

## Reconsidering Toronto's Emergence as a Metropolis: Some Evidence from the Census

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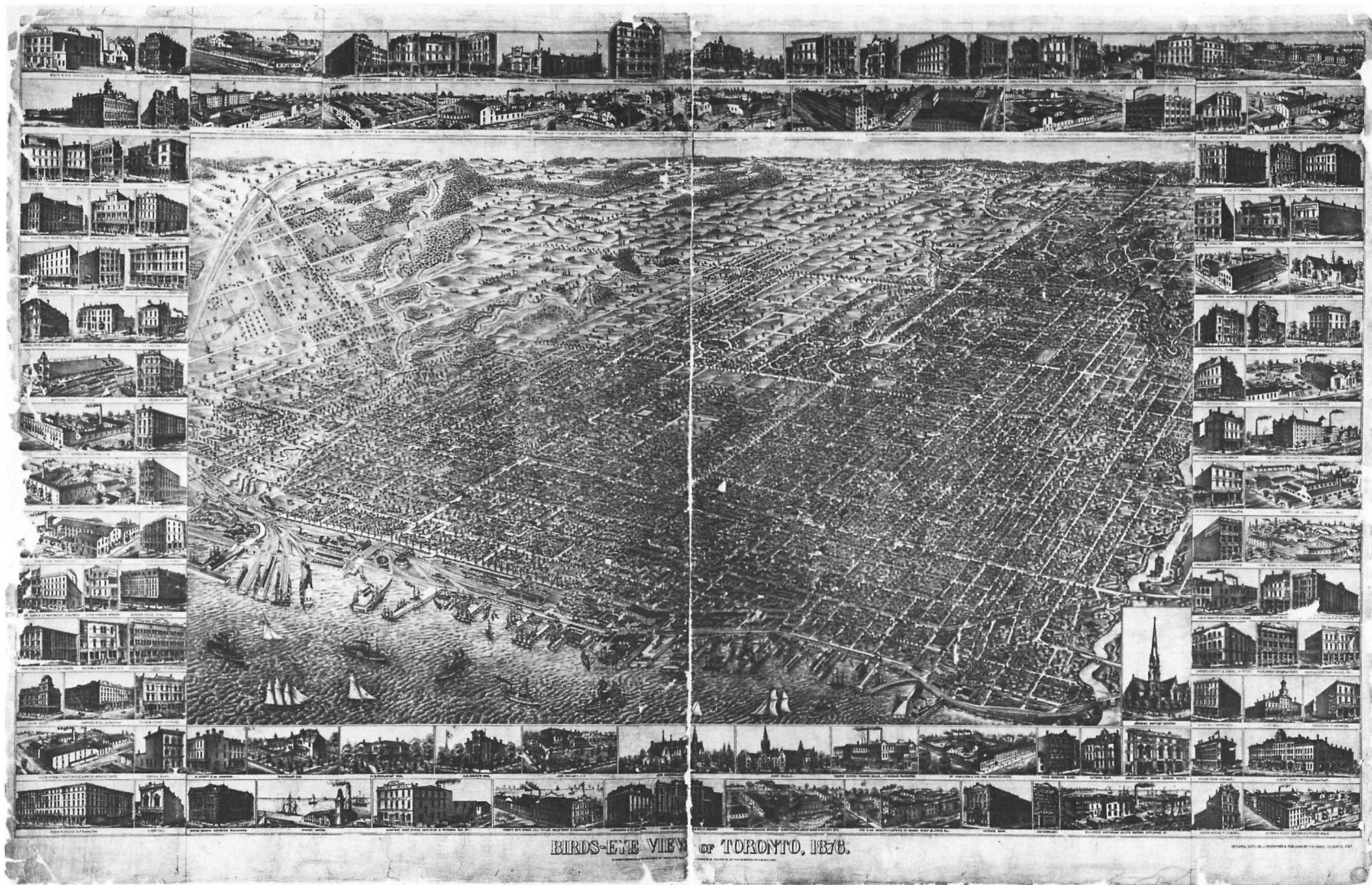
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### Résumé de l'article

La thèse métropolitaine de N.S.B. Gras a été employée dans l'étude du développement de plusieurs villes canadiennes d'importance, et J.M.S. Careless a démontré de façon convaincante son utilité pour une approche plus générale à l'histoire urbaine canadienne. Cet article, tout en admettant l'utilité du modèle, trouve l'approche simpliste et considère que bien des applications sont gâchées par une documentation trop événementielle. Ce texte constitue un effort de clarification des phases décrites par Gras. À la lumière de cette nouvelle compréhension et utilisant des données du recensement sur l'emploi, il vérifie à quel rythme s'est effectuée l'émergence métropolitaine de Toronto.



*Bird's-Eye View of Toronto, 1876.*

SOURCE: National Map Collection, Public  
Archives of Canada. NMC 17628.

*Vue à vol d'oiseau de Toronto, 1876.*

SOURCE: Collection nationale de cartes et  
plans, Archives publiques du  
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# Reconsidering Toronto's Emergence as a Metropolis: Some Evidence from the Census

Jim Sentance

## Résumé/Abstract

*La thèse métropolitaine de N.S.B. Gras a été employée dans l'étude du développement de plusieurs villes canadiennes d'importance, et J.M.S. Careless a démontré de façon convaincante son utilité pour une approche plus générale à l'histoire urbaine canadienne. Cet article, tout en admettant l'utilité du modèle, trouve l'approche simpliste et considère que bien des applications sont gâchées par une documentation trop événementielle. Ce texte constitue un effort de clarification des phases décrites par Gras. A la lumière de cette nouvelle compréhension et utilisant des données du recensement sur l'emploi, il vérifie à quel rythme s'est effectuée l'émergence métropolitaine de Toronto.*

*The metropolitan thesis of N.S.B. Gras has been used in examining the development of several of Canada's foremost cities, and its use in a more general approach to Canadian urban history has been persuasively argued by J.M.S. Careless. This paper, while accepting the usefulness of the model, finds simplistic interpretations of Gras and anecdotal evidentiary standards to have marred much of the applied work. An effort is made to state more clearly the meaning of the process of stages described by Gras, and to test the timing of the metropolitan emergence of the city of Toronto using this understanding and employment data from the Census.*

