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Urban History Review
Revue d'histoire urbaine

URBAN HISTORY REVIEW
REVUE D'HISTOIRE URBAINE

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Volume 33, Number 2, Spring 2005

URI: https://id.erudit.org/iderudit/1016382ar
DOI: https://doi.org/10.7202/1016382ar

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Publisher(s)

Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine

ISSN

0703-0428 (print)
1918-5138 (digital)

Explore this journal

Cite this article

Lord, K. (2005). Permeable Boundaries: Negotiation, Resistance, and Transgression of Street Space in Saint-Henri, Quebec, 1875-1905. *Urban History Review / Revue d'histoire urbaine*, *33*(2), 17–29. https://doi.org/10.7202/1016382ar

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Permeable Boundaries: Negotiation, Resistance, and Transgression of Street Space in Saint-Henri, Quebec, 1875–1905[1]

Kathleen Lord

Abstract

In late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century Saint-Henri, the street was a contested space. The local elite's municipal management of public space conflicted with the popular social use of the streets, both in the design and promotion of the main commercial street, rue Notre-Dame, and in the moral regulation of street behaviour. Political negotiation was limited to male property owners, for restrictions on the municipal franchise in a bourgeois liberal democracy excluded most women, many tenants, and all street vagrants. Mounting public debt resulting from the promotional politics of expropriation and bonusing incited popular resistance and, in 1905, led to annexation to the city of Montreal. The local elite directed the use of public space in ways that conformed with their private perspectives. Local by-laws and policing efforts largely succeeded in eliminating or displacing criminal and disruptive behaviour on rue Notre-Dame by day, but nightly disturbances and illicit activities were common on adjoining residential streets, in hidden areas, and in the neighbouring community of Sainte-Cunégonde. A wider range of primary sources, including photographs and sketches, are crucial to disclosing the class and gendered nature of street life.

Résumé

Dans le Saint-Henri de la fin du XIX^e^ siècle et du début du XX^e^, la rue était un espace disputé. L'administration municipale par l'élite locale de l'espace public entrait en conflit avec l'utilisation sociale populaire des rues, à la fois par rapport à la conception et à la promotion de l'artère commerciale principale, la rue Notre-Dame, et au code moral de comportement public. La négociation politique se limitait aux propriétaires masculins, puisque les restrictions touchant le droit électoral municipal en démocratie libérale bourgeoise excluaient la plupart des femmes, de nombreux locataires et tous les vagabonds. Le fait d'augmenter la dette publique par une politique promotionnelle d'expropriation et des compensations a suscité une résistance populaire et, en 1905, a mené à l'annexion à la Ville de Montréal. L'élite locale a administré l'utilisation de l'espace public conformément à ses propres perspectives. Et, si les règlements locaux et les efforts relatifs au maintien de l'ordre ont grandement contribué à éliminer ou à déplacer les comportements criminels et perturbateurs de la rue Notre-Dame en plein jour, l'agitation nocturne et les activités illicites étaient monnaie courante dans les rues résidentielles adjacentes, les endroits camouflés et la communauté avoisinante de Sainte-Cunégonde. Un large éventail de sources primaires, comprenant des photographies et des esquisses, servent d'éléments critiques pour révéler la classe sociale et le sexe des acteurs de la rue.

The fundamental reality of streets, as with all public space, is political.

—Spiro Kostof[2]

Social class and gender have played a crucial role in the dynamics of the Canadian street. Analyzing these dynamics depends mainly on an understanding of capitalist accumulation and liberal ideology in structuring the development of public space. In Saint-Henri, Quebec, struggles over the long-term direction of physical, commercial, and industrial expansion, as well as disputes over the ongoing municipal regulation of social life in the streets, reveal conflicting class and gender interests over the production and use of public street space. This paper argues that the development of rue Notre-Dame, the main street of the industrial suburb of Saint-Henri, reflected the anti-democratic social consequences of capitalist accumulation and liberal ideology in the hands of the male propertied classes who controlled municipal government. This paper refers to the main street as rue Notre-Dame at all times, although it was known as rue Saint-Joseph until 1891 (figure 1). The present study covers the period from 1875 to 1905, the date of town incorporation to the date of annexation to the City of Montreal.

As sites of continual negotiation, considerable resistance, and social transgression, streets—and more generally, public space—have not figured prominently in academic urban histories.[3] As well, socio-economic studies of Canadian working-class communities have often relied on a relatively limited range of primary sources to chart class and gender differences. Bettina Bradbury's dependence on the census as a primary source is an example of research that separates public from private space.[4] In contrast, the subject of negotiation and transgression is addressed in two recent studies of street space, both of which describe the struggle for the streets as encompassing a complex range of competing interests and activities subject to regulation and policing.[5] Drawing principally from municipal archival records and visual representations, Andrew Brown-May's treatment of public space derives from the nature of the street as a human thoroughfare, both as a consumer space and as a "journey and right of presence."[6] In Melbourne, street stalls and vendors were particularly subject to regulation and social control insofar as the informal economy impinged on the formal business economy. Class interests were reflected in the contradictory attitudes held by the elite toward street-sellers: they were a nuisance with a reputation of attracting crime, they inhibited the flow of pedestrian traffic, and they were perceived to rival regular stores, but they simultaneously attracted extra trade to some stores. Initially, when licenses were granted to the disabled as a form of poor relief, the appearance of the legless and armless deterred middle-class shoppers from visiting the streets where the street-traders operated.[7] In Brown-May's

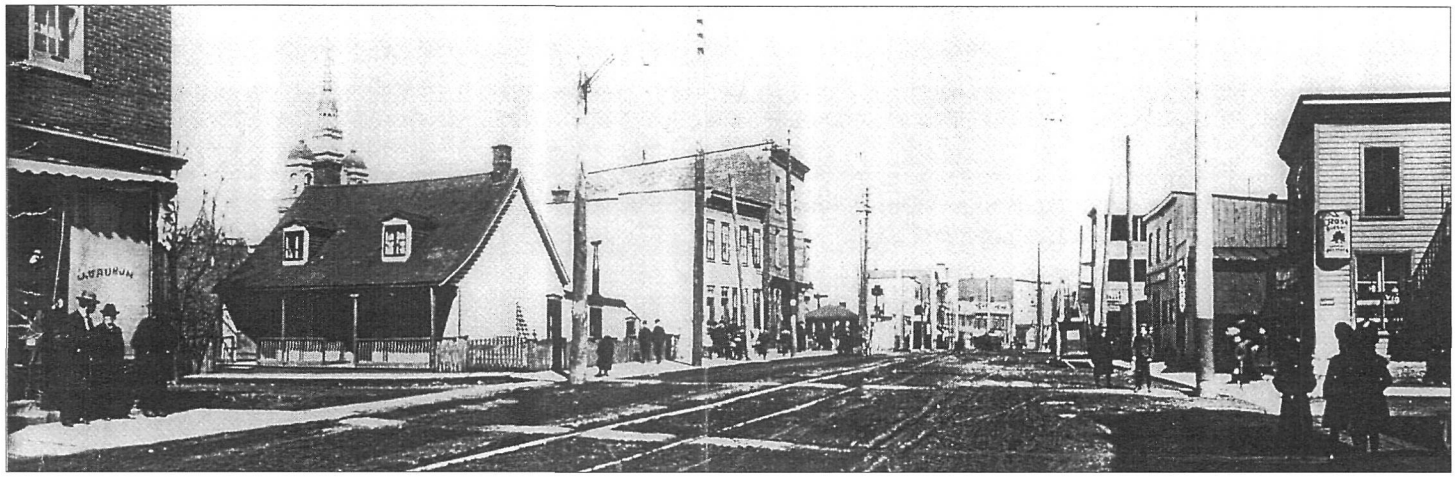

Figure 1. Rue Notre-Dame at the corner of rue Saint-Philippe, 1905

Source: Yves Bellavance, Marie-France LeBlanc, Claude Ouellet, and Louise Chouinard, *Portrait d'une ville: Saint-Henri, 1875–1905* (Montreal: Société historique de Saint-Henri, 1987), 2–3.

