THE HISTORIAN AND NINETEENTH-CENTURY BIBLIOGRAPHY: A PERSONAL ESTIMATE

The historian is so closely associated with the printed volume that one may readily appreciate why the small daughter of a colleague of mine (who was used to seeing her father regularly working away on his next book) informed her teacher that Daddy was by trade a “bookmaker”. Of course, historians are both bookmakers and book users. So are quite a few others; but my concern is only with the historian’s relations with the world of bibliography, or at least that part of it headed “Canada. Nineteenth Century”.

At the outset, permit me some preliminary observations. First — and obvious — whatever the historian’s connection with the creating or using of books, the essence of his craft lies in its reliance on primary source material. This has long meant the documentary source, in private or public manuscript, or, at times, the printed work itself as the most primary record. But more recently, the artifact, the tape and film, the computerized statistic, and the non-literary evidence of archaeology, art, and anthropology have all come into purview as historical raw material, in addition to the text upon the page. Nevertheless, and aside from all this, the historian remains intimately involved with the literate record for research, writing or teaching, whether to illuminate his own quest for understanding or to guide others in that pursuit. Hence he must ever be a humble suppliant of the services and skills of the librarian and bibliographer. As rod and staff they comfort him — as does that other very helpful fellow, the archivist.

Second, since historians have their own field of expertise, overlapping but not the same as the realm of books itself, they are naturally not by function practised bibliographers. Some may so perform in certain areas, or as bibliophiles, no doubt; but most happily use, rather than know, the work of the related art and profession, bibliography. At any rate that is the case with this particular historian. Accordingly, what I have to present here is by no means an informed bibliographic essay, but rather an account of what historians have done, are doing, and might reasonably be expected to do, with works on nineteenth-century Canada. It seems to me something of a *quid pro quo*, for all the labours of the bibliographic expert and book provider, in making the sources available to historians, if we tell you what we have done so far with them. At any rate, this attempt at a general report, a brief analysis or assessment of writings on the history of nineteenth-century Canada, is offered with appreciation and affection to this bibliographic gathering.

Yet, third, what I have to say about the historian’s handling of the subject of nineteenth-century Canada can by no means claim completeness in the time and space at my disposal. It must remain a selective and inherently personal account, dealing with trends that appear worthy of comment to me. Still, I think that trends of meaning and consequence may be usefully elucidated. Thus I will in turn consider various past, present, and future approaches to the subject; or rather, because historians should not pretend to prophecy, note towards the end

of my discourse some newer and more recent developments which seem likely of still further extension and projection.

Finally — the last preliminary — something should be said of the high significance of the nineteenth century for the historian of Canada. As the seventeenth century was the formative period in French Canada, so the nineteenth was in English Canada. For all the importance of the British Conquest and the American Revolution in between, the values and doctrines of the eighteenth century scarcely reached either Canadian community. That period, critically formative for the neighbouring United States, saw largely a prolongation, if ebbing, of the seventeenth century in French Canada, and only bare beginnings of an English Canada in Atlantic settlements or Loyalist fragments that were themselves mere remnants of a lost American empire. But the nineteenth century brought a tide of British immigration, and the assured values of dominant Victorian British liberalism. It brought modern capitalism and the impact of industrialism. It produced responsible rule, the framework of the Canadian transcontinental state, and the instruments to build content for that new entity, from railways to the National Policy. In short, the nineteenth century really shaped modern English-speaking Canada, and in the process created fundamental strains and problems for French-speaking Canada, cast into the role of a subordinated minority. Despite the complex growth of the ensuing twentieth century, the nineteenth must have a strategic significance and interest in Canadian history that is all its own.

