SIXTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1921

VOLUME I—POPULATION

NUMBER, SEX AND DISTRIBUTION—
RACIAL ORIGINS—RELIGIONS

OTTAWA
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1924

REPORT ON THE SIXTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1921

To General His Excellency the Right Honourable Lord Byng of Vimy, G.C.B., G.C.M.G., M.B.O., Governor General and Commander in Chief of the Dominion of Canada.

MAY IT PLEASE YOUR EXCELLENCY:

I have the honour to lay before Your Excellency the first volume of the Report on the Sixth Census of Canada taken as of date June 1, 1921.

I have the honour to be,

Your Excellency's most obedient servant,

THOS. A. LOW,

Minister of Trade and Commerce.

DEPARTMENT OF TRADE AND COMMERCE,
OTTAWA, December 21, 1923.

59629—A½

ERRATA

P. 27. "(Pt.)" should be added after St. Sabine and Honfleur; also after the following wards:—Hochelaga, St. Gabriel, St. James and Ste. Marie, pp. 36, 41, 48 and 49.

P. 161. "Villages" should be inserted above Aberdeen.

Pp. 284, 446 and 664. Under St. Maurice Co., read "St. Thomas de Caxton" instead of "Indian Reserves."

Pp. 317 and 500. Under Division 3, subdivision 15, read "R. 7-9" instead of "R. 7-8."

Pp. 326 and 516. Under Division 14, subdivision 517, read "R. 10-15" instead of "R. 10-14."

Pp. 332 to 528. Read "or census divisions" in the heading, instead of "and their subdivisions."

P. 219. Under Towns, 1921 read "461" instead of "462" for Canada and "141" instead of "142" for Ontario.

Pp. 116, 233, 318, 500, 716. The population of the village of Vantage, Sask., should read as "68" instead of "162."

PREFACE

For the Census of 1921 the more important summary results have already been published. During the months following the date of the census, and contrary to previous practice, data of the population of towns, cities, provinces, etc., were given out as fast as they became available and when their accuracy was reasonably certain. Later, were issued printed bulletins on the population by sex for each province, distinguishing between electoral districts, cities, towns, and villages. These were followed by a series of bulletins for the Dominion as a whole and dealing respectively with the population by sex, religion, racial origin, birthplace, dwelling and family. For agriculture, which the census of Canada covers in addition to population, a bulletin on the Field Crops of the Prairie Provinces for the years 1920 and 1921 was, in view of their special importance, the first to be issued. This was followed by a bulletin giving a general summary of agriculture for Canada, and by other similar bulletins, one for each province, with also a bulletin on pure-bred live stock.

The present volume begins the publication of the final results of the Census of Population; with its analysis in detail. The tables in the volume cover the following subjects: PART I, Number, sex and distribution of the population, by provinces, electoral districts, counties, townships, cities, towns and villages; PART II, Racial Origins of the People; PART III, Religions of the People.

The Volume will be followed by three others on population, (Vol. II: Ages, conjugal condition, birthplace, birthplace of parents, year of immigration and naturalization, language spoken, literacy, school attendance, blindness and deaf-mutism; Vol. III: Families, dwellings, ownership of homes, rentals, earnings, etc.; Vol. IV: Occupations and Employment) by a fifth on agriculture and by a sixth volume which will contain a descriptive analysis of the more important results of the census. In the General Report on the Census of Population and Agriculture, which forms the introduction to the present volume, will be found a review of the scope and method of the inquiry, its objects and its place in the scheme of statistics and of general administration, together with a description of the plan adopted for the analysis and presentation of results.

As pointed out in the report itself, the Census of 1921 was, in extent and in other respects the most important ever taken in the Dominion.

The work, both in the field and in the Bureau of Statistics, was under the general direction of Mr. E. S. Macphail, Chief of the Branch on Population, with Mr. A. J. Pelletier as first assistant. Important assistance in an advisory capacity was rendered by Mr. E. H. St. Denis, Assistant Dominion Statistician, who prepared the maps and descriptions of census districts and subdistricts.

R. H. COATS,
Dominion Statistician.

DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS,
OTTAWA, December 21, 1923.

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REPORT ON THE CENSUS OF POPULATION AND AGRICULTURE, 1921.

