

Bloor-Dufferin in Pictures

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Introduction

Bloor-Dufferin in Pictures is the fifth in a series of local history booklets published by the Toronto Public Library. It was written and designed to meet the needs of the community using the Bloor and Gladstone branch of the Toronto Public Library which is located one block east of the area's central intersection at Bloor and Dufferin. The library serves over 30,000 people in an area roughly bounded by Dundas Street to the south, the CPR tracks (north of Dupont) to the north, the CNR tracks (west of Lansdowne) to the west, and Willowvale Park to the east.

Bloor-Dufferin is one of the most ethnically diversified sections of Toronto. The area encompasses several historical communities, such as Brockton and Dovercourt. Most of the area is solidly residential, with two- and three- storey homes and a few highrises lining the streets. However, there are also hundreds of small businesses and stores along the main roads, two major shopping plazas (Dufferin Mall and the Galleria), and industrial sites near the railways. The diversity and energy of Bloor-Dufferin make it an attractive neighbourhood for its many residents, who are drawn together by their common concerns about schools, community services, transportation, and neighbourhood preservation.

During the past few years, and especially since Toronto's Sesquicentennial in 1984, interest in the history of Bloor-Dufferin has grown. Increasing numbers of students, long-time residents, and newcomers to the area have been coming to the library looking for information about their neighbourhood. While several excellent histories have been written in the past about certain aspects of Bloor-Dufferin, until now we have not been able to provide a general local history of the area served by the library. Although it is impossible in a short booklet to present the definitive history of the Bloor-Dufferin community, we hope that this booklet will complement the work that has already been done, encourage individuals and organizations to pursue their own studies of the neighbourhood, and help satisfy the need for information until a longer, more detailed history is eventually published.

Surveys and Early Settlements, 1790-1884

Standing at the corner of Toronto's Bloor and Dufferin streets in the mid-1980s, one finds the many features of a large, multicultural city: stores, offices, schools, homes, churches, buses, and subways. Two hundred years ago, however, the busy intersection of today was dense forest. In 1787 the British bought this land, along with much of what is now Metropolitan Toronto, from the Mississauga Indians, largely because of their interest in the Humber River transportation route. In 1793 John Graves Simcoe, the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada, established Toronto as the provincial capital. Renamed York, the town was laid out in ten blocks along the shore of Lake Ontario, not far from the Don River.

One of Simcoe's first tasks was to see that the land surrounding the Town of York was settled. Simcoe planned to give choice property to government officials as partial compensation for their having to move to York from the old capital at Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake). The area was surveyed and divided into 100-acre (40.5 ha) park lots (between today's Queen and Bloor streets) and 200-acre (91 ha) farm lots (north of Bloor). Simcoe hoped to create a landed aristocracy in Upper Canada, and these lots were intended to provide an economic power base for the ruling class. Concession roads, such as today's Bloor Street, and sideroads, including present-day Dufferin Street, were also laid out.

In the 1790s the area northwest of York was regarded by administrators and citizens alike as prime territory. Dense forests of pine, black and white oak, basswood, maple and cedar covered potentially rich farmland. The Garrison Creek branched through on its way to Lake Ontario, providing an abundant water supply. Three or four miles (5-7 km) removed from York, the area was a dignified distance from the hurly-burly of frontier

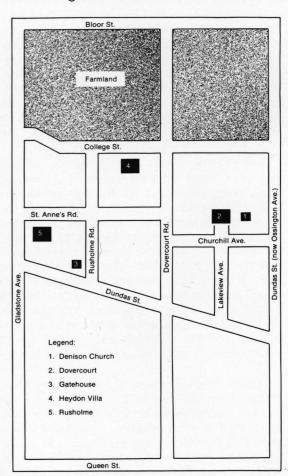
life, well away from the disease-producing marshes at the lakeshore, and yet sufficiently close to town for business. And for those confident that York would one day grow beyond its Queen Street limit, the region had immense possibilities for wealth from land speculation and subdivision.

These choice lots northwest of York were soon granted to members of Simcoe's official and personal entourage. Some of the early landowners are commemorated in street names in west-end Toronto, and their life stories reflect the history of Upper Canada. Aeneas Shaw was a member of the Executive and Legislative councils and became a major-general before his death in 1815. James Givins commanded a company of Indians during the War of 1812, after having worked as a young man in the western fur trade where he learned several Indian languages. Captain James Brock was cousin of Sir Isaac Brock, the famous hero of the War of 1812.

It is with the Denison family, though, that the modern history of the Bloor-Dufferin area really begins. Benevolent paternalists and ardent military men, civic leaders and church builders, the Denisons were to have a profound effect on this area for well over the next century. The first generation of the family was represented by John Denison, who was born in Yorkshire, England. In Yorkshire, Denison had known Peter Russell, who became Simcoe's successor as administrator of Upper Canada. In 1797 Denison came to York and joined his old friend from England.

Russell's patronage, as well as the family's own energy and forethought, soon secured for the Denisons large landholdings in Upper Canada, including their own park lots northwest of York near the estates of the powerful civil and military leaders of the day. Strategic marriages also helped. George Taylor Denison I, John Denison's

eldest son, married Esther Borden Lippincott, the daughter of a wealthy United Empire Loyalist, and spearheaded the family's thrust to prominence. Eventually one of the wealthiest landowners in Upper Canada, he acquired property in the present Kensington and Bloor-Dufferin areas.¹



DENISON PROPERTIES IN THE BLOOR-DUFFERIN AREA

In 1838 and 1839 the next generation of Denison sons cleared out sections of nearly impenetrable forest on land belonging to their father, George, and erected their own park estates. Richard Lippincott Denison named his estate Dovercourt after the district in Essex, England, that was his grandmother's ancestral home. Dovercourt stood on property that originally stretched south to Queen, north to Bloor, west to Dovercourt, and east to Ossington, the latter street having originated as a carriage drive leading through the woods and fields to the estate. (Ossington was so named to enshrine a belief favoured by the family that their ancestors were a minor branch of the family of the Earl of Ossington in Yorkshire.) R.L. Denison's first house, built in 1838, was replaced in 1853 by a second, more opulent Dovercourt, located on what is today Churchill Avenue at the head of presentday Lakeview Avenue.² Lakeview Avenue, with its unusual width and symmetrically planted shade trees, still recalls the days when it served as the elegant central approach to Dovercourt.

George Taylor Denison II matched his brother's zeal in building his own estate, Rusholme, in 1839. It originally occupied land between Queen, Bloor, Dovercourt, and Dufferin. Although the master of Rusholme was a successful lawyer and entrepreneur, his first loyalty was to the land, where he settled tenant farmers whose rents were partially commuted into labour. At Rusholme, Denison raised field crops and tobacco for export, as well as cattle, swine, and thoroughbred horses. His diligence in planning and cultivating the orchards and fields made Rusholme a model of productive, scientific farming and yielded for its owner a fortune nearly equal to that of his father.³

George Taylor Denison III, police magistrate, military historian, and soldier, built the last and finest of the family residences. Heydon Villa was established in 1864 between present-day Dovercourt and Rusholme near the south side of College Street. Inside the eighteen-room house, "imported marble fireplaces, gilt mirrors and fine carpets were juxtaposed with African spears, hunting trophies and assorted weapons collected

from the battlefields of the world".⁴ This fourthgeneration Denison named his estate in memory of Hedon, Yorkshire, the birthplace of John Denison.

In 1857 a Denison family church, St. George's Chapel in the Grove, was built on the Dovercourt estate. Situated on the north side of present-day Churchill Avenue (which literally meant "Church on the Hill"), just east of the big house, the chapel seated fifty and provided the first place of Anglican worship in the Bloor-Dufferin region. Members of the Denison households and their tenants no longer had to travel outside the district for religious services. St. George's was superseded by St. Anne's Church of England in 1862, and in 1891 the chapel was finally pulled down.

By mid-century the Denisons had created their own distinct community on the western edge of Toronto. Replete with impressive country houses, ancestral nomenclature, tenants, and a family chapel, an eighteenth-century dynastic vision had been realized in the nineteenth-century Canadian bush.

DENISON FAMILY AT RUSHOLME, George Taylor Denison II's house, ca. 1870.
Dundas Street West, northwest lot,
Rusholme Road
Photograph by Norman & Fraser
Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (T13684)



While these "populous colonies" of Denisons dominated the early years of this area, there were other, albeit smaller, family estates. For some years they were sheltered from new trends and developments. However, this period of isolation eventually came to an end.

In 1834 the City of Toronto was incorporated, with boundaries extending far beyond those of the old Town of York. All the land west to Dufferin and south of Bloor was included in Toronto, although the city's street area did not extend much beyond Queen and Spadina. By 1850 the continuous built-up area had just managed to cross Garrison Creek to the west; in the north it ended near College.⁵ But the Bloor-Dufferin area

was already beginning to feel the repercussions of the city's growth. The Denison park lots north of Dundas - still fields, forests, and farmland - which had been acquired at little or no cost, were now worth 100 to 300 pounds sterling per acre. Other estates followed the Denison move to cultivation, and with a growing urban population nearby to feed, the forests of the northwest gave way to farmland. In describing his boyhood at Rusholme, George Taylor Denison III recalled the ringing of the lumbermen's axes and the cluster of lumbermen's shanties on Dundas between Brockton Road (now Brock Avenue) and St. Clarence Avenue (now St. Clarens Avenue), when timber was cleared off the 100-acre (40.5 ha) O'Hara estate around 1850.6



Outside the city limits, villages began to grow. In 1852 writer W.H. Smith described the settlement at Brockton, just west of Dufferin Street, as follows:

A little beyond the third mile post on the Dundas Street you reach the first toll-gate. Here is a cluster of houses, three of which are taverns; and immediately beyond the toll-gate a village has been lately laid out called 'Brockton'.⁷

Dundas Street, the tollgates, and the taverns were important to the early development of Brockton. Dundas Street, along with Yonge Street, was planned by Simcoe as a province-wide military and settlement highway. In the 1830s and 1840s Dundas Street was macadamized. To pay for the improved road and to regulate goods coming into market, tollgates were set up at strategic crossroads: near Dufferin, at Bloor, St. Clair, Islington, and so on. Hotels opened near many of the tollgates to serve travellers. Settlements, such as Brockton, soon followed.