It took time, of course, before historians could come to appreciate and deal with the major currents of the nineteenth century; and least of all could they during that century itself. Serious history writing in both French and English Canada does not go back very notably beyond the mid-century period, though it does appear more impressively in the older, more self-conscious Francophone community. In either case the works produced, as in most embryonic historical writings, broadly displayed the character of the chronicle or the literary romance. Events were narrated in simple succession, with little use of conceptual or critical apparatus, or else were seen as splendidly portraying the providential workings of some higher and spiritual force, be it *la nation canadienne*, true faith, or the British Empire. So it continued from Christie and Garneau to Kingsford, Casgrain, and beyond. As specialized information was accumulated, however, and history writing grew more professional, more distinctive lines of approach emerged; until, before the nineteenth century was over, one might begin to identify “schools”, or at least successive stages, in the treatment of Canadian history.

It is not possible here — nor necessary, I think — to go into much detail concerning these. Suffice it to say that while French Canadian historiography understandably continued to devote much care to the days of the French regime, English Canadian showed a gradually increasing interest in nineteenth-century themes. This, too, was understandable: not only because of the primacy of the nineteenth century in the shaping of English Canada, but also because the country, by the Laurier era of the 1900s, was advancing towards the attainment of political nationhood as a self-governing state in world affairs. There was

consequent interest in the process whereby it had developed a national political and constitutional existence of its own. And that process essentially focussed on the nineteenth-century achievements of internal self-government and the federal constitutional system.

It is true that in the late nineteenth century the Britannic School of English-speaking historians (as I have elsewhere termed them)¹ had already paid some heed to these political and constitutional developments, as part of their general interest in depicting the spread and maintenance of British institutions in the northern dominion of the Empire that had arisen in North America. Among such writers were Sir John Bourinot, J.C. Dent and James Hannay. But the newer Political Nationhood School, emerging after 1900, paid still more attention to the evolution of responsible government and Confederation. The two groups overlapped, and really represented supplemental more than antithetical opinions. An author such as G.M. Wrong, indeed, displayed attributes of both; and both as well were found in the contributors to the *Makers of Canada*, whose twenty-one volumes (in the original 1904-11 series) were more than half of them on nineteenth-century figures. This enterprise in itself was surely symptomatic of growing national assertion and self-awareness. So was the establishment of the Champlain Society in 1905, to begin its long production of distinguished documentary volumes. And so, too, was the appearance of the thirty-two volumes of the popular and largely political *Chronicles of Canada* (1914-16), or above all, the enduring monument of *Canada and Its Provinces*, edited by Adam Shortt and A.G. Doughty, (1913-17), in which some of the most valuable historical writing of that period may still be found.

In particular, the Political Nationhood authors gradually elaborated what has been called the Whig Tradition in Canadian history, as they regarded Canada's freedom slowly broadening down from precedent to precedent. In concept, they noted the growth of liberal parliamentary institutions in nineteenth-century Canada, adapting to federal union and producing a distinctive colonial nationalism from out the British Imperial past. Thus it was that by 1920 W.S. Wallace could write in the newly established *Canadian Historical Review* that "the real significance of Canadian history" lay in the fact that Canada had played a leading part in shaping the new British Commonwealth of Nations.²

The 1920s witnessed perhaps the peak years of the Political Nationhood School, in the era when Mackenzie King was pursuing the completion of Canada's national status. As well as the founding of the *Canadian Historical Review*, with its scholarly articles, reviews and running bibliography, this decade saw the creation of the Canadian Historical Association in 1922, and the issuing of the *Annual Reports*, valuable compilations of papers presented before it. Among the subsequent individual achievements of the time, W.P.M. Kennedy produced his still-classic *Constitution of Canada* in 1922, R.G. Trotter, *Canadian*

¹J.M.S. Careless, "Frontierism, Metropolitanism and Canadian History", *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXV, 1, March 1954, p. 2.

²W.S. Wallace, "Notes and Comments", *Canadian Historical Review*, I, 4, December 1920, p. 344.

Federation in 1924; and in 1929, Chester New his *Lord Durham* and Chester Martin his *Empire and Commonwealth*, much of the latter on the nineteenth-century evolution of responsible government. These are obviously but a very few examples; and as there had been earlier blossoms, like Adam Shortt's *Lord Sydenham* (1908), so there would be later flowerings of the school, such as G.E. Wilson's *Robert Baldwin* (1933) or, in fact, Chester Martin's final work, *Foundations of Canadian Nationhood*, appearing only in 1955.