estimation, the demise of street stalls and vendors was symptomatic of a shifting spatial ideology with the street's transformation at the turn of the century into a "locus of respectability, unobstructed circulation, nationalism and civic pride."[8] While street vendors were initially perceived as free-enterprising improvisers, a shift occurred in the 1860s in which their patronage was only reluctantly entertained as a public charity and shaped by the late nineteenth-century concept of the deserving poor. The advent of the department store, the suburb, and the automobile led to the decline of the street as a site of vibrant sociability by the 1920s.[9]

Mona Domosh's comparison of New York and Boston argues that the elites of the two cities employed contrasting methods of political control to mould the urban landscape. New York's "skyscrapers were more than economic vessels for capital investment—most were commissioned by entrepreneurs and carefully designed by architects to represent wealth, prestige and status," but the explosive economic growth "never allowed for the consolidated control of one powerful class, thereby preventing one class's interests from prevailing."[10] By contrast, Boston's upper classes, given their greater civic commitment, succeeded in maintaining tasteful architectural standards, keeping factories out of the city, restricting business activities to the downtown core, and preventing commercial encroachment of the Boston Commons and Back Bay.[11] In Domosh's interpretation of three sketches of mid-nineteenth-century New York City street life from the *New York Illustrated News*, transgression—crossing the boundaries of bourgeois decorum—took the form of the mere occupancy of certain streets at certain times, not in explicit acts of trespass or crime. Although she acknowledges the dominance of male private interests, Domosh contends that human agency, not solely class hegemony, accounted for nuanced social and political transgressions in public space.[12]

Several American Marxist feminist-historians of public space have linked class ideology to gendered social practices, although they do not deal specifically with streets. Mary Ryan, Christine Stansell, and Temma Kaplan have scoured original and traditional sources, situating the female more accurately as an active participant in public space and in the political economy of the nineteenth-century city.[13] Their interpretations challenge the liberal discourse of capitalism. Liberal politics is based on the spatial practices of inclusion and exclusion, which are "tied to the way a society constructs and administers its locations and eligibilities to participate in them."[14] The politics of exclusion and inclusion creates divisions "between private and public space, industrial space and leisure space, educational space and family space (among others)."[15] This body of feminist historical writing attempts to modify the earlier feminist perspective of "separate spheres" in which the nineteenth-century world was viewed as being divided rigidly into female private spaces and male public spheres. Taken together with other forms of collective and communal sociability among the working classes and street vagrants, an active female presence on city streets defies the "separate spheres" view, which formed part of liberal discourse.

Building on this body of work and deploying an assortment of sources, this paper examines the class and gendered construction of public space in two main sections. The first focuses on the growing powers of the local state in matters affecting the street. In an age of expanding capitalism and a state dominated at all levels by the interests of property, the economic priorities of the propertied classes who dominated council, their commitment to liberal ideology, and their regulatory decisions had serious implications for the majority population of tenants, workers, and street vagrants. The local elite designed, promoted, and expanded the main street of Notre-Dame principally through expropriation, civic boosterism, and moral regulation in order to

enrich their businesses and increase their property values. In contrast, the majority of people were concerned with the public space of the street as a site for social interaction and recreation.

The drive of the municipal elite to promote the commercial development of the main street and industrial expansion in the community led to a municipal debt approaching $2 million, which incited popular resistance in the late 1890s. Residential and some business taxpayers increasingly opposed street expropriations and generous incentives to industry. A considerable faction of Saint-Henri citizens resisted the local elite by following the example of other Montreal suburbs by pressing for annexation to the City of Montreal. However, the political clout of the municipal elite effectively blocked pro-annexation forces until 1905, when the elite themselves were forced to accept annexation.

The second section treats the volatility of Saint-Henri's street life, which presented another dilemma for local leaders. Street crime contravened the notion of bourgeois propriety and order. Drunk and disorderly conduct accounted for most arrests in this period. The limitation of tavern licences was one attempt at the social control and moral regulation of urban street space. Prostitution was largely pushed off to brothels on secondary streets. Other police efforts focused on theft and other petty street crimes and incarcerating local jail recidivists who often loitered and screamed on the streets. Through access to public space, the transgressions of working-class men and women and street vagrants demonstrated resistance to the ideology and practices of the dominant classes. Popular contestation of local street space challenged the liberal ideology of the local elite, who sought to convey a sense of class harmony and prosperity. Ignoring simplistic distinctions of public and private space, working-class and vagrant culture spilled onto the streets not solely in forms of sociability, but also in contravention of local by-laws monitoring and regulating street behaviour.

The paper argues that the local propertied elite desired a well-ordered and -managed central commercial street free of disturbance, a street that would attract more businesses and increase the elite's property values. The elite's liberal ideology supposed a clear distinction between public space and private space. Private space was controlled by individual households, while public space was controlled by municipal government to serve the needs of society as a whole. However, actual social use of public space—the daily experience of the majority tenant population, the visible presence of working-class men and women, and vagrants on the streets of Saint-Henri—suggests a different reality. A vibrant street culture conflicted with the trend towards increased regulation and bourgeois control. Saint-Henri's social use of the street challenged and often openly defied the elite's view of the street. Rue Notre-Dame was a contested public space.

Expanding Role of the Municipality

The ideology of economic liberalism was integral to the political practices of the bourgeois classes in England as they were wrestling power from a landed aristocracy in the wake of the Industrial Revolution in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.[16] Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, the leading document of liberalism, outlined a political philosophy that legitimizes the spatial practices of inclusion and exclusion, and the productive power of the economy driven by the pursuit of individual self-interest in an expanding free market.[17] In large measure, economic liberalism conditioned the political practices of the local elites dominating government in many North American municipalities in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

For Quebec, the role of liberal ideology is evident in studies of the role of francophone entrepreneurs in the Montreal and Quebec economies.[18] For instance, Paul-André Linteau demonstrates that, through land promotion schemes and municipal contracts enhancing their profits, francophone businessmen were influential in the development of the industrial Montreal suburb of Maisonneuve.[19] The growth in the powers of municipal government in this period abetted the role of the local elite as active agents of economic and urban development.[20] However, while entrepreneurs espoused laissez faire, their increasing involvement in municipal government resulted in state intervention favouring their interests, quite the opposite of laissez faire. Through the politics of civic boosterism,[21] and its associated land and industrial promotion, business-oriented municipal leaders across Canada and the United States sought to justify their belief in economic liberalism by employing greater municipal intervention to provide more jobs for local workers and to increase their political support.

