

# The Political Economy of Land Development In Nineteenth Century Toronto

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Article abstract

This paper challenges traditional ecological assumptions about urban growth and development by exploring the relationship between social structure and urban pattern. A neo-marxian analysis is used to examine the ways in which changing social, political and economic forces of Canadian society affected the distribution of social classes in urban space during three periods of Toronto's early growth; 1) the colonial period, 1791-1833; 2) the mercantile period, 1834-1850; and 3) the early industrial period, 1851-1881. The town's original land grants were allocated according to social status, physically expressing the hierarchical social structure of colonial life. Then, with the growing prosperity of local merchant capitalists, former regulations on land were abandoned in favour of speculative profits for individual property owners. Early street servicing and fire by-laws reinforced the existing micro-scale segregation. During capitalist industrialization the scale of segregation changed from the micro to the macro scale, with the development of working class districts and exclusive enclaves for the upper and middle classes. The latter were again reinforced with special provisions, suggesting that Toronto's social geography has historically been shaped by those with the power, wealth and position to protect and promote their own class interests.

# The Political Economy of Land Development In Nineteenth Century Toronto

Barbara Sanford

## Résumé/Abstract

*Cet article remet en cause les hypothèses écologiques traditionnelles à propos de la croissance et du développement urbain en explorant la connexité entre la structure sociale et le schéma urbain. Une analyse néo-marxiste est utilisée pour examiner les façons dont le changement social, politique et les forces économiques de la société canadienne affectent la répartition des classes sociales dans l'espace urbain durant trois périodes de la première croissance de Toronto : 1) la période coloniale, 1791-1833; 2) la période marchande, 1834-1850; et 3) la période des débuts de l'industrialisation, 1851-1881. Les premières concessions de la ville sont attribuées conformément au statut social, exprimant ainsi physiquement la structure sociale hiérarchique du monde colonial. Par la suite, avec la prospérité croissante des capitalistes-marchands locaux, la réglementation antérieure est abandonnée au profit de la spéculation foncière. Les premiers règlements municipaux sur l'entretien des rues et sur les services contre les incendies renforcent la ségrégation existante sur une micro-échelle. Durant l'industrialisation, la ségrégation passe de la micro à la macro-échelle, avec le développement de quartiers ouvriers et d'enclaves réservées aux classes moyennes et supérieures. Ces dernières sont encore renforcées par des dispositions spéciales, cela indique que la géographie sociale de Toronto a été historiquement façonnée par ceux qui possédaient le pouvoir et la santé et étaient en mesure de défendre et de promouvoir leurs propres intérêts de classe.*

*This paper challenges traditional ecological assumptions about urban growth and development by exploring the relationship between social structure and urban pattern. A neo-marxian analysis is used to examine the ways in which changing social, political and economic forces of Canadian society affected the distribution of social classes in urban space during three periods of Toronto's early growth: 1) the colonial period, 1791-1833; 2) the mercantile period, 1834-1850; and 3) the early industrial period, 1851-1881. The town's original land grants were allocated according to social status, physically expressing the hierarchical social structure of colonial life. Then, with the growing prosperity of local merchant capitalists, former regulations on land were abandoned in favour of speculative profits for individual property owners. Early street servicing and fire by-laws reinforced the existing micro-scale segregation. During capitalist industrialization the scale of segregation changed from the micro to the macro scale, with the development of working class districts and exclusive enclaves for the upper and middle classes. The latter were again reinforced with special provisions, suggesting that Toronto's social geography has historically been shaped by those with the power, wealth and position to protect and promote their own class interests.*

The forces influencing urban land use patterns, particularly residential patterns of segregation, have been addressed by human ecologists for over half a century.<sup>1</sup> Their explanations, however, have remained ideologically bound by their efforts to create a universal or generic theory of the modern city. In recent years, neo-marxian theorists have begun to

challenge the ecologists' hegemony in this field of enquiry, and assert the need for rooting urban theory in the context of social theory.<sup>2</sup> In short, neo-marxians stress the importance of social structure in shaping urban patterns. In Western societies, this social structure is identified as capitalist, and is viewed as the primary force separating society into classes, and separating classes in urban space.

context. While ecologists view human history as an evolutionary process, and equate Western capitalist cities with the peak of modern civilization, neo-Marxians, like Castells, note that such a view is ethnocentric, to say the least.<sup>3</sup> One may add that such views ignore the social and political dimensions of human history. In other words, human ecologists have obfuscated the active role played by people in shaping their urban environment, and have discounted the relations of power which have historically characterized and structured this development process.

For example, ecologists have claimed that residential differentiation emerged during industrialization as a natural and voluntary response to urban growth, i.e., that the enlarged scale of the city allowed residents the opportunity to segregate, which they chose because of a preference for living among neighbours similar to themselves.<sup>4</sup> Marxian theorists, in contrast, suggest that choices and preferences are themselves limited and structured within a specific historical context. Ashton, for example, attributes the centralization of workers' slums in the nineteenth century to the centralization of industry and the workers' inability to pay the cost of either travelling from a more distant location or purchasing more-space or better housing conditions in the centre. The workers' position thus posed serious structural limitations on their housing choices or "preferences." For those who could afford to leave the central area, segregation was a means of enhancing their own privileges and distinctions.<sup>5</sup> Thus, while urban growth provided the opportunity for some residents to move away from the city's central area, it was position and wealth that determined who would be able to exploit this opportunity.

The motivation to segregate, however, remains problematic. Ecologists, as noted earlier, suggest that this motivation originates from a natural selection process. They argue that the urbanization that accompanied industrialization simply made expression of this instinctual drive possible. Moreover, they assert that it is beneficial to the functioning of the city as a whole. Ashton, in contrast, argues that segregation on the part of upper- and middle-class residents appeared as a new means of protecting their self-interests and the interests of their children. Thus the pattern of residential differentiation which emerged during capitalist industrialization stemmed from goals related to the competitive social structure itself.<sup>6</sup>

While it is indeed difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain the motivations of nineteenth-century residents, there is some evidence to support Ashton's view. Environmental determinism was an emerging ideology of some importance during this period. Deteriorating physical conditions in the central areas of industrializing cities were thought by many to engender the social problems and unrest of the working classes.<sup>7</sup> As a result, removing one's family from direct exposure to such conditions could be seen as both protecting them from potentially harmful influences, and providing a whole-

some physical environment thought to ensure their future security and well-being.

Social conditions, however, may well have been equally important. Gordon's work, for example, introduces the theme of class conflict as a central force precipitating segregation.<sup>8</sup> Though somewhat oversimplified, the theme is particularly relevant to early capitalist industrialization because it was a time when workers actively organized to oppose the impact of market relations on their work and their lives. Upper- and middle-class residents generally perceived these early labour unions as threats to the new socio-economic order, despite the fact that the unions' goals were frequently much less radical in scope. Nonetheless, fear of the "unruly classes" and the new antagonisms that capitalist industrialization brought to the fore no doubt added to the affluent's motivation to move away from the site of these conflicts in the core.

Although not necessarily preconceived as a means of reproducing the inequalities of class, residential differentiation has become a central feature of the social reproduction of capitalist class relations. Social reproduction refers to the way in which society structures life chances, primarily through the socialization of children. Harvey notes, for example, that residential differentiation creates differential access to resources, thus tending to structurally limit marketable skills and social mobility opportunities for area residents. Skills, values, attitudes, and expectations together define one's ability to take on specific roles in the division of labour. These are largely reproduced from one generation to the next within the confines of the neighbourhood. As such, residential differentiation is an active "mediating influence in the processes whereby class relationships and social differentiations are produced and sustained."<sup>9</sup>

Finally, the ecologists' emphasis on naturalistic explanations of residential differentiation ignores the concerted efforts of powerful and vested interest groups. As neo-Marxians have pointed out, the State, the construction industry, speculators, and other organized groups have taken active parts of varying intensity in shaping the segregated patterns associated with modern capitalist cities.<sup>10</sup> Clearly, the equation of these relations of power with natural or innate dominance is an ideological justification of the status quo.

This paper attempts to expand the insights provided by Marxian theory through an examination of land development patterns in Toronto, Ontario, during the nineteenth century. Based largely on existing historical studies, it reinterprets the historical evidence by focusing on the relationship between the city's physical development and the changing social, political and economic forces of Canadian society.<sup>11</sup> As a result, the paper is divided into three parts, each exploring a particular period of Toronto's early growth.<sup>12</sup> The colonial period, beginning with the founding of the town of York by British authorities in 1791, is characterized by



Although temporary settlements had occupied the site at earlier times, the town of York dates from 1791. Without actually having visited the site, Lieutenant-Governor John Graves Simcoe examined maps of its sheltered harbour and began to conceive of the area as Lake Ontario's "natural arsenal," where he would build a colonial capital and military defense post. His original plan, an east/west-oriented grid pattern, was surveyed onto the landscape without regard for other topographical features in 1793. Named for the Duke of York, Simcoe's planned town included waterfront lots and 100-acre park lots reserved for British and Upper Canadian officials expected to move to the new capital from Niagara. Other smaller lots were given to tradesmen and artisans through special government grants.<sup>13</sup>

Actual construction at York began in 1794 with the main thoroughfare, King Street. Yonge Street was added in 1796.<sup>14</sup> Simcoe's plan for the capital further specified the forms of construction to be allowed on various streets depending on the resident's social status, which was to decline street by street as one moved away from the lake. This elaborate plan was detailed in a letter written by one of York's early inhabitants:

You will smile perhaps when I tell you that even at York, a Town Lot is to be granted in the Front Street only on Condition that you shall build a House of not less than 47 Feet Front, two Stories High and after a certain Order of Architecture; in the second Street, they may be somewhat less in Front, but the two Stories and mode of Architecture is indispensable; and it is only in the back Streets and Allies that the Tinkers and Taylors will be allowed to consult their own Taste and Circumstance in the structure of their Habitations upon lots of 1/10 of an acre. Seriously, our good Governor is a little wild in his projects. . . .<sup>15</sup>

