

ONTARIO AND THE AUTOMOBILE, 1900 - 1930:
ASPECTS OF TECHNOLOGICAL INTEGRATION

BY

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THESIS ABSTRACT

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The psychological dimension of technology, while extremely important, is one which hitherto has largely remained unexplored. This dissertation is an inquiry into the non-physical alterations created by the automobile, an examination of some fundamental perceptual changes brought about by the automobile's introduction into Ontario prior to 1930. As the speed and ease of travel by automobile increased, there developed an appreciation that traditional temporal and spatial boundaries had diminished. However, along with a sense of personal liberation, the automobile's mobility brought with it many unanticipated effects, including the renegotiation of established rural-urban relationships and the greater regulation and bureaucratization of the province. Such perceptual changes were reflected in and reinforced by cultural forms such as advertising or popular fiction. Equally important the automobile assumed a symbolic importance often far removed from its strict transportational capabilities, such that it became a symbol of socioeconomic success or of the sometimes strained relations between farmers and the city. Technology possesses a personal human dimension which must not be overlooked, for as this dissertation examines, the automobile's social meaning was often as important as its technological capabilities.

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CHAPTER ONE

PERCEPTIONS, DIRECTIONS, AND REALITIES

Perceptions

The automobile was the most influential technological innovation in early twentieth century Ontario, and its influence manifested itself in many disparate forms. This study is not about the form of the technology, but instead about the form of its impact upon Ontario society. (The physical impact of the automobile is quite obvious; one merely has to consider the highway system or the network of automobile-related service industries to understand the physical transformation Ontario underwent in the decades prior to 1930. But Ontario also underwent a tremendous cultural and social reorientation with the automobile, a transformation equally as crucial as the physical, yet one which is rarely documented and little understood. The automobile's presence meant an important shift both in how individuals perceived themselves in relation to the environment, as well as to each other.) This then is a study of perceptions and attitudes, rather than industry.

It is by comprehending Ontario's perceptions of the automobile and its relationship to this form of technology that we can begin to assess the extent to which the automobile's presence altered society.¹ But it can indeed be a difficult assessment to make, relying by necessity on the subjective impressions of contemporaries. Yet existing statistical data

can be used and a balance struck between the diverse sources, so as to render an evaluation possible.

Attempting to evaluate perceptions compels the historian to use a degree of interpretive imagination in examining the problem, for often the most unlikely sources prove the most useful. More often, it becomes a case of gathering small incidents and details, building one upon the other until a reconstruction of the era is possible. (Not surprisingly, the automobile meant different things to different people.) In the following section three very dissimilar situations involving the automobile are examined. Their different circumstances serve to outline the broad range of perceptions and attitudes towards the automobile apparent in Ontario society, as well as introducing briefly examples of source materials utilized throughout the remainder of this study.

Consider for example, Alicia, a rather ordinary character from a 1914 short story, a story not unlike the popular short fiction commonly found in any number of Canadian periodicals read in Ontario prior to the First World War. Alicia was a freelance writer who lived in an attic room, occupying herself by eating peanuts as she plotted out new novels. But when she wasn't working Alicia would often

..cuddle up in the window seat and watch the people come and go. And she would dream of the time when she would drive through Bradbury Gardens in her own motor-car.²

Such a dream may at first appear insignificant, a struggling writer longing for a little diversion in a seemingly monotonous existence. But why does she (or at least the character as created by the author) dream of an automobile rather than anything else? The automobile was certainly not an exotic item in Ontario at that time, as more than 30,000 were registered in the province in that year alone. While arguably a fictional character's dream is a minor issue in the overall scheme of automobile history, it can nevertheless bring to light some important insights concerning a society's relationship with technology.

The author's choice of an automobile as an object of desire by her character is not mere chance; instead, the use of an automobile reflected an easily recognizable social and technological symbol. Most importantly, it was a presence with which readers could readily identify. Unlike a genre such as science fiction for example, popular fiction remains grounded in the reality of the reader's own experiences. Literary forms, such as the short stories found in widely circulated magazines, by and large represented elements of a society's prevailing cultural norms and values.³ Readers must have been able, if magazines were to continue to enjoy wide circulation, to relate in some

manner the experiences of the characters to their own world view. Fiction, as James Allen Smith has pointed out, shares in the mental world of its audience. In doing so, maintains Smith, fiction can provide a means for historians to understand better a period's belief structure.⁴ Though mass circulation fiction cannot be accepted as a literal reflection of society, it does possess at least some elements of social reality within its structure. Something can be gleaned of the values and norms, and even the hopes and aspirations, of the readers from the sorts of characterizations and situations contained in the fiction they consumed. A historian can, with some caution, utilize fiction to highlight the mental outlook of the readership with which the literature sought to communicate. But caution must always be stressed, for as Smith points out, "The historian's and the novelist's manner of knowing are simply not identical."⁵

Even as early as 1906 the trend towards automobile based stories, or 'gasoline fiction' as it was sometimes referred to, was becoming apparent enough in Canadian magazines to elicit a satirical review of the practice in at least one prominent periodical. "The motor car," noted the Canadian Magazine in an article entitled "Gasoline Fiction",

has undoubtedly come, as the Americans phrase it, 'to stay'. But whatever may be public sentiment towards the latest thing in locomotion, the automobile novel is becoming a weariness to the readers of magazines' popular fiction....⁶

In many respects the early presence of the genre reflected the public's growing association with the automobile. But sheer volume alone cannot justify it as a source for historians. Assessing the degree to which fiction and other less traditional sources such as advertising bore on reality poses a problem, one which will, however, be resolved throughout the following chapters.

It is impossible to ascertain exactly why Alicia should dream of an automobile. Perhaps it simply represented an exhilarating physical escape from her regular routine. More than likely, in dreaming of a life beyond her attic, (the automobile became a luxury item to be envied.) It was an object with which to be seen as she passed through Bradbury Gardens; a (highly visible social status symbol.) But Alicia's exact perception, even if it could be pinpointed, is not what was significant; more importantly, Alicia saw the automobile as an object of desire, endowed with some special personal meaning. She (or more precisely the author) believed (the automobile to be more than a means of personal conveyance; it possessed a social meaning and a symbolic presence beyond its role as mere transportation.) By its use the author indicated that a response such as that of Alicia was not inconsistent with the market for which she wrote. Alicia's perception can be taken as indicative of one of the possible range of responses elicited by the

presence of the automobile. Equally important, the idea that the perceived image of the automobile represented more than a form of transportation, was one which remained constant throughout the period examined.

The idea that the automobile possessed an importance distinct from its transportational capabilities can be traced from the vehicle's introduction. Like other goods taken as signs of conspicuous consumption, an automobile said something of the owner's standing in the social hierarchy. Though the automobile's symbolic significance never disappeared, there did occur a discernible shift in the classification of its exclusiveness as a commodity. As the vehicle's initial novelty diminished, simple possession as a reflection of social prestige gave way during the 'teens and 'twenties to ownership of the correct model of automobile as the factor to determine social worth.

Popular literature can be useful in highlighting the increasing sophistication of the automobile's symbolic significance evident in that shift from a curiosity to an established presence. In many respects fiction mirrored the wider societal changes associated with the automobile, particularly changes in perception brought about by the vehicle's rapid proliferation. An object of wonder at its introduction,

the automobile's unfamiliarity permitted and indeed even seemed to have encouraged certain flights of fancy. It was that very novelty which in 1907 produced a short story entitled "Motors that Pass in the Night" which described according to its introduction, "How two motor cars 'act up' purposely, and succeed in bringing two estranged lovers to a happy understanding".⁷ Within a few years however, the automobile's mere presence ceased to evoke astonishment, resulting generally in a more realistic appraisal of the vehicle's capabilities. At the same time though, the social symbolism attached to the automobile did not diminish. Connotations of prestige and class exclusiveness were instead conveyed through character and setting rather than simple possession. Hence into the 'teens the automobile in popular fiction often remained associated with a varied assortment of senators and earls, dukes and chauffeurs, commonly in a foreign setting, of which England appeared particularly popular.⁸

(Symbolic importance had not disappeared by the 1920s, although by then the automobile had become a commonplace feature of North American life.) By that time contemporary writers were able to depict the automobile's status value using even the most ordinary of settings without recourse to exotic characters or locales. Sinclair Lewis for example, a popular novelist of the '20s, described in his 1922 novel Babbitt a society in which the image of machines and mechanization loomed large.⁹ Lewis

created an environment in which technology assumed a value beyond strict utility, one in which for example the automobile of the novel's protagonist, George Babbitt, appeared as 'less a vehicle than a symbol of status'.¹⁰ "In the city of Zenith," Lewis wrote in Babbitt

in the barbarous twentieth century, a family's motor indicated its social rank as precisely as the grades of the peerage determined the rank of an English family....¹¹

The writings of Lewis provide a ready example of the manner in which the study of the automobile and forms such as popular fiction are intertwined. Lewis was as much a social commentator as a novelist, and his writings often touched on themes explored throughout the following chapters. His novel Free Air, a story based on the personal adventure of an automobile trip from Minnesota to Seattle in 1917, underscored how the automobile, by the vastly increased personal mobility it offered, altered traditional patterns of spatial perception. Or, as an examination of contemporary advertising demonstrates, Lewis' awareness of advertising and the automobile's image marketing in the 'twenties permitted him to accurately mimic the content of such advertisements. Consider his advertisement for the fictitious Zeeco:

The long white trail is calling - calling-
and it's over the hills and far away for

every man or woman that has red blood in his veins and on his lips the ancient song of the buccaneers. It's away with dull drudging and a fig for care. Speed - glorious Speed - it's more than just a moment's exhilaration - it's Life for you and me! This great new truth the makers of the Zeeco Car have considered as much as price and style. It's fleet as the antelope, smooth as the glide of a swallow, yet powerful as the charge of the bull-elephant. Class breathes in every line. Listen, brother! You'll never know what the high art of hiking is till you TRY LIFE'S ZIPPINGEST ZEST - THE ZEECO!¹²

In many instances Lewis' advertisement could have been substituted undetected into the newspapers and magazines of the 1920s, highlighting as he did the automobile's association with style, speed, and the lure of the outdoors. While fact cannot be interchanged for fiction, fiction can, if judiciously employed, complement more traditional statistical or business oriented sources often necessary for a study of this nature. Fiction provides another dimension to statistics, taking them from the realm of abstract figures and placing them in a wider social context.

Literature remains only one means by which to judge early twentieth-century enthusiasm for the automobile. (One of the visible indications of that enthusiasm was the continued success of the institution known as the automobile show, a most unique and new cultural medium created expressly for the automobile. The value of such an exhibit lies in the fact that it

auto

represented far more than simply a display of new models. It became a celebration of technology; a symbol of an increasing love affair between the automobile and society.

Writing in The Canadian Graphic in 1906, Pollough Pogue described Canada's largest such display, the Toronto Automobile Show. The article remains particularly enlightening, for in addition to capturing the early excitement created by the automobile, Pogue provided an account of the motoring experience itself. Pogue included, for the benefit of those who had not yet experienced an automobile ride, and that number was indeed large, a description of his journey to the show in an automobile.¹³ Mere words could scarcely convey the exhilaration of the automobile's movement as 'the road leaped at the car in front and was tossed back mile after mile'. The driver was cast as someone seemingly possessed yet resolute, 'crouched over the slanting wheel, gripping it at its rim with large strong hands, staring ahead with goggled eyes'. Skillfully the driver harnessed the engine's power 'as the great car dashed through the night at a good fifty miles an hour'. But not all was speed and haste; there was a beauty, a romance of the road to be savoured:

As the moon swung higher the silver magic of the moonlight spread over the countryside, and the road was ink-splashed and etched with the shadows of the roadside trees. The blue-black sky was now clear of clouds, and jewelled with stars.¹⁴

The author's enthusiasm carried over to the show itself, which he depicted as an equally rich and satisfying experience. Inside the exhibit building was an impressive array of 'strong and beautiful' machines each with 'clean artistic lines', so that even the most 'indifferent' citizen, 'filled with prejudice', could not help but have his 'interest aroused'. Echoing his own passion, the author noted that

The charm of the motor is a strong and subtle fascination difficult to resist, and it is surprising how frequently one short drive in a car will make a convert out of the most prejudiced scoffer, and how quickly he becomes an enthusiast.

Though unquestionably hyperbolic, Pogue did relate a sense of the intensity of the enthusiasm which the automobile created. "It is a high-tension, six-cylinder, sixty motor-power uncompromising enthusiasm," Pogue argued, "of the kind that burns within a man with a steady unquenchable flame."

Pogue's account would remain significant if only for the level of enthusiasm it indicated that some individuals had developed for the automobile. Yet Pogue's article was equally important for the introduction it provided to several interconnecting themes contained within this study. His motor trip was enlightening, for its descriptions were devoted to sensations as well as to scenery. Pogue's references to speed

and to distance indicated a conscious awareness of the (transformation of the barriers of time and space as caused by the automobile.) Moreover the countryside remained an important element, not only with its landscape, but with its open roads which facilitated the apparent contraction of space. Those same themes were again reiterated in a description of the 1913 Toronto show in which the various benefits of automobile ownership were discussed:

The delights of extended tours, of visits to distant friends in your own car, at a speed and at times to suit your own convenience and not that of a railway corporation, have to be experienced to be appreciated. The healthfulness of being in the open country and in the fresh air is also a benefit which will never pass away. A motorist also, with his facility of transportation, feels the broadening influence of change of scene, and loses the last touch of narrow parochialism. The miracle - auto accomplishes all this.¹⁵

It was (the automobile's great speed and hence the vastly increased range of personal mobility it provided which profoundly altered conventional notions of spatial and temporal reality. Such views were based primarily on the experiences of the nineteenth century and, as this study will demonstrate, the reorientation of traditional perspectives of time and space created by the automobile remained apparent in a multitude of forms.

The show itself represented a collective expression of the apparent eagerness with which Ontario society embraced the automobile. But equally crucial was the manner in which automobile exhibitions reflected a more encompassing enthusiasm for technology generally in the early twentieth century. In order to stress the modernity of the automobile, vehicles were often juxtaposed with another modern technology, the electric light.) Thus when the Lieutenant-Governor officially opened the Toronto Automobile Show in 1908 he did not cut a ribbon as was traditionally done at such events, but 'touched an electric button' to illuminate the entire exhibit with light.¹⁶ The local press did not fail to note, nor express wonderment at, the extravagant employment of electricity. The Toronto Daily Star noted the 'dazzling effect' thousands of electric bulbs produced, while the Globe described for its readers 'the arches of electric lights' which "...peering from every conceivable place adds largely to the theatrical effect."¹⁷ Even well into the 'teens the use of one technology to enhance the other remained constant, the 1913 Toronto show being noted for its 'electric lights beyond computation'.¹⁸ (In 1914 the first automobile show held in Hamilton was opened by its mayor who, like the Lieutenant-Governor a few years previously,

.turned a switch located on the platform, and a myriad of beautifully-coloured electric lamps flooded the spacious building from one extremity to the other with lights. The ceiling and balconies were decorated in elegant taste, and when supplemented with

the novel colour effect, transformed the interior of the building into a veritable fairy land.¹⁹⁾

Electric illumination on a large scale complemented the automobile's presence perfectly, for electricity had become in some manner, just as the automobile had, 'the embodiment of the modern spirit'.²⁰ With the automobile as its focal point, such exhibits swept the visitor into a spectacle of colour, excitement, and gleaming technology. It was not simply a show but a pageant.

(Paradoxically, however, at the same time as such shows placed the automobile on a pedestal and accentuated its modernity, they deliberately highlighted the very antithesis of technology, nature.) A theme prevalent in early automobile shows was the apparently symbiotic relationship of nature and the automobile. The 1908 Toronto exhibit, for example, used a natural colour scheme of green and white, including the floor which was carpeted in delicate green'.²¹ Even Canada's railways built on the automobile's relationship to nature. Just inside the main doors were placed, courtesy of several railways, real pine and hemlock trees, amongst which the railways made a display of (fish and game from various points along their lines, all of which could be reached by automobile).²² The degree which exhibit organizers went to demonstrate the compatibility of technology and nature becomes apparent from the 1913 Toronto automobile show. As a writer described the building's interior,

Money is not stinted for decorations. A giant waterfall is built, and real water tumbles down genuine, moss-covered rocks. Steep, grassy slopes are crowned with young apple trees in the full charm of the time of blossoming; canaries sing songs... and flowers are as common as at a Mardi Gras festival.²³

Automobile shows were designed to market the automobile, but it was often done in a manner which softened any objectionable or harsher aspects of technology. The apparent compatibility of the machine and nature helped reassure a society apprehensive of how technology might alter their lives. In a society in which the automobile's role and ultimate impact remained uncertain, waterfalls and trees humanized technology by placing the automobile in a setting both familiar and comfortable. Assimilation of the automobile into society often required a fusing of the mechanical and the natural, a theme widely exploited in the latter 'teens and 'twenties' automobile advertisements. The creation of a living tableau such as the 'veritable fairy land' indicated an already sophisticated 'selling' of the automobile by the 'teens. Although not yet in print or graphic form, such sophisticated techniques foreshadowed the tableau format so widely employed in the advertising of the 1920s.

As automobile ownership increased, so too did the popularity of the automobile show, becoming an annual event in many larger towns and cities. The continued success of the shows

demonstrated, according to one newspaper, 'that the auto "habit" throughout the country is becoming stronger than ever.'²⁴ But as the preceding descriptions indicated, it was not a straight forward marketing effort. Foreshadowing the image-orientation of print advertising in the 1920s, automobiles were associated with a host of non-technological images and settings. Hence the exhibits built upon the theatrical effect with coloured lights, buntings, and waterfalls, in some instances creating that 'fairy land' in which the automobile seemed almost a secondary consideration. A Toronto show of 1914 had orchestras in attendance which, as one local paper noted 'make promenading agreeable and desirable'.²⁵ [Clearly there existed wider social considerations, distinct from shopping for a new vehicle.] Automobile shows were a social event as much as a strict marketing opportunity, such that the automobile quickly and easily assimilated into a wider social milieu.

As a means of delving into the diversity of attitudes towards the automobile, automobile shows provide an excellent starting point. Such shows were symptomatic of the enthusiasm which the automobile was capable of generating in early twentieth century Ontario, an enthusiasm which for example saw more than ninety thousand individuals visit the 1913 Toronto show in nine days.²⁶ Automobile exhibits in the pre-WWI era also highlighted the growing connection between automobiles and non-technological themes. Themes which were to come to the forefront of automobile

advertising in the 1920s, such as the vehicle's potential for spatial reorientation, particularly the importance of nature and the outdoors, were all in evidence at such shows. The automobile show formed an important link in the relationship between the Ontario public and the automobile. Yet not surprisingly, there existed at least one segment in Ontario society who failed to perceive the automobile as an object of wonder or an item to be deified in a show. That was obviously the case surrounding several incidents of automobile wrecking near Alberton in 1911. In a letter to the Superintendent of Provincial Police, a victim of these occurrences, John Spence of Hamilton, laid out the nature of the problem:

Repeated attempts have been made of late to wreck Motor Cars in the village of Alberton, on the Hamilton Road, between the City of Hamilton and the City of Brantford. The last effort in this direction was put forth on Saturday night, when the writer struck a timber place across the road, which resulted in considerable damage being done to his car, and it was only by a miracle that the car was not turned turtle, which probably would have caused loss of life.

Offering his own evaluation of the incident, Spence stated that

There is no doubt but what the gang of young fellows who hang around the store in the Village of Alberton is responsible for this last obstruction being placed there, their actions when the writer was going through the village would leave this inference, that they knew something was going to happen.²⁷

This evaluation of the responsibility for the incident was concurred with by the Chief Constable of Brantford who noted that "There were 15 or 20 young men at a store near at hand, giving the autoist the laugh."²⁸

Those series of incidents in Alberton, while relatively minor in themselves, remain significant for what they revealed about attitudes towards the automobile in Ontario. (Evidently perceptions of the automobile ran the entire spectrum from unabashed enthusiasm to total disregard resulting in destruction.) The difficulty lies, of, course in attempting to evaluate why such incidents occurred. Why should individuals deliberately wreck automobiles? Was it a simple act of vandalism, or did the destruction of the automobile reflect the destruction of a symbol? Possibly the automobile, in a small rural village, was resented as a symbolic presence of the city, representing the encroachment of technology into rural life. Indeed, tensions between rural and urban areas over the automobile often ran very high.) Certainly a rural resentment of the vehicle existed but, as examined more extensively later in this study, very rarely did rural enmity manifest itself in violent acts. Perhaps any latent indignation concerning the automobile's incursion was exacerbated by the obvious wealth of the owners, for what could be a more conspicuous display of financial worth than a large automobile.

It seems unlikely that those youths were motivated by ideological considerations, nor should their actions be misconstrued as some sort of modern Luddite action. More than likely the incidents of automobile wrecking were merely acts of hooliganism, for which the automobile provided a ready and visible target. Yet whatever the underlying motivation, such actions indicated a particular perception of the automobile, one at odds with the enthusiasm apparent at the annual automobile shows. The wreckings represent an important albeit limited balance to the enthusiasm the automobile appeared to generate, and in so doing indicated the wide variance of perception concerning the vehicle which existed in Ontario.

Taken by themselves incidents such as the Toronto Automobile Show or the occurrences of automobile wrecking might seem to retain little value beyond a passing curiosity. Yet such incidents, however trivial they appear on the surface, hold the key to comprehending how a society reacted to the introduction of the automobile specifically, and technology generally, in the early twentieth century. The automobile's presence elicited a wide range of responses, representing different things to different people. At the two extremes one found the unabashed enthusiasm of the automobile show and the automobile wreckers of Alberton, demonstrating just how varied in fact the responses could be. And in addition to serving as useful gauges of public feeling, such incidents in themselves provide a means to gain

further insight into questions such as social stratification, image, and time and space. Even those few examples underscore the diversity of perceptions regarding the automobile and, equally important, caution the historian of the automobile, or indeed of technology, of attempting to generalize concerning the acceptance of new innovations.

Directions

The automobile has been the subject of numerous studies in recent years, examining the many diverse aspects of its presence in North America. Some of those studies have shifted their focus from the more traditional realms of the automobile industry, or the automobile's economic impact, to examine the social and cultural implications of the automobile's diffusion throughout society. Notable examples of that trend have included amongst others Michael Berger's The Devil Wagon in God's Country, which looked at the automobile's impact on rural America following its introduction, or Warren Belasco's Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910 - 1945, which, in order to understand (what people did with their automobiles,) traced the rise of autocamping and its subsequent shift from a romantic retreat to a public institution, and finally to a private business.²⁹

(Unfortunately, from a Canadian perspective, virtually all of the new history emerging on the automobile in North America comes from the United States. Canadian historians have for the

most part followed a traditional and largely uninspired approach to the study of the automobile.³⁰ What remains is an important gap in Canadian social history, for the degree of change wrought by the automobile throughout all levels of Canadian society was immense. There are few places where one cannot see evidence of how the automobile has directed change, or at the very least, how it has been accommodated by change. However Canadian historians have done little to rectify their lack of understanding of a crucial component of Canadian history. Transportation is a key element in Canadian history, yet Canadian historians have been blinded for too long by the overriding emphasis placed on the railroad for the development of this country, much to the detriment of other transportation studies.)

By stressing factors such as manufacturing, the economic accessibility of ownership, or the physical transformation of the city when approaching the study of the automobile, historians have for the most part failed to examine the psychological implications which the automobile held for society. The automobile, in a relatively short space of time revolutionized interpersonal relationships, perceptions of the environment, and one's relationship to the environment.) Such sweeping changes made the automobile's proliferation a psychological revolution as much as a physical or technological one.

This study will be limited to Ontario during the period from approximately 1900 to 1930. (While automobiles were indeed present in Ontario prior to 1900, they were so few in number as to render them more of a novelty than a serious form of transport. It is only with the turn of the century, and the significantly increased numbers of automobiles which followed, that the social effects of its presence can be examined. The year (1930, which marks the termination of this study, signals the end of the automobile's proliferation unhindered by forces unconnected with its role as a form of transportation. The discontinuity of the depression altered established patterns of growth and perception, and makes ongoing trends difficult to assess under such greatly altered conditions.) And even though the automobile's growth eventually recovered throughout the 1930s, it is the years preceding the depression, particularly the 1920s, which are the seminal years in the automobile's growth and acceptance in Ontario.³¹

In less than thirty years there occurred a radical alteration in the manner in which society perceived the automobile. Consequently there came an alteration of the meaning, and hence the relationship, which both society and individuals enjoyed with the automobile, for meaning was inseparable from the perceived image. The automobile became a part of the everyday reality, not merely in a physical sense, but as an integral part of the public consciousness.

A basic objective of this study is to determine the ways in which the automobile was perceived by society, how this altered with time, and the implications which these perceptions held for society. This study emphasizes, therefore, the human element of technology's impact on society, examining the complex interrelationship between technology and culture. Proliferation of the automobile created as many problems as it resolved, and because its spread was fraught with complications, psychological as well as physical, its acceptance was neither simple nor straightforward. The automobile's presence caused a continuous readjustment of attitudes by Ontario society, necessitated by the diverse and widesweeping nature of the changes it wrought.

The implications of the automobile's presence were far reaching, touching on numerous fundamental aspects of everyday life. Topics such as the expanding road network or the rise of automobile related legislation, while significant in themselves, also provide logical starting points to comprehend the psychological effects of the automobile's diffusion. For example, roads were important for facilitating increased commercial intercourse, as well as for broadening the range of personal mobility. But what, beyond the increased taxation

necessary to pay for their construction, did a comprehensive road network mean to the average Ontario citizen? To what extent did the new ease of personal mobility alter his or her perception of the spatial and temporal dimensions of the society in which he or she lived? Or consider for example the mass of regulations which followed in the wake of the automobile. Unquestionably, such a large number of regulations were essential to control the vast number of automobiles found in the province by 1930. (But in what manner did the imposition of regulation, and the subsequent growth of municipal and provincial bureaucracies necessary to enforce it, alter an individual's life? Did the regulation of the automobile in any manner condition society to accept the general bureaucratization and increased governmental regulation which developed throughout the same period?)

By examining areas such as regulation or roads, it becomes apparent the degree to which Ontario society was forced to continuously adjust to the diverse implications of the automobile's presence. (Such remained the unique and contrary nature of the automobile that just as it brought with it increased freedom and personal mobility, it also introduced the steadily increasing imposition of government regulation into everyday life. Or paradoxically, the automobile was a form of technology considered as a beneficial and healthy form of recreation, yet one which became an indiscriminate killer of

increasing proportions.) Every nuance of change brought about by the automobile required a re-evaluation of that complex inter-relationship between society, technology, and the individual.

Historians agree that the spread of the automobile was remarkable in the first decades of the twentieth century, but as to how that occurred, very little is understood. Most important to comprehend was that its presence was often met with apathy if not opposition, as the automobile wreckers so pointedly illustrated. In modern Canadian society where the ownership of an automobile goes virtually unnoticed, one can lose sight of the tremendous struggle the automobile underwent to gain acceptance and legitimize its presence. The automobile's virtual domination of personal transportation was not predetermined following its introduction; rather, it triumphed during a process of approval and rejection. (The process of diffusion and acceptance was slow, and it was not until the 1920s that the real boom in automobile ownership occurred. Until that time other modes of privately owned transportation were competitive, notably the carriage and the bicycle. In addition pre-WWI Ontario knew a remarkable range of transportational possibilities for the public, from steam railways to radials and street cars. Certainly, as John Stilgoe has pointed out for America, the image of the railway remained an important component of the early twentieth-century landscape.³² There were of course many

factors which weighed on the decision to purchase an automobile rather than to use another means of transportation, the reduction in price being only one. But what made the automobile distinct from other forms of transportation was the scope and nature of the intangible qualities, both real and imagined, attributed to it. To a degree unmatched by other forms of transportation, the automobile provided a contraction of space, stood as a symbol of personal liberation, and represented a visible symbol of achieved social status. It is precisely those attributes, the shifting nature of the automobile's image prior to 1930, which require examination.

It becomes apparent that the automobile's proliferation created as many problems as it solved, and that the process of adoption was not one of simple acceptance, but rather remained one of continual reassessment and readjustment. Transformations brought about by its presence had to be resolved on a personal level as much as on a societal one. The perceptual alterations that the automobile caused can, for the sake of the study, be categorized into narrower themes. Themes such as time and space, freedom and restriction, and rural-urban reorientation, form a framework which provides connecting links among chapters. The reorientation of thought and perception caused by the automobile meant that the vehicle came to be considered as more than simply a means of transport, for as the remainder of the study will demonstrate, the automobile in Ontario became as important symbolically as it did practically.

In order to investigate the thematic framework as outlined, a wide range of sources has been utilized. Most sources are of the types familiar to historians and require no explanation as to their use or limitations. However, the nature of this study also requires the application of non-traditional historical source material such as advertising, art, and mass periodical fiction. Each of those sources is a valuable tool for understanding the automobile's role in society, but they do require some elaboration as to their employment and possible limitations. As specific discussions of source materials, such as advertising, are contained throughout the various chapters, what follows is a brief and general discussion of their applicability to a study of this nature.

Parts of this dissertation, due to the sources utilized, could be classified as material, or popular culture. Though such an approach relies on sources often considered of little value by traditional historians, these sources provide a valuable supplement to the inherently impersonal statistical and legislative data essential to chart the automobile's impact on a province. The use of every possible source at the historian's disposal is crucial, for, as Ivor Hume notes, "... failure to consider every aspect of life is a rejection of the goal of recreating life as it was lived."³³ This is after all what a historian should strive for: the use of any source bearing on the problem in order to render the most complete understanding

possible. In that manner then, advertising or periodical fiction, by focusing on unique and perhaps hitherto ignored aspects of the automobile's impact, provides a fuller understanding of the problem at hand.

Admittedly such an approach is not without its problems, for as Peter Burke states, "...popular culture is an elusive quarry for the historian to hunt."³⁴ With sources such as art, advertising, or periodical fiction, a problem arises when attempting to place the source within its proper temporal and cultural context. Subtleties of meaning can easily be distorted or lost between generations. Problems of interpretation can arise, as one cultural historian points out, because "...people who have not experienced similar peculiarities cannot receive from one another's words the meaning those words were intended to convey."³⁵ Separations by time and the dissimilarity of experience make a commonality of understanding more difficult. And admittedly such problems can be exacerbated by sources such as advertising, whose purpose quite clearly was not to mirror faithfully the society of which it was a part, but to market a good by the most effective means. The historian must then exercise judgment and caution in application of the source material. But then, the problems of literal interpretation and reliability are not limited solely to these sorts of resources, but are problems with which a historian must constantly contend. Simply to discount popular cultural artifacts, because of inherent difficulties of interpretation, is a mistake. Caution

in their employment is indeed necessary, but their value becomes apparent if a judicious balance is struck between themselves and more 'traditional' sources, such as for instance, their use to augment a narrow statistical base.

One further point requires clarification concerning sources, that being the applicability of American material for a wholly Canadian study. (Clearly it would be naive to assume that geographical or political boundaries limit a common culture shared by the two countries. Literature passed freely northwards from the United States, and several American periodicals, such as the Saturday Evening Post enjoyed substantial Canadian circulations, so that at least partially the two countries shared a common literacy experience. As such, American sources, particularly advertising and literature more so than statistical data, are employed where applicable. A shared physical proximity does not ensure an equally shared cultural experience or perception; witness for example the obvious differences between the rural and urban experience where physical separation often remained very slight. (Yet with the instance of the automobile the border proved itself an ineffective barrier, from the interchange of ideas and manufacturers, to the presence of foreign automobile tourists.³⁶ The Ontario experience was in some ways unique, but it nevertheless fits into a wider North American pattern) of technological diffusion of, and reaction to, the automobile.

Realities

Although this study is an examination of perceptions and meanings, it must nevertheless be grounded in actualities. Such a study becomes meaningless without a statistical framework with which to keep the shifting status of the automobile in perspective. What follows, therefore, is a brief statistical overview of both the automobile industry and automobile ownership in Ontario prior to 1930.

The Canadian automobile industry in its early decades might more appropriately be referred to as the automobile industry in Ontario. While numbers of manufacturers may have varied from year to year in the decades under study, virtually all were located in Ontario. By 1910 there were eight manufacturers of automobiles in operation in Canada, increasing to 17 manufacturers by 1920, and dropping by 1925 to 11 such producers. However the number of automobile builders in provinces other than Ontario ranged from 2 in 1921 to none in 1925.³⁷ The predominance of Ontario as an automobile manufacturer is remarkable, though hardly surprising given the combination of economic, geographic, and industrial factors. Primarily that domination arose from a combination of Ontario's relatively highly industrialized nature as well as the proximity to American automobile manufacturers, to which many of the Canadian firms were closely linked.³⁸ As an example of Ontario's leadership of the industry, consider that of the 79,094 passenger

automobiles built in Canada in 1922, all were built in Ontario. By 1926, 204,727 passenger automobiles were manufactured in Canada, again all in Ontario. In comparison, only 135,000 automobiles had been produced in the years 1904 - 1915, indicating the extent to which the market for such a product had rapidly expanded.³⁹ Clearly, Ontario played the leading role in Canada's automobile industry.

The implications of the automobile industry for Ontario were several. Ontario's relationship to the automobile assumed an increased significance beyond its role as a means of transportation if the number of individuals employed in the manufacture of those vehicles are considered. By 1926, 11,905 individuals in Ontario were employed in the manufacture of automobiles and automobile accessories.⁴⁰ Those figures did not take into account the increasingly large body of workers employed in the sales and/or service of automobiles. Figures are elusive, but in 1919 for example, 600 automobile repair services operated in Ontario, which by 1920 had jumped to 1048.⁴¹ Ontario's relationship to the automobile, in financial terms, was equally staggering. In 1920 the total value of all automobiles and accessories manufactured in Ontario, including as well automobile repair services, was \$126,557,157. Considered in terms of the money paid to Ontario workers, the automobile industry paid out more than \$31,000,000 in salaries and wages in 1924 alone.⁴²

An important point to be noted concerning the automobile industry in Ontario was its distinctly American character. The Canadian automobile industry, argued Aikman in 1926,

...must necessarily be viewed as an appendage of the main growth which is the Automobile trade of the United States. Canadian built cars are almost all produced under American trade names, according to American design and by companies which are more or less subsidiaries of parent firms south of the International boundary.⁴³

That contention was borne out by the ownership of those supposedly Canadian firms in Ontario. Excluding one partnership, there were 13 incorporated firms in Ontario in 1921 for the manufacture of automobiles, and within those companies 77% of stock was held by Americans, with the remaining 23% held by Canadians. Likewise, the 35 incorporated companies manufacturing automobile parts and accessories were 80% owned by Americans.⁴⁴ There existed therefore, even at a relatively early date, no truly Canadian automobile industry which denoted a distinct Canadian identity.

An understanding of the automobile industry in Ontario becomes useful not only for its own merit, but also because it sheds some insight onto other important considerations. By highlighting an aspect of the automobile essentially separate from the body of the study, it underscores the importance, and the diversity, of the automobile's relationship to the province. In that respect it is important to note that the automobile created a significant economic, as well as transportational and cultural, impact on the province.

Perhaps more significantly, a discussion of the high percentage of American ownership in the industry reinforces an important consideration made earlier. As noted previously, American sources are utilized throughout this study, particularly in fiction and advertising. The American ownership of the Canadian automobile industry was simply another dimension of the North American nature of the automobile; the automobile remained a phenomenon which transcended international borders and hence necessitated the examination of sources other than those defined as Canadian in the strictest sense.

The proliferation of the automobile in Ontario, particularly in the years following WWI, was remarkable. In actual numbers the registration of passenger automobiles increased from 535 in 1904, the first year figures were kept, to 490,906 by 1930. [Appendix 1] That latter figure represented nearly fifty percent of all automobiles registered in the entire country.⁴⁵ Such a vastly increased number of registrations meant widespread diffusion of the automobile throughout the population. Consider for example the change in a single ten year period, the decade between the censuses of 1911 and 1921. During that period, Ontario's population grew from 2,527,292 in 1911 to 2,933,662 in 1921. While those figures represented a significant increase in the province's population, that increase was far less substantial than that enjoyed by the automobile. In the same decade, motor vehicle registrations jumped to

181,978 in 1921, well up from the 11,339 vehicles registered in 1911. That tremendous growth meant that by 1921 there existed one vehicle for every 14.5 of the population, whereas in 1911 there had only been one automobile in Ontario for every 233 of the population. To look at those figures in another way, the automobile grew in number from 4.5 vehicles per 1000 population to 70 vehicles per 1000 population, a phenomenal increase of 15.5 times as many automobiles per thousand population as were registered in 1911.⁴⁶ Unquestionably the automobile had passed, in less than three decades, from an infrequent oddity to a constant physical presence. The sheer numbers attained by the automobile in a relatively short span of time attested to the rapidity with which Ontario embraced the new technology.

(As another tangible means of gauging the automobile's impact on Ontario, one may consider the increased volume of traffic and the subsequent expansion of a road network necessary to cope with such a rapid growth. Although there existed a system of county and township roads prior to WWI, they fell under no central jurisdiction and county roads were subject to, until its abolition, the vagaries of a statute labour system for their upkeep. As well, toll roads were a not uncommon presence in Ontario prior to WWI. A provincial highway system was not enacted until 1917 with a total responsibility at that time for only 422 miles of provincial highways. The highway system grew slowly but steadily, with 1,765 miles of provincial highway by

1921, increasing to 2,371 by 1927.⁴⁷ Even so, county and township roads accounted for the bulk of all roads accessible to the automobile, though their quality varied greatly. Of the nearly 50,000 total miles of roads in Southern Ontario in 1923, 38,240 miles were township roads, 9,812 miles were county roads, with the provincial highways accounting for 1,823 miles.⁴⁸ These figures mark a somewhat inauspicious beginning for a comprehensive road network, but given the costs of expansion incurred within a comparatively short time, and the relative youth of the highway department, it was a far-reaching enterprise. Indeed it became an essential undertaking if the province was not to be overwhelmed by vehicular congestion.

As registrations rose, so too did traffic congestion to levels previously unimagined. While the growth of the former was generally lauded as concrete proof of the province's progress, the latter was accepted as an unfortunate byproduct of that progress. A comparison of traffic on Dundas Street ten miles west of Toronto in 1908 and 1912 graphically illustrated the changes in traffic patterns wrought by the automobile. In one ten hour period in mid-August 1908, one site on Dundas witnessed the passing of 6 automobiles. By 1912, 382 automobiles passed that same spot within the same ten hour period, leading the president of the Ontario Good Roads Association to remark how the automobile had 'revolutionized traffic conditions everywhere'.⁴⁹ Yet the true revolution was yet to come, as

comprehensive traffic surveys conducted in 1914 and 1922 demonstrated. In those studies over two hundred stations were monitored on various roads throughout Southern Ontario during the summer months, taking note of both numbers and types of vehicles. Two examples should suffice to convey a sense of how dramatically traffic had increased in only eight years. On the Toronto-Hamilton Highway at Long Branch Park, there passed an average of 268.8 automobiles per day in 1914, with the maximum for one day reaching 382. That same spot in 1922 witnessed an average of 8,236.4 automobiles pass per day, with a maximum of 12,296 on Labour Day. Another survey conducted at Fruitland, on the Hamilton-Niagara road, resulted in similar figures. In 1914 that road bore an average of 189 vehicles per day, with a one day high of 253. By 1922 the traffic passing that same spot had risen to a daily average of 2,849.8 automobiles and a one day maximum of 5030.⁵⁰ Taken together, traffic surveys and registration figures create some understanding of the physical implications which the automobile's presence had for Ontario. Undoubtedly the automobile heralded a new age of personal mobility in Ontario, as the traffic censuses bear witness to. Yet the automobile also introduced an entirely new range of problems, of which increased traffic flow and the resultant congestion were only a part.

The last years of the war and several years immediately after the end of the war represented the crucial growth period for the automobile's presence in the Province. As registration numbers indicated, these years marked the automobile's diffusion within Ontario. The spread can be attributed to the working together of both economic and intellectual factors. On one hand the automobile's growth reflected a change of thought on several levels involving the automobile, all of which will be discussed in greater detail throughout this study. Its proliferation also reflected the effects of economic forces at work within the province. A singularly important economic consideration was the effect which the war had upon the automobile. According to a study of the automobile industry in 1926, the war was a very important stimulus:

Increased earnings by factory and other hands, particularly munition workers, led inevitably to an overindulgence in luxuries. The builder of the small, cheap car in particular came in for a share of the spoils.⁵¹

Interestingly Aikman, the author of that report, while commenting on the downward social diffusion of the automobile, seemingly implied that the working class considered it a necessary purchase, though he himself appeared to have considered it a luxury for such workers. However, regardless of the automobile's status as a luxury or a necessity vis-a-vis the working class, the war did stimulate a tremendous growth in ownership, across

all classes, which matured in the '20s. Wartime inflation and demand had indeed increased automobile prices, but the effects were more than offset by the higher wages, for automobile consumption unabatedly increased despite higher prices.) At the outbreak of the war, only 31,724 passenger automobiles were registered in the province. By 1916 this had risen to 51,589, then nearly doubling in two years to 101,845 by 1918, and rising again to 127, 860 in 1919. [Appendix 1]

By 1920 prices peaked and had begun to drop which once again further stimulated automobile purchasing. In the four years following 1920, the selling price of the average automobile dropped by approximately 38%⁵². In fact automobile prices dropped continuously throughout the 1920s. The average automobile price for 1921, considering both open and closed models, was \$906. By 1926 the average price for an open model was \$495, \$795 for a closed model, and \$695 for the overall average price of the two models combined. While closed models remained approximately 52% more expensive than open models and accounted for only 10% of all automobile sales in 1920, their popularity increased dramatically during the decade. By 1926 closed passenger automobiles represented 55% of total automobile sales.⁵³ Thus while prices dropped significantly during the decade, purchasers opted in growing numbers for the more comfortable, and more expensive, closed models. Consumers apparently were willing to spend more money on automobiles, though as

an examination of advertising will demonstrate, their motivations varied. But the very fact that they were willing to part with their money in greater amounts for an automobile indicated the increased importance attached to the ownership of such a vehicle.

It is difficult to gauge the impact of the automobile in general terms in a short introductory chapter. However on a closing note, one or two further considerations may be in order in assessing the spread of the automobile throughout the province. Rather than examine the rise of the automobile, it may be useful to examine the decline of another form of transportation throughout Ontario, the horse drawn carriage. Using the traffic censuses of 1914 and 1922, a distinct decline is observable in the rate with which carriages appeared on the roads. At Port Credit on the Toronto and Hamilton Highway, there passed a daily average of 158.7 horse drawn vehicles in 1914, which by 1922 had declined to an average of 25.3 per day. Likewise the Kingston-Belleville Road at Cataraqui Corner experienced a similar reduction in non-motorized traffic, dropping from 279.7 in 1914, to 103.9 per day in 1922. Even roads removed from the larger urban centres witnessed a decline of horse drawn vehicles. For instance, a survey on the Guelph-Owen Sound Road saw the number of horse drawn vehicles decline to 30.2 per day in 1922 from a level of 39.0 per day in 1914.⁵⁴

Overall the level of decline varied from area to area, and was sometimes only slight, particularly in predominantly agricultural areas. But what is important is that even if there occurred no decline, neither did there occur an increase. (At best the number of horse drawn vehicles in use remained static in a rising population, and generally saw an appreciable decline.) The diffusion of the automobile resembled the diffusion patterns of most major technological developments, for a considerable time lag often is required before an innovation can attain wide acceptance.⁵⁵

(The rise of the automobile at the expense of the horse drawn vehicle becomes quite apparent if the carriage industry itself in Ontario is examined. During the 1920s the carriage and wagon industry began an irreversible decline, with motor vehicles acting as the cause of its demise.) In 1920 there were 217 manufacturers of wagons and carriages on Ontario, and in all of Canada 647 manufacturers of such products. During that year the Ontario industry produced 8,345 passenger buggies, as well as 8 horse drawn ambulances and hearses, for a total product value of over \$7,000,000.⁵⁶ Unfortunately for the industry though, it was unable to compete with the burgeoning popularity being enjoyed by motorized vehicles. By the next year only 192 manufacturers existed in Ontario, and by 1925 only 152 such manufacturers remained. Within five years the industry was reduced to virtually half its size, for by 1930 there were

only 80 producers of wagons and carriages in Ontario, and even that number dropped to a mere 53 by 1933.⁵⁷ (The decline of the industry was rapid, and as the greatly reduced numbers of manufacturers indicated, the automobile had come to dominate the private transportation industry by 1930.)

It seems somewhat premature to draw conclusions at this stage of the study. But as a conclusion for what has preceded, as well as an introduction for what is to follow, consider two small incidents. As noted previously, more than eight thousand horse drawn buggies were produced in Ontario in 1920, significantly lower than either the number of automobiles produced in Ontario, or the number of automobiles registered in the province for that year. (But those eight thousand buggies signify that not all of the population favoured the automobile. Quite apparently the purchasers of buggies held a differing perception of the automobile from those individuals whose enthusiasm was pushing the registration figures to unimagined levels; purchasers of horse drawn vehicles obviously held a particular perception of the automobile, one which did not mesh with their lifestyles.)

(Some horse drawn carriage owners were cautious in their adoption of the automobile, willing to use whatever was popular at that particular moment. A livery business in Hamilton had transformed its ground floor into a parking garage for

automobiles by the mid-1920s as the livery business declined. Interestingly though, the upstairs was filled with expensive carriages, all stored by their owners, awaiting a time when their popularity would enjoy a resurgence. As the owner of the livery business stated, he "...confidently hopes and expects that the demand for carriages will return in the not too distant future...." Moreover the owner referred with pride to a number of old families in the city "...who had refused to sacrifice their tried and true horse-drawn equipages for that modern juggernaut, the auto."⁵⁸)

Both those apparently trivial occurrences, the buggy production figures and the description of a declining livery business in Hamilton, have much to say concerning perceptions of the automobile by Ontario society. (In each incident there exists an element of unacceptance, an awareness that their decision went against prevailing trends of popularity regarding the automobile. Those individuals, the purchasers of buggies in 1920 and the families of Hamilton who retained their horse drawn vehicles, were caught in the transition between two modes of transportation, between the past and the future. The transition from one to the other was impeded by the perceived incompatibility of an innovative mode of transportation with a traditional established culture.⁵⁹ Thus at least one segment of society, whatever its rationale, had not been "sold" on the automobile. Their perception of the automobile reflected their

perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of the environment in which they interacted.

What one must attempt to understand is in what terms those people, as well as individuals such as Alicia or the automobile wreckers, viewed the automobile; an attempt therefore, to assess the automobile's influence on society through the wide range of possible meanings it held. What follows therefore, is a study of perceptions and meanings. Ultimately we may be able to reconstruct through a multitude of perceptions and meanings culled from a diversity of sources, a composite understanding of the automobile's social, cultural and intellectual impact on Ontario society.

ENDNOTES

¹For the purposes of this study, perception is defined as the process by which meaning is attached to sensory input. Hence perception and meaning, although they are constantly shifting variables, are inseparable. Irwin A. Horowitz and Russell S. Kaye, "Perception and Advertising", Journal of Advertising Research vol. 15, no. 3 (June, 1975), p. 15.

²Margaret Bell, "Plotting With Alicia", The Canadian Magazine (January, 1914).

³Judy Hushbeck, "The Impact of Technology on Consciousness: Some Viewpoints on the American Case, 1875-1930", Social Science 49 (Winter, 1974), p. 19. See also Marshall Fishwick, Common Culture and the Great Tradition: The Case of Renewal (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982), pp. 11 - 12; Patricke Johns-Heine and Hans Gerth, "Values in Mass Periodical Fiction, 1921 - 1920", Public Opinion Quarterly 12 (Spring, 1949), pp. 105 - 113; Milton C. Albrecht, "Does Literature Reflect Common Values?", American Sociological Review vol. 21, no. 6 (1956), p. 729; Martin Martel and George McCall, "Reality-Oriented and the Pleasure Principle: A Study of American Mass Periodical Fiction (1890 - 1955)", in Lewis Dexter and David White, eds., People, Society, and Mass Communications (New York: The Free Press, 1964), p. 290f.

⁴James Allen Smith, "History and the Novel: Mentalite in Modern Popular Fiction", History and Theory 22 (1983), p. 234.

⁵ibid., p. 236.

⁶"Gasoline Fiction", The Canadian Magazine (December, 1906).

⁷C.N. and A.M. Williamson, "Motors that Pass in the Night", The Canadian Magazine (April, 1907), pp. 561-63.

⁸See for example "Who Killed Him?" by Headon Hill in which the characters include Sir Walter Bridgecourt, a King's Counsel and Senator Hotchkiss Beaumgartner of the American Pulp Trust, with the story set at an English country manor. The Canadian Magazine (January, 1909), pp. 241 - 48.

⁹Anthony Channell Hilfer, "Lost in a World of Machines", in Martin Light, ed., Studies in Babbitt (Columbus: Charles E. Merrill Publishing Company, 1971).

¹⁰Sheldon Grebstein, Sinclair Lewis (Boston: Twayne Publishers, 1962), p. 79.

¹¹Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt (New York: P.F. Collier & Sons, 1922), p. 74.

¹²ibid., p. 121.

¹³The number of individuals who had not experienced motoring was very high, considering that only 1,176 automobiles were registered in the province that year. See Appendix 1.

¹⁴Pollough Pogue, "A Canadian Automobile Show", The Canadian Graphic (April 7, 1906).

¹⁵Main Johnson, "What the Motor Shows are Doing for Canada", Macleans (April, 1913), p. 102.

¹⁶Toronto Globe March 23, 1908.

¹⁷Toronto Daily Star March 21, 1908; Toronto Globe, March 23, 1908.

¹⁸Johnson, p. 101.

¹⁹Hamilton Herald, March 9, 1914.

²⁰Johnson, p. 98.

²¹Toronto Daily Star, March 20, 1908.

²²Toronto Daily Star, March 20, 1908; Toronto Globe, March 23, 1908.

²³Johnson, p. 99. Flowers appear to have been a common theme at such shows, for according to a description of the Oakland California exhibit of 1918, "Embracing the illumination of many thousands of electric lights will be huge urns bearing tall bouquets of California flowers. The urn and bouquet will measure fourteen feet in height and the lights will be encased in California poppies, the blossom selected for this pavillion." Canadian Motorist (August, 1918).

²⁴Hamilton Herald, February 7, 1910.

²⁵Toronto Globe, February 16, 1914.

²⁶Johnson, p. 98.

²⁷Public Archives of Ontario, Ontario Provincial Police Documents, John Spence to Joseph Rogers, June 26, 1911.

²⁸PAO, Ontario Provincial Police Documents, Charles Slemin to Joseph Rogers, June 26, 1911.

²⁹Michael Berger, The Devil Wagon in God's Country: The Automobile and Social Change in Rural America, 1893 - 1929 (Hamdon, Conn.: Archon Books, 1979); Warren James Belasco, Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910 - 1945 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1979). The most important pioneering studies in this field are James Flink's two works American Adopts the Automobile, 1895 - 1910 (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1970), and The Car Culture (Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1975); as well as John Rae's The American Automobile: A Brief History (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1965). Other notable American studies include Paul Barrett, The Automobile and Urban Transit: The Formation of Public Policy in Chicago, 1900 - 1930 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1983); Ashleigh E. Brilliant, Social Aspects of the Automobile in Southern California During the Nineteen Twenties (Ph.D., University of California at Berkeley, 1964); Blaine A. Brownell, "A Symbol of Modernity: Attitudes Towards the Automobile in Southern Cities in the 1920's", American Quarterly 24 (1972), pp. 20 - 44; Donald F. Davis, "The Social Determinants of Success in the American Automotive Industry Before 1929", Social Science Information 21, 1 (1982), pp. 67-93; Cynthia Golomb Dettlebach, In the Driver's Seat: The Automobile in American Literature and Popular Culture (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1976); Joseph Interrante, "You Can't Go to Town in a Bathtub: Automobile Movement and the Reorganization of Rural American Space, 1900 - 1930" Radical History Review 21 (1980), pp. 151 - 170; David L. Lewis and Laurence Goldstein, eds., The Automobile and American Culture (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980); David Lewis, The Public Image of Henry Ford (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976); Norman Moline, Mobility and the Small Town, 1900 - 1930: Transportation in Oregon, Illinois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1971); Anedith Jo Bond Nash, Death on the Highway: The Automobile Wreck in American Culture, 1920 - 40 (Ph.D. thesis: University of Minnesota, 1983); Howard Preston, Automobile Age Atlanta: The Making of a Southern Metropolis, 1900 - 1935 (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1979); Reynold M. Wik, Henry Ford and Grass-Roots America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972).

³⁰For Canadian studies of the automobile, see Robert L. Collins, A Great Way to Go: The Automobile in Canada (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1969); John De Bondt, Canada on Wheels; A Portfolio of Early Canadian Cars (Ottawa: Oberon Press, 1970); Hugh Durnford and Glenn Baechler, Cars of Canada (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1973); G.W. Taylor, The Automobile Saga of British Columbia 1864 - 1914 (Victoria: Moriss Publishing, 1984).

³¹Whereas the number of automobiles registered in Ontario jumped from 155,861 in 1920 to 303,736 by 1925, and 490,906 by 1930, ownership levels began to decline thereafter, and never surpassed pre-depression levels until 1936. For example registration numbers declined slightly to 489,713 in 1931, dropped even further by 1933 to 453,314, finally reaching 514,211 by 1936. Annual Report of the Department of Highways, 1941, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1942).

³²The bicycle provided strong competition for the automobile in the years prior to WWI. As just one example of the relative rise in importance of one means of transportation over another, consider the annual police reports for the city of Hamilton. While there is no mention of automobiles in the Annual Report for 1905, bicycles were important enough to warrant a separate heading in the discussion of offences. In fact, theft of bicycles was the second highest offence group after general thefts. By 1909 the reports began listing breaches of the Motor Vehicle Act, indicating the rising prevalence of the automobile. In the same report though the department stated that they needed two new bicycles as the distances to be covered are so great. The situation began to change shortly thereafter, for although the bicycle was still the second most stolen item in 1911, and the police department noted how "...the bicycle squad performed good service in protecting dwellings during the summer", the department saw the need to obtain an automobile of their own in 1912. Even so the bicycle remained an important and conspicuous element in the city. However by 1925 the bicycle had dropped to third place in the list of offences, being replaced by the theft of automobiles. Hamilton Police Department Annual Report 1905; 1909; 1911; 1912; 1925. On the importance of the bicycle as a (forerunner) of the automobile, see Martha Moore Trescott, "The Bicycle, a Technical Precursor of the Automobile" in Paul Uselding, ed., Business and Economic History (Urbana: University of Illinois, 1976); Sidney Aronson, "The Sociology of the Bicycle" Social Forces 30 (1952), pp. 305-12; Gary Tobin, "The Bicycle Boom of the 1890s: The Development of Private Transportation and the Birth of the Modern Tourist", Journal of Popular Culture 8 (Spring, 1974), pp. 838-849.

³³Ivor Noel Hume, "Material Culture with the Dirt on it: A Virginia Perspective" in Ian Quimby, ed., Material Culture and the Study of American Life (Toronto: George M. McLeod, Ltd., 1978), p. 35.

³⁴Peter Burke, "Oblique Approaches to the History of Popular Culture" in C.W.F. Bigsby, ed., Approaches to Popular Culture (1978) p. 77.

³⁵John A. Kowenhoven, "American Studies: Words or Things?" in Schlereth, ed., Material Culture Studies in America, p. 84. On artifacts as historical sources and material culture generally, see also Peter Burke, Popular Culture in Early Modern Europe (London: Temple Smith, 1978); Marshall W. Fishwick, Common Culture and the Great Tradition (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1982); Martin Laforse, Popular Culture and American Life, (Chicago: Nelson-Hall, 1981); Edith Mayo ed., American Material Culture: The Shape of Things Around Us, (Bowling Green: Bowling Green State University Press, 1984).

³⁶Foreign motor tourists in Ontario became an increasingly common sight during the 1920s, with the borders seemingly presenting no barrier to automobile traffic. In 1923, 1,633,952 motor tourists entered Ontario for a period of twenty four hours or less, and 120,742 entered Ontario for a period of up to one month. By 1929 these figures had increased to 2,922,536 and 582,128 respectively. Preliminary Report: Registrations of Motor Vehicles 1922 - 24, 26 - 1956 (Ottawa, 1956).

³⁷The Automobile Industry in Canada, 1921 (Ottawa, 1922); C.H. Aikman, The Automobile Industry of Canada (Toronto, 1926), p. 10; The Automobile Industry in Canada, 1925 (Ottawa, 1926).

³⁸Aikman, pp. 10-11.

³⁹The Automobile Industry in Canada 1922 (Ottawa, 1923); Automobile Statistics for Canada 1926 (Ottawa, 1927); The Automobile Industry in Canada 1925 (Ottawa 1926).

⁴⁰Automobile Statistics for Canada 1926 (Ottawa, 1927). As a comparison to other industries, 41,708 individuals were employed in the textile industry in Ontario in 1921 and 40,385 in 1931; 74,420 employed in construction in 1921 and 76,708 in 1931; and 24,058 employed in the finance industry in 1921 and 14,825 in 1931. Census of Canada 1921, table 4; Census of Canada, 1931, table 49.

⁴¹The Automobile Industry in Canada 1919 (Ottawa 1921); Preliminary Report on the Automobile Industry in Canada 1920 (Ottawa, 1920).

⁴²Preliminary Report on the Automobile Industry in Canada, 1920 (Ottawa, 1921); Aikman, p. 23.

⁴³Aikman, p. 7.

⁴⁴The Automobile Industry in Canada 1921 (Ottawa, 1922).

⁴⁵Royal Commission on Automobile Insurance Premium Rates, Report on Compulsory Insurance and Safety Responsibility Laws (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1930).

⁴⁶Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923).

⁴⁷ibid., Annual Report of the Department of Public highways, 1926 and 1926 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1929).

⁴⁸Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923).

⁴⁹President's Address, Eleventh Annual Convention, Ontario Good Roads Association (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923).

⁵⁰Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1915 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1915), appendix D; Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923), appendix G. The 1919 census was conducted for a twelve hour period, from 7 a.m. to 7 p.m. However, due to the prevalence of night traffic, the 1922 census was conducted from 6 a.m. to 10 p.m.

⁵¹Aikman, p. 15.

⁵²The Automobile Industry in Canada 1924 (Ottawa, 1925).

⁵³The Automobile Industry in Canada 1921 (Ottawa, 1922); Automobile Statistics for Canada 1926 (Ottawa, 1927).

⁵⁴Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1915 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1915) appendix D; Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923), appendix G. In this comparison I have considered only one horse carriages, which most closely correspond to the passenger automobile. However even two horse vehicles, which would be used in hauling or for light industry, also declined at approximately the same rate, according to census figures.

⁵⁵Everett M. Rogers, Diffusion of Innovations (New York: The Free Press, 1962), p. 2.

⁵⁶Preliminary Report of the Carriage and Wagon Industry in Canada 1920 (Ottawa, 1922).

⁵⁷Preliminary Report of the Carriage and Wagon Industry in Canada 1921 and 1922 (Ottawa, 1924); Preliminary Report of the Carriage and Wagon Industry in Canada 1925 and 1926 (Ottawa, 1928); Preliminary Report on the Carriage and Wagon Industry in Canada 1929 and 1930 (Ottawa, 1932); Preliminary Report on the Carriage and Wagon Industry in Canada 1933 (Ottawa, 1935).

⁵⁸Hamilton Herald, August 16, 1924.

⁵⁹According to Graham Saxon, a receptor group can be classified as liberal or conservative according to how an established culture meets the test of compatibility of new innovations presented to it. And, as Nathan Rosenberg has observed, even if an innovation should possess important new elements, there is still a strong tendency, even if the innovation is accepted, to conceptualize it in terms of the traditional. Graham Saxon, "Class and Conservatism in the Adoption of Innovations", Human Relations Vol. 9 No. 1 (February, 1956), pp. 11 - 12; Nathan Rosenberg, "Factors Affecting the Diffusion of Technology", Explorations in Economic History 10 (Fall, 1972), p. 14.

CHAPTER TWO

MARKETING A DREAM: AUTOMOBILE ADVERTISING AND ONTARIO SOCIETY

The automobile had to be sold to the public as more than simply a means of transportation; it had to capture their imagination as well. This selling of the automobile was an interaction between culture and technology, an interaction vividly enacted in the advertising of the day. The psychological dimension of technology, while extremely important, is one which hitherto remains largely unexplored. This chapter is an attempt to rectify at least partially a significant gap in Canadian social history by examining how the automobile was 'sold' to the Ontario public during the period 1900-1930. In pursuing this objective, the chapter can be chronologically divided into two distinct phases: 1900 to 1920, and the post-1920 decade. Of these two the 1920s is the most significant and will occupy a greater proportion of the chapter. The importance of the post-1920 period will be examined later in closer detail, but briefly it witnessed the manifestation and full implementation of advertising techniques and themes whose rudimentary elements were evolving prior to the 1920s. Equally important, the phenomenal growth of both the automobile industry and the advertising industry during the 1920s truly separates the '20s as a new era of automobile advertising. Owing to the nature of the inquiry, it is not a study which can readily utilize traditional historical sources; hence the primary source for

this study will be automobile advertising culled from contemporary newspapers and mass circulation periodicals. Before proceeding further, it is necessary therefore to examine how advertising reflected social reality, and to what extent advertisements can be used as historical sources when examining specific problems or periods.

