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METROPOLIS AND REGION:
THE INTERPLAY BETWEEN
CITY AND REGION IN
CANADIAN HISTORY BEFORE 1914*

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J. M. S. Careless

I

From the sixteenth to the early twentieth century, from the opening of the Newfoundland fishery to the settlement of the western plains and Pacific slopes, Canada took shape primarily through the spreading of frontiers across the continent. Frontier areas, the forward zones of an expansive, acquisitive society, offered new supplies of natural resources to be put to commercial production. Generally, and increasingly, these raw areas of resource supply developed into populous, well structured regions with collective identities of their own. Yet the whole development of freshly opened frontier into firmly rooted region was linked throughout with the growth of the city, and especially with that of the largest, most powerful kind of city, the metropolis. In effect, frontiers themselves were the furthest hinterlands of cities, the trading territories dominated by urban centres. They were far-spread supply fields for urban places, emerging investment, market and service outlets; and, above all, enlarging spheres of influence for those most dominant urban places, the metropolitan cities. Behind the rise of frontier, hinterland or region in Canada lay the power of the metropolis, which ultimately disposed of their resource harvest, strongly fostered their expansion, and widely controlled their very existence.

At first glance, frontier and metropolis might mainly seem to represent contrasting or even antithetical states of human existence, the first connoting low population density, simple staple production and sketchy, fragmented social organization; the second, urban massing at a peak, advanced

* This paper was first presented as a seminar at Australian National University in February 1978.

and highly specialized economic activities, and a complex social fabric. Yet they may also be seen as communities of settlement linked in the age-old, organic relationship which has persisted between country and town: between the dispersed society of the countryside and the concentrated urban populace, each of them supporting and serving the other. In this view, in the context of town-and-country relations displayed in Canada's past, 'frontier' may well be said to have represented country at its most countrified, the least developed sort of dispersed community at an early stage of growth, while 'metropolis' equally signified town society of an intensively developed kind. But however divergent they were, at either end of a scale of rural-urban interrelations, they remained integrally connected within one of the most basic and pervasive patterns of human history.

Between metropolis and frontier on this urban-rural scale would lie more mature countryside of hinterland communities, each with towns and emergent cities of their own at various stages of growth, extending in series from the centres of metropolitan power. Still, the pattern of interconnection covered them all. Frontiers, too, could pass from being thinly held, scantily organized expanses into well integrated rural domains with villages and towns arising in their midst. Some of the latter centres might advance to cities, gain paramountcy over sizeable local hinterlands, and so in time acquire their own measure of regional metropolitan dominance under the greater sway from beyond. And this urban growth in general, from minor town to regional metropolis, went on hand in hand with that of the maturing countryside. Whatever the strains and discords that could occur in the process, town and country broadly grew up through interaction, in constant interplay.

The pattern and the process in Canada was by no means as neat and orderly as this merely schematic outline might indicate. Some frontier areas failed to develop far, or to become substantial, thriving rural hinterlands. Towns might be planted on a frontier itself; some to wither, a few eventually to attain metropolitan stature. But the key point remains that this great process of growth across both space and time did constitute a coherent whole. It produced systems of interdependent communities in town and country, not disparate sets of opposed elements linked only through

the exploitation of the weaker by the stronger -- though such exploitation most assuredly was present. In essence, as the regional character of Canadian life developed from frontier beginnings to transcontinental scope, so did the urban metropolitan network which focussed that life. The integral, reciprocal relationship of city and countryside was evident throughout.

Yet further, throughout the course of that development, the parts played by frontier and metropolis stand out with special clarity. The very extent of Canada's territory and the enduring emphasis on the exploitation of its staple natural resources long underscored the significance of frontiers -- still patently present today in near-empty reaches of the North. But the role of the metropolis in developing the vast terrain has been no less apparent. Compared with the United States, Canada produced far fewer middle-sized cities and country towns. Its urban net did not become so thickly beaded and many-stranded; its country population remained much smaller and less broadly distributed. Hence the influence of a limited number of major cities was strongly, plainly, manifested across the Canadian landscape: cities which became notably large for Canada's total population, and were in no way inconsiderable within North America as a whole.

