Canada and Great Britain, the cultural values and attitudes which were current in Great Britain were transferred to the local community.

Notes to Chapter Two

[1] This refers to the settlement in the terms of the Treaty of Paris following the Seven Years War in which France ceded to Britain her North American colonies.

[2] Acheson, T.W. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910," Business History Review XLVII no. 2 (Summer) (1973), pp. 189-219.

[3] S.G.E. Lythe and J. Butt, An Economic History of Scotland (Glasgow: Blackie and Son Limited, 1975), pp. 133, 136, 145, 195.

[4] Ibid, pp. 97 - 100.

[5] Ibid, pp. 98, 158-160, 233.

[6] Ibid, p. 201.

[7] William Catermole, The Advantages of Emigration to Canada (London: England: Simpkin and Marshall, 1931) Facsimile edition reprinted (Toronto: Coles Publishing Company, 1970), p. 166.

[8] Martin, Where London Ends, p. 101.

[9] Catermole, The Advantages of Emigration to Canada, p. 166.

[10] Barbara Tuchman, The Proud Tower, A Portrait of the World Before The War 1890-1914 (Toronto: Bantam Books, 1967), p. 416.

[11] Ibid, p. 416.

[12] Alexander Wilson, The Chartist Movement in England (Manchester: University Press, 1970), pp. 8 - 9.

[13] Ibid, pp. 8 - 9.

[14] Some of the especially difficult times for the growing industrial towns included the years of 1819, 1825-6, 1832, 1837 and 1840-43. Ibid, p. 5.

[15] Catermole, The Advantages of Emigration to Canada, p. 122.

[16] J. Lorne McDougall, Canadian Pacific (Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968), pp. 39-47.

[17] Ibid, p. 48.

[18] William Catermole, The Advantages of Emigration to Canada, p. 84.

[19] Ibid, pp. 93 - 95.

[20] George Brown, Building the Canadian Nation (Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons (Canada) Limited, 1942), pp. 3 - 4, 231 - 235, 261 - 271.

[21] At the beginning of the Revolution, thousands came to what are now Canada's Atlantic provinces and eventually a large proportion of these ended up in Quebec.

[22] Richard J. Joy, Languages in Conflict: The Canadian Experience, (Ottawa: Richard J. Joy, 1967), p. 91.

Prior to Confederation, these were of course referred to as colonies and not provinces.

[24] David S Macmillan, "The 'New Men in Action:' Scottish Mercantile and Shipping operations in the North American Colonies 1760-1825." in Canadian Business History, Selected Studies, 1497 - 1971, Macmillan, D.S., ed., (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1972), pp. 44 - 45.

[25] Lythe and Butt, An Economic History of England, p. 141 and Alexander Wilson, The Chartist Movement in England, p. 2.

[26] James Macarthur Reid, Scotland Past and Present (London: O.U. Press, 1959), p. 39.

[27] Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, p. 44.

[28] Joy, Languages in Conflict, pp. 98, 100.

[29] It was suggested to me in one of my interviews in the fieldwork that this is inadequately reported because people tended to be embarrassed about their rural origins.

[30] Jean-Louis Martel La Situation des Francophones D'Amerique au Tournant Du Siecle: I -Les Donnees Economiques, Delmas Levesque, gen. ed., L'experience cooperative quebecoise, 5 vols. (Montreal: Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, 1980), p. 8.

[31] Ibid, pp.8-14 .

[32] Wilson, The Chartist Movement in England, p. 2.

[33] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle: I- Les Données Economiques, p. 4.

The preferential tariffs, the Corn Laws and the Navigation Acts stem from this period. Britain's Navigation Laws restricted the ports to which the ships of the colonies could sail and the markets to which they could sell their produce. They were repealed in 1849. W.T. Easterbrook and Hugh S.J. Aitken, Canadian Economic History (Toronto: Macmillan Company of Canada Limited, 1956), p. 357.

[34] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle: I - Les Données Economiques, p. 357.

[35] This financial power was particularly evident among the Scots. For instance, the Bank of Montreal, founded in 1817, had at its founding five Scottish directors; either immigrants or first generation Canadians. Typical of early Canadian banks, their operations followed the example of the new Scottish institutions which had recently revolutionized banking in Britain, if not in all Europe. These innovations included the cash-credits system of branch banking and the increase in the number of middle class share-holders. T.W. Acheson, "The Changing Social Origins of the Canadian INdustrial Elite, 1880 - 1885." pp. 60-61.

[36] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle: I-Les Données Economiques. p. 52.

[37] Even before Confederation, shares in the bank of Montreal, other financial institutions and the new railway companies were being traded and advertised. This led first to the formation of the Board of Brokers in 1863 and then the Montreal Stock Exchange in 1874. The latter handled bank business, government issues, railways, industrial stocks and a small quantity of mining shares.

Stephen Leacock, Montreal, Seaport and City (Garden City: New York: Doubleday, Doran and Company, Incorporated, 1942), p. 228.

[38] Ibid, p. 13.

[39] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique au Tournant du Siecle: I-Les Donnée's Economiques, p. 29.

[40] Ibid, p. 29.

[41] This refers to the repeal of the corn laws and to the removal of the preferential tariffs on timber, along with the resumption of timber preferences. See also, Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, p. 354 for a discussion of the repeal of the corn laws and of the timber preferences.
See also Hutcheson, Dominance and Dependency, (Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1978), p. 32 for a discussion of competitive British industires.

[42] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique au Tournant du Siecle: I-Les Données Economiques, p. 30.

[43] Leo Panitch, "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State," The Canadian State, p. 14.

[44] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant du Siecle, Vol I - Les Données Economiques, p.43.

[45] Stanley B. Ryerson, Unequal Union (Toronto: Progress Books, 1973), pp. 270-271.

[46] Ibid, p. 254.

[47] Ibid, pp. 244 - 247.

[48] Ryerson, Unequal Union, p. 246.

[49] George Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, p. 420.

[50] McDougall, Canadian Pacific, p. 22-26.

[51] Ibid, p. 36.

[52] Ibid, pp. 44 - 47.

[53] Gerald Tulchinsky, "The Montreal Business Community 1837-1853," Canadian Business History, p. 129.

[54] Robert M. Pike and Elia Zwireck, ed., Socialization and Values in Canadian Society, Vol II, Introduction by Robert M. Pike, Carleton Library (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975), p. 2.

[55] T.W. Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910", pp. 195-215.

[56] Jeremy Boissevain and J. Clyde Mitchell, Network Theory and Social Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction (The Hague: Moncton and Co., 1973), pp. 7-8.

[57] See pp. 115, 117.

[58] T.W. Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite" in Canadian Business History, p. 171.

[59] Michael Bliss, "The Canadian Businessman and his Enemies" in Canadian Business History, p. 175.

[60] Acheson, "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910," p. 208.

[61] Ibid, pp. 136-137.

[62] Stanley Ryerson, Unequal Union, pp. 273-274.

[63] The Grand Trunk Railway Company, The Great Western Railway Company and the contracting firm, Gzowski and Company, were among those firms which built Canadian railway equipment.

[64] Ryerson, Unequal Union, pp. 263-264.

[65] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Ameriques au Tournant Du Siecle: Vol. I - Les Données Economiques, p. 43.

[66] Ibid, p. 265.

[67] Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, p. 432.

[68] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique au Tournant Du Siecle I: Vol. I-Les Données Economiques, pp. 43-46.

[69] Ryerson, Unequal Union, pp. 278-280.

[70] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Ameriques au Tournant du Siecle I: Vol I-Les Données Economiques, pp. 42-46.

[71] Léandre Bergeron, The History of Quebec: A Patriote's Handbook, rev. ed. (Toronto: New Canada Publications, a division of NC Press Ltd., 1975), p. 154.

[72] Joseph Schull, One Hundred Years of Banking in Canada: A History of the Toronto-Dominion Bank (Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1958), pp. 70-71.

[73] Bergeron, The History of Quebec, p. 154.

[74] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle I: Vol I - Les Données Economiques, p. 47.

[75] Easterbrook and Aitken, Canadian Economic History, p. 355.

[76] This system had been built with mainly British as well as some American financing and with British and American technical expertise.

[77] John Hutcheson, Dominance and Dependency, p. 39.

[78] Robert Craig Brown and Ramsay Cook, p. 229, Canada 1896-1921, A Nation Transformed, The Canadian Centenary Series, pp. 156, 158 and 229.

[79] Whitaker, "Images of the State," The Canadian State, pp. 45 and 46.

[80] Brown, Building the Canadian Nation, p. 471.

[81] Schull, One Hundred Years of Banking in Canada, pp. 70-71.

[82] Ibid, p. 75.

[83] In this regard, Lord Clifford Sifton's role as Minister of the Interior is discussed in Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, pp. 55-57.

[84] Ibid, pp. 50-51.

[85] See pp. 61-77.

[86] Réjean Lachapelle et Jacques Henripin, La Situation Demolinguistique au Canada; évolution passée et prospective (Montréal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980), p. 14.

[87] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896 - 1921, p. 84.

[88] Panitch, "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State," p. 14.

[89] Ryerson, Unequal Union, p. 24.

[90] Panitch, "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State, "p. 15.

[91] Michael Bliss, "The Golden Age of Business: 1880-1914" in Canadian Business History, p. 485.

[92] Ibid, pp. 69 - 70

[93] Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State, " p. 42.

[94] Leacock, Montreal, Seaport and City, pp. 197 - 198.

[95] At one point, C.C. Ballantyne was to serve as a Harbour Commissioner.

[96] Leacock, Montreal, Seaport and City, p. 128.

[97] Bergeron, The History of Quebec, p. 130.

[98] T. Taggart Smythe, The First Hundred Years, History of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank 1846 - 1946, pp. 102-125.

[99] Leacock, Montreal, Seaport and City, pp. 220-227.

[100] Between 1900 and 1908, over 200 new branches opened throughout Canada. For instance, there were six new branches of the City and District Bank opened in Montreal between 1902 and 1908.

[101] Ibid, pp. 102 - 125.

[102] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, pp. 26-27.

[103] Ibid, pp. 26-27.

[104] Ibid, pp. 42 - 43.

[105] Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State," pp. 47 - 66.

[106] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, pp. 212, 219.

[107] Among the latter were Lady Aberdeen, wife of the Canadian Governor General and Mrs. Parkhurst, wife of a British army major.

[108] Ibid, pp. 219.

[109] See pp. 215 - 216.

[110] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, p. 263.

[111] Ibid, p. 265.

[112] Ibid, p. 221.

[113] Ibid, p. 221.

[114] Ibid, pp. 22-23, 294-296.

[115] Ibid, pp. 22-23, 294-296.

[116] Ibid, p. 246.

[117] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, pp. 108-109.

[118] Ibid, pp. 103-104.

[119] The League of Canadian Municipalities opposed Montreal West's request for membership. As noted in the minutes of the Meeting of the Municipal Council of the Town of Montreal West, the Council assumed this was because of its Ward system. Ultimately, the local municipal leaders were to abandon this system of municipal administration. See p. 147.

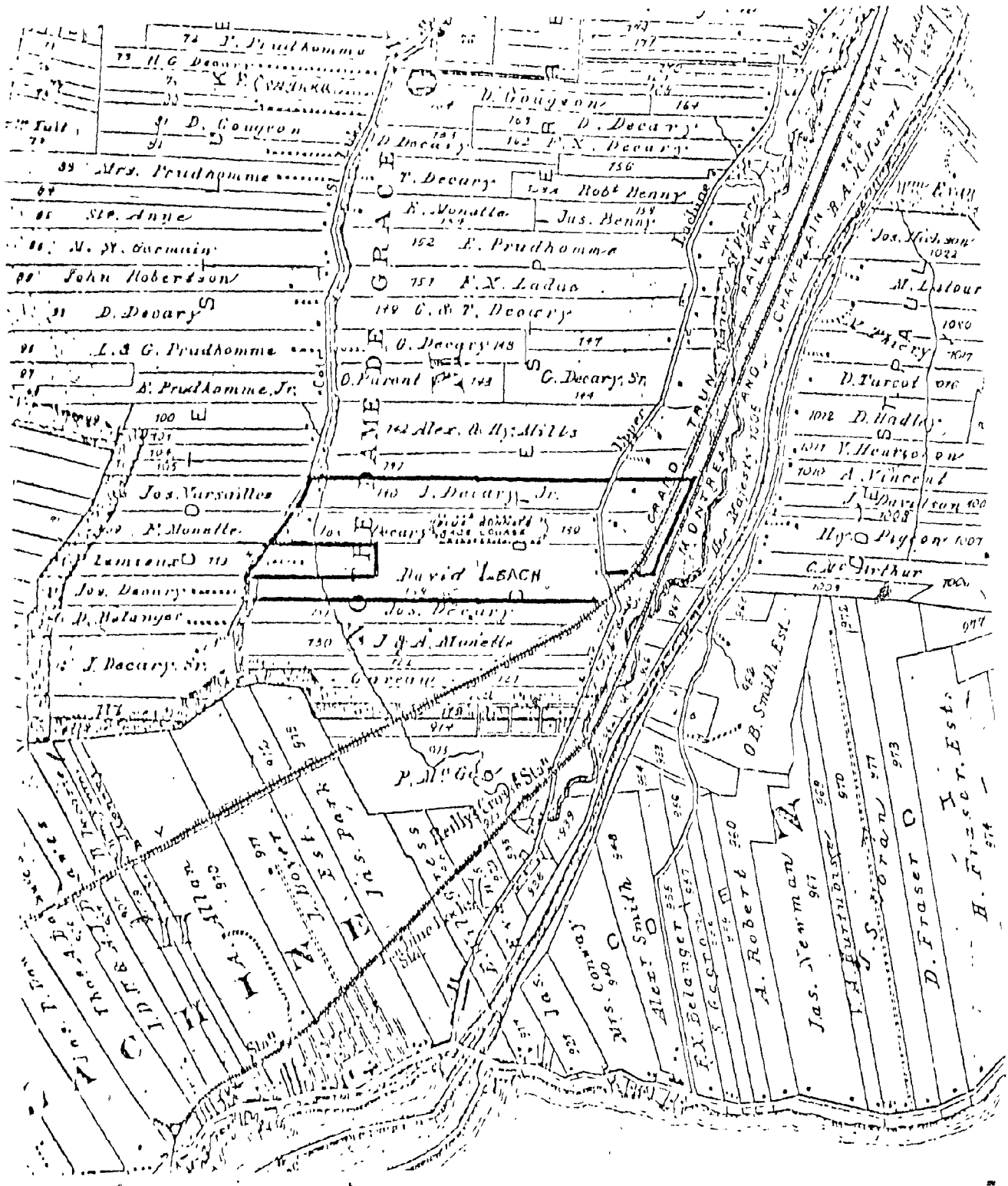
Chapter Three

The Community of Montreal West: Geographical and Cultural origins

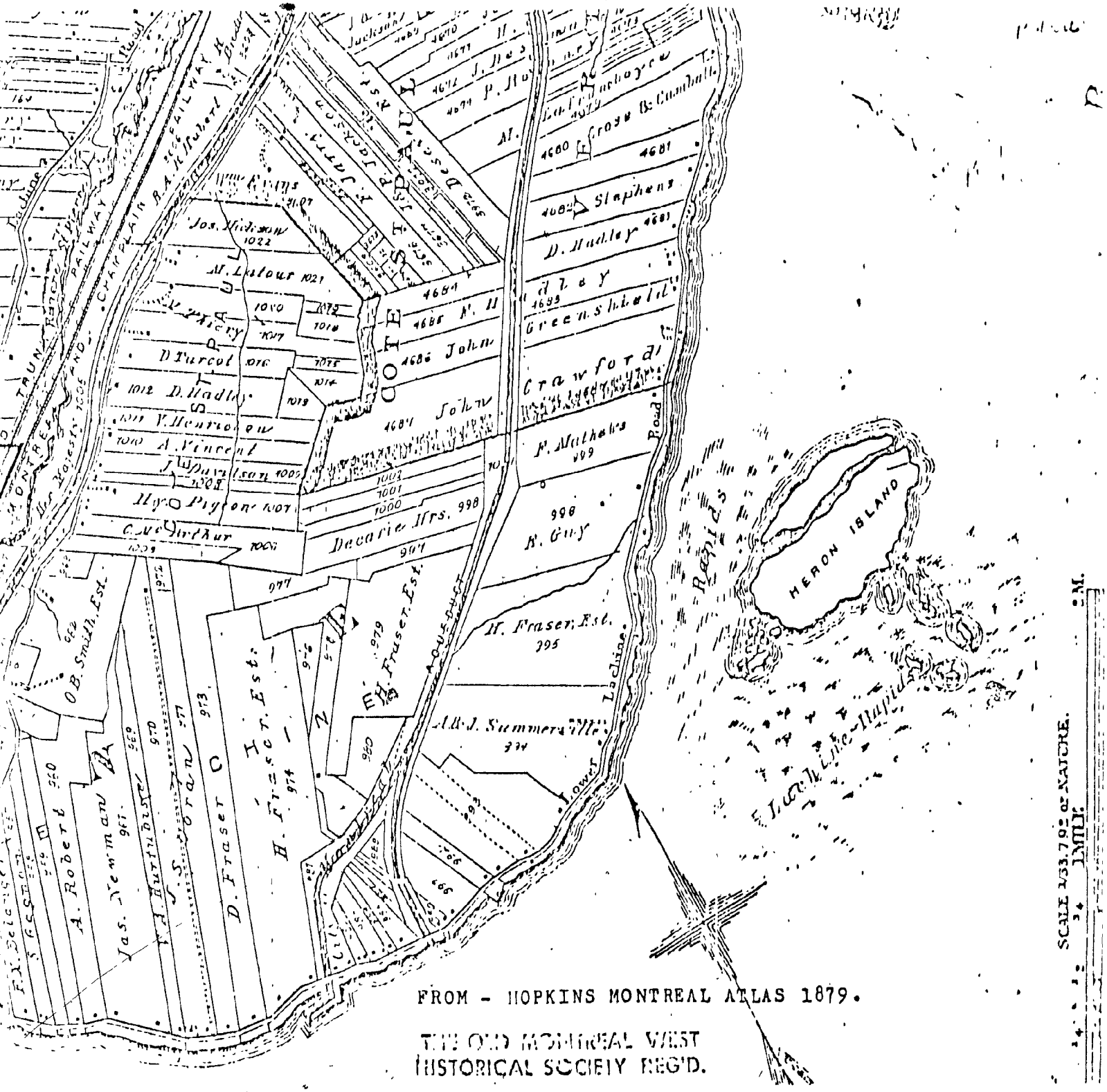
The community of Montreal West was established and developed at the turn of the twentieth century. Its geographical origin was closely bound to the development of Montreal, a Canadian metropolis in this era. Its slums were grimy, crowded, poorly lit and unplanned while the finer residential areas were costly and accessible only to the wealthy. The development of the railways was to provide access to the areas surrounding the urban core and to lead to the extension of the city's residential communities to the suburbs.

One such extension had created Montreal (railway) Junction which was to be subsequently developed by a large real estate firm. Due to its proximity to the railway station and, therefore, its accessibility to downtown Montreal, this community was settled largely by employees of the railway companies and the other large financial and commercial enterprises located in the financial heart of the city. The predominance of Scots and Englishmen in the upper and middle levels of these firms has already been shown.

Although this suburb may have been attractive to many others, certain of its characteristics restricted its accessibility so that the ethnicity of the residents was consistent with the various elements of the political economy. The ethnicity of the residents had important implications for the cultural values and attitudes of the community. Moreover, it influenced the residents' accessibility to, and choice of, certain types of occupations and housing.


Mrs. Prudhomme
Ste. Anne
John Robertson
D. Decary
L. G. Prudhomme
B. Prudhomme, Jr.
Jos. Versailles
David LEACH
Jos. Decary
J. Decary, Sr.
C. Decary, Sr.
D. Gougeon
Jas. Benny
Robt Benny
Alex. & Hy. Mills
D. Decary
C. & T. Decary
A. X. Ladue
E. Prudhomme
Jos. Decary, Jr.
Jos. Decary
J. & A. Monette
P. McGee
Reilly's Creek
Alex. Smith
O. B. Smith Est.
A. Robertson
Jas. Yeaman
D. Fraser
H. Fraser Est.
M. Latour
D. Turcot
D. Hadley
A. Vincent
Hyac. Peyton
C. McArthur
Jos. Kirkpatrick
Chamberlain R.R.
Montreal Terminal Railway
Grand Trunk Railway
Lachine Canal
Dyer
Lachine

1 of



FROM - HOPKINS MONTREAL ATLAS 1879.

2 of 2

A. Origins of the Community of Montreal West

In geographical isolation, the small territory of Montreal Junction was transformed into a viable and highly structured community. The origin of this community is closely bound to various aspects of the Canadian political economy, of which a major element in the era being examined is the expansion of the railways.

This thesis is primarily concerned with the era at the turn of the twentieth century; that is, the period between 1890 and 1920. In this era, the die was cast and the mold was set for the development of what was to become the community of Montreal Junction. A major Canadian railway company and a large real estate development company were to be the catalysts for the creation and establishment of this, one of many new communities established during this age of dramatic economic growth.

Canadian cities were growing rapidly at the dawn of the present century.[1] Expanding industries drew workers from rural areas or overseas to staff new factories and burgeoning service enterprises.[2] The City of Montreal had become a metropolis, a center for shipping, communications and manufacturing and an industrial and financial centre for head offices and main plants. The railway companies, the heart of the national economy, were headquartered here and drew their skilled and educated work force from the city.

The growth of Montreal as a business center was paralleled by its growth as a residential community. Immigration from Great Britain and the United States created a substantial Anglo-Saxon population in the Province of Quebec, concentrated in Montreal.

The Canadian political economy in the nineteenth century was such that, while Montreal was growing as a dominant Canadian centre, the Maritime colonies were experiencing economic strains and there was a heavy movement of population from there towards Montreal and its suburbs.

Montreal was among the grimiest cities of Canada. The rapid and unplanned growth of the City led to over-inflated land prices, particularly in the downtown area. Montreal had become a 'boom town'. The banks and insurance companies located their head offices here.

Montreal and its suburbs at the turn of the century included the financial district of St. James St. and its surrounding area which had become a commercial and retail district. With the coming of the new electric age and the first urban transit system, the shopping district moved uptown to St. Catherine Street. The industrial areas had grown up along the Lachine Canal and along the harbour.[3]

However, despite the urban growth, the quality of city life left much to be desired. In Toronto, for instance, street lighting was lacking and according to one source, it was,

> "at best, selectively installed first in the broad streets of commerce and then perhaps in the tree-studded lanes servicing the homes of the better elements of society . . . Downtown behind the great stores and hotels, on the narrow back streets, the ugly masses of hydro and telephone lines and poles passed through without connections to the small, dingy crowded flats."[4]

The slum homes were also overcrowded and lacked proper sanitary facilities. "There is scarely a vacant house fit to live in that is not inhabited, and in many cases by numerous families; in fact respectable people have had to live in stables, tents, old cars, sheds (others in damp cellars), where we would not place a valued animal, let alone a human being"[5] said a Toron-

to relief officer in 1904. A report conveyed in 1909 by the same social welfare representative read as follows: "one outdoors closet for dozens of men, women and children. . . Then looking out you see the garbage piled up high as the window. Nauseating odours and sights on every hand."[6]

The Canadian city at the turn of the century could be described as "a place of violent contrasts, a home for the very rich and the very poor, for the rural immigrant from a neighbouring county or a far distant land and the native urbanite, for respectable church-goers and for prostitutes, a place of conspicuous expenditure and forced destitution."[7] The abuses of the municipal government, the dramatic increase in taxation, the griminess and the over-crowding which had been created by the many waves of migration into Montreal contributed to the extension of Montreal's residential communities to the suburbs. The poor were segregated in slum areas while the wealthy tended to be "gathered together in more or less exclusive" suburbs.[8]

There were many features that made the new suburbs attractive. These residential communities had been newly opened up as the railway boom swept across Canada. Areas which had previously been inaccessible had been made convenient points along the railway line. The ever-increasing numbers of railway company personnel preferred to live along the railway network and within proximity to the railway station, especially since the railway companies provided reduced fares for their employees and their immediate families.

Moreover, the suburbs provided a pastoral setting with more living space at a much lower cost compared to the attractive residential areas in the urban centre. The suburbs were a satisfying compromise for those families who were essentially tied to the city because they were financially dependent upon urban occupations but preferred a quality of life that tends

to be associated with the close-knit rural society rather than with the alienation that some believe is associated with city life.

The English-speaking population of Montreal tended to group itself in clusters where their cultural identity could be preserved.[9] They tended to prefer residence in a community where the church and school were a reflection of their own particular values and where the other local institutions and social structures would be consistent with these values.

The French working class lived in the vicinity of the harbour and the Lachine Canal. The English working class lived in St. Henry and in the Point St. Charles district. 'The Point', as it has since become known, was home to recent English and Irish immigrants from the 'old country' as well as to some whose families had come to Montreal in a previous generation. The Anglo-Saxon financial elite with their large homes and spacious lots lived over the hill, in Outremont, in what had come to be Westmount, and on a few fashionable avenues such as Beaver Hall Hill, Peel, Drummond and Redpath which bordered the business district.

Beyond these developed areas were suburban farm lands which were outgrowths of recent developments in the field of transportation. One such suburb was Coteau St. Pierre, named after St. Pierre-Aux-Liens, which included what is now the district of Notre Dame de Grace and the territory which is now covered by Montreal West. This area can trace its history as far back as 1653 when title deeds indicate that this was a seignieurial grant given to Jean Decarie by the Sulpician Fathers in the name of the King of France. It remained a farming area until the end of the nineteenth century.

Bordering Montreal West on the east was Mills Farm and

next to that property was the Decarie Farm. The latter had become an important producer of muskmelons, shipping its fruit by rail across Canada via the Atlantic and Northern Railway.

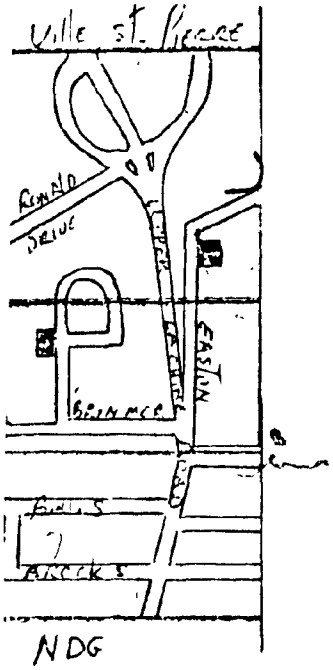
In the late 1890's, the Jesuits purchased from Gabriel Decarie the property which was to become Loyola College. In time, the order engaged two local residents of what was to become Montreal West, Alexander Peden and Thomas McLaren, of Scotland and England respectively, as architects to design the Loyola buildings which were constructed in approximately 1903. To the East of Loyola were the Poirier and the Leduc Farms and then, further east was the Benny Farm that extended to what is now Girouard Avenue in Notre Dame de Grace.

The suburban territory which was to become Montreal Junction and then Montreal West had initially been the Western limit of Notre Dame de Grace. Comprising about 400 acres, Montreal West was originally three large farms, two of which had been owned by members of the Decarie family; a Benjamin Decarie and 'the widow Decarie,' both of whom are believed to have been members of the same Decarie family mentioned earlier.[10]

The third farm can be traced as far back as a Miss Easton, who married Archdeacon Leach (1805-1886). He held, among other positions, those of Vice Principal of McGill University and Dean of its Faculty of Arts. Mrs. Leach (neé Easton) had died childless and bequeathed her property to the children of her husband from a previous marriage, namely to a Mrs. Jessie Howell of London, England and a Mr. David Leach, a local attorney.[11]

The local history is not restricted however to pastoral images. In the 1700's there was a military fortification at Lachine and the only route connecting it with Montreal was a footpath which ran along the top of the escarpment which came to be known as Upper Lachine Road, to this day an important link between the Lakeshore, Montreal West and downtown Montreal.[12]

Map Showing Location of Upper Lachine Road



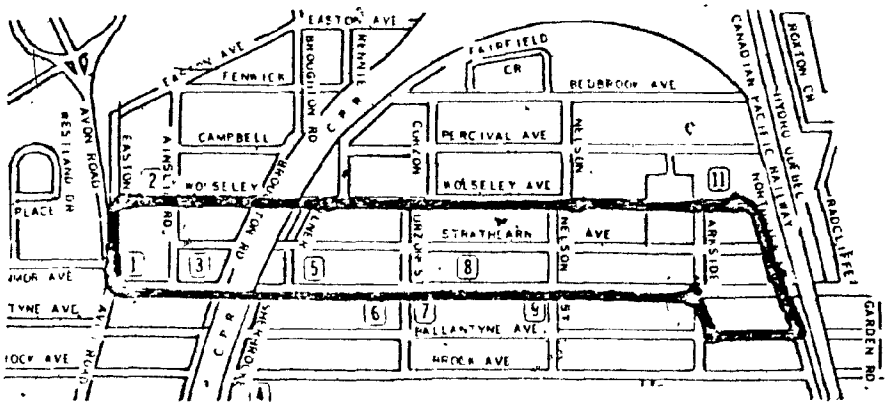
During the War of 1812, in order to avert a perceived threat of an attack on the fort at Chateauguay, this rudimentary path was fortified as a military supply road by the British and Scottish troops who improved the route by excavating the hill to a gradual slope, built a look-out post on what is now Easton Avenue and dug trenches on what is now Campbell and Wolseley Avenues. The blue bonnets worn by the Scottish regiments gave this road its name, Blue Bonnets Hill. The American enemy was subsequently repulsed at Chateauguay.

The improved Blue Bonnets Hill road later became a stage-coach link between Montreal and Toronto, with farms scattered along it. The Blue Bonnets Hotel was built to service the travellers along the stage road on the site of the present Montreal West Town Hall. It was known as the Blue Bonnets Hotel due to its military connection, or as the Half-way House since it was mid-way between the post-office in downtown Montreal and the Lachine canal.[13]

In the 1880's, parts of the Decarie property were sold and developed as the Blue Bonnets Race Course with the track running north on the present site of Westminister Avenue and south on Wolseley Avenue, as we see in the map on the following page. The stables were infield on what is now the site of Wolseley Ave.

The nearby railway station brought the sporting crowd from the center of Montreal to this suburban race course. The Leach farm house, on the neighbouring farm, was purchased as a club-house and the Leach family built a new home for themselves.[14] Between the race-track and the hotel, much traffic was being attracted to this 'rural' area. In fact, the traffic had become so heavy that an enterprising land-owner had set up toll-gates at the top and at the bottom of the hill in order to benefit from this influx. These gates were in operation as late as 1912.

