Spread and Growth of Newspapers in Ontario, 1781-1977

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SPREAD AND GROWTH OF NEWSPAPERS IN
ONTARIO; 1781 - 1977

BY

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B. E. S. University of Waterloo, 1975

THESIS

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree

Wilfrid Laurier University

1977
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Since Louis Roy started Ontario's first newspaper in 1793, the newspaper industry has been growing. Daily and weekly newspapers were born and either survived to the present or died at some later date. Newspapers appeared to have followed the spread of settlement throughout the province, until a saturation level was reached. After this only minor filling in occurred except in the Toronto to Hamilton region where suburban weeklies were stated. The threshold population needed to support the birth of a daily or weekly appeared to fall within the 1200-2000 range and 500-1000 range respectively. The growth of newspapers was steady until the turn of the twentieth century when a decline occurred. This decline was followed by a second rise, with the birth of suburban weekly newspapers. Newspaper Chains appeared to be the force behind this second rise and the birth of the suburban weeklies.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Over the two year period, when this thesis was being researched and written, many individuals gave me guidance, information, and assistance. The list of names of all those who were involved would be too lengthy for me to accommodate them all. There were a few individuals, however, which I would like to mention.

To Dr. R. M. Muncaster I wish to express my appreciation and thanks for guiding my thoughts in the formalization of the research topic and the development of the final product. To Miss Pam Coutts, the Cartographic Technician at Wilfrid Laurier, I express my deepest thanks for her patience and technical help with my cartographic work. I also wish to thank Dr. R. E. Preston, of the University of Waterloo, for his guidance, friendship, and for taking time from his duties to be on my thesis committee. Many thanks to all the librarians, editors, publishers, and persons involved with the newspaper industry, for the data they gave me and the time they spent in assisting my research.

Lastly, I thank Bets for her understanding and love.
CHAPTER I

A. INTRODUCTION AND PURPOSE:

The purpose of this thesis is to examine the origin and growth, as well as the spread, of newspapers in the province of Ontario. Basically, there are three research questions to be resolved, namely, "How have newspapers spread historically in the province of Ontario?" "Was there a difference between the spread of weekly and daily newspapers?" "What has been the rate of growth of newspapers in Ontario?".

This thesis has been divided into five separate chapters. Each chapter deals with a different aspect of newspapers in Ontario.

Chapter One deals with the research purpose, and introduction, as well as a description of the study area and a definition of what will be considered a newspaper for this thesis. Chapter Two reviews the pertinent literature. Chapter Three introduces the procedure followed in the collection of data. Chapter Three also suggests two hypotheses which are tested in the analysis section. Chapter Four is the analysis chapter. Lastly, Chapter Five summarizes, suggests conclusions, and it also suggests some questions which could be resolved with future research.
This chapter gives a definition of what was considered a newspaper for the purpose of this study. This is discussed in the following section.

B. NEWSPAPERS - WEEKLY AND DAILY:

The word "Newspaper" is not an easy word to define. What actually constitutes a newspaper? Certainly, today in Ontario, there are a number of forms of printed material that may be defined as being a newspaper.

Malcolm Willey explains that there are basically six functions which characterize newspapers. These are:

"1. The News Function: bringing to the reader a fresh account of contemporary happenings; the dissemination of information concerning timely events.
"2. Editorial Function: commenting upon events and happenings, and the fashioning of opinion with respect to the contemporary world.
"3. Background Function: providing of supplementary or enriching information in terms of which the news events may be understood better.
"4. Entertainment Function: providing of miscellaneous materials in a wide variety of forms, designed for the diverson and entertainment of the readers.
"5. Advertising Function: serving as a sales medium.
"6. Encyclopedia Function: providing miscellaneous non-news materials for the general instruction or information of readers". 1

The list of newspapers in Appendix A appears to approximate these functions specified in Willey's definition.

In this thesis a newspaper was considered as any paper which seemed to comply with Willey's six functions,
and which was produced for the general public. This then excluded in house (club) newsletters, advertising fliers, and university/college newspapers which were not published for the general public.

Also, for the purpose of this thesis the distinction between daily and weekly newspapers was in the number of days a week they were published. Any newspaper published five or more times a week was considered a daily. Therefore, any newspaper published once a week, bi-weekly, or tri-weekly, was considered a weekly.

It should also be pointed out that this research dealt only with English language newspapers. There are three reasons why foreign language newspapers were not considered. First, in the province of Ontario the dominant language spoken is English. Second, it is felt that foreign language newspapers serve a different purpose. This is pointed out by H. K. Kalbfleisch when he states that:

"The German newspapers were essentially local weekly papers in every sense of the word. They printed and interpreted what was transpiring in the outside world and domestically to their clientele, without making any serious attempt to shape the course of events, except at times on a purely local level". 2

Lastly, foreign language newspapers have not been examined because they are not published for the general public.

C. STUDY AREA:

The study area chosen for this research topic was the
province of Ontario. There are four reasons why Ontario was selected as the study area. One, because Ontario has the largest number of newspapers, as can be seen by examination of Table 1. Two, Ontario's newspapers have a long history which allows for a detailed study. Three, there has been some previous research done on the newspapers of Ontario which allows for some comparisons and up-dating of these works to take place. Four, the author has also done previous research work on the weekly newspapers of Ontario, so some firsthand knowledge will be expressed on that topic in this thesis.

For convenience Metropolitan Toronto has been partially excluded from this study. Within Metropolitan Toronto there are seventy-five newspapers, as listed by the Canadian Advertising Rates And Data (C. A. R. D. - June 1975). Historical data for many of these publications are hard to retrieve and the accuracy of such data is questionable, as it must come from the publishers themselves. It would require a separate study to cover the topic of the historical character of newspapers in Metropolitan Toronto. Note however, that because the city of Toronto played such an important role in the development of the province, that a few newspapers published in and around Toronto have been included. These newspapers were included as representative samples and because the historical data for them are readily available.
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<td>86</td>
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<td>255</td>
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<td>178</td>
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<td>SASKATCHEWAN</td>
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<td>4</td>
<td>144</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>YUKON</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>NORTH WEST TERRITORIES</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


NOTE: N. W. Ayer And Sons Directory is not a complete listing of all the newspapers published in Ontario. The list produced by the author for the purpose of this thesis is an improvement on the Ayer Directory list.

* - WEEKLY
** - DAILY
Newspapers are a phenomenon which, to the general public, may mean little or a lot. To politicians and governments, newspapers may mean their re-election or their downfall. For merchants and advertisers they are a form of communication which reaches into millions of homes. To those who read them, newspapers are a source of enlightenment as well as entertainment. Few however, have done research into the historic development of newspapers, or into the geographic character of newspapers. Chapter Two gives a review of pertinent literature dealing with the research which has been carried out on newspapers.
REFERENCES


CHAPTER II

REVIEW OF LITERATURE:

Long before the Canadas, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia joined in a federation (1867), newspapers were a growing industry. It all began in 1751, when the son of the United State's first newspaper printer, moved to Halifax. Bartholomew Green Jr. brought with him Canada's first press, and his first publication, the "Halifax Gazette", was printed on March 23, 1752.¹

Researchers have for many years been interested in the newspaper with regards to its market. The sociologist Robert E. Park, carried out some early work on this subject. Park states that:

"It is interesting, therefore, to find that the circulations of the newspapers, when they are plotted on a map, serve to delimit, with exceptional accuracy the limits of the local trade area, and to measure at the same time the extent and degrees of dependence of the suburbs upon the metropolis, and of the metropolis upon the large region which it dominates". ²

A few years later Park and Newcomb went beyond the examination of just one newspaper market, by studying the complexities of several markets. They found that the size of a town or city in which a newspaper was published, and the proximity to other competing places with newspapers, determined the trade area in which that newspaper circulates. Their study involved an examination of the Boston to
Baltimore region of the United States.³

Two noted geographers who used newspaper circulation data to delimit service area boundaries are, Chauncy D. Harris and Edward L. Ullman. Harris used circulation data to calculate and map the trade area of Salt Lake City. To do this Harris produced a map showing the percentage of families which received the Salt Lake City newspaper for each county.⁴

Ullman's work took place in Mobile, Alabama. Where Harris had used only one boundary line to delimit a trade area, Ullman's work used isopleths of descending value. By this method Ullman could delimit a 50 per cent boundary line where circulation was either dominant or not.⁵

Many other researchers have used newspaper circulation data as a means of measuring market trade areas. William J. Reilly developed his "Law of Retail Gravitation" with the aid of newspapers.⁶ Robert E. Dickinson compared metropolitan trade areas in the United States using newspapers as one of his indicators of trade areas.⁷ Howard L. Green employed Dickinson's method of analysis. Green used a much smaller study area, his purpose was to study "Hinterlands".⁸

Richard E. Preston used daily newspaper circulation data to delimit the areas of dominance of newspaper places.⁹ He found that there was a high correlation between the
"Centrality" factor of a central place, and the dominance factor which the local daily newspaper exerted over the complimentary area of the central place.  

As a result of Preston's work John M. Bolton researched weekly newspapers in a region of southern Ontario, to see if they showed the same high correlation with centrality. Bolton found that in fact there was a low correlation between weekly dominance and central place centrality. It was concluded that this relationship was due to the "local" character of the weekly newspaper.

It was felt that an examination of the historic development of newspapers in a geographic spatial context was needed. This would aid in a better understanding of the role and character of the newspaper in a central place system. Research could then trace the pattern of changing spheres of influence originating from newspaper places. This information would aid geographers in delimiting the market areas of towns in past time periods. By doing this a city's growth could be charted through time.

The literature on the history of the Canadian newspaper is very scarce, and dated. Also much of what has been written deals with case studies of the history of newspaper activity in one town.

In 1852 W. H. Smith wrote that:

"In the year 1810 there were five newspapers in Canada, all of which were published in the Lower Province."
These were the 'Gazette', (the first paper started), the 'Mercury', and 'Le Canadien', published in Quebec, and the 'Gazette' and the 'Courant' published in Montreal.  

This above information is wrong. Smith had erred to enter Upper Canada (Ontario) into his calculations. By 1810 Upper Canada had a daily newspaper in Kingston (Kingston Whig-Standard) and a number of weeklies existed in both Kingston and Niagara.  

In 1914 Janet Carnochan wrote the History of Niagara. In this work Carnochan listed twenty-five newspapers that were published in the Niagara Peninsula. Carnochan also listed the publisher's name and the cost per year of a subscription for each newspaper.  

G. M. Craig wrote about some of the early newspapers in Upper Canada. Craig discussed the political roles held by some of the early weeklies, Mackenzie's "Colonial Advocate" for instance.  

All of these works deal with partial attempts at covering the history, or at compiling a list of the newspapers printed in Ontario. Two other lists were produced at the turn of the twentieth century and gave a fairly accurate report of what was being published at that period.  

In 1934 M. M. Willey and W. Weinfeld examined the trends in the number and distribution of weekly newspapers between 1900 and 1930 in the United States. In this paper
Willey and Weinfeld concluded that there is a marked decline in the number of weekly newspapers published in the United States during that time.\textsuperscript{18} Data for the Ontario case, tends to corroborate this.

It is hoped that this thesis will fill a gap in the knowledge of newspapers. Some historical knowledge is known about newspapers, and geographers as well as other researchers have some knowledge about the spatial character, i.e., the circulation trade area, of newspapers. This paper will hopefully be a link between these and will lay the foundation for future research.

The next chapter deals with the collection of the data base. Chapter Three also suggests some hypotheses the resolution of which will be dealt with in Chapter Four.
REFERENCES


5. Edward L. Ullman, Mobile: Industrial Seaport And Trade Center, (Department of Geography, University of Chicago, 1943).


12. For examples of such case studies see J. Owen Herity,


CHAPTER III

INTRODUCTION:

The purpose of this chapter is to outline, step by step, the procedure followed in the collection of the data. Some of these steps occurred simultaneously but can be treated separately for clarity. Also, the organization of the data for the purpose of analysis will be explained.

Following the introduction there are four sections, these are, (a) List of Newspapers: Weekly and Daily, (b) Temporal Maps, (c) Rate of Growth of Newspapers: Weekly and Daily, and (d) Newspaper Chains. Each of these sections has been designed to explain its own relevance to the research topic.