Rather more like Australia, Canada took form as a country with large metropolitan communities on the one hand and large, sparsely occupied expanses on the other. The Canadian pattern was clear by the First World War, but it could be traced far back. In both cases, of course, it was in over-simple terms the result of environmental factors: the nature of the lands and resources that did not make for generally well diffused occupation, but did encourage sizeable population concentrations at major controlling points. In any event, within North America, Canada turned out to be significantly different from the United States in the degree to which metropolitan power could be exercised quite directly over great regional sweeps of countryside, with much less mediation or internal competition along the way. Even a very general survey of Canadian urban-regional history gives repeated demonstrations of that power in decisive and far-reaching operation -- both before and after the long years down to 1914 which constitute our present span of interest.

From the early days of European contacts in the sixteenth century, metropolitan forces thrusting across the Atlantic from France and England engendered and directed the spread of the initial Canadian fishing and fur-trading frontiers. They brought the beginnings of settlement, and the appearance of small colonial entrepôts and garrison centres, cities in embryo, such as St. John's and Halifax, Quebec and Montreal. Still, these urban outposts, like the colonial frontiers themselves, remained subject to the commercial, political and military control of the external transatlantic metropolises, to the final policies and purposes of the mercantile and government elites of Paris or London. The expansion of Montreal's St. Lawrence fur-trading hinterland to the western limits of the continent by the end of the eighteenth century, or the rapid rise thereafter of lumbering on great eastern rivers like the Saint John and the Ottawa, did not alter the fact that metropolitan markets and strategic interests in Great Britain effectively determined the course and fate of this frontier forward sweep.

In the earlier nineteenth century, farming as well as lumbering frontiers made increasing headway into the mid-continent to tap and occupy new resource areas. But their advance continued to take place under British external sway, and within a British-based metropolitan system of trade control, markets and investment. Along with spreading settlement -- itself now largely fostered by immigration from metropolitan Britain -- came advancing urban activities; and this in time promoted the rise not only of numerous local commercial towns, but also of incipient internal metropolitan centres, notably Montreal and Toronto. Yet in time as well, the outreaching British North American frontiers felt the powerful influence of other external metropolises, to be found in the burgeoning United States. Around the mid-century, when the old British imperial pattern of direct political and commercial regulation was fast disappearing, the colonial hinterlands instead were being increasingly tied southward by lines of trade and transport to an American metropolitan system that drew readily upon their resources, whether linking them to Boston and New York, or later to Chicago, St. Paul, and San Francisco.

Confederation in 1867 brought and expressed the efforts of an emerging central Canadian metropolitan system mainly based on Montreal and Toronto to organize the British North American hinterlands into a separate continental unit. The very opening of vast new western frontiers of farming and ranching displayed the workings of metropolitan forces, which politically were now directed from Ottawa. They were reflected in endeavours to counter American penetrations into the North West beyond the Great Lakes; in the federal control of land settlement and resources in the western plains; in the establishing of the North West Mounted Police as an instrument of metropolitan authority throughout the new domain. They were further exhibited in the building of the Canadian Pacific Railway to join the western regions to the central realms of rising Canadian metropolitan dominance, and in the erection of the protective tariff to develop and defend the east-west flow along a national traffic system.

In the Pacific West beyond the Rockies, the gold frontiers of the Fraser and Cariboo had produced the boom-town rise of Victoria in the 1860s, as a small-scale Vancouver Island metropolis that commanded the mining hinterland in the mainland British Columbian mountains. The waning of the gold fields turned a thinly-settled, financially strained British Columbia towards union with Canada; and the completion of the C.P.R. in 1885 finally sealed that union by effectively tying the Pacific province into the Canadian metropolitan structure. Victoria, a maritime commercial centre which had been chiefly linked by sea to San Francisco, the key American Pacific metropolis, and beyond that, to older connections with London, was soon displaced by the upstart rising power of Vancouver on the mainland, as the continental rail terminus that was destined to become a new metropolitan city dominating Canada's far western region. The growth of Pacific logging and fishing frontiers had much to do with Vancouver's advance, but more crucial were its through rail connections. And the fact that the trans-Canada track came at all to the city's commanding site on Burrard Inlet was essentially the result of central metropolitan purpose, enterprise, and investment.

