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Résumé de l'article

L'annexion des municipalités adjacentes constitue une stratégie de croissance décisive à la fois pour Montréal et Toronto. L'histoire du développement d'une importante banlieue industrielle telle Maisonneuve, avant son annexion à Montréal en 1918, présente un intérêt majeur. Par contre, les banlieues dépourvues d'une base industrielle n'ont guère suscité de recherches. Cet article traite du cas d'une municipalité faiblement peuplée et montre que les décisions prises par les dirigeants de ce faubourg à vocation presque exclusivement résidentielle continuent d'en façonner le développement longtemps après l'annexion.

Les fondateurs de la ville de Notre-Dame de Grâce, annexée en 1910, projetaient d'en faire un havre résidentiel destiné à la classe moyenne. La population du quartier Notre-Dame de Grâce connaît une croissance rapide, passant de 4 000 en 1910 à 46 850 en 1931. Durant les années vingt, les cols blancs anglophones à revenu moyen en font leur lieu de résidence favori. On y perçoit un clivage basé sur la solidité financière; ainsi ceux qui perdent leur emploi déménagent vers des quartiers plus modestes, quittant un secteur qui compte moins d'indigents que partout ailleurs à Montréal. Le succès de N.D.G. repose en partie sur son emplacement favorable. Elle est située principalement sur une large étendue du versant ouest du Mont-Royal, surplombant la zone industrielle enfumée située le long du canal Lachine, séparée de ce dernier par un escarpement qui s'étend sur une bonne distance. De plus, Westmount, riche cité résidentielle autonome, protège N.D.G. du tohu-bohu de la basse-ville. Enfin de compte, avant l'annexion, les dirigeants de N.D.G. avaient déjà déterminé le moment où s'amorcerait le démarrage de la croissance, l'utilisation du sol, le niveau économique des nouveaux habitants et l'axe autour duquel les constructeurs pourraient concentrer les meilleures habitations.

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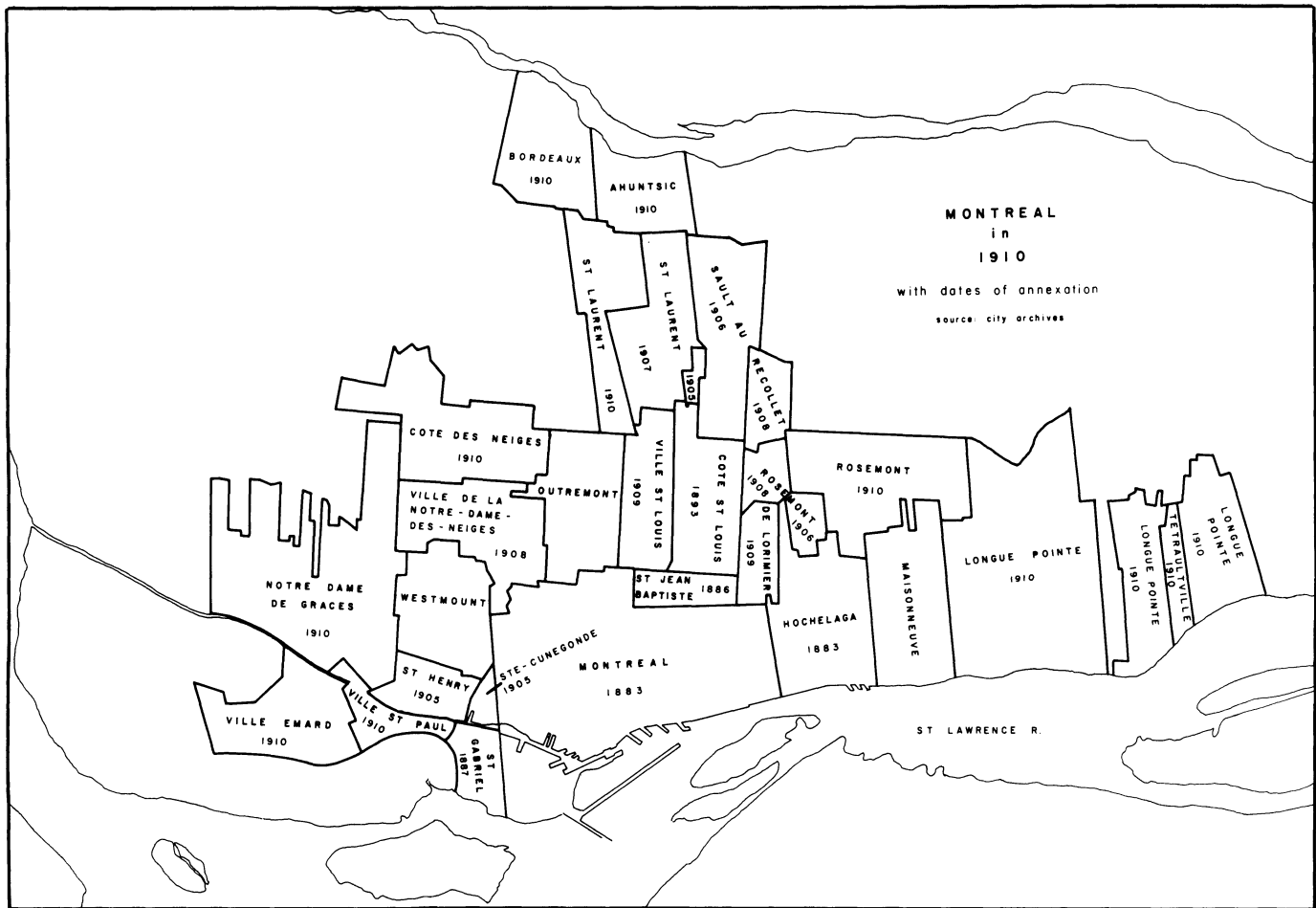
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Annexation of adjacent municipalities was a growth strategy crucial to both Montreal and Toronto. The importance of the pre-annexation history of a suburb such as Maisonneuve, a major industrial city when Montreal absorbed it in 1918, is obvious. Little, however, has been written on suburbs lacking an industrial base. This paper demonstrates that the government of a sparsely populated, almost entirely residential suburb could take decisions which continued to shape development long after annexation.

Annexed in 1910, the Town of Notre Dame de Grâces had been intended by its founders to become a residential haven for the middle class. The population of Notre Dame de Grâces Ward grew quickly, from 4,000 in 1910 to 46,850 in 1931. By the 1920s, it was recognized as the preferred residential location for middle-income, white-collar anglophones. It welcomed only the financially reliable: those who lost their jobs typically moved to cheaper quarters elsewhere, leaving the area with fewer indigents than any other ward in Montreal. Popularly known as "N.D.G.," its success came in part from favourable location. It was situated mainly on the far reaches of the western slope of Mount Royal, "above the hill," elevated above the smoky industrial area along the Lachine Canal by the bluff which runs for miles. Moreover, the independent City of Westmount, equally residential but wealthier, sheltered N.D.G. from downtown bustle. Nonetheless, N.D.G.'s pre-annexation government determined when suburban growth might "take off," the land use, the economic level of new inhabitants, and about what axis builders would concentrate the best homes.



MAP I. Montreal in 1910 with dates of annexation.

SOURCE: City Archives.

Introduction

Annexation of adjacent municipalities was a growth strategy crucial to both Montreal and Toronto.¹ The importance of the pre-annexation history of a suburb such as Maisonneuve, a major industrial city when Montreal absorbed it in 1918,² is obvious. Little, however, has been written on suburbs lacking an industrial base. This paper demonstrates that the government of a sparsely populated, almost entirely residential suburb could take decisions which continued to shape development long after annexation.