## Introduction

The idea of the metropolis and the importance of heart-land-hinterland interactions in interpreting Canadian growth and development is increasingly being recognized by historians, geographers and others.<sup>1</sup> The work that has followed is ever broader in its perspectives and sophisticated in its methodology.<sup>2</sup> Particular applications of the metropolitan viewpoint, however, such as the use of the work of N.S.B. Gras in analysis of the emergence of the metropolis, still seem to be subject to simplistic interpretation. This paper specifically takes issue with both the style and results of the usual analysis of Toronto's metropolitan emergence. Much of this literature relies on an anecdotal method that easily allows one to place the evolution of Toronto where one happens to look for it. The fact that this process has been as persuasively placed in the 1850-1914 period<sup>3</sup> as in the 1930s<sup>4</sup> puts its adequacy in serious question.<sup>5</sup>

The view, which was founded in broader consideration of the development of southern Ontario, that Toronto did not

emerge as a metropolis before the twentieth century, is in this paper subjected to testing using some Census data on employment. Admittedly it is only one test, using data that are far from reliable, and requiring, for any conclusion, some rather subjective interpretation of the results. In conducting this test, however, it is necessary to review in greater detail the central points that should be at issue in more comprehensive testing of the Gras thesis as applied to Toronto. In this, if nothing else, there would seem to be considerable value.

The methodology employed, though not explicitly so, is essentially counterfactual. Following Masters' original work, most writers<sup>6</sup> have acquiesced in asserting a period beginning shortly after 1850 as that in which the stages of development took place in Toronto. Although not yet fully "mature," most of these studies assert that by about the 1880s the course of stages had been run, and the fledgling metropolis was well on the way to maturity. Accordingly, the internal structure and external relations of this city and the four other urban areas in Ontario at the time — London, Kingston, Hamilton and Ottawa — will be examined with regard to the structure of employment within these areas. If Toronto were experiencing metropolitan evolution, differences in the patterns could be expected.

## The Framework

The metropolitan model that Gras has formulated represents a departure from simple neoclassical concepts found in most models of growth and development. Gras's model presents a much less certain, more complicated world, replete with transactions costs, imperfect markets, heterogeneities, economies and diseconomies of scale and scope, and so on. It also presents ideas as to the relevant market area and relations to be studied. As such, some elaboration is a prerequisite to discussion.

It is possible to begin, as Masters does, by noting that metropolitan development is more than just the development of a city, but of areas focussing on the city. In Gras's words:

Metropolitan economy is the organization of producers and consumers mutually dependent for goods and services, wherein their wants are supplied by a system of exchange concentrated in a large city which is the focus of local trade and the centre through which normal economic relations with the outside are maintained.<sup>7</sup>

Of particular importance is that this focal point exists only in part because of size.<sup>8</sup> The city assumes its position through market power, through "commercial dominance over a wide area" — the hinterland. The creation of this 'dominance' by a city in regard to its hinterland is analogous in many ways to that of a firm monopolizing its product market. Behind the metropolis, as behind the monopoly, there is an evolution in internal structure and external relations, and in both literatures a presumption to view 'size' as important. But what must be remembered — and here the example of confusion over the significance of size of the firm is very much apropos — is that all these things are as much to be considered in *relative* terms as they are in absolute. Thus, the absolute size of the firm is not necessarily an indicator of market power. Similarly, as Gras emphasized again and again, using Pittsburgh and Detroit as examples,<sup>9</sup> for a metropolis the significant thing is not so much size as dominance — dominance achieved over the hinterland through structural evolution. Smaller cities (or large, non-metropolitan cities) also have a hinterland, an area which they may supply and service due to advantages in transport costs, the existence of communication, sales or other networks. But these cities in turn are part of the hinterland of a dominating metropolis and the metropolis itself is not dominated.<sup>10</sup>

The first stage in this evolution involves organizing the market area in an efficient, centralized manner. Integral to this are the creation of specialized roles for the conductors of wholesaling, storage and transport activities, as well as the formation of exchange facilities where the organization of distribution takes place apart from the ultimate consumer.<sup>11</sup> The city then extends its control over both the internal and external trade of the region.

The second stage involves the creation, within the metropolis or its hinterland, of a manufacturing industry to locally supply articles being demanded. The incentives for this development are based in Gras's discussion of the need for more effective responses to shifting demand conditions than is possible using external supply sources.<sup>12</sup> Continuity of supply prevents other cities from acting as supply bases. The goal of course, is greater control in supplying commodities to the region. Eventually, as the hinterland area is organized, or the local organizers of trade accurately anticipate demand conditions, industry is dispersed within the hinterland as cost conditions dictate.<sup>13</sup>

The development of transportation constitutes the third stage. To some extent, this begins while the second stage is still underway, but the significant changes occur later.<sup>14</sup> Obviously, as production increases in the region, and in different locations within the region, extensive and complex transportation systems will be needed for distribution. Internal city transport, as well as roads, canals and railways to the hinterland and other metropolitan areas are focussed in this stage. In addition, means of communication (express companies, the telegraph, etc.) are expanded and improved. A large aspect of this stage is the implied control over commodity production and distribution that exists after the second stage: competing systems should no longer be needed and should be dismantled, abandoned or rationalized in this third stage.

The fourth and final stage is the development of a financial organization. Aspects of this system emerge during the other stages, but in this final stage, the metropolis takes control of its financial resources and is able "to care for both the extended and hinterland trade, the intermetropolitan commerce and intra-metropolitan commerce."<sup>15</sup> Banking institutions, stock exchanges and so forth, can exist in the non-metropolitan city,<sup>16</sup> but, in the fully metropolitan economy they take on larger roles, concentrating the capital of the hinterland in the metropolis and directing capital to fulfill the needs of further development. Branch banking, the centralization of company headquarters, and the evolution of insurance companies are examples Gras details. "Financial independence," in relative terms, is the end result. Dealings with other areas continue, but "normal financial needs are cared for by reserves held in the new metropolis . . . the reservoir into which the fluid reserves of the area run and from which they flow back to the area."<sup>17</sup>

In applying the thesis to Canada, it is also possible to consider a longstanding tradition of straying from this strict line of development in view of what are asserted as circumstances peculiar to Canada. Gras developed his thoughts in light of the growth of the city of London, and in applying this to the cities of the eastern United States, admitted that special consideration was needed in that transfer.<sup>18</sup> Beginning with Innis in 1929, even this adjustment for North

American conditions has been seen as insufficient consideration of our differences:

Professor Gras's work on the metropolitan economy has also been the object of considerable attention, but Canada has established metropolitan areas only with the greatest difficulty and in the face of geographic handicaps, and city growth in Canada has been the result of factors different from those characterizing the United States. It is probable that we should find Canadian metropolitan centres following quite a different course from that suggested by Professor Gras, for example in the Twin Cities. These schools [Gras, and Turner's *Frontier Thesis*] are based on the development of English and American industrialism and commercialism and the strong sweep of the westward movement in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

While Innis has been supported in his view that Canadian urbanization was more frustrating<sup>20</sup> and that the consequent urban system differ from those Gras analysed,<sup>21</sup> it is not universally agreed that this lessens the value of the thesis in explaining Canadian development. The growth of cities is not the same as the emergence of metropolitan centres. As Careless points out, few cities of metropolitan stature have arisen in Canada. Consequently, their influence should be stronger and more clearly visible.