But meanwhile, before the 1920s themselves had ended, a newer approach to Canadian and nineteenth-century history was taking shape, one which turned from essentially politico-constitutional themes to stress economic and geographic factors much more strongly. In general, this approach may be comprehended under the title, Environmentalism, for it gave particular attention to the influences of the North American environment on historical processes in Canada. Far from rejecting Canadian nationalism, the emerging Environmentalist historians found more than political meanings for it in the very conditions of life in North America. Some were notably struck by the parallels and analogies between Canadian and American development, and gave special attention to the significance of the frontier, following the work of F.J. Turner and his disciples in the United States. Others would be no less influenced by the "staples approach" to Canadian economic history, pioneered by W.A. MacIntosh in the 1920s, but brilliantly developed by H.A. Innis in *The Fur Trade in Canada* (1930). At any rate, by the 1930s the Environmentalist School of Canadian history was in vigorous life and production, and much of its work assuredly dealt with nineteenth-century topics.

W.N. Sage wrote on the role of the frontier in Canada, and on West Coast regional developments: the Environmentalist approach readily ministered to the study of regional themes. G.W. Brown and F.H. Underhill discussed the growth of mid-nineteenth-century reform elements in Upper Canada in terms of "frontier democracy",³ while A.S. Morton's *History of Prairie Settlements* (1938) was but one significant work in the nine-volume *Canadian Frontiers of Settlement* series launched in 1934, itself largely a product of the Environmentalist impetus. Similarly, A.R.M. Lower's book, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest* (1938) was part of another major series concerned with the continental interplay of Canada and the United States, the monumental Carnegie series of studies on Canadian-American relations, which in the thirties and forties, produced masterworks like Fred Landon's *Western Ontario and the American Frontier* (1941) and Donald Creighton's *The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence* (1937).

Mention of Creighton, however, brings us to the second aspect of Environmentalist writing: that which was particularly influenced by Innis's works in economic history, from his *Problems of Staple Production in Canada* (1933) to *The Cod Fisheries: The History of an International Economy* (1940). In

³For example, see G.W. Brown, "The Grit Party and the Great Reform Convention of 1859", *Canadian Historical Review*, XVI, 3, September 1935, and F.H. Underhill, "Some Aspects of Upper Canadian Reform Opinion in the Decade before Confederation", *Canadian Historical Association Annual Report*, 1927.

applying his concept of the basic role of staple trades in Canadian development, Innis's stress on the St. Lawrence transport system as the backbone of the country and vital link between the British metropolis and the continental interior was taken up and still more broadly developed by Creighton; above all, in his great *Commercial Empire*. This, one may recall, portrayed the main course of Canadian history in the first half of the nineteenth century — the basic economic growth, the social and political strains that arose, the clash of French and English Canadas — in terms of the imperial designs and hopes of the merchants of the St. Lawrence. This Laurentian theme was still more generally applied in Creighton's survey of Canadian history, *Dominion of the North* (1944), and surely reached its fullest fruition in his classic two-volume biography of Sir John A. Macdonald (1952 and 1955). Assuredly "Laurentianism" still holds wide influence in the study of nineteenth-century Canada, as a variety of environmentalism that stresses particularly Canadian rather than common North American influences on historical development, and as an approach which decidedly emphasizes social and cultural forces operating within the environment as well as economic or physical factors. Taken up, if qualified and adapted, by W.L. Morton and others, it has, moreover, served as a kind of conservative antidote to Whig-liberal political or frontierist interpretations, especially because it tends to concentrate on the dynamism inherent in elements at the centres of power rather than in the hinterland, elements which have more often stood in a conservative rather than a liberal political tradition.

