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Article abstract

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Some Aspects of Canadian Urbanization from 1850 to 1921

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Résumé/Abstract

Le degré d'urbanisation du Canada est mesuré à divers points de vue: la croissance de la population urbaine, qui est passée de 18% de la population totale en 1871 à 47% en 1921; les politiques du gouvernement et du secteur privé qui ont encouragé l'industrialisation du Canada central et relié l'Ouest et les régions atlantiques au centre du Canada par une voie ferrée transcontinentale; l'émergence de grandes villes comme Montréal et Toronto qui ont dominé le nouveau système national, lui-même sujet aux influences étrangères.

The urbanization of Canada is measured from several perspectives: the growth of urban population from 18 per cent of the total in 1871 to 47 per cent by 1921; the policies of private and government agencies, which stimulated industrialization in central Canada and tied the West and the Atlantic regions to central Canada through a transcontinental railway system; and the rise of large cities such as Montreal and Toronto, which dominated the emerging national system, which in turn was subject to international influences.

Canada in 1915 differed from the British colonies scattered across northern North America in 1850 by virtue of the process of urbanization which connotes the transformation of her society. Evidence of this change can be seen in her population growth and its distribution, her quickening economic life, and the integration of her regions. Her population increased from less than 2¹/₂ millions in 1851 to better than 8³/₄ millions in 1921. In the same period it spread across the continent and shifted from being 87 per cent rural to 47 per cent urban. The value of her manufactures grew as her cities industrialized. Gross value of production of manufactures increased from \$212 million in 1870 to \$2,491 million in 1921. Between 1850 and 1915 a transcontinental railway system welded together the regions of the country. In 1915, 56,931 kilometres of railway were in operation in Canada. The statistics imply impressive changes over the duration; to document and assess in a preliminary and tentative fashion the manner of the country's urbanization is the purpose of this paper.

The conditions favouring urbanization facilitated economic growth in the lands settled from northwestern Europe in the nineteenth century. Canadian confederation, in economic terms, represented efforts to create conditions in which such growth could be achieved. Confederation involved "three decisions looking toward economic integration within a national economy.¹ These W.A. Mackintosh declared to be "so broad in scope and so important in effect that they ... mark the main lines of national policy."

The first of these decisions which was arrived at slowly between 1857 and 1869 was to acquire the British territory of the great central plain as a Canadian frontier region [I]ts economic significance lay in the design to give to the new Dominion, hemmed in between the United States . . . and the . . . Precambrian Shield, a region of frontier settlement capable of rapid development and capable in turn of stimulating development in the other parts of the Dominion

The first decision implied a second — a new transportation policy. It implied the construction of a transcontinental railway. When this second decision, however, was finally given form it was not merely for a transcontinental railway but for all-Canadian routes of transport

The third decision was reached more slowly and with more hesitation. It had not, like the other two, been forecast at

Confederation. When the so-called National Policy was translated into law in 1879 a definite decision was taken for the promotion of industrialization within Canada through the means of protective customs duties.²

These three endeavours broadly define the national economic circumstances in which Canada became urbanized.

The first cities on what was to become Canadian soil extended European interests to a new continent. They formed part of an international system on which they relied and to which they contributed. As this system and the interests it served changed, Canadian cities faced adjusting to new circumstances. Urban Canada's dependence on international conditions was not eliminated with Confederation or as a result of the development of the national policies promoted to create economic growth and integration in the Dominion. The growth of Canadian cities and the urbanization of her population after 1867 continued to depend on her access to such fluid resources as people and capital. Poised between Europe and the United States, the timing and extent of Canada's urbanization related closely to circumstances in these neighbouring giants. This was an old theme by mid-century, but one of continuing significance.

The St. Lawrence and Atlantic colonies contained substantial cities at mid-century. Most of these had grown from old foundations, for towns had marked the opening of colonial endeavours by both the French and the English in this part of the continent. But the statistics for 1851-52 given in Table 1 must be interpreted with care lest inappropriate conclusions be drawn. Many of these cities existed in substantial isolation from the others. Halifax and Saint John, the centres of the Maritime colonies, looked outward to Britain, to the United States, and to the Caribbean; they shared little trade with the St. Lawrence region and looked to different sources for their well-being. The "Empire of the St. Lawrence" likewise had relied on its contacts with the continental interior and with England, disregarding the colonial outliers south of the Gulf of St. Lawrence.³ Quebec and Montreal had shared in the prosperity of the interior trade, and had continued to compete for the business to be derived from the expansion of settlement north of Lakes Ontario and Erie, in Upper Canada. Montreal, by 1850, had begun to establish its supremacy over Quebec. Her commercial prosperity relied substantially upon her ability to function as the entrepôt for the growing population of Upper Canada.⁴ For this role she competed directly with Toronto whose growth from 1830 to 1851 had