Neither the architectural specifications nor the military role of Simcoe's original plan, however, were fully implemented. Disliked by the Governor in Chief, Simcoe was refused the money and the troops he requested. When fortifications for his arsenal were also overruled in 1796, he returned to Britain and was replaced by Lieutenant Governor Peter Russell.<sup>16</sup>

Russell, like his predecessor, attempted to keep tight reins on the development of York. When the government seat for Upper Canada was at last transferred to York from Niagara in 1797, Russell sought the aid of this administrative elite in planning a New Town of York. The New Town extended to the west on a grid similar to Simcoe's. Architectural specifications for the buildings were abandoned but Russell personally reviewed all land grant applications to insure settlement and prevent speculation.<sup>17</sup>

The town grew in a slow and orderly manner at first. By 1803 there were 75 houses in York and the first public market at St. Lawrence was opened. Development was predomi-

nately west of Yonge Street because of a belief that the swamps surrounding the mouth of the Don River were a source of fever and disease, making it an area unfit for human habitation.<sup>18</sup>

Just as the town's pattern of settlement was planned and controlled by the elite, so too were most of York's early institutions. The government school, for example, opened in 1807 and charged a prohibitive fee, making it financially inaccessible to all but the most well-to-do. Similarly the town's solitary church was reserved for the governing elite, including the Anglican clergy and members of the Family Compact, until 1809 when a special gallery was added for the "common folk."<sup>19</sup> As well, all executive and judicial posts were filled by members of the Family Compact — most of whom were considered notoriously pompous and unjust.<sup>20</sup>

War with the U.S. from 1812 to 1814 had important repercussions on the town's social structure, however, creating a new class of wealthy merchant capitalists. Although the war created hardships for most residents, driving some to participate with Americans in the plundering of their town on more than one occasion, many shopkeepers and merchants made their first fortunes from the scarcity and inflation rampant during these war years.<sup>21</sup>

By 1816 the population of York had grown to just over 700 people. The wealthy now included not only the British Anglican elite but many Scotch Presbyterian merchants, whose economic and political interests diverged from those of the established elite. Artisans and skilled craftsmen, while far from wealthy, formed a middling class of independent workers, providing many of the handcrafted goods required by residents. The "low orders" in York included labourers, discharged soldiers and sailors, all quite poor, and a few black house slaves (until 1818 when slavery was officially abolished).<sup>22</sup>

The social hierarchy in York, then, was highly visible. Class lines were relatively distinct, not only in terms of wealth, occupation, and education but also in terms of residence. Despite the breakdown of Simcoe's original plans for the social status and architecture of each street, most of Toronto's elite occupied streets distinct from the rest of the population. Because distances were not great, however, the resulting pattern was not one of segregated neighbourhoods so much as a fine-grained segregation based on specific sites.<sup>23</sup>

During the 1820s York's population almost tripled.<sup>24</sup> The majority of the new immigrants were unskilled labourers. As their numbers increased the economic gap between rich and poor widened, reinforcing the wealth and power of the town's fledgling merchant capitalists. Although the Family Compact and the Anglican clergy still held the reins of power, by the late 1820s Reformers of both moderate and radical

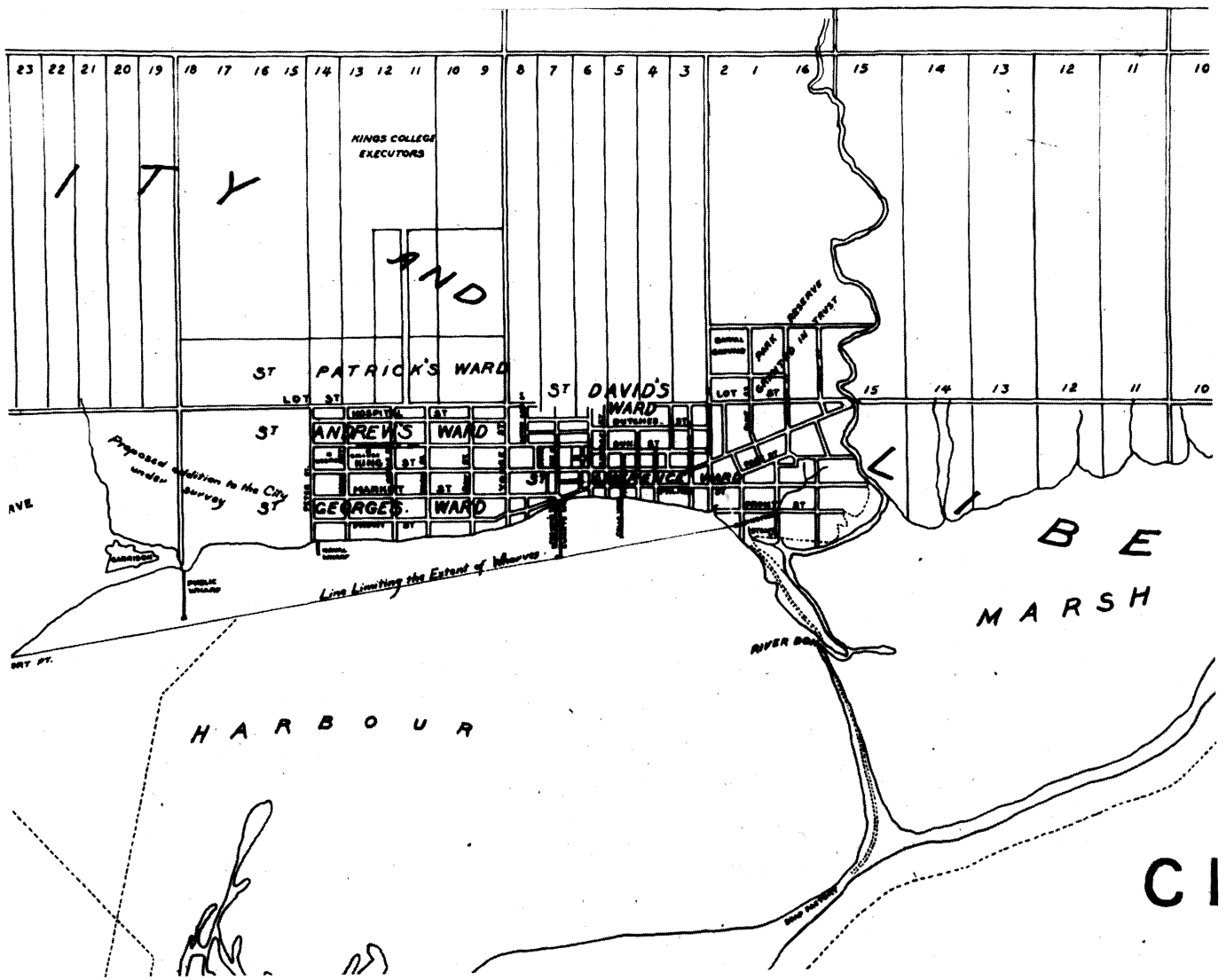


FIGURE 2. City of Toronto and Liberties, 1834. J.G. Chewett, Surveyor General's Office, 1834.

SOURCE: Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

strains had begun to question and challenge the authority and privilege of this administrative elite.<sup>25</sup>

By the early 1830s restrictions on immigration to the U.S. had significantly added to the numbers arriving in Canada and had precipitated York's first real boom.<sup>26</sup> It was during these early boom years that the town faced its first series of "urban" problems. Among these were organized sectarian conflicts, a cholera epidemic, and the establishment of the town's first craft-based labour union.

The immigrants of the 1830s were primarily Irish, both Catholic and Protestant. The Protestants, largely city-born artisans, assimilated into the British Protestant town by systematically fostering hostility towards their Catholic counterparts, who were former peasants, and now largely unskilled labourers.<sup>27</sup> Thus, sectarian conflict in Toronto

appeared to parallel and reinforce class distinctions that were already quite pronounced.

As the numbers of unskilled immigrants increased, existing dwellings near the wharves became overcrowded and shanties appeared on the banks of the Don River.<sup>28</sup> The strain on already inadequate sanitary facilities hastened the spread of disease. The cholera epidemic of 1832, the first of a series, hit hardest where poverty and overcrowding were worst, but quickly spread among the city's more prosperous residents as well. Indeed, this threat to the well-being of the "better classes" increased their hostility not only towards the "lower classes" but also towards the governing elite, who made only limited attempts to combat the disease.<sup>29</sup>

York's new religious diversity and critical health problems fanned the flames of political controversy. By 1832 no

less than eight newspapers provided various perspectives on hotly debated issues. Within this context the town's printers occupied a unique position. They were well-educated, relatively secure, and possibly more attuned to impending social developments than any other single occupation. Their organization into the York Typographical Society that year thus foreshadowed the penetration of capitalist class relations into the productive sphere, as well as their own pioneering role in the labour struggles that would follow.<sup>30</sup>

The emergence of York's first craft-based union in 1832 marked the printers' dawning awareness of the progression of capitalist relations.<sup>31</sup> While not yet industrial in nature, by the 1830s the town's merchant class had a well-developed market which provided them with the wealth and status to begin seriously challenging the structure of colonial rule and its attendant restrictions on trade. Indeed, the entire character of the town was beginning to resemble that of a mercantile city.<sup>32</sup>

Another sign of the town's beginning transition to a mercantile capitalist city was the development of a free market in land. Although land had been sold as early as 1808, usually to cover the debts of a landowner, the subdivision and sale of land as a commodity capable of producing speculative profit did not begin in earnest until the 1830s. It was the process of urban growth which, on the one hand, provided the town's wholesalers with new wealth and, on the other, provided the town's landowners with an opportunity for economic gain through the subdivision and sale of their land.<sup>33</sup>

Although growth continued primarily south of Queen Street, the 100-acre park lots and former Crown Land reserves were also beginning to be subdivided and sold by 1833. This subdivision, including lot size, direction, and street layout, was left completely in the hands of individual property owners. The result was a growing maze of disjointed streets, some wide and some narrow, turning suddenly to avoid a marsh or, just as likely, ending abruptly at a property line. Lots both large and small appeared side by side as the demand arose.<sup>34</sup>

It should be emphasized, however, that the elite still owned the lion's share of land in York, often holding parcels in various locations. These included large estates on unsubdivided portions of the park lots, as well as businesses and residences on some of the most valuable sites in the very centre of town.<sup>35</sup> Nonetheless, when urban growth first presented the opportunity for speculative profit, York's officials gave up their collective efforts to plan and control that growth — in favour of the individual benefits that landowners might reap from a free land market.

