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**THE EVOLUTION OF URBAN CANADA:
AN ANALYSIS OF APPROACHES
AND INTERPRETATIONS**

**Alan F. J. Artibise
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INSTITUTE
OF URBAN
STUDIES

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Report No. 4

by

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ABBREVIATIONS

In an effort to save space we have occasionally used abbreviations for those journals, books, and publishers that are cited many times. In general, however, we have attempted to keep this usage to a minimum to allow readers to locate references quickly.

Journals

<i>CHR</i>	<i>Canadian Historical Review</i>
<i>CJEPS/RCESP</i>	<i>Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science/ Revue canadienne d'économique et de science politique</i>
<i>HS/SH</i>	<i>Histoire sociale/Social History</i>
<i>RHAF</i>	<i>Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française</i>
<i>UHR/RHU</i>	<i>Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine</i>

Books:

<i>Canada's Urban Past</i>	Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, <i>Canada's Urban Past: A Bibliography to 1980 and Guide to Canadian Urban Studies</i> (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981).
<i>The Canadian City</i> (1977)	Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., <i>The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History</i> (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977). Reprinted by Macmillan of Canada, 1979. Carleton Library Series #109.
<i>The Canadian City</i> (1984)	Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., <i>The Canadian City: Essays in Social and Urban History</i> , 2nd edition, revised and expanded (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1984).
<i>The Usable Urban Past</i>	Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., <i>The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern Canadian City</i> (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979). Carleton Library Series #119.
<i>Shaping the Urban Landscape</i>	Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., <i>Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process</i> (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982). Carleton Library Series #125.
<i>Power and Place</i>	Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, eds., <i>Power and Place: Canadian Urban Development in a North American Context</i> (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1985).
<i>Town and City</i>	Alan F.J. Artibise, ed., <i>Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development</i> (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981). Canadian Plains Studies #10.

Publishers:

<i>UTP</i>	University of Toronto Press
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INTRODUCTION

The study of the historical evolution of urban Canada is still a relatively new field of research. In the past decade, however, there has been a remarkable growth in interest not only by urban historians but also by scholars in many other disciplines. As a result, there has been a sharp increase in the publication of articles, theses and books, and seminars and conferences dealing with urban issues have become common. All this activity raises several questions. What direction is this research taking? How can it be evaluated? What are its weaknesses? These and other questions will be discussed in this report.

The idea for this study came to us when we were asked by an Italian urban history journal — *Storia Urbana* — to prepare an article on Canadian urban historiography. It quickly became apparent that a more elaborate and detailed study of the evolution of urban studies would be useful to researchers, professors and students. In addition, we felt that the increasing number of urban scholars who are not historians would find this study useful in terms of locating their work in an historical perspective.

Several useful articles on urban historiography already exist, particularly those written by Gilbert Stelter and John Weaver,¹ but they are now several years old. We attempt to view the field from a more recent perspective. It was also felt that a more detailed analysis, complete with bibliographical references, would be useful. At the same time, we have not attempted to replicate in any way the exhaustive bibliography prepared by Artibise and Stelter.²

This report attempts to analyze the main trends and the most significant work in the field, and it is organized around

four key themes. The report is, in part, an historiographical essay. But it is, as well, an introduction to the study of Canadian urban history since it identifies the main works in the field.

Part One of the report discusses the origins of urban history as a field of study, noting the contributions not only of historians but of scholars in other disciplines. Part Two identifies, analyzes and discusses specific research topics that we feel represent major historiographical trends. Part Three, the longest section of the report, presents the major themes in urban studies and discusses the work that exists. Finally, in the appendix, we provide a concise guide to urban studies materials. It should be noted that when titles are available in translation, this fact will be noted, but full citations will be in English only. As well, an appendix will list important titles available in both official languages.

This report is the result of close collaboration between the two authors; we had numerous working sessions before we completed this final draft. We have also had generous assistance from numerous colleagues and friends who have read and commented on various versions of this report. We must also acknowledge the work of many scholars who, in one way or another, have commented on the books, articles and theses that have been prepared on the evolution of urban Canada. It is not possible to mention all these people here, but we do wish to acknowledge the assistance of Jean-Claude Robert, Gilbert A. Stelter, John C. Weaver, and John H. Taylor. We must also thank our respective secretaries who have typed innumerable versions of this manuscript.

1. See, for example, Gilbert A. Stelter, "A Sense of Time and Place: The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past," in *The Canadian City* (1977); Stelter, "Urban History in North America: Canada," *Urban History Yearbook*, 1977, pp. 24-29; Stelter, "Urban History in Canada," *History and Social Science Teacher*, Vol. 14 (1979), pp. 185-194; and Artibise and Stelter, "Introduction," *Canada's Urban Past*. John Weaver has also published two useful studies. They are: "Living In and Building Up the Canadian City: A Review of Studies on the Urban Past," *Plan Canada*, Vol. 15 (1975), pp. 111-117; and "Urban Canada: Recent Historical Writing," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. 86 (1979), pp. 75-97.

2. *Canada's Urban Past: A Bibliography to 1980 and Guide to Canadian Urban Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981). This bibliography is updated annually by Elizabeth Bloomfield in the October issue of the *Urban History Review*.

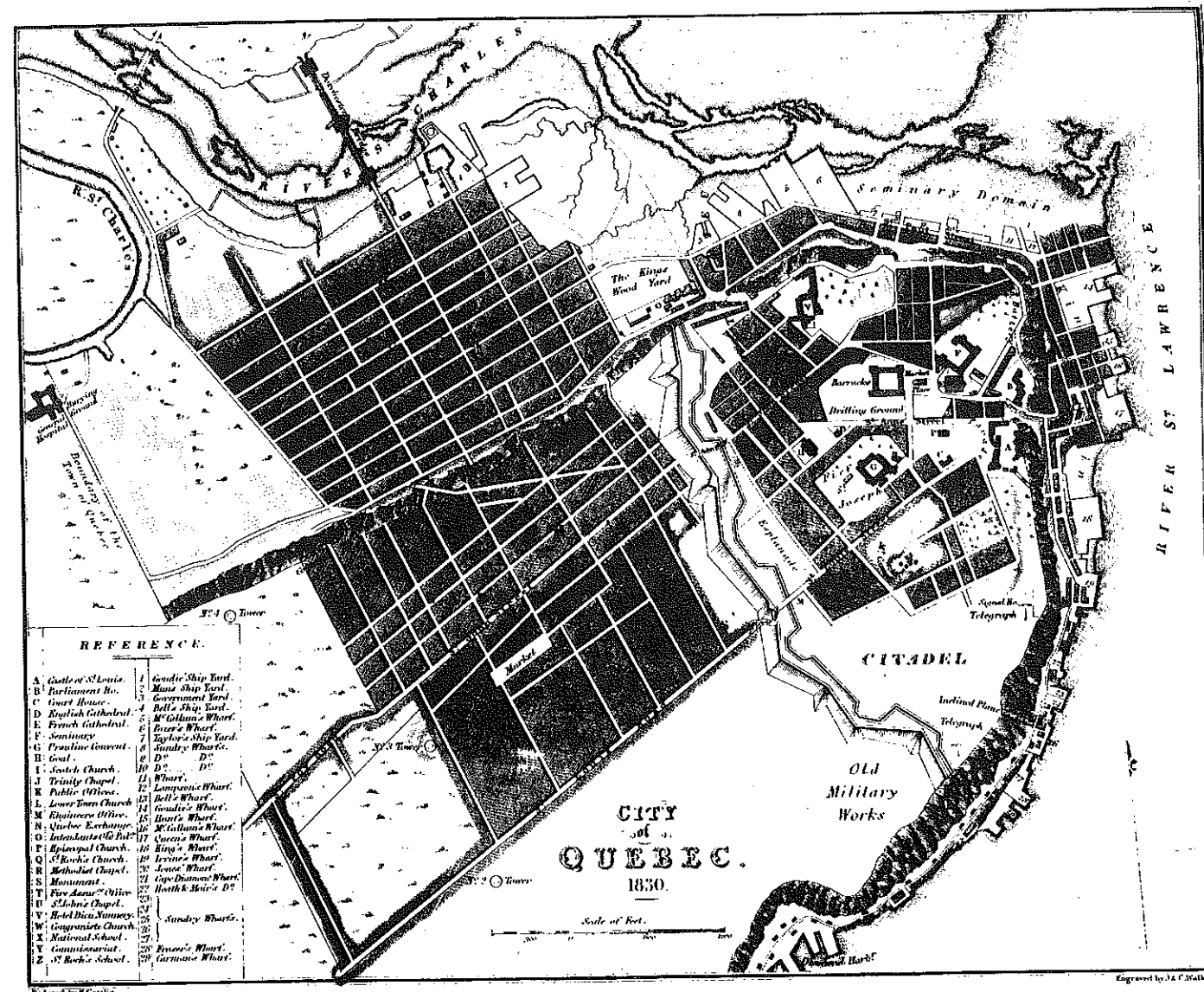


FIGURE 1. City of Quebec, 1830.

SOURCE: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada. NMC 63650.

PART ONE: GENERAL PATTERNS OF DEVELOPMENT IN URBAN HISTORY AND URBAN STUDIES

A. Pre-requisites to Understanding Canadian Urban History

The early 1970s marks the beginnings of rapid development in the field of Canadian urban history. How is this explained? In order to understand the birth and development of Canadian urban history, it is necessary that it be placed in a larger intellectual context. Thus, this section will examine certain aspects of the evolution of the discipline of history itself since certain major tendencies of general Canadian historiography are also present in urban history. It is also important to take into account the development of an urban sub-field in several other disciplines. And, finally, to place these developments in the social context of the 1960s and 1970s.

Canadian historical writing has a long history dating back to New France. But it is in the course of the twentieth century that it experienced its most significant developments with the rise of professional historians and the emergence of history as a recognized university discipline.

One of the fundamental characteristics of Canada that has affected historical writing is that the population of the country is dispersed into distinct regions and this, in turn, has led to regional "schools" of writing and to regional approaches. Also important is the fact that for several decades Canadian historiography was affected by the generally conservative nature of society, and the recent influence of more radical approaches has not completely eliminated this conservative element. Nationalism is another extremely important factor in explaining the themes and orientations of Canadian historiography. Nationalism has not been a unifying theme; rather, there exists two "national" histories — French and English.³

English-Canadian historiography has been characterized by a strong British intellectual influence that, for more than a century, was manifest in the university milieu. This tradition of political, constitutional and institutional history emphasized the biographical approach and was dominated by University of Toronto historians who were often of British origin, or were Canadians trained in British universities. Until

the end of the 1960s, this British tradition was dominant. Since the late 1960s and early 1970s, however, the influence of American historiography has become very evident. New approaches and methodologies have been developed and this trend, together with the rapid growth in the number of historians, has resulted in a great deal of diversity in the 1970s and early 1980s.⁴

French-Canadian historiography also has a tradition of conservatism. Dominated for many decades by priest-historians, French-Canadian historiography also focused on institutions and the study of constitutional issues, as well as on religion and nationalism. But these traditions were abandoned earlier in Quebec than in the rest of the country. Since 1960, French-Canadian historiography has been profoundly influenced by French historiography, in particular by the French "school" of economic and social history. More recently, French-Canadian historiography has been affected by other foreign influences such as American social history, a phenomenon that is especially important in the case of urban history. As in English Canada, French-Canadian historiography — or more correctly Quebec historiography — has become since 1970 more diverse in themes and approaches. In the course of the past two decades, Quebec nationalism has represented a dynamic force which has left its imprint on historiography trends.⁵

In both English Canada and in Quebec, it was not until the 1960s and 1970s that new themes and approaches appeared; themes and approaches influenced by social history. In this sense, Canadian historiography is a dependent historiography. It is strongly influenced by foreign methods and ideas. It is inspired, to varying degrees, by British, American and French approaches. Canadian historians in the past two decades have, nevertheless, been capable of producing some original and stimulating work.

B. The Emergence of a New Field of Scholarship

In this general context, it is not surprising to note that the field of urban history only developed as a significant area of study in the 1970s, both in English Canada and in Quebec.

3. The best general introduction to Canadian historiography are two volumes published by the University of Toronto Press: D.A. Muise, ed., *A Reader's Guide to Canadian History, Vol. 1: Beginnings to Confederation* (1982), and J.L. Granatstein and Paul Stevens, *A Reader's Guide to Canadian History, Vol. 2: Confederation to the Present* (1982).

4. For an excellent review of English-Canadian historiography see Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History: Aspects of English Canadian Historical Writing* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1976). See also Ramsay Cook, "The Golden Age of Canadian Historical

Writing," *Historical Reflexions/Réflexions historiques*, Vol. IV (1977), pp. 137-155; and H.J. Graham, "Canadian History in the 1970s," *CHR*, Vol. LVIII (March 1977), pp. 2-22.

5. On Quebec historiography, see Serge Gagnon, "Historiographie canadienne ou les fondements de la conscience nationale," in A. Beaulieu, J. Hamelin and B. Bernier, *Guide d'histoire du Canada* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1969), pp. 1-61; and Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "Pour une méso-histoire du XIX^e siècle canadien," *RHAF*, Vol. 33 (1979), pp. 587-625.

There were, of course, several earlier developments and it is necessary to briefly outline these before analyzing the recent expansion of urban studies.

1. The Pre-1970s

Before 1970, historians who were interested in some aspect of the urban phenomenon generally wrote local or municipal history. Their work was generally structured as a political chronicle of the community. They mentioned certain economic characteristics but in a narrative fashion, without an economic perspective. The best known of these historians were John Irwin Cooper, Stephen Leacock, and Kathleen Jenkins, who wrote on Montreal; and Edwin Guillet, who studied Toronto.⁶ Before the emergence of urban (as opposed to local) history, the most important work that treated the evolution of urban phenomena was not that compiled by historians, but, rather, the work of geographers, sociologists and economists.

In Quebec, geographers have made a particularly important contribution to urban studies. This is explained by the influence of French geography and especially by the human and urban geography imported to Quebec by the well-known French geographer, Raoul Blanchard. Blanchard, who taught for many years in Quebec universities, undertook numerous studies of the communities and regions of Quebec. His studies of the historic evolution of Montreal and Quebec City are still classics.⁷ As well, Blanchard had a profound influence on a generation of French-Canadian geographers. His students completed many theses and published numerous articles on urban topics, particularly in the 1950s and 1960s.⁸ Most importantly, Blanchard's students learned to place geography in an historical context. Since 1970, Quebec geography has departed from the model of French human geography. Historical geography is still, however, an impor-

tant field of study, but the work in this area has declined from the previous decades.

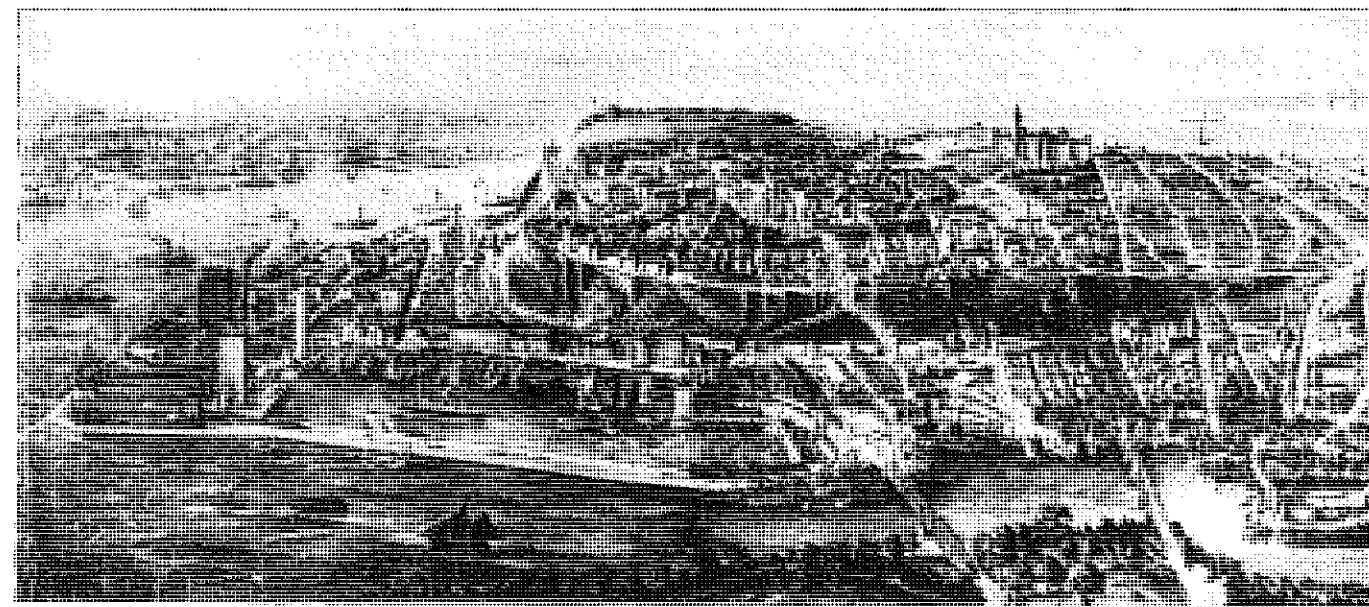
The other important group of scholars who contributed to the study of urban Quebec prior to 1970 is the sociologists. Quebec sociology did not emerge as a strong, organized discipline until after World War Two. It was then strongly under the influence of American sociology, following in the tradition of work completed by Everett Hughes and Horace Miner in the 1930s.⁹ These scholars and their Quebec students were interested in the transformation from a "traditional" society to a "modern" society. In the 1950s and 1960s, young Quebec sociologists undertook numerous descriptive studies of the urban milieu.¹⁰ They were more interested in small towns, villages, and neighbourhoods than in cities, and their work almost ignored entirely the Quebec metropolis, Montreal, which contained more than forty per cent of the Quebec population. A turning point in this respect was the inquiry undertaken by the priest and sociologist, Norbert Lacoste, on Montreal's population.¹¹ The colloquium organized by *Recherches Sociographiques* in 1968 was a testimony to the growing interest in the study of metropolis.¹² As in geography, the intellectual revolution of the 1960s has led sociologists to abandon traditional perspectives and to turn to new themes and to methods inspired by French sociology and by Marxism.¹³

Finally, it is important to underline the contribution of a few economists, in particular, those who worked in the *Ecole des Hautes études commerciales* in Montreal. Some of their work represents an important contribution to the understanding of urban evolution. Of particular importance is a collection on Montreal published in 1943 which showed an evident historical concern.¹⁴ It was followed in the subsequent decades by articles in the journal *l'Actualité économique* dealing with themes relating to urban economy. The 1960s represent a turning point because Quebec econ-

La crise d'industrialisation du Canada Français. 1945. Reprint. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1972.

6. John Irwin Cooper, *Montreal: A Brief History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1969); Stephen Leacock, *Montreal: Seaport and City* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1948); Kathleen Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City of the St. Lawrence* (New York: Doubleday, 1966); Edwin C. Guillet, *Toronto: From Trading Post to Great City* (Toronto: Ontario Publishing Co., 1934).
7. Of particular importance are the following studies: *L'Est du Canada Français*, 2 vols. (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1930); *Le Centre du Canada Français* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1948); *L'Ouest du Canada Français: Montréal et sa région* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1953); and *L'Ouest du Canada Français: Les pays de l'Ottawa. L'Abitibi-Témiscamingue* (Montréal: Beauchemin, 1954).
8. The two principal Quebec geographical journals are *Les Cahiers de géographie du Québec* (formerly "de géographie de Québec"), published by the Université Laval since 1956, and the *Revue de géographie de Montréal* (formerly *Revue canadienne de géographie*) published by the Université de Montréal since 1947. Both journals have published numerous articles dealing with the evolution of urban centres.
9. Everett C. Hughes, *French Canada in Transition* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943). Translated as *Recontre de deux mondes*:

10. See the articles in Marcel Rioux and Yves Martin, eds., *French-Canadian Society: Sociological Studies* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964). Published in French as *La société canadienne-française* (Montréal: Hurtubise HMH, 1971). See also Yves Martin, "Les études urbaines," *Situation de la recherche sur le Canada français* (Québec: Presses de l'Université Laval, 1972), and Marc-André Lessard, "Bibliographie des villes du Québec," *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. IX (1968), pp. 143-209.
11. Norbert Lacoste, *Les caractéristiques sociales de la population du grand Montréal* (Montréal: Université de Montréal, 1968).
12. "L'urbanisation de la société canadienne-française," Special Issue of *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. IX (janv.-août, 1968).
13. On the evolution of Quebec Sociology, see "La Sociologie au Québec," Special Issue of *Recherches Sociographiques*, Vol. XV (mai-août, 1974), and "Réflexions sur la sociologie. Une discipline et des pratiques," Special Issue of *Sociologie et sociétés*, Vol. XII (octobre 1980).
14. Esdras Minville, *Montréal économique* (Montréal: Fides et Ecole des Hautes Etudes commerciales, 1943).



QUEBEC TRICENTENARY, 1908

FIGURE 2. Quebec City, (published in 1905).

SOURCE: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada, NMC 10152.

omists, geared to planning, ceased to be much interested in historical perspectives. Nevertheless, it is important to cite several contributions of Albert Faucher on Quebec and Montreal in the nineteenth century.¹⁵

In English Canada, as in Quebec, urban studies in the period before 1970 was dominated by geographers. In an excellent article published in 1973, John U. Marshall outlined "Geography's Contribution to the Historical Study of Urban Canada."¹⁶ While beginning by analyzing the impact of Blanchard — whose work was the object of considerable attention in English Canada — Marshall cites publications by Griffith Taylor, Donald Kerr, Jacob Spelt, Wreford Watson, Donald Kirk, Charles Whebell, and Andrew Burghardt as being the most important.¹⁷ Although the majority of these studies dealt with Ontario, they were characterized by two approaches — studies which singled out some particular aspect of the environment for special attention, resulting in

systematic studies of individual phenomena (urban/economic geography); and synthetic studies that attempted to achieve a holistic appreciation of the many interrelated phenomena which evolved over time to give a unique character to the landscape (historical geography).

In terms of their influence on urban historians, this early work by geographers served two important roles. First, when the historians of urban Canada began to emerge in the early 1970s and were struggling with overcoming the academic stigma that was attached to "local history," the fact that no such stigma existed in urban geography proved helpful. Perhaps even more important — and a clear distinguishing feature of Canadian as opposed to American urban history — was the fact that from the outset, urban historians were concerned with the physical urban environment, a tradition that was to continue through the 1970s and 1980s. This is not to say that urban historians always accepted and worked

15. Albert Faucher, *Histoire économique et unité canadienne* (Montreal: Fides, 1970), and *Québec en Amérique au XIXe siècle* (Montréal: Fides, 1973).
16. *UHR/RHU* No. 1-73 (May, 1973), pp. 15-23. See also James Lemon, "Study of the Urban Past: Approaches by Geographers," Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1973), pp. 179-190.
17. G. Taylor, *Urban Geography* (London: Methuen, 1951); D.P. Kerr and Jacob Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto: A Study in Urban Geography* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1965); J. Spelt, *Urban Development in South-Central Ontario* (Assen: Van Gorcum, 1955); J.W. Watson, "Urban Developments in the Niagara Peninsula," *CJEPS*

Vol. 9 (1943), pp. 463-486; D.W. Kirk, "Southwestern Ontario: The Arcal Pattern of Urban Settlements in 1850," Ph.D. dissertation (Northwestern Ontario, 1949); C.F.J. Whebell, "Core Areas in Intrastate Political Organization," *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 12 (1968), pp. 99-112; and A. Burghardt, "A Hypothesis About Gateway Cities," *Annals*, Association of American Geographers, Vol. 61 (1971), pp. 269-285. Of particular interest is a recent edition of Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South Central Ontario* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1983). It contains an excellent introductory essay that surveys much of the work published since 1955 on Southwestern Ontario, including urban studies literature.

within frameworks already established by geography; they did not. In particular, historians tended to give far more emphasis to the role of individuals and institutions in shaping the urban environment.¹⁸

Urban history was also influenced by the work of economists and economic historians, especially those involved with the school of political economy at the University of Toronto. Before urban historians established a conscious concern with urban studies, interest in the urban past stemmed from the fact that towns and cities were nodal points of leadership and change in the larger society. Traditional interpretations of Canadian history put forward by such scholars as Harold Innis, Arthur Lower and Donald Creighton stressed metropolitan relationships in their studies of the staples trade.¹⁹ Creighton, for example, emphasized the predominant role commercial monopoly and centralized business played in developing that Canadian urban network. For Creighton, an understanding of the growth of urban centres and the links between them could come only through an examination "of businessmen, merchants and railroad promoters." It was this central elite who built Canada's urban network and subordinated it to Montreal, the first domestic Canadian metropolis.²⁰ While Creighton focused on central Canada and especially on the "heroic entrepreneurs" of Montreal, another historian took political economy and metropolitanism further by applying it to the entire country. Indeed, two articles by J.M.S. Careless — "Frontierism and Metropolitanism in Canadian History" (1954)²¹ and "Somewhat Narrow Horizons" (1968)²² — marked, in some ways at least, the self-conscious beginning of urban history.

