THE TRANSFORMATION OF LANDSCAPES IN SOUTHWEST MONTREAL
AND IDENTITY FORMATION DURING THE QUIET REVOLUTION
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ABSTRACT

In this thesis I demonstrate how the social and physical construction of spaces in Montréal’s CBD during the Quiet Revolution marginalized working-class, inner-city manufacturing districts. To address this research question, I work across a variety of secondary sources and employ census data and reports to analyze demographic changes as well as other indices that illustrate the impact of local economic restructuring. In order to understand identity formation that is related to yet distinct from the mechanisms of capital, I examine archival documents that trace the urban growth regime’s nationalist-inflected vision of high-modernity that was inscribed onto the city’s landscape. I focus on the appropriation of landscapes in working-class Southwest Montréal. I situate these landscape transformations in a longer history of class formation in which a colonized Francophone bourgeoisie attempted to reverse its socioeconomic circumstances that were partly a consequence of the British conquest.
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Introduction:

“Name me one Roman emperor who history remembers because he reduced taxes.”

Mayor of Montréal, Jean Drapeau.

From 1954 to 1986, Jean Drapeau served almost uninterruptedly as mayor of the City of Montréal, save for a short period between 1957 and 1960. Drapeau was an iconic leader who instinctively finessed all levels of government to coordinate the funding to support his grandiose urban visions. These were inscribed onto the city’s downtown landscapes, most notably in the 1960s. The visions of Drapeau and his growth coalition were intoxicating to the competing national imaginations of Canada, which were strongly divided during the Quiet Revolution era (1960-1966). He spared no expense in his attempts to demonstrate Montréal’s international stature. At the same time, Drapeau’s grand projets were intended to display the increased socioeconomic power of French-Canadian, Québécois society. However, the fiscal balance sheet for such endeavours was an afterthought.

It was not just the fiscal costs of Drapeau’s grand projets that were out-of-control. The expropriation of land to support his schemes grew to be unsustainable as well. The largest costs resulting from urban modernization were borne by the most vulnerable residents of Montréal, who were displaced by the installation of mega-projects that demolished entire neighbourhoods. In a similar manner to the politics of preservation explored in Duncan and Duncan’s study of Bedford, New York, Montréal urban development that was spearheaded by the city’s growth coalition masked residential land shortages and did not adequately address the affordable housing needs of the working classes. This conceptualization of landscape appropriation highlights the centrality of class, implicitly drawing attention to ways in which the spatial logic of capitalism can influence identity.

Along with well-known grand projets such as Expo ’67, the Drapeau coalition engaged in tertiary redevelopment initiatives in the city’s new central business district CBD that were
intended to redensify the core in an effort to increase city revenue. Some examples of these initiatives include Place Ville-Marie, Place Bonaventure, Place Alexis Nihon, Place des Arts and the Underground City. Montréal’s subway system, le métro, was constructed to enable circulation and support redevelopment in these areas. The structures associated with CBD redevelopment were highly identifiable, as they were legible symbols of distinctive, high-modernist architecture. However, there were also less obvious projects such as the rehabilitation and preservation of Old Montréal. All of these forms of modern urban transformation served the political aspirations of an emerging Francophone middle-class that wanted to see its own cultural identity and majority status embedded in the urban landscape.

Yet, by reconquering Montréal through the reassertion of Francophone identity, this bourgeoisie employed their class position to appropriate land and enact a form of capitalist oppression that displaced the working-class, regardless of ethnicity. Their expropriation of these landscapes also painfully revealed a stratified Francophone population that threatened to fracture the nationalist movement along class lines. This stratification in turn, points to an older social geography with roots in decades before Drapeau’s rise to power.

In this thesis, I focus on the post-World War Two appropriation of landscapes in working-class Southwest Montréal. I situate the landscape transformation that transpired in these districts during the Quiet Revolution era in a longer history of class formation in which a colonized Francophone bourgeoisie attempted to reverse its socioeconomic circumstances that were partly a consequence of the British conquest. In Québécois society, the assertion of marginalized Francophone identity onto urban landscapes reproduced the dynamics of colonial expropriation. The story of Québec’s Francophone bourgeoisie during the transition to industrial capitalism and their role in reordering urban landscapes is central to the historical geography of Montréal.

In periodizing history, “the historian [makes] explicit what she/he perceives to be the fundamental forces in the historical process, and in approaching the writing of history from this framework the historian accepts the intellectual implications of this subjectivity.”3 This
epistemological approach to historical inquiry is therefore sensitive to place and political subjectivities as the study of geographically embedded social relations takes precedence over a strictly chronological understanding of events. Consequently, each chapter presented here is organized thematically, incorporating extensive time periods, in order to illustrate the geographic trajectory of this evolving, class-based, Francophone group.

The purpose of this thesis is to demonstrate how the social and physical construction of CBD spaces in the City of Montréal during the Quiet Revolution marginalized working-class, inner-city manufacturing districts. To address this research question, I work across a variety of secondary sources and employ census data and reports to analyse demographic changes as well as other indices that illustrate the impact of local economic restructuring. In order to understand the nuanced aspects of identity formation that are related to but quite distinct from the mechanisms of capital formation, I examine archival documents that trace Mayor Drapeau’s urban growth regime and his nationalist-inflected vision of high-modernity that was inscribed onto the city’s landscape. The most important examples of these archival sources include the Métropole series of visioning documents produced by Montréal’s urban planning department in the early 1960s as well as university course curricula and materials written by sanitation engineers in the immediate post-World War Two era. These engineers influenced the development of professional planning in the city. The research presented in this thesis is significant because it addresses landscape transformation in relation to a class-based analysis of national identity formation.

Chapter One is a broad consideration of the relevant secondary literature put to use in subsequent empirical chapters. It is organized according to three themes that cut across this document: nationalism, landscape, and regimes. This literature review delves into these themes and links the secondary literature with the Montréal case. The sources that I analyse in Chapter 1 explore the social history of Québec; urban modernization; how social identities are influenced through the reshaping of the urban landscape; deindustrializing landscapes and their relation to the social and political space of the central business district (CBD); post-war suburbanization in
a larger North American context; and the social appropriation of landscapes by urban growth regimes.

In Chapter Two I examine the geography of social change in French-Canadian, Québécois society with the purpose of exploring the transformation of the Francophone bourgeoisie. In doing so, I situate the consolidation of the Francophone middle class, who are identified with the sweeping social reforms that were enacted during the Quiet Revolution, within a longer history of complex social relations. At the outset of the chapter, I draw attention to the Québécois social structure that emerged after the British conquest. From the late eighteenth century onwards, Anglophone groups established political and economic control, which resulted in the contingent status of Francophones. At the same time, however, a petty bourgeois segment of Québécois society, comprised of clerics and landowners, held ideological influence over the marginalized Francophone population. Early articulations of nationalism were cultivated by conservative clerics within the petty bourgeoisie and resonated with disenfranchised Québécois habitants over the course of the nineteenth century. Reactionary nationalism reached a climax in the 1920s and 1930s in the wake of mass urbanization in Québec and the Great Depression. The economic subjugation experienced by French-Canadians in urban centres brought their class-based concerns to the forefront, which ultimately transformed the expression of nationalism. The antecedents of the Cité libre group organized in the inter-war years to improve the socioeconomic status of French-Canadians through economic and urban modernization. In the period following the World War Two, Cité libre developed a nationalist-inflected vision of modern Québécois society that would prove to be influential and central to the reforms of the Quiet Revolution.

The third chapter addresses Montréal’s industrial history and geography, drawing attention to the manner in which provincial economic and cultural policies affected the spatial patterns of urban development and land use. My analysis focuses on the social and industrial geography of Southwest Montréal. I first look at the role of the city’s bicultural bourgeoisie and their mid-nineteenth century plan to build an industrial base in this area that was to surpass all
of its Canadian counterparts. I illustrate how the changing ethnic composition of municipal
growth politics influenced the reshaping of its landscapes from this period onward. While the
changing imperatives of industry increasingly transformed land in the southwestern districts to
suit the needs of capital, morphologically distinct landscapes that were shaped by planning
during the French colonial regime were more malleable to redevelopment because they were
less dictated by fixed capital. Culturally motivated economic policy enacted during the 1960s
launched tertiary development initiatives in the older, more adaptable areas leading to the
functional segregation of Southwest Montréal. The intensification of development in the CBD
was carried out at the expense of inner-city areas that began to suffer from lack of investment.
Montréal’s decline as a growth pole was partly affected by these policies.

In the final chapter, I situate the role of growth machine politics in post-World War Two
modernization within a broader history of urban reform. The development of professional urban
planning in Montréal was influenced by late-nineteenth century urban public movements and
notions of urbanism developed by sanitation engineers. The city’s earliest planners, who were
often sanitation engineers, put forth a particular notion of urbanism that combined elements of
high-modernism with corporeal metaphors. In this discourse, social conditions and “blight” that
were deemed to be “immoral” and “undesirable” had to be removed from neighbourhoods.
However, in the process of characterizing the symptoms of ‘urban ills’, many working class
areas and residents in Montréal were pathologized. Mayor Drapeau appealed to religious
notions of morality that were embedded in Québécois culture to gain popular consent for urban
development projects, which he framed within the discourse of the welfare state. At the same
time, many of these large-scale mega-projects were also intended to inscribe the Drapeau
growth coalition’s visions of modernity and nationalism onto the landscape. During the Quiet
Revolution, the Francophone bourgeoisie looked for external validation of their identity.
Montréal’s bureaucratic middle-class engaged in urban modernization initiatives that
transformed the city according to a culturally-guided notion of high-modernism. The
encapsulation of certain landscapes in the new CBD and Old Montréal by the Drapeau coalition
reconstituted and politicized spaces at the intra-urban level. However, the clearing of working class landscapes and destruction of neighbourhoods to make way for mega-projects negatively affected the city’s low-income populations.


4 Ibid., 3-4.
Chapter 1: Literature Review

During the 1960s, Old Montréal and the city’s new CBD were transformed by large-scale tertiary urban development projects and historical architectural preservation. The physical transformation of these landscapes had a direct influence on older southwestern manufacturing districts such as Saint-Henri. Urban landscapes that were redeveloped or preserved were the object of a cultural revolution and their respective transformations were guided by politically motivated economic policies. Urban modernization in Montréal was greatly influenced by liberal subjectivities and also reflected the aestheticization of political imperatives evidenced in the reassertion of nationalist identity. This illustrates the paradoxical unity of ‘class’ and ‘nation’ that defined the ideology of the Cité libre technocratic bourgeoisie who were the primary drivers of the Quiet Revolution reforms.

The entrenchment of the Francophone bourgeoisie in Québécois society highlights the persistent dominance of this class and how they were, in turn, able to shape landscape transformation during the Quiet Revolution. Thus, their longitudinal influence is best understood thematically as opposed to through a strict chronology of events. The themes presented here – nationalism, landscape, and regimes – are intended to illustrate the centrality of this class segment in the ordering of urban space according to the logic of capital and their ideological role in the related process of identity formation.

Nationalism

“Nation, nationality, nationalism – all have proved notoriously difficult to define, let alone analyze.”¹ In spite of this statement, Benedict Anderson has provided one of the most coherent and enduring theoretical conceptualizations of nation. Anderson explains that nations are “imagined communities,” representations that invoke the imagery of collective self.² Anderson acknowledges that his definition builds upon Ernest Gellner’s
comparable formulation of nationalism: “Nationalism is not the awakening of nations to
self-consciousness: it *invents* nations where they do not exist.” Yet, instead of
emphasizing the ‘false pretences’ upon which nationalism may rest, thereby correlating
‘fabrication’ and ‘falsity’, Anderson explicitly chooses to distinguish communities
according to how they are imagined.4

Implied in Anderson’s concept of ‘nation as imagined community’ is the
materiality of the nation-state that gives rise to certain social relations. Bryan Palmer
explains the material basis of imagined communities and nationalism in his exploration
of Canadian identity:

> At their most basic, nations are rooted in material space (a common
territory or homeland), rest on the historically repetitious elaboration of
common memories and mythologies, develop a relatively shared public
mass culture, and evolve a set of recognized legal-political-economic
relations.5

Palmer’s conceptualization of nationalism incorporates a historical materialist approach
in explaining ‘nation’ as a cultural production. He situates the ideological dynamism of
nation building in material relations that result from the conditions of production. Denis
Monière explains that any examination of a society’s varied ideologies depends on an
understanding of the processes by which that society was built: its historical origins, the
material conditions of its growth, its economic role including the relation between centre
and periphery, its class structure, and the conflicts among its various component parts.6

Palmer’s elucidation of the modern nation-state’s construction alludes to the centrality of
the bourgeoisie:

> The social metaphysic of this process of nation-building and state
formation draws selectively and partially on an inherited and historically
always proliferating cultural capital. Its cartography may well be an
arbitrary mapping of seemingly rightful place, but the engineering agenda
of nationalism registers not so much as illusion as a dominant hegemonic
drive in the histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.7

The “dominant hegemonic drive” in the Marxian analysis employed by Palmer is
embodied in the bourgeoisie. In this theorization of capitalism, the bourgeoisie exerts
control due to their ownership role in the mode of production. For example, the standard-
bearers of liberal ideology in nineteenth-century Europe were the bourgeois of industry, whereas in colonized societies it was often landowners who held ideological influence.\textsuperscript{8}

The rise of nationalism in Quebec from the late-nineteenth century onward was a consequence of colonialism. Monière explains that the originality of Quebec's colonial history resulted from the fact that "the colonizer was in turn colonized" due to the generation of a "double dialectic of ideological development."\textsuperscript{9} This double social structure was a consequence of the British conquest and was differentiated by nationality and mode of production.\textsuperscript{10} Following the end of the Seven Years' War in 1763 the British governing authority replaced Quebec's transplanted French aristocracy and colonized the remaining petty bourgeoisie. The 'decapitation' of the transplanted aristocracy from France shaped Quebec's transition to capitalism. The colonial Anglophone elite rose to economic prominence as mercantilists, and eventually transformed their economic activities through industrialization. The British became the "overall hegemonic class" and the remaining French petty bourgeoisie gradually aligned itself with the new foreign ruling class that dominated the social relations of production to become a "partial hegemonic class".\textsuperscript{11} The partial hegemonic class, constituted by clerics and landowners, became dominant amidst the colonized population.\textsuperscript{12}

The Francophone population was geographically concentrated in rural areas in which Roman Catholic clerics served as the \textit{de facto} governing faction of a petty bourgeoisie that exerted ideological control.\textsuperscript{13} The clerics espoused a conservative return to traditionalism that was articulated as a fear of cultural erosion in the face of modernization and the liberal subjectivities associated with capitalism. This reactionary ideology of nationalism became prominent due to the power of the Church in Québécois society and was provocative among marginalized subsistence farmers.

Monière's "double dialectic of ideological development" effectively captures the symmetry between the Québécois and Anglo-Canadian colonial structures in the period leading up to the Great Depression. Both cultures were engaged in the process of
modern nation building and employed a totalizing approach, separately creating shared, imagined communities that had a material basis rooted in a particular mode of production. Expressions of nationalism are complex and cannot be understood solely by their overt articulations that attempt to assert an essentialized notion of identity. Palmer draws attention to the contradictory and ironic process of identity formation that are historically conditioned. He illustrates the manner in which nationalism suppresses the plurality of identity: “It revives what is often dead, invents what it needs to survive, suppresses the ‘other’ that complicates its need for essentialisms, and fictions pristine purities out of dirtied complexities. Nationalism and nation are thus the triumph of will over experience, of hope over actuality.”

The project of modernity came into focus in eighteenth-century Europe in the wake of the Industrial Revolution. Enlightenment thought naturalized the territorial extension of societies that cut-across place-based notions of community through the processes of modern liberal capitalism. Citing Jürgen Habermas, Harvey states that this project incorporated the variegated works of Enlightenment intellectuals that aimed “to develop objective science, universal morality and law, and autonomous art according to their inner logic,” liberating individuals from the “irrationalities” of myth and religion. However, resentment grew in response to the subordination of subjective experience by rational enquiry and objective knowledge. The modern theorization of nation-state separated the idea ‘community’ and ‘society’, as traditional place-based communities were subsumed by modern societies. This theorization is intellectually rooted in Ferdinand Tönnies (1887) opposition of Gemeinschaft and Gesellschaft. Tönnies posited community (Gemeinschaft) as the physical setting of social relations that give rise to moral solidarity, whereas society (Gesellschaft) represented the “demands of rational and thus non-communal and non-local associative relations such as social class.” In Emile Durkheim’s analysis, new social institutions in large-scale industrial societies were performing and altering the social functions of Gemeinschaft society, as social relations
were increasingly dictated and influenced by the division of labour, not propinquity.\textsuperscript{19} Local community was based on subjective feelings in contrast to the modern rationality of placeless national socioeconomic relationships.

Industrialization and the geographic extension of capitalism intensified the compression and time and space, a process that was perceived to obliterate community and place. In reaction to the ‘placelessness’ of modern liberal capitalism, groups began to reassert their diverse subjective identities through national liberation movements as a form of resistance against the universalizing and objectifying processes of modernity.\textsuperscript{20} David Harvey refers to this process of identity reassertion as “reactionary modernism”, thereby highlighting how certain forms of nationalism were framed as reactions to modernity yet were still imbricated in the process of modernization. Reactionary modernism aestheticized politics, emphasizing the power of myth, subjective identity and ‘national community’ but also mobilized the rhetoric of social progress towards a nation-building project.\textsuperscript{21} Thus, this form of nationalism paradoxically incorporates its supposed antithetical, modernization. In Marshall Berman’s seminal text, \textit{All That Is Solid Melts Into Air}, he highlights the “paradoxical unity” of modernity, which incorporates its own anti-thesis and thus, the seeds of dissent: “The revolutionary dynamism that will overthrow the modern bourgeoisie springs from that bourgeoisie’s own deepest impulses and needs.”\textsuperscript{22} From this passage, one can glean the continuity between nationalism and modernity. Starting in the late-nineteenth century, Québécois society’s influential petty bourgeoisie attempted to repair its subordinate status and incorporated its own anti-thesis by selectively adopting elements of liberal capitalism in the French national project. The Québécois wanted to improve their socioeconomic status by engaging in the emerging industrial capitalist economy in Montréal and other urban centres. ‘Nationalism’ and ‘modernization’ became dialectically incorporated in paradoxical unity as the nationalist movement became sustained by its anti-thesis.\textsuperscript{23}
The Great Depression fundamentally altered the articulation of nationalism in Québécois society by bringing the class-based concerns of marginalized Francophones to the forefront. During the inter-war years the antecedent group to Cité libre mobilized to improve the socioeconomic status of French-Canadians through economic and urban modernization. The ideology of Cité libre was a product of the Pax Americana post-World War Two period in which utility and universalism guided the reconstruction and revitalization of aging cities. ‘Universal’ or ‘high’ modernism became hegemonic in Western societies, where “a corporate capitalist vision of the Enlightenment project of development for progress and human emancipation held sway as a political-economic dominant.” The ideas of CIAM (Congrès Internationale d’Architecture Moderne), Le Corbusier, and Mies van der Rohe were influential and defined modernist architecture. State-sponsored public works projects incorporated the architectural efficiencies of high-modernist, minimalist brutalist design in order to quickly construct structures that were defined by their function. For example, unadorned working-class housing was built in order to meet the post-war demand for affordable housing. During Québec’s Quiet Revolution, high-modernism and the rhetoric of nationalism were employed to pursue Keynesian economic policies that shaped urban development in Montréal.

Many historians have criticized the dominant popular interpretations of the Quiet Revolution, which tend to be preoccupied with the centrality of the liberal and Liberal reformers of the 1960s associated with Cité libre and le rassemblement. For example, Brian Tanguay contends with revisionist explanations of the Quiet Revolution that seek to question, in the words of the nationalist historian Gilles Paquet, the “thinly veiled triumphalism” and adulation of this particular class. Paquet claims that the rapid growth of the provincial state apparatus in the 1960s had a harmful effect on Québec’s economic development because it eroded the “social capital” that had existed during the Duplessis years, which he perceives as a liberal era of economic policy. In reality, the social capital of traditional Québécois society was transformed into new forms such as
unions, which precipitated the reforms of the 1960s. The reforms of the 1960s gave rise to an increased level of para-public and private capitalist activities, most visibly through land development. The sluggish economy in post-Quiet Revolution era Québec could be partly attributed to the lack of research and development in the province’s manufacturing sectors.\textsuperscript{29} Perhaps, continued economic decline and crises of over-accumulation sustained “reactionary nationalism” in Québécois society.