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Shunning the Burden of Urbanization, 1876–1905

Much has been written about the passionate commitment to urban growth on the part of municipal councils in turn-of-the-century Canada.⁶ Councillors' chief motive was financial gain, direct or indirect. Yet the same desire could lead councils of rural municipalities voluntarily to relinquish hundreds of acres of their territory, in order to cast off urban

growth whose location made it more burden than benefit. The steady shrinkage of N.D.G.'s boundaries (see Map II), was due to the unwillingness of local farmers to subsidize the servicing of building-lots on the periphery of the sprawling village. They fostered a pattern, seen elsewhere on the Island of Montreal, of developing portions' splitting away from farming areas unlikely to be subdivided. When the Parish of Notre Dame de Grâces achieved village status in 1874, its 6,200 acres included the future municipalities of Westmount, Montreal West, St. Pierre aux Liens, Côte St. Luc and the Town of N.D.G.⁷ In the mid-1870s, what is now Westmount experienced a real estate boom and petitioned for new street-planning powers. In 1876, the Legislature separated it from the rest of the municipality (re-named the Village of Notre Dame de Grâces-Ouest).⁸ In 1893, a working-class settlement on the western edge broke away to form the Village of St. Pierre aux Liens.⁹ The suburb near the C.P.R.'s Montreal Junction commuter station, having failed to obtain funds from N.D.G.-Ouest Council for a sewerage system, seceded in 1897 under the name of Montreal West.¹⁰ By 1903, N.D.G.-Ouest was itself courting water and tramway companies. Urbanization loomed: farmers in the strictly rural northern half of the Village were determined not to support far-off development, and formed the Village of Côte St. Luc in 1903.¹¹ Against none of these departures did the Village Council of N.D.G.-Ouest lodge a protest. These territorial losses, it seems, were regarded as sensible adjustments. They constituted a practical antidote to the discouragement of agriculture by higher evaluations and mill-rates.

The Village fathers declined to spend money on servicing one fringe community which attempted no secession. Despite its nick-name, "Turcot Village" was not autonomous, but rather the most densely populated part of N.D.G.-Ouest. Located below the bluff, on the western boundary of St. Henri, it shared that industrial town's working-class make-up. In 1888, most of its 110 household heads petitioned for the extension of the Ste-Cunégonde water-works system, already supplying St. Henri. Council negotiated a contract which assured that the taxpayers above the hill would contribute nothing. If annual revenue raised from the locals did not equal ten per cent of the cost, a special water-tax — levied on Turcot Village residents only — would make up the difference.¹² The new water supply did not solve the district's public health problems. By 1903, its sewers (mere open ditches) had become clogged and denounced as a nuisance by a Provincial Board of Health inspector.¹³ But private companies did not operate sewerage systems, and Council would not.

Village Council's indifference to urbanization was challenged by the arrival in 1895 of electric tramway service near the long established centre of the Village; the main bulk of N.D.G.-Ouest above the hill, often called "Côteau St. Pierre," might now be developed and the farm-owners made rich. The Mountain Belt Line of the Montreal Park and














Island Railway Company (MP&I), however, served only the eastern edge of Côteau St. Pierre: it provided, along Sherbrooke Street, a short westward extension of Montreal Street Railway Company (MSR) downtown service, whose western terminus (circled on Map II) was located at the corner of Sherbrooke and Victoria Avenue in Westmount.¹⁴ In 1895, only the Upper Lachine Road traversed Côteau St. Pierre. For years, Council had expected it to become the axis of future suburban development.¹⁵ Now, it saw a better way: Sherbrooke, complete with tramway, should be extended from Décarie Avenue to the western border of the Village. The tramway extension of 1895 made the idea obvious, and, unlike the Upper Lachine Road (located along the bluff), vast acreage of prime elevated land stretched south as well as north of Sherbrooke. Hence Council's decision, in September 1895, finally to honour a clause in its charter of 1876 enjoining it to prepare a plan of future arterial roads "as soon as possible."¹⁶ Not a developer, not an engineer, but a meeting of Council and farm-owners settled on the location of the new arteries. A civil engineer accordingly prepared the plan, which was homologated in the Superior Court of Montreal in 1896.¹⁷ The plan included lengthy westward extensions of four east-west arteries on Côteau St. Pierre: not only Sherbrooke Street, but also Côte St. Antoine Road, and N.D.G. and Monkland Avenues.¹⁸ When completed, these thoroughfares would open over a thousand acres to developers (see Map II).

The services which must accompany high-class residential development were of two sorts: those which private companies would undertake, with customers charged directly, and those which the municipality must finance. Between 1895 and 1905, Village Council strove mightily to attract the former, while resisting the burden of large bond issues for the latter. As certain user-pay services required, as co-requisites, certain municipal ones, this approach had to fail. The effort to obtain a westward extension of Sherbrooke Street tramway service is a case in point. In 1901, the MSR bought the MP&I, the only firm extending lines to western suburbs.¹⁹ Council immediately began petitioning MSR officials to extend a line across N.D.G.-Ouest.²⁰ The Company required that any street along which it laid tracks be a well-graded thoroughfare, at least eighty feet wide.²¹ As late as 1904, however, Council's pay-as-you-go doctrine had allowed only \$2,472 to be spent on the nearly four kilometres of the Sherbrooke extension; this paltry sum financed a preliminary grading of a road-bed only forty feet wide.²² Council did not dare to make Sherbrooke into a toll road, as the tolls levied by the Montreal Turnpike Trust on its three arteries in the Village (indicated on Map II) had proved intensely unpopular.²³ In short, a crucial user-pay service required a co-requisite which Council could afford only by borrowing on a major scale.

Far more public utilities than merely public transit were needed to promote intensive development. After all, Sherbrooke Street from the Westmount border to Plateau Avenue,



TOWN OF NOTRE DAME DE GRÂCES
(formerly Village of Notre Dame de Grâces - Ouest)

- | | | |
|----------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|---------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|  old village centre |  |  NDG parish church |
|  wooden houses permitted (1909) |  town boundaries |  all-year roads (1906) |
|  restricted to semi- & fully detached houses (1909) |  ward boundaries |  projected roads (1908) |
| |  cadastral boundaries |  railways & street railways |
| |  156 cadastral lot numbers |  bluff (present location) |

MAP II. Town of Notre Dame de Grâces.

had borne street-cars since 1895, yet a decade later three of the cadastral lots here remained unsubdivided.²⁴ Water, drainage, sewerage, electricity and streets had to be provided if the Village were to compete with the jurisdictions around Montreal trying to lure middle-class home-buyers. Council in 1898 began its quest for a privately-operated water-works system. Finally, in mid-1905, it reached an agreement with la Compagnie Crédit municipal canadien. The Company would pump water from Lac St. Louis eastward through St. Pierre and Montreal West, and distribute it in the Village at specified rates. The initial network, running 30,000 feet along the more populated roads, was completed by October, 1906.²⁵

Municipal engineers, concerned with minimizing the cost of servicing building-lots, criticized municipalities for having, in the boom years before 1913, installed miles of water-pipe and sewers in advance of building, the result being wastefully scattered development.²⁶ John C. Weaver, sceptical of urban "reform," has noted that developers often promoted municipalization of utilities in order to extend services to speculative holdings more readily than would a prudent company.²⁷ The terms of the water-works franchise granted by N.D.G.-Ouest suggests that well-managed utilities, to protect themselves, could incidentally discourage the scattered development of which Canada's early town planners complained. The Company, at Council request, would lay extensions to the core system, but only if the Village guaranteed a net return of seven per cent of the cost of every extension. This provision led the Village — and its successor Town — to demand from both home-owners and developers requesting extensions, a written guarantee that they would pay the amount by which their water-rates fell short of the required net return.²⁸ Both Company and municipality thus avoided subsidizing water-connections to scattered developments. Under the delusion that it could make immediate profits by selling water to neighbouring towns, Council would in 1909 buy the water-works for \$292,000; thereafter it did not long resist developers' pressure to remove the 7 per cent guarantee requirement.²⁹ The case confirms the recent re-interpretation of the efficiencies of municipal ownership.