It relates also to a subsequently emerging approach with which I am myself concerned, Metropolitanism. This deals with the powers of large urban centres, both inside and outside Canada, to dominate extensive Canadian regions or hinterlands, largely through the control of communications — influences which, I would contend, can be seen working very significantly throughout the nineteenth century, as well as before or afterwards. But it is necessary to move on to other things, above all, to reach the patterns of the present in the treatment of nineteenth-century Canadian history.

These, I would also contend, really date back to the 1940s and 1950s. By that time, the older politico-constitutional approach was virtually played out, while environmentalism was not so much discarded as being subsumed. Its stress on the North American background, the terms set by geography and the power of key economic interests, had now been incorporated into Canadian history, and in the forties the Second World War had stimulated a new production of military and strategic studies that also affected historical writings generally; as well, perhaps, as encouraging an awareness of wider socio-cultural horizons beyond the continental confines of North America. This also ministered directly to broader interest in the development of Canadian external policy, signalized, for example, in the *Canada in World Affairs* series that began in 1941, or by *Canadian External Relations: A Historical Study to 1914*, first published by George Glazebrook in 1942.

In any event, historians after the war showed a growing concern with social analysis and intellectual climates. A major synthesis of importance here was J.B. Brebner's *North Atlantic Triangle* (1945), which described the interrelations of

communities and ideas around the triangle of Britain, the United States and Canada — again notably in the nineteenth century. It was, in fact, the final volume of the Carnegie series, the whole a lasting heritage from the Environmentalist School. A no less influential heritage from Laurentianism lay in the historical studies that accompanied the Rowell-Sirois Report of 1940. In general, they set an enduring pattern for interpreting the political and economic development of Canada from Confederation onward.

Furthermore, by the 1950s, the social science disciplines — sociology, anthropology, and more sophisticated techniques in political science and economic history — were beginning to have growing impact on younger historians, although the process would be far more evident by the next decade. The Canadian sociology, or really social history, of S.D. Clark had its effect, such as his *Church and Sect* of 1948. As for intellectual currents, a symposium of 1950, for example, published papers in the *Canadian Historical Review* on the predominant Victorian liberalism of mid-nineteenth-century newspapers, on literary taste, and on the growth of Canadian philosophy in the nineteenth century.⁴

At this point it is useful to take up a topic I know I have been sadly neglecting, the writing of Francophone historians of Canada. Here I would make two pleas: first, the fact that the latter had long gone a different way, considerably directed toward the history of New France, and exigencies of space make tracing out both stories difficult; second, it was only in the 1950s that significant interrelations really became evident. The literary romantic, providential tradition had remained strong in French-Canadian historiography, raised perhaps to its heights of *nationaliste* eloquence in the work of Canon Lionel Groulx from the 'teens to the fifties. This is not to say that Francophone nationalism is to be deemed unacceptable, while Anglophone, of course, is quite all right; nor that a great deal of valuable work was not done by Groulx and his associates, or by many others from Alfred DeCelles and Thomas Chapais to Jean Bruchési and Gustave Lanctot. It is instead to claim that the predilections of Groulx, the apparent Whiggery of Chapais or the close *critique* of Lanctot cannot be adequately analyzed here in a selective personal view that inevitably selects mainly from the sizable Anglo-Canadian body of writings on the nineteenth century.

In the 1950s, however, the growth of social-science interests among French-Canadian historians, the increasing emphasis on a scientific rather than a romantic approach, meant that scholars of both languages were developing more similar lines of inquiry (whether or not they would always agree on findings) and were effecting more interchange of information between them. While Michel Brunet and Guy Frégault focussed on periods before the nineteenth century, the long-term implications of their assessments of basic attributes in French-Canadian society before and after the Conquest were also marked by Anglophone historians — as were, indeed, the differing views of Fernand Ouellet on social changes in nineteenth-century French Canada, arising from his penetrating

⁴ See *Canadian Historical Review*, XXXI, 3, September 1950, pp. 221-287.

inquiries into its economic development. But the last really brings us into the 1960s, at which point we may turn again to English-Canadian historians, to examine in more detail patterns which are certainly still current.