According to Tanguay, Paquet’s revisionist interpretation problematically posits the erosion of an idealized notion of traditional, communitarian Québécois society, which he terms “social capital”, as the cause of economic decline. As Tanguay explains, revisionist explanations of the Quiet Revolution “risk diluting the less palatable features of the Union Nationale regime like authoritarianism, anti-intellectualism and anti-unionism that were prominent in Duplessis’s approach to governing.”\textsuperscript{30} However, there is no doubt that in the technocratic hubris of the 1960s, middle-class functionaries and the \textit{Cité libre} elite seized control. It was not their Keynesian economic policies that were problematic; it was their hegemonic role in the democratic process and social mobilization that became troubling. Tanguay characterizes Québec democracy in this period as being caught in a “Faustian bargain” with the Lesage regime.\textsuperscript{31} The Faustian bargain is a cultural motif that is metaphorically employed to describe a ‘deal with the devil’. In this particular case, Tanguay is attempting to describe the manner in which the Quiet Revolution reforms, that gave a certain amount of power to the working classes, were granted to this group on terms dictated by the Francophone bourgeoisie. For example, while there was dramatic growth in unions over the 1960s, they were created out of the \textit{Cité libre}-led Quiet Revolution reforms and they were given the right to strike in the new labour code established by Lesage in 1964.\textsuperscript{32}

The position of Québec’s Francophone bourgeoisie in the middle of the twentieth century must be situated within a longer history of class formation. The Quiet Revolution concentrated a great deal of power in the hands of a segment of the Francophone
bourgeoisie. When the struggle to reassert French national identity and establish a liberal democracy emerged as prominent issues on Québec’s post-World War Two era political agenda, with the *Cité libre* intelligentsia at the forefront of such efforts, it revealed the intertwined, dialectical relationship between class and nation. The reassertion of national identity became a function of bourgeois socioeconomic power. At the same time, the government of Québec was able pursue large-scale intervention and began to improve the welfare of marginalized French-Canadians. Ultimately, during the Quiet Revolution the rhetoric of nationalism was employed to pursue nationalist economic policies that shaped urban development in Montréal, thus implicitly reasserting the significance of place.

**Landscape**

The importance of geographical place in the social sciences and humanities gained prominence in the 1970s and 1980s as a growing body of contemporary critical theory became concerned with the relationships between cultural production and material practice. Denis Cosgrove’s central thesis in *Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape* (1984) connects the cultural significance of landscape to the manner in which land is materially appropriated and used. Landscape is a cultural production and representation that is constituted by the material practices related to a given society’s mode of production. The transition to capitalism was a widespread process that restructured landscapes and subjugated all North American colonies to this mode of material production. The restructuring of landscapes according to the needs of capital fundamentally reorganizes society’s relationship with the environment and resources. The spatial reorganization of land according to new economic imperatives also shapes the idea of landscape and how it is pictorially and cartographically represented. Due to the ideological power of the bourgeoisie, which is derived from their role in the capitalist
mode of production, this class segment is able to appropriate and possess landscapes for material gain.\textsuperscript{35}

During the transition to capitalism, societies were simultaneously engaged in both capitalist and feudal modes of production. The co-existence of competing modes of production gave rise to differing conceptualizations of economic and social relations. Landscapes are ideologically constituted, thus distinct modes of production and social relations contributed to the manifestation of physically distinct landscapes.\textsuperscript{36} The expansion of Montréal through industrial capitalism pushed the urban envelope into fringe districts and transformed the city into an urban region. Harvey explains that in response to periodic crises of over-accumulation and decreases in productivity, capital becomes mobile, seeking a “spatial fix” to absorb over-accumulation through spatial or temporal displacements.\textsuperscript{37} While the French petty bourgeoisie became increasingly involved in the intensification of industrial capitalism from the mid-nineteenth century onward, the majority of urbanizing Québécois society became marginalized in landscape that they perceived to be constituted by the manufacturing activities of the Anglophone bourgeoisie. This view was reinforced by the nationalist ideology of the clerical bourgeoisie.

During the Quiet Revolution, Montréal’s place-based bourgeoisie was able to appropriate downtown landscapes for tertiary redevelopment due its hegemonic role in Québécois society. Don Mitchell notes that:

\begin{quote}
The transformation of the landscape polity and the modes of representation embodied in the landscape – [are] found in the landscape itself; since “the physical environment was a \textit{reflection} of the political landscape. [T]he trick was to remake the physical environment so it reflected a different \textit{kind} of polity. The trick was to destroy the landscape in order to ‘improve’ it.”\textsuperscript{38}
\end{quote}

Echoing Cosgrove, Mitchell emphasizes the importance of understanding the social relations that are embedded in landscapes and influence the manner in which they are constituted. He argues for advancement of landscape theory that is grounded in material relations and is not only a “way of seeing” that discursively draws attention to symbol
and metaphor. Through urban reform, renewal and modernization, the Francophone bourgeoisie engaged in a dialectical of ‘improvement’ and destruction by shaping the landscape in a manner that commodified place to ultimately serve their class and cultural interests. High-modernist urban modernization entailed constant upheaval, as landscapes were perpetually made and remade. Berman cites Marx in describing the paradoxical unity that animates modernity:

> It pours us all into a maelstrom of perpetual disintegration and renewal, of struggle and contradiction, of ambiguity and anguish. To be modern is to be part of a universe in which, as Marx said ‘all that is solid melts into air’.

While the “self-referential myth” of high-modernism was rooted in ‘benevolence’ and ‘progress’, it still reinforced the logic of capitalism and the class-based needs of growth machine coalitions.

The acceleration of the spatial-fix in the post-1945 economy seemed to increase the rate of ‘melting’, evidenced in the destruction of landscapes and neighbourhoods. Berman draws attention to the razing of landscapes in New York by influential power broker Robert Moses. The cries of opposition to the destructive and homogenizing aspects of modernist urban planning were articulated vociferously in the 1960s and 1970s, most notably by urbanist Jane Jacobs. Jacobs’ dissent was targeted at the manner in which the functionalist aesthetic of bland landscapes disciplined the improvisational “sidewalk ballet”, thus impeding social interaction and subjective expressions of identity. Jacobs advocated for the cultivation of diversity in the urban aesthetic. At the same time the unintentional effect of cultivating aesthetic diversity was the increased commodification of landscapes, ultimately rendering housing prohibitively expensive for low-income populations and eroding the welfarist aspirations of the era.

**Regime**

In many respects the post-World War Two period of civic governance in Montréal corresponded to the “growth regime” pattern and the rise of the “corporate city”
throughout North America that represented a shift away from undertaking urban land development in a highly speculative manner, regulated solely by capitalist land relations. Post-Second World War American revitalization campaigns were executed by alliances of developers, investors, planning professionals and politicians. These shifting alliances operated as “urban growth machines” that coordinated myriad activities including, but not limited to, civic boosterism; land clearances and consolidation; downtown development planning; as well as private and public sector financing for large-scale projects.

Harvey Molotch explains that city’s are the “areal expression” of its land-based elite. This elite profits through intensification of land use in the area in which its members hold a common interest. Governmental authority, at the local and non-local levels, is utilized to assist this growth at the expense of competing localities. Conditions of community life are largely a consequence of the social, economic and political forces embodied in the growth machine. The manner in which this growth is achieved is the central issue for those who have the resources to transform their preoccupation with urban concerns into a tangible political force: “The city is, for those who count, a growth machine.” The localization of collective consumption issues and the entrenchment of the welfare state in the post-World War Two era highlight the particular importance of the urban level of analysis in this era. Urban regime theory is an important layer of inquiry in understanding landscape transformation in Montréal during the Quiet Revolution because it helps to elucidate the logic of capital in uneven urban development and demonstrates the centrality of the Francophone bourgeoisie in this process through their place-making role.

However, urban regime theory is less sensitive to the understanding of subjective identity that is not purely influenced by class relations. The Quiet Revolution was rooted in a dialectical synthesis of ‘class’ and ‘nation’, in which both identities figured prominently in Québec’s public discourse, albeit in a state of perpetual conflict.
period following the Second World War, class concerns and civil rights dominated the Western social policy agenda. American President Lyndon B. Johnson’s Great Society initiative of the mid-1960s reformulated and expanded some of President John F. Kennedy’s ideas, resulting in the launch of domestic social programmes aimed at creating equal access to economic opportunity. Technocratic solutions were developed to solve the nation’s social ills, including widespread poverty. Inherent in Johnson’s War on Poverty was the notion that America’s racial struggles could be quelled by enacting policies that fostered economic parity among its citizens. From this point of view, race was inextricable from class. Kobayashi and Peake’s contention is that the normative gaze of political leaders during this era made it difficult to disentangle the two objects, ‘class’ and ‘race’, in public discourse, contributing to the “discursive silencing” of race. Similarly, the articulation of racial discrimination during the civil rights movement was framed as a curtailment of rights, a distinction that could apply to all groups, thus erasing difference and rendering the social logic of race opaque.

While the social construction of ‘race’ and ‘nation’ are two distinct processes, the class preoccupation of welfare state growth politics tended to relegate identities other than class to the realm of secondary concern. In the United States, ‘other’ identity groups often comprised a minority share of the population and rarely received print media attention, thus remaining at the fringe of public discourse. For example, in Los Angeles print media attention to the socioeconomic grievances of the black community peaked in and around the events of the Watts riot in 1965. The grievances of the black community culminated in rioting due to the longstanding refusal of Los Angeles civic politicians’ to address the growing problem of racialized poverty with adequate funding to support appropriate solutions. The pro-growth political machine in Los Angeles failed to establish a local War on Poverty agency or a Youth Opportunities Agency aimed at creating much needed inner-city employment for ghettoized individuals, who were predominantly black and Chicano, and were consequently denied federal funding from
the Office of Economic Opportunity to initiate further efforts. Los Angeles’ political regime only implemented ‘make-work programmes’ that supported the labour needs of their speculative investments located in the outlying counties adjacent to Los Angeles County and ‘urban renewal’ programmes that raised the value of downtown property in the CBD. The decentralization of jobs contributed to a spatial mismatch between the central city areas that housed an oversupply of low-skilled workers and the location of jobs in that they were qualified for. Grievances associated with racialized poverty were not aired in the print media because the circulation of such ideas would have cast a negative light on the actions and land transactions of the Los Angeles growth machine. Thus, the entrance of “race” into public discourse through the reporting of incidents involving the uprising of rebellious segments of the black community was perceived as a disincentive to regional growth.

A somewhat different situation materialized in Québec during the 1960s in which issues associated with both class and national identity became firmly ingrained in public discourse, highlighting the uniqueness of reform during the Quiet Revolution. While the social agitation of Québec’s new French-Canadian middle class started to take shape in the immediate period following the Second World War, its entrenchment was evidenced in the election of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage in 1960. This vocal bourgeoisie segment of Québec’s Francophone majority, who placed Lesage at the helm, acted unilaterally to initiate sweeping political reforms that were implemented, at the outset, in a virtually unchallenged manner. Unlike the state policy resulting from the influence of the American Civil Rights Movement of the same period in which race was inadvertently silenced identity through the privileging of shared class concerns, French-Canadian nationalism explicitly sought to assert Francophone identity in an overt manner by claiming majority status while also developing welfare state policies and executing extensive bureaucratic reforms. The rise of French-Canadian nationalism spurred both urban and provincial elites to look for external validation of their identity.
reassert Francophone identity, the bureaucratic middle class proceeded to reconstitute and modernize the landscape of its provincial growth pole, Montréal.

In spite of the synthesis of nationalism and class issues at the provincial level in Québec, the “symbolic” politics of nationalism were selectively employed by Mayor Drapeau to facilitate the fundamental growth mechanism of his urban government. For Molotch:

> Desire for growth provides the key operative motivation toward consensus for members of politically mobilized elites, however split they may be on other issues, and that the common interest in growth is the overriding commonality among important people in a given locale – at least insofar as they have any important local goal at all.\(^{57}\)

Mayor Drapeau’s central concern was bidding for and obtaining public and private funding for his large-scale urban development projects. The “material terms” of growth politics, the process by which goods and services are locally distributed, in which land is an important variable, are privileged in Molotch’s theoretical framework. While Molotch acknowledges the importance of “symbolic” politics “which comprises the ‘big issues’ of public morality and the symbolic reforms featured in the headlines and editorials of the daily press,” he relegates these to a position of secondary importance in comparison to the unseen negotiations that occur within the committees of municipal council.\(^{58}\)

However, evidence from the Montréal case study suggests that symbolic politics helped to sustain and legitimize Mayor Drapeau’s growth machine. Drapeau was a mercurial politician who instinctively knew how to appeal to Montréal’s diverse constituencies so as to gain and maintain their support.\(^{59}\)

At the height of the Quiet Revolution, he exploited English- and French-Canadian ethnolinguistic identities by employing rhetoric that feigned thinly-veiled support for the national claims of whichever constituency he was attempting to court on the campaign trail.\(^{60}\)

While “symbolic politics” is an imprecise term, I understand it to refer to the manner in which politicians employ subjective identity to appeal to diverse constituencies. Thus, the urban growth machine is a relevant and
useful theoretical concept if it is employed in conjunction with approaches that are sensitive to the importance of subjective identity in the facilitation of growth consensus.

André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist employ the term “politico-emotive geographies” to describe particular symbolic landscapes; politicized spaces that are socially and physically constructed to invoke specific feelings. Their article employs visual theory as well as landscape theory to examine the role of politico-emotive geographies in activating a “future gaze”, in which landscapes are constituted as visual symbols of a vision of futurity. This “modernistic” gaze is politically charged and produced by the dominant growth regime. The authors refer to this productive process, in which the growth machine creates a coherent and essentialized vision of futurity, as ‘encapsulation’. Jansson and Lagerkvist describe Montréal’s 1967 World Fair (Expo ’67), Mayor Jean Drapeau’s most well known grand projet, as an act of encapsulation. Expo ’67 was intended to constitute an ideological force of modern that transformed the City of Montréal into a coherent realm of experience. Encapsulation requires a scripting of the city, its sights/sites and zones of circulation, which “normalizes and encourages a certain gaze and certain kinds of spatial practices.” The media crescendo in the lead-up to the ‘Expo Summer’ was very visible in my study of issues of back-issues from The Montréal Daily Star.

However, Jansson and Lagerkvist do not emphasize that Expo ’67 was also intended to highlight the efforts the Francophone growth regime as part of a larger national project. As evidenced in the case of the port rehabilitation in Old Montréal, the Drapeau growth coalition was engaged in other urban development projects that transformed politicized spaces into cultural symbols. Jansson and Lagerkvist’s concept of encapsulation can be extended to landscapes that are not necessarily physical representations of futurity and do not employ high-modernist architecture. The rehabilitation of Old Montréal can be considered an urban development project that is part of the larger totalizing force of modernization that was being enacted in Montréal. All
forms of urban modernization during the Quiet Revolution had the effect of imposing a homogeneous notion of Québécois identity onto the landscape in a society that was ethnically heterogeneous. The encapsulation of Old Montréal resulted in the isolation or ‘othering’ of nearby landscapes in working-class Saint-Henri because the neighbourhood was becoming a problematic symbol of inner-city poverty and deindustrialization. This modern landscape did not conform to the vision of Montréal’s Francophone growth regime and was thus excluded from redevelopment initiatives during the Quiet Revolution period. The neglect of inner-city deindustrialization in Montréal contributed to the province’s economic decline in the 1970s.

2 Ibid., 6-7.
3 Ibid., 6.
4 Ibid.
7 Palmer, Canada’s 1960s, 6-7.
8 Monière, Ideologies in Quebec, 13.
9 Ibid., 20.
10 Ibid., 20-21.
11 Monière, Ideologies in Quebec, 21.
12 Ibid.
13 Serge Courville, Quebec: A Historical Geography (Vancouver, 2008); Hubert Guindon, Tradition, modernity and nationhood (Toronto, 1988); Paul-André Linteau et al, Quebec Since 1930 (Toronto, 1991); Monière, Ideologies in Quebec; Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: Québec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque (Toronto, 1979).
14 Palmer, Canada’s 1960s, 7.
19 Ibid., 11.
20 David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity: 208-209.
21 Ibid., 209
23 “A Society in Motion: The Quiet Revolution and the Rise of the Middle Class,” in André Lortie ed., the 60s: Montréal thinks big (Toronto, 2004).
24 Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, 31-32
25 Ibid., 35.
26 Ibid.
28 Ibid., 3-6.
31 Ibid., 13-14.
32 Ibid.
33 Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, 1.
34 Ibid., 2-9
36 Cosgrove, Social Formation and Symbolic Landscape, 38.
37 Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, 182-183.
40 Berman, All That Is Solid Melts Into Air, 15.
41 Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, 36-38.
42 Berman, All That Is Solid Melts Into Air, 290-312.
44 Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, 70-76.
46 Ibid., 309.
47 Ibid., emphasis added.
50 Ibid., 394.
Paula B. Johnson et al., “Black Invisibility, the Press, and the Los Angeles Riot.” The American Journal of Sociology 76, 4 (1971): 709-715. The extent and nature of ‘black invisibility’ in the press was investigated by means of a content analysis of the Los Angeles Times and Herald-Examiner from 1892 to 1968. The results indicate that little attention had been given to black throughout the twentieth-century and coverage of blacks relative to their proportion of the population actually diminished from 1892 to just before the riot. The great increase in coverage during the riot itself returned rapidly to the pre-riot level by early 1966.


While there is no evidence, according to Johnson et al., that the local print media harboured explicitly racist editorial slants in the 1960s it is anecdotally significant that Los Angeles’ arguably most powerful family, the Chandlers (who were rumoured to have been the inspiration for the well-known American movie Chinatown), were not only deeply involved in local land speculation at the fringe but also owned the Los Angeles Times and had family members on its editorial board up until the mid-1980s.


Ibid.


Ibid., 26-30.

Ibid., 30.

Ibid.

I analyzed every Friday archived microfiche copy of The Montréal Daily Star from the month of December during the 1960-1969 period. There was a strong presence of varied article that documented the events surrounding the Expo ’67 as well as opinion pieces.
Chapter 2: The Québécois Bourgeoisie – A Partial Hegemonic Class

In this chapter I trace a geography of social change in French-Canadian, Québécois society with the purpose of situating the solidification of a Francophone middle class, who were integral in creating a secular bureaucracy in the period following the Second World War, within a longer history of social relations. I will critically analyse this class segment's primacy during the Quiet Revolution and the important transition period between the Duplessis and Lesage regimes. Starting with the collapse of the feudal trading society and the transition to industrialization, I begin by exploring the corresponding concentration of Francophones in rural areas and the growth of a traditional social structure. The establishment of agriculture on marginal lands led to widespread crop failure and the consequent impoverishment of Québécois subsistence farmers. As transplanted Anglophone entrepreneurs began to prosper through the implementation of industrial capitalism in Montréal, struggling agrarian populations became increasingly disenfranchised in the face of poverty that stemmed from a lack of sufficient agricultural export commodities.

Widespread resentment among the rural poor manifested itself in the reactionary reassertion French-Canadian national identity starting in the 1840s. This movement incorporated nationalism and the ultramontane conservatism of the powerful Catholic clergy as epitomized by its early influential leader Lionel Groulx. These early inklings of the nationalist movement reached a climax in the 1920s and 1930s as the Francophone population abandoned rural areas and migrated to urban centres in search of employment. The migrants who came to Montréal sought to take advantage of opportunities in the city’s growing manufacturing sector. However, this large influx of unskilled French migrants became equally marginalized within the confines of industrial capitalism as inexpensive units of labour who could not bid for higher wages. In response to their economic subjugation, residentially concentrated working-class Francophones implanted the communitarian social structure of traditional rural society.
into the urban milieu by building new forms of social capital evidenced in the organization of labour unions and the entrenchment of nationalism.

While the French were over-represented in the low-income categories, the Francophone population of Montréal exhibited a certain degree of stratification from the early nineteenth century onward with the emergence of a landowning petty bourgeoisie. This privileged segment of Francophone society had no explicit nationalist inclination and worked alongside Anglophone industrialists to pursue unbridled land speculation from the mid-nineteenth century onward. However, over the course of the first half of the twentieth century French businessmen began to lobby for economic and political reforms in urban centres, eventually under the banner of nationalism in the late 1950s. This important segment of Montréal’s growth machine anticipated potential economic opportunities associated with political regime change.

At the same time, the nature of nationalist expressions were fragmenting in Québécois society. During the inter-war years, a highly educated segment of the Francophone bourgeoisie mobilized around the tenets of liberal reform and sought to improve the circumstances of poor French populations through economic and urban modernization as well as welfarist social policies. The efforts of this segment culminated in the formation of *Cité libre* in the period following the Second World War. The *Cité libre* group was highly influential, wielded a disproportionate amount of political power and was central to the Quiet Revolution.

*‘Decapitation Theory’ and the Growth of Traditional Rural Society*

The antecedents of Montréal’s Francophone-led urban regime can be traced to the French bourgeoisie that formed in response to the late-eighteenth century exodus of transplanted aristocrats back to France. Conditions in New France were less than hospitable and were not ideal circumstances in which to reproduce a feudal system. The hierarchical social structure of feudal society could not be naturalized in New France.
For example, the feudal status and political authority of a seigneur had “hollow meaning” in rural Québec: “Owing to frontier conditions, it was impossible for feudal society to have its metropolitan meaning.”¹ The nascent colony was fraught with conflict that arose from diverging conceptions of social organization, thus making it difficult for the colonial administrators to achieve their economic and political objectives.