Advertising is a key element in our social and technological histories, notes Richard Pollay, because advertising [is at the interface between pragmatics and art, between psychology and economics, between the producers and consumers of society'.¹] Advertising has, for the most part, been employed by historians in a minor role, often simply to add 'colour' to completed research, rather than utilizing advertising as a primary source in itself. As a historical source, advertising can yield valuable insights into the collective mentality of a society, but it is an approach which must equally acknowledge its limitations. Qualitative data such as advertising increases problems of interpretation, particularly when examining intangibles such as pride of ownership, prestige, or class appeal. In a situation which lacks any feedback dialogue between advertisers and consumer, analysis often remains somewhat subjective when attempting to assess the intended effects or the ultimate impact of an advertising campaign. Historians are often only able, therefore, to infer intent. But such difficulties are not insurmountable, nor

should they be sufficient to deter historians from delving into what can be a very rich and rewarding source. Once a historian comes to terms with these limitations, advertising reveals varied facets of a complex interrelationship between technology, society and the media. More importantly, advertising, in its attempts to market a product, also communicates broader assumptions about social relations and social values.

Advertisements, as Roland Marchand maintains, often mirror aspirations moreso than they do reality.² But these aspirations are in themselves a type of reality, one which signifies an awareness of underlying social and cultural dilemmas with which society attempts to cope. Advertisements are fantasy only so far as they represent fictionalized characters or scenes, for advertisements generally act as agents of reinforcement, not change, and as such reflect and accentuate rather than create existing needs, attitudes or desires.³ The primary function of advertising is to transmit value to a product but, as Richard Pollay notes, "information is of tactical usefulness only to the extent that consumers are responsive to it."⁴ Thus advertising, despite its inherent distortion, cannot be a total falsification nor so far removed from everyday experience as to render the advertisement meaningless. Though never a literal reflection of society, neither is advertising a complete fabrication. If automobile advertising did distort, it also underscored some truths about Ontario society. The dominance of rural imagery following 1920, as an example, was not a

coincidence nor an attempt at a picturesque layout; it reflected an awareness of the pressures of the modern era and provided a sort of vicarious psychological release for the reader. Rural imagery provided the promise of escape, and the very fact of its continued use attested to the public's ability to identify with that image.

Utilization of a source such as advertising helps to overcome the tendency of automobile historians to fall into the trap of economic determinism, whereby the motivation and rationale for purchase by a consumer hinges solely on the fluctuating price of a commodity. Statements concerning the rapid proliferation of the automobile, such as the diffusion of innovations through society 'is essentially an economic phenomenon', or that the rapid growth of the automobile industry is due chiefly to the 'aggressive competitive behaviour of the various manufacturers of automobiles, directed by the economic age of the industry' require modification when considered in the context of automobile advertising.⁵ If market forces were the sole determinant of the automobile's proliferation, then advertising would be a superfluous process, having no bearing on sales. Yet the phenomenal growth of the advertising industry and the money spent on advertising by automobile manufacturers belies the importance placed on advertising by the industry.⁶ If advertising remained merely an adjunct to existing economic forces, its only purpose would be to announce a product's price

and nothing more. However if one accepts the primacy of economic determinism with regards to the automobile, how is one to account for the increased presence of lifestyle-oriented advertisements which promoted far more than price.

Price was undoubtedly a fundamental factor in the democratization of the automobile, but it was not the only nor perhaps the most important factor bearing on that process. Prestige, social image and pride of ownership are intangibles whose presence, while difficult to quantify, are too important to be ignored.⁷ Historians of technology must never, warned Eugene Ferguson, "fail to note the importance of enthusiasm that is evoked by technology."⁸

Prior to 1920, automobile advertisements were often utilitarian in nature, lacking the polish, imagination and great thematic campaigns which characterized automobile advertising of the '20s. Advertisements for the 1906 Russell, a product of the Canada Cycle and Motor Company (CCM), illustrated the conventional form automobile advertisements took in the decade prior to 1910. Under the caption "The Car You See Running" was placed a half-tone illustration of the 1906 model. Following that the advertisement asserted that more Russells were seen on the street because:

1. People recognize that they represent the best value in motoring this year and purchase them.

2. After purchase, the owner finds they keep running and is out enjoying every available minute.⁹
(Figure 1)

The advertisement then finished with a price listing for the various models. It was not dynamic advertising, but it was typical of the period. The 1909 Tudhope-McIntyre used a simple black and white graphic for its advertisement, emphasizing its "solid rubber tires - no punctures, and trouble-proof".¹⁰ It was a simple approach but one which, in a period when automobiles were prone to frequent breakdowns and costly repairs, sufficed to offset the doubt in the public mind concerning the inherent reliability of this form of transport. Moreover the functionalism of the advertisements reflected a still widely prevailing notion of the automobile as a purely functional machine, rather than an object of beauty and admiration. The belief in the automobile as utilitarian transportation became evident in a bill proposed in the Ontario Legislature in 1910 which stated that "...any lantern or lamp made of brass or other bright metal upon any motor vehicle shall during the day time be completely covered by some dark material to prevent glare."¹¹ As such, there appeared little advantage served by marketing an automobile on the appeal of beauty. What the two preceding automobile advertisements lacked, and automobile advertising lacked generally prior to 1920, was any hint of sophistication in their marketing approach. Partially that remained a reflection of the advertising industry itself, if indeed it could be classified an industry at that time.

Advertising as a profession remained quite small scale and did not come into its own until after WWI. What emerged in that early period was a marketing appeal based on a product's features, rather than an attempt to integrate the product into a broader lifestyle campaign. Lifestyle advertisements, which presented the automobile to the public as more than a means of transportation, did not emerge until after 1910, as the automobile's possibilities and potentialities were explored in the media and in the public consciousness. Automobiles in the first decade were sold primarily as a means of transport, and only secondarily, if at all, as the mechanism of escape and personal liberation which they subsequently came to be regarded as.

The 'teens represented a transitional phase in the history of automobile advertising, both in content and physical appearance. Partially that resulted from the growth of the advertising industry, whose expansion and greater professionalization reflected an increased awareness of the importance of advertising for the marketing of goods.¹² The prominence placed on advertising became evident in the movement away from the small descriptive advertisements towards the use of full page advertisements, whose use increased five-fold from 1910 to 1919.¹³ In addition, technological advancements in the printing process allowed for the greater use of photography, as well as the use of colour illustrations.

As well as technological changes, advertisers during the 'teens began to apply rudimentary psychological theory to the marketing of automobiles. Advertisements prior to 1910 were generally based on objective information concerning the product which emphasized features, price and performance. But by 1914 advertisers had begun, as Marchand points out, 'to appreciate the advantage of selling the benefit instead of the product'.¹⁴ It was an attempt by manufacturers and advertisers alike not simply to sell a product, but in the process to shape consumer's desires as well. The utilization of a psychological approach to advertising saw the initial development of advertising themes which were to become commonplace during the 1920s, such as the annihilation of time and space, or the marketing of automobiles specifically to women. Understandably the advertisements of the 'teens, in which the application of psychology was still in its infancy, lacked the polish of the advertisements of the 1920s, for by 1920 it became common for advertising firms to hire psychological consultants to develop strategies for consumer manipulation.¹⁵

As motor vehicle ownership increased in Ontario from 535 in 1904, to 4,230 in 1910, and 155,861 by 1920, it became clear that a different class of owner had emerged.¹⁶ Aided by a gradual reduction in new automobile prices and a growing second hand trade, a new group of less affluent owners emerged, severely weakening the economic and social exclusiveness which had marked

automobile ownership prior to 1910. Sheer numbers meant that an economic and social elite could no longer dominate automobile ownership. Yet even if automobiling was no longer a rich man's sport by the beginning of WWI, it nonetheless retained many of the trappings associated with its initial exclusiveness. As an advertisement in 1914 for the YMCA Educational Department in Toronto pointed out, some vestiges of exclusiveness remained, of which the chauffeur was not uncommon:

Run Your Own Car

What is the use of employing a chauffeur to run your car, assuming all the risk and cost of reckless driving and careless attention, when you can run your own car cheaper, better and get more satisfaction from it.¹⁷

The experience of retaining a chauffeur was, however, far removed from the lifestyle of the average owner. Even so, automobile advertisements often attempted to appeal to a sense of social and economic elitism, infusing a notion of prestige and class exclusiveness into their marketing. For example, Hupmobile ran a series of advertisements in which, in a photographic illustration, their product was prominently displayed in front of a large mansion.¹⁸ In each of the advertisements the selling price of \$1000-1200 indicated that the automobile was targeted for a middle income consumer; yet the product's price range remained at odds with the obvious wealth necessary to possess the large residences illustrated. What those advertisements represented were the beginnings of status and

prestige-oriented automobile marketing campaigns. Those campaigns, which developed in the 'teens and reached maturity by the '20s, consciously sold the automobile as a visible social and economic symbol; by inference arguing that pretensions to social and economic elitism could be fulfilled by consumption of the correct goods.

Women as a consumer group gained some limited recognition in the automobile advertising of the 'teens. Although women often played only a secondary role in advertisements, even their peripheral presence served to reveal some contemporary perceptions of women as automobile consumers. While the Overland Company billed their coupe as "Just What She Wants", the rationale behind their claim was enlightening. "The Overland Coupe is especially designed", asserted the advertisement

for madams comfort and requirements. The doors are of extra width and height. This permits her to wear her largest hats, without the inconvenience of stooping or turning sideways when she alights or enters. As the body is very low only a short step is necessary when getting in or out. This model comfortably seats four-without crowding the occupants or crushing their gowns. The seat cushions are deep and soft.¹⁹

Women, it appears from this advertisement and almost all others, were supposedly interested primarily in beauty and comfort, spheres of interest in which the advertising profession saw women as particularly adept.

The apparent narrowness of a woman's interest concerning motor cars was reflected in the degree to which advertisers saw women as participating in the actual purchase of a vehicle.

Like the other great events of life, buying the family car is very much the concern of the wife and mother. Happy that woman-and her name is legion-who by helpful suggestion persuades her provider against too small a car or by loving restraint checks an overgenerous husband who would otherwise make the mistake of too large a car.²⁰

While the woman did, according to the advertisement, actually play a role in the purchase of an automobile, her role remained only that of advisor, for the actual purchase decision apparently still resided with the man. Similarly, another Overland advertisement addressed itself to the husband, cautioning him that his wife

...will fall in love with it on sight. Don't let her see it until you have made up your mind to buy. For after one look she'll give you no peace until you do.²¹

What emerged from advertisements which were either female-oriented, or in which women played a role, was the image of a woman who became a secondary partner in major purchases, concerned chiefly with the more frivolous attributes of automobile design. That depiction, however, had changed by the 1920s. Women, although not accorded equal status with men vis-a-vis their power as a consumer group, did gain greater recognition by the end of the 'teens. For example, a woman's magazine from Toronto, Everywoman's World, published only one automobile

advertisement throughout 1914. By 1919 however, in seven months excluding winter issues, Everywoman's World contained no fewer than 14 automobile advertisements or advertisements for automobile accessories such as tires. Granted they were not exclusively women's advertisements, but it was significant that automobile advertisements should come to be placed in increasing numbers in an exclusively women's magazine. Yet even though the 'teens introduced women as a potential automobile consumer, it was not until the mid-1920s that automobile advertisements reflected the full possibilities of women as owners and operators of motor vehicles.²²

As an examination of advertisements indicates, the years 1900 to 1920 were a formative time for automobile advertising. The first decade in particular reflected the effects of the meshing of a technology with an expanding but limited media. Those early years, and indeed up to WWI, represent a distinct era in automobile advertising. During that early period the automobile was sold as it was first designed; that is, as primarily a means of transportation. As such, advertising campaigns remained relatively straightforward in their logic, stressing the automobile's transportational abilities, along with mechanical details and price.

However, that approach to automobile marketing underwent a radical alteration during the 'teens. An automobile was

regarded by advertisers and manufacturers alike as something more than a method of moving from one place to another, and sold as such. The public progressively viewed the automobile as more than a utilitarian mode of personal conveyance; it became a health restorative, and a mechanism for escape from a repetitive everyday reality. Automobile advertisements are important for what they say concerning the role of the automobile in society, and clearly by 1920 the automobile had developed into something more complex than simply a transportation vehicle. Thus the 'teens represent a crucial transitional phase in the marketing of an automobile and in the development of the public consciousness, reflected in the shift from an ethic of production to an ethic of consumption. And it is that ethic of consumption which dominated the automobile advertising of the 1920s.

By the 1920s the automobile had transcended some of the traditional class barriers which bound Ontario society. Although initially a possession of the wealthy, the continued drop in automobile prices, particularly following World War I, and the burgeoning used car trade, meant that almost anyone could own an automobile. Even as early as 1909 the used automobile trade was opening up a new range of transportation possibilities for those individuals for whom a new vehicle was prohibitively expensive. A Toronto firm caught reader's attention with the question, "Why not own an automobile?", and then went on to explain that they sold "Good Second Hand Machines at a mere fraction of the

original cost. These cars are taken by us as part payment for the newest and latest models." As well, installment payment plans such the GMAC Deferred Payment Plan which began in 1919, brought automobile ownership within the grasp of a wider segment of the population. General Motors pointed out that now, "You can buy a car out of income just as you buy a house."²³ The automobile was no longer a social status symbol which separated the middle classes and above from those below; ownership had ceased to be the exclusive domain of the wealthy. And yet, in spite of the loss of class exclusiveness, the automobile continued to be marketed throughout the 1920s with a distinct class bias. Upscale marketing meant that while true elitism of ownership had disappeared, the automobile still retained a symbolic elitism. As an examination of contemporary advertisements demonstrated, the automobile was frequently sold as far more than merely a means of transportation.

The allusion to luxury was perhaps the most obvious manifestation of class bias evident in both the text and illustrations of the advertisement. Although often subtle in their delineation of luxury, the advertisement's intent was betrayed by the dwelling, dress, or activities of the individual depicted as the 'representative' owner. What is striking is that the luxury-oriented advertisements were, more often than not, for lower or medium priced models, marketed to individuals whose lifestyles never resembled those represented in the

advertisements. Such advertisements united the apparently antithetic themes of luxury and economy, creating one of the recurring paradoxes in the automobile advertisements of the 1920s.

The Essex Six, a product of the Hudson Car Company was, because of its price, targeted primarily for the middle income consumer. Yet its illustration created a scenario to which few middle class consumers could aspire to enjoy. In one advertisement a woman driver is greeted by several friends as she arrives in her Essex Six at a garden party. The party setting was not one which, however, could be construed as ordinary. Behind the automobile several women in flowing formal gowns lounge beneath a large lawn umbrella. In the background, enticingly visible through the trees, stands a three storied residence of substantial proportions. In a more familial vein, a second advertisement depicts a woman and her children arriving in the garden of another residence. The spaciousness of the garden denotes wealth, but not extravagance. But again in the background one catches a glimpse of the dwelling; only a corner is visible, but it shows a veranda or entrance supported by stately white pillars.²⁴

In each of the advertisements the product was associated, at least indirectly, with wealth and opulence, while in actuality the product remained targeted for a market significantly lower in income. The technique of product association advertising

invited the prospective owner to imagine him or herself in a similar situation with the purchase of the product. In that particular instance it was elegance and wealth which were being associated with the purchase of a particular automobile. It no longer became simply a case of selling a mode of transportation but also a lifestyle, usually one more imagined than real.

Even Ford, noted for its reluctance in luxury-oriented advertising, contributed to the visible luxury allusion on several occasions.²⁵ An advertisement from 1923 extolled the advantages of the closed Ford Sedan and Coupe in which 'the greatest variety of social demands' could be met 'undisturbed by weather or traffic conditions'. The accompanying illustration depicted a well-dressed young woman leaving the home of friends, perhaps following an evening out. Her friends stand on their veranda framed between a pillar and a potted urn, he in a tuxedo, she in a long gown and shawl. All that is visible of the house is part of the veranda supported by a wide pillar, and a row of brightly lit windows in the background. But even that brief glimpse was sufficient to communicate the notion of affluence.²⁶ Similarly, another Ford advertisement indicated how the Coupe makes 'shopping and routine errands less fatiguing'. Yet once again the illustration nullified the air of practicality conveyed. The automobile stands parked outside an obviously exclusive women's clothing store, while a doorman

loads several large parcels and hat boxes into the trunk. The owner indeed used her car for shopping, but it was an experience undoubtedly far removed from the everyday realities of most women drivers on their shopping excursions.²⁷ (Figure 2)

The Nash Company noted that the 'very moderate price' of its Special Six made it a 'preferred investment' in the field of 'family' cars. While that might have appeared initially as an appeal to frugality and rational consumerism, the remainder of the advertisement conveyed exactly the opposite impression. Rather, it based its attraction primarily on the aspects of luxury and the dictates of fashion. As the Nash advertisement pointed out, 'Motor car fashion now inclines strongly toward the low swung, French-type profile', and the Nash depicts this 'at its best'. Far from being sold as a family car, the Nash advertisement pointed out that "Wherever charming people park their cars, look for the new Nash type. Its expressive beauty will compel your eye, no matter what other cars are there". And finally, as to leave no doubt concerning the type of appeal being made, the illustration featured two attractive, smartly dressed women and an equally fashionably dressed young man relaxing near their Nash, a sea coast complete with lighthouse in the background.²⁸

What the Nash advertisement attempted, as did many others, was to remind readers of the socioeconomic barriers which

separated society, while simultaneously appearing to break them down. Such advertisements created the illusion of wealth and social prestige by maintaining that individuals of modest incomes could possess similar, if not the very same, products which the rich possessed. Purchasers were influenced by the perceived image of the product such that they bought an automobile not simply for what it could do, but for what it meant symbolically. It ceased to be merely a means of transportation, and instead became a tangible means of achieving social recognition.²⁹ The Willys-Knight, for example, used 'The Unerring Mark of Social Prestige' as one of its slogans, while Studebaker billed itself as the 'Coachmaker to the Canadian Aristocracy'.³⁰ The Chrysler Corporation in its 1925 advertisements for the Chrysler Six pointed out to potential purchasers that wealthy owners certainly existed, but at the same time reminded them that wealth alone was not necessarily a factor of automobile ownership. As the Chrysler advertisement noted,

People who had previously driven only cars of highest price are now enthusiastic Chrysler Six owners.
People of wealth who have used chauffeurs for years have discovered new and zestful exhilaration in personally driving the Chrysler Six.
People who previously had felt themselves restricted to cars of lower first cost, now find greater economy --and vastly greater satisfaction--in Chrysler Six ownership.³¹

The 'significant thing' about the Chrysler Six, according to the advertisement, was 'its appeal to every class of

motorist'. If the apparent commonality of ownership reduced the wealthy to the level of the middle class, it more importantly raised the middle class to the status of the wealthy. Advertisements fulfilled visions of social prestige and elite acceptance which, if they could not be obtained by actual wealth, were to be obtained by the conspicuous consumption of the proper goods.³²

Automobile advertisements often used a dwelling or similar building in the background to enhance the automobile's upscale image. As noted for the Essex advertisements, house exteriors were employed to reinforce the socioeconomic background of the representative owner, although such illustrations generally did not correlate to the automobile's price or to the market targeted by that price. The Brooks Steamer advertisement placed the car on a street in front of two houses, both substantial three-storied structures, each with a hedge and tall shade trees adorning the lawn.³³ In a Durant advertisement of 1928 appeared the front entrance of a house: a rounded veranda with balcony above, supported by four pillars, with shuttered windows on either side.³⁴ A 1925 Ford advertisement illustration depicted a well dressed father arriving home with his new car. On the doorstep of the two-storied snow covered bungalow, set in a wooded scene, were two children and the proud wife, she with her hands clasped in excitement.³⁵ (Figure 3) Four years later another Ford advertisement, using a photographic illustration, showed a father once again arriving home to the greetings of his

family. While Ford prided itself on economy as a major selling point, the family dwelling consisted of a slate-roofed, three storied brick structure with vaulted front entranceway and a similarly vaulted driveway entrance.³⁶ If the advertising agencies saw those dwellings as typical, one must ask, typical of whom? In none of the advertisements with houses was there even a hint of a dwelling that could not be classified as at least middle class; the majority in fact would fall into the upper end of that stratum. And certainly there was no indication of a dwelling affordable for a working class family (Figure 4).

If the dwellings were atypical of society as a whole, so too were the people and their leisure activities as portrayed in the advertisements. (The visible people consisted almost exclusively of stereotyped, smiling middle and upper class individuals and families. Invariably, those represented in the advertisements were Anglo-Saxon, well-dressed and urbanite).³⁷ For instance, a Hupmobile advertisement showed their product arriving at a social function, one at which the women were attired in long gowns and the men in top hats and tails.³⁸ Likewise, Ford displayed their new roadster in a college scene, a bastion of limited access in 1930, complete with a young man in his '1930' sweater removing his golf clubs from the car.³⁹ A De Soto advertisement from 1929 resembled not so much an automobile advertisement as it did a scene from an F. Scott Fitzgerald novel. In the background appeared the country

club, while in the foreground a handsome young man in his new car exchanged glances with a long-legged woman standing beside the pool, while other women gazed admiringly, presumably at the automobile.⁴⁰ (Figure 5)

Automobile owners were depicted as a homogeneous group, with no visible minorities or blue-collar workers. Even farmers, the supposed backbone of Canadian society, received only cursory consideration in the advertisements although some specifically rural-oriented automobile advertisements were to be found in various rural papers and periodicals. Occasionally the accompanying illustration was sufficient to indicate clearly the market for which a particular advertisement was targeted. For example a Chevrolet advertisement from 1918 depicted the product parked at an agricultural fair, next to a ring in which livestock were being judged.⁴¹ An illustration for the Overland Company placed its vehicle beside a barn and, in an interesting and probably intentional juxtaposition of transport technology, had a horse peer inquisitively over the fence at it. If perchance the message remained unclear, the text stressed that Overland automobiles "...are conspicuous everywhere there are up-to-date farmers with modern equipment."⁴² Rural-based advertisements generally set themselves apart by the language or the setting employed. At times dress became a distinguishing feature, for occupants of an automobile from the farm community were noticeably less fashionably dressed than their urban

counterparts.⁴³ The effect was not in any sense degrading, but the differentiation of potential consumer groups nevertheless remained evident.

On the whole, however, automobile advertisements in farm papers and periodicals did not reflect the readership to which the publications catered. As an estimate, only approximately one-third of all automobile advertisements in rural publications were in fact expressly written for the farming community. Probably another one-third of all advertisements could be classified as neutral in their appeal, as they possessed no specific rural or urban orientation. Advertisements of that type emphasized factors such as economy, dependability, or new features, characteristics which would have appealed to any motorist, regardless of place of residence.⁴⁴

What remains particularly surprising was that of all the automobile advertisements to be found in the rural press, approximately one-third were decidedly urban in orientation. The occupants of automobiles, either by their dress or the use of props such as tennis racquets or golf clubs, were quickly and easily distinguished as urbanites.⁴⁵ Some advertisements were clearly not designed with a rural market in mind. The illustration from a full page Gray-Dort advertisement found in the Farmer's Magazine in 1920 placed the automobile on a driveway outside an obviously large, and obviously urban, house. Two

well dressed men in suits are shown gazing out through a window at the vehicle, while in the background is visible the entranceway to the driveway, framed by a large white pillar.⁴⁶ It was a scene certainly far removed from the barn and horse of the Chevrolet advertisement. But then Chevrolet too mixed its advertisements with equal abandon, for only a few months prior to its advertisement described above, Chevrolet ran an advertisement for their 'Baby Grand Touring' model with several well dressed urbanites, appropriately enough, out on a tour.⁴⁷

Partially, at least, the lack of a distinctive rural campaign may be explained by the expensive nature of the advertising process, such that manufacturers could not afford the expense of two entirely separate campaigns. Even in their own periodicals however, farmers were given only limited consideration as consumers by automobile manufacturers. That few urbanites would purchase papers such as the Farmer's Advocate or the Farmer's Magazine indicated a certain insensitivity on the part of the advertisers and manufacturers alike concerning their market. Their apparent lack of concern for the rural consumer was further underscored by the depiction of farmers in urban based periodicals, in which they remained largely as foils to the well attired urbanites out on a country tour. Such depiction had, of course, no basis in reality. In 1922 farmers in Ontario represented 32% of all owners in the province, and even by 1926, with the province's expanding urban population,

farmers as an occupational group still represented 29% of all automobile owners and half of the province's total population.⁴⁸

Far from static, the farmers represented a dynamic and important automobile consumer group. Yet the fact that advertising agencies could seemingly ignore fifty percent of their potential market is, however, indicative of the extent to which those agencies created a fictionalized, idealized society in their advertisements.

Such idealization became evident in the leisure activities in which automobile owners were shown as either participating or observing. The two most prominent sports were golf and horseback riding, both elite oriented sports. Golf appears to have held a particular fascination for advertisers, with golfers or golf courses often being used as backdrops for their products. The elitist pretensions of such representations become clear when one considers that even by the 1930s in the United States, and this is probably equally true for Canada, that less than two percent of the population ever played golf.⁴⁹ When horseback riding was used, the riders were clothed in proper riding gear, often with a riding crop under the arm.⁵⁰ Even hunting was elevated by Plymouth to a genteel form of recreation by the manner in which it was depicted. In an advertisement which appealed to those of more limited economic means (the phrase 'low price' is used six times in a single ad) a couple leave their car for an autumn afternoon of hunting. Each

is very carefully and correctly dressed for the occasion; she tall and slim in a hunting suit and tie, he, smoking a pipe, wearing a hunting jacket, cap and tie, each with a shotgun in the crook of their arms.⁵¹

There were of course automobiles which, because of their prices, were obvious manifestations of prestige and luxury. The quality inherent in an automobile of such price often remained a secondary consideration though; consumers of those automobiles consciously purchased a symbol as much as they did a means of transport. The manufacturers of the Apperson Eight were well aware of that fact, and addressed their advertising appeal to those individuals 'who buy a motor car for something other than just a means of transportation from one place to another.' Potential female purchasers were assured by the manufacturers that the automobile was 'expressive of her position' and that she may be confident that 'her gentility is adequately reflected in her motor car, just as surely as it is reflected in the selection of her friends.'⁵² Manufacturers of such automobiles did not attempt to disguise their limited class appeal, but instead parlayed it into an important selling feature. 'This is your assurance', the owner of a Packard was told, 'that wherever you travel, wherever you stop, a respectful deference is shown to you.'⁵³ Ownership of a particular automobile was even accredited with the ability to impart instantly attributes normally developed over a period of time. Thus, one advertiser

boasted, somewhat extravagantly, that "To be seen in a Rickenbacker is to be classed with the cognoscenti and the cultured."⁵⁴

Prestige selling was a conscious attempt to distance the prestige consumer economically and socially from the mass of automobile owners. It did so by relying on an appeal to an individual's perceived self-image; it used the consumption of goods to reinforce an individual's own assessment of him or herself in the eyes of others. Packard noted that their cars were 'distinguished by illustrious patronage', had served 'the first families everywhere for more than a generation', and as such Packard 'has long been known as the car of social eminence.'⁵⁵

Interestingly Packard did attempt, to a limited degree, to make concessions to the working individual. The company noted, in small print at the bottoms of their advertisements, that Packard dealers 'welcome the buyer who prefers to purchase his Packard out of income instead of capital'. If Packard did in some manner see itself as a friend of the workingman, it was only of those workingmen of substantial means.⁵⁶ Like Packard, Lincoln in a similar series of advertisements stated that their product was owned by people 'who require not only luxurious and dependable transportation but also dignified and exclusive expression of their personal tastes and ideals'.⁵⁷ Often

portrayed near famous landmarks or close to substantial residences, archways or drives, Lincoln stood for peer approval, an automobile whose consummate benefit to the owner was 'to reflect their standing in the community'.⁵⁸ Although prestige selling was connected with only a small percentage of all automobile sales, it remained an important facet of automobile marketing which pointedly underscored how the meaning of the automobile transcended its role as a transportation device. The automobile was, to use Marshall McLuhan's words, "...a hot, explosive medium of social communication."⁵⁹ Clearly, automobiles were not always bought solely for their transportational qualities, but equally for their symbolic presence as a reinforcement of social status, real or perceived.

An integral part of luxury-oriented advertising was an emphasis on style. Like other advertising concepts, style was one of those vague and nebulous ideas which could achieve concrete reality under the careful guidance of an advertising agency. What determined 'style' was never clearly defined, but to judge from advertisement copy, some automobiles had it while others did not. In an advertisement for their Fisher Bodies, General Motors maintained that 'style is all important'.⁶⁰ Certainly style, while never actually defined, was an important selling point. De Soto for example proudly proclaimed that, for whatever reason, their product 'had been singled out as a fashionable car'.⁶¹ Willys-Knight let the public know that

style, however defined, was not mere chance effect, but the creation of 'the industry's foremost style specialists', and that their new 70-b model represented the 'highest artistic interpretation of the new style-trend.'⁶²

It was not until the mid-1920s that style and stylish beauty became an increasingly prominent component in the marketing of automobiles. Style had played a role in automobile merchandising in previous years, but it was not until the early '20s that the emphasis on automobile styling came into its own. When technological advancements permitted the introduction of coloured automobiles at a low cost, Willys-Overland introduced its Red Bird automobile in 1923, and by 1924 General Motors had introduced multiple colours in its new models.⁶³ When the Columbia introduced 'Custom Coloring' in 1923, it saw itself as an innovator amongst moderately priced automobiles:

This is, we believe, the first time that the buyer of a moderately priced Six has been given the opportunity to express his individual taste and preference, not only in colors but upholstery to match.⁶⁴

In a relatively short space of time, Henry Ford's famous dictum that a consumer could have any colour he or she wished so long as it was black, was outdated. The introduction of colour was one of the most significant changes for the automobile, for with it came an irreversible shift in the perception of the automobile

from a utilitarian means of transport to a fashion good. Indeed as Marchand has demonstrated for consumer products in general, "color was often the easiest and most advertisable way of converting staple products into fashion goods."⁶⁵

The automobile had evolved into a fashion good by the mid-1920s, and by the late 1920s manufacturers such as General Motors had adopted the practice of yearly style changes. Not surprisingly, the shift in the perception of the automobile brought with it a change in advertising practices, for the logic of advertisements no longer focused solely on considerations of price or mechanical features. Instead, automobile manufacturers announced that their new model was 'Dressed in the Mode of Tomorrow', or that it expressed 'the spirit of tomorrow'.⁶⁶ The Pontiac Big 6 was billed as "The smartest thing! Long, low, racy...", while Ford pointed out that their automobile's beauty was 'the new motoring vogue'.⁶⁷ Perhaps the most innovative of style advertisements was that of Hupmobile which attempted to grasp the modern spirit of the decade by describing its product in non-rhyming prose placed in poem format:

Supple.
 Smart.
 Parisian lines.
 Long.
 Low.
 It fits
 The Ritz
 Entrance.
 Doormen stand a bit
 Straighter

When it whirls up.
 Try it
 And see.
 Inside
 The luxury
 Of a living room.
 Not anybody's living room
 But one that
 some famous
 Paris designer
 Might have created.
 A Paris designer
 Did create
 The luxury of Hupmobile.
 One single modern motel
 Keys its decoration
 Inside and out.
 The power...speed
 Dash and flash
 Of a mighty 8 motor
 Sheathed in
 Saue correctness.
 Like that
 Famed French
 Tennis star _____
 Steel and dynamite _____
 In a silken
 Tennis costume
 from the
 Rue Royale.⁶⁸

Some manufacturers such as Packard attempted to resist
 the trend to style-oriented marketing, arguing instead for a
 timelessness of design. As late as 1926 Packard was stressing
 that one of the most attractive features of their automobile was
 the very fact that it didn't change:

Packard encourages its owners in
 keeping their cars, through retaining
 the beauty of Packard lines and in
 announcing no yearly models. It is
 now more than ten years since Packard
 introduced yearly models.⁶⁹

Unfortunately Packard's intentions proved unviable with a fashion conscious public. Eventually they too succumbed to the dictates of consumer demand for modernity and up-to-date automobiles, both of which came to be synonymous in the public's mind with continual change.

Style-oriented advertising, while another facet of prestige marketing, was distinct in the manner in which technology precipitated change. The development of new lacquering processes which allowed the introduction of coloured automobiles became the catalyst for the redirection of advertising's appeal. The difficulty lies in this instance in attempting to assess the degree to which advertising was responsible for moving the automobile from the realm of transport good to that of fashion good. Undoubtedly a segment of the population were style conscious and desirous of obtaining what were the latest in automobiles. According to Chrysler, "The national public demand for progress and improvement in motor car performance and style is insistent and unsatiable."⁷⁰ But more likely advertising was the dominant force, putting the notion of style before the public in such a manner and with such regularity that it could not be ignored.) In that instance advertising manipulated an existing but latent desire and transformed it into a major marketing strategy.

The growth of style marketing had implications for both consumer and industry. Consumers, once they began to play the style game, found it difficult to opt out, for to do so meant to be unfashionable or out-of-date. For the automobile manufacturers the shift in emphasis on style meant a considerable retooling of the industry every year. Moreover, it meant a greater dependence upon the advertising industry, for advertisements had to change as quickly as automobiles did.⁷¹ Style-oriented advertising contributed significantly to the expansion of automobile advertising during the 1920s, and served to tie both industries closer together.

Ostensibly, women comprised half of all possible automobile consumers and, as such, represented a potentially lucrative market. The problem was, therefore, for automobile manufacturers and the advertising agencies which they employed to find a means of tapping that market. Not until the 1920s though, was a concerted effort made specifically to entice the female buyer. During the 1920s women, though not necessarily as consumers, came to be heavily represented in automobile advertisements.⁷² Advertisements had by the 'twenties made a noticeable shift in emphasis from those of the preceding two decades. No longer were advertisements simply descriptions of the product and its benefits. Instead, automobile advertisements came to emphasize style, image, prestige, and other intangible benefits associated with the purchase of an

automobile.⁷³ Quite naturally therefore, women became an integral part of this image and lifestyle campaign which emerged during the 1920s.

Many advertisements, although not directed specifically towards women, used women in one manner or another. In such instances, the woman often assumed a passive role in what was essentially a male-oriented or at least family-oriented tableau.⁷⁴ The Graham Car Company played on a woman's supposedly innate sensibilities in what otherwise was a straightforward advertisement outlining the automobile's safety glass features. The woman plays no role other than to voice a stereotyped female concern for her family:

It was a foregone conclusion that the steps taken by the Grahams to safeguard car owners and their families and friends against the deadly threat of injury from flying glass would immediately become a live national issue.

It is a subject of universal human appeal bound to enlist first and especially the concern of women--and through them, even if every other incentive were lacking, everyone in the average Canadian household.⁷⁵

In advertisements not designed exclusively for women, it was more input that women would normally enjoy. A typical Chrysler advertisement, for example, depicted a sedan speeding along a country road, a woman at the wheel, with several other male and female passengers. Although by her driving the woman assumed an

equal footing with the men, she served no purpose vis-a-vis the content of the advertisement, which emphasized only performance and new features.⁷⁶ In such advertisements, manufacturers and advertising agents alike acknowledged the social reality that women were an important component of the driving population. Yet even in advertisements with women only, the text generally spoke of features and performance, and the women remained as little more than illustrative props. Not until advertisements designed for women are examined, in which women shift from being simply drivers to being owners, does the stereotyped portrayal become noticeably pronounced.⁷⁷

Women in the 'twenties were torn between the greater freedom accorded their sex during that decade, and the traditional ties of home and family. If an advertiser's appeal was made directly to women, it often sought to combine those apparently antithetic themes into a single harmonious selling point; it was independence, yet independence within a traditional family framework. Hence the woman with her family became an important focal point of the female-oriented advertisements.

Ford was perhaps the most active of manufacturers in its attempts to command a share of the women's second car market. Some of the earliest of Ford advertisements aimed specifically at women did not advocate an automobile for a

woman's sole use as later advertisements did. Ownership was seen by advertisers as still largely a man's sphere, though women could indeed share in it:

Before your husband buys his first car or his next car, you will have the opportunity of pointing out to him that there is something more in the purchase of an automobile than the use that the man himself may have for it. You can use a car to good advantage many hours a day when otherwise it would be standing idle outside your husband's place of business.⁷⁸

A typical female-oriented Ford advertisement of a few years later, with the headline "She Drives Her Ford With Confidence", portrays a woman driving in the rain, two young children in the back seat. Rather than stressing her own personal independence, the advertisement noted that the automobile 'gives her confidence that she can take her family quickly, comfortably and safely wherever they may care to go'.⁷⁹ Another advertisement noted that "Once you experience the independence which comes with a Ford for your exclusive use, you wonder how you managed so long without it." The illustration depicted, however, independence only of a sort, for the woman was driving her children to the front of the school.⁸⁰ (Figures 6,7) The depiction of school children seemed particularly popular with Ford, for as one advertisement illustrated with a rainy scene with a mother and child asserts: "Before this family owned a Ford car, a rainy day often meant staying at home--even from school. Now Mother's Ford is always available...."⁸¹ Whether a woman's independence

went so far as to allow her to choose her own automobile remains impossible to ascertain, but at least one manufacturer implied it was not the norm. If a Reo advertisement was any indication, the lone independent woman car shopper was atypical, for according to Reo, most second cars were probably purchased by men. A woman pictured behind a steering wheel was, according to the copy "...a pioneer. For she's one of the few women who have walked right into a salesroom all alone and said 'I want to try out a car!'"⁸² Women it seems were more comfortable using their new found freedom to serve their families better rather than making major consumer decisions which were, according to the predominantly male advertising executive, apparently still a man's sphere.

Advertisements directed at women are interesting for they highlighted, through their use of language, what advertising agencies assumed women thought important and what women desired in an automobile. The gender orientation of the language employed, and the assumptions made, usually separated advertisements that were male-oriented from those which were female-oriented.⁸³ A Jordan advertisement noted that "Every Woman Loves This Car", the reasons being that it possessed a 'comfortable intimacy', was 'light, eager, and ever poised to go', and that it exhibited 'all the ease and splendid poise which charming women prize'. Similarly another Jordan advertisement announced that it knew "What Every Woman Wants", and, not

surprisingly, "She wants warmth, comfort, and the atmosphere of home."⁸⁴ Women, from the advertising agencies point of view, were attuned to a different reality than men. One advertisement praised 'women's unerring instinct for distinction and practical values', pointing out that women buyers always recognize subtle features such as 'distinctive charm'.⁸⁵ Chevrolet believed that women were more concerned with appearance than performance, noting that their utility coupe strongly appealed to women because "Its graceful lines, fine finish, extra wide doors, big, cheerful windows, and deep upholstery meet her aesthetic requirements".⁸⁶ Undoubtedly aesthetics played an important role in model selection, but then, so did it also for men. (For the most part it appeared that advertising executives thought women somewhat shallow or frivolous in their buying decisions, and, as such, women were seldom apprised of the mechanical qualities of the machines in question.) A Paige advertisement probably best exemplified that attitude when, in a rather patronizing tone, it noted,

She knows little-nor need she-of the
lifetime care and conscience engineers have
dedicated to the nice simplicities of mechanisms
about her. Enough that all her motoring whims
are gratified-that every comfort serves and
surrounds her.⁸⁷

If a woman was not portrayed with her family, she nevertheless had to conform to an ideal image. She was rarely independent merely for the sake of independence, enjoying driving simply for the thrill of it. There was always a purpose

in her driving, whether it be social functions, or participating in wholesome, innocent, and beneficial activities.) A 1925 Ford advertisement warned, "Your greatest heritage is your good health--guard it with exercise that is recreation--exercise in the open!", and then went on to note, "A Ford car has been the stimulus to thousands of women to lead happier, healthier, more active lives."⁸⁸ Interestingly, the illustration accompanying it depicted two women arriving at a golf course, clubs in hand (Figure 8). The attempt to infuse a notion of exclusiveness also seemed clear, for if few men played golf, then certainly the number of women participating in the sport was lower still. In another Ford advertisement, two women stopped their automobile on a country road to buy apples from a roadside stand (Figure 9). If the link between a second car and healthy activity was not entirely clear from the illustration, the copywriters made certain it was brought out in the text. "Every woman who loves Nature--and what woman does not!", began the advertisement, "should enjoy all the 'rare days' of this perfect month in the open air. With a Ford car at her disposal she can revel in June air and scene to her heart's content."⁸⁹ Advertisements for the Essex made a somewhat more tenuous link between a woman's independence and healthy, innocent activities, though the intent seemed apparent from the illustrations. In one such illustration three women were portrayed out for a drive in the countryside. They've stopped at the side of the road, and while one woman waits in the car, another is posed on top of a fence with a

bouquet of flowers, while a third takes her picture.⁹⁰ Another Essex advertisement, much like that of Ford, celebrated the virtues of sunshine and fresh air as it depicted three women stopped along a country road to buy apples from a farmer.⁹¹ (Figure 10)

In each of the advertisements the common element was not simply a woman's new found freedom with a second car but, more importantly, that she used it for healthy, beneficial recreation. If a woman was not depicted participating in healthy recreation, neither was she shown wasting her time frivolously. One Ford advertisement advised that "By owning a Ford car a woman can with ease widen her sphere of interests without extra time or effort", and perhaps more importantly, "She can accomplish more daily, yet easily keep pace with her usual schedule of domestic obligations."⁹² Under the caption "A Car for Her, Too", several women are shown sitting in a well furnished front parlour, and on one side a maid assists one of the women with her coat. "Today as never before," the copy asserted, "the modern woman is going more places...finding more things to do...finding more time for her children and for social and community activity. Naturally she drives herself."⁹³ Thus while a woman was 'modern', her independence reflected the idealized image which stressed purposeful activity and, above all else, family. Interestingly as well, that idealized perception of modern woman extended to her physical appearance in the advertisements. She

was invariably young and pretty, well attired, tall and thin, certainly never overweight nor dowdy.⁹⁴

As noted earlier, advertisements rarely deviated from the accepted formula of women as wife or mother. If however the woman was portrayed as independent, it was at least within a carefully delineated framework which dictated the type of independence in accordance with prevailing middle class norms of what was proper for a woman. There were, however, some exceptions to that pattern, most notably the advertising campaigns of the Jordan Motor Car Company during the mid-1920s.

In their advertisements Jordan went against established middle class values which dominated the era's advertising, and opted instead for themes of freedom for freedom's sake, implicit sexuality, and the abandonment of responsibility. Even a seemingly innocent advertising tableau, the return of a teenage daughter from school for the Easter vacation, toyed with the bounds of accepted decency by describing this adolescent schoolgirl as 'supple, strong and free'.⁹⁵ Although those adjectives were relatively innocuous on their own, their application to an adolescent on the brink of womanhood would undoubtedly cause concern for some. The independence of spirit and action alluded to above was more forcibly developed in other advertisements. One Jordan advertisement beckoned purchasers with its belief that

Somewhere far beyond the place where men
and motors race through the canyons of
the town - somewhere on the top of the
world - there is a peak which dull
care has never climbed.

Moreover, the Jordan was an automobile 'for the girl who loves
to take the open road with the top down, in the summer time.'⁹⁶

If that particular advertisement condoned pleasure
seeking, however innocently, others by the manufacturer were not
quite so guarded. In particular, one Jordan advertisement made
a blatant call for the virtues of irresponsibility. The subject
of the advertisement, presumably a woman, lamented her domestic
situation:

I am sick of four walls and a ceiling - I have
business with the sunshine and the summer
wind. I am weary of dishes and doctors -
I am bored by gas stoves and tired of
thinking of meals.⁹⁷

With a note of finality she resolved, "I am going somewhere if
it is the last thing I ever do in my life". The instrument of
her liberation was, of course, the automobile, in that instance
the Blue Silhouette Jordan. That particular advertisement did
more than simply advertise its product; it created an openended
drama complete with tension, frustration, and a main character
who hints ambiguously about her own personal demise. Jordan
stood unsurpassed in its employment of this genre of
advertisement which advocated freedom, if not irresponsibility,
simply for its own sake.

The manner in which Jordan advertisements appeared to flaunt established social norms was apparent in the sexual connotations present in the advertisement for their Playboy model. Although the sexuality never became explicit, the overtly sensual language employed and the practice of attributing human characteristics to the automobile created advertisements in which sexual imagery remained never far below the surface. In one Playboy advertisement, "A Golden Girl From Somewhere", stands 'wondering, expectant, on the world's far edge.' 'Lithe and splendid', she is a girl 'touched with a happy craving that will not be denied'. Similarly the automobile itself was billed as 'a vigorous, happy and reliable companion', particularly for 'the girl who loves the range of the open road'. The Playboy was, according to Jordan, 'a thing of muscle and brawn - quick, responsive, strong and unrestrained', and it 'carries young hearts and young hopes to places where we like to go'.⁹⁸

It remains interesting that a campaign such as Jordan's, which to varying degrees disregarded prevailing norms of morality, home, and sense of responsibility, met with such success. The continuity of themes in the Jordan advertising campaign over a span of several years attested to the fact that at least some portion of the purchasing public was receptive to advertisements of that nature.⁹⁹ More significantly it indicated a society non-homogeneous in composition; one which in principle adhered to established views of morality, home and family, yet

also one which tacitly approved if not supported advertisements of the Jordan variety which negated traditional female role models.

CONCLUSION

The three decades preceding 1930 witnessed the transformation of automobile advertising from infancy to maturity, with the first two decades of the twentieth century establishing the framework for the extensive automobile campaigns of the 1920s. With the 1920s came an increased use of advertising in the marketing of consumer goods of all types, including automobiles. That rise reflected not only the increasing competition for a rapidly expanding market, but was indicative of a maturing of both the advertising industry and the automobile industry, resulting in an increased mutual interdependence. The 1920s marked a stylistic and thematic watershed in automobile advertisements, a shift from the predominantly factual/technical-oriented advertisements of the preceding decades to the image-oriented lifestyle campaigns which characterized the '20s. Consequently automobile advertisements were transformed from representations of the production ethic to that of an ethic of consumption, evident for example in the conversion by 1930 of the automobile into a recognizable and viable fashion good.

Inseparable from the transformation automobile advertising underwent by 1930 was a shift in the public's conscious awareness of the automobile. That change was primarily due to the automobile's transition from an elite plaything at its introduction to a mass subscribed means of transit during its first thirty years in Canada. Partially the shift resulted from lower unit prices, widening the sphere of ownership beyond anything that could have been imagined only twenty years previously. But lower price alone cannot account entirely for the automobile's phenomenal expansion in ownership. If indeed price was the only factor determining consumer behaviour, then advertising with its subtle yet diverse thematic campaigns, would lose its raison d'etre. But clearly, as the preceding has demonstrated, advertising continued to grow more complex, and the price factor merely became one of many with which automobile consumers were faced. The very fact that advertisements continuously changed underscored an awareness by the public, and hence by the advertising agencies, that the automobile meant more than a means of personal conveyance. Economic determinism has its place, but it fails to take into consideration a multitude of factors which bore with equal importance upon the rationale for automobile purchase.

The consumer is a complex individual for whom rationality and practicality are not always the only guides. Instead the consumer is constantly influenced in his or her purchase

decisions by intangibles such as prestige or social status, intangibles readily manipulated by the advertising process. In this manner a commodity such as the automobile assumes a symbolic importance beyond its primary utilitarian function. As Grubb and Grathwohl point out,

...the symbolic social classification of a good allows the consumer to relate himself directly to it, matching his self-concept with the meaning of the good.¹⁰⁰

Hence the automobile came to possess a symbolic significance, reflected in and reinforced by the medium of advertising, which shaped consumer's perceptions of the automobile and thus determined society's relationship to the automobile.

Advertising, it is maintained by some, is simply a blatant manipulation of innate human desires. If this is indeed so, then of what value is advertising to the historian.¹⁰¹ To begin with, while advertising does exercise some manipulative tendencies, it must also be grounded, at least partially, in a reality which is relevant to the audience it seeks to communicate with. According to Markin,

A message is much more likely to succeed if it fits the pattern of understandings, attitudes, values, and goals that a receiver has; or at least if it starts with this pattern and tries only to reshape it or alter it slightly.¹⁰²

Thus, as pointed out here and earlier, advertising cannot be a total abstraction, but must reflect in some manner and some measure the society which it hopes to influence.

It is because advertising cannot be a total fabrication that it has a usefulness for historians beyond simply that of a curious relic from an earlier era. Advertising is an important cultural artifact which, if employed judiciously, can recreate something of the attitudes and perceptions of the market for which it was targeted. Advertisements, while apparently subjectively promoting a good are, in the words of Richard Pollay,

...unavoidably displaying the values of the culture, presumed and reinforced in the argument of the ad.¹⁰³

The use of the middle class as a consuming force reflected the advertising industry's increasing attentiveness to that class. Automobile manufacturers appear to have decided that their best opportunities for growth and profits lay in the exploitation of that particular stratum of society. To an ambitious and mobile middle class the industry attempted to market not only the 'dream' of upper class leisure in its varied forms but, as importantly, respectability. At the same time physical mobility was often construed as an equivalent for social mobility. As such, automobiles emerged as an important item of conspicuous

consumption) amongst an increasingly status conscious middle class.

In addition automobiles, in an increasingly urbanized and industrialized era, provided a tenuous reaffirmation of urban society's pastoral links, as evidenced by the prolific use of rural settings in advertisements. The idea of the pastoral ideal, and the transformation of time and space which accompanied it, are themes examined in detail in the following chapter.

Automobiles were portrayed as the means of escape from the urban maelstrom, holding out the hope of tranquility in an increasingly hurried world. Although such advertisements were creating illusion they were nonetheless built upon fact, borne out both by the public's receptivity to such images and by the successful continuity of such marketing strategies. While unlikely that readers confused either the romance or the rhetoric of advertising imagery for what was reality, the public nevertheless desired both to sweeten reality and provide a vicarious mental escape from routine everyday existences.

In addition to its significance as a cultural artifact, the use of automobile advertising argues against the economic determinism theory of technological diffusion, not simply for the automobile but for major technological developments in general. As the initial enthusiasm for the automobile as a mechanism of transport appeared to wane, a new approach to

marketing became necessary during the 1920s, with the automobile assuming varied roles, such as a prestige item or a fashion good. The fact that automobile manufacturers and advertisers continuously introduced new and innovative techniques to stimulate sales meant that sales were not necessarily self-generating, and the automobile's presence alone was not sufficient to entirely remove public reluctance to its use.

The 1920s became the crucial decade in the perception/acceptance process for the automobile in Ontario society. Automobile registrations soared in Ontario during the 1920s, from 155,861 in 1920 to 490,906 in 1930, but in relationship to the entire population these figures remain quite small. By 1931, with nearly half a million vehicles registered in Ontario, only 60.4% of the population owned an automobile. The importance of the 1920s for the diffusion of the automobile is further underscored if one considers similar statistics for 1921, at which time only 26.7% of Ontario households owned an automobile. Even so, despite the dramatic increases of the 1920s, nearly 40% of all Ontario households still did not own an automobile by the end of the decade.¹⁰⁴ But what of the rest of the population? Apparently visibility did not equal acceptance, a fact realized by automobile manufacturers and advertising agencies alike. Even decreasing prices or financing plans could not by themselves increase sales. Hence the need for a continued

'selling' of the automobile to the public. With such a small percentage of the population owning an automobile, it was an ongoing process to integrate fully the automobile into Ontario life. Undoubtedly the automobile had come a long way in becoming part of the provincial lifestyle, but as the phenomenon of automobile advertising indicated, the automobile's acceptance by, and position in, Ontario society was not a fait accompli by 1920.)

ENDNOTES

¹Richard Pollay, "The Importance of Writing the History of Advertising", Journal of Advertising History (December, 1977), p.3.

²Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985), p.83.

³Joseph Klapper, The Effects of Mass Communication (New York, 1960), p.15.

⁴Richard Pollay, "The Identification and Distribution of Values Manifest in Print Advertising 1900-1980", in Robert Pitts Jr. and Arch Woodside, eds., Personal Values and Consumer Behaviour (Lexington, 1984), p. 111.

⁵Nathan Rosenberg, "Factors Affecting the Diffusion of Technology", Explorations in Economic History 10 (Fall 1972), p.6; Robert Paul Thomas, An Analysis of the Pattern of Growth of the Automobile Industry 1895-1929 (New York, 1977), p.4.

⁶By 1915 automobiles had surpassed the food industry to become the largest single industry advertiser in the United States. As an example Ford averaged only \$1,600 per month for advertising in 1904, increasing this amount regularly until 1917 when Ford, for personal reasons stopped advertising altogether. Dealers however continued to advertise at the rate of three million dollars per year. Caught up in increasing competition though, Ford resumed advertising in 1923, spending nearly fifteen million dollars on advertising between September, 1923 and October, 1926. David L. Lewis, The Public Image of Henry Ford (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976), pp. 36, 126-27, 191.

⁷As studies by Grubb and Grathwohl have shown, goods can act as agents of definition and reinforcement of an individual's self-concept and are important considerations in the act of purchase. The symbolic social classification of consumer goods allows an individual to match his or her self concept with the meaning of the good. In this way, according to Grubb and Grothwohl, "self-support and self-enhancement can take place through association with goods which have a desirable social meaning." From an anthropological viewpoint, it is standard ethnographic practice to assume that all material possessions carry social meanings. Edward Grubb and Harrison Grathwohl, "Consumer Self-Concept, Symbolism and Market Behaviour: A Theoretical Approach", Journal of Marketing Vol. 31 (1967), p. 5; Mary Douglas and Baron Isherwood, The World of Goods: Towards an Anthropology of Consumption (London, 1979), p. 59.

⁸Eugene S. Ferguson, "Toward a Discipline of the History of Technology", Technology and Culture 15 (January 1974), p. 21. The enthusiasm for technology is not a twentieth century phenomenon. As Larry Stewart has demonstrated, the popular appeal of science and technologically-oriented subjects in the eighteenth century was sufficient to support a small industry of itinerant lecturers. Larry Stewart, "The Selling of Newton: Science and Technology in Early Eighteenth-Century England", Journal of British Studies 25(April, 1986), pp. 178-92.

⁹Canadian Magazine, July, 1906.

¹⁰Canadian Courier, March 27, 1909.

¹¹Ontario Legislature, Debates, March 10, 1910.

¹²On the professionalization of the advertising industry prior to WWI, and the industry's increasing role in the marketing of consumer goods, see Daniel Pope, The Development of National Advertising, 1865-1920 (Columbia PhD, 1973), pp. 221-312.

¹³Harry Dexter Kitson, "Minor Studies in the Psychology of Advertising: Amount and Rate of Increase in the Use of Illustrations", Journal of Applied Psychology 4(1921), pp. 5-13; "Minor Studies in the Psychology of Advertising: The Development of Art-Forms in Magazine Advertising", Journal of Applied Psychology 6(1922), pp. 59-68; Richard Pollay, "The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising, 1900-1980", Journal of Marketing Vol.49 (Summer 1985), pp. 27-31. Kitson's figures are derived from an examination of selected mass circulation periodicals from 1895 to 1919. During this period Kitson notes that the use of illustrated advertisements increased dramatically from 10% of the total to almost 90% of the total advertisements. My own studies using Macleans as a source indicate slightly lower figures of approximately 75% of all automobile advertisements being illustrated, with this figure remaining fairly constant throughout the 1920's.

¹⁴Marchand, P.10.

¹⁵Albert T. Poffenberger, Psychology in Advertising (Chicago: A.W. Shaw Company, 1925); T. J. Jackson Lears, "From Salvation to Self-Realization: Advertising and the Therapeutic Roots of Consumer Culture, 1880-1930" in The Culture of Consumption: Critical Essays in American History, 1880-1980 (New York: Pantheon Books, 1983), pp. 18-19. The English essayist and philosopher F. R. Leavis who, writing in 1930 and believing that "culture is at a crisis" due to forces such as mass production and standardization, cited the tendency toward "the unprecedented use of applied psychology" in advertising as a significant contributing factor in the decline of culture as he

saw it. Mass Civilisation and Minority Culture (Cambridge: The Minority Press, 1930) p.11. The automobile adapted readily to the psychological approach, particularly evident in the psychological self-help books of the period. Manuals which promoted personality and self-improvement stressed how important it was to develop one's self, to have others of one as "a somebody", and to appear superior. To this end the ownership of an automobile fitted in well. Such manuals stressed the importance of consumption and the benefits to be gained from it, just as automobile advertising often did. Walter Susman, Culture as History, (New York: Pantheon Books, 1984), pp. 277-280.

¹⁶Ontario Sessional Papers, Department of Highways, Annual Report of the Motor Vehicles Branch, 1941.

¹⁷Macleans, January, 1914.

¹⁸Macleans, February, October, 1912.

¹⁹Macleans, February, 1915. See also the advertisement for the Interstate Automobile which billed itself as "The Auto for Women", chiefly due to the fact that it possessed electric lights and an electric starter. Macleans, June, 1912.

²⁰Macleans, November, 1917.

²¹Macleans, August, 1917.

²²According to advertising agencies of the 1920s, it was estimated that 80-85% of all consumer spending could be attributed to women, although it seems that major purchases such as automobile still constituted part of a man's realm. Marchand, p.66.

²³Dundas Star, August 14, 1909; Saturday Evening Post, October 23, 1923; Macleans, November 1, 1923. In their advertisement for Chevrolet, General Motors expressed their desire to make automobile ownership as easy as possible for everyone, pointing out that, "The down payment may be adjusted to suit the circumstances of almost every buyer and subsequent convenient payments can be easily arranged."

²⁴Macleans, August 15, September 1, 1926.

²⁵While Henry Ford for the most part disdained style oriented advertising and the "extravagance of the consumption ethic", by 1927, he realized that the introduction of the Model A, Ford had to admit that the automobile as "satisfactory transportation" was not enough, and that consumers were opting for style, beauty and extravagance when choosing their automobiles. Roland Marchand, pp. 156-157.

²⁶Macleans, December 1, 1927.

²⁷Macleans, April 15, 1927.

²⁸Macleans, May 15, 1927.

²⁹Sidney Levy, "Symbols for Sale" Harvard Business Review, Vol. 37, No. 4 (1959), p. 118; Irwin A. Horowitz, Russel S. Kaye, "Perception and Advertising", Journal of Advertising Research, Vol. 15, No. 3 (June 1975), P. 115.

³⁰Macleans, February 1, 1930; May 15, 1924. Willys-Knight used this theme extensively in its later advertisements. One headline announced the automobile as the "instinctive Choice of Canada's Oldest and Finest Families", another that it was "the car which proclaims established social standing", while a third noted the increasing popularity of the Willys-Knight among "the socially prominent". Even the normally unpretentious Ford stated in one advertisement that "In the fashionable residential districts across Canada you will see Ford cars parked in front of handsome houses...."

³¹Macelans, November 1, 1925.

³²There were of course automobiles which, because of their prices, were obvious manifestations of prestige and luxury, such as Packard and Lincoln. Lincoln, in a series of advertisements, stated that their product was owned by people "who require not only luxurious and dependable transportation but also dignified and exclusive expression of their personal tastes and ideals." Macleans, August 1, 1923. See also Macleans, December 1, 1923; February 1, 1924.

³³Macleans, August 15, 1923.

³⁴Macleans, April 15, 1928. See also the Durant advertisement March 15, 1928.

³⁵Macleans, November 15, 1925.

³⁶Macleans, February 15, 1929.

³⁷Advertising agencies were far from representative of the population as a whole. In an analysis of the top twenty American advertising agencies of 1928, ninety percent of all executives were male, with no blacks or ethnic groups visibly represented. As well, their educational background and income level rendered them atypical. It is not surprising, therefore, that advertisements often reflected an essentially upper middle class WASP viewpoint of society. Marchand, pp.33-37.

³⁸Macleans, March 1, 1927.

³⁹Maclean's, June 15, 1929.

⁴⁰Macleans, July 15, 1929.

⁴¹Farmer's Advocate, October 10, 1918.

⁴²Farmer's Magazine, February 15, 1919. See also Farmer's Magazine, November, 1917.

⁴³Farmer's Magazine, February 24, 1921. See also the Overland advertisement in Farmer's Advocate, August 15, 1918, which asked the question of consumers, "Rein or Steering Wheel?"

⁴⁴There are countless examples of such advertisements to be found in rural publications. For example see the Ford advertisements in the Weekly Sun, June to September 1916; the Studebaker advertisement in Farmer's Magazine, March 1916; the Overland advertisement, Farmer's Magazine, April 1916; advertisements for McLaughlin and Biscoe, Farmer's Magazine, August 25, 1921; the advertisements for Ford in the Farmer's Advocate, February 25, June 24, 1926; Dodge Brothers advertisement, Farmer's Advocate, June 3, 1926.

⁴⁵For example see Farmer's Magazine, May, October, December 1915.

⁴⁶Farmer's Magazine, January 15, 1920. See also the Ford advertisement, Farmer's Magazine, August 15, 1919.

⁴⁷Farmer's Advocate, September 19, 1918.

⁴⁸Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923); Annual Reports of the Department of Public Highways, 1926 and 1927 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1929). In actual numbers, farmers as an occupational group owned 68,049 automobiles in 1922 and 99,649 automobiles in 1926, an increase of over fifty percent in only four years. In 1921 the rural population in Ontario was 55% of the total population, dropping slightly to 49.8% by 1931. Report Upon Births, Deaths and Marriages for the Years 1921, 1931 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1931).

⁴⁹Marchand, p.78. He attributes this to the class orientation of the ad men themselves, who assumed their obsession was equally shared by everyone. Marchand, p.38. For examples of advertisements see Macleans, May 1, 1925; May 1, 1927; June 15, 1929. For a general history of golf in Canada, See L.V. Kavanaugh, History of Golf In Canada, (Toronto: Fitzhenry & Whiteside, 1973).

⁵⁰See for example, Macleans May 1, May 15, 1926; March 1, 1929.

⁵¹Macleans, September 1, 1929.

⁵²SEP, July 21, 1923.

⁵³SEP, September 24, 1921.

⁵⁴SEP, February 23, 1924.