Influenced by the work of Habermas, Geoff Eley argues that the transformation in capital and urban society in the nineteenth century spawned an expanded local government in the hands of a "new citizenry in the making." The local state emerged as a series of necessary pragmatic responses to "grappling with the problems of an urbanizing society (poverty, policing, amenities like lighting and sewage, commercial licensing, revenue creation, and so on)."[22] With the passage of competitive capitalism to organized or monopoly capitalism, the small-scale municipal government proved less capable of regulating social conflicts conditioned by class and property restrictions in the local electoral process.[23]

Owing to property restrictions on the municipal franchise, the negotiation of promotional policies, regulations, and by-laws governing street space was confined to the male propertied classes of Saint-Henri. This undemocratic political system excluded the participation and voicing of the interests of most women, many tenants and workers, and all street vagrants. In local state formation, the liberal notion of popular sovereignty was contradicted by property and gender restrictions, the material relations of owners and renters, and a limited and majority male franchise. Women were barred from voting in municipal elections until 1888, and only widows and single women owning property could vote after that date.[24] On rue Notre-Dame, only five widows were entitled to vote in 1891. In the 1903 election year, 12 per cent of the adult population voted, indicating the

narrow social base of the council.[25] Adult men paying more than $20 annual rent or owning property valued at over $200 could vote and had the right to petition municipal electors by 1897, but only male property owners could sit on council. Saint-Henri had the additional limitation that votes in council were calculated according to property ownership, meaning that the more one owned, the more votes one had.[26]

According to the 1881 census, Saint-Henri had a population of 6,415, of which 51 per cent were women, 92 per cent were francophone, and 93 per cent were Roman Catholic.[27] By 1901, the population had tripled to 21,192, making Saint-Henri Quebec's third-largest city and the eleventh most populous in Canada, with women still making up 51 per cent of the population, francophones 82 per cent, and Roman Catholics 89 per cent.[28] The growth of this industrial suburb, 1.5 miles to the southwest of the Montreal city core, surpassed that of any other in the period (figure 2).[29] Profiting from the growing value of land, the anglophone *haute* bourgeoisie of Montreal and the Saint-Henri bourgeoisie busily acquired property and staked out their respective territories in the expanding suburb. A small group of these Saint-Henri property owners, mostly contractors and manufacturers, dominated local government and formed a locally based bourgeois elite of a different scale, a second stratum to that of the *haute* bourgeoisie of Montreal.

Land and property transactions on rue Notre-Dame indicate that rapid urban expansion occurred in the late 1870s and 1880s. In 1881, the value of property on rue Notre-Dame owned by the anglophone *haute* bourgeoisie of Montreal was 29 per cent of total property value, the established resident francophone bourgeoisie owned 58 per cent, while working-class skilled tradesmen controlled 13 per cent of the total property value.[30] Female household heads and a shop renter accounted for only 2.8 per cent of rue Notre-Dame properties, although in Montreal, females headed an estimated 8.7 per cent of households.[31] Three-quarters of the Saint-Henri population, the majority tenant classes, occupied upper flats on the main street and homes on adjoining streets.

Class antagonisms and ethnic frictions were often evident in this period, but especially so from 1897 to 1905 as tensions heightened over mounting debt and annexation to the City of Montreal. Opposition to expropriation and bonusing, which accounted for most of Saint-Henri's public debt, exacerbated tensions between the local elite and taxpayers, the majority of whom were francophone renters. Labourers and local taxpayer delegations took to the public space of the street and the town hall to protest the reduction of the salaries of council employees. This use of the street was counter to the local elite's attempts to design and maintain a well-ordered main street to enhance their businesses and attract more stores and industries. Their goal is made explicit in a 1905 promotional tract extolling the many virtues of rue Notre-Dame:

> The main street of Saint-Henri with its five churches, the city hall and other fine and remarkable edifices, is a bright and cheerful avenue of trade, and the stores which line the main thoroughfares amply provide all the reasonable necessaries and luxuries of life, and it is not necessary for any resident to go outside the city to make a purchase of any ordinary kind.[32]

The use of the street and type of street came more clearly into focus as the street was conceived and developed as a major commercial thoroughfare. The politics of expropriation played a central role in the development of the main commercial street. In 1887, a petition signed by the management of the Dominion Abattoir and several local businessmen proposed the opening of the western portion of rue Notre-Dame (figure 2).[33] The extension of rue Notre-Dame, which occurred through municipal expropriation, first in 1890–1891 was carried out by the local elite of merchants, managers, and contractors who conceived and designed the main street to increase their property values, business profits, and votes. Anxious to establish more efficient transportation links with Montreal, the commercial elite realized that a wider and longer street would augment the flow of people and goods in and out of their stores and offices.

Initially, expropriations on rue Notre-Dame met with little resistance from property owners, but opposition increased as expropriation costs accumulated in the late 1890s. In 1897, problems with the mounting municipal debt led to resentment from taxpayers, three-quarters of whom were renters paying the rental tax (also known as the water tax). Taxpayers felt that a portion of the burden of expropriation costs should have been borne by the owners whose property values were increased by the improvements, and not by the municipality alone, that is, not by taxpayers throughout the whole town. In the 1870s, the provincial government had increased the taxation power of municipalities, which then did not have adequate means to finance the high physical infrastructure costs associated with late nineteenth-century population growth and urban expansion. But property and rental taxes generated inadequate funds, a particularly acute problem in a municipality with a majority renting population and the remaining quarter of the population paying tax on properties evaluated among the lowest in the Montreal area. The 7.5 per cent of annual rent tax levied on tenants, the property and special taxes, and licence fees combined to constitute an insufficient tax base.[34] The overexpansion and 1893–1894 depression explain both the constant preoccupations with budgetary concerns and a decline in street improvements in this period.[35]

Later extensive property expropriations, particularly on rue Notre-Dame, as well as rue Saint-Jacques, engendered protest in 1897.[36] In spite of these objections and calls for annexation, the municipality continued to exist as a separate entity for eight more years. Further street expropriations were undertaken and, by 1903, they amounted to almost one-third of total municipal loans. Table 1 indicates that loans, mostly incurred in the form of debentured bonds, totalled $1,776,000 from 1883 to 1903. Obligating an annual interest of $76,330, this amount accounted for virtually the municipality's entire public debt by 1903.[37] Mayors were not interested in sinking these loans,

but wanted to continue rolling them over. Cash outlays were dispensed for public works, bonusing, and expropriations. The financing of expansion, basically loans incurred for physical infrastructure and street expropriations, made up two-thirds of loan-dependent expenditures, while bonusing made up the remaining third. These capital outlays for construction were supposed to be recovered from increased property values, and lower property and business tax revenues.

Class and ethnic conflict intensified in the period. It was reflected in local protest against expropriation costs along with anti-bonusing sentiment, but the voices of protest had few repercussions on the entrenched ideology of civic boosterism, industrial promotion, and progress that drove most municipal leaders. Boosterism entailed an aggressive policy of land and industrial promotion in Quebec towns and cities during these years. Although evidence points to active land promotion in Saint-Henri[38] comparable to that of Maisonneuve in a later period,[39] my attention focuses on bonusing, tax exemptions, and other incentives to attract industry. A bonus is a cash payment to attract new industry or a subsidy to prevent an existing industry from moving elsewhere. The practice of granting bonuses and other forms of aid to industry reached epidemic proportions in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Quebec.[40]

In Saint-Henri, evidence suggests that promotion was a major aggressive and consistent factor until 1905, and its industrial development surpassed that of any other suburb of Montreal in manufacturing activity in 1901.[41] The practice of industrial promotion in Saint-Henri throughout this period had two primary motivations: a determined bid to support urban growth at all costs, and an initial rivalry with neighbouring Sainte-Cunégonde. Shortly after attaining town status in 1875 and separating from Sainte-Cunégonde the following year, Saint-Henri began dispensing tax exemptions and bonuses, with stipulated conditions. Saint-Henri was not yet as industrialized as Sainte-Cunégonde, which benefited from closer proximity to Montreal and earlier developments along the Lachine Canal (figure 2).[42] Council documents reveal that tax exemptions, cash incentives or bonuses, and land concessions were allotted throughout the period of study.[43]

