

Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development

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Article abstract

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Research Note/Note de recherche

Boards of Trade and Canadian Urban Development*

Elizabeth Bloomfield

Résumé/Abstract

Entre 1840 et 1950, des board of trade ou des chambres de commerce se formèrent dans quelque 600 centres urbains au Canada. Plusieurs études ont déjà traité du rôle important joué par ces associations d'hommes d'affaires. Le présent article présente un résumé de la législation fédérale et des modèles relatifs à l'incorporation de ces associations à travers le Canada, en insistant sur l'importance des board of trade comme agents de développement urbain.

Boards of trade or chambers of commerce were formed in over 600 Canadian communities between the 1840s and 1950. The key role of these associations of businessmen has been demonstrated or suggested in many studies of particular urban centres. This paper offers a more general overview, summarizing the federal legislation and the patterns of incorporation across Canada and outlining the significance of boards of trade as city-building agencies.

Boards of trade or chambers of commerce were formed in well over 600 Canadian communities between the 1840s and 1950. Of most of these cities, towns and villages it might be said, as Viscount Halifax declared of Toronto,

... the Board of Trade has played a notable part in the development of this city ... and the history of the one is inseparable from the history of the other.¹

The key role of the local board of trade is evident in any detailed research into the evolution of Canadian urban centres, especially until the 1920s. However, there have been few specific studies of these institutions, and no general overview has previously been attempted. So far, most attention has been paid to the first few boards which were established in metropolitan cities — Halifax, Quebec, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver. But new research is revealing the significance of such organizations in even the smallest urban centres, those of the Prairie West for example.²

How common were these organizations? Who belonged to them? Was there any difference between a board of trade and a chamber of commerce? What were their powers? What influence could they have on processes of urban devel-

opment? This paper offers a systematic introduction to boards of trade as city-building agencies, describing some of the time-space patterns which emerge from archival evidence of their formation, and outlining some aspects of their functions.

Procedures of Formation

The origins of boards of trade in North America communities have been traced back to medieval trade and craft guilds. Merchants in other French cities followed the example of the Marseille Chambre de Commerce of 1599 in forming associations to provide arbitration and advice and promote trade. Halifax is usually credited with organizing the first in North America, an "Association for the Benefit of Trade" in 1750.³ By 1801, New York New Haven, Charleston and Philadelphia had formed such organizations; by 1858, there were 20 boards of trade and 10 chambers of commerce established in U.S. cities.⁴ St. John's, Newfoundland, seems to have been the first city in the British North American colonies to form a body actually styled a chamber of commerce, in 1806.⁵ Halifax merchants reorganized themselves into a "Committee of Trade" in 1804, which they renamed a Chamber of Commerce in 1822.⁶ Saint John had a Chamber of Commerce by the 1840s.⁷ Quebec City formed a Committee of Trade in 1809, Montreal organized another in 1822, while Toronto had an informal Board of Trade from 1835.⁸

In the early 1840s, the Quebec, Montreal and Toronto boards of trade sought statutes of incorporation from the government of the Province of Canada, setting a new pattern which was to be followed by increasing numbers of towns and cities after 1850.⁹ The wording of the Quebec Board of Trade Act may be taken as representative of the functions of the incorporated associations. The 52 named charter members were described as "merchants, residents

*Thanks are due to persons who helped with aspects of the research for this paper: Mr. J.M. Whalen of the Public Archives of Canada for guidance to the registers and certificates of incorporation; Professor G.M. Betts of the University of New Brunswick for details of Saint John; Professor R. Rudin of Concordia University for Trois-Rivières; and the general managers of the Belleville, Guelph, Brantford, St. Catharines and Kingston chambers of commerce. The research was supported, as part of a larger project, by a post-doctoral fellowship from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada.

and carrying on trade" who wished to promote "measures . . . calculated to advance and render prosperous the lawful trade and commerce of this Province and of the said City of Quebec more especially." Eligibility for membership was defined as residence in the city for two years and engagement in "Banking, Trade or Commerce of any kind." The Board of Trade was to be governed by a Council consisting of president, vice-president and ten other members. Boards of Arbitration and of Examiners were established to settle commercial differences and ensure quality standards for produce — functions which boards of trade would continue to discharge.¹⁰

By 1874, 14 other towns and cities had obtained incorporated boards of trade by special act — Ottawa (1857), Hamilton (1864), London (1866), Stratford (1868), St. Thomas (1869), St. Catharines (1872), Chatham (1872), Levis (1872), Sorel (1872), King's County, N.B. (1873), Oshawa (1873), St. John's (1874), Saint John (1874) and Ingersoll (1874).¹¹ The eligible occupations for board of trade membership were widened to include "cashier of any chartered bank" in the Ottawa act of 1851.¹² The Stratford act (1868) permitted any "merchant, trader, mechanic, manager of Bank or Insurance agent," while St. Catharines added "accountant, director or officer of any financial institution, owner or master of any vessel or master builder."¹³ In Oshawa's act of incorporation, non-residents who were "interested" in the village were permitted, and for the first time manufacturers were listed among the eligible occupations.¹⁴

The growing number of applications from even quite small urban centres prompted the Dominion Parliament to pass a general act "to authorize the incorporation of Boards of Trade in the Dominion" in 1874.¹⁵ The act provided that:

Any number of persons, not less than thirty, being merchants, traders, brokers, mechanics, manufacturers, managers of banks or insurance agents, and being residents of any village, town or city having a population of not less than two thousand five hundred may associate themselves together as a Board of Trade.

A notarized certificate containing details of the charter members and officers was to be forwarded to the Secretary of State to be recorded in a register. Such a chartered board of trade was deemed to be a body corporate with all powers and responsibilities. It would be governed by a president, vice-president, secretary and council of eight other members, and should hold quarterly general meetings.

The 1874 Act was amended from time to time during the next 75 years. Chambers of commerce were deemed to have exactly the same powers and duties as boards of trade by an amendment of 1876.¹⁶ In fact, only francophone communities in Quebec used the title "chambre de commerce" until after 1920, but there was no difference in powers and

responsibilities. For simplicity, the term boards of trade is used here to mean chambers of commerce as well.

The Act's identification of a board of trade with an incorporated urban centre of at least middling size was modified, first in 1876 by allowance for boards of trade to be formed in "judicial districts" which would consist of rural hinterland as well as urban centre, later by extension to "electoral districts" (as in the North-West) in 1895, or "mining divisions" in British Columbia and the Yukon (which might have only 1500 population) in 1902.¹⁷ In 1917, the territory for which a board of trade might be incorporated was further extended to "any group of such municipalities or divisions."¹⁸

From 1920, those eligible for membership were no longer defined by their occupations, as in the 1874 act, but might simply be a group of at least 30 persons

. . . directly or indirectly engaged in trade, commerce or the economic or social welfare of any district . . . whether residents of such a district or not [whose common purpose was] promoting and improving trade and commerce and the economic, civic and social welfare of [the] district.¹⁹

From this time, it was also provided that an annual salary should be submitted to the Secretary of State as evidence that a board was still viable and active. Fines were to be levied on boards which failed to provide such annual returns, and defunct boards were to be dissolved by order-in-council.²⁰

Patterns of Formation by Province and Decade

The Secretary of State's register of Board of Trade certificates constitutes a valuable source. The general indexes, which are in roughly chronological order, may be used to summarize the patterns of formation of boards in new communities across Canada. The certificates themselves contain useful clues to the structure of each community elite at the time a board of trade was formed.²¹

In Appendix 1, details of board of trade formation have been re-ordered alphabetically within each Canadian province. Table 1 summarizes the chronological pattern by province and decade to 1950.²² Before the general act of 1874, only 20 boards of trade had been created, three-fifths of them in Ontario towns and cities. During the next 15 years to 1889, a further 56 boards were formed, Ontario maintaining a share of over half. Western communities were quick to form boards, while those in Quebec and the Maritime provinces were relatively slow.²³ From the 1890s, there was a steady increase in new creations, notably in Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. By 1900, 153 boards of trade (or chambers of commerce) had been formed, 71 of them in Ontario, 17 in Quebec, 16 in Nova Scotia, 14 in New Bruns-

Certificate of Association

The Brockville
Board of Trade
(Ink)

Dated 4th October 1906.

Recorded 24th October 1906.

Joseph H. Baker
Dep. Registrar General
Canada

The undersigned Merchants, Brokers, Mechanics, Insurance Agents, and Manufacturers, of the Town of Brockville, in the County of Leeds and Province of Ontario: do hereby certify under our hands and seals as follows:

1. That we have associated ourselves together as a Board of Trade for the aforesaid Town of Brockville, which has a population of about nine thousand five hundred (9500) inhabitants.
 2. That the name of such Board of Trade shall be "The Brockville Board of Trade" within the limits of which Town its business is to be transacted.
 3. That we have appointed _____ as the Secretary of the said Board of Trade.
- Witness our hands and seals at Brockville, this fourth day of October, A.D. 1906.

Former Board of Trade of
City of Brockville
incorporated 1864/1906

name changed by
P.C. 739 April 27, 1927
to Brockville Board of
Commerce
see Reg. 302 Feb. 3/27

Name		Occupation
1	L. S. Beach	L.S. Merchant
2	J. H. Gilmore	L.S. Merchant
3	W. B. Macpherson	L.S. Manufacturer
4	W. H. Davis	L.S. Merchant
5	Robt. Craig	L.S. Merchant
6	Chas. H. Buell	L.S. Merchant
7	D. W. Downey	L.S. Merchant
8	A. M. Patterson	L.S. Merchant
9	George A. Wright	L.S. Merchant
10	A. Cummings	L.S. Insurance Agent
11	W. H. Hyle	L.S. Merchant
12	James Robertson	L.S. Insurance Agent
13	W. M. Shearer	L.S. Real Estate Agent
14	L. M. Spaidai	L.S. Manufacturer
15	W. M. Rhodes	L.S. Merchant
16	Mrs. R. Bach	L.S. Merchant
17	Geo. T. Lewis	L.S. Merchant
18	L. W. M. Dougall	L.S. Merchant
19	C. J. M. Naughton	L.S. Broker
20	H. G. Cochrane	L.S. Insurance Broker
21	W. L. Kincaid	L.S. Merchant
22	R. Leslie Wright	L.S. Manufacturer
23	J. H. A. Briggs	L.S. do
24	W. P. Millar	L.S. do
25	J. E. Lowey	L.S. do
26	J. G. Gardner	L.S. do
27	W. M. Farr	L.S. Mason

28. A. G. Dobbie

FIGURE 1. Facsimile of part of the charter certificate of Brockville Board of Trade.

SOURCE: PAC, RG 68, Liber 155, Folio 283. A total of 100 local businessmen declared themselves charter members.

