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I

Canadian historians of electric street railways have focussed on a variety of issues: patronage, corruption and Sunday cars (Meen, Armstrong and Nelles¹); financial investment (Armstrong and Nelles, Bliss, McDowall and Hall²); competition from jitneys (Armstrong and Nelles, Doucet, Linteau and Davis³); traction methods (Nelles and Armstrong and Due⁴); civic populism and the municipalization of transit (Nelles and Armstrong and Frisken⁵); costs of electricity and fluctuations in demand (Spry⁶); company strategy, political lobbying, the expansion question and urban reform (Nelles and Armstrong, Davis, Doucet, Roy, Weaver and Rutherford⁷); factors shaping street car networks (Selwood⁸); radial railways (Salmon, Wickson and Due⁹); workers and strikes (Nelles and Armstrong, Piva and Kealey and Palmer¹⁰); and survey histories (Pursley, Filey, Blake and Baker¹¹). American and British street railways have been dealt with in similar ways by historians including Warner, Cheape, Ward, McKay, Taylor and Smerk.¹²

Thus far, however, historians have not dealt with the question of how people responded and adapted to the new speed, punctuality and efficiency introduced to Canadian cities by the street car during the early 1890s. And although historians of technology such as Marshall McLuhan have attempted to explain the effects of electric-powered technologies, they have neglected the street car.

McLuhan's work does, however, provide clues and tentative explanations, and this essay tests some of his theories on human responses to innovative electronic technology in order to investigate people's reactions to the electric street car during its first years of operation in

Canadian cities. McLuhan argued that humans respond to electric-powered inventions in three stages: anxiety, resistance and finally acceptance.¹³ Reality usually resists clean divisions, and the first two stages overlap; nevertheless McLuhan's model is worth testing. In order to do so, this essay relies on two main sources familiar to passengers during the early 1890s, the daily press and an oil painting, "Lights of a City Street." Both sources provide contemporary insights into the imagination and perceptions of urban dwellers.

Since the trolley or streetcar, the familiar term today,¹⁴ arrived in Canadian cities at the same time, between 1891 and 1894, it is possible to examine one or two cities as typical. While regulations governing privately-owned street cars varied slightly from city to city, and while each city did enjoy topographical and personality peculiarities, the reaction of passengers was much the same across the country. Thus the response to the first street cars in Toronto and Winnipeg can be taken as representative.

In September 1891, when William Mackenzie and three partners bought the franchise of the Toronto Railway Company, 1,500 horses ambled through the city's streets on prescribed routes, pulling passenger-laden trams. The first electric trolley was introduced to Toronto in August 1892.¹⁵ By the end of 1893, most of the horse cars were gone, replaced by 70 miles of trolleys.¹⁶ In early December 1894, the last two horses, on McCaul Street between Queen and College, were retired from the streets of Toronto.¹⁷ The months between August 1892 and December 1894 were an important transitional period when urban dwellers often reacted inexplicably, at least to their descendants a century later.

The newness of the electric trolley cannot be overstated. The old horse trams had travelled at little more than a brisk jogging pace, between four and seven miles per hour,¹⁸ allowing passengers to board or disembark with little fear of injury even while the tram was moving. Furthermore, horses were living creatures, responsive to the human voice and a link to a reassuring, even if invented, pastoral past. Horse cars "jogg[ed] along at a human society rate," one Toronto journalist recalled, evoking "pleasant recollections of the weekly trips to the village on Saturday night."¹⁹ In May 1894, in an ode called "The Old Lady's Lament for the Horse Car," an anonymous Winnipeg poet expressed popular affection for the disappearing tram:

You afforded an excellent cover
From the sun and the blustering wind.
How oft when the rain overtook me,
In response to my signal, you stopped,
How softly the driver-man shook me,
When asleep on the cushions I dropped.²⁰

II

If horse trams did not prepare passengers for the street car, one might assume that by 1891 steam trains had created a pattern of constant change and rigorous punctuality. Such was not the case, for the regularity, speed and "volume of transportation" introduced by the steam railway affected the farmer, merchant and manufacturer²¹ more than the ordinary passenger. While the train did cause some anxiety for passengers, their eyes "dim with pain" (from Lampman's "The Railway Station," published in 1888), as they hurried to catch the next train,²² passengers who regularly used steam trains formed only a minority in any city or town; furthermore, trains reached maximum speed only outside

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'Lights of a City Street,' oil (1894) by F.M. Bell-Smith (1846–1923), courtesy the Simpson's–Thomson Collection, Toronto.