Map of Blue Bonnets Race Course



Source: Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

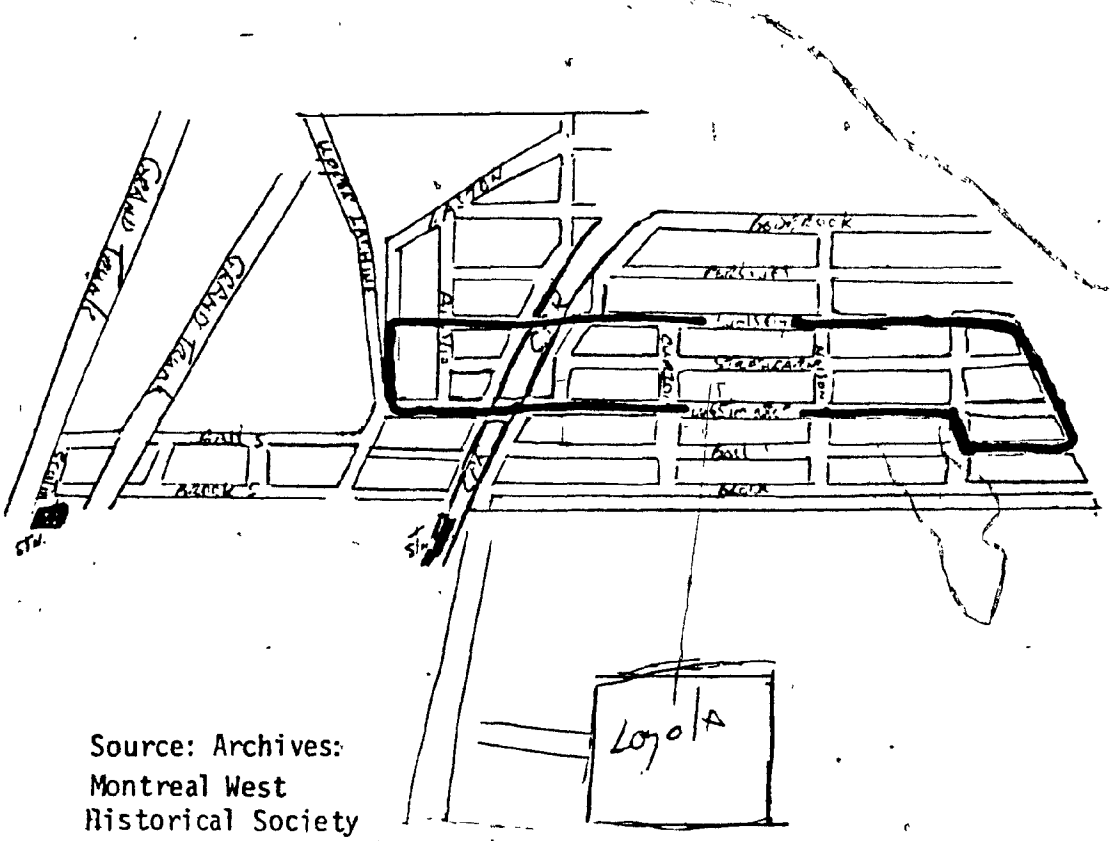
The railway line to Montreal West was actually one of the earliest Canadian rail routes. It was installed by the Grand Trunk Railway Company in 1846 to connect its Bonaventure Station with Lachine, at the beginning of the era of railway development in Canada.

Railway development did not progress further in this area until 1877 when the Canadian Pacific laid its tracks through the area as part of its connection between Montreal, Smith Falls and Toronto.[15] Due to

the fact that the Canadian Pacific Railway track from Toronto and the West and its lines to Three Rivers and Quebec all met within the limits of the village and ran parallel into the city, the railway junction and the adjacent territory became known as Montreal Junction.

Ten years later, perhaps as part of their attempt to compete with the previously established Grand Trunk Railway route,[16] the Canadian Pacific Railway extended their tracks to provide service to Vaudreuil and to the Lakeshore.[17] This extension was to cut through the Blue Bonnets race course. The stables had burnt down a short time before and business had been declining. The race track went out of business at this location, leaving only the Blue Bonnets Hotel to bring in the non-local population. They also built a wooden station where the signal tower is today between the Canadian Pacific Railway Tracks and the Blue Bonnets Race Course.

Map of Intersection of CPR Tracks and Blue Bonnets Race Course



Source: Archives: Montreal West Historical Society

Although a few rental houses were available, most homes were owned by those who occupied them. Among the earliest purchasers of lots in Montreal Junction were two Canadian Pacific Railway employees who had become interested in making their homes in the new suburb.[18] In order to obtain a more favorable purchase price, they had attempted to interest their colleagues in the railway companies. After some negotiations 25 lots were purchased in this transaction, with the first two houses being built in 1890 and a third in the following year. These original purchasers had also sought to enlist the aid of the Canadian Pacific Railway itself. Although they were subsequently informed by the comptroller that the company itself could not become involved, the comptroller pledged that he himself would see to it that the President and the other officers would give them some form of active support.

The railway attracted to Montreal West immigrants suited to its job requirements and wishing to live close to others of similar cultural background. They were soon to be joined by many others. This community was the location of both a Grand Trunk Railway station and a Canadian Pacific Railway station in an era when public transportation was still rather primitive. This meant that one could leave the downtown business district, where certain occupational groups tended to be concentrated and within ten minutes find oneself in a peaceful pastoral setting. This was an important development for those who worked in offices in the financial districts of St. James Street, Dorchester and Beaver Hall Hill and preferred not to live in the city. This was especially convenient for railway company employees and their families,

who travelled at substantially reduced fares, paying less than three cents per trip to and from the city. Finally, the community was suited to those the railway companies or some other thriving enterprise had provided with the financial resources to support the cost of residing in this new suburb.

Canada, under French control, was settled in accordance with the French seignieurial system with some variations. However, under British and later Canadian political control, settlement was administered by colonization companies. These companies were given large grants of land in exchange for their undertaking to develop and settle the land. Officially, their powers were more restricted than those of the seignieurs but they often became the "ruling powers," and such was the case of Montreal Junction.

In 1890, within a year of the completion of the local railway link with downtown Montreal, the Toronto firm of Armstrong and Cook purchased all of the Blue Bonnets Race Track land and most of the rest of the Decarie farms. This Ontario company, whose partners had been operating in the Toronto area for nearly ten years was perhaps sensing that the Montreal real estate market was ready to boom. They were looking at an area that had just been 'opened up' by the new railway station where there was but little competition from a relatively small landowner.[19]

Stressing the point that this land was less crowded and less costly than land in the City of Montreal, yet easily accessible, the company set out to develop a market for their acquisition. In a prospectus sent to investors, it advertised this development as "20 acres of high land immediately surrounding the station at Montreal Junction, which is now a point of some importance."[20] The rates were low and the financing was made to appeal to what they referred to as families of modest means. In order

to encourage prospective purchasers, it constructed a few stores and several modest two-storey houses as models.

Meanwhile , the local farm owner, David Leach,had himself begun to exploit his holdings and to speculate in real estate. He believed that the land along the edge of the escarpment of what remains a steep descent into Ville St. Pierre was particularly suitable for residential settlement and became the first small local real estate developer in Montreal Junction.

In order to further appeal to prospective purchasers, and perhaps in order to guarantee its competitive position with the Leach development, Armstrong and Cook established certain rudimentary local services. They erected, "a gravity tank with a shed that housed a steam engine. This apparatus pumped the water from an artesian well 300 feet deep."[21] The steam engine that operated the 'pump' also ran a dynamo that provided evening light for a few homes and street lights located close to the generator. However, the storage tank had usually filled up by midnight and the generator was turned off at that time, leaving the residents in darkness.

In 1892, as a result of the increased competition from the Leach development, Armstrong and Cook laid sewer pipes and installed sewers to further accommodate the residents. In 1893, they installed an electric light plant which increased the desirability of their properties. It is evident that this real estate company was a key factor in the settlement of the new suburb and in the establishment of its first utilities and public services. Its role in Montreal Junction was such that "between the years 1890 and 1897 they practically controlled the town."[22]

The Leach development meanwhile could in no way compete with the relatively sophisticated services provided by Armstrong and Cook. The homes built on the lots of the Leach development were still using tanks to catch the run-off water from their roofs and lacked even the minimal facilities enjoyed by the residents of the Armstrong and Cook properties. However, records indicate that the purchase rates of the Leach properties were lower than those of the larger developer, Armstrong and Cook, and in time, even the Leach properties were sold and developed. Thus these two real estate developers, one large and one small, were responsible for the settlement and development of this parcel of land made accessible by the railway and known as Montreal Junction.

The flavour of the community which gradually emerged at Montreal Junction is recalled by a former resident.[23] She described an idyllic childhood of winter skiing on one ski on nearby Mill's Hill, just east of the Trenholme dairy, which was bordered in summer by lush apple orchards. She recalled summers of swimming along with many other local children in her grandfather's swimming pool and picking plums from the many lush fruit trees nearby.[24]

Financial hardship was a mere curiousity. She remembers the depression years when beggars jumped the trains and came to her parents' door for food. She remembers her mother keeping them out on the porch where she offered them a sandwich and sent them on their way. However, even this distant brush with the world's adversity did not touch the community itself.

Another resident recalled that "in this period, there were but few houses in the Montreal Junction area. However, there were wide-spread areas of pleasant fields with a lovely brook running through. The fields beside the brook were thick with wild strawberries." In the summer, the children would pick the berries and bring them home to be made into jam. At Christmas time, they went to the wooded area just beyond the stream to cut Christmas trees for themselves and for their church.

This gentleman further recalls that "Dr. Ross, the church minister, sometimes took a group of boys and girls here on snow-shoes to have a bear dance. They joined hands and ran around in huge circles, whooping and shouting and just letting off steam. Then they came back to the church for a good hot supper."[25]

The lifestyle of the infant community was rural and physically rather primitive. The same gentleman also recalls having a barn at the rear of his house and two cows and several chickens were a part of his household. His family had come here in 1892 when his father had paid $50.00 down and $25.00 per month thereafter, to a total of $2200.00 for a house with a fieldstone foundation, a mud floor in the basement and a heating system of stoves. Outside in the backyard were the well and an outhouse. These facilities accomodated a family with nine children.[26]

The rudimentary nature of the local facilities made walking difficult. In spring, the absence of paved sidewalks left pedestrians knee-deep in mud. In winter, men going to work by train had to wear

snow-shoes to trudge down to the Grand Trunk Railway Station. Coming home from work was also difficult. This resident recalls how his father tripped over some cows in the dark on his way home from the railway station because there were no street lights where he lived.

The same gentleman recalls that in order to attend evening services at the First Anglican Church the men carried lanterns along the street and left them at the entry. It was the duty of one member of the congregation to relight the lanterns at the close of the services.

The residents of Montreal Junction were isolated from other communities. The farms of bordering Cote St. Luc to the north, and Notre Dame de Grace to the east and the C.P.R. land to the west encircled them. They were further isolated by the Grand Trunk Railway tracks and the Toronto highway to the south and separated from Cote St. Luc by the 'little river St. Pierre' to the north. Just beyond the Avon Hill which was a part of Montreal Junction, was the industrial and working class area which had become Ville St. Pierre. These areas, whether they were farming or industrial, were populated by French Canadians.[27] Thus the English-speaking community which was to establish itself in Montreal Junction was ethnically distinct from the population of the neighbouring communities.

The geographical isolation created a 'natural area' which was to influence social relations in the community.[28] Separated by geographical barriers on the one hand and by cultural barriers on the other hand, the residents developed a society impervious to its surroundings and, except for contact with their cultural peers in downtown Montreal, Westmount and parts of Outremont, self-sufficient.

Especially when street lights were non-existent, and then when they were first installed, inefficent evening travel outside the community was kept at a minimum. The restricting train schedule and the streetcars, once installed, reinforced this independent lifestyle.[29]

Those who travelled by train knew one another. This form of travel became an extension of the social life of the community. Particularly when the telephone was not widely available, the technology of the day and the geographic isolation reinforced the cultural barriers that isolated the community from its neighbours.[30]

Montreal Junction was a 'railway town' with a population drawn from a particular cultural milieu. This section has described the physical origins of the Town as well as the geographical and technological conditions under which it developed. Thus, a real estate developer and the railway companies were responsible for the creation and establishment of the Town.

The next section will consider the people who made up this community. When we later look at specific social structures that emerged, we will see that they were closely related to the cultural background of the people, to the political economy of the Nation and to the position of the Anglo-Saxons in Canada generally and Quebec specifically.

B. The People of the Community

An examination of the ethnicity, religion, education, socio-economic characteristics and housing and recreation of the people of this community will show how closely the local institutions were tied to their ethnicity and to the political economic background.

1. Ethnicity

The residents of Montreal West were either native 'Anglo-Canadians' or they were descended from English and Scottish immigrants. Their 'inherited ideological legacy' or, as it has also been described, their 'political baggage' included a loyalty to the British Empire. John Hobson, quoting J.S. Mill, notes that

> "A portion of mankind may be said to constitute a nation if they are united among themselves by common sympathies which do not exist between them and others. This feeling of nationality may have been generated by various causes. Sometimes it is the effect of identity of race and descent. Community of language and community of religion greatly contribute to it. Geographical limits are one of the causes. But the strongest of all is identity of political antecedents, the possession of a national history and consequent community of recollections, collective pride and humiliations, pleasure and regret, connected with the same incidents in the past."[32] J.S. Mill

The above elements of nationalism, when seen along with the political economy which in turn had been so strongly influenced by the economic policies of Imperialism have great significance for the political culture of the people of Canada. Furthermore, Guindon has pointed out that "their political socialization is a function of their political dependencies."[33]

Considered in the light of the Canadian political economy, it is not difficult to comprehend the strength of the influence of the conservatism of Edmund Burke upon the political culture of the people of the community of Montreal West. Burke envisioned a particular division of function between the state and society. The state was to be an instrument of economic development involved in the expansion of production and in the division of labour according to class. The differentiated rewards within the productive process were to be an integral part of this system. The state was a "Narrower construct involving government - monarch, lords and commons - and administration."[34] While society was a much broader concept, it included the economic relations, social institutions and even some elements of the legal system. In Burke's view, "the final triumph of the great wheel of commerce" (was) the sole organizing principle of economic life."[35] This was consistent with his opposition to all state charity and with the individualist Scottish view expressed by Lord Chalmers.[36]

Imperialism gave rise to a racial ideology to justify the inequality it fostered. The idea of social inequality was so deeply ingrained in British society that while the French had accepted the principles of the Rights of Man, the English were unable or unwilling to do so.

The feudal concept of liberty was extended to the rights of Englishmen. Edmund Burke had stated that the rights of the English constitution are an 'entailed inheritance' given to the English people by their forefathers and passed on through posterity. Burke defined

liberty as "the sum total of privileges inherited together with title and land." It applied only to Englishmen and, according to Arendt, " established the whole English people as a kind of nobility among nations."[37] Disraeli substituted the concept of the Rights of Englishmen for the more democratic French concept. This nobility of Englishmen took on substance and meaning more outside England than in England itself.

Being a British national in a colony tended to emphasize the ethnic bond over class differences.[38] The behaviour of the 'aloof administrator' who claimed his position by virtue of the superior civilization of his nation, and, therefore, by his right of birth regardless of his personal achievements, is a case in point. Arendt notes that, insofar as the behaviour of British colonials was concerned "Only so far from home could a citizen of England be nothing but an Englishman . . . In his own country, he was so entangled in economic interests or social loyalties that he felt closer to a member of his own class in a foreign country than to a man of another class in his own."[39]

The above attitudes provide the broader political legimations for particular types of inter-personal relationships. The community of Montreal West emerged within the context of the British empire and was shaped by the political philosophy of the colonial administrators. The attitude of social superiority ingrained in the British political culture, combined with the superiority of their educational system was reflected in the social distance which characterized relations between Montreal Westers and the French-Canadians on the neighbouring farms in their midst.[40] On the other hand, their solidarity with members of their own ethnic group was clearly evident in the financial and commercial institutions and the voluntary associations to which they belonged; for example, the Canadian Pacific Railway

Company, the Bank of Montreal and the Young Men's Christian Association.[41]

In Montreal West too, the imperial bond created the solidarity that existed between the Scottish and the English, despite the political differences between their homelands overseas. Also related to the geographical isolation and ethnic homogeneity of the community, this social solidarity was reflected in the sense of injustice felt by some residents when one of their own chose a mate from outside the local boundaries.

The close imperial ties exhibited by the community of Montreal West are most conspicuous. For instance, when the Diamond Jubilee of Queen Victoria was celebrated in London in 1897, residents of Montreal West attended celebrations both locally and abroad. On the death of Queen Victoria, local citizens wore buttons with her picture surrounded by a large black band. Similarly, while the Boer War was considered a foreign conflict in some Canadian communities,[42] in Montreal West it was perceived as a threat to the motherland requiring the help of courageous young men who, as soldiers, were greeted as patriotic heroes and martyrs.[43]

The Conscription Crisis in 1917 had its local counterpart. The community was prominent in the military effort mounted to assist Britain in World War I.[44] This military participation, which included sending volunteer soldiers, was intensified as the extent of British requirement became known. The local high school was used as a drill hall and the Young Men's Christian Association in neighbouring Notre Dame de Grace recruited and trained young men from Montreal West and neighbouring communities.[45] The growing number of war time casualties was felt deeply in the Town; many had gone but few returned.

Montreal Westers lived in a highly stratified society and maintained a polite but distinct social distance from those unlike themselves. The few working-class families who worked in the railway yards do not seem to have had any place in the social life of the community; not even in the area of church participation. Social contact with the workers in the one lumberyard in the Town, men who happened to be French-speaking, was restricted to a weekly bridge-game with the French and Catholic accountant of the firm. Communication with the latter was always in the English language while the manual workers were addressed in French.

The recreational life was also culturally separate.[46] The municipal building code was, inadvertently or otherwise, an effective instrument for social selection.[47] It controlled who could and would build homes in the Town and thus supported the social 'status quo.'

Outside the community, social relations were similarly stratified. This social distance was maintained within the Montreal business community, where most of the men knew one another or, at least, of one another and their formal[48] and informal[49] social contacts tended to maintain and perpetuate the barriers between themselves and the lower classes.

The social life of the English and the Scots was influenced by the strict class gradations which, within the Calvinist tradition, are deemed to be of divine appointment. Their social life was of a rather sober nature since their religion taught that temperance, frugality, fidelity and justice were the surest method to promote

outward prosperity.

The English, as was reflected in the popularity of certain religious developments, were enthusiastic participants in voluntary associations. Voluntary associations also flourished among the Scots.

Among the English, the most common voluntary associations were the Friendly Societies such as the Odd Fellows and the Ancient Order of Foresters, the latter being especially concerned with insurance. Among the Scots, interest in literature was strong, with the "cult of Robbie Burns" leading to the formation of Robert Burns societies in many parts of the world. Public events would close with his songs or with recitations of his poetry.[52]

Keen voluntary participation manifested itself in a love of sport. Curling, a game rooted in the ancient trades of stone-cutting and stone-setting, was the national sport of Scotland. Golf also had its roots in Scotland while tennis was basically an English game. Lawn-bowling, a British game, was common among the classes which could afford the leisurely life-style. However, with the close contact existing between the two parts of the British Isles, the English and the Scots participated in all of these games.

Their enthusiasm for voluntary participation was reflected in Montreal West by the adage that:

> "Everything comes to him who waits. More comes to him who waits-on himself. Most comes to him who waits-on others."[53]

It was also reflected locally by the wide variety of organizations in this small community and by the local political structure.[54]

The Town exhibited a high degree of political sophistication, remarkable for a community of its size and stage of development. The speed with which local political structures were established to deal

with municipal problems and the progressive developments within these structures, once established, are reflections of this sophistication.[55]

This political sophistication is not without deep historical roots. According to Toqueville, the English had applied the religious values of the Reformation to the government of the Puritans. Methodism, and to a lesser extent, other hierarchical religious denominations, were particularly influential in setting the cultural standards for democracy.[56]

On the practical level, democratic participation was acted out by membership in voluntary organizations. For instance, the Trade Unions, the Friendly Societies, the Cooperative Societies, the Working Men's Club, the Anti-Corn Law League and the Movement of the Ten Hours Act all brought changes which had been at the core of the Chartist movement. These voluntary associations and movements had, as a latent function, the development of a strong political consciousness in the English people. Similarly, this democratic style was repeated in the societies, clubs, churches and informal neighbourhood groups in which English men and women joined together for a common social purpose.[57]

This democratic tradition was reflected in the style of municipal government evolving in England. In 1835, the passage of the Municipal Corporations Act was an attempt at democratic distribution of power so that towns might deal with their own social problems resulting from the wide-spread industrialization. This legislation put power in the hands of the middle class and helped the latter build up a collective tradition of municipal self-government.[58] Similarly, Scotland, as it became more urbanized, also developed a tradition of municipal self-government.[59]

The people of the Town then had brought with them, among their

'political baggage', certain ethnic characteristics which were to be reflected in the evolution of the community of Montreal West. Not unrelated to these ethnic characteristics was the religious background of the people.

John Kenneth Galbraith has observed a community of rural Ontario immigrants from Scotland, in the early part of the century. They were very similar to the people of Montreal West. Their society was highly stratified. The lowest class was categorized not only by insufficient land but also by "laziness, ignorance or the abuse of alcohol."[60] At the other extreme was the Man of Standing. The latter required not only sufficient property to achieve this status. He needed to be educated, ambitious and able to exercise self-control with respect to alcohol. In addition, he required a large family and a certain number of animals in this rural society.[61]

However, a Man of Standing had to earn his esteem. Galbraith notes

> "A man needed to act on improvement of the roads, the promotion of telephone service, the cooperative purchase of tender wine or the management of the Wallacetown Fair. He should certainly serve on the Townships Council. It was also important that in all his actions he bear in mind his neighbours' concern for saving money."[62]

There was a practical aspect to according esteem to Men of Standing. Every community needs many community services and hiring them can become costly. According to Galbraith, "only a poor class of talent is available for money. However, the rewards of honour and esteem secure for the community the very best talent at no cost. While not all qualified citizens were equally willing to volunteer their services, they did recognize the importance of according honour and esteem to those who did."[63]

Galbraith found that elections were a serious matter to the

Scots. Local elective offices tended to be given, as a matter of course, to the Men of Standing. If some ill-informed individual who was unaware of his rank ran for office, he tended to suffer a disastrous defeat.[64] Aside from the rural requirement of land which was translated in the suburban environment of the Town to home ownership, the above standards for social status apply to Montreal West. In this community, service on the local council by 'men of standing' was regarded as both an honour and as a civic responsibility. When the Provincial government introduced salaries for Commissioners, there was serious objection by Montreal West's Commissioners to the extent that some members of the Commission threatened to resign in protest.[65] In elections subsequent to the introduction of salaries, for many years, the town experienced a new difficulty in securing a full slate of candidates for Commission because it was no longer considered the public service it had been.

2. Religion

The residents of Montreal West were nearly all of the Protestant religion.[66] An American study of "British Immigrants" found that English immigrants were most likely to be either Anglican or Methodist, although many were also Presbyterian, while those from Scotland, as a rule, were Presbyterian.[67] In the Town of Montreal West, this has indeed been the case, with the Presbyterians in the majority.

Certain elements of each denomination have contributed to the values of the people. The moralistic tone of the Church in this community is reflected in a passage by Comte quoted in an anniversary booklet published by the local United Church

> "that the Christian Church was to be judged not only by the visible good which was produced but still more by the imminent evils which it silently prevented." [68]

The Presbyterians were adherents of the Calvinist doctrine of "the priesthood of all believers." They therefore abolished all distinction between clergy and laity although they did set up a hierarchy in their ministries. Through this hierarchy, the churches carried out the four divinely appointed tasks: "the ministry of word and sacrament, teaching, discipline and service."[69]

John Calvin had maintained that an elect group of people were predestined to be saved by God's grace alone while others were sinners and would ultimately be damned. He had favoured the perception of pious labour as it was related to a man's calling in this world.[70] These ideas of predestination and calling tended to encourage the acceptance of the gradations in society with good grace and supported the hierarchical structure which came to characterize the government of the Presbyterian Church.[71]

The Presbyterians, by definition, have a system of church government by presbyters or elders. These elders are both clerical and lay. They maintain that decisions must be reached by the agreement of a majority of a kirk session and by a majority of presbyters. Beyond this, agreement of a majority of the congregation is required.

This emphasis on lay participation has influenced the Protestant attitude toward education. With the reformation, the Bible was translated from the Latin into the vernacular languages so that the believer could read and interpret the Bible himself. Presbyterianism required an educated laity from whom elders could be drawn, men fit to work with the ministers who, in Great Britain at the turn of the century, had been trained in the reformed Scottish Presbyterian universities.[72]

The Church has traditionally held a central place in the Scottish

culture. It has been said that "the Presbyterian Church has done more to shape the character of Scottish life, of Scottish political habits and social habits, than any other national institution."[73]

The Methodists adhered to a slightly different interpretation of Protestantism. Calvin had declared that "justification for grace was bestowed by Christ alone and that it was vain and sinful for degenerate man to regard any action on his part as helping to secure God's grace."[74] However, the Methodists had an important role for works as well and it was by their conduct that Methodists were to be distinguished from other men.[75]

In contrast with the Presbyterians, the Methodists did make a sharp distinction between ministers and the mass of laymen. The structure of Methodism was highly ordered. Methodist societies had at first been composed of bands of five or ten members all joined in a common search for Christian perfection. The Methodist polity was ingrained with a superior sense of responsibility according to their place in the hierarchy as band leaders, class leaders, stewards and others.[76]

Methodism as a sect was to have an extremely wide-reaching effect upon the history of England. While defending liberty in the form of freedom of association, which was so important to their existence, the sects joined with the national authorities to impose a respect for 'the Christian social order'. As the Methodist spirit infiltrated into the ranks of the Dissenters and through the Evangelicals, into the Established Church, it imposed a new morality upon all classes by means of the activities of the voluntary associations.[77] In this way, the devotion to order which was the backbone of the British hierarchical system was forged not by the state but by the voluntary associations that had

become an outstanding characteristic of modern day England.

The Anglicans, on the other hand, held beliefs that were more closely linked to those of the Roman Catholic Church than to those of the Presbyterians or Methodists. Although the Anglicans were not directly affected by the educational requirements of the Presbyterians or by the strict moral code of the Methodists, they were, by religion and by nationality, more alike to the others than they were different since they were all Protestant in a time when the cultural borders between England and Scotland were rather indefinite and cross-pollinization between the denominations inevitable. Therefore, according to the Weberian form of analysis, they are regarded in the context of the Protestant religion.[78]

There grew up a wide-reaching moral outlook which has been given the label "The Protestant Ethic."[79] Although predestination was considered its most characteristic doctrine, "it also favoured temperance, fidelity, large families, frugality and a preference for the simple pleasures as opposed to lavish display."[80] Incorporating the Calvinist "... necessity of proving one's faith in worldly activity," success in one's worldly calling was considered important although wealth itself is bad, "...in so far as it is a temptation to idleness and sinful enjoyment of life."[81] It was opposed to "the spontaneous enjoyment of life and all it had to offer."[82] It is these conservative values which are reflected in the tone of the community of Montreal West.

The local position on temperance is illustrated by the quick formation of a committee to petition againt the granting of a liquor license to the Blue Bonnets Hotel in the early days.[83] Until a few years ago, the one establishment within the municipal boundaries which was permitted to dispense alcoholic beverages was the Montreal West Curling Club. The local pizzeria is the other. Fidelity was carefully maintained within the confines of the church and the Town while breaches of the moral norm were tolerated by the community if they had been perpetrated in a neighbouring suburb or in the downtown area.

Since success in one's calling was considered to be a sign of one's predestination among the elect, there was much emphasis placed on hard work in the effort to succeed in one's career and on financial success as a symbol of the former. Montreal Westers often studied at night both formally and informally. They were loyal employees of the same firm for many years moving up within the company. From the earliest days, municipal expenses were closely watched by the local taxpayers. Any questionable expenses or increases were strongly debated at Commission meetings. Frugality and simplicity have been the norm in the style of the local homes, both inside and out as well as in the local lifestyle. For instance, air conditioning is often considered an unnecessary extravagance and home heating is monitored with care.[84]

In Montreal West, the church as an institution was one of the fundamental structures of the society. The church defined membership in a civilized society and one was not accorded esteem without being a member of the church. The very life-cycle of birth and death were related to the church: the registry of births and deaths was maintained by a religious

authority and of course burial has always been conducted by religious authorities in cemeteries of specific religious designations. In the early days, hospitals were established and operated by church-related organizations so that in time of sickness one always needed to be associated with the Church. Property deeds were registered with the church and employment and letters of reference were often obtained through the church or through letters of reference from the church. In addition, the church was the focus of nearly all voluntary organizations within the community and had close informal links with the local school.

Moreover, the church served as a link with the outside for this relatively isolated suburb. The churches worked closely with organizations such as the YMCA and McGill University, often directly through a sharing of leadership. The Literary and Debating Society, as well as the other church organizations, discussed matters of local interest which were often taken up at the church services on Sunday.

Religion had an important place in the family life of this community. Weekly worship was a strong Protestant tradition, especially among the Presbyterians. Church was the meeting place for young people and the locale of many courtships. Attitudes established within the Church were developed and reinforced during cooperative participation in various church undertakings such as fund-raising, building and renovation.

The church was also an important political force. For instance, the issue of conscription found its way into the churches, forcing the resignation of one local pacifist minister.[85] Again, when the war was over in 1946, the rallying points for the local community were the local churches. One way that the church played this active role in the socialization of the members of this community was by working closely with the various other

local institutions such as the schools and the voluntary organizations, both within and beyond its formal structures. In this way the churches helped to socialize the youth to hold values congruent with their own and to mold the local population into close-knit and homogeneous groups which were to be ultimately united into one close community.

3. Education

In studying the people of Montreal West with regard to their education, it is necessary to look once again at their historical background in order to see what cultural legacy they brought here from Great Britain.

In England, the idea of the local school had been highly developed and was a responsibility of the local government. In 1895, the Bryce Commission Report empowered the municipal councils to levy a school tax. This was a landmark document because it created the structure for a local primary and secondary school. The local school incorporated John Ruskin's ideal that education should be related to environment, a locality and its special conditions. In the words of the Bryce Commission,

> "It would be a serious evil if education were allowed to become the business of the school-master alone, the more completely it grows into the concern of the whole people, and is made an integral part of the common life and civil policy, the more it will flourish and the better it will become." 86

As the nineteenth century ended, the Board of Education was set up in 1899 and this was followed by the Education Act of 1902 which gave a new meaning and coherence to local efforts. County and borough councils were empowered to act as Local Education Authorities. With this law, power had been transferred, in a large part,

from School Boards to county, county borough and urban district councils whose duty it was to acquire a knowledge of the educational requirements of their own areas. [87]

By this time in Scotland, both primary and secondary education were a legal obligation of the state.[88] Financial support was given only to "the schools of the Established Church " while the schools under local control were abolished. These reforms were apparently made for their economic value to the state. [89]

In Scotland, where the Presbyterian religion was the official State religion, education was looked upon as the improver of Mankind and was closely linked to the National Church.[90] Since the Presbyterian Church demanded an educated congregation, the State's educational system was highly developed. The school master was likely to be a classical scholar and the schools were of exceptionally good quality. The Presbyterian Reformation of the 16th century had left Scotland the legacy of a parochial educational system which was, even in the eighteenth century, considered to be a model for the other European countries. The model formulated by John Knox was - "a school in every parish, a high school or college in cities and large towns and University education," had been made the Scottish ideal.[91] This was written into the laws in 1616 and reinforced in 1633, 1645 and 1696 so that by the culmination of the seventeenth century, there were nine hundred and seven schools for a population of about one million.

By 1831, private schools had become quite common with one quarter of these teaching Latin and mathematics and a smaller number teaching Latin. Although it had certain weaknesses related to its

parochial nature, this system was deemed far superior to the charity schools of England. As for non-academic education, Scotland had an apprenticeship system to train the non-inheriting sons of farmers so that they might acquire a marketable skill, that is to learn a trade in order to support themselves.[92]

The development of an educational system did not receive anywhere near the same degree of national encouragement in England as it had in Scotland. The English philosophy of education and their educational system itself have completely different roots although with the increase of travel and communication which became so accelerated in the nineteenth century, there was a transfer of ideas. Although the educational traditions of England and Scotland seem to have their roots in a different era and in different sources, before the twentieth century, both countries had more or less developed educational systems for the masses although in each case they were closely linked to the national religion.[93]

Due to the high priority accorded to education in the Presbyterian Church and to the advances made in the educational system of England, those who came to Canada from the cities of Great Britain and eventually settled in Montreal West were well-educated.[94] In an age when illiteracy was common, their education had automatically made of them a national elite.[95] Their clerical skills in the areas of book-keeping and written correspondence were in great demand in an age which saw the rapid expansion of business.

However, beyond their academic skills, the Scots had the benefit of another type of education as well. As a result of Scotland's earlier industrial successes in the area of heavy machinery manufacturing and

transportation,and as a result of the Scottish apprenticeship system, those Scots who had come from the cities had a great deal of practical experience. In an age when railways were at the heart of the economy, the Scots, as well as the English, knew how to carry out the communications necessary to a railway and how to administer a business. Coming to Canada, the British brought with them, their technical skill and superior workmanship as well as the financial and commercial aptitude which had been developed there while there was no resident population with experience in these areas.