Table 1
BOARDS OF TRADE FORMED IN CANADIAN COMMUNITIES
BY PROVINCE AND DECADE TO 1950

	By 1874	1874-9	1880-9	1890-9	1900-9	1910-9	1920-9	1930-9	1940-50	TOTAL No.	%
Prince Edward Island	—	1	1	—	2	—	—	1	1	6	1.0
Nova Scotia	1	2	2	11	17	—	9	3	3	48	7.7
New Brunswick	2	1	—	11	6	3	5	1	8	37	6.0
Quebec	5	—	5	7	17	15	17	25	53	144	23.2
Ontario	12	11	19	29	32	28	7	9	18	165	26.6
Manitoba	—	1	4	6	14	4	—	4	3	36	5.8
Saskatchewan	—	—	3	5	24	9	1	6	1	49	7.9
Alberta	—	—	1	2	7	5	7	3	5	30	4.8
British Columbia	—	1	4	6	14	18	20	17	24	104	
		—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	0.3
Canada No.	20	17	39	77	134	82	66	69	117	621	100.0
%	3.2	2.7	6.3	12.4	21.6	13.2	10.6	11.1	18.9	100.0	

Source: Compiled from the Secretary of State's register of Board of Trade charters (PAC, RG68) from 1874 to 1950 and earlier statutes. The complete list is presented in the Appendix.

wick, 11 in each of Manitoba and British Columbia, 8 in Saskatchewan, 3 in Alberta and 2 in Prince Edward Island. In relation to size of its urban population, Canada had fewer boards or chambers than the United States, where 2,944 had been created by 1898.²⁴

The decade 1900-1909 was the busiest ever for new formations, with 134 new boards bringing the nominal total to 287. Record numbers of communities formed new boards in

nearly all provinces, but the most dramatic gains were in the West, especially in Saskatchewan.²⁵ Maritime and Prairie communities were inconspicuous during the decade 1910-1919, while Quebec and British Columbia began to dominate the list of new creations, a pattern which would continue to 1950.

By 1920, boards or chambers had been formed in 369 communities. How does this compare with the numbers of incorporated urban centres? Virtually all urban centres with

Table 2
CANADIAN BOARDS OF TRADE FORMED BY 1920 IN RELATION TO
NUMBERS OF URBAN CENTRES (1921)

	Number of Cities and Towns with:			Number of Places where Boards of Trade formed
	5000 + population	1000-4999 population	1000 + population (total)	
Prince Edward Island	1	1	2	4
Nova Scotia	13	19	32	33
New Brunswick	3	17	20	23
Quebec	28	60	88	49
Ontario	44	101	145	131
Manitoba	4	12	16	29
Saskatchewan	5	20	25	41
Alberta	4	21	25	15
British Columbia	8	17	25	43
TOTAL	110	268	378	368

Source: Compiled from Census of Canada, 1921 and Secretary of State's register of Board of Trade charters.

5,000 population or more had such organizations, the only exceptions being in some suburban municipalities of large cities, where the metropolitan board of trade served the whole area. But there were fewer boards of trade than the 474 urban centres with over 1,000 population at the 1921 census. The closest match is between the 373 urban centres with city or town status and at least 1,000 population and the 369 Canadian communities which had formed boards or chambers by 1920. On this basis, Quebec and Alberta would seem to have less than their share of boards of trade, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and British Columbia rather more (Table 2).

Although the legislation had permitted boards of trade to be formed in judicial, electoral or mining districts, new creations to 1920 were overwhelmingly based in incorporated urban centres. In Ontario, for example, only 5 of the 131 boards formed to 1920 were defined in rural districts or unincorporated urban places. Boards of trade were also created in some urban municipalities without formal chartering by the Secretary of State — at least eight in Ontario to 1920.²⁶ The average size of communities forming boards of trade steadily decreased to 1920, as Table 3 illustrates for Ontario. The mean size of an urban centre in which a new board was created dropped from 11,750 in the 1850s, to 4,500 in the 1870s, 2,236 in the 1890s, and a low of 1,730 in the decade 1911-1920, after which it rose somewhat irregularly over the decades to 1980. The mean size of population in other provinces may have been rather lower. This was specifically allowed by the legislation in British Columbia

and the Yukon. In the prairie provinces, the declarations by the charter members of the number of people in the board of trade territory must often have been more hopeful than truthful. In Saskatchewan, virtually every new board of trade served an urban population of well under 1,000, and in several cases, as low as 250.

Clearly, in the rapid proliferation of boards of trade around the turn of the century, some communities overreached themselves. The archives contain interesting evidence on which boards of trade had become defunct by 1920 and had therefore to be dissolved, in accordance with the 1920 amendments to the legislation. Table 4 summarizes the numbers of such boards by each province. Altogether, over one-third of the boards created since 1874 had ceased to function by 1920, and Saskatchewan and Nova Scotia had considerably higher proportions. More often than not, the casualties were in small communities which were failing to grow at the rate the founders had hoped. In Saskatchewan, for example, where 22 of the 41 boards chartered by 1920 had to be dissolved, only two of these had an urban centre with over 1,000 population by the 1921 census. Of the 19 surviving boards of trade in Saskatchewan, only six had under 1,000 people and another six had well over 2,500 each. The small size of a population was not the only factor in the demise of a board of trade; death or removal of a leading individual or business and disagreement or demoralization among the key members could also be responsible. In Ontario, while eight of the 36 defunct boards were based in

Table 3
POPULATION SIZE OF ONTARIO URBAN CENTRES FORMING BOARDS OF TRADE, BY DECADE

Decade	Number Boards of Trade Formed	Mean Population at Formation	Largest Centre	Smallest Centre
1841-1850	1		Toronto.....	19,175
1851-1860	2	11,745	Ottawa.....	11,905
1861-1870	5	9,399	Hamilton.....	21,382
1871-1880	16	4,500	Brantford.....	3,914
1881-1890	31	3,878	Belleville.....	9,636
1891-1900	24	2,236	Pembroke.....	4,703
1901-1910	33	2,188	Sarnia.....	8,884
1911-1920	20	1,731	Hawkesbury.....	4,629
1921-1930	8	2,396	Midland.....	7,006
1931-1940	3	3,487	Eastview.....	7,838
1941-1950	14	2,268	Fort Erie.....	7,083
1951-1960	10	4,433	Burlington.....	26,512
1961-1970	3	3,388	Streetsville.....	5,770
1971-1980	3	2,242	Alliston.....	3,176
			Kingston.....	11,585
			St. Thomas.....	2,084
			Mitchell.....	2,188
			Shelburne.....	1,014
			Ft. William.....	960
			Omeme.....	519
			Englehart.....	679
			Jarvis.....	502
			Elora.....	1,242
			Merrickville.....	811
			Millbrook.....	750
			Erin.....	1,225
			Elmvalle.....	1,103

Note: This table considers only the first Board of Trade or Chamber of Commerce formed in an Ontario urban centre. It includes 24 Boards definitely formed but not chartered by the Secretary of State, and excludes 21 chartered Boards formed in unincorporated rural districts with no specified urban centre. Peter McCaskell, computer programmer, Department of Geography, University of Guelph, kindly helped with the calculations.

Table 4
BOARDS OF TRADE FORMALLY DISSOLVED BY 1921
BY PROVINCE AND DATE OF FORMATION

	1874-9	1880-9	1890-9	1900-9	1910-9	Total	% total formations in province
Prince Edward Island	1	—	—	—	—	1	25.0
Nova Scotia	—	1	1	12	—	14	43.7
New Brunswick	—	—	3	3	1	7	33.3
Quebec	—	2	2	7	6	17	38.6
Ontario	3	5	7	9	12	36	30.2
Manitoba	—	—	3	6	1	10	34.5
Saskatchewan	—	—	2	16	4	22	53.7
Alberta	—	—	1	3	—	4	26.7
British Columbia	—	—	1	4	6	11	25.6
Yukon	—	—	—	1	—	1	100.0
Total dissolutions	4	8	20	61	30	123	35.2
% total formations in period	23.5	20.5	26.0	45.5	36.6	35.2	

SOURCE: Secretary of State's register of Boards of Trade formed 1874-1919 (PAC, RG 68) and the Order-in-Council of 17 December 1921 formally dissolving those Boards which had ceased to function (RG 68, Lib. 252, Fol. 429-).

urban centres of under 1,000 population, two were in towns of over 10,000, four in towns with 5,000–10,000 and ten in places of 2,500–5,000. Eleven of the Ontario communities where boards were formally dissolved in 1921 were subsequently able to form new boards of trade or chambers of commerce.

New formations occurred at a modest rate in the 1920s and 1930s and more rapidly in the 1940s. Some communities, where boards of trade had been dissolved in 1921, created new organizations. It became increasingly common to transform an established board of trade into a chamber of commerce, and new creations were also more commonly given this name. Before 1920, virtually all the chambers had been "chambres de commerce" in Quebec. In the 1920s and 1930s, the tendency to use "chamber of commerce" in preference to "board of trade" began in Ontario. The habit became more widespread in the 1940s, when 34 of the 54 new organizations chartered outside Quebec were styled "chambers of commerce," and more than another 30 existing boards of trade changed themselves into chambers of commerce. The change of name brought no new powers but rather a fresh image, influenced by the federation movement in the United States and a new emphasis on citizenship and social relations rather than business expansion. It was related, also, to the creation of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in 1926, the first successful federal organization to which local boards and chambers could relate.²⁷

By 1950, 621 Canadian communities had formed boards of trade or chambers of commerce. Allowing for defunct

boards which had not been revived between 1921 and 1950, 534 formally chartered organizations are estimated to have been in existence in 1950. This figure may be compared with the 734 incorporated urban centres with a population of 1,000 or over at the 1951 census.

Board of Trade Membership

What kind of men were charter members of the boards of trade? The certificates in the Secretary of State's register contain valuable details of local leadership at the time a board of trade was created. Although the act required only the names of the 30 eligible charter members, in fact most certificates listed considerably more, along with their occupations. For some Ontario examples, the Brockville certificate of 1889 listed 94 and the 1906 certificate 100 members, while 86 charter members launched the Brantford Board of Trade in 1879.

Careless described the early Winnipeg Board of Trade as "the very exemplification or mobilization of the . . . business elite."²⁸ This was generally true of communities forming boards of trade before World War I, though the business elite of a small town was on a much more modest scale than that of a metropolis. A comparison of the lists of charter members with their financial worth and credit ratings in the R.G. Dun reference handbooks illustrates the coincidence between a community's economic leaders and the membership of the board of trade. For example, of the 63 merchants, manufacturers and others who formed the Berlin Board of

Trade in 1886, 54 were listed in the Dun handbook, 35 of them with financial worth above the community mean for that year. Only four local businessmen with above-average financial worth, who would have been eligible for membership in the board of trade, were not among the charter members. Board of trade members not listed in the Dun ratings were bank and insurance company executives not in business on their own account. Executive members of the board of trade council, who were by far the most active, tended to be particularly prominent in business and in municipal politics.

By the 1920s, the composition of boards of trade and chambers of commerce had changed. In Brantford, for example, the board of trade established in 1877 transformed itself into a chamber of commerce in 1920. But only ten of the charter members of the Brantford Chamber of Commerce figure in the Dun and Bradstreet lists for that year, and a mere five of these were of above-average worth. Most of the city's prominent businesses were not actively involved: 45 major, locally based businesses with above-average worth were not directly represented in the chamber of commerce. A wider variety of occupations was noticeable by this time, including those in education and the professions, as well as managers and salesmen rather than owners of businesses. Officers and members of the Council tended to be less wealthy and to combine fewer leadership roles than formerly.²⁹ These changes in the membership and leadership reflect significant changes in business organization, frequently involving the loss of decision-making power by small communities, as well as changed perceptions of the effective role of the boards of trade.

Role in Urban Development

Boards of trade and chambers of commerce were associations of businessmen who tried by collective means to create or protect a favourable environment for their business activities. Strongly supported by publishers of local newspapers, they were usually able to win sufficient popular support for their claim that what was good for business was best for the community. Boards of trade consistently influenced municipal councils to use their powers and financial resources to help local business, and urged elected representatives in legislature and parliament to lobby higher governments for the same purpose. With their primary interest in business expansion, boards of trade most directly influenced the urban economic base. But their emphasis on growth policies shaped the community's priorities and thereby also affected the social and physical development of cities and towns.