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cities, away from populated areas. Like the telephone, telegraph and electric light, the effect of the train was gradual: the half century lag between the inauguration of the first steam engine in Canada in 1836 and the introduction of Standard Railway Time in 1884 suggests that at least until the 1880s trains did not impose their messages of speed and punctuality on the public.

In fact, in *Metropolitan Corridors*, his study of the effect of trains on American cities, John R. Stilgoe claims that it was not until the mid-1890s, in other words, two or three years after the introduction of the street car to Canadian cities, that people began "to grasp the imaginative impact of the railroad and the corridor evolving along it."²³ The real impact of the train, Stilgoe suggests, did not come until after the turn of the century with the electrification of railway entrance corridors into cities and the construction of huge complexes such as Grand Central and Pennsylvania stations, capable of handling tens of millions of passengers each year. In Canada, stations such as Union Station in Winnipeg were near contemporaries of the big New York terminals.

With the inauguration of the electric trolley in cities across Canada three or four years after the publication of "The Railway Station," the scene described by Lampman became a daily experience for urban Canadians who soon discovered that the trolley was pervasive, embracing, unavoidable and unfriendly. During the first months of trolley operation, people sometimes stood on the track, as if examining an oncoming trolley; or ran in front and were injured; or leaped off moving cars into an oncoming trolley. In June 1893, a passenger in Toronto jumped off a moving trolley, injuring a cyclist. The same year, the

son of the Hon. Mackenzie Bowell, soon to be Prime Minister, had his foot mangled by a trolley wheel when he jumped off a moving trolley at Queen and Yonge streets.²⁴ In September 1894, a man was killed by a trolley on Queen Street West.²⁵ "The electric cars are running fast these days," making people nervous, complained the *Toronto Globe* in 1893. The Winnipeg poet cited above expressed her anxiety in her ode to the tram:

Though your old reputation has perished
This much we at least may recall,
Which deserves to be tenderly cherished,
You were certainly safest of all.
When others complained of inaction
A drowsiness came upon me,
And a sense of serene satisfaction
I never have found but in thee.

Why these accidents and this unease? An oncoming street car, moving twice as fast as the old trams created, it seems, an optical illusion. As the trolley drew closer, it grew larger as if a projectionist were manipulating a lantern slide while casting that image on a screen. The first steam engines were perceived in similar fashion, resulting in strange accidents such as the death of the economist, William Huskisson, during the official opening of the Liverpool and Manchester Railway in September 1830. When his train stopped to take on water, he stood on adjacent tracks and watched as a second train hit him.²⁶ There is no reason to doubt that the first electric street cars had a similar illusory effect, which helps to explain why some people stood hypnotized between the tracks and watched as the street car approached and knocked them to the street. Hypnosis, McLuhan explains, sometimes results from altered or amplified use of one sense or one part of the body. "Those who experience the first onset of a new technol-

ogy," he adds, "respond most emphatically because the new sense ratios . . . present men with a surprising new world, which evokes a vigorous new 'closure,' or novel pattern of interplay, among all of the senses together."²⁷ The phonetic alphabet and the age of print had taught people to perceive the world in a "visual" way whereby the sense of sight became the most trusted sensory channel.²⁸ The electronic age, however, caused a regression to what McLuhan calls the "acoustic" or "auditory-tactile" world of pre-literate man who lived in an "echoing auditory world" where the senses interpenetrated and interplayed in a vast sensory concert.²⁹

For linear, print-oriented people, the electric world was confusing, many of its messages transmitted in random, simultaneous bursts. This new "magical resonating world"³⁰ played on all five senses as well as on the central nervous system, a kind of sixth sense, and in 1892 and 1893, the central nervous system had difficulty interpreting the messages of the trolley—the new pace, new sounds and new silences, the mysterious electrical power, the trolley's insistence that the passenger conform to its rigorous schedule and to the dictates of its speed.

