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The Process of "Urbanization" in the Countryside: A Study of Huron and Bruce Counties, 1891-1981

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Résumé de l'article

L'auteur de cet article nous présente l'histoire urbaine dans le cadre de « processus » pour ainsi faire ressortir dans le temps les petits établissements ruraux et les situer dans leur contexte d'arrière-pays agricoles et de réseaux urbains. Cette étude individuelle de huit localités dans les comtés ontariens de Huron et Bruce, de 1891 à 1981, illustre le mécanisme qui apporta la spécialisation fonctionnelle et l' « urbanisation » croissantes des villages ayant moins de 1,100 habitants en 1981. Les enquêtes sur le terrain de 1981 et les données sur les recensements effectués après 1961 vont à l'encontre de la notion courante du « village en déclin » qui trouve son point d'appui dans les compilations des annuaires et les tendances démographiques antérieurs. Contrairement à ce que semblaient indiquer les annuaires et les écrits relatifs aux localités centrales, la plupart des huit régions ont connu une récente croissance démographique et n'ont pas subi de grande baisse de l'activité économique. La spécialisation économique locale et l'attrait du milieu ont été grandement contributifs à leur essor continu.

ARTICLES

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Fred A. Dahms

Résumé/Abstract

L'auteur de cet article nous présente l'histoire urbaine dans le cadre de «processus» pour ainsi faire ressortir dans le temps les petits établissements ruraux et les situer dans leur contexte d'arrière-pays agricoles et de réseaux urbains. Cette étude individuelle de huit localités dans les comtés ontariens de Huron et Bruce, de 1891 à 1981, illustre le mécanisme qui apporta la spécialisation fonctionnelle et l'«urbanisation» croissantes des villages ayant moins de 1,100 habitants en 1981. Les enquêtes sur le terrain de 1981 et les données sur les recensements effectués après 1961 vont à l'encontre de la notion courante du «village en déclin» qui trouve son point d'appui dans les compilations des annuaires et les tendances démographiques antérieurs. Contrairement à ce que semblaient indiquer les annuaires et les écrits relatifs aux localités centrales, la plupart des huit régions ont connu une récente croissance démographique et n'ont pas subi de grande baisse de l'activité économique. La spécialisation économique locale et l'attrait du milieu ont été grandement contributifs à leur essor continu.

A broad interpretation of urban history as "process" is proposed to include the temporal study of small settlements within the context of their agricultural hinterlands and urban systems. The illustrative case study of eight places in Huron and Bruce Counties, Ontario, between 1891 and 1981 documents the process of increasing functional specialization and "urbanization" of settlements having populations under 1,100 in 1981. Field surveys in 1981 and census data since 1961 contradict the popular perception of "dying villages" based primarily upon directory tabulations and earlier population trends. Most of the eight places surveyed have experienced recent population growth and much less functional decline than suggested by either directories or central place literature. Local specialized economic functions and environmental attractions have contributed substantially to their continuing and increasing viability.

Recently, the study of urban history has become increasingly interdisciplinary and has included settlements from rural hamlets to the metropolis. The early preoccupation with individual case studies has been complemented by work on a wide variety of themes, ranging from those emphasizing boosterism to studies of urban system evolution at various scales.[1] Such diversity in approach and subject matter has been accompanied by considerable discussion of the methods and theoretical bases of the discipline.[2] In a recent review of urban history in Canada, Stelter suggested that Canadian urban historical writing can be placed into one of three categories[3] which were derived primarily from suggestions made earlier by Lampard and Herschberg.[4] One approach to urban history is to consider "urban as entity" in which one attempts to explain the formation of the urban environment in terms of people and place. Various independent variables such as the political economy, population movement, technology and economic growth are assessed for their effect upon the evolution of the city, which is the final prod-

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uct. A second approach is that of "urban as setting." In this case, the city or town is considered as a location within which matters such as class or social mobility are studied. The third approach may be entitled "urban as process." Here the urban environment itself becomes the independent variable which affects the people and events contained within its boundaries. Although this definition captures the essence of "urban as process," my reading of the earlier literature suggests a considerably broader interpretation which will be outlined below.

Urban as Process

John Dyos is considered by many to be the "father" of urban history. His words on the matter or urban history in Britain provide the starting point for this discussion.[5] He suggested that urban history "has to be concerned with an overall process whereby the balance within a given community in a larger sense, changes from a rural to an urban one . . . there is a movement of population into town, there is an increase in the average size of the concentration."[6] He went on to state that this process "envelopes an enormous range of places, not only within the country but across the face of the globe." Such places have an "inexorable tendency" to increase in number and grow in scale.[7] Dyos suggested that it is not possible to overcome the "inertia of the historical process that has been set up. . . . People live in chosen spots, they live at particular addresses, they live in particular towns. Now we can challenge the urban historian by requiring him to relate the great process to the individual experience of particular places."[8]

The discussion between Dyos and Stave noted above seems to indicate that Dyos interpreted "urban as process" in a considerably broader context than that suggested by Stelter. Dyos proposed that urban historians need study not only the way in which the urban environment affects the people therein; he was concerned also with the *system of urban centres* from the smallest hamlet to the metropolis, all of which interact and also affect the people and events within their boundaries.

Herschberg has also hinted at a broad interpretation of urban history as process. He stated that urban as process consisted of the "dynamic modelling of the interrelationships among environment, behaviour and group experience."[9] These three factors constituted the basic components of the larger urban system. He suggested that one had to consider them simultaneously along with the complex feedback loops and unanticipated changes in each corner of the urban system.[10] The role of technological development in the urbanization process along with the relationships between communications and urban growth were essential to its explanation.[11] Differentiation of urban roles and sizes were recognized in the suggestion that we must classify community types such as agricultural villages, mercantile trading towns, handicraft manufacturing centres, great industrial cities, and mine, mill, frontier and boom towns.[12] Herschberg went on to quote Warner in emphasizing that jobs, housing and transportation are the fundamental building blocks of urban experience.[13] Changing residential patterns, housing and job availability are essentially the result of the factors of industrial location, transportation, communications technology and production. While some of these comments apply to the individual city, it will be shown below that they are equally applicable to the organization of small settlements scattered about the rural countryside. Herschberg reiterated many of the points noted above in his 1981 study of Philadelphia.[14]

Chad Gaffield has considered "urban as process" in a more recent discussion. He quoted Herschberg's view and then suggested that it "promotes a far more integrated approach to urban history than is apparent in the Canadian context thus far."[15] Moreover, he suggested that the most important weakness of urban history during the last decade is the fact that the urban experience has not been addressed "within a larger social and environmental context."[16] Gaffield suggested that scholars interested in urban history should go well beyond urban centres to attempt to understand urban development in particular cities within a more "geographically integrated" framework. He cited Gagan's recent study of the emergence of Brampton as an urban centre in Peel County as an example of the city being treated as both an independent and dependent variable.[17] Gaffield concluded that "a regional approach to analysing the process of urbanization has the advantage of placing specific city development into a context where the meaning 'urban' can be assessed systematically."[18]

A Reinterpretation of Urban History as Process

I suggest that we must go back to the thoughts of Dyos to develop a truly comprehensive view of urban history as process. Urbanization is not only the agglomeration of population into fixed locations divorced from the tilling of the soil; it is also the evolution of lifestyles, attitudes, economic organization, social organization and demographic characteristics. While it is all very well to study what has occurred through time in a particular settlement that eventually is classified as "urban," one must also pay some attention to the evolutionary forces of change in the countryside. The metropolitan hypothesis of Maurice Careless emphasized the interrelationships among settlements at the cutting edge of the frontier; those in the agricultural hinterland, and the dominating national metropolis. As settlement progressed and time passed, places moved up or down the urban hierarchy as their functions evolved and as former frontiers were assimilated into the national space economy.[19]

Spelt's seminal study of the development of the settlement pattern in South Central Ontario seems to be an

excellent model of urban history as process.[20] It not only examined the changing form and function of the largest places; it also addressed the differential interaction among large and small centres through time. It investigated the "factors of urbanization" at every scale from that of Toronto to the smallest hamlet in Southern Ontario. It considered the urban functions of retailing, wholesaling, commerce, and the role of settlements as places of residence for their citizens. I suggest that this approach is the one intended by Dyos in his interview with Stave. Individual settlements are studied, but they are considered within the broader context of their agricultural environment as well as that provided by the urban system. To various degrees, most settlements provide some combination of shelter, employment or other economic functions. These places are linked together and to their rural hinterlands in varying degrees depending on the level of transportation technology available at the time.