been spectacular. A town of 2,860 in 1830 had become by 1851, a city of over 30,000. Toronto's position was not based on subservience to Montreal, but rather on her capacity to develop independent lines of communication. Her commercial interests exploited the weakness of Montreal's position and the changing legal regulations governing trade in order to forge links with American cities and through them with England and the continent of Europe.⁵ England's destruction of the old system of colonial preferences, completed by 1850, improved Toronto's position. In Donald Creighton's memorable words, England "with this repudiation of its past and this denial of its ancient principles" had "bankrupt" the commercial empire of the St. Lawrence on which Montreal's position had relied.

In 1851, then, the substantial cities in the various British colonies cannot be said to have constituted a system. Their growth and prosperity relied more on their capacity to isolate themselves from each other than upon the fragile communication systems connecting them. Montreal had, temporarily at least, lost the legal protection that her mercantile interests had hoped to exploit in order to establish a system of cities and of trade tributary to herself.

Between 1851 and 1921 Canada experienced an unprecedented growth of her urban centres. The increase of population was of enormous magnitude (Table 1). Montreal's population grew by over 1000 per cent between 1851 and 1921. Other cities grew even faster: between these years Toronto's numbers multiplied 17 times. The significance of the figures on Table 1 rests not so much in the trends for individual cities but in the discernible overall pattern. Table 1 contains figures for those places which in 1851 and 1921 were numbered among the ten most populous cities. Whereas the overall impression is of increasing size of all the cities, closer inspection will reveal that many of the largest places in 1851 failed to maintain their relative position. This becomes clearer on Table 2, where cities are ranked by population for each decade between 1851 and 1921. Three patterns can be discerned from these tables. First are the cities which maintained their relative position, achieving very substantial growth in population over the period. Montreal and Toronto are the largest of this group, which also includes

the medium-sized cities, Hamilton, Ottawa, and London. Second are the new entries to the list: Winnipeg, Vancouver, Calgary, and Edmonton. Third are the substantial number of cities, of which Quebec was the most prominent, to undergo a decline in their relative importance.

The systematic manner in which urban growth was distributed among the increasing number of Canada's cities between 1851 and 1921 reveals some of the factors underlying rapid or slow urban growth. Of those cities ranked, the group which declined relatively — Quebec, Halifax, Saint John, Trois-Rivières, and Kingston — share certain qualities. They were all old cities, founded under very different conditions than those which pertained in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Some had grown initially to serve specific purposes — the fur trade, defence — which ceased to generate substantial new growth; others had relied on resources and technology — lumbering, sailing — which were exhausted or outmoded; some lost the functions — political and economic — which continued to support rapid growth in other centres. Additionally, each of these cities found itself locationally disadvantaged by reason of a relatively poor resource base in its immediate hinterland. During the last half of the century these cities were located in relatively low-growth areas of the nation.

By contrast, the cities which entered the ranking as leading cities after 1851 were young, and with one exception, reached city status only in the early twentieth century. Winnipeg was the oldest of the group, Edmonton the youngest. They arose with the West, with the agricultural settlement of the Prairies following the construction of a transcontinental railway system. They provided the focal points of a new economy in the West and on the Prairies. Winnipeg, Calgary, Edmonton, and Vancouver were "all . . . to a critical degree creations of the railway, a fact that marks them off in a significant way from the older main urban communities of eastern Canada."⁷ By 1915 they "had been able to achieve . . . sudden growth through the application of industrial technology, chiefly exemplified in the railway."⁸ The quantity of this growth is impressive: Vancouver's population increased from 13,685 in 1891 to 100,401 in 1911. Edmonton grew in the same decade from a town of 4,176 people to a city of