Once its water-works were installed by private enterprise, the Village itself was forced to quickly finance a drainage and sewerage system. The promise of a modern water-supply in 1905-06 stimulated subdivision in the hope of a construction boom.³⁰ But already, in 1904, the Provincial Board of Health had warned that the practice of funnelling sewage to private cess-pools could not continue long. At the Hospital for Incurables, which had capacity for 400 patients, the surrounding soil could no longer absorb liquid waste, which was running downhill along the ditches of Décarie Avenue. As for private homes, many were built on the slope, and the layer of permeable soil was thin: the use of cess-pools could not safely go on.³¹ If such were true before the water-works had been completed, it would be truer afterwards, as more waste water was expended per household,

and as the number of homes rapidly increased. Private companies did not operate drainage or sewerage systems, yet one could hardly inflict on an area intended for dignified residences, the open sewers with which the workers of Turcot Village had to be contented. The village fathers faced another need to borrow heavily.

Town Status and Massive Debt, 1906–1910

Why, beginning in 1905, did private utilities finally deign to provide service to the Village, and developers start buying farms there? They now believed that the expanse above the hill would share the rapid growth of its eastern neighbour, Westmount, with which it shared the advantage of elevation high above the factories along the Lachine Canal. Between 1891 and 1906, Westmount's population had risen from 3,076 to 10,600. Its property values had recently been increasing even faster, up 14 per cent between 1905 and 1906.³² Appealing to the many lot-buyers priced out of Westmount, developers first subdivided portions of several farms close to its western border. Most influential among the newcomers in shaping local development policy were the law firm of Dandurand, Brodeur et Boyer, whose senior partner was the influential Liberal, Senator Raoul Dandurand; and Georges Marcil, who worked in close collaboration with Dandurand. Middle-class residential development in N.D.G. may be dated from the latter's subdivision in 1905 of Cadastral Lot 179. In 1906, Marcil bought prime sections of Lots 177 and 176; by 1909, he ranked as the Town's premier subdivider, owning almost 12 per cent (by value) of all taxable land.³³ The early developers first beckoned to small-time speculators in vacant lots. Suggestively dubbing his first subdivision "Westmount Plateau," Marcil urged lot-buyers who had missed the Westmount boom not to repeat their mistake.³⁴

If N.D.G. lots were indeed to "positively earn money for you while you sleep,"³⁵ the Village must quickly borrow large sums to install non-user-pay services. Could the new developers, let alone the cautious farm-families, be persuaded to support a large bonded debt? Yes, if they expected their responsibility to last only a few years, then to be shouldered by the citizens of Montreal. The Annexation Committee of Montreal City Council had long striven to enlarge the City; its Chairman, Arsène Lavallée, dreamed of Montreal overtaking New York City.³⁶ Far from unwilling victims of Montreal's imperial ambition, most annexed jurisdictions welcomed absorption. A standard technique of adjacent villages was to obtain town charters from the Legislature, borrow heavily to begin the installation of utilities, and then graciously consent to annexation on condition that all of Montreal's tax-payers assume the debts. Alderman Lavallée had seen this game played often enough to have learned "the evil of annexing municipalities that have grown large and which have accumulated large debts."³⁷ However, the Legislature remained reluctant to compel the annexation of

unwilling suburbs. Under Montreal's Charter of 1899, it might annex if, after second reading, its annexation by-law were approved by the council of the suburb in question, and in a referendum of the suburb's elector-proprietors, though the referendum was scheduled by Montreal and not the suburb.³⁸ In 1907 the Legislature strengthened Montreal's hand, but only slightly. If the suburban council rejected the proffered terms, or neglected to act on the matter within a month following second reading in City Council, Montreal might nevertheless proceed with the referendum, upon petition of at least one-fifth of the suburb's elector-proprietors.³⁹ Victory in such a referendum, fought against the local council, was unlikely; suburban aldermen must still be won over. Annexation by Montreal continued to be accomplished through negotiation, not imposition. Whatever the Annexation Committee thought, suburbs could still obtain town charters and borrow heavily before agreeing to annexation.

In 1905, the farm-owners of N.D.G.-Ouest who dominated Council, determined to establish a high-class suburb by taking just such a course. The principle of obtaining town status, but not the draft town charter, was approved by a citizens' meeting.⁴⁰ The Legislature passed the bill with all the requested terms left intact, and the Town of Notre Dame de Grâce came into existence on March 9, 1906.⁴¹ A Quebec village promoted to town status in these years became subject to the Cities and Town Act of 1903.⁴² The departures in N.D.G.'s charter from that Act made the farm-owners' strategy plain. They intended to profit from rapid urbanization, but pay little for the necessary infrastructure. First of all, they assured their dominance in policy-making by setting the property-qualification for mayor and aldermen at \$5,000; the Cities and Towns Act set only \$600. (A public outcry eventually resulted in Council's obtaining an amendment, passed soon after the 1908 civic election, which lowered the figure to \$1,000. Until the 1910 election, only about 65 individuals might run for Town Council.⁴³) Secondly, the limit on the tax-rate levied against unsubdivided farm-land was reduced for N.D.G. by two-thirds, from $\frac{3}{4}$ of one per cent to $\frac{1}{4}$ of one per cent of valuation. Thirdly, whereas the general Act insisted that all borrowing by-laws be approved by referendum, the Charter permitted Council, on its own, to borrow up to a total equalling ten per cent of the assessed value of taxable realty. Fourthly, to assure development attractive to middle-class residents, Council received the additional power to set building-lines and fix the location of buildings.⁴⁴ Lastly, the farm-owners' expectation that Montreal would annex the quickly growing suburb, and their determination to keep their tax-break in such event, are obvious in Article 6 of the Charter:

In the event of the annexation of the present municipality to the city of Montreal, all land under cultivation . . . or serving as pasturage . . . shall not be taxed by the said City of Montreal . . . for any amount exceeding one quarter per cent of their said valuation. . . .

The original draft of the Charter, indeed, had permitted the City, on its own, to annex the new Town. Council decided to delete that clause, probably to preclude annexation without its consent: Montreal would be obliged to offer good terms.⁴⁵

The terms were everything. Recent experience had shown how variably successful suburban negotiators could be: in 1905, Montreal had annexed Ste-Cunégonde, and had assumed its debt of \$800,000; but it had also annexed St. Henri, whose debt of \$1,889,000 would be paid (a-typically) by a special tax imposed solely upon the late town's proprietors.⁴⁶ Developers like Marcil, Dandurand, Brodeur et Boyer, and the Montreal Investment and Freehold Company joined farm-owners to sign a petition to Town Council, outlining the proper annexation strategy:

[The] simplest readiest and most economical way to secure all these [servicing] requirements for the Town would be by annexation either to Westmount or Montreal if such could be secured on advantageous terms. Therefore, your petitioners beg to request that Your Honourable Council open immediate negotiations with these Corporations with a view to ascertaining if the foregoing improvements could be immediately secured through annexation with either of them, and which of these two Corporations offers the most [*sic*] favourable terms.⁴⁷

In short, Montreal and Westmount should bid against each other for the Town. Council did make repeated efforts to secure annexation of N.D.G., or at least of its better located eastern section, to one or other of these suitors. It also pursued quick installation of utilities, the publicly owned of which were financed by bond issues, totalling \$1,145,000 by 1910.⁴⁸ The latter effort shall be assessed along with Council's ultimate, and botched, attempt to have others foot the bill.