The Brockton tollgate was located on the north side of Dundas Street between present-day Sheridan and Brock avenues. (A supplementary or "blind" tollgate was set up at Bloor and Dundas to catch northwest-bound travellers using Dufferin and then Bloor to avoid paying the toll at Brockton.) Near the Brockton toll were three frame hotels that were very similar in appearance: Collard's Hotel, Joseph Church's Brown Bear Tavern, and the Queen Street Hotel. Here, both in summer and winter, racing men tried out their horses and arranged contests. Close by was Larkin's small general store, which also housed the tiny community's post office (known first as Denison Post Office, then as Lippincott Post Office, and finally as Brockton Post Office)8.

BROCKTON TOLL GATE, 185? Dundas Street West, north side, between Sheridan and Brock avenues After a pen and ink drawing by W.J. Thomson, 1893 Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (T12116) The early population of Brockton was made up primarily of new immigrants who had left Ireland during the famine years of 1845-48 and were working as agricultural labourers or trying their hand at market gardening. Some employment was generated by Brockton's location on the Toronto-Hamilton route.

However, Dundas Street's heyday as the main thoroughfare between Toronto and its western hinterland was shortlived. Much of the traffic which travelled along Dundas Street westward from the port of Toronto was drawn off by the railways, constructed largely in the 1850s and 1860s. From Toronto's industrial nucleus on the harbour, industrial activities followed the railroads' paths northward and westward, locating along Dundas and Lansdowne, with the greatest concentration in West Toronto at the junction of the Davenport and Dundas lines. Eventually factories flanked the Grand Trunk, Credit Valley, Toronto, Grey and Bruce, and Northern Railway lines which cut through Brockton. For the neighbourhoods which subsequently grew up around them, the railways provided points of reference and established rough boundaries. As late as 1878, though, the Toronto Directory shows that Brockton's population was still agriculturally based, although there were a growing number of artisans.

Along Jamieson (now Lansdowne), Brockton had two rope walks (rope-making factories). At Archibald MacGregor's rope walk north of Dundas and Lochrie's south of Bloor, long lengths of nautical rope were braided to supply the vessels of Lake Ontario. One of Brockton's many butchers was John Mallon, owner of three successful butcher stalls at the St. Lawrence Market, who established a large farm, two abbatoirs, and a family hotel. Basketmaker Joseph Ashdown had located in Brockton and before long would be employing several villagers at his factory, which also produced rattan furniture.

FROM: TORONTO CITY DIRECTORY, 1883 Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board

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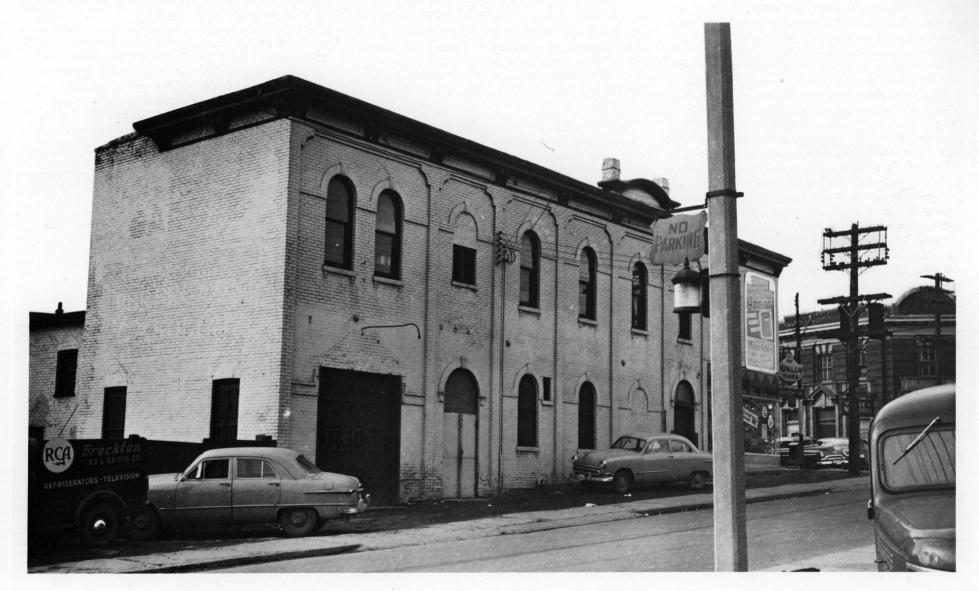
Brockton, Toronto, Out.

By 1880 Brockton was a well-established village. To the east was the City of Toronto and to the south lay the newly incorporated Village of Parkdale. But Brockton itself remained unincorporated and was beginning to suffer as a result. Its growing population required public utilities, which could not be financed until incorporation allowed the election of a municipal government legally empowered to levy taxes.

In 1880, 100 of Brockton's residents petitioned the County of York and the Ontario legislature for incorporation, basing their claim on the latest census returns, which put the community's population at more than the required 750.

On 3 January 1881 the first village election was held for reeve and councillors, and on 4 March provincial assent was given for incorporation. The

BROCKTON TOWN HALL, 1952 Built 1884 Dundas Street West, southwest corner, Brock Avenue Architect: J. Ades Fowler Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (S1-686)



official boundaries of the Village of Brockton extended along Dufferin Street, between the Grand Trunk Railway on the south and Bloor Street on the north; west on Bloor as far as Indian Road; south on Indian Road to the northern limit of Parkdale; east along the Parkdale limit to the Grand Trunk Railway; and southeast along the tracks to Dufferin.¹⁰

Brockton's existence and growth were shaped by its proximity to Toronto, and incorporation did not alter this. The village experienced the difficulties but did not always reap the benefits of living in the shadow of a large urban centre. Toronto's population was moving steadily westward. creating a new demand for services. When incorporated, Brockton was without adequate roads, sidewalks, sewage and water systems, electricity, fire and police protection, and connections with the Toronto Street Railway. Although Toronto itself did not vet have complete services, its financial resources were considerable compared with those of Brockton. The rejection of a plan by which Brockton, Parkdale, and Toronto would share costs for service installations forced Reeve John Winchester and his councillors to resort to municipal borrowing during their first spring in office. Village officials were further hindered by the refusal of large property owners to pay taxes and by the Grand Trunk Railway's reluctance to cooperate in the construction of railway crossings. The extension of St. Helen and Jamieson avenues was delayed until arbitration settled a series of disputes with local property owners. Prolonged negotiations with Parkdale for a water supply and with the Consumers' Gas Company for villagewide lighting failed to produce firm agreements. 11

Brockton was caught in a dilemma that proved beyond the power of its financial committee. Attempts to increase the town's treasury by encouraging manufacturers to relocate within the village boundaries were frustrated: Brockton could not offer as incentives cheap water and electricity, since these services could only be made available through money from corporate coffers. The state of disarray worsened when it was discovered that the council's failure to follow proper procedure meant that thirteen by-laws introduced in 1881 were faulty or illegal. An act of

the Ontario government was required to validate the enforcement of these by-laws, which concerned schools, drainage, and the construction of sidewalks and roads.¹³

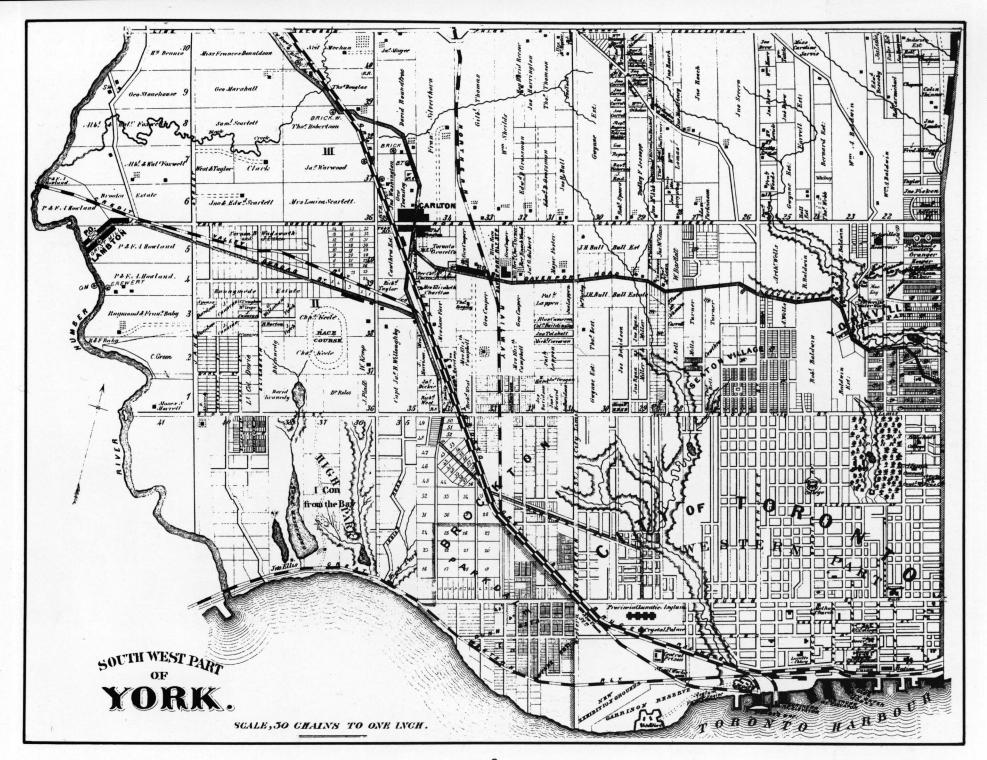
It is hardly surprising that in these circumstances financial irregularities occurred. In 1883, only two years after incorporation, disgruntled ratepayers petitioned the attorney-general's office to conduct an investigation. The municipal government, trying to get its house in order, requested a delay until an auditor's report could be drawn up and outstanding debts settled at the Imperial Bank. However, it became increasingly difficult to present a convincing and unified front to the public after one particularly famous incident.