TABLE 1
THE POPULATION OF SELECTED CANADIAN CITIES

	1851-2	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Montreal	57,715	90,323	107,225	140,747	216,650	266,826	470,480	618,506
Quebec	42,052	59,990	59,699	62,446	63,090	68,840	78,710	95,193
Toronto	30,775	44,821	56,092	86,415	181,220	209,892	376,568	521,893
Saint John	22,745	27,317	28,805	44,031	39,179	40,711	42,511	47,166
Halifax	20,749	25,026	29,582	36,100	38,556	40,832	46,619	58,372
Hamilton	14,112	19,096	26,716	35,961	48,980	52,634	81,969	114,151
Kingston	11,697	13,743	12,407	14,091	19,264	17,961	18,874	21,753
Ottawa	7,760	14,669	21,545	27,412	44,154	59,928	87,062	107,843
London	7,035	11,555	15,826	19,746	31,977	37,976	46,300	60,959
Trois-Rivières	4,936	6,058	7,570	8,670	8,334	9,981	13,691	22,367
Winnipeg	—	—	241	7,985	25,642	42,340	136,035	179,087
Vancouver	—	—	—	—	13,685	27,010	100,401	117,217
Calgary	—	—	—	—	3,876	4,392	43,704	63,305
Edmonton	—	—	—	—	—	4,176	31,064	58,821

TABLE 2
CITIES RANKED BY POPULATION

	1851	1861	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921
Montreal	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Toronto	3	3	3	2	2	2	2	2
Winnipeg	—	—	62	19	9	6	3	3
Vancouver	—	—	—	—	12	10	4	4
Hamilton	6	6	6	5	4	5	6	5
Ottawa	8	7	7	6	5	4	5	6
Quebec	2	2	2	3	3	3	7	7
Calgary	—	—	—	—	59	73	10	8
London	9	9	8	8	8	9	9	9
Edmonton	—	—	—	—	—	77	14	10
Halifax	5	5	4	4	7	7	8	11
Saint John	4	4	5	7	6	8	11	12
Trois-Rivières	10	13	12	16	30	25	31	22
Kingston	7	8	9	10	10	13	16	24

31,064. Calgary, having haltingly reached only 4,392 population in 1901, a very small increase over its 1891 population of 3,876, saw its population multiply almost 10 times in the following decade. The timing of the growth of Prairie cities was tied to agricultural settlement. Urban population on the Prairies increased at roughly the same rate as — slightly faster than — rural population. But the rural population growth was initially slow once the railway had made the land accessible for settlement. K.H. Norrie assesses the timing in terms of four related factors: "a basic transportation trunk line in place, the end of the American frontier of sub-humid land and the appropriate dry-farming technology understood, [and] the rise in wheat prices after 1896."⁹ The growth of the four western cities can now be seen as the joint product of industrial and agricultural technology, the timing of American settlement, and world markets.