If this interpretation of urban history as process is accepted, it is clear that few such studies (some of which have been reviewed by the author) have been attempted.[21] Evidence from the literature of planning provides additional support for this holistic approach to the study of urban history. In a recent article, Mohammed Qadeer provided overwhelming statistical evidence to show that "urbanization" has now reached even to the lowest level of the settlement hierarchy.[22] If this is so, urban historians are quite justified, and probably compelled to study not only the evolution of individual cities, but equally that of all the settlements within the urban systems associated with such cities. Qadeer's major points are as follows:

(a) The Canadian settlement system is essentially modern-urban. Even the smallest rural communities are economically, technologically, institutionally and sociologically fairly standardized and homogenized.

(b) Rural communities may be differentiated from others by four attributes — (i) size (smallness), (ii) mix of activities and institutions, (iii) degree of integration of national institutions at the local level, (iv) truncation of their social structures.

(c) Rural communities are in a dependency relationship with larger centres as part of their urban systems.

(d) Rural communities are sociologically unidimensional in general. They are working class ethos in social organization.

(e) As an aggregate, and as part of the national settlement system, rural communities have socio-economic characteristics very similar to urban centres. *Individually, however, rural communities vary widely, almost to the point of uniqueness.*[23]

Qadeer went on to assert that:

> Rural Canada has been incorporated into the modern industrial milieu. Thus, the problems, expectations and needs of rural communities are mostly similar to those of urban areas: they require prosperity, stability, equity and a sense of control over their destinies. Of course, there are qualitative differences and threshold distinctions between urban and rural needs; but, all in all, those are variations on the same themes and are not reflections of two separate universes.[24]

To sum up, the perspective that I favour is one that emphasizes the interdependency of "urban" and "rural" settlements within systems that may be national, regional, or local depending upon the scale of study. I submit that the process of urbanization involves not only the movement of people from agricultural to nucleated settlements, but more recently the movement of population back from major cities to much smaller places in the countryside. This process is now well documented and the object of much concern by planners and geographers.[25] In several earlier articles I have demonstrated that the essential urban elements that were once found primarily in the city are now scattered across the rural countryside.[26] When one examines places with populations of 10,000 down to 25, a clear differentiation may be seen. Many of the very smallest no longer have any economic function but continue to thrive as residential enclaves providing pleasant environments and shelter for sometimes rapidly increasing populations. Others fulfill the residential function and have one or two small stores or factories providing local employment. Still others contain specialized economic activities called "outsized functions" which do a disproportionately large amount of business and provide considerably more employment than one would expect in an otherwise insignificant rural settlement.[27] Some of these places specialize in serving tourists, others in supplying accommodation for commuters, and others as havens for retired people from the city or from nearby farms. As one moves up the scale towards larger places, more of them combine all functions and act also as rural service centres.

Given the flexibility of travel provided by the automobile, one may consider the rural settlement pattern as a form of "dispersed city."[28] Some places serve only as residential neighbourhoods from which people travel to others that provide local employment or shopping. The car enables individuals to drive from one small rural nucleation to another for the goods, services and employment required, just as a metropolitan dweller might commute from one area of his urban milieu to the other. It is clear that the size, form and function of "dispersed cities" have changed considerably through time. One might argue that in the earliest years there was no such entity simply because transportation on foot or by animal powered vehicles did not allow the interaction necessary to promote specialization within a settlement system. Rural settlements functioned generally as "central

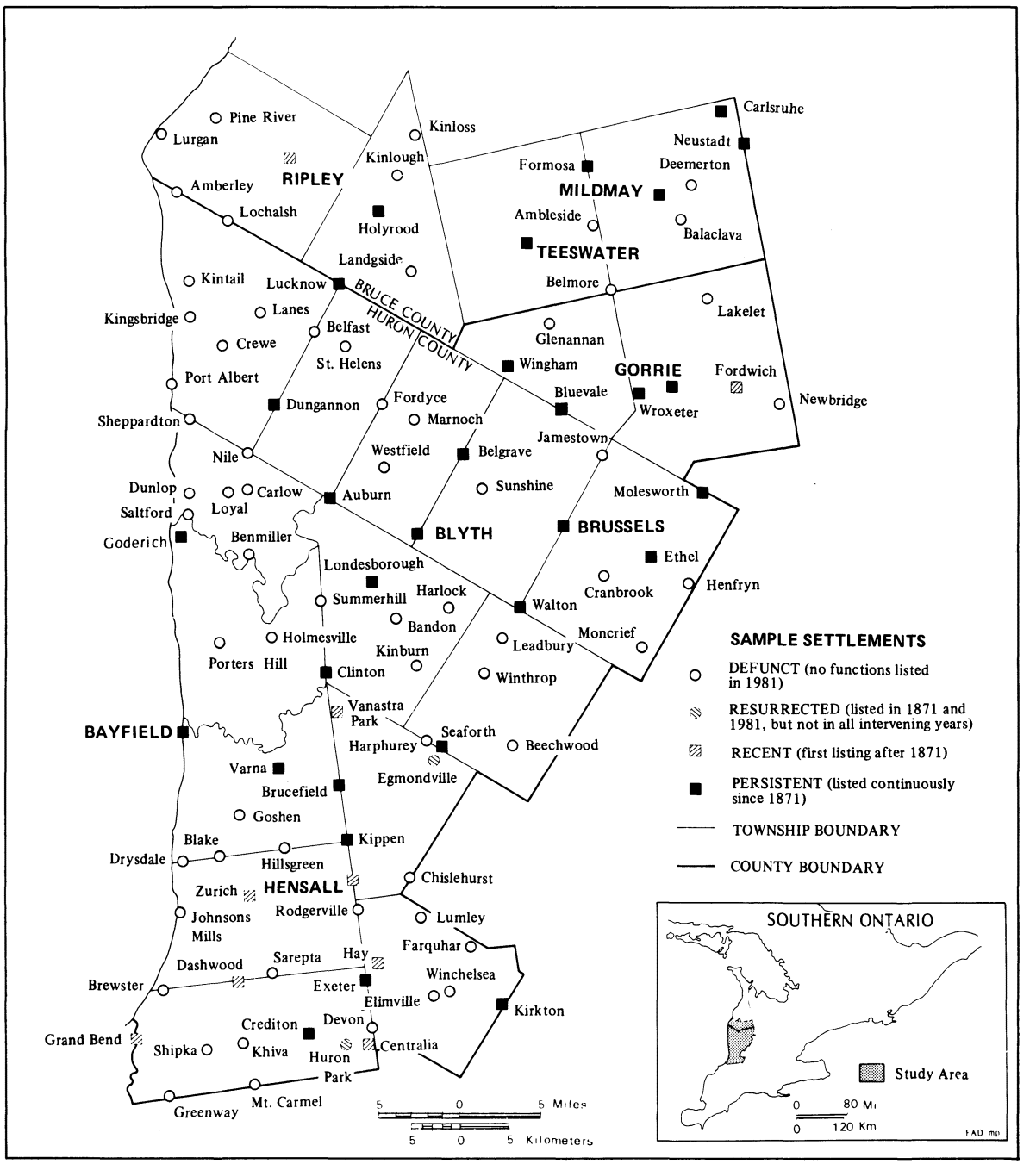

FIGURE 1. All settlements in the study area that have had economic functions listed by Dun and Bradstreet Reference Books between 1871 and 1981.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

places" or primarily service centres which processed and traded the produce from their local hinterlands. As time went on, however, improving transportation enabled individual small settlements to be assimilated into the local and then regional or national space economy, after which their roles became differentiated and their functions changed radically.[29] It is my contention that an examination of this process is one aspect of the study of "urban history as process," especially as outlined by Dyos and Gaffield.

Because of the extensive areal scale of many settlement systems it is difficult to include in detail factors such as boosterism, social history, demographic change, migration and politics often considered by those studying the evolution of a single place. On the other hand, we can determine the spatial associations and evolving functions of a large group of urbanizing centres within a large area. Such an interpretation of urban history touches on many of the themes suggested by Careless and elaborated by Whebell and

Dahms.[30] This perspective will help us to comprehend the way in which the agricultural economy has been interlinked with that of the system of urban centres through time. Moreover, it contributes an explanatory, interdisciplinary dimension which is often missing from case studies of individual cities treated in isolation from the system of transportation and communications linking them to the rest of the world. It is not suggested that the approach propounded here is the only way to study urban history as process; but it is clearly a neglected dimension whose pursuit will answer various questions not normally considered by urban historians. It will certainly help to place individual urban histories into more meaningful local, regional and national contexts.