As Stanford has noted for Toronto, "the prime motivation towards organization (of the Board of Trade) was the average businessman's distrust of government" unless a united business front could be maintained to influence legislative and municipal decisions.³⁰ In city after city, it is clear that businessmen felt confident that they were best equipped to

guide the municipal council to use its powers and public funds in the community's best interests. In Berlin, Ontario, for example, the board of trade was declared to be "the right arm of the Town Council," the "little parliament (which) crystallized the opinion of our foremost businessmen and financiers for the Town Council's guidance and direction."³¹ The Waterloo Board of Trade had an even grander conception of its role:

Boards of Trade are the advance army of municipal reform, the sharp shooters in the battle of progress, and the backbone of the most progressive among our municipal bodies . . . pioneers of progress and inaugurators of movements having in view the betterment and healthy growth of their respective communities.³²

Boards of trade were key institutions in the Canadian city-building process, at least until about the 1920s. Their priorities and impact on urban development seem to have changed over time and to have varied between types and sizes of urban centres. At all stages, the alliance between board of trade and local press was clear, as was the use of municipal government and of elected representatives to provincial legislature and federal parliament.³³ Long-lived boards of trade, particularly in central or eastern Canada, may have attempted all the various growth policies in the sequence sketched below. Latecomers may illustrate only the strategies current from their date of formation, or may have tried to combine several simultaneously.

The earliest boards of trade, and those established in cities with emerging metropolitan functions, were most concerned with mercantile and commercial interests and with transportation improvements to widen or protect their trading hinterlands. The mercantile-commercial strategies of metropolitan boards may be illustrated by the campaigns of Halifax and Saint John to develop their potential as Atlantic ports serving all Canada.³⁴ The Montreal Board of Trade worked for a St. Lawrence and Champlain Canal and for the St. Lawrence and Atlantic Railway, by public subscriptions as well as a substantial municipal guarantee of bonds.³⁵ Stanford has declared that the Toronto board was most consistently concerned with transportation, its aim being "to ensure for Toronto the place that Board felt it so obviously deserved in the country's developing network of rails, roads and waterways" and to preserve equity in rates and tariffs.³⁶ The Winnipeg board of trade induced the City council to vote the C.P.R. a \$200,000 bonus, a tax exemption and a free site for the railway yards.³⁷

From the 1870s, boards of trade especially in smaller cities, towns and villages worked to stimulate more localized economic activity, notably manufacturing, but also new public administrative and institutional functions. Their industrial policies involved both direct subscriptions by local businessmen in new factory ventures and the use of municipal powers to grant cash bonuses or loans, tax exemptions or

Circular To The Ratepayers of St. Catharines

"The By-law ratifying the agreement between the Corporation and the Canadian Yale-Towne Ltd. is to be submitted for your approval on Monday next, the 29th inst.

"The Members of our Board are particularly anxious that the By-law shall not only carry but that a large vote be polled in its favor. This can only be done with your co-operation.

"The cost to the City would be approximately \$220.02 principal and interest and a loss of about \$25 per year tax on the now vacant land. The Company agrees to spend \$50,000 in buildings and plant, to pay at least \$25,000 per annum in wages for the first two years, \$50,000 per annum later. School tax will be paid on full assessment, and regular tax on a \$5,000 assessment for the last five years. In this way, the tax paid by the Company will, before the ten years are up, amount to more per annum than the City's outlay. This seems to us good business. Our loss is comparatively nothing but our gain that of having a good live industry in our midst, building its plant and paying out \$25,000 and \$50,000 per year in wages from which all classes will benefit.

"The name Yale-Towne stands high in the list of sound, conservative business concerns in the United States, and has been so for 43 years. The location of this industry would mean that other manufacturers desiring a Canadian location would say, 'Why did Yale-Towne go to St. Catharines? Let us look it over.'

"You know that it is a difficult matter to poll the requisite three-fifths vote, so help the matter along by coming out to vote early on Monday, and see that your neighbours and friends do likewise. Vote in as many wards as you have property.

Very respectfully yours,

*St. Catharines Board of Trade
W.B. Burgoyne, President"*

FIGURE 2. An illustration of Board of Trade efforts to attract and establish new manufacturing enterprises. The St. Catharines Board also organized a public meeting in favour of the By-law, and commandeered all sixty autos in the City for transporting ratepayers to the polls. The by-law was passed by the voters, and the Company granted a site worth \$2,800 and 10-year tax exemption (except for school taxes).

SOURCE: St. Catharines Board of Trade Minutes 17 May 1911; *Daily Standard*, 27 May 1911.

other inducements to manufacturers.³⁸ When the grant of such a bonus required a majority vote by the property-owners, board of trade and local press would energetically "organize the voters." Metropolitan boards of trade did not usually favour municipal bonusing, preferring to lobby higher governments to facilitate their growth strategies or protect their interests.³⁹ Towns and cities which bonused factories most intensively were those without a strong commitment to other economic activities or urban functions or where business leaders perceived that special inducements were necessary to offset a lack of natural advantages.⁴⁰

Boards of trade would also campaign to attract special administrative or institutional functions for their town, for the sake of the multiplier effects which would be generated

in the local economy by an infusion of public funds. Such inducement as a free site or cheap utilities might also be offered to secure provincial capital, county or district seat, a penitentiary, asylum, college or university, a military or naval base. Kilpatrick has attributed Edmonton's victory, in the contest to become Alberta's provincial capital, to the determination of its board of trade and the leadership of the newspaper publisher who also represented the district in the federal parliament.⁴¹ The Saskatoon board of trade tried in vain to have its city made capital of the new province of Saskatchewan, but did succeed in securing the provincial university.⁴²

In the late nineteenth century, boards of trade became aware of the importance of a city's image and engaged in



FOREWORD



HIS BOOK is not meant to boom Berlin. It is meant to help build Berlin bigger. Berlin needs no boom; has never had one and does not want one. Its rise to its high industrial importance of to-day has been a logical, natural rise, a sane and healthy growth. That means something to you, if you intend some day to find the right location for that new Canadian factory you have in mind.

Here is the place for that factory here in Berlin, the biggest, busiest, liveliest town in the Province of Ontario—a town that has been developed from the inside until it ranks with the important manufacturing centres of the Dominion of Canada. These pages suggest some of the reasons why any newcomer to Canada's markets will find this the town that will just suit his business and himself.

If There Is Anything You Want To Know

That you are not told in this book, or if you wish further particulars about anything concerning Busy Berlin, your enquiry will be answered promptly, informingly and courteously—without placing you under the least obligation or subjecting you to any canvassing if you will address:

THE SECRETARY
OF THE BOARD OF TRADE
Berlin, Ontario, Canada.



And it WILL just suit you

Berlin will suit you as a place for your factory because:

Its labor supply is adequate to your needs.
It is the quality of labor you are glad to get.
Its shipping facilities will fulfill your needs.
Its location is most central and convenient.
Its people will make you feel at home.
Its public spirit will boom your business.
Its cheap power supply will lower your costs.
Its public utilities will save you money.
Its manufacturing field is so roomy.

And

The market you can enter cheaply from here
is so big and so important to your profit.



FIGURE 3. Canadian boards of trade often published booklets, each celebrating its town's advantages and encouraging new enterprise. This example was produced by the Berlin, Ontario, Board of Trade in 1910.

boosterist advertising, both to attract new enterprise from outside and to reinforce the loyalty of citizens to their community. Western Canadian cities were most assiduous and grandiloquent.⁴³ But boards of trade all over Canada poured forth a flood of promotional publicity in their own annual reports, in special issues of local newspapers and in advertisements in national and U.S. newspapers and magazines.⁴⁴ Boards received grants from municipal councils to promote the city and attract investment, functions they have often continued to the present.⁴⁵

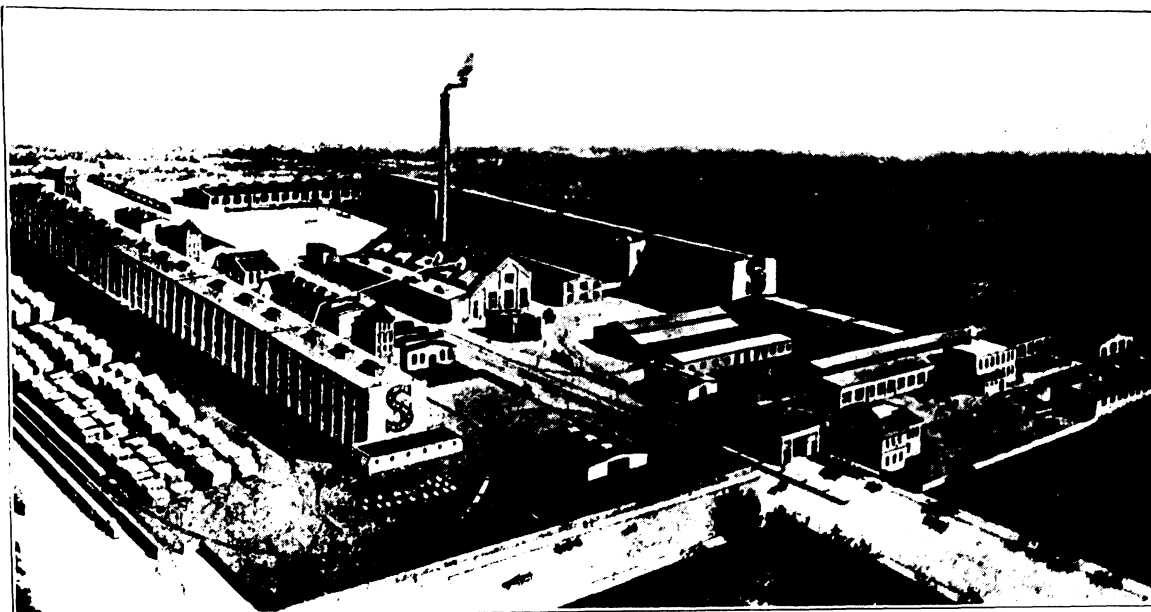
From the turn of the century, and with mixed motives, boards also sponsored "urban reform" movements, including changes in the machinery of municipal government and schemes for city planning and workers' housing. Innovations, such as the replacement of the ward system by at-large elections and government by commission, board of control or city manager, were supported by boards of trade for the business efficiency they would bring to municipal government and also for the progressive image a city would thereby gain. Similarly, boards of trade usually led the widespread moves to municipal ownership and operation of urban utilities.⁴⁶ On the whole, however, there was a growing failure to apply collective action and local initiative, which were so evident in stimulating urban economic growth, to solving the problems which resulted from growth — housing, poverty, congestion and public health.

