

Communication ~ And Canadian National Destiny

(The second of four articles)

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While Canada is only a colony, there will be no Canadian nationality; there will be French, English, Scottish, Irish races, all hailing their respective mother countries, but they will never mingle under the common name of Canadians, because a Canadian nation cannot exist where there is no independent Canadian state.

Arthur Buies' Dominion Day sentiments of 1877 reflected the opinions of many Canadians who struggled to create a national state in the midst of an often-hostile continent. The work which proceeded to integrate the Canadian colonies into a viable imperial unit, while essential to many, were inadequate, by themselves, to others. These Canadians shared the vision of a manifest destiny with their neighbors to the south, desiring to see an independent national state which would stretch from "Ocean to Ocean."

*Communication
Systems Were
Nation-Making?*

Whether the innovations in communications technologies inherently contained the potential to bind together an expansive Canadian state, or whether nationalists were compelled to interpret the meaning of such innovations in terms of their attributed potentials in order to legitimize their aspirations with claims of practicability, is a moot point. What is significant in either case is that the rhetoric of the projected, and later consummated national state was laced with allusions of the potency of technological innovation in communications systems. Communication was to be the adhesive that would allow Canadians to defy all handicaps in reaching their projected national destiny.

With the creation of the Confederation in 1867 Canadians were on the way to achieving a national identity. (That this identity was not immediately achieved is shown by Buies' comment above.) The reasons behind the decisions of the various British North American colonies to cast

their lots together in a common destiny were diverse; several scholars have already attempted to reconstruct them.¹ Another attempt will not be made here.

One obstacle, however, which does deserve mention here is that of geography. Several scholars have commented on what seems to be the natural north-south geography of the North American continent. In addition to the conclusions drawn by later commentators, Canadians observed this fact during the period of their first steps as a Confederation.² William Robinson in 1868, for instance, pointed to the five great north-south physico-geographical obstacles to be overcome by any railroad attempting to run west from the coast of Nova Scotia to the St. Lawrence, while Charles H. Lugin wrote in 1889 that, "Geographically, commercially, agriculturally, and industrially the continent is by nature one country..."³ Reflections on the natural north-south divisions of the continent were also made by John A. Macdonald's "National Policy," by the Select Committee of the House of Commons of Great Britain in 1857, by Attorney-General Longley of Nova Scotia and by The Bystander of March 1880, which opined on the subject of the proposed Pacific railway that,

*East-West Was
Inconceivable*

It is inconceivable that geography, against which no power has yet prevailed, should so completely succumb to our Acts of Parliament as to permit this more than unnatural combination...[It] is a sinister fact that in public not one man has been found to make a resolute resistance, or indeed any resistance at all to this desperate waste of the money of our people.⁴

Settlement in Canada did tend to stay close to the international boundary with the United States, partially due to geographical features such as the Laurentian Shield which deflected emigration across Canada south around the Great Lakes.⁵ Therefore, the settlement of both the United States and Canada seemed to be linked in a constant ebb and flow of population.⁶ It was also true, however, that much settlement was deflected to the United States by pessimistic reports about Canada, such as that of Captain Palliser who, having been given the task of exploring the territory between Lake Superior and the Red River settlement in 1858, reported in a confidential dispatch to the Secretary of State for the Colonies that, "The Experience which I have obtained from personal observation, and searches...convinced me that any route forced through that region by land or by water or by a combined means of both could only be carried out at a vast expense and therefore never become a reproductive expenditure."⁷ Palliser, of course,

was also responsible for mapping out a supposedly inhospitable area of the Canadian prairie which was known as "Palliser's Triangle."⁸ Other reports, such as that made by J.P.B. Casgrain in 1907 and portions of an otherwise positive report by the Nelson Valley Railway and Transportation Company of Montreal, were equally pessimistic.⁹

Such reports, of course, bred a degree of saue qui peut about Canada's future. One report, for instance, made by the Select Committee on the Hudson's Bay Company, included the recommendation that the Red River settlement ought to be given to the United States where it properly belonged geographically, rather than waiting for it to be wrested away by the Americans.¹⁰ Such reports led to reactions like that of the British House of Commons in 1859, which was deaf to the exhortations of Bulwer Lytton, Colonial Secretary, who envisioned a "band of provinces stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific."¹¹