It took several months for urban dwellers to assimilate and digest these new messages, during which time aspects of the trolley taken for granted today caused great anxiety. Immediately on taking control of the system in September 1891, the Toronto Railway Company, by prior agreement with city council, reduced ticket prices and introduced free transfers, which allowed passengers to travel the entire system for the price of one ticket, rather than having to pay each time he or she transferred from one car to the next. In the ab-

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sence of paper transfers, passengers simply told the conductor that they were transferring from an intersecting line. Understandably, this honour system resulted in verbal and an occasional physical confrontation. A second system followed whereby a transfer man stood on the sidewalk and shouted out the number of transferring passengers. His voice was one more burst of information to be absorbed by passengers and pedestrians. During the fall of 1893, a third and improved system was introduced to Toronto. A farebox, devised by a Torontonian and operated by a conductor, took money and issued transfer tickets, which had to be used within ten minutes, a remarkably brief time span in 1893.³¹ Thus even a welcome innovation created new sounds and imposed new time constraints on passengers.

Unable to comprehend the street car, many passengers resisted it. The Winnipeg poet objected to "electrical forces" and overhead wires and warned that the horse cars would return when women were granted the vote. In August 1892, when the first trolley ran up Church Street and west on Bloor to Sherbourne, propelled by invisible horse power, one elderly woman exclaimed, "Well, I declare it almost seems wicked."³²

The new trolley made its money from speed, precise schedules and the economical use of electricity; hence the company's desire to reduce the number of stops. In March 1893, the Toronto Railway Company asked the Mayor of Toronto for permission to reduce stops on Yonge Street by about 25 per cent, from 86 to 64, thereby increasing the distance between stops from about 300 feet to 400 feet,³³ approximately the distance between bus and streetcar stops today. But for passengers in 1893, the idea of fixed stops at points so

far apart was disconcerting. "There seems to be a general tendency among the operators," one passenger complained in May 1893, "to regard the time tables as of primary importance, and the carrying of passengers as . . . troublesome and disagreeable."³⁴

There were complaints about unheated cars, discourteous conductors and overcrowding.³⁵ "I have tried to become reconciled to the trolley," complained one journalist in July 1893. Like the Winnipeg poet, he disliked the "entanglement of wires" and the trolley poles, which were "coy and hard to please." He took great umbrage at the clanging bell. "And the gong!" he complained, "Yes, the gong! The gong!" He worried that "everything except the gong and the collection box [was] working by a mysterious agency." He pined for the "less oppressive days . . . when people did things, instead of having all things done for them."³⁶

III

The third stage in the response to a new electric technology, according to McLuhan, is acceptance, indifference and even boredom, when the "entire community absorbs the new habit of perception into all of its areas of work and association."³⁷ After initial resistance of several months, passengers did indeed begin to celebrate the trolley, and ridership increased dramatically, even though the last of the long recession retarded the growth of Canadian urban populations.³⁸ The trolley even became a focal point for leisure activities—parties were organized on Winnipeg's Loop Line and Toronto's Belt Line, accompanied by a band. Special cars swept visiting dignitaries over miles of Toronto streets.³⁹ And during the 1890s, visitors were im-

pressed: in September 1896, J.C. Lane of Birmingham, England, admired the ease and speed of the "first-class" cars; and a professor from Liverpool noted that what impressed him most about Toronto, next to its loyalty to the Mother Country, was the "perfection" of its street railway; the Street Railway Review of New York liked the streetcars of Toronto; and Glasgow railway officials also admired the system.⁴⁰