Historians have examined the struggles of major cities such as Toronto and Winnipeg over the terms of utilities franchises.⁴⁹ When franchises gave rights across whole regions, however, a legislature might amend it so as unexpectedly to assist a small municipality, without its citizens' having to develop an anti-utility "reform" movement. The Parliament of Canada so blessed N.D.G. when, in 1906, it removed from the charter of the MP&I the Company's privilege of constructing lines along streets of Montreal-area suburbs without their permission: henceforth, the Company must obtain prior consent, in by-law form.⁵⁰ In sharp contrast to the street-railway companies in turn-of-the-century Winnipeg and Toronto, the MP&I, both before and after the MSR takeover, did extend lines before population densities justified doing so. It agreed in 1907 to extend the Sherbrooke Street line to the western edge of N.D.G. Council obtained concessions attractive to prospective residents: year-round double-tracked service, cars every ten minutes during rush hours, and the privilege of transferring to the

parent company's downtown line at Victoria Avenue without having to pay a second five-cent fare. The line was opened in August of 1908; an event trumpeted by local realtors. In return, the Town fulfilled a promise to widen Sherbrooke to eighty feet, raise the poorly drained route, and macadamize it: it had to borrow \$62,000 for the job.⁵¹ In that age, it was fashionable to build fine residences about public squares and parks: Council reinforced Sherbrooke's role as axis of high-class development in buying, for \$107,820, two large parks along it.⁵²

The City of Montreal, into the 1970s, claimed that it could not afford to treat its sewage, which it dumped raw into the St. Lawrence River. One might tentatively suggest a cause: some suburbs, when annexed, had already installed one, combined, drainage and sewerage system. A single system was, of course, cheaper, but it precluded installation of a sewage-treatment plant: in a heavy rain, the capacity of the plant would be overwhelmed as surface-water surged into it from the combined system. The Provincial Board of Health sternly pointed this out to N.D.G. when it applied in early 1907 for permission to build a combined system which, necessarily lacking a treatment plant, would dump raw sewage into the Petite Rivière St. Pierre. But the Town was to borrow \$381,000 to build the combined system. It could not presently afford two separate ones, and it could not wait, for some residential cess-pools threatened to overflow. Perhaps because other municipalities already polluted the river in the same way, the Board reluctantly acquiesced.⁵³ One wonders how many environmentally unsound sewerage systems Montreal inherited by annexing financially pressed suburbs.

Building for the Middle Class

In the older cities of North America, suburbanization of the middle class left many working class families trapped downtown in deteriorating housing. More venturesome workers, however, might catapult their families over the outermost ring of suburban development, to live in semi-rural "shack-towns." Here, in small cabins, depending on wells for water, their income supplemented by vegetable gardens, workers' families breathed fresh air. S.D. Clark has described this phenomenon in the Toronto area.⁵⁴ In the Montreal region, at the turn of the century, such a settlement called "Kensington," arose on Cadastral Lots 162 and 163, in the sparsely settled western part of N.D.G. North and south of Sherbrooke, chiefly on a cross-street incongruously named Madison Avenue, stood cheap, one-storey wooden houses, twenty-two of them evaluated in 1909 at \$400 or less.⁵⁵ The fate of Kensington suggests what may have happened to such settlements when middle-class suburban expansion caught up with them.

On leaving office in early 1910, the Town's first Mayor, Thomas A. Trenholme, explained that Council's goal since 1906 had been to make of N.D.G. "a high-class residential

suburb."⁵⁶ He exaggerated: only part of the Town — the elevated area tributary to Sherbrooke and to the other, projected, east-west arteries on Côteau St. Pierre — was so destined. Upon this lesser but still substantial district, the Town's building by-laws successively imposed ever stricter standards, because it lay in the logical path of a westward overflow from Westmount's development. Before street-cars started running across town in mid-1908, Council was concerned chiefly with building standards in the eastern section above the hill. Working closely with developers like Marcil, the new Town Council in early 1906 passed, as its first by-law, a building code. It compelled house-builders to submit their plans for municipal approval. It established the style of house prevalent to this day: every house must be at least two storeys high, of brick or stone, or veneered in same. The outside staircase to upper storeys, so familiar in Montreal working-class districts, was banned. In the prime area adjacent to Westmount (within Wards 2 and 4), new wooden buildings were prohibited. Council thus radically increased the income level that new residents must enjoy: the typical worth of a semi-detached brick cottage was \$2,500, vastly more than the \$400 value of the wooden cabins of the semi-rural poor.⁵⁷

But what should be done with the existing working-class neighbourhoods? The Town's poorest, and conveniently isolated, area, Ward 1 (Turcot Village), was soon exempted from all restrictions as to building materials; by 1909, an indifferent Council excluded it altogether from the reach of the building by-law: building-permits would be granted on the recommendation of its alderman. On certain streets in distant Ward 3, Council continued to permit wooden houses.⁵⁸ However, in 1909, street-cars had begun to carry prospective lot-buyers along Sherbrooke into the western section of Côteau St. Pierre, which was quickly being subdivided. Council and the chief developer there, Georges Marcil, agreed that the area along Sherbrooke west of Ward 4, must also be protected from the erection of more cheap workers' cabins of the sort that blighted Kensington. The Town's second building by-law, adopted in July of 1909, extended the prohibition of wooden houses into Wards 5, 6 and 7, in the territory already crossed by Sherbrooke, and which would be traversed by the three arteries projected to the north of it. Moreover, a stretch on both sides of Sherbrooke from one end of town to the other, was reserved for two-storey detached or semi-detached homes, whose set-back lines and side-yard widths were fixed.⁵⁹ The Town's little police force cracked down on those building without a permit, and Council routinely denied permission to build more cabins in the Kensington area.⁶⁰ No more poor families could settle within walking distance of the street-car line. Unfamiliarity with the term "zoning" did not prevent turn-of-the-century municipalities from effectively practising the sort of protection of good-quality residential areas which in the 1920s became the main function of zoning by-laws in Canadian cities.⁶¹

The Road to Annexation

By the autumn of 1909, Town Council faced two crises to both of which immediate annexation seemed the answer. Already \$745,000 in debt, the Town had in July authorized another \$350,000 bond issue to finance a major program of extensions to the sewer network. Between the 1905-06 fiscal year and that of 1908-09, total valuation of taxable property had risen from \$2,222,000 to \$4,019,278, and the mill-rate on subdivided property from 8 cents to 60 cents per \$100 valuation. As Council assessed unsubdivided farms to reflect only agricultural value, and as the Town Charter limited the tax-rate on farms to 25 cents per \$100, the vacant-lot owner bore a large proportion of the tax increases.⁶² The tax-burden was insufficient: tax-receipts for 1908-09 came to only \$19,372, and the Town was in deficit. Moreover, only \$515 had ever been paid into the sinking-fund, which under the law should, by November of 1909, have contained \$9,325.⁶³ The Town's usual agent, Hanson Brothers, declined to accept the new \$350,000 bond offering at par, even though it had bid above par for all previous issues. Though desperate for money, Council in September of 1909 refused to risk the damage that selling below par would inflict on N.D.G.'s credit-rating.⁶⁴

The second crisis which the Town faced by the autumn of 1909 was that few middle-class home-buyers had been lured by its new street-car line, its costly water-works and sewerage systems, and its modest form of snob zoning. Developers could not go on simply selling to small-time speculators in vacant lots⁶⁵: at N.D.G.'s tax-rate, the bubble would burst. True, the Town's population had increased from 2,400 in 1906 to 3,304, but hundreds of those new inhabitants were tenants in Turcot Village, many drawn by the Grand Trunk's new Turcot Yard, built in 1905-06.⁶⁶ In Marcil's "Westmount Plateau" development, subdivided since 1906, eleven houses stood in late 1909. A little to the west, "Melrose Lawn," also subdivided in 1906, could by late 1909 boast hundreds of lots and four houses. Apart from the farm-houses along the Upper Lachine Road, only six homes stood in all of the two westernmost wards at the end of 1909, midst over a thousand building-lots.⁶⁷ The dearth was not due to lack of overall demand: *The Financial Post* reported in early 1908 on the Montreal housing situation, and concluded, "The demand for self-contained houses exceeds the supply."⁶⁸ The chief obstacle remaining in late 1909 was the lack of streets and sidewalks. To be sure, the Town had by then improved Sherbrooke Street, but middle-class home-buyers wanted to live on quiet side-streets crossing Sherbrooke. In 1906, there had been only three such kept open year-round: Prud'homme Avenue in the east, Royal Avenue in the centre, and Madison Avenue in the west⁶⁹ (see Map II). Council determined that the Town itself should build the side-streets, complete with Westmount-standard concrete (rather than cedar) sidewalks. Developers happily ceded the necessary land, but in its four-year existence, having spent \$40,138 to improve Sherbrooke Street, the Town could afford only \$27, 473 for

all other street and sidewalk improvement in the five wards crossed by Sherbrooke.⁷⁰ Council, unable to unload its \$350,000 sewer bond issue, could hardly float a great new one for streets and sidewalks.

