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The Reproduction of Labour and Capital
British and Canadian Cities during Industrialization

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See table of contents

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Article abstract

Urbanization in both Britain and Canada during the 19th century was associated with that intensification of capitalist relationships called industrialization. In Britain however, there were nuances worth noting. Industry migrated in from a countryside which was already full of economic activity both agricultural and industrial. Canadian urban growth took place in relatively empty economic space stimulated by the economic activity created by settler migration and commodity trade. Two important differences resulted. First, the contrast between urban and rural economic structures was much greater in Canada than in Britain, where rural community structures influenced urban social patterns. Secondly, Canadian urban centres acted as units of entrepreneur ship, within which leaders used the urban power base to attract capital and ensure its reproduction. The municipalities were weak in relation to the agents of capital with which they dealt; city councils, therefore, conceded much to manufacturers and even more to railways. The greater bargaining power of the established British urban centres showed in their relationship with the railway companies and urban utilities. British urban centres grew in a capital rich countryside. They used their urban power base to react to instabilities created by the accumulation of industrial capital, hence becoming predominantly agencies for the reproduction of labour.

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The Reproduction of Labour and Capital:
British and Canadian Cities during Industrialization

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Abrstract

Urbanization in both Britain and Canada during the 19th century was associated with that intensification of capitalist relationships called industrialization. In Britain however, there were nuances worth noting. Industry migrated in from a countryside which was already full of economic activity both agricultural and industrial. Canadian urban growth took place in relatively empty economic space stimulated by the economic activity created by settler migration and commodity trade. Two important differences resulted. First, the contrast between urban and rural economic structures was much greater in Canada than in Britain, where rural community structures influenced urban social patterns. Secondly, Canadian urban centres acted as units of entrepreneurship, within which leaders used the urban power base to attract capital and ensure its reproduction. The municipalities were weak in relation to the agents of capital with which they dealt; city councils, therefore, conceded much to manufacturers and even more to railways,. The greater bargaining power of the established British urban centres showed in their relationship with the railway companies and urban utilities. British urban centres grew in a capital rich countryside. They used their urban power base to react to instabilities created by the accumulation of industrial capital, hence becoming predominantly agencies for the reproduction of labour.

This essay, part of a larger on-going enquiry into the nature of social and economic relationships in certain British and Canadian cities, proposes that the urban elites of those cities betrayed different priorities when preparing agendas for the use of the power of the local state. These differences stemmed from characteristics of the urban systems of Britain and Canada. Sets of elites in both urban systems were concerned with the creation and stabilization of the conditions in which they could accumulate power, notably, power over capital. That being said, fundamental differences in resource availability, in national economic development, and in political structures and power relationships created different priorities for local goverments in the two countries. To appreciate the distinctive traits of the conduct of local government with respect to industrialization, it is necessary to begin with an examination of how industry came to the urban centres of both growing systems. In the 19th century the British and Canadian urban systems were ones in which an industrial commercial system was replacing a previous system. By 1801 in Britain the populations of Manchester, Birmingham, and Leeds had already surpassed those of Norwich, York, and Exeter. The 19th-century census tables, when used to reconstruct urban rankings, capture the fading of the older British system of market and cathedral centres.[1] In Canada census returns of the mid 19th century permit a glimpse of the older urban system comprising Quebec, Kingston, and Halifax as it began to be replaced by rapid growth in Montreal and Toronto.[2]

Within this common pattern of commercial-industrial regional cities consolidating their dominance, there were important differences. The British system continued to be dominated by its primate city, London, which began the century 12 times the size of its nearest rival. By the 1870s it had slumped, but it remained the preponderant city, with a population five times that of the country's second-largest city. The British urban system continued to conform to the model of a rank and size hierarchy in which there was a true primate city.[3] By comparison the Canadian system was unstable and lacked a true primate city. Montreal at mid century was barely double the size of its nearest rivals. In addition Britain was, at all times during this period and by whatever measure is used, a country in which urbanization was further advanced.

Central to the urbanization evident in both societies was industrialization, although that term must be used cautiously. Indeed a major concern of this article is the care with which "industrialization" must be used. For example, let us consider rough estimates on the distribution of occupations. In Britain the percentage of the labour force in agriculture fell from 28 in 1851 to 11 in 1911. However, the gain did not go to manufacturing, which hovered around the 30 per cent mark, but to trade and commerce (9 to 15 per cent), to transport (3 to 8 per cent), and to the public and professional sector (4 per cent to 7 per cent).[4] H. C. Pentland's figures for 1851-91 show that, when the unclassified is redistributed among occupational groups on a proportional basis, in Quebec and Ontario the structure of the labour force remained much the same between 1851 and 1891.[5] Simon Kuznets' figures for GNP in Canada suggest that, although the agricultural share fell 24 per cent between 1870 and 1920, the gains went to services (up 15 per cent) as much as manufacturing (up 9 per cent).[6] Both the nature of the sources and the methodology assumptions involved in crudely classifying economic activity make it important to interpret such figures with caution. None the less, the data suggest regarding industrialization as more than just an increase in the manufacturing sector. Industrialization involved changes in the organization of production throughout the economy.

In the conceptualization which guides this article, industrialization was an economic transformation from one form of capitalism to

Résumé

Tant en Grande-Bretagne qu'au Canada, l'urbanisation a été associée à l'intensification des relations d'ordre capitaliste qu'on appelle industrialisation. En Grande-Bretagne, l'industrie a pris naissance à la campagne qui bourdonnait déjà d'activité économique, aussi bien agricole qu'industrielle, tandis que la croissance urbaine du Canada n'est partie de rien pour être stimulée par l'activité économique engendrée par les migrations des colons et le négoce des matières premières. Il en a résulté deux différences importantes. La première : le contraste entre les structures économiques urbaines. La deuxième : les agglomérations urbaines du Canada servaient de centres pour les entrepreneurs où les dirigeants des villes utilisaient le pouvoir d'influence de la ville pour attirer des capitaux et en assurer la reproduction. Les municipalités étaient faibles face au pouvoir des capitaux. La position de force plus avantageuse des centres urbains déjà établis de la Grande-Bretagne était reflétée dans leurs rapports avec les compagnies ferroviaires et les services publics de la ville. Les centres urbains britanniques ont pris de l'essor dans des collectivités rurales riches en capitaux. Ils ont utilisé leur pouvoir d'influence pour réagir à l'instabilité créée par l'accumulation de capital industriel, devenant ainsi surtout les agents de la reproduction de la force de travail.