In January 1894, the *Globe* decided that Toronto had a street railway system "unequaled on the continent." Torontonians, thought the paper, were demonstrating a sense of ease and familiarity with the new medium; they rode further for less money than any other North Americans; cars were now well-lighted and heated and very speedy, now a positive feature. If the company continued to improve its service, the paper concluded, the citizens and press of Toronto would have to find something else to complain about.⁴¹ In March 1895, the *Monetary Times*, which had been critical of the Toronto Railway Company during the period of conversion to electricity, praised the city's "rapid street car service."⁴² In 1895, the *Globe* also praised the system's "utmost regularity" and the cars "unsurpassed" comfort and accommodation. Two years later, the same paper thought the service along King Street to the Industrial Exhibition grounds "admirable," especially the fact that cars ran at 90 second intervals.⁴³ The very characteristics that had caused such anxiety and resistance were now the objects of adoration.

In 1894, as the last horse tram was being removed from the streets of Toronto, F.M. Bell-Smith was adding the final touches to an oil painting, "Lights of a City Street."⁴⁴ Bell-Smith was familiar

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with railways, having painted CPR scenery during the late 1880s for Sir William Van Horne. He also knew Canadian cities, particularly Montreal and Toronto, where he lived and exhibited his work. His Realist painting tells us a good deal about the relationship of people to trolley when the initial shock and resistance were fading.

The painting's subject is rush hour at King and Yonge, probably in late November or early December, after a rain. By 1894, King and Yonge Street, like every major intersection in urban Canada, had become a busy train station where passengers awaited the next trolley. Rush hour in the early 1890s was a relatively new phenomenon, encouraged, perhaps even created, by the trolley. By selling workmen's tickets at about three cents each—the regular rate was a nickel—to be used for a couple of hours during the morning and late afternoon, the trolley company encouraged rush-hour travel, since everyone, not only workpeople, could use the low-priced tickets. The focal point of the piece is not any one individual but rather, as the title indicates, lights and streets, the electric lights of retail businesses, street lamps and trolleys, in particular the light of a trolley near the centre of the canvas, together with its reflection on the rain-slicked cobblestones and asphalt.

The view is to the east along King Street, in 1894 the financial heart of Toronto, and to a great extent, of Canada. Located on King Street were the Toronto Stock Exchange and headquarters of banks, insurance companies, mines and real estate development across the country, and street railways in Toronto and Winnipeg. Yonge Street, which intersects King Street in the painting, was the main retailing street of the city, home to

the two big department stores, Eaton's and Simpson's, and many smaller stores, book shops, art galleries, hatters, clothiers and jewellers.

Along King Street is the spire of St James Cathedral, though now subordinate to better illuminated temples of commerce and finance, of retailing and transportation. Once the high point of the city, the spire is now rivalled in height by a hydro pole and lines carrying electricity to light the streets. Two cyclists brave the damp chill and two policemen maintain order. A private cab moves east along King, perhaps to fashionable Jarvis or Sherbourne. A few people appear to be walking home. Most, however, are travelling by trolley. They appear to have accepted the changes in schedules and the new paper transfer system, which according to the *Globe* in January 1894 was working admirably. Behind the crowd, on the right, is a solitary man playing a penny whistle, a reminder that King Street East was one of several areas providing rooms to workers who helped to build trolley tracks and overhead wires. No one is paying attention to his music, which contributes to the growing level of urban noise whose creation is no longer the prerogative of emperors, kings and capitalists.⁴⁵

Newsboys, hustling to sell newspapers, also contribute to the cacaphony at King and Yonge by shouting out headlines to increase sales in a very competitive market. Trolley stops, especially the busiest of the city, were good places to sell papers. The five Toronto evening newspapers were showering prospective passengers with news to glance at en route home. Stephen Kern points out in *The Culture of Time and Space* that during this period, the telephone and telegraph were introducing an "economy

of expression" which resulted in a uniform, clear and simple style, made famous by Ernest Hemingway.⁴⁶ There are hints that modern newspaper style and format—briefer, snappier articles with bolder, sensational headlines—were being developed to appeal to the trolley rider. C.S. Clarke noted in 1897 that the *World* was popular with morning trolley riders because its "condensed form" could be digested during the ride downtown.⁴⁷