2. The Development of Urban History and Urban Studies in the 1970s.

The name "urban history," already utilized in the United States in the 1960s, made its appearance in Canadian historiography in the early 1970s. During this decade, the first important books and articles appeared in both Quebec and in English Canada. It is important to note, however, that the development of the field of urban history took place in a

broader context. Urban issues were much in evidence during the decade in universities, in government, and among groups of citizens who began to discuss and debate questions relating to the urban environment and to urban politics. Not surprisingly, then, urban issues were also being studied by the social sciences.

a) The Social Sciences

The decade of the 1970s was one in which there was a virtual explosion of work in the humanities and social sciences. Economists, sociologists, political scientists, demographers, geographers, planners, and urbanists published a wide variety of studies. The historical perspective, however, was not very evident in most of these publications since they were preoccupied with the present and the future.²³ Particularly significant in this regard was the field of urban economics where numerous publications were future oriented. These studies were, moreover, not based on an analysis of the past and did not integrate any historical perspective.²⁴

There are, of course, a few exceptions to this generalization. Some social scientists had an interest in the historical perspective and were convinced of the necessity to base their analysis of the present in an historical framework. Historical geography, for example, remained a dynamic field in the course of the 1970s and was especially interested in the urban milieu. The most important work by geographers concerned the study of the evolution of the urban system and the examination of spatial differentiation within urban areas. Indeed, Canadian geographers have made significant contributions in these studies to an understanding of urban history.²⁵

It is also important to note the emergence of new sub-disciplines in the 1970s — the history of urban planning and of urbanism. Developed by a few architects and planners, these new approaches, while limited, gained in importance by the end of the decade.²⁶ Finally, it is necessary to mention the numerous, but usually isolated, contributions of sociologists, political scientists and demographers who studied

diverse aspects of urban evolution.²⁷ They represent an important contribution to urban history even if, for the most part, their work did not extend beyond the period before 1945.²⁸

b) The Historians

By the early 1970s, it was apparent that a new sub-field in Canadian history had emerged; "urban history" quickly became a popular label. By June 1973, for example, Gilbert Stelter could present a paper devoted solely to urban history at the annual meeting of the Canadian Historical Association.²⁹ Two years later, Stelter also prepared a survey of "Current Research in Urban History" that included a detailed listing of 130 researchers.³⁰

As urban history grew rapidly in these years, it became possible to characterize the field in several distinct ways. In terms of practitioners, urban historians were generally young scholars who had been either raised or trained in an urban milieu. Their formal educational training in the 1960s had been, in part, shaped by the political issues of that decade, including the so-called "urban crisis," a concern for social issues, and an appreciation of the distribution of power in society. As well, this new generation was exposed to and generally impressed by the new possibilities that existed for historical research in terms of utilizing many of the concepts and approaches of the social sciences. These factors are important in understanding the rapid growth of urban history since the new sub-field benefitted from the energy of a young and ambitious generation of scholars who saw the emerging field not only as an important addition to the broad study of Canadian history, but as an area of research that would clearly distinguish them from their older colleagues in history and would link them with new colleagues in the social sciences. Thus, from the outset, the study of the urban past was characterized by a fairly broad spectrum of disciplines.

Two other characteristics of the study of the urban past in this early phase are notable — its regional nature and the

emphasis on "social" topics. Regionally, the study of the evolution of urban Canada was at first heavily concentrated in Ontario with the University of Toronto and its graduate program clearly preeminent. J.M.S. Careless was especially important here, as he directed numerous M.A. and Ph.D. theses on urban topics throughout the decade. Also important, however, was the Canadian Social History Project (the "Hamilton Project") under the direction of Michael Katz.³¹ There was also encouraging work taking place in the West and in the Atlantic provinces. In Quebec, however, few urban historians had yet emerged since the province's scholars had other priorities. There was, nevertheless, a significant research project underway at the Université du Québec à Montréal (the "Montreal Project") devoted to the study of society in Montreal during the period 1815-1914.³² Equally noteworthy was the local nature of urban history, reflected in the high degree of correlation between where scholars were located and what places they were studying. With few exceptions, scholars were engaged in research on the communities in which they lived.³³

In terms of approach, the emphasis was clearly on what is generally described as "social" history, including topics ranging from systematic analyses of social structure to descriptions of institutions and groups. The two most important systematic projects were those on Hamilton and Montreal, both of which were exploring new methods for understanding the complexities of urban society. Beyond these sophisticated projects, the bulk of the research underway was diffuse in approach, although it could be argued that there was a slight concentration on such themes as ethnicity in the city, urban reform movements, and spatial growth. Chronologically, the vast majority of researchers were concentrating on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries; understandably so in a country where urbanization was a relatively recent phenomenon. The result, however, was a lack of serious examination of urban development in the pre-confederation era and in the period since 1920.

By 1980, several of these trends had changed and the thriving field of urban studies had matured to a considerable

18. For general discussions of this influence, see Bruce Stave, "Urban History in Canada: A Conversation with Alan F.J. Artibise," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. VIII (February 1980), pp. 110-143; and Stave, "A Conversation with Gilbert A. Stelter: Urban History in Canada," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 6 (1980), pp. 177-210.

19. The best single study of the work of these historians, and their influence, is Donald Davis, "The Metropolitan Thesis and Canadian Urban Historians," unpublished paper presented at the Annual Meeting of CHA, University of British Columbia, June 1983. Also important, even though he had few connections with Toronto, was the Ph.D. dissertation (Columbia, 1958) of Ruben Bellan, "The Development of Winnipeg as a Metropolitan Centre." See also the discussion of these historians in Carl Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History*.

20. Donald G. Creighton, *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1937).

21. *Canadian Historical Review*, Vol. 35 (1954), pp. 1-21.

22. Presidential Address to the Canadian Historical Association, *Historical Papers* (1968), pp. 1-10. The influence of Careless is also discussed in the Stave interviews and in the Davis paper.

23. Numerous publications appeared in the 1970s published by urban research centres and institutes; far too many to even begin to list them here.

24. A good example is N.H. Lithwick, *Urban Canada: Problems and Prospects* (Ottawa: Central Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 1970). Published in French as *Le Canada urbain: Ses problèmes et ses perspectives* (1970).

25. See the works cited below when these themes are discussed.

26. See the works cited in the section on the built environment.

27. See, as examples, the two volumes edited by James Lorimer and Evelyn Ross: *The City Book: The Planning and Politics of Canada's Cities* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1976) and *The Second City Book: Studies of Urban and Suburban Canada* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977). See also the numerous volumes published by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg, or the numerous works of the Institut national de la recherche scientifique (I.N.R.S.) — Urbanisation in Montreal, or the thematic issue on "Structures urbaines," published by *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. XIX (sept.-déc. 1978).

28. It is necessary to emphasize as well the importance of the urban theme in literature. See, for example, John Stevens, ed., *Themes in Canadian Literature: The Urban Experience* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975).

29. Stelter's paper was entitled "A Sense of Time and Place: The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past." It was first presented at the Canadian Historical Association's Annual Meeting in Kings-

ton in 1973, published in *HIS/SH* in 1974, and reprinted in *The Canadian City* (1977). Notably, Stelter's article was not the first; it was preceded by two other shorter examinations by Frederick H. Armstrong: "Urban History in Canada," *Urban History Group Newsletter*, No. 28 (1969), pp. 1-10; and "Urban History in Canada: Present State and Future Prospects," *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-72 (February 1972), pp. 11-14. The Urban History Group was an American organization that published a newsletter from 1954-1975, when the newsletter was superseded by *Urbanism-Past and Present*. See *Canada's Urban Past*, p. 278.

30. *UHR/RHU*, No. 3-75 (February 1976), pp. 27-36.

31. For a brief description of this project see *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 320-321.

32. *Ibid.*, pp. 321-322.

33. Stelter, "Current Research in Urban History," *UHR/RHU*, No. 3-75.

degré in a short time.³⁴ Regionally, the former concentration of urban historians in Ontario had diminished considerably as the study of the urban past grew rapidly in other areas. The most notable development in this regard was the rapid growth of research activity in Quebec, followed by notable but less dramatic increases in the West and in Atlantic Canada. Much of the new work was being undertaken in graduate programs in newer or smaller universities, such as the Université de Sherbrooke, the Université du Québec à Montréal, Guelph, Regina and Victoria. Unfortunately, however, there was still little evidence that many scholars were tackling topics that ranged beyond either their own community or their own region. Similarly, social themes remained important to most researchers, but other themes were beginning to be recognized and addressed. Among the newer topics was an increasing emphasis on the built environment, economic growth, and the study of government and politics. The tendency to examine the period from 1870 to 1920 was still evident, but there were signs that new work was being undertaken in both the pre-1870 and the post-1920 eras.

Perhaps the most important trend, however, was the interest of an increasing number of scholars in the concept of power and place; a development that relates both to the old concern in Canadian historiography with political economy and metropolis-hinterland relationships, and to the new concerns of Marxist and neo-Marxist historians of the late 1970s and early 1980s. This trend was recognized in a major conference held at the University of Guelph in August 1982.³⁵

c) Institutionalization of the Field

Urban history developed in a context of social transformation and intellectual stimulation that characterized Canadian society in the 1960s and 1970s. And the emergence of a new field of study was confirmed by the appearance of a certain number of new organizations and publications in the 1970s. The first manifestation was the formation in 1971 of the Urban History Group of the Canadian Historical Association. The members of this group were not numerous but they were determined to assert their position in the broader community of historians. Their presence

34. Stelter, "Current Research in Urban History," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. IX, No. 1 (June 1980), pp. 110-128.
35. Several of the papers presented at this conference will soon be published in a volume edited by Stelter and Artibise entitled *Power and Place*.
36. See the Statement of editorial policy ("politique de la revue") in *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XIII (June 1984). The *UHR/RHU* was published by the National Museum of Man in Ottawa from 1972 to 1983. It has been published since June 1983 by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg.
37. David B. Knight and John Clark, "Some Reflections on a Conference on the Historical Urbanization of North America," *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-73 (May 1973), pp. 10-14.

became clearly visible in 1972 when the first issue of the *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* appeared, published with the assistance of the History Division of the National Museum of Man. Although the *Review* began as a newsletter, it was gradually transformed into a scholarly, interdisciplinary journal serving a diversified audience. The *Urban History Review*, published three times per year, plays an animating role in the field, informing urban specialists "about current research on the development of Canadian cities and towns: what scholars are discovering; what topics they are researching; what topics need to be added to the research agenda; how research can best be carried out; and what sort of research materials are available to accomplish it." One of the key aims of the *Review* is to bring together the various disciplinary perspectives that exist in the broad field of urban studies.³⁶

In addition, during the 1970s and 1980s, urban history articles multiplied in other historical journals such as the *Canadian Historical Review*, the *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, and *Histoire sociale/Social History*.

Several conferences also helped identify urban history as a new field. The first was held at York University in 1973. Entitled the "Historical Urbanization in North America Conference," it brought together several American historians identified with the "New Urban History." Canadian contributions were few and consisted of exploratory papers.³⁷ The first major Canadian urban history conference was held at the University of Guelph in 1977 and it provided solid evidence of the rapid growth of the field. The conference provided an occasion for researchers to present their work and to report on projects in progress. From the perspective of the mid-1980s, there is little doubt but that this first Guelph conference was an important step in the evolution of the field.³⁸

A second conference was held at the University of Guelph in 1982. It attempted to bring together North-American scholars working on urban evolution and the papers presented by Canadian scholars indicated that they had matured rapidly.³⁹ The 1982 "North American Urban History Conference" also provided evidence that disciplines other than history were studying urban evolution. In this respect, the

38. David B. Knight and John H. Taylor, "Canada's Urban Past: A Report on the Canadian Urban History Conference," *UHR/RHU*, No. 2-77 (October 1977), pp. 72-86. Many of the papers presented at the conference were later published in *The Canadian City* (1977) and *The Usable Urban Past* (1979).
39. Daniel Schaffer, "A New Threshold for Urban History: Reflections on Canadian-American Urban Development at the Guelph Conference," *Planning History Bulletin*, Vol. 4 (1982), pp. 1-10. Two collections also grew out of this conference: *Shaping the Urban Landscape and Power and Place*.

"Canadian Urban Studies Conference" planned for the University of Winnipeg in 1985 will attempt to involve scholars and practitioners from a wide variety of fields.⁴⁰

In addition to these major conferences, urban historians have actively participated in many regional conferences and in the annual meetings of the Canadian Historical Association. They have also, especially since 1980, been very visible on the international scene; in Great Britain, the United States, France, Italy, and Germany.

Another tangible sign of the institutionalization of the field is the rapid growth of urban history courses in universities. Since 1974, the Université du Québec à Montréal has had an undergraduate urban history course and many other universities have developed similar courses. In short, in the space of a decade, urban history has become a structured and identifiable field.

d) The Urban Studies Environment

While urban history prospered and expanded throughout the 1970s and early 1980s, other disciplines also either turned to urban studies or increased their commitment to the field. In the universities, this trend was marked by the establishment, for example, of the Centre for Urban and Community Studies at the University of Toronto, the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg, the Centre for Human Settlements at the University of British Columbia, and the Institut national de la recherche Scientifique (I.N.R.S.) — Urbanisation in the University of Quebec system. These and several other new centres were signs of incremental growth since there were several other thriving institutes or research centres already in existence, including the Institute of Local Government at Queen's University. Activity in universities, however, was not restricted to research. It included the intro-

40. For further information on this conference write: Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, 515 Portage Avenue, Winnipeg, Manitoba, R3B 2E9.
41. For information on centres and universities, and for government departments and agencies, the best single source is *Directory of Canadian Urban Information Sources* (Ottawa, 1977). A more recent, but less comprehensive, guide is *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 273-322.
42. For a succinct account of the ministry, see E.J. Feldman and J. Milch, "Coordination or Control? The Life and Death of the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs," in L.D. Feldman, ed., *Politics and Government of Urban Canada* (Toronto: Methuen, 1981), pp. 246-264.
43. See, for example, *Liste de publications reliées aux 63 principales agglomérations du Québec* (Québec: Ministère des affaires municipales, 1975); A. Black and M. Powell, *Municipal Government and Finance: An Annotated Bibliography* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1971); *Urban and Regional References, 1945-1969* (Ottawa: CCURR, 1970); and *Urban Research and Information Catalogue* (Winnipeg: Manitoba Department of Urban Affairs, 1973).
44. For a complete listing of material in these series, see *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 313-315.
45. A partial listing would include the *Urban Reader* (1973), published by the City of Vancouver; *Urban Focus* (1972) published by the Insti-

duction or expansion of urban studies teaching programs and substantial growth in schools of urban and regional planning. By the end of the decade, the latter program had joined forces to create the Association of Schools of Regional and Urban Planning in Canadian Universities.⁴¹

In government, the importance of urban issues was also being recognized, both in the expansion or formation of distinct ministries of urban affairs at the provincial level, and with the establishment of a federal Ministry of Urban Affairs (in 1971).⁴² These government departments supported a good deal of research throughout the decade, adding to the well-established research programs of such existing bodies as the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) and the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research (CCURR). Much of the work supported or produced by government consisted of policy-oriented studies or research and reference tools.⁴³ Two of the more important projects undertaken by the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (MSUA) were the *Urban Profiles Series* and the *Urban Prospects Series*.⁴⁴

The urban studies environment was also bolstered by the appearance of a wide variety of new journals, newsletters, and magazines.⁴⁵ Another positive sign was the growth of urban organizations outside of government and the universities, including the Canadian Urban Transit Association (CUTA) and the Housing and Urban Development Association of Canada (HUDAC), to name but two.⁴⁶

The increasing concern with urban issues was also evident at the municipal level. The Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM) either undertook or sponsored urban research,⁴⁷ while individual communities gave evidence of a growing concern for urban research by organizing formal city archives.⁴⁸ Preservation of the urban heritage was another characteristic of the 1970s, as many communities

- tute of Local Government; *Urban Forum* (1975), published by the Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research; *Contact: Journal of Urban and Environmental Affairs* (1968), published by the Faculty of Environmental Studies at the University of Waterloo; and *City Magazine* (1974), a commercial venture undertaken by a publisher, James Lorimer and Co. By 1977, Micromedia Limited of Toronto began to produce a quarterly index of publications in the field *Urban Canada/Canada urbain*.
46. A fairly comprehensive listing can be found in the *Directory of Canadian Urban Information Sources*.
47. The FCM, formally called the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities, produces a newsletter, presents briefs to government and maintains a library and information centre, in addition to its research function.
48. The *Urban History Review* has published numerous articles dealing with urban archives and the preservation of the "urban heritage." See, for example, G. Noel, "L'archivistique et la gestion des documents dans les municipalités du Québec," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI (février 1983), pp. 15-24. Also noteworthy was the creation, in 1973, of the Toronto Area Archivists Group. For a fairly complete history of urban archives, and a guide of urban records in provincial and federal repositories, see *Canada's Urban Past*.

established committees and departments concerned with preservation and conservation and passed by-laws dealing with heritage buildings.⁴⁹

By the early 1980s, however, the attention devoted to urban issues at all levels of government and in the universities was beginning to wane, both as a result of the recession and because many of the earlier initiatives had not — in the minds of politicians at least — fulfilled their early promise. Thus the federal urban ministry was disbanded in 1979, several provincial urban ministries were cut back, urban

institutes floundered or closed their doors, and some journals ceased publication.⁵⁰ Fortunately, since urban historians had not explicitly tied their interests or support for their research to contemporary themes, these changes had a minimal impact on the field. Indeed, as urban historians entered the decade of the 1980s, they were confident that interest in the study of the urban past — by historians and those in other disciplines — was increasing. What has changed was that urban studies now had to share public and private resources and concerns with a variety of other emerging fields, including labour, native, women's and ethnic studies.

49. There are a great number of studies of the urban heritage movement. For one sample see the special issue on "Urban Heritage," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI (October 1980), pp. 3-86.

50. For example, the Bureau of Municipal Research was disbanded in 1983; the Institute of Local Government in 1984. As of 1984, the *Urban Reader*, the *Urban Focus*, and the *Urban Forum* had ceased publication. *City Magazine* ceased publication in 1979 but began again in 1983.

PART TWO: MAJOR HISTORIOGRAPHIC TRENDS

Urban history emerged in the 1970s as a specific field of study in the context of Canadian historiography. This section will examine the orientations which characterized urban history by examining the issue of the use of theory, the development of several key approaches and interpretations, and the impact of social history and its methods.

A. The Use of Theory

In the preceding section, it was noted that the social sciences had an impact on urban history, particularly in the 1970s. Nevertheless, there remains a sharp distinction between most historians and social scientists; a distinction centred on the use of theory. The social sciences place a great deal of emphasis on the necessity of organizing research within a theoretical framework. Historians are far more reluctant to take this approach, although they increasingly feel there is a need to address theoretical questions. In this sense, they have remained closer to British and French historians who have retained a healthy reserve when it comes to theory.⁵¹ Can these observations be applied to Canadian urban historians?

It must be noted, first of all, that Canadian historians have generally demonstrated a distinct lack of interest in theory and, not surprisingly, this is also true among urban historians. There is, for example, still no general work by any Canadian urban historian on theoretical issues. Yet this does not mean that theory has been ignored entirely.

Part of the problem in the use of theory is the definitional issue of just what the city is; a problem historians share with urban specialists in other countries. At a recent international conference on urban studies, many participants noted the lack of a comprehensive theory of urban development and indicated that, perhaps, "this lack of progress" in the field might suggest that "there was no such thing as an urban phenomenon" and that the city was merely a convenient "container within which the real processes of historical change could be studied."⁵² In Canada, few would share this pessimistic view of urban studies as a distinct sub-discipline, even while accepting the fact that, to date, there has been no dominant theoretical framework in Canadian urban studies.

The lack of a theoretical framework for urban studies is also evident in the treatment of the historical evolution of

51. See, for example, S.G. Checkland, "Urban History in the British Idiom," *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-78 (June 1978), pp. 57-77; Louis Bergeron and Marcel Roncayolo, «De la ville pré-industrielle à la ville industrielle: essai sur l'historiographie française», *Quaderni Storici*, Vol. XVII (1974), pp. 827-876.

52. Anthony R. Sutcliffe, "Urban History in the Eighties: Reflections on the H.J. Dyos Memorial Conference," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. X (February 1984), pp. 123-144.

urban communities. But while there are no general theories, there are two important developments that deserve to be discussed. The first is the fact that some historians have begun to make use of limited theoretical frameworks, even though this use of theory is rarely made explicit or systematic. Two important exceptions are the work of Michael Katz who utilizes theories of family development and industrialization to explain the evolution of a nineteenth century community, and the work of Paul-André Linteau who utilizes the concept of land capitalism to understand urban development.

Notwithstanding the general lack of theory, there is a growing recognition that some fundamental interpretive questions need to be asked. Questions are being formulated that will, it is hoped, lead to new plateaus in the development of the field. These questions include: What, if anything, do Canadian cities have in common? How important are regional distinctions? What is unique and what is commonplace in the history of individual cities? How does the Canadian urban experience differ from the American or European experience?⁵³

These questions have led to the second important development which is the growing awareness of the need to go beyond case studies and local history and to generate broader historical interpretations of Canadian urban development. To date, these approaches have not presented explicit theoretical frameworks, although there is no doubt that they are based on theoretical assumptions and that they provide a broad context for certain aspects of Canadian urban development. In any case, they provide useful tools for Canadian urban specialists.

B. General Approaches and Interpretations

Canadian historians have not yet accepted any one general approach to urban development. There are at least two reasons for this fact. The first is that so much basic research still needs to be done — despite the significant accomplishments of the past two decades — that it is difficult, if not impossible, to generalize. Secondly, the strength of regionalism in Canada and the continuing importance of Quebec nationalism has served to divert scholars from approaches that would explain the entire Canadian experience; there is

53. Gilbert Stelter is one urban historian who is especially concerned about developing a general explanation of Canadian urban development. See his article on "The City-Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

enough challenge in attempting to explain the many "varieties" of the Canadian experience.

At the same time, it is possible to identify a number of approaches that can be grouped under four headings: chronological typologies; metropolis-hinterland relationships; the urbanization process; and power relationships.

1. Chronological Frameworks and Typologies

Among urban historians there is a recognized need to develop an approach that will provide both a chronological categorization and a typology of cities. Attempts to develop such an approach are numerous; they are neither new nor unique to Canada.⁵⁴ Some Canadian urban historians, however, have used one or other of these approaches in examining Canadian urban development since they provide the possibility of integrating and understanding the relationships among a wide variety of phenomena. One of the most popular approaches has been the identification of several phases, beginning with the mercantile or colonial, followed by the commercial, and then the industrial era that lasts through to about 1920. Since 1920, Canadian cities have entered a modern phase that has variously been labelled the corporate or post-industrial era. These phases, it is important to note, cannot be applied rigorously to all urban places in all of Canada's regions. The point of this approach is, rather, to emphasize that certain periods in the urban evolution of Canada were characterized by a particular political and economic milieu and that the country's towns and cities, regardless of scale, function and regional location, were shaped to a great extent by that milieu.⁵⁵

A second general approach attempts to characterize cities by placing them within a typology of community types by function, including resource towns, manufacturing centres, resorts, provincial capitals, service centres, etc. In this approach, such variables as demography, patterns of land-use, and the distribution of political power are isolated as keys to understanding community types.⁵⁶ Another, more recent approach, deals with the physical city as a moulder of behaviour. In this context, the city is regarded as an inde-

pendent variable in some way influencing social organization and behaviour.⁵⁷

More promising, perhaps, than any of these attempts is the recent development of comparative urban studies in an international context. As Canadian scholars move beyond isolated case and thematic studies, they are increasingly attempting to place their work in a broad perspective. This is evident in the number of publications that place Canadian urban development in the context of North America,⁵⁸ the Americas,⁵⁹ and even the western world;⁶⁰ a phenomenon that is not restricted to urban studies.⁶¹ In one sense, the comparative approach skips a stage since Canadian scholars have not yet developed convincing generalizations for Canada. Yet is it a promising development since it compels scholars to pose new questions that begin with the recognition that the Canadian urban experience is part of a broader phenomenon that, ultimately, can only be fully understood in an international context.