In the 40 years since its founding York had changed substantially from the naval arsenal originally planned by Simcoe. Although still the capital of Upper Canada and still largely dominated by its ties to Britain, York was beginning

to develop according to the interests of its own business and landowning classes. When urban growth first presented an opportunity for speculative profits, a free market in land was introduced and former government control of development abandoned. Private decision making and capital accumulation would remain the rule of land development once instituted, but the kinds of decisions made and the kinds of mechanisms used by property owners to protect their interests would change as the city's social, political, and economic relations changed.

## II. The Mercantile City of Toronto, 1834-1850

With its population approaching 10,000 inhabitants, York was incorporated as the City of Toronto in 1834. Incorporation, it was hoped, would provide a local administrative structure capable of more effectively dealing with the problems associated with urban growth. It was indicative, too, of the city's changing character — of the prominence of local merchants and the fading importance of the official elite.<sup>36</sup> Over the next 16 years the population would triple and British colonial rule would be replaced by a provincial system of self-government. Neither the City of Toronto nor the Province of Canada, however, effectively controlled urban growth or its negative outcomes. The city made minor additions to the infrastructure, but these services, paid for by the residents served, did little more than subtly reinforce the existing micro-scale segregation of the city's wealthiest inhabitants. Thus, the advent of "responsible" government meant better services for the "better classes" and new regulations for the protection of propertied interests.

Toronto's incorporation in 1834 and the subsequent election of the radical Reformer, William Lyon Mackenzie, as its first mayor was a sign of the city's growing independence from its original British Anglican elite. However, while city council agreed that local improvements to "muddy York's" sometimes impassable streets were a priority, the new city government was not in the least interested in planning or controlling the pattern of urban growth. Nor is it clear that they were any more democratic in the administration of civic affairs.<sup>37</sup>

For example, By-law No. 9, which provided for local improvements and established a system of municipal taxation to cover the costs of those improvements, tended to reinforce the micro-scale segregation developed and indeed planned during the colonial period. While the major business streets, King and Yonge, had their sidewalks planked and paid for out of public funds, residential streets would be similarly paved, cleaned, and repaired if two-thirds of the street's residents petitioned for these services and paid for them through increased property tax assessments.<sup>38</sup> Clearly, then, the city's major business streets and streets occupied by the city's wealthiest residents were provided with a service few others could reasonably afford. Indeed, the streets occu-

pied by the city's most prosperous residents would now be more distinguished than ever.

Like the former administrative elite, members of the city council seemed more concerned with promoting their own class interests as merchants and businessmen than with providing for the needs of those less prominent and prosperous. Thus when crop failures in Toronto's hinterland sparked the city's first depression in 1835,<sup>39</sup> city council showed no interest in providing special social services or aid, such charitable acts being the traditional responsibility of local churches and private workhouses for the "deserving poor."<sup>40</sup>

For the city's more prosperous residents the depression focused attention on the restrictive aspects of British trade laws and Toronto's concomitant economic dependence. Radical reformers, led by former mayor Mackenzie, attempted to rally the discontent of both merchants and farmers to rebel against the British and unite with the U.S. Despite the widespread opposition to the structure of British dominance, however, Toronto was still largely a loyalist stronghold and the Rebellion of 1837 an unmitigated failure.<sup>41</sup>

While the failed Rebellion of 1837 was partially responsible for Toronto's staunchly conservative character in the 1840s, it can also be credited with alerting the British to the seriousness of the city's growing desire for a government system more "responsible" to the interests of its own merchant and professional class. Heated debates over the structure of government and over trade and finance policies continued between Tory and Reformer factions, and though clearly set within a loyal British Protestant framework, nonetheless indicated the strength of indigenous capitalist values and attitudes.<sup>42</sup>

The first step taken by British authorities in their search for an amicable resolution to the demands of Canadian merchant capitalists was to unite Upper and Lower Canada into a single Province of Canada, East and West, in 1841. The capital of Canada was moved to Kingston, midway between the former capitals at Montreal and Toronto. This arrangement proved unsatisfactory, however, and the capital was to change places every four years, beginning in 1853. After the first of these exchanges this project was also abandoned as impractical and the capital took up permanent residence in Ottawa in 1858.<sup>43</sup>

The first removal of Toronto's function as capital in 1841 did not seem to affect its growth. Indeed, over the next decade development continued at a rapid pace and city boundaries were moved north to include former liberties near Bloor Street.<sup>44</sup> The demand for urban services such as paved streets, sidewalks, sewers, piped water, and gas street lighting was also growing. While the former were provided by the city, water and gas services were supplied by a private company awarded a franchise by the city in 1841. Both public and

private infrastructure were supplied at residents' expense, however, making such services inaccessible to all but those occupying Toronto's wealthiest residential and commercial streets. Ironically, even those residents who could afford the costs frequently complained about the inadequacy of the services provided, especially in regard to water quality and pressure.<sup>45</sup>

The inadequacy of the water supply was more than simply annoying, however, as fire and disease sporadically swept through large sections of the city. City council's response, interestingly, was to enact the first by-law regulating the location and construction of specific land uses. The act, passed in 1845, was "to restrain the erection of furnaces and manufactories dangerous from fires, to regulate the erection of party walls, and for other purposes mentioned therein." It required building permits for structures built without fire-walls, restricted the size and location of wooden structures, and prohibited the use of steam engines within the city or its liberties.<sup>46</sup> There was no attempt made to regulate the quality or pressure of the water supplied by private contract, however, and fire and cholera swept the city again in 1849.<sup>47</sup>

The health and safety problems associated with Toronto's urban growth were indicative of the *laissez-faire* attitudes which were the hallmark of mercantile capitalist development. The concept of a free market in land was, by the 1840s, well established. Market wages, however, were not. On the whole, employers were concerned to attract and keep appropriately skilled workers because of the limited supply of such labour in Canada. In order to maintain a loyal skilled workforce, the employers guaranteed work for most of the year and paid traditional or customary wages.<sup>48</sup>

Industrialization in Britain, on the other hand, was quite advanced by 1846. In fact, Britain's supremacy in world market exchanges was so well assured that restrictive trade relations with Canada were no longer required. Canadian merchants had long sought free trade. With the British repeal of the Corn Laws and Navigation Act, Montreal's monopoly on Canadian export trade and Toronto's former economic dependence were gone.<sup>49</sup> Toronto, despite its desire for independence, was not adequately prepared for this sudden liberation and had no other established trade ties. Economic crisis and depression followed.<sup>50</sup>

The depression was heightened the following year with the start of a new and massive wave of immigration. The population climbed to almost 24,000 in 1849 and over 30,000 by 1851.<sup>51</sup> Toronto became known as the "Belfast of Canada" as unskilled Irish Catholics, fleeing the Potato Famine of 1845, arrived in such large numbers that almost one-third of the city's population were of Irish background.<sup>52</sup>

Many, if not most, of the new Irish immigrants arrived penniless and sick. As there were few jobs available in Toronto, those who were able moved on, leaving only the



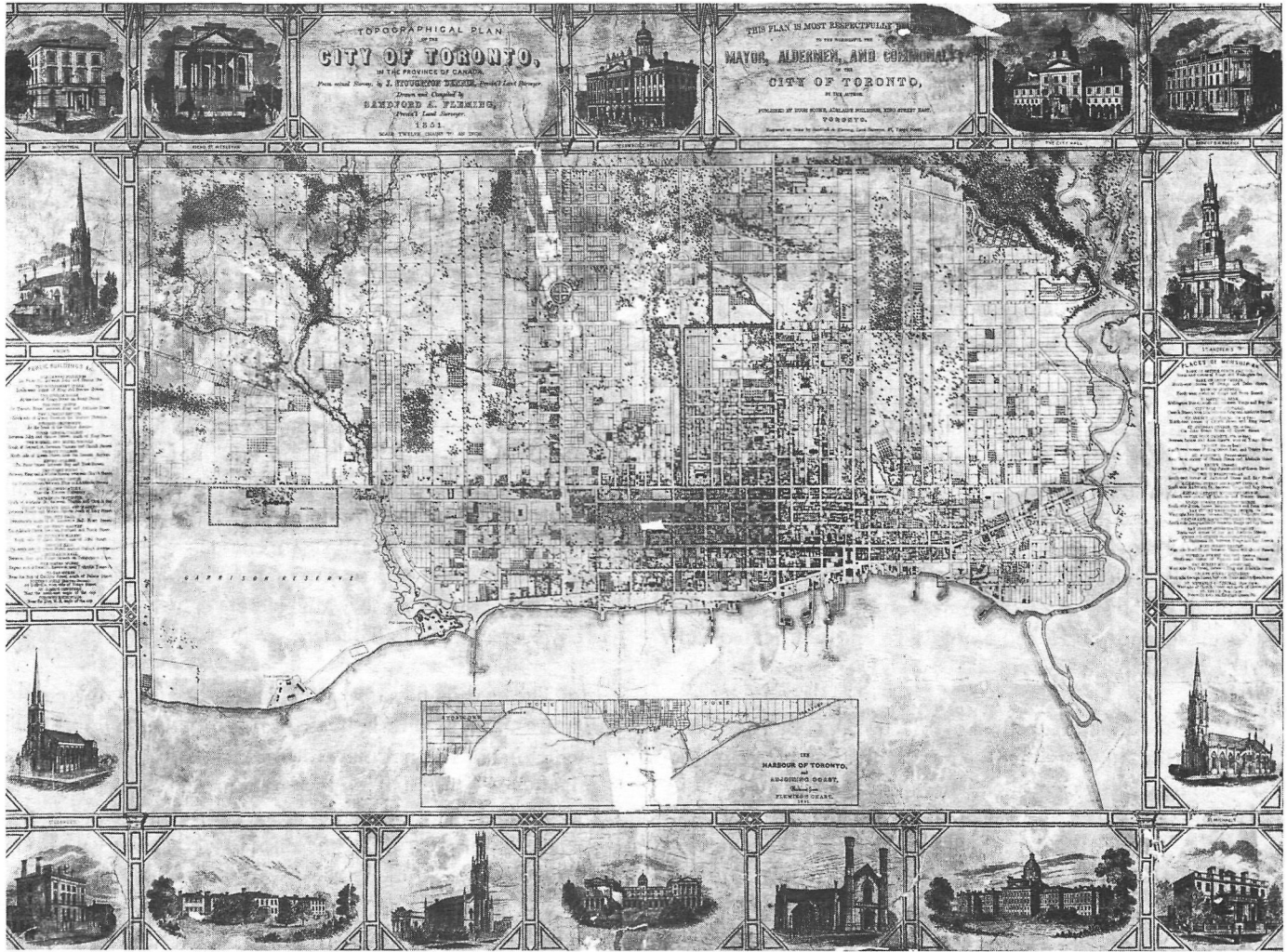


FIGURE 3. Topographical Plan of the City of Toronto in the Province of Canada, Sandford A. Fleming, 1851.