The central nervous system was being inundated with other flashes of information. Large signs—we might call them billboards—shout out messages from the sides of buildings, one advertising carpets, others announcing retail businesses, their size and position designed to attract the attention of passengers moving at a faster clip. Inside the trolley, the commercial world was contributing to the information explosion. Beginning in early October 1893, retailers and manufacturers could buy advertising space.⁴⁸ In 1893, the trolley was encouraging the development of a consumer society whose members would eventually include all passengers, from millionaires to street musicians, in one amorphous consuming middle class.

The street car was altering the look of the city in other ways. During the 1890s architects and street planners began to think more grandly. In November 1893, plans for a grand boulevard joining Queen's Park and old Union Station were announced.⁴⁹ As its contribution to this early example of the "city beautiful" movement in Toronto, the Toronto Railway Company wanted to build a trolley line up College Avenue, now University Avenue, in order to sweep passengers from the transportation centre of the city to the legislative heart of the province. Al-

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though the plans were postponed, the connection between street car and grand vistas is appropriate, for the faster method of transportation demanded grander statements not only from advertisers but also from city planners. It is more than coincidental that in September 1894, to celebrate the near-completion of the electrification of Toronto's transit system, the Toronto Railway Company published a souvenir booklet called "Toronto as Seen From the Street Cars," a title which implies that the streetcar had affected the way people viewed the urban landscape.

In the trolley world of punctuality and speed, time is of the essence. Two clocks appear on the Bell-Smith canvas, the mechanical clock of St James Cathedral, eclipsed by the splendid new electric clock that in September 1893 was exhibited by the J.E. Ellis Jewellery Co. Ltd.,⁵⁰ and that in Bell-Smith's oil gives the time—three minutes to five—as it presides over the busy intersection from the second-floor of the Ellis building. Whereas the hands of previous clocks hesitated before moving to the next unit, the new clock at King and Yonge kept on moving in silence, effortlessly and magically. For the eye accustomed to measuring time in sixty distinct units, the electric clock, initially at least, must have been as disconcerting as the trolley.⁵¹

The imposition of public, external time by the trolley, the clocks and the policeman has caused people to retreat more and more into their own private, internal worlds, where sounds become silent. A remarkable lack of communication characterizes these people, on the street and in the trolley, even those who know each other, for instance the couple on the left. There is little eye contact, as if the eye

and all other senses had grown indifferent to messages, movement, artificial light, business reports, orders and appeals. Most faces are veiled in shadow, significant in a piece of art whose theme is lights, the sole exception being the artist's son who is tipping his hat to an acquaintance whose daughter is more interested in the trolley to her left.

These are trolley people, already at home in a world more regimented, efficient and punctual than the old world of horse trams, whose departure is no longer lamented.⁵² What Archibald Lampman and the Toronto journalist, the Winnipeg poet and the elderly woman on Bloor Street decried and resisted, the characters in "Lights" accept as part of daily life, no longer remarkable. They have already crossed the threshold of the 20th century, and with a change of clothing, would not look out of place today at King and Yonge, Granville and Robson, or Ste Catherine and McGill.

IV

Familiarity with and indifference to speed and change makes acceptable the creative-destructive habits of cities. The city's original purpose, Lewis Mumford reminds us, was human continuity, but the modern age, he points out, makes the city consumable and expendable.⁵³ During the 1890s, the prominent architect E.J. Lennox had offices which can be seen in "Lights of a City Street" on the third floor of the Ellis block, above the electric clock. Lennox played an important role in recreating Toronto. During the 1890s, to make room for his new city hall, which made the kind of grand architectural statement appreciated by trolley riders, older buildings were destroyed. By making change

familiar and acceptable, the trolley helped to make the city expendable.