2. Metropolis-Hinterland Relationships

Another group of approaches to Canadian urban development attempt to establish a hierarchy for communities. Such a hierarchy is based on the relation between metropolis and hinterland (or city and region); a major theme in Canadian history in general and urban history in particular. Indeed, the notion of a metropolis holding sway over a vast resource hinterland is germane to any examination of Canadian scholarship. Moreover, English-Canadian historians take some pride in the "metropolitan thesis" since they view it as an essentially "home-grown" approach and this is a rarity in a sub-discipline sometimes noted for its dependence on imported ideas.⁶² The popularity of metropolitanism among Canadian scholars dates back to the "Laurentian School" of Canadian historiography,⁶³ but despite these early origins it has long remained a standard approach, both among historians and other scholars.⁶⁴

Given the country's geography and historical development patterns, it is no surprise that this approach should be

54. There have been numerous such efforts in the United States by such historians as Lewis Mumford, Sam Bass Warner, Jr., and Theodore Hershberg. See the works cited in *ibid*.

55. *Ibid*.

56. For three examples see Stelter and Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*; Leroy O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada* (Ottawa: D.B.S., 1961), and J.W. Maxwell, J.A. Greig, and H.G. Meyer, "The Functional Structure of Canadian Cities: A Classification of Cities," *Geographical Bulletin*, Vol. 7, No. 2 (1965), pp. 79-104.

57. For a survey of this approach in Canadian urban studies see *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. xxv-xxvii.

58. See, for example, *Power and Place*.

59. Woodrow Borah, Jorge E. Hardoy, and Gilbert A. Stelter, eds., *Urbanization in the Americas: The Background in Comparative Perspective* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1981).

60. See the special issue of the *Journal of Urban History*, edited by Gilbert A. Stelter, on "Cities as Cultural Arenas" which examines the relationship between culture and urban form in eighteenth century America and Great Britain. The issue will be published in late 1984 or early 1985.

61. See, for example, Alistair Hennessy, "America and the Americas," *History Today*, Vol. 34 (February, 1984), pp. 18-30, in which the author calls for a break away from the "limited perspectives" of national history.

62. Stelter, "Sense of Time and Place," in *The Canadian City* (1977).

63. Berger, *The Writing of Canadian History*.

64. A recent example of the use of the approach by geographers is L.D. McCann, ed., *Heartland and Hinterland: A Geography of Canada* (Scarborough: Prentice-Hall, 1982).

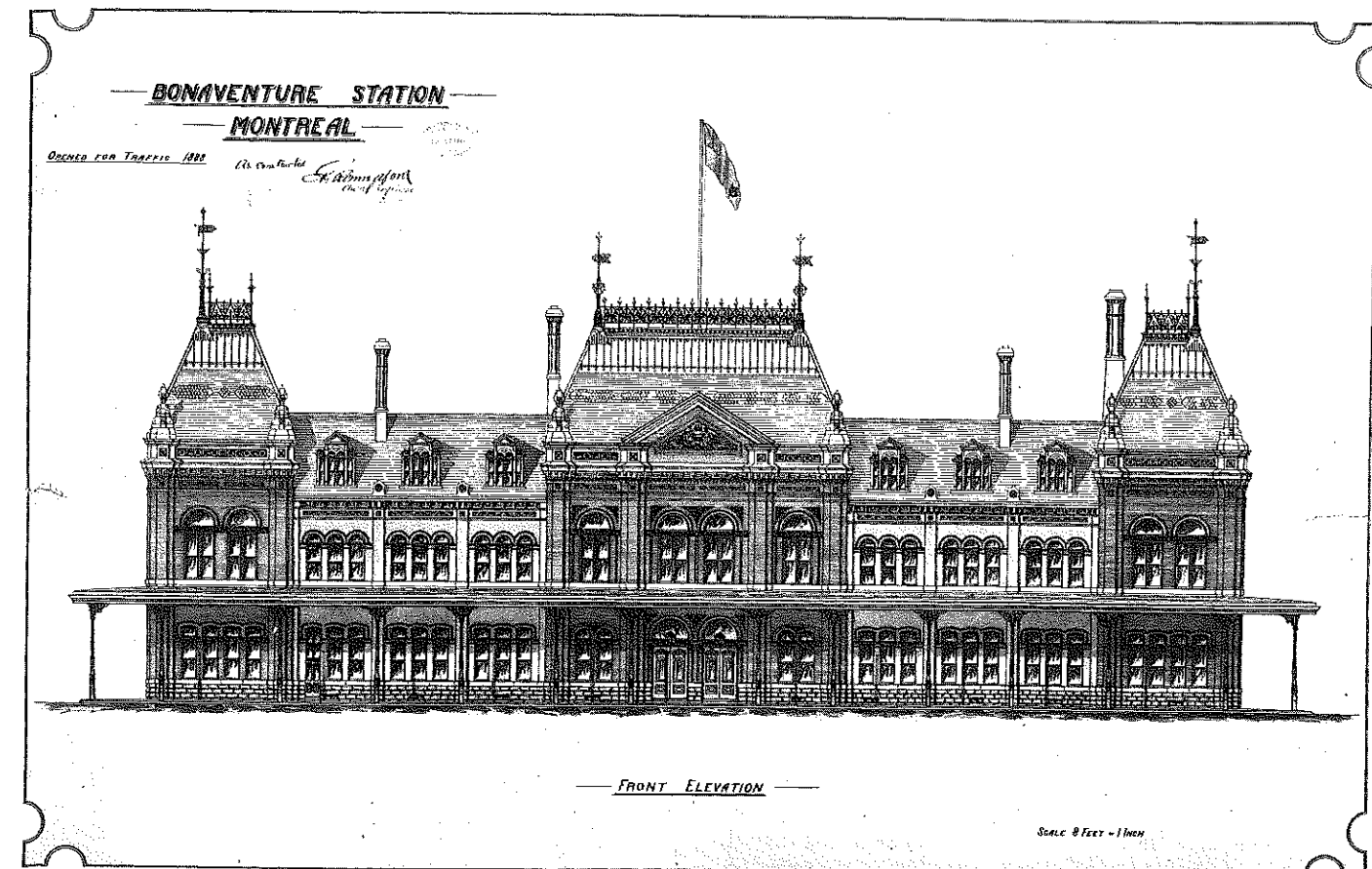


FIGURE 3. C.R. Hannaford. Bonaventure Station, Montreal, 1889.

SOURCE: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada. NMC 78903/72.

so enduringly popular. Canada took form as a country with large metropolitan communities on the one hand and immense, sparsely occupied expanses on the other hand; a metropolis-hinterland relation joined in the exploitation of staple natural resources. The nature of the lands and resources simply did not make for generally well diffused occupation but it did encourage sizeable population concentrations at major controlling points. Furthermore, compared with the United States, Canada produced far fewer middle-sized cities and towns and was significantly different in the degree to which metropolitan power could be exercised quite directly over great sweeps of countryside. Hence, "the influence of a limited number of major cities was strongly, plainly, manifested across the Canadian landscape."⁶⁵

In terms of urban studies, the metropolitan approach owes much to the work of J.M.S. Careless and his students.⁶⁶ To

65. J.M.S. Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," *UHR/RHU*, No. 3-78 (February 1979), pp. 99-118.

66. In addition to *ibid*, see: Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History," *CHR*, Vol. 35 (1954) pp. 1-21; Careless, "Aspects of Metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada," in Mason Wade, ed.,

generalize about this large and growing body of work is difficult, but several aspects do stand out. The metropolitan approach studies the complex of reciprocal relationships between the concentrated population centre (metropolis) and the extended community beyond it (hinterland). Put another way, the metropolitan approach is not primarily concerned with how the city affects those within it but with how the city affects and is affected by those outside it. It is, in short, "exo-urban" history as opposed to "intra-urban" history. Thus while the "intra-urban" scholar deals with land-use, occupational patterns, political organization, the provision of services, and so-on, the "exo-urban" scholar is concerned with how a metropolitan centre affects all these issues outside and beyond its borders, from the immediate suburban area to the farthest reaches of the hinterland. For example, studies are undertaken of the metropolitan influence of Montreal, Toronto or Winnipeg over the cities of Atlantic or

Regionalism in the Canadian Community, 1867-1967 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), pp. 117-129; Careless, "Some Aspects of Urbanization in Nineteenth Century Ontario," in F.H. Armstrong, et al, eds., *Aspects of Nineteenth Century Ontario* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1974); and Careless, "Aspects of Urban Life in the West" in *The Canadian City* (1977).

Western Canada. But the metropolitan approach is also concerned with the interplay between the concentrated and relatively complex communities called urban and relatively less complex communities found in the hinterland areas. How do hinterland resources, markets and potentialities for being serviced and directed influence the metropolitan centre itself?⁶⁷

In short, to attempt to briefly summarize a complex concept, the metropolitan approach suggests at least two things. First, the key role of the urban centre or metropolis in organizing successive and ever changing frontiers or hinterlands, from the earliest times to the present. And, second, the reciprocal or organic nature of the metropolis — hinterland (city-region) relationship. What is especially important about this is that an awareness of the approach prevents urban scholars from abstracting cities from the larger community.⁶⁸

For all its value as an approach, however, metropolitanism does have weaknesses. Indeed, it is not a *theory* that explains urban development but, rather, an *approach* to the study of Canada and its cities.⁶⁹ As well, there are many versions of the metropolitan "thesis" — as an excellent recent article by Donald Davis makes clear⁷⁰ — and one is left with the impression that metropolis-hinterland is, at best, a useful but limited generalization. As Davis points out, the problems with the thesis include the indeterminacy of metropolitan and hinterland status and the ascription of metropolitan ambitions to cities rather than to individuals. There is, as well, a third flaw in the metropolitan approach, at least as it has been utilized to date. Most scholars who have adopted the metropolitan approach have done so in the broad sense, concentrating on the one hand with major cities and on the other with the rural resource hinterland. As a consequence, there have been few studies of the relationship between metropolitan centres and their immediate hinterlands or suburbs; the rural or sub-urban areas. With the exception of a major work by Louise Dechêne,⁷¹ there have been no studies similar to the valuable urban history research completed in France in the well-known *Annales* tradition. In a related vein, urban scholars have, until recently, tended to ignore towns and villages in their concentration on the major centres. Fortunately, there is growing evidence that the study of towns has recently become one of the growth areas of urban studies.⁷²

67. See, for example, James W. Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System," in *The Usable Urban Past*.

68. For a discussion of this see Bruce M. Stave, "Urban History in Canada: A Conversation with Alan F.J. Artibise," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. VIII (February 1980), pp. 110-143.

69. *Ibid.*, p. 126. Careless himself recognized this as early as 1973. See "Metropolitan Reflections on Great Britain's Woodyard," *Acadiensis*, Vol. 3 (Autumn 1973), p. 109.

70. Donald F. Davis, "The 'Metropolitan Thesis' and Canadian Urban Historians," unpublished paper presented to Annual Meeting of the Canadian Historical Association, Vancouver, June 1983.

At this stage in the evolution of urban historical studies, it is clear that the metropolitan approach is being questioned and re-examined critically. And there is little doubt that much of the attention given the approach in the past had to do with urban history's close relationship to geography; a relationship that has lessened in recent years as urban historical studies matured. Moreover, both geographers and historians have begun to recognize the problems associated with a too exclusive emphasis on the spatial dimension when dealing with concepts such as centrality and peripherality, dependence and dominance. Urban scholars have, as a consequence, begun to pay more attention to power in a broader sense, including its close relationship to class, technology and political structures. Thus, while it is unlikely that the metropolitan approach will disappear, other approaches are becoming more prominent.

3. The Urbanization Process

Many studies of the evolution of urban Canada still adopt a limited perspective, concentrating on one theme or one city, without reference to more general phenomenon. There is, nevertheless, a larger context for understanding the urbanization process; a context that analyzes urban development as a combination of demographic, economic, social, political, and spatial variables.

This approach is apparent in a few general studies that place important Canadian cities in a broad context. These studies take into account the complexity of urban development and attempt to situate the local history within a larger context. This is the case for the two major research projects already mentioned which from the outset had very general goals; the Hamilton Project and the Montreal Project. But this preoccupation is also evident with other researchers who came to it gradually, after having completed a number of specialized monographs; scholars such as John Weaver, Gilbert Stelter and Jean-Pierre Kesteman.

There are, as well, a few tentative comparative studies.⁷³ In general, however, Canadian urban historians have opened the way because of their growing concern for the study of the process of urbanization in all its complexity and over long periods of time; a perspective that does not have an equivalent in other disciplines. Unfortunately, however, urban

71. Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVII^e siècle* (Paris: Plon, 1974).

72. See the articles on towns in Alan F.J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981); and Gerald Hodge and M.A. Qadeer, *Towns and Villages in Canada: The Importance of Being Unimportant* (Toronto: Butterworths, 1983).

73. See, for example, Gilbert A. Stelter, "The Political Economy of Early Canadian Urban Development," in *The Canadian City* (1984) and 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*.

studies is still far away from an integrated or common perception of the urbanization process and, of course, from a sophisticated theoretical or interpretive framework.

4. Power Relationships

Power relationships have a very important place in Canadian urban historiography. Perhaps this is the Canadian way of bringing together the older, traditional study of elites and the new approaches of social history. The political context of Canada for the past two decades also helps to explain such an orientation.

In most of the important studies, a key place is given to the study of dominant groups and urban elites. But, rather than looking at members of these groups as unique individuals, historians are increasingly considering them as social groups, with interests to promote and to defend. There is, in other words, a sensibility to the phenomenon of power and control in an urban society. The dominated classes are perceived in the context of the dominating classes.

In Canada, the dominating-dominated relationship has not only a social connotation but an ethnic connotation as well. Historians have become more and more conscious of this fact. They are now preoccupied with the significance of the presence of ethnic groups in cities, of their unequal relationships, and of the competition among ethnic groups. In Quebec, the emphasis is placed on French-English relationships, between a dominant minority and a dominated majority. In this respect, Montreal represents an exceptional case study of the dynamics of ethnic relationships. The questions historians ask, especially Quebec historians, reflect the trends of general historiography. But, seen in an urban context, the study of these relationships bring into focus specific connotations, demonstrated by attention being given to neighborhoods and to municipal administration as measures of the search for power.⁷⁴

It is noteworthy, however, that the ethnic dimension of power relationships is concerned as well with groups other than the French and English. Urban historians are vitally interested in the immigrants who have come in growing numbers since the end of the nineteenth century — the so-called ethnic minorities. They become interested in this theme in parallel with the rise of research on immigration and ethnic groups. This preoccupation was important in the political

74. See, for example, Bettina Bradbury, "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," *Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers* (1979), pp. 71-96; Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871: Aspects de l'urbanisation," Thèse 3e cycle, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales (Paris), 1977; Jean-Claude Robert, "Propriété foncière et société à Montréal: une hypothèse," *RHAF*, Vol. 28 (juin 1974), pp. 45-65; Marcel Bellavance et Jean-Daniel Gronoff, "Les structures de l'espace Montréalais à l'époque de la Confédération," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*,

context of the 1970s when governments, and especially the federal government, became increasingly interested in the new ethnic minorities. The federal government developed diverse programs to recognize what became called "multiculturalism." The federal initiatives were followed by many provinces; even Quebec, which had been reluctant for many years, created in the early 1980s a distinct ministry to deal with "cultural communities." In this regard, the Italians represent one of the principal minority groups in Canadian cities and a number of studies in recent years have been devoted to them. We will return to this question below but, for the moment, it is possible to note that a preoccupation with power relationships is very evident.⁷⁵

How can this interest in power by Canadian historians be explained? A partial explanation can be found in recent intellectual history. There is, first of all, the tradition of radical politics that has characterized Canada for more than half a century, especially among English Canadians. This tradition has found expression in agrarian and labour parties and movements, and most notably in the New Democratic Party (NDP). And within the NDP, there has been a radical minority known as the "Waffle Group" that sprang up in the 1960s and had a profound impact on a number of young intellectuals. There is also the influence of Marxism, nearly absent from the Canadian university tradition until the end of the 1960s but present throughout the 1970s. This sharp change was clearly evident in Quebec, caused in part by the dynamism of Marxist thought in France, but the phenomenon was also present in English Canada. Sociologists, political scientists and some economists have been — even more so than historians — attracted by Marxist historical analysis. They have often situated their work in a context of a long term study of society.

Among historians, the influence of Marxism is most often found in labour and economic history; urban history has not been influenced by Marxism to any great extent. It can be noted, however, that if Marxist historians are still few in number, the Marxist approach evident in the 1970s did affect the thought of many historians who, without entirely accepting Marxist analysis, have nevertheless been persuaded to give more attention to class relationships.

The political debates that have characterized Canadian society for the past two decades are certainly not foreign to this new preoccupation with power relationships. The French-English conflict which is more than two centuries old, and

Vol. 24 (décembre 1980), pp. 363-383; and Michel Gauvin, "The Municipal Reform Movement in Montreal, 1866-1914," M.A. Thesis (University of Ottawa, 1972).

75. See, for example, the many works of Robert Harney on the Italians of Toronto and Montreal and the review essay on part of his work: Bruno Ramirez, "Towards an Ethnic History of Toronto: A Review Essay," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XIII (June 1984), pp. 61-64. See also Bruno Ramirez, *The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourning to Settlement, 1911-1921* (Montréal: Les éditions de courant, 1980).

which has had varying degrees of intensity during this period, has taken another form with the rise of a more aggressive Quebec nationalism. The *indépendantistes* movement of the 1960s was especially important in bringing to the forefront the domination by the English which marked the evolution of the two groups since 1763.⁷⁶

The perception of domination is not limited to French Canadians. Western Canadians and Atlantic Canadians have also felt alienated and have defined their history as being characterized by central Canadian dominance. Their attempts to re-align power relationships in Canada were very evident in the 1970s. Among historians, this alienation gave birth to a historiography that provided different interpretations from the Toronto school of history.⁷⁷

Whether viewed from the West, Atlantic Canada, or Quebec, Toronto domination appeared very clear. In a continental context, however, it was relative. The American domination of Canada in economic and cultural terms provoked a revival of studies of American imperialism.⁷⁸

All these factors explain the particular orientation of Canadian urban history. As citizens and as scholars, the young historians who entered the field in the 1970s and who chose urban history as their subject were influenced by the political context and have been sensitive to the importance of power relationships.

C. The Impact of Social History and Its Methods

In Canada, as in other western countries, the field of history has been influenced to a great extent by social history and its methods. Those historians who are interested in urban studies have been undertaking studies of the socioeconomic consequences of industrialization, or urban development, and of municipal politics. They are interested in social structure and in class relations and in examining the complexities of urban society. This interest parallels labour and women's history, two relatively new fields of study that have also been strongly influenced by social history.

76. See, for example, Edmond Orband, ed., *La modernisation politique du Québec* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1976); Kenneth McRoberts and Dale Postgate, *Quebec: Social Change and Political Crisis* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1980). (also available in French).
77. See, for example, David J. Bercuson, ed., *Canada and the Burden of Unity* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977); J.F. Conway, *The West: The History of a Region in Confederation* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1983); and David G. Alexander, *Atlantic Canada and Confederation: Essays in Canadian Political Economy* (Toronto: UTP, 1983).
78. See, for example, Robert M. Laxer, ed., *Canada Ltd.: The Political Economy of Dependency* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); Wallace Clement, *Continental Corporate Power: Economic Linkages Between Canada and the United States* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977).
79. The "New Urban History" was a very important development in the United States. See, for example, S. Thernstrom and Richard Sen-

Generally, however, highly quantitative social history has had little impact on Canadian urban history. There are very few sophisticated quantitative studies such as those which characterize the "New Urban History" in the United States.⁷⁹ These methods and approaches have had only a limited influence. The major work in the so-called new urban history is by a historian of American origin, Michael Katz. His research on Hamilton represents an important but virtually isolated contribution to Canadian urban history.⁸⁰

This does not mean that Canadian historians have not been preoccupied with statistics. They have discovered and developed an interest in census manuscripts, assessment roles, and so on. They have utilized these sources since the early 1970s, but in a particular way. Their approach can be described as a mixture of quantitative data treated in a elementary, descriptive fashion and qualitative sources analyzed in a systematic fashion. They are attempting to present elements of vigorous measurement in an enlightened way with the aid of other types of evidence. The work of Jean-Claude Robert or of Bettina Bradbury on Montréal, of Jean-Pierre Kesteman on Sherbrooke, and of John Weaver on Hamilton, are good examples of this approach, although others are also adopting similar perspectives.⁸¹

The influence of social history, however, is not limited to quantitative methods. More important are the questions posed and the sources utilized by social historians. Some sources allow historians to study all elements of a society, not just the upper classes. In this sense, several studies by Canadian urban historians are similar to those completed in other countries, even if the approach is somewhat different. In general, Canadian urban historians utilize the methods of social history with a greater sensitivity to the specific urban context ("a sense of place") and with an appreciation of time ("a sense of time") than do their American colleagues.⁸²

In the mid-1980s, Canadian urban historians have reached a level of research that brings them to a growing awareness of theories, interpretations, and methods. This phenomenon becomes evident when specific themes are examined.

- nett, eds., *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1969).
80. Michael B. Katz, *The People of Hamilton, Canada West: Family and Class in a Mid-Nineteenth-Century City* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1975); Michael B. Katz, Michael J. Doucet, and Mark J. Stern, *The Social Organization of Early Industrial Capitalism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1982).
81. See, for example, Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871"; Bradbury, "Family Economy and Work"; Jean-Pierre Kesteman, «La condition urbaine vue sous l'angle de la conjoncture économique: Sherbrooke, 1875 à 1914», *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII (June 1983), pp. 11-28; John Weaver, "From Land Assembly to Social Maturity: The Suburban Life of Westdale (Hamilton), Ontario, 1911-1951," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.
82. Stelter, "Sense of Time and Place," in *The Canadian City* (1977).

PART THREE: MAJOR THEMES IN URBAN STUDIES

The work of Canadian urban historians can be organized into four categories: the urban system, organizing urban space, controlling the city, and population and society. In analyzing the writing that fits into each of these themes, this report will mention what is considered to be essential books or articles, but it is impossible to be exhaustive. The object is to present trends and currents and to identify the more important works, those that have had a significant impact on Canadian urban historiography.⁸³

A. The Urban System

The urban system is a key theme in Canadian urban history. It is necessary at the outset, however, to note that research on this theme is of differing importance in each of Canada's major regions: Atlantic Canada, Quebec, Ontario, the Prairies, and British Columbia. As well, research on the urban system is characterized by important contributions by geographers.⁸⁴ Historians have not been disinterested in this topic, however, and they have attempted to find historical frameworks to allow them to understand the evolution of the Canadian urban system.