In the great plains of the interior, the through railway similarly impelled the rise of Winnipeg as a regional metropolis. Around the turn of

the twentieth century, when the western wheat frontiers were rapidly being occupied, the city at the gateway to the plains grew swiftly as the gathering point for grain transport eastward to the Lakehead and St. Lawrence, the main distributing point for goods flowing west to fan out by rail across the prairies. Beyond this regionally dominant centre, lesser but still fast-expanding cities like Regina, Calgary and Edmonton each gained sway over their own extensive hinterlands. All of them were fostered not only by the growth of their neighbouring agrarian frontiers, but also by the broad metropolitan system which linked them across the continent, and by the local metropolitan influence which they wielded over the economic, social or political interests of their own surrounding territories. By the First World War, the urban West had taken form no less than the rural West. If anything, it had advanced proportionately more rapidly and powerfully.

At the same time, the urban manufacturing East had clearly emerged. Through the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, factories spread in commercial towns and cities from Nova Scotia to western Ontario, encouraged by the protective tariff of 1879 and the widening markets along the national traffic system. Textile mills in the Saint John Valley and Eastern Townships, agricultural machinery works at Brantford or footwear factories at Quebec, heavy steel plants at Hamilton or Sydney -- all marked a new era of increasingly specialized, industrialized urban concentration. But the greatest gainers were the leading metropolitan cities of Montreal and Toronto. In general, and in time, they accumulated a wider, more diversified pattern of industries, along with large-scale factory units and massed labour forces. Hence their influence as metropolises on a national scale became still more enhanced. Even industries which they did not control in neighbouring, competing centres they increasingly financed; or they profitted commercially by handling supplies and products for them. In sum, the national ascendancy of the financial and commercial interests of Montreal and Toronto was only strengthened further by the addition of an industrial component to the Canadian metropolitan system.

At 1914, Montreal still held a commanding lead, largely through its control of major railway lines and its greater industrial and banking power: the latter chiefly embodied in the wealthy, long established Bank

of Montreal. Yet Toronto was a substantial second as a national metropolis, notably active in banking across the West, especially through its expanding Bank of Commerce. Indeed, the whole Canadian banking system was metropolitan in scope and consequence, since the existence of a set of large chartered banks with branches across the country focussed impressive financial authority in a few main urban centres.

Toronto, as well, acquired more wealth and metropolitan power through the development of new mining frontiers in the early twentieth century. The link between metropolis and frontier grew even more direct and manifest as the mining North arose. And Ontario's capital city became its main Canadian beneficiary. Mining frontiers, when they went beyond the superficial and transitory stages of gold rushes to the Cariboo or Klondike, involved heavy investment in deep-shaft mines, smelting technology and transport facilities. Essentially they were the domains of large urban-based companies whose local labour forces dwelled in compact town communities, even though these might well be set in thinly-populated surroundings. Such a pattern emerged in Albertan coalfields and in the metal mines of British Columbia's inland Kootenay area. But it became no less evident when the mineral resources of the huge Precambrian Shield were tapped in Ontario -- in the great copper-nickel complex at Sudbury, the silver wealth of Cobalt, the hard-rock goldfields of the Porcupine District. City business power dominated them all. Behind it, the Toronto metropolis grew in size and outreach, as the main supply base for the new northern frontier, the focus of its rail transport, and the seat of the provincial government that awarded mineral lands and regulated mining companies. Still farther behind this whole development stood the greater investing power of large American centres, particularly New York. But increasingly they operated northward through Toronto, as the focus of new mining promotions.

A similar picture could be drawn of metropolitan activity on northern forest frontiers by the early twentieth century. Mounting demands for newsprint to feed big city dailies spread pulp-mill towns into the Shield. They appeared from Newfoundland to eastern Quebec as well, and soon up the coasts of British Columbia. Again large-scale corporate business controlled: city-centred and city-financed. Moreover, the pulpwood frontier

was closely linked to the development of hydro-electric power to operate the mills; and this, too, required substantial investment. The hard-living lumberman might still be a frontier archetype; but he was also the hinterland employee of an intensively organized and capitalized metropolitan business enterprise.