SOURCE: Ontario Archives, D-10.

most destitute in the city. The shanty-town near the wharves spread east along the banks of the Don River and as the famished immigrants planted their yards with cabbage, the area became known as Cabbagetown — Toronto's first slum.<sup>53</sup>

Tory Toronto reacted in horror and fear at the almost inevitable spread of disease which was quickly associated with Irish Catholicism itself. Systematic discrimination, not only on the part of the Irish-Protestant Orangemen but on the part of city officials and other outspoken civic leaders, coupled with their impoverished conditions, made Toronto's Irish Catholics the city's first large unemployed labour pool.<sup>54</sup> It was this abundance of cheap labour, in fact, that made a competitive labour market, and hence Toronto's transition to an industrial city, possible.<sup>55</sup>

The crisis precipitated by free trade and the massive immigration of unskilled labourers led government and business interests to consider protective legislation for its own

manufactories as a means of economic simulation. As a result, tariffs were increased and trade links with the United States actively sought. By 1850 Toronto was experiencing a tremendous boom which would last until the worldwide depression of 1857. Irish-Catholic labour gangs would soon be building railroads on the shore of Lake Ontario, and although the production of other goods was still performed by autonomous and skilled craftsmen, that too was soon to change.<sup>56</sup>

The period 1834 to 1850 was characterized by a political and economic transition which replaced the rule of the former colonial elite with Toronto's own firmly established merchant and professional class. The "free market," while not yet embedded in relations of production or work, governed land development and, by 1846, trade. While city council was not interested in planning or controlling development as the former elite had done, city by-laws enacted during the period subtly reinforced the micro-scale segregation of the colonial period by providing infrastructure only

on the request and at the expense of street residents.<sup>57</sup> Street paving, sidewalks, sewers, piped water, and gas were available to those streets whose residents could afford the costs. The extent of urban services on a particular street could, in turn, determine the class of resident able to live there. Thus, when Toronto was flooded with destitute Irish labourers in the late 1840s, these newcomers had little choice but to crowd together in a relatively underdeveloped area with few, if any, urban services. Toronto's first slum, feared and abhorred by the city's capitalist class, nonetheless housed the cheap and abundant unskilled labour that now made the transition to an industrial city possible.

### III. The Industrializing City of Toronto, 1851-1881

During the 30-year period from 1851 to 1881 Toronto underwent dramatic social, economic, and physical change. Early industrialization was systematically fostered by government during this period through financial support for railroad construction and through protective tariffs for home manufactories. While such measures were politically controversial, the changing forces and relations of production that they encouraged were even more contentious. Skilled workers organized in opposition to their increasing subordination in the workplace as "reformers" attempted to educate them into submission. This growing antagonism between classes in Toronto was accompanied by marked changes in land use patterns as well. Not only had railway tracks and factories spread over the lakeshore and central area, but the city's first slum, Cabbagetown, was joined by other class-based neighbourhoods. Wealthy enclaves in the Jarvis Street area, along Beverley and St. George Streets, and surrounding Queen's Park were protected by new regulations that preserved their privileged character, while similar building regulations in the central area were repealed, ostensibly to allow for the construction of more affordable housing for the working classes.

The early 1850s were prosperous times for Toronto. Irish immigrants provided cheap and abundant labour for railroad construction which, in turn, provided the impetus for Toronto's industrialization. The Reciprocity Treaty with the U.S. signed in 1854 also strengthened Toronto's trade position as railway lines extended the city's market east and west.<sup>58</sup>

Despite the growth and prosperity that the railway seemed to promise, many of Toronto's older elite families and Liberal businessmen opposed them, or at least Tory government involvement in their promotion. Some, for example, argued that public funds were being used for the benefit of special interest groups. Indeed, periodic scandals confirmed this. Nonetheless, most of Tory Toronto, including the working classes, viewed the railway as the creator of new opportunities, jobs, and wealth.<sup>59</sup>

By 1856 Toronto's railways had spawned several foundries, engine works, rolling mills, and other factories, some employing as many as 200 to 300 men at the peak of trade. While production continued to rely almost totally on hand-crafted goods, these handicrafts were slowly being consolidated into manufactories either by uniting several crafts under a single roof or by increasing the division of labour used to produce a single object.<sup>60</sup>

In either case, Toronto's skilled craftsmen were beginning to note that this reorganization of production was not necessarily to their benefit. While generally supportive of the Tory government's promotion of business and railroad interests, skilled workers began to organize against the impact of this promotion when it affected their own industry. Craft-based unions became increasingly common and several strikes were fought over the introduction of competitive or market wages, "labour-saving" technology, and other changes in established work patterns.<sup>61</sup>

Although industrialization had just begun, the 1850s also saw the start of important changes in urban pattern. The central area was becoming increasingly dominated by the railway and expanding manufacturing activities. A fire by-law passed in 1852 established boundaries around this core and required most new structures within these boundaries to be built of incombustible materials.<sup>62</sup> Although many wealthy households remained in the core, others began to move north to the city's fringe near Bloor and Jarvis Streets.<sup>63</sup>

Subdivision in Toronto reached an unprecedented peak between 1853 and 1857 as speculators anticipated the urban growth of industrialization. In several areas, speculators planned large lots for sale to Toronto's upper and middle classes. Rosedale, just north of the Jarvis area and known for its large lots and meandering streets, was planned at this time, but for lack of demand remained undeveloped for over 30 years. In other parts of the city plans lay equally dormant or underwent further subdivision for sale to families of lesser means. In either case, over half the lots created in this first boom remained undeveloped until the 1880s and 1890s.<sup>64</sup>

Subdivision, along with most other economic activity, was briefly but severely curtailed when the depression plaguing the world economy hit Toronto in 1857. Widespread unemployment prompted the Canadian government to impose a system of protective tariffs in 1859. While not directly aiding those in greatest need, the tariffs promoted home manufactories and thus allowed Toronto industrialists to begin the city's economic recovery. The tariffs were indicative, too, of the growing importance of manufacturers and industrialists in the otherwise mercantile structure of the city's socio-economic and political life.<sup>65</sup>

By the mid-1860s, Toronto's early industrialization had transformed the process of production used in a number of different industries. In furniture and the metal trades fac-

tory production was the rule rather than the exception. Many other producers worked in industrial organizations, though smaller and less mechanized. The work of the former middle class of independent artisans and craftsmen was increasingly subordinated to a new middle class of managers, business agents and clerks, as well as subject to competition from less skilled workers. Craft-based unions appeared, under the circumstances, to be the most effective means of protecting the artisan's position.<sup>66</sup>

The changing structure and relations of Toronto's economy were also introducing profound changes in the city's spatial characteristics. By the 1860s both land uses and residents were beginning to cluster into specialized districts. Retail trade dominated the main streets of King and Yonge, while wholesaling and manufacturing expanded in the central core and along the lakeshore, parallel with the railway.<sup>67</sup>

While the central city acquired more factories and warehouses, peripheral areas began developing into distinctive residential neighbourhoods. Cabbagetown in the east was joined by another working-class neighbourhood in the west near Bathurst and King Streets.<sup>68</sup> The wealthy, on the other hand, had established their first clearly segregated neighbourhood to the north along Jarvis Street.<sup>69</sup>

The Jarvis Street area had many special amenities which made it attractive to Toronto's upper class. Unlike most of Toronto's park lots, which had undergone a series of subdivisions and sales before development, the Jarvis area had remained unsubdivided longer. When subdivision did occur it included the sale of large parcels covering several blocks which were, in turn, held for substantial periods by a single owner. One wealthy resident, for example, bought a parcel on the west side of Jarvis from Bloor to below Wellesley Street in 1847 which remained undeveloped until the 1880s. On the east side of Jarvis Street, between Carleton and Gerard Street, was the Allan family's horticultural gardens which they donated to the city in 1857. The Allan's prestigious "Homewood" estate and the "Woodlawn" mansion of Sheriff Jarvis, both near Jarvis and Wellesley Streets, as well as Bishop Strachan's Anglican Church (St. Paul's) at Bloor and Jarvis, all gave the area an exceptionally prestigious quality. When subdivision of the area began in earnest in the 1860s, lots were almost uniformly large.<sup>70</sup>

Moreover, the development of Toronto's first clearly segregated upper-class neighbourhood along the northern leg of Jarvis Street predated suburban street car lines. Although city council granted the first street car franchise in 1861, routes were confined to the city's three largest arterials: Yonge, Queen, and King Streets. The street car's costliness made its ridership exclusive and prevented the expansion of services until the mid-1870s when lines were extended along King Street and from King north on Sherbourne and Spadina, into the city's increasingly affluent northern enclaves.<sup>71</sup>