To solve both crises, Council in November of 1909 opened negotiations with Arsène Lavallée, Chairman of the City's Annexation Committee. Lavallée was shaping a campaign to absorb as many suburbs as possible. It would succeed brilliantly in June 1910 when, by provincial statute, the City annexed ten towns and villages, as well as part of the Parish of St. Laurent, nearly doubling its land area⁷¹ (see Map I). Like Jean Drapeau in later times, Lavallée followed a vision of a "greater Montreal" without worrying too much about the cost. He was, moreover, part of a political machine which, in the tradition of Raymond Préfontaine, liked to welcome new wards and consolidate support there by financing local improvements out of general revenues, not just from abutting proprietors. As the City Treasurer admitted, Montreal would spend far more in its new domain than it could collect there.⁷² The City was especially generous toward N.D.G. because to annex it would trap the greatest prize of all, the City of Westmount, many of whose citizens fearfully shared the expectation that geographical encirclement meant political absorption.⁷³ And so, negotiations between N.D.G. and the City at first went well. Assurances to firms like Wood, Gundy and Company of imminent agreement allowed the Town, in mid-December, to sell its \$350,000 bond issue at above par.⁷⁴ However, the City's draft annexation by-law, given second reading on December 23, omitted some of the benefits which the Town's solicitor had demanded. On January 4, 1910, Town Council tabled Montreal's terms. The Annexation Committee refused further concessions, whereupon Town Council, on January 10, passed an extraordinary motion which both accepted the City's draft by-law, and yet in the next breath denounced it as defective, incomplete, and not in the interest of the Town.⁷⁵

Why did N.D.G.'s Council officially accept terms it described so? The City's offer solved the Town's two crises. All of the Town's debt would be consolidated with the City's; Council thus honoured its entente with the securities firms. As for street and sidewalk construction, over the succeeding three years the City would spend within N.D.G. Ward \$1,000,000 on this sort of project. There was icing on the cake: Montreal would pay for the abolition of all toll-gates, purchase new parks in Wards 1 and 3, and build a public hall and three police- and fire-stations. To enhance future tax-revenues, the City happily agreed that the Town's building restrictions would continue to apply.⁷⁶ As well, the only other prospective bidder, Westmount, offered much less. Westmount Council certainly wished to avoid encirclement by Montreal: in early December, 1909, it proposed union with N.D.G. and Montreal West. A meeting of aldermen from Westmount and N.D.G. in early January revealed that Westmount, about to float a \$550,000 loan, would not even try to match Montreal's deal: Westmount's Mayor declared

huffily that his city did not bribe other municipalities.⁷⁷ Montreal's was the only offer going.

In addition, the City had cleverly mollified the Town's farm-families, by offering a ten-year guarantee that farmland would be assessed at no more than \$100 per arpent (in contrast with the Town's average of over \$1,000 per arpent). Until February of 1910, those families dominated Council. Mayor Trenholme himself owned Elmhurst Dairy, and two large pastures.⁷⁸ The Town's leading family had long been the Décarie clan, a number of whom owned large farms, and three of whom sat on the 1908-10 Council. Daniel Jérémie Décarie had been Mayor of the Village from 1877 until his death in 1904. Heirs to his farm included Alphonse, who also inherited his seat on Council, and Jérémie-Louis, who, as well, got papa's seat in the Legislature. In 1908, Jérémie-Louis Décarie entered the Gouin cabinet, becoming Provincial Secretary from 1909 to 1919.⁷⁹ We have seen that the "Farmers' Council" had until now worked closely with subdividers to promote quick development. Its powerful ally at Quebec City, J.-L. Décarie, having himself drafted the Town Charter of 1906, helped assure its passage, and Council turned to him to assure Cabinet approval of bond by-laws.⁸⁰

Could the farmer-developer alliance hold, when serious objections to Montreal's terms came only from developers? Council certainly did press their objections. The City had not guaranteed installation of many sorts of services: Council demanded that the City provide drainage, gas- and water-connections, as well as lighting, to any street or portion of it, at the first written request of a homeowner thereon. Yet more importantly, Montreal had not guaranteed that N.D.G. property-owners might not be made exclusively responsible for repaying the vast amount Montreal had promised to spend in their ward. The business-dominated urban reform movement in Montreal had often demanded an end to the practice of funding local improvements by adding to the general City debt. Town officials well knew that in September of 1909, after the Cannon report exposed chronic corruption at City Hall, Montrealers had voted for a Board of Control to impose sound fiscal management. Accordingly, Council insisted that all sums spent within N.D.G. Ward on public works, with the exception of sewers, come out of the general revenues of Montreal.⁸¹ These demands remained bravado while Council's acceptance of the annexation by-law stayed in force. The "Farmers' Council" refused to break the entente with the bondholders, or risk losing major benefits, by repealing their acceptance of the City's terms.

For the February 1, 1910 municipal election, therefore, the developers fielded candidates determined to repeal acceptance of annexation, until Montreal bowed to the Town's demands. Heading that slate was Georges Marcil.⁸² He found lot- and home-owners ripe for revolt. Total assessed values had jumped again, from \$4,019,278 in 1908-09 to \$5,138,420 in 1909-10. Yielding to the Town Accountant's plea for a massive tax increase to cover past deficits and

service the bonded debt, Council raised the rate from 60 cents in 1908-09 to \$1.60 for 1909-10.⁸³ Yet the Town Charter provided that after annexation, the maximum rate for farms of only 25 cents would remain. Now, Montreal's offer would, by its \$100 per arpent ceiling on farm-assessment, slash farmers' already light contribution by 90 percent! Marcil declared that the farm-owners preferred annexation to the loss of political control to "progressive house and lot owners," inevitable now that the property-qualification for Council had been reduced from \$5,000 to \$1,000. The farmers, he thundered, had sold N.D.G. to Montreal in exchange for a 90 percent reduction in their own taxes.⁸⁴ Marcil's indictment unfairly ignored the old Council's need to grapple with financial crisis. Nonetheless, after the February 1 election, the "anti-annexationists" held five of the seven seats on Council; only ex-Mayor Trenholme and Alphonse Décarie remained to support annexation. On February 7, the new Council rescinded the old one's acceptance of the City's annexation terms, and elected Georges Marcil as Mayor.⁸⁵

The farmer-elite determined to thwart the majority will by smearing the legitimacy of the new Council. Its instrument was the prestigious law firm of J.-L. Décarie, which argued that Council had met illegally soon after the election; Council met again on February 16, choosing Marcil as Mayor. The firm never challenged the second vote, yet Alderman Décarie and Trenholme broadcast the canard, which reached Quebec City, that N.D.G. had no legally elected Mayor. Having elected Marcil as Mayor, Council lost its quorum, because the two pro-annexation aldermen boycotted Council meetings, while the Décarie firm challenged the election of two anti-annexation aldermen. After one of these challenges fell flat, Council obtained a quorum and on March 23, at last, it again functioned. The February 7 meeting having been nullified, Council voted a second time to rescind the Town's acceptance of Montreal's terms.⁸⁶ The pro-annexationists responded by circulating a petition favouring annexation, but on the terms demanded by the former Council, not the less generous ones offered by Montreal. The pro-annexationists cynically expected the Legislature not to see the distinction. In April, Council hurriedly circulated an anti-annexation petition, which exposed the fallacy. Accordingly, some of the 290 elector-proprietors who'd signed the earlier petition appeared among the 547 signing the later one.⁸⁷