another. Capitalism, as used here, refers to an economic and social system based upon cash or credit transactions, private ownership of the means of production, and production for profit. The transformation of capitalism involved many things, including a sustained increase in per capita output in agriculture that enabled a larger portion of the labour force to move into non-agricultural production. This transformation also embraced technological change and the increased use of steam power. A greater intensity in the exploitation of labour through stricter discipline and the reorganization and sub-division of labour were further important attributes of the new industrial form of capitalism.[7] As growth became self-sustaining, the rational use of knowledge became an economic asset in its own right, both as a means of increasing productivity and as a means of controlling the economic system through ways as varied as statistics, mechanics, accounting, and price information.[8] It is possible now to see industrialization as a process that affected the entire system of cities and not just so-called manufacturing. Bath, Blackpool, and Ottawa experienced industrialization as surely as Oldham and Hamilton.

The industrial transformation outlined above was experienced in both countries, although there was an obvious time difference. What is less obvious, but extremely interesting, is that industrialization in the two societies occurred out of very different urban-rural contexts. In Britain, industry came in from the countryside. In Canada, industry was created by the friction of trade and people, as the articles and the people passed through the great cities and smaller towns and on into a countryside without significant proto-industrial activity, without a long history of craft manufacturing. The Canadian countryside was not empty, but rather provided empty capitalist economic space. This feature was crucial. It affected the actions and priorities of the urban elites and the nature of power relationships between municipal and non-municipal agencies. It

also affected the development of the Canadian working class; Canadian urban labourers could continue to practise some rural economic strategies. The greater availability of land and cheap timber in Canada meant that vegetable gardening, pig-keeping, and supplementary construction were easier for Canadian than for British urban wage earners.[9]

Let us consider what the economic space of the British countryside looked like before "industrializaiton." By 1700 it was full of industrial activity: the nailmakers in the West Midlands, stockingers in Leicestershire, woollen weavers in West Yorkshire, toolmakers in South Yorkshire, fustian cloth makers in Lancashire, and much more. The fruitful combination of population pressure and agricultural innovation in the later 16th century had created regional specialization and a greater population than that needed for many pastoral areas. This surplus population was the basis of industry in the countryside.[10] In areas with a labour surplus, the "cash crop" was not grain or cattle, but yarn, nails, lengths of fustian and woollen cloth. By 1700 the West Midlands, for example, was a network of furnaces, forges, and slitting mills based upon local coal and iron ore supplies and a soil suited to pastoral agriculture. The patterns of rural-urban relationships in a countryside full of industrial activity showed very clearly in this region. Such towns as Walsall and Wolverhampton were the organizing markets financing the iron trade. Some of the high-cost skilled work was retained in the town. Wolverhampton made fine locks while villages like Willenhall made the common lock. Nailmaking villages were linked to the towns by the chapman and wholesale ironmonger. Nailmaking was affected by the agricultural seasons, as occupants of small cottage workshops, many with small amounts of land themselves, left the forge for ploughing, hay time, and harvest.[11] Further north, Sheffield showed the same pattens. As in the West Midlands, the local merchants linked the producer villages to London and overseas markets.[12]

Table 1
Urban Population as a Percentage of Total Population

England and Wales

Scotland

Date	2,500+	20,000+	Urban Districts	20,000+
1811	36.6	21.5	-	16.6
1851	54.0	37.6	51.8	27.7
1861	58.7	42.4	52.8	29.3
1911	78.9	62.2	75.4*	49.0

Sources: C. M. Law, "The Growth of the Urban Population: England and Wales, 1801-1911," *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers*, 41 (1967): 125-41; A. F. Weber, *The Growth of Cities in the 19th Century* (New York, 1899: repr. Cornell, 1965): 40-56; and Table 1.1, 57-?6 *Census of Scotland*, 1911.

*This figure is for burghs and special scavenging districts of 1,000+ population.

Canada

Date	1,000+ incorporated	20,000+
1851	13.1	7.4
1861	15.8	-
1911	41.8	22.5

Sources: L. O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada. 1961* (Census Monograph, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Ottawa, 1967): 9-41; *Canada Year Book, 1913* (Ottawa, 1913): 57-9.
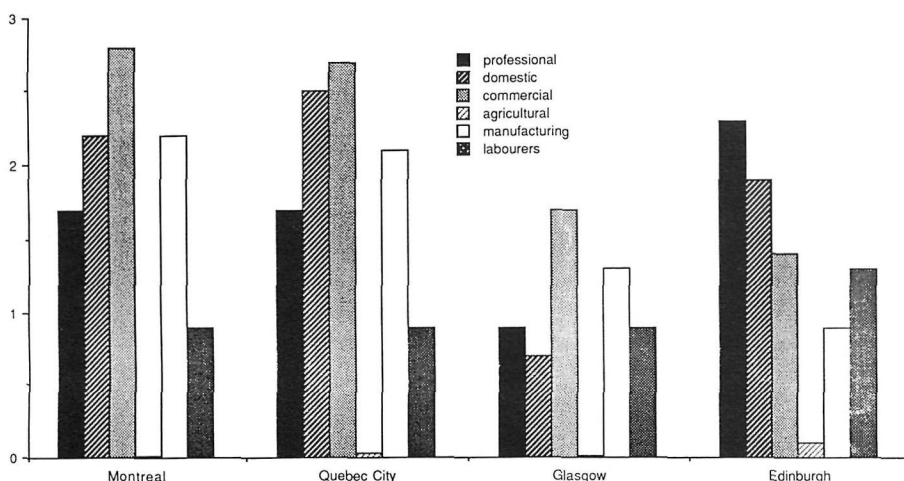

Figure 1. Occupational Structure of Montreal, Quebec City, Glasgow and Edinburgh compared to that of Quebec and Scotland in 1871. Each urban sector is given as an observed by expected ration (a ratio of the proportion in the city to the prop).

Eighteenth-century Leeds demonstrated the division of labour between town and countryside in the textile trades. Leeds was the base for the woolstaplers and woollen merchants who organized the financing and distribution of both the raw materials and the final product. As production increased, local wool output, upon which the trade had once been based, proved inadaquate and supplies were imported from Spain and the declining textile area of East Anglia. The wool was sold to the clothiers of the surrounding villages who organized the milling, spinning, and weaving.[13] The cloth was then sold in the highly disciplined markets of the cloth halls in Leeds.[14] The finishing processes were overseen by the merchants in the warehouses and workshops that backed onto their dwelling houses.