There may be a need to alter the strict sequence of the four stages of development, especially as transportation developments appear to be occurring during the second stage. This inconsistency is softened by some scholars. The most ambitious response, by F.H. Armstrong, proposes that to some extent, the available technology dictates these developments:

The real divergence takes place between the second and third stages as they evolved in England and on this continent. Both these phases are based on changes in an expanding technology, and in England, where manufacturing systems preceded communication improvements, these stages followed each other to a large extent. In London, metropolitan communications could not be improved until McAdam had perfected his road surfacing methods and Symington his steamboat; in North America this was simply not the case. Technological innovations that preceded the opening up of the interior of North America could naturally be applied immediately. Further, new ideas and processes were constantly being adopted while the cities grew.<sup>22</sup>

The difficulty is that a simplistic reading of Gras may have allowed, for example, mistaking the building of a rail system for the implementation of the transportation stage, when this may not be the case.<sup>23</sup> Confusing form for substance pushes back the time at which stages are perceived to be occurring, perhaps even the time in which the metropolis is seen to be emerging, and may necessitate some sort of rationalization.<sup>24</sup>

In the absence of convincing theoretical arguments why any stage should not fall in place as Gras advanced them then, the testing that follows will look for metropolitan development in the four stages outlined above.

### Toronto: 1850 to 1890

The literature is vague on the exact timing of particular stages in Toronto's development, but a few salient points do stand out. There is some agreement that, in 1850, the city of Toronto was in the first of the four phases of the Gras framework, and looking forward to the rest, but far from engaging in them. Masters points out that the progress of "development of manufacturers was still meagre," railway development had hardly begun, and in regard to "financial facilities, Toronto was still largely dependent on London, New York, and Montreal."<sup>25</sup> Two eras of transportation development are agreed upon: the railway booms of the 1850s and early 1870s — though Spelt, interestingly, places greater emphasis on the development of railroads for Toronto after 1881.<sup>26</sup> Manufacturing in its modern form is also a late addition to the structure of the area. Masters sees a substantial industrial establishment existing by the late 1870s, and Spelt would certainly date the rise of modern manufacturing from this time.<sup>27</sup> Financial hegemony, which is associated in this literature with the creation of an independent local banking community, is fought for successfully in the period 1860 - 1875.<sup>28</sup> This struggle was apparently pushed, as Masters times it, to completion, in the sense of a financial stage, by 1890. Of the city in this year, he states:

Toronto was established as the capital of a great metropolitan economic empire. Marketing, manufacturing, and banking were largely centred under its control. It was the focal point for a network of railways and its harbour was the busiest on the Canadian side of Lake Ontario. It had become the great mobilizer of capital within its area and largely controlled capital movements between its own and other areas. Montreal alone disputed its claim to Canadian metropolitan dominance and the struggle between these two great centres was destined to continue down to the present.<sup>29</sup>

This is the proposition to be tested. The suspicion that it is false is based on consideration of a number of factors. Although Toronto was the axis of one network of rail lines which covered much of southern Ontario, an alternate pattern of lines was not only in existence, but bustling with new construction well after 1890. Spelt suggests that Toronto truly became the rail hub of southern Ontario after the radical rationalization of rail systems in the 1920s.<sup>30</sup> Further consideration of the timing of Toronto's financial maturity is essential. It seems rather incongruous to believe the fourth stage was well advanced in Toronto in 1890 when Gras placed this fourth stage in the same year for London — the city on which he based his theory.<sup>31</sup> The financing of the Canadian Northern Railway, which eventually was assumed by the

government, is an example of the shakiness of Toronto's capital investment capabilities during this period. Masters has ironically described this as the instance when "Toronto railway finance at last came into its own."<sup>32</sup> Toronto may have been able to *organize* the deployment of much of Canada's capital requirements, but the city was far from the financial independence Gras specified — the ability to produce the capital needs of a hinterland from its own resources and not those of another metropolis.

The following is a reevaluation of the period 1850-1880 based on a suggestion from Gras regarding possible tests of metropolis stature. As Gras points out, the completed evolution should be noticeable in several characteristics of the structure of such a city:

The population of the metropolis would be large, as compared with the population of other cities in the district . . . . The metropolis would have a relatively large proportion of workers engaged in wholesaling and relatively few in manufactures, when compared with other large cities in the district. And there would be a lack of any marked dependence on a neighbouring centre for trade and transportation . . . that city is a full-fledged metropolis when most kinds of products of the district concentrate in it for trade as well as transit; when these products are paid for by wares that radiate from it; and when the necessary financial transactions involved in this exchange are provided by it.<sup>33</sup>

Specifically, the proposition that the sectoral composition of the labour force might give clues to the state of evolution of a city will be examined using Census data on employment by occupation. Figures for the city of Toronto will be compared to those of the other four major urban areas in Ontario — Hamilton, London, Kingston and Ottawa.

### Employment by Sector: 1851 to 1881

Imperfect as census material from this period can be, the figures on employment by occupation (which appear from 1851 to 1881) give a complete comparative picture of the internal structure of cities in Ontario at that time. The limitations are that the listings are by trade or profession, where sectoral divisions would be more useful. This again is complicated by the occasional aggregation of smaller categories, the use of large residual groups, and the changing of categories from year to year. The latter is a particular problem when considering those taken by the new Dominion in 1871 and 1881. With one exception, this paper does not question the accuracy of the figures.