Council used its power to favour the establishment of Merchants, a textile company that joined with Colonial Bleaching to become Dominion Textile by 1907 (figure 2). A protective tariff, suitable market conditions, and the availability of a cheap labour force favoured the expansion of the Quebec textile industry in this period. Merchants was drawn to Saint-Henri in 1881 by a generous package of a $10,000 bonus and a twenty-year property-tax exemption (water excluded) on the conditions that the factory was built within town limits and that it employ three hundred workers for five years. The Sainte-Cunégonde council further sweetened the offer by $5,000 if Merchants located on its border with Saint-Henri.[44]

The Saint-Henri council intervened in favour of Merchants in an 1891 labour dispute that discloses the confluence of class and ethnic frictions within the community. With a workforce of 495 people in 1891, 318 of whom were women and children, Merchants was the largest single employer in the community, and marked by intense frictions between French-speaking workers and an English-speaking management. The Royal Commission on the Relations of Labour and Capital investigated Merchants in 1888 for fines and dismissals and for withholding salaries to young children under the age of fourteen.[45] A. B. McCullough summarizes the sequence of the particular events of 1891:

> In 1891 about 200 weavers struck in protest against the dismissal of the overseer, Mr. Duplessis. It was said that he had been dismissed because he was a French Canadian, the last French Canadian in a responsible position in the plant. A workers' delegation, the mayor and the priest, met with the management and demanded reinstatement. The workers also demanded a diminution of fines for soiled goods, a maximum work week of 60 hours, better filling of the spools that were used in weaving, and the dismissal of a cloth inspector, Mr. Butterworth. All of their demands were rejected, and after nearly a week the employees abandoned the strike.[46]

Newspaper coverage provides further details. On 5 October 1891, Mayor Ferdinand Dagenais (1887–1894), a francophone entrepreneur, wrote a letter to company management, expressing support for Duplessis and the workers. Subsequent to the disruption of a monthly town council meeting by two Merchants workers, Dagenais formed a three-person negotiation committee composed of himself, Curé Rémi Décarie, and Doctor Joseph Lanctôt, a sanitation officer and former mayor for one year (1886). Following the refusal of a fourth set of demands, Père Décarie led a worker delegation through the streets of Saint-Henri to the Merchants plant. Despite this show of open protest, Merchants still refused to concede on any major points, and demanded Décarie monitor the workers' return to the factory. This conflict of ethnic and class interests may explain the cancellation of an additional bonus to Merchants in 1893 and points to the complexity of the role of the local state in municipal intervention.[47]

Anti-bonusing sentiment in Saint-Henri was motivated principally by a high municipal debt and the ensuing burden of taxation. All of the bonuses Saint-Henri dispensed in the late 1890s and early 1900s were financed through debentures or

Table 1. Loans Incurred by the Saint-Henri Municipal Council, 1883–1903

Loan Category	Amount ($)
Public Works	792,000
Bonusing	584,000
Expropriations	400,000
Total	**1,776,000**

Source: Archives de la Ville de Montréal, Fonds de la Cité de Saint-Henri, *Documents non numérotés,* P23, E3, 5.

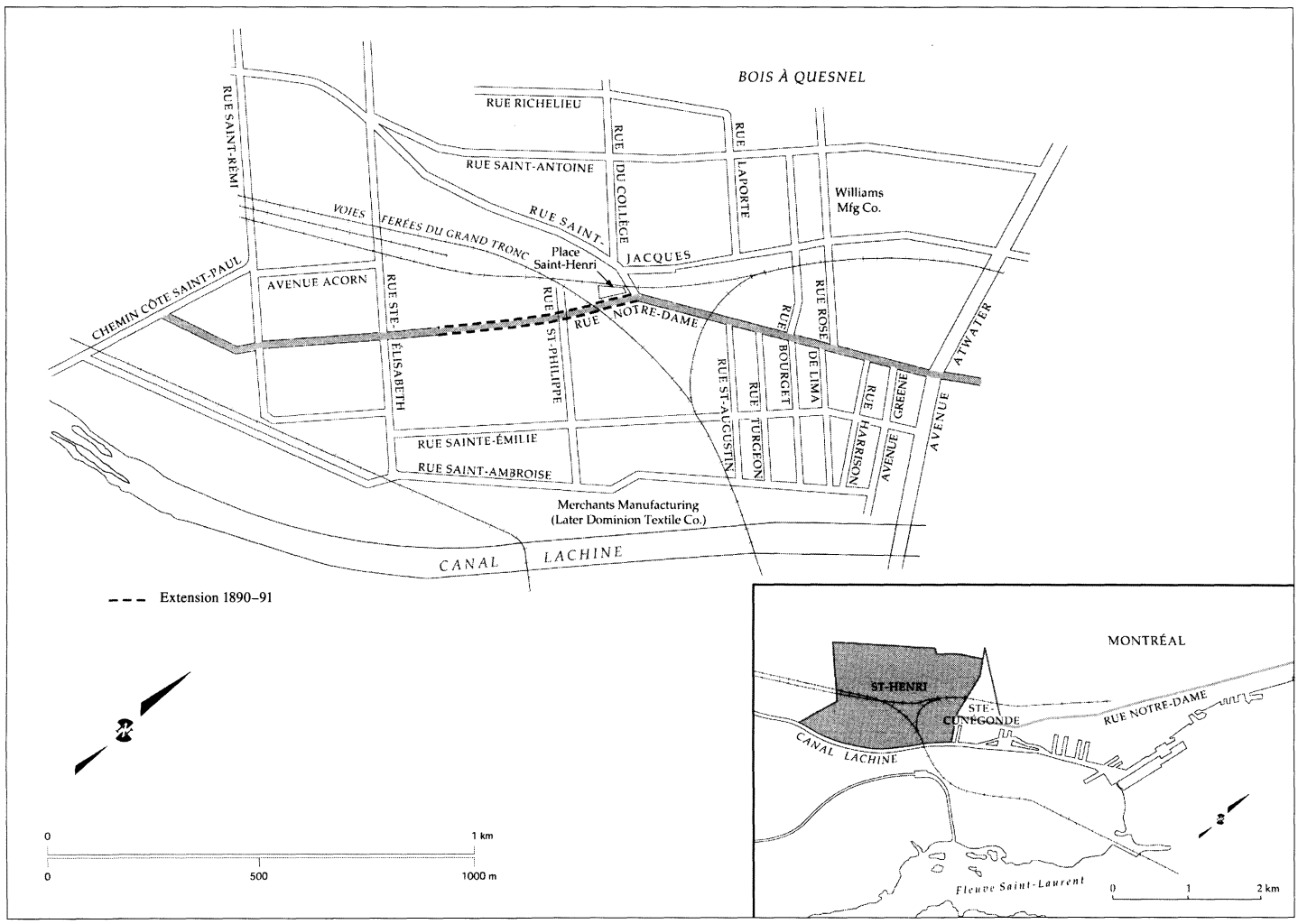

Figure 2. Major and adjoining streets in Saint-Henri, 1907

Sources: Base Maps: A. R. Pinsonneault, *Atlas of the Island and City of Montreal and Île Bizard* (Montreal: Atlas Publishing Company, 1907), plates 29, 30, 34, 35, 36. Reproduced in Yves Bellavance, Marie-France LeBlanc, Claude Ouellet, and Louise Chouinard, *Portrait d'une ville: Saint-Henri, 1875–1905* (Montreal: SHSH, 1987), 12–13. This map is employed because the extension of rue Notre-Dame does not appear on Goad's 1890 map. Inset: Charles E. Goad, *Atlas of the City of Montreal and Vicinity*, Vol. 2 (Montreal: Charles E. Goad, 1890), plate 50.

loans sanctioned by the provincial government.[48] An accurate estimate of bonusing costs would include not only the capital outlays, which were almost one-third of total loans incurred (table 1), but also taxes foregone, that is, money the city might have collected from these "taxpayers" without the bonus deals. As expenses accumulated, council, strapped for cash, relied more and more on increases in business licence fees. These piecemeal measures were insufficient.