During the second half of the 18th century, new technologies both of production and labour organization increasing pressure upon this division of labour between town and countryside. Power was applied to an *increasing number of textile processes, in the initial preparation of the wool, in fulling of the cloth (which had long been powered), and above all, in the spinning of cotton and other yarns.[15]* The slow application of coal to iron-based products was another pressure making for larger units of production. These changes did not bring an immediate move into the town. Instead, new sites housed the new manufacturing processes. *Coalbrookdale and New Lanark were the true sites of the industrial revolution.[16]* In these streamside locations, there was power, cheap land and often access to the cheap transport of the canal.

Slowly and inexorably, manufacturing began to come in from the countryside. The building of Springfield Mill in the east end of Glasgow in 1793 was characteristic of the change. It was steam-powered and employed more than 100 employees.[17] There were many reasons for the shift of manufacturing. The better supervision of high-cost finished goods had always been a reason for merchants to

move production into towns. The specialization of the metal goods trades had brought growth and development to Birmingham in the gun, jewellery, and toy (enamelled goods) trades.[18] The demand for textiles had grown to a point at which the surplus seasonal labour of the countryside was no longer enough. The urban labour force created by another period of population growth and pressure on the land was now a cheaper resource for the entrepreneur. The size of the town meant that the costs of the reproduction of labour could be spread across a whole community and were not restricted to one employer as in the country mill sites such as New Lanark and Styal.

Specialization and the need to be near the skilled services of lawyers and bankers meant that the external economies of concentration began to outweigh the higher cost of land in urban places. This specialization in turn created new demands for urban industrial units. In the early years of the 19th century the machinemakers came out from the workshops of the big textile mills and set up in business on their own. Matthew Murray, for example, began life with Marshall's, the flax spinners in Leeds. By 1819 he had set up as an independent steam-engine builder.[19] Cotton towns like Oldham generated a major engineering sector based upon textile machinery. By the 1850s Platt's of Oldham exported to all parts of the world.[20] The development of chemical bleaching processes was another force for urbanization, by reducing the quantity of land needed for bleaching cloth. The bleach greens and tenter grounds of the textile towns became available for building and the manufacturers saved on land costs. Although the initial power source in many towns was water, the new technologies made increasing use of steam. This development meant that point delivery of coal became a major advantage of larger towns as the capital costs of loading and unloading facilities increased. Finally, by the 1840s, the arrival of the inter-city railway system increased the advantages of point delivery and loading

sources. The growing urban population itself became a source of demand, not just for industrial services, but also for the basic provision of food, drink, clothing, and shelter. The brewers, shoemakers, furniture makers, and bricklayers were as important to the urban industrial structure as the external incoming earning industries of textiles and metal goods. In many cases, these industries expanded to a point where they could serve external markets, as with beer from Burton-on-Trent (hence export ale) or the Lancashire textile machinery industry.

The manner in which industry came to British towns had a profound influence upon the social structure and practice of those towns. The urban labour force brought with it traditions of community and occupational identity from the countryside. The typical units of organization were the friendly societies based upon the public house and the craft union lodge.[21] As studies of the builders union and the Lancashire textile unions have shown, British labour, even in the less skilled trades, tended to organize in locally based occupational unions preserving their own working practices and independence.[22] The village community with its box societies, its drinking customs, and its informal methods of social discipline (like riding the stang) came with the labourers into the towns.[23] In many cases the methods of social discipline were none too gentle. The main defence of labour privileges came from the countryside. The Luddites of Nottinghamshire, Lancashire, and the West Riding in 1811-12 and the Swings riots in the south and east of England in 1831 were only the most spectacular of a long tradition.[24] One special case, the Orange Order, was created among the Protestant weavers of North Armagh and brought into Belfast as the brown linen market drew in more of the production side of that industry in the first half of the 19th century. By the 1830s the Orange Order was already independent of its occupational origins.[25]

Migration in Britain typically tended to be of a short distance. Thus urban migrants could maintain contacts with their poor law settlement and with family and friends in their community of origin. Rural habits were b ought into the town. The pig in the backyard was the characteristic countryman's way of making a meagre income go further. Folk practices flowed into the towns. Richard Hoggart records that his grandmother who arrived in the industrial suburb of Hunsle in Leeds in the late 19th century still kept pots of goose grease under the rafters to use against the cold.[26] The terms of abuse and insult in the dense-built back-to-back houses were ones that could only have meaning from the countryside.

As the towns expanded, they absorbed many once-independent villages which, because they had a thriving industrial base, were able to preserve their own loyalties and identities. This was more true of some towns than others. The working classes of Leeds and Sheffield often referred to their towns as just a collection of villages.[27] Life in Sheffield was organized around the workshops and public houses of the constituent villages. Even in mid century local independence made it difficult to gain support for building regulations and public health spending. These moves were identified with giving power which was identified with Sheffield as a whole to a municipal authority. In Sheffield opposition to centralized power expressed suspicion of Sheffield's own town council not just of London. In Leeds the identity of the villages was still reflected in speech patterns in the 1950s. North of the river it was "owt" and "nowt," while south of it one more usually found "ought" and "nought." These differences were ghosts of old settlement patterns predating the Norman Conquest and were preserved by the short-distance migrations in the 19th century. Even in the newer communities, identity was preserved around the individual workplace. When the Welsh town of Merthyr exploded in riot and rebellion in 1832, the behaviour of the labour force differed according to which part of the

town workers came from. Much of the neighbourhood difference derived from the character of the mill masters.[28] In the Lancashire mill towns in the 1850s and 1860s, the character of different neighbourhoods was dominated by the character of the millowners. One area would vote Tory and turn out for the Orange walk while another would be Liberal, Free Trade, and cheer Gladstone.[29] In Middlesbrough, one of the few new towns of 19th-century Britain, each iron works created its own village. These preserved some distinctive speech patterns to the 1960s. South Bank, for example, echoed the English Midlands, the area from which many of the original labour force had been recruited. The destruction of many of these intra-urban communities by the urban clearances of the 1960s has intensified the sense of disorientation and crisis evident in many areas of British society.

