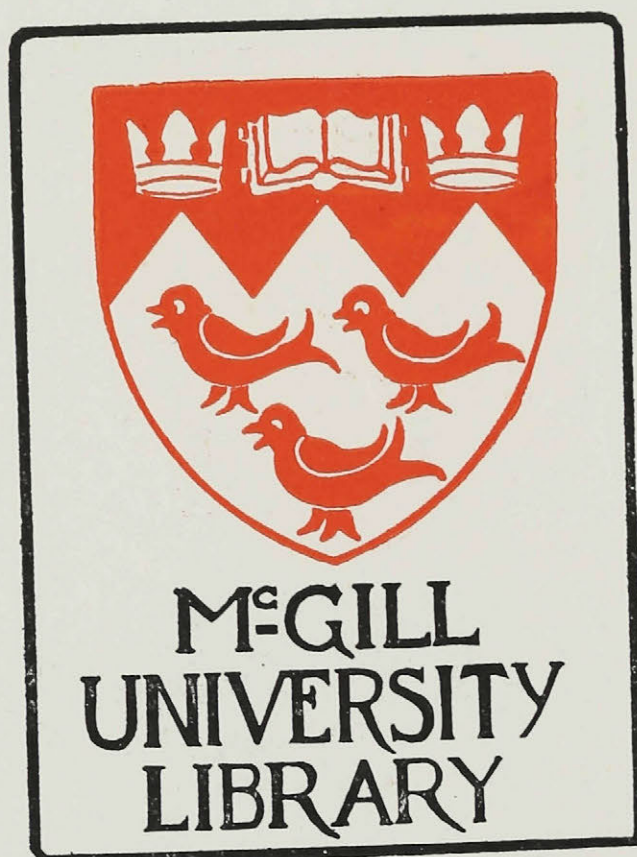


REGIONAL BASIS
OF
NEWS DISTRIBUTION
IN THE
PRAIRIE PROVINCES
OF CANADA

DEPOSITED BY THE FACULTY OF
GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

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THE REGIONAL BASIS OF NEWS DISTRIBUTION IN
THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES OF CANADA

A STUDY OF REGIONS DEFINED BY
NEWSPAPER CIRCULATION

A DISSERTATION
PRESENTED IN CANDIDACY FOR DEGREE OF
MASTER OF ARTS

BY

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CHAPTER I
INTRODUCTION

(I)

The development of the prairie provinces.

The present century has seen the prairie provinces, with a combined area of over seven hundred and fifty thousand square miles and a total population of two million, take rank as one of the major assets of world agriculture. Yet, when we glance backwards a few decades, the enormous development which has taken place can hardly be realized. Sixty years ago the prairies presented the picture of a vast wilderness inhabited only by wandering tribes of Indians. A few isolated localities dotted here and there were the only mark made by man. Greatest among these was the Red River Settlement, now Fort Garry, with its total population of eleven thousand; and of these only fifteen hundred were white men. The whole community lived on the results of buffalo hunting and the products of the numerous lakes and rivers, teeming as they were with a great variety of fish. In a few short years these conditions had practically passed away forever, and to-day we find on the prairies a number of important cities, each with its large daily newspaper circulating out in ever-widening ripples over the surrounding territory.

However, the prairie provinces have not gone through the stages of development characterizing the older established communities on the continent. Usually, there is a period when

means of communication are scarce, when travel is difficult and the population scattered in groups, each complete in itself and isolated from the surrounding groups. At this stage of development circulation of news within the group is a simple matter, and is carried on by word of mouth, or, if the resources of the group will permit, through the medium of a country newspaper the importance of which is greatly enhanced in the local area through isolation.

Gradually, as time passes by, each group expands radially from the centre; the degree of isolation decreases, and as one group encroaches upon the territory of those adjacent to it, all barriers are broken down. The large centres of dominance come forward and the smaller centres then become subsidiary to them. These smaller centres then form the hinterland which looks toward the city and is influenced by it. Along with this change comes a change in the character of the local newspapers which, to survive, are obliged to become purely local affairs. They serve as a mirror of the community, bringing together the daily threads of the life of the group and weaving them into a pattern which will reveal the people to themselves.

The development of the prairies into a great agricultural area has been somewhat unique. In the first place the geographical conditions are different from those of many communities. Here lies a great flat country with few, if any, natural barriers. Instead of being obliged to break down barriers of isolation and to establish the principal means of communication, the early settlers came upon the scene when all was in readiness.

Two great lines of communication stretched across the country and along these they established themselves. Political boundaries did not develop with time but had been arbitrarily set down in advance. Large cities grew up rapidly at points which had been favorably situated for the fur trade; and at the same time towns and villages were being developed. The colonization of the west was very rapid. New settlers came in hordes and settled upon the wild uncultivated land of the area. With this settlement the prairies tended to divide themselves up into regions, each with its centre of dominance and its circumference.

Regions have been defined in a number of ways and many factors may be taken as indices to the boundaries of the region of which the large urban centre is the focal point.

(2)

Definition of the region.

In any study of regional sociology a number of closely related concepts, all having a territorial base, are found to exist.

First among these is the concept community. The question at once arises as to what is implied in this term. Does it refer to a neighborhood? R.E.Park believes that a community is a unit of human population based on the division of labor and specialized personal occupation. Such a community might be an occupational area. F. N. House defines the community as a geographic unit, "Community may be described as an aggregation

of population and institutions, gathered together and integrated through the influence of a centre of dominance, which, in turn, is determined at a point of maximum mobility and communication".^I Such a community may be a geographical unit with the small village as its centre of dominance, or, it may refer to the world community which has its₁ in the great metropolitan city. Nevertheless, it is obvious that a community must have certain characteristics. In the first place, it requires a locality reference; it must occupy a definite territorial unit, whether large or small; and this territorial unit must have its boundaries. These may be natural boundaries determined by topographical features, or they may be political boundaries arbitrarily set down. The community must also have an ecological pattern, a pattern of distribution involving a centre of dominance and a circumference. This pattern of distribution comes as the result of the functioning of a set of processes including competition, invasion and segregation. When an area possesses these characteristics it may be designated as a community. One community is set off from another by its distribution of population and institutions which are integrated through the influence of its centre of dominance.

Another concept to be considered is that of a culture area. Wissler defines a culture type as a more or less homogeneous aggregate of culture complexes found distributed

I

House, F. N. The Range of Social Theory, p.79.

over a wide area.² House says, "all those who have a common culture (type of culture) are likely to form for some purposes a group, or a society, that is a real functioning unit".³

So a culture area may be compared to an ecological unit, that is, any geographical distribution having a unitary character sufficient to differentiate it from surrounding distributions.

Dawson and Gettys define a culture area as a "geographical region within which is to be found distributed a number of culture traits sufficiently distinctive to mark off the area from other culture areas".⁴ These culture traits will be found to be most numerous at the centre of the culture area, gradually shading out towards the fringe. On the fringe there will be a marginal area where they enter into competition with traits from other culture areas. Some traits will be found only in small local areas; others will be universal and with the development of modern means of communication the diffusion of culture traits is on a world-wide basis. For example, a dialect is usually found in a small section of the country and is characteristic of only the small group of people in that section. Dialects tend to be very local in nature and are best maintained in isolated areas. The same is true with regard to the traits of French Canadian culture which have their dominant centre in the province of Quebec. On the other hand a language covers a large area and in the case of the English language there is a tendency to world-wide diffusion.

So the culture area may be large or small in relation to

² Wissler, Clark, Man and His Culture.

³ House, F. N. The Range of Social Theory, p.294.

⁴ Dawson & Gettys, An Introduction to Sociology, p.567.

the particular culture traits which are taken as the index to its territory. For it depends upon some unity or likeness within itself by which it can be set off from other culture areas.

Just as the culture area is defined with specific items of culture as one's index, the region of dominance of any large centre may be defined in terms of the distribution of goods and services as well as of mobility of its population, and its dependence upon the centre. This region may be a community, or it may be a culture area. Or it may include only a portion of a community or culture area, yet, in the first place it is a specially organized unit in which certain functions are performed for the region of which it is the focal point.

Russell Smith believes that man lives on the earth in relation to a corn belt, a wheat region, a trade or a manufacturing centre. Regional geography is the method for studying natural areas or regions and the territorial groups inhabiting them.⁵

Several writers have taken the regional point of view and have discussed at some length the boundaries of the region. R. D. McKenzie believes the basis of distance determines the currents of travel and traffic, which, in turn, determine the areas of concentration and the location of cities.⁶ The time-

⁵Smith, Russell, North America,

⁶McKenzie, R. D. "The Scope of Human Ecology", p.146.

cost concept is a very important factor in social organization to-day. No individual is willing to spend time journeying to a far off centre when one near at hand will provide a similar type of service. The large centre tends to grow up at a place most favorable from this point of view -- usually the point of convergence of many lines of communication. Tramways and railway communication, bus lines, etc., have a role to play in determining the size of a community or region. Naturally, regions grow up around each town and the boundaries of these are largely determined by the time-cost factor, as well as by the geographic position; although the role of geography is gradually diminishing as man overcomes more and more the obstacles of nature. Instead of geographic determinism, economic determinism predominates.

C. J. Galpin has recognized the ecological factors as the basis of the study of social organization. He has worked out the boundaries of small natural areas or communities with reference to the social and economic relations of their inhabitants. On large scale maps he has located the outlying patrons of the business and social institutions of a town or village which apparently forms the centre of the region. Maps showing trade zones, banking zones, distribution of school population in a region, etc., are examples of this.⁷

In any region there are a number of centres of varying size and nature, and in these are located the social institutions which serve the region. One larger town occupies the key

⁷Galpin, C. J. Rural Life in America.

II.

position. It is the focal point of the lines of transportation and communication within the region, and it is the connecting link with outside areas, for each local area is only partly autonomous and hence must depend upon the more distant centres for a great variety of financial, political and social services. Furthermore, the business turnover of the larger town stands at the top; its stores and professional services are more highly specialized, efficient, and more numerous than those in the surrounding centres. For certain goods and skills all the residents of the region must find their way to this centre. By locating the patrons of the institutions established in the centre, Galpin has shown how the boundaries of a region having its centre in a given settlement may be determined.

Similarly, the boundaries ~~the-boundaries~~ of a region having the large urban group as centre may be worked out by plotting on a map the outlying patrons of the business and social institutions of that city. But this is more difficult for in such a region, with its clusters of smaller centres, there is a tendency towards decentralization in many respects. Department stores, drug stores, churches, marketing devices, etc., spring up in small towns and villages and tend to satisfy the needs of the rural inhabitants.