A. LIST OF NEWSPAPERS: WEEKLY AND DAILY:

Before any analysis of the history of newspapers in Ontario could be undertaken, a list of all the newspapers published had to be compiled. To accomplish this many sources had to be researched and cross-checked. For a list of the sources used in the production of this list, see Appendix B. These sources allowed for the compiling of a comprehensive list of newspapers.

From an examination of recorded lists of newspapers it appears that newspapers were registered on a yearly basis.
It was found that in some cases a newspaper was listed in one year and not the next. Appendix C lists examples of newspapers which lasted for a few months or for only one issue. For the purpose of this study, only those newspapers which lasted for longer than one year, and were recorded in at least two separate years, are included in the compiled list of newspapers.

Besides compiling a list of names of newspapers, it was also necessary to record the dates of the birth and the dates of any deaths of those newspapers. This information aided in accurately pinpointing the location in history of particular newspapers.

It was common for newspapers to change their names or amalgamate with other newspapers. In some cases one source would list a newspaper, while all the other sources would not list that particular newspaper. It was also common for sources to differ on the dates of birth and death for newspapers.

In the case of amalgamations, the newspapers and their survival dates were simply summed. In most cases the newspaper names were joined to form one. This procedure was followed for all those newspapers which were active for a short length of time before amalgamation. In all other cases the newspapers were listed as separate cases.

The list of newspapers used in this thesis is a
composite of all the sources of data found. It is therefore the best list to date, (see Appendix D for compiled list of newspapers arranged in chronological order). Once the list of newspapers with dates was complete, the data were plotted on maps. These maps were constructed in a temporal fashion to aid in a discussion of the spread of newspapers across the province.

B. TEMPORAL MAPS:
To display and analyze the historical spread of newspapers, temporal maps showing consecutive twenty-year time periods from 1781 to the present, were produced. These maps were constructed on a time period basis purely for the ease of handling the data.

On these maps, the names of those places which produced newspapers, in Ontario, are marked. Also, the birth dates of those newspapers surviving to the present, plus the birth and death dates of other newspapers are listed. Analysis of these maps is discussed in chapter Four.

Taken from the compiled list of newspaper names and dates was information needed to examine the question of the rate of newspaper growth in Ontario. This material is explained in section C.

C. RATE OF GROWTH OF NEWSPAPERS - WEEKLY AND DAILY:
This section outlines the procedure followed in the
graphing of the information found on the compiled list of newspapers. Two hypotheses will be listed which relate to the graphs. The analysis of these hypotheses will come in Chapter Four of this thesis.

The first hypothesis states that, "The number of newspapers active at the end of each time period will increase directly over time". The reasoning behind this hypothesis is that, as population in Ontario increases, the sociocultural need for newspapers will also increase. To test this hypothesis a graph was produced which lists both the number of newspapers active at the end of each period, plus the percentage rate of growth from one period to the next.

The second hypothesis states that, "The number of new newspapers being born per period will increase directly over time". As new regions are opened for settlement, and new central places are developed, there should be an increase in the number of new newspapers being born. Also, as existing urban centers get larger they should start more new newspapers. To test this hypothesis a graph was produced which lists the number of new weekly and daily births for each period.

Newspaper chains were examined to aid in the discussion of the growth of new newspapers. These chains are discussed in the next section.
D. NEWSPAPER CHAINS:

From information on the Ontario Weekly Newspaper Association (O. W. N. A.) membership list a map was produced indicating the activity of newspaper chains in Ontario. Here a newspaper chain is recognized as those newspapers that are controlled, owned, or sponsored by one person or company.

This chapter has discussed the data base, its structure, relevance and usage. In the next chapter an analysis of that data can be found.
CHAPTER IV

INTRODUCTION:

In this chapter the findings are analyzed. This is done in three separate sections, these being, (a) Temporal Maps, (b) Rate of Growth of Newspapers - Weekly and Daily, and (c) Newspaper Chains.

The first section deals with an examination of the maps produced from the compiled list of newspapers. These maps show the spread of newspapers across the province. It will be shown that these newspapers spread as settlement spread throughout Ontario.

The second section examines the growth rates of weeklies and dailies in each time period and on an overall basis. This is done with the aid of two graphs, which chart the activity of Ontario's newspapers through time.

The third and final section introduces some information concerning weekly newspaper chains. With the aid of a map, seven newspaper chains have been plotted, and they tend to show regional characteristics.

A. TEMPORAL MAPS:

This section has been broken into ten subsections each dealing with one particular twenty year time period. Each time period is represented by two maps. These maps
follow consecutive twenty year time periods from 1781 to the present.

On these maps the birth dates of surviving weeklies and dailies are marked. Also, the birth and death dates of other newspapers are marked. These maps do not show the cumulative development of surviving newspapers, due to the complexity of some regions, and because it was cartographically impracticable to undertake such an endeavor.

1781-1800:

Map 1 shows that in the first time period, 1781-1800, there were only two newspapers being printed. The one town which published these papers was that of Newark (Niagara-on-the-Lake). During this time period the only other place in Ontario of equal importance was that of Kingston. Niagara, however, was the capital of Upper Canada, a military garrison, and it was situated on a main fur trade transportation route, along the Great Lakes to Montreal. Newark in 1792 had a population of 500 persons and by 1794 a population of 750 people, the bulk of which had been members of the original Queen's Rangers, Governor Simcoe's old regiment.¹

Governor John Graves Simcoe appointed Louis Roy, of Quebec, as the King's Printer in 1792.² It was not
EXPLANATION OF MAP LEGEND

**TITLES: NEWSPAPER TOWNS IN ONTARIO** - The title indicates that each map shows the towns, in each time period, which are sites of new newspaper births.

**NEWSPAPER DEATHS** - The title indicates that each map shows the towns, in each time period, which are sites of newspaper deaths.

**SURVIVING WEEKLY:** This means that a weekly newspaper was born, as indicated by a single birth date, and has continued its operation to the present time.

**SURVIVING DAILY:** This means that a daily newspaper was born, as indicated by a single birth date, and has continued its operation to the present time.

**ACTIVE NEWSPAPER:** The newspapers which have been marked as active newspapers were born, and then died. Some of these newspapers lasted for many years before death. Therefore these newspapers are listed on one or more maps depending on their length of survival.
until April 18, 1793 that the first issue of the Upper Canada Gazette, or American Oricale, was printed in Niagara. This was the first newspaper to be printed in Upper Canada.

Louis Roy and the Upper Canada Gazette were partially subsidized by Governor Simcoe.\(^3\) This revenue helped the paper to survive, however, the Gazette only lasted for five years (1793-1798).

Of the other newspaper, i.e., The Constellation, little is known. It started printing in June 1799 and lasted for at least one year. Map 2 shows both these newspaper deaths.

Little can be said regarding the spread of newspapers during this first period. Niagara at this point in the history of Upper Canada, was an important settlement; however, the Gazette was started by the government and not on private initiative. The Constellation began after the death of the Gazette, and possibly was started to replace the Gazette; however, this is speculation.

To aid in the discussion of newspaper development in Ontario population statistics were found for each place listed in the compiled list of newspapers. A population figure was found for each town at the time of each newspaper birth. The newspapers were then ranked by population, (see Appendix E).
The purpose of this ranking of the newspapers by population was to reveal the possible "Threshold" of both a daily and weekly newspaper. The term threshold refers here to the minimum number of people needed to support the activity of a newspaper.

Population figures alone do not give an accurate measure of threshold for any economic activity. Therefore while a daily and weekly threshold town and population will be identified in each time period, a range of population will be suggested to compare time periods.

Niagara had a population of 600 people when the Upper Canada Gazette was born in 1793. This represents the first measure of a threshold for weekly newspapers in Ontario.

The next time period, that of 1801-1820, shows the beginning of newspaper diffusion in Ontario. It will be seen that newspapers spread as settlement spread throughout the province.

**1801-1820:**

During this time period Niagara and Kingston were the only places which offered a newspaper, (see Map 3). Both these centers were military posts and service centers. Niagara was no longer the capital, and Kingston was the entre pôt of Upper Canada.
NEWSPAPER TOWNS IN ONTARIO 1801-1820

LEGEND
- SURVIVING DAILY BORN
- SURVIVING WEEKLY BORN
• ACTIVE NEWSPAPER (S)

For explanation of legend see page 23.
Kingston developed the first daily newspaper, i.e., Kingston Whig-Standard, in 1810. This is the oldest surviving newspaper in Ontario.

Kingston also produced two weekly newspapers during this period. One of these died after eight years and the other died in the next time period after fourteen years, (see Maps 4 and 7).

Niagara saw the birth of four weekly newspapers during this period. Three of these newspapers died in this period and the fourth survived twenty years and died in the next period. The competition amongst these newspapers must have been very strong, as three newspapers lasted only one year each, (see Maps 4 and 7).

York (Toronto) became the new capital of Upper Canada early in this period. York was not situated on the main trade route i.e., Niagara River to Montreal, so it was not yet a competitor with either Niagara or Kingston.

During this 1801-1820 period Kingston produced the first daily newspaper. In 1810 Kingston had a population of 1581. This figure represents the first threshold for a daily.

Again as in the previous period Niagara was the threshold town for a weekly. In 1810 Niagara had a population of 1027. This threshold is considerably larger
NEWSPAPER DEATHS IN ONTARIO
1801–1820

Legend
▼ Newspaper Death(s)

MAP 4

SCALE
0 30 MILES

LAKE HURON
GEORGIAN BAY
LAKE ONTARIO
LAKE ERIE

Niagara 1801–1802
1809–1810
1812–1813
1810–1818
Kingston
than the 600 people of the previous period. In both cases, however, the newspapers did not survive long. Possibly much of the population was either too young to read, or illiterate, therefore leaving too few to actually support a newspaper.

Both Niagara and Kingston are located in areas that were settled by British Loyalists after the American Revolutionary War (1775-1783), (see Map 5). From here settlement and newspapers spread across the southern portion of the province, as is shown in the next time period.

1821-1840:

In this time period southern Ontario was spanned from Sandwich in the west to Brockville and Ottawa in the east, (see Map 6). Thirty-one weekly newspapers and two dailies were born during this period.

Of these thirty-three newspapers only one daily (Brockville Recorder-Times) and three weeklies (Cobourg Sentinel-Star, Perth Courier, and Picton Gazette) survived to the present. All of these newspapers were found in the eastern portion of southern Ontario. Three of which, (Brockville, Picton and Cobourg) were in regions of Loyalist settlement. Perth was settled in the early 1820's by Scots and Irish immigrants.ª

Brockville started a daily newspaper during this period. Brockville's geographical location was advantageous
as it lay on the St. Lawrence River between Kingston and Montreal. Brockville was also a border point for people leaving and entering Canada from the United States.

Ottawa (Bytown), an early lumbering center, started a newspaper which lasted for twenty-five years, (see Map 12). Ottawa had not yet begun its political role in Canada.

Kingston developed five newspapers during this period. Two of these died after a few years, (see Map 7). Two more died in the next time period, and the last was active for thirty-six years, and died in 1864, (see Maps 9 and 12).

The town of Cobourg started a surviving weekly in 1831. Cobourg had been settled by Irish settlers brought to Canada by Peter Robinson in 1825.5

At the western end of Lake Ontario, Toronto, Niagara and St. Catharines were all strongly active in the production of newspapers. Toronto started six newspapers, four dying in this period and two dying in the next, (see Maps 7 and 9). Niagara started three newspapers, one dying in this period and two dying in the next. St. Catharines started four newspapers, and all of these died in this period, (see Maps 7 and 9).

Ancaster and Hamilton also began printing newspapers in this period. The newspaper in Ancaster died
after two years, and the Hamilton newspaper lasted twenty-one years and died in the next period, (see Maps 7 and 9).

Newspapers were also started in the south-western section of Ontario. Sandwich, which was the border station between Canada and The United States, began two newspapers. Both of these were short lived.

St. Thomas started one newspaper, but it only lasted five years. St. Thomas had begun in 1803 as the Colonel Thomas Talbot settlement.  

London began printing a daily newspaper in 1836 and it continued for one hundred years, until 1936. London was situated at the western end of Dundas Street, a military and colonization road, built in 1793. 

Map 7 reveals that eighteen newspaper deaths occurred in this 1821-1840 period. Sixteen of these had been born in this period. While there appears to be no pattern to these deaths, the majority occurred in the areas of oldest settlement.

