Working Papers:

Property in early 20th century Montréal.

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Montréal, l'avenir du passé

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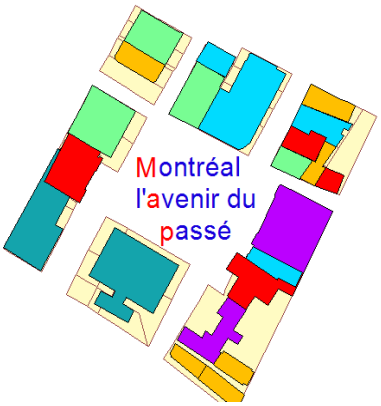
For Gilles Lauzon,
with deepest gratitude.



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The cover illustration is "Hutchison Street, Outremont", BAnQ-M. Despite the title, the picture shows Hutchison looking north from just above Milton in St Laurent ward. In 1903, women owned ten of the twenty-two properties visible in this picture.

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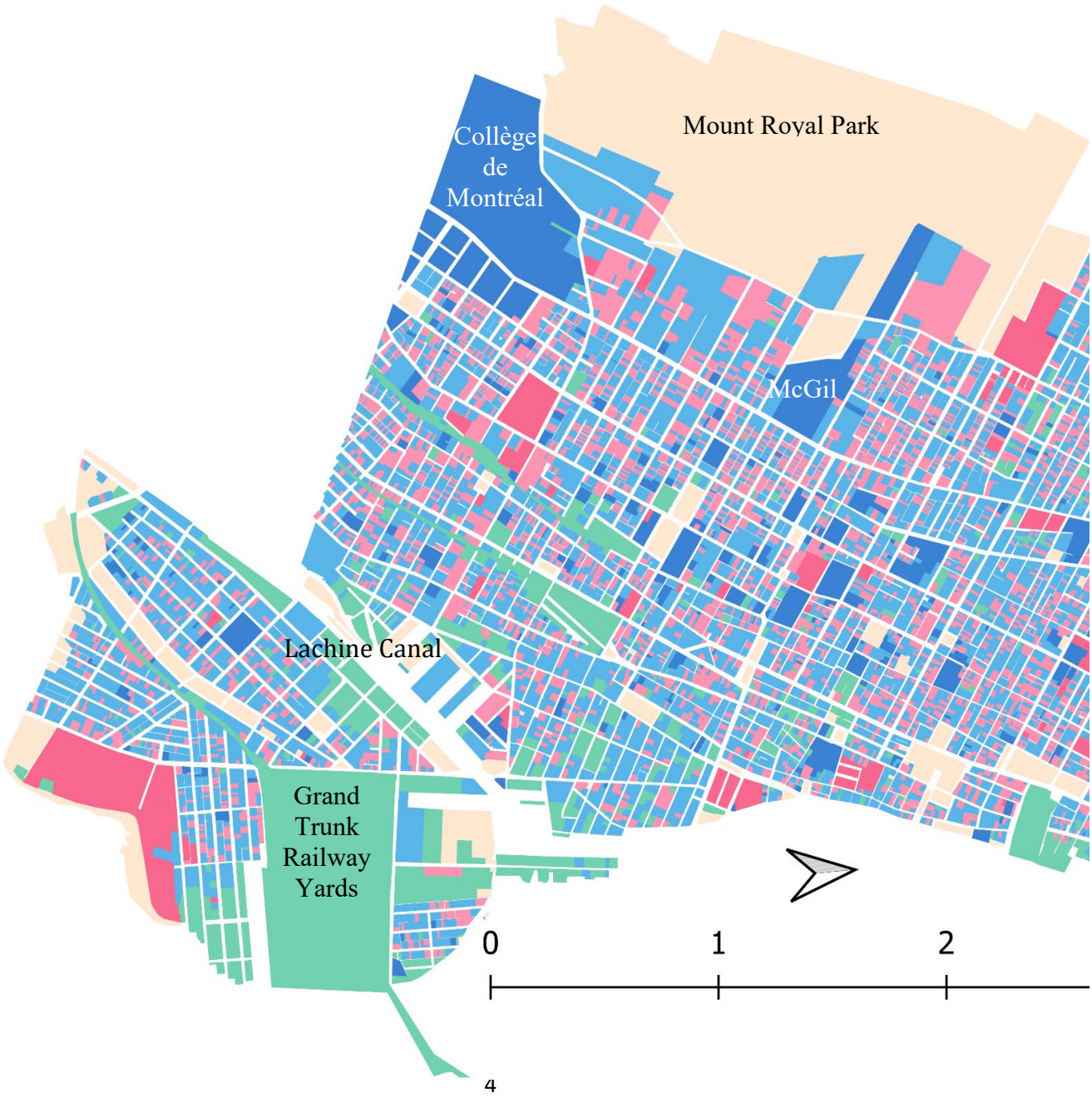

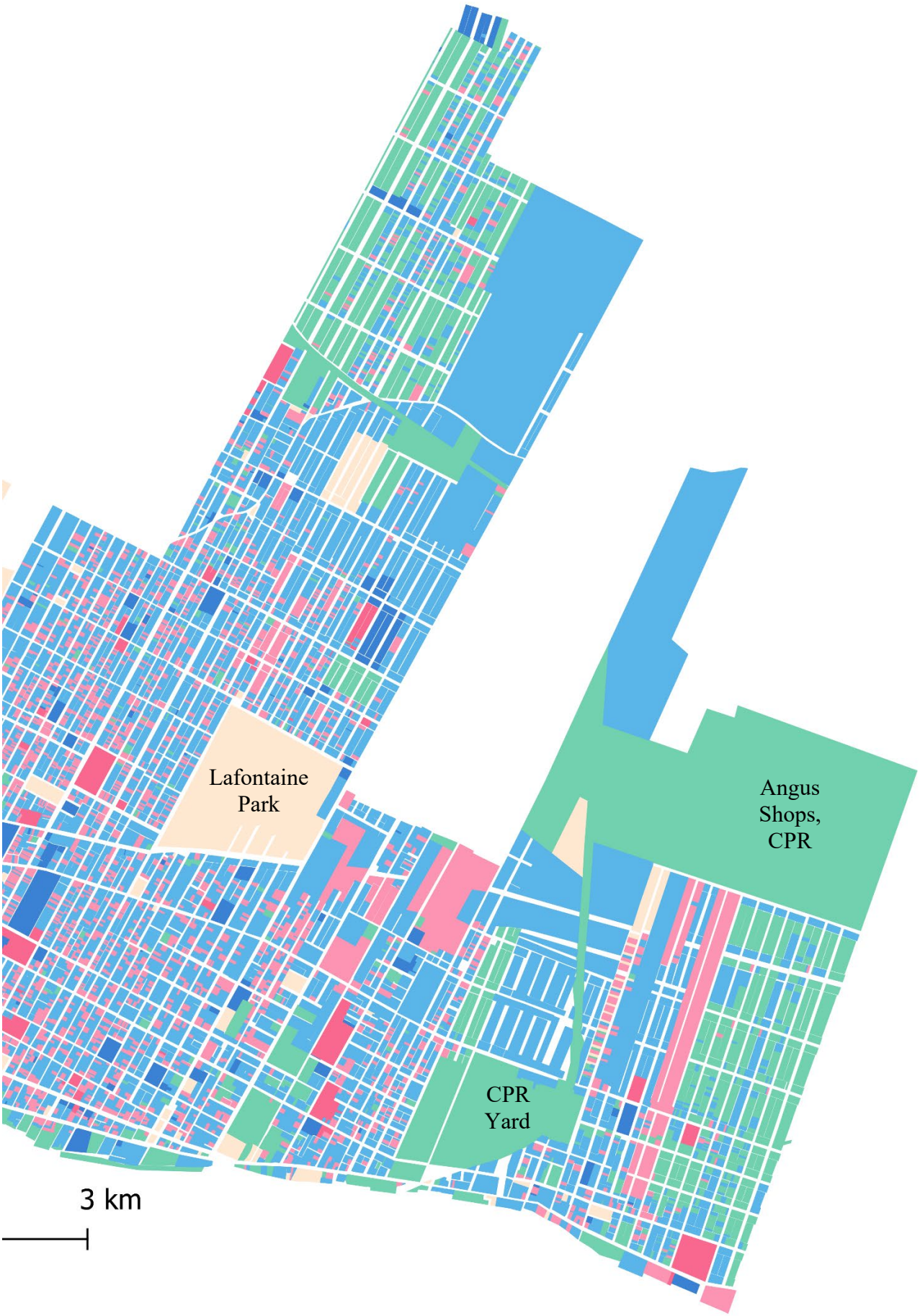
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Introduction

Conferences are an essential part of academic life. This is where we present our most recent work, debate the latest theories, learn new techniques and methods, meet colleagues, spot new talent and just generally recharge our intellectual batteries. Conferences have been a vital part of my life as a historian.

Unlike other forms of academic work, which can easily take many months or even years to see the light of day, conferences are immediate. They are also ephemeral. They have an impact on those there, but only indirectly on anyone else. None of our professional journals or newsletters regularly report on conferences.

It's not surprising, therefore, that despite their importance, undergraduate students are not at all familiar with conferences and, sadly, all too few graduate students get to attend one. A primary purpose of this publication is to illustrate how a historical research strategy can emerge over time both through and because of conferences.

As part of its research infrastructure, *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*, or MAP, linked two quite substantial turn-of-the-century sources: a list of all the properties in the city and their owners in 1903 and an index of the heads of the 51,700 individual households in the 1901 census. Both are linked at the lot level to a digital map of the city we created. We have also compiled a sample covering just under a third of all households in the census. This linked sample, while not random, contains complete entries for each household.

This is an enormous amount of information and making sense of it is not at all self-evident. Think of a gigantic jigsaw puzzle with tens of thousands of pieces, but you have no picture of what it should look like when completed and there are not even any edge pieces to frame it. Indeed, it may be many different, possibly unconnected, puzzles.

My research method starts with the humbling realisation that we know very little about the past. Indeed, most of what the people of any particular past knew has been lost to us. So, our first task is discovering what people would have known or taken for granted. This is particularly challenging because historical sources tend to record the unusual, not that which everyone knows. Furthermore, as the only constant in history is change over time, what we know or take for granted now is certainly not what people in the past would have thought.

Conference papers can be extremely useful with both problems: making sense of complex information and establishing what people would have known. As the call for papers goes out months before any conference, one can identify well in advance what specific problem or question you need to address and then focus on it. Looming conference deadlines ensure progress is made.

My simple questions in this case included: Were proprietors homeowners? Did they live where they owned? How many people were tenants? Where did they live? Who benefited from estates? Were popular-class property holdings coherent? How do those owned by people with white collar occupations compare? Were there national characteristics to property investing? What about women's larger than expected holdings? By working through

such questions, a composite set of impressions, even understandings, emerges. Incomplete to be sure, but both multi-faceted and highly informative. Not least because we begin to see the world as the people of the past would have known it.

Such descriptive historical information should never be mistaken for what motivated people in the past. But it frequently disproves ill-founded presumptions and so impedes the imposition of the present on the past. Explaining why people did what they did is a more difficult task. It normally requires historical evidence produced by people doing things. Serial sources are only rarely capable of providing such evidence. For example, the 1901 census data on how many rooms a household occupied says little about how they felt about their housing, but this knowledge does help us to pose more historically informed questions.

The many complex and interrelated processes of the past require us to be circumspect when proposing any explanatory coherence. Respecting the simple fact that much lies beyond our ken, means any historical understanding, let alone explanation, is at best contingent and partial. We need to make these limitations explicit. I have found the consciously cautious procedure of exploring one limited question at a time helpful in this regard. The resultant composite understanding should be sufficiently transparent that critical assessment by others is possible, indeed I think of it as a necessary part of the process. Hence the importance of the immediate feedback conferences can provide.

Papers presented at conferences are limited to fifteen or at most twenty minutes. Nonetheless, most people prepare a much more substantial written document, with all the bells and whistles of a publishable paper. As a result, they are often pressed for time and frequently never get to fully explain their research findings. Long dissatisfied with this approach, decades ago I developed a quite different one.

My presentations are highly visual, with generally 12 to 15 slides. For each slide I write a short 20 to 60 second oral commentary that supplements but does not repeat what is on the slide. Admittedly, this method requires that my audience be wide awake but, given my politics, I do normally draw a "woke" audience. Most papers in this collection, therefore, had to be substantially rewritten to incorporate the many graphics into the text. Videos of several of the original presentations are available on our website: mun.ca/mapm.

A word or two on the venues where these papers were first presented. I began presenting to *the Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française* at their 1977 meeting in Rimouski and to the Canadian Historical Association meeting in Saskatoon the following year. To date, I have presented twenty-two times to the *Institut* and twenty times to the CHA. These are the two "professional" associations for historians in Québec and English Canada respectively. More Québécois historians attend the CHA than the other way round. They are quite different get togethers. Although both have in recent years made concerted efforts to involve graduate students, the *Institut* has been the more successful. Whereas the CHA has in recent years assumed a much more active, and frequently critical, role in public history by addressing reconciliation, the precarity of employment, gender and racial justice issues. Both offer anyone attending a fairly accurate image of the current state and concerns of the profession in their respective societies.

The other major venue for my more recent work has been the much larger Social Science History Association. It normally draws more than a thousand participants to its annual meetings in differing North American cities, although their effective home is the Palmer House in Chicago, where they meet at least every third year. Unlike the *Institut* and the CHA, the SSHA is organized by subject matter into networks and as an association has neither a particular spatial nor temporal concentration. It brings together people interested in exploring the past, writ large, using the theories and methodologies of the social sciences. While critical of the ahistorical reasoning that all too often results from such an approach, I have presented fourteen times since 2012, generally in the Historical Geography or the Family Demography networks. As the world is its oyster, the SSHA draws a significant number of European, and to a lessor extent, Asian scholars to their meetings. Although limited, this international dialogue has profoundly enriched my work.

So, while I can assume a basic knowledge of Montréal and its history in both the *Institut* and the CHA, my reliance on the methods of historical geographic information systems (H-GIS) frequently poses problems. The opposite is true at the SSHA, although over the past decade I have developed a small cadre of colleagues who, as Diego Ramiro kindly remarked at the Washington meeting, attend the papers on Montréal because there is always something to learn. I hope you will agree.

Of the 113 papers I have presented to national or international conferences over the last half century, the majority deal with property (20), MAP's research infrastructure (24) or the topic of this book, property in turn-of-the century Montréal (20). Most of the latter have been presented since publishing *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?* in 2015, although my earliest foray into the field was in 2007. A number of these papers provided the basis for subsequent publications. Although none of the seventeen selections in this book have been previously published, and they can all be read as stand-alone pieces, familiarity with four recently published articles will make for a better understanding of what follows.

The first of these articles[1] asks the question did landladies manage their properties differently from landlords in 1903. I use MAP's 31% sample of the census to examine foreign-born households, with particular attention devoted to those immigrant heads who were from neither France nor the British Isles: Ashkenazi Jews, Italians, Chinese and Syrians. I then compare their patterns of residence with MAP's database of all household heads. The results indicate that landladies profited from over-crowding much less frequently than the minority of landlords who did. Furthermore, landladies' greater willingness to lease to immigrant households effectively weakened spatial segregation in the city.

The second article[2] explores how an east-wide linguistic divide came to supplant the escarpment's north-south social divide over the last quarter of the 19th century. It explores

1. "Gender, Discrimination, and Housing in Turn of the Century Montréal: What Mapping the Census Returns of Immigrants Can Tell Us." *Frontiers in Digital Humanities*, Vol. 3, 2016. doi.org/10.3389/fdigh.2016.00008. Based on the paper presented at the Economic History Society meeting in Cambridge, UK, April 2016.
2. "Divvying up space: Housing segregation and national identity in early twentieth century Montréal." In *Sharing Spaces: Essays in honour of Sherry Olson,* Les presses de l'Université d'Ottawa and the Museum of

the extent of religious discrimination particularly by smaller English-speaking Protestant proprietors. It then focuses on the strikingly different ownership patterns on either side of St Lawrence Boulevard by 1903. A situation it links to conflicting national visions that had come to characterise the distinct English Protestant and French-Canadian bourgeoisies in the city.

The third article,[3] which dates from 2019 but only appeared in 2024, asked who were the "landed ladies" of the exceptionally affluent "city above the hill" subsequently known as the Golden Square Mile. First, it uses MAP's infrastructure and in particular our mapping of property values to establish the likely boundaries of this heavily English Protestant bourgeois neighbourhood. It goes on to provide a sociological overview of the community, stressing the exceptional value of the built environment. It then analyses in terms of life cycle the women who owned one third of the privately owned properties in this part of the city. It directly challenges the widespread belief that women generally did not control their own investments. It furthermore demonstrates that these landed ladies were important employers in their own right and yet generally avoided investing in popular class neighbourhoods. It concludes that property ownership should not be thought of as primarily individual, and even less so as entrepreneurial, but rather as part of multi-generational familial strategies of accumulation and therefore inescapably gendered.

Finally, a research note[4] proposed a methodology to identify rentier families. It then examined the slow accumulation strategies of those families whose holdings were sufficiently large in 1903 that they could be considered as rentiers. It traced these families' property holdings back to 1825 and showed that they mostly came from the popular classes, not the pre-industrial elites, be they mercantile or seigneurial. In these multi-generational histories, marriage between property-owning families was a crucial building block.

The seventeen pieces in this collection are organized chronologically. The first piece discusses the use of H-GIS in Canada. It was first workshopped at a SSHRC-funded pan-Canadian H-GIS partnership meeting in Toronto in 2016. There, I drew the controversial conclusion that the corporate dominance of computing had made it impossible for my students to do on the web what they once had so easily done in a computer lab. Byron Moldofsky, the technical wiz in Geography at the University of Toronto, asked for an example and so I cited the markets of 19th century Montréal. We have both work and home addresses for the hundreds of stall-owners in the various markets across the city in 1880. It was once a relatively simple exercise to map these men and women's commute. This I said was now impossible on the web. Byron, assisted by a team of graduate students, proved me

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Canadian History, Mercury Series, 2020, 111-128. This article drew on papers to the 2014 Social Science History Association meeting and to a 2015 conference at the Centre Morrin on Québec's cultural communities.

3. "Gender and Social Relations in the City above the Hill." *Montreal's Square Mile: The Making and Transformation of a Colonial Metropole.* Dimitry Anastakis, Elizabeth Kirkland & Don Nerbas (Eds.) University of Toronto Press, 2024, 219-247. First presented in June 2019 to the Square Mile Conference in Montréal.

4. "Going together like a horse and carriage: Rentier marriages and property accumulation in Montréal, 1825-1903." *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, LIV, 112 (Novembre/November 2021) 481-490. An earlier version of this work was presented to the Economic History Association meeting in Austin, Tx, 2007.

wrong; after months of work, they unveiled a site[5] that allowed people to do something my students once were able to do in a single fifty-minute course.

Enriched by this debate, I rewrote this paper for a Spatial Humanities Conference at Lancaster in the UK that fall. At the conference, however, instead of presenting my paper, I used my time to challenge David Bodenhamer's, the keynote speaker, idealist reading of our relationship with GAFAM,[6] the oligopoly of companies controlling computing. Citing our experience in Canada, I urged distancing ourselves as much as possible. So, in a very real sense, this paper is being presented here for the first time.

I follow up this conceptual contextualisation with a brief piece outlining MAP's work on turn-of-the-century Montréal. This is a minor example of the out-reach which figured so prominently in my history of MAP's contribution to H-GIS in Canada. It appeared on the site of NICHE, an environmental history collective.

Housing has been at the centre of debates in Montréal's social history for as long as I have been a historian. It has largely been a dialogue of the deaf, where incompatible approaches are celebrated by each national association. In 2017, the SSHA held its annual meeting in Montréal for the first time. The dominant English Canadian interpretation of housing is derivative both conceptually and methodologically from the American literature, so participants were unlikely to be aware that there were even grounds for a debate at all. In Quebec, on this question, we are so much in debt to the work of Gilles Lauzon; work that is largely unknown, or when acknowledged largely ignored, in the rest of the North America. This piece, therefore, goes beyond questions of historical method to stress the political stakes involved.

Housing has been so important for historians of Montréal because tenancy was so widespread. Linking census households in 1901 to our map of who owned Montréal in 1903 revealed only 6% of households owned where they lived, half the level of New York City, long considered the North American capital of tenancy. Owner-occupiers were heavily concentrated in the north-west and northern wards and to a lessor extent along the French-Canadian bourgeois corridor of St Denis/St Hubert. The common belief that landlord tenant relations were so amicable because landlords generally lived in the downstairs flat was shown to be an urban myth. But this left me with a conundrum. If so few proprietors lived where they owned, how can we explain the unquestionable rise to prominence over the 19th century of locally-based owners in every popular class ward? My tentative answer, that would be further developed in many of the subsequent papers, was that we had made the mistake of thinking of ownership as individual, when in fact it was largely familial and, therefore, inescapably gendered.

5. Byron Moldofsky, http://geohist.ca/2018/01/montreal-market-pilot-project/.
6. An acronym for Google, Apple, Facebook, Amazon and Microsoft. For those surprised by the presence of Amazon, it is much more than an online retailer, it operates the largest cloud computing services in the world.

To support the release of MAP's CD-Rom in 2010, I developed a web site for the project.[7] Since retiring in 2017, it has been a major focal point of my work. To date I have created more than twenty Q-GIS applications for download from our site. These allow people to conduct their own original research into 19th and early 20th century Montréal. For the turn of the 20th century, our core database is Roll03, based on the 1904 city publication of a complete list of all properties and their owners for 1903.[8] The user's guide describes each of the fields in this database. Designed to help people to conduct their own research despite having little or no background in the field, this guide is recommended reading for anyone interested in our work. It starts with a detailed description of the city's eighteen wards.

Integrating the 32,148 entries in the Roll03 database into MAP's research infrastructure required me to create an entirely new map of the lots of the city for 1903.[9] Frequently, information about several properties owned by the same individual or firm was spread over multiple adjacent entries. This meant that when it came to mapping the file, these entries had to be combined so as not to lose any information. From the resultant 30,026 lots, I developed a file of all the properties in the city. I then combined the lots by owner, which permitted totals to be calculated for the number of properties and wards, as well as the total value of rents, land, buildings, tax exemptions and total investments for each owner.

The Owners03 database is not just complementary but largely derivative of the Roll03 database, however it contains two key pieces of information not in the original city publication: occupation and residence. During the pandemic I was able to cull this information from the online version of the 1903 tax roll maintained by the archives of the *Ville de Montréal*. The results considerably modified the database of owners. Frequently this additional information revealed that properties that we thought were owned by a single person, based on their name, were in fact owned by different people. Joseph Lamoureux, for example, turned out to be not one but five different people! The guide included here, although initially written in 2021, was substantially revised in 2024 to take this new information into account.

For four centuries, one of the defining characteristics of Québec has been its unique legal system. Since its inception, this system has been highly gendered and, until only very recently, explicitly misogynist. Gender and property are at the heart of my research, but this short essay on women and the law was never conceived as a conference paper. It was written as the first half of an article on women and property, entitled "Constraint and Agency", for a collection that fell victim to the epidemic. Although not intended to be the missing second part, my most recent paper to the SSHA (see pages 115-122) does discuss the remarkable agency exhibited by the propertied women of all three major ethno-linguistic groups in Montréal at the turn of the century.

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7. With the MAP team, *Montréal l'avenir du passé: le dix-neuvième siècle/The nineteenth century.* St John's: MMS Atlantic; 2010. Our site is hosted by Memorial: mun.ca/mapm.
8. Montréal City Council, *Valuation and Assessment Roll of Immoveables of the City of Montreal, 1903-04.* Montréal: Perrault Printing Company, 1904.
9. "Mapping a turn of the century roll: Creative cartography for who owned Montréal." SSHA, Vancouver, 2012.

Gender is not a preferred analytical category when it comes to either capital or property. Class, ethnicity and race remain much more popular. In my 2021 virtual presentation to the SSHA in Philadelphia, I argued we can better understand the dynamics of property ownership and of capital accumulation if we recognise that gender shaped the relations between both landlords and landladies and their tenants.

My presentation the following fall to the *Institut* illustrates this importance of gender by using gender relations as way to test if one can speak of distinct national behaviours by proprietors from French-Canadian, Irish Catholic and English Protestant communities. Distinct investment strategies, particularly in vacant properties, characterised both genders in each community. While French-Canadians' patterns of investment in built properties contrasted with the differing patterns, by gender, of Anglo-Protestants. I then focus in on the complex popular class neighbourhoods of St Gabriel and Pointe St-Charles, one of the few areas of the city where all three communities were active as both property owners and tenants. I present new data on the rates of discrimination that confirms my earlier work on ''Divvying Spaces."

The importance of multi-generational strategies of accumulation is well illustrated by the select recourse to estates. An estate kept alive a portfolio after the death of its owner. It contrasted with the much more common practice of dividing the portfolio up into discreet inheritances. I argue that the 620 estates in 1903 were not just the product of a family wishing to keep a large, coherent, portfolio together. As most beneficiaries of estates had little or no experience in property management, I think this was a deciding factor in the family opting to create an estate. Deceased women accounted for only a sixth of estates, owning an eighth of the built properties and almost none of the vacant properties. The known beneficiaries of estates, however, were much more equitably distributed, with women accounting for 36% of what were, after all, overwhelmingly family matters.

Clearly, I am a big fan of conferences, "but you can't always get what you want." In the fall of 2023, I was placed on a panel at the *Institut* alongside two of my generations leading historians, Joanne Burgess and Beatrice Craig. The panel was chaired by a fine historian of early 20th century Quebec, Sylvie Taschereau. I was excited. The paper I prepared was ambitious, perhaps overly so. I chose to map the holdings of owners coming from the popular classes, in all more than twenty specific occupations. Unfortunately, conference organisers chose to place us in the last session of the last day. We performed to an audience of fewer than ten.

This paper proved too map-intensive to reproduce here, so I consolidated the maps into four general sub-categories: unskilled, skilled, construction trades and petty commerce. The analysis revealed a democratic widening in access to property ownership over the previous twenty years. To be sure, save for constables, the unskilled were woefully absent, but the 2,338 known owners from the three other popular-class categories were a major presence in the centre, southwest and north of the city. They owned almost exclusively built properties. Even in the construction trades, home ownership appears not to have been the primary intention. What is clear is that in the most densely populated popular-class wards of central Montréal roughly a third of all tenants had a landlord or landlady who themselves came from the popular classes. In the newly settled wards of Duvernay and St Denis to the north, popular-class landlords and landladies were even more in evidence. Overall, considerably

more than a quarter of the city's working-class tenant households would have dealt with a popular-class owner.

My earlier linkage of the heads of household from the 1901 census to the map of who owned the city in 1903 was done by a computer. It revealed exceptionally low rates of owner-occupied properties. In 2022, in a collaboration with the *Centre d'histoire des régulations sociales* at UQAM, we used a similar method to link hospital admissions to the 1901 census. The results were disappointing; we placed only half of the patients on the map. This poor performance led me to question the reliability of our earlier linkage of household heads. The alternative was manual linkage, whereby I compared case by case the computer-generated lists of heads and owners. The results were remarkably different. There were more single homeowners, but significantly fewer people who owned their own home as well as other properties. The number of people living in a duplex or a triplex they owned, however, skyrocketed.

In the fall of 2023, I presented the results of this sobering exercise to the SSHA meeting in Washington. ChatGPT had just launched, and AI was the talk of town. This was hardly an auspicious moment to advocate a return to the methods of much earlier times. To say I was apprehensive would be an understatement, in part because I chose to use this failure as grounds to challenge a widely accepted sociological assumption. Much to my surprise, the paper was exceptionally well received. Perhaps an open admission of failure was innovative enough in itself, more likely people were relieved that I did not recommend this procedure to those still seeking tenure. In any case, the warm reception reinforced my belief in the importance of conferences as a venue for advancing knowledge.

In the early days of the web, MAP chose to privilege applications designed to run on personal computers. Our Arc Explorer and Q-GIS applications were designed to make our materials fully available to the user. This was consistent with our politics of empowering users to conduct original research. By contrast, almost all web-based historical applications only allow users to view the results of already completed research. This effectively disempowers users, by making them consumers rather than producers of knowledge.

In 2024, MAP posted our first web-based applications. Each provides limited amounts of information about a specific question. I have included here the one on over-crowding. When navigating this map on the web, brief descriptions of these 51,771 households in the census are available with a click. One can also identify all the households with live-in domestic servants. Neither capability is available in this published version. Our intention with these maps is to whet people's appetite for research. These maps allow people to explore over-crowding throughout the city and then to identify the owners of problematic cases on our other web-based map. Users can discover new, historically significant, patterns. We hope soon to have versions available that will run on cell phones, so people can explore a street's past as they walk down it.

I presented a companion piece to my exploration of owners from the popular classes in a paper the following spring to the CHA.[10] It asked if people identified as having white collar jobs were similar to the popular class owners. The late 19th century saw a major growth in property ownership among those with white collar occupations. So that most traders, half the agents, and a quarter of the accountants in the city owned property. Fewer than one in ten of the city's 5,100 clerks or 630 travelling salesmen owned property. An interesting exception were the municipal employees, over half of whom owned modest portfolios. These occupations had differing patterns of investment in the city and more importantly class positions. Less than a third of the portfolios exceeded $8,000 in value and they appropriated two thirds of the rents. These agents, accountants and traders were, I argue, bourgeois.

Last November I presented what I expect to be my final paper for some time, as I focus on writing a study of gender, property and national identity. I presented this national survey of landladies to the family demography network of the SSHA, where Alice B. Kasakoff took me to task for failing to consider the marital status of these women. Quite right. They were one fifth unmarried, while two fifths each were married or widowed. Property ownership for these women was not simply a temporary situation resulting from their husband's death. Ownership was related to life cycle and inheritance was significant, but as many of these women came from property owning families it was a responsibility they had been familiar with all their adult lives.

This paper built on my two earlier explorations of gender. When viewed through the lense of nationality, landladies exhibited quite distinctive patterns of investment. A minority of French Canadians participated much more actively in the speculative market in vacant land in the north and east of the city than did the other two groups. While both Irish Catholic and French-Canadian women had a much greater presence on the ground in the popular class wards than did English Protestant women. In all three groups, however, they favoured female tenants. Only one in eight census households were headed by a woman, and yet almost half of all landladies had at least one female-headed household as a tenant. By contrast, fewer than one in ten landlords did.

In May of 2024, I circulated a preliminary reflection of what this all means. Formulated as an answer to the question: how did we capitalise? I suggested that my analysis to date reveals the development of a variety of forms of resistance to the consolidation of capitalism. There were, to be sure, land and mortgage companies, railways, insurance companies and banks who were active in Montréal's real estate market and these actively promoted capitalism's three-pronged transformation of our relationships with people, with things and with the rest of nature. But this new order did not sweep all before it. It was resisted by forces, some old, but many new, that had become increasingly important over the course of the 19th century.

This reflection drew substantive remarks from a number of colleagues. None more critical than the eloquent response I received from Robert Tremblay, a specialist in the history of

10. As the CHA was meeting in Montréal, albeit at McGill, I chose to present this paper in French, the language of public life in Quebec. Due to the solidarity with Palestine encampment at McGill, our session decided to meet at UQAM, the only Canadian university that had agreed to sever relations academic with Isreal.

the pre-industrial craft world and the processes of proletarianisation in Montréal. Robert had authored an earlier critique of my idea that pre-industrial Montréal should be thought of as cosmopolitan.[11] This, he argued, seriously misunderstood the scale and significance of national oppression, a fault line that continued to run through my recent reflection. To me, the fault lay more with my lack of clarity than with a fundamental historical disagreement. So, in July, I circulated a clarification. This by no means ends this debate. Robert's criticisms and suggestions will guide my work as I continue to explore how gender, property and national identity interacted in turn-of-the-century Montréal.

Asking simple questions and presenting clear syntheses of the results to colleagues for discussion can be an effective way of developing a research strategy, when faced with complex, multi-faceted sources from the past. Admittedly it stands in opposition to both the *Annales*' method of approaching the past armed with a fully developed *problématique*,[12] and the social science method of applying a combination of current analytical tools and conceptions to the past. I have found that it offers built-in safeguards against present-mindedness, which is an unqualified good. I think it is also incompatible with the current fashion for data mining, an ahistorical method *par excellence*.

When I started this work, I assumed that most people who owned property in the city were homeowners. Indeed, I assumed that was why most of them owned property. I also assumed it to be largely a male affair, with women owning property for only a relatively brief period, generally in widowhood. I also assumed that access to property as the city industrialised would become more socially exclusive. I was aware of the rise of local ownership, but I had assumed that this was a by-product of the continued presence of bourgeois families in industrial neighbourhoods.[13] I further assumed that what happened first to the Irish in St Anne presaged what would happen in other popular class neighbourhoods.

In all of these, and many less important assumptions, I was wrong.

If I had opted for a theory and method based on these assumptions, I could easily have imposed on the past a history of my own making. The past would then have looked very much like the present. Indeed, armed with the tools of historical geographic information systems it would have looked for all the world like a scientific understanding of the past. It would, however, have been completely mistaken.

There is an important lesson here in the importance of humility before the enormity of our ignorance of the past. As my experience shows, a step-by-step approach is no guarantee

11. Robert Tremblay, "Si proche et parfois si loin : note critique en réponse à la vision cosmopolite des choses de Robert C. H. Sweeny." *Bulletin d'histoire politique*, 28, 1, automne 2019. Publiée en ligne April 7, 2020 : https://doi.org/10.7202/1068567ar

12. This understanding of the *Annales* legacy owes more to the direction of Fernand Braudel, during the Cold War, than to the thinking of either of the school's founders, Mark Bloch and Lucien Febvre. See my "Time and Human Agency: A re-assessment of the *Annales* legacy." *left history*, 1, 2, (Fall 1993) 61-83.

13. In *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?* I argued that this bourgeois presence was the basis for the gender-based, cross-class patriarchal understanding that developed over the late-19th century and that this alliance, although challenged by Taylorism in select industries, characterised industrial neighbourhoods until at least the Great War.

that we will always be going in the right direction. Indeed, given the importance of computers in our work, I think it is almost certain we will get things wrong. For they impose a very contemporary, advanced capitalist, structure on all that we do. How then do we keep our bearings? Sharing our answers with colleagues as we proceed offers one way of not only realising when we have made a misstep but can introduce us to alternative routes. Another is offered by collections such as this, which recognise that there is a history and logic to the work that we do. By rendering visible that which is all too often lost from sight, we open it up to criticism and thereby enrich our collective understandings. This is essential in our struggle for a better world.

Making sense of the historical in H-GIS in Canadian universities.[1]

This paper is structured in four parts. I start with a brief discussion of the bi-national character of historical geography in Canada. This sets the stage for a more extended analysis of the first, and, prior to a SSHRC-funded partnership, only pan-Canadian H-GIS to date. This project, *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*, better known as MAP, was by no means the only application of H-GIS in Canada, but unlike the overwhelming majority of H-GIS projects at the time and since, it was not developed to answer particular historical questions. Rather scholars from across the country developed MAP as a research infrastructure for both academics and the general public. MAP's attempts at outreach, including its legacy for two subsequent Canadian H-GIS research infrastructures, are then discussed. The paper concludes with what no doubt will be the most controversial point: why the evolution in computing appears to have already consigned to the dustbin the most innovative and empowering aspects of this pioneering Canadian experiment.

This paper is not a history of H-GIS in the Canadian academy. Nor does it attempt to catalogue the wide variety of ways Canadian researchers have used GIS techniques.[2] Its aim is both more modest and far-reaching. I ground an unparalleled experiment in progressive pedagogy, by linking it to the diverse cultural formation that gave it birth and by rendering explicit the political nature of the choices it embodied. Clearly delineating this point of departure allows us not only to see how far we have travelled, but to better understand how much further away we are now from creating historical geographic information systems to serve an informed and empowered citizenry. Thus, this uniquely Canadian story has implications for progressive scholarship around the world.

Two qualitatively distinct traditions

Historical geography in the Canadian academy dates from between the wars, with the work of Harold Innis in English Canada and Raoul Blanchard in Quebec. Although neither was an historian, both developed particular, albeit conflicting, historical meta-narratives that are still remarkably influential. To explore adequately these different approaches and their legacies would take us too far afield, so I have opted for a brief comparison of the two most important publication projects to build on their initial insights: the *Historical Atlas of Canada*, in three volumes, 1987-1993, and the *Atlas historique du Québec*, currently nine volumes, 1995-2012.

The principal editors of all three volumes of the *Historical Atlas* were historical geographers with different historians for each volume acting in important advisory capacities. Although the title suggests a reference work, where one would find answers to basic spatial questions about Canada's past, the series is an eclectic collection of plates. They reflect the widely dif-

1. Spatial Humanities Conference, University of Lancaster, September 2016.
2. For a representative sample of case studies see the open access *Historical GIS Research in Canada*. Edited by Jennifer Bonnell and Marcel Fortin. University of Calgary Press, 2014. Their bibliography from pages 291-313 provides a useful introduction to H-GIS work in Canada.

fering interests of the first generation of historical geographers and historians to be produced by the greatly democratized access to higher education of the late 1960s and early 1970s.

The progressive intentions of the editors were aptly captured by Cole Harris, co-editor of the first volume, when he told the Canadian Historical Association that there would not be any maps depicting European explorations as arrows through blank space.[3] Plates for all three volumes were commissioned at the apex of the renewed interest in social history and political economy characteristic of the late 1970s to mid-1980s in Canada. The emphasis is thus on the material, rather than the cultural or the linguistic, and depicts the unusual and the specific. Detailed studies graphically illustrate multiple interactions across time and space, but without any acknowledged comparative framework or shared methods across plates.

The coherency of this rich smorgasbord is provided by the presumed naturalness of the present boundaries of Canada and so even plates detailing the ice age respect the 49th parallel. Numerous plates on Newfoundland in the 17th and 18th centuries are included, but nothing on New France south of the Great Lakes. Indeed, it is this assumption that Canada was created because, not in spite, of geography, rather than any undue attention to staples,[4] that demonstrates the profound and continuing influence of Innis on this ambitious nationalist project.

A quite different nationalism animates the *Atlas historique*. The approach adopted in the first volume became the model for the series. It combines American social science methodologies with a belief in the St Lawrence River as the key structuring element in Quebec history, what they call *l'axe Laurentien*, a vision that respects Blanchard while transcending certain of his particularist tendencies.[5] This collection was designed to be, as founding editor Serge Courville informed the *Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, a monumental intellectual gift by those formed by the Quiet Revolution to future generations.[6] Their achievement continues to grow long past the retirement of that generation. Focussed, definitive, and comprehensive, it would be difficult to find a greater contrast with the *Historical Atlas*.

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3. A commitment made at the CHA annual meeting in Vancouver, 1983. Apparently, no one informed Conrad Heidenreich, for his Plate 36 in Volume 1 contains just such eurocentric maps for New France, a problem unfortunately reproduced in the online version where all the lines of exploration (admittedly not arrows) are presented as going through uninhabited space, save for the forts of the Europeans. Cole Harris went on, however, to make an exceptional contribution to understanding native newcomer relations, see in particular his multiple prize-winning book: *Making Native Space: Colonialism, Resistance and Reserves in British Columbia*. University of British Columbia Press, 2002.

4. Innis' interest in geography stemmed from his career-long interest in developing a staples approach to the political economy of colonies of settlement. For a critical assessment see my "The Staples as the Significant Past: A case study in historical theory and method." *Canada: Theoretical Discourse/Discours théoriques*. Edited by Jane Greenlaw, Terry Goldie, Carmen Lambert & Rowland Lorimer. Montréal: Association of Canadian Studies, 1994, 327-49, available on academia.edu.

5. For a sadly unfruitful exchange on their theory and method see my «Recenser la modernité» and their response in *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 41, 114 (décembre, 1997) 423-42, on academia.edu.

6. Congrès de l'Institut, Université du Québec à Trois Rivières, 1993.

Starting in 1995, with an analysis of the major changes in the St Lawrence valley during the mid-19th century, each volume advances a coherent historiographic argument. These are not reference books, but rather critical explorations of specific questions or areas. By 2001, six more volumes had appeared: on demography; territory; medical institutions; the North; Quebec City; and parishes. After a hiatus of almost a decade, two further volumes on the creation of rural society in the 18th century and on French-speaking North America appeared. Nor is the project yet complete, although any future volumes are likely to be virtual. Abundantly illustrated, nevertheless each volume does tend to privilege a particular source. As a result, the collection offers a rich cartography of differing visions of Quebec, but one where little dialogue between volumes is possible. Thus, despite their differing approaches, neither the *Atlas historique* nor the *Historical Atlas* are greater than the sum of their parts.

The future of the past.

The first large-scale H-GIS project in a Canadian university was *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* (MAP), hosted by the geography department of McGill, but mobilizing the talents of thirteen academics from Victoria to St John's, literally *mari usque ad mare*. Formed in 2000, it was a conscious effort to create a viable model for H-GIS in Canada. In 1997, the federal Liberal government had announced "millennial" investments in higher education including a major new source for infrastructural funding, the Canadian Fund for Innovation. Only 5% of the $455 million in CFI funding in the first two years had gone to the social sciences, humanities or arts.[7] With that source effectively hi-jacked by researchers in science and medicine, MAP tested the waters of Géoide, one of the "national centres of excellence" that were also created as part of this federal foray into education.[8]

An important feature of these federal initiatives was their tying of funding to a matching grants formula, part of a conscious neo-liberal agenda to make university research more "relevant" to the concerns of the private sector. MAP effectively circumvented this barrier by partnering with the Montréal city planning department and having their loan of CAD and MapInfo files treated as substantial in-kind contributions. Conceived from the outset as an interdisciplinary research infrastructure, MAP's application stressed the potential to explain spatial anomalies of medical conditions through a better understanding of the city's environmental history. Thus, MAP was both a pilot project and a template for how to access infrastructural support for the social sciences in an increasingly hostile environment.

7. It only achieved this amount thanks to a $20 million grant to the University of Ottawa's library, the other 24 funded projects shared less than one percent of the funding. CFI infrastructural funding for the social sciences, humanities and arts has remained at this abysmally low level, totaling only $275 million of the almost $5.5 billion in CFI funding since 1998.

8. Education in Canada is constitutionally an exclusively provincial jurisdiction, but since the 1950s the federal government has used the ever more pressing financial needs of universities to carve an increasingly larger place for their programs. These millennial investments, which included the creation of 200 Canada Research Chairs and a major scholarship program, when added to the four federal granting councils ensured effective control of university research by the federal government. Only the Quebec government, long a defender of provincial jurisdiction, has established anything at all comparable to federal infrastructure funding.

MAP was initially conceived in the late 1990s by the historical geographer Sherry Olson, in collaboration with Jean-Claude Robert. Both had been involved with the printed atlases and, in many ways, MAP aimed at overcoming their limitations. As Olson articulated it, the task was to design an accessible, open-ended, modular, research infrastructure, which would grow with each new person's contribution.

Olson worked at McGill, a particularly privileged place within the Canadian academy and not one normally given to collaborative efforts with francophone institutions. She had, however, come from John Hopkins in Baltimore and was well aware of both the high cost of segregation and the ethical responsibilities engaged social scientists share. An earlier publication series she created to allow the work of her graduate students to circulate more widely aptly summarized her position; it was called *Shared Spaces*. Through working with graduate students, Olson had developed an approach to spatial representation that became MAP's corner stone. It considers median rents, drawn from municipal tax rolls, to be the most sensitive social indicator for historical urban geography. These medians were calculated for streetscapes, generally both sides of a street for several blocks.[9] For the *Historical Atlas*, Olson and her graduate students had used these streetscapes to explore the relationship between rental values and topography and to map the evolution of occupational segregation in the city. Furthermore, they linked these values to differing architectural styles, permitting one to read the surviving-built environment in new and revealing ways.

The second major influence on the design of the project was Jean-Claude Robert. In the 1970s, under his co-direction, the *Groupe de recherche sur la société montréalaise au dix-neuvième siècle* at the *Université du Québec à Montréal* (UQAM), had conducted pioneering research on census returns that challenged the prevailing traditionalist interpretation of 19th-century Québec society. A leading social historian of 19th century Montréal, Robert wrote the standard reference work on historical maps of Montréal, co-edited the second volume of the *Historical Atlas* and co-authored the first volume of the *Atlas historique*. In the late 1990s, Robert was part of a task force charged with developing an interpretive framework for *Vieux Montréal*. Building on an insight of Gilles Lauzon, their final report argued the richness of the past in all its complexity should be the focus of heritage work. Therefore, the historic significance of this former town centre should not be defined by a particular time period or process, but rather in the way its surviving-built environment evoked differing spatially adjacent, but temporally distinct, periods.[10] The conceptual design of MAP aimed at making this inherent complexity accessible to all.

To achieve this the team selected dates for which highly detailed maps of the city had survived that could potentially be linked to nominal series from that specific period.[11] The earliest was an ordinance survey conducted in the summer of 1825 by John Adams of the British Royal Engineers. This map coincided with a pioneering sociological investigation by

9. David Hanna and Sherry Olson, « Métiers, loyers et bouts de rue: l'armature de la société montréalaise de 1881 à 1901. *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, 27, 71, (septembre 1983) 255-75, available on mun.ca/mapm.
10. Gilles Lauzon, Jean-Claude Robert & Robert C.H. Sweeny. *Vieux-Montréal: La Cité. Une identité façonnée par l'histoire.* Montréal, Ministère de la Culture et des Communications du Québec et la Société de développement de Montréal, 1996.
11. For a discussion of the methodological choices and problems they caused see MAP's site mun.ca/mapm.

the city's future Mayor, Jacques Viger. A generation later, in 1846, James Cane drew a detailed commercial map of the city within years of a census and just prior to the first systemized municipal evaluation roll to have survived. In 1880, the year before the decennial census, Charles E. Goad & Co. published a 64-plate fire insurance atlas of the city. A similar proximity marked the 1912 Goad atlas and the 1911 census. In 1949, the planning department created an exceptionally detailed, colour-coded map of the city, two years prior to the first post-war census.

To ground these period maps in virtual space, MAP constructed a new base map for 2000, from the set of MapInfo files of the city, known as the SIURS geobase, and an extensive set of CAD files lent by the *Service de géomatique de la Ville de Montréal*.[12] Rectifying a map means changing it so that the map shares the same co-ordinates as another map. This involves identifying points on each map that you believe to be the same location and treating them as control points or anchors. After enough anchors have been identified, GIS software warps the overlay map to fit the co-ordinates of the base map. Initially the plan was to use evidence from the built environment, such as the corners of Notre Dame Basilica, as our anchors.