1. The Colonial and Pre-Industrial Period

Canada had an urban beginning and historians have shown that New France was characterized by a strong urban presence.⁸⁵ The urban system of the Saint Lawrence Valley was formed very early, taking a form that has been maintained for several centuries. As Louis Trotier has noted, it was from the outset strongly centralized with the population concentrated along the river.⁸⁶ It was at first a rudimentary system dominated by Quebec City. Apart from Montreal and Quebec City, there were only a few trading posts and some minor villages. On the Atlantic coast, some fortified

towns (Louisbourg, then Halifax) were based on fishing and imperial defense.⁸⁷

It was not until the first half of the nineteenth-century that a more complex urban system developed. The system was still dominated by Quebec City and Montreal but the expansion of the rural population in the Saint Lawrence Valley and around the Great Lakes lead to the emergence of a system of villages and towns in both Quebec (Lower Canada) and Ontario (Upper Canada). In Quebec, evidence for this development is relatively recent and the work of geographers and historians has demonstrated the importance of a village hierarchy in the first decades of the nineteenth century.⁸⁸ Geographer Serge Courville has recently undertaken important research on the village structure of Quebec during the first half of the nineteenth century. He finds evidence of more numerous village-like clusterings than previous research has discovered.⁸⁹ In Ontario, the system was decentralized. Here there is at an early date numerous small service centres for the rural areas which will grow into small and medium sized cities.⁹⁰

Less well known are the relationships which unite all the small centres. A few studies by business historians have examined commercial and credit relationships with Montreal and Kingston, showing the evolution of a hierarchical and dependent system. Notably, the peak of the system in this era is in Great Britain. In this respect, Montreal, more than other centres, has been the subject of historical research because it is the head of a continental commercial system and it is at the centre of Canada's economic evolution. Its rivalry with New York for control over the commerce of the interior of North America was the subject of research by Donald Creighton several decades ago and many others have examined this topic.⁹¹ Research by Gerald Tulchinsky and Douglas McCalla have added to the understanding of the complexity of the urban system which linked Montreal to interior centres, and the dominant role played by the metropolis.⁹²

83. For an exhaustive bibliography, see *Canada's Urban Past* and the annual updates in the *UHR/RHU*.
84. See, for example, James W. Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System," in *The Usable Urban Past*.
85. Guy Fregault, *Canadian Society in the French Regime*, Historical Booklet #3, Canadian Historical Association (Ottawa, 1968). (also available in French).
86. Louis Trotier, "La genèse du réseau urbain du Québec," *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. IX (janvier-août 1968), pp. 23-32.
87. Stelter, "The Political Economy of Early Canadian Urban Development," in *The Canadian City* (1984).
88. N.H. Parker, "The Towns of Lower Canada in the 1830s," in R.P. Beckinsale and J.N. Houston, eds., *Urbanization and Its Problems* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1970), pp. 391-425; Trotier, "La genèse..."; Jean-Paul Martin, "Villes et régions du Québec au XIXe siècle: Approche géographique," Thèse de doctorat de 3e cycle, géographie, Université Louis Pasteur, Strasbourg, 1975; Paul-André Linteau,

- "Une structure urbaine centralisée dans le Bas-Canada, 1800-1850," Paper presented to Canadian Historical Association, June 1979.
89. Serge Courville, "Esquisse du développement villageois au Québec: le cas de l'aire seigneuriale entre 1760 et 1854," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, Vol. 28 (avril-septembre 1984), pp. 9-46.
90. Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South Central Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); Gilbert Stelter, "The Political Economy of Early Canadian Urban Development," in *The Canadian City* (1984).
91. Creighton, *The Empire of the St. Lawrence*; Fernand Ouellet, *Histoire économique et sociale du Bas-Canada* (Montréal: Fides, 1966); Albert Faucher, *Québec en Amérique au XIXe siècle* (Montréal: Fides, 1973).
92. Gerald Tulchinsky, *The River Barons: Montreal Businessmen and the Growth of Industry and Transportation, 1837-1853* (Toronto: UTP, 1977); Douglas McCalla, *The Upper Canada Trade, 1834-1872: A Study of the Buchanans' Business* (Toronto: UTP, 1979).

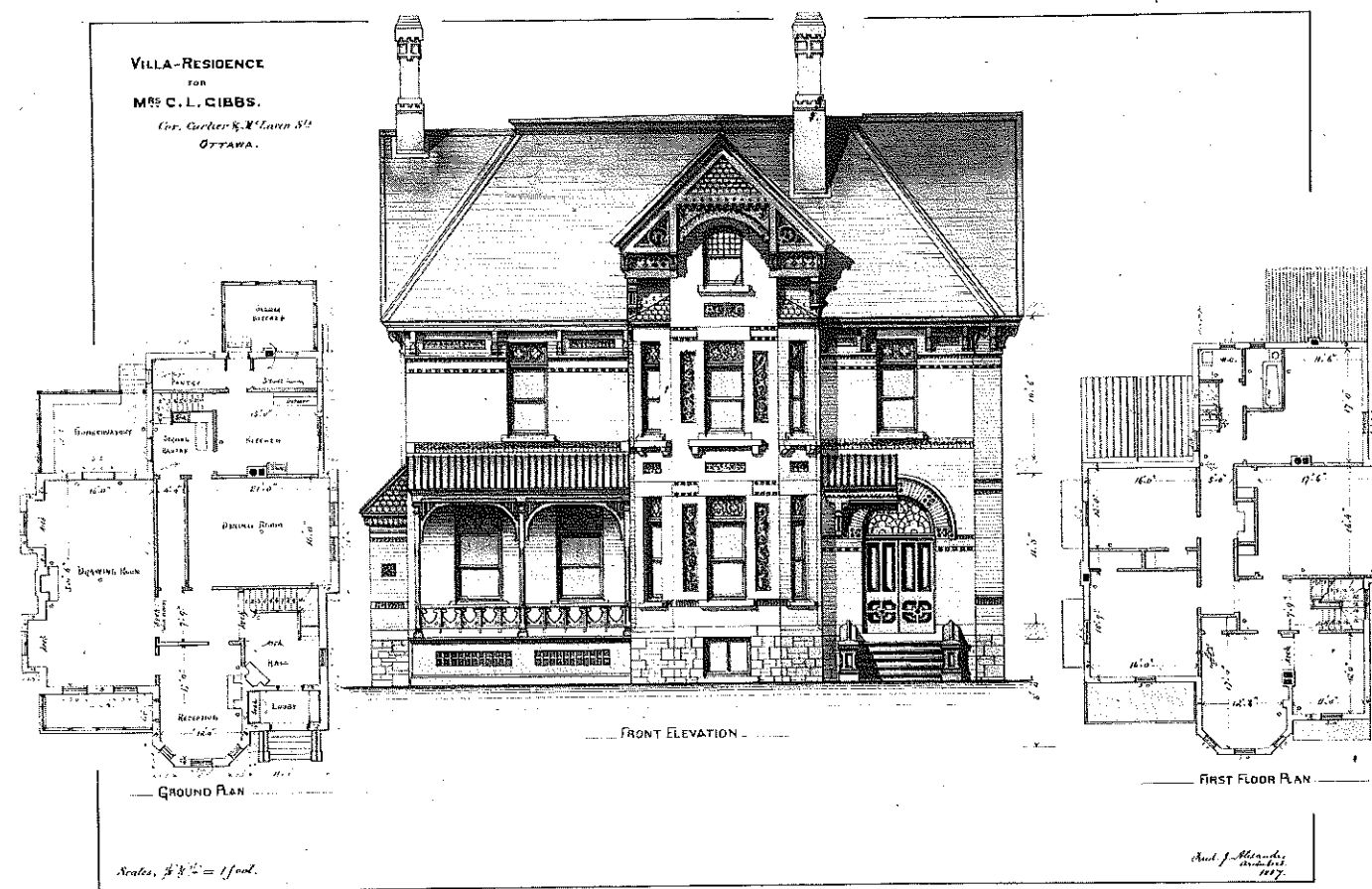


FIGURE 4. Fred J. Alexander. Villa — Residence for Mrs. C.L. Gibbs, corner of Carleton & McLaren Streets, Ottawa, 1887.

SOURCE: National Map Collection, Public Archives of Canada. NMC 77803/8.

2. The Post-1850 System

After 1850, the Canadian urban system underwent a significant transformation. A highly hierarchical system based on international commerce was succeeded by a more complex system characterized by industrialization and by the development of interior trading centres. The appearance of railways was also an important determinant in the structure of the system, altering the dependence on waterways that had prevailed until then. The first stage of industrialization, in the middle of the nineteenth century, led to a degree of decentralization with the multiplication of small industrial towns.⁹³ This was especially evident in southern Ontario but, at the same time, there was a developing hierarchy in the urban system since a few small service centres grew to the status of industrial towns.⁹⁴

93. Hodge and Qadeer, *Towns and Villages in Canada*.

94. Spelt, *Urban Development*; Dahms, "Some Quantitative Approaches to the Study of Central Places in the Guelph Area, 1851-1970," *UHR/RHU*, No. 2-75 (October 1975), pp. 9-30; and Dahms, "The Process of Urbanization in the Countryside: A Study of Huron and Bruce Counties, Ontario, 1891-1981," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII (February 1984), pp. 1-19.

95. Linteau, "Une structure urbaine centralisée."

The situation is somewhat different in Quebec even if several rural villages were also transformed into small industrial towns. But here, the structure inherited from the French regime remains important. Montreal, with initial advantages, particularly benefits from industrialization and centralization in its hinterland.⁹⁶

At the same time, the differences between Quebec and Ontario are very clear. In Ontario, the urban system is decentralized, characterized by the existence of numerous medium-sized towns, with industrial bases but with diversified functions. In Quebec, a more centralized system in which Montreal contains a large proportion of both the urban population and industrial production, limits the possibilities for growth by new centres and even retards the growth of the old metropolis, Quebec City.⁹⁶ The weakness of small Que-

96. Trotier, "La genèse..."; Trotier, "Caractères de l'organisation urbaine dans la province de Québec," *Revue de géographie de Montréal*, Vol. XVIII (1964), pp. 279-285; Jean-Paul Martin, "Le développement du réseau urbain québécois, 1830-1910," Paper presented at the Historical Urbanization in North America Conference, York University, 1973; Martin, "Villes et régions du Québec"; and Spelt, *Urban Development*.

bec towns is also explained by the fact that the agricultural base is less prosperous in Quebec than in Ontario, a thesis put forward by John McCallum.⁹⁷

The second phase of industrialization, at the beginning of the twentieth century is characterized by a movement of concentration among business enterprises, especially by financial institutions. These developments accentuate centralization in both Quebec and Ontario with the emergence of Toronto as the principal city of Ontario and with the growing dominance of Montreal in the province of Quebec. The central Canadian urban system thus has two focal points and is marked by competition between Montreal and Toronto. Montreal retains leadership during the first half of the twentieth century, but during the 1960s and 1970s Toronto becomes the major Canadian metropolitan centre.⁹⁸

This centralization is also accompanied, during the first decades of the twentieth century by a spatial expansion of the urban system into new resource regions in the north. But this urbanization is heavily dependent on the southern metropolitan centres.⁹⁹

The effects of centralization are especially evident in Atlantic Canada, as the recent studies by L.D. McCann have shown. This region had developed a relatively autonomous urban system in the nineteenth century, with both financial institutions and industry. By the early twentieth-century, however, Halifax lost control to Montreal, blocking further development of a regional system and placing the region in a dependent position.¹⁰⁰

A very different urban system developed in western Canada. It consisted of a number of service centres and commercial towns that grew together with the agricultural economy; with the exception of Winnipeg — which had a fairly complex industrial sector — the western urban system was not supported by industry. The emergence of several regional metropolitan centres was based on the skill of local residents in convincing investors and businessmen to locate in their town. In the Canadian west, cities sprang up on

97. John McCallum, *Unequal Beginnings: Agriculture and Economic Development in Quebec and Ontario* (Toronto: UTP, 1980); McCann, *Heartland and Hinterland*.

98. D.C. Masters, "Toronto vs. Montreal: The Struggle for Financial Hegemony," *CHR*, Vol. XXII (1941), pp. 133-146; Jean-Bernard Racine, "La genèse d'une métropole/The Genesis of a Metropolis," in J. Beauregard, ed., *Montréal: Guide d'excursions — Field Guide* (Montréal: Presses de l'Université de Montréal, 1972), pp. 107-115.

99. Paul-André Linteau, René Durocher, and Jean-Claude Robert, *Quebec: A History, 1867-1929* (Toronto: J. Lorimer, 1983), chapter 22 (available in French); Gilbert A. Stelter, "Community Development in Toronto's Commercial Empire: The Industrial Towns of the Nickel Belt, 1883-1931," *Laurentian University Review*, Vol. 6 (June 1974), pp. 3-53.

100. L.D. McCann, "Metropolitanism, Branch Firms, and Canadian Urban Development," Paper presented to Social Science History

railway lines, usually after urban promoters made concessions in order to obtain railway service. Railway politics were an essential element of the promotional strategy and had a good deal to do with determining the western urban hierarchy.¹⁰¹

While historians and geographers have been very interested in the development of the urban system in the provinces and the major regions, there are still few studies of sub-regions. There are in Canada numerous small regional metropolitan centres such as Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières, and Chicoutimi in Quebec, or Ottawa, London and Kitchener-Waterloo in Ontario, as well as many capitals and medium-sized cities in the other provinces. These cities have not been studied from the perspective of their relationship with their immediate hinterland or in terms of regional metropolitan hierarchies; little is known, especially in historical terms, of the relationships among small towns, villages and hamlets. The work of Spelt on southern Ontario, Dahms on the Guelph region, and Martin on Quebec in the nineteenth century are still exceptions.¹⁰² There are, however, numerous studies by geographers, economists and sociologists on the urban hierarchies of sub-regions in terms of recent developments, often studied in the context of planning.¹⁰³

3. Interpretative Perspectives

Several interpretive frameworks have been developed to help explain the Canadian urban system. The most notable is certainly metropolitanism, already outlined in an earlier section of this report. The study by Donald Davis indicates that this metropolitan interpretation is very fluid and that there are numerous variants.¹⁰⁴ In simple terms, it states that the metropolitan approach explains the development of the urban system and the exploitation of Canadian territory by the active and determining role of metropolitan centres. The best known version of metropolitanism, developed by Côté in 1954, is, according to Davis, an ecological approach. It not only states that metropolitan centres are

Association, Washington, 1983; McCann, *Heartland and Hinterland*.

101. Alan F.J. Artibise, *Prairie Urban Development, 1870-1930*, Historical Booklet #34, Canadian Historical Association (Ottawa, 1981), (also available in French). See also Artibise, "Patterns of Prairie Urban Development, 1870-1950," in D.J. Bercuson and P.A. Buckner, eds., *Eastern and Western Perspectives* (Toronto: UTP, 1981).

102. Spelt, *Urban Development*; Dahms, "Urbanization in the Countryside"; and Martin, "Villes et régions du Québec."

103. Guy Durand, "Le tissu urbain québécois, 1941-1961: Evolution des structures urbaines de l'industrie et des occupations," *Recherches sociographiques*, Vol. 18 (1977), pp. 133-157; Fernand Martin, *Analyse de la structure urbaine de la province de Québec dans les activités tertiaires* (Québec: Office de planification et de développement du Québec, 1970); Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System," in *The Usable Urban Past*.

104. Davis, "The Metropolitan Thesis and Canadian Urban Historians."

dominant poles directing the rest of the country, but it also sees them as centres of organization and integration.¹⁰⁵

The metropolitan approach has caused a reaction among historians identified with dependent regions. These historians have emphasized the other part of the relationship — such as in the case of numerous studies of Western entrepreneurs — attempting to highlight the domination by and exploitation of the hinterland for the benefit of the metropolis. The most recent version of metropolitanism, one which has been developed by geographers, is inspired by interpretations of development and under-development, and it interprets the evolution of the urban system in terms of dominating cities and dominated cities and the relationship between core and periphery.¹⁰⁶ For Davis, historians who utilize these models are still strongly influenced by geographers. In placing the emphasis on the phenomenon of inter-regional domination, they forget too easily social relationships and the phenomenon of inequality within metropolitan centres.¹⁰⁷

In other respects, one frequently finds in Canadian historiography the presentation of the evolution of the urban system in terms of major, defined stages of economic functions. This approach emphasizes the principal economic activity underlying the growth of cities; it poses some problems, because of differences in spatial growth patterns and in the chronology of the establishment of industry in various cities. Another problem is the fact that historians now realize the complexity of the urban economy, especially in the commercial phase. These are beginning to view the city more and more as a diversified setting, not only in terms of economics but also in terms of population concentration and the allocation of services of all kinds. In this situation, it is difficult to identify a unique determining cause of urban growth.

B. Organizing Urban Space

The organization of urban space is another major theme around which it is possible to examine research on the evolution of urban Canada. Within this major theme, there are at least three distinct topics. One topic is the economic control of space, particularly in terms of promotion and the imprint economics leaves on the urban landscape. A second topic is the social division and internal structure of urban

space. And, finally, a third topic is the built environment itself in terms of planning, housing and architecture.

1. Promotion and Economic Control

The control of urban space is a fundamental dimension of urban history. In addition to the land itself, this topic is concerned with explaining the patterns of development in cities. And, in explaining these patterns, urban scholars have taken two major approaches: boosterism and *capital foncier* (land capital).

Boosterism, a term with American origins,¹⁰⁸ has been developed as an explanatory approach in Canada by Alan F.J. Artibise who has applied it to the case of Winnipeg and to other prairie centres. Boosterism is best defined as an ideology of growth adopted by local elites to guide their promotional activity. Boosters, therefore, are promoters who attempt to advance both their personal interest and the growth of their community. They attempt to find a consensus among members of the elite on development projects or strategies designed to increase the growth rate of a particular town or city. Growth, whether in terms of population size, manufacturing output, or miles of streets constructed, is the issue of utmost importance.¹⁰⁹

A key issue for boosters is the ability of an elite group to impose their views on the wider community. Thus, Artibise has noted in his study of Winnipeg that the booster elite was able to assert control, and that growth oriented issues dominated municipal affairs to the detriment of the public welfare of the population and the general quality of life. In Winnipeg, which is a striking example of this phenomenon, this strategy of urban promotion played a fundamental role in the development of class conflict, particularly after the Great War.¹¹⁰

The booster approach stresses the importance of local factors and the key role of the dynamism of community leadership. While boosterism does recognize the importance of locational factors and macro-economic trends, it stresses the role of local promoters in reacting to these outside forces. There are, however, several versions of this booster interpretation that have transformed it into singing the praises of local entrepreneurs. Some articles which purport to follow

Shaping the Urban Landscape; and Artibise, "City-Building in the American West: From Boosterism to Corporatism," *Journal of Canadian Studies/Revue d'études canadiennes*, Vol. 17 (Fall 1982), pp. 35-44.

110. Alan F.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975) and Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated History* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977). The continuing influence of boosterism in Winnipeg politics has also been discussed by P.H. Wichern, "Historical Influences on Contemporary Local Politics: The Case of Winnipeg," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII (June 1983), pp. 39-44.

the booster model turn out to be Board of Trade style papers, praising the virtues of local entrepreneurship. These approaches are, in effect, a simplification of the model proposed by Artibise since they do not recognize the complexities of the local environment or the relationship between local leadership and outside forces.¹¹¹

The booster approach has been frequently utilized in western Canada where each major city has historians who have emphasized the actions of local elites. The interest of western Canadian historians in the booster approach is explained in part by the recent urbanization of the region. The fact that several cities experienced rapid growth around the turn of the century; the success or failure of promoters; the fact that American urban historians, in the post-war years had emphasized the role of developers and promoters in the development of the west and in urban growth: all these factors contributed to the application of the booster approach in western Canada.¹¹²

It can be noted, however, that promotional activity has also been examined in other parts of Canada, although not always with explicit reference to boosterism. Historian Ronald Rudin, for example, has examined the strategies of local elites in Quebec in four small urban centres. He explains the growth and stagnation of centres by the different promotional activities adopted by local elites.¹¹³ And in Ontario several scholars, most notably Elizabeth Bloomfield, have also written good studies on urban promotion.¹¹⁴

In Quebec, however, promotional activity has usually been examined from another viewpoint, that of the interests of major property owners who were attempting to increase property values by promotional activity. Historians Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert have utilized the concept of land capital. This approach was inspired by the work of French sociologists working on urban issues.¹¹⁵ It emphasizes the concentration of land capital and development capital in cities after 1945 and the impact this had on urban development. In his study of Maisonneuve, Linteau

has taken this idea and given it an historical dimension, distinguishing several characteristic stages. Land capital is defined as that portion of capital that is concerned with the organization and management of space. This concept is particularly useful in understanding the urbanization process in new areas in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The land capitalists often control the management of a defined section of a city or a suburb and develop private plans for urban land. This model emphasizes these interests and stresses that they are a fundamental aspect of urban development. It must be noted, however, that this approach does not explain all the dynamics of urbanization; it is only one aspect of a larger theme.¹¹⁶

The land capital approach has been utilized by Linteau and Robert in explaining the development of the Montreal region.¹¹⁷ It has also been utilized, with less concern for the historical perspective, by certain urban specialists examining recent urban development, in particular by Henry Aubin and James Lorimer.¹¹⁸

It should be noted, however, that work on the topic of economic control is fairly extensive and is not limited to these two approaches. In terms of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the work of Louise Dechêne on Montreal is most important. She notes that there was little competition for the control of space. Monopoly control of land was not evident and residents did not attempt to appropriate rural land for urban development. The growth of the city resulted in the creation of suburbs, populated by artisans. In the second half of the eighteenth century, as a result of fires, the more prosperous middle-class began to reorganize urban land, to define the city more clearly, and to push the other elements of the population out to the suburbs.¹¹⁹

By the beginning of the nineteenth century, the appropriation of urban land had become very clear, as indicated by the study of Montreal in 1825 by Linteau and Robert.¹²⁰ The first signs of promotional activity are apparent; those of

105. *Ibid.*

106. See, for example, McCann, *Heartland and Hinterland*.

107. Davis, "The Metropolitan Thesis and Canadian Urban Historians."

108. One early example of the use of boosterism is Daniel Boorstin, *The Americans: The National Experience* (New York: Random House, 1965). Artibise has also discussed boosterism in a North American context in "Exploring the North American West: A Comparative Urban Perspective," *American Review of Canadian Studies* Vol. XIV (Spring 1984), pp. 20-44.

109. Alan F.J. Artibise, "In Pursuit of Growth: Municipal Boosterism and Urban Development in the Canadian Prairie West, 1871-1913," in

111. Davis has suggested this in his article cited above. As an example, see A.B. Kilpatrick, "A Lesson in Boosterism: The Contest for the Alberta Provincial Capital, 1904-1906," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. VIII (February 1980), pp. 47-109.

112. For examples see several of the articles in Alan F.J. Artibise, ed., *Town and City: Aspects of Western Canadian Urban Development* (Regina: Canadian Plains Research Center, 1981).

113. R. Rudin, "The Development of Four Quebec Towns, 1840-1914: A Study of Urban and Economic Growth in Quebec," Ph.D. Thesis (York University, 1977); and "Boosting the French Canadian Town: Municipal Government and Urban Growth in Quebec, 1850-1900," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI (June 1982), pp. 1-10.

114. E. Bloomfield, "The City-Building Process in Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo, 1870-1930," Ph.D. Thesis (University of Guelph, 1981). See also her excellent article "Community, Ethos and Local Initiative in Urban Economic Growth: Review of a Theme in Canadian Urban History," *Urban History Yearbook 1983*, pp. 53-72.

115. See in particular Alain Lipietz, *Le tribut foncier urbain* (Paris: Maspéro, 1974) and Christian Topalov, *Les promoteurs immobiliers* (Paris: La Haye, Mouton, 1974).

116. Paul-André Linteau, *Maisonneuve, ou Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981).

117. Paul-André Linteau and Jean-Claude Robert, "Land Ownership and Society in Montreal: An Hypothesis," in *The Canadian City* (1977). First published in French in *RHAF* (1974).

118. Henry Aubin, *City For Sale: International Finance and Canadian Development* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1977). Also published in French as *Les vrais propriétaires de Montréal* (Montréal: L'Étincelle, 1977). See also James Lorimer, *The Developers* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1978). Also available in French as *Les Promoteurs* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981).

119. Louise Dechêne, *Habitants et marchands de Montréal au XVIIIe siècle* (Paris et Montréal: Plon, 1974) and "La croissance de Montréal au XVIIIe siècle," *RHAF*, Vol. 27 (septembre 1973), pp. 163-179.

120. Linteau and Robert, "Land Ownership and Society in Montreal."

the Viger family¹²¹ or those who undertake to develop the "New Town," a residential section destined to become the home of the British in the period 1840-1860.¹²² Until the nineteenth century, the control of land is still heavily influenced by the seigneurial system and the activity of seigneurs, such as the Saint Sulpician priests, recently studied by Brian Young.¹²³

More than any other city, Montreal has been the object of research in terms of land development in the early nineteenth century period. After 1850, however, there are — fortunately — more numerous works available.