Nevertheless, this does not hold true when it comes to satisfying man's craving for news. Local papers have undergone drastic changes in the last few years and have altered their function and scope. For rural inhabitants are depending more and more upon the daily newspaper from the large urban centre to

keep them informed of world affairs and conditions in the business and commercial world. This function has not, nor cannot be, decentralized, as the large city shall ever be the centre of news. In recent years the radio is coming to play a large part in the life of the country dweller. But the radio does not yet profess to supply the great variety of information contained within the pages of the large city daily. Nor is the radio recognized as an essential in every farm home on the Canadian prairies.

Hence, it becomes evident that the circulation of newspapers from the large centre may be taken as an index to the region of dominance of that centre and may define the boundaries of the region, the inhabitants of which look towards the centre and are influenced by it. R. E. Park has said "The circulations of newspapers, when plotted on a map, serve to delimit with exceptional accuracy the limits of the local trade area and measure at the same time the extent and degree of dependence of the suburbs upon the metropolis, and of the metropolis upon the larger region which it dominates".

The large centre and its tributary area are inseparably bound up together. The development of town and metropolitan economies means, not only the growth of the centre, but, in addition, the development of the economic life of the whole region. With increased devices for communication and transportation the trade areas and hinterlands of cities have tended to assume a more compact and radial form, and urban centres have come into more complete possession of the areas and regions which they dominate. Rural districts are not separate entities, but part

8Park, R. E. "Urbanization and Newspaper Circulation", p.62.

of the organic whole of the region with the large city as the focal point.

The distribution of newspaper circulation exhibits the actual organization of interest and the distribution of attention in both the rural and urban districts. So the circulation of the daily newspapers may be taken as a factor in determining regions on the prairies, and as an index for describing them.

CHAPTER II

THE NEWSPAPER AND THE REGION

(I)

Change in function of the newspaper in the region.

In recent years the newspaper has undergone a wide modification until to-day it stands out as one of the most dynamic forces in our social organization, intimately connected with all phases of community life.

Every institution is created to serve some fundamental need in the human race, and upon the strength and duration of that need the very existence of the institution depends. The newspaper was established to satisfy man's unceasing craving for news, and, in the course of its long period of development, has become a more or less permanent structure, deep-rooted in our society and sufficiently impersonal to belong to our culture.

A few decades ago newspapers played no great part in community life. In 1830 the life of the small community was characterized by self-contained local interests and by face-to-face relationships.^I Any news of importance was not dependent upon the newspaper for its publicity, but passed from one to another by word of mouth. Perhaps this news was distorted to serve the purposes of the speaker; perhaps

^I Willey, M. M. "Influence of Social Change on Newspaper Style", *Sociology & Social Research*, Vol. XIII, p.33.

influential leaders directed the thinking of the community. People were afforded little opportunity to form their own opinions and what opinions they did form may have been based upon inadequate and distorted information.

In the early stages of development the newspapers were mainly of two types. First there was the paper dominated by some political party and read mainly by the supporters of that party. This newspaper was generally subsidized by the particular organization. The news contained within its pages served as a means to an end, coloring the beliefs and ideas of the readers. The second type of newspaper was that reflecting the personality of the editor--- his particular prejudices and pet themes, likes and dislikes. This paper lived and died with its editor. The sphere of influence of these two newspapers was very limited and their appeal was to a restricted and mostly male clientele. In general, they circulated within the boundaries of a small local area, within a neighborhood.

The enormous change in social organization which has taken place in the course of the last century has had its effect upon the spread and publication of news. The world moves along with an increasing flux of changes and, as a typical institution, the newspaper, to keep pace, must be continually adapting itself to the new and ever-changing world in which it has its existence. With the opening up of new means of communication the physical possibilities of circulation became evident; and, as a result, the newspaper found its way into fields unknown before. At the same time the educational system was becoming more democratic and the

the percentage of illiteracy in the population was gradually decreasing. Areas of circulation increased in size and papers came within the reach of the lower strata of society and of the rural inhabitants in isolated districts.

Consequently, the relation of the press to the public took on an entirely new aspect and all members of society, regardless of class or position, became potential readers of the daily paper. To-day people are so accustomed to the regular appearance of their morning and evening paper that they unreflectingly take for granted its presence in the household.

Along with this change in circulation there came a change in the newspaper itself. Many individuals in the urban centres took advantage of the opportunity and large daily papers were published. The small papers found themselves wholly unable to compete with these large dailies. Formerly their existence had depended upon isolation and it was this isolation which made it difficult for the city paper to circulate in areas far removed from the centre of publication.

But now "ideas and goods can spread more rapidly than ever before, and the isolation of the remoter regions is breaking down ----- The integration of modern society has modified the place of the weekly, and its role is changing. It is no longer the principal source of world news for the community; the publishing of world events has been transferred to the daily, with its elaborate and costly news-gathering syndicates".² So the small town newspaper to survive has had to confine itself to a small local area. It must meet local needs and gain

² Willey, M. M. The Country Newspaper, p.13.

support from the local subscribers and advertisers. On the other hand the large daily papers are concerned with more general matters; their circulation is more wide-spread, and they must please many interests in many and varied localities.³

Willey also notes a change in the content of the newspaper accompanying the changes in the social and economic world, "the development of emotional presentation in news content parallels the transition from small town life of the past to the present urbanization".⁴ The early papers tended to present news material in an impersonal and non-emotional manner. It was unnecessary for an editor to "play up" news, for the newspaper served as a medium for explaining and recording more than for informing on local matters. However, about the third decade in the last century, as a result of the trend towards urbanization, there was a distinct change in the style of news-writing. With the development of urban communities the number of primary contacts decreased and daily life became more impersonal in nature. Secondary groups developed and the newspaper became the informer. The desire to spread circulation to the lower strata of society made editors stress the emotional appeal in recording events. Headlines and pictures were used and news was presented in an emotional and sensational manner. Newspapers became great advertising mediums and circulation was sought in order to sell it to the advertisers.

Thus, through a long process of evolution, involving

³Willey, M. M. The Country Newspaper, p.13.

⁴Willey, M. M. "The Influence of Social Change on Newspaper Style", Sociology & Social Research, Vol. XIII, p.36.

much accommodation to changing conditions, the newspaper has come to be more democratic in its appeal, news has changed to a commodity, and the older conventional form has developed into a great capitalistic enterprise.

In modern times, when the advance of science makes it possible to comb the entire earth day by day for news and pictures; when modern transportation supplies the means by which literally millions of readers are reached overnight; when production schedules demand not merely carloads but even trainloads of paper every day; the vast significance of the city daily in the region over which it spreads can hardly be estimated. No other social institution embodies such a variety of interests and no other social institution has such a wide-spread territory over which to extend its influence. As the purveyor of news and the vehicle of opinion such an institution has a great role to play in the social organization of the region.

(2)

The newspaper as a socializing agent.

The newspaper is one of the great forces of socialization and, in any consideration of its relation to the region, the role which it plays in this connection cannot be overlooked. For the newspaper acts upon the physical loneliness of the country and the monotony of the daily routine of city life. Its stated purpose is that of publishing news, news which will satisfy the desires of its readers. With its human interest stories, its news of business and finance, its record of events, the press is able to appeal to the interest of every individual, old and young. The small boy reads the bedtime story, his

older brother gleans over the sporting news, and his sister the doings of the world of society and fashion; while his father is content with news of the stock market and his mother with the woman's page. The newspaper deals with subjects in which every individual is to a greater or less extent interested; for the newspaper is of the day. It deals with color and action, with the pulsating life of the moment.

Before dealing at length with the newspaper as a factor in the socializing process, we shall first consider what is involved in the term socialization.

L. F. Ward emphasizes the role of diffusion of knowledge and limits the process of socialization to the spread of veritable information.⁵ This is socialization in the narrowest conception of the term.

On the other hand, E. W. Burgess takes socialization as an all inclusive term involving the all-round development of the individual resulting in his free and full participation in social thought, social sentiment and social interaction; that is, in the thinking, feeling and action of the group.⁶ The individual takes part in the collective activities and participates in the spirit and purpose of his social group. Through the socializing process he is enabled to shape his aims and interests so that they may harmonize with the promotion of the coordinated welfare of all members of society, and he himself

⁵ Ward, L. F. Applied Sociology.

⁶ Burgess, E. W. The Function of Socialization in Social Evolution.

becomes a part of the resulting unity. At the same time he participates in the store of knowledge accumulated by society. As such socialization involves social interaction.

The great medium of social interaction is communication which forms the basis for participation in group life.⁷ Men live in a world of ideas and upon the communication of these ideas participation in group life depends. The newspaper is one of the most potent factors within the region for the communication of ideas. E. R. Groves has said, "the newspaper is the gregarious meeting place for the minds of men".⁸ Through the newspaper intercommunication of ideas takes place, not only within the region itself, but between regions far and near.

"Democracy requires a community of interests and ideas. This implies a condition in which all individuals in a group are aware of the diverse points of view, beliefs and ideas of others, and are tolerant of them".⁹ Through the medium of the press with its news columns and its editorial section these diverse points of view, ideas and beliefs are conveyed.

Other agencies also play a part in the socializing process. These include the church, school, libraries, clubs, Telephones and radios. However, no one of these contains the variety of information to be gleaned from the pages of the daily newspaper.

The problem of socializing the individual members of society became increasingly difficult as a result of the industrial revolution. Prior to this time people had lived in

⁷ Park & Burgess, Introduction to Sociology, ch.VI.

⁸ Groves, E. R. "Agencies of Socializing the Rural Mind", p.632.

⁹ Willey, M. M. The Country Newspaper, p.10.

groups where intimate personal relationships of one to another had persisted for centuries. However, with the revolution in industrial life, there came a revolution in social organization. These intimate relationships characteristic of primary group life decreased in number and the impersonal secondary contacts of modern urban life became predominant. Under such conditions many individuals would have been beyond the influence of the socializing process had it not been for the many agencies of communication already in existence.

In the nineteenth century social movements requiring the participation of wider circles of men in the broadening field of social life began to develop. The best means available for the fulfillment of this end was the printing press, the invention of which has facilitated communication between the minds of every age. The world as most of us know it is not a seen but a reported world, and these reports we gather chiefly from one great source, the press. Thus, it becomes evident that the newspaper has a very powerful role to play in the process of socialization.

The newspaper permeates the whole territory over which it circulates, working into the homes and into the minds of the people. Within its pages an endless variety of information is contained. In society to-day the newspaper has become the great medium for the interchange of information. "News has freed mankind from the control of political parties, social institutions, and, it may be added, from the 'tyranny' of books".

Particularly is all this true with regard to people living in the territory surrounding the large city. Galpin describes rural life in America as follows: "Segregation of

¹⁰ Park & Burgess, Introduction to Sociology, p.343.

each family unit unto its own routine and habits of life inevitably brings it to pass that the farmstead is detached from the clustered groups of village, town or city by long distances.----- Such neighbors as farmers have are exclusively farmers.----- Farming as an occupation is segregated from other businesses.----- If we would come to an understanding of the case we must think what would result if lawyers had no neighbors but lawyers, if clergymen had no neighbors but clergymen, if all blacksmiths were segregated, all butchers lived in a group by themselves".^{II}

The same situation is found on the prairies of western Canada where the farm dwellers, isolated to a considerable degree, must rely upon the newspaper to keep them informed of the march of world events. And the newspaper which they read is not that from the local centre, but the publication from the large city which dominates the region. People come to the city for a great variety of things, but above all they come for news.