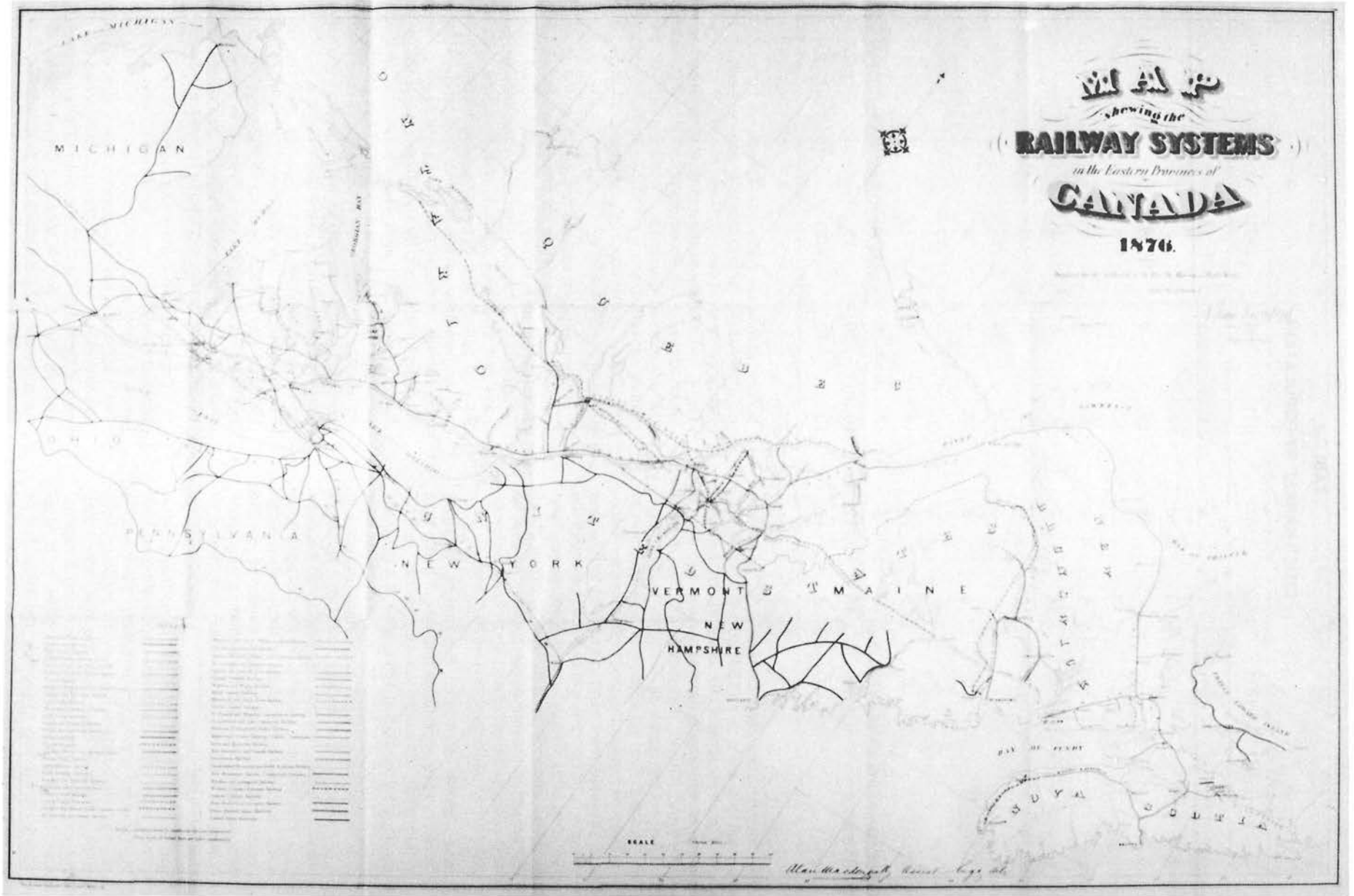
Montreal and Toronto dominated the ranking in 1921, having retained their relative importance throughout better than half a century. Montreal, although the largest city, with a population nearly double Toronto's in 1851, grew at a generally slower pace after 1871 than did Toronto. In the decades after 1851 Montreal achieved its greatest percentage increase in population (57 per cent) in the decade, 1851-61. Toronto's highest percentage increase (88 per cent) occurred between 1881 and 1891. These two cities came, in the decades after 1851, to compete directly with each other as the isolation which had aided Toronto until mid-century was overcome by the advances in transport technology and the economic integration first, of the St. Lawrence — Great Lakes region and second, of the new transcontinental nation.

The isolation separating the cities of the northern British colonies diminished after 1851 with the application of new technologies of transport and communication. First among these was the railroad. Railroads served several purposes from the perspective of Canada's cities. On the one hand, they provided efficient and quick transportation over long distances, linking Canada's cities and towns to each other in a novel fashion. Herein lay their capacity to promote the integration of large regions and overcome the vast distances of the Canadian ecumene. At the same time, another purpose stimulated the