Many large Canadian cities also had neighbourhoods with a strong sense of place, but with a different basis. J. C. Marsan drew attention to "les petites patries" in Montreal.[30] Although he talks of "une métropole de quatre vingts villages," these communities were rarely like the industrial villages of Britain, which entered urban development with a community that embraced an integrated social structure, with a resident bourgeoisie, petite bourgeoisie, and wage labour force.[31] Les petites patries were identified either with an ethnic group, the Irish in St Anne's or the Jewish group around St Lawrence, or they were identified with a limited social status group, the working class of St Henri and the anglophone bourgeoisie of Westmount.[32] The status identities often originated in the history of the area as an independent municipality. The impact of long-distance migration and of the property owner's use of the by-laws of the suburban municipalities created a Canadian sense of local place very different from that in Britain. The latter had been shaped in large measure by existing pre-urban

industrial communities close to the growing industrial centres.

Industry came to Canadian cities through very different economic and social processes. It grew in several ways related to the exchange of goods and services in a commercial economy and an economy boosted from time to time by the massive movement of people over long distances. First, there was industrial activity that directly served trade. Coopers and shipbuilders were prominent in the Montreal economy in the 1820s. John Ward had come from the United States in 1818 to establish his shipbuilding yard. By the 1840s it had developed into a steam-engine and boiler establishment and had been joined by several others.[33] Thus a sector begun to serve the needs of the flow of trade had expanded to serve a local market — the steam engines were used by local steamers and manufacturers. The early Montreal cotton factory of F. W. Harris also showed this pattern of evolution. It produced seamless bags, a product well suited to the grain trade. Output also included denim, a coarse cloth, a product complimentary to the bags, and also a product with a high bulk-cost ratio which thus gained maximum advantage from the natural protection which transport costs brought to the Canadian economy.[34] Secondly, there was the process of import replacement. From an early stage axe and nailmaking establishments had appeared in Montreal and Toronto to serve the demand by housebuilders and settlers. On the banks of the Lachine canal in the 1840s there was an axe factory, nail factory, and shovel manufactory.[35] Thirdly, and of growing importance, was the internal domestic market, both urban and rural. Molson's brewery in Montreal and Gooderham and Wort's distillery in Toronto prospered by locating themselves near their markets.[36] Montreal and Toronto both showed an early growth of establishments of modest size (30 to 50 employees) which brought increasing amounts of intermediate technology and subdivision of labour to produce for local internal markets.[37] Both

towns had tanneries at an early stage to supply a boot and shoe industry. By the 1840s the Montreal list of manufacturers for domestic consumption included shirtmakers, carriagemakers, and a tobacco pipemaker. The building trade was served by door and window manufactories along the Lachine canal. The Montreal boot and shoe trade was the most spectacular example of an artisan trade that grew through small advances in technology and labour subdivision into a large factory-based industry serving a wide market.[38] H. A. Massey's move to Toronto in 1879, in order to be at the centre of the Ontario market for agricultural implement making, was an example of growth from a local market to national and international markets.[39]

Lastly, there was the transport sector, notably the railways, which served as a base for the Canadian engineering industry. In the 1850s both James Goode's foundry and the Toronto Rolling Mills were a response to the demand for locomotives and rails created by the arrival of the Grand Trunk Railway. Montreal already had some engineering based upon shipbuilding, but major advances in that sector were made as a result of the founding of the GTR and later the CPR.[40] British engineering originated with the textile industry. This was a locationally specific industry which, despite the huge size of some of its units of production, remained highly competitive. Canadian engineering was the creation of railway systems and the demand for its products was therefore concentrated.

While British cities grew by organizing and capturing the economic activity of the countryside, Canadian cities had to develop that activity in empty economic space. They did so by growing as part of a transatlantic metropolitan system channelling people, capital, and goods to the countryside. A. T. Galt, hurrying to London in search of railway capital in the 1850s,[41] the emigrant sheds of Winnipeg in the 1890s, or the wealthier immigrant cashing bills of exchange in the

Toronto banks were as much part of this relationship as the flow of British goods from London and Glasgow. Canada had none of the population pressure on land which Britain experienced in the late 16th century and the second half of the 18th. This pressure was a crucial factor in the creation of industry in the countryside.[42] By the time such pressure was evident in Quebec, in the early 19th century, it was too late.[43] The production of nails, stockings, and cloth was already organized through the cities and in the cities. Migration to the city, to the United States, or to land west and north was the answer, not the loom or the nailmaker's forge. Besides, Canadian manufacture was market-based in its location and not based on resources such as iron, coal, and wool to produce for distant sale. The local Canadian market was usually too small to support an industry which could sustain the developing industrial technologies. The pre-1767 struggles of the forges at St Maurice in the St Lawrence valley lurching from one form of government support to another compare vividly with the nail-making villages of the English Midlands.[44] Even small matters of detail conspired to cut the size of this already tiny market. The English rebuilding of the 17th and 18th centuries took place in a countryside in which squared timber was already scarce. Canadian housing styles were the product of a timber-rich countryside. In Quebec, heavy jointed timbers often held together by wooden pegs were the rule.[45] This minimized the demand for nails, thus remaining a staple source of domestic demand (which sustained and expanded the major form of mass production metal working in the English countryside).

The result was a relationship between town and countryside that was very different in the two economies. In 1871, the censuses in Britain and Canada used very similar methods of classification for their economically active populations.[46] If we compare orders of magnitude rather than the fine detail of Tables 2:1 and 2:2 then major contrasts become clear. Scotland and

Quebec were roughly comparable. Both had a concentrated urbanized lowland and a considerable upland and highland area. Both were dominated by two towns that shared regional urban metropolitan functions between them. Both had independent financial systems closely linked to London. Table 2 shows that in 1871 the cities of Quebec and Montreal were more sharply differentiated from the economy of which they were a part than Edinburgh and Glasgow. In order to allow for the different occupational structures of the Province of Quebec and Scotland as a whole, a ratio of observed features to expected features has been used. The ratio, given in brackets, compares the actual total in any given occuptional group with the total in the economy as a whole. Thus the larger the ratio, the greater the difference. In Scotland the ratio only exceeded two for the professions of Edinburgh with its army of lawyers. In Montreal and Quebec the commercial and manufacturing sectors, as well as their attendant servant populations, were well over twice the proportion for

Quebec as a whole. The basis for this contrast was the relative importance of industry in rural Scotland. In the mainland rural parishes, the 30 per cent of the population in manufacturing included 134,000 in textiles and 52,000 in coal and mineral mining (of which 22,000 were in iron and steel). Even in the islands, 22 per cent were in manufacturing (of which 8,500 of 13,600 were in textiles).