To the large group of country dwellers the newspaper is a continuous source of penetrating and persistent social influence, all the more significant since they are little conscious of what they receive from their reading beyond mere news. The newspaper affords mental connection with places far distant and distinct, drawing the country inhabitant out into the world of business and affairs, thus preventing the stagnation which invariably follows a too great concentration upon the interests of the day and neighborhood. Taking the prairie farmers as a distinct class, the daily paper acquaints the rural mind with the effects of modern civilization, thereby bringing rural and urban people into a more sympathetic relationship and preventing the development of a too great class

^{II} Galpin, C. J. Rural Life in America, pp. 17-18.

character.^{I2}

Even the great mass of city dwellers living in the midst of the life of the large city must look to the newspaper for news. Nowhere else is there any one publication containing such a variety of up-to-the-minute news concerning all other institutions, all issues and affairs of the world in addition to the details of business and of industry, and the more personal items contained in the social columns.

Undoubtedly publications other than the newspaper may perform, and do perform, a similar function. Most important among these are the farm journals which have so wide a circulation on the prairies. Yet, these are concerned with a much narrower field and confine their attention largely to agricultural interests and to political matters relevant thereto. So the newspaper remains without rival in its particular field and fulfills a function which no other single institution is capable of doing.

Newspapers may well be compared to great lighthouses which throw out across the world beams of knowledge and the radiance of truth. For the newspaper brings literally streams of knowledge to its readers.

Yet, there are many who believe that the newspaper is detrimental to social life to-day. Some hold that it is the greatest enemy of the teacher, destroying all the finer creative powers of the mind, establishing false standards of human endeavor, and giving a distorted perspective to current

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Groves, E. R. "Agencies of Socializing the Rural Mind", p.632.

life. Others believe it has created a mania for patent medicines, fasting fads, it has fostered anti-social behavior and has destroyed the morality of the present generation. Entertainment, distraction and excitement are the qualities that "sell" a large circulation and to sell papers must be sensational. Especially is this true in the case where two or more papers are competing for the same market.

Nevertheless, the fact remains that, whether it be good or bad, the newspaper has a tremendous influence upon its readers and, through the news which it contains, inter-communication of ideas takes place. With some of its readers new ideas are accepted without question; with others the critical faculties of the mind are aroused. In either instance the readers are brought within the reach of the socializing process and become conscious of their existence as members of a world-wide society. For unconsciously they become acquainted with the current interests and activities of the social group of which they form a part, and participate, whether in thought or in action, in the life of the group.

So, it is evident that the newspaper enters into the very life of the region which it serves, relating itself to all other institutions and to other regions. In its particular realm it is without rival; its position is unique.

(3)

The newspaper as a factor in Canadianization.

In general, there are three types of people in the region who read the daily newspaper. The first type is

represented by the man who is genuinely interested in world events, in news items concerning his town, state and nation. He reads the columns of the paper in order to keep abreast with world affairs. In contrast to this individual, the second man regards the newspaper as a "flight from reality". He revels in sensational journalism, in the dramatic and the picturesque, in vice and crime and movements of personages of a more or less mythical high society. His own life is monotonous and uninteresting, his social contacts are chiefly secondary in nature and hence, through the newspaper, he seeks a thrilling escape from the dull routine of his own existence.

The third type of man may be either of the above, but in the first place he is distinct from them. On his arrival in Canada he has a background very different from that of the native population. Perhaps in his homeland he never saw a newspaper, he may have been unconscious of its existence, Yet, in Canada, sooner or later, it will become one of the chief means for his assimilation. R. E. Park says the newspaper to this individual is "a window looking out into the larger world outside the narrow circle of the immigrant community in which he has been compelled to live".¹³ Through the daily paper he becomes acquainted with the new world, with its queer customs and strange ways of doing things. At first he may be able to read only the headlines but as time goes on his knowledge of the language increases and he reads more.

With its emphasis on the present the newspaper weakens

¹³ Park, R. E. The City, p.81.

the grasp of traditions which hold apart the unlike. Minds reached by the same newspaper are oriented in the same direction and, through it, find new and common interests together. And, as the newcomer acquires Canadian ways and attitudes, he reads the paper with another end in view, that of acquainting himself with world affairs.

Thus the daily paper becomes a potent factor in Canadianization, giving the immigrant his ideas, beliefs and opinions and assisting him in the process of assimilation into the new land.

(4)

The region represented by the area of circulation.

We have already discussed the effect of improved means of communication upon the mobility of the population and the consequent change in social organization. We saw how the function and scope of the country newspaper were obliged to undergo wide modifications in order to survive; as the neighborhood is no longer the important unit in social organization. There has been a reorganization of life into larger territorial units and the region has now become the dominant consideration. Institutions from the large city are found scattered throughout the surrounding territory, city newspapers circulate here and the inhabitants look towards the city as the centre of dominance.

This wider area of newspaper circulation is one of the indices to the importance of the region as over against the neighborhood. A few decades ago people lived in small groups and the circulation of newspapers was confined to the small

local area immediately surrounding the centre of publication. But, with the change in social organization, there came a corresponding change in newspaper circulation. As the means of transportation were developed and improved the area of influence of the large urban centre was extended and the area of newspaper distribution increased in size.

In this study the circulation of the large daily newspaper from the urban centre has been taken as an index to the regions on the prairies. Thus the region and the area of circulation are synonymous terms. The struggle for existence on the part of the newspaper has been in the first place a struggle for circulation. It has been said that the power of the press may be roughly measured by the number of people who read it. If it can fulfill its one great function as the purveyor of news it is destined to success, for such a paper will be able to secure and maintain a solid circulation in the area surrounding the centre of publication. We shall now consider how this circulation is built up.

At one time figures were the important consideration in circulation. Numerous freakish schemes were resorted to so that the circulation figures might rise rapidly. The underlying assumption was the greater the number of papers sold, the greater the profits derived therefrom.

In modern times there has been a change in this old idea. Long years of experience revealed to publishers the fact that there was no gain in merely selling papers; and recent studies in the field show that the only kind of paper that can actually succeed to-day is that which is profitable to the men

who advertise within its pages. For "circulation and advertising are the two pillars upon which the whole structure of the modern newspaper rests".¹⁴ As a result of wide circulation in the course of the last few decades newspapers have become great advertising mediums, placing advertisements continually before the public and stimulating the organizations of business and industry.

As an outcome of this relation existing between circulation and advertising the modern tendency is toward an elimination of widely scattered circulation touching points far distant from the centre of publication. For this type of circulation is of no value to advertisers seeking local trade stimulation. Advertisers must know where the papers go, in what numbers and to what kind of people. For example, a circulation of a million if confined to Canadian lumberjacks would be worth little or nothing to advertisers of palm beach suits. The advertiser buying space in the large city daily prefers a paper which has a solid circulation in the area tributary to that city.

Thus, since newspaper circulation is so closely related to business, through advertising, the circulation area probably sums up, by one index for the region, all that Galpin found by the use of many indices for the local trade area.

¹⁴ Park, R. E. "The American Newspaper", p.808.

CHAPTER III

DISTRIBUTION OF NEWS IN THE PRAIRIE PROVINCES

(I)

Regions of newspaper circulation.

Galpin outlines the findings of a survey of trade zones in twelve towns and villages in the state of Wisconsin:

"Surrounding each village or city centre is an area or zone of land, including farm homes that trade regularly at the centre. This zone is irregular in shape due to such factors as winding roads, intervening lakes, marshes, and varying distances of the trade centres from one another.----- Accessibility seems to be the largest factor in determining the regular trade centre for any farm home.----- The trade areas of adjacent centres have a tendency to overlap a bit producing a belt of common trading territory".^I Galpin found this to be true, not only of trade zones, but of banking zones, village milk zones, and church zones.

Upon observation of the map^{II} illustrating the circulation of the large daily newspaper on the prairies, the same general situation is found to exist. The five large cities present a picture similar to that of the twelve village centres in Wisconsin, the only difference being that the zones or areas of newspaper circulation are much larger in extent. Surrounding each of the cities in question is an area of land in which the inhabitants subscribe to the daily newspaper from that city. This area increases in size when the city is far removed from adjacent cities, and it tends to decrease when there is a second

^I Galpin, C. J. Rural Life in America, p.72.

^{II} Data obtained from Audit Bureau of Circulation, Chicago.

I Circulation of Newspapers in Alberta.

30.

FT. McMURRAY

- Towns receiving 25 or more copies of Edmonton newspapers per day.
- Towns receiving 25 or more copies of Calgary newspapers per day.
- ^ Towns receiving 25 or more copies of Lethbridge newspapers per day.