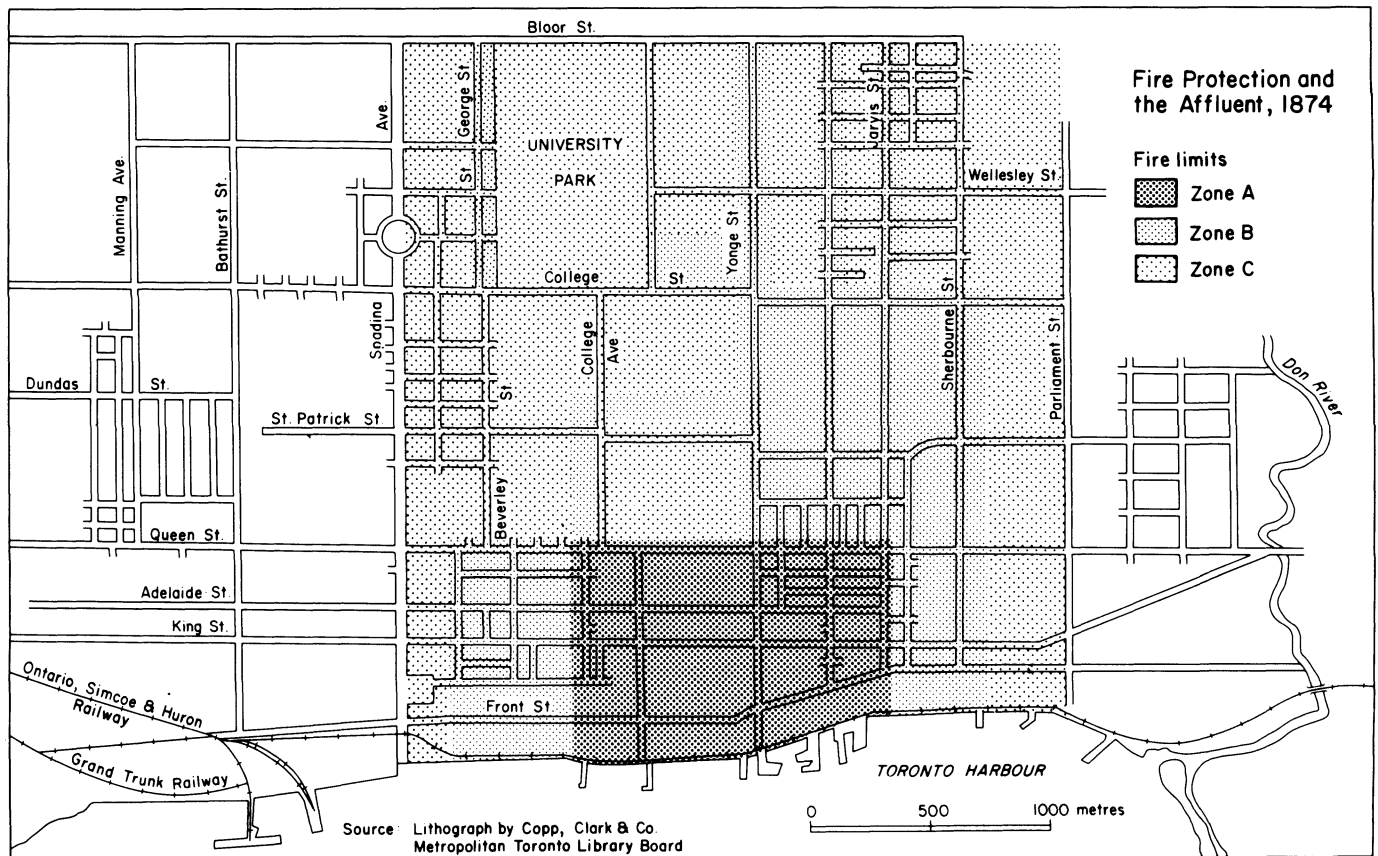
By 1867, the year of Confederation, Toronto had railway links with the eastern seaboard of the U.S., with Montreal, and with her own hinterland to the north and west. The U.S. Civil War from 1861 to 1865 had given several Toronto industries an additional boost and Confederation promised to strengthen Toronto's trade position within the country even more.<sup>72</sup>

The advance of Toronto's capitalist industrialization during the late 1860s and early 1870s brought more widespread or generalized changes in socio-economic relations. While the wealth and property of merchants and manufacturers increased, that of Toronto's skilled workers decreased sharply.<sup>73</sup> The increasing militancy of skilled workers concerned with their declining position, and the extremes of poverty suffered by many of the unskilled, alarmed the middle class.

The breakdown in traditional roles and relationships caused anxiety for all classes, but Toronto's middle class was especially concerned that the lack of morality among the working classes might undermine the city's industrial progress and economic security. The signs of moral weakness attributed to the working classes included criminal behaviour, poverty, and threats of class warfare. Some felt that these problems emerged because the wealthy had abandoned their responsibilities for the poor. In the past, personal ties of dependence and obligation had characterized the relations between classes, but with the anonymity and indifference of large scale production these reciprocal ties were rapidly disappearing. Lack of deference and respect for one's "betters" was seen as most threatening and, if unremedied, might lead to social chaos and economic collapse.<sup>74</sup>

The educational reform movement of the period provides one of the clearest examples of the "better" classes' attempt to control and subdue the growing militance of Toronto's workers. Public education for children was never conceived of as an attempt to equalize opportunities but, to train children to accept the existence of class differences, accept their place in that hierarchy, and learn the skills associated with that place or position. Schooling for working-class children meant learning about the rhythm, pace, and discipline of the factory. Above all else, they were expected to learn to adjust to the "unvarying regularity" of producing goods "on time." Educators, preoccupied with the "character and morals of the working class," emphasized obedience to authority, thrift, and punctuality.<sup>75</sup> Thus, the new school system developed during the 1850s and '60s maintained "an educational class system no less pervasive than the ranks and orders of the dying past."<sup>76</sup>

Similarly, Toronto's Mechanics' Institute was an organization dedicated to the moral and intellectual improvement of adult workers. During the 1860s and '70s, however, complaints about declining attendance at lectures and misuse of the facilities for political or leisurely pursuits were becoming



**FIGURE 4.** Fire Protection and the Affluent, 1874.

SOURCE: Lithograph by Copp, Clark & Co. Metropolitan Toronto Library Board.

more frequent. Directors of the Institute blamed these developments on the “debased and vulgar manner” of the working classes and feared that rather than promoting class harmony and order the Institute might become the tool of labour organizations wishing to foment class conflict.<sup>77</sup>

In both the movements for public elementary education and adult education, then, the recurring theme was to control the working class through the imposition of middle-class values. The concern that industrialization take place in an orderly manner reflected the reality of a growing antagonism between Toronto capitalists and workers. While some “autonomous workmen” still thrived, by 1871 70 per cent of Toronto’s working population were employed in shops of over 30 employees and almost 40 per cent of these, in factories with 100 or more workers. Factory production had totally replaced crafts in many industries and the conflict that this economic transition engendered was rapidly becoming a major issue in Canadian politics.<sup>78</sup>

The Trade Unions Act of 1872 was a token gesture by the Tory government to cool the beginnings of what appeared to be a growing working class movement hostile to Canadian capital. The Act was initiated in response to a printers’ strike which had raised the issue of overwork and demanded a

limit of nine hours’ work per day. A Master Printers’ Association imported strikebreakers and had unionized printers arrested for conspiracy. Prime Minister John A. Macdonald intervened with the Trade Unions Act, which granted the first ambiguous legitimacy to the union’s right to strike.<sup>79</sup>

Rather than cooling the printers’ enthusiasm, however, the legislation gave new impetus to the workers’ demands. Soon the strike had grown into a “9 Hours Movement” involving a variety of skilled workers from different trades. Although still divided by ideological differences related to skill, trade, and culture, Toronto workers were beginning to identify themselves as a single class with common interests opposed to those of employers and owners.<sup>80</sup>

Much of the militancy of Toronto’s skilled workers in early 1870s was predicated on their inability to share in the prosperity that industrialization created for capitalists. That prosperity was carrying the city’s wealthy farther and farther from the sites of conflict and into increasingly exclusive residential enclaves as subdivision reached a new peak around 1873.<sup>81</sup> New services and special building regulations further reinforced the growing contrast between areas occupied by workers and those occupied by the upper and middle classes.

For example, after “grave and frequent complaints” about the quality of water supplied by Toronto’s private gas and water company, city council authorized the construction of public water works in 1872. The water works, completed in 1877, were run similar to most other municipal services: water was supplied to dwellings in which the inhabitants could pay the cost of plumbing installation. Those who could not afford the service could fetch water from a public outlet on the street.<sup>82</sup>

Fire laws were also revised in the 1870s to protect and preserve the new affluent residential areas while at the same time loosening restrictions in the central area. These changes in the fire laws were borne out of a movement by Toronto builders to repeal existing fire law restrictions. Builders claimed that the existing provisions were too severe in the central area, making workers’ housing too expensive and thereby leading to the overcrowding and run down conditions which caused fires. Few workers took active interest in the debate, however, and, as the *Globe* observed, repeal of the existing laws would benefit building speculators much more than it would workers. City council nonetheless reduced the fire limits in the central area in 1874, and in 1876 allowed residents in other parts of the city to impose special restrictions on their street through petitions to council. Residents could thereby specify the type of construction materials to be used in all new dwellings on their street.<sup>83</sup>

These revised fire laws acted as the city’s first zoning by-law. The cost of the materials specified to be used on a particular street could well determine the value of the dwelling and, thus, effectively restrict the income range or class of one’s neighbours. Figure 4 illustrates the fact that in 1874 many of the city’s most prestigious residential streets were already protected by special fire restrictions, evidently before petitioning for such regulation was instituted. That same year street car lines expanded north into the Jarvis Street and St. George areas, providing even more specialized services for Toronto’s most privileged classes.<sup>84</sup>

The wealthy’s withdrawal into these peripheral enclaves appeared to shelter them from many of the more unsavoury aspects of life faced by the less prosperous classes living in the city’s central area.<sup>85</sup> The security of the upper and middle classes was shaken, however, when depression hit Toronto in 1875. Following two years of failures in the world economy, many Toronto capitalists found themselves suddenly penniless. Many businesses failed permanently. Others would recover in the 1880s, but only after a long, slow climb.<sup>86</sup>

The depression also called a temporary halt to organized labour unrest, while, at the same time, it appeared to aggravate sectarian conflicts between Irish Catholics and Protestants. Toronto experienced its two bloodiest sectarian riots in 1875 and 1878.<sup>87</sup> The hardships of unemployment no doubt increased the fervor with which these workers

turned on their own class — for Orangemen, Catholicism was a personified evil and hence assailable.