Industry in the countryside was not absent in Quebec or in Canada as a whole, but it was both proportionately less important and, in general, very different from such industry in Scotland and the rest of Britain. The products of Scottish and British industry such as the linen yarn which had been produced in the eastern highlands since the 18th century were for what Adam Smith called "distant markets." Canadian industry in the countryside had a number of characteristic forms. It was dominated by extractive activity, especially timber, and by the processing of agricultural output. Joseph Bouchette's account of Lower Canada recorded

Table 2
2.1 Occupational Urban Structure in Quebec 1871
Occupied population in each category per 1000 of total occupied population with the observed divided by expected ratio calculated with regarded to the structure the Province of Quebec as a whole.

	Montreal	Quebec City	Province of Quebec
Population	107,225	59,699	1,191,516
Percentage of Provincial Population	9	5	100
Occupied Population	38,079	18,731	341,291
As % of Total	36	31	29

Occupied population in each category per 1,000 of total occupied population with the observed divided by expected ratio calculated with regard to the structure of the Province of Quebec as a whole.

	Montreal		Quebec City	Province of Quebec	
Professional	79	(1.7)	45	80	(1.7)
Domestic	136	(2.2)	62	156	(2.5)
Commercial	210	(2.8)	75	202	(2.7)
Agricultural	0.6	(0.01)	471	13	(0.03)
Manufacturing	429	(2.2)	193	407	(2.1)
Labourers, etc.	141	(0.9)	155	142	(0.9)

numerous gristmills and sawmills. Only at St Maurice with its iron furnaces and foundries was there anything like that potent mixture of extraction, processing, and manufacture characteristic of Britain. Bouchette made frequent comments on the suitability and benefits of flax growing for providing "indoor employment," but, apart from a carding and fulling mill recently introduced on the McTavish property at Terrebone, he had little to report.[47] The processing of agricultural produce, notably in the breweries and tanneries and mostly for local consumption, was found either in or near the major urban centres. Domestic weaving seems to have been for family or local consumption, while the larger population centres in the countryside had a variety of craft occupations (blacksmiths, joiners, and so forth) to serve the local economy.

Towards the end of the 19th century new forms of industry came to the Canadian countryside. Secondary urbanization brought new industry to such areas as southern Ontario.[48] In Quebec the cotton spinning industry expanded in the 1870s and became established in rural towns sites such as Valleyfield and Montmorency. These were essentially "branch plants" for Montreal capital attracted to their sites by the availability of water power.[49] In addition there was a growing number of resource towns, rapidly growing proto-urban communities that lacked either the close association of the industrial village with its market metropolis, or the variety of institutions, labour markets, and opportunities which are defining characteristics of a truly urban society.[50]

In Britain industry serving distant markets came in from the countryside to a variety of urban sites, while in Canada an urban artisan-based industry serving local markets and the needs of trade was the basis from which proto-urban settlements like Valleyfield developed. As a result of this very different urban rural relationship, the towns in Canada were dominated by the social structures that accompanied long-distance migration, social

2.2 Occupational Urban Structure in Scotland 1871

	Glasgow	Edinburgh
Total Population	477,156	196,979
Percentage of National Population	14	6
Occupied Population	223,261	96,311
As % of Total	48	49

Occupied population in each category per 1,000 of the total occupied population with the observed divided by expected ratio calculated with regard to the structure of Scotland as a whole.

Professional	34	(0.9)	86	(2.3)
Domestic	81	(0.7)	204	(1.9)
Commercial	133	(1.7)	110	(1.4)
Agricultural	0.6	(0.01)	21	(0.1)
Manufacturing	669	(1.3)	475	(0.9)
Labourers, etc.	77	(0.9)	104	(1.3)

	Town Districts		Mainland Rural		Scotland Districts
Total Population	1,402,796		1,799,467		3,360,018
Percentage of National Population	42		54		100
Occupied Population	660,662		747,060		1,468,585
As % of Total	47		42		44

Occupied population in each category per 1,000 of the total occupied population with expected divided by observed measure.

Professional	45	(1.2)	30	(0.8)	37
Domestic	106	(1.0)	110	(1.0)	109
Commercial	113	(1.5)	50	(0.6)	78
Agricultural	21	(0.1)	300	(1.6)	184
Manufacturing	624	(1.2)	433	(0.8)	510
Indefinite, especially Labourers	91	(1.1)	77	(0.9)	82

structures derived from ethnic and religious identities. The mythologies of the "charter" groups, the Anglo-Saxon loyalist and the Roman Catholic rural habitant, concealed the manner in which long-distance migration broke up family and community tradition with its emphasis on mutuality. Benefit societies based upon neighbourhood and workplace were less important than was the case in Britain. Instead, charitable support centred on ethic and religious associations, like those of St Andrew and St Jean Baptiste in Montreal.[51]

In both countries the city was a unit of power and authority, a means of organizing subordination over people and resources. As such, the city became not just a unit of collective consumption but also a unit of collective accumulation, producing social goods and services that the search for profits in the free market could not do, but which were crucial, or were seen as crucial, to profit and other income-earning activities elsewhere in the economy.[52] There were recognizably similar activities in both countries, but the emphasis was different. As the urban leaders, policy makers, and opinion formers of both countries began to react to the results and opportunities of industrialization, distinct ideologies began to characterize the two different urban systems. In Canada boosters, bonusing, and tax holidays were common and the zealous promotion of the city even infused early Canadian urban planning efforts (such as "the city beautiful" movement).

In Canada the city was a unit for organizing the reproduction of capital. In other words the attraction and maintenance of income-earning assets. In Britain, on the other hand, the city was a means of organizing the reproduction of labour. Relatively speaking, there was little shortage of capital or entrepreneurs. There was a need to reduce and spread the costs of the reproduction of labour, to provide basic biological and economic support in matters of food supply, health, and housing, recreation (while

countering poverty), and to maintain order through police and education.