To generalize upon them, first, one may say that a modified Laurentianism is still prominent; an acceptance of the underlying concept that Canada's story is in essence the extension of a St. Lawrence-based national system east and west across the continent, though subject always to massive regional counter-forces and north-south ties with the United States. Environmentalism, too, may also be seen expressed in the rising number of regional studies, but this is linked as well to the increased concern with social, cultural and intellectual themes, which can often best be handled within regional frames in such a diverse country as Canada. On the whole it is probably too soon to try to give distinctive "school" labels to more recent work in Canadian history; there is not sufficient perspective on its lines of growth as yet. Nevertheless, various major areas of interest may be discerned and dealt with — as I propose to do.

As for regional study, this, too, developed significantly out of the 1950s, marked by such accomplishments as W.L. Morton's *Manitoba: The History of a Province* (1956), Margaret Ormsby's *British Columbia* (1958), W.S. MacNutt's *History of New Brunswick* (1963), and George Glazebrook's *Life in Ontario: A Social History* (1969). But above all there is Fernand Ouellet's *Histoire économique et sociale du Québec* (1966), which can only be termed a milestone both in Canadian socio-economic historical analysis and in the interpretation of French Canada's history itself. In both respects, it is of course much more than a regional study, just as French-Canadian history is also of national scope. In studying the economic and social course of Quebec between 1760 and 1850, Ouellet has greatly reduced the traumatic importance generally ascribed to the British Conquest in previous writings by Francophone historians, whether of the Groulx or the Brunet-Frégault type. He has given much more weight to subsequent economic experience in shaping the main responses of *Canadien* society, and above all, to the rise of *nationaliste* sentiment in the first half of the nineteenth century. While this view has naturally not gone unchallenged, one may say that Ouellet and his associates, like Jean Hamelin, are prominent representatives of a trend among contemporary French-Canadian historians to carefully conceptualized, and quantified, economic and sociological studies of the past. The trend is still vigorously advancing, and in some respects leads all Canada. It is a long way from the old romantic history as a literary art, indeed.

In any case, the growing interest in both Canadas since the fifties in themes dealing with Quebec from the Conquest onward could scarcely be deemed surprising. Among Anglophone historians, it was first notably marked by the appearance of Mason Wade's two-volume work, *The French Canadians, 1760-1945* in 1955, and more recently, by Helen Taft Manning's *The Revolt of French Canada, 1800-1835* (1962), W.F. Ryan's *The Clergy and Economic Development in Quebec, 1896-1914* (1966), Jacques Monet's *The Last Cannon Shot: A Study of French-Canadian Nationalism, 1837-1850* (1969) and Joseph Schull's *Rebellion: The Rising in French Canada, 1837* (1971). None of this lessens the fact that regional and local themes across all Canada are similarly

being dealt with by contemporary historians concerned to study the diversity of Canadian communities closer to the grass roots level.

In this regard, the various anniversary celebrations of the last two decades in Canada undoubtedly had significant effect in fostering regional awareness and history writing. The golden jubilees of Saskatchewan and Alberta as provinces in 1955, Manitoba's centennial in 1970, British Columbia's several from 1958 onward, each produced its harvest, including the amateur, the admirable and the awful. Important, too, for regional work was the production of valuable new area bibliographies, such as *A Bibliography of the Prairie Province to 1953* (with supplement to 1963) by Bruce Peel, W.F.E. Morley's *Canadian Local Histories to 1950*, of which the first volume, *The Atlantic Provinces*, appeared in 1967, or Barbara Lowther's *B.C. Bibliography, 1849-1899*, of 1967 also. And the *Bibliographie du Québec*, issued since 1969 by the National Library of that province, provides a running resource to supplement a useful number of previous bibliographies accessible to the historians, like Philippe Garigue's *Bibliographical Introduction to the Study of French Canada* (1956). But I take it that it is not necessary to detail to bibliographers the productions of the Public Archives and National Library of Canada, of the Toronto Public Library and many other archival and library institutions throughout the country, that produce or have produced inventories, indexes, check lists and reports, cataloging all the goodies available. Again, it is a long way from William Kingsford's slim volume of 1892 on *The Early Bibliography of the Province of Ontario*. Returning to my own commentary on the historians' works themselves, I shall leave the regional study theme by noting only the recent collection edited by Mason Wade, *Regionalism in the Canadian Community* (1969), itself the product of a series of Canadian centennial conferences among students of regional history.