⁵⁵Macleans May 15, March 15, 1926. For further Packard advertisements see also Macleans December 15, 1925; January 15, February 15, March 15, June 15, July 15, 1926.

⁵⁶Donald Davis argues that automobile manufacturers reflected the backgrounds and aspirations of their key entrepreneurs according to their position on the price-class hierarchy. Hence Packard, at the top of the hierarchy and building automobiles for its peers, saw its product as a "gentleman's car, built by gentlemen", and consequently held back from introducing more moderately priced models for fear of damaging its reputation. Donald Davis, "The Social Determinants of Success in the American Automotive Industry Before 1929", Social Science Information 21, 1 (1982), p. 76.

⁵⁷Macleans, August 1, 1923. See also Macleans December 1, 1923; February 1, 1924. See also Cynthia Dettelbach, In the Driver's Seat: The Automobile in American Literature and Popular Culture (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1970), pp. 58-60.

⁵⁸Macleans December 1, 1923. In an attempt to impart an air of exclusiveness, manufacturers went so far as to include classical imagery and allusion in their advertisements. Chrysler, moreso than other manufacturer, was responsible for developing in the public mind a relationship between prestige and timelessness. Under the heading, "Chrysler Beauty Is No Chance Creation", a Chrysler product is depicted in front of the Parthenon. According to the copy, Chrysler did something never done before by other manufacturers: it has sought out "authentic forms of beauty which have come down the centuries unsurpassed and unchallenged and has translated them in terms of motor car beauty and motor car utility". Thus, as the advertisement points out, "Chrysler's matching of the exclusive slender-profile radiator with the cowl bar moulding has its inspiration in the repetition of motif in the historic frieze of the ancient Parthenon". Macleans, February 15, 1929. See also Marchand, pp.127-32.

⁵⁹Marshall McLuhan, Understanding Media (1964), p.221.

⁶⁰Macleans, November 1, 1928.

⁶¹Macleans, March 1, 1929.

⁶²Macleans, May 1, April 1, 1929.

⁶³Marchand, p.122. For examples of the Overland Red Bird advertisements, see The Saturday Evening Post, May 12, June 9, August, 11, 1923.

⁶⁴SEP, October 6, 1923. Other manufacturers such as Nash and Oakland also offered similar maroon coloured bodies on their automobiles. Their advertisements, created in the colour of the automobile offered, are indicative of the technological developments applied to advertising in the 1920s. SEP, May 12, June 9, 1923; March 8, 1924.

⁶⁵Marchand, p. 127.

⁶⁶Macleans, August 15, 1928; May 1, 1930.

⁶⁷Macleans, April 1, June 1, 1929.

⁶⁸Macleans, May 15, 1930.

⁶⁹Macleans, January 15, 1926.

⁷⁰Macleans, July 15, 1928. One Chrysler advertisement made the connection between the automobile manufacturer and Paris designers under the caption "STYLE--Paris for Clothes; Chrysler for Cars". The text then went on to note, "The public, ever eager to reward originality and merit, has welcomed them [Chrysler] wholeheartedly as the forerunners of an entirely new and vastly superior motor car style, just as it welcomes enthusiastically the dictum of Paris in matters of clothes." Macleans, August 1, 1928.

⁷¹Ford's advertising policies are indicative of how automobile manufacturers were subject to the fortunes of shifting consumer demands. The unchanging nature of the product, as well as the predictability of purchaser tastes, allowed Ford to discontinue paid advertising from 1917 to 1923, although dealers themselves continued to advertise. However changes in consumer demand meant that the traditional Ford emphasis on reliability and practicality were no longer sufficient. Ford attempted to overcome its sagging sales with largescale advertising campaigns, increasingly emphasizing style and comfort. As such Ford, forced by the public's increasing demand for an automobile which was more than simply a means of transport, became one of the largest advertisers of the mid-1920s. David Lewis, The Private Life of Henry Ford, pp. 126, 189, 190-191.

⁷²The fact that women were perceived as important consumers is borne out by the statistics of female drivers versus male drivers in the advertisements of Macleans: 1920, 21-17%; 1922 - 0%; 1923 - 21%; 1924 - 33%; 1925 - 55%; 1926 - 62%; 1927 - 26%; 1928 - 50%; 1929 - 39%; 1930 - 65%.

⁷³Richard W. Pollay, "The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising 1900 - 1980", Journal of Marketing, (Summer 1985), p. 31; Marchand, p. 10.

⁷⁴Marchand uses the term tableaux or social tableaux to describe advertising illustrations which were reflections of the reality, or perhaps more accurately the fantasy, of the social aspirations of consumers. Marchand, pp. 165-67.

⁷⁵Macleans, February 15, 1930.

⁷⁶Macleans, June 15, 1923.

⁷⁷For example, see the Dodge advertisement, Macleans, February 15, 1929.

⁷⁸Macleans, August 1, 1928.

⁷⁹Macleans, November 1, 1923.

⁸⁰Macleans, February 15, 1927.

⁸¹Macleans, April 1, 1925. For other family oriented advertisements see January 15, July 1, 1925; January 1, March 1, 1926.

⁸²Macleans, May 15, 1928.

⁸³Some advertisements clearly directed themselves to men. Chalmers noted that "No man can possibly get the truth about the Chalmers without being greatly impressed"; Marmor directed their advertisements "To the Well-to-do Men of Smaller Cities"; while according to an advertisement for Essex, "Men say these things about it". Other advertisements used a combination of words designed for masculine appeal, as for example Lincoln who described their automobile as having the "unusual combination of smartness, nimbleness, and dash, together with rugged stamina". SEP, October 29, August 27, August 13, 1921.

⁸⁴SEP, September 16, 1922; February 3, 1923.

⁸⁵SEP, September 16, 1922.

⁸⁶SEP, July 21, 1923.

⁸⁷SEP, May 26, 1923.

⁸⁸Macleans, May 1, 1925.

⁸⁹Macleans, June 1, 1925.

⁹⁰Macleans, August 1, 1925.

⁹¹Macleans, September 15, 1925. For a similar Essex outdoor scene, see March 15, 1925.

⁹²Macleans, March 1, 1925.

⁹³Macleans, April 1, 1930.

⁹⁴See Marchand, pp. 179-84 for a discussion of this phenomenon in advertising generally.

⁹⁵SEP, March 1, 1924.

⁹⁶SEP, March 3, 1923.

⁹⁷SEP, July 21, 1923.

⁹⁸SEP, February 26, 1921; March 29, 1924.

⁹⁹The effects which Jordan advertisements had on the public are, like other automobile advertisements, often difficult to assess. According to R.A. Corrigan however, Jordan advertisements provided inspiration for F. Scott Fitzgerald's The Great Gatsby, contending that Fitzgerald used the name of the Jordan automobile as well as some of the advertising campaign's thematic overtones in his novel. R.A. Corrigan, "Somewhere West of Laramie, on the road to West Egg: automobiles, fillies, and the west in The Great Gatsby", Journal of Popular Culture. 7(Summer, 1977), pp. 152-158.

¹⁰⁰Edward Grubb and Harrison Grathwohl, "Common Self-Concept, Symbolism and Market Behaviour: A Theoretical Approach", Journal of Marketing, Vol. 3 (1967), p. 25.

¹⁰¹As an example of the use of advertising as a historical source, see Ruth Schwartz Cowan, "The 'Industrial Revolution' in the Home: Household Technology and Social Change in the Twentieth Century", Technology and Culture 17 (January, 1976), pp. 1-23. Cowan examines the impact of technology on the middle class housewife after 1900, utilizing periodical advertising balanced with corroborating statistical records.

¹⁰²Rom J. Markin, The Psychology of Consumer Behaviour (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1969), p. 151.

¹⁰³Richard Pollay, "The Subsiding Sizzle: A Descriptive History of Print Advertising, 1900 - 1980", p. 24.

¹⁰⁴Department of Highways, Annual Report 1941, Ontario Sessional Papers, 1942; Census of Canada 1931, vol. XI, Monographs Part II.

CHAPTER THREE

BREAKING DOWN THE BARRIERS OF EVERYDAY: THE AUTOMOBILE'S ALTERATION OF TEMPORAL AND SPATIAL PERCEPTIONS

As the speed and ease of travel by automobile increased, there developed a belief that traditional, temporal and spatial boundaries had diminished. (Both concepts, that of time and that of space, are fundamental to any society, and indeed are the building blocks upon which a society structures itself and its experiences.¹ For Ontario the alteration of established spatial relationships brought with it many changes, including a loss of local isolation and local identity within Ontario society. That in turn created a profound alteration of Ontario's most fundamental spatial relationship; that of rural to urban society.) Technology had not so much robbed society of a sense of space, as E.M. Forster stated, but rather had altered it so significantly as to create a new sense of space.²

The automobile was the primary catalyst for the reorientation of time and space in Ontario during the first decades of the twentieth century. Indeed one can hardly examine the automobile's impact without due consideration of the time and space issue. But more specifically, it was the automobile's capacity for unrestricted movement between locations which facilitated such a reorientation.) A thorough alteration of traditional patterns of personal mobility provided the impetus for the reevaluation of temporal and

spatial realities, and it was the automobile which so radically redefined personal mobility as to render established concepts of time and space obsolete.

The automobile was not the first major technological development to transform existing perceptions of time and space through a significant increase in personal mobility. With the previously unparalleled speed of the railway, the public could see how distance between points had apparently decreased as the time of travel became increasingly less, or conversely how much further one could journey in the same space of time. It was a relative perception based upon past experiences of personal mobility: what had once taken a day on a horse could be accomplished in a few hours with the coming of the "iron horse". The replacement of one transport technology by an entirely new technology created the perception that the railroad had actually "annihilated" time and space, as some contemporary travellers phrased it.³

(The bridging in the twentieth century of ever-widening physical space was the achievement of the automobile.) More importantly, it was not simply the conquest of linear space; that contribution belonged to the railway of the nineteenth century. But the very fact that it was linear became the railway's restrictive feature, and forever separated it from the automobile. The automobile, on the other hand, meant liberation

from railway timetables and pre-determined destinations: it provided a hitherto unknown freedom of distance and direction. That freedom, however, came at the expense of the steam railways. As the traffic manager of the Toronto, Hamilton and Buffalo railway, G.C. Martin, noted in 1921, the automobile was having a noticeable impact on railway business. According to Martin,

Our Toronto Exhibition business this fall (1920) fell off about 25% from our local stations as far west as Waterford, Dunnville and those places. In reply to a questionnaire, the various Station agents stated that the falling off was almost invariably on account of automobiles; that people were driving to the Exhibition and taking their friends.

Even Ontario's inter-urban railways, built expressly for the efficient movement of passengers, suffered a decline in passenger levels during the 1920s due to the automobile's proliferation and the accompanying development of a comprehensive road network.⁴ The possibilities presented by this new degree of personal mobility afforded by the automobile, as opposed to the railroad, were not lost on either the automobile manufacturers or early automobile enthusiasts. Travel by railroad meant that, as one writer in Macleans described it,

...this joy of the open road, with its unrestricted movements, was lost. Travel became in one sense at least, an affair performed under pronounced limitations. The traveller had of necessity to proceed at hours that were not of his choice and by routes that were fixed for him, while his views of passing scenery were but

fractional in scope. To-day, the automobile is emancipating men and women from this partial thralldom into which they have been forced.⁵

Similar sentiments were echoed by an Overland advertisement which pointed out that an automobile provided 'a glorious independence of action', or as Chevrolet more pointedly stated, the owner of an automobile is "...independent of steel rails, time-tables and even of the weather. He goes where he pleases, when he pleases, and stops until ready to go on or go home".⁶ In a relatively short period of time, the automobile had become synonymous with new standards of time, speed, distance, and direction.

A realization of the freedom and mobility engendered by the automobile became widespread throughout society, manifesting itself in often unlikely locations. Even children's literature was capable of celebrating the potential of the automobile. Kenneth Grahame's 1908 children's classic, The Wind in the Willows is a fine example of this trend, for the book is full of allusions to the new speed and ease of mobility offered by the automobile. In fact the role of the automobile remained central to the entire book. One of the main plots of the book was Toad's obsession with the automobile, an obsession to a point which caused him to steal automobiles, break the law in varied and sundry forms, and to stoutly resist his friends' attempts to help him overcome his

infatuation. In a parallel with reality, the characters created by Grahame were automobile boosters of the most fervent kind.

Through his characters, Grahame introduced the notion of the alteration of time and space by personal mobility, and pointedly contrasted new transportational technology with the old. Toad was well aware of the possibilities created by personal mobility, and even though he possessed merely a cart at the beginning of the story, he spoke fondly of its potential to transform his own perception of time and space.

Referring to his cart, Toad exclaims:

There's real life for you, embodied in that little cart. The open road, the dusty highway, the heath, the common, the hedgerows, the rollings downs! Camps, villages, towns, cities! Here to-day, up and off somewhere else tomorrow! Travel, change, interest, excitement! The whole world before you, and a horizon that's always changing!⁷

Almost immediately afterwards, Toad and friends were subjected firsthand to the presence of the automobile, a presence which assumed an almost sinister quality:

...behind them they heard a faint warning hum, like the drone of a distant bee. Glancing back, they saw a small cloud of dust, with a dark centre of energy, advancing on them at incredible speed....⁸

After his close encounter with the automobile, which in fact wrecked his cart, Toad was seized, just as were those

individuals at the automobile shows described earlier, with what he perceived as the wave of the future. Rather than lash out at the object which caused the destruction of his cart, Toad could only exclaim:

Glorious, stirring sight!...The poetry of motion! The real way to travel! The only way to travel! Here to-day--in next week tomorrow! Villages skipped, towns and cities jumped--always somebody else's horizon! O bliss!⁹

At first sight Toad grasped the potential of the automobile to alter established patterns of spatial and temporal reality. The excitement he conveyed and the transformational qualities he attributed to the automobile should not be dismissed as mere hyperbole. By the standards of cart travel which he, and undoubtedly most of the readers were familiar, one could indeed appear to have achieved in one day by automobile what might well have taken until the following week. Such a radical transformation of the accustomed boundaries of time and space created an exciting concept for 1908; it was the dawn of a new era of mobility, and the possibilities must have appeared limitless.

The wonderful imagery of time, space and distance conquered was equalled by the rich descriptions of the automobile and the experience of driving. From Toad's point of view, the automobile had become that 'magnificent motor car' which was 'immense, breath-taking', even 'passionate',

descriptions not normally reserved for inanimate machines. As the reverence for the automobile grew it became like a wild beast to be tamed, something imbued with living qualities. When Toad drove, the experience was described such that the automobile 'devoured' the street as it 'leapt' forth on the high road, and as he travelled, the miles 'were eaten up' under him.¹⁰

Implicit in Toad's description of travel by automobile was the sensation of speed. Speed was regarded with particular fascination by society, down to and including childrens' and juvenile fiction. Imagining a drive for example, Toad contemplated the "...dust clouds [which] shall spring up behind me as I speed on my reckless way!"¹¹ It was perhaps hardly coincidental that a contemporary of The Wind in the Willows should play on the same theme of the fascination with speed and the increased possibilities arising from the greater mobility it facilitated. As evident from the title, speed became the all important factor in Tom Swift and His Electric Runabout or The Speediest Car on the Road. In that story, Tom, the epitome of the all rounded modern boy, used the new found mobility of the automobile and, most importantly, the speed on which such mobility was dependent, to overcome great odds and avert an imminent local financial disaster.¹²

Fiction such as The Wind in the Willows exposed children to ideas of time, space, distance and speed at an early age. The ideas expressed were made very real to children by attributing essentially human characteristics, values, and emotions to the characters of the story. Aside from the physical shape of the characters, the animals acted and reacted much like real people and, because of their resemblance to human adults in thought and actions, characters such as Toad became excellent spokesmen for the virtues of mobility and the subsequent decimation of distance. It was because characters resembled so closely human adults in thoughts and actions that a book such as The Wind in the Willows was so significant, for it became a vehicle for at least some of the pervading contemporary adult concerns and perceptions.

At times the book appeared to operate on two distinct planes; a story to which both children and adults could relate. In accepting The Wind in the Willows as a conduit of contemporary values, the criticism might be made that Grahame simply satirized the new automobile mania, combining various elements of the society in which he lived. And yet, even if this was Grahame's purpose, there still remains much of value to be gleaned from his writing. The very nature of satire is that it is based on recognizable facets of reality, which are then in turn exaggerated to varying degrees. Thus even satire must have some basis in reality, and as will be seen throughout

the remainder of this chapter, Grahame actually mirrored prevailing trends within society. Ontario, for example, had an ongoing and in fact never satisfactorily resolved problem with speed and the automobile. And even if some elements were meant satirically, the subtlety remained beyond a child's grasp, so that juvenile readers would probably accept Toad's penchant for speed and mobility as being nothing out of the ordinary.

Quite probably, Grahame's ultimate purpose was simply to entertain children. By the inclusion of characters such as Toad however, with his overwhelming inclination for speed, children were being indoctrinated, however subtly and unintentionally, to realize and accept the potential possessed by the automobile for temporal and spatial reorientation. Hence even as early as 1908 notions of time, space, distance and speed as altered by the automobile had become a part of everyday reality, so much so that they appeared as reoccurring themes in a prominent children's book.¹³

SPEED

The association of speed and the automobile was hardly surprising, since speed remained one of the most distinguishing features which separated the automobile from other methods of personal transportation. More importantly perhaps, speed often became the most tangible manifestation of the alteration

of temporal and spatial boundaries, providing the crucial link in the time and space interrelationship. Simply put, speed was the relation of distance to time and was, therefore, the variable which could alter both.¹⁴ Hence speed remained a vital connection in the time and space relationship, and the transformation of time and space cannot be considered without first comprehending the degree to which speed, and the fascination with speed, was an integral part of the early twentieth-century consciousness. Speed remained symptomatic of the apparently faster pace of life which followed the turn of the century, and the automobile stood as the most visible symbol of the new age of speed. The automobile, as a writer in Macleans in 1914 noted, was 'the sign of a quicker-moving age'.¹⁵ The automobile, more than any other technological innovation of the early twentieth century, underscored society's fascination, and at times obsession, with speed. Thus even children's literature such as The Wind in the Willows was grounded in the reality that speed had become a vital component of the modern society. As an examination of Ontario society demonstrates, the presence of such themes in children's literature merely reflected society's deep-rooted fascination with both the automobile and the new dimensions of speed it made possible.

Speed grew to be an important yet contentious issue in the minds of politicians and the public alike. The attention

which the issue of speed received in provincial newspapers as well as the frequency with which it found itself a topic of discussion in the Legislature attests that the issue was never far from the public mind. The question of automobile speeding remained a sensitive one and created a wide spectrum of opinion. At its extreme poles it pitted those individuals who owned automobiles and wished to drive them to their limits against those who wished to regulate and curb speed, including a small faction of individuals who even sought to reverse existing speed regulations.)

The infatuation with automobile speed was a very real phenomenon in Ontario society and could, as a contributor to Motoring demonstrated in 1906, take hold of an individual very suddenly. This individual had never before ridden in an automobile and described his first experience, as such:

The streets were practically deserted in the downtown district, and we shot around at express speed, with a hair-breadth escape at every car crossing, for nearly two hours. Suddenly I discovered that I was beginning to like it. The rush of the cool air and the excitement made my nerves tingle, and after a time I began to anticipate the exciting moments with pleasure rather than with dread.¹⁶

Perhaps the description was somewhat too fanciful and his conversion to the lure of speed too quick, but the writer encapsulated in a single paragraph what for many became the essence of motoring, that being the ability of the automobile

to redefine to greater heights the personal experience of speed. Even motoring manuals as early as 1905, in advising consumers on the purchase of an automobile, underscored the public's fascination with speed, both with the advice given and with the strong visual images of speed created by the manual's choice of words. "One of the keenest pleasures in possessing a car", pointed out the author of one such manual, "is being able to annihilate a hill or 'eat it up,' and you will naturally want to get as much of this as you can for your money."¹⁷ Or, as an article on motoring in Canada rhetorically asked its readers, "What could be more exhilarating than tearing through space with greater speed than the fastest express train?" and experiencing, what the author described as "...farmhouses melting into nothingness and telegraph poles looking like a solid wall..."¹⁸ The appeal of speed apparently extended even to the stage. In 1908 a play opened in Toronto entitled "The Vanderbilt Cup", a story based on an automobile race for the trophy of the same name. Interestingly the audience's fascination with speed was aided by the use of another fledgling technology. As a reviewer in the Daily Star described the action,

The race itself is presented with the help of a moving picture machine, and is so realistic that the audience is held spell-bound as the big machines, travelling at 100 miles an hour, dash across the country.¹⁹

Undeniably, the attraction to speed was present and, in addition to contemporary periodicals, the attraction manifested itself in many instances in everyday life. The first provincial regulation regarding speed was passed by the Municipal Committee of the Ontario Legislature in 1903, limiting the speed of automobiles in cities, towns and incorporated villages to ten miles per hour.²⁰ The act appears to have stemmed not so much from a perceived problem, as there were only approximately five hundred automobiles in the province, but rather as a measure for the future. The legislation was influenced too, no doubt, by the existence of similar laws in the United States which the Committee had reviewed. Indications that speeding was not yet a problem nor predicted to be one in the future may be seen in the fact that some experts were stating in 1906 that 'it may safely be conceded' that the automobile had already 'reached its zenith' in speed.²¹

It was soon apparent, however, that some sort of regulation had become necessary, despite the prediction of motoring magazines and the limited numbers of automobiles registered in the province.²² Judging from police reports and newspaper accounts, even the numerically limited owners were taking advantage of the sensations of speed which the automobile provided. By 1911 Hamilton employed plain clothes policemen on the city's main thoroughfares to time the speed

of, and to apprehend, offending "buzz wagons". The Hamilton police later resorted to using police officers disguised as tramps in order to time suspected speeders, an early instance of unmarked speed traps.²³ By the following year the problem of speed within the city had apparently grown worse instead of better, outraging the chief of police. "The reckless speed of autoists in this city is getting to be nothing short of a mania", concluded Chief Smith, "and I am going to use my authority to stop it."²⁴ It would seem however that society's fascination with speed was nothing less than insatiable, for as another year went by, the police department reported that "Auto speeding has become so prevalent...that some steps must be taken to bring the offenders to Justice."²⁵ In that year, 1913, Hamilton was second in the province behind Toronto in fines for speeding convictions. One hundred and sixteen Hamiltonians were caught speeding within the city and, as the Canadian Motorist put it, 'paid for \$837 worth of hustle' in fines. Toronto in comparison, where there resided a much larger automobile owning population, paid over \$12,000 in fines for 1913, which reflected the fact that over one half of all convictions registered against Toronto motorists were for speeding.²⁶

Nor was Hamilton atypical of the problems which the combination of the automobile and speed created. Beginning in 1910 provincial automobile constables were hired on a seasonal

basis by the Provincial Secretary to control speeding on the Province's roads. Consequently the Provincial Secretary became the recipient of numerous petitions which requested the presence of such a constable to control what was perceived by local authorities as a growing problem. The MPP from Aurora, T.H. Lennox, petitioned the then Provincial Secretary, W.J. Hanna in 1910 for the appointment of an automobile constable. According to the member from Aurora, the automobiles "...are raising the Devil going through Aurora and Newmarket..."²⁷ Possibly local members of the Provincial Legislature were coming under criticism from their constituents over the problem, for the member from Kemptville made a similar request the following year for the appointment of a constable 'at once', stressing that "the season's automobiling has begun and I am having the usual complaints."²⁸

But of all the requests, the community which appeared to have been the most beleaguered by the speed problem was Goderich. One letter to the Provincial Secretary noted how in the previous year (1912) there had been 125 automobiles in Goderich during July and August, and that this year alone the town had already increased its number of automobiles by twenty. According to one account, 'the citizens were terrorized by the speeding', and the mayor appealed to the provincial government for 'protection to our citizens from automobiles going at an excessive rate of speed through our

streets'.²⁹ Unfortunately the Provincial Secretary's reply is not available, but it seems unlikely that Goderich was unusual in having to cope with the problem of automobile speed, a problem which could hardly have been foreseen a scant decade before.

Throughout the same period, the Provincial Secretary's office was besieged with requests for constables to curb the growing speed menace, the Legislature was being petitioned to raise the provincial speed limit.³⁰ The Legislature in fact witnessed many repeated, and heated, debates surrounding the issue of increased speed limits. One in 1919 was noted as being particularly 'acrimonious'.²⁹ The intensity of debate within the Legislature was paralleled by the fervid arguments from without. Motorists who, for example, sought to raise the speed limit in 1926 were labelled by the Farmers' Sun as both 'selfish and reckless'. The debate over speed limits was rendered more difficult by the tendency to reduce the issue to one of two opposite poles, thereby eliminating any middle ground for compromise. Vivid language and imagery employed by the Farmers' Sun for example, reinforced the intensity of their convictions:

The slaughter by the modern Juggernaut of children, the old and infirm is appalling even now. With a legal speed limit of 35 miles per hour in force the list of auto fatalities would approximate the death list from cancer.³²

Pitted against the accident statistics which the anti-speeders could marshal, the impassioned pleas to raise the speed limit were equally intolerant and occasionally based on rather dubious logic. One member of the Legislature, Colonel Currie, argued in 1929 that the great motoring public 'is held down' by the existing speed laws because the Minister of Highways is besieged 'by cranks' who don't even own automobiles. Referring to a proposal to lower existing limits, Currie replied that if the bill was to pass, 'every jerkwater municipality' on the Toronto-Niagara Highway would set a twenty mile speed limit and slow up all traffic. In spite of the cool reception Currie's speech received in the Legislature, he nonetheless announced his intention to see the speed limit raised in Toronto. 'Ninety percent of the people already exceed it', he argued, but the laws were being held back by a chief of police who came from a small town. And finally, to give his fellow members something to ponder, Currie pointed out that members must be kindly to motorists 'because they are the ones who get the people out to the polls on election day'.³³

Despite the implementation of measures such as the appointment of automobile constables, the public's desire for speed appeared unquenched. (The difficulty lay in controlling the belief, as it was expressed in Macleans, that "the automobile has been invented in vain if it is to be forbidden to travel quickly."³⁴ Just as accounts of speeding became a

common feature of the early twentieth century, so too were the accounts of attempts to control speeding and bring speeders to justice.) A contributor to Macleans in 1912, James Moir, led a general tirade against speeders, asking for 'an active crusade against this evil'.³⁵ Moir was not alone in his crusade against the automobile and its potential for speed. Local police were equally enthusiastic in their desire to curb the growing problem. The effectiveness to which constables applied themselves to the problem is evident in a description of a police court in Hamilton in 1912:

The entrance to the Central Station on King William Street was more like a motor show than a police court to-day. There was a string of automobiles nearly two blocks long and the majority of owners were charged with exceeding the speed limit...³⁶

Local magistrates appeared to have been as stringent in their application of the laws as the constables were zealous in enforcing them. A Hamilton doctor timed at 13 mph on a city street in 1910, was charged with violating the established speed laws. The doctor, however, believed that under certain circumstances his profession entitled him to an exemption of the speed laws. "I always endeavour to live up to the spirit of the law," said the doctor, "but sometimes circumstances arise that make it imperative for physicians to exceed the speed limit." The magistrate failed to view the infraction in the same manner. "I'm not going to take any notice of

'critical case' stories", stated the magistrate. "They have no more right to exceed the speed limit than anyone else. If the Legislature wants to exempt you, all right, but I'm not. You're fined \$10."³⁷

On the whole, the judicial system did its best to restrict 'the speed fiends of motordom', as the Minister of Highways referred to speeders in 1923. Yet speeding remained a growing problem which required increasingly rigid methods of regulation, and as the Minister quite bluntly stated before the Legislature, "it is time we reached out and took the 'speed fiend' and put him in jail."³⁸ Five years later the same sentiments were again echoed regarding the need to restrict speeding, for the attraction of the speeding automobile remained a familiar constant in Ontario society. As the Minister of Highways stated in 1928, educational programs as well as extra police had been used in an attempt to control the problem. The government had no intention of reducing its campaign against the 'whiz artists', said the Minister, and any offenders should receive 'the limit of punishment when hauled into court'.³⁹

From the automobile's early years of existence, conflict existed over the right to use the automobile to the full extent of its capabilities. Just as there were those individuals who pushed for increased speed limits or violated

the law in their personal pursuit of speed, there developed at the same time an increasingly complex regulative and judicial framework to prevent the violation of speed laws and keep speed within mutually tolerable limits. Not surprisingly, there were always factions within Ontario society dissatisfied with at least some aspects of the speed question. The attention which the speeding issue received, from the Legislature to newspapers, indicated that the question of speed and the automobile remained a serious concern. Moreover, the growing regularity with which the issue found its way into the public eye reflected the increased fascination with, and desire to experience, the new limits of speed made possible by the automobile.

The increasing regularity of the speeding issue also indicated the province's relative ineffectiveness in finding a solution to an apparently growing obsession with the speed habit. What remained was an unresolved tension within Ontario society. Although excessive speed itself could not be officially condoned, speed became acceptable within certain prescribed limits. The fact that speed remained, on the whole, acceptable to Ontario society, manifested itself in many ways. Those individuals, for example, who went against the prevailing trend and actually sought to lower existing speed limits invariably failed, their proposals receiving little if any consideration. In response to a proposal by a Labour member

from Peterborough in 1921 to lower existing speed limits to ten miles per hour in urban centres, the Minister of Highways read a statement to the Legislature by the Ontario Motor League which condemned the proposal as 'so absurd on the face of it to cause wonderment at any member seriously advocating it'. The plan was in fact seen to be so outrageous that the House killed the bill on second reading without allowing the measure to go to committee.⁴⁰

Individuals such as the member from Peterborough inevitably failed when regressive measures concerning the automobile and its speed were proposed. The movement was towards greater speed rather than its reduction, as the periodic raising of the speed limit clearly indicated. The upward trend was aided by the government's recognition, and indeed the quasi-official sanction of, the public's bias towards greater speed. In a very surprising statement by Premier Whitney, the premier himself stated that the automobiles he saw rarely if at all travelled within the legal limit. Whitney then went on to state that he saw no real reason for them to do so, if there was no traffic on the streets.⁴¹ Likewise the Provincial Secretary also noted that speed laws must be practical, and pointed out that apparently very few drivers travelled within the imposed limits anyways.⁴² With what amounted to tacit approval of speeding by the Premier, and hence by the ruling party, what hope remained for regressive automobile legislation

vis-a-vis speed? The fact that major political figures espoused such views meant that only with great difficulty was the public to be denied the right to indulge its pursuit of speed.

However the government and its officials were placed in a difficult position, for while they could not outrightly condone speed for speed's sake, they were nevertheless aware of the reality of the fact that the attraction of speed was a growing phenomenon, growing as the number of new owners continued to increase sharply. Thus the provincial government was forced to seek a compromise solution which might, as best as possible, appease all factions.

Technology often acquires its own imperative which, amongst other effects, necessitates that laws must maintain a relative pace and, failing this, public pressure will intervene to ensure that a reasonable balance is maintained. In creating its own momentum, technology often permits situations to exist which under other circumstances might be viewed as intolerable. Such was the case of the automobile which introduced both problems and possibilities by the speed of its operation, and in turn pushed existing laws to greater limits. (Speed came to be considered as some sort of inalienable right supported by the upward increases of the speed limit. The effects of speed were detrimental to the public good, for speed was directly

responsible for numerous deaths each year, yet the obsession for speed never abated. As early as 1908 newspaper editorials equated speed with the loss of life. Connections between the two were made absolutely clear by headlines such as those in the Hamilton Herald which read:

AUTOS GO MUCH TOO QUICKLY
GOOD FOR THE TOMBSTONE MEN, BUT
NOT FOR THE GENERAL PUBLIC.⁴³

The provincial government was of course aware of the problems speed engendered, yet speed limits continued to rise. In a study of the more serious accidents to occur in the province, a report published by the provincial government noted that of all the causes of fatal automobile accidents in Ontario by 1912, excessive speed had been the most frequent.⁴⁴ Nine years later the government made the same analysis with regards to the relationship between speed and accidents. According to the report excessive speed, particularly outside urban areas, still remained 'the most prolific cause of accidents'. Practices such as passing on hills or curves were, noted the report, 'merely evidence of the desire for speed in its most dangerous form'.⁴⁵

Perhaps part of the speed problem stemmed from a notion that speeding was somehow not a crime; speeding created a curious double standard whereby individuals who might never consider committing a theft would think nothing of speeding.)

It was a crime for which the odds against punishment were with the driver, although motor fatalities added a sobering balance to the need for speed. On the whole, convictions for speeding ran high. Of all the traffic convictions in 1926 in Ontario, 16,381 or 73.8% of the total number of convictions were for speeding.⁴⁶ Despite the acknowledgment that speed was often fatal, people sought out new levels of speed in ever more powerful automobiles, speed limits rose accordingly and, inevitably, so too did automobile fatality statistics. In 1921 for example, 108 individuals were killed in automobile accidents in Ontario. That figure decreased to 102 by the next year, and despite the fact that more than 100 people still died in that manner, the Canadian Motorist termed it a 'gratifying' decrease, accusing the press of sensationalizing the automobile accident rate. Whether or not the press sensationalized that particular facet of motoring, the automobile death rate continued to climb. During 1926 Ontario witnessed 242 automobile accident deaths, which rose to 387 such deaths by 1927, the highest single provincial total in Canada, a country which as a whole recorded 864 such fatalities for the same year.⁴⁷ Even non-fatal accidents were on the rise. In Ontario there occurred 2,349 such accidents in 1923, the number of which had risen by 1928 to 5,397.⁴⁸ Even those non-fatal accidents pointed out that, as an article in Macleans stated, "Peace, as well as war, has its casualty lists."⁴⁹

War provided a convenient, if not appropriate metaphor by which to gauge at least one aspect of the automobile's presence in Ontario society. Yet quite possibly the First World War did bear some responsibility for the rise in automobile fatalities during the 1920s. Sheer numbers, of course, undoubtedly contributed to the greater frequency of such accidents. However the war accustomed society to violent death, more particularly death by technology. Technology had come to the forefront of human life during 1914-18, the world's first mechanized war. Death by automobile was in some manner an extension of the depersonalized, unpredictable nature of death experienced during the Great War. Perhaps the sheer number of deaths and mutilations only a short period before made automobile deaths insignificant in relation to it, and not a factor of everyday life to seriously contend with. Hence the apparent indifference to an increasing death toll for which speed and the automobile were directly responsible. Thus what developed in the 1920s was a society seemingly unmoved by death following a period in which death had appeared to touch every family.⁵⁰ Commenting on a newspaper report that 'only 500' motor deaths had occurred in Canada in 1925, the Farmers' Sun alluded to what may have been an important factor in the apparent indifference to automobile carnage. As the Sun pointed out, if such a death toll had resulted on Canada's railways, public outcry and a parliamentary inquiry would have followed. However, the private nature of the

technology, the impossibility of sufficiently regulating each driver, and the scattered pattern of deaths, mitigated against a concerted public outcry over the rising fatality rate.⁵¹

Whatever other factors contributed to the increase in automobile deaths, whether significantly larger ownership numbers or a change in society's perception of death and technology caused by the war, speed still remained the most prominent factor. But speed was not something to be denied to Ontario society. The automobile and the issue of speeding possessed its own momentum, such that the fascination it held blinded the public to its worst abuses.⁵² Speed was a delicate, dichotomous issue and one which essentially was never resolved; for attempts to legislate for a very real obsession in Ontario also ultimately meant tacit legislative approval for more deaths by automobiles. Such was the paradox of speed; its freedom of movement had to be balanced against the increasingly large number of lives it took in pursuit of that freedom.

If the provincial government became a wilful and obliging contributor to Ontario's fascination with speed, its influence was augmented by (the advertising process which both reflected and reinforced the desire for speed. Speed became an important selling feature in automobile advertising, with some manufacturers using speed as the prime selling point.) The

Auburn billed itself as "America's Fastest Stock Car", while the Willys-Knight pointed out that their six cylinder model "Accelerates like a Flash - 5 to 40 miles in 14-1/2 seconds."⁵³ Under the headline, "One Hundred Horsepower is Waiting Your Command", the manufacturers of the Lafayette traded strongly on the lure of speed and power, boldly guaranteeing drivers that "No one can keep ahead of you if you only choose to go around. No one can pass you."⁵⁴ Likewise the Stephens cited its easy leap to sixty miles per hour "when you need acceleration--or want exhilaration."⁵⁵ As an extension of that trend, manufacturers also played on their product's past racing feats as a selling point. The Lexington Car Company for example, used various speed and power records as the basis for its advertisement, while Oldsmobile at times used endurance and racing statistics as the basis of its appeal. As David Lewis has pointed out, "Of the various promotional activities in which auto makers were engaged during the early years, racing was by far the most important. Cars quickly proved themselves speedier than the bicycle or the horse and just as quickly appealed to the public as a racing vehicle."⁵⁶

Even manufacturers other than those of automobiles were aware of the public's fascination with speed and the automobile, and often incorporated it into their marketing strategy. The Eastman Kodak company as early as 1910 attempted to appeal to the motoring consumer by publishing an instructional manual

entitled Motoring With a Kodak. Speed was an important component in their marketing approach which advocated the use of their cameras and films which were fast enough to be used from a moving automobile, for as the book stated, "Every motorist feels the fascination of speed whether he indulges in it with his own car or not."⁵⁷ Advertisers, in their attempts to capitalize on this prevailing fascination, almost urged the public to flout the law. And even if it was not explicitly stated, speed was almost always implied, the most popular method being the use of "speed lines" to represent air currents flowing from a speeding automobile. (Moreover speed, with the time saving it made possible, facilitated further the contraction of distance and the expansion of new personal space, all factors willingly promoted by astute advertising agents.)

TIME

In the relationship of time, space and speed, the transformation of one component invariably created a change in the remaining two. Just as speed took on a new significance in society, so too did time begin to assume an increasingly central position in any considerations of the automobile's function. A belief that 'distances are measured by time' meant that time, in relationship to the automobile, simply became another means of expressing distance or speed.⁵⁸ In fact time and speed were almost always considered as a unit, for increased speed, while significantly reducing travel time

from one location to another, created the impression that it possessed the ability to slow time or vanquish it all together. Despite the somewhat abstract nature of concepts such as distance, time or speed, they were often reflected in the advertisements of various manufacturers. Ford employed the concept of interchangeability on several occasions, noting that the automobile had 'changed distance from a matter of miles to a matter of minutes', and as such, "No horizon binds the Ford owner".⁵⁹ Similarly General Motors pointed out that their products had, where locations were separated by miles, 'reduced the miles to minutes.'⁶⁰ Chevrolet even went so far as to declare that "Today time has been decimated."⁶¹ Thus time had become a sort of malleable commodity relative to the abilities of technology to alter it.

The potential for change associated with the idea that the automobile had altered traditional time patterns encompassed a wide range of possibilities. Ford, for example, pointed out that the new saving in time and the apparent lessening of distance caused by the automobile meant that

Every big town is a small town--and the far-away friend is a nearby neighbour--to him who owns a Ford. Extend your range of action--and your pleasures.⁶²

As the automobile altered the pace of life, time became a commodity to be valued and to be saved. The automobile stood as a symbol of an efficient age, one in which "the

efficiency of a man is doubled and trebled by the time-saving devices at his hand."⁶³) However time was not saved merely for its own sake, but reflected a sense of utility, such that the act of saving time could serve a greater end. Time, under the influence of the automobile, reached a new height in economic importance.

*Scientific
management*

The automobile and the time saving it engendered came to be measured in terms of the new efficiency it promoted, and the economic aspects of that saving were not lost on either the manufacturers or the public. As one contemporary writer stated:

...there is strong economic reason which will always ensure a liberal use of these time savers. This reason lies in the fact that the daily struggle is to enlarge the sphere of human activity--to do more that we may get more and live better.

The human race has waited many centuries for a swifter means of locomotion which will save time, and, as we say, "time is money". Thus it greatly enlarges our field of activity--the goal towards which we have always been striving.⁶⁴

In a Macleans article which extolled (the virtues of the automobile as a tool of the business world, it was pointed out how the automobile allowed businessmen to 'double their territory and their sales' and 'fly from customer to customer.'⁶⁵ The manner in which the automobile came to be regarded by the 1920s as an essential component of the time

and economic efficiency relationship) was particularly well illustrated by the Willys-Overland contest of 1921, which invited the public to express in three hundred words or less, "What my car has meant to me". The winning entry remains intriguing not simply for how the automobile was presented as the essence of the modern age, but also for the way in which the economic benefits derived from the automobile's time saving ability were seen as responsible for providing virtually everything which was of importance in this individual's life:

My car has given me SUPREMACY, HAPPINESS, COMFORT and a HOME. It has LIGHTENED my work, DOUBLED my efficiency, TREBLED my income, and has paid me GOLDEN DIVIDENDS in HEALTH, ENERGY, THRIFT and PROGRESS.

For three years now I have owned one, and these three years I have LED our entire sales force covering the same territory with the same line. All HONOR to my car...my car has MULTIPLIED MY BANK ACCOUNT.

Three Thousand Two Hundred Dollars was the most I ever earned in a year before I bought my car. Within six months afterwards my earnings were Four Thousand Two Hundred and Eighty-Six Dollars. By the end of the year they amounted to Nine Thousand Eight Hundred and Ninety Dollars and have kept up ever since. Doubt me if you will. My income tax return will prove these figures.

My car has unlocked the door of OPPORTUNITY and ADVANCEMENT for me; it has enabled me to quit paying rent and move into a HOME of my own. To buy PLEASURES for myself and my family which were impossible before, and to ENJOY many of the GOOD THINGS of life which always accompany SUCCESS.⁶⁶

The winning entry was technological boosterism in the extreme, arguing as it did that the amenities of life such as family, a home, happiness, and particularly wealth, stemmed from the presence of a single specific technological development.

(Automobile manufacturers and their advertising agencies reinforced the link between time and the economic advantages that could accrue from time saving by the use of an automobile.) In a wide-sweeping evaluation of the economic role which the automobile played, Chevrolet argued in 1924 that

If the automobile were suddenly withdrawn from our modern business and social life; do you realize how speedy and complete would be the disorganization?

Wider in the influence and effect than any other factor of present-day existence--the automobile has become of vital importance to commerce and society.⁶⁷

Another Chevrolet advertisement depicted the face of a clock, and at every hour there was a small illustration showing the automobile engaged in some activity. Even without the single caption which read "Useful Every Hour", the intended association between time and the utility of the automobile remained clear enough from the illustrations.⁶⁸ The producers of the Overland appealed more to the desire for economic gain on a personal level, stating that the automobile increased efficiency, which in turn 'enables the head of the family to increase his income'.⁶⁹ By permitting only so much to be

accomplished in a business day, time had been a rigid arbiter of daily profit possibilities. But the automobile, by allowing more to be accomplished in a single day, created the illusion that the business day had been stretched. With the automobile, business seemingly became the master of time, rather than the reverse.

Time and the saving of time had assumed a new importance in the context of the war. The implications of the new mobility which the automobile offered, and the time saving it made possible, were not lost on the military, at least as far as domestic application was concerned. Shortly following the outbreak of war the Ontario Motor League approached the Minister of Militia to put the members of the club at the government's service. As a result there formed late in 1914 an organization variously referred to as the Ontario Motor League Corps or the Toronto Automobile Defence Corps.⁷⁰ It took its role in the war effort quite seriously, appointing the League president as G.O.C., and subdividing the city's motorists into Districts, Squadrons, and Troops.⁷¹ As outlined in the Executive Minutes of the League, the Corps came complete with a "secret formula" to begin the mobilization of motorists:

The following secret formula was to be used in the telephone advice and no attention was to be paid to a formula given in any other words. This formula the Committee were asked to keep secret was as follows: "You are required to

mobilize your detachment at your headquarters immediately. Stop."⁷²

To demonstrate the applicability of the automobile's mobility for war, periodic mobilization exercises were conducted in Toronto and other urban centres. An article in the Hamilton Herald in 1915 related how "a practical demonstration was given here yesterday of the great utility of motor vehicles in war". It seems that approximately one thousand men of the Thirty-Sixth battalion were scattered throughout the city, and at a given signal between two and three hundred automobiles were assigned to pick them up and bring them to a central rendezvous point. Although some men 'had to be carried a distance of four miles', only seventeen minutes were required for the entire operation. The experiment was seen as such a great success that an established arrangement between local militia authorities and automobile owners was made, resulting in the formation of the Hamilton Automobile Corps along the same lines as the Corps which existed in Toronto.⁷³

The concern with time took on a new dimension in the automobile advertisements of 1918, curiously blending patriotism, time, and the automobile into a marketable consumer strategy. "Canadian soldiers overseas", asserted an Overland advertisement, "are willing to give their all. Here in the Dominion there are men and women with the same feeling." Not surprisingly, these men and women were using an automobile in

their efforts to 'give their all'. (The advertisements then patriotically reminded consumers that the decreased manpower 'means every Canadian at home must do more work and in less time'. The intended key to that time saving was, of course, the automobile. Moreover in the eyes of manufacturers and advertisers, the automobile had become a necessary and valuable cog in the war effort. The automobile became a means 'to save time, gain time, and do the increased work per day that is so mandatory for victory'.⁷⁴ Though it was likely that most individuals discerned at least an elementary relationship between temporal savings and the automobile, manufacturers saw it as an element to be exploited, even to the point of unashamedly elevating the automobile to new heights as a homefront adjunct of allied victory.

The utilitarian concern for time as an economic factor did not originate with the automobile, but certainly the automobile represented one of the most widespread manifestations of that concern in the early twentieth century. Taylorism and scientific management theories which had come into a vogue just prior to the automobile's appearance, transformed time into concrete reality synonymous with efficiency and, hence, profit. But it was the automobile which popularized, through all levels of society, the idea that time was a malleable commodity to be saved or altered at will, and thus brought to everyday business thought a

heightened awareness of time. With the automobile time ceased to be an uncontrolled abstract relationship; time became something tangible which assumed a reality of its own by having the ability to be 'saved' or similarly 'spent'. Time consciousness engendered by the automobile meant that time no longer remained a neutral abstraction but one which could apparently be altered at will by man.

SPACE

The new mobility of the early twentieth century, as defined by the automobile, altered Ontario society in many ways. However, of all the perceptual changes which the automobile brought to the province, the new spatial awareness which it introduced was the most far reaching. The speed of the automobile and the expanded geographical range of personal mobility which that speed facilitated, created an illusion of spatial contraction within the province. As the space separating locations within the province seemingly diminished under the wheels of the automobile, Ontarians were forced to adjust their spatial perceptions accordingly. Space declined in importance as an obstacle separating Ontario society; like time, it too became a factor to be altered by man. The Ontario public, in sources ranging from advertising to popular literature, were exhorted to explore the increasingly flexible spatial restrictions which bound them. Space thus became as

much a sensation as a physical reality; its diminution the new reality to be experienced.

If the automobile represented freedom and liberation from traditional spatial constraints, then surely the airplane represented the ultimate liberation. As one sociologist predicted in 1928, perhaps 'society will turn to the aeroplane as the exhilarating adventure and desert the automobile as a source of immediate gratification.'⁷⁵ Indeed automobile manufacturers often used illustrations of airplanes to create a link, however tenuous, between the experience of flying and the operation of their product. A Chevrolet advertisement of 1929 depicted an automobile at an airfield, passengers waving as two airplanes passed overhead. Though implied but never stated explicitly, the advertisement compared the freedom experienced in the new automobile to the experience of flying, noting that 'the world was a big place once and the horizon very far away.'⁷⁶ Other advertisements however, more explicitly linked the two. The Essex stated that "Riding is like flying", and then went on to say 'you can never forget this thrilling difference from all other transportation.'⁷⁷ (Figure 11) It is not until several lines later that one learns that the 'thrilling transportation' was actually the automobile and not the airplane pictured overhead. The thrill which society associated with flying remained quite real, although highly romanticized.⁷⁸ Yet automobile manufacturers were eager to

suggest that a similar thrill could be found with the use of their products, such as Ford who told prospective buyers to "Ask your friend to let you pilot his car on an open stretch."⁷⁹ But for most the thrill of flying must have remained as nothing more than fantasy, for how many, other than a very small percentage of the population, had ever experienced flying?

Despite the small number of flyers, the connection between the fledgling technologies of motoring and flying became apparent in various ways. The Ontario Motor League was instrumental in bringing together flying and motoring, but it was the outbreak of war in 1914 which provided the strongest impetus for an increased interest in flying. In November 1914, plans were discussed for the formation of an Aero Club under the auspices of the Ontario Motor League, and by January 1915 a constitution for the Club was already in place.⁸⁰ The military potential of the airplane was well realized. The outbreak of war had demonstrated the airplane's "...importance for scouting purposes of aerial navigation...." and thus the Aero Club was formed "...with the prospect of being of assistance to our Government...."⁸¹ Military considerations aside, enthusiasm for flying grew amongst the Canadian public. Beginning shortly after the outbreak of war, the Canadian Motorist included a regular section on aviation news from across Canada and around the world. Its inclusion in a

prominent motoring magazine suggested that the two technologies shared a common basis of appeal, and that an individual interested in automobiles would also be interested in airplanes. The fact that an automobile association was instrumental in the formation of the Aero Club, and that aviation news was increasingly included in a motoring magazine, served only to accentuate further the links between the two technologies.

Like the act of flying itself, aviators were held in some awe. By their mastery of a seemingly dangerous form of technology, fliers were accorded a sort of quasi-expert status in their association with automobiles. A Dodge Brothers' advertisement depicted their product at an airfield, airplane and hanger in background. Sitting in or on the automobile were five aviators, complete with leather helmets and goggles.⁸² (Figure 12) Dodge attempted to make the connection between aviators, that is, individuals familiar with the ultimate in transportation, and the type of automobile they chose to drive. Aviators' opinions, like their profession, were held in respect, at least from an advertising agency's point of view. Chrysler pointed out that "Aviators--whose lives depend on intimate knowledge of engine excellence--have recognized by their preference, Chrysler '70' dependability and durability".⁸³ The Studebaker Corporation went further still by using a testimonial from the well known Lt. Col.

Kingsford-Smith to endorse their product. The testimonial noted, perhaps as a justification for its use, that "like most fliers I take a keen interest in motor cars."⁸⁴

The advertising agencies, by their association of aviators with automobiles, created a type of folk hero "expert" with whom the public could identify. Those who had never flown could live life vicariously through the advertisements, fantasizing about the sensations of flying. But the association with the airplane was more important than as simply a means of marketing an automobile; it vividly presented to the public consciousness the notion that the automobile had changed accepted perceptions of time and space. The automobile represented, just as the airplane did, the alteration of traditional temporal and spatial realities which governed early twentieth century, albeit on a more limited scale. Advertisements which employed a symbolic presence such as the airplane exhorted the public to experience the new dimensions of time and space made possible by the automobile.

However for most Ontarians, as automobile manufacturers were well aware, the freedom over space offered by the airplane was available to only a very limited number of individuals. Thus the automobile became the most readily available means for an individual to experience spatial transformations similar to those experienced in the act of flying. "What

humanity wants", one automobile writer proclaimed in 1913, "is variety, something new and different from one's ordinary surroundings".⁸⁵ The automobile, which provided diversity through mobility, fulfilled that very real need in everyday lives. Nevertheless the crucial requirement for experiencing a new sense of spatial awareness was, in addition to the automobile, the availability of unrestricted space. Thus the rural environment became the natural outlet for demonstrating the automobile's abilities vis-a-vis spatial reorientation. The extent to which the countryside was to be a factor in relation to the automobile's mobility was not lost on some of the more far-sighted planners of the period. In a plan for the rejuvenation of Hamilton following WWI, which he extended to include the Niagara Peninsula, Nolan Cauchon clearly understood the automobile's spatial potential. Accordingly, his plan combined technology and the countryside by making mobility synonymous, where possible, with scenic beauty. Cauchon envisioned the Niagara Peninsula as one of the 'great national gateways' of Canada:

Those speeding within its portals through fifty miles of sylvan parkway could be gazing out upon a continuous panorama of gardens, vineyards, and sheltering homes spread beneath them, mile upon mile, against the blue background of Lake Ontario,--an impression of matchless record.⁸⁶

Yet while many planners failed to recognize or acknowledge the extent of the automobile's possibilities in terms

of its mobility, their very ignorance served only to make the countryside more desirable for the spatially conscious automobile owner. The countryside became the logical location for a largely urbanite automobile owning population to explore and conquer the limits of time and space as they knew them personally. The rural environment's suitability as an outlet for automobile mobility was often augmented by urban planning which, as Blaine Brownell has pointed out, de-emphasized the truly revolutionary nature of that mobility. Urban arteries were often designed on the inflexible models of rail transit systems, which failed to exploit the range of the automobile's mobility to the degree possible in a rural environment. Major street and highway plans emerged from the urban core in linear patterns which, as Brownell noted, stifled the automobile's capacity for lateral mobility.⁸³ Such designs, coupled with the speed restrictions obligatory in an urban environment, meant that it became virtually impossible to experience the sensations of rapidly diminishing space or to feel the exhilarating freedom of speed in the city; the rural environment with its open spaces and unchecked speeds, became the ideal location to experience the full potential of the automobile's ability for spatial reorientation. A poem of the early 1920s succinctly expressed the mood of this new freedom of the countryside:

Swift thro' uncharted spaces on we fly
Clearing our eager way with tireless wings,
Feeling the quick blood leap thro' pulsing veins
As 'round the shining wheels the soft breeze sings.

Out there, a wild bird circles in flight,
 Above, the white clouds sail a shoreless sea,
 Before me stretches on and on the road
 Where I may ride at will, unchallenged, free.⁸⁸

The rural environment held many attractions for the increasingly mobile automobile owner. Whereas the countryside represented the appeal of the outdoors with all the associated virtues such as independence of movement, open space, and a slower pace of life, the automobile remained the key to enjoying these virtues.) "Who is the owner of an automobile," a 1908 article in the Toronto Globe rhetorically asked its readers,

who has not many a time used it to hurry far away from the madding crowd to the quiet spots of nature, where he can breathe freely and receive the endless inspirations of fine scenery.⁸⁹

Moreover the opportunities opened up by the automobile's mobility were themes continually reinforced in the public's mind by the advertising process.) Automobile advertising placed an increased emphasis on the virtues of rural space, forming a crucial element in the ongoing renegotiation of the rural-urban relationship. The emphasis on the automobile as a source of mobility, particularly as a mechanism of escape from the city, blossomed into the fascination for the countryside apparent particularly in the post - 1920 automobile advertisements.⁹⁰ By the 1920s rural oriented settings predominated amongst automobile advertisements, averaging over

sixty percent of all advertisements in which a setting was discernible.⁹¹ Mobility was promoted as a sort of familial necessity, for without an automobile, according to Chevrolet, a family became 'prisoners on a limited range--like hobbled horses in a pasture'.⁹² Given that type of advertising philosophy as their guide, manufacturers developed a fusing of both rural and urban interests to create the 'middle landscape' increasingly apparent in automobile advertising tableaux.⁹³

Advertising illustrations, even without accompanying text, made quite clear the type of rural pleasures associated with owning an automobile.⁹⁴ Enjoying nature's beauty became an important means of utilizing the automobile, according to advertisers. An illustration for Pontiac depicted a vehicle with driver's scarf fluttering behind, winding its way along the dirt roads of Kootenay National Park in a landscape, with its highly stylized trees, reminiscent of a Group of Seven painting.⁹⁵ (Figure 13) Somewhat simpler and more accessible pleasures were to be found depicted in the illustrations. Dodge Brothers' illustrated one 1926 advertisement with a young couple on a blanket, she under a parasol, picnicking along the side of a road while in another advertisement the company again used a young couple alongside a roadway, he with binoculars in hand while she feeds a squirrel.⁹⁶ Advertisements for the Essex depicted several young women with a child and dog relaxing under a blossoming

tree, or later in the season, buying apples from a farmer.⁹⁷ The majority of settings for rural advertisements were not so exotic as Kootenay; in most, farmlands predominated. Invariably the occupants were well-dressed urbanites while the background is evidently farmland, complete with barn or small rural village, creating the middle landscape where rural and urban interests met. (Figure 14) If there remained any difficulty in discerning urban dwellers, it certainly was erased by advertisements such as those for Overland or Plymouth in which the occupants stared in amazement at a farmer's wildfowl which they passed by.⁹⁸

Whereas the illustrations only alluded to the virtues associated with and the benefits to be derived from, the non-urban environment, advertising text made it abundantly clear. Copywriters often waxed eloquently about the joys to be found in the outdoors. Some appeals were straightforward. One Chevrolet advertisement reminding the reader,

There's a shady woodland nook awaiting
you. Beside the blue waters of a placid
lake are rest and relaxation. A laughing,
leaping brook is calling you to come!
Break down the barriers of everyday.
There's happiness ahead.⁹⁹

A Ford advertisement enticed the reader 'out beyond the pavement' to 'the unexplored woodlands and remote farmlands'. The automobile became a necessity to explore such areas, for as Ford pointed out,

Nature's loveliest beauty spots, her choicest hunting grounds are far removed from the railroads, away from the much travelled highways.¹⁰⁰

One Chevrolet advertisement, which extolled the virtues of the outdoors, became almost lyrical in describing an owner's relationship with his car, as if it were a woman:

COMRADES..my Chevrolet and I. Boon companions of a thousand happy hours. Together we have travelled the long trails that lead out beyond the sunset. Together we have sought at nightfall the welcoming lights of wayside inns. Together we have greeted the dawn on the hill's brow..and rejoiced because life was good.¹⁰¹

Advertisements such as those, while seemingly more contrived than effective, were nevertheless based on a belief that the automobile and the countryside were intimately linked, and that the countryside was the suitable outlet from the automobile's potential. Thus it was that slogans such as Overland's, 'the owner of an Overland owns all out of doors', was not entirely advertising hype, but expressed concisely and clearly the notion of freedom of mobility believed to be an intrinsic part of automobile ownership.¹⁰²

Some automobile manufacturers built entire campaigns around the concept of mobility and the attractions of the countryside. The Hupmobile Corporation, for example, introduced its 'week-end' series of advertisements in 1913 based on

the theme of escape from the urban environment to the rural environment for a weekend:

As "the family car" swings through the last grove of gleaming birches, that welcome shout from "Steve", lugging a pail of water from the smiling little lake. Meanwhile, in "The House in the Woods", "Billy" was brewing tea and frying fish.

The boys had come out with the Hupmobile in the morning, bringing the "grub" and the blankets and fishing tackle and camera. Then--as soon as Dad got through at the office--the rest of the family were bundled into the Hupmobile and sped across country for an incomparable Saturday and a tranquil Sunday in that most rollicking of family institutions--"Camp Week-End".¹⁰³

The family played an important role in automobile advertising strategies, the combination of automobile, countryside, and family forming a strong advertising appeal. Implicit in many of the country-oriented advertisements, such as those from Hupmobile, was the notion of the automobile's ability to separate differing environments, and by implications, spheres of activity. Under the influence of the printed word and the advertising illustration, the automobile was transformed into a technological extension of the pioneer spirit. A means of transport became a means of escape. But significantly, it remained an escape from the urban to the rural rather than the reverse, for the continued drop in automobile prices and the expansion of white collar urban employment made the urban middle class an increasingly important and lucrative consumer

group.¹⁰⁴ While the working class represented an untapped market, albeit quite limited at first, little advertising was directed at the working class then, or indeed right through the 1920s as well.¹⁰⁵ Advertisers rarely attempted to tap the vast working class market; hence one finds Dad getting through at the office rather than the factory, or being troubled by that peculiarly middle class burden known as 'business cares'.

The theme of 'escape' from the urban environment was often seen by advertisers to be an important selling feature of the automobile. However, advertisements with that theme did more than simply comment on the superiority of the outdoors; by implication if the rural environment was healthy, the urban environment must be unhealthy. A Chevrolet advertisement urged readers to escape 'from the dust of the city' to where one could 'drive through the fresh air to some inviting spot amid the beauties of nature'.¹⁰⁶ Some advertisements were much more forceful in their denunciations of the city, juxtaposing the benefits of the country with the liabilities of the city, and making the choice between the two appear obvious. Ford rhetorically asked potential consumers, 'which shall it be this summer' and then went on to lay before the consumer the two choices:

City streets for a playground, or the open country where the air is perfumed with the scent of growing things and the butterflies dance in the sunshine? The Ford Car is the friend of childhood--the modern Magic Carpet that will transport them and you from the baking asphalt to the shady country lanes whenever you wish to go.¹⁰⁷

The assessment that the countryside represented an environment which was, according to Hupmobile 'better, cleaner and safer than city streets' was not simple advertising rhetoric.¹⁰⁸

City streets were indeed a dangerous environment, particularly for children. Partly as a response to the perceived danger of the streets, and partly as an attempt to instill a degree of moral and social guidance in the young, local playground movements developed early in the twentieth century. In an editorial commenting on the opening of a new playground in 1918, a Hamilton newspaper stated that,

Playgrounds are becoming more a necessity than ever. The automobile and the motor truck have driven the children off the streets...¹⁰⁹

Hamilton had established its first playground in 1909 but the streets, as advertisers pointed out, nevertheless remained a dangerous place for children. Even with the establishment of subsequent playgrounds throughout the city, Hamilton children, as did the children of virtually all urban environments, continued to fall victim to the automobile's increasing presence. For example, from January to September 1922, 789 street accidents occurred in the city of Hamilton. Of those

162 were children under the age of 14, 41 of whom were injured while playing on the streets. During June through August of the same year, 22 accidents occurred amongst Hamilton children, six of which resulted in fatalities.¹¹⁰ Echoing the rhetoric of some automobile advertisements, a local newspaper editorial queried its readers:

Should we encourage properly supervised playgrounds, or, by neglect, make of the streets unhealthy "plague" grounds, a menace to the safety and sanity of child life?¹¹¹

Advertisers did not so much create the contrast between urban and rural environments as they exploited already prevalent themes in society and adopted them as marketing techniques. And, as the ease of travel from one locale to another by the automobile created a greater interaction between the two environments, comparisons were made increasingly easy. Even if the rural benefits were not so virtuous as portrayed, nor the urban liabilities so bad, the countryside continued to remain a major focus in the decidedly urban marketing strategy.