BY THE DOMINION STATISTICIAN

In the British North America Act, 1867, "the Census and Statistics" is mentioned as the sixth of twenty-eight specific subjects "exclusively assigned" to Dominion as distinguished from provincial legislative authority (s. 91 (6)). In accordance with this provision, a Census Act was passed by the Parliament of Canada in 1870 (c. 21), and was amended in various respects in the years 1871 (c. 18) and 1879 (c. 21) respectively. In 1905 the Act was consolidated with the General Statistics Act (R. S. C., 1886, c. 59) and the Criminal Statistics Act (1876, c. 13), when the Census Office was made permanent; and again in 1918, a further and complete consolidation of statistical legislation was effected by the Act of that year "respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics" (8-9 George V., c. 43,—short title, "The Statistics Act"), under which the duties of the Bureau were defined as "to collect abstract, compile and publish statistical information relative to the commercial, industrial social, economic and general activities and condition of the people, to collaborate with all other departments of the Government in the compilation and publication of statistical records of administration according to the regulations, and to take the Census of the Dominion". It was under the latter instruction, and more particularly under the part of the Act dealing with population and agriculture that the census of 1921 was taken. The part of the Act in question and the general and penalty sections connected therewith (secs. 6-8, 11-15, 16-19, and 36-41) are printed in Appendix I to this report.

The first census of the Dominion was taken in 1871, and similar censuses have followed in every tenth year thereafter, namely, in 1881, 1891, 1901, 1911, and 1921. In 1886 a special census of Manitoba and the Northwest Territories was taken (under authority of an Act passed in 1885, c. 3) midway between the decennial censuses. This "quinquennial" census was repeated for Manitoba in 1896, whilst in 1906 and again in 1916 a similar census included also Saskatchewan and Alberta, which had been erected into provinces in 1905, the necessity for these censuses arising out of the rapidly changing conditions in these newer sections of the Dominion.(1)

The administration of the census was originally vested in the Ministry of Agriculture (31 Victoria, 1868, c. 53, sec. 5). In 1912, however, the Census and Statistics Office, as established in 1905, was transferred to the Ministry of Trade and Commerce (to be merged subsequently in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics under the Act of 1918), under whose authority the various schedules and regulations of the present census have been promulgated.

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[1] See the Alberta Act, 1905 (c. 3) and the Saskatchewan Act, 1905 (c. 42) which provide for a census every fifth year from 1901.

An amendment to the Census and Statistics Act in 1905 (c. 6) provides that a census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta shall be taken in June, 1906, and in every tenth year thereafter.

A census of Manitoba was taken in 1870, and as it antedates all other enumerations in the Dominion, including the general census of 1871, the facts concerning it may be recorded here:

On May 20, 1870, A. G. Archibald was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba under the Act 32-33 Victoria, Chapter 3 (an Act for the temporary government of Rupert's Land and of the North-West Territory when united with Canada), and the Act 33 Victoria, Chapter 3 (an Act to amend and continue the Act 32 and 33 Victoria, Chapter 3, and to establish and provide for the government of the province of Manitoba).

On August 4, 1870, instructions to the Lieutenant Governor were issued from the office of the Secretary of State for the Provinces. Clause 9 of these instructions provided that there should be an enumeration made of the half-breed heads of families residing in the said province at the time of the transfer of the territory and of their children, in order that such lands in the province as might be deemed expedient might be granted to these half-breeds and their children. Clause 13 of the instructions provided for a report on the number of Indians in the province.

On October 13, 1870, the Lieutenant Governor writes to the Secretary of State stating that, in order to secure an enumeration of the population of the province, he has divided the province into five sections with two enumerators in each, one English and one French, each to enumerate his whole section to provide a check on the results.

On October 24, the Lieutenant Governor encloses a copy of the rules and regulations with the schedules for the census.

The census was taken during November of 1870, including whites, half-breeds and Christian Indians, and on December 9, the Lieutenant Governor made a preliminary report of the results showing 11,945 people. On December 26, further results were enclosed to the Secretary of State showing a population of 11,965. Later on the total was raised to 12,228. This total included between five and six hundred Christian Indians. The results of this census were used in dividing the province of Manitoba into the four original electoral districts.