In this 1821-1840 period the birth of the Windsor to Montreal corridor was seen. Settlement, however, was still very sparse and much of the country was still forested.

In 1825 the government of Upper Canada offered 125 Pounds Sterling to the first person to start a paper mill.
It was not until the following year, however, that the first mill was constructed. James Crooks started his mill at Crooks Hollow near Dundas. It is very probable that the presence of this paper mill helped the spread and growth of newspapers in western Ontario, due to reduced transport costs; however, this is just speculation.

Brockville produced a surviving daily in 1821 with a population of 1221. This threshold was lower than that of Kingston's 1581 in the previous period. As both newspapers survived to the present it appears that the threshold for a daily ranges from 1200 to 1600 people.

The threshold for a weekly in this period was 500 people. Ancaster, Picton, and Sandwich all produced weeklies with populations of 500. Of these three the Picton Gazette, born in 1830, was the only one to survive to the present. The other two died after a few years.

After three time periods the threshold for a weekly has ranged from 600 in 1793 to 1027 in 1801 and finally to 500 in 1827. From this information the threshold for a weekly would appear to range from 500 to 1000.

Map 5 shows that by 1825 the southern lake front fringe of Ontario was settled. Map 6 shows that by the 1830's newspapers had become active in this settled region. Most of this activity followed the Dundas to
Kingston road. In the next time period large tracts of land were settled. This was evident by the large influx of newspapers.

1841-1860:

Map 8 shows the pre-Confederation period in Ontario, (1841-1860). The main concentration of activity was still located around Lake Ontario, and the Windsor to Montreal corridor was now very evident.

In the 1820's the Canada Company purchased the crown reserves in Ontario. In 1826 it opened twenty-two townships east of Lake Huron and west of Kitchener, also included was Guelph Township. Also, Colonel Talbot, who presided over more than sixty thousand acres on the north shore of Lake Erie, directed and speeded their development.

Governor Simcoe had instigated the construction of roads, to aid in colonization and trade. Yonge Street, which was opened in 1795, connected York with Lake Simcoe. Dundas Street, which was built at about the same time, stretched westward from Lake Ontario to the Grand River, and beyond. Colonization roads were also built to Georgian Bay in the 1840's and to the Canadian Shield area of southern Ontario in the 1850's and 1860's.

The entire western half of southern Ontario had
now been opened up and was beginning its activity in the production of newspapers. This settlement growth and activity was undoubtedly, in part, due to Colonel Talbot and the Canada Company opening this region, for settlement, in the late 1820's. Also, this area of southern Ontario was rich in arable glacial till soils, good for agriculture.¹³

In this western region nine surviving daily newspapers were started in, Owen Sound, Sarnia, Stratford, London, Simcoe, Guelph, Bradford, Hamilton and Toronto. It is interesting to note that all but one (Owen Sound) of these newspaper places are located in the southern area of the western Ontario region. Owen Sound had a good harbour and therefore became an important service center for its region.

Also, some sixteen surviving weeklies were started in this western region. Contrary to the dailies, which were predominant in the south, the weeklies were predominantly found in the central to northern portions of western Ontario.

Chatham, which had a population of 1850 people in 1841, and a population of 2150 people in 1858, tried to start seven different weeklies. Six of these were to die in this time period, (see Map 9). Chatham, lying in a position relatively equidistant from Windsor, Sarnia, and
NEWSPAPER DEATHS IN ONTARIO
1841-1860

LEGEND

NEWSPAPER DEATH (S)

MAP 9

SCALE

MILES

0 30

LAKE ONTARIO

LAKE ERIE

LAKE HURON

GEORGIAN BAY

TORONTO

WINDSOR

SANDWICH

CHATHAM

WELLAND

NIAGARA

THOROLD

ELORA

PARR

1846-1851

1848-1850

1847-1850

1847-1848

1841-1844

1838-1842

1835-1836

1849-1850

1852-1853

1852-1856

1850-1852

1847-1849

1833-1842

1844-1846

1837-1854

1848-1850

1834-1842

1833-1847

1842-1846

1838-1859

1850-1855

1838-1855

1849-1850

1844-1859

1849-1850

1847-1849

1847-1848

1841-1844

1838-1842

1838-1842
London, should have been able to support the birth of a surviving newspaper. Competition in this town must have been too strong for any one newspaper to become dominant and survive. It was not until 1862, in the next period, that a daily was born which did survive.

Around the shore of Lake Ontario thirty-one newspapers were born in this period. Of these only three dailies, found in Port Hope, Toronto and Hamilton, survived. Also, two weeklies survived, one in Gananoque, and one in Bowmanville.

Peterborough started a surviving weekly during this period. Peterborough had been started by the Peter Robinson Irish settlers in 1825, and it became an important lumbering site by 1840.¹⁴

Port Hope, which lies on the Kingston road, developed as a break of bulk point, and service center for the interior.¹⁵ A surviving daily and two weeklies were started in Port Hope.

Kingston, during this period, was still trying to rival Toronto for economic superiority in Ontario. However, it quickly lost ground as Toronto's harbour was connected to New York and Europe by way of the Erie Canal, opened in 1825, and the Oswego feeder canal, opened in 1828.¹⁶

The opening of the Erie Canal reduced the freight rate of newsprint (paper) from New York to Buffalo from
$100.00 to $15.00 a ton. Whether or not this reduced price in newsprint contributed to the increase of newspapers is unknown; however, due to the large number of newspapers born in this period, and the next two periods, this change in price would seem to have had some effect.

In the Niagara Peninsula strong competition can be seen, involving the towns of St. Catharines, Niagara, Thorold and Welland. The Welland Canal was opened in 1829, and this area was developing rapidly; however, there were just too many newspapers and too much competition. It was not until the next time period 1861-1880, that two dailies were started in this area, one at Welland, and one at Niagara Falls.

In the eastern region of Ontario three surviving dailies were developed at Pembroke, Ottawa and Cornwall. Also, three surviving weeklies were started at Kemptville, Prescott and Vankleek Hill. Ottawa was a strong regional center, as well as a lumbering center. Ottawa was also a gateway to Quebec, and to the north, up the Ottawa River. Cornwall and Pembroke were located on trade routes, i.e., St. Lawrence and Ottawa River, and were located in a region which was settled early in the history of Upper Canada.

At this time in Ontario's history the railroads were connecting many towns, (see Table 2). This railroad
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<th>TO</th>
<th>COMPLETION DATE</th>
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<td>Hamilton</td>
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<td>London</td>
<td>Sarnia</td>
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<td>NORTHERN RAILWAY</td>
<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Collingwood</td>
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<td>Toronto</td>
<td>Montreal</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Toronto (via Guelph)</td>
<td>Sarnia</td>
<td>Nov. 1859</td>
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<td>Dec. 1857</td>
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<td>BUFFALO AND LAKE HURON</td>
<td>Fort Erie</td>
<td>Goderich</td>
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Source: Jacob Spelt, *Urban Development In South Central Ontario* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972); p.111.
development aided in the spread of settlement and newspapers as did the colonization roads of the earlier periods.

During this period, other than a reinforcing of the Windsor to Montreal corridor, there were two other interesting occurrences. The first was the development of newspapers along Yonge Street extending from Toronto to Barrie through Aurora and Newmarket. The towns of Barrie and Newmarket had been planned towns by Governor Simcoe. The second and most obvious occurrence was the sparseness of settlement in the entire eastern half of southern Ontario, as compared to that of the western half.

Map 9 reveals that the greatest number of newspaper deaths occurred around Lake Ontario. Eighteen deaths were found around the lake, while twenty-nine deaths occurred across the province.

Maps 8 and 9 reveal that regional centers developed at Chatham, Toronto and Kingston. Also minor centers were located at Niagara and Port Hope. This was evident by the large number of births and deaths in these towns.

In 1855 Pembroke started a surviving daily with a population of 1308. This threshold figure lies within the 1200-1600 range previously mentioned as the threshold range for a daily. Two other surviving dailies were started at Cornwall and Simcoe with populations of 1400 and 1502.
respectively. These are also well within the daily threshold range.

In 1857 Durham produced a weekly newspaper with a population of 601. This threshold figure lies within the reported weekly threshold range of 500-1000 people.

This pre-Confederation period witnessed the birth of the largest number of surviving daily newspapers. There were thirteen in all. The next period, that of Confederation (1861-1880), saw the birth of the largest number of surviving weeklies.

1861-1880:

This was the period of Confederation. The Canadas, Upper and Lower, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia, joined in 1867 to form one Canada. This was a period of intensive development in southern Ontario, as can be seen on Map 10.

By 1861 most of southern Ontario's townships contained more than 500 people, (see Map 11). Settlement in the shield regions of south central Ontario was concentrated to a thin band around its southern edge. Southwestern Ontario, by this time, contained the heaviest populated areas.

Map 10 shows that during the confederation period the activity around Lake Ontario continued to be strong, however, the greatest amount of activity took place in the
NEWSPAPER TOWNS IN ONTARIO 1861-1880

LEGEND
- SURVIVING DAILY BORN
- SURVIVING WEEKLY BORN
- ACTIVE NEWSPAPER(S)

For explanation of legend see page 23.
western section of southern Ontario. Newspaper activity had spread to Wiarton in the Bruce Peninsula, and on to Little Current on Manitoulin Island. The logging industry was very active in the Bruce during this period.

Chatham produced three new newspapers. A surviving daily and two weeklies were born. Both of the weeklies died, however, (see Map 12).

Again, as in the last period, the western end of Lake Ontario was witness to much newspaper activity. Oshawa started a surviving daily, and two weeklies. Toronto started five newspapers, three daily and two weekly. None of these Toronto newspapers survived.

In the Niagara area, five new newspapers were started in St. Catharines. Also newspapers were started in Thorold, Thunder Bay (Bertie Township), and Welland. Besides this, two surviving dailies were started in Niagara Falls and Welland.

From Toronto a northward movement could be seen on both sides of Lake Simcoe. The northern expansion of settlement and newspapers had now moved to Bracebridge, Huntsville and Parry Sound. Map 13 shows that by 1881 settlement had spread northward from Lake Simcoe. Also vast areas of the shield regions had been settled.

By 1850 Orillia had become an important supply base for the north.20 By 1867 it started a surviving daily
newspaper.

The town of Orillia started a daily newspaper in 1867 with a population of 1322. This threshold figure is comparable with the threshold range for dailies.

The village of Thunder Bay, in Bertie Township, started a weekly in 1875 with a population of 105 people. This threshold figure is considerably below the threshold range suggested for a weekly. No circulation records or copies of this paper could be found, therefore its trade area is unknown. Appendix D lists this newspaper as being active for twenty years, 1875-1895. It seems unlikely that this paper just serviced a population of 105. Possibly this newspaper was printed in some other town and just circulated in Thunder Bay.

Towns with more realistic threshold populations were Brussells and Erin. Both had populations of 500, (see Appendix E). These towns with their surviving weeklies are comparable to the threshold range for a weekly newspaper.

Again as in the previous period the western half of southern Ontario had the greatest amount of newspaper growth. Land was better suited for agriculture in the west. The shield region of eastern Ontario had poorer soils. Much of the shield region was used for lumbering purposes and this contributed to the growth of a number of places,
i.e., Orillia, Fenelon Falls, Bobcaygeon, and Madoc, on or near the border of the shield.\(^{21}\)

The settlement of Bancroft started a surviving weekly newspaper in 1871. Bancroft, being located at the junction of two colonization roads, developed as the central place of that region.\(^{22}\)

Surviving weeklies were also started in Renfrew, Arnprior, Almonte, and Carleton Place. These towns were lumbering communities.

Ottawa, the capital city of Canada by now, started three newspapers. Two of these died after a few years, and the third lasted for forty-seven years. A surviving daily already existed in Ottawa so the competition among these weeklies must have been strong. Map 12 shows that four newspapers died in Ottawa during this period.

Prescott, a border town to the United States, started a new newspaper to add to the three existing newspapers. Morrisburg started a surviving weekly newspaper. Both Prescott and Morrisburg lay on the railway line between Toronto and Montreal. Prescott was also linked to Ottawa by rail.

During this 1861-1880 period thirty newspapers died. St. Catharines witnessed the death of six newspapers, five of those born in this period. Also, Thorold had two deaths, and Niagara and Welland had one each.
Other centers that witnessed deaths were Ottawa with four, and Toronto and Chatham with three each. Orillia, Belleville, and Kingston each had two deaths. Ingersoll, St. Thomas, Carleton Place, and Prescott each had one death.