Even if it is possible to detect the phenomenon of property concentration, it is still a relatively minor phenomenon in the development of the city of a whole. During the second half of the nineteenth-century development was characterized by a multitude of factors and by the absence of coordination among urban promoters and landowners, as indicated in the work of Doucet on Hamilton and Ganton on Toronto.¹²⁴ To the division of property should be added a very clear distinction between the promoters, who subdivided and sold the land, and the contractors, who built housing, as has been indicated in Montreal.¹²⁵ Housing construction was modified, however, with the emergence of building societies benefitting from government contracts and urban expansion generally.¹²⁶

The division is less clear, however, at the periphery of major cities, especially in the new suburban developments. These tracts of land were often created and controlled by a handful of promoters. The city of Maisonneuve, an important industrial suburb of Montreal at the turn of the century, is a striking example.¹²⁷ This type of intervention was replicated in other suburban Montreal municipalities.¹²⁸ As well, John Weaver has studied the activities of promoters in Westdale, a suburb of Hamilton. This project, designed for the

middle class, is typical of North American developments in the twentieth century.¹²⁹

In western Canada property promotion represents a fundamental dimension of urban expansion. During the decade preceding the Great War there was exceptional speculation fever in virtually all western cities. However, the promotion and control of land has still not been studied to any significant degree by historians. Rather, most efforts have concentrated on the broader phenomena of boosterism.¹³⁰

In central Canada, some work has been done on several small industrial cities. Historians have examined the strategies directed toward attracting industry and promoting economic growth. There are, for example, several good studies on Quebec¹³¹ and Ontario.¹³²

In northern Canada, the circumstances are very different. During the first decades of the twentieth century a group of towns based on the exploitation of natural resources were developed. They were generally the creation of companies that owned the property and completely controlled development. The history of these communities is quite significant in terms of the history of planning.¹³³

In the post-1945 era, a new type of promoter emerges. These are the large land development companies who control not only land but construction as well. These promoters are interested not only in residential developments but also in commercial development, and their impact is extremely significant in the 1960s. Land development companies have received a good deal of attention from historians, economists, political scientists, sociologists, and even journalists.¹³⁴

The appearance of these major land development companies represents a fundamental change. The companies not



FIGURE 5. A Changing Streetscape.

SOURCE: University of Winnipeg. Photo by Peter Tittenberger.

only represent local elites, firmly established in the community and personally profiting from urban growth, but national elites who are simultaneously involved in several cities. Canadian urban development is, in fact, open to not only Canadians but to foreign developers as well (although, it must be added, Canadian developers are involved in other countries also). These major developers have not eliminated local actors but, for many projects, they have succeeded in determining the method and shape of urban land development.¹³⁵ Especially important in this regard is the management of city centres which leads to the removal of the residential population and the influx of administrative and commercial activity, or the construction of major high-rise apartment complexes.¹³⁶

Recent urbanization has been studied by numerous scholars, especially those concerned with major cities. Urban institutes and the ministries of government have undertaken many of these studies. Unfortunately, from the perspective of evolution and perspective, few of these studies have a historical dimension.

135. Aubin, *City For Sale*; and David Walker, *The Great Winnipeg Dream: Redevelopment in Downtown Winnipeg* (Oakville: Mosaic Press, 1979). [The latter study is available from the Institute of Urban Studies.]

136. See Andrews, *et al*, *L'urbanisation*; and EZOP-Québec, *Une ville à vendre* (Québec, 1972).

137. See, for example, Robert E. Park, Ernest W. Burgess and Roderick D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925).

2. The Social Division of Space

If urban space is at stake in terms of economic control, it also has a profound social dimension. Space is structured, organized and functionally divided by the needs of the economy, but these processes are also influenced by social structures and demographic pressures.

The social division of urban space has been the object of numerous studies in the United States. These studies grow out of a relatively old tradition, marked by the noteworthy contribution of the Chicago School of the inter-war period,¹³⁷ and the tradition was revived in the 1970s and early 1980s. From the work of David Ward¹³⁸ to the recent studies by Theodore Hershberg and the Philadelphia Project,¹³⁹ the theme of the social division of space has given rise to a large number of publications, nourished by the rapid development of research on ethnic groups.

This is not the case in Canada where this theme has traditionally had a minor place in historiography. Certainly,

138. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants: A Geography of Change in Nineteenth Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971).

139. Theodore Hershberg, ed., *Philadelphia: Work, Space, Family and Group Experience in the Nineteenth Century. Essays Toward an Interdisciplinary History of the City* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).

121. Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871."

122. David Hanna, "The New Town of Montreal," M.A. Thesis (University of Toronto, 1977) and "Creation of an Early Victorian Suburb in Montreal," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. IX (October 1980), pp. 38-64.

123. Brian Young will publish a volume on the economic and land development activities of the Sulpicians in Montreal in the near future.

124. Michael Doucet, "Speculation and the Physical Development of Mid-Nineteenth Century Hamilton" and Isobel Ganton, "The Subdivision Process in Toronto, 1851-1883," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

125. Hanna, "New Town of Montreal"; and Paul-André Linteau, "Le contrôle de l'espace et du bâti dans la banlieue montréalaise, 1840-1914," forthcoming.

126. See, for example, Susan Buggy, "Building Halifax, 1841-1871," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

127. Linteau, *Maisonneuve*.

128. Walter van Nus, "The Role of Suburban Government in the City-Building Process: The Case of Notre-Dame-De-Grâces, Québec, 1876-1910," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XIII (October 1984).

129. John C. Weaver, "From Land Assembly to Social Maturity: The Suburban Life of Westdale (Hamilton), Ontario, 1911-1951," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*. See Also John Sewell, "The Sub-

urbs," Special Issue of *City Magazine*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (1977), pp. 19-55.

130. Artibise, "In Pursuit of Growth" and "From Boosterism to Corporatism"; M.L. Fovan, "Land Speculation and Urban Development in Calgary, 1884-1912," in A. W. Raspouch and H.C. Klassen, eds., *Frontier Calgary: Town, City and Region, 1875-1914* (Calgary: University of Calgary and McClelland and Stewart West, 1975), pp. 203-220; and H.J. Selwood and Evelyn Baril, "The Hudson's Bay Company and Prairie Town Development, 1870-1888," in Artibise, *Town and City*.

131. Rudin, "The Development of Quebec Towns" and "Boosting the French Canadian Town."

132. Bloomfield "City-Building Process," and E.J. Noble, "Entrepreneurship and Nineteenth Century Urban Growth: A Case Study of Orillia, Ontario, 1867-1898," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. IX (June 1980), pp. 64-89.

133. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise, "Canadian Resource Towns in Historical Perspective," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

134. Aubin, *City For Sale*; C. Andrew, S. Bordcleau, and A. Guimont, *L'urbanisation: une affaire* (Ottawa: Presses de l'Université d'Ottawa, 1981); and Lorimer, *The Developers*.

most historians recognize the existence of disparities inside the city when they study the social characteristics of neighborhoods but, for the most part, they do not attempt in-depth studies of this phenomenon.

There are, nevertheless, a certain number of studies to note, especially in Quebec. The number of Quebec studies is perhaps explained because the social differentiations in this province are closely associated with ethnic divisions and, for this reason, they have been apparent for some time. The recent work by historians have at the same time allowed some nuance to be added to the simplistic views that have often been proposed for the social division of space. They have highlighted the complexities of these phenomena and their evolution over time.

The study by John Hare on Québec City at the turn of the nineteenth century tackled the distribution of occupations by neighborhoods.¹⁴⁰ Montreal, however, has also received a good deal of attention. Louis Dechêne studied the beginnings of spatial segregation in the eighteenth century,¹⁴¹ and the Research Group on Montreal Society in the nineteenth century undertook to delimit contours several decades later.¹⁴² Marcel Bellavance and Jean-Daniel Gronoff utilized the techniques of computer assisted cartography to obtain a "snapshot" of the social and ethnic division of space in Montreal in 1871.¹⁴³ In addition, there is the excellent study by Jean-Pierre Kesteman on the evolution of the different socio-economic neighborhoods which formed the city of Sherbrooke.¹⁴⁴

Ontario historians have not shown an equivalent interest to the social division of space. A notable exception is the study by Ian Davey and Michael Doucet on the social geography of Hamilton. Published as an appendix to the Katz volume on Hamilton, this excellent study has not received

140. John Hare, "La population de la ville de Québec, 1795-1805," *HS/SH*, Vol. VII (May 1974), pp. 23-47.
141. Louis Dechêne, "La croissance de Montréal."
142. Linteau and Robert, "Land Ownership and Society in Montreal"; Robert, "Montreal, 1821-1871"; and Jean-Paul Bernard, Paul-André Linteau, and Jean-Claude Robert, "La structure professionnelle de Montréal en 1825," *RHAF*, Vol. 30 (décembre 1976), pp. 383-415.
143. Marcel Bellavance et Jean-Daniel Gronoff, "Les structures de l'espace montréalais à l'époque de la Confédération," *Cahiers de géographie du Québec*, Vol. 24 (décembre 1980), pp. 363-383.
144. Jean-Pierre Kesteman, "La condition urbaine vue sous l'angle de la conjoncture économique: Sherbrooke, 1875 à 1914," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII (June 1983), pp. 11-28.
145. Ian Davey and Michael Doucet, "The Social Geography of a Commercial City, c. 1853," in Katz, *The People of Hamilton*, pp. 319-342.
146. Debra L. Nash-Chambers, "Guelph, Canada West in 1861: Family Residence and Wealth in a Frontier Commercial City," M.A. Thesis (University of Guelph, 1981). Ms. Chambers is extending her study in terms of time for her Ph.D. thesis.
147. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*.

the attention it deserves.¹⁴⁶ Another, very recent study, examines this theme in terms of a case study of Guelph.¹⁴⁶ In western Canada, the Artibise study of Winnipeg marks a significant stage in pointing to the important social differences and the spatial segregation evident in this prairie metropolis. The strong ethnic dimension of these differences ties the experience of the Manitoba capital to that of Montreal.¹⁴⁷

Thus, Canadian historians have — with the exception of those in Quebec — devoted little energy to the study of this phenomenon. There is, in contrast, a long Canadian experience with sociological studies of this question in the tradition of the pioneering work of Ames and of Woodsworth.¹⁴⁸ The inquiries on urban poverty and its spatial distribution and on the inequality of access to different services are numerous in terms of the twentieth century and constitute basic material for urban social history.¹⁴⁹

3. The Built Environment: Planning, Housing and Architecture

Another fundamental dimension of urban space is the use of land and the built environment. The study of the city-building process — in which the focus is on the physical environment — is bringing geographers, architectural historians, and planners into the realm of urban history.¹⁵⁰ This aspect of urban studies is probably the element that most clearly differentiates cities from rural areas, and how the built environment simultaneously reflects and shapes behaviour is an important key to understanding urban life and urbanization.

In terms of the study of city-building in the pre-Confederation period, most of the important work has been completed by historians, with the recent articles of Gilbert

148. Herbert Brown Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal*. 1897. Reprint (Toronto: UTP, 1972); James Shaver Woodsworth, *My Neighbor. A Study of City Conditions. A Plea for Social Service*. 1911. Reprint (Toronto: UTP, 1972).
149. Many of these studies are discussed in the section on "Public Health and Welfare" later in this report.
150. For general reviews of this particular aspect of urban history see James Lemon, "Study of the Urban Past: Approaches by Geographers," *CHA, Historical Papers* (1973), pp. 179-190; John Marshall, "Geography's Contribution to the Historical Study of Urban Canada," *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-73 (May 1973), pp. 15-24; Harold Kalman, "Recent Literature on the History of Canadian Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 31 (1972), pp. 312-323; D. Holdsworth, "Built Forms and Social Realities: A Review Essay of Recent Work on Heritage Structures," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. IX (October 1980), pp. 123-138; and J.C. Weaver, "Living In and Building Up The Canadian City: A Review of Studies on the Urban Past," *Plan Canada*, Vol. 15 (1975), pp. 111-117. See also H. Libick, *A Bibliography of Canadian Theses and Dissertations in Urban, Regional and Environmental Planning, 1974-1979* (Montreal, 1980).

A. Stelter in the forefront.¹⁵¹ Most research on the built environment completed to date has concentrated on the history of city planning, especially during the urban reform movement of the early twentieth century when planning became professionalized and subject to the influences of the city beautiful and garden city movements.¹⁵² A key figure in understanding planning in the early 1900s is Thomas Adams, the garden city advocate who came to Canada in 1914 as the town planning advisor to the federal government's Commission of Conservation and stayed until 1930. He galvanized the infant Canadian planning movement and gave it a comprehensive legislative, institutional and professional structure.¹⁵³ Other scholars examining planning have tended to discuss planning in a provincial or local context, and to try to measure the influence of American and British planning on Canada. There are few good studies of the broader influence of European Planning.¹⁵⁴

The relationship between planners' ideals and the practical realities of city-building is also being studied by a number of scholars, usually in the context of a single community.¹⁵⁵ To date, there have been very few published works that attempt to compare communities in different regions or across international boundaries. The notable exception to this generalization is the extensive literature on resource (or "new") towns. In terms of successive planning styles, several historians and geographers have suggested that resource town planning is a useful, accurate reflection of planning styles in vogue at the time when specific resource towns were built, particularly because the company that controlled a resource town could put its ideas into effect directly without worrying

151. See Gilbert A. Stelter, "Urban Planning and Development in Upper Canada Before 1850," in W. Borah, J.E. Hardoy, and G.A. Stelter, eds., *Urbanization in the Americas: The Background in Comparative Perspective* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1981); and Stelter, "The Political Economy of the City-Building Process: Early Canadian Urban Development," in D. Fraser and A. Sutcliffe, eds., *The Pursuit of Urban History* (London: Edward Arnold, 1983). See also the articles by Stelter, La France and Ruddell, Doucet and Buggie in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*; and J. David Wood, "Grand Designs on the Fringes of Empire: New Towns for British North America," *Canadian Geographer*, Vol. 26 (1982), pp. 243-255.
152. See especially the articles by Walter van Nus in *The Canadian City* (1977) and in *The Usable Urban Past*; and T. Gunton, "The Ideas and Policies of the Canadian Planning Profession, 1909-1931," in *The Usable Urban Past*. Gunton's article is based on a larger study, a Ph.D. dissertation completed for the School of Urban and Regional Planning, University of British Columbia, while van Nus's work is also based on a Ph.D. dissertation on professional planners completed at the University of Toronto.
153. The best single study of Adams is Michael Simpson, "Thomas Adams in Canada, 1914-1930," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI, No. 2 (October 1982), pp. 1-16. For a comprehensive review of the Commission of Conservation see Artibise and Stelter, "Conservation Planning and Urban Planning: The Canadian Commission of Conservation in Historical Perspective," in R. Kain, ed., *Planning for Conservation: An International Perspective* (London: Mansell, 1981).
154. See for example the study of Alberta by P.J. Smith in *The Usable Urban Past*. There are, fortunately, several specialized bibliographies

about existing infrastructures. The literature on this aspect of Canadian urban development is plentiful and has recently been reviewed in a special issue of *Plan Canada*.¹⁵⁶

The evolution of the built environment logically commences with land development, understood as a process related to topography, transportation, entrepreneurial activity and government planning and control. Detailed work on this topic has been confirmed to several excellent case studies of Montreal, Toronto and Hamilton.¹⁵⁷ The one general study of the development industry, for all its value to historians, is largely concerned with contemporary trends.¹⁵⁸

The patterns of land development partly determined the types of residences constructed on the land, but local traditions — a preference for single-detached houses in Western and Atlantic Canada versus the row house in Montreal, for example, — had an effect on what was built. Yet, surprisingly, the study of housing in an historical context is a neglected topic in urban studies research. Considering that the vast majority of a city's buildings are residential, it is unfortunate to find only a few studies of housing. Apart from one general survey,¹⁵⁹ the student of housing will be hard pressed to discover historical research since it exists only in a variety of scattered materials and in unpublished theses.¹⁶⁰ Research that has been published has indicated that the quality and amount of housing available to individuals depended on their income for the provision of housing was usually left to market forces. The "invisible" hand of the competitive market rarely allowed lower income groups the privilege of decent accommodation and public concern sel-

- on planning cited in *Canada's Urban Past*. See especially those compiled by J.D. Hulchanski.
- The journal *Plan Canada* (1959-), published by the Canadian Institute of Planners, is also a good source of material. It should be noted, however, that few articles pay much attention to the evolution of trends over time; most are contemporary studies.
- The best single volume account of planning in a broad context is Anthony Sutcliffe, *Towards the Planned City* (Oxford, 1981) which compares the development of urban planning in Germany, Britain, the United States and France between 1780-1914. It does not, unfortunately, discuss Canada. Stelter's work does, however, contain a sense of the European influence.
155. See, for example, the articles by Bloomfield, Linteau, Weaver and MacDonald in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.
156. See *Plan Canada*, Vol. 18 (1978).
157. On Montreal, see the article by Linteau and Robert in *The Canadian City* (1977), and the book by Linteau, *Maison neuve, ou Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville* (Montreal: Boréal Express, 1981). On Toronto, see the articles by Ganton in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*. On Hamilton, see Michael Doucet, "Building the Victorian City: The Process of Land Development in Hamilton, 1847-1881," Ph.D. Thesis (University of Toronto, 1977).
158. James Lorimer, *The Developers* (Toronto: James Lorimer and Co., 1978).
159. John Saywell, *Housing Canadians: Essays on the History of Residential Construction in Canada* (Ottawa: Economic Council of Canada, 1975).
160. Most of this material is cited in *Canada's Urban Past*.

dom led to ameliorative action by government.¹⁶¹ More than any other aspect of city-building, housing remained almost totally in the hands of the private sector. Perhaps because of this aspect, economists have studied housing, contributing to the sparse literature with analyses of residential construction trends, but most of their work has been at the aggregate level and not concerned with society and space.¹⁶² In addition, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics published a brief history of housing as early as 1941, along with data on construction and home ownership trends in Canadian cities during the early twentieth century.¹⁶³ But research on real estate, housing, and society in specific locales remains spotty.¹⁶⁴ Another crucial area that remains largely unexplored is suburban development although, fortunately, there are several recent studies that do address this topic.¹⁶⁵ In short, while certain aspects of the built environment are and continue to be well-studied, housing and suburbanization require a good deal more attention.

Stimulated in part by the growth of an urban heritage conservation and preservation movement that developed in the 1960s, the interest in urban architectural history has grown rapidly in the past two decades. While Alan Gowans' 1966 study, *Building Canada*,¹⁶⁶ is still the major work in the field, there are numerous older and newer efforts that allow one to gain an appreciation of past urban environments. Illustrated volumes testifying to the energy and interest of amateurs and professionals are numerous.¹⁶⁷ And while few of these studies will stand as definitive works on how communities were constructed, they do provide fragments of information about architects, building practices, and the use of buildings. Unfortunately, they have a common shortcoming of concentrating only on structures that have survived or on examples of architectural idioms tastefully selected. "Aesthetic values that make good art history

do not produce comprehensive source books for understanding the total urban environment."¹⁶⁸ Still, while much of the current literature continues to emphasize the homes and business establishments of the elites to the exclusion of that portion of the cityscape not produced by well-known architects, a small but growing body of literature does relate architecture to function and its community setting.¹⁶⁹ The works of Marsan and Lambert are the best examples of an attempt to integrate architectural history in the context of social and urban history.¹⁷⁰

C. Controlling the City

The third major theme is that of controlling the city, both in an administrative and political sense. Four aspects are discussed here: federal-provincial-municipal relationships; urban politics and governance; urban reform movements; and administration and municipal services.

1. Federal-Provincial-Municipal Relationships

Control of urban communities — in a constitutional and legal sense — resides in the provinces. Municipalities are creations of the provinces and thus subordinate to them. Such a subordinate position is in sharp contrast to the division of powers between the federal government and the provinces, a relationship that in many areas gives provinces exclusive jurisdiction over certain matters. Municipalities, however, are entirely controlled by the provinces, and Canada's cities, towns, and villages have no formal constitutional rights. This fact contributes to wide variety of municipal-provincial relationships, with variations from province to province. Moreover, even within provinces all municipalities are not dealt with consistently; many major metropolitan centres

have special relationships in the form of distinct city charters, while most smaller urban centres are generally controlled by one piece of municipal legislation. Adding to this complexity is the federal role in urban affairs which has fluctuated greatly, especially since World War II when Ottawa created two federal agencies to help formulate and implement urban policy — the Central (now Canada) Mortgage and Housing Corporation (1946) and the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs (created in 1971 and disbanded in 1979).

Unfortunately, there is a paucity of historical material on this very important subject; certainly there has been little research interest in this area by urban historians, while political scientists and scholars of government have tended to emphasize federal-provincial relationships and contemporary issues. When they do turn to study either provincial-municipal relations or municipal government itself, they usually concentrate on the post-1945 period.¹⁷¹ There are several studies of municipal government (all of which include some mention of federal-provincial-municipal relationships), but because of a lack of detailed historical research, most of these surveys fail to provide convincing chronological or thematic frameworks, or compelling hypotheses.¹⁷²

In terms of more specific themes, the role of the federal government in urban affairs has received some attention, both in a general sense¹⁷³ and in terms of specific topics such as studies of the role of CMHC, the Ministry of State for Urban Affairs, and the question of municipal finance and the provincial/federal relationship.¹⁷⁴ Municipal-provincial relations have received a good deal more attention and there are numerous studies of the policies and problems of this

evolving relationship. While the bulk of the material deals with Ontario, there are good studies of provincial-municipal relationships in Quebec, the Maritimes and Alberta.¹⁷⁵ As well, there is at least one overview of this important theme.¹⁷⁶

There are two other aspects of intergovernmental relationships that have received attention by urban scholars. Studies of regional and/or metropolitan government — focusing on a tier of government that comes between municipalities and provinces — have been quite numerous since metropolitan forms of government are common.¹⁷⁷ A related theme is the evolution of municipal autonomy in Canada; a topic that has received attention from urban historians. Most notable here is the pioneering work of John H. Taylor who has provided a chronology of municipal autonomy from the origins of municipal government in the early 1800s through to the present.¹⁷⁸ It is clear from these and related studies that municipal autonomy has passed through three periods. In an initial phase, that stretches from the 1850s through to 1920, municipalities gradually acquired power. In a second phase, provincial and federal governments began to limit municipal autonomy until, by the 1970s, municipalities had little room to manoeuvre. Much of the local authority was by this time either dispersed among an array of independent boards, commissions and agencies, or powers formerly exercised by municipalities were taken over or assumed by senior levels of government. In either case, municipalities were increasingly incapable of vigorous policy making. Since then, however, there has been an attempt to regain power from senior governments as municipalities seek legislative and fiscal autonomy, free from the possibility of arbitrary alteration or recall.¹⁷⁹ To date, this effort has garnered little success. One reason, perhaps, for this failure is that intergovernmental

161. See, for example, Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977). (Also available in French).

162. K.A.H. Buckley, "Urban Building and Real Estate Fluctuations in Canada," *CJEPS*, Vol. 18 (1952), pp. 41-66; and James Pickett, "Residential Capital Formation in Canada, 1871-1921," *CJEPS*, Vol. 29 (1963), pp. 40-58.

163. D.B.S., *Census Monograph No. 8: Housing in Canada* (Ottawa, 1941).

164. For one recent example, see B. Melnyk, "Residential Buildings in Calgary, 1905-1914," *Prairie Forum*, Vol. 8 (Spring 1983), pp. 43-70.

165. See, for example, John Sewell, "The Suburbs," Special Issue of *City Magazine*, Vol. 2, No. 6 (1977), pp. 19-55 and John Weaver's article in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*. Also of note is the recent interest in the development industry. See James Lorimer, *The Developers and Peter Spurr, Land and Urban Development* (Toronto: Lorimer, 1976). A classic, older study on suburbia is H. Carver, *Cities in the Suburbs* (Toronto: UTP, 1962).

166. *Building Canada: An Architectural History of Canadian Life* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1966). See also his three part series in the *Urban History Review* entitled "Canada's Urban History in Architecture" published in 1982-83.

167. See, for example, Eric Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City* (Toronto: UTP, 1964); William Denby, *Lost Toronto* (Toronto: Oxford University

Press, 1978); Martin Segger and Douglas Franklin, *Victoria: A Primer for Regional History in Architecture, 1843-1929* (Watkins Glen, NY: American Life Foundation and Study Institute, 1979); and L. D'Iberville-Moreau, *Lost Montreal* (Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975). For an extensive list of these works, see Susan Buggey, "Researching Canadian Buildings: Some Historical Sources," *HS/SH* Vol. 10 (November 1977), pp. 409-426.

168. John Weaver, "Urban Canada: Recent Historical Writing," *Queen's Quarterly*, Vol. 86 (1979), p. 85.

169. Perhaps the most effective guide to the built form of the past is the series of walking tours published by local chapters of Institutes of Architects, such as *Exploring Montreal* (1975), *Exploring Halifax* (1976) and *Exploring Toronto* (1977). See also Harold Kalman's volumes, *Exploring Vancouver* (1978) and *Exploring Ottawa* (1982). There are, as well, hundreds of other interesting guides to Canadian cities.

170. In another genre, the best work on individual cities is found in Quebec and especially on Montreal. See, for example, Jean-Claude Marsan's, *Montréal en évolution: Historique du développement de l'architecture et de l'environnement Montréalais* (Montréal: Fides, 1974), and articles by Phyllis Lambert on Montreal in *Artscanada* (1975-76) and the *Canadian Collector* (1978). For Québec City, see L. Noppen, et al., *Québec: Trois siècles d'architecture* (Québec: Libre Expression, 1979).