Meanwhile, as Montreal's new "reform" administration, elected in February of 1910, calculated the future cost of concessions made to the new wards, its resistance to better terms stiffened. In March, City Attorney Ethier, backed by City Treasurer Robb, denounced "the evil of the annexation epidemic."⁸⁸ Town Council, its legitimacy weakened by questions from both city newspapers and local bank managers, vainly demanded that Montreal submit the annexation terms to N.D.G.'s elector-proprietors, in accordance with the City Charter. The City determined instead to annex the Town by provincial legislation which, of course, would over-

ride that requirement. After considerable lobbying, the City had its bill introduced in the Legislative Assembly on April 12, 1910.⁸⁹

On May 6, 1910, the Private Bills Committee of the Legislative Assembly, despite testimony from Marciel and protest from Westmount City Council, approved the City of Montreal's bill, which, *inter alia*, would annex N.D.G. on the City's terms.⁹⁰ Leading the supporters of the measure in the Committee was none other than the Provincial Secretary, J.-L. Décarie. As Marciel observed, Décarie might better have withdrawn since, as owner of N.D.G. farm-land, he stood to benefit personally from the farm-assessment clause.⁹¹ The Legislative Assembly itself ignored an appeal from Council on behalf of an "immense" majority of the Town's elector-proprietors,⁹² and an amendment to provide a binding referendum for the Town received only thirteen votes, including that of the conscientious Henri Bourassa. The lower house gave final approval on May 26.⁹³

It was now the turn of the appointed upper chamber, the Legislative Council, designed historically as a bastion of property rights. Here, the influence of Provincial Secretary Décarie may have been weaker, but that of N.D.G.'s bondholders was not. Their spokesman, W.J. White, K.C., explained to that chamber's Private Bills Committee that N.D.G. had recently sold its large bond issue above par only on the assurance of imminent annexation. He then summarized the Town's financial position. In early April, Town Council had reduced the 1909-10 tax-rate from \$1.60 to \$1.00 per \$100 valuation.⁹⁴ Its revenue would thus shrink to \$50,000, not enough to meet interest and sinking-fund charges of \$53,000, let alone current expenses. Only annexation could end the Town's financial crisis.⁹⁵ Attacks on Marciel's claim to the Mayoralty undermined his presentation, and the anti-annexation petition was neutralized by the "pro-annexation" one. On June 1, the Committee rejected a referendum for N.D.G., by a vote of fourteen against eight.⁹⁶ "The decision," wrote *The Gazette's* reporter, "was largely due to the financial condition of the town. . . ."⁹⁷ The Bill received royal sanction on June 4, 1910,⁹⁸ and the Town of Notre Dame de Grâce ceased to be.

Conclusion

The case of Notre Dame de Grâce suggests that to explain the quality of many big-city residential areas, one must examine the history of suburban governments which once ruled there. Until 1905, only one economic elite lived in N.D.G., the farm-families. It was in their interest to avoid subsidizing urban growth until a duplication of Westmount's high-class development seemed assured. The local landowners determined, as well, the location of the arteries along which it would come; homologation by Council imposed their decision on the future. From 1906 to early 1910, newly-arrived developers backed a "Farmers' Council" supportive

of a crash program of installing services, and of a building by-law whose standards the working class could not afford. Council obtained regular tramway service along Sherbrooke, making it the backbone of residential development and, eventually, the chief commercial street of N.D.G. Ward. Council did benefit from external factors: the rapid growth of white-collar employment in Montreal, the fact that the contrast between Westmount and St. Henri had established the bluff as a class boundary, and Parliament's timely amendment to the MP&I charter. Nonetheless, the suburban government had determined when urbanization would begin, near what arteries it would take place, and at what income level new residents would be.

Abetted by an expansive street-railway monopoly, the City of Montreal, especially before 1910, encouraged extension of the urban periphery, by its willingness to annex sparsely settled, debt-ridden suburbs, a policy which, its own officials admitted, made economic sense only for the suburbs. Except for havens of the wealthy, the latter sensibly took advantage of the chance to shift as much as possible of the burden of past and future servicing onto the City. N.D.G., though, could have bargained better. Montreal did shoulder its huge debt. As developers had feared, however, the City's new Board of Control imposed a frontage-tax system⁹⁹: only the locals would pay for the promised \$1,000,000 worth of streets and sidewalks. Montreal could impose terms allowing such unpleasantness only because the Town's elites were split. Greedy for tax-relief, the old farmer-elite undermined the new Council's efforts to retain independence until Montreal met the developers' terms. Likewise greedy for tax-relief, the developers' Council slashed a tax-rate proven necessary to service the debt, and thus destroyed its own bargaining position, by convincing the Legislature that to permit the Town continued independence was financially irresponsible. In these years, one of the main duties of the governments of most residential suburbs of Montreal, proved to be the protection of their people, and the encouragement of future growth, by negotiating the best possible terms of annexation. Narrow self-interest prevented the leaders of Notre Dame de Grâce from so doing.

NOTES

Unless indicated otherwise, all municipal documents are located in the Archives of the City of Montreal, and all statutes are those of the Province of Quebec.

The following abbreviations are used:

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|---------|-------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| C, E-R | Village de Notre Dame de Grâce-Ouest. <i>Correspondence, Etats-Rapports.</i> |
| CL | Village de Notre Dame de Grâce-Ouest. <i>Copie de Lettres 1905-10.</i> |
| D | Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce. <i>Dossiers, 1908-1910.</i> |
| LR | Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce. <i>Livre des Règlements du Conseil, 1906-1910.</i> |
| NDGO-PV | Village de Notre Dame de Grâce-Ouest. <i>Livre des délibérations du Conseil Municipal, 1877-1906.</i> |