But there were optimistic reports as well. G.M. Grant's work, Ocean to Ocean, was one whose very title betrayed its position.¹² Other boosters of the West included the Toronto Globe which described the great Northwest as "the vast and fertile territory which is our birthright," and the Canadian Parliament which passed inducements for settlement, such as the Canadian homestead act which, in 1896, made 60,000,000 acres available for settlement as free homesteads.¹³

Settlement did proceed westward, of course, particularly following the construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad which reached the Pacific coast in 1885.¹⁴ The completion of the CPR answered in dramatic fashion Dilke's 1872 admonition that, "To give Canada an outlet on one side is something, but communication with the Atlantic is a small matter by the side of communication at once with Atlantic and Pacific through British territory."¹⁵ In 1886 Edward W. Watkin was jubilant, writing,

*Free From Any
Separatist Ideas*

*A vast country, rapidly augmenting in population and wealth, free from any serious sectional controversy, free, especially, from any idea of separation, bound together under one governing authority, with one tariff and one system of general taxation, has exhibited a capacity for united action, and for self-government and mutual defense, admirable to behold.*¹⁶

Both the steamship and the railroad had much to do with creating the Canadian national state and destroying the problems of a prevalent north-south geography.¹⁷ The

westward push of the railroad was probably the most important of all factors in peopling the plains.¹⁸ And western development was important to the stability of Canada, as the Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, issued in 1940, emphasized.

*The development of the West was a national achievement and the participation of all areas in a common effort fostered a new sense of nationhood...Expansion on the distant frontier either solved or postponed the problems of provincial adjustments and regional interests.*¹⁹

*The Railways As
Symbols of our
Existence - Grant*

The railroad was viewed by many as making the idea of a national Canadian state politically viable. Article 68 of the British North America Act bound the soon-to-be federal government to build an Intercolonial Railway from Riviere du Loup to Truro, and Article 69 recognized the importance of communication with the northwest territories.²⁰ Thomas Scatcherd baldly reminded the Canadian assembly that, "This Confederation scheme is nothing more or less than a scheme to construct the Intercolonial Railway,"²¹ The terms of agreement by which British Columbia became a province in the Canadian Dominion also made explicit reference to a commitment to construct a railway "to connect the seaboard of British Columbia with the railway system of Canada; and further, to secure the completion of such railway within ten years from the date of union."²² In 1885 G.M. Grant called the Intercolonial and Canadian Pacific Railways the symbols of Canada's national existence.²³

As for the steamboat, the opinion of the Western Planet of Chatham, Ontario, is instructive. On June 7, 1854, the paper saw the arrival of the new steamer "Canadian" as "but an index of the prosperity and progress of our Town, and of Canada...[Now]...the spirit of progress manifested throughout [Canada and the Maritimes] and more particularly in Canada West, has been fully diffused throughout our community."²⁴

Another obstacle in the way of national identity was "regional interests," as it was called by the Royal Commission report of 1940. The most striking disparity of interests existed between English and French Canada. For instance, the rebellions of 1837-38 had brought the conditions in Canada to a point where the British government could no longer ignore them and Lord Durham had been sent to North America to make a report. His recommendation had been that Upper and Lower Canada, which had been separated into two colonies in an attempt to avoid the upswell of grievances by English settlers which had precipitated the

American Revolutionary War, be combined into one because, as William Ormsby has concluded, he was aware of the ethnic conflict and had decided before he left England that French Canada had to be assimilated and the French culture gradually eliminated.²⁵

Problems between the English and French in Canada were not solved by Durham's maneuvering. In the 1840's and 1850's the Red River region "gradually became a bone of contention between Upper and Lower Canada."²⁶ English Canada desired western expansion; French Canada resisted it.²⁷ The French were fearful of being engulfed by the English as a result of representation based on population which they thought would be the inevitable result of westward expansion.²⁸ The English wanted to offset the movement of the United States toward the Pacific.