No pattern of newspaper deaths is evident on Maps 2, 4, 7, 9, and 12. However, the heaviest concentration of deaths appeared to be in the oldest settled areas of southern Ontario.

In the first half of the nineteenth century settlement in southern Ontario spread outwards from lakes Ontario and Erie. Along with this went the spread of newspapers, both daily and weekly. As new agricultural market towns, lumbering towns and transportation towns developed, so did Ontario's newspapers. No apparent difference in the spread of weeklies and dailies was observable. Except for the sparsely settled shield region most of southern Ontario was settled by the end of the confederation period, (see Map 13). The next periods, which lead into the twentieth century, witnessed the opening of northern Ontario, as well as the filling in of southern Ontario.

1881-1900:

In this time period, as seen on Map 14, the bulk of
the newspaper activity was again found in the western half of southern Ontario. The eastern half of southern Ontario had some activity, but this was sparsely located. Northern Ontario was opened during this time period, and a number of towns started newspapers there.

In the western half of Ontario the industrial centers were developing newspapers. Orangeville by 1881 had a dozen small industries. Also, the towns of Brampton, Oakville, Orillia, and Toronto were developing.

The railroad towns were also gaining newspapers during this period. Such places as Port Erie, Dunnville, St. Catharines, Grimsby, Beamsville, Dundas, Galt, Woodstock, and Toronto all began surviving newspapers.

Port Colborne, situated at the Lake Erie entrance to the Welland Canal, started two weeklies. These newspapers died in later periods, (see Maps 18 and 21).

The port of Midland started a surviving weekly in this time period. Midland was a shipbuilding and distribution center, as well as a railway terminal.

In that region of southwestern Ontario which lies in a triangle between Windsor, Sarnia, and London, a number of surviving newspapers were started. By this time these towns were linked by railroads. These towns were also situated on the old colonization roads.

The town of St. Thomas, started by Colonel Talbot,
started a surviving daily in this period. Waterloo County also had a great deal of newspaper activity. Surviving weeklies were started in Elmira, New Hamburg and Ayr. Hespeler started a weekly which lasted for nine years. A surviving daily was also started in Galt.

In the eastern half of southern Ontario the distribution of new surviving newspapers was sparse. A number of communities, however, did start printing newspapers.

The towns of Burks Falls and Haliburton were lumbering towns as well as service centers for their respective regions. These towns were on the edge of the wilderness. Settlement in the shield areas of Ontario was sparse due to the poor agricultural soils and somewhat harsher climate. Much of the area was still forested. Maps 13 and 15 reveal that settlement had moved to this region, but population levels were less than 2000 people per township.

The towns of Marmora, Tweed, Havelock, and Warkworth all developed surviving weeklies during this period. These towns were connected to Lake Ontario by roads by this time, and Marmora had a rail link by the 1880's.26

In the far eastern portion of Ontario surviving newspapers were started at Cobden, Lanark, Smith's Falls, Westport, Chesterville, Winchester, and Alexandria. All of these towns were linked by at least roads by this time.
period. Smith's Falls had a rail link with Brockville in the 1860's. Smith's Falls and Westport were also located on the Rideau Canal system.

The northern portion of Ontario, especially that region west of Lake Superior was opened in this period. Fort William, a break of bulk point, started a surviving daily. Kenora, a mining center located on the northern shore of Lake of the Woods, started a surviving daily. Gold had been discovered at Kenora in 1887.

Six weeklies were also started in Fort Frances, Dryden, Wabigoon, Kenora, Port Arthur, and Sault Ste. Marie. Of these six, only two survived. They are the Dryden Observer and the Fort Frances Times. Fort Frances was a border town, and by 1900 had developed a strong hydro-timber trade with the United States. Dryden was a mining center and a rail town.

In 1887 Oakville started a daily newspaper with a population of 1823. This threshold figure is greater than the suggested threshold range for a daily. Oakville was situated in a region which may have been dominated by papers from Toronto and Hamilton. Therefore, it is reasonable to assume that Oakville needed a larger population to support the existence of its own daily newspaper.

The threshold town for a weekly newspaper was
Wabigoon. In 1897 Wabigoon had a population of 250 people. This threshold figure is below the threshold range suggested for a weekly newspaper.

Wabigoon was a frontier town in northern Ontario and its weekly may have served as the only contact to the rest of the country. The people of Wabigoon may have supported the existence of a weekly newspaper no matter what the cost.

Dryden, which is located in the same area of northern Ontario as Wabigoon, started a surviving weekly in 1897 with a population of 450. While Dryden's population is less than the suggested 500-1000 range for the threshold of a weekly, it is not short by very much.

Map 16 reveals sixteen newspaper deaths during this 1881-1900 period. Thirteen of these had been born in this period.

In this period new newspaper activity was started in towns that were filling in the gaps that the spread of settlement had left. This phenomenon was most evident in the next periods after the turn of the century. Also, the appearance of bedroom community towns and suburban newspapers will be shown.

1901-1920:

Map 17 shows that in this turn of the century period
NEWSPAPER TOWNS IN ONTARIO 1901-1920

LEGEND
- SURVIVING DAILY BORN
- SURVIVING WEEKLY BORN
- ACTIVE NEWSPAPER(S)

For explanation of legend see page 23.
only minor filling in of newspaper towns occurred in southern Ontario. Northern Ontario started stronger new growth in this period.

Map 18 shows that in the south, twenty-two newspapers died during this period. After sixty years of active newspaper development the competition amongst newspapers must have been strong. Also, this early twentieth century period lost six newspapers during the years of World War One, 1914-1917. Five others died shortly after, two in 1918 and three in 1920. It seems likely that these deaths may also have been due to the shortage of manpower, i.e., printers, editors, and newspapermen, and due to a shortage of supplies, during and shortly after the war.

Windsor started the only surviving daily newspaper in southern Ontario during this period. Windsor had become a rail center as early as 1854, (see Table 2). It was also the site of an international border, and by 1918 it had reached a population of 35,000 people. This population was certainly enough to support a daily newspaper.

Only six surviving weeklies were started in southern Ontario. These are Eganville and Carp, found in the east, and Meaford, Waterdown, Burford and Smithville, found in the west.
In the north of Ontario four surviving weeklies were started in Rainy River, Cochrane, New Liskeard and Gore Bay. Besides this, four surviving dailies were started at Port Arthur, Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury and North Bay.

Those northern towns which started surviving weeklies were mining, and supply centers for their particular areas. Those towns which started surviving dailies were larger and more important as centers of settlement.

Port Arthur, Sudbury and North Bay were all connected by the Canadian Pacific railway as early as 1885. Port Arthur was a break of bulk point at the head of the lakes. Nickel and copper had been discovered at Sudbury as early as 1883, and by 1916 the International Nickel Company had been formed. North Bay was the gateway to the north.

Sault Ste. Marie had developed into an industrial town as early as 1900. The compliment of activities to be found here included, steel, hydro, pulp and paper, and sawn lumber. The location of Sault Ste. Marie also aided in its growth. Not only was it a border town, but it lay at the junction of Lakes Superior and Huron.

The threshold town for a daily during this period was Sudbury. In 1908 Sudbury had a population of 2027. This threshold figure is above the suggested threshold
range for a daily, and no explanation could be found for this phenomenon.

Drumbo produced a weekly in 1907 with a population of 500. This threshold figure is comparable to the weekly threshold range.

While northern Ontario was actively developing new newspapers, the newspapers in southern Ontario were dying. The next time period also showed a large number of deaths.

1921-1940:

Map 19 shows that during this period only surviving weeklies were started in southern Ontario, while only surviving dailies were started in northern Ontario. This was the period between World Wars One and Two, and of the Great Depression of the 1930's.

Map 20 reveals that many townships which previously contained more than two thousand inhabitants now contain less than two thousand. This was possibly an indication that settlement was moving from the rural areas to the urban areas.

Map 19 shows that in southern Ontario the beginning of suburban activity was occurring around Toronto. Woodbridge and Mississauga began surviving weeklies. Woodbridge started its weekly in 1935 with a population of 812. This is well within the suggested threshold range for
a weekly newspaper.

In the west, Delhi, a service center for the tobacco growing agricultural lands in Norfork County, started a surviving weekly. Niagara-on-the-Lake finally started a surviving weekly. The other towns which started weeklies during this period were merely filling in. These central places had simply grown large enough over the years to be able to support the presence of a newspaper. Lindsay, for instance, had grown large enough to support not only a surviving daily, but a weekly as well.

In the north four surviving dailies were started in Kirkland Lake, Timmins, Sioux Lookout and Fort Frances. Kirkland Lake and Timmins were mining towns. Gold had been discovered at Porcupine (Timmins) in 1911, and at Kirkland Lake in 1912. These two sites became boom towns and in a few years had populations of over one thousand.

Kirkland Lake started a daily in 1922 with a population of 1170. This threshold figure is only thirty people short of the suggested 1200-1600 threshold range for a daily.

As was mentioned above Fort Frances was an important hydro-timber town in the early 1900's. The growth from these activities was evident in the birth of a daily newspaper in this period.

Sioux Lookout was a rail town on the Canadian National line. This town developed as a service supply
center for its region.  

Map 21 shows that twelve newspapers died in the 1921-1940 period. Only two of these had been born in that period.

In this period the beginning of suburban activity around Toronto is seen on Map 19. In the next period this suburban "bedroom community" activity was even more pronounced.

1941-1960:

Map 22 reveals that besides the first period, 1781-1800, this was the only other time period when a surviving daily newspaper was not born. Twenty-six surviving weekly newspapers were born, all but four of these were found in southern Ontario.

Maps 15, 20 and 23 reveal shifts in the settlement pattern of southern Ontario. In 1901 many townships across southern Ontario had reached the two thousand inhabitant level. By 1921 and 1941 the settlement pattern had shifted slightly. This might have been due to the shift of people to urban rather than rural living.

By this time period the automobile had become the dominant means of transportation, that is of course excluding walking. This was the period of World War Two, and the boom period which occurred after the war. This was
NEWSPAPER TOWNS IN ONTARIO 1941-1960

LEGEND

- SURVIVING DAILY BORN
- SURVIVING WEEKLY BORN
- ACTIVE NEWSPAPER (S)

For explanation of legend see page 23.

RENFREW
1946-1955
also a period of vast suburban growth.

This suburban growth was evident in the birth of six weeklies in the Toronto to Hamilton area. Weeklies were started at Ajax, Willowdale, Oakville, Hamilton, Stoney Creek and Dundas.

Camp Bordon started a surviving weekly shortly after the end of World War Two. Trenton, another military base, also started a surviving weekly.

In 1958 Zurich started a weekly newspaper with a population of 723. This threshold figure is comparable with others for weekly newspapers.

Along the Ottawa River, the government built town of Deep River, started a surviving weekly. Deep River had developed as the residence for the laborers and scientists who worked at the Chalk River atomic energy research station.

Most of the other towns which started surviving weeklies during this period were simply places which had grown large enough to support a weekly newspaper or possibly a second newspaper. Owen Sound, Sarnia, Galt, Windsor and Hamilton all had surviving dailies, but had grown large enough now to support a weekly publication as well. The towns of Port Colborne and Ponthill were both connected to Welland by a daily newspaper, but they also had grown large enough to support their own weekly publication.
In the north four surviving weeklies were born. Atikokan developed as an iron mining town. Geraldton, Terrace Bay and Marathon all started as lumbering and mill towns. Atikokan and Geraldton both lay on the Canadian National Railway line, while Terrace Bay and Marathon lay on the Canadian Pacific Railway line. These towns were also connected by highways.

Map 24 reveals that four deaths occurred in this period. Three of these deaths were newspapers born in this period.

In this period suburban growth was evident in the Toronto to Hamilton region. Also, in several places which were producing surviving dailies, new weeklies were born. In the final time period both of these phenomenon were predominant.

1961-1977:

Map 25 shows that during this present day period suburban growth around Toronto was very evident. This could be seen by the birth of seven surviving weeklies and one surviving daily.

Weeklies were started at Scarborough, Don Mills, Islington, Bramalea, Brampton, Mississauga and Cooksville, each of these places being suburban communities to Toronto. Also Toronto started a new daily newspaper, the Toronto Sun.
Toronto, in this final period, had a population of over one million. No threshold figure will be given for the Toronto Sun as Toronto is a special case and is not comparable with other central places in Ontario.