PEACE RIVER

GRANDE PRAIRIE

ROCKY MT. HOUSE

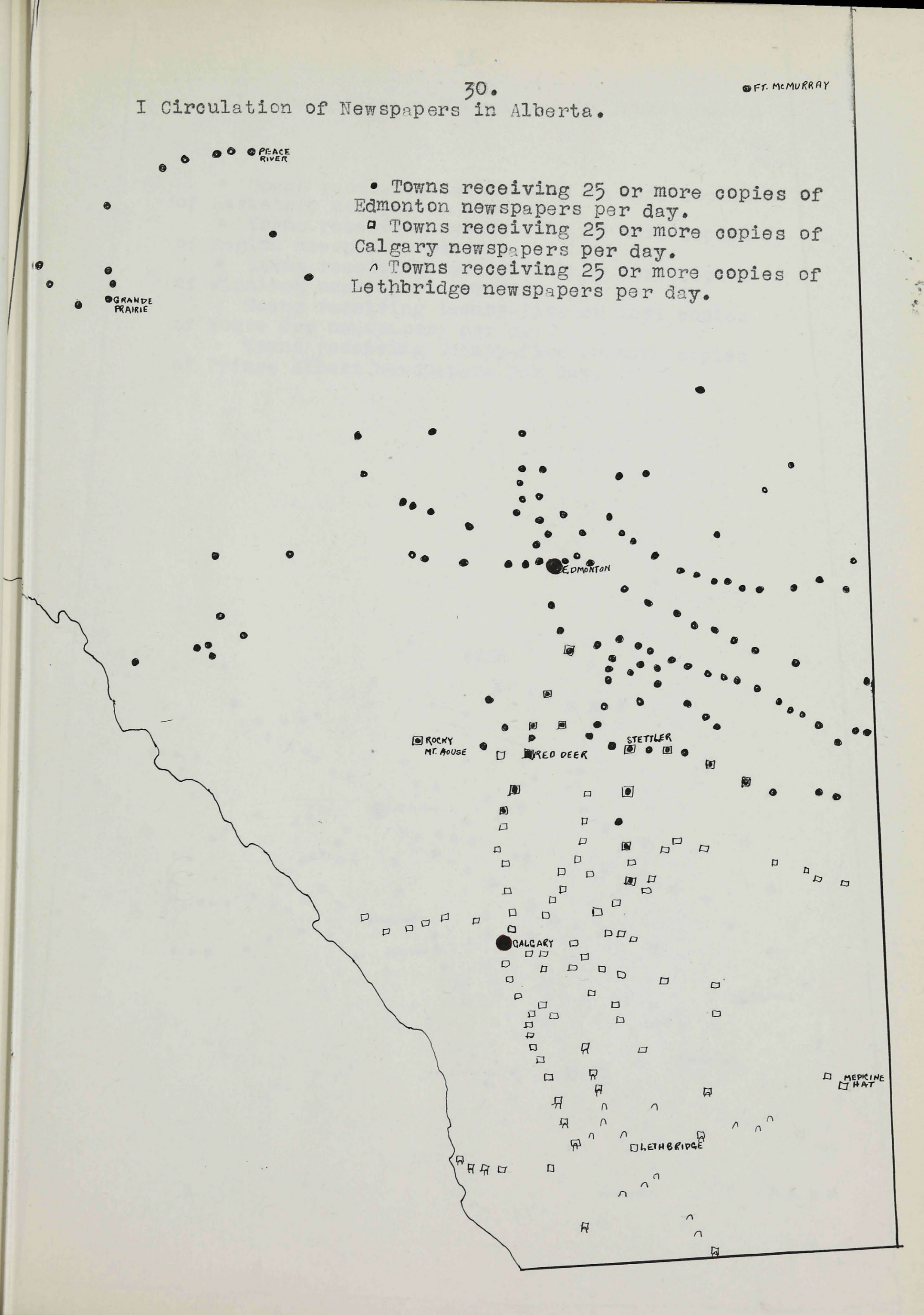
RED DEER

STETTLER

CALGARY

LETHBRIDGE

MEDICINE HAT



II Circulation of Newspapers in Saskatchewan.

• Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of Saskatoon newspapers per day.

△ Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of Regina newspapers per day.

✕ Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of Winnipeg newspapers per day.

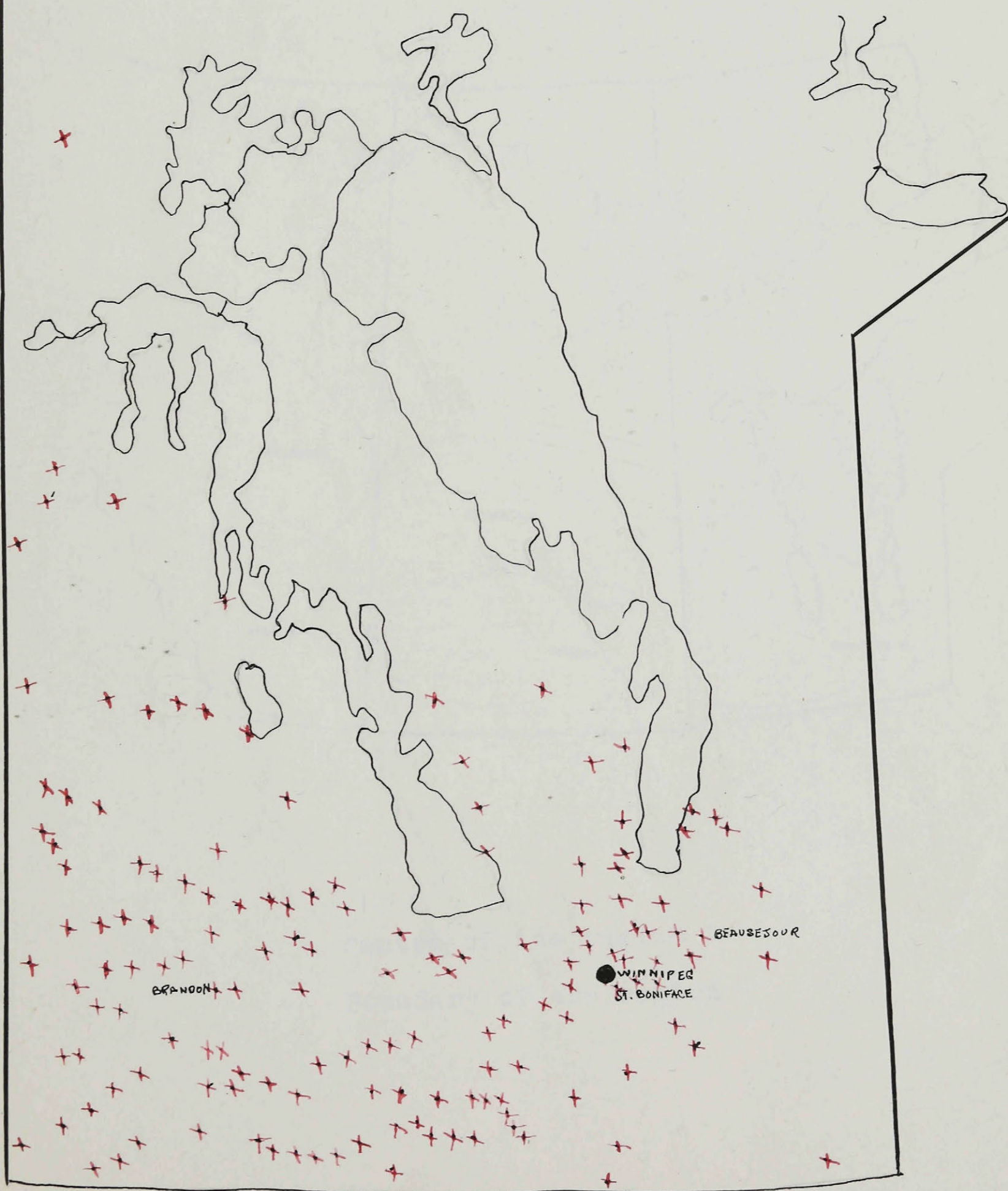
◡ Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of Moose Jaw newspapers per day.

◡ Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of Prince Albert newspapers per day.

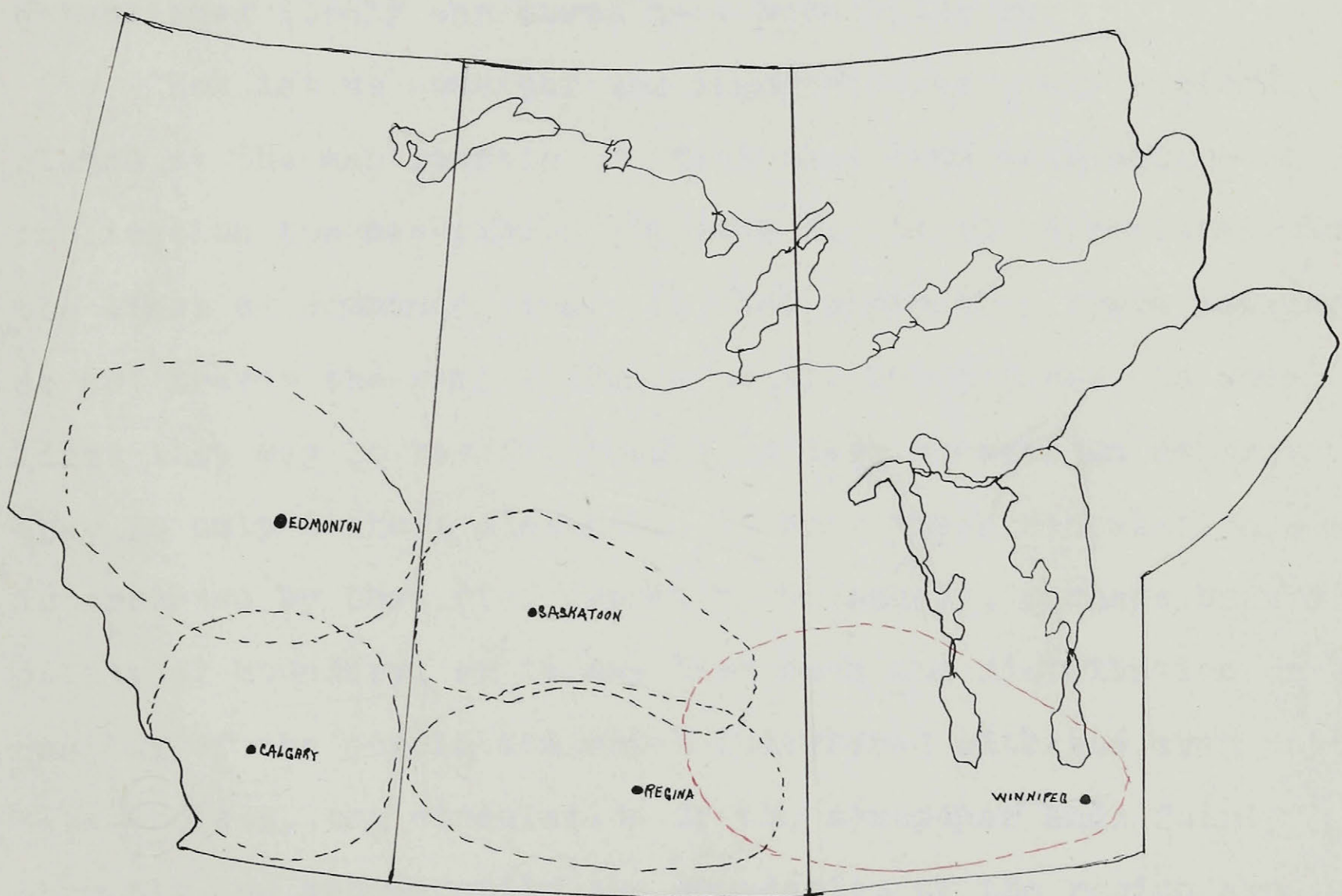


III Circulation of Newspapers in Manitoba.

x Towns receiving twenty-five or more copies of
Winnipeg newspapers per day.



IV Outline of regions defined by newspaper circulation from the various centres in the prairie provinces.



- Centre of the region
- Boundary of the region

competing centre near at hand. Thus we may say the size of the region depends to a certain extent on the distance of the large centres from one another.

Furthermore, the map shows that these areas or regions are not regular in shape. This is accounted for by the fact that the distribution of newspapers from any centre will tend to follow the lines of communication radiating out from that centre. For, along the lines of communication the population has established itself and towns have been built up.

Now let us consider the boundaries of these regions. A glance at the map reveals the fact that from each centre of publication the newspapers are sent out in all directions along the lines of communication. It also shows that these newspapers do not travel the same distance in all directions. On some lines they may go several hundred miles, whereas on others they go only a short distance. Perhaps their circulation was interrupted by that of a competing newspaper, perhaps by the political boundary, or it may have been the distribution or the quality of the population which interfered with the even pattern. Nevertheless, the circulation of the newspaper ends fairly abruptly and consequently the boundaries of the region are definitely marked out.