171. Two useful bibliographic surveys are D.J.H. Higgins, "Municipal Politics and Government: Development of the Field in Canadian Political Science," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 22(1979), pp. 380-401; and Fillippo Sabetti, "Reflections on Canadian Urban Governance Research," *Comparative Urban Research*, Vol. VIII, No. 2(1981), pp. 87-112.

172. The major works are: K.G. Crawford, *Canadian Municipal Government* (Toronto: UTP, 1954); D.J.H. Higgins, *Urban Canada: Its Government and Politics* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1977); T.J. Plunkett, *Urban Canada and Its Government: A Study of Municipal Organization* (Toronto: Macmillan 1968); and C.R. Tindal and S.N. Tindal, *Local Government in Canada* (Toronto: McGraw-Hill, Ryerson, 1979). An important collection is L.D. Feldman, ed., *Politics and Government of Urban Canada*, 4th edition (Toronto: Methuen, 1981).

173. D.G. Bettison, *The Politics of Canadian Urban Development* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1975); K.D. Cameron, "Municipal Government in the Intergovernmental Maze," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 23 (1980), pp. 195-317; Hans Blumenfeld, "The Role of the Federal Government in Urban Affairs," *Journal of Liberal Thought*, Vol. 11 (1966), pp. 35-44; and D.C. Rowat, "The Problem of Federal-Urban Relations in Canada," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 3 (1975), pp. 214-224. There are, as well, a number of valuable reports and studies published by the Canadian Federation of Mayors and Municipalities (CFMM), which became the Federation of Canadian Municipalities (FCM).

174. See for example, Robert Andras, "Formation of the Federal Ministry of Urban Affairs," *Community Planning Review*, Vol. 21 (1971),

pp. 4-11; C.A. Curtis and C.H. Chatters, "Municipal Finance and Provincial-Federal Relations," *C.J.E.P.S.*, Vol. 17 (1951), pp. 297-306; and Humphrey Carver, *Compassionate Landscape* (Toronto: UTP, 1975). The latter, an autobiography, contains a great deal of excellent information on CMHC.

175. See, for example, A.D. O'Brien, "Father Knows Best: A Look at the Provincial-Municipal Relationship in Ontario," in D.C. MacDonald, ed., *Government and Politics of Ontario* (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975); G. Frasca, "The Urban Policies of the Parti Québécois," *City Magazine*, Vol. 3 (July 1978), pp. 21-31; J.R. Cameron, *Provincial-Municipal Relations in the Maritime Provinces* (Fredericton: Maritime Union Study, 1970); D.G. Bettison, et al., *Urban Affairs in Alberta* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 1975).

176. David Siegel, "Provincial-Municipal Relations in Canada: An Overview," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 23 (1980), pp. 281-317.

177. See C.R. Tindal, *Structural Changes in Local Government: Government for Urban Regions* (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration, 1977), and the *Urban Profiles* series cited in *Canada's Urban Past*, p. 313.

178. John H. Taylor, "Urban Autonomy in Canada: Its Evolution and Decline," in *The Canadian City* (1984).

179. See, for example, E. McWhinney, et al., *Municipal Government in a New Canadian Federal System: Report of the Resource Task Force on Constitutional Reform* (Ottawa: Federation of Canadian Municipalities, 1980); and a second report by the same name published in 1982.

tal relationships are so poorly understood and, as this overview suggests, the theme has great potential to increase the understanding of the political-economy of urban development. Certainly, studies of the federal-provincial-municipal relationship promises to be one of the most exciting fields of research in the coming years.

2. Urban Politics and Governance

With the exception of a recent collection of essays on city politics in Canada,¹⁸⁰ there has been little comparative work completed and one is left with the impression that no two cities are constituted and governed in the same way. Fortunately, this problem has begun to be addressed by urban political scientists and, while no general framework has yet been developed, concern has been expressed and research goals established. The task of specifying what is distinctive and what is commonplace about Canadian politics at the municipal level, in relation to political practice at other levels and in other countries, is now well underway. Progress should be fairly rapid since scholars have a large body of case work to build on, ranging from the study of political institutions and structures to studies of mayors, local elections, and city councils.¹⁸¹ At this stage, it is possible to outline some conclusions in two areas where research is relatively advanced. One important set of conclusions is that the tradition of non-partisanship is widespread and that local politics is almost exclusively about boosterism, land development, and the enhancement of property.¹⁸² Another set of conclusions relate to the characteristics of municipal politicians and city councils, an area of research where political scientists have done pioneering work.¹⁸³

3. Urban Reform Movements

While few urban historians have studied urban government generally, there has been a great deal of excellent

180. W. Magnusson and A. Sancton, eds., *City Politics in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1983).

181. See, for example, the articles in *The Usable Urban Past* and in Feldman, *Politics and Government in Urban Canada*. For case studies on large cities, see the works cited in Magnusson and Sancton, *City Politics in Canada*, and for studies of both large and small communities see the material cited in *Canada's Urban Past*.

182. Andrew Sancton, "Canadian City Politics in Comparative Perspective," in Magnusson and Sancton, *City Politics in Canada*.

183. For examples, see: G. Bourassa, "The Political Elite of Montreal: From Aristocracy to Democracy," in Feldman and Goldrick, *Politics and Government of Urban Canada* (the article was first published in French in *CJEPS*; Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History*; Paul Tennant, "Vancouver City Politics, 1929-1982," *BC Studies*, Vol. XLVI (Summer 1980), pp. 3-27; Robert A.J. McDonald, "The Business Elite and Municipal Politics in Vancouver," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI (February 1983), pp. 1-15; and, of course, the essays in Magnusson and Sancton, *City Politics in Canada*.

research completed on specific urban reform movements, especially during the periods between 1880 and 1920, and 1960 and 1980. In terms of the first reform movement, research has shown that Canadian municipalities were experimenting with American models of centralized decision-making and scientific management such as boards of control, city managers, and commission government. The reformers have received a sympathetic treatment from some scholars who argue that the middle-class leaders of the movement were agents of social change.¹⁸⁴ Most urban historians, however, argue that the reformers' rhetoric hide their desire to make cities less democratic by expanding bureaucracies and increasing regulatory powers at the expense of newcomers and the poor and the working class. In other words, the urban reform movement was in most instances a case of class struggle. Montreal, however, is a special case because a strong ethnic component was evident. Here, the reform movement rests essentially on an Anglo-Saxon elite who fight a populist-type political machine dominated by Francophones and with the support of some Anglo-Saxon politicians, principally Irish. By the Great War, Francophones assumed control of both city council and the mayoralty and have retained that control ever since.¹⁸⁵ One of the traditions stemming from this period was the notion of non-partisanship in municipal politics, a topic that has received a good deal of attention.¹⁸⁶ As well, research has shown how the structural changes and the ideologies of this era have continued to influence local government. Approaches designed for another age have remained significant factors affecting present-day decision-making.¹⁸⁷

By the late 1960s, a second reform movement was underway in Canada's cities. In some respects, this reform movement was a reaction against the very successes won by the earlier generation of reformers and was thus very different in nature. It can be differentiated by several characteristics. Demands for urban reform had now shifted from the mere provision of public services to demands for greater citizen participation in the governance of local affairs,

184. See especially the article by Paul Rutherford in *The Canadian City* (1977), and Paul F.W. Rutherford, ed., *Saving the Canadian City: The First Phase, 1880-1920: An Anthology of Articles on Urban Reform* (Toronto: UTP, 1974).

185. These conclusions are based on a large body of work. Two important articles are by John Weaver in *The Canadian City* (1977) and by James Anderson in *The Usable Urban Past*. On Montreal, see G. Bourassa, "The Political Elite of Montreal: From Aristocracy to Democracy," *CJEPS*, Vol. 31 (1965), pp. 35-51. See also the special issue of the *Urban History Review* published in 1976 on "Approaches to the History of Urban Reform."

186. The best single study is J.K. Masson and J.D. Anderson, *Emerging Party Politics in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972).

187. See the articles by J.E. Rea and Alan F.J. Artibise in *The Usable Urban Past*, and the essays by P.H. Wichern in the *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-78 (June, 1978), and Vol. XII (June, 1983).



FIGURE 6. An Inner City Neighbourhood.

SOURCE: University of Winnipeg. Photo by Peter Tittenberger.

and for quality of public performance, including fiscal and linguistic equity.¹⁸⁸ And although reformers expressed similar goals, they tended to give different and alternative operational meaning to those goals. While government bureaucrats and politicians generally used the expression "citizen participation" to mean improved communications or dialogue, citizens' groups used the same expression to demand not simply that they be heard but that they have a real share of power. In the name of quality of performance, provincial government officials pressed for metropolitan government or the upward redistribution of political authority; municipal officials pressed to gain or retain control over essential public services; and citizens' groups pressed for neighborhood democracy or the downward redistribution of political authority.¹⁸⁹ It is noteworthy, however, that not all citizens' groups had the same orientation. On the one hand, there were groups that grew up among working-class people from low-income, "slum" areas of cities like Toronto and Montreal who sought fundamental changes in the status quo. On the other hand, middle and upper-class citizen groups often sought to protect the status quo, either by fighting freeway construction or zoning changes. In either case, the modern reform movement had all the characteristics asso-

188. See, for example, James Lorimer's article in A.M. Linden, ed., *Living in the Seventies* (Toronto: Peter Martin, 1970); Andrew Sancton, "The Impact of Language Differences on Metropolitan Reform in Montreal," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 22 (1979), pp. 227-250; and the work of J. Leveillé cited in *Canada's Urban Past*. See also the essays on public involvement in M.O. Dickerson, et al., *Problems of Change in Urban Government* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press, 1980).

189. A classic study among the many produced is G. Fraser, *Fighting Back: Urban Renewal in Trefann Court* (Toronto: Hakkert, 1972). For numerous other references see Sabetti article in *Comparative Urban Research*, cited above in note #171.

ciated with the issue of collective goods and political change in post-industrial societies. There have been few general assessments of this reform movement, but one recent study does state that citizens' groups have had a major impact.¹⁹⁰ In terms of controlling the city, however, this research has had the result of emphasizing that the study of local government necessarily includes provincial and federal relationships and other "external" factors, such as national and international economic trends, rates of immigration, and so on.

4. Administration and Municipal Services

Research on urban reform has led to new attention being focused on the structure and administration of urban government and on the provision of urban services. In terms of structure, a good deal of attention has been focused on Winnipeg where, in 1971, the provincial government consolidated or amalgamated fourteen separate municipal governments into a single "Unicity"; the most centralized metropolitan government in North America. At the same time, community committees and resident advisory groups for each of the disbanded municipalities were designed as part of Unicity to

190. James Lorimer, "Citizens and the Corporate Development of the Contemporary Canadian City," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII, No. 1 (June 1981), pp. 3-10. See also P. Hamel, et al., *Les mobilisations populaires urbaines* (Montréal: Nouvelle Optique, 1982); P. Hamel, *Logement et luttes urbaines à Montréal, 1963-1976* (Montréal: Faculté de l'aménagement, Université de Montréal, 1983); and John Sewell, *Up Against City Hall* (Toronto: James, Lewis and Samuel, 1972). There are numerous other items that could be cited, but a fairly complete listing can be found in Sabetti, "Reflections on Canadian Urban Governance."

encourage citizen participation.¹⁹¹ The two-tier metropolitan structure of Toronto has generated considerable interest, not only because it was the first such reform in Canada (in 1953), but also because it served as a model for subsequent regional governments.¹⁹² Other scholars have examined the extension of regional government throughout Ontario.¹⁹³ The Quebec experience, and especially the case of the Montreal Urban Community has received particular attention from francophone scholars,¹⁹⁴ while profiles of structural change in other parts of Canada may be found in several scholarly works as well as in innumerable provincial government reports.¹⁹⁵ Fortunately, as well, an excellent text on the management and administration of urban government exists,¹⁹⁶ although there is certainly a need for more research in this aspect of administrative history.

The activity of urban government in terms of coping with the problems of growth (and more recently decline) by providing and maintaining a variety of services has not received the attention it deserves from urban historians. One area that has received attention is the municipal ownership of utilities. Research on this topic indicates that local pressure for public ownership often came from local businessmen who stood to benefit from more efficient water, power, and transportation systems.¹⁹⁷ Where municipal ownership was delayed, as was the case with Toronto waterworks, arguments were based on practical not ideological grounds.¹⁹⁸ Generally, however, the role of the municipality was one of facilitating private development — of providing a framework within which private investment decisions could be made.¹⁹⁹ A recent study, comparing municipal regulations

for four Montreal suburbs, also indicates that regulations are used to create distinct and different environments.²⁰⁰

There has also been a good deal of research published on internal transportation services, both by street railway buffs and by professional historians concerned about the role streetcars and other systems played in encouraging decentralization in cities.²⁰¹ In terms of general, comparative studies (or even in terms of case studies), research on municipal services lags far behind what has been completed in the United States.²⁰² General studies are still rare,²⁰³ but a recent survey of urban growth and local services in Ontario may suggest that this is an emerging area of interest for urban historians.²⁰⁴ Another encouraging sign is the work on urban service delivery systems that has been completed by analysts associated with some form of Marxian political economy. These writers have coined the phrase "property industry" to suggest that much of the performance of urban delivery systems is at the service of land developers.²⁰⁵ In short, the theme of control looms large in this emerging topic since the nature and variety of municipal services obviously plays a key role both in facilitating the nature and rate of urban growth and in determining how benefits are distributed within the urban community.²⁰⁶

D. Population and Society

In this broad theme will be found several topics relating to the urban population in a broad sense, social relationships,

and conditions of living. The studies discussed under this heading are numerous. But even if the phenomenon studied occur in an urban setting, the authors do not always situate their research in the context of urban history, preferring to define it as social, labour, or family history. In this sense it is history that takes place *in* the city, in contrast to history *of* the city. Nevertheless, a good deal of this material does contribute to an understanding of urban phenomena and urban society.

1. Demography

The urban demographic studies that have a historical perspective are still rare and, when they are available, they are usually case studies. The only general study is the one by Stone published in the context of an analysis of the 1961 Census.²⁰⁷ It examined the evolution of certain demographic characteristics for Canada, the provinces and major metropolitan areas. Of particular importance is Stone's analysis of the composition of the population in terms of age and sex and the role of migration.

In other respects, many historians have integrated population analysis within their studies of particular cities. They have been interested in population growth and decline, in birth and death statistics, and in migration. However, these studies are carried out as historians rather than as demographers, and historians attempt to sort out the socio-economic dimensions of demographic phenomena. Most of this kind of work deals with the nineteenth century, notably that by Michael Katz on Hamilton and Jean-Claude Robert on Montreal.²⁰⁸ It should be noted that demographic analysis for the nineteenth century poses certain problems, especially those related to the uneven quality of sources. Some historians have begun to provide critiques of the sources themselves and this effort needs to be pursued.

It is also necessary to mention certain social history studies completed on cities at the turn of the twentieth century that contain a demographic component. These studies are concerned with immigration and high urban mortality rates, especially infant mortality rates.²⁰⁹ Historians are especially attracted to the socio-economic and cultural aspects of these phenomena, rather than to strictly demographic dimensions.

Finally, the recent past has been studied a great deal by sociologists and demographers. These studies are certainly more detailed than their predecessors; however, they are less well placed in an evolutionary context.²¹⁰ Clearly, then, Canadian scholars concerned with urban population must still develop a better integration between the perspectives of demographers and historians.

2. Social Class

Studies published in the 1970s have contributed to a better understanding of the urban social structure of the past. Evidence for this fact can be found in the numerous studies of labour historians. At the outset of the decade, interest was usually and principally focused on the labour movement but, in subsequent years, researchers turned more and more to examinations of the working class and working class culture. These studies did not place the urban milieu in the forefront of their concerns; nevertheless, they did provide a significant indirect contribution to urban history.²¹¹

This broadening of perspective is obvious in the numerous published studies on the conditions of the working class in major cities. Terry Copp's study of Montreal marks a new stage in historiography and it has been followed by other works in the same genre.²¹²

The preoccupation with class relations is also evident among historians who study the upper classes, even if their approach usually follows elite models inspired by American sociology. Studies of businessmen and the upper and middle classes denotes a growing preoccupation with the question of power and with the issue of networks.²¹³

Since 1970, certain urban historians have indicated that they wish to go further — to attempt to reconstruct the past urban social structure in all its complexity. The trick is to utilize the data on individual occupations in the census and then to add information on property and wealth. But it is necessary to observe that success has been marginal and has not met expectations. The methodological problems — such as the quality of the data or the difficulties posed by the classification and the hierarchy of occupations — have not

191. While there are numerous studies of Uricity, the most comprehensive account is M. Brownstone and T.J. Plunkett, *Metropolitan Winnipeg: Politics and Reform of Local Government* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983).

192. H. Kaplan, *The Regional City: Politics and Planning in Metropolitan Areas* (Toronto: CBC, 1965), and Albert Rose, *Governing Metropolitan Toronto: A Social and Political Analysis, 1953-1971* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972).

193. See articles in D.C. Rowat, ed., *Government and Politics of Ontario*, 2nd edition (Scarborough: Butterworths, 1980).

194. J. Benjamin, *La communauté urbaine de Montréal: une réforme ratée* (Montréal: L'Aurore, 1975); G. Divay, *La décentralisation en pratique: quelques expériences montréalaises, 1970-1977* (Montréal: INRS-Urbanisation, 1979); and J. Meynaud and J. Léveillé, *Quelques expériences de fusion municipale au Québec* (Montréal: Nouvelles frontières 1972).

195. See, for example, D. Auld, "Graham Commission (Nova Scotia)," *Canadian Public Policy*, Vol. 1 (Summer 1975), pp. 343-401; Paul Tennant and David Zirnhelt, "Metropolitan Government in Vancouver," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 16 (Spring 1973), pp. 124-138, and several essays in Feldman, *Politics and Government of Urban Canada*.

196. T.J. Plunkett and G.M. Betts, *The Management of Canadian Urban Government* (Kingston: Institute of Local Government, Queen's University, 1978).

197. See, for example, the articles by Artibise and Johnson in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

198. E. Jones and D. McCalla, "Toronto Waterworks, 1840-1877," *CHR*, Vol. 60 (1979), pp. 300-323.

199. See, for example, Peter Moore, "Public Services and Residential Development in a Toronto Neighborhood, 1880-1915," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 9 (August 1983), pp. 445-471.

200. Jean-Pierre Collin, "La cité sur mesure: Spécialisation sociale de l'espace et autonomie municipale dans la banlieue montréalaise, 1875-1920," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XIII (June 1984), pp. 19-34.

201. Examples include: F.F. Angus and R.J. Sandusky, *Loyalist City Streetcars: The Story of Street Railway Transit in Saint John* (Toronto: Railfare/Fitzhenry and Whiteside, 1979); R. Binns, *Montreal's Electric Streetcars* (Montreal: Railfare, 1973); C. Hatcher, *Stampede City Streetcars: The Story of Calgary's Municipal Railway* (Montreal: Railfare, 1975); H.J. Selwood, "Urban Development and the Streetcar: The Case of Winnipeg," *UHR/RHU*, No. 3-77 (February 1978), pp. 34-41; M. Doucet, "Mass Transit and the Development of Toronto in the Early Twentieth Century," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*.

202. See, for example, the major bibliography on *Public Works History in the United States* (Nashville: American Association for State and Local History, 1982), compiled by S. Hoy and M. Robinson.

203. One notable work is J.F. Due, *The Intercity Electric Railway Industry in Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1966).

204. Elizabeth and Gerald Bloomfield, *Urban Growth and Local Services: The Development of Ontario Municipalities to 1981* (Guelph: Dept. of Geography, University of Guelph, 1983).

205. Most of this work appeared in *City Magazine*, published between 1974 and 1979.

206. See, for example, C. Lco, *The Politics of Urban Development: Canadian Urban Expressway Disputes* (Toronto: Institute of Public Administration, 1977).

207. L.O. Stone, *Urban Development in Canada: An Introduction to Demographic Aspects* (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1967).

208. Katz, *The People of Hamilton*; Jean-Claude Robert, "Montréal, 1821-1871."

209. Terry Copp, *The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929*. (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974) [available in French as *Class ouvrière et pauvreté* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1978)]; and Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*.

210. A large number of studies on the demographic social characteristics of urban populations have been produced in the course of the past two decades by research institutes and governmental agencies and ministries. See, for example, *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 14-19.

211. Bryan D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1979), is a notable example. See also the articles published in *Lahour/Le Travailleur* [as of 1984, *Labour/Le Travail*] and the review article by B. Blackmar, "Class Conflict in Canadian Cities," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 10 (February 1984), pp. 211-221.

212. Copp, *Anatomy of Poverty*; Jean De Bonville, *Jean-Baptiste Gagnepetit: Les travailleurs montréalais à la fin du XIXe siècle* (Montreal: L'Aurore, 1975); Michael J. Piva, *The Condition of the Working Class in Toronto, 1900-1921* (Ottawa: University of Ottawa Press, 1979).

213. Stelter, "Power and Place in Urban History," in *Power and Place*.

enabled scholars to make direct and early links between classes and occupations; for example, given occupations often reflect the labour market and economic structure, rather than social structure. Nevertheless, these attempts do provide some insights into social structure.²¹⁴

Despite these developments, there are still urban historians who ignore class realities, who treat conflicts as personality clashes, and who give to urban society the perceptions of the dominant groups. The majority of research is, fortunately, usually conscious of the reality of social classes and of class conflict in the urban milieu. Urban history in Canada remains, however, characterized by theoretical and methodological weakness on this subject. English Canadian historians especially utilize the concept of middle-class very freely, despite the pathbreaking work of sociologist John Porter who demonstrated that the concept was the subject of widespread abuse.²¹⁵ Quebec historians have certainly pushed methodologies further, providing a certain stimulus to their English colleagues. As well, labour historians' critiques of urban history have also had a positive influence.

3. Ethnic Groups

In Canada, the study of urban social structure cannot be considered without a preoccupation with ethnic groups. Two principal tendencies are obvious in urban history. The first is the interest in the relations between the two main groups, English-Canadians and French-Canadians. This is, as has already been observed, an important theme of Canadian historiography in general. But when it is discussed in urban history, it is often limited to Quebec where the two groups are most evidently in contact. The numerous studies cited on Montreal, Quebec and Sherbrooke emphasize the importance of ethnic composition in terms of urban social relationships. Throughout the history of Quebec cities during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, ethnic origin has been added to class as a factor related to either discrimination or solidarity, and it is present as well in social structure, the organization of space, and the management and control of the city.²¹⁶

A second perspective emphasizes the important growth of other ethnic groups. Urban history, in this regard, has benefited from the recent development of ethnic studies and

immigration history as fields of specific research and this is most evident in the major cities since all these studies have an important urban component. Some studies emphasize the reactions of the charter (French and English) groups towards the new immigrants. The issues of acceptance or rejection, and the question of assimilation, are studied. Other researchers, in contrast, are interested in the ethnic groups themselves: their methods of integration into the city and the host society; cultural practices; and the relationships established within the city and with the "old" country. This aspect of ethnic studies has experienced a good deal of growth since 1970, assisted by government preoccupations in the field of ethnic relations and multiculturalism.²¹⁷

It is important to note, however, that the majority of these studies have a limited perspective. They examine a specific ethnic group within a particular city. What is still missing are comparative studies and studies with a broad perspective that allow students to understand the process of ethnic group adaptation in an urban milieu. But research is rapidly moving in this direction.

In terms of specific groups, mention must be made of the study of Indians and Métis in the urban milieu. These studies have been stimulated by the rapid rates of migration of natives into urban centres, especially in western Canada. But long-term perspectives in terms of urban natives have yet to be developed.²¹⁸

Finally, it can be noted that even if there are numerous studies of religious history in Canada, and especially in Quebec, there has been little evident interest in the relations between ethnicity and religion in the urban context. A recent study of Irish Catholics in Toronto has, however, provided an interesting perspective on this obviously rich topic.²¹⁹

4. Family

The urban family has received attention for several years and, even though the published literature is not voluminous, the research has revealed some particularly significant phenomena. The major work of Michael Katz on Hamilton in the mid-nineteenth century fits in with numerous British, European and American works on the transformation of the traditional family as the city moved from the commercial to

"Les structures de l'espace montréalais"; Kesteman, "La condition urbaine... Sherbrooke."

217. See the many articles by Robert Harney, for example, cited in *Canada's Urban Past*.

218. A key study is W.T. Stanbury, *Success and Failure: Indians in Urban Society* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1975). The Institute of Urban Studies, University of Winnipeg, has published numerous studies on urban natives in western Canada.