For reasons of both scale and accumulated expertise of team members, once the base map for 2000 was completed, work focused on the 19th century layers starting with the 1880 Goad. When rectified, MAP members thought it could be the basis for the rectification of the Cane 1846 map and then the Cane could be used to rectify the Adams 1825 map. Working backwards would maximise the number of buildings appearing on both maps and so ensure the most reliable rectification by increasing the number of potential control points.

Initial rectifications highlighted the challenge of variability from one plate to another and showed the need for many more anchors than the shared built environment was likely to provide. The margin of error on most plates ranged from five to ten meters; where the comparable error in a modern document, created to current engineering standards from aerial photographs of contemporary buildings, is in the order of one meter. This high level of inaccuracy was disturbing, as a coherent system depended on the centre of any lot being within that lot, because this was where data points linked to historical sources detailing the lot's inhabitants and usages would be placed. Thus, an acceptable margin of error would be approximately three meters, or less than half the width of almost all lots in the city.

In many parts of the city there were no buildings from 1880 that had survived to the present and so, *faute de mieux*, on Sherry's suggestion, existing property lines were used as anchor points. To the general surprise of team members, rectifying to property lines proved to be considerably more accurate than using buildings as anchors. Although property lines are invisible, imaginary lines through space, these abstractions proved to be remarkably stable features over 120 years. They were recorded with considerably greater care than were the actual buildings.

12. Rosa Orlandini's working paper on our site explains how this was done.

There were two types of lots visible on the 1880 Goad: building lots and cadastral lots. In Goad, cadastral lots appeared even where no building had yet been erected, and they usually appeared in the SIURS geobase even where buildings had been demolished. Since the extensive written information on the Goad plates meant that they were not good candidates for an automated drawing of the cadastral lines, MAP created a GIS layer of the cadastral lots based on the work by Louis-Wilfrid Sicotte between 1876 and 1878. A detail of St-Joseph ward is shown here. Goad was then rectified to Sicotte. Cadastral lots made comparison between maps easier and allowed greater confidence when moving between maps despite the frequent changes in addresses.

Establishing a shared geodesy, or geometry of the earth, was essential to the construction of an historically coherent geographic information system, but the visual centrality of these transformed period maps to anyone using the system is misleading. Although extensive work with period maps did underlie much of the system, the sources of reference for the 1846 and 1880 layers were the 1848 and 1880 tax rolls, because they alone provide both lot numbers and street addresses. Whenever there was a disagreement between two sources, including the period maps, the tax roll was considered to be the definitive source. This central methodological choice determined the architecture of the entire system.

According primacy to a particular source to govern each layer generated substantial debate within MAP. It was a debate that revealed the significance of differing ways of knowing (epistemologies) and doing (methodologies) depending on one's disciplinary training. Scholars trained as social scientists were on the whole comfortable with the idea of creating an external hierarchical structure of significance, humanists much less so.

It was often over mundane issues that these debates arose. How to handle the wide variations in spellings, including accents, and nomenclature was a particular sore point. While all could agree that a standardisation of spelling to facilitate queries did make the system more "user-friendly," the potential costs of such efficiencies were not as widely recognised. Historians' concerns that such impositions of present conventions on the past denied possible future avenues of research were dismissed as source fetishism.

These interdisciplinary tensions were compounded in the early years by an understandable but regrettable tendency to assume that the geographers would handle the maps, while the historians dealt with period sources. Such disciplinary silos, reinforced by reliance on distinct software packages, effectively denied that maps needed to be understood as historical sources in their own right, and that period sources had intrinsic spatial logics that needed to be critically analysed.[13] It took years for the team to learn this dual lesson, by

13. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Rethinking boundaries: interdisciplinary lessons from the Montréal, l'avenir du passé (MAP) project" *Digital Studies/ Le champ numérique 1, 2 (2009).*

which time MAP's GIS was largely in place, without all the "H" it might legitimately be considered to require.

The exception to this hierarchical structure was the 1825 layer. There was no municipal tax roll to anchor the system for 1825. As a result, standardized linkages at the lot level were not possible across the myriad available sources. Instead, a series of stand-alone databases with context-sensitive query capabilities was developed in Visual dBase. These included the two extant city directories (1819 & 1820), two surviving listings of property owners (1825 & 1832), the official manuscript census for 1825 with the annotations from the enumerator's personal copy, notarial deeds of apprenticeship for a selection of trades and notaries (1820-29) and monetary protests by the city's two chartered banks (1820-1827).

Adams ordnance survey of 1825 was made fully compatible with the other layers, so researchers can drill down to 1825 to compare his visualisation of the city's-built environment with the later ones of Caine or Goad & Co., as well as analyse the spatial logic of this unique representation of the city. Unlike the other layers, however, an integrated mapping of nominal series is not yet possible.

Where known, linkages to the map were provided, but the logic of this arrangement was much more in keeping with a quite different theory and method for understanding the past. This 'cubist' portrait of pre-industrial Montréal treated each source as distinct, because endowed with its own historical logic. From this perspective, one should not privilege one source over another. Contradictions between sources are not problems to be resolved, but rather further evidence of the complexity of the past that needs to be understood.[14]

By contrast, the 1880 layer was much more representative of MAP's vision and it has been this approach which has had the greatest influence. Building on team members' long experience with routinely generated nominal series, such as tax rolls and census returns, the layer for 1880 offers users a fully integrated experience. On offer are complete linkages at the lot level to the 1881 census, databases of owners and tenants drawn from the 1880 tax roll and the complete alphabetical list from Lovell's city directory, as well as files on specific topics as varied as Protestant pew rentals, Catholic baptisms, Grand Trunk Railway wages, the last known address of people consigned to a pauper's grave and youth attending the High School of Montreal. MAP's modular nature allows the system to grow by simply linking new variables to the base map, creating an accurate spatial representation of this new dimension. The rich potential of such a research infrastructure inspired projects in other Canadian cities.

Outreach and take-up

Over the past 15 years, MAP has been the subject of dozens of presentations to national and international conferences, facilitated the completion of numerous graduate theses and been

14. I explain this in more detail in *Why did we choose to industrialize? Montreal, 1819-1849*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015, p.181-224.

an important component of two major, prize-winning, monographs.[15] This research infrastructure might well be best known, however, for its pedagogical software. Complementing the earlier stand-alone databases for the 1820s, three Arc Explorer applications were released in 2003: *Protestant Schooling in Industrial Montréal; Occupants of the 1880 Montréal tax roll;* and *Montréal the built environment 1880 and 2000.* In 2004, applications based on the Adams and Cane maps were released, along with a 32 bit-edition of the 1819 city directory of Thomas Doige. In 2006, the most ambitious of the stand-alone databases was released, detailing the complete alphabetical listing from the 1880 Lovell's city directory. At the 2010 *Congrès de l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française* a CD-ROM was launched, with eight French and English language Arc Explorer applications covering all three 19th century layers in both Apple and Windows formats. More than 500 copies of the CD were distributed to history and geography departments across the country. A supporting website went live the following spring.

The philosophy underlying this dissemination strategy merits explicit discussion, as it speaks to a form of engaged scholarship that now appears outmoded, if indeed still possible. This ambitious outreach program gradually replaced a much more modest initial plan, which was simply to have the system available for use by the general public in the then newly opened *Grande bibliothèque* in downtown Montréal.

As this might suggest, although members of the team sometimes did make use of it in their own research, MAP was never part of a specific research program. The idea was to allow people ready and easy access to a high-quality H-GIS for an entire city as it evolved over 175 years, so they could properly situate in time and place their own research, be it a student's thesis, a genealogist's family history, or simply a house one was interested in purchasing. In addition to having it publicly available in libraries, the system was designed to be installed on peoples' own computers, so they could easily explore the full power and potential of the differing layers. All releases included pedagogical guides as the hope was that academics would use this H-GIS not only in their research, but also in their classrooms. After all, understanding how a major North American city changed over the past two centuries is relevant to a wide variety of courses.

Now, the overwhelming majority of H-GIS projects are created either to answer specific questions, or to elucidate an historical relationship already identified as important. Thus, MAP's designing an H-GIS without having a particular research agenda in mind was exceptional. In the partnership's preliminary discussion of this paper, Joanne Burgess characterised it as altruistic; and as nice as that sounds, it fails to do justice to the politics. At the dawn of the new millennium, MAP was on the cutting edge of a decentralizing and democratising movement to harness the potential of personal computers for social change. This movement envisaged empowered communities of users creatively and collaboratively

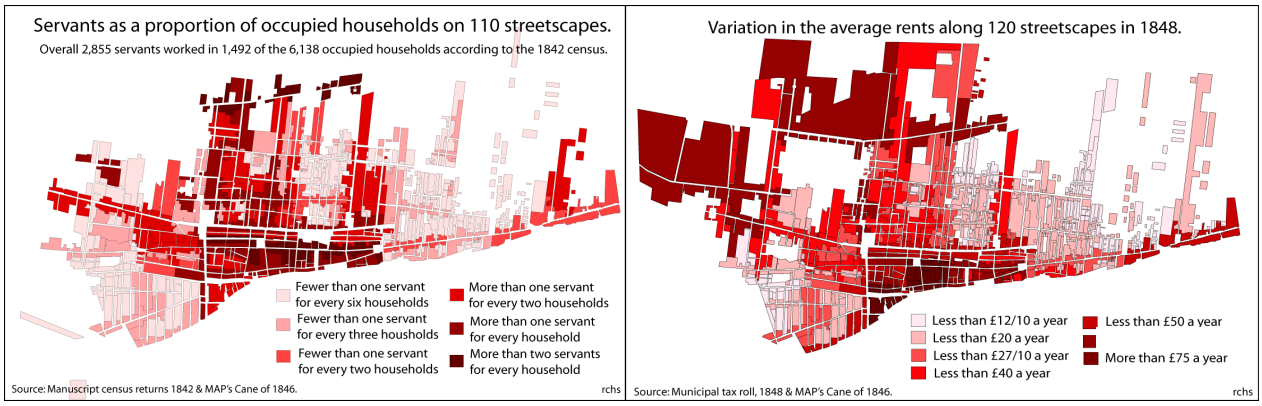
15. Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton. *Peopling a North American City, Montreal, 1840-1900*. McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011, was awarded an Honourable Mention in the Sir John A Macdonald competition in 2012, while *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?* won in 2016. The Macdonald Prize is awarded annually by the Canadian Historical Association to the work that has made the most significant contribution to understanding the Canadian past in the previous year.

exploring qualitatively new terrain through radically different relationships to the production of knowledge.

The idea was that the user would be able to ask the questions they needed answering, if the system allowed for open-ended, complex queries that respected the provenance and context of diverse historical sources. Although rarely fully articulated, and certainly not wholly endorsed by all team members, this conception of MAP's purpose increasingly directed dissemination efforts towards public history and pedagogical engagement and away from scholarly publications. It also resulted in a qualitatively different approach to the look and feel of the system as a whole.

If the ideal user was an academic trained in GIS techniques, then there really was no need to fully polygonise the built environment of 1880, a point representing each building would suffice. But if the intended user was a student or a member of the general public, then the need to provide as detailed and as accurate a rendition of the built environment as possible became paramount. The less qualified the user, the more sophisticated the program needs to be, for there is so much less one can take for granted.

If people are to learn how to be historians through using H-GIS, then the 'H' really does have to be both capital and foremost in system design. Take, for example, the streetscapes used to great effect by Olson *et al* in the *Historical Atlas* and elsewhere. Instead of representing these as simply points or coloured lines on streets, MAP's 1846 applications linked the 110 streetscapes for the 1842 census and the 120 streetscapes for the 1848 tax roll to the actual lots. The visual effect is dramatically different, while vividly emphasising the exceptional wealth and scale of the Golden Square Mile then being developed to the west of McGill University.



MAP's extensive outreach moved few to use this research infrastructure. In Montréal, perhaps surprisingly, the take-up was greatest among epidemiologists.[16] Some of the software has been used by faculty and graduate students at both UQAM and Concordia, in addition to McGill, but there has been no integration of this H-GIS into any regular undergraduate course anywhere in Canada, save for my own at Memorial. This singular

16. The crisis in the early 2000s provoked by a new form of tuberculosis imported from Russia made MAP's layer for 2000 an important tool in the public health response.

failure within undergraduate classes has many causes, some cultural and others systemic,[17] but here I would like to focus on two related causes that help explain the more general failure: the challenges to literacy posed by digital technologies and the increasing mismatch between MAP's initial technological choices and the subsequent evolution in computing.

Although we live in a digital world, this does not mean people are computer literate.[18] It simply means that people use computers all the time, albeit in quite specific and generally very limited ways, without really having to think much about it. Literacy means using technology to better understand something. Traditionally these technologies have been the three 'Rs' of reading, writing and arithmetic, but higher-level literacy has always required both deductive and inductive reasoning. In this sense, literacy involves developing the cognitive abilities to make sense of the world. It means learning how to question and how to look. It is the opposite of not having to think much about it.

Our reflex is no longer to think to question, nor do we spend that much time looking, because the answer is only a Google™ search away. And as the distance to this answer grows, lodged as they increasingly are in clouds on far away servers, the immediacy with which a hierarchically ordered series of answers appears on our screens is now effectively instantaneous. Marx's observation that capitalism tends to annihilate both time and space has never been more evident. The whole purpose of H-GIS, however, is to enhance the significance of time and space. Yet people's lived experience daily confirms that these no longer matter in our world. This makes our task qualitatively more difficult than it was in the early 2000s, when MAP's outreach program was premised on a fundamentally different role for the user as an active participant in knowledge acquisition and, more importantly, creation.

One could argue that there is still a place for such counter-cultural practices given the evident need, but this would seriously underestimate the power of both the forces behind the dramatic transformations in digital technology and the impact these forces have on our individual and collective capacities to imagine.

In 2000, when the web was still young, MAP chose a technology that privileged relational databases and shape files running on a personal computer. Given modem speeds and storage costs at the time, combined with the size of the databases, these were reasonable choices, but these were not the primary reasons. After all, others had already shown the

17. These would include: the aversion to computerised analytics within the humanities; the inadequate computer facilities in most Faculties of Arts that would allow for integration of computer labs into their courses; the perception that it would be too difficult for non-geography students to master within the compass of a course that is after all not about H-GIS; the perceived increase to the instructor's work-load, particularly in a context where reliance on precarious academic labour is so pervasive; and the institutional shift away from a respect for the mission of teaching and learning to a narrowly defined focus on funded forms of research.

18. For a discussion of academic literacy see our open-access online publication: Valerie Burton & Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Realizing the democratic potential of online sources in the classroom." *Digital Scholarship in the Humanities*, 30, (December 2015) 177-184.

viability of a web-based alternative.[19] Prior expertise in particular types of software played a key role in the choices, but so too did the corporate dominance of computing.[20] The major consideration in the decision to develop software packages as self-contained executable files was that they could be freely distributed to run in classrooms or on people's home computers without their needing to purchase any proprietary software.

Since then, the technical constraints have almost disappeared, while an entirely new service model has developed. Mobile devices accessing distant databases through a wide variety of either free or relatively inexpensive applications, along with a limited array of social networks, are now the norm. Most people no longer pay for much of the software they use, rather advertisers pay a handful of powerful corporations to have access to their user base. Meanwhile, the ubiquitous Google™ map has introduced a particular form of GIS to billions of people. The qualitatively different ontology of both this model and the most widely used of these applications results in not just a new user experience, but a different relationship to knowledge acquisition and creation.

On the one hand, the immediate and in appearance unlimited access to knowledge transforms its acquisition into a form of consumption. It requires no advanced training or skill development. It flattens any learning curve, by effectively denying profundity. In this paradigm, knowledge simply is. On the other hand, the largely anonymous and inherently collaborative nature of knowledge creation offers the possibility of tailoring existing knowledge to fit new and quite possibly unintended purposes. This contradiction, between superficiality and innovation, is more apparent than real, for both acquisition and creation are conceived as responding to market mechanisms. Indeed, this neo-liberal epistemology is the antithesis of previous modes of knowledge acquisition and creation wherein culture and power, rather than the metrics of shares, likes and links, determined value.[21]

One can see how this restricts the potential for H-GIS by examining the literally hundreds of sites now available. [22] The "gee-whiz factor" predominates; H-GIS is used to illustrate, rather than instruct. The overwhelming majority limit user interaction to selecting a variable from a set range of results. These maps illustrate, often in highly entertaining ways, by sharing already known information. They do not train the user, nor do they allow users to pose their own questions of the underlying data. Only a handful of sites even allow for the download of complete databases and related shape files. None allow for open-ended

19. As Edward L. Ayers remarkable site so clearly demonstrated: *In the Valley of the Shadow: Two communities in the American Civil War*. University of Virginia, 1993-2007. (valley.lib.virginia.edu)

20. As my 2001 paper to the XV International Conference on History and Computing in Posnań, Poland, made abundantly clear: "by their very nature computers pose substantive dangers for historical research. They do so precisely because computers are in history. They are neither neutral nor value-free. They are the product of a very particular time and place. As the quintessential technology of advanced capitalist society, computers simultaneously define and are defined by the social and gender relations characteristic of contemporary capitalism. It is no mere coincidence that the history of computers is coincident with that of monopoly capital."

21. For a discussion of everyday neo-liberalism see Philip Mirowski, *Never Let a Serious Crisis go to Waste: How neoliberalism survived the financial meltdown*. London: Verso, 2013, p.89-156.

22. The following assessment is based on the extensive list of H-GIS sites around the world maintained on the University of Saskatchewan H-GIS laboratory's website: hgis.usask.ca/links.

complex queries, or respect the provenance of diverse historical sources, which were at the heart of MAP's pedagogy. I offer a possible explanation of this singular failure in my concluding remarks.

MAP was not designed for those simply interested in the history of Montréal. From its inception, we conceived it as both a laboratory for urban history writ large and a template for like-minded people interested in developing similar infrastructures for their own cities. In Canada, only two projects have taken up the challenge.

The most ambitious has been Jason Gilliland's Imag(in)ing London Historical GIS Project, which provides the historical and spatial basis for the Human Environments Analysis Laboratory (HEAL) at Western University in London, Ontario. Gilliland was a MAP team member in its early years and the initial structure of his project learnt from MAP's experience. This H-GIS with eight layers from 1871 to 2012 and over half a million individual records has been used to explore a wide variety of environmental and health issues. [23] Masters' students in Western's program in public history, as well as undergraduates in geography, regularly use this remarkable research infrastructure.

Gilliland and his long-time project manager, Don Lafreniere, have been lynchpins in connecting the H-GIS projects in Canada. Gilliland co-authored numerous articles with MAP members. They both participated in a joint SSHRC project with MAP on immigration and in recent years have collaborated with team members from the other major H-GIS in Canada, viHistory, as part of a SSHRC funded collaboration into space and race.

The remarkable achievements of Imag(in)ing London and HEAL, do not include any outreach program like that pioneered by MAP. Prospective users of this H-GIS can always contact the project for access, but no databases, shape files or applications are currently available for use by the public, nor are any planned. During the discussion of the draft of this paper, Don Lafreniere explained their reasoning: the power of H-GIS lies in its analytics and so it requires highly qualified personnel to fulfil its promise.

The H-GIS for turn of the century Vancouver Island, viHistory started in 2003, but like MAP could build on substantial earlier work with census data.[24] It currently houses 150,000 entries drawn from census returns for Victoria (1871-1911), for the island as a whole (1881 & 1891) and for Alberni and Port Alberni (1911), city directories for Nanaimo and Victoria (1882, 1892 & 1902), tax rolls for Nanaimo (1881 & 1891) and Victoria (1901), as well as an extensive collection of building permits and construction proposals for Victoria (1877-1921). This data rich archive is all available online, but unlike Imag(in)ing and MAP

23. HEAL's website currently [in 2016] lists 65 peer-reviewed publications, the majority of which relied at least in part on this H-GIS.

24. Peter Baskerville and Chad Gaffield, now two of the country's senior quantitative historians, cut their teeth on census data for the island in the 1980s. It in its conception and early history this earlier Vancouver Island Project shared more with CIEQ's urban census project on Quebec City, developed by Marc St-Hilaire, than with either MAP or Imag(in)ing London. Eric Sager, who worked closely with Baskerville for the past three decades, is a member of the viHistory team.

little of it is currently linked to a map. On the other hand, the members of viHistory have here, as elsewhere, pioneered in the use of web technologies to not just make the material available to a wider audience, but to introduce a degree of inter-activity. Of particular note is their use of the annotation capabilities of Web 2.0 to allow users to add comments on individual entries. This facilitates correcting transcription errors, while, more importantly, building a community of users.

Despite the frequent presentations by members of all three of these projects to international conferences in history, geography and the social sciences, there has been no serious take-up of what might reasonably be termed the Canadian model for H-GIS. In part this is due to MAP's early start and the technological choices this entailed. Based on the response to my own presentations over the years, however, I suspect the primary reason is likely to be more philosophical. The practices and traditions I have been tracing in this paper are all progressive. They all aimed in varying ways at enhancing spatial and temporal understandings through new technologies in order to address perceived social, gender, racial or national problems. In its most fully articulated form, with MAP's innovative outreach program, the aim was to transform how knowledge is produced, disseminated and understood. The neo-liberal transformation of the academy throughout the OECD has rendered such ideals in the eyes of almost all my colleagues, both here and abroad, certainly naïve if not simply wrong-headed.

Does this past have a future?

I think we may have been here before, but which before? Two possible analogies occur to me. The first is a fairly familiar story of technological change. In the late 19th century, cameras used photographic plates which provided exceptional resolution. They were replaced in the early 20th century with cameras using film, which had considerably less resolution, but were both cheaper and more convenient. Except in astronomy, where resolution trumped both cost and convenience. We now use digital cameras with even less resolution, but greatly enhanced ease at costs reduced to almost nothing. Except in astronomy, where arrays of high-tech CCD cameras permit something approaching the earlier resolution of plates.

The second is less well known, or at least less widely acknowledged. For its first 75 years the political economy we now call classical, from Steuart and Smith to John Stuart Mill, was pre-occupied by questions of value. Did prices reflect value or not? Were the claims of the owners of labour, capital and land of equal value or not? Then came what we now call the neo-classical economists, Walras, Jevons and Marshall and their marginal revolution. Questions of value no longer mattered. We could understand that which was significant by tracking change at the margin because the whole was no longer in question. For late-Victorian intellectuals, capitalism needed no justification.

Analogies are tricky things. They never line up properly, let alone stand to attention. Their purpose is to help us see something we thought we knew anew. Nonetheless, between technological progress and conceptual myopia, I suspect the latter might be most relevant to our present situation. Or put another way, technological change only takes us so far before we need to consider the system as a whole.

MAP's research infrastructure was designed without reference to the web, which was then in its infancy. It used established technologies to achieve new ends. The technological challenge now facing MAP is complete. None of the stand-alone databases the project developed will operate on a 64-bit computer. All the Arc Explorer applications were rendered inoperative by a coding change to Java 7 in build 80, released in the summer of 2015. Neither the most recent version of Esri's ArcGIS, nor its open-source competitor Q-GIS 2.14, support one to many relationships for databases. Any properly relational database must be transformed into a flat file if it is to be run from within either of these environments.

Thus, all the tools to allow this empowering research infrastructure to run on your computer no longer work. One can of course still read the database files and any shape files from within either program and with sufficient expertise rebuild the layers. But the whole idea behind building such a research infrastructure in the first place was to democratise access. There was to be no longer a need for highly qualified personnel to intervene. You could ask your own questions on your own desktop.

This sounds a lot like my tale of technological change and in many ways it is. The changes that have been wrought all aim at ensuring mobile devices can query distant databanks in standardized ways with the greatest possible speed and efficiency. What can be wrong with that? Well, that's where my second analogy is I think useful.

We are rapidly moving to an H-GIS environment where the only answers available are those that someone has already asked and answered. Indeed, I think we may be already there, as my examination of our colleagues in Saskatoon's extensive list of H-GIS web sites suggests. Lots of sites had beautiful maps and a variety of pre-set variables that could be invoked, but none allowed genuinely original research. Indeed, very few even allowed for a query involving a combination of variables.

We appear to have reached the point where the types of original research questions students in my fourth-year course on industrialisation could routinely ask a decade ago, are simply beyond the capabilities of all but a select cadre of highly trained personnel. People can select known aspects of the system to be queried, but not the system as a whole.

There was a reason why astronomers were the odd people out in my story of technological change. Resolution matters to astronomers because they hope to find something completely new, worlds we have yet to encounter, things beyond our present imaginaries. The historical in H-GIS should stand for that same sense of wonder and exploration. We know so little of the past and there is so much we must learn. But I fear we, as a community of privileged scholars, now share more of the complacency of those late-Victorian political economists than any of us might care to admit.

New ways to imagine an old city.[1]

Imagine you could examine the entire real estate portfolio for any proprietor in a large city linked to detailed household descriptions of up to a third of his or her tenants. Imagine if when you did, you discovered that women owned a quarter of all rental units in the largest city in turn-of-the-century Canada and that they appear to have managed these properties differently. Wouldn't that change how you think about gender relations in the past?

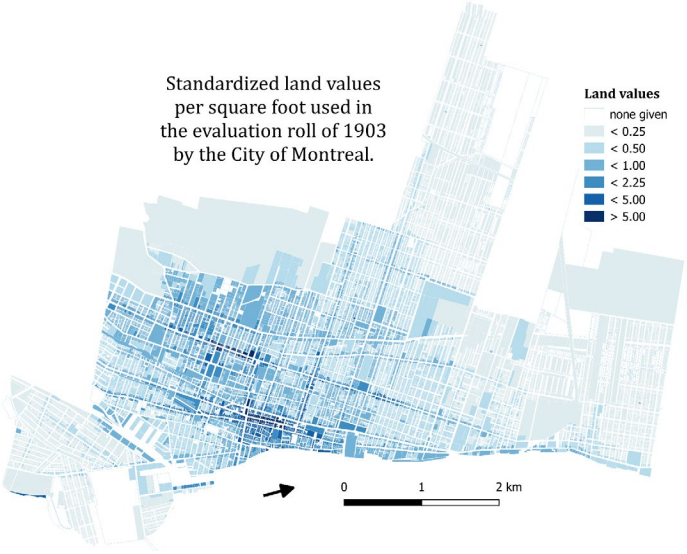
This is but one example of the remarkable potential for novel imaginings arising from the latest phase of the research infrastructure *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* (MAP), Canada's oldest and largest historical GIS.

This exceptionally rich resource consists of four distinct elements: a new cartography of all properties in the city in 1903, detailing who owned what; an index of all household heads in the 1901 census linked to this map at the lot level; a 30% sample of the complete manuscript census returns of the city's households; and a geo-referenced vector map of all 101,353 buildings in the city in 1912.

These research tools for understanding Edwardian Montréal build on MAP's earlier layers for 1880, 1846 and 1825, which are available at mun.ca/mapm. The combination permits detailed study of both the evolution in land use and population densities over a century. The transformation of our relationship to the rest of nature is strikingly evident. So too is the development of qualitatively new suburban landscapes, where the environment that mattered most was one's own family.

The map for 1903 is based on a 1,342-page publication by the City Council listing all properties in the city, which as the preface put it was "designed to act as an incentive to the sales of property." For this to work required proper identification of each of the 11,766 individual proprietors, as well as the 278 corporate and 204 institutional owners. In addition, the square footage, approximate dimensions, rental value and assessments of buildings and land for each property were given, as well as the civic numbers for built properties.

Using the descriptions for each of the 32,248 entries on this roll, in conjunction with the 1897 Goad and the 1907 Pinsonneault atlases, I mapped 30,026 individual properties. It was not unusual for a single entry to represent multiple adjacent lots, while frequently complex industrial properties consisted of numerous entries on the roll but had much of the data listed under a single entry. This was most evident with the railway lines.

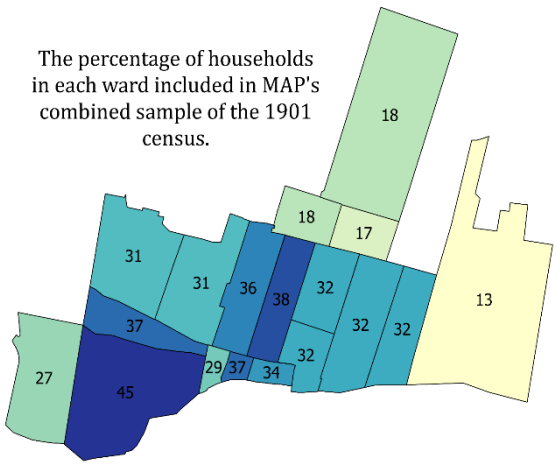


1. Posted to the NICHE website in January 2017.

An innovative aspect of this publication was its use of highly revealing standardized pricing for evaluating land, ranging from 2¢ to $18 a square foot. Understandably the highest values were along Greater St James Street, the financial capital of Canada, but one can also see the emergence of the two, linguistically separate, bourgeois shopping precincts on St Catherine Street. On a more subtle level, the values on key cross streets and on corner lots speak to the significance of locally controlled economic relations in each neighbourhood.

To people this map we linked the index of household heads to their respective lots. We are still in the final stages of verifying this work, but we have already linked 98.4% of all households for whom the census provided a civic address. This remarkable level of linkage was possible because we base our approach primarily on location, rather than names. Each census enumerator developed their own spatial approach to their task, which is reflected in the order of households in the manuscript returns. This internal spatial ordering, analysed in conjunction with street and alphabetical listings of the 1901 city directory and the street numbers in the Pinsonneault atlas, has permitted us to raise the initial highly respectable linkage rate of 84% based on geo-coding to almost complete coverage.

The index provides information on 70,076 households on the island of Montréal, 51,758 were within the 1901 city limits. Compiled by genealogists through a collective, volunteer effort, this index provides varying levels of information. For the city itself and in descending order of coverage, it contains data on: the size of 99% of households; the name and surname of 99% of household heads; the civic address of 96% of households; the number of rooms in 90% of the dwellings; the employment status of 32% of household heads; the income of 25% of households; the presence and number of live-in servants in 9% of households. Used with caution, this admittedly limited descriptive information can be very helpful in the early stages of developing a spatially informed research strategy.



In 2007, Sherry Olson asked colleagues whose research projects had involved the 1901 census for Montréal if they would be willing to contribute their databases to a combined sample. Five projects accepted.[2] The differing objectives of these projects combined with their varying methodologies meant a considerable amount of work in editing and completing data entry, so that the file contained all the returns for all of the categories in the sampled households. The result was more than worth the effort as 30.7% of all households in the city are included in this combined sample.

2. Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager provided the Montréal data from the Canadian Family Project and their study of the unemployed, Danielle Gauvreau and Peter Gossage contributed their data from joint demographic study, Mary MacKinnon added her data from a project on wages and employment, while Patricia Thornton contributed her infant mortality data from her collaboration with Sherry Olson.

This is not a random sample. As the spatial coverage by ward illustrates the newer suburban wards beyond the limits of the city in 1880 are distinctly underrepresented, while the famed "city below the hill" of St Anne ward received the greatest attention. Furthermore, each project used a differing sampling technique, so one has to use care in selecting which records to include for a particular query. Nonetheless, the sheer size of this new dataset means we can answer more detailed questions in a more contextualized manner, thanks to the spatial linkage and the possibility of using the index. Using this combined sample, I was recently able to compare the housing patterns of the newly arrived Ashkenazi, Cantonese, Syrian, Newfoundlander, American and Italian communities.[3] This simply would not have been possible working with what was previously the largest (5%) publicly available dataset.

The final element of MAP's new release is our most accurate geo-referencing of the built environment of Montréal. Aided by several students and with technical advice from Don Lafreniere, over the past three years Sherry Olson created this 21st century view of the 1912 Goad atlas. In our previous work, we drew polygons for each of three layers: buildings, lots, and blocks. This led to numerous inaccuracies, as buildings did not necessarily line up properly with lot lines or other features we had drawn. For 1912, we

3. "Gender, discrimination and housing in turn-of-the-century Montréal. What mapping the census returns of immigrants can tell us." *Frontiers in Digital Humanities*, 3, 8 (September 2016), 1-18. doi.org/10.3389/fdigh.2016.00008

used a different technique. We simply drew lines, which in GIS are called arcs, everywhere there was a line on the original map. We had the GIS software combine these lines into all of the possible polygons and then we selected and combined the thousands of resulting shapes into separate layers for buildings, lots, blocks, etc. This technique was faster and more accurate as features that shared a line on the original map are constructed from the same arcs, eliminating any overlaps or slivers.

We have yet to people this map, but in its rich detailing of the 49,967 buildings covered in brick or stone and the 50,458 in wood, there is a great deal that one can do with it already. The dramatic transformations wrought by the railroads presage the gradual eclipse of the century-old horse-drawn economy. While the contradictory processes of much higher popu-lation densities and significantly increased space for working class, as well as middle class, families speak to the social and cultural choices creating this new urban environment.

Lessons from the database debates.[1]

Bienvenue à Montréal! I hope you will have the chance to visit more than just the downtown core, for this is a fascinating city with a challenging history. The story I have to tell today is very much a Montréal story. It could only have happened here. In this French-speaking, Catholic city, long dominated by an English-speaking Protestant elite, where until recently four out of five households were tenants, but the lessons learnt, I argue, have a much broader application.

The pioneering social science historians of the 1970s and 1980s were certain of one thing, Montréal's 19th working class faced a bleak present and a depressing future. In this, they echoed the leading social critics of the 19th century, from Philip Carpenter in the 1850s to Herbert Brown Ames in the 1890s, who stressed the deplorable living conditions of many working-class families. Indeed, as early as 1859, Carpenter penned a motto for Montréal that remained an all too accurate description down to the 1940s: Montreal was a "city of wealth and death." As late as the 1920s, Montréal was second only to Calcutta in the infant mortality sweepstakes.[2]

For more than a century, concerned scholars and social activists explored the dynamics of poverty, and in a city increasingly segregated along religious, linguistic and cultural lines, their explanations often invoked models of ethnic determinism that we now recognize as racist. Starting in the 1970s, this older scholarship was challenged by social science history. To the complex problems of the past, these scholars brought computerized solutions that privileged routinely generated nominal series, in particular census returns.

Lessons learnt from the work by Michael Katz`s group on mid-19th century Hamilton profoundly shaped the research agenda of this first generation of scholars both here and elsewhere. Katz`s project had revealed two key findings. Urban life exhibited a remarkably stable structure, which allowed for only limited social mobility, combined with extraordinary levels of geographic mobility. These were understood to be causally linked: people moved on because they could not get ahead. Applying these insights to the largest city in British North America was the task taken up by the *Groupe de recherche sur la société montréalaise au 19ième siècle* (GRSM) at the *Université du Québec à Montréal*, then a new public university whose mission was to democratise access to higher education. The GRSM computerized the census returns from 1825 through to 1861, but did not undertake automated record linkage, preferring instead to focus on pre-industrial occupational structures and land ownership patterns as revealed by the earliest enumerator, and quite

1. Social Science History Association, Montréal, November 2017.
2. Dr Phillip P. Carpenter, "On the Relative Value of Human Life in Different Parts of Canada." *Canadian Naturalist and Geographer*, 4, 1859, 173-186, the quotation is from page 178; "On the vital statistics of Montreal." *Canadian Naturalist & Quarterly Journal of Science*, New Series, 3, 1868, 135-156; "On some causes of excessive mortality of young children in the City of Montreal." *Canadian Naturalist & Quarterly Journal of Science*, New Series, 4, 1869. Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill, A Sociological study of a portion of the City of Montreal, Canada.* Montréal: Bishop Printing and Engraving Co, 1897. Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class of Montreal, 1897-1829*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1974.

exceptional statistician, Jacques Viger. The best of GRSM's work explored specific trades and crafts, thereby contributing to a significantly earlier dating of industrialisation, pushing it back to the late-1840s.[3] This lent powerful support to Stanley Ryerson`s heretical argument that industrialisation had framed rather than followed from Confederation in 1867.[4] Members of the GRSM would go on to play leading roles in urban history, heritage and public history, as well as exploring the spatial reach of Montréal. In retrospect, perhaps their most important contribution was to normalize Montréal as a North American city. Thus, they left to others the application of a social science approach to understanding housing in 19th century Montréal.

Leading the way was a doctoral candidate at Concordia University, Bettina Bradbury, whose analysis of 10% samples of the 1871 census returns for the two working-class wards that bracketed the central business district revealed exceptionally high rates of over-crowding.[5] In the western and largely Irish-Catholic Ste Anne ward one in five households were shared by two or more families, while in the eastern and over-whelming French Canadian Catholic St Jacques ward it rose to almost one in three. Bradbury linked this pattern of "doubling-up" to family lifecycle, arguing that almost half of all working-class families started out sharing their accommodation primarily with unrelated families.

Then in 1983, sampling the whole 1871 census for all four provinces, Gordon Darroch and Michael Ornstein argued that doubling-up was not uncommon in the Atlantic provinces and almost normal in urban Quebec among artisans' and labourers' families.[6] They too concluded that family lifecycle combined with poverty to explain these quite surprising results. Surprising, because despite the widespread concern with over-crowding in urban centres of the 19th century, in Montréal its importance had largely been dismissed ever since the Ames survey of conditions in the "city below the hill" published in 1897. It had revealed that only a minority of households in popular class neighbourhoods had more than one occupant per

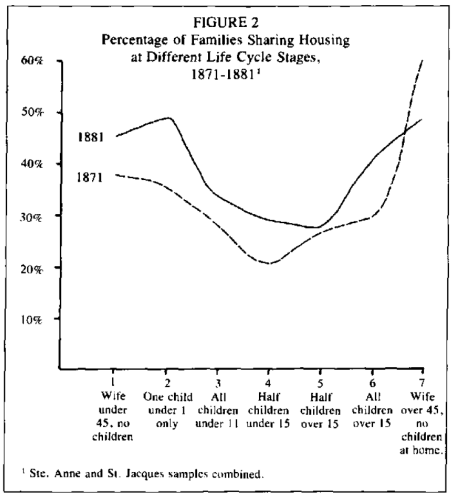


FIGURE 2
Percentage of Families Sharing Housing at Different Life Cycle Stages, 1871-1881[1]

[1] Ste. Anne and St. Jacques samples combined.

3. Joanne Burgess: « L'industrie de la chaussure à Montréal 1840-1870 – le passage de l'artisanat à la fabrique.» *Revue d`histoire de l`Amérique française*, 31, 1977, 187-210; "The Growth of a Craft Labour Force: Montreal Leather Artisans, 1815-1831." *Historical Papers*, 1988, 48-62. Margaret Heap, « La grève des charretiers à Montréal, 1864. » *Revue d`histoire de l`Amérique française,* 31, 1977, 371-396. Margaret Heap & Joanne Burgess, « Les marchands montréalais dans le commerce d'exportation du Bas-Canada, 1818-1825. » Congrès de l'Institut d`histoire de l'Amérique française, Rimouski, 1977. Paul-André Linteau & Jean-Claude Robert. « Propriété et société à Montréal: une hypothèse. » *Revue d`histoire de l`Amèrique française,* 28, 1974 48-65.

4. Stanley Bréhaut Ryerson, *Unequal Union: Confederation and the Roots of the Crisis in the Canadas, 1815-1873.* Toronto: Progress Books, 1968.

5. Bettina Bradbury, "The family economy and life in an industrializing city, Montreal in the 1870s." *Historical Papers*, 14, 1979, 71-96.

6. Gordon Darroch & Michael Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family life cycles, occupations and networks of mutual aid." *Historical Papers*, 18, 1983, 30-55.

room, when the internationally agreed upon standard of serious over-crowding was two occupants per room.

In 1984, Bettina Bradbury extended her work in a path-breaking and oft-cited piece of feminist scholarship.[7] Using random samples from the censuses of 1861, 1871 and 1881, she argued that in a low-waged industrial economy families could only make ends meet if the women of the household engaged in a variety of non-wage-based strategies. These ranged from keeping pigs to taking in laundry, borders and, for an exceptionally large number of families, at some point in their lifecycle, doubling-up. Many of these strategies were, however, thwarted by new city regulations, resulting in the greater reliance on doubling-up visible in her graphic. Thus, as time passed things got worse. It was this closing off of hope that led Gilles Lauzon to coin the phrase "misèrabliste" to describe this new social science history.[8]

Conceptually, two aspects of these studies are important. First, because they are based on samples, people cannot be followed over time, as the likelihood of any family appearing in two or more samples is extremely small. Second, because people cannot be followed over time, to explain their observable behaviour one must rely on the only information available, that is by the patterns and discernible co-relations in the census returns themselves. Thus, by design, this research strategy means the success or failure of either individual or collective strategies cannot be evaluated. This effectively denies us the possibility of understanding how human agency worked over time.

Meanwhile, a graduate-student-led, interuniversity, research group at McGill, known as the MBHP, was exploring the socio-economic changes that had permitted industrialisation with quite different results. This group developed a research strategy based on the sustained analysis of a variety of sources, most of which were not routinely generated.[9] Through this varied approach, we came to understand the importance of respecting the historical logic of a source. Each source had different stories to tell, because each was the product of quite specific historical processes of inclusion and exclusion. Our results challenged the dominant interpretive narratives in Canadian economic history, while raising difficult questions of theory and method.

Two of the many dossiers we worked illustrate the difficulties. The first, by Alan Stewart, peopled the popular class ward of St-Laurent prior to the first modern census in 1825. It showed an exceptional variety of possible occupational patterns depending on the source

7. Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91." *Labour/Le Travail*, 14, 1984, 9-47.

8. Lauzon was an architect working with the co-op housing movement in the working-class neighbourhood of St Henri, who had returned to university to acquire the necessary skills to develop historical materials for the training of potential co-op members. I was fortunate to have him in an undergraduate course I taught at UQAM on the industrial revolution. I invited him to join me in the Montreal Business History Group (MBHP) at McGill.

9. I have critically evaluated the methodology and epistemology of this research group, in which I played a prominent role, in my *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize? Montreal 1819-1849*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's Press, 2015, 32-86.

examined.[10] The second, involving Stewart and Lauzon, examined the construction trades of carpentry and masonry in the 1820s. Both crafts appeared to be structured in part around complex familial dynasties, which had select recourse to the use of notarial contracts for the hiring of apprentices and journeymen, as well as for building contracts. Making sense of these contradictory and partial sources led to scepticism that any one source merited being privileged.[11] Instead, we came to believe that many of the sources most frequented by historians should primarily be used in composite descriptions, rather than as the basis for explanation. As this suggests, by the time that Bradbury joined the MBHP in 1984 as a post-doctoral fellow, we had pioneered a quite different approach.

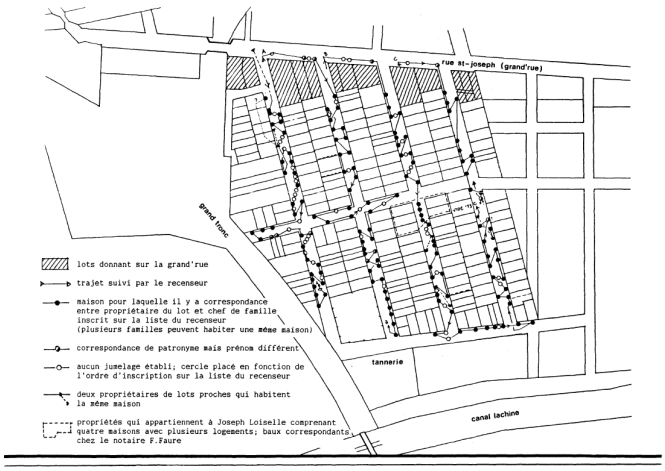


FIGURE 2

Trajet du recenseur de 1871 – Village Saint-Augustin

It would be Lauzon`s master`s thesis at UQAM, under the direction of Joanne Burgess, that crystalized the issues. His thesis explored the creation of St-Augustin, a new neighbourhood within the industrial suburb of St-Henri.[12] Working a relatively small area, allowed Lauzon to systematically examine a wide variety of routinely and non-routinely generated sources and as a result he was able to contextualize the information in the census returns. Lauzon's findings inverted Katz's argument: moving around was how people got ahead. Key to his re-assessment was the linking of household returns, with their apparent evidence of doubling-up, to the actual built environment. Here we see his mapping of the route the enumerators took in 1871. The result showed that in almost all cases of doubling-up the families had occupied distinct units that merely shared a common entrance to the street. In other words, they accessed separate flats on the upper floor through a common doorway and staircase.

Thus, the U-shaped distribution of families "sharing" accommodation on Bradbury`s graphic did relate to the family life cycle. It was just not the way she thought. People with young children tended to rent ground floor flats because this allowed for access to the backyard. By 1881, with the development of triplexes, proportionately fewer families would have had such access, but they would have occupied more commodious and better equipped flats on the upper floors.

10. Alan M. Stewart, "Before the Census-Taker, Sources and problems in identifying some aspects of the population of an artisanal community: The St Lawrence Suburb, 1805-1815." CHA Workshop on Methods, Victoria, 1984.

11. Alan M. Stewart, "Structural Change and the Construction Trades in Montreal: Carpenters and Joiners of St Laurent Suburb, 1820-1920." Montreal: MBHP, 1983. Gilles Lauzon, « Pierre sur Pierre, l'accumulation dans la maçonnerie. » Vancouver: Congrès de la Société historique du Canada, 1983.

12. Gilles Lauzon, *Habitat ouvrier et revolution industrielle: le cas du village St-Augustin*. Montréal: Collections RCHTQ, 1989.

What happened next remains a bit of a mystery,[13] for while the outlines and ramifications are clear, motivations are not. Lauzon's thesis and subsequent article were both awarded prizes in Québec, while Bradbury's revised statement of her position won two major awards in English Canada.[14] In her book, Bradbury recognized the merit of Lauzon's study, but suggested that his choice of a suburban development meant it was not comparable to the areas she had examined. Evidence from one side of one street for a block in 1871 was then offered as proof that doubling-up affected minimally a sixth of all households. She did admit to having erred by respecting too strictly the instructions provided census enumerators in her earliest work, but then misleadingly argued that she had realized the error of her ways in her work of the mid-1980s, which she pointedly reminds readers Darroch and Ornstein never did.

Her discussion of this issue, however, was over-shadowed by her presentation of a qualitatively new line of argument. Declining levels of co-residency with kin were accompanied by exceptionally high levels of kin living in the same building.[15] Indeed, the U-shaped pattern by lifecycle, formerly attributed to doubling-up, now characterized these extended familial networks. The problem here is simple enough. Period census returns only belatedly distinguished households by building, and when they did, a ten percent random sample would not provide sufficient instances of co-residency within the same building to permit any analysis, let alone one finely grained enough to be described in terms of seven distinct life-cycle stages. What is clear is that this study by Bradbury remains a mainstay of English Canadian social science history,[16] while Lauzon's work is little known outside the province.

