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of a city's societal development. It is only when the study of crime is linked with analyses of social structure, wealth distribution, demography, and transiency rates, that an adequate historical perspective from which to view the city is acquired. Certainly such research is essential if a change in the traditional focus of historians on the activities of political and economic elites, to the exclusion of other urban groups, is to take place. It is to be hoped that various studies of nineteenth century urban crime will broaden historians' horizons, and lead to a greater understanding of the social experience of cities, in a period when most were undergoing tremendous growth and change.

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Foran, Max. Calgary: An Illustrated History. History of Canadian Cities Series, vol. 2. General Editor, Alan F.J. Artibise. Toronto: James Lorimer and Company and the National Museum of Man, 1978. Pp. 192. Illustrations, maps, notes, bibliography. \$19.95 cloth. [Available in French translation as Calgary: Histoire illustrée; translated by Jean-Pierre Paillet].

This is the second of what is intended to be a series of urban biographies whose objective, according to the general editor, is to provide "... a systematic, interpretative and comprehensive account of the urban experience in many Canadian cities" (p. 7). The value of such an ambitious undertaking is particularly evident in the case of Calgary, for until now there has been no detailed account of that city's development to which either the general reader or the urban specialist could turn.

As in the case of the earlier volume in this series on Winnipeg, Foran deals with the themes of economic growth and metropolitan development, population growth and ethnic relationships, the changing urban landscape and social and political life. The most interesting, in many respects, is the first. In tracing Calgary's evolution from an isolated North-West Mounted Police post to one of Canada's most dynamic metropolitan centres Foran singles out three important influences: the Canadian Pacific Railway, cattle ranching and the oil industry.

From its founding in 1875 until the coming of the C.P.R., Fort Calgary existed primarily to maintain law and order among the Indian tribes in the vicinity, and the presence of the Mounted Police provided a focal point for social and economic activity. All this changed, however, with the momentous decision of the C.P.R. board of directors to abandon the then surveyed route across the northern prairies in favour of a more southerly one. Although Calgary was not a creation of the railway, as so many other prairie towns were, Foran shows that the C.P.R.'s

plans and decisions have nevertheless played a major role in its development. The construction of the line gave a fillip to the local economy, and enabled Calgary to become the commercial centre of the nascent cattle industry. The opening of other lines north to Edmonton, south to Fort Macleod, and west through the Crow's Nest Pass to the Kootenays further strengthened Calgary's position in wholesaling and retailing. After the turn of the century Calgary became the administrative centre for the C.P.R.'s extensive irrigation projects in southern Alberta, and the erection of the massive Ogden Shops in 1912-1913 "was easily the most important single contributing factor to economic growth within Calgary before the oil boom of the 1950s" (p. 79).

To the C.P.R. Foran adds ranching and oil exploration, the two individualistic and high-risk industries which have given Calgary its distinctive character. The rise of large-scale cattle ranching in southern Alberta has been described elsewhere, but Foran offers a clearer understanding of Calgary's place in that industry. He shows that while Calgary had become the most important western Canadian meat-packing centre by 1905, the inherent instability of the ranching industry and the vagaries of the American tariff prevented that city from ever achieving a larger role. Indeed during the interwar years Calgary actually began to lose ground, as mergers gave Canada Packers and Swift Canadian eighty-five per cent of the meat packing business, Pat Burns' operations were acquired by eastern Canadian interests and Toronto became the leading cattle market in Canada. It is therefore rather ironic, as Foran notes, that the Calgary Stampede, first held in 1912 and resumed as an annual event in 1919, has perpetuated the image of Calgary as a "cowtown" long after the reality has become otherwise.

Calgary's transformation into the "Oil Capital of Canada" is popularly thought to be a very recent phenomenon but, as Foran shows, the city has been intimately involved in oil and gas exploration since the first discoveries were made at Turner Valley in 1914. Frantic speculation in oil companies and stocks was another manifestation of the same mentality which had sparked Calgary's prewar real estate boom; indeed many former real estate men became oil promoters. Although there was not to be a major discovery in Turner Valley until 1936, Calgary acquired a legacy of expertise in the oil business. By 1947, when Alberta's oil boom began in earnest, Calgary was already firmly established as the headquarters of the industry.

The emphasis in this book is not solely upon economic growth and Calgary's rise to metropolitan status, of course. There are as well interesting accounts of the development of the institutional and social fabric of Calgary, the course of municipal politics and the significant population changes which have occurred in the city. Foran notes, for example, that the north-south connections developed through its dependence upon ranching and, more recently, oil and gas, have given the city a strong American character, though some of the "Americanization" of Calgary has in fact simply been part of a national phenomenon observable since the turn of the century. Foran also shows how the site of the city, the

presence of the C.P.R., and other factors have shaped the urban landscape, and illustrates the point with detailed maps which are an invaluable aid to those unfamiliar with Calgary's topography.

As with the preceding volume in the History of Canadian Cities Series, the text is enhanced by a fine selection of photographs and other illustrations assembled by Edward Cavell, curator of photography at the Archives of the Canadian Rockies. There is as well a series of statistical tables drawn from the Census of Canada and other sources, and an extensive bibliography. Calgary: An Illustrated History will be welcomed by all who have an interest in Canada's urban past.

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Piva, Michael J. The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921. Ottawa: Ottawa University Press, 1979. Pp. xviii, 190. \$9.00 paper.

Until very recently, the life of most Canadian workers has been nasty, brutish and short. In 1974, Terry Copp published his The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929. Michael Piva's follow-up study of Toronto confirms that poverty and its grim harvests of insecurity and deprivation haunted the lives of Toronto's blue-collar workers, skilled and unskilled alike, from 1900 to 1921. Although Piva's conclusions are based exclusively on Toronto evidence, he feels that Toronto enjoyed so many locational and structural advantages that "if anyone benefitted from economic growth, it should have been Torontonians" (p. ix). Thus, Piva carries forward one of the basic revisionist arguments posed by Copp--that the prosperity attributed to the Laurier years was the exclusive experience of the upper class. If Copp and Piva are correct, those who scorn Marx for his projection of continuing working class degradation under advanced capitalism are advised not to start smirking too soon.

It's a bad correlation, and even worse joke, to say that poverty is caused by lack of money. It is possible to see the systemic determinants of poverty, and its relation to the class system of capitalism, when poverty is directly related to working class wage levels, and when abnormal incidents in the cycle of poverty are integrated into the fabric of normal working class experiences. Although Piva seems to do this unconsciously, he identifies poverty with the problems of the proletariat (in Toronto, an overwhelmingly white, Anglo-Saxon, protestant proletariat), and not with marginal elements of the disinherited lumpenproletariat or with superexploited female or immigrant substrata of the