The empirical component of this article traces the evolution of a group of settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties, Ontario from 1891 to 1981 as an example of "urban history as process" (Figure 1). It attempts to measure and evaluate the changing populations and functions of these settlements, both individually and as a group, during the period being considered. It attempts to explain the varying rates of growth and the relatively recent differentiation of functions amongst them. Although prediction is not a major object of this exercise, some suggestions as to the future role, form and functions of the places being considered are proposed in the conclusion.

THE EVOLUTION OF SMALL SETTLEMENTS

Small settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce counties are typical "rural service centres" which were established initially to provide goods and services to farmers living in their rich argicultural hinterlands. The area was settled in the late 1820s when John Galt and the Canada Company developed the Huron Tract.[31] Initially, the economy of the Huron County was primarily agricultural and it continues to rank first in the province on a number of agricultural indicators.[32] The location of the study area far from any major metropolitan areas allows us to examine the urbanization process as it has occurred independent of changes induced by commuting to major employment centres (Figure 1). The rise and fall of the settlements being considered here may be attributed more to technological and economic changes affecting the whole province than to their proximity to any major metropolitan centre. A study of such places will not only improve our understanding of the general processes of urbanization through time, but will address specifically the role and changing functions of places near the bottom of the urban hierarchy.

Background

Before looking in detail at the eight settlements selected for detailed analysis, the general situation in the area at its peak in the 1890s and its evolution to the present will be sketched. The maximum number of settlements with economic functions (95) occurred in 1891, although 1881 was the peak year for population when it stood at 97,512.

In general, urban population rose very quickly in the early days to 1881, after which it declined slightly and then increased after 1951. Rural population peaked in 1881, declined until 1939 and has risen slowly and unevenly to 1976. The number of business establishments was highest in 1891 and has also decreased since then. The number of settlements having economic functions has also declined since 1891, although field counts in 1981 indicated more settlements having economic functions than were listed by the Dun and Bradstreet directories used as a data source.[33]

When long-term statistics are examined, it is obvious that the size of settlements has increased while their number has decreased. In 1871 there was an average of 15.5 businesses per place while in 1981 this stood at 33.8. In 1891, the average population of settlements was 805, but this dropped to 688 in 1931 and slowly rose to 1,644 by 1981. The number of persons per business establishment rose from 39 in 1891 to 49 in 1981. The general trend indicated by these data is one of increasing centralization of economic functions in larger places, and a general decline in rural population from 1871 to 1941. After 1951 the rural population stabilized and has since hovered between 41,000 and 42,000. On the other hand, in the same period, urban population increased from 17,790 to 25,072.[34]

Figure 1 indicates the location of all settlements listed as having economic functions by Dun and Bradstreet directories between 1871 and 1981. Every township contains at least one locality which is no longer indicated as having economic functions by the directories. Very few settlements have lost their economic functions and then regained them, but 30 places have continuously had some business activity in the 110 years for which data are mapped. These are reasonably evenly distributed across the area (with the exception of the extreme northwest) and tend to be the places with the largest populations.

MAJOR ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS: 1891 AND 1981

By 1891, the study area had been settled for over 50 years and had reached peaks of population and economic activity not to be surpassed for many years. By this time, the road network was complete and rail service had come to many places. Practically all the land was under cultivation and it was prosperous enough to support numerous settlements having diverse economic functions.[35]

In 1891, the railway was useful for the transportation of freight and inter-urban traffic, but was of little value to the farmer going to town. Most trips were still made on foot, by horse and buggy or by horse and cart. The distribution of

TABLE 1

ECONOMIC FUNCTIONS IN HURON AND SOUTHERN BRUCE COUNTY SETTLEMENTS: 1891 AND 1981

Most Common

Function 1891	# Places Found	%	# Establishments	%
General Store	87	91.6	173	8.8
Blacksmith	78	82.1	156	7.9
Hotel	64	67.4	139	7.1
Grist, Flour & Feed Mill	53	55.8	58	3.0
Footwear/Shoemaker	51	53.7	156	7.9
Sawmill	49	51.6	70	3.6
Wagon Maker	43	45.3	60	3.1
Tailor	35	36.8	74	3.8
Grocery Store	31	32.6	85	4.3
Agr. Implements and Supplies	13	13.7	52	2.6

Most Common

Function 1981	# Places Found	%	# Establishments	%
Construction Trades	28	71.8	117	8.9
Service Station	28	71.8	103	7.8
General Store	25	64.1	58	4.4
Furniture Store	21	53.8	90	6.8
Building Supplies	21	53.8	79	6.0
Restaurant	20	51.3	57	4.3
Wholesale (Agr.)	18	46.2	60	4.6
Wholesale (Non. Agr.)	17	43.6	64	4.9
Food Store	17	43.6	54	4.1
Miscellaneous Retail	16	41.6	94	7.1

Least Common

Function 1891*	# Places Found	%	# Establishments	%
Boat Builder	1	1.0	1	.05
Boiler Maker	1	1.0	1	.05
Broom Manufacturer	1	1.0	1	.05
Cabinet Maker	1	1.0	1	.05
Cider Mill	1	1.0	1	.05
Chemical Company	1	1.0	1	.05
Dress Maker	1	1.0	1	.05
Fanning Mill	1	1.0	1	.05
Feed Store	1	1.0	1	.05
Laundry	1	1.0	1	.05
Watch Repair	1	1.0	1	.05

Least Common

Function 1981	# Places Found	%	# Establishments	%
Chemical Company	1	2.6	1	0.07
Leather Goods Manufacturer	1	2.3	1	0.07
Textile Manufacturer	3	7.7	3	0.2
Electrical Manufacturer	3	7.7	3	0.2
Transportation & Communications	7	17.9	6	0.5
Mining (mainly gravel extraction)	9	23.1	5	0.4
Amusement Facility	9	23.1	5	0.4
Finance & Real Estate	11	28.2	10	0.8
Food Processing	11	28.2	11	0.8
Manufacturing Industry	12	30.8	7	0.5

Totals for Study Area	1891	1981
Total Population	76,462	64,118
Urban Population	18,734	20,108**
Rural Population	57,728	36,019**
Places	95	39
Establishments	1,904	1,318
Persons Per Place	805	1,644
Persons Per Establishment	39	49

* There were 24 additional functions in this category in the Study Area.

** Huron County only.

SOURCE: F.A. Dahms, *The Changing Functions of Rural Settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties: Historical Background and Major Trends, 1951-1981.* (Guelph: University of Guelph, University School of Rural Planning and Development Publication 110, 1982), Appendix A; *Census of Canada,* 1891; Statistics Canada, *Population Census,* 1981.

settlements and economic functions reflected the distance a farmer could travel from his home to a settlement and back in a day. This led to the large number of relatively evenly distributed places (Figure 1). Farming was more widespread than today, with land now considered marginal and not under the plough still being cultivated. Today various areas in the northern part of Huron County that had been cultivated in the 1880s have reverted to non-farm uses.

Settlement Functions: 1891

The analysis of settlement functions in 1891 was established by selecting the 10 most and least common economic activities (Table 1). Data are organized according to the number of places in which functions occur, so that the first ranking function is the most ubiquitous although it may not necessarily have the greatest number of establishments. While rankings often do coincide, functions such as the grocery store with many establishments were not found in every settlement. This reflects their concentration in the largest places such as Goderich, Exeter, or Wingham (Figure 1).

The functions of the settlements in 1891 were related primarily to agriculture as an economic base. The first five (general store, blacksmith, hotel; grist, flour and feedmill; and footwear/shoemaker) were all found in over half the settlements. Even though grocery stores were found in only 31 places, there were 85 such establishments. This contrasts with the general store at the top of the list, with just over twice as many outlets. Such functions were concerned primarily with serving farmers in the hinterlands of the rural service centres. The 156 blacksmiths not only supplied shoes and fixed these to horses, they also made a wide range of tools, nails and agricultural implements. The stores supplied all manner of items no longer made on the farm, while hotels were important social (eating and drinking) centres and provided accommodation for people coming to town to do business, collect mail or have their grain processed. Most of the large number of grist, flour and feed mills combined processing, manufacturing and service, as they transformed the raw material of grain into flour for both wholesale and retail purposes. Sawmills changed heavy logs into square timbers and lumber for building houses and other structures both inside and outside the settlements. Wagon makers manufactured the major means of transportation for farmers coming to town, while the function of agricultural implement and supply dealers is obvious. All the most common economic functions in 1891 clearly provided important services and retailing to townspeople and to farmers who outnumbered them by a ratio of 3 to 1 (Table 1).