This paper limits its interest to the changing pattern of employment by various sectors: commercial, industrial, transportation and communications and, finally, the financial sector. Change from census to census is of some interest and it indicates the evolution of internal structure. But given

the problems of comparability from year to year, this paper restricts its analysis in the performance of Toronto relative to the rest of urban Ontario — in any one year and as this changes from year to year. In addition to avoiding some of the difficulties of comparability between censuses, this procedure demonstrates that the metropolis emerges not only through structural change, but through structural change relative to other cities in its area.

The census itself presents something of a sectoral breakdown of employment, including agricultural, commercial, domestic, industrial, professional and an unclassified group (see Appendix I). Unfortunately these groupings, even the commercial and industrial, are too aggregative for our purposes. Within the commercial class a distinction is necessary between those involved in trade and distribution and those merely providing retail or more personal services, as well as isolating the basis of employment in the financial side of this and other activities in the city. In industry, we wish to distinguish between those making goods in the older, small scale cottage industry and those engaged in modern manufacturing. Finally, the separation of those involved in transport and communications is desired.

To this end, a detailed breakdown by occupation has been used to assemble a number of groups that will have some bearing on the issues at hand. Because of the previously mentioned problems with aggregation, residual groups and changing job descriptions, there has been no attempt to completely assign the labour force into sectors (that part of the labour force accounted for ranges from an average of around 70% in 1851 to 80% in 1881). Rather, the groups that have emerged are built up from occupations that seem clear in nature and which continue through the four periods to be reported. They are, therefore, a representative sample of the period. As such, the percentages reported may not accurately reflect the real size of any one sector. But they do reflect the pattern of change over time relative to changing sector shares in the other cities.

The groups are made up as follows: finance is composed of bankers, brokers (money and other) as well as agents and those involved in insurance; commerce is taken as those more directly involved in trade and in providing the background for such activities — merchants and traders on the one hand, commercial clerks, accountants and bookkeepers on the other; retail and personal services included shopkeepers of a variety of large and small businesses; transport and communication are fairly straightforward — rail and water transport being supplemented by more local transit occupations such as cabmen and drivers, as well as porters and messengers; government employees and officials included those involved in the conducting and enforcement of the legal system; construction involved trades usually associated with building; and, finally, the industrial classes figure used here is from the census aggregations. Table 1 reports the absolute



TABLE 1

**Absolute Employment by Sector (Samples)  
at Census Intervals**

	1851	1861	1871	1881
Toronto:				
1. Financial .....	57	127	247	553
2. Commerce.....	784	1,266	2,482	4,388
3. Retail-Service .....	477	914	1,584	2,235
4. Trans-Commun. <sup>a</sup> .....	379	714	1,091	1,860
5. Government .....	56	96	284	586
6. Construction .....	862	1,141	2,089	3,053
7. Industrial.....	3,270	4,427	8,516	13,646
Labour Force .....	8,753	11,908	20,563	21,764
Urban Ontario:				
1. Financial .....	43	110	256	442
2. Commerce.....	982	1,206	2,735	4,045
3. Retail-Service .....	841	1,290	2,025	2,427
4. Trans-Commun. <sup>a</sup> .....	481	528	1,414	1,874
5. Government .....	86	100	658	1,135
6. Construction .....	1,271	1,513	2,604	2,850
7. Industrial.....	4,568	5,634	11,131	14,427
Labour Force .....	11,484	13,484	25,872	34,103

SOURCE: *Census of the Canadas*, 1851-52 and 1860-61, and *Census of Canada*, 1870-71 and 1880-81. Data transformed by author.

<sup>a</sup>Trans-Commun. = Transportation and Communication

total employment in these groupings for the four years 1851, 1861, 1871 and 1881, for Toronto and for the other four cities as "Urban Ontario." Table 2 gives the shares of each group as a percentage of the labour force, for each of the above years for all five cities individually and again for the four smaller ones as a group.

A second set of groupings attempts to put some detail in place of the aggregation of industrial workers found in the census. While the listings available are not conducive to separating modern manufactures from craftsmen, it was possible, using the detailed work of J.M. Gilmour,<sup>34</sup> to break employment down into types of manufactured goods. Presented here are figures on employment in the making of consumer goods (in total, as well as broken down into consumer durables and others); finished producer goods (again in total as well as what Gilmour refers to as investment goods, the rest being construction materials and supplies to other sectors); unfinished producer goods and primary goods. Table 3 presents these figures on the same basis as Table 2, with percentages based on the total manufacturing employment in the sample.

What emerges from these figures is two-sided. On the one hand, Toronto could be pictured as proceeding more or less according to the Gras sequence of stages. From a fairly

TABLE 2

**Employment by Sector<sup>a</sup> at Census Intervals  
(% of Labour Force)**

Sector:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Toronto							
1851	0.65	8.96	5.45	4.33	0.64	9.85	37.36
1861	1.07	10.63	7.68	6.00	0.81	9.58	37.18
1871	1.20	12.07	7.70	5.31	1.38	10.16	41.41
1881	1.74	13.81	7.04	5.86	1.84	9.61	42.96
Urban Ontario							
1851	0.37	8.55	7.32	4.19	0.75	11.07	39.78
1861	0.80	8.74	9.35	3.83	0.73	10.97	40.85
1871	0.99	10.57	7.83	5.47	2.54	10.06	43.02
1881	1.30	11.86	7.12	5.50	3.33	8.36	42.30
Hamilton							
1851	0.47	9.99	8.10	1.68	0.88	11.70	42.59
1861	0.94	8.14	9.39	3.96	0.51	10.27	38.17
1871	1.14	11.18	8.02	4.83	1.14	10.01	46.17
1881	1.15	11.90	7.33	5.00	1.38	8.11	49.37
London							
1851	0.57	8.07	8.81	2.44	0.57	12.61	50.23
1861	0.69	10.18	9.25	5.21	0.77	11.23	47.64
1871	0.96	10.16	8.20	6.43	1.37	11.84	47.54
1881	2.05	13.74	7.99	5.88	1.70	8.32	45.80
Kingston							
1851	0.41	7.90	6.85	7.73	0.72	10.77	35.67
1861	0.71	9.30	9.10	2.68	1.03	8.18	34.27
1871	1.27	10.09	7.81	8.75	2.23	7.76	40.27
1881	1.04	11.37	6.43	8.53	2.26	7.93	37.24
Ottawa							
1851	0	7.50	5.58	4.15	0.71	9.24	33.35
1861	0.76	7.87	9.69	3.81	0.69	15.29	47.53
1871	0.68	10.39	7.31	3.75	5.31	10.01	37.24
1881	1.08	10.61	6.49	4.30	8.10	8.98	31.69

SOURCE: As for Table 1. Data transformed by author.