Council explored other means of increasing revenue. A proposal in 1897 to increase property taxes by 2 per cent was contested by both large and small property owners, and rescinded in favour of a cost-cutting device. Council's solution was to diminish the salaries of municipal employees. Police Chief Massy's salary was cut by $250, the sheriff's by $200, and labourers' wages were reduced to $1 a week.[49] A newspaper account reveals the strong objections of labourers to this decision. The labourers drew attention to the class conflict between renters earning minimal salaries and property owners on council:

> Plusieurs journaliers, à l'emploi de la corporation, et dont les salaires ont été réduits de $1.25 par jour à $1.00, disaient ensemble ce matin, l'injustice qu'on leur a fait. Le conseil municipal, de par la loi, se compose exclusivement de propriétaires, disaient-ils, et s'il y a eu des gaspillages de fait, nous n'en sommes pas la cause: pourquoi donc alors nous en fait-on payer la façon?[50]

This measure also stimulated the critical comments of a munici-

pal affairs columnist in *La Presse*. He pointed out that other municipalities that had implemented these measures had reversed them in light of unfavourable public opinion.[51]

Financial problems continued to plague the community until 1905, the year of annexation, with the crisis provoking a diversity of opinions.[52] Led by Mayor Guay, council stood firmly against annexation as a solution to the crisis. Anxious to retain political power, the predominantly francophone local elite of Saint-Henri withstood both external and internal pressures for annexation for many years. In 1900, Guay defeated all rival candidates of the *Ligue des Citoyens* and rebuffed the efforts of the *Association immobilière de Saint-Henri*, which eventually called for the resignation of his entire council in 1905. As late as June 26 of that year, *La Presse* reported that the majority of taxpayers supported annexation, but that council remained opposed, even in light of the recommendations of a provincial Finance Commission.[53] The municipality's deteriorating financial and political conditions eventually prompted the intervention of Curé Rémi Décarie. Décarie expressed concern that the critical situation might have dire consequences for his parishioners. Following ratification by a majority of taxpayers, the councils of Saint-Henri and Sainte-Cunégonde reluctantly followed the earlier examples of Saint-Jean-Baptiste and Hochelaga by joining the City of Montreal.[54]

The overall resistance of the Saint-Henri local elite to annexation displays class hegemony. The resistance can be explained by a combination of factors: a common liberal ideology, a sense of pride in retaining a distinct community, and an obvious political and economic self-interest, all of which were also apparent in other suburban municipalities.[55] The motives for consistent industrial promotion—a determined bid to support urban growth at all costs and to compete with other communities—remained intact despite critical and generalized opposition to overspending. The question remains, Why did the local elite persist in dispensing such generous municipal incentives to industry, despite insufficient funds? Ronald Rudin's research on the regional towns of Sherbrooke, Saint-Hyacinthe, Trois-Rivières, and Sorel sheds some light on the persistence of bonusing practices. His findings indicate different levels of support for incentives on the basis of the occupational makeup of the local elite in a particular town. Councils dominated by entrepreneurial elites generally practised more aggressive strategies than councils dominated by professionals.[56] For Saint-Henri, evidence points to the dominance of an entrepreneurial elite of contractors and manufacturers. Professionals occupied the mayoralty of Saint-Henri for only three of the thirty years of its existence as a separate municipality.[57]

Manipulation of local government enhanced the wealth and prosperity of Saint-Henri's local bourgeoisie and facilitated their upward social mobility. The local elite persisted in their public spending policy because, while the city was losing substantially, they were making significant gains. As in Saint-Louis-du-Mile-End and Maisonneuve, the local elite of Saint-Henri profited from land speculation in a period of expansion.[58] The commitment of the local administration to the continuing progress of the community and the interests of private property is illustrated in Mayor Eugène Guay's 1903 election victory speech:

> Ce soir, messieurs, vous assistez à l'inauguration du nouveau conseil. Je dois vous dire de suite que notre terme s'annonce plein d'actualité. La ville ou plutôt le conseil, a entre les mains, une grande tâche, et à parachever de grandes entreprises, qui ont été commencées. Dans le passé, nous avons dû canaliser et éclairer des rues où sont de grand terrains vacants. Nous avons dépensé beaucoup pour l'expropriation, d'où il s'en suit que la dette de la ville s'est accrue considérablement. Ce qui a beaucoup nuit, c'est le fait de tous les propriétaires, qui détiennent tous les terrains vacants. Ils ont profité de l'élan de progrès que la ville traversait pour faire une spéculation plus que rémunératrice. Ils ont doublé le prix de leurs terrains.[59]

Guay's overriding concern with the development of vacant lots for revenue purposes encouraged active land promotion. Land promotion advertisements and council documents attest to these efforts by private promoters who offered competitive prices and financing to attract local investment. Guay's councillors profited substantially from land promotion, speculation, lot subdivision, and construction. Despite their different backgrounds and their rivalries, all seem to show an exceptional upward mobility that reinforced their faith in the economic system and in their own judgement, as evidenced by a steady increase in the property values of select mayors and councillors from 1881 to 1902, followed by a decline from 1902 to 1905.[60] The declining property values of his councillors after 1902 accounted for the resentment Guay displayed toward the outside landed interests of the anglophone bourgeoisie of Montreal in his 1903 election speech and led eventually to their capitulation to annexation.

The local male francophone elite played an influential role in the direction of the community. The experience with street expropriations, generous incentives to industry, a heavy burden of debt, and annexation speaks to the active intervention of local francophone entrepreneurs in the Quebec economy of the period. The practices and policies of the Saint-Henri council demonstrate an adherence to an economic ideology that promoted urban growth and development at all costs. Their behaviour was motivated by the considerable benefits they reaped at the expense of the working classes in a period of rapid expansion and industrial promotion. Property and gender restrictions effectively excluded most women, some male tenants, and all street vagrants from municipal management. The interests of property owners were paramount to local negotiations affecting street development; the needs of the majority tenant classes were incidental. The political hegemony of municipal leaders weathered popular resistance and the organization of municipal reform leagues and workers' parties.

Street Culture and Municipal Law

The political direction of the local elite in this period extended beyond expropriation and industrial promotion to the regulation of street life according to their own class and gendered view of

public space. Municipal leaders employed the law, particularly local by-laws, as a means of maintaining order and regulating street behaviour that affronted their bourgeois interests and sensibilities. D. I. Davies and Kathleen Herman have noted that "the social space of the street is bounded by normative constraints, laws, modes of interaction, as well as by physical space and time factors," all of which raise issues of access and control.[61] Although the local elite sought to ensure conformity of behaviour and to restrict freedom of movement in public space, many people did not choose to accept these limitations.

As conduits of action, the streets of Saint-Henri presented a freedom and volatility familiar in other cities and other eras.[62] The common occurrence of alcoholic binges, brawling, prostitution, and sexual liaison, as well as protests and strikes, point to the persistent nature of antagonism and excitement. These facets of working-class life conflicted most openly with the bourgeois ideology of class harmony and propriety. Of course, harmonious social interactions occurred such as in the course of travel from home to work, school, shops, offices, religious celebrations, and recreational pursuits, yet these and other activities such as civic processions, shopping patterns, clothing, and comportment often had a class character.

Agents of civic and moral reform (the elite, the council, temperance organizations, the priest, the police chief) aimed primarily to keep disorder and sin off the streets, which were spaces they conceived of as public and, in fact, the spaces they also used. Various forms of activity were subject to social control and moral regulation through the enforcement of local by-laws and police arrests, fines, and imprisonment. Municipal street offences were subject to deliberations in Police and Recorder's Courts in Montreal from 1875 until the attainment of city status in 1894. A Recorder's Court was subsequently established in Saint-Henri from 1895 until annexation.[63] Criminal offences such as murder were the responsibility of a Superior Court in Montreal.