The census of June 1, 1921, was therefore the sixth comprehensive decennial census to be taken since the creation of the Dominion. An exceptional interest attaches to it for three main reasons: (1) within the decade just passed, Canada has celebrated the jubilee of her birth as a Dominion, when an appraisement of her status in fundamentals is particularly timely and necessary; (2) since the last census there has occurred the most profound upheaval in our history—the Great War—which left scarcely a feature of the national life untouched, violently upsetting many of our most stable measurements and generally creating new stresses and strains that require the most careful weighing of their bearing upon the future—thereby stimulating, it may be added, the demand for social and economic statistics as never previously; (3) apart from the war, or possibly as a reflection of the conditions out of which the war arose, the present census falls at a time when after a protracted era of almost steadily mounting numbers (commonly attributed to the opening up of vast new areas of the earth's surface, the invention of machinery and the division and internationalization of labour), a stage has been reached where if the forces of productivity are not being overtaken by the rising standard of life, it is at least true that the relation of world population to natural resources is being considered as never before in the present generation, whilst concurrently the theory of population growth is under review as it has not been for half a century. This last, of course, pertains to the study of population in general, but it brings all censuses into the foreground.

For these and other reasons it is incumbent to outline the scope, methods and purpose of the present census. The census, it may be further pointed out, is in any country the most important single statistical investigation, having been called "the greatest peace-time activity in which the government engages," in reference partly to the physical extent of its organization, which covers every section of the country for a complex and many-sided task, as well as to the important part which its results play in general administration.[2]

Historical.

Census-taking dates from the dawn of civilization. Moses numbered the Children of Israel in the fifteenth century B.C. (Exodus xxx, 11-16; Numbers i, 2-4 and 47-49; Numbers iii, 14-16; Numbers iv, 34-49). But investigations of a similar nature were known many centuries earlier: in Babylonia (ca. 3800 B.C.); in China (ca. 3000 B.C.); and in Egypt (ca. 2200 B.C., Herodotus, Bk. II, c. cxix; Bk. III, c. lxxxix-xc). A census taken by King David in 1017 B.C. achieved an evil notoriety in history from the divine wrath which it is recorded as having provoked (II Samuel xxiv, 1-25; I Chronicles xxi, 1-27) and which was cited for many generations in Christian Europe in warning against the spirit of inquiry[3]. The census was one of the institutions founded by Solon at Athens in the sixth century, B.C. The Romans were assiduous census-takers, both under the Republic and the Empire: Julius Caesar among other things reformed the census. The Breviary of Charlemagne (A.D. 808) and the Domesday Book of William the Conqueror (A.D. 1086) are celebrated mediæval censuses. Later, for several centuries, the census disappeared from Europe.

It is worthy of remark that the credit of being among the very first to take a census as it is known in modern times belongs to Canada. The year was 1666, the Census that of the Colony of New France. Earlier records of settlement at Port Royal (1605) and Quebec (1608) are extant; but the census of 1666 was a systematic "nominal" enumeration of the people (i.e., a record of each individual by name), taken on the *de jure* principle, of a fixed date, showing age, sex, occupation, and conjugal and family condition. The results are to be read in a document of 154 pages in the Archives of Paris, of which a transcript is in Ottawa. Altogether this census recorded 3,215 souls. A supplementary inquiry in 1667 included areas under cultivation and the numbers of cattle and sheep. When it is recalled that in Europe the first censuses, notably those of Prussia (1719) and Sweden (1748), date only from the eighteenth century (in France and England the first censuses date only from 1801), whilst in the United States no census was taken

[2] "Of all the peace-time activities of the federal government, taking and compiling the census is the largest."—Report of the Advisory Committee on the United States Census, 1921.

[3] As late as 1753 the taking of a census was condemned on religious grounds in the British House of Commons; a member opposing it said: "I did not believe that there was any set of men, or indeed any individual of the human species, so presumptuous or so abandoned as to make the proposal we have just heard." Another stated that his constituents "looked on the proposal as ominous, and feared lest some public misfortune or an epidemical distemper should follow the numbering." (See Edgeworth, article "Census," in the Dictionary of Political Economy.)

before 1790, the achievement of the primitive St. Lawrence colony in instituting what is to-day one of the principal instruments of government in every civilized community may call for more than passing appreciation.[4]

The initial Canadian census of 1666 was repeated no fewer than fifteen times during the French regime which ended in 1763[5] In the later years of this period, seven similar censuses of Acadie (Nova Scotia), six of Newfoundland and one of St. John Island (Prince Edward Island) were taken. In addition, twenty-five "statements of population" (being for the most part estimates based on local authority) relating to New France are available for the period 1665-1763, together with six for Newfoundland, three for Acadie, two for St. John Island, and three for St. John River (New Brunswick). With regard to the Indian population, an estimate for the territory now comprised in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, the State of Maine, parts of other New England states, and the Lower St. Lawrence valley were made as early as 1611 (by a Jesuit missionary), whilst so-called "censuses" of the aboriginal "warrior" population were taken in 1736 (by an officer, unnamed, of the French Government) and in 1763 (by Sir William Johnson).