<sup>a</sup>The sectors are as follows: 1. = Financial; 2. = Commerce; 3. = Retail-Service; 4. = Transportation and Communication; 5. = Government; 6. = Construction; and 7. = Industrial.

substantial commercial base in the 1850s, surges in transport employment in the 1850s and 1870s saw commercial importance increase. Industrial employment did not significantly rise at any point, but in Gras's model this increase is not absolutely necessary. More importantly, the indication from Table 3 is that manufacturing in Toronto was moving from the provision of simple consumption goods towards consumer durables and finished and unfinished producer goods. Finally, the financial group grew steadily over the whole period, in the end almost tripling its share of the labour force, a performance matched only by the government sector.

**TABLE 3**  
**Manufacturing Employment by Type of Goods<sup>a</sup>**  
**at Census Intervals**  
**(% of Total)**

	CA	CB	CT	FPA	FPB	FPT	UP	P
<b>Toronto</b>								
1861	67.3	5.6	72.9	3.1	5.8	8.8	15.7	2.5
1871	54.6	8.2	62.8	5.1	10.6	15.7	15.6	5.9
1881	48.1	7.7	55.8	6.8	8.7	15.4	23.4	5.4
<b>Urban Ontario</b>								
1861	59.4	7.6	67.0	3.9	8.4	12.3	14.6	6.1
1871	39.8	6.1	45.9	5.4	18.4	23.7	14.8	15.6
1881	40.8	6.9	47.8	4.2	14.6	18.8	18.4	15.0
<b>Hamilton</b>								
1861	58.9	7.6	66.5	5.0	9.6	14.6	16.4	2.5
1871	41.9	4.1	46.1	5.2	26.1	31.2	15.0	7.8
1881	34.3	6.2	40.4	6.1	19.8	25.9	25.9	7.8
<b>London</b>								
1861	61.6	7.6	69.2	3.5	8.6	12.1	17.6	1.0
1871	47.6	12.0	59.5	6.0	14.9	20.9	17.0	2.6
1881	50.8	9.6	60.4	4.3	13.7	18.0	15.2	6.4
<b>Kingston</b>								
1861	65.5	6.6	72.0	4.4	9.1	13.5	13.0	1.4
1871	40.7	10.2	50.9	7.0	30.4	37.5	8.6	3.1
1881	44.5	11.7	56.2	4.1	23.1	27.2	13.4	3.1
<b>Ottawa</b>								
1861	51.9	8.6	60.5	1.9	5.9	7.8	10.6	21.0
1871	31.1	3.3	34.3	4.5	5.0	9.5	15.5	40.7
1881	39.5	3.6	43.1	1.1	4.5	5.6	11.7	39.6

SOURCE: As for Table 1. Data transformed using Appendix to J.M. Gil-mour, *Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing*, 1972.

<sup>a</sup>CA = simple consumption goods; CB = consumer durables; CT = total CA and CB; UP = unfinished producer; P = primary goods; FPA = finished producer, construction, etc., supplies; FPB = finished producer, investment goods; FPT = total FPA and FPB.

What is also apparent, however, is that much the same story could be told for the rest of urban Ontario. The commercial share of these labour forces compared favourably with Toronto in 1851 and grew over the period, as Toronto had, largely in conjunction with increases in transportation employment (though not as strongly). Some differences in the timing of transportation employment growth exist, but the bulk of this is due to the disappearance of several hundred seamen from Kingston for the 1861 census. Whatever the reason behind this — actual absence or census error — it seems better to avoid assuming the disappearance is meaningful. Industrial employment here was also moving away from simple consumption goods and towards goods likely to be import-competing or products requiring more modern means of production. These cities did not, on the whole, become manufacturing satellites for Toronto; percentage shares for that city remain close to those for the others.

Financial employment in these other cities also experienced steady share growth over the whole period, in fact more than tripling — faster growth than Toronto. In sum, only the financial and commercial sectors place Toronto outside the bounds set for each sector over this period by the four other cities. The pattern of growth is not noticeably different in those other sectors. In finance, the only thing setting Toronto apart is a slight advantage in the size of its sector share; the pattern of growth is strikingly similar to the average for the other cities.

In Table 4 and more particularly Figures 1 and 2 an attempt has been made to depict clearly the thrust of this analysis. Figure one presents in bar graph form the shares by sector for Toronto in 1851 and 1881, and the percentage change over those thirty years from Table 4. Beside that are the shares and changes for the other urban centres as a group. The similarity is rather striking, and those differences that do exist are for the most part in sectors that are less important for our analysis — so Toronto has a smaller amount of employment in 1851 in personal service and retail and in construction, as in 1881 in government. The one change of significant size is again that Toronto's commercial employment has grown over the thirty years to finally be somewhat larger. To emphasize this overall continuing similarity, if we rank the sectors by percentage change over the period, then with the exception of retail-personal service growing more slowly in other urban centres, the same rank ordering of growth rates emerges.

**TABLE 4**  
**Percentage Growth in Absolute Employment**  
**by Sector 1851 to 1881**

Sector	Toronto	Urban Ontario
1. Financial	870.2	927.9
2. Commerce	459.7	311.9
3. Retail-Service	368.6	188.6
4. Trans-Commun.	390.8	289.6
5. Government	946.4	1219.8
6. Construction	254.2	124.2
7. Industrial	317.3	215.8