Putting politics, personalities and prestige aside, what is also clear is that the lessons learnt from the debate in Quebec appear to have been qualitatively different than in English Canada. In Quebec, scholars have continued to follow up on the leads first suggested by Lauzon. Sampling, while still done, is rarely allowed to stand alone. Linking numerous sources and working from a firm recognition of the centrality of extended family networks characterize the very best work. Including, and I think this important to stress, Bradbury's

13. In 1989 the MBHP imploded, in part due to differences of opinion on the importance of the methodological differences discussed here. I had already taken up a position Memorial and Bradbury would soon move to York, from the Université de Montréal, but she would remain an active member of the Montreal History Group, which was formed by some of the former members of the MBHP.
14. Lauzon received the prize for the best thesis in labour history in Quebec from the *Regroupement des chercheurs et chercheures en histoire des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec*, which published it in 1989. His summary article was awarded the *Prix Guy Frégault* by the *Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française* for the best article published in their review in 1992. Bettina Bradbury, *Working Families: Age, Gender and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, 1993 was awarded both the Macdonald and the Innes prizes. The Macdonald is awarded annually for the most important contribution to understanding the Canadian past by the Canadian Historical Association. The Harold Innis is awarded to the best book in social science published through the Aid to Scholarly Publications program.
15. *Op. cit.*, pages 66-70 and 76-78 respectively.
16. It has been reprinted twice: by Oxford University Press in 1996 and University of Toronto Press in 2007.

own more recent and multiple-award-winning work on understanding widowhood.[17] Whereas in English Canada, exceptional levels of funding have been awarded to large-scale, computer-based, projects that exclusively sample census returns and then use the resultant databases as almost their sole basis for explaining Canadian history.

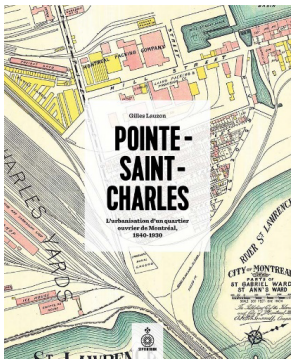
With pioneering work on inequality[18] and unemployment[19] and the success of the Canadian Families Project[20] and the as yet largely unrealized potential of the Canadian Century Research Infrastructure,[21] there can be little doubt about the contribution of these social science historians to the IPUMS canon. What is in doubt, is that there is an adequate awareness of the qualitatively different theory and method being developed in Montréal, so in the time remaining I will briefly outline three of this alternative approach's major achievements.

Miniature Montreal was the brainchild of geographer Sherry Olson and demographer Patricia Thornton. They selected twelve surnames whose presence in Montréal from 1840 to 1900 accurately reflected the evolution of the city's three major cultural communities. They collected at five-year intervals the available municipal tax information detailing both owners and tenants, and at ten-year intervals the census returns and city directory entries. These were then supplemented by all baptismal, marriage and funeral records for these surnames in all the parish registers upstream from Trois-Rivières from their inception down to 1920. The pre-1800 notarial records were then culled using the Parchemin database and the relevant 19th century deeds selected from 350 indexes and repertories for the judicial district of Montréal. An initial analysis of these richly textured extended family histories revealed that "cohabitation of unrelated families was exceedingly rare."[22] It was this unique database, where people's choices could be properly contextualized, that provided the core to Olson and Thornton's magisterial rewriting of the city's demographic history.[23]

My second example, Montréal, l'avenir du passé (MAP) "was the first high-resolution, individual-level, urban H-GIS in the world."[24] Over the past 18 years we have constructed a research infrastructure that links at either the streetscape or lot level a wide range of

17. Bettina Bradbury, *Wives to Widows: lives, laws and politics in nineteenth century Montreal*. Vancouver, UBC Press, 2011.
18. Gordon Darroch and Lee Soltow, *Property and Inequality in Victorian Ontario: Structural Patterns and Cultural Communities in the 1871 Census.* University of Toronto Press, 1994.
19. Peter Baskerville and Eric Sager, *Unwilling Idlers: The Urban Unemployed and their Families in Late-Victorian Canada*. University of Toronto Press, 1998.
20. Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville (eds.), *Household Counts: Canadian Households and Families in 1901*. University of Toronto Press, 2007.
21. Gordon Darroch (ed.), *The Dawn of Canada's Century: Hidden Histories*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2014. This collection's studies examined only the first of the five decennial censuses examined by the CCRI.
22. Jason Gilliland & Sherry Olson, "Claims on Housing Space in Nineteenth-Century Montreal." *Urban History Review*, 26, 2 (1998) 3 -16. The quotation is from page 15.
23. Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton, *Peopling the North American City, Montreal 1840 – 1900*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2011.
24. Don Lafreniere's assessment in the Author Meets Critics session on my book at the SSHA 2016.

sources to geo-referenced period maps for 1825, 1846, 1880, 1903 and 1912. Our most recent addition has positioned on their lot 99% of all 51,777 households listed in the 1901 census returns.[25] This research infrastructure allows for the analysis of both ownership and tenancy in housing, while revealing how the multi-dimensional roles of gender, class and nation contributed to the hardening of the lines of segregation in Montréal over the last quarter of the 19th century. Moreover, these findings underscore the woeful inadequacy of relying exclusively on the variables contained in census returns for a historically grounded explanation of how housing dynamics in the city actually worked.[26]



My final example is the exemplary and sumptuously illustrated people's history of Pointe St-Charles by Gilles Lauzon.[27] Here Lauzon returned to the issue of over-crowding, which was at the core of the "misèrabiliste" image of popular class Montréal. Recognizing the complexity of familial patterns of occupancy and residency, Lauzon reconstituted a multi-generational history of three founding couples of this quintessential industrial neighbourhood. Carefully following their many moves both within and without the neighbourhood, from the mid-19th to the mid-20th century, he showed there to have been important, quantifiable, and more importantly qualitative improvements in their housing. To better understand this issue, he developed a new and I think much better way of conceptualizing what constitutes overcrowding. Instead of a simplistic standard of one person per room, he asked of each household as they moved through the city: how did their new space fit their familial needs? When were they able to enjoy, in addition to the kitchen, a "salle de séjour", or living room, where no one had to sleep? It is of course only through establishing meaningful historical improvements such as this that we can begin to understand how these families might have evaluated the success or failure of their own strategies.

Initially, Montréal's complexity was analysed using the new techniques of social science history. In a city with exceptionally high rates of tenancy, it was perhaps predictable that housing would become a focus of debate, for in many ways it reveals in a particularly stark manner the contradictions of agency and constraint. Fortunately, Montréal's rich diversity of sources that are generally not available in the Anglo-American world, has allowed for the development of an alternative to basing our work primarily on a single source. This has permitted a much greater appreciation of the extent to which working people of the past exercised choice and thereby changed the constraints they faced. There is much that historians and social scientists elsewhere in North America can learn from how history was made here.

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25. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "New ways to imagine an old city" *NICHE*, January 2017. See pages 15-18.
26. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Gender, discrimination and housing in turn-of-the-century Montréal. What mapping the census returns of immigrants can tell us." *Frontiers in Digital Humanities*, 3, 8 (September, 2016), 1-18. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Divvying up space: Housing segregation and national identity in early twentieth century Montréal." In *Sharing Spaces: Essays in honour of Sherry Olson,* Les presses de l'Université d'Ottawa and the Museum of Canadian History, Mercury Series, 2020, 111-28.
27. Gilles Lauzon, *Pointe-Saint-Charles. L'ubanisation d'un quartier ouvrier de Montréal, 1840-1930. Montréal*: Septentrion, 2014.

Proprietor tenant relations in turn-of-the-century Montréal.[1]

For more than two hundred years Montréal has been a city of tenants. Over the course of the 19th century, Montréal became sharply segregated by ethnicity, language, religion and gender. Despite these multiple cleavages that aggravated and in the case of gender prepared the way for the new social divisions generated by industrialisation, the historiography of proprietor/tenant relations has championed the comforting myth of a locally-based, small-scale proprietor. Yes, the majority lived as tenants but their landlords were their neighbours, living in close proximity if not the same building. In today's talk I will debunk this myth using two new tools from the *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* research infrastructure.

I will argue that most proprietors did not live in a flat in the same building as their tenants, because most proprietors were themselves tenants. The combination of this spatial separation with the ambiguity of proprietor/tenant status were constitutive of a new local power structure in each of the city's wards. A structure we have failed to see because we have assumed as valid liberalism's primacy of individual property rights. Property in turn-of-the-century Montréal was an investment, but it was primarily familial not individual, and therefore gender is fundamental to understanding the inter-generational strategies of proprietors.

Property values varied greatly, but there were five distinct bands defining the city's wards. At the top of the heap was the central business district in what we now think of as Old Montréal, with average values per property over $30,000. Next in order but considerably lower at half the value, was the still residential Eastern ward of the old city and the affluent wards of St Andrew and St George, the latter home to the legendary Golden Square Mile, to the west and south of McGill. At roughly half again of those values, were the industrial wards of Ste-Anne, St-Joseph, St-Laurent and St-Jacques. Then came the eastern wards from St Louis to Ste-Marie, from $4,400 to $5,200. At the bottom were the five outlying wards recently annexed by the city: St-Gabriel, St-Jean Baptiste, Duvernay, St-Denis and Hochelaga, with the latter two still largely undeveloped, where built properties ranged in value from a $1,000 to $3,200.

The first of my two sources is MAP's QGIS application *Who owned Montréal in 1903?* This details who owned the 30,026 properties in the city and is based on a city publication of a part of its tax roll to stimulate real estate speculation. Women were owners of a surprisingly large number of properties throughout the city. The taxable value of their holdings was greater than that of all the company, institutional and state-owned properties combined.

My second source is based on MAP's QGIS application *Landlord Tenant Relations in 1901*. It places the vast majority (99.7%) of all households in the 1901 census on their specific lot on our map of who owned Montréal. One in eight census households was headed by a woman and, like female proprietors, they were to be found throughout the city.

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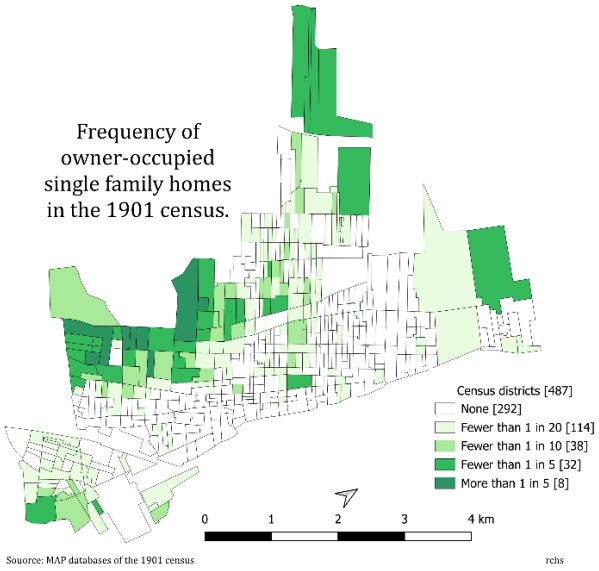
1. Canadian Historical Association 100th Annual Meeting, Edmonton & Ottawa, July 2021.

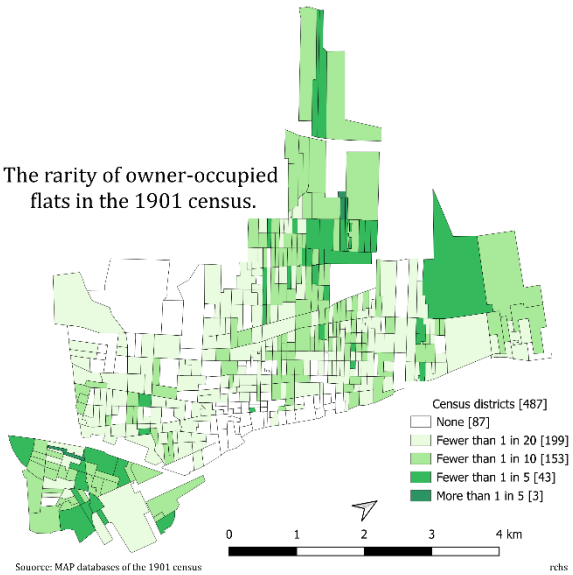
Men headed 89% of census households, but held only three-quarters of the properties owned by people. I think this underscores the socially constructed nature of their headship. Not infrequently within the wealthier classes, the male household head lived on a property owned by his wife. His wife's property holdings enfranchised him to vote, but not her.

By linking these two sources it is possible to establish if a proprietor lived where they owned. Now the two-year gap, 1901 to 1903, does mean that some people will be missed, but the findings are so dramatic that there can be no doubt about the rarity of simple home ownership. Fully 98% of city households were enmeshed in landlord/tenant relations. The single homeowners were concentrated in middle-class neighbourhoods in the northwest, along Rushbrooke Street in Pointe and in the northern reaches of St Denis, known as La Petite Patrie.



Frequency of owner-occupied single family homes in the 1901 census.

Single-family homes were not the norm in Montréal, so their geographic concentration in the affluent northwest, which is even more evident among proprietors who owned multiple properties and lived in a single-family home, should not surprise. But many of these landlords and landladies also lived in the French-Canadian bourgeois corridor heading north from the old city between St Denis and St Hubert bracketing the Montréal campus of Laval University.

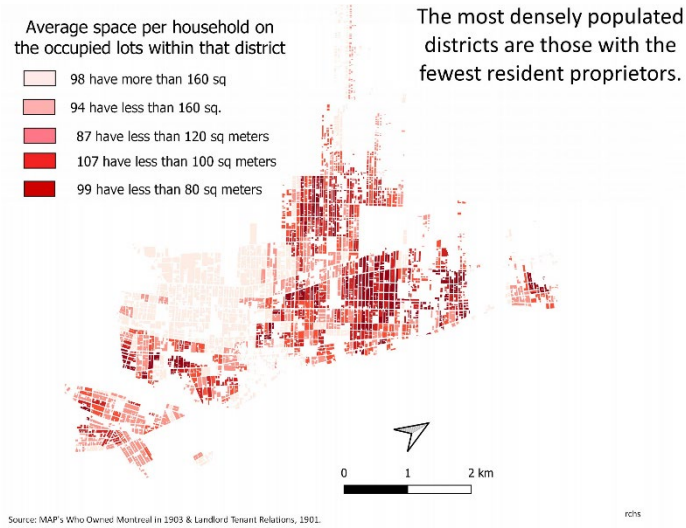


The rarity of owner-occupied flats in the 1901 census.

Finally, we have the proprietors, disproportionately landlords rather than landladies, who owned a duplex or a triplex and lived in one of the flats. This is the historical reality behind the myth of the local landlord: scattered throughout the densely populated south-west, central and eastern wards. The 487 divisions of the 1901 census permit a fine-grained visual synthesis of how exceptional resident proprietors of flats were. Throughout the older popular class wards of the city, resident landlords and landladies ranged from being completely absent to accounting for fewer than one in twenty households. Only in parts of the Pointe, Duvernay and St Denis did they normally account for more than one in ten households. If the myth of resident proprietors were true, one would expect one in three for a triplex or one in four for a double duplex, in only 3 of the 487 divisions do they even approach such frequencies.

In all, 6% of the city's households are proprietors who live where they own. By contrast, New York City, long considered the premier North American city of tenants, had 12% home ownership in 1900.

The conclusion is clear: for the majority of landlords and landladies, property was an investment. The ironic corollary is that when most tenants signed their lease, they were signing with a proprietor who was himself or herself a tenant. Perhaps not surprisingly, the most densely populated parts of the city were where resident proprietors were most conspicuous by their absence. Here I would like to thank Gilles Lauzon, the premier historian of Montréal housing, for his advice in constructing this map. Initially I had simply calculated the density per household using the area of the census division, but as Gilles observed this method would result in an artificial inflation. Best to work with only those lots in each division where we know from the census that a family lived. The highest levels of residential density were in the eastern wards of Papineau and Ste Marie, and in parts of St Louis, St Jean Baptiste, St Joseph and Hochelaga. As we are dealing with triplexes and duplexes individual household's actual share of living space would not have been that far off their share of the lot given here.

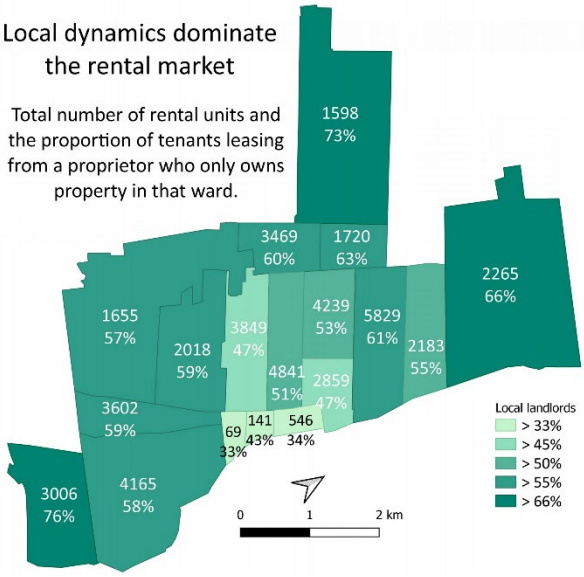


If we zoom in on the central eastern wards, we can better appreciate both scale and complexity. The affluent St Denis/St Hubert corridor was only a short walk in either direction from some of the densest housing in the city. The demolition of the old Jewish ghetto below Ontario in St Louis in the 1950s means that we can only ground truth for the dense areas further east; where substantial public housing in the 1970s and then gentrification have significantly modified the composition of these neighbourhoods, but there are still many whose facades, at least, date from the turn of the century.

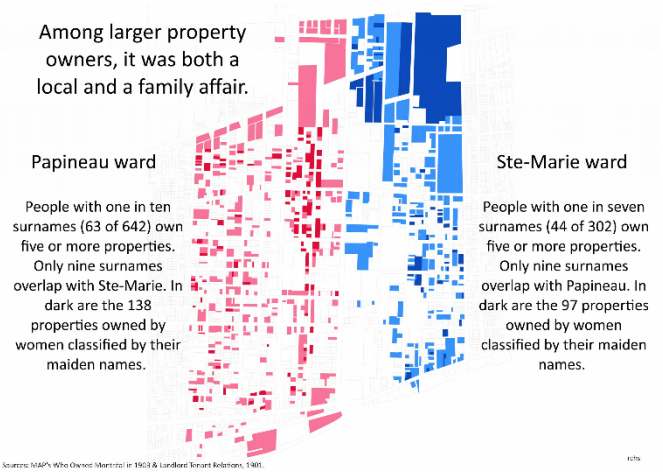
Despite the high levels of density, these were not slums. The remarkably different styles, cheek by jowl, reflects the importance of small builders in the development of these wards. Four and half[2] room flats in duplexes and five or six and a half room flats in triplexes, with running water, proper sewage and in-door toilets, represented the very substantial improvement in housing conditions that the working class had achieved over the last half of the 19th century.

2, In the language of Montréal housing, the half refers to an indoor bathroom, although it might not have had a bath.

But I have a conundrum. Although local resident proprietors were anything but the norm, there was a very considerable local character to the rental market in Montréal. Everywhere, save in the old city, residential rental properties were mostly owned by people who invested only in that ward. How are we to explain this? The importance of small proprietors is a factor. A third of the proprietors only owned a single property, which per force was in a single ward, but this still leaves us with the majority of locally focused proprietors and their residential properties to explain.



My on-going work on rentier families has shown the importance of extended families in understanding how the city's largest real estate portfolios were assembled. In 1903, 134 rentier families owned 6,836 properties worth 27.8 million dollars. These families came from the popular classes and had accumulated their fortunes over generations, through a combination of conservative management and socially advantageous marriages that had the allure of dynastic planning.



Taking a page from this research, I identified surnames owning five or more properties in Papineau or in Ste Marie in 1903. Only nine surnames of the 98 retained appeared as relatively prominent owners in both Papineau and Ste-Marie wards. Eight of these nine surnames were among my 134 rentier families and held properties throughout the city. Leaving only one locally based family, the Cléroux, with significant interests straddling the very recently established border between Papineau and Ste Marie. This underscores just how local the accumulation strategies of emerging property-owning families really were.

The results are I think highly instructive. Married and widowed women owned property in a manner consistent with those of their families of origin. Now we have tended to consider that because the husband was the master of the community of property (the default marriage regime in Quebec) his wife's property was his to manage, but these women's investments suggest the continued importance and indeed coherence of their maiden families' strategies. This is all the more important when we realize how unusual it was for a husband of a property-owning wife to himself own property and vice versa. Only one in six husbands of property-owning women themselves owned property, while only one in thirteen wives of property-owning men themselves owned property. Property investments appear from this perspective as only temporarily under the control of the husband, which is of course how inheritance law treated them as well, but not how we have understood it. These propertied women's agency exercised through their family would have been a powerful constraint on the husband's mastery of the community.

The detailed descriptive evidence I have marshalled for this paper is epiphenomenal. Neither source was generated by the relationship between proprietor and tenant. Indeed, it is only by combining two qualitatively different sources in the present that elements of this past relationship could be examined. Such epiphenomenal evidence cannot on its own be used to explain the past, for it does not bear witness to people's motivations for the choices they made. Other types of sources will have to be examined to explain properly the patterns I have discovered. Descriptive evidence can, however, disprove possible explanations by showing them to be inconsistent with the known evidence. In this important sense, the historically detailed context provided by the linkage of a census to a tax roll can operate as a real test of the validity of our hypotheses and help us to avoid errors of present mindedness. These are two problems that neither the current fashion for data mining nor the older statistical modeling of social science history can ever resolve. As I hope I have shown, these tools can also be very fruitful for developing new lines of inquiry that I think necessarily emerge from a better spatial and temporal understanding of the past.

A user's guide to the Roll03 database.[1]

This database is *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*'s (MAP) digital edition of a Montreal City Council publication that listed all properties in the city and provided details on their owners.[2] This was the one and only time the city published such a list, and at 1,342 pages one can understand why. This publication was a reference work designed to stimulate speculation in urban real estate. Its 32,148 entries were organized by ward and then by address. If you were interested in a particular property, it was easy enough to find. If you were interested in anything else, it was difficult if not impossible to find, let alone understand the myriad patterns made by these hundreds of thousands of pieces of information. This database is qualitatively different. All of the information the publication contains can now be easily queried and analyzed. The research possibilities are endless, but they are not without their own limitations. This user's guide introduces you to the specificity of each variable within the database. Posing historically informed questions of this database starts with knowing how and why the publication was organized the way it was.

Having discovered a copy in McGill Libraries, the MAP team identified it for conservation in 2000. McGill Rare Books did the scanning and optical character recognition. Like this database, the publication was a collectively authored document – created initially by a team of city appraisers – whose practices evolved over time and place. In the publication, each entry extends across a double page, employs elaborate three-story headers for the columns and an unusual type face with exaggerated ascenders and descenders. To obtain sufficient resolution with the scanner then available, the lefthand and righthand pages were scanned as separate images and each page was exported from the OCR program as a separate Excel file. Patricia Thornton re-stitched these spreadsheets. Proofing was primarily undertaken by Robert Sweeny, who transformed the resultant combined spreadsheets into a database and then into a historical-GIS, now available as QGIS applications from our website mun.ca/mapm.

This database reproduces the publication as accurately as possible. Errors were introduced by the optical character recognition process and in our successive conversions between software. In our proofing, we have given priority to names, addresses, and property values. Each entry contains the thirteen columns of the publication, the entry's page number and ward, as well as four additional fields not found in the original: Remarks, Lots03id, Ownerid and RowNumber. **Remarks** flags typographical errors found in the original as well as noting combined entries, where the information was spread across several adjacent entries. The **Lots03id** links the entry to a specific lot in MAP's historical GIS applications based on this database. These applications contain a wide variety of additional analytical fields and so for many questions you will find it easier to work with them, rather than this database of record. The **Ownerid** allows you to group all the entries belonging to the same person, firm, or institution. **RowNumber** is a unique identifier for that entry and indicates the order in which the entry was processed.

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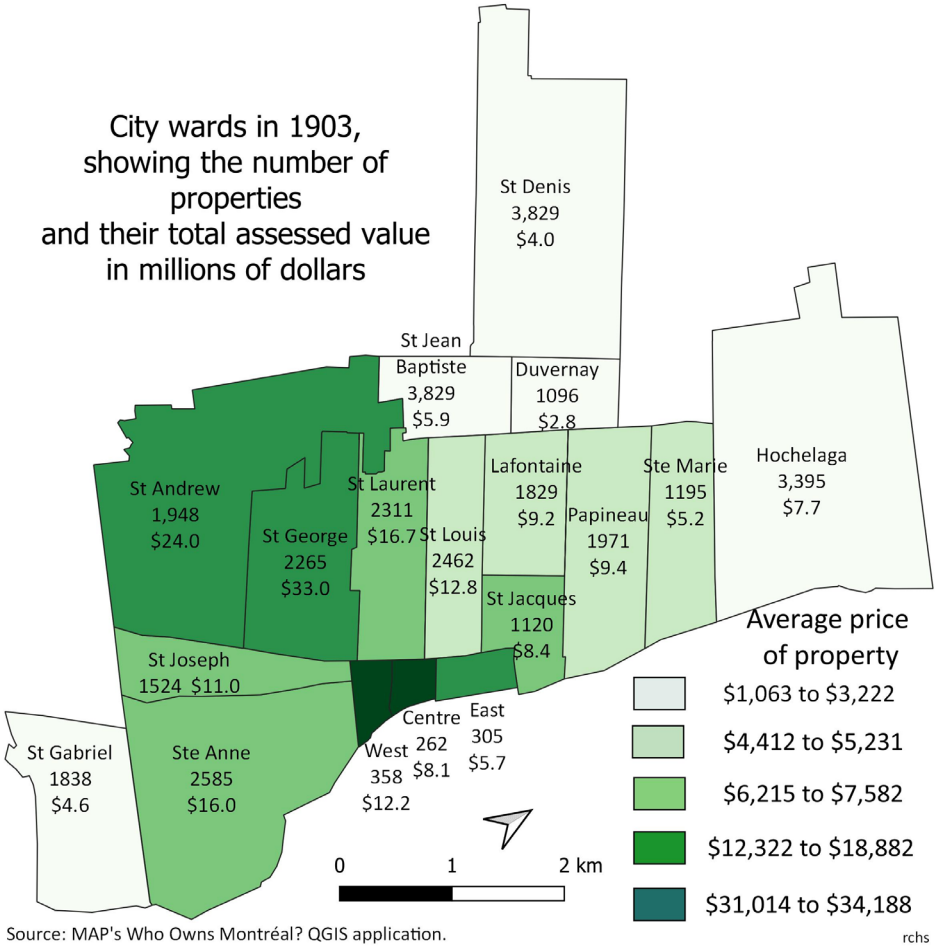
1. Posted to MAP's website July 2021.
2. *Valuation and Assessment Roll of Immoveables of the City of Montreal, 1903-04.* Montréal: Perrault Printing Company, 1904

The text of the original document generated eight numeric fields : Page, Rent, UnitPrice, SquareFeet, LandValue, BldgValue, Exempt, and TotalValue and seven character fields : Ward, Address, Owner, SchoolTax, Cadastre, SbDivision, and Dimensions These notes explain each in the order they appear in the original publication.

Page refers to where you can find the entry in the publication. It does not allow you to reconstruct the original order on the page. To do this you have two options; index on **Lots03id** and then on **Page**; or use **RowNumber** which does present the page contents in order, but it starts at page 50 and only lists the first 49 pages sequentially after **RowNumber** 1086.



The city had 18 different **wards** and as is clearly visible on the map there were five quite distinct ranges of average prices : the recently absorbed suburbs of St Gabriel, St Jean Baptiste, Duvernay, St Denis and Hochelaga; the primarily residential wards east[3] of St

3. The cardinal points of Montrealers do not match those of the compass. We think of the St Lawrence as running west to east, so north is away from the river and south is towards the river. The orientation of the maps and the language in this guide respect this local, centuries-old, perception of space.

Laurent Blvd; the older mixed use wards of St Jacques, St Laurent, St Joseph and Ste Anne; the affluent wards above the escarpment in the west and the city centre.

The three wards of the old city West, Centre and East were the central business district. These wards had the highest average property values in the city. Historically a manufacturing and artisanal centre, the West ward was by 1903 home to the financial district, principally along Greater St James and Notre Dame streets. In its southern reaches, including Pointe à Callière, were concentrated the businesses associated with the port, Canada's largest. Centre ward was home to Notre Dame and its affiliated seminary of the gentlemen of Saint Sulpice, the former seigneurs of the island and still among the city's largest property owners. Two female orders, the Sisters of St Joseph and the Congregation of Notre Dame, were also important property owners, although the former had already redeveloped as commercial buildings its large property which had once housed the Hôtel Dieu hospital. Centre ward was also home to the courts and legal professions. East ward, in the process of being transformed by the opening of the Viger terminus of the Canadian Pacific Railway, was the only part of the old city that still had a residential population. It was home to both City Hall and Marché Bonsecours, the largest food market in the country.

St Joseph ward, to the west of the old city, had been an artisanal centre dating from the late 18th century and so had the smallest lots in the southwest of the city. Ste Anne, the primary site of Canada's industrial revolution, was first developed as a manufacturing area adjacent to the Lachine Canal in the 1820s and 1830s and so had much larger lots, as well as a clearly discernible 'modern,' grid street pattern. Its western reaches was home to the largest concentration of Irish Catholics in the city. It's southern portion, Pointe St Charles, below the Lachine Canal, had since mid-century been home to the Grand Trunk Railway yards, where a significant number of skilled Protestant workmen found employment, many of whom continued to live in the neighbourhood in 1903.

The wealthiest residential area of the city, the old St Antoine ward above the escarpment in the west, had by 1903 been divided into two wards: St George and St Andrew. Since first developed in the 1840s, this area was overwhelmingly Protestant and English-speaking. The legendary 'Golden Square Mile' was located primarily in the northern and central parts of St George ward, to the west of McGill's campus. While over the previous two decades a new shopping district had developed along Ste Catherine Street, from Phillips Square west to Atwater.

St Laurent and St Louis were central wards and although they went as far north as Duluth, by 1903 there had been relatively little development above Sherbrooke Street. Divided by Boulevard St Laurent, or the 'Main', these two wards were historically quite distinct, St Laurent, west of the Main, was a considerably more affluent ward than St Louis and had been home to both substantial artisanal and manufacturing facilities as well as bourgeois streets, such as St Urbain and Sherbrooke. By contrast, St Louis was home to the city's largest concentration of day labourers from early in the nineteenth century.

With the pogroms in Romania in the 1880s and then throughout the Russian empire in the 1890s, thousands of Jewish families immigrated to Canada. Montréal's first Jewish ghetto developed in St Louis ward between Ontario and St Catherine streets. There was also a

considerable number of Italian families living in the ward. While the southern reaches of St Laurent were home to Montreal's Chinatown, almost two hundred Chinese household-based laundries were very widely distributed throughout the city. These new immigrants created Canada's first multi-cultural neighbourhoods, buffering the highly segregated English-speaking west end from the overwhelmingly French-Canadian east end of the city. Very few of these immigrant households, however, owned their own homes and so it is largely their landlords and landladies who are recorded in this database.

Running north from the East ward, traversing both St Jacques and Lafontaine wards, was the bourgeois St Denis/St Hubert corridor. Home to Laval University's Montréal campus, this affluent French-Canadian neighbourhood had its own shopping district along eastern rue Ste Catherine. In Papineau ward, east of Côte de la Visitation, was the greatest concentration of duplexes and triplexes in the city. In Ste Marie there were also many densely populated lots, but mixed in among workshops, manufactories and factories. These two wards had the highest population densities in the city.

Five of the wards were recently absorbed suburbs: St Gabriel, St Jean Baptiste, Duvernay, St Denis and Hochelaga. As is clearly visible on the map, they occupied the lowest rung in the city's hierarchy of wards. Although all were primarily French Canadian, each of these areas of the city had a quite different history and built environment. St Gabriel, south of the Lachine Canal and west of Pointe St Charles, was the last ward to get proper water and sewage. It was also the ward that boasted the largest proportion, 85%, of local landlords. St Jean Baptiste and Duvernay developed as industrial villages in the 1870s, with St Jean Baptiste having the smallest size lots of the 19th century city. In 1903, large swaths of both St Denis and Hochelaga still lay vacant, largely owned by two land companies: St Denis and Montreal Land and Improvement. Between Hochelaga and the city proper lay the first CPR yards and as the publication was being prepared, the CPR was building the Angus Shops to the north. Hochelaga did have an industrial history of its own, as it was home to the largest of the country's cotton mills and, as this might suggest, its own concentrations of duplexes and triplexes.

The **Address** field records what the publication provided. Vacant lots were not assigned a street number. Numerous built lots containing industrial or institutional properties also were not assigned any street numbers. Numbering of streets started at their eastern or southern end. Even numbers ran along the western or southern side of the street, with odd numbers along the eastern or northern sides. There was not yet any system which allowed you to know approximately where an address was located simply by its number. This would only come with a complete redesign of the system, which took twenty years to complete, starting in 1906 with dividing all streets running parallel to the river into east and west as they crossed the 'Main'.

It was not at all uncommon for properties to have residential units facing the street and others in the rear of the property, identified with the letter 'r'. As properties were redeveloped additional units were built and so halves, indicated by 'h' in the address, or a combination of letters were frequently introduced. From the range of house numbers we cannot establish how many units, residential or commercial, were on any given property.

For example, an entry that reads 86a – 88b had at least three units, (86a, 88a & 88b) but it might have had four (88) or five (86b).

Addresses are perhaps most useful as a way of linking to other sources, for example Lovell's street directory for 1903 which is available online at the BAnQ. While MAP has developed an application (mun.ca/mapm) that links households from the 1901 census to a historical-GIS of this database. We recommend you explore these resources if you are interested in finding out more about who lived at particular addresses.

The **Owner** field has been the subject of extensive proof-reading, but it undoubtedly still contains some errors. We have respected the spelling and abbreviations used in the publication. Abbreviations commonly used include: est/suc for estate or succession; wif/épse for wife or épouse; wid/vve for widow or veuve; jr/sr for Junior or Senior – the French langage equivalents of fils (son) and père (father) were not abbreviated; Hon/hon for Honourable or honorable and Co./Cie for company or compagnie. Both people and firms or institutions could have wide variations in their nomenclature, so to ensure that you have all the properties of a particular owner use the unique identifier **Ownerid**.

Women owned more than a fifth of all taxable properties in the city and more than a quarter of all belonging to people, i.e. not owned by firms or institutions. Quebec's Civil Code accorded differing civil rights to women based on their marital status. Single women, above the age of majority of 21, and widowed women had more rights than married women. Widows and single women had the right to vote in municipal and school board elections, if they met the property qualifications. A married woman was denied the franchise, but if her property holdings were substantial enough to meet the qualifications, they enfranchised her husband, and any male offspring above the age of 21 still living with her.

The default marriage regime was a community of property with the husband 'head and master' of the community. Revenues from a property owned by the wife as her own, or *propre*, considered outside of the community still went to the husband. It was not uncommon by 1903 for wealthier couples prior to their marriage to opt out of community and establish a separation of property between bride and groom.

Legally, culturally and politically this discriminatory regime mattered, and the city went to great lengths to accurately record the marital status of female proprietors. So, we have the maiden name of married and widowed women, as well as the names of their husbands living or dead. The publication even specified if an estate was for a woman who had been widowed or was still married at the time of her death. Again, MAP's QGIS applications based on this database allow you to explore in considerable detail this gendered cleavage in Montréal society.

Unfortunately, there is no easy way of establishing the marital regime of a woman listed in the database. BANQ-Montréal lists 123 notaries public practising in the city in 1903 and their repertoires and/or indexes can be consulted online to locate marriage contracts of couples appearing in this database. If the marriage was celebrated outside Montréal, and the custom was to celebrate it in the parish of the bride, then the contract would likely have been signed before a notary practising in that parish.

Until the late 1990s, Quebec had a confessional school system, with separate Catholic and Protestant school boards. These boards were funded by a **SchoolTax** levied on property. The publication indicated which board should receive that owner's taxes: C for Catholic; P for Protestant; N for neutral; Ex for exempt and JP for Jewish households whose taxes went to the Protestant board. Neutral taxpayers were companies and institutions whose taxes were shared by the boards proportionally on the basis of student enrolment. Charitable organisations were generally exempt and so, ironically, many important Catholic and Protestant institutions in the city paid no taxes to support their community's schooling.

The **SchoolTax** was a flat tax: 25¢ per $100 of assessed value and so generated substantive inequality. The 3,408 people opting to pay to the Protestant school board owned considerably more, on average, than the 8,235 people choosing the Catholic board, $6,706 vs $3,760. As a result, this tax generated $146,847 for the Protestant board, but only $178,064 for the Catholic board, in a city where Protestants were just a fifth of the population. While the $62,380 from the 233 'neutral' owners was distributed based on enrolment, it was woefully inadequate to compensate for this structural inequity.

Rent is the annual rent as assessed by the city for the entire property, which could contain a number of dwellings or commercial premises. No rent was assessed on vacant lots. Please note the rents were assessed for tax purposes, so owner-occupied properties were assessed a rent even though they did not pay one. We do not know, however, based on this publication, how many housing or commercial units each entry represented. David Hanna and Robert Lewis, working with Sherry Olson in the 1980s, found that the city's assessments of rent reflected quite accurately the size of individual premises, with residential units being assessed at $20 per room a year. As rental values were rarely reported on municipal tax rolls, these published rents offer clues to both the appraisal process and the socio-economic characteristics of particular streetscapes and neighbourhoods.

Cadastre and **Sbdivision** are two related variables on the roll. A cadastral system is a form of land registry and Montréal's first cadastre dates from the 1870s when it replaced the seigneurial system of terriers. Lots subsequently sub-divided were treated as part of a cadastre, noted by the letter 'p', and not infrequently included detailed sub-division numbers created by the real estate developer. By 1903, accurate identification of the exact placement of a particular lot would have often relied on these overlapping public and private systems of identification. Using the sub-division information, you can reconstruct the strategies and scale of differing real estate developers over the previous thirty years.

The **UnitPrice** is the price per square foot that the city appraisers assigned the land. Interestingly, although this form of standardized pricing was not unusual in North America, this publication is the first time it appears in a Montréal city document. It was not yet part of the city's evaluation rolls, which are available online. Our analysis of this new variable indicates there were 126 different prices used, ranging from less than 10¢ a foot in St Denis ward, to over $17 a foot on Greater St James Street. These nuanced variations across the city's landscape offer important evidence for detailed examinations of particular neighbourhoods. Mapping just the major price bands highlight the financial district in the West ward, the two key retail districts along Ste Catherine, the importance of the lower Main and the relative wealth along Sherbrooke and parts of Dorchester (see page 31). It also hints at

the close attention city appraisers paid to minor commercial streets. A finer analysis would reveal the importance accorded to corner lots.

SquareFeet records the area of the lot when it was given. It does not always concord with the **Dimensions** provided because many lots were irregular in shape. The dimensions are given in feet; there are 30.48 square centimetres in a square foot.

The city only introduced a **LandValue** separate from the total evaluation in 1899. By 1903, it was always given and as a property normally had only one **UnitPrice** assigned to it, one can use these two variables to establish the area of the lot when missing. Care must be taken, however, because combined lots, that is properties where the details were spread over multiple entries, often had differing unit prices. These properties are identified in the **Remarks** field.

Like land values, the **BldgValue** was introduced in 1899. By 1903, it was given for almost all built properties, even where no **Rent** was assessed. An important component of building values was the construction material used. In the city centre by zoning regulations and in the more affluent wards by custom, brick or stone was required. Elsewhere, buildings were normally built of thick wooden planks clad with a facade of brick; front porches, back sheds and fire escapes were normally of wood. It is only in the newly absorbed suburban wards that one still found rows of entirely wooden structures. The publication provided no information on the type of building materials used, although MAP's QGIS applications based on the Goad atlases of 1880 and 1912 do allow for a detailed overview of the evolution in building materials across the city. In most wards, including the old city centre, many extant buildings date from before 1903 and so one can ground truth these evaluations.

Exempt properties were either owned by the government, or by charitable, principally religious, organisations. There were, however, properties owned by individuals which were exempt from taxation because they were used for a charitable purpose. For example, Royal Victoria College, the women's college associated with McGill University and assessed at $170,000, was exempt although it was owned not by McGill, but by Donald Smith, Lord Strathcona and Mount Royal. It was not uncommon for only part of a property to be considered exempt.

The 255 properties in whole or part exempt from taxation were worth $41.3 million, a fifth of the total assessed value of the city. Exempt properties were to be found in every city ward. The 74 exempt properties in St Andrew and St George wards totaled $17.5 million. The only wards where exempt properties were worth less than a tenth of the taxable property were West ward, home to the financial district and port, and the heavily industrialized St Joseph and Ste Anne wards. The distribution and relative importance of exempt properties in the differing wards of the city is a highly revealing window onto the values and culture of this time and place.

This publication was based on the tax evaluation roll of 1903, although it included any changes in assessments stemming from appeals. The city's understandable interest in taxable properties was highlighted by the fact that the exempt value of any appraised property was excluded from the **TotalValue** column. The property tax was a regressive flat tax of one percent. The burden of this tax on the 2,107 owners of built properties worth less

than $2,000 would have felt much less by the 1,242 people who possessed portfolios worth in excess of $20,000.

The spatial distribution of property ownership favoured the local. This becomes much clearer when the 32,148 properties of this database are consolidated into a database with an entry for each proprietor. It is highly recommended that you analyse not just **TotalValue**, but all this database's fields informed by our Owners03.dbf, which provides the totals for rent, land, buildings, exempt properties, total values, number of units, number of properties, number of wards and gender for each of the 12,276 owners of the city.

In addition to Roll03.dbf database, we have released three databases: the owners database, Owners03.dbf; a database of all household heads in the 1901 census, Cpoint01.dbf; and a database of the consolidated lots Lots03.dbf. All four databases can be linked by common fields and the resultant relational database is the most complete historical data source currently available for any North American city. Despite the exceptional richness of these related databases, we strongly recommend downloading the QGIS applications from our website. The open-source GIS software QGIS offers a visual and spatial component to the analysis that is exceptionally enriching. In addition to the applications for 1901-03, MAP has created QGIS applications for 1825, 1846, 1881 and a soon-to-be released 1912, so one can easily place this turn of the century material into its historical and spatial context.

A user's guide to Owners03 database.[1]

Property was an important form of capital investment in turn-of-the-century Montréal, but it was not widely distributed. In a city of 325,000, only 11,696 people owned any property. Individual home ownership was rare. An overwhelming majority, 98%, of the city's 51,000 households were enmeshed in landlord/tenant relations. Indeed, most people who owned property did not own where they lived; property was an investment, and they were themselves tenants.

A surprisingly large proportion of individual proprietors were women: 28%. With holdings assessed at $40 million, women owned more taxable property than did all the companies, institutions and governments combined.

In this edition of the Owners03 database we include for the first time information gleaned from the online version of the tax roll for 1903. This additional information consists of occupational information for 70% of the male proprietors (**Occup_Txrl**) and occupational information about the husband, living or dead, of 21% of the female proprietors (**H_Occ_Txrl**). In all we have occupational information for 5,944 male proprietors and for the husbands of 699 female proprietors. The roll also identified 2,334 people as living on a property they owned (**OwnOccupy**). It provided an address for an additional 2,532 people (**Resides**).

These occupations and addresses permitted us to distinguish between differing people, who we had treated in our 2021 edition as the same person because they shared the same name. Close to a thousand 'new' owners were added to the file either because they had incompatible occupations, or they lived at differing addresses. The example of Joseph Lamoureux is illustrative of how important this additional information proved to be. There was not one, but five Joseph Lamoureux owning property in the city in 1903.

In 2023, we completed the revision of our linkage of over 99% of the households in the 1901 census to our map of who owned the city in 1903. This allows us to identify how many households resided on each property. The database provides the total number of households for each owner (**Tot_hhhds)** and the number of census households headed by a male or a female. There were more female-headed households on female-owned properties than one would expect.

There was considerable variation in the naming conventions within Roll03.dbf, and so a serious attempt was made in the construction of Owners03.dbf to select the most complete name available for each person, firm or institution. One can view the many possible variations for each name by querying either the Roll03.dbf or the lots layer in our QGIS applications using the unique identifier **Ownerid**. The **Proprietor** field respects the original spelling, accents, and abbreviations.

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1. Owners03.dbf was compiled by MAP from the Roll03.dbf and so it is best to read the User's Guide accompanying that database before continuing here, as this guide does not repeat explanations and descriptions given there. Originally placed online in 2021, this is an updated version reflecting the substantial revisions to our database of who owned Montréal completed in 2024.

A proprietor could be a part owner of a property, and individual properties jointly held are identified as “et al” in the lots database. Only if all the properties a person owned were held jointly do they appear in the Owners03 database with this signifier of “et al”. Otherwise, their jointly held properties are combined with the rest of their portfolio here.

A key feature of this database is the care the city took in identifying female proprietors. We have parsed the names of all owners in **Last** and **First,** as well as the names of husbands of female proprietors in **HusLast**, and **HusFirst**. In **SpouseId** you will find the **OwnerId** of the spouse if he or she owned property.

Interestingly, remarkably few husbands of female proprietors owned property in the city, fewer than one in five. This underscores the importance of extended family. Many of the female proprietors came from property owning families and, despite the control exercised by the husband over the community of property, both law and custom privileged a lineal conception of property from generation to generation that respected the interests of both maternal and paternal lines.

We have created a **SurnameId** to facilitate comparison of the portfolios of people having the same surname. Married women have been classified using their maiden names. Sharing a common surname does not, of course, mean that one is related, but the naming conventions within many of these surname clusters hint at the frequency and nature of familial relations. Analysis of intermarriage within the leading rentier families revealed dynastic strategies on the part of many. Accumulation of landed wealth was a process that took generations.

Owners03.dbf allows an overview of the investment portfolios of all 12,184 real estate investors in 1903. There are fields totaling rents, land values, building values, exempt values, and total values. In addition, this database contains the number of properties in **NumProps**, and the number of wards in each portfolio in **NumWards**, as well as the **Gender** of each individual investor.