The British conquest of New France following the Seven Years’ War dramatically changed the colony’s social geography. It is widely held that this transformation shifted French-Canadian society into a state of ‘arrested development’ which it could not overcome.² It brought about not only the exodus of the French aristocracy, but also the replacement of the Québécois mercantile bourgeoisie by an English counterpart. The conquest marked the end of the trading society and the feudal society. The local clergy and the habitants stayed but with the ‘decapitation’ or exodus of the French governing elite, “the clergy became, by default, the undisputed leaders of the local colonists; thus was the triumph of the clerical conception of the proper social organization for French Canada achieved by the British military victory.”³ The British colonial administrators deferred a certain amount of burdensome governing authority to French-Canadians, providing that the latter’s society did not interfere with or impede their commercial objectives. Evidently, being delegated some authority in self-governance did not negate the fact that rural French-Canadian society was constrained in comparison to the disproportionate economic power wielded by the transplanted British elite in the urban mercantile hubs. As the capitalist activities of Montréal’s growing Anglophone bourgeoisie became more spatially extensive in the late-eighteenth century, the Francophone population was increasingly concentrated in rural fringe areas. Furthermore, Roman Catholic clerics were the de facto governing authority in rural French districts and devolution of power through ‘self-governance’ did not give rise to democratic representation.
The social organization of French Canada proceeded along a line of traditional rural development. The emerging society, in its early phases, rested on an economy of subsistence farming by landholding families grouped in local communities called parishes. In Lower Canada, crop failure became more frequent after 1815. By the 1880s wheat had failed permanently along much of the seigneurial lands lining the St. Lawrence River. Starvation was widespread as farmers could not export nor let alone subsist on the failing commodity. Furthermore, commercial farming could not be feasibly pursued because it was an uneconomic venture to keep exhausting fallow fields with intensive agriculture methods. John McCallum argues that Montréal lost its dominant urban position in the Canadian urban system during the pre-Confederation era largely due to Ontario’s vastly superior agricultural capacity. Wheat was Canada’s economic growth engine until 1860 and Ontario was the commodity leader.

With a small domestic market, Lower Canada could not respond to opportunities that would allow the habitants (Québécois subsistence farmers) to counteract the economic plight associated with crop failure. In contrast, Ontario was able to engage in import-substituting industrialization to a greater extent due to its agrarian growth, thereby discouraging foreign direct investment and ownership in its emerging manufacturing sector. Québec was faced with unproductive agriculture, sluggish resource exploitation, and an intermittent forestry industry, resulting in a weak base for urban and industrial development. Accordingly, industrial development that occurred outside of Montréal and Québec City was scant and comparatively unproductive. Compounding economic troubles gave rise to an seemingly unlimited supply of labour earning wages well below the levels witnessed in rural Ontario. The devaluation of labour in Québec and the concentration of Francophones in low-income quintiles had negative social consequences that only worsened in the early twentieth century.

In spite of a weak domestic market, the mercantile economy of Montréal thrived after the conquest. The city distinguished itself by occupying a strategic position in the
economic hierarchy and geography of British North America as the commercial pivot of North America located on the Saint-Lawrence River. The local urban economy was rooted in staple products and the import requirements of other regions and as such the city had become the core of the fledgling nation’s transportation network, the centre of capital accumulation, and a focal point for immigrant industrialists. The devaluation of labour associated with local agricultural conditions as well as the maritime transportation access and hydraulic power provided by the Lachine Canal fostered Montréal’s early industrial development in spite of a general state of poverty in the Québec economy.

The dimensions and nature of population movements in Lower Canada were in flux throughout the nineteenth century. Immigration from the British Isles changed the dynamics of capitalist development, emphasizing Anglophone economic power in Montréal, which resulted in changing ethnic and political realities.” Soon, transplanted British industrialists took hold of the mercantile economy of the Saint-Lawrence and began to cultivate industrial capital in districts adjacent to the CBD port lands. Meanwhile, growing opportunities in the manufacturing sector drew Francophones away from marginal agrarian lands to urban centres in search of employment. Symbolic of the changing weight of institutions, the city’s fortifications were torn down in the first decade of the nineteenth century and the Lachine Canal was constructed after 1818. That said, Montréal’s current architectural legacy from New France is scant. The fortifications were dismantled in order to stimulate growth of the faubourgs or suburbs beyond the walls. Even in the historic district of Old Montréal, only a few structures from the first half of the eighteenth century or earlier remain, as much of the built heritage was destroyed by fire.

The early decades of the nineteenth century were marked by a great deal of change in which Québec’s remaining agricultural activities became increasingly specialized. The concentration of employment in industry and a trend towards wage labour became discernible. Peripheral regions were only integrated much later into the
already thriving industrial economy that was concentrated in the villages on the Saint-Lawrence plain.\textsuperscript{10} By the 1840s, migration out of the seigneurial lands was perceived to threaten the existence of French culture, thereby politicizing language and institutions in the increasingly marginalized Francophone areas of rural Québec. The subsistence existence that the \textit{habitants} forged for themselves was largely rooted in the family unit; the \textit{habitants} depended on very little outside assistance as a consequence of their relatively isolated existence. While the \textit{habitants} were not dominant in the Montréal-centred mercantile economy, their social importance was emphasized in the rural structure of Québécois society that was built on the remnants of the feudal and trading society.\textsuperscript{11}

Authors have described the social organization of rural French-Canada in the transition to industrial capitalism using a variety of methods of inquiry that have responded to the changing theoretical conceptualization of ‘community’. Members of the Chicago School of sociology such as Horace Miner and Everett C. Hughes were concerned with how the moral order of the traditional Québécois society would be maintained and integration of its members could be achieved within the context of uneven development and a differentiated social structure.\textsuperscript{12} Sociologist Hubert Guindon was troubled by the Chicago School’s “ideal-type” characterization of Québécois society as a folk-society that was unfamiliar with secular rationalism because prior to the British conquest, the dominant mode of production was urban-based mercantilism.\textsuperscript{13} Guindon states that this “archaic” characterization erroneously reinforced the assimilation of English identity and secular rationalism.\textsuperscript{14} The purveyors of secular rationalism and modernization were not only English. A segment of the Francophone bourgeoisie fostered secular rationalism in Québécois society in the twentieth century, most intensely after the Second World War.
The Parish-Based Petty Bourgeoisie

Québécois society produced its own petty bourgeoisie, created from the ranks of the habitants, cutting across kinship structures. The bishop’s seminary was the main channel of upward social mobility. The Roman Catholic Church experienced a renaissance following the Napoleonic Wars in the early nineteenth century in spite of the general rise of secularism in Europe in the same era. This resurgence was marked by the official recognition of the conservative Bishop Joseph-Octave Plessis in 1817 at the parish of Notre-Dame, the rapid expansion of the dioceses in Montréal, the creation of classical colleges and the rise of popular participation in Catholic benevolent societies. In these decades, the Church departed from its Gallican traditions to become more Roman and ultramontane.

Individuals attended the bishop’s petit séminaire with hopes of becoming an officer of the religious institution. For those who failed to become priests the liberal professions were open. In either case one became part of the bourgeoisie that constituted the partial hegemonic regime of Québécois society. The bourgeoisie was thus clerically created and the avenues of social promotion were clerically controlled. The clergy taught religion, profane science and ‘bourgeois manners’ – which, in brief, mirrored an image of bourgeois life that the clergy had transported from the feudal aristocracy of New France. After spending time in the houses of clergy, one could return home and claim local prestige in the parish in one’s new occupation or ambitiously compete for higher offices in the emerging and strengthening supra-parochial spheres of politics and religion.

Political Ideology in Québécois Society

The political process of nineteenth century Québécois society was centred at the parish scale. The gradual introduction of British parliamentary politics, with its territorial
basis of representative government, reinforced the power of parishes and gave the illusion of democracy to local political life. Québécois social structure had a limiting effect on democratic participation. Political issues were defined in urban centres; then filtered and mediated among competing cliques of the clerical parish-centred bourgeoisie; and finally disseminated by the local clerics in church and through partisan regional newspapers. Moreover, the largely illiterate population was sometimes told how to vote straight from the pulpit. Therefore, representative democracy was relatively illusory due to the ‘unholy matrimony’ that bridged the political processes in Québec’s emerging secular urban centres and traditional rural society where the clerical elite had an authoritarian role in the dissemination of democratic ideas. Against this historical judgement, other authors give more credit to this nascent political process in fostering the sea change towards a more democratic form of governance in French-Canadian society, particularly as popular participation increased in the late-nineteenth century.

The “lack of a democratic philosophy” among the French-Canadian population in this era is understandably a contentious aspect of Québec’s history. Herbert F. Quinn’s statement serves as an important preface to understanding how the Church influenced the formation of a powerful Francophone political regime that was eventually met with resistance, resistance that reached an apex during the Quiet Revolution. The Church’s influence in the emerging French-Canadian democracy is deeply imbricated with the political theory that buttressed nineteenth-century Catholicism and its conservative shift. The French Revolution of 1789 and the revolutions sweeping Europe in 1848 convinced the Church that democracy and capitalism were necessarily linked with anti-clericalism, secularism, atheism, and the absence of law and order. The Church did not accept the validity of Natural Law and it could therefore not accept Jean-Jacques Rousseau’s influential interpretation of the sovereign – people as the ultimate source of law and authority. Hence, the political theory imported by the Church to Québec emphasized
tradition, order and obedience to authority, leaving its permanent trace on Québécois society well after the exodus of the French aristocracy.

The ‘Ecclesiastical Technocracy’

As an administrative framework, the geography of Québec’s ecclesiastical bureaucracy had a definite advantage over the province’s political and economic geographies because it had a centralized structure organized on a regional basis into dioceses, thereby making it an ideal distributor of social services. While the religious and secular realms formed a convoluted union and defined the political process,

\[\text{There existed a division of labour between politics, business, and religion. But the religious was the commanding institution; its ascendance assured the spread of its ideology, its vocabularies of motives, and its languages, within the realms of the other two.}^{23}\]

The Church controlled the channels of social mobility by its control over the education structure. It socialized the youth, professionals, politicians and even future anti-clericals, thus rendering efforts to separate church and state futile. Furthermore, it actively intervened in politics, employing measures ranging from moral persuasion to economic boycott in order to silence dissenters.

Everett C. Hughes’ wrote a set of seminal essays between 1933 and 1941 on the changing class structure of Québécois society. The central concern posited in Hughes’ compilation, *French Canada in Transition*, was how the institutions that comprised Québécois society’s communitarian social structure would survive urbanization and integrate with industrialization and the imperatives of capitalism. Writing at a time in which the wounds of the Great Depression were fresh, Hughes coloured his research with an important note expressing his feeling that industrial capitalism was at an uncertain conjuncture and that French Canada could become destabilized through economic transition:

\[\text{It is also probably significant that the French Canadians are being drawn en masse into the world of extreme industrial capitalism at the very time}\]
Further, Hughes felt that the kinds of knowledge and “personal qualities” stressed by the clerical leaders of French-Canadian society did not prepare the rapidly urbanizing French population for the challenges they would face upon encountering industrial capitalism in the cities. However, the clerical petty bourgeoisie were not passive in this process; they strategically fostered the communitarian structure of Québécois society and the imagery of the pious *habitant* to mask the authoritarian and capitalist power of the Church.

*Les Habitants*, the ‘City Below The Hill’ and Urban Poverty

Central to the Church’s overt philosophy was a communitarian ideal embodied in the principle that the spiritual realm held primacy over the material one. However, the dioceses of Québec put the onus on the rural poor and growing urban working-class of Québécois society to uphold this moral value. When the *habitants* came to Montréal in search of employment, their economic status and role in the industrial hierarchy became apparent. The large influx of *habitants* were suddenly landless and had not acquired the skills required to sell their labour in the manufacturing economy. Poverty and deplorable housing conditions characterized the lives of rural French-Canadian migrants as well as the lives of other ethnic segments of the working-classes, including newly arrived immigrant labourers from Europe, whose presence had been increasing in the city from the 1880s onward. During the late nineteenth century, some members of Montréal’s Anglophone and Francophone bourgeoisies began to exhibit concern with conditions in the city’s growing West- and East End working-class manufacturing districts situated below the southern flank of Mount Royal. This sprawling area emanating from the CBD and port lands centred on the Lachine Canal was termed ‘The City Below The Hill’ in the influential work of the sociologist Herbert Brown Ames. Ames was a social reformer of
the late nineteenth and early twentieth century who brought attention to the impacts of industrialization on the ‘urban masses’, whose identities became increasingly subsumed by their occupational role in manufacturing.

Housing conditions were a major concern for the reformist proponents of the growing public health movement, but only from a health perspective as opposed to support for alternative urban development that would restrict the location of heavy industries. Public health agencies were established by the City of Montréal following the demands of the economically and politically powerful liberal reformers, but the municipal by-laws that were adopted to limit certain industrial activities in residential areas were seldom enforced if they were perceived to interfere with business growth. The establishment of public health infrastructure and agencies in the 1870s upon recommendation of Montréal’s influential sanitation engineers presaged interventionist urban development, but eventually provided the impetus for professional planning in the city.28 Housing conditions were still perceived as falling exclusively within the realm of private developers. As a result, a system of ‘noblesse oblige’ spearheaded by Montréal’s benevolent charitable organizations, which evolved from the efforts of bourgeoisie and clerical reformers, became entrenched and relied upon by the urban poor in a period when government intervention at all scales of governance was lacking. The Catholic Church, a major agent of social control in the working-class districts, also participated in this liberal model of social assistance. The parish was a significant unit of social capital transplanted from the traditional seigneurial societal model that existed beyond Montréal and became a source of cohesion and assistance in working-class neighbourhoods. Social welfare services were effectively organized at the parish/ward level, proving that the ecclesiastical bureaucracy was also essential in urban areas.29 At the same time, the Church was dependent on charitable patronage from the bourgeoisie to fund its welfare activities at the parish level, thereby creating an interesting dialectic between
socially polarized groups that reinforced the influence and power of the Church as a
critical interlocutor in service delivery.\textsuperscript{30}

\textbf{The Urban Francophone Bourgeoisie}

While the French were over-represented in the low-income categories, the
Francophone population of Montréal exhibited a certain degree of stratification from the
early-nineteenth century onward, evidenced in the emergence of a small bourgeoisie.
Yet the economic activities of this group were not concentrated in the ownership of
manufacturing firms. Anglophone immigrant industrialists such as John Molson and John
Redpath controlled the majority of industrial capital in Montréal. While manufacturing firm
ownership emphasized and entrenched Anglophone socioeconomic power,
Francophones also constituted an important part of the emerging urban industrial growth
regime. The work of Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert demonstrates the
equally important role of Francophone capitalists in shaping Montréal's nineteenth-
century landscape. Based on research gleaned from tax assessment rolls and their
pre-1847 predecessors, the \textit{rôles de cotisation}, Linteau and Robert reveal the portion of
capital used for the acquisition of land in Montréal and the role that the Francophone
bourgeoisie played in landownership. In 1825, French-Canadians, who comprised 54.4
percent of the city’s population, accounted for two-thirds of the property owners,
although their ownership was concentrated in low-income properties and tenements.
However, there were significantly large numbers of French-Canadians among property
owners with higher assessed revenues. The economic participation of Francophones,
particularly in the upper categories of rental values, is somewhat surprising in view of the
dominance of Anglophones in the commercial sector.\textsuperscript{31} While they were a minority
among financial, commercial or industrial capitalists, the French-Canadian bourgeoisie
found their economic power in landowning. Linteau and Robert assert that the nature of
the Francophone landowning bourgeoisie’s relation to the Québécois social structure
was capitalistic. Since Francophone ownership was concentrated in low-income properties, these landowners often found themselves exacting rent from low-income Francophone tenement dwellers, thus illustrating the stratified nature of the Francophone population. Furthermore, the Francophone urban bourgeoisie wielded significant political influence as land promoters – owners of large land tracts in fringe areas that succeeded in deriving large profits by controlling municipal council and bringing about the adoption of an expansionary industrial policy.\textsuperscript{32} This contributes significantly to resolving the contradiction between the ideological control the Francophone bourgeoisie exerted over the French-Canadian society and the weakness of its position in the industrial sector.\textsuperscript{33}

\textbf{Economic Liberalism and Reactionary Nationalism}

The provincial Liberal party was catalytic in Québec’s industrialization from the late-nineteenth century onwards, particularly during the administration of Louis-Alexandre Taschereau (1920-1936). In contrast to the strategic idealization of agrarian rural life found among the clerical elite and some of the intelligentsia, the Taschereau Liberals had a vision of Québec’s economic development that was centred on resource exploitation and the rapid development of manufacturing industries. The growth of industry was partly achieved through the entry of foreign owned firms into the domestic economy.\textsuperscript{34} For example, beginning in the late-nineteenth century and prior to the First World War, British and American pulp and paper companies were courted by the established bicultural urban bourgeoisie and given grants in perpetuity of enormous tracts of public domain in order to entice them to establish branch plants. Foreign capitalists were given carte blanche to exploit the vast water resources of the province as legislation was enacted that gave private enterprise monopoly control of public utilities.\textsuperscript{35} Incidentally, the two bourgeoisies’ economic activities grew closer together during this era, as both groups began to be involved in unbridled land speculation from
the mid-nineteenth century onward. Although the domestic economy was strong in urban manufacturing hubs like Montréal, rural areas were still struggling and eager to attract economic development. Foreign industrialists were aware of this, and in citing Hughes, Guindon asserts that “[i]t was these sites that the roving eyes of American and English capitalists were to choose in their search for unspoiled labour,’ that is labour that could be exploited and was not already radicalized as was becoming the case in Montréal where labour unrest and industrial conflict was escalating.”

During the Great Depression of the 1930s the reduced demand for commodities, starvation wages in the midst of rampant inflation, and sky-high unemployment brought heightened awareness of the relative economic vulnerability and weakness of French-Canadians. While both Francophone and Anglophone labourers cited common grievances, unionization was hampered in large part due to the linguistic and ethnic diversity in the labour force, which made it difficult to organize a common front against employers. Increasing immigration complicated unionization but the older French-English faultline was of greater political significance in this era. French-Canadians expressed a great deal of resentment towards the Anglophone bourgeoisie whom they believed had complete control over the local economy, and these feelings translated into frustration towards the Anglophone working-class, whom the French felt had an ethnolinguistic advantage in the job market. The predominance of foreign-ownership in Québec came up against a great deal of resistance along with the notion that it was the task of private firms to initiate and control industrial growth. At the same time, the social stratification of the French led to class cleavages and frustrations due to the partial hegemonic role of Francophones in the Anglophone-dominated Montréal society. These feelings were not articulated as clearly in Québécois society at-large, especially as the French nationalist movement began to gain momentum and solidified around the issue of cultural preservation.
French-Canadian nationalists used the Depression as a political opportunity to rally support for their emerging movement. Nationalist clerics and intellectuals, while diverse in their ideological backgrounds, articulated and shaped emergent nationalist sentiment throughout the nineteenth century. Denis Monière states that the early ideological stirrings of nationalism were propagated by the Québécois petty bourgeoisie who he describes as an “apathetic, backward class that [took] advantage of the new colonial situation to impose a value system dead from history.”

This is a strongly worded statement, but it is difficult to conceal the fact that French nationalism in Québec was a embittered reaction that resulted from economic marginalization and was intellectually embedded in essentialized notions of ‘race’ and ‘nation’. Broadly, nationalist sentiment became associated with a desire among many French-Canadians to reassert their culture, particularly against Anglophone economic and cultural domination. The sentiments cultivated by Roman Catholic priest Lionel Groulx and other nationalist clerics were accompanied by the grassroots mobilization of interest groups that sought scapegoats for the distress affecting French-Canadians. Xenophobia and anti-Semitism were often the basis for political organization around the issue of nationalism.

The followers of Lionel Groulx upheld the primacy of the spiritual realm, embraced conservative traditionalism and viewed democracy with suspicion and disdain. They also overtly frowned upon the materialism associated with economic liberalization. However, Hughes draws attention to the paradoxical nature of nationalist social and political movements of the 1920s and 1930s: they demonstrated a “tendency to condemn the modern economic world while engaged in the very attempt to obtain a better place in it.”

Segments of the Church were actually involved in the process of speculative land development while publicly criticizing the actions of the bourgeois class. The decisive importance of the clergy and its ascendancy over the French-Canadian political and commercial spheres strengthened in early-twentieth century industrial society. The hypocrisy of the Church in Québec was underlined in contrast to the
Vatican’s changing position on the rights and duties of capital and labour. Pope Leo the Thirteenth addressed social inequality and raised concerns with both capitalism and communism in the 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum*. Subsequently, the edicts of Pope Pius the Eleventh, issued in the 1931 *Quadragesimo Anno* encyclical (subtitled *Reconstruction of the Social Order*), constituted a conscious continuation of the same themes presented in *Rerum Novarum*. Pope Pius criticized the social order of modern society, the breakdown of capitalism and called for the redistribution of private property as well as democratic socialism. The Vatican’s stance resonated with Québécois society in the aftermath of the Depression, prompting the Québec clergy to act within this emerging social philosophy. Of course, it was also in the Church’s interest to adopt a progressive social philosophy in order to maintain the support of the increasingly radical working classes.