One evening, in the midst of the financial crisis, Reeve McConnell posted the village's only constable outside the town hall and refused admission to his council. The councillors, who were determined to discuss the village's finances, forced their way into the hall and attempted to hold a meeting. However, McConnell was still not prepared to face questions about his role in the fiscal mismanagement. In desperation, he decided that his colleagues should be kept in the dark. literally as well as figuratively. The ensuing scene, as described by several dismayed councillors in an open letter to the Globe, was comparable to the overblown antics of silent films as "in a most disorderly and insane manner he rushed for the gas, turning all lights out repeatedly ...". The councillors thought it wise to adjourn the meeting until the reeve regained his composure. 14

The attorney-general's investigation did not result in the laying of any charges against the village council. The crisis of confidence nevertheless made it clear that Brockton could no longer manage its own affairs. The simple forms of village government had outlived their usefulness. Structures appropriate to a small community of bakers, tailors, drovers, and gardeners and to such issues as the capture of runaway cattle or the prevention of the spreading of Canada thistles could not accommodate problems of the scope presented by a rapidly growing suburb.

The obvious solution was the annexation of the village by the City of Toronto, which by then was straining its official northwest limits, only a short distance away at Bloor and Dufferin. Real-estate developers who had a vested interest in the westward extension of public services promoted annexation, as did many Torontonians, impatient with any obstacles to the realization of their city's destiny. Some Brockton residents feared that annexation would mean an increased tax burden. But it soon became apparent that Brockton residents were actually paying almost as much in taxes as city dwellers and had little to show for it in the way of public amenities. In December 1883 Brockton councillor Morrow called for a referendum on the annexation. The vote took place on 10 March 1884 and showed a majority in favour of the village's becoming part of the City of Toronto. Brockton was duly annexed by the city, and became (along with High Park) part of the new St. Mark's Ward. 15

FROM: ILLUSTRATED HISTORICAL ATLAS OF THE COUNTY OF YORK, 1878 ▷



Besides Brockton, there were other smaller villages along Bloor Street, which historian Dr. William Canniff observed in 1878 "is becoming rapidly settled all along from Yorkville to Brockton, and before many years will present one of the finest avenues in the city ...". ¹⁶ Seaton Village, which was surveyed in the 1850s, covered the area extending roughly from Brunswick

Avenue westward to Manning Avenue or Christie Street and north from Bloor Street to the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks. The hamlet of Dovercourt consisted of little more than a cluster of houses north of Bloor, due west of Seaton Village. In 1888 both Seaton and Dovercourt were absorbed by the City of Toronto as part of the "north of Bloor, west of Bathurst" annexation.

DUFFERIN HOUSE HOTEL, ca. 1912 Bloor Street West, northwest corner, Dufferin Street Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (T10998)



Subdivision and Suburbanization; 1884-1900

The decade between 1880 and 1890 was one of the most remarkable in Toronto's history. In those years the city assumed much of the shape familiar to succeeding generations. Rapid industrial growth, increases in production, and the demand for labour attracted thousands of newcomers, and the city's population grew by almost 50 per cent.

Toronto now also had a significant middle class, which expressed a strong inclination to abandon to new immigrants a downtown that was fast becoming dominated by industry, railway yards, and warehouses. They preferred a more refined surburban existence, and there was no shortage of real-estate developers ready and willing to oblige them.

So began the move away from the city centre to outlying lots that only recently had been part of large estate holdings. The subdivided fields of Bloor-Dufferin held a certain fascination for people intriqued by the occasionally glimpsed estates set in the trees beyond their gatehouses. The very names of the new streets conjured up images of gracious living.



The development of Bloor-Dufferin as a suburban neighbourhood would not have been possible without public services. For the most part, services were first introduced along Dundas, gradually extended north to College, and eventually went beyond Bloor. Between 1880 and 1900 the opening of residential streets and the westward expansion of lighting, running water, sewers, and the street railway roughly parallelled one another.

Although the Toronto Street Railway Company was formed in 1861, west-end service was limited until 1882, when the "Brockton" route was introduced. The horse-drawn cars - open to the air in fine weather, closed for rain, and heated in the winter - left St. Lawrence Market for Dufferin Street every fifteen minutes from 6:56 a.m. to 9:35 p.m. and made return journeys from 7:20 a.m. to 10:10 p.m. After annexation in 1884 the tracks were extended west on Dundas to Lansdowne Avenue, and Brockton residents were able to travel right into the heart of their neighbourhood. By 1888 a horse-drawn-car route, "Dovercourt via McCaul", carried passengers from Front Street north as far as Bloor and Dovercourt. In the following year the service on College Street took in the stretch from Dovercourt to Dufferin, and in 1890 the Bloor route was extended west from Bathurst to Dufferin and north on Dufferin. In 1893 the last horse-drawn cars in the city service were withdrawn from Dundas. During the next two years electric cars appeared on Dundas west to Lansdowne and on Dovercourt between College and Bloor, and tracks were laid on Ossington between Dundas and College. 17

SINGLE HORSE CAR, SEATON VILLAGE, 1890 Courtesy Toronto Transit Commission (No. 3363)

STREET RAILWAY TRANSFERS





By 1887-88 the city had provided both water and sewers to the greater part of the Bloor-Dufferin area, the most ambitious project being the \$60,000 Garrison Creek sewer. The old creek, its banks once the site of summer outings, had been contaminated by the discharges from housing and industry. Toronto Mayor Arthur R. Boswell attached enough importance to its deteriorated condition to stress in his inaugural speech of 21 January 1884 the urgency of building a sewer there:

This is a most necessary work, not only on account of its being required to drain a large portion of the western and northern parts of the City, but also in the cause of health, for this creek is nothing more than an open sewer, and has become an absolute nuisance to those residing near it....¹⁸

CONSTRUCTING THE GARRISON CREEK SEWER, NORTHWEST BRANCH, ca. 1885 Courtesy City of Toronto Archives (DPW 14 - vol. 1-12) New streets, improved road surfaces, and sidewalks were all features of this significant decade. The Toronto city council demonstrated its commitment to its outlying areas by an impressive display of energetic activity. For example, in 1885 the city was responsible for cedarblock paving and wood curbing on Dovercourt Road, wooden sidewalks on College and Bloor, and the grading of Rusholme Road. In 1888 the city engineer's department congratulated itself on the extension of College Street to Dufferin.

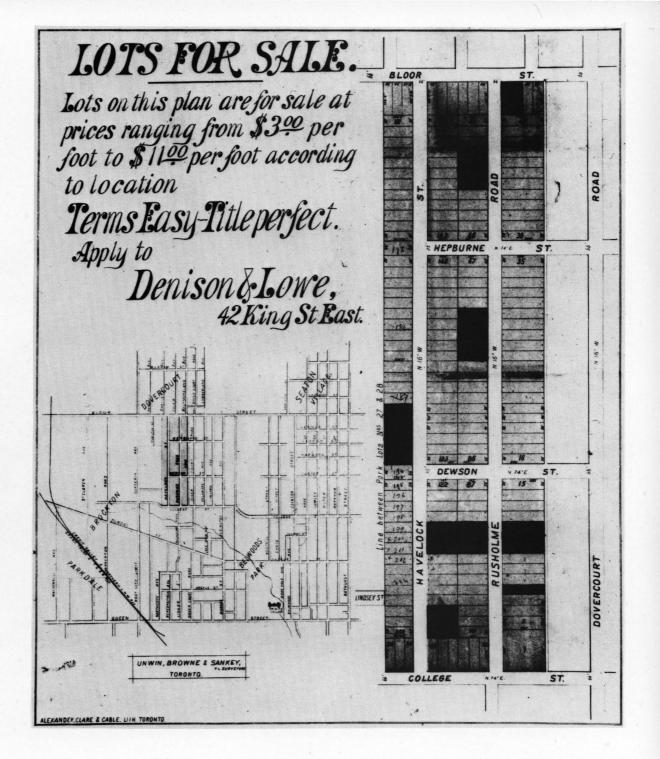


Long before serviced streets lined with houses became a reality in the Bloor-Dufferin area, the suburb existed on paper. Developers and speculators knew exactly where the streets would cut through fields and had already determined the size, shape, and numbers of the still grassy lots. The Toronto House Building Association, one of the most prominent developers, bought up westend properties throughout the 1870s. It was natural that development should commence on Dundas Street in Brockton, the area's original population centre. In November 1882 a reporter for the *Globe* enthused:

No one who has occasion or makes a point of visiting the extreme western portion of the City can fail to notice the recent change which the face of the locality has undergone. Where a few short years ago, aye even months ago, this land was used for common which rang with the shouts of children at play, it is now transformed into blocks of substantial dwellings or stores....¹⁹

Perhaps the most remarkable alteration in the west-end cityscape in the 1880s and 1890s was the subdivision of the large landholdings in Bloor-Dufferin. The Denisons and other families reaped large profits by subdividing, developing, and selling their increasingly valuable properties. Fields that had stretched uninterruptedly now contained a network of streets, on which both homes and businesses would be constructed. Firms such as Denison & King Architects were in their element, rising to the challenge of planning and constructing not simply a single dwelling, but entire streets and neighbourhoods. For the wealthier families, the architectural ideal was the stately, three-storey brick house of generous proportions, offering such standard late-Victorian features as stained glass, decorative woodwork, balconies, and the occasional whimsical turret.

SUBDIVISION PLAN, 1880 Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board





HOUSES ON CRAWFORD STREET, 1890 Architects: Denison & King From: Canadian Architect & Builder 4 (September 1891) Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board Construction was not confined to residential dwellings. Industries were attracted to the neighbourhood as the advantages of locating near the railways became evident. This in turn brought to the neighbourhood new residents who wished to live close to their workplace. The creation in Bloor-Dufferin of areas specifically identified with industry had implications for housing, in that some builders planned with the workingman in mind, constructing affordable alternatives to the more opulent "brick with balcony".