The high place accorded to education within the Protestant and especially within the Presbyterian Church has set the tone for the attitude towards education within this Town. It paralleled the accumulation of capital which had been considered by Weber as a sign of one's having been designated as being among the elect. This was displayed formally within the structures of the local schools and informally through the support given by the church to the various local voluntary organizations which were dedicated to some form of education. Religion and education were therefore closely tied to the cultural life of this community and to the socialization of the residents.

The superior general level of education of this population is particularly striking if we recall that they were surrounded on all sides by the French Canadian agricultural populations for whom superior literary education was available only in the classical colleges and was reserved for those entering the professions and the clergy. Whether in Cote St. Luc, Notre Dame de Grace or Ville St. Pierre, the residents were

Roman Catholic and did not at that time have a public school system. Partly due to the above situation, the Catholics had a lower standard of education.[96]

The requirements of the Presbyterian religion allowed less room for deviance from its educational norms than any of the other religious denominations within the community. Since one had to be quite literate in order to participate in the church's activities and since all members were expected to do so, illiteracy or even a low level of literacy would have implied exclusion from the social life of the community, one which was so much connected to church related activities.

Education was recognized by the residents of the Town both as an on-going activity and as an avenue to success in business . More than once, local success stories included self-education through home studies as well as attendance at night school in order to upgrade one's education.

4. Socio-Economic Characteristics

The socio-economic characteristics of the people who established this community are very much related to their ethnicity, religion and education and at the same time to national and international conditions. The over-riding element was the ethnicity of the people of Montreal West which united them with the dominant economic forces in the land.

The participation in the various local voluntary associations had repercussions for the economic position of the residents. For instance, the verbal skills developed in debating and discussion as well as in the presentation of papers orally, as was expected in

the Literary Society, prepared them for positions in management and participation in the upper corporate levels. Again, committee work of a financial nature reinforced skills related to financial decisions in business.[97]

The school and the other socializing institutions, particularly those of an academic nature, provided a philosophical orientation to middle class occupations so that a boy inundated by these community values and influences would become 'success oriented'. The lifestyle enjoyed by this population, allowing leisure time for horticultural interests, curling, tennis and golf also was based on the assumption of a particular type of occupation and a particular financial standard.

At first, the community was mainly agricultural. For instance, of a total population of twenty three, the occupations of the local residents were as follows:

1 Professor (McGill Normal School)
2 Hotelkeepers
11 Farmers
1 Journalist
1 Bookkeeper
1 Gardener
4 Railway Employees
1 Minister[98]

However, the Canadian National Railway had tracks adjacent to the growing community and a station on its edge so that, as time went on, the Canadian National Railway was to employ a substantial number of local residents. Many others were to be employed by the Canadian Pacific Railway where, with the predominance of Scots in key positions, Montreal Westers were at an advantage.[99] The initial purchasers of the group of twenty five lots were followed by other railway men. As the facilities of the community improved and the cost of real estate rose, the status of the community rose too so that it soon attracted persons in positions above that of audit clerk.[100]

Similarly, many of the men participated in other national corporations so that their place in the economy was essentially that of 'organization men' even when they had set out working at the clerical level and had gradually climbed the corporate ladder.[101]

For instance Charles Ballantyne, having set out as a clerk with the Sherwin Williams Paint Company eventually purchased that company and took over many other national corporations. His brother James had established a plumbing and heating supplies company, did a plumbing installation for the Post Office and went on to install numerous plumbing systems in federal buildings across Canada.

There was a definite correspondence between the community's leadership and those in highly placed economic positions with the national corporations.[102] The occupations of the members of the local municipal administration reflect this relationship.[103]

5. Housing: Quality and Ownership

The houses of this community were quite distinctive in appearance in contrast with other communities of this period. According to one local observer,

> "Here is no crowding of houses, no long rows of tenements, no sky-scraping flats but beautiful little residences, subdued in taste and cosy in appearance." [104]

The architecture of these homes, with their clapboard exterior and wooden verandahs and dormer windows, was reminiscent of Victorian England or of New England and their size was often substantial by today's standards. While not many of the homes were built on three lots, the use of a double lot was common and many of the older homes

to this day have maintained this extra lot as a garden.

The cultivation of a garden has always had a special place in this town. The local residents have always taken much pride in well-tended gardens. This is a reflection of the beauty of English gardens and of the Protestant concern for success and orderliness. This feeling is still so strong in this community that one of its residents was motivated to leave the community and live in a home without a garden in order to escape what he felt to be the burden of community pressure to maintain an attractive garden. The fact that fine gardens were always considered important in this town is reminiscent of the English Garden Movement.[105] From the earliest years, the Canadian Pacific Railway Company had always maintained a lovely garden in the front of its station in the town and it only abandoned this tradition as a war-time economy.[106] The local horticultural society also did much to encourage the tradition of gardening in this community.[107] Every house in the town had a garden and even to the present time, when a new house is built, the owner is given a tree by the Town to plant in his garden.

Even at the municipal level, the appreciation of horticulture has been developed here over the years. The Town has always maintained a fine green-house where the plants for the local parks are grown. It is evident that a great deal of effort has been expended on the planting of formal gardens outside the Town Hall and at the Town's memorial park, which is dedicated to the local war heroes. These are also the respon-

sibility of the municipal staff and have always been quite impressive in appearance.

The houses in this community are of a fine quality.[108] They have always been owned rather than rented, for the most part. Especially if we recall the fact that credit was very tight at the turn of the century, we can not help but recognize the implications of owning a fine two-storey house on a double lot, without any mortgage, for the socio-economic level of the residents.

6. Voluntary Associations and Recreation

The voluntary associations were established in such a way that they meshed well with the economic system and their religious creed. The recreational activities in the Town appear to be a reflection of the residents' ethnicity and of their place in the political economy. With respect to sports, the Scottish sport of curling as well as the English sports of golf, tennis and gymnastics were all quite important to the recreational life of the Town. Many of the residents were actively involved in public speaking so that local clubs dedicated to literature, debating and public speaking flourished here for many years. In this way, an advantage which the residents inherited with respect to the language of business could be cultivated and used to still further advantage in the world of business to which this population belonged. Friendly societies were also a carry-over of the ethnic heritage. English, Scottish and Welsh members of the second largest British Friendly Society, the Ancient Order of Foresters, planted this society in America during the 1870's.[109]

Other local organizations were dedicated to service to others. Religion had dictated the doing of good works.[110] Whether within the structures of the ladies' church societies or within the structure of the Rotary Club, which was essentially a business-mens' association, public service was considered an important part of this town's recreational life. While the Rotary Club had been instrumental in founding what is now the McKay Centre for the Deaf, the Young Men's Association of St. Philips Church had been an early patron of the Institute for the Blind, a forerunner of today's Montreal Association for the Blind.[111]

The women of the community obtained their social status through their kinship links. Therefore, when a man was an important member of the community, the female members of his family tended to hold important positions in the churches and in the local voluntary organizations. The Women's rituals included concerts, debutant teas and entertaining on 'at home' days.[112]

Their life style gave rise to a housing pattern typical of the community.[113] There was a selection process in operation here. When Armstrong and Cook, the local real-estate company, advertised their lots, they suggested that they were available at a reasonable cost and suitable for modest two-storey homes in close proximity to the downtown business district.[114] Its residents did in fact come to be those who required a modest two-storey house, one which was comfortable but not luxurious. They were employed in the offices at Windsor Station or at some other downtown business location.

Those who wanted to be on the train-route and close to downtown but could afford to be in Westmount or closer to the business district generally did not move to this fledgling community, nor did those who belonged to a religious denomination or ethnic group which was not served by the existing local churches. Since most of the local activities were arranged by either the Presbyterian or the Anglican Church, this latter consideration was certainly realistic. These observations lead us to consider the selection and socialization processes which have given the community of Montreal West its unique character.

There were occasional breaches of the legal norms within the community itself. However, the Town had a local police force so that rather than arrest and publicly shame, a breach of the law was treated by bringing home the offender with the admonition that he was not to repeat the offence. In this way a young boy apprehended stealing or an adult found inebriated did not become defined as a juvenile delinquent or as a common drunk as he would be in a less protected environment. With the cooperation of the local police force, the community was, therefore, able to maintain its appearance of Presbyterian respectability and the individual was given the opportunity to mend his ways and to avoid the social definition of a deviant.[115]

However, those who did not attend church and whose occupation and financial position tended to set them apart from the majority of the members of this community tended to be on the periphery of the community in every other sense of the word as well. It was as though they simply had never existed.[116]

This was a community where legal and moral norms were strictly enforced. Here was no anonymity for those who broke the faith, whether in terms of church attendance, marital fidelity, temperance or even in the behaviour of their children. Being such a small and isolated town, it was easy to observe any deviance from the accepted norms of the community and the threat of exclusion from the all-embracing community was usually sufficient to ensure conformity.

However, an outlet was required from the strict Presbyterian moral code of this community. The image of 'moral perfection' within the community required the acceptance of misdemeanors so long as they were done outside of the watchful eyes of the community itself. For instance, if one occasionally chose to over-step the bounds of propriety by going over the hill into the neighbouring working-class community of Ville St. Pierre, this could be tolerated. Despite the fact that local gossips quickly notified one's friends and neighbours that norms had been broken, if the formal requirements of the community were met, for instance if one had been at church with one's family on Sunday, then much could be formally overlooked.

The section dealing with the people of Montreal West has described the setting at the larger level. It has considered the geographical origins of this community along with the cultural and especially the political 'baggage' which the people of this community had brought with them as part of their ethnicity. In that context, it discussed various social characteristics such as patriotism, political sophistication, religious dedication and emphasis upon education. As a part of the discussion of the

socio-economic characteristics of these people, it described how the ethnicity, religion and education of this population was related to the national and international conditions. It has shown Montreal West to be a result of such national phenomena as the construction of the railroads, Confederation, the National Policy and the privileges of the British. This section has also located Montreal West within the larger urban ecology of Montreal and has shown the link between Montreal West's population and the business and financial district in the urban centre.

The next section will look at the specific social structures within the community itself and relate them to some of the above elements. This will illustrate how the society which was established here is a reflection of the people who established it.

Notes to Chapter Three

[1] Population of Canadian Cities, 1891 - 1931,

	1891	1901	1911	1921
Montreal	219,616	328,172	490,504	618,566
Toronto	181,215	209,892	381,833	521,893
Vancouver	13,709	29,432	120,847	163,220
Winnipeg	25,639	42,340	136,035	179,087

in Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, p. 98.

[2] According to the observations made by the Commission of Conservation, "Industrial smoke disfigures buildings, impairs the health of the population, renders the whole city filthy, destroys any beauty with which the city may naturally be endowed and tends to make it a squalid and undesirable place of residence, and this at a time when economic influences are forcing into our cities an ever increasing proportion of our population.
Ibid., p. 99.

[3] Map of Montreal, 1979, p. 89.

[4] Ibid, pp.100 - 101.

[5] Ibid, p. 100.

[6] Ibid, p. 101.

[7] Ibid, p. 101.

[8] Ibid, p. 101.

[9] The concern among the Scottish elites for the preservation of their cultural identities is discussed in T.W. Acheson, "The Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," pp. 156 - 157.

[10] This name is sometimes spelled Decary.

[11] Although records of Dr. Leach's three marriages include reference to a young daughter living with her mother in Montreal, in The History of a Diocese of Montreal, there seems to be no mention of the latter.

[12] As indicated by the map, the road ran along the top of the escarpment along what is now Upper Lachine Road and passed in front of the site of the present Town Hall along Easton Avenue, then went steeply down the back to Ville St. Pierre. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[13] Andrew Fyfe addressed the Montreal West Citizens Association on the Early History of Montreal West. A record of this address is available in "Footpath Only Means of Travel Here in Early 1700's". The Westward News, April 4, 1962, pp. 3-4. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[14] This was located at what is now 100, Easton Avenue.

[15] At this time, the Canadian Pacific Railway purchased from the Leach family the right of way as well as the land over the edge of the escarpment beyond Bedbrooke Avenue, thus cutting the Leach farm into three parts. They built two wooden trestle bridges in order to provide access to the rest of the farm. These were torn down after World War I. The railway crossing at what was to become Fenwick and Crescent Avenues became a contentious issue. After the Leach property had been developed and settled, the Canadian Pacific Railway claimed it was no longer obliged to provide access and it was closed. However, as the initial agreement is worded, no limitation or conditions had been placed on the maintenance of the crossing. Mr. Leach was distressed by this change as he felt it would be detrimental to the development potential of his land.

[16] Records of the Canadian Pacific Railway indicate that it was not until Windsor Station and the access track out to Montreal Junction was completed in 1889 that any form of service competitive with the Grand Trunk Railway could be offered.

[17] This must have also been a link to the Lachine Canal.

[18] The diary of Mr. W.J. Percival indicates that he, along with Mr. E.J. Bedbrooke, were these two first purchasers. However, there does not appear to be any further record of specifically what assistance was actually given by the railway company. W.J. Percival, Diary. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[19] Their agent in Montreal was J. Cradock Simpson and Co. of Saint James Street.

[20] The Armstrong and Cook Real Estate Company was a descendant of the old British colonization companies. It is in this context that a law student, James Armstrong, and a merchant, John Jeremiah Cook, joined with several other individuals as the York Farmers' Colonization Company in 1882 for the purpose of acquiring land and for the colonization and selling of this land. Their [illegible] purpose was "to encourage and promote immigration and such capital works as may be deemed expedient in promoting the object of the company."

Four years later (July 26, 1886) in their Partnership Declaration, they

stated that as of March 1st of that year, they had been operating as the only partners in the firm of Armstrong and Cook as brokers. Moreover, in the Toronto Business Directory of 1888, their function was listed simply as real estate.
Letter, April 4, 1977, Archives of ontario, Ministry of Culture and Recreation, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[20] The land was sold at ten cents per square foot and the terms were ¼ of the price in cash and three years to pay the balance, with interest at 6% half-yearly. Source: Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[21] David Watson, Armstrong and Cook - Land Developers" The Informer. Montreal West, February 75, Vol. 3, no. 4, p. 3.

[22] Ibid, p. 3.

[23] Recollections of Mrs. Reekie, grandaughter of J.J. Kirkpatrick, one of the first mayors (1900-1901) and wife of Alistair Reekie, former mayor (1906-1907).

[24] This was a cement swim tank purchased and installed by Mr. Kirkpatrick when one of his grandsons was striken by polio.

[25] Marion Johnson. "Bear Dances and Strawberry Jam" The Informer. March 1974, Vol. 2, no. 5, pp. 10,12.

[26] "Footpath Only Means of Travel Here in Early 1700's," The Westward News, pp. 3-4.

[27] This is excluding the large tract which was to become the Sortin golf course owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway.

[28] Robert Park's definition of 'natural area' is that natural areas are areas of population segregation. He notes that:
"The general effect of the continuous processes of invasions and accomodations is to give to the developed community well-defined areas, each having its own peculiar selection and cultural characteristics. Such units of communal life may be termed "natural areas" of formations, to use the term of the plant ecologist. In any case, these areas of selection and function may comprise many subformations or associations which become part of the organic structure of the district or of the community as a whole..."

R.E. Park, B.W. Burgess, and Roderick D. McKenzie, The City, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 6 - 7.

[29] In 1909 they operated as far as Elmhurst Avenue and by 1912 they came as far as Westminster Avenue. These were modelled after the Scottish streetcars.

[30] Some of the early local telephones had been installed by 1900. However, even then some conservative residents, for instance, Andrew Fyfe, refused to have one installed.

[31] Whitaker, "Images of the State in Canada," The Canadian State, p. 30.

[32] Hobson, Imperialism, p. 5.

[33] Guindon,"The Modernization of Quebec and the Legitimacy of the Canadian State," p. 243.

[34] Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State, "The Canadian State, p. 32.

[35] Ibid, p. 35.

[36] See p. 41.

[37] Arendt, Imperialism, p. 56.

[38] Ibid, p, 92.

[39] Ibid, p. 34.

[40] Social distance is an interaction effect between in-group solidarity of one's own group and that of the other ethnic group.

[41] This aspect of solidarity will be discussed further when social networks are considered on pp., 188-197.

[42] See Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1921, pp. 250-274 and Bergeron, The History of Quebec, p. 160.

[43] In November of 1900, "a reception was given to a few returned men in Aberdeen Model School; Soldier Wilkins who lost a leg and soldier Bamford . . ." Speeches by J.J. Kirkpatrick, Mr. McClatchie, Mr. Griggs, Mr. Wilkins and Dr. Kelly marked the occasion. The source for the above is "Memories of Long Ago, Montreal Junction-Montreal West: 1893-1900" written by Carmen Thouret Kirkpatrick who grew up in the town in its early years and returned to marry a son of one of the earliest mayors (Her son-in-law was also a recent mayor).

[44] This was a contrast with the attitude among the French Canadian Nationalists who were opposed to Canadian military participation in what they perceived to be a European war.

[45] See pp. 180-188.

[46] Appendix II

[47] See p. 206.

[48] 'Formal' refers to the church, the school and the voluntary organizations.

[49] 'Informal' refers to social affairs such as weddings, or, for ladies, 'at home' days and 'debutante teas'.

[50] Perry Miller, The New England Mind (Boston: Beacon Press, 1961), p. 138.

51 Rowland Tappan Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950 (New York: Russell and Russell, 1953), p. 179.

52 This may have been a reflection of Scottish nationalism since Burns was a poet whose themes dealt with his love for his homeland. Ibid, p. 68.

53 Montreal West Monthly, March 1911, Volume 1, No. 2.

54 The population was very much involved in the political life of the community.

55 See pp. 143-147.

56 Ibid, pp. 68-81.

57 Ibid, pp. 76-77.

58 Martin, Where London Ends, pp. 114 - 115.

59 Lythe and Butt, The Economic History of Scotland, p. 138.

60 John Kenneth Galbraith, The Scotch (Cambridge: The Riverside Press, Boston: Houghton, Mifflin and Company, 1964) p. 44.

61 Ibid, p. 52.

62 Ibid, p. 55.

63 Galbraith, The Scotch, p. 56
To this day, the degree of volunteer involvement in the Town of Montreal West remains high. The neighbouring community of Cote St. Luc employs far more recreational personnel in its community programs.

64 Ibid, p. 67.
This was indeed the case in Montreal West in a municipal election several years ago. The candidate was not of the Christian faith and therefore had not been accepted as a man of standing locally. Political pressure was therefore exerted to assure the town that inappropriate persons would not serve.

65 Harold M. Laughlin, Secretary-Treasurer of Montreal West, February 15, 1981. Telephone Interview.

66 See Appendix II.

67 Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1700-1950, pp. 155 - 156.

68 One Generation unto Another, Montreal West United Church. The hierarchy went from pastors to doctors, elders and deacons.

69 Albert-Marie Schmidt, Calvin and the Calvinistic Tradition (New York: Harper and Brothers, London: Longmans, 1960, p. 98.

70 Perry Miller, The New England Mind, pp. 40, 41.

71 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Sprit of Capitalism: The Relationships between Religion and the Economic and Social Life in Modern Culture, trans. by Talcott Parsons, foreward by R.H. Tawney, p. 103.

72 For further discussion of Scotland's highly-developed national system of education, see Wilson, The Chartist Movement in England, pp. 9,19, Reid, Scotland Past and Present, p. 70.

73 The chief reason the Scots of the 17th century had accepted Parliamentary union with England and thereby the liquidation of their own national state was in order to safeguard their national church of Scotland against the danger that Roman Catholic Steward kings might return to the Scottish throne.

74 Reid, Scotland Past and Present, pp. 68-70.

75 Bernard Semmel, The Methodist Revolution, (New York, Basic Books Inc., 1973), pp. 10, 11, 17.

76 Ibid, pp. 114 - 115.

77 Elie Halèvy, The Birth of Methodism in England (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 1971) pp. 11, 12, 51.

78 Max Weber tried to construct tools for a sociological understanding of reality. His ideal types are constructs which distort reality in order to yield a rational understanding or Verstehen. These constructs are judged on the basis of whether or not they are heuristic rather than for their truth of falsity. Just as Weber did not regard it as necessary to break down the Protestant religion in its constituent groups, so this writer too feels that when Protestantism is being used primarily as a heuristic device to describe a community, a discussion of those elements which are exceptions to the generalization would be counter-productive.

79 Max Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism and the Economic and Social Life in Modern Culture, pp. 91, 126, 154-155, 180, 183.

80 Weber, The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism, pp. 98, 103.

81 Ibid, p. 163.

82 Ibid, p. 166.

83 According to the recollections of Andrew Fyfe, the one local establishment which sold alcoholic beverages was the Half-House Tavern, run by a Mr. Charbonneau. It eventually burnt down with its owner making no attempt to put out the flames. See p. 118.

84 See p. 117.

85 Interview with the daughter of an early resident. Anon, 1988.

86 Martin, Where London Ends, pp. 188-193

87 Ibid, pp. 188-192.

88 This was as of 1902.

89 Tuchman, The Proud Tower, p. 412.

90 Acheson, "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite 1880-1885" p. 46.

91 Wilson, The Chartist Movement, pp. 9 - 12.

92 This system, perpetuated in Scotland's industrial period, provided Scotland with a continous skilled labour force.

[93] Tuchman, The Proud Tower, p. 412.

[94] See pp.115, 120-123.

[95] Census of Canada, 1881
Table Q - Educational Status indicates that Quebec, of a total population between the ages of 20 and 29, 125.59 to 1,000 of the population could read and write and of a total population between the ages of 30 and 39, 80.57 could read and write.

[96] State public schools were going to be English and therfore fearing religious and cultural assimiliation, the church resisted the organization of a public school system.

[97] See Appendix II

[98] Lovell's Directory, Montreal, Vols. 1890-1925.

[99] See Appendix II.

[100] Ibid.

[101] As shown in Appendix II,of an approximate total of 330 names with known occupations, by 1917, 87 had become executives while only 38 worked for the railway.

[102] This refers to the Mayor, the Commissioners and the heads of voluntary organizations.

[103] See pp. 194-195 and Appendix II.

[104] Newsletter published by the St. Philips Young Men's Association, July 1911, Volume 1, number 6.

[105] "The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture," 1966, uses both terms: 'Garden City' and 'Garden Suburb'. It notes that "The first garden suburb in England were Port Sunlight and Bounville, but the first English specimen is the Hampstead Garden Suburb in London, started in 1906. In Germany, the most interesting is . . . at Hillerau near Dresden and begun in 1909.

According to "Everyman's Concise Encyclopedia of Architecture," the term Garden City comes from a book by E. Howard of England published first in 1898 as Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform and then again in 1902 as Garden Cities of Tomorrow. It referred to an ideal community such that "on its outer fringe were factories, warehouses, etc. and surrounding the whole town was wide agricultural belt of 5,000 acres to provide vegetables, fruit and milk as well as healthy country surroundings, for an assumed urban population of 30,000."
Martin S. Briggs, Everyman's Concise Encyclopedia of Architecture (London: J.M. Dent and Sons, Ltd. , 1960).

[106] This refers to World War II.

[107] See pp. 181-182.

[108] See pp. 172-173.

[109] Berthoff, British Immigrants in Industrial America, 179-1950, p. 180.

[110] See pp. 115-116.

[111] The McKay Center at the time had been known as the Montreal Oral School for the Deaf.

[112] This can be seen in the later section which discusses the specific voluntary organizations, pp. 128-129. Also, see Appendix II.

For instance, Mrs. Thouret's at home day was every second Thursday when she served minature home-baked cakes and her guests left calling-cards. With respect to debutante teas, records indicate that a Mrs. Reid of Mansfield Street was hostess in 1904 at a tea for the debut of her nieces, Miss Kirkpatrick of Montreal West and Miss Mills of Liverpool, England.

[113] We ought to bear in mind here that this was a period in the Canadian political economy when credit was highly restricted and when one would have great difficulty in obtaining a mortgage. Most homes here were therfore purchased for cash. Those who could afford to live in this community, which had very few rental homes, were therefore a rather select group. One illustration of this observation is that when a local resident saw a downtown medical specialist, she was informed that the rate for Montreal West residents was particularly high.

[114] See p. 100.

[115] To this day, Ron Fitzgibbon, formerly with the local police force as a sergeant and since the removal of the local police station, chief of fire protection, was involved with juveniles. In earlier years, he organized boxing sessions in which he involved youths who had been involved in trouble with the law. To this day, he is active among local troubled youths such as those who are having drug-related problems.

[116] There were some local railway-yard workers within this category.

Chapter Four

The Institutions and Social Structures of the Town of Montreal West

The residents of this community possessed certain values and attitudes which were to influence the local institutions and social structures. Furthermore, their ethnic origins were to influence the type of community structures which the residents would wish to see evolving in Montreal West. This can be seen in the structures pertaining to religion, education, recreation and housing. Also, their historical experience in Great Britain was to serve them well in the establishment of a local political structure and in carrying on with its various duties.

The socio-economic status of the residents was influenced by their ethnicity and religion. A comparison with the industrial elite will help to establish the social position of the residents and to illustrate the many ties which the residents had with this economic class. It will, therefore, highlight their access to certain occupations and thus, often to a high degree of social mobility. Also, a comparison with other Montreal populations will help us to locate the socio-economic status of the residents, showing their privileged position in comparison with other communities.

A. Ethnic Ties

The residents of the community were to establish a network of local institutions and social structures which reflected their ethnic origins and their close ties with Great Britain. The municipal administration, the churches and the schools were all related to the ethnicity of the population. The relationship between ethnicity and mobility is such that occupations and socio-economic status are also reflections of ethnicity. Political sentiment is often a function of ethnicity. Local participation in the First World War in support of Britain illustrates this relationship. It was also clearly reflected by the women's activities within their organizations.[1]

Martin has noted that in nineteenth century England, "Religion, education, recreation and the common courtesies and decencies of life (had all given) way in the face of overwhelming factors."[2] It would seem that the citizens of this new community did not wish to see Montreal West parallel the deterioration in the social conditions of the 'old country'. However, they did wish to perpetuate the progressive changes which had occurred there. In this community, there was a high degree of involvement in local voluntary organizations. Also, this enthusiastic voluntarism was reflected in the spirit of cooperation which characterized local community life.

B. Political Structures

As a result of their historical experience in Great Britain, the residents of this community had developed 'political sophistication' which was to serve them well in the new community. This was reflected in their ease and readiness in drafting a municipal charter, setting up a local government and carrying on impressively well with the administration of the Town.

Between 1890 and 1897, when most of the construction and development was taking place on the Armstrong and Cook property, this community existed as a part of the village which had grown up around the railway juncture known as Montreal Junction.[3] It was considered to be a part of the district of Notre Dame de Grace and so it was then referred to officially as Notre Dame de Grace West. Thomas Trenholme, a prominent resident, was its representative on the Municipal Council of N.D.G.

The amenities provided by the Armstrong and Cook company were limited. However, those residents who were a part of the Leach development lacked even these minimal conveniences. Seeing the need for public services and being aware that there was a way to obtain public financing for these amenities, a political structure was quickly organized.

A series of private meetings was soon followed by a number of public meetings, the first of which concentrated on choosing a name for the soon to be incorporated town.[4] Until 1897, the community had been referred to as Montreal Junction. However, when the naming of the

new Town was being considered, the name of Town of Montreal West was chosen to replace the earlier designation.

A committee and sub-committee were appointed to draft a charter.[5] The members of the drafting sub-committee were neighbours and they spent much time studying the provincial statutes, selecting what would be useful to the new town and studying the provisions of the Municipal Code and the Town Corporation Act. Although these men did not have formal training, it appears that they certainly knew how to look for the information they required. Due to their efforts, by an Act of the Provincial Legislature, on the 9th of January, 1897, the Town was incorporated and granted municipal taxing powers.[6]

The Town, after much deliberation and negotiation, was divided into two Wards, with the Leach development designated as the West Ward and the Armstrong and Cook development designated as the East Ward. On February 1, 1897, the first local municipal election was held to choose a total of seven Councillors for a term of two years. The mayor was to be elected by Councillors from amongst themselves annually. On February 8, 1897, the first local municipal election was held to choose representatives from each Ward.

The newly established Council had been elected on a platform dedicated to economic and cautious administration and to the strict protection of the Town's morals. This implied opposition to a liquor license for the Blue Bonnets Hotel and the barring of demoralizing influences.[7] Within a short time, the little village had become a self-governing body, strongly determined to perpetuate its Protestant values and preserve its

image as an attractive[8] and exclusive residential suburb.[9] The Council, through measures such as its by-law forbidding the sale of liquor, its support of strict building codes[10] and its support of the Horticultural Society[11] sought to conserve these values.

There were a number of other occasions when this community early on showed its political sophistication. On the day of its first election, the Election Clerk had arrived with printed ballots prepared according to the Dominion Election Acts, as set out in their municipal charter.[12] However, on the morning of the Election, the President of the Election[13] arrived with the Town Clerk of St. Henry.[14] The latter had brought printed ballots in the form required for the Provincial Elections. However, this change was promptly challenged and the original ballots were used. Again, at the first meeting of the Municipal Council, a bill from the Village of Notre Dame de Grace for Montreal Junction's portion of a deficit in their accounts was presented, rejected outright and never heard from again.

In a dispute with Credit Municipal, when the latter began work on a water main before they had a signed contract in hand, the Town informed them that they would not be permitted to cross the municipal boundaries. Since the company chose to ignore this notice, they were successfully served with an injunction, forced to post a $2,000.00 bond as security and to comply with the terms set out by the Town. These are only a few early incidents in the history of the then newly established town, run by the citizens themselves.

In 1902 when the country was suffering from a strike which had created a shortage of fuel, the Town of Montreal West offered to obtain a supply of coal for the residents. A Council meeting, as well as a public meeting, was held to deal with this issue.

The local Council showed its clever administration of the Town's policies on yet another occasion. The Town's contract with the Montreal Light, Heat and Power Company was drafted in such a way that when the City of Montreal benefited from a reduction in the price of light, the local residents would also enjoy this reduction.

This sophisticated administration was certainly progressive. There had been only fifty houses in the village when it was incorporated as a town.[15] Soon afterwards, the sewer system was purchased from Armstrong and Cook and a few years after that the underground water system was also purchased and expanded. By 1910, a spacious Town Hall had been built and the wooden sidewalks were replaced with ones made of concrete. Four years later, all the Town's streets were paved with asphalt and drains and gas mains were furnished for the municipality. The fact that they had put in water, sewers and gas before paving the streets was regarded as a progressive action when compared with other communites. A police and fire station were built in that same year. The Town was evidently a pioneer in incineration since the incinerator built at the time was the first to be constructed on the Island of Montreal. Even the system of trash collection was not treated lightly. Garbage, collected twice weekly, is picked up at the rear even today to avoid the offensive appearance of rows of garbage cans or scattered litter cluttering the street. Ash and refuse, the latter to be wrapped in paper, were separately placed in cans provided by the Town.

In 1920, despite the difficulties of the time in obtaining financing and materials,[16] needed local improvements were carried out. More efficient and modern street lighting replaced the existing system.[17] Up-to-date fire-fighting equipment, land for new streets, as well as financing for new roads, side-walks and sewers were obtained in that year. Capital was also needed and obtained for the Municipal Green House and for work on the Town Hall. As required by law, council went to the citizens to gain approval for the floating of a new bond issue, which was passed. The Town was, even in its early days, well-maintained and financially sound as well as being progressive.[18] In that same year, in order to provide the residents with more equal representation, an amendment to the municipal incorporation act was passed to change the Municipal Council to a Municipal Commission in which each Commissioner represented the whole Town but held a specific Portfolio.[19]

C. The Churches

The churches themselves were very much in keeping with both the religious and ethnic background of Montreal West. The speed with which the first churches were built is a testimony to the high regard in which this community held their religious activities. Initially, a small group of citizens had held services in private homes, with the help of an Anglican pastor whom they had invited to come from Lachine to hold Sunday afternoon services. By 1891, they had already outgrown these temporary accomodations and they decided to build a church. With land donated by David Leach, a small frame building and an adjacent tennis court were constructed for the Anglican Church of Montreal Junction. By 1911 the building was replaced by a larger more substantial brick structure which was to win an architect's prize.

Even when the present St. Philips church was built in 1929, the old brick church was kept as a Sunday School and the surrounding attractive grounds were beautifully kept.