The belief that the automobile represented an aid to health was an idea which spread rapidly as the possibilities of the automobile's mobility grew apparent. (Indeed the association of automobile, mobility, and health, became a common topic of discussion from the early years of the automobile's

presence onwards. A manual written to aid consumers in the purchase of an automobile stressed in its introduction how

When you motor you breathe in great lungfuls of oxygen--that wonderful magnetic gas which, if it is not life itself, is the great sustainer of life; and this helps give you physical strength, to preserve your mental poise, and to increase your mental power so that when you get down to the routine of business, again you are a regular dynamo for work.¹¹²

Motoring was also endorsed by some in the medical profession as a positive source of health. Calling motoring "...the greatest and most popular of all outdoor sports and pastimes...", Dr. F.A. Williams pointed out how automobiles

...are taking hundreds of thousands out into the salubrious country weekly...giving them wholesome interests--and so through ministering to mind and body and soul it not only adds years to man's life but also life to man's years.¹¹³

But equally important was that the automobile was giver of health on a wider societal level, and not simply for those who could afford the purchase of an automobile. The benefits of the automobile trickled down to all for, as Williams noted, the increased speed and mobility of doctors with automobiles meant innumerable lives saved. As Macleans pointed out, "The motor is the servant of the whole community. It brings the doctor to the patient more quickly....So to use a motor you do not necessarily have to own one, or rent one. Every citizen uses one in some manner or another."¹¹⁴

The rural space which the automobile made accessible was attributed with propitious qualities, but perhaps none more important than restorer of family health. (Against the supposed tyranny of the city, the countryside was imbued with the ability to rejuvenate the body and mind and, by association, so too was the automobile. As one enthusiast maintained,

To get out of the city is physically beneficial. To ride in the open air and escape the contagion of closed street-cars is another advantage.¹¹⁵

Significantly, the healthy activity of countryside motoring was a pastime to be indulged in year round:

The motorist who declines to motor simply because the calendar tells him that it is winter loses a supremely delightful experience. There is exhilaration in the onward rush through the biting wind. There is health and healing in the pure, clean cold. There is tonic in the sweep of the crystal clean air, keen as a whetted scimitar, and whipped home by the added impetus of flight in a fast-moving motor-cart.¹¹⁶

As the Hamilton Herald also noted,

It is no uncommon sight to see touring parties bundled in furs speeding over the highways on the coldest days... There appears to be something unusually fascinating whirling over the country roads with snowflakes flying about the car.¹¹⁷

Not only was winter driving a source of health, but as the Herald alluded to, it facilitated a heightened experience of speed as well. Perhaps more so in winter than in summer did one develop an appreciation of the sense of speed with the automobile 'whirling' over the roads. As late as 1920 open automobiles accounted for ninety percent of all automobile sales, so undoubtedly the sensations of speed were immeasurably augmented by snowflakes flying about the occupants.¹¹⁸

Automobile manufacturers began in the 'teens to market the automobile, regardless of physical setting, as a giver of health and driving as a healthy pastime. An automobile became the means, according to one advertisement, to 'a bigger, broader, healthier life for the whole family.'¹¹⁹ A family with an automobile, the manufacturers of the Overland pointed out,

...get out-of-doors and stay out-of-doors. Their lungs are continually filling with the very source of life--pure fresh air; their hearts are filled and gladdened with everlasting sunshine. What's more, it keeps the family together. You can see a difference in their faces and their dispositions.¹²⁰

In fact the emphasis on family health, particularly that of children, evolved into an often cited selling feature. As another advertisement for Overland contended,

Young bodies are strengthened--
 Young minds are stimulated--
 none are more genuinely benefited by an Overland in the family than are the youngsters.¹²¹

Some advertisers, in their determination to sell the automobile as a mechanism of health, resorted even to guilt marketing techniques in emphasizing the health factor. (As they shifted their focus away from the automobile as simply transportation and instead built on the relationship of health and the automobile, manufacturers even went so far as to infer parental inadequacy through lack of consumption. "The rosy cheeks it will bring to the youngsters", asserted one manufacturer, "the delight that will dance in their eyes--will repay you for the outlay many times over."¹²² The illustration which accompanied that particular advertisement depicted eight laughing, smiling children and their mother climbing in and out of their new vehicle. Meanwhile three children next door, on the other side of a white picket fence, looked on the scene sadly and longingly. Above, the caption reads, "Which side of the fence is your family on?" The implication was clear: were you doing as much for your family as possible, and would your children suffer, because you neglected to purchase a new automobile?

The fascination with space, particularly with the ability to traverse increasingly larger distances made the province appear, in relative terms, smaller. The redefinition of spatial boundaries had many unforeseen, but not necessarily unwelcome, implications. An important phenomenon which emerged from this era of expanded spatial mobility was the

creation of the automobile tourist. Automobiles provided a hitherto untapped possibility for travel, and quickly began to give serious competition to the railroad and steamship resort excursions which had traditionally formed the backbone of Ontario's tourist industry early in the twentieth century. The proliferation of the automobile in conjunction with an expanding road network, meant that tourists were no longer limited primarily to those resorts serviced by the railway and steamship companies.

As tourism was a logical extension of the mobility theme so readily marketed by automobile manufacturers, it was not unusual to find an appeal to the potential tourist being made amongst automobile advertisements. Relating the mobility of the automobile to the attraction of tourism, Chevrolet pointed out that,

The inspiring beauties of Nature, the interesting and educational features of other places and other types of people and ways of living remain things to be read about, or seen dimly in cold photographs, until you are free to GO TO THEM at your convenience and pleasure.¹²³

But even without the urgings of automobile manufacturers, the application of the automobile's ability to bridge distances and explore new areas was gaining popularity amongst automobile owners. With pressure initially arising from the private sector, arrangements were made to facilitate the

automobile's use as an important element of tourism. In 1912 the Automobile Club of Buffalo petitioned the Ontario government to allow its members access to Fort Erie racetrack without the necessity of purchasing an Ontario automobile licence, for at that time there existed no reciprocity of automobile licenses between the two countries. In reply to the request, the Inspector of the Provincial Police at Niagara Falls was informed that

By permission of the Hon. the Provincial Secretary automobilists from Buffalo have been given the privilege of driving to and from the Fort Erie race track without taking out an Ontario license.¹²⁴

But a permanent reciprocal relationship was what was sought, and motorists throughout the Province continued to lobby to that end. The Canadian Motorist, the official organ of the Ontario Motor League, pointed out the disadvantages to which Ontario motorists were put by the Provincial government's refusal to formulate a permanent policy. As an editorial on the subject made clear,

...Ontario is now the only Canadian province in which the touring motorist from the United States is not permitted to operate his car on the registration of his own state, and that consequently, in refusing recognition of New York, Michigan and other such registrations, the Provincial Government compels the Ontario motorist to register in New York, or whatever other state he may desire to enter as a motor tourist. All neighbouring states have a standing offer of licence exchange. This offer has been accepted,

within certain limits, by every province in Canada with the single exception of Ontario. Automobile touring is thus subject to a detrimental restriction which up to the present time has been mainly to the disadvantage of the Ontario motorist, because of the higher registration fees prevailing across the line and his exclusion from the splendid highways which our southern neighbours have constructed.¹²⁵

However the removal of hindrances to automobile tourism remained, as in the instance of the Buffalo club, an ad hoc response as the need arose. As such it was not until 1916 that a license reciprocity agreement was reached between Ontario and New York State which encouraged the free exchange of automobiles between the two countries. The far reaching significance of that agreement for the future of the tourist trade did not appear to be realized at the time, the only celebrants appearing to be those who had petitioned for its implementation. Writing in May 1916, one newspaper related the rather low-key celebration which accompanied the event:

The exchange of motor licenses with New York State will go into effect tomorrow noon. In order to celebrate this event a large gathering of Canadian and American motorists will meet on Friday at the International bridge.¹²⁶

In a small but important manner the automobile encouraged closer international relations by the less restricted use of the border.¹²⁷ Nonetheless the Ontario government did not initially go out of its way to encourage out of province automobile tourism, and on at least one occasion

seemed to deliberately antagonize potential tourists. Citing an obscure provincial statute, Canadian customs officials at Windsor, in response to fourth of July celebrations, forced all American vehicles crossing into Canada that day decorated with the stars and stripes, to also display Canadian flags as well.¹²⁸ Yet in spite of an evidently increasing enthusiasm for automobile tourism from the private sector after 1910, the Ontario government remained skeptical that tourism occurred in any significant numbers. In 1913 W.J. Hanna, the Provincial Secretary, in reply to a request for license reciprocity with the United States, argued that it would in fact be to Ontario's detriment. Tourism, he pointed out, would occur through Ontario rather than to it in the case of American tourists who would travel primarily from Buffalo to Detroit. Moreover, contended Hanna, the increase in revenue for the Province would only amount to eight thousand dollars in the instance of New York State, and approximately seven thousand dollars for Michigan State. Again in 1915, when a motion was put before the Legislature that municipalities should receive a portion of the automobile taxes, it was greeted with the same response. The member for Windsor, J.C. Tolmie, had suggested an increased tax on tourist automobiles, and alluded to the vast sums of money which those individuals spent while in the province. In reply the Provincial Secretary simply smiled and expressed his doubts whether much money was in fact left in the Province by automobile tourists.¹²⁹ The Ontario Motor League on the other

hand, who were perhaps in a better position to judge the economic impact of motor tourism, pointed out that

Automobile tourists, as a rule, are good spenders, and it is no objection to foreign license recognition that a great many more United States motorists would come to Ontario than Ontario motorists would visit the United States. If ten times as many came here as went there, they would spend just ten times as much money in this province, and the money spent would not be long in getting into circulation to the benefit of the community at large.¹³⁰

The government soon changed its position vis-a-vis automobile tourists as it became increasingly clear that more and more individuals were using the automobile for touring purposes. Moreover the realization of the economic potential which the automobile tourists represented caused the province actively to seek automobile tourists. The importance attached to this growing phenomenon was apparent in the fact that it became a topic of discussion in the throne speech of 1923. As the speech outlined:

As a province we are already enjoying a considerable financial return from our investment in roads. From official sources it is learned that during the last year automobiles to the number of more than a quarter of a million were brought into Ontario by tourists from the United States. It is estimated that the expenditures of the visitors reached an aggregate sum of fifteen millions of dollars, and that tourists will bring in not less than twenty-five millions during the present year. The varied attractions in this Province for this class of traffic were

considered by a Committee of this House during the recess. The committee will submit to you recommendations for wider publicity and improved hotel accommodation, with a view to increasing tourist traffic in the future.¹³¹

For Ontario, the increased mobility facilitated by the automobile was indeed reflected in automobile tourist statistics. In 1923, 1,633,952 tourists had visited Ontario, with over 120,000 registered for periods of one month or less. At the same time 55,524 automobiles were exported from Ontario for touring purposes by residents of the province. By 1929, 2,922,536 automobile tourists entered Ontario for one day or less, 582,128 entered Ontario for two months or less, and 283,250 Ontarians exported their automobiles for touring purposes. By the end of the 1920s Ontario had come to appreciate the enormous source of revenue which automobile tourism represented.¹³² But perhaps more importantly, the growth of automobile tourism represented a commonplace practical illustration of the contraction of space, and of the public's awareness regarding the benefits to be derived from the application of personal mobility to everyday life.

A somewhat more sinister realization of the automobile's powers of mobility was evidenced by its ready applicability in the pursuit of crime. Time, speed, and mobility were of the essence when committing a crime, and the criminal elements of Ontario society effectively grasped the

potential of the automobile in that respect. Hamilton police noted how their detectives 'were instrumental in arresting several gangs of local crooks who made it a practice of stealing automobiles and then motoring to outside places and breaking into stores'.¹³³ The same phenomenon, but on a much wider scale, was reported by the Ontario Provincial Police in their annual reports. According to the Provincial Police, there was occurring throughout the province an

...epidemic of crimes of violence, chiefly highway robbery, hold-ups of banks, stores and travellers, and burglaries, in small towns without adequate police protection....¹³⁴

Quite interestingly the Provincial Police attributed the 'Crime-Wave' to a

...certain revolver using, motor-mad type of criminal who realizing the ease with which an organized band of armed desperados can terrorize the unarmed and unorganized public, and escape by means of a high-powered motor car before the officers of the law have been notified, much less reach of the scene of the crime.¹³⁵

The apprehension of such criminals was made exceedingly difficult by the province's own campaign for good roads, which allowed for escape at relatively high speeds. Moreover it remained difficult, as the Provincial Police themselves admitted, to distinguish an escaping band of criminals from a group of tourists. There was 'no doubt' in the minds of the

Provincial police that the automobile was 'the chief cause for this increase in this type of bandit'.¹³⁶ The application of the new mobility by the criminal class of Ontario was an unintended, but not wholly unexpected, result of the realization of the automobile's potential vis-a-vis time and space.

Tourism, like manufacturer's advertisements, or the geographical expansion of crime, was a manifestation of the new mobility and spatial awareness created by the automobile. The fascination with space as a medium to be explored and conquered exacerbated an already existing rift within Ontario society, a society which, with its strong religious underpinnings, was decidedly conservative in character. (Ontario's steadily increasing motoring population, in addition to the influx of out of province automobile tourists, meant an unprecedented call on automobile and tourist related services of all sorts. As would be expected, the demand for such services existed throughout the entire week, including Sunday. In doing so however, such services came into direct conflict with the strong religious element in the province who saw the opening of services on Sunday, or indeed even Sunday motoring itself, as an affront to the moral fibre of the province and a desecration of the Sabbath.) Yet considering the inducements to which Ontario society was constantly exposed, the lure of time, space and speed at the expense of Sunday observance was a not unforeseen result. As the road network expanded Ontario

Ontario society was encouraged to experience the pleasures of driving, and advertisements like the Hupmobile 'camp week-end' series clearly advocated giving entire weekends over to pleasure.

For a sizable proportion of the population, Sunday's freedom from the rigours of office or factory meant that it became the only day which could be given over to leisure or the family. The Lord's Day Observance Act passed in 1906 to ensure at least one day's rest from work did not, of course, ensure church attendance.¹³⁷ However, associations such as the Lord's Day Alliance led the fight to preserve the religious basis on which Sunday had traditionally been observed. But the proliferation of competing leisure activities in the first decades of the twentieth century made it increasingly difficult to secure unanimous support for traditional Sunday observances. As the Lord's Day Advocate, the organ of the Lord's Day Alliance, noted in 1909:

There is nothing more startling to any thoughtful, not to say religious observer, than the way in which Sunday is being made a day of strenuous pleasure taken by "Saturday to Monday" city people invading quiet country hamlets or lakeside watering places, with noisy profanation of the hours of the day of rest and worship.¹³⁸

Sunday pleasuring, as it was commonly referred to, was viewed as a serious threat, striking at the very heart of the family relationship.¹³⁹

Opposition to Sunday travel was not a new phenomenon, having its roots firmly in the nineteenth century. Toronto had in the decade prior to 1900 witnessed the contention over Sunday mobility evolve into a highly politicized issue concerning the question of Sunday streetcars and subsequent municipal reform.¹⁴⁰ Certainly the struggle to maintain Sunday's inherent religious nature received serious competition from a myriad of possible leisure activities such as golfing, boating, baseball or the movies.¹⁴¹ Yet motoring, perhaps because of its highly visible presence, or because of the widespread enthusiasm it generated, received an increasingly larger share of the criticisms levelled by the religious groups. Not surprisingly, not everyone chose to observe the Sabbath in a religious manner; instead many, drawn by the attraction of open spaces, saw the day as the ideal opportunity for automobile touring. Reflecting on a growing trend throughout North America, Sinclair Lewis depicted his character George Babbitt as an individual who attended church regularly, "...except on spring Sunday mornings which were obviously meant for motoring."¹⁴² "The automobile", lamented a United Church social agency, "is being used as a means of desecration of the Sabbath by making it a mere day of pleasure...."¹⁴³ Thus while the essence of Sunday observance was not a problem peculiar to the automobile, the presence of the automobile radically altered the scope of the issue; it made Sunday travel a viable reality for increasingly larger numbers of the

population as accessibility over a much wider geographical range was enhanced. The automobile and the ready mobility it provided became a point of conflict in the ensuing controversy over the issue of Sabbath observance, often being singled out as a target of special concern. Groups such as the Lord's Day Alliance pushed for greater Sabbath observance, noticeably weakened by the automobile and the Sunday pleasuring which it seemingly encouraged. For most North Americans, according to the Association, "the only thought of Sunday is a day of pleasure seeking and leisuring."¹⁴⁴ The problem with the automobile, noted one Lord's Day Alliance report, was that it encouraged individuals to 'play fast and loose with the Lord's Day', which as a result meant that

...they turn God's precious day into a whole day's outing with their children in a touring car or a noisy char-a-banc, and all the while the voice of prayer silent and the great God neither thought on nor thanked.¹⁴⁵

Even poetry was at times employed to point specifically to the automobile, indicating in a satirical manner that perhaps Sunday motorists were indeed deeply religious:

Black lines of autos wind and wind,
Contentment and a wood to find,
To find contentment and a tree
Beside some stream's garrulity.
Beside some waterfall or some peak
The way to God the autos seek.

All the autos push and press,
Hunger and thirst for righteousness.

They leave the evil and the sin
 Of the towns and enter in
 To the Church, which is the wood,
 Easily, easily understood.

Lines of autos pass and speed,
 Hungry, thirsty from the need
 Of a leafy cloister where
 Still, small voices call to prayer
 Thus by moss and fern and sod
 The autos find the way to God.¹⁴⁶

Satirical or not, such poetry was symptomatic of a serious concern amongst Sabbath associations, that being the decline of church attendance. As one Methodist minister stated his view,

Many a pastor faces empty pews, particularly at night, while his congregation are out enjoying themselves in their automobiles. In summer the call of the country and nearby towns is too great to be resisted by many people. The automobile has encouraged Sunday visitings and outings and has hurt the morning congregations as well as the night ones.¹⁴⁷

Automobile pleasuring, particularly on Sundays, came to be almost as a religion unto itself. The frustration which churches must have experienced over declining attendance rates caused by the religious-like fervour with which some automobile enthusiasts pursued their pastime, could only have been exacerbated by publications which played upon this very theme, such as an instructional manual, published in 1917, entitled The Motor Catechism.¹⁴⁸ Thus, although the concern for declining church attendance was not new, it extended to new limits under the influence of the automobile.

But the decline of church attendance was only one aspect of the concern by associations such as the Lord's Day Alliance, for the attack on automobile mobility was twofold. An issue of equal concern, which followed naturally from the growth of Sunday automobiling, was the rise of a corresponding service sector to fulfill the needs of those motorists. Not only were those employed in such services prevented from attending church themselves if they so desired, but the continuation of commercial activity on a Sunday was deemed incompatible with the tenor and purpose of the Sabbath. In a sermon given before the congregation of the Douglas Methodist Church in Toronto, Rev. Dr. Rochester of the Lord's Day Alliance appealed to motorists to give up their Sunday pleasuring, pointing out that such motorists are

...doing much to stimulate Sunday business as carried on in the operation of gasoline-filling stations, refreshment booths and similar lines of commercial activity.¹⁴⁹

Along the Niagara Peninsula, when the fruit season was in full swing, articles railed against the sale of fruit on Sunday, complaining that the roads through areas such as Stoney Creek 'looked more like a huge street fair than Sunday in the country'.¹⁵⁰ But although fruits came and went according to season, commodities such as gasoline continued to be sold steadily on a year round basis, so that the problem of church attendance, Sunday automobilists, and commercial activity, continued unabated.

A suggestion put forward at various times was to prohibit the sale of gasoline on Sunday altogether, thereby reducing Sunday automobiling and the necessity for certain commercial activities such as gasoline stations. It was not a new suggestion, taking its inspiration from a precedent set during the war when conservation of resources was of importance. According to the arguments of the Lord's Day Alliance, most automobiles had the capacity to carry enough gasoline for a one hundred mile journey, and such a distance 'should be regarded as a very generous concession to make for those who on Sunday seek the fresh air'.¹⁵¹ Interestingly, contained within the suggestion was an indication of the extent to which spatial boundaries, both physical and psychological, had been transformed throughout Ontario. Evidently by 1920 a one hundred mile journey for a Sunday outing was not inconceivable, nor probably unusual. But the very fact that the same distances for single pleasure outing were generally unheard of a mere decade earlier reflected both the increased spatial awareness as well as new spatial possibilities synonymous with the automobile.

Equally important, however, the Lord's Day Alliance's anxieties hinted at a fundamental shift not simply in the perceptions of space, but in the perception of time as well. Beneath the concern for Sunday spatial mobility lay the realization that the temporal framework of Ontario society had

been irreversibly altered by the introduction of the automobile. Prior to the automobile's presence, Sundays were given over primarily to religious observance. The week was divided, therefore, into clearly delineated components of sacred and secular time. Sacred time, as represented by Sunday, was characterized by activities and obligations traditionally commensurate with that status, such as church attendance. Sunday's boundaries were as psychological as they were temporal, so that there occurred a minimal carryover of activities from the week, particularly leisure, into Sundays.

(The presence of the automobile assaulted Ontario's traditional weekly time rhythms. The automobile eroded the established balance of the sacred and the secular, in effect minimizing the difference between the two by contributing to an increased secularization of Sunday. For a significant proportion of Ontario's population by the 1920s, Sunday had ceased to be exclusively a day of rest and worship; instead secular time or leisure time increasingly gained priority over sacred time.) While the automobile facilitated an increased separation of workplace from the family and seemingly separated further the family unit, the automobile could be made in part to compensate for such a separation by providing quality leisure time to reunite the family. Thus what the automobile took away with one hand it gave back with the other, unfortunately often at the expense

of traditional religious Sunday activities. In doing so, however, a new notion of time was formulated, secular 'family' time. Such a shift in temporal perception became evident as religious observance declined in favour of secular family time, time in which the automobile came to play an increasingly larger role. Although family time was not created by the automobile, for family oriented leisure had existed previously, it assumed under the automobile an importance in the family unit on a hitherto unprecedented scale. The attractions of space, particularly of the countryside, and the mobility of the automobile which made its exploration an increasingly popular pastime, only exacerbated the trend away from the traditionally religious character in Ontario's Sundays. As such the Lord's Day Alliance's concern with spatial mobility was not simply with mobility per se; rather, it represented a realization of the widespread secularization of time as facilitated by that mobility.

CONCLUSION:

The automobile, as it opened up new spatial possibilities, had several far reaching implications concerning the perceptions of said space. The automobile, or more specifically the new mobility provided by the automobile, caused a reassessment and reorientation of established temporal and spatial norms within Ontario. Of all the changes which the automobile brought to the province, it was the alteration

of established spatial relationships, particularly the relationship between rural and urban society, which possessed the greatest consequences. Within a relatively short period of time, the automobile became synonymous with a new freedom of time, space, distance and speed. But due to the inherently restrictive nature of the urban environment, the countryside became the logical location to experience the new boundaries of time and space as defined by the automobile.

Limited mobility had meant limited accessibility to non-urban environments for a significant proportion of the population, which in turn created a perception of the countryside as a homogeneous but little understood environment. For an urban bound population, the countryside remained a jumbled impression of farms, forests, and open spaces, often culled second hand from a variety of sources. For many the countryside represented that glimpse obtained on a railway journey, but the sharp linearity of the railway removed the individual from the normal irregularity of the rural environment, in a sense alienating the individual from the landscape which he or she passed through.¹⁵² (However the automobile, by making the rural landscape generally accessible and by removing the barriers of separation between the traveller and the landscape, removed that sense of alienation with the landscape which characterized the railway journey. A realization that the countryside could no longer be considered a single

homogeneous entity came with the increased regularity of contact made possible by the automobile's mobility. The automobile replaced generalities of impression with new specifics of spatial awareness. Such contact was essential for a proper appreciation of the nature of the rural environment, for as Seigfried Gideon has pointed out, "In order to grasp the true nature of space the observer must project himself through it."¹⁵³ (The automobile's mobility meant an enhanced appreciation of space and spatial diversity, as well as an expansion of traditional spatial boundaries which, when considered collectively, redefined the idea of the 'countryside' in the early 1920s.

Activities such as the Ontario Motor League's road sign campaign, while ostensibly to aid touring motorists, often unintentionally altered the character of rural society throughout Ontario. Specifically, sign campaigns irrevocably transformed a sense of identity which for many small rural communities had remained unchanged for years before the coming of the automobile. Typical of the consequences of the League's sign efforts was the case of Green River which

Sign campaign as an urban imposition & defacement of rural landscape

...the unwary traveller might pass through and go for miles beyond still looking for it, did he not know that the church set among the trees on one side of the stream and the small general store on the opposite side of the stream, each hidden from the other, were two positive evidences that it was a village.¹⁵⁴

Since the post office of Green River displayed no sign, the members of the League arbitrarily decided where to place a name sign announcing the village, a necessary step "...so that the travelling tourist might know when he came to certain villages."¹⁵⁵

However the indigenous population displayed far less enthusiasm for the process. When a nearby farmer was asked whether it was an appropriate place for a Green River sign, the farmer replied "Well, boys, I guess it is as good as any, as the store and post office are across the crick."¹⁵⁶ The apparent indifference by local inhabitants was understandable, given that in their minds there probably existed a clearly defined local identity of place and circumstance, even if it went unnamed. Although identity had been local and unofficial, it nonetheless had been sufficient for those who lived and worked in the immediate environment. If signs did not create an identity for communities such as Green River, they did so primarily for outside interests such as touring motorists. Yet signs, and the motorists which they served, meant that communities such as Green River were slowly integrated into the wider fabric of provincial life with their 'new' identity. But in turn such communities were forced to sacrifice some of the local identity which relative isolation and anonymity had provided. As new rural identities were created they were

often identities which perpetuated the urban motorist's perception of a homogeneous countryside.

Yet one of the paradoxes of the automobile was that while it expanded spatial accessibility it also simultaneously debased space to some degree. A desire to be outdoors and away from the city meant that the intervening space, or transitional space between rural and urban environments, became important only so far as it represented a necessary barrier to be traversed in order to reach one's ultimate goal. Intervening transitional space was devalued as an increased range of mobility extended accessible locations further from the urban environment.) Whereas the transitional zone had once been important for leisure activity, it being the area comfortably reached by personal non-mechanized transportation, the increased mobility provided by the automobile, as well as the continual outward expansion of the city, removed the aesthetically desirable leisure areas further from the city. What had once been a destination became simply a transitional zone, a zone which increased proportionately to advancements in personal mobility wrought by the automobile. Thus the automobile worked at two levels in altering the spatial perceptions of Ontario society. (Although the automobile increased the awareness of space as the spatial separation of points apparently decreased, it also meant that at the same time smaller increments of space were increasingly debased in

significance. In a society more and more enchanted by the long range spatial possibilities of automobile travel, smaller intervening spaces became increasingly insignificant in the expanding spatial scheme of the province. Short distances were perceived as more homogeneous than heterogeneous, and although transitional zones had not yet assumed the identity of 'the strip' characteristic of the urban fringe in the second half of the twentieth century, those smaller spaces increasingly lost their ability to retain a diversified identity.¹⁵⁷ That process meant that the zone, in essence the urban fringe, lost any sharp delineation it may once have possessed; its boundaries became progressively blurred as it exhibited characteristics of both urban and rural environments but belonged to neither.)

In examining the railway experience of the early twentieth century, John Stilgoe has described the creation and subsequent decline of what he refers to as metropolitan corridors; a corridor marked by particular physical characteristics through which a train passed enroute from one destination to another.¹⁵⁸ The transitional zone embodying the separation of the urban from the non-urban environment, was marked by the presence of arterial roads extending out from the city, and created a corridor of sorts between the two environments. It was not a corridor delineated by fixed physical boundaries such as that of the railroad, but it was a

corridor in the sense that it represented the shortest and fastest route from city to countryside. The ribbon of highway became like steel rails, and although a motorist was possessed with the ability to deviate at will from the direct route, more often than not he or she seldom did as it lengthened the time necessary to reach a given destination. As well, the physical or aesthetic composition of the corridor itself was usually of little consequence to the motorist, but merely represented a means to an end. But unlike the rail corridor, the automobile corridor became as much a psychological reality as it was physical, forming a sort of psychological transition zone facilitating a mental shift from one environment to another.

By contrasting the two environments, advertisers reinforced the differences, real and imagined, between the two. Those themes were carefully portrayed in advertisements such as the Hupmobile week-end series which contrasted the tyranny of the city with the rejuvenative qualities of the countryside:

Asphalt pavements, electric lights, social duties, household worries, business cares, the city's maelstrom--all mere minutes away in your Hupmobile--the breeze of the night-wrapt woods has blown from your memory. Coming out this afternoon in your Hupmobile, as you passed successively through city traffic, the suburbs, the green farm country and then into the silent, brooding, soothing woods, you felt the shackles of the city's tyranny slipping from you one by one.¹⁵⁹

Not only did advertisers market the idea that the separation between city and country was as much emotional as it was physical, but they eagerly demonstrated the automobile's ability to bridge the two environments. When elements of time and space were used by advertisers, country and city often became the two poles by which to measure mobility.

With the new relationship fostered by the automobile came a growing interchange between the two areas, characterized by an increased enthusiasm for the rural environment by the urban population. That new relationship manifested itself in many ways throughout Ontario society, but perhaps none more readily apparent than in the mass media, particularly the advertising medium. However such advertisements presented a naive interpretation of rural space, one seen almost exclusively from an urban point of view. But the creation of a distorted, idealized view of the countryside was promoted by means often less readily apparent. Amateur photography, such as that practiced by automobile tourists, perpetuated an already artificial view of the rural environment. Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century, companies such as Eastman Kodak advised the motoring public how to best capture the essence of the countryside, but such professional advice only distorted even further an already idealized perception. As John Stilgoe points out, such instructions encouraged an idealized aesthetic,

...emphasizing such spatial features as free-standing trees, open middle distances, and herds of cows while banning utility poles and other industrial items. Gradually, beautiful rural scenery came to be identified with particular sorts of views accessible from motor cars.¹⁶⁰

Such photographs depicted only the scenic charm of the countryside and masked, just as advertisements did, the true dichotomous nature of the environment, which in reality was as much workplace as playground. Certainly one would never guess from the advertisements the ongoing conflict over the use of rural space, the controversy of workplace versus playground. Yet for the indigenous rural population, it was a very real concern indeed. According to Joseph Interrante, motor touring was seen by farmers as an invasion of rural space by a consuming upper class urban public, and resulting conflicts were struggles over the definition and use of rural space.¹⁶¹ Rather than fostering a closer contact and understanding between the two environments, processes such as advertising probably made a basis of understanding between the two more difficult if not impossible. At a basic level the portrayal of the countryside in an idealized manner meant that urban interests would have virtually no appreciation of rural distress nor sympathy with rural reform movements. Conversely an idealized depiction of the countryside may have aided urban reformers, such as the city beautiful movement, by pointedly contrasting the beauty and wholesomeness of the countryside with the supposed degradation of the urban environment. Thus

the irony of rural imagery advertisements and articles extolling the virtues of the countryside was that while they were busily creating an ideality of environment in which to repose, such advertisements and articles likely encouraged a situation which exacerbated underlying rural-urban tensions.

But coming from what were overwhelmingly urban advertising agencies, how does one account for the popularity of rural imagery, which comprised over sixty percent of all automobile advertising tableaux in the 1920s? At its most basic level, the predominance of a non-urban theme represented a natural extension of the concerns with the structure of time and space. Moreover the fast pace of urban life created sentimental versions of a slower, predominantly rural, past, a theme which advertisers and others were not slow to realize or to exploit. Perhaps, more importantly, those idyllic rural values were not simply the creation of some advertising agent; most adult automobile purchasers of the 'twenties could recall within their own memory a time when the rural landscape was a dominant image. Many Canadian intellectuals following the turn of the century believed, as Andrew Macphail or Archibald MacMechan did, that traditional Canadian values and virtues resided in the countryside. Macphail, for example, was confident, despite his own urbanization, that "Our life in Canada will always be rural. Wherefore let us aspire to rural

joys." Like Macphail, MacMechan saw the countryside as essentially calm and uncomplex, and hence able to exert a regenerative influence on a soul harried by urban pressures.¹⁶² Advertisers and writers did not create a nostalgia for a rural environment so much as they reawakened already existing sentiments.

But more important than time and space motifs, the continued presence of rural attraction and rural imagery hinted at a much deeper malaise and sense of emptiness affecting Ontario society of the 1920s. The rapid pace of urban life subsequently created an emphasis on what were deemed to be more simple pleasures, such as those to be found in the countryside. Thus the countryside was accredited with restorative powers for the meeting the harsh realities of what was, for many, an increasingly chaotic daily existence. As an early treatise on automobile touring made clear,

The quiet country road furnishes the ready avenue of escape from the ever-increasing complexities of modern life, and unfolds a panorama which soothes the spirit and corrects any distorted notions man may have conceived about his place in the universe...The touring-car places at man's feet so much of the simple life of a former age as may be pleasant for him, and useful in keeping him a sweet and wholesome human creature.¹⁶³

Advertisers were 'apostles of modernity', and what made them modern was, ironically, "the discovery...of techniques of

empathizing with the public's imperfect acceptance of modernity...."164 The countryside provided a hope of escape from the turmoil of the city and made the modern era easier to live with; it presented the opportunity to have the best of both worlds.165 (Rural images, particularly those which involved a family, depicted harmony and certain eternal values; they represented stability in an era of rapid change.)

ENDNOTES

¹Robert Thornton's anthropological study, Space, Time and Culture Among the Iraq of Tanzania (New York: Academic Press, 1980), demonstrates the universality of time and space by examining the presence and impact of such concepts within a less developed society. For an examination of time and space concepts from a philosophical and scientific point of view, see Milik Capek, ed., The Concepts of Time and Space: Their Structure and their Development (Boston: D. Riedel Publishing Company, 1976). The best introduction to the impact of time and space on Western culture is Stephen Kern's The Culture of Time and Space, 1880-1918 (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1983). The best overview of contemporary time studies is to be found in J. T. Fraser's The Voices of Time (Amherst: The University of Massachusetts Press, 1981). Other useful works on time include Louise Robinson Heath, The Concept of Time (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1936); Henry Kucera and Karla Tanka, Time in Language (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1975); C.A. Patrides, ed., Aspects of Time (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976).

²E.M. Forster, "The Machine Stops" in Arthur O. Lewis, Jr. Of Men and Machines (New York, 1963), p. 274.

³Wolfgang Schivelbusch The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century (New York: Urizen Books, 1979), p.45

⁴Report of the Commission Appointed to Inquire Into Hydro-Electric Railways (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1922) p.53; John F. Due, The Intercity Electric Railway Industry in Canada (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1966), pp.25, 33-36, 53, 61-95.

⁵W.A. Craik, "The Motor Roads of Canada", Macleans (April, 1917), p.22. Warren Belasco makes the point that in addition to freeing the motorist from restrictive railway schedules, the automobile also freed the motorist from his or her own internal, work-disciplined scheduling, for occurrences such as breakdowns often forced a driver to be patient and wait. Warren Belasco, Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945 (Cambridge, Mass.: The M.I.T. Press, 1979), p.22.

⁶Saturday Evening Post, July 7, 1923.

⁷Kenneth Grahame, The Wind in the Willows (1908), (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1933), p.28.

⁸ibid., p.33.

⁹ibid., p.36

¹⁰ibid., pp.112-13.

¹¹ibid., p.36.

¹²Cynthia Dettlebach, In the Driver's Seat: The Automobile in American Literature and Popular Culture (Westport, Conn.: Greenwood Press, 1976), pp.55-56.

¹³As the Library of Congress Catalogue indicates, the Wind in the Willows was a very successful North American publication, being first published in New York in 1909 and reaching twenty six printings by 1927.

¹⁴A.A. Mendelow, "The Time-Obsession of the Twentieth Century", in C.A. Patrides, ed., Aspects of Time (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1976), p.73; Jean Piaget, "Time Perception in Children", in J.T. Fraser, ed., The Voices of Time (Amherst: University of Massachusettes Press, 1981), p. 210.

¹⁵James Grantham, "The Law and the Motor", Macleans (May, 1914), p.29.

¹⁶R.W.D., "The Conversion of an Amateur" Motoring (September, 1906), p.188. The rapid conversion of an individual into a motorist seems not to have been a singular occurrence. At the annual meeting of the Ontario Motor League Mr. Lloyd Harris of Brantford described how "...eighteen months before he had been a lover of the horse and a hater of the automobile, but two trips in an auto had made him an enthusiastic motorist." Globe, March 28, 1908.

¹⁷R.T. Sloss, The Book of the Automobile (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1905), p.179.

¹⁸G.C. Keith, "Automobiling in Canada Decidedly Popular", Busy Man's Magazine (June, 1908), p.106.

¹⁹Toronto Daily Star, March 24, 1908.

²⁰Ontario, Ontario Legislature. Debates, May 21, 1903. The Act in question is 3 Edw. VII C. 26, An Act to Regulate the Speed and Operation of Motor Vehicles on Highways.

²¹"The Future of the Two-Cycle Engine", Motoring (September, 1906), p.188.

²²The number of passenger automobiles registered in Ontario prior to the First World War remained quite small: 535 in 1904; 553 in 1905; 1176 in 1906; 1530 in 1907; 1754 in 1908; 2452 in 1909; 4230 in 1910; 11339 in 1911; 16268 in 1912; 23700 in 1913; 31724 in 1914. Department of Highways, Annual Report 1941, Ontario Sessional Paper, 1942.

²³Hamilton Herald, June 14, 1911; Hamilton Herald, August 19, 1912.

²⁴Hamilton Herald, November 15, 1912.

²⁵Hamilton Police Department, Annual Report, 1913.

²⁶Canadian Motorist, (January, 1914), p.7.

²⁷Public Archives of Ontario (PAO), Provincial Secretary's Papers, T.H. Lennox to W.J. Hanna, June 1, 1910.

²⁸PAO, Provincial Secretary's Papers, Joseph Elliott to W.J. Hanna, May 8, 1911. Members of the Legislature had a further stake in the issue as constable's positions were patronage appointments based on the recommendation of the local member of the Legislature.

²⁹PAO, Provincial Secretary's Papers, Joseph Elliot to W.J. Hanna, January 10, June 5, 1913; C.A. Reid to W.J. Hanna, March 14, 1913.

³⁰Debates, March 22, 1912.

³¹Debates, April 17, 1919.

³²Farmers' Sun, March 11, 1926.

³³Debates, March 2, 1929.

³⁴Grantham, "The Law and the Motor", p.30.

³⁵James Moir, "The Penalty of Speeding", Macleans (May 1912), pp.77-79.

³⁶Hamilton Times, August 19, 1912.

³⁷Hamilton Times, July 9, 1910. It is interesting to note that the essence of the doctor's defence was used by one tire manufacturer in their product marketing. The maker of "Gutta Percha" tires pointed out in their advertisement that "The Doctor is often a link in the chain of life. If the Doctor fails to arrive on time on a critical case, failure is a broken link. Lives depend upon the Doctor, and the Doctor depends upon his automobile...The Tires Doctors are learning to trust for a life and death run are "Gutta Percha" Tires." Macleans May 1, 1922.

³⁸Debates, March 13, 1923.

³⁹Debates, March 15, 1928.

⁴⁰Debates, March 8, 1921.

⁴¹Hamilton Herald, March 10, 1910.

⁴²Debates March 22, 1912.

⁴³Hamilton Herald April 21, 1908.

⁴⁴Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1912 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1912), p. 18.

⁴⁵Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1921 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1922) p. 17.

⁴⁶Department of Highways, Summary of Convictions Registered Under the Highway Traffic Act as Reported by Police Magistrates, 1926, Ontario Sessional Papers 1929.

⁴⁷Canadian Motorist (September, 1923), p.469; Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Deaths Due to Motor Vehicle Accidents (Ottawa 1934). The rising tide of death by automobile also gained the notice of various automobile manufacturers, who periodically used the safety aspect as a marketing ploy beginning in the 1920s. Under the headline of "Safety", the makers of the Hupmobile stated that "safety to those in the car" is one of the prime considerations in the Hupmobile construction. Similarly Dodge Brothers in 1926 began an advertisement with the assertion that "Dodge Brothers Motor Cars are built to protect passengers", and then went on to list the various safety features built into the automobile. The Graham Brothers played heavily on their inclusion of safety glass in 1930 in all their automobiles. As one advertisement for Graham products stated "The subject of accident disfigurement, and worse, from flying glass, is too unpleasant to be discussed in descriptive detail--but it is a menace which every motorist knows and one against which the Graham brothers are glad to insure the public." Rather than subtly playing on drivers' fears as the Graham advertisements did, Chrysler employed a direct visual approach in their safety campaign, using a photograph taken of a demonstration at Coney Island which placed a five ton elephant on the roof without any apparent damage. Apparently therefore, even automobile manufacturers were conscious of the automobile's potential for death, as their safety oriented marketing indicates. Whether or not manufacturers were genuinely concerned with the safety issue cannot be ascertained, but certainly a mounting death toll attributable to the automobile could not reflect favorably on the industry. Macleans June 15, 1924; May 15, 1926; February 15, March 1, December 1, 1930.

⁴⁸Redvers, "Slaughter by Auto", Macleans (January 15, 1930).

⁴⁹ibid.

⁵⁰Eric J. Leed, No Man's Land: Combat and Identity in World War I (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), p.114; Arthur J. Pulos, American Design Ethic: A History of Industrial Design to 1940 (Cambridge, Mass: M.I.T. Press, 1983), p. 263. For changes in society caused by the war and expressed through the literature and language, see Bernard Bergonzi, Heroes' Twilight: A Study of Literature of the Great War (London: Constable and Company, 1965); Paul Fussell, The Great War and Modern Memory (London: Oxford University Press, 1975); Desmond Graham, The Truth of War (Manchester: Carconet Press, 1984); Dominic Hilberd, ed., Poetry of the First World War (London: The Macmillan Press, 1981).

⁵¹Farmers' Sun, March 11, 1926

⁵²The public's blindness to the automobile's worst abuses meant, as Blaine Brownell points out in a study of the same phenomenon in the United States, that while a realization of the automobile's death toll might elicit more denunciations of the automobile and a call for greater safety, none of the proposals ever called for substantial limitations on the number of automobiles. Blaine A. Brownell "A Symbol of Modernity: Attitudes Toward the Automobile in Southern Cities in the 1920s", American Quarterly 24(1972), pp. 30-32.

⁵³Macleans May 1, 1927; Canadian Magazine, April 1927.

⁵⁴SEP, September 24, 1921.

⁵⁵SEP, May 26, 1923.

⁵⁶SEP, September 10, 1921; June 2, 1923; David Lewis, The Public Image of Henry Ford (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1976), p.16.

⁵⁷Quoted in John R. Stilgoe, "Popular Photography, Scenery Values, and Visual Assessment", Landscape Journal Vol. 3, No. 2 (1984), p.13.

⁵⁸Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1914 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1914) p. 22.

⁵⁹Macleans April 1914; May 1912.

⁶⁰SEP, May 19, 1923; Macleans October 15, 1923.

⁶¹Macleans March 1, 1923.

⁶²Macleans July, 1912.

⁶³Macleans May, 1914.

- ⁶⁴Macleans May, 1912.
- ⁶⁵Macleans April, 1913.
- ⁶⁶Canadian Motorist January, 1922, p. 23.
- ⁶⁷Macleans April, 15, 1924.
- ⁶⁸Farmer's Advocate, September 26, 1918.
- ⁶⁹Macleans April 1, 1923.
- ⁷⁰Canadian Motorist, (January, 1915), p.6.
- ⁷¹Canadian Motorist, (December, 1914), p.451.
- ⁷²Ontario Motor League, Board of Executives, Minutes, December 4, 1914.
- ⁷³Hamilton Herald, May 7, 1915.
- ⁷⁴Macleans September, October, 1918.
- ⁷⁵John Henry Mueller, The Automobile: A Sociological Study (University of Chicago, Ph.D., 1928), Pp.77-78. Similar sentiments were expressed by the Ontario Public Roads and Highways Commissioners as early as 1914, when they stated that "The days of the use of the motor car for mere pleasure already are numbered; that in another decade the joyriding may be done in the air, and the automobile will be relegated to the purposes of sober labour." Or as an article in Canadian Motorist pointed out, the airplane would probably become a useful adjunct of the business world, stating that "...we are on the threshold of a new era in transportation, which will speed up certain phases of business and industry to keep pace with the demands of a mechanical age." The fascination with flying can be noted in the fact that Canadian Motorist regularly contained a section on worldwide aviation news. Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1914 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1914); Charles M. Schwab, "Regulated Flying is Safe", Canadian Motorist (March, 1923), p.143. Urban planners were equally expressive of the enthusiasm for flying shared by the public. In a comprehensive plan for the future development of Hamilton commissioned in 1917, Nolan Couchon cited the difficulty of maintaining the large wetlands on the outskirts of Hamilton, known as the Dundas Marsh, open for navigation due to constant silting in. His recommendation was, therefore, that "...siltin g in be encouraged and controlled to the end of making it a broad and level open field, and that it be dedicated as an aviation establishment at Hamilton, as after the War aviation will become a pleasure and a commercial

developing where facilities be found and encouragement given." Nolan Cauchon, Reconnaissance Report on Development of Hamilton, Ontario (Ottawa, 1917), p.61.

⁷⁶Macleans, September 1, 1929.

⁷⁷Canadian Magazine, June, 1927.

⁷⁸Joseph Corn argues that aviation enthusiasm was widespread throughout the period, bordering on a sort of secular religion. Joseph Corn, The Winged Gospel: America's Romance with Aviation, 1900-1930 (New York, 1983). The impact which the airplane had on North American society was indeed widespread. It was the airplane and its perceived image which inspired the stream-lining movement in industrial design which began in the 1930's, a trend which was to have a profound effect on the design of consumer goods, including the automobile. Jeffrey Meikle, Twentieth Century Limited: Industrial Design in America, 1925-1939 (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1979), p.4.

⁷⁹Macleans, March, 1918.

⁸⁰Ontario Motor League Board of Directors, Minutes, November 16, 1914; Canadian Motorist (November, 1914), pp. 426-27; Canadian Motorist (January, 1915), p.6.

⁸¹Canadian Motorist (January, 1915), p.6.

⁸²Macleans, July 15, 1930. See also June 15, 1924.

⁸³Macleans, April 15, 1926.

⁸⁴Macleans, September 15, 1930.

⁸⁵Macleans, July, 1911.

⁸⁶Cauchon (1917), P. 44.

⁸⁷Blaine A. Brownell, "Urban Planning, the Planning Profession, and the Motor Vehicle in Early Twentieth Century America", in Gordon E. Cherry, ed., Shaping an Urban World (London: Mansell, 1980), p.72.

⁸⁸Florence Jones Hadley, "A Song of the Flowering Road", Canadian Motorist (November, 1921), P. 621.

⁸⁹Toronto Globe, March 21, 1908.

⁹⁰This lure of the countryside during the 1920s is well documented by Warren Belasco who examines the rise of auto camping in the United States, and the organizational changes

necessitated by its phenomenal popularity. Warren Belasco, Americans on the Road: From Autocamp to Motel, 1910-1945 (Cambridge: The M.I.T. Press, 1979).

⁹¹An analysis of Macleans' advertising shows that rural settings were favoured in the majority of automobile advertisements in which a setting was discernible: 1920-21 - 67%; 1922-60%; 1923 - 38%; 1924 - 63%; 1925 - 88%; 1926 - 68%; 1927 - 59%; 1928 - 67%; 1929 - 68%; 1930 - 69%.

⁹²SEP, March 15, 1924.

⁹³The term "middle landscape" is from Park Dixon Goist, From Main Street to State Street: Town, City and Community in America (Port Washington: Kennikat Press, 1977), p.40.

⁹⁴The term rural is employed throughout in the wider sense of non-urban.

⁹⁵Macleans, April 1, 1930.

⁹⁶Macleans, June 15, November 15, 1926.

⁹⁷Macleans, March 15, September 15, 1925.

⁹⁸Macleans, April 1, 1922; November 1, 1929; For additional middle landscape advertising, see June 15, 1925; August 15, November 1, 1926; September 15, November 15, 1929.

⁹⁹Macleans, May 1, 1929.

¹⁰⁰Macleans, October 15, 1920.

¹⁰¹Macleans, July 1, 1929. Further in the advertisement the female imagery is more obvious still: "She rides in beauty. In the free, graceful lines of her. In the rich hues of her. In the poise and charm of her. There is beauty."

¹⁰²Macleans, June, 1919.

¹⁰³Macleans, July, 1913.

¹⁰⁴The exhortation to experience the new dimensions of time and space was a peculiarly urban phenomenon. Advertisers did direct some advertising to the rural community, but as will be discussed later, such advertising often played on the effectiveness of the new mobility to offset problems of rural depopulation, particularly amongst the younger farm generation.

¹⁰⁵The growing importance of the working class as a market may be seen in the fact that some periodicals addressed themselves specifically to the question of working class

ownership of automobiles. As Macleans noted, "The automobile has become far more than a toy for rich men. Its cheapness and reliability has made it a possible proposition for people of small means". Yet in some minds the automobile still retained a definite class association considered only marginally as a possession of the working class. The Lord's Day Alliance maintained that the movement for Sunday motion pictures was based on the belief by some that "...the poor man should have something to correspond to the privileges enjoyed on Sunday by him who possesses a motor car...." Raymond Harris, "Automobiles on Small Incomes", Macleans May 1915, p.14; The Lord's Day Advocate Vol. XV, No. 6 (July 1919). *

106 Canadian Magazine, May, 1924.

107 Macleans, July, 1924.

108 Macleans, July, 1913.

109 Hamilton Times, July 6, 1918.

110 Hamilton Spectator February 27, 1923.

111 Hamilton Spectator May 6, 1924.

112 A. Frederick Collins, Keeping Up With Your Motor Car (Toronto: McClelland Goodchild & Stewart, 1917), p.vii.

113 Dr. Frederick A. Williams, "The Motor Car--a Great Therapeutic Agent", Canadian Motorist (January 1924) pp. 20-21. Yet some saw the automobile health issue as being carried to extremes such that prolonged use of the automobile would actually cause a deterioration of health for following generations. A contributor to Canadian Motorist in 1923, Roger Babson, believed that the automobile would so come to dominate personal transportation that future generations would do virtually no walking. "We are raising a generation which will actually work and play on wheels", stated Babson, and as such there will come a time "...when a generation lives which almost never walks." Babson predicted as a result that "new diseases will develop and a change in diet will be necessary. A generation on wheels must eat more fruit and fresh vegetables than a generation which walks." Roger W. Babson, "They Will Work and Play on Wheels", Canadian Motorist (October, 1923), p. 520.

114 Grantham, "The Law and the Motor," P.29.

115 Macleans, May, 1915.

116 Macleans, January, 1915.

¹¹⁷Hamilton Herald, February 19, 1910.

¹¹⁸The Automobile Industry in Canada 1921 (Ottawa, 1922). The mention of furs was no exaggeration, given the fact that most automobiles were of the open design. An article from a 1908 motoring magazine, while pointing out that such clothing was chosen for more than simply its value in warmth, also provides an interesting glimpse at prevailing class assumptions associated with automobile ownership in the early years of the sport. As the article points out, "...to men and women of social position and obligations, winter motoring garments are of vast importance and not to be carelessly ordered...In these days, when a fashionable woman thinks little of motoring fifty miles to her opera box, she realizes that it is necessary to replace the usual embroidered velvet or spangled lace cloak with something decidedly more cold-resisting, and consequently orders one of broadtail, sealskin, or baby lamb, trimmed with laces and embroidered and lined with white satin." Joel Feder, "Rough Furs for Winter Garb", Motoring Vol.2, No. 8 (January, 1908), pp.38-40.

¹¹⁹Macleans, July, 1917.

¹²⁰Macleans, April, 1915.

¹²¹Macleans, December, 1915.

¹²²Macleans, May, 1916.

¹²³SEP, March 15, 1924.

¹²⁴PAO, Records of the Ontario Provincial Police, Joseph Rogers to W.H. Mains, June 18, 1912.

¹²⁵Canadian Motorist (January, 1914), p.13. The OML did not represent the entire spectrum of opinion regarding tourism and license reciprocity for the increased traffic and subsequent road damage which would follow. See for example Farmers Advocate, January 3, 1913.

¹²⁶Hamilton Herald, May 17, 1916.

¹²⁷The reciprocity of automobile licenses had, at times, some unanticipated results. As a 1929 bank robbery incident in Beamsville, Ontario points out, the reciprocity of licenses inadvertently aided criminals by the ease with which international borders could be traversed, as the bank robbers in this particular incident had come across the border from New York State with the same ease as a group of tourists. Dahn Higley, O.P.P.: The History of the Ontario Provincial Police Force (Toronto: The Queen's Printer, 1984), pp.197-98.

¹²⁸Hamilton Herald, July 5, 1916.

¹²⁹Debates, February 20, 1913; March 11, 1915;

¹³⁰Canadian Motorist, Vol. 1, No. 1, (January, 1914),
p.13.

¹³¹Debates January 24, 1923.

¹³²preliminary Report: Registration of Motor Vehicles 1922-24, 26-1956 (Ottawa: Dominion Bureau of Statistics, 1956).

¹³³Hamilton Police Department, Annual Report, 1926. As early as 1915 calls had been made for the wholesale motorization of police forces. Toronto in particular had been the object of such a motorization campaign from groups such as the Ontario Motor League, who had even offered the loan of vehicles for trial purposes. Proponents of motorization argued that only "complete motorization" could cope with the requirements of a modern police department. However complete motorization was a slow process for police departments, stemming from both a cost factor and an initial reluctance to abandon established practices. In Hamilton in 1909, automobiles were still not considered necessary for policing, the police department noting that "Distances are now so great that the bicycle will be of still greater service to the Department. Two new ones are needed." Not until 1912 does the Hamilton Police Department purchase its first automobile, leading the Department to comment that indeed the automobile was "...much superior to a horse drawn vehicle." Even so, complete mobilization was still in the future, the ad hoc nature of the process reflected in the fact that a local bank felt it necessary to donate a vehicle to the police in 1920. Canadian Motorist (February, 1915), p.38; Hamilton Police Department, Annual Reports 1909; 1912; 1920.

¹³⁴Annual Report of the Ontario Provincial Police, 1924, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1924).

¹³⁵ibid. The exasperation created by this situation was summed up in a statement by an O.P.P. District Inspector in Toronto in 1924 when he stated that "the speed of automobiles used by bandits and bootleggers has invariably exceeded that of Departmental Police Cars". Quoted in Dohn Higley, O.P.P.: The History of the Ontario Provincial Police Force (Toronto: The Queen's Printers, 1984), p.151.

¹³⁶Annual Report of the Ontario Provincial Police, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1924).

¹³⁷Roberts Brown and Ramsay Cook, Canada 1896-1921: A Nation Transformed (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1974), pp.122-23.

- 138 Lord's Day Advocate (October, 1909), p.12.
- 139 Lord's Day Advocate (January, 1913), p.6.
- 140 Christopher Armstrong and H.V. Nelles, The Revenge of the Methodist Bicycle Company (Toronto: Peter Martin Associates Limited, 1977).
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- 142 Sinclair Lewis, Babbitt (New York: P.F. Collier & Son, 1922), pp.222-23.
- 143 United Church of Canada, Annual Report of the Department of Evangelism and Social Services (Toronto Conference) 1922-23, p.60. The trend towards Sunday motoring can be seen in the actions of the O.M.L., who only employed their road scouts on Saturday afternoons and Sundays. Canadian Motorist (August, 1914), p. 319.
- 144 Lord's Day Advocate (October, 1926).
- 145 Lord's Day Advocate (February, 1925).
- 146 "Sunday Motorist" by Carolyn Davies, Lord's Day Advocate (February, 1925), p.16. See also the similar poem entitled "Sunday in the Country" by Peter Potter in the Lord's Day Advocate (June, 1917), p.12.
- 147 Lord's Day Advocate (October, 1921).
- 148 James Enright, The Motor Catechism (London: Nisbet & Co. Ltd., 1917).
- 149 Lord's Day Advocate, (Toronto: October, 1923).
- 150 Lord's Day Advocate, (Toronto: November, 1920).
- 151 Lord's Day Advocate, (Toronto: August, 1920).
- 152 Wolfgang Shivelbusch, The Railway Journey: Trains and Travel in the 19th Century (New York: Urizen Books, 1979), pp.25-27).
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- 154 Dr. P.E. Doolittle, "The Pleasure of Erecting Road Signs", Canadian Motorist (April, 1914) pp. 146-47.

155 ibid.

156 ibid.

157 For an examination of the urban "strip" in light of the physical, architectural and economic characteristics peculiar to it, see Richard P. Horowitz, The Strip (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1985).

158 John R. Stilgoe Metropolitan Corridor: Railroads and the American Scene (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983).

159 Macleans, August, 1913.

160 John R. Stilgoe "Popular Photography, Scenery Values, and Visual Assessment", Landscape Journal, Vol. 3, No. 2, (1984), p.111.

161 Joseph Interrante, "You Can't Go To Town in a Bathtub: Automobile Movement and the Reorganization of Rural American Space, 1900-1930", Radical History Review 21(1980), pp.153-54.

162 S.E.D. Shortt, The Search for an Ideal: Six Canadian Intellectuals and their Convictions in an Age of Transition, 1890 - 1930 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1976), pp. 31, 54. See also Carl Berger, The Sense of Power: Studies in the Ideas of Canadian Imperialism, 1867 - 1914 (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), particularly chapter five, for an examination of how perceptions of the national character were closely linked to the environment.

163 R.T. Sloss, The Book of the Automobile, pp.296-97.

164 Roland Marchand, Advertising the American Dream, p.13.

165 ibid., pp.262-64; Goist, p.44.

CHAPTER FOUR

FROM SOCIAL CLUBS TO BUREAUCRATIC

HIERARCHIES: REGULATION AND THE AUTOMOBILE TO 1930

The rapid proliferation of the automobile brought with it many changes to Ontario, changes both desired and undesired. Clearly the automobile was unlike any other technological innovation in Ontario following the turn of the century, for it was an innovation which, in some manner or another, touched virtually everyone's life. As numbers grew so too did the consternation of the public and government alike, realizing that the automobile needed to be regulated if it was to be integrated successfully into the fabric of Ontario society. Yet regulation remained a problem of how and by whom, for there existed no comprehensive regulatory framework, either public or private, to cope with its unprecedented spread. Initially the attempts to regulate and control the presence of the automobile resulted in a piecemeal, ad hoc campaign from the private sphere, most notably the Ontario Motor League and its affiliate clubs. Only after the automobile had firmly established itself in the province, largely after the first decade of the twentieth century, did the public sphere increasingly, though reluctantly, come to the forefront in regulatory matters, as sheer numbers made private regulation all but impossible.)

The transition from private to public sphere regulation represented a crucial stage in the increasingly dominant position which the automobile assumed as a form of transportation in the province. Equally important however, that shift reflected the maturing of Ontario society and more particularly, the provincial government. The rise of public control of the automobile clearly delineated the transition in government from the less formalized nineteenth century practices to modern, bureaucratic twentieth century control. The object of this chapter is as much to trace the intrusion of the public sphere into the private sphere during the first decades of the twentieth century as it is to outline the growth of automobile regulation itself. In fact the two are often inseparable, for in examining the regulation of the automobile, one is examining to a considerable degree how Ontario as a whole became regulated. Automobile regulation and legislation thus serves as a means by which to trace more fundamental changes in Ontario society.

It is necessary, in order to trace such wide-sweeping change within Ontario, to examine both the private and public sectors. In the private sphere, the evolution of the automobile club, particularly the Ontario Motor League, provided a framework by which to measure change. For the public sphere, automobile-directed legislation, and the bureaucratic mechanisms necessary to implement it, were the most tangible manifestation of the government's shifting relationship to the automobile. Legisla-

tion and regulation are often discussed together as two aspects of the same process, their ultimate objectives being to control the activities of the automobile. Though often inseparable, the two processes are quite distinct. For the sake of this study, legislation is considered as the formal, legal framework by which Ontario was governed, thus by definition making legislation the exclusive domain of a government body, whether provincial or municipal. Regulation, on the other hand, referred to the process of enforcement of said legislation or the regulation of the automobile generally which, as this chapter will demonstrate, was not limited solely to the activities of the provincial, county, or municipal authorities. Thus while legislation clearly remained the territory of the public sphere, regulation often wavered between the two spheres.

The rise and solidification of government control, and the subsequent decline of the private sector, was a movement which lasted until the mid-1920s by which time the government had secured control of the regulative as well as the legislative process. The changing nature of the private sphere is represented by the Ontario Motor League, which reflected the evolution of government involvement not simply in the regulation of the automobile specifically, but in the regulation of the private sphere generally. That movement depicted a shift from the ad hoc, internal and seasonal regulation of groups such as the Ontario Motor League, to a centralized, bureaucratic control

by the provincial government. In the process of redefining the boundaries of responsibility between the two spheres, the Ontario Motor League was reduced to a member service club and a sometimes effective lobby group.