Companies accounted for slightly less than a sixth of the taxable assessed property. Ten railway companies accounted for $7.2 million, while sixteen loan and mortgage companies and eight land companies jointly held about half of that. The 203 institutions accounted for a further $4.7 million, but $20.9 million in exempt properties. Government properties were largely exempt: half a million in taxable and $16.1 million in exempt properties. You can easily review each of these differing types of firms and institutions by querying on the **Type** field in this database.

The median rent individual proprietors received was $330 a year, roughly what one might expect from a triplex of five and a halves, or a side-by-side duplex of four and a halves. But the remarkable difference between this median and the mean, at $706, suggests the importance of large portfolios. Indeed, 3,121 individuals collected at least double the median rent and 1,321 people four times or more. Fifty-four individuals, only seven of whom were women, collected annual rents in excess of $10,000.

We do, however, need to be careful in handling **TotalRents**. Rents were not generally assessed by the city on vacant land, nor were many exempt built properties assessed a rent. Among the 660 men and 167 women who only invested in vacant lots, there were some very

large property owners. Furthermore, many of the most important investors speculating on suburban land held relatively few rental units. The three largest land companies, (Montreal Land and Improvement, St Denis Land Company and Amherst Park Land Company) owned 2,282 properties but were assessed a combined rental income of only $3,090. Henry Hogan the largest individual speculator owned 331 properties but only thirty were assessed a rent.

The top ten landowners, by value, were the municipal and federal governments, three railways, the Sulpicians, the Royal Institute for the Advancement of Learning (aka McGill), and three female Catholic orders.

Considerably more men and women invested in both vacant and built properties, than those who only speculated on vacant land. In all, 267 women owned 724 vacant properties and 1,522 men owned 3,655, while 104 companies or institutions owned 2,414. Vacant lots were heavily concentrated in the new, formerly suburban, wards of St-Denis, Hochelaga and Duvernay, where land values were lowest. In all, they account for only 5% of the assessed value of the city.

This relatively low value accorded vacant lands belies the importance of land in the assessment process. The total value the city accorded land almost equaled that of all buildings, at $97 million each. On 5,365 built properties the land was worth more than the buildings. City parks and railway yards were among the most prominent, but 4,840 of these properties were owned by people. The median value of their buildings was relatively low at $1,250, but better than a fifth were worth more than $3,000.

Institutions and firms owned a disproportionate part of the built environment, Their **BldgValue**s on 1,580 properties were worth $31.7 million, with a median value of $4000. People owned 19,636 built properties worth $64.9 million with a median value of $2,200. There was a marked difference in the median values of built property owned by landlords and landladies. For those with only a single rental property the median assessments were $2700 and $3600 respectively, while for those owning two or more properties the medians rose to $10,400 and $12,000. As there was no appreciable difference in the spatial distribution of investments by gender, this suggests that landladies owned the better properties.

Proprietors could appeal the assessments of their buildings. A comparison between the hand-written tax roll of 1903 and its publication a year later showed that this appeal process was complete, and it had reduced many of the assessments.

All or part of a property was deemed exempt from taxes if it was used for religious or charitable purposes, including education. Most government properties were exempt from taxation. In addition, municipal governments of the period often offered tax holidays to businesses and so amidst the religious and charitable organisations benefiting from substantial tax breaks are the railways, Dominion Cotton, MacDonald Tobacco, l'Union des Abattoirs de Montréal, Montreal Water and Power, Consumer Cordage, and the Royal and Provincial banks.

To facilitate comparisons between investors in this database, unlike Roll03.dbf, the **TotalValue** includes exempt values. The **Taxable** field indicates the amount after all exemptions. Twenty investors had portfolios exceeding $700,000: the three levels of government and two school boards, eight Catholic organisations, three railways, a street railway company, McGill, Sun Life Assurance and the Bank of Montreal.

The **Num_props** field corresponds to the number of lots in the lot layer of QGIS applications. This is quite different from the information contained in the Roll03 database, where there were 32,248 entries of separate properties. When we transformed this database into an historical GIS, it resulted in only 30,026 lots. In 2,222 entries the information was spread over several adjacent entries and so to avoid confusion and potential errors adjacent partial entries were combined and treated as single properties. There is a property owned by the Canadian Pacific Railway that combined information from 19 different entries. The **Remarks** field in Roll03.dbf identifies all such combined properties.

Legal constraints facing women in turn-of-the-century Montréal.[1]

Early-20th century Montréal was the financial, industrial and transportation capital of Canada. The country's largest city was home to a diverse bourgeoisie with interests that spanned the northern half of the continent. In almost all the extensive economic history of this colonial metropolis, the focus has been on these businessmen and their competing national dreams,[2] but the local housing market was a defining feature of the city's economic life. Montréal had the largest proportion of tenants of any major urban centre in North America. The overwhelming majority of households in the city, 98%, were enmeshed in landlord/tenant relations.[3] Over the last half of the 19th century, as the city grew from 57,000 to 325,000 people, the predominant forms of new housing were two and three-unit tenements, called duplexes and triplexes. By 1900, like Glasgow, the built environment of Montréal presupposed families would be tenants for their entire lives. In 1903, fewer than one in twenty-five people owned any property at all, and yet women owned a quarter of the city's rental units. Nowhere in the world today do women own such a large sector of the formal economy. How the law relating to women changed over time is key to understanding not only this extraordinary historical presence, but, more importantly, why we forgot that it ever happened.

The evolution of legal constraints on women

In 1663, the French crown took back control of Canada[4] from the trading company that had mismanaged it since 1627. The crown immediately solidified both the seigneurial regime and the Custom of Paris within the colony. Despite its name, the latter was not an informal customary body of law, but rather a coherent code of 362 articles organized into 16 chapters first compiled in the 16th century.[5] Supplemented by the *Code marchand* of 1673

1. Written in 2021 as the opening part of an article entitled "Constraint and Agency", this piece was to be part of a collection on women and property in the North Atlantic World, which did not see the light of day.
2. Dating at least from Donald Creighton's 1937 *The Commercial Empire of the St Lawrence, A study in Commerce and Politics* this long-established meta-narrative is alive and well in the most recent collection: *Montreal's Square Mile: The making and Transformation of a Colonial Metropole.* Dimitry. Anastakis, Elizabeth Kirkland & Don Nerbas (Eds.) University of Toronto Press, 2024.
3. In 1903, 1,080 proprietors owned only the home where they had resided in the 1901 census. The census recorded 51,780 households. By comparison, according to the 1900 census, 12% of households in New York City were homeowners. All figures relating to housing in 1903 come from my analysis of Montreal City Council, *Valuation and Assessment Roll of Immoveables of the City of Montreal, 1903-04.* Montréal: Perrault Printing Company, 1904 as transformed by the H-GIS project *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*.
4. The French settler colony in the St Lawrence river valley was first known as Canada, distinguishing it from the French settler colony and fishing station of Acadie in the Gulf of St Lawrence and Bay of Fundy; the whole was known as New France. Canada became Quebec in 1774, which then was split in 1791 at the Ottawa river into Upper and Lower Canada. Merged in 1841 into the United Canadas, the area then known as Canada East formed the basis for the province of Quebec established by Confederation in 1867. Most of the northern territory of present-day Quebec was only added to the province by the federal government in 1912, when it transferred land acquired from the Hudson Bay Company in 1870.
5. A first compilation was completed in 1510, a second in 1580. For a general introduction to this Custom see W.B. Munro, *The Custom of Paris in the New World*. Stuttgart: Fernand Enke; 1907. Canadiana.org 99066.

and the *Code de la marine* of 1681, the Custom of Paris remained the civil law until the British Conquest in 1763. Then, for a brief period, English Common law formally applied but was practically ignored. The Royal Proclamation of 1763 also established English criminal law, English juries and testamentary freedom. All three of these innovations would survive the Quebec Act of 1774[6] which re-established the primacy of the Custom until a new civil code for Canada East was adopted in 1866.[7]

Two important constitutional changes affected this long period of civil governance under the Custom. In 1791, an elected legislative assembly was established to complement the appointed legislative council dating from the Quebec Act. These legislative bodies had the power to adopt statutory law potentially affecting the Custom. Then, in the wake of the failed democratic uprising of 1837-38, a short-lived military dictatorship qualitatively modified it.

The Civil Code's re-organisation of the articles of the Custom as they affected women was not merely technical, it mobilized new gendered distinctions that were already redefining social norms in mid-19th-century Canada East. Confederation, the following year, allocated the general and public powers, including marriage, divorce and criminal law, to the federal government, while recognizing provincial governments as responsible for matters of local and private concern. This novel constitutional arrangement left the newly crafted Civil Code as the law within Quebec. The Code underwent a revision in 1931 following the Dorion Commission inquiry into women's civil rights,[8] but the core iniquitous provision of this entire legal tradition as it affected women, the community of property in marriage, remained in full force until 1969.[9]

For more than 300 years, the law treated men and women in a qualitatively different manner. The essential difference can be stated very simply: women's civil rights were defined by their marital status; men's were not. Unmarried women and widows, with only one major exception[10], had similar civil rights to men prior to the Conquest.[11] During the decade after the Conquest, when Common law ruled, almost all of the French-speaking settlers, who increasingly thought of themselves as Canadiens and Canadiennes, continued

6. This was one of the five "intolerable" acts of the British government cited as justification for the English settler colonies' unilateral declaration of independence the following year. The Quebec Act was judged intolerable because it abandoned both the Common law and the Test Act and so granted full legal rights to Catholics.

7. Brian Young, *The Politics of Codification: The Lower Canadian Civil Code of 1866*. Montréal: McGill Queen's University Press, 1994.

8. Jennifer Stoddart, "Quebec's Legal Elite Looks at Women's Rights: The Dorion Commission, 1929-1931." *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, Vol. 1, Edited by David H. Flaherty. Toronto: The Osgoode Society, 1981, 323-57.

9. Women married under community of property were granted the right to have their own bank account in 1963.

10. The exception concerned the inheritance of domain rights of the lord of the manor within the seigneurial regime.

11. This meant that both Canada and a relatively large part of metropolitan France did not conform to the pattern of gendered inequality that Amy Louise Erickson assumed to be the case for customary law jurisdictions of continental Europe in "Coverture and Capitalism", *History Workshop Journal*, 59, 2005, 1-16.

to act as if the Custom was still in force. The Conquest, however, introduced the English jury system to the colony and with it, for the first time, women were denied a civil right accorded to men, simply because they were women. Starting in the 1830s, statutory provisions added to this momentous precedent, so that by the end of the 19th century women faced numerous legal incapacities because they were women. These legal innovations built on, rather than replaced, the existing dual system wherein civil rights of women depended on their marital status, while those of men did not.

First, I will discuss how the legal constraints related to marital status changed over time before contextualizing the development of openly misogynous provisions directed against all women. Informed by the secondary literature, this discussion will nonetheless principally rely upon three legal syntheses: Nicholas Benjamin Doucet's classic *Fundamental principles* published in 1842;[12] Henry Driscoll's manuscript *Laws of Lower Canada* transcribed in 1862;[13] and Marie Gérin-Lajoie's 1902 *Treatise on Every-Day Law.*[14] My choice here is deliberate, for I am interested not so much in either the intricacies of case law,[15] nor the many ways that judges in a civil code tradition create law that materially affect women,[16] but in what would have been the general understandings of the law by reasonably informed people.[17] For it is these understandings, I think, that would most likely have influenced investment decisions by property-owning women and their families.

The marriage regime under the Custom of Paris was a community of property. Jointly owned by the husband and wife, the community was administered solely by the husband as the "head and master." (Article 225, Doucet p. 91) Sale of property belonging to the community did not require the wife's consent, but any contractual obligation entered into by the wife required the husband's explicit authorisation. All property brought to the marriage or acquired during the marriage belonged to the community unless it had been explicitly designated as the exclusive property of the wife or the husband by a pre-nuptial marriage contract. Inherited real property was generally designated in these contracts as "*propre*," or her own, and, to maintain lineal lines, properties inherited subsequent to the

12. Nicholas Benjamin Doucet, *Fundamental principles of the laws of Canada as they existed under the natives, as they were changed under the French Kings, and as they were modified and altered under the domination of England: together with the general principles of the custom of Paris, as laid down by the most eminent authors, with the text, and a literal translation of the text; the Imperial and other statutes, changing the jurisprudence in either of the provinces of Canada at large; prefaced by an historical sketch [...]. Compiled with a view of assisting law students in their studies.* Montréal: John Lovell, 1842, Canadiana.ca 92325.

13. *Laws of Lower Canada*. Collated by Henry Driscoll, Esq. Q.C., Transcribed by D. Tait (scribe) for the Owner, F.W. Terrill, Esq. July 1862, manuscript, 149 pages.

14. Marie Gerin-Lajoie, *A Treatise on Every-Day Law*. Montréal: John Lovell's & Sons, 1902. Canadiana.ca 77562.

15. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "The State of Things: Towards a feminist critique of legal reception in European colonies of settlement." European Social Science History Conference, Leiden, March 2021.

16. In a path-breaking recent study, Thierry Nootens painstakingly details how devastating these judgments could be for bourgeois women of Montréal: *Genre, Patrimoine et Droit Civil : Les femmes mariées de la bourgeoisie québécoise en procès, 1900-1930*. Montréal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2018.

17. In this regard, my inclusion of a manuscript edition that perforce would not have circulated widely requires an explanation. F.W. Terrill was an antiquarian and this guide would have helped him to make sense of the numerous legal documents he consulted in the course of his extensive research.

marriage could be added to one's own without entering the community.[18] Nevertheless, property belonging to the wife, and so formally outside the community, was managed by the husband, who enjoyed as his own all fruits and interests generated by her property.[19] Sale of real properties that had been designated as her own, however, did require her approval, and failure to purchase an equivalent property to replace the one sold would allow the wife or her estate upon dissolution of the community, with the death of either the husband or the wife, to be reimbursed by her husband or his estate.

The Custom of Paris recognized a substantial right of dower to the wife upon the death of her husband. This right was to use for her lifetime half of all real property he owned at the time of marriage as well as all that he had subsequently acquired directly. In the 17th and 18th centuries, when land was widely available within this colony of settlement, dower was a particularly important material benefit and safeguard for widowed women. This socially defined right to property declined in importance in urban centres of the early 19th century, as not just labouring but increasingly craft households no longer owned any real property. By the second quarter of the 19th century, it came under increasing attack by creditors who considered it to be the most nefarious of secret encumbrances. When, in 1835, a Court of King's Bench ruling held that the right of dower was fully alienable, that is, it could be sold to another just like any other property right, the Legislative Council established a commission of inquiry and their recommendations to substantially restrict dower would be acted upon by the Special Council in 1840.

Inheritance under the Custom recognized two types of real property rights: domain and use rights; and two types of property: moveable and immoveable. Domain rights were those pertaining to the lord of the manor and the inheritance of the real property of the lord followed a gendered logic of primogeniture. The eldest son inherited the manor house and gardens and half of all other seigneurial property; this increased to two-thirds if there were only two children inheriting. Daughters of the deceased eldest son could not inherit their father's share, but sons could. Inheritance of moveable property within seigneurial families was, however, treated in a gender-blind and equitable manner.

For those inheriting use rights to real property held in *roture*, there was no such gendering. Inheritance was gender-blind and equitable. Each legitimate offspring of the marriage enjoyed a right to his or her fair share of their parent's estate. In the countryside, a common practice was to donate the farm to a younger son, in exchange for a pension for the parents, who provided equitably for his older siblings through both donations and doweries. As the family farm was the parent's largest single asset, this frequently meant the younger son

18. "Lineal property is to be preserved as much as possible in the line whence it proceeds; it ought to belong to the nearest relatives of the line, although they were not the nearest relative to the deceased. […] When there are no such heirs [...]that heritage loses in nature of lineal property and is reputed to be an *acquest* and divided as such." Articles 326 & 330, Doucet, p. 76. *Acquests* were treated like moveables and entered into the community.

19. Indeed, basing himself on Pothier, Doucet argued that the husband had the right to accept an inheritance of the wife's that she had refused "in order to increase the revenues of which he has the enjoyment during the matrimony." p. 80.

would have to borrow to pay for his siblings' part interests and/or lengthy delays in the equitable settling of the estate.[20]

The logic underlying these three key interrelated components (marriage regime, dower and inheritance) of the Custom of Paris was twofold. First, they worked together to protect the viability of family-based, petty commodity-producing households, be they in farming, fishing or the crafts. Indeed, in stark contrast to Europe, in a colony of settlement this was the state's very *raison d'être*.[21] Second, a married woman was conceived as having rights because of her role within the family as a vessel of transmission. This was all the more the case in New France where half of all husbands and a quarter of all wives died before the children reached maturity.[22] In his detailed assessment of changes to women's legal position under the Custom in New France, David Gilles has argued that, given this harsh demographic reality, the flexibility inherent in the Custom resulted in a more favourable status for married women within the colony than in France.[23]

With the Quebec Act's reinstatement of the Custom of Paris in 1774, community of property became the *default* marriage regime. People could and did opt out by explicitly so stating in their marriage contract. The result was a plurality of options ranging from companionate marriages, where spouses were completely separate as to property, to effective reproductions of the Common law's complete erasure of the legal personage of the wife through *coverture*. These new options, however, remained the choice of a minority, usually privileged and most frequently English-speaking.[24] Furthermore, as dower was a wife's right when a community ended, it became the norm in these contracts opting out of community to establish a pre-fixed monetary compensation in lieu of dower. This effectively denied the wife any claim to the wealth accumulated during the life of the marriage. The husband was free to dispose of the couple's wealth as he saw fit in his last will and testament, while the wife could legally claim only the payment agreed on prior to their marriage. As this suggests, the Conquest's imposition of testamentary freedom trumped the Custom's inheritance provisions. It would appear, nevertheless, that the vast majority of families continued to practice partible inheritance that was both equitable and relatively gender blind.

The Special Council's changes to customary dower in 1840 had quite a different impact. Dower continued to exist but only on those properties against which the wife's claim had

20. Sylvie Dépatie, « La transmission du patrimoine dans les terroirs en expansion: un exemple canadien au XVIIIe siècle. » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 44, 1, (1990) 171-98. Sylvie Dépatie, « La transmission du patrimoine au Canada (XVIIe-XVIIIe siècle): qui sont les défavorisés? » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 54, 4 (2001) 557-70.
21. Robert Sweeny, « L'état des choses. » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 72, 2, 119-122.
22. Hubert Denis, 'Mobilité spatiale des unions en Nouvelle-France. » Mémoire de maîtrise, Université de Montréal, 2002.
23. David Gilles, « La condition juridique de la femme en Nouvelle-France: Essai sur la Coutume de Paris dans un contexte coloniale. » *Cahiers d'Aixois de l'histoire des droits de l'outre-mer français*, 2002, 77-125.
24. Bettina Bradbury's analysis of the marriage contracts of two cohorts of marriages from the 1820s and 1840s, where the wife survived into widowhood, revealed four clusters of contractual relationships along a continuum from equality to complete erasure. *Wife to Widows Lives, Laws, and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Montreal*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2011, 63-68 & 76-86.

been duly registered by deposit of the marriage contract at newly established registry offices. Under the old rules, no registration had been required, and the dowager was accorded priority of claim versus all other creditors. Now the wife's claim enjoyed no special precedence and only dated from the date of registration itself, not, it needs to be stressed, from the date of their marriage. Furthermore, property acquired by the husband subsequent to marriage was only included as potentially part of dower from when and if he had properly registered it. As a result, the dower right of the widow frequently lost out to other creditors of the deceased husband's estate. When combined with the marked decline in property ownership in urban centres, this effectively undermined dower as a meaningful safety net for most widows.

Codification in 1866 reorganized family law in a manner that had profound consequences for married women. The simple expansion of civil law from the 362 articles of the Custom to the 2,615 articles of the Code meant a dramatic increase in the number and nature of restrictions on married women, for whom the devil really was in the detail. Nevertheless, there was an overarching and quite explicit change at the heart of the new Code.

For a century, under the Custom, couples could opt out of community of property and design their own marriage regime. Codification did away with that freedom. Couples could still define aspects of their marriage regime, but it now had to conform to public order and good morals which meant explicitly recognizing patriarchal authority. The codifiers' logic is clearly discernible in the "general provisions on marriage covenants and the effect of marriage upon the property of the consorts":

> Article 1257 All kinds of agreements may be lawfully made in contracts of marriage, even those which, in any other *inter vivos* would be void; such as the renunciation of successions which have not yet devolved, the gift of future property, the conventional appointment of an heir, and other dispositions in contemplation of death.
> Article 1258 All covenants contrary to public order, to good morals, or forbidden by any prohibitory law, are, however, excepted from the above rule.
> Article 1259 Thus, the consorts cannot derogate from the rights incident to the authority of the husband over the persons of the wife and the children, or belonging to the husband as the head of the conjugal association, nor from the rights conferred upon the consorts by the title Of Paternal Authority and the title Of Minority, Tutorship and Emancipation in the present code.[25]

Articles 1422 to 1426 did allow couples who agreed to a complete separation of property in their marriage contracts to enjoy considerably greater freedoms than this might suggest, but even there the wife's rights were never complete. She could administer both her moveable and immoveable property and enjoy the revenues from it as her own, but she

25. *Civil Code of Lower Canada: from the amended role deposited in the office of the clerk of the Legislative Council as directed by the Act 29 Vict. chap. 41, 1865*. Canadiana.ca 94069.

could not sell, hypothecate or mortgage any of *her* immovables without the express consent of her husband. Any general authorisations made in the marriage contract or elsewhere were void. If a wife, separate as to property, left the enjoyment of any of her property to her husband, he had complete freedom to consume it as he saw fit without any compensation whatsoever to his wife or her estate.

The pervasive nature of this new gendered logic is well illustrated by the Code's novel treatment of mothers and grandmothers appointed as tutors to their minor children or grandchildren following the death of the father. The Code restructured the established practice of Family Councils, consisting of a minimum of seven relations of the minor children, appointing tutors. Mothers and grandmothers had long been eligible to serve on Family Councils and could be appointed as tutors. Article 283 of the Code now required them to not only be widowed but to remain so. Should she remarry her new husband automatically replaced her as tutor, even if the newlyweds had opted out of community of property. An untold number of women simply lost the right to make legal decisions for their minor children or grandchildren upon adoption of the Code, and, from then on, step-fathers and step-grandfathers exercised complete authority over these minor children to the exclusion of their wives.

The new authority accorded to the husband represented a philosophical break with the logic that had underpinned the Custom of Paris' matrimonial provisions. The new regulations governing donations between spouses illustrates this rather well. Under the Custom, the only gifts between spouses allowed were the mutual gifts that had been foreseen in the marriage contract. As Henry Driscoll explained donations were prohibited "lest the more influential of the two should by violence, importunity or persuasion despoil the other of his or her property." (p.60) Such state paternalism supported the viability of households, many of whose very viability and independence had only been possible because of the economic contributions of both wife and husband.

As independent petty commodity-producing households declined in importance, the state withdrew from intervening in internal household matters, now best thought left to the husband's discretion. This increased patriarchal authority accorded the husband was an essential part of the gendered trade-off that permitted industrialisation. It partially offset the husband's loss of economic autonomy: no longer a master of his trade, the unbridled mastery of his household mattered all the more.[26] Nor was this merely a question of the proletarianisation of the crafts, increasingly the social position of professionals and managers was primarily determined by their salaries. These petty-bourgeois households would not have been able to maintain their social standing in the event of the husband's premature death. Hence, the Code's declaration that life insurance policies payable to the wife were to be exempt from the ban on gifts.

This centrality accorded to male bread-winner mythology by the new Civil Code had an important corollary. No longer thought of as vessels of transmission within complex and extended kin networks, married women were now defined by the status of their husband.

26. Sweeny, *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?* p. 305-10.

Article 1368 concerning the costs of mourning was particularly eloquent in this regard: "mourning is to be regulated according to the fortune of the husband." The more your late husband was worth, the greater the acceptable public grief. These costs were to be paid by the estate of the late husband even if the wife renounced acceptance of the community, but by so doing she lost any moveable property she herself had brought it, save for personal wearing apparel and jewelry received as wedding gifts. (Articles 1379 & 1380)

The Civil Code provisions pertaining to marriage changed little in the subsequent decades.[27] Quebec did, however, develop a highly detailed set of regulations governing life insurance policies made payable to wives and children that set out how Article 1265 was to be interpreted.[28] The Code had prepared the ground work for a more far reaching change by the federal government. The Code legalized a double standard for adultery: philandering wives lost their dower, but philandering husbands faced no penalties unless they added insult to injury. The husband's concubine had to share the family home for the relationship to be considered grounds for separation. In keeping with this 'Prince of Wales principle', the federal government consolidated criminal code of 1892 legalized rape within marriage and excluded wives under the age of fourteen from the statutory rape provisions.[29] This public sanctioning of extreme domestic violence was not removed from the books until 1983.

Writing in 1903, Marie Gerin-Lajoie summarized the situation of married women in Quebec as follows:

> A wife cannot be a party to a lawsuit without being authorized for that purpose by her husband; she cannot dispose of her property, bind herself or contract without the concurrence of her husband. Nevertheless, if she is separate as to property, she is allowed to perform acts of administration only. (p. 47)

More generally, Gerin-Lajoie drew an important distinction between the civil and political rights conferred on the British subjects in Quebec.[30] All enjoyed full civil rights, but political rights were "the exclusive privilege of persons of the male sex." (p.27)

The quality of being a British subject was gendered. It was accorded to anyone born within the British Empire, or whose father or paternal grandfather had been born within the empire. Naturalisation was possible for males born elsewhere after three years residence in

27. Changes in 1895 to the category of "civil dead" led to the dropping of several articles dealing with how it affected a community of property. In 1897, the requirement that a suit for separation of property by a wife in peril from the disorder of her husband's mismanagement be filed in the court corresponding to their domicile was dropped.

28. Michel Mathieu, *Code civil de la province de Québec : contenant tous les amendements et changements faits par la législature et quelques annotations des matières en rapport avec le code civil jusqu'au 1er juillet 1909*. Montréal, C.A. Marchand, 1909, p.273-9. Canadiana.ca 77431.

29. "Rape is the act of a man having carnal knowledge of a woman who is not his wife", *Statutes of Canada*, 1892, c. 29, articles 233 and 266.

30. Canadians were British subjects until 1947, when the country adopted its own citizenship act.

Canada,[31] but foreign-born females could only gain citizenship by marrying a male British subject.

Despite this long-established gendering of who constituted a subject, women did once have political rights. Women who met the property qualifications enjoyed the franchise in Lower Canada from 1792 onward. This included married women, and they did not have to be separate as to property. During the 1790s, the requirement that the property generate an annual rent of £5 meant that the "propre" of numerous popular class women would have been insufficient; however, the inflation of the Napoleonic Wars meant that almost any property-owning women, married or not, could begin to exercise her franchise.

In the late 1820s, Jacques Viger conducted a detailed analysis of property ownership in Montréal in anticipation of a proposed municipal charter. His report to the leadership of both the reformist *Patriotes* and the Catholic Bishop suggested that the third of rentiers wealthy enough to sit on City Council, who were actually rentières, i.e. women, be banned because of their sex. His subsequent analysis of the voting in a hotly contested and deadly by-election in Montreal West in 1832 led the *Patriotes*, in co-operation with the Governor and Council, to disenfranchise women in the new municipal charters for Quebec City and Montréal adopted in 1833.[32]

The following year the *Patriotes* passed legislation that would have disenfranchised women provincially, but it was disallowed by the Colonial Office for unrelated reasons. The Canadian equivalent to the Great Reform Bill of 1832 was the achievement of Responsible Government in 1848, when a liberal reform alliance was asked to form the government.[33] The following year, just as the Reform Bill had done for Britain, they voted to deprive women of the franchise in Canada East.[34] Women would not regain it until 1940. Here, as in the metropole, legalized misogyny was not the result of a conservative backlash; it was a constitutive element of the new liberal order.

These denials of the franchise for women who met the property qualifications first municipally and then provincially underscore fundamental shifts in political perceptions. Just as had been the case in the thirteen colonies, struggles over taxation and popular representation were fundamental to political discourse in British North America, and as municipal governments were heavily dependent on property taxes, by denying tax-paying women the vote, reformers were gendering who constitutes the people in a qualitatively new way. This new definition would have a long life in Canada. It would take an appeal to Britain's Privy Council in 1929 to overturn a Supreme Court of Canada ruling that the term "person" in the Canadian constitution excluded women.

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31. Naturalized British subjects were banned from mastery of a vessel by an 1832 amendment to the Navigation Act.
32. Sweeny, *Why Did We Choose to Industrialize?* 165-173 & 207-9. Unmarried women and widows who met the property qualifications in Montréal were re-enfranchised in 1899, but similarly endowed married women would not gain the vote until 1934. Full female suffrage would not be achieved municipally until 1961.
33. Prior to this the Executive Council, the equivalent of Cabinet, was not responsible to the Legislative Assembly and it was mainly composed of unelected members of the Legislative Council.
34. Natalie Picard, *Les femmes et le vote au Bas-Canada de 1792 à 1849*. Memoire de maîtrise, Université de Montréal, 1992.

Once the polity had been so rent asunder, it became so much easier to exclude other groups of people. Building on a hardening of state policies dating from the 1830s,[35] legislation from the 1850s onward redefined Indigenous men as subjects without political rights who needed to be civilized before they could be enfranchised, while Indigenous women would lose their right to even be recognised as a member of a "tribe", upon marrying a non-Indigenous male. These expulsions would continue to be legally enforced until 1985.

Article 41 of the British North America Act of 1867 banned women from voting in the new Dominion. It also stipulated that prevailing provincial rules for eligibility, which varied greatly, would remain in force until the federal government decided otherwise.[36] Quebec had the highest property qualifications of any of the four colonies entering Confederatio.[37] Revealingly, women who met these qualifications enfranchised their husbands, but not, of course, themselves. If they possessed property or paid rents in the requisite multiples of these amounts, then co-resident sons or grandsons would also be enfranchised.

In the late 19th century, educational reforms denied married women the right to vote in school board elections, while all women were banned from serving as either school inspectors, or school-board commissioners and trustees.

What had started out as a limited restriction inherent in the jury system imposed by the British in 1763 had, by the late 19th century, come to define the boundaries of political life throughout the country. It would take almost as long to legally unravel; and, in so many ways, from domestic violence and missing and murdered Indigenous women to systemic wage discrimination, the legacy lives on. This new political culture compounded the long-established legal differences that marital status conferred on women and men. The result was a system of legalized misogyny that worked hand in glove in the promulgation of profoundly racist practices in Canada. In turn-of-the-century Montréal, how did the choices made by privileged, property-owning, women reflect these legal constraints under which they lived?

35. The earliest reserve, created in 1836 on Manitoulin Island, stemmed from Christian-led attempts to civilize Indigenous people in the Canadas. Perhaps of equal significance was the Colonial government decision, earlier that decade, to only allow written communications between Indigenous peoples and Colonial agents. Rhetoric had for two and a quarter centuries been one of the great strengths of Indigenous diplomacy with both Europeans and settlers.

36. As a result, British Columbia, by disenfranchising people of Chinese (1877), Japanese (1895) and South Asian (1907) origin, denied them the right to vote in federal elections. The federal head tax on Chinese immigration of 1885, which rose to $500 per person by 1903, very seriously restricted Chinese migration to Canada, before it was banned outright from 1923. This ban on immigration was extended to "any Asian race" in 1930 and largely remained in force until 1967. These laws all defined identity as operating exclusively through the male line.

37. For a British male subject resident in Quebec to qualify to vote he had to own property worth $300 in urban areas, or $200 in rural areas, or pay an annual rent of $30 in town or $20 in the countryside. These amounts were twice the prevailing rates in Nova Scotia, while both Ontario and New Brunswick also enfranchised propertyless men who earned a regular wage: $300 a year in Ontario, or $400 in New Brunswick.

Why gender landlord/tenant relations?[1]

An initial response to this question is given by the paucity of academic work that privileges gender as an analytical category in understanding housing, when compared with either class or race. In the *American History and Life* index both class and race are mobilized ten times as frequently as gender to understand housing. The situation in Europe, as indicated by *Historical Abstracts*, differs substantively only in as much as race is not as frequent an analytical category for understanding housing there as it is here. Only 84 of the 1,856 references to housing in *American History and Life* privilege gender, while in *Historical Abstracts* 124 of the 1,357 references do so. In both literatures, gender as an analytical concept is used to understand housing at best infrequently.

In this paper I will show several reasons why gender should matter, by drawing on the case of turn-of-the-century Montréal, when it was the North American capital of landlord/tenant relations. Our historical GIS project, *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*, or MAP, has recently completed linking our mapping of a city publication of who owned Montreal in 1903 with the 1901 census returns. This allows us to not only identify both proprietors and tenants throughout the city, but to see more clearly how important gender was in the shaping of this fundamental socio-economic relationship.

A map of the lots in the city is one of the three formats I will using to present my data. (See the frontispiece.) It represents the city *à la Montréalaise*. By this I mean how Montrealers both see and talk about their city. We presume, quite erroneously my geographer friends insist, that the St Lawrence River along the bottom of the map runs from west to east, so north is anything away from the river, west is to the left and east to the right. These locally defined cardinal points, sanctioned by the east/west division of street numbers adopted by the city in 1906, will be respected in this talk. So please ignore the north arrow, it is included here to satisfy those friends of whom I just spoke.

Men owned 64% of the city's 30,026 properties, but women were the second largest category, with 6,411. They owned more than either companies, institutions or governments. Indeed, given the importance of municipal tax breaks to large companies and the tax-exempt status extended to both charitable and many government bodies, female proprietors paid more in municipal taxes than all three combined.

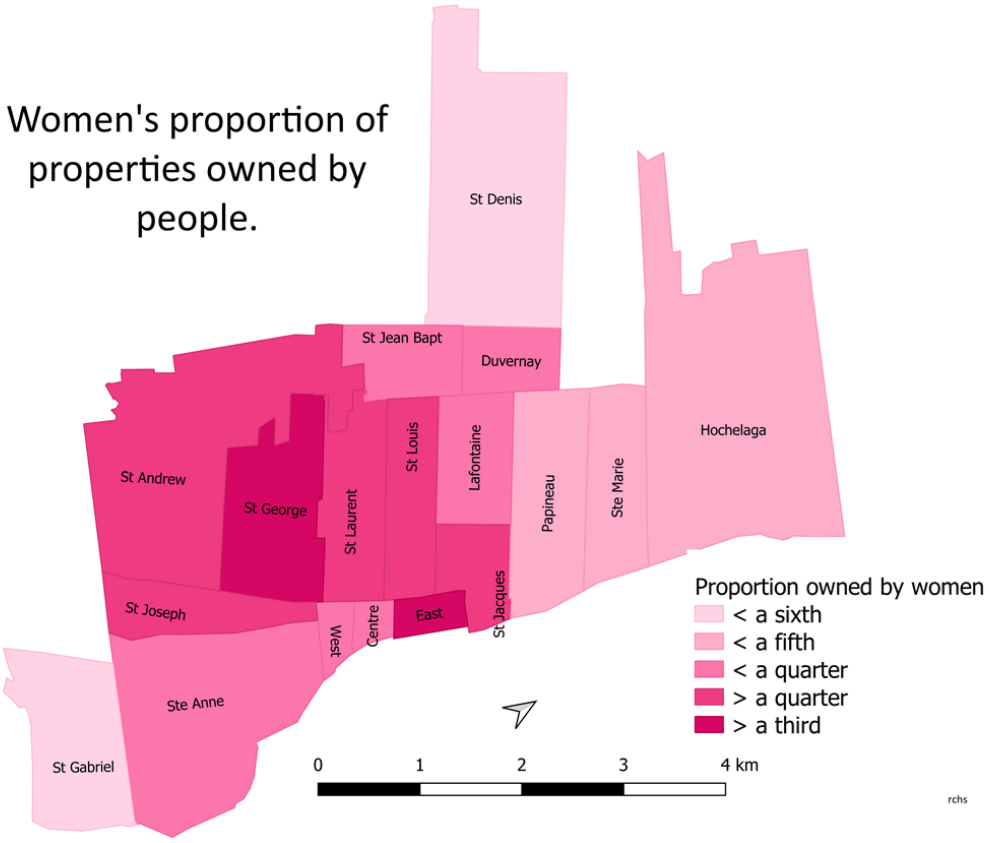
Companies, governments and institutions were all highly gendered. Although single and widowed property-owning women did have the right to vote in school board and municipal elections, they were banned from running for office. While only two of the 3,336 lots owned by the 203 companies were controlled by women: a dress-making shop and a millinery.

Male and female institutions owned 598 properties, while female institutions, mostly Catholic, were to be found in every part of the city. There was however an important difference here. Female Catholic orders active in social service, healthcare and education financed a not-insignificant part of their activities from their extensive real-estate holdings: commercial in the city centre and residential in the suburbs. Among male religious orders,

1. Social Science History Association, Philadelphia, 2021.

only the Sulpicians, the former lords of the manor, held any substantial residential real estate, largely in the northwest adjacent to their Grand Séminaire and Collège de Montréal.

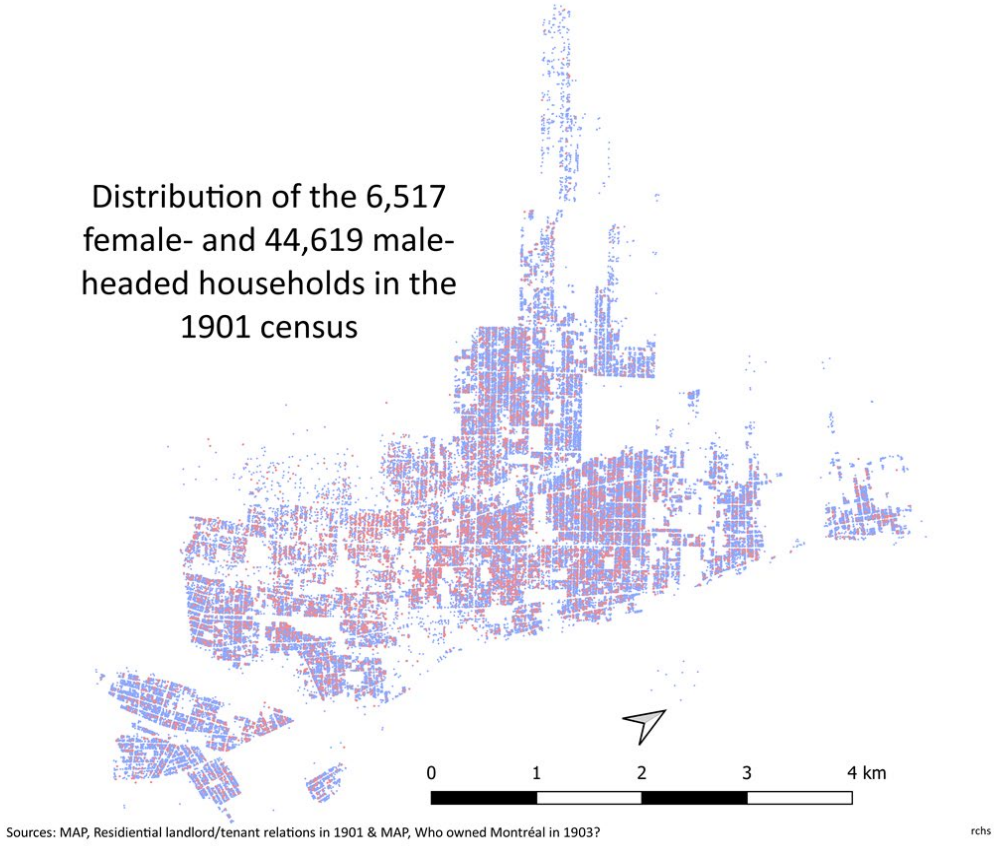
The major concentrations of large industrial producers were either along the Lachine Canal in the southwest or in a corridor running north from the St Lawrence River in the east end. Areas with a marked absence of female proprietors. The large railway yards of the Grand Trunk, in the southwest and the Canadian Pacific in the east end, were the largest privately owned properties in the city, but two-thirds of the properties owned by companies were vacant and owned by a handful of land companies in the north and east of the city. These early concentrations of corporate ownership are significant to our story because they followed upon the near monopolisation of these areas by male investors, who then joined together under corporate identities to manage these real estate promotions more effectively. In Montreal, corporate ownership largely followed upon a marked gendering of property ownership.



Women owned a fifth of all properties in the city, both by number and value. If we focus on people, which I will be doing throughout the rest of this paper, women owned just under a quarter of the properties in the city. They did not, however, invest in the same parts of the city as men. They account for less than one in six properties in the north and southwest and generally less than a fifth in much of the east-end. Areas with a marked corporate presence. They account for four out of ten properties in the city's East ward, the only part of the city centre that was still residential and for more than a third of the affluent St George Ward,

which was home to the legendary Golden Square Mile, then perhaps the wealthiest neighbourhood in the British Empire.

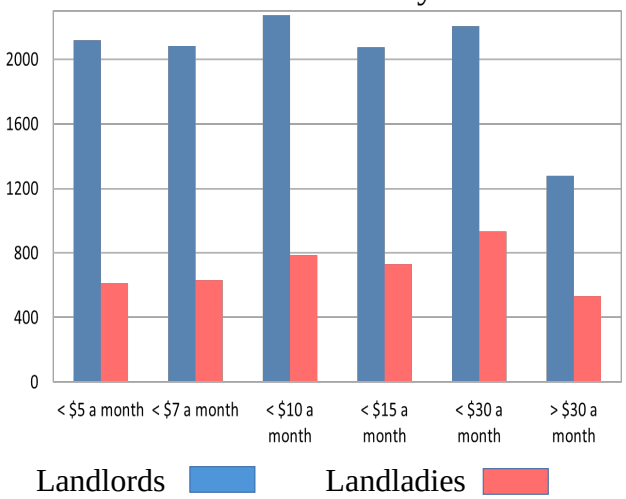
To discuss tenants in today's talk I will be exploiting MAP's victory of Stalinist proportions. Through a Stakhovinite effort, MAP successfully geo-referenced 99.7% of all households in the 1901 census of Montreal to their specific lot in the city. Women headed one in eight of the 51,136 linked households. Although found throughout the city, their presence is most in evidence in those areas where women chose to invest. By comparing proprietors' surnames, both married and maiden for the women, on the tax roll with these heads of households it is possible to establish who were resident landlords or landladies and who were tenants.[2]



I will be using bar graphs based on rental brackets frequently in this paper, so a brief reality check is in order. The number of rental units per property varied from an average of 4.3 in the lowest bracket to less than 1.3 in the highest. These were mostly cold-water flats, and so heating, largely by coal, was an important additional cost. Rents as assessed by the city corresponded to both the condition of the building and the number of rooms in the unit. Five dollars a month got you a two to three room apartment, seven dollars a larger three room or small four room, while ten dollars a month meant the luxury of a five room flat.

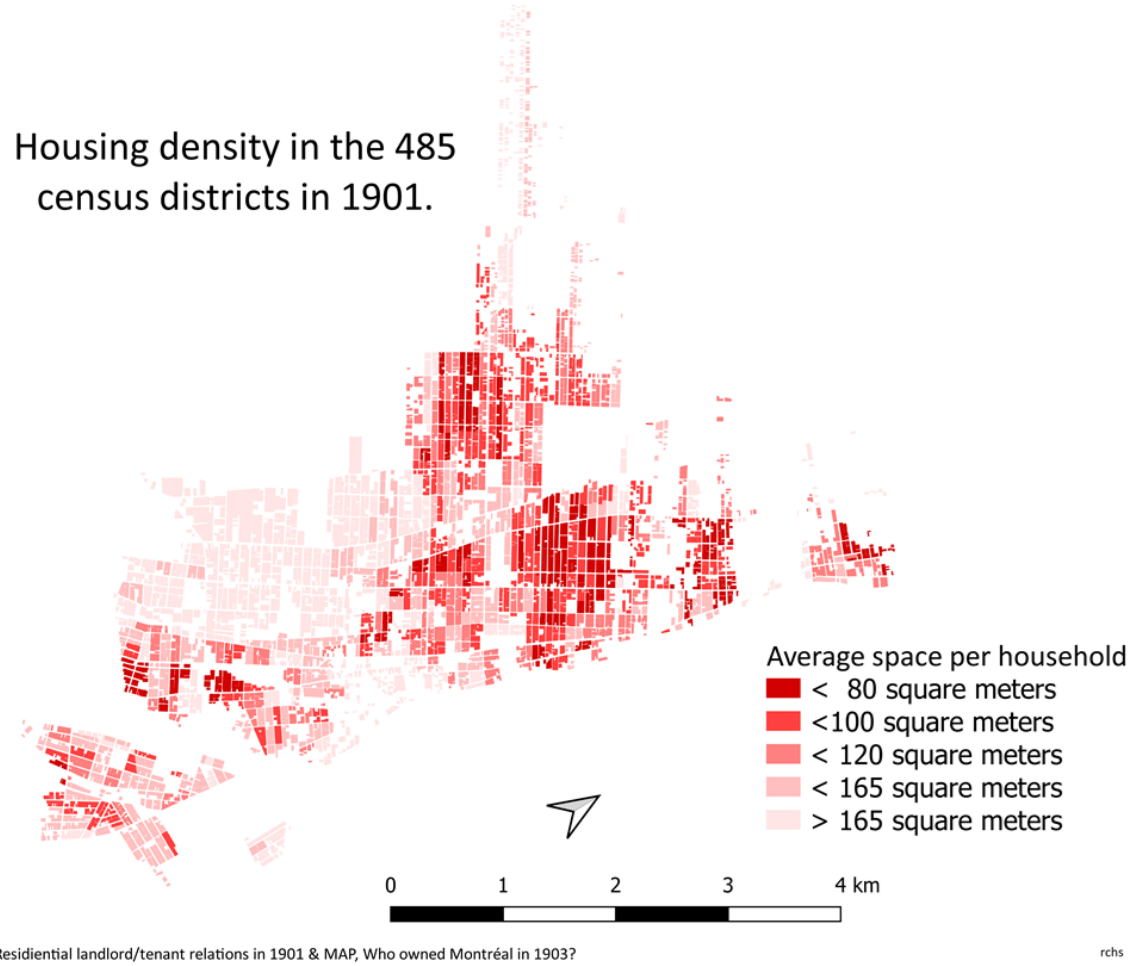
2. This linkage to establish if a proprietor resided on a lot he or she owned was initially done using an automated, computerized linkage. The result was an exceptionally high rate of non-resident owners, I corrected for this by moving to a manual linkage, see "Linking Owners and Tenants" p. 98-104.

Number of units by rent.



Percentage of female-owned units by rent.

Housing density in the 485 census districts in 1901.



Sources: MAP, Residiential landlord/tenant relations in 1901 & MAP, Who owned Montréal in 1903?