From the date of the British occupation, a series of less elaborate reports by Colonial Governors took the place of these records, though the census eventually reappeared at irregular intervals. There was a census of Canada in 1765, and others followed in 1784 and 1790. Censuses of New Brunswick, Nova Soctia, Lower Canada and Upper Canada became more or less frequent after 1817, the census of Upper Canada (now Ontario) being annual from 1824 to 1842. For Lower Canada there were censuses in 1825, 1831, and 1844. Censuses of Assiniboia (western settlements) were taken periodically also after 1831. The scope of these inquiries varied widely, but after 1827 they became fairly inclusive.

The first Canadian Census Act was passed in 1847, following the Union of the provinces of Upper and Lower Canada. Under it a census of Upper and Lower Canada was taken in 1851, and again in 1861, censuses of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick being taken in the same years. An account of these and of the various preceding censuses above mentioned may be found in Volume IV of the Report of the Census of 1871—the first census after Confederation—which was designed to start the new Dominion upon its career with a review of all the more important previous statistics relating to its domain.

Objects and Uses of the Census

With the census of ancient times we should to-day have little sympathy. Originally the census was no more than a means of mustering the fighting men of the nation for foreign wars, or of enabling kings and oligarchies to levy taxes on their subjects. The Hebrew, Greek and Roman censuses, as well as those of mediaeval Europe, were essentially of that design and character. So far have we passed from this conception that it is now expressly forbidden to use census information for any such purpose.

In Canada the legal *raison d'être* of the census is to determine representation in the Dominion House of Commons. Under the British North America Act, the province of Quebec is given a fixed number of seats (sixty-five),[6] the number assigned to the other provinces being *pro rata* on a population basis as determined by the census. The first rearrangement, it was provided, should be made on the completion of the census of 1871, with a similar readjustment to follow every subsequent decennial census. The Canadian census is thus taken primarily to enable a redistribution bill to be passed through Parliament. The application of the census to this problem, and the results of the 1921 census upon present Parliamentary representation, are dealt with in full detail in a later section. of this report.

But the census has far wider uses than to fix electoral representation, important though that be. It constitutes, in fact, under the modern system, nothing less than a great periodical stocktaking of the people and of their affairs, designed to show from the widest possible angle the stage that has been reached in the general progress of the nation. It is difficult within brief compass to state how this purpose is fulfilled. Fundamentally the importance of the census hinges upon its enumeration and analysis of the human element or man-power of the country —the people themselves—the basic asset of every state. Their numbers, local distribution,

[4]A census of Castile in 1594 is mentioned by Edgeworth (Dic. of Political Economy, article "Census") as "tolerably complete," but there appears to have been no general census of Spain till 1787.

[5]In the following years: 1667, 1679, 1681, 1685, 1688, 1692, 1695, 1698, 1706, 1719, 1720, 1721, 1734, 1739, 1754.

[6]This was the number of seats held by Lower Canada in the Canadian Legislature prior to confederation.

age, sex, occupation, racial origin, nationality, language, religion, education, infirmities, housing, etc., are each facts in themselves of the greatest moment—especially when analysed in conjunction with each other. The data on these various points, moreover, form the background against which almost all other facts relating to the country must be projected if they are to have real significance; the well-being of the state, physical, moral and economic—including such important phases as the birth and death rates, criminality, production, trade, wealth—can be apprehended and interpreted only through the medium of population statistics. Thus the census rounds out and completes the scheme of information by which as by a chart the government directs the affairs of the nation. Without the census, it would be literal truth to say that legislation and administration would be carried on in the dark—that there would be no means of knowing whether the country was on the road to success or disaster, or what constituted the norm or standard of its progress in almost any particular. So cogently is this felt that censuses at five-year intervals instead of ten are universally advocated and would undoubtedly be adopted but for their heavy cost. France, Germany, New Zealand, Denmark have in fact quinquennial censuses; Canada likewise, as already explained, has had a quinquennial census for the three Prairie Provinces since their period of expansion set in.

As the practice of nations in regard to census-taking tends more and more to uniformity, the Census affords the further inestimable benefits of comparison with other countries, so that our national problems may be studied in their general setting. Especially is this true of the countries which constitute the British Empire. The censuses of the various Dominions, India and the Crown Colonies are now taken in the same year and within a few weeks of each other; thus when the results are completed we shall have a large and harmonious body of data at command for the study not only of the relations of the Dominions *inter se* but of their place as a "Commonwealth" among the nations of the world.