The Presbyterians also did not delay in establishing a church. In early July of 1891, Angus Graham, a student at the Presbyterian College, was sent to arrange a public service in Montreal Junction. Stepping off the train, he met the local station agent who helped him obtain the use of the freight shed owned by the C.P.R. for a service on July 12, 1891. These services, shared with the Methodists, continued until the changing weather forced the congregants indoors. However, by the following summer, a lot had been donated by the Armstrong and Cook Company, trustees had been appointed, a building committee had been elected and a subscription list of $1500.00 had been accumulated.[20] If the devotion of its officers was an indication, this church started out with a highly dedicated congregation.[21] The first local Presbyterian Church opened its doors in December of 1892. By 1894, the church needed and obtained the services of a full-time pastor. An addition was constructed in the spring of 1907 and when more space was once again needed, men of the congregation, including the minister, Reverend Ross, worked to dig out the basement of the church. This was to serve their needs until the agreement for Church Union was drawn up with the Methodists.[22]

When the Presbyterians had gone to the use of private homes after the weather made the use of the C.P.R. facilities impractical, the Methodists did likewise.[23] They too had soon grown enough to build their own church and by November 20, 1892 the Herald Avenue Methodist Church was opened.[24] An extension was added in 1916 and this served the Methodists' needs until Church Union.[25]

There was no separation between the church and the cultural life at this time. The church then served several vital roles in the early history of the town. Primarily, it was the most influential socializing agent. People were brought into contact with their peer groups through their memberships in various church organizations. The church helped them to become a close-knit homogeneous group and, with its young people's activities, to socialize the youth to hold values congruent with its own.[26] Their attitudes were developed and reinforced as they zealously worked together on various church projects such as fund-raising, building or renovation.

As it was traditional for the entire family to attend Sunday services, the Church was a special meeting-place where courtships were frequently carried on. It served as a cultural recreation centre. In the case of the local Anglican Church, it also served as the locus for the community's first school. The Church even found itself involved in the employment process since it was frequently asked to provide letters

of character reference for its members.

We can see then how closely religion was tied to the development of the cultural life in this community and to the socialization of its residents.

D. The Schools

Education was extremely important to the people of Montreal West and therefore it was a high priority in the development of facilities. Before the erection of the first Church building the town's children had been obliged to travel by train to Lachine or Montreal, making school attendance difficult for the very young. For a short time, therefore, an elementary school had been housed in the basement of the newly built Anglican Church. There was a sharing of personnel between the church leadership and that of the school either as teachers or as members of the School Boards. Financial support was provided by donations from residents, fees from the children and profits from school concerts. In its first year, there were 25 to 30 students. This voluntary school soon outgrew its borrowed premises.

In the spring of the following year, the local proprietors held a meeting to deal with the lack of educational facilities in the community. The political sophistication of the residents of this

community is evident in the manner in which they went about establishing the structure to organize the first local school. Upon the advice of a local resident who had important links with the provincial bureaucracy, a committee of four concerned citizens was established to obtain a building grant for a local school.[27] Of the latter, a sub-committee was authorized to investigate the issue, especially to see whether a Protestant School authority existed within the Village of Notre Dame de Grace, within whose jurisdiction Montreal Junction then fell.[28] The sub-committee found that the only school authority was, in fact, Catholic.

The Committee was faced with a long series of bureaucratic difficulties. They first approached Louis Descarriers, the Secretary-Treasurer of Notre Dame de Grace. He directed them to the Board of School Trustees who advised them that it would be necessary for them to dissent from the Catholic Board in order to be able to establish a dissentient, Protestant School Board. However, the Trustees maintained that money for a school was not available.

This response led to no small resentment since, at that time, the school tax was collected from corporations and allocated to Catholic and Protestant schools in proportion to the number of children in each school system. The high birth-rate among the Catholic residents of Quebec and the preponderance of corporations owned and controlled by Protestants had made this system of fiscal allocation a popular contemporary issue. This issue was not overlooked when Montreal Junction experienced difficulty in establishing a local school.

The representatives of Montreal Junction offered to provide their own building and set about preparing special forms in which they would officially dissent. The committee would not be deterred despite obstacles and warnings by one of the older Board members that if they were not careful, they might be 'whitecapped' or have their barns burnt down. They decided to divide the territory, issued Motions of Dissent and presented their report to the committee members. They recommended that the committee organize for action. Each member would solicit the signatures of a specified number of the local proprietors, on specially printed Notices of Dissent which were to be presented to the Catholic Board. It was soon found that there a few cases where proprietors were reluctant to sign because of the risk involved of offending their Roman Catholic friends and because of the higher cost of taxes to a Protestant structure. For instance, the owner of one lot refused to sign, claiming it might give offence to his French friends. However, since this man had only a joint interest in his lot, the other partner was astutely approached and he did sign the form. Similarly, when another proprietor was notified of the purpose of the delegate's visit, he became quite mysterious and invited his guest into his private office - out of the hearing distance of his French employees. He did finally sign the Form of Dissent as did many other residents.

When the Motions of Dissent were ready for presentation to the Roman Catholic School Board of Notre Dame de Grace, the committee met again to arrange for a deputation to present them. In the meantime the Secretary of the Committee had found out that the law had been changed. There had been a notice in the Quebec Official Gazette "for

the division of the School Municipality into four - Coteau St. Pierre, which included Montreal Junction, Cote St. Luc, Turcote Village (this was a part of Notre Dame de Grace with a large school age population), and Notre Dame de Grace."[29] This new arrangement completely changed the conditions of the situation.

After the law had changed, dissent had become unnecessary. Division of the School Municipality into four sections had put the Protestants in the majority in the area comprising Ville St. Pierre and Montreal Junction. Finally, permission was obtained to establish the School Commission of Coteau St. Pierre. The community was therefore entitled to elect three Commissioners rather than three Trustees and the supporters of the Roman Catholic Trustees would have to dissent to the new Protestant body.[30] On the first juridical Monday in July of 1892, a Board of Commissioners was elected.[31] However, the Roman Catholics had also elected a Board of five Commissioners so that the community sent a delegation to visit Notre Dame de Grace and argue their case. After hours of discussion, the authorities were still not convinced that the Protestants were in the majority. Finally, it was only through a former local resident who was an official at Quebec, that a favourable result was obtained.[32]

This hard-won victory had still accomplished little to produce an actual school. When the Commissioners had finally set out to arrange the financing for the land and building, they were once again met with opposition, this time from some of their own residents; prominent citizens who had no children of their own and were reluctant to assume the additional fiscal burden. The latter submitted a petition of opposition to the Committee of Public Instruction at Quebec

based on various legalities. However, the Commissioners were able to overcome these objections and, through their advisor and former neighbour, were notified that their expenditure had been approved.[33]

Having carried out the appropriate bureaucratic procedures, the citizens set out to build a school. Such was their dedication to the project that although they were offered land for the purpose at no cost, they turned down the offer because they wished to have the school in a central location.[34] Instead they purchased a double lot from Armstrong and Cook, the local development company.

With plans drawn by a Mr. Clift, the brother of a local resident, a school was built at Montreal Junction in 1894. This school was of twice the required size and the upper floor was used for social and public meeting until it would later be required by the student population. The school was named the Aberdeen School of Coteau St. Pierre.[35] The name was later changed to Aberdeen Model Public School because it, along with only one other public school on the island of Montreal, was legally required, according to the terms of the British North America Act, to accept all children from the community.[36]

The new School Board was to set itself a standard for academic excellence consistent with the local attitude towards education.[37] In 1916, the Aberdeen School of Montreal West, along with the Kensington School of Montreal, both under the new Board, led the province of Quebec in the bonus awards made annually by the Quebec School Committee.[38]

The growth of the school continued for many years, with no price spared for the sake of education. By 1905, it had become necessary to enlarge the school. Additional land was purchased and a new wing was added. A final wing, including a gymnasium, constructed in 1913, was to serve the community's needs until 1921. In that year an extension was added for a high school and the enlarged school was renamed Montreal West High School although it still included the elementary School. Ten years later, the old building was demolished and replaced by a new $300,000 structure which incorporated various progressive developments in education.[39] In 1924, a new elementary school named Elizabeth Ballantyne, after the daughter of a prominent resident, was constructed so that the local children who lived on the other side of the community would not find it necessary to cross the C.P.R. tracks.[40]

A less sophisticated community would have been discouraged early by the bureaucratic wrangles which this committee had to overcome. However, the public-spirited and determined citizens, not politicians and lawyers but rather railroad workers, businessmen and others, amateurs in the art of political organization and negotiation, possessed the skills necessary to overcome all the obstacles which were to present themselves and to establish a school system which, for many years thereafter, was to be outstanding for its academic standards as well as for its modern buildings and facilities.

Once established, the school played a vital role in the develop-

ment of a cultural identity in the community and the socialization of its members. It placed a high value on academic excellence and later even on vocational training and this gave its alumnae an advantage in the wider society with respect to occupation, position in the business world and in the choice of participation in "leisure time organizations." Moreover, teachers in the local school were often invited to participate in local young people's organizations such as those associated with the local churches. For instance, Dr. Kelly, a local teacher, spoke to the Young People's Society of the Presbyterian Church. Since the school teachers tended to be local residents and therefore the friends and neighbours of the parents, informal contact and value transference was almost inevitable. This community institution, along with the several local churches, was therefore influential in determining the occupations which the children could pursue and the socio-economic status they could attain.

E. Socio-Economic Status

1) Comparison with the Canadian Industrial Elite

The residents of Montreal West were not generally members of the class one would call an industrial elite although they were often related to them within an extended family network. The more affluent members of this kinship network lived in Westmount. The local residents began in clerical positions and worked their way up through the ranks of management until in many cases they attained prominent positions in the corporate structures. However, this upward mobility did not alter their lifestyle. Homes purchased or built while on the lower rungs were not sold when one reached the top, nor was it expected

that the home was only temporary. Roots were firmly planted here at the beginning of one's career. This included buying a family home, cultivating a garden, and joining many organizations and often only a company transfer out of town could break this close attachment. To this day a home is known by the name of its previous owner to the point where a new owner must wait many years before his occupancy and ownership is locally acknowledged.

The Montreal West resident had many common ties with the Canadian Industrial Elite. As with the industrialist, the Montreal Wester often had British family ties or was himself a British immigrant. The industrialist benefited in a grand and highly visible manner from Canada's rapid industrial growth at the end of the nineteenth century. However, spaces were also simultaneously opening up for support personnel in the field of clerical work, an occupation for which their education prepared them very well. This, combined with their sense of responsiblity, their loyalty and their dedication to hard work imbued by the Protestant ethic, provided for them an avenue of upward mobility in the changing administrative and financial structure of the financial corporation. Many Montreal Westers followed the route of the career executive, as in the case of C.C. Ballantyne; others provided specialized services to the corporation, as in the case of E.J. Bedbrooke.

By 1910 vertical mobility on the part of personnel moving into positions of command was replaced by horizontal mobility.[41] The earlier opportunities for new enterprises were narrowing and therefore

it was easier for Montreal Westers to enter as functionaries than as owners, which they did. They worked for established businesses, often coming with their own connections or arriving in Canada with others who had kinsmen with access to jobs.

The types of political participation discussed earlier with respect to the industrial elite are again reflected in the activities of C.C. Ballantyne, the only resident who would qualify as an industrialist.[42]

With respect to the political affiliation and continuity of the Canadian Industrial Elite, Montreal West acted in a similar manner, strongly supporting the Conservative party in 1885 and again through 1915. Only in recent decades has this Conservative loyalty shown any change.

Just as the Scottish industrialist maintained his British traditions throughout the first and second generation, so did the Scot living in Montreal West.[43] This can be seen in the longevity of the St. Andrews Literary Society and in the highland dancing which is popular in the Presbyterian Church up until today.

Again the Scots of Montreal West, consistently with the Scottish industrialists, showed continuity of their religious and ethnic traditions, to such an extent that when Church Union (1925) came about, some families were split by the refusal of one spouse to join the new church. The Montreal West Presbyterian Church is still an important institution in the community today.

The 'club movement,' discussed with respect to the Canadian Industrial Elite, was certainly thriving in Montreal West.[44] The Montreal West Lawn Bowling and Curling Club was formed when the Town had just begun.

Furthermore, the proliferation of voluntary organizations which were soon established in the community certainly reflects the trend mentioned on the national level.

The type of industrialist and his religious denomination as well as the scope of his memberships also echoed the national situation. A comparison of the occupations of those on the curling club and St. Andrews Society's membership lists reveals that they were more likely to be involved in the corporate structure than in small private business enterprises. The members were Presbyterian and Anglican.[45] The variety of memberships of a Montreal Wester also reflected the scope of his business interests just as did those of the members of the Canadian Industrial Elite.

Montreal Westers were already in positions of a certain superiority as they were fairly well educated and were actively participating, with economic status and role, in the middle levels of the new corporate structures which were coming to dominate the Canadian economy. The Presbyterian doctrine, with its belief in the elect and in lay participation, also imbued them with a sense of superiority. Even if they themselves were not affluent, their kin often were and they came to relate to their Westmount cousins.

2) Comparison With Other Communities in Montreal

It is worth noting here that the Canadian economy had been in a period of economic crisis between 1890 and 1896. The many social problems associated with industrial society which were encountered by the working class included :

> "low wages, long hours, frequent unemployment, child labour, overcrowded houses, inadequate or even non-existent sanitation and high infant mortality rates because of poor diet and lack of milk pasteurization."[46]

There were 10,000 unemployed in Montreal in 1894 while the Anglophones in Montreal at the end of this period had mean incomes that were four times higher than those of the francophones.[47]

However, the residents of Montreal West thrived in this period. In contrast to the misery of the working class at this time, the residents of Montreal West were establishing their fine and handsome 'garden suburb'.

A certain 'genteel affluence' seems to have been the norm here. In a series of recollections of the town in its earliest years, a local resident mentions the following details.

> "A few families of wealth were in Montreal Junction, but most of us were not. However, there was a maid in every kitchen, strong country girls who were happy to be near a big city, have a room of their own and a small salary. . . .
> Ladies had their "at home" days, Mother's was first and third Thursday when she would sit in our parlour and serve tea with small fingers of cake she's made herself - there was no bought cake. Visiting cards were left at the door."[48]

While other communities were struggling to obtain the basic amenities of life, life in this small community appeared to be quite comfortable. According to the above recollections,

> "A butcher boy came every morning to take orders and there was also deliveries of coal, ice and milk, E.E. Wallace, the egg and butter man, Castle Blend tea man, Toilet Laundry, and an old man who sold marvellous jars of hot beans. . ."[49]

F. Social Relations

Human beings are connected by a complex network of social relations. " Mary Noble . . . uses the term social structure to denote this network of . . . existing relations."[50] Boissevain and Mitchell have made a study of these social relations, analyzing the networks that exist within these relations.

Network theory is useful as a conceptual framework to help explain the close links between education, religion and the other elements of life in this community. It is particularly so when we try to relate the community of Montreal West to the Canadian Industrial Elite.

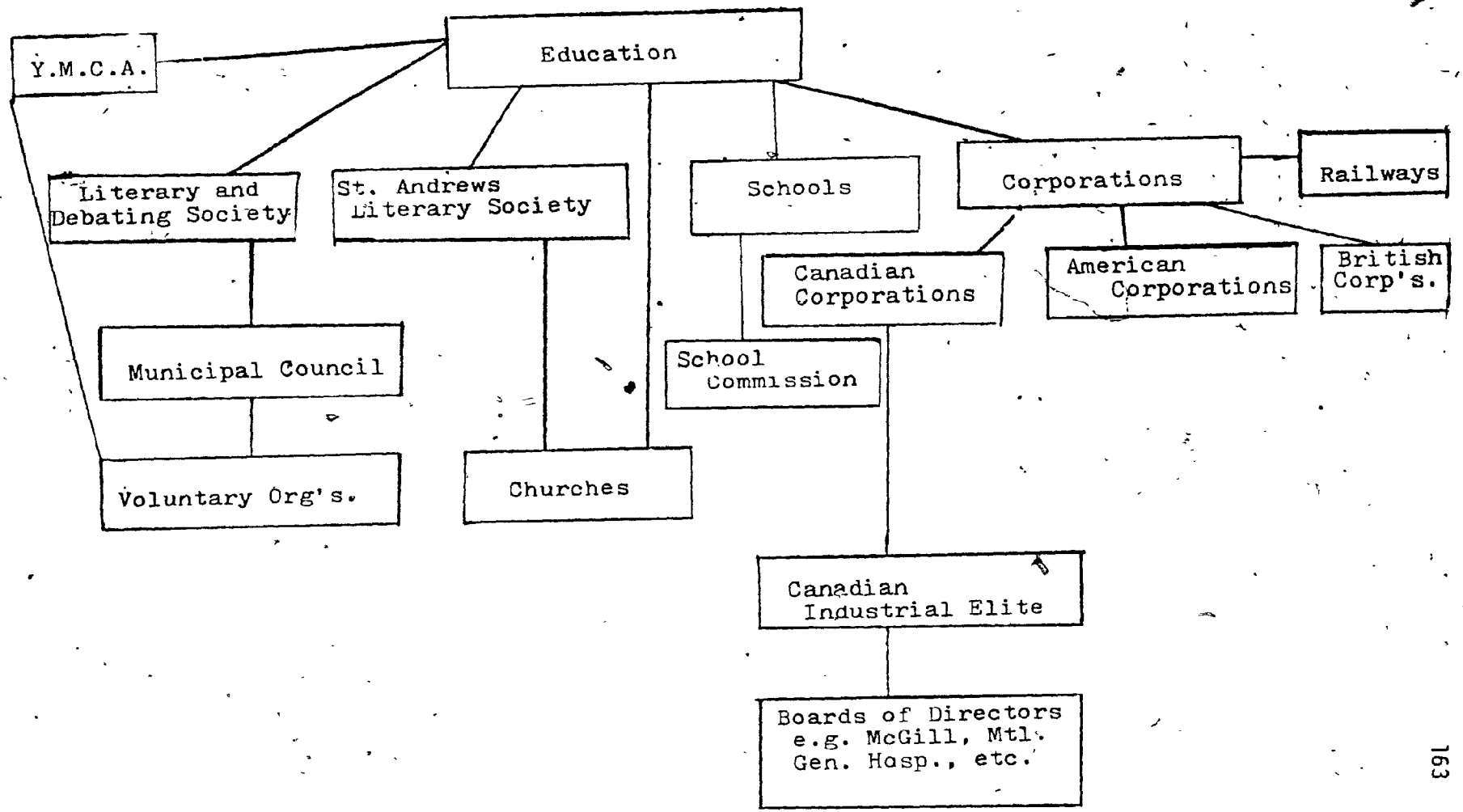
A distinction is made between the effective and extended network. The effective network is restricted to those persons known both to ego and also to one another. The extended network however includes those known to ego but not to one another and who in turn know others. Boissevain explains that "where the effective network comprises those in the upper reaches of the prestige system; the norms and values established among them will be promulgated through the extended network to the rest of the community."[51]

This is particularly evident in a community such as Montreal West. The close ties with Great Britain and the sense of kinship among the Scots were cemented by faithful correspondence and visits overseas so that kinship and ethnic ties remained strong. Moreover, those who shared a common language, history and religion and who therefore had the potential for forming an extended network were numerically a small proportion of the population of the City of Montreal.

The entire community of Montreal West was a web of extended networks going beyond the bounds of the local territory and linking up with other extended networks in the various nodes or sections of this web. There was a closely linked universe on the outside with many open channels on the inside.[52] Especially when we note the fact that the out-group spoke a different language, it is easy to see how this group could be so easily closed to the outside.

A human settlement or community is made up of individuals in social behaviour. The social envirnment has been described and now a Diagram of Networks will locate the individuals within their social environment.[53]

Web of Extended Networks of Social Relations



2. Description of Networks

a) Linkage by Railways

The merging of British and Canadian railway and financial interests was instrumental in founding Montreal West. The Canadian Pacific Railway, especially, played an important role in the early history of this town.[54]

Local industries, such as the several dairies and the Brunet Lumberyard, were serviced entirely by rail.[55] Those who were to settle in the Town often had their first view of Montreal West as they passed its fields and orchards on the train or stopped at the picturesque station with its carefully nurtured garden. Once a family had made their home in the Town, they made such extensive use of the trains that the vehicles themselves became major foci as residents socialized on the way to and from the city.

In these early times, relations between the railway companies and the residents were excellent. However, as time went on, disagreement on the subject of the companies' tax assessment developed. Up until 1911, the companies had been paying what some residents considered a nominal amount. However, in that year, the total assessed value for the Canadian Pacific Railway, the Grand Trunk Railway and the MP and I Railway rose from $8,000 to $139,644. The first two companies made representations at the Council Meeting of September 6, 1911 to have the assessment reduced; they were successful yet still made a substantial contribution to the income of the town.

In addition to the substantial contribution in taxes, the railways did much to influence the nature of the community that evolved. Perhaps it was out of their desire to maintain the value of their own

local property that they helped maintain the image of the Town as 'the garden suburb'. Soon after Armstrong and Cook, a development company, had purchased their property, the latter received a letter from the Canadian Pacific Railway suggesting that a portion of the undeveloped land be maintained as a park until it was to be developed. They themselves planted a lovely garden along the station, thus setting the tone for local gardening. This tradition was only curtailed when it was deemed appropriate to show frugality in war time. The Canadian Pacific Railway also helped to support the local Horticultural Society.

The same company also supported other institutions in this new community. The local stationmaster loaned the newly-built freight shed first to the Anglicans and then to the other two local Protestant groups for the first religious services and when the Town proceeded to 'church construction', the Anglican Church, which housed the first local school, received a substantial financial contribution from the same company.

The railway was important to the local businesses. The Brunet lumberyard and the several coal and gravel businesses were served by the railway as were the several local dairies including Elmhurst Dairy, which although it was just outside the border of the Town, was owned by a Mr. T.A. Trenholme, one of the founding residents of the Town.

The train transported the residents to social activities in Westmount and Lachine and to meetings with organizations such as Rotary or the Young Men's Christian Association, whose locations in the early years were in downtown Montreal. The Town depended on the railway as a link with the city as well as with other suburbs. The Literary and Debating Societies as well as the local School Commission

had as its members railway personnel. The railway, especially the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, had extensive links in the community network.

On the corporate level, the railways, especially the Canadian Pacific Railway Company, had contacts with other enterprises and through kinship and social relationships, linked up with Montreal Westers. Profits supported new enterprises and new careers, providing opportunities for those with the language and education demanded by these new positions.[56]

In total, we see that the railroads had placed Montreal Westers in their community or 'human settlement' and that ultimately Montreal Westers overlapped in an extended network outside the town. There were railway people everywhere in the network and the railway was an important force at each 'node' either as a corporate presence or as a means of transportation.

b) Linkage by Religion

The position of prominence accorded to Protestants, especially to Presbyterians, gave the residents of Montreal West the opportunity to maintain contact with prominent citizens either through kinship, economic activity or through Protestant voluntary associations such as the Rotary, the Y.M.C.A., the I.O.D.E., the McGill Faculty Club and the Boards of Directors of McGill University and the Montreal General Hospital.[57]

The Church served as a link with the outside for this relatively isolated suburb. For instance, the Anglican Church was in contact with the Anglican Diocese of Montreal. Also, the individual churches worked with organizations such as the 'Y' and McGill University, often directly through a sharing of leadership. The Literary and Debating Societies

as well as the other church organizations discussed matters of local and extra-local interest which were often taken up at the church services on Sunday.

c) Linkage by Education

The local educational system, including the school and the various other local educational organizations were also closely intertwined within the 'web of extended social networks'.

The British concept of state-financed primary and secondary education was transferred to the Canadian structure among the Protestants so that there were links between the state and the various levels of the education system.[57] This is in contrast to the educational system of the Roman Catholics who made up the French-speaking population and therefore its surrounding territory. The latter population education largely within the confines of parochial structures.

In addition to the school itself, the community had many church-related organizations devoted to education and culture. The church-related Young People's Society of the Presbyterian Church and the St. Andrews Literary and Debating Society are among many such local organizations. The Montreal West Debating Society and the Men's Club of Montreal West are examples among the secular organizations. Going beyond the town's geographical boundaries, the Y.M.C.A. in downtown Montreal and the newer Northwestern branch in

Notre Dame de Grace also regarded the education of their members as an important goal.[58]

The presence of extensive social networks is quite evident in the educational structures of Montreal West. For instance, the five original members of the School Commission had extensive links outside the community, as well as within it.[59] Their social position helped to give the community an identity, an image, outside the community. It also brought to bear upon the local community, the influence of certain outside institutions with which the latter had contact. When individuals in such an important and highly visible position in the community bring with them certain ideas and values from the "external environment" this is bound to have repercussions for the socialization of the members of the community.

An illustration of linkage in the educational network is the career of Dr. Kelly. Active in the local Young People's Society, Dr. Kelly had taught in the local high school at one point. Dr. Kelly had been the Principal of the High School of Montreal between 1875 and 1911. He had been a pioneer in securing the Protestant Teachers Association of Quebec and he was prominent in the organization of the Graduates Society of McGill University. For a time he had been President of the Sunday School Union and had done work for the Presbyterian Church which included service on a Session. He had served as President of the YMCA in 1885 and had remained on the Board to 1893. Between 1896 and 1917 Dr. Kelly had been a member of the Montreal West Presbyterian Church. In 1893 he had married a Mrs. Herbert C. Fuller, Née Hart, who was Principal of the Girls High School of Montreal. Since there had been a Fuller family in Montreal West

according to the 1917 telephone directory and since Dr. Kelly's membership in the local church comes soon after the date of his marriage, it leads one to consider the possibility of kinship links with another member of the community. Finally, a link between Dr. Kelly and an organization outside the town is the Kelly Trust Fund. Established by Dr. Kelly for the maintenance and extension of Church work within the confines of the Montreal Presbytery, this fund symbolizes the overlap between religion and education inside and outside the community.

Moreover, the wide social contacts of a number of the other residents were to give Montreal West a social network well beyond what might be expected in a community of this small size.

d) Linkage by Kinship

At the turn of the century, the upper and middle class portion of the English-speaking population of Montreal had been a relatively small population and all the business people in downtown Montreal were usually acquainted with one another. It is very likely that kin relationships served to further strengthen the linkages within their web of extended social relationships. Historical sources such as 'Who's Who' or yearbooks as well as data in archives such as those kept by the YMCA list many names which are also present in our list of residents. Although supporting data is not available , it is within the realm of likelihood that in such a small population, many of those with the same name were in fact linked by bonds of kinship. Within Montreal West there was a high proportion of marriage within the community.

e) Linkage by Municipal Administration

The linkages in terms of the railways, religion, education and kinships have been described. Similar linkage existed within the municipal administration.[60] It is evident that the local leadership had a particular place in the Canadian corporate structure and that their role in the socio-cultural organizations kept them linked to a particular population.

For instance, James Webb, a self-educated man who came to be a prominent citizen and who was particularly effective in consolidating the bonds within this network, had been a Commissioner and a member of Rotary. He had extensive business contacts and directorships, the latter including his seat on the Board of Governors of the Montreal General Hospital. Kinship assures the stability of such contacts and today this has passed to the daughter who carries the same name. The friendships maintained over the years tend to be important to the social life of these individuals so that periodically contacts are renewed, even when extensive travel is necessary.

G. Housing: Norms and By-Laws

The 'recollections' of a local resident help to give us some idea of the housing enjoyed by this socio-economic group. They begin:

> "My mother, who longed to bring up her young family in real country, persuaded Dad to drive out to Montreal Junction where Armstrong and Cook, contractors, were putting up some attractive houses. He was enthralled with one, now 656 Ballantyne Ave. South, three lots, one full of apple trees, and a butternut. A wonderful view towards the Lachine canal, and whilst we could not see the water, it was thrilling to see the ships sailing through all the greenery. He told Mother he had bought a house and it had four verandahs.
>
> "What is it like inside?" asked Mother.
>
> "Gracious me," he replied, "I never went in."
>
> As soon as possible, Mother and Grandma drove out, liked the inside, except that a playroom must be added and a back kitchen, with cupboards for shelves and clothes . . . further down from the orchard was a huge swamp. Rubber boots were needed to wade in for cowslips and bullrushes. Beautiful birds sang and nested there . . . and the chirping of frogs in the spring was a delight. Despite the fact that "our wooden sidewalks were ploughed, but our roads were full of snow", this appeared to be a charmed idlyllic existence. [61]

One of the elements which assured the stability of this community for so many years was its ability to control the mechanisms of social selection. Housing itself was treated as an extension of the norms of social solidarity.

Newly established young couples were not always in a financial position to immediately purchase homes in the Town. They often tended to live in other suburbs for some years as the man's career developed. Over time, especially after the couple had begun to build a family, it became important to return to 'the community fold' for the purpose of child-rearing and family-life.

There was a generational handing down of homes here although it was not necessarily done through actual kin. While some young people were given their houses and some inherited them, there was also an established real-estate tradition in the marketing of local homes. The local population was highly stable

so that homes did not often become available for sale. However, when they did, they tended to be sold according to the norms of social solidarity which were a part of this town's tradition.[62]

There was an 'alumnus relationship' between the older and the younger generations. Word of the availability of a house moved through the informal local network and the young purchasers were looked upon as the children of _____, rather than as anonymous parties to a commercial transaction.

When a real-estate agent was involved, as a member of the local community, he had an understanding of the local norms. Due to this shared understanding between the residents and the local real-estate agents, the latter were able to help ensure the homogeneity of the population by selling only to 'appropriate parties.'[63]

Thus the mechanisms of social selection operated even at the level of housing to ensure that the network which was open within was closed to the outside.

A particular population is able to influence the nature of a community's housing.[64] In this way, the local by-laws, concerned primarily with good government, intoxicating liquor, good morals and decency, have become a reflection of the totality of the society. The building by-laws in particular have played an important role in shaping and maintaining the character of the Town. Even before the founding of Montreal Junction as a separate town, its image had already been defined.[65] The by-laws had established that this town would not succomb to the appearance of the neighbourhoods of the industrial classes. Early by-laws prohibited the erection of tenement houses[66] and high external staircases.[67]

At this early period, it was established that not more than 2/3 of a lot (could) be built upon and that the floors of

all living rooms be at or above the level of the street, thus prohibiting basement dwellings. The height of the rooms and the quality of the building materials were even then, clearly set out, while waste disposal was closely regulated.[68]

In order to maintain the residential tone of the neighbourhood, commercial signs were also strictly regulatd.[69] Industrial buildings were strongly discouraged by other sections of the same by-law.[70]

The by-laws reflected a municipal concern for public health. In 1901, the time of the small-pox epidemic, vaccinations against the disease were made mandatory.[71]

When the community was taken over by an independent municipal administration, these guidelines were maintained and constantly expanded and up-dated so that in 1911, it could be said that:

> "Here is no crowding of houses, no long rows of tenements, no sky-scraping flats, but beautiful little residences, subdued in taste and cosy in appearance." [72]

We find this concern for the maintenance of the town's image carried through in the Building Commissioner's Report of 1931 under the title of "No Relaxation of Building By-Laws." It stated that:

> "We attribute the beauty of our town to the fact that these by-laws are rigidly adhered to. Every dwelling constructed must have space for a garden and must conform to the high standard of dwelling already in existence. To this fact, we attribute the term 'Garden Suburb' so often used in connection with Montreal West." [73]

H. Recreation: Social Life and Voluntary Organizations

Clubs tend to promote social solidarity, to validate the present social status of their members and to open avenues to higher status in the future for their members.[74] They are therefore essential for successful career movement. Also, they provide a degree of human intimacy in the cliques which develop within the larger society.

As we have shown with respect to the various elements of the community, this population, although not generally belonging to the Canadian Industrial Elite, was itself an elite. It belonged to an ethnic and religious group which was the national commercial and industrial elite. Its schools were exceptional for the quality of their staff and facilities. With respect to occupation, financial position and housing as well, this population, although not generally wealthy in the extreme, was also an elite. It was therefore inevitable that the voluntary organizations which made up the recreational structures for these residents would reinforce these norms by being selective.