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The median income for male heads of household was $41 a month. Median household size was five for male-headed households and four for female-headed households. The preference for investments in a better quality of housing by landladies is clear. At the low end, they account for 22% of properties, rising to 29% at the higher end.

One in eight heads of census household were female and they also showed a marked preference for a better class of housing. They are under-represented in the lower rental brackets and over-represented in the three higher brackets. Proportionally, almost twice as many female heads of household were to be found on rental properties in the highest bracket, as on properties in the lowest bracket. So, both proprietors and tenants had a gendered profile in this city.

Density has been at the centre of many hotly contested debates about housing in industrializing North America. The map on page 72 shows how much space on average a household would enjoy in 485 of the city's 487 census districts. The important point to retain is that there are clearly demarcated areas in the city where densities were very considerably higher than the norm elsewhere. The area south of Lafontaine Park, west on Ontario and east of St Lawrence Blvd in the Jewish ghetto, northern parts of St Jean Baptiste ward home to the smallest lots created in the 19th century city and then pockets in St Joseph in the west and Hochelaga in the east.

By contrast, the areas which saw the highest levels of investment by female proprietors, St George in the west and the East Ward of the old city had relatively low-density levels. Please note the bourgeois corridor running north from the East ward, between St-Denis and St-Hubert streets, home to many French-Canadian bourgeoisie families. Try and keep this geography in mind as we explore where landlords and landladies lived.

Montréal had the lowest levels of home ownership of any city in North America. New York, frequently cited as the tenant city *par excellence*, had proportionally four times as many single homeowners in 1900 as Montreal did in 1901. Homeowners were heavily concentrated in the affluent wards of the west end. They were however also present in the French-Canadian bourgeois corridor running north from the East ward through St Jacques and Lafontaine wards. Elsewhere home ownership, understood as a single-family dwelling, was rare indeed.

Most housing in Montreal consisted of duplexes or triplexes, rather than single-family dwellings. Thus, people could simultaneously own their own home, in the form of a flat, while sharing their building with their tenants. At one in six properties, resident owners of tenements were relatively few on the ground. They did, however, have a much greater presence throughout the city, particularly in the popular class wards, than owners of single-family dwellings.

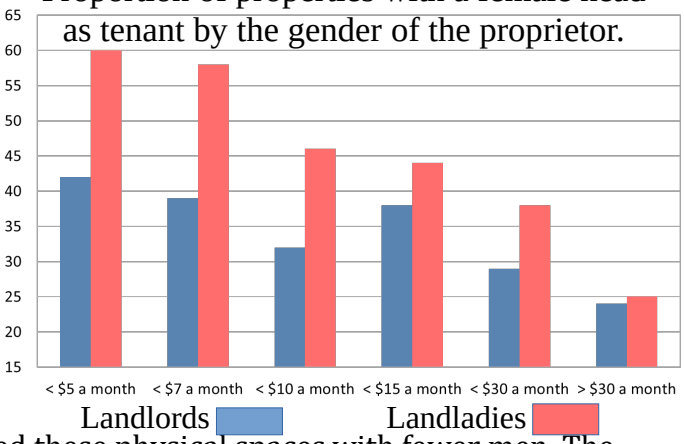
These results of our linkage of census to tax roll reveal a more than surprising finding. Most proprietors in the city, both landlords and landladies, did not own where they lived. How are we to understand this remarkable fact?

Introducing gender into the equation allows for two possible lines of inquiry. First, the strategies employed by landladies and female tenants. Second, the importance of extended families in understanding who these landlords and landladies were.

As we have already seen, landladies were underrepresented as proprietors in the lower rental brackets. Despite this, they were much more likely to have a female on their properties. Six out of ten on female-owned properties in the lowest bracket, compared with

a little better than four out ten on male-owned properties. Although there is a clear decline as rents rise, landladies offer consistently more accommodation to women than do landlords. Or, and this might well be the case, we cannot yet know, consistently more female heads of household chose to have a landlady over a landlord; it was most likely a mix of both.

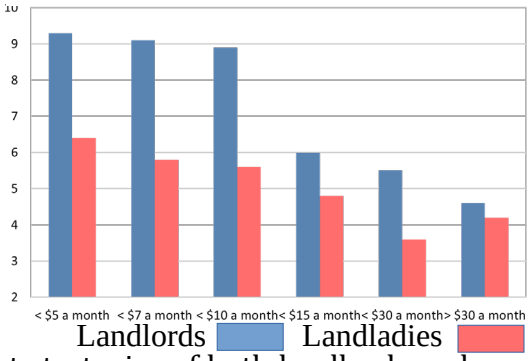
Proportion of properties with a female head as tenant by the gender of the proprietor.



The descriptive evidence provided by our automatic record linkage suggests a possible explanation. Female tenants of landladies shared these physical spaces with fewer men. The differences were really quite considerable in the most populous lower rent brackets. More than nine male heads of household for every female head living on a property owned by landlord, compared with little over six for those living on properties owned by a landlady. The proportions decline as the rents increase, but only at the very top level does it begin to approach parity. I think this would be a power incentive for many women to opt for a landlady over a landlord.

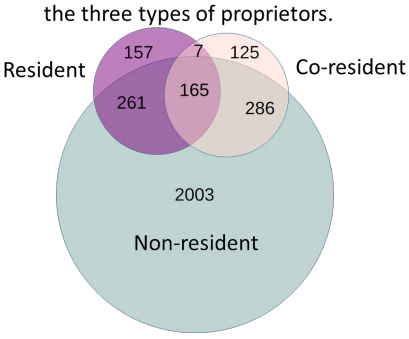
I turn now to the question of extended families. One way to approach them, given the available evidence, is to use surnames as a potential point of entry. People sharing the same surname are not, of course, necessarily related, but people sharing similar social characteristics and a surname do have a better chance of being related.

Male tenants for every female head by the gender of the proprietor.



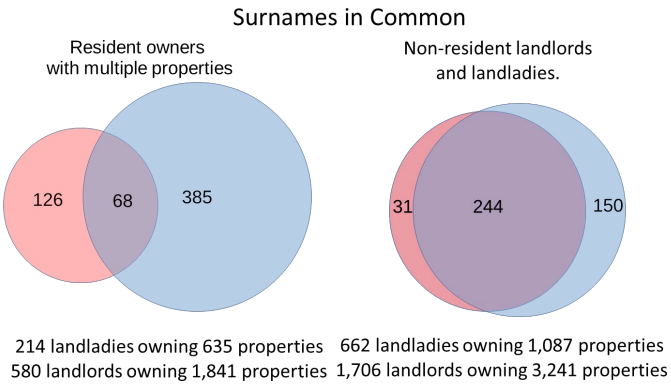
The city carefully identified all married, or widowed, female proprietors, as well as female estates, by both their maiden and married names. I consider this historical logic of the source to be important, for it speaks to the potential significance of extended families in understanding investment strategies of both landlords and landladies. Their investments were not the simple result of individual choices, but rather were integrated into extended, familial networks that privileged multi-generational strategies of capital accumulation.

Surnames in common among the three types of proprietors.



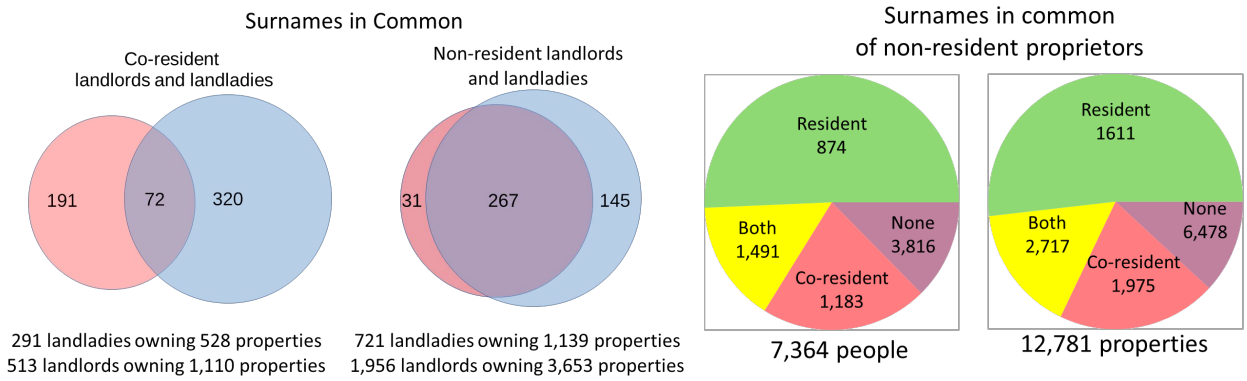
At first glance, the overlap is not promising between those landlords and landladies who owned where they lived and those who did not live on their properties. More than 70% of these 'non-resident' proprietors do not share a surname with those who owned where they lived.

When we look, however, at the frequency of surnames shared by those landlords and landladies wealthy enough to have their own single-family dwelling and those non-resident proprietors, who could not be linked to our index of household heads, the situation changes dramatically. From only a small proportion of landlords and landladies sharing a common surname, we move to almost all landladies and an overwhelming majority of landlords sharing one of these surnames.



Inheritance is the most likely explanation of this remarkable change. I argue this means many non-resident proprietors, both men and women, came from property-owning families. When we remember the results of my earlier work, which showed that only one in six husbands of property-owning women themselves owned property, I think we are seeing the multi-generational accumulation strategies of extended families in action.

This importance of extended family networks is also very much present, when we examine those landladies and landlords who lived as co-residents of their tenants in duplexes and triplexes across the city. Once again, the proportion of shared surnames is small, but grows to include almost all non-resident landladies and two-thirds of non-resident landlords.



From around a fifth of non-resident families, suggested by the initial analysis, we have moved to roughly half of all properties as well as people who might well be related to those proprietors who owned where they lived. In short, for many landlords and landladies accessing ownership of their own home was most likely merely a question of time. After all, here we are seeing a snapshot, frozen in time, of a dynamic process of inter-generational accumulation. A process where gender defined fundamental aspects of the process.

In conclusion, I trust I have demonstrated the utility of the analytical concept of gender for understanding landlord/tenant relations. There are some simple lessons learnt, as listed here, but I hope that I have achieved something more. Gendering both landlords and landladies, as well as tenants, allows for qualitatively different approaches to understanding what are fundamentally social, not individual, let alone entrepreneurial, processes. These gendered constraints shaped the ways men and women of both the property-owning and property-less classes chose to live their lives.

Propriété, comportements nationaux et rapports propriétaires/locataires à Montréal au tournant du vingtième siècle.[1]

Aujourd'hui, je me demande si on peut parler des comportements nationaux dans la gestion des portefeuilles fonciers au début du vingtième siècle, et, si oui, ces comportements influencent-ils les rapports propriétaires/locataires ? Avec un taux de location qui frôle le 95 % des foyers, Montréal était alors, et de loin, la capitale des rapports propriétaires locataires en Amérique du Nord. D'ailleurs, en Europe, seules Paris et quelques villes en Écosse pouvaient la rivaliser.

Alors, si l'importance que j'accorde aux rapports propriétaires/locataires ne pose pas de question, mon questionnement de l'importance de la question nationale peut surprendre plusieurs. En effet, depuis plus de quarante ans j'ai des réticences prononcées envers l'analyse de Lord Durham, celui qui a trouvé « two nations warring in the bosom of a single state ». Pour moi, la nation est une construction historique. Elle n'est nullement essentielle, et encore moins un phénomène permanent. Chaque fois, nous devons démontrer, avec faits historiques à l'appui, que l'invocation d'une explication nationale est justifiée.

L'analyse démographique magistrale d'Olson et de Thornton trace le développement pendant la dernière moitié du 19e siècle de trois communautés sociolinguistiques distinctes à Montréal : Canadiennes françaises, Anglo-protestantes et Irlandaises catholiques.[2] Bien que seule la communauté canadienne-française remplit les cinq critères classiques d'une nation, soient territoire, langue, histoire, vie économique et conscience collective, je vais utiliser faute de mieux ces trois catégories.

Ces trois communautés, qui comptent pour 96 % de la population montréalaise, sont toutes en évidence parmi les propriétaires de Montréal en 1903. La majorité canadienne-française compte pour 61 % des propriétaires versus 58 % de la population au recensement de 1901. Les Anglo-protestant.e.s sont davantage surreprésentés, 30 % versus 27 %, alors que les Irlandais.es catholiques sont sous-représentés à 8,6 % des propriétaires versus 11 % de la population.

J'imagine que c'est l'importance relative des femmes comme propriétaires dans ces trois communautés qui va étonner même les experts de la période. Les femmes détiennent un quart de toutes les propriétés appartenant aux individu.e.s mais elles sont près d'un tiers (31 %) des propriétaires. À 38 %, elles sont beaucoup plus importantes chez les Irlandais.es catholiques que chez les Canadien.ne.s français.e.s, où elles ne comptent que pour 27 % des propriétaires. Aujourd'hui, je vais utiliser ces rapports de genres comme outil analytique afin d'établir si nous pouvons parler de comportements cohérents, mais distincts, de ces trois communautés.

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1. Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, Québec, 2022.
2. Sherry Olson et Patricia Thornton, *Peopling the North American City: Montreal, 1840-1890*. Montréal et Kingston: McGill Queen's University Press, 2011.

Commençons par le type de propriété. Il y a des propriétés bâties et des propriétés vacantes à Montréal. Elles offrent aux investisseu.rs.ses des avantages très différents. Le prix médian d'une propriété bâtie appartenant à un individu était 3 550 $ et produisait une rente annuelle de 300 $. Alors que le prix médian d'une propriété vacante n'était que 400 $ et n'offrait que la possibilité d'un gain de capitaux futur. Il faut donc analyser chacun de ces types de propriété séparément, afin de voir s'il y a eu des comportements cohérents, mais distincts, chez nos trois communautés.

J'ai inventé trois catégories afin de mieux comprendre les propriétés vacantes : il y a 415 propriétés vacantes adjacentes à une propriété bâtie appartenant au même propriétaire, que je considère comme des jardins probables ; 1,029 propriétés vacantes dans un milieu déjà développé, que j'appelle urbaine, et 3,953 propriétés vacantes, que je considère comme plutôt spéculatives. Bien que présent un peu partout, les propriétés adjacentes se concentrent dans le nord-ouest aisé de la ville et dans une moindre mesure dans les nouveaux quartiers au nord de la ville. Alors que les propriétés urbaines sont éparpillées à travers la ville bâtie. Surtout situées aux limites est et nord de la ville, les propriétés spéculatives se trouvent aussi sur des rues qui se veut aisées, mais qui se tardent à développer, comme la rue Sherbrooke dans l'est et les rues Saint-Urbain et Saint-Hubert au nord de l'ancienne limite de la ville à Duluth.

Cette classification selon trois catégories ressort de ma propre invention, ainsi vous pouvez sans doute comprendre mon soulagement lorsque l'analyse des 11 766 portefeuilles individuelle a démontré son bien-fondé du point de vue historique. Certes, il y a une différence marquée par le genre, seulement une femme propriétaire sur dix versus un propriétaire sur six chez les hommes, mais les deux semblent avoir fait une distinction très similaire à la mienne. Seulement onze personnes, tous des hommes, avaient au moins une propriété vacante de chaque type dans leurs portefeuilles. Une préférence marquée pour un seul type de propriété vacante était la norme : 91 % chez les hommes et 97,5 % chez les femmes.

Pouvons-nous voir des comportements cohérents, mais distincts, dans chacune des communautés retenues ? Commençons par les Canadiens français et les Canadiennes françaises. Clairement, une préférence marquée pour des propriétés spéculatives caractérise tous les deux. Une Canadienne française sur huit détient une propriété vacante, et deux tiers de celle-ci ont choisi de spéculer. Ce choix est d'autant plus en évidence chez les Canadiens français, où trois sur dix ont une propriété vacante, dont 71 % qui ont choisi la spéculative.

Chez les Anglo-protestants et les Anglo-protestantes, la situation est très différente. Ici, les femmes sont encore moins intéressées par des propriétés vacantes, seulement une sur dix femmes en possède. Mais c'est surtout en ce qui concerne les types de propriétés que la cohérence démontre la différence. Une majorité claire des femmes, 57 %, et une pluralité forte des hommes, 48 %, ont choisi des propriétés vacantes urbaines.

Vu les coûts moindres des propriétés spéculatives et la pauvreté relative de la communauté irlandaise, on aurait attendu de voir chez elle une préférence similaire aux Canadiens français et aux Canadiennes françaises. Mais ce n'était pas le cas. Légèrement moins

d'Irlandais, un sur sept versus un sur six avec les deux autres communautés, choisissent des propriétés vacantes, mais ils choisissent à 56 % les propriétés urbaines. Alors qu'une sur huit des Irlandaises a choisi des propriétés vacantes, dont 61 % qui ont opté pour des propriétés urbaines. Ils et elles ont investi davantage dans les propriétés urbaines et moins dans les propriétés adjacentes que les propriétaires Anglo-protestantes.

Bref, en ce qui concerne les choix d'investir dans les propriétés vacantes, chacune des trois communautés démontre ses caractéristiques propres. À mon avis, le fait que les femmes et les hommes de chaque communauté se comportent ici d'une façon similaire est significatif.

Retournons maintenant au bâti. Ici la ségrégation ethnique, un phénomène quasiment absent de la ville préindustrielle, atteindra son sommet. Les investissements canadiens-français sont très fortement concentrés dans le centre et l'est de la ville, avec une présence certaine dans le sud-ouest. Les 2 766 propriétés bâties des 1 624 femmes propriétaires se confondent avec les 8 511 propriétés apparentant aux 4 399 hommes. Ces femmes et ces hommes achètent dans les mêmes quartiers, même si les femmes ont une tendance à être propriétaires des propriétés ayant une valeur légèrement supérieure. En médiane, elles tirent 360 $ en loyers par année, alors qu'ils tirent 330 $. Dans les deux cas, cependant, elles et ils sont quasiment absents des quartiers du nord-ouest et de la partie occidentale du vieux Montréal, alors la capitale économique du Dominion.

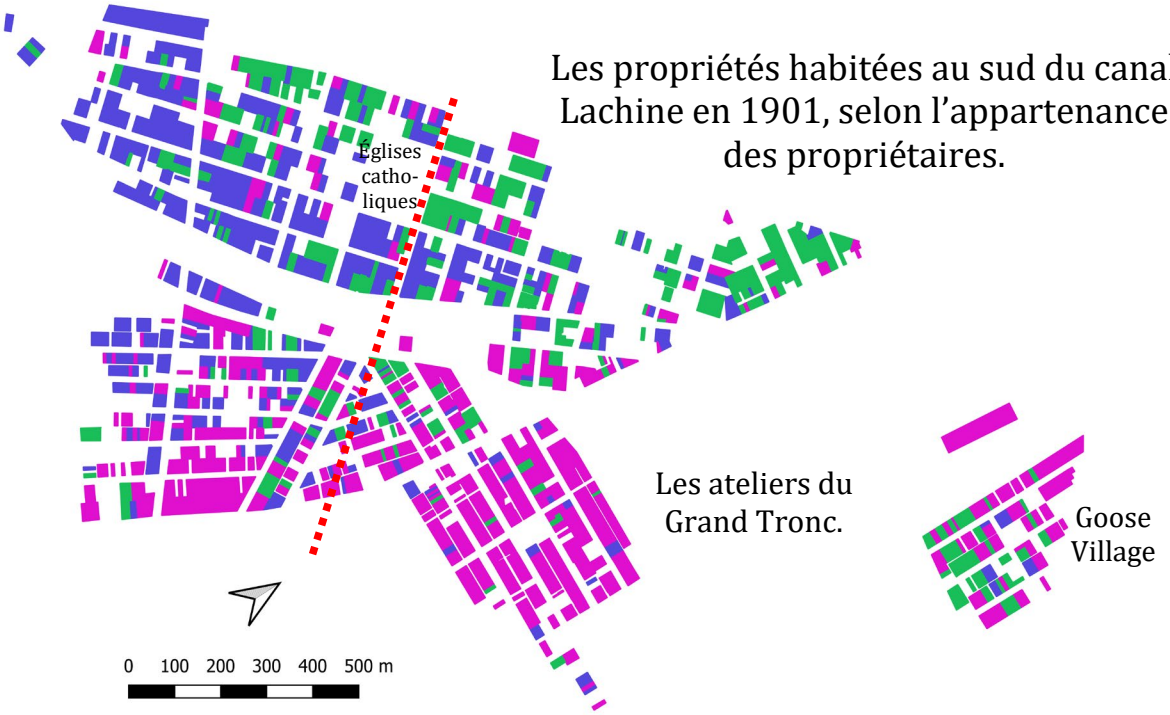
Cette préférence pour des propriétés d'une valeur plus élevée est également présente chez les femmes Anglo-protestantes. Cette communauté détient un quasi-monopole sur les quartiers de nord-ouest, y compris le nouveau centre de consommation sur la rue Sainte-Catherine et les quartiers ouest et centre de la vieille ville. Cependant, ce sont les médianes de loyer élevé, 500 $ pour les femmes et 450 $ pour les hommes, malgré la présence Anglo-protestante dans la Pointe Saint-Charles, qui soulignent comment la richesse démarque cette communauté du reste de la ville.

Bien que présent un peu partout dans la ville, la communauté irlandaise a vraiment son centre dans le quartier Sainte Anne. Divisé par le canal Lachine, ce quartier a été cinquante ans auparavant le premier quartier prolétaire au Canada. Avec un tiers des propriétés bâties, les Irlandaises catholiques tirent un loyer médian de 350 $, comparé à 320 $ pour les Irlandais catholiques. Au tournant du siècle, la mobilité sociale intergénérationnelle remarquable établie par Thornton et Olson ne semble pas encore avoir muté en mobilité géographique. « Moving on up » serait surtout un phénomène du 20e siècle.

Les investissements par les hommes et les femmes de chaque communauté suggèrent fortement qu'on peut concevoir la gestion des portefeuilles comme ayant été propre à chaque communauté. Bref, à ce moment on peut considérer la possibilité que le fait d'être membre d'une de ces communautés ait affecté les rapports propriétaires/locataires. Pour le confirmer, on examine, en conclusion, les choix des propriétaires de la seule partie de la ville où les trois communautés sont présentes : le sud-ouest en bas du canal Lachine.[3]

3. Gilles Lauzon, *Pointe-St-Charles : l'urbanisation d'un quartier ouvrier de Montréal, 1840-1930*. Québec : Septentrion, 2014.

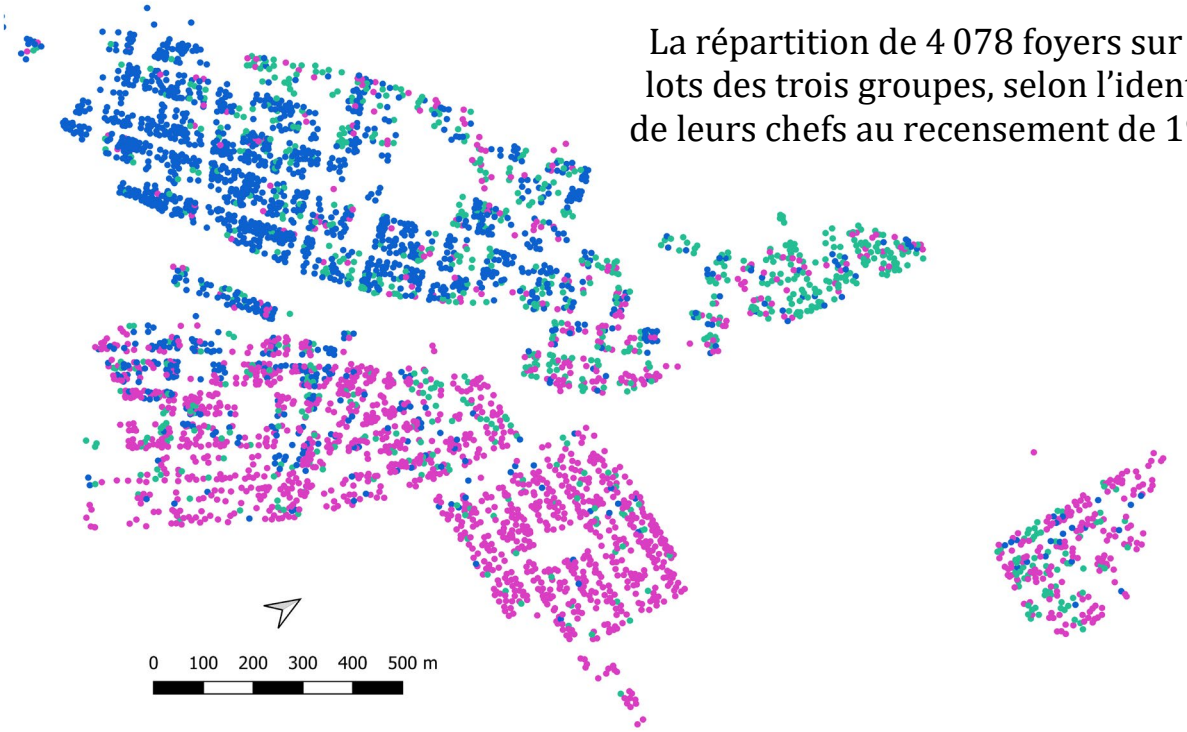
Des 1 719 propriétés bâties appartenant à ces trois communautés, 1 630 sont habitées selon le recensement de 1901. Les 479 propriétaires Anglo-protestant.e.s détiennent 723 propriétés, les 374 Canadien.ne.s français.es ont 570 propriétés et les 222 Irlandais.es catholiques ont 337. La propriété de ces communautés alors se divisait grosso modo en trois, avec la voie ferroviaire menant aux ateliers du Grand Tronc, comme la plus importante ligne de clivage. Les Anglo-protestant.e.s dominent le territoire au sud du chemin de fer, près des ateliers du Grand Tronc. Alors qu'au nord, de chaque côté des églises catholiques, les Canadien.ne.s-français.es se concentrent à l'ouest dans St Gabriel et les Irlandais.es catholiques sont plutôt à l'est dans Ste-Anne. Seul Goose Village dans le sud-est, est plutôt partagé, mais même là les Anglo-Protestants et les Anglo-Protestantes sont dominants. L'ancienne municipalité de Saint-Gabriel, à l'ouest des églises, n'avait pas installé un système d'égouts ni fourni l'eau courante à la plupart des propriétés au moment de son intégration à la ville de Montréal en 1887,[4] et donc une ligne invisible (pointillé en rouge) mais réelle séparait l'ouest de l'est.



Les propriétaires locales dominent : 86 % des hommes et 94 % des femmes ne détiennent des propriétés qu'ici, au sud du canal Lachine. Mais chose frappante, ils et elles ne résident pas chez eux. À peine la moitié des femmes propriétaires résident sur une propriété qui les appartient, alors que seulement un sur cinq des hommes propriétaires le fait. Comme ailleurs en ville,[5] la plupart des propriétaires sont eux-mêmes ou elles-mêmes locataires.

4. Gilles Lauzon, « Eau courante, toilettes à eau et dernières latrines à Montréal, 1856-1915. » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 73, 4 (printemps, 2020) p.14.
5. Robert C.H. Sweeny, « Proprietor Tenant Relations in turn of the century Montréal. » Canadian Historical Association Annual Meeting, 2021. Voir les pages 26-30.

Même dans ces quartiers populaires, la propriété est devenue surtout un investissement : une valeur d'échange plutôt qu'une valeur d'usage.

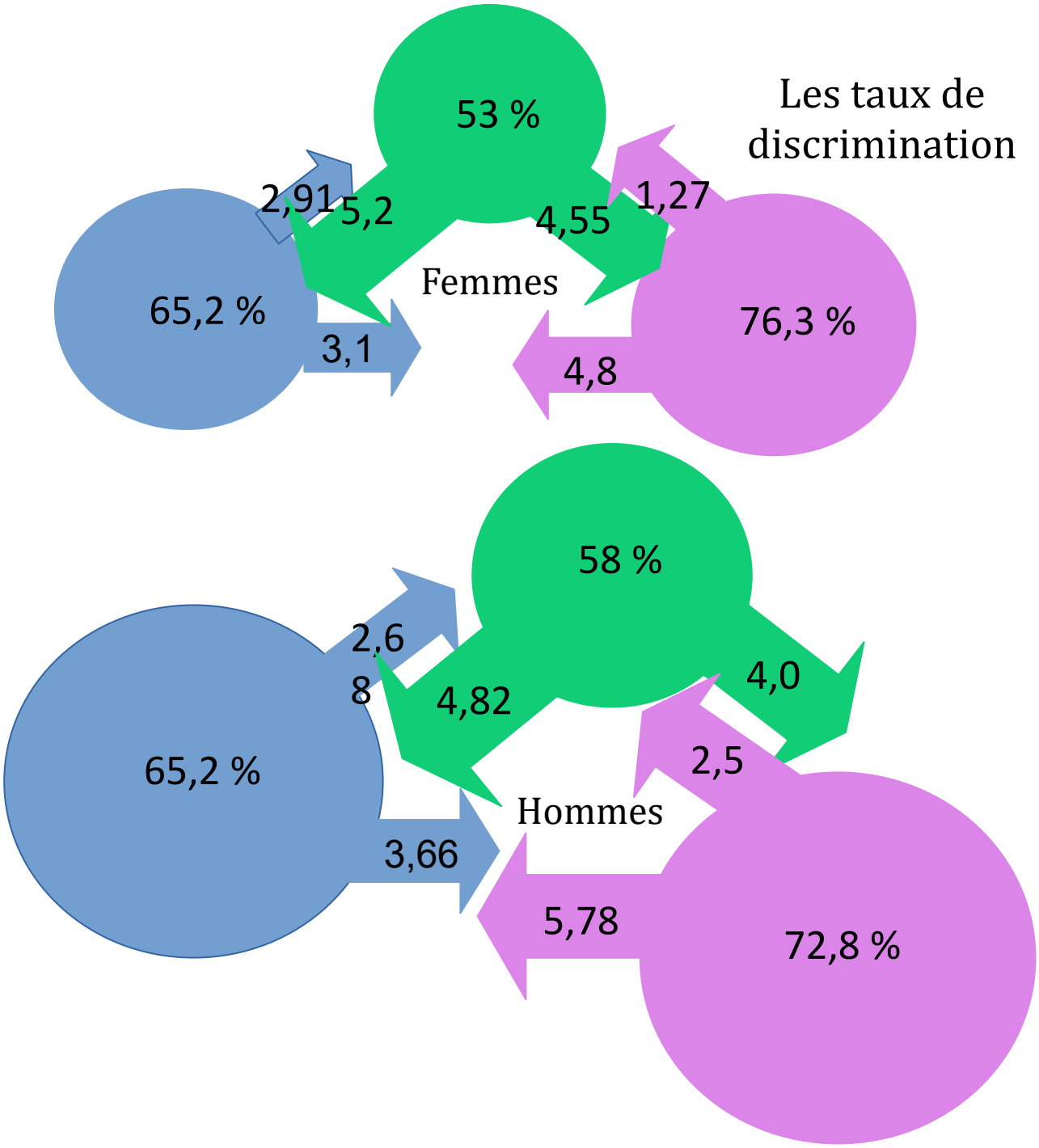


La répartition de 4 078 foyers sur les lots des trois groupes, selon l'identité de leurs chefs au recensement de 1901.

Selon notre jumelage au recensement, chez les Anglo-protestant.e.s il y a 133 propriétaires résidentes et 1 577 locataires parmi ces chefs de foyers, chez les Canadien.ne.s-français.es c'est 61 propriétaires résidentes et 1 521 locataires et chez les Irlandais.es catholiques c'est 44 propriétaires résidentes et 744 locataires. La répartition des locataires entre ces trois communautés est 40 %, 40 % et 20 %, cependant le nombre moyen de foyers par propriété varie selon la communauté. Les propriétaires anglo-protestant.e.s n'ont une moyenne que de deux foyers par propriété, alors que les propriétaires canadien.ne.s-français.es ont en moyenne trois foyers et demi. Les propriétaires irlandais.es se trouvaient au milieu. Chose importante, les hommes et les femmes de chaque communauté se ressemblent. De toute évidence, la ségrégation qui divisant les propriétaires marque aussi la vie des locataires. Par contraste, la répartition des 106 foyers qui n'appartient pas à une de ces communautés est remarquable par sa nature équitable.

Les rapports propriétaires/locataires sont des rapports d'inégalités, avec le pouvoir entre les mains des propriétaires. Ainsi, afin de déterminer les niveaux de discrimination entre ces communautés, on part du nombre de propriétaires et établit le nombre de locataires de leurs communautés qui résident chez eux. Ceci établit le facteur d'inclusion, représenté sur le graphique par les pourcentages, mais il faut aussi tenir compte du facteur d'exclusion, c'est-à-dire la sous-représentation des deux autres communautés, représentées ici par les indices de discrimination sur les flèches.

Les propriétaires Anglo-protestant.e.s favorisent des locataires protestants beaucoup plus que les propriétaires des deux autres communautés favorisent les leurs. Mais l'exclusion par



On lit ce graphique comme suit : près de trois quarts des locataires protestants habitent un logement appartenant à un.e propriétaire protestant.e, mais ces propriétaires mâles louent à deux fois et demie moins d'Irlandais.e.s, et près de six fois moins de Canadien.ne.s-français.e.s qu'on aurait attendu voir. Alors que les propriétaires protestantes femmes louent légèrement moins à des Irlandais.es, mais près de cinq fois moins à des Canadien.ne.s françaises qu'on aurait attendu voir.

des hommes protestants est nettement plus élevée que chez les femmes. Dans les deux autres communautés, les taux d'exclusion se ressemblent davantage, mais la cohérence distincte qui a caractérisé nos analyses des types de propriétés jusqu'ici fait défaut. Malgré les similitudes en proportions et en tendances, les taux diffèrent suffisamment que le résultat final est assez différent.

De toute évidence, l'appartenance du propriétaire à une communauté sociolinguistique influence ses rapports avec des locataires. La gestion des portefeuilles fonciers par les Canadiens français et les Canadiennes françaises était cohérente et distincte. Elle allait de pair avec la construction d'un marché de capital canadien-français[6] et les investissements immobiliers dans le quartier Saint-Louis[7,] deux phénomènes méconnus qui témoignent des luttes économiques à un moment où le nationalisme est mieux connu pour ses défaits politiques. Ainsi, on peut concevoir cette population comme formant une communauté nationale au tournant du siècle.

Chez les deux autres communautés, la situation n'est pas si claire. Chez les Irlandais.e.s catholiques, on constate un désir clair de se constituer en communauté, surtout visible par le niveau exceptionnel d'exclusion. Des taux plus élevés chez les femmes que chez les hommes et rappelons qu'il s'agit de la communauté avec la plus haute participation de femmes comme propriétaire. Mais il se peut que cette cohérence soit plutôt le fruit de leur passé récent commun et si difficile. Est-ce qu'elle serait plus que passagère ?

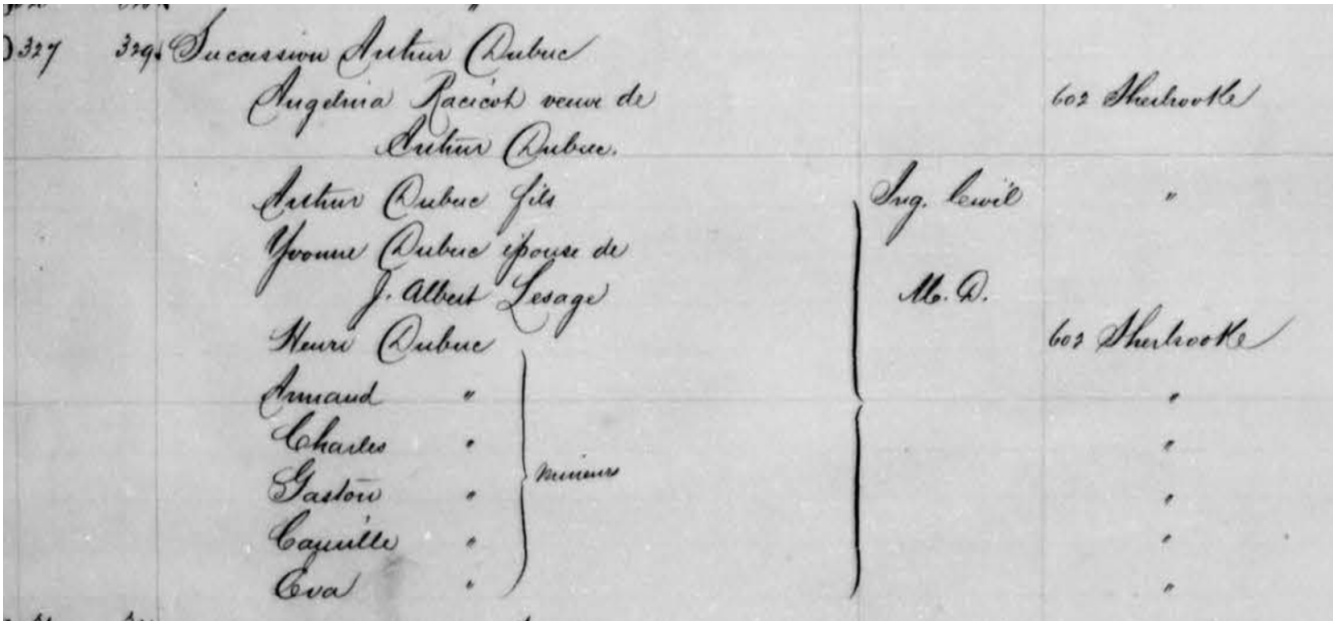
Vus de l'extérieur, les Anglo-protestants et Anglo-protestantes ont plusieurs éléments de comportement en communs, qui portent à croire qu'ils et elles possèdent une identité nationale. Mais, si fondamental soit-il, le clivage entre catholique et protestant cache l'importance des divisions internes entre anglicans, divers types de presbytériens, méthodistes, congrégationalistes, luthériens, baptistes, « Brethren » et soldats de l'Armée de Salut pour n'en nommer que des cultes présents dans le sud-ouest. Il se peut que ce ne soit qu'à la suite des expériences de la Grande Guerre, la Dépression, et la Deuxième Guerre mondiale qu'une identité nationale, canadienne-anglaise cette fois-ci, unisse ces deux communautés sociolinguistiques.

6. Robert C.H. Sweeny, « Aperçu d'un effort collectif québécois : La création, au début du XXe siècle, d'un marché privé et institutionnalisé de capitaux » *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, 49, 1 (été, 1995) 35-72.
7. Robert C.H. Sweeny, "Divvying up space: Housing segregation and national identity in early twentieth century Montréal." *Sharing Spaces: Essays in honour of Sherry Olson*. Robert C.H. Sweeny (Ed.), University of Ottawa Press and the Museum of Canadian History, Mercury Series, 2020, 111-128.

Who benefited from estates in turn-of-the-20th century Montréal?[1]

This brief research report is based on culling the information provided for the 620 estates on the 1903 tax roll of Montréal. I will be frequently citing figures, so before we get started a handy conversion tool might be useful. The most meaningful way to think of changes in the value of money over time is to link it to labour. Either what was the wage paid unskilled labour, or what was the median income of adult men? According to the 1901 census, the median income of male heads of household in Montréal was $500 a year. According to the 2021 census, the median employment income of full-time, fully employed males in Montréal, adjusted for inflation, is $63,990. So, to approximate the current value of any dollar figure in this paper simply multiply by 125. Thus, the median annual rental income accruing to each known beneficiary of a female's estate in Montréal, of $770, would approximate to a gross income of $96,000, placing them comfortably in the top quintile of all income earners in the city.

Below, is a particularly detailed entry for the estate of Arthur Dubuc. It provides the names of beneficiaries, the civil status of the women, the occupations of the men and an address. The only thing missing here that appears in some entries is the details of a person's roll in administering the estate. A description may appear the first time an estate is mentioned in any of the city's eighteen wards.



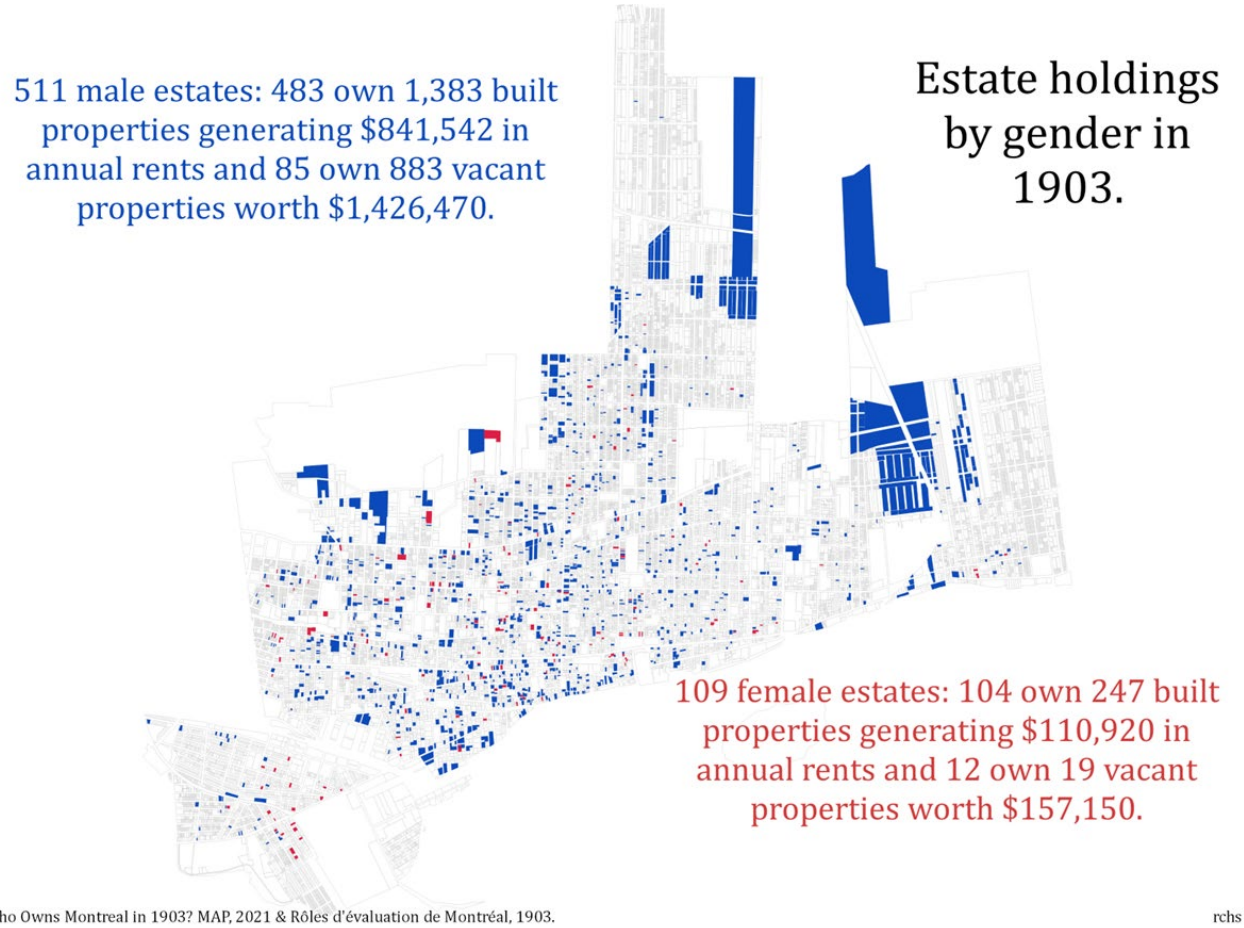
See the frontispiece for the cartographic template I will be using. I created it for *Montréal, l'avenir du passé*, or MAP, to use as the basis for the turn-of-the-20th-century layer in our GIS research infrastructure of the city. The St Lawrence River runs along the bottom of the map. The map only covers the city of Montréal, but on the three sides surrounding it were

1. Canadian Historical Association, Toronto, June, 2023.

independent suburban municipalities not included in our infrastructure. To the west the limit is Atwater, to the east is Davidson, while to the north St Denis ward reaches up to St Zotique.

Government owned properties belong mostly to the city and the city's largest parks are readily discernible: Mount Royal in the north-west and Lafontaine on Sherbrooke Street to the east. Much further to the west along Sherbrooke, in dark blue, are McGill College and le Collège de Montréal. Company-owned properties are in green, the largest belong to the railways: the Grand Trunk in Pointe St Charles in the south-west and the two yards belonging to the CPR east of Iberville. Both male and female institutions, in dark blue and dark red respectively, are to be found throughout the older parts of the city. They are mostly owned by various Catholic orders.

As the size of properties might suggest, the wealthiest residential parts of the city were in St George and St Andrew wards, to the west and south of McGill. The central business district was in what we now call Old Montreal, but over the previous twenty years a new shopping precinct had burgeoned along Ste-Catherine Street in the west. In the central and eastern parts of the city, as well as in the south-west, the predominant forms of housing were duplexes and triplexes, where one in twenty flats was occupied by a resident landlord or landlady.



Who Owns Montreal in 1903? MAP, 2021 & Rôles d'évaluation de Montréal, 1903. rchs

Perhaps the most surprising aspect of who owned Montreal in 1903 was the importance of female property owners. Women account for a quarter of all properties owned by people and they own more than companies, institutions, or governments. Their holdings are to be found in all parts of the built city, but they are considerably less present in the as yet undeveloped lands in St-Denis to the north and Hochelaga to the east. There, private land companies and a limited number of large male speculators dominate

Although almost a third (31.7%) of all property-owning people were women and they owned a quarter of these properties. Female estates accounted for only a sixth of the estates. If you are having difficult seeing them on the map, that too is historically significant, for they are mostly smaller holdings. They were to be found primarily in the older parts of the city, including the affluent north-west. Few of these estates speculated on the vacant properties to the east and north. By contrast, the holdings of male estates were to be found all over the city. They are particularly evident with their large holdings in the north-east.

These exceptionally large swaths of land in the north-east belonged to a handful of estates, the most important being Henry Hogan's, which owned the land lying between the CPR yards. Understanding speculative investments such as these would require its own paper, so I will not be dealing with them here. Suffice it to say that, although the holdings are large, the number of actual estates owning significant vacant land was quite limited. Vacant lands were not assessed a rental value by the city, so by focusing on rental income I am restricting my examination to the estates' built properties.

The beneficiaries of only 108 of the 511 male estates and 21 of the 109 female estates were identified on the tax roll. Their profile was, however, remarkably different from those for whom we do not know the beneficiaries. Estates with known beneficiaries were worth a great deal more than those with unknown beneficiaries. The median annual rental income accruing to each known beneficiary of a male estate at $1,350 was three times the median amount of $415 generated by an entire male estate without known beneficiaries.