The Canadian Census a *de jure* Census

It has been held to follow from the requirements as to parliamentary representation and the payment of provincial subsidies, that the census of Canada should be taken on the *de jure* as distinguished from the *de facto* principle. On the *de jure* principle each person is counted in the census as belonging to the locality in which he or she is regularly domiciled, irrespective of the locality of residence at the date of the enumeration. Under the *de facto* method, on the other hand, every individual is counted as belonging to the locality where found on the census date. Great Britain, Australia and the other countries of the British Empire employ the *de facto* method; France, Germany and other European countries employ both. The *de facto* method has the advantage of greater simplicity and ease; but the *de jure* undoubtedly better portrays the permanent condition of the population, and is therefore better suited for the apportionment of electoral areas, the determination of municipal status, and the study of such subjects as housing, occupations and social conditions generally. The chief difficulty in applying it arises in connection with holiday resorts of various kinds and the general problem of distinguishing "visitors" (i.e., persons having a more permanent residence elsewhere), together with the cognate problem of tracing "absentees."[7] This can be overcome in part by a judicious selection of the date of the census, as will be explained in the next following paragraph, and by the use of special schedules and methods in recording visitors and absentees, also described later on. It may be added as a detail of the Canadian procedure that inmates of hospitals and non-resident students are excluded from local populations and assigned individually to their respective localities of home residence, but that inmates of prisons, jails, etc., are counted as where found. The personnel of the Navy of Canada is separately recorded.

Date of the Census

The Statistics Act requires (section 16) that the census of Canada be taken "on a date in the month of June." The date selected for the census of 1921 was June 1, a consideration being to anticipate the movement of the people to summer resorts, which does not take place in full volume until after the beginning of the summer season. At the British Empire Statistical Con-

[7]The advantages of the *de jure* census are well summed up in a report of the census committee of the Royal Statistical Society (Journal of the Society for January, 1920, p. 135-6) which advocates a *de jure* tabulation, though recommending that the *de facto* population be obtained in order to preserve continuity in the national records of Great-Britain.

ference held in London in 1920, the desirability of having the censuses of the different Dominions taken on an approximately uniform date, in so far as permitted by local conditions and requirements, was discussed, and the recommendation was made that the range of variation in respect of dates should be limited to a period of two months before or after the 15th of April. The date June 1, it will be observed, conforms to this recommendation. The Canadian census is therefore essentially synchronous with the censuses of the United Kingdom and other parts of the British Commonwealth.

Previously to 1911 the census of Canada was taken in April, the change to June being in view of the difficulties encountered through bad roads in the earlier months in the rural districts, the chief handicap of the Canadian census being the large areas of thinly populated territory which it must cover. April is also an unsatisfactory month for an agricultural census, as acreages for the current season have not yet been determined. In the United States the experiment was made in 1920 of taking the census as of date January 1 (instead of April 1 as in 1910, or June 1 as in censuses prior to 1910), the object being to offset the migration from the cities which takes place later in the year. It is understood, however, that the change has not proved wholly satisfactory, owing partly to the difficulty of winter travel and the enhanced costs of enumeration which this involves and partly to the disturbance of continuity in the census records.

Scope of the 1921 Census

The primary task of the census is the enumeration and description unit by unit of the population. To accomplish this a large and expensive organization is required. Such an organization once created should obviously be employed to the fullest degree possible; in other words the "overhead" must earn its maximum. The census, therefore, should deal not only with the people themselves but with their affairs and institutions in so far as the latter can be brought within its scope, having regard to the limitations of an investigation of its special character.

At this point arises a problem involving considerable discrimination. To enumerate the people demands, as just said, a very extensive organization from the physical aspect, seeing that it must reach each and every individual within the country. But it obviously cannot exact special technical training on the part of the thousands whom it employs in collecting the information. In any event, the questions on the population schedule are mostly such as any person of fair education, after careful study of the regulations, supplemented by oral instructions and a test designed to ensure his comprehension of details, can explain to the people.