II

The Ontario Motor League and the Struggle for Recognition

Almost as soon as automobiles made their appearance on the roads of Ontario, owners sought to combine into automobile associations. Hamilton had the distinction of forming the first such organization in the province, the Hamilton Automobile Club in 1903.) Its formation was quickly followed by that of the Toronto Automobile Club later in the same year.¹ Early clubs were an urban oriented phenomenon, and served several purposes for their members. At the beginning at least, automobile clubs were as much exclusive social clubs as they were associations of dedicated automobilists. Exclusiveness was not rigidly defined, but membership comprised largely of automobile owners who, by their very ability to purchase an automobile, represented a small select few within the population.)

The initial elitism of the Toronto Automobile Club is apparent from a brief examination of the founding members, prominent men of business and commerce who undoubtedly had had a prior acquaintance with each other through local social and economic networks. Conspicuous among the founders was John C.

Eaton who, as well as becoming president of the family retailing business in 1907, also became president of the Turbine Steamship Company and the Hamilton Steamboat Company. Eaton was also a director of the Dominion Bank and the Canadian Pacific Railway, as well as a member of the Board of Governors of the University of Toronto. Socially his membership list included the York Club, National Club, Lambton Golf Club, Caledon Mountain Trout Club, and the Royal Canadian Yacht Club.²

Some of Eaton's co-founders, if less well known by name, were nevertheless illustrious in their success. Thomas A. Russell for example was at various times president of Massey-Harris, of Willys-Overland, of the Russell Motor Car Company, of Canada Cycle and Motor Company, of Canadian Acme Screw and Gear, and of Sawyer-Massey Ltd. He too enjoyed an extensive social network, including membership in the National, Toronto and York Clubs, as well as participating in the Caledon Mountain Trout Club and the Lambton Golf Club.³

Also included in the founding group was George H. Gooderham, of the Gooderham distillery family. While he did not assume responsibility for the family business, he proved to be eminently successful in the world of commerce. Gooderham was president of Northrop-Strong Securities, of Dominion of Canada General Insurance, of Metropolitan Motors, of the Colonial Investment and Loan Company and of the Imperial Trusts Company

of Canada, in addition to being president of the Toronto Hotel Company and the Canadian Zoological Society. As well, Gooderham served on numerous public boards and commissions. He belonged to several Toronto clubs such as the National and the Albany, and at the time of the formation of the Toronto Automobile Club was Commodore of the Royal Canadian Yacht Club as well as president of the Granite Curling Club.

One other founding member is of particular note, although he was from outside the world of commerce and business. Dr. Perry Doolittle, a medical practitioner from Toronto and an enthusiastic automobilist, was in later years to become a major force in the automobile movement, throughout Ontario and across Canada. Doolittle had been a stalwart booster of transport technology and in fact had previous organizational experience, for during the 1880s he had been one of the founders of the Wheelman's Association, a group which promoted the then fledgling bicycle.⁵

In some respects, therefore, the early automobile club became an extension of the exclusive social sphere enjoyed by some of the more prominent members. The initial exclusiveness of the club was assured by the relatively prohibitive cost of automobile ownership at that time. That the automobile remained a possession of the rich was sometimes reinforced by the local press, as in the case of a Toronto newspaper's account of an

Ontario Motor League banquet in 1908 which noted "...how strong a hold the auto has taken upon those whose wealth warrants the keeping of a garage".⁶ Economic realities meant, therefore, that it was largely individuals from a comfortable middle class and above who became the first automobile enthusiasts and promoters. The conscious creation of exclusiveness, and of the automobile club as an extension of the social club structure may be seen in the fact that during the early years of the Ontario Motor League, the successor to the Toronto Automobile Club beginning in 1907, new memberships had to be approved by a meeting of the League's Board of Directors. Thus the Toronto Automobile Club, at least at its formation, became another institution whereby men of like interests and relatively similar lifestyles could mix in an informal yet implicitly restrictive atmosphere.

One of the objectives of the fledgling automobile associations was to create an image of the automobile, and of course of drivers, which would facilitate a speedier acceptance of the vehicle throughout Ontario society. The Hamilton Automobile Club for example, embodied that principle in the club constitution as a guiding thought for its members. According to the constitution, one of the objectives of the club was

To promote in all possible ways harmonious feeling between owners of self-propelled vehicles and others using the city streets and country highways.

Although widespread prejudice toward the automobile abated by WWI, motorists in their fight for equal recognition had to offset criticisms from several directions. Tension developed early between motorists and the rural community, primarily over the use of rural roads. Contention was not surprising given the conviction, both in the rural community and in provincial government circles, that roads were for the farmer and not the motorist. As the report of the Commissioner of Highways for 1907 pointed out, the impetus for good roads owed nothing to the automobile or to automobile clubs, for in fact

...the great sustaining force of the movement has been the Canadian farmer, upon whom devolves the burden of country road construction, and who is most directly benefitted by road improvement.⁸

It was not surprising therefore, that the automobile was, in the rural context, accused of having 'disturbed established conditions' and hence was 'meeting with much opposition'.⁹ There were at that time as well established groups seeking to oppose the automobile, including the Dominion Grange. "Are we," asked S.G. Lethbridge, master of the Dominion Grange, "to be driven off the roads by rich men who make the public highway a public race course?"¹⁰

Rural opposition was merely one part of a wider antagonism towards the automobile. Opposition generally remained

unorganized and scattered, and thus did not produce what might be termed a united and effective front.) As an example of the prejudice and enmity which early motorists had to offset, consider the division within the Ontario Legislature itself, a body under whose jurisdiction the regulation of the new technology fell. It perhaps more closely embodied the provincial mood as it brought together the varied strains of opinion from the constituents it represented. The Legislature became a microcosm of opinion regarding the automobile, as varied groups sought to control the new form of transportation to conform to a particular perception of its role in society. There were, of course, champions of the automobile's cause within the Legislature, such as the aforementioned Russell, first elected in 1908.

Automobile boosters, even in the Legislature, had much to do to create a positive image of the automobile and offset existing prejudices. The leader of the opposition in 1910, A.G. MacKay, characterized the motorist as an individual who "...thinks when he toots his horn he is heralding the advent of the King's coming.) With every honk the consequentiality of his own greatness grows."¹¹ While hyperbolic and perhaps applicable to only a small percentage of the province's motorists, MacKay's description points to the image problem which automobilists laboured under. It was not the automobile per se to which MacKay ^{in 1910} objected, but the manner in which it was operated by some individuals.) The horn was a novel demonstrative device, one

whose use could suggest a violation of established road courtesy. While MacKay was certainly not alone in his hostility to the automobile, he appeared more concerned with the threat which the automobile posed to a tranquil and decorous society. At the same time, however, proposals emerged for a far more serious restriction of the automobile.

If the antagonism which existed in the Legislature was an indication, the automobilists had significant opposition to overcome in their efforts for legitimacy. Motorists had to appease both rural and urban interests, fighting against proposals which would, if allowed, dictate even the very days and hours during which an automobile could be used. The Legislature remained an important forum of opinion regarding the automobile, for within it were embodied the powers to restrict the automobile's use if the factions in opposition could not be appeased. And as one province had demonstrated, the power of the Legislature was such that it could, if desired, ban the automobile entirely. In 1908 the members of the Prince Edward Island Legislature voted unanimously to denounce the operation of the automobile within the province. As a result an Automobile Act was framed which banned the automobile completely from provincial roads. An unsuccessful attempt was made to amend the Act in 1910, but prohibition did begin to ease in 1913 when the Legislature permitted automobiles to run on specified roads on designated days of the week. However, the coming of the war and

the appearance of greater numbers of machines meant that restrictions were gradually eased until the automobile's use became an accepted factor of provincial life.¹²

The struggle for the automobile's acceptance represented an evolution in transportation technology, with such a change occasionally being explained with reference to Darwinian theory. Although the Department of Highways somewhat overstated the dimensions of the automobile's fight for recognition when in 1905, it referred to the struggle as 'the survival of the fittest' the automobile's acceptance was by no means guaranteed by the simple fact of its presence.¹³ Unlike P.E.I., the automobile in Ontario had gained a sufficient enough foothold such that its opponents could not prevent, let alone reverse, its progress. Nonetheless any degree of resistance made progress difficult and therefore could not be taken too lightly. The intensity that anti-automobile sentiment could attain among a few individuals was well illustrated by the member for West Simcoe who stated before the Legislature in 1906 that

If any nabob from this city or any other place who happened to own an automobile, injured members of my family or my neighbors, I would, if I could do nothing else to punish them, blow his brains out.¹⁴

Similar sentiments were expressed in the Municipal Committee of the Legislature by a Col. Hughes of Clark Township who, when

commenting on a certain class of motorist, said that he would not blame horse and carriage drivers

...if they occasionally take the law into their own hands. I was ditched once myself, and if I had had a rifle there would have been one individual less.¹⁵

If the Legislature represented the public mood, then clearly the pro-automobile faction had to appease a diversity of opinions. Much of the underlying hostility dissipated naturally as large increases in the numbers of automobiles on the roads made implacable opposition an increasingly untenable and isolated position. Once initial hostility had been placated, automobile clubs attempted to assimilate the automobile fully into provincial life and to secure for motorists equal if not special consideration in the legislative process. The conscious attempt to foster a respectable image and offset underlying prejudices was an integral part of the automobile clubs' early existence. As importantly, those campaigns attempted to rehabilitate the image of the driver as much, or perhaps even more so, than the machine itself.

One of the more successful tactics in the fight to gain acceptance for the automobile was simply that of having motorists throughout the province set a good example. Well publicized charity outings were one means by which automobile enthusiasts sought to win acceptance for the new technology. An annual

orphan outings (see next page)

event run from many of the urban centers was the orphan picnic, with the local automobile club members donating the use of their vehicles for the day. It was one thing to simply write out a cheque for charity, as the Canadian Magazine noted, but when

...the members of the Toronto Automobile Club took their 70 odd machines, visited the orphan institutions of the city, collected 400 orphans, drove them around the city and out to High Park, gave them a luncheon, conducted a series of races for the boys and girls, and finally wound up with a distribution of dolls and mouthorgans--there was a genuine charity. It is not often that wealthy businessmen take a day off to cheer the hearts of a few orphans, and consequently the occasion is more noteworthy.¹⁶

When the Toronto Automobile Club was incorporated into the Ontario Motor League, the League undertook the same activities, including a drive for patients from the Home for Incurables, as well as the regular orphan outings.¹⁷ The picnics undoubtedly were a highlight in many young lives. Such outings were made memorable for the orphans because the automobile still remained enough of a novelty to render its use on such an occasion special. Without doubt the events were motivated largely by a sense of social conscience, a desire to help those less fortunate. But even so, opportunities were not missed to display the automobile to its best advantage, as press coverage invariably followed the events.

Regardless of how diligently the various automobile clubs applied themselves to the task of influencing public opinion in their favour, their lack of co-ordination made such an undertaking piecemeal at best. The winning over of the public to the side of the motorist required concerted effort, the kind which could only occur under the direction of a single organizational body. Thus it was that the province-wide fight for recognition and rights remained haphazard and largely ineffective until the formation in 1907 of the Ontario Motor League, centered in Toronto and incorporating the automobile club of that city. The formation of the OML marked a new era of relations between motorists and the general public, as well as between motorists and the provincial government. Through the association of the numerous clubs within the province, the OML was able to assert itself as a forceful lobby group to an extent far beyond the ability of individual local associations. The numerous smaller clubs, which by 1914 meant 31 affiliated associations with 2250 members, could only be an effective force when banded together into a single cohesive unit. "The Ontario Motor League", as a newspaper described its annual meeting in 1911,

is a provincial association of motorists to protect and promote their common interests. Every motorist owes it to himself and his fellow motorists to be a member. Only by standing together in an association, and by organized effort, can we protect ourselves against adverse legislation and, through the encouragement of careful driving, allay the prejudice against automobiles which exists in rural districts.¹⁹

The formation of the OML represented the concerted effort to gain acceptance of the automobile and expand the fledgling rights of the motorist. In a wider perspective its formation signified the beginning of a chain of events which, with respect to the automobile, would clarify the lines of responsibility between the government and the private sphere.

III

The Building of a Legislative Framework

Although there were less than five hundred automobiles in the province of Ontario in 1903, the provincial government established laws governing the use of such vehicles. In doing so they perhaps reacted more to possible rather than actual needs. It also underscored a conviction held by some that the automobile was more than a passing fancy and, therefore, that some legislation had to be designed to deal with increased numbers and future problems. With that in mind the Legislature set into law in 1903 an Act to Regulate the Speed and Operation of Motor Vehicles on Highways (3 Edw. VII c. 27), which formed the nucleus of all subsequent motor vehicle legislation. Although the individual sections of the first Act were not in themselves very remarkable, they did shed light on the nature of the automobile 'problem' at its inception. It was an Act which remained, however, generally unreflective of the technology it sought to control. While the legislation was in some sense

forward looking it was, nonetheless, a product of the pre-automobile era framed in the spirit of a slower, more traditional mode of transportation. The Act initially regulated the automobile in only the most rudimentary fashion, gradually gaining relative complexity, or what might be referred to as technological sophistication, in the post-1910 period.

The first priority of the Legislature was to define the meaning of the term motor vehicle and hence what and what was not covered by the Act. As section one of the Act made explicit, the term motor vehicle

...shall be construed to include automobiles, locomobiles, and all other vehicles propelled otherwise than by muscular power, excepting the cars of electric and steam railways, and other motor vehicles running only upon rails, or tracks....²⁰

In total the entire Act of 1903 consisted of twelve sections, of which four were concerned solely with the intricacies of vehicle registration with the Provincial Secretary and the requirements for properly displaying the assigned registration number. Section five, which required a light on each vehicle between dusk and dawn, was not drafted in the interests of safety but instead to ensure that the registration number was adequately illuminated. One section concerned itself with the penalty for infractions of the Act, which for the first offence meant a fine not exceeding twenty-five dollars, and which for second and subsequent offenses leveled a fine not exceeding twenty-five

dollars or imprisonment for a period of up to one month. In addition a further section made it clear that any by-laws under the Municipal Act must be consistent with the Motor Vehicles Act.²¹

Thus what remained of the Act, once administrative considerations had been dealt with, were only five regulatory clauses of a most basic nature. In fact, without the words "motor vehicle" in each clause, the legislation could have mistakenly been assumed to have been for horse and carriage users. Speed limits were established at ten miles per hour in cities, towns, and villages, and fifteen miles per hour on public highways. The fact that such speeds were frequently reached by carriages highlighted a trend of early automobile legislation: it was often framed in the context and example of the pre-automobile era, with little appreciation for the capabilities of the new technology. It was essentially nineteenth century legislation harnessing twentieth century technology. That apparent dichotomy was not, however, unique to Ontario. Reprinting an article by Frank Munsey the American publisher, Canada's Busy Man's Magazine, the forerunner of Macleans, underscored how legislation had not kept pace with technology. What was required, according to Frank Munsey in 1906, was a better understanding of the automobile. Once that occurred there would follow, believed Munsey,

...better and more rational laws, more elastic laws, legislation that will suit the motor car - not the kind that is based on the performance of the horse.²²

Only two sections of the Act considered the broad question of "rules of the road", referring to those regulations designed to ease traffic flow and designate rights of way. The section concerned with the crossing of intersections was such that it could be applied equally to motorized or non-motorized vehicles:

Upon approaching a crossing of intersecting ways, and also in traversing the crossing or intersection, or in crossing a bridge, the person in control of a motor vehicle shall run it at a rate of speed less than that specified, and not greater than is reasonable and proper, having regard to the traffic and use of the intersecting ways or bridge.²³

Again the underlying principle reflected the regulation of vehicles generally and did not address itself to the automobile per se. Essentially, it merely codified established patterns of movement. Interestingly the only section which did consider the automobile as a unique entity considered it in relation to its closest competitor, the horse.

The concern for the relationship between horses and automobiles manifested itself in what might appropriately be referred to as the "horse clause", a feature of the Motor Vehicles Act, albeit in varied forms, throughout the period

under examination. And even as it changed form during subsequent revisions of the Act, the perception of the automobile which it implied remained basically unaltered.) Under the provisions of the Act,

Every person having control or charge of a motor vehicle shall, whenever upon any public street or way and approaching any vehicle drawn by horse or horses, or any horse upon which any person is riding, operate, manage and control such motor vehicle in such manner as to exercise every reasonable precaution to prevent the frightening of any such horse or horses, and to insure the safety and protection of any person riding or driving the same. (And if any such horse or horses appear frightened the person in control of such motor vehicle shall reduce the speed, and if requested by signal or otherwise by the driver of such horse or horses, shall not proceed further towards such animal, unless such movement be necessary to avoid accident or injury, or until such animal appears to be under the control of its rider or driver).²⁴

Created in the section was a revealing juxtaposition between the two modes of transport, between emerging technology and time-accepted practice. (It pointedly illustrated how at the initial stages of the regulatory evolution (1903) the two means of conveyance were perceived in the public mind and then translated into the letter of the law. Apparently technology, as embodied in the automobile, ran second to tradition and accepted practice, as the horse received primary consideration in any confrontation between the two.)

In the amendment of that particular section in 1905, the driver had no choice but to stop until the animal(s) appeared to be under control. Furthermore, the driver of an automobile was considered to be the party responsible should any incident arise from a meeting of an automobile and a horse. According to the Act,

When any loss or damage is incurred or sustained by any person through the frightening of a horse or horses, or other animals by a motor vehicle, the onus of proof that such loss or damage did not arise through the negligence or improper conduct of the owner or driver of the motor vehicle shall be upon the owner or driver of such motor vehicle.²⁵

Clearly the automobile owner was involved in a difficult fight for parity of the road. Yet such an initial relationship was hardly surprising given the domination of the horse over the automobile; while 553 automobiles were making their way on Ontario roads in 1905, there were at the same time approximately three-quarters of a million horses in the province.²⁶

Despite numerical superiority, the horse could not ensure permanent domination over the automobile. The relative positions of the two means of transportation were carried beyond legislation and entered into the realm of everyday life, such that the shifting perception of the horse vis-a-vis the automobile became as indicative of the changing status of the

automobile as it did of the horse. Premier Whitney noted in 1908 that as matters were progressing, it was merely a question of time "...when horses as a class would become accustomed to motor vehicles...." That no doubt would follow naturally from T.A. Russell's suggestion that farmers "...should educate their horses." (A year later in the Legislature the member for West York, Dr. Godfrey, reflected on how he thought horses were indeed becoming tolerant of automobiles, while a government report a short time later pointed out "...it is, in general, recognized that horses are becoming accustomed to automobiles."²⁷ Undoubtedly horses themselves did not significantly alter in such a short period of time. More likely the supposed alteration may be attributed partially to the evolution of the automobile itself, which generally ran quieter than its predecessors and was therefore less likely to frighten horses. More importantly, statements which attributed changes to the equine species also highlighted the shifting perception of the automobile, for toleration attributed to the horse was in fact symptomatic of a wider acceptance and toleration attributable to Ontario society as a whole.

Automobile legislation did not make any dramatic advancements until 1912 when the most comprehensive Act to date, one which acknowledged the automobile as an entity distinct from other forms of transportation, was implemented. Until 1912 cumulative alterations were made on various facets of the

provincial automobile legislation, none which made a significant break with the tone and intent of the original 1903 Act. (The 1905 Act contained only a few new amendments of any consequence to the motorists of the province. A new section made it mandatory for all vehicles to be provided with a locking device, making it illegal for any vehicle left unattended in a public area to be unlocked.²⁸) The one change of note in the 1905 Act defined the extent of an automobile owner's responsibility with respect to the provisions of the Act. "The owner of a motor vehicle for which a permit is issued under the provisions of this Act shall", according to section five of the Act, "be held responsible for any violation of the Act or of any regulation provided by order of the Lieutenant-Governor in Council."²⁹ The section implied that an owner remained liable, even if the automobile had been stolen or used without permission. In displaying a decidedly harsh indifference to circumstances which may have been beyond an owner's control, a definite prejudice was exhibited towards the automobile. (Such legislation acknowledged the damaging impact which the new technology could have, yet it underscored the uncertainty of where to assign the responsibility for such damage. While the automobile was in some sense recognized as unique, it was not recognized as equal. Clearly a separate standard of behavior had been established for the automobile and the automobile owner, a standard which reflected to some degree an underlying resentment of the technological intruder in society's midst. The automobile

remained an uncertain quantity in 1905 Ontario such, as that one section illustrated, (it was discriminated against to a greater degree than horse owners in correspondingly similar circumstances).

Over the following four years, amendments of varying importance were made to the Motor Vehicles Act. The first two Acts were repealed in 1906 and replaced by a significantly expanded version comprising twenty seven sections, as compared to the twelve and ten sections of the two preceding Acts respectively. For the first time provision had been made to curb drinking and driving, section nine of the Act stating simply and explicitly that "No intoxicated person shall drive a motor vehicle."³⁰ Echoing the same sentiments for public safety, a section was included in the Act to stop the practice of reckless driving:

Notwithstanding the provisions of section 6 hereof, [the existing speed regulations] if any person drives a motor vehicle on a public highway recklessly or negligently or at a speed or in a manner which is dangerous to the public, having regard to all the circumstances of the case including the nature, condition and use of the highway and to the amount of traffic which actually is at the time, or which might reasonably be expected to be on the highway, that person shall be guilty of an offence under this Act.³¹

Considering however the lack of a provincial policing mechanism, any problem with reckless driving, if it did indeed exist as a perceivable problem, probably stemmed more from the lack of enforcement than from any lack of legislation. With less than 1200 automobiles in the province in 1906, it was more likely that such legislation simply responded to an underlying antagonism towards the automobile's presence rather than to a serious problem.

In addition to those two provisions, the 'horse clause' was extended considerably, increasing to thirty two lines from the fourteen lines of the original 1903 Act. The responsibilities of the automobilist were more precisely defined with respect to the horse drawn vehicle, including a provision that the automobile driver and any passengers must, if requested, render assistance to control any animals frightened by the automobile's presence.³²

The 1906 Act also included a section defining liability in the case of accidents, a section which distinctly carried forward the biased mood found in section five of the 1905 Act. As section eighteen of the 1906 Act stated,

When any loss or damage is incurred or sustained by any person by a motor vehicle, the onus of proof that such loss or damage did not arise through the negligence or improper conduct of the owner or driver of the motor vehicle shall be upon the owner or driver of such vehicle.³³

What could better convey the existence of resentment towards the automobile than a law which formalized the inequality of the automobilist's position in society, essentially assuming motorists to be guilty until proven innocent in any mishap involving a motor vehicle. Any legitimacy and recognition motorists attempted to acquire through the process of the law was often more than nullified by the prejudicial content of some of that legislation.

One further provision of the 1906 Act more clearly defined the province's view of the automobile and, indirectly, helped to determine the image of the automobile perceived by Ontario society at large. Consider Section 19(1):

Any person violating any of the provisions of section 3, 8 and 11 of this Act shall, upon summary conviction, for the first offence, be liable to a fine not exceeding \$50, for the second offence to a fine of \$100, and for the third or any subsequent offence to a term of imprisonment not exceeding one month.³⁴

as well as section 23:

Every one is justified in arresting without warrant any person whom he finds committing any offence against sections 3, 8 and 11 of this Act for which the offender may be arrested without warrant or may be arrested when found committing.³⁵

One might be tempted to infer that the three sections in question were concerned with serious offenses, given the attention the government thought appropriate to lavish upon them. In fact, section three defined how the vehicle's registration number was to be affixed and displayed; section eight required a motorist to remain at the scene of an accident and provide name and address as required. The government did not include drinking while intoxicated, speeding or reckless driving, infractions for which the automobile was supposedly infamous. By attempting to curb any infractions of the more serious nature, the government could have aided significantly the automobile's assimilation into society. Legislators, however, were seemingly concerned more with proper registration numbers than measures which would alleviate the public's concern for safety and ultimately help to overcome some of the more serious charges commonly levelled against the automobile.

Between 1906 and 1912, two further amended versions of the Motor Vehicles Act were undertaken. In 1908 the Legislature passed into law a provision barring anyone under seventeen years of age from driving an automobile. The same year saw a tightening of the chauffeur system, so that anyone driving an automobile for pay had to be licensed, licenses to be issued by the Provincial Secretary's office. One provision of interest concerned funerals and the presence of motor vehicles:

The driver of a motor vehicle upon any public street or highway outside the limits of a city shall upon meeting or overtaking a funeral procession stop his motor vehicle and where practicable shall turn out into any intersecting street, road or lane until the funeral procession has passed.³⁶

It is difficult to gauge how death and the new technology were perceived, but perhaps the automobile's noise and presence were judged as somehow disrespectful to the sombre tones of a funeral occasion. Certainly a frightened horse would have upset any such procession. A commentator a few years later may have provided a clue when he stated that

In Toronto the motor-hearse has come into use and sad processions make the long journeys to outlying cemeteries in brief time. But this is the exception. The mere thought of a motor funeral is still repugnant to a great majority of Canadians.³⁷

The speed of the automobile to which the writer alluded may have been the objectionable factor, in some manner seemingly reducing the required level of deference due the dead. Or perhaps it was the presence of mechanization in an established traditional process, a presence contrary to the normal mood of a funeral. After all, the automobile remained the antithesis of death. One contributor to the Farmer's Advocate in 1917 described how, when an automobile passed a rural funeral, 'the occupants of the various mourners' carriages suffered great mental anguish'.³⁸ The provision of the Act not only responded to public feeling

about the unwanted intrusion of the automobile in special circumstances, but also it reflected some popular notions about the ceremony of death in early twentieth century Ontario.

With the amendments of 1909 came several changes in the judicial process, extending the powers of Police Magistrates and Justices of the Peace. For example, in the conviction of an individual without a license but required to hold one, such as a chauffeur, the Magistrate or Justice of the Peace could if desired disqualify the individual from holding a license for a period to be determined.³⁹ Those officials were also granted the option of impounding a vehicle for a period of three months upon a third conviction under the Act. In addition, Magistrates and Justices of the Peace were given the right to include in the costs of conviction an additional twenty-five cents as costs for the necessary paperwork.

The amended Act of 1912 was the most comprehensive to date, displaying a degree of complexity absent in the predecessors. If subsections and clauses are taken into account as well as sections, then the 1912 Act had increased in size 20% over the Act of 1909, and an enormous 460% over the original 1903 version. [see Appendix 2] Although the Act was perhaps not remarkable in the specifics of its legislation it underscored the province's increasingly comprehensive concern for the

automobile's status within the province. The Motor Vehicles Act of 1912, like the larger version which followed in 1923, represented a turning point in the relationship between the automobilist and the province, or more appropriately, in the relationship between the public and private spheres.

Overall, legislation became more restrictive rather than liberal in nature. The legal driving age, for example, was raised to eighteen years of age from the previous seventeen.⁴⁰ More significantly, there occurred a growing intrusion of the government into aspects of private life through various sections of the Act. Under the Act's provision, notice of any conviction was to be filed with the Provincial Secretary's office by Police Magistrates and Justices of the Peace. All pertinent details of the offence were demanded by the government, and if the infraction was committed by a driver required to be licensed, such as a chauffeur, the necessary information also included the name, address, and description of the employer.⁴¹ That particular provision was not so startling in itself, but important for what it represented. It established a precedent for the wider role of government in society, characterized by the assembly of a variety of records for an increasing proportion of the population. In so doing it marked the separation of nineteenth century provincial government practices from those of the twentieth century; it exemplified an increasingly bureaucratic organization within which the general public was on

file in a myriad of records to a degree unimagined prior to 1900. It remained a trend which, however, was not so readily apparent and one which went by largely unnoticed by contemporary observers. The only real flexibility shown by the Act, and of perhaps more immediate concern to the automobilists of the province, was the raising of the speed limit. The 1912 Act established 15 miles per hour as the permissible rate in a city, town or village, and 20 miles per hour outside those areas.⁴² At least to a small degree the increased speed limits indicated a more realistic appreciation of the capability of the new technology, although the subordinate aspects of the automobile's relationship to the horse remained unaltered.)

The Motor Vehicles Act of 1912 was indicative of a new trend in the legislative process. Legislation such as the 1912 Act rejected the laissez-faire approach to automobile legislation which to some degree had characterized the early years of the automobile's presence. The 1912 Act was the first truly to legislate to the growing needs of the situation, and perhaps beyond, for as one writer pointed out two years later, "...the majority of laws have been the result of legislative guess work."⁴³ From the government's perspective, the minutia of detail necessitated the beginnings of a significantly expanded bureaucratic structure in order to regulate an Act of such magnitude. Merely undertaking to register properly all the drivers of the province, and then to record their changing

status vis-a-vis convictions, represented an enormous amount of paperwork. By 1916 the enormity of the task had outgrown the bureaucracy of the Provincial Secretary's office under whose jurisdiction the Act initially fell, and thereafter the administration of the Motor Vehicles Act fell to the more comprehensive Department of Public Highways.⁴⁴ The expansion of automobile related bureaucracy was a part of the wider bureaucratic growth which the province underwent. During the first two decades of the twentieth century provincial civil servants grew in number from 704 in 1904 to 4066 in 1919, that figure again increasing an additional 37% during the 1920s.⁴⁵

An Act as inclusive as that of 1912 ensured that automobiling relinquished much of the simplicity which characterized its introduction. Driving was no longer a matter of simply paying a registration fee and taking the vehicle onto the road. Despite a lack of testing or licensing requirements for the general public, driving was transformed into an increasingly involved affair; it became difficult to have more than but a rudimentary understanding of all legislation bearing on the operation of a motor vehicle. As a contributor to Macleans somewhat humorously yet perceptively made note,

Far more important [than price] are the responsibilities which the ownership of a car involve. They are very great indeed! One scarcely realizes them until, with bated breath and jaded eye, one wades through the statutes concerning motors, and sees how the

motor-owner is hedged about with laws and injunctions. He must do this and he must not do that. Almost every possible contingency in traffic is thought of, and provided against elaborately until, getting married and raising infants is a simple, off-hand matter in comparison with owning a motor; and the process of collecting enough dollars from the reluctant cash register to pay for a car, is as simple as drawing breath, compared to guiding a six-cylinder, or even a little, low runabout, through the intricacies of the law.⁴⁶

The 1912 Act was far from perfect, inadequately legislating some areas. Nevertheless, it embodied the provincial government's first attempt at a comprehensive legislative package for the automobile.

Legislation, no matter how comprehensive, was still in a formative stage, attempting to legislate for a technology whose future dimensions were far from clear at that time. The uncertainty of a new technology such as the automobile meant that many suggestions and possible solutions came before the public. As such, the provincial government had to constantly feel its way through numerous conflicting proposals, for the success of standard approaches to a new problem could not be guaranteed. Consider for example a proposal for revised rules of the road, based on navigational practices, which emerged shortly after the 1912 Act. According to George Wilson, sales manager of the Warren Motor Car Company, wouldn't it be a good idea

...to govern automobile traffic by a set of rules similar to the rules of the road that are used by steam and sailing vessels on the high seas? Take for instance a right. Let him give one blast of his horn, which means in nautical parlance, 'I am directing my course to starboard', or right hand. In turning to the left, let his signal be two blasts of the horn, or 'I am directing my course to port' or left.

If the driver of a car wishes to slow down, let him give three blasts of his horn as a warning to those behind him that he intends to check or stop his car. In all cases the danger or warning signal, should be two blasts, an interval, and then two more blasts, as toot-toot. This signal may be used in warning pedestrians whenever necessary. If the driver of a car behind wishes to pass a car ahead, he should signify his desire by the two blasts, or left hand signal, and the driver ahead shall return two blasts, as a signal that it is agreeable for him to have the other car pass him; and further, that he will keep as near the curb as possible to make the passing of the car behind free from the possibility of a collision. If the driver of the car ahead, however, is about to make a left turn and hears the two-blast signal of the car behind to cross his 'bow' as it were, he shall give several short blasts of his horn, and then the left turning signal, and the car behind shall wait until the car ahead shall have made the left hand manoeuvre.⁴⁷

One cannot help but imagine the din and confusion that system would have caused a mere decade later, given the automobile's rapid rise in numbers. Such a solution appears ludicrous by present standards, but the confusion and lack of a comprehensive scheme for regulation at that time meant that many irregular, eccentric or outlandish schemes such as the above received serious airing in respectable journals of the period.

An underlying principle which guided the Motor Vehicles Act was the effort made by the provincial government to consolidate all relevant legislation into a single equitable Act under its control. Legislative control of the automobile was an area in which the government realized it had to consolidate its position for the public good, in essence retaining a monopoly. The issue of automobile legislation touched on questions too important and too far reaching in their consequences to be left to local option.

Just as the provincial legislature appeared to have realized the importance of retaining legislative control of major concerns vis-a-vis the automobile, it was willing, nonetheless, to leave some of the more minor areas to local option. Indeed almost as soon as the automobile became prominent, attempts were made by counties and municipalities to assert their primacy in the matters of legislating for the automobile. Local option was acceptable under certain circumstances, as the provincial government realized that the peculiarities of local conditions did at times necessitate an option to allow municipal or county councils to regulate within their respective jurisdictions.

In 1906 a petition from the county council of North Ontario was presented before the Legislature, requesting various alterations to the existing motor vehicle law. Contained

amongst its proposals was a suggestion that county councils be given the power to designate which roads could or could not be used by automobiles. Premier Whitney was opposed to any such legislation and as one member of the Legislature explained, "The automobile was here to stay, and stay on the highway. The legislation affecting it should be Provincial and not municipal."⁴⁸ The proposal was, therefore, easily defeated. While proposals similar to the 1906 petition were from time to time raised in the Legislature, they generally received little serious consideration. Clearly the provincial government did not favour giving municipalities control over automobiles, for as one member in the House expressed his opinion during debate, 'Any control should be provincial.' The rationale for the government's position was perhaps best summed up by Premier Whitney himself, arguing that municipalities should not have control over automobile legislation "...for all kinds of checker board regulations would follow."⁴⁹ Even so, those familiar with Ontario motor legislation were not uniformly enthusiastic. The president of the American Motor League, Judge W.J. Hodgkiss of Buffalo, stated in 1908 that "the condition of affairs in Ontario seemed incredible and savored of the middle ages." Or, as was also noted by the official automobile road guide for Canada in 1912, "Local speed laws in common are in an experimental condition, likely to vary from month to month, as this or that provincial or local authority is in power."⁵⁰ Certainly the uniformity of regulations was an important consideration with a

highly mobile form of technology, one which could conceivably traverse several jurisdictions in the course of a single day. But the provincial government's concern ran deeper than simply the confusion which could result from conflicting sets of regulations; at stake was a much more encompassing and fundamental question of a hierarchy of power. In minor matters of legislation some local option was permissible; but, as the automobile legislation illustrated, the provincial government was unwilling to consider any action which would ultimately weaken or decentralize its control over major issues. The Legislature could not accurately foresee the magnitude and rapidity of the automobile's growth, yet the ascent of the automobile was matched by the provincial government's increasing control over the vehicle's activities, such that by the mid-1920s the government had consolidated its hold over the essential aspects of the automobile's operation.

The year 1912 marked the first major codification of motor vehicle legislation in Ontario, surpassed during the period of this study only by the greatly expanded 1923 Highway Traffic Act. The intervening period, however, while slowly building on the foundations of 1912, witnessed no radical alterations in the tenor of legislation previously established. One important change was the increase in the legal speed limit, which in 1919 was raised to 20 miles per hour in cities, towns, and villages, and 25 miles per hour on a highway.⁵¹ Also of

particular note to automobile owners was the removal in 1914 of liability if their vehicle should be involved in an accident, even if they themselves were not present.⁵² Until that point automobile owners had been responsible for the actions of their vehicle even if the vehicle had been stolen. It was essentially an embodiment of earlier automobile prejudice, such that an individual who introduced new and untried technology into a community remained responsible for the consequences of its presence under all circumstances. Hence the amendment of 1914 represented a more reasonable perception of the automobile's role in society, and as well a more realistic appreciation of the fact that as automobiles were becoming more numerous, so too were incidents of their theft.⁵³

During the 'teens there occurred several significant changes in the administration of the Motor Vehicles Act, although provincial motorists were only indirectly affected by the alterations. In 1915 for example, there was created a new Department of Public Highways. Initially its jurisdiction extended only to the Ontario Highways Act of the same year, an Act which concerned itself primarily with the maintenance and repair of roads throughout the province. The following year, however, saw the transfer of responsibility for the Motor Vehicles Act to the new Department of Public Highways, a change widely indicative of the automobile's proliferation within Ontario.⁵⁴ Since 1903 the task of administering to the growing

requirements of the automobile had caused the gradual growth of a corresponding bureaucracy. By the mid-teens, it had become apparent that the administrative and bureaucratic necessities occasioned by the automobile meant that the shared responsibilities of a Provincial Secretary were no longer sufficient. The administration of the automobile required a bureaucracy of its own. The consolidation of the Motor Vehicles Act under a separate ministry was a tacit recognition by the provincial government of the increasingly complex situation which the automobile's presence had created.

The year 1915 also saw the creation of the Toronto and Hamilton Highway Commission, a body charged with the completion of a highway suitable for automobile traffic between those two cities. The Commission assumed a comprehensive mandate, including powers of expropriation, to

...survey, lay out, construct, complete, maintain, equip and repair a permanent roadway from the western limits of the City of Toronto to the City of Hamilton....⁵⁵

Two years later, Ontario passed the Provincial Highway Act, an Act which consolidated existing roads designated as provincial highways and allowed for their improvement to specified standards, as well as for the future expansion of the system.⁵⁶ Together the two Acts gave a significant boost to the ease of mobility within the province. But while neither of the two Acts

were concerned directly with legislation, collectively they reflected the same attitude which guided the creation of automobile legislation. They represented an understanding by the provincial government of the automobile's growing importance within Ontario society, such that they permitted the first highway designed expressly for automobile traffic to be constructed, while other highways were brought up to standards suitable for the increased automobile traffic. Like regulatory legislation, these Highway Acts reflected a maturing during the 'teens of the provincial government's position vis-a-vis their responsibility for the automobile; it indicated a realization of the magnitude of the automobile issue and an acceptance of the necessity for direct government involvement.

Some of the increased government involvement was evident in the marked growth of regulatory detail and a broadening of concerns by the Acts. By 1917 every automobile was required by the Motor Vehicles Act to carry two lighted lamps on the front after dusk.⁵⁷ At the same time the requirements for the operation of a motor vehicle were further tightened, such that no person under sixteen years of age could legally operate a motor vehicle, and any person between sixteen and eighteen years of age was required to undergo the same licensing procedure as a chauffeur.⁵⁸ As of 1921, no person could 'conduct what is known as a garage business' without being licensed by the Department of Public Highways.⁵⁹ The following year saw the further

regulation of garages, including the right of entry for any constable or officer of the Department of Public Highways to the premises of any garage 'to ascertain whether the provisions of this Act have been complied with'.⁶⁰

The preceding represent only a few of the numerous sections implemented, yet they underscore another trend which legislation, and the government generally, was taking in relation to the automobile. Increasingly, Ontario motorists were caught up in the growing minutia of detail which specified everything from mirrors to lights, from licenses to mufflers. Clearly there remained nothing simple about the operation of a motor vehicle. But also evident was the continuation of an earlier trend whereby the provincial government increasingly intruded into the private lives of its citizens. As evidenced by the government's ability to enter at will into the affairs of businesses such as garages, the automobile brought the private sphere slowly but inexorably under the scrutiny of the public sphere.

As alluded to previously, the 1923 Highway Traffic Act represented, during the period examined, the most comprehensive automobile regulatory framework enacted by the provincial government. Like its predecessors, it was not noted for any radical alterations in the tone of automobile legislation. What it did do however, was consolidate the various disparate streams of automobile legislation into a single cohesive unit. Under

the one Act were combined the Motor Vehicles Act and its amended Acts, the Loan of Vehicles Act and its amendments, the Traction Engines Act, and the Highway Travel Act.⁶¹ In doing so that one Act incorporated virtually every conceivable nuance of motorized vehicle legislation.

It was not simply a piecing together of existing regulation, but represented a major reworking of all legislation concerned. As a single unit the Highway Traffic Act became by far the largest Act to date, comprised of 217 sections, subsections and clauses. And of that number, 93 or 43% were either entirely new or had been amended or redrafted in some manner. The Act itself was divided into ten sections. Two of the largest sections were concerned with vehicles and were broken down into twenty-six separate sections and subsections, outlining items from registration procedures to details of proper license plate display, while the equipment section with thirty-two sections and subsections defined the physical necessities of the automobile including brakes, mirrors, tires and mufflers.⁶²

Throughout all sections there was evidence of a growing sophistication in legislation, marked by an emphasis on technicalities and specifics of details. If that alone was not indicative of the end of the provincial government's informal, laissez-faire approach to automobile legislation, consider that fifty-two sections, or nearly one-quarter of the entire Act,

concerned themselves wholly or in part with the penalties resulting from infractions. The 1923 Highway Traffic Act represented the most comprehensive effort by the provincial government to consolidate every facet of the automobile issue under its control. It completed the trend begun by the 1912 Motor Vehicles Act; it signalled the end of the ad hoc, informal system which had characterized automobile legislation and enforcement from the automobile's first appearance.

The remainder of the 1920s saw various additions to the Highway Traffic Act, often only secondary amendments meant to eliminate problems which had arisen since its implementation in 1923. Undoubtedly one of the changes of greatest interest to motorists was the increase in the highway speed limit in 1927 from twenty-five to thirty-five miles per hour.⁶³ There was also evidence of the growing degree to which the private citizen fell subject to the increasing regulation of the provincial government. By the late 1920s little doubt remained that the casual days of motoring which had existed at the automobile's introduction had disappeared forever.

IV

Legislation and the Subjugation of the Individual

Nothing better illustrated the increased bureaucratic control of the citizen by the government than the ongoing

license all drivers had been a contentious issue for more than two decades. In 1908 the Ontario government made it mandatory for all automobile drivers who drove for pay, such as chauffeurs, to take out a license.⁶⁴ At that point however, no examination was required to obtain said licence; it was a matter of proper registration rather than ability. Even so, it established a precedent for greater government control of motor vehicle operators, a trend augmented in the following years. In 1909 the Motor Vehicles Act provided that all paid drivers had to produce their licenses to any police officer as required. By 1913 the movement towards greater public control and scrutiny of motorists was embodied in a provision which required any individual who desired to hold a licence to produce a certificate signed by the chief constable of the municipality attesting to the individual's physical fitness, ability to drive, and his character.⁶⁵

The growing number of impositions made on the province's motorists did not pass unnoticed. Any suggestion to extend the examination and licensing process to all motorists met with varying degrees of opposition. The government itself realized that the resources of its existing bureaucracy could not cope with the licensing of all drivers, such that a bill proposing that very amendment was withdrawn from the Legislature in 1913 at the request of the Provincial Secretary.⁶⁶ Similar sentiments were echoed a year later by the Canadian Motorist, characterizing

any general licensing scheme as impractical because government resources had already been taxed to the limit.⁶⁷ But practical considerations were not the only objections raised. The Toronto Daily Star argued that such controls on the general driving population were unnecessary, stating with a curious logic that drivers were by nature more responsible than chauffeurs, and therefore licensing and examinations need not be extended. According to the Star,

...it is reasonable to suppose that the owner of a costly piece of mechanism will be inclined, because of his property interest, to exercise greater care in driving his car than would a paid driver who had no interest other than his weekly wage.⁶⁸

Most motorists escaped the early movement towards greater regulation of their activities which licensing represented, although more and more gradually fell subject to the growing control in following years. The Motor Vehicles Act of 1917 saw the requirements for licensing and examinations of chauffeurs extended to Ontario drivers between the ages of sixteen and eighteen years of age.⁶⁹ In the same year the provincial government made it possible for private operators to secure a purely optional operator's license, with the same requirements as a chauffeur's license, as an indication of his or her ability to drive. Compulsory licensing though, appeared only as a remote possibility. As an editorial in the Canadian Motorist pointed out,

There is nothing to indicate that the new operator's licence is to be regarded as the thin edge of the wedge in the campaign for an examination of all drivers, as the arrangement has been made merely to meet the wishes of many owner drivers and to give them an opportunity without taking out a chauffeurs license to secure certificates of efficiency in motor vehicle operation.⁷⁰

Partially at least the province's reluctance to institute province-wide compulsory examination and licensing stemmed from administrative deficiencies. Ontario was undergoing bureaucratic reorganization and expansion with regards to responsibility for the automobile, and thus was not in a strong position to undertake a significantly greater degree of regulation than existed at the time. Equally likely, it was simply too early for such a major change; regulation to that extent could only be implemented gradually. Opposition to the licensing of all drivers existed in the Ontario Legislature, such that a bill urging the same was easily defeated as late as 1922.⁷¹ As Thomas Marshall, the member for Lincoln, pointed out, problems existed because no provisions had been made for compulsory examinations in combination with the licensing. While the Premier came out in favour of examinations, the Attorney General, who probably realized the ramifications of such a policy, commented only that compulsory examinations 'raised a large question'.⁷²

Nonetheless opinion moved slowly towards the compulsory licensing of all drivers. The large increase in passenger automobiles registered in Ontario following the First World War,

and the subsequent rise in accidents and other problems caused by the automobile, lent credence to the earlier licensing initiatives. In a reversal of a previous position, the Ontario Motor League in 1923 urged that all motorists be licensed, which they believed would help eliminate the "objectionable" drivers who were a menace to other motorists and the public in general.⁷³

The following year delegates to the Interprovincial Roads Conference in Toronto also recommended that all drivers of motor vehicles be licensed as a check against reckless driving.⁷⁴

Evidently the provincial government also believed that licensing was a necessary step for the overall monitoring of all motorists. Thus, as of July 1, 1927, the province required that every driver other than a chauffeur secure an Operator's License to drive. In advertisements placed by the Department of Highways to announce the new policy, the Department noted how it was

...determined to keep the highways safe for you and all users. With the higher speed limit and the abnormal increase in motor traffic, incompetent drivers must be weeded out and identification of all drivers must be made possible.⁷⁵

Even so, no examination was required except for inexperienced or disabled drivers, as licenses were granted to anyone who had driven continuously for at least six months and five hundred miles, and who suffered from no mental or physical disabilities.

The compulsory licensing of all motorists represented the culmination of a trend begun shortly after 1910. Licensing was merely one facet, taxation and minutia of regulatory detail being others, whereby the average citizen's life became progressively complicated by an array of legislative detail. It denoted not simply inconvenience, but the beginning of a system by which the population of Ontario gradually relinquished its anonymity. Licensing became symbolic of the growing degree to which a citizen's life and activities fell under public scrutiny and were in some manner recorded by the provincial government. Automotive regulatory and legislative complexity was a positive indication of a corresponding growth in provincial bureaucracy. It also represented a far more serious trend, one which saw the slow but definite intrusion of the public sphere into private life. More importantly however, the trend extended beyond the motorists of the province, for the nature of automobile regulation meant that even non-motorists often fell within its jurisdiction.

A case in point which underscored the distinctive nature of automobile regulation, was the shifting status of the pedestrian. Animosity quickly developed between the motorist

gained an early sympathy in some quarters. The pedestrian, as Premier Whitney made clear in 1910,

...has the first right of the road. The chauffeur who thinks that, because he gives warning of his approach, he is entitled to the road, is utterly and entirely wrong. He comes after the pedestrian and even after the man on the bicycle. It is not the pedestrian who must get out of the way of the automobile, but the automobile that must get out of the road of the pedestrian, even if he is standing still.⁷⁶

Whitney again emphasized the sovereignty of pedestrian rights when a few years later, he reasserted his conviction that "The streets were for the people", and that motorists had to govern their actions accordingly.⁷⁷ But as some contended, a few motorists deliberately went out of their way to aggravate pedestrians. (Acting Mayor Morris of Hamilton cited an incident in 1916 to demonstrate how the rights of pedestrians were often abused. Addressing city council, Morris told the story

...of an old lady who crossed a street corner diagonally. She saw an auto coming and presuming it would go straight along the street she started to run across the road. But the auto turned a little and actually chased the old lady right at her heels until she was on the sidewalk, the object being to frighten her.⁷⁸

(By the early 1920s in Hamilton, and this was probably true of other urban centres as well, the problem of pedestrian rights had not been satisfactorily resolved, and thus periodi-

cally resurfaced as an issue of contention. Hamilton's Chief of Police introduced an idea to regulate specific street crossings for pedestrians to city council in 1921, a plan which he hoped "...would make Hamilton streets safer for the democracy of the sidewalk."⁷⁹ Yet a scant year later a local judge was criticizing the police for their lack of attention to pedestrians while giving the right of way to automobiles. "The pedestrian", Judge Snider reminded the police,

has the right-of-way always. Pedestrians were here long before the automobile.⁸⁰

Apparently Police Chief Whatley had to agree, for the next day he issued the following standing order:

All constables when on duty will, at all times, assist pedestrians at all crossings, it being remembered that pedestrians have the right of way. Automobilists have no right to drive or crowd their automobiles across busy intersections, thereby endangering the safety of those who have a prior claim to the use of the streets.⁸¹

An apparent disregard for the automobile by the pedestrian elicited a variety of responses from Ontario motorists, as well as from the provincial government. Initially the response advocated informal measures, particularly the 'education' of the pedestrian. In an editorial in 1917, the Canadian Motorist stated that the problem could not be resolved by a multiplication of regulations, but by "...the gradual education and adaption of

the public to new traffic conditions...."⁸² Three years later the Canadian Motorist recommended a similar approach, arguing that "the diminution of accidents must be sought chiefly through an educational campaign", a campaign directed at pedestrians rather than motorists.⁸³ One contributor to Canadian Motorist pointed out how the automobile's presence required a change of attitude amongst pedestrians, but that a large number of pedestrians had

...not yet graduated from the parochial, or colonial, or wayback attitude, whatever one may call it, in spite of the enormous increase in all kinds of vehicular traffic.⁸⁴

Pedestrians had to be educated, declared George Hobson, president of the Ontario Motor League, "...to show them that motorists had some rights as well as they had."⁸⁵

Education alone, however, did not appear to have had any significant effect on reducing the conflict between vehicular and pedestrian traffic as the number of accidents between the two did not decrease. Many pro-automobile arguments were built upon accident statistics to demonstrate that if automobiles were in fact dangerous, it was because pedestrians had brought it upon themselves. Thus, as motorists argued, the problem rested not with the automobile but with the pedestrian. Statistics for Toronto for 1919 were used to show that nearly eighty percent of all automobile fatalities involving pedestrians were due to the

1919
negligence of the persons killed.⁸⁶ Early in 1923 the Ontario Motor League again noted how seventy to ninety percent of 'so called' automobile accidents in which pedestrians were injured were the fault of the victims, while a year later the Toronto Police compiled statistics to demonstrate that

...in approximately 75 percent of the accidents in which pedestrians are injured, the responsibility rests mainly with the unfortunate person injured.⁸⁷

The logical extension of the educational approach, and one strongly advocated by many, was the regulation of the pedestrian. A Toronto Grand Jury in 1917, as one of its primary recommendations submitted to the Legislature for consideration, suggested that pedestrians must be considered as part of the traffic of city streets and therefore regulated accordingly.⁸⁸ Not surprisingly the Ontario Motor League assumed a strong position on the issue of pedestrian regulation. As the president of the League stated,

The pedestrian must be made amenable to traffic regulations, must cross the street only at intersections, keep to the pedestrian right-of-way and obey the signals of traffic officers....Buffalo, Indianapolis, New York and many other American cities are regulating pedestrians as other forms of traffic. Jay walking has been made contrary to law, with the result that accidents are diminishing. For humanity's sake, the sooner Toronto takes a similar stand the better.

It was not surprising, therefore, that the League should note with approval legislation such as that passed in Connecticut which made 'reckless walking' an indictable offence.⁸⁹ The Ontario Government was at times equally vehement in their call for the regulation of non-vehicular traffic. In a speech before the Legislature the Minister of Public Works, the Hon. F.C. Biggs, said that

...the sooner this House or the cities wake up and ask pedestrians to cross the street at street intersections and not anywhere they have a mind to hop off the sidewalk, the sooner we are going to get away from 90 per cent of the accidents in the Province.⁹⁰

The statement by Biggs was not remarkable in content, yet it signalled an official recognition of a change of attitude underway in Ontario society. Not only did it advocate the substitution of tangible regulation for education, but significantly it (stressed the regulation of the non-motorist as opposed to the motorist.) It was just such an attitude which could, while advocating a new traffic control system for Toronto to ease the movement of traffic, recommend that pedestrians be confined to arcades cut under buildings.⁹¹ (What provided freedom and mobility for one segment of the population represented increasing regulation and loss of freedom for another. In doing so it transferred responsibility from the motorist to the pedestrian for a situation which was not initially of the pedestrian's creation.) Claims of prior rights

by pedestrians were, as one editorial in the Canadian Motorist did, dismissed as so much idle prattle.⁹² (By the mid 1920s, it had become increasingly clear that a general reversal of positions had taken place from those which had existed two decades earlier. This shift signalled that the pedestrian had lost the primacy of consideration on the province's streets and highways.)

The issue of pedestrian rights and regulation highlighted wider trends evolving in Ontario society at that time. (The pedestrian issue provided a striking illustration of the unique nature of automobile legislation, because now non-motorists were increasingly regulated in the interests of the automobile. It represented the growing regulation of private lives, an intrusion of legislation into simple everyday activities such as walking or crossing the street.) The apparent diminishing of concern over the pedestrian issue after the mid- 1920s reflected the achievement of regulation over the pedestrian body such that it ceased to be a contentious issue. In that respect pedestrians were remarkably compliant, perhaps even complacent, in the increased subjugation of their lives by the direct and indirect legislation which the automobile's presence necessitated. (The pedestrian issue represented a social conditioning and ultimately the triumph of technology over the individual.)

V

Public versus Private Spheres: The Question of Control

The growing regulation and subsequent loss of freedom by Ontario society, apparent in issues such as licensing or that of pedestrians marked a clear end to the informality which had initially characterized the automobile's situation in the province. However the process of ending the informal system was more than the matter of simply passing a single piece of legislation. The Highway Traffic Act and the licensing of all motorists merely became the last step of a process begun in 1903 which witnessed the eventual consolidation of the provincial government's control over the automobile. Likewise the Act of 1912 represented only a single, albeit important, stage in a movement which was not completed until the 1920s. By the time of the 1912 Act it had become clear, in light of the rapid proliferation of the automobile throughout Ontario, that existing methods were increasingly inappropriate, though the government was not in a position to undertake immediate change. Thus, given the inability to initially foresee the magnitude of the automobile's growth, as well as the lack of a comprehensive and effective bureaucracy, the provincial government prior to 1912 reacted to the situation rather than initiated action itself. The initial lack of government involvement and control granted the opportunity for private interests, such as the Ontario Motor League, to actively participate in many facets of automobile regulation, such that lines between public and private interests

were often blurred. The government's gradual consolidation of its hold over the automobile was not only a matter of taking charge, but represented a redefining of the spheres of responsibility between private and public interests. And during the process of redefinition, as the government slowly asserted the primacy of its position, private interests such as the Ontario Motor League were forced to alter their actions accordingly.

Whenever the government enacted new automobile legislation, it rarely did so without reference to existing opinions and pressures. The single most influential group in that respect, and the most knowledgeable as well, was the Ontario Motor League. Certainly in an era of fledgling automobile technology, the League stood out in its grasp of the various dimensions of the automobile issue, and was as qualified as any private body could be to pontificate on the deficiencies of provincial automobile legislation. And without doubt the Ontario Motor League saw itself in that role, exerting lobbying pressure on the legislative process whenever possible.

Almost from the time of its formation, the Ontario Motor League maintained a Legislation Committee to keep the League informed of impending changes in automobile legislation. But more importantly its activities included proposals for new legislation and the co-ordination of lobbying efforts to achieve those ends. When T.A. Russell was elected president of the League in 1908, he listed legislation as an important concern

for the coming year. "Legislation would, without doubt," Russell said in his inaugural speech, "be introduced in the Legislature and would have to be met."⁹³ Whenever possible the League sought direct contact with the members of the Legislature. Not untypical was the Board of Directors' decision in 1908 concerning efforts to make proposals to the Legislature for what they believed to be a more equitable horse drawn vehicle law. The Board decided that the best policy would be for local League members to "...use their influence with members of the Legislature whom they were acquainted with, in regards to the proposed legislation."⁹⁴ Often, lobby actions were more formally organized than simply relying on a club member's acquaintance with politicians. Later in that same year proposals were also made to members of the automobile trade that they contribute one-half towards the expenses of opposing adverse legislation.⁹⁵

Although the Ontario Motor League sought a diversity of legislative changes throughout the years, it was always consistent in its attempts to lobby for a higher speed limit. As the Motor Magazine noted in 1912,

For several years the Ontario Motor League had advocated a higher speed limit, but opposition was too powerful to be easily overcome.⁹⁶

The Ontario Motor League was, however, successful that year in raising the limit five miles per hour, 'the first fruits of the

efforts to secure improved legislation'.⁹⁷ But the securing of favourable legislation was often a long and time consuming process. The next increment in the speed limit, an additional five miles per hour to raise the limit to 20 miles per hour in cities and towns, and 25 miles per hour in the country, did not occur until 1919. That increase represented, according to the Canadian Motorist, "...seven years of constant effort on the part of the Ontario Motor League...."⁹⁸ In light of the continued lobby pressure necessary to raise the speed limit, one must question the recent assertion by one automobile historian that the next increase in the speed limit in 1927 was due entirely to the influence of American tourist traffic. According to Donald Davis, "discovering in 1926 through a questionnaire that Americans thought its speed limit too low, Ontario responded the following year by raising it".⁹⁹ American tourism was an important factor, but it remained only one of several bearing on the process of legislative change. Ontario certainly welcomed the influx of tourist dollars, but it was not of such overriding importance for the provincial government to jump immediately to the wishes of foreign motorists. To argue such reduces the issue to a far too simplistic cause and effect, one which fails to take into account the ongoing lobbying activities of groups such as the Ontario Motor League, as well as the precedent set by earlier increases.

The Ontario Motor League was instrumental in changing many of the existing laws, ones which had been outdated by advances in technology or simply rendered obsolete by the evolution of practices since the automobile's initial appearance. In fact the provincial government often approached the League to act in an advisory capacity on issues with which the League was familiar. In 1908 the president reported to the Board of Directors his presence at meetings of the Special Committee of the Legislature at which proposed legislation had been discussed, and expressed his satisfaction with the provisions of the bill.¹⁰⁰ That sometimes close association continued throughout the 'teens and into the 'twenties. As the Executive Minutes of the Ontario Motor League noted in 1922, the League had again been invited to attend the Special Committee of the Legislature to express its views on proposed changes to the Motor Vehicles Act.¹⁰¹

The relationship between the Ontario Motor League and the provincial government underwent revision throughout the years. For one thing the League lost the early degree of influence which it had enjoyed. The diminution of its role stemmed primarily from ensuing changes in the government's involvement in the automobile issue, particularly evident after the first decade of the twentieth century. As the provincial government developed a specialized bureaucracy of its own, such as the expanded Department of Public Highways, to handle the growing nature of provin-

cial automobile concerns, the Ontario Motor League's role in the formulation of legislative policy was correspondingly reduced. Moreover, as the dimensions of the automobile issue grew, mirrored in the rapidly increasing registration figures by 1920, it no longer became feasible to permit a private body to exert such influence over legislation. Nor could the provincial government, once in a position to assert its primacy, submit to the directions which the Ontario Motor League often sought to take. Many times the League employed the phrase "adverse legislation" in reference to what they attempted to change.¹⁰² The crucial question was, however, adverse to whom and in what manner? While the Ontario Motor League lobbied to advance the interests of the automobile generally, it attempted, as any lobby group would do, to influence matters in a manner suitable to itself. One cannot deny the important work which the League undertook, but almost without exception the League was supportive of legislation which suited its perception of what legislation should consist of. (If legislation did not conform to the League's own view of what was required, or of what the League considered the motorist's position in society should be, it was more than willing to undermine the provincial governments' position by any means possible.)

The propensity of the Ontario Motor League to infuse self interest into a consideration of the automobile's status was evident in areas other than legislation lobbying. Moreover

such policies of the League had important implications in the development of the relationship between the provincial government and private interests. The Ontario Motor League's belief that it should be able to direct legislation as it saw fit indicated the early blurring which occurred between the private and public spheres in questions concerning the automobile. The initial encroachment by private groups such as the Ontario Motor League, and the government's subsequent gradual assertion of its own will, extended beyond legislation and manifested itself in activities such as the League's scout campaign, as well as in the erection of road signs by the League.

Despite attempts by the provincial government to legislate for the perceived problem of the automobile from 1903 to 1912, its efforts achieved at best only moderate success. An element crucial to the effectiveness of any legislation, and one conspicuously absent in the case of the *Motor Vehicles Act*, was a mechanism for the comprehensive enforcement of the Act. Such sentiments were at times echoed in the Legislature itself. In 1906 the member for Brant, Mr. Preston, declared in the House that "What was needed was not more legislation but more enforcement."¹⁰³ A few years later another member of the Legislature, agreeing that while present laws were fine argued that, "The whole trouble is the non-enforcement of the present act."¹⁰⁴

Outside the House, rural interests were equally aware of the province's regulatory deficiencies. To a suggestion in 1911 that automobiles be restricted to specified speeds in the country, to counter the growing dust problem, The Farmer's Advocate asked rhetorically,

Who would enforce such a law? Had we a proper system of salaried police, such as previously advocated through these columns, there might be hope of making such an enactment something more than a laughing stock. Without such effective officers, it would devolve chiefly on interested private effort, with small hope of effective regulation.¹⁰⁵

Yet the government in no manner possessed either the bureaucracy or the raw manpower necessary to enforce such regulation. As a result the provincial government often delegated authority, particularly to bodies such as the Ontario Motor League, to regulate the automobilists of the province. This also often led to a blurring of distinction between private and public spheres, in turn raising questions of responsibility and authority between the two. Thus, what emerged in the years prior to 1912 was enforcement often ad hoc, piecemeal, or seasonal in nature. By 1910, however, it had become clear that the province was going to have to take a more active interest in the problem. The time was coming, as Premier Whitney admitted in 1910, "...when drastic legislation will be necessary."¹⁰⁶ Increased participation by the government occurred largely by default as ownership numbers increased beyond any early expectations and

literally forced the provincial authorities to take steps for the automobile's control. The intervening period was characterized by a working together of private interests such as the Ontario Motor League with the provincial legislators, a generally productive though at times uneasy alliance. As the government gradually consolidated its control over all facets of automobile regulation, there occurred a corresponding decrease in the OML's influence and a subsequent curtailment of the OML's range of activities.