These latest frontier extensions, and the continuing development of settled hinterlands, by no means benefitted the major eastern centres in the same degree. Quebec; Saint John, New Brunswick; and Halifax were remote from the newer areas of rapid growth westward or northward: their own hinterlands seemed to offer few more resource supplies to exploit. Changing technology on the oceans ended the once-great wooden shipbuilding industries of Quebec and Saint John by the late nineteenth century. The re-orientation of traffic to continental rail routes had undermined the former eminence of Halifax in shipping around the Atlantic coasts. As for St. John's in Newfoundland, it was even more remote from continental development, still vitally dependent on the great island's staple cod fishery and subject to the vagaries of catch and distant market prices. In the early twentieth century, an era of general Canadian prosperity, these Atlantic places grew; but only slowly in comparison to cities from Montreal westward to Vancouver.

Nevertheless, the very conditions experienced by these eastern centres and their hinterlands again reflected the workings of metropolitan forces. It was the multiplying construction of iron ships in industrialized metropolitan Britain that had largely doomed the wooden wind ship on the high seas; the tying of the Maritimes by railway and tariff to the Central Canadian heartland that had opened them to the metropolitan dominance of large Montreal or Toronto businesses. St. John's, at least, did enjoy some metropolitan expansion of its own, when the new trans-Newfoundland railway tapped the interior of the island around 1900, and its pulpwood and mineral resources became productive. Moreover, Halifax and Saint John gained the position of winter ports in the Canadian continental traffic system; so that, when the St. Lawrence route was frozen, wheat areas as far west as Alberta effectively became part of their own hinterlands, as grain went out through national elevators at their harbours. Halifax, too, remained the Canadian

northwest Atlantic naval base, just as it had been a British imperial bastion from its foundation in the mid-eighteenth century. Metropolitan influence quite plainly had political and military aspects as well as economic or social. The former attributes shaped Halifax strongly -- and even more notably once the First World War broke out.

By that time, moreover, the metropolitan-urban network which still exists had taken form across Canada, in conjunction with the spread of fresh frontiers and the rise of maturing regions. Beyond the national metropolises of Montreal and Toronto, at the core of the urban hierarchy, the regional metropolises of Winnipeg and Vancouver, the lesser, or sub-metropolises of Regina, Edmonton, Calgary and Victoria, were linked to westward; and ties ran eastward to Quebec and the Atlantic centres. In the more intensively developed and thickly populated central regions, cities like Ottawa or Hamilton, London or Windsor, each held an influential role. And beneath all these major places, in their surrounding hinterlands, smaller cities and towns exercised their own subordinate territorial sway -- often indeed competing and conflicting, but more broadly complementing one another throughout the Canadian pattern of urban-regional, town-and-country relationship.

Each of the leading metropolitan communities clearly had acquired a distinctive character and composition, closely related to the interests and activities of its particular region; but linked also to the ethnic make-up of its own inhabitants, their experiences, attitudes and circumstances, and to the ambitions and entrepreneurship of its own decision-makers. In fact, it is important here to underline the obvious -- lest the foregoing survey may seem to have ignored it -- that cities are made up of people, no less than the countryside communities. One does not really deal with impersonal forces or concepts in talking of city and region, metropolis and frontier, but with individuals and social groupings whose intentions or responses affect the whole course of town-and-country interplay. Only the need to exemplify the powerful effects of metropolitan influences on Canadian development in short space can justify paying such scant attention to the human factor. Regrettably, that situation must continue in the present paper, as we turn to consider the conceptual approach used in this

general survey of urban-regional historic growth in closer detail.

II

The term 'metropolis' has abundant currency; but as it has been applied here, it relates most directly to a classic statement of economic metropolitanism set forth over fifty years ago by the Canadian-born, American-based economic historian, N. S. B. Gras. Gras affirmed that major cities rose in wealth and power as the focal points of large areas -- hinterlands -- which they served, organized and dominated economically. The outcome was a metropolitan economy: "the organization of producers and consumers mutually dependent for goods and services, wherever their wants are supplied by a system of exchange concentrated in a large city which is the focus of local trade and the centre through which normal economic relations with the outside are maintained." This metropolitan centre, in short not only channelled and commanded the commerce of its hinterland, but also largely controlled that between its own and other metropolitan areas.

The process whereby the metropolis attained such a position of domination went through four main stages, according to Gras. First, the city built up a marketing system for its territory, establishing warehouse, wholesale, and exchange facilities which became steadily more specialized. Second, sizeable manufacturing growth took place, either in city or hinterland, but increasingly directed by the former. Third, the transport system was actively improved; in part within the urban place itself, but more significantly without, to gain it better access to its hinterland and also to other metropolitan places. Finally, powerful financial institutions developed in the major city, to service both hinterland trade and that to the world beyond: banks, investment and insurance firms that mobilized and disseminated capital from the centre.