For example, in the case of Edmonton, there are two large daily newspapers, the Edmonton Journal and the Edmonton Bulletin, spreading over approximately the same territory. They circulate north to the Peace River district and beyond to Fort McMurray, west to Jasper and the British Columbia Border, east to the Saskatchewan border, and south to a line running

midway between Edmonton and Calgary.

On the other hand the Calgary papers, the Calgary Herald and the Calgary Albertan, travel south to the International boundary, west to the British Columbia border, east to the Saskatchewan border, and north to a line midway between Calgary and Edmonton.

The papers from each of these two centres have no competition except from one another and this competition manifests itself in the small "common trading territory" or marginal area found to exist at the point where these papers meet. This marginal area includes a narrow strip running east and west from Rocky Mountain House through Red Deer and Stettler to Coronation, following the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific railway lines whose routes lie in the same direction. Apart from the area thus included, some half dozen towns receive papers from both cities.

Hence, there are two regions in Alberta, both within the political boundary lines of the province. One extends over the central and northern sections of the province and is dominated by the city of Edmonton; the other is in the south having Calgary as its focal point. Both have accurately defined boundaries and occupy definite territorial units.

In the province of Saskatchewan we find a very similar situation. Here again there are two large competing centres---Saskatoon and Regina. Saskatoon has a large newspaper, the Star-Phoenix, that defines the region for which the city is the centre of dominance. The Star-Phoenix goes north to Saint Walburg and Nipawin, west to the Alberta border, east to the Manitoba border and south almost as far as Regina. The Regina

papers, the Regina Daily Post and Morning Leader and the Regina Daily Star, cover the whole of southern Saskatchewan from east to west, and circulate a few miles north of Regina.

The map illustrating the distribution of news in the province of Saskatchewan reveals several marginal areas. Unlike Alberta papers, the Saskatchewan dailies are not without competition. The newspapers from Winnipeg compete for the eastern part of the province and in 1929 they had a circulation over eleven thousand in Saskatchewan. The marginal area of the Winnipeg and Regina papers includes the territory from Estevan, Weyburn, Indian Head, and Balcarres east to the border. In this area the majority of towns subscribe to both papers, although a number of them take Winnipeg papers only.

In the case of the region with Saskatoon as centre the invasion is still further westward, and the marginal area includes all the territory from Watrous and Humboldt east to the political boundary.

Yet, there is little overlapping of Regina and Saskatoon papers and, in the whole area, only the more important towns subscribe to both papers.

The province of Manitoba presents a situation very different from the foregoing. At the outset the distribution of population is unlike that in either Alberta or Saskatchewan. In Alberta the northern parts of the province are fairly well settled, and, in Saskatchewan the province is thickly populated from the south, north to Prince Albert and even beyond. In sharp contrast to this the population of Manitoba centres in a small rectangular block extending west from Beausejour to the

Saskatchewan border and from Lake Winnipeg south to the International boundary. The extreme east and northern sections of the province are still unsettled.²

Moreover, there is only one large centre in the province, the city of Winnipeg. From this centre the two daily newspapers, the Manitoba Free Press and the Winnipeg Tribune, circulate out to all the settled parts as they have no competition. Furthermore, the area of circulation of these papers is not confined to Manitoba, but overruns the political boundary and includes a large portion of eastern Saskatchewan in which approximately seventy towns receive twenty-five or more copies of Winnipeg papers daily. Thus the region of which Winnipeg is the centre of influence is independent of political divisions, and is much larger than any of the other regions on the prairies.

To a certain extent this is to be expected and further bears out our hypothesis. For Winnipeg is the largest urban centre in the whole area and tends to dominate all of the larger region. So Winnipeg papers, reflecting this dominance, circulate throughout the area. Moreover, Winnipeg is the centre of publication for farm journals and periodicals which have a wide circulation on the prairies; and Winnipeg is the centre of the wheat market. Not only is it the largest centre, but it is the oldest and carries a certain amount of prestige with it. Thus it has come to be regarded as the most important centre of dominance.

Tradition and prestige have their role to play in determining the importance of any urban centre. This is clearly manifested in the case of Toronto and Montreal where

² Murchie, R. W. The Unused Lands of Manitoba.

the tradition of Upper Canada has left an influence which has been handed down for decades. In a similar way Winnipeg has acquired a tradition in the west which will make it the outstanding centre on the prairies for years to come. Hence, we find Winnipeg dominating a larger region than any of the other centres.

Yet, each centre is surrounded by an area with accurately defined boundaries, and these boundaries do not all depend upon tradition. For the cities of Alberta and Saskatchewan grew up rapidly and none of them is old enough to have any well established tradition. Each has a particular location and around it is the area which it serves. Each city provides a similar type of service; it is the market centre and the distributing centre for a region and, as will be discussed later, the daily papers published in each city contain a similar general type of information. So there will be little tradition, if any, to interfere with the boundaries of the regions as defined by newspaper circulation. Nor will occupational factors enter in, for the prairie regions are each and all engaged in one great occupation, agriculture. Political factors are of value only in so far as they explain the fact that the boundaries of regions end abruptly at the political dividing line. Naturally, newspapers will contain the political news and deal with the political issues arising in the province in which they are published. Hence we may examine the nature of the means of transportation, the efficiency and regularity of service, and discover the part they play, if any, in determining the extent of each region.

Smaller centres in the regions.

However, before considering the relation existing between the means of transportation and the distribution of newspapers, let us again glance at our map. In this chapter so far we have been dealing with the large centres on the prairies and the regions defined by their newspaper circulations. Yet on the map we see several smaller cities and the newspapers published in each of these are found circulating out into the surrounding area. These cities include Lethbridge, Prince Albert and Moose Jaw. However, the areas of circulation of their papers is very small in comparison to that of the newspaper from the large centre nearby. For example, in the case of Moose Jaw, the daily newspaper spreads over a small local area immediately surrounding the centre of publication. And this small area is entirely surrounded by the circulation of the large daily published in Regina. The area of circulation of the Moose Jaw Times is a pocket in the larger area; and the same is found to hold true of the circulation of papers published in Prince Albert and Lethbridge.

Moreover these smaller papers do not hold full sway in the area over which they circulate. The daily from the large nearby centre circulates in the area also, and the majority of towns subscribe to both papers. For with the gradual breakdown of neighborhood organization and the increasing mobility of the individual family people no longer depend upon the smaller centre. Their horizon has been widened by improved means of transportation and communication and they now look to the large

centres. The smaller centres themselves are not independent. They, too, look towards the large centres of dominance and are influenced by them.

Thus, the means of transportation not only aid in determining the boundaries of the region, but also play their part in deciding what newspaper a man will read.

(3)

Relation of circulation to the means of transportation.

Our present social order is to a large extent dependent on the means of transportation and communication. Slow travel and long delays are becoming more and more the characteristics of a by-gone age and, in modern times, with its great demand for speed there has been a tremendous development in communication devices. And this development has had its effect upon the distribution of news.

In the first instance, newspapers are dependent upon the available means of communication and transportation for their circulation as, without such means, the distribution of newspapers would be very difficult. Then too, the improvement in transportation service has had its effect upon newspapers by stimulating circulation to previously isolated and inaccessible parts. So transportation and newspaper circulation are closely related.

In almost every phase of life the element of time is becoming of increasing importance and, in the field of newspaper distribution plays its part in determining the direction and extent. In comparison to transportation service, distance is becoming of secondary importance. For a town may be nearer

one large centre than another and yet have a more efficient transportation service to the far off city. In such a case distance would not enter into the situation and time alone would be the primary consideration. A concrete example of this is found in Saskatchewan. The towns Glenside, Hawarden, and Loreburn are on a branch line of the Canadian Pacific Railway which connects with the line running through Regina. However the line does not pass through Saskatoon. Although these three towns are much farther from Regina than they are from Saskatoon, yet they subscribe to Regina papers. News is a peculiar commodity. It deals primarily with the present and must be read in the present. So papers must be delivered as promptly as possible after publication and the paper which can fulfill this requirement will be given the preference.

So the means of transportation and the efficiency of service will directly affect the boundaries of any region determined by newspaper circulation.

The means of transportation not only determine from which centre a man is to receive his daily paper, but they also decide what edition of that paper he will obtain. Perhaps there is only one train a day on a particular line and that train leaves the large centre at noon. The evening newspaper might be twenty-four hours old before it reached its destination, whereas if there was a morning edition it could be delivered within a few hours. Whereupon it is evident that the type of service is another factor entering into newspaper circulation.

The means of transportation, whether it be tramway, bus

or train, the efficiency and regularity of service, the hour of departure from the large centre, and innumerable other details are all closely bound up with the distribution of the daily newspaper from the large centre. For the daily paper depends directly upon the means of transportation for its distribution. And indirectly transportation service will have its effect upon the boundaries of the region, the region which is at the same time the area of circulation.

(4)

Circulation and population.

Some relation will be found to exist between the circulation of newspapers and the population of a given community. If the number of papers is small in proportion to the number of potential newspaper readers we may conclude that the percentage of illiteracy is fairly large. Or, it may be that there is a large percentage of non-English speaking individuals in the community. Again, the individual family may be unduely large and hence many individuals would read the same newspaper. On the other hand, if the number of papers is found to be large in comparison to the population we may conclude that there is a high degree of literacy in the community; or, that the population is made up of fairly homogeneous elements. Furthermore, a large number of papers may imply that the adult population is very large, that there are many detached individuals. We shall now examine what the relationship is between the circulation of newspapers and the population on the prairies.

The following table shows the relation of the newspaper

circulation in the city to the population of that city:

Table I

City.	Pop'n (1926).	Newspaper circulation.	No. of papers / 100 population.
Winnipeg	249049	67414	27.6
Edmonton	65163	25397	38.9
Calgary	65291	24455	37.4
Regina	37329	18061	48.4
Saskatoon	31234	8833	28.2

The number of newspapers per hundred population is found to be largest in Regina and Edmonton, two capital cities, and lowest in Winnipeg and Saskatoon. The small number in Saskatoon is probably due to the fact that there is only one newspaper, the Star-Phoenix, published in the city, and this paper, as will be discussed later, lends friendly support to the Liberal and Progressive parties. In all the other cities there are two daily newspapers published, one of which is independent. With regard to Winnipeg it is more of an industrial city with a much larger population, and this population is slightly more cosmopolitan. This is shown in the following table.

Table II

Population elements in the various cities:

City.	Percentage of British-born.	Percentage of foreign-born.
Winnipeg	80.5	19.5
Edmonton	84.4	15.5
Calgary	86.9	13.1
Regina	83.8	16.2
Saskatoon	86.5	13.5

However, the population elements are found to have no

relation to the intensity of reading when the province as a whole is considered.