**Nationalism and the Aestheticization of Politics in Québec**

The Union Nationale embodied the traditional conservative and nationalist ideologies propagated by the clerical petty bourgeoisie, providing a formal political platform for nationalism, which further entrenched the seamless relationship between Church and state in Québécois society. Maurice Duplessis was elected Premier of Québec (1936-1939, 1944-1959) on an explicitly nationalist platform. He played a founding role in the formation of the Union Nationale, which started as a coalition of legislators from the Action libérale nationale (dissidents from the Québec Liberal Party) and the Conservative Party of Québec. Duplessis’s long premiership was largely attributed to his ability to placate varied regional interests and execute effective regional governance through coalition building. Much like clerics such as Lionel Groulx, Duplessis selectively employed nationalism, appealing to a heightened fear of cultural erosion in the face of urban industrialization, in order to maintain his seemingly omnipotent authority. He coaxed competing interests through the exploitation of patronage and the
rhetoric of populism. Duplessis continued to cede ownership of economic sectors to American and Anglo-Canadian capital, thereby engaging in short-term growth to appease the electorate in the post-Depression era. The implantation of foreign capital was facilitated through Duplessis's authoritarian control over social and labour relations. The Union Nationale had a strong anti-union stance and passed harsh anti-labour legislation such as the Padlock law in 1937, which gave the government unilateral authority to suppress those who propagated ideas that were perceived as Bolshevist. The hypocrisy of the Duplessis regime was apparent to industrial working-class labourers as they became suspicious of his contradictory platform that simultaneously extolled nationalism while increasingly relinquishing more of Québec's domestic economy to foreign owners. The reproduction of economic colonialism and the Union Nationale's harsh anti-labour stance as well as their hostile aversion to trade unionism was a source of common frustration among workers that led to their mobilization over the course of the 1940s and 1950s.

Central to the mobilization of working-class Francophones "was the rise of a progressive Francophone intelligentsia whose ideas and social engagements intersected with the uprisings of Québec workers." While this group was committed to social democracy and increasing the primacy of the secular state, they were still intimately tied to the Catholic Church. The ecclesiastical bureaucracies expanded rapidly in the interwar period to cater to the educational, health and welfare needs of the growing urban populations. The intelligentsia was no exception, as many of the children of the land-owning Francophone bourgeoisie been educated by clerics. As the welfarist Church bureaucracy grew, the Church was compelled to hire increasing numbers of 'lay bureaucrats', many of whom were educated in the social sciences, to compensate for the lack of clerical personnel. These ecclesiastical bureaucracies served as incubators for a new middle class of young, highly educated, professional and semi-professional Francophones whose principal capital was knowledge and expertise. Yet at the same
time, some of this new class’s members felt that their occupational mobility was blocked by the clergy’s control over welfare in the province.  

This highly educated segment of the Francophone bourgeoisie mobilized around the tenets of liberal reform and sought to improve the circumstances of the impoverished French working class through economic and urban modernization as well as secular welfarist social policies. The efforts of this class segment culminated in the formation of *Cité libre* in 1950, which had grown out of the ranks of the inter-war *Institut Démocratique*. The political ideology of *Cité libre* was not uniform, but the group coalesced around the notion of open and authentic democracy. Furthermore, they all opposed Maurice Duplessis due to his authoritarian role in Québécois society during the post-war political period that would be dubbed *le noirceur* (the darkness). The editorial board of the *Cité libre* journal included Gérard Pelletier and Pierre Elliott Trudeau, who were Canadian federalists, but its membership was more eclectic, including individuals with varied conceptions of nationalism such Pierre Vallières and René Lévesque. While *Cité libre* drew attention to Anglophone cultural and economic dominance and the need for Francophones to cultivate a societal presence that was at least equivalent, its publications demonstrated a tendency to favour class-based reforms to improve the social status of French-Canadians. *Cité libre* did not cultivate xenophobic nationalist sentiments that would alienate the French from Montréal’s increasingly multi-ethnic society or pursue aims that risked detracting from the primary class-based site of struggle:

> Trudeau found the revival of nationalism, however radical its guise, a retreat back into the unreason and irrationality of the past, in which the advances achieved were to be sacrificed on the old altars of *race* and *nation*.  

The *Cité libre* group was highly influential and their ideas were compelling within the broader intellectual community. The *Cité libre* intelligentsia created a *zeitgeist*, grew to
wield a disproportionate amount of political power and was central to the Quiet Revolution.

While the Church exerted vast institutional control over Québécois society and was complicit in tempering authentic democracy and supporting the Duplessis government’s conservatism, the communitarian shift of the Vatican, which overtly condemned corporate greed, prompted the mild radicalization of Catholicism in Québec. This shift was manifested in Québec through the Church's increasing commitment to ameliorating class inequities and their piecemeal opposition to Duplessis’s anti-union fervour. The political turmoil of the Duplessis years presented the Church with an opportunity to solidify its power by appealing to the Francophone desire for authentic nationalism that was rooted in a communitarian society. Therefore, traditional forms of faith-based social capital were employed to mobilize the French working class. Entering the 1940s, Québec labour was fractured into competing centralized union bodies. The Confédération des Travailleurs Catholiques du Canada (CTCC) was large, powerful and led by clerics but criticized as being politically neutral and overly accommodating towards the Duplessis government.53 However, working class militancy and mobilization increased over the 1940s, as evidenced in soaring union membership. Moreover, from 1945 to 1950 non-Québécois and non-Catholic workers diluted the cultural homogeneity of the Catholic unions, strengthening more secular working class concerns and reducing the CTCC’s accommodationist tendencies.54 During Gérard Picard’s term as president of the union from 1934 to 1946, the CTCC executive shifted from being a predominantly conservative body that was highly integrated with the Church to an organization led by secular activists.55 Many of the Cité libre members took on leadership roles in the emerging unions. For instance, Gérard Pelletier (one of Trudeau’s ‘Three Wise Men’) was editor of the CTCC publication Le Travail.

The decade-long political mobilization of Québec’s working class reached an apex in 1949 at the asbestos mines and mills of the Eastern Townships. A series of
violent confrontations ensued for four months as union organizers and members opposed the authoritarian control of American employers and the state. Strikers erected barricades at the pickets to prevent employers from evicting workers from company houses. The Johns-Manville asbestos firm imported strikebreakers to deter strikers who endured routine police beatings. The Asbestos Strike was an important revolutionary flashpoint in the evolution of Québec labour relations, participatory democracy and nationhood. The liberal intelligentsia and the working-class were now part of a coalition and a militant solidarity emerged that muted the tenuous nature of this bond. In 1952, following the strike the CTCC launched the anti-Union Nationale Political Action Committee, a province-wide corps of labour activist intellectuals that drew heavily from the ranks of *Cité libre*. This marked the perceptible beginning of *le rassemblement* (the gathering storm), a Trudeau-inspired struggle for a federalist liberal democracy that deviated from the rising nationalist demand for sovereignty and “was to be a sufficient foundation on which to resurrect the possibilities of humanity” through self-determination in Québec. As late as 1960-1961, Québécois oppression and under-representation was visible:

> [F]rancophones controlled less than 20 per cent of Québec’s economy, with 27 per cent of Canada’s population, the dominantly French province nevertheless had 40 per cent of the nation’s unemployed… A 1962 report of the Economic Research Corporation of Montréal claimed that 36 per cent of families in [Saint]- Henri lived in uninhabitable dwellings, the figures from other poor working-class neighbourhoods ranging from 11 to 34 per cent.

While *Cité libre* sought to achieve social justice in Québécois society from a class standpoint, radical nationalists such as Pierre Vallières began aggressively criticizing their abandonment of the sovereigntist or *indépendantiste* aspiration. The nationalist fervour expressed by Vallières and less polemical scholars was also parlayed into “Marxist alienation”. Vallières and a growing group of sovereigntists felt that the *Cité libre* agenda (which would soon be enacted during the Lesage era of reform) was nothing
more than a platform that facilitated Québec’s advancement in the capitalist world and only reinforced the dominant liberal political subjectivities of the era.\textsuperscript{60} Liberal Premier Jean Lesage was elected Premier of Québec largely due to the campaigning efforts of \textit{Cité libre} union-heavy cities, which resulted in the Liberal party sweeping the urban vote, particularly on the Island of Montréal.\textsuperscript{61} Léon Dion explains that the Québécois were desperate to improve their socioeconomic circumstances and due to the reformist nature of the Quiet Revolution, Lesage and the \textit{Cité libre} intelligentsia’s claim to power in the early 1960s “was honoured rapidly and without major initial dissent.”\textsuperscript{62}

The middle-class technocracy that emerged under Lesage in the early 1960s incited an administrative revolution in Québec’s state bureaucratic apparatus. The Lesage regime was perceived to be a government of experts ruled by an “experienced minority” and a “new basis of accrued power of the traditional elites.”\textsuperscript{63} While ‘socially-minded’ members of the Francophone bourgeoisie sought to build welfarist policies, increase state intervention and engage in modernization, Francophone businessmen in Montréal also lobbied arduously for political and economic reforms from the late 1950s onwards.\textsuperscript{64} The opportunity to pursue land interests through major urban development projects seemed promising in light of Québec’s turning political tide. The Lesage regime promised modernization and Mayor Jean Drapeau in turn demanded the modernization of Montréal. Urban landscapes were transformed through large-scale development and the capitalist bourgeoisie turned enormous profits through the re-entrenchment of growth regime politics. Francophone identity became a \textit{de facto} function of bourgeois class-identity.

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{2} Ibid., 536.
\textsuperscript{3} Ibid.
\end{flushleft}
5 Ibid., 3-5.
6 Ibid., 5-6.
8 Ibid., 5.
9 Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, Montréal: Quest for a Metropolis (Toronto, 2000), 36-37.
10 Ibid., 6.
12 Everett C. Hughes, French Canada in Transition (Chicago, 1963[1943]); Horace Miner, St. Denis: A French-Canadian Parish (Chicago, 1963[1939]).
14 Ibid., 538.
15 Dickinson and Young, “Periodization in Québec History: A Reevaluation,” 5; Franklin Toker, The Church of Notre-Dame in Montréal: An Architectural History (Montréal, 1991), 10.
17 Ibid., 544.
18 Ibid.
20 Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: Québec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque (Toronto, 1979), 3.
21 Ibid., 18.
24 Hughes, French Canada in Transition, 211.
25 Ibid., 210-211.
27 Herbert Brown Ames, The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montréal, Canada (Montréal,1972[1897]).
29 Germain and Rose, Montréal: Quest for a Metropolis, 53-60.
33 Ibid., 49-53.
Chennells, The Politics of Nationalism; Serge Courville, Quebec: A Historical Geography (Vancouver, 2008); Paul-André Linteau et al, Quebec Since 1930 (Toronto, 1991); Denis Monière, Ideologies in Quebec The historical development (Toronto, 1981); Quinn, The Union Nationale: Québec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque.

Germain and Rose, Montréal: Quest for a Metropolis, Ch. 2; Quinn, The Union Nationale: Québec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque, 31.


Chennells, The Politics of Nationalism, 165.

Copp, The Anatomy of Poverty, 129.

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David Chennells, The Politics of Nationalism.


Ibid., 315.

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Palmer, Canada’s 1960s, 322.

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Ibid., 317.


Palmer, Canada’s 1960s, 318.

Ibid., 321.

Ibid., 319.

Léon Dion, Québec: The Unfinished Revolution (Montréal, 1976), 18-19; Guindon, “The Social Evolution of Québec Reconsidered,” 546-547; Palmer, Canada’s 1960s, 322-323.

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Dion, Québec, 18-19.


Chapter 3: A Canal Runs Through It: The Lachine Canal Economy and Southwest Montréal's Industrial Morphology

The rise of Montréal as an industrial city in the mid-nineteenth century is fundamentally linked to the restructuring and reordering of its landscape. Critical to Montréal’s rapid industrialization was the growth of the city’s fringe southwestern districts located in the Lachine Canal corridor. While wards located in the central business district sustained high growth rates in the nineteenth century, there is strong evidence indicating that industrial economic functions, which originated in Old Montréal, began to separate and diffuse into distinct areas at the mid-century point. The industrialization of the Lachine Canal corridor and the southwestern districts occurred in cycles of capital formation. Each cycle of investment was characterized by the introduction of new technologies, rationalized work methods, and propulsive industries; new fixed capital formation; as well as the expansion and remodeling of existing factories and infrastructures. Firms moved into areas that were adjacent to the port lands, producing a surrounding belt of inner-city industrial districts.  

In this chapter, elements of Montréal’s industrial history and role as a regional growth pole are examined with the purpose of elucidating the changing economic policies of the city’s growth regime, evidenced in the spatial patterns of urban development and land use. I focus my analysis on the social and industrial geography of Southwest Montréal, particularly Saint-Henri (see Figure 1 and 2). The emergence of a Francophone landowning bourgeoisie in early nineteenth century Montréal demanded involvement in speculative urban land development, thus changing the ethnic composition of municipal growth politics. A penchant for unbridled liberalism united the ethnically fragmented group at the helm of the city’s growth machine, which spurred their collective efforts to develop an industrial base that was to be unprecedented in scale, larger than any of its counterparts in Canada. At the outset, the modernization of the local economy to support the intensification of industrial activities was defined by the actions of a
Fig. 1: Montréal Municipal Boundaries, 1901

Fig. 2: Southwest Montréal Neighbourhoods

Figure 1 and 2: Robert Lewis, “The Segregated City: Class Residential Patterns and the Development of Industrial Districts in Montréal, 1861 and 1901,” *Journal of Urban History* 17, 2 (1991): 135.
particular class group that transcended ethnic identity in many circumstances. In conjunction with the powerful Saint-Sulpician seminary, Montréal’s growth coalition allocated land centred on the Lachine Canal that extended outwards from Pointe-Sainte-Charles to manufacturing firms. Land use planning in what was to become the new suburban industrial districts was executed according to the French seigneurial system and as a result, the manner in which this landscape was constituted became a cultural symbol in itself.

The transformation of industrial land development over the course of the first half of the twentieth century according to the needs of capital engendered the morphological alteration of new industrial landscapes at the shifting southwestern fringe of the city. The morphology of newer industrial spaces on the south side of the canal contrasted the older sites to the north and created a lasting geographical dialectic at the intra-urban scale. Up until the 1950s Southwest Montréal was a vital industrial base that employed a disproportionately high number of European immigrants who often resided in close proximity to their places of work, thus creating a tenuous labour geography that was spatially contingent. The dialectical relationship between the morphologically dissimilar southwestern industrial landscapes was complicated by the structural changes associated with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Culturally motivated economic policy set in motion specific kinds of tertiary urban development in Montréal’s shifting CBD that led not only to the extension of the whole urban region but also to the functional segregation of the older and newer industrial landscapes that lined the Lachine Canal. While older districts were more amenable to the tertiary activities envisioned by the French bureaucratic elite, landscapes that were dictated by the needs of industrial capital less able to support the economic activities to be located in Montréal’s new CBD.²

I borrow the words of American author Tom Wolfe to characterize a complex set of agents that were involved in “pushing the envelope” of the expanding, modernizing Montréal region.³ “Pushing the envelope” is an apt metaphor for conveying the force of place-based growth regimes, those who are “at the top of the ziggurat”, in driving the exponential areal expansion of cities and the extension of ‘community’ into ‘society’, through the logic of industrial
capitalism. Montréal’s urban envelope was pushed by modernizing forces through the spatial extension of economic activities and the intensification of industry at a regional scale. But urban modernization in Montréal was also at the heart of a larger political project in which the reassertion of Francophone national identity and the transformation of specific landscapes into cultural symbols also pushed the envelope. The production of the Old Port as a cultural symbol will be discussed further in the final chapter.

The Southwest Manufacturing Districts: Industrialization of the Lachine Canal Corridor

In many regards the large-scale industrialization of Montréal followed a trajectory that was similar to other North American cities in terms of the rationales that provoked economic transformation and the spatial patterning of these new activities. From the mid-nineteenth century onwards, capitalist industrialization produced myriad new industries, which gave rise to unprecedented competitive pressure among firms. In view of increased competition and the risk of diminishing returns in congested CBD zones, firms increasingly sought greenfield sites at the urban fringe, often forgoing the agglomeration economies associated with tight spatial linkages to mercantile firms. These firms at the rapidly moving fringe took advantage of lower rents as a cost reduction method and were also able to implement advanced production techniques in new industrial spaces where fixed capital was not an impediment. However, Montréal’s emerging industrial geography was embedded in a capitalist logic that was not narrowly circumscribed by economic rationales. Robert Lewis emphasizes that the spatial patterns of urban development in Montréal, including the movement of firms to the periphery diverged from other North American cities due to its industrial structure, land development policies, the influence of ethnic groups and political alliances.

The new manufacturing sites in Montréal’s southwestern periphery in the late 1840s and 1850s were situated on the edge of the Saint-Ann Ward, which comprised a number of different neighbourhoods, including the Canal district and Point Saint-Charles in the southwest; Griffintown in the northeast; and Victoriatown in the southeast. The Canal district and Pointe
Saint-Charles constituted the hub industrial cluster and contained the largest growth sectors of the era: food and metal. The construction of new port facilities and the renovation of the canal supported the creation of the Pointe Saint-Charles industrial agglomeration, which helped to propel Montréal into becoming Canada’s leading industrial centre. The local growth machine was active in creating the city’s early industrial landscape. Through a wide array of infrastructural improvements, land development practices and booster strategies, Montréal’s political, economic and clerical elites were responsible for rendering the peripheral lands lining the canal amenable to development. The City of Montréal’s Harbour Commission was established in 1830 with a pressing mandate to finance the upgrading of the canal and the construction of new port facilities that were to extend from the CBD to fringe areas. Although Anglophone merchants and industrialists dominated the commission, members of the city’s French-Canadian landowning bourgeoisie were active after 1850. The harbour commissioners were united by their commercial objectives, yet Lewis states that one of the results of these renovations was inadvertent creation of a “physical structure” that supported the movement of industry to new suburban locations. However, it is difficult to determine intentionality and the role of foresight with regards to a decision that would inevitably decentralize economic growth through the diffusion of industrial activities at the regional level.

In 1841, the Canal Commission (an organization that was strongly aligned with the Harbour Commission) set in motion the plan to enlarge the Lachine Canal. Renovations were concentrated on the refurbishment of the Saint-Gabriel locks to accommodate hydraulic power generation and to enhance local transportation thereby supporting the needs of emerging large-scale industrial capital. The canal renovation was thus strongly advocated for by the city’s merchants and industrialists who were predominantly Anglophone and stood to profit from these modifications to the port lands and the areas beyond. The interests of the city’s powerful Anglophone capitalists dominated civic affairs and therefore urban development projects pursued by the Harbour and Canal Commissions reflected the will of this group. Their disproportionate influence embodied the entrenchment of minority political rule that pervaded
civic governance during this period. Yet, at the same time, the power of the landowning
Francophone bourgeoisie was rising, as well as resentment towards minority rule.

Cultural Morphology: The French Colonial Legacy and Planning the Industrial Southwest

The new physical structure emanating from the Saint-Gabriel locks and various basins
established an industrial agglomeration in Pointe Saint-Charles. A culturally specific form of
planning guided the manner in which land was allocated to and appropriated by new industrial
activities. The sedimentation of this functional segregation of land permanently imprinted the
urban morphology of the initial southwestern manufacturing landscapes. In 1845, the Saint-
Sulpician seminary and Montréal’s government subdivided canal-lining areas near the locks into
hydraulic lots, delineating extensive tracts for industry and its related housing requirements. The seminary was an integral part of the merchant-manufacturing clique that engaged in
suburban speculation not only through subleasing canal lots from the government and dividing
them, but also by establishing manufacturing firms on those tracts. The seminary took on the
role of a business institution through its involvement in land speculation. Its acquisition and
development of canal lots was a conscious urban growth plan that effectively reinforced the
relationship between merchants, the increasingly bicultural landowning class, and the Catholic
Church. The role of the seminary in urban politics aligned it with particular class-based
interests. From the perspective of political economy, the Sulpician seminary can be interpreted
as an agent of social control whose role in land transactions enabled a particular mode of
regulation associated with the emergence of a local manufacturing-based capitalist system of
accumulation. The relationship between Francophone landowners and the Sulpician seminary
demonstrates the early social stratification of Francophone identity in the City of Montréal, which
represented a potentially divisive fault line in the tight cultural association between French-
Canadians and the Catholic Church.