After about 1920, though boards of trade and especially chambers of commerce continued to be formed in substantial numbers, their role seems to have become more limited than in the earlier, formative stages of city-building. Municipal government powers were constrained by the expanding roles of higher governments. The changing scale of business organization and the effects of mergers and takeovers also reduced the number of independent entrepreneurs and businessmen in most towns. Boards and chambers took on more

social and recreational functions from this time, becoming less concerned with public policies than with services to members.⁴⁷ With the achievement of the federation known as the Canadian Chamber of Commerce in 1926, most local boards or *chambres* tended increasingly to operate as branches of the national organization.⁴⁸

* * * * *

Boards of trade have great interest as evidence of the "older collectivity values (which) prevailed . . . in spite of the intense ego-orientation stimulated by classical liberalism in the economic sphere."⁴⁹ There is scope for much more research into the role of boards of trade, in depth for individual towns and cities and also more comparatively.⁵⁰ It would be interesting to understand how information about board of trade activities was diffused among nineteenth century Canadian urban centres before there was any national organization or federation. How important, for example, were migrants from southern Ontario in starting boards of trade in western Canadian centres? More comparative research could illuminate the question of periodicity in board of trade activity. Did local businessmen become more or less cohesive and active in times of recession?⁵¹ A comparative approach is also needed to assess the real city-building significance of boards of trade. Did a board merely reflect the strengths and weaknesses of its members, or could the collective association amount to considerably more than the sum of its parts?⁵² How vital was the local board of trade in directing urban growth strategies? Industrial policies could succeed without such an institution in the case of some suburban municipalities around Montreal or Toronto.⁵³ Comparisons of the performance of boards of trade in towns that "failed" with those in successful towns and cities would be useful. There is also scope for more detailed research on the fiscal and social costs of the growth policies promoted by boards of trade during the formative stage of Canadian urban development.⁵⁴



Canadian Plant of The Singer Sewing Machine Company at St. Johns, Que.

The City of St. Johns, Quebec

The Richelieu River, upon the banks of which is situated the City of St. Johns, has been described by a well-known writer as "liquid history." The Indians used this route both in peace and war as a highway between the beautiful Lake Champlain and the broad St. Lawrence River.

In the early days a fort was built at St. Johns by the French to repel attacks by the savages and this, after many vicissitudes and much fighting, finally became British and was settled by English pioneers.

The town has grown steadily until now it has a population of 13,000.

The fact that it is situated so close to Montreal, the largest and richest city in Canada and has such good railway and water shipping facilities is a great factor in assuring the continued growth of St. Johns. The City is served by the Canadian National, Canadian Pacific, Central Vermont, Rutland and Quebec, Montreal and Southern Railways, besides being on the direct water route between St. Lawrence ports and those of the United States situated on Lake Champlain and the Hudson River.

The City of St. Johns is progressive and has good concrete roads and sidewalks, two beautiful public parks, French and English schools and clubs for the promotion of such sports as swimming, canoeing, boating, sailing, tennis, hockey, basketball, football and golf.

Twenty industries are already established in St. Johns and as these are diversified as to their products, the prosperity of the community is little affected by ordinary business depressions. The surrounding country is thickly populated and the land in all this section is very fertile and productive.

The Richelieu River is half a mile wide at St. Johns, but narrows considerably several miles below and becomes rapid, providing abundant hydro electric power for the city and neighboring towns.

The water supply is excellent.

The Board of Trade of St. Johns is most anxious to get in touch with industries seriously considering the establishment of Canadian branches, and will gladly supply any information required regarding the city. The services of the Board are without charge and are carried out by business men in the interests of a bigger and better St. Johns.

ST. JOHNS BOARD OF TRADE.

FIGURE 4. Advertisement by St. Johns (Quebec) Board of Trade in *Municipal World*, Montreal, 1924, p. 163.

Saskatoon

offer's opportunities for

Flour and Cereal Mills — Condensed Milk — Cheese and Biscuit Manufacturing - Packing Plants - Soap - Paint Clay Products — Ceramic Ware Broom Factories — Straw Board Manufacturing, etc.

AN OPPORTUNITY seldom equalled is open to manufacturers who appreciate the advantage of locating their Western plants at Saskatoon—the centre of Western Canada's most productive territory.

Fifty-seven industries now established at Saskatoon are profitably distributing their products throughout an area of 70,000 square miles.

This distributing territory, embracing 300 live towns and villages, affords Saskatoon manufacturers a RURAL and URBAN market not only large and important but also a market throughout which they hold merchandising dominance—thanks to their ability to ship from the centre instead of the rim.


Your Western plant should prosper from the start by locating it at Saskatoon.

Write for ALL Particulars.

SASKATOON

BOARD of TRADE

SASKATOON - SASK.



SASKATOON — at surprisingly low rates — is supplied with ample electric power and abundant soft water for all manufacturing purposes.

Because of unusually complete protection lowering the fire hazard, insurance rates were reduced 25 per cent July of this year.

When writing advertisers, please mention INDUSTRIAL CANADA

FIGURE 5. Advertisement by Saskatoon Board of Trade in *Industrial Canada*, September 1929, p. 91.

Appendix 1

Canada: List of Boards of Trade Formally Chartered to 1950

SOURCES: *Compiled primarily from Secretary of State's register of Boards of Trade formed 1874-1950 (Public Archives of Canada, Record Group 68), with details added for Boards created earlier by special act or otherwise. References are included to Liber and Folio number or to the statute of incorporation.*

NOTES:

1. Formed as Board of Trade unless otherwise stated
2. C Formed as Chamber of Commerce
3. →C Existing Board of Trade changed to Chamber of Commerce
4. B/C Designated as both Board of Trade and Chamber of Commerce
5. * Formally dissolved by 1921.

ATLANTIC PROVINCES

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND					
Alberton & W. Prince	Ap. 1903	155/175	Halifax		
Charlottetown	Ap. 1887	28/83		2. Ma. 1889	28/127
Crapaud-Victoria	De. 1944	416/269		3. Oc. 1890	28/187
Kings County	De. 1936	196/587	Kentville	No. 1895	28/278
Prince Edward Island	My. 1875	28/12*	King's County	Oc. 1895	28/273*
Summerside	Ja. 1900	155/87	Lawrencetown	Ju. 1920	196/278
			Liverpool	My. 1900	155/101
			Lockport	Au. 1904	155/216*
			Lunenburg	My. 1900	155/90*
			Mahone Bay	Ju. 1907	155/317*
			Margaree	My. 1947	380/489
			Middleton	Oc. 1895	28/275
			New Glasgow	1. My. 1889	28/143*
				2. De. 1946	380/436
			New Waterford	De. 1922	196/326
			North Queens	Ja. 1906	155/286
			North Sydney	No. 1894	28/257
			Nova Scotia	C Ma. 1889	28/123
			Pictou	1. Ma. 1877	28/27
				2. No. 1898	155/40
			Port Hood	Fe. 1908	155/329*
			Pugwash	Ap. 1907	155/312*
			Rogersville	C Fe. 1949	456/205
			St. Peters	My. 1929	196/438
			Sheet Harbour	Jl. 1935	196/573
			Springhill	Ju. 1908	155/333*
			Stellarton	Au. 1900	155/105*
			Sydney	1. Ja. 1907	155/299
				2. Fe. 1911	196/112
			Sydney Mines	Ja. 1920	196/305
			Truro	Au. 1890	28/184
			Westville	1. Ju. 1900	155/103*
				2. Ja. 1923	196/330
			Yarmouth	My. 1894	28/244
NOVA SCOTIA					
Amherst	My. 1894	28/247			
Annapolis Royal	1. Ma. 1901	155/129*			
	2. Ja. 1946	420/189			
Antigonish	Fe. 1904	155/196*			
Bear River	Fe. 1905	155/223			
Berwick	Ma. 1899	155/64			
Bridgetown	Au. 1897	155/25			
Canso	Ju. 1921	196/294			
Cape Breton	De. 1876	28/17			
Chester	1. Ap. 1904	155/204*			
	2. Fe. 1935	196/567			
Chiticamp	Ju. 1949	456/308			
Clarkes Harbour	Ma. 1920	196/264			
Cornwallis	C Se. 1923	196/349			
Dartmouth	Fe. 1896	155/4			
Digby	My. 1900	155/111			
Fundy (Freeport)	De. 1938	380/46			
Glace Bay	1. No. 1901	155/131*			
	2. Ja. 1927	196/403			
Goldboro, Isaac's Harbour & Dist.	Ma. 1929	196/440			
Grand Narrows	Jl. 1930	196/480			
Greenwood	Ju. 1899	155/79			
Guysborough	Au. 1923	196/345			

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
NEW BRUNSWICK					
Bathurst	My. 1913	196/189	Petit Rocher	C Jl. 1949	456/400
Campbellton	Au. 1904	155/221	Port Elgin	My. 1920	196/270
Caraquet	C 1. Ju. 1921	252/382	Richibucto-Rexton	Jl. 1941	380/161
	2. Fe. 1937	196/591	Sackville	Jl. 1902	155/146
Chatham	De. 1894	28/255	St. Andrews	Fe. 1896	155/6*
Chipman	Oc. 1947	439/392	St. George	Jl. 1890	28/182
Dalhousie	Ja. 1930	196/456	Saint John	C 1. 1819	
Dundas (Cocagne)	C No. 1949	456/447		B 2. 1874 37	Vic. c. 53
Edmundston	De. 1921	196/301		B 3. Au. 1928	196/426
Fredericton	1. Au. 1874	28/4	St. Martin's	Ma. 1896	155/14*
	2. Ja. 1891	28/191	Shediac-Shediac	My. 1929	196/435
	C 3. My. 1946	380/455	Shippegan	C Jl. 1945	380/251
Iles Shippegan et Miscou	C Ju. 1947	448/64	Southern Kings	Ja. 1903	155/171*
Inverness	Ja. 1907	155/295*	Stanley	No. 1949	456/416
Lancaster	No. 1912	196/162*	Sussex	Au. 1897	155/29
Madawaska Co.	Ja. 1907	155/295*	Tracadie	Fe. 1923	196/328
Mimramcook-St. Joseph	C Jl. 1947	444/226	Victoria County	Ap. 1909	196/15
Moncton	My. 1891	28/201	Windsor	Fe. 1896	155/9
	Junior C Ma. 1939	380/66	Wolfville	Ja. 1898	155/37
Newcastle	Ma. 1894	28/235		»C Ap. 1937	196/599
Parrsboro	Ap. 1899	155/72	Woodstock	Ma. 1894	28/231
Petitcodiac	Jl. 1918	196/231*	King's County	1873 36	Vic. c. 67

CENTRAL CANADA

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
QUEBEC					
Abitibi	C Ma. 1920	196/272	Champlain, Comté	C Ma. 1914	196/213*
Amqui	C Fe. 1927	196/407	Chandler	C My. 1940	380/114
Arthabaska, Comté	C Oc. 1903	155/192*	Charlesbourg	C My. 1950	485/12
Arvida	C Fe. 1940	380/309	Charlevoix, Comté	C 1. Ju. 1910	196/61*
Bagot, Comté	C De. 1919	196/254		C 2. De. 1938	380/49
Beauceville	My. 1914	196/215	Charlevoix-Ouest	C Ju. 1940	380/138
Beauharnois	C 1. Ja. 1908	155/325*	Charny	C Se. 1933	196/542
	C 2. De. 1933	196/547	Chicoutimi Dist.	C 1. Fe. 1897	155/21*
Bedford	C Oc. 1948	456/115		C 2. Oc. 1912	196/299
Beloeil	C De. 1931	196/505	Coaticook	De. 1898	155/51
Berthier, Comté	C De. 1902	155/159	Cookshire	Fe. 1912	196/130*
Buckingham	Ma. 1937	377/353	Danville & Shipton	Ju. 1913	196/192
Cabano	C Au. 1944	380/214	Dolbeau	C Ap. 1946	380/354
Cap De La Madeleine	C Ju. 1926	196/399	Dorion	C Oc. 1947	380/575
Causapsal, Jeunes	C Ju. 1949	456/316	Drummond	C No. 1901	155/135
Chambly	C 1. Fe. 1901	155/113	Duparquet	C De. 1950	485/32
	C 2. Oc. 1948	456/124	East Angus	C Au. 1945	380/273