It may be queried whether these four stages in a city's rise to metropolitan status needed to take place in the specific sequence in which Gras depicted them -- or whether all had to be fully realized before a city might properly be deemed a metropolis. Certainly in the Canadian case, transport development usually preceded noteworthy manufacturing growth;

and at least down to 1914 some leading places that manifestly commanded large hinterlands still had only limited industrial activities of their own. In fact, Gras' presentation was more oriented to the mature industrial economies of western Europe than to a relatively new land like Canada, much closer to pioneer phases of existence. Nevertheless, if his four stages of metropolitan development are more broadly regarded as characteristic features of emerging metropolitanism, then each indeed can be associated with the rise of major Canadian urban centres to positions of economic dominance. Though the timing and degree of development might vary from city to city, their advance was clearly marked throughout by the key attributes of metropolitanism discerned by Gras: the commercial organization of a tributary market area, the fashioning of an effective transportation network focussed on the city, the provision of processing and manufacturing facilities for the hinterland and its centre, and the shaping of a financial system to furnish needed credit and investment -- and thereby tie the hinterland still more strongly to the city by radiating lines of debt.

This, then, supplies a basic pattern for analyzing the ascent of the main Canadian cities to metropolitan roles during the nineteenth century, as in greater or lesser degrees they became commercial metropolises, transport metropolises, industrial or financial metropolises, with the most powerful and paramount among them displaying the fullest range of these functions. They could, however, exercise more than economic functions in dominating wide territories: from political direction to cultural headship. At root the metropolitan concept is plainly an economic or, better, a socio-economic formulation. Yet any broad-based analysis of the rise of Canadian metropolitan centres must no less plainly provide for other ramifications in their growth.

These could well include the truly decision-making power of a seat of government, the commanding grasp of a strategic military base, or the social control transmitted from a chief centre of education, religion and learning. Still further, cities might extend their sway through superior control over means of information; over the press and publishing in the nineteenth century, the cable, telegraph, and later the telephone systems; even over popular styles and standards in time to be merchandised through

the mail-order catalogue. In fact, one might venture to speak of an "attitudinal metropolitanism" beyond the economic or political varieties, though in part derived from them, whereby a particular city came to be accepted as a chief place of regard by a broad hinterland community: the place to which the main ways led and from which the main words came. It might assuredly be resented; but still it was watched as the prime focus of the countryside, where leadership lay and events of far more than local concern transpired -- whatever else was occurring, much more dimly, in the distant world outside.

Consequently, metropolitanism should duly be considered as a many-sided phenomenon, although, no doubt, its economic aspects remain primary. Yet however much metropolitan development may be grounded in economic facts and forces, it cannot fully be dealt with through measurable material data on trade flows, rates of investment, rail and water-borne tonnage and the like; even if the necessary mass of specific figures were available on urban-hinterland exchanges -- which for the bulk of nineteenth-century Canada they are not. Moreover, though it is valid to trace the workings of metropolitan power through government and legislative policies or political processes, it is not sufficient either. There still remains the psycho-cultural domain of attitude and opinion: the influence of inertia in established patterns of communication, the force of change released by the very anticipations of change (as in railway promotion); the perceptions, aspirations and responses that again come down to the human factor, both individually and collectively.

In any event, the concept of metropolitanism that is here employed fits in readily with that of urban-regional interplay. The metropolitan-hinterland relationship is, in fact, just a particular and powerfully significant case of the general interconnections of town and country -- or of city and frontier, when that is applicable. Metropolitan cities simply represent the top level of urban communities in interaction with their supporting regions. They may of course, have numbers of lesser cities and towns in their own broad hinterlands; but beneath the pre-eminent metropolitan centres these subordinate places have functioned within a similar pattern of relationships on a more limited and localized scale.