In order to begin to elucidate the relationship between cultural identity formation and
modernization in Montréal, it is important to emphasize that during the city’s transition to large-
scale industrialization, the extant vernacular landscape was associated with semi-rural artisanal clusters that had been established under French colonial rule. Therefore, the vernacular landscape was conflated with Francophone identity as the practices of the French colonial regime informed the planning techniques that structured urban morphology. Canal lots in the Southwest were subdivided with attention to maintaining the system de cotisation (rural route matrix), using French colonial surveying techniques resulting in a street grid that followed the seigneurial pattern of allotment.\textsuperscript{14} The new industrial district lots near the canal were composed of small land parcels that were organized in two rows and arranged back-to-back.\textsuperscript{15} Desmond Bliek and Pierre Gauthier’s historical reconstruction of landscapes in Montréal’s Southwest revealed that land use was still situated in a “residential logic”, constituting “an artifact and a system – an urban tissue dating back to the French regime.”\textsuperscript{16} This first cycle of industrial development was materially informed by vernacular architecture and residential settlement patterns. The plots of land that housed the oldest industrial sites faced the basin and were arranged in a layout that resembled a residential town square.\textsuperscript{17} Early extensions of industrial activities from the Saint-Gabriel locks further into Griffintown and the northeastern portions of Pointe Saint-Charles were continuations of the residential spatial logic that structured the central business district and port lands. While the refurbished basins of the Lachine Canal were a significant departure from the edifices associated with the rural canal of the early nineteenth century, there was a great deal of continuity in terms of land use patterns.

An Emerging Morphological Dialectic in the Manufacturing Suburbs

While the absolute size of the Canal district continued to grow, the relative economic importance of the initial locks-centric agglomeration diminished in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.\textsuperscript{18} By the 1880s, the industrial fringe had moved further west, as indicated by the emergence of large-scale firms and related housing in Saint-Henri, Sainte-Cunégonde, Côte Saint-Paul and Lachine.\textsuperscript{19} The increasingly speculative nature of the Montréal land market evidenced in the rapid movement of industrial production to non-central locations away from the
canal was partly enabled by the widespread adoption of significant technological advancements. While the restructuring of the urban fabric should not be reduced to technological determinism, certain advancements were drawn upon to support the plans of the urban growth regime. Steam power generation and the growth of the Grand Trunk and Canadian Pacific railways, as well as the construction of spur lines and large rail freight yards, supported the displacement of southwestern firms. As the industrial base became more spatially extensive, the spatial ordering of the peripheral clusters began to change. Industrial and residential spatial orders became juxtaposed within the landscape. Rather than reflecting the vernacular practices of non-specialized urbanization, these emerging landscapes responded to the new imperatives of industrial capital, which sought to accommodate particular efficiency and productivity-increasing technologies and processes. New agglomerations were characterized by the breakdown of the “traditional syntactic relationship” between street and building, which was physically manifested in the transition to large complexes spread over multiple lots with internal circulation and open-space systems that were independent of the street system.

The existence of diverse firms concentrated in established sectors (food, metal) and emergent industries (chemical, textiles) had an important impact on the morphology of Montréal’s West End. The different production and transportation needs of these firms created a heterogeneous industrial geography radiating from the Saint-Gabriel locks in which both industrial and residential spatial orders continued to prevail simultaneously. Bliek and Gauthier’s historical reconstruction demonstrates the dialectical opposition between the residential and industrial spatial orders in which the former favoured the adaptation of industry to residential parameters and the latter spurred that specialization of the built landscape to suit the needs of industrial firms. Initial industrial agglomerations established on the south bank of the Lachine Canal in the mid-nineteenth century adapted to the resilient urban tissue and residential spatial order associated with the French regime, whereas the newer industrial complexes that lay perpendicular and to the north of the canal shaped the landscape according to an industrial order.
The landscapes north of the Lachine Canal that were structured by a distinctly industrial spatial order were characterized in the early-twentieth century by the presence of the most productive growth sectors, including steel, oil and chemical. This period exhibited the extension and intensification of the southwestern spatial dialectic. The suburban manufacturing districts created in earlier economic cycles were enveloped by the expanding city as new clusters formed on the periphery. During this period, industry began to shape landscapes south of the canal, but largely respected the residential spatial order. For example, the scale and syntactic structure of the city’s once-fortified original CBD near the port remained intact despite the presence of maritime industries. The specialized landscapes of the newer districts north of the canal, which were dictated to a greater extent by the needs of industrial firms, were more vulnerable to the “rise and fall of the industrial machine” due to the fixity of capital and its permanent sedimentation. These sites were less amenable to new economic activities associated with structural change and urban modernization.

Southwest Montréal’s Changing and Expanding Social Geography

The occupational structure of the nearby residential clusters of the southwestern manufacturing districts reflected the employment demands of the area and this specialization was matched by ethnic segregation. Until the turn of the century, Montréal’s residential zones were segregated along social class lines and classes that were more distant from each other exhibited a higher degree of segregation. Therefore, the blue-collar working class was quite segregated from the bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and white-collar workers. Lewis states that the manual working-class residential zones were over-represented in the east and west end and were strongly associated with adjacent industrial firms: “With the exception of Old Montréal, the manual working-class stretched unbroken from Saint-Gabriel in the west to Hochelaga in the east. It followed the waterfront and went as far north as the escarpment below the Dorchester Street terrace.”
However, the contiguous working-class zone was spatially differentiated, segregated by social class segments and occupation, with workers generally living in close proximity to their place of employment. Furthermore, working-class occupations displayed strong ethnic segregation.³⁰ While extensive French settlements existed in the east end and English ones in the west, there was also a mixed-class, mixed-ethnicity buffer zone.³¹ Part of this buffer zone extended into the southwest manufacturing districts and persisted spatially in the metropolitan area into at least the 1970s, expanding in size over the years, particularly between 1951 and 1961.³² The large-scale industrialization of Montréal increased the demand for labour and the flow of immigrants from Southern and Eastern Europe helped to meet this capital requirement starting in the 1880s and continued more strongly into the first half of the twentieth century after the Great Depression.³³ As a result of such large-scale immigration, Montréal’s ethnic composition underwent significant transformation, as was the case in all large Canadian cities during the first half of the twentieth century.³⁴ According to André Langlois’ study of Montréal’s ethnic composition between 1931 and 1971, the most striking change was that concerning the population of British origin, who saw their share of the city’s total population decline significantly.³⁵ Although this trend began in earnest in the mid-nineteenth century, the rate of decline accelerated in the twentieth century, notably so after 1951 when the proportion of the population of British origin decreased from 21.8 to 11.9 percent in 1971.³⁶ In contrast to this trend, Langlois states that the share of Montréal’s population attributed to non-French and non-British “third groups” (minority groups) rose during the same period from 14.3 to 24 percent.³⁷ Interestingly, Langlois makes no mention of the effect of intra-regional migration resulting from the urbanization of French rural populations. The growing socially stratified French constituency in Montréal affected the city’s social geography and was integral to the important societal changes that I discussed in Chapter 2.

Not all minority groups contributed equally to Montréal’s demographic expansion and their residential spatial patterns manifested differently in the urban fabric over the course of the first half of the twentieth century and in the immediate post-World War Two era, until 1971. At
the macro-, citywide scale German and Italian groups contributed most to the city’s minority population increase.\textsuperscript{38} In the southwestern manufacturing districts Polish and Ukrainian groups also constituted an important share of the local population in particular census tracts during the 1951-1961 period when Montréal was experiencing rapid social and political change.\textsuperscript{39} As early as the First World War, Italian and Ukrainian settlements had developed in the southwest.\textsuperscript{40} For example, many Ukrainians were employed in the metal sector and lived in close proximity to the Grand Trunk Railway shops in Pointe Saint-Charles and Lachine.\textsuperscript{41} Over the course of the first half of the twentieth century Langlois indicates that the Ukrainian and Polish immigrant populations experienced the greatest decrease in residential segregation at the intra-urban level while the Italian population exhibited a stable pattern during the same period, maintaining a certain degree of segregation.\textsuperscript{42} Historical evidence suggests that the Ukrainian group became more spatially diffused as they increasingly began to seek occupations outside of the metal sector in the local abattoirs, sugar refineries, paint plants, rubber factories, and the city’s gas plant.\textsuperscript{43}

The extent to which a given ethnic group assimilates and becomes residentially integrated in an urban community has been the focus of extensive sociological research in North America. Urban sociologists have employed factorial social ecology in order to reach preliminary empirical generalizations regarding basic dimensions of socioecological differentiation.\textsuperscript{44} In the period immediately following the Second World War, this mode of inquiry was pursued in studying the large immigrant influxes to North American urban metropolitan areas through the spatial patterning of variables extracted from factor analysis. The approach has been critiqued largely due to the manner in which statistical analysis disciplines place-based knowledges, thereby constituting a form of Foucauldian “governmentality”.\textsuperscript{45} In spite of these contemporary philosophical trends, factorial ecology, and statistical analysis more generally, serve as lasting forms of analysis that constitute an important, complementary layer of inquiry. Quantitative analysis can transcend linguistic barriers and embody the hopeful aspects of
modernity elaborated by social theorist Jürgen Habermas in which cross-cultural communication is actively pursued.\textsuperscript{46}

T. R. Balakrishnan’s study of Canadian metropolitan areas employed factorial analysis and drew upon variables in the 1951 and 1961 census reports to explain the factors that influence the residential segregation of ethnic groups. Generally, the level of segregation experienced by an ethnic group is influenced by macro-factors such as the diffusion of employment opportunities in the metropolitan area, the extent to which urban functions are specialized and spatially distinct, the differentiation of the occupational strata along ethnic lines, the cultural characteristics of a given ethnic group, social distance from the majority group as well as ecological factors such as the size of the group’s localized community.\textsuperscript{47} Balakrishnan elaborates the social macro-factors at the community or societal level that can promote or decrease voluntary and involuntary segregation:

- If the ethnic diversity of a community is high, the different ethnic groups become more visible, and this may have consequences for discrimination in residential segregation if some type of prejudice exists. The size of the majority or dominant groups vis-à-vis other minority groups may also influence the extent of segregation.\textsuperscript{48}

While all of the metropolitan areas in Balakrishnan’s study demonstrated a trend towards less ethnic residential segregation, Montréal exhibited the highest levels of segregation among all ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{49} Furthermore, Montréal’s dominant group (based on population size) was the French origin group and while the influence of segregation as a socioeconomic function was beyond the purview of the study, Balakrishnan posits that in spite of the size of the French community, segregation was high among all ethnic groups, “probably implying a lack of power of the French versus the British charter group and the importance of other factors such as language and cultural affinity.”\textsuperscript{50} In other words, intervening socioeconomic factors in Montréal were related to higher levels of segregation between ethnic groups.

As federal politicians began to embrace ethnic pluralism in the post-World War Two era for a variety of reasons, the climate was quite different in Québec as efforts were being made across the political spectrum to cultivate and reassert a French national identity that was
These efforts culminated during the Quiet Revolution when the Francophone political elite paradoxically engaged in the re-creation of a singular cultural narrative as a national project, which resulted in sweeping socioeconomic change, while also asserting a strong stance against Canadian assimilation in the formulation of federal policy. Québec cultural policy emphasized the retention of ethnic identity whereas federal policy was moving towards a multicultural compromise. At the urban scale in Montréal, provincial cultural policy that reinforced the cultivation of distinct ethnic identity may have affected the spatial patterning of ethnic groups and contributed to higher levels of residential segregation. Greer-Wooten’s analysis of census tract level data and ethnic group residential spatial patterns in Montréal during this intense period of change demonstrated that the highest level of segregation was exhibited between French and non-French groups. Moreover, this ethnic schism became spatially entrenched between 1951 and 1961.

Langlois’ aforementioned study of the residential spatial patterns among Montréal’s ethnic communities emphasizes the tendency towards integration at the aggregate urban scale. However, finer-grained analysis of census tract level demographic data from Montréal’s southwestern manufacturing districts in 1951 and 1961 demonstrates the persistence of residential ethnic enclaves. Southwest Montréal is a loosely defined geographic area that corresponds to the southwestern industrial manufacturing districts near the Lachine Canal: Pointe Saint-Charles, Côte Saint-Paul, Saint-Henri, Little Burgundy (Sainte-Cunégonde) and Griffintown. I chose census tracts based on their proximity to the morphological sedimentation of southwestern manufacturing districts established before the opening of the Saint-Lawrence Seaway in 1959, which radically altered local maritime transportation and the city’s industrial geography. Disaggregated data from census tracts located in the western segments of the City of Montréal correspond to the original pre-annexation fringe districts (Saint-Gabriel, Sainte-Cunégonde, Saint-Henri) whereas aggregated data from Lachine, Lasalle and Verdun represent the newer districts.
Up until the early 1950s, the manufacturing districts of Southwest Montréal constituted what was still a vital industrial base that employed a disproportionately high number of European immigrants as well as those of British origin. The imperatives of industry pervaded all landscapes in Southwest Montréal to a certain extent. The trend towards creating large open spaces for industrial purposes took hold in the first half of the twentieth century and began to erode the residential spatial order that emanated from Old Montréal, south of the Lachine Canal. While southwestern residential districts increasingly abutted against plants, contributing to a lack of functional segregation and urban congestion, the working-class labour force sought residential proximity to places of employment and a feasible “journey-to-work” in terms of both distance and cost. The relationship between low-income, working-class populations and their ability to access employment was spatially contingent.

Québec was already a multicultural society in the post-World War era just as the Francophone bourgeoisie sought to reassert their identity. Between 1951 and 1961 study, Italians, Poles and Ukrainians formed the largest share of Southwest Montréal’s ethnic minority population. The Italian group had the highest population share in the Southwest districts and although the group exhibited the highest level of spatial segregation at the metropolitan level, they were comparatively more spatially integrated than the Polish and Ukrainian groups were at the census tract level. The Ukrainian group constituted the smallest population portion and demonstrated the highest degree of spatial clustering. Accordingly, census tracts with the highest Ukrainian populations were proximate and concentrated in Pointe Saint-Charles. Overall, the southwestern manufacturing districts contained a disproportionately high share of the city’s British group. Yet an important outlier in the area was the predominantly French working-class Saint-Henri ward. While Saint-Henri’s majority group was ethnically French, the area was surrounded by a buffer zone in which French and British populations were equally represented, resulting in a certain degree of ethnic residential integration. Over the study period, the district’s French population increased, albeit marginally, while the British group
decreased dramatically by 46.3 percent. Incidentally, Saint-Henri also experienced an influx of Southern and Eastern European immigrant groups and had a small Italian enclave.

From City to Region: Montréal’s Post-War Industrial Geography

Saint-Henri is represented by four contiguous census tracts bounded in the north by the Canadian Pacific Railway line, the Lachine Canal in the south, Atwater Avenue in the west and rue Guy in the east. Following the Second World War, neighbourhoods in the older southwestern segments of the City of Montréal began to experience a population exodus in response to the movement of urban industrial functions to the West Island. Suburban manufacturing firms migrated further west in search of greenfield locations, thereby creating new industrial agglomerations on the West Island. The access to maritime transportation afforded by locating in close proximity to the Lachine Canal and port lands became less important with the advent of the Saint-Lawrence Seaway in 1959. In light of the changing demands of industrial capital, which increasingly necessitated larger areal units of land and deposited the machinations of industry onto the landscape at increasingly lower densities, finding greenfield locations became imperative to economic growth. Accordingly, the movement of industry to the West Island at lower densities and the deindustrialization of districts close to the CBD was paralleled by population migration. In response to deindustrialization, Saint-Henri’s population declined by 20.5 percent between 1951 and 1961, whereas the City of Lasalle grew vigorously and increased by 165.66 percent during the same period. Even as Saint-Henri experienced population decline, its absolute population size remained relatively high throughout the study period in comparison to western peripheral districts, in spite of their increasing rates of growth. The ward’s population lived in tenant-occupied apartment dwellings, reflecting the inner city’s tendency towards high residential densities.

The exodus of industry, employment and people in the southwestern manufacturing districts negatively impacted Saint-Henri and was evidenced by the area’s overall decline in socioeconomic status. The remaining residents of Saint-Henri were over-represented in the low-
income quintiles. Although unemployment was still relatively low in the immediate period following the Second World War, the rate began to rise rapidly across all sectors and nearly doubled over the decade. Employment in Saint-Henri was predominantly concentrated in blue-collar sectors, particularly in 1951 when the category constituted 18.6 percent of the labour force. The white-collar category was also significant to the local economy, representing 11.6 percent of employment in the same year. However, all employment categories were highly integrated into the manufacturing sector and the movement of firms to the western fringe was detrimental to Saint-Henri. The local labour force shrunk in conjunction with population decline and job losses were sustained in both the blue- and white-collar employment categories, with the former experiencing a significant 31.8 percent decline.

During both World Wars, weapons, munitions, tanks, aircraft and ships were fabricated at sites throughout Montréal. In Southwest Montréal, firms that were heavily linked into the railway industry shifted their efforts to war work. Canadian Car and Foundry, which was located at the Turcot rail yards, was integral to the local construction of tanks and aircraft. The Dominion Foundries and Steel operations that were subsumed under Canadian Car manufactured munitions. Throughout the first half of the twentieth century until the 1960s, Montréal was the national leader in technologically innovative sectors of the economy, partly due to this heavy wartime period of investment. Many of these successful local firms were originally located in the southwestern manufacturing districts in close proximity to the CBD and this granted them prime transportation access. However, the spatial distribution of Montréal’s industrial agglomerations began to shift dramatically in the period following the Second World War. As in previous economic cycles, policy and government grants favoured the movement of the city’s most productive sectors to fringe areas in the expanding Montréal urban region.\(^{59}\)

While inner-city deindustrialization was well underway in the City of Montréal, the adjacent inner-suburbs such as Verdun, Lasalle and Lachine still had a strong industrial presence, but were beginning to suffer from macro-economic changes some of which were related to the significant decline in military spending and defense contracts in the post-war era.\(^{60}\)
The Canadian military engaged in large-scale cost-saving measuring including the closure of underused facilities. The Royal Canadian Air Force Station Lachine was an important transit point for ferrying aircraft (some of which was locally fabricated) and supplies to Europe during the Second World War as well as an aircrew-training site until 1943. In 1961, the last traces of the barracks were demolished and its contents were sold to the public in a ‘fire sale’. The Lachine Station site was eventually transformed into Montréal-Pierre Elliott Trudeau (Montréal-Dorval International) Airport. Nonetheless, industrial firms in Lachine and Lasalle were linked into the remaining Lachine Canal economy, specializing in heavy manufacturing associated with metal, chemicals and oil refining – sectors whose exports were still in high demand. The Lachine and Lasalle nodes resulted in important agglomeration economies that constituted 50 percent of employment in the Montréal economy. In spite of the economic importance of these agglomerations, particularly in terms of local employment generation, they lacked sufficient investment and began shrinking in the 1960s.

Montréal’s Spatial Mismatch and the Decline of a National Growth Pole

A functional opposition emerged in the Montréal urban region between old and new industrial nodes and was spatially expressed through an east (Southwest Montréal)- west (West Island) divide. When the census tract level spatial patterning of ethnic groups in Southwest Montréal is considered in conjunction with the diffusion of City of Montréal’s industrial functions to the West Island and the expansion of the city-region, a spatial mismatch between places of employment and residence becomes apparent. Employment in Southwest Montréal was historically segregated along ethnic lines. Particular ethnic groups were over-represented in certain sectors and the residential mobility of the working-class labour force was restricted by income, forcing workers to live in close proximity to their place of work. As industrial firms moved to peripheral West Island greenfield sites, their spatially contingent labour forces were not as mobile and were consequently not able to relocate residentially in order to access employment opportunities in growing sectors. In the aforementioned Saint-Henri case study, this
was evidenced by the concentration of low-income residents in the district during the 1951 to 1961 period when the processes of deindustrialization became prominent. Individuals that remained in the older southwestern manufacturing districts were somewhat ‘ghettoized’ by deindustrialization. The spatial mismatch phenomenon is not unique to Montréal and is corroborated by an extensive geographic and urban sociological literature that has examined the complex dynamics of ethnic and racial residential segregation, which intensified in relation to the accelerated suburbanization of manufacturing employment and related functions in North America in the post-war era. However, the factors that ‘pushed the envelope’ in Montréal were quite different than growth regime politics that altered the landscapes of most North American cities. Culturally motivated economic policy set in motion specific kinds of urban development in Montréal that led not only to the extension of the whole urban region but also to the functional segregation of older and newer industrial landscapes within the southwestern industrial districts that lined the Lachine Canal.

After World War Two, the vitality of Montréal’s industrial base began to erode and the city’s position in the hierarchical Canadian urban system changed perceptibly. Ontario, already having established a comparative advantage in agriculture during the nineteenth century, began to overtake Québec in high-volatility manufacturing growth sectors, particularly the federally subsidized automobile industry. The centralizing forces engendered by the industrial modernization of Ontario’s economy favoured the growth of Toronto’s related financial services, insurance and real estate sectors. A report that studied small and medium sized exporting firms in Québec, which employed advanced production techniques determined, that the province’s commodities were not as research-intensive as compared to their American counterparts, thus reducing the out-of-province demand for locally manufactured goods. Therefore, many Québec-based firms were manufacturing commodities mainly to serve regional markets, but this lack of export growth was symptomatic of conscious efforts that sought to cultivate domestic growth in order to satisfy specific cultural policies that were part of a larger political project.
Identity Politics and the Cultivation of Sub-Regional Growth

During the 1960s and early 1970s, provincial policy makers failed to adequately address the decline of key industrial sectors and instead focused their efforts on resolving sub-regional economic disparities. The rate of economic growth in Montréal exceeded all other regions in Québec and this pattern of development engendered sub-regional disparities and resentment. While Montréal was the regional growth pole and ‘polarized’ the economies of sub-regions in the province that were concentrated in the resource extraction sector, the city was negatively perceived in Québécois society because of this role. There was a widespread perception cultivated by certain politicians, particularly in rural areas, that lagging sub-regional growth was due to Montréal’s disproportionately large economic share and that its hegemonic role stifled regional growth. Furthermore, as in previous economic crises, Montréal was stigmatized as being the epicentre of the ‘Anglophone elite’ who wielded a disproportionate amount of power and political influence as merchants and industrialists in comparison to the Francophone majority.