The holdings of estates with known beneficiaries were primarily in the affluent north-west or in the western parts of the central business district and in the adjacent industrial neighbourhood of Ste-Anne. Many more holdings of estates with unknown beneficiaries were in the popular class neighbourhoods in the south-west and central or eastern parts of the city.

A limited number of estates, 51 male and 21 female, appeared only as co-owners of a property or properties. These entries on the tax roll never identified the beneficiaries but instead listed the names of the other co-owners.

The holdings of female estates were exclusively in the older built neighbourhoods of the city. Both the proportion, roughly a fifth, and the gap separating estates with known and unknown beneficiaries also characterized female estates. Although the value of the female estates was only a little better than half that of male estates, known beneficiaries of female estates also had a median rental income three times the median rental income for the entire female estate where we do not know the beneficiaries. Although certainly not a hard and fast rule, it does appear that city clerks took greater care in identifying potential taxpayers

when the amounts owing were higher. Properties held in co-ownership by female estates were concentrated in the old city.

Women were the known beneficiaries 36% of the time. They were present in roughly equal proportions no matter the number of known beneficiaries to the estate. This proportion is higher than the number of women (31.7%) or number of properties owned by women (24%). It suggests that although certainly not gender-blind, an ethic of equitable treatment of legitimate off-spring characterized this grid of inheritance. After all, a considerable number of these women coming from propertied families would have already received a dowery.

The most frequent marriage regime in turn of the 20th century Montréal continued to be a community of property, with the husband having near exclusive control over the assets of the community. This legal bulwark of the patriarchal order was paralleled by the effective monopoly men exercised over the management of estates. All ten *fidei commis* were men. All thirteen trustees were men. All but one of the twenty-three executors were men. Only one woman was tutrix for her children, while two of the three people enjoying usage rights to a property owned by the estate were women. Indeed, this male dominance may have been a reason to opt for an estate in the first place.

In Québec, women's civil status marked not only their lives, but carried on into their after lives. Being an unmarried woman of the age of majority, married, or widowed mattered and so those both living and dead were properly identified. Except for minor children, only women were assigned a civil status. Of the 109 female estates: 66 were identified as widows, while 22 were identified as wives or late wives. Of the 143 female beneficiaries: 38 were identified as widows, 93 as wives or late wives and 7 as minors.

In strong contrast to the legal practices in the rest of the country, on the 1903 tax roll of Montréal women were identified first with their maiden name and then by who they were married to or widowed by. This underscores the importance of matrilineal lines of descent in the transmission of property. Not a single son-in-law appears as beneficiary in any of the estates, although most would have managed the resultant additions to their community of property. Unless separate as to property, property inherited by women remained their "propre", literally their own, over which they exercised limited rights during marriage, which were fully regained only upon widowhood.

In keeping with the greater value of the estates with known beneficiaries, the male beneficiaries or husbands of female beneficiaries were almost exclusively bourgeois: 29 professionals, 15 gentlemen, 14 bourgeois and only eight people with middling or intermediary occupations. This contrasts quite sharply with the occupational profile of property owners as a whole in the city. There, two groups were prominent but entirely absent from these figures: owners of retail shops, most notably grocers, butchers and bakers, and practitioners of the trades born of industrialisation: building contractors, electricians, plumbers and mechanics.

As one would expect, estates were primarily family affairs, 80% of known beneficiaries can be identified as directly related to the deceased from the information provided on the roll. They were also family affairs in quite a different sense. When estates participated in the

ownership of property with others, 86% of the time they did so with other family members. Clearly, having an estate could be a highly useful asset in developing inter-generational, familial, strategies of capital accumulation.

And this is how we should think of them, as investments. Just as most property owners in turn-of-the-century Montréal did not live where they owned and were themselves tenants, estates managed their properties as investments.

At the turn of the 20th century, Montréal was the North American capital of landlord/tenant relations, with only one in twenty households owning where they lived. To explore these essential relations, MAP has linked 50,771 households of the 1901 census to their lot on our map of *Who owned Montréal in 1903?* As a result, we know how often someone with the same surname as the proprietor, but not the same first name, lived on a property. According to the 1901 census, only 83 of the 3,063 housing units owned by male estates and 12 of the 504 units owned by female estates had an occupant with the same family name as that of the deceased. They account for only two to three percent of tenants. In most cases, we are dealing with a surviving widow continuing to occupy the family home now owned by the estate, such of course was the case with Anglica Raçicot the widow of Arthur Dubuc and her family at 602 Sherbrooke.

Known beneficiaries, both men and women, were overwhelmingly tenants. Eighty-five percent of female beneficiaries and 72 percent of male beneficiaries did not own any property. Many of those that did would also have been tenants. For the minority of property owners, revenue from their properties dwarfed estate revenue. For both male and female proprietors, revenues from the estates averaged only a fifth of their annual rental income.

People chose not to personally use the assets belonging to the estate. I think estate assets were thought of as exchange values, not use values, generating income for the estate and indirectly revenue for the beneficiaries. Those revenues could be used to rent a property more in keeping with the beneficiary's tastes and desires. So, it was not that individualism did not exist, but it was exercised within the constraints of family. Those familial constraints restricted the lives of women far more than those of men.

If we think of property ownership in turn of the century Montréal as primarily a family affair, then the decision to create an estate might well have been influenced by the fact that so few beneficiaries had direct experience in owning property. After all, only a minority of deaths resulted in the creation of an estate. The norm was for properties of a deceased person to be either distributed among the heirs or jointly owned by them. The overwhelming majority of the more than 2,500 properties owned jointly in the city were owned by members of the same family.

The reasoning behind city clerks' choosing to list in detail only certain estates remains obscure. If, however, I am right about the centrality of inter-generational strategies of capital accumulation, then the historical logic governing the relatively small-scale estates without known beneficiaries would be similar. For they too would have limited experience in property ownership.

Propriété et pouvoir dans les quartiers populaires de Montréal au tournant du vingtième siècle.[1]

Aujourd'hui, j'aimerais tirer un bilan préliminaire de l'exercice de pouvoir par les propriétaires locales venant des classes populaires à Montréal. Pour le faire, j'utilise la plus récente partie de l'infrastructure de recherche du Montréal, l'avenir du passé ou MAP : un jumelage entre le recensement de 1901 et la liste confite par la ville des propriétaires en 1903 et publiée en 1904. Nous avons enrichi cette dernière avec les données portant sur la résidence et l'occupation des propriétaires qui apparaissent sur le rôle d'évaluation de 1903 disponible en ligne.

D'abord une mise en garde. Depuis ma collaboration avec Gilles Lauzon au sein du MBHP, pendant les années 80, je suis très sceptique de l'approche dominante dans l'historiographie québécoise concernant les classes populaires montréalaises.[2] Il s'agit d'une approche que Gilles a dénommée misérabiliste et que je considère comme dangereuse, car d'après moi elle ouvre grand la porte à une interprétation nationaliste simpliste, qui nie l'importance des tensions internes caractérisant la nation québécoise d'alors. L'idée qu'il s'agissait d'une nation prolétarisée, comme disaient les pionniers de la science humaine des années 60, confond la division linguistique avec la dichotomie riche et pauvre. Au contraire, je considère que la nation canadienne-française au tournant du 20e siècle évoluait au sein d'une société industrielle moderne avec toutes les complexités sociales et de genres que cela implique.

Notre jumelage entre le recensement de 1901 et la liste des propriétaires de 1903 démontre sans le moindre doute que Montréal fut alors le lieu où les rapports propriétaires-locataires comptaient le plus en Amérique du Nord. Quand seulement un foyer sur huit à New York était simple propriétaire de leur propre maison, à Montréal, ces simples propriétaires ne dénombraient qu'une sur cinquante. Ils sont concentrés dans les quartiers aisés de nord-ouest de la ville, mais il y a un nombre non négligeable dans les quartiers plus récents au nord de la ville.

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1. Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française, St-Jean sur Richelieu, Octobre 2023. La version originale de cette communication montre une cartographie détaillée par titre socio-professionnelle. Elle est disponible comme vidéo sur notre site web : mun.ca\mapm. Ici, afin de réduire le nombre de cartes, j'ai consolidé leur représentation en quatre catégories : petit commerce ; construction ; métiers ; et sans métiers.

2. Terry Copp, Anatomy of Poverty, *The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. Oxford University Press, 1974. Jean De Bonville. *Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit. Les travailleurs montréalais à la fin du XIXe siècle*. Montréal, L'Aurore, 1975. Bettina Bradbury, "The family economy and life in an industrializing city, Montreal in the 1870s." *Historical Papers*, 14, 1979, 71-96. Gordon Darroch & Michael Ornstein, "Family Coresidence in Canada in 1871: Family life cycles, occupations and networks of mutual aid." *Historical Papers*, 18, 1983, 30-55. Bettina Bradbury, "Pigs, Cows and Boarders: Non-Wage Forms of Survival among Montreal Families, 1861-91." *Labour/Le Travail*, 14, 1984, 9-47, *Working Families: Age, Gender, and Daily Survival in Industrializing Montreal*. University of Toronto Press, 1993, 1996 & 2007 & *Familles ouvrières à Montréal. Age, genre et survie quotidienne pendant la phase d'industrialisation*. Montréal, Boréal, 1995. Terry Copp, with Alexander Maavara. *Montreal at War, 1914-1918*. University of Toronto Press, 2022.

Plusieurs de leurs voisins dans les quartiers aisés furent également propriétaires d'une maison unifamiliale, mais en plus de leurs maisons souvent costaudes, ils avaient investi au-delà de 17 millions de dollars dans des propriétés domiciliaires à location. En plus de cette concentration dans le nord-ouest, il y en avait la longue de la rue Sherbrooke jusqu'au corridor Saint-Denis/St-Hubert, le lieu de résidence favori des bourgeois canadiens-français.

Ces propriétaires aisés ne sont pas des propriétaires locales ; ils et elles investissaient loin de leur domicile. Présent partout en ville, il y a néanmoins une ségrégation par genre. Les femmes propriétaires s'écartaient davantage des quartiers les plus défavorisés : St-Gabriel, Papineau, St-Jean Baptiste, Ste-Marie et Hochelaga. Là où reste un tiers des foyers montréalais, mais où ne se trouve qu'à peine une propriété à revenu sur huit de ces femmes propriétaires. Ces femmes approprient plus en loyer que les hommes avec un médian annuel de 360 $ contre seulement 320 $ pour les hommes.

L'idée très répondue que dans les quartiers populaires les rapports propriétaires-locataires sont amicaux, car les proprios restent aux rez-de-chaussée, s'avère un mythe urbain. La vaste majorité des locataires, 84 % des foyers, n'ont pas un propriétaire résident. Là où il y en a, ils sont plutôt des hommes, mais parmi ces propriétaires locaux la ségrégation par genre des propriétaires aisés n'existe pas. Ces duplex et triplex génèrent des loyers médians de 200 $ par ans pour les femmes et de 180 $ pour les hommes.

Même si nettement minoritaires, ces propriétaires, qui occupent un logement dans leur duplex ou leur triplex, sont des propriétaires locales par définition. D'autant plus qu'un tiers de ces gens ont d'autres investissements souvent ailleurs dans le même quartier. Ainsi, à peu près le même nombre de locataires ont un propriétaire local que ceux qui ont un propriétaire résident. Voilà l'origine probable de ce mythe si tenace.

Le résultat le plus surprenant de notre jumelage entre le recensement et la liste des propriétaires est que 57 % des propriétaires n'habitent pas, en 1901, une propriété qu'ils possèdent en 1903. Notre jumelage a réussi à placer huit cents propriétaires de plus sur leur propriété que l'énumération municipale et évidemment la ville avait un intérêt fiscal à identifier correctement les résidents de chaque propriété, ainsi nous sommes persuadés que ce résultat, si surprenant soit-il, est dans ses grandes lignes valables.

Il y avait deux ans entre la confection de mes deux sources. Ainsi des propriétés vacantes en 1901 peuvent être occupées en 1903. Alors quelqu'un qui devient propriétaire résident après avril 1901 serait classé parmi les propriétaires non-résidents. Ainsi, mon collègue Gilles Lauzon suggère de la caution. À la suite d'études ponctuelles dans plusieurs autres sources, il pense que nous devons inverser ces proportions, donc une répartition plutôt 40/60 que 60/40. Comme nous allons voir, le comportement des propriétaires venant des classes populaires lui donne raison.

Les rôles d'évaluation fournissent les occupations de sept sur dix des hommes qui possèdent une propriété bâtie, mais les occupations de leur mari que de trois sur dix des femmes propriétaires. Ces informations partielles sont cependant presque complètes pour les propriétaires résidents. La répartition sociale des propriétaires résidents : simple, aisée ou corésidents est très différent. Alors que les bourgeois et les petit bourgeois comptent pour plus que la moitié des propriétaires aisées, ils comptent pour moins d'une cinquième des propriétaires corésidents.

Qui sont les propriétaires locaux et quel pouvoir exercent-ils? D'abord, il s'agit la plupart de temps des gens venant du petit commerce, des métiers de la construction ou des métiers spécialisés. Résidents de quartier, en générale, ces propriétaires locaux ne remplissent pas des fonctions importantes ni à l'église paroissiale ni à l'administration municipale. Pourtant, ils remplissent des fonctions socialement reconnues au sein du peuple, auxquelles s'ajoutent des investissements immobiliers souvent importants. Il y a des propriétaires sans métiers, mais ils sont nettement minoritaires.

J'ai retenu vingt-deux titres socioprofessionnels des gens venant des classes populaires, afin de faire une analyse plus poussée de leurs portefeuilles. Les résultats sont présentés en annexe du présent article. Alors que l'analyse de leurs distributions spatiales n'est disponible que sur notre site web. Ici, je ne présente qu'une cartographie des quatre grandes catégories, avec une nuance. Je distingue entre les gars de la construction et les entrepreneurs, ou « builders », car ces derniers ont une distribution spatiale unique.

Parmi les sans métiers, des dizaines de milliers de travailleur.euse.s des usines brillent par leur absence. Il n'y a que quatre ouvriers et douze gardes moteurs propriétaires, mais 84 contremaîtres. Même la pluralité de journaliers fait piètre figure quand on se rappelle les dizaines de milliers de journaliers qui travaillent dans le port et les gares de triage, en construction et ailleurs. En tout, les sans métiers ne représentent qu'un propriétaire sur vingt. Saint Louis, entre boulevard St-Laurent à la rue St-Denis au sud de Duluth, qui fut depuis un siècle le quartier le plus lié aux sans métiers, n'a que très peu de propriétaires sans métiers. Ailleurs, les sans métiers ne sont surtout présent qu'à Papineau, au sud de parc Lafontaine, et plus à l'est en Ste-Marie.

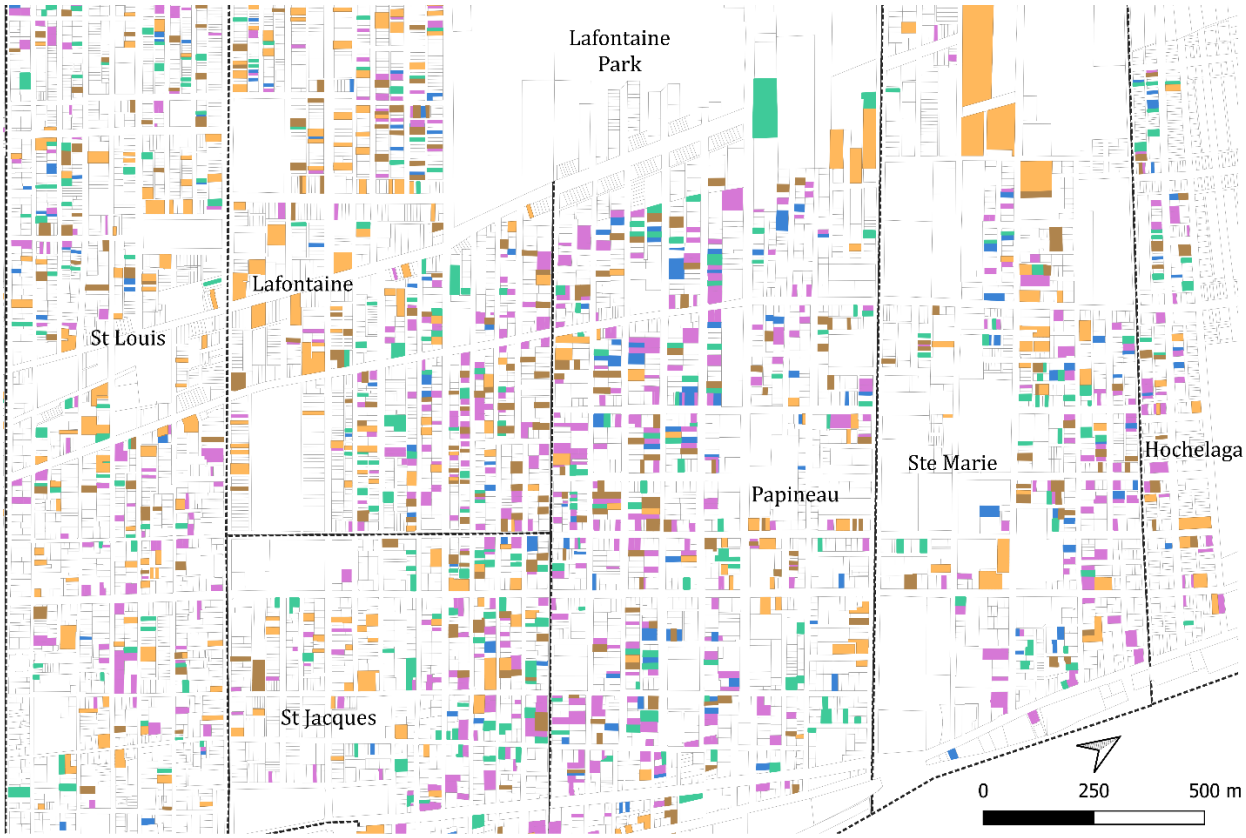
Dans l'autre grande concentration de journaliers, chez les Irlandais catholiques à Griffintown, au nord du canal Lachine dans Ste-Anne, il y a encore moins de sans métiers qu'à St-Louis. La plupart des constables sont dans le nord de la ville : 14 à St-Jean-Baptiste, 19 à Duvernay et 23 à St-Denis. Alors que des 230 propriétés bâties appartenant aux journaliers St Jean-Baptiste ne compte que pour 16, Duvernay pour 15 et St-Denis pour 36. Le revenu médian d'un chef de foyer masculin en 1901 n'était que 500 $. Ainsi, pour ces quatre cent cinquante propriétaires modestes, le revenu venant des loyers n'était certes pas négligeable.

Les occupations les plus fréquentes parmi les propriétaires venant des métiers spécialisés ne sont pas très nombreuses. Ces hommes préfèrent, et de loin, les propriétés occupées et, comme l'immense majorité des propriétaires venant des classes populaires, lorsqu'ils possèdent un terrain vacant, ce n'est pas un lot spéculatif en périphérie, mais bien au centre des quartiers peuplés. En générale, ils semblent être des propriétaires résidents, mais le fait que nous disposons des titres socioprofessionnels surtout des résidents porte à caution. D'où l'importance de la majorité de non-résidents chez les mouleurs et surtout les tailleurs. Les femmes propriétaires qui s'identifient comme épouse ou veuve d'un gars de métiers sont nettement minoritaires. À l'exception des tailleurs, les loyers ne fournissent que des revenus d'appoint, en moyenne entre 160 $ et 240 $ dollars par année. Les tailleurs, cependant, en récoltent un médian de 320 $ et une moyenne de 550 $.

Avec seulement un locataire sur vingt-cinq, ces gens de métiers semblent relativement peu importants, cependant ils sont éparpillés dans tous les quartiers populaires. Ils pratiquent une si grande variété de métiers, qu'il y a une absence notable de concentrations par métier.

Ils possèdent des propriétés sur les rues résidentielles nord-sud au lieu des rues commerciales est-ouest. Dans le sud-ouest la situation est différente. Au tour des installations du Grand Tronc à la Pointe St-Charles, les métiers de la métallurgie et des chemins de fer ont une présence certaine. Alors que dans le quartier relativement récent de St-Jean-Baptiste et dans les nouveaux quartiers de Duvernay et de Saint-Denis, ils sont présents comme propriétaires sur toutes les rues résidentielles.

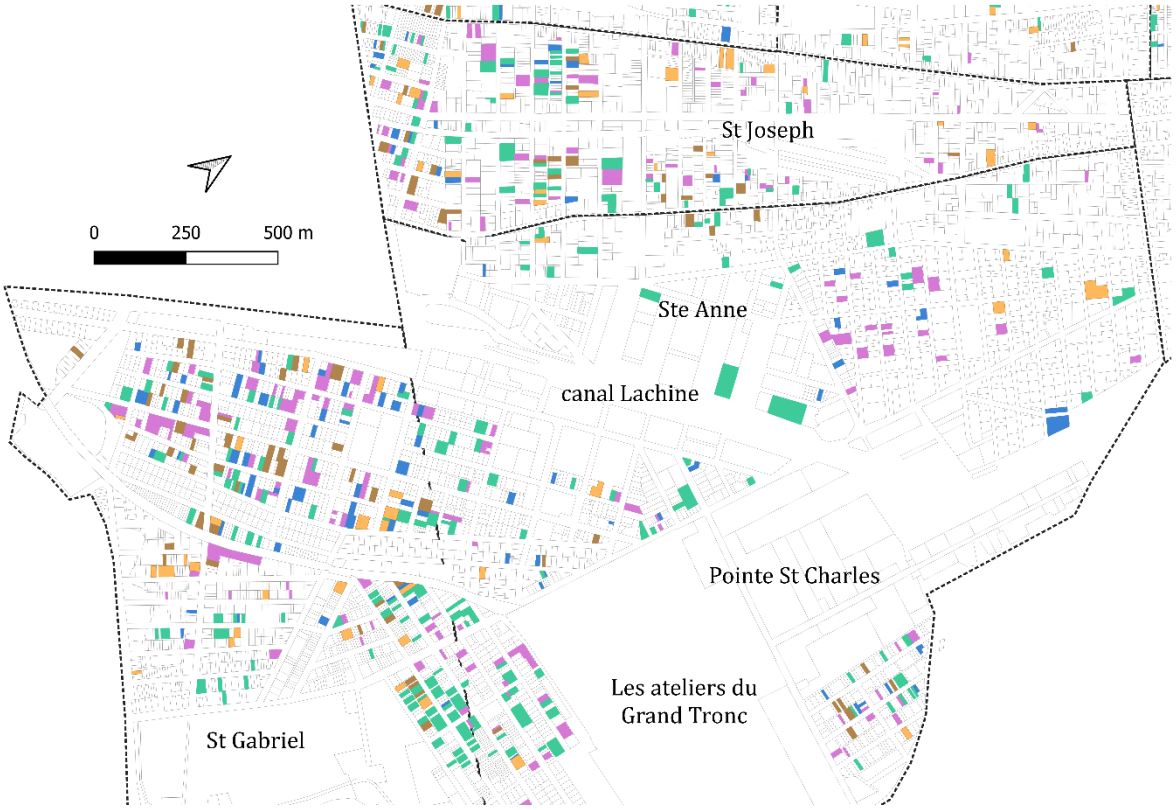
Les propriétés bâties appartenant aux classes populaires dans les quartiers centraux de Montréal.



Les gens des **métiers**, les **sans métiers**, les gars de la **construction**, les **entrepreneurs** et les **petits commerçants**.

Le contraste avec les métiers de la construction est remarquable. D'abord, tous les métiers sont suffisamment importants qu'ils méritent notre attention. Parmi les métiers proprement dits, il y a une variété de situations. Les briquetiers ont légèrement plus que deux locataires chacun fournissant des loyers de 130 $. Alors que les couvreurs, avec une moyenne de cinq locataires, ont un loyer médian de 340 $ par an. En haut de l'échelle se trouvent les entrepreneurs avec, en moyenne, huit locataires et un loyer médian de 580 $ par an. Chose remarquable, même pas six sur dix de ces gens de la construction résidaient chez eux en 1901. Chez les entrepreneurs de la construction, seulement 47 % sont des propriétaires résidents en 1901. Sans doute pour plusieurs d'entre eux, c'est les loyers venant de leurs locataires qui les permettaient de louer une résidence plus prestigieuse.

Les propriétés bâties des classes populaires dans le sud-ouest.

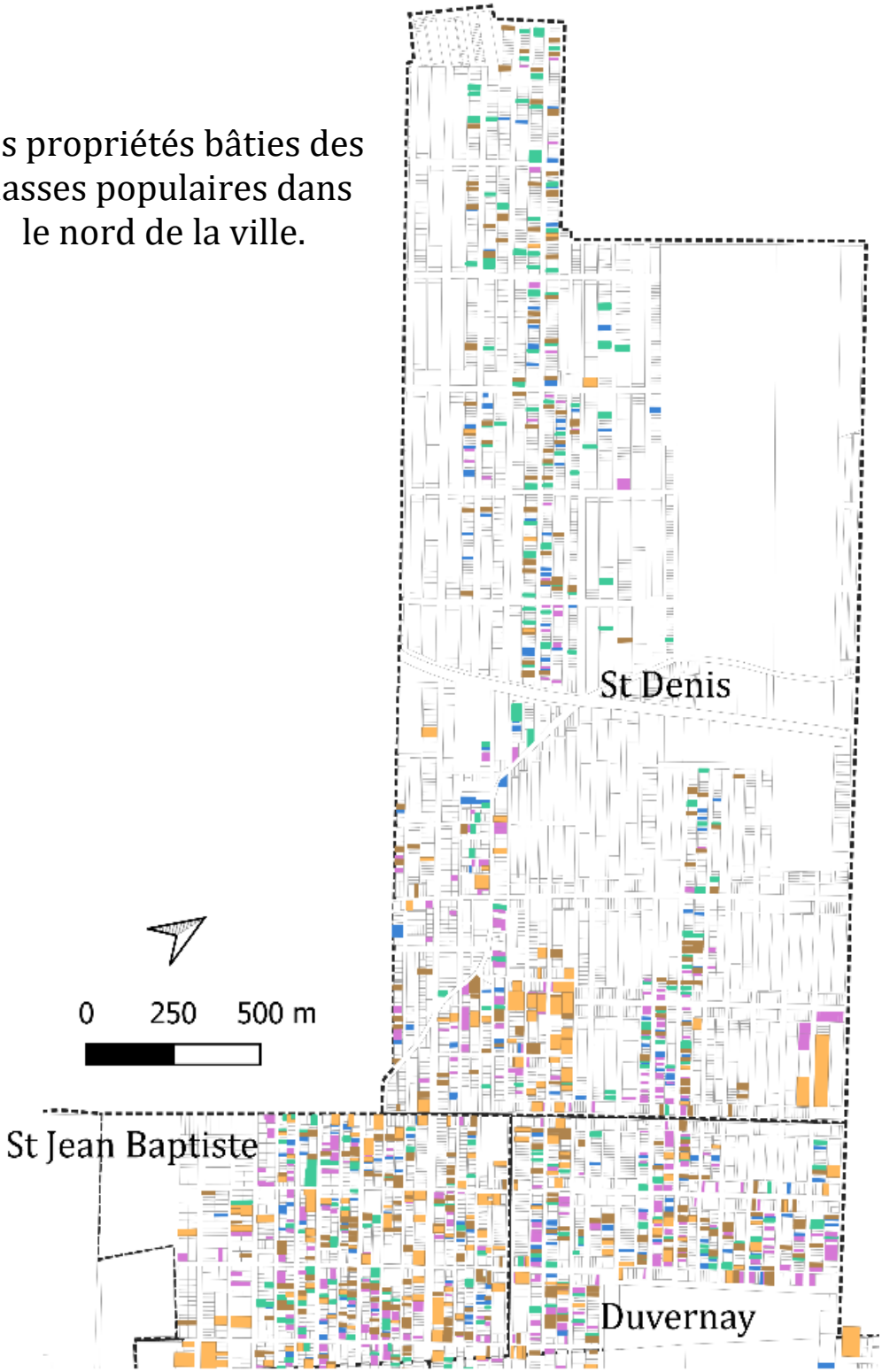


À l'exception des plombiers les gens des métiers de la construction se concentrent dans un seul des quartiers centraux, Papineau. Alors que les entrepreneurs de la construction investissent partout. C'est surtout dans les quartiers récents de St Jean Baptiste, Duvernay et la partie sud de St-Denis où se trouvent les propriétés des gens de métiers de la construction. Bien que les entrepreneurs de la construction sont très présents dans St-Jean-Baptiste, ils sont quasiment absents de la partie nord de St-Denis. Avec presque deux tiers des propriétés appartenant aux gars de la construction, c'est les menuisiers/charpentiers qui sont le plus en présence à Petite Patrie, le plus souvent avec une maison « shoe-box » de leur propre fabrication. Les entrepreneurs sont également plutôt absents de la partie occidentale de la Pointe, l'ancienne municipalité de St Gabriel, et au nord-ouest du canal Lachine, bien qu'ils soient présents à Saint-Joseph et ailleurs à la Pointe St-Charles.

J'ai retenu sept titres socioprofessionnels venant du petit commerce. Avec la variété de situations, ces petits commerçants ressemblent plutôt aux gens de la construction qu'aux ceux des autres métiers. En bas de l'échelle, il y a les laitiers et les charretiers qui ont entre deux et trois foyers de locataires chacun et ne tirent des loyers qu'au tour de 175 $ par ans. À une échelle nettement plus élevée, il y a les boulangers, les bijoutiers, les bouchers et les hôteliers, avec au tour de quatre locataires chacun, ils ont un loyer médian de 335 $ à 410 $ par ans. Seuls les bouchers ont, toute proportion gardée, un nombre important de

terrains vacants, et il se peut que ce soit pour engraisser leurs cheptels. C'est les épiciers qui sont les plus importants propriétaires avec une moyenne de huit foyers de locataires chacun.

Les propriétés bâties des classes populaires dans le nord de la ville.



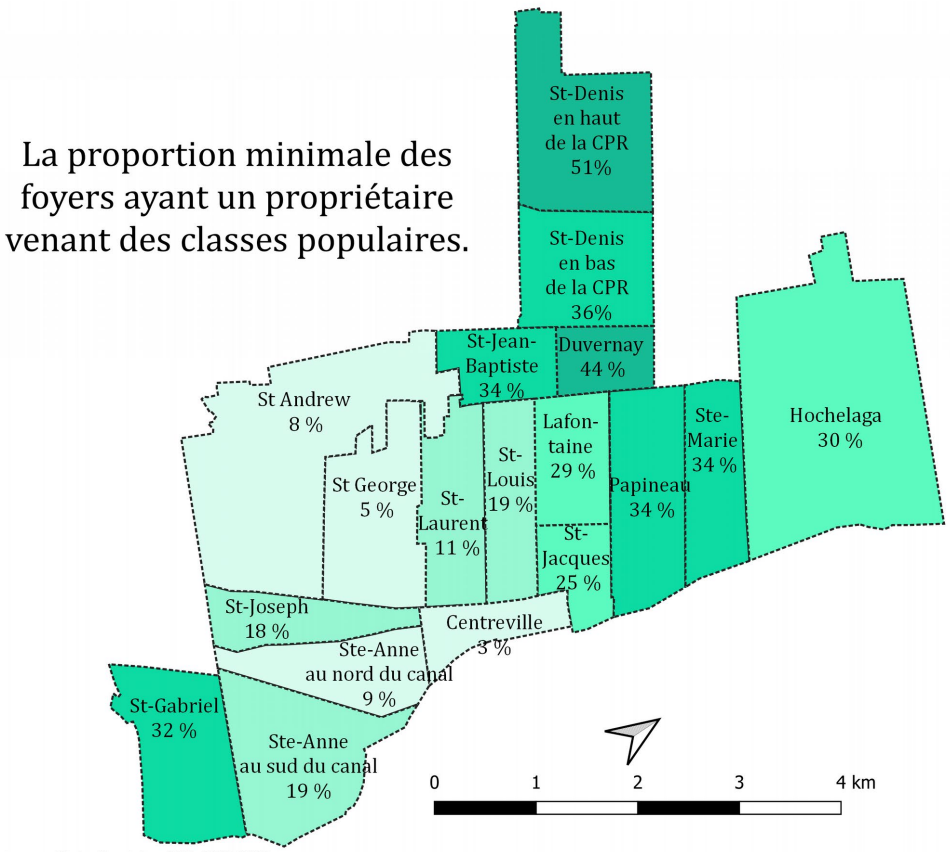
Tous ces petits commerçants, à l'exception des laitiers, font bonne figure dans les quartiers centraux, de boulevard St Laurent jusqu'à Frontenac. Enraciné dans les parties populaires des quartiers centraux, la plupart y résident sur des rues résidentielles, mais détiennent un nombre important de propriétés sur des rues commerciales comme Ontario, Lafontaine, de Montigny et même Dorchester.

Dans les quartiers St-Jean-Baptiste, Duvernay et le sud de Saint-Denis, il y a beaucoup moins d'hôteliers, mais bon nombre de laitiers, dont 29 propriétés à Duvernay. Alors que les charretiers ont 27 à St-Jean-Baptiste et 18 à Duvernay. Les bouchers, les boulangers et les épiciers continuent de faire bonne figure dans ces quartiers densément peuplés et où ils résident. Mais dans le nord de St-Denis, seuls les charretiers apparaissent fréquemment.

Dans le sud-ouest, cette présence remarquable des petits commerçants desservant le quartier tien bon pour la Pointe St-Charles et Saint-Joseph. Cependant, ailleurs, à l'exception des charretiers concentrés sur quelques îlots de Sainte-Anne au nord du canal Lachine, la présence des petits commerçants propriétaires se fait plutôt rare.

Une similitude entre tous les propriétaires venant des classes populaires concerne les propriétés vacantes. Ils achètent un lot dans les quartiers populaires en vue de la construction prochaine d'une maison. Même les entrepreneurs de la construction sont absents des vastes étendus de terrains vacants à Saint-Denis et à Hochelaga. Dans la Petite Patrie, au nord de la CPR à Saint-Denis, alors qu'un nouveau quartier en pleine expansion, il s'y trouve une propriété vacante sur six des gars de la construction, un quart des propriétés vacantes appartenant aux ceux et celles qui ont un petit commerce, plus d'un quart des propriétés vacantes de ceux des autres métiers et quatre sur dix des propriétés vacantes appartenant aux sans métiers.

En guise de conclusion à ce bilan préliminaire, je vous présente cette synthèse. Je tiens à souligner le fait qu'il s'agit des proportions minimales vu le nombre de titres socioprofessionnels manquants. Néanmoins, il est clair que souvent, et dans l'est et le nord de la ville très souvent, les rapports propriétaires/locataires sont des rapports au sein des classes populaires. Ces locataires versent en loyer 1,2 million de dollars par an à leurs propriétaires. À l'encontre des autres propriétaires, ici c'est davantage un rapport entre hommes. Les femmes ne font que 9 % des propriétaires venant des classes populaires, alors que chez les autres classes sociales elles constituent 35 %. Si le nord de Saint-Denis fait figure d'exception, car la plupart de ses rapports propriétaires/locataires sont au sein des classes populaires et en toute probabilité locale, dans l'est, dans le nord et dans St-Gabriel et la partie ouest de Saint-Joseph, les proportions sont néanmoins significatives. Cependant, au nord du canal Lachine, à Griffintown, lieu de naissance de la classe ouvrière canadienne et cœur de la communauté irlandaise catholique, les propriétaires venant des classes populaires se font presque aussi rares que dans le Golden Square Mile.



Source: Les rapports propriétaire/locataire, 1901. MAP, 2023.

Les maris de femmes propriétaires et les propriétaires mâles identifiés comme venant des classes populaires.

Sans métiers							
Titre socio-professionnel	Nbre de propriétés	Nbre occupé en 1901	Nbre d' hommes	Nbre de femmes	Nbre de propriétaires résidents	Nbre de foyers de locataires	Loyer médian en $
Constable	115	92	91	1	31	177	185
Journalier	246	230	188	12	118	461	160
Autre sans métiers	240	222	147	12	82	405	190
TOTALS	601	544	426	25	231	1043	180

Ayant un métier							
Titre socio-professionnel	Nbre de propriétés	Nbre occupé en 1901	Nbre d' hommes	Nbre de femmes	Nbre de propriétaires résidents	Nbre de foyers de locataires	Loyer médian en $
Imprimeur	47	42	31	2	15	56	160
Ébéniste	46	40	20	-	17	79	260
Mouleur	42	37	29	-	11	81	185
Tailleur	85	76	52	9	20	147	320
Machiniste	87	72	59	6	34	149	220
Forgeron	114	97	64	5	44	200	215
Chef de train	142	132	94	5	54	250	215
Cordonnier	149	130	102	4	57	258	190
59 autre métiers	329	369	254	22	127	707	240
TOTALS	1 142	995	705	53	252	1 897	220

Métiers de la construction

Titre socio-professionnel	Nbre de propriétés	Nbre occupé en 1901	Nbre d' hommes	Nbre de femmes	Nbre de propriétaires résidents	Nbre de foyers de locataires	Loyer médian en $
Couvreur	41	34	16	4	13	65	340
Briquetier	43	34	33	1	23	78	130
Plâtrier	34	32	23	1	11	114	195
Maçon ou Tailleur de pierre	102	84	72	5	46	118	120
Plombier	178	163	59	12	30	349	210
Menuisier/ Charpentier	500	437	309	23	178	939	190
Entrepreneur	1 201	934	221	36	122	2 100	580
TOTALS	2 209	1 814	697	87	456	4 061	300

Petit commerce

Titre socio-professionnel	Nbre de propriétés	Nbre occupé en 1901	Nbre d' hommes	Nbre de femmes	Nbre de propriétaires résidents	Nbre de foyers de locataires	Loyer médian en $
Bijoutier	78	60	18	4	11	149	335
Hôtelier	85	82	49	4	13	202	410
Laitier	121	106	82	3	36	215	180
Boulanger	124	120	54	5	35	305	305
Charretier	258	234	167	13	105	502	170
Boucher	342	298	153	14	80	775	410
Épicier	527	476	151	23	117	1 404	400
Autres titres	101	85	53	4	21	191	390
TOTALS	1 639	1 460	726	70	418	4 117	300

Linking owners and tenants:
Montréal at the turn-of-the-20th century.[1]

This paper presents substantively revised estimates of the number of owner-occupied homes in Montréal, the leading centre of landlord\tenant relations in turn-of-the-century North America. When only one in eight New York households were simple homeowners, they were as few as one in fifty in Montréal. Now, revision is a normal part of quantitative analysis, but this case is somewhat different. The revised figures result from a change in method from machine to manual linkage. By reverting to a much older method, I discovered not just many more owner-occupiers than revealed by a machine linkage, but qualitatively different social patterns. These new patterns lead me to ask if our sociologically inspired research categories inadvertently obscure social history.

Just before the pandemic, *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* or MAP completed a linkage of 99.7% of the heads of household on the 1901 census to their lot on our map of who owned Montréal in 1903. Only 163 households could not be placed on the map. We placed 6,517 female household heads and 44,619 male household heads on their respective lots. With this addition to our research infrastructure, we can explore in detail landlord/tenant relations for an entire industrial city.

The spatial distribution of male and female headed households is instructive. (See page 71). Women account for better than in one five households in the affluent north-west, with a particularly evident concentration in the townhouses south of McGill University. The sparsely populated city centre had one in seven. In both the much more densely inhabited south-western wards, below the GTR tracks, and the central wards, from Boulevard St Laurent to Papineau, women headed one in eight households. In the newer, only partially settled, wards to the north of Lafontaine Park and to the east of Papineau, in Ste-Marie and Hochelaga, women accounted for only one in ten to one in thirteen heads.

There is a widespread mythology about popular-class housing in Montréal. People assume away the historical significance of tenancy, by thinking that most proprietors occupied the ground floor flat in the city's thousands of duplexes and triplexes. My earlier analysis of who owned the city showed that this could not possibly have been the case, so my initial analysis using the linked census and ownership data focused on who owned where they lived. I machine-linked the surname of household heads to the detailed listing of the owner of the property, which provided both the maiden and married names of the more than three thousand female proprietors. The skewed distribution of those who simply owned their own home is remarkable. Simple homeowners were very heavily concentrated in those parts of St Andrew, St George and St Laurent wards above the escarpment. They were also to be found in the recently created suburbs of the northern wards. The most striking aspect of this distribution was the very high proportion of women. Fully 44% of these 802 single homeowners were women and they were most in evidence in the petty bourgeois and bourgeois neighbourhoods surrounding McGill in the north-west.

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1. Social Science History Association, Washington, D.C., November 2023.

The 794 landlords and landladies who owned their own home as well as other rental properties in the city showed an even heavier concentration in the north-west. Only a little over a quarter of whom were landladies to a thousand tenant households, while the landlords had 3,425 tenant households. These relatively affluent households were also present east long Sherbrooke Street joining up with the largely French-Canadian bourgeois corridor between St-Denis and St-Hubert Streets, running north from the city centre. Absent from elsewhere in the heavily populated central wards, they were relatively rare in the newer suburban wards, save for the northern reaches of St Denis and St Hubert Streets and Rushbrooke, the only street in the Pointe of mostly single-family dwellings.

Landlords and landladies resident in these popular class wards were much more likely to occupy a flat in a duplex or a triplex. They were remarkably absent from the north-west, the north and Hochelaga in the east. In contrast to their wealthier counterparts occupying their own home, here 291 landladies lived alongside 630 tenants, while 513 landlords shared their lot with 970 tenants. This machine linkage showed an exceptionally low presence of owner-occupiers of the tenements where most people lived. The surprising conclusion was clear: better than three quarters of property owners did not live where they owned; per force, many were themselves tenants.

Shortly after presenting these results, I was approached by a colleague at UQAM, Martin Petitclerc, who led a team exploring the usage of hospitals in late 19th and early 20th century Montréal. Their path-breaking work had not been very successful at linking hospital admissions to the census returns. Their machine-linked soundex resulted in only one in five admissions being linked to a census household. We both thought that with MAP's geo-located data we would be much more successful.

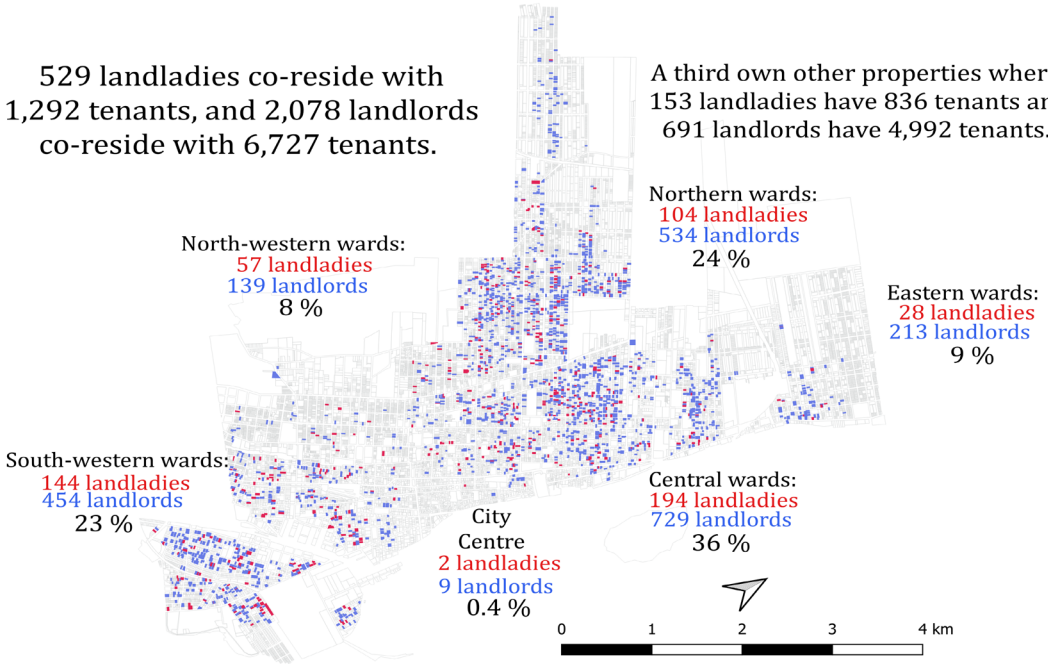
We focused on the French-language, lay, Notre Dame hospital, located in the eastern ward of the city centre and succeeded in placing 488 female patients, 602 male patients and two of uncertain gender on their lot in the city. Notre Dame drew patients from all the predominately Catholic popular class neighbourhoods south of the escarpment and considerably more than a scattering to the north where l'Hôtel Dieu, the city's oldest hospital, was located. However, almost half the people (1041/2133) being admitted to Notre Dame in 1901 escaped our grasp. To say this bothered me would be an understatement. It ate away at me. If a machine-linkage could miss so many people, then what confidence should anyone have in the coverage a very similar technique had shown for owner-occupied housing?

Manually verifying 51,136 household heads against 11,780 individual property owners was a time-consuming project that was only possible because MAP is currently not dependent on peer-reviewed funding and both principals are retired. In short, this is not a strategy I would recommend for anyone struggling to attain tenure. It is also a subjective process, as following possible linkages drawn from a stretch along the north side of St Antoine Street indicate. Is Mary Donovan in 1901 the same person as the deceased Mary Grant, widow of Michael Donovan in 1903? How does one handle Thomas Kinsella's co-ownership of the two properties at 237 to 241 St Antoine when, according to the census, he lived at 241? Is the Rebecca Ellery at 243 St Antoine in 1901 related to Patrick O'Leary owner of the property in 1903?

The reassessment resulted in significant changes to each of my three categories. Everywhere simple homeowners increased, but particularly in the popular class wards in the north and the southwest. This increase was, however, highly gendered. While the number of women who simply owned their own home remained stable, male homeowners increased from 447 to 722. In part this was due to a change in categorisation. If an owner had other properties, but they were vacant and immediately adjacent to their residence, I considered it their garden and treated them as simple homeowners; a subtlety facilitated by the manual technique used. Most new entries were in the suburban northern wards.

Manual linkage identified 1,080 simple homeowners, so only one in fifty of the city's households escaped the landlord/tenant nexus. Slightly more than half were in the north-west, where at 45% women were a significant presence. Accounting for gardens raised the proportion of homeowners in the suburban northern wards to a sixth of the city's total. Roughly equal in number to the much more densely populated central and south-western wards. There were none in the city centre and only 2% in the eastern wards. Overall, just under a third of these simple homeowners were women.