Suburban development was also evident around Hamilton. New weeklies were started in both Burlington and Ancaster.

In this period, as in the previous period, places which were already producing surviving daily newspapers started surviving weeklies. The cities of Sudbury, Belleville, Barrie and Stratford all started weeklies. These suburban weeklies were of a different character than their country weekly counterparts. They tended to service communities within a metropolitan area, whose news is too local to be carried by the larger metro dailies.35

The towns of Arnprior, Bracebridge, Marmora, Cobourg and Burlington had each started a second surviving weekly during this period. Also Espanola started two surviving weeklies in this period. In each of these towns one newspaper tended to service the town itself, while the second newspaper serviced the surrounding region. For example, John M. Bolton found that in Burlington, two weeklies, the Gazette and Post, survived, because the Gazette concentrated on Burlington itself while the Post serviced the outlying hamlets.36
The town of Mildmay started a weekly in 1965 with a population of 963. Mildmay was the threshold town for the final time period, and its threshold figure was comparable to that of the other periods.

In the north, uranium had been discovered at Elliot Lake by 1955. By 1961 a surviving weekly had started here. Also, Iroquois Falls and Wawa, both lumbering and mining towns, started surviving weeklies.

In 1928 the New York Times bought into the Spruce Falls Power and Paper Company at Kapuskasing. The town then became a center for the production of newsprint. By 1961 Kapuskasing had a population of 12,834 people, and a surviving weekly was born.

During this final time period one newspaper death occurred in Ottawa, (see Map 26). The Gloucester Guardian, which lasted for nine years, died in 1977. The reason for this death was too much competition, (see Appendix F).

This final time period has brought us up to date on the development and spread of newspapers in the province of Ontario. As was pointed out earlier, there appears to be no difference in the way weeklies and dailies spread across the province. The newspaper as both a cultural as well as an economic entity, spread throughout the province as settlement spread. Maps 5, 11, 13, 15, 20 and 23 show the spread of settlement in southern Ontario. For census
information on northern Ontario consult Appendix G.

When areas such as western Ontario or the north were opened, newspaper activity became apparent. Also, as suburban growth appeared around Toronto and Hamilton, newspaper activity increased.

It was thought that newspapers may be born in a three stage pattern. First a town would start a weekly. Then a daily would start, followed by a second weekly at a later date. Appendix D reveals that a weekly had preceded a daily in thirty-one out of fifty-five cases. Of these thirty-one cases only six developed a second weekly newspaper. Therefore, the three stage pattern is evident, but it does not hold for every case.

Earlier in this thesis a threshold range of 1200-1600 people was suggested for the birth of a daily newspaper. Of the eight time periods when daily newspapers were born four towns had threshold populations which did not compare with the suggested range.

Toronto was eliminated as its population was not comparable to any other place in the province. Kirkland Lake had thirty people too few, and it was accepted as being a non-significant difference.

The populations of Oakville and Sudbury, 1823 and 2027 respectively, were considerably higher than the suggested range. Therefore, the suggested threshold range for
a daily newspaper was adjusted to accommodate Oakville and Sudbury. It would appear then that the threshold of a daily newspaper lies between 1200 and 2000 people, (see Appendix H).

The threshold range for a weekly newspaper had been suggested as lying between 500 and 1000 people. Seven of the ten time periods agreed with this range, (see Appendix H).

Niagara had a threshold population of 1027 in 1801. This figure was only twenty-seven people over the suggested threshold range and the difference was accepted as being non-significant.

Wabigoon and Thunder Bay had threshold populations which were lower than the suggested range for a weekly. The only explanation for this was that possibly these towns serviced larger populations from their surrounding regions.

The rate at which newspaper activity increased in these periods has yet to be resolved. This will be discussed in the next section of this chapter.

B. RATE OF GROWTH OF NEWSPAPERS - WEEKLY AND DAILY:

In this section the growth of newspapers since 1793 is discussed. This is done in two parts. The first part deals with Graph 1 which shows the overall growth of newspaper activity. The second part deals with Graph 2 which reveals the growth of new newspapers being born per
NUMBER OF NEWSPAPERS ACTIVE AT THE END OF EACH PERIOD, AND THE PERCENTAGE RATE OF GROWTH BETWEEN PERIODS.
GRAPH 2
NUMBER OF NEW NEWSPAPERS BORN PER PERIOD; WEEKLY AND DAILY.

Legend
Weekly
Daily
PART 1:

In Chapter Three, Section B, it was hypothesized that the number of newspapers being active at the end of each time period would increase over time. Graph 1, showing the number of newspapers that were active at the end of each period, does support this hypothesis. Except for two periods, 1901-1920 and 1921-1940, when the number of active newspapers was stabilized at two hundred eight weeklies and dailies, the number of newspapers being active at the end of a period did increase over time. The number of newspapers found active at the end of each period rose from one newspaper in 1800, to two hundred sixty-one newspapers in 1977.

The slight decline in the number of active newspapers during the forty year period 1901-1940, reflects the poor state of Canadian and world economic conditions during this period, i.e., World War One, 1914-1917, and the Depression of the 1930's. This decline came after a sharp rise in newspaper activity. By the turn of the twentieth century Ontario had possibly become saturated with newspapers thereby causing a slight decline.

The percentage rate of growth from one period to the next, seen on Graph 1, reveals a major boom period to be in
the 1821-1840 period. This period saw a 533.33 per cent increase in newspaper growth over the previous period. This was a period of strong competition amongst those towns situated on Lake Ontario, (see Map 6). A second smaller peak period came in the 1941-1960 period. This period saw a 12.5 per cent increase in newspaper growth over the previous period. This was the period when suburban newspapers were evolving.

The information shown on Graph 1 reflects the overall picture of newspaper activity in Ontario. Graph 1 does not, however, show the growth in each separate time period.

PART 2:

It was suggested in Chapter Three, Section B, that the number of new newspapers being born per period would increase directly over time. Graph 2 reveals that this hypothesis is wrong.

Graph 2 shows the number of new newspapers that were born in each time period. The weeklies revealed steady growth until a peak was reached during the Confederation period of 1861-1880. During this period eighty-eight new weeklies were born. This was the largest number of weeklies born in any one period.

After this period decline occurred, until a second
smaller peak was reached during the final period. During this final period thirty-one new weeklies were born.

For the daily newspapers, one peak period occurred in the 1841-1860 period. Seventeen dailies were started, and of these thirteen survived to the present. There was no second peak for the dailies as was found for the weeklies. These large dailies simply increased circulation rather than allow the birth of new dailies. This is a point of speculation and it would need further research for verification.

The exception to this speculation was found in Toronto. During the final time period a new daily was born in Toronto. The "Toronto Sun" was simply a replacement after the death of the Toronto "Telegram". Metropolitan Toronto was also large enough in population size to be able to support the existence of more than one daily. In fact three major dailies have developed in Toronto.

According to Graph 2 a steady increase in newspaper births per period did not occur as hypothesized. Newspaper growth continued up to the turn of the century where it must have reached its saturation. Before 1900 newspaper activity was very strong, and after 1900 only minor filling in occurred.

The second peak that did occur for the weeklies came at a time when suburban development and growth was
widespread. As was mentioned earlier, many places began producing a second newspaper during the periods 1941-1960 and 1961-1977, and this would account for much of this new growth.

While the overall growth in the number of active newspapers at the end of each period did increase over time, the growth of new weeklies and dailies did not. Both the weeklies and dailies grew until they had reached their saturation levels and then decline set in. The weeklies had a second minor peak with the post World War Two boom of suburban growth. However, whether or not this peak will continue to rise or will again be followed by decline is a matter for future research.

The next section of this paper takes a look at newspaper chains. It was felt that possibly these chains may have influenced the growth of suburban weeklies.

C. NEWSPAPER CHAINS:

From data taken from the Ontario Weekly Newspaper Association membership list, Map 27, was produced. On Map 27 the activity of seven newspaper chains, i.e., Thomson, Markle, Inland, Bowes, Fairway, Metro Span and St. Catharines Standard, can be seen. These seven chains are responsible for forty-two out of a total of two hundred eighteen weekly newspapers in Ontario.
These newspaper chains appear to be very regional in character. In the Niagara region the St. Catharines Standard group is dominant. Around Toronto both Inland Publishing and Metro Span are strong. Markle Newspapers are dominant in the Midland district. While both Fairway Press and Bowes Publishing are prominent in their respective areas of Waterloo and Kent counties. Thomson Newspapers, being a large chain due to its international character, has interests across the whole province.\(^{39}\)

It can be seen on Map 27 that two chains, i.e., Inland and Metro Span, control seventeen weeklies in and around Metropolitan Toronto. While it was beyond the scope of this thesis to research the role of newspaper chains, it seems reasonable to conclude that these chains played a role in the development of the suburban weekly and thereby caused the second peak period to occur.
REFERENCES


2. Ibid., p.123.

3. Ibid., p.134.


5. Ibid., p.60.


12. Ibid., p.119.


15. Ibid., pp.66-67.
16. Ibid., p.84.


18. Jacob Spelt, Urban Development In South - Central Ontario, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972), p.84.

19. Ibid., p.28.

20. Ibid., p.62.

21. Ibid., p.145.

22. Ibid., Figure 9.

23. Ibid., p.142.

24. Ibid., p.127.


26. Ibid., Figure 9.


29. Ibid., p.43.


34. N. W. Ayer And Sons Directory Of Newspapers And


SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND PROSPECTS:

The research presented in this thesis has been developed to add to the knowledge about newspapers. Other researchers have studied the content of newspapers for sociological and political information. Geographers have made use of newspaper circulation data to help delimit the trade or service area of a town. Also, newspaper data has been used as a means of delimiting the spheres of influence of central places. The historical research which had been carried out dealt only with the history of newspaper activity in particular towns and with compiled lists of newspapers and periodicals. Therefore, this thesis set out to research and answer three questions which dealt with the history and development of newspapers in the province of Ontario.

The first two research questions were, "How have newspapers spread historically in the province of Ontario?", and, "Was there a difference between the spread of weekly and daily newspapers?". Maps 5, 11, 13, 15, 20 and 23, plus Appendix G, reveal information on the spread of settlement in Ontario. It appears from this that newspapers followed the spread of settlement and the development of central places in Ontario.

A newspaper could not exist without the advertising
of a town's merchants to support it. Conversely, a newspaper would have no purpose for existence if there was no population to read its contents. It was found that the threshold populations needed to support the existence of daily and weekly newspapers were 1200-2000 and 500-1000 people respectively.

Also, there appeared to be no observable difference in the spread of weeklies and dailies. In some cases dailies were born in towns where weeklies had started first. In other towns the reverse was evident. It would seem reasonable to assume then that newspapers, whether they be weekly or daily, simply started when some person or persons felt the sociocultural need to start a newspaper, or the opportunity was seen to start a profitable enterprise. The maps dealing with newspaper deaths reveal no pattern to their locations either.

The third research question was, "What has been the rate of growth of newspapers in Ontario?". While the overall number of separate newspapers has increased, since 1793 when the Niagara Upper Canada Gazette was started, no average rate of growth would adequately give a picture of the growth of newspapers.

When looking at the number of new births per period Graph 2 reveals two peak periods for weekly newspapers, that of 1861-1880 and 1961-1977. The former period witnessed the birth of the largest number of new weeklies.
The later period was one of suburban development during the post World War Two boom period.

In regards to the second peak in the growth of weeklies, newspaper chains were examined. These chains tend to reveal a regional character. It was felt that these chains aided in the development of the suburban weeklies of Ontario, especially around Toronto and Hamilton.

The daily newspapers appear to have reached only one peak, that of the 1841-1860 period. This was a boom period of railroad construction and lumbering. Seventeen dailies were born during this period. This was the largest number of dailies born in any one period.

There are a number of questions, which this thesis did not resolve, that are yet to be researched. These are; "How have the newspapers of Metropolitan Toronto developed historically?", "What are the spatial characteristics of foreign language newspapers in Ontario, especially Toronto?", "What role do newspaper chains play in the spatial character of Ontario's newspapers?". Also, "What is the economic threshold of a weekly and daily newspaper?".