Montréal’s Anglo-centric economic hegemony became a rallying issue for the French nationalist and sovereigntist movements. These growing groups sought to exert greater political influence and consequently the pressure to decentralize industrial capital to ailing regions, which were predominantly Francophone and over-represented in the primary sector, was greater than ever before.

The nationalization of Québec’s natural resource sectors and the spatial diffusion of their secondary processing operations to sub-regional locations accelerated in 1968, when the Union Nationale’s Daniel Johnson created the government of Québec’s steel company, SIDBEC, and organized a forest products consortium, REXFOR. However, the political impetus to increase the cultural and economic presence of the Francophone population began with the election of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage in 1960 and his administration’s imperatives that promised to transform Québec society in an unprecedented manner. Instead of focusing economic policy on revitalizing lagging key industrial sectors regionally through investment and stemming inner-city
deindustrialization in Montréal, which had a disproportionately negative effect on low-income populations of all nationalities, the government focused on cultivating tertiary sector growth in CBD districts. During the Quiet Revolution, the provincial and municipal governments were eager to attract international capital and the head office functions of multinational corporations to Québec while creating spectacles and venues to promote Francophone culture and national pride. As a result, Montréal’s downtown core became the site of large-scale urban development projects and was completely transformed in order to suit the needs of a society that was increasingly becoming a Francophone-cosmopolitan hybrid. The reinscription of Francophone identity onto urban landscapes adjacent to the Old Montréal CBD and its variegated impact in Montréal will be discussed further in Chapter 4.

The small, residential plots located on the north side of the Lachine Canal were more amenable to tertiary land development. Land use in this area was characterized by sedimentation of planning techniques employed during the French colonial regime and therefore retained a distinct vernacular morphology. The narrow land parcels adjacent to Montréal’s current CBD were not dictated by the needs of industrial capital to the extent that landscapes in Southwest Montréal were, and consequently tertiary redevelopment was not impeded by fixed capital. New skyscrapers with areal footprints and entertainment venues were planned to occupy such plots in Ville-Marie and Old Montréal, whereas the adjacent southwestern manufacturing districts were not the focus of tertiary redevelopment.

Although the opening of the Seaway and the relocation of firms negatively affected southwestern neighbourhoods, there were some types of firms that continued to prosper. Branch- and head offices of Canadian, American and international firms had a strong presence in Southwest Montréal in the immediate post-war era. For example, iron ore continued to be shipped through the seaway because it was extracted and processed in North Québec, Newfoundland and Labrador. The head offices of the Iron Ore Company of Canada were centralized according to the geography of this commodity chain and located in Lachine on Côte de Liesse Road. Côte de Liesse Road was an important industrial park agglomeration that
contained the white-collar head- and branch office functions that were linked to the manufacturing sector. In contrast to the older southwestern manufacturing districts, Lachine experienced an increase in the white-collar and professional employment categories, which rose by 5.3 and 5.5 percent respectively during the 1951 to 1961 study period. Moreover, the proportion of its population earning a high income, those whose yearly income exceeded $4,000 in 1951 and $6,000 in 1961 respectively, grew by 5.8 percent. At the same time, the area witnessed a 5.5 percent decline in its blue-collar workforce even though Lachine’s population had increased by nearly 40 percent over the decade. Blue-collar jobs were still important to the local economy, constituting 39.4 of employment, but Lachine was shifting towards white-collar industrial employment. The district was also increasingly becoming a higher status residential, inner-suburban ‘bedroom community’. Income polarization decreased over the decade as a greater proportion of Lachine’s population was represented in the middle quintiles. Furthermore, the local municipal council made significant zoning decisions that aimed to limit industrial land use and convert some existing industrial districts into residential zones.75 Many of the inner-suburban areas had resisted annexation efforts by the City of Montréal in the 1960s in order to maintain lower taxes for its growing population and to avoid bearing the financial burden of Mayor Jean Drapeau’s large-scale urban development projects.76

In the early 1960s Québec's changing political climate and the real or imagined potential for increased political instability during the Quiet Revolution began to affect the locational decisions of firms as well as the Anglophone workforce, long before the election of the Parti Québécois in 1976. While the Montréal metropolitan area lost some of its prominent head- and branch offices in the 1970s when linguistic and fiscal measures came into full effect, important industrial firms began to relocate or avoided establishing head- or branch offices in the urban region beginning in the 1960s.77 This constituted a significant loss as head office jobs exert a multiplier effect in the metropolitan economy and could have created approximately 2.5 jobs in other sectors.78 Firms feared the heavy tax burden in Montréal associated with the introduction of large-scale social programmes as well as operating in a political environment in which the
Québec government was increasingly alienating itself from the national government. Public spending at the provincial level was directed towards supporting cultural and social policies and the municipal government was mired in grandiose urban development projects located in the CBD, while local research and development was comparatively stifled.

The fate of Montréal’s petrochemical industry in the 1960s illustrates the manner in which disinvestment impacted certain growth sectors. Montréal developed a large petrochemical industry due to the presence of oil refineries in Montréal East and the South Shore. The secondary processing plants located in Southwest Montréal that transformed base material into synthesized products, such as the Sherwin-Williams paint factory in Pointe Saint-Charles or Monsanto chemicals in Lasalle, generated far more employment than the primary refinery sites. However, the primary units of production that served as feedstock for the plants in Southwest Montréal were not adequately modernized, they were too small and unable to produce the scale economies required to be profitable. Eventually the Gulf and Union Carbide petrochemical companies redirected a large portion of their new investment to Ontario, reinforcing the primacy of the Sarnia petrochemical complex.

Montréal experienced city-region economic growth during the 1960s, but a perceptible decline in the rate of growth emerged in the 1971 census that was related to macroeconomic and structural change. A large share of the city’s employment growth was concentrated in low-volatility sectors, possibly indicating employment gains at the expense of economic diversification to ensure future growth. Employment growth in the districts adjacent to the CBD was concentrated in low-value added, low skill, female-dominated sectors with considerable gains being made in the ‘pink-collar’ clerical service category and clothing manufacturing. In the Southwest and West Island, there was some employment growth in innovative, high-volatility sector but most growth was focused in mature or declining industries that suffered from disinvestment. While the Montréal area witnessed the exodus of North American companies from predominantly Anglophone neighbourhoods linked into the Lachine Canal economy, provincial policy attempted to internationalize the local economy by attracting European firms.
Business was internationalized in order to maintain Francophone national identity and decrease dependence on the Anglophone milieu at all costs. Instead, these decisions accelerated Montréal’s decline from national growth pole to regional centre.

Thus, the transformation of industrial land development in Montréal over the course of the first half of the twentieth century according to the needs of capital engendered the morphological alteration of new industrial landscapes at the shifting southwestern fringe of the city. Each successive cycle of economic growth was associated with the reshaping of the urban-industrial fabric. Land use planning in what was to become the new suburban industrial districts was executed according to the French seigneurial system and as a result, the manner in which this landscape was constituted became a cultural symbol in itself. The transformation of industrial land development over the course of the first half of the twentieth century according to the needs of capital engendered the morphological alteration of new industrial landscapes at the shifting southwestern fringe of the city. The dialectical relationship between the morphologically dissimilar southwestern industrial landscapes was complicated by the structural changes associated with the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Culturally motivated economic policy set in motion specific kinds of tertiary urban development in Montréal’s shifting CBD that led not only to the extension of the whole urban region but also to the functional segregation of older and newer industrial landscapes that lined the Lachine Canal. This was also paralleled by high levels of residential segregation among all ethnic groups in Montréal. While older districts were more amenable to the tertiary activities envisioned by the French bureaucratic elite, landscapes that were dictated by the needs of industrial capital were frozen, fixed and essentially less able to support the economic activities to be located in Montréal’s new CBD.

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2 Ibid.
4 Ibid., 19
7 Lewis, "A City Transformed," 27.
8 That said, nationalist segments of the Francophone bourgeoisie must have been aware of the potential for nation building achieved through the territorial extension of industry into land that they owned.
10 Ibid.
11 Bliek and Gauthier, "Understanding the Built Form of Industrialization along the Lachine Canal in Montréal," 7; Lewis, "A City Transformed," 27.
12 Brian J. Young, In Its Corporate Capacity: The Seminary of Montréal as a Business Institution 1816-1876 (Kingston, 1986), 34.
13 David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, (Cambridge, 1990), 121-124
15 Bliek and Gauthier, "Understanding the Built Form of Industrialization along the Lachine Canal in Montréal," 8.
16 Ibid.
17 Ibid.
19 Lewis, Manufacturing Montréal, 100; "A City Transformed," 24.
20 Bliek and Gauthier, "Understanding the Built Form of Industrialization along the Lachine Canal in Montréal," 9-10; Lewis, "A City Transformed," 27.
21 Bliek and Gauthier, "Understanding the Built Form of Industrialization along the Lachine Canal in Montréal," 10.
22 Ibid., 10-12.
23 Ibid., 12-14.
28 Ibid., 141-142 Lewis notes that the bourgeoisie, the petite bourgeoisie and white-collar workers experienced a certain amount of residential integration between 1861 and 1901.
29 Ibid., 142-143
30 Lewis, "A City Transformed"; "The Segregated City".
31 Lewis, “The Segregated City,” 145.


Langlois, “Evolution de la repartition spatiale des groups ethniques dans l’espace montréalais,” 54. It is important to note that according to the census, “British” includes English, Irish, Scottish and Welsh groups.

Ibid.

Ibid.

Ibid., 63.


Langlois, “Evolution de la repartition spatiale des groups ethniques dans l’espace montréalais,”.

Martynowich, Ukrainians in Canada, 133.


Ibid., 482.

Ibid., 486-488.

Ibid., 491.

Greer-Wooten, “The Urban Model 1.1,” 17.

Ibid., 19.


Greer-Wooten, “The Urban Model 1.1,” 29.


Ibid.
Ibid.


Ibid.


Gérard Garnier, Characteristics and Problems of Small and Medium Exporting Firms in Québec; Manzagol, “L’Évolution récente de l’industrie manufacturière à Montréal,” 245.


Gérard Garnier, Characteristics and Problems of Small and Medium Exporting Firms in Québec, 86.

Herbert F. Quinn, The Union Nationale: Québec Nationalism from Duplessis to Lévesque (Toronto, 1979).

Ibid.

Paul-André Linteau et al., Québec Since 1930, (Toronto, 1991), 532.


Martin, Montréal, 16-17.


Martin, Montréal, 22-30.

Ibid., 26-27.

Ibid., 30.

Ibid., 27-29.

Manzagol, “L’Évolution récente de l’industrie manufacturière à Montréal,” 244-245.
Ibid., 245.

Ibid.


Ibid., 28.


Gérard Garnier, Characteristics and Problems of Small and Medium Exporting Firms in Québec manufacturing sector with special emphasis on those using advanced productions techniques; Martin, Montréal; Vinodrai, Statistics Canada, A Tale of Three Cities, November 2001.

Martin, Montréal, 38-39.

Ibid.
Chapter 4: Urban Modernization, Growth Regime Politics and the Cultivation of Place-Based National Identity

In this final chapter, I contextualize the modernization of Montréal in the period following the Second World War and the role of growth machine politics in shaping landscape transformation within a broader historical context. In the late-nineteenth century, a discourse of urban reform entered Montréal society as a reaction to new modes of production and social conditions caused by industrial capitalism. However, the actions of the emerging social reform movement were limited to the sphere of public health in order to avoid interventions that would disrupt private sector growth and land speculation. The desire to re-order the urban landscape through coherent development began to emerge in the city in the period following the First World War, even though the governance conditions to initiate urban planning were not in place. Sanitation engineers played a critical role in informing the early exercise of professional planning in Montréal that was framed within the discourse of public health reform. The documents produced by an entire generation of engineers would influence notions of urbanism that were applied to future urban development. It was only in the period following the Second World War that Montréal began to modernize its municipal government. Governance during this era corresponded to a growth regime pattern that represented a shift away from undertaking urban land development in a highly speculative urban land market that was organized by the structures of capitalist property relations.

Roger Gagnon, who was a sanitation engineer and the planning department’s and first assistant director during Jean Drapeau’s mayoral term, put forth a particular notion of urbanism that combined elements of high modernism with corporeal metaphors. He cited the lack of circulation between districts and the failure to appropriately separate incompatible land uses as the city’s foremost areas of concern. In his view, the negative effects resulting from these mutually constitutive problems were impediments to human movement and capital circulation; health problems arising from crowding and proximity to industrial pollution; and landscapes
characterized by incoherence in form and use, compromising the overall urban aesthetic. In calling for the elimination of ‘undesirable conditions’, he pathologized not only the blighted vernacular working-class landscape but also the citizens who resided there by virtue of their supposed negative social impact. The immorality of blight was a highly persuasive notion to posit in a society in which the distinction between ‘religion’ and the ‘state’ was so blurred. Drapeau was able to drive the cause of social reform by making vocal appeals to religiously embedded notions of morality and communitarianism that governed Québécois society. The redistributive function of the modern welfare state and social assistance were his moral duty.

The rhetoric of modernization in Montréal reflected the paradoxical synthesis of tradition and modernity that governed the social structure of Québécois society. The Francophone bureaucratic middle class proceeded to reconstitute and modernize the landscape of its Montréal during the Quiet Revolution. Montréal’s landscape was perceived by the Francophone middle-class to be constituted primarily through the capital of Anglophone merchants and industrialists who embodied the legacy of the British colonial regime. In response to their cultural subordination that was evidenced in the morphology and architecture of the urban landscape, Francophones wanted to “reconquer” the physical environment by altering it in a manner intended to increase their cultural presence and reflected their majority status. The redevelopment of Montréal’s CBD and the rehabilitation of the Old Port served the political aspirations of the Francophone bourgeoisie. However, the problematic clearing of working-class landscapes to make way for Francophone-led mega projects ignored not only the presence of a socially stratified Francophone group in Montréal but also of low-income Anglophones and increasingly numerous ‘Allophone’ groups.

**Late Nineteenth-Century Urban Reform**

Health conditions in Montréal’s late-nineteenth century working-class districts were a great source of concern; citizens inhabited densely occupied quarters that were in deplorable condition. The social disparities that typified the late-nineteenth century Victorian era were
blatant and had a dramatic impact on Montréal's urban landscape, as in other urban metropolitan centres that lacked the planning and administrative mechanisms to engage in urban development. Urban reform was a response to a disorganized city and to widespread impoverishment. The movement was varied and ambivalent in its goals with different representations of modernism pervading the re-ordering of the built environment.

The high prevalence of urban poverty and inadequate housing conditions, characterized by squalor in Montréal's working-class districts, persisted well into the first half of the twentieth century. The poor were constructed in public discourse as being responsible for their own circumstances, thereby directing a negative and objectifying gaze towards this marginalized population. Efforts to improve these districts involved slum clearance and relocation schemes, with the former favoured over the latter because it was more expedient and less costly. In the process of slum demolition, tenants who were forced to relocate due to the expropriation of their dwelling became inextricably linked with the ‘blight’ that was being eliminated from the landscape. ‘Slum’ landscapes were topographically appropriated and cleared under the banner of social reform.

In the late nineteenth century, some members of Montréal's élite exhibited concern with the shameful conditions in the city's working-class districts. The proximity of residential areas to industrial nodes and the lack of sanitation infrastructure were among their prime concerns. The social reform impulse spurred the creation of public health agencies and charitable associations. Municipal by-laws aimed at regulating land uses were adopted by the city but rarely enforced where they were seen to impede business. The actions of the social reform movement were limited to the sphere of public health in order to avoid interventions that would disrupt the realm of private sector development. Until the 1940s, many of the social reform concepts implemented in Montréal were imported from other parts of the Western world including France, Britain and the United States. Montréal’s bicultural bourgeoisies promoted reform through urban modernization, but selectively employed conceptions of planning and beautification to serve larger economic development goals and immediate commercial ends, mostly in fringe greenfield
locales. The first half of the twentieth century was marked by elements of emerging modernist planning with a strong design focus led by reformers: garden-city and City Beautiful projects directed towards community building for the skilled worker and the middle and upper classes. For example, Montréal’s Mount Royal Park was designed in 1873 by architect Frederic Law Olmstead who became one of the City Beautiful movement’s most prominent members.

The results of early social reform were mixed. While public health was promoted in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century, affordable housing was eliminated in centrally located blighted areas and unregulated land speculation swallowed more land, pushed the urban envelope by making territorial claims further into the region, and capital activities occupied the land at successively lower densities. Capitalism’s tendency towards crises of over-accumulation necessitates spatial and temporal displacements in order to facilitate sustained growth through the absorption of excess capital and this was evidenced in Montréal when industry began to seek locations outside of the saturated Old City. Montréal’s corporate-led urban regime discursively employed the public health crisis until the First World War as a means to facilitate industrial capital’s “spatial fix” by creating new spaces of production and residence in suburban districts. Within the new sites of industry, production was rationalized through Taylorist work methods and tighter labour control with the aim of increasing overall productivity. These displacements enacted under the guise of reform were transforming the experience of space and time in Montréal, modernizing the landscape in order to facilitate the circulation of capital.

The Development of Professional Planning until World War Two

The First World War seemed to mark the end of a period when an influential business class controlled Montréal’s urban development in such an overt manner. Also, the ideals of urban planning were beginning to germinate. Prior to the First World War the emergent knowledges of regional planning took root and set in motion a technocratic dialogue at the national and global scale through the dissemination of journal articles and reports. Modern
knowledges were applied with quantitative precision using new techniques from a variety of disciplines in order to modernize landscapes. Landscapes were produced using different modes of quantitative representations, which helped to spatially circumscribe the property relations that structure capital formation. In *Manufacturing Montréal* (2000) Lewis discusses an early article from the *Town Planning Journal* published by the Town Planning Institute of Canada in which the disorganized character of Montréal’s urban development is emphasized. Although the reformist desire to re-order the urban landscape through coherent development was present for a variety of reasons immediately following the First World War, the governance conditions to initiate urban planning were not.

During this period, Montréal’s municipal bureaucratic apparatus was corrupt due to rampant patronage, the City’s professional class was relatively small, and there was a lack of political will to change the mechanisms of civic governance. Municipal governance had been eroded by fiscal problems and consequently, planned urban development lay idle. Montréal was in debt due its annexation of financially insolvent municipalities and unregulated industrial expansion at its fringe had partly contributed to this unsustainable situation. From the First World War to the period following World War Two, Montréal’s municipal regimes were characterized by bossism, as patronage enabled charismatic and populist mayors, such as Médéric Martin (1914-1924) and Camilien Houde (1928-1932, 1934-1936, 1938-1940, 1944-1954), to repeatedly return to power. These were mayors “who ruled but did not govern” and struggled with growing social welfare responsibilities under conditions of increasing economic hardship and unrestrained liberalism. Montréal’s civic politics gradually shifted towards a social corporatist regime roughly in concurrence with the rise of the modern welfare state in North America. Yet, in terms of the genesis of civic political leadership there was a certain amount of continuity with the past as evidenced by the 1954 election of Jean Drapeau (1954-1957, 1960-1986), whose leadership qualities suggested the persistence of ‘mayor as boss’.
The modernization of Montréal’s governance began in the 1940s in response to the transformation of Québec’s state apparatus through bureaucratization and secular influences. After the Depression and the Second World War, urban development plans that had been postponed due to sustained economic instability were revisited. In 1941 a planning department was established in Montréal in order to develop a coherent, long-range vision designed to guide urban growth (yet it would be many years before the city developed an official plan). Throughout the 1940s and 1950s the technical reports issued by the Service D’Urbanisme were influenced by the ‘visioning’ role of sanitary engineers, a group of experts whose centrality to modern urban planning in Montréal has been relatively ignored in historical accounts.10

In the late nineteenth century, universities in Montréal began to devote courses to solving the public health and sanitation engineering problems stemming from rapid industrialization and urbanization. These courses proposed large-scale technocratic solutions and a new rationality concerning the management of urban problems.11 Sanitation engineers employed by the city developed by-laws and regulations affecting sanitation and plumbing; examined plans and specifications of proposed construction to ensure conformity with legislation; inspected sanitation installations and infrastructures; were responsible for the examination and treatment of sewage; and gave advice to municipal officials, contractors and the private sector in regard to sanitary conditions.12 While sanitation engineers were often coerced by Montréal’s political growth regime to cede to the demands of the private sector by not enforcing bylaws and regulations if they proved to limit the activities of local firms, future city officials would pay close attention to the reports they produced. The influence of these early urban planners was evidenced in later publications of the Service D’Urbanisme.