Through its support of the various cultural organizations housed within the church, by providing facilities and staff, the church played an active role in the socialization of the members of the community and in establishing the cultural life of what was to become the Town of Montreal West. The church societies helped to mold the local population into a close-knit homogeneous group and to socialize its youth to hold values congruent with its own. For instance, the Young Peoples Society of the Presbyterian Church

shows, in its membership selection, how this process begins . In this local voluntary organization, prospective members were approved by the Social Committee and Secretary and were then invited to an 'open house'. Should they be accepted after these initial selections, they required the nomination of the executive and election by the membership. This procedure ensured a certain homogeneity in the membership. Further homogeneity was ensured by the socialization of those who were already members. For instance, the year's programme was arranged alone by the executive, a body that tended to be drawn from families who were local leaders. They put forth topics for discussion which would sensitize its members to issues which were of interest to the church, thus contributing to the socialization of the church membership and the community itself. [75]

This is only one of the many church-related voluntary organizations which flourished in this community in its early days. Others included Men's clubs, Women's clubs and a Literary and Debating Society. Like the Young People's Society, they often combined religious and educational goals and their membership was exclusive and homogeneous.

Another institution which reflects the close relationship in this community between religion and education is the St. Andrews Literary Society of Montreal West, which was founded in 1898. The new residential settlement had only become a chartered town the previous year. Yet within a year these citizens already had their own Literary Society. This organization reflected a unique attitude toward the cultivation of the mind and the spirit in an era when literacy alone was a mark of distinction. It gave this group,

a large proportion of whom were immigrants, an elitist self-image and very likely produced a similar image to the external society.

The constitution of this organization certainly conveys the impression of exclusivity and high moral expectations. In article II, it states as its object "the improvement of its members in literary and scientific pursuits, the cultivation of public speaking and the management of affairs."[76] Was it the average man on the street who felt a need for "the cultivation of public speaking and the management of affairs" or was it rather those who saw themselves as present or potential leaders of society and 'managers of affairs.'

The meetings of this group usually included the presentation of a learned paper by a member or a guest. Some of the programs were: a Patriotic Night, a Scottish concert, a lecture on Shakespeare and debates of issues such as 'Resolved that Great Britain has a greater future than that of the United States' and 'Resolved that Prohibition is the best solution to the liquor problem'. One lecture delivered by a Mr. Y. Brady was entitled "Songfellow." It was concerned with the early life of his ancestors and was followed by a commentary by a distinguished community leader who discussed the influence of surroundings and other family connections. Other topics included "The Cathedrals and Castles of Scotland" and "The Railway System of Canada." The 'imperial ties' of this organization are reflected in the cancellation of a concert "on the death of our Sovereign Lady Queen Victoria."[77]

This was a fairly exclusive organization as indicated by article III of its constitution. It states that "any member of the Montreal West Presbyterian Church and any other person upon the recommendation of two members of the Society and approval of the executive committee shall be eligible for membership upon the

payment of 10¢."[78] Stated otherwise, a member of the church would automatically become accepted since they have obviously been "appropriately formed" to qualify for membership. Otherwise, not only did one need the two recommendations of members, who were already likely to be members of the local elite, but beyond this, one had to merit the approval of the Society's elite, the executive committee.

This privilege of membership was accorded not only to such highly qualified adults but also to children. In the light of the Presbyterian respect for education, this is hardly surprising. Yet there was nothing light-hearted or casual about the obligations of its members.

Article VIII of its constitution clearly sets out the conditions for removal of a delinquent (or deviant) member. It states that "Any member shall be liable for expulsion, if guilty of conduct unbecoming a member of this society, such member to be notified in writing by the Secretary, such charge to be brought before the committee and approved by them."[79] So strict a form of discipline, when applied to civilians, is reminiscent of nothing less than the British diplomatic corps.

The members of this organization certainly took their responsibilities seriously. If, as a result of illness or for some other reason, a member was prevented from delivering a paper, he did not simply send word that he would be absent. As records of the Society indicate, the absent member conscientiously sent along his paper to be read on his behalf by another member.

The executive body of this group was, as might be expected,

also very serious. A record was kept of the attendance of each member of the Executive Committee and we see that these meetings were well-attended.

Despite the restrictive conditions for membership, this elitist organization seems to have flourished in the early days of Montreal West. The table below illustrates their high growth rate.

Table IX
St. Andrews Literary Society of Montreal West

Year	Number of Members
1899	41
1900	93
1901	200
1902	371*

*Of these, 109 were city residents, and 262 were Montreal West residents of whom 200 were adults and 62 were children.

Source: Journal, St. Andrews Literary Society, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

Its members, who were usually also among the community's elite, presented a certain set of values. With no political or religious questions allowed at meetings, dissent or criticism could not overstep the bounds of propriety.[80] This society must have been a powerful force in shaping the hearts and minds of the residents of this small community.

A number of the other local organizations were reflections of the community's values. For instance, not only was temperance important to the Presbyterians but Prohibition was then also an important public issue. While the community's position

on this topic is obvious from its early opposition to the serving of liquor at the Blue Bonnets Hotel before the latter burnt down, the community organized in various voluntary associations concerned with this issue. One such association was specifically concerned with the plebiscite on Prohibition being held nationally. Meetings were held at Aberdeen Hall in order to keep Montreal West 'quite free from taverns or saloons'. Reverend N.G. Bradford and Reverend Mr. Douglas spoke at the meeting. Also, the Provincial Secretary spoke on the plebiscite concerning Prohibition. A committee was set up to promote a vote in favour of the plebiscite. Dr. W.F. Kelley and Mr. Bradford were made chairman and secretary respectively while the committee also included Messrs. Wm. Park, J. Milne, W. Higgins, W.S. Lingley, DeGruchy, Kirkpatrick, W. Rodger, W. Boyd and Mayor McClatchie. Its composition shows the recurring appearance of the local elite.

Aside from the committee concerned with the plebiscite, the local attitude toward the consumption of alcohol is symbolized among the women by the Montreal West Women's Christian Temperance Union, formed February 14, 1911. Among the youth it is represented by the Young People's Christian Endeavour Society, which held quarterly rallies at locations such as the Y.M.C.A. at which speeches, refreshments, and athletic events were the norm.

An investigation of the other organizations which proliferated in this young community will further illustrate how the founders of this community perpetuated their traditionalistic values and ensured the homogeneity

of Montreal West's society.

The community's imperial ties and the residents' patriotic sentiments at the time of World War I were reflected in a number of Women's organizations. The Montreal West chapter of the Imperial Daughters of the Empire, which is overtly dedicated to patriotic ideals and charitable activities was especially active during World War I. They held a Patriotic Fund and Collection Campaign for Montreal West under the auspices of some of the local elite.[80] In the same period, the Montreal West Women's Club also provided active and patriotic support to the war effort. They contributed funds to the Red Cross, the Belgian Relief Fund, the Victorian Order of Nurses and a fund for soldiers lost overseas.[81] Moreover, in the same period, a Montreal West Red Cross Circle was organized. Also the Women's Win the War Association of Montreal West, whose patriotic interests are quite evident in the name, were organized in this period. Whether they raised funds, grew produce, knitted clothing or rolled bandages, the local women were very committed to the 'war effort' and their local organizations reflected this.

The International Order of Foresters (I.O.F.), court no. 1815, was the local branch of a fraternal organization with ties to Britain, active in providing insurance to its members. This local organization also formed the Amateur Athletic Association which included a group of bowlers who played matches with the Caledonians, presumably a group in another part of the city. It is likely that they used the bowling alleys which were then located in the Town Hall.

The Montreal West Women's Club reflects the cultural values of the community. According to its constitution,

> "The object of the club shall be to encourage a wider knowledge of literature, music, art, problems of social life; to promote recreational activities, to create mutual sympathy and cooperation, and support the welfare of the community and to stimulate an active interest in general philanthropic work." [82]

Its membership was again highly selective and its sense of history and tradition was clearly set out in its Rules of Order.[83] The sophistication of its membership seems to be reflected in the careful description of the treasurer's role in budgeting procedures which, according to a founding member, were clearly defined.[84]

The men of this town were men of the world with wide-ranging interests.[85] On October 23, 1916, they formed the Men's Association of Montreal West, whose purpose was the discussion of social, political and commercial questions.[86]

Many of them also belonged to the Montreal Rotary Club which met in downtown Montreal. The Rotary was primarily a business men's association in which only one member of an occupation was permitted in order to further the financial interests of its members. When the Montreal Rotary was no longer able to accomodate the potential new members from the community, the Montreal West branch was established.

Very early on, a local gardening society was formed. The activities of this organization, the Montreal West Horticultural and Agricultural Society, were many and they indicate the integration between this organization and others in the community. Moreover, they show how the community values were reflected at the level of the

organization.

The Society published an annual handbook to assist residents with their own gardening. An annual Flower and Vegetable Show was held in the Town Hall.[87] In order to encourage the younger generation, prizes were offered for bouquets of wild flowers and, at the show, each child was given a pot of geraniums to tend over the summer, with prizes going to the most successful gardener. The Society also held an annual Rose Show which came to have a fine reputation for the excellence of its blooms and a plant sale from which the proceeds were given to the local churches so that they could buy bulbs for their grounds. The outgoing President in 1911 urged the members to be free-handed with plants, shrubs . . . to newcomers who had gardens to make. It is therefore not surprising that Montreal West should have come to be known as 'The Garden Suburb.'

The Montreal West Association for the Blind and the Ladies Aid Society of the Presbyterian Church were both dedicated to social welfare. In addition, there was the Elm Boys AAA, the Elm Girls 500 Club, the O.U.R. Euchre Club, the Montreal West Dramatic Club, the Pastime Club, the Little Helpers Society, which had been formed on February 11, 1911 to help the Children's Memorial Hospital, the Montreal West Boys Club and the Children's Bluebird Club of Montreal West.[88] There was also the Montreal West Playgrounds Association, which has since become the Montreal West Civic Recreation Association.

The Montreal West Operatic Society was established in the 1940's to present the operettas by the English team of Gilbert and Sullivan. Although in recent years, productions have been held outside the town and the cast comes from all parts of the city, the organization receives local municipal support to this day.

With respect to voluntary organizations devoted to sports, the

town's activities were again a reflection of their ethnic, religious and socio-economic background. The residents played golf on the golf course owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway, officially in Cote St. Luc, but on the municipal boundary of Montreal West.[89] These residents who were not themselves employees of the railway company were friends and neighbours of those who were, so that the use of the course and club house facilities does not appear to have been a problem. Tennis was also a popular local activity and both the United (formerly Presbyterian) and Anglican churches had tennis courts on their grounds as did the Canadian Pacific Railway. Calisthenics was taught at the local school, with prizes given for exceptional performance.[90] By far the most prominent local sports were lawn bowling and curling.[91]

One of the most important voluntary associations in Montreal West has been the local curling club. Originally named the Montreal West Lawn Bowling and Curling Club, it was a recreational and social organization which was founded during the community's infancy and has been an important social and political force in the Town until recent years.[92]

Officially dedicated to the locally popular sports of lawn bowling and curling, this club also served a number of different functions. Since the demise of the Blue Bonnets Hotel, which had been considered unacceptable by the local population, this had been for years the one community facility where drinking was permitted. The community's norms did not forbid the drinking of alcoholic beverages. Rather, what was considered improper was overindulgence in alcohol. Within the privacy of the club, those members who might have overindulged were protected from public embarassment as was the community itself. The curling club's liquor permit served an economic as well as a social purpose for its members. If a rising executive needed a suitable place

to entertain his superior after disembarking from the train and before bringing him to his home for dinner, the club's social facilities were ideally suited to his purposes.

The membership of this organization was made up primarily of the community's residents although there were a few members who either had business interests in the Town or were related to residents.[93]

The close relations between the local municipal Commission and the curling club are reflected by certain adjustments made to the building code. When it was found that the club house plan did not conform to certain requirements, the latter was amended.

Despite the fact that in the early years so many residents belonged to the curling club, this organization was rather exclusive. Membership was by nomination only. Nominations by one member had to be seconded by another and voted on by the executive, so that the club eventually became an allocator of prestige.[94]

The curling club also became the allocator of political positions within the town.[95] Until recently, this club always seemed to reflect the local elite at any given time. It took upon itself the role of proposing the slate for the members of the municipal council which was almost automatically accepted by the population. It is not surprising therefore that for many years, every mayor of the Town had been or was to become a president of the curling club.

The club's role in the socialization of the residents ought not to be overlooked since curling was an extremely popular activity in the town's early days.[96] As could be expected of an organization which has such a substantial and closely-screened population, this

organization has been a symbol of social solidarity. It is recorded in the minutes of the year 1921 that "the watchword be harmony and that we as a club stand firmly together for each other."[97] This motto seems to reflect the Scottish sense of kinship and to symbolize the social solidarity of this community. This unifying function takes on added importance if we recall that the community was actually made up of three religious denominations and that the curling club was able to unite the members into one close-knit group.

What made the curling club more crucial than the others is that members from the larger network outside Montreal West could be taken to the club. Its 'guest privileges' therefore made it a locus for network interaction both within and outside the local community.[98]

The existence of the curling club was not of short duration. It has served and still serves generations of local residents and it is only with recent changes in other areas that the curling club has declined somewhat in its importance within the local community.[99]

An indication of the community's committment to tennis as a sport and of the financial position of the residents of this community was the establishment of the Benedicts Club.[100] Incorporated on the first of May, 1926, this club was established as a private company with the cost of shares at the price of one hundred dollars each. At this high fee, twenty nine residents of the small community were among the founding shareholders. The club was also involved with badminton during the winter. Active until 1949, the club was then purchased by the Town to operate as a Municipal Tennis Club.

Beyond this there were other community activites which were organized about regular rituals that served, in addition to their stated

purpose, the latent function of binding the community's members closer together and perpetuating their values and ideals. Games such as hockey, bowling and billiards were popular with the men while the ladies carried out much of their social integration by means of what was still being referred to as 'receiving.' On particular days, a lady would be 'at home' to callers at which time dainty home-baked pastries were served with tea. More formal entertaining was also an important part of the community's social life. Dances were held frequenlty, and from time to time, organized groups were received.[101]

Among the organizations which linked Montreal West to the external Anglo-Saxon Canadian community was the Young Men's Christian Association. The 'community at large' was very much a concern of the Y. In response to the"indolence and weakness of character which were deemed to be be by-products of our changing mode of living",[102] the Y was expected to offer physical and moral development and to help maintain Protestant values.[103]

One way that the Y maintained its high moral tone and its untarnished social image is through the community position of its leadership. These individuals tended to be financially successful and were generally members of the community elite.[104]

Through its clubs, its involvement in the Boer War and in World War I as well as in its service to the railway-men, the Y.M.C.A. reflected Protestant, middle-class values. All told, the Y represents a continuation of Anglo-Saxon Protestant values on Canadian soil with Montreal West as an important participant.

The 'Y', initially a British proselytizing movement founded by George Williams, had extended its base to include centres in the United States and in Canada. It saw its role in terms of spiritual education and initially catered, as indicated by its full title, the

Young Men's Christian Association, to young men, whom it taught to be "manly, courteous and clean in speech and in body."[105] Essentially, the 'Y' was a social welfare organization. It was at the same time a religious society which had a selective membership to whom it had a certain mission. As such it was closely linked with the churches and other religious organizations.[106]

Based on the rationale that a clean healthy body facilitated the development of the mind and thereby also facilitated religious experience, it provided boys with physical examinations, gymnasia and swimming pools in their various branches. This physical development was to be extended to the intellectual sphere by participation in certain of the Y's clubs. For instance, the George Williams Club developed skills in debating and in public speaking which were to build a young man's self-confidence and ambition and lead him eventually to positions of 'responsibility and respect'. Another club, the Young Men's Forum, was a discussion group which concerned itself with various wordly topics. For instance, in 1924, among the topics concerned with individual success, the Forum discussed Labor Legislation and the Stable Regulation of the Economic System'. The 'Y' was not straying far from 'The Protestant Ethic'. Its British and Protestant connections might help to explain its role in the South African War (1899-1900). Previously the Y had always been conducting services at the annual Canadian militia camps which were held every summer. With the onset of the Boer War, the Y felt itself duty-bound to send representatives to accompany the Canadian service-men overseas and to continue the Y's work while the men were away from home. Again, during World War I, the Y concerned itself with the needs of servicemen on every plane. The Y provided meals, beds, banking facilities,

billiards, gymnasium games, educational classes and lectures, social activities, concerts and orchestral music as well as sing songs and religious meetings. Staff members were gradually replaced by volunteers as the former enlisted to go overseas. For instance, 300 members of the Women's Committee took over various duties so that they could all do whatever possible for the 'War Effort'.

The Y also felt called upon to serve that famous and privileged Canadian institution: the railway. At the request of the railway a substantial number of Railroad Associations were established to serve its employees. For instance a Grand Trunk Railway Company building site and substantial financial contributions were offered in Point St. Charles to provide the usual facilities as well as more basic facilities such as sleeping rooms, bathtubs, showers and lunchrooms for the use of the railway workers who stopped over in this district.[107]

Finally, just as municipal reform had become a popular concern in Montreal in this period, so the community of Montreal West had established the Montreal West Municipal Association to provide a forum for such concerns.[108]

We have discussed the nature of the community which has been founded in Montreal Junction by looking at its social institutions and social structures. Essentially, the local population seems to have been establishing itself to some extent as a managerial and business elite, interested in perpetuating and maintaining their British heritage and their superior education. Over time, they actively supported a wide variety of organizations in order to perpetuate their values and to maintain the social climate in which they wished to live. We

see this in the continuity between the setting of the home and the family as well as in the various voluntary organizations. Local spokesmen have emphasized that the community is a residential suburb, a garden suburb, and all efforts at changing this essential nature of the community have been successfully resisted, even to the present day.

The consequences of this proliferation of voluntary organizations were the perpetuation of British values and loyalty to the British Empire as well as the perpetuation of a closed community which was self-sufficient in nearly every way. It kept recreation and sports activities within the confines and control of the town and created a network which extended to business relationships such as those between men who met in the railway companies as well as within the church and the curling club, the latter having been, in the opinion of the current president, the focus of community life.

This community had developed a complex formal structure. It had a high proportion of individuals with a majority of their social relations within their community, or at least within their ethnic groups. Its local and its extra-local voluntary organizations and its many contacts with many part of the wider social network within the macrosystem, including the Canadian Industrial Elite, helped this community look after its needs in just about every aspect of life.

For much of this time, Montreal West saw itself as self-sufficient to a large extent and yet, as has been shown, it also maintained close relations with those elite organizations and corporations which acted in terms of Canada and not merely in terms of Montreal. Within the provincial context, there seems to have been little relevance for Montreal West in the fact that it was a part of the province of Quebec.

Summary

The ethnicity and the historical experience of the residents of this community was to play a major role in molding the local social structures and institution. Furthermore, the role of the Scots and the English in the Canadian political economy had important implications for the Scots and the Englishmen in Montreal West.

The important role of the Church in the culture and recreation of the Protestant denominations is evident in the many local functions and organizations that were associated with it. The Presbyterian attitude toward education and the advanced level of education in both Scotland and England were reflected in the excellence of the local school and in the specialized occupations for which the local residents qualified. Their ethnic ties and, therefore, their language, also linked them with the dominant social class, providing them with avenues to certain occupations and thus to social mobility.

Local housing was related to many factors including the socio-economic status and the Puritan standards of the residents. Local conditions which had been established early in the Town's development were very closely related to the Town's relations with the outside in terms of the citizens places in their respective

social networks. However, as the social structures outside the Town were to undergo modification, the networks themselves were also modified so that the collective life of the Town ultimately was to lie in the stability of this web of extended social networks.

Notes to Chapter Four

[1] While these organizations will be discussed individually under voluntary organizations, the reader's attention is directed to the patriotic activities of many of these organizations in response to World War I while there was so much anti-conscription sentiment in the French Canadian community.

[2] Martin, Where London Ends, p. 113.

[3] See pp. 98-100.

[4] Messieurs Percival, Davis, Grigg, Wilkins were present. W.J. Percival, Diary.p. 66, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society

[5] C.J.W. Davies, E.J. Bedbrooke, McClatchie and W.J. Percival constituted thecommittee and Messieurs Bedbrooke and Percival constituted the sub-committee. W.J. Percival, Diary. C. McClatchie, p. 74, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society , p. 74.

[6] An Act to incorporate the Town of Montreal West, 1897. Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[7] Recalling the national climate which was then so concerned with municipal and social reform, the issues of cautious administration and opposition to a local liquor license take on special relevance.

[8] This refers to well-tended gardens and the strict building code.

[9] They claimed they wished to keep out those who jump off the tramways according to a local history of the town- "Montreal West Yesterday and Today", Reprinted from Montreal Daily Herald, Archives: The Montreal West Historical Society.

[10] See pp. 172 -173.

[11] See pp. 181 -182.

[12] Mr. Percival was the Election Clerk.

[13] Jeremy Decarie was then mayor of N.D.G.

[14] Mr. Laberge was then Town Clerk of St. Henry.

[15] See p. 143.

[16] The nation was recovering from war so that the availability of credit and materials was severely restricted.

[17] The new fixtures supplied four times as much light at less cost than did the original lights.

[18] "Montreal West Yesterday and Today." Reprint from Montreal Daily Herald. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[19] The Municipal Commission was changed to the Municipal Council in 1920. An Act to incorporate the Town of Montreal West, as Amended in Chapter 97, Article 5299.

[20] This was on July 4, 1892.

[21] "Mr. Ramsay undertook the duties of janitor for May, Mr. C.C. Ballantyne undertakes the duties for June and Mr. Fyfe for July. Mr. Milne places his horse at the disposal of Mr. Pidgeon, to save his horse going to the Vale. Mr. Paterson and Mr. Percival undertake to look after the furnace." Source: David Watson, "Looking back at Montreal West" First Presbyterian Church, Part I, The Informer, 19 February, 1976, Vol. 4, no. 4. Were it not for their devotion to the church, and moreover, to their religion, these men would doubtless have considered such tasks beneath them since what we know of their occupations and financial status is inconsistent with these humble chores.

[22] In 1925, Church Union between the Methodists and the Presbyterians led to the formation of the United Church. Some Presbyterians stayed out. They rented the Methodist building for a short time, up until 1927, when a new one was built.

[23] The Methodists met at the home of Mr. John Rodger at 34 Brock Avenue with student John McAlpine conducting the services.

[24] Herald Avenue has since been re-named Brock Avenue.

[25] David Watson, "Montreal West-Looking Back," The Herald Avenue Methodist Church, The Informer (Montreal West, December 1975) Vol. 4, no. 3, p. 7.

[26] On one occasion, a local minister, when he had heard about boxing lessons for young boys being conducted after school by the local pharmacist, put a stop to this sport. On another occasion, Sunday dances being held in a local hall were stopped by a local minister. Interview, Local Resident.

[27] This refers to a Mr. Parmalu, who had recently become Secretary of the Protestant Committee of Public Instruction at Quebec. Mr. Parmalu served as the community's link between local education and the provincial educational authorities, suggesting appropriate bureaucratic procedures and smoothing the way behind the scenes. W.J. Percival, Diary, pp. 59-67. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[28] The committee included Messrs. C. McClatchie, Thompson, E.J. Bedbrooke and W.J. Percival of whom Messrs. Bedbrooke and Percival constituted the sub-committee. The relevant experience of the latter gentlemen is noteworthy in this context. In England, Mr. Percival had been employed first as a collector in a large real estate firm, then as a resident agent on a large estate. He had also held a number of positions with the English railway system previous to the above employments. Ibid, pp. 74-77.

[29] W.J. Percival, Diary, p. 65 Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[30] This was quite offensive to the Roman Catholic residents and was later to be corrected. Ibid, p. 66. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[31] It included T.A. Trenholme "the millionaire milkman"; Dr. A.L. McCrae, a Presbyterian minister; W.J. Percival, an Anglican C.P.R. employee and one of the first homeowners; E.J. Bedbrooke, also a railway employee and an early homeowner who served as secretary and C.M. McClatchie, an affluent bilingual resident who conversed easily in French with the Provincial authorities and who served as chairman.

[32] This is the same Mr. Parmalu who has been discussed earlier.

[33] Shortly thereafter, the Roman Catholic Council of Education had appointed a Board of Trustees for their district and thereafter no friction occurred.

[34] This offer was made by David Leach. See p. 154.

[35] Aberdeen, whether referring to the British Monarch's representative here, that is the current Governor-General Lord Aberdeen or to Aberdeen, the Scottish city which is the home of an old and great university, reflects the ethnic loyalty of this community.

[36] Rev. John Simms, former chairman of the Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal. Telephone Interview (April 9, 1981).

[37] See pp. 120-124.

[38] See pp. 140-154 for a discussion of the establishment of the new School Board and School.

[39] We omit a description of the 1931 building because the present study concentrates on the 1890-1920 period. However, we note that much attention was given to laboratory and manual training facilities, to modern playground facilities and to the structural innovations of the day. "Montreal West Yesterday and Today," reprinted from the Montreal Daily Herald.(app. 1930) Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[40] From an academic and an athletic perspective, it too had a fine reputation.

[41] Acheson, "Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," 1885-1910," pp. 189-192.

[42] See Appendix II.

[43] T.W. Acheson,"The Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite," pp. 156 - 157.

[44] See pp. 174-189.

[45] Aside from a small number of Methodists, the residents were nearly all Presbyterians and Anglicans.

[46] Brown and Cook, Canada 1896-1925, pp. 128-143.

[47] Martel, La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle I: "Les Données Economiques," p. 57.

[48] Carmen Thouret Kirkpatrick, "Memories of Long Ago Montreal Junction, Montreal West: 1893-1900". Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Jeremy Boissevain and J. Clyde Mitchell, Network Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction (The Hague and Paris: Moncton and Co., 1973), p. 7.

[51] Ibid, p. 163.

[52] See diagram "Web of Extended Networks of Social Relations," p. 163.

[53] See Diagram, "Web of Extended Networks of Social Relations," p. 163.

[54] See pp. 98-100.

[55] For instance Elmhurst dairy was immediately outside the municipal boundary and Bradley's diary was within it.

[56] See p. 53.

[57] Ibid, p. 53.

[58] See pp. 186-188.

[59] T.A. Trenholme, who had been referred to as "the millionaire milkman" was the owner of a large and modern dairy. He had connections with business, was active in horse racing and did much travelling.

Dr. A.L. McCrae was a Presbyterian minister whose church involvement brought him into contact with the city's Presbyterian and other Protestant representatives.

W.J. Percival was a member of the Anglican Church and an employee of the CPR railway company.

C.M. McClatchie was a former executive, retired from the construction industry.

[60] The Mayors, Councillors and Commissioners of Montreal West from 1897 to 1935 are listed in Appendix II.

[61] Carmen Thouret Kirkpatrick, "Memories of Long Ago Montreal Junction, Montreal West: 1893-1900." Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[62] See pp. 108-109.

[63] The agent thus protected himself from ostracism in the future for not having lived up to the informal understanding to maintain the community's norms.

[64] According to a presentation made by the local Citizens Association and reported in the Montreal West Monthly of March, 1911, that is Volume 1, Number 2, "No license can be given so long as the Council refuse to grant a certificate to the Provincial Authorities authorizing them to issue a license to any person." The decision therefore rests with the Council and the citizens.

[65] When D.J. Descarie was mayor of the village of the Municipality of Notre Dame de Grace, certain by-laws were already in effect.

[66] By-Law 17, section 16 prohibits the erection of tenement houses within the town.

[67] By-Law 17, section 17 prohibits external steps higher than 8 feet above the street level.

[68] The town provided separate cans for ashes and garbage which was to be placed carefully wrapped at the rear of the house.

[69] Signs projecting more than 10" from the front wall of a store... were prohibited, according to By-Law 17, section 42.

[70] Section 50 states that Factories, refineries... are not permitted except if special form is posted on building with the details so that residents in the vicinity can oppose the granting of their application by the Council. Section 53 prohibits a fireplace or chimney which is used for working engines by steam or in any mill, factory, dye-house, brewery, bake house or gas house or in any manufacturing or trade process whatever.

[71] See By-Law 1. Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[72] See Editorial, A.E. Stephenson, in Montreal West Monthly, St. Philips Young Men's Association, July 1911, Volume 1, Number 6. (This periodical was published in aid of the School for the Blind.)

[73] Building Commissioner's Report. Town of Montreal West, 1931.

[74] John R. Seeley, Alexander R. Sim, Elizabeth W. Lorsley, Crestwood Heights: a North American Suburb, (Toronto, University of Toronto Press, 1956), p. 292.

[75] These topics included - "Resolved that the exclusion of Orientals from Canada is Justifiable, Pioneers in the West, Misfit and Black, The Family, The Work of Life (which included papers on the necessity of Labor, the Issues of Labor and A Choice of Calling), Our Relations to the Poor and Criminal Classes, Rights and Duties of Citizenship, the Jew in Canada, Rome in Canada, What is a Good Education and The New Patriotism."

[76] Collection of Annual Minutes of the St. Andrews Literary Society, Not Paginated, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[77] Ibid.

[78] Ibid.

[79] Ibid.

[80] The convenor was Mrs. J.M. Milne; Mrs. Percival, Mrs. Rodger; Mrs. Thompson and Mrs. Wilfred P. Trenholme were among her assistants.

[81] The Montreal West Women's Club also had a committee which collected toys, had them mended by a local resident, and then sent them on to the poor at Christmas.

[82] Article I, Section IV, states that: "A candidate for office should submit to the Membership Chairman her membership fee together with her signed application endorsed by two active members as sponsors. An application is subject to approval by the Executive Board.

[83] The Article of the Constitution dealing with Standing Committees mentions that "An Archives Committee be appointed to preserve all important past and current records."

[84] Section VIII of Article II states that: "The treasurer shall receive, collect and hold receipts for funds of the Club, disburse same by order of the Executive Board, all vouchers to be countersigned by the President. She shall sign and deliver membership tickets and shall by January First send to members in arrears, a bill for their annual fees. She shall present a monthly report to the Executive Board and to the Club at the subsequent business meeting. She shall submit her books together with all vouchers and receipts to an Auditor appointed by the Executive Board, whose report she shall add to her own at the Annual Meeting."

[85] For instance, among its officers were Alec Peden, Jr., architect who designed Loyola and George E. Templemen, chief plumbing engineer for the construction of the Shriners Hospital, a project undertaken by Charles Ballantyne. Templemen was also chief engineer of the Electrical Commission of the City of Montreal and designed most of the underground conduits used in the city today.

[86] Topics for that year included 'Forestry Conservation'. 'Coal Tar Products', 'The Commercial Expansion of Canada', 'Canada's Water Resources and Power Development', and 'A Conception of a World Wide State'. Among their speakers for that year were Mr. Henry Timmins, an expert on Single Tax and a Mr. T.B. Macauley who was President of Sun Life Assurance Company as well as of the Canada West-Indian League.

[87] In order to make a contribution to the war effort, they decided on May of 1917 to encourage vegetable farming by offering special prizes for successful vegetable growers.

[88] The Elm Girls 500 Club, Montreal West Monthly, March 1911, Vol. 1, No. 2, (By February, 1912, the publication of this periodical had been taken over by the Town). Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[89] Land for the golf course was purchased by the Canadian Pacific Railway in 1917. It is presumed that the golf course was constructed after the end of the war in 1918. This information was provided by Omer Lavalée, Corporate Archivist, Canadian Pacific Railway, August 7, 1980.

[90] Miss Rose Baker Edwards, the local gym teacher, was the only teacher from outside the town.

[91] This was a reflection of the English and Scottish heritage respectively.

[92] According to one source, the men's curling club was founded by J.J. Milne in 1912. The ladies club was added in 1918. According to another source, Mr. J.A. Elder conceived the idea of starting a lawn bowling club in Montreal West. He approached Mr. Joe Colby and Mayor James Ballantyne. A General Meeting of Montreal West residents was called and this resulted in the establishment of a lawn bowling and curling club.

[93]According to the 1922 membership list, there were about four non-resident members out of a total of 130. One non-resident member was W.B. Jeakins of Molsons' Bank. (This institution had loaned the Town some money in the early years of scarce credit. Up until today, the Town has maintained its gratitude and loyalty. Although Molson's has since been taken over by the Royal Bank and other banks have bought the Town's account, it remains unchanged to this day.) Others were relatives of residents such as A.M. Milne of Westmount and J.A. Reid of Beaver Hall Hill. Members were likely to live within a small area surrounding the club, i.e. parts of Brock, Ballantyne, Strathearn, Easton, Ainslie, Westminster, Percival and Bedbrooke Avenues.