Table III

Relation of newspaper circulation to the population in each province:

Province.	Alta. papers.	Sask. papers.	Man. papers.	Total.	Pop'n.	No. of papers / 100 pop'n.
Manitoba	51	39	92973	93063	625840	14.8
Saskatchewan		79102	11441	90543	807737	11
Alberta	92826		348	93168	594372	15.6

The largest number of papers per hundred population is found in Alberta and Manitoba. The number in Saskatchewan is considerably less. The same ratio is found to exist when the number of papers per hundred population over fifteen years of age is taken in each province.

From the table below it is evident that the population elements cannot be correlated with the newspaper circulation.

Table IV

Population elements in each province:

Province.	British-born.	Foreign-born.
Manitoba	82	18
Saskatchewan	76	24
Alberta	73	27

However, when the size of the city is compared with the percentage of newspaper circulation in that city a definite relationship is found.

Table V

Percentage of newspaper circulation (1) in the city
(2) outside:

City.	No. of papers published.	Percentage of circulation in the city.	Percentage of circulation outside.
Winnipeg	111830	60	40
Calgary	43344	56.4	43.6
Edmonton	47414	53.5	46.5
Regina	48126	37.5	62.5
Saskatoon	24356	36.2	63.8

From the above table we may conclude that as the city decreases in size the percentage of its newspaper circulation within the city as compared with that outside tends to decrease also. Conversely, as the city increases in size the percentage of its newspaper circulation within the city tends to increase. Thus the largest percentage of circulation within the city is found in Winnipeg, the largest city; and, the smallest percentage of circulation within the city is found in Saskatoon, the smallest urban centre.

Hence, on the prairies some relation is found to exist between newspaper circulation and the size of the population in the various centres. But no relation is found between circulation and the population of the province as a whole, nor between circulation and the foreign-born elements in the population.

CHAPTER IV

CONTENT OF THE NEWSPAPER AND ITS RELATION TO THE REGION

(I)

Types of newspapers, their policy and content.

The large daily newspaper published in the urban centre to-day is primarily a business enterprise. No longer does the owner, whether it be an single individual or a corporation, regard the newspaper that he publishes as a channel through which to perform a mission. On the contrary, the newspaper is an enterprise by means of which certain individuals are enabled to make a livelihood. As such its primary object is not to direct opinion, but to keep the readers informed on matters relating to every phase of modern life. With this end in view, the basis for the selection of the news is not the personal predilections of the editor, but the general policy adopted by the institution as a whole. For in the modern press, unlike its predecessor, the editor is merely a part of the newspaper organization with a definite function to perform.

In the daily newspapers published in the large urban centres in the prairie provinces, three distinct interests are represented, each with its own particular policy. The largest of these, the Southam Press, publishes the Edmonton Journal, the Calgary Herald and the Winnipeg Tribune. In general these papers are very much alike and, being owned by one organization, adhere to the same policy. With regard to political issues, each professes to be an independent paper in public service,

although at times there is a tendency to favor the Conservative party. The Southam Press as a whole is a firm believer in Imperialism and feels that Canada can have a much greater influence and play a much larger part within the Empire than without. They advocate free trade within the Empire, and adopt "Canada first" as their slogan. Each paper is genuinely interested in Canadian affairs and especially in those of their respective centres of publication. Hence, numerous articles and pictures boosting these cities are features found within their pages.

The Winnipeg Tribune has certain objectives for Winnipeg and Manitoba which it hopes to see attained in 1930. These include new University buildings, new exhibition, an auditorium, a traffic commission, national parks, short railway line to The Pas, motor road to The Pas, motor road to the Ontario boundary, a museum and art gallery, a municipal airport, industrial development and abolishment of the Municipal Levy.^I News items concerning any one of these is given a prominent place in the newspaper and editorials about the particular objectives appear from time to time. In this way these matters are kept continually before the public.

The second chain of newspapers on the prairies is that published by the Sifton Press. These include the Saskatoon Star-Phoenix, the Regina Daily Post and Morning Leader, and the Manitoba Free Press. The Star-Phoenix was the latest

I

The Winnipeg Tribune, March 17, 1930, p.3.

addition to the chain, having been acquired in 1927.

Unlike the papers published by William Southam, the Sifton Press lends friendly support to the Liberal and Progressive parties. They adhere to low tariff principles, believe in the "orderly marketing of grain", and support the organized farmers and grain pools. The editorial policy of the Manitoba Free Press is set forth as "Freedom of Trade, Liberty of Religion, and Equality of Civil Rights".² The Regina Daily Post, with its western viewpoint, likes to see things accomplished as is evident in some of its editorials. In one it chides the Regina City Council: "Civic issues require careful consideration but a little more speed might indicate a progressive spirit".³

The third interest represented is that of Charles E. Campbell, who publishes the Regina Star. He is also associated with the Edmonton Bulletin and the Calgary Albertan. However, the circulation of these papers is small in comparison to that of the newspapers published by the Southam and Sifton Presses.

With regard to content all the large daily newspapers on the prairies aim at a fair presentation of news, and every effort is made to get reliable news from all parts of the world and from all parts of the Dominion, as well as to secure facts concerning matters of interest in the centre of publication. Several pages in each are devoted to financial and market news and to events in the world of sport. In each issue a few columns are given over to editorials and the nature of these is

² The Manitoba Free Press, April 8, 1930, p.5.

³ The Regina Daily Post, March 12, 1930, p.4.

invariably consistent with the general policy of the newspaper concerned. In addition, each of these papers has its advertisements and these advertisements are not only those of the local retail dealers, professional men, real estate agents, and private individuals, but innumerable patent medicine advertisements and advertisements of steamship companies, insurance companies, and other out-of-town firms are included. In the Regina Daily Post of March 12, 1930, there were advertisements of fourteen local retail stores, three stock brokers, thirty-nine patent medicine companies, three steamship companies and two life insurance companies.

Furthermore, these newspapers contain many articles dealing with a great variety of subjects such as science, education, religion, health, beauty, etiquette, home economics, fashions, and many others. Each newspaper has its continued story, a bedtime story, a radio section, comic strips, and articles on health, beauty and fashion. In addition to these the Southam papers include a housewife's section in which household hints and favorite Recipes are published daily. On the other hand the Sifton papers and the newspapers with which C. E. Campbell is connected have a column in which religious and legal inquiries are answered. These papers also include the daily horoscope and Dorothy Dix; and the Sifton Press has articles on bridge.

Thus it is evident that a great variety of material is contained within the pages of the large daily newspapers circulating on the prairies. This material, relating itself to all institutions and to all matters concerning modern life---

to law, government, the church, education, family life, marriage, divorce, business, etc.,---- is collected not only from the centre of publication and the surrounding territory, but from all parts of the world. A glance at the front page of the daily newspaper reveals a variety of news items collected from places both far and near. For example, the front page of the Edmonton Bulletin of April 5, 1930 contained news of interest from Britain, United States, France, India, Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, British West Indies, South America and United States of the Soviet Republic; as well as items from various parts of the Dominion. The wide area from which news is collected may be seen in this illustration.

(2)

News-gathering areas.

Every large newspaper to-day has its press service and its press agents who keep it supplied with reliable news from different parts of the province, state and nation or the world at large. These men, whether they be in the small country town or the far distant metropolitan city, are continually watching for news, news which will be of interest to the great mass of newspaper readers. Consequently, there is a continuous stream of news pouring into the office of the large daily newspaper. From the news items which are thus received the editor chooses those which will be published in the paper; for in the newspaper to-day the competition for space among news items is very great,

The source of the news items in some of the daily newspapers on the prairies was examined for one week. Financial and market news, society news and advertisements were not included. As a result it was found that, on an average, news was published from the various countries in the proportions indicated in the table below.

Table VI

The percentage of news from the various countries:

Newspaper.	Canada.	Britain.	United States.	Other countries.
Manitoba Free Press	81.5	9.9	6.8	3.1
Winnipeg Tribune	70.6	10.7	8.6	9.9
Regina Daily Post	83.6	5.5	7.2	3.7
Calgary Herald	80.2	10.5	6.1	3.2
Edmonton Journal	85.4	4.5	4.7	3.4
Edmonton Bulletin	82.8	4.7	8.2	5.2

A great similarity is noted among the different newspapers cited in the above table. Each paper contains a small percentage of British and American news and smaller amounts of news items from other countries. However, by far the largest amount is the news gathered from the various parts of Canada. We shall now examine the source of this Canadian news.

For convenience let us divide it into three groups, (1) news collected from the centre of publication (2) news from the province in which the paper is published including the centre of publication and (3) news from other parts of Canada outside the particular province. The amount of news gathered from each area was examined for one week and the average taken. The results are shown in the following table.

Table VII

Percentage of news from the various news-gathering areas in Canada:

Newspaper.	City.	Province.	Other parts of Canada.
Manitoba Free Press	34.1	42	39.4
Winnipeg Tribune	31.2	54.4	16.1
Regina Daily Post	42.3	54.5	28.9
Calgary Herald	33.3	61.9	18.3
Edmonton Journal	43.7	54.6	30.8
Edmonton Bulletin	33.5	50.2	20.3

It is apparent that the Regina Daily Post and the Edmonton Journal contain a larger percentage of city news than do any of the other newspapers. This may probably be due to the fact that each of these is the big newspaper in the capital city in which it is published and, at the time this study was made, parliament was in session. Perhaps the amount of city news was increased by news items concerning the legislature and various political issues.

Furthermore it is noted that the amount of provincial news in the Manitoba Free Press is considerably less than that in any of the other newspapers. On the other hand, the amount of news collected from other parts of Canada is large in relation to similar news in the other papers. However, this is to be expected as the circulation of the Manitoba Free Press is not confined to the political limits of the province of Manitoba, but extends over a much wider area. Hence, in addition to Manitoba news, this paper contains a large percentage of news collected from other parts of its area of circulation, particularly

news items from the eastern parts of Saskatchewan.

Moreover, it was found that each newspaper had a page in which was published news of the city and district; and the towns included in the district corresponded fairly accurately to the towns included in the area of circulation.

Thus, while news is collected from all parts of the world, it is evident that the largest amount of news contained within the pages of any of the newspapers studied is the news gathered from the centre of publication and its surrounding territory; that is, from the area of circulation or the region.

(3)

Influence of the newspaper in the region.

C. A. Hayden of the Calgary Herald claims that the newspaper has a powerful influence in shaping the lives of its readers and in molding the destiny of future generations. Early in this study we discussed the function of the newspaper and its relation to the region. It was found that people tend to depend upon the press to keep them informed of news of the world. For the world as most of us know it is not a seen, but a reported world, and these reports we gather chiefly from the daily newspaper, the great medium of communication in modern life.