The early enforcement of the Act was dependent on the efforts of county and municipal authorities, for no individuals were employed in that capacity by the province until 1909. Responsibility for sentencing under the Motor Vehicles Act fell to the Police Magistrates and Justices of the Peace throughout the province. Section five of the 1905 Act aided them in that respect by making compulsory the distribution of provincial automobile registration numbers to these officials. According to the Act, the Provincial Secretary

...shall furnish all Clerks of the Peace in the Province with copies of this Act and the Act hereby amended, for distribution to the constables of all counties and municipalities, and he shall also provide copies of this Act and the Act hereby amended to the clerks of municipalities, to be posted up in conspicuous places, and shall furnish on the first days of May and September in each year to the clerks of all municipalities in the Province lists of all persons to whom licenses or permits are issued.¹⁰⁷

In essence, the provincial government had acknowledged the decentralization of regulative control and the delegation of authority to municipal and county officials. At that point, the province did not see the necessity of retaining control, nor in fact did they possess the ability to do so. However, a precedent was established whereby local authorities consolidated their hold on the regulation of the automobile. The clause represented the province at its most decentralized point with regards to automobile regulation, and the two decades which followed were a struggle to regain control over the process. Early decentralization established a system of enforcement over the automobile which was perhaps most remarkable for its lack of coordination and consistency rather than for its efficiency. Most importantly though, it was an increasingly unsatisfactory system, given the rapid proliferation of the automobile and the subsequent need for greater control.

The absence of a province wide regulatory body for the Motor Vehicles Act was reflected in the piecemeal manner in which it was enforced. There were of course municipal and county authorities but their wide range of duties meant that only limited amounts of time could be devoted to the regulation of automobiles. That, combined with an increased road network, meant that existing enforcement officials were often taxed to the limits of their capabilities. Clearly it was an unsatisfactory system, such that from the early years of the

Motor Vehicles Act the provincial government sought to augment existing regulatory practices. Thus as it laboured under a haphazard system of enforcement the provincial government turned to the motorists themselves and sought their assistance to regulate their fellow motorists.

As early as 1905, questions had been raised in the Legislature as to why motorists could not assist more in enforcing the law. In reply Mr. Ryckman, also a member of the Toronto Automobile Association, said that

...motorists were doing their best by warning certain men that their recklessness would not be tolerated and their fellow motorists would be the first to aid in putting the law into effect against them.¹⁰⁸

Such hopes were again expressed following the formation of the OML. The leader of the Liberal opposition A.G. McKay, said that he "...hoped that the reasonable and honest owners would do something to prevent the necessity of drastic legislation."¹⁰⁹ The member for Carleton, R.H. McElroy, declared in reference to reckless driving that "the Ontario Motor League could put a stop to it if they wished--they know who the members are who are breaking the law."¹¹⁰ When the opinion was expressed that the OML could stop the problem if they wished, even the Hon. Mr. Hanna, Provincial Secretary, agreed that the OML should do more.¹¹¹

Though the provincial government never gave official sanction, in the form of provincial power, to the regulatory activities of the automobile association, the Ontario Motor League did to some degree achieve a type of quasi-official status. Due to its intimate knowledge of the automobile question, the Ontario Motor League was able to parlay its knowledge into a role as an intermediary between the will of the provincial government and the general public. It was not a solution but merely an ad hoc response to what was a larger and more fundamental issue. From the provincial government's point of view, the reliance placed on the Ontario Motor League did deflect some of the criticism for an automobile problem away from itself and onto the automobile association. Nor was the Ontario Motor League, even given the added pressure it was subjected to, displeased with its newly evolved status. The Ontario Motor League's increasingly active role in the motoring affairs of the province permitted it to form a stronger alliance with the government on issues which the League saw as important to its future. The League's regulatory duties also acted as a sort of image campaign, allowing it to allay more effectively prejudice against the automobile within the province. The Ontario Motor League became arbiters of provincial automobile policy to a point where they blurred the boundaries between the responsibilities of the private and public spheres, finally forcing the provincial government to assume more of the mandate which the Ontario Motor League had usurped for itself.

Virtually from its formation in 1907, the Ontario Motor League viewed the regulation of motorists as an important part of its activity. In June of that year the Ontario Motor League received a letter of complaint concerning the supposedly reckless driving of a Mr. B.B. Harlan's driver on Crescent Road in Toronto. The Board of Directors in response decided that the chauffeur should appear before the president of the League who in turn would 'discipline him as he saw fit.'¹¹² During the following year, several more complaints of a similar nature were made to the Ontario Motor League. In September of 1908 accusations of reckless driving were made against a J.W. Madigar of Toronto and a Dr. Snider of Cayuga. Under the instruction of the Board of Directors, the League's Secretary was instructed

...to write a letter to each of these parties calling attention to the harm done by such driving, and notifying them if further complaints were received, the League would be obliged to take action to assist the authorities in bringing prosecution.¹¹³

Unfortunately nothing more is known of these matters, but they are important in several respects. The harm to which the Directors alluded was, of course, the detrimental effect such actions had on motorists in the province generally, for the League was waging an ongoing campaign for the full acceptance of the automobile in Ontario society.

Yet despite the League's threat of prosecution, it never saw itself as an extension of the province's law enforcement agencies. Early in 1908, a motion to employ a Club detective to prosecute violators of the law on behalf of the League was held over for decision, and in fact never implemented.¹¹⁴ Thus while the Ontario Motor League wanted to curb reckless driving, it was not willing to go so far as to aid in the prosecution and conviction of offenders. Perhaps the thought of the wider publicity which would arise from an ensuing court case appeared more detrimental to its cause than the existence of a reckless driver. Whatever the League's rationale for its decision, the rejection of a detective to aid in prosecutions reflected the nature of the relationship which the Ontario Motor League was to develop between itself, the provincial government, and the motorist, during the next few years. It was a relationship characterized by a policy of internalized, informal self-regulation, relying on the law only if and when the League perceived it to be to its own advantage.

The Ontario Motor League's approach to regulation was a logical extension of the initial exclusiveness on which the organization had been founded. Yet as automobiling neared its third decade, automobile clubs often still failed to grasp how the nature of automobile ownership had altered, how notions of social elitism were no longer applicable to the growing body of

automobile owners. As late as 1918 the president of the Canadian Automobile Association, L.B. Howland, urged motorists

...not to forget the road etiquette of earlier motoring days, when it was customary for every motorist to offer his assistance to other travellers in distress.¹¹⁵

Whether or not such practices had indeed been customary is impossible to ascertain. Quite likely, it was a fanciful recollection of the supposed 'golden age' of early motoring. But whatever the truth underlying Howland's statement, the attempt to apply traditional standards in an era of rapidly expanding ownership exhibited a naivete of modern motoring conditions. That is not to suggest that motorists totally disregarded the plight of their fellow motorists, but rather that the relatively close-knit driver network of the pre-1910 era became progressively inapplicable to the post-World War One period.

Nevertheless the continuity remained evident in the driver regulatory policies of the automobile clubs. Associations such as the Ontario Motor League continued to allow their ideas of social exclusiveness to be carried over into the area of motorist regulation. However the association's belief in itself as a quasi-elite social group rendered it psychologically unsuited for the task of regulation; its abilities appeared better suited to the defence of privilege and discussions of motoring etiquette. Thus it was that prosecuting detectives or

the use of speed traps clashed with the concept of gentlemanly trust inherent in social clubs. Reckless driving could not be condoned, but as an executive of the Hamilton Automobile Club stressed, methods then employed in the Toronto-Hamilton area were "...unpatriotic and far from being British fair play."¹¹⁶ Evoking British institutions, and by inference the club system which was an integral part of that tradition, merely underscored the inability of private automobile associations such as the Ontario Motor League, to separate their regulatory activities from the social elitism on which they had been founded.)

The Ontario Motor League during the first few years after its foundation, followed a policy of continuously increased involvement in the regulation of the automobile. Although the League had rejected the proposal for a prosecuting detective, that did not signal an abandonment of driver regulation. The League in fact stepped up its policies of regulating motorists, though on an informal basis, separate from the legal sphere. T.A. Russell reported to the Legislation Committee of the League in the spring of 1910 that 'considerable over-speeding' had occurred on a newly improved section of the Dundas Road east of Cooksville. As a solution the Ontario Motor League placed a notice in the Toronto area newspapers warning that the League had employed a special constable in order to prevent such speeding.¹¹⁷ The special constable however, in keeping with the League's policy, acted only to discourage speeding rather than to

assist in prosecutions. At the same time the League sent letters to all members of the Legislature, requesting that they report any complaints of reckless driving directly to the League rather than the police, who would then undertake disciplinary action.¹¹⁸ By such actions, the Ontario Motor League placed itself in an intermediary position between the public and the law. The League saw itself as a quasi-official enforcement body, even going so far as to hire separate constables. Certainly one must question whether that was indeed what the provincial government had had in mind as the League's role. Rather than aiding in the prosecutions of offending motorists, the Ontario Motor League undermined the government's position by its disciplinary procedures, fragmenting even further the enforcement process.

The League appeared unwilling to employ constables to aid in the prosecution of motorists, but it did deploy its own 'scouts' along various highways of the province. These scouts became a regular feature of Ontario Motor League activity by 1912, warning motorists against speeding rather than aiding in their conviction. Again the League looked to internal disciplinary measures, instructing the scouts in its service

...to report to the Secretary the numbers of all cars that are being driven at an immoderate rate of speed, and that the League should then warn the owners that action will be taken against them if the offense is repeated.¹¹⁹

By 1913 League scouts were present on all the major roads leading out of Toronto on Saturday afternoons, Sundays and holidays.¹²⁰ From the League's point of view, such scouts provided a valuable and necessary service. According to the Canadian Motorist,

...by keeping cars within the speed limit, the scouts have saved thousands of dollars in fines to members of the League. It was estimated that as many as fifty have been saved from summonses in a single day through the signals of caution given by the scouts....The object of sending out the scouts is not to protect motorists who break the law by exceeding the speed limit, but to warn them against such infractions as will result in service of the well-known blue paper. A warning from the League is certainly more acceptable than a summons to court.¹²¹

A policy of scouts was continued throughout the 'teens, although the Ontario Motor League increasingly realized the impracticality of its original proposals. As the reportedly high number of incidents of speeding would suggest, the League had to modify gradually its plan to notify all drivers individually, and instead rely on a more general approach. With the rise in the number of Motor Vehicles Act infractions, the League was, even by 1914, not controlling the situation so much as it was simply monitoring it.

The most striking feature of the OML's policy of road scouts was the manner in which the League construed the enforcement of the law according to its own views. With the deployment

of scouts, the OML placed itself in a position between the law and the public, interpreting and prosecuting as they saw fit. Viewing itself as self-appointed arbiters of regulatory efficiency, the League remained quick to criticize police methods, labelling law enforcement agencies as opportunistic:

The activities of the Ontario Motor League scouts in preventing speeding are really of much more public value than those of the police, for while their purpose is to warn motorists and openly advise them to observe the speed limit, the purpose of the police unfortunately appears to be to collect a harvest of coin from the speeders.¹²²

Undoubtedly there were some abusers of the system, but one has to question whether, given the same circumstances, a non-binding verbal warning was indeed more effective than a summons and conviction. But scouts were not the only instance of where the League sought to redefine the law where it believed the law ran counter to its own interests or those of the province's motorists. In 1910 the League discussed the activities of a new police constable with the Chief of Police of Toronto, as the constable appeared, in the words of the League, "...to be over zealous in prosecuting motorists". Again in 1912 the League conferred with the Mayor to urge greater discretion by constables in summoning motorists, while by 1913 the League's Board of Directors advocated that members of the Board approach the Police Commission personally "...to urge that constables be required to call the attention of motorists to accidental breaches of the law rather than summons for the same."¹²³

In the years prior to 1910 the provincial government had willingly sought to use the private sphere to compensate for its own inadequacies vis-a-vis the regulation of the automobile. The presence of Ontario Motor League scouts clearly illustrated the toleration of private interests in controlling a growing problem whose magnitude was unforeseen.¹²⁴ Undoubtedly the virtual flouting of authorized enforcement agencies was surely not what the provincial government had envisioned when it solicited the aid of groups such as the Ontario Motor League. In undermining fledgling regulatory practices, the League represented a small but growing threat to the primacy of the government's position in the establishment of provincial policy. The League, meanwhile, felt justified in its actions because it believed itself to be representative of the motoring interests of the province, and called upon that supposed strength in an attempt to establish automobile policy. According to one motoring periodical, the League believed that it had come "...to be recognized generally as speaking with authority for all motorists in the Province."¹²⁵ However that power base was more imagined than real, and the League's vigour stemmed more from the weaknesses of the public sector than the strength of private interests. While Ontario Motor League memberships increased each year the League represented, proportionately, a smaller percentage of the province's motorists as the overall provincial registrations increased at a much faster rate.[Appendix 3] That was also why internal self regulation became increasingly

impractical, as the League had less direct contact with the motorists of the province. Of course League membership did receive a boost from the affiliation of local clubs, but again the burgeoning provincial ownership rate more than offset any increase that occurred in League membership figures. Even given the somewhat illusory strength of private interests, the provincial government acquiesced, as it could not yet offer a viable alternative, although it attempted to do so. The policies of the Ontario Motor League slowly pushed provincial government authorities towards taking direct action and assuming an increasingly larger share of responsibility for matters concerning the automobile. Moreover, League scouts were a visible symbol of the relative weakness of public authorities to adequately regulate automobile issues. By the establishment of League road scouts the provincial government was pushed to provide constables of its own, the establishment of which signalled the beginning of a gradual transfer of control over automobile affairs to the public sphere from that of the private.

Evidently the provincial government had detected certain deficiencies in such a casual, disparate system of enforcement, and thus felt it necessary to implement some measures of its own. Beginning in 1909 therefore, provincial automobile constables were hired, representing the first instance of direct involvement by the provincial government in the enforcement of the Motor Vehicles Act. The program's success remained question-

able, and it certainly never taxed the resources of the province, given the limited scale on which the government involved itself. In 1909 nine constables were employed at the rate of \$2.50 per day plus expenses, the number of which by 1912 had been reduced to eight. If the government had indeed perceived a problem, it nevertheless appeared unwilling to commit large expenditures of money or men towards a solution. Despite the appointment of automobile constables, the provincial government's response at the early stages was ad hoc and one of form rather than substance. As the assistant Provincial Secretary outlined in a letter to one member of the Legislature,

The appointments have usually been made as of 10th July, and remain in force as long as the appropriation holds out, which is usually between six weeks and two months.¹²⁶

Unfortunately, the seasonal nature of enforcement did not reflect the progressively non-seasonal nature of automobiling, as improvements in both automobiles and roads made extended, if not year-round motoring, increasingly practical and popular.¹²⁷

It appears that the provincial government's first venture into the realm of Motor Vehicles Act enforcement was only marginally effective. That stemmed not simply from the numerically small force itself, but also from the directives which the government had issued to its officers. As one constable, Herbert McDonald, was informed,

Your chief duty is to see that the law is well observed as far as possible without prosecution except in flagrant cases. In view of the strong feeling regarding the regulations which exists in some parts of the country, a feeling which at times assumed a very heated form in the legislature and municipal committee, it is the desire of the Minister that considerable judgment and discretion be exercised by you in enforcing the regulations.¹²⁸

The provincial government was acutely aware of the often sensitive nature of the automobile issue in the province, and was therefore not about to aggravate the situation. The deployment of provincial constables would help appease the opponents of the automobile, while the general leniency of the actual enforcement would not provoke the growing pro-automobile faction within the province. In attempting to provide a little bit of something for everyone, the Ontario government perpetuated, and indeed encouraged, an informal approach to automobile regulation.

A problem with seasonal constables was that they received no training, with the result they remained unsure of the limits of their authority and lacked precedents for coping with problems which periodically arose. For example, a constable appointed to the Port Dover area, H.M. Akins, wrote to the Attorney General in 1915, inquiring as to how far he might go in the pursuit of his duties. As Akins explained to the Attorney General,

We are having a great deal of trouble with Automobile reckless drivers drunken and disordly [sic]. These men are hard to get on account of dusty roads. They have defied Officers to try to get them when a Officer warring [sic] the uniform asking them to stop or overtaking them with a Motor cycle and they wont [sic] stop.

The Officer hasen't enought [sic] power to control the highway. Can you give me the power of law to use a gun upone [sic] these while when it is realy nessary [sic] to stop them when the Public is in danger of the highway.¹²⁹

In response a reply was hastily dispatched by the Superintendent of the Provincial Police informing Akins "...that under no circumstances would you have the right to use a gun for the purpose you mention."¹³⁰ The issue apparently ended there, though it could just as easily have resulted in a tragic incident. If no serious incidents occurred in confrontations between Provincial Constables and the public it was due entirely to good fortune rather than good planning, given a system which placed untrained, zealous constables in a situation of unsupervised enforcement.

Understandably, the efficiency of such an already numerically small force was undermined by the wide discretionary powers assumed by the constables. Throughout the tenure of their activities constables were required to submit to the Provincial Secretary's office a written report of their activities. Most reports contained the obvious material

concerning the occurrences of speeding and other infractions in their area. However one automobile constable in particular illustrated the extent to which individual discretion could be applied in the performance of duty. While most constables were concerned with the usual infractions of the Act, one automobile constable, George Simpson, saw himself as an arbiter of public morality. In every report from 1910-1915, Simpson described his efforts to curb what he referred to as 'the Side road disorderly business' which occurred in his region.¹³¹ As Simpson reported in 1911,

Drinking liquor with women is becoming more a habit lately. I am making special visits to the side roads where I chase these people towards their home.

Having taken such action, Simpson then seemed to express some surprise at these people's reaction:

They become abusive at times and use very bad and obscene language.¹³²

Despite the abuse, Simpson displayed a sort of perverse zeal in his patrolling of the back roads at night. Simpson related to the Provincial Secretary how

Late at night we find quite a lot on Side lanes and in some instances disorderly and I have surprised quite a few of them and cautioned them.¹³³

Simpson's seemingly unorthodox activities may have appeared at odds with the enforcement of the Motor Vehicles Act, yet he was never admonished by the government for his concerns. In fact, the issue of the automobile and public morality was a concern of many public officials, although it seemed to generally remain more inferred than written about. By 1912 Toronto had formed a morality department to handle such problems, and the Children's Aid Society of Hamilton advocated a similar department for that city. An official for that agency cited two recent incidents where automobiles had passed along the beach "...and disgraceful sights were witnessed in public."¹³⁴ That was followed a short time later by an article entitled "Girls Motor Mad" in a local Hamilton paper.¹³⁵ In Toronto, the OML agreed to aid the Toronto Vigilance Association to assist whenever possible in the prosecution of offenders of what they referred to as 'automobile outrages'.¹³⁶ Apparently the issue remained unresolved, for in 1919 a Hamilton judge, commenting on the practice of hiring automobiles, stated that

...there was no invention of modern times which could equal the motor car in leading the youths and the maidens astray. The motor car and unpoliced country sideroads were responsible for a wave of immorality amongst the young during the last five years.¹³⁷

The accusations levelled against the automobile in that respect were probably quite true. "Cars fulfilled", according to David Lewis,

a romantic function from the dawn of the auto age. They permitted couples to get much farther away from the front porch swings, parlor sofas, hovering mothers, and pesky siblings than ever before....Autos were more than a mode of transportation. They were a destination as well, for they provided a setting for sexual relations including intercourse.¹³⁸

The issue of sex, the automobile and the automobile constables may at first appear somewhat removed from the question of regulation and enforcement considered up to this point. It does, however, provide some insight into the government's perception of its regulatory mandate within Ontario society. As for the automobile constables themselves, they simply reflected, and indeed reinforced, the existing informal ad hoc nature of automobile regulation prevalent in the province, for in the establishment of automobile constables the government did not introduce any substantially new policies vis-a-vis the regulation of the automobile.

In a wider perspective though, the apparent condoning of constable Simpson's activities in the preservation of morality, was indicative of a fundamental trend evolving in the relationship between automobile legislation and the general public. On one hand it represented the manner in which the public's lives were increasingly legislated and regulated, the growing minutia of the Motor Vehicles Act being a case in point. In doing that the provincial government regulated all citizens'

lives and not just motorists, for one factor which made automobile legislation unique was that it affected virtually everyone to some degree. Automobile legislation initiated a trend whereby citizens' lives were legislated and regulated: the legislation characterized the growing intrusion of the provincial government into the private sphere.

A lack of initiative from the public sphere extended into areas which, although non-regulatory in the strictest sense, were nonetheless fundamental to the province's growing body of motorists. The example of road signs, both mileage and directional, was a case in point where the original enterprise evolved within the private sector when the provincial body was apparently wanting both in interest and resources to undertake the necessary work. As the government provided no directional signs, routes from one destination to another could become quite confusing. In response, the Ontario Motor League endeavoured to mark well travelled routes with directional signs to aid motorists. However, even the League's Official Automobile Road Guide of Canada, a publication intended to ease the confusion, pointed out how involved a trip could be without adequate signs. Consider for example the Guide's description of a journey from Toronto to Guelph in 1912:

TORONTO TO GUELPH

Leave King Edward Hotel, go west on King Street, crossing Yonge St. Straight on, follow trolley, under

railroad viaduct, to junction of King and Queen Streets at Roncesvalles Ave. (car barns); turn sharp right, follow trolley up Roncesvalles Ave. to Dundas St.; jog left, follow trolley to West Toronto.

- 5.4 **West Toronto**--Follow suburban electric railway still on the Dundas Road, to
- 7.9 **Lambton Mills.** Cross Humber River, P.O. to right, flour mill to left; good gravel road from this point; hill at 8.2, which winds to right after crossing bridge, before reaching
- 9.2 **Islington**--Gravel to
- 11.7 **Summerville**--And further on, to
- 16.3 **Cooksville**--Turn right and jog to right at 17.2; pass church on left at 20.4; telegraph poles at 22.7, to
- 26.3 **Brampton.** Good road from here, mostly gravel. Go right through to 28.2: turn left, cross second track at 30: then dangerous hill; another hill at 33.1; dangerous hill at 33.4; all short hills to
- 33.9 **Norval.** Up steep hill at 34; turn left at 37.3 one block; then turn right into
- 37.7 **Georgetown.** Turn to right at Hotel McGinnis; turn left at 38.4, right at 39.3, long hill at 41.3, winding road; turn left to
- 42 **Limehouse**--Four miles beyond this point turn (northwest), and right three concessions, passing through the Village of
- 46.5 **Acton.** Turn right at hotel, left at 47.8, right at 48.7, left at 49, right at 49.8, left at 51.7: at 53.6, winding road over railway: at 54, turn right; at 54.6, left, at top of hill.
- 55.3 **Rockwood**--Turn to left: follow telegraph poles, railway to right; pass church at 58.1; down straight hill at 61; at 61.7, follow poles, jog to right at 62.3, to Guelph Station; then turn sharp left to
- 56.3 **GUELPH**¹³⁹

Obviously the first requirement of any automobile was a good odometer, but even that could not guarantee successfully reaching one's destination.

The situation could only be rectified by adequately marking the province's roads, something which the provincial government had no intention of undertaking. The Ontario Motor League, on the other hand, had established a road sign committee for just such a purpose. In 1913 the League erected more than 1200 black and yellow arrow directional signs throughout the province, along with over 200 speed limit signs placed at the limits of cities and towns.¹⁴⁰ The League was zealous and effective in its work, noting with pride that

Large sections of the Province which hitherto were without a single sign to guide the touring motorist, are now so well supplied with direction signs that strangers may find their way with ease.¹⁴¹

By the end of 1916, the Ontario Motor League estimated that over 20,000 signs had been erected throughout the province, while by 1924 it was estimated that more than 60,000 signs were in place courtesy of the League.¹⁴² Whereas the work was undoubtedly necessary and valuable, the provincial government remained unwilling to undertake any of the work itself. Yet the government did indeed view the program as valuable, indicated by the fact that its framework was embodied in the Municipal Act of Ontario in 1913. In accordance with the Act,

The Ontario Motor League may at its own expense and subject to such regulation as the Council of the municipalities may prescribe, direct and maintain guide posts at road intersections and mile posts on the highways to indicate distances, and danger signals at places which may be seen as dangerous or unsafe for travellers.¹⁴³

As the Ontario Motor League undertook services of fundamental importance with regards to signs, it went beyond the erection of single directions signs to include speed limit signs and name signs for towns and villages.

Although the importance of League signs was acknowledged by its consideration in the Municipal Act, the Act equally underscored the province's overall position vis-a-vis the automobile. Signs, like other automobile issues, were characterized by lack of co-ordination between bodies and a reliance on informal methods. The Toronto-Hamilton Highway Commission for example, a quasi-official body charged with the administration of that particular roadway, provided and erected its own signs.¹⁴⁴ For the remainder of Ontario, however, private bodies such as the Ontario Motor League provided the signs. It was not until 1924 that the province, through the Ministry of Highways, assumed responsibility for the erection of road signs.¹⁴⁵ Just like the issue of enforcement of the Motor Vehicles Act, the placement of signs became a necessity as more than one-quarter of a million motorists were making use of the roads in Ontario by 1924. And again like the enforcement issue,

although much of the original direction and initiative came from the private sector, the question of signs grew to be of such importance and scale that it could no longer be left to private interests. Furthermore, the provincial government's change of position on the sign issue reflected a wider trend occurring within the province with regards to the automobile. By the mid-1920s, the government had gradually consolidated its position of control over automobile related issues. The provincial government slowly but surely asserted the primacy of its position in important issues such as those which the automobile had precipitated. In so acting, Queen's Park had redefined the spheres of responsibility between public and private interests.

CONCLUSION:

The evolution which occurred in automobile legislation and regulation prior to 1930 paralleled several fundamental changes which Ontario society as a whole underwent during the same period. (Automobile ownership rose phenomenally in the pre-1930 era, prompting both private and government interests to come to grips with what constituted expanding problems.) The most significant alteration took place in the development of enforcement mechanisms to correspond to the growth in the provincial government's automobile legislation. (Prior to the 1920s an important tension had existed between self regulation and imposed control of Ontario's motorists. The balance increasingly

shifted towards the latter position by the 1920s.) It was a change characterized by a movement away from the ad hoc, informal and seasonal approaches to automobile regulation first undertaken by the Ontario Motor League and given tacit approval by the provincial government, to a much more formalized system entirely under government control.

That shift, essentially one from private to government control over the affairs of the automobile, represented the net results of a process to define the spheres of responsibility between public and private interests. Initially, at least, the provincial government acted after the fact; it responded to initiatives to ease the automobile's assimilation into Ontario society which had arisen primarily from private interest. But as automobile registrations continued to climb, in turn making greater demands on the resources of the province, it became increasingly apparent that the provincial government had to involve itself directly rather than remain as an observer.) After a decade of the automobile's presence it had become clear that the private sphere could not be permitted unilateral control over an issue of such influence on Ontario life.) It was not merely that private groups such as the Ontario Motor League lacked the requisite resources to cope with the growing intricacies of the automobile's proliferation, though that was indeed a crucial consideration. At stake remained a much more important issue. Control over the automobile represented the fundamental question of spheres of influence, not simply over

the automobile but throughout provincial affairs generally. If permitted to continue, private control over the automobile could have set a dangerous precedent whereby the provincial government's primacy in various other affairs might have been challenged by private interests. Thus private interests like the Ontario Motor League had to be edged out gradually in favour of greater provincial government control in affairs of such centrality to provincial life.

Any usurpation of private initiative by the government, as well as the development of new regulatory mechanisms, could at first only be gradual. The extent of the government's role was defined by the limitations of the then present bureaucratic structure through which the provincial government co-ordinated activities and exerted its will. It became apparent, however, that the requirements of the situation had quickly outgrown the existing bureaucracy, such that the sharing of facilities, as in the case of the Provincial Secretary's office, became increasingly inefficient and impractical. The expansion of automobile regulation contributed significantly to a narrower definition of responsibility between the private and public spheres. In turn the expanded responsibility which the provincial government assumed led to the development of a structure necessary to administer to the growing needs of the automobile question. Moreover, the evolution of automobile legislation and the subsequent need for enforcement paralleled

the transformation which the government underwent generally at the same time. As automobile legislation and regulation illustrated in a specific sense, the first decades of the twentieth century witnessed the transition from the nineteenth century laissez-faire approach to provincial issues, to the formation of an expanded bureaucratic structure concerned with all facets of provincial issues.

Although private interests such as the Ontario Motor League were responsible for initiating or helping to initiate policies which dealt with the varied problems raised by the automobile's presence, the leadership soon passed to the provincial government. In questions from road signs to driver regulation, the government of Ontario consolidated its hold over all aspects of the automobile issue. Yet as the government asserted its control and usurped functions previously undertaken by groups such as the Ontario Motor League, it meant that private interests were gradually eased out of the process. As a result, the Ontario Motor League had, by the 1920s, been reduced to the rank of a strong service organization.

As important as the growth of bureaucracy or legislative detail was the social impact which automobile legislation and regulation had on Ontario society. One consideration was the manner in which the growth of regulation defined shifting perceptions of the automobile. Initially, with their relatively

restrictive prices, automobiles were seen largely as a privilege granted by socioeconomic status. With subsequently decreasing prices and the resultant broadening of ownership, the automobile came to be perceived as a right of all society rather than the privilege of the few. A belief that automobile operation had become a right of citizenship was reflected in the campaign to secure equal rights for motorists and in the Ontario Motor League's policy of flouting existing regulations to the benefit of drivers. However, with the stringent regulatory practices of the 1920s there began a reversion back to a perception of motoring as a privilege. While it no longer remained a privilege based on wealth, it remained a privilege nevertheless, one conferred by a government bureaucracy and dependent on the continued compliance with established regulations.

In all considerations of automobile law, the unique nature of such legislation must not be lost sight of. (As the shifting status of the pedestrian illustrated, the regulation brought about by the automobile's presence extended beyond the narrow confines of the motorist to include, in certain issues, virtually all of society. The pedestrian question, as well as the overall rise in legislative minutia, symbolized the growing extension of public control into the every day life of the Ontario citizen.) Under the auspices of automobile control, the private sphere was knowingly and unknowingly subjected to a growing array of legislative and regulatory detail. In doing so

it created one of the great paradoxes of the automobile; that a vehicle ostensibly designed for the personal liberation of time and space could become a means for the increased restriction of society. The promise of greater freedom which the automobile held out often became more imagined than real, for the price of such freedom was increased regulation and greater control of the private sphere by the public. Rather than creating freedom, the automobile instead merely created the myth of carefree motoring. Mobility must not be confused with, nor mistaken for, freedom.)

As Edward Sapir noted in 1924, although man may have harnessed machines to his use, more importantly was that he had also harnessed himself to the machine.¹⁴⁶

*Edward Sapir
1924*

ENDNOTES

¹In fact the first Toronto Automobile Club was originally organized in 1900, but then suspended and not reorganized until 1903. Hamilton Spectator, January 3, 1934.

²Toronto Globe, March 31, 1922; The Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1967), p.212.

³The Canadian Who's Who, Vol. II (1936 - 37), p. 956; Canadian Men and Women of the Time (Toronto, 1912), pp. 362-63.

⁴The Canadian Who's Who, Vol. II (1936 - 37), pp. 425-26; Canadian Men and Women of the Time, p. 453.

⁵Macmillan Dictionary of Canadian Biography (Toronto, 1967), p. 193.

⁶Toronto Daily Star, March 28, 1908.

⁷Hamilton Automobile Club, Constitution and By-Laws of the Hamilton Automobile Club (Hamilton, 1909).

⁸Eleventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1902 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1903), p. 8.

⁹Eleventh Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1907 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1907), pp. 9-10.

¹⁰Hamilton Herald, March 31, 1908.

¹¹Toronto Globe, March 10, 1910; Toronto Daily Star, March 10, 1910; The Farmer's Advocate, March 31, 1910.

¹²Marlene-Russell Clark, "Island Politics" in Francis W.P. Bolger, ed., Canada's Smallest Province: A History of P.E.I. (Prince Edward Island Centennial Commission, 1973), pp. 318-319. The P.E.I. statute in question is 8 Edw. VII, c. 13., An Act to prohibit the use of Motor Vehicles upon the public highways of this Province.

¹³Eleventh Annual Report on highway Improvement, 1907 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1907) p. 10.

¹⁴Debates, April 28, 1906.

¹⁵Hamilton Herald, March 31, 1908. On a similar note, R.H. McElroy, when commenting on reckless drivers before the Legislature in 1910 bluntly stated that "Some of those men deserve to be shot." Debates, March 11, 1910.

- ¹⁶Canadian Magazine (November, 1906), p. 84.
- ¹⁷Motoring (February, 1908), p.24.
- ¹⁸Canadian Motorist (January, 1914), p.12.
- ¹⁹Hamilton Herald, May 6, 1911.
- ²⁰₃ Edw. VII, c.27 S.1.
- ²¹₃ Edw. VII, c.27 S.10, S.11.
- ²²Frank A. Munsey, "The Automobile in America", Busy Man's Magazine (February, 1906), p.49.
- ²³₃ Edw. VII, c.27 S.9.
- ²⁴₃ Edw. VII, C.27 S.8.
- ²⁵₅ Edw. VII, c. 28 S.9.
- ²⁶1921 Census, Vol. 5, Table LXXIII.
- ²⁷Debates March 5, 1908; Hamilton Herald March 3, 1908; Debates March 23, 1909; Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1907 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1902), p. 10.
- ²⁸₅ Edw. VII, c. 28, S.6.
- ²⁹₅ Edw. VII, c. 28, S.5.
- ³⁰₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S.9.
- ³¹₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S.9.
- ³²₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S. 10.
- ³³₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S. 18.
- ³⁴₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S. 19.
- ³⁵₆ Edw. VII, c. 46, S. 23.
- ³⁶₈ Edw. VII, c. 53, S. 4.
- ³⁷James Grantham, "The Law and the Motor", Macleans (May, 1914), p. 30.
- ³⁸Farmer's Advocate, February 22, 1917.

³⁹9 Edw. VII, c. 81, S. 19a.

⁴⁰2 Geo. V, c. 48, S. 13. Some saw this restriction as not going far enough. Commenting to the legislature on the change, Dr. Forbes Godfrey thought such a law should apply to butchers' and bakers' wagons rather than motorists. According to Godfrey, "he found more trouble trying to keep out of the way of bakers' and butchers' wagons rather than from any other cause." Debates, March 22, 1912.

⁴¹2 Geo. V, c. 48, S. 26.

⁴²2 Geo. V, c. 48, S. 10.

⁴³Grantham, p. 30.

⁴⁴6 Geo. VII, c. 47, S. 2.

⁴⁵F.F. Schindeler, Responsible Government in Ontario (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1969), p. 23.

⁴⁶Grantham, op. cit.

⁴⁷The Motor Magazine Vol. 11, No. 2 (February, 1913), p. 30.

⁴⁸Debates, April 2, 1906.

⁴⁹Debates, March 23, 1909. The need for centralized legislation was also seen by groups outside the legislature. Speaking for the rural population, The Farmer's Advocate in 1908 noted that "To place control of traffic in the hands of various municipalities, allowing one to prevent entirely another to pass any kind of by-law it chose, would entail all kinds of embarrassment and inconvenience to motorists, and lead to great confusion." April 12, 1908.

⁵⁰Toronto Globe, March 28, 1908; Official Automobile Road Guide of Canada (Toronto, 1912), p. 5.

⁵¹9 Geo. V, c. 57, S. 3.

⁵²4 Geo. V, c. 36, S. 3.

⁵³For example, more than 70 automobiles were stolen in Toronto in the first seven days of April of 1919. Even in Hamilton, a considerably smaller city, 92 automobiles were stolen in 1919, the number of stolen vehicles rising sharply by 1929 to 555. Canadian Motorist (May, 1919), p. 286; Hamilton Police Department, Annual Report 1920, 1929.

- 54⁵ Geo. V, c. 17; 6 Geo V, c. 47, S. 2.
- 55⁵ Geo. V, c. 18, S. 9.
- 56⁷ Geo. V, c. 16.
- 57⁷ Geo. V, c. 49, S. 3.
- 58⁷ Geo. V, c. 49, S. 10.
- 59¹¹ Geo. V, c. 72, S. 7.
- 60^{12 - 13} Geo. V, c. 80, S. 8.
- 61^{13 - 14} Geo. V, c. 48, S. 67.
- 62^{13 - 14} Geo. V, c. 48, S. 3 - 16.
- 63¹⁷ Geo. V, c. 66, S. 2.
- 64⁷ Edw. VII, c. 53, S. 1.
- 65^{3 - 4} Geo. V, c 52, S. 2.
- 66^{Debates}, April 17, 1913.
- 67^{Canadian Motorist} (March, 1914), p. 121.
- 68^{Quoted in ibid.}
- 69⁷ Geo. V, c. 49, S. 10
- 70^{Canadian Motorist} (January, 1917), p. 17.
- 71^{Debates}, April 6, 1922.
- 72^{ibid.}
- 73^{Canadian Motorist}, (February, 1923), p. 89.
- 74^{Toronto Globe}, November 28, 1924.
- 75^{Canadian Motorist} (July, 1927).
- 76^{Toronto Daily Star, March 10, 1910. See also Hamilton Herald, March 10, 1910; Toronto Globe, March 10, 1910.}
- 77^{Debates}, March 22, 1912.

- ⁷⁸Hamilton Herald, August 14, 1916.
- ⁷⁹Hamilton Herald, June 16, 1921.
- ⁸⁰Hamilton Herald, November 29, 1922.
- ⁸¹Hamilton Herald, November 30, 1922.
- ⁸²Canadian Motorist, (March, 1917), p. 101.
- ⁸³Canadian Motorist, (June, 1920), p. 463.
- ⁸⁴Canadian Motorist, (August, 1916), p. 292.
- ⁸⁵Hamilton Times, March 27, 1920.
- ⁸⁶Canadian Motorist, (June, 1920), p. 463.
- ⁸⁷Canadian Motorist, (January, 1923), p. 31; Canadian Motorist (March, 1924), p. 119.
- ⁸⁸Canadian Motorist (February, 1917), p. 57.
- ⁸⁹Canadian Motorist (January, 1923), p. 31.
- ⁹⁰Debates, March 8, 1921.
- ⁹¹Canadian Motorist (February, 1923), p. 91.
- ⁹²ibid., p. 89.
- ⁹³Motoring (February, 1908), p. 21.
- ⁹⁴Ontario Motor League, Board of Directors, Minutes, March 21, 1908.
- ⁹⁵ibid.
- ⁹⁶Motor Magazine (February, 1913), p. 55.
- ⁹⁷ibid.
- ⁹⁸Canadian Motorist (May, 1919), p. 276.
- ⁹⁹Donald F. Davis, "Dependent Motorization: Canada and the Automobile to the 1930s", Journal of Canadian Studies (November, 1986), p. 126.
- ¹⁰⁰Ontario Motor League, Board of Directors, Minutes, April 2, 1908.
- ¹⁰¹Ontario Motor League, Board of Executives, Minutes, August 31, 1922.

- ¹⁰²For example, see Hamilton Herald, May 6, 1911.
- ¹⁰³Debates, April 2, 1906.
- ¹⁰⁴Debates, March 12, 1910.
- ¹⁰⁵Farmer's Advocate, August 24, 1911.
- ¹⁰⁶Toronto Daily Star, March 10, 1910.
- ¹⁰⁷5 Edw. VII, c. 28. S. 8.
- ¹⁰⁸Debates, May 17, 1905.
- ¹⁰⁹Hamilton Herald, March 10, 1910.
- ¹¹⁰Toronto Daily Star, March 11, 1910.
- ¹¹¹Debates, March 12, 1910.
- ¹¹²Ontario Motor League, Board of Directors, Minutes, June 24, 1907.
- ¹¹³Board of Directors, Minutes, September 27, 1908. Also see Minutes, June 16, 1908 for similar proposals.
- ¹¹⁴Board of Directors, Minutes, March 5, 1908.
- ¹¹⁵Canadian Motorist (June, 1918), p. 357.
- ¹¹⁶Hamilton Herald, March 27, 1919.
- ¹¹⁷Board of Directors, Minutes, May 30, 1910.
- ¹¹⁸ibid. See also July 7, 1908.
- ¹¹⁹Board of Directors, Minutes, September 5, 1912.
- ¹²⁰Canadian Motorist (January, 1914), p. 242; (August, 1914), p. 319.
- ¹²¹Canadian Motorist (September, 1914), p. 358.
- ¹²²Canadian Motorist (July, 1915), p. 219.
- ¹²³Board of Directors, Minutes, April 28, 1910; November 8, 1912; December 15, 1913.

¹²⁴Public authorities occasionally went to extreme lengths when they involved the private sphere in the regulation of the automobile. In Cleveland in 1914 the Police Department swore in fifty members of the Cleveland automobile Club as deputy sheriffs, complete with badges, to control their fellow motorists. Canadian Motorist (August, 1914), p. 319.

¹²⁵The Motor Magazine Vol. 11, No. 2 (February, 1913), p.55.

¹²⁶Public Archives of Ontario, Provincial Secretary's Papers, W.J. Hanna to R. H. McElroy, June 25, 1912.

¹²⁷As the Canadian Motorist pointed out in 1916, "...the motorist who 'lays-up' his car for the winter with the first flurry of snow is as rare as the motorist who ten years ago didn't scurry for 'dead-storage' with his car when the mercury contracted to thirty-two degrees Fahrenheit." Canadian Motorist (December, 1916), p. 467. The technological changes which allowed for such year round motoring must have been greeted with some dismay by a rural correspondent to the Farmer's Advocate in 1908 who said that it was 'a blessing we have a winter' so farmers wouldn't have to cope with the problems caused by automobiles on the country roads. Farmer's Advocate, March 12, 1908.

¹²⁸PAO, Provincial Secretary's Papers, W.J. Hanna to Herbert McDonald, July 12, 1910.

¹²⁹PAO, Attorney General's Papers, H.M. Akins to I. B. Lucas, July 27, 1915.

¹³⁰PAO, Attorney General's Papers, I.B. Lucas to H.M. Akins, July 29, 1915.

¹³¹PAO, Provincial Secretary's Papers, George Simpson to W.J. Hanna, September 3, 1910.

¹³²ibid., August 15, 1911.

¹³³ibid., August 17, 1914.

¹³⁴Hamilton Times, September 25, 1912.

¹³⁵ibid., October 16, 1912.

¹³⁶Board of Directors, Minutes, January 13, 1914.

¹³⁷Hamilton Herald, August 28, 1919.

¹³⁸David L. Lewis, "Sex and the Automobile: From Rumble Seats to Rockin' Vans", in David Lewis and Laurence Goldstein, eds., The Automobile and American Culture (Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, 1980), pp. 123-124.

¹³⁹Official Automobile Road Guide of Canada (Toronto, 1912), p. 179.

¹⁴⁰Canadian Motorist (February, 1914), p. 58.

¹⁴¹Canadian Motorist (January, 1915), p. 8.

¹⁴²Canadian Motorist (February, 1917), p. 51; (March, 1924), p. 117.

¹⁴³2 - 4 Geo V, c. 43, S. 470.

¹⁴⁴Canadian Motorist (February, 1917), p. 51.

¹⁴⁵Canadian Motorist (March, 1924), p. 118.

¹⁴⁶Edward Sapir, "Culture, Genuine and Spurious", American Journal of Sociology Vol. 29, No. 4 (January, 1924), pp. 401-429.

CHAPTER 5

THE AUTOMOBILE AND GOOD ROADS: THE RURAL RESPONSE

Until this chapter, contemporary perceptions of the automobile have largely been considered from an urban point of view. The urban population had indeed been a moving force behind the spread and assimilation of the automobile throughout the province. In 1913, Ontario farmers owned less than 1000 automobiles, representing 5.6% of the total number of automobiles in the province. And while rural ownership had risen dramatically by 1920 to more than 57,000 passenger automobiles, that figure accounted for only slightly more than one-third of all automobiles owned in the province. [Appendix 4] As an occupational group, farmers lagged behind the rest of the province in their adoption of the automobile, for although they owned one third of Ontario's automobiles, farmers represented slightly over half of the provincial population. Farmers were adopting the automobile, but not at a rate equal to that of the non-rural population.

The tentativeness with which Ontario's rural population embraced the automobile provides a balance to the widespread enthusiasm engendered by the vehicle among the urban populace. Clearly, not everyone had been enamoured with the automobile, but farmers remained the largest definable group in which reluctance was discernible. A question which must be addressed

is why such discrepancy occurred between rural and urban ownership in Ontario? In large measure that difference reflected the rural perception of the automobile and automobilist which many farmers held. Following 1914 those attitudes began to change as farmers increasingly became owners themselves, though never to the same extent as the urban population. Again, one must enquire as to what underlay that apparent shift in attitude during the 'teens.

The rural response to the automobile highlights the manner by which a single geographically and occupationally specific group adopted a new technological innovation. Moreover, the rural perception of the automobile, at least prior to WWI, remained inseparably linked to the development of a provincial road network. The good road movement in Ontario, from which the provincial road policy eventually evolved, had been a rural based movement from its formation in the 1890s. Not surprisingly, therefore, rural perceptions of the automobile and automobilists influenced provincial road policy in its initial stages. Given the symbiotic relationship one cannot fully comprehend the roots of Ontario's road development without an understanding of rural perceptions which shaped that policy. Likewise, one cannot fully appreciate the rural position vis-a-vis the automobile without understanding an influential component of that position, the good roads movement.

Despite the relatively small numbers of automobiles on the roads of Ontario during the first decade of the twentieth century, contact between the automobile and the indigenous rural population was nevertheless sufficient to create an antagonism towards the new mode of conveyance by the farming community. Nor was it an enmity which quickly dissipated, for the antagonism lasted well into the second decade of the century. Yet, the initial unwillingness to accept the automobile appeared, on the surface, to be at odds with the rural community's early familiarity with technology. From harvesting equipment to items such as mechanical cream separators, farmers had been made aware of the manner in which the application of modern technology could ease their daily workload. Even if farmers were not immediately familiar with the automobile, they were well acquainted with the more general form of the same technology, the stationary gasoline engine. As early as 1906, editorials in The Farmer's Advocate noted that many modern farms were equipped with an engine from which numerous machines were operated.¹ A correspondent to the journal a year later described how he employed his single 2 hp. engine to pump water to his stock, run the cream separator, turnip pulper, straw cutter, corn husker, meat chopper, and churn.² Or, as a 1912 article in Farmer's Magazine asserted "No farmer in Canada should be without a gasoline engine...."³ The presence of editorials and testimonials confirmed that farmers were amenable to at least some technology in their lives. In fact it might be argued, as

Reynold Wik has done in the case of the United States, that the farmer's familiarity with stationary gasoline engines contributed to the acceptance of the automobile within the rural community.⁴ Importantly though, it was not the farm implement dealers who promoted the concept, but instead leading agricultural journals. If the presence of such engines did aid in the adoption process, it appeared to have influenced only a small percentage of Ontario's rural population, for certainly prior to 1910, the farmer's experience with stationary gasoline engines had not translated into an enthusiasm for the automobile. Farmers were not so much anti-technology as they were selective in their adoption of technology.

Farmers generally formed their opinions regarding the automobile from personal contact with the vehicles. Sporadic at first, the most common experiences farmers had were the confrontations between automobiles and their own horsedrawn vehicles, experiences which did little to endear the automobile to the rural population. More accurately perhaps, it was the automobile owners and the manner in which they drove, rather than the vehicles themselves, with which the major complaints lay. That became increasingly evident for, as will be examined later, farmers often quite willingly adopted the automobile, but on their own terms rather than those of the non-rural community.

Farmers employed a wide range of adjectives and phrases to describe the intrusion of the automobile into the rural community. Automobiles were described as everything from a nuisance to 'a frightsome-looking vehicle' to a 'horse-scaring machine' and even as the 'devil wagon'.⁵ Similarly, operators of the vehicle were subjected to a host of invectives ranging from 'human-sacrum' drivers to 'gasoline fiends' to 'reckless scorchers'.⁶ A definite class directed perception of motorists and of the body which represented them, the Ontario Motor League, underlay the epithets. Automobiles were regarded by some as the 'luxury of the few'. That view became decidedly clear in a Farmer's Advocate editorial which maintained that the lack of regulation imposed against motorists indicated how the provincial legislature had yielded 'to the specious argument and pressure of the moneyed classes who use automobiles'.⁷ The master of the Dominion Grange, S.G. Lethbridge, reiterated the same perception of motorists when he asked, "Are we to be driven off the roads by rich men who make the public highway a public race course?".⁸ Rural opinion for the most part held that automobiles were a conspicuous sign of wealth and, more significantly, an urban directed phenomenon. Even as late as 1913, at a point when farmers themselves had begun to adopt the automobile in significant numbers, a Farmer's Advocate editorial attributed automobile ownership almost exclusively to 'foreign tourists and city men'.⁹ Likewise the Ontario Motor League, which promoted the interests for motorists throughout the

province was perceived as 'a rich and powerful organization', one whose members were 'comparatively wealthy'.¹⁰

Those evaluations had essentially been correct at the time of the League's formation, when motoring was still a fledgling sport and automobile ownership had indeed been restricted to some degree. In the post-1910 era, however, such perceptions became increasingly inaccurate. Although ownership remained restricted by income to a considerable extent, it was not limited solely to the 'millionaires' as often suggested. Hence, the persistence of that particular viewpoint signified a much deeper hostility, one for which the automobile became a ready and visible symbol. Undeniably, there were problems in the rural community created by the automobile's presence. Yet the automobile became for the rural community one more manifestation of a perceived imposition of will by the city over the farmer. It was the men and the environment which produced the automobile, as much as the machine itself, which the farmer raged against, and thus the city became an integral consideration in the escalation of epithets focusing on the automobile.

Stinging denunciations of the automobile went beyond the farm journals to become topics of discussion within some farming organizations. The automobile became a means to underscore the difference between city and country, a point often implicit in

many commentaries on the new technology. Hence hostility towards the automobile could be extended to include the depravity of the urban environment, while, in contrast, the countryside, which had done nothing to encourage the technological encroachment, remained the repository of all that was virtuous.) For example, W.C. Good, presiding officer of the Dominion Grange and Farmer's Association, and a leading force in the formation of the United Farmers of Ontario, made the distinction between the two environments quite clear in a speech delivered before the Grange in 1913. "The modern large city, with its tremendous problems, its enervating atmosphere, its inequality, with its crushing and crippling of child life, is in many respects", Good argued, "a blot upon our civilization." Believing in the ultimate victory of the virtuous countryside, Good noted that:

The large city, dominated by a few rich parasites, with an ignorant, inefficient and dependant rural proletariat together mark pronounced social decay, and the time is not too far distant when such a civilization must disappear, and the grand temples which it raised to its false gods crumble in ruins.¹¹

Moreover, according to Good, the automobile played a conspicuous role in the degenerate condition of the city and consequently in the creation of rural resentment:

A class of idle rich has grown up in our cities, to whose love of ostentation commerce and industry are now pandering. These enervated and

miserable specimens of humanity rush about the country in great cars, flaunt their wealth in our faces, tear up our roads, and cast their dust upon our fields.¹²

Initially at least many farmers could see nothing but trouble arising from the automobile's presence. Lennox Baker, a farmer from Carleton Country, voiced his opinion that few if any automobilists possessed any sense, and as such "...when one meets the devil's buggy with a fool in it, that is the time when the trouble is."¹³ However the problem with the automobile, as The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home pointed out, was that one could never be certain when such a vehicle might appear:

They appear on the horizon or turn a corner of the roadway like a flash, rush by like the wind, followed by dust clouds, and more often than not, a sickening odor, and pass on at lightning speed, regardless, in too many cases, of the rights of others to a few feet of the highway.¹⁴

Undoubtedly, these were the sorts of people whom The Farmer's Advocate referred to as the 'motor maniacs' in 1906 editorial entitled "Automobile Madness".¹⁵

Lennox Baker's personal enmity towards the automobile appeared to have run deeper than some, but his perceptions of the motorist and vehicle highlighted the level of prejudice some farmers harboured. From his viewpoint, the automobile was a phenomenon beyond the realm of ordinary daily experience,

one which required a comparison appropriate to its impact on rural life. In his eyes the automobile and driver became some sort of devil incarnate, for as Baker noted:

We also read in the Bible how the devil was chained for a thousand years, but as we sometimes meet his rig it makes us think he has broken a link.¹⁶

Quite possibly, Baker would have agreed with the evaluation of motorists made in the U.S. Horseman and Stockman in 1907 and subsequently quoted in a Farmer's Advocate editorial under the title "Automaniacs". Placing the motorist in the same category as the 'anarchist and his bomb', the editorial argued that the use of automobiles 'makes men effeminate and women neurotic'. Perhaps the most interesting feature of the evaluation was the manner in which horses and horse riders became symbols of virility and the strength of the nation, while in comparison the motorist became a liability to society. According to the Stockman:

What will the auto do for the nation in the wars that are sure to come? Then, one man who can ride a horse across country without fatigue and shoot straight, will be worth more than a score of automaniacs, who, humped and goggled, will be confined to the macadam where it is not torn up, and eventually have to take their weak, unused legs across the fields, an easy prey to mounted infantry.¹⁷

In summary, The Farmer's Advocate felt it necessary only to add at the end that the editorial was 'a little extreme perhaps, but otherwise not far wrong'.

If some depictions of the automobile appear unduly judgmental, one must consider the experiences on which such evaluations were based. Much of the farmer's contact with the automobile came about on the country road, and often the confrontations between horse drawn vehicles and motor vehicles justified the harsh language of the farmer's opinion. A debate in the Ontario Legislature concerning the Motor Vehicles Act in 1905 brought forward the opinion by several rural members that "...a number of people seemed to delight in running their motor vehicles as close as possible to vehicles drawn by horses for the express purpose of frightening the animals and the drivers."¹⁸ One farmer from Kent County noted how with the appearance of the automobile "...horses and vehicles, the limbs and lives of farmers and their families are jeopardized...."¹⁹ Farmers did have a valid fear, the seriousness of which some automobilists apparently failed to appreciate. Quite certainly there existed the possibility of danger for the operator of a horse drawn vehicle when an automobile approached, as horses could without warning become skittish and uncontrollable. How could horses be expected to act otherwise when, as a rural journal pointed out, they are asked to face a 'smelling, puffing, dust-flying machine'? Not unpredictably, horses "...become

crazy and have but one aim, which is to get out of sight and hearing as rapidly as possible."²⁰

Accidents resulting from encounters between the two, although impossible to gauge numerically, appear to have been a common occurrence in rural areas prior to 1910. John Peirson, a correspondent to The Farmer's Advocate, alluded to what may have been a substantial number of encounters which ultimately resulted in accidents. "I could tell you, Mr. Editor," Pierson stated in his letter, "of buggies smashed, horses ruined, bones broken by the score, but I never knew one of those fellows fined or interfered with yet."²¹ That was not entirely surprising, given the relatively weak regulatory framework in place for enforcing automobile-related legislation. If more accidents were not reported and offending motorists brought to justice, it was also because farmers were often unable, in the wake of such an encounter, to ascertain the identity of the automobile driver. Automobiles were required by law to have registration numbers plainly visible, but as one farmer pointed out,

...what difference would it make if the machine were covered with numbers, when a man has a broken leg, the rest of his family dashed into a ditch, and he sees his horse tearing down the road making kindling wood of his carriage? He is then not in a fit state of mind to read and memorize even large numbers, and numbers covered with dust are not easily distinguished.²²

In light of these mishaps motorists were held in low esteem by some farmers. At the very least, motorists were felt to be indifferent to the apparent hazards they created for horse drawn vehicles, for as the typical motorist was described by one editorial:

A scared horse or an upset rig does not concern him. A further turn of the drive wheel, a spurt forward, and he is off at lightning speed beyond identification and redress for damages.²³

There were other farmers who even believed motorists to be deliberately malicious, seemingly taking a sort of perverse pleasure in wreaking havoc along rural roads. The aforementioned Lennox Baker attributed the problem to "...some city dude that gets into an automobile and seems to take pleasure in seeing how many horses and rigs he can put in the ditch."²⁴ Against Baker's evaluation, it is enlightening to place the complaint of a certain E.B. Ryckman, member of the Ontario Legislature who, in 1908, accused farmers of some of the very things which he as a city automobilist was supposedly guilty. "I have been held behind a farmer," he said,

who refused to get out of the way, who consigned you to the ditch, who laughed and jeered at you, who gave you the merry ho ho.²⁵

It seems unlikely that motorists were as coldly calculating as Baker suggested, or farmers as heartless as Ryckman portrayed them. Nevertheless the occurrence of incidents between

automobiles and horse drawn vehicles, and the vehemency of response which resulted, served only to further the gulf of misunderstanding which existed between the predominantly urban motoring interests and the rural community.

Such discontent was in earnest, for clearly the number of confrontations between automobiles and horse drawn vehicles remained sufficient to warrant the inclusion of the 'horse clause' in the Motor Vehicles Act. However, judging from complaints, the section of the Act designed to alleviate that particular problem remained ineffective in many instances. In fact the irritation caused by automobiles on country roads appears to have been common enough that even manufacturing firms for rural products were willing to capitalize on the peculiarly rural fear. An advertisement for the Samson-Lock Fencing Company in 1908 used an illustration of an automobile smashed against a fence, but with the fence undamaged. Beneath the illustration one reads

An automobile running wildly amuck will surely come to grief if it collides with the heaviest, strongest, stiffest wire fencing that can be erected.²⁶

The perception by some farmers that the automobile posed a dangerous threat only grew with the vehicle's expanding range of use. "Formerly the automobilists selected only the leading highways, but," as an editorial for The Farming World in 1907

contended, "latterly they are taking possession of the side lines also, so that no road is safe from their presence."²⁷ In addition to the possibility of increased accidents which emerged from the automobile's presence, the growth of automobile traffic had another significant though less tangible effect. (Efforts by farmers to avoid roads where horses might encounter automobiles meant a curtailment of personal mobility and an alteration of traditional rural rhythms.) The state of restriction meant that, as another rural editorial expressed it, farmers were 'compelled to stay at home or walk'.²⁸ Women in particular were felt to suffer the greatest hardship from the change of established patterns. A report by the Ontario government pointed out that farmers, and especially their wives and daughters "...are compelled to use the roads with horses less than they would otherwise, owing to the fear of meeting an automobile."²⁹ As a result, one correspondent to the Farmer's Advocate lamented,

Farmer's daughters, who used to play an important part in the business of the farm, are now driven off the roads. Farmer's wives, who need a change and a pleasure drive as much as anybody, are now deprived of that luxury.³⁰

Thus, aside from the more immediate danger which the automobile presented to rural life, the vehicle also represented a very real challenge to farmers to preserve an established lifestyle in the face of a technology which increasingly intruded into their lives.

The fear of accident was not the only factor which contributed to a rural antagonism directed towards the automobile. In addition to a danger posed to horse drawn vehicles, automobiles were also considered a problem because of the dust which invariably followed in their wake. The Toronto Globe sympathized with the irritation which farmers experienced in that context, noting that farmers who live beside roads well used by automobiles 'suffer constantly' from clouds of dust raised by those 'trackless locomotives'.³¹ Similarly, The Christian Guardian described how the cloud of dust

. . . which covers everything for a considerable distance from every road frequented by autos, is painfully in evidence, and is a very real evil.³²

Dust was viewed as more than a mere nuisance. It was regarded as a danger to crops as well. "Dwellings situated near roads", a Farmer's Advocate editorial pointed out, "are daily favored with sickening doses of pulverized road, while fruit, vegetable and field crops suffer heavily."³³ Automobiles seemingly had done little to endear themselves to the rural population in the years prior to World War One, considering the manner in which their unwelcome intrusion had been perceived as disrupting an established rural order. And with the depiction of the vehicle as a potential liability to the health of the farmer, and as importantly, to his crops, opponents of the automobile were provided with one more argument for their use.

The animosity expressed in the various agricultural journals also carried over to the Ontario Legislature. In a 1906 session, the automobile had been denounced by one member as 'an exceedingly dangerous machine'. His opinions were seconded by the Hon. Dr. Willoughby, arguing that "things had come to pass in some districts that the ordinary travelling public was afraid to use the roads." This statement was then followed by a suggestion that automobiles be prohibited from using roads in rural areas after sunset.³⁴ The proposal in the Legislature was not the first, nor the last, to advocate such widespread restriction of the automobile. In 1905 an amendment had been moved by the member for Cardwell, Mr. Little, asking

that no motor vehicle be permitted to run on public highways except in cities and towns after 7 o'clock in the evening or before 8 o'clock in the morning.³⁵

In a similar vein, J.H. Devitt, member for West Durham, proposed a bill in 1908 to provide

that no motor vehicle shall be run or be allowed to stand upon any highway in a town, township or incorporated village or public highway during Tuesday, Thursday or Saturday in any week, or between the hours of 9 and 2 p.m. on Sundays.³⁶

Members representing rural constituencies, such as Devitt, were merely responding to rural discontent present at that time. The notion of restriction of the automobile by days or hours or roads extended beyond the Legislature and found

support both with individual farmers and rural press editorials. Certainly the title of one 1906 editorial, "Keep the Automobilst in Check", left little doubt as to that particular journal's view vis-a-vis the automobile. The solution to the conflict, according to the journal, lay in the restriction of automobiles to specified roads:

Let certain roads be defined on which automobiles can travel and let them not be very large in number, either; just the leading roads from the larger centres and a considerable step in advance will have been made in solving the difficulty. The farmer would then know where to look for the automobile and could take some other route if he wished to avoid it.³⁷

If roads could not be limited as to their traffic, suggestions were made to limit the automobile's use to specific days. Editorially, The Farmer's Advocate espoused that view on several occasions, advocating at least one day per week when rural roads might be free of automobiles.³⁸ That view was well expressed by one farmer from Wellington County, R.J. Little, who inquired, ". . . is it safe to have such machines at large every hour of the day?" As a solution Little asked simply that

A little space of quiet highway, free from the dread of the automobile, for the old people and the ladies to drive, ought to be considered.³⁹

The fact that none of those measures were passed was, in some respects, a credit to the foresight of those who opposed the measures, believing them impractical and ultimately unworkable

as automobile ownerships continued to climb. Yet that such restrictions were earnestly sought underscored how in Ontario society there existed factions which would gladly have seen the automobile remain as nothing more than an expensive novelty, and dictated rights to motorists commensurate with that status.