The least common functions may be considered "high order" or somewhat specialized activities. In 1891 these were not concentrated in any single settlement, but rather were scattered throughout the area. Some such as the chemical company at Goderich were directly related to natural resources (salt), but others reflect the local initiative or entrepreneurial talent of persons in many different locations. Most may roughly be categorized as manufacturing, although in many instances they were custom rather than production operations. In addition to those listed, there were 24 other specialized activities ranging from an artificial limb manufacturer to a (school) reader manufacturer. The long list of specialized functions indicates that even in 1891 some specialization had taken place in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties. Unlike the situation in Wellington County, where most high order activities were found in larger centres such as Guelph, Fergus or Elora, there was no marked concentration in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties. The picture in 1891 was essentially that of a relatively uniformly populated agricultural area having numerous (95) settlements (Wellington had only 63 at the same date) serving a primarily rural population.[36] Centralization, manufacturing specialization and major changes in the economy were to come later.

Settlement Functions: 1981

The functions of settlements in 1981 were tabulated in the same manner as those in 1891. A number of differences are immediately obvious (Table 1). First, the centralization of activities in far fewer places is illustrated by the fact that 117 construction tradesmen were found in only 28 centres. Similarly, the 103 service stations were concentrated in 28 settlements. Even more striking is the agglomeration of 94 miscellaneous retail stores (variety stores, jewelry stores, antique shops, drug stores, for example) in only 16 places.

A different orientation of economic activities is also evident in the 1981 statistics. The blacksmith has been replaced (although with fewer outlets) by its modern equivalent, the service station. The general store has dropped from first to third in ubiquity, and from first to eighth in total numbers. Many continue to do business in the very smallest settlements. The large number of construction trades reflects the modern need for plumbers, electricians, carpenters and tinsmiths who now perform functions undertaken by individuals on their own property in the 1800s. The wholesaling of agricultural goods continues to serve the agricultural sector of the local economy, but furniture stores, restaurants, food stores and miscellaneous retailing provide services to urban people living in nucleations as well as to farmers. Of course all economic activities are available to the rural population, but it is much smaller than it was in 1891 (Table 1).

The nature of the least common or "high order" functions of settlements in 1891 had also changed by 1981. While the chemical company at Goderich remains, a number of modern manufacturing industries found in more than one place have displaced the custom activities of earlier years. Amusement facilities are found in several lakeshore settlements while transportation and communication functions (mostly school bus operators) are more ubiquitous. The mining of gravel, and financial/real estate activities are related primarily to the building industry.

In general, economic functions have shifted from those principally serving farmers in 1891 to a mix of manufacturing industries and service activities catering mainly to an urbanized population in 1981. To some degree, earlier functions such as the blacksmith have been replaced by the service station, as the saw mill and cabinet maker have been replaced by the building supply outlet of 1981. Wholesale activities which were an integral part of many early business enterprises have now become important on their own. The social and lodging functions of settlements represented by 139 hotels may partially have been supplanted by the 57 restaurants, but modern transportation has greatly reduced the need to remain overnight in any small place. Centralization, specialization, and the necessity of a considerably larger hinterland are the characteristics that set 1981 economic functions apart from those in the settlements of 1891. While the total 1981 population is smaller than that in 1891, fewer places and establishments each now serve more persons than at the earlier date (Table 1).

THE SAMPLE SETTLEMENTS: GENERAL TRENDS, 1891 — 1981

Our discussion of "urbanization" in the countryside will now focus upon eight places that are spatially and functionally characteristic of settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties having populations between 500 and 1,000 (Table 2, Figure 1). These were chosen because each has persisted as a residential and service centre since 1891, and each has undergone changes that are characteristic of those found in similar settlements elsewhere in southern Ontario.[37] Since 1891 there has been considerable differentiation of roles which is partially a result of locations and partially a result of more general economic, technological and population changes.

When aggregate statistics for the settlements are analyzed, two trends become apparent immediately (Table 2). First, there has been a major decrease (46.9 per cent) in the number of business establishments between 1891 and 1981. Second, there has been a very slight drop in population (1.9 per cent) between 1891 and 1981. Some places such as Bayfield and Hensall have had substantial population increases during this period, but these have been offset by decreases elsewhere varying from 0.1 per cent in Blyth to 20 per cent in Brussels. If we compare 1981 business establishment data based on field counts to 1891 directory data, the apparent decrease is only 34 per cent (Table 2). The discrepancy is a result of several factors. In 1891, directories were very complete and listed practically every business activity in each place. By 1981, most small personal service enterprises, (barber, hairdresser, auto repair, doctor, lawyer, etc.) were omitted by the directories which are concerned mainly with

TABLE 2

POPULATION AND NUMBER OF BUSINESS ESTABLISHMENTS IN SELECTED SMALL SETTLEMENTS IN HURON AND SOUTHERN BRUCE COUNTIES: 1891, 1961, 1981

	No. Establishments				Population			Change 1891-1981				Change 1961-1981			
								Estab.		Estab. Field Counts		Pop.		Estab.		Pop.	
	1891	1961	1981	1981 Field Counts	1891	1961	1981	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Bayfield	26	19	25	26	595	464[b]	649	– 1	– 3.8	0	0	54	9.1	6	31.5	185	39.9
Blyth	81	40	39	52	927	724	926	– 42	–51.9	– 29	–35.8	– 1	– 0.1	– 1	– 2.5	202	27.9
Brussels	84	53	31	44	1,204	844	962	– 53	–63.0	– 40	–47.6	–242	–20.0	–22	–41.5	118	14.0
Gorrie[d]	40	17	24	26	500[a]	319	424[c]	– 16	–40.0	– 14	–35.0	– 76	–15.2	7	41.2	105	32.9
Hensall[d]	50	52	42	38	650[a]	926	973	– 8	–16.0	– 12	–24.0	323	49.7	–10	–19.2	47	5.1
Mildmay[d]	56	43	27	45	1,000[a]	847	928	– 27	–48.2	– 11	–19.6	– 72	– 7.2	–16	–37.2	81	9.6
Ripley[d]	52	32	18	23	600[a]	464	591	– 34	–65.3	– 34	–55.8	– 9	– 1.5	–14	–43.8	127	27.4
Teeswater	61	33	33	43	1,128	919	1,026	– 29	–47.5	– 18	–29.5	–102	– 9.0	0	0	107	11.6
Total	450	289	239	297	6,604	5,507	6,479	–211	–46.9	–158	–34.0	–125	– 1.9	–50	–17.3	972	17.7

[a] Dun and Bradstreet estimate.

[b] 1966

[c] 1976

[d] Earliest Census Populations; Mildmay, 1921 - 708; Ripley, 1931 - 442; Hensall, 1901 - 820; Gorrie, 1956 - 288.

SOURCE: F.A. Dahms, *The Changing Functions of Rural Settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties: Historical Background and Major Trends, 1951-1981.* (Guelph: University of Guelph, University School of Rural Planning and Development, Publication 110, 1982), Appendix A; *Census of Canada,* 1891; Statistics Canada, *Population Census,* 1981.

either the credit or investment potential of businesses. In other instances, enterprises located in a settlement but having their head office registered elsewhere are also omitted from directory listings. This leads to an understatement of the number of business activities in each place, although Dun and Bradstreet directories certainly do list all major enterprises. Nevertheless, the field count data are more directly comparable to 1891 directory tabulations and do not portray as much decline as the 1981 directory counts. In fact, Bayfield data showed no change between 1891 and 1981 when field counts were used, and several other places such as Mildmay, Blyth and Teeswater displayed much smaller decreases than those indicated by 1981 directory data.

The Recent Past

The time period being considered is crucial to an analysis of change in small settlements. Although the 1891 to 1981 trends of population and numbers of establishments are negative, the picture is altered considerably if one examines a more recent period. In 1961 the number of establishments in the study area reached its lowest point.[38] When we examine change between 1961 and 1981, both the trends and our interpretation differ from those based on a longer time span. While the number of establishments did decline from 1961 to 1981, the loss was only 17.7 per cent in contrast to a 46.9 per cent decrease over the longer period. When field counts in 1981 are compared with 1961 directory statistics, a 2.8 per cent increase is indicated. This is a change of only eight establishments, but it does counteract the impression of "dying" settlements. Population statistics are even more impressive. Every settlement gained population between 1961 and 1981 for a total increase of 17.7 per cent or some 972 persons. These changes were not evenly distributed across the settlements, with Bayfield, Gorrie, Blyth and Ripley showing the greatest increases. Hence, despite long-term trends that suggest decline, all the sample settlements increased in population after 1961 and have made either small gains or experienced only slight decreases in the number of business establishments. Their economic functions have clearly changed since 1891, and they have become more important as residential nucleations since 1961.