The industries that located here in the 1880s included Wagner and Ziedler's Planing Mill, the Canadian Wire Mattress Company, Campbell Flour Mills, the Dodge Wood Split Pulley Company, and the Nordheimer Piano Company. In 1902 the Canada Foundry Company (later part of Canadian General Electric) set up operations on a sixty-acre (25 ha) site at Lansdowne and Davenport and became one of the major industries in the area. Around the same time meat-packing plants were located near the freight facilities, which created more jobs.

When in the 1880s and 1890s Bloor-Dufferin became home for many families, neighbourhood institutions naturally took their place in the area. Churches, the social as well as religious focal point for most nineteenth-century communities, had been established early on. St. Anne's Anglican Church was founded in 1862, and St. Helen's Roman Catholic Church was established in 1871. St. Helen's was a true expression of community effort. When work commenced on digging the foundations, children were given a half day away from school so that they could pitch in, and their parents arrived at the site with horse teams, scrapers, and shovels.²⁰ The Wesley Church, built on the northwest corner of Dundas Street and present-day Ossington Avenue in 1874-75, was a centre of evangelistic Methodism, with revival meetings that sometimes lasted for weeks. In 1877 Knox College students established a Presbyterian mission at Brockton which soon developed into Chalmers Presbyterian Church.

In the latter part of the century these early churches were joined by St. Clarens Avenue Methodist

Church, built in 1887 at the southwest corner of Dundas and St. Clarens; the Ossington Avenue Baptist Church at Ossington and Bloor in 1886 or 1888; and St. Mary the Virgin Anglican Church near Delaware and Bloor in 1889.

As congregations grew, Chalmers Presbyterian erected a large church on Dundas and Dovercourt in 1889, and Bonar Presbyterian moved in 1890 from St. Mark's Hall (Brock Avenue and Dundas) to a new church at the corner of Lansdowne and College. In the following year the Centennial Methodist Church (1891) was constructed on Dovercourt just south of Bloor and the Dovercourt Methodist opened on Westmoreland between Hallam and Dupont. In 1894 Presbyterian services, which had begun in 1890 at Dawes Hall, were relocated to the Dovercourt Road Presbyterian Church. Most churches organized Sunday schools, choirs, Bible meetings, and young people's associations.

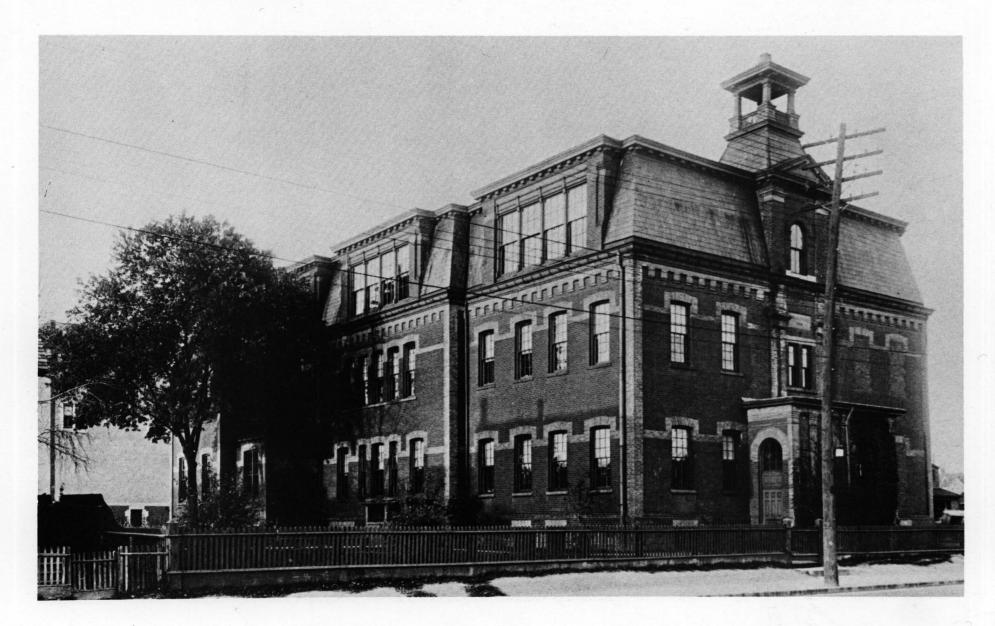
WESLEY METHODIST CHURCH, ca. 1875 Dundas Street West, northwest corner Ossington Avenue. Cart of James Matthews, Toronto Steam Power Soda Water Factory. Courtesy Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (T10835)



Many of Bloor-Dufferin's schools date from the 1880s, although a separate school was established in Brockton in 1857 by Archbishop Walsh in a frame building on St. Clarence Avenue (now St. Clarens Avenue).²² The original Dewson Public School, a four-room building at the corner of Concord and Dewson, opened in 1884. Dovercourt

Public School, the first in Dovercourt Village, opened in 1886 in a private house on Hallam Street and was later moved to a community hall on Wallace Avenue before a schoolhouse was constructed in 1887-88. In 1887 the first classes at Brock Public School were held.

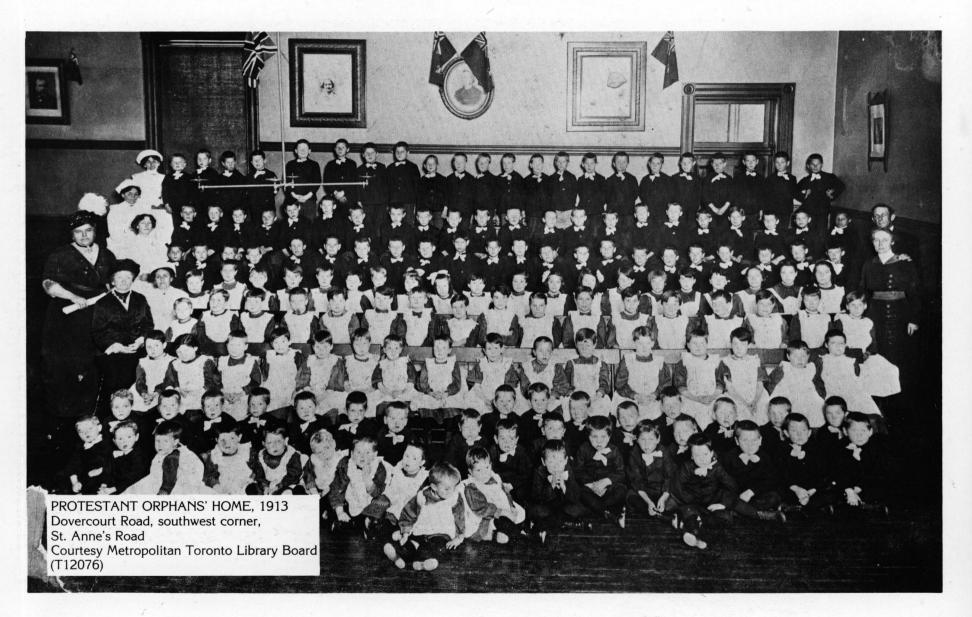
DOVERCOURT PUBLIC SCHOOL, ca. 1920 Bartlett Avenue, northwest corner Hallam Street Stood 1887-88 — 1938-39 Courtesy Archives, Toronto Board of Education



The Protestant Orphans' Home, a benevolent institution founded in 1851, moved in 1883 to new premises on land formerly belonging to the Denisons. The desire of its directors to provide "a more spacious and better equipped institution out in the purer air of some suburb" resulted in the building of a \$38,240 structure on Dovercourt, just north of Dundas.²³

Another social agency, the Young Men's Christian Association (YMCA), gained a foothold in Bloor-Dufferin in 1887, when Chalmers Church hosted a gathering addressed by Mr. S.H. Blake, Q.C., who impressed on his audience the need for a west-end YMCA to protect "the green young man of the country" from the temptations of city life.

By 1900 the character of Toronto, including Bloor-Dufferin, had changed fundamentally. In fifty short years the city's population had increased by almost 700 per cent, as the city was transformed from a small trading centre into a great manufacturing and industrial metropolis.



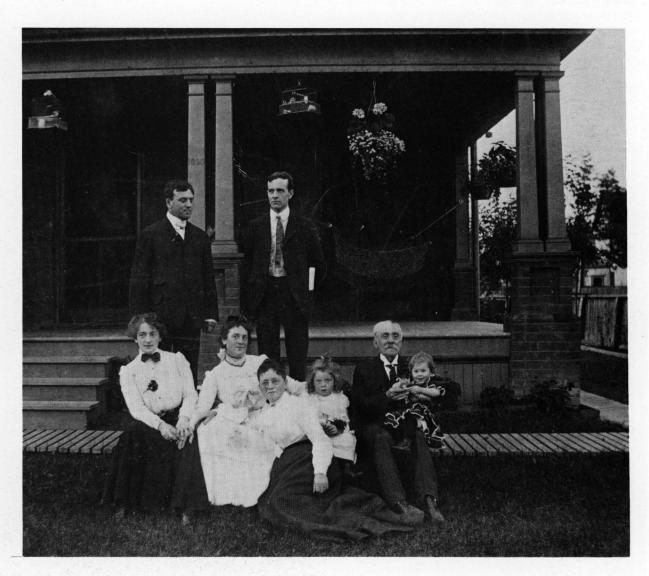
III:

The 1890s to the End of the Second World War: The Pink Lemonade Era

In the decades between 1890 and 1945 local concerns became intermeshed with international events. Years of heady prosperity were followed by a severe economic depression. These extremes were accompanied by two world wars and considerable social and political upheaval. It is an eloquent testimony to the enduring human qualities of optimism and perseverance that, in spite of the dark days, which sometimes must have seemed endless, most people when asked to describe those years wistfully recall fond images of a life somehow gentler and more peaceful than today's. The memories of one Bloor-Dufferin resident crystallized in the following poignant phrase: "Of course, in those days, that was the pink lemonade era."25

In 1908 a lot twenty-two feet (6.7 m) wide on Chesley Avenue off Brock sold for \$125 and within a year the owners moved into a house of their own construction. Many newcomers built their own homes. Some had enough land to maintain a small farm. Within a few years they either built additional houses on the property for their families or subdivided and sold off the land.