Georges Etienne Cartier, one of the architects of the Canadian Confederation and one of French Canada's most eminent statesmen, advocated the construction of railroads and the expansion of Canada to the west.²⁹ His efforts, aided by the French clergy who advocated Confederation in the place of annexation to the United States, were rewarded on July 15, 1870, when Rupert's Land passed from the control of the Hudson's Bay Company to Canada.³⁰

*Rupert's Land
Taken From HBC*

Thus was one of the problems of Confederation solved. Reviewing the progress made by the Confederation since 1872--Confederation which Goldwin Smith had claimed was parented by deadlock--Morgan and Burpee in 1905 concluded, "The old sectionalism gradually gave place to a full acceptance of the new confederation and all that it implied. From Nova Scotia to British Columbia men no longer withered under the blight of the despised name Colonial, but proudly called themselves Canadians."³¹

The conflict between the two cultures was to flare periodically throughout the remainder of the century and into the next. This was particularly true of the year 1885, which saw the Saskatchewan Métis and Indians rebel under the leadership of Louis Riel who was then executed. Riel's execution brought Wilfrid Laurier to remark, "Had [the government] taken as much pains to do right, as they have taken to punish wrong, they never would have had any occasion to convince those people that the law cannot be violated with impunity, because the law would never have been violated at all."³² In many respects the linguistic and cultural divide which Walter N. Sage remarked upon as interposing itself between the two great parts of Canada remained as immovable as ever throughout the period.³³

But the second Riel rebellion was not entirely negative in its impact on Canadian national destiny. Robert Borden, for instance, believed that the use of Nova Scotian troops in suppressing the rebellion had done more than anything else since Confederation "to make the province feel part of Canada," and Mason Wade has written that, "in Quebec, which supplied a third of the eastern troops, a wave of patriotism swept aside all feeling of kinship with the *Métis* or sympathy for their plight."³⁴ It was only after the rebellion ended and talk of punishment for Riel followed that French Canadians again commiserated with their distant brethren.

Métis Fate
Bound Up
With Buffalo

The fate of the *Métis* seemed inexorably linked with that of the CPR, for the building of the railroad in the West affected the range of the buffalo drastically, and therefore the fortunes of the *Métis* who were left without the ability to change their nomadic lives by adopting commercial and agricultural habits.³⁵ The CPR also affected the *Métis* fortunes by making it possible to rapidly dispatch troops via rail and to conduct the war via telegraph, thus bringing into play two technologies which had not been available for use in the rebellion of 1869-70.³⁶ As a matter of fact, the very existence of the railroad was probably instrumental in containing the number of Indians who joined Big Bear and Poundmake in their war against the Canadians.³⁷

The steps taken by Canadians as they groped toward a solid foundation of national consciousness were uneven ones at best. Hyam has noted that a rapid expansion of horizons occurred in the mid 1850's when it became apparent that Canada must incorporate the Hudson's Bay areas in order to further expand, and Hardy has claimed that by 1862 Canadians were almost pugnaciously conscious of their national identity.³⁸ The *Nation* of August 6, 1874, commented that, "The young men of Canada on every side were beginning to feel that neither New Brunswick nor Ontario, nor any of the other Provinces, contains the limit of their country; and, in the glow of a new enthusiasm, are proud to call Canada their home and to acknowledge themselves Canadians."³⁹ Similar sentiments were expressed by the *Montreal Herald* and *The Week* in the 1890's.⁴⁰

The role of communication in assisting the rising national identity of Canadians was an important one. Early in the period "the British colonies...had obtained better communication with the outside world than they had with each other."⁴¹ It was hardly surprising, then, that the colonies had little to say to each other; they hardly knew

each other. In 1847 the British North American Electrical Association was formed in Quebec to promote the linkage of the two Canadas to the Maritimes by telegraph, and beginning in 1849 telegraph and cable companies began to cross provincial borders and to transmit messages.⁴² By 1852 the Canadas were linked with the Maritimes.⁴³ In 1853 the Annual Report of Newfoundland enumerated advantages to be gained by the colony with the completion of a proposed telegraph and cable link to the remainder of British North America; the following year the Western Planet promised to avail its readers "of the earliest information by the Telegraph, of all matters transpiring at a distance, so that this paper hereafter will be in a position to give the news earlier than it can be obtained through the usual channels, from Hamilton or Detroit."⁴⁴ With the use of the new telegraph link between Chatham and Windsor, the paper commented that it was "enabled to circulate every matter of interest and importance contemporaneously with our exchanges for which we had formerly to wait till they came to hand, causing a delay of many days."⁴⁵ Less than a year following the initial report of telegraphic connection, the Planet reported that in order to remedy the problem of stale news and to better take advantage of the telegraph and railroad facilities, it would increase its appearance from weekly to semi-weekly.⁴⁶ In 1856 P.S. Hamilton wrote in the Acadian Recorder that, "There are no two provinces which do not now communicate with each other, by telegraph, in half a day, and which may not do so in one hour."⁴⁷ Such comments indicated that Canadians were becoming more conscious of the extent of their communication with each other, and with the outside world, as well as with the "freshness" of the news which they received.⁴⁸