As evident from J.H. Devitt's proposals in the Legislature, the automobile question could easily be transformed into a political issue. Outside the Legislature, there were members of the farming community who believed that the elevation of the automobile to a political question was the only manner by which a solution might be achieved. The automobile was, according to a farmer from Bruce County, a political problem,

...and the politician who comes out square and fair for a substantial remedy for this miserable nuisance on the roads is going to get there. We can easily forget we are Tories or Grits for once; at any rate they will have all the women on their side, and that counts for more than you would think. It won't be long before we have an election for the Legislature. Let us see that our candidates are sounded on this question before they get a single vote.⁴⁰

Apparently, the antagonism created by the automobile was pervasive enough that it might have, under certain circumstances, overcome party differences. Similar sentiments were repeated a short while later by the editors of The Farmer's Advocate, who urged that public pressure be applied in the upcoming elections. Such pressure did not, as the editors pointed out

...necessarily mean a change of government. It does mean that every candidate should be sounded and obliged to declare himself positively on the subject of automobile legislation. Improvement of roads and the safe use of them will be a good platform plank for every rural candidate.⁴¹

Questions concerning the automobile were in fact so intense that they became, at least peripherally, a party issue. In the Legislature, as in Ontario society as a whole, division was apparent over the status of the automobile. The opposition Liberal party for example, saw the restriction of the automobile as part of their party platform. In a speech delivered in Woodstock in 1908, the leader of the Liberals, the Hon. A.G. MacKay, declared that his party was in favour of banning automobiles from the roads in Ontario on certain days of the week. As expected the pronouncement was greeted with indignation by the Ontario Motor League's Board of Directors, who moved that members of the Board should write to MacKay individually, protesting the Liberal party's stand on the issue.⁴² Policies of that nature were never implemented and it is difficult to determine how resolute the Liberals might have been had they gained office. Quite likely, the Liberals were using the issue with little real intent of putting rhetoric into practice. As

one member of the Ontario Motor League stated, the Liberal's policy

...was too extravagant to be seriously treated, while other proposed measures were probably introduced with an eye on the farmer's vote in a forthcoming election.⁴³

What such incidents illustrated was the degree to which farmers were willing to go to find a solution for the automobile problem. Politics were an important and ever present component of the automobile's process of adoption, such that it is difficult to consider the automobile's social impact without due consideration to the political dimension of the process.

Some of Ontario's rural population remained slow to accept the automobile and harboured a deep resentment of its intrusion into rural lives. By the WWI era the somewhat virulent, non-compromising stance essentially had become isolated. Even as individuals like Baker made critical statements, others in the farming community were defending the automobile, or at least were advocating greater toleration. W.H. Smith of York County urged his fellow farmers in 1908 not to be over critical of automobiles, for while they may have been the 'luxury of the few' as he put it, he believed the day was "...not too far distant when they will become a necessity with every up to-date

farmer...."44 In contrast to Baker, Smith maintained that farmers must be 'progressive along all lines', including of course the automobile. In fact Smith urged the 'auto fraternity' be taken into partnership by farmers, not simply for better understanding between the two groups but to use the automobilists and their influence to secure better roads for all concerned.

The most pressing difficulty with the automobile in rural areas was, according to The Christian Guardian, how to reconcile 'the undoubted rights of the autoist with the equally undoubted rights of the farmer'.45 The more liberal elements of rural society acknowledged, at times reluctantly, that motorists had rights too. Rights were a contentious issue: should a predominantly urban motoring clique have unlimited access to roads for which they had contributed nothing for construction or maintenance. One farmer from Lincoln County, W.B. Rittenhouse, presented an interesting case for the automobilists' presence on rural roads:

It is true the country roads were made by the farmers for the farmers; so too, the streets in the towns and cities were made by the town and city people principally for their use; but country people are privileged to use them, and it would hardly be fair on our part to banish all the autos from the country roads.46

Rittenhouse's rational approach to the issue carried over to his appraisals of motorists and their machines. He conceded that the criticisms levelled by farmers at motorists were true, but maintained that they were true of only some motorists and some machines, and that the majority of reasonable autoists must not be judged by the actions of a few.⁴⁷

There were other farmers like Rittenhouse who counselled reasonableness, but occasionally the nature of their logic made one question how earnestly they desired to assimilate the automobile into the rural environment. One contributor to The Farmer's Advocate urged fellow farmers to be reasonable about the issue, not due to any perceived benefit to the rural community, but rather, because the automobile was merely a short term nuisance. The automobile remained destined, according to that not too prescient contributor, to "...pass away after a while and join the long procession of other fads."⁴⁸ In a similar vein, an editorial published by the same journal in 1911 also maintained that 'the fad of motoring will be superseded in time by some other amusement'.⁴⁹ The notion of the automobile as some sort of transitory 'fad' or amusement' for the urban populace not only made its immediate presence more tolerable, but also indicated the short-lived and minor role sometimes forecast for the vehicle.

A letter by J.H. Burns of Perth County which appeared in The Farmer's Advocate in 1911 is of particular interest, not so much for what he had to say as for the editorial comment which

accompanied it. Burns had inquired if the journal had not been too severe on the automobilists, to which the editors, with an appropriate agricultural simile, sardonically remarked

Our worthy correspondent on the subject of automobiles and roads, is cultivating a cheery outlook that should soon enable him to extract sunbeams from cucumbers.⁵⁰

Sarcasm aside, the editorial reply remained noteworthy for the light it shed on the stance taken by one of Ontario's more prominent farm journals vis-a-vis the automobile. It serves as a reference point by which to gauge the shifting nature of rural opinion regarding the automobile, for only a few years later that same journal would make a radical alteration in its stance. During the period from approximately 1910 to 1914 rural opinion concerning the automobile fluctuated. The hard line, anti-automobile sentiment underwent modification and, in fact, all but disappeared. By the end of WWI journals like The Farmer's Advocate had experienced a radical reversal of position such that rural opposition to the automobile railed not against the automobile per se, but against its role in the wider context of roads and their use. Following 1914, the once contentious issue of the automobile came to be only a smaller consideration in the ongoing reevaluation of Ontario's road policy.

(By the mid-teens, virtually a complete reversal in rural attitude towards the automobile had taken place. The shift in

attitude did not begin in earnest until after 1910, the movement towards rural acceptance of the automobile being barely perceptible during the first decade of the twentieth century. In the spring of 1905 The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home pointed out that if further proof was required that 'the horse is in no sense being superseded by the automobile', one merely had to examine the success of the annual Canadian Horse Show. Evidently in 1905 the automobile was perceived as posing little if any threat to established rural practices. Believing that to be so, the journal published a poem entitled "Room for the Old Horse Yet", which captured the sense of confidence in the continuation of farm life as it was then constituted:

Though the automobile whizzes over the scene
That once was so peaceful and still,
Leaving dust in its wake and the scent of benzine
As it disappears over the hill;
Though it zips and it jolts giving alarm to the colts,
Let us not for a moment forget
That, in spite of man's need of excitement and speed,
There is room for the old horse yet.⁵¹

Another editorial the next year argued that within the automobile's apparently increasing popularity ultimately lay the foundations of its own demise. Citing the bicycle as an example, the editors noted that with the vehicle's decrease in price came a sudden collapse of the bicycle business, with the result that "People not only stopped buying, but quietly put away their wheels and adopted some other mode of locomotion." The editors then pointed out that a similar collapse would probably befall

the automobile. "It will not then be", the journal noted, "a mark of distinction to own automobiles."⁵² Equally important, as the editorial was quick to point out, was that the ultimate result would be the elevation of the horse to a higher plane. One of the most striking features of the poem and the editorials was the lack of any sense that the automobile could develop to be anything more than it presently was. There was certainly no indication that the automobile might play a role in rural life as anything more than a passing curiosity. But perhaps such confidence was in itself an indication of growing rural doubt, an attempt to reaffirm in the farmers' own mind the enduring nature of their way of life. That narrow view was not unusual though in the pre-1910 era; few farmers foresaw the magnitude with which the automobile would alter rural Ontario life.

Prior to 1910, references in agricultural journals which looked favourably on the automobile were quite rare. With the beginning of the second decade however, a slow but perceptible change in the rural viewpoint regarding the automobile was discernible. The O.A.C. Review, the publication of Ontario's Agricultural College, included in a 1910 issue an article entitled "The Automobile and the Farmer" which favourably outlined the automobile's possible contributions to agricultural life.⁵³ Although written by a farmer from Kansas, the piece was included because its contents were felt to be of some interest to Ontario farmers. Only a month later, The Farmer's Advocate

published a similar article extracted from the Saturday Evening Post which highlighted the many benefits an automobile could have for the farmer. Adding its own editorial comment, The Farmer's Advocate stated that quite a few Canadian farms had shown a reasonably priced automobile to be a profitable investment, and that overall an automobile for the farmer was 'worthy of serious consideration'.⁵⁴ By itself such an endorsement could hardly be considered outstanding. However, The Farmer's Advocate had been the same journal which a scant three years earlier had quoted with approval the denunciations of motorist and machine made by the U.S. Stockman. While it did not amount to wholesale acceptance of the automobile, for that same journal still levelled much criticism at urban motorists over road issues, it nevertheless pointed out how the vehicle itself was beginning to be viewed in a different light. The apparent weakening of position was the first indication that The Farmer's Advocate had begun to alter its established stance and look on the automobile more favourably. But in a wider context, the journal's shift represented a change which rural Ontario society as a whole underwent in those few years. That a journal such as The Farmer's Advocate, could begin to reverse its stand, represented a significant step towards acceptance of the automobile by the rural community. One editorial should not be misconstrued as a complete reversal of position, but it did indicate a weakening of the hard line, anti-automobile sentiment

which had been so much part of agricultural journals prior to 1910.

Rural opinions were still mixed concerning the automobile, but increasingly after 1910, the automobile found greater toleration if not outright favour, in the pages of agricultural publications. As an article in Farm and Dairy and Rural Home in 1911 pointed out, farmers who a few years previously had nothing good to say about the automobile had begun to realize how the new mode of transportation could save both time and money.⁵⁵ Similar views were echoed a year later in the Farmer's Magazine, noting how farmers who, in previous years had been very vocal in their grievances concerning automobiles, were very seldom heard anymore.⁵⁶ The crucial factor which facilitated the change noted by the two journals was, of course, that farmers themselves had started to become automobile owners. According to Farmer's Magazine, of the one hundred automobiles in Prince Edward County in 1912, more than one half were owned by farmers.⁵⁷ Prince Edward County may, however, have been somewhat of an exception in that respect. If the province as a whole was considered in 1913, farmers owned 966 passenger automobiles, or less than 6% of the total number of passenger automobiles in Ontario.⁵⁸ Yet even if farmers did lag behind the rest of Ontario in automobile ownership, those 966 represented a significant alteration of the rural prejudice towards the automobile which had been so strong only a few years

previously. Eluid Kester writing in the Farmer's Magazine in 1915, stated that farmers were increasingly buying automobiles as they realized that the automobile could actually save them time and money on the farm. Kester also made reference to rumours in agricultural circles that automobile prices were about to decrease in the near future. "You can hear it everywhere you travel", said Kester, referring to the rumours, "and almost every farmer hopes that by another year he may be able to own one of these machines."⁵⁹ A year later Duncan Stilman, contributing to the same journal, pointed out that if farmers had been slow to adopt the automobile it was because

...the farmer feels that the manufacturer has had the needs of the city man and city conditions in mind rather than the necessities of the farm....So far among automobile manufacturers there has been a tendency to cater to the taste of the purchaser who wants speed and artistic finish.⁶⁰

Both writers made the assertion that if rural automobile ownership lagged behind the rest of the province it was due to fundamental economic and utilitarian concerns. In so doing the articles highlighted the degree to which rural enmity against the automobile had declined, a decline so significant that rural prejudice was no longer cited as a major factor in the farmer's reluctance to adopt the automobile.

As the automobile gained increased credibility with Ontario's farming population, farmers viewed the utility of the

vehicle in different ways. Often the automobile came to be considered in the same manner as any other piece of farm machinery. It was not simply that farmers were purchasing automobiles, but, as W. E. Fridden maintained in 1915, "...every farmer needs one."⁶¹ If agricultural periodicals are an indication, the automobile moved from the realm of luxury option to that of farm necessity for a growing number of farmers. The automobile had become by 1916, at least according to one contributor to Farmer's Magazine, "...part of the equipment of every up-to-date farmer."⁶² The Farmer's Advocate, in a gradual reversal of their pre-1910 position regarding the automobile, referred to the vehicle in 1915 as 'a real economic necessity' for farmers.⁶³ The following year a letter to the editor of the same journal by a farmer from Bruce County maintained that no farm equipment is complete without the automobile.⁶⁴ Similarly, the Farmers' Sun, the official organ of the United Farmers of Ontario, conceded in 1919 that not only had the automobile come to stay but "...that it is now something which the average farmer would not care to be without."⁶⁵ Undoubtedly not all farmers would go so far as to categorize the automobile as a 'necessity', but there were few who, by the mid-teens, could dispute that the automobile had become an increasingly useful factor in farm life.

That the automobile's potential should be realized by farmers was not surprising, for in many respects the vehicle

constituted a more complex version of the stationary gasoline engine which they had been familiar with for years. What was remarkable, though, was how quickly the automobile came to be viewed as a pleasure vehicle, rather than as simply a utility vehicle for the farm itself. As early as 1912 one writer described how some farmers were taking the entire family for two or three day automobile trips.⁶⁶ By the end of the decade the Farmers' Sun noted with a sense of approval how automobiles were being used for more pleasurable rural pursuits, and cited a recent ploughing match at Chatham at which more than three thousand automobiles were parked at the grounds at one time.⁶⁷ Some farmers sought to simultaneously combine both utility and pleasure in their use of the automobile. At the end of the First World War the Department of Agriculture organized automobile trips for farmers, to view first hand what farmers in other counties were doing.⁶⁸ The Farmer's Advocate noted how farmers had been conducting their own personal tours for a few days each summer. Such trips provided not only a short holiday for the farmer, but as well "...an opportunity to study crops, cultural methods, and farm equipment that may be seen outside the home neighborhood."⁶⁹ Thus the automobile provided not only an element of pleasure but, because of the expanded spatial boundaries it created, also exposed the farmer to new ideas which might improve his own farming operations.

For some farmers, the social pleasure provided by the automobile was as important, if not moreso, than the economic advantages it may have provided. Expressing views indistinguishable from some urban publications, a 1916 issue of the Farmer's Magazine pointed out how the automobile

...affords the farmer and his family the opportunity of enjoying many a jaunt that they otherwise would never have....There is something in the change of scene that not only rests the body and quiets the nerves, but that clears the eye, revives the spirits and gives one a new and saner outlook, not on business alone, but upon life itself.⁷⁰

In some respects therefore, rural automobile owners became like their urban counterparts in their use of the automobile as a source of personal pleasure.

As well as its restorative power for farmer and family, the automobile was also accredited in some circumstances as preserving traditional rural social values and practices. According to the Farmer's Advocate the automobile had been responsible for reviving rural custom where it had lagged or disappeared, noting how

Some of the old-time social spirit, when neighbour visited neighbour, when picnics and socials were common, has been resurrected by the horseless carriage.⁷¹

That was certainly true of the large picnics and other social gatherings which had been such an important part of rural community life. Prior to the automobile's adoption by farmers, the difficulty with such events lay in finding a place of meeting convenient for everyone. The great advantage of the automobile, stated the Farmer's Magazine in 1916, is that it is now possible to find a meeting place

..that is easily accessible and yet brings with it a refreshing change of scene, without the wearisomeness of a trip by train. The automobile meets this case with advantage to all.⁷²

It may even have been possible that political organizations such as the United Farmers of Ontario, for which the rural picnics were an important organizational tool, could not have achieved the success they did without the automobile. According to an article in the Canadian Motorist in 1920, the farmers' government was a direct result of the automobile's presence, "...for it was the automobile that made the farmers' picnics a great rallying centre and crystalized their organizations and aspirations."⁷³ The automobile allowed farmers from a wide geographical range to have contact with each other, thereby forming a stronger group identity. Ironically, one of the things which earlier had brought farmers together in opposition may ultimately have been one of the keys to the success of their political organizations.

Far from destroying the rural way of life the automobile's presence could be construed, under certain circumstances, as a preserver of the good features in rural society. At times, the automobile appeared to assimilate almost effortlessly into rural life, such that the transition to its use became easy for a growing number of farmers. But what was rarely taken into account was whether or not the mechanically reinvigorated farm was true to its predecessor. Although the farm may have appeared the same, the presence of a radical new technology meant that farm life could never recapture precisely what it once had been. Such was the paradox of the rural automobile; while purporting to preserve life as it once had been, it was also instrumental in effecting a continuous and irreversible change. The automobile could actually serve two cultural predilections: to preserve and to alter. It could, therefore, find itself in both camps.

Some rural writers were cognizant of the precise manner in which the automobile would transform rural life. Given the potential created by the machine's mobility, the automobile was regarded as a possible solution to two ageless rural problems, isolation and loneliness.) The Farmer's Advocate, coincidentally in the same article which praised the contributions made by the automobile in preserving the character of rural life, also saw the automobile as making great strides towards ending those two banes of rural existence. Certainly many farmers were aware of

the ways in which the automobile could mitigate some of farm life's least desirable aspects. As expressed by one Ontario Agricultural College student, the widespread use of motor transportation would have the effect of bringing both distant and neighbouring communities together, and in so doing, could 'reduce the isolation and sluggishness of farm life'.⁷⁴

Following from that, some even saw the automobile as a possible solution to a closely related problem viewed with much seriousness by farmers, that of rural depopulation. The Farmer's Advocate admitted that the automobile may be a means of keeping young men and women on the farms. "It's use, at least," according to the Advocate, "makes life in the country more interesting and is a strong tie that binds many to the farm that would otherwise leave."⁷⁵ Using the 1921 census as a guide, Ontario's rural population had declined almost 100,000 between 1891 and 1911, while the urban population increased by more than five times that number during the same period. By 1911, Ontario's rural population represented only 47.4% of the total provincial population, whereas in 1891 it had constituted 61.3% of the province's total population.⁷⁶ Concern for rural depopulation was widespread throughout the rural community to the extent that even automobile manufacturers, aware of the level of anxiety the issue created amongst farmers, used it as a marketing ploy. Under the single caption 'Mother', a Ford advertisement depicted a woman sitting and knitting on the front

porch of a house. Also seen is a young man, presumably her son, leaning on the fence watching an automobile drive past on the roadway, likely heading for the city visible in the background:

Nobody realized better than Mother the tendency of the present day family to drift apart. In rural communities the boy irks for a glimpse of the town now and then--so does the girl. Sometimes the longing becomes so great they leave permanently. How many tragedies has that meant for Mother?

To this emotionally charged issue, Ford offered a solution:

How much would it have meant for the rural life of Canada--how much to the agricultural production of Canada and its farm wealth if the majority of the farm boys who have gone to town had stayed on the farm? If the FORD Car had been available then as it is now at its present low price, and town had been brought so close that it could be visited regularly--perhaps they would have stayed.

A similar conviction was expressed in a rural depopulation study conducted at the Ontario Agricultural College in 1923, which pointed out how the automobile, in combination with good roads, was helping to break down the barriers between city and country, and thereby possibly reduce the rural exodus.⁷⁸ That conviction relied on the belief, as Ford had so poignantly noted, that by offering the young farm generation improved access to the city it might perhaps decide to remain on the farm. In that respect, the automobile offered the best of both environments, apparently bringing the city closer yet still retaining the integrity of farm life.

To judge from farm periodicals, the automobile had indeed become an important factor in rural life. Thus by 1916 the Farmer's Advocate, that former enemy of the automobile, could unhesitatingly refer to the automobile as 'the farmer's servant'.⁷⁹ From the mid-'teens onwards the automobile became a generally accepted part of rural life in Ontario. The 966 vehicles owned by Ontario farmers in 1913 increased dramatically to 23,409 by 1917, to 64,045 by 1921, and 99,649 by 1926.[Appendix 4] Perhaps one of the more telling indicators of the manner in which the automobile had assimilated itself into rural life was that during the 1920s, the Farmers' Sun awarded an automobile as the grand prize in its annual subscription contest.⁸⁰

Despite an increased enthusiasm for the automobile as indicated in the provincial ownership statistics, it should not be misconstrued as unequivocal rural support. Testifying before the Sutherland Commission on hydro-radials in 1921, R.K. Kernighan wholeheartedly supported the radial scheme for, as he put it, "...if we had radials we could get rid of a lot of those autos and the whole country would be better off."⁸¹ As to the expense of the automobile, Kernighan stated that "There's no excuse for farmers going into debt for cars. They are dangerous nuisances."⁸² Kernighan was an outspoken supporter for the virtues of rural Ontario, particularly for the pastoral farm life of the pre-automobile era. Better known as the Khan, Kernighan was a popular rural poet-philosopher, and a regular

contributor to the Toronto Evening Telegram. The Khan remained the embodiment of Ontario's farming values, living in the family farm house in which he was born, surrounded by the flower beds originally planted by his great-grandmother. The foreword to his 1925 book of verse described him as "...a true son of Canada, and what he says is felt in ten thousand Canadian hearts. What is common to him is common to them in essence, though in lesser degree. The song is his, but the harmonies are deep rooted in Canadian soil." Two poems by Kernighan serve as an example of his inward rural view of life and, incidentally, of the automobile. "The Old Man Did" described the old farmer who cleared the forest, planted the orchards and fields, and built barns and farmhouse. In contrast "The Young Man Did" described a member of the younger farm generation who allowed the farmhouse and barn to crumble, and the field to go to weed. Most pointedly the final stanza tells of the young man, 'Who in his old Ford car went lickety skip and skid, to ruin fast and far '83 Kernighan wrote of a spirit, a tradition and a timelessness of which the automobile had no part, for in his eyes the automobile remained symbolic of the decline of rural Ontario.

Clearly not everyone in the rural community was enamoured with the automobile. Nevertheless a radical change had occurred in the farmer's opinions concerning the automobile by 1920, so much so that the vehement opposition voiced by curmudgeons like Kernighan grew progressively infrequent. Resistance was to be

seen expressed more as non-ownership rather than in virulent editorials. Farmers had made incredible progress as automobile owners, but nonetheless were constantly underrepresented as an occupational group in proportion to their numbers. By 1921 the rural population of Ontario represented 48% of the provincial total, yet farmers accounted for only 35.3% of all passenger automobiles owned in the province. That figure of approximately one third remained fairly steady throughout the 'twenties. Possibly the underrepresentation in ownership denoted a persistence on the part of some farmers not to adopt the automobile. An interesting study conducted by the Commission of Conservation in 1915 pointed out that while 38% of 400 farmers surveyed owned pianos and 32% owned organs, only 5% had purchased automobiles.⁸⁴ While the rationale of rural non-owners cannot be accounted for, the decision not to purchase an automobile depended partially on economic ability, pianos not requiring the same extensive capital outlay as an automobile. But the decision not to purchase hinted at a fundamental economic reality which guided the farm economy. The non-wage labour of the farm promoted a family-farm outlook guided by necessity and practicality, one in which the horse's multi-dimensional role often appeared more useful. (Automobiles represented a massive capital drain from the limited reserves of small farmers, whose surplus cash or credit potential was often used to increase land or livestock holdings. As early as 1907 farm periodicals had warned against the purchase of an automobile, arguing "... they are too

expensive and too short-lived and too costly to maintain. They are not a business proposition...."⁸⁵ Though great strides had been made in the rural adoption of the automobile, the economic realities of farm life had not significantly altered by the 1920s, such that a lack of direct opposition did not necessarily translate into ownership.

Whatever reluctance the rural community maintained towards the automobile, it was more often than not during the 1920s expressed as single acts of non-purchase rather than virulent vocal demonstrations against the vehicle as were common a decade or more earlier. Even if opposition in the farming community towards the automobile had not entirely dissipated by the twenties, it could never again assume the form it once had had in the pre-1910 or early 'teens era. The automobile's proliferation in the rural community had been so great that earlier oppositional methods became untenable. Suggestions to limit the automobile by road, day, or hour became unfeasible as an increasing number of farmers themselves became owners. Farmers who sought to fight the automobile found themselves facing an overwhelming number of vehicles, and their concession neighbors. Rural prohibition was impossible when, as the Women's Institute lecturers stated in 1915 at Queen's Park, on certain leading roads every farmer owns an automobile.⁸⁶ Once farmers began to purchase automobiles, rural opposition to the automobile grew progressively weak and disorganized. The

'teens marked a major turning point in the rural acceptance of the automobile, breaking down earlier barriers of prejudice and making ownership a factor for a growing number of farmers. But even so as ownership statistics bear out, by the end of the 1920s, farmers had still not embraced the automobile to the same extent as the urban population. That differential in ownership reflected views of the automobile created by the rural and urban economies. The wage-labour system prevalent in the cities fostered a perception of ownership distinct from that of the farmer who, given the strict economic framework within which family farms generally operated, was less able to purchase an automobile than his urban counterpart. And yet, even if the farmer's decision to purchase was grounded in the realities of the farm economy, it did not necessarily mean he would not purchase one if possible, as indeed a growing number of farmers were doing. The inability of farmers to enjoy the amenities of modern life to the extent possible by city dwellers, of which the automobile stood as a conspicuous reminder, meant envy and an exacerbation of existing rural discontent.

Any discussion of the automobile in rural Ontario must also consider the ongoing subject of roads, for the two were closely linked concerns. Roads had been an important rural issue even before the appearance of the automobile, a viable road network being viewed as fundamental to the growth and prosperity of the agricultural community. A conviction that

roads formed the backbone of farm life was indicated in a report by the Ontario government itself, noting in 1904 that development of any sort is 'impossible' without good roads. Moreover, as the report pointed out, good roads meant a country of "...good houses, good barns, and a contented and prosperous farming community."⁸⁷ The social benefits at times ascribed to roads made them appear as a panacea to overcome many of the problems which traditionally troubled farmers. According to the report of the Commissioner of Highways for Ontario in 1905,

The benefits arising from good roads are almost endless. They reduce the isolation of farm life. They enable the farmer or his family to attend church, school, public meetings, social gatherings, with greater comfort and regularity. They facilitate the distribution of mail. They enable the farmer to get a daily paper....Wear and tear on horses, harness and vehicles is lessened. A doctor can be summoned more quickly, and human life, in cases, saved. They do away with the profanity and bad temper caused by bad roads....The physician can extend his practice over a wider area of country and drive over the roads with greater comfort and safety. The clergyman can visit the rural positions of his parish more readily; visiting the sick and holding divine service, having a more regular attendance of the latter. The schoolmaster will secure a more regular attendance of pupils.⁸⁸

There are of course no references to the automobile in the early highway reports, for its numbers remained quite low and almost exclusively urban owned. Yet in the years prior to WWI, the rural perception of roads was closely tied to the rural perception of the automobile. (Farmers had railed against the

automobile because of the danger it posed to horse drawn vehicles, but also because the automobile clashed with their view of what roads were to be used for. Seen primarily as a vehicle of urban amusement, the automobile had little place on a road system constructed for necessity rather than pleasure. A conviction prevalent amongst farmers was that roads were, first and foremost, for the use of farmers. One farmer contributing to the Farmer's Advocate certainly felt as if the country suffered at the hands of the city motorists, lamenting to his fellow farmers that "It seems as if our country roads were made by us, for the pleasure and convenience of the city people with their automobiles."⁸⁹ Underlying that belief was the assertion that farmers and motorists formed two distinct and easily separable groups, a view consistent with low rural ownership in the pre-1910 era. As outlined previously, farmers resented the urban automobile's presence, a stand based on the danger to horse drawn vehicles which automobiles posed. The issue over road usage, however, ran deeper than the antagonism caused by the danger and dust nuisance for which the automobile was held responsible.

One factor clearly defined and at the same time separated the rural viewpoint regarding roads from that of the urban automobilist. Country roads were not simply for the farmer's pleasure, but fulfilled a vital rural economic function.

Considered in economic terms, good roads were crucial to the farmer, for they provided the essential link between his produce and the market.) Quite literally the road system determined a farmer's level of profit; factors such as impassable roads would mean that goods would never reach their market. Not surprisingly the rural view clashed strongly with the dominant urban perception of country thoroughfares designed primarily for pleasure.) Underlying the difference was the farmer's conviction that country roads were primarily market arteries, economic routes which enabled the farmer to transport his produce directly to market, or to the rail lines which would transport his produce for him.

One additional facet of economic concern irrevocably separated the rural view of roads from that held by the rest of Ontario society. The less than favourable response to urban motorists stemmed from a belief that, as one agricultural journal asserted, farmers actually 'owned' the roads, given the taxes they paid and, occasionally, their own labour used to maintain the roads.⁹⁰ That view was strongly supported by the Farmer's Advocate in an editorial from 1908. "The roads were built mainly by farmers," the editors propounded,

for the use of farmers and those who do business with farmers. They are part of the equipment of the great agricultural industry of Ontario, the most important in the Province.⁹¹

Although the controversy over rural roads remained closely connected to the presence of the urban automobile on said roads, the conflict which arose was more than simply resentment created by the intrusion of urban vehicles in traditionally rural space. At stake was a fundamental disagreement concerning the nature of rural society and hence the purpose and control of rural roads; whether rural roads policy was to be guided by utilitarian views as expounded by rural residents, or whether roads were to be maintained on the pleasure orientation principle supposedly typical of urban motoring interests. It was a problem partially resolved by increased farmer ownership of automobiles during the 'teens, but serious disagreements still arose well into the 1920s over the design and implementation of Ontario's road policy.

A rural-based economic perception of roads in the pre-1914 era was evident in the activities of the various Good Roads associations, as well as in the provincial government's policy of road maintenance and construction. In fact, to separate government policy from the activities of the Good Road movement was at times difficult. Like the issue of legislation discussed previously, private groups often played a significant role in government policy in the automobiles's early years. The Good Roads association, while remaining as independent organizations with no powers to draft or implement legislation, enjoyed an almost quasi-official status within Ontario. The objectives of

the two bodies coincided to the extent that the proceedings of annual meetings of the Good Roads associations were published yearly in the *Sessional Papers* of the Ontario Legislature. Likewise both bodies reflected and indeed reinforced the prevailing rural viewpoint concerning roads. The Commissioner of Highways left no doubt in his annual report of 1903 as to where the sustaining force of the good roads movement lay. While acknowledging that automobile clubs were interested in the question of good roads, the Commissioner, A.W. Campbell, quickly dismissed their contribution. Interest by organizations such as automobile clubs has been, Campbell maintained,

...very largely but surface features of the stronger undercurrent, and the great sustaining force of the movement has been the Canadian farmer, upon whom devolves the burden of country road construction, and who is most directly benefited by road improvement.⁹²

Given that evaluation of the road question as one essentially rural in nature, it was not surprising that a close association should develop between farmers, the provincial government, and the Good Roads associations prior to 1914.

A formal, institutional concern for good roads antedated the twentieth century, at a time when automobiles played no role in the roads question. In 1894 the first Good Roads association in Ontario was founded by members of various township and county councils, as well as representatives of farm-based

organizations.⁹³ That original association was followed by the formation of the Eastern Ontario Good Roads Association in 1901, and the Western Ontario Good Roads Association in 1902.⁹⁴ According to the Minister of Public Works, "Good methods and good management are the aim of the good roads movement."⁹⁵ The founders of the association believed that the traditional system of statute labour for road construction and maintenance was no longer practical, and that some type of modern system needed to be implemented.⁹⁶ In 1896 the Ontario government created the office of the Provincial Highway Commissioner, for the purpose of, as the Commissioner himself stated, "Stimulating an interest in the improvement of country roads."⁹⁷ From its inception therefore, the new office concerned itself almost exclusively with the non-urban development of roads, working closely with the various good roads associations throughout the province.

The purpose of the office of Highway Commissioner was twofold: it sought to extend the mileage of good roads throughout the province, while at the same time implement more efficient methods of road construction and maintenance. With those objectives in mind, the province implemented the Highway Improvement Act in 1901.⁹⁸ The Act sought, according to the Commissioner of Highways in 1902,

...not to oblige the building of an expensive system of complete roads, but to secure uniform and systematic work, to employ and properly operate modern and economical implements, to provide careful, constant and methodical supervisions and maintenance; to provide object lessons in the care and treatment of roads, and set examples for those having charge of the remainder.⁹⁹

Under the provisions of the Act, the province set aside one million dollars for the purpose of road construction. That money was designated for the building and maintenance of county roads, of which the province would pay one-third of the total cost. County councils themselves designated the roads to be considered under the system, but generally they consisted of the most heavily travelled roads leading to the surrounding market towns.¹⁰⁰ At the same time efforts were made to increase the efficiency of road building by having townships abolish statute labour for road work, and instead substitute an increased appropriation from the general funds of the township. "It should not be difficult," noted the Commissioner in 1903 in reference to statute labour,

for the people of this agricultural Province, progressive in all that pertains to farming, to understand that improved methods are needed for roadmaking, and that a system in keeping with these methods should be adopted.¹⁰¹

Reactions to the proposals of the Highway Commissioner and to the Act itself were generally quite favourable. Farmers in particular expressed pleasure with the Act, for it appeared

to correspond to the rural ideal of road utility. Good roads were viewed as a necessary part of every successful farmer's equipment, a view which gave little consideration to pleasure seeking urban automobilists. The Farmer's Advocate repeated in an editorial of 1911 their conviction that the basis for road improvement

...should be the usage of the roads for rural business. Roads radiating out from cities and towns, largely used by farmers, are the ones to be improved, and next the highways which serve as feeders.¹⁰²

On that point the government and farmers agreed. The provincial government approached the good roads program with an economic orientation not unlike the proposals advocated by contemporary agricultural journals. Urban pleasure vehicles received little if any favour in a program in which the government described a good road "...as one best answering in a broad sense the requirements of economic fitness."¹⁰³ The belief that good roads remained a business proposition, evident in the government's support of market roads, corresponded closely to a view of roads widely held within the rural community. Commenting on the program, the government's annual report on highways for 1909 stated that

It is expected that the roads improved will be those leading to the local market centres and stations, such as are now most heavily travelled, or which if improved would be heavily travelled.

It is desirable that every farmer be within convenient distance from a good road leading to his local market.¹⁰⁴

For the most part, the government's position vis-a-vis good roads coincided closely with the needs and views expressed by the province's farmers, a relationship which did not begin to alter substantially until roughly the beginning of WWI.

Despite a generally favourable rural response, the movement towards improvement was nonetheless a slow process. While implementation of the Act progressed steadily, there remained a reluctance on the part of many county councils to abandon established methods of road building. By the end of 1904 statute labour had only been abolished in slightly more than one-quarter of all townships in Ontario.¹⁰⁵ Although townships gradually began to see the benefits which arose from a more permanent solution to the road problem, statute labour was slow to disappear. In 1908, more than one million statute labour days were used in the province for the purposes of road construction. Thus while there existed a general agreement that good roads were essential for the province it was equally evident, as the reluctance to abandon statute labour indicated, that it was an uneven and gradual process.

As was the case with statute labour, no rapid transformation took place in the spread of the county road system. It was widely recognized though, that a change in the

old approach to road construction was required. Commenting on the good roads question in 1908, Busy Man's Magazine editorialized that

It has indeed become generally recognized that this matter of road making can no longer be carried on by means of the antiquated system under which the farmers supplied their labour. It is admitted that the work must be done in a scientific manner and under the direction of both the Provincial and county authorities.¹⁰⁶

Yet, despite a realization that a more comprehensive approach was necessary, and ultimately more efficient, counties dragged their feet in adopting the scheme. At the beginning of 1905 only seven counties, which together accounted for approximately 20% of the area of the province, were working under the system, with a total mileage of 1624 miles of main road.¹⁰⁷ By 1907 fourteen counties participated under the Highway Improvement Act for the improvement of county roads. Together the fourteen counties represented a total of 2550 miles improved, or approximately 12% of each participating county's total road mileage.¹⁰⁸ The number of counties participating rose to seventeen in 1910, which accounted for nearly half of the thirty-seven counties eligible for inclusion under the Act. As of 1912, twenty counties participated in the Act with total road expenditures of nearly \$900,000, of which the province contributed one-third.¹⁰⁹

The problem remained, as evident from the checkered response of the counties, that participation remained entirely voluntary. Thus by WWI, no comprehensive provincial system of roads or road building existed. Not only did that favour piecemeal improvements, but it permitted, as was the case with early automobile legislation, the creation of parallel services within the private sphere. In 1909 the Board of Directors of the Ontario Motor League approved a plan to hire men to work on the more heavily travelled country roads, such as those between Toronto and Hamilton, to keep the roads in condition by filling holes and removing loose stones.¹¹⁰ At the same time the T. Eaton Company built and maintained at its own expense a model road on a section of Dundas Street between Hamilton and Toronto. The Eaton Road, as it was referred to, was superior to virtually every other road at the time, as it was built at the considerable cost of \$6,000 per mile, at least double the usual outlay for roads at that time.¹¹¹ That the private sphere could, as late as 1910, undertake road construction and maintenance which to a degree paralleled government programs, indicated the want of a comprehensive government policy concerning roads. However as the provincial government consolidated its control over the road building process during the 'teens, the circumstances which had provoked private initiative to play a direct role gradually disappeared.

The 'teens witnessed several developments which underscored the new spirit of involvement in road development which ran throughout the Public Road and Highway Commission's report. In 1915 the provincial government passed into law the Ontario Highway Act, a positive indication of its commitment to increased participation in the development and maintenance of the province's road network. Under the provisions of the Act the provincial government agreed to pay 40% of the maintenance and repair costs of both suburban and main roads, up to the cost of \$4,000 per mile.¹¹² That commitment typified the more active role and the increased fiscal responsibility with which the provincial government henceforth approached roads.

A second piece of legislation in 1915, An Act Respecting the Toronto and Hamilton Highway Commission, provided for one of the first physical manifestations of the shift underway in provincial road policy.¹¹³ An Order in Council in September, 1914 initially established the Commission so that work might commence as soon as possible. Actual construction on a highway to link Ontario's two largest centres, an undertaking of some fifty miles, began in November 1914.¹¹⁴ Agitation for such a road had been carried on for some time previously by local automobile clubs and particularly, the Ontario Motor League. The Canadian Motorist for example, regarded the building of the Toronto-Hamilton Highway as the necessary first step in a

comprehensive provincial program. "Ontario needs, above everything else," the journal maintained,

a few good samples of permanent highway construction. There can be no doubt but that a paved roadway between the two chief centres of population in Ontario--the cities of Toronto and Hamilton--would serve as an object lesson to the entire Province, and do more to stimulate the building of good roads than years of discussion and argument.¹¹⁵

Lobby pressure from the private sector helped to create a greater awareness of the growing need for better highways, but circumstances beyond the control of either the automobile interests or the provincial government forced the construction decision. Initially the outbreak of war in 1914 made the unemployment situation, still in a state of flux from the recent recession, appear more serious than it perhaps was. It was suggested, therefore, that a large scale road building project such as the Toronto-Hamilton Highway could substantially ease the problem.¹¹⁶ Thus in light of the perceived urgency of the situation, the commission was formed and construction began in such a short period of time.¹¹⁷ Certainly the outbreak of war provided an added though somewhat illusory impetus for the undertaking. Yet even if a serious unemployment problem had existed, the implementation of the project would have been impossible without a provincial government predisposed to such development. Even as the employment situation stabilized the

pace of construction never slackened. That the highway was not simply part of a make work effort but part of a wider commitment to the development of Ontario roads was made clear by Premier William H. Hearst at the highway's official opening, in November, 1917. The Toronto-Hamilton Highway was, as Hearst stated, "...but the forerunner of a series of highways of like character, which the Provincial Government planned to build after the war."¹¹⁸

In January, 1917 the Minister of Public Highways for Ontario, F.G. Macdairmid, announced the government's intention to construct a provincial system of highways stretching from Windsor to the Quebec border.¹¹⁹ The legislation necessary for its creation, The Provincial Highways Act, received assent in April, 1917.¹²⁰ An entirely new system of roads was not the goal of the government; rather, the Act encouraged existing roads to be brought up to a standard necessary to bear the increasing motor traffic. As Macdairmid made clear, "...we are not creating any new roads; we are merely taking the existing roads where there is very heavy traffic, and assuming what we believe to be our fair share of the upkeep and the cost."¹²¹ The government's participation in that respect amounted to 70% of construction costs outside suburban areas, and 40% within suburban areas.¹²²

The first section of road transferred to provincial control under the Act was the Kingston Road stretching from the eastern side of Toronto to Port Hope, a distance of approximately 45 miles.¹²³ Given the magnitude of the project, and the prevailing fiscal caution of the provincial governments, the final goal of a trans-provincial highway could only be realized over an extended length of time. For example, it was not until almost two years after the inception of the program that the route for the Hamilton to London section of the highway was finally designated.¹²⁴ At times the selection process was complicated by competing claims concerning routes. In some areas of the province where more than one possible choice for a through highway existed, local councils lobbied, similar to what had occurred during the railway booms of the nineteenth century, so that the highway might run through a particular location.¹²⁵ For the most part, the time taken by the government to translate policy into tangible results reflected its efforts to avoid another piecemeal, ad hoc solution to a fundamental provincial issue. Moreover the existence of numerous complications and considerations meant that the provincial government's decision to create a provincial highway system acknowledged a commitment to gradual, long term development. Those sentiments were apparent in remarks made by W.A. McLean, Deputy Minister of Highways for Ontario, before the International Good Roads Congress in 1917, when he characterized the province's road program as 'a matter of gradual development and extension'.¹²⁶

If there was any undue laxity in the program, it could be attributed to the difficulties which arose from a war time situation. "My Government," Premier Hearst pointed out in 1917, "does not overlook the importance of good highway construction and we have a settled policy of extensive good roads construction to carry out as soon as the war ceases."¹²⁷ If there had been any question of the government's commitment to the development of Ontario's highways following the war, it was dispelled by Premier Hearst in 1919. It remained the intention of the government, stated Hearst, "...to proceed with highway construction boldly and on a large scale."¹²⁸

As the 'teens drew to a close, the radical shift in road policy which the province had experienced during the preceding decade became apparent. The government brought many changes to bear upon the character of Ontario's road program, not least of which was the apparent dilution of rural influence on policy decisions, the result seemingly placing highways ahead of rural market road needs. An editorial in the Canadian Motorist in 1917 underscored just how far provincial government policy with respect to roads had evolved during the 'teens. Rather than simply encouraging Good Road Associations as had been the case prior to 1914, the government, by the end of the decade, asserted control in road policy and construction. As the Canadian Motorist pointed out, "Hitherto the province has followed the municipalities and counties in the work of highway construction,

but with the new Provincial Highway Act, the province undertakes to lead."¹²⁹

The apparent movement away from the rural denomination of Ontario's road program was greeted with mixed reactions from the province's farming community. Some farmers maintained a flexible outlook on the good roads movement, particularly as automobile ownership spread within the rural areas. As early as 1912 rural journals pointed to a change in attitude amongst farmers which would come with the automobile. An article in Farmer's Magazine in November of that year argued that when a farmer buys an automobile, he 'begins to look at the roads and travel question in a little different light' than when he drove a horsedrawn vehicle.¹³⁰ Some in the rural community believed that the automobile's presence would broaden the farmer's traditionally narrow view of road development. "One thing is certain," stated Eluid Kester in the Farmer's Magazine in 1915, "as soon as the majority of the farmers get automobiles, just so much greater will be their enthusiasm for the work of road betterment."¹³¹ Kester was probably correct in his evaluation, but by the end of the 'teens the farmers represented something less than a majority of Ontario's automobile owners. Rural ownership had increased appreciably by 1920, but there still remained a considerable number of farmers who continued to cling to a parochial view of provincial road policy.

Despite Kester's prediction that farmers would increasingly become supporters of a comprehensive road program, and undoubtedly many did just that, there remained a significant body of rural based opposition to the changes underway in the government's scheme of road development. An editorial appearing in the Weekly Sun in 1914 railed against the province's 'selfish motor interests' attempting to secure a provincial highway system.¹³² Although criticisms of the government's road policy arose periodically throughout the decade, they appeared to have occurred more frequently in the latter half of the decade, particularly following the introduction of the Provincial Highway Act in 1917. Within the rural community, it was commonly held that with the introduction of the new road policy, farmers' interests were progressively being pushed aside in favour of other groups. Commenting on the proposals for a provincial highway, the Farmer's Advocate maintained that "The road will undoubtedly be of more value to cities and city people than to the rural population."¹³³ Similarly, one of the delegates at the United Farmers of Ontario's annual meeting, A.A. Powers, argued that "...we should have roads for the people to take stuff to market and not be burdened with concrete roads for tourists' travel."¹³⁴ Discontent in the rural communities grew when it continued to appear as if farmer's needs were being disregarded in favour of non-rural motoring interests. Quite naturally, the Canadian Motorist expressed no sympathy for the farmer's position, and in fact argued that it would be the

farmer who would benefit most from a provincial highway system. Rural opposition was, according to the Canadian Motorist, entirely of a destructive character and a sorry commentary on the farmer's intelligence, and then rhetorically queried with an appropriate metaphor, "How long is ignorance, suspicion and retrogression going to be permitted to drag highway evolution in the mud?"¹³⁵ Despite the pointed attacks, rural opinion did not appear moved in its opposition to the government's road policy. According to the Weekly Sun in 1919, road improvement in Ontario

...seems to have been concerned only with automobile routes, -- and the township roads have been left just where they have been for years, so far as any Government action is concerned.

To interpret the Government's interests from its actions, the interest is only that automobile touring roads should be built from point to point (and the greater distance the points are apart, the better, in the interests of pleasurable touring), and that the township roads (which are a part of the farmer's equipment in the last analysis) should be entirely left out of the question.¹³⁶

Displeasure with the provincial road policy grew to such an extent amongst farmers that by the summer of 1919 it had become a plank in the United Farmers of Ontario election platform. The rural based political party sought, when elected

To substitute for the policy of expensive Provincial highways a policy of organized continuous road maintenance, and of making good roads for all rather than high grade roads for a few....¹³⁷

Quite clearly there existed a perception amongst farmers that the Ontario government's road policy no longer served their interests as it once had done. The government had not deliberately disregarded rural objectives, but provincial traffic conditions had altered so drastically in the preceding decade that by 1919 a wide range of considerations influenced road policy. A proliferation of motorized vehicles meant that the expansion of roads capable of handling such traffic became fundamental to any provincial road program.

Yet farmers remained dissatisfied and willingly made the road policy issue an election issue. Realizing the centrality of the road question to the provincial election in October of 1919, the Hearst government ran a series of full page advertisements in rural papers during the fall of that year in an attempt to mollify the critics of their policy. In the first advertisement of the series, the government sought to offset criticisms regarding their program's supposed extravagance. According to the Hearst government,

There has been some misunderstanding in the public mind. This has been due, in some cases, to extreme proposals of well-intentioned people, which have been given wide publicity. One of these proposals has been that the Ontario Government should at once build a great cement-concrete Highway across the Province at a huge expense. Such proposals as these, and many others, have not been approved by the Government, and are not part of the policy.¹³⁸

Undoubtedly aware of the agrarian protest's mounting strength, the Hearst administration stressed its continued commitment to rural objectives. "From the inception of the Ontario Highway Department," maintained the government's advertisement,

special attention has been given to the encouragement of "market roads," those radiating from local market towns and shipping points, for the benefit of farm production, and counties which have been operating under the Highway Improvement Act for a few years have shown most gratifying progress in that respect.¹³⁹

As the election drew closer, the government in early October emphasized through its advertisements the necessity of its road policy. Indeed, in the most forceful defence of its position to date, the government supported the automobile and counter-attacked the critics:

It is unfair to assume that all or even a majority of those who travel by motor car on these roads, in this populous part of Ontario, are doing so for pleasure only. The motor vehicle has become a recognized necessity of everyday life. It cannot be described as a luxury any more than the telephone, telegraph, steam railway, and similar advantages of the age in which we live. It enters into the practical affairs of the farmer, merchant, doctor, business men, men of the skilled trades, manufacturers, and has given the common highway a greatly increased transportation value. An appeal to prejudice rather than to reason is made by those who condemn Provincial Highways as "speedways for millionaires and pleasure-seekers". No doubt some of both will drive over these roads. They also travel on railway trains--but the commercial value of the steam railway is not diminished by the fact.¹⁴⁰

Despite a spirited defence of its road policies, the Hearst Government went down to defeat at the hands of the United Farmers of Ontario in the fall of 1919. However when the UFO came to power, it faced the same pressing need for road construction as had faced its predecessors. The growing requirements of Ontario's motor traffic remained a fact which farmers could not alter and provincial governments could not ignore. As such the UFO found itself in much the same situation as the government it replaced, attempting to balance the requirements of a burgeoning motor population with the traditional desires of the rural community. In spite of the platform which it had espoused, the UFO, upon acceptance of office, assumed a higher responsibility to the province as a whole, and therefore could not ignore the need for a comprehensive provincial road program. As the Toronto Mail and Empire pointed out, "The Drury Ministry may for a time bow to rural objections for city automobilists, but this narrow view cannot long be maintained, in the face of the tremendous growth of truck and pleasure car traffic."¹⁴¹ Thus the United Farmers of Ontario, despite rhetoric to the contrary, continued the road policies of its predecessors, as it found itself inexorably caught in a growing cycle of needs and development brought on by the unprecedented expansion of motor vehicle ownership. The election of the UFO and its subsequent road policies clearly demonstrated how a movement, which became a party, was forced to surrender its interest group role.

Following the election of the UFO, the responsibility for Ontario's highway program fell to the new minister of public works, F.C. Biggs, a man who, according to Premier Drury's biographer, 'had an unabashed love affair with the automobile'.¹⁴² Initially at least, Biggs followed a traditional UFO line of not constructing broad highways for tourists and other predominantly urban interests. Yet, only a short while into office, Biggs indicated his willingness to deviate from the UFO line with his announcement of a large scale project of road building throughout the province. Biggs never lost sight of the rural dimension in his policies, but he clearly believed that what was good for the province as a whole would also be good for the individual farmer as well. Good roads would not only enrich the social life of the farmer but, as Biggs pointed out, would do more than anything else to lower the high cost of living by making producers and markets accessible to one another.¹⁴³

Early in 1920 Biggs made a statement before the Ontario Motor League which was to set the tone for his tenure in office. "Only conditions over which we have no control," Biggs announced, "will retard the making of first-class good roads in this Province."¹⁴⁴ However, it was likely that neither the province, nor Biggs' own party, was prepared for the scale of road development which he undertook. "I have tried," stated the minister,

to work out a roads policy for Ontario which will play fairly with and bear fairly on all the

different sections and classes of the people. The late Government laid out 422 miles for Provincial aid and called it Provincial highways. I think this is a first class idea, but I do not think they went far enough, because under my plan I'd like to increase this to 1,600 miles.¹⁴⁵

Undoubtedly, Biggs was prepared to go further than any of his predecessors. Farmers were not forgotten in the development scheme as the minister announced, in addition to the established 40% for county roads, a 20% contribution to the construction of township roads, the basic ornerly of the rural community. Yet even given the aid to township roads, farmers condemned Biggs' policy as extravagant and one which bowed to urban interests.¹⁴⁶ Certainly the provincial expenditure for roads under Biggs bore out his determination to go further than any of the previous governments. [Appendix 5] Biggs, however, appeared undisturbed by initial reactions and shortly thereafter announced the roads designated as Provincial Highways. In the process, he exceeded his initial expectations by more than two hundred miles. Thus when the final selections were made, the total mileage designated was more than four times that of the preceding government's program, a total of 1824 miles.¹⁴⁷ What others may have seen as extravagance Biggs merely put down as a necessity of the time. As Biggs stated when he announced his policy, "We must wake up and formulate a new policy, a twentieth century policy, which will build up the roads in a modern way."¹⁴⁸

Biggs' accomplishments in provincial road building until 1923, when the UFO government was replaced, were significant. It was one thing to designate roads and another to construct and maintain them, but by 1923, provincial highways actually totalled 1823 miles.¹⁴⁹ The highway system had grown rapidly at first with the addition of already existing surfaced roads, so that by the end of 1921 total highway mileage was 1765.8 miles, the provincial government having constructed 178 new miles in 1921 alone.¹⁵⁰ While Biggs' highway policy was ambitious and went well beyond any development undertaken by previous governments, the accomplishments must be kept in perspective of the province's overall road network. Total road mileage by 1923 consisted of approximately 50,000 miles, of which approximately 27,000 miles were either paved or surfaced, a record for improved roads for a single province or state in North America.¹⁵¹ Of that total however, highways still constituted something less than 4% of the provincial total.

Under the direction of Biggs, provincial road policy extended well beyond the needs of rural Ontario to encompass the requirements of the province as a whole, but particularly the growing motor vehicle traffic. That was especially true in Biggs' insistence that the motor tourist must be a consideration in any future road scheme. In a speech at a UFO meeting in 1921 Biggs claimed a tremendous potential for revenue from the American motor tourist, contending that 'this fact alone would

repay the Government every dollar spent on good roads'.¹⁵² Biggs was the right man for the automobile, but the wrong one for the farmers who wanted better township roads. Concessions to American tourists may have appeared the very antithesis of UFO objectives, but the concern for tourist traffic in provincial road policy reflected the province's changing needs. The irony is that the UFO executive should accept Biggs' scheme, but then the enemies of an idea sometimes are its best supporters, for they leave the popular opposition without leadership. Nevertheless, even given the apparent necessity for such a policy, and given also the growing use of motor vehicles by farmers, elements within the rural community perceived Biggs' policy less a necessary evolution than a serious divergence from the requirements of the farm community. A belief that Biggs had deviated from rural need occasioned criticism, both within the party and without. Biggs' policy was a source of concern within the UFO itself, but Biggs himself apparently remained unperturbed.¹⁵³ "It is my desire," Biggs stated publicly in 1920, "to administer my department in a fearless way. As far as I am concerned, I will build the roads of this Province irrespective of any party considerations."¹⁵⁴

In addition to party dissension, criticism of the highway policy appeared periodically in various rural papers. Initially at least the Farmers' Sun, the organ of the UFO, supported Biggs' policy. Following his announcement early in

1920 of the roads to be developed, an editorial in the Sun noted that "Ontario is awakening to the fact that she needs a comprehensive system of good roads, but the awakening has not come a day too soon."¹⁵⁵ But as dissatisfaction slowly built within the UFO ranks itself, even the Farmers' Sun did not suppress the virulent criticisms launched by some Ontario farmers against Biggs. A letter to the editor of the Sun in 1921 argued that Biggs was seriously undermining the political credibility of the party and asked what was the matter with the UFO executive that they could allow such a policy. "Are we going to sit idly by," the writer demanded to know in reference to the executive, "and watch our Movement wrecked by a creature that is being made a tool by the Motor League and by Big Interests generally?"¹⁵⁶ After nearly two years in office, criticism appeared to have increased rather than abated concerning the UFO's road policy. If journals such as the Farmer's Advocate can be taken as an indication of rural opinion, then Biggs' policy had grown decidedly unpopular amongst many farmers by 1921. According to an editorial in that journal, "There is an undercurrent of feeling throughout the Province of Ontario that the Honorable Mr. Biggs' road program is somewhat elaborate and too expensive for the time."¹⁵⁷

When the UFO left office in 1923, it had, or more appropriately Biggs had, virtually revolutionized Ontario's road policy. Under Biggs, the government established a program of

construction and maintenance which following governments could not ignore for fear of appearing regressive. It was a program which moved away from the traditionally parochial rural concerns and instead substituted a scheme which considered provincial interests as a whole. Biggs may have appeared as somewhat of a traitor to the rural interests which had elected him, but he could not ignore the growing requirements of an increasingly motorized Ontario population. As Drury himself was to admit later in his memoirs,

Good roads were coming in any event; the rise of the motor vehicle had made them a necessity. Ontario was the first Canadian province to establish a Provincial Road System, but we were only a little ahead of the times.¹⁵⁸

If any irony existed in the situation, it was to be found in the fact that it should be a rural-based government which established a road policy clearly provincial in scope, one which placed wider provincial considerations before individual interest groups, such as farmers.

Successive governments deviated little if at all from the pattern of development established at the beginning of the decade. By the end of the 1920s, the government boasted that "Ontario has made such strides in the last decade that one hardly recognizes old conditions."¹⁵⁹ Growth of Ontario's

road network continued steadily from the precedent established by the UFO. At the end of 1927 the provincial highway system comprised 2371 miles, with a total road expenditure of \$26,486,288. Those figures increased by the end of 1929 to the point that the highway system represented 2,438 miles, with a provincial government expenditure on roads of \$33,800,688.¹⁶⁰ The legacy which Biggs and the UFO left for successive governments was the commitment to a comprehensive provincial road policy not dominated by any one interest group but designed for provincial needs as a whole. The four years of UFO control represented the most significant period of change in provincial road policy, one which established the tone for the remainder of the decade.

Throughout the first three decades of the twentieth century the issues of the automobile and of provincial roads were inseparably linked. The introduction of the automobile into Ontario had forced a gradual rationalization of a nineteenth-century road system in order to render it serviceable for the requirements of twentieth-century traffic. Like the question of automobile legislation, the provincial government was drawn into progressively higher levels of involvement. An ad hoc piecemeal road program suitable for the needs of the 1890s had become wholly inappropriate by the second decade of the twentieth century, such that the provincial government found it increasingly necessary to provide financial aid and direction towards its development. In the process, however, what had been

a relatively static relationship between rural and urban society prior to 1900, was irrevocably altered. (Initially, at least, the automobile's presence only increased existing enmity and underscored the distinct outlooks held by each community. But the rapid proliferation of the automobile, and particularly its adoption by farmers, slowly reduced the great gulfs, both physical and psychological, which had separated the two societies at the turn of the century. The inherent distinctiveness of each society was not destroyed, but the automobile and the growth of a comprehensive road network had by the 1920s altered established temporal and spatial patterns, thereby bringing farm and city into closer contact.)

ENDNOTES

¹The Farmer's Advocate, August 29, 1906. See also Farmer's Advocate, August 29, 1907 for a similar editorial.

²The Farmer's Advocate, March 28, 1907. Also see Farm and Dairy & Rural Home, September 2, 1909; July 19, 1910; June 1, 1911.

³R.G. Moffat, "Caring for the Farm Gas Engine", Farmer's Magazine (September, 1912), pp. 91-92.

⁴Reynold Wik, Henry Ford and Grass-Roots America (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1972), p. 20.

⁵The Farmer's Advocate, May 21, 1908; January 30, 1908; August 10, 1911.

⁶The Farmer's Advocate, April 1, 1909; June 15, 1916; Toronto Globe, March 9, 1910.

⁷The Farmer's Advocate, January 16, 1908; April 30, 1908.

⁸Hamilton Herald, March 31, 1908.

⁹The Farmer's Advocate, July 3, 1913.

¹⁰The Farmer's Advocate, March 17, 1910.

¹¹W.C. Good, Farmer Citizen (Toronto: Ryerson Press, 1958), p. 94.

¹²ibid., p. 97.

¹³The Farmer's Advocate, August 16, 1906.

¹⁴The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, July 1, 1905.

¹⁵The Farmer's Advocate, July 5, 1906.

¹⁶The Farmer's Advocate, August 16, 1906.

¹⁷The Farmer's Advocate, July 18, 1907.

¹⁸Ontario Legislature, Debates, May 17, 1905.

¹⁹The Farmer's Advocate, July 12, 1906.

²⁰The Farming World, August 15, 1907.

- 21 The Farmer's Advocate, January 30, 1908.
- 22 The Farmer's Advocate, August 9, 1906.
- 23 The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, July 1, 1905.
- 24 The Farmer's Advocate, August 16, 1906.
- 25 Toronto Daily Star, March 28, 1908.
- 26 The Farmer's Advocate, March 26, 1908.
- 27 The Farming World, August 15, 1907.
- 28 The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, April 2, 1906.
- 29 Eleventh Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1907 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1907), p.8.
- 30 The Farmer's Advocate, August 10, 1911.
- 31 Toronto Globe, March 19, 1910.
- 32 Quoted in The Farmer's Advocate, September 14, 1911.
- 33 The Farmer's Advocate, July 3, 1913. For further examples of complaints against the dust nuisance, see The Farmer's Advocate, March 17, 1910; July 27, 1911; April 1, 1915.
- 34 Debates, April 2, 1906.
- 35 Debates, May 17, 1905.
- 36 Debates, February 28, 1908. See also March 25, 1909 for a similar proposal.
- 37 The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, April 2, 1906. For other editorials proposing restriction see July 1, 1905; August 15, 1907; The Farmer's Advocate, July 12, 1906.
- 38 The Farmer's Advocate, April 2, 1908; April 30, 1908; April 1, 1909.
- 39 The Farmer's Advocate, April 9, 1908. For letters of a similar nature see August 9, 1906; March 12, 1908.
- 40 The Farmer's Advocate, January 30, 1908.
- 41 The Farmer's Advocate, April 30, 1908.