[94]One local resident had moved to a less exclusive suburb in the early days of her marriage and had subsequently returned to purchase a home in the community of her youth. A neighbour who had known the woman's mother and still lived in the Town offered to provide this woman's husband with a letter of introduction to the curling club, attesting to the fact that the wife's family had been residents of the Town.

[95]One local candidate for the office of Commissioner of Police and Fire of an ethnic and religious background different from that of most of the community's residents, did not have the approval of the curling club. The club posted a letter of opposition to his candidacy within its building and it carried out a telephone campaign in the community calling into question the candidate's competence for the position due to his inexperience in the field. However, past and future candidates for the same position did not themselves have any more training or experience for this position.

[96]In 1922, there were 130 local members and a few from elsewhere.

[97]Annual Minutes, 1921, Montreal West Curling Club, Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

[98]For instance, according to a photograph, Sir John A. MacDonald, a former Canadian Prime Minister, had been a guest at the curling club.

[99]See Appendix II

[100]The Town's financial contribution to this organization is recorded in the minutes of the Municipal Council of Montreal West, 1930. Volume: January 1930 - October 1934, p. 58. Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[101]According to the Montreal West Monthly of November, 1911, Volume 1, Number 9, the Misses Fyfe entertained the Elm Girls while Mrs. G.E. Templeman entertained the Douglas Methodist Choir. Also, according to the society column of the Montreal West Monthly of March 1911, Volume 1, Number 2, within a short time, dances were given by Mrs. T.A. Trenholme, Mrs. James Ballantyne Mrs. Brook, Miss Trenholme, Mrs. Stevenson, Mr. Morrison and Dr. Giles.

[102]See "Crying Out for the Y.M.C.A.", Montreal Herald. January 21, 1930, p.31. Clippings File, Archives: Central Y.M.C.A.

[103]According to the 1921 Census, the Protestants made up 20% of the population of Montreal. Clippings File, Archives: Northwestern Y.M.C.A.

[104] Lists of the executive boards and the various department heads include well-known names in Montreal West, N.D.G. and other parts of Protestant Montreal. Minutes, Archives: Northwestern Y.M.C.A.

[105] Harold C. Cross, One Hundred Years of Service with Youth, The Story of the YMCA 1851-1951 (Montreal : Young Men's Christian Association, 1951), p. 42 ; Archives: Montreal Central Y.M.C.A.

[106] Ibid, p. 42.

[107] Ibid, pp. 194, 199.

[108] See p. 188 and Montreal West Monthly, July 1911. Archives: Montreal West Historical Society.

Chapter Five

1. Local Changes Since World War II -

Just as the political economy of Canada was instrumental in establishing the model for the community of Montreal West, so the political economy was to be instrumental in effecting change in the community.

A. Political Economy and the Eclipse of Community

The division of federal and provincial powers was to have great significance for the changing conditions in the political economy. According to the British North America Act, the coercive functions of the state were divided between the national and provincial governments. Responsibility for the militia, the criminal law and the penitentiaries was established with the federal government while municipal police forces, as well as the courts and the public and reformatory prisons were under provincial jurisdictions.

The economic powers were also divided between the national and provincial jurisdictions. As had already been the case prior to Confederation, Ottawa controlled railways, shipping, finance, the tariff and major public works. The provinces retained control over their natural resources. The latter were already a source of strength before the turn of the century and their increasing importance was to be a central factor in the political economic changes of the last decade.[1]

Notwithstanding some of the conflicts between the English and the French elements of the Canadian population,[2] while the Quebec government

was generally controlled by the same party that was in power in Ottawa, federal-provincial conflicts were less frequent than they might have been.[3] Both jurisdictions had been largely controlled by what Stevenson calls 'the Anglophone bourgeoisie of Montreal', a class with primarily mercantile interests whose prosperity was linked to railroads and the east-west movement of trade.[4]

During the past thirty years, major changes in the Canadian political economy have brought about marked changes in the community of Montreal West. These changes have affected the composition of the community as well as the local institutions and structures.

The economic changes which had begun after World War I accelerated after World War II, with the Korean War adding a further stimulus. American demand for Canadian raw materials had increased substantially, adding iron ore, oil and gas to their earlier imports of staples such as copper, nickel, lead, gold and pulp and paper. Furthermore, the direct export of hydro-electric power, previously forbidden by Federal statute, was added to these products after 1964.[5] A heavy investment was required for the exploitation of these resources and the Americans, who had already been deeply involved in the Canadian economy, gradually took over Canadian industry.[6]

It was in the same period that language was to become a major political issue. At the initial phase of the Quiet Revolution, the growing French Canadian middle class was absorbed by the new public and parapublic institutions. However, the community colleges, or Cégeps as they had come to be called even in English, were mass producing middle class workers at a faster rate than the public sector could absorb them.

French and English institutions in the province had remained separate, reflecting the two solitudes that had characterized French-

English relations in the province. With the changing immigration patterns, the portion of Anglo-Saxon ethnics had decreased, yet due to their constant absorption of immigrant populations, the ratio of English/French in the province remained constant. Workers in the French institutions were being paid at a lower scale than their English counterparts and hostilities over issues such as jobs and salaries began to focus on the language issue.

The political strains in recent years have added to this development and the exodus of business and professional population was to encourage the sale of real estate in Anglo Canadian communities such as Montreal West, which had previously had a stable population, to non-Anglophones and thus affect the local leadership.[7]

The American multinational corporations had been following the linguistic tradition of the Anglo-Canadian and British corporations that had been established prior to the large-scale American penetration of the Canadian corporate field. Despite the declining ratio of British ethnics in Quebec, the Anglophone population in greater Montreal was able to maintain its proportion by absorbing and integrating the bulk of the immigrants. They were able to do so on the basis that English was the language of work and that the institutions were locally autonomous, locally financed and locally managed. The political function of the immigrants within Quebec's political economy was to guarantee for Quebec's English population "institutional autonomy and economic hegemony."[8]

After World War II, there was a dramatic growth in the strength of the provinces in relation to the federal government.

Primarily, this was due to the expansion of the resource industries under provincial jurisdiction.[9]

There was a marked change in the Canadian political economy as it became increasingly integrated in a wider North American system. This meant that the Canadian bourgeoisie was affected more by the American rather than by the Canadian central government.[10] It also led to the increasing balkanization of the Canadian economy so that the provinces were more tied to the corresponding American regions than they were to other Canadian provinces.

The National Policy's encouragement of an east-west industrial economy, with its effect on immigration, tariffs and transportation came to be replaced by regional resource-based economies. Montreal and Winnipeg came to be gradually displaced by Toronto, Vancouver and later Calgary as the new centres of the national economy and as the new centres of heavy immigration.

The needs of the War had accelerated the industrialization of the nation. The working classes were gaining strength and welfare policies were being gradually introduced by the state. Despite the on-going rationalization of industry, these developments cut into the profits of business and added to the post-war inflationary spiral.[11]

The new resource-based economy was no longer dependent on the railways. With rising inflation cited as the reason, there was a marked decline in railway service. Simultaneously, the era of the motorcar had begun and was growing, with this contributing to the decline in railway travel.

The rise in the financial status of the working classes, which had a small beginning after the First World War and which continued rapidly after the Second World War had implications for the demographic developments of the cities. The earlier push to the suburbs from the centre of the cities has already been noted.[12] However, in the earlier phases, there was a great polarization in the 'residential placement' of the classes. As inflation and the various other economic conditions threatened the business classes, their previous maintenance of substantial suburban homes has been declining.

On the other hand, the rise in the financial status of the working class has meant that it has become quite feasible for workers to own suburban homes. The trend for the construction of duplex housing and the accessibility to automobiles by the working classes has further added to the heterogeneous composition of residential suburbs so that the working classes are no longer located only in the industrial areas of the city.[13] These developments have hardly destroyed the class distinction within communities. However, they have made these differences somewhat more subtle and perhaps, slightly more difficult to detect.

The changes in the national political economy led to marked changes at the provincial level that were to affect the local community. The province of Quebec was no longer as important in the overall economy and Montreal was losing ground as a locus for head offices.

The industrialization which had transformed Quebec's farms to small towns and cities had produced a new middle class. Initially, their political orientation had been largely shaped by the Catholic

Church and was largely anti-nationalist. However, over time, they came to believe that their church-based institutions had provided them with an inadequate share of the benefits of industrial society.

The decade of the fifties had been one of social unrest in Quebec. At the beginning of the next decade, with the death of Premier Duplessis, a new era in the political economy of Quebec was proclaimed. Generally strong economic conditions had prevailed until the American recession of 1958 encouraged parallel conditions in Canada that lasted up to 1962. By then, and especially with the Liberal return to power, expansionary policies were renewed through to 1965. Moreover, from 1966 onwards, the large incidence of labour unrest including strikes and increasing wage demands contributed to a decline in the growth of the Gross National Product while unemployment and prices, including the cost of capital, continued to rise. Spiralling inflation was a reflection of these various processes at work in the nation.[14]

The shift in power received its impetus from the resource industries and contributed to the development of changes in other fields during the years of Quebec's Quiet Revolution. The provincial state was modernized and, with its increased spending power, was a more effective instrument for the promotion of 'bourgeois' or middle class interests. Existing links between the provincial state and the bourgeoisie were cemented and the state administration was isolated from the influence of threatening political parties.[15] Moreover, there was a substantial growth in the provincial public sector. A massive state bureaucracy grew up at the provincial level, with clearly vested interests in continuing growth in provincial powers.[16] Statutory grants were given

to universities and social welfare benefits were expanded. A Royal Commission for Free Hospitalization was to herald the universal provision of medical services by the state.

Since many members of this new middle class had been absorbed by the civil service, the Quiet Revolution revised the pay scale for civil servants, improving the financial status of those who were employed in the state's health, welfare and education institutions.

Prior to the 'Quiet Revolution', social reforms had been territorially based. They were financed by the community and supervised by local elites. However, with the modernization of the state, there was an end to 'this territorial local integration of social life and its institutional underpinnings'.[17]

B. Local Institutions

This new middle class had grown impatient with the social progress as it had been evolving. Following an investigation that culminated with the Parent Report, new secular structures in secondary and post-secondary education were established. The polyvalent high schools and the community colleges were established to better equip the youth to participate in modern industrial society. While local school boards had previously enjoyed relative autonomy, they were becoming increasingly controlled by the Provincial School Boards so that school populations were no longer simply determined locally and restricted to residents of a particular suburb. This erosion of local autonomy was repeated in many sectors.

In its attempt to universalize free education, hospital and medical services, the Quiet Revolution brought about the bureaucratization

and the professionalization of these and other services that had previously been locally organized and controlled. Earlier, the Catholic Church had been responsible for services such as hospitalization and education among the French Canadians while among the Anglo Canadians, hospitalization and education were managed by the elites and supported by state funds. Staffing of hospitals and schools was controlled by management and loyalties were locally oriented.

Shortly after the publication of the Blier Report in 1965, the establishment of the Metropolitan Urban Community withdrew local autonomy in areas such as municipal taxation and municipal police. This state initiated re-organization of the municipal infrastructure was a consequence of pressure by this middle class and contributed to the demise of the local community.

With the decline in federal power and the corresponding strength of the provincial governments, a new trend had begun in municipal governments and services. The ever-rising costs of government and services and the newly-gained powers of taxation that the provincial governments possessed led to changes in the previous policies of minimal interference in municipal affairs. There was a changed relationship between the city and the suburbs as well as between the suppliers and the recipients of certain municipal services.

In Quebec, the government commissioned a study of Montreal and its surrounding suburbs. The findings were published in the Blier Report of 1965. In 1969, its recommendations were implemented as Bill 75, the Montreal Urban Community Act. The bill created a metropolitan body in the region of Montreal and revised the charter of the Montreal Transportation Commission by extending the territory

under its jurisdiction. This new metropolitan body, to be called the Montreal Urban Community, was to have jurisdiction over the territory comprising the Island of Montreal and Ile Bizard.

The executive arm of the Montreal Urban Community would be the Executive Committee and the Council, with the power so apportioned that Montreal was more powerful than all the other municipalities combined. The municipalities were given no choice in the matter; if they failed to send a representative, according to the conditions set out in the explanatory notes of the Bill, they would simply be without any voice at all.[18] This step by the provincial government was a tremendous blow to local autonomy and was to have strong implications for the smaller municipalities.

The earlier influx of French and Irish textile workers into Montreal was followed by a heavy post-war immigration of European refugees that swelled the numbers of the working classes.[19] In recent years, there has been a heavy Asian immigration.[20] This influx, coupled with significant immigration of other populations, further altered the ethnic and religious composition of Montreal and its surrounding suburbs. The immigrants pressed from the centre to the periphery of the city so that by the end of the last decade the demographic pattern of Montreal had been significantly altered. These populations were largely urban and tended, in Quebec, to ally themselves more closely with the English rather than with the French-speaking population.[21]

These many developments were to have dramatic effects on the Town of Montreal West. The changing trends in immigration saw the ethnicity and religion of the community undergo a gradual

transition. Montreal West was no longer a homogeneous Protestant community.

Table X

Religious Affiliation of Residents of Montreal West

Religion	Year 1951	1961	1971
Anglican	1,152	1,828	1,600
Baptist	44	99	95
Greek Orthodox	11	38	60
Jewish	25	585	805
Lutheran	33	89	110
Mennonite	2		Pentecostal 10
Presbyterian	402	604	740
Roman Catholic	601	1,362	1,405
Ukrainian (Greek) Catholic	10	9	15 (Uk.)
United Church of Canada	1,372	1,698	1,055 (Un. Ch.)
Other	69	134	No Religion 330

Census of the Montreal area, Series B, Montreal, Que. (CT4B) Covernment of Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1951, 1961,1971.

The local churches remained the same but they lost members to other communities, especially since the wide-spread use of automobiles meant that worshippers were no longer tied to their communities for religious services.

Education in the community has also undergone some dramatic changes. The post-war baby boom had necessitated the opening of a new school in the area into which the community had expanded in the 1950's, north of the C.P.R. tracks and adjacent to the City of Cote St. Luc. However, the decline in Quebec's birth-rate, the emigration of a substantial number of the English-speaking population from Montreal and, in particular, from Montreal West and the loss of local autonomy with respect to education led to the closing of Montreal West elementary school.[22]

The demands of French Canadian nationalism which increased the demand for education in French, led to the conversion of the new elementary school to a French immersion school. The school which is now occupying

the former premises of Montreal West Elementary School is a French Immersion Secondary School, teaching the seventh and eighth grades.

C. Political Economy and the Local Institutions

With the reforms of the Quiet Revolution in 1960 and accelerating with the election of the Parti Québecois in 1976, there developed feelings of being threatened among English-speaking Quebecers. The Westward movement of the multinationals served to integrate Canada within the continental economy.[23] This helped to change the role of Montreal in the Canadian political economy as did the sense of threat perceived by Anglophones. Recent years have seen an exodus of head offices from the Montreal area. Quebec's somewhat higher income tax might have added to the influences upon corporations to relocate to other parts of the nation.

The provincially imposed changes reflected in the local community of Montreal West are particularly apparent in the relationship between taxation and municipal services. The anticipated establishment of the Montreal Urban Community was not received favorably in Montreal West. This is apparent in the Suburban's unfavorable comment on the Blier Report[24] on February 5, 1965.[25] Then on March 18, 1965, the Westward News expressed the same misgivings. It referred to the Blier Report and quoted the incumbent Mayor under the headline: 'DEFINITE THREAT' MAYOR COMMENTS ANNEXATION IN FORM IF NOT IN NAME.[26] In a May, 1969 edition of the Montreal Star, under the by-line "Montreal West Looks Ahead," the comparison between police protection and crime rate revealed that:

> "The communities with a higher ratio of police to population again on the basis of each 10,000 residents were Westmount

> 20.1, Montreal West 27.5, Hampstead 25.1, Mt. Royal 20, Montreal 19.5 and Dorval 16. The main crime in these communities is burglary and the ratio of solution is best in Montreal West and Dorval."[27]

However, despite all its objections, there was little Montreal West or any other suburb could do to resist the establishment of the Montreal Urban Community on December 23, 1969.

The local police force was removed from the community and transferred to another district where it was integrated with several others and was required to serve a far wider territory. Just as had been anticipated, the cost of law enforcement services rose dramatically while the level of protection and of enforcement has declined radically. The local fire department was also affected. It had been operated entirely by volunteers but in recent years it has become a fully professional force.

The provincial changes also affected the local cadre of leaders many of whom are executives with national corporations. In August of 1979, the president of the local citizens association was transferred to an office in Ontario. This local leader was followed in September by the mayor and in June by one of the four Commissioners. As head offices continue to leave Montreal, Montreal West is particularly affected by the transfer of executives due to the occupational characteristics of its population.

Table XI

Occupations of Montreal West Residents: 1951, 1961, 1971

Occupation Group Males	'51	'61	'71
Proprietary and Managerial (Managerial, Administrative & Related Occupations, 1971)	347	638	490
Professional	265	465	415
Clerical	97	168	190
Commercial and Financial	140	Sales 204	265
Total	849	1,475	1,350

Census of the Montreal Area, Series B, Montreal, Qué. (CT4B). Government of Canada. Dominion Bureau of Statistics 1951, 1961, 1971, Occupations.

Initially, Montreal West had evolved from a predominantly clerical population in 1890 to one predominantly composed of executives in 1917.[28] According to Table XI, the changes in the political economy have effected the departure of not only those in the administrative occupations but also those in the professions.

D. Demographic Change

Land Taxation had already grown heavily as a result of inflation. Under the influence of the Montreal Urban Commity, the taxation rate was further increased despite the fact that services had declined. A new valuation was made so that the taxation base was also increased. The rise in the cost of heating fuel, a function of the international political economy, added to the strains of the residents since many of these self-contained homes, being large, old and poorly insulated, had become costly to maintain.

Under the above conditions, many of the long-time residents who were on fixed incomes found themselves having to consider a move to small apartments while younger populations, often from other parts of the Commonwealth, took over the larger homes. 'Ethnic integration' was made in the face of high municipal costs which the existing base had been unable to absorb. A large parcel of land was sold off to real estate developers (federal census tracts 308, 309, 310) on which were built self-contained homes and later also some duplexes. Since this area bordered the predominantly Jewish suburb of Cote St. Luc, it too became heavily populated by this Jewish population. With the opening of a new high school in Cote St. Luc, this area became even more attractive to a population whose children had been feeling somewhat out-numbered in the predominantly Anglo-Saxon environment of the local high school. In recent years, in order to maintain the school population, the local board has found it necessary to resort to bussing in students from outlying areas, thereby again eroding the homogeneity of the initially wholly Anglo-Saxon middle class school population.

With the decline in railway service already mentioned in the discussion of changes at the national level, the traditional pattern of transportation was also adversly affected. Trains had become costly and service minimal. Where in earlier days, the train had become a locale for community social life, we find that another community institution was worn away by change, to be replaced at first with one express bus, then by another with a slightly different route, once again eroding a local social institution.

In addition, we must also recognize the changing role of the real estate companies. Since moves were no longer being made within the community, the owner had a lesser interest in the successive residents of a house and community. The realtor was, therefore, also less motivated to maintain the local status quo and found himself in a more flexible position with respect to the socio-cultural background of his clientele.

The combination of an outgoing Anglo-Saxon population and of the ever-growing housing needs of other populations of various ethnic backgrounds caused some definite demographic changes in the town. Nevertheless, the high cost of the local houses, particularly the self-contained homes, acts as a selective mechanism, so that if Montreal West becomes increasingly heterogeneous ethnically, it is unlikely to become so socially.

The strict control of the Town's image supported by the original building code is still very much in evidence today. In an up-dating of the Building By-Law effective in 1977, we find the prohibition of cold flats and incinerators as well as the prohibition of high exterior stairways.[29] Waste disposal is still closely regulated so that while other communities are more tolerant with regard to the putting out of garbage and to the tidiness of the streets when collections are made, sloppiness is not tolerated here.

The up-dated building code still enforces strict requirements with respect to the height of buildings[30] as well as their frontage and the minimum frontage of the lot itself.[31] The individualistic character of the houses is set out in the by-laws[32] as is their continuity with neighbouring buildings.[33] Every other aspect of a building is still closely regulated.

Each house must still allow space for a garden and the town still keeps up a tradition begun many years ago of providing a tree for the front lawn of each new home.[34]

Since the demands of recent times call for legislation to be specific in new areas, the current by-laws deal with minimum number of rooms and the size of the dwelling. Moreover, since car ownership has become the norm with many families requiring parking space for several, legislation prohibiting temporary winter car shelters and the paving over of garden space to accomodate extra cars has been causing some minor strains within some segments of the population. By-laws dealing

with the maintenance of swimming pools, yards and fences all reflect the desire to maintain a well-groomed image as does the by-law demanding variety in the design of neighbouring buildings.

The above are but a few representative samples of legislation that reflects the society that is still the backbone of the Town. Despite some grumbling among those who would liberalize certain legislation such as that dealing with car parking areas, the fact that there has been enough electoral support to retain the conservative Commission seems to indicate that the population is prepared to make concessions to change in opening up its municipal and cultural organizations to a wider segment of the population but that essentially it is determined that Montreal West should remain an essentially middle class Anglo-Saxon neighbourhood. Linguistically, we find that many concessions are being made to the changing political scene but the shrinking local English middle class still appears to dominate the local organizations.

The careful attention given to housing itself is carried over to other municipal by-laws. Until recently the curling club had been the only local establishment licensed to serve liquor. As for the retail sale of liquor, the provincial law has taken over the control of this activity. Several local grocers are, therefore, licensed to sell beer and, in recent years, certain provincially designated wines as well.

E. Political Economy and Recreation

If we are to take any local organization as a mirror of change in the community, the Montreal West Curling Club should be that organization. It has changed from a closed highly selective and locally

powerful institution to an open recreational organization with close historical ties with the town in which it happens to be located.[35] It no longer makes any attempt to control political decisions. The changes in the curling club reflect the changes that have taken place in Montreal West and foreshadow the adaptations which must be made in the other local organizations if they are to survive in the evolving social context previously described.

In the early days, the population of Montreal West had been almost exclusively white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant and middle class. With the curling club being the locus of informal power, the Town Commission was informally nominated by a cadre of the club's leadership and was automatically given support by the other members. The Commission was usually acclaimed without even the semblance of an election being required. According to some reports, the leaders of the Club (who were usually professionals) were given rubber-stamp support by the other members (usually the non-professionals). Whatever was supported by the curling club was automatically approved by the electorate. Bearing in mind the requirements for membership in the club (invitation, nomination, screening by the executive and seconding by another member) the nature of the integration of this group and their community role at a certain period in the Town's history becomes clearly visible.

However, the second generation residents and members are and have been in decline. The attrition is attributable to several factors. Many were transferred to other cities as a result of changing political and economic conditions. Others left the community, going to warmer climates or to join offspring in other cities. The declining

health of many other elderly citizens prevented them from doing the maintenance which the large homes, substantial gardens, civic pride and social pressure demanded, so they too, gave up. Others left as the increasing levels of taxation, fuel-costs and other inflationary conditions took ever-growing portions of their fixed incomes and they were no longer able to keep their large, fuel inefficient homes. In a few cases, the third generation purchased the homes their parents were unable to maintain, or they returned from outlying areas where they had purchased their first homes. When their children had been young and their incomes relatively small they were unable to purchase the homes in Montreal West that by that time, had become somewhat costly. However, as this generation's financial status improved, many did return to their community of birth but were too involved with country cottages and other interests to carry on the previous generation's interest in the curling club and other local institutions. The strength and integration of the organizations declined accordingly.

Many of the new residents are, and have been since the latter part of the fifties, of diverse backgrounds. For instance, the influx of Jewish people is shown on Table XII. At the time, they were neither invited to join the curling club for a variety of reasons nor did they have any interest in this recreation. The composition of the community has become increasingly heterogeneous and the prospective curling club membership has declined. For instance, the new part of the northern section, which has a relatively younger population consisting of owners and tenants, has never been fully integrated. In the words of a man whose parents and relatives were among the earliest residents, "Once you went over the hump you didn't really consider it as part of Montreal West."[37] Since then the Town has had an influx of Pakistani and other diverse populations. However, the greatest number of the residents is still of British ethnicity, as is shown by Table XII.

Table XII

Ethnicity and Ethnic Origin

Montreal	1951	1961	1971
Metropolitain Area	1,395,400	2,109,509	2,743,230
City Proper	2,021,520	1,191,062	1,214,380
Montreal West:	3,721	6,446	6,368
	Tract 231	Tract 315	Tract 340
Ethnic Group ('61) or Origin ('51)			
British Isles	3,053	4,584	4,230
French	245	533	355
German	26	145	205
Italian	41	146	200
Jewish	15		
Netherlands	24	75	55
Polish	13	105	55
Russian	15	65	15
Scandinavian	40	55	30
Ukrainian	7	29	15
Other European	56	624	55 (includes Hungarian)
Asiatic	8	59	125
Other	178	26	

Despite the differing classifications, all of the above data refers to birthplace.

Born in Canada	5, 105	5, 010
Born outside of Canada	1, 341	1, 355
Immigrants between 1941 and 1961)	683	955

Census of the Montreal area, Series B, Montreal, Quebec, (CT4B), Government of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1951, 1961, 1971, Ethnicity.

Summary and Conclusions

In the light of these many demographic changes the Montreal West Curling Club is now less integrated within the community although it is still an important local institution. The population changes are affecting the local Commission; elections are becoming more democratic. The first Jewish member was elected by the Citizens Association in 1977. When the resignation of a Commissioner created a vacancy in the Town Commission, this same member was elected to fill the position, on the recommendation of the Citizens Association. In the same way, the population change is affecting the Citizens Association, which is becoming increasingly heterogeneous and democratic.

The many changes in the political economy have been clearly reflected at the level of the community. It has become increasingly difficult for the community to maintain its homogeneity in the face of the growing threats from the outside. However, on balance, the stability of the local institutions and organizations appears to outweigh the ever increasing changes and the increasingly integrated community provides a continuing social framework for its members.

Ultimately, we are forced to ask ourselves the question, "Whither Montreal West?" The prognosis for Montreal West is that it will not be easily legislated away. Its historical character, its symbolic place as an Anglo-Saxon middle class community, assures it of survival in the evolving demographic structure of Montreal.

[1]Garth Stevenson, "Federalism and the Political Economy of the Canadian State," The Canadian State, Leo Panitch, ed., pp. 75, 77.

[2]This refers to issues such as the Conscription Crisis, Prohibition, the Education Conflict, and the Manitoba School dispute; all of direct or indirect concern to Quebec.

[3]This government was mainly Conservative in the latter part of the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century and Liberal in the latter part of the twentieth century.

[4]Ibid, pp. 75, 77.

[5]Ibid, p. 81.

[6]"Based on the historical development of a strong, indigenous financial elite and a weak, indigenous industrial elite, the 1950's witnessed the development of foreign control in manufacturing and resource sectors."

Wallace Clement, The Canadian Corporate Elite, p. 99.
See also Wallace Clement, Continental Corporate Power, pp.74,75,80-95.

[7]From the Quiet Revolution onwards, the Francophone middle class had become increasingly nationalist in orientation. They had come to demand the separation of Quebec from the Canadian federation and with the passing of Bill 101 in 1977, to establish the sovereignty of the French language in Quebec. It has been forcefully alleged by various interests that it was this development that provided a strengthened impetus to the transfer of head offices from Montreal to the other Canadian cities referred to on p. 203.

[8]80% of Quebec's immigrants integrate into the English institutional system. Hubert Guindon, Modernization and the Canadian State, pp.239-244.

[9]Stevenson, "Federalism and Political Economy", The Canadian State, p. 81.

[10]They were affected by functions of the federal state such as the manipulation of interest rates and the protection of investments in the Third World. Ibid, p. 82.

[11]Reg Whitaker, "Images of the State", The Canadian State, p. 61

[12]See pp. 72, 92.

[13]In duplexes, the owner has the assistance of at least one tenant; more than one if he leases his basement as well.

[14]David Wolfe, "The State and Economic Policy in Canada, 1968-1975," The Canadian State, pp. 258-263.

[15]This was often done by means of the circulation of elites between the corporation and the state.

[16]Stevenson, "Federalism and Political Economy," The Canadian State, p.83.

[17]For a discussion of the political subordination of institutional elites, see Guindon, "The Modernization of Quebec and the Legitimacy of the Canadian State," Modernization and the Canadian State, p. 215.

[18]The Council shall consist of the Mayor and the Councillors of the City of Montreal and of the Mayor, or if the Mayor refuses or is unable to act, another member of the Council of each municipality of the other sectors.

[19]These immigrations included Jews, Italians, Greeks, Portugese and other ethnic groups.

[20]See Table 15.3 Canada: immigration statistics, 1946-1975, distribution by country of last permanent residence, in Anthony H. Richmond, "Immigration, Population, and the Canadian Future, "Modernization and the Canadian State, p. 310.

[21]Among the reasons for this alliance were the facts that English was considered the language of business and that the English institutions were more receptive to the immigrants.

[22]Ibid, p. 280.

[23]Clements, Continental Corporate Power, pp. 6,8,9.

[24]Blier Report, study on the viability of a metropolitan urban community whose findings were favorable to the establishment of the Montreal Urban Community.

[25]Suburban, February 5, 1965. Clippings File, Archives:Town of Montreal West.

[26]"'DEFINITE THREAT' MAYOR COMMENTS ANNEXATION IN FORM IF NOT IN NAME" Westward News, March 18, 1965, Clippings File, Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[27]"Montreal West Looks Ahead," May 1969, Clippings File, Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[28]See p. 212 and Appendix II; Occupations

[29]This refers to Building By-Law No. 382, Additional Requirements and Conditions applying to the Town of Montreal West, Supplementing the Building Code of the Province of Quebec.

[30]See section 14.4 . . . "No dwelling to consist of more than two storeys, plus attic. No other buildings shall consist of more than three storeys." Ibid.

[31]See sections 14.1, 14.2, 14.3. Ibid.

[32]See section 14.8 . . . "No plans for two or more buildings side by side shall be approved if the building shall, in the opinion of the building inspector, be of the same or similar outward appearance." Ibid.

[33]See section 14.9. This is set out in order to control the standard of design and to ensure that buildings or structures harmonize with the general design of other buildings and structures in the district in which they are to be erected or altered. Ibid.

[34]Montreal Gazette, May 27, 1932. Clippings File. Archives: Town of Montreal West.

[35]According to one resident, in recent years, less than half the members are local residents.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

There is a relationship between the sociology of a community and the conditions in the political economy. This relationship is manifested in the institutions and the resultant social structures at both levels. The investigation of a local community within its broader perspective is macrosociological in orientation. Since macrosociological structures and laws are temporal by definition and therefore demand a historical explanation, the primary theoretical approach employed in this study is that of historical analysis. The approach represents an attempt to formulate a method that highlights the social forces which influence the development of a community, its stability and its dynamism.

A historical review has served to locate the residents of Montreal West within the broader society in terms of their ethnicity, religion, education, socio-economic characteristics and other social elements. It has been shown that the community of Montreal West is an outgrowth of the values and attitudes of an earlier era along with the conditions in the Canadian and Imperial political economies. The transference of these values and attitudes was shown to have come about through the several British waves of migration which were themselves explained in terms of various conditions within the political economy. Moreover, the ethnic divisions which were evident in the Canadian political economy were detailed to provide a later basis of comparison with the local community.

Both the physical and the cultural origins of this community were detailed. It was shown to be an elite Anglo-Canadian community surrounded by French-Canadian rural and working class populations. The ecological characteristics of Montreal West have shown it to have a particular appeal to certain elements of the population of Montreal. Also, the values and attitudes of the people were analyzed according to the various institutions. This showed the high degree of correspondence between the ethnicity of the residents and the conditions of the political economy. Furthermore, it implied that, had certain elements of the development of the Canadian transportation industry, Confederation, the National Policy or the position of the British in Canada been of a different nature, this community would have developed otherwise.