- NDG-PV Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce. *Livre des Minutes des Délibérations du Conseil municipal*, 1906-1910.
- RE Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce. *Rôle d'Évaluation 1909* (7 vols.).
- For Montreal, see Map I and further in text. The significance of annexation for Toronto is obvious from the map showing suburbs annexed from 1834 to 1914 in Michael J. Doucet, "Politics, Space and Trolleys: Mass Transit in Early Twentieth-Century Toronto," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the City-Building Process*, ed. G.A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 364.
 - Paul-André Linteau, *Maisonneuve, ou Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981).
 - RE, Vol. 7; *Census of Canada*, 1921, Vol. I, 36; Lloyd G. Reynolds, *The British Immigrant: His Social and Economic Adjustment in Canada* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1935), 128.
 - Reynolds, *The British Immigrant*, 128-129.
 - Claude LaRivière, *Crise économique et contrôle social: le cas de Montréal (1929-1937)* (Montréal: Editions Coopératives Albert St-Martin, 1977), 152.
 - Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975), esp. Chs. 4 and 7; John C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosters in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920," in *Cities in the West*, ed. A.R. McCormack and Ian MacPherson (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1975); Paul Voisey, "The Urbanization of the Canadian Prairies," *Histoire sociale/Social History VIII* (May 1975): 77-102.
 - Calculated from *Census of Canada*, 1901, Vol. I, 106. Censuses before 1901 did not give acreages for individual municipalities. An exact figure is precluded by the Village's acquisition in 1884 of an extra cadastral lot. The Village of Côte St. Luc (1903) included the area which in 1914 would become the Town of Hampstead.
 - Westmount High School, *Old Westmount . . .* (1967), 37; Assemblée Nationale du Québec, *Débats de l'Assemblée Législative*, 3e Législature, 1875-1878 (Québec: Journal des Débats, 1977), 59; 40 Vict., c. 40, assented to 28 December 1876.
 - 56 Vict., c. 61, assented to 27 February 1893.
 - NDGO-PV, 1 May 1893; 60 Vict., c. 47, assented to 7 January 1897.
 - 3 Ed. VII, c. 75, assented to 25 April 1903. In 1911, only 303 people occupied Côte St. Luc's 2,169 acres. *Census of Canada*, 1911, Vol. I, 104.
 - This is the figure for "Petite Village Turcot" in *Lovell's Montreal Directory* for 1890-91. A copy of the contract, dated 17 September 1888, is in C, E-R. The Ste-Cunégonde system was operated by the Montreal Water and Power Company.
 - Inspector J.A. Beaudry to the Provincial Board of Health, 13 May 1903. (C.c. in C, E-R).
 - R.M. Binns, *Montreal's Electric Streetcars: An Illustrated History of the Tramway Era, 1892 to 1959* (Montréal: Railfare Enterprises, 1973), 11.
 - In 1893, the Village had tried to secure a tramway line along the Upper Lachine Road. See Règlement No. 6, NDGO-PV, 11 February 1893.
 - NDGO-PV, 2 September 1895; 40 Vict., c. 40, Art. 6.
 - NDGO-PV, 2 September 1895; 4 November 1895; 20 April 1896; 4 May 1896; 1 June 1896. See also NDG-PV, 17 June 1907.
 - In 1896, N.D.G. Avenue was called Rue de l'Eglise or Church Street.
 - In 1893, the MSR, which controlled all downtown lines extending westward from the city core, had agreed to make connections with only those suburban lines operated by the MP&I. Binns, *Montreal's Electric Streetcars*, 12.
 - NDGO-PV, 7 October 1901; 11 February 1902; 12 September 1904.
 - W.G. Ross (Managing Director, MSR) to Mayor and Councillors, 21 June 1906; Dandurand, Brodeur et Boyer to Mayor and Councillors, 25 June 1906 (C, E-R).
 - NDGO-PV, 3 December 1900; 2 July 1901; 3 October 1904.
 - Petition to Mayor and Councillors, 15 March 1909 (D, Dossier 13).
 - They were Lots 179, 184 and 189. *Re* No. 179, see Mayor John L. Brodie to Lt.-Governor-in-Council, 9 September 1905 (NDGO-PV, Vol. II, enclosure); *re* No. 184, see RE, Vol. 2. As for No. 189, it should be noted that the will of owner Félix Décarie, written in 1899, forbade subdivision and land-sales until all his heirs reached the age of 21. The heirs successfully petitioned to have the provision nullified by provincial statute in 1906 (6 Ed. VII, c. 110).
 - NDGO-PV, 2 May 1898; 2 October 1899; 2 July 1900; 18 July 1900; 6 August 1900; NDGO-PV, 3 July 1905; 13 July 1905; 21 August 1905; Louis-H. Taché (Director-General of the Company) to Mayor and Council, 23 October 1906. (C, E-R). The sequence of connections may be traced in Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce, *Rôle d'évaluation et Rôle d'eau*, 1906-1909.
 - Walter van Nus, "The Plan-makers and the City: Architects, Engineers, Surveyors and Urban Planning in Canada, 1890-1939" (Ph.D. diss., University of Toronto, 1975), 10-25.
 - John C. Weaver, "'To-morrow's Metropolis' Revisited: A Critical Assessment of Urban Reform in Canada, 1880-1920", in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. G.A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 393-419.
 - Louis-H. Taché to Secretary-Treasurer, 25 September 1906 (C, E-R); NDG-PV, 17 September 1906; 16 May 1908.
 - There is no room here to tell the complex tale of the water-works takeover. The key documents are: F.E. Donovan to Mayor, 19 January 1909, and enclosure (D, Dossier 14); By-law 56, 26 January 1909 (LR); NDG-PV, 14 December 1909; E. DuBord (Water-works Book-keeper) to Mayor, 21 February 1910 (D, Dossier 14).
 - J.A.H. Hébert to Town, 12 April 1906; Dandurand, Brodeur et Boyer to Mayor and Council, 8 May 1906; Georges Marcil to Mayor and Councillors, 1 October 1906. (C, E-R).
 - Report of Inspector J.-A. Beaudry to Provincial Board of Health, 15 December 1904 (copy in C, E-R). That slope was steepest in the eastern section (that nearest the summit of Mt. Royal), where the population above the hill was in 1904 concentrated.
 - Census of Canada*, 1891, Vol. I, 88; *Census of Canada*, 1901, Vol. I, 104; *The Westmount News*, 11 March 1910.
 - Exclusive of buildings. Calculated from RE, Vols. 4-7.
 - The Montreal Star*, 10 March 1906; 12 May 1906; NDG-PV, 29 October 1906.
 - The immortal words of G.W. Badgley, agent for the "Melrose Lawn" development (part of Cad. Lot 174) of the Montreal Investment and Freehold Company. *Montreal Star*, 12 May 1906.
 - Robert Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal*, Vol. III (Montréal: Fides, 1972), 144-145; 159-160; 188, 194, 254-257; 283, 302, 363-365, 391, 402 and 415-416.
 - Montreal Star*, 20 March 1906.
 - 62 Vict., c. 58 (1899), Art. 8-10.
 - 7 Ed. VII, c. 63, assented to 14 March 1907.
 - Montreal Star*, 31 January 1905.
 - 6 Ed. VII, c. 53.
 - 3 Ed. VII, c. 38.
 - 8 Ed. VII, c. 97, assented to 25 April 1908; RE, Vols. 1-7.
 - The Cities and Towns Act permitted towns merely to set fire-limits. (Art. 383, section 13).
 - NDGO-PV, 18 December 1905.
 - Ville de Montréal, *Règlements Municipaux*, Nos. 342 (30 October 1905) and 350 (4 December 1905). See also Rumilly, *Histoire de Montréal*, 254, 364-365.
 - The English- and French-language petitions are in C, E-R.
 - See LR, By-laws Nos. 27, 45, 49, 51, 55, 56, and 59. The issues authorized by By-laws 30 and 41 were, in the end, not offered for sale. P.J. Champagne (the Town's last accountant), "Etat du *Passif* et de l'*Actif* de la Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce au 4 juin 1910" (3 October 1910) (D, Dossier 9).
 - Doucet, "Politics Space and Trolleys"; J.E. Rea, "How Winnipeg Was Nearly Won."