Developers appealed to prospective owners with a wide range of incomes and expectations. On Delaware Avenue a detached house planned in 1904 by architect R.J. Edwards offered a front and back porch, gabled roof, bay windows, bathroom, library, and billiard room in the attic.²⁷ Two pairs of semidetached houses were built in 1909 by Deeth & Son on Dufferin, near Fisher, at a cost of \$9000. These dwellings were "two and one-half storeys, of brick construction, with stone foundations, pine floors and interior finish, open plumbing, hot air heating, combination lighting".²⁸ In the same year architect G.B. Harper prepared plans "for three attached dwellings to be



BROWN FAMILY AT HOME, ca 1903 1050 Bloor Street West

Courtesy City of Toronto Archives, Foster Collection (FC 185-10)

erected on Bartlett Avenue, near Hallam Street" at an estimated cost of \$8000.29 Other houses, such as one designed by F.H. Herbert in 1914 for a Rusholme Road site, were larger and were constructed with more expensive materials. The exterior of this house was of red pressed brick with stone trimmings, the entrance porch having stone columns and a pergola roof. The dining room, stairwell, and living room were finished in quartercut oak, and the remaining areas of the house with white enamel woodwork and quarter-cut oak flooring. All this for \$12,000. Bloor-Dufferin's swift transition from suburban to urban status is reflected in Herbert's considerations when preparing the architectural drawings for the house: "This problem is quite different from the suburban or country home, where space is not wholly limited. The house stands on a narrow lot with buildings on both sides, which means working to a definite idea in order to utilize properly every inch of the area,"30

The streets on which the new housing was built were, with few exceptions, dirt roads. Dufferin had a surface of round cedar blocks. While Bloor Street remained unpaved between Bathurst and Dufferin until 1913,³¹ plank sidewalks were provided for pedestrians. With the first thaw, the frozen ruts were transformed into mire as far as the eye could see, and the sidewalks shifted on a bed of mud. Once this section of Bloor Street was paved, its development as a commercial strip could proceed more effectively. The street is still characterized by a line of two- and three-storey buildings, mostly erected in the 1910s, with stores on the street level catering to the daily needs of the community, and apartments above.

By 1912 Havelock, Rusholme, Dovercourt, and Gladstone were developed from Bloor Street south to Dufferin Grove Park. The pioneers of these neighbourhoods were keen to protect what they had built by ensuring the continued residential status of some streets. In 1915 the City of Toronto, no doubt prompted by local pressure, took steps to maintain the integrity of residential districts by limiting business establishments in the area bordered by Dundas, College, Ossington, and Dovercourt.³²

HAVELOCK STREET LOOKING SOUTH TO COLLEGE STREET, ca. 1900 Courtesy City of Toronto Archives (DPW 14 - vol. 5-64)



Not all the residents' energies were spent in building. With the outlines of the community clearly drawn, the essential services provided, and the basic institutions founded, their best efforts were reserved, perhaps, for the acquisition and enjoyment of those amenities appropriate to a neighbourhood that had come of age.

The proselytizing efforts of Mr. Blake in 1887, referred to earlier, on the necessity of a Christian refuge for young men finally paid off. In 1910 the west-end Young Men's Christian Association constructed a new three-storey building on College Street, complete with dormitories, social rooms, a bowling alley, and a swimming pool.

In 1913 the Dovercourt Branch of the Toronto Public Library opened at the corner of Bloor and Gladstone. It had the distinction of being the first library fully funded by the city, and was at that time the largest branch library in all of Canada. Features such as children's activities and a brick patio, where, as long-time area resident Margaret Lee recalls, "you could sit and read till your eyes fell out", made the library an instant success with the community.

In 1915 Women's College Hospital moved from Seaton Street to a house at 125 Rusholme Road, built around 1887 by Clarence Denison. The hospital's original capacity of twenty-five

beds and ten cots was enlarged to seventy beds and twenty-five cots with the addition of a three-storey brick building in 1917. Before the hospital occupied the new wing, the city used it temporarily during the 1918 influenza epidemic. In 1935 the hospital moved to a new building at 70 Grenville Street, and the old house was demolished to make way for an apartment building.³³

CHILDREN'S ROOM, DOVERCOURT BRANCH (now Bloor and Gladstone Branch), Toronto Public Library, 1918
Built 1913
Bloor Street West, southwest corner, Gladstone Avenue
Architect: Chapman and McGiffin
Courtesy Toronto Public Library Archives



North of Dundas and west of Dufferin, Charles Leslie Denison created the Dufferin Riding and Driving Park in the late 1880s. Dufferin Race Track opened in 1908 with thirty-five horses. Abe Orpen eventually purchased the track for \$400,000 from the trustees of Denison's estate. From the beginning the "half-miler" attracted hundreds of people. Regular visitors had their favourite jockeys, such as Dude Foden, who raced for thirty-seven years and was fondly referred to as "King of the Half-Mile Track".³⁴

When no races were being held, the empty oval in the centre of the track was otherwise pressed into service, sometimes as a baseball field and at least once a year as the site of the circus. One magical day every summer the train stopped at the level crossing at Lansdowne and Bloor, and the circus people, with their animals and paraphernalia in tow, tumbled out:



They always had a parade across Bloor Street with elephants The ladies all dressed up in their spangles and what not, riding on the elephants' heads. The lions and tigers in cages, poor things. Men walking in very gaudy costumes with a monkey on their shoulders. The calliope. You could hear the calliope for miles. It would come along Bloor and then all the others streaming along and then they went off down Dufferin and set up in the park in the racetrack with tents. It was great excitement Of course, we looked at those women like they were made in heaven.³⁵

Parks provided a reliable, if tame, alternative to the novelties of the circus. Dovercourt Park, which appears as a reserve on maps as early as 1884, received trees and fences in 1908. In 1911 the city's provision of lavatories and a drinking fountain made it a more practical place for family recreation. The sand and gravel business at Christie Pits gave way to Willowvale Park in 1906.³⁶ Dufferin Grove Park had a fine stand of elm (which later died when so many Toronto trees succumbed to Dutch elm disease), as well as beeches and hazels. Hazel Creamer, life-long Bloor-Dufferin resident, recalls:

Another thing which we did every fall was gather the hazelnuts and beechnuts. We'd gather them in baskets and put them away for our Christmas. The beechnuts would be about two inches (5 cm) long, all green, sticky with moss. It used to be hard picking them but we let them dry and go real hard just like a walnut. Then Christmas we'd bring them up in the kitchen and take a hammer. But the hazelnuts were just beautiful, little tiny things.³⁷

CROWDS LINED UP BEFORE OPEN-BETTING ENCLOSURES AT DUFFERIN RACE TRACK, 1911 Dufferin Street, west side opposite Dufferin Park Avenue Courtesy City of Toronto Archives. James Collection (No. 213)

WILLOWVALE PARK (CHRISTIE PITS), 1910? ▷ Courtesy City of Toronto Archives, James Collection (No. 7289)

In winter the caretaker, "Gramp", would flood a section of the park for skating, a favourite activity. Violet Schatz, another long-time resident, remembers:

Now this is what we did for pleasure, and after school in those days ... you could go skating until ten to nine ... we would cut through the race track and when we got over the other side ... we'd yodel to him (father) that we were safe across the track and were going down into Dufferin Park for our skating.³⁸

Teenagers went to the Thompson Skating Rink at the southwest corner of Bloor and Dufferin, where for a quarter you could skate to the music of a band all evening long with the partner of your choice.

Amateur musical evenings were central to family life in many homes. Parents sent children to learn piano for twenty-five cents an hour or the violin for thirty-five cents. Usually the budding

musician was content to play before a captive and appreciative audience in the parlour. But the confident and determined ones, such as Violet Schatz, made their lessons pay in ways more tangible than praise:

I got five cents to go to the afternoon show (at the Windsor theatre, at Dufferin and College) and my sister used to play for Pearl White when she was in the movies, and she'd play the piano when Pearl was going off the cliff. She'd play this fast music and as she was going over the cliff she'd stop! And that would be the end till next week.³⁹



Bloor-Dufferin's younger set did not spend all their time gathering nuts, skating, or going to movies, though they may well have wished to do so. Along with nut gathering, September brought school. Kent School, opened in 1908, was for some time the largest public school in Canada. Former pupils recall the school, which was held in high regard by educators, as having been highly structured in its early days. Pupils were made to line up before entering the building and then marched through the halls to their classrooms to the piano playing of Miss Maudie Moffat. Brock Avenue School, like most schools, also emphasized discipline. One teacher who worked there around the time of the First World War "was quite a military man - he was great for cadets and also a great person for lining up to march into school,

very orderly".⁴⁰ At St. Helen's the girls' and boys' classes were segregated. Old St. Helen's, built in 1883 at Lansdowne and Dundas, was replaced in 1913 by a larger building at College and Brock. Other schools that opened during these years included St. Anthony in 1900, Essex in 1902, and Pauline in 1914.