The City of Montréal Archives contains information regarding the professional exercise of sanitary engineering in public administration and planning. Throughout the 1950s, sanitation engineers produced a series of reports and detailed course manuals, with extensive lecture notes.13 These documents echoed previous reports submitted to municipal council by the local chamber of commerce in the early 1940s, which advocated strongly (on behalf of the business
community) for planning and emphasized the role of experts in executing a technical plan that would order the city, specifically to improve circulation. Richard Sennett has argued that growing knowledge of the structure of the human body and healthy circulatory systems in the eighteenth century combined with new capitalistic beliefs about individual movement in society produced the Enlightenment city. The corporeality of the city can also be found in documents written by sanitation engineers C. E. Campeau and Roger Gagnon in their discussion of the problems caused by the absence of planning in Montréal. Roger Gagnon, the planning department’s first assistant director during Jean Drapeau’s first mayoral term, cited the lack of circulation between districts and the failure to appropriately separate incompatible land uses as the city’s foremost areas of concern. In his view, the negative effects resulting from these mutually constitutive problems were impediments to human movement and capital circulation; health problems arising from crowding and proximity to industrial pollution; and landscapes characterized by incoherence in form and use, compromising the overall urban aesthetic.

According to Gagnon, the urbanization of cities according to the most modern planning techniques, would redraw cities that were more beautiful, healthier, more orderly and finally more prosperous. Furthermore, he asserted that science would assure more adequate land use and would stabilize residential, commercial and industrial zones. In a later section, Gagnon elucidates how reordering the landscapes to include more open spaces and facilitate freedom of movement within the city would encourage the physical and moral development of human beings. The Enlightenment principles adopted by a loosely affiliated, emerging technocratic class in Montréal, evidenced by their faith in scientific rationality through public health reform and urban planning, substituted “health for morality as a standard of human happiness…health defined by motion and circulation.” The application of these principles guided the early phases of modern planning to facilitate the circulation of industrial capital in 1940s Montréal. However, the era of urbanism in Montréal defined by high-modernist architecture and planning was yet to come.
As early as 1949, Montréal’s planning department advocated the separation of land uses through zoning to limit the presence of heavy industries in residential areas. Industrial sites built prior to the First World War were often integrated into residential landscapes with housing in close proximity to sources of pollution. Housing stock was densely organized around inconsistently sized streets with houses placed at insufficient setbacks. Districts were also densely populated; low-income tenants inhabited crowded tenements that were substandard in construction and design. According to Gagnon, the poor physical condition of housing in “insalubrious wards” created negative social impacts that, in effect, devalued the land. He stated that consequently, low rents attracted large families with modest incomes and certain employment types, causing current housing to become insufficient and overpopulated. Furthermore, Gagnon thought that “slum conditions” were detrimental to one’s health and morality, resulting in a higher incidence of crime. Overall, the social welfare costs of these districts were high and Gagnon supported large-scale municipal intervention aimed at the elimination of “undesirable conditions.” Both Gagnon and Campeau stated that the intention of urban renewal was not to raze entire landscapes through slum clearance but rather to renovate existing facilities. The modernization projects led by social reformers in the late nineteenth century resulted in the eradication of landscapes, with no regard for citizens’ right to housing. These post-war sanitary engineers and defacto urban planners attempted to remove the language of slum clearance from the discourse of urbanization. However in Gagnon’s schema, slums were problematized sites of social reproduction, characterized by ‘conditions’ that had to be eliminated. In calling for the elimination of undesirable conditions that are both physical and social, he pathologized not only the blighted vernacular working-class landscape but also the citizens who resided there by virtue of their supposed negative social impact. The immorality of blight was a highly persuasive notion to posit in a society in which the distinction between ‘religion’ and the ‘state’ was so blurred.

Gagnon framed urban renewal, or the renovation of slum districts in order to recuperate land values while maintaining stable population density, as a strategy to curb land speculation at
Montréal’s fringe and attract firms to the central city.\textsuperscript{22} Yet at the same time, he also favoured the implementation of a radiating road network to facilitate the intra-urban circulation of capital. Gagnon’s vision of Montréal was one of a city that would simultaneously concentrate and deconcentrate according a neatly calculated functional segregation of land uses. While acknowledging the spatiotemporal connectivity between the local and regional scales of activity, perhaps Gagnon and other urban planners underestimated their mutual contingency. It is difficult to determine how Gagnon’s vision of urbanism was received due to a lack of evidence regarding intra-governmental communication. One can speculate that Gagnon was trying to satisfy the two emerging imperatives of regional economic growth in Montréal: intensification aimed at increasing municipal revenue and diffusion in order to meet the rest of the province’s desire for economic emancipation from Montréal’s perceived hegemony.

\textit{Post-World War Two Growth Regime Politics and the Drapeau Coalition}

After the Second World War, Montréal’s severe housing shortage and the highly visible deterioration of economically marginalized districts became politicized. The housing issue was a vehicle for the rise of civil society. In 1940, a reform of the City of Montréal’s charter had altered political representation and given rise to an urban regime marked by social corporatism in which city council formed, in the words of municipal affairs minister T. D. Bouchard, a “democracy tempered by corporate representation.”\textsuperscript{23} However, in this new system democratic representation was limited and divided along class lines, as tenants, the majority of residents in Montréal, were restricted to voting for a certain “class” of councillors who ultimately only constituted a third of the seats on council.\textsuperscript{24} In spite of the fact that the municipal government was adopting elements of democratic representation, the true machinery of Montréal civic politics functioned according to a \textit{realpolitik} dictated by the interests of an entrenched political class supported by small local property owners and national Anglophone capital. In many respects this period of governance in Montréal corresponded to the “growth regime” pattern and the rise of the “corporate city” throughout North America that represented a shift away from
undertaking urban land development in a highly speculative, unorganized urban land market. Post-Second World War American redevelopment and inner city revitalization campaigns were executed by alliances of developers, investors, planning professionals and politicians. These shifting alliances operated as “urban growth machines” that coordinated civic boosterism; land clearances and consolidation; downtown development planning; and private and public sector financing for large-scale projects.

Mayor Jean Drapeau and his Parti Civique led Montréal's post-war regime, finding its initial legitimacy in the battle against crime and municipal corruption and later, by promoting an international vision of the City linked to a process of urban modernization. As a young lawyer in the early 1950s, Drapeau entered the public fray through his role on the “morality squad” that was conducting an inquiry into allegations of corruption on Montréal's police force. In 1954, as result of the report, 5000 charges were laid against police force members and the municipal Executive Committee for collusion with organized crime groups who ran the City's infamous Red Light District. Twenty police officers as well as the Chief of Police and his predecessor were charged and dismissed. Drapeau’s role as a ‘champion of morality’ had incredible popular appeal and helped him win the 1954 municipal election under the banner of the Civic Action League. As mayor, Drapeau was able to handily and successfully propel the cause of social reform by appealing to culturally and religiously embedded notions of communitarianism and morality. The redistributive functions of the modern welfare state and social assistance were his moral duties. From this standpoint, Drapeau devoted considerable resources to address the ‘immoral blight' that prevailed in Montréal's disadvantaged district. However, the manner in which he proceeded to attack blight was the subject of much controversy.

The municipal government, prompted by the lobbying of a variety of diverse groups and institutions from the private and public sector, union members and organization, and religious organizations, sought to eliminate slums and build low-rent housing. Together with the federal government (through the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation), an urban renewal programme was introduced in Montréal, beginning with Les Habitations Jeanne-Mance, built
between 1959 and 1961. This housing development was inspired by Le Corbusier’s high modernist *Cité radieuse* and incorporated the architectural efficiencies of minimalist brutalist design to provide unadorned yet affordable housing for the city’s low-income populations. While attempting to address the affordable housing crisis in Montréal, Drapeau’s initial social welfare projects were also strategic in nature, implemented to ensure popular consent for his more sweeping urban development projects that were to take place in a large tract of public land in the downtown area. His coalition spearheaded various urban development projects in the 1960s including Place Ville-Marie; Place Bonaventure; Places des Arts; the City’s subway system, *le metro*; the enlargement of Île Sainte-Hélène and the creation of Île Notre-Dame in the Saint-Lawrence River; and the renovation of the port and original CBD in Old Montréal. They came to be known as *les grands projets* and were expensive exercises in urban ‘imagineering’, fueled by the Drapeau coalition’s visions of modernity, world-class grandeur and nationalism.

“Imagineering” is a corrupted term that was developed by the Walt Disney Studios Company in the mid-1990s to describe its fusion of “'imagination with engineering to create the reality of dreams'.” Darel Paul suggests that leaders of urban regimes engage in similar imagineering to advance a particular set of interests:

> [U]rban elites promote a particular set of values and goals through an “international” or “globally” themed built environment and spectacle. In offering a broad vision for the city’s physical, economic and even moral development, world city projects are in their essence the pursuit of an ideal, a vision of the city’s identity as much as its levels of capital investment, employment or income.

While such internationally oriented civic ‘boosterism’ is often associated with the more recent past, Paul explains that Drapeau pursued this strategy earlier than many North American mayors because of the ethnic identity schism in Montréal. As mentioned in the previous chapter, provincial policy attempted to internationalize the local economy in order to avoid increasing dependence on the Anglophone milieu at all costs, even if this accelerated the processes of deindustrialization. Furthermore, Drapeau was aware of the fact that the province was willing to give *carte blanche* to virtually any project that directed investment towards the depleted inner-city areas of Québec. It is difficult to determine if the province evaluated the tertiary
redevelopment strategy in a manner that considered the effects of rapid downtown intensification on the rest of the urban-region. Above all else, Paul draws attention to the role of les grands projets in the practice of creating and managing identity and image, the most significant political aspect of imagineering. While urban renewal mega-projects in downtown Montréal had a clear economic purpose – to increase tax revenues by stimulating tertiary sector growth and redensifying the City’s core – the spectacles and structures of the new cityscape were much more than tools of capital accumulation. Drapeau’s mega-projects also narrated and advanced a particular definition and interpretation of Montréal rooted in the culture of “consumerist cosmopolitanism”:

Those behind such projects are able to wield political power through them by imposing their vision upon space and cultivating it in the minds and actions of urban residents, increasingly a vision of cosmopolitan values, global connectivity, and wealth embodied in transnational capital.32

Cosmopolitanism constitutes both the means by which to convince the public to support large-scale urban development projects as well as the tenuous bond holding together the political growth coalition who supports them. As Paul writes, “A cosmopolitan culture and identity is an especially effective manner by which to unite transnational capital and the new middle class for this is their common ground. Cosmopolitanism has always been the identity and ideological project of a transnational elite.”33

The cultivation of consumerist cosmopolitanism in Montréal had important class dimensions. At the provincial level, the new middle class ushered in the Quiet Revolution that embraced state economic and social intervention, technocracy and social democracy. However, it soon became clear that Drapeau’s urban development projects would have an unequal impact on citizens, placing a heavy burden on Montréal’s poor. Rationalizing urban space for production, circulation and consumption in Montréal for a newly emerging reconfigured corporate society was problematic and expensive, requiring the destruction and reconstruction of the city’s physical infrastructure and residential areas. In light of the city’s affordable housing crisis, the destruction of low-rent homes to make way for les grands projets was a subject of great controversy. Affordable urban housing was a casualty of mega-projects and the logic
guiding the destruction of these landscapes seemingly stood in contrast to the welfare state model being espoused at the provincial level by Liberal Premier Jean Lesage and his équipe du tonnerre (thunder team).

In Québec during the 1960s, issues associated with both class and national identity became firmly ingrained in public discourse, highlighting the uniqueness of social reform during the Quiet Revolution. The entrenchment of Québec’s French-Canadian middle class bourgeoisie was evidenced in the election of Liberal Premier Jean Lesage in 1960. This vocal groups, who initiated sweeping political reforms that were implemented, at the outset, in a virtually unchallenged manner. French-Canadian nationalism explicitly asserted Francophone identity by claiming majority status while also developing welfare state policies and executing extensive bureaucratic reforms. The rise of French-Canadian nationalism enabled both urban and provincial elites to look for external validation of their identity. In order to reassert Francophone identity, the bureaucratic middle class proceeded to reconstitute and modernize the landscape of its provincial growth pole, Montréal. Montréal’s landscape was perceived by the Francophone middle-class to be constituted primarily through the capital of Anglophone merchants and industrialists who embodied the legacy of the British colonial regime. In response to their cultural subordination, Francophones wanted to “reconquer” Montréal and transform certain landscapes into cultural signifiers. Urban development projects in the CBD and Old Montréal resulted in the razing of working-class landscapes to make way for Francophone-led mega projects. The process of expropriation revealed the presence of a socially stratified Francophone population in Montréal. Moreover, neighbourhood clearance ignored the housing needs of low-income Francophones as well as Anglophones and increasingly numerous ‘Allophone’ groups.

The 1963 plan to rehabilitate Old Montréal illustrates how capitalist land redevelopment intersected with an emerging revitalized identity politics to reshape urban spaces. Old Montréal, site of the once-fortified original CBD, lies between the City’s new downtown, centered on the Dorchester (René Lévesque) Boulevard axis, and the waterfront port lands. In the draft report
submitted to the city planning department the important Montréal’s planning and architectural firm Van Ginkel Associates, a land use plan was proposed to “… preserve the essential character of the Old City while solving those functional problems which have contributed to economic decline.”

H. P. Daniel and Blanche Lemco Van Ginkel were members of CIAM who had worked on Le Corbusier’s *Unité d’habitation*. They moved to Montréal in 1957 and served as influential purveyors of high-modernist design and planning to the Drapeau administration.

The Port of Montréal’s continued economic vitality became a significant issue as the city and province entered a period of rapid structural change. Specifically, the rentable space in the port lands was no longer considered prime because of the age of the buildings, the haphazard mix of land uses, and an overall aesthetic decline. The report states that as result, the area was dominated by “marginal enterprises” and exhibited a high turnover rate. In the previous chapter, I indicated that the economic linkages between the port and the manufacturing sector as well as with the local service industry were threatened by Québec’s sociopolitical climate. However, the Lachine Canal economy was not marginal; the industrial functions of Southwest Montréal were vital to the socioeconomic well being of the city and its residents. As economic activity traditionally associated with the port moved towards the city’s northwest, facilitated by the Saint-Lawrence Seaway and its alteration of local maritime transportation flows, the centrality of the port and its role as a foci of important linkages was de-emphasized. Nationalist economic policy at the provincial level sought to stimulate equitable economic growth across all regions in Québec by encouraging the decentralization of Montréal’s growth pole functions. While the economic sustainability of the port was still prioritized by all levels of government, municipal plans for its revitalization did not reproduce the former pattern of Anglophone-dominated capital development. Mayor Jean Drapeau was an ardent nationalist and urban visioning documents from the City’s 1960s *Métropole* series spoke directly to the notion of city as text in describing the intention to create a culturally legible landscape. The landscape was to be transformed into a cultural signifier through the act of place making and orientating oneself in
the metropolis through the preservation of authentic elements.\textsuperscript{41} The Old Port was explicitly cited as a place in which the Québécois culture was going to be made physically legible.\textsuperscript{42}

Earlier plans to stimulate the port economy were centred on the construction of an expressway to improve traffic circulation while calling for the preservation of certain buildings. Jacques Gréber’s 1953 plan for Old Montréal included an expressway along de la Commune Street that would run in front of Bonsecours Market.\textsuperscript{43} In 1960, port authorities raised concerns about the proposed expressway, fearing that it would negatively impact extant economic activities by accelerating the flow of capital out of port lands. In response to these concerns the van Ginkel plan proposed a curious combination of high modernist efficiency, to improve circulation, and historical preservation to preserve the “essential evidence” of Montréal’s cultural heritage. Yet it strongly discouraged the construction of an expressway in a location that would disrupt historical sites.\textsuperscript{44} The majority of the remaining Old City consisted of newer stone structures buildings displaying the architectural traces of the British regime.\textsuperscript{45} However, an architectural survey conducted by the City and the Montréal Society of Architecture through the Jacques Vigier Commission found two older areas between Youville Square, Common Street and the area around Bonsecours Market in which the majority of buildings dated back to the French regime and were constructed from wood.\textsuperscript{46} Furthermore, the layout of the area had fundamentally remained unchanged since 1760, and according to van Ginkel, the proposed east-west expressway along the harbour front would compromise the visual and scalar unity of the landscape.\textsuperscript{47}

Unlike the megaprojects in the new CBD that incorporated aesthetic elements of high-modernist international design, signaling Montréal’s presence in the globalizing post-war economy, the van Ginkel plan proposed a hybridized landscape that combined both ‘modern’ and ‘historical’, grappling with the complex cultural transformations of the Quiet Revolution:

The social climate in recent years has militated strongly against the continuing eminence of the Old City as a commercial centre. In many fields, prestige is equated with new buildings and particularly with the glass skyscraper. The questions of taste and the merit of a particular public image are ephemeral.
Nevertheless, by making one area of the city ‘unfashionable’ its economic potential may be ruined.\textsuperscript{48} The solution proposed in this plan incorporated the ‘unfashionable’ old elements of the former CBD district to support the new social climate. It was no longer unconditionally advantageous for the “nationalization” of Montréal – the modernization of the city according to particular a nationalist vision – to be executed through the \textit{tabula rasa} approach associated with high modernist design. In fact, the ubiquitous design style associated with high-modernism’s homogenizing architectural style undermined the reassertion of legible Francophone identity in this landscape. The hybrid nature of the proposed landscape was indicated in efforts to preserve and restore the vernacular character of the Old Montréal district. Rehabilitation and preservation efforts attempted to explicitly reassert Francophone identity through the reclamation of authentic architecture from the French colonial regime, while simultaneously modernizing the district by altering the circulation of local traffic and implementing the latest technology to facilitate the historical preservation of buildings.

The morphology of the district was maintained by separating the flows of harbour traffic, which were linked to the industrial northwest, from the internal streets of the Old City. Truck unloading was not permitted on the main streets and only the harbour road would have a direct connection to the highway system.\textsuperscript{49} The rehabilitation of Old Montréal was intended to restore “the fabric to a more intimate relationship of buildings,” incorporating meeting places, plazas, open spaces and new buildings, “which do not imitate the old, but which are in harmony with their material, scale and form.”\textsuperscript{50} Prompted by the van Ginkel plan and the cries of historical preservation activists, Old Montréal was designated as a historical district in 1964 and the alignment of the proposed expressway was shifted northwards to the Saint-Henri ward. The City Planning Department determined that the original alignment with an elevated roadway along the waterfront would have created a physical barrier between the city and the river, thereby destroying the “Old City character” along Commissioners Street.\textsuperscript{51}
The Encapsulation and Decapsulation of Modern Landscapes: Montréal and Uneven Urban Development

The social appropriation of city space in Old Montréal that was executed through the rehabilitation of the district according to a nationalist political vision turned the landscape into a visual sign and commodity. The sign had complex contextual significance that was intended to convey historical myths and collective hopes associated with Francophone identity. This urban landscape was constituted by a *politico-emotive geography*, or a politically driven imaginative geography, where a re-imagined district that emulated the morphology of the French colonial regime was produced. Remaining historical structures from Old Montréal were restored and preserved through modern techniques. The selective quotation of Montréal’s French colonial past was an important element in scripting the city according to the nationalist political project, which reflected, in large part, the capitalist needs of a historically entrenched bourgeois segment of Québécois society. However, the transformation of Old Montréal necessitated the relocation of a major expressway in order to maintain the visual unity of a politicized space. The relocation of the autoroute disrupted the neighbourhood of Saint-Henri, negatively affecting its disadvantaged populations.

André Jansson and Amanda Lagerkvist employ the term “politico-emotive geographies” to describe particular symbolic landscapes; politicized spaces that are socially and physically constructed to invoke specific feelings. This politically charged gaze is produced by the dominant growth regime through architecture, communication and spectacle, local politicians, city planners and media representations. The authors refer to this productive process, in which the growth machine creates a coherent vision of futurity, as ‘encapsulation’. Jansson and Lagerkvist characterize the production of the Expo ’67 landscape, Mayor Jean Drapeau’s most well *grand projet*, as an act of encapsulation. They conclude that the Expo ’67 landscape was intended to constitute an ideological force of urban modernization that transformed the City of Montréal into a coherent realm of experience. However, Jansson and Lagerkvist do not emphasize the fact that Expo ’67 was an urban development project that was also intended to
highlight the efforts of a culturally and politically significant Francophone growth regime. As evidenced in the case of the Old Port rehabilitation, the Drapeau growth machine was engaged in other urban development projects that attempted to transform politicized spaces into cultural symbols. Jansson and Lagerkvist’s concept of encapsulation can be extended to landscapes that are not necessarily physical representations of futurity in a conventional sense and do not employ high-modernist architecture.