By the end of the 1870s the depression had put the issue of economic stability at the centre of political stage. Tories organized a Workingman’s Liberal Conservative Union of Canada which sought to rally workers’ interest and support for better protection of Canadian manufacturing. Protection of Canadian capital, it was argued, would also benefit the working classes which had been hardest hit by the depression. Tories won the federal election in 1879 with considerable support from Toronto workers and capitalists alike. With the Tory government’s wholehearted backing of the industrialists’ interests, however, it soon became clear that the National Policy ignored the interests of workers.<sup>88</sup>

Between 1851 and 1881 Toronto’s population had almost tripled, increasing from 30,775 to 85,415.<sup>89</sup> The unprecedented flow of unskilled immigrants, coupled with government’s active support for railway construction and for protection of home manufactories, made Toronto’s transition to an industrial city possible. The change in socio-economic relations that early industrialization entailed was also etched into the city’s pattern of development. Railways and factories sprawled on the lakeshore and expanded in the city’s core. New class-based residential areas appeared to separate the wealthy factory owners, merchants, and managers from their increasingly hostile labour force. Various urban services reinforced this separation by providing costly infrastructure only to those residential streets which could afford the price. More significant, however, was the institutionalization of new fire regulations in the 1870s which allowed wealthy residents to apply exclusionary restrictions on residential buildings on their street while at the same time relaxing restrictions in the city’s core. This primitive form of zoning did not create exclusive residential neighbourhoods, yet it granted them a legitimacy that has become the bedrock of much residential theory and planning to this date.

#### IV. Summary of Development to 1900

While the original plans for the establishment of a clearly segregated town at York in 1793 did not materialize as planned, with each street distinguished by the size and style of its structures, Toronto did eventually develop into a segregated city with striking differences in the housing conditions and locations of its various classes during the latter half of the nineteenth century. The first spontaneous class-based neighbourhoods of the 1850s, ‘60s, and ‘70s were joined by more in the 1880s and early 1890s, a period marked by phenomenal urban growth and unprecedented labour unrest.

The Torys’ National Policy of 1879 imposed stiff protective tariffs that aided Toronto’s economic recovery from the depression of the late 1870s. Recovery included the concen-



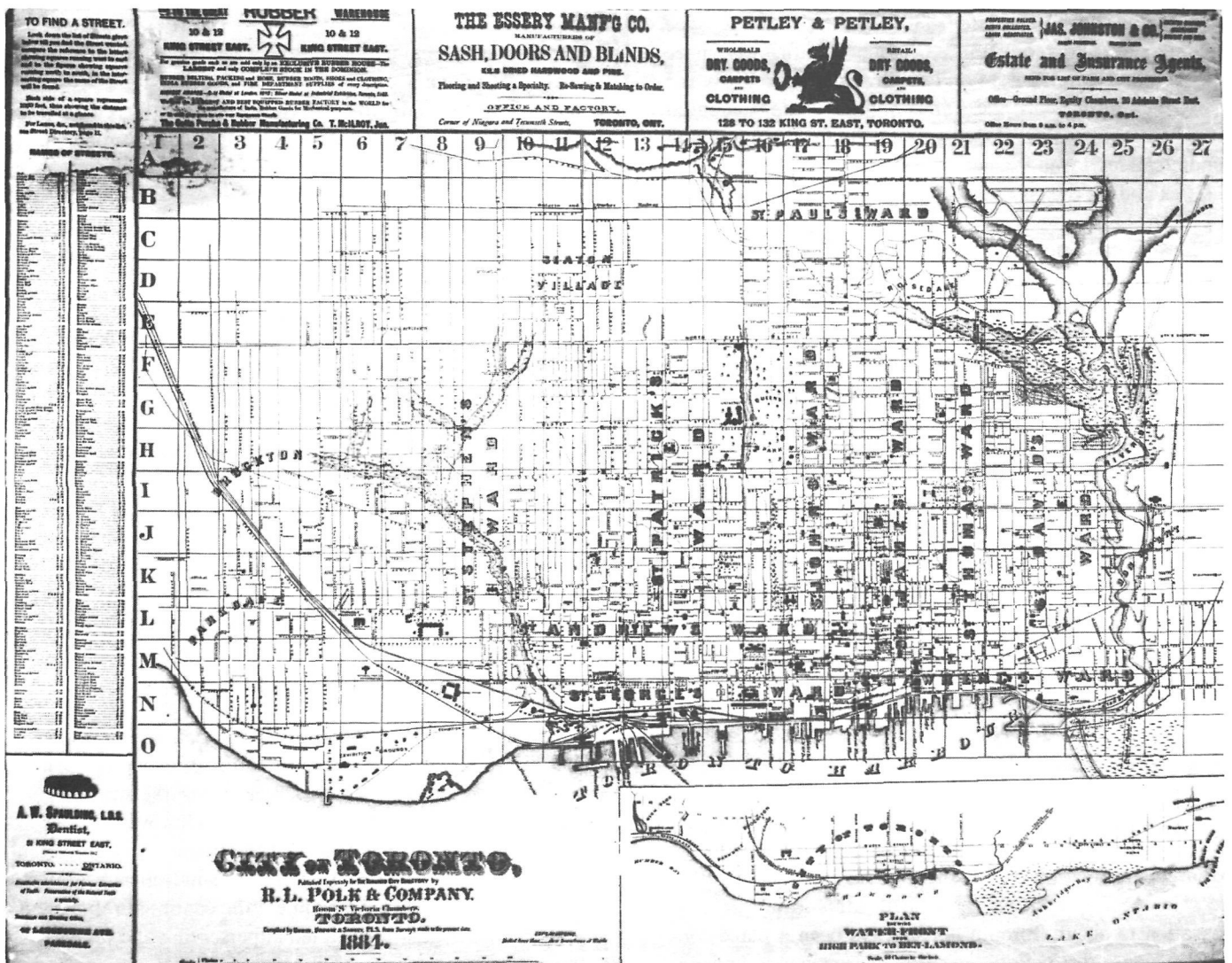


FIGURE 5. City of Toronto, R.L. Polk & Company, 1884.

SOURCE: Ontario Archives, D-11.

tration of production formerly occurring throughout Ontario and in units both substantially larger and more diverse than previously. The factory structure replaced numerous small shops throughout the city and incorporated a massive social distance between owners and workers. While this distance may have been no greater than that between Toronto's original elite and its labouring class, the skilled craftsmen's fall during industrialization and the new anonymity of work relations had left many with a vivid memory of another, perhaps more amicable, way of producing goods.<sup>90</sup>

For the first time, then, skilled and unskilled became united in their opposition to the conditions of industrial labour. The organized protests of the 1880s have been called, by some, the "Great Upheaval," a period when unions, strikes, boycotts, rallies, and even a workingman's political party were organized. The most impressive Toronto union, the Knights of Labour, reached its peak strength of 5,000 mem-

bers in 1886 and represented workers regardless of skill, craft, ethnicity, race, creed, or sex. Their organization revealed a rare unanimity among Toronto's working classes and was indicative of just how fully industrialization had penetrated into their consciousness.<sup>91</sup>

The antagonism between capitalists and workers was a struggle over the organization of their society as well as their work. The characteristics which divided Toronto society into classes in the 1880s were not only occupational but based on vast differences in income, education, culture, and property. While workers concentrated their efforts on organizing for political and economic reforms related to the workplace, they were not unaware of the wealthy's monopoly on urban land.<sup>92</sup>

By the mid-1880s Jarvis Street was reaching its peak of prestige and Rosedale, built to the north amid wooded ravines, was beginning to be occupied by the city's wealthiest

inhabitants. During the late 1880s and early 1890s large building and loan companies became significantly more active in land development and subdivision, as well. By the end of the century both the Annex and Parkdale residential areas had also been developed specifically for the upper and middle classes through special restrictive covenants effectively excluding the city's working classes.<sup>93</sup>

Housing conditions for many of Toronto's workers had, in the meantime, grown quite deplorable. Overcrowding and poor ventilation had reached such proportions in the city's core, due to the habit of building houses back to back along narrow laneways and alleys, that city council felt impelled to act. In 1889 they passed a "By-law to Regulate the Width of Streets and the Erection of Dwellings." The by-law required that all new dwellings front onto streets at least 30 feet wide and have an attached yard or vacant space of at least 300 square feet for ventilation. The law was considered quite an advance by local public health reformers, but was not enforced until provincial enabling legislation was passed and the by-law re-enacted in 1895.<sup>94</sup> Still, the new by-law did not regulate the condition of housing or improve existing conditions in the core, which was rapidly becoming a notorious slum known simply as "the Ward."<sup>95</sup>

That industrialization meant increased wealth and profit for capitalists at the expense of workers was no mystery to those who experienced the widening gap separating classes in the nineteenth century. The antagonisms that this socio-economic system engendered seemed almost to demand the spatial separation of the opposing factions, just as the differences in wealth it created provided the means for that separation to occur. Toronto had always been a place conscious of class distinctions, yet this consciousness had not always fostered open hostility and distrust between classes. Nor can there be much doubt that at the heart of this conflict was the skilled worker's unwillingness to accept his increasingly subordinate position within the new socio-economic hierarchy.

By the late 1890s, however, the rise of corporate capitalism and yet another depression had virtually eliminated the last organized opposition to labour market relations.<sup>96</sup> The capitalist system of production and distribution has only rarely been challenged since, yet the pattern of class segregated urban neighbourhoods has not only persisted but become enshrined in urban planning theory and practice as a natural right of property owners.

### Conclusion

This brief history of Toronto's development in the nineteenth century reveals the way in which the structure of power and wealth allowed the city's privileged classes to institute regulations and shape the pattern of urban growth in accordance with their own class interests. While this is

most clear in the case of the elite's control of land grants during the colonial period, it is also evidenced by the municipal government's provision of street-related services and building restrictions (fire by-laws) which reinforced the pattern of micro-scale segregation, throughout the mercantile and early industrialist periods.