Edward Watkin, in 1863, fully expected that British Columbia would be flooded with emigrants as soon as the telegraph, letter post and steamboat arrived there.⁴⁹ Almost as if acting on Watkin's expectation, in 1874 Canada set a policy of establishing the telegraph in advance of the railway, and the telegraph thus became "the first agent of prairie settlement."⁵⁰ By 1876 the telegraph had already been erected from Fort William to Red River and 500 miles beyond to Battle River following the proposed CPR route.⁵¹ This work was completed even before the final surveys for the railroad had been conducted. The first telegram from the far-point of the system arrived in Winnipeg on April 6, 1876, and as J.C. Hamilton concluded, "The telegraph will so follow the surveyor and precede the laying of the iron."⁵²

But there were failures as well. Two "premature" or aborted schemes for extending communication across Canada included those of Edward Watkin for telegraph and postal service to British Columbia in 1863 and of the Northwest Transportation, Navigation and Railway Company in 1858 to deliver mail to Fort Langley in British Columbia from Toronto in 12 to 14 days and to subsequently construct a telegraph line.⁵³ Attempts to deliver mail to Red River without routing it through the United States also failed.⁵⁴

Such attempts as these were only sporadically successful at best. Most schemes died on the vine. By 1867, according to the Royal Commission of 1940, "the British colonies in North America had remained small and isolated pockets of settlement."⁵⁵ The situation was nearly identical four years later.⁵⁶

The completion of the CPR seems to have changed the prospects for forging a nation. In 1905 John W. Hills claimed that the line had "converted the country from a series of separate communities, divided by wide distances and by wider spaces of time, closely bound to and dependent on the States lying immediately south of them, into a homogenous country from the Atlantic to the Pacific."⁵⁷ An anonymous man interviewed by The Regina Leader in 1883 claimed that the CPR had "made this the finest country a young man can come to."⁵⁸ With the completion of the CPR Matthew Richey's 1867 plea was on its way to fulfillment:

CPR Made
Canada Viable

*Let these isolated Colonies only marshall themselves in firm phalanx, under the auspices and supreme rule of the British scepter, and that moment a wall of defence is thrown around them more impregnable than that which girds the empire of China...*⁵⁹

Canadians were on the road to creating a communications system which would make their national aspirations viable ones.⁶⁰

As the means of communication began to spread through Canada, comments on their abilities to transform life and nationality increased. The Western Planet in 1854 said of the new technologies which had arrived in Chatham that:

*With the Railways, Telegraph, Macadamized and Plank Roads, who says we are not bound to go ahead? Decidedly the West is now in a position to rival, if not to excel any part of Canada and it is the fault of the people; if they do not take advantage of their numerous facilities for improvement, and make the West by art, what it is by nature--the Garden of Canada.*⁶¹

And in Ocean to Ocean, Rev. George M. Grant exulted, "Let there be a line of communication from the Pacific to the St. Lawrence through a succession of loyal Provinces bound up with the Empire by evermultiplying and tightening links, and the future of the Fatherland and of the Great Empire of which she will then be only the Chief part is secured."⁶²

The telephone was seen in much the same light as were steam and telegraphic communication. The early history of the telephone was closely linked to that of the telegraph; in 1880, when Bell Canada was in the process of being organized, the only two telephone owners in Canada, other than Melville Bell, were telegraph companies.⁶³ Telegraphy and telephony were also linked in many people's minds, as the telephone was early seen as a possible replacement for the telegraph, at least for short distances.⁶⁴ As it developed the telephone was used over ever-longer distances, and in 1909 the CPR announced that its train dispatching between Winnipeg and Brandon would be handled by telephone.⁶⁵ Two years later the Grand Trunk Telegraph Company announced that the entire Grand Trunk Railway system would shortly have all its trains dispatched by telephone.⁶⁶

Replacement of the telegraph by the telephone assured ever-tightening links across the Canadian land mass. The telephone could be used by anyone without special training, and thus eliminated the necessity for interpreters in the communication process.⁶⁷ But the telephone system was not perfect, as the decision to form a Select Committee on Telephone Systems by the Canadian House of Commons in 1905 demonstrated.⁶⁸