The Canadian centennial of 1967, however, deserves particular mention, because it, too, inevitably fostered the publication of books dealing with the hundred years since 1867, and thus frequently concerned with aspects of the later nineteenth century. One example I will dare to mention is *The Canadians, 1867-1967* (1967), edited by myself and R. Craig Brown, a varied set of historical essays, which stressed a social approach to Canada, decade by decade, as well as including some element of cultural history on the arts, education and technology. Of much greater consequence, no doubt, is the Canadian Centenary Series of seventeen volumes (ten thus far published) which represent a major summation by Canadian historians of the current state of their field. In reference to the nineteenth century, they now include *Upper Canada, 1784-1841*, by G.M. Craig (1963), *The Atlantic Provinces, 1712-1857*, by W.S. MacNutt (1965), *The Union of the Canadas, 1841-1857* by J.M.S. Careless (1967), *The Critical Years, 1857-1873*, by W.L. Morton (1965), and *Arduous Destiny, 1874-1896*, by P.B. Waite (1971). One may indeed say that they constitute a sizable addition to the nineteenth-century field.

The time of the centenary of Confederation was also signalized by books dealing particularly with the era when the Canadian federal union was achieved, such as P.B. Waite's *Life and Times of Confederation* (1962), D.G. Creighton's *The Road to Confederation* (1964) and F.W. Bolger's *Prince Edward Island and*

Confederation (1964). While these books naturally centred on a political process or a series of political events, they nevertheless strongly emphasized the social scene and the play of attitudes and opinion. There was no return to a baldly politico-constitutional narrative – a fact to be noted about the Centenary Series, in general, also. In short, while there now was increased attention given to political subjects, (especially to those of the later nineteenth century), the approach was taken on a broader front. Furthermore, it gave a good deal of space to individual personality, to biography, in fact. And new biographies of figures of the Confederation era included that on George Brown by J.M.S. Careless (in two volumes, 1959 and 1963), and Dale Thompson's on Alexander Mackenzie, (1960). Pressing further into the later century and beyond, Joseph Schull produced his life of Laurier in 1965; for the mid-century, Bruce Hodgins his of John Sandfield Macdonald (1971). But this is a mere mention of biographical productions, that should include John Gray's *Selkirk of Red River* (1963) and many more – not forgetting the massive joint enterprise of the University of Toronto and Laval University Presses, the ongoing *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*.

In quite another vein, valuable work was done in areas of institutional and cultural history where aspects of education, religion and politics overlapped. Perhaps the most noteworthy beginning here still lay in biography, in C.B. Sissons's two-volume study of Egerton Ryerson, published back in 1937 and 1947. But taken up increasingly in the fifties, this field was represented by such volumes as Sissons's own *Church and State in Canadian Education* (1959), J.S. Moir's *Church and State in Canada West*, in the same year, or G.S. French's *Parsons and Politics* of 1962. There is no space to go into educational history or religious history *per se*, except to observe that they have lately been given considerable attention in English as well as French Canada; and that these works now tend to be conceived and structured in terms of broadly institutional and intellectual history, not simply as internal administrative accounts or morally instructive narratives.

One might also note an interest in further aspects of intellectual history, admirably displayed in Carl Berger's recent analysis of English-Canadian imperialism, *A Sense of Power, 1867-1914* (1970), and also in business, labour and urban history, in investigations of social policy and social welfare, immigration, social status and mobility. Yet, though some of these themes were exemplified in the sixties, or even the fifties, most of them may well be regarded as developments only now acquiring much momentum, and therefore as more significant for future growth. Hence in conclusion I shall try to examine some of these newer trends, and add what conjectures I may hazard about the possibilities and needs ahead.