In Old Montréal, the encapsulation process was achieved through the rehabilitation of the Old Port. The selective preservation of historical architecture from the French colonial regime and the modernization of local circulation in this district was an attempt at encapsulating a politically charged vision of the past, which I will call a retroactive gaze. Implied in the constitution of landscapes according to a ‘retroactive gaze’ is the notion of a re-imagined and re-created historical narrative, an ‘authentic past’, that is imposed on the land.55 Retroactive gazing achieved through the rehabilitation and preservation of French colonial history advanced a particular narrative of the past that became incorporated into an intra-urban relationship with Drapeau’s modern landscapes. It legitimized the Francophone future gaze produced in other areas of the City such as the Expo ’67 site. The rehabilitation of Old Montréal can thus be considered part of the larger totalizing force of modernization that was being enacted in Montréal. Urban modernization during the Quiet Revolution imposed a homogeneous notion of Québécois identity onto the landscape in a society that was always ethnically heterogeneous.

Jansson and Lagerkvist assert that the process of encapsulation is a dialectical process contingent on the incorporation of its anti-thesis, decapsulation, at the intra-urban scale. Encapsulation is an essentializing process and decapsulation is the antithetical. According to the authors, the social appropriation of landscapes associated with a future gaze isolates those that are not, resulting in the ‘othering’ or neglect of entire landscapes that are ideologically problematized by the dominant regime when juxtaposed against encapsulated sites.56

The encapsulation of Old Montréal resulted in the decapsulation of adjacent landscapes in working-class Saint-Henri (Figure 3 and 4). While many stone buildings from the British
colonial regime remained intact in Old Montréal, the proposed east-west expressway that was originally intended to line the waterfront was shifted northward to Saint-Henri. Thus, Old Montréal was no longer situated beside an intra-urban arterial that would link the area to other parts of the city that were culturally and architecturally heterogeneous. The district’s circuit of circulation was closed and designed to serve the new historical tourism economy in which signifiers in the landscape were to be predominantly associated with Francophone identity. The alignment of the east-west route was shifted to a densely populated, ethnically mixed area with a high concentration of low-income, Francophone, Anglophone, and Allophone groups, an area that was becoming a problematic symbol of inner-city poverty and deindustrialization, as discussed in Chapter 3. The expressway followed an embankment north of Saint-Antoine in the west and north of Craig Street in the central area. A City Planning Department document issued by in 1963 stated that Saint-Henri was already a socioeconomically depressed area, which was evidenced in low land valuation and poor building quality. Studies carried out by the department indicated that “this alignment caused less harm to residential and commercial areas in the St. Henri ward and to traffic circulation within and about the harbour area.”

Similar to the scripting in public discourse associated with the encapsulation of the Expo landscape, the decapsulation of Saint-Henri was also serialized in newspaper articles that addressed the clearing of ground for the expressway. While the shifting of the expressway was implemented as a means to avoid disrupting the historically valuable Old Montréal district and replacing it with what was termed by one visioning document as a “bulldozer complex”, the construction of the route was also linked to other important projects that were contingent on the alteration of circulation. Echoing the city visioning documents produced by sanitation engineers from the period immediately following the Second World War, Mayor Jean Drapeau also felt that alleviating traffic congestion was critical to Montréal’s continued economic eminence as ‘Canada’s metropolis’. In the 1955 short film Circulation à Montréal, Drapeau cites traffic congestion as the City’s number one problem. Drapeau employed health metaphors to convey the gravity of the situation, likening the importance of circulation in the city to that of circulation
in the arteries of the human body, and claiming that such problems ultimately lead to economic congestion. Improving the health of Montréal through urban renewal, which the mayor framed as a moral duty to be carried out in the name of human welfare, was to be executed partly through the amelioration of circulation. The inter-related rhetoric of modern urbanism and moral reform was used to persuade the citizenry of Montréal that the choice to physically disrupt certain neighbourhood landscapes was justifiable. The film attempted to democratize the process by televising the mayor’s plans to the larger citizenry, giving the illusion that the execution of these extensive renovations were being conducted by a democratic and transparent civic government whose executive members shared important policy decisions with the public. In reality, the closed nature of municipal governance under Mayor Drapeau was notorious and there was very little room for dissent, particularly from the working-class residents who were most affected by projects such as the construction of autoroutes and the widening of major arterial roads.

The film also featured the aforementioned sanitation engineer and planning department executive C. E. Campeau, who supported Drapeau’s sentiment, though he gave primacy to quantitative evidence and the power of statistics to make a technocratic argument for circulation improvement. Campeau invites the viewer into the city’s planning department office to show a group of planners, architects, and engineers who are busily creating models and three-dimensional topographic maps of the City of Montréal, including the island as well as the outlying regions that were becoming increasingly important to provincial economic policies. According to Campeau, Mount Royal was a serious impediment to north-south and east-west circulation flows that were intrinsically linked to local industry. The most critical artery to be constructed was the east-west axis. Starting with the opening of Décarie Boulevard in 1958, a system of expressways began to take shape in Montréal and cut through significant swathes of the landscape. Campeau indicates on a map that the route’s trajectory was eventually slated to pass through Montréal’s southwestern districts.
Southwest Census Tracts and Saint-Henri

Figure 3 and 4: Census of Canada 1953. Data from Statistics Canada 1981, Population and housing characteristics by census tracts: Montreal, Bulletin CT-4, Census of Canada 1963.
The plan to execute construction of the southwestern segment of the expressway system from Décarie to the Turcot Interchange was expedited in the mid-1960s to improve local circulation in anticipation of the Expo Summer and the projected increase in vehicular traffic due to the expected influx of tourists. The provincial government received continued funding through the Trans-Canada Highway Act to subsidize the construction of the extension of the local expressway system in Montréal that was to improve circulation between the north-south and east-west traffic axes, reinforcing the feasibility of a regional economy. At the same time, the Drapeau administration was about to launch its second urban renewal project in the ‘Little Burgundy’ section of St. Henri. In July of 1963 the area bounded by Atwater Avenue, the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks, Guy Street and the Lachine Canal was earmarked by the city for expropriation and in September of 1966 the long-term plan for the renewal of the district conceived by planning director Aimé Desautels was made public. The plan proposed the functional segregation of the area with residential development north of Notre Dame Street for low to average income people resident and industrial activity to the south of the artery. From the outset, it was also understood that the new east-west stretch of the Trans-Canada Highway that was originally supposed to line the waterfront was now going to pass through the urban renewal zone in Saint-Henri. As noted, the city planning department claimed that the re-alignment of the autoroute caused “less harm” to the residential and commercial areas in the working-class southwest. The validity of this claim was almost immediately put into question as the expropriation and demolition of housing preceded the renovation of existing housing or the promised construction of new affordable dwellings. While demolition of the St. Martin block of Little Burgundy was well underway by December 1966, architectural plans for the redevelopment that pertained to affordable housing had yet to be made public. Furthermore, CHMC advanced the City of Montréal funding to finance the project even though plans for reconstruction were not firm. While some individuals and families were able to migrate further
west to rental properties in the newer industrial manufacturing suburbs, subsidized CHMC single-family detached bungalows were often prohibitively expensive.\(^67\)

The controversy surrounding the Little Burgundy project was heavily serialized in the media as the ire of local residents who faced expropriation escalated. Meanwhile, Drapeau and his administration were caught up in the excitement of Expo ‘67. Filled with genuine hope and enthusiasm, Drapeau would not allow any group, event or issue to mar Montréal’s foray onto the international stage. His attempts to quell dissent and stifle the presence of urban problems had reached a crisis point when he ordered the construction of tall painted walls that were to be erected around the perimeter of perceived slums such as Little Burgundy.\(^68\) The purpose of these walls was to hide blighted landscapes from the droves of Expo tourists who had traveled to the city by car and risked catching a glimpse of the stigmatized districts while navigating the expressway approach to Montréal. Drapeau would not tolerate this encroachment of disorder that challenged an encapsulating process that was so meticulously constructed by the city’s growth coalition to convey an idealized landscape of futurity. He had always touted himself as the \textit{gérant} or manager of the city who espoused a democratic approach to civic governance by implementing order and efficiency, but he was unwilling to accommodate meaningful democratic public participation that questioned the aims and impacts of large-scale urban development projects. Drapeau was quickly devolving into an authoritarian boss.

The re-imagining and re-creation of Old Montréal through historical preservation and rehabilitation served the political aspirations of an emerging Francophone middle-class that wanted to see its own ethnic identity and majority status embedded in the urban landscape. Yet, by reconquering Montréal through the reassertion of Francophone identity, this bourgeoisie segment employed their class identity to appropriate land and enact a form of capitalist oppression that displaced all working-class groups, regardless of ethnicity. Their expropriation of these landscapes also a stratified Francophone identity that threatened to fracture the nationalist movement along class lines.
The regional deconcentration of manufacturing employment to fringe areas of the Montréal urban region, which was integral to the provincial government’s economic and cultural policy and complementary to the tertiary transformation of inner-city landscapes, was very similar to the suburbanization that was occurring in cities throughout North America. However, in cities such as Los Angeles, an entrenched group employed their power to encapsulate a renewed vision of a reevaluated downtown CBD that in effect accelerated the rate at which the urban envelope was pushed and forced land-hungry industrial activities to the creeping fringe. Meanwhile, Black and Chicano groups who had been historically serialized in public discourse as disempowered or even problematic, were increasingly less able to find employment that was centrally located. The case in Montréal is quite different in terms of the scripting of identity. The hegemonic role of Anglophone industrialists in the local Montréal economy had marginalized Francophones in spite of their majority status. As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of Francophones in Québécois society were economically disempowered until the Quiet Revolution, when the Cité libre intelligentsia and the middle-class bourgeoisie attempted to re-script Francophone identity in public discourse through social reform. This segment of the socially stratified Francophone population enacted changes in the Montréal CBD through large-scale capitalist land development projects such as the rehabilitation of Old Montréal, cultivating a retroactive gaze in which the embodiment of Francophone identity in the landscape was re-imagined and re-created with the purpose of enabling a Francophone-dominated future gaze. By encapsulating landscapes in downtown Montréal according to this logic, socially and ethnically heterogeneous districts were isolated and excluded from a vision of nationalism and modernity.

The demolition of the Little Burgundy section of Saint-Henri, done to expedite the extension of the autoroute, to fit into the Expo timeline, and spare the Old Montréal historical district from the presence of an expressway, in effect decapsulated a landscape that was not homogeneously Francophone. However, Saint-Henri was almost uniformly a working-class area populated by low and average income groups and the expropriation of housing left few
alternatives for residents who could not afford relocation. At the same time, the transformation of Old Montréal de-emphasized the traditional activities of the port and was part of a larger political project that supported speculation at the fringe in attempt to diffuse industrial manufacturing and boost economic growth in Francophone-dominated areas. The southwest manufacturing districts of the inner-city began a long trajectory of economic decline and deindustrialization, which had a negative impact on neighbourhoods like Little Burgundy. Thus, Francophone identity was strategically employed to “push the envelope” in the process of urban modernization.

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1 Annick Germain and Damaris Rose, Montréal: Quest for a Metropolis, (Toronto, 2000), 58-59.
2 Germain and Rose, Montréal, 59-60.
3 Ibid., 51-52.
4 Aimé Desautels, La Vague D'Expansion Métropolitain (Montréal: Service D'Urbanisme de Montréal, Ville de Montréal, Janvier 1964), Archives de Montréal, V.1105.1.
5 David Harvey, The Condition of Postmodernity, (Cambridge, 1990), 180-185.
7 Timothy Mitchell, Rule of Experts, (Berkeley, 2002).
8 Lewis, Manufacturing Montréal (Baltimore, 2000).
9 Germain and Rose, Montréal, 63.
10 Robert Gagnon and Natasha Zwarich, “Les ingénieurs sanitaires à Montréal 1870-1945: Lieux de formation et exercice de la profession,” Revue d’histoire urbaine 37, 1 (2008): 3-4. In spite of this group’s importance, Gagnon and Zwarich express that it was difficult to trace their history in the archival record because they were not officially represented by their organizations and their training occurred within schools of engineering or medical colleges, through specific courses.
11 Ibid., 4-5.
14 Marcel Parizeau, Le Problème Urbain à Montréal: Mémoire soumis au Conseil Municipal de la Ville de Montréal à la demande de la Chambre de Commerce du district de Montréal (Montréal: Conseil Municipal, 7 mai 1941), Archives de Montréal, V1101.1-1941; Marcel Parizeau, L’Urbanisme à Montréal: Etude sure notre Montréal dans ses relations avec l’urbanisme, depuis son origine jusqu’à l’avenir à portée de vue (Montréal: Ville de Montréal, 1943), Archives de Montréal, 20-22, V1101.1-1943;
16 Roger Gagnon, Aménagement Urbain et Circulation, 11-57.
Ibid., 4. (My translation). Des villes, faite suivant les techniques le plus modernes, redrait les villes plus belles, plus saines, plus ordonnées et enfin plus prospères. Cette science assurerait une utilisation du sol plus adequate... et stabiliserait les zones résidentielles, commerciales, et industrielles.

Ibid., 52. (My translation). “…aident au perfectionnement physique et moral de l’organisme,”

Sennett, Flesh and Stone, 256.

Roger Gagnon, Aménagement Urbain et Circulation, 79.

Ibid., 71-72.

Ibid., 79.

Germain and Rose, Montréal, 63-64.


Germain and Rose, Montréal, 64.


Ibid.


Ibid.


Ibid., 29.

Ibid.

Service D’Urbanisme Ville de Montréal, Métropole: Les Cahiers D’Urbanisme No. 3 (Montréal: City Planning Department of Montréal, October 1965) Archives de Montréal, 18-22. V.1103.3.

Ibid.

Germain and Rose, Montréal, 74.

Van Ginkel Associates, Rehabilitation of the Old City of Montréal, 2.

Ibid., 4-7.

Ibid.

Ibid., 24.
Ibid., 12-13.

Ibid., 28-29.

Ibid., 33-34.

Service D’Urbanisme Ville de Montréal, Métropole: Les Cahiers D’Urbanisme No. 3 (Montréal: City Planning Department of Montréal, October 1965) Archives de Montréal, 41-42. V.1103.3.


Ibid., 26-30.

Ibid., 30.


Service D’Urbanisme Ville de Montréal, Métropole: Les Cahiers D’Urbanisme No. 3 (Montréal: City Planning Department of Montréal, October 1965) Archives de Montréal, 41. V.1103.3.

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Ibid., 43.

Bernard Devlin, Director, Circulation à Montréal, National Film Board of Canada, 1955.

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Afterword: Will Mega-Project Mistakes be Repeated in Montréal?

Nearly forty-five years after the construction of the Ville-Marie Expressway bored a path through the heart of Montréal’s southwestern manufacturing suburbs, most visibly in the neighbourhood of Saint-Henri, the City of Montréal and the Province of Québec are now considering another project that will impact residents who have already been subjected to some of the most intrusive urban renewal schemes in recent memory. The city’s latest mega-project is the reconstruction of the Turcot Interchange, which connects highways 15, 20 and 720.

At a total estimated cost of $1.5 billion dollars, to be spent over six years, from 2009 to 2015, the reconstruction project will tear down Turcot’s high-modernist elevated roadways and replace them with a lower system of expressways supported by earthbound embankments, some of which will be at grade.\(^1\) An engineering report from 2008 confirmed that the elevated roads are on the verge of collapsing and that bringing them to ground level is less expensive than reconstructing them in the air.\(^2\)

But the demolition of the original structure is proving controversial, drawing criticism from urban planners, environmentalists, public health officials and nearby residents. The new configuration would bring more carbon greenhouse-gas emissions to neighbourhood level and the original plan required the expropriation of 160 units of affordable housing in Saint-Henri.\(^3\) Also, the plan made no mention of dedicated transit lanes.\(^4\) Residents feared the loss of inexpensive housing in Saint-Henri and the Southwest borough, districts that have been hit hard by deindustrialization and economic downturns.

The project was evaluated by the provincial Environment Ministry and a series of public hearings conducted by the Bureau d’audiences publiques sur l’environnement (BAPE) were held in June of 2009, where a variety of interest groups had the opportunity to raise their concerns about the project. The results of the BAPE commission were officially released on November 10th, 2009.\(^5\) While the commission suggested that the Québec Ministry of Transport (MTQ) should revise its plans, citing major problems with the project, critics state that the solutions provided add up to a lot of empty rhetoric.\(^6\) Spacing Montréal writer Jacob Larsen drew upon the
comments of urban planner Jason Prince, who remarked that even though the commission strongly condemned the expropriation of housing on rue Cazelais in Saint-Henri, they only suggested compensating residents, which is already required by law. Furthermore, the report minimized the environmental impacts, stating that the proposed Turcot project would not increase greenhouse-gas emissions, a conclusion that had been reached by the MTQ.

The revised plan was released in March 2010 and although some concessions had been made, it wasn’t enough to quell the protests of residents and community groups. Now, only 100 dwellings will be expropriated and the portion of the expressway that passes through the Côte-Saint-Paul neighbourhood will be elevated, as it would have cut the Southwest borough in two. However, in spite of the fact that the number of vehicles using the interchange daily is expected to increase, negotiations for the construction of a reserved public transit lane are still ongoing.

Urban planning in Montréal has become more transparent and responsive to the needs of distinct communities since the tumultuous Drapeau years. But residents in Saint-Henri and other districts in the Southwest borough remain marginalized by top-down planning. The revitalization of Southwest Montréal’s industrial brownfields in recent years has resulted in the gentrification of certain districts, thus raising the value of residential land in these once ‘blighted’ areas. However, redevelopment projects, which commodify landscapes and raise their value, neglect the affordable housing needs of the majority of Southwest Montréal’s residents.

When framed within the discourse of regional economic development and planning, the Saint-Henri case study does not seem to be that different from its North American counterparts. The prevalence of deindustrialization and the socioeconomic effects associated with the declining post-war manufacturing economy have been extensively documented. Also, the fact that the Saint-Henri neighbourhood and its residents have been pathologized, due to their discursive association with the negative attributes of economic decline, is not a unique phenomenon either. Furthermore, Montréal followed a similar pattern of urban governance and development in period following the Second World War. Much like other municipal governments in North America that were controlled by a growth machine coalition, the Drapeau administration...
held a great deal of power as they determined, to a large extent, how public funds from the provincial and federal levels of government would be distributed at the local scale. The City of Montréal engaged in urban renewal projects so as to redensify and increase revenues in its struggling core though large-scale tertiary redevelopment projects that employed the latest high-modernist design trends. It also played a significant role to the functioning of the burgeoning welfare state as a provider of public housing. However, at the same time, Mayor Drapeau’s administration also engaged in less obvious forms of urban modernization such as the rehabilitation and preservation of Old Montréal.

All of these megaprojects served the political agenda of an emerging French-Canadian middle-class that wanted to transform urban landscapes in a manner that would make them legible symbols which reflected their own cultural identity and majority status. In Harvey Molotch’s discussion of the urban growth machine, he refers to the importance of “symbolic politics” to the functioning of the these coalitions. I interpret symbolic politics to refer to the rhetoric employed by coalition members to legitimize and sustain the urban growth machine as well as their development plans. Political rhetoric is embedded in historically articulated social relations and is therefore affected by subjective identities. The functioning of symbolic politics at the urban level is contingent on a similar conditional discursive process that occurs at the national and provincial scales. The urban development and landscape transformation that transpired in Saint-Henri and throughout Montréal during the Quiet Revolution was legitimized by symbolic politics. In reconquering Montréal through the reassertion of Francophone identity, these growth machine members employed their class position to appropriate land and enact a form of capitalist oppression that displaced the working-classes, regardless of their ethnolinguistic identity. The rhetoric which legitimized their actions was situated in a longer history of class formation in which a colonized French-Canadian bourgeoisie attempted to reverse its socioeconomic circumstances that were partly a consequence of the British conquest. However, the assertion of marginalized Francophone identity onto urban landscapes reproduced the dynamics of colonial expropriation. It is the symbolic politics which invoke
subjective identity that underlie Montréal’s history of urban development and planning and make it a unique case.

The appropriation of landscapes through urban modernization involves a process of disciplining through reordering and functional segregation that is executed through planning. As the archival record has revealed, sanitation engineers were integral to the development of professional planning in the City of Montréal from the late-nineteenth century onwards. The growth of French-Canadians in the professional ranks at the turn of the century has been the subject of much sociological research. However, the specific role of French-Canadian sanitation engineers as planners and their early reformist interventions which employed public health discourse is a relatively new archival finding. While this important role has been identified, the relationship between professional planning and the rise of nationalism in the French-Canadian context has not been elaborated. In light of this, I would like to pursue future research that combines a socio-historical and geographical approach to studying the possible relationship between essentialized notions of nationhood and constructions of landscape through urban development in Montréal.

3 Ibid.
4 Ibid.
6 Ibid.
7 Ibid. Urban planner Jason Prince is an editor of Montréal at the Crossroads, an interdisciplinary book which presents current and historical debates surrounding Turcot.
8 Ibid.
10 Ibid.
12 Ibid.