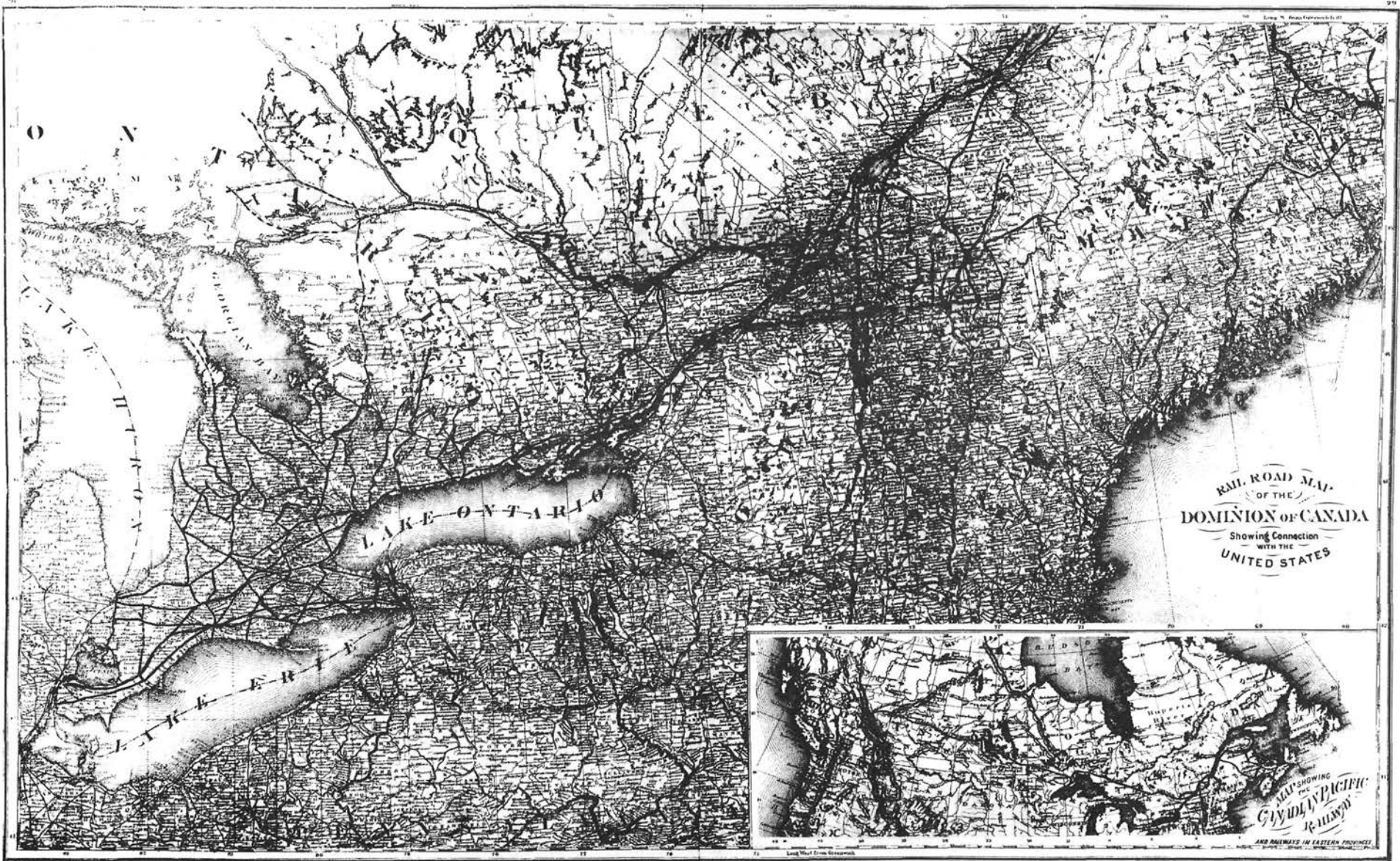
building of railways in Canada. This derived from the older intent of establishing a commercial empire centred on the St. Lawrence-Great Lakes system encompassing the continent. These two purposes: the creation of a Canadian system by which to realize the economic potential of a political union, and the intrusion of Canada's important cities into the American trading network to share in its larger rewards, contributed to the growth of rail mileage in Canada and influenced the pace of Canada's urbanization.

Canada's first railroad resulted from the attempt to overcome the disadvantages for trade which location imposed on Montreal at mid-century. It manifested early railroad policy which sought to connect Canadian cities with western American lines and to furnish continuous connections with all-weather Atlantic ports.¹⁰ The beginnings were modest, a 24-kilometre line to overcome navigation difficulties on the Richelieu River and thereby improve the main highway of commerce from Montreal to New York. By 1849 three other small lines had been built for similar purposes. The first rail lines to reach Toronto likewise originated in the eagerness of its commercial interests to reap the advantages of improved access to the trade of the continent, and particularly to that originating south of the lakes. Toronto's position north of the Great Lakes was to be overcome; she was to participate in a continental and international trade. For this purpose, the rails were laid north from the city to Georgian Bay, a distance of some 152 kilometres, in 1855. Now hopefully competing on more favourable terms with New York and Buffalo, the wealth of the international west would "come pouring down its rails to a mighty Toronto entrepôt."¹¹

Construction of these first, short railways did not long proceed in isolation. Trunk lines were proposed as early as 1849 when a project for a Halifax and Quebec Railway was mooted. The 1850s saw the construction of the Grand Trunk and the Great Western which, for the first time, linked the chief towns west of Montreal. By 1859 the Grand Trunk had been built as far west as Sarnia, on the Michigan-Ontario border. In 1860, with the completion of the Victoria Bridge across the St. Lawrence at Montreal, the Grand Trunk system had improved access to the southern bank of the river and the lines which by this time



سازمان راه آهن
 showing the
RAILWAY SYSTEMS
 in the Eastern Provinces of
CANADA
 1876.