Place		Date	Lib/Fol	Place		Date	Lib/Fol
East Broughton	C	My. 1950	456/542	Montreal		1842 4/5	Vic. c. 90
Epiphanie	C	Jl. 1920	196/274	Dist.	C	De. 1886	28/76
Farnham	C 1.	De. 1889	28/167*	Francaise	C	My. 1904	155/208
	C 2.	Ma. 1945	380/231	Chinese	BT	Ju. 1912	196/147
Fort Coulogne		My. 1939	380/78	Montreal-Nord	C	Oc. 1947	448/80
Fraserville		De. 1889	28/169	New Richmond	C	Au. 1945	380/23
» Rivière du Loup	C	1928	PC 510	Nicolet Dist.	C	Ma. 1906	155/252
Gaspé	1.	Ma. 1888	28/106*	Normandin	C	De. 1950	485/32
	2.	De. 1939	381/107	Portneuf, Comté	C	Au. 1910	196/79*
Gaspésie Centrale	C	Au. 1945	380/258	Price	C	Fe. 1946	380/316
Gatineau Valley		Ju. 1919	196/249	Quebec		1842 4/5	Vic. c. 92
Giffard	C	My. 1949	456/265			Ja. 1877	28/21
Granby		Ma. 1900	155/94	Quebec/Montgomery			
Grande Riviere	C	Ap. 1946	380/385	Comtés	C	Se. 1934	196/558
Grand'mère	C	Ja. 1906	155/243*	Rawdon	C	My. 1934	196/552
Graufield	C	Ju. 1947	380/523	Rigaud	C	Ma. 1927	196/411
Ham Nord-Wolfe Co.	C	Ap. 1947	380/480	Richmond		Oc. 1894	28/549
Henryville	C	No. 1945	380/330	Rimouski	C	My. 1908	155/331
Huberdeau	C	Ja. 1949	456/191		C	Se. 1937	380/1
Hull	C	Ap. 1902	155/143	Rivière-à-Pierre	C	Oc. 1937	380/10
	Junior C	Ju. 1936	377/132	Rivière-bleue	C	Ja. 1950	456/467
Huntingdon		Ma. 1921	196/307	Roc d'or du Canton			
Iberville	C	My. 1938	378/240	Malartic	C	De. 1937	380/20
Jacques-Cartier	C	Au. 1950	456/592			Ma. 1903	155/169*
Kazabazua		Ap. 1950	456/552	Rock Island			
Kewagama»Cadillac		No. 1938	380/44	Rouville, Comté	C 1.	Ja. 1899	155/60*
Joliette & Dist.	C	Ap. 1893	28/253		C 2.	Ap. 1930	196/468
La Baie des Halts	C	My. 1926	196/390	Roxton Falls	C	My. 1945	380/244
Lachine	C 1.	Ju. 1909	196/32	Rouyn	C	Ju. 1927	196/420
	C 2.	Ja. 1917	196/229	Saguenay	C 1.	Au. 1907	155/320
	C 3.	No. 1947	380/584		2.	My. 1937	196/604
Lachute	1.	Oc. 1905	155/239*	St-Andre-Avellin	C	Ap. 1924	380/182
	C 2.	Ma. 1947	380/463	St-Césaire	C	Ma. 1935	196/569
Lac Megantic		Se. 1909	196/35	St-Chrysostome	C	Se. 1946	380/407
Lac St. Jean	C	Ap. 1921	196/290	St-Ienis-sur-Richelieu	C	Fe. 1946	380/323
Lac St. Jean Est	C	No. 1945	380/280	St-Donat	C	Oc. 1949	456/426
Lambton	C	Jl. 1947	380/565	St-Ephrem	C	De. 1948	444/470
L'Annonciation	C	Ju. 1936	377/158	St-Esprit-Ste Julienne	C	Ju. 1947	380/531
La Patrie	C	No. 1946	380/402	St-Félicien	C	Ma. 1950	456/478
Laprairie	C	No. 1947	456/31	St-François	C	Ap. 1910	196/53*
L'Assomption	C	My. 1933	196/524	St-Gabriel-de-Brandon	C	Jl. 1926	196/388
Levis		1872 35	Vic. c. 48	St-Georges	C	My. 1931	196/494
L'Île Amherst, Harve	C	My. 1950	456/532	St-Hyacinthe	C	No. 1892	28/213
L'Islet, Comté	C	Ma. 1912	196/138*	St-Jacques	C	Ja. 1921	196/281
L'Isle Vert	C	Ma. 1920	196/268	St John » St Jean	1.	1874 37	Vic. c. 52
Louiseville	C 1.	Ma. 1926	196/386		2.	Oc. 1894	28/251
	2.	Ap. 1939	380/72	St-Jérôme	C 1.	Jl. 1898	155/47
Maniwaki	C	Ju. 1932	196/512		C 2.	Ja. 1930	196/452
Matane	C	Ma. 1913	196/173	St-Joseph d'Alma	C	Oc. 1933	196/545
	Jeunes C	My. 1947	380/471	St-Joseph-de-Sorel	C	Ja. 1946	380/302
McWatters-Joannes	C	Ma. 1949	456/275	St-Jovite	C	Ju. 1940	380/129
Montebello	C	De. 1943	380/175	St-Ludger	C	Jl. 1946	380/416
Mont-Joli	C	Ap. 1930	196/466	St-Michel	C	Fe. 1950	456/488
Mont Laurier	C	Ap. 1931	196/492	St-Pascal de			
Montmagny	C	Au. 1912	196/151	Kamouraska	C	No. 1940	390/216
				St-Romuald d'Etchemin	C	De. 1909	196/40

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
Ste-Adele	C Ap. 1944	380/190	Berlin see also		
Ste-Agathe-des-Monts	C Ma. 1933	196/521	Kitchener	My. 1886	28/68
Ste-Justine	C Ja. 1948	456/19	Blind River	Ja. 1907	155/289
Ste-Rose-de-Laval	C De. 1946	380/421	Bobcaygeon	C Ap. 1930	196/472
Ste-Thècle	C My. 1946	380/346	Border	C Se. 1917	196/234
Ste-Thérèse	C Ma. 1933	196/519	Bourget	C Ma. 1949	456/244
Sayabec	C No. 1927	196/413	Bracebridge	Oc. 1899	155/81
Senneterre	C Ma. 1950	456/498	Brampton	(1887) Ma. 1904	155/200*
Shawinigan Falls	C Au. 1925	196/383	Brantford	(1886) Se. 1879	28/42
Sherbrooke			→C Oc. 1920		196/283
	De. 1889	28/162	Brighton	My. 1907	155/301
	→C Jl. 1931	341/347	Brockville	1. Fe. 1889	28/111
Sillery	C Fe. 1948	456/10		2. Oc. 1906	155/283
Sorel	1872 35	Vic. c. 49		→C Ap. 1927	302/377
	C Ma. 1889	28/135	Callander	My. 1909	196/21
Soulanges, Comté	C Jl. 1948	456/94	Campbellford	My. 1904	155/212*
South Shore	Ap. 1913	196/187	Cannington	No. 1913	196/199*
Terrebonne	C Se. 1935	196/575	Cassleman	Oc. 1948	456/142
Thetford Mines	C 1. Ja. 1912	196/114*	Catham	1. 1872 35	Vic. c. 47
	C 2. Ap. 1938	380/27		2. Au. 1887	28/88*
Thurso	C De. 1947	456/40		3. Ap. 1932	196/509
Trois-Pistoles	C Ju. 1938	380/31	Clinton	Jl. 1903	155/191
Trois-Rivières (1881)	C My. 1921	196/292	Cobalt	Se. 1908	155/349
Val d'Or	My. 1937	196/602	Cobourg	Ma. 1907	155/293
Valleyfield	C Ma. 1888	28/97	→C 1930s		350/?
Victoriaville	C Ju. 1933	196/526		Ju. 1909	196/30
Ville-Marie	C Ma. 1908	155/327*	Cochrane	Fe. 1912	196/128*
Warwick	C Ja. 1941	380/153	Colborne	Se. 1910	196/72*
Waterloo	Au. 1910	196/63	Coldwater Dist.	Fe. 1880	28/45
			Collingwood	Ma. 1890	28/175
			Cornwall	Ma. 1902	155/141
			Deseronto	Fe. 1896	155/9*
			Dresden	1. Ma. 1911	196/106
			Dryden	2. Oc. 1931	196/499
				C No. 1948	411/416
			Dundas	1. Oc. 1874	28/8
				2. Au. 1899	28/158
				3. Ja. 1913	196/179
			E. Manitoulin	Ju. 1913	196/154*
Alexandria	Oc. 1912	196/162*	Eastview	C Fe. 1940	380/112
Almonte	1. Ja. 1902	155/137	Elk Lake	Au. 1910	196/68
	2. De. 1918	196/238	Emo District	C Au. 1939	380/93
	3. Oc. 1934	196/561	Englehart	Ja. 1912	196/120
Alfred	C Ju. 1950	456/563	Essex Centre	Ja. 1891	28/209*
Ansonville	Fe. 1924	196/354	Fenelon Falls	Ju. 1906	155/271
Arnprior	Jl. 1893	28/228*	Fort Erie	C Ap. 1948	485/71
Atikokan	C Ap. 1948	456/68	Fort Frances	1. My. 1909	196/23
Aylmer	Ja. 1912	196/116		2. Ju. 1921	196/267
Ayr	Ap. 1906	155/279*		3. Fe. 1939	280/59
Barrie	1. Ma. 1890	28/173		Ma. 1891	28/194
	2. My. 1899	28/74*		→C Ju. 1931	
	3. My. 1926	196/381		1. Jl. 1889	28/156
Barry's Bay	Ja. 1949	456/199		B/C 2. Ap. 1924	196/356
Barwick Dist.	C No. 1932	196/515		Ma. 1893	28/215
Beamsville	C Oc. 1950	456/603		Ja. 1912	196/118
Beaverton	Ap. 1912	196/158*			
Belleville	(1865) My. 1884	28/58			
	→C My. 1921	196/289			