The research questions set out in Chapter One have now been resolved. It is hoped that this work has helped to fill a gap in the knowledge of the geography of newspapers, as well as open the door to future research.
REFERENCES


LIST OF NEWSPAPERS EXAMINED TO SEE IF THEY REVEAL WILLEY'S SIX FUNCTIONS

1. The Brockville Recorder: January 3, 1834
   July 11, 1834
   December 5, 1834
2. Chatham Gleaner: September 12, 1837
   May 15, 1838
3. Welland Tribune: Friday October 13, 1893
   Friday October 20, 1893
4. Niagara Argus: March 25, 1824
5. Niagara Mail: September 21, 1843
6. Niagara Gleaner: April 8, 1818
7. Niagara Upper Canada Guardian or Freeman's Journal: April 14, 1808
8. Niagara Echo: May 17, 1884
9. Chesterville Record: October 10, 1894
10. Port Colborne Herald: June 5, 1915
11. North Bay Nugget: August 15, 1910
12. Port Colborne News: May 5, 1960
13. Fonthill Herald: November 24, 1959
15. Woodbridge The King Township Weekly: July 23, 1975
17. Mississauga Times: August 6, 1975
19. Ancaster News: October 29, 1975
20. Seaforth Huron Expositor: October 30, 1975
22. St. Catharines Standard: July 12, 1977
   July 14, 1977
23. Toronto Globe and Mail: July 12, 1977
   July 14, 1977

NOTE: The Newspapers listed above were selected because copies were readily available from southern Ontario libraries.
APPENDIX B

LIST OF SOURCES USED IN Compiling LIST OF NEWSPAPERS

1. N. W. Ayer and Sons, Directory of Newspapers and Periodicals,

2. A. B. C. Audit Bureau of Circulations, Membership List,
(Chicago).

3. J. George Johnston, The Weeklies: Biggest Circulation In

4. O. W. N. A. Ontario Weekly Newspaper Association,

5. The Canadian Newspaper Directory - Sixth Edition, (Montreal:
A. McKim, Limited, 1909).

6. C. A. R. D. Canadian Advertising Rates And Data, (Toronto:

7. Niagara Peninsula - Newspapers - History, (A listing of
records and newspapers on file at the St. Catharines
Public Library, Reserve Section, Main Branch).

8. Janet Carnochan, History of Niagara, (Toronto: William
Briggs, 1914, reprint, Belleville, Mika Publishing,

9. Canada And Newfoundland Gazetteer And Business Directory,
1907-1908, (Toronto: Canadian Gazetteer Publishing
Company, 1908).
APPENDIX C

EXAMPLES OF NEWSPAPERS WHICH LIVED ONLY A SHORT TIME

2. The Herald. 1801-1802.
4. The Snarler. 1867.
5. The Evening Star. July 1, 1867.

Source: Niagara Peninsula – Newspapers – History, (St. Catharines: Public Library, Reserve Section, Main Branch).
Note: The newspapers listed above were published early in the history of the Niagara Region.
# APPENDIX D

NEWSPAPERS, LISTED IN ORDER OF OCCURRENCE, WITH DATES OF BIRTH AND DEATH

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PLACE</th>
<th>W = WEEKLY</th>
<th>D = DAILY</th>
<th>TIME PERIOD</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Newark, Niagara-on-the-Lake</td>
<td>Upper Canada Gazette or American Oricalce</td>
<td>1793-1798</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Newark The Constellation</td>
<td>W.</td>
<td>1799-1800</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

## 1801-1820

1. **W. Niagara Herald**  
2. **W. Niagara Upper Canada Gazette or Freeman's Journal**  
3. **D. Kingston Whig Standard**  
4. **W. Kingston Gazette**  
5. **W. Niagara The Bee**  
6. **W. Niagara The Gleaner**  
7. **W. Kingston Chronicle**

## 1821-1840

1. **W. Brockville Recorder**  
2. **D. Brockville Recorder Times**  
3. **W. Toronto Canadian Freeman**  
4. **W. St. Catharines Farmers Journal**  
5. **W. Ancaster Gore Gazette**  
6. **W. Brockville Gazette**  
7. **W. Kingston Patriot**  
8. **W. Picton Gazette**  
9. **W. Kingston Canadian Watchman**  
10. W. **Sandwich Canadian Emigrant**  
11. W. **Cobourg Sentinel Star**  
12. W. **St. Catharines Mirror**  
13. W. **Toronto Correspondent**  
14. W. **St. Thomas Liberal**  
15. W. **St. Catharines British Colonial Argus**  
16. W. **Kingston Chronicle Gazette**  
17. W. **Niagara Reporter**  
18. W. **St. Catharines British American Journal**  
19. W. **Perth Courier**  
20. W. **Belleville Intelligencer**  
21. W. **Kingston British Whig**

100
22. W. Kingston Spectator 1834-1840
23. W. Bathurst Perth Courier 1834-1857
24. W. Hamilton Gazette 1835-1856
25. W. Toronto Welland Canal 1835-1836
26. W. Picton Free Press 1835-1836
27. W. Ottawa Bytown Gazette 1836-1861
28. W. Toronto Constitution 1836-1837
29. D. London Advertiser 1836-1936
30. W. Niagara The Chronicle 1837-1854
31. W. Toronto Examiner 1838-1855
32. W. Sandwich Western Herald 1838-1842
33. W. Toronto British Colonist 1838-1859

1841-1860

1. W. Chatham Journal 1841-1844
2. W. Belleville Hastings Chronicle 1841-1873
3. W. Kingston News 1842-1846
4. W. Niagara Argus 1844-1846
5. D. Ottawa Citizen 1844
6. D. Toronto Globe 1844
7. W. Chatham Gleaner 1844-1850
8. D. Cornwall Standard Freeholder 1846
9. D. Hamilton Spectator 1846
10. W. Niagara The Mail 1846-1870
11. W. Streetsville Review 1846
12. W. Barrie Northern Advance 1846-1861
13. W. Port Hope Commercial 1847-1849
14. W. Chatham Free Canadian 1847-1848
15. W. Chatham Western Sentinel 1847-1849
16. W. Prescott Journal 1847
17. W. Goderich Signet Star 1848
18. W. Chatham Kent Advertiser 1848-1859
19. W. Kingston Argus 1848-1850
20. D. London Free Press 1849
22. W. Thorold Advocate 1849-1851
23. W. Paris Star 1849
24. W. Chatham Chronicle 1849-1850
25. W. Toronto Independent 1849-1850
26. W. Toronto North American 1850-1855
27. W. Port Hope Watchman 1850-1852
28. W. Prescott Telegraph 1850-1897
29. D. Kingston Daily News 1851-1905
30. D. Port Hope Guide 1852
31. W. Welland Advance 1852-1853
32. W. Toronto Mackenzies Advocate 1852-1860
33. W. Elora Backwoodsman 1852-1858
34. W. Welland Advocate 1852-1865
<table>
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<tr>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Newspaper Name</th>
<th>Start Year - End Year</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>35.W.</td>
<td>Newmarket Era</td>
<td>1852</td>
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<td>36.D.</td>
<td>Brantford Expositor</td>
<td>1852</td>
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<tr>
<td>37.D.</td>
<td>Owen Sound Sun Times</td>
<td>1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>38.W.</td>
<td>Peterborough Review</td>
<td>1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>39.D.</td>
<td>Sarnia Observer</td>
<td>1853</td>
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<tr>
<td>40.W.</td>
<td>Lambton Observer</td>
<td>1853-1920</td>
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<tr>
<td>41.W.</td>
<td>St. Thomas Weekly Dispatch</td>
<td>1853-1876</td>
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<td>42.W.</td>
<td>Bowmanville Canadian Statesman</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<td>43.W.</td>
<td>Fergus Elora News Express</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<td>44.D.</td>
<td>Guelph Mercury</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<tr>
<td>45.W.</td>
<td>Thorold Gazette</td>
<td>1854-1862</td>
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<tr>
<td>46.D.</td>
<td>Stratford Beacon Herald</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<tr>
<td>47.W.</td>
<td>Waterloo Chronicle</td>
<td>1854</td>
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<td>48.W.</td>
<td>Oshawa Vindicator</td>
<td>1854-1917</td>
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<td>49.W.</td>
<td>Ingersoll Chronicle</td>
<td>1854-1868</td>
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<td>50.D.</td>
<td>Welland Tribune</td>
<td>1854-1863</td>
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<td>51.W.</td>
<td>Brampton Banner Times</td>
<td>1855-1902</td>
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<td>52.W.</td>
<td>Caledonia Grand River Sachem</td>
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<td>53.W.</td>
<td>Kemptville Advance</td>
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<td>54.D.</td>
<td>Pembroke Observer</td>
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<td>55.W.</td>
<td>St. Mary's Journal-Argus</td>
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<td>56.W.</td>
<td>Windsor Herald</td>
<td>1855-1856</td>
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<td>57.W.</td>
<td>Carleton Place Herald</td>
<td>1855-1874</td>
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<td>58.W.</td>
<td>Prescott Messenger</td>
<td>1855-1916</td>
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<td>59.W.</td>
<td>Markham Economist Sun</td>
<td>1856</td>
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<td>60.W.</td>
<td>Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin</td>
<td>1857</td>
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<td>61.W.</td>
<td>Durham Chronicle</td>
<td>1857</td>
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<td>62.W.</td>
<td>Kincardine News</td>
<td>1857</td>
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<td>63.W.</td>
<td>Salt Reporter</td>
<td>1857-1889</td>
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<td>64.D.</td>
<td>Simcoe Reformer</td>
<td>1858</td>
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<td>65.W.</td>
<td>Vankleek Hill Review</td>
<td>1858</td>
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<td>66.W.</td>
<td>Chatham Western Argus</td>
<td>1858-1861</td>
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<td>67.W.</td>
<td>Toronto Freeman</td>
<td>1858-1873</td>
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<td>68.D.</td>
<td>Ottawa Daily Union</td>
<td>1858-1866</td>
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<tr>
<td>69.W.</td>
<td>Hamilton Times</td>
<td>1858-1920</td>
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<td>70.D.</td>
<td>St. Catharines Journal</td>
<td>1859-1920</td>
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<td>71.W.</td>
<td>Mitchell Advocate</td>
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<td>72.W.</td>
<td>Aurora Banner</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<td>73.W.</td>
<td>Gananoque Reporter</td>
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<td>74.W.</td>
<td>Milton The Canadian Champion</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>75.W.</td>
<td>Seaforth The Huron Expositor</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>76.W.</td>
<td>Walkerton Herald-Times</td>
<td>1860</td>
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<tr>
<td>77.W.</td>
<td>Thorold Chronicle and Welland County Advertiser</td>
<td>1860-1862</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**1861-1880**