Sir William Mulock, who chaired the Select Committee, admitted that the thickly-settled districts of the Dominion seemed to have adequate telephone systems, but that there were many areas without any service at all. He ventured that he did not think the examination of telephone systems would be complete "unless the committee is able to devise a scheme that will enable the isolated individual in his country home to secure the benefit of telephonic communication at a cost within the means of the average resident in the outlying district."⁶⁹

Further links across Canada were predicted for the latest in the series of electrical communications marvels with the advent of the wireless. The Second Report of the Inter-Departmental Committee on Cable Communications in Great Britain anticipated in 1902 that wireless "may soon become of considerable service in establishing connections

between different islands, or between islands and the mainland."⁷⁰ The following year in Canada S.E. Gourley claimed that,

*If we can dominate the trade of this country, why we can make Halifax and St. John like Boston and New York, and we will find the United States dwindling as did the old world empires. I think that is possible, it is within our capacity, and we mean to do it by means of the sea...We are no longer children in Canada...[We] have been going on in a niggardly way, and the consequence is that we have a poor protective service for navigation in the river and gulf of the St. Lawrence.*⁷¹

In 1913 the Council of the Yukon Territory requested that the Governor General of Canada establish a system of wireless communication for the territory to provide "a more efficient service to the people" at less expense.⁷² In spite of efforts to follow up this original request, however, nothing was done of a positive nature until 1919.⁷³

*Grasp At
Innovations*

Comments and efforts such as these indicate that Canadians during the period 1846-1914 were grasping one innovation in communication after another, attempting to use them to assist in the creation and consolidation of a Canadian national consciousness. As Sir Charles Tupper had proclaimed in 1891 about Canada's success with the railroad,

*We have, therefore, not only provided the means of inter-communication, the means of carrying on our trade and business, but have also established a great Imperial highway which England might to-morrow find almost essential for the maintenance of her power in the East.*⁷⁴

Tupper's comments are equally applicable to the electrical communications systems of the period.

There were many reasons for the movement of emigrants to the western regions of Canada.⁷⁵ While communications systems cannot be credited for such movement, it is accurate to suggest that the expansion of such systems did facilitate the westward emigration, a fact noted by The Morning Leader of Regina in 1909.⁷⁶ Steam technology made the movement of goods possible and, it can be argued, created markets where none had existed before. Steam also gave mobility to people, enabling them to efficiently take advantage of settlement and employment opportunities, and allowing Canada to police her long international border. The railroad placated the British Columbians, saving the province from quite probably annexation to the United

States.⁷⁷ It made sense, in other words, for Canadians to view railroads as symbols of Canadian national existence, for without them it would have been unlikely that Canada could have avoided continued fragmentation and gradual absorption into the Republic to her south.

Foundation
Of National
Consciousness

Electrical communications technologies were instrumental in Canadian consciousness-raising in similar ways. The development of the western telegraph as precursor of the railroad meant that the Canadian Northwest Mounted Police could be more effective, for assistance could be more rapidly dispatched as necessary.⁷⁸ This fact coupled with the Mounties' reputation for scrupulously fair treatment of all people--white or red--no doubt contributed much to the peace of the Canadian West. The use of the telegraph to acquire news dispatches and market reports also served to reinforce notions of a Canadian nationality and to create larger markets for Canadian products.⁷⁹ The development of the telephone opened up communications to those who otherwise could not participate except vicariously in what was a true communications revolution in Canada, for the telephone was a "common man's" technology--at least for those who could afford it.

Whether or not Canada would have found other means to accomplish these ends is a moot point. The fact that Canadians credited the new technologies for assisting in the creation of national sentiment and making possible territorial aspirations speaks to its own importance. Taken on their own terms, therefore, these new technologies were significant factors contributing to the foundation of a national consciousness, if only because Canadians believed that to be the case.

NOTES

1. See, for instance, George Bryce, A. Short History of the Canadian People, rev. ed., New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1914, Chapters 11-14 for the period 1836-1913, and George M. Wrong, The Canadians: The Story of a People, New York: Macmillan Co., 1938, Chapters 22-25 for the period 1850-1914.
2. F.W. Howay, W.N. Sage & H.F. Angus, British Columbia and the United States, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1942; Harold Innis, Problems of Staple Production in Canada, Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1933, p. 30; John Bartlett Brebner, North Atlantic Triangle, New Haven: Yale U. Press, 1945, p. 6; W.N. Sage, "Some Aspects of the Frontier in Canadian History," Report of Annual Meeting, with Historical Papers, The Canadian Historical Association, 1937, p. 28.
3. William Robinson, Report on the Proposed Trunk Line of Railway in Nova Scotia, Through New Brunswick to Quebec, Ottawa: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1868, pp. 8,9; Charles H. Lugin, "The Relations of the United States and Canada: A Canadian View," The Century Magazine 38 (June 1889), p. 236.