Some children never quite relished school life. Margaret Lee, a former Kent student, confesses that she "hated school and wept and had to be dragged all the way there". Many pupils left while still young in order to work. For those who stayed on, however, school days meant much more than dreary discipline. Recollections of learning by rote, spelling drills, and a taste of the strap are impossible to separate from the personalities who

ruled those young lives: Mr. Brennan, who could make you quake in your boots, but could always be relied on to invite you to help yourself to the suckers and candies in his desk drawer; Miss McKenzie, habitually attired in long black skirts and notorious for riding her bicycle to school; Mr. Saul, who proudly parked his new car in front of the school, left the windows rolled up on a hot day, and was devastated when they exploded with the heat; Pussyfoot Clark, who surreptitiously peeked through the windows in classroom doors, always on the prowl for mischief-makers; and the two Misses Adams, Litisha and Matilda, who had a most democratic approach to driving their Plymouth - one steered while the other changed gears.41



SPRING PLANTING AT DEWSON STREET PUBLIC SCHOOL, May 1908 Dewson Street, southeast corner Concord Avenue Courtesy Archives, Toronto Board of Education Gift of Mrs. Constance McRae

LITTLE MOTHERS' CLASS AT ST. HELEN'S SEPARATE SCHOOL, 1919
Brock Street, southeast corner, College Street
Courtesy of City of Toronto Archives,
Health Dept. (No. 611)



After leaving school many young people found employment in the numerous factories, businesses, and offices in the region, such as the old Eaton's factory (on Bloor), Bell Telephone, the Loblaws head office on Bloor at Lansdowne, or Neilson's.

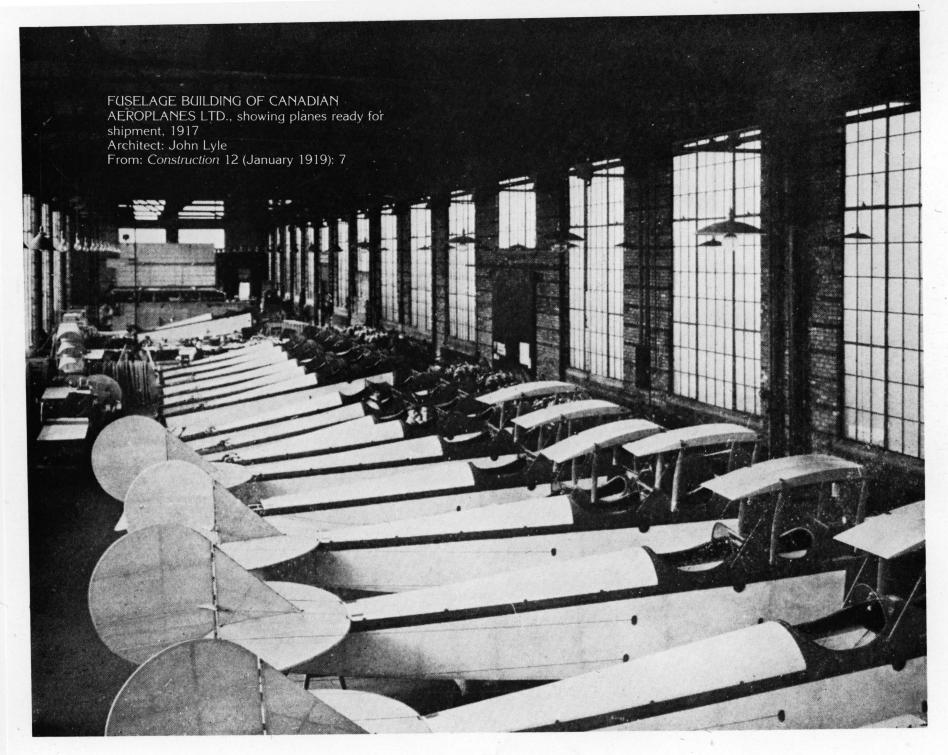
On Victoria Day in 1893 William Neilson first began selling the ice cream that has made his name famous for almost a century. During that first summer Neilson produced 3750 gallons (17,000 L) of ice cream, which sold for \$3000, quite an achievement considering that his resources consisted of three freezers (each with a capacity of two gallons (9 L)) and one brawny son.⁴² From the beginning Neilson's was a family business. For several years Morden, William's son, cranked the handle that churned the cream. This strenuous activity so developed Morden's already sturdy physique that he became a parttime amateur wrestler. Mary, William's wife, had contributed to the support of their five children during the lean years by baking and selling mincemeat pies. Only when the business's finances measured up to her exacting standards could she be persuaded to abandon the kitchen. Even then it was not exchanged for a leisurely parlour existence. Instead, Mary enrolled at Guelph Agricultural College, where she studied subjects relevant to the business. On her return, she took up a staff position and implemented improvements.

In 1905 Neilson built the Edwardian house and adjacent two-storey factory that still stand on the east side of Gladstone, above Dundas. The larger premises and staff of twenty-five allowed for increased production, and the manufacture of chocolate bars was introduced during the winter, when the sale of ice cream dropped. The distinctive smell of roasting cocoa beans soon spread beyond the factory walls. In her short story "The Neilson Chocolate Factory", Irena Friedman describes "the warm fragrance of chocolate which forever lingered over the neighbourhood."⁴³

The outbreak of the First World War changed the life of many residents of Bloor-Dufferin. Overnight, it seemed, the war effort became the focal point of manufacture and of daily life. In 1914 the already industrially active area moved into high gear. The only aviation factory in the country, Canadian Aeroplanes Limited, opened a huge plant covering six acres (2.4 ha) at 1244 Dufferin, south of Dupont. The factory operated twenty-four hours a day. Working twelve-hour shifts (with a half-hour off for lunch), its 2000 workers produced 2950 Curtiss TN4 aircrafts in two years.



SORTING ROSEBUD CHOCOLATES AT NEILSON'S, 194?
Courtesy William Neilson Ltd.



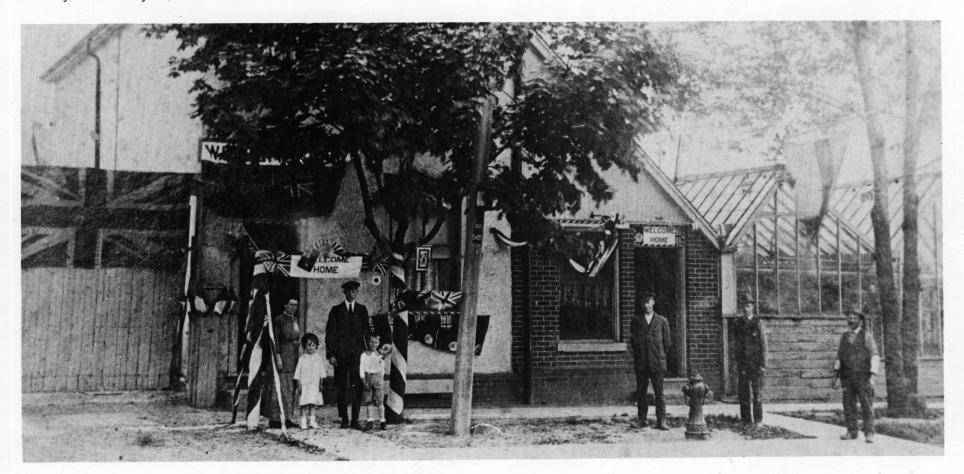
The old St. Helen's School was turned into a barracks for hundreds of young servicemen who, on the completion of their training, marched down to the exhibition grounds and boarded east-bound trains. Hazel Creamer remembers:

(We) children dashed up to the corner because they had a recruiting man come up and stand on a platform and ask all the young fellows to sign for the war. Of

FROST GREENHOUSES WELCOME HOME THE TROOPS, 1918 Hallam Street, northeast corner, Concord Avenue Courtesy Arthur J. Dykes, Frost Greenhouses course the poor fellows didn't know what they were signing into and just to be patriotic they put their name on the dotted line. Into a tent they went.... The boys were shipped overseas. I can always remember they had the bugle going. "Everybody enlist. There's a war going on." The poor fellows - sixteen, seventeen- all signed their name on the dotted line and they went into the tent and from then on we don't know where they went. It was a terrible war and I thought to myself as a child: "Will this war ever be over with?" 45

Eventually, four long years later, it was over. The celebrations of Bloor-Dufferin residents, such as Violet Schatz, spilled out into the streets:

There were flags up and down the street, there was a piano out at the end of the street, and we had a big party for the boys that came home and we had a dance on the street. Everybody served. They made cakes and they served tea and ice cream and it was a real neighbourly party for the boys that came home.⁴⁶



Postwar prosperity brought a boom in construction. New shops appeared along Bloor Street. Residents embraced the automobile as the only civilized means of transportation. The establishment of the Toronto Transportation Commission in 1921 resulted in major road work, as services were extended and new streetcars introduced. Many original buildings of the area were either torn down or transformed. In 1920 the Rusholme estate, thought to be the oldest proper-

ty occupied continuously by the same family in Toronto, came onto the market. The five acres (2 ha) were subsequently subdivided, and the land was intersected by new streets. In 1929 Heydon Villa was demolished, to be replaced by the Heydon Terrace apartment block. Part of the Kent School playground was taken over for the site of Bloor Collegiate, which was built in 1925. The Edith L. Groves School (now Heydon Park Secondary School), a vocational public school for girls,

moved in 1926 to the former premises of the Protestant Orphans' Home on Dovercourt Road. In 1921 the corner-stone for a new St. Anthony Church was laid. In 1923 decoration of the interior of the second St. Anne's Church, built in the Byzantine style in 1907, was begun. Ten artists, three of whom were Group of Seven members, executed the paintings, which still attract many visitors.

LAYING STREETCAR TRACKS, 22 JULY 1922 Ossington Avenue, south of College Street Courtesy Toronto Transit Commission (No. 661)



PENDENTIVE OF THE DOME, ST. ANNE'S ANGLICAN CHURCH THE ASCENSION BY H.S. STANSFIELD Gladstone Avenue west side between Langemarck and College Street Courtesy St. Anne's Anglican Church



Beginning in the twenties, residents made regular pilgrimages to the Frost Greenhouses, an oasis of beauty and tranquillity amidst urbanized Dovercourt. Church guilds met in the bright buildings, and members, ensconced in wicker chairs, leisurely sipped tea. Wedding parties were photographed against lush, exotic backgrounds. And the tradition was established of opening the greenhouses every Palm Sunday to an admiring public, which sometimes numbered 5000.