A systematic understanding of street life in Saint-Henri is impossible. Nevertheless, it is possible to capture some of the processes and conflicts underway in Saint-Henri through an examination of several episodes of its street life. Examples of alcohol control, gang wars, prostitution, vagrancy, and domestic violence illustrate the recurring tensions of bourgeois society.

Disturbances of the peace resulting from excessive alcohol consumption were the most frequent cause of arrests in this period. Considerable drink consumption and consequent social behaviour prompted the concern of local representatives of state and church. Street activities were more intense on weekend nights and in summer weather, and formed a foundation for the news and the judgements people made of one another.[64]

Particular sites drew the local working class because most of Saint-Henri's *auberges* were located on Notre-Dame, Saint-Jacques, and other adjoining streets. These licensed establishments were frequented mostly by male workers after their return from local factories. Women and youth imbibed at unlicensed corner grocery stores and in hidden public spaces. The *auberge* was an ambiguous space, at once public and private, subject to public authorization and confinement, but the consequences spilled onto the street.[65] It was here that the class confrontation was played out. According to Huguette Charron and Françoise Lewis, drunk and disorderly conduct in late night drinking bouts accounted for most of the policing tasks of Chief Zéphérin Benoît from 1875 to 1888 (table 2).[66] The 1886 and 1887 police reports indicate that more than half of the arrests made in Saint-Henri in these years were due to drunken behaviour.

Although repeat offenders accounted for most arrests,[67] the problems associated with excessive drinking were widespread. The tavern in particular presented a dilemma for lawmakers. From 1876 to 1886, council attempted to regulate public drinking by limiting the number of tavern licences. The tavern was a forum for public and collective discussion, especially for male workers who would gather to talk about working conditions and other concerns of the day. The tavern represented a threat to the competitive, individualist values of the bourgeoisie and petite bourgeosie, and was perceived as a threat to the social order.[68] While it was one matter to control the number of taverns, it was another to manage what went on outside the tavern in the street. Here the collective character of working-class life was frequently transmuted into individual loss of control. Police Chief Benoît's work consisted mostly of picking up drunks loitering in the streets, crumpled in doorways, or passed out on sidewalks at all hours of the day and night. Drunks often hid in wooded spaces, such as the Bois à Quesnel, a secluded lot north of the Williams Sewing Machine factory (figure 2). They occasionally fell into the Lachine Canal. After several bottles of beer or a few shots of rye, bar-room brawls sometimes broke out. Tavern-owners alerted Chief Benoît through the use of a fire alarm. Offenders were incarcerated in the prison cell in the police station basement and fed gruel until their appearance in Police Court.[69]

Through alcohol consumption, street life intersected with workers' discussions of work and home in the tavern with institutional control over offences against public propriety. The importance of the tavern to the public/private life of Saint-Henri people is illustrated by the fact that *auberge* licences became the subject of heated dispute at general council meetings and a source of conflict between anglophone and francophone innkeepers. In the mid-1870s, an ethnic conflict erupted into a particularly bitter dispute over tavern licences. In 1876, Councillor Alphonse Charlebois, who aspired to the mayoralty, pressed for the limitation of licences to nine. Twenty-three saloons or hotels existed in Saint-Henri at that time. Foreseeing trouble, Chief Benoît, his constables, and the fire brigade policed a dramatic town meeting on 7 March 1876. Prior to the arrival of the councillors, Sam McDonald, a local character and fiery Scot saloon-keeper at the old Tanneries site, sat in the mayor's chair. Hailing the tradition of British tavern-keepers, he proceeded to distribute fake licences. After council proclaimed the decision to grant

Table 2. Arrests, 1886–1887

1886		1887	
Type of Arrest	***No.***	***Type of Arrest***	***No.***
Drunkenness	42	Drunkenness	61
By warrant [sic]	16	Assault and battery	34
Disturbing the public peace	9	Frequenting brothels	13
Blaspheming in the streets	7	Theft	5
Theft	3	Illegal garbage disposal	4
Vagrancy	2	Maintenance of brothels	2
Assaulting a police officer	1	Driving horses on tracks	2
Driving a horse too quickly	1		
Total	**81**	**Total**	**121**

Source: Archives de la Ville de Montréal, Fonds de la Cité de Saint-Henri, *Documents numérotés*, P23/E2, 50, 56, 2892, 3265.

licences only to francophone tavern-owners, anglophones protested furiously at the injustice. McDonald shouted profanities, then physically attacked Charlebois. Chief Benoît had to restrain the enraged anglophone. Charlebois subsequently pressed McDonald with assault charges.[70]

Petitions circulated, addressing the ethnic prejudice of council, and demanded to know what made francophone saloon-keepers special. It was pointed out that F. X. Marlo was granted a licence even though he ran an illegal dance hall in his establishment. Tempers flared. At the May council meeting, Annie Redman, a widow who ran Liverpool House, a saloon on rue Saint-Philippe,[71] made a passionate speech. Unlicensed taverns continued to operate illegally. Six of the nine licensed establishments remained open on Sundays, despite the outlawing of alcohol sales on religious holidays.[72]

Renewed temperance efforts in the early 1880s led to moral intervention by the local Catholic parish and a reduction in street crime. When Saint-Henri progressively reduced the number of drinking permits, those in Sainte-Cunégonde doubled. Subsequent to a request written by Père Lussier, the local *curé*, signed by several residents in 1882, council made the draconian move of awarding only one licence in Saint-Augustin ward and one in Saint-Henri ward. Père Lussier's letter deplored the moral decay of youth, disrespect for religion, and the drain on the finances of impoverished families:

> Depuis plusieurs années le nombre des auberges dans notre ville a toujours été trop considérable. Que des licenses pour tenir ces maisons d'entretien public ont été accordées trop facilement à des personnes pour qui le bon ordre, la décence et la morale sont choses parfaitement indifférentes, pour ne pas dire plus. Que la vente des boissons se pratique ouvertement tous les jours de la semaine à des jeunes gens qui ont à peine atteint l'âge de raison, à des pères qui dépensent ainsi un argent péniblement gagné au détriment d'épouses et d'enfants souffrant de la nudité, du froid et de la faim.[73]

For Saint-Henri, there was a strong relationship between limiting the number of tavern licences and recorded street offences. The number of offences declined along with the number of licences issued. Although 230 arrests were reported in 1879, they fell to 118 in 1881, with only 73 arrests related to drunk and disorderly conduct. However, the situation did not persist: pressed for revenue, council dispensed ten licenses in April 1883 and eleven by 1886. Though licence records are not available in this period, it appears that the pressure of small-business tavern owners was able to counteract the power of the local elite who wished to keep the number of licences low.[74]

Street gang activity often occurred at night and was often associated with drink, theft, and prostitution rings. Two rival gangs, the *Gang des Rouges* and the *Gang des Bleus*, established their respective turfs in Saint-Henri and Sainte-Cunégonde in the 1870s and 1880s. The gang names reflected the party politics of *Rouges* and *Bleus* that dominated this era.[75] In the estimation of Charron and Lewis, Chief Benoît was primarily responsible for the suppression of these gangs in Saint-Henri. Despite the employment of local hero Louis Cyr as police constable in 1885, Sainte-Cunégonde was less successful in this regard.[76] Upon his arrival in Saint-Henri in 1875, Chief Benoît observed youth gangs that often engaged in street fights and thefts, and insulted passersby. The base of the operation of the *Gang des Rouges* was the Bois à Quesnel, which, not surprisingly, was a haunt for drinkers (figure 2). Through the collaborative efforts of the police in Côte Saint-Antoine, Montreal, and Saint-Henri, a theft in November 1877 revealed the involvement of the *Gang des Rouges* in a local prostitution ring.[77]