Functional Change in Sample Settlements: 1891 — 1981

Table 3 has been compiled to facilitate a detailed assessment of functional changes in the sample settlements between their peak year in 1891, and 1981. It shows the number of functional units in major business categories between those dates.[39] Rather than enumerating every type of business found in 1891, those that could conveniently be classified under 1981 categories were so listed. Distinctive activities such as blacksmith and livery stable were retained, but others such as grist and flour milling were grouped under Agricultural Production and Services, while implement manufacturers were categorized as Metal Product Manufacturing. Saw mills were tabulated as Wood Product Manufacturers and carriage makers are found under Transportation Equipment Manufacturing in Table 3.

The most striking difference between the functions of settlements in 1891 and 1981 is the remarkable decrease in Agricultural Production and Services (Table 3). The number of such activities declined from 58 in 1891 to 11 in 1981, clearly reflecting the changing economic base. Other major decreases between these dates are those in clothing manufacturers (mainly tailors), hotels, leather product manufacturers (harness makers) all kinds of stores except those selling furniture; transportation manufacturers (wagon makers) and wood product manufacturers (mostly sawmills). The number of blacksmiths in the eight towns dropped from 23 to none, but one might argue that their functions were replaced by the 21 car dealers and gas stations that appeared by 1981. The horse, which was serviced by the blacksmith and was the major mode of transportation in 1891 has now been almost completely replaced for this purpose by the motor vehicle.

Major increases in functional units occurred in the following categories: Building Supplies, 0–24; Construction Trades, 9–27; Furniture Stores, 6–15; Transportation and Utilities (mostly school bus operators) 3–13; and wholesale activities, 0–21. These statistics reflect major functional changes in the settlements between 1891 and 1981. One might argue that such changes are a result of the increasing urbanization of small settlements which now have distinctively *urban* functions rather than those related primarily to the service of agricultural hinterlands.

The Urbanization Process

The urbanization process reflects not only a changing agricultural economy which depends increasingly upon large-scale mechanized farming, but also improvements in transportation which have allowed larger places to serve wide hinterlands and smaller settlements to specialize. The decline in the number of mills, blacksmiths, and custom manufacturing (such as harness and wagon making) is no doubt a result of farmers shifting from small-scale production using the horse as the major power source and local mills to process their products, to large-scale agribusiness using sophisticated farm machinery and industrialized processing facilities.[40] The major decrease in the number of retail outlets and hotels is but one result of the great mobility afforded to everyone having a motor vehicle. There is little reason to stay in town overnight or to shop in the local village. The decrease in the number of general stores, grocery stores and tailors is a result of the centralization of modern supermarkets and department stores in larger settlements. People can easily bypass the local community for shopping in a major centre providing greater variety and more opportunity for comparison shopping.

TABLE 3

NUMBER OF FUNCTIONAL UNITS* IN SELECTED HAMLETS AND VILLAGES IN HURON AND SOUTHERN BRUCE COUNTIES: 1891 AND 1981

Settlement and Year

Function	Bayfield		Blyth		Brussels		Gorrie		Hensall		Mildmay		Ripley		Teeswater		Total	
	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981	1891	1981
Agricultural Production & Services	5		11	2	10	1	3	2	12	4	9	1	5	1	3		58	11
Automotive Dealer/ Gas Station		4		2		3		1		4		3		1		3	0	21
Auto Repair				2		2				2						1	0	7
Blacksmith			3		4		3		2		4		3		4		23	0
Building Construction			4						3			1					7	1
Building Supplies		4		2		4		4		2		3		3		2	0	24
Business Service			1		2		1			1	1				1		6	1
Clothing Manuf.	1	2	4	2	5		2		1		4		2		3		22	4
Clothing Store	3		1	5	4	1	2		4		3	3	8		6	2	31	11
Communication & Utilities			1											1		1	1	2
Construction Trades		1	3	3	2	2	1	2	2	4		7		5	1	3	9	27
Finance & Real Estate	1		3		2		1	1	1		1		2		2		13	1
Food Product Manuf.	1		1	1	2		1		1		1		1	1	2	1	10	3
Food Store	3	2	9	3	6	2	2		3	3	2		3		5	4	33	14
Furniture Store			1	3				2		4	2	1	1	1	2	4	6	15
General Store	6	2	4	1	10	3	5	3	3	3	5	1	3	2	5		41	15
Hotel	3	1	6	1	4	1	2		4		4		3		3	2	29	5
Leather Prod. Mauf.	1		6		2		1		1		3		2		3		19	0
Livery			1		2		1		1				1		1		7	0
Manuf. Industry		2	5	1		1			1	1						2	6	7
Metal Prod. Manuf.					4	1	3	2	1		2	1	2		4		16	4
Personal Service			2		4	1	1		2	1	2	1	1		2		14	3
Printing & Publishing			2	1	1		2						1		1	1	7	2
Repair Shop				1		1		1		1		1					0	5
Restaurant				2	1	2		1		1							1	6
Retail Store	1	2	12	3	14	3	5	1	9		4	1	8	1	5		58	11
Stone, Clay, Glass Concrete Prod. Mauf.			1		1		1								1	2	4	2
Transport Equip. Manuf.	2	1	2		3		2		1		3		1		1		15	1
Transportation & Utilities		4	1	2		1	1	2		2		2	1				3	13
Wholesale — Durable Goods				1		1		1		4							0	7
Wholesale — Non Durable Goods				1		1		1		3		1		2		5	0	14
Wood Product Manuf.			4		3		4		4	2	5		3		4		27	2
Total	27	25	88	39	86	31	44	24	56	42	55	27	51	18	59	33	466	239

* Physicians and Veterinarians are not included. Banks are not listed for 1981.

SOURCE: F.A. Dahms, *The Changing Functions of Rural Settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties: Historical Background and Major Trends, 1951-1981. (Guelph: University of Guelph, University School of Rural Planning and Development, Publication 110, 1982), Appendix A.*

A number of functional additions to the eight settlements are also indicative of the urbanization process that has occurred. Building supply outlets and construction trades are found in each. The building supply outlets no doubt serve many handymen who do their own building and renovations, but they also serve construction companies which build new homes, factories and structures related to the agricultural economy of the area. The increase in construction trades such as carpenters, electricians or plumbers is another symptom of the increasing sophistication of urban society. In 1891, farmers who greatly outnumbered the urban people could handle their own building and renovation projects, either alone or with the help of neighbors. The urban population was served by a relatively small number of carpenters and other tradesmen. Now large-scale construction requires far more specialized tradesmen. Another symptom of urbanization and the more extensive space-economy of 1981 is the growth of wholesale activities in the settlements. Those handling durable goods (7) distribute manufactured items from warehouses to retailers. Non-durable goods wholesalers are almost all involved in collecting and distributing the products of the large farms that have become increasingly common in the area.[41] They handle feed, seed, chemicals and other products related to the agricultural industry.

Even the thirteen businesses listed under transportation and utilities are related to increasing urbanization and centralization. Almost all are local school bus operators who transport both rural and small-town children to centralized district schools. The increase in the number of furniture stores is a symptom of the replacement of hand-crafted merchandise by the sale of factory-made products in modern communities. The general picture of functional change in the settlements is clearly one from places primarily serving rural agricultural hinterlands, to those having somewhat specialized retail functions serving both rural and urban customers. Each now provides some specialized retailing, wholesale distribution, transportation, and of course, the care and sale of the motor vehicle. While most of the traditional retailing functions remain in these settlements, far fewer are found today than in the past. Manufacturing has changed from the custom fabrication of harnesses, horseshoes, clothes, stoves and wagons, to factory industries producing furniture, clothing and mechanical equipment. It might be argued that these changes are a result of the process of urbanization in that they often cater to highly mobile urban customers rather than to a scattered group of farmers and townspeople serving those farmers.

FUNCTIONAL SPECIALIZATION IN SAMPLE SETTLEMENTS

The most striking change since 1891 has been the evolution of most small places from the status of complete rural service centres to somewhat specialized places. Although often overlooked by scholars concerned only with economic functions, one of the major roles of all the sample settlements and many even smaller than those considered here is that of providing residences for many inhabitants.[42] Throughout the area there are many hamlets and villages having from 3 or 4 houses to a small new subdivision or even several 5 or 6 unit apartment buildings. In many of the places that have long since lost all their economic functions, buildings that were once used as stores and the two or three storey business blocks along the main streets have been converted to residential uses. A major body of recent literature has analyzed the increasing return of population to the countryside.[43] However, such people are not moving to farms. They are classified as "rural non-farm" dwellers and most live in small nucleated settlements of less than 1,000 population.