50. *Statues of Canada*, 6 Ed. VII, c. 129. It had always been obliged to do so within the City of Montreal, however.
51. The terms of the franchise are embodied in By-law 40, 14 August 1907 (LR). One realtor not only publicized the new line in his ads, but also raised the price of his cottages from \$2,500 to \$3,000 as soon as the cars were operating. *Montreal Star*, 25 June and 15 August 1908, advertisements for "Melrose Lawn."
Montreal Star, 7 March 1910; NDG-PV, 28 August and 1 September 1908; By-laws 45 and 59 (LR); Binns, *Montreal's Electric Streetcars*, 12. See also, H.J. Selwood, "Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg," *Urban History Review* (February 1978): 34-42; and D.F. Davis, "Mass Transit and Private Ownership: An Alternative Perspective on the Case of Toronto," *Urban History Review* (February 1979): 60-99.
52. Both N.D.G. and Trenholme Parks were bought from Georges Marcil; both purchases were the source of controversy, explicable only by long digression. The key documents are "Rapport du Comité chargé de s'enquérir de la Vente du Parc . . ." 3 September 1907 (C, E-R), and By-law 45, 10 February 1908 (LR).
53. \$170,000 from the bond issue authorized on 10 February 1908 and \$211,000 of the issue authorized on 26 July 1909 were allocated to sewer-construction. (LR). Quebec, Provincial Board of Health, extract of minutes of 20 March 1907. (C.c. in C, E-R); Petition to Council from Minto Avenue proprietors for sewer connections, [n.d.] (D, Dossier 11).
54. S.D. Clark, *The Suburban Society* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), 27-32. See also A.G. Dalzell, "Should Shack-Towns Be Encouraged?," *The Canadian Engineer* L (March 23 1926): 411.
55. RE, Vol. 5. Both building-material and number of storeys are given in Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce, *Rôle d'évaluation et Rôle d'eau, 1906-1909*. The outline of ground-floor plan and building-material are indicated in Charles E. Goad Company, *Atlas of the City of Montreal and Vicinity*, Vol. II (Montreal, 1913). A few of these early workers' houses survive, although often encased in brick or aluminum siding.
56. *Montreal Star*, 7 March 1910.
57. By-law 25, 30 April 1906 (RL), as amended on 31 May 1906 (NDG-PV, 31 May 1906). For values of recently-built cottages, see RE.
58. By-law 57, 5 July 1909, Art. 6 and 28 (LR); NDG-PV, 3 June 1907.
59. Marcil to Acting Mayor and Council, 16 June 1909 (D, Dossier 19); By-law 57, 5 July 1909. It seems evident from viewing houses built in 1909-10, that they might be of either single-family or duplex variety.
60. NDG-PV, 15 May 1906; 23 November 1908; 15 February 1909; 30 August 1909; 7 December 1909.
61. Walter van Nus, "Towards the City Efficient: The Theory and Practice of Zoning, 1919-1939," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and G.A. Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 226-247.
62. By-law 59, 26 July 1909 (LR); Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to J.A. Heffernan, 29 April 1908 (CL); NDGO-PV, 5 September 1905; NDG-PV, 30 November 1908 and 14 December 1908.
63. Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce, "Statement of Receipts and Expenditures, 31st October 1909" (D, Dossier 9-01); "Interest and Sinking Fund due Nov. 1st., 1909 on Debentures" (D, Dossier 9).
64. NDG-PV, 7 September 1909.
65. Such a sales pattern by 1909 is more and more prominent in the area above the hill, the further east the subdivided cadastral lot was located, and the closer to Sherbrooke Street the building-lots were. RE, Vols. 2, 4-7.
66. A.W. Currie, *The Grand Trunk Railway of Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1957), 422. Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to J.A. Heffernan, 29 April 1908 (CL); RE, Vol. 7. The exact 1906-09 population increase for Ward 1 cannot be determined, since ward-by-ward figures come from assessment rolls, of which only the 1909 edition survives. The rapid construction of new rental units in Turcot Village was noted by the water-works book-keeper. (E. DuBord to Mayor, 21 February 1910) (D, Dossier 14).
67. "Westmount Plateau" comprised Cadastral Lots 176 and 177 from the C.P.R. north to N.D.G. Avenue (except N.D.G. Park). "Melrose Lawn," in Lot 174, was developed by Armstrong & Cook and the Montreal Investment and Freehold Company. In Wards 6 and 7, much of Lots 152, 151, 149, 147 and 141 were subdivided by mid-1909, the first three by Marcil, the fourth by U.H. Dandurand, and the last by Mayor Trenholme and his family. RE, Vols. 4-7, and NDG-PV, 16 August 1909.
68. 1 February 1908. Cited in John Saywell, *Housing Canadians: Essays on the History of Residential Construction in Canada* (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, Discussion Paper No. 24, 1975), 107n.
69. NDG-PV 3 November 1906. Even Plateau (now Girouard) Avenue, along whose route, north of Sherbrooke, the MP&I's Mountain Belt Line had run for a decade, had not been opened in 1905. (Secretary-Treasurer to Dandurand, Brodeur et Boyer, 11 September 1905. CL.)
70. NDG-PV, 3 December 1906; 8 April 1907; 3 June 1907; 6 July 1908. Expenditure figures are calculated from P.J. Champagne (the Town's last accountant), "Etat du Passif et de l'Actif de la Ville de Notre Dame de Grâce au 4 juin 1910" (3 October 1910) (D, Dossier 9).
71. 1 Geo. V, c. 48, assented to 4 June 1910; *Montreal Star*, 5 May 1910.
72. Michel Gauvin, "The Reformer and the Machine: Montreal Civic Politics from Raymond Préfontaine to Médéric Martin," *Journal of Canadian Studies* XIII, 2 (Summer 1978): 16-27; *Montreal Star*, 16 March 1910.
73. Westmount had been surrounded on the south in 1905 by the annexations of St. Henri and Ste-Cunégonde, and on the north in 1908 by the annexation of Ville de Notre-Dame-des-Neiges. See Map I. For an expression of Westmounters' fears, see the editorial in *The Westmount News*, 16 November 1907.
74. Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to all Councillors, 16 November 1909; same (on behalf of the Chairman of the Finance Committee) to Wood, Gundy and Company, Toronto, 18 November 1909 (CL).
75. *Montreal Star*, 5 January 1910; NDG-PV, 4 January 1910 and 10 January 1910.
76. The text of the City's offer of 23 December 1909, is found in "Report of the Special Committee of Council on Annexation" (18 March 1910) (City of Montreal), *Minutes of Council*, Vol. FF6.
77. NDG-PV, 6 December 1909; City of Westmount, *Council Minutes* (Westmount City Hall), Jan 7 1910; *The Gazette*, 8 January 1910; *The Westmount News*, 14 January 1910; *Montreal Star*, 4 April 1910.
78. RE, Vol. 7.
79. Québec, Assemblée nationale, Bibliothèque de la Législature, *Répertoire des Parlementaires Québécois 1867-1978* (1980), 158.
80. NDGO-PV, 2 October 1905; 18 December 1905; NDG-PV, 19 February 1908.
81. NDG-PV, 31 January 1910. Ordinary (as opposed to trunk) sewers would be financed by continuing N.D.G.'s current forty-year frontage-tax system. Council also deigned to submit local owners to one-half of the cost of concrete sidewalks fronting their properties, the cost to be repaid over twenty years. Gauvin, "The Reformer and the Machine," 17; Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to all Councillors, 16 November 1909.
82. *Montreal Star*, 2 February 1910.
83. Assistant Secretary-Treasurer to J.A. Heffernan, 29 April 1908 (CL); L. DesCarries (Secretary-Treasurer), "Particulars of the Taxation and Debt of the Town of Notre Dame de Grâce" (March 17 1909) (D, Dossier 9). Léo Délage (Town Accountant) to Mayor and Councillors, 13 December 1909 (CL); NDG-PV, 28 January 1910.
84. Marcil to the editor of *The Gazette*, published 8 January 1910.
85. NDG-PV, 7 February 1910.
86. Marcil to Aldermen, 10 February 1910 (D, Dossier 8); NDG-PV, 16 February 1910 and 23 March 1910; *Montreal Star*, 17 February 1910 and 28 February 1910.
87. NDG-PV, 15 April 1910; The text and list of signatories of each petition were published in *The Gazette*, 4 May 1910.
88. *Montreal Star*, 16 March 1910.

89. *Montreal Star*, 15 February 1910; Secretary-Treasurer to Manager, Royal Bank, Westmount Branch, 4 April 1910; The Manager, Molson's Bank, St. Henri Branch, to Mayor, 18 April 1910 (D, Dossier 10).
When the Town Council's rescinding motion was read before Montreal City Council, that body merely ordered the Town's letter to be "filed of record." (City of Montreal, *Council Minutes*, Vol. FF6, 29 March 1910).
90. City of Westmount, *Council Minutes*, 2 May 1910; *Montreal Star*, 3 May, 5 May, 6 May, and 21 May 1910.
91. *Montreal Star*, 14 May 1910.
92. NDG-PV, 4 May 1910.
93. *Montreal Star*, 27 May 1910.
94. NDG-PV, 4 April 1910.
95. *Montreal Star*, 1 June 1910.
96. *Ibid.*
97. *The Gazette*, 2 June 1910.
98. The Act did finally incorporate two major alterations to Montreal's offer of 23 December 1909, neither of use to developers: permanent Town employees obtained equivalent jobs with the City, and the legality of the last three bond-issues (under By-laws 51, 56 and 59, totalling \$750,000) was confirmed.
99. Gauvin, "*The Reformer and the Machine*," 21.