While policing became more organized and diligent in Montreal after 1851–1852,[78] the suburbs remained relatively lawless terrains controlled by street gangs, often dependent on the efforts of a single enforcer. In the case of Saint-Henri, it was Benoît whose cleanup of the streets of Saint-Henri stands in direct contrast to the terror reigning in Saint-Gabriel and the anarchy of Sainte-Cunégonde. In the thirteen years of Benoit's term of office (1875–1888), Sainte-Cunégonde had exhausted five different police chiefs.[79] Ben Weider claims that the gangs "were so well entrenched that the police had not set foot there for several months," and that Sainte-Cunégonde "was the base of operations for criminals in Montreal."[80] Anxious to combat the power of the *Gang des Bleus* and other street gangs in neighbouring communities, Sainte-Cunégonde Police Chief Pagé accepted the new position in 1885 on the condition that council hire three constables. One of the men was three-hundred-pound Louis Cyr. At twenty-two, Cyr had already gained a local reputation for his physical prowess and benevolent nature. He later went on to establish a career as a world weight-lifting champion.[81]

Cyr's career as a police constable was brief, and prompted by the escalating thefts and assaults of the *Gang des Bleus*. Although Pagé's initial efforts were successful,[82] Cyr's masculine domination did not result in the successful suppression of local street gangs. In fact, Cyr was almost killed in a dramatic incident on 23 October 1885:

> Alors que le constable Louis Cyr faisait sa ronde avec David Young, un ancien constable, il apreçut quatre hommes ivres qui insultaient les passants et leur lançaient des pierres. Ces hommes faisaient partie de la gang des Rouges. Cyr empoigna l'un des quatre, Dolphis Paquette. Il le fit facilement. Il pouvait lever, disait-on 210 livres d'un seul bras et tenir ce poids au-dessus de sa tête pendant cinq minutes. Mais les trois autres bandits se jetèrent alors sur Young. Un attroupement se fit. Young réussit à se sauver. Il laissa Cyr tout seul et courut chercher du renfort.
>
> Lorsque Young revint avec le constable Proulx, ils aperçurent le geánt Cyr, par terre, sans connaissance. Il avait été atteint à la tempe gauche par une grosse pierre. Trois de assaillants s'étaient sauvés, il ne restait que Dolphis Paquette, trop saoul pour bouger.[83]

Louis Cyr resigned from the Sainte-Cunégonde police force shortly thereafter.[84]

Cyr's place in policing the street was firmly cemented through his depiction as a working-class representative of bourgeois society. As figure 3 indicates, Cyr is depicted as a symbol of working-class masculinity and domination,[85] a hero, a single individual who combats the forces of crime and evil on the streets. His corpulence, shoulder-length hair, and dark uniform distinguish him from the arms-wielding thugs who surround him, other police officers, and spectators. He stands over a fallen criminal and constable like a conqueror. His valiant bare-armed struggle is hailed by a young boy positioned on the sidewalk in the background. The artist significantly chose the point in the struggle when Cyr was in control, rather than lying unconscious on the street.

The criminal activities of street gangs were set against a background of streetwalking and street noise, against which the excitement in 1875–1876 stands out. Along with drink-related offences and street gang activity, the sexual conduct of females was particularly subject to moral regulation and social control.[86] One cannot determine whether problems with prostitution were controlled by resorting to laws ostensibly designed to control vagrancy or drunkenness. Vagrants do not appear to have been apprehended only when they were thought to be prostitutes. Drunkenness was not condoned, even if it was not associated with another social evil. In the spirit of Mary Ryan,[87] the social geography of the entire city could be mapped along lines of class and gender. Sarah Schmidt has argued that "respectable" women frequented parks such as Mount Royal, where sexual regulation entailed the monitoring of loitering, vagrancy, and any intimation or explicit act of sexuality.[88] Evidence points to a social geography of prostitution that was concentrated in the central city core.[89] Prostitution also existed in suburban communities. Economic circumstances may have led some young Saint-Henri women to venture uptown to rue Saint-Laurent in Montreal to ply their trade.[90]

Prostitution was viewed as morally repugnant and was suppressed by legal authorities in this period. A 1901 declaration by Judge Weir of the Recorder's Court, prior to the sentencing of a Montreal prostitute, condemns the practices of female sex workers and promotes a cult of female virtue and domesticity:

Figure 3. Louis Cyr as Street Hero, 1885

Source: Ben Weider and E. Z. Massicotte, *Les hommes forts du Québec de Jos, Montferrand à Louis Cyr* (Trois-Pistoles: Éditions Trois-Pistoles, 1999), 193.

> Je n'hésite pas à déclarer que ces maisons [brothels] sont un véritable fléau pour notre ville et un élément de destruction social et national. Je ne vois pas comment la défendresse puisse se livrer à un commerce aussi vil et aussi honteux et prétendre éléver ses enfants convenablement.[91]

The reform efforts of Chief Benoît reflected these general concerns and focused on suppressing local prostitution as well as street gangs. Brothels in Saint-Henri often occupied flats on secondary streets, but rarely operated in the same location for long. As soon as they were subject to police scrutiny, they moved to a new site. Neighbours often alerted Benoît, and a police raid was conducted, with the arrests of the madam, prostitutes, and clients. There is no evidence of brothels being run in rue Notre-Dame hotels. They were probably driven to "less proper" adjoining streets. Benoît's crackdown also appears to have prompted the movement of brothels to Sainte-Cunégonde from 1879 to 1886.

Bourgeois Victorian sexual mores also governed the regulation of female dress, public displays of affection, and overt acts of sexuality. Fearful that they would fall into prostitution, young girls from unfortunate circumstances were sometimes fined for "indecent" exposure. Any indication of cleavage or exposure of the female breast was considered morally suspect. Such was the case for Marie Caron, a seventeen-year-old who was fined ten dollars in 1875. Given the proximity of dwellings and the lack of privacy, couples often wandered to the Bois à Quesnel to engage in sexual activities (figure 2). They too were subject to Benoît's arrests.[92]

Then, as now, the city streets were home to the lonely, the dispossessed, and the mad. Male and female vagrants of all ages wandered the streets of Saint-Henri, with some making periodic appearances in Recorder's Court. The vagrancy problem was particularly acute in the late 1890s, when police cells served as overnight shelters for over four hundred individuals per year. The president of the Police Committee signalled the need for more constables in Saint-Henri to deal with the increasing problem. By 1899, vagrancy accounted for the second-largest number of arrests after drink-related charges.[93]

In the Victorian view, women were perceived as particularly emotionally volatile. Victoria Johnson, a local recidivist, was an emotionally disturbed woman who took to the streets of Saint-Henri in the late 1890s, singing and screaming. Her arrest on 19 April 1899 was subject to the colourful description of a *La Presse* reporter:

> Dame Victoire est une récidiviste endurcie. Dix mois sur douze, les murs de la prison des femmes ont l'honneur d'abriter sa corpulence et de préserver des rayons du soleil la figure rubicoude que la nature, dans un moment d'humeur, sans doute, lui a plantée de travers sur les épaules . . .
>
> Victoire connaît l'art de la boxe, sait chanter, crier, déclamer, blasphémer et bien d'autres choses encore. Elle ne demande aucune réclamation pour son savoir-faire, et chaque fois qu'on lui met le grappin dessus, on peut être assurée de lui voir donner une 'répétition' des plus amusantes.[94]

Gender relations sometimes broke down, resulting in domestic violence that spilled onto the streets. Because of the visibility of this violence, Police Chief Benoît was familiar with certain wife-beaters and intervened in conflicts in the 1870s and 1880s. His arrest and incarceration of wife-beaters probably prevented a number of murders. With an increase in population and residential mobility in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, domestic violence disputes were subject not only to police intervention, but to the philanthropic concerns of the Montreal Society for the Protection of Women and Children and the Women's Christian Temperance Union of the Province of Quebec.[95]

Because these aspects of working-class, female, and vagrant life in the streets were contrary to the private notions of bourgeois family life,[96] municipal by-laws outlawed criminal activities such as drunk and disorderly conduct, street gang activity, prostitution, sexual liaison, and vagrancy on the streets of Saint-Henri. Although some policing actions such as the suppression of street gangs could be viewed as being in the interests of all, others such as the restriction of *auberge* licences revealed class and ethnic tensions, while prostitution and vagrancy had a sharper class and gender edge.