The Canadian urban place in the 19th century rapidly became a unit of entrepreneurship. Those with property, power, or just economic ambition sought and used the powers that went with the concentration of people and economic activity which was the urban place. Above all they sought and used the powers of the municipality to raise loans and taxes, to regulate activity, and to provide services. Their aim was to increase the value and income gained from their capital. One of the first steps in securing the use of municipal powers in order to reproduce capital was to secure a charter, that is the authority to act as a corporate body. From a British perspective the certainty with which small Canadian communities picked up charters was surprising. Winnipeg was a city of 1,600 in 1873, Regina a town of about 900 in 1883, Calgary a town of 506 in 1884 and (a city of 4,000 in 1893), Edmonton a town in of 700 in 1892. These populations would hardly have provided and supported the workforce of a modest-sized Lancashire cotton mill.[53] No voice was raised to imitate the proud historian of Birmingham who proclaimed "a town without a charter is a town without a shackle." There were few protracted battles against incorporation similiar to that in Manchester in the 1830s.[54]

One group of barriers to incorporation in Britain that was lacking in Canada was the highly structured network of political alliances which formed the Whig and Tory parties of Britain. These alliances were deeply structured by class, status, and religious identity. They were also implicated in the existing urban charters which were mostly survivals from the 17th century. By 1800 most municipal corporations were self-selecting oligarchies dominated by one politico-religious section of the local elite, usually the Tory Anglicans. As the manufacturing and commercial towns became increasingly dominated, both ▵ numerically and economically, by a Non-

conformist Whig middle class, these groups regarded charters as an irritating form of oppression. Indeed by the 1820s urban government was a patchwork of overlapping jurisdictions, improvement commissioners, paving and lighting boards, overseers of the poor, parish vestries, justices of the peace, trustees of toll roads, even the occasional lord of the manor and, sometimes, a mayor and corporation. Cobden gained the charter for Manchester because he persuaded the rate-paying citizens to support the charter as an instrument for reform. The charter was seen by the 1830s as a means by which the liberal citizens could drive out aristocratic influence in the cause of civil and religious liberty.

For municipal leaders on the Canadian Prairies, matters were quite different. The charter was an economic asset negotiated with their provincial government — "it advertized the community and gave it dignity . . . and expression of confidence in the future."[55] More important, town and city status provided a broader base for borrowing funds for public works and other expenditure. The charter was a formidable economic asset for a local property-owning elite. The most spectacular use of this asset was without doubt in Winnipeg. A gateway regional metropolis for the Prairies would have developed in the 1880s and 1890s (probably at a point where the east-west routes left the Shield and crossed the parkland, most likely a Red River crossing). There was no way in the 1870s, however, of predicting that it was to be Winnipeg. Two features provided a hint that this metropolis would end up in the middle of a flood basin and not further north. The first was the spatial and legal scope of the 1873 Winnipeg charter and the alacrity with which it was gained. With its tax base, the urban elite of Winnipeg fought the geographical determinism of railway surveyors. The action was on a grand scale: $300,000 for the bridge, free land for the passenger station, a perpetual tax holiday, and a cash grant of $200,000.[56] The wholesalers and land

developers hijacked the municipal tax base in a massive act of collective investment. The returns were outstanding. The boom of 1881-82 drew in more than 10,000 people and thousands of dollars of eastern capital. When the crash came, it destroyed many individual fortunes but left Winnipeg with a mass of accumulated human and material capital and a sharp reduction in its obligations to the east. The town could now dominate the years of consolidation and quiet growth that followed. The second hint that Winnipeg would succeed should have been the 500 acres of Hudson's Bay Company land in the Upper Fort area. Donald Smith held a dominant position in both the HBC and the CPR. This was a crucial factor. Carefully established political influence at corporate and state levels was vital for the success of the municipal entrepreneurs.

The relationships with railway companies highlighted the different role of municipalities in Britain and Canada. In Canada the balance of power was decidedly in favour of the companies. The CPR marched across the Prairies making and unmaking cities, playing at cat-and-mouse with lesser landowners, and dragging Calgary across the river.[57] In terms of finance, and even of labour force, the company outweighed most communities it approached (some of which it could have loaded into a train and carried off complete). Even mighty Montreal had to bargain with great care to ensure that the North Shore railway plans did not by-pass the city and give renewed advantages to Quebec. The full weight of the corporate financial, political, and municipal power concentrated in Montreal eventually brought the due reward of housing the eastern end of the CPR and the huge Angus workshops. The shrewd promise of a one-million-dollar subsidy for the Montreal Colonization Railway, with its Montreal terminus, swung the balance away from Quebec in 1873.[58] Throughout the scandals and upsets of the 1870s Montreal's one million dollars was a decisive factor in controlling the route

structure of the railways in the St Lawrence basin.[59] The point here is not to ignore the part played by the Bank of Montreal, Baring Brothers, and provincial and federal governments, but to see the municipality as an active entrepreneurial agency laying out its capital with care and skill.

In Britain the balance of power was different. The railways were the dependent variables. They approached as suppliants; the towns were courted. The crucial difference between Canada and Britain was that in the latter railways had to fit within an established urban system. In the 1830s Edinburgh had no fear that the railway would enable another town to displace it in the urban hierachy of Scotland. The early inter-city railways ran to the edge of already substantial cities and then stopped. Getting nearer to the city centre was difficult and expensive. Indeed, in 1841, London banned tracks in the central area from Edgware Road to the City Road.[60] To this day London has no through trains. The self-confidence of a pre-railway age world metropolis is imposed upon all who change trains there. In an ideal world for the railway promotors, a line would have run from Leith to the Broomielaw through the centres of Glasgow and Edinburgh. Rival promotors battled before the private bill committees of parliament. Municipal councils took little part. The companies negotiated with a maze of property owners as they tried to buy their way through the towns. The Edinburgh and Glasgow company had to be content with stations at Haymarket and Queen Street. Only by discreet grovelling before outraged Princes Street proprietors did the company eventually creep into Waverley Station and, by a tunnel, link with Leith.[61] By the 1840s Glasgow was the object of a bitter rivalry among three companies. The behaviour of the companies was nearer to that of a Canadian municipal council than to the GTR and CPR. Local councillors and politicians were drawn in as shareholders and board members. The companies offered "improvements" as an inducement to gain local support. When Central Station was built,