ONTARIO

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
Goderich	Ma. 1875	28/10	Niagara Dist.	Ap. 1919	196/245
Gravenhurst	1. Ma. 1903	155/179	Niagara Falls	1. Ma. 1889	28/124
& S. Muskoka	2. My. 1920	196/266		→C My. 1939	196/509
	3. Oc. 1948	456/132	Junior	C 2. Jl. 1947	380/541
Guelph	(1886) 1. 1868 31	Vic. c. 64	North Bay	Oc. 1894	28/257
	2. Ma. 1949	456/224		→C Fe. 1948	456/9
Haileybury	No. 1907	155/323	Norwich	Fe. 1910	196/83
Hamilton	1864 29/ 30	Vic. c. 75	Oakville	1. Fe. 1913	196/168*
	→C Fe. 1921	28/2721	& Trafalgar	2. Au. 1949	456/337
Hastings	Ap. 1913	196/177*	Orangeville	Fe. 1901	155/115*
Hawkesbury	1. De. 1913	196/201*	Orillia	Oc. 1890	28/189
	2. Fe. 1930	196/460	Orono	C Fe. 1937	376/296
Hespeler	1. Se. 1910	196/70*	Oshawa	1. 1873 36	Vic. c. 68
	C 2. Se. 1949	456/364	& E. Whitby Twp.	2. My. 1898	155/44*
Hudson	No. 1931	196/501		C 3. Ma. 1928	196/424
Hunstville	Ma. 1899	155/66	Ottawa	1. 1857 20	Vic. c. 86
	→C Jl. 1950	463/549	Jeunes	C 2. Oc. 1949	456/579
Ingersoll	1874 37	Vic. c. 54*	Owen Sound	Oc. 1881	28/47
	→C Ap. 1934	196/550	Palmerston	De. 1945	380/379
& Dist.	No. 1950	476/407	Paris	De. 1881	28/49
Iroquois	Ma. 1894	28/239	Parkhill	No. 1891	28/205*
Iroquois Falls	Ma. 1926	196/377	Parry Sound	Ju. 1897	159/23
Jarvis	Ap. 1929	196/433		→C Ma. 1950	463/404
Kenogami	Ap. 1929	380/357	Penetanguishene	1. Ma. 1889	28/120*
Kenora	De. 1888	28/108		C 2. Ja. 1949	456/177
(as Rainy River Dist. to 1911)			Perth	De. 1889	28/164
Killarney	Ju. 1905	155/232	Peterborough	(1854) 1. Ap. 1877	28/29
Kincardine	De. 1877	28/31*		2. Ma. 1889	28/129
Kingston	(1841) 1871 2/35	Vic. c. 73	Petrolia	Ap. 1899	155/69*
	→C Ja. 1930	196/458	Picton	Fe. 1889	28/114
Kirkland Lake-Swastika	Ma. 1920	196/262	→ Prince Edward Co.		301/20
Kitchener	→C Ma. 1945	380/223	Plantagenet	C Ma. 1949	456/235
Lancaster	1. Ma. 1914	196/211	Porcupine	C Ju. 1949	456/254
	2. Ja. 1942	380/166	Port Arthur	Ap. 1885	28/64
Lindsay	De. 1886	28/80	Port Colborne-		
Listowel	My. 1883	28/55	Humberstone	C Ma. 1930	196/474
London	1. 1866 29/ 30	Vic. c. 76	Port Dover	Ju. 1912	196/140
	2. Ap. 1876	28/15	Port Hope	J. 1874	28/3
	→C Au. 1922	196/322	Port Perry	Ja. 1903	155/162
Madoc	Ja. 1907	155/291*	Prescott	Ma. 1893	28/219
Mattawa	My. 1905	28/262*		→C Jl. 1931	341/347
Maxville	Fe. 1910	196/49*	Preston	1. Ma. 1904	155/198
Meaford	Jl. 1897	155/31	S. Waterloo Jun.	C 2. My. 1948	456/519
Merrickville Dist.	Jl. 1944	380/208	Rainy River Dist.	De. 1932	196/517
Midland	No. 1922	196/324	Renfrew	Ja. 1901	155/109
	→C Se. 1928	196/427	Ridgetown	Ma. 1902	28/507*
Mitchell	Ap. 1879	28/39	Rockland	Ja. 1914	196/205
Morrisburg	My. 1944	380/198	St. Catharines	1872 35	Vic. c. 46
Mount Forest	1. Ap. 1893	28/222	St. Mary's	Ju. 1889	28/151
District	C 2. Ju. 1949	456/284	St. Thomas	1868 32/ 33,	Vic. c. 48
Napanee	1. Ma. 1886	28/66*	Sandwich	My. 1909	196/26
	C 2. Fe. 1948	456/1	Sarnia	My. 1905	155/235
New Liskeard	No. 1903	155/150		→C No. 1922	196/323
(as Temiskaming to 1903)			Sault Ste. Marie	My. 1889	28/148
Newmarket	Fe. 1911	196/94	Schreiber Dist.	C Fe. 1935	196/56

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
Seaforth	De. 1898	155/49	Vankleek Hill	C Au. 1949	456/436
Simcoe	No. 1888	28/102	Walkerton	Ja. 1878	28/33*
Sioux Lookout	Fe. 1925	196/360	Walkerville	Ma. 1906	155/263
Smith's Falls	Ap. 1889	28/141	→ Border	C Se. 1917	
→C Se. 1929			Wallaceburg	Ma. 1894	28/238
Southampton	Oc. 1895	28/269	Wasaga Beach	C Oc. 1939	380/104
Stirling	Ju. 1914	156/218	Waterloo	Ma. 1890	28/178
S. Porcupine	Fe. 1912	196/136	→C Ma. 1948	456/29	
Stratford	(1860) 1868 31	Vic. c. 80	Welland	Ma. 1889	28/132*
→C Se. 1950		480/58	Wellington	1. Au. 1914	196/220*
Strathroy	Ju. 1874	28/1*		2. My. 1946	380/365
Sudbury & Twp.	Ma. 1895	28/267	Westboro	My. 1947	380/509
Thessalon & Dist.	Jl. 1908	155/341	Weston	Au. 1909	196/97*
Thorold	Ma. 1893	28/217	Whitby	1. Oc. 1874	28/6
Tilbury	C My. 1946	380/373		2. De. 1898	155/53
Tillsonburg	Fe. 1912	196/134	Warton	Ja. 1902	155/139*
Timmins	De. 1914	196/222	Windsor	Fe. 1889	8/117
Toronto	1844 8	Vic. c. 24	→ Border	C Se. 1917	
Trenton	1. No. 1886	28/74	Wingham	Ma. 1884	28/161
	C 2. Oc. 1950	485/1	→C Ja. 1926		
Uxbridge	1. Ap. 1894	28/241*	Woodstock	Fe. 1877	28/24
	C 2. Ma. 1950	456/508	York	Au. 1933	196/534

PRAIRIE PROVINCES

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
MANITOBA					
Beausejour	Jl. 1939	380/86	Melita	1. Au. 1902	155/149*
→C Au. 1948		456/100	& Dist.	C 2. My. 1948	456/51
Boissevain Dist.	Ma. 1898	155/56*	Minnedosa	Ap. 1906	155/254
Brandon	Ap. 1883	28/53	→C Ap. 1948		
→C Ap. 1948		28/53	Morden Elect. Dist.	Ma. 1890	28/71*
Carberry	Au. 1897	155/27	Morris	Fe. 1905	155/225
→C Ap. 1948		456/50	Neepawa	Ap. 1900	155/97
Carman	No. 1902	155/156*	→C Ma. 1949	456/214	
Churchill	Fe. 1935	196/565	Portage la Prairie	Jl. 1886	28/71
Dauphin	Ma. 1903	155/167	→C Ma. 1948		
→C De. 1948		456/253	Rapid City Dist.	Ju. 1899	155/76
Deloraine	Fe. 1901	155/119*	Roland	Se. 1906	155/281*
Dufferin	My. 1891	28/203*	St. Boniface	Fe. 1911	196/88
Elgin & Dist.	C My. 1949	456/293	St. James	Ju. 1930	196/478
Fork River & Dist.	No. 1945	380/295	St. Vital	Jl. 1937	196/619
Gilbert Plains	Ma. 1913	196/175*	Selkirk	No. 1901	155/133
Gladstone	De. 1902	155/164	Souris	Ap. 1907	155/305
→C Au. 1948			→C Se. 1948	447/205	
Holland	My. 1906	155/268*	Stonewall	1. Fe. 1909	196/4*
Manitou	Ap. 1889	28/154		2. Ap. 1933	196/523
→C Au. 1948					

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
Swan River	Ju. 1906	155/266	Rouleau	Ma. 1906	155/261*
The Pas	Fe. 1913	196/171	Saltcoats Dist.	De. 1897	150/43
→C	My. 1948		Saskatoon	1. Ap. 1907	155/303
Transcona	Jl. 1946	380/392	→C	Ap. 1921	196/289
Virden	Ju. 1889	28/160	B 2.	Ma. 1930	196/462
→C	Ju. 1948	456/67		Ma. 1913	196/181*
Wawanesa	1. Fe. 1893	8/226		My. 1908	155/344
	2. Jl. 1906	155/276	→C	Ap. 1949	
Winnipeg	Ja. 1879	28/37		Ap. 1907	155/310
→C	Ma. 1948	456/30	Whitewood Corp.	Ma. 1899	155/62*
Winnipegosis & Dist.	Ju. 1919	196/252	Wilkie	1. Fe. 1909	196/7*
				2. Ma. 1949	456/215

Willow Creek	My. 1916	196/226
Wolseley	Ma. 1900	155/92*
Yorkton Dist.	Ja. 1898	155/35

SASKATCHEWAN

Alameda	Ap. 1909	196/13*
Balcarres	Ap. 1910	196/51
Balgonie	Ma. 1905	155/226*
Battleford	Ma. 1909	196/10
Biggar	No. 1909	196/81
Cardworth	Ju. 1912	196/142*
Carson	Ja. 1906	155/247*
Davidson	Ju. 1905	155/237
Duck Lake	Oc. 1908	155/347*
Estevan	My. 1904	155/206
Eye brow	No. 1908	155/352*
Frobisher	Jl. 1912	196/154*
Gravelbourg	Ju. 1912	196/144
Grenfell	No. 1910	196/77*
Hoffard	Au. 1939	380/98
Hudson Bay Junct.	Se. 1925	196/371
Indian Head	De. 1902	155/152*
Kindersley	No. 1912	196/166
Lintlaw Dist.	Ma. 1947	380/570
Luseland	My. 1930	196/476
Maple Creek	Ap. 1903	155/182*
Manor	My. 1908	155/339*
Melfort	Ju. 1905	155/228
Milestone	Ju. 1905	155/230*
Moose Jaw	1. De. 1888	28/104
	2. My. 1927	196/415
Moosomin	Ap. 1891	28/196
Morse District	Jl. 1936	196/581
Nokomis	My. 1908	155/338*
N. Battleford	De. 1905	155/245
Outlook	My. 1919	196/247*
Oxbow	De. 1905	155/249*
Paddockwood	Ju. 1932	342/506
Prince Albert	Jl. 1887	28/91
Qu'Appelle	Fe. 1890	28/180*
Radison	Jl. 1934	196/556
Regina	Ju. 1888	28/100
Rosetown	Ju. 1937	196/611
Rosthern	Ma. 1907	155/314*

ALBERTA

Bashaw	My. 1946	426/252
→C	De. 1950	
Camrose	Ap. 1910	196/58
Calgary	Au. 1890	28/198
→C	Fe. 1950	465/440
Coronation Community	Jl. 1947	448/73
Donnelly Dist.	My. 1927	196/418
Edmonton	Fe. 1889	28/136
→C	De. 1928	
Edson	Fe. 1912	196/32
Elk Point	C Ja. 1947	380/441
Falher	C My. 1940	380/114
Fort Kent	Jl. 1933	196/532
Fort Saskatchewan	Ma. 1904	155/202
Grande Prairie	B/C Ap. 1919	196/243
Kinuso	C Ju. 1929	196/444
Lac La Biche	My. 1922	196/320
Lacombe	1. Au. 1904	155/218*
	2. Ju. 1924	196/358
Leduc	Ju. 1906	155/273
Lethbridge	Ma. 1911	196/100
Lousana	Ja. 1922	196/303
McLennan	C Ap. 1946	380/334
MacLeod Dist.	Fe. 1899	155/58*
Medicine Hat	Ma. 1900	155/99
Olds	B/C My. 1923	196/340
Peace River	B/C Ma. 1921	196/309
Red Deer	Fe. 1911	196/90
St. Paul	C Ja. 1930	196/454
Strathcona	Se. 1900	155/121*
Thorhild	Au. 1929	196/446
Torrington	C Oc. 1931	196/497
Vegreville	1. My. 1906	155/259*
	C 2. Se. 1923	196/347
Wetaskiwin	1. De. 1903	155/194
	2. De. 1928	195/429