In Huron and Southern Bruce Counties, retired people constitute a major proportion of the rural-non-farm population, augmented by those who wish to return to nature, those who have the "small-is-beautiful" attitude and others who have converted cottages to year-round residences.[44] Such trends may be considered as "demetropolitanization," but they might just as easily be considered the "urbanization" of the countryside. I have argued elsewhere that small communities constitute residential "neighborhoods" set in a matrix of farmland and functioning as part of a "dispersed city" which has developed in many areas of North America.[45] In this sense, they are urban rather than rural, since they provide residential accommodation in close proximity to neighbors, and are not related to agricultural production or the tilling of the soil. Indeed, the major population growth in Huron and South Bruce is in the rural non-farm category which increased by 5,621 or 29.6 per cent between 1971 and 1976. Most of this increase occurred in places having few or no economic functions and populations anywhere from 25 to 400 or 500.[46]

Economic Specialization

The eight settlements considered in detail here have all increased in population since 1961, but they are larger than many of the centres discussed above and all have a number of economic functions (Table 2). Several have specialized considerably since the early years, even though the data on Table 3 do not always highlight the changes that have occurred. The following commentary is based upon field work in which each place was visited, all functions counted and categorized, and an assessment made of the economic importance of all functions whether or not they were listed by Dun and Bradstreet.

Bayfield is situated on a delightful harbour at the mouth of the Bayfield river (Figure 1). Although it has always had a port function, it was also an important agricultural service centre in the early years. Now it has a very large marina, one expensive and luxurious hotel along with another catering more to locals, several antique shops, three good

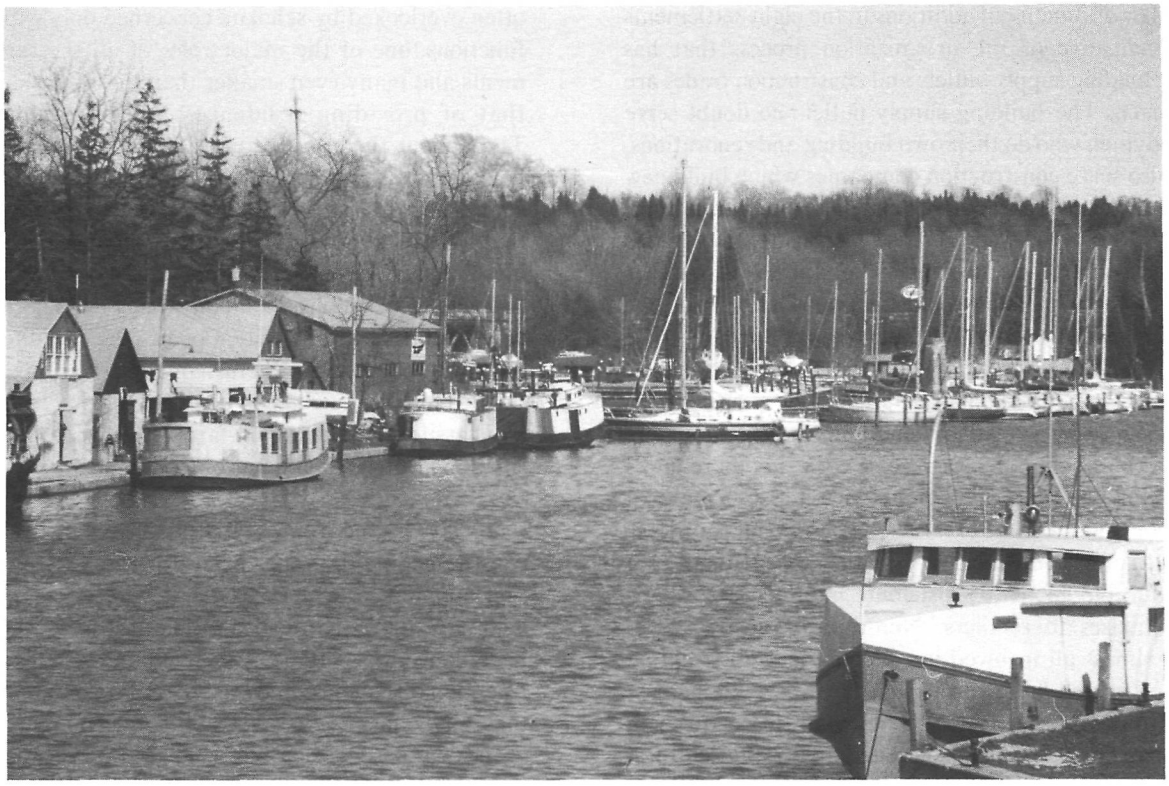

FIGURE 2. The Marina at Bayfield.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

restaurants and a delightful small-town resort atmosphere. During the summer all restaurants and the hotel dining rooms are crowded with tourists and people from boats in the marina. During the winter, cross-country skiers replace the boaters as customers for the local enterprises. A conscious attempt has been made to beautify buildings and the main street to attract tourists who have become one of the major economic bases of Bayfield. It is an excellent example of the effect that amenities such as a harbour, scenic setting and accessible location have upon a small settlement. During much of the year the amount of business generated by visitors to Bayfield is far greater than one would expect in a place of its size.

Blyth is almost in the centre of the area and appears to have declined greatly since 1891. What is not revealed by the statistics is the presence of two very large feed and flour mills, both employing many people and representing thousands of dollars of investment. Statistics do not indicate the importance of the two spacious warehouse outlets specializing in leather and clothing. These along with the excellent summer festival attract many tourists who patronize a number of restaurants, pottery and craft shops in the village. The field count of functions illustrates the number of small new enterprises depending to some extent upon people attracted to Blyth by its specialized functions (Table 2).

Although they have declined in the number of functions offered since 1891, Brussels, Gorrie and Hensall have remained as important service centres for their rural hinterlands. All have a number of building supply outlets, construction tradesmen and retail stores. Hensall has four furniture stores, two enormous mills and four wholesale outlets. Brussels and Gorrie both have a reasonable range of other activities to serve local and farm customers.

Mildmay and Ripley have lost a considerable number of earlier functions, although neither has suffered as badly as indicated by Dun and Bradstreet (Table 2). Of all the settlements in the sample, Ripley gives the impression of having the most deserted buildings and has the distinct appearance of economic stagnation. Despite this, however, its population has increased substantially since 1961 and its major function is now residential. On the other hand, Mildmay boasts a beautiful restored hotel with an excellent dining room as well as a specialty cheese shop that does a major business. It also has the largest number (7) of construction trades of any of the settlements being considered in detail. Although its main street has a number of businesses converted to residential purposes, it still gives the impression of being a viable, although somewhat diminished local service centre.

Teeswater has also lost a number of functions since 1891 but has a very large and important creamery serving farm-

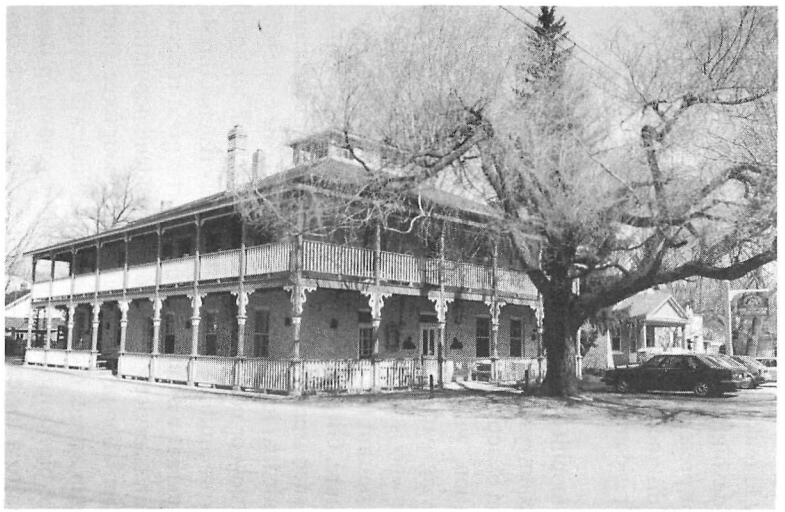

FIGURE 3. The Little Inn — restored hotel in Bayfield.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

FIGURE 4. "Quaint Shop" on Bayfield's main street.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