The newspaper is the most constant of all stimulations acting upon the individual and shaping his thoughts. From the newspaper many individuals learn how to think, feel and act. To them it is the guiding line in life. Just as the theatre may be said to mold the character of many of its youthful

adherents, so the newspaper may be said to exercise a profound influence upon the lives of its readers. For if an individual's knowledge of society, his town, state, nation, world, is drawn from information contained in the newspapers,; if his opinions and prejudices are fed by material gleaned from them; then the newspaper is a great force in the creation of an intelligently formed citizenship.

Walter Lippmann says, "acting upon everyone for thirty minutes in twenty-four hours the newspaper is asked to create a mystical force called 'public opinion' ".⁴ We have seen how many individuals depend upon the newspaper to keep them supplied with news. However, all individuals do not take over the news contained in the newspaper exactly as it is printed. Many of them react and remold the various incidents of which they read in terms of their own life experience. If they are not familiar with the object presented they cloth it, in imagination, in terms which are familiar to them. Lippmann uses the term "stereotype" to imply the mold into which individuals cast the reports which they accept. Before it can hope to direct public opinion the press must create a common stereotype around which individual interest may be clustered. Through repetition in the press matters become subjects of public discussion. Once they have reached this stage of public discussion they become a matter of public opinion. So the press has its influence in the creation of public opinion on any matter.

⁴

Lippmann, Walter, Public Opinion, p.361.

This power of the press to create public opinion is seen in the numerous editorials on town-planning which have appeared in several of the daily newspapers on the prairies. Town-planning has been kept continually before the public through the editorial column, and any step in the direction of its actual realization in the cities on the prairies has been given a good deal of publicity in the columns of the newspaper.

The same is true of the movement towards the preservation of national parks. At the time when the Calgary Power Co. wanted to use Lake Minnewanka, one of the most beautiful lakes in Banff National Park, for further power development, numerous editorials appeared in the newspapers. The admiration and sense of beauty of the readers were aroused. Preservation of national parks against the intrusion of power companies became a subject of public discussion. Through this discussion public opinion was formed, a public opinion which had its influence in the situation.

Furthermore, the newspaper fixes the perspective in which current events are seen by the reader. E. A. Ross explains the technique of this: "By controlling the distribution of emphasis in the telling of facts, by stressing day by day one sort of news and keeping the opposite sort in the background, by giving the news which he wants noticed the front page and bold type, while giving the news which he wants overlooked an inside page and non pareil, the newspaper owner manufactures impressions which breed opinion".⁵ By recourse

⁵ Ross, E. A. Principles of Sociology, p.521.

to this method newspapers are able to exercise an influence over their readers, an influence so subtle that the readers are little conscious of what they receive from their reading beyond mere news. In this way too, the newspaper carries out its policy. News which may be used as a means to an end in this respect is given the primary position in the paper. Large headlines are used and editorials are written about the matter. On the other hand, news which is not altogether consistent with the general policy of the newspaper is hidden away where it may easily be overlooked by the reader. For to-day news is printed in a hurry, bought in a hurry and read in a hurry. News items which stand out before the eyes of the reader are invariably those which will attract his attention.

Thus we find that the content of the newspaper has a very close relation to the nature of the region. In the first place, more than half of the news published in the paper is news collected from the region over which the newspaper circulates. This news deals with items of interest in all parts of the region, with affairs of the region and with all important issues that arise. For no newspaper can succeed for any length of time if it continues to publish articles on a subject which has no place in the life or thoughts of the people for whom it was written. Not only does the newspaper publish news of the region and of outside points, but through the columns of its editorial page, it expresses its opinion on this news. The attention of the readers is directed to certain matters, and their indignation, enthusiasm, etc., are aroused. They may

form their own ideas on the matter, or they may accept those of the newspaper. At any rate, public opinion is formed in the region. The newspaper has taught the people how to think, feel and act; it has had its influence in molding their lives.

CHAPTER V

CENTRES OF NEWS DISTRIBUTION AND RELATION TO THE REGIONS

(I)

Classification of centres according to function.

Since the discovery of America colonization has led to the establishment of many towns and villages. The majority of these have a strong agricultural base and some of them from the first have had a commercial aspect. Yet, they are all to some extent manifestations of a civilization transplanted from the Old World; for the ideas and ideals developed there have followed the settlers to the new land. These towns as we see them to-day are in varying stages of development---some have attained the stage of metropolitan economy; others are still manifestations of the earlier town economy. Yet, each has its economic function in the particular region of which it is the centre of dominance. Perhaps this function may extend beyond the boundaries of the region and the town will dominate other centres and other regions; or, this function may be of a purely local character and the centre itself is under the dominance of another town with a more wide-spread sphere of influence.

When we glance back at these centres in their early stages of development one would be tempted to regard them as establishments of independent domestic economy. From a bird's eye view they appear as mere specks in the vast uninhabited wilderness of the prairies. In the beginning most of them were

the centres of the fur trade. Situated on the banks of rivers, the great highways of communication in those days, their position was favorable for communication with the surrounding area. Yet travel was difficult and communication with other centres involved long and tedious journeys. However as the years passed by they increased rapidly in size and number. Agriculture became the predominant occupation and fur-trading posts developed into towns. So while these small centres appeared independent to the onlooker, their independence was to be short lived for, somewhere near the settler there grew up a town on which his dependence was to be great and lasting; and town economy was to become the outstanding characteristic of prairie economic life.

N. S. B. Gras defines town economy as "the organization of many villages and one town (or city), so as to constitute a single economic unit. The town was the centre of local trade and the centre to which were brought the products from other districts for sale to the people of the town and to the people of the villages. It was also the centre to which the villages of its district sent such goods as were suitable for export to other districts, perhaps even to foreign lands".^I

Thus the town was to be the nucleus of an economic unit which comprised both the town and its tributary territory. In this tributary territory are located a number of villages and, from the standpoint of the town, these villages are its customers and sources of supply. From the standpoint of the villages on the other hand, the town is the centre to which they go to dispose of their surplus products and to add to their supplies. Hence the relationship is not only one of

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Gras, N. S. B. An Introduction to Economic History, p.109.

mutual dependence, but one of mutual advantage. For the town and its tributary area are inseparately bound up together. If the area is fertile, rich in natural resources and easily accessible the town will be large and flourishing. Furthermore, if the trade remains purely local the town itself will remain local and unimportant, but if favorably situated and developed for extended trade it will be rich and prosperous. For the town must be related to the outside world and must participate in the trade of the world. Thus in addition to the trade with the surrounding district the town carries on trade with other parts of the world, either within the nation or in other countries.

It is evident that the town is primarily a trading centre and in four out of five of the large urban centres on the prairies this will be found to hold true. Developed largely along agricultural lines the percentage of rural population far outnumbers that in cities and towns. Manufacturing is not carried on to any large extent and what goods are produced are mainly for local consumption. In general the towns are prominent as the wholesale and distributing centres, the political centres, and the centres of news publication for the regions of which they are the centres of dominance. We shall now consider each of these towns separately, beginning with Edmonton and proceeding towards Winnipeg, the largest centre on the prairies and the one which exercises an influence over each of the other smaller centres.

Edmonton, the capital city of Alberta, is located on the banks of the North Saskatchewan river, two hundred miles

east of the Canadian Rockies. Through it run the two great transportation lines of Canada----the Canadian National and the Canadian Pacific railways----and there are also branch lines communicating with all parts of the province. To the north is the famous Peace River country. Through the medium of the Edmonton, Dunvegan and B. C., and the Alberta and Great Waterways railroads Edmonton stands as the gateway to this great north country. On account of its favorable location and transportation service, the city occupies a key position as the distributing centre for a large territory. It is the wholesale centre for the part of the province north of the Red Deer river and goods from Edmonton merchants are shipped regularly to the Peace River country and to every post in the Mackenzie valley and beyond to the Arctic. Besides many independent local firms, the number of wholesale houses includes branches of the most important firms of eastern Canada and the United States. In all, the wholesale firms number approximately two hundred. In addition there are some twelve hundred commercial travellers in the city and the surrounding territory.²

As a marketing centre most of the important grain companies of western Canada, including the wheat pool, are represented in the Edmonton grain market. One of the public terminal livestock markets of Canada is located and operated under government supervision, and a market is provided for all varieties of farm produce.

Manufacturing is still in its initial stages and there

are some two hundred industrial plants. Dairy and meat industries are among the most important and a few minor industries are known throughout the west. These include the Great West Garment Co. and the Northwest Biscuit Co. G. W. G. overalls are sold in every small town and village in the prairie provinces.³

Edmonton is also the educational centre of the region. The provincial university is located here and several other colleges and institutions of learning. In addition it is the political centre of the entire province.

Like the other cities on the prairies, it is also the distributing centre for supplying the demands for labor in its region, whether for farm work, the building trades, mining, lumbering or railroad work. For this purpose it is equipped with a Government Employment Bureau.

The cities Calgary, Regina, and Saskatoon perform similar functions for the regions over which they dominate. Calgary, situated in the southern section of the province of Alberta, is in the heart of the stock raising district. It is the wholesale distributing and marketing centre, and the centre of news distribution for the area south of the Red Deer river, that is, for the region of its newspaper circulation.

The province of Saskatchewan appears on the map as a network of railways and has excellent communication service to all parts. Regina, in the south, is the political centre and, in addition to being the wholesale distributing centre for its

³ Canadian Progress, 1929--1930, p.129, and from first hand knowledge.

region, it is the central distributing point for certain articles in the middle west including farm implements and machinery. The large warehouses of Massey Harris Limited, International Harvester Co., John Deer Plough Co., and the Cockshutt Plough Co. are located here.

Saskatoon, in the north, is the educational centre of the province. Here we find the provincial university and the normal school. It also maintains some fifty-seven industrial plants including the Quaker Oats Co., tanneries, flour, iron-works, lumber, packing house products, and tents and mattresses.

Each city is seen to perform a variety of functions for the region of which it is the nucleus and, in the case of the four cities described, these functions are identical in each. However the functions performed are not those characterizing the metropolitan centre. Nor do they point towards the initial phase of metropolitan economy. Their population is still below the hundred thousand mark and for the most part they serve only their own tributary territories. Instead of metropolitan economy, we find town economy in each case.

The city of Winnipeg performs functions similar in character to those of the other cities. But the performance of these functions is not limited to the surrounding alone. As was found to be the case with the circulation of Winnipeg newspapers the sphere of influence goes beyond the tributary territory. Winnipeg has a larger area of dominance than any of the other cities and may be taken as the centre of dominance for the whole prairie area. For its influence spreads beyond the limits of any particular region and envelopes the whole area.

Winnipeg as the centre of dominance in the prairie provinces.