Paradoxically, the trolley may even have made expendable the idea of the compact city, which for reasons of profit, trolley companies wished to perpetuate. In 1894, Toronto was one of the most compact cities in North America,⁵⁴ making it in density more European and less American. Like the European systems' graduated rates for tickets,⁵⁵ the Toronto Railway Company's double-fare system within the greater Toronto area ensured urban compactness during the life its tenure, from 1891 to 1921.

Nevertheless the urge for expansion was developing as early as 1894, when the system was newly electrified and city council discussed the question of extending the transportation system.⁵⁶ If the company could transport passengers so rapidly and cheaply to the edge of the city as defined in 1891, why not do so through newly-annexed even though thinly-populated areas?⁵⁷ In 1893, about 200 houses were being erected in the Annex, north of Bloor between Avenue Road and Bathurst even though there were empty houses in the core,⁵⁸ an indication that middle-income Torontonians were anxious to move north into inner suburbs, (and that suburban land speculators were just as anxious that they do so⁵⁹). Torontonians' apparent desire to spread, which made TRC's tight-fisted, anti-expansionist policy unpopular even in the 1890s,⁶⁰ was postponed by the two-fare system, and from 1921 to the end of World War Two by the Toronto Transportation (later Transit) Commission's adopting a version of its predecessor's policy of serving only densely populated areas with streetcars. With the coming of Metropolitan Government in 1954, which shifted power from the municipality of

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Toronto to suburban municipalities, a one-fare zone covering a vast area finally removed all constraints and the Los Angelization of outer Toronto began in earnest. The old system of electric trolleys had created the desire for expansion as early as the 1890s; the new system of busses radiating through thinly-populated suburbs satisfied it, but by doing so, encouraged a new mode of traveller, the wasteful suburban automobilist.

Thus the trolley, with its messages of speed, punctuality and consumerism, played the important role of creating the initial stages of our modern world characterized by a familiarity with and acceptance of transience, renewal, destruction, isolation, and urban hustle and bustle. As such, the trolley was the harbinger of more sophisticated electric-powered media such as moving film, television, video machines and computers which have made the twentieth century an instantaneous world in which "space and time interpenetrate each other totally in a space-time world," to use a McLuhanism.⁶¹