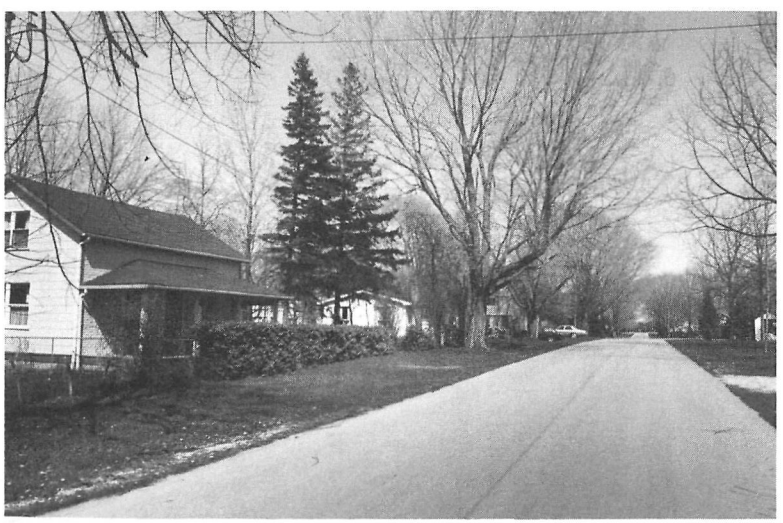

FIGURE 5. Typical residential street in Bayfield.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

FIGURE 6. Typical Bayfield cottages

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

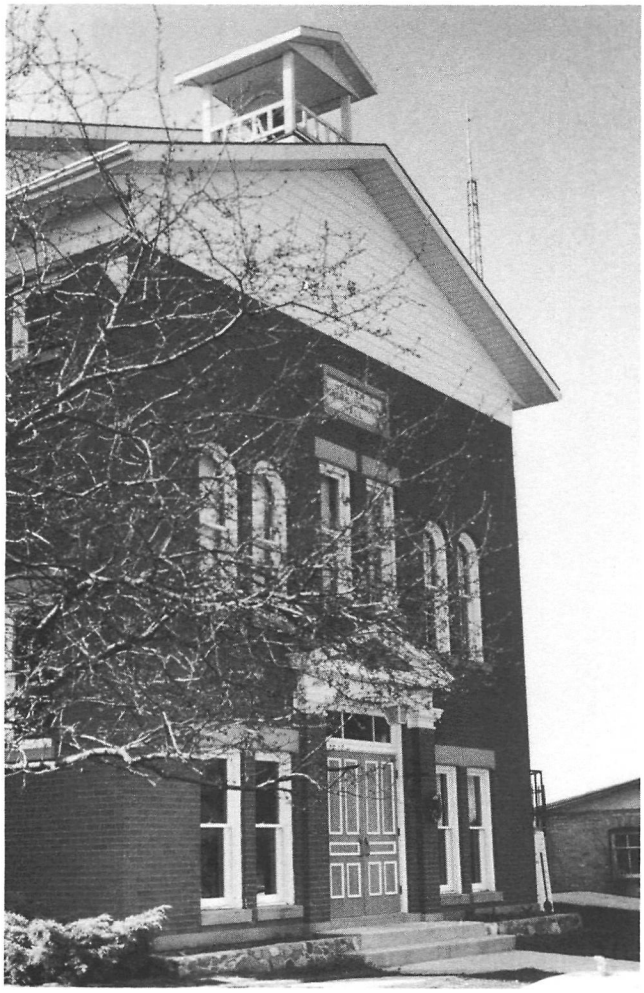

FIGURE 7. The summer theatre in Blyth.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

ers and retail stores for miles around. One of its hotels has been restored and attracts many customers, as do its four furniture stores. It is fairly typical of settlements at the upper end of our population category which have declined slightly in population since 1891, gained somewhat since 1961 and generally retained a reasonable status as local service centres. It does not display as much specialization as either Bayfield or Blyth.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

The major conclusion to be drawn from this research is that the process of "urbanization" in the countryside is far from simple. Indeed, a cursory reading of statistics on population change since 1891, or those on the "decline" in economic functions as indicated by directories can be very misleading. When directory data are checked in the field it becomes obvious that a very important factor, that of the *quality* of many functions in terms of economic contribution is totally disregarded by simple counts. Furthermore, directories tend not to list new and possibly marginal enterprises that have grown up to serve tourists or other specialized needs, but are not considered important from the standpoint of credit rating or investment opportunities. When these places are visited, it becomes apparent that each has evolved from being primarily a service centre to the point where one or two important recent functions such as tourism, or wholesaling, or crop processing might dominate the local economy. In this sense, each of these places has grown and changed considerably since the early days. All have also assumed somewhat specialized "urban" roles in that they provide one or two activities that might otherwise be found in some part of the business district or industrial area of a larger city.

Transportation and increased mobility have certainly reduced the necessity for farmers to travel to their local towns each week for their goods and services, but they have increased the possibility that people from neighboring settlements (or from afar) may drive to a restaurant or hotel or leather outlet or antique shop in a small rural settlement. Greater mobility has also increased the possibility that people will visit centres with scenic amenities, excellent architecture, specialization in retailing or proximity to the shore or a good ski area. In the extensive space-economy of 1982, people can find urban economic functions in places all across the countryside, just as many others find desirable residential accommodation there as well.

We have often overlooked the fact that small rural settlements still provide large and gracious houses on tree-lined streets at a cost far lower than one would pay in either a large town or in the metropolis. For people who are "footloose" in their jobs, are retired, are self employed, or are just willing to try to make a go of it away from the big city, such places provide highly desirable residential environments. Although not present in our study area, others within easy commuting distance of cities may grow as they become increasingly residential dormitories.

Personal mobility is now one of the keys to "urbanization" in the countryside. The process is no longer only one of centralization of activities in the largest places. It is also one of specialization, with certain urban functions evolving in locations having particular attractions, or an enterprising entrepreneur who is prepared to take the risk of opening a first class restaurant or restoring an old hotel or selling high quality furniture. Given the data presented above, one could suggest that such trends will continue into the future, or one might conclude that increasing fuel costs will cause this phenomenon to slow or cease. On the other hand, if our small "urban" centres continue to grow, they may reach a threshold population that will once again support a great range of local goods and services to serve the resident population. Increasing population provides a growing labour force which may once again attract modern industry which will to some extent replace blacksmiths and general merchants in these places. Taken to a logical extreme, if existing trends con-

FIGURE 8. Old Mill Factory Outlet in Blyth.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

FIGURE 9. The new "Old Mill" Factory Outlet in Blyth.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

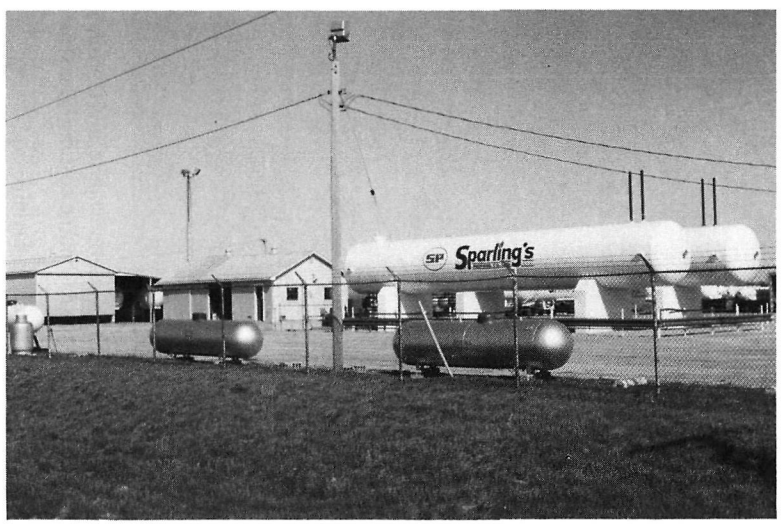

FIGURE 10. The propane supply company on the edge of Blyth, typical of agribusiness functions in the study area.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

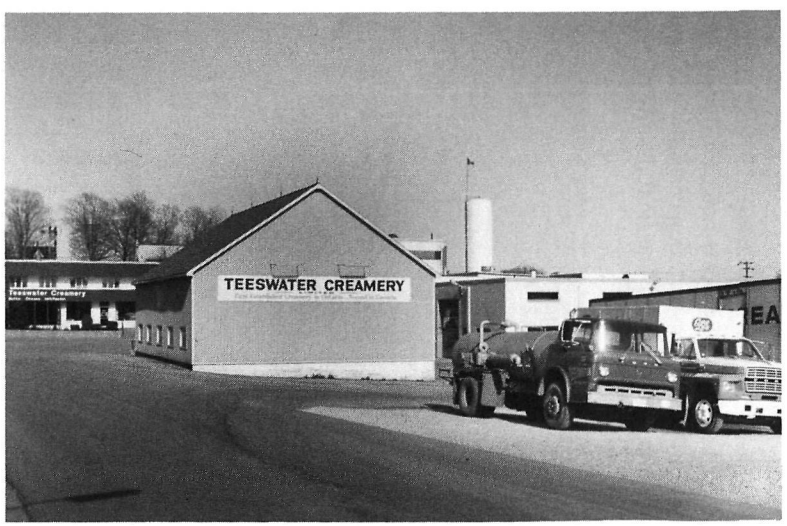

FIGURE 11. The Teeswater Creamery which is the oldest in Ontario and the second oldest in Canada.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

tinue, some of these settlements may well again become more complete rural service centres providing a considerable amount of local industry and employment. Obviously such trends will be affected by transportation costs, the economic situation and government policy. The final destiny of rural settlements cannot easily be predicted, but it is fair to suggest on the basis of the evidence that they are not "dying," and that the process of "urbanization" in the countryside will continue in some form or another for the forseeable future.