4. See John L. Finlay, Canada in the North Atlantic Triangle, Toronto: Oxford U. Press, 1975, pp. 248, 249; "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Commons [G.B.] on the Hudson's Bay Company, 1857," Edinburgh Review 109 (January 1859), p. 154; Goldwin Smith, Canada and the Canadian Question, Popular Ed., Toronto: Hunter, Rose & Co., 1892, pp. 226-228; and "The Railway Policy," The Bystander, (March 1880), p. 115.
5. W. N. Sage, "Geographical and Cultural Aspects of the Five Canadas," Report of the Annual Meeting, with Historical Papers, The Canadian Historical Association, 1928, p. 28; W. A. Mackintosh, Prairie Settlement: The Geographical Setting, Canadian Frontiers of Settlement, vol. 1, Edited by W. A. Mackintosh & W. L. G. Joerg, Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada, Ltd., 1934, p. 3.
6. See Brebner, Triangle, p. 9.
7. Irene M. Spry, ed. The Papers of the Palliser Expedition 1857-1860, Toronto: The Champlain Society, p. 514.
8. See Spry, Palliser Expedition.
9. See J. P. B. Casgrain, The Problems of Transportation in Canada, Quebec: Laflamme & Proulx, Printers, 1909, p. 128; and Nelson Valley Railway and Transportation Company, A New Route from Europe to the Interior of North America with a description of Hudson's Bay and Straits, Montreal: John Lovell & Son, 1881, p. 5.
10. "Report from the Select Committee," Edinburgh Review, pp. 154, 156.
11. William L. Grant, "Introduction," to G. M. Grant's Ocean to Ocean: Sandford Fleming's Expedition through Canada in 1872, 1873 Reprint, rev. ed., Toronto: The Radisson Society of Canada, 1925, p. ix.
12. Grant, Ocean to Ocean, pp. 73, 104, 105.
13. The original homestead act provided 160 acres per family for a ten dollar payment and five years occupancy as farmers. In 1896 with the termination of the railway land grant system, free homesteads were made available. See J. M. S. Careless, "The 1850's," Colonists and Canadiens 1760-1867, Edited by J. M. S. Careless, Toronto: Macmillan of Canada, 1971, p. 243; Grant, Ocean to Ocean, pp. 105, 106; and Canada, Report of the Royal Commission on Dominion-Provincial Relations, book 1, Canada: 1867-1939, Ottawa (May 3, 1940), p. 67.
14. The first transcontinental through train reached Vancouver on July 4, 1886. See Bryce, Short History, p. 602.
15. Charles Wentworth Dilke, Greater Britain, 6th ed., London: Macmillan & Co., 1872, p. 50.
16. Edward W. Watkin, Canada and the United States, London: Ward, Lock & Co., 1887, p. 24.
17. See Brebner, Triangle, p. 121; L. Ethan Ellis, "Canada's Rejection of Reciprocity in 1911," Report of the Annual Meeting, with Historical Papers, The Canadian Historical Association, 1939, p. 101; Harold A. Innis & A. R. M. Lower, eds., Select Documents in Canadian Economic History 1783-1885, Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1933, p. 6; and John W. Hills, "Imperialism in Canadian Politics," The Empire and the Century, Edited by Charles Sydney Goldman, London: John Murray, 1905, pp. 405-406.
18. John Stuart Macdonald, "The Dominion Telegraph," Chapters in the North-West History Prior to 1890 Related by Old Timers, Canadian North-West Historical