WEST COAST

Place	Date	Lib/Fol	Place	Date	Lib/Fol
BRITISH COLUMBIA					
Abbotsford Dist.	1. Jl. 1913	196/197*	Lilloact & Dist.	Fe. 1932	196/507
	C 2. Oc. 1946	380/431	Lower North Thompson	No. 1948	456/157
Agassiz	1. Se. 1912	196/160*	Lytton & District	Se. 1949	456/394
— Harrison	2. De. 1930	196/484	McBride District	My. 1948	456/84
Albert Bay & Dist.	Oc. 1937	380/16	Malahat	1. No. 1925	196/373
Altin Dist.	Jl. 1904	155/209	& Shawnigan Lake	C 2. Ju. 1948	456/252
Ashcroft & Dist.	My. 1912	196/149*	Maple Ridge	1. Ma. 1915	196/224*
Barkerville Dist.	Se. 1933	196/537		2. My. 1945	380/238
British Columbia	Jl. 1878	28/35	Merritt	Fe. 1914	196/209
→ Victoria (see also)			Minstrel I & Dist.	Ju. 1948	456/171
Burnaby	Se. 1926	196/397	Mission City	1. Ju. 1893	28/224
→ N. Burnaby	My. 1927		& Dist.	2. Se. 1937	196/627
Burns Lake & Dist.	Ja. 1927	196/405	Nanaimo	Ma. 1889	28/138
Campbell River & Dist.	Fe. 1931	196/486		→C Ju. 1949	
	→C Ju. 1949	447/361	Nakurp	Fe. 1914	196/207
Chase Central	De. 1911	196/125	→Arrow Lakes Dist.	Au. 1930	
Chemainus & Dist.	C Au. 1949	456/354	Nelson — see S. Kootenay		
Chiliwack	Ma. 1903	155/184	New Nickel	Ap. 1909	196/18*
Cloverdale	Ap. 1949	456/299	Newton	Se. 1950	477/112
Coquitlam Dist.	Ap. 1945	416/552	New Westminster	1. Oc. 1882	28/50
Courtenay-Camox	Fe. 1919	196/240	→ North Surrey	2. Ma. 1947	380/496
	→C Au. 1948	456/100	Nicola	Jl. 1909	196/38*
Cranbrook	Ju. 1910	196/61	North Thompson	Oc. 1929	196/450
Crescent & Ocean Park	De. 1949	456/456	North Vancouver	Fe. 1911	196/85
Creston	Ap. 1935	196/571	Okanagan	De. 1896	155/19*
Cumberland	Jl. 1929	196/442	Oliver	Oc. 1946	380/450
Dawson Creek	Ju. 1944	380/206	Pemberton & Dist.	Ju. 1932	196/510
Delta	Ap. 1949	456/326	Pender Harbour	Au. 1949	456/375
Deroche, Nicomen I, Lake			Penticton	My. 1907	155/308
Errock & Harrison Bay	Ma. 1948	456/52	Port Alberni	Ap. 1930	196/464
Duncan	De. 1908	196/1		→C Ju. 1949	
Esquimalt	1. My. 1921	196/296	Port Coquitlam	Oc. 1945	380/289
	C 2. De. 1946	380/446	Port Hammond	Ap. 1911	196/103
Fernie	De. 1902	155/154	Port Moody	Jl. 1947	380/550
Fort George — see			Powell River	Se. 1933	196/536
Prince George			Prince George	Se. 1911	196/108
Fort Langley & Dist.	Ma. 1948	456/60	(as Fort George at first)		
Gibsons Landing Dist.	Ma. 1946	380/340	Prince Rupert	De. 1909	196/46
Grand Forks	No. 1899	155/84		→C Jl. 1930	
Gulf Islands	Oc. 1919	196/260	Princeton	De. 1913	196/203
Hope and District	Oc. 1922	196/335	Queen Charlotte	De. 1928	196/431
Hosmer	Ap. 1913	196/83*	Qualicum Beach	De. 1926	196/401
Kamloops	Ja. 1896	155/1		→C De. 1949	456/455
(as BC Inland to 1920)			Quesnel	Au. 1910	196/74
Kaslo	De. 1897	155/33	Revelstoke	Jl. 1895	28/265
Kelowna	Ap. 1906	155/257	Richmond Dist.	My. 1903	155/189*
Kimberley	Ma. 1925	196/362	Richmond & Point Grey	Ma. 1910	196/55
Ladysmith	De. 1930	196/482	→ Point Grey	Jl. 1925	
Lake Cowichan	C Jl. 1946	380/392	Richmond	Ma. 1925	
Langley	Ap. 1931	196/489	Rock Creek Dist.	No. 1931	196/503
Lantzville & Dist.	C No. 1948	456/163	Rossland	No. 1896	155/16

Place	Date	Lib/Fol
Rutland	No. 1948	456/410
Salmo Valley & Dist.	Au. 1937	196/623
Salmon Arm	My. 1909	196/28
	→C Au. 1930	340/390
Salt Spring Island	C Ju. 1948	446/296
Sandon	My. 1904	155/214*
Sechelt Peninsula	Ap. 1948	456/94
Sidney	Ja. 1926	196/375
& N. Saanich	→C Ja. 1947	380/503
Slocan	No. 1912	196/156
Smithers Dist.	C De. 1923	196/351
Sooke-Jordan River	C No. 1948	456/150
South Burnaby	Ja. 1927	196/416
South Kootenay	Ja. 1893	28/211
→ Nelson	Ap. 1900	
South Vancouver	Ja. 1910	196/43*
Squamish & Hove Dist.	Ju. 1934	196/554
Surrey	No. 1918	196/236
Terrace & Dist.	Ap. 1927	196/422
Tofino	Ap. 1929	196/437
	→C Ju. 1949	
Trail	No. 1900	155/107
	→C No. 1950	478/359
Uchelet-Pt. Albion	C My. 1947	380/556
Vancouver	No. 1887	28/94
Victoria		
(British Columbia)	Jl. 1878	28/35
	→C Au. 1921	196/298
Wells	Ma. 1936	196/577
West Hazelton	De. 1911	196/122*
West Vancouver	Oc. 1926	196/394
White Rock	Se. 1937	196/628
Windermere District	My. 1913	196/185
Zeballos	Se. 1938	380/39

YUKON TERRITORY

Dawson	Fe. 1901	155/124*
Whitehorse	Fe. 1948	456/77

NOTES

1. Viscount Halifax, on the 100th anniversary of the Toronto Board of Trade in 1944; quoted by Stanford, *To serve the community*, v, 207.
2. The works concerned specifically with boards of trade are: Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce de Québec* (Québec: Centre de recherche de la faculté de commerce de l'Université Laval, 1959); C. Marier, "Déclin de la Chambre de Commerce de Québec, 1924-1945" (Thèse de M.A., Université Laval 1949). E.A. Collard, *The Montreal Board of Trade, 1822-1972*, Montreal Board of Trade (1972); J.-C. Robert, "Les rapports du Montréal Board of Trade,"

Groupe de recherche sur la société montréalaise en 19^e siècle, *Rapport 1972-3*, Montréal (1973); P.-G. Roy, *La Chambre de Commerce de Lévis, 1872-1947* (Lévis: Quotidien 1947); G.H. Stanford, *To serve the community: the story of Toronto's Board of Trade*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press (1974); D.P. McCalla, "The commercial politics of the Toronto Board of Trade, 1850-1860," *Canadian Historical Review* 50, 1 (1969): 51-67; R. Schaeffer, *The Board of Trade and the Origins of the Toronto Harbour Commissioners, 1899-1911*, York University Department of Geography Discussion Paper 27 (1971); D.A. Sutherland, "The personnel and policies of the Halifax Board of Trade, 1890-1914," in *The enterprising Canadians: entrepreneurs and economic development in Eastern Canada, 1820-1914*, ed. L.R. Fischer and E.W. Sager (St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1979), 203-230; R.S. Basi, "The Vancouver Board of Trade: a study of its organization and role in the community" (M.A. Thesis, University of British Columbia 1953); C.R. Fay, "The St. John's Chamber of Commerce," in *Life and Labour in Newfoundland* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 146-162; A. Cahulk, "The St. John's Chamber of Commerce," (M.A. Thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1967).

Studies of particular cities or towns, which discuss the role of the board of trade, include: D.A. Sutherland, "Merchants of Halifax, 1815-1850: a commercial class in pursuit of metropolitan status," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1975); T.W. Acheson, "The great merchant and economic development in Saint John, 1820-1850," *Acadiensis* 8 (Spring 1979): 3-28; Tulchinsky, G.J.J., *The river barons: Montreal businessmen and the growth of industry and transportation, 1837-1853* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1977); Leo Johnson, *History of Guelph 1827-1927*, Guelph Historical Society (1977); J.M.S. Careless, "The development of the Winnipeg business community, 1870-1930," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, Series IV, Vol. VIII (1970): 239-254; Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: a social history of urban growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975); Patricia A. Roy, *Vancouver, an illustrated history* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1980); Robert A.J. McDonald, "Business leaders in early Vancouver, 1890-1914," (Ph.D. Thesis, University of British Columbia 1977); Irene E. Robertson, "The business community and the development of Victoria, 1858-1900," (M.A. Thesis, University of Victoria, 1981). Several essays on smaller Prairie urban centres stress the role of the board of trade: Barry Potyondi, "In quest of limited urban status: the town building process in Minnedosa, 1879-1904," Paul Voisey, "Boosting the small prairie town, 1904-1931: an example from southern Alberta," A.A. den Otter, "Lethbridge: outpost of a commercial empire, 1885-1906," and John Gilpin, "Failed metropolis: the city of Strathcona, 1891-1912," all in *Town and city: aspects of western Canadian urban development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, University of Regina, 1981).

3. Stanford, *To serve the community*, 4-5; Ouellet, *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce*, 11-15.
4. Kenneth Sturges. *American Chambers of Commerce*, New York: Williams College, David Wells Prize Essays, 1915.
5. C.R. Fay. "The St. John's Chamber of Commerce." Continuously active from 1806, the St. John's Chamber was transformed into a Board of Trade by special act of the Newfoundland legislature in 1909. Newfoundland boards of trade are not further considered in this essay, which concentrates on Canadian organization to 1950. Newfoundland communities do not seem to have been added to the Secretary of State's register even after 1950.
6. Sutherland, "Halifax merchants," 7, "Merchants of Halifax" 32-6, 52-6. The Halifax association was not continuously active: the 1822 Chamber collapsed 1833/4, was revived 1841 but only until 1843, and reappeared 1865.
7. Carl M. Wallace, "Saint John boosters and railroads in mid-nineteenth century," *Acadiensis* 6, 1 (1976): 71-91.
8. Ouellet, *Histoire de la Chambre de Commerce de Québec*, 17-19; Collard, *The Montreal Board of Trade*, 1-5; Stanford, *To serve the community*, 5-8.