The macro-scale segregation that began to emerge during the latter period was as yet unprotected by the exclusionary zoning regulations common today, but by the 1880s and 1890s was reinforced by private restrictive covenants in several newly developing areas. Nonetheless, the first class-based districts or neighbourhoods in Toronto were predicated on a number of historically and socially produced, as opposed to natural, phenomena. These included the operation of unregulated markets in land and labour, the large influx of destitute immigrants, and the widening gap that industrialization created between the wealth of the upper and middle classes, on the one hand, and the declining position of the working classes, on the other. These changes brought with them previously unprecedented class antagonisms. For the affluent, then, macro-scale segregation appears in this context as an escape.<sup>97</sup> For those unable to move, it represented a lack of choice.

In the twentieth century the divisions between classes have become obscured by increasing stratification and by various state interventions aimed at ameliorating the most visible negative outcomes of market relations. However, neither of these developments has rendered the pattern of segregation any more "natural." If segregation was indeed as voluntary as human ecologists have claimed, the continual refinement of municipal regulations aimed at perserving and protecting the exclusive ambience of upper and middle class enclaves would be unnecessary. Indeed, history reveals that it is the structure of power and wealth in a class society that allows the privileged to institute regulations that shape urban development patterns according to their own class interests. As such, there can be no valid generic theory of urban development. Urban geography is based on the social structure in which it is embedded. Toronto, like other cities in capitalist societies, can best be understood in this political and economic context.

### NOTES

1. See for example, R.E. Part *et al.*, *The City* (Chicago: 1925); G.A. Theodorsen, ed., *Studies in Human Ecology* (New York: 1961); and D. Timms, *The Urban Mosaic: Towards a Theory of Residential Differentiation* (Cambridge: 1971).
2. Two of the most extensive critical reviews of the ecological literature are provided by M. Castells, *The Urban Question: A Marxist Approach* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1977); and B. Sanford, "The Origins of Residential Differentiation; Capitalist Industrialization, Toronto Ontario, 1851-1881" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1985), Chapter 2.
3. M. Castells, "Theory and Ideology in Urban Sociology," in *Urban Sociology: Critical Essays*, ed. C.G. Pickvance (London: 1976), 60-84.

4. This view is also suggested by P.G. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto, 1850 to 1900* (Chicago: 1970).
5. P.J. Ashton, "The Political Economy of Suburban Development," in *Marxism and the Metropolis*, ed. W.K. Tabb and L. Sayers (New York: 1978), 25-53.
6. *Ibid.*
7. This theme was reiterated by moral reformers throughout the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. See for example, P. Boyer, *Urban Masses and Moral Order in America, 1820-1920* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1978).
8. D.M. Gordon, "Capitalist Development and the History of American Cities," in *Marxism and the Metropolis*, ed. W.K. Tabb and L. Sayers (New York: 1978), 25-63.
9. D. Harvey, "Class Structure in a Capitalist Society and the Theory of Residential Differentiation," in *Processes in Physical and Human Geography*, ed. R. Peel, M. Chisholm, and P. Hagget (London: 1975), 354-369; quote 368.
10. For a discussion of this point in the nineteenth century context see R.A. Walker, "A Theory of Suburbanization: Capitalism and the Construction of Urban Space in the United States," in *Urbanization and Urban Planning in Capitalist Society*, ed. M. Dear and A.J. Scott (London and New York: 1981), 383-429.
11. The paper is a modified version of Chapter 1 of my dissertation, see Sanford, "Origins of Residential Differentiation."
12. With some variation in the precise dates of periodization and their names, a similar typology as that presented here for Toronto is provided for Canadian cities generally by Gilbert A. Stelter, "The City Building Process in Canada," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape: Aspects of the Canadian City-Building Process*, ed. G.A. Stelter and A.F.J. Artibise (Ottawa: 1982), 1-29; and for Toronto by J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918: An Illustrated History*, The History of Canadian Cities Series (Toronto: 1984).
13. E.G. Firth, ed., *The Town of York, 1783-1815: A Collection of Documents of Early Toronto* (Toronto: 1962), Introduction, "Establishment of the Capital"; see also D. Kerr and J. Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto* (Ottawa: 1965).
14. H. Scadding and J.C. Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present* (Toronto: 1884), 18-22. Also see H. Clare Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada, 1650-1860* (Toronto: 1981), 48-54.
15. Quoted in E. Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City* (Toronto: 1964), 22.
16. Firth, *The Town of York*.
17. *Ibid.*
18. Arthur, *Toronto, No Mean City*, 18, 24.
19. Firth, *The Town of York*, "Religion and Education."
20. John Andre, *Infant Toronto as Simcoe's Folly* (Toronto: 1971).
21. Firth, *The Town of York*, "York and the War of 1812."
22. *Ibid.*, "Law and Order" and "Commercial Development"; also, for more personal tales of the town's early elite, see F.N. Walker, *Sketches of Old Toronto* (Don Mills, Ont.: 1965); see also Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 49; and B. West, *Toronto* (Toronto: 1967), 51-52; 75-76.
23. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 7.
24. J. Lemon and J. Simmons, *A Guide to Data on Nineteenth Century Toronto* (Toronto: Department of Geography, University of Toronto, 1977), 5-7.
25. See J.M.S. Careless, *Canada: A Story of Challenge* (Toronto: 1963), 168-75; also, F.J. Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition: The Emergence of a City, 1828-1838" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1965).
26. W.T. Easterbrook and H.G.J. Aitkin, *Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: 1956), "1815-1849: Immigration, Land Settlement, Agriculture, and Trade Policy."
27. G.S. Kealey, "The Orange Order in Toronto: Religious Riot and the Working Class," in *Essays in Canadian Working Class History*, ed. G.S. Kealey and P. Warran (Toronto: 1976), 13-24; also M.W.W. Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish in Victorian Toronto" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Guelph, 1981), 14-40; and D.J. Houston and W.J. Smith, *The Sash Canada Wore: A Historical Geography of the Orange Order in Canada* (Toronto: 1980).
28. Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada*, 104-109.
29. H.A. MacDougall, "'Health is Wealth': The Development of Public Health Activity in Toronto, 1834-1890" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1981), 16-29; Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 113; West, *Toronto*, 132-33; and M.J. Piva, *The Conditions of the Working Class in Toronto - 1900-1921* (Ottawa: 1979), 114-39.
30. Sally F. Zerker, *The Rise and Fall of the Toronto Typographical Union 1832-1972: A Case Study of Foreign Domination* (Toronto: 1982), 3-29; also G.S. Kealey, *Toronto Workers Respond to Industrial Capitalism, 1876-1892* (Toronto: 1980), 83-84.
31. Zerker, *The Rise and Fall of Toronto Typographical Union*.
32. Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition."
33. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 48-54; J.E. Middleton, *The Municipality of Toronto: A History*, Volume I (Toronto: 1923), 136; I.K. Ganton, "Land Subdivision in Toronto, 1851-1883," in *Shaping the Urban Landscape*, ed. Stelter and Artibise, 200-31; J. Coleman, "The Alienation of the Grange Property," in *The Privileged Few*, J. Lownsbrough (Toronto: 1980), Appendix; and J.E. Vance, Jr., "Land Assignment in the Precapitalist, Capitalist, and Postcapitalist City," *Economic Geography* 47 (April 1971); 101-20.
34. Kerr and Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto*, 62-66.
35. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 47-57.
36. Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition," 57-97.
37. *Ibid.*
38. Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 152-58; also City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 9*, (1834).
39. M.E. MacNab, "Toronto's Industrial Growth to 1891," *Ontario History* XLVII (Spring 1955): 59-80.
40. Piva, *The Conditions of the Working Class*, 61-62.
41. See Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 169-83; and H.A. Innis, *Essays in Canadian Economic History* (Toronto: 1956), especially 78-96, "Government Ownership and the Canadian Scene."
42. See B.D. Dyster, "Toronto 1840-60: Making It in a British Protestant Town" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1970); also Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition," 252-79; Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada*, 176-99; Careless, *Canada*, 168-75 and 188-204; and J.M.S. Careless, *Brown of the Globe*, Volume 1 (Toronto: 1959), 42-55.
43. Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 195-215; also Careless, *Canada*.
44. Toronto's liberties were originally Crown Lands reserved for future public use or sale as the growth of the city required. See Kerr and Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto*, 59; and A.R.N. Woadden, "The Growth of Toronto," *The York Pioneer* (1972): 61-68.
45. E. Jones and D. McCalla, "Toronto Waterworks, 1840-77: Continuity and Change in Nineteenth-Century Toronto Politics" *The Canadian Historical Review* 60 (September 1979): 300-23; also Armstrong, "Toronto in Transition," 243-44; also City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 21* (1826), "Act for the Preservation and Repairs of the Planning of Sidewalks in the City of Toronto."
46. City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 93* (1845).
47. See West, *Toronto*, 149-54; also Jones and McCalla, "Toronto Waterworks"; and MacDougall, "Health is Wealth," 97-99.
48. Pentland, *Labour and Capital in Canada*, 24-25; and H.C. Pentland, "The Development of a Capitalist Labour Market in Canada," *The Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 25 (1959): 450-61.
49. Easterbrook and Aitkin, *Canadian Economic History*.
50. Innis, *Essays in Economic History*, 79-80; also Careless, *Canada*, 208-10.
51. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 99; also Lemon and Simmons, *A Guide to Data*, 1.
52. Kealey, "Orange Order," 13; also Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish," 1-8; and K. Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration and the Social Structure of Canada West," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 2 (February 1965): 19-40.
53. Although there were streets in the centre of Toronto more well-known for their poor conditions than those in Cabbagetown, the latter was