Conclusion

The streets of Saint-Henri were contested terrains of social class and gender in the public space of this late-nineteenth- and early-twentieth-century industrial Montreal suburb. Conflicting views of the street were played out in the local elite's municipal management of public space and the popular social use of the streets. Conditioned by a liberal economic ideology, the local elite developed the public space of rue Notre-Dame in ways that reinforced the anti-democratic aspects of the time, which excluded most women, many tenants, and all vagrants from municipal decision making. The propertied male interests of the Saint-Henri council dominated the design of the main street of rue Notre-Dame through the promotional politics of expropriation and bonusing. Intended to increase their own property values and votes, their policies and practices gave rise to a municipal debt crisis that fuelled popular resistance, which occasionally took to the streets, and led to annexation to the City of Montreal in 1905.

The Saint-Henri elite attempted to control street life in line with their view of bourgeois propriety. But while municipal by-laws fixed boundaries of bourgeois decorum and limited freedom on city streets, popular social use revealed that the boundaries were ambiguous and permeable. Insofar as the working-class and female use of the streets fell into certain parameters set by the local elite, the routine uses of the street for shopping, gossiping, and playing were condoned. But drunk and disorderly conduct, street gang activity, prostitution, sexual liaison, and vagrancy of poor people were not. As a priority, crime was generally kept off the main commercial street, particularly by day, but it was not entirely eliminated. Drunken disturbances were common to the culture of the night, and illicit activities such as prostitution, sexual liaison, and street gang fights were pushed off to adjoining streets, the hidden wooded lot of Bois à Quesnel, and the neighbouring community of Sainte-Cunégonde.

Primary sources—such as photographs, newspaper accounts, and sketches—play an essential role in disclosing the nature of street life. Promotional photographs reveal class harmony, but the historian must rely on newspaper accounts and sketches, as well as municipal archival documents and popular literature, for depictions of class conflict and crime. In effect, neither the simple dichotomies of public and private nor "separate spheres" apply to the working-class, female, and vagrant culture of the streets. Municipal property and voting restrictions and the inherent contradictions of the liberal economic ideology limited negotiation, but they also incited transgressions, and fuelled political resistance.

Notes

1. This article draws principally from my doctoral dissertation, "Days and Nights: Class, Gender and Society on Notre-Dame Street in Saint-Henri, 1875–1905" (PhD diss., McGill University, 2000), chap. 6. The research was greatly aided by fellowships from *Fonds pour la Formation des Chercheurs et l'Aide à la Recherche* (FCAR) and the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research of McGill University. I am grateful to David Leadbeater, Sherry Olson, and Brian Young for comments on earlier versions, to Michèle Dagenais, Catherine Desbarats, Guy Gaudreau, and Robert Lewis for additional considerations, to Richard Bachand for his expertise in visual reproduction, to Jane McAslan for editing suggestions, and to the anonymous readers of *Urban History Review* for pertinent revisions.
2. Spiro Kostof, *The City Assembled* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1992), 194.

3. Academic histories of Montreal serve as examples: Paul-André Linteau, *Histoire de Montréal depuis la Confédération* (Montreal: Boréal, 1992); Jean-Claude Marsan, *Montréal en évolution* (Quebec: Méridien, 1994). The social space of the street is increasingly becoming the subject of in-depth examination in Quebec urban historical writing. See André G. Bourassa and Jean-Marc Larrue, *Les nuits de la 'Main'* (Montreal: VLB, 1993); Pierre Anctil, *Saint-Laurent* (Silléry, QC: Septentrion, 2002); Sherry Olson and David Hanna, "Social Change in Montréal, 1842–1902," *Historical Atlas of Canada*, ed. R. C. Harris (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1993), 2: plate 49; Julie A. Podmore, "Saint-Lawrence Blvd. as 'Third City'" (PhD diss., McGill University, 1999).
4. Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1993).
5. Andrew Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life* (Victoria: Australia Scholarly/ Arcadia, 1998); Mona Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities': Polite Politics and Public Space on the Streets of Nineteenth-Century New York City," *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 88, no. 2 (1998): 209–26. Also see Domosh, *Invented Cities* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1996).
6. Brown-May, *Melbourne Street Life*, Introduction.
7. Ibid., chap. 5 and 6.
8. Ibid., 122.
9. Ibid., chap. 5.
10. Domosh, *Invented Cities*, 2, 158.
11. Ibid., chap. 4 and 5.
12. Domosh, "Those 'Gorgeous Incongruities,'" 209–11.
13. Joan Walach Scott, *Gender and the Politics of History*, rev. ed. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 23; Mary P. Ryan, *Civic Wars* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 6–11; Ryan, "Gender and Public Access," in *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, ed. Craig Calhoun (Cambridge, MA: MIT University Press, 1992), 259–88; Ryan, *Women in Public* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1990), 92–94; Christine Stansell, "Women, Children, and the Uses of the Streets," *Feminist Studies* 8, no. 2 (1982): 309–35; Stansell, *City of Women* (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Temma Kaplan, *Anarchists of Andalusia, 1868–1903* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1977); Kaplan, *Red City, Blue Period* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992).
14. Michael J. Shapiro, *Reading "Adam Smith"* (Newbury Park, CA: Sage, 1993), 54.
15. Ibid.
16. E. P. Thompson, *Customs in Common* (New York: New Press, 1991), 18–32, 87–90, 95–96.
17. Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), ix.
18. Fernande Roy, *Progrès, harmonie, liberté* (Montreal: Boréal, 1988); Ronald Rudin, *Banking en français* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1985).
19. Paul-André Linteau, *Maisonneuve* (Montréal: Boréal, 1981).
20. Diane Saint-Pierre, *L'évolution municipale du Québec des régions* (Sainte-Foy: Union des Municipalités régionales de Comté et des Municipalités locales du Québec, 1994), 61–75; S. Morley Wickett, ed., *Municipal Government in Canada* (Toronto: Librarian of the University of Toronto, 1907).
21. An extensive literature in the 1970s and 1980s explored the role of the local elite in boosting towns and cities: Carl Abbott, *Boosters and Businessmen* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1981), chap. 4. Alan F. J. Artibise, "Continuity and Change," *The Usable Urban Past*, 130–65 (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979); Linteau, *Maisonneuve*; Kathleen Lord, "Nineteenth-Century Corporate Welfare," *Urban History Review* 13, no. 2 (October 1984): 105–15; Ronald Rudin, "Boosting the French Canadian Town," *Urban History Review* 11, no. 1 (June 1982): 1–10; John C. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal," Papers of the Western Canada Urban History Conference, Winnipeg, 1974 (Ottawa: National Museum, 1975), 48–73.
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