With respect to intellectual history, it could be said that the investigation of conditioning ideas and their interpreters, and of political and social attitudes, will probably grow through studies interrelating ideology and climates of opinion, through the application of the views of "psycho-history" (as seen, for instance, in the work of Robert Lifton), or of the concepts of cultural theory. Canadian history in this area may get "psyched-up" as never before; but the

trend as now witnessed in graduate theses is promising of result. Here the future need is for more and varied personal source materials in memoirs, diaries and workbooks of even the most obscure individuals, and for social records that could well include political propaganda pamphlets, collections of sermons, newspaper scrapbooks, or reports of police courts, hospitals and charities. Certainly, nineteenth-century bibliographies will be scoured for these purposes, to uncover the widest range of evidence that bears on both the individual and the collective community mind of that day.

As for business history, although some valuable studies have appeared – Hugh Aitken's *History of the Welland Canal Company* (1954), Merrill Denison's works on the Massey-Harris Company, the Molson enterprises and the Bank of Montreal,⁵ or Alan Wilson's biography, *John Northway, Blue-Serge Canadian* (1965) – it is plain that a great deal still has to be done even to obtain adequate documentation for business history from the business firms of Canada. In this regard the young Business Archives Council and its scheme of regional repositories for business records in certain Canadian libraries is a hopeful development. The Canadian field and its problems were well outlined in a significant paper by F.H. Armstrong read at the Fourteenth Business History Conference at the University of Western Ontario in 1967. Again, promising doctoral theses are coming out on the nature and development of entrepreneurship in nineteenth-century Canada. Yet much will remain for the bibliographer to identify, organize and make accessible, before any considerable body of Canadian business history is developed in published form.

Similarly for labour history: while H.A. Logan's *History of Trade Unions in Canada* came out in 1948 (and in earlier form even twenty years previous), few substantial studies have since appeared concerned with working-class movements in the nineteenth century. We could note D.R. Kennedy's *Knights of Labour in Canada* (1957) or Martin Robin's *Radical Politics and Canadian Labour, 1880-1930*, (1968), together with a variety of special articles, valuable research by Eugene Forsey, and volumes by Stanley Ryerson, which in a Marxist approach to Canadian history pay considerable attention to labour issues. And we could note that a rising concern with radical political, third or fourth party movements in the twentieth century often leads to an examination of their socio-cultural underpinnings in the working classes of the nineteenth century. In general, however, this area of labour history is only now in full process of development, as signalized by the newly established grouping of labour historians within the Canadian Historical Association. Accordingly, bibliographers, librarians and archivists can surely expect inquiries about reports on working-class conditions, union records and labour press and pamphlet materials, steadily to increase.

Turning to urban studies (an area now of particular interest to me), once more there is a great deal to be done by historians of the nineteenth century, the era, essentially, of the rise of the city in Canada. Of course there have long been

⁵ Merrill Denison, *Harvest Triumphant: The Story of Massey-Harris*, (Toronto, 1948); *The Barley and the Stream: The Molson Story*, (Toronto, 1955); and *Canada's First Bank: The History of the Bank of Montreal*, 2 volumes (Toronto 1966 and 1967).

books on the past of Canadian cities, but most fall into the category of uncritical chronicle, romantic anecdote or antiquarian memoir. This would include many of the recent popular accounts — of the marvels of Montreal or triumphs of old Toronto variety — but at least they bespeak the mounting public interest in our urban life. In that connection, the nineteenth century was indeed a time of remarkable urban growth: Canada's cities usually advanced in population at considerably faster rates than did settlements in the countryside, on which attention, till lately, has been much more concentrated. A few books like D.C. Master's *The Rise of Toronto, 1850-1890* (1947), Jacob Spelt's key work, *The Urban Development in South Central Ontario* (1955) or J.I. Cooper's *Montreal: A Brief History* (1969) do represent significant scholarly interpretations of patterns in Canadian city growth. But urban historical scholarship is also generally in the stage of thesis study, specialized articles and research projects, though there is every likelihood of multiplying contributions to publication in the near future.