- the first area, as opposed to an isolated street, where labourers — both Catholic and Protestant, Irish and English and Scottish — clearly dominated. See Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish," 14-20, and Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration."
54. Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish." 444-78.
  55. Pentland, *Labour and Capital*, 112.
  56. Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 203-12; also Duncan, "Irish Famine Immigration"; and D.C. Masters, *The Rise of Toronto* (Toronto: 1947), 12-15.
  57. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 85, notes this "finely detailed" pattern of segregation but makes no note of the city regulations or their potential influence on this pattern.
  58. *Ibid.*, 61-64; also Easterbrook and Aitkin, *Canadian Economic History*. "The Coming of the Railway: Canadian Economic Policy after 1850"; Scadding and Dent, *Toronto: Past and Present*, 205-06; Pentland, *Labour and Capital*, 130-7; Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 66; and Careless, *Canada*, 209-10.
  59. S.B. Ryerson, *Unequal Union* (Toronto: 1973), 244-57; also F.H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Radical Opinion in the Decade Before Confederation," in *Upper Canadian Politics in the 1850s*, ed. R. Cook, C. Brown, and C. Berger (Toronto: 1967), 1-16; Paul Romney, "'The Ten Thousand Pound Job': Political Corruption, Equitable Jurisdiction, and the Public Interest in Upper Canada, 1852-6," in *Essays in the History of Canadian Law*, ed. D.H. Flaherty, Volume 2 (Toronto: 1983), 143-199; and G. Myers, *A History of Canadian Wealth* (Toronto: 1972), 192-95.
  60. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 18; and Ryerson, *Unequal Union*, 258-80.
  61. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 37-40; also G.S. Kealey, *Working Class Toronto at the Turn of the Century* (Toronto: 1973); Zerker, *The Rise and Fall of Toronto Typographical Union*, 30-49; and Dyser, "Toronto 1840-60," Volume 2.
  62. City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 183* (1852) was seen as a direct outcome of the Great Fire of 1849 but lack of enforcement meant complaints continued throughout the century. See I.K. Ganton, *Development Between Parliament and the Don River, 1793-1884* (Toronto: Department of Geography, University of Toronto, 1974).
  63. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 81-90; also A.S. Thompson, *Jarvis Street: A Story of Triumph and Tragedy* (Toronto: 1980), 87-156.
  64. Ganton, "Land Subdivision"; also see "Plan of Rose-Park Being a Subdivision of the Rosedale Estate" (Toronto: 1854), source: Ontario Archives.
  65. Innis, *Essays in Economic History*, 78-96; Careless, *Canada*, 276-78; and MacNab, "Toronto's Industrial Growth."
  66. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 12-13; and Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 18-19.
  67. Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 125-38; also Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 100.
  68. Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish," 18.
  69. Kerr and Spelt, *The Changing Face of Toronto*.
  70. *Ibid.*; also Thompson, *Jarvis Street*, 112-56; and A. Rose, *Regent Park: A Study in Slum Clearance* (Toronto: 1858), Chapter 4.
  71. Ganton, "Land Subdivision," 219; also for a counter argument regarding the role of the streetcars in promoting the first suburbs see Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 71-74; and S.B. Warner, Jr., *Street Car Suburbs: The Process of Growth in Boston, 1870-1900* (New York: 1976).
  72. The Ontario voter franchise established in 1876 was explicitly biased in favour of the province's more affluent residents. Only male owners and occupiers of property valued at \$600 or more were allowed to vote. The working classes, thus, had no more meaningful representation after confederation than before it. See Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 20-30; also Easterbrook and Aitkin, *Canadian Economic History*; Innis, *Essays in Economic History*; and Careless, *Canada*, 211-70.
  73. A.G. Darroch, "Early Industrialization and Inequality in Toronto, 1861-1899," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 11 (Spring 1983): 31-61; and A.G. Darroch, "Occupational Structure, Assessed Wealth and Homeowning during Toronto's Early Industrialization, 1861-1899," *Histoire sociale/Social History* XVI (November 1983): 381-410.
  74. A. Prentice, *The School Promoters: Education and Social Class in Mid-Nineteenth Century Upper Canada* (Toronto: 1977), 119-34. These same ideas were also common in Europe and the U.S. See J. Donzelot, *The Policing of Families*, translated by R. Hurley (New York: 1979), 48-94; R. Johnson, "Notes on the Schooling of the English Working Class, 1780-1850," in *Schooling and Capitalism: A Sociological Reader*, ed. R. Dale, G. Esland, and M. MacDonald (London: 1976), 44-54; S. Bowles, "Unequal Education and the Reproduction of the Social Division of Labour," in *Social Mobility*, ed. A.P.M. Coxon and C.L. Jones (Harmondsworth: 1975), 258-82; and M.B. Katz, *The Irony of Early School Reform* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1968).
  75. H.J. Graff, "Respected and Profitable Labour: Literacy, Jobs and the Working Class in the Nineteenth Century," in *Essays in Canadian Working Class History*, Kealey and Warran, 58-82, quote 80.
  76. Prentice, *The School Promoters*, 164 and 88-115; also see A. Prentice and S. Houston, ed., *Family, School and Society in the Nineteenth Century Canada* (Toronto: 1975), 128-29; J.G. Hodgins, *The Establishment of Schools and Colleges in Ontario, 1792-1910*, Volumes 1 and 2 (Toronto: 1910); and "Annual Report of the Normal, Model, Grammar, and Common Schools in Upper Canada, for the Year 1866," *Canada Sessional Papers* 6 (Ottawa: 1867), x, "Appendix A: Extracts from the Reports of Local Superintendents."
  77. "Special Report of the Minister of Education on the Mechanics' Institutes (Ontario)," *Ontario Sessional Papers* 4 (Toronto: 1881), 1-36; S. Shapin and B. Barnes, "Science, Nature and Control: Interpreting Mechanics' Institutes," in *Schooling and Capitalism*, ed. Dale, Esland and MacDonald, 55-65; reprinted letters and articles from *Journal of the Board of Arts and Manufacturers*, in *Family, School and Society*, ed. Prentice and Houston, 191-96; and "Annual Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture and Arts, for the Year 1870," *Ontario Sessional Papers* 1 (Toronto: 1871), x "Appendix B," 229-31.
  78. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 3-4 and 24-25. Note also that Dreeben argues that education takes place in schools, as opposed to family or kinship settings, only in industrialized societies or areas because of the unique socialization process required to stabilize their occupational and political institutions. See R. Dreeben, *On What is Learned in School* (Reading, Mass.: 1968); and on Canadian working class culture and values, B.D. Palmer, *A Culture in Conflict: Skilled Workers and Industrial Capitalism in Hamilton, Ontario, 1860-1914* (Montreal: 1970), especially Chapter 2, 35-70; also D.J. Bercuson, "Through the Looking Glass of Culture: An Essay on the New Labour History and Working Class Culture in Recent Canadian Historical Writing," *Labour/Le Travailleur* 7 (Spring 1981): 95-112.
  79. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 90-91; and for a very different perspective see Careless, Brown, 288-98; and also Zerker, *The Rise and Fall of Toronto Typographical Union*, 78-96; and B. Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour in the 1870s," *The Canadian Historical Review* 41 (1960): 93-127.
  80. Ostry, "Conservatives, Liberals, and Labour"; G.S. Kealey and B.D. Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be: The Knights of Labour in Ontario, 1880-1900* (Cambridge, Mass.: 1982), 27-56; and for a somewhat different interpretation see Pentland, *Labour and Capital*, 21.
  81. Ganton, "Land Subdivision."
  82. City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 544* (1872); and Jones and McCalla, "Toronto Waterworks."
  83. *Globe*, 3 May 1873 and 5 May 1873; 13 June 1873; 9 October 1873; 13 April 1874; also, City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 627* (1876).
  84. Ganton, "Land Subdivision"; and Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 73-74.
  85. These conditions are described in MacDougall, "Health is Wealth," 133-77; and in E.C. Guillet, *Toronto from Trading Post to Great City* (Toronto: 1934), 51-53.
  86. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 30-31 and 49-52.
  87. *Ibid.*, 109-19; however, Houston and Smyth add that these riots were not territorially based, as in Ireland, because Toronto was not segregated by religious orientation. See Houston and Smyth, *Family School*

- and Society*, 88; and C. Houston and W.J. Smyth, "The Orange Order in Nineteenth Century Ontario: A Study in Institutional Cultural Transfer," Discussion Paper No. 22 (Toronto: Department of Geography, University of Toronto, 1977), 7; also see Nicolson, "The Catholic Church and the Irish," 20-40.
88. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 155-67; see also Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 142-48; and Careless, *Canada*, 276-78.
  89. *Census of Canada, 1880-81*, Ottawa.
  90. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 32-33 and 295; also MacNab, "Toronto's Industrial Growth."
  91. Kealey, *Toronto Workers*, 176-85; *The Rise of Toronto*, 175-78; and Kealey and Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be*, 55-56.
  92. See F.W. Watt, "The National Policy, the Workingman, and Proletarian Ideas in Victorian Canada," *The Canadian Historical Review* 40 (1959): 1-26; also Masters, *The Rise of Toronto*, 165-86.
  93. For an especially romantic description of the development of Rosedale see C.P. Mulvany, *Toronto: Past and Present* (Toronto: 1884), 261-62; also see Goheen, *Victorian Toronto*, 215-18; Thompson, *Jarvis Street*, 156; and Ganton, "Land Subdivision."
  94. City of Toronto, *By-Law No. 2379* (1889); and *By-Law No. 3363* (1895); also see MacDougall, "Health is Wealth," Part 3.
  95. Piva, *The Conditions of the Working Class*, 126-28; also for a fascinating account of everything from slums and street kids to quack doctors in Toronto in the 1890s see C.S. Clark, *Of Toronto the Good* (Montreal; 1898); or for a much more staid account of the city's "great men" of the 1890s, see G.M. Adam, *Toronto, Old and New* (Toronto: 1891).
  96. Kealey and Palmer, *Dreaming of What Might Be*, Chapter 10; also see J.C. Weaver, *Shaping the Canadian City: Essays on Urban Politics and Policy, 1890-1920* (Institute of Public Administration Canada, 1977), especially Chapter 3 on the depoliticization of municipal politics in Toronto during the 1890s "reform" movement.
  97. R.A. Walker's "The Transformation of Urban Structure in the Nineteenth Century and the Beginnings of Suburbanization," in *Urbanization and Conflict in Market Societies*, ed. K.R. Cox (Chicago: 1978) expresses a similar theme.