The exuberance of these years was exemplified by the Diamond Jubilee Confederation celebrations in 1927. On Monday, May 9, Willowvale Park was *the* place to be: "patriotic dancing" to the music of military bands, flags everywhere, the entire scene lit by Boy Scout torchbearers and the grand finale - fireworks!⁴⁷

These prosperous times came to an end in 1929, when the stock-market crash ushered in ten years of Depression. Factory production fell off in Bloor-Dufferin, as it did elsewhere.

Albert Crosland remembered how hard it was for people who could not find work:

There was an awful lot of movement. I pretty near went west myself, and you could go for ten dollars. That's how bad they needed men out there for harvest. Just the main line out here, the CN and CP. Every big freight went up. There were a bunch of them on the top of the freight.⁴⁸

The Depression was only one of the major events of the 1930s to be felt in this Toronto community. The far-reaching effects of the rise of the Nazi party in Europe rippled across Toronto during the summer of 1933. Gangs of youths incited several incidents of anti-Semitic violence across the city, culminating in a large confrontation and

TELEPHONE OPERATORS AT THE SWITCH-BOARD, LOMBARD EXCHANGE, ca. 1949
Dufferin Street, west side between Bloor Street and Wallace Avenue
Courtesy Bell Canada Telephone Historical
Collection (No. 13514)

the unfurling of a swastika flag during a baseball game in Christie Pits on August 16. Six hours of rioting ended with two arrests and scores of injuries.⁴⁹

Bloor-Dufferin, like the country, remained in the rut of the Depression until lifted out by the full-scale production demands of the Second World War. Work was steady again, and wages were higher. Resident John Mallon summarized the effects on daily life of the vicissitudes of international economics and politics as follows: "Well, you see, you had a shortage, and then you had an overage, and the overage was very nice to take." Although people had more cash in their pockets,

food was rationed, and "everyone was making arrangements sideways with the grocery stores." 50

When the thirties ended, a phase in the existence of Bloor-Dufferin came to a close. In 1934 the last remaining part of "Dovercourt", its distinctive triple-chimney stack still visible through the trees and behind the newer buildings, was demolished. After the Second World War other links with the old life would soon disappear. Rusholme, the solitary survivor of the Denison mansions, was torn down in 1954, and in November 1955 the final race was run at Dufferin Race Track, which would soon be replaced by the new Dufferin Mall.



IV:

1945 to the Present Postwar Immigration and Consolidation

Following the upheavals of the Second World War, the character of Toronto dramatically changed. Throughout the nineteenth century the population of Bloor-Dufferin, like that of the rest of the city, originated almost exclusively in the British Isles. But the end of the war brought a liberalization of Canadian immigration policies and a metamorphosis of Bloor-Dufferin. In 1951, 27 per cent of the population of the Dufferin planning district was of non-British origin (2.7 per cent Italian, 1.5 per cent German, 6.1 per cent Jewish, 6.6 per cent Ukrainian, 3.1 per cent French, and 7.0 per cent Polish). By 1960, members of the five main ethnic groups formed the substantial majority of the district, comprising 77 per cent of the total population. Italians alone accounted for 40 per cent and were now the largest single group.⁵¹

Art Creamer, a long-time Havelock Street resident, describes this change:

Of course, Toronto was the bed of the Protestants The Orange Parade was a big thing and the Queen's parade came from downtown along Queen Street into the Exhibition every year. All that's vanished now. Of course the whole trend has changed because of the influx of Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, and Greek. There is every nationality in the world, and we get along with all of them.⁵²

The neighbourhood had three ingredients necessary to attract new Canadians: reasonable housing costs, excellent transportation, and industries and employment opportunities nearby. Between 1948 and 1952 large numbers of Eastern Europeans settled in Bloor-Dufferin, replacing much of the Jewish community, which began to move north. (The Bais Yehuda congregation, founded in 1925, moved from its location on Dovercourt Road north of Bloor in 1965 and amalgamated with Beth Emeth in North York.)

The Hungarian Revolution of 1956 brought more refugees to the area. Eventually, however, the centre of the Eastern European community slowly moved farther west in the city.

FACADE, FORMER BAIS YEHUDA SYNAGOGUE, 1979 (now Royal Canadian Legion Branch 621) Dovercourt Road, east side, between Northumberland and Shanly streets Courtesy Toronto Jewish Congress Archives "Shuls" Project by Sheldon Levitt, Lynn Milstone and Sidney Tenenbaum



The next group of new Canadians came from the villages and cities of Italy. The demand for housing in postwar Canada was creating a construction boom, but the necessary skilled labour was scarce. For skilled tradesmen struggling in the depressed economy of their homeland, Canada promised employment and a new future.

Italian settlement in Bloor-Dufferin was closely related to the needs of the residential construction industry. Subcontractors gathered crews together each day for various job sites, and it was easier for them if workers were located in just a few sections of the city. The Bloor-Dufferin area was one of their pick-up spots. Homes were often shared by relatives, tenants, and sponsored workers who had just arrived from Italy. "In the beginning it is very necessary to live in such crowded conditions - wages are low and jobs are not permanent. The best way of managing to keep afloat is to save money on rent and try to acquire a little extra for a rainy day." ⁵³

Most men came alone, working and saving for the day when they could afford to send for their wives and children. As families were reunited, the immigrants formed more permanent ties to the Bloor-Dufferin neighbourhood. Although the area had originally been selected for economic and job-related reasons, the bustling social community of sidewalk cafés, social clubs, churches, shops, and markets was soon a source of pride to the new Italian community.

In the mid-1950s Portuguese immigrants from the Azores Islands followed the Italians to the neighbourhood. One of these new Canadians was Mr. Raul Costa:

I arrived here the second of July 1958; I was twenty-six. I came alone, and after six months I brought my wife and boy....When I came here, I was an electrician, but I never worked as an electrician here because my English was very poor and they never gave me a chance to take the licence to be an electrician.⁵⁴

Mr. Costa told the immigration authorities that he would take any job. He was given a job as a dishwasher at forty dollars a week. For the first of the postwar Portuguese immigrants who had arrived a few years earlier, employment opportunities had generally been restricted to farming and railway work. As more people settled in Toronto, however, they could make job contacts and in time expand the areas in which they could find work.

By the end of the 1950s this newest wave of "pioneers", which included Italians, Portuguese, and many Greeks, was well on its way to being firmly established in Bloor-Dufferin. The ethnic diversity of the neighbourhood was reflected in the establishment of churches catering to specific groups, such as St. Wenceslaus for the Czech community (1951); Our Lady Queen of Croatia (1955); St. Sebastian, with masses in English, Italian and Portuguese (1967); and Olivet Portuquese Baptist (1978). The Catholic background of many of the new families led to the founding of new separate schools including J.J. McGrand (1969), replaced in 1984 by St. Mary's Catholic Secondary School, and St. Sebastian (1973). Other schools established during this time were Bickford Park High School in 1965, Brockton High School in 1966, and West Toronto Secondary School in 1972.

In the 1960s the composition of Bloor-Dufferin once again changed, following further revisions to Canadian immigration policy. A walk down Bloor Street, with its Indian and Pakistani grocery shops, restaurants, sari shops, and theatres, as well as West Indian roti and spice shops sprinkled between the Italian and Portuguese stores, gave evidence of this.

New Canadians had many challenges to meet. Families were often torn by economic pressures and cultural clashes between the old and new worlds. In many cases the adjustment to Canadian life was hardest for the women. Men had social contacts and clubs where they could go. Children made friends at school and quickly picked up English. (This sometimes led to conflicts between the traditional values of their parents and the values of their new friends.) In contrast to the men and children, many women spent long hours during the day either alone at home or isolated in factory or industrial cleaning jobs.

RAUL COSTA GREETS HIS WIFE AND SON ON THEIR ARRIVAL IN TORONTO FROM PORTUGAL, 1959 Courtesy Ontario Archives, Multicultural Collection



The Bloor-Dufferin community did try to help. In 1971 the Bloor and Gladstone Library participated in a program designed to reach immigrant women in their homes and help bring them into the community. The response to the program from husbands was not always warm, and volunteers were called everything from "devils" to "home-wreckers". The volunteers shrugged off the name-calling and forged ahead with their goal of helping women in the community become more independent. Women learned how to use the subways and buses, improved their language skills, and had an opportunity to socialize with other women. Malva Kannins. head librarian at that time, commented as follows: "The women who turned out are well on their way. Before long they move out into the community and become active, happy citizens. They also gain new respect from their husbands and children."55

In the 1970s thousands of people from Latin American countries settled in the area, along with more people from India and Pakistan. In the 1980s Chinese and Vietnamese became the latest groups of new Canadians to make their homes in Bloor-Dufferin, which had developed into one of the most ethnically diversified areas of Toronto.

Over the years a growing number of community support groups developed programs to help neighbourhood residents. The Cross Cultural Communication Centre, the Working Women Community Centre, the South Asian Social Services Organization, COSTI, the West End YMCA, Bloor Information and Legal Services, Wallace-Emerson Community Centre, as well as many churches and other associations, have all been active in this area.

One of the many English-as-a-second-language classes offered for new Canadians was taught at Kent School. Although the students worked diligently to adjust to a new culture, fears and anxieties sometimes surfaced. During a trip to the Toronto Islands, one student refused to walk out on the dock with the rest of her class. Her fear of water, it was discovered, was rooted in a traumatic boat trip from Vietnam, where she had almost drowned.

The fears were mixed with excitement in the discovery of a new community, a new school, and new friends. The students shared their first impression of Bloor-Dufferin:

The streets here are very wide. In my country the roads were narrow. I discovered apples and grapes here. I had never had them before in Vietnam.