**Percentage Growth in Absolute Employment**  
**by Type of Manufacturing 1861-1881**

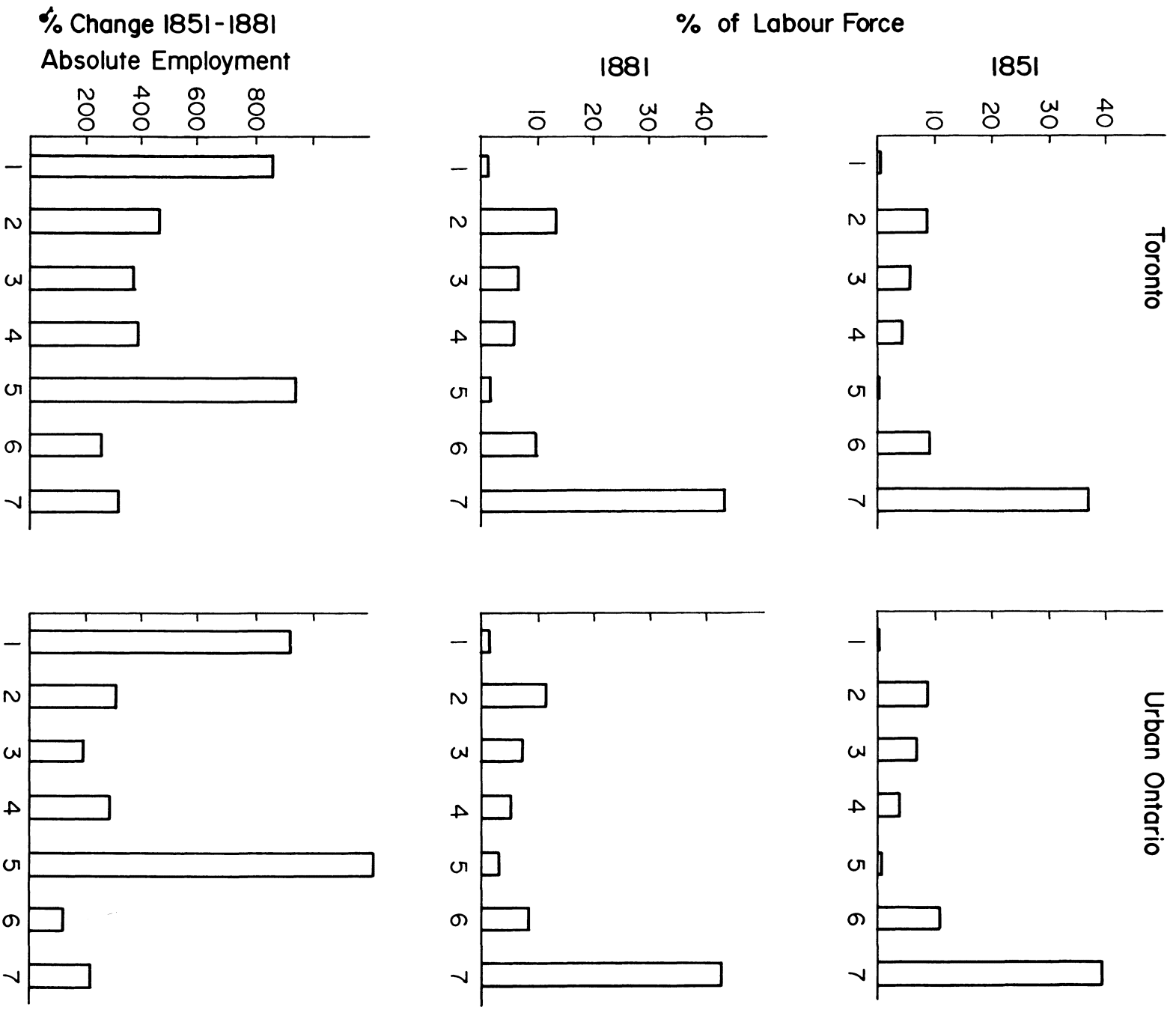
Type of Goods	Toronto	Urban Ontario
CA	207.0	240.7
CB	488.8	352.0
CT	228.7	253.3
FPA	846.2	437.1
FPB	546.5	760.5
FPT	650.6	658.8
UP	537.4	524.6
P	806.1	1127.7

SOURCE: Data for Tables 1 and 3 of this study.



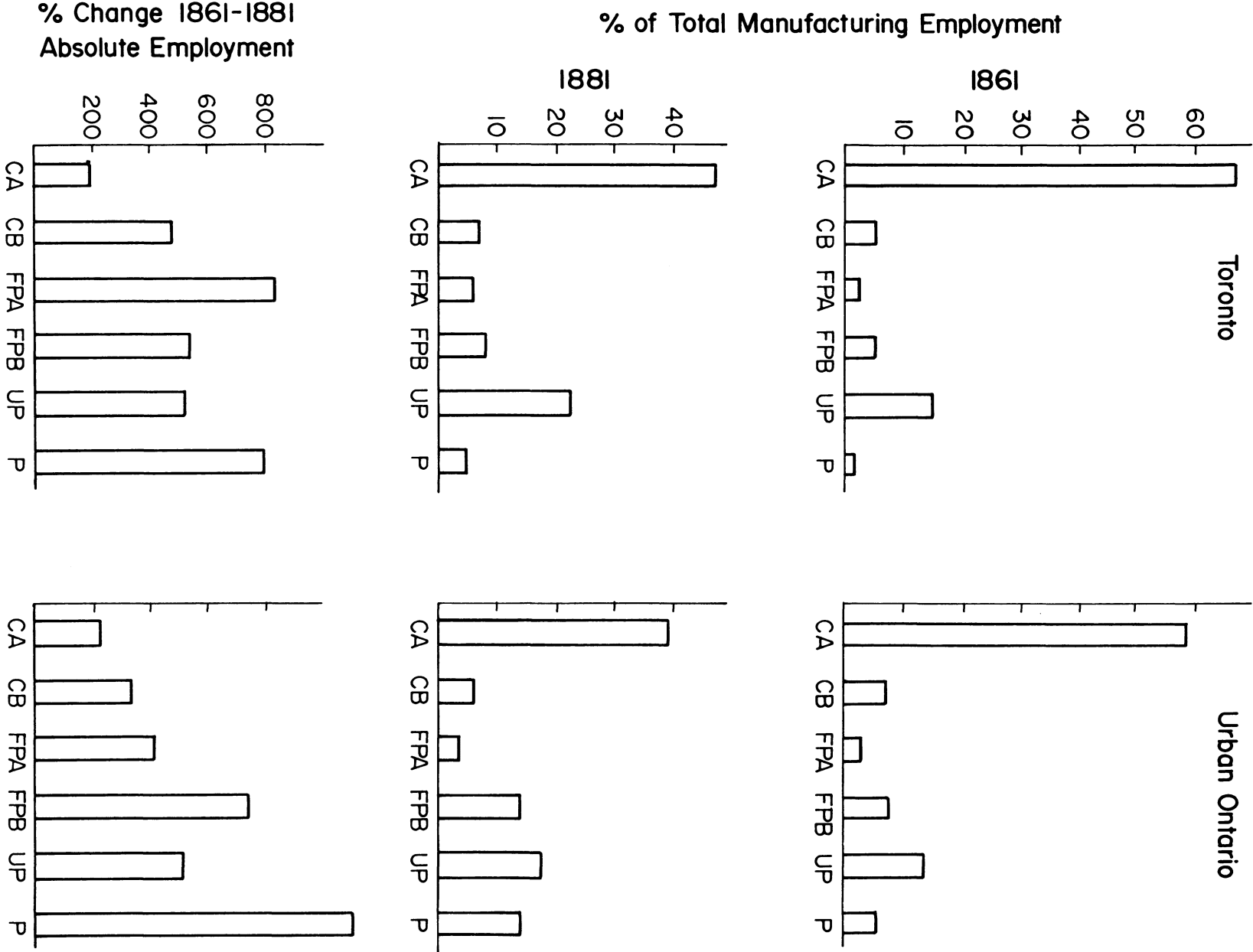
Figure 1

Sectoral Employment



Source: Tables 2 and 4 of this study.