Landlords and landladies resident in their own homes declined by a fifth, with the most significant changes in the central and northern wards. The machine-linked people had been correctly identified as occupants, but upon closer inspection they were often shown to share their property with other households. A case-by-case examination furthermore allowed for the correct classification of bourgeois homes where co-resident households were often domestic servants. Landladies accounted for more than half of those living in the north-west, but only slightly more than a quarter overall. Reflecting the importance of the bourgeois corridor of St Denis/St Hubert, almost a quarter of these affluent property owners lived in the city's central wards.



The biggest change was in co-resident landlords and landladies, who increased from 804 to 2,708. The dramatic increase in all the popular class wards was most in evidence in the central wards. This is the basis for the myth about the landlord living downstairs. And yet fewer than one in six tenant households in Montreal lived on the same property as their landlord or landlady. The overwhelming majority, 84%, did not. Now two-thirds of these co-resident owners owned only a single residential property, but the holdings of the other third were large enough to increase the number of tenants households by almost 6,000. As smaller portfolios tended to be concentrated in a single parish, almost one in seven tenant households may have had as their landlord or landlady one of these co-resident proprietors, living elsewhere in their neighbourhood.

What difference did this change in method make? Single homeowners increased by 35%, with almost all the newly identified homeowners being male. Landlords and landladies living in their own homes declined by 18%, equitably for both genders. While the co-resident owners increased by a whopping 211%. Landladies tripled in number, while landlords quadrupled.

The shift to manual linkage did two equally important things. First it increased by 73% the number of known owner-occupiers. Second it changed the relative importance of ownership, from three roughly equal categories to co-resident owners representing two thirds of all owner-occupiers. As a result, the class nature of property ownership was qualitatively different than had first appeared.

The median value of owner-occupied properties, by religion.

Type	Method	Protestants		Catholics		Jews[2]	
		#	$	#	$	#	$
Single home-owners	Machine	489	5,500	300	2,000	11	5,500
	Manually	624	5,500	438	1,840	16	5,200
Homeowners with multiple properties	Machine	302	6,500	482	3,500	8	9,000
	Manually	283	7,500	362	4,000	5	10,000
Co-resident owners	Machine	133	4,500	666	2,600	4	6,250
	Manually	351	3,600	2242	2,800	5	5,750
Total and pro-portion of owners	Machine	924 or 31%		1,448 or 19%		23 or 31%	
	Manually	1,258 or 38%		3,042 or 36%		33 or 37%	

The significant differences in the value of owner-occupied properties by religion was most in evidence among those in the two categories who did not share their lot with another household. Now these Protestants did tend to live primarily in the north-western wards,

2. This relative wealth of the Jewish proprietors is, however, misleading, for they came overwhelmingly from the more than century-old Sephardic community resident in the northwest. These people were not major owners of the tenements where the much larger, recently arrived, Ashkenazi lived further east as tenants in St Louis ward.

not just in the famed Golden Square Mile but also in the adjacent petty bourgeois neighbourhoods, while many of the Catholic single homeowners were resident in the newer northern suburbs. These differences structured class reproduction in turn-of-the-century Montréal, as the differing public, but confessional, school systems were financed by a flat tax on assessed properties.

These differences in value by religion held true across the board. The median values of all properties linked as residential by the census were $5,000 for Protestant-owned properties, $4,500 for Jewish-owned properties, but only $3,000 for Catholic-owned properties. Catholics constituted 70% of the people owning property.

In the highly charged political atmosphere that is Québécois historiography, the machine-based finding that close to a third of Protestants were owner-occupiers, whereas fewer than a fifth of Catholics were, would necessarily have fuelled our seemingly endless, essentialist debates. On the other hand, the neutralizing effect of the manual-linkage finding that there was no religious proclivity in homeownership is not to be understated. Nonetheless, these remarkable differences shed new light on the question of accessibility. After all, with the median male head of household's income at $500, a modest home was certainly not beyond the means of many working-class families. Suggesting that why so many chose tenancy over home ownership is what needs to be explained.

Throughout the city, most landlords and landladies chose not to live where they owned: 3,462 men, landlords to 16,278 tenant households, do not live on any of the 5,606 occupied properties that they own in the city; while 1,800 women, landladies to 7,545 tenant households, do not live on any of the 2,876 occupied properties they own in the city.

The manual-linkage of the census to the tax roll found that 57% of the people owning residential property in 1903 had not lived in 1901 on any of their properties. Considerably reduced from the machine linkage of three quarters, these non-resident proprietors are the majority in all wards of the city. I interpret this to mean that most property owners were investors. For both landlords and landladies exchange value had trumped use value.

This finding has already engendered a stimulating debate among the city's social historians. Two years can see many changes in a family's economy and so Gilles Lauzon urges caution. Based on highly detailed spot checks using a rich variety of sources, he suggests that to be on the safe side we inverse the proportions, so 40/60 rather than 60/40. But even at this conservative reading, non-resident proprietors greatly outnumbered any landlords living downstairs.

An additional benefit of my manual verification is that it allowed me to identify all those households where a household head shared a family name, but not a first name, with the known proprietor. Undoubtedly, some of these properties, perhaps as many as several hundred, housed owners, mostly women, who were not considered as household heads by the census enumerators, while 96 appear to be relations occupying a property owned by the estate of a deceased family member. This leaves us with five to six hundred cases where the tenant might well have been related to the owner. Now, the idea of allowing a relation to reside on a property one owns is an example of use value. What's surprising is that we have

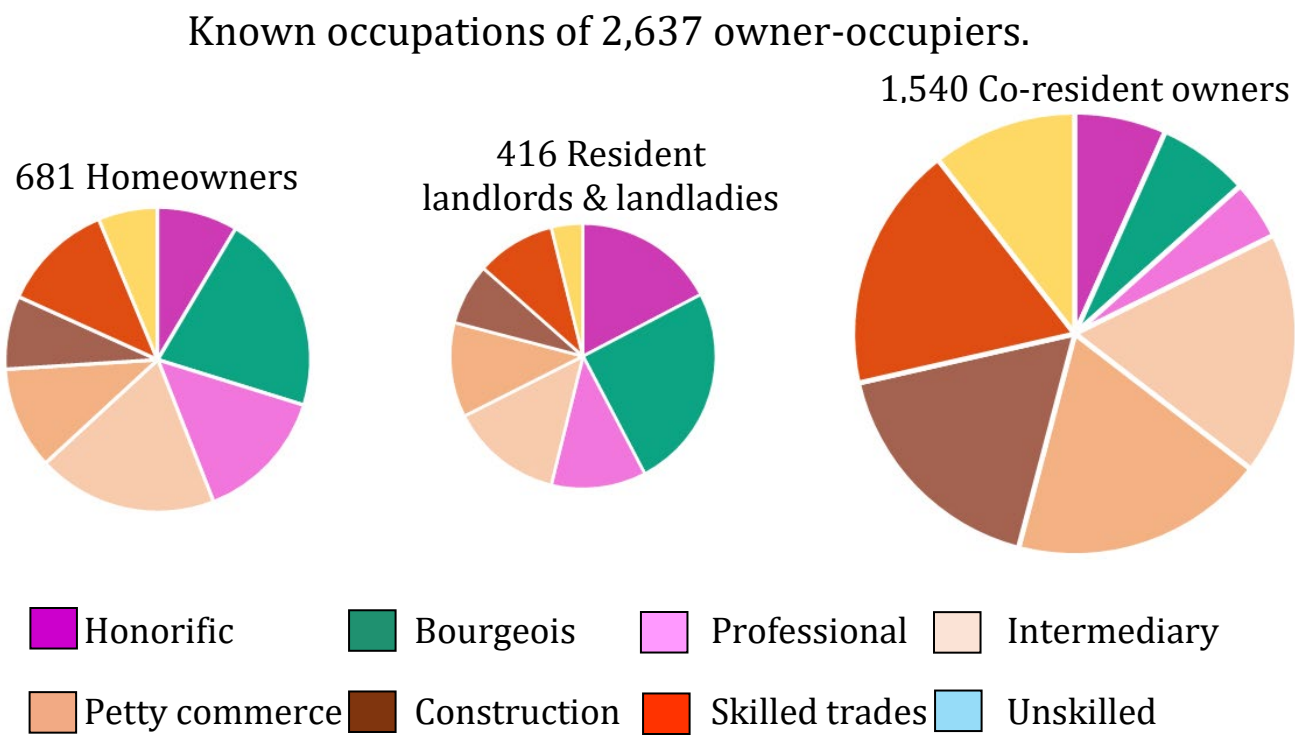
so very few potential family ties. Only one in fifty known tenants and one in twenty owners were at all likely to have been related.

The online roll of owners for 1903 contains several categories that were not included in the city publication that had served as the basis for MAP's *Who owned Montréal in 1903?* The pandemic provided me with the opportunity to enrich our database with this additional information on the addresses and occupations of owners.

The tax roll frequently provided an address for the owner, even if it was in some cases simply where to send the tax bill, rather than proof of residence. Many more owners, 695 males and 283 females, were identified as occupiers by linking them to the heads of household in the census than by solely relying on those identified on the roll. Analysis of the addresses revealed that residence was a key factor in whom the city enumerators chose to identify by their occupation. Initially, there no apparent logic to the occupational data, but the shift to manual linkage revealed a logic that I had missed in my machine-linkage.

Number of people who own property		Number listed with an occupation		Number of owner-occupiers with an occupation			
				Machine		Manually	
Males	8,052	5,331	66%	1,139	74%	3,190	97%
Females	3,341	922	29%	190	22%	1043	99%

Across all three groups of owners, the provision of occupation for male owner-occupiers was identical, at 80%. This historical logic of the roll only became evident by manual linking the owners. As city employees made their yearly rounds and encountered an owner-occupier, they asked for this additional information, just as they normally did for the tenants, in order to complete the city's roll of occupants.



The differing social composition of my three categories of owners further underscores the importance of the new figures. Bourgeois, petty-bourgeois and those aspiring to be account for half of the simple homeowners. Whereas better than half of the landlords or the husbands of the landladies, who solely occupied their own home, were either bourgeois or petty bourgeois; fewer than a fifth of the co-resident owners were. There, the popular classes dominate, with both petty commerce and the construction trades figuring prominently.

Five quick observations. First, the almost complete absence of factory workers, save for the 84 foremen owning 118 properties. Second, of the tens of thousands of labourers, a fifth of Montréal's labour-force, only 121 owned their own home. At 76, police constables were far more likely to access property than labourers. Third, admittedly grocers, bakers, butchers, carters, and milk dealers in petty commerce and blacksmiths, a leading occupation in the trades, did not require ownership of a property, but as they were often reliant on either familial labour or horses, their work was certainly compatible with property ownership. Fourth, the skilled trades are not, except for the construction trades, anywhere near as prominent here as they are in North American labour historiography. Furthermore, many of these owner-occupiers practised trades that were the result of industrialisation: most notably engineers, machinists, mechanics and plumbers. Fifth, there is little support for the widely held assumption that petty-bourgeois professionals characterized the bourgeois presence within urban French-Canadian society.

Clearly, the complexity of access to property by members of the popular classes in this overwhelmingly tenant city belies simple explanation. Nevertheless, this does not appear to be an historical situation easily understood in terms of the classic sociological distinctions of skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled workers. Whatever the utility of this distinction may be for post-war America, it fails to do justice to the variety of relationships to property that characterized turn-of the-20th-century Montréal. To properly understand how access to property intersects with class, gender and our relationship to the rest of nature, we need historically grounded categories of analysis.

Making sense of overcrowding.[1]

The statistical measure of two persons per room was developed in the late-19th century to analyse chronic overcrowding in the major cities of the North Atlantic. London, Paris and New York all had neighbourhoods averaging more than two people per room. Quickly, a consensus developed that this was at least double the preferred norm of one room per person. In 1897, Montréal Alderman Herbert Ames conducted a survey of living conditions in the popular class south-western wards of St Joseph, Ste-Anne and St-Antoine between the CPR tracks and the Lachine Canal, which he published as *The City Below the Hill*. He argued that here overcrowding was the exception rather than the rule; a finding confirmed in 1901 by the first census to record the number of rooms. It showed a city-wide average of one room per person.

Popular understandings of overcrowding have long suggested otherwise. Here two factors have combined to support an out-dated "misèrabliste" historiography of working-class conditions at the turn of the century. First, people assume that large families were a near universal, whereas by 1901 the median household size was down to five, from seven at mid-century, with only one in twenty families having six or more children living at home. Second, the very real housing crisis of the late-1930s and 1940s has left an indelible mark on the popular imagination. Oral history interviews for the past twenty years evoke a rare unanimity on this point. We tend to project these eye-witness accounts, as well as the highly evocative fictions of a Michel Tremblay or a Mordecai Richler, back onto an earlier past that was not only different, but at least in this regard considerably better.

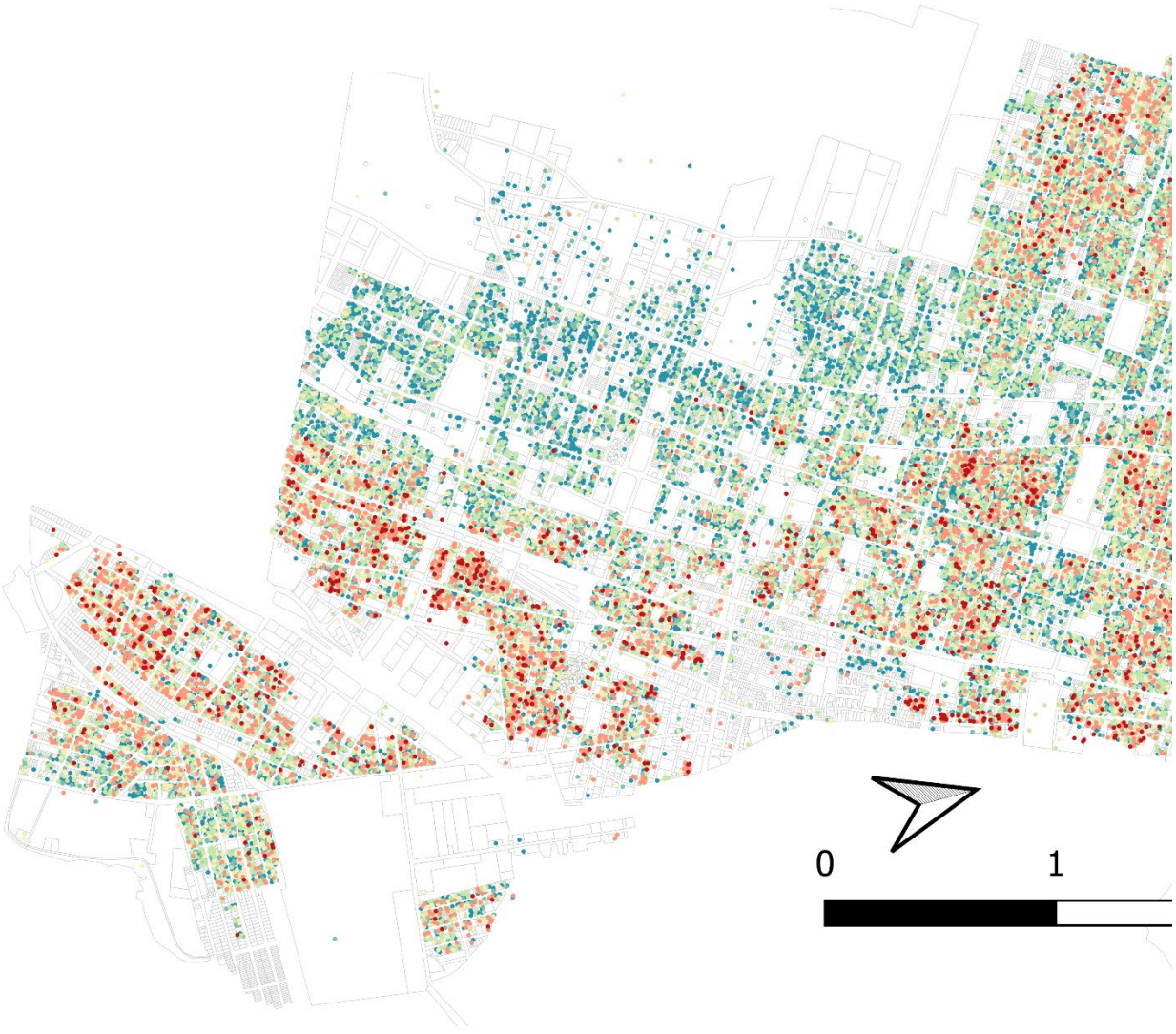
MAP's remarkablely detailed map of overcrowding in 1901 offers a substantive correction to this image of a working class scrambling to survive. The map's high level of resolution is only possible because MAP has succeeded in placing almost all the households of the 1901 census onto their respective lots. Institutions and hotels were both important places of permanent residence in 1901. They represented quite different realities than those facing families and so are not included here. This left 50,771 households, however, the data is incomplete for 3,912. The remaining 46,859 households show a remarkable range of situations. This map is constructed to highlight over-crowding, with the worst cases on top and the more spacious ones, often hidden, underneath.

The escarpment was the great social divide of 19th-century Montréal. It ran just below Dorchester (now René Lévesque) in the west as far as Beaver Hall Hill where it rose up to just below Sherbrooke at Bleury. In the city above the hill uniformly spacious households predominate. The most obvious area of comfort, in the north-west, clearly stretches as far east as Lafontaine Park, well beyond most of those households with live-in domestic servants. The frequency of households with live-in domestics declined sharply at St-Urbain, beyond which they were largely restricted to the French-Canadian bourgeois corridor bound by St-Denis and St Hubert streets, with minor extensions around Carré St-Louis and along Cherrier to Lafontaine Park.

1. Posted to the MAP website in early 2024, as our first inter-active web map.

Rooms per person per household.

- 3,912 unknown
- 1,768 less than half a room
- 7,609 less than three quarters
- 6,151 more than three quarters
- 15,059 one or more
- 6,255 more than one and a half
- 10,004 two or more



The degree of overcrowding in Montréal's 50,771 households in 1901.

One in twenty-five households have two or more people per room and they are scattered throughout the city's popular class wards. There is a complete absence of any heavy concentrations. Not all of these would have been genuine cases of overcrowding, but most probably were. Is this a lot? Well certainly not enough to suggest a serious problem, let alone crisis, but these households appear frequently enough that most people living in these neighbourhoods would have known several. This popular awareness would have been important. It provided the comparative basis for the majority of families who did not daily experience such conditions.

A little more than a quarter of the remaining households have fewer than one room per person. There are evident clusters along certain streets, and they constitute the majority in northern St-Gabriel, immediately south of the Grand Trunk railway station in St Joseph, in the Ashkenazi ghetto below Ontario in St-Louis, along the escarpment from Amherst (now Atateken) to Papineau and in parts of Hochelaga, St-Jean Baptiste and Ste-Marie. So, families and households experiencing crowded conditions were a very real presence in popular class Montréal. Their experience, however, was not the norm in any of the wards.

The statistical measure of overcrowding of two or more people per room is not ideal, nor did achieving a measure of one person per room necessarily guarantee comfort. Gilles Lauzon in his path-breaking history of Pointe St Charles has proposed a much better way of thinking about this problem[1]. He asked when did a family enjoy enough space that, in addition to the kitchen, there was a “salle de séjour”, or living room, where no one had to sleep? His careful analysis of three extended families’ multi-generational experiences suggests that for many, perhaps most, this was closer to how they would have understood the meaning of comfort.

1. Gilles Lauzon, *Pointe-Saint-Charles. L’ubanisation d’un quartier ouvrier de Montréal, 1840-1930*. Montréal: Septentrion, 2014.

Les cols blancs et autres occupations intermédiaires et le marché de location à Montréal au tournant du vingtième siècle.[1]

Cette communication fait suite à celle devant l'Institut d'histoire de l'Amérique française à St-Jean sur Richelieu. Je dois dire que c'est assez rare qu'un.e historien.ne présente ses résultats de recherche ainsi. L'écart entre la Société historique du Canada et l'Institut étant tellement grand que la probabilité qu'une telle suite soit comprise est mince. Donc, comme point de départ, une brève synthèse de ma présentation de l'automne dernier s'impose.

Les propriétaires venant des classes populaires compte pour entre le tiers et la moitié des propriétaires dans les faubourgs canadiens-français du centre et du nord de la ville en 1903. Ils constituent près d'un quart des propriétaires à St-Gabriel et St-Joseph, dans le sud-ouest. Chose notable, Griffintown, le premier quartier prolétaire et le site des premières usines au Canada, a très peu de propriétaires venant des classes populaires. (Voir page 92.)

Les sans métiers, à l'exception des constables, ne sont pas de tout important. Alors que les propriétaires venant des métiers spécialisés ne sont qu'éparpillés dans la plupart des quartiers populaires. Ils tirent un revenu médian de 220 $ par an en loyer. Les gens des métiers de la construction ont autant de propriétés et, à l'exception des couvreurs, tirent des revenus semblables. Alors que leurs employeurs, les 250 entrepreneurs de la construction ont autant de propriétés que les gars de la construction, avec un moyen de huit foyers de locataires, et ils tirent un revenu médian de 580 $ par an. C'est clair que nombreux de ces entrepreneurs ne font plus partie des classes populaires.

Les 800 petits commerçants propriétaires ont un moyen de cinq locataires chacun et des revenus médians de 300 $ par an. Derrière ces chiffres, cependant, se cache une disparité importante. Les laitiers et les charretiers ressemblent davantage aux sans métiers et ils se concentrent dans les parties de Ste-Anne et de Duvernay où les portes cochères permettent les chevaux. Cependant, les petits commerçants, détenant un magasin ou un lieu de travail, tirent des revenus médians entre 305 et 410 $ par an. Ces aubergistes, bijoutiers, bouchers, boulangers et épiciers ont un moyen de tous près de huit foyers de locataires chacun. Ils sont les petits propriétaires locaux les plus en vue.

Aujourd'hui, je me demande si les gens identifiés comme cols blancs ont un profil semblable. La question se pose, car il y a eu une croissance importante du nombre de propriétaires identifiés comme col blanc et une croissance encore plus importante dans le nombre de propriétés qu'ils détiennent depuis 1880. Ces taux de croissance témoignent de qui a bénéficié de l'émergence d'un nombre important des sièges sociaux montréalais à la fin du 19^{e} siècle.

Des sept titres socioprofessionnels retenus, c'est les comptables qui croissent le plus. En partie, ceci est dû à leur éclipse des teneurs de livres, mais comme en témoigne la faiblesse de la présence des sténographes, ce n'est pas simplement le résultat d'une croissance dans

1. Société historique du Canada, Montréal, 2024.

le nombre de personnes actives. Les deux plus importants titres en 1880 sont toujours là en 1903, mais ceci cache un changement fondamental dans leurs présences respectives. Commerçant (« trader » en anglais) est depuis le monde préindustriel une catégorie distincte de marchand et leur chute apparente est remarquable. D'un tiers des titres et quatre sur dix des propriétés en 1880, les commerçants tombent à moins d'un quart des propriétaires et même pas une propriété sur cinq en 1903. Les commis remplacent les commerçants comme titre le plus fréquent parmi les propriétaires, malgré la croissance fulgurante des agents qui dorénavant disposent de portefeuilles plus importants. Même s'ils restent peu nombreux, la présence beaucoup plus importante des commis voyageurs témoigne de leur rôle essentiel dans la montée de Montréal comme métropole. S'agit-il d'une autre indication de la démocratisation de l'accès à la propriété indiquée par l'analyse des propriétaires venant des classes populaires?

La croissance des titres socioprofessionnels associés aux cols blancs parmi les propriétaires.

	1880		1903		
Titre	Personnes	Propriétés	Personnes	Propriétés	Croissance
Agent	51	88	187	621	+370% +705%
Commerçant	101	178	207	398	+205% +224%
Commis	95	110	393	584	+414% +531%
Commis voyageur	10	11	52	85	+520% +727%
Comptable	11	16	105	209	+955% +1306%
Sténographe	1	1	2	3	+100% +200%
Teneur de livres	31	36	21	26	-33% -28%
Total	300	440	967	2126	+323% +484%

Sources: *L'environnement bâti en 1880.* (MAP, 2021) et *À qui appartient Montréal en 1903?* (MAP, 2024)

Si on change la perspective et examine les rapports propriétaire/locataire en 1903, la situation change. D'abord, la fréquence de la propriété varie énormément. Alors que c'est la norme chez les commerçants d'être propriétaire, et tout à fait normal pour un agent, seulement un sur quatre des comptables le sont. Cependant, ils font nettement meilleure figure que le simple teneur de livres, où moins d'un sur vingt est propriétaire. Les commis, de même que les commis voyageurs, font mieux que cela, mais ni l'un ni l'autre ne se comparent aux employés civiques. L'importance de la propriété chez ces employés nous fais

penser à l'importance des constables chez les sans métiers. Il se peut que l'accès à la propriété soit plus réaliste lorsqu'on jouissait d'un emploi stable.

L'importance de la location pour les propriétaires associé.e.s[2] aux cols blancs en 1903.

Titre	Chefs de foyer en 1901	Proprié-taires	Propriétés	Proprié-taires résidents	Foyers locatifs	Loyer médian annuel
Agent	407	187	621	66	994	$590
Commerçant	187	207	398	91	939	$575
Commis	5,130	323	446	138	788	$240
Commis voyageur	637	52	85	21	108	$460
Comptable	407	105	209	32	360	$400
Employé civique	139	74	119	18	189	$240
Teneur de livres	444	21	26	5	25	$370
TOTAL	**7215**	**969**	**2005**	**361**	**3382**	**$410**

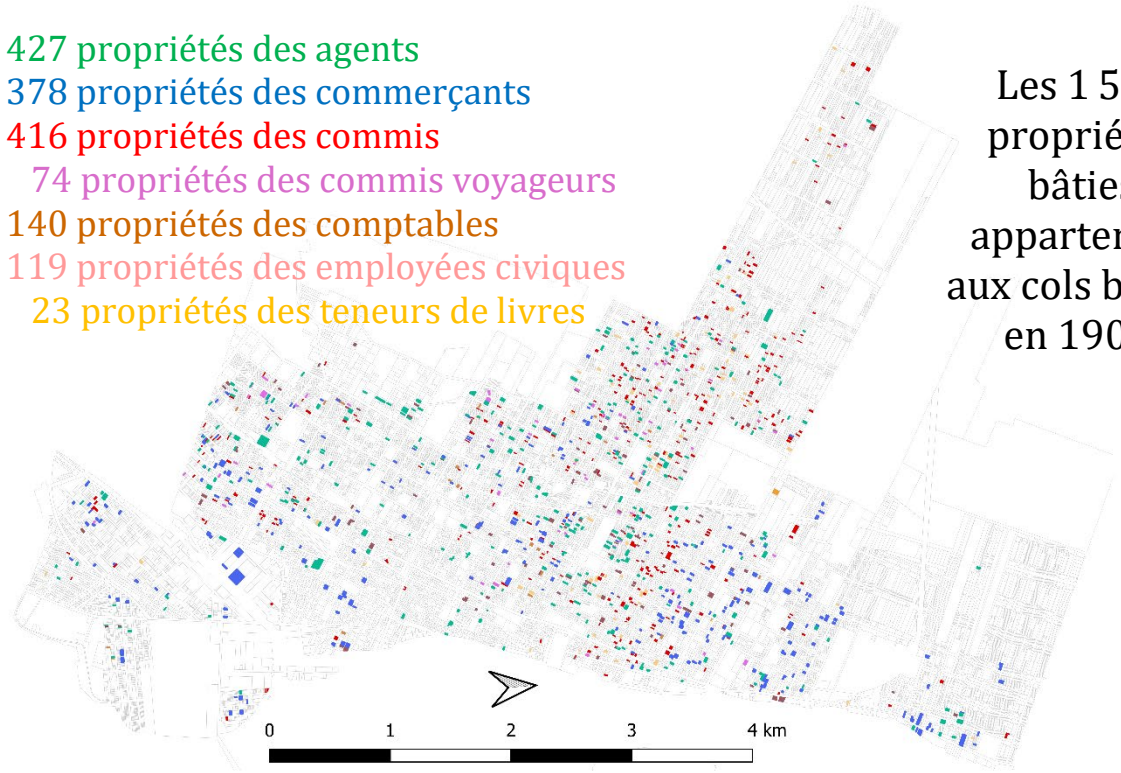
Sources: *Combo.dbf* (MAP, 2020), *Rapports propriétaires/locataires en 1901.* (MAP, 2023) et *À qui appartient Montréal en 1903?* (MAP, 2024)

Dans chacune des sept catégories, la majorité des propriétaires sont eux-mêmes des locataires. Les commerçants, à 44%, restent le plus souvent dans un de leur propriété, mais la moyenne est de 32% et chez les employés civiques et les teneurs de livres les propriétaires résidents sont moins d'un sur quatre. Ainsi, pour le col blanc, la propriété est surtout un investissement.

Et c'est un investissement rentable. En tout, ils reçoivent 635 000 $ de loyer. Même les commis et les employées civiques ont des revenus en loyer médian qui vaut la moitié des revenus annuels des travailleurs-chefs de foyers, selon le recensement de 1901. Alors que les revenus appropriés par la plupart des agents et des commerçants le dépassent amplement. Ces divergences de revenu sont en partie dues au fait qu'ils investissent dans les

2. Cette drôle de tournure de phrase s'explique par le fait que 254 de ces propriétés sont tenues par 158 femmes ou veuves, dont le mari a été identifié comme étant un col blanc.

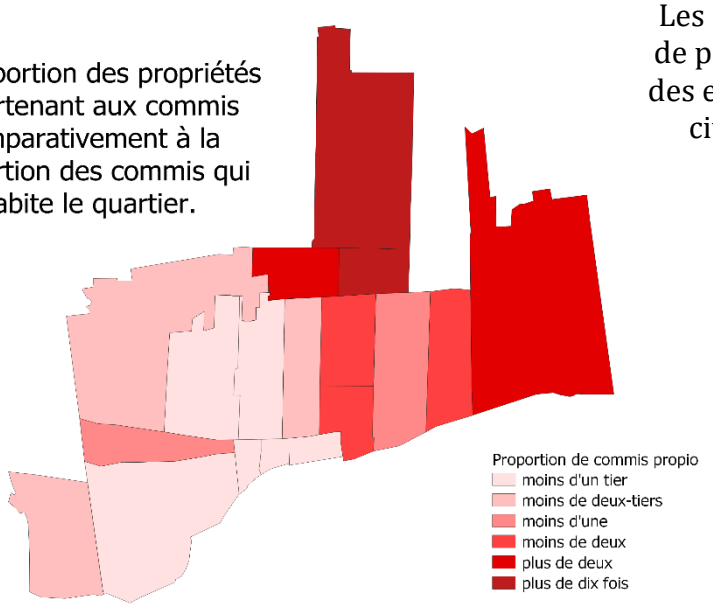
parties différentes de la ville. Ici, la cohérence si visible avec les propriétaires venant des classes populaires s'éclate. Remplacé par une multitude de stratégies diverses.



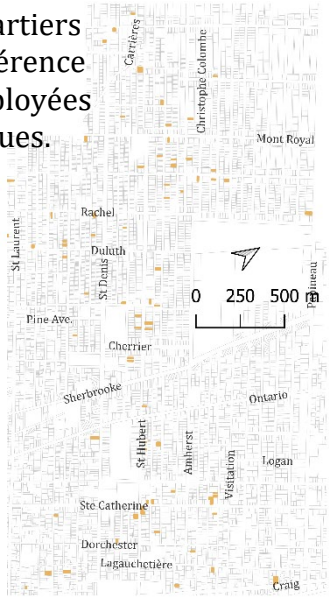
Les agents ont des propriétés bâties dans tous les quartiers de la ville, mais surtout ils se démarquent par le fait d'être la seule catégorie d'avoir une présence certaine dans les deux quartiers bourgeois : le « Golden Square Mile » et le corridor St-Denis/St Hubert. Alors que les commerçants sont présents dans tous les autres quartiers sauf les trois au nord : St-Jean-Baptiste, Duvernay et St-Denis. Rappelons qu'il s'agit des quartiers ayant la plus importante présence des propriétaires venant des classes populaires. La faible présence des comptables dans l'ouest de la ville surprend, seulement 34 des 140 propriétés se trouvent à l'ouest du boulevard St-Laurent. Cependant, ils ont 25 propriétés dans le corridor St Denis/St Hubert. Alors que les teneurs de livres se concentrent dans St-Louis, le quartier historique des sans métier canadien-français et depuis les années 1880 le ghetto ashkénaze. Les commis voyageurs ont la moitié de leurs propriétés bâties entre St-Laurent et de la Visitation surtout au nord de Sherbrooke. Ils sont quasiment absents du quartier St-Denis, au nord de la rue Mont Royal.

Comme nous avons vu, il y a des milliers de commis à Montréal. Alors la question qui se pose pour eux est légèrement différente. Seulement 6% des commis en ville ont choisi d'investir dans l'immobilier et ils ne le font pas n'importe où. Mais, vue où ils restent, ils ont une présence tout à fait disproportionnée en tant que propriétaires à St-Denis, à Duvernay et dans une moindre mesure à Hochelaga et à St-Jean-Baptiste.

La proportion des propriétés appartenant aux commis comparativement à la proportion des commis qui habite le quartier.



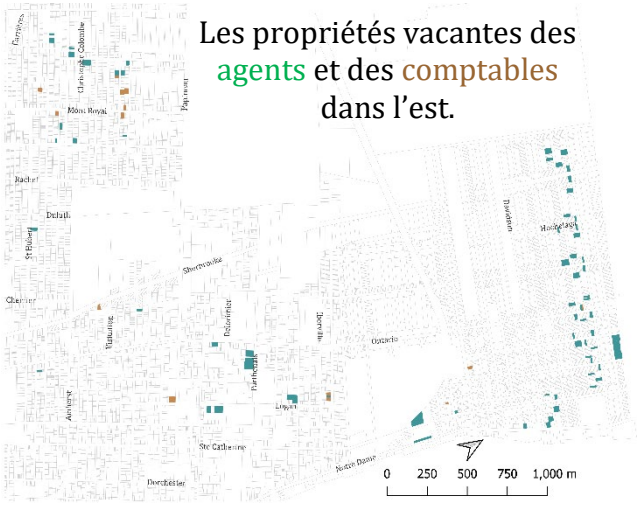
Les quartiers de préférence des employées civiques.



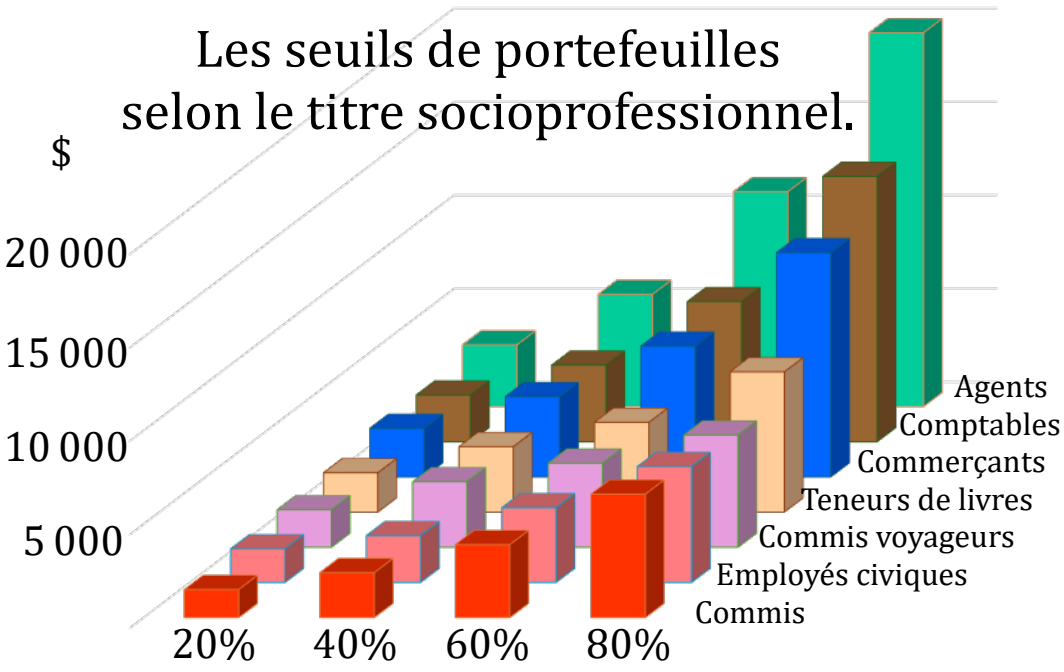
Ces choix s'expliquent en partie par le coût moindre des lots dans ces nouveaux quartiers. Quand même, ces choix les distinguent nettement des employées civiques qui investissent davantage dans les quartiers centraux. Alors que près d'un tiers des propriétés bâties des commis se trouve à l'ouest de St-Laurent, seulement six de ceux des employées civiques le sont. À l'est de la Visitation et en bas de Sherbrooke se trouvent 39 des propriétés de commis, mais seulement cinq des employées civiques.

D'après le rôle d'évaluation et en excluant les propriétés appartenant à la ville, il y a 8 098 propriétés vacantes à Montréal et les cols blancs ne possèdent que 307. Mais la distribution n'est pas de toute égale. Les agents ont 193 et les comptables 28, qui ne laisse que 86 aux 676 autres cols blancs. De plus, bon nombre de leurs propriétés sont adjacentes à une autre propriété bâtie de la même propriétaire et donc probablement des jardins. Les propriétés vacantes des agents et des comptables sont, par contre, des investissements spéculatifs concentrés dans l'est de la ville.

Les propriétés vacantes des agents et des comptables dans l'est.



La distribution des propriétés bâties selon le titre socioprofessionnel de même que les valeurs éthiques suggérées par les propriétés vacantes indiquent que nous devons examiner ces investissements comme faisant partie des portefeuilles. Des portefeuilles dont l'intégration des valeurs capitalistes varie. Les disparités importantes de richesse de ces portefeuilles suggèrent qu'une analyse autre que socioprofessionnelle s'impose.



Source: *Owners03.dbf* (MAP, 2024).

Si on utilise comme ligne de démarcation la valeur médiane des portefeuilles d'agents, de huit mille dollars, il y a un net clivage entre la plupart des cols blancs propriétaires et la minorité riche. Les 655 propriétaires ayant un portefeuille en bas de huit mille dollars ont 1 361 foyers de locataires et reçoivent 180 000 $ en loyer par an. Leur revenu médian n'est que 240 $. Alors que les 276 propriétaires dont le portefeuille dépasse huit mille dollars approprient 424 800 $ en loyer venant de 2 468 foyers. Leur revenu médian est de 1 170 $. Comme disait si bien Phil Ochs : « a distance only money can measure. »

La vaste majorité des gens qui déclarent un titre socioprofessionnel de col blanc sont locataires. Même deux tiers des cols blancs propriétaires sont eux-mêmes locataires. La majorité des propriétaires associé.e.s aux cols blancs n'ont que des portefeuilles modiques. Mais, il y a un nombre non négligeable de ces propriétaires qui disposent d'un portefeuille substantiel et qui tirent des revenus deux fois le revenu annuel médian d'un travailleur-chef de foyer. Une mince minorité de ces propriétaires riches en tire beaucoup plus. Vingt personnes ont un portefeuille qui génère plus de cent fois ce revenu annuel.

Bref, il y a des cols blancs propriétaires « intermédiaires », qui ressemblent à plusieurs égards aux propriétaires des classes populaires, mais ils et elles sont nettement moins important.e.s et ils et elles ne comptent que pour un foyer de locataire sur trente-huit. Alors qu'un tiers de ces propriétaires ne sont nullement « intermédiaires », ils et elles sont bourgeois.

National identity and female proprietors in early 20th-century Montréal.[1]

Prior to the Great War, Montréal was the North American capital of landlord-tenant relations. In today's talk, I explore the evidence for national characteristics among property-owning women. I rely on two distinct sources: *Montréal, l'avenir du passé* or MAP's computerized version of the 1903 tax roll and MAP's databases from the 1901 census. After a brief overview of the city's population, I demonstrate that simple home ownership was quite exceptional. I then examine speculative investments in vacant suburban land. Rental units made up most properties owned by women and so the bulk of the paper focuses on their differing types. First, I examine non-residential, largely commercial properties, and then rental housing. There was a marked ethnic segregation in the city, and this underscores how these women's investments were part of larger processes. Most proprietors were themselves tenants. Property was an exchange value not a use value, and so I examine their properties as investment portfolios that differed significantly by both ethnicity and scale. A common feature, however, was the disproportionate numbers of female-headed households as tenants. I conclude that we need to think of these women as participating in multi-generational strategies of capital accumulation articulated by their extended families of origin.

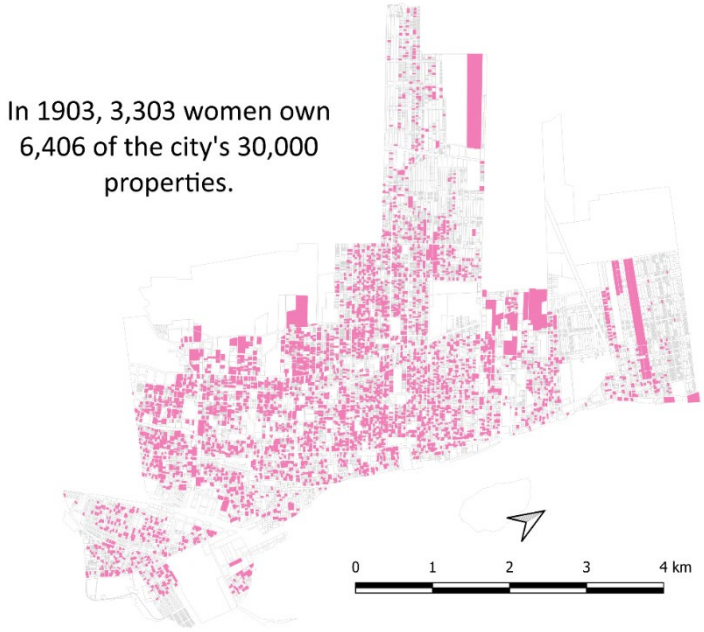
The demographic work of Sherry Olson and Patricia Thornton clearly established that over the course of the 19th century three distinct demographic regimes were created in Montréal, and it is their tripartite categorisation that I will be using today: French Canadian, Irish Catholic and English Protestant. They account for 96% of the city's population. Given both the wealth of the English Protestant community and the widespread belief in a *misérabiliste* and highly dependent status for French-Canadian women, their relative importance as proprietors is noteworthy. So too are the numbers of Irish Catholic proprietors given the paucity of adult Irish Catholic women in the city, many of whom, of course, would have been in domestic service.

Relative size of the principal ethnicities and female proprietorship in turn-of the-century Montréal.

	Census of 1901				Female proprietors, 1903		
	Everyone		Adult women		Eligible	#	Of roll
City	325,600	100%	88,300	27%	3.7%	3,303	100%
French-Canadian	188,800	58%	51,740	59%	3.5%	1,812	55%
English Protestant	87,900	27%	27,110	31%	3.7%	1,001	30%
Irish Catholic	35,700	11%	7200	8%	5.4%	394	13%
Others	13,200	4%	2250	2%	4.2%	96	3%

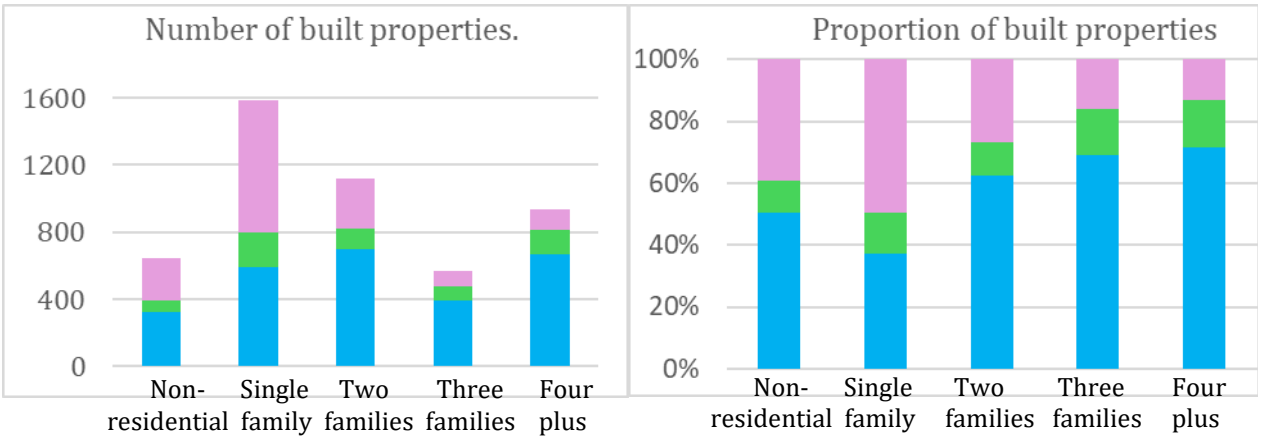
1. Social Science History Association, Toronto, November 2024.

Women owned property throughout the city. Only in the two industrial corridors, along the Lachine Canal in the southwest and between Papineau and D'Iberville in the east, are they absent. From the city above the hill adjacent to McGill to the popular class wards below the escarpment and in the northern central wards of the city, women very frequently owned property.



Only 358 of these female proprietors were simple homeowners. English Protestants account for two-thirds of those who were. Three quarters of the 256 living in the affluent north-west were English Protestant, but only six were French Canadian Catholics. I will return to this question of home ownership later.

Women owned 930 vacant properties. Large swaths of the northern wards of St-Jean Baptiste, St-Denis and Duvernay as well as the sparsely populated northern parts of Ste-Marie and eastern Hochelaga were vacant land in 1903. They were not, however, either farms or gardens; they were overwhelmingly surveyed building lots. Land companies were active in each of these wards, but so too were a minority of female proprietors. There is a very clear difference by ethnicity here. Only a fifth of these Irish Catholic proprietors and a quarter of the English Protestants participated in this speculation, whereas two-thirds of these French-Canadian women did, accounting for nine out of ten of their vacant properties.