9. *Statutes of the Province of Canada*: 4/5 Vic. c. 90 and c. 92 (1841), 8 Vic. c. 24 (1845).
10. 4/5 Vic. c. 92 (1841).
11. *Statutes of the Province of Canada*: 20 Vic. c. 86 (1857) Ottawa; 27/28 Vic. c. 71 (1864) Hamilton; 29/30 Vic. c. 76 (1866) London. *Canada Statutes*: 31 Vic. c. 80 (1868) Stratford; 32-33 Vic. c. 48 (1869) St. Thomas; 35 Vic. c. 46 (1872) St. Catharines; 35 Vic. c. 47 (1872) Chatham; 35 Vic. c. 48 (1872) Lévis; 35 Vic. c. 49 (1872) Sorel; 36 Vic. c. 67 (1873) King's County; 36 Vic. c. 68 (1873) Oshawa; 37 Vic. c. 52 (1874) St. John's; 37 Vic. c. 53 (1874) Saint John; 37 Vic. c. 54 (1874) Ingersoll. Some of these towns had informal boards of trade some years before proper incorporation, Stratford from 1860 and Brantford from 1865 for example. Two boards were also created by Ontario statutes at this time — Guelph in 1868, and Kingston (which had been started informally as early as 1841) in 1872. At least two other boards started informally in this period, but were not chartered till later — Peterborough 1854 (chartered 1879) and Belleville 1865 (chartered 1884). No systematic attempt has been made in this research note to record informal boards or chambers which were chartered much later, or perhaps never.
12. 20 Vic. c. 86 (1857).
13. 31 Vic. c. 80 (1868); 35 Vic. c. 46 (1872).
14. 36 Vic. c. 68 (1873).
15. 37 Vic. c. 51 (1874). A general act was also urged by the short-lived Dominion Board of Trade, incorporated by statute in 1873 (36 Vic. c. 66), which was defunct by 1880.
16. 39 Vic. c. 34 (1876).
17. *Ibid.*: 58-59 Vic. c. 17 (1895), 2 Edw. VII c. 3 (1902).
18. 7-8 Geo. V c. 12 (1917).
19. 10-11 Geo. V c. 35 (1920).
20. The various legal provisions summarized here remained in effect at least to 1952, *Revised Statutes* 1952, c. 18.
21. Board of Trade certificates under the Board of Trade Act (1874) are held in the Public Archives, Record Group 68. The certificates were filed and indexed in the order they were received and processed by the Secretary of State. The certificates are cited by Liber and Folio numbers and may be examined on microfilm. They are indexed in General Index volumes. Indexes and certificates after 1974 are held by the Office of the Registrar General, Consumer and Corporate Affairs, Ottawa. The help of Mr. J.M. Whalen, State and Military Archives, Federal Archives Division, Public Archives of Canada, is acknowledged.
22. Only the first board or chamber formed in each community is counted in the tables; Appendix 1 summarizes subsequent revivals.
23. Rudin has described how the Montreal Board of Trade declined to help francophone communities like Trois-Rivières, Sorel and St. Hyacinthe to organize boards of trade. The Chambre de Commerce du District de Montréal was more encouraging after its formation in 1886. Ronald Rudin "The development of four Quebec towns, 1840-1914" (Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 1977).
24. Sturges, *American Chambers of Commerce*. In 1900, Canada had an average of one board or chamber for every 12,204 of its urban population; in the United States the figure was 10,244.
25. Artibise has observed that "one of the first organizations created in all prairie cities was a board of trade." "Boosterism and the development of prairie cities, 1871-1913," in *Town and City*, 216.
26. The boards of trade in such small Alberta towns as Carmangay, Champion and Vulcan were never formally chartered. Paul Voisey, "Boosting the small prairie town, 1904-1931: an example from southern Alberta," in *Town and City*, 153.
27. The records of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce 1925-1975 were given to the Public Archives in 1976 (F.A. No. 1269 – access restricted).
28. Careless, "The Winnipeg business community," 246-7.
29. The changing patterns of Board of Trade leadership in the Ontario towns of Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo are discussed for the period from the 1880s to the 1920s in E. Bloomfield, "City-building processes in Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo, 1870-1930" (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Guelph, 1981).
30. Stanford, *To serve the community*, 4. The Montreal Board of Trade had similar assumptions and motives, Tulchinsky, *The river barons*, 138-9.
31. *Berlin Daily Telegraph* 13 January 1901; *Berlin Daily Record* 28 January 1894.
32. *News Record* 23 February 1897. Such declarations, usually unchallenged in smaller centres and before 1900, could not always command the same respect later. Weaver has reported that the Montreal Board of Trade sensed by 1908 that the municipal council failed to appreciate that the Board comprised the most "representative" and "intelligent" men, who were also most interested in the community. John C. Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian City: essays on urban politics and policy, 1890-1920* (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration, 1977), 64.
33. These agents and phases of city-building are discussed more fully in Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Community, ethos and local initiative in urban economic growth: review of a theme in Canadian urban history," *Urban History Yearbook* (1983): 53-72.
34. J.M.S. Careless, "Aspects of metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada" in *Regionalism in the Canadian community, 1867-1967*, ed. Mason Wade (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1967), 125; R.H. Babcock, "Economic development in Portland (Me.) and Saint John (N.B.) during the age of iron and steam, 1850-1914," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, IX, 1 (1979): 14-15; Sutherland "Halifax Board of Trade," 209 ff.
35. Tulchinsky, *The river barons*, 141-158.
36. Stanford, *To serve the community*, 102 ff.
37. R.C. Bellan, "Rails across the Red: Selkirk or Winnipeg," *Historical Society of Manitoba Transactions*, sec. III, no. 118 (1961): 69-77; Artibise, *Winnipeg, a social history*, 68-73.
38. Municipal bonusing powers and practices are reviewed in E. Bloomfield, "Municipal bonusing of industry: the legislative framework in Ontario to 1930," *Urban History Review* IX, 3 (February 1981): 59-76, and Bloomfield, "Community, ethos and local initiative."
39. Sutherland, "Halifax Board of Trade," 209; Stanford, *To serve the community*, 56.
40. The best published account of the role of a board of trade in fostering urban growth by an industrial policy is Johnson's study of Guelph: Leo Johnson, "Ideology and political economy in urban growth: Guelph 1827-1927" in *Shaping the urban landscape: aspects of the Canadian city-building process*, ed. G.A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carlton University Press, 1982), 30-64. Other studies in which the role of the board of trade is not explicit include Ronald Rudin, "Boosting the French Canadian town: municipal government and urban growth in Quebec, 1850-1900," *Urban History Review* XI, 1 (June 1982), 1-10 and D.J. Middleton and D.F. Walker, "Manufacturers and industrial development policy in Hamilton, 1890-1910," *Urban History Review*, 3 (February 1980), 20-46.
41. A.B. Kilpatrick, "A lesson in boosterism: the contest for the Alberta provincial capital, 1904-6," *Urban History Review* VIII, 3 (February 1980): 47-109.
42. L.H. Thomas, "Saskatoon, 1883-1920: the formative years," in *Town and City: aspects of western Canadian urban development*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981), 237-58.
43. Alan F.J. Artibise, "In pursuit of growth: municipal boosterism and urban development in the Canadian prairie west, 1871-1913," in *Shaping the urban landscape*, ed. Stelter and Artibise, 116-147.
44. Examples of such booster publications from across Canada include: Halifax Board of Trade, *The City of Halifax: its advantages and facilities* (1909); the advertisement by St. Johns, Quebec in *Municipal Canada* (1924) 163, to promote a "bigger and better St. Johns"; London, Ontario, Chamber of Commerce, *Seventy-seven years of service in community building, 1857-1934* (1935); Strathcona Board of Trade, *Strathcona: the railway town and manufacturing centre for northern Alberta* (1903); *From inspiration to achievement: the first*

- half-century of the Associated Chambers of Commerce of Vancouver Island, 1918-1967, Nanaimo (1967).
45. From 1897, Ontario municipalities with over 5,000 population were allowed to spend up to \$500 "diffusing information regarding the advantages of such city or town as a manufacturing, business, education or residential centre . . ." and smaller places could spend up to \$100 (Bloomfield, "Municipal bonusing of industry," 70). Advertising in Western cities was more lavish, the Edmonton City Council, for example, granting the Board of Trade \$3,500 in 1905 and \$15,000 in 1911 for publicity and promotion (James D. Anderson, "The municipal government reform movement in western Canada, 1880-1920" in *The Usable Urban Past: planning and politics in the modern Canadian city*, ed. Artibise and Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), 100; Carl Berke, "The original City of Edmonton: a derivative prairie urban community," in *Town and City*, 319-321).
 46. For a general discussion of the role of boards of trade and other agencies in urban reform, see John C. Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian city*, chapters 2 and 4, and "Tomorrow's metropolis revisited: a critical assessment of urban reform in Canada, 1890-1920" in *The Canadian City*, ed. Stelter and Artibise (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977), 393-418. The experience of western Canadian cities is treated in Anderson "The municipal government reform movement." Case studies which consider the role of boards of trade in housing and planning include Shirley Spragge, "A confluence of interests: housing reform in Toronto, 1900-1920," in *The Usable Urban Past*, 247-267; and Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Reshaping the urban landscape? town planning efforts in Kitchener-Waterloo, 1912-1926," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*, 256-303.
 47. Ouellet, *La Chambre de Commerce de Quebec*, 75-82; Collard, *The Montreal Board of Trade*, 34-35; Stanford, *To serve the community*, 144-58.
 48. For an account of the establishment of the Canadian Chamber of Commerce, see Stanford, *To serve the community*, 159-82.
 49. B.F. Hoselitz, "The city, the factory and economic growth," *American Economic Review* 45, 2 (1955): 168.
 50. One problem facing the researcher is uncertainty about the survival of board of trade records. Only a few large metropolitan boards have deposited their records in public archives. The Toronto Board of Trade records from 1850 to 1974 were deposited in the Public Archives of Canada in the late 1970s. Microfilmed records of the Montreal Board of Trade (and the predecessor Committee of Trade) for the period 1822-1952 are also held by the PAC. Records of the Saint John Board of Trade are on permanent loan to the New Brunswick Museum. In many towns and cities, equivalent records seem to have been lost. Board of trade activities, were, however, thoroughly reported in local newspapers, and it is noteworthy that most research on particular urban centres has used such indirect records.
 51. For example, the Toronto Board of Trade gained strength during the late 1850s depression as did the Guelph Board of Trade in the recessions of the late 1860s and the late 1870s, but the Halifax Board of Trade is said to have languished in times of recession. Stanford, *To serve the community*, 24; Leo Johnson, *History of Guelph, 1827-1927*, Guelph (1977), 260-1; Sutherland, "Halifax Board of Trade," 208.
 52. Sutherland concludes, for example, that the Halifax Board of Trade was "persistently compromised by the traditionalism, elitism, penuriousness and factionalism" of its members (Sutherland "Halifax Board of Trade," 217).
 53. Notably in Maisonneuve in greater Montreal, where a close-knit and determined group of French-Canadian land capitalists achieved both substantial industrialization and a programme of beautification by its influence on the municipal council. P.A. Linteau, *Maisonneuve: comment les promoteurs fabriquent la ville*, Montreal (1981).
 54. This has been suggested by John C. Weaver, "Living in and building up the Canadian city," *Plan Canada* 15 (September 1975): 112.