219. Murray W. Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto, 1850-1900," Ph.D. Thesis (University of Guelph, 1980).



FIGURE 7. Urban Natives.

SOURCE: University of Winnipeg. Photo by Peter Tittenberger.

the industrial phase. The work of Tamara Hareven²²⁰ on the relation between the size of family and the life-cycle of women was equally influential in Canada. One can find an influence in the research of Bettina Bradbury on the working class family in Montreal in the second half of the nineteenth century.²²¹

For several years historiography touching on the family grew out of the pressure of the growth of women's history. There are still few studies that specifically treat the Canadian woman in the urban milieu but this topic has grown rapidly in recent years. In addition to Bradbury's work, there is the pioneering work of D.S. Cross,²²² and, more recently,

220. T.K. Hareven, *Family Time and Industrial Time: The Relationship Between the Family and Work in a New England Industrial Community* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

221. Bettina Bradbury, "The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," *Historical Papers* 1979, pp. 71-97 [available in French in Nadia Fahmy-Eid and Micheline Dumont, eds., *Maitresses de maison, maitresses d'école* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983), pp. 287-318]; and Bradbury, "The Fragmented Family: Family Strategies in the Face of Death, Illness and Poverty, Montreal, 1860-1885," in Joy Parr, ed., *Childhood and Family in Canadian History* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1982), pp. 109-128.

222. D. Suzanne Cross, "The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal," *HS/SH*, Vol. VI (November 1973), pp. 202-223.

223. Marta Danylewycz, "Taking the Veil in Montreal, 1840-1920: An Alternative to Marriage, Motherhood, and Spinsterhood," Ph.D. Thesis (University of Toronto, 1981); and Danylewycz, "Sexes et classes dans l'enseignement: le cas de Montréal à la fin du XIXe siècle," in Fahmy-Eid and Dumont, *Maitresses de maison*, pp. 93-118.

224. Micheline Dumont, "Des garderies au XIXe siècle: les salles d'asile des soeurs Grises de Montréal," in *ibid.*, pp. 261-285.

225. Marie Lavigne and Jennifer Stoddart, "Women's Work in Montreal at the Beginning of the Century," in Marylee Stephenson, ed., *Women in Canada* (Don Mills: General Publishing, 1977); and Gail Cuthbert-Brant, "Weaving It Together": Life Cycle and the Industrial Experience of Cotton Workers in Quebec, 1910-1950," *Labour/Le Travailleur*, No. 7 (Spring 1981), pp. 113-126.

studies by M. Danylewycz²²³ and M. Dumont.²²⁴ The many studies of women and work also represent an important contribution to an understanding of urban society, even if the city is not usually the focus of the study.²²⁵ Finally, studies of the feminist movement at the turn of the century have provided some insights into the reform movement.²²⁶

The study of the urban family cannot, however, be detached from the social environment in which families find themselves. In this respect, French studies on urban sociability and British studies on workers' culture have begun to influence Canadian researchers interested in urban society. This is another topic in urban history which should, in the coming years, contribute to the debate on methodologies and perspectives.

5. Leisure, Public Space, Sports and Cultural Life

The literature on contemporary leisure and public space requirements for urban dwellers is growing rapidly, but there is surprisingly little that deals with the evolution of leisure space and activities in Canadian cities.²²⁷ What has been completed is often still in thesis form and consists of case studies of particular aspects of or periods in a community's development.²²⁸ In terms of published material, most studies have been devoted to the development of parks, carnivals, and fairs or exhibitions.²²⁹ Studies that attempt to relate leisure activities and the development of public space to the broader issues of urban history are still rare.²³⁰ This situation, fortunately, is beginning to change as a recent article by Robert A.J. McDonald indicates.²³¹

226. Yolande Pinard, "Les débuts du mouvement des femmes à Montréal, 1893-1902," in Marie Lavigne and Yolande Pinard, eds., *Travail-leuses et féministes* (Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983), pp. 177-198.

227. Recreation studies are an important part of planning education and many planning theses deal with some aspect of this broad topic. A good recent collection that contains urban material is G. Wall and J.S. Marsh, eds., *Recreational Land-Use: Perspectives on Its Evolution in Canada* (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982).

228. Two examples are E.L. Wilson, "The Montreal Parks and Playgrounds Association, Inc.: A Historical Study, 1896-1949," M.A. Thesis (McGill, 1953); and W.C. McKee, "The History of the Vancouver Park System, 1886-1929," M.A. Thesis (Victoria, 1976).

229. See, for example, M.E. Cavett, et al., "Social Philosophy and the Early Development of Winnipeg's Public Parks," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI, No. 1 (June 1982), pp. 17-29; D. Breen and K. Coates, *Vancouver's Fair: An Administrative and Political History of the Pacific National Exhibition* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1982); S. Dufresne, "Le carnaval d'hiver de Montréal, 1883-1889," *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XI, No. 3 (February 1983), pp. 25-49.

230. An exception is Carl Betke, "The Original City of Edmonton: A Derivative Prairie Community," in *Town and City*.

231. McDonald's article examines the issues, background and significance of Vancouver's pre-war debate about parks. In particular, the article portrays the growing confusion in early twentieth-century Canada about the purpose and design of parks. See "Holy Retreat' or 'Practical Breathing Spot': Class Perceptions of Vancouver's Stanley Park," *CHR*, Vol. LXV (June 1984), pp. 127-153.

Research on such topics as urban sport, education, libraries, theatres and so on²³² are more common but, again, few attempt to address the issue of how the urban environment affected the development of the people and the activities within it. And comparative studies are rare. One recent study, however, indicates that historians are turning their attention to research that goes beyond description. A special issue of the *Urban History Review* devoted to "Perspectives on Sports and Urban Studies" argues that the urban "terrain" was not only a manifestation of culture but an important determinant of culture. In other words, the urban environment was a "significant cultural parameter" that helped pattern sport as it did all cultural phenomena.²³³ The urban environment, for example, often played a role both in bringing about new forms of organization for sports and cultural activities and in precipitating the formal organization of previously unorganized activities. While Canadian historians have only begun to explore this complex but fundamental theme, studies completed in recent years, in Great Britain especially, indicate that an understanding of the city must include this component.²³⁴ At the same time, the British studies also make it clear that while the urban environment did shape leisure activities, other factors — most notably class — are also crucial components of leisure patterns and the use of public space.

Another intriguing approach to the study of urban culture relates not to the question of the role of the urban environment as an active agent in terms of social change, but rather with the changing place of the city in the consciousness of the larger society. This broad topic has been addressed in terms of fiction in a variety of novels and short stories, but has received scant attention from most urbanists in Canada. In a forthcoming special issue of the *Journal of Urban History*, however, Gilbert Stelter has brought together several essays on the topic of "Cities as Cultural Arenas." His own contribution examines the relationship between culture and urban form in eighteenth century America and Great Britain. Stelter also notes that the study of cities as

paradigms of a culture's experience of modernization remains a rich field of enquiry.²³⁵

6. Public Health and Social Welfare

The growth and proliferation of government funded and administered public health and social welfare policies have developed sporadically and discontinuously, rather than gradually and continuously. Depressions, recessions, wars, and the intergovernmental disputes so common in a federal system have all influenced governments in assuming greater responsibility for what were previously private matters, both individual and institutional. Much of this story concerns the provinces and the federal government, but municipalities were also involved usually by providing the delivery system for the programs of senior governments. As well, during the inter-war period — and especially during the depression — Canadian cities were concerned about social welfare policies.²³⁶ It was during the 1930s, for example, that a considerable number of programs were initiated that now constitute integral parts of the modern Canadian welfare state.

Research on social welfare is voluminous — as the publication of a recent major bibliography indicates²³⁷ — but very few studies examine public health or social welfare from an explicitly urban perspective.²³⁸ One major category of writing stems from the tradition of social research, a form of research which is inextricably bound to the advocacy of reform and to the promotion of particular social welfare policies. Most notable here is the work of Ames in Montreal, Woodsworth in Winnipeg, and Kelso and the Bureau of Municipal Research in Toronto.²³⁹ More valuable as sources are the reports of royal commissions, House of Commons committees and government task forces.²⁴⁰ In all these cases, researchers were either amateurs or civil servants and few academics or trained researchers concerned through to the 1970s, producing a substantial number of studies of social

conditions but few studies that could be labelled urban history. Two of the most prominent documents were compiled during World War II.²⁴¹

A second major category of material is found in historical analyses of the development of the Canadian social welfare state in particular periods,²⁴² analyses of particular policies,²⁴³ studies of organizations which have influenced the development of policy,²⁴⁴ and biographies of individual reformers.²⁴⁵ In all this work, however, there are very few

cases that address issues of concern to urban history, although there are some.²⁴⁶ In short, while this theme has been well studied and continues to receive attention from social historians, it has not yet become a clearly identified concern for urban specialists. There is still a need for work of an analytic nature which would link the development of public health and social welfare policies and institutions to the urban transformation of Canada. As well, there are still far too few case studies which examine public health and social welfare with sufficient analytic or even descriptive scrutiny.

232. Some examples are Y.S. Bains, "Theatre and Society in Early Nineteenth Century Toronto," *Nineteenth Century Theatre Research*, Vol. 3 (1975), pp. 83-96; Groupe de recherche en art populaire (GRAP), *Rapport: Travaux et Conférences, 1975-1979* (Montreal, 1979); P.R. Blakeley, "The Theatre and Music in Halifax," *Dalhousie Review*, Vol. 29 (1949), pp. 8-20; Century Calgary Historical Series, Vol. 5: *At Your Service, Part One: Calgary's Library, Parks Department, Military, Medical Services and Fire Department* (Calgary, 1975).
233. *UHR/RHU*, Vol. XII, No. 2 (October 1983).
234. See the review article in *ibid* entitled "Sport and the Victorian City."
235. The special issue is scheduled for publication in late 1984.
236. John H. Taylor, "Urban Social Organization and Urban Discontent: The 1930's," in D.J. Bercuson, ed., *Western Perspectives* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1974); Taylor, "Relief from Relief: The Cities Answer to Depression Dependency," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, Vol. 14 (1979), pp. 16-23, and T. Copp, "Montreal's Municipal Government and the Crisis of the 1930s," in *The Usable Urban Past*.
237. Allan Moscovitch, et al, *The Welfare State in Canada: A Selected Bibliography, 1840-1978* (Waterloo: Wilfrid Laurier University Press,

1983). This volume contains a very useful introductory essay. For a general survey see D. Guest, *The Emergence of Social Security in Canada* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1981).

238. There are, however, a few general articles that introduce the subject. See, for example, A. Leigh, "Municipalities and Public Welfare," *Canadian Welfare*, Vol. 40, No. 1 (1964), pp. 16-22; F.J. MacKinnon, "Local Government and Welfare," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 3 (March, 1960), pp. 31-40; J.S. Morgan, "Contribution of the Municipality to the Administration of Public Welfare," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 7 (June 1964), pp. 137-149; and J. Gregoire, "Le rôle des municipalités dans le champ du bien-être social," M.A. thesis (Laval, 1966).
239. H.B. Ames, *The City Below the Hill: A Sociological Study of a Portion of the City of Montreal, Canada, 1897*. Reprint (Toronto: UTP, 1972); J.S. Woodsworth, *My Neighbor: A Study of City Conditions, A Plea for Service*. 1911. Reprint. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); and J.J. Kelso, "Some First Principles in Social Welfare Work," *Ontario Sessional Papers* (Toronto, 1960).
240. An excellent listing of relevant reports can be found in Moscovitch, *The Welfare State*.

241. L.C. Marsh, *Final Report of the Advisory Committee on Reconstruction* (Ottawa, 1943); and Advisory Committee on Reconstruction, Housing and Community Planning Sub-committee, *Final Report* (Ottawa, 1946).
242. See, for example, J.S. Morgan, "Social Welfare Services in Canada," in M. Oliver, *Social Purpose for Canada* (Toronto: UTP, 1961); E. Wallace, "Origin of the Welfare State in Canada, 1867-1900," *CJEPS*, Vol. 16 (August 1940), pp. 383-393; and Alvin Finkel, *Business and Social Reform in the Thirties* (Toronto: J. Lorimer and Co., 1979).
243. See, for example, M. Piva, "The Workmen's Compensation Movement in Ontario," *Ontario History*, Vol. 67 (March, 1975), pp. 39-56; M. Taylor, "Quebec Medicare: Policy Formulation in Conflict and Crisis," *Canadian Public Administration*, Vol. 15 (Summer, 1972), pp. 211-250; A. Jones and L. Rutman, *In the Children's Aid: J.J. Kelso and Child Welfare in Ontario* (Toronto: UTP, 1981); B.L. Vigod, "Ideology and Institutions in Quebec The Public Charities Controversy, 1921-1926," *HS/SH*, No. P.1 (May 1978), pp. 167-182; J. Fingard, "The Relief of the Unemployed Poor in Saint John, Halifax, and St. John's, 1815-1860," *Acadiensis*, Vol. 5 (Autumn, 1975), pp. 32-53; A.G. Reid, "The First Poor Relief System of Canada," *CHR*, Vol. 27 (1946), pp. 424-431; A.E. Grauer, *Public Assistance and Social Insurance: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission*

on Dominion-Provincial Relations (Ottawa, 1939); E. Minville, *Labour Legislation and Social Services in the Province of Quebec* (Appendix 5 of Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations) (Ottawa, 1939).

Of particular importance for urban historians is H. Carl Goldenberg, *Municipal Finance in Canada: A Study Prepared for the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations* (Ottawa, 1939). Also, during the Royal Commission hearings, most cities prepared briefs which outlined their view of a host of problems they were experiencing, including problems related to public health and social welfare.

244. M.Q. Innis, *Unfold the Years: A History of the Young Women's Christian Association in Canada* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1949); R. Allen, *The Social Passion: Religion and Social Reform in Canada, 1914-1928* (Toronto: UTP, 1971).
245. K. McNaught, *J.S. Woodsworth: A Prophet in Politics* (Toronto: UTP, 1959); P. Rooke and R.L. Schnell, "Child Welfare in English Canada, 1920-1948 (Charlotte Whitton)," *Social Service Review*, Vol. 55, (September 1981), pp. 484-506.
246. See, for example, the Special Issue of the *UHR/RHU*, Vol. VIII (June, 1979) devoted to "Fire, Disease and Water in the Nineteenth Century City." As well, some urban biographies take this approach. See Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth*.

Conclusion

In this concluding section, attention will be focused on three interrelated topics. First, a series of generalizations regarding urban history and urban studies will be put forward. Second, drawing on these considered observations, the field will be assessed in the context of its relationship both to urban studies elsewhere and in terms of its progress in Canada itself. Finally, we will turn our sights to the future, offering a general prescription for research in the coming years.

In framing these concluding remarks, we are conscious of how vulnerable and short-lived explanations and interpretations can be, particularly ones that attempt — as this report does — to deal with a large number of complex studies. In these circumstances generalizations and conclusions, at best, are tentative, contingent upon partial evidence, and subject to refinement or even replacement. In addition, we have few illusions about our ability to redirect the pace and direction of scholarly urban research in Canada. Most scholars already have investments in one or another line of research and these commitments are not easily or readily altered. Still, reports such as this on the state of a field are fuel empowering the continuous reworking of history, and the more scholars are able to see clearly where they have been and to break out of specific cocoons, the richer are the potentialities for more satisfying and enduring generalizations and interpretations.

A. The Major Characteristics of Urban History

Canadian urban history and urban studies are no longer emerging fields of study. While they are still young in relative terms, they have become in the past fifteen years solid, important and durable approaches. Urban history grew rapidly in the 1970s, drawing on earlier work on urban evolution completed by other social scientists (most notably geographers) and reflecting the problems of cities that become the focus of public concern in North America in the late 1960s and early 1970s. As well, urban historians were influenced by the traditions of English and French Canadian historiography, in part rejecting older approaches and themes but also retaining certain elements from past practices. To these continuing concerns were added, in part as a product of training and of foreign (especially French and American) influences, a new emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches.

As studies of the evolution of urban Canada multiplied in the 1970s, a great variety of themes and subjects were examined, although the great majority were analyzed in the context of individual cities or regions. Synthesis at the multi-city or multi-thematic level are still rare, as are comparative studies of either individual cities or of even one theme in more than one urban environment. One result of this diffuse approach has been the continuation of definitional problems in the field; for example, there is still apparent confusion

about the precise distinction between studies of developments *in* cities as opposed to studies of phenomena that are both *in* and *of* the city. Thus, attempts to create a widely accepted scaffolding for Canadian urban studies — including, for example, such concepts as “urban as setting,” “urban as entity,” and “urban as process” — have not been entirely successful.

In this context, the links with older Canadian historiographic themes (such as the metropolitan approach), the continuing influence of social history and its methods, and the rediscovery of the theme of power, are still very evident. Still, new themes and approaches are emerging, including a growing awareness of the need to understand urban society in spatial, class, ethnic and political terms; a recognition of the role of urban culture, in both a broad and a narrow sense; and the need to develop systematic chronologies and typologies for Canadian urban development.

B. An Assessment

The achievements of Canadian scholars concerned with the evolution of urban Canada are quite remarkable, despite continuing problems in the field. During a period of less than fifteen years a very small group of scholars have initiated and sustained a scholarly journal, organized several successful conferences, contributed urban perspectives to texts, collections and journals (both in Canada and abroad), and published hundreds of theses, research reports, articles, and monographs. In this process, Canadian urban scholars have participated actively in the larger intellectual life of the western world and, although modest, their contributions have been significant. General interpretations regarding the historical evolution of urban systems and networks; a new appreciation for the social and ethnic complexities of urban environments; the role of the state as a promoter or director of urban growth; the understanding of the control and development of urban frontiers and colonies, and the nature of colonial thinking; all these themes have been enriched by Canadian research.

This very positive view of urban history in particular and urban studies in general must be balanced by several caveats. In their rush to address ignored issues and themes — to, in effect, create a new sub-field — Canadian urban scholars have had a tendency not to be overly concerned about theories or general interpretations. There has been, in short, a distinct lack of integration among the practitioners of urban studies. To a point, this diverse approach is creative; it is both receptive to new ideas and respectful of old approaches. It is, however, also a distinct weakness. Interestingly, it can be argued that the diversity which characterizes urban studies reflects Canada itself, with its competing nationalisms and its diverse geographical and socio-economic divisions. It can

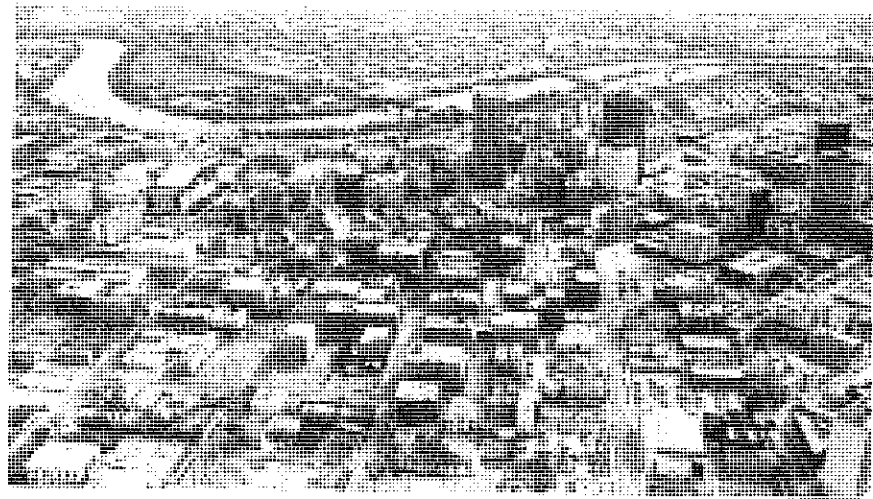


FIGURE 8. Winnipeg's Skyline, c. 1982.

SOURCE: University of Winnipeg. Photo by Peter Tittenberger.

also be noted that while urban studies was characterized by a new appreciation of the value of interdisciplinarity, this concern was not always manifest in published work and, when it was, it rarely went as far or as deep as might have been expected. Urban historians remained reluctant to adopt sophisticated social science methodology, and social scientists often completed urban studies without much appreciation of historical evolution.

The urban studies field continues, as well, to have gaps in terms of time, place, and theme. In terms of time, the study of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries still lag behind studies of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries although, fortunately, this appears to be changing rapidly. In terms of place, the bulk of studies to date still focus on large metropolitan centres — small towns and cities are only just beginning to receive the attention they deserve. As well, while Quebec urban studies have grown rapidly in the past few years, "the shading and texture that must be contributed by the eastern half [i.e., the Atlantic region] of the country are yet to arrive."²⁴⁷ Finally, in terms of themes, the most notable gaps have to do with questions surrounding everyday life and social relationships in the urban environment; a concern for and appreciation of how people are changed and affected by the so-called "urban process."

C. Future Concerns and Directions

Canadian urban studies is not a sharply circumscribed or single, focused field of study. The books, reports, and articles cited in this essay display a diversity of both content and approach and any user of this material will find much that is useful, stimulating and provocative and, just as surely, will

247. Peter E. Rider, "In Search of a Usable Urban History," *Acadiensis*, Vol. XIII (Spring 1984), pp. 121-136.

wish that more attention had been brought to bear on additional themes and/or places. It would be futile, then, to attempt to outline in any detailed way a research agenda for the future. Rather, it is our intention, in a very general way, to suggest that Canadian urban scholars broaden their research horizons in certain directions.

First, as has already been noted, it is to be hoped that as scholars mature their work will encompass in spatial terms more than particular communities or regions; the need for comparative studies is self-evident if progress is to continue to be made in terms of understanding the complexities of Canadian urbanization. Just as essential, however, is the need to encourage even broader horizons along the lines of the first steps that have already been taken in terms of placing the Canadian urban experience in the context of other western countries. Related to this direction is the need for an expanded chronology or, to put it another way, for Canadian scholars to appreciate that cities have always played a fundamental role in the development of civilization. In this context, Canadianists can benefit greatly by collaborating with their colleagues who study other countries and by an increased appreciation for reading widely in urban studies, both in terms of time and place.

Second, if these ambitious hopes are to be realized it will be necessary for scholars to work more frequently as members of research teams that include not only representatives of several disciplines but experts on experiences other than Canadian. Developments in this respect are increasingly common in Quebec, but English-Canadians remain reluctant to experiment. There are many reasons for this reluctance and some of these reasons have been examined elsewhere,²⁴⁸ but two deserve comment here. First university

248. Theodore Hershberg has discussed the organization of research in "The New Urban History: Toward an Interdisciplinary History of the City," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 5 (November 1978), pp. 3-40.

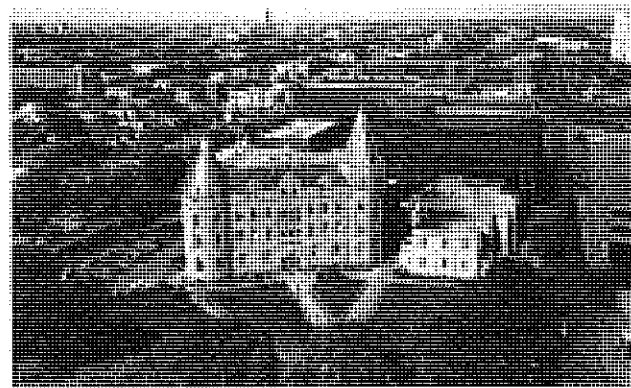


FIGURE 9. The University of Winnipeg, an Urban University.

SOURCE: University of Winnipeg. Photo by Peter Tittenberger.

administrators and professors must overcome their prejudices in regard to team as opposed to individual research, prejudices that are still quite evident in both reward systems

and research funding. Second, granting agencies and research institutes must also be prepared to test the value of team research, recognizing that in a country as vast as Canada that team research necessarily involves added costs for travel. The challenge is thus to develop the environment and to provide the resources that will allow research teams to function and, we trust, prosper.

* * *

Canadian urban historians have accomplished a great deal in the past fifteen years and it is possible to predict, confidently, that much will be accomplished in the future. Those historians who study the evolution of the Canadian city are concerned with such crucial issues as increased sophistication in methodology, the need to develop new conceptual frameworks, and the importance of genuine interdisciplinary communication. And as long as these elements are present, the study of the urban past has a secure future in Canada.