When the inquiry, however, is extended beyond population, these conditions cease to operate in equal degree. Industrial production, for example, is so many-sided and complicated in its processes that no body of employees appointed and instructed as are the census enumerators can hope to deal with it sucessfully, requiring as it does literally scores of schedules, some of them highly complex and technical, to cover its salient features. Again, it has to be remembered that the census is essentially a "stock-taking," i.e., a record of conditions as they exist at a given moment, and that it cannot be employed beyond a point to measure phenomena that require observation and notation over a period of time. The centralization of the statistical work of the Government under the Dominion Bureau of Statistics has enabled this aspect to be met much more satisfactorily for the present census than previously, when most official statistics were independently organized. The problem is too many-sided for more than passing reference here.[8] It may be noted, however, that the statistics of mines, fisheries, manufactures, etc., once included in the decennial census, are now collected annually by the Bureau by correspondence on a variety of forms, under a distinct part of the Statistics Act (Sec. 20-21—the so-called "Industrial Census"), which is operated in co-operation with the different administrative departments, Dominion and provincial, that are interested in particular sections of the field, the decennial census merely checking the several lists of concerns on which the annual inquiries are based. (It may be added that it is the intention to carry out a periodical survey of purely trading or mercantile establishments, wholesale and retail—their capital, employees, stocks on hand, sales, etc.—on the same principle.) Similarly the Bureau now collects the statistics of birth, deaths and marriages annually in co-operation with the Registrars-General of the several provinces, thus enabling the mortuary schedule formerly incorporated in the census to be dropped. It has also largely eliminated education from the census, dependence now being placed for these statistics

[8]See, however, First Annual Report of the Dominion Statistician, 1919, pp. 21-22

on concerted action with provincial education departments. In brief, the census of 1921 has been related to the general body of official statistics in a complementary and supplementary way to an extent that was not previously feasible.

In one case what might appear an exception to this rule is made, namely, in the case of the important industry of agriculture. Approximately forty-five per cent of the population of Canada is directly dependent upon agriculture, and the most expensive part of the census organization is that which covers the rural districts. For agriculture, moreover, the ordinary population enumerator proves a satisfactory field agent, most agricultural processes being familiar ones and such as an enumerator chosen in an agricultural district can well handle. Hence the decennial census of Canada has been made under the Act of 1918 a census of population and of agriculture—a comprehensive survey of the Canadian people and of their basic industry.

The Census Schedules, 1921

The principal schedules used in the 1921 census were five in number, dealing respectively with (1) Population; (2) Agriculture; (3) Animals, Animal Products, Fruits, etc., not on Farms; (4) Manufacturing, Trading and Business Establishments; (5) Blind and Deaf-Mutes. The "Closed House" Card, "Absentee Family" Card, and "Individual" Form are supplementary to Schedule No. 1 on Population. The schedules, cards, etc., are reprinted herewith in Appendix II. A detailed statement of their purpose and of the procedure governing their use may be found in the regulations under the Statistics Act, approved by Order in Council dated February 23, 1921, and issued prior to the Census in a booklet of some fifty-five pages, under the title "Instruction to Census Commissioners and Enumerators." The following is a brief description:

1. *Population.*—The list of questions is in general conformity with international usage and previous practice in Canada. A question dealing with the fertility of marriage, which appears in certain censuses as supplementary to the vital statistical records of births and marriages, was omitted, in view of doubts as to its practicability. Questions relating to insanity and idiocy were also omitted, previous attempts to obtain this information through the census having proved abortive. On the other hand an attempt was made for the first time to obtain a record of unemployment for the census year, though in view of the difficulties of using the census for such purposes complete success was not expected. Another new feature was a record of the birthplaces of the father and mother of each individual, which, in conjunction with the questions as to citizenship and racial origin, will permit the segregation of Canadians of three generations or longer family residence in the country and thus meet an insistent public demand.[9] Other subjects on which information is sought include the name, family, place of residence, tenure and class of home, conjugal condition, sex, age, birthplace, citizenship, literacy, language, religion, occupation and earnings.

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[9] Currency was given in the press at the time of the census to statements that the census did not record persons of native-born Canadian stock as "Canadians." This misunderstanding arose in part from the fact that the answer "Canadian" was not accepted in reply to the census question on racial origin, and in part to confusion as to the distinction existing between the concepts of nationality or citizenship, birthplace, and race. As a good deal of embarassment was caused thereby to enumerators in certain sections, it may be of value to explain in detail the census questions on nationality, birthplace, language and racial origin respectively, their relationship *inter se*, and their bearing upon the recording of "Canadians".

(1) *Nationality.*—Each person of Canadian citizenship or nationality, whether such by birth or by naturalization, is recorded as a "Canadian." In the case of naturalized citizens, the year of naturalization is recorded. In the case of everyone born outside of Canada, the year of immigration to Canada is also recorded.