1. W. Strathroy The Age Dispatch 1861
2. W. Chatham Grawler 1861-1864
3. W. Chatham Western Union 1861-1863
4. W. Milton Canadian 1861
5. W. Arthur Enterprise Bulletin 1862
6. W. St. Catharines Post 1862-1863
7. D. Chatham News 1862
8. D. Kingston News 1862-1873
9. W. Morrisburg Leader 1863
10. W. Tillsonburg News 1863
11. D. Welland Port Colborne Tribune 1863
12. W. Toronto Irish Canadian 1863-1901
13. D. Barrie Examiner 1864
14. D. Welland Telegraph 1864-1918
15. W. Bradford Witness 1865
16. W. Clinton News-Record 1865
17. W. Georgetown Herald 1865
18. W. Listowel Banner 1865
19. W. Paisley Advocate 1865
20. W. Teeswater News 1865
21. D. Ottawa Times 1865-1877
22. D. Ottawa Le Canada 1865-1869
23. D. Toronto Daily Telegraph 1866-1872
24. W. Almonte Gazette 1867
25. W. Blenheim News Tribune 1867
26. W. Cayuga Haldimand-Advance 1867
27. W. St. Catharines The Snarler 1867-1869
28. W. Lindsay Watchman - Warder 1867
29. W. Mount Forest Confederate 1867
30. D. Orillia Packet-Times 1867
31. W. Port Elgin Times 1867
32. W. Port Perry Star 1867
33. W. Orillia Expositor 1867-1877
34. D. Belleville Intelligencer 1867
35. W. Barrie Gazette 1868-1916
36. W. Orillia Northern Light 1869-1872
37. D. Ottawa Free Press 1869-1891
38. W. Uxbridge Times Journal 1869
39. W. Aylmer Express 1869
40. W. Bobcaygeon Independent 1869
41. W. Alliston Herald 1870
42. W. Cannington Gleaner 1870
43. W. Glencoe Transcript and Free Press 1870
44. W. Hanover Post 1870
45. W. Napanee Beaver 1870
46. W. Norwood Register 1870
47. W. Parkhill Gazette 1870
48. W. Orillia Packet 1870-1924
49. W. Port Hope Times 1870-1927
50. W. Bancroft Times 1871
51. W. Brighton Independent 1871
52. D. Orillia Times 1871
<table>
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<td>53</td>
<td>W. Renfrew</td>
<td>Mercury</td>
<td>1871</td>
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<tr>
<td>54</td>
<td>W. Southampton</td>
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1. W. Dundalk Herald 1881
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4. W. Comber Herald 1881-1885
5. W. Beeton Recorder 1882
6. W. Essex Free Press 1882
7. W. Haliburton Country Echo 1882
8. W. Port Arthur Herald 1882-1895
9. W. Dundas Star 1883
10. W. Kenora Argus 1883-1885
11. W. Alexandria Glengarrion 1884-1909
12. W. Niagara Echo 1884-1885
13. W. Rodney Mercury 1884
14. W. Tilbury Times 1884
15. D. Brantford Daily Courier 1884-1918
16. D. Peterborough Examiner 1884
17. W. Weston York Times 1885
18. W. Grimsby The Independent 1885
19. W. Blyth Standard 1885
20. W. Burks Falls Arrow 1885
21. W. Chatsworth News 1885-1887
22. W. Creemore Star 1886
23. W. Grand Valley The Star and Vidette 1886
24. W. Smith Falls Record-News 1886
25. W. Thamesville Herald 1886
26. D. Woodstock Sentinel-Review 1886
27. W. Ajax Whitby News Advertiser 1887
28. D. Oakville Journal-Record 1887
29. D. Fort Williams Times News 1887
30. W. Tweed News 1887
31. W. Winchester Press 1888
32. W. Stouffville Tribune 1888
33. W. Bolton Enterprise 1888
34. W. Dutton Advance 1889
35. W. Coldwater Tribune and Waubaushene Investigator 1889-1900
36. D. Orillia Times 1889-1891
37. W. Prescott Journal 1890-1921
38. W. New Hamburg Independent 1890
39. W. Fort Frances Times 1890
40. W. Atwood Bee 1890-1895
41. W. Elmvale Lance 1891
42. W. Milverton Sun 1891
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**1901-1920**

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4. W. Carp Review 1904
5. W. Brigden Progress 1904-1907
6. W. Meaford Express 1905
7. W. New Liskeard Temiskaming Speaker 1906
8. W. Dryden Observer 1907-1925
9. W. Drumbo Beaver 1907-1913
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10. W. Cobalt Nugget 1908-1912
11. D. Sudbury Star 1908
12. W. Gore Bay The Recorder 1908
14. W. Courtright Sun 1909-1911
15. W. Burford Advance 1909
17. D. North Bay Nugget 1909
18. W. Cochrane Northern Post 1910
20. W. Oil Springs Advance 1915-1916
21. W. Rainy River Record 1916
22. W. Smithville Review 1916
23. W. Waterdown Review 1918
24. D. Windsor Star 1918

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1921-1940

1. W. Iroquois Post 1922
2. D. Kirkland Lake Northern Daily News 1922
3. D. Welland News 1922-1923
4. W. Niagara Advance 1923
5. W. Willowdale Enterprise 1926-1940
6. W. Mississauga Times 1927
7. W. Harrow News 1929
8. D. Fort Frances Bulletin 1932
9. W. Hagersville Press 1932
10. W. Palmerston Observer 1932
11. D. Timmins Press 1933
12. W. Lindsay Post 1933
13. W. Woodbridge Advertiser 1935
14. W. Orono Weekly Times 1936
15. D. Sioux Lookout Daily Bulletin 1936
16. W. Delhi News Record 1938

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1941-1960

1. W. Terrace Bay News 1946
2. W. Renfrew Advance 1946-1955
3. W. Windsor Riverside News 1946
4. W. Preston Times 1947-1956
5. W. Galt Times 1947
6. W. Hawkesbury Le Carillon 1947
7. W. Base Borden Citizen 1948
8. W. Belle River North Essex News 1948
9. W. Marathon Mercury 1948
11. W. Stoney Creek News 1949
12. W. Atikokan Progress 1950
13. W. Owen Sound Grey Bruce Herald 1950
14. W. Manotick South Carleton Gazette 1951
15. W. Geraldton Times Star 1952
16. W. Dundas Ancaster Recorder 1952
17. W. Sarnia Gazette 1953
18. W. Hamilton Recorder 1953
20. W. Frankford Advertiser 1956
21. W. Trenton The Trentonion 1956
22. W. Port Colborne News 1957
23. W. Fonthill Herald 1958
25. W. Zurich Citizen-News 1958
27. W. Colborne Chronicle 1959
28. W. Oakville Beaver 1960
29. W. Ajax Guardian 1960

1961-1977

1. W. Elliot Lake Standard 1961
2. W. Islington Etobicoke Advertiser-Guardian 1961
3. W. Kapuskasing Northern Times 1961
4. W. Sutton Lake Simcoe Advance 1961
5. W. Sudbury Lambda 1961
6. W. Scarborough Mirror 1962
7. W. Barrie Banner 1962
10. W. Brampton Times-Conservative 1963
11. W. Iroquois Falls Enterprise 1963
12. W. Lambeth News 1963
13. W. Minden Progress 1963
14. W. Brampton Times-Conservative 1964
15. W. Wawa Algoma News Review 1964
16. W. Stratford Times 1964
17. W. Arnprior Guide 1964
18. W. Dresden North Kent Leader 1965
19. W. Espanola Standard 1965
20. W. Mildmay Town and Country Crier 1965
21. W. Burlington Post 1965
22. W. Mississauga News 1965
23. W. Cobourg Newcastle News 1966
25. W. Gravenhurst News 1967
27. W. Belleville Advertiser 1968
28. W. Waterford Times 1969
29. D. Toronto Sun 1971
30. W. Bracebridge Georgian Bay Beacon 1973
31. W. Marmora Hastings Star 1973
32. W. Espanola Mid-North Weekly 1973
APPENDIX E
NEWSPAPER BIRTHS RANKED BY POPULATION

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17. Brockville Gazette 1828-1832 2460
18. Hamilton Gazette 1835-1856 2700
19. St. Catharines Mirror 1832-1834 3010
20. St. Catharines British Colonial Argus 1833-1834 3100
22. Kingston Patriot and Farmers Monitor 1828-1864 3710
23. Kingston Canadian Watchman 1830-1831 3800
24. Kingston Chronicle and Gazette 1833-1847 3914
25. Kingston British Whig 1834-1848 4000
26. Kingston Spectator 1834-1840 4000
27. Toronto Correspondent and Advocate 1832-1837 5505
28. Toronto Constitution 1836-1837 9654
29. Toronto Welland Canal 1835-1836 9765
30. Toronto British Colonist 1838-1859 12571
31. Toronto Examiner 1838-1855 12571

1841 - 1860 DAILY

1. Pembroke Observer 1855 1308
2. Cornwall Standard Freeholder 1846 1400
3. Simcoe Reformer 1858 1502
4. Guelph Mercury 1854 1900
5. Sarnia Observer 1853 2429
6. Port Hope Guide 1852 2476
7. Owen Sound Sun Times 1853 2950
8. Welland Tribune 1854-1863 3000
9. Stratford Beacon Herald 1854 3800
10. Brantford Expositor 1852 4000
11. London Free Press 1849 4548
13. Ottawa Citizen 1844 6000
14. Ottawa Daily Union 1858-1866 7960
15. Kingston Daily News 1851-1905 11585
16. Hamilton Spectator 1846 13879
17. Toronto Globe 1844 15000

WEEKLY

1. Durham Chronicle 1857 601
2. Streetsville Review 1846 620
3. Markham Economist-Sun 1856 700
4. Milton The Canadian Champion 1860 720
5. Kemptville Advance 1855 736
6. Caledonia Grand River Sachem 1855 900
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| 8. Aurora Banner 1860 | 1010 |
| 9. Thorold Advocate and Welland County Intelligencer 1849-1851 | 1020 |
| 10. Elora Backwoodsman 1852-1858 | 1020 |
| 11. Goderich Signal Star 1848 | 1030 |
| 12. Thorold Gazette 1854-1862 | 1100 |
| 13. Oshawa Vindicator 1854-1917 | 1142 |
| 15. Seaforth The Huron Expositor 1860 | 1168 |
| 16. Ingersoll Chronicle 1854-1868 | 1190 |
| 17. Waterloo Chronicle 1854 | 1194 |
| 18. St. Thomas Weekly Dispatch 1853-1876 | 1274 |
| 19. Thorold Chronicle and Welland County Advertiser 1860-1862 | 1280 |
| 20. Newmarket Era 1852 | 1450 |
| 21. Fergus Elora News Express 1854 | 1500 |
| 22. Brampton Banner Times 1855-1902 | 1580 |
| 23. Gananoque Reporter 1860 | 1620 |
| 24. Mitchell Advocate 1860 | 1683 |
| 25. Carleton Place Herald 1855-1874 | 1750 |
| 26. Chatham Journal 1841-1844 | 1850 |
| 27. Paris Star 1849 | 1890 |
| 28. Chatham Gleaner 1844-1850 | 1900 |
| 29. Walkerton Herald-Times 1860 | 1900 |
| 30. Barrie Northern Advance 1846-1851 | 1920 |
| 31. Bowmanville Canadian Statesman 1854 | 1956 |
| 32. Chatham Canadian Freeman 1847-1848 | 2000 |
| 33. Chatham Western Sentinel 1847-1849 | 2020 |
| 34. Chatham Kent Advertiser 1848-1859 | 2065 |
| 35. Chatham Chronicle 1849-1850 | 2092 |
| 36. Chatham Western Argus 1858-1861 | 2150 |
| 37. Prescott Journal 1847 | 2156 |
| 38. Prescott Telegraph 1850-1897 | 2156 |
| 39. Peterborough Review 1853 | 2191 |
| 40. Prescott Messenger 1855-1916 | 2222 |
| 41. Collingwood Enterprise-Bulletin 1857 | 2229 |
| 42. Port Hope Commercial 1847-1849 | 2300 |
| 43. Galt Reporter 1857-1889 | 2350 |
| 44. Lambton Observer 1853-1920 | 2429 |
| 45. Port Hope Watchman 1850-1852 | 2476 |
| 46. St. Mary's Journal-Argus 1855 | 2850 |
| 47. Welland Advance 1852-1853 | 2870 |
| 48. Welland Advocate 1852-1856 | 2870 |
| 49. Niagara Argus 1844-1846 | 3000 |
| 50. Niagara The Mail 1846-1870 | 3088 |
| 51. Windsor Herald 1855-1856 | 3220 |
| 52. Belleville Hastings Chronicle 1841-1873 | 3900 |
| 53. St. Catharines The Constitutional 1849-1871 | 4368 |
| 54. Kingston News 1842-1846 | 6292 |</p>
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2. Welland Telegraph 1864-1918
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4. Oshawa Times 1871
5. Barrie Examiner 1864
6. Welland Port Colborne Tribune 1863
7. Kitchener Waterloo Record 1878
8. Chatham News 1862
9. Belleville Intelligencer 1867
10. Kingston News 1862-1873
11. Ottawa Times 1865-1877
12. Ottawa Le Canada 1865-1869
13. Ottawa Free Press 1869-1916
14. Toronto Daily Telegraph 1866-1872
15. Toronto World 1880-1921