APPENDIX A

Urban Studies Formats

An obvious measure of the development of any field is the number and variety of published works available to students and researchers. Until recently, it was commonplace for students of Canadian urban studies to decry the lack of basic work in the field and to assert that this void had to be filled before substantial progress could be made. Like all generalizations, this one contained elements of truth. There are important gaps in our knowledge of Canadian urban development and these gaps are quickly identified in a systematic survey of the various forms of material available. As the following sections will indicate, there are areas of insufficient research that must be filled if a comprehensive approach to Canadian urban studies is to be facilitated. At the same time, however, this analysis of urban studies formats does provide solid evidence that large strides have been made in the past few years and that continued progress can be expected.

At the outset, several general characteristics relating to Canadian urban studies writing should be noted. The majority of published material deals with thematic issues and is usually based on local or case studies. Generally, this work grows out of research completed for graduate degrees and reflects the fact that urban history and urban studies are relatively new and emerging sub-fields. In terms of formats, this work appears most frequently as monographs or as articles; the latter appearing first in journals and, then, often in edited collections or readers.

A. General Studies

Canadian urban specialists have produced few long-term, multi-purpose studies at either the national or the regional

level; unlike the situation in the United States where numerous surveys have been published, there is still no single volume study of the evolution of urban Canada. At the national level, there are several studies of urban Canada,¹ but most of these lack a convincing, general framework and tend to focus on particular issues or on contemporary perspectives. As well, despite their acknowledged value, none are viewed as essential reading for students of urban Canada. It is perhaps not too strong a judgement to make that until such a volume is produced, the study of urban Canada as an important conditioning influence on the general development of Canada will not be widely acknowledged.

At the regional level there are, not surprisingly, far more examples of general, multi-purpose studies.² But even here there are important omissions, including the absence of general articles on urbanization in British Columbia and few studies of the Atlantic provinces and Quebec. At the local level, there are numerous case studies that also take a multi-purpose approach. In one category are case studies completed by local historians, many of which provide detailed outlines of past events and a place to begin more analytical research.³ But urban "biography" has also attracted many professional scholars and this format remains an important source for any understanding of Canadian urban development. In addition to several important, but unrelated studies,⁴ the *History of Canadian Cities Series* is consciously designed to be more than a series of disconnected case studies since all authors follow a set of guidelines that include an emphasis on comparable themes.⁵ The goal of the series is to produce a systematic, interpretative and comprehensive account of the urban experience in a variety of Canadian cities. Eventually, as new volumes are completed, the *History of Canadian Cities Series* will be a major step along the path

1. In this and subsequent notes in this section we have endeavoured to provide examples of work in the various formats but it is, obviously, impossible to be comprehensive without, in effect, producing a bibliography. For complete reference, readers are referred to the bibliographic studies covered in section D, below. National studies include: James and Robert Simmons, *Urban Canada*, 2nd ed. (Toronto: Copp Clark, 1974); George Nader, *Cities of Canada*, 2 vols. (Toronto: Macmillan, 1975-76); J.M.S. Careless, *The Rise of Cities in Canada Before 1914*, Canadian Historical Association Booklet #32 (Ottawa: CHA, 1978); and Richard Preston, "The Evolution of Urban Canada: Post-1867 Period," in R.M. Irving, ed., *Readings in Canadian Geography* (Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1968).
2. Regional studies include: C.N. Forward, "Cities: Form, Function and Future," in A. Macpherson, ed., *The Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1972); Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South Central Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1972); L.S. Bourne, et al., *Urban Development in Ontario and Quebec: Outline and Overview*, Research Paper #1, Centre for Urban and Community Studies (Toronto: University of Toronto, 1968); I.D. McCann, "Urban Growth in Western Canada, 1880-1960," *Albertan Geographer*, Vol. 5 (1969), pp. 65-74; and Alan E.J. Artibise,

Prairie Urban Development, 1870-1930, Canadian Historical Association Booklet #34 (Ottawa: CHA, 1980).

3. Good local histories include W.H. Atherton, *Montreal, 1534-1914*, 3 vols. (Montreal: Clark, 1914); Kathleen Jenkins, *Montreal: Island City of the St. Lawrence* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1966); J.E. Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History*, 3 vols. (Toronto: Dominion, 1923); G.P. de T. Glazebrook, *The Story of Toronto* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1971); J.H. Raddall, *Halifax: Warden of the North* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974); James G. MacGregor, *Edmonton: A History* (Edmonton: Hurtig, 1967); and Alan Morley, *Vancouver: From Milltown to Metropolis* (Vancouver: Mitchell, 1961).
4. Including D.C. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1947); John I. Cooper, *Montreal: A Brief History* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1967); Alan E.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: A Social History of Urban Growth, 1874-1914* (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1975); and Elizabeth McGahan, *The Port of Saint John*, Vol. 1 (Saint John: National Harbours Board, 1982).
5. This series, under the general editorship of Alan E.J. Artibise, is published by James Lorimer and the National Museum of Man. Volumes published to date are: Artibise, *Winnipeg: An Illustrated*

to a general and comprehensive study of the evolution of urban Canada.

B. Thematic Studies

In contrast to general studies, there are a wide variety and number of long term thematic studies dealing with one or two themes. In virtually all cases these studies adopt what has been labelled the "urban as entity"⁶ approach in which the aim is to explain the formation of urban communities in terms of a variety of independent variables, including political economy, population, technology, and geography. At the national level, there are good thematic studies on topics ranging from demography to politics to housing, while at the regional and local level there are even a wider variety of excellent volumes and articles. Indeed, it is no exaggeration to note that the bulk of writing on the evolution of urban Canada takes a thematic approach, regarding the city as a dependent variable; the product — at least in part — of the theme being examined.

Despite this large and growing body of thematic studies, there are still gaps in terms of regional coverage and, most notably, in terms of comparative analyses of themes both across regions and at the national level. Fortunately, several recent articles suggest that the field has reached a stage where this level of generalization will become more common.⁷

C. Collections and Readers

While the bulk of writing about the evolution of urban Canada is of the thematic variety, the most common format of publishing is the collection or reader. This fact suggests that while the number of researchers is growing, most are not yet ready to present their research in book form, opting

History (1977); Max Foran, *Calgary: An Illustrated History* (1978); P.E. Roy, *Vancouver: An Illustrated History* (1980); John C. Weaver, *Hamilton: An Illustrated History* (1982); J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History* (1984); and James Lemon, *Toronto Since 1918: An Illustrated History* (1984). Another volume in the series was published by Wilfrid Laurier University Press — John English and Kenneth McLaughlin, *Kitchener: An Illustrated History* (1983).

Volumes in preparation include studies of Montreal (2 vols.), Ottawa, Halifax, Regina, Windsor, Sherbrooke, Quebec City, Kingston, and Charlottetown.

6. *Canada's Urban Past*, p. xvii.
7. See, for example, Michael Doucet, "Urban Land Development in Nineteenth Century North America," *Journal of Urban History*, Vol. 8, No. 3 (1982), pp. 299-342; Gilbert A. Stelter, "The City-Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*; J. Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System," in *The Usable Urban Past*; and Andrew Sancton, "Canadian City Politics in Comparative Perspective," in Warren Magnusson and Andrew Sancton, eds., *City Politics in Canada* (Toronto: U.T.P., 1983).
8. General collections include Stelter and Artibise, *The Canadian City* (1977 and 1984); L.H. Lithwick and G. Paquet, eds., *Urban Studies:*

instead for articles in edited collections. It is notable, however, that several of these collections do contain excellent introductory, concluding, and transitional essays that often represent the "State of the Art" in the field. In both cases, the growing market for such publications — itself a reflection of the increasing popularity of Canadian urban studies — has prompted the writing of essays that would otherwise not have been attempted. As well, since collections are often issued in revised editions, they provide an excellent way for students to stay in touch with a rapidly developing field.

In addition to several general collections,⁸ there are volumes that cover specific themes, including government and politics, planning and the physical environment, urban problems, metropolitan-hinterland relationships, and social issues. There are also a few readers that seek to cover two or more related themes or that cover urban development in a specific region. These specialized collections are cited in the appropriate thematic sections of this report.

D. Bibliographies and Guides

Canadian urban specialists are well served by bibliographies and guides. At the national level, there is a comprehensive, single-volume bibliography and guide that covers the field to 1980 and that is being up-dated annually.⁹ *Canada's Urban Past* contains more than 7,000 entries for books, articles and theses, and is an indication of the wealth of material that exists in the field. The volume also contains a listing and critique of urban organizations involved in urban research and a detailed description of major sources of urban data in archives across the country. This indispensable and major reference tool does not, however, totally replace other national bibliographies and guides and several other volumes should be referred to ensure complete coverage.¹⁰

A Canadian Perspective (Toronto: Methuen, 1968); and S.E. McMullin and P.M. Koroscil, eds., *The Canadian Urban Experience* (Toronto: Association for Canadian Studies, 1975).

9. *Canada's Urban Past*. An annual bibliography, prepared by Dr. Elizabeth Bloomfield, is published each October in the *UHR/RHU*.
10. See, for example, Ministry of State of Urban Affairs, *Directory of Canadian Urban Information Sources* (Ottawa, 1977); Canadian Council on Urban and Regional Research, *Urban and Regional References, 1945-1969* (Ottawa, 1970), with supplements through to 1976; and Paul Aubin, *Bibliographie de l'histoire du Québec et du Canada, 1966-1975*, 2 vols. (Quebec: Institut québécois de recherche sur la culture, 1981). Other volumes dealing with the pre-1966 and the post-1975 period are in preparation. It is also noteworthy that several scholarly journals regularly include bibliographies. See, for example, the *Canadian Historical Review* and the *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*. At the regional level, *Acadiensis*, *Prairie Forum* and *BC Studies* also include bibliographic references. Finally, mention must be made of *Urban Canada/Canada urbain* produced by Micromedia Limited of Toronto. It contains an index of urban publications and is published quarterly.

In addition to volumes that provide national coverage, there are numerous bibliographies that cover Canada's regions and provinces¹¹; indeed, there is even a volume that provides a guide to such reference sources.¹² At the level of individual cities there are, of course, numerous bibliographies,¹³ many of which include references both to amateur and professionally written studies. Scholars can ill-afford to ignore these valuable sources. Thematic bibliographies are also common, and good volumes exist on a variety of topics.¹⁴ In short, no student of the evolution of urban Canada can suggest that the basic resource tools for undertaking research are not in place; they are.

E. Methodological and Historiographical Studies

Related to the wealth of bibliographic studies is the analysis of the field of urban studies itself in the form of articles on methodologies and approaches. Again, there are many studies available, ranging from ones that analyze specific themes¹⁵ to those that attempt to examine the field itself.¹⁶ This self-conscious analysis has resulted in many benefits for Canadian urban specialists, most notably in the form of interdisciplinary and inter-regional cooperation in terms of sharing research results and approaches which, in an important way, accounts for the rapid development of the field in the past two decades.

F. Journals

The rapid growth of urban studies in Canada is nowhere more apparent than in the increasing number of periodicals

devoted in whole or in part to urban themes. The major journal in Canada is the *Urban History Review/Revue d'histoire urbaine* (1972-) published three times a year by the Institute of Urban Studies at the University of Winnipeg. The journal publishes significant articles in each issue as well as information on current research, book reviews, thesis abstracts, and notes and comments on conferences, recent publications, and archives. Other important journals that contain urban material include *Plan Canada* (1959), published by the Canadian Institute of Planners, *City Magazine* (1974-79, 1983-); and *Actualité immobilière* (Canada, 1976-). At the international level, there are several important journals including *Urbanism: Past and Present* (United States, 1974-); the *Planning History Bulletin* (Great Britain, 1979-); *Cities* (Great Britain, 1983-); the *Journal of Urban History* (United States, 1974-); the *Urban History Yearbook* (Great Britain, 1974-); and the *Urban Affairs Quarterly* (United States, 1964-). As well, given the often diffuse nature of the field, urban studies material regularly appears in disciplinary journals.¹⁷

G. Comparative Studies

As Canadian urban studies matures, a growing number of scholars are attracted to comparative studies on an international level. This trend was first apparent in a conference on "Historical Urbanization of North America" held in 1973.¹⁸ By the time a second meeting, "The North American Urban History Conference" was held in 1982,¹⁹ considerable progress was evident. As well, Canadian scholars regularly participated in conferences in the United States,

11. A full listing can be found in *Canada's Urban Past*. A few examples are: W.E. Morely, *Canadian Local Histories: A Bibliography, Vol. 1, The Atlantic Provinces* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1967); Alan F.J. Artibise, *Western Canada Since 1870: A Bibliography and Guide* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1978); B. Aitken, *Local Histories of Ontario Municipalities, 1951-1977: A Bibliography* (Toronto: Ontario Library Association, 1978); M. Angers, *Liste de publications reliées aux 63 principales agglomérations du Québec* (Québec: Ministère des affaires municipales, 1975); and M.A. Lessard and J.-P. Montminy, eds., *L'urbanisation de la société canadienne-française* (Québec: Presses de l'université Laval, 1967).
12. D.E. Ryder, *Canadian Reference Sources: A Selective Guide* (Ottawa: Canadian Library Association, 1981).
13. There are far too many to begin to list even a few here. Most, however, are in *Canada's Urban Past*.
14. In addition to numerous Canadian titles published in the *Vance Bibliographies Series* (Monticello, Illinois), see, as examples, the following: H. Kalman, "Recent Literature on the History of Canadian Architecture," *Journal of the Society of Architectural Historians*, Vol. 31 (1972), pp. 312-323; Centre for Settlement Studies, *Bibliography: Resource Frontier Communities*, 3 vols. (Winnipeg, 1969-1970); A. Black and M. Powell, *Municipal Government and Finance: An Annotated Bibliography* (Ottawa: CMHC, 1971); and J.D. Hulchanski, *Canadian Town Planning, 1900-1930: A Historical Bibliography* (Toronto: Centre for Urban and Community Studies, University of Toronto, 1978).
15. See, for example, James Lemon, "Study of the Urban Past: Approaches by Geographers," *Canadian Historical Association,*

Historical Papers 1973, pp. 179-190; N.E.P. Pressman, "The Built Environment: A Planning Approach to the Study of Urban Settlement," *Contact*, Vol. 6 (1974), pp. 6-13; Annick Germain, "Histoire urbaine et histoire de l'urbanisation au Québec," *UHR/RHU*, 3-78 (February 1978), pp. 3-22; and Elizabeth Bloomfield, "Community, Ethos, and Local Initiative in Urban Economic Growth: Review of a Theme in Canadian Urban History," *Urban History Yearbook* (1983), pp. 53-72. For further references, see *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 1-41.

16. See, for example, Gilbert A. Stelter, "A Sense of Time and Place: The Historian's Approach to Canada's Urban Past," in *The Canadian City* (1977); John C. Weaver, "Living In and Building Up The Canadian City: A Review of Studies on the Urban Past," *Plan Canada*, Vol. 15 (1975), pp. 111-117; and Gilbert Stelter, "Urban Canada," in J.L. Granastein and Paul Stevens, *A Reader's Guide to Canadian History 2: Confederation to the Present* (Toronto: UTP, 1982). For further references, see *Canada's Urban Past*, pp. 4-7.
17. There is an excellent survey of urban journals in a recent issue of *Urbanism Past and Present*. See Martin H. Sable, "Journal and Report Literature for Urban Studies Research," *Urbanism Past and Present*, Vol. 8, No. 2 (Summer/Fall 1983), pp. 37-47.
18. See D.N. Knight and John Clark, "Some Reflections on a Conference on the Historical Urbanization of North America," *UHR/RHU*, No. 1-73 (May 1973), pp. 10-14.
19. See Daniel Shaffer, "A New Threshold for Urban History: Reflections on Canadian-American Urban Development at the Guelph Conference," *Planning History Bulletin*, Vol. 4 (1982), pp. 1-10.

Great Britain, and Europe and have produced a small but important body of literature.²⁰ In most cases, however, Canadians have participated in terms of relating the Canadian experience rather than in terms of providing comparative perspectives. There is little doubt that this aspect of urban studies will continue to grow in the coming decade.

H. Audio-Visual and Teaching Resources

This area of urban studies is one of the most difficult to outline since there is so much material being produced. Moreover, many communities have had visual materials (slides, films and photographs) gathered together and made available for use. In these cases, local libraries, museums, and heritage organizations should be consulted. There are, however, several major sources for audio-visual resources on

urban studies. In addition to three specialized catalogues,²¹ four organizations²² distribute films and at least one distributes audiotapes.²³

In most cases, however, urban studies teachers are interested in slide resources and, fortunately, there are at least three rich collections. The National Film Board produces and sells slide sets, together with its other audio-visual materials.²⁴ The Canadian Association of Geographers also produces an urban series of slides, with each kit containing twenty slides and a booklet with descriptions of the slides and a short essay.²⁵ The best source of material on the evolution of urban Canada, however, are the sets in Canada's Visual History Series, a co-operative venture of the National Film Board and the National Museum of Man. To date, more than sixty sets have been produced and as many as fifteen of these deal explicitly with urban topics.²⁶

20. Examples include *Power and Place*; Alan E.J. Artibise, "Exploring the North American West: A Comparative Urban Perspective," *American Review of Canadian Studies*, Vol. XII (Spring 1984), pp. 20-44; W. Borah, J.E. Hardoy, G.A. Stelter, eds., *Urbanization in the Americas: The Background in Comparative Perspective* (Ottawa: National Museum of Man, 1981); John Mercer and M.A. Goldberg, "The Fiscal Health of American and Canadian Cities," *Occasional Paper No. 77*, Syracuse University (1984); and John P. Radford, "Regional Ideologies and Urban Growth on the Victorian Periphery: Southern Ontario and the U.S. South," *Historical Geography Research Series*, No. 12 (December 1983), pp. 32-57.

21. James E. Page, *Seeing Ourselves: Films for Canadian Studies* (Ottawa: National Film Board, 1979); John W. Auld, *Human Settlements: Audio-Visual Catalogue* (Guelph: University of Guelph, 1978); R.C. Brylogle, *Urban Problems: A Bibliography of Non-Profit and Audio-Visual Material* (Monticello, IL: Council of Planning Librarians, Exchange Bibliography #259, 1972).

22. They are the National Film Board, the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, the Canadian Film Makers Distribution Centre and the Canadian Film Institute.

23. The C.B.C. Learning Systems Publications, P.O. Box 500, Toronto, Ontario M5N 1E6.

24. There are, for example, general sets on "Canadian Cities," as well as specialized sets on Montreal, Toronto, Victoria, and so on.

25. Published sets include Montreal, Hamilton, Halifax, Winnipeg, Toronto, Thunder Bay, Calgary, Sherbrooke, St. John's, and Vancouver.

26. Some of these volumes are: J.M.S. Careless, *Urban Development in Central Canada to 1850* (#17); N. MacDonald, *Vancouver's Early Development* (#23); P.-A. Linteau and J.-C. Robert, *Pre-Industrial Montreal* (#39); D.H. Breen, *Calgary: From Police Post to Oil Capital* (#47); T.W. Acheson, *Saint-John, N.B. and Its Poor, 1783-1877* (#49); and Alan E.J. Artibise, *Winnipeg: The Growth of a City, 1874-1914* (#1). All these volumes are available in French.

APPENDIX B/ANNEXE B

Studies Available in Both Official Languages/ Etudes disponibles dans les deux langues officielles

Note: Nous n'avons pas inclus dans ce relevé les publications du gouvernement fédéral, qui sont normalement disponibles en français et en anglais. / We have not included federal government publications in this list since they are normally available in both official languages.

AUTHOR/AUTEUR	ENGLISH VERSION	VERSION FRANÇAISE
Alan E.J. Artibise	<i>Prairie Urban Development, 1870-1930</i> . Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1981.	<i>L'expansion urbaine dans les Prairies, 1870-1930</i> . Ottawa: La société historique du Canada, 1981.
G. Bourassa	"The Political Elite of Montreal: From Aristocracy to Democracy," in Feldman and Goldrick, eds., <i>Politics and Government of Urban Canada</i> , 1st edition. Toronto: Methuen, 1969.	«Les élites politiques de Montréal: de l'aristocratie à la démocratie.» <i>CJEPS/RCESP</i> , XXXI, 1 (février 1965), p. 35-51.
Bettina Bradbury	"The Family Economy and Work in an Industrializing City: Montreal in the 1870s," <i>Canadian Historical Association, Historical Papers 1979</i> , pp. 71-96.	«L'économie familiale et le travail dans une ville en voie d'industrialisation: Montréal dans les années 1870.» N. Fahmy-Eid et M. Dumont, dir., <i>Maîtresses de maison, maîtresses d'école</i> . Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983.
Terry Copp	<i>The Anatomy of Poverty: The Condition of the Working Class in Montreal, 1897-1929</i> . Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1977.	<i>Class ouvrière et pauvreté: Les conditions de vie des travailleurs Montréalais, 1897-1929</i> . Montréal: Boréal Express, 1978.
J.M.S. Careless	<i>The Rise of Cities in Canada Before 1914</i> . Ottawa: Canadian Historical Association, 1978.	<i>L'expansion des villes canadiennes avant 1914</i> . Ottawa: La société historique du Canada, 1978.
D. Suzanne Cross	"The Neglected Majority: The Changing Role of Women in 19th Century Montreal," <i>HS/SH</i> , Vol. VI (November 1973), pp. 202-223.	«La majorité oubliée: le rôle des femmes à Montréal au 19 ^e siècle.» dans Marie Lavigne et Yolande Pinard, dir., <i>Travailleuses et féministes</i> . Montréal: Boréal Express, 1983.
L. D'Iberville-Moreau	<i>Lost Montreal</i> . Toronto: Oxford University Press, 1975.	<i>Montréal perdu</i> . Montréal: Quinze, 1977.
Everett C. Hughes	<i>French Canada in Transition</i> . Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1943.	<i>Recontre de deux mondes: La crise d'industrialisation du Canada française</i> . Montréal: Parizeau, 1945. Montréal: Boréal Express, 1972.
M. Foran	<i>Calgary: An Illustrated History</i> . Toronto: Lorimer, 1978.	<i>Calgary: Histoire illustrée</i> . Toronto: Lorimer, 1978.
P.-A. Linteau and/ J.-C. Robert	"Land Ownership and Society in Montreal: An Hypothesis," <i>The Canadian City</i> .	«Propriété foncière et société à Montréal: une hypothèse.» <i>RHAF</i> , 28, 1 (juin 1974), p. 45-65.

APPENDIX B/ANNEXE B — (Continued)

AUTHOR/AUTEUR	ENGLISH VERSION	VERSION FRANÇAISE
P.A.-Linteau, René Durocher, and/et J.-C. Robert	<i>Quebec: A History, 1867-1929.</i> Toronto: Lorimer, 1983.	<i>Histoire du Québec contemporain: de la Confédération à la crise.</i> Montréal: Boréal Express, 1979.
P.-A. Linteau	[In press — James Lorimer and Co., Toronto]	<i>Maisonneuve, ou Comment des promoteurs fabriquent une ville, 1883-1918.</i> Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981.
Marcel Rioux and/et Yves Martin	<i>French Canadian Society: Sociological Studies.</i> Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1964.	<i>La société canadienne-française.</i> Montréal: Hurtubise, 1971.
James Lorimer	<i>The Developers.</i> Toronto: Lorimer, 1978.	<i>Les promoteurs.</i> Montréal: Boréal Express, 1981.
Henry Aubin	<i>City for Sale: International Finance and Canadian Development.</i> Toronto: Lorimer, 1977.	<i>Les vrais propriétaires de Montréal.</i> Montréal: L'Étincelle, 1977.
Jean-Claude Marsan	<i>Montreal in Evolution: Historical Analysis of Montreal's Architecture and Urban Environment.</i> Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1981.	<i>Montréal en évolution: Historique du développement de l'architecture et de l'environnement Montréalaise.</i> Montréal: Fides, 1974.
Bruno Ramirez	<i>The Italians of Montreal: From Sojourn to Settlement, 1911-1921.</i> Montreal: Les éditions de Courant, 1980.	<i>Les premiers Italiens de Montréal: L'origine de la Petite Italie du Québec.</i> Montréal: Boréal Express, 1984.

THE INSTITUTE OF URBAN STUDIES

The Institute of Urban Studies (IUS) was created by the University of Winnipeg in 1969 at a time when the city's "urban University" perceived a need to deal with the problems and concerns of the inner city. From the outset, IUS was both an academic research centre and an innovative, action-oriented community resource. While the Institute has always been committed to examining urban development issues in a broad context, it has never lost sight of the demands of applied research aimed at practical, often novel, solutions to urban problems.

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The Institute has an active publications program that includes a scholarly journal, newsletter, research reports, monographs, and occasional publications.

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