The participation of Canada in the Peace treaty and in the League of Nations has made it necessary for an official definition of Canadian nationals and Canadian nationality to be made for the first time in Canada, since among different measures adopted in connection with the operations of the League were provisions defining certain rights and privileges to be enjoyed by the nationals of members of the League. A Canadian national was accordingly defined by 11-12 Geo. V, chap. 4, as

(*a*) any British subject who is a Canadian citizen within the meaning of the Immigration Act, chapter 27 of the Statutes of 1910, as heretofore amended;

(*b*) the wife of any such person;

(*c*) any person born out of Canada, whose father was a Canadian national at the time of that person's birth, or with regard to persons born before the passing of this Act, any person whose father at the time of such birth possessed all the qualifications of a Canadian national as defined in this Act.

According to the Immigration Act, 1910, a "Canadian citizen" is

(i) a person born in Canada who has not become an alien;

(ii) a British subject who has Canadian domicile;

(iii) a person naturalized under the laws of Canada who has not subsequently become an alien or lost Canadian domicile.

(2) *Birthplace*—The country of birth of each person is recorded, and in the case of Canadian-born, the province of birth. This (*a*) differentiates the Canadian-born and British-born from the foreign-born, and (*b*) in the case of the Canadian-born, enables the movement of our native Canadian stock within the limits of Canada to be traced from time to time.

The birthplace of the father and mother of each person are also recorded. This is for the purpose of distinguishing Canadian families of three or more generations residence in the country, and thus instituting a further and special standard of "Canadianism."

N.B.—It will be noted from the above headings that the Census describes everyone of Canadian nationality as

The original entries of the Canadian census for each individual are made by the enumerator, who personally visits each household for that purpose. This is the practice followed in the United States, India, Ireland and many other countries. In Great Britain, Australia, New Zealand and South Africa the householder is held primarily responsible for filling in the desired particulars, a schedule being left in advance of the census and subsequently collected. In France, Germany, Belgium and Italy an individual card, being a modification of the householder's schedule, is employed. The householder and card methods, either singly or in combination, though advantageous in many respects for thickly populated and well organized areas, are less practicable in Canada where great distances have in some cases to be traversed in taking the census, and where also personal explanations of a kind that only an official enumerator can supply have been found indispensable over considerable sections.

2. *Agriculture.*—The schedule on agriculture was drawn up in consultation with the several branches of the Departments of Agriculture of the Dominion and of the provinces, with whom the Bureau also collaborates in its monthly and annual crop reporting and other statistics of agriculture. The schedule will elicit a wealth of information on such features as farm tenures, acreages, farm values, expenses, crops, forest products, live stock, animal products, farm facilities, marketing, irrigation and drainage. For census purposes a farm is "all land being over 1 acre in extent directly operated or farmed by one person either with his own labour alone or with the help of members of his family or hired employees."

The statistics for each farm were collected, as in the western census of 1916, on a single schedule, instead of on several schedules as in 1911 and previous censuses. This has greatly increased the facilities for checking, and has enabled revision to be carried to a scale previously impossible. Though the expense of the agricultural census has been thereby increased, the gain in completeness and accuracy has been considerable.

3. *Animals, Animal Products, Fruits, etc., not on Farms.*—This schedule is supplementary to the agricultural schedule. There are, of course, a considerable number of horses, cattle, poultry, bees, etc., within urban limits, and their products, together with those of market gardens, town orchards, etc., are in the aggregate important.

4. *Manufacturing, Trading and Business Establishments.*—Only the names and addresses of these concerns, it will be observed, are collected by the census. The purpose of this schedule has been already explained, namely, as foundational to the annual census of industrial production, conducted by the Bureau through correspondence direct with producing concerns. The lists as collected by the census are, of course, co-ordinated with directories of various kinds in use during the intercensal period. The names of trading or mercantile as well as industrial concerns are collected, for the purposes of a second inquiry or census covering the distribution and merchandizing of goods as distinct from their production, which it is the intention of the Bureau to carry out during 1923-24. The names of producing concerns on their receipt in the Bureau are passed on at once to the several sections of the industrial census; those of trading establishments have been transferred to cards and arranged in conformity with the general classification scheme employed in the Bureau, as the first step in the projected inquiry. They have been carefully checked in this form against existing directories.

"Canadian"; everyone born in Canada as of "Canadian" birth; and everyone whose family has been of three generations residence or more in Canada as "Canadian" in a special sense.

(3) The *language spoken* is recorded (*a*) whether English, French (the two official languages of the country), or (*b*) other language used in the family. Language is not only an important factor in itself, but is a valuable cross-check in various features of population analysis. In the United States the language of parents is obtained as a further index of racial extraction.