This whole urban-regional, metropolitan-hinterland pattern thus can organize countryside on town from bottom to top, from the mere village and its environs to the metropolis and great sweeps of territory. Naturally it is seldom nicely delimited, and there may be many shared, conflicting and fluctuating marginal areas of dominance. Yet certain consistencies in the pattern do stand out. For one thing, it again reflects the reciprocity of the urban-regional relationship noted at the outset: this remains a web of mutual support and dependence. For another, the greatest dynamic force clearly operates at the top, with the metropolis displaying the widest power to lead and mould. The hinterland may certainly react against that power, even producing protest movements to seek changes of its own; but this in the main still constitutes response to superior metropolitan dynamism and initiative.

This final point, however, re-affirms the fact that the metropolis also remains vitally affected by its interplay with hinterland or region. After all, it rose through its success in focussing that area, in dominating its supplies and services. The great city was made by its command of richly-yielding trading territory, even though, in the Canadian case, this might involve far distant operations or areas that were but thinly occupied and at rudimentary frontier stage of growth. Indeed, for that very reason the metropolitan-hinterland analysis seems especially applicable to the history of Canadian development in city and countryside; considerably more so, for example, than the central-place theory originated by the German geographer, Walter Christaller in the 1930s, which, with derivatives, has notably been used by urban geographers to depict the structure of urban hierarchies and the role of top-level central cities in such a system.

The Christaller analysis largely turns on weighing the accumulation of retail trading activities at central places in the urban network of a thickly settled territory, theoretically conceived as a featureless plain without geographic barriers or diversities. It may thus be questions whether such a model based on an old, close-knit central European society can come close enough in its assumptions and approach to past historical realities in the North American environment. This, at any rate, is an argument effectively presented by the American geographer, James E. Vance. His own work

(in the 1960s) on the geography of wholesaling makes clear the importance of far-reaching wholesale trade in the expanses of pioneer America, the critical significance of the wholesale merchant as the prime agent in engendering and abstracting commerce from the open, dispersed settlements of a 'new' continent -- and the pre-eminent role of the entrepot city, the merchant's base of operation, from which the lines of trade spread inland, fostering further collecting and distributing entrepots along their course, as trade enlarged in reach and volume.

To Vance, "cities grow in relation to their long distance ties, those which are carried on by abstraction and agency fully as much as by retail gravitation." He recognizes that the central-place model, which stresses the myriad face-to-face exchanges of retailing rather than the long-range abstract relations of wholesaler and market, could become more applicable as development continued in closely settled farming or manufacturing areas. Yet he maintains the primacy of his 'mercantile model', both for explaining the historic growth of an America that began with the age of mercantilism, and as still being more widely relevant to the American setting today.

Vance's model has much to recommend it to the Canadian case as well. In fact, it obviously has close affinities with the metropolitan analysis: in emphasizing long-distance trading ties which initially spread overseas from European centres, in noting the leading role of an urban-based entrepreneurial elite, and in confirming that the resultant rise of cities stemmed largely from the successive organization and development of out-thrust hinterlands. Nonetheless, his concept does not replace that of metropolitanism. In part, the two conform; in part, move to separate concerns of their own. In regard to the metropolitan analysis, the mercantile model, of course, pays only passing heed to non-economic aspects -- even to non-commercial aspects in some degree Vance's entrepot city sounds a good deal like the commercial metropolis; but other features of advancing metropolitanism are less considered in his treatment.

Above all (and quite reasonably in the light of his purposes), Vance does not greatly examine the hinterland side of the urban-rural complex, concentrating as he does on city merchants and urban commercial growth.

But we must go on further in the rural direction, to round out this broad consideration of concepts by amplifying those of region and frontier as they have herewith been employed.

It must already be quite apparent that nothing very esoteric is implied in the use of such well-tried terms, which broadly pertain to the world of the countryside, the hinterland, though as seen in differing aspects. In the case of region, this is indeed to be distinguished as a large and relatively mature hinterland, or, at any rate, as one in process of attaining such a level of maturity. That is, it is in course of developing fairly complex and ordered patterns of rural life and institutional organization, generally perceived and widely expressed 'regional' interests, and also a mounting degree of self-awareness as an enduring collectivity with its own identity. Still further, it will be acquiring its own substantial system of urban places, that may rise even to include a regional metropolis, or metropolises, beneath the greater national centres. It is probably unnecessary to add that while the region continues to form part -- a large part -- of the national unit as a whole, it too can be composed of a number of parts, sizeable sub-regions, all with identifiable features and sub-focusses of their own. But given the ever-changing process of history, it seems unwise to try to delimit these sub-regions too closely, or to produce a confining set of categories for them.