- Society Publications, vol. 1, No. 6, Battleford: 1930, p. 15.
19. Canada, Dominion-Provincial Relations, p. 66.
 20. Canada, Parliamentary Debates, On the Subject of Confederation of the British North American Provinces, 3th Provincial Parliament of Canada, 3d Session, 1865, p. 5.
 21. Quoted in G. P. deT. Glazebrook, A History of Transportation in Canada, 2 vols., The Carleton Library No. 11, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1964, vol. 2, p. 7.
 22. Quoted in J. M. Trout & Edward Trout, The Railways of Canada for 1870-71, Toronto: Monetary Times, 1871, pp. 158, 159.
 23. G. M. Grant, "The Canada Pacific Railway," The Century Illustrated Magazine, n. s. 8 (October 1885), p. 882.
 24. "The 'Canadian,'" Western Planet, Chatham, Canada West, June 7, 1854.
 25. Finlay, Triangle, pp. 92, 93; William Ormsby, "Lord Durham and the Assimilation of French Canada," On Canada, Edited by Norman Penlington, Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1971, pp. 37-39.
 26. Mason Wade, The French Canadians 1760-1945, New York: Macmillan Co., 1955, p. 395.
 27. See W. G. Hardy, From Sea Unto Sea, Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1960, p. 89.
 28. Arthur S. Morton, A History of the Canadian West to 1870-71, London: Thomas Nelson & Sons Ltd., 1939, pp. 836, 837.
 29. Wade, French Canadians, p. 309.
 30. The French clergy advocated Confederation over annexation because they feared the "inevitable" confiscation of church lands by the United States government. See Dilke, Greater Britain, p. 50; and George F. G. Stanley, "Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis," Report of the Annual Meeting, with Historical Papers, The Canadian Historical Association, 1939?, p. 110.
 31. Smith, Canadian Question, pp. 156, 157; Henry J. Morgan & Lawrence J. Burpee, Canadian Life in Town and Country, London: George Newnes, Ltd., 1905, p. 10.
 32. Canada, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), March 16, 1886, quoted in Peter B. Waite, Canada 1874-1896: Arduous Destiny, The Canadian Centenary Series, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart Ltd., 1971, pp. 172, 173.
 33. Sage, "Cultural Aspects," p. 29.
 34. Waite, Arduous Destiny, p. 185; Wade, French Canadians, p. 410.
 35. *Ibid.*, p. 406.
 36. See Sir Charles Tupper, Recollections of Sixty Years, London: Cassell & Co., Ltd., 1914, pp. 267, 268; and Desmond Morton & Reginald H. Roy, eds., Telegrams of the North-West Campaign 1885, Toronto: The Champlain Society, 1972, p. ix.
 37. See Hardy, From Sea Unto Sea, pp. 360, 361.
 38. Ronald Hyam, Britain's Imperial Century 1815-1914, New York: Barnes & Noble Books, 1976, p. 195; Hardy, From Sea Unto Sea, p. 139.
 39. Quoted in Waite, Arduous Destiny, p. 35.
 40. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
 41. G. P. deT. Glazebrook, Canadian External Relations: An Historical Study to 1914, London: Oxford U. Press, 1942, p. 68.
 42. New Brunswick, New Brunswick Museum, "A Brief History of the Early Days of Telegraphy in the Maritime Colonies," [by Robert McQuay], p. 2.