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13. Marshall McLuhan, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man* (Toronto, 1965): 26.
 14. In North America, the term tram or horse tram referred to horse-drawn vehicles. Trolley, trolley car and street car were synonymous, all powered by electricity. Technically, the "trolley" was the pole which connected the trolley car to the overhead wires, the source of power. The first automobiles were usually referred to as motor cars or motors. During the 1890s and up to the Great War, the term "car" usually referred to the street car and not to the automobile.
 15. For several years, the Industrial Exhibition had featured an electric trolley on a mile of track, used only for exhibition purposes.
 16. *Globe*, 8 September 1893.
 17. *Globe*, 4 July 1894; and 7 December 1894.
 18. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, 1971, 125.
 19. *Globe*, 3 July 1893.
 20. *Manitoba Morning Free Press*, 15 May 1894.
 21. Alfred D. Chandler, Jr, ed, *The Railroads, The Nation's First Big Business* (New York, Chicago and Burlington, 1965): 8.
 22. *Globe*, 2 December 1893.
 23. John R. Stilgoe, *Metropolitan Corridor, Railroads and the American Scene* (New Haven, London, 1983): 8.
 24. *Globe*, 2 October 1893.
 25. *Globe*, 12 September 1894.
 26. Francis D. Klingender, *Art and the Industrial Revolution* (London, 1972): 129, citing *Blackwoods Magazine*, November, 1830.
 27. Marshall McLuhan, *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man* (Toronto, 1966): 22–23; and McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 32 and 149.
 28. Edmund Carpenter, *Oh, What a Blow That Phantom Gave Me!* (Toronto, 1973): 38.
 29. Jonathan Miller, *McLuhan* (London, 1971): 9; Gerald E. Stearn, *McLuhan: Hot and Cool* (New York, 1967): 144; and Edmund Carpenter, "Art and the Declassification and Reclassification of Experience," in *The Structurist*, 10(1970): 21. Philip Marchand's excellent biography of McLuhan—Marshall McLuhan, *the Medium and the Messenger* (Toronto, 1989)—provides welcome explanation of many of McLuhan's more esoteric concepts.
 30. McLuhan, *Gutenberg Galaxy*, 22.
 31. *Globe*, 7 October 1893; and 2 November 1893.
 32. National Archives, Ottawa, A.J. Hills Papers, MG31, E12, vol 7, "Biographical Notes."
 33. *World*, 22 March 1893. The newspaper gives the new distance between stops and the number of stops, old and new, thus making it possible to calculate the old distance between stops.
 34. *Globe*, 6 May 1893.
 35. *Globe*, 6 May 1893.
 36. *Globe*, 3 July 1893. (McLuhan's assumption that everyone accustomed to the world of print submits peacefully to timetables and scheduling may be open to question.
 37. McLuhan, *Gutenberg Galaxy*, 23.
 38. J.M.S. Careless, *Toronto to 1918, An Illustrated History* (Toronto, 1984): 203; *Globe*, 17 November 1893; *Toronto World*, 11 October 1893; and *Monetary Times*, 21 January 1898.
 39. *Globe*, 5 May 1893.
 40. *Globe*, 10 October 1896; 4 September 1897; and 23 September 1897.
 417. *Globe*, 8 January 1894.
 42. *Monetary Times*, 15 March 1895, 1195.
 43. *Globe*, 4 September 1897.
 44. Roger Boulet, *Frederic Marlett Bell-Smith (1846–1923)*, *Art Gallery of Greater Victoria* (Victoria, 1977): 24.
 45. See Grant D. McCracken, "A big noise in the city," in *The Globe and Mail*, 13 July 1990, A14.
 46. Stephen Kern, *The Culture of Time and Space, 1880–1918* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983): 155.
 47. C.S. Clarke, *Of Toronto The Good* (Montreal, 1898) and Coles reprint (Toronto, 1970): 81.
 48. *World*, 9 October 1893.
 49. *World*, 17 November 1893.
 50. *Globe*, 12 September 1893.
 51. Strangely enough, although he deals with the role of clocks in creating the linear, visual world, McLuhan does not appear to have considered the effects of the change from mechanical to electrical clocks. See *Understanding Media*, 145–156.
 52. McLuhan might have argued that these people are still in the print mode, which isolated people, and that their children and grandchildren would be united in the global village created later by radio and television. It seems probable, however, that a century later, we live in millions of individual worlds, and that the inwardness of most of the characters in "Lights" is the beginning of twentieth-century fragmentation.
 53. Lewis Mumford, *The City in History* (Harmondsworth, 1961): 620.
 54. *Globe*, 7 Feb 1894. *Paving* magazine, quoted by the *Globe*, claimed that Toronto was one of the most compact of North American cities. Only New York, Philadelphia, Brooklyn, Buffalo and Jersey City had less street car mileage per 1000 population. Toronto had less mileage in proportion to population than 24 out of 30 [North] American cities over 100,000. Toronto's population is listed at 190,000 and its mileage was listed as 80, and it may well have been as low as 70, whereas Minneapolis with 164,000 population had 114 miles of street cars.
 55. David Ward, *Cities and Immigrants*, New York, London, Toronto, 1971, 139.
 56. *Globe*, 7 February 1894.
 57. Doucet, "Mass Transit and the Failure of Private Ownership," 1978, 3: "The greater speed of the trolley increased the opportunities for . . . residential development . . .".
 58. *Globe*, 8 September 1893.
 59. Weaver, " "Tomorrow's Metropolis' Revisited."
 60. Donald Davis, "Mass Transit and Private Ownership: An Alternative Perspective on the Case of Toronto," in *Urban History Review*, 3–78(February 1979): 81: "Beyond [the TRC's] own stockholders, few shared the company's objectives [of serving only densely-populated areas]."; 86 and 89: City politicians "believed they owed their middle-class constituents [ie. their electors] a suburban life-style."
 61. McLuhan, *Understanding Media*, 148.