(4) The *racial origin* of each person is recorded, the object of this question being to ascertain from what basic ethnic stocks the present Canadian population, more particularly the recently immigrated population, is derived. The answer "Canadian" under this heading is not accepted, as the purpose of the question is to obtain in so far as possible a definition of "Canadian" in terms of racial derivation. Of this procedure of the Census, the criticism received was on two main grounds: (*a*) That there are Canadians whose family is of several generations residence in the country who may not know their ultimate racial origin, or who may be of very mixed racial origin; and (*b*) that the practice tends to perpetuate racial distinctions which it is desirable to obliterate. As against these criticisms respectively, the following must be considered: (*a*) That Canadians whose family is of three or more generations residence are enumerated and differentiated through the question on the birthplace of parents above described; (*b*) That notwithstanding the desirablity of racial assimilation there are special features in connection with the process that require appraisement and study; for example, over 800 Chinese and Japanese children were born in Canada in 1921, whom it would not be expedient to enumerate solely on the basis of birthplace and nationality. Again, the fact that the constitution of Canada is based on the presence of two dominant races points to the desirability of a measurement of these factors; it has been widely pointed out of late that the original French colony numbering 75,000 at the date of the Conquest had expanded to over three millions on the continent of North America; measurements of this kind would be impossible if the answer "Canadian" instead of "French" were accepted under the heading of racial origin—yet the descendants of the original French colonists are "Canadians" by race if such race be held to exist. (*c*) Finally, racial origin is especially important in a "new" country like Canada, i.e., from the standpoint of the student of ethnology, criminology, and the social and "biometric" sciences in general.

It may be repeated that the whole question of population analysis from this standpoint is a complex one involving several concepts (of birthplace, nationality, race, etc.), which, though closely related, represent distinct points of view. Especially important is the fact that the census questions in this connection are not compiled separately, *but in combination and cross-relation with each other*, and are drafted with that process in view. For example, the racial origin of the newly arrived immigrant and the three-generation Canadian will be found differentiated in compilation.

5. *Schedule for the Blind and for Deaf Mutes.*—This schedule is of a special character, the intention being to facilitate immediate compilation on behalf of educational and other institutions for these classes.

Closed House and Absentee Family Cards.—In addition to the above main schedules, the enumerators were supplied with schedules termed the "closed house" card and the "absentee family" card respectively, which are reproduced in Appendix B. The necessity for these arises out of the *de jure* system of census-taking already mentioned. An enumerator on finding a closed dwelling makes a return of the fact on the closed house card, obtaining tne information from neighbours or others in a position to supply it. Similarly the details for non-residents and visitors are entered on the absentee card and forwarded to the Bureau. The two sets of cards are matched in the Bureau and the assignment of the individuals as to locality made on this basis. Where a closed house card is received with no corresponding absentee return, or *vice versa*, the matter is cleared up by subsequent inquiry. There will also be found in Appendix II a copy of the form to be left by the enumerator with keepers of lodging-houses, etc., to be filled in by persons out of the building at the time of his first call.

By way of instituting a comparison between present and past procedure, the following statement of the main schedules used in the last three decennial censuses and the number of questions on each is submitted:—

Census of 1901

Schedule No.	Subject	Number of Questions
1	Living persons	34
2	Buildings and lands, churches and schools	35
3	Deaths	15
4	Farm land, fruits and plantations	37
5	Field products	37
6	Live stock and animal products	26
7	Agricultural values	25
8	Manufactures	67
9	Forest products and furs	51
10	Fisheries	130
11	Mines	104
	Total	561

Census of 1911

1	Population, by name, personal description, etc	41
2	Mortality, disability and compensation	28
3	Heads of families, homes and buildings, fruits, etc	51
4	Agriculture, grain and other field crops, for harvest year 1910	47
5	Agriculture, hoed crops, tobacco, hops and grass seeds in 1910 and field-crops areas in 1911	51
6	Agriculture, animals and animal products	35
7	Farm and urban values	39
8	Forest products	53
9	Census of manufactures, ship and boat building and house building	85
10	Churches, schools, colleges and other institutions	32
11	Fisheries	11
12	Butter and chesse factories	24
13	Mining and mineral products	25
	Total	522

Census of 1921

1a and 1 b	Population	35
2	Agriculture	469
3	Animals, animal products, fruits, etc., not on farms	52
4	Census of manufacturing and trading establishments	4
5	Supplemental schedule for the blind and for deaf-mutes	5
	Total	565