some 6,000 to 20,000 of the worst houses in Glasgow were demolished.[62] The corporate bribe went in the other direction. In 1873, while Montreal was paying out its million dollars, the Glasgow and South Western Company was buying the support of the corporation through the purchase of Corporation property for 42,000 pounds (despite the fact that the corporation had just paid 19,675 pounds for it).[63] Like Canadian cities, British cities had large areas covered by railway-related structures. By 1900 railway property covered 12.5 per cent of the central area of Glasgow. Once again, however, there was an important difference, for the impact of the railway on Canadian cities developed with little initial care in planning for the city's traffic and municipal services. The difference is highlighted by a standard condition most borough officials asked to be inserted in railway bills by mid century. Except for the Royal Burghs in Scotland, British municipal corporations had no legal standing before the parliamentary committees except as property owners. But as the corporation came to own an increasing amount of roadway, sewers, and other piping they secured considerable influence, as well as and an infrastructure to be defended. While Hamilton was giving the railway companies permission to cross and occupy its streets and roadways, the standard conditions imposed on British companies usually included no street closures, bridges for projected streets, high parapets where needed alongside the lines, stations to be set back ten feet, no level crossings, lighting of bridges, tunnels not to affect roadways, new sewers, and reimbursement for altering street levels.[64]

The railways did have an impact on the structure of British towns. As they bought their way into sites in city centres, they pushed through areas of poor housing. They destroyed a vast number of low-rent houses at the same time as they created a demand for low-income unskilled labour around the warehouses, markets, and rail establishments they had created. Consequently, the railways were a major

(Hamilton) Acting to facilitate economic development, Canadian municipalities granted far more to railways than British cities. Hamilton allowed tracks along Ferguson Avenue. This accident in January 1917 was exceptional, but level crossings were a widespread nuisance. (photo: Hamilton Public Library)

(Glasgow) Warehouse of the Glasgow and South Western Railway Company on the corner of High Street and Graeme Street, Glasgow. The site was developed by the Union Company which was able to obtain this city centre site when the university moved to suburban quarters.

(Glasgow) The greater bargaining power of the municipalities against the railways in Britain shows on the modern landscape. Here, the elevated approach lines of the Union Railway crosses High Street, Glasgow, well clear of the road traffic. This was a speculative terminal company created in the 1860s.

factor in increasing crowding and density in British towns in the late 19th century. There were also marginal cases in which the coming of the railway created or substantially altered a town. York, Crewe, and Swindon grew as rail junctions and workshops, but in general it was the towns that shaped the railways. There were only two minor frontiers in Britain where the railway could play a creative role, the suburbs and the holiday resorts. In these cases the railway could affect settlement patterns[65].

Besides being used to enable councils to lure manufacturers and railways, the town charter had other valuable functions for the men who built Canadian cities. The charter aided private land development; the Montreal suburb of Maisonneuve provides the most completely documented case. Its history reads like that of a company, except that the finance capital was provided in an involuntary fashion by the petty proprietors and wage-earning residents who were the real credit base for the town.[66] The "'board of directors" were a small group of landowners who rapidly came to dominate the tiny council of the new municipality. Joseph Barsalou, an auctioneer, was the organizing genius at the start together with Alphonse Desjardins, an homme d'affaires in the widest sense. Among his enterprises was the Montreal Terra Cotta Lumber Company, which profited as directly as the value of his land from the building activity generated by Maisonneuve. The council intervened in the development process at four levels. It provided a basic infrastructure of roads, drains, and sidewalks. There was no need for close consultation between local authority and developers because of the great overlap of personnel. Beyond providing the infrasturucture, council employed tax concessions and bonuses of all kinds to attract the industry that would bring the labour force. The growth of the latter in turn would increase the demand for and value of the developers' property.

Maisonneuve was by no means distinct in its practices. The smaller towns of Quebec fought a mutually self-defeating battle of bonusing from the 1880s in order to attract industry. The Singer Sewing Machine Company came to St John in response to a substantial subsidy.[67] Ontario towns went through the same exercise. Even Hamilton, with its massive advantages of site and established industrial capital, felt that it should intervene if only to ensure that other places did not gain an advantage.[68]

Canadian town and city councils bargained for services with public utilities companies. Here their weakness showed. The developers needed mass transit and electric power to make their development sites attractive, and they were willing to make the municipal corporation pay by granting easy terms in order to get the services in advance of consumer demand. The Montreal Street Railway and the Montreal Heat, Light and Power Company were able to carry off monopoly rights leaving few enforceable guarantees of service. In Britain the utilities bargained with the urban authorities for access to an already substantial population. The municipal authorities in turn managed local governments wealthy enough to threaten to purchase those utilities that did not provide adequate service. By the end of the century more than half the utilities in Britain were municipally owned.[69] Maisonneuve made several notable investments in social capital (including city beautification projects) designed to attract men and investments and sustain the credit and prestige of the town. The history of Maisonneuve was perhaps distinctive only with respect to the unashamed public enthusiasm evinced by the promotors who used the economic and legal assets of the charter to further the development process.

Suburban municipalities could use their charters in a variety of ways.[70] Outremont and Westmount employed by-laws to ensure a quality of environment that would attract the high-income residents. In Britain the

English covenant and the Scottish feu charter were used to ensure the quality the streetscape in areas of high-income housing.[71] In other words, the value of capital in British cities was sustained by private rather than public means. The same was true for the early fire-fighting companies. In Britain such companies were provided by the insurance companies. In Canada the insurance companies put pressure on the local authority to provide fire protection.[72]

In Britain the town as an agency of government grew in order to control the results of entrepreneurship. Urban government tended to react to rather than to promote the process of industrialization. It reacted to the social and environmental instabilities produced by urbanization and industrialization. Until the 1830s, crises in urbanization in Britain were met by adapting residual agencies left from earlier centuries and adding *ad hoc* bodies town by town through acts of parliament. This limited and piecemeal process frequently left gaps. The examples of Birmingham, Manchester and Merthyr are illustrative.