It does seem worth remarking, however, that a regional metropolis can greatly influence the evolution of a region's life and self-awareness by centring so much of its activities through the workings of metropolitanism. In short, as Quebec, Halifax, Winnipeg or Vancouver came to display regional metropolitan leadership across areas of Canada through exercising varied measures of political, economic or socio-cultural dominance of their hinterlands, they could also function as chief centres of regard in regional life, main focusses of regional opinion, and as major rallying-points for regional movements, especially in reaction to pressures or problems imposed from outside. In respect to internal regional concerns, on the other hand, there well might be more antipathetic responses from their local hinterlands. Thus Winnipeg business interests could be regionally well regarded in leading the way against the outside financial power of Toronto or Montreal;

but rather less so when the more "inside" aims and ambitions of Brandon or Regina were involved -- and less so again when western wheat farmers as a regional interest group weighed the power of Winnipeg grain merchants over their own crop prices and sales.

In any event, regions essentially persist: yet frontiers essentially pass away. The frontier is not only an outlying hinterland in a rudimentary stage of development, but one in a notably transitory state as well. Southern Ontario, for instance, may still be deemed a regional hinterland of Toronto; yet its predecessor, the Upper Canada agrarian frontier, has long since vanished. Impermanence, then, is a strongly characteristic mark of the frontier, and can apply whether it disappears with populous regional settlement or ends in scrub bush and deserted shanties. This transitory frontier hinterland may undoubtedly last widely different lengths of time. In a mountain gold rush it might rise and fall within a few years, exist for several decades on the western wheatlands, about half a century in Upper Canada, and much longer in the fur trading and Atlantic fishing realms before the nineteenth century. In fact, when one considers the size and long endurance of the northern fur frontier, in particular, he may admittedly be led to question the impermanence of frontiers, or be faced with the delicate business of trying to distinguish between short-term and long-run transitions.

No doubt Canadian historic experience does belie the older American frontierist assumption that all wildernesses are to be won; that frontiers advance steadily and as steadily are transformed into settled farms and booming cities. In great degree, Canadians instead live with a permanent frontier expanse to their northward: about as permanent as anything historically can be. Nonetheless, even in these vast hinterland areas frontiers come and go; and even the long-lived fur frontier has gone through many changes in time, shifts in location, and generally through many spatial retreats. Hence there has been transience here, too. But still further, the main Canadian frontiers of the nineteenth century, our prime concern, did pass away; did largely rise into enduringly organized regions from east to west across the land-mass. It is fair to add that quite minor northern wilderness frontiers that did emerge or exist within the same period -- such

as that of whaling in Arctic waters -- have not been given attention here: basically because they did not greatly impinge on metropolitan development, or have a significant part in the overall growth of urban-rural interaction in Canada.

Again we return to the central theme of interplay. The frontier hinterlands dealt with were, throughout, closely linked with urban and metropolitan development. A frontier, new supplying territory that was largely entered under metropolitan initiatives, inherently developed its own urban places, as collecting, distributing and directing points for the metropolitan system that had extended to it. The frontier's first function in that system was to tap and transmit staple resources. But this required metropolitan investment in capital, man-power and organization for the area; not to mention providing the necessary technology to produce desired goods and to get them to market. Hence one may view the essential economic pattern whereby a frontier came into being under metropolitan impetus as the tying of territorial raw resources to outside markets through the mediation of investment and technology. All four factors, resources, markets, investment and technology, must repeatedly come in to any appraisal of a frontier hinterland -- or for that matter, a maturing regional hinterland as well. Particularly in the making of a frontier, however, the territorial fact that the nature of its resources involved relatively few men and limited investment as in the case of the fur trade, or many people and much more infrastructure as on a farm frontier, would plainly be of consequence. Similarly, the temporal fact that the transport technology then available was that of the canoe or the railway, the sailing vessel or the steamboat, could greatly affect the rate of frontier expansion and transformation. So plainly could the fluctuations in market demands, and certainly the changing enterprise and power of investing metropolitan interests.