Figure 2  
Manufacturing Employment



Source : Tables 3 and 4 of this study.

In manufacturing (Figure 2) the same striking similarity does not apply from group to group, but then this is to be expected in a gradual process of specialization, and is not a real problem with the Gras framework. No one area is taking the lead in modern manufacturing — all are moving away from the simple consumption goods most likely associated with traditional methods of production, and no one centre is being relegated as yet to the status of workshop for a metropolis concerned itself with loftier purposes.

### Conclusion

The data provided do not appear to show Toronto to be undergoing the differential internal structural changes that Gras believed are part of the evolution to metropolitan status. At best, it appears that Toronto in this period is moving to the commercial dominance of its hinterland that is characteristic of the first of Gras's four stages.

What this means in terms of the application of this thesis to Toronto is less clear. Even if the data are convincing, there are two possibilities to explain such a state: either the evolutionary process occurred at some other point in Toronto's history, or the whole model should be re-evaluated. However, to take the first step of rejecting this period as that of Toronto's metropolitan emergence would require considerable corroborative evidence. It would be interesting to review the pattern of commodity movements into and out of, as well as within, the area under discussion — concentrating on Toronto's share of this business. Associated intimately with this is the question of "whose" transport network was moving the goods. In industrializing, the point Gras saw was that by substituting local production for imports to the region greater independence for the metropolis is gained, as greater dependence by the hinterland. It is necessary to look at industrial production in the area, not in an absolute way, but in relation to patterns of local use and the flow of particular commodities from abroad and from the hinterland of rival metropolises — such as Montreal. Similarly, financial independence is more a matter of cutting the need for outside capital than of having banks decide what outside source of capital to use. Data on the control of assets invested in particular sectors of the economy or by regions would be useful.

A danger in interpreting the data presented above is that mentioned in connection with existing research: the temptation to immediately associate form with substance. With the possibility of outside ownership, it is inappropriate to put too much faith in the presence of various activities in a city reflecting any measure of local control or power. Again "Boosterism," in this period as numerous studies have tried to show, was a powerful force capable of creating considerable activity on an artificial basis.<sup>35</sup> In the context of these difficulties, and as the previous paragraph is careful to point out, any dismissal of Toronto's emergence in this period on the basis of the data presented *must* be done through corroboration of the appearance of substance the employment data

represent. Of course, even if the rest of urban Ontario is shown to be presenting a sham front in contrast to Toronto's substantive development, the fact that such boosterism continued at this time on this scale would be something of an indication that Toronto was not yet the victorious metropolis.

Clearly more work on both this period and on later periods is needed before definitive answers can emerge.

### APPENDIX I

#### Actual Employment by Census Aggregations 1851-1881 (% of Labour Force in ( )'s)

	Agric.	Comm.	Domest.	Indust.	Prof.	Not. Class.
<b>Toronto</b>						
1851	183 (2.1)	1,447 (16.5)	1,815 (20.7)	3,270 (37.4)	454 (5.2)	1,584 (18.1)
1861	151 (1.3)	2,063 (17.3)	2,330 (19.6)	4,427 (37.2)	759 (6.4)	2,178 (18.3)
1871	303 (1.5)	3,877 (18.9)	3,443 (16.7)	8,516 (41.4)	1,466 (7.1)	2,958 (14.4)
1881	539 (1.7)	6,618 (20.8)	4,152 (13.1)	13,646 (43.0)	2,162 (6.8)	4,647 (14.6)
<b>Urban Ontario</b>						
1851	238 (2.1)	1,600 (13.9)	2,009 (17.5)	4,568 (39.8)	557 (4.9)	2,512 (21.9)
1861	183 (1.3)	1,913 (13.9)	2,629 (19.1)	5,634 (40.9)	673 (4.9)	2,759 (20.0)
1871	263 (1.0)	4,471 (17.3)	3,780 (14.6)	11,131 (43.0)	1,912 (7.4)	4,315 (16.7)
1881	429 (1.3)	6,386 (18.7)	4,203 (12.3)	14,427 (42.2)	3,200 (9.4)	5,558 (16.3)
<b>Hamilton</b>						
1851	82 (2.1)	517 (13.4)	608 (15.7)	1,645 (42.6)	228 (5.9)	782 (20.2)
1861	62 (1.3)	637 (13.0)	1,023 (20.9)	1,870 (38.2)	216 (4.4)	1,091 (22.3)
1871	88 (1.0)	1,574 (17.6)	1,210 (13.5)	4,132 (46.2)	457 (5.1)	1,489 (16.6)
1881	173 (1.3)	2,383 (17.7)	1,518 (11.3)	6,633 (49.4)	715 (5.3)	2,012 (15.0)
<b>London</b>						
1851	62 (3.5)	206 (11.7)	137 (7.8)	884 (50.2)	71 (4.0)	400 (22.7)
1861	32 (1.3)	402 (16.2)	434 (17.5)	1,179 (47.6)	149 (6.0)	279 (11.3)
1871	90 (1.6)	989 (17.6)	780 (13.9)	2,667 (47.5)	350 (6.2)	734 (13.1)
1881	124 (1.8)	1,431 (20.7)	723 (10.4)	3,170 (45.8)	524 (7.6)	950 (13.7)
<b>Kingston</b>						
1851	47 (1.3)	606 (16.7)	785 (21.7)	1,292 (35.7)	186 (5.1)	706 (19.5)
1861	41 (1.2)	492 (14.0)	811 (23.1)	1,202 (34.3)	159 (4.5)	802 (22.9)
1871	47 (1.2)	806 (20.4)	471 (11.9)	1,588 (40.3)	343 (8.7)	688 (17.4)
1881	65 (1.3)	1,066 (22.1)	578 (12.0)	1,795 (37.2)	543 (11.3)	773 (16.0)