One of the earliest forms of government in Birmingham was a small debts court, the Court of Conscience in 1752. An improvement act was passed in 1769 to take care of lighting and paving, but the rest was left to the Court Leet and parish vestry. The apparatus of law and order, justices, goals, and sessions were in Warwick, the county town. The local ratepayers refused to contemplate the costs of a stipendary and local police force.[73] This permitted the violent riot of 1793, in which tensions created by the French Revolution and divisions within the local elite, led to one section of that elite encouraging the mob to destroy the houses of the radical minority amongst the elite, including the residence of scientist Joseph Priestley. Manchester survived with a very similar range of institutions into the 1830s. When 11 people died in the Peterloo massacre of 1819, it was a result of county yeomanry, directed by county magistrates,

riding into a crowd gathered to press for universal suffrage. Cobden was convinced that local control would have avoided this.[74]

The growth of Merthyr in South Wales was spectacular. It grew from 8,000 in 1801 to 27,000 in 1831. Four great ironworks surrounded a small market centre. It was a town without a charter and almost without a middle class. In 1809 a small debts court had enabled the shopocracy to collect their dues and repossess goods from the wage-earning population. In 1822 a select vestry allowed shopkeepers and ironmasters to allocate the costs of looking after the poor. There was no focus of community or power for a population divided by class, language, and religion. The high population density and death rate were of urban dimensions. Leisure patterns and social influence were still on a village scale. In 1831 a trade slump was followed by wage reductions, which provoked a strike and the takeover of the town by workers who marched in from the hills. A detachment of Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders was driven off and it was four days before new forces from the south defeated the rebels. The government responded to this crisis not only by hanging one of the rebels but by providing Merthyr with its first major urban institution, a borough seat in Parliament. From this seat, Sir John Guest used his authority to sublimate many of the town's tensions.[75]

The development of urban institutions in 19th-century Britain followed a basic pattern. During the 1830s and 1840s most major centres gained rate-payer-elected corporations. These assumed authority for policing, lighting, and paving functions, but not for the maintenance of the poor law and education. The first generation of urban politicians was dominated by a social elite of merchants and professional men. They were interested in improvements, sewers, medical officers of health, new and often magnificent town halls.[76] Their reactions to industrialization pushed up rates and fostered a reaction from small owners and

shopkeepers keen on economy, low rates, and minimal action. They were the "dirty party" which resisted the public health movement. This second generation collected its rents and debts and had little interest in social investment for overall development. By the 1870s a third generation of civic leaders was beginning to assert itself. It consisted of bearers of the civic gospel of whom Joseph Chamberlain was the best known. Their policies were marked by an interest in health, housing, road improvements, and the municipal ownership of public utilities (gas and water socialism). Chambers Street in Edinburgh, the Glasgow Improvement Scheme of 1868, and the Loch Katrine water scheme were marks of the civic gospel of the Scottish landscape. By 1900 the greatly increased notion of the proper scope of municipal activity had attracted considerable opposition. Critics alleged that the favoured recipient of municipal action was labour and not capital.

> The winning over of the less responsible part of the population to an approval of the ownership principle by according them the enjoyment of all manner of privileges, results in an over municipalized city, in which the taxpayer, as an individual or trader, does not figure, and the working class voter only counts. Glasgow is a typical instance. There a citizen may live in a municipal house. He may walk along the municipal street, or ride on the municipal tramcar, and watch the municipal dustcart collecting refuse which is to be used to fertilize the municipal farm. Then he may turn into the municipal market, buy a steak from an animal killed in the municipal slaughterhouse, and cook it by municipal gas on the municipal gas stove. For his recreation he can choose amongst municipal libraries, municipal art galleries and municipal music in the municipal parks. Should he fall ill, he can ring up his doctor through the municipal telephone, or he may be taken to the municipal hospital on the municipal ambulance by a

municipal policeman. Should he be so unfortunate as to get on fire, he will be put out by a municipal fireman, using municipal water; after which he will perhaps forgo the enjoyment of a municipal bath, though he may find it necessary to get a new suit in the municipal old clothes market.[77]

For the politicans, elites, and policy makers of the individual towns and cities of both Canada and Britain the successful acquisition of power and profit through industrialization involved the accumulation of capital and the reproduction of labour. The accumulation of capital in British towns was relatively unproblematic. The urban system was well established, capital relatively plentiful, and the hierarchy of urban places fairly stable. The towns already provided marketing and other services for capitalist agriculture and for the industrial activity found dispersed in their hinterlands. The countryside was a major source of both capital and labour. Infrastructural capital, such as that for a railway, was attracted into the towns and cities by demand. Little collective urban action was required to ensure that such capital went to one urban place rather than another. Thus collective action only became important in local government in Britain much later in the process of urban accumulation than was the case in Canada. When it did come into play in Britain, it was directed towards the organization of the reproduction of labour. Canadian urban elites obviously faced a different set of circumstances. They worked within an unstable and immature urban system. The rank and size hierarchy of urban places was, compared to Britain, extremely dynamic. Collective action was essential to ensure the accumulation of capital in industrial production as well as in the supporting urban infrastructure. Thus there was a bias towards ensuring the accumulation of capital; it expressed itself in the booster ideology which has been so well documented for urban Canada.

The British and Canadian cities discussed here all emerged within a capitalist system that was perfecting its hold on economic and social relationships. This system of relationships included growing specialization of economic function, increased division of labour, and a series of newly developing technologies in manufacturing, power, and transport. There was also a variety of cultural inputs to support these changes. These common features of an industrializing capitalism had a different impact in the two societies. One urban system grew in empty economic space and the other developed in a countryside full of industry activity, already organized in a dense web of property and production relationships. The urban identities and class cultures of Britain emerged from the conflicts and practices of craft-based industry that had rural and village roots. In Canada urban society was influenced more powerfully by ethnic and religious identities of long-distance migration, and by the status identities of neighbourhoods formed by the sorting effect of the market and by strategies designed to protect and augment accumulated capital. These divisions, which fragmented Canadian citie, made it harder for class-based structures and identities to be consolidated. Canadian cities also were different because they needed to attract capital and immigrants. This gave the local state (the municipality) a much more active entrepreneurial role than was the case in Britain. This biased municipal action and spending. We can hypothesize that capital accumulation was a principle — perhaps the primary principle — of municipal government function. In Britain the existing network of economic relationships adequately handled such accumulation and hence municipal spending was directed to the secondary function of assisting the reproduction of labour. In Canada competition among communities made this impossible. The pressure to attract capital created a much greater unity of purpose among urban elites in Canada than was possible in Britain. That unity, and the economic circumstances which created it, produced something distinctive about the Canadian city — it became a unit of entrepreneurship. It was not simply a resource for those with power to mobilize in reaction to the consequences of capital accumulation and to the movement of industry from the countryside.

(Hamilton) Canadian railways usually crossed cities at grade level or through open cuts. The Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo Railway built a tunnel in 1894 only where it passed through an elite neighbourhood. British cities insisted on high-standard work along railway rights-of-way. (photo: Hamilton Public Library)

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