RAIL ROAD MAP
OF THE
DOMINION OF CANADA
Showing Connection
WITH THE
UNITED STATES

MAP SHOWING
THE
CANADIAN PACIFIC
RAILWAY
AND RAILWAYS IN EASTERN PROVINCES

extended to the U.S. Atlantic ports.¹² The Great Western, the other important trunk line built in the decade, 1850-60, likewise stretched from one U.S.-Canadian border to another. Conceived to compete with American routes, as well as to generate local traffic in Upper Canada (Ontario), it was laid between the Niagara and Detroit Rivers, connecting at each terminus with American railways. Rails were also laid to Toronto, reaching the city in 1855, a year before the Grand Trunk linked it by rail with Montreal. Both local and trunk lines fulfilled the joint purpose of enlarging the local hinterland by improving regional ties with the large cities and securing a place in the international system of continental trade. The 1850s were a boom period for railway construction; for Canada these years were "the first railway era."¹³ Railway mileage in 1851 amounted to only 254 kilometres in operation; by 1861 railways were operating over 3434 kilometres (Table 3). During the sixties only a much diminished building programme was undertaken.

Belief in the influence of rail connections on urban growth, so warmly promoted during the 1840s and 1850s, continued strong in many cities and towns of Canada. Rail lines, it was thought, would secure relative advantage for a city by increasing the efficiency of long-distance transportation, inducing urban growth which otherwise might be enjoyed by competing centres. The strategy was applied to promote local and international trade. From the map of railways in Canada in 1876 this logic can readily be interpreted (Figure 1). In addition to the pre-Confederation lines, a new trunk system — a promise of 1867 to the Maritimes — had been completed. The Intercolonial, connecting Halifax and Saint John to Rivière du Loup and, via the Grand Trunk, with Montreal was conceived to offer the Maritimes economic integration with the St. Lawrence provinces, thereby hopefully overcoming the economic stagnation which the region and its cities had experienced during the 1850s and 1860s (Table 1 and 2). Halifax and Saint John were in difficult circumstances, their population having grown during the 1850s at only half the rate of Montreal's and Toronto's and Quebec's, and at a quarter of Ottawa's rate. During the economically slow 1860s, when Montreal's population increased a modest 19 per cent and Toronto's 25 per cent, Saint John experienced only a 5 per cent increase in its population. Halifax, less severely afflicted, grew by 18 per cent.

Small cities sought the advantages of local rail lines to increase their centrality. On Figure 1 the efforts of old towns along the north shore of Lake Ontario can be seen. Port Hope, Cobourg, and Whitby had all succeeded in having feeder lines constructed to link them with the land behind the lakeshore. The

success of such ventures was far from assured, however, as the sad case of the Port Whitby and Port Perry Railway indicates. Failures of imagination, planning, and management contributed to a fiasco long in the making. An idea born in the prosperity of the 1850s and long delayed came to some fruition with a sod turning in 1869. On 15 November, 1871 a train reached Port Perry, but not before the line was hopelessly burdened with debt and the concept outmoded by the scale of Toronto's radiating rail system. Whitby had lost against unequal odds.¹⁴ The "gateway" function of Canadian towns and cities explains other lines on the map of 1876. Prescott, for instance, served as the St. Lawrence terminus for a line to Ottawa opened in 1854 in an effort, substantially the effort of American interests, to tap the Canadian hinterland then coming within the sphere of the Grand Trunk. Here was no new idea; the concept applied at various scales serving different interests — that a city in Canada would prosper by its relations to an international trading network — retained its lustre.¹⁵

After 1876 the completion of a transcontinental railway line was the principal achievement. The first train from Montreal to the Pacific terminus at Port Moody made the run in November, 1885, having taken five days running time.¹⁶ The C.P.R. offered the possibility of a continental-sized urban system that would be Canadian. Winnipeg, the only Prairie city in Canada in 1885, was tied to the St. Lawrence, but only after rails had been laid between St. Paul, Minnesota and the Red River city. On the Prairies, as in the St. Lawrence Valley, forces of continentalism and nation-building competed. As the Pacific railway was being built, the network in Eastern Canada was being intensified, as shown on Figure 2. Cities continued to promote local lines in the search for markets and trade.

The relationship between urbanization and the growth of railways in Canada can be assessed in several ways. One element in the creation of a system of towns and cities is the growth in their number. On Table 3 the number of towns of 5,000 population by decade from 1851 to 1921 is given, together with mileage of railroad in operation. The towns, acting as points of articulation along the rail lines, were spawned in increasing number. The relationship between town size and access to the rails was obvious by 1921. The correlation between city growth and rail service was not new in 1921, even though it was not always easily demonstrated. In the decade of the first railway boom, 1851-61, 9 of the 12 towns and cities whose percentage increase in population, calculated for the entire period, peaked then. Among the nine were old-established centres such as Montreal, Belleville, and Port Hope as well as new towns in the western part of the province, including Chatham and Brantford.