*Continued on next page*

APPENDIX I — *Continued*Actual Employment by Census  
Aggregations 1851-1881  
(% of Labour Force in ( 's))

	Agric.	Comm.	Domest.	Indust.	Prof.	Not. Class.
Ottawa						
1851	47 (2.1)	271 (12.1)	479 (21.4)	747 (33.3)	72 (3.2)	624 (27.9)
1861	48 (1.6)	382 (13.1)	361 (12.4)	1,383 (47.5)	149 (5.1)	587 (20.2)
1871	38 (0.5)	1,102 (15.0)	1,319 (17.9)	2,744 (37.2)	762 (10.3)	1,404 (19.1)
1881	67 (0.8)	1,506 (16.9)	1,284 (14.4)	2,829 (31.7)	1,418 (15.9)	1,823 (20.4)

SOURCE: As for Table 1. Percentages by author.

## NOTES

1. J.M.S. Careless in particular has put forth the case for historical use of the metropolitan theme, as in "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay between City and Region in Canadian History before 1914," *Urban History Review* VII (February 1979): 99-118. Geographic use of the idea can be seen in such standard texts as J. Warkentin, ed., *Canada: A Geographical Interpretation* (Toronto: Methuen, 1968), esp. ch. 16, D.P. Kerr, "Metropolitan Dominance in Canada," and as the central theme in the recent *Heartland and Hinterland*, L.D. McCann, ed. (Scarborough: Prentice Hall, 1982). Less general work abounds, some of it referred to below.
2. See for example D. Hum and P. Phillips, "Growth, Trade, and Urban Development of Staple Regions," *Urban History Review* X (October 1981): 13-24 or F.A. Dahms, "The Evolution of Settlement Systems: A Canadian Example, 1851-1970," *Journal of Urban History* 7 (February 1981): 169-204.
3. D.C. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890* (Toronto: 1947) or more recently, D. Kerr, "The Emergence of the Industrial Heartland c. 1750-1950," in *Heartland and Hinterland*.
4. F.H. Armstrong, "Metropolitanism and Toronto Re-examined, 1825-1850," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Macmillan of Canada, 1979), 37-51.
5. Some distinction should probably be made here between work on 'historical' examples such as Toronto, and that dealing with contemporary metropolitan development where the greater availability of appropriate data seems to have led to more useful analysis: contrast at the textbook level the discussion of Canada's present distribution of metropolitan power in McCann, *Heartland and Hinterland*, 20-23, with the more anecdotal presentation of the emergence of metropolitan power in the industrial heartland, 75-83.
6. Kerr, "Metropolitan Dominance," Careless, "Metropolis and Region," and J. Spelt, *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972) among others could be listed here.
7. N.S.B. Gras, *Introduction to Economic History* (New York: Harper & Row, 1922), 186.
8. *Ibid.*, 183, 184.
9. *Ibid.*, 292, 295.
10. In the end, as McCann puts it, 21, "... it is only when the emerging metropolitan centre becomes innovative, transmitting social values, political prowess, and economic control well beyond its traditional hinterland into a larger arena — in effect, challenging and recasting traditional dependency relationships in its favour — that it is clearly recognizable as a metropolitan centre."
11. Gras, *Economic History*, 183.
12. *Ibid.*, 209.
13. *Ibid.*, 213.
14. *Ibid.*, 219.
15. *Ibid.*, 243.
16. *Ibid.*, 243, 248.
17. *Ibid.*, 267.
18. *Ibid.*, 302.
19. Harold Innis, "The Teaching of Economic History in Canada," in *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1956), 11, 12.
20. W.A. Mackintosh, *The Economic Background of Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964), 20.
21. Careless, "Metropolis and Region," 101.
22. Armstrong, "Metropolitanism," 302.
23. The rail system built around Toronto by the 1890s has been put forth as its transport stage — and yet at the same time large alternate systems were still in competition with Toronto for the south Ontario trade, as evidenced by the bustling construction that proceeded well past this date. See Spelt, *Urban Development*, 159.
24. Similar issues arise if we consider metropolitan development in the context of the extensive 'Boosterism' that took place in Canada in this period, in particular in Ontario (on this see the provincial contrasts in R. Rudin, "Boosting the French Canadian Town: Municipal Government and Urban Growth in Quebec, 1850-1900," *Urban History Review* XI (June 1982): 1-10). Specifically, we must recognize that considerable physical presence — transport systems, industry, as well as financial capital — could be induced to settle in one place with little or no local ownership or control. Metropolitan status, however, requires a substantive level of control and development — in each stage, and in its final maturity — that should stand out above the form of such hollow competition, and can not rest solely upon a similar basis (though boosting may be part, even a key part, of its origins: see Alan F.J. Artibise, "In Pursuit of Growth: Municipal Boosterism and Urban Development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871-1913," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 116-147).
25. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 13.
26. Spelt, *Urban Development*, 160.
27. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 146. The same timing is also seen in other work, such as G.S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism 1867-1892* (Toronto: 1980) esp. ch. 2, "Toronto's industrial revolution."
28. D.C. Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal: The Struggle for Financial Hegemony, 1860-1875," *Canadian Historical Review* 22 (1941): 136.
29. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 165. Kerr, "Metropolitan Dominance," though in less glowing terms, echoes this vision of Toronto as a changed city.
30. Spelt, *Urban Development*, 162, 163.
31. Gras, *Economic History*, 244.
32. Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal," 132.
33. Gras, *Economic History*, 294.
34. J.M. Gilmour, *Spatial Evolution of Manufacturing: Southern Ontario, 1851-1891* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972).
35. See Rudin, Artibise, or any of a number of other works: Artibise's earlier "Continuity and Change: Elites and Prairie Urban Development, 1914-1950," in *The Usable Urban Past*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1979): 130-154 and J. Weaver, "Elitism and the Corporate Ideal: Businessmen and Boosterism in Canadian Civic Reform, 1890-1920," in *Cities in the West*, ed. A.R. McCormack and I. McPherson (Ottawa: National Museum of Canada, 1975) though applicable to the west, and at a different period, illustrate the same phenomenon.