At any rate, it should be evident how fully the frontier fits into the metropolitan-hinterland relationship. It was virtually the furthest, newest territory dominated by the metropolis, and the most dependent and subservient in its rawness and weakness. But there were still varieties of frontiers; some assuredly less weak and directly subordinated than others, some with increasing degrees of local sufficiency and self-assertiveness

as well. Moreover, the very growth of a frontier could naturally make it a market of value in itself. The metropolitan community thus served as a source of supply as well as of demand. Once more the significance of this reciprocal connection would vary widely with the frontier. In the case of the fur trade, only a limited range of trade goods and supplies for the personnel of scattered posts was in demand. In the case of the sizeable populations on farming, lumbering and even mining frontiers, enlarging quantities of varied consumer and capital goods clearly were required, not to mention a growing range of services: commercial, financial, administrative, social and still more. Accordingly, many advancing frontiers could come to exert a substantial return influence on metropolitan communities themselves.

In a general way, the mixed varieties of Canadian frontiers may be grouped within ascending classes of complexity and development; though as always it must be kept in mind that such a rough typology is heavily subject to specific qualifications. On the first level, even so, there are the superficial extractive frontiers, mainly concerned with skimming off natural resources virtually as they are to be found, with relatively restricted investments in capital and labour and not much need to settle and re-shape a wilderness landscape. In this category largely belong the fur frontier, the original Atlantic fisheries carried on by summer-voyaging, transatlantic seamen, the eastern square-timber trade frontiers; and perhaps open-range ranching in the West and early placer gold-mining in the Pacific mountains.

The next level, the committed extractive frontiers, show far more engagement in terms of capital investment, enduring settlement and transformation of the natural environment, all necessary to secure the resource yields. The best examples here are certainly the broad agricultural frontiers of pioneer occupation, both eastern and western. Yet in many ways sawn-lumbering belongs: involving as it developed considerable investment in machine equipment and power supplies (especially on the later pulpwood or West Coast logging frontiers) and the growth of many a lumber-milling town besides. Other examples include the establishing of resident fisheries that spread outport settlements along the coasts, or the rise of closed-range

cattle and sheep-raising; or, on mining frontiers, the increasing use of deep-shaft mining that required large and lasting commitments of both capital and labour.

At a further level, processing seems the indicative feature: on the agricultural frontier, connoting flour-milling, brewing and distilling, woollen-weaving, and many other enhancements of simple farm production; in lumbering, characterized by woodworking plants ranging from shingle, door and sash mills to wagon or furniture factories. Meat-packing similarly becomes associated with ranching, canning with fishing, and ore-milling or even smelting with mining: all to emerge within the respective hinterlands, but especially in their own fast rising urban places. At this stage, in fact, it could well be said that these very kinds of intensifying developments express the effective transition from frontier into maturely established region. Yet, recalling that none of these stages or categories are sharply determinate, but mark a continuing process, one may go still further, and trace the erstwhile frontier hinterland onward in either of two directions. It could at length become prosperously regenerative, or turn towards decline and even virtual abandonment. The former happier state implies that it gradually diversified its original staple dependence on a key resource supply: perhaps by developing sizeable manufacturing enterprises in its major towns, which did more than simply process local resources, and probably as well by acquiring profitable service industries -- as was clearly the case in parts of central Canada well before 1914. In the second and sad direction, the ex-frontier area instead found no viable new base to substitute for a deteriorating initial resource supply: with results to be seen in impoverished or depopulating rural districts, ravaged woods and played-out mine towns, again plainly visible in different portions of the country long before 1914.

Throughout this whole pattern of frontier development the urban presence was apparent: not only at its higher levels or stages, of course, but from the outset. Certainly the committed extractive and the processing categories of frontiers displayed proliferating urban places that advanced in size and rank, from agricultural villages to milling towns, from lumber ports to commercial cities. Yet urban communities were inherently linked

even with the superficial extractive frontiers -- and not merely in the sense that metropolitan forces virtually brought them into being in the first place. It has certainly been noted that urban outposts of the metropolis appeared with the frontier itself, to collect its products for transmission, to distribute necessary goods and supplies, to focus organization, maintain direction and control.

In truth, the urban outpost often marked the very inception of a frontier, since from here trade, control, and settlement was projected outward into the landscape. Town and country interplay then went on increasingly creating the multi-faceted urban and regional systems of modern-day Canada. But always in this long historic interplay the roles of metropolis and frontier have stood out -- seeming opposites but actual conjuncts in a process that has shaped so much of basic Canadian development.