The social structures of the community were described and analyzed in terms of their relation to the institutions. Thus, institutions such as ethnicity, religion, education, economy, recreation and housing were shown to be reflected in the local community. Ethnicity and political economy were shown to be dominant although the important socializing role of the church, the school and the voluntary organizations were also described.

The various national and local institutions and organizations have been discussed and thus, the social forces which have influenced the stability as well as the dynamism of the community have been detailed.

As a confirmation of this relationship, local changes during the period of the approximately thirty years following World War II have been considered in the light of the changes within the political economy. Again, it has been shown that this relationship exists between political economy

and society and thus between political economy and the local community.

A community study according to this theoretical perspective is the antithesis of any attempt to transpose the methodology of the natural sciences onto that of the social field. In her Preface to the Sociology of Community, Jessie Bernard notes that, in its present state, the sociology of community must seek new paradigms to explain the processes affecting contemporary communities. This search for creativity has been called for by numerous other sociologists including Mills, Clement both implicitly and explicitly in their many works. The present study has sought to respond to these challenges.

Appendix I

Town of Montreal West
Mayors and Commissioners: 1897-1935

	MAYORS	COUNCILLORS
1897	W.S. Lingley	J.P. Bamford, W.C. Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, D.S. Leach, C. McClatchie, C. Warnecke.
1898	C. McClatchie	B.W. Grigg, W.C. Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, D.S. Leach, W.S. Lingley, W.W. Near.
1899	B.W. Grigg	E.J. Bedbrook, W.C. Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, C. McClatchie, A.C. McIndoe, W.W. Near.
1900	J.J. Kirkpatrick	E.J. Bedbrook, W.C. Fyfe, B.W. Grigg W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie, A.C McIndoe.
1901	W.C. Fyfe	E.J. Bedbrook, J.J. Kirkpatrick, W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie, A.C. McIndoe, J.S. Parkes.
1902	E.J. Bedbrook	W.C. Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie, A.C. McIndoe, J.S. Parkes.
1903	C.C. Ballantyne	E.J. Bedbrook, Andrew Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie, J.S. Parkes.
1904	E.J. Bedbrook	C.C. Ballantyne, Andrew Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie, J.S. Parkes.
1905	W.S. Lingley	E.J. Bedbrook, R.A. Brook, Andrew Fyfe, J.J. Kirkpatrick, L.L. Leet, C. McClatchie.
1906	J.J. Kirkpatrick	E.J. Bedbrook, R.A. Brook, A. Fyfe, L.L. Leet, W.S. Lingley, C. McClatchie.
1907	W.S. Lingley	E.J. Bedbrook. R.A. Brook, J.J. Kirkpatrick, T.R. Lanskail, C. McClatchie, F. Peden.
1908	E.J. Bedbrook	As above: 2-year term.
1909	C.J.W. Davies	Jas. Ballantyne, E.J. Bedbrook, John Barclay, H.E. Convery, J.R. Ferguson, C.R. Westgate.
1910	C.J.W. Davies	As above: 2-year term.
1911-13	James Ballantyne	E.J. Bedbrook, J.R. Colby, H.E. Convery, C.J.W. Davies, Howard Murray, A.B. Otter.
1913-15	James Ballantyne	R.A. Brook, J.R. Colby, J.A. Elder, A.B. Otter, W.W. Robertson, H.E. Stephenson, W.T. Trenholme. 21/10/13 - Colby replaced by John MacGregor.
1915-17	James Ballantyne	R.A. Brook, J.A. Elder, J.W. Foster, A.B. Otter, W.W. Robertson, H.E. Stephenson, W.T. Trenholme.
1917-19	James Ballantyne	R.A. Brook, C.H. Goulden, W.C. Hall, L.W. McArthur, A.B. Otter, W.W. Robertson, W.T. Trenholme.
1919-21	James Ballantyne	R.A. Brook, J.D. Doherty, C.H. Goulden, W.C. Hall, A.B. Otter, W.W. Robertson, W.T. Trenholme.

		Commissioners
1921-23	James Ballantyne	Harry Aird, C.H. Goulden, Thos. Hall, A.B. Otter.
1923-25	James Ballantyne	Harry Aird, H.H. Black, C.H. Goulden, E.B. Luke.
1925-27	James Ballantyne	Harry Aird, H.H. Black, E.B. Luke, Andrew Whyte. 11/2/26 - Andrew Whyte replaced by G.E. Templeman.
1927-29	Harry Aird	R. Gomery, E.B. Luke, G.E. Templeman, J.H. Webb.
1929-31	Harry Aird	E.B. Luke, G.P. Stockton, G.E. Templeman, J.H. Webb.
1931-33	Harry Aird	W.E. Gladwish, G.P. Stockton, G.E. Templeman, J.H. Webb.
1933-35	Harry Aird	Dr. G.G. Armitage, W.E. Gladwish, J.R. Pearson, G.E. Templeman.

Appendix II

Table XIII

SOCIAL NETWORKS AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF RESIDENTS OF MONTREAL WEST ACCORDING TO NAMES LISTED IN 1917 Telephone Directory as published by the MONTREAL WEST PRESBYTERIAN CHURCH

KEY TO SYMBOLS AND ABBREVIATIONS
FOR TABLE INDICATING SOCIAL NETWORKS
AND ECONOMIC BACKGROUND OF
RESIDENT OF MONTREAL WEST

Names are included to suggest ethnic origin although they do not establish ethnicity.

Occupation: self explanatory

Field: refers to category of occupation
A, B_1, B, C, E, F, G, H

A Transportation: A railway, Am marine transportation

B_1 Advertising

B Trade includes (master) mechanic, merchants, dealers, buyers, salesman, sales representatives, including insurance, business

C Finance and Politics includes: banking, brokerage, insurance, loan and trust companies, real estate, politics

E Engineering and electrical work

F Agriculture

G Labourer

H Professional including fields of architecture, education, health, law, ministry, music, pharmacy, photography

Occupational Type: D, C_1

D Position in business and industry
includes managers, administration, executives

C_1 Clerical includes bookkeeping and accounting

Firm: self explanatory

Position: r indicates executive or employer; e indicates employee

Status: b indicates manual work; w non-manual work.

Affiliation: indicates religious denomination and positions held within church if any

C/C refers to Montreal West Curling Club, XX indicates membership

Other Voluntary Orgs. refers to participation either by the Head of the Household, or, where indicated, by some other family member, in a voluntary organization other than the Montreal West Curling Club.

c.m. refers to Charter member, that is founding member. St.Andrews indicates membership in the St.Andrews Literary and Debating Society between 1898 and 1902

p. refers to Proprietor

t. refers to Tenant

p.w. refers to partners with

S.C. refers to members of Board of School Commissionners

S.C.C. refers to Chairman of Board of School Commissionners

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Aird, Harry	1912-1917 Manager Vice-Pres. Director	D		British Coal Corp. Canadian Import Co.	r	w	Presbyterian	Pres. '26-'27	Mayor of Town '27-'35 1928 - Campaign worker for NDG YMCA also Councillor Bldg. Comm. 1924 Pres. Church member Chairman Comm. of Stewards Board of Mgmt. M.W. Pres. Church '17
Allan, D.W.	Jeweller		B				Presbyterian	xx	
Allen, L.K.	Conductor		A	CPR	e			xx	
Allyn, Alfred Warren (American-Imm. 1907) Ed. at Phillips Academy, Andover, Mass. & Mass. Inst. Tech. (S.B.)	Manager	D	E	United States Products Co. (est. 1901) Mtl.		w	Presbyterian (United Church)	xx	Clubs Engineers Pres. Rotary Kanawaki Golf Montreal West Bowling & Curling Club Chapleau Societies American Iron & Steel Inst. American Soc. of Metals
	Draughtsman			Carnegie Steel Co. Pittsburgh Penn. (1902)					
	Engineer			Pennsylvania Railroad, Pittsburgh, Pa. (1903)					

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Allyn, A.W. cont'd	Engineer			Carnegie Steel Co., Pittsburgh, Pa. (1904-07)					Recs., including Fishing, Golf, Curling
	Ass't Mgr. of Sales			United States Steel Prods. Co., Mtl., 1907-09					
	Manager			United States Steel Prods. Co., Winnipeg 1909-14					
	Manager	D		United States Steel Prods. Co., Mtl. 1914-40					
Anderson (P)	Entrepreneur	D		Stewart Bottling & Ginger Ale Co.	r	w	Presbyterian	xx	Mrs. presided at tea table at YMCA New Year's Day recep. at YMCA
Arrowsmith F. (J)	Advtg. Manager	D							
Baggot G.	Coupler (worked in freight yard)		A,G	CPR	e	b	Anglican		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Bailey, E.B. (P)	Painter, Decorator (possibly old country)		B						
Bain, Thos.	Plumber (possibly old country Irish)		B				Roman Catholic		
Ballantyne, James (parents Scots, b. Ontario)	Entrepreneur (Plumbing & Steam Heating Contractor)	D		James Ballantyne Plumbing & Heating Co.	r	w	Presbyterian	XX	Horticultural Society Mrs. Jas.-St.Andrew also a Miss M. Mayor of Mtl West Slated for Presidency of Canadian Manufacturers Ass. Mrs.. charter member - Mtl West Women's Club
(Head Office in Montreal, employs 75 men in the various branches, put in, with Mr. Robert Wilson who is now in Mr. Ballantyne's employ, the first steam fitting job on the Pacific Coast at the CPR Hotel in Vancouver in 1887. Also Y.M.C.A. Project)									
Ballantyne, C.C.	"captain of industry" Entrepreneur Director (one of the most prominent businessmen in Montreal)	D		Sherwin Williams Paint Co. Canada Cement Co. etc.	r r	w w	Presbyterian (Chairman-Building Committee 1924 Presbyterian Church)	XX	Mayor M.W. 1903 Mayor Wsmt Board of Trade Member of Canada Club, St.James Club Mr. & Mrs. C. St. Andrews
During Laurier Regime was member of the Montreal Harbour Board, strong believer in aggressive war policy, organized and took overseas a military battalion (245th). Connected with the Canadian Manufacturers Association-v.p. in 1905, Pres. in 1906. In 1911, he was one of the purchasers of the entire plant of the Sherwin Williams Paint Co., since then he has become Vice President as well as general manager. Councillor of the Montreal Board of Trade. Life Governor of the Western Hospital. Former Mayor of Montreal West and also of Westmount. Although this listing does not appear in the 1917 Directory because he had by then moved into Westmount, his presence in earlier years makes this a name too important to omit.							(married a Trenholme)		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Barclay, John	Bookkeeper	C_1		Walter Paul (grocery store)	e	w	Presbyterian		M. W. Council
	Executive	D		Rubberoid (building supplies)		w			
Barnes, E.W.	Home Builder	D			r	w	Anglican	XX	Men's Assoc'n of M.W.
Basserman (Mrs. F.) widow									
Baxter, W.P. (Can)	Manager	D					Presbyterian		Chairman, Board of Mgmt. Mtl. W. Presbyterian Church
Beaumont, R.J.	Executive (sec.treas.)		A	C.P.R. C.P. Steamships	e	w			
Beck, J.P.	Constable		B						
Bedbrooke, E.J. (old country English) (Liverpool) (disbursements of co)	Secretary (the father)	C_1-D	A	GTR (later CNR)	e	w	Anglican		Councillor M.W. Chairmaster at St.Philips Mayor of Mtl. W. 1904 (chief clerk to general manager 1866-99...in president's office) Mr. E.J. St.A., Eddie Bedbrooke - St.Andrews.
Bedbrook, John H. Sr. (the son)	Accountant Manager	C_1-D		Street Railway			Anglican		Trooper in Boer War Mr. J. St.Andrews (Mrs..Montreal West Women's Club - charter member)

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Bell, J.W.	retired (according to Lovell's Directory 1917-1918 Superintendant)								
Bell, Thos. V. (Can.)	Manager Entrepreneur T.V. Bell	D		Morton Philips Office Supplies	e r	w w		XX	
Bennet, W. (Bill) sr. (t) drove horses and wagon looked after horses	Carter		B	W.H. Payne Co.	e	b	Anglican		a Master W., St. Andrews a Mrs. and a Miss W. Bennet St.Andrew Miss M.E. St.Andrew
Bennet, E.G. (Mr.) (Mother from England)	Accountant	C_1					Anglican		
Best, T.J. (old country)	Auditor	C_1	A	CPR	e	w			
Binns, Frank C. (p)	Manager	D		Birks Jewellery Store	e	w	Presbyterian	XX	
Blakely, Charles N.	Senator		C						
Boucher, W.B.	Bank Manager		C		e	w			
Bowick D.	Engineer		E		e	w	Presbyterian		
Bradley, W.H.	Dairyman		F	Bradley's Dairy	r	b	Presbyterian		
Brady R. (p)	Builder	D			r	w			Mr. T. -St.Andrews

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Bradshaw, R.	Engineer		E	CPR	e	w	Anglican		
Briggs, J.F.	Stockbroker	D	C		e	w	Presbyterian	XX	
Brooke R.A. (rel. to Gomery family) father from England	Manager President	D		Montreal Blanket Co. Faragon Oil Co.	r	w	Anglican (founder)		(Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club Pres. '21-'23 Mr. Council Rotary
Brown G. Warren		D	B_1	Cofield Brown Advtg.	e	w			a Mr. Jno. Brown & Mr. Jas. Brown St.Andrews
Brodie	Audits	C_1	A	CPR	e	w			Mr. H.C., Miss H.H. & Miss M. all St.Andrews
Brown, Fred B.	Engineer	D	E				Presbyterian		S.C. 1910-1911
Brown H. (t)	Salesman		B		e	w			
Brunet Armand	Merchant	D	B	Brunet Lumberyard					
Brydges, Herbert J. (p) (took over from Lombardi)	Merchant	D	B	Montreal Textile Co.	r	w	Presbyterian	XX	Mrs. Mtl. Women's Club Horticultural Soc.

also had interest in Montreal West Garage, now Montreal West Auto

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Burbridge (grandson C.P.R.,V.P.)	Engineer	D	E	CPR	e				
Burke,James	Manufacturer	D		CPR	e	b			
Burnett, F.C.E. (old country)	Manufacturers Agent		B		e	w	Presbyterian		
Burns, J.F.	Master mechanic		A		e	w		XX	
Burns, W.T.S. (p)	Executive (printing industry)	D		Southam Press		w	Anglican		
Cable H. (old country Irish)	Manager	D		Crown Laundry	e	w	Presbyterian Sessions '17		Mrs. Mtl. W. Women Club (Mrs., Miss M Miss Amy also St. Andrews, Miss K.)
	Salesman		B				Presbyterian		
Campbell Alex (p)	Comptometer Room								
Campbell, Ed.									
Canavan, J.H. (p) (old country)	Farmer		F						
	1912 Night Agent		A	C.P.R.	e	w	Presbyterian		St.Andrews Lit. Soc, Treas. also Mrs., Mr. H., Mr. Mr. S. also Miss O & Miss H. Horticultural Society
musical family, also connected with Port of Montreal re: Wheat Preservation									
Canavan T.S.	Manufacturers Agent		B						
Capon J.H.	Commissionner								

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Capper, W.M.	Salesman		B		e		Methodist		
Carrol, W.G. (old country English)							Presbyterian		Horticultural Soc.
Cayford, H.	President	D			r	w			Y.M.C.A.
Chadwick, C.R.	Engineer	D	E						
Chamberlain, H.W.	Sec.Treas.	D			r	w			
Chandler, Tom	Accountant	C_1 -			e	w			
	Entrepreneur	D			r	w		XX	
co-owner Stewart Bottling Works and Ginger Ale with Laury Anderson (Mrs. Chandler and Mrs. Anderson were sisters)									
	Agent			Sun Life	e	w	Presbyterian		(Mrs.)
Charman, E. (p)	Chemist		E_8		e	w	Presbyterian		
Charman, F. (1912)	Bookkeeper	C_1	F		e	w			
Clarke, A.G. (Can.)	Auditor	C_1					Methodist		
Colby, Joe R. (American)	Manager	D			e	w	Anglican	XX	Mrs. M.W. Women's Club, c.m. Council M.W.
Cole, J.M. (t)	Salesman		B						Men's Assoc'n of M.W. M.W. Boy's Club Member
Collins, R. (p)	Civil Engineer	D	E		r	w			Horticultural Soc.
(long time builder in N.D.G. and Wsmt.)									
Collins, A.E. (old country)	Grocer in M.W.		B		r	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Cook S.			B		e	b			
Coulter, John (old country)	Grocer and Baker in M.W.		B		r	w			
Cox, G.H.					r	w			
Crawford, D. Lorne (old country)	Real Estate		C		r	w			Mrs. M.W.W.C. Pres. '25-'26)
Crombie, W.I.		D			e	w			
Crossley, F.L.	Treasurer Executive	D		Sun Life	e	w	Presbyterian (or Baptist acc. to Dr. Wadsworth)		a Founder of YMCA Member Montreal Artillery Co.
Currie, Alex (t) (Can.)	Printer		B				Presbyterian (Mrs)		
Dadmun, F.G.		D			r	w			
Dafoe, M.O. (p)	Audit Dept.	C	A	GTR	e	w	Presbyterian		M.W. Boy's Club Member
Dagnall, J.W. (p)	Executive Merchant (1912)	D	B		r	w			
Davies, C.J.W. (p) (Old country) (Wales)	Importer (fabrics)	D	B		r	w	Anglican		Mayor M.W. & Councillor S.C. 1897 (eldest daughter head nurse in a hospital)
Davies, H.L. (p)	Manager	D					Presbyterian		a Miss Davies St. Andrews Master W. - St.Andrews
Davies W.J. (t)	Works Manager	D					Anglican		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Dean, W.R. (his father had been general manager of the Bank of Montreal)	Stockbroker	D	C		r	w	Presbyterian		
Decarie, W.	Architect	D	E		r	w	Catholic		
Decarie, Mme Benjamin	Landowner		F		r	w	Catholic		
Degorog, R.	Superintendant	D	A	CPR					
Delisle, F.H.			A	CPR					
Delacour, P.E. (p)	Civil Engineer	D	E						
Devonish, J.W.									
Dick, Mrs. T.H.									
Dickson, D.W.	Secretary	D					Presbyterian (Mrs.)		
Doherty, J.W. (p) (old country Irish) (sold luggage, trunks)	Merchant	D	B	J.W. Doherty	r	w	Presbyterian	XX	
Dowswell, H.R. (t)	Architect	D	H						
Drake, Wilfred P.	Accountant	C_1	A		e		Presbyterian		
Duthie, John (English)	Bookkeeper-Acct	C_1			e	w		XX	
Dutton, A.E.	Master Mechanic		B						
Duval, J.E.		D	A	GTR	e	w		XX	

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Earnshaw, C.W. (old country)	Caretaker		G	Aberdeen School	e	b	Methodist		
Eccles, J.H.	Bookkeeper	C_1			e	w	Anglican		
Edwards, Wm.	Furniture Stripper		B				Anglican		Founder
Elder, John. A. (p) (Can.)	Manager Merchant (office furniture)	D	B	J.A. Elder Furniture Co.	e	w w	Presbyterian		Council M.W. Horticultural Soc.
Elliot, S.I. (p)	Telegraph Operator		A	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian		Church School Secretary of Presb. Ch. before Union
Ellis, F.G.	Auditor	C_1	B	Ellis	r	w	Methodist then United Church		
Ellis, Geo. (p)	Mechanical Inspector		B		e	w			
Evans, A.G. (sold coal, wood, building, supplies, did cartage) (office on Westminster) (home in Ville St. Pierre)	Coal Merchant	D	B				Anglican	XX	St.Andrews
Faben, C.R.		D			r	w			
Fabar, W.J.	Inspector		B		e	w			
Ferguson, J.S. (old country)			A	GTR	e		Anglican		(Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club, c.m.
Ferguson, J.R. (Can. from Nova Scotia)						w	Presbyterian		a Mr. & Mrs. Ferguson - St. Andrews also Miss Council M.W. 1909 Session '17

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Finnie, E.W.					e	w			
Fish, J.A. (p) (Can. from Lachute area)	Sec.-Treas.	D		Dominion Textile		w	Presbyterian		
Fletcher, D. (one time Mayor of Cote St. Luc)	Renovator	D			r	w	Presbyterian		a Mr. W. Fletcher St. Andrews
Forrester, William	Cashier		B		e	w	Presbyterian		M.W. Boy's Club Member - Agnes Forrester St. Andrews also Miss Jean St. Andrews YMCA membership Committee
Foss, George F.	Entrepreneur Pres. of Machinery Co. He built first Canadian automobile while he was living on Sherbrooke St.	D			r	w	Presbyterian (Mrs.)		
Foster, John W. (p)	Real Estate Agent Owner of Foster Bldg. on Westminster Ave. Had interest in M.W. Garage	D	C			w	Presbyterian (Mrs.)		Council M.W.
Fraser, Chas.	Sec. Treas.	D		Town of M.W.	e	w			
Fuller, Victor	Machinist (Owner of above after Foster, Brydges, Hickey)		B	M.W. Garage	r	w	Presbyterian		
Fulton, John	Bookkeeper-clerk Manager	C_1-D D			e e	W w			
Fyfe, Andrew Sr. (p)	Comm. Trav.(1912) Insurance Agent (Wells -Richardson Dyers Royal Exchange Assoc'n of London and Local rep. for Traveller's Indemnity of Hartford and Traveller s Ins.)D		B C		e r	w	Presbyterian	XX	Masters Roy & Earle St.Andrews - Rotary M.W. Lit. & Deb. Councillor -Mayor St.Andrews Lit. Soc. also Mrs. Fyfe

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Garrigan, Ed.	Draftsman (Chief of Drafting Dep't)	D		Dominion Engineering	e	w	Presbyterian		
Gidley, R.R. (t)	Tailor		B						
Giles, Dr. A.E.B.	Dentist or Dr. (married daughter of C.J.W. Davies)		E		r	w		XX	Y.M.C.A. Education Work
Gladwish, W.E. (old country English)	Photographer photo studio & supplies, portraits	D	B	Gladwish & Mitchell	r	w	Presbyterian	XX	Church Supt. Council M.W. Horticultural Soc.
Gomery, Roland (p) (Can.) (Married Nanon Thouret) previously clerk in Royal Bank, Wsmt. Branch	Credit Mgr. Sec.Treas.	D D		Simmonds Mattress Co.	e	w	Anglican		Rotary Council M.W. M.W. Boy's Club Donated Gomery Cup to Tennis Club
Goulden, Chris H. (Can.)	Merchant	D	B	Old Stamp Shop	r	w	Anglican		Council
Gray, Wm. (p)	Messenger		A	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian		Session Treas. '17 Board of Trustees '17 -St.Andrews
Granger, Sherman (American)	Manager fixtures, fans, etc.	D		Auer Light Mfg.			Presbyterian		Session '17 M.W. Boy's Club Member
Green, G.M.									

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Grieve, John (t)	Salesman Manager	D	B		e r	w w			
Griffith, A.	Undertaker retired Minister		E		r	w			
Grindley, E.W.	Pharmacist	D			r	w		(Mrs.)	Y.M.C.A.
Griswold, H.J. (Can.)		D	H	Dominion Engineering Inspection	r	w		(Mr.)	Y.M.C.A. Board
Grose, Mrs. A.	widow as of 1909								
Hall, William Cowie (p)	Florist	D	B	W.F. Hall Ltd. (Flower shop)	r	w	Presbyterian		Rotary Crippled Children's Society Council M.W.
Hall, Thos. (p)	Entrepreneur	D		Hall Engineering Works	r	w			
(Old country English)	(boat repairs & made small boats, large profits in WWI contracts) Shipbuilder (married into Ballantyne family)								
Hale, Charlie (Can.)	Lawyer Town Magistrate (His wife was a sister of Andrew Webster)	D	F			w	Anglican		
Hamilton, W.R.	Manufacturer trained tool makers during war	D		Dominion Electric Protection	r	w	Presbyterian		Miss B. Hamilton St.Andrews Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club - c.m. Miss Eva St.Andrews
Hamilton, H.J.B. (p)		D		Canada Cement Co.					

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Hardisty, Mr. J.A. (old country)		D			e	w			
Harkness, A.L. (t)	Civil Engineer	D	E		e		Presbyterian		
Harper, Thos. (old country)	Cutter		B		e	b			Miss Agnes Harper St.Andrews
Hart, E. (old country)	Confectioner	D		Mtl Biscuit	r	w	Presbyterian		Mrs. Mtl. W. Women Club - c.m.
Haskier, W.H.									
Hastie, A.	Machinist Foreman		B A	CNR	e		Anglican		
Hawker, J.T. (t)	Electrical Insp. (1912)		E						
(Can. of Engl. descent)	Electrical Engineer	D	E						
Hein, O.J.	Civil Engineer	D	E		e	w			
Henry, H.C. (t)	Accountant Travel Agent	C_1-D	B		r	w	Anglican		
Herring, G.H. (p)	Manager	D			e	w			
Hewson, B.			C		e	w			
Hickey, Malcolm A. (p) (Can.)	Clerk Accountant Insurance Interest in M.W. Garage	C_1 C_1	C B	Sun Life	e	w	Presbyterian		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Higginson, C.G. (p) Hawkesbury, Ontario	Manager Leather Business	D			e	w	Presbyterian	XX	Councillor
Hill, Robt. M.					e	w	Presbyterian		
Hobart, S.W. (t)	Manager	D			e		Presbyterian		
Hodgson, N.J.	Chartered Accountant	C1			e	w	Anglican		Mayor
Hoerner, Philip D. (married daughter of J.J. Kirkpatrick)	Manager	D		Atlas Asbestos	e	w			
Hood, James (old country Scottish)			B B A C	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian	XX	1928-campaign worker for N.D.G.
Holtham, F. (t)	Pharmacist	D	HB		e				
Holdaway, T.H.									
Horsfall, G.H. (p) (Lancashire)	Vice Pres. contractor, built many local homes first man to bring copper wire for streetcars from England (daughter married Will MacGregor)	D			r	w	Anglican		
Howard, T.A. (American)							Anglican		
Hussey, Earl F.	Assistant Manager	D			e	w			
Hussey, S.J.	retired						Anglican		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Jack, J.A. (old country English)	Plumber		B		b		Presbyterian		St. Andrews
Jackson, F. Arthur	Insurance Broker	D	C		r	w	Presbyterian		
Jarvis, R.B.	Insurance Trav.		B		r	w	Presbyterian		
Jervey, E.T.	Auditor (of disbursements)	C		CPR	e	w			
Johnson, E.B. (Can.)	Manager	D		St.James Club	e	w	Presbyterian		
Johnson, D.F. (Can.) (daughter Effie married Art Webster)	Accountant	C							
Johnston, J. (Can.)	Merchant dental supplies	D	B		r	w	Anglican		campaign worker for NDG - YMCA
Johnston, H.D. (t)	Electrical Engineer	D	E						a Miss E. Johnston St.Andrews
Jones, C.A. (Casey)	Builder	D			r	w			
Jones, E. Percy (p) (Can.)	Pharmacist		E,H		r	w	Anglican	XX	
Jones, H. Leroy (Can.)	Teacher	C		Business College	r	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Jorgensen, Chas.	Foreman		B		e	w			Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club charter member
Kelly (Kelley) 1844-1917 b. Nova Scotia	Dr. F.W. Teacher		H		e	w	Presbyterian		ST. Andrews Mr. & Mrs. Horticultural Soc. S.C. 1900-1906 1907-1908 1909-1911
	Pioneer in Securing Protestant Teachers Assoc'c. of Quebec Prominent in Organization of the Graduates Society of McGill University Principal of High School of Montreal 1875-1911 President of Sunday School Union for a time President of Y.M.C.A. 1885 Board, 1892 Presbyterian Church Worker, Served on Session Montreal West Presbyterian Church, 1896-1917 (1893) m. Mrs. Herbert C. Fuller, Neé Hart, who was Principal of Girls High School of Montreal In the Kelly Trust, which he established, for the maintenance and extension of Church work within the confines of the Montreal Presbytery, his influence lives on today...								
Kelley, F.W.	Widow								
Kennedy, H.					r	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Ker, E.J. (Canadian) (P)	Bookkeeper - 1912 Merchant (partnership with another local resident)	C, D		Fur Business	e	w		xx	
Kerr, T.E. (P)	Grain Merchant	D	B	Produce Business (butter, eggs, bacon)	e				
Kerseley, Geo. (American) (P)	Entrepreneur/ Manufacturer Owned Lumber Co. Also, Merchant	D	B	Mahogany Laminate Factory	r	w	Presbyterian (Mrs.)		
Keough, Emmet (Moved to Chicago)	Mech. Engr.	D	E		e	w			
Key, W.R.	Engineer		E						
Kirkpatrick, J.J. (P)	Gen. Contractor	D			r	w	Anglican	xx	S.C. 1905-1911 S.C.C. 1912-14 Councillor, Mayor Mrs. & Miss St. Andrews Mr. J. also
Kirkpatrick, E.C. (Son of JJ) (P) (His son a C.A.)	Mech. Engr.	D	E	Head of Steel Co. of Can. Plants in Mtl.	e	w	Anglican		Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club→ C.m.

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Knee, W.G. (P)	Supt. Executive President (when in Toronto)	D		Canada Malt	r	w		xx	
Kuhn, F.	Advertising Manager Advertising & Newspaper work Life member of Ad & Sales Club	B	D						
Laing, A.S. (P) (grandson ex-mayor McQueen)	Mfg. Fabric Covering	D					Presbyterian		
Laing, Stanley		D		King & Laing			Presbyterian		
Lanskail, T.R.	Acct. (1912) Executive	C_1-D		Dominion Textile	e	w	Presbyterian		Mrs. Mtl.W. Women's Club-c.m. Horticultural Society M.W. Council
Lanskil, R.T.	Acct. 1912 Beveridge Paper Co. 1917	C_1-D			e	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Lauer, J.H.	Mgr.	D		Marconi Wireless Tel. of Can.	e	w			
Lawson, Mrs.S.							Presbyterian		Horticultural Society (J)
Leclair, Paul	Civil Engr.	D	E			w			
Lee, E.D. (P)	Mgr.	D		Dominion Textile	r	w	Methodist Exec.	xx	(Mrs. M.W.W.C. c.m.) Y.M.C.A. Snowshoeing, Hockey
Leet, Leo L. (P)	Ins. & Real Estate 1912 worked on Trains		C A	CPR	e		Presbyterian (Mrs.)		M.W. Council Auditor - Presbyterian Church
Leighton, Geo. E.	Mining Engr.	D	E		e	w		xx	
Lemaistre, P.M.(P)	Agent		B				Anglican		
Lewis, Thos. (Canadian)	Garbage Collection, Street Plowing etc.		G	Town of Mtl. W.					Jno - St. Andrews

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Lewis, Charles (1912)									S.C. 1910-1914
Lochhead, W.J. (P)	Engineer	D	E	Dominion Bridge	e	w	Presbyterian		
Lombardi, Michel	Contractor (Later sold business to Brydges)	D	B	Lombardi Coal, Wood & Ice	r	w			
Lordly, Col. H.R. (Canadian)	Executive (one of top men in Co.) (owned much land here)	D		Cement Business (during WWI made great success)	r	w			During WWI Assoc'd w. 5th Pioneers in Army Horticultural Society
Lyon, P.B.	Buyer (annual trips to Italy)		B	Henry Morgan (gloves, stockings, laces)	e	w			
Macdonell, W.M.	Station agent (Baggage)		A	CPR	e	w			
Macdonald, R.H.	Mechanic								
MacGregor, John	Contractor & Builder	D	B	Reid, MacGregor, & Reid (Above firm built Town Hall)	r	w	Presbyterian		Mr. Ja. Macgregor - St. Andrews YMCA Membership Committee Member of Board of Management, M.W. Pres. Ch.