43. New Brunswick, "A Brief History," p. 6.
44. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, vol. 7 (Reports Exhibiting the Past and Present State of Her Majesty's Colonial Possessions, Transmitted with the Blue Books for the year 1853), "No. 3, Newfoundland," I. U. P. Series of British Parliamentary Papers, Shannon, Ireland: Irish U. Press, 1970, p. 423; "The Telegraph," The Western Planet, Chatham, Canada West, May 31, 1854.
45. "The Planet," The Western Planet, Chatham, Canada West, September 30, 1854.
46. "The Planet--its contemplated Bi-Weekly Issue," The Western Planet, Chatham, Canada West, May 16, 1855.
47. Quoted in Martell, "Intercolonial Communications, 1840-1867," p. 60.
48. See Edward W. Watkin, A Trip to the United States and Canada: In a Series of Letters, London: W. H. Smith & Son, 1852, p. 116.
49. Watkin, Recollections, p. 170.
50. Sandford Fleming, "The Pacific Cable," Queen's Quarterly 5 (January 1898), p. 226; Robert Collins, A Voice from Afar, Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd., 1977, p. 58; see also Macdonald, "Dominion Telegraph," p. 15.
51. J. C. Hamilton, The Prairie Province: Sketches of Travel from Lake Ontario to Lake Winnipeg, Toronto: Belford Brothers, 1876, p. 136.
52. Ibid.
53. Morton, Canadian West, pp. 793, 836, 837.
54. The attempts at delivering mail to Red River without routing through the United States were efforts to make the route a paying proposition, which it was not able to be. Ibid., p. 837.
55. Canada, Dominion-Provincial Relations, p. 19.
56. Pierre Berton, The Great Railway, Toronto: McClelland & Stewart, Ltd., 1972, p. 9.
57. Hills, "Imperialism in Canadian Politics," p. 405.
58. "What Sir John and the CPR Have Done," Regina Leader, Regina, Saskatchewan, April 19, 1883; Careless, "The 1850's," Canadiens, p. 250; Berton, The Great Railway, p. 238; see also J. S. Jeans, Railway Problems, London: Longmans, Green, & Co., 1887, p. x.
59. Matthew Richey, A Plea for the Confederation of the Colonies of British North America, Charlottetown: Excelsior Printing Office, 1867, p. 15.
60. See J. M. S. Careless, "Aspects of Metropolitanism in Atlantic Canada," Regionalism in the Canadian Community 1867-1967, Edited by Mason Wade, Canadian Historical Association Centennial Seminars, Toronto: U. of Toronto Press, 1969, p. 118.
61. "The Telegraph," The Western Planet, Chatham, Canada West, May 31, 1854.
62. Grant, Ocean to Ocean, pp. 387, 388.
63. William Patten, Pioneering the Telephone in Canada, Montreal: Privately Printed, 1926, p. 1; see also Macdonald, "Dominion Telegraph," p. 44.
64. The Evening Times, November 2, 1877, Rev. Thomas Henderson Scrapbook, Canada Bell Archives, p. 9; see also "Complains Telephone Is Replacing Telegraph," Montreal Daily Witness, July 11, 1910.
65. "To Extend New System," Montreal Star, February 12, 1909; "Telephones Now Displacing the Telegraph," Montreal Star, December 2, 1909.
66. "Grand Trunk to Use Telephone All Over System," Montreal Star, July 20, 1911; "Telephone Dispatching," Montreal Daily Witness, July 20, 1911; see also "The Telephone to Supersede Telegraph in Railroading," Montreal Herald, March 28, 1906.

67. See "The Provincial Telephone Department," editorial in The Morning Leader, Regina, Saskatchewan, April 21, 1909.
68. Canada, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), vol. 69, 10th Parliament, 1st Session, 1905, March 17, cols. 2681, 2685; Canada, Proceedings of the Select Committee on Telephone Systems, vols. 1 & 2, Journals, House of Commons, vol. 40, appendix 1, Ottawa: S. E. Dawson, 1905.
69. Canada, Committee on Telephone Systems, vol. 1, apx. 1, pp. 1, 2.
70. Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers, vol. 11 (Inter-Departmental Committee on Cable Communications), "Second Report, 1902," p. 21.
71. Canada, Parliamentary Debates (Commons), vol. 60, 9th Parliament, 3d Session, 1903, October 10, col. 13644.
72. Record Group 11, vol. 2844, 1652-3A, "Memorial of the Council of the Yukon Territory to the Governor General of Canada, in [Privy] Council," April 15, 1913, Department of Public Works, Public Archives of Canada.
73. Record Group 11, vol. 2844, 1652-3A.
74. Tupper, Recollections, pp. 267, 268.
75. Wade, French Canadians, p. 487; Canada, Dominion-Provincial Relations, p. 66.
76. "Equipping Saskatchewan with a Modern and Complete System of Telephonic Communication both Urban and Rural," Morning Leader, Regina, Saskatchewan, April 21, 1909.
77. See Hugh L. Keenleyside, "British Columbia--Annexation or Confederation?" Report of the Annual Meeting, with Historical Papers, The Canadian Historical Association, 1928, p. 39; see also Tupper, Recollections, p. 126.
78. See Macdonald, "Dominion Telegraph," pp. 15, 16.
79. The earliest uses of the telegraph by the Canadian press, was for receipt of market reports and European news dispatches. See Collins, A Voice from Afar, p. 25.

LETTERS

To the Editor,

Over the weekend, I read much of the latest issue of the Journal with appreciation and pleasure. You are certainly moving along very well.

Graham Spry, Ottawa

Your review of Rutherford's The Making of the Canadian Media (Glen Gilpin: Summer, 1979) is quite to the point. I had the dubious distinction of reading the book just a week prior to general availability. I was appalled - but powerless to stop its publication. Canadians interested in social/cultural history should stay away from McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd. series. I would also add that Canadian academics who publish in any of these series are, in my estimation, suspect as genuine scholars.

I find your Journal is improving with age. These improvements in both content and topics suggest that there are some serious scholars working on the media and communication.

Daniel Gray, Toronto