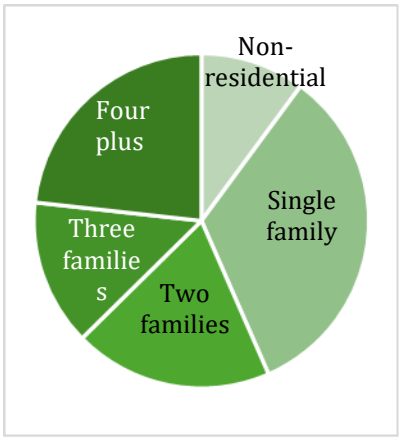


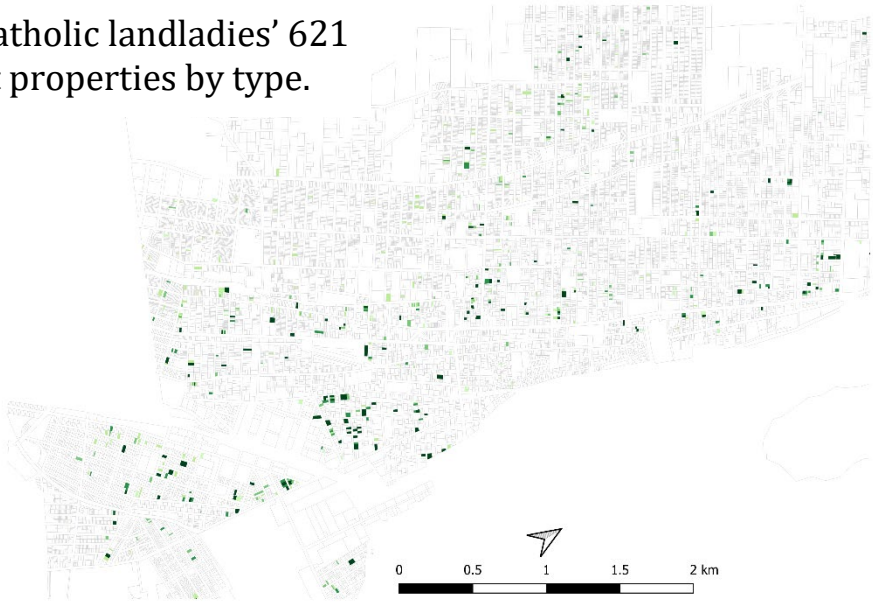
I used our linkage of almost all the census households in 1901 to their specific lot in the city to establish this classification of built properties. "Non-residential" means no one lived there in 1901, and most would have been commercial properties. There are three basic housing types in Montreal: single-family homes, duplexes, and triplexes. There were four apartment buildings in the city at the time, but women did not own any of them, so properties with

four or more residents were, in all likelihood, several adjacent lots owned by the same person being treated as a single property by city enumerators. Again, we see clear differences. English Protestants owned half of the single-family dwellings, while French Canadians owned over 70% of the properties with four or more resident households.

In sharp contrast with the two heavily industrialised corridors, women owned numerous commercial properties in the city: 65 by Irish Catholics, 254 by English Protestants and 354 by French Canadians. A tenth of these Irish properties, a seventh of the French Canadian and a fifth of the English Protestant were in Central Business District, where there was a marked spatial separation. English Protestant owned mostly in the West Ward, while French Canadians properties were in the Centre and East wards. When one remembers that three female religious orders were among the area's largest institutional proprietors, primarily of commercial property, this female presence in what was the financial and economic capital of the Dominion of Canada is quite remarkable. How much of Bay Street is owned by women now? Marked spatial segregation by ethnicity is all the more striking at the level of the city.

Irish Catholic landladies' 621 built properties by type.

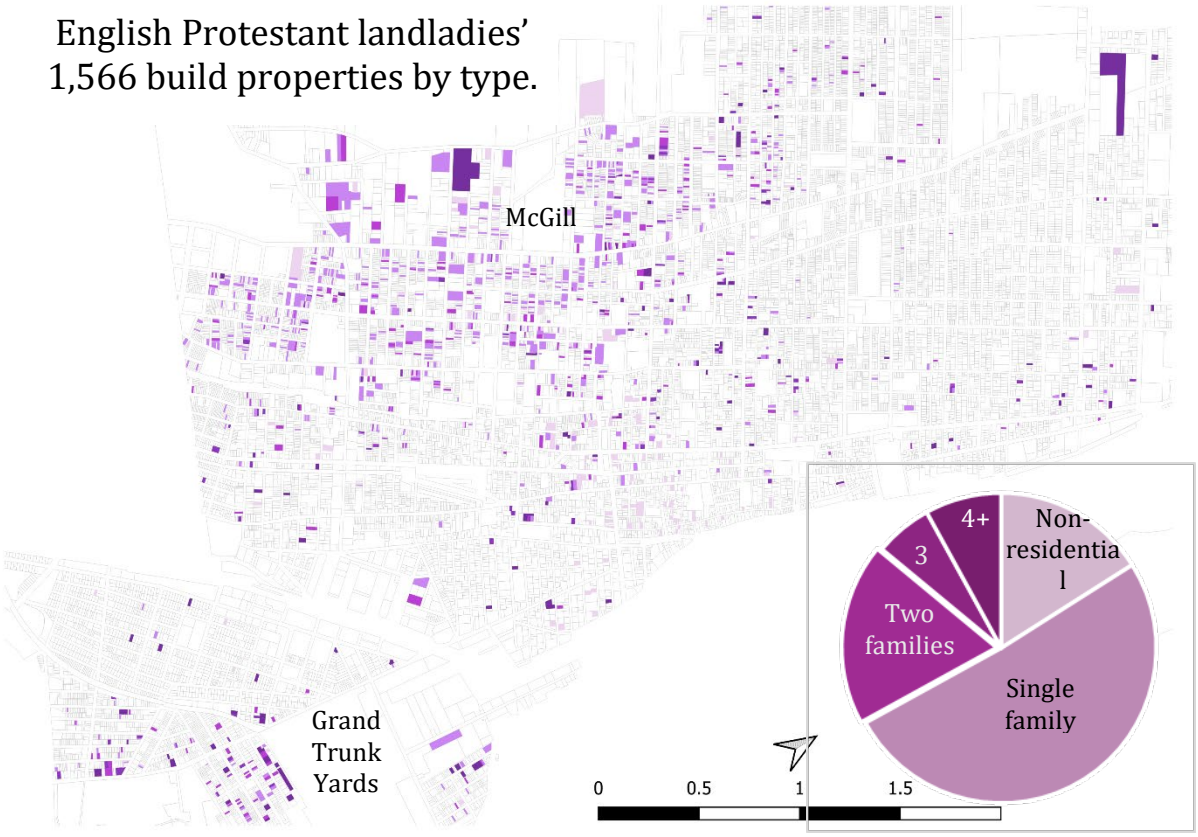




Irish Catholic women own properties primarily in the oldest working-class neighbourhood in Canada, Griffintown and across the Lachine Canal in Pointe St-Charles with a clear presence in St-Joseph ward to the west. These were home to workers in the numerous factories along the canal. To the west in the Pointe and in St-Joseph is where the bulk of single-family dwellings owned by Irish Catholic women were to be found, including one owned by my great grandmother Sarah McConomy on Island Street in the Pointe. A minority of more densely peopled properties skirt the town centre to the north, with a scattering of properties stretching along the waterfront as far as Hochelaga.

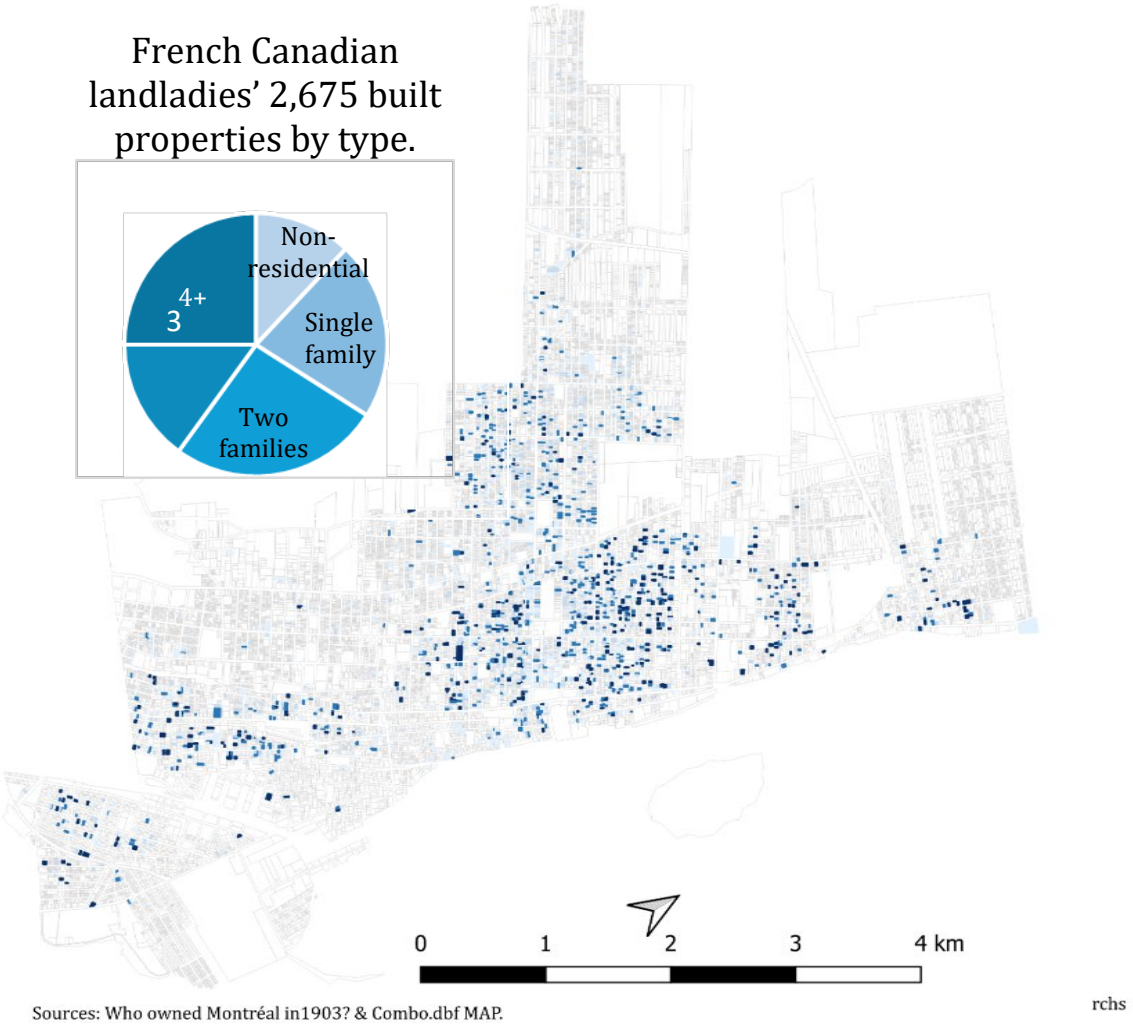
To the north and to the south of the Irish were the English Protestants. Heavily concentrated in the northwest, their properties were also found on either side of the Grand Trunk Rail-

way yards in the Pointe. Here we are seeing not just a spatial but a class divide. Bourgeois families live to the west and immediately south of McGill, petty bourgeois to the east of McGill and to the southwest just above the escarpment, while skilled working-class families lived adjacent to the railway yards. Relatively few of the multiple-unit dwellings in the Pointe were owned by English Protestant women living in the northwest. They were owned primarily by the wives and widows of skilled working-class men or by women active locally in petty commerce.



French-Canadian women own properties primarily in the central, eastern and northern wards of the city. They are also present in western St-Joseph and in St-Gabriel, the western part of the Pointe, which had only recently been absorbed by the city and was the last ward to have municipally supplied running water and sewers connections to every home. To the northeast of the Central Business District lies the bourgeois corridor of St-Denis/St-Hubert, which crested the escarpment and spread from Laval to Lafontaine Park. To the east were the popular-class neighbourhoods of Papineau and Ste Marie with their characteristic duplexes and triplexes. The newer wards of St-Jean-Baptiste, Duvernay and St-Denis had many more single-family cottages, while the working-class neighbourhood of Hochelaga on either side of the Canadian Pacific Yards had primarily triplexes and four or more units per property.

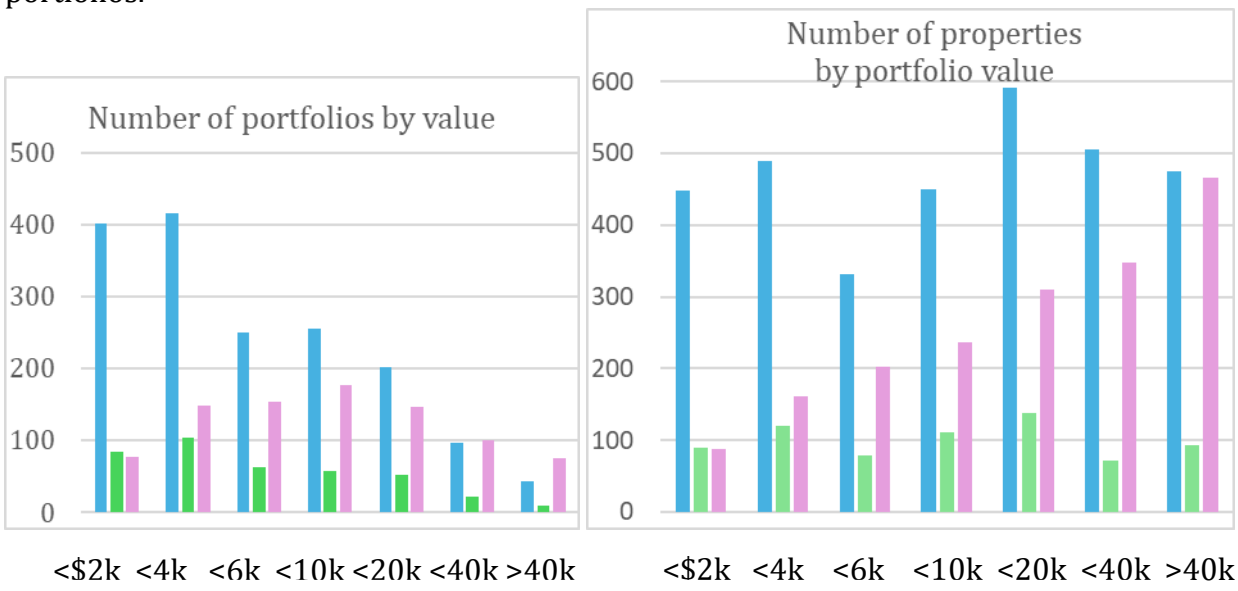
Clearly the women of all three ethnic groups invested where their ethnicity primarily lived. This constraint could, however, also be seen as evidence of the power of the local. Women and their families invested in areas with which they were familiar. The exception that proves the rule is the distinct minority of 134 women in linguistically mixed marriages. Their 235 properties were scattered throughout the city.



It was not uncommon for landladies to live on property that they owned. This was most in evidence with English Protestant owners of single-family dwellings. In all three ethnic groups, just over one fifth of the landladies, 595 women, live where they own. A further 92 women lived on a property owned by their husband. When combined with the 358 simple homeowners we saw at the beginning, almost a third, 31.6%, of all female proprietors lived on a property they or their husbands owned. While there was a difference in the type of housing the women of each ethnic group privileged, there was no difference in the overall picture: two-thirds of all landladies were themselves tenants. In relatively rare cases were they living elsewhere, the city recorded only 125.

Women who live where they own by type.			
Single family	Two families	Three families	Four plus
40	16	9	15
127	39	12	11
73	99	56	98

Since property was an investment for so many, it makes sense to take a step back and look at these properties as being part of investment portfolios. These bar graphs show the number of portfolios by value on the left and the number of properties on the right. The Y axis indicates the number of portfolios or properties, while the X axis shows the value of the portfolios.



1,663 French Canadian landladies own 3,290 properties worth $13.5 million.
390 Irish Catholic landladies own 706 properties worth $3.1 million.
886 English Protestant landladies own 1,830 properties worth $14 million.

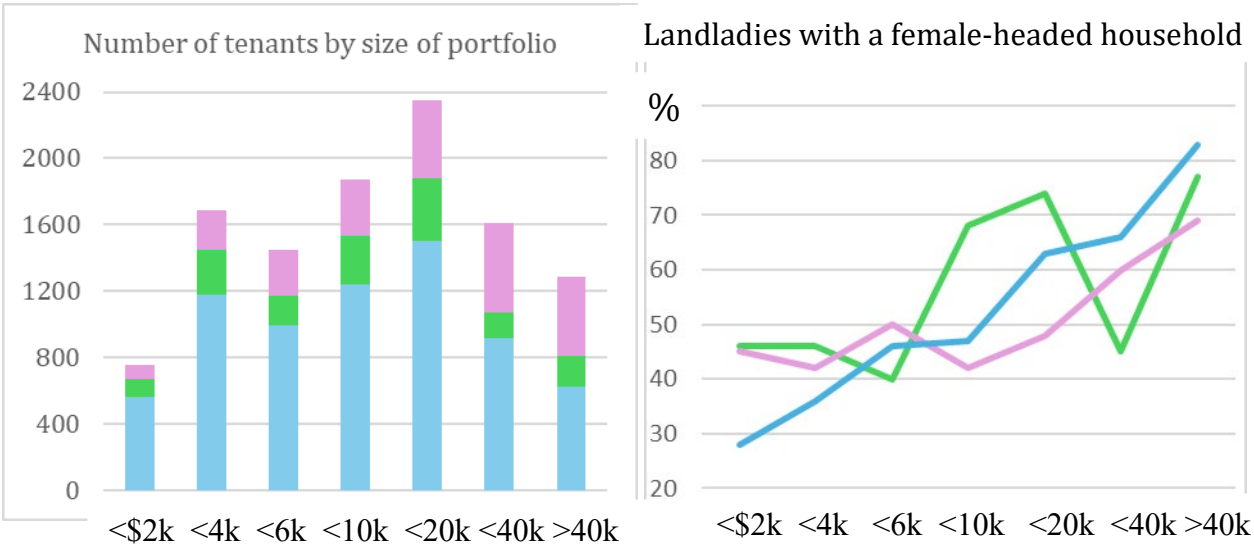
Portfolios that were owner occupied account for at best a quarter, save for the largest English Protestant portfolios where a third lived on a property they owned. Both French Canadians and Irish Catholics owner-occupiers became less frequent as the portfolios grew, whereas the English Protestants were infrequent in the lower value portfolios yet increased significantly in frequency as the portfolios grow. This reflects the housing types associated with each group.

Half of the French-Canadian landladies were small investors, with portfolios worth less than $4,000. Now the median waged income for a male head of household in 1901 was $500, so these are not small amounts. They clearly pale, however, in comparison with English Protestant portfolios, half of which were worth more than $6,000, with a fifth worth more $20,000. The Irish Catholics were similar to the French-Canadians, but they held significantly fewer of the largest portfolios.

The distinct minority of French Canadians who speculated in vacant property were bifurcated. Two-thirds of the vacant properties were held by 56 of the 341 women with portfolios worth more than $10,000, while for a fifth of the smallest portfolios speculation appears to be a way of entering into property ownership. Wealthier English Protestants also speculated but not to the same extent and there was remarkably little by the smaller investors. The parallel fluctuations in the numbers of built properties by the Irish and the

French Canadians contrasts strongly with the consistent progression in the number of built properties owned by English Protestants.

Almost a quarter, 23%, of all tenants have a landlady, while nearly half of all landladies, 47%, have female-headed households.



64% of these tenants, 7,132 households, have French-Canadian landladies.
14% of these tenants, 1,570 households, have Irish Catholic landladies.
22% of these tenants, 2,436 households, have English Protestant landladies.

The number of tenants of the landladies with the smallest portfolios was per force limited. We can see, however, a similarity in the number of tenants of the Irish and French-Canadian landladies. By contrast, and as was the case with the number of properties in their portfolios, the numbers of tenants continue to rise in the larger English Protestant portfolios. These differences, while meaningful, should not obscure a fundamental choice that the landladies in all three groups made. In a city where census enumerators considered a woman to head only one in eight households, nearly half of all landladies had a female head of household on at least one of their properties. Ranging from a seventh of the French-Canadian properties, to just under a fifth on Irish Catholic and almost a quarter on English Protestant holdings, this was surely not a coincidence. By contrast, only one in ten landlords had a female head of household on any of their 14,749 properties.

At the outset, we saw that fewer than one in 25 adult women in the city owned any property. On the following table, we see a not greatly dissimilar set of figures, but they represent something qualitatively different. Female property ownership was not just rare, it was extremely selective. Using the maiden names of the female proprietors, no women bearing one of 92% of all the family names in the city owned any property at all. Only English Protestant women showed a greater variety of family names, but even there women bearing nine out of ten family names owned no property at all.

Frequency of maiden names by ethnicity among landladies in turn-of the-century Montréal.					
Family names in the 1901 census			Female proprietors, 1903 Eligible	#	Of roll
City	22,484	100%	8.1%	1,827	100%
French-Canadian	10,905	48.5%	7.8%	846	46%
English Protestant	6610	29.4%	9.8%	647	35%
Irish Catholic	3,710	16.5%	7.2%	267	15%
Others	1235	5.5%	5.4%	67	3.5%

But we should not hasten to conclude that either landladies, or female proprietors more generally, came from elite groups. Only one in five known husbands (576\2,786) of female proprietors owned any property at all in 1903. Only one in eight female proprietors (424\3304) appeared as a member of one of the city's 2,780 elite households listed in *Dau's Social Registry* for 1905. Yet, as the breakdown by maiden name shows, family mattered. Landladies tended to come from property-owning families. They had diverse social origins. In all three ethnic groups, we should think of their investments as integral parts of larger, familial, multi-generational strategies of capital accumulation. It is I think by more closely examining these extended families, than by focusing on national identities, that we will best understand how this complex market worked.

How did we capitalise?[1]

This somewhat facetious title was suggested by my colleague Valerie Burton during our weekly Zoom about history. I was ruminating about where my research was taking me, and she observed after explaining why we chose to industrialise; it was now how we choose to capitalise.

I temporarily suspended my analysis of the tax rolls late last week as it had become evident that I needed to sort out what was an historical fact from what were merely artifacts of how the tax rolls were created. Stepping back from the number crunching allowed me to reflect on where my work is taking me. The result is this preliminary articulation of an argument that I circulate in the hope that you will find it sufficiently intriguing to elicit a response.

I am interested in historicising capital. I would like to show that capitalism is neither singular nor a theoretical construct, but rather a multi-faceted historical process that differs because it is necessarily the product of specific times and places. I start from the premise that a market economy is not capitalism, but merely, and only under certain conditions, a possible historical basis for the emergence of the dominance of capitalist relations with their qualitatively different gender relations and, as we all now know, a catastrophic redefinition of our relationship with the rest of nature.

Put somewhat abstractly, this is part of what I argued in *Why Did We Choose*. In that book, I established that there was a series of profound transformations that among other things led to the rise of a speculative market in real estate, where for many, with the commodification of nature, exchange value trumped use value. In the current book, I would like to follow up on those historical processes and explain why in Montréal by the turn of the 20th century we can reasonably talk of something different: a capitalist market in real estate. From this perspective, capitalism, if not in opposition to a market economy, is a particular historical variant that promotes inequality through a series of inter-related structures and values; one that in turn-of-the-century Montréal is on the verge of becoming dominant, but had not and would not sweep all before it.

Here, I think you can see the influence of Karl Polyani. In the 1940s, he argued that the socially destructive character inherent in a market economy requires that economics be accorded sufficient autonomy from political, religious, cultural and ethical considerations that the free play of market forces can transform how we relate to each other and to the rest of nature, to which I say 'yes', but that autonomy is never sufficient. People and existing forces resist, so that the victory of capital is never complete. And this is, I think, the important point to grasp: the resulting forms of capitalism reflect the differing ways those non-economic considerations make themselves felt.

In my recent conversations about this with Elizabeth-Anne, I have offered three distinct examples. The first is that in pre-industrial Montréal no intermediary was allowed to purchase firewood from the landing beach until it had been there for at least a week, so locals

1. I circulated this critical reflection in an email to colleagues in May 2024.

could procure what they needed, and no one could corner the market in this vital commodity. The second is the imposition after the Great War of community draws by fishing families in outport Newfoundland, once it became normal for most families to have a cod-trap. This ensured that nobody could monopolise the best runs and so quite consciously limited capital accumulation by these communities' better fishers. The third is the regulation that long-governed credit unions in Québec: half of the loans had to be made within the parish the *caisse* served.

For those of you familiar with my early work. these examples should come as no surprise. I wrote about firewood in 1988, cod-traps in 1997 and the Quebec capital market in 1995. Indeed, I could have cited my first publication dating back a half century, on farmers' movements in early 20th century Ontario, which taught me the significance of orderly marketing for the survival of the family farm. The most recent figures I have seen show that at just under a hundred head of cattle, Québec dairy farmers are on average less than one-tenth the size of their Vermont neighbours.

Local, regional and national constraints limiting capital accumulation are, of course, nothing new. Some days I think if they were not so omnipresent the *Economist* would lose its *raison d'être*. I have not, however, properly understood their historical significance and, as a result, not seen the most obvious and far reaching of these constraints.

I argued in *Why Did We Choose* that the change in the political economy of the family, resulting from the historic break in the equilibrium between the value of movable and immovable property, was foundational to industrialisation. It underwrote the shift from a household economy to a waged economy. This change in gender relations resulted in married women's loss of their centuries-old economic and political autonomy, while transforming married men's role into that of the primary breadwinner and created a gender-based unity underlying the new class relations in the workplace.

What happened next? The political and economic eclipse of women continued across the middle of the 19th century. By 1880, only one in eight property owners was a woman and they controlled only one in twelve properties. The situation changed dramatically, however, by the turn of the century, when women owned a fifth of all properties and almost a quarter of all rental units. How are we to understand this change in fortunes?

First, what did the growing exclusion of women permit? It permitted men to monopolise particular areas of the city where they imposed an ethno-linguistic cleansing. What happened to Greater St James Street, or what would become the Golden Square Mile, were both exemplary in this regard. Second, having gained control of broad swaths of adjacent farmland men banded together to create land development companies. Third, some of these men pioneered the creation of intermediaries to finance land development, while others reinvested their profits in mortgages. What unites these complex processes is that after excluding women, men created novel, non-familial, social and institutional networks. Clearly present in 1880, when 142 companies owned 712 properties worth a tenth of the assessed value of the city, companies had reached an unprecedented position by the turn of the century. In 1903, 273 companies owned over three thousand properties worth a fifth of the assessed value of the city, even though two-thirds of those properties, owned by 94

companies, were vacant lots. In this regard, only the living dead of the estates rivalled these moral persons.

As these family decisions to create an estate, rather than distribute the assets among the heirs, suggest, in opposition to an emerging capitalist market was a familial-based order with much deeper historical roots and qualitatively different gender relations. Colleagues at MAP have ranged from highly sceptical to openly hostile of my constructed rentier families. Nevertheless, I persist in thinking that this critical analysis of family names reveals inter-generational strategies of accumulation with significant implications for the women in the family. Certainly, the exceptionally high rates of inter-marriage among rentier families speaks to an underlying historical reality.[2]

Most rentier families at the turn of the century had earlier in the century been members of the popular classes. They were the minority who were able to achieve significant social mobility through property investments over the course of several generations. The 1,700 members of these 135 families own a quarter of the city in 1903. Their portfolios reflect their long gestation period: although many have concentrations in particular wards of the city, most families have diversified holdings in a variety of wards. In this geographic spread, they are quite different from most multiple property owners who tend to concentrate their holdings in a single ward, indeed parish. Both types of owners, however, normally share a familial base and it is these family ties that best explain the rapid increase in the numbers of property-owning women.

Between 1880 and 1903, married women go from a quarter to four out of ten female proprietors, but this relative growth is misleading. The number of married women on the rolls increases sixfold and their number of properties tenfold. The numbers for widows and single women also increase dramatically. In all three cases, we are dealing with the inter-generational transfer of wealth through inheritance practices that are largely gender blind.

There should be no doubt about the limited social basis of this gendered expansion in access to property. Better than nine out of ten households in Montréal were tenants in 1901. Nevertheless, this is more than just a consolidation among the well-to-do. It was part and parcel of a broader democratic increase in access to property that saw known occupations of popular class proprietors increase fivefold, particularly among French Canadians. As a result, by 1903, in the overwhelmingly French-speaking eastern and northern popular class wards of the city, a third to a half of the tenants had a popular class landlord or landlady. This was in strong contrast to the heavily Irish Catholic Griffintown, the country's oldest working-class neighbourhood, where fewer than one in ten tenant families had a popular class proprietor. In the ethnically mixed wards of St Joseph, St Gabriel and the Pointe it was closer to one in five.

2. "Going together like a horse and carriage: Rentier marriages and property accumulation in Montréal, 1825-1903." *Histoire Sociale/Social History*, LIV, 112 (Novembre/November 2021) 481-490.

In addition to bakers, butchers, grocers, carters, building trades and skilled workers who account for the bulk of these popular-class proprietors, there is a middling group of largely white-collar workers who increase close to threefold in number while increasing their holdings fivefold. Here too, broadly defined ethno-linguistic groupings (I use Sherry Olson's English Protestants, Irish Catholics and French Canadians) have differing spatial distributions and, arguably, national characteristics.

I have invested considerable effort into trying to make sense of the city's sharpening segregation along ethnic, religious and linguistic lines. (Please note the absence of the social in that listing, not because the city above the hill does not exist. It most certainly does, but it is, I think, the exception that proves the rule. The world of exceptional privilege that develops around McGill is not at all the same as the French-Canadian bourgeois corridor between St Denis and St Hubert, nor is it where most of the city's bourgeois live. Until at least the Great War, they continue to inhabit the popular class wards where they have their family-owned industrial, commercial and real estate investments.)

Several points are now, at least to me, clear. The ethno-linguistic segregation so visible by 1880 had consolidated by 1900. In part, this is because small landlords, particularly small Protestant proprietors, discriminate against both Irish and French-Canadian tenants at rates up to four times the levels practised by Catholic proprietors, although discriminatory practices are clearly evident in all three groups. It is also because the city experiences for the first time in its history large-scale immigration from elsewhere than France or the British Isles. These Ashkenazim, Italians and Cantonese each experience quite different levels of residential discrimination. Only the Cantonese are to be found throughout the city, reflecting a carefully planned, clan-based, expansion of the laundry industry. The Ashkenazim and to a lesser extent the Italians, create a buffer zone between the existing linguistic communities just to the east of the Main that will in the coming decades expand rapidly north above the escarpment, with the Italians leapfrogging to the north of la Petite Patrie.

I have looked for national characteristics to these complex and contradictory patterns of expanding democratic access to property along both social and gender lines and consolidation of segregationist practices. My sense is that only the French-Canadians can be said to have a shared national identity. Among Protestants, the denominational cleavages and a late 19th-century British imperial identity militated against any clearly Canadian or English Canadian national identity. While the exceptional wealth generated by the primitive accumulation on the Prairies and in British Columbia meant that this was by far the most polarized of the three communities. If among the Irish Catholic by 1900 I no longer see any evidence of the ancient regional divisions of the Emerald Isle that so long marred community coherence, an alternative had yet to emerge. I suspect that these many divisions within the English-speaking communities would only partially be overcome by the Great War, which consolidated a particular definition of French-Canadian nationalism. Certainly, it is only in the 1920s that the ubiquitous triple maple leaves and beavers make their appearance decorating the duplexes of the expanding city.

So, where does this leave me in historicising capital? The exceptional wealth of the Golden Square Mile was not primarily the product of Montréal labour, nor the capital accumulation of local real estate developers. It was squarely built on the expropriation of Indigenous

lands in Western Canada. This is the off-screen player who so shuffled the cards between 1880 and 1903. Five years ago, I completed an analysis of the 'Landed Ladies' of the city above the hill and next month it will finally see the light of day.[3] The bourgeoisie of the Golden Square Mile, both men and women, entertained a very different relationship to property in Montréal than was the norm elsewhere in the city. They invested in the affluent north-western wards of St Andrew, St George and St Laurent and in the city centre. They did not invest in popular-class housing; indeed, they largely avoided investing in popular class wards altogether.

The neighbourhood in which they lived was dominated by financiers, brokers, railway men and commercial fortunes. They were active in developing a capitalist economy that was pan-Canadian in nature and scope. This difference in scale matters. Neither the French-Canadian nor the Irish-Catholic communities shared this vision, and their activities were far more resolutely in keeping with familial strategies of accumulation and so were orientated locally and operated on a much longer time frame.

There clearly were some French-Canadian capitalists active in the real estate market, but far more representative of their values was Jean Louis Beaudry, the former mayor of Montréal and long one of the city's largest property owners. In his will, he divided up his extensive property portfolio equally among his five 'legitimate' children and his five 'natural' children. To ensure that this inheritance continued to be equitable onto the next generation, despite the inevitable changes in property value, all ten heirs were to meet 25 years later to redistribute their holdings in an equitable manner. Now this is an exceptional will in so many ways; however, I think it speaks to a multi-generational vision and associated patriarchal values that were the norm among many rentier families. It certainly stands in opposition to the profit maximisation that is the lynch pin of unfettered capitalism.

Most property owners in all three communities were not members of rentier families, nor were they active as property investors in the developing capitalist market in real estate. Generally, the city recorded a proprietor's occupation if they resided at that property. We know the occupations of the proprietor for seven out of ten male-owned properties and the occupation of the husband for three out of ten female-owned properties. Two-thirds of those with known occupations were neither bourgeois nor petty bourgeois. They came from the popular classes broadly construed, including the middling white-collar occupations.

Honestly, I think the onus should be on those historians who normalize the capitalist mode of production to prove that these people shared the values of the new capitalist economy. Be that as it may, I can offer some tantalizing if as yet incomplete insights into how these owners of the majority of properties in the city managed their investments.

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3. "Gender and Social Relations in the City above the Hill." *Montreal's Square Mile: The Making and Transformation of a Colonial Metropole.* Dimitry Anastakis, Elizabeth Kirklan & Don Nerbas (Eds.) University of Toronto Press, 2024, 219-247.

MAP's new inter-active web-based cartography of overcrowding in 1901 shows not just that families living two people per room were exceptional, accounting for fewer than one in twenty-five households, but that there was no single concentration of any size in the city. They were to be found in greater numbers in particular areas, for example, just south of the Grand Trunk Railway Station in St Joseph or along the escarpment east of Amherst, but even in those areas they are in a minority. There are some potential slum landlords and slightly fewer landladies, but they are relatively few. Of the 9,497 landlords and landladies one in eight have at least a single household in such crowded conditions but only 80 have three or more. They are to be found in all three ethno-cultural communities, although there are disproportionate numbers owned by estates, 'gentlemen' and 'honourable' men.

My grounding of the popular-class owners shows that many exhibited shared spatial distribution patterns according to their particular occupation: milk men in Duvernay, skilled construction trades in la Petite Patrie or carters in a few blocks of Ste Anne by the canal. More importantly, however, is the presence in almost every popular class neighbourhood of grocers, butchers, bakers and others in petty commerce. These people lived in and served a community where they were also local proprietors. Once again, Griffintown is conspicuous by its absence of property-owning people in petty commerce, with the exception of those carters. La Petite Patrie and northern Lafontaine are the only other popular class areas with a relative absence of such local community members as proprietors. The affluent wards of St Andrew, St George and western St Laurent, along with the bourgeois corridor up St Denis/St Hubert streets have almost none of these people.

In contrast to these social and occupational patterns, by 1903 women own property throughout the city. Women account for a third of resident simple homeowners, over a quarter of rental properties, but only a little over a sixth of the 5,515 vacant lots in the city owned by people. Companies own more than twice that number. Almost all these women, however, own their property as members of families. Only one in six of these property-owning women had a property-owning husband. I cannot yet prove this, but, I think, these women made their own investment decisions, but that they did so within broadly understood family-based strategies and informal rules. In this regard, the idea that the husband alone administered the property held in community, with the wife only having a veto over potential sales, may be legally correct, but I think historically misleading. Wives could count on not just their own resources and those of their mothers, aunts and sisters, but those of their fathers, brothers and uncles to keep more than the occasional speculative husband in line.

In short, we can see really quite different understandings of property in relationship to time in turn-of-the-century Montréal, because these understandings were very frequently premised on intimate relationships to differing familial, social and cultural value systems. The development of a capitalist market in real estate was undoubtedly making substantial headway, but it faced real constraints and, as I have tried to show, many of them were recent.

Aside from demonstrating why bourgeois historiography got it so wrong, why does this matter? Two areas are important for current struggles, where this research can shed valuable light. The first is gender relations. Nowhere in the world today do women own as

significant a part of the economy as they did in turn-of-the-century Montréal and I suspect, were the research to be done, in many other cities and towns of the North Atlantic world. Reclaiming this past changes how we see our past, but also potentially our future. The second is understanding the national question. The wishful thinking of English Canada, that if we ignore it long enough it will go away, has proven to be just that. Here, as in so many other parts of our world, nationalist understandings of the world are transforming politics and undermining long-fought-for gains, particularly in the field of human rights. As my sister-in-law angrily pointed out to me recently, I am no longer a Quebecer, but an 'historic anglophone.' Who knows what that will mean? But I am not optimistic. Understanding when and how Québec became a nation is a task for historians, not media pundits or political scientists. The fairy tale of a misèrabiliste past transformed by the Quiet Revolution, but constantly thwarted by Ottawa, is not just historically wrong: it is dangerously misleading, for it hides who benefited the most and who continues to benefit from these changes.

Where I have made little headway to date is on the environmental implications of my research. Clearly, the creation of a qualitatively different environment in the city above the hill, a process to be mimicked by the suburbanisation of their social lessors throughout the 20th and early 21st centuries, has proved to be at the heart of the current crisis. Arguably, the loss of a longer-term, multi-generational perspective so evident in the strategies many bourgeois and others considered normal is central to understanding our collective failure to make the profound changes in how we live our lives that we absolutely must make. Perhaps, by offering an historical framework that integrates Indigenous expropriation, changes in gender relations, and a critical understanding of how the choices people made explains both national development and class formation is all I can hope for, but we need so much more.

Où je suis rendu, une clarification.

Merci beaucoup Robert,[1] pour ta contribution à la conversation. Il y a bien de la matière à réflexion. Ici, je vais simplement expliquer un peu comment je vois ma démarche, car il semble qu'il y a eu des éléments qui manquaient de clarté.

Pendant très longtemps, à peu près trois décennies, j'ai refusé d'utiliser des variables nationales ou ethniques dans mes recherches. Bien sûr, si des comportements spécifiques émergeaient, je ne les ai pas niés, mais j'ai refusé de présumer que ces variables furent évidentes et encore moins naturelles. Je voulais à tout prix éviter le déterminisme ethnique, si dominant dans l'historiographie canadienne, d'après moi une forme d'essentialisme dangereuse.

Ce craint fut alimenté par la présence de plus en plus répandue d'une nouvelle catégorie analytique dans l'histoire du Québec : anglophone et francophone. Or, il s'agit d'une terminologie qui date d'un moment assez précis dans l'histoire québécoise : les années 1960s. J'ai analysé sa naissance dans mes articles portant sur les communautés de langue anglaise au Québec publiés dans les années 1980s et 1990s. L'idée que les anglophones et les francophones se confrontent au 19e siècle est le type d'imposition du présent sur le passé que je critique depuis longue date. Vu qu'il n'existe pas des gens qui se considéraient comme anglophones avant les années 1960s, il me semble évident qu'on ne doit pas les ériger en tant qu'acteurs historiques et encore moins promouvoir cette distinction ahistorique comme outil analytique signifiant.

Beaucoup plus récemment, lors de l'IHAF à Drummondville, j'ai pris l'opportunité de décrire ma jeunesse de 1963 à 1966 en tant que protestant dans cette ville, alors 98 % canadienne-française. Mes rapports furent surtout avec d'autres jeunes protestants et parfois avec les jeunes bourgeois du collège classique, ou avec leurs pères qui s'abonnaient au journal *The Gazette* que je livrais, mais jamais avec les jeunes catholiques de langue anglaise.

Pour moi, la question nationale est une question historique. Elle s'évolue et on ne doit jamais la prendre pour acquise. Quand j'enseignais l'histoire québécoise à MUN, je distinguais entre cinq mouvements nationalistes : les Patriotes, les Canadiens français de Mercier, les Canadiens français catholiques de Duplessis, les Québécois de Lévesque et le Québec civique de Bouchard. Entre ces mouvements il y a eu parfois des périodes assez longues sans un mouvement politique nationaliste important. Il faut expliquer ces périodes et mon analyse de la naissance d'un marché de capital québécois au début du 20e et des changements à la suite de la défaite de 1837-38 dans *Why Did We Chose* sont des tentatives de le faire.

Bien sûr, une nation peut très bien exister sans mouvement nationaliste, mais comme ces cinq définitions assez différentes de ceux qui nous sommes témoignent, la nation n'est pas

1. J'ai reçu divers commentaires en réponse à ma réflexion *How Did We Capitalise ?* dont une critique soutenue et édifiante de Robert Tremblay concernant la question nationale. Cette tentative de clarifier mes propos a circulé pendant l'été 2024.

figée. Et, une seule de ces définitions, le nationalisme civique de Bouchard, me comprend, bien que je sois de la sixième génération nais au Québec. Comme j'ai indiqué à la fin d'*How did we capitalise?* l'émergence d'un sixième nationalisme, ethnique cette fois-ci, avec la Charte des valeurs, la CAQ, les Lois 21 et 96 et l'éclipse du QS par un PQ de droit, me fait peur. Dans ce contexte politique, comprendre la question nationale exige une rigueur analytique respectueuse de l'histoire. D'ailleurs, dans son livre récent, *Au Québec c'est comme ça qu'on vit,* Francine Pelletier souligne le rôle des historiens non respectueux comme précurseurs de ce virage ethnique.

Comme l'ONU, j'utilise toujours la définition du Dzhugashvili (aka Stalin) d'une nation : un territoire, une langue, une histoire, une économie et grâce à ces quatre éléments en commun, une conscience collective. Il me semble que chez les peuples d'origines européennes, il n'y a que deux nations historiquement constituées au Canada, les Canadien.ne.s-français et les Terre-neuvien.ne.s. Il y a deux autres qui sont des candidates possibles : les Acadian.ne.s et les Métis de l'ouest. Selon cette définition, les Canadiens anglais ne constituent qu'assez tardivement une nation, possiblement à la suite de la Grande Guerre, mais je ne suis pas encore convaincu. La formation nationale que j'ai reçue dans ma jeunesse fut claire. J'étais Canadien. Et c'était ainsi, que tous mes ami.e.s terre-neuvien.ne.s. me concevaient.

En histoire, il faut toujours démontrer la pertinence des catégories analytiques qu'on utilise. J'utilise rarement la qualificative de classe ouvrière pour décrire un quartier montréalais. J'emploie plutôt « quartier populaire » ou « industriel ». Ce n'est pas parce que les ouvrier.ère.s n'existent pas, ils et elles sont majoritaires par le tournant du siècle dans tous mes quartiers populaires, mais quand on les qualifiés de quartiers ouvriers il y a une présomption de niveau de ségrégation sociale qui reste selon moi un fait à déterminer. Il me semble que la même chose s'applique aux communautés culturelles ou ethniques.

Dans le cas montréalais, je crois qu'une culture cosmopolite commence à caractériser la ville dès les années 1820s. Elle n'a pas survécu à la crise politique de 1834-37 et à la répression sanglante de 1837-38. Bien que nombreux Patriotes, de Brown au Tracy en passant par les frères Nelson, sont de langue anglaise, la plupart des immigrant.e.s choisissent la couronne. Je crois qu'ils et elles se sont devenu.e.s britanniques à cause de leurs expériences dans la colonie. Ont-ils et elles une identité proprement nationale, je ne le crois pas, mais ils et elles ont sans doute des identités collectives. C'est à nous autres, des historien.ne.s, de les déterminer.

Le problème reste entier au tournant de siècle. Ils et elles ont plusieurs identités culturelles et politiques. Est-ce que ces identités sont suffisamment importantes qu'on puisse parler d'un ou des comportements nationaux ? Les analyses que j'ai faites de l'émergence du boulevard St Laurent en tant que ligne de démarcation[2] et de la discrimination à la Pointe St-Charles [voir les pages 76 à 82] suggèrent que seules les Canadien.ne.s-français.es ont un comportement suffisamment cohérent qu'on peut légitiment parler d'une identité

2. « Divvying up space: Housing segregation and national identity in early twentieth century Montréal. » In *Sharing Spaces: Essays in honour of Sherry Olson,* University of Ottawa Press, 2020, 111-128.

nationale. À cet égard, mon analyse tous récemment publiée des investissements des femmes bourgeoises du « mile doré » est pertinente. Là les clivages de genre et de classe importent sur l'identité nationale.

Tout cela ne veut nullement dire que ces Canadien.ne.s-français.es n'éprouvent pas l'oppression nationale ! Bien sûr, ils et elles la vivent et la résistent. Cependant, l'oppression nationale n'exige aucunement qu'elle soit exercée par une nation contre un autre.

Robert, tu n'es pas seul de penser que j'exagère. En réponse à ma réflexion, Sherry m'a écrit « you will have to water down your incurable desire to explain everything ... (and in one volume). » Gilles a formulé des critiques semblables.[3] En ma défense, je crois qu'une analyse basée sur le recensement et le rôle d'évaluation (et donc des sources au moins socio-économiques et non pas juste économiques) doit révéler des comportements nationaux, s'il y en a. Cela ne veut pas dire que ces sources doivent révéler l'ampleur de l'oppression nationale ou même la nature réelle de cette oppression, mais elles doivent démontrer l'existence de certaines des cohérences et des contradictions propres à cette oppression. Après tout, l'habitat fut un des coûts les plus importants pour tous et toutes sauf les bourgeois. S'il y a des stratégies d'accumulation de capital propre à la bourgeoisie de chaque groupe, ou des rapports sociaux distincts par rapport à la location, on doit les voir grâce à ces sources.

La question de comment on structure un discours de preuve en histoire était au centre de *Why Did We Choose*, comme ça été au cœur de bien de mes réflexions depuis les années 1980s. Ainsi, je prends ta critique au sérieux. Dans les Cantons de l'Est il y a un petit bled qui s'appelle Fitch Bay et on raconte qu'une fois un char montréalais y arrêtait afin de savoir comment se rendre à Georgetown (le village bourgeois à l'entrée de la baie) et la personne est censé d'avoir répondu « You can't get there from here. » Il se peut que je me trouve devant un dilemme semblable, mais j'espère que non.

En espérant que ma démarche, sinon plus convaincante, est au moins plus claire.

In luv'n struggle,

Robert

3. Ici, je fais référence à Sherry Olson et Gilles Lauzon qui ont tous les deux répondu à ma réflexion avec des commentaires pointus et très valables.