FIGURE 12. Restored hotel on the main street of Teeswater.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

FIGURE 13. Victorian house in Hensall, which is one of many similar residences available at a reasonable cost in the sample settlements.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

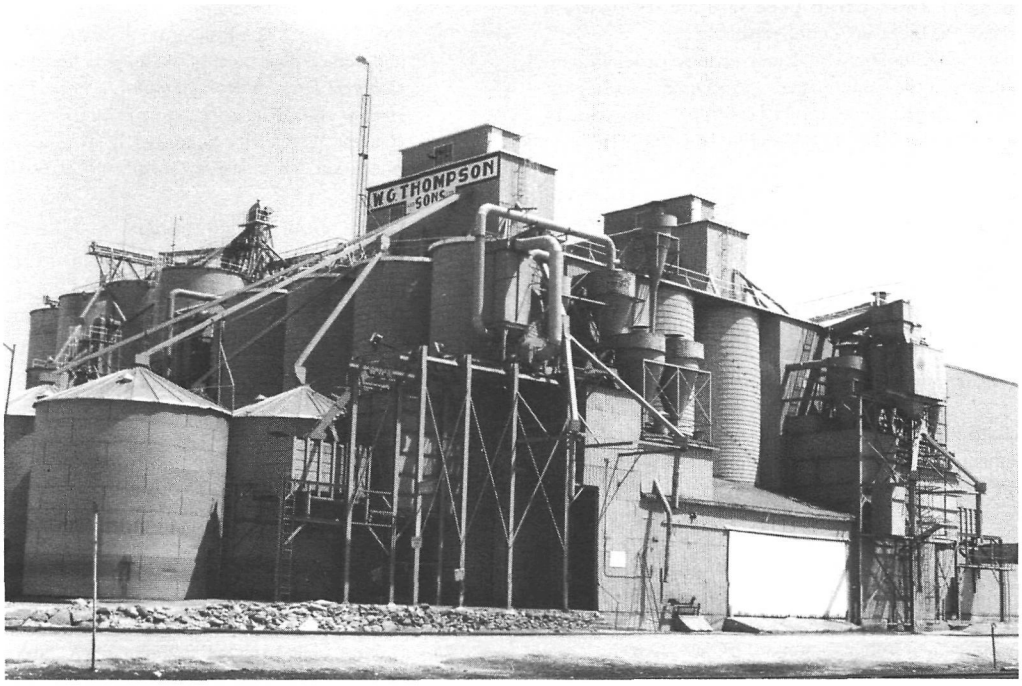

FIGURE 14. The feed and seed mill in Hensall, a major employer and physical manifestation of the rich agribusiness of the study area.

SOURCE: Fred A. Dahms

NOTES

1. See for example Elizabeth Bloomfield, "City-building Process in Berlin/Kitchener and Waterloo, 1870-1930" (Ph.D. Thesis, Department of History, University of Guelph, 1981); E.J. Noble, "Entrepreneurship and Nineteenth Century Urban Growth: A Case Study of Orillia, Ontario, 1867-1898," *Urban History Review* IX (June 1980): 64-89; James W. Simmons, "The Evolution of the Canadian Urban System," in *The Usable Urban Past: Planning and Politics in the Modern City*, ed. Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter (Toronto: Macmillan, 1979), 9-33; F.A. Dahms, "The Changing Functions of Villages and Hamlets in Wellington County, 1881-1971," *Urban History Review* VIII (February, 1980): 3-19.
2. Theodore Hershberg, "The New Urban History: Towards an Interdisciplinary History of the City," *Journal of Urban History* 5 (1978): 3-40; Gilbert A. Stelter, "The City Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City Building Process*, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1982), 1-29; Alan F.J. Artibise and Gilbert A. Stelter, *Canada's Urban Past, A Bibliography to 1980 and Guide to Urban Studies* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981), xiii-xxxii.
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5. Bruce M. Stave, "A Conversation with H.J. Dyos: Urban History in Great Britain," *Journal of Urban History* 5 (1975): 469-500.
6. Stave, "A Conversation," 478.
7. *Ibid.*, 479.
8. *Ibid.*
9. Herschberg, "The New Urban History," 33.
10. *Ibid.*
11. *Ibid.*, 7.
12. *Ibid.*, 11.
13. *Ibid.*, 12-13.
14. Theodore Hershberg, *Philadelphia: Work Space, Family and Group Experience in the 19th Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1981).
15. Chad Gaffield, "Social Structure and the Urbanization Process: Perspectives on Nineteenth Century Research," in *The Canadian City: Essays in Urban History*, 2nd edition, ed. Gilbert A. Stelter and Alan F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: Carleton University Press, 1983).
16. *Ibid.*
17. David Gagan, *Hopeful Travellers: Families, Land and Social Change in Mid-Victorian Peel County, Canada West* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1982).
18. Gaffield, 13 (typed draft).
19. Maurice Careless, "Metropolis and Region: The Interplay Between City and Region in Canadian History Before 1914," *Urban History Review* III (February, 1978): 99-118.
20. Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development in South Central Ontario* (Toronto: McLelland and Stewart, 1972).
21. F.A. Dahms, "The Evolution of Settlement Systems: A Canadian Example, 1851-1970," *Journal of Urban History* 7 (1981): 169-204.
22. Mohammed Qadeer, "Issues and Approaches of Rural Community Planning in Canada," *Plan Canada* 19 (1979): 106-21.
23. *Ibid.*, 110-11.
24. *Ibid.*, 111.
25. See for example, Yves Brunet, «L'exode Urbain, Essai de Classification de la Population Exurbaine des Cantons de l'Est,» *The Canadian Geographer* 24 (1980): 385-405; Ira M. Robinson, *Canadian Growth Trends: Implications for a National Settlement Policy* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 1981); Glenn V. Fuguitt, Paul R. Vos and J.C. Doherty, *Growth and Change in Rural*

America (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, 1979) which summarize much of the literature on the topic.

26. Dahms, "The Changing Functions"; "The Evolving Spatial Organization of Settlements in the Countryside — An Ontario Example," *Tidschrift voor Econ. en Soc. Geografie* 71 (1980): 295-306; "Small-Town and Village Ontario," *Ontario Geography* 16 (1980): 19-32.
27. *Ibid.*
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32. George E. Penfold, "Locational and Site Characteristics of Rural Business and Industrial Facilities, and the Implications for the Agribusiness Sector" (Guelph: M.Sc. Terminal Project, School of Agricultural Economics and Extension Education, University of Guelph, 1979).
33. F.A. Dahms, *The Changing Functions of Rural Settlements in Huron and Southern Bruce Counties: Historical Background and Major Trends, 1951-1981* (Guelph: University of Guelph School of Rural Planning and Development Publication No. 110, 1982), 6.
34. *Ibid.*
35. Scott, *The Settlement.*
36. F.A. Dahms, "The Role of the Country Town in Ontario Yesterday and Today: The Case of Wellington and Huron Counties," in *The Country Town in Rural Ontario's Past: Proceedings of the Sixth Annual Agricultural History of Ontario Seminar,* ed. Alan Brookes (Guelph: University School of Part-Time Studies and Continuing Education, University of Guelph, 1982), 56-79.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Dahms, *The Changing Functions,* 6.
39. Slight discrepancies between totals for 1891 appear when Tables 2 and 3 are compared. This is because Table 3 includes all Functional Units (different economic activities, sometimes found in the same establishment), while to be consistent with recent Dun and Bradstreet Directory listings, Table 2 lists only establishments by their major function.
40. Penfold, "Locational and Site Characteristics."
41. Dahms, *The Changing,* 36-42.
42. Fred Dahms, "Declining Villages?" in *Proceedings of the Second Annual Agricultural History of Ontario Seminar,* ed. T.A. Crowley (Guelph: University of Guelph Office of Continuing Education, 1977), 50-65.
43. See above, footnote 25.
44. Dahms, "The Role."
45. Dahms, "The Evolving"; "Small Town and Village Ontario."
46. Dahms, *The Changing,* 45.