⁴²Ontario Motor League, Board of Directors, Minutes, April 2, 1908.

⁴³Toronto Globe, March 28, 1908.

⁴⁴The Farmer's Advocate, January 16, 1908.

⁴⁵Quoted in The Farmer's Advocate, September 14, 1911.

⁴⁶The Farmer's Advocate, April 2, 1908.

⁴⁷The Farmer's Advocate, April 2, 1908. See also April 16, 1914.

⁴⁸The Farmer's Advocate, March 26, 1908.

⁴⁹The Farmer's Advocate, July 27, 1911.

⁵⁰The Farmer's Advocate, September 14, 1911.

⁵¹The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, May 15, 1905.

⁵²The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, January 1, 1906.

⁵³J. Williamson, "The Automobile and the Farm", OAC Review (October, 1910), pp. 6-9.

⁵⁴The Farmer's Advocate, November 10, 1910.

⁵⁵Farm and Dairy and Rural Home, June 1, 1911.

⁵⁶Harris L. Adams, "The Farmer and the Auto", Farmer's Magazine (November, 1912), p. 91.

⁵⁷ibid., p. 92.

⁵⁸Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1914 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1914), appendix 6.

⁵⁹Eluid Kester, "Driving the Farm Auto", Farmer's Magazine (August, 1915), p. 62.

⁶⁰Duncan Stilman, "The Why of the Farm Car", Farmer's Magazine (May, 1916), p. 69.

⁶¹W.E. Frudden, "Housing the Automobile", Farmer's Magazine (September, 1915) p. 47.

⁶²Kester, p. 20.

- ⁶³The Farmer's Advocate, April 1, 1915.
- ⁶⁴The Farmer's Advocate, February 16, 1916. See also Herbert Quick, "How the Motor Car Improves Farming", Canadian Motorist (August, 1918) pp. 517-18.
- ⁶⁵Farmers' Sun, November 5, 1919.
- ⁶⁶Adams, p. 92.
- ⁶⁷Farmers' Sun, November 5, 1919.
- ⁶⁸The Farmer's Advocate, July 4, 1918.
- ⁶⁹The Farmer's Advocate, July 7, 1921.
- ⁷⁰Stilman, p. 68.
- ⁷¹The Farmer's Advocate, April 1, 1915. See also John Henry Mueller, The Automobile: A Sociological Study (University of Chicago Ph.D., 1928), p. 48.
- ⁷²Stilman, p. 69.
- ⁷³Canadian Motorist, February, 1920, p. 102.
- ⁷⁴Bert E. Tolton, The Cost of Rural Motor Truck Transportation (4th year thesis, Ontario Agricultural College, 1922), p. 94.
- ⁷⁵The Farmer's Advocate, May 4, 1916.
- ⁷⁶Brian Tennyson, "The Ontario general election of 1919: The beginning of agrarian revolt", Journal of Canadian Studies 4(1969), p. 27.
- ⁷⁷Macleans, March 1, 1923.
- ⁷⁸H.A. Cole, Rural Depopulation in Ontario (4th year thesis, Ontario Agricultural College, 1923).
- ⁷⁹The Farmer's Advocate, May 4, 1916.
- ⁸⁰Farmers' Sun, March 18, April 1, 1926.
- ⁸¹Farmers' Sun, April 9, 1921.
- ⁸²ibid.
- ⁸³Robert Kirkland Kernighan, The Khan's Book of Verse (Toronto: The Evening Telegram, 1925), pp. 16-17.

⁸⁴The Farmer's Advocate, January 4, 1917.

⁸⁵The Farming World, August 15, 1907.

⁸⁶Kester, p. 62.

⁸⁷Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1904, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1905), pp. 7-8.

⁸⁸Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1905, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1906) pp. 9-10.

⁸⁹The Farmer's Advocate, March 12, 1908. See also April 9, June 18, 1908; April 1, 1909.

⁹⁰The Farming World and Canadian Farm and Home, July 1, 1905.

⁹¹The Farmer's Advocate, April 9, 1908.

⁹²Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1902 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1903), p.8.

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⁹⁴ibid.

⁹⁵Eleventh Annual Report on Highway Improvement in Ontario, 1907 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1907), p.7.

⁹⁶Seventh Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1902, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1903), p.9.

⁹⁷ibid.

⁹⁸1 Edw. VII, c. 32.

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¹⁰¹Eighth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1903 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1904), p. 10.

¹⁰²The Farmer's Advocate, June 15, 1911.

¹⁰³Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1904 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1905), p. 11.

¹⁰⁴Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1909 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1909), p. 21.

¹⁰⁵OSP, Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1905, p. 8.

¹⁰⁶Busy Man's Magazine (September, 1908), p. 27.

¹⁰⁷Ninth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1904 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1905), p.8.

¹⁰⁸Twelfth Annual Report of the Commissioner of Highways, 1908, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1908), p.10.

¹⁰⁹Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1913 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1911), p.11.

¹¹⁰Ontario Motor League, Board of Directors, Minutes, January 11, 1909.

¹¹¹Annual Report on Highway Improvement, 1911 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1911), p. 11.

¹¹²Edw. VII, c. 32, S. 16, S. 28.

¹¹³5 Geo. V, C. 18.

¹¹⁴Canadian Motorist, (December, 1917), p. 680.

¹¹⁵Canadian Motorist, (March, 1914), p. 121.

¹¹⁶Canadian Motorist, (March, 1916), p. 75.

¹¹⁷Canadian Motorist, (December, 1917), p. 679.

¹¹⁸ibid., p. 689.

¹¹⁹Toronto Daily Star, January 16, 1917.

¹²⁰7 Geo. V, c. 16.

¹²¹Seventeenth Annual Meeting of the Ontario Good Roads Association, 1919, (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1920), p. 17.

¹²²7 Geo.V, c. 16, S. 11.

¹²³Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1918 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1919), p. 13.

¹²⁴Canadian Motorist (January, 1919), p. 23.

- Ontario. ¹²⁵See for example the dispute concerning London, Canadian Motorist (May, 1917), p. 286.
- ¹²⁶Canadian Motorist (May, 1917), p. 212.
- ¹²⁷Toronto Globe, November 26, 1917.
- ¹²⁸Canadian Motorist (January, 1919), p. 23.
- ¹²⁹Canadian Motorist (April, 1917), p. 159.
- ¹³⁰Adams, p. 92.
- ¹³¹Eluid Kester, "Traditions of the Turnpike", Farmer's Magazine (February, 1915), p. 16.
- ¹³²Weekly Sun, January 7, 1914. See also April 15, 1914.
- ¹³³The Farmer's Advocate, April 12, 1917.
- ¹³⁴The Farmer's Advocate, December 27, 1917.
- ¹³⁵Canadian Motorist (March, 1919), p. 135. See also February, 1919, pp. 67-68.
- ¹³⁶Weekly Sun, August 20, 1919.
- ¹³⁷Weekly Sun, August 13, 1919.
- ¹³⁸Farmers' Sun, September 24, 1919.
- ¹³⁹The Farmer's Advocate, September 25, 1919.
- ¹⁴⁰Farmers' Sun, October 8, 1919.
- ¹⁴¹Quoted in Canadian Motorist (December, 1919), p. 867.
- ¹⁴²Charles M. Johnston, E.C. Drury: Rural Prophet (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1986), p. 108.
- ¹⁴³Canadian Motorist (February, 1920), p. 94.
- ¹⁴⁴Toronto Daily Star, January 20, 1920.
- ¹⁴⁵ibid.
- ¹⁴⁶Johnston, p. 111.

¹⁴⁷Canadian Motorist (March, 1920), p. 160.

¹⁴⁸Toronto Globe, March 4, 1920.

¹⁴⁹Annual Report of the Department of Public Highways, 1922 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1923), p. 9.

¹⁵⁰ibid.

¹⁵¹Canadian Motorist (April, 1924), p. 173.

¹⁵²Farmers' Sun, February 5, 1921.

¹⁵³E.C. Drury, Farmer Premier (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart, 1966), p. 115.

¹⁵⁴Toronto Globe, March 4, 1920.

¹⁵⁵Farmers' Sun, March 6, 1920.

¹⁵⁶Farmers' Sun, February 19, 1921.

¹⁵⁷The Farmer's Advocate, July 7, 1921. Also see May 4, 1922; May 3, 1923. Another criticism of Biggs' policy which arose periodically was that the extensive road building projects were draining rural labour to work on the higher paying construction work. See for example, Weekly Sun, April 16, 1919; The Farmer's Advocate, August 9, 1923.

¹⁵⁸Drury, p. 115.

¹⁵⁹Annual Report of the Department of Highways, 1926 and 1927 (Ontario Sessional papers, 1929), p. 9.

¹⁶⁰Annual Report of the Department of Highways, 1928 and 1929 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1931), p.9.

CONCLUSION

Whenever a radically new technology is introduced into a society, its impact may be viewed in several ways. One means is simply to examine the innovation in light of its strict technological application, which in the case of the automobile permitted the movement of people and goods over greater distances more quickly and efficiently. The automobile was just a recent device in transportation history. This analysis is not without its benefits, and is the type often applied to technological innovations. The automobile's introduction may even be considered as a phase in the attacks on the continent's distances. These viewpoints are limited, for they consider technology by removing it from the social context. Technology must be examined in a wider cultural milieu if the full dimension of its impact is to be appreciated, for how an innovation acts upon and ultimately alters an individual's life is a crucial component of technological development and adoption. Technology does not develop in a vacuum, and ultimately it is from those wider social circumstances that technology gains its meaning. And paradoxically, as much as technology may derive its meaning from society, society or elements thereof, often derive meaning from technology. In that respect the automobile quickly became more than a means of personal conveyance; depending on one's perspective it denoted social standing, a model of modernity, an expression of personal freedom, or a symbol of the sometimes strained relations between rural and urban society.

While little is to be gained by reiterating conclusions drawn in preceding chapters, some wider themes concerning Ontario, technology, and the automobile should be briefly considered. The proliferation of the automobile in Ontario highlights several principles concerning the introduction of a major technology generally into a twentieth century society. Perhaps the most important axiom reinforced by the automobile is that the acceptance of technology within a society occurs at different speeds and is dependent on a wide array of variables. The simple fact of technology's presence does not signal a fait accompli with regards to its use. Regardless of an innovation's utility or revolutionary nature, there will always be resistance to its presence and an unwillingness to adopt, as the automobile amply demonstrated. Such reluctance may arise simply from an economic inability to purchase or may, as the example of some Ontario farmers or the socially prominent Hamiltonians who preferred their horse drawn vehicles, stem from an unwillingness to forsake traditional methods. But in a wider historical perspective resistance to the automobile can easily be overlooked as those individuals were, in the long run, losers in a contest to resist change. Given the overwhelming presence of the automobile in contemporary society, a hindsight view of its introduction often smooths out the hills and valleys of acceptance and rejection, making its popularity appear as an inexorably even expansion to the present. Yet that resistance remains as significant as the activities of technological

boosters, for it provides a window to cultural values perhaps not easily discernible by other means.

A glance at the automobile registration figures for 1900 - 1930 highlights the phenomenal numerical growth of the automobile. Yet such statistics are in themselves misleading, for they belie the very real individual process of acceptance and rejection which occurred throughout Ontario society. Statistics contain no hint of the multitude of personal decisions which they represent or, particularly in the first decade, the controversy and uncertainty surrounding the automobile. It is only with the addition of more diverse cultural forms to the statistical base, such as contemporary advertising, fiction, or legislative debates, that the many dimensions of the acceptance process became visible.

The preceding chapters when considered as a whole provide some idea of the complex interactions necessary to accommodate the automobile's introduction. It was not an easy transition, but rather one fraught with conflict and decisions whose long term consequences remained unforeseen. (The chapters reinforce how differently the automobile was perceived by various segments of Ontario society, and in so doing emphasized the degree to which perceptions of the vehicle were often divorced from any strict utilitarian concerns. As an examination of contemporary advertising makes clear, the automobile was very

often marketed according to its social meaning, for example, as a fashion good or a statement of socioeconomic success. That symbolism extended, however, well beyond the marketing process. As the example of Ontario farmers bears out, the automobile assumed a symbolic importance in rural society; for some it became a symbol of the modern farm and a welcome respite from isolation, while for others it represented the loss of traditional ways and the encroachment of the city. In so doing rural Ontario demonstrated not only how it was possible for society as a whole to differ widely in its perceptions of the automobile, but also that such differences prevailed even within smaller, relatively homogeneous segments of that same society.)

The introduction of the automobile, like the introduction of any new major technology, was accompanied by many unanticipated effects.) (For example, although the automobile's potential for increased mobility was immediately recognized,) the degree to which it would ultimately change established patterns of temporal and spatial reality, patterns based on nineteenth century transportation technology, went unappreciated. (In the process the automobile irreversibly altered a stable established pattern of interaction between the rural and urban environments, in turn necessitating an unprecedented degree of accomodation by rural society. Similarly the presence of the automobile required a greater level of regulation of Ontario's roads than had previously existed.) As registrations climbed the provincial

government was forced to take control, in turn edging out the original ad hoc private regulation which had arisen to meet the new needs. That change in turn had two far reaching but previously unforeseen consequences. The effects of regulation spread beyond the motoring public, so that in some manner virtually all of Ontario society was subjected to the growing minutia of regulatory detail brought about by the automobile's presence. Regulatory necessity acted also as a catalyst for the growth of government bureaucracy, in turn gradually forcing a shift in Ontario from laissez-faire, ad hoc, piecemeal regulation consistent with nineteenth-century practice to the rise of twentieth-century bureaucratic control. The very character of Ontario life was irrevocably altered, for the automobile's presence subjected the private sphere to increased control by the public sphere. That was perhaps the most glaring paradox created by the automobile, for while trading on the increase in personal freedom it provided, it brought with it an unprecedented regulation of Ontario society as a whole. The introduction of the automobile into Ontario demonstrated not only how unpredictable a technology's ultimate effects might be, but also underscored how even essentially private technological forms, such as the automobile, eventually affect the public in ever widening circles.

The assimilation of the automobile into Ontario society represented an ongoing process of acceptance, indifference, or

rejection at a personal level. It was not a process unique to the automobile, but symptomatic of the introduction of new major technologies generally. A modern parallel might be drawn with the personal computer boom which has occurred in the past two decades. Like the automobile, some individuals welcomed the innovation and quickly adopted it for their personal use. Its initially high price and relative rarity created an early elitism of ownership which, however, disappeared as production increased, prices dropped and ownership was brought within the reach of a much wider cross section of society. As was the case with the automobile, some individuals adopted the personal computer outright at a very early stage. Others, paralleled in the situation of the farmers and the automobile, gradually accepted the personal computer as they saw how it could be a benefit to their own lives. And despite demonstratable benefits there are those who will never forsake traditional methods and employ a personal computer, just as there were those for whom the automobile would never play a role in their lives.

The example of Ontario society prior to 1930 underscores how the introduction of the automobile must not be divorced from the wider question of technology generally. The process of technological assimilation was one fraught with complications, personal decisions, non-acceptance and, more importantly, became a process where the automobile's technological capabilities were often a secondary consideration. Technology possesses a

personal, human dimension which must never be ignored, for as the automobile indicates, an innovation's social meaning remains as important as its technological meaning.

APPENDIX 1Passenger vehicle registrations in Ontario, 1904-1930*

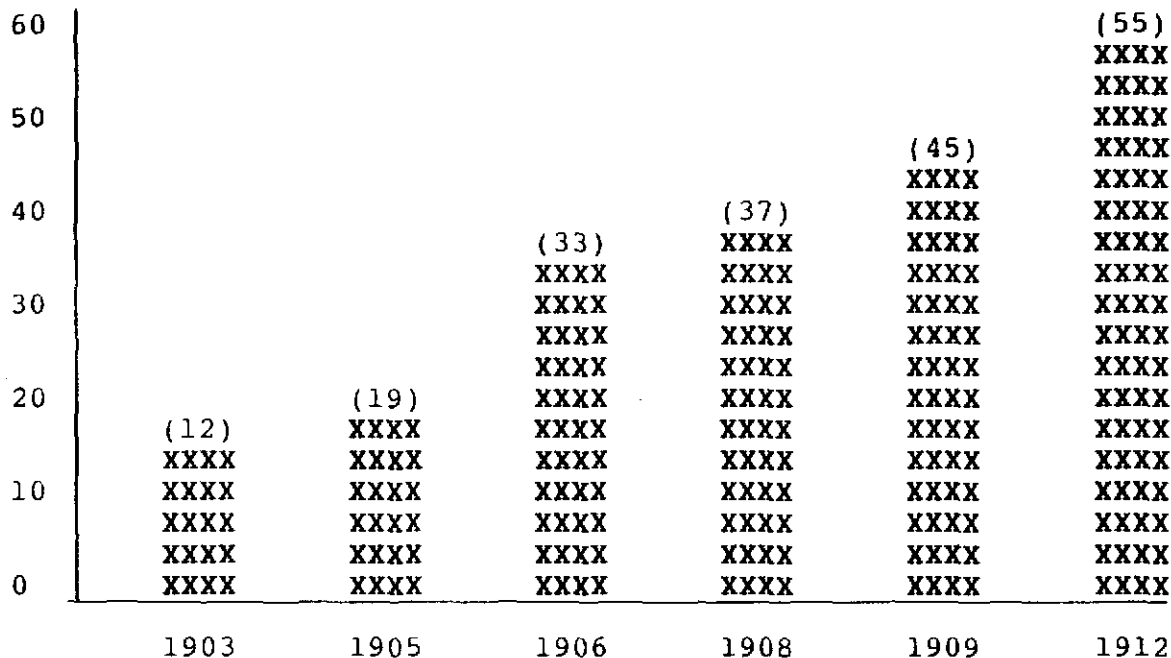
<u>Year</u>	<u>Registrations</u>
1904	535
1905	553
1906	1,176
1907	1,530
1908	1,754
1909	2,452
1910	4,230
1911	11,339
1912	16,268
1913	23,700
1914	31,724
1915	42,346
1916	51,589
1917	78,861
1918	101,845
1919	127,860
1920	155,861
1921	181,978
1922	210,333
1923	245,815
1924	271,341
1925	303,736
1926	343,992
1927	386,903
1928	429,426
1929	473,222
1930	490,906

*These figures also include foreign owned automobiles registered in Ontario, which presents a truer indication of the number of vehicles on Ontario's roads.

Source: Annual Report of the Department of Highways, Report of Motor Vehicle Registrations, 1941 (Ontario Sessional Papers, 1942).

APPENDIX 2

INCREASE IN THE MOTOR VEHICLES ACT - 1903-1912
 (including subsections and clauses)



APPENDIX 3ONTARIO MOTOR LEAGUE MEMBERSHIP, 1907-1930

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>OML MEMBERSHIP</u>	<u>AUTOS REGISTERED IN ONTARIO</u>	<u>OML MEMBERSHIP AS PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL PROVINCIAL OWNERSHIP</u>
1907	264	1,530	17.3
1908	536	1,754	30.6
1909	749	2,452	30.5
1910	1,119	4,230	26.5
1911	1,481	11,339	13.1
1912	2,229	16,268	13.7
1913	3,604	23,700	15.2
1914	4,600	31,724	14.5
1915	5,158	42,346	12.2
1916	5,635	51,589	10.1
1917	5,362	78,861	6.8
1918	6,272	101,845	6.2
1919	6,607	127,860	5.2
1920	11,115	155,861	7.1
1921	20,016	181,918	11.0
1922	23,451	210,333	11.1
1928	25,008	429,426	5.8
1930	27,500	490,906	5.6

APPENDIX 4RURAL AUTOMOBILE OWNERSHIP IN ONTARIO

<u>YEAR</u>	<u># OF AUTOS OWNED BY FARMERS</u>	<u>TOTAL # OF PASSENGER AUTOS</u>	<u>PERCENTAGE OF PROVINCIAL TOTAL</u>
1913	966	17,372	5.6
1916	11,574	50,587	22.9
1917	23,409	78,475	29.9
1918	37,758	101,599	37.2
1919	49,997	127,512	39.2
1920	57,429	155,519	36.9
1921	64,045	181,686	35.3
1922	68,049	210,008	32.4
1926	99,649	343,586	29.0

Source: Ontario Sessional Papers, Annual Report on Highway Improvement in Ontario, 1914, 1918, 1919, 1920, 1921, 1922, 1923, 1927.

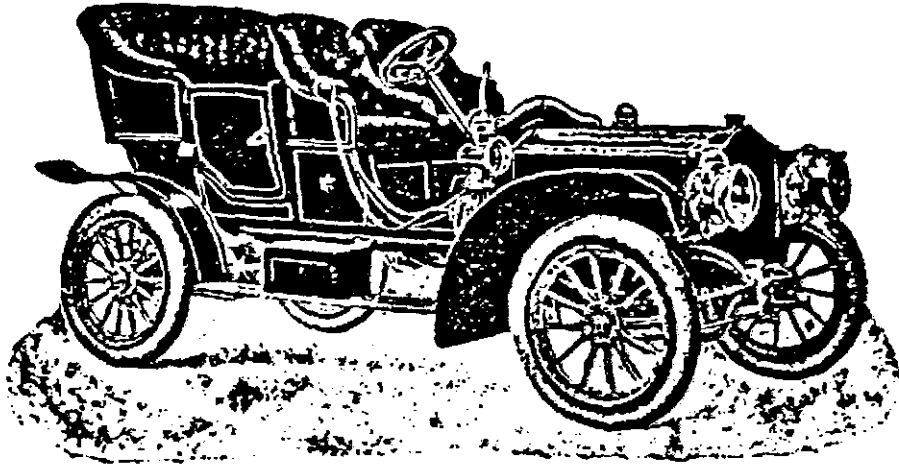
APPENDIX 5PROVINCIAL ROAD EXPENDITURES, 1910 - 1930

<u>YEAR</u>	<u>EXPENDITURE FOR ROADS</u>	<u>% PROVINCIAL EXPENDITURE ON ROADS</u>
1910	\$ 686,191	7.2
1911	749,508	6.8
1912	1,605,848	9.2
1913	1,949,872	14.4
1914	1,789,281	11.7
1915	1,204,871	7.8
1916	1,388,971	8.6
1917	1,361,946	7.3
1918	1,851,702	8.8
1919	4,583,301	16.8
1920	9,917,578	21.2
1921	16,460,630	31.6
1922	21,129,405	30.1
1923	26,353,132	32.2
1924	14,798,744	21.4
1925	17,145,122	25.8
1926	15,709,394	24.1
1927	18,542,075	26.2
1928	21,994,369	29.2
1929	24,963,377	30.5
1930	25,818,113	31.1

Source: I.E. Pattison, Historical Chronology of Highway Legislation in Ontario, 1774 - 1961 (Toronto, 1964).

Figure 1

The Car You See Running



THE RUSSELL

You see more **RUSSELLS** on the streets than any other car

Because:

1. People recognize that they represent the best value in motoring this year and purchase them.
2. After purchase, the owner finds they *keep running* and is out enjoying every available minute.

Get in line with the others—get a **RUSSELL**
and enjoy our glorious open air and sunshine.

Model A—12 H.P. Touring Car	- - -	\$1,300
Model B—16 H.P. Touring Car	- - -	\$1,500
Model C—24 H.P. Touring Car (de luxe)	- - -	\$2,500

WRITE FOR CATALOGUE

Canada Cycle & Motor Co., Limited

General Offices and Works:—TORONTO JUNCTION

Figure 2

PRODUCTS OF TRADITIONAL QUALITY



WITH a Ford Coupe you can get about in crowded streets quickly and easily. Small parking space suffices. It makes shopping and routine errands less fatiguing.

The cushions are deep and comfortable; ventilation is thorough; luggage space more than ample in brief, a car that is as useful as it is stylish.

Ford

THE REAL CANADIAN CAR

FORD MOTOR COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED
FORD, ONTARIO

Figure '3



This Christmas

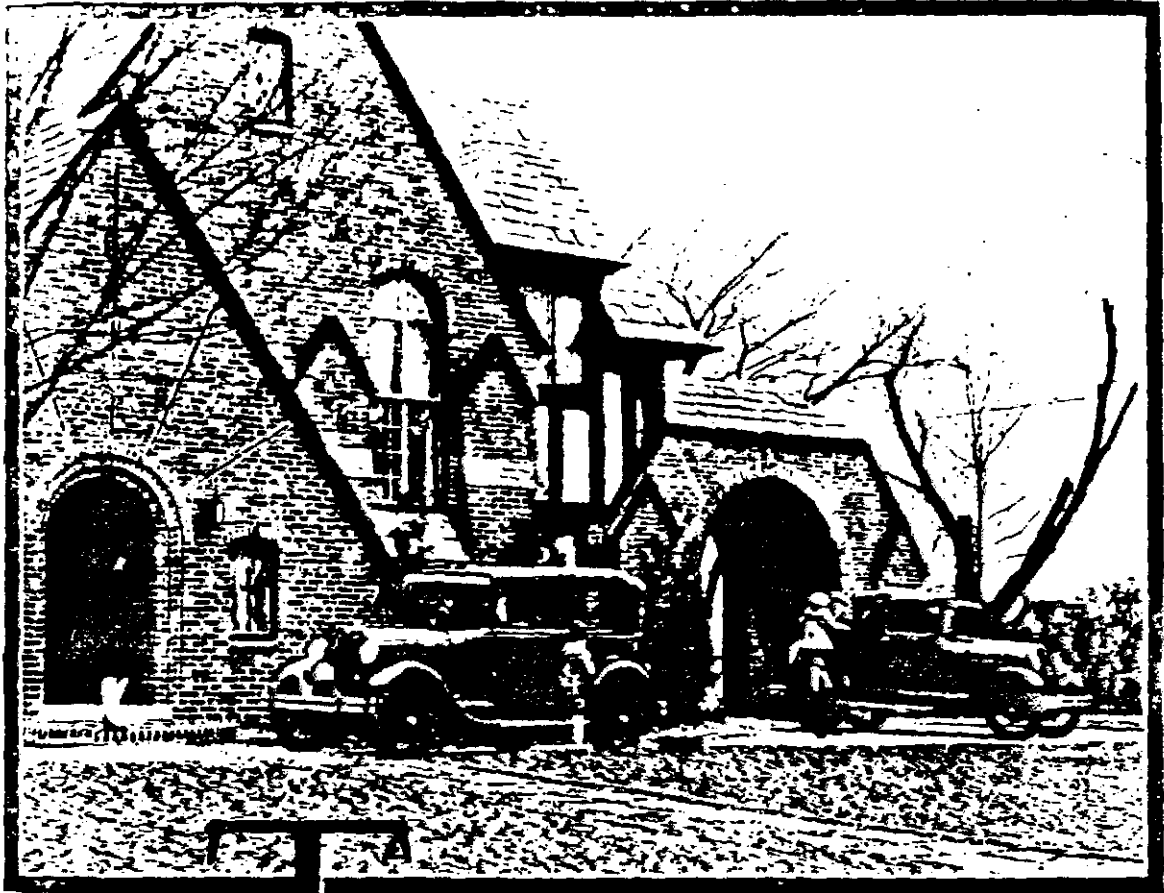
a

Ford

See Your Local Dealer

Easy Terms if You Wish

Figure 4



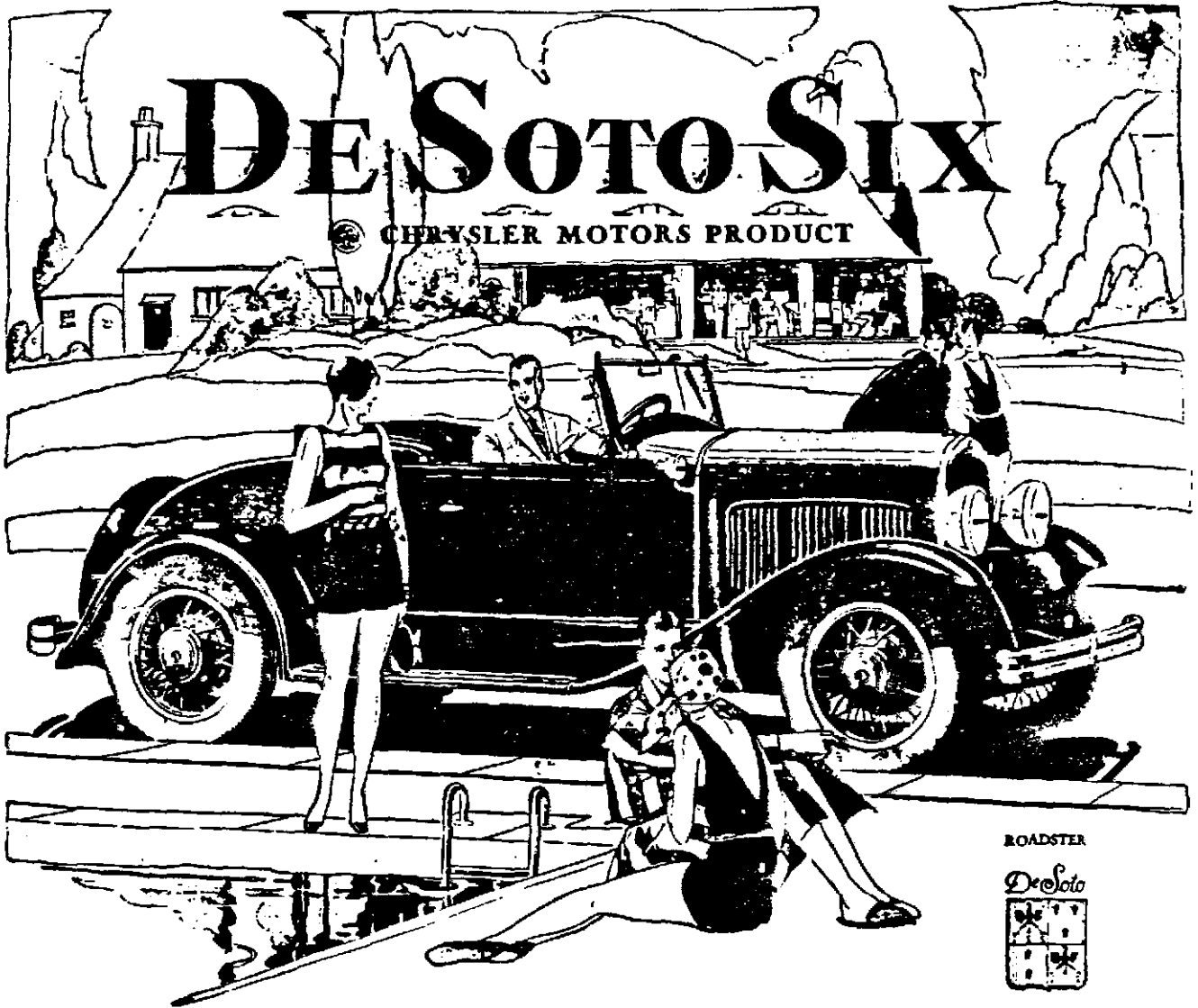
TWO FORD CARS

—Economy and Convenience

THE low initial cost and running expense of the Ford car, together with its smart appearance and enduring performance, has set a new fashion—two-Ford-car ownership. The Coupe is at the disposal of the business man all day, while the Fordor Sedan belongs to the rest of the family. People everywhere are being won over to the advantages of two-Ford-car ownership, both for its economy and unlimited convenience.



FORD MOTOR COMPANY OF CANADA, LIMITED, FORD, ONTARIO



ROADSTER



DASHING IN STYLE FLASHING IN BEHAVIOR

Every line of the De Soto roadster bespeaks its unmatched smartness of appearance, its vigorous and eager performance and an outstanding quality that is extraordinary at its price. Chrysler-built to conform to the highest standards, De Soto offers a smoothness, evenness and vigor of power-flow and an eager acceleration

that make it the alert and speedy epitome of youth. Weatherproof internal-expanding 4-wheel hydraulic brakes provide an added factor of safety to be found on no other six in its class. The De Soto roadster in a demonstration will clearly show the reason why it has broken every sales record for a first year car.

DE SOTO MOTOR CORPORATION OF CANADA, LIMITED
DIVISION OF CHRYSLER CORPORATION OF CANADA, LIMITED
WINDSOR, ONTARIO

Figure 6



Before this family owned a Ford car, a rainy day often meant staying at home—even from school. Now, mother's Ford is always available and she prefers to drive it, confident of the reliable performance, ease of parking and control.

Ford economy is a decided advantage. The car is not

only low in price but it is economical in operation and it requires but little care to keep it in first class running condition. These features have a special appeal to the woman who requires that her car shall render the maximum of useful service at a minimum expenditure of trouble, time or money.

Your nearest Ford dealer will gladly demonstrate any model at your convenience and without charge

— Ford —
CLOSED CARS



By owning a Ford car a woman can with ease widen her sphere of interests without extra time or effort.

Activities that of necessity take her from home may be carried on regardless of bad weather and roads. She can accomplish more daily, yet easily keep pace with her usual schedule of domestic obligations.

Its unique place in the motoring world

makes the Ford car desirable—either alone or to supplement other cars.

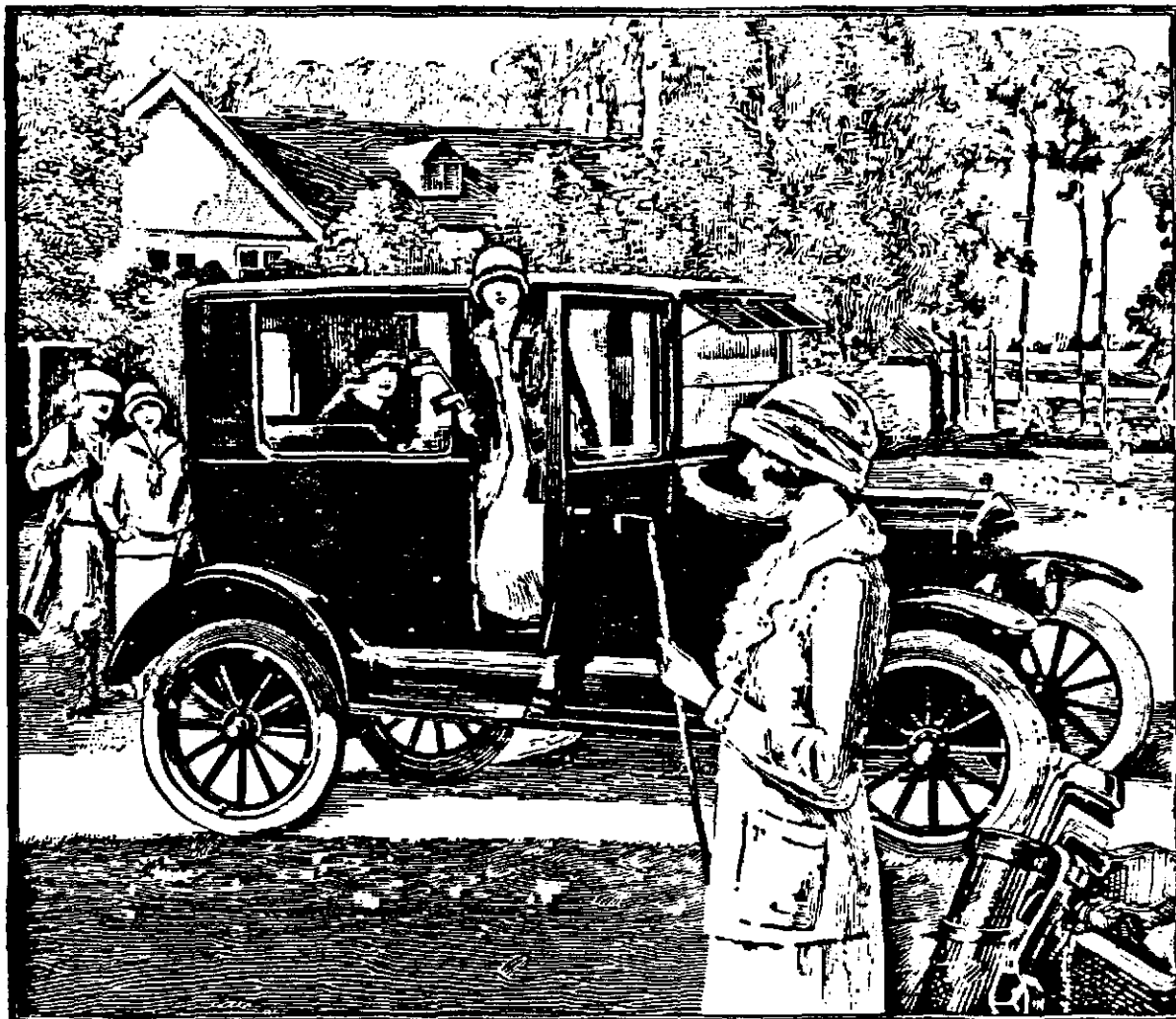
Its performance is so reliable, it is so easy to handle and park, that the woman driver enjoys a confidence most reassuring.

There is appealing beauty in the quiet dignity of body lines. Interior appointments, appropriate for every occasion, are tastefully arranged for comfort and convenience.

Your nearest Ford dealer will gladly demonstrate any model at your convenience and without charge

Ford
CLOSED CARS

Figure 8



Your greatest heritage is your good health—guard it with exercise that is recreation—exercise in the open! A Ford car has been the stimulus to thousands of women to lead happier, healthier, more active lives.

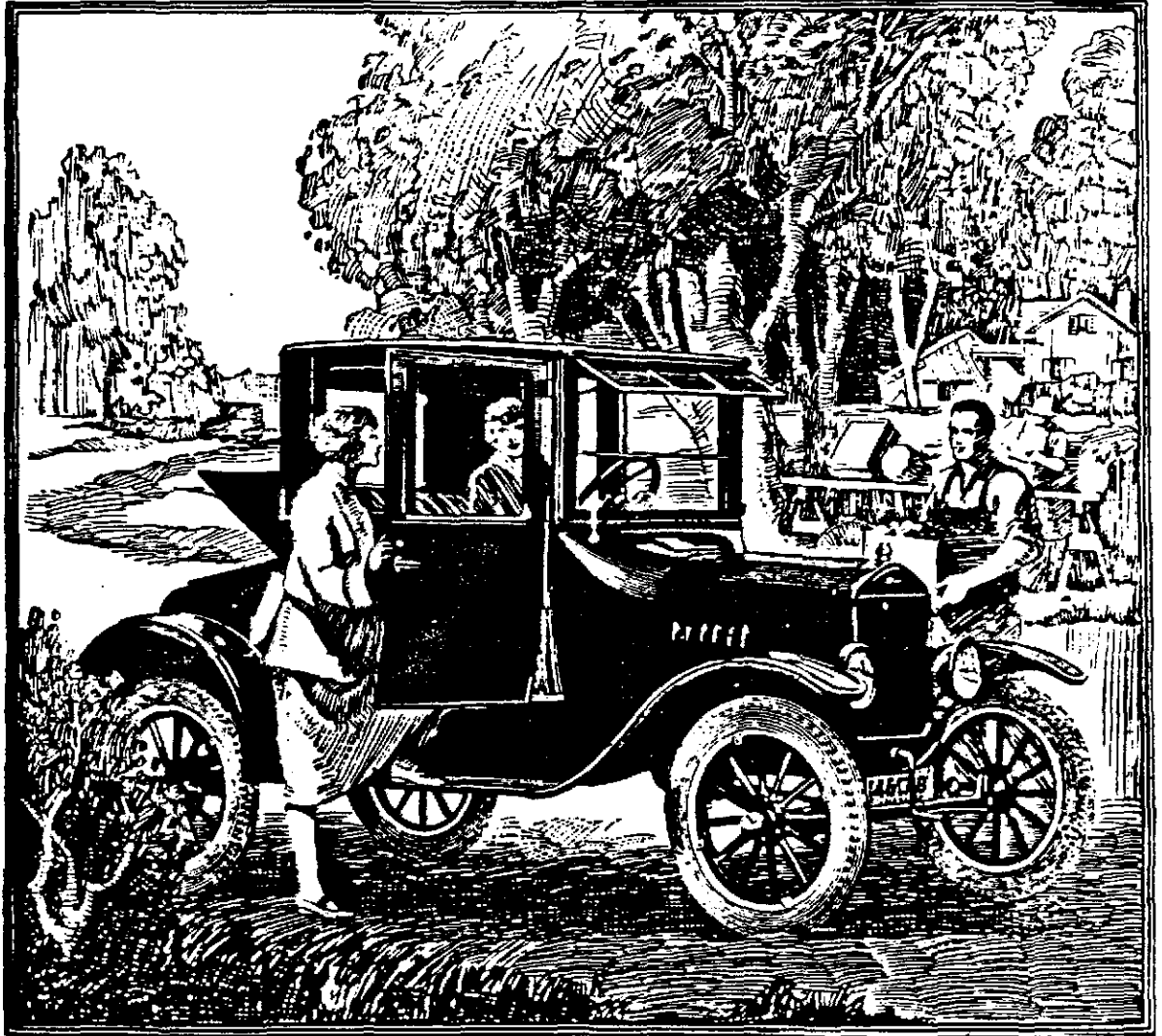
It enables them now to do things

and to go places that had hitherto seemed out of the question. They drive this easily-handled car themselves, with as much confidence and satisfaction as men. And they invariably find it more practical, less of a responsibility, and therefore more desirable than any heavier car.

Your nearest Ford dealer will gladly demonstrate any model at your convenience and without charge


 CLOSED CARS

Figure 9



Every woman who loves Nature—
and what woman does not!—should
enjoy all the "rare days" of this
perfect month in the open air.

With a Ford car at her disposal she
can revel in June air and scene to
her heart's content. Distance is

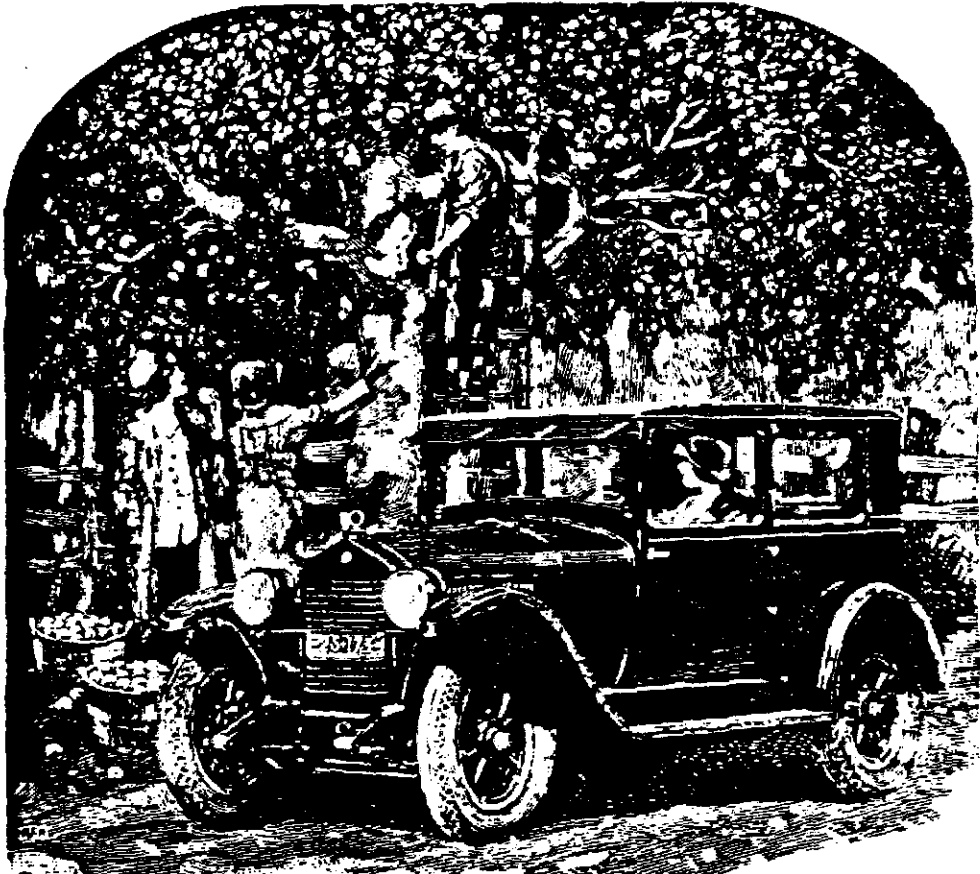
covered and her time and strength
conserved.

For not only is a Ford car pre-emi-
nently dependable and easy for any
woman to handle, but its economy
prevents all worry as to expense—
either of original cost or upkeep.

*Your nearest Ford dealer will gladly demonstrate
any model at your convenience and without charge*

— Ford —
CLOSED CARS

Figure 10



\$1085 New Low Price
 Makes it Greatest
 Value in History

ESSEX COACH

This is the finest Essex ever built. And the price is the lowest for which Essex ever sold. It is made possible only through the largest output of 6-cylinder cars in the world's history.

166,369 Hudson-Essex sales in eight months surpass all former 6-cylinder records by many thou-

sands—the largest increase known in the industry.

This enormous production gives advantages in economical purchase of materials, savings in manufacture and low cost of distribution that are recognized throughout the industry as being exclusive to Hudson-Essex.

HUDSON PRICES	
Coach	\$1635
Brougham	\$2045
Sedan (72")	\$2320
<i>All prices F. O. B. Windsor Taxes extra</i>	

World's Greatest Values
Everyone Says It—Sales Prove It



Now an even greater ESSEX Super-Six

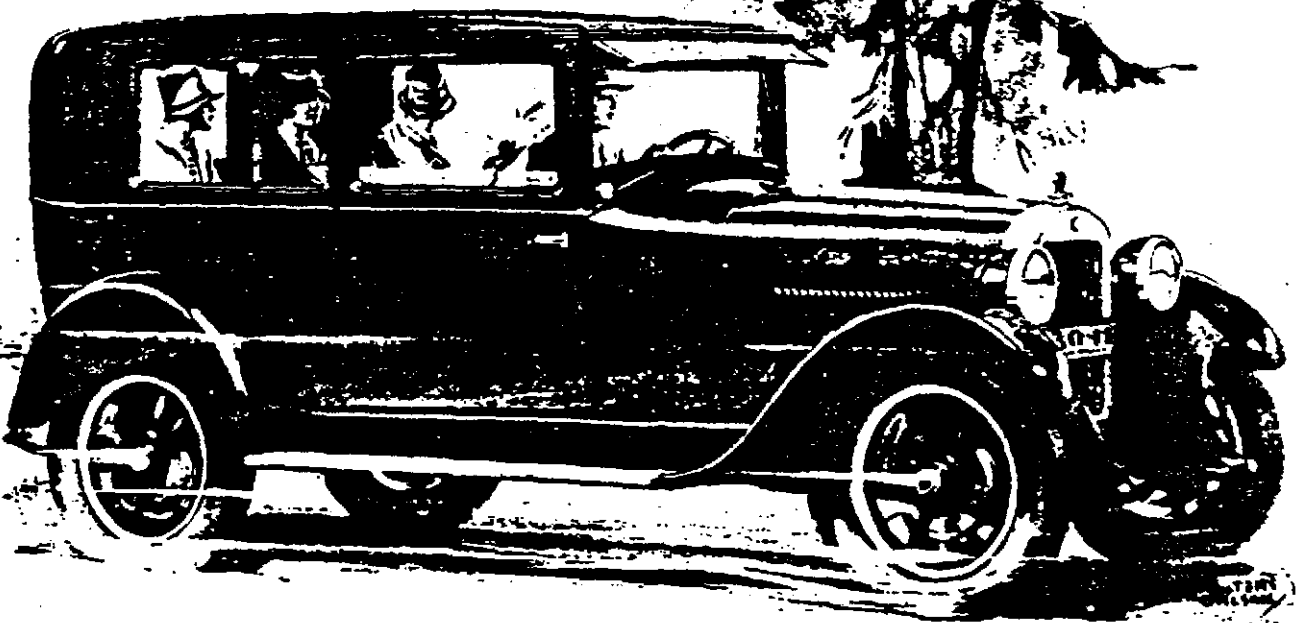
Here is an unprecedented thing to do.

Essex Super-Six is the outstanding success of the year. Its sales have topped all records. Its popularity with thousands and tens of thousands of owners has made it the most brilliant accomplishment the industry has known.

But Essex engineers have now created an even greater and finer Essex Super-Six. So startling are its advantages that at the height of the selling season, with the market stripped of Essex cars and thousands of unfilled orders on hand, we interrupted production to give buyers a greater and finer value.

Dealers are now showing the finest Essex value of all time. Though factory production is the largest in our history and has recently been greatly increased, your promptness in ordering alone can insure delivery ahead of the multiplying thousands who want this new Essex.

Riding is
like flying



DODGE BROTHERS

SIXES AND EIGHTS

UPHOLDING EVERY TRADITION OF DODGE DEPENDABILITY

The Dodge Eight-in-Line is a thoroughbred in performance; a thoroughbred in appearance and in stamina—as well as in that combination of intangible qualities called “personality.” • • Its handsome lines and fine appointments win your admiration at first glance. Its smooth, powerful performance wins your enthusiasm. Its unfailing dependability wins your respect. • • Furthermore, it is a safe car; with the double insurance of a Mono-Piece Steel Body—silent, strong, roomy and comfortable—and weatherproof internal 4-wheel hydraulic brakes.

We invite you to see this car at the nearest dealer's showroom, and to drive it. The prices are \$1400 and up, f. o. b. factory.

DODGE BROTHERS (CANADA) LIMITED, WINDSOR, ONTARIO

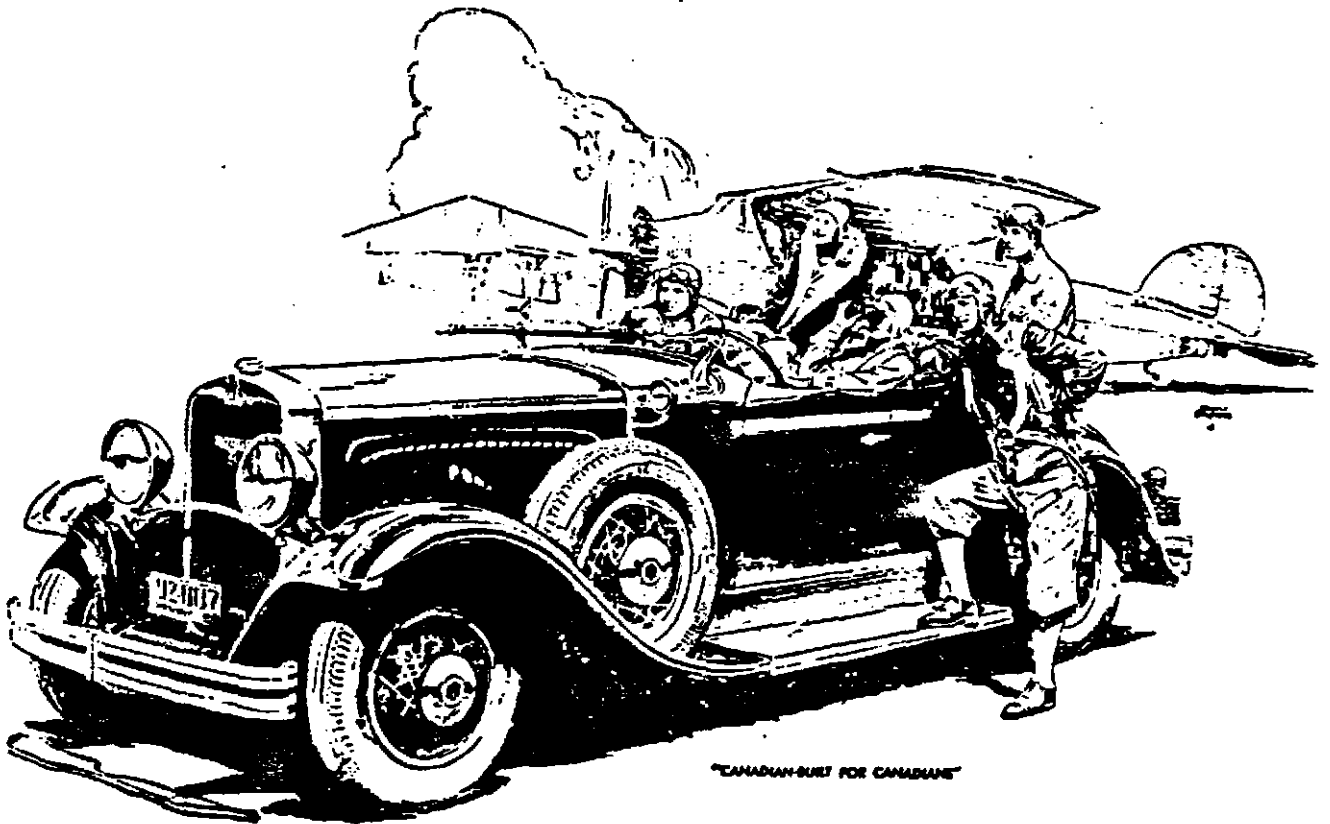
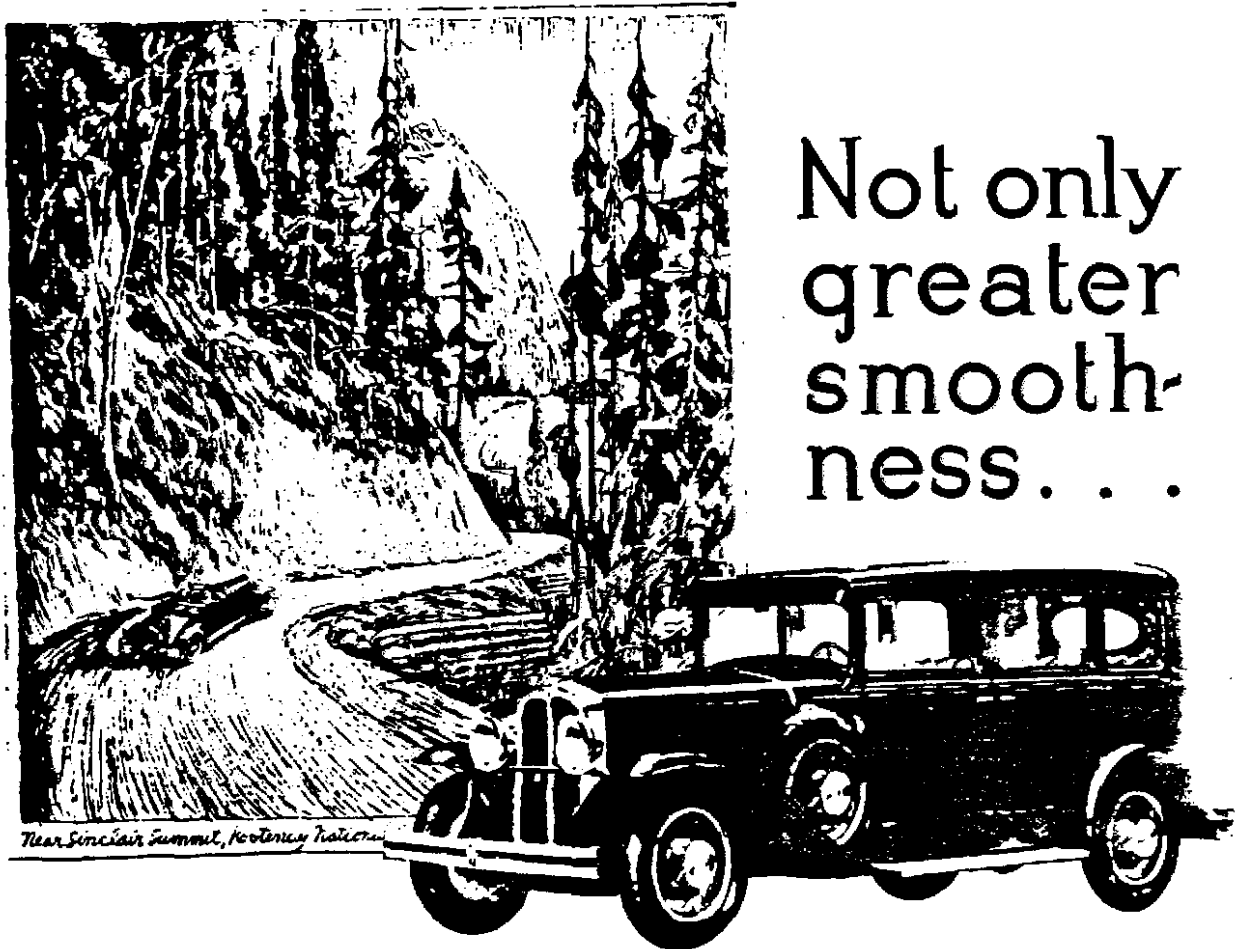


Figure 13



Not only
greater
smooth-
ness...

TRUE, the Pontiac Big Six offers greater smoothness . . . due to the fact that the 60-horsepower engine now rests on rubber-cushioned four-point engine mountings . . . But this is only one of many developments which make the Pontiac Big Six a finer car than ever. All the changes made in Pontiac are further refinements of qualities which are already outstanding. For the fundamental excellence of Pontiac design continues to receive whole-hearted public acceptance. In its essentials this design remains unchanged.

The developments in the Pontiac Big Six are all the more noteworthy, therefore, because they definitely add to its high Big Six value . . . the value which has long made Pontiac famous for big car standards of performance and beauty.

The Pontiac Big Six is safer by reason of its big, internal, weatherproof brakes and the sloping windshield which lessens the glare of headlights at night. It is easier to handle as a result of a steering mechanism acting on roller bearings. It is more comfortable because of the roominess of its big car interior and because of such features as the four Lovejoy hydraulic shock absorbers. And it is made even smarter by the bodies by Fisher, finished in attractive new color harmonies.

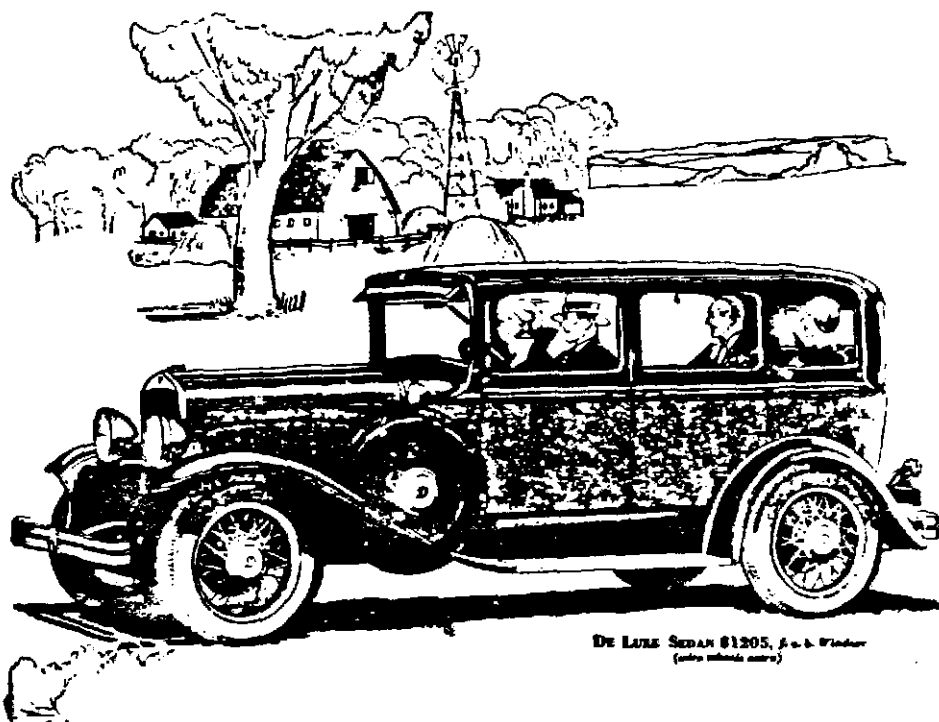
Renowned for its long life and economy of operation . . . there is much more to learn about the extraordinary value of the Pontiac Big Six. Ask the nearest Pontiac dealer for a demonstration. Inspect the car in detail. The G.M.A.C., General Motors' own Deferred Payment Plan is always at your service.



PONTIAC **BIG
SIX**

IT'S BETTER BECAUSE IT'S CANADIAN

Figure 14



DE LUXE SEDAN \$1205, f. o. b. Windsor
(extra wheels extra)

The Blue Ribbon Car of the Low-Priced Sixes

DE SOTO Six has broken all sales records for any first-year car.

The motoring public has accepted it as the highest value per motor dollar among the low-priced sixes.

It is acknowledged to be all that a car at so moderate a cost can be, stylish, fast, powerful, dependable,

mechanically sound, unusually safe—with hydraulic four-wheel weatherproof brakes.

An amazingly easy car to ride in—a brilliant performer—De Soto Six is a thrifty car to maintain.

This is the motor world's opinion and you will share it once you see and drive the De Soto Six yourself.

Touring, \$1075; Roadster, \$1075; 2-Door Sedan, \$1075; Business Coupe, \$1075; 4-Door Sedan, \$1120; De Luxe Coupe (with rumble seat), \$1120; 4-Door Sedan De Luxe, \$1205. Wire wheels extra. / 1 prices f. o. b. Windsor, Ontario, including standard factory equipment (freight and taxes extra).

DE SOTO CORPORATION OF CANADA, LIMITED
Division of Chrysler Corporation of Canada, Limited
WINDSOR, ONTARIO

DE SOTO SIX



CHRYSLER MOTORS PRODUCT

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4. Macleans February 15, 1929.
5. Macleans July 15, 1929.
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