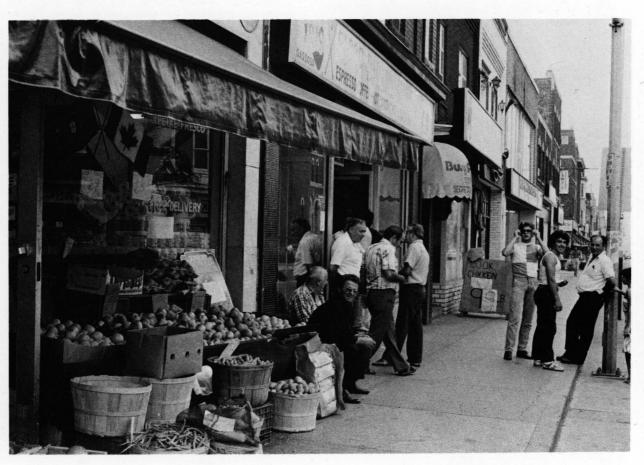
The students liked the quiet atmosphere of the neighbourhood as well as the many parks and recreational areas. Even their own houses were fascinating:

I had never seen brick houses before. In Vietnam houses are made of wood and don't have basements.

My home in Greece had a roof of rounded clay tiles, not like the houses in this neighbourhood.

As a home for new Canadians, this neighbourhood has many positive features. Although its quiet tree-lined streets and front porches buzzing with the activities of children at play give it the feeling of a small town, it lies close to the central downtown core. The subway runs through the heart of the neighbourhood, which also is crisscrossed by bus and streetcar routes. Easy transportation and affordable housing have been important factors in its role as a reception area for new immigrants.

STORES ALONG BLOOR STREET WEST BETWEEN BARTLETT AND GLADSTONE AVENUES, 1983 Courtesy Bloor and Gladstone Library, Local History Collection



Although house prices through the 1950s and 60s were relatively low, it was still a struggle for many new residents to bring in enough money to meet the monthly mortgage payments. It was not unusual for people to hold down two jobs, rent out a room or flat, or even get together with another family to share the expense of buying a house. Once the mortgage was paid off, attention turned to the repairs and renovations that were often needed. Many residents worked in the construction industry and thus had the skills needed to fix up their own homes. Working over weekends and during vacations, with the help of friends and relatives, they had to pay only for the necessary building materials. This do-it-yourself approach made people feel personally involved in maintaining the quality of the entire neighbourhood. Even when a family planned to sell its house and move after a few years, the pride of owning its own home (as well as the need to protect its resale value) encouraged residents to keep the houses in the neighbourhood in good repair.

In the 1960s, when Toronto prided itself on being one of the fastest-growing cities in North America, older neighbourhoods like Bloor-Dufferin were targeted for redevelopment. The opening in 1966 of the Bloor-Danforth subway made redevelopment even more likely. The first part of the neighbourhood to face this pressure was Dufferin Grove, bordered by Bloor, College, Dufferin, and Dovercourt, where some of the largest and most impressive houses of the whole district were located. Ironically, it was the very size of the houses that caused a problem. For many owners these houses were simply too large to maintain as single-family homes. As in other parts of Bloor-Dufferin, owners rented out rooms or flats. But because the houses in Dufferin Grove were so big, they could accommodate a larger number of tenants. When several co-ops and communes were set up, some of the long-time residents felt that they were being crowded out of their own neighbourhood. This sense of instability made the community receptive to the offers of developers. Successful highrise developments on Rusholme Road and Dufferin Street seemed to be the beginning of a new era.

In 1965 Bath-Shep Apartments Ltd. took out options to buy most of the block between Dufferin and Gladstone, south of Bloor. The company's plan was to buy all the houses and then tear them down, making room for a large apartment and townhouse complex. What seemed at first to be a straightforward development proposal welcomed by homeowners was in fact the beginning of a struggle that would change people's feelings about redevelopment. The outcome of this seven-year struggle would determine the kind of neighbourhood that Bloor-Dufferin would be for decades to come.

When Bath-Shep took out its options in 1965, the residents of Gladstone Avenue assumed that highrises would soon be replacing their old homes. But when the time came to sign the papers that would make the sales final, the developer suddenly became hard to reach. Financial and zoning problems had apparently proved overwhelming.

This left many of the sixty families involved in a desperate situation. Many had already made down payments on new houses or put deposits on apartments. One man had even sold all his furniture. Looking for help, the people turned to the city government.

A parade of Bloor-Dufferin area residents, some weeping, some shouting abuse, pleaded at City Hall for help in tracking down the developer who promised to buy their homes but did not. When one alderman suggested the company might be in temporary financial difficulties, he was shouted down in a chorus of "lies, lies, lies".

Over the next year residents, aldermen, and the developer tried to put together a new deal that would enable the company to build a three-tower highrise complex. ⁵⁶ In the end the negotiations failed, and the disappointed homeowners were never compensated for the money they had lost.

In 1970 a new developer entered the picture. Lionstar Investments Ltd. proposed an even larger redevelopment between Gladstone and Dovercourt, from just south of Bloor Street down to Dufferin Grove Park and Hepbourne. As in the Bath-Shep affair, complicated negotiations took place between the city, the developer, and residents, as Lionstar tried to put together a workable program. This time, however, the community was deeply divided over the proposed development.

A growing number of people wanted to see the old houses preserved. Many of them had lived in the neighbourhood all their lives or had moved there because they liked the old homes and treelined streets. Some of the tenants hoped to buy a house of their own in the area and did not want to see their future homes disappear. And young couples who planned to have children were concerned about the threat to family housing, since most of the apartments projected by Lionstar would be bachelor or one-bedroom suites.⁵⁷

During the next two years the neighbourhood was galvanized into activity over this issue. Petitions were circulated, meetings held, and many groups activated: the Dewson Street Residents Association, the Havelock Street Tenants Union, the Bloor-Dufferin Residents Association, the South of Dufferin Grove Residents Coalition, the Havelock-Hepbourne-Rusholme Committee. Through newsletters and private conversations, people on both sides of the issue tried to win their neighbours' support. It was an exciting time for some and a confusing time for others. "We'd like to go, and we'd like to stay," 58 said Margaret Lee, who had lived in her Havelock Street house since 1912.

COLLAGE OF NEWSPAPER ARTICLES ON BLOOR-DUFFERIN REDEVELOPMENT, 1970s >

By early 1972 Lionstar was clearly in trouble. It owned only three of the houses it needed, most of its options on the other houses had lapsed, its request for higher-density rezoning had been denied, and the community was divided. Finally, in March 1972 the city's Building and Development Committee voted unanimously against the proposal. The next day Lionstar announced that it was getting out of city development altogether and would concentrate on the suburbs, where there were not so many "so-called community workers" around to pester them.⁵⁹

For opponents of redevelopment this was a great victory. For those who welcomed the developers, however, it was a major defeat. The times were not on their side. In December 1972 David Crombie was elected mayor, and a

Though it received only the barest

whisper in the next day's Papers, on the critics Manday March 27 the critics

night of Monaay, March the city's Buildings and Development Committee

high-rise development in the

But the homeowner

By JAMES CALDER

Telegram Staff Reporter

tial development got a hefty

"reform" group in City Council stressed the values of neighbourhood preservation. Perhaps even

Those Gladstone Ave. options Weep, plead ... FIND developer

Lionstar's Last Stand Council says NO to the non-functioning developer

Probing Bloor-Dufferin residents on high-rises SECTION 3—PAGES 35 TO 58

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city construction

Executive's representative on the building and development committee and planning heard, said he antici-

West-end builder lacks title to land area critic charges 15-storey apartment towers owns only the

A west-end developer who already has the city's

more importantly, developers had seen how difficult it was to assemble the land needed for redevelopment projects. As homeowners renovated their houses and formed personal attachments to the area, it became less and less likely that they would ever sell at prices that developers could afford. During the next decade only three more highrises would be built in all of Bloor-Dufferin. It took a few years to realize, but the major battle of the 1970s to preserve the architectural and residential balance of the neighbourhood had been won.

As the future of the neighbourhood seemed more secure, residents turned their attention to the organizations that strengthen a community. Home and school associations responded to the educational issues that were important to this neighbourhood such as heritage language classes and streaming. Local merchants and professionals organized the Bloordale Village Business Association and Bloorcourt Village Business Improvement Area to promote the well-being of hundreds of small stores and businesses. Residents' associations worked to enhance the quality of life in Bloor-Dufferin. The successful eight-year struggle of the Dovercourt Park Area Residents' Association against lead pollution was just one of the more prominent efforts of citizens working together for the health and security of the neighbourhood.

In all these activities today's residents are continuing the work begun two centuries ago by the first British families who settled in this area. When they cleared the land and built their estates, they looked to the future, hoping that their children and grandchildren would govern a peaceful and ordered society. With time, economic and social conditions changed. The landed estates were divided and sold off, making room for factories, businesses, and homes. Tens of thousands of people from all over the world came into the area to put their own dreams and ideals to work.

In the years to come future generations will look back to us, just as we look back to the early residents of Bloor-Dufferin. The decisions and actions that we take today will help shape the community in which they will live tomorrow.

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MECHANICS AT JOHN T. HEPBURN LTD. FOUNDRY, 1913
Dupont Street, north side between Ossington Avenue and Dovercourt Road
Courtesy of Metropolitan Toronto Library Board (T10882)

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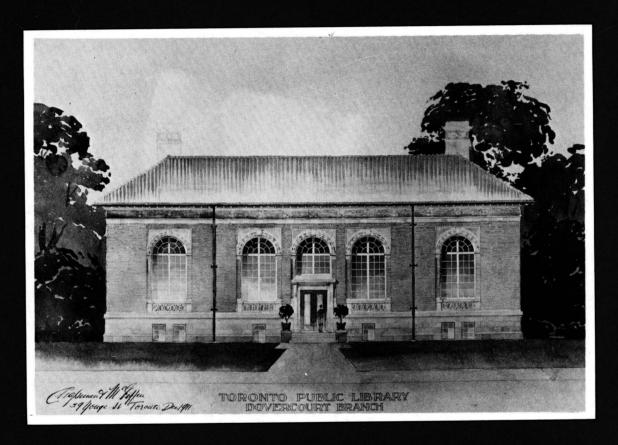
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Gladstone Avenue, west side between Langemarck Avenue and College Street
Courtesy William Neilson Ltd.