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1. Thunder Bay Sentinel 1875-1895
2. Brussells Post 1872
3. Erin Advocate 1880
4. Jarvis Record 1877
5. Bobcaygeon Independent 1869
6. Shelburne Free Press and Economist 1875
7. Tara Leader 1874
8. Tillsonburg News 1863
9. Glencoe Transcript and Free Press 1870
10. Little Current Manitoulin-Expositor 1879
11. Lucknow Sentinel 1873
12. Teeswater News 1865
13. Beaverton Express 1878
14. Markdale Standard 1875
15. Bancroft Times 1871
16. Stirling News-Aragus 1879
17. Norwood Register 1870
18. Wiarton Echo 1879
19. Acton Free Press 1875
20. Milton Canadian 1861
21. Thornbury Review Herald 1872
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| 2. | Fort William Times News 1887 | 3497 |
| 3. | Kenora Miner and News 1894 | 4000 |
| 4. | Orillia Times 1889-1891 | 4752 |
| 5. | Lindsay Post 1895 | 6081 |
| 6. | Woodstock Sentinel-Review 1886 | 6783 |
| 7. | Galt Reporter 1896 | 7800 |
| 8. | Chatham Planet 1891-1900 | 8465 |
| 9. | St. Catharines Standard 1891 | 9170 |
| 10. | Peterborough Examiner 1884 | 9407 |
| 11. | St. Thomas Times Journal 1881 | 9985 |
| 12. | Brantford Daily Courier 1884-1918 | 11653 |
| 13. | Toronto Star 1892 | 144023 |

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| 1. | Wabigoon Star 1897-1907 | 205 |
| 2. | Dryden Observer 1897 | 450 |
| 3. | Milverton Sun 1891 | 603 |
| 4. | Creemore Star 1886 | 614 |
| 5. | Comber Herald 1881-1885 | 627 |
| 6. | Beeton Recorder 1882 | 634 |
| 7. | Clifford Express 1892-1894 | 634 |
| 8. | Bolton Enterprise 1888 | 682 |
| 9. | Haliburton County Echo 1882 | 700 |
| 10. | Grand Valley The Star and Vidette 1886 | 700 |
11. Atwood Bee 1890-1895 700
12. Ayton Advance 1895-1900 700
13. Elmvale Lance 1891 726
14. Wheatley Journal 1895 735
15. Warkworth Journal 1892 750
16. Dundalk Herald 1881 762
17. Beamsville The Lincoln Post Express 1892 793
18. Thamesville Herald 1886 798
19. Chatsworth News 1885-1887 800
20. Coldwater Tribune and Waubaushene Investigator 1889-1900 800
21. Rodney Mercury 1884 801
22. Ailsa Craig Banner 1893-1901 801
23. Tilbury Times 1884 805
24. Burks Falls Arrow 1885 809
25. Dutton Advance 1889 838
26. Cobden Sun 1895 850
27. Lanark Era 1895 859
28. Ayr News 1898 872
29. Coldwater Planet 1896-1898 875
30. Grimsby The Independent 1885 883
31. Westport Rideau Valley Mirror 1893 893
32. West Lorne Sun 1897 921
33. Blyth Standard 1885 927
34. Chesterville Record 1894 932
35. Fort Erie Times Review 1895 934
36. Marmora Herald 1893 961
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38. Tweed News 1887 975
39. Havelock Standard 1895 984
40. Weston York Times 1885 1000
41. Tavistock Gazette 1895 1000
42. Elmira Signet 1893 1069
43. Burlington Gazette 1898 1119
44. Stouffville Tribune 1888 1148
45. Port Colborne Herald 1898-1922 1154
46. Port Colborne Citizen and Humberstone News 1899-1906 1154
47. Bridgeburg Review 1894-1895 1206
48. Niagara Echo 1884-1885 1300
49. New Hamburg Independent 1890 1335
50. Hespeler Herald 1897-1906 1482
51. Fort Frances Times 1890 1647
52. Essex Free Press 1882 1682
53. Harriston Review 1896 1687
54. Dunnville Chronicle 1896 1895
55. Alexandria Glengarrion 1884-1902 1911
57. Ajax Whitby News Advertiser 1887 2000
58. Welland Peopler Press 1898-1920 2035
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4. Welland News 1922-1923 10709
5. Timmins Press 1933 14200

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1. Woodbridge Advertiser 1935 812
2. Iroquois Post 1922 937
3. Harrow News 1929 989
4. Delhi News-Record 1938 1121
5. Orono Weekly Times 1936 1127
6. Niagara-on-the-Lake Advance 1923 1228
7. Hagersville Press 1932 1385
8. Palmerston Observer 1933 1543
9. Mississauga Times 1927 3258
10. Willowdale Enterprise 1926-1940 4732
11. Lindsay Post 1933 7505

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1. Zurich Citizen-News 1958 723
2. Manotick South Carleton Gazette 1951 1212
3. Colborne Chronicle 1959 1336
4. Frankford Advertiser 1959 1393
5. Fonthill Herald 1958 1412
7. Terrace Bay News 1946 1443
8. Woodbridge News 1948-1960 1600
9. Marathon Mercury 1948 1766
10. Stoney Creek News 1949 1922
11. Atikokan Progress 1950 2821
12. Geraldton Times-Star 1952 3227
13. Base Borden Citizen 1948 4000
15. Galt Times 1947 5000
16. Hawkesbury Le Carillon 1947 6623
17. Dundas Ancaster Recorder 1952 6846
18. Oakville Beaver 1960 6910
19. Renfrew Advance 1946-1955 7360
20. Preston Times 1947-1956 7619
21. Ajax Guardian 1960 7755
22. Port Colborne News 1957 8275
23. Trenton The Trentonian 1956 10085
24. Owen Sound Grey Bruce Herald 1950 16423
25. Sarnia Gazette 1953 34697
26. Willowdale Reporter 1958 49821
27. Windsor Riverside News 1946 102049
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28. Hamilton Recorder 1953 204766
29. Hamilton Mountain Times 1958 208321

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1. Toronto Sun 1971 (Over One Million)

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1. Mildmay Town and Country Crier 1965 963
2. Ancaster News 1967 1000
3. Marmora Hastings Star 1973 1350
4. Waterford Times 1969 1400
5. Sutton Lake Simcoe Advance 1961 1684
6. Dresden North Kent Leader 1965 2369
7. Wawa Algoma News Review 1964 3102
8. Minden Progress 1963 3685
9. Lambeth News 1963 4029
10. Espanola Standard 1965 5567
11. Arnprior Guide 1964 6016
12. Espanola Mid North Weekly 1973 6045
15. Iroquois Falls Enterprise 1963 7271
16. Bramalea Guardian 1963 9871
17. Elliot Lake Standard 1961 10165
18. Cobourg Newcastle 1966 11282
19. Kapuskasing Northern Times 1961 12834
20. Stratford Times 1964 24508
22. Belleville Advertiser 1968 35128
23. Cooksville Mississauga Review 1962 37422
24. Brampton Times-Conservative 1964 41211
25. Islington Etobicoke Advertiser Guardian 1961 62405
26. Burlington Post 1965 87023
27. Sudbury Lambda 1961 90535
28. Mississauga News 1965 100010
29. Scarborough Mirror 1962 134092
30. Don Mills Scarborough Mirror 1962 205301

Note: See Appendix I for sources of population data.
APPENDIX F

WEEKLY NEWSPAPER FOLDS

Ottawa (CP) - The weekly Gloucester Guardian which served five Ottawa area communities has folded after nine years. It was announced Monday.

Trish Fenn, advertising agent for the paper, said the Guardian had suffered from competition from other local papers.

Publisher Gord Fenn, owner of four other local weeklies, declined to comment.

Rosanne Moizer, managing editor, said the paper had laid off its staff of four, let down its 12,000 readership and left her feeling "very sad".

# APPENDIX G

## POPULATION BY TOWNSHIPS IN NORTHERN ONTARIO*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Township</th>
<th>1921</th>
<th>1941</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>NIPISSING:</strong></td>
<td></td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Airy</td>
<td>890</td>
<td>770</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>RAINY RIVER:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chappie</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1927</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Emo</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1217</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>La Vallee</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1039</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>McIrive</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>922</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>KENORA:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lake of the Woods</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>696</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Machin</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>896</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>COCHRANE:</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calvert</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>3269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clute</td>
<td>542</td>
<td>743</td>
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<tr>
<td>Fauquier</td>
<td>537</td>
<td>887</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>German</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glackmeyer</td>
<td>651</td>
<td>726</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hanlon</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>603</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hislop</td>
<td>293</td>
<td>849</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kendall</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1010</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kendrey</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>698</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountjoy</td>
<td>825</td>
<td>1729</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>O'Brian</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1991</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisdale</td>
<td>3918</td>
<td>9461</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Way</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Whitney</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>1487</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>SUDBURY:</strong></td>
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<td>Balfour</td>
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<tr>
<td>Bigwood</td>
<td>358</td>
<td>647</td>
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<td>Burwash</td>
<td>383</td>
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<td>Capreol</td>
<td>660</td>
<td>556</td>
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<td>Chapleau</td>
<td>2236</td>
<td>1867</td>
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<tr>
<td>Cosby</td>
<td>538</td>
<td>864</td>
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<td>Dunnet</td>
<td>968</td>
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<td>Falconbridge</td>
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<td>905</td>
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<td>Foleyet</td>
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<td>775</td>
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<td>Garson</td>
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<td>Hanmer</td>
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<td>McKim</td>
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<td>Martland</td>
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<td>Location</td>
<td>1921</td>
<td>1941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>------------------</td>
<td>------</td>
<td>------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Merritt</td>
<td>2750</td>
<td>1938</td>
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<td>Neelon</td>
<td>1528</td>
<td>1009</td>
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<tr>
<td>Noble</td>
<td>457</td>
<td>1153</td>
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<td>Rayside</td>
<td>952</td>
<td>962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Snider</td>
<td>1157</td>
<td>1726</td>
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<tr>
<td>Waters</td>
<td>455</td>
<td>772</td>
</tr>
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<td>THUNDER BAY: McIntyre</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Neeking</td>
<td>347</td>
<td>2586</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nipigon</td>
<td>482</td>
<td>1180</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oliver</td>
<td>944</td>
<td>1158</td>
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<tr>
<td>Paipooge</td>
<td>991</td>
<td>1392</td>
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<tr>
<td>Schreiber</td>
<td>1317</td>
<td>1281</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timiskaming: Armstrong</td>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bucke</td>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1069</td>
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<tr>
<td>Coleman</td>
<td>1720</td>
<td>708</td>
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<tr>
<td>Dymond</td>
<td>733</td>
<td>1123</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Teck</td>
<td>1170</td>
<td>20409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tisdale and</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>Porcupine District</td>
<td>3918</td>
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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Census Of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 16, 1921, pp. 295-310. Also, Census Of Canada, Vol. 1, Table 12, 1941, pp. 257-270.
## APPENDIX H

### THRESHOLD TOWNS WITH THEIR POPULATION FIGURES

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>DAILY</th>
<th>WEEKLY</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1781-1800</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Niagara 600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-1820</td>
<td>Kingston 1581*</td>
<td>Niagara 1027</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821-1840</td>
<td>Brockville 1221*</td>
<td>Ancaster 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-1860</td>
<td>Pembroke 1308*</td>
<td>Durham 601*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1861-1880</td>
<td>Orillia 1322*</td>
<td>Thunder Bay 105 (Brussels 500*, and Erin 500*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-1900</td>
<td>Oakville 1823*</td>
<td>Wabigoon 250  (Dryden 450*)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-1920</td>
<td>Sudbury 2027*</td>
<td>Drumbo 500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1921-1940</td>
<td>Kirkland Lake 1170*</td>
<td>Woodbridge 812*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1941-1960</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>Zurich 723*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961-1977</td>
<td>Toronto (1 million)</td>
<td>Mildmay 963*</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

* Survived to the present.
APPENDIX I

LIST OF SOURCES OF POPULATION DATA

1. Jacob Spelt, Urban Development In South - Central Ontario, (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Ltd., 1972).


7. Every issue of the Census Of Canada from 1851 to the present was examined. Also the Census Of Upper Canada was examined, for data before 1851.
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*Journalism Quarterly* 40 (1963): 565-574.


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PERIODICALS:
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Bolton, J. M. A Study Of Central Place Structure In Part Of The Niagara Peninsula; And Of The Relationship Between That Structure And The Role Of Weekly Newspapers. B. E. S. Thesis, Department Of Geography, University Of Waterloo, 1975.


Preston, R. E. Audit Bureau Of Circulations Daily Newspaper Records As A Source In Studies Of Post-1915 Settlement Patterns In The United States And Canada. (To be published in the Historical Geography Newsletter. Forthcoming).


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Niagara Peninsula - Newspapers - History. (A listing of records and newspapers on file at the St. Catharines Public Library, Reserve Section, Main Branch.).