During the decades 1871-1901, Canada's population increased 45 per cent, from 3,689 thousand to 5,371 thousand (Table 4). In this same span of years railway mileage in operation had increased 573 per cent. Clearly, population growth had not matched the tremendous investment in the railways. This period has been characterized as comprising "a series of economic depressions, the spaces between which were all too brief."¹⁷ While population totals grew under these conditions at a very modest rate, Canada's cities achieved a larger increase. From 1871 to 1901 Canada's urban population increased by a substantial 1789 per cent. In consequence, whereas only 18 per cent of her population was urban in 1871, the figure was 35 per cent in 1901 (Table 4). Clearly, the cities were outperforming the nation in their growth. In each of the decades of slow national population increase, a huge share of that small amount accrued to the cities. From 1871 to 1881, 61 per cent of the national population increase went to the cities, and the figures increase to 84 per cent and 88 per cent in the decades 1881-91 and 1891-1901 respectively. These statistics illustrate the limitation overall population growth during this

TABLE 3
TRANSPORTATION
AND THE URBAN SYSTEM

	No. of Towns of 5,000 Population	Railroad — Kilometres in Operation
1851-2	9	254
1861	16	3,434
1871	20	4,312
1881	37	11,730
1891	47	22,134
1901	62	29,024
1911	89	40,640
1921	109	56,931 (1915)

TABLE 4
CANADIAN POPULATION GROWTH AND URBANIZATION,
1871 — 1921

	Population	Increase	Per cent Increase	Urban Population	Per cent Urban	Per cent Increase	Per cent of National Population Increase Accruing to the Cities
1871	3,689			722	18%		
1871-81		636	17%			53%	61%
1881	4,325			1,110	23		
1881-91		508	12			38	84
1891	4,833			1,537	29		
1891-1901		538	11			31	88
1901	5,371			2,014	35		
1901-11		1,838	34			63	68
1911	7,207			3,273	42		
1911-21		1,579	22			33	68
1921	8,788			4,352	47		

(Population figures in thousands)

period placed upon the urbanization of Canada's population. They are all the more notable when one recalls that during the same decades new frontiers of settlement were being opened and good agricultural land adjacent to settled regions of the United States was available.

Examining the components of change in Canada's population during these years assists the interpretation of these findings. Over these years the figures for natural increase of the population rise regularly and steadily. Immigration, too, behaves in a fairly regular fashion (Table 5). From a low figure of 186,000 for 1861-71, immigration rises to a high of 903,000 between 1881 and 1891. Emigration was, for each decade of the period, substantially in excess of immigration. Here are the dynamic components underlying Canada's failure to achieve a more rapid increase in her population. Net migration, the balance of the contributing factors, was consistently negative for each decade from 1871 to 1901. The high figure of 205,000 was reached in the decade, 1881-91 and the low, 85,000 for 1871 to 1881. Canada was not only losing her immigrants, but she was also unable to keep her own sons and daughters. In the colourful words of one Canadian historian, Canada was "a 'huge demographic railway station,' where thousands of men, women,

and children were constantly going and coming, and where the number of departures invariably exceeded that of arrivals."¹⁸ Seen against this background, Canada's urbanization from 1871 to 1901 is remarkable.

From 1901 to 1921 Canada's population grew rapidly and her cities more quickly still. The first decade of the century represented the high point of immigration, net migration, population increase and per cent increase in urban population. While total population increase reached some 34 per cent during the decade, urban population grew a full 63 per cent. The Prairies were being settled, and the urban network expanded significantly (Table 3). Sixty-two towns of 5,000 people in 1901 had increased in number to 89 in 1911. Belatedly, Canada was becoming an economic as well as a political reality. By 1921 she stood on the brink of becoming an "urban nation," her population having become 47 per cent urban.

The organization of Canada's urban system was secured from the top. Montreal, the home of the C.P.R., had been challenged by Toronto, whose population in 1921 was approaching that of the larger city. Winnipeg, too, was rising to metropolitan status. The concept of the metropolis as a pivot of Canadian history was being reworked in new contexts.¹⁹ Indicative of their roles as leading cities was their importance as banking and financial centres. Toward the end of the nineteenth century bank clearing houses had been organized in a number of cities. Bank clearing can be used as a summary measure of the trading positions of Canada's most important cities. The positions of the leading cities in this network are noted on Table 6. From 1901 to 1921 Montreal retained its position as the city in which the largest volume of clearing was made. Significant, too, is its declining share of the total. Toronto was the second city in volume of clearings, while Winnipeg doubled its share of a rapidly growing volume over the 20-year period. These three leading cities accounted in 1901 for 87 per cent of the volume of bank clearings, and for 80 per cent in 1921.