Winnipeg, situated at the confluence of the Red and the Assiniboine rivers, is the gateway to the great Canadian West. Here the two great railway systems converge and all transportation across Canada must pass through the city. Hence Winnipeg is in a favorable position to spread its influence over the prairies. For this territory is one of the physiographic areas of Canada. Isolated on the west by the Rockies, on the east by the Laurentian shield, and on the south by the International boundary, it constitutes a separate territorial unit. Winnipeg is the centre of this wider area, extending its influence over the other urban centres.

M. L. Hartsough states: "The town may be said to have become a metropolitan centre when its influence extends over a wide area, including other towns as well as agricultural districts. (that is, when its wholesale as well as its retail trade is well developed); when the goods produced in this area are in large measure marketed through the metropolitan centre; and when the centre in return distributes the goods needed in the area. Both concentration and radiation thus appear in the metropolitan trade; goods are distributed from the centre as well as sent to it; and this trade takes place not only in one commodity, or in two, but in most of the commodities which figure in the commerce of the area, particularly the necessities of life".⁵

For years Winnipeg has been the great distributing centre for the prairies and goods have been sent out from the city not only to the towns and villages in the surrounding territory, but to all parts of the larger area. Similarly, Winnipeg has been the great marketing centre for the area. Here are the headquarters for the Canadian Wheat Pool, primarily a prairie

⁵ Hartsough, M. L. The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market,

organization and the greatest experiment in cooperative marketing ever undertaken in any country. The Winnipeg grain exchange is the world's largest wheat market ⁶ and the Union Stock Yards at Saint Boniface, a few miles outside the city, are the most important of their kind in Canada. In addition, Winnipeg is the headquarters of the Western Airways Service and from this station planes are sent out to explore the northern parts of the prairie provinces.

N. S. B. Gras defines metropolitan economy as "the organization of producers and consumers mutually dependent for goods and services, wherein their wants are supplied by a system of exchange concentrated in a large city which is the focus of local trade and the centre through which normal economic relations with the outside are established and maintained".⁷ He further adds, "Towns remain in economic subordination to the metropolis and take their position as tributaries to the larger centre".⁸

As the town established economic domination over the surrounding villages, the metropolitan centre dominates over the other urban centres in its district, its area being larger accordingly than that of the town. The centre is the nucleus of economic life, but the area is just as much an integral part of metropolitan economy, the area and the centre being mutually dependent. The products of the tributary area find their most convenient market in the metropolitan centre, while the economic activities of the latter are based upon the needs of the area.

In his discussion on metropolitan economy Gras believes there are two essential requirements which any city, to become a metropolis, must possess. The first is a good location. For

⁶ Smith, J. R. North America, p.363.

⁷ Gras, N. S., B. An Introduction to Economic History, p.186.

⁸ Ibid. p.186.

an example of a fully developed metropolis he takes London and ascribes a large part of its development to its excellent location between the rich European markets and the developing markets of the Orient and America. The second requirement is a tributary adjacent territory, rich in natural resources, occupied by a productive population and accessible by means of transportation. Any city possessing both of these has in it the potentiality for becoming a metropolitan centre.

In the case of Winnipeg we have discussed its excellent location as the gateway to the west. Then too, it has one of the richest hinterlands on the continent, rich in natural resources and well supplied with transportation service.

Gras believes there are four stages of development in metropolitan economy. First there is the stage in which the city begins to look beyond its own tributary territory, in which it starts to organize the market for a wider region. Institutions and practices necessary to supply the wider agglomeration of people are developed and the city becomes the great marketing centre. At the present time Winnipeg is encroaching upon this phase of metropolitan economy, for Winnipeg is the large distributing and market centre for the whole prairie area.

The second stage is that of industrial development. M.

L. Hartsough believes that "while the town was primarily a trading centre, the metropolitan centre is something more. Manufacturing grows in relative importance, it is centralized and carries on in large units, so that greater specialization and more capital is involved.-----During this phase of

metropolitan economy the centre is trading largely in the raw materials produced in its area and the manufactured commodities it secures by trade with the rural districts and with other centres. Such industries as are found in the metropolis produce goods mainly for use within the centre itself! ⁹

In recent years Winnipeg is paying more attention to industrial development and its industries are more numerous and more varied than those of the other urban centres on the prairies. The following table shows the statistics of manufactures in the various centres in 1929.

Table VIII

Statistics of manufactures in the prairie cities: ¹⁰

City.	Number of est ablishments.	Capital invested.	Number of employees.
Saskatoon	49	\$ 7258807	1027
Regina	59	11652259	1503
Calgary	134	32074263	3404
Edmonton	135	18098123	4136
Winnipeg	446	96801995	15469

The number of establishments in Winnipeg is seen to far outnumber that in the other centres. These include flour milling, slaughtering and meat packing, paper mills, printing works, bakeries, breweries, clothing factories, steel and iron works, jewellery, paints, bottle-making, and others. In Winnipeg also western Canada industry finds its commercial centre.

So we find Winnipeg showing manifestations of the primary stages of development characteristic of metropolitan

⁹ Hartsough, M. L. The Twin Cities as a Metropolitan Market, p.7-8

¹⁰ Canada Year Book, 1929.

economy. The third stage includes the development of transportation. Such development is necessary for the wider market and for large scale production which is itself dependent upon reliable and cheap transportation facilities. The fourth and last phase of metropolitan economy is that of the development of financial organization. Only the fully developed metropolitan centres have arrived at this stage. N. S. B. Gras visualizes the fully developed metropolis: "The retail section is the survival of trade of town economy. The wholesale district represents the first phase of metropolitan economy. The industrial suburb is all the metropolis has to show of the second phase of its development. The great terminals for railroads and steamships are generally the ugly memorials of the third phase. And the financial district stands for the fourth".^{II}

Examples of this fully developed metropolitan centre are found in Toronto and Montreal. But Winnipeg is still entering upon the initial stages according to this definition.

Miss Hartsough says the metropolitan group is primarily economic, but it naturally has social and cultural interests as well. At first these are relatively unimportant but, as life becomes more highly developed, interest in the material side becomes less absorbing. Media for the circulation of news develop early because so closely connected with economic life. These agencies are invariably concentrated at the metropolitan centre, which is best fitted to furnish the news of the district

^{II}

Gras, N. S. B. An Introduction to Economic History, p.269.

of primary interest to the members of the group, and, at the same time, is more closely in touch with the outside world. Thus in Winnipeg we find the publishing centre for two of the largest newspapers in the area, the Manitoba Free Press established in 1874 and the Winnipeg Tribune established in 1890. The circulation of these papers is not confined to the territory surrounding their centre of publication, but spreads over a large part of Saskatchewan and some papers even travel to points in Alberta.

Moreover, the percentage of local news contained within these papers is smaller than the percentage of local news in the other papers on the prairies. On the other hand, the percentage of news collected from the rest of Canada and the amount of world news is correspondingly larger. So the paper of the growing metropolitan adopts itself to the larger area.

Winnipeg is also the centre of publication for the numerous farm journals and periodicals which have such a wide circulation on the prairies. These include the Nor'-West Farmer, the Grain Growers' Guide, and others.

Later, more purely cultural interests arise and art galleries, museums, libraries, colleges and universities are established. These institutions tend to be concentrated in the centre where they will serve the largest proportion of the metropolitan group and, where also the funds needed to support such undertakings are most easily secured. So we find in Winnipeg the provincial university, an agricultural college, and many circulating libraries sending out books to various centres in the area. There is also to be erected within the

next year an Abbey Mausoleum and Columbarium. Only one other city in Canada can boast of such a structure.

Thus it is evident that Winnipeg has developed beyond the stage of town economy. As was shown by its newspaper circulation, the region of which it is the focal point is not confined to the political unit, but overruns the provincial boundaries. Winnipeg is something more than the capital city of Manitoba supplying the needs of the province. It is the coming metropolitan centre of the prairies. Already its population is well over the two hundred thousand mark, and it is showing evidence of the initial stages of metropolitan economy. The urban centres in Alberta and Saskatchewan, although dominant each in its own particular region, are all under the influence of this larger centre. So Winnipeg is the centre of dominance of the whole prairie area, and, while it has not yet attained the stage of development characterizing the metropolitan city, it is progressing in that direction.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSION

Throughout this study we have been examining a region, the extent of which was described by the distribution of news from a given centre. This centre was the large city which extended its influence over the surrounding area. We examined the function of the urban centre and its relation to the surrounding area. It was found that the large city was closely bound up with the area which it dominates; that it performed a number of services for this area. One of these services was the distribution of news. We dealt at some length with the nature of the region, the content of the newspaper that circulated within its boundaries, and the relation of this newspaper to the inhabitants of the region and to the region itself.

We saw how a reorganization into larger territorial units has taken place and how, as a result, there has been a wider distribution of institutions from any given centre. A few decades ago the life of the individual man was engulfed in the life of the neighborhood. He knew his neighbors intimately, knew the village store-keeper, the prominent men in the community. This group had its newspaper, a newspaper which revealed the people unto themselves. It dealt with local events and local people.

But, with the reorganization of life a larger area came to the fore. The population became mobile; men travelled

farther, and there was a wider distribution of institutions from the large city. This city became the focal point and extended its influence in ever-widening ripples over the surrounding area. It became the centre of news for the area and its large daily newspaper circulated to all parts of the region of which it was the centre of dominance. Smaller centres in the region became subsidiary to it, and the newspapers which they published tended to change their function and scope in order to survive, from an economic point of view. The large city

It was found that the large daily newspaper was closely related to its area of circulation. Much of the news contained within its pages was collected from this area, news dealing with people and events, and this news had a very real significance for the inhabitants of the region. For the daily press has its socializing influence. It tends to mold the lives of its readers, to exercise social control and to create public opinion. on the p

On the prairies of western Canada five regions were found to exist. Each of these has a large city as its centre of dominance, and in this city newspapers are published. The distribution of these newspapers was taken as the index for describing regions. The city of Winnipeg was found to be the centre of influence for the whole prairie area. In development it is far beyond the other cities and shows traits characteristic of the initial stages of metropolitan economy. On examination of the area of newspaper circulation it was at once evident that the distribution of news reflected the domination of this city. For, unlike the other centres, its news distribution

was not confined to the surrounding area alone, but extended throughout the prairies.

Other indices might have been taken to describe the region and other results might have been found. Some of these indices include the distribution of educational institutions, religious institutions, trade areas, the area which markets its products in a given centre, the wholesale distributing area, the area served by mail order departments, and a great variety of others. It was seen that the area described by many of these coincided with the area of newspaper distribution. For the newspaper is so closely related to business that the circulation area probably sums up, by one index for the region, all that might be found by the use of many indices for the local trade area.

Moreover, the newspaper is very closely associated with the life of the region. It supplies the inhabitants with news of the world and with events of interest in their own small town. It also reflects the opinions and feelings of the region. Matters which are very much in the public mind appear in its columns, and the particular political bias of the region is reflected here. It keeps pace with the life of its readers and relates itself to all institutions in the region.

Thus we may conclude that the distribution of news is a valuable index in any study of regionalism.

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