One of the most active new pursuits in the field of urban history lies in quantitative social research. Michael Katz, notably, is applying to nineteenth-century Hamilton the techniques of statistical and computer-coded inquiry, as has been done with much effect by investigators of urban society in the United States and elsewhere. Katz's work is still largely in the stage of detailed mimeographed report, apart from one general published essay,⁶ but from census data and assessment rolls an insightful portrait is emerging of the social patterns in mid-nineteenth-century Hamilton — of class and occupational structure, the degree of social mobility and the like. The same sort of quantified approach is being applied by other urban historians in Canada, whether to examine ethnic relations, the role of immigrant groups, questions of poverty and affluence, or of order and disorder in the city; and this technique for studying a community *en masse* has by no means to be restricted to urban societies. In any event, out of this trend should come a distinctive expression of the "new" history, quantified in method and theoretical in framework, largely according to schemes provided by sociological or economic models. Already one may distinguish these social scientists in urban history — who deal in measurable quantities that may include traffic flows and spatial distributions — from "urban humanists", who are more concerned to investigate the quality of city life, its profiles in custom, building and cultural activities, or who are simply involved with presenting an "urban biography" of this or that particular town.

The quantifying trend is certainly manifested in both French and English Canadas. Once more Ouellet's work might be mentioned here — or that of Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot in studying a precise administrative and fiscal phenomenon, the civil list of Lower Canada before 1812, but one which nevertheless has many connections with the political power structure and social

⁶Michael B. Katz, "The Social Structure of Hamilton, Canada", S. Thurnstrom and R. Sennett, eds. *Nineteenth-Century Cities: Essays in the New Urban History* (Montreal, 1969).

and economic organization in that province.⁷ In general, one could say that spreading interest in the analysis of historical developments in quantitative socio-economic terms may well produce a very distinctive new school out of the present apparent eclecticism of Laurentian-regional, cultural-ideological, metropolitan-urban, and other varied currents and approaches.

In any case, having really found no stopping-place, let me close with two tentative but hopeful assertions. I would hope to see the kind of mass materials nineteenth-century historians are increasingly looking for made much more fully and widely available through microfiche as well as microfilm. These materials in filmed form would, for example, include assessment rolls, unpublished census data, business and legal records and registers, municipal papers and accounts; and, in particular, the parliamentary papers and reports of the provinces before Confederation, which historians decidedly need all across this fair (ex-) Dominion, but which are often not available outside their home province, and sometimes not too readily accessible there. Does this mean I look for the disappearance of the book, swallowed up in the maw of the microfilm reader or computer? Not at all, and not just because I dread to put the thought before such an audience as this. No, the historian will assuredly continue to need books, as books, less so, the historian. What he wants as well as books are complements, to enable him to supply still more books — and so on round.

And I would hope to see both the humanist and social science approach to history maintain themselves in the future as similarly complementary — as being mutually beneficial, and not hostile alternatives of quality or quantity, of subjective individual estimate as opposed to objective, coded headcount. In Canadian history generally, for the nineteenth century specifically, there is lots of room for both sides to aid each other. Thus I would look to see the Historian of the Value and the Historian of the Number lying down together, sharing many aspects of each other's work. Indeed, common sense says that it must be so; that any rigid separation is, in fact, inconceivable nonsense for both.

So it is that whatever the historian does now and in the future on the Canadian nineteenth century, whether humanist or scientist in his emphasis, whether concerned with national politics, regional agriculture or urban welfare, he will still need the literate record and the bibliographer as well as the statistic and the machine. And hence my basic message of peace, love and hope to us all.

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⁷See Gilles Paquet and Jean-Pierre Wallot, "La Liste civile du Bas-Canada (1794-1812): un essai d'économie historique", *Revue d'histoire de l'Amérique française*, XXIII, 2, septembre 1969; XXIII, 3, décembre 1969; XXIV, 1, juin 1970; XXIV, 2, septembre 1970.