The urbanization of Canada has been measured in terms of the absolute and relative growth of her urban population, the rise of large cities, and the organization of an expanding network of urban places into an urban system with some internal coherence. Behind these trends lay the intersecting factors of Canada's position in an international system of competing opportunities for people and government policy which created the land, forged a railroad across the continent, and by its policy of

TABLE 5
ESTIMATES OF COMPONENTS OF CHANGE IN
POPULATION TEN YEARS AND OVER,
CANADA, 1851-21
(thousands)

Decade	Increase	Migration	Immigration	Emigration
11851-61	495	+123	209	86
1861-71	563	-191	186	376
1871-81	619	-85	353	438
1881-91	669	-205	903	1,108
1891-1901	654	-181	326	507
1901-11	711	+715	1,782	1,066
1911-21	916	+233	1,592	1,360

Table 5

These figures are those of Keyfitz given in: Urquhart and Buckley, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

industrialization encouraged the growth of cities in the period from the pre-Confederation era to the watershed of the First World War.

TABLE 6
BANK CLEARINGS

	1901	1911	1921
Montreal	48%	32%	34%
Toronto	32	26	30
Winnipeg	7	16	16
Vancouver	3	8	4
Halifax	5	> 1	> 1

Table 6.

The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1901.
The Canada Year Book, 1911.
The Canada Year Book, 1921.

NOTES

1. W.A. Mackintosh, *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964) p. 21. Published originally as Appendix 3 to the Rowell-Sirois Report (Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations), 1939.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 21-25.
3. Donald Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937).
4. Fernand Ouellet, *Le Bas-Canada* (Ottawa: editions de l'Universite d'Ottawa, 1976), p. 203.
5. Peter G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900* (Research Paper, No. 127: Chicago: University of Chicago Department of Geography, 1970), pp. 58-64.
6. Creighton, *op. cit.*, p. 382.
7. J.M.S. Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West, 1870-1914," *Prairie Perspectives*, 2, A.W. Rasporich and H.C. Klassen, eds. (Toronto and Montreal: Holt, Rinehart and Winston of Canada, 1973), p. 27.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 38.
9. K.H. Norrie, "The Rate of Settlement of the Canadian Prairies, 1870-1911," *Journal of Economic History*, 35 (1975), p. 427.
10. Adam Shortt, "Railroad Construction and National Prosperity: An Historic Parallel," *Transactions of the Royal Society of Canada*, 3rd series, 8 (1914), pp. 295-308.

11. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, 1959), p. 212. The words are those Careless uses to characterize Brown's sentiment.
12. Montreal had access to American Atlantic ports via rail before the Victoria Bridge carried the railway across the St. Lawrence River. See William J. Wilgus, *The Railway Interrelations of the United States and Canada* (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1937), p. 39.
13. G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *A History of Transportation in Canada*, Vol. 1 (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), chapter 5.
14. Leo A. Johnson, *History of the County of Ontario* (Whitby: Corporation of the County of Ontario, 1973).
15. Wilgus, *op. cit.*, pp. 50-51.
16. Glazebrook 2, pp. 89-90.
17. *Ibid.*, p. 91.
18. Creighton, *Canada's First Century, 1867-1967* (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1970), p. 76.
19. For two clear statements of this theme, see: J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism, and Canadian History," *Canadian Historical Review*, 35 (1954), pp. 1-21; and Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canada Before 1914," *Urban History Review*, 3-78 (1979), pp. 99-118.

Sources of the Figures

Figure 1: Canada. *Railway Statistics of Canada* . . . Ottawa, 1876.

Figure 2: *Illustrated Atlas of the Dominion of Canada*. (Toronto: H. Belden and Co., 1881).

Sources for the Tables

Tables 1 and 2

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Table 3.

Sources consulted for Tables 1 and 2 and the following:

Canada. *Census of the Canadas, 1851-52*. Vol. 1.
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Canada. *Railway Statistics of the Dominion of Canada for the Year June 30, 1915*. Ottawa, 1916.

Table 4.

Sources consulted for Tables 1 and 2 and the following:

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