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
MacGregor, W.L. (Canadian)	Comm. Traveller Exec.	D	B	Ogilvie Flour			Methodist	xx active	Mr. A. McGregor St. A.
MacIndoe, A.C. (Canadian)	Cashier in Office	C_1	A	GTR			Anglican		Miss Cottie & Miss Y. Mr. G. St. Andrews Mr. A.C. - Council
Mack, D.H.		D		Canada Sugar Refinery Co.					Master A. St. Andrews
Mackey, J.							Anglican		
Mackimmie, G.W. (P)	Bank Official	D	C				Presbyterian	xx	YMCA Central Branch Board of Management
Mackinnon, W.C. (T)	Civil Engr.	D	E				Presbyterian		
Mactavish, L.M.	Salesman		B				Presbyterian		
Malley, R.				Canada Copper Products Ltd.			Presbyterian		
Maltby, Mrs. H.L. (Canadian) Mr. D. (1912) b. England	Mr.-executive Rrd Builder Appointed by banks as Guardian - Ottawa & Gatineau Valley	D	A	CPR			Anglican		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
	Railway until the Acquisition by CPR – given position of chief clerk Engr. dept.	C_1-D	A						Montreal Snow-shoe club
Marchand, D.	Conductor		A						
Marsh, A.J. (P)	Audit clerk in dept. of auditor of disburse-ments	C_1	A	CPR	e	w			
Martineau, L.									
Mathewson, N.J. (Canadian)	Fire & Police Chief	D		Town of Mtl.W.	e	w	Presbyterian	xx	
Mayhew, A.W.	Clerk	C_1	B	Walter Paul Grocery	e	b	Anglican		Horticultural Society
McArthur, L.W.	Salesman-1912 Manufacturer	D	B	Paint Mfg.r Brick Co.		w	Presbyterian		Council M.W.
McAskill, K. (P)	Merchant	D	B	Doherty Luggage (Partner w Doherty)					

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
McClatchie, Chas. (P)		D		The Eastern Construction Co. - 1912 Retired by 1917					Town Council St. Andrews Also Mrs. McClatchie (d) Horticultural Society
McCorkell, Ernest	Tower		A	CPR	e				
McGlaughlin, Mrs. R.	Mr. Chief Clerk	C_1	A	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian (Mrs.- Pres.)	xx	Mr. F. - St. Andrews Also Master W. and Miss. Gds., Miss Elsie Mrs. R. McGlaughlin & Mr. B. St. Andrews
McInnis, R.A.									
McLaren, Thos. (P)	Architect (p. w. Alex Peden Sr. Designed Loyola Coll.)	D	H		r	w	Presbyterian		Town Bldg. Supt. Mr. H. St. Andrews
McLean, W.E.	Manager, C.E.O.	D		Canada Packers	r	w	United Elder Sessions Methodist		Miss. B. & Miss F - St. Andrews (same family as Eric McLean- Noted Music Critic)
McMahon, F.	Business	D		United Artists, United Amusements (p.w. Lester & Murray)					

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
McMichael, F.D. (Canadian)		D	A	Mtl. Locomotive Works					
McMillan, Alex (P)			A	CPR					
McNeil, D.S. (P)	Bookkeeper Sec. Treasurer	C_1-D		Salvation Army			Presbyterian (Mrs.)		
McPhee, A.M.	Teacher Principal		H	Aberdeen School	e	w			Congregational Secretary, M.W. Presbyterian Church
McPherson, Hugh (P)	Chemist Professor		H	McGill Univ.	e	w	Presbyterian		Mrs. Mtl. W. Women's Club charter member
	Investor	D		Ayerst, McKenna, Harrison Pharmaceuticals		w		xx dir.	Member, Board of Management, M.W. Pres. Ch.
McRae, D.W.	Clerk	C_1	C	Insurance Company	e	w	Presbyterian		
Merkley, Gerard									
Merkley, Roy F.	Insurance Agent		B	Wells Richardson Dyes	e	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Metcalfe, J.S.	Engineers Grain Elevator Builders	D	E						
Meyer, G.E.									
Millar, Robt.	Town Superintendent	D		M.W.	e	w	Presbyterian		
Miller, G.A. (P)	Mfg. Entrepreneur (Shipbuilding machinery) with son below	D		Miller Bros. Machinery			Anglican		
Miller, W. Syme (P)	Entrepreneur	D		Miller Bros. Machinery			Anglican		Mr. W.J. St. Andrews
Millen, J.A.	Accountant (sec. - treasurer 1912)	C_1							
Millen, Geo. R.									
Milne, JJ Scotch descent from Aberdeen Taught school in Hemmingford & Grenville	Sec.-Treasurer Rose from clerk to Pres.	C_1-D		James Robertson Co. Ltd. 1912 James Robertson Plumbing Supply Co.	e	to r w	Presbyterian (For several yrs. Elder of church and supt. of Sun. School)		S.C. -1897, 1898-08 S.C.C. - 1898, 1909-1911 Exec. (Mrs. Mtl.W. W.C. c.m.) Mrs. 1st Prs. Ladies Aid Soc. of Pres.Ch. Member of Prot.

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
									School Board Many Yrs. Chairman
Milrfield, Mrs. K.									Miss Muriel - St. Andrews
Mitchison, C.W. (P)	Rrd. Machinist		A						Mrs. M. Regent of her I.O.D.E. Chap.
Moeckel, A.F.	Pres.	D		Moeckel & Schurman					K. Milne - St. A.
Moffat, K.M. (T)	Comm. traveller Plastering Contractor	D	B		r	w	Presbyterian		
Moore, C.H.J.		D		Thos. Moore & Son					
Moore, John	Hairdresser		B						
Morang, H.A.	Mun. Wker.		B		e	b			
Morland, W.R. (P)	Manager	D		Sun Life	e	w	Presbyterian		
Morgan, Fred (P)	Sign Painter Entrepreneur	D	B	Morgan-Worship Sign Co.	r	w	Presbyterian		
Moring, O.	Real Estate		C						
Morrison, S.A.	Station Agent (after Mr . Gray)		A	CPR	e	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Murray, D.A.	Executive	D		United Theatres	r	w	Anglican		
Murray, Howard	Treas.	D -		Shawinigan Water & Power Co. (1912)					Council
Mussell, W. Lorne	Entrepreneur	D		Chemical Co. Pharmaceuticals			Presbyterian		
Neal, W.M. (T)	General Sect. Pres.	C_1 -D	A	CPR		w	Presbyterian		
Neilson, W. (T)	District Supt.	D							
Nicholas, G. (Greek)			B	United Theatres	e	w			
Norman, G.		C_1							
Norman, Wm. H.	Clerk 1912	C_1							
O'Neil, H.B.	Trav.		B				Presbyterian		
O'Neil, T.Y. (P)	Sales Mgr.	D					Anglican		
Osborne, Miss									
Otter, A.B.	China repairer Shopkeeper	D	B	Hardware Store	r	w	Pres.	xx	Council M.W.

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Otter, W.D. (P)	Same as Previous person Merchant (son)	D	B						
Palmer, W.	Printer 1912)		B						
Parker, W.C.	Comm. traveller 1912		B		e	w	Presbyterian	xx	(Mrs.)
Parkes, F.O. (P)	Clerk	C_1	B						J.S. Parkes - Council Mr. & Mrs. J.S. - St. Andrews YMCA - Sunday Aft. Comm.
Paterson, G.F. (P)					e	w			S.C. 1904-1914
Patterson, A.J.	Clerk	C_1	B						Mrs. Patterson- St. Andrews Mr. S. Patterson - St. Andrews
Patterson, J.G.	Agent		B				Presbyterian		
Payne, W.H. (Old country English)	Contractor (His co. said to have built 50% of local houses)	D		W.H. Payne & Co.	r	w	Presbyterian		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Peden, Alex Jr. (P)	Civil Engr.	D	E	Dominion Bridge	e	w	Methodist		Men's Assoc. of M.W.
Peden, Alex Sr.	Mfrs. Agent 1912	D	B				Methodist	xx	Treas. Meth. Ch. (Mrs. M.W.W.C. c.m.)
Peden, Frank (P) (brother to Alex Sr.)	Architect (e.g. Loyola College)	D	H	Peden & McLaren (Partner)			Methodist		(Pres. M.W.W.C. '19-'21 Council M.W. Board - YMCA
Percival, William J. (Old Country English)	Travelling Auditor	C1	A	GTR	e	w	Presbyterian (Sessions '17 Started church)		Mrs. W.J. & Miss Edith - St. Andrews also Miss Flo, Miss Elsie Sec-Treas. of Town S.C.T. 1897-1903 Board of Trustees
Plant, E.				Mtl. Council 1154 of The Royal Army					Congregational Treasurer M.W. Boys' Club Official Mr. W.J. and Geo St. Andrews also Masters Bert & Willie Miss A.. Miss M. Percival
Plow, Geo. W.	Organist		H	St. Philips Church	e	w	Anglican		
Popham, H.O.	worker		B		e	b			
Powers, L.W.	In charge of yards		A		e	w	Presbyterian		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
	in Farnham								
Poirier, Arthur (his son was photographer)	Mngr.	D		Le Samedi	e	w			
Probert, H. (P)	Traveller Manufacturer	D	B	Sun Lite Soap	r	w	Anglican	xx	Montreal Rotary Club (one of sons m. an Eaton)
Proctor, W.A.	Retired, ex-station master	C_1	A		e	w			
Prudhomme, Oscar (North End)	Farmer		F		e				
Rankin, J.I. (T)	Sec. Treas.	D						xx	
Ransom, J.W.									
Reay, John (P)	Draughtsman		B		e				
Reid, Capt. A. (related to Mrs. Kirkpatrick)	Sea Captain	D	A		e				
Reid, James C.	Contractor	D			r				

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Reid, John I.	Manager	D		Canadian Steel Foundries Ltd.	e	w	Presbyterian		
Robertson, James	Engineer President Merchant	D	E	James Robertson Ltd. Plumbing Supply	r	w		xx	
Robertson, W.W. (P)	Chief Clerk Ticket Office	C_1	H		e	w			Council M.W. Mr. - St. Andrews
Robinson, John (P)	Printer Office Furniture Business	D	B	Hall & Robinson, Florist shop downtown	r	w			
Robb, G.W.	Mfg. Agent (retired)		A	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian		
Rodger, John	Watchman 1912		A				Methodist (1st Methodist service in Mtl. J. held in his home)		Also St. Andrews members Mr. J. Mrs. Jno and Miss E. and Miss M.
Rodgers, Wm. (P)	Merchant	D	B	Coyle & Rodgers			Presbyterian		Mrs. W. Mtl. W.W.C. c.m. St. Andrews Literary Society Pres. Horticultural Society, S.C. - 1900-01

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Ross, Andrew S.	Clergyman. Minister		H	Presbyterian Church	e	w	Presbyterian	xx	Mr. Lorne & Mr. Russel St. Andrews
Ryan, W.	Clerk 1912	C			e	w			
Sampson, Allan (P)	Credit Manager	D			e	w			
Saltsman, D.G.	Advtg. Mgr.	D	C		e	w			
Saltsman, H.G.	1917		C	Sun Life Ins. Co.					
Schnebly, C.D.	Elec. Engr: 1912	D	E	Northern Electric	e	w	Presbyterian	xx	Mrs. M.W. W.C. c.m.
Scott, J.E.	Contractor	D					Presbyterian		
Scott, G.W. (P)	Director Toolmaker	D	B	Budge Carbon Paper Mfg. Ltd. (est. 1906)			Presbyterian (Mrs.)	xx	
Seens, J.W.	Mgr.	D		Structural Steel Co. of Can.	e	w	Anglican		
Shenton, G.									
Sherwin, Eugene	Mgr.	D		Atlantic Fruit Co.	e	w	Presbyterian		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Sherwin, Mrs. J.M. Widow									
Simons, A.T.	Clerk 1912 Draughtsman	C_1	B		e	w	Presbyterian		Horticultural Society
Skirrow, F.W. (T)	Professor		F		e	w			
Slocum, O.L. (German background) (lived in North End)	1912 - Civil Engr.	D	E		e	w			
Small, Prof. James (T)	Teacher (Prof. of Music)			M.W. H.S.	e	w			
Smith, J.D.	Sec. Treas.	D			e	w		xx	A Mr. Geo Smith= St. Andrews
Smith, John W.	Mgr.	D			r	w			
Smithman, A.	Printer		B		e	w			
Smithers, W.W.	Bank Messenger		B		e	w	Presbyterian	xx	Lawn Bowling
Sprott, Samuel (N. Ireland- Also Mrs. via Toronto to Mtl. w.	1917 - Salesman Industry Self employed after that Rendered Fats etc. Meat Packing 1927 or 8 then Stock broker with various firms	D	B C	Canada Packers Adams Oil Burners	e	w	Presbyterian		

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Steele, J.J.	Foreman		B						
Steer, A.C. (American)	Sales Mgr.	D		Steel Company	e	w	Presbyterian		
Stewart, J. (P)	Contractor Draughtsman	D	 B		r e	w w			A Mr. D. Stewart - St. Andrews
Stewart, Samuel (T)	Supt. (1912) Builder (1917)	D			e r	w w			
Stephenson, H.E. (P)	Exec.	D		McKim Advtg.	e r	w w	Presbyterian		(Mrs. M.W.W. C. c.m.) Council M.W.
Stevenson, Rev. H.R.	Pastor		F	St. Philips Ang. Church	e	w	Anglican		
Stevenson, John	Acct.	C1	A	CPR	e	w	Presbyterian	xx	Hon. Sec. 1921 Horticultural Society
Stevenson, Mrs. J.B.	Housewife								
Stockdill, F.	Signal Inspector 1912,1917		A		e	w			
Strohmayr, H.	Furrier, Ladies coats	D	B	Strohmayr & Morrison Furriers			Presbyterian		
Svenningson, S.	Engineer	D	E		e	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Symonds, U.C.									
Tarshis, H. and Tarshis, I.	Scrap Materials	D	B	L.S. Tarshis & Sons (sell machinery now)	r				
Taylor, Dr. T.H.	Physician	D	F	M.D. & School Doctor		W			
Taylor, H.R.	Acct.	C			e	W			A Rev. & Mrs. S.J. Taylor - St. Andrews a Mr. J.L. Taylor A Miss M & Miss H. Taylor - St. Andrews
Taylor, W.B. (P)	Manager 1912, 1917	D		Copeland Chatterson Co. Ltd.	e	W	Presbyterian		
Taylor, B.S.	Cashier		B					xx	
Taylor, W.H.	Florist	D	B	Taylor & Scott					
Templeman, G.E.	Electrician 1912 (as school boy, plumber's helper, Jas. Vall Co. Chief Engr. Elec. Engr. 1917	D	E	Electrical Commission City of Mtl.					Mrs. M.W.W.C. c.m. Council M.W. Men's Assoc. of M.W. Building Comm. 1924 Pres. Ch. Secretary Furnishing Comm. 1928 Campaign

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
									worker for NDG 'Y' Curling Club 1921 Chairman of Curling Comm. and Comm. in charge of Presidents.
Thompson, W. Frank (P)	Advertising	D	B		e	w	Presbyterian		(Mrs. M.W.W.C. c.m.)
Thompson, J.F.W.								xx	
Thomson, A.B.	Shipping Clerk	C	B		e	w			M.W. Boys' Club member (Miss) St. Andrews
Thompson, I.									Mr. H.W. St. Andrews
Thouret, Emil (German Descent - 1st gen. Can.)	Mfrg. Agent 1912 importer of buttons from Japan	D	B		r	w	Anglican		Earl & Nannon St. Andrews Also Mr. R. and Miss Carmen Mrs. Thouret St. Andrews
Torrance, W.B.									
Trenholme, W.T.	Dairyman Farmer Large landowner	D		Elmhurst Dairy	r	w	Anglican	xx Pres.	Mr. W. Trenholme St. Andrews (Mrs. M.W.W.C. c.m.) Council M.W. Liberal Politics Turnpike Trust-

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
									On Board for 20 years Often called the "Millionaire Milkman" Oldest established Dairyman on island of Mtl. Director of Cedar Rapids Mfg. & Power Co. Ltd. Also, of The National Brick Co. of Laprairie and The Russel Shale Brick Co. Also, associated with a number of other companies. Councillor and mayor of NDG before its annexation with the western end of the island of Mtl. Governor of Mtl. Gen. Hosp. and of Western Hosp. and of Prot. Hosp. for the Insane H.T. Trenholme-St. Andrews

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Trenholme, Mrs. T.A. (Née Ballantyne)							Anglican		Misses D. & M St. Andrews donated land for St. Philips S.C.C. 1897
Tom Trenholme				Elmhurst Dairy					
Tyler, Grant (P)	Catering Business Machinist 1912, 1917 (Delivered pork pies to restaurants)	D	B		r	w			
Tyler, W.G.							Anglican		Mr. & Mrs. - St. Andrews a Tyler member M.W. Boy's Club
Tyler, D.J.S.							Anglican		Master W. - St. Andrews An Edna Tyler St. Andrews
Vineberg, S. (Canadian - ed. British and Cdn. schools)	Clothing Mfgr. Employee Commercial Traveller Manufacturer of Waterproofs Also, Gloves, Clothing	D		H. Vineberg & Co. 1888 B.H. Vineberg & Co. - 1189 Scottish Rubber Co. - 1901	e e r	w w w	Hebrew		Member of Free Loan Society Member of Mtl. Board of Trade Member of Cdn. Manufacturers Assocn. Life Governor of Mtl. Gen. Hosp.

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
									Life governor of Baron de Hirch Institute Member of Dominion Commercial Traveller's Assoc.
Wade, A.M.	Auditor	C_1							
Walter C.	Commercial Traveller		B		e	w			
Watson, W.P.	Chemist 1912 Contractor	D	H		e r	w w			Mr. J. St. Andrews
Weber, J.F.	Sec.-Treas.	D							
Weiss, John	Shipper 1912	C_1		Dominion Textile	e	w			
West, Charles	Mgr.	D						xx	
Wheelwright, B.	Elec. Engr.		E						
White, E.A.	Manufacturer (Soldier w. CEF)	D		Snap (Hand cleaner)	r	w	Presbyterian	xx	A Miss Lucy White - St. Andrews
White, Thomas N.	Engineer 1917	D		Precision Instruments	r	w	Presbyterian	xx dir.	Miss. Bessie White exact family unknown - St. Andrews Rotary

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
White, E.G.	Soldier with CEF Manufacturer (Started a spring Water business)	D							
Whiting, A.W. (P)	Foreman Electrician 1917 Executive	D	B	Northern Electric		w			
Whiley, W.J. (P)	Sales Grocer	D	B	Westminister Provision Store					
Whiteman, Frank									
Williams, J.H. (P)	Grocer in Mtl. W.	D					Anglican	xx	
Williams, H.T.	Tower Man Agent 1912		A						Mr. & Mrs. H. St. Andrews An Ethel Williams - St. Andrews
Wilkins, F.F.	Acct.	C_1							
Willows, L.G.	Builder Building Supt.	D			r	w	Anglican		
Wilson, John I. (Wilson, James - Lithographer 1912)			B				Presbyterian		Mr. & Mrs. R. St. Andrews Mr. R.S. Wilson-

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
									St. Andrews Mr. James - St. Andrews a Miss Wilson - St. Andrews
Wood, H.W. (T)	Elec. Engr. 1912,1917 (Later became known as a "brilliant" executive	D	E			w			
Wood, Geo. (P)	Accountant 1912 Foreign Freight Agent 1917	C_1	A	CPR					
Wootton, H.H. (P)	Chemist	D	F	Drug Dept. of Royal Vic. Hosp.	e in charge of Prescriptions & drugs	w	Anglican	xx	
Wornell, Rev. W.P.	Minister		F	Methodist Church of Mtl.	e	w			

Name	Occupation	Occup'l Type	Field	Firm	Position	Status	Affiliation	C/C	Other Vol. Orgs.
Wright, W.L.	Clerk 1917	C_1			e	w			Mr. & Mrs. Wright St. Andrews
			B		e	b			
Wynn, G.M.						w			

Total: 369 (includes widows and retired)

Total Known: 324

Clerks: C_1 13

Management: D 178

Clerks - Management C_1 -D 40

Transportation 41

Business Approx. 98

Presbyt 109

Anglican 50

Methodist 13

Total 55

Sources Consulted

Articles in Books

Acheson, T.W. "The Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1885," Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971, D.S. Macmillan, ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972, pp. 144-174.

Bliss, Michael, "The Canadian Businessman and his Enemies," Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1497-1971, D.S. Macmillan, ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972, pp. 175-191.

Clement, Wallace. "The Corporate Elite, the Capitalist Class, and the Canadian State," The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed., Toronto: University Press, 1977, pp. 225-248.

_____. "Macrosociological Approaches Toward a Canadian Sociology" Alternate Routes: A Critical Review, Vol. I, pp. 1-37, 1977.

Glenday, Daniel. Guindon, Hubert and Turowitz, Allan. "Modernization and the Canadian State-Issues and Paths of Inquiry" In Modernization and the Canadian State, Glenday, Guindon, Turowitz, ed., Toronto: Macmillan, 1978, pp. 212-246.

MacMillan, David S., "The New Men in Action: Scottish Mercantile and Shipping Operations in the North American Colonies, 1760-1825," Canadian Business History: Selected Studies 1497-1791, D.S. Macmillan, ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972, pp. 44-103.

Panitch, Leo. "The Role and Nature of the Canadian State" The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977, pp. 3-27.

Richmond, Anthony H. "Immigration, Population and the Canadian Future," Modernization and the Canadian State, D. Glenday, H. Guindon, A. Turowitz, eds., Toronto: Macmillan, 1978, pp. 301-316.

Stevenson, Garth. "Federalism and the Political Economy of the Canadian State" The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 71-109, 1977.

Tulchinsky, Gerald. "The Montreal Business Community 1837-1853," Canadian Business History: Selected Studies, 1947-1971, D.S. Macmillan, ed., Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, pp. 125-144.

Whitaker, Reg. "Images of the State in Canada," The Canadian State: Political Economy and Political Power, Leo Panitch, ed., Toronto: University of Toronto Press, pp. 28-69, 1977.

Wolfe, David, "The State and Economic Policy in Canada, 1968-1975" The Canadian State: Political Economy and Polical Power, Leo Panitch, ed., Toronto: University Press, pp. 251-288, 1977.

Articles in Periodicals

Acheson, T.W. "Changing Social Origins of the Canadian Industrial Elite, 1880-1910," Business History Review XLVII 2 (Summer 1973), pp. 189-217.

Caplow, Theodore, "Middletown Fifty Years After,"Contemporary Sociology, Vol. 9, 1, January 1980, pp. 46-50.

Mellor, Rosemary. "Urban Sociology in an Urbanized Society," British Journal of Sociology, Vol. 26, 1975, pp. 276-291.

Articles in Encyclopedias

Everyman's Concise Encyclopedia of Architecture, 1960, ed. S.V. "Garden City."

The Penguin Dictionary of Architecture, 1966, ed. S.V. "Garden City."

Books

Aiken, M. and Mott, P.E. eds. The Structure of Community Power, New York: Random House, 1970.

Bell, Daniel. The End of Ideology: on the Exhaustion of Political Ideas in the Fifties, Glencoe: Free Press, 1960.

Bergeron, Léandre. The History of Quebec: A Patriote's Handbook, rev. ed. Toronto: New Canada Publications, NC Press, 1975.

Bernard, Jessie. The Sociology of Community. Introduction to Modern Society Series. Albert J. Reiss Jr. and Harold L. Wilensky, eds. Preface by Jessie Bernard. Glenview: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1973.

Berthoff, Rowland Tappan. British Immigrants in Industrial America, 1790-1950. New York: Russel and Russel, 1953.

Boissevain, Jeremy and Mitchell, J. Clyde. Network Theory and Social Analysis: Studies in Human Interaction. The Hague: Moncton, 1973.

Brown, George, Building the Canadian Nation. Toronto: J.M. Dent and Sons, 1942.

Brown, Robert Craig and Cook, Ramsay. Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed. The Canadian Centenary Series. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974.

Catermole, William. The Advantages of Emigration to Canada. Toronto: Coles, 1970.

Clement, Wallace. The Canadian Corporate Elite: An Analysis of Economic Power. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1975.

_____. Continental Corporate Power: Economic Linkages between Canada and the United States. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.

Denzin, N.K. Sociological Methods: A Sourcebook. Chicago: Aldine-Atherton, 1970.

Easterbrook, W.T. and Aitken, Hugh S.J. Canadian Economic History. Toronto: Macmillan, 1956.

Entwhistle, Harold. Political Education in a Democracy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971.

Galbraith, John Kenneth. The Scotch. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin, 1964.

Gerth, H.H. and Mills, C. Wright, trans., eds. introd'n. From Max Weber Essays in Sociology. New York: Oxford University Press, 1946.

Gold, Gerald L. Saint Pascal: Changing Leadership and Social Organization in a Quebec Town. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1975.

Good, C.V. and Scates, D.E. Methods of Research. New York: Appleton Century-Crofts, 1954.

Gorden, R.L. Interviewing: Strategy, Techniques and Tactics. Homewood: Dorsey Press, 1969.

Greer, S. The Logic of Social Inquiry. Chicago: Aldine, 1969.

Halevy, Elie. The Birth of Methodism in England. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1971.

Hawley, W.D. and Wirt, F.M., eds. The Search for Community Power. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1968.

Hobson, J.A. Imperialism: A Study. London: George Allen and Unwin, 1961.

Hunter, Floyd. Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision Makers. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953.

Hutcheson, John. Dominance and Dependency. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1978.

Jackson, John D. Locale and the Political Economy: An Alternate Perspective for Community Studies, 1980. Unpublished Manuscript.

Joy, Richard J. Languages in Conflict: The Canadian Experience. Ottawa: Richard J. Joy, 1967.

Lachapelle, Réjean and Henripin, Jacques. La Situation Demolinguistique au Canada: évolution passée et prospective. Montreal: The Institute for Research on Public Policy, 1980.

Leacock, Stephen. Montreal, Seaport and City. New York: Doubleday, Doran, 1942.

Loomis, Charles P. and Loomis, Zena K. Modern Social Theories. Huntingdon: Robert E. Kreiger, 1975.

Loomis, Charles P. Social Systems. Princeton: Van Nostrand, 1960.

Lynd, Robert S. and Lynd, Helen Merell. Middletown: A Study in Contemporary American Culture. New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1956.

Lythe, S.G.E. and Butt, J. An Economic History of Scotland. Glasgow: Blackie and Son, 1975.

Lévesque, Delmas, gen. ed., L'expérience coopérative québecoise, 5 vols. Montreal: Ecole des Hautes Etudes Commerciales, 1980. Vol. I: La Situation Des Francophones D'Amerique Au Tournant Du Siecle: I Les Données Economiques, by Jean-Louis Martel.

McDougall, J. Lorne. Canadian Pacific. Montreal: McGill University Press, 1968.

Miller, Perry. The New England Mind. Boston: Beacon Press, 1961.

Mills, C. Wright, The Sociological Imagination. New York: Oxford University, Press, 1959.

Nathanson, M. ed. Philosophy of the Social Sciences. New York: Random House, 1963.

Nielson, Greg. "Problematic for a Sociological Theory of Cultural Products." (M.A. Thesis, Concordia University, 1980).

Park, R.E. Burgess, B.W. and McKenzie, Roderick D. The City. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925.

C.G. Pickvance, trans. and ed. Urban Sociology: Critical Essays. London: Tavistock Publications, Social Science Publications, 1976.

Pike, Robert M. "Introduction." Pike, Robert M. and Zwireck, Elia, ed. Socialization and Values in Canadian Society, Vol II. Carleton Library, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1975.

Poplin, Dennis E. Communities: A Survey of Theories and Methods of Research. New York: Macmillan, 1972.

Reid, James Macarthur. Scotland Past and Present. London: O.U. Press, 1959.

Rioux, Marcel and Martin, Yves. French Canadian Society. Vol I. Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964.

Ryerson, Stanley B. Unequal Union. Toronto: Progress Books, 1973.

Schmidt, Albert-Marie. Calvin and the Calvinistic Tradition. New York: Harper, 1960.

Schull, Joseph. One Hundred Years of Banking in Canada: A History of the Toronto-Dominion Bank. Vancouver: Copp Clark, 1958.

Seeley, John R. Sim, Alexander R., and Lorsley, Elizabeth. Crestwood Heights: A North American Suburb. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956.

Semmel, Bernard. The Methodist Revolution. New York: Basic Books, 1973.

Sjoberg, G. and Nett, R. A Methodology for Social Research. New York: Harper and Row, 1968.

Slattery, Timothy Patrick. Loyola and Montreal: A History. Montreal: Palm, 1962.

Smythe, T. Taggart. The First Hundred Years, History of the Montreal City and District Savings Bank 1846-1946. n.p.: n.p., n.d.

Stein, Maurice R. The Eclipse of Community: An Interpretation of American Studies. Princeton: University Press, 1960.

Tuchman, Barbara. The Proud Tower, A Portrait of the World Before the War 1890-1914. Toronto: Bantam, 1967.

Viditch, A.J. and Bensman, J. The Small Town in Mass Society. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1958.

Warner, W. Lloyd, Yankee City. New Haven: Yale, 1963.

Warner, W. Lloyd and Lunt, Paul S. The Status System of a Modern Community. New Haven, Yale, 1942.

Weber, Max. The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism: The Relationships between Religion and the Economic and Social Life in Modern Culture., trans. by Talcott Parsons, foreword by R.H. Tawney. Lyceum Edition. New York: Charles Scribner's Son's, 1958.

Williams, Raymond. The City and the Country. London: Chatts & Windus, 1973.

Pike, Robert M. and Zwireck, Elia, ed., Culture and Society 1750-1950. Intro'n by Pike. London: Chatts & Windus, 1958.

Wilson, Alexander. The Chartist Movement in England. Manchester: The University Press, 1970.

Miscellaneous Material from Archives

Archives: McCord Museum, McGill University

Lovell's Directory, Montreal, 1890-1925.

Archives: Montreal West Historical Society

"Footpath Only Means of Travel Here in Early 1700's." Westward News. (Montreal). 4 April 1962.

Informer (Montreal West). March 1974. December 1974. February 1975.

Kirkpatrick, Carmen Thouret. "Memories of Long Ago: Montreal Junction Montreal West 1893-1900," 19 October 1935 (Mimeographed).

"Montreal West Yesterday and Today." Montreal Daily Herald, 1932.

Newsletter. St. Philips Church. Young Men's Association. July 1911.

One Generation Unto Another. Montreal West United Church.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting. Montreal West Presbyterian Church, 1917 and 1921.

Percival, W.J. Diary.

Letter, Archives of Ontario, Ministry of Culture and Recreation. Toronto.

Archives: Town of Montreal West

Building by-law No. 382, Additional Requirements and Conditions applying to the Town of Montreal West, Supplementing the Building Code of the Province of Quebec.

Building Commissioner's Report, 1931, Town of Montreal West.

Electoral List, 1909.

Minutes of the Annual General Meeting. Municipal Council of Montreal West. 1930. Volume: January 1930 - October 1934.

Montreal Gazette, 27, May, 1972. Building Report, 1931, Commissioner Gladwish No Relaxation in Building By-Laws. Clippings File.

Montreal West Monthly. March 1911. July 1911. September 1911. November 1911.

Suburban, May 1969. "Montreal West Looks Ahead." Clippings File.

Archives: Y.M.C.A.

Cross, Harold C. One Hundred Years of Service with Youth, the Story of the Y.M.C.A. 1851-1951.

Archives: Central Y.M.C.A. Montreal.

"Crying Out for the Y.M.C.A." Montreal Herald. 21 January 1930.

Archives: Northwestern Y.M.C.A. Montreal.

Archives: Canadian Pacific Railway

File Collection.

Miscellaneous Sources Excluding

'In Person' Interviews

Carmen Thouret Kirkpatrick. "Montreal Junction, Now Montreal West, 1893-1900." Typed List of Recollections dated 19 October, 1974.

An Act to Incorporate the Town of Montreal West and Amendments of Chapter 97 Article 5299.

Telephone Interview. Harold McLaughlin. Former Secretary-Treasurer of the Town of Montreal West. February 15, 1981.

Telephone Interview. Rev. John Simms. Former Chairman, Protestant School Board of Greater Montreal, Montreal, April 6, 1981.

Census Data

Census of Canada, 1891. Education, Government of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

Census for the Montreal Area, Series B, 1951, 1961, 1971, Montreal, Quebec (C.T.C.B.) Ethnicity, Religion, Education, Earnings, Government of Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics.