DOMINION OF CANADA
DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

REPRINTED FROM VOLUME XII, SEVENTH CENSUS OF CANADA, 1931

Census Monograph No. 6

Rural and Urban Composition of the Canadian Population

Published by the Authority of
THE HONOURABLE W. D. EULER, M.P., Minister of Trade and Commerce

OTTAWA
J. O. PATENAUDE, I.S.O.
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1938

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DOMINION BUREAU OF STATISTICS

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by

S. A. CUDMORE and H. G. CALDWELL

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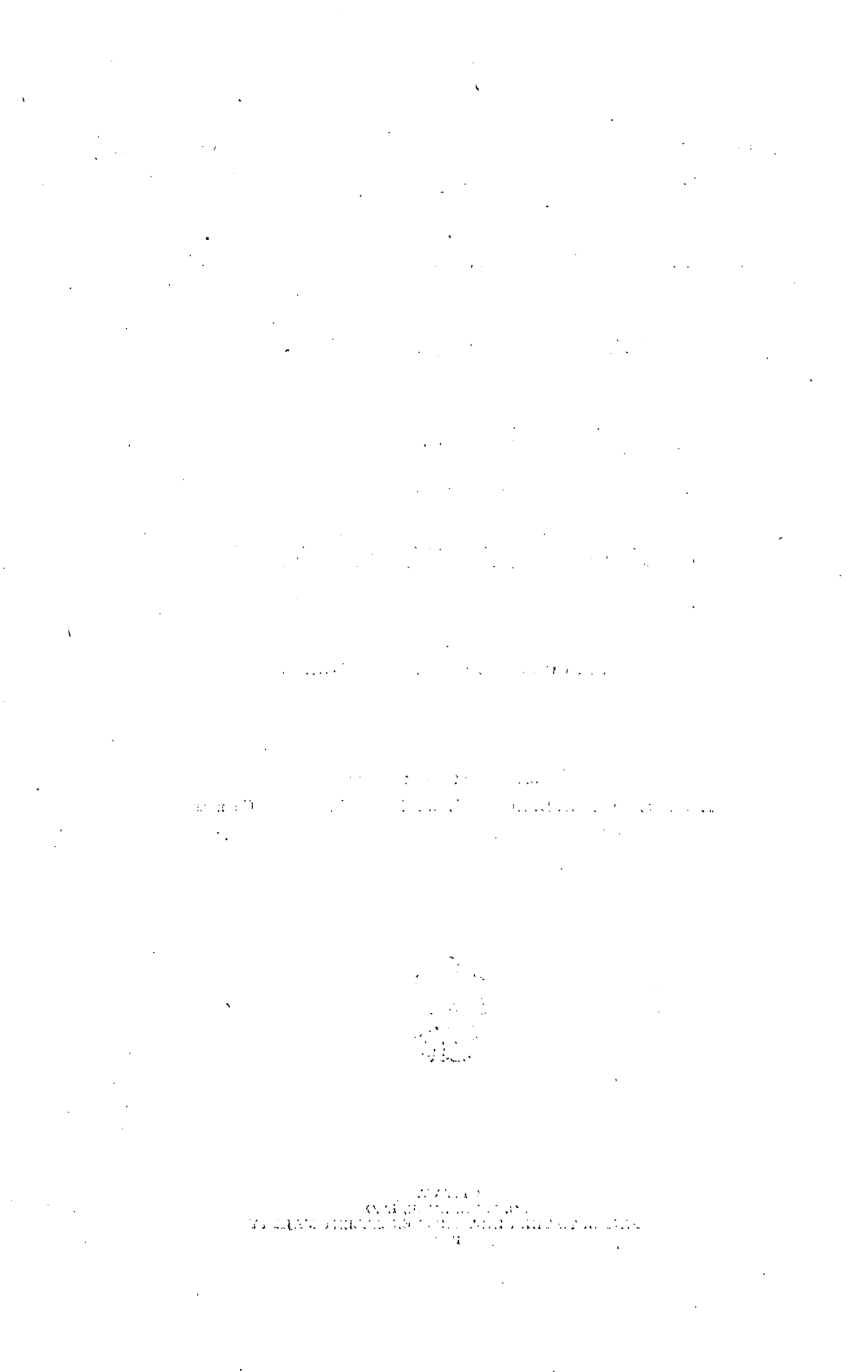

PREFACE

The general Administrative Report on the Seventh Census of Canada pointed out that the present Census Monograph would have for subject "one of the most important of modern tendencies, namely, the rapid growth of urban as compared with rural population". Since Confederation, the rural population of Canada, as usually defined, has less than doubled, while the urban has multiplied approximately eight times. In 1871 four out of every five of the people were rural, whereas in 1931 considerably more than half of the total population was urban, the rural proportion having declined at every Dominion Decennial Census.

The Foreword to this volume emphasizes the general tendency toward urbanization and presents outlines of its extent and causes, of the methods and procedure followed in the study, the checks to urbanization and the reasons for predicting a decline in the rate of the de-ruralizing trend. The conclusions are synopsized in greater detail in the chapter summaries, and in each chapter special attention has been given to the illustration of most significant rural-urban phenomena by diagrammatic methods.

The body of the monograph consists of three parts. Part A comprises a very brief review of the economic, social and biological factors determining the density of population. In Part B the general growth of urban versus rural population in Canada is sketched from the first census of New France in 1665-6 to the first *decennial* census in this country in 1851, and from that year the trends are traced more minutely through the seven Dominion Decennial Censuses to 1931. By short introductory notes, urbanization in Canada is compared with that in several other countries. Twentieth century suburban migration and the expansion and composition of the population of "metropolitan districts", embracing at least ten 'greater' cities in Canada with their constituent satellite communities, are examined at some length. Various phases of rural and urban distribution in the Dominion, reflected in such attributes of population as sex, age, conjugal condition, birth rate, racial origin and nativity, and the effect on population growth of certain forms of "sectionalism" as manifested in these attributes, are treated in Part C.

The progress of unification in Canada and population growth, despite many kinds of sectionalism resulting from differences in race, religion, sex, occupation, standard of living, etc., and not necessarily confined to rural-urban, geographical or territorial division, is suggested as subject of a separate monograph in connection with the 1941 census. Supplementing three definitions of rural and urban population analysed herein, two additional methods, one involving a typological classification and the other an extension of the 'greater' city principle to the smaller urban units, are recommended for both private and government research. In the Appendices a summary of the law and practice in each province in regard to urban incorporation is preceded by an abbreviated tabular statement of the prerequisites to such incorporation.

The study was prepared under the joint authorship of Messrs. H. G. Caldwell, General Economics Adviser, and S. A. Cudmore, Chief of the General Statistics Branch and Editor of the Canada Year Book. It constitutes one of the series of Census Monographs, directed by Mr. M. C. MacLean, Chief of Social Analysis, who together with Mr. A. J. Pelletier, Chief of the Census Branch, gave valuable suggestions. Acknowledgement is also made of the co-operation of several members of the staff of the Bureau in revising manuscript, reading proof, compiling tables and draughting the charts.

R. H. COATS,
Dominion Statistician.

JUNE 6, 1938.

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THE GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION

SEX AND AGE

CONJUGAL CONDITION AND BIRTH RATE

RACIAL ORIGIN AND NATIVITY

FOREWORD

Introductory.—The rapid growth of urban as compared with rural population is one of the most momentous of modern tendencies, a fact emphasized in the Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician on the Seventh Census of Canada, 1931. The tendency toward urbanization, which has become an urgent social and economic problem, constitutes the basis or background for this monograph on the Rural and Urban Composition of the Canadian Population, the findings and conclusions herein summarized being indirectly, if not all directly, associated with this principal theme.

By way of introduction the major economic factors on which the density of any population depends were found to include primarily the fertility of the soil, the transportation facilities and the relative advantages or disadvantages of concentration of manufacturing production and of commercial and administrative activities; in addition, the maintenance of law and order and the multiplication of specialized professions and occupations have important influences, as also such social and biological concepts as natural fecundity, human gregariousness, standards of living, and sectionalism resulting from differences in race and religion.

Urbanization in Other Countries.—The factors determining population density were illustrated very briefly by examples from ancient, mediæval and modern times, and in order that a proper orientation might be given to the subject of town and city growth in Canada, a short examination was made of both early and more modern trends of urban versus rural population, not only in various countries of the Western civilization, particularly England, Scotland, Germany and United States, but also in Japan and India. A disproportionate urban expansion has developed in all these countries, but in point of time the trends were, of course, not the same, nor were they identical in extent or rate. While the great variety of methods of defining rural and urban population render accurate international comparisons of urban trends and their causes almost impossible,* Canadian urbanization has apparently proceeded along lines more akin to those of the United States than of any other country. However that may be, the general modern tendency toward urbanization has been almost world-wide.

In many countries the influx of men and women into the towns to seek industrial employment and organized advantages lacking in the countryside has caused overcrowding and slums, thereby endangering health and in many ways resulting in heavy drains on the public purse. Town planning and other experiments both by governments and voluntary organizations are promoting social activities and amenities leading to the establishment of garden cities in direct contrast to soulless dormitory towns. Considerations of health and economy alike are demanding on all sides these and other solutions for the malaise of overgrown cities, but fortunately for Canadians, urban congestion with its ensuing evils has not proceeded in the Dominion to the very serious and menacing extent suffered by some of the larger countries.

Three Definitions Analyzed.—This study of urbanization in Canada has involved the use of various methods of measuring or defining urban and rural population. For the period of some two hundred years prior to 1851, the study consists perforce mainly of a review of the population of the early settlements and the more important urban centres. From 1851 onward, the growth in the number and the population of towns and cities of 5,000 or more is traced from census to census. However, from the First Decennial Census, 1871, to the Seventh, 1931, a definite distinction is made between total rural and total urban population, the urban being defined as the number of persons in cities, towns and villages incorporated under the laws of the various provinces and Yukon, while the rural includes all the remainder of the population. This usual manner of defining or comparing rural and urban population, the first of five considered, is employed throughout unless otherwise definitely specified.

*See two articles by Henri Bunle, Statisticien à la Direction de la Statistique Générale et de la Documentation, France, in *Revue de L'Institut International de Statistique, La Haye:* (a) *1937, Livraison 4, La Population Rurale, sur l'adoption d'une définition susceptible d'être internationalement adoptée,* pp. 347–57; (b) *1938, Livraison 2, Rapports et Communications pour la Session de Prague, Rapport de la Commission pour la Définition de la Population Rurale,* pp. 229-34.

The second method of defining urban and rural involved the transfer of the number of inhabitants of incorporated places of less than 1,000 persons from the urban to the rural category; the setting of the dividing line at 1,000 is a more or less arbitrary procedure, the United States authorities preferring for their census classifications the considerably higher figure of 2,500. The total population of Canadian places of less than 1,000 in 1931 amounted to only 411,000 or less than 4 p.c. of Canada's total population; but the percentages in the provinces, owing in no small part to the very different prerequisites to incorporation under provincial legislation, ranged from 0.53 in New Brunswick to 11.26 in Saskatchewan. Although the aggregate population of these municipalities with fewer than 1,000 persons does not represent a very large proportion of the total for the Dominion, they have been of considerable significance in the study of de-ruralizing trends. Whereas the urban population, as first defined, expanded in 1911–21 by 33 p.c. and in 1921–31 by 28 p.c. and whereas the rural increased during the same decades by 12·8 p.c. and 8·3 p.c. respectively, the number of inhabitants of incorporated places under 1,000 in 1931 which existed in 1921 increased by approximately only 5·9 p.c. in 1921–31, while the number in such places which also existed in 1911 increased in 1911–21 by approximately only 7·2 p.c. and in 1921–31 by a mere 2·2 p.c.

The third distinction between rural and urban is made simply by comparing the number of persons residing on rural farms with the residue of the population, the first classification of this kind in the Dominion Census having been adopted in 1931. The residual class, referred to as non-farm, comprises (1) residents of incorporated places of whom 33,000 persons in 1931 were on urban farms or urban market gardens, mostly in the Province of Quebec, and (2) an important intermediate group of considerable mobility, numbering 1,581,000 in 1931 or over 15 p.c. of the total population. Most of the people in this intermediate group live in suburban districts, unincorporated hamlets and police villages and are engaged less in farming than in lumbering, fishing and trapping, selling and distributing goods and rendering professional and other services. The city-ward trek of many thousands of these non-farm ruralites resulted from the development of large scale production, which led to the absorption, by urban factories and offices, of numerous rural workmen and craftsmen, as well as of other younger men and young women from both farm and village.

Additional Methods Recommended.—These first three definitions are open to certain objections, some of which have already been intimated. Accordingly, two other methods of classifying rural and urban are recommended for experimentation and possibly for consideration in connection with tabulations of data in future censuses. For a cross-section view of the rural and urban composition of the population, either of these two definitions would be superior to the first three, but the limited amount of data available would render historical comparisons over long periods impossible.

One of these suggested methods, the fourth in this series of definitions, is based on the hypothesis that since some towns and cities of moderate size resemble rural society more than urban, while many smaller aggregates are typically urban, "it is preferable to define rural society typologically rather than statistically".* The procedure therefore involves a semi-typological classification or analysis of the population of every community, large or small, incorporated or unincorporated, to determine whether it is "overwhelmingly" rural or urban in character or type, an "overwhelming" majority to be set at some figure between 65 p.c. and 75 p.c.

Under the other suggested definition, the fifth, the urbanites would include, in addition to residents of incorporated places, the population of all densely peopled rural or partly rural areas, such as townships and district municipalities, parishes, police villages and hamlets, which are satellite to, or in a good measure economically dependent upon, nearby urban centres, even if these urban places are not sufficiently populous to be designated 'greater' cities. The difficulties experienced in applying this definition include the setting of boundaries and limits, the question of maximum distance to be accepted between the town or city proper and its satellite or dependent community, and the requisite degree of economic dependence of such community upon its central or parent body. The tremendous extension of 'greater' cities in Canada and of London, England, and of "Metropolitan Districts" as they are called in the United States, are summarized in succeeding paragraphs on the growth of urban population.

* See article on "Rural Society" in The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, pp. 469-71, especially p. 469, by Professor Carle C. Zimmerman, Department of Sociology, Harvard University.

Growth, 1665-1851.—The growth of the rural and urban population of Canada is examined during two definite periods, *viz.*, (1) from the first census of New France in 1665–6 to 1851 and (2) from 1851 to 1931. In 1666 the settlements from which developed the cities of Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal had together only 1,627 souls or slightly more than half the total population of the Colony, but the rural element was soon increased by colonization, with the result that throughout most of this first period the urban population represented a comparatively small proportion of the total population in Canada, as well as in the Maritimes, both of which sections of the country were economically fairly self-sufficient; the few cities were mainly distributing or trading centres.

The middle of the nineteenth century constituted a transition period in the history of Canada. Up to that time the water routes had been the chief means of transportation; slow at their best, and closed several months of the year owing to climatic conditions, they were not conducive to the establishment of urban manufacturing districts. Nevertheless, they carried many thousands of settlers to Upper Canada, whose population at the Census of 1851–2 surpassed for the first time that of Lower Canada. The Census of 1851, moreover, marked the beginning of the regular decennial census of this country. Development of manufacturing production and a much greater growth of urban population were stimulated by (1) the Tariff Acts of 1858–9, which were of a distinctly protectionist character, and (2) the railway expansion which began with the chartering of the Grand Trunk in 1852. Hence, the division of the historical study at the year 1851.

Growth, 1851-1931.—Even at the Census of 1871, the first taken after Confederation, urban Canada may be said to have ended at the shores of Lake Huron, although far distant Victoria had an 1870 population of 3,270. However, by the Second Decennial Census, the West had commenced to contribute to the population in communities of 5,000 and over, Victoria having exceeded 5,900 and Winnipeg having shown mushroom growth from 241 in 1870 to almost 8,000 in 1881. Vancouver, a small hamlet in 1886, rose to 13,700 in 1891, more than doubled this at over 29,000 in 1901 and quadrupled the latter figure in the next decade. Calgary and Edmonton increased about tenfold between 1901 and 1911, Regina jumping from about 2,200 to over 30,000 during the decade. Northern Ontario towns also sprang up quickly, but it was not until the Census of 1901 that one of them, Sault Ste. Marie, entered the group of places of 5,000 or more inhabitants; Fort William, Port Arthur and North Bay joined it in the Census of 1911, Sudbury following in that of 1921.

The Dominion's total urban population, as usually defined, soared from 722,343 in 1871 to 5,572,058 in 1931 or 7·7 times the former figure, while the rural increased from 2,966,914 to 4,804,728 or only 1·6 times. The greatest numerical increase in both rural and urban in any decade between the Censuses of 1871 and 1931 occurred in 1901–11 when it more than equalled that in the three preceding decades combined. While in 1901 the urbanites represented nearly 2·8 times the number in 1871, by 1911 the ratio had climbed to over 4·3. The advance in the percentage of urban to total population from 37·5 in 1901 to 45·4 in 1911 was greater than in any other decade between the Censuses of 1871 and 1931, in which years the percentages were respectively 19·6 and 53·7.

Between 1901 and 1931 the number of people in urban communities rose by 177 p.c., while those in the rural increased only 43 p.c. Moreover, 80 p.c. of this rural increase was due to expansion in the Prairie Provinces, nearly 15 p.c. to that in British Columbia and the remainder of about 5 p.c. to a net rural increase in the other five provinces. Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, however, showed relatively large decreases in their rural population, not only at these four censuses between 1901 and 1931, but also at that of 1891; and the province of Ontario, while it had a net rural increase between the Censuses of 1901 and 1931, showed considerable decreases at those of 1891, 1901 and 1911, and despite a moderate increase in 1921 and a very substantial one in 1931, its ruralites in the latter year numbered 15,383 fewer than at its peak census year in 1881.

'Greater' Cities and Satellite Communities.—An outstanding factor in Canadian urbanization, especially during the twentieth century, is the enormous growth of suburban or satellite areas near or adjacent to, not only the bigger cities, but also the smaller ones and larger towns. In the United States the rural areas satellite to the larger cities grew by 54 p.c. during the decade 1920–30, which was a greater rate than in any other part of the population and almost

2·5 times as great as that of the cities themselves.* An approximation of the population increase in the rural areas satellite to ten 'greater' cities of Canada during the decade 1921–31 showed a percentage somewhat larger than the foregoing 54 for the United States.

The largest of these ten 'greater' cities was, of course, Montreal with over a million people in 1931 or about 180,000 more than the city proper. By almost that same figure was the population of Toronto less than 'Greater Toronto', although the latter had a total of only a few thousand above the 800,000 mark. The excess in the cases of 'Greater Winnipeg' and 'Greater Vancouver' was from 60,000 to 65,000, 'Greater Ottawa' and 'Greater Windsor' from 45,000 to 50,000, 'Greater Quebec' 36,000, 'Greater Halifax' 15,000 and 'Greater Hamilton' and 'Greater Saint John' just over 8,000.

Maps, Charts and Tables.—Maps of these ten 'greater' cities of Canada and their constituent satellite communities in 1931, together with relative population data, are presented in Chart C, while the population trends of various districts in or about London, England, at each decennial census back to 1801, are depicted in Chart A. Table 1 and Chart B show the percentage of population in places of 8,000 or more at each decennial census in the United States since 1790. Trends of urban, rural or total population at each decennial census in Canada since 1871 are illustrated in Charts D to G, which are based on data in Tables 2 and 3. The second and third methods of defining rural and urban population were applied to 1931 data, the former, as already indicated, placing the dividing line at incorporated places with 1,000 persons and the latter distinguishing between rural farm and non-farm population; the results of the two procedures appear respectively in Tables 4 and 5 and Charts H and I. Charts J to R and Tables 6 to 32 deal with various attributes of population in Canada, especially with pertinent aspects of their rural and urban distribution.

De-ruralizing Trend Decreasing.—Finally, in regard to the future, is it likely that the de-ruralizing trend will continue? Of course, no definite answer can be given to this question but certain conditions suggest that the rate of the trend will decrease. In the first place, the percentage of urban to total population was 19·6 at the Census of 1871 and 45·4 at that of 1911. During this forty year period the average absolute increase per decade was 6·5 points and the figure for each decade adhered fairly closely to this average, except in 1901–11 when it was 7·9 points or the highest reached between any two successive censuses since Confederation. In 1911–21 and 1921–31 the increases were respectively only 4·1 and 4·3. The rate of the de-ruralizing trend had therefore already commenced to decline in the two decades between 1911 and 1931.

Again, at the Census of the Prairie Provinces in 1936, the increase in the total population of both Manitoba and Saskatchewan was caused entirely by increases in the rural, the urban population actually decreasing. In Alberta the rural increase was approximately five times greater than the urban. Even if it could be ascertained that the same reversal of conditions occurred between 1931 and 1936 in the other provinces, it could not be rightly claimed that the urban trend in Canada had ended, but these Western figures do lend support to the conviction that opposing factors are at least reducing the rate of urbanization.

Checks to Urbanization.—One of the most significant checks to city-ward migration is the unfavourable economic situation that has prevailed under varying degrees of severity since 1930. Cyclical business depressions have entailed wide-spread industrial recessions and unemployment. Unemployed urbanites have been returning to the countryside to the shelter of their former homes or the farms of relatives. Others, including the young people, for whom prospects have not been very bright for some years, are leaving the cities and towns to seek employment in such occupations as farming, lumbering, mining, fishing, hunting and road-building. Even when cyclical industrial conditions improve in urban places, the fear of again suffering experiences similar to those during the latest business crises will tend to prevent a rush back to the town factory or city office. Another check, perhaps of greater moment, is the more permanent displacement of workers through the increase in technological unemployment and the development of mechanization.

* See article on "Population Growth and Housing Demand" in The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science, March, 1937, pp. 131–7, especially p. 135, by Warren S. Thompson, Director, Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems.

Differential fertility is another factor which cannot be ignored. If all migration of population between rural and urban communities were stopped, the ruralites would soon regain a majority because the standardized birth rate is considerably greater in the country than in the city. The fact that fertility rates are greater in smaller towns and rural districts than in cities and larger towns is generally recognized.* In Canada, for instance, in 1931 the standardized birth rate for all rural parts, including villages and other incorporated places of 5,000 persons and under, averaged 27·5 per thousand of population, while the rate for the Dominion as a whole was only 23·1, for cities of 40,000 to 100,000 persons just 17·7, and for the larger cities 17·1.

Summaries and Further Investigation.—Birth rate and such related attributes of population as conjugal condition and age, and their numerous rural-urban ramifications, are possibly not less interesting than the other topics treated, including racial origin and nativity. The conclusions and findings on all the subjects, while comprehensive, are not exhaustive. Some of the findings and, of necessity, implications have already been mentioned, while others are outlined in the summaries of the various chapters. The end of the monograph, however, is by no means the end of the investigation, this contribution being mainly introductory. The fundamental rural-urban population problems have been presented and analyzed in a way that suggests many an avenue for further study and attack by the researcher interested in more detailed phases of urbanization.

*See (*a*) Census of England and Wales, 1911, Vol. XIII, Part II *Fertility of Marriage*, Table LIII, p. cxxii.
(*b*) *Studies of Differential Fertility in Sweden* by K. A. Edin and E. P. Hutchinson, Ch. II, Table 3, p. 32.
(*c*) Central Bureau of Statistics of Holland, Statistiek van den Loop der Bevolking van Nederland over het Jaar, 1936 Introduction II, *Geboorten*, p. XI.

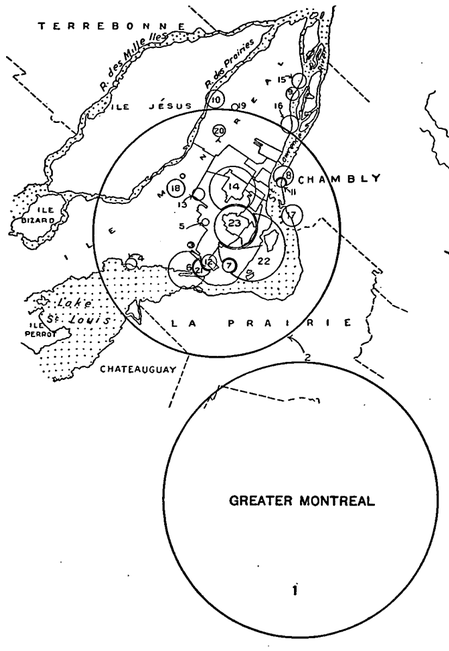
TEN 'GREATER' CITIES* OF CANADA WITH THEIR CONSTITUENT SATELLITE COMMUNITIES, CENSUS OF 1931

All circles are in proportion to the populations of the respective cities and satellite communities and do not indicate boundaries or topographical areas.

Scale of miles for base maps

0 5 10 15 20

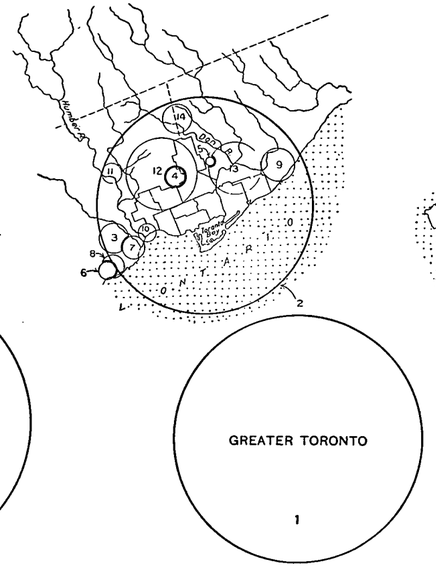
MONTREAL



		POPULATION
1.	GREATER MONTREAL	1,000,159
2.	Montreal (City Proper)	818,577
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Côte-St-Luc (Village)	490
4.	Dorval (Town)	2,052
5.	Hampstead (Town)	594
6.	Lachine (City)	18,630
7.	LaSalle (Town)	2,362
8.	Longueuil (City)	5,407
9.	Montreal East (Town)	2,242
10.	Montreal North (Town)	4,519
11.	Montreal South (Town)	1,164
12.	Montreal West (Town)	3,190

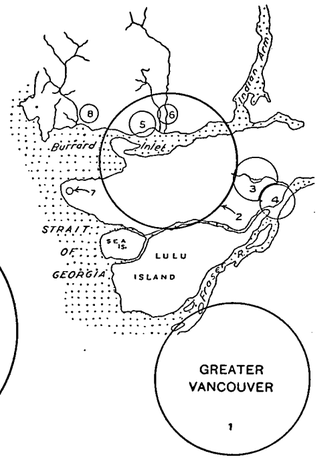
		POPULATION
	Satellite Communities—*Continued.*	
13.	Mont-Royal (Town)	2,174
14.	Outremont (City)	28,641
15.	Pointe-aux-Trembles (Town)	2,970
16.	St-Jean-de-Dieu (Longue-Pointe)	4.578
17.	St-Lambert (City)	6,075
18.	St-Laurent (Town)	5,348
19.	St-Léonard-de-Port-Maurice (Town)	453
20.	St-Michel-de-Laval (Town)	1,528
21.	St-Pierre (Town)	4,185
22.	Verdun (City)	60,745
23.	Westmount (City)	24,235

TORONTO



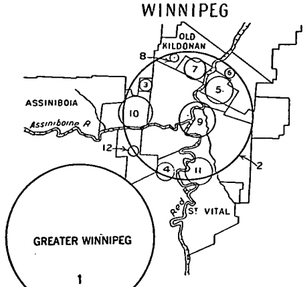
		POPULATION
1.	GREATER TORONTO	808,864
2.	Toronto (City Proper)	631,207
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Etobicoke Township (Part)	12,096
4.	Forest Hill (Village)	5,207
5.	Leaside (Village)	938
6.	Long Branch (Village)	3,962
7.	Mimico (Town)	6,800
8.	New Toronto (Town)	7,146
9.	Scarborough Township (Part)	14,474
10.	Swansea (Village)	5,031
11.	Weston (Town)	4,723
12.	York Township	69,593
13.	York East Township	36,080
14.	York North Township (Part)	11,607

VANCOUVER



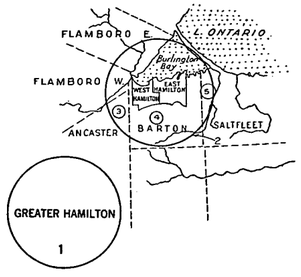
		POPULATION
1.	GREATER VANCOUVER	308,840
2.	Vancouver (City Proper)	246,593
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Burnaby District (Mun.)	25,564
4.	New Westminster (City)	17,524
5.	North Vancouver (City)	8,510
6.	North Vancouver District (Mun.)	4,788
7.	University Endowment Area	575
8.	West Vancouver District (Mun.)	4,786

WINNIPEG



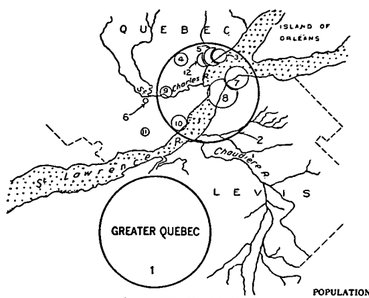
		POPULATION
1.	GREATER WINNIPEG	284,129
2.	Winnipeg (City Proper)	218,785
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Brooklands (Village)	2,462
4.	Fort Garry (Mun.)	3,926
5.	Kildonan East (Mun.)	9,947
6.	Kildonan North (Mun.)	1,347
7.	Kildonan West (Mun.)	6,132
8.	Old Kildonan (Mun.)	647
9.	St. Boniface (City)	16,305
10.	St. James (Mun.)	13,903
11.	St. Vital (Mun.)	10,402
12.	Tuxedo (Town)	1,173

HAMILTON



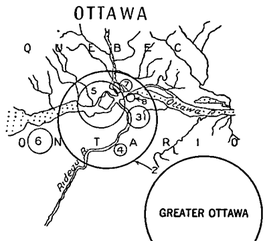
		POPULATION
1.	GREATER HAMILTON	163,710
2.	Hamilton (City Proper)	155,547
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Ancaster Township (Part)	2,391
4.	Barton Township (Part)	2,360
5.	Saltfleet Township (Part)	3,412

QUEBEC



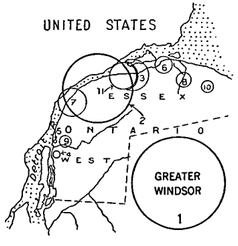
		POPULATION
1.	GREATER QUEBEC	166,435
2.	Quebec (City Proper)	130,594
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Beauport (Town)	3,242
4.	Charlesbourg (Village)	1,869
5.	Giffard (Village)	3,573
6.	La Petite-Rivière (Parish)	247
7.	Lauzon (Town)	7,084
8.	Lévis (City)	11,724
9.	Quebec West (Town)	1,813
10.	St-Colomb-de-Sillery (Parish)	2,794
11.	Ste-Foy Parish (Part)	946
12.	St-Michel-Archange (Mastai)	2,549

OTTAWA



		POPULATION
1.	GREATER OTTAWA	175,988
2.	Ottawa (City Proper)	126,872
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Eastview (Town)	6,686
4.	Gloucester Township (Part)—including Billing's Bridge; Cyrville; Overbrook and Ridgemount	1,947
5.	Hull (City)	29,433
6.	Nepean Township (Part)—including Highland Park; Westboro and Woodroffe	7,817
7.	Pointe-à-Gatineau (Village)	2,282
8.	Rockcliffe Park (Village)	951

WINDSOR

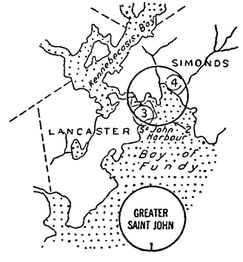


		POPULATION
1.	GREATER WINDSOR	110,385
2.	Windsor (City Proper)	63,108
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	East Windsor (City)	14,251
4.	La Salle (Town)	703
5.	Ojibway (Town)	79
6.	Riverside (Town)	4,432
7.	Sandwich (Town)	10,715
8.	Sandwich East Township (Part)	3,349
9.	Sandwich West Township (Part)	1,514
10.	Tecumseh (Town)	2,129
11.	Walkerville (Town)	10,105

HALIFAX

		POPULATION
1.	GREATER HALIFAX	74,161
2.	Halifax (City Proper)	59,275
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Dartmouth (Town)	9,100
4.	The District including the following Polling Divisions: Bedford Basin (Part); Cole Harbour; Ferguson's Cove and Northwest Arm (Part)	5,786

SAINT JOHN



		POPULATION
1.	GREATER SAINT JOHN	55,611
2.	Saint John (City Proper)	47,514
	Satellite Communities—	
3.	Lancaster Parish (Part)—including Beaconsfield and Fairville	5,175
4.	Simonds Parish (Part)—including Brookville; Coldbrook; East St. John and Little River	2,922

*The term 'Greater' Cities indicates those cities which have well defined satellite communities in close economic relationship to them. Not all of our larger cities (e.g. London, Calgary and Edmonton) are in this position.

MAPS OF
TEN 'GREATER' CITIES OF CANADA
WITH THEIR
CONSTITUENT SATELLITE COMMUNITIES
CENSUS OF 1931

PART A

INTRODUCTION
THE DENSITY OF POPULATION

CHAPTER I

THE FACTORS DETERMINING THE DENSITY OF POPULATION

Summary of Factors.—Mankind derives its main sustenance from the soil. Therefore, the density of any population depends primarily upon the following factors*:—

(1) the fertility of the soil upon which it lives, the life-sustaining efficiency of its ordinary products and the usual level of its production and standard of living;

(2) the transportation facilities available to bring food to that population from outside, this ordinarily involving a corresponding obligation upon that population to produce commodities that may be exchanged for the foods which it secures from outside;

(3) the normal maintenance of law and order both internally within the society, and externally between it and other societies, so as to assure the safe and continuous operation of such transportation facilities;

(4) The relative economic advantage or disadvantage, under the conditions prevailing in a particular society, of the concentration of manufacturing production, commerce and administrative activities in the most populous communities.

These factors are so important, and so continuous in the influence which they have exerted throughout the course of history upon the density of population and its aggregation into urban communities, that they must be considered in some detail.

(1) Fertility of the Soil.—In the first place, after primitive man had learned to produce "the kindly fruits of the earth" for his subsistence, the density at which he could exist depended partly upon the fertility of the soil and partly upon his skill in utilizing that fertility by cultivating the land and planting there the foods which gave the largest yields in proportion to area. Thus on alluvial lands in the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates, the Ganges and the Yang-tse-kiang, the Nile with its rich delta, and on other fertile areas, it has been possible for densely settled purely agricultural communities to exist continuously for thousands of years. These communities feed themselves from their own produce; the inhabitants of the two last-named valleys, in fact, live largely upon rice, which is an extraordinarily prolific and nourishing grain food. It is not uncommon for agricultural communities of this type to reach a population density of one thousand or more to the square mile. Indeed, we are told that an acre of rice will normally provide the food of eight persons; the only more prolific nutriment is said to be the fruit of the bread-fruit tree, which is peculiar to the South Sea Islands.

A population of one thousand or more which obtains its food from a square mile of ground must, of course, live at a low standard of comfort, must use vegetable rather than animal foods and must have very little variety in its diet. Yet these have been for thousands of years the living conditions of the masses of the people in the areas to which reference has been made. The Nile Valley, with its enormous population concentrated on a narrow strip of soil inundated by annual floods, is the classic instance of a densely settled country of this kind. Mention may also be made, however, of the delta of the Ganges, the life of which has been described in the interesting volume, "The Economic Life of a Bengal District", by J. C. Jack. In such areas the great majority of the people live in villages of a few hundred inhabitants who go daily into the fields to work, as was also the custom in the manorial villages of Europe.†

* The economic factors are here emphasized. The influences of social and biological conditions, such as standards of living, human gregariousness, natural fertility, and sectionalism as manifested by differences in race and religion, while probably no less important than the economic, are very difficult to measure, especially over past years. Some light is, however, thrown upon the operation of non-economic factors, particularly in Part C.

† "The general density of Cochin State, including both the thickly populated coast lands and the almost uninhabited high lands, is 814·2 persons per square mile and reaches in one village the amazing maximum found in any purely rural population of over 4,000 to the square mile. There is, however, in Bengal an even higher general level of density, since the Dacca Division has a mean density of 935 persons for a population of 13,864,104 and reaches a rural density of 2,413 for Munshiganj sub-division, which has an area of 294 square miles."—Report on the Census of India, 1931, Vol. I, p. 4.

In the Indian Journal of Economics for October, 1933, Dr. R. K. Mukerjee of Lucknow University says (p. 145): "Many rural areas here (in Eastern Bengal) exhibit a density ranging from 1,500 to 3,000 persons per square mile, which is maintained by a well-arranged succession of crops and vegetables and by orchards, without any symptom of economic pressure."

(2) **Transportation Facilities.**—In regard to the second factor, early transportation facilities were very primitive and the best roads were the rivers. When in ancient times a village grew into a town or city so large that its population could no longer be provided with food from the immediate vicinity, extra food and other requirements could best be brought in by river. Thus the villages which grew into what we should call towns and cities were those situated on the banks of such rivers as the Nile, the Tigris and Euphrates, the Indus and Ganges, the Yang-tse-kiang and the Hoang-ho. The Nile, in particular, favoured the growth of larger communities, since the current would carry the river-boats northward, while the prevailing northern winds would carry the sail boats (known as *dahabeahs*) southward. Thus the Nile boatman of ancient times had little to do but steer and manage his sails in carrying his produce to Thebes and Memphis for market. Somewhat similar conditions prevailed on the Tigris and Euphrates, as we learn from the Laws of Hammurabi and other Babylonian writings.

Still later, when man had learned to sail the inland seas and then the open oceans, the chief cities of the ancient and the modern world continued to grow, especially at those points where important rivers run into the sea. This has been less true since the advent of the railway, but even to-day there are very few cities of any consequence which are not situated on navigable waters, although our own city of Regina may be cited as an exception to this rule. While there is possibly a case for putting some other Western cities into the same category, it might be countered with the suggestion that even where rivers are to-day of little commercial importance, yet they were the main avenues of trade at the time when the cities were founded and are thus responsible for the original existence of aggregations of population, which later grew into cities by momentum. Even now, water transportation is generally cheaper than land transportation.

Again, the ancient city-states, like Athens and Rome, did not consider it incumbent upon them to give manufactures in return for the foodstuffs which they received from their dependent territories. They did, however, give other forms of compensation, for example, the Athenians in the days of Pericles gave commerce or protection, and the Romans, protection and government, and it may be admitted that probably to the ancient world the *pax Romana* was worth the *panem et circenses* which the territories of the Republic and later of the Empire were obliged to provide for the people of the capital. Further, the wealthier landowners had to maintain a "town house" to be "in the swim", while in some cases, as when Peter the Great founded St. Petersburg, the nobles were simply ordered to set up establishments in the place chosen by the sovereign as his capital. Ancient Alexandria and mediæval Venice and Genoa, on the other hand, were cities based mainly on commerce, as are such modern cities as Liverpool, Hamburg, Rotterdam, Antwerp and New Orleans, to which might be added our own Vancouver.

(3) **Law and Order.**—The maintenance of law and order is a third primary requisite of the existence of great and civilized cities. When the law and order of a city cease to exist, its inhabitants either perish of starvation or migrate to the countryside where they may at least raise food for their own needs. In the Ancient World, cities declined and fell into ruins when their ruling dynasties were defeated and rendered incapable of providing food for their urban proletariates. Thus Babylon, Nineveh and Persepolis decayed. Again, upon the decline of the Roman Empire, such great cities as Rome itself, Antioch and Alexandria declined for the lack of a safe and secure food supply. In our own day, the populations of Leningrad and Moscow were greatly reduced after the War, until the Bolsheviks obtained a secure hold upon the food supplies of the peasants. Domestic peace is thus the prerequisite of the growth and the continued existence of the great cities of any nation, while international peace is the abiding interest of such a great world centre as London.

(4) **Mass Production and Specialization.**—In the last century and a half, larger agglomerations of population than any previously known in history have arisen throughout the white man's world (and also in Japan) in consequence of the progress of invention, bringing with it the increasing utilization of the powers of nature in the service of man, the rise of machine industry and the specialization of functions among human beings themselves. Thus at the end of the eighteenth century great cities grew where there was cheap coal for the development of power with which to drive machinery of the factories, and in our own day we find cities growing up where supplies of cheap electricity are available for operating factory machinery. These cities, once established, have continued to attract those persons whose specialized functions have

made it advisable for them to live in a densely populated area in order that they may be in the best possible position to assist those who need their services; for instance, a doctor who is a specialist finds it necessary to practice in a locality where he will have a sufficient number of patients needing the particular type of services which he is especially competent to render. This specialization of training and of function among human beings is a potent factor in promoting the growth of large cities, and in our own country has been responsible for the expatriation of many brilliant Canadians who have found it necessary to move to some such centre as Boston, New York, Chicago or London in order to secure an adequate field for their highly specialized talents.

Among the most notable phenomena of modern economic life is that multiplication of specialized occupations which is strongly impressed upon the attention of census-takers, as it adds greatly to the difficulty of comparing the occupational distribution of the people from decade to decade. This specialization of function is important in promoting the growth of urban population, since it is chiefly in cities that the more specialized person can find a market for his services. Broadly speaking, the occupational distribution of the rural population is comparatively simple; indeed, two-thirds of the "rural" population of Canada in 1931 were engaged in agricultural occupations. On the contrary, the different occupations followed in the cities are very numerous, increasing with the size of the city. Therefore, only the largest cities provide a market for the services of the most specialized workers.

PART B

THE GENERAL GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION

CHAPTER II

THE GROWTH OF URBAN POPULATION IN OTHER COUNTRIES

Introduction.—The growth of urban communities, as stated in Chapter I, is necessarily limited by the continuous secure food supply available for consumption on a limited area of ground. This in turn is dependent upon three factors—the degree of skill which has been attained in agricultural production, the stage of development of transportation facilities, and the maintenance of law and order requisite for the safe transport of food supplies from the country to the city as well as of the goods produced in the city and exchanged for food. Thus a certain degree of civilization and control over the powers of nature, and a settled government, are prerequisites of the growth of cities. Where these cease to exist, cities decline and are eventually lost and forgotten, as in India, Persia and Yucatan.

Without delving too deeply into past history, we may note that in ancient and mediæval times men generally lived close together for purposes of protection and defence. The ancient city was usually a walled town, whose inhabitants in time of peace cultivated the land outside the city walls, or drove their flocks and herds to pasture in the valleys of the neighbouring streams. As a further means of defence, the ancient city was usually "set upon a hill" or at least had its central citadel upon a hill, like the Acropolis of Athens or the Capitoline Hill at Rome.

The growth of such cities was conditioned by their facilities for importing food or producing it nearby. For the great Athens of the fifth century before Christ, the primary necessities of existence were the Athenian navy, which protected the supply of sea-borne grain, and the Long Walls, which connected the city with its port (the Peiræus) and which were impregnable to the Greek artillery of those days; therefore, when the Athenian navy was defeated in the Peloponnesian War, Athens surrendered as a matter of discretion, because she could no longer import food. Similarly, in the first century before Christ, the very existence of Rome as a powerful city was threatened by the pirates who infested the Mediterranean and obstructed the shipment of food supplies from Africa, so that in order to overcome the pirates Rome was obliged to hand over enormous powers of an unprecedented character to Pompey the Great; the result was that soon after the pirates were extirpated the rather disorderly Republic became the Roman Empire, with despotic power at its centre but peace throughout its wide extent except on its boundaries. The *pax Romana* thus favoured the growth of cities, and in addition to Rome itself, Antioch, Alexandria and subsequently Constantinople grew in the flourishing days of the Roman Empire to be comparable to any of the great cities that have existed in the modern world prior to the nineteenth century. Upon the fall of the Roman Empire, however, its cities declined in population, just as in our own time the great Russian cities declined when, under chaotic and anarchical conditions of life, their supplies of provisions failed to reach them and their people were either starved out or compelled to resort to the country districts for food.

While there had been world contacts and a considerable degree of world consciousness in Græco-Roman civilization, the society which succeeded it had a very narrow outlook, and this continued in mediæval Europe so far as the masses were concerned. The great bulk of the people lived in manorial villages and were "tied to the soil"; from its scanty products they supported their knight and their priest—the squire and the parson of the English village of to-day. The average English manorial village had perhaps 250 to 300 inhabitants. The men went out daily to work in the arable fields around the village or to cut hay on the meadowland for winter feeding, or they drove their cattle and sheep to graze on the permanent pasture land or their swine to feed in the forest. The manorial village was thus in the main a self-sufficient economic unit, exporting and importing little from any other community, and seldom interested in what was going on outside its own boundaries, except when its lord went away to war and had to be supported from home, or when the Pope demanded Peter's Pence, or when the village, if on or near the sea-coast, was sacked by the French. Life would continue as usual in one's own village even when a neighbouring village was destroyed—just as the destruction of a cell in an individual belonging to the low forms of biological life makes little or no difference to the neighbouring cells.

England and Wales.—The towns which existed in England in the reign of William the Conqueror are shown by Domesday Book to have been merely enlarged manorial villages which had grown because of some favouring circumstance—location on a good harbour, or at the intersection of two main highways, or at a ford or bridge, the names of Oxford and Cambridge being significant in this connection. The larger towns, which in many cases were royal manors, succeeded in purchasing from their lords charters granting their inhabitants relief from the ordinary feudal services, and thus became what were called "free" cities, while their original inhabitants, or those who could trace their descent from the original inhabitants, became "freemen"—a term which is still in use and confers certain valuable rights in various British and Continental European cities. When the House of Commons was constituted in the reign of Edward I, these free towns became "boroughs", each of them sending two representatives to the House of Commons, which from the historical point of view is more correctly called "House of Communities—the *Domus Communitatum*". From the thirteenth to the nineteenth century, till the First Reform Bill of 1832 to be exact, the "boroughs" elected the great majority of the Members of the House of Commons, the balance representing the shires, which were also *communitates*.

At the time of Domesday Book, toward the end of the eleventh century, the total population in some eighty recorded towns, together with the population of London, which was not included in Domesday Book as it comes down to us, was about 150,000, or probably about one-twelfth of the estimated population of England at that date. It is probable that from then until the present the proportion of the urban population of England to the total population has been fairly steadily on the increase as transportation facilities improved and law and order became more firmly established; probably there were interruptions at the time of the Black Death about 1349 and of the plague and the great fire of London of 1666. But the fact that no census was taken until 1801 and no division of the population into rural and urban was made until 1851 makes it impossible to carry the inquiry very far back except in so far as there are estimates of the population of London at various dates, which are given in the section of this chapter on the growth of that city.

The urban population of England and Wales has increased from 9,155,964 in 1851 to 20,895,504 in 1891 and to 31,948,166 in 1931, or from 51 p.c. of the total population in 1851 to 72 p.c. in 1891 and 80 p.c. in 1931. In the same two forty-year periods the rural population has declined from 8,771,645 or 49 p.c. of the total in 1851 to 8,107,021 or 28 p.c. in 1891 and to 7,999,765 or 20 p.c. in 1931. Thus there has been not only a relative but also an absolute decline in the rural population, implying enormous migration from the country districts to the urban communities during the eighty-year period.

London.—London, which may be considered as typical of modern cities in its growth, was already an important commercial centre in the days of the Romans, but declined in early Anglo-Saxon times. It remained, however, the leading city of England, and after the Norman Conquest must have increased in population through the growth of commerce with the Continent. In 1199 the city had 40,000 inhabitants and 120 parish churches, according to a letter written by the then Archdeacon of London to Pope Innocent III. From this time until about 1500 the population of London, and indeed of England as a whole, appears to have shown little increase, which was doubtless due in part to the Black Death about the middle of the fourteenth century. After 1500, when the population of the city may have been 50,000, the growth was more rapid, and Creighton gives the following figures for certain subsequent dates, estimated on the basis of the bills of mortality:— 1532–5, 62,400; 1563, 93,276; 1580, 123,034; 1593–5, 152,478; 1605, 224,275; 1622, 272,207; 1634. 339,824; 1661, 460,000. At the end of the seventeenth century the population is given as 550,000 and in 1737 as 726,000.*

After 1500, the commerce of London greatly increased and the consequent call for young workers attracted from the rural districts many country boys, of whom the famous Dick Whittington is typical. Since this growth was considered as an evil, one Parliament after another passed acts restricting the growth of population and the building of houses, but such laws had the usual fate of legislation which is in opposition to the economic trend of the times, and London grew faster as time went on. At the first actual census of England and Wales in 1801, the population of the Administrative County of London was returned as 959,310, which had grown to 4,536,267 in 1901 but had declined to 4,397,003 in 1931.† However, the population of the whole area

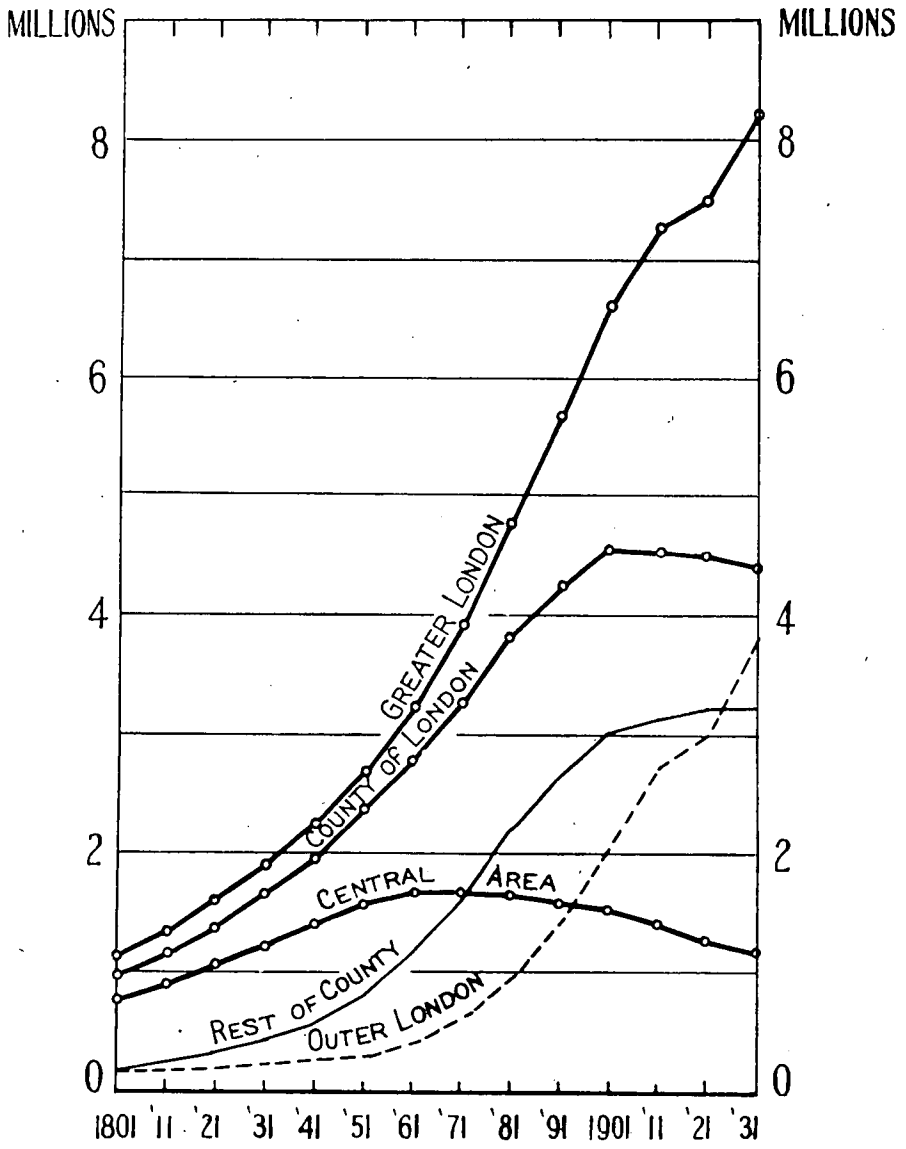
* See Vol. XVI of the 13th Edition of the Encyclopedia Britannica, pp. 954–68, for a history of London.
† From "London Statistics, 1931–2", Vol. XXXVI, p. 22, published by the London County Council.

(A)

POPULATION OF LONDON, ENGLAND

AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS

1801 TO 1931



Source:—"London Statistics, 1931-1932", Vol. XXXVI, p. 22, published by the London County Council.

known as 'Greater London,' including the Administrative County of London, together with many suburban communities, increased from 1,114,644 in 1801 to 6,581,402 in 1901 and to 8,203,942 in 1931*. Thus during the past generation, the population of 'Greater London' has increased, while that of the Administrative County of London has declined, a major cause of the "moving to the suburbs" having been the increase and improvement of transportation facilities. The same tendency will be found to exist in other great cities as the result of the advent of rapid motor transportation.

A diagram, illustrating the growth of the population of the central area of London, the County of London, and 'Greater London' from 1801 to 1931, is reproduced overleaf (Chart A).

Scotland.—The population of Scotland has shown in the past seventy years the same tendency toward the disproportionate increase of urban population and decrease of rural population that has been described for England and Wales. In the publications of the Census of 1931, Volume II contains a study of urban and rural population, the burghs with 1,000 persons or over being regarded as urban, and the smaller ones, many of which are very ancient, as rural. On this basis, the 1861 population already included 1,766,618 urbanites or 57·7 p.c. and 1,295,676 ruralites or 42·3 p.c. By 1891, the urban population was 70·6 p.c., by 1911, 75·4 p.c., by 1921, 77·3 p.c., and by 1931, 80·1 p.c. Thus at the latest census less than one-fifth of the population of Scotland can be described as rural. Indeed, the total number of rural residents enumerated at the census declined from 1,295,676 in 1861 fairly steadily to 963,010 in 1931.

United States.—In the colonies on the Atlantic seaboard which were afterwards to become the original United States, the population was from the beginning predominantly rural, and towns of any size were few and far between. Indeed, the rise of towns was discouraged by Imperial Acts, which forbade in the North American colonies the establishment of manufacturing industries that might compete with those of the Mother Country but which at the same time extended preferential treatment in the Mother Country to the raw products of the colonies. The colonies were supposed to confine themselves as far as possible to the production of primary products, and to exchange those primary products, on which they received a preference, for the manufactured products of Great Britain. Yet that very exchange promoted the rise of towns at the points of shipment, though such towns remained commercial rather than manufacturing centres; the chief ones were Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore and Charleston, the last being the largest centre in the South. Thus in 1698 the first census of the colony of New York gave to New York city a population of 4,937, while a census taken in Massachusetts in 1722 gave Boston a population of 10,567. The population of Philadelphia is estimated to have been 14,563 in 1753, that of Charleston 10,863 in 1770, and of Baltimore 5,934 in 1775 at the commencement of the War of Independence.

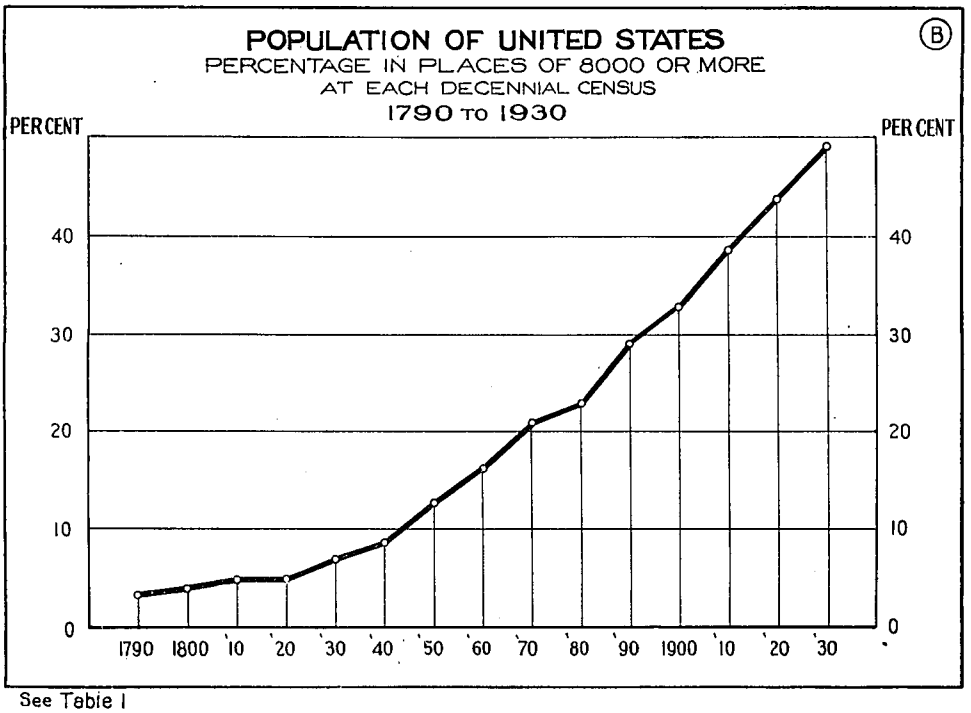
The first uniform census of the United States, taken in 1790, was necessitated by the adoption of the principle of representation by population in the American Constitution. That census showed that there were only six towns and cities with over 8,000 population—Philadelphia and suburbs with 42,444 people, New York (then confined to Manhattan Island) with 33,131, Boston with 18,038, Charleston with 16,359, Baltimore with 13,503 and Salem with 7,921†. The total urban population, as thus defined, was 131,472 or 3·3 p.c. of the grand total of 3,929,214. On this basis only 1 in every 30 of the population of the United States was an urban resident. By 1800 the proportion of urban population resident in towns and cities of 8,000 or more rose to 1 in 25, and by 1810 practically to 1 in 20—a ratio which persisted in 1820, when thirteen towns and cities of 8,000 and over had 475,135 people out of a total population of 9,638,453. By 1830 the proportion of population in cities and towns of 8,000 and over rose to 1 in 16, by 1840 to 1 in 12, and by 1850 to 1 in 8, when 85 cities and towns with 8,000 people or over had an aggregate population of 2,897,586 out of a grand total population of 23,191,876.

At the Census of 1860, just before the outbreak of the Civil War, the population in cities and towns of 8,000 and over, which were nearly all located in the Northern States, was almost one-sixth of the total or 5,072,256 out of 31,443,321. In 1870 it was 8,072,000 out of a total of 38,555,800 or 20·9 p.c., rising to 11,366,000 out of a total of 50,156,000 in 1880 or 22·7 p.c. A great increase, both absolute and relative, was shown in 1890, when 445 cities and towns of 8,000 and over had an aggregate population of 18,244,000 or 29·0 p.c. of the total of 62,948,000. At

* See footnote † on p. 24.

† Salem, though its population was 79 short of the 8,000 minimum in 1790, has always been counted as one of the six cities of 8,000 and over at that date.

the end of the century the population in cities and towns of 8,000 and over numbered 25,018,000 out of an aggregate of 75,995,000 or 32·9 p.c. (almost one-third). In 1910 the proportion showed a further increase to 38·7 p.c. or 35,570,000 out of 91,972,000, while in 1920 it was 43·8 p.c. or 46,308,000 out of 105,711,000. Finally, in 1930 the urban population resident in 1,208 cities and towns of 8,000 and over aggregated 60,333,000 or 49.1 p.c. (almost one-half) of the total population of 122,775,000. The figures of the increase of United States urban population resident in cities of 8,000 and over in the 140 years between 1790 and 1930 are presented in Table 1 and depicted in Chart B.



See Table I

TABLE 1.—POPULATION IN PLACES OF 8,000 INHABITANTS OR MORE IN THE UNITED STATES, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1790-1930(1)

Census year	Total Population	Places of 8,000 Inhabitants or More		
		Population	Number of Places	P.C. of Total Population
1790	3,929,214	131,472	6	3·3
1800	5,308,483	210,873	6	4·0
1810	7,239,881	356,920	11	4·9
1820	9,638,453	475,135	13	4·9
1830	12,866,020	864,509	26	6·7
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	44	8·5
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	85	12·5
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	141	16·1
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	226	20·9
1880	50,155,783	11,365,698	285	22·7
1890	62,947,714	18,244,239	445	29·0
1900	75,994,575	25,018,335	547	32·9
1910	91,972,266	35,570,334	768	38·7
1920	105,710,620	46,307,640	924	43·8
1930	122,775,046	60,333,452	1,208	49·1

(1) Source: United States Census, 1930, Vol. I, p. 9.

New York City.—The City of New York is the commercial metropolis of the United States as London is of England, and its growth may be taken to represent that of the urban communities of this continent at their maximum. Founded as New Amsterdam about 1626, the town had by 1656 a population of 1,000, and in 1698 the first census of the colony of New York gave it a population of 4,937. By the middle of the eighteenth century (1749), it had grown to 13,294, and in 1790 the population of the city proper, situated on Manhattan Island, was 33,131, as already stated, while in the same year the population of the territory now comprised in the five boroughs of New York City was 49,401. By 1800 the population of the latter area was approximately 80,000; in 1810, 120,000; in 1820, 152,000; in 1830, 242,000; in 1840, 391,000; in 1850, 696,000; in 1860, 1,175,000; in 1870, 1,478,000; in 1880, 1,912,000; in 1890, 2,507,000; in 1900, 3,437,000; in 1910, 4,767,000; in 1920, 5,620,000; in 1930, 6,930,000.

The population of the City of New York, however, is much less than that of the greater district in which so many of the City's workers and their dependents reside. The question of suburban areas and how far they may be included with the central nucleus in metropolitan districts is a difficult point in these days of rapid transportation by motor car and omnibus, and electric and special steam railways for "commuters". In an attempt to meet this situation, the United States Census Bureau, after the Census of 1930, arranged for separate compilations for metropolitan districts, including "in addition to the central city or cities, all adjacent and contiguous civil divisions having a density of not less than 150 inhabitants per square mile and also as a rule those civil divisions of less density that are *directly* contiguous to the central cities or are entirely or nearly surrounded by minor civil divisions that have the required density".* Applying the above definition to the suburban areas surrounding New York City, the United States Census Bureau included in the metropolitan district of New York City a total land area of just over 2,514 square miles in the three States of New York, New Jersey and Connecticut. This area had in 1920 a population of 8,505,404, which had increased to 10,901,424 in 1930. While this population is considerably larger than that of 'Greater London,' it may be pointed out that the largest area included in the latter is given as about 653 square miles, or not much more than one-quarter the area included in the metropolitan district of New York which the United States Census Bureau designates "New York-Northeastern New Jersey Metropolitan District".

Germany.—In Germany, too, there was a great growth of urban population following upon the establishment of the German Empire in 1871; this increasing urban population imported from abroad immense quantities of food stuffs and raw materials and exported finished goods to every quarter of the world, thereby competing with the manufactured products of the United Kingdom and the United States, the other two chief exporters of manufactured goods.

In Germany the population is divided by the census authorities into "rural" communities of less than 2,000 population, small and medium-sized towns and cities of from 2,000 to 100,000 and great cities of over 100,000 population. Between 1875 and 1933†, the aggregate population of the communities with less than 2,000 declined from 26·1 to 21·5 million persons, while that of the smaller towns and cities increased from 14·0 to 23·5 million and of the larger cities of over 100,000 people from 2·7 to 19·7 million. Thus the "ruralites" declined from 60·9 p.c. to 33·0 p.c. of the population, while the smaller town and city dwellers increased from 32·8 p.c. to 36·8 p.c. and the residents of large cities increased from 6·3 p.c. to 30·2 p.c. of the total population.

The growth of Berlin into one of the great cities of the world may be considered typical of the urbanization of German community life. In the eighteenth century, Berlin was still a comparatively small town and in 1816, at the end of the Napoleonic wars, it had a population of 198,000, but by 1871 this figure had been quadrupled, having reached 826,000. In the next thirty years it had more than doubled its population, attaining 1,888,000 in 1900. By 1925 it had again doubled, the census of that year reporting 4,024,000 inhabitants, and a further increase to 4,236,000 was recorded by the Census of June 16, 1933. The comparatively small increase in recent years appears to have been due to the same causes that are responsible for the decline in the population of Central London and Manhattan Island, *viz.*, the increased facilities of cheap and rapid transportation and the growing desire of those who work in the city to have their homes in its suburbs.

* It may be observed that in the densely settled countries of Europe and Asia, a population of 150 to the square mile by no means implies that that population depends upon urban occupations for livelihood.

† The 1933 figures do not include population ceded by Germany as a result of the Great War.

Other Countries of the Western Civilization.—The same growth of urban population to which attention has been called in the case of England and Wales, the United States and Germany, has taken place within the last century and particularly within the last generation in other countries of the white man's world.* Everywhere the percentage of population living in urban communities has shown increase and the rate of increase has generally been the more rapid in proportion to the size of the city. Indeed the larger cities, more especially when considered as economic rather than local units, have shown the most rapid rates of growth of any and have drawn to themselves the most specialized persons in this day of specialization of function. The aggregation of population has tended to draw to itself more population, like the proverbial snowball.

Japan.—The enormous growth of urban population is not peculiar to the Western world. The same causes which have led to its growth there have also produced a growth of urban population wherever the same economic system has been accepted. Thus in Japan, which was first opened up to the white man's influence in 1858 and which overthrew the old mediæval system of government about 1870, there has been a whole-hearted acceptance of the capitalistic system of industry and of the use of machinery in production. The result has been an enormous growth in the cities, particularly in Tokyo and Osaka. While in 1879 there were 250,000 households in Tokyo with a total population of 825,000, the national Census of October 1, 1930, showed 414,000 households with a population of 2,071,000. This, however, is far from representing the full growth of the Japanese metropolis. On October 1, 1932, eighty-two suburban towns and villages were absorbed into the new city of 'Greater Tokyo', thereby giving it a total population of 4,971,000 as at the national Census of 1930; it is now considerably over 5,000,000, so that Tokyo is well established as one of the greatest cities of the world in spite of its devastation by earthquake and conflagrations in 1923.

India.—The introduction of Western industrial methods in India has produced somewhat the same results as it has in Japan. In recent years the factory system of industry has to a considerable extent replaced the old Indian trades with the result that urban population, though as yet a comparatively small part of the total, has increased in recent decades proportionately much more rapidly than the rural. In 1931 the aggregate urban population was 38,985,000 or 11·0 p.c. of the total population as compared with 10·2 p.c. in 1921 and 9·4 p.c. in 1911. This increase of urban population springs from the increasing diversification of functions, which is most desirable in a great country like India where the population has in the past been too exclusively agricultural and therefore subject to great privations whenever the rainfall was deficient.

Summary and Conclusion.—The experience of certain countries in respect of the growth of urban population has been briefly reviewed in order that a proper orientation might be given to the consideration of the Canadian problem of urban growth. The urban population of the Dominion between 1901 and 1931 grew by 177 p.c., while the rural in the same thirty years grew by only 43 p.c. At the present time it is widely believed that, for a country whose general population density is only 3 to the square mile, Canada has too large an urban population, approximately 28 p.c. or nearly two-sevenths of its 1931 population residing in the seven leading cities, including suburbs. There is much to be said in support of the contention that, in view of our vast almost empty spaces, we are over-urbanized, but it should also be remembered that the history of civilization is very largely the history of great cities and that new and distinct types of culture and new nationalities are developed where the more original minds of a country are able to meet and exchange ideas.

*See *Economic Essays in Honour of Gustav Cassel*, pp. 435-57, article entitled "Industrialization and Population" by Professor Gunnar Myrdal, University of Stockholm, Sweden.

CHAPTER III

THE GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION IN CANADA UP TO 1851

The Early Settlements.—The original settlements in Canada and along that part of the Atlantic seaboard which is now the United States were made in the first half of the seventeenth century, and since this was a period of political and religious warfare in Europe, the early colonists had been trained to the use of arms. When they reached the new world, they found themselves very generally faced by the hostility of the Indian tribes whose hunting grounds they were taking over, and the first century of settlement was a period of struggle against these tribes, in the course of which thousands of lives were sacrificed. This meant that the early settlers of Canada were forced to live close together for purposes of protection and mutual support. When the seigneuries of French Canada were established on both sides of the St. Lawrence river between Montreal and Quebec, the seigneur had to establish at the centre of his small domain on the river bank a fortified place which would serve as a refuge in case of an attack by the Indians, such as is recorded in the early life of Madeleine de Verchères. From this necessity of protection arose the riverside villages and the close settlements of the French Canada of to-day, while more important aggregations of populations settled from the earliest times at Quebec, Three Rivers and Montreal, which were founded respectively in 1608, 1634 and 1642. When the first census of New France was taken in 1665 and 1666, the settlement which is now Quebec City contained 547 people, while Three Rivers and its suburbs showed a population of 455 and Montreal and its suburbs 625, these three settlements having between them more than one-half the total population of the colony, *viz.*, 3,215 persons.

Then followed a period of colonization owing to the foresight and the energy of Colbert in France and Talon in Canada. By 1681 the population of the colony had trebled, reaching 9,677, of which Quebec had 1,345 and the Island of Montreal 1,418. In the following years, the French colony grew mainly by natural increase. In 1698 the total French population was 13,815, which, together with 1,540 civilized Indians, gave a grand total of 15,355, of whom Quebec had 1,988 and Ville-Marie (Montreal) 1,185. In the Census of 1706 Quebec was credited with 1,771 and Montreal and its suburbs with 2,025 out of a total population of 16,417. In 1739 Quebec and its suburbs had 4,603 and Montreal and its suburbs 4,210 out of an aggregate population of 42,701, and the Census of 1754, the last taken under the French *régime*, shows Quebec as having a population of 8,001, Montreal 4,000 and Three Rivers 808, out of a grand total of 55,009 in the colony. Thereafter, the disturbed conditions in the colony prevented the taking of a census until after the conquest and the final surrender of the colony to the British.

The next census, taken in 1765 by the British authorities after the cession, gave Quebec a population of 8,967 and Montreal 5,733, out of a total population of 69,810 in the colony as a whole, so that Quebec was still a much larger place than Montreal. Quebec continued to be the centre of the colony and Montreal its western outpost. The Lachine rapids, interrupting navigation on the St. Lawrence river, marked the western limit of the area of settlement as contrasted with the much greater areas occupied only by the Indians and visited by the fur traders.

Expansion in Upper and Lower Canada.—The coming of the United Empire Loyalists after the American War of Independence and their settlement in the Eastern Townships and along the Upper St. Lawrence and Lake Ontario and on the Niagara Peninsula shifted the centre of the inhabited area of the colony; Montreal was now the heart of the settlement, as was soon reflected in the growth of its population. Thus at the Census of 1790, Montreal, which had now received a considerable reinforcement of English-speaking people, had a population of approximately 18,000, as compared with 14,000 in Quebec; the grand total population in the colony was 161,311, exclusive of that in what is now Ontario, which was probably between 25,000 and 30,000 at this date. Henceforth the population of the new western districts, through immigration supplemented by natural increase, grew at a much more rapid rate than that of French Canada;

consequently, Montreal being nearer these new districts, grew more rapidly than Quebec. The two cities, however, continued to be for the next half century rival commercial rather than manufacturing centres, where the chief people in business were the importers and the exporters and others concerned in carrying on and financing the import and the export trade. It was no mere coincidence that the Banks of Montreal and Quebec were founded respectively in 1817 and 1818 with the object of financing the trade chiefly between Canada and the Mother Country.

The foreign trade in these early days, excluding furs, was, however, an extremely small percentage of total production. In the main the pioneer settlers of Upper Canada and the French habitants of Lower Canada lived on what they themselves produced, providing their own food, clothing, shelter and fuel. Lumber, wheat, furs and potash were shipped year by year to Great Britain during the season of navigation. The luxuries of those days, fine textiles, tea, coffee, etc., were imported into Montreal by ship; those for western points were then conveyed up the St. Lawrence over the many portages or through the small canals, finally reaching the consumers in what is now Ontario. Thus by 1825, when Lower Canada had a census population of 479,288, Montreal City had grown to 31,516 and Quebec City to 22,101, though Three Rivers remained far behind with 2,908. In the same year Upper Canada had a total population of 157,923, of which York, the capital, had only 1,677 or a little more than 1 p.c.

Upper Canada was now the most rapidly growing part of the country and although every settler in these new parts meant additional traffic for the port of Montreal, centres of distribution began to rise in Upper Canada itself. While the immigration of half-pay officers and soldiers after the battle of Waterloo gave a great impetus to the population of Upper Canada between 1815 and 1825, the 30's brought much greater immigration, which was stimulated by the enormous growth of population and the scarcity and dearness of food in the British Isles and especially in Ireland during this period. By 1834 the population of Upper Canada had doubled, totalling 321,145, while the town of York, incorporated in that year as the City of Toronto, had 9,252. By 1841, the year when the Act of Union went into effect, Upper Canada had 455,688 population, while its single city, Toronto, had increased to 14,249.

Meanwhile, Lower Canada, with its high rate of natural increase, was also growing rapidly, and Montreal in particular was reaping the benefits of the increase of settlement to the West. The total population of Lower Canada, which was 697,084 at the Census of 1844, had increased to 890,261 by the Census of 1851–2, while by the same date Upper Canada had for the first time passed Lower Canada with a population of 952,004. At this census Montreal had a population of 57,715, Quebec 42,052 and Toronto 30,775. In the same year, Hamilton, which had now reached the dignity of a city, had 14,112 and Kingston 11,697.

The year 1851 marks the beginning of the regular decennial census of this country, although the First Decennial Census of the Dominion of Canada was, of course, not taken until 1871. However, fairly complete figures, giving for eighty years the population of the areas now included in the Dominion, are available. Indeed, the year is really a transition date in the history of Canada. Before this time the waterways were the chief means of communication and the few short railways, which existed in the neighbourhood of Montreal and totalled some 66 miles in all, were merely portage lines.* Transportation generally was slow and expensive and the main water routes were closed by ice during the five winter months, so that the St. Lawrence colony during this period was isolated and its residents had to depend during the winter upon United States routes and upon the ports of New York and Boston for transportation to Great Britain or the continent of Europe.

Summary for Canada.—Throughout the whole of the period of settlement which has been described, the urban population for the most part bore a comparatively small proportion to the total population of the country and the few cities were mainly distributing or trading centres rather than manufacturing communities, though the flour mills of Montreal and some other forms of industrial plants were in operation in the 1830's and 1840's. Generally speaking, however, the habitant communities of Lower Canada and the pioneer settlements of Upper Canada were economically fairly self-sufficient, the latter in particular being necessarily so, on account of the great distances from market, the high cost of transportation and the seasonal and

* There was also in operation in Nova Scotia about 1838 a railway line six miles long running from Stellarton to Abercrombie on the East river which emptied into Pictou harbour; it was used for the carriage of coal from the mines to the harbour. This line was at first operated by horses, for which a locomotive was substituted in the spring of 1839. Passengers were also carried.

other interruptions in the service. Wherever people produce on their own farms nearly all the food and clothing which they consume, and have little trade with the outside world, there is not much opportunity for the establishment or growth of large manufacturing or even commercial cities.

The towns and villages that did arise in Upper Canada in this period contained a few merchants, a few artisans who for the most part worked to order for the nearby farmers of their own community, usually a doctor, a teacher, a parson and any local representatives of the government. The village of Port Sarnia, for example, is recorded in Smith's "Canada Past, Present and Future" as having at about 1850 eight merchants, one pumpmaker and boatbuilder, one merchant who was also the postmaster, one or more operators of the steam sawmill, one tanner, one iron and brass founder, one merchant who was also a life insurance agent, one county registrar, one doctor, one collector of customs and one hotel keeper. Doubtless in an inland community there would have been fewer merchants.

In this period what manufacturing was done was local work for local demand; many little woollen mills and flour mills took advantage of the water power on the small rivers. In the next decade or two the advent of the railway was to transfer trade and manufacturing from the smaller to the larger centres, thereby stimulating a much greater growth of urban population. The protective tariff adopted by the Canadian Legislature about 1858 also contributed to the growth of the larger urban communities by promoting the rise of manufactures.

Expansion in the Maritimes.—While settlement and the rise of towns was proceeding in the St. Lawrence valley in the manner described, the Maritime Provinces and their urban communities were also growing in population and importance. Halifax was founded in 1749 and in the same year the French population of Acadia was stated as 13,000, of Ile Royal (Cape Breton Island) 1,000, of what is now New Brunswick 1,000 and of Saint John Island (Prince Edward Island) 1,000. In 1762 the British population of Nova Scotia was given as 8,104, of whom 2,500 were in Halifax town and 1,400 (mainly Hanoverians) in Lunenburg.

From the beginning, however, the barrenness of the rocky Atlantic coast of Nova Scotia drove many of its inhabitants to the seas to seek their livelihood, and Halifax prospered as a shipping port and fishing centre rather than as a distributing point for agricultural products from the lands in its neighbourhood. The Saint John valley in New Brunswick, settled by the United Empire Loyalists in 1783, was more fertile territory, as was also the Bay of Fundy coast of Nova Scotia, where the earliest permanent settlement on this continent north of Florida had been established in 1605 as Port Royal, which was re-named Annapolis after its capture by the British in 1708. Halifax prospered on account of its privateering business and the expenditure of British Government moneys during the war of 1812, and by 1827 the "peninsula" of Halifax (so-called in the census) had 14,439 population out of 123,630 in the whole province of Nova Scotia, while Saint John in 1824 had 8,488 population out of a total of 74,176 in New Brunswick. In 1834 Saint John had 12,073 out of 119,457 in New Brunswick and in 1838 Halifax had 14,148 out of a total of 202,575 in the colony of Nova Scotia. By 1840 Saint John accounted for 19,281 out of the 156,162 in New Brunswick. In 1851 Halifax had risen to 20,749 out of a total of 276,854 in Nova Scotia, while Saint John had 22,745 out of a total of 193,800. These two cities were the only large urban centres in their respective provinces, though Fredericton had a population of 4,458 in 1851.

As for the almost purely agricultural province of Prince Edward Island, we find that its capital and only important town, Charlottetown, had in 1841, 3,896 out of a total population of 47,042 in the colony; by 1848 this had increased to 4,717 out of a total of 62,678.

Summary for the Maritimes.—In the Maritime colonies, as well as in the St. Lawrence valley, the urban communities during this early period up to 1851 were much less important in relation to the total population than they are to-day. Nevertheless, the urban proportion of the total in the St. Lawrence colonies was smaller than in the various colonies of the Maritimes. Possibly this may be attributed to the fact that the latter contained important shipping centres and that the breadwinners who supported a large part of the population derived their sustenance from the sea rather than from the land.

CHAPTER IV

THE GROWTH OF RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION IN CANADA, 1851 TO 1931

Two Censuses before Confederation.—The decade beginning 1850 constitutes a transition period in the economic history of Canada. Transportation in the St. Lawrence valley was immensely improved during this period by the construction of the Grand Trunk Railway, which tied together the two provinces of Upper and Lower Canada economically, as the Act of Union had tied them together politically. Speed of communication was greatly increased by the introduction of railways as well as by the telegraph systems which were first established about this time. These improvements in transportation and communication tended to favour the expansion of the larger communities at the expense of the smaller, thereby "switching" trade to the larger centres and "side-tracking" the little local sea or lake ports from which the products of their localities had previously been shipped.

With this speeding up of transportation and communication there arose in the most populous parts a feeling that Canada should produce more of her own manufactured goods instead of relying on imports from Great Britain and the United States. The infant industries would need protection, so toward the end of the decade, 1858–9, Canada inaugurated tariffs of a distinctly protectionist character, thereby promoting the rise of Canadian factory industry which in turn stimulated the growth of urban population.

While the Province of Canada was commencing to pursue the policy of protection which favoured the growth of industrial communities, the provinces on the seaboard remained wedded in general to the policy of tariff for revenue only, and their larger towns continued to be, for the most part, commercial rather than manufacturing centres, although in this period they excelled in the art of shipbuilding. Wooden ships built in the port towns of New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were found on every sea and were manned largely by New Brunswickers and Nova Scotians.

In the Census of 1851–2 we have for the first time fairly complete figures for the areas which now constitute the Dominion of Canada; these were secured at nearly the same time although it is necessary to use the 1848 figure for Prince Edward Island. On this basis the total population of the territories now included in the Dominion was probably about 2,450,000, while the population of the urban communities with a population of 5,000 and over was 223,840, or rather more than 9 p.c. of the aggregate. Of such communities there were only ten in the whole country, the three largest being Montreal with a population of 57,715, Quebec with 42,052 and Toronto with 30,775. Medium-sized places were Saint John with 22,745 and Halifax with 20,749. Hamilton with 14,112 and Kingston with 11,697 were next in order. Portland (N.B.) with 9,200, Ottawa (then Bytown) with 7,760 and London with 7,035 completed the list of communities with over 5,000 population. If Portland, which was a residential suburb of Saint John, had been included with its parent city in 1851, the latter would have exceeded Toronto by 1,170, and there would then have been only nine communities of 5,000 and over in the area that is now the Dominion of Canada.

While in 1851 only about one-eleventh of the population of Canada resided in cities and towns of 5,000 and over, the proportion in 1861 had increased to more than one-ninth; the total number of such communities had increased to eighteen and the number of their residents had risen from 223,840 to 366,177. Montreal had now advanced to 90,323 and Quebec had almost touched the 60,000 mark, while Toronto had 44,821, Saint John and Portland 39,317, Halifax 25,026 and Hamilton 19,096. Ottawa, now selected for the capital of the Province of Canada, had increased to 14,669. Meanwhile Kingston had risen to 13,743 and London to 11,555. Besides these cities, all of which were mentioned in the last paragraph, there were now the following communities of 5,000 and upwards,—Charlottetown 6,706, Fredericton 5,652, Three Rivers 6,058, Levis 5,333, St. Catharines 6,284, Belleville 6,277, Brantford 6,251 and Guelph 5,076. Thus several of the important smaller cities of to-day had reached the 5,000 mark between 1851 and 1861, the total number of places with over 5,000 souls having nearly doubled in those ten years.

First Decennial Census of the Dominion, 1871.—By 1871 the scattered provinces had for the most part been consolidated, on paper at least, into the great Dominion. The census of that year, the first of the seven for the Dominion, covered only the four original provinces, *viz.*, Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Quebec and Ontario, but the figures of the Manitoba census of the preceding fall, taken by Dominion Government authority, may be added, as also the figures of the colonial censuses for British Columbia in 1870 and Prince Edward Island in 1871.

These censuses of 1871 showed that the number of communities of 5,000 and over had further increased to 22, or rather 21 exclusive of Charlottetown, since Prince Edward Island was not to be a part of the Dominion until 1873. Among the new communities which had now secured the considerable population of over 5,000 were Yarmouth in Nova Scotia, Sorel in Quebec, and Chatham, Port Hope and Brockville in Ontario. Meanwhile the population of Montreal and its incorporated suburbs had risen to 114,909 and that of Toronto to 56,092, while Quebec remained stationary at 59,699. Saint John with Portland had 41,325 and Halifax 29,582. Hamilton, too, had increased to 26,716 and Ottawa to 21,545, while London had only 12,407. The total increase in the urban population in communities of 5,000 and over in this ten-year period, however, was only about 90,000, the grand total having been 458,119 as compared with 366,177 ten years earlier. Only 1 out of every 8 Canadians lived in a community of 5,000 and over in 1871 and the most westerly town of over 5,000 people was Chatham, Ontario, Windsor having had but 4,253 and Goderich 3,982. Except for Victoria, which had an 1870 population of 3,270, urban Canada may be said to have ended in those times at the shores of lake Huron.

Last Three Decades of the Nineteenth Century.—The Second Decennial Census of the Dominion was taken in 1881 and showed a considerable increase both in the total and in the urban population, perhaps the most striking change being that the West had now commenced to contribute to the urban population in communities of 5,000 and over. Most remarkable of all was Winnipeg, which from only 241 people according to the Census of 1870 had increased to 7,985 or almost to the 8,000 mark. Again, on the Pacific coast the island capital, Victoria, had risen from 3,270 to 5,925. Thus urban Canada was for the first time represented in the West. The total number of cities and towns with over 5,000 people had increased to at least thirty-four and their aggregate population to over 688,000 or about 50 p. c. in the decade.

In the Maritimes, the cities and towns with over 5,000 in 1881 included Charlottetown 11,485, Halifax 36,100, Saint John (with Portland) 41,353, Fredericton 6,218 and Moncton 5,032. Further west, Montreal had now risen to 140,747—it is included in the first Statistical Abstract and Record of Canada of 1885 (now the Canada Year Book) at 169,610. Quebec stood at 62,446, Sherbrooke 7,227, St. Hyacinthe 5,321, Levis 7,597 and Sorel 5,791. Toronto had increased to 86,415, or with the town of Yorkville to 91,240. Hamilton had 35,961, Ottawa 27,412, Kingston 14,091, Guelph 9,890, St. Catharines 9,631, Brantford 9,616 and Belleville 9,516. In Western Ontario, London with East London had 23,636. The towns of over 5,000 were Brockville, Peterborough, Port Hope, Lindsay, Chatham, Galt, St. Thomas, Windsor, Woodstock and Stratford, and there were also many smaller towns. The total urban population for all cities, towns and villages of Ontario was recorded as 440,405.

Thus in the decade from 1871 to 1881, the urban population grew very much more rapidly than the rural. Indeed, taking as our dividing line between rural and urban the existence of an urban municipality organized under the laws of its particular province, as is the procedure in the Dominion census reports, the total urban population of Canada increased from 722,343 in 1871 to 1,109,507 in 1881, or from 19·58 p.c. to 25·65 p.c. of the aggregate population of the Dominion. Meanwhile the rural population had grown from 2,966,914 to 3,215,303. Doubtless the main factors in producing the growth of urban population and the disproportionately large growth of the leading cities were the expansion of manufacturing industries and the increasing ease of communication owing to the building of railways.

In the following decade, 1881 to 1891, the growth of the Dominion was relatively slow, the total increase being only some 508,400. Of this increase, less than 81,000 was due to the growth of rural population and about 428,000 to urban population, as ordinarily defined; the urban had risen to nearly 32 p.c. of the total. By 1891 Montreal had grown to 219,616 and Toronto to 181,215. Meanwhile, Winnipeg had advanced to 25,639, Vancouver had risen from nothing in 1886 to 13,709, New Westminster from 1,500 in 1881 to 6,700, and Victoria from 5,900 to almost 17,000. Towns were rising on the plains, Calgary having 3,876, Brandon 3,778 and Portage la Prairie 1,872. Hamilton had now practically 49,000 people, Ottawa 44,000 and London

32,000, while smaller towns in Ontario were showing gradual growth. Dartmouth, N.S., having climbed from 3,800 to 6,300, had entered the 5,000 and over group for the first time and the total in that group had now increased to at least 44.

The tendency toward a more rapid increase in urban than in rural population, outlined in the preceding paragraphs, was already officially recognized in Canada in the last decades of the nineteenth century and special reference was made to it in the Statistical Year Book of Canada for 1892 at page 101, as follows: "The growth of the urban at the expense of the rural population is one of the features of the present age throughout the world, and it is evident . . . that the movement prevails in Canada as well as elsewhere."

The Fourth Census of Canada, 1901, showed relatively slow growth like its predecessor. The total increase of the decade was only 538,000, to which the rural population contributed merely 61,000 and the urban population 477,000, bringing the urban population, as usually defined, up to three-eighths of the total population of the country or 37·50 p.c. Of the total urban population of 2,014,000, Montreal had 328,000 and Toronto about 210,000, while Quebec was third with 69,000 and Ottawa fourth with 60,000. Hamilton had nearly 53,000, Winnipeg over 42,000 and Halifax and Saint John about 41,000 each. In the far West, Vancouver had 29,000 as compared with Victoria's 21,000, and Edmonton, now reached by the railway, had commenced her rivalry with Calgary, each of them having between 4,000 and 5,000 people.

Rapid Growth in the Twentieth Century.—The Census of 1911 showed a numerical increase in population over 1901 more than equal to that of the three preceding decades combined, the aggregate increase being 1,835,000. The rural population, which had grown but little since 1881, now showed an increase of 577,000 in the decade, almost wholly in the Western provinces where a new empire of arable land had been staked out and partially occupied. Even so, however, the growth of the urban population of Canada in this decade was over 1,258,000 or more than double that of the rural, with the result that 45·42 p.c. of the total population of 1911 was classified as urban. To this urban growth of one and a quarter million, Montreal contributed over 160,000 and was now nearing the half million mark, while Toronto, with almost 382,000 people, rose nearly 82 p.c. The two important Western cities, Winnipeg and Vancouver, also showed enormous gains, the former reaching 136,000 and the latter 121,000, so that Canada now had four cities of over 100,000 people. Meanwhile, in the most rapidly growing area, Calgary increased its population tenfold, reaching nearly 44,000, and Edmonton had 31,000, while Regina, which showed only 2,200 people in 1901, recorded 30,000 in 1911 and Saskatoon, which registered merely 113 in the former year, had now soared to 12,000. At the head of the lakes, Fort William, which was a relatively small town of 3,600 people in 1901, had 16,500 in 1911, and its twin city of Port Arthur grew from 3,200 to 11,220 in the same period. By 1911, therefore, the larger cities of Canada, as they exist to-day, were well on the way toward their present status.

The Sixth Census, 1921, registered further growth in the urban population. Of a total growth of 1,581,000, the rural communities absorbed 502,000, or less than one-third, and the urban communities about 1,079,000, or more than two-thirds, the city, town and village population now representing close to one-half of the total population. Montreal had now surpassed 600,000 by a good margin and Toronto had exceeded by several thousand the half million mark, while Winnipeg had 179,000 and Vancouver 163,000. Hamilton and Ottawa were well over 100,000, and Quebec was not far from it with 95,000 people. Calgary was a little above 60,000 and Edmonton a little below it; London had just passed that mark and Halifax was near it. While almost all the larger urban communities were showing steady growth, Windsor, which had now become the centre of the automobile trade, had jumped from 17,800 to 38,600 in this decade and the Northern Ontario cities of Sault Ste. Marie, Sudbury and North Bay had also shown rather rapid increase.

The Seventh Decennial Census of Canada, taken in 1931, showed a still further drift to the urban communities. Of a total gain of 1,588,837 in the population, the rural communities accounted for only 368,901, while the urban communities, as usually defined, showed a gain of 1,219,936, or more than three-quarters of the total increase. The three leading cities within their municipal areas, Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, recorded a total increase considerably greater than that of all the rural communities combined. Montreal with a gain of approximately 200,000 reached a total of 818,577, and Toronto with a gain of nearly 110,000 had a population of 631,207. Vancouver, by the annexation of South Vancouver and Point Grey in this decade, replaced Winnipeg as the third city of the Dominion, having attained a population of 246,593, while Winnipeg followed with 218,785. Hamilton increased to 155,547 and Quebec to 130,594,

while Ottawa, which had been in 1921 the sixth city of Canada, was displaced by Quebec, since the capital could only muster 126,872 resident population. Calgary and Edmonton were still rivals, the former with 83,761 population and the latter with 79,197. London increased to 71,000 and Windsor to 63,000; if the adjacent city of East Windsor and town of Riverside and the contiguous towns of Sandwich and Walkerville were added to Windsor, the Border Cities with a population of 102,611 would constitute the eighth urban community in Canada, its growth having been largely due to the establishment of the Canadian automobile industry in these places. Verdun, which is really a suburb of Montreal, increased from 25,000 to over 60,000 in the same decade, and Regina, adding over 50 p.c. to its 1921 population, joined Halifax in the 50,000 to 60,000 class. Saint John had 47,500 people and Saskatoon recorded over 43,000.

In the East the Census of 1931 recorded some notable gains among the smaller cities, Three Rivers increasing from 22,400 to 35,500 and Oshawa, largely on account of its automobile industry, from 12,000 to 23,400. The cities of Northern Ontario also showed considerable gains owing in large measure to the rise of the mining industry. Thus Sudbury increased from 8,600 to 18,500 and North Bay from 10,700 to 15,500, Timmins from 3,800 to 14,200, Fort William from 20,500 to 26,300 and Port Arthur from 14,900 to 19,800, these increases indicating that the course of expansion of the Dominion is northward as well as westward.

Altogether in 1931 there were 138 cities and towns in Canada with 5,000 people and over as compared with 109 in 1921, 87 in 1911 and 57 at the beginning of the twentieth century. Of a total growth of nearly 5,006,000 in the aggregate population in the thirty years between 1901 and 1931, 1,448,000 represented the total addition to the rural population and 3,558,000 the gain in the urban. Again, since the urban population was so much smaller than the rural at the beginning of the century, the relative gain of the urban was still more disproportionate than the absolute. During the thirty years from 1901 to 1931, the rural population grew by 43 p.c. and the urban by 177 p.c. The foregoing growth of the rural population (1,448,000) was due in the main to the increases in the Prairie Provinces, which accounted for about 1,152,000; the increase in British Columbia was 211,000 and in the remaining parts of Canada 85,000. In the five Eastern provinces the net increase of rural population in the thirty years was just about 110,000, a small part of which was due to the addition of Ungava to Quebec and the district of Patricia to Ontario in 1912; Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick showed increases of 89,000, 66,000 and 25,000 respectively, but there were decreases of 49,000 in Nova Scotia and 21,000 in Prince Edward Island. The rural populations of the Yukon and the Northwest Territories declined in the same period by 15,000 and 10,400 respectively.

'Greater' Cities and Their Satellites.—In the last twenty years, there has been a tremendous expansion in the residential area of the leading cities, not generally accompanied by any increase in their municipal areas. This development is in large measure a consequence of the advent of cheap and rapid transportation of the people from residence to place of business, resulting from the enormous increase in motorbuses and particularly in private automobiles. Large numbers of people who work in the cities are able to live in comparative quietness outside of the city limits, driving themselves and their neighbours to and from work. Such people, according to the practice of the census, are enumerated at their place of residence rather than at their place of business. If their residences are close together, they may organize urban municipalities for the purpose of providing sanitation, water supply, etc., and the larger the city the greater is the likelihood that outside its municipal limits there will spring up communities which are municipally independent of the central unit, while their inhabitants are in the main economically dependent upon it. Stores spring up in such communities for the supply of needed commodities and personal services, so that the community may seem to have an independent existence, although in reality it is economically dependent upon its centre. Such residential suburban communities, and other places which are located in close proximity to the larger cities but being industrialized are not economically dependent thereon, may be described as satellite cities; these are rapidly increasing in Canada, especially in the neighbourhood of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Winnipeg and Quebec. Sooner or later such communities tend to be absorbed by the central unit, as when Point Grey and South Vancouver were incorporated with Vancouver on January 1, 1929. However, before absorptions of this kind are effected, the satellite communities will very likely have become independent cities or towns with the usual powers of political self-government.

This general movement to the suburbs may have its defects from the broad point of view of social welfare, since people of certain classes may thus withdraw themselves from the municipal problems of the economic unit of which they are a part. These communities also present diffi-

culties from the point of view of the census-taker. They may, in many cases, have no separate municipal existence or may constitute only a small part of a township, while the rest and perhaps the preponderant part of the township is distinctly rural in character; or again the reverse may be the case—the organized area may dominate the policy of the township council where only a minority of farmers and other such rural dwellers is left. In the Toronto district the problem of satellite communities was solved by cutting off the two small urbanized townships of York and East York from the original York township, thereby leaving the larger mainly rural area n that township to have a separate existence as the township of North York.

In the United States the need that has been felt of combining for certain purposes the population of the central city and of the dependent thickly settled areas surrounding that city has been recognized by the Census Bureau and a separate report has been published, which is based on the Census of 1930 and deals with these central cities and their satellites under the name of "metropolitan districts". Various statistical compilations have been made for these metropolitan areas and there is no doubt that such analyses serve a useful purpose.

The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, after the Census of 1931, accordingly compiled for the leading cities not only the population resident within each central city but that in the various dependent or nearby communities, and published totals for these metropolitan areas or so-called 'greater' cities. Of course, there was a question as to how far the dependent communities extended, and difficulty was experienced in fixing limits in certain cases, especially where the satellite community had not been incorporated as an urban municipality separate and distinct from the township or rural constituency. It was found, however, that in 1931 Canada had at least 10 'greater' cities—large cities which had well defined satellite communities in close economic or geographical relationship to them; but it was also found that all of our populous cities were not in this position, *e.g.*, London, Calgary and Edmonton. Maps of the 10 'greater' cities, Chart C, show the cities proper and their respective satellite components. Mention will now be made of all but the three smallest, 'Greater Windsor' (110,385), 'Greater Halifax' (74,161) and 'Greater Saint John' (55,611).

Amongst other interesting facts, it was brought out by the investigation that in 1931 for the first time in the history of Canada we had within our limits an urban community of over one million people. This community, of course, is 'Greater Montreal' with 1,000,159 people, including the following places usually considered as separate communities: Montreal proper, 818,577; Verdun, 60,745; Outremont, 28,641; Westmount, 24,235; Lachine, 18,630; St-Lambert, 6,075; Longueuil, 5,407; St-Laurent, 5,348; Montreal North, 4,519; St-Pierre, 4,185; Montreal West, 3,190; Pointe-aux-Trembles, 2,970; Lasalle, 2,362; Montreal East, 2,242; Mount Royal, 2,174; Dorval, 2,052; St-Michel, 1,528; Montreal South, 1,164; Hampstead, 594; St-Léonard, 453; St-Jean-de-Dieu, 4,578; Côte-St-Luc, 490.

Again, while Toronto city proper is recorded as having 631,207 people, 'Greater Toronto' at the same date had a population of 808,864, including with the central city the following: York township, 69,593; York East township, 36,080; part of Scarborough township, 14,474; part of Etobicoke township, 12,096; part of York North township, 11,607; New Toronto, town, 7,146; Mimico, town, 6,800; Forest Hill, village, 5,207; Swansea, village, 5,031; Weston, town, 4,723; Long Branch, village, 3,962; Leaside, village, 938.

While Vancouver city had 246,593 people, 'Greater Vancouver' had 308,340. The additional people, numbering nearly 62,000, resided in Burnaby District, municipality, 25,564; New Westminster, city, 17,524; North Vancouver, city, 8,510; North Vancouver district, municipality, 4,788; West Vancouver district, municipality, 4,786; University endowment area, 575.

'Greater Winnipeg' had a population of 284,129, obtained by adding to the 218,785 of Winnipeg city proper the population of St. Boniface, city, 16,305; part of the municipality of St. James, 13,903; the municipality of Kildonan East, 9,047; part of the municipality of St. Vital, 10,402; the municipality of Kildonan West, 6,132; the municipality of Fort Garry, 3,926; Brooklands, village, 2,462; the municipality of Kildonan North, 1,347; Tuxedo, town, 1,173; the municipality of Old Kildonan, 647.

The figures for 'Greater Quebec' were 166,435, including Quebec, city, 130,594; Levis, city, 11,724; Lauzon, town, 7,084; Giffard, village, 3,573; Beauport, town, 3,242; St-Colomb-de-Sillery, parish, 2,794; St-Michel-Archange (Mastai), 2,549; Charlesbourg, village, 1,869; Quebec West, town, 1,813; part of Ste-Foy parish, 946; Petite-Rivière parish, 247.

'Greater Ottawa', if in the term one may include communities in the province of Quebec as well as in Ontario, had a population of 175,988, including Ottawa, city, 126,872; Hull, city, 29,433;

Eastview, town, 6,686; Westboro, 3,560; the thickly settled part of Nepean township, 3,152; Gatineau Point, village, 2,282; Rockcliffe Park, village, 951; Billings' Bridge and Ridgemount, 725; Woodroffe, 685; Overbrook, 694; Cyrville, 528; Highland Park, 420.

Hamilton, according to the investigation, is increased less than any of the other 'greater' cities, except Saint John, by the addition of the thickly settled neighbouring areas. The total population of 'Greater Hamilton' was 163,710, including the city of Hamilton with 155,547; Saltfleet township, 3,412; the thickly settled part of Ancaster township, 2,391; the thickly settled part of Barton township, 2,360.

The 'greater' cities just referred to, as well as the suburban areas of many smaller cities, include various densely peopled areas whose populations are normally considered as rural by virtue of their being administered as townships or parishes. This is most evident in the case of suburban Toronto, where no less than 148,000 people, living in various townships and under township government in 1931, are included with the rural population but are considered also as residents of 'Greater Toronto.' Without these suburbanites, the record of the growth of rural as compared with urban population in the last generation would show an even more remarkable contrast.

Historical Summary.—The decline of rural population in the longer-settled communities of Canada has been studied in recent years by various members of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics and special reference might be made to the results of their investigations which were presented in two papers at meetings of the Canadian Political Science Association, the first by Mr. M. C. MacLean, and the second by Mr. O. A. Lemieux representing a group of five associates. The latter paper, as well as a summary of the former, was published in the 1934 Volume of Proceedings of the Association under the title "Factors in the Growth of Rural Population of Canada". It may, therefore, suffice to state here their general conclusion that in Eastern Canada "the counties which are still increasing in rural population are (1) counties located near urban centres and (2) counties in the early stages of colonization".

Reference might also be made to Volume II of the Census of 1931, especially Tables 8 and 12. Table 8 gives the population of cities, towns and villages of 1,000 and over according to areas in 1931 as recorded at each of the seven decennial censuses of the Dominion. Table 12 gives for the same seven censuses the population of every municipality, township or subdivision in the country, adjusted so far as possible to 1931 areas except for urban places. Nevertheless, care should always be exercised in making historical comparisons to allow for any changes in the areas enumerated, whether such changes are due to the separation of urban centres from rural areas or to other causes.

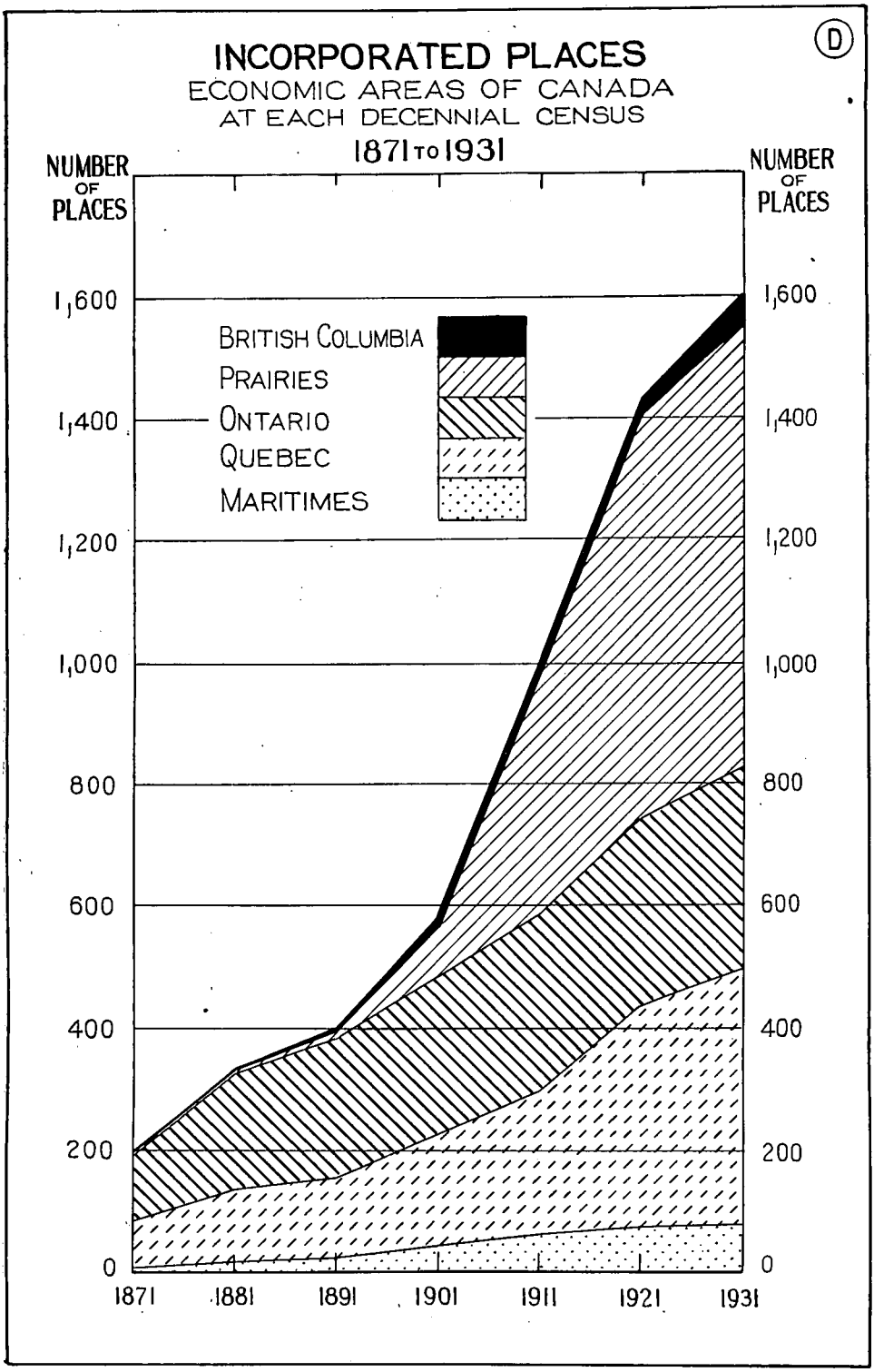
By way of summary of the growth of urban population outlined in this chapter, at least of the growth since the First Decennial Census of the Dominion in 1871, two tabulations and four illustrations are submitted herewith, Tables 2 and 3, and Charts D, E, F and G. Table 2 shows that the number of incorporated places has increased in every province from census to census since 1871, with the exception of Prince Edward Island and British Columbia where, for a very few of the earlier decades, the numbers remained unchanged. For the same seven censuses, Table 3 presents the rural and urban numerical distribution of the population, also the absolute and relative increases in each by decades, and the percentage which each bears to the corresponding figures in 1871 and also the percentage rural and urban to the total population.

TABLE 2—INCORPORATED PLACES, CANADA AND PROVINCES, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1871-1931

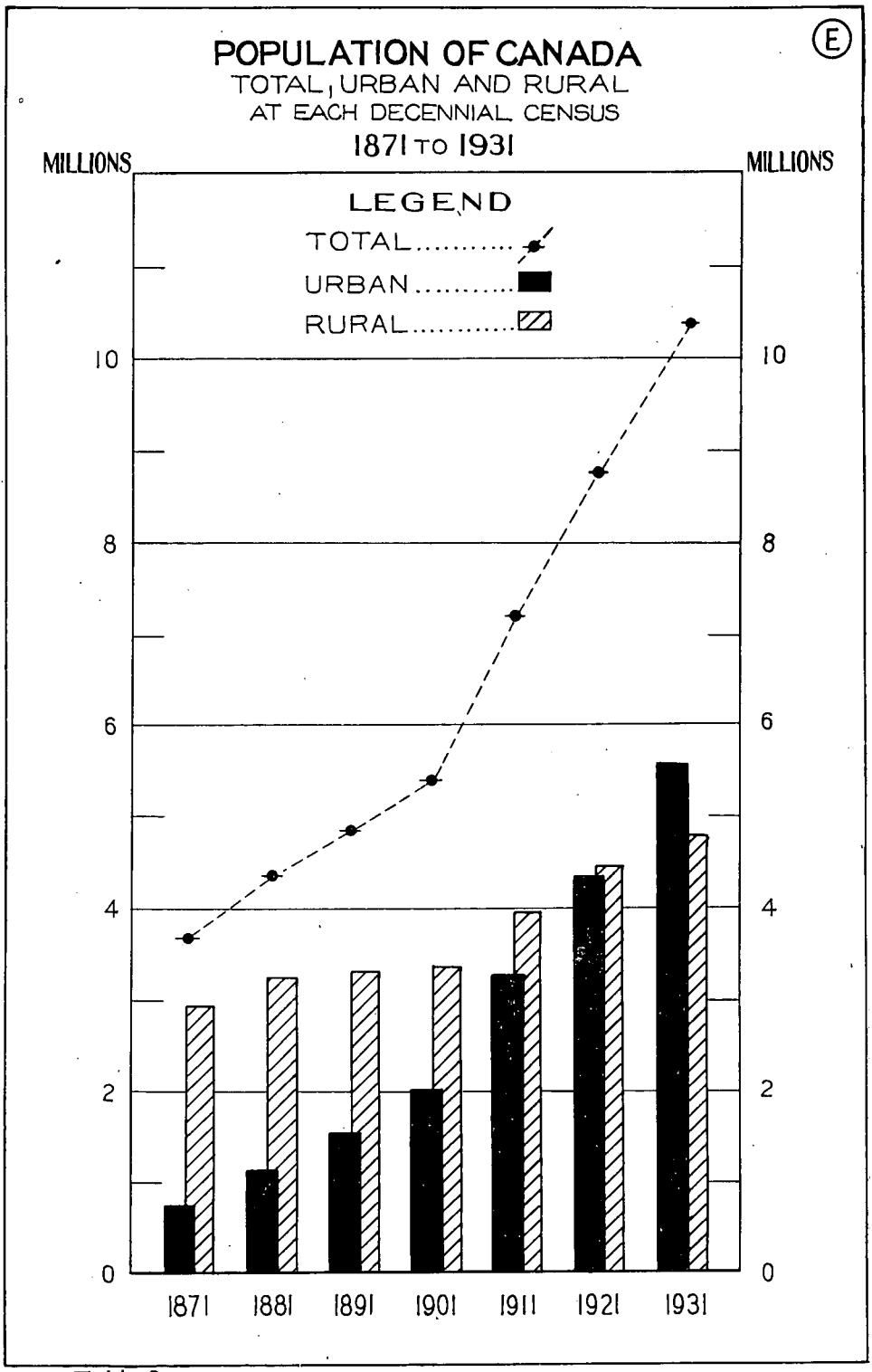
Province	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931
CANADA[1]	197	333	400	584[2]	1,013[2]	1,433[2]	1,603
Prince Edward Island	1	2	2	2	3	7	8
Nova Scotia	2	10	12	28	40	44	45
New Brunswick	4	6	7	11	19[2]	22[2]	23
Quebec	76	116	130	187	232	358	423
Ontario	111	193	231	253	293	314	330
Manitoba	2	3	15	22	49	52	56
Saskatchewan	–	–	–	35	249	429	466
Alberta	–	–	–	28	103	175	205
British Columbia	1	3	3	18[2]	25	32	47

[1] These census figures include, for all provinces and for various years, chiefly prior to 1921, a few places which were probably never incorporated, as well as some which, although once incorporated, were subsequently absorbed by larger centres or were disorganized and given rural status.

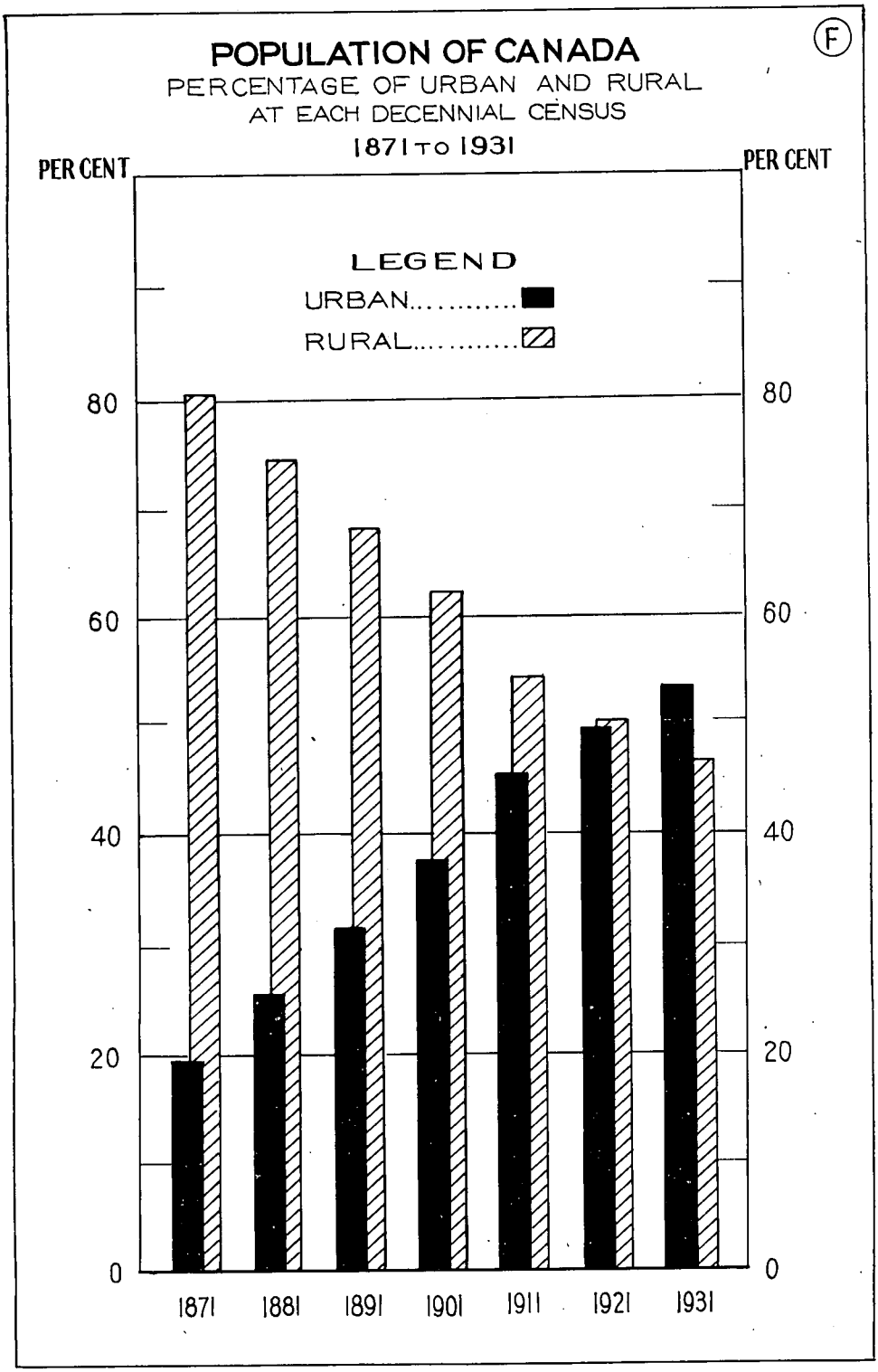
[2] These figures are slightly smaller than those which in previous publications included a few places that were probably never incorporated.


INCORPORATED PLACES
ECONOMIC AREAS OF CANADA
AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS
1871 TO 1931
D
NUMBER OF PLACES
NUMBER OF PLACES
1,600
1,400
1,200
1,000
800
600
400
200
0
BRITISH COLUMBIA
PRAIRIES
ONTARIO
QUEBEC
MARITIMES
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931

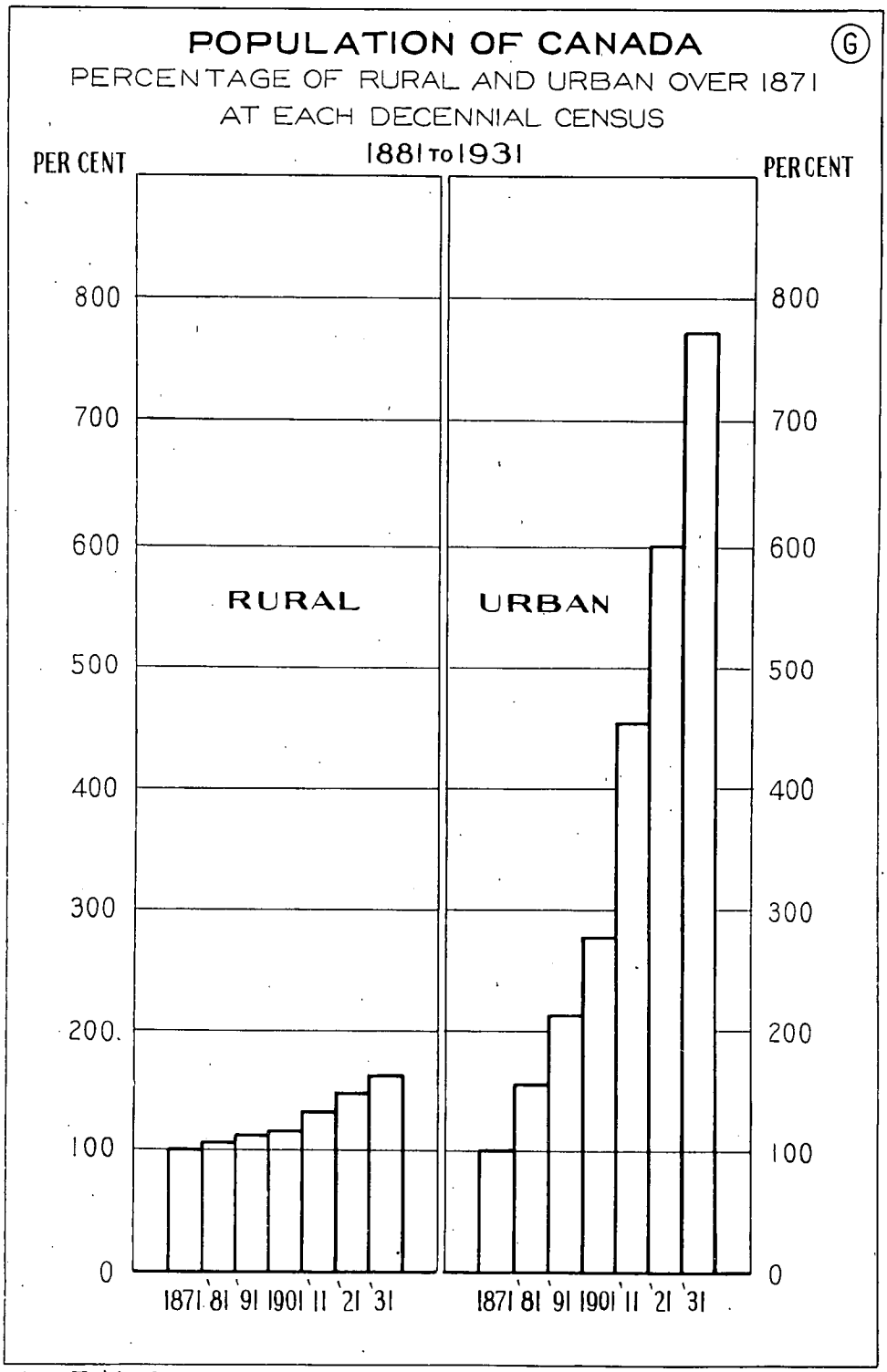
See Table 2


POPULATION OF CANADA
TOTAL, URBAN AND RURAL
AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS
1871 TO 1931
E
MILLIONS
MILLIONS
LEGEND
TOTAL
URBAN
RURAL
10
8
6
4
2
0
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931

See Table 3


POPULATION OF CANADA
PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL
AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS
1871 TO 1931
F
PER CENT
PER CENT
LEGEND
URBAN.....
RURAL.....
80
60
40
20
0
1871
1881
1891
1901
1911
1921
1931

See Table 3


POPULATION OF CANADA
G
PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN OVER 1871
AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS
1881 TO 1931
PER CENT
PER CENT
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
0
RURAL
URBAN
1871 81 91 1901 11 21 31
1871 81 91 1901 11 21 31

See Table 3

TABLE 3—RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1871-1931

Year	Rural	Urban	Total	P.C. Increase
1871	2,966,914	722,343	3,689,257	–
1881	3,215,303	1,109,507	4,324,810	17·23
1891	3,296,141	1,537,098	4,833,239	11·76
1901	3,357,093	2,014,222	5,371,315	11·13
1911	3,933,696	3,272,947	7,206,643	34·17
1921[1]	4,435,827	4,352,122	8,787,949	21·94
1931	4,804,728	5,572,058	10,376,786	18·08
	Absolute Increase by Decades		Percentage Increase by Decades	
Decade Ended	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1881	248,389	387,164	8·37	53·60
1891	80,838	427,591	2·51	38·54
1901	60,952	477,124	1·85	31·04
1911	576,603	1,258,725	17·18	62·49
1921[1]	502,131	1,079,175	12·76	32·97
1931	368,901	1,219,936	8·32	28·03
	Percentage of 1871 Population		Percentage of Total Population	
Year	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
1871	100·00	100·00	80·42	19·58
1881	108·37	153·60	74·35	25·65
1891	111·10	212·79	68·20	31·80
1901	113·15	278·85	62·50	37·50
1911	132·59	453·10	54·58	45·42
1921[1]	149·51	602·50	50·48	49·52
1931	161·94	771·39	46·30	53·70

[1] Corrected for transfer of territory to Labrador.

The urban population in Table 3 represents the total number of persons in the incorporated places enumerated in Table 2, including the few places referred to in footnotes 2 and 3 thereof; all the remainder of the population is considered as rural. At the Census of 1931 the total rural population of the Dominion was returned as 4,804,728, while that in urban municipalities, organized under the various and very differing provincial laws, was 5,572,058, the urban population thus exceeding the rural by 767,330.*

Three Definitions of Rural and Urban.—The defining or comparing of urban and rural population of Canada on this basis of provincial incorporation is, as already intimated, the main method employed so far in this Monograph; specific reference has been made to any alternative definition wherever applied—a practice adhered to throughout. This method of defining, which is the first of three adopted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, is the one most commonly used, despite the objection that there are no uniform standards between provinces regarding either the population or area required before papers of incorporation are granted. Furthermore, this means of comparison is generally recognized as the best or at least the most acceptable if for no other reason than that certain comparable data over a long period of years, needed in connection with the other two methods, do not exist or are not readily available.†

Incorporated Urban Places under 1,000.—The second method of defining urban and rural population involves the exclusion of smaller incorporated places from the urban category and their inclusion with the rural. A more or less arbitrary dividing line or limit is set according to the size of population of such smaller places. In early years many countries were content to compare only the aggregate of persons in cities and towns of 5,000 and over with the total population, but in more recent years the tendency has been to establish the dividing line at various

* These figures are from the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, Table 14, p. 141, while in Vol. III, Table 1, p. 2, the rural population was stated as 4,802,988 and the urban 5,573,798, the latter including the 1,740 persons in Royalty (an unincorporated suburb of Charlottetown, P.E.I.), which in Vol. II was regarded as rural; the urban excess is thus increased to 770,810 from 767,330. The Vol. III figures were so altered in order to make the cross-classifications therein comparable with those of earlier censuses.

† See *(a)* Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. II, p. 139, article on "Rural and Urban Population" with special reference to the "Office Practice" of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics regarding this first definition.

(b) Appendix I of this Monograph, a Tabular Statement of Abbreviated Definitions of Urban Municipalities, Prerequisites to Incorporation in regard to Population and Area, by Provinces.

(c) Appendix II of this Monograph, Brief Statement of the Law and Practice in each Province in regard to Urban Incorporation.

figures under 2,500, depending in part upon the kind of data or object of the comparison. For certain purposes the lower limit of urban population is fixed in the Dominion Bureau of Statistics at 1,000, irrespective of the Provincial laws dealing with incorporation. Under this definition of urban, it is not possible, however, to secure all the analyses included in this study, and wherever it is applied, the dividing line of 1,000 is stated in the context. On this basis, contrasted with the first, the rural population in 1931 would be increased to 5,215,885 or 50·26 p.c. of the entire population of the Dominion, and the urban would be decreased to 5,160,901 or 49·74 p.c. Although these two figures are very nearly equal, they show an excess of 54,984 in favour of the ruralites, while by the first method the previously mentioned excess of 767,330 was in favour of the urbanites (Table 4).

TABLE 4.—RURAL POPULATION (INCLUDING URBAN MUNICIPALITIES WITH LESS THAN 1,000 PERSONS) AND URBAN POPULATION (EXCLUDING SUCH MUNICIPALITIES), AND PERCENTAGE OF RURAL AND URBAN, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

—	Population		Percentage	
	Rural	Urban	Rural	Urban
CANADA	5,215,885	5,160,901	50·26	49·74
Prince Edward Island	70,855	17,183	80·48	19·52
Nova Scotia	289,631	223,215	56·48	43·52
New Brunswick	281,438	126,781	68·94	31·06
Quebec	1,190,855	1,683,400	41·43	58·57
Ontario	1,416,018	2,015,665	41·26	58·74
Manitoba	405,648	294,491	57·94	42·06
Saskatchewan	734,664	187,121	79·70	20·30
Alberta	503,723	227,882	68·85	31·15
British Columbia	309,100	385,163	44·52	55·48
Yukon	4,230	–	100·00	–
Northwest Territories	9,723	–	100·00	–

It may be assumed that in any province of Canada a closely settled community of more than 1,000 people will be incorporated as an urban municipality, while in the Prairie Provinces, in particular, much smaller communities are so incorporated. When the dividing line is placed at 1,000, the urban populations of some provinces are very slightly reduced, while in other provinces quite a considerable part of the urban totals is transferred to the rural column. It will be noted from Table 4 that, by this method of comparison, Prince Edward Island and Saskatchewan are the most rural of the provinces, since they have approximately four-fifths of their populations resident in rural areas. Ontario and Quebec are, of course, the most urbanized, having nearly three-fifths of their inhabitants in urban communities of 1,000 and over, while British Columbia follows closely with five-ninths. Nova Scotia and Manitoba have about three-sevenths of their totals, and New Brunswick and Alberta rather less than one-third, resident in such urban communities. The population, which is transferred from the urban to the rural category by including with the rural all incorporated urban communities of less than 1,000 population, aggregated 411,157 or 3·96 p.c. of the total population of Canada in 1931, but, as might be expected from the facts just outlined, the percentages differ greatly in the various provinces, ranging from 0·53 p.c. in New Brunswick and 1·38 p.c. in British Columbia to 6·92 p.c. in Alberta and 11·26 p.c. in Saskatchewan. Ontario had 2·34 p.c. and Quebec 4·53 p.c. of its people resident in incorporated urban communities of less than 1,000 population. For such communities similar 1931 figures for all the provinces are submitted with an analysis of farm and non-farm population in columns D and E of Table 5, in discussing which in immediately succeeding paragraphs objections will be taken to the method of defining rural and urban population by arbitrary dividing lines, such as this one of 1,000 (see Chart H).

Farm and Non-Farm Population.—The third distinction between rural and urban involves this comparison of farm and non-farm population, the non-farm comprising, in addition to residents of incorporated places, an intermediate group numbering 1,581,306 in 1931, which included many persons essentially urban in occupation and modes of living and perhaps also in population types. In all Canadian censuses prior to 1931, these people were classed as rural. For the most part, they reside in suburban districts near satellite cities, in unincorporated hamlets, police villages or country parishes. They are engaged less in farming than in selling and distributing goods, in rendering professional and other services, or in lumbering, fishing, trapping and other occupations.

The figures for populations which are unincorporated and yet are non-farm, if available over a long period, would probably show that this section of the population, excluding the more recent suburban group, formed in the past a much larger proportion of the total population than at present. They have a greater "mobility" than the farm population, the latter being more or less tied to their land. The trek of thousands of these non-farm ruralites to the cities was one of the important causes, amongst others already discussed in this chapter, of the disproportionate growth of the urban as contrasted with the rural communities, the urban, as usually defined, having increased 7·7 times in the last sixty years, while the rural has increased only 1·6 times. This urban migration was in no small part due to the development of mass production which led to the absorption by urban plants and factories of numerous rural tradesmen and artisans of varied crafts—blacksmiths, weavers, carpenters, carriage builders, tanners, millers, coopers, cobblers, etc.; it also led to the more recent movement of young women from both the farm and rural non-farm groups to seek employment in offices and factories.

The classification of the people as farm and non-farm, already adopted by the United States Bureau of the Census, was first made for the Dominion in 1931; there are no comparable figures for previous census years although rough approximations of them might be made from the Census of Occupations and Industries, Census Volume VII. The amounts and percentages for 1931, however, are set forth in Table 5, which classifies the population by provinces according to the non-farm and rural farm elements. The former class is subdivided into three groups; (1) incorporated places of 1,000 and over in columns B and C, (2) incorporated places of less than 1,000 in columns D and E, and (3) other non-farm population in columns F and G.

The other non-farm population, being outside of incorporated places and therefore often termed rural non-farm, forms a much larger proportion of the population of some provinces than of others; moreover, for most of the provinces, the number of rural non-farm residents seems to vary inversely with the number in incorporated places under 1,000. On the one hand, Ontario with a rural non-farm population of 550,141 or 16·03 p.c. of its total has only 80,327 persons or 2·34 p.c. in incorporated places of less than 1,000. On the other hand, Saskatchewan with but 69,473 rural non-farm people or 7·53 p.c. of its total has no less than 103,784 persons or 11·26 p.c. in these smaller incorporated places—a fifth more than in Ontario, where there are so many large unincorporated suburban areas, police villages and hamlets, while in Saskatchewan very small places are incorporated; in fact the percentage of Saskatchewan's population living in incorporated units under 1,000 is considerably greater than that in any other province, but its percentage of rural non-farm is much less than any other.

The other non-farm or so-called rural non-farm population of Canada at 1,581,306 represents 15·24 p.c. of the total. Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Ontario, Manitoba and British Columbia exceed this proportion, while the other provinces fall short of it; the largest is British Columbia with 28·70 p.c.

The foregoing facts and figures with wide divergencies as between provinces make obvious the objections to dividing rural and urban population on the basis of either total incorporations or those over and under 1,000, especially if the purpose be provincial comparison. For this purpose the most accurate and definite method is the simple non-farm and rural farm distinction which is made in columns H to K of Table 5 and in Chart I. British Columbia has the highest percentage of total non-farm (85·56) and conversely the lowest percentage of farm population; Ontario comes second (77·11) and Quebec third (74·13); Prince Edward Island has the lowest (37·57) and Saskatchewan but slightly more (39·09). The non-farm population of 7,153,364 in 1931 represented 68·94 p.c. of the total, whereas the rural farm population of 3,223,422 was only 31·06 p.c., the excess of non-farm over rural farm being 3,929,942. A comparison of this table with Tables 3 and 4 will show the extent to which the distribution by farm and non-farm differs from the first two methods of rural and urban division.

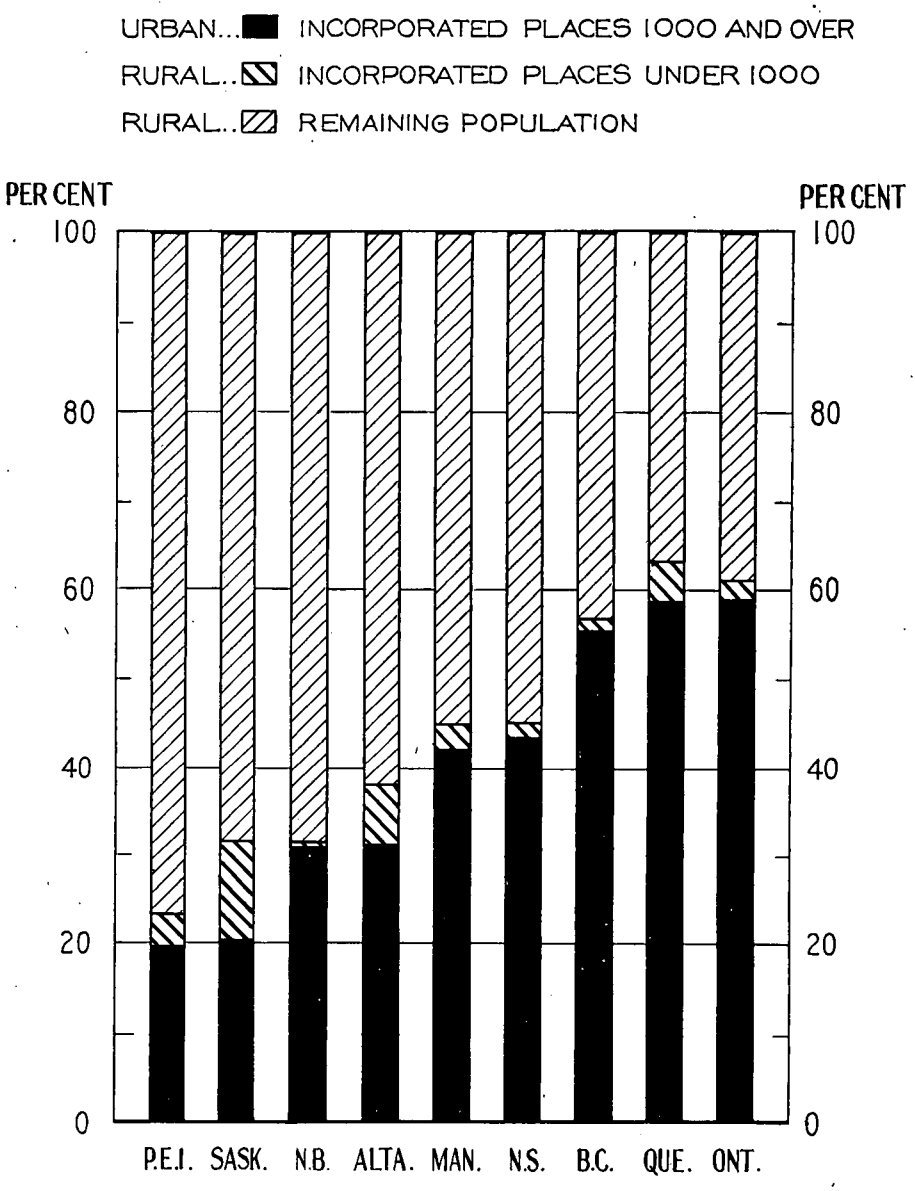
Additional Methods Recommended.—A fourth and a fifth method of defining rural and urban population are recommended for experimentation. The fourth, a semi-typological analysis or classification, is briefly referred to in the following terms by Professor Carle C. Zimmerman of the Department of Sociology at Harvard University,—"As a provincial city of 25,000 people may be more akin to rural society than to urban, whereas a smaller aggregate may belong more to the urban world, it is preferable to define rural society typologically rather than statistically."*

* See article on "Rural Society" in The Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences, Vol. 13, pp. 469-71, especially p. 469.

(H)

POPULATION OF CANADA

PERCENTAGE OF URBAN AND RURAL BY PROVINCES 1931



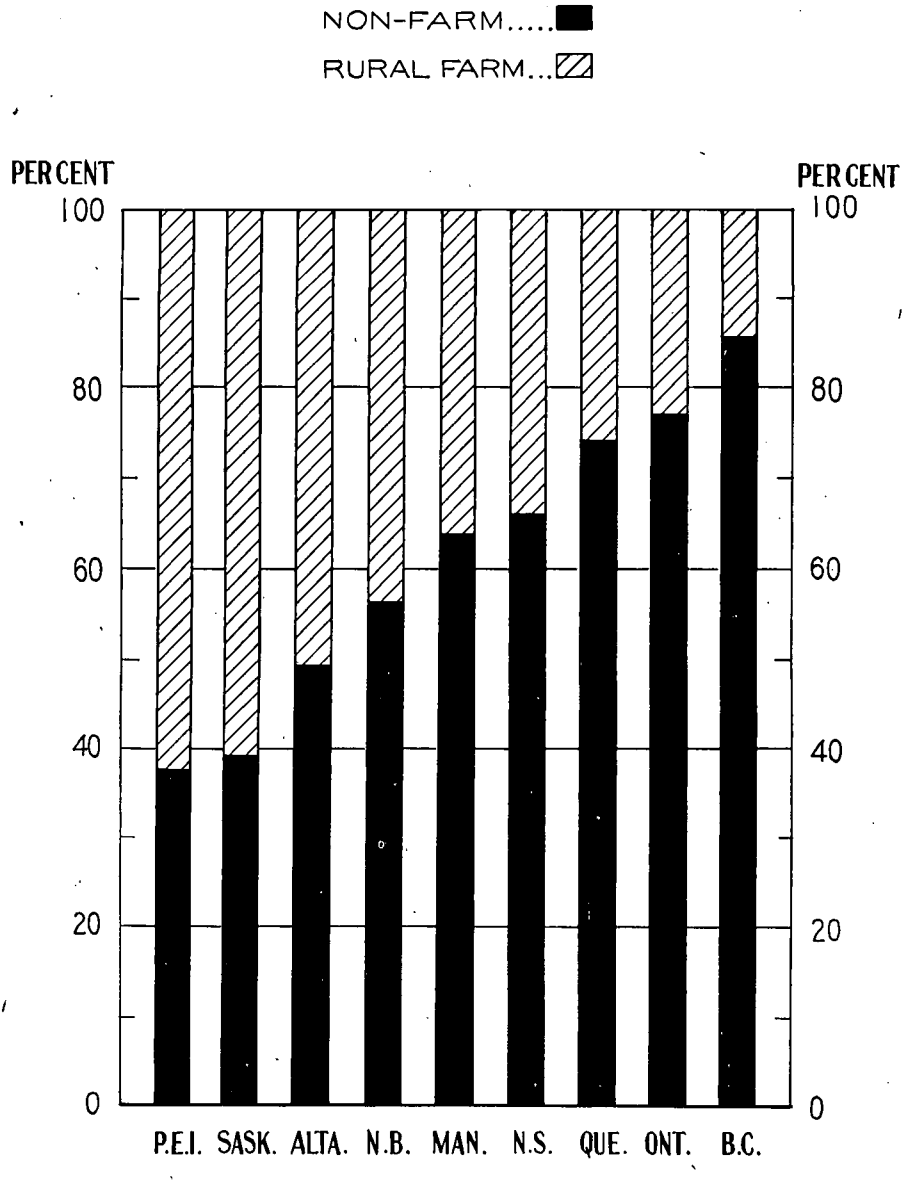
See Tables 4 and 5 (columns C and E)

(1)

POPULATION OF CANADA

PERCENTAGE OF NON-FARM AND RURAL FARM BY PROVINCES

1931



See Table 5 (columns J and K)

TABLE 5—NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF RURAL FARM POPULATION AND NON-FARM POPULATION, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

Province	Total Population	Non-Farm Population[1]							Total Rural Farm Population	P.C. of Total	
		Incorporated Places of 1,000 and over		Incorporated Places under 1,000		Other Non-Farm		Total Non-Farm Population		Non-Farm[1]	Rural Farm
		Population	P.C. of Total	Population	P.C. of Total	Population	P.C. of Total				
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K
CANADA	10,376,786	5,160,901	49·74	411,157	3·96	1,581,306	15·24	7,153,364	3,223,422	68·94	31·06
Prince Edward Island	88,038	17,183	19·52	3,202	3·64	12,690	14·41	33,075	54,963	37·57	62·43
Nova Scotia	512,846	223,215	43·52	8,439	1·65	107,227	20·91	338,881	173,965	66·08	33·92
New Brunswick	408,219	126,781	31·06	2,159	0·53	100,785	24·69	229,725	178,494	56·28	43·72
Quebec	2,874,255	1,683,400	58·57	130,206	4·53	317,051	11·03	2,130,657	743,598	74·13	25·87
Ontario	3,431,683	2,015,665	58·74	80,327	2·34	550,141	16·03	2,646,133	785,550	77·11	22·89
Manitoba	700,139	294,491	42·06	21,478	3·07	129,868	18·55	445,837	254,302	63·68	36·32
Saskatchewan	921,785	187,121	20·30	103,784	11·26	69,473	7·53	360,378	561,407	39·09	60·91
Alberta	731,605	227,882	31·15	50,626	6·92	82,198	11·23	360,706	370,899	49·30	50·70
British Columbia	694,263	385,163	55·48	9,576	1·38	199,280	28·70	594,019	100,244	85·56	14·44
Yukon	4,230	–	–	1,360	32·15	2,870	67·85	4,230	–	100·00	–
Northwest Territories	9,723	–	–	–	–	9,723	100·00	9,723	–	100·00	–

[1] The non-farm figures include 65,718 persons on urban farms, of whom more than half, 33,419, were in the province of Quebec, where the percentages of farm and non-farm would be changed to 27·03 and 72·97 respectively, if these persons were included with the farm population; the percentages for the other provinces and for the Dominion would not be affected by more than 7/10 of one per cent.

The underlying principle is illustrated by a few specific examples from the Census of Canada, 1931. York township, a part of 'Greater Toronto', being unincorporated, is a "rural" area, according to the usual definition; but out of a total population in this township of 69,593, its farm population amounts to merely 146. As already pointed out, farm population is not the only rural population, but under no reasonable estimate could the *bona fide* rural population of the township at this Census be regarded as exceeding 1 p.c. of its total population or about 700 persons. A somewhat similar condition exists in Saltfleet township within the limits of 'Greater Hamilton', also in St. James and the Kildonan municipalities within 'Greater Winnipeg', all of which municipalities and townships, together with their population figures, are shown on the maps of 'greater' cities in Chart C. But these discrepancies in classification are confined neither to the larger districts nor to areas satellite to urban places, as indicated by two other examples. On the one hand, the village of Deloro in the county of Hastings, Ontario, having a population of only 331, could not be included as urban under the definition limiting that classification to places of 1,000 or more inhabitants and yet it is decidedly urban in character, its people being engaged mostly in the smelting industry. On the other hand the village of Winchester in the county of Dundas, Ontario, with a population of 1,027, is composed mainly of retired farmers and shopkeepers serving a district purely rural, of which it is really an integral part, but it is designated urban under the first definition because the place is incorporated and also under the second because the population exceeds the 1,000 requirement.

Scores and perhaps hundreds of anomalies of this kind would be corrected by the application of the fourth method, which embraces a separation of definitely urban populations from those that are definitely rural. Accordingly, its *modus operandi* would demand that every community, large or small, incorporated or unincorporated, be analyzed to determine whether it is "overwhelmingly" rural or urban in character or type, an "overwhelming" majority to be set at some figure between 65 p.c. and 75 p.c.*

The other recommended definition, the fifth and last, is based on an extension of the 'greater' city plan.† It would define as urban the population of incorporated places, plus that of all "densely peopled" unincorporated political divisions or areas, such as townships, district municipalities, parishes, police villages and hamlets, which are satellite to, or largely dependent in their business and economic relations upon, adjacent cities or towns. The many difficulties of fixing limits and bounds, described in the section on 'greater' cities, would of course be encountered in applying this plan, and greater precision would be attained if the so-called "densely peopled" areas were restricted by a clause stipulating a definite population density—a minimum of 1,000 or more persons per square mile is a prerequisite adopted by the United States Census Bureau in connection with its 1930 rural-urban classifications.

Of these two suggested methods, the more complete and therefore the better one, but at the same time the more complex or comprehensive, is undoubtedly the former, the fourth, which provides that when a substantial majority of the population of any community belongs *prima facie* to either the rural or the urban category, it is so classified—and that, after all, is the primary objective. The adoption of either of these two methods would, however, be practicable, none of the attendant difficulties being insurmountable. Accordingly, both of them are strongly recommended for experimentation by private researchers, university statistical laboratories, research foundations in population problems and the Social Analysis Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Possibly they might also be considered when plans are being laid for tabulations of additional data in connection with a future census, since they are quite superior to the present three methods—*video meliora proboque deteriora sequor.*

*An experiment, at the Institute for Social Sciences of Stockholm University, in the typological classification of the population of Sweden into four groups, *viz.*, agricultural, industrial, mixed and towns, is described by Professor Gunnar Myrdal of that University, under the title "Industrialization and Population" in the collection of *Economic Essays in Honour of Gustav Cassel*, pp. 435-57.

†See Swedish Official Statistics, Folkräkningen den 31 December, 1930, av Statistiska Centralbyrån, Vol. I, Tab. 3, *Folkmängden i städer, köpingar och municipalsamhällen med förortsbebyggelse*, pp. 138-40.

PART C

ATTRIBUTES OF POPULATION—
VARIOUS PHASES OF RURAL AND URBAN DISTRIBUTION IN CANADA

CHAPTER V

SEX AND AGE

Sex Distribution in the Last Generation.—The sex and age distribution of the rural and urban population in the Dominion as a whole and also in each of the provinces, as at the last four censuses, is given in Table 6, which shows the number of males to 1,000 females in each five-year group, as well as in the age group under 1 year, in that from 1 to 4 years inclusive and in the aggregate for all ages.

In 1901, owing to the relatively small immigrant population, the excess of males over females in the total population was comparatively small, amounting to only about 132,000. An excess of 170,000 males in the rural areas was partly offset by an excess of 38,000 females in the cities, towns and villages, so that already there was a disproportionate aggregation of females in urban communities. The enormous immigration of the ensuing decade raised the excess of males to about 437,000 in 1911, the highest recorded since Confederation. In that year the males exceeded the females in both the rural and the urban population; the male majority, which in the rural districts was 366,000 and in the urban 71,000, was found not only in the newly settled areas of the West but also in the eastern cities. This superiority in numbers of the male population, as shown by the Census of 1911, was probably increased in the next two or three years in consequence of the very heavy immigration of that period, although any figures on total population for other than census years are merely estimates. Thereafter, the Great War removed either temporarily or permanently a large portion of the younger male population, costing us the lives of some 60,000 men who were killed in combat or died of wounds or disease during the conflict. An additional 20,000 residents of Canada (most of them born in the British Isles presumably) took their discharge in the United Kingdom. The loss of these "overseas men" and the very marked decline of immigration during the War years were some of the factors causing a very considerable reduction in the excess of males at the Census of 1921. Instead of 437,000, as in 1911, it was now only 271,000 in a substantially larger total population. Rural males outnumbered rural females by 329,000, while urban males were fewer than urban females by nearly 58,000.

The decade between 1921 and 1931 was a period of peace and progress, but the renewed immigration was on nothing like the scale that had prevailed before the War. Nevertheless, the number of male immigrants arriving in those years considerably exceeded the number of females, which in part was the cause of a rise to 372,000 in the excess of males in the 1931 population. Rural males exceeded rural females by 401,000, while urban females outnumbered urban males by 29,000.

There were many forces working on our population distribution throughout the past generation, two of which may be mentioned here, *viz.*, immigration and the Great War. Immigration in normal times shows a preponderance of young men, and it was natural that in 1911 young males would be found in greater numbers than young females. Even in urban areas in 1911 there were 1,050 males of ages 20 to 24 years, 1,176 of 25 to 29 years and 1,178 of 30 to 34 years to every 1,000 females at these same ages, while in the rural areas there were no less than 1,345 males of 20 to 24 years, 1,395 of 25 to 29 years and 1,340 of 30 to 34 years to every 1,000 females at the respective ages.

For the same age groups, however, the rural figures in 1921 dropped to 1,185, 1,207 and 1,255 males per 1,000 females, and the urban were 810, 893 and 1,001 males per 1,000 females. Accordingly, there was quite a distinct lack of young men of 20 to 24 in the 1921 population, especially in the urban. This was in a large measure due to the Great War with its loss of life and demobilizations overseas, and partly also to such factors as emigration to the United States, the supersession of young men by young women in many employments and mis-statements of ages made to the census enumerators.

The 1931 Census showed a very considerable excess of males over females in the rural population in the age group 20 to 24, there having been 1,314 males to every 1,000 females, but in the urban population in the same age group there were only 860 males to every 1,000 females. So considerable a discrepancy in the young population which was not affected by the War would seem to be largely due to the supplanting of young men by young women in many urban occupations; at any rate, it is at these ages of 20 to 24 years that the largest percentage of the female population is gainfully occupied.

The last two decennial censuses, indeed, show for this age group (20 to 24 years) a larger difference between the male and female population of rural and urban communities than for any other quinquennial age period of active life. In extreme old age, of course, the disparity between the numbers of males and females is even greater among the urban population, but this is due to the general fact that women usually live longer than men.

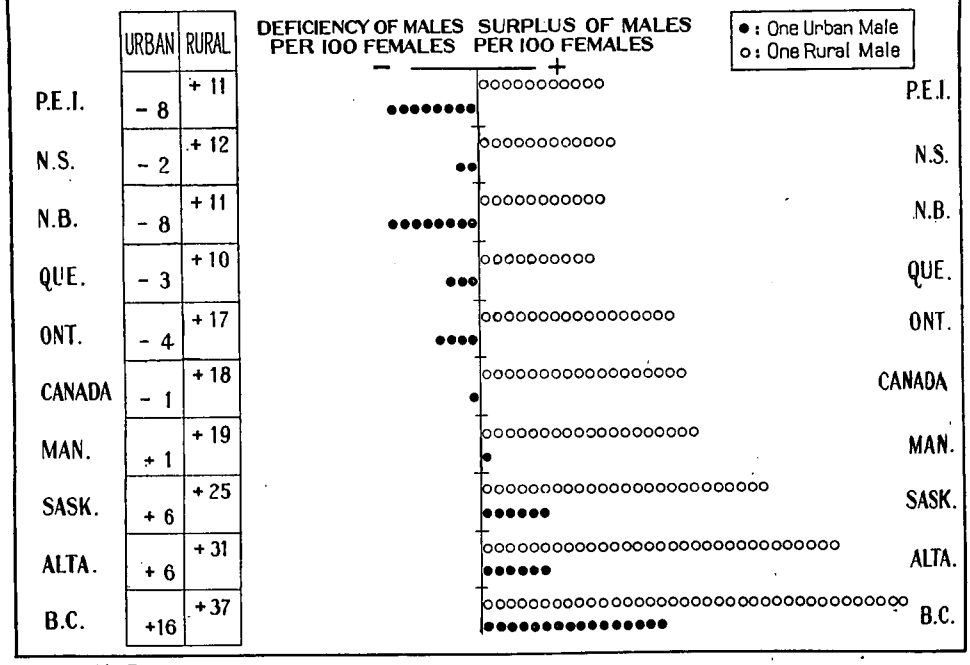
TABLE 6—NUMBER OF MALES TO 1,000 FEMALES IN EACH QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUP OF THE RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1901-1931

Age Groups	Rural				Urban			
	1901	1911	1921	1931	1901	1911	1921	1931
All ages	1,106	1,185	1,160	1,182	963	1,051	974	990
0 - 1	1,021	1,020	1,016	-	1,021	1,012	1,028	-
1 - 4	1,020	1,023	1,021	-	1,010	1,017	1,010	-
Total under 5	*1,020*	*1,023*	*1,020*	*1,026*	*1,012*	*1,016*	*1,014*	*1,019*
5 - 9	1,024	1,027	1,034	1,030	1,013	1,000	997	1,014
10 - 14	1,057	1,056	1,054	1,046	1,002	975	982	999
15 - 19	1,091	1,148	1,145	1,172	932	951	883	901
20 - 24	1,160	1,345	1,185	1,314	856	1,050	810	860
25 - 29	1,174	1,395	1,207	1,301	896	1,176	893	957
30 - 34	1,163	1,349	1,255	1,223	967	1,178	1,001	989
35 - 39	1,170	1,310	1,313	1,212	984	1,132	1,078	1,011
40 - 44	1,178	1,285	1,320	1,296	1,004	1,106	1,089	1,082
45 - 49	1,177	1,246	1,322	1,356	1,009	1,070	1,091	1,128
50 - 54	1,149	1,244	1,316	1,350	992	1,030	1,047	1,111
55 - 59	1,099	1,229	1,268	1,348	960	982	992	1,068
60 - 64	1,155	1,216	1,299	1,334	923	985	965	997
65 - 69	1,144	1,165	1,293	1,305	920	897	949	935
70 - 74	1,137	1,138	1,214	1,305	879	854	923	891
75 - 79	1,136	1,131	1,122	1,226	888	852	862	873
80 - 84	1,127	1,063	1,047	1,105	821	803	804	810
85 - 89	1,049	1,009	990	943	792	745	725	720
90 and over	901	918	825	796	720	682	665	599
Not stated	1,460	2,508	1,324	2,672	1,705	2,955	1,086	2,496

Sex Distribution in 1931.—The 1931 excess of urban population (767,330), according to the usual definition, was very unequally divided between the sexes, having been composed of 598,613 females and only 168,717 males. Furthermore, there was a considerable concentration of males in rural and of females in urban communities; males resident in rural areas numbered 2,602,912 as compared with 2,771,629 in urban, while females in rural areas numbered 2,201,816 as compared with 2,800,429 in urban. The excess of males in the rural areas was 401,096 and of females in the urban communities 28,800, constituting a net excess of 372,296 males in the total 1931 population of the Dominion. The rural areas had 118 males to every 100 females, while the urban had only 99 to every 100. Therefore, it is evident that the urban municipalities had a preponderance of females and the rural areas a decided preponderance of males.

The number of males and females and the percentages of the one to the other by provinces in 1931 are shown in Tables 7 and 8; Table 7 is based on the usual distinction between urban and rural, and Table 8 on the 1,000 lower limit for urban. The differences in the percentages of males to females for the nine provinces, owing to the methods of distinguishing between urban and rural population in these two tables, are inconsiderable, with the exception of the rural figures for Saskatchewan where the disagreement is less than 2·5 p.c. The results of both analyses indicate that the surplus of males increases as we proceed westward from Quebec and that the deficiency of males in the urban areas of Eastern Canada changes to a surplus in those of the West, both phenomena being graphically illustrated in Chart J.

RELATIVE DEFICIENCY OR SURPLUS OF MALES TO FEMALES
URBAN AND RURAL
CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931



See Table 7

TABLE 7—RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGE OF MALES TO FEMALES, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

—	Rural			Urban		
	Males	Females	P.C. Males to Females	Males	Females	P.C. Males to Females
CANADA	2,602,912	2,201,816	118	2,771,629	2,800,429	99
Prince Edward Island	35,633	32,020	111	9,759	10,626	92
Nova Scotia	148,335	132,857	112	114,769	116,885	98
New Brunswick	146,866	132,413	111	61,754	67,186	92
Quebec	555,490	505,159	110	891,634	921,972	97
Ontario	719,975	615,716	117	1,028,869	1,067,123	96
Manitoba	209,099	175,071	119	158,966	157,003	101
Saskatchewan	350,365	280,515	125	149,570	141,335	106
Alberta	256,687	196,410	131	143,512	134,996	106
British Columbia	173,365	126,159	137	211,854	182,885	116
Yukon	1,883	987	191	942	418	225
Northwest Territories	5,214	4,509	116	–	–	–

TABLE 8—RURAL POPULATION (INCLUDING URBAN MUNICIPALITIES WITH LESS THAN 1,000 PERSONS) AND URBAN POPULATION (EXCLUDING SUCH MUNICIPALITIES), BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGE OF MALES TO FEMALES, CANADA AND PROVINCES, 1931

—	Rural			Urban		
	Males	Females	P.C. Males to Females	Males	Females	P.C. Males to Females
CANADA	2,810,067	2,405,818	117	2,564,474	2,596,427	99
Prince Edward Island	37,253	33,602	111	8,139	9,044	90
Nova Scotia	152,519	137,112	111	110,585	112,630	98
New Brunswick	147,876	133,562	111	60,744	66,037	92
Quebec	618,931	571,924	108	828,193	855,207	97
Ontario	759,282	656,736	116	989,562	1,026,103	96
Manitoba	219,790	185,858	118	148,275	146,216	101
Saskatchewan	404,251	330,413	122	95,684	91,437	105
Alberta	283,432	220,291	129	116,767	111,115	105
British Columbia	178,694	130,406	137	206,525	178,638	116
Yukon	2,825	1,405	201	–	–	–
Northwest Territories	5,214	4,509	116	–	–	–

Of the total population of 411,157 in the incorporated urban communities having less than 1,000 inhabitants, 207,155 were males and 204,002 were females, a proportion of 101·5 males to every 100 females. This excess of males was due to the existence of many small urban communities in the West.

When all places of 1,000 people and over are regarded as urban and the balance as rural, the net excess of 372,296 males in the total population is found to lie wholly in the non-urban areas, where the males exceed the females by no fewer than 404,249, while in the urban areas, as thus defined, the females exceed the males by 31,953. Whereas in these "rural" areas there are no fewer than 117 males to 100 females, in the "urban" areas there are only 99 males to 100 females. Table 9, comprising four groups of urban communities of 1,000 and over set forth on page 150 of Volume II of the Census of 1931, shows that the proportion of males to females tends to decrease as the size of the community increases. In urban places of less than 1,000 there is, to repeat, a proportion of just over 101·5 males to 100 females. Accordingly, as a general tendency, the larger the community, the greater the excess of females in the population.

TABLE 9—URBAN COMMUNITIES OF 1,000 AND OVER, IN FOUR POPULATION GROUPS, WITH PROPORTION OF MALE TO FEMALE RESIDENTS IN EACH, CANADA, 1931

Size of Communities—Population Group	Number of Such Communities	Males to 100 Females
1,000 - 9,999	463	101
10,000 - 29,999	50	99
30,000 - 99,999	13	99
100,000 and over	7	98

The disproportion which exists between the number of males and females in rural and in urban areas respectively is accentuated by the preponderance of males in outlying frontier communities, as well as by the pronounced excess of females in the larger eastern cities. Thus in the Yukon Territory, which has no urban community of 1,000 people or more, we find 2,825 males as compared with 1,405 females, or a ratio of 201 to 100. Again, in the district of Cochrane in Northern Ontario there were 148 males for every 100 females, and in the district of Temiskaming in Quebec, 132 males for every 100 females. Furthermore, Census Divisions 15, 16 and 17 in Northern Alberta had respectively 141, 142 and 138 males to 100 females, while in Census Divisions 9 and 10 of Northern British Columbia there were respectively 172 and 178 males to 100 females.

In the larger eastern cities, the disproportion is in the opposite direction. In Montreal, our largest city, the Census of 1931 showed 98·35 males to every 100 females; in Halifax, 93·27; Toronto, 93·75; Saint John, 91·28; Ottawa, 87·43; Quebec City, 88·57; Kingston, 90·86; St. Hyacinthe, 82·77; Outremont, 78·07; and Westmount, 70·36, the lowest proportion of males to females in any city of over 10,000 people. In the West, however, the presence of a large number of young male immigrants turned the scale: Winnipeg, in 1931, had 100·64 males to every 100 females; Calgary, 107·25; Edmonton, 101·69; Victoria, 106·37; and Vancouver, 114·21; Timmins, Ontario, had 123·87, the highest percentage of males to females in any city or town of more than 10,000 people. The excess of males in western cities was, however, quite moderate in 1931 as compared with that in previous census years, for in 1881 Winnipeg had 139·29 males for every 100 females and in 1891 Vancouver, appearing for the first time in the decennial census, recorded 187·58 males to every 100 females.

In the older cities of Canada the proportion of males to females, generally speaking, reached in 1911 its highest point since 1871, as there were a larger number of newly arrived male immigrants than at any other census. The lowest proportion of urban males to females in recent times occurred in 1921 after the male population had suffered as a result of the War and perhaps of its accompanying transfer of females to occupations previously carried on by males. The latest census, 1931, generally indicates a larger proportion of males to females than in 1921. In the

newer western cities, however, there has been a steady downward trend in the proportion of males to females. In Regina, for example, there were 189.2 males to every 100 females in 1911, 107·0 in 1921 and 100·6 in 1931.

The trend in the four leading cities of Canada (Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg) is given in Table 10, while corresponding figures for other cities will be found at pages 157 to 160 of Volume II of the Census of 1931.

TABLE 10—POPULATION, BY SEX, IN THE FOUR LEADING CITIES OF CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1871-1931

City	Year	Population			Males to 100 Females
		Total	Male	Female	
Montreal	1871	130,833	62,021	68,812	90·13
	1881	177,377	83,163	94,214	88·27
	1891	256,723	122,752	133,971	91·63
	1901	328,172	157,517	170,655	92·30
	1911	490,504	245,422	245,082	100·14
	1921	618,506	300,924	317,582	94·75
	1931	818,577	405,892	412,685	98·35
Toronto	1871	59,000	28,929	30,071	96·20
	1881	96,196	46,671	49,525	94·24
	1891	181,215	87,827	93,388	94·05
	1901	209,892	98,097	111,795	87·75
	1911	381,833	189,106	192,727	98·12
	1921	521,893	250,944	270,949	92·62
	1931	631,207	305,427	325,780	93·75
Vancouver	1871	–	–	–	–
	1881	–	–	–	–
	1891	13,709	8,942	4,767	187·58
	1901	29,432	17,697	11,735	150·81
	1911	120,847	72,166	48,681	148·24
	1921	163,220	85,591	77,629	110·26
	1931	246,593	131,473	115,120	114·21
Winnipeg	1871	241	–	–	–
	1881	7,985	4,648	3,337	139·29
	1891	25,639	13,406	12,233	109·59
	1901	42,340	21,940	20,400	107·55
	1911	136,035	74,406	61,629	120·73
	1921	179,087	89,737	89,350	100·43
	1931	218,785	109,742	109,043	100·64

Age Distribution of the Sexes.—The foregoing facts regarding the varying distribution of males and females between the total rural and total urban populations, although quite serious, are rendered even more striking by an analysis according to age distribution. The disproportion is greater after deduction from the total population is made of children under 15 years of age, since they, if living with their parents, are likely to show approximately equal numbers of boys and girls in any settled community. Indeed it is when the rural and the urban populations are analyzed by age groups that the disparity between the sexes assumes an alarming aspect from the biological point of view; from such analyses it is found that the surpluses of the male population in the rural areas and of the female population in the urban areas are greatest at the marriageable ages, which geographical separation of the sexes tends to reduce the number of marriages. This disquieting condition is, of course, not peculiar to Canada; it is characteristic of the modern Western world with its mobility of labour, its great increase in the proportion of female workers, and its more general employment of males in the heavier work of the rural districts, from which many females migrate to take advantage of the opportunities for lighter work in the cities.

The glaring preponderance of males at marriageable ages within the rural population is shown in Table 11, which reveals that in the seven quinquennial age groups, comprising the thirty-five years from 20 to 54 inclusive, the rural males exceed the rural females in every group by percentages varying between a low of 21·19 in the age group from 35 to 39 and a high of 35·56 in the age group from 45 to 49, the percentage in the total for these 35 years being 28·96. It is thus evident that in the rural areas of Canada as a whole there is a very large surplus of males over females at the marriageable ages, which constitutes a menace to family life and tends to lower the marriage rate and birth rate.

TABLE 11—RURAL POPULATION, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGE OF MALES TO FEMALES IN EACH QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUP, CANADA, 1931

Age Group	Males	Females	Excess of Males	Males to 100 Females
All ages	2,602,021	2,200,967	401,054	118·22
0 - 4	282,874	275,795	7,079	102·57
5 - 9	294,042	285,581	8,461	102·96
10 - 14	277,684	265,520	12,164	104·58
15 - 19	267,805	228,586	39,219	117·16
20 - 24	227,992	173,495	54,497	131·41
25 - 29	188,505	144,894	43,611	130·10
30 - 34	163,188	133,454	29,734	122·28
35 - 39	156,733	129,329	27,404	121·19
40 - 44	151,815	117,168	34,647	129·57
45 - 49	143,002	105,489	37,513	135·56
50 - 54	121,250	89,817	31,433	135·00
55 - 59	95,621	70,937	24,684	134·80
60 - 64	77,686	58,219	19,467	133·44
65 - 69	61,605	47,207	14,398	130·50
70 - 74	46,002	35,258	10,744	130·47
75 - 79	26,289	21,445	4,844	122·59
80 - 84	12,678	11,472	1,206	110·51
85 - 89	4,771	5,057	−286	94·34
90 and over	1,493	1,875	−382	79·63
Specified ages	2,601,035	2,200,598	400,437	118·20
Unspecified ages	986	369	617	267·21

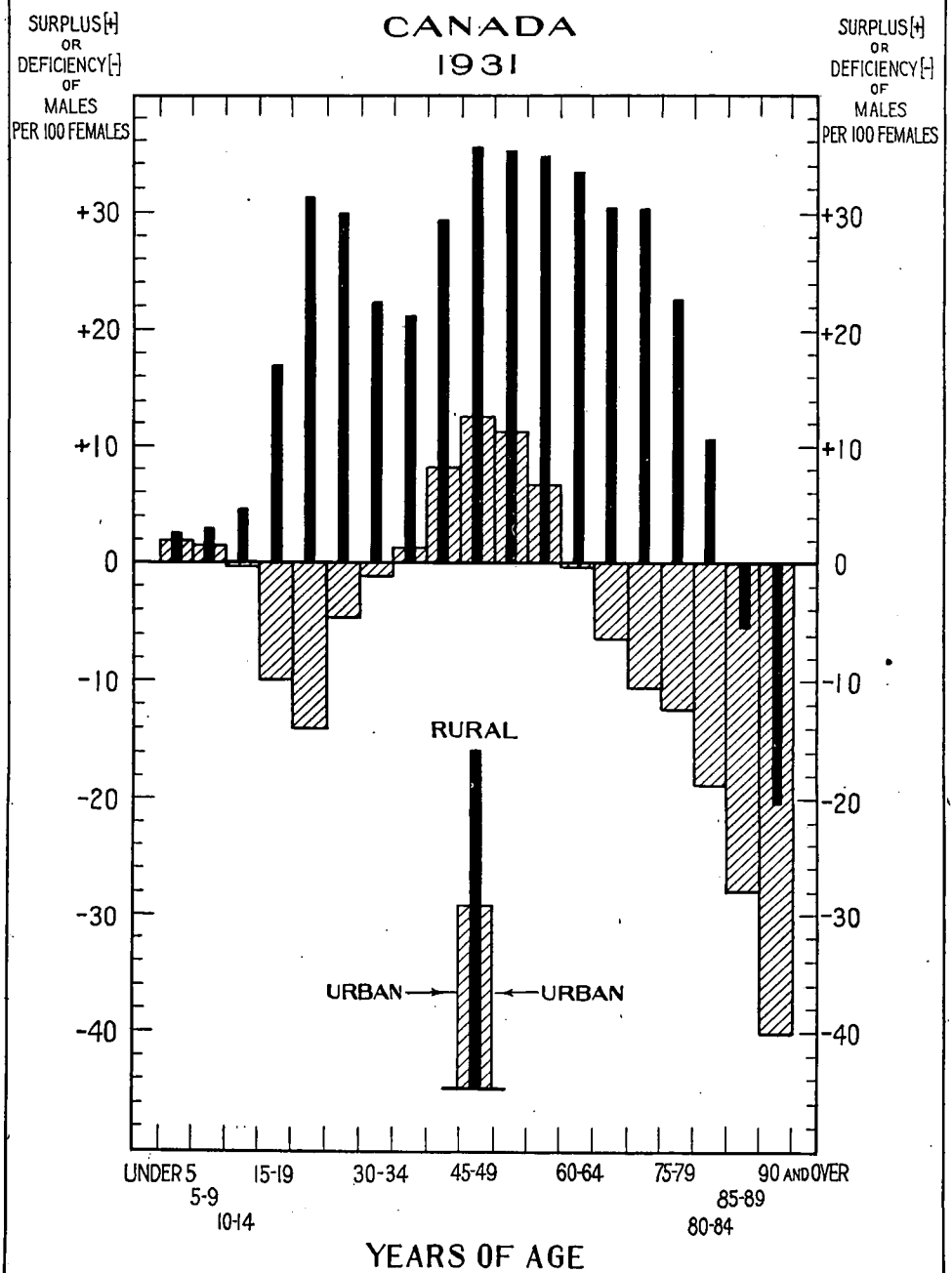
In the urban areas of Canada the females outnumber the males on the whole as well as at most ages. In 1931 in the age groups from 15 to 30 years the urban communities had a decided excess of females. The quinquennial group from 15 to 19 had only 90·09 males to every 100 females and the group from 20 to 24 only 86·04 per 100, although the next group from 25 to 29 had 95·70. At the ages 15 to 29 years there were 76,488 more females than males in the urban communities of Canada, while there were only 28,758 more females than males in the total urban population; it is therefore evident that in the remaining urban population the males outnumbered the females. The large surplus of females in the age groups from 15 to 29 years might be expected, since it is between these ages that most females are working for wages. Later age groups, from 35 to 59 years inclusive, carry an excess of males over females in the urban communities, an excess which dwindles in the subsequent groups, changing in fact to a substantial deficiency because of the higher mortality of males. Indeed in the urban communities of Canada the age group from 70 to 74 years had 89·15 males to every 100 females, the group 85 to 89 had only 72·02 and the residual group, the smallest percentage of all, 59·91 (Table 12). The deficiencies or surpluses of males per 100 females within both the rural and urban population are depicted by quinquennial age groups in Chart K.

TABLE 12—URBAN POPULATION, BY SEX, WITH PERCENTAGE OF MALES TO FEMALES IN EACH QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUP, CANADA, 1931

Age Group	Males	Females	Excess of Males	Males to 100 Females
All ages	2,772,520	2,801,278	− 28,758	98·97
0 - 4	260,298	255,448	4,850	101·90
5 - 9	278,465	274,661	3,804	101·38
10 - 14	265,246	265,601	− 355	99·87
15 - 19	257,445	285,755	− 28,310	90·09
20 - 24	235,730	273,968	− 38,238	86·04
25 - 29	221,471	231,411	− 9,940	95·70
30 - 34	204,947	207,247	− 2,300	98·89
35 - 39	202,348	200,053	2,295	101·15
40 - 44	195,948	181,168	14,780	108·16
45 - 49	178,511	158,209	20,302	112·83
50 - 54	146,082	131,532	14,550	111·06
55 - 59	103,539	96,928	6,611	106·82
60 - 64	79,226	79,466	− 240	99·70
65 - 69	59,090	63,232	− 4,142	93·45
70 - 74	42,579	47,761	− 5,182	89·15
75 - 79	23,728	27,167	− 3,439	87·34
80 - 84	11,199	13,822	− 2,623	81·02
85 - 89	3,894	5,407	− 1,513	72·02
90 and over	1,049	1,751	− 702	59·91
Specified ages	2,770,795	2,800,587	− 29,792	98·94
Unspecified ages	1,725	691	1,034	249·64

RELATIONSHIP OF MALES TO FEMALES (K)

BY CERTAIN AGE GROUPS
RURAL AND URBAN
CANADA
1931



See Tables 11 and 12

From the biological standpoint, the most notable fact in Table 12 is that 791,134 females of ages 15 to 29 years lived in the urban communities in contrast to only 714,646 males of the same ages, a ratio of 111 females to 100 males. It would be more appropriate, however, to compare females aged 15 to 29 inclusive with males aged 20 to 34 inclusive, since it has been established in the Annual Report on Vital Statistics that the average age of bridegrooms is between four and five years more than that of brides. But such a comparison would show a still greater proportion of females in urban residence, for there would be only 662,148 males against the 791,134 females; in other words, there were in the urban communities in 1931 about 119 females of ages 15 to 29 inclusive for every 100 males of ages 20 to 34 inclusive.

That the town and city females in the later teens and the twenties show the greatest preponderance over the males would appear to be largely accounted for by the percentages of gainfully occupied females from 15 to 29 years of age to total females of the same ages. These figures climb rapidly in the later teens to a peak of 48·4 p.c. at the age of 20 years, after which they descend more or less steadily, but even at 29 years of age 21·6 p.c. are gainfully occupied. In the following five years (30 to 34), the percentages decline further, only 12·2 p.c. of females being gainfully occupied at the age of 34 years. (See Table 13 and second half of Chart L on Employment Analyses).

TABLE 13—GAINFULLY OCCUPIED FEMALES, AS PERCENTAGES OF TOTAL FEMALES, BY SINGLE YEARS OF AGE FROM 15 TO 34 YEARS, CANADA, 1931

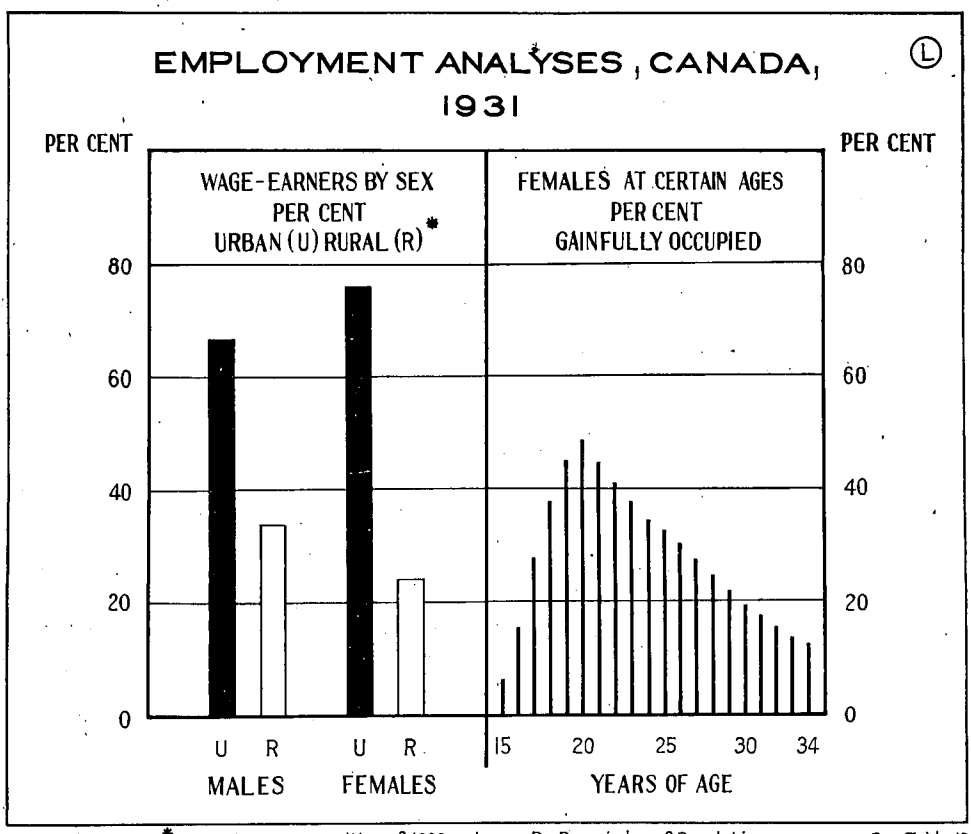
Age	P.C. Gainfully Occupied	Age	P.C. Gainfully Occupied
15	5·9	25	32·6
16	15·3	26	30·1
17	27·7	27	27·4
18	37·7	28	24·5
19	44·9	29	21·6
20	48·4	30	19·1
21	44·4	31	17·1
22	40·8	32	15·3
23	37·7	33	13·5
24	34·5	34	12·2

The concentration of female wage-earners of Canada in the urban communities with a population of 1,000 and over is illustrated by Table 14 and the first half of Chart L, which show the percentage urban and rural, as well as corresponding figures for males. Urban females, working for wages, comprise about four-fifths of the total female wage-earners. From this table it may be observed that 76·09 p.c. (over three-quarters) of the total female wage-earners are concentrated in urban communities of 1,000 population and over, and there is a strong probability that about 80 p.c. of the total are resident in all urban communities (including those under 1,000). Most of the remaining female wage-earners are resident in distinctly rural areas and are doubtless mainly rural school teachers, nurses and domestic servants. It might be objected that nearly as large a percentage of the male wage-earners (66·26) as of the female wage-earners (76·09) are in urban communities, but the former percentage would be greatly reduced if the table contained all gainfully occupied rather than only the wage-earners, since the gainfully occupied males, including 700,000 operating farmers, etc., are very much more rural than the male wage earners alone.

TABLE 14—WAGE-EARNERS, NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, BY SEX, IN RURAL POPULATION (INCLUDING URBAN MUNICIPALITIES WITH LESS THAN 1,000) AND IN URBAN (EXCLUDING SUCH MUNICIPALITIES), CANADA, 1931[1]

Locality	Males		Females	
	No.	P.C.	No.	P.C.
CANADA	2,022,260	100·00	547,837	100·00
Urban (1,000 and over)	1,339,953	66·26	416,832	76·09
Urban (under 1,000) and rural	682,307	33·74	131,005	23·91

[1] For persons of 10 to 19 years of age in urban areas of 5,000 to 15,000 population, the figures were estimated on the basis of percentages for corresponding ages in cities of 30,000 and over.



See Table 14 *U = Urban Communities of 1000 and over, R = Remainder of Population See Table 13

Population under Five Years of Age.—In times past when there was no satisfactory system of vital statistics existing in Canada, an endeavour was made to obtain an approximation of the birth rate from the proportion which the number of infants under 1 year of age, as reported at the census, bore to the total infant population. The result of this procedure had some validity, although it did not allow for those born and dying within the census year. Usually the number of infants reported in the rural areas formed a larger percentage of the total rural population than the number of infants reported in urban districts formed of the total urban population, indicating a higher birth rate among the ruralites than among the urbanites—a phenomenon which is fairly common throughout the Western world. This fairly constant condition is indicated also in the results of the Census of 1931, when it was ascertained that 2·16 p.c. of the total rural population and only 1·78 p.c. of the total urban population were less than one year old; indeed, in cities of 30,000 population and over only 1·67 p.c. of their total were under 1 year of age.* Clearly from this it would appear that, other things being equal, the larger the community, the lower the percentage of its infant population to its total population.

The same thing is found to be true of children aged 1 to 4 years inclusive. In rural communities 9·47 p.c. of the total population are between these ages, while in the entire urban population 7·48 p.c. are within this group and in the cities of 30,000 and over only 6·89 p.c.

The phenomenon of a larger percentage of infants among the rural than among the urban population is common to most of the provinces: in Prince Edward Island, 2·03 p.c. of the rural and only 1·93 p.c. of the urban population are under 1 year of age; in New Brunswick, 2·50

* These figures and several others in succeeding paragraphs are from the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. III, Table 1, p. 2 and Table 2, p. 8

and 1·84; in Quebec, 2·65 and 2·12; in Ontario, 1·84 and 1·61; in Manitoba, 2·00 and 1·39; in Saskatchewan, 2·23 and 1·79; in Alberta, 2·27 and 1·75; and in British Columbia, 1·60 and 1·20. The single exception was Nova Scotia, which had 2·00 p.c. of the rural population and 2·07 p.c. of the urban population less than 1 year old.

Miscellaneous Data on Age Distribution.—A larger part of rural than of urban population is, generally speaking, below the ordinary working age; in fact, in 1931, children in the age groups from 0 to 4 years, from 5 to 9 and from 10 to 14, comprise, respectively, 11·63 p.c., 12·07 p.c. and 11·31 p.c. of the rural population, as compared with 9·26 p.c., 9·92 p.c. and 9·52 p.c., respectively, of the urban. Summing up these three groups, we find that 35·01 p.c. of the rural and only 28·70 p.c. of the urban population are under 15 years. This phenomenon exists also, in a modified form, in the next age group (from 15 to 19 years), which contains 10·33 p.c. of the rural but only 9·75 p.c. of the urban population.

The people in the main working period of life, extending from 20 to 65 years of age, include a larger percentage in the urban areas than in the rural. Thus the age group from 20 to 24 years contains in 1931 only 8·36 p.c. of the rural but 9·14 p.c. of the urban population, and that from 25 to 29 years, 6·94 p.c. and 8·13 p.c., respectively. Indeed, 56·13 p.c. of the urban population are within the 45 year group from 20 to 65 as compared with 48·90 p.c. of the rural. Clearly, younger people and those in the prime of life seek the towns. This, however, in the earlier period of life applies to an even greater extent to young women than to young men, if their answers to the census enumerator may be trusted. While only 7·88 p.c. of the female rural population are from 20 to 24 years of age, no less than 9·78 p.c. of the female urban population are between these ages. In fact, in the cities of 30,000 and over, collectively, 10·35 p.c. of the female population belong to the age group from 20 to 24 years.

Again, a higher percentage of older persons is found among the ruralites than among the urbanites, either because the elderly people in the rural districts are the survivors of the period when the rural population of Canada was vastly larger than the urban, or because there is a tendency for urban dwellers to move to the country for their declining years. Both causes undoubtedly contribute to this phenomenon; and, in addition, the slower tempo of life in the rural districts may be conducive to longevity. At any rate, it is quite true that in the quinquennial age groups over 65 years (an ordinary age of retirement from active occupation), there is a larger percentage of rural population than of urban. In the age group from 65 to 69 years in 1931 there were 2·27 p.c. of the rural and 2·19 p.c. of the urban population and in the next group (70 to 74) there were 1·69 p.c. of the rural and 1·62 p.c. of the urban population. The age groups 75 to 79 and 80 to 84 contained respectively 0·99 p.c. and 0·50 p.c. of the rural population as compared with 0·91 p.c. and 0·45 p.c. of the urban. Finally, the population of 85 years and over constituted 0·26 p.c. of the rural population but only 0·22 p.c. of the urban.

Summary.—The main conclusions that have been reached from the study made in this chapter are:

(1) In a new country like Canada an excess of males is due mainly to immigration, so that a census after a decade of heavy immigration shows a greater degree of masculinity than one after a decade of relatively light immigration.

(2) A high masculinity generally prevails in the rural areas and a low masculinity in the urban. Extension of the analysis to age groups reveals a very high masculinity in the rural areas at ages 20 to 29 and 45 to 74 years, while in the urban areas particularly low masculinity is found at ages 20 to 24, when the greatest proportion of females is gainfully occupied, and again in the late quinquennial age periods after 70, when the mortality rate of males is higher.

(3) In urban communities masculinity ordinarily tends to decline as the population thereof increases, our 7 cities with over 100,000 people having a lower masculinity than the smaller cities; however, in some smaller cities, particularly the economically dependent satellites, the masculinity is extraordinarily low.

(4) The low masculinity in the larger cities, more particularly in the earlier period of life (at the ages from 15 to 30 years), is accounted for by the fact that, at those ages much more than at any others, rural females, seeking suitable employment, are attracted to urban centres, chiefly to those near their homes. Of 548,000 female wage-earners in the country in 1931, about 417,000 were in urban communities of 1,000 population and over and only about 131,000 in rural areas, including urban communities of under 1,000.

(5) The surpluses of the male population in the rural areas and of the female population in the urban areas are greatest at the marriageable ages, which geographical separation of the sexes tends to reduce the number of marriages.

(6) In rural Canada the newest districts have the highest masculinity.

(7) The country as distinguished from the town is still the "nurse of men". The rural infants form a larger percentage of the total rural population than do the urban infants of the total urban. Indeed, 35·01 p.c. of the rural population falls within the first three quinquennial age groups, as compared with only 28·70 p.c. of the urban.

(8) In the groups from 20 to 65 years of age, we find 56·13 p.c. of the urban as compared with 48·90 p.c. of the rural, indicating that in the main working period of life there is a preference for urban communities, probably because they provide more remunerative occupation than do the rural.

(9) Finally, a distinctly larger proportion of aged people (above 65 years) live in the rural areas than in towns and cities; for this there are several explanations, including the following,—first, the aged element of the population includes the survivors of a time when rural dwellers in Canada were much more numerous than urban dwellers; secondly, there would appear to be some migration of older urban dwellers to country districts, where the cost of living is ordinarily lower; and thirdly, the generally recognized slower tempo of life in rural districts tends to promote longevity.

CHAPTER VI

CONJUGAL CONDITION AND BIRTH RATE

Introduction.—Conjugal condition, next to age and sex, is probably the most important attribute of population, more particularly since it is a guide to the nation's potentialities of replacing the older generation by the younger and of increasing further. In Canada between 96 p.c. and 97 p.c. of all births are to married mothers; the remaining 3 p.c. to 4 p.c., the illegitimate, comprise by no means an inconsiderable number, but the mortality rate among them, being in all probability much heavier than among the legitimate, reduces their effect as a factor in the growth of population. Immigration, the only other source of increase, is unlikely to be so important in the future as it has been at certain periods in the past (notably 1901 to 1914). Population growth must accordingly result in the main from a natural surplus of births over deaths. This, as already explained, is contingent principally upon the current conjugal condition of the existing population, the chief factor therein being the percentage of married women in the child-bearing period of life, especially of those at the ages when fertility is likely to be at or near its maximum.

The Married.—Some introductory reference must be made to the conjugal condition of the Canadian people as a whole before the rural and urban aspect of the study can be intelligently discussed. In this northern country, where the human being matures later than in tropical and subtropical areas, almost all people under 15 years of age are single. Now, each succeeding census in Canada in recent times has shown that the percentage of the population under 15 years of age has been steadily declining, having fallen from 41·55 p.c. of the total population of the four original provinces in 1871 and 38·72 p.c. of the population of the Dominion in 1881 to 31·63 p.c. in 1931.

Since marriage is the normal condition among adults, the percentage of married persons to the total population might be expected to have increased or at least to have remained almost unchanged since 1881; the fact is that the percentage increased markedly, having been only 29.86 p.c. of the male and 30.63 p.c. of the female population in 1871, as compared with 37·83 p.c. and 38·74 p.c. respectively in 1931. The figures for the different censuses since 1871, given in Table 15, indicate a steady advance in the proportion of the married to the total population. This increase might, at first sight, be considered as favouring a higher crude birth rate, especially in more recent years, but the birth rate has been declining with a consequent decline in the proportion of young people under 15 years of age to the total population.

TABLE 15—PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL POPULATION MARRIED AND AT ONE TIME MARRIED, BY SEX, CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1871-1931

Year	P.C. in the Married State		P.C. Having at Some Period Been Married[1]	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
1871	29·86	30·63	31·88	35·04
1881	31·55	32·28	33·87	37·41
1891	32·36	33·37	34·91	38·81
1901	33·76	34·51	36·44	40·30
1911	34·85	36·97	37·23	42·35
1921	37·49	38·32	40·22	43·96
1931	37·83	38·74	40·68	44·58

[1] Includes widowed and divorced.

The more important question, therefore, is not the ratio of the married to the total population, but that of the married population to the total of marriageable age, in other words, to the total population 15 years of age and upward. This low limit of age is more appropriate to females than to males, since comparatively few of the latter go through the marriage ceremony within the 15 to 19 quinquennial period, the fourth quinquennium of their existence, and yet, in general statistical work, where ages are grouped by quinquennial periods, the proportions married are

usually stated in terms of the total number of persons 15 years of age and over; they are ordinarily designated as the adult population and, for the sake of brevity, will hereafter be so described. The percentages of the married, by sex, to the total adult population of each sex, as ascertained at the seven decennial censuses since Confederation, are given in Table 16; the higher rate for females throughout is mainly attributable to the high masculinity of the Canadian population.

TABLE 16—PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE MARRIED STATE BY SEX, CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1871-1931[1]

Year	Males	Females
	p.c.	p.c.
1871	52·28	52·59
1881	51·47	52·28
1891	50·89	52·59
1901	Data not available.	
1911	51·09	56·67
1921	56·67	59·24
1931	54·74	57·35

[1] These figures are approximations and would vary slightly, especially for females in 1891, depending chiefly on adjustments relating to the method of treating unspecified ages.

It will be noted from this table that in the present century the percentage of married persons among both males and females of 15 years and over is distinctly higher than in the last century. This tendency is observable particularly among females at the last three censuses, while the large surplus of young men in the 1911 population, as a result of the enormous immigration of the first decade of the twentieth century, is at least partly responsible for the absence of the tendency to any extent among males until 1921, the year which showed the maximum percentage of married among both the male and the female adult populations. The high percentage of the married population among the adults of both sexes in 1921 may have been partly due to the loss of life among single males during the Great War, but the more important cause would appear to have been the great demand for, and the high price of, labour during and after the War, when good wages encouraged both young soldiers and young civilians, as well as many of the more mature, to believe that they would be able to provide for a family and accordingly there were many marriages. As these unusual conditions of 1921 had ceased to exist by 1931, the proportion of married to the total population in the 15 to 19 age group was much lower in the later year. It may be presumed that marriages of persons who were in this group at the Census of June 1, 1931, had been quite recent and that the proportion of them must have been affected by the economic depression prevailing during the year or so preceding this latest decennial census.

The proportions of married males and females to total adult population in various age groups are presented in Table 17; in such a central age group as that from 35 to 44 the percentage of married males was higher in 1931 than in 1911 or 1921, and the percentage of married females was higher in 1931 than in 1891, 1911 or 1921.

TABLE 17—PERCENTAGE OF POPULATION 15 YEARS OF AGE AND OVER IN THE MARRIED STATE, BY VARIOUS AGE GROUPS AND SEX, CANADA, AT EACH DECENNIAL CENSUS, 1891-1931

Year	Age Groups						
	15–19	20–24	25–34	35–44	45–54	55–64	65 and over
Males							
1891	0·37	17·71	55·52	80·99	84·79	82·74	69·48
1901	Data not available						
1911	1·20	16·22	52·61	74·89	80·70	80·47	67·85
1921	0·56	17·90	61·20	78·89	81·47	79·51	67·36
1931	0·34	14·24	57·86	79·89	81·39	78·28	65·23
Females							
1891	4·45	32·83	68·15	79·99	77·07	66·68	40·52
1901	Data not available						
1911	6·96	39·83	71·30	80·45	76·86	66·21	39·98
1921	6·61	42·36	74·47	82·50	78·15	67·06	39·78
1931	5·07	36·55	72·65	82·72	79·56	68·28	40·21

The rural and urban percentages of the married involve further brief reference to figures on sex distribution which show that the rural areas of Canada had in 1931 a very considerable excess of males over females (401,054), the former numbering 2,602,021 as compared with 2,200,967 females.* The surplus of males, however, was comparatively slight in the age groups under 15 years of age, which were almost wholly composed of children living with their parents and which consisted of 854,600 males and 826,896 females, an excess of only 27,704 males. Among the population of 15 years and over, males numbered 1,746,435, an excess of 372,733 over the 1,373,702 females.† In other words, while in the total rural population of 1931 there were 118 males to 100 females, in the adult age groups (from 15 upwards) the proportion was 127 to 100, thereby constituting a great excess of males among the rural adult population of marriageable ages. This disparity of the sexes naturally tends to produce a low percentage of married male population to total adult male population in the rural districts.

The urban areas of Canada contained a population of 2,772,520 males and 2,801,278 females in 1931, or about 99 males to 100 females. In the age groups under 15 years, there were 804,009 males and 795,710 females, a surplus of 8,299 males. In the age groups 15 years of age and over, there were 1,966,786 males and 2,004,877 females, a surplus of 38,091 females.‡ This surplus of females is found entirely in the age groups from 15 to 29 inclusive, where there were 791,134 females to 714,646 males, an excess of 76,488 females, which however may be due, to some extent, to mis-statements of ages. At any rate, in the adult age groups there were only 98 males to 100 females in urban communities, as compared with 127 males to 100 females in rural areas.

The main reason for the aggregation of young women in urban communities is indicated by the occupational statistics of the Census of 1931. Out of 666,021 females reported as engaged in gainful occupations in 1931, no fewer than 547,837 were classified as wage-earners, of whom more than 78 p.c. were resident in urban communities of 1,000 population and over, and less than 22 p.c. in those under 1,000 and in rural areas. The age distribution of gainfully occupied females indicates that the great majority of these women were under 30 years of age; in other words, they were within the ages at which the excess of women in urban areas is found to exist.

From the sex distribution of the adults in rural and urban communities which has just been outlined, one would expect that the proportion of married males would be more for urban than for rural areas; similarly, one would expect that among rural females there would be a larger percentage of married persons than among urban females, especially since a wife is popularly considered to be a greater asset to a farmer than she is likely to be to a townsman. The percentages in both cases, indeed, prove this assumption. In 1931 we find that on the one hand 51·34 p.c. of adult rural males and 62·06 p.c. of adult rural females were in the "married" category, while on the other hand 57·76 p.c. of the adult urban males were in the conjugal state, as compared with only 54·12 p.c. among the adult urban females. It is evident, therefore, that the probability of adults (15 years and over) being married is substantially greater for rural females than for rural males and somewhat greater for urban males than for urban females.

The Census of 1921, as already stated, showed an extraordinarily high percentage of married persons of each sex in both the rural and the urban population. The main cause was most likely the unusual demand for labour at high wages, arising out of the Great War with its inflation and the post-War activity or pseudo-prosperity, while the War-time custom and modern industrial practice of "making the most of the time allowed" was also a factor tending to increase the number of marriages contracted during the War and immediately afterward. This stimulus to marriage had disappeared, of course, long before the Census of 1931, when the marriage rate in the former Registration Area of Canada (*i.e.*, all the provinces except Quebec) was only 6·7 per 1,000 of the population, as compared with 8·0 per 1,000 in 1921, the earliest year for which this figure is available. The natural result was an abnormal decline in the proportion of married to total population of the Dominion in 1931 in both rural and urban areas—a decline affecting particularly the earlier ages. Whereas in 1921, 58·03 p.c. of the total rural population of 15 years and over were in the married state, in 1931 the corresponding figure was only 56·06 p.c. Of the rural males at these ages the married constituted 53·57 p.c. in 1921 and only 51·34 p.c. in

* These figures are from the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. III, Table 1, p. 2, in which Royalty (an unincorporated suburb of Charlottetown, P.E.I.) has been regarded as urban, in order to make cross-classifications comparable with earlier censuses.

† Ruralites of unstated ages totalled only 1,355, the males numbering 986 and the females 369.

‡ Urbanites of unstated ages totalled only 2,416, the males numbering 1,725 and the females 691.

1931. Among rural female adults, 63·57 p.c. in 1921 and 62·06 p.c. in 1931 were returned as "married". A similar decline in the proportion of married persons to total adult population was recorded in urban communities, where in 1921 there were 57·78 p.c. recorded as married and in 1931 only 55·92 p.c., the percentage of married males declining from 59·95 p.c. to 57·76 p.c. and that of married females from 55·69 p.c. to 54·12 p.c. Thus all four main groups of the adult population (15 years of age and over)—rural males, rural females, urban males and urban females —showed a decline in the percentages of married persons to the total in 1931 as compared with 1921, and these declines were almost equal proportionally in the four classes, those for the males being only slightly larger than for the females.

A study of the proportion of the married to total adult population by age groups proves that changes in the total number of married people, whether increases or decreases, are largely determined by the number of marriages currently taking place. These, in turn, as of course also the marriage rate, tend to rise in periods of general prosperity and to decline in times of economic depression, especially among young persons who ordinarily have few realized assets. The number of marriages and the general marriage rate for the eight provinces which have been included in the Registration Area of Canada from 1921 to the present (Table 18) sagged in the depression years 1922 and 1924 and again even more seriously in the economic crisis following 1929. Unfortunately we are unable to secure the figures for the years prior to 1921, so that we have no comparisons of the numbers and rates of marriages before that date with those at the Censuses of 1921 and 1931, but the figures for 1932 to 1935 show that the rates in the worst two years of the depression (1932 and 1933) were the lowest in this fourteen year record and rose to only the 1930 level in 1935. Although it has not been ascertained that these data have any definite relevance to the census figures of 1931, they do suggest that the proportion of the married to the total population has shown a further decline since that year.

TABLE 18—TOTAL MARRIAGES AND CRUDE MARRIAGE RATES PER 1,000 POPULATION IN THE FORMER REGISTRATION AREA (ALL PROVINCES OF CANADA EXCEPT QUEBEC), 1921-37

Year	Number of Marriages	Rate per 1,000 Population
1921	51,073	8·0
1922	47,811	7·4
1923	49,102	7·5
1924	47,538	7·2
1925	47,217	7·0
1926	48,831	7·1
1927	50,964	7·3
1928	55,185	7·8
1929	57,678	8·0
1930	53,114	7·2
1931	49,808	6·7
1932	47,416	6·3
1933	48,528	6·3
1934	54,850	7·0
1935	56,916	7·2
1936	59,250	7·5
1937	62,898[1]	7·9[1]

[1] These figures are subject to minor revision.

Table 19 presents by quinquennial age groups the percentages of married males and females to total adult males and females resident in rural areas and urban communities respectively, as ascertained at the Censuses of 1921 and 1931. On the whole, the proportion of aggregate married population to total adults declined in the last decade. This decline, however, would be less striking if it were not for the unusually high proportion attained in 1921.

TABLE 19—PERCENTAGE OF MARRIED TO TOTAL ADULT RURAL AND URBAN POPULATION (15 YEARS AND OVER), BY QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUPS AND SEX, CANADA, CENSUSES OF 1921 AND 1931

Age Group	Males		Females		Total	
	1921	1931	1921	1931	1921	1931
RURAL						
All age groups 15 and over	53·57	51·34	63·57	62·06	58·03	56·06
15 - 19	0·52	0·33	8·21	6·37	4·10	3·11
20 - 24	16·49	12·72	49·88	44·44	31·77	26·43
25 - 29	48·66	44·11	77·04	75·28	61·52	57·66
30 - 34	67·27	66·50	85·65	85·85	75·42	75·20
35 - 39	74·47	76·02	88·03	88·54	80·33	81·68
40 - 44	77·34	78·70	87·32	88·37	81·64	82·91
45 - 49	78·95	78·88	85·65	87·08	81·84	82·36
50 - 54	78·85	77·91	81·89	83·37	80·16	80·23
55 - 59	78·92	77·08	77·69	78·94	78·38	77·87
60 - 64	76·34	74·41	69·15	70·46	73·21	72·72
65 and over	66·53	63·94	44·20	45·25	56·36	55·63
Not stated	6·92	26·27	8·12	57·45	7·44	34·76
URBAN						
All age groups 15 and over	59·95	57·76	55·69	54·12	57·78	55·92
15 - 19	0·62	0·34	5·08	4·03	2·99	2·28
20 - 24	19·50	15·71	36·52	31·55	28·90	24·23
25 - 29	54·28	49·89	63·97	61·27	59·41	55·71
30 - 34	73·75	72·24	75·66	75·01	74·72	73·63
35 - 39	80·67	80·35	78·75	78·87	79·74	79·62
40 - 44	83·18	83·42	78·13	79·14	80·77	81·37
45 - 49	84·31	84·13	75·81	77·65	80·25	81·09
50 - 54	83·82	83·39	70·44	73·22	77·29	78·57
55 - 59	82·90	81·85	65·45	67·15	74·14	74·74
60 - 64	79·93	78·85	56·29	58·53	67·90	68·68
65 and over	68·42	66·62	35·44	36·34	51·09	50·60
Not stated	13·24	16·81	12·07	37·48	12·68	22·72

The falling off in the proportion of the married to the total adults in the last decade has been large in the younger age group (15–29 years). Thus the percentage of married to total rural females in the age group from 15 to 19 years inclusive, fell from 8·21 p.c. in 1921 to 6·37 p.c. in 1931, while for urban females the percentage declined from 5·08 to 4·03. Again, in the age group from 20 to 24 years, 49·88 p.c. of the rural females in 1921 were among the married but in 1931 only 44·44 p.c. The corresponding percentages for urban females in the age group from 20 to 24 were 36·52 and 31·55. Once more, in the age group from 25 to 29 the married rural females formed 77·04 p.c. of the total rural females in 1921 and 75·28 p.c. in 1931, while among urban females the percentages were 63·97 and 61·27. These facts for the three quinquennial age groups under 30 years of age indicate two things: first, that in each age group there is a larger percentage of rural than of urban females married; and secondly, that the proportion of the married to the total female population in each of these age groups declined between 1921 and 1931.

The tendency to decline between 1921 and 1931 is also evident among the males of these ages. Among rural males of the age group 15 to 19, the proportion of 0·52 p.c., recorded in 1921 as married, had fallen in 1931 to 0·33 p.c. The corresponding percentages in urban areas were 0.62 and 0.34. Again, in the age group from 20 to 24, the percentage of married males fell from 16·49 in 1921 to 12·72 in 1931 among the rural population and from 19·50 to 15·71 among the urban. Once more, in the age group from 25 to 29 the proportion of married males among the rural population declined from 48·66 p.c. to 44·11 p.c. and among the urban population from 54·28 p.c. to 49·89 p.c. Accordingly, in the comparatively short period of ten years between 1921 and 1931, there has taken place among both the rural and the urban inhabitants in the younger adult age groups a very pronounced decline in the proportion of the married to the total population.

Amongst the older population, however, whether rural or urban, there has occurred no such pronounced decline in the proportion married. On the contrary, while the percentages throughout are somewhat higher among the rural than among the urban population, they have

remained fairly constant from 1921 to 1931. Indeed, in certain age groups, the proportion married was higher in 1931 than in 1921 among both the ruralites and the urbanites. The rural males of ages 35 to 44, for example, had a larger proportion in the married state in 1931 than in 1921, and the same was true of all rural females aged 30 and over. Among urbanites, the males from 40 to 44 years of age showed a slightly higher percentage married in 1931 than in 1921 and the females of all the age groups from 35 years upward had increased in varying degrees.

The rather peculiar fact that in this decade, 1921 to 1931, the percentage of married to total adult population has declined among females under 30 and has increased among those over that age is not easy to explain; but, as regards the latter (the increases over 30 years of age) it may be suggested that we are witnessing the effect of the high marriage rate of the War and early post-War period ten or fifteen years after this wave of marriages swept across the country.§ The impulse then given survives in a high "married" proportion among people in their thirties and forties. Amongst other factors contributing to the declining marriage rates for younger people are the following: first, the total number of gainfully occupied females, by far the greater proportion of whom are residents of urban communities, increased between 1921 and 1931 by 36 p.c., while the aggregate population increased by only 18 p.c.; and secondly, the economic depression which had begun some twenty months before the date of the Census of 1931, had cut down the number of marriages of young people during that period. The percentage of the married of all ages to total adult population also decreased markedly in 1931 from the abnormally high point in 1921, but the percentage thereof based on total population, including children under 15 years of age, did increase at least fractionally between these years and very substantially between 1871 and 1931.

The Birth Rate.—Despite the advance in the percentage of married to total population at the past six censuses, there has been a very considerable reduction in the birth rate. As a result of researches made at the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, it has been established that the decline in the birth rate since 1871 is not accounted for by the percentage changes in potential married mothers, outlined in the preceding section of this chapter. If in every census year the same legitimate birth rate as in 1931, 2·24 p.c., had prevailed for the married females of each quinquennial age period, the calculated rates would have risen from 2·12 p.c. in 1871 to 2·16 in 1891, 2·34 in 1911 and 2·43 in 1921—in fact, there would have been some increase in every census year between 1871 and 1921, with the possible exception of 1901 when complete data on this point were not available.* And yet the proportion of infants under 1 year of age to the total population, which is the best available indication of the actual crude birth rate in the earlier census years and the most comparable figure for the seven decennial censuses, declined from 3·06 p.c. in 1871† to 2·80 in 1881, 2·49 in 1891 and 2·45 in 1901; it rose to 2·57 p.c. in 1911, fell to 2·39 in 1921 and with a rapid drop reached a low point of 1·95 p.c. in 1931.‡ Broadly speaking, these figures indicate a very much lower crude birth rate in 1931 than in 1871, more especially in view of the fact that infantile mortality was very much higher in 1871. The decline in the crude legitimate birth rate to a very low level in 1931 was not due to the factor of age distribution of the married females, since this distribution in 1931 was rather more favourable to a high birth rate than in 1871, 1881 or 1891, although rather less favourable than in 1911 or 1921.

Since births are ordinarily reported in the place where they occur, irrespective of the place of residence, and since, therefore, all births in hospitals are usually accredited to urban communities, it is difficult to obtain satisfactory rural and urban statistics on births and birth rates. For this reason, a special study of the matter was made under the direction of Mr. E. S. Macphail, who was Chief of the Demography Branch of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics; he was assisted by Mr. W. R. Tracey, Chief of the Vital Statistics Branch. The results of the study have been published in a "Special Report on Births in Canada according to Place of Residence of Mother, 1930–2".

§ This suggestion is borne out by the fact that the gain in the 1931 proportion of married males was practically confined to the age groups from 35 to 50 years, which represent those who were marrying in large numbers during the War and the immediate post-War period.

* These figures are from the Census of Canada, 1931, Vol. I, Chap. IV, p. 1.

† The 1871 figure is for the four original provinces in which that Census was taken. These provinces, however, contained 94·5 per cent of the 1871 population of all the areas now included in the Dominion.

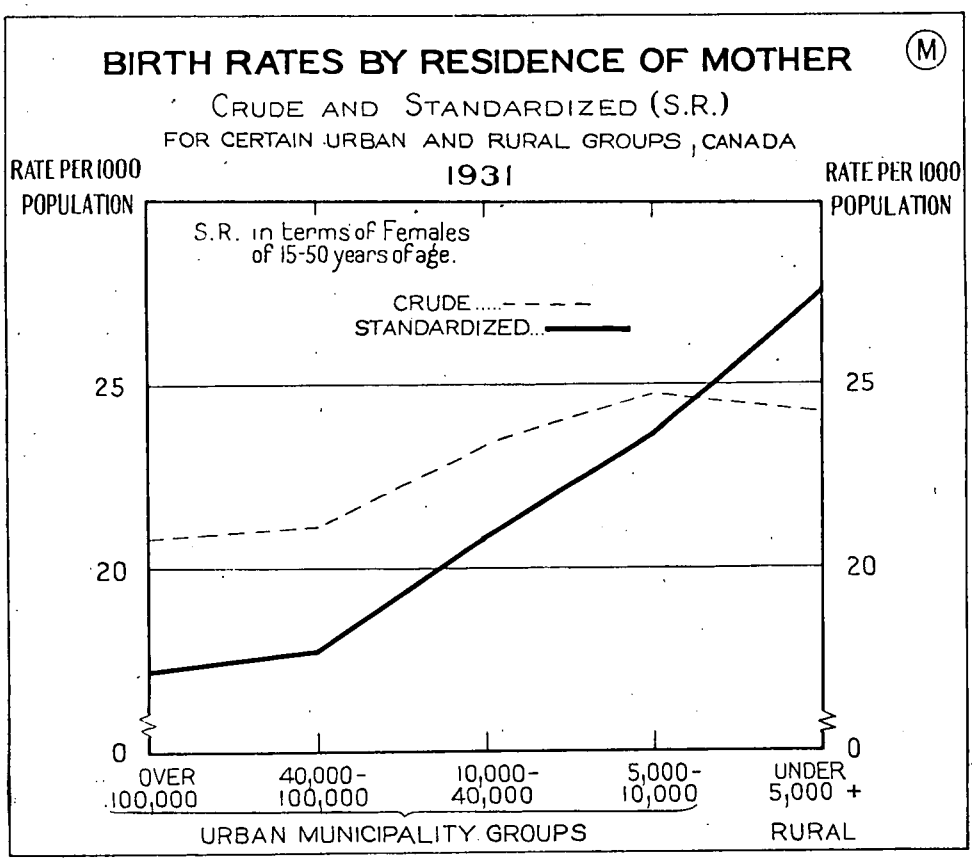
‡ These figures are from Canada Year Book, 1938, Table 11, p. 136.

In this Report, besides the crude birth rates by place of residence, computed on the 1931 Population Census, the number of births to mothers resident in each of the important communities was averaged for the three years surveyed and was compared with the total number of women between the ages of 15 and 50 reported in these communities at the census date of June 1, 1931, which was practically the middle point of the three-year period. The procedure for calculating the standardized birth rate from these figures was as follows:

(a) Expected birth rates were computed by dividing the female population of each community between the fifteenth and fiftieth birthday into quinquennial age groups and applying to each age group the average annual birth rate for that group obtaining in the Dominion as a whole over the three years 1930–2, then summing the births thus computed for the various age groups and dividing the sum by the total population of the community.

(b) The standardized rates were then computed from the crude and expected rates by means of the following equation, in which S.R. means standardized rate, E.R. expected rate and C.R. crude rate:—S.R. for a given community $= \frac{\text{E.R. for Canada}}{\text{E.R. for the given community}} \times$ C.R. for the given community.

When this procedure had been completed, standardized rates were calculated for provinces, for larger urban communities and for the remainder of the country. The crude, expected and standardized rates are summarized in Table 20, and the crude and standardized are depicted in Chart M.



See Table 20 Figures represent averages of the 3 years, 1930-2

TABLE 20—CRUDE, EXPECTED AND STANDARDIZED BIRTH RATES, BY CERTAIN GROUPS OF URBAN MUNICIPALITIES OF OVER 5,000 POPULATION AND RESIDUAL "RURAL" GROUP, CANADA, AVERAGE OF 1930-2

Group	Rates per 1,000 Population		
	Crude	Expected	Standardized
CANADA[1]	23·1	23·0	23·1
Cities of 100,000 and over	20·8	27·9	17·1
Cities of 40,000 - 100,000	21·1	27·5	17·7
Cities and towns of 10,000 - 40,000	23·3	25·7	20·8
Cities and towns of 5,000 - 10,000	24·7	24·1	23·6
Remaining parts (mainly rural)[2]	24·1	20·2	27·5

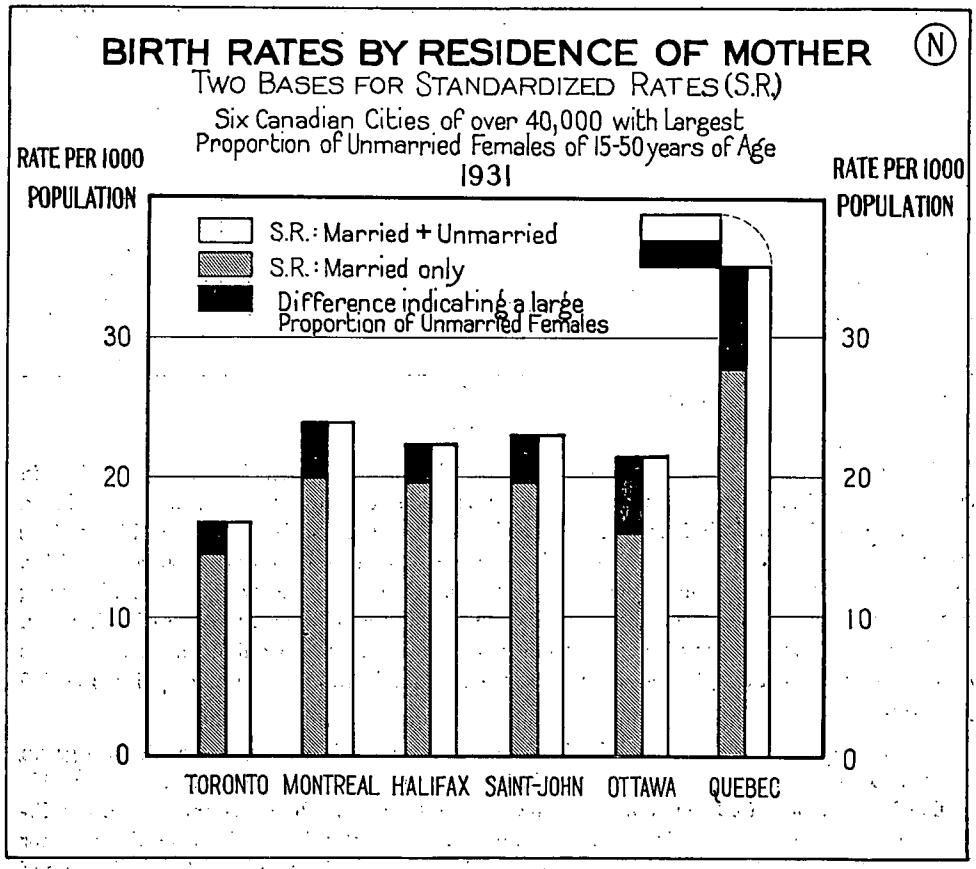
[1] Excluding Yukon and Northwest Territories.

[2] Comprising cities and towns under 5,000, villages and all rural parts.

The standardized figures indicate considerably higher birth rates in rural areas than in urban communities. However, since all females between 15 and 50 years of age are included in this computation, it is obvious that the very low standardized birth rates for the bigger cities are mainly due to the large proportion of unmarried female residents of these communities. Accordingly, in the same study, the influence which these unmarried women of child-bearing ages have in reducing the birth rate was eliminated, another standardized birth rate having been calculated from the number of married women in each of the seven quinquennial age groups from 15 to 50 years of age; the necessary data were available, however, only for cities of 30,000 and over.

Birth rates standardized on the basis of (1) *total* women in each quinquennial age group between 15 and 50 and (2) *married* women in the same quinquennial age groups, are given side by side for each city of 40,000 population and over in Table 21, columns A and B, and the difference between the two rates is shown in column C. A small difference between the rates for any city indicates that there is only a normal number of unmarried women between the ages of 15 and 50 in that city. A much higher rate in B than in A for a given city signifies an exceptionally large number of unmarried women; in other words, the marital condition of the women of child-bearing ages in such a city is more unfavourable to a high birth rate than in Canada as a whole. A much smaller rate in B than in A denotes the opposite. The city of Ottawa, for example, has a standardized rate of only 15·8 in the first column but of 21·2 in the second; the difference between the two, 5·4, indicates that Ottawa contains an unusually large proportion of unmarried women at the child-bearing ages, which is due, in the main, to the large proportion of female employees in the Civil Service. A much greater disparity in the same direction, 13·4, exists for the city of Quebec, where the standardized rate in the first column is 27·4 and in the second 40·8.

The two standardized rates for the six Canadian cities of over 40,000 with the largest proportion of unmarried females at these ages, *viz.*, Quebec, Ottawa, Montreal, Saint John, Halifax and Toronto, are compared in Chart N. The disparity in the rates is in the opposite direction in Verdun and Windsor, thereby signifying that the marital condition of the female population of child-bearing age is more favourable to high fertility in these two cities than in the country as a whole. Hamilton with a standardized rate of 17·1 in the first column and of 17·0 in the second and Calgary with 16·4 and 16·5 respectively, stand between the two extremes, the conjugal condition of the female population of child-bearing ages being evidently about as favourable to a high birth rate in these two cities as in the whole country. The proportion of married females in quinquennial age groups of the child-bearing period in the cities of Hamilton, Ottawa and Quebec, as compared with that in the Dominion as a whole, tends to confirm these conclusions (Table 22).



See Table 21 Figures represent averages of the 3 years, 1930-2

TABLE 21—STANDARDIZED BIRTH RATES FOR CITIES OF 40,000 AND OVER, ON THE BASES OF (A) ALL WOMEN BETWEEN THE AGES OF 15 AND 50, AND (B) MARRIED WOMEN AT THESE AGES, CANADA, AVERAGE OF 1930-2

City	Standardized Birth Rates per 1,000 Population		
	A On Basis of *All* Women between 15 and 50	*B* On Basis of *Married* Women between 15 and 50[1]	*C* Excess of *B* over *A*
Calgary, Alta.	16·4	16·5	0·1
Edmonton, Alta.	17·8	18·2	0·4
Halifax, N.S.	19·4	22·2	2·8
Hamilton, Ont.	17·1	17·0	— 0·1
London, Ont.	14·0	15·8	1·8
Montreal, Que.	20·0	23·7	3·7
Ottawa, Ont.	15·8	21·2	5·4
Quebec, Que.	27·4	40·8	13·4
Regina, Sask.	17·8	18·5	0·7
Saint John, N.B.	19·6	22·8	3·2
Saskatoon, Sask.	16·6	17·0	0·4
Toronto, Ont.	14·5	16·9	2·4
Vancouver, B.C.	12·9	13·7	0·8
Verdun, Que.	19·7	18·2	— 1·5
Windsor, Ont.	13·5	16·6	— 1·9
Winnipeg, Man.	13·1	15·0	1·9

[1] The expected number of legitimate births, involved in the computation of the standardized birth rate in this column was multiplied by 1·036 in each case in order to make allowance for illegitimate births on the basis of the proportion in Canada as a whole.

TABLE 22—PERCENTAGE OF FEMALES MARRIED, IN THE SEVEN QUINQUENNIAL AGE GROUPS FROM 15 TO 50 YEARS, CANADA, 1931

Age Group	P.C. Females Married			
	Canada	Hamilton	Ottawa	Quebec
15 - 49	56·11	58·89	45·68	40·63
15 - 19	5·03	5·20	3·23	1·78
20 - 24	36·47	37·42	23·31	18·74
25 - 29	66·57	67·40	48·34	47·07
30 - 34	79·14	78·86	63·84	62·48
35 - 39	82·57	81·28	69·06	68·55
40 - 44	82·68	81·42	70·78	68·82
45 - 49	81·34	78·82	69·81	69·34

The Widowed.—Of the total male population of Canada, 2·64 p.c. were widowers in 1921 and 2·77 p.c. in 1931. Widows constituted a considerably larger part of the adult females, *viz.*, 5·55 p.c. in 1921 and 5·77 p.c. in 1931. In the rural areas, 2·83 p.c. of the total male population were widowers in 1931, and in the urban areas 2·72 p.c.—a comparatively insignificant difference. There was, however, a very significant difference between the corresponding percentages for widows, since they constituted only 4·68 p.c. of the total rural population, as compared with 6·63 p.c. of the urban. Indeed, more widows lived in the urban communities with 30,000 people or more, which had an aggregate population of 3,024,855, than lived in the whole of the rural areas, where the population totalled 4,802,988.

The reasons for the considerable excess of urban over rural widows are many and varied. In the first place, thousands of widows must support themselves, and, like other female workers, find it easier to secure suitable occupation in urban communities. Again, some widows move to urban communities to obtain better educational opportunities for their children. Loneliness and hardship drive others from manless farms. Still others become inmates of "homes" which are usually found in urban communities. Here too are located both the apartment houses whose conveniences and services attract the widow of means, and the cheap and crowded tenements where thousands of the poorer ones are obliged to dwell. Both social and economic causes, therefore, combine to produce a concentration of widows in urban communities.

The Divorced.—The divorced in Canada are a relatively small section of the population, but of course their number, as shown in Census Reports, includes only those people who have been divorced prior to the census date and have not been re-married. In 1931 Canada had 7,441 divorced persons, 4,049 men or 0·11 p.c. of the total adult male population, and 3,392 women or 0·10 p.c. of the adult females. As might be expected, divorced persons tend to form a larger percentage of the urban than of the rural population: divorced men constituted 0·10 p.c. of the adult rural males, and divorced women 0·06 p.c. of the adult rural females, whereas the respective urban percentages were 0·12 and 0·13. The lower percentages among ruralites by no means prove that their moral standards are higher. It would appear that divorced persons or at least the divorced women, like widows, are drawn to urban centres because of both economic and social considerations.

Summary.—The main conclusions, developed from facts in this chapter, may be briefly recapitulated as follows:—

(1) Rural residents in Canada have in the past tended to marry earlier than urban residents, as the percentage married in the age groups between 15 and 24 years is higher among ruralites than among urbanites.

(2) The married comprise a larger percentage of the rural than of the urban adult females, but a smaller percentage of the rural than of the urban adult males. This situation is primarily the result of the unequal distribution of the sexes between rural and urban communities (the excess of males in the rural and of females in the urban), which is accentuated, amongst other factors, by the migration of young women in their teens and twenties to the urban centres to seek employment.

(3) The percentage of married to the total adult population, as ascertained at the Census of 1931, showed a substantial decline from the abnormal level of 1921 for each sex and for both rural and urban communities. This decline is most pronounced in the younger quinquennial

age groups, in fact in all groups under 30 years of age. In the older age groups the percentage of married to total adult population in some cases increased between 1921 and 1931, probably as a consequence of the high marriage rate of the War and of the post-War period before the 1921 Census.

(4) The lower percentage of married persons in the younger age groups in 1931 is one of the causes of a general decline of the birth rate in both rural and urban communities.

(5) Rural-urban comparisons of birth rates are rendered difficult by the large numbers of infants born to rural mothers in hospitals and classified as urban. However, a special report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics on births by place of residence of mothers, indicates that the standardized birth rate, based on total females of child-bearing age in incorporated places of less than 5,000 population grouped with those in all rural areas, is higher than that for cities and towns over 5,000; the latter, classified into four additional groups by size of population, show decreasing standardized birth rates in each successive group as the population thereof increases; the first mentioned group (rural areas and incorporated places under 5,000) has the highest rate of all.

(6) A comparison of the foregoing standardized birth rate, based on total females, with other standardized rates based on married women, both from 15 to 50 years of age, reflects the fact that in Ottawa and particularly in the city of Quebec there is an unusually large proportion of unmarried women at these child-bearing ages.

(7) A concentration of widows and divorced women in urban communities is found to be the result of various conditions, both social and economic.

CHAPTER VII

RACIAL ORIGIN AND NATIVITY

Origin of the Total Population.—The first white inhabitants of the Dominion of Canada were French. In the beginning they were traders, handling the products of the Indian trappers, and consequently in the earliest days the population of the trading towns of Quebec and Montreal (Ville-Marie) was a relatively high proportion of the total. This condition continued until about the time of the first census of New France, taken in 1665–6, but both before and after this census endeavours were made by the grant of seigneuries to put a larger part of the French population on the land. These attempts enjoyed a good measure of success and resulted in the extension of rural settlements both below Quebec and between Quebec and Montreal.

After the cession of Canada to the British in 1763, most of those French who had not "struck root" in the country went back to France and were replaced by English and Scottish immigrants who naturally settled in the two chief trading centres of the colony, Quebec and Montreal. Thus the English and Scottish in Canada, in the twenty years that elapsed between the cession of the country and the treaty which closed the War of the American Revolution in 1783, were mainly urban and the French Canadians mainly rural. The present province of Quebec received its first definite inflow of agriculturists of the English tongue with the coming of the United Empire Loyalists to the Eastern Townships and parts of the Ottawa Valley, as well as to the Gaspé seaboard; many others of the same group began the settlement of what is now Ontario and New Brunswick. The Empire Loyalists, therefore, established the first English-speaking rural communities of any importance within the borders of the Dominion. It may be added that these new settlers had in many cases resided in the leading urban communities of the thirteen colonies and were now driven from their former urban pursuits to rural hardships by the necessity of keeping themselves alive in a very sparsely peopled country under more severe climatic conditions.

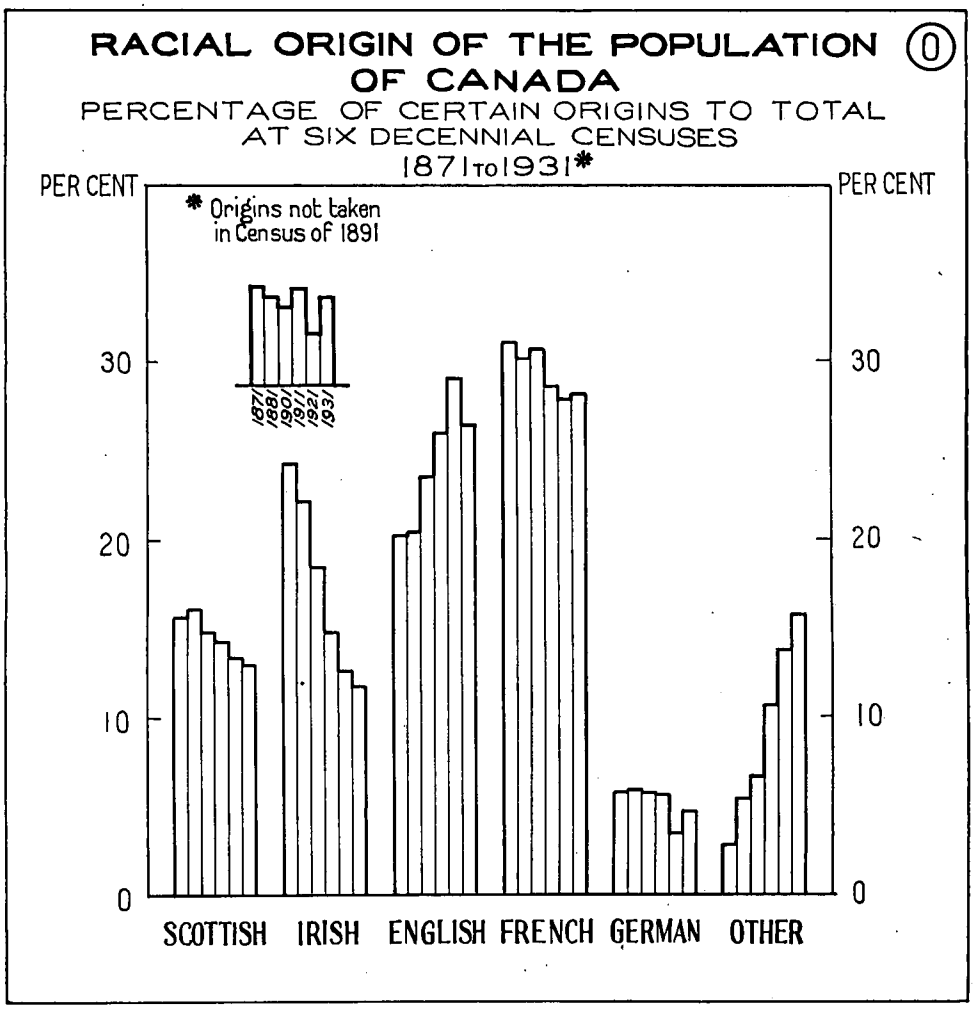
In the first half of the nineteenth century additional waves of settlers arrived from England, Scotland and Ireland at a time when the rural population of the British Isles was still much larger than the urban. Because the possession of land gave a certain social distinction in these older countries, the average British immigrant to Canada, who was usually of the landless class, coveted and obtained the possession of land whereon he engaged in farming. Doubtless a considerable number of the newcomers had belonged to the landed gentry in the Old Country, but in due course they learned that in the new country Jack was as good as his master and prestige was not necessarily connected with the ownership of land. The more efficient servants were able sooner or later to obtain land of their own. After ten or twenty years on their own farms, these ex-servants, accustomed to hard work and a lower standard of living, were often more prosperous than their former masters. The masters themselves generally found it impossible to change their occupations, unless indeed they secured government positions of which there were not very many. Mainly for these reasons the immigrant went on the land and accordingly, up to 1850 at least, the total population of the few existing towns of Upper Canada, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick was a small fraction of that of the country as a whole. At the middle of the nineteenth century, therefore, both the older French settlers and the newer British inhabitants were predominantly rural, perhaps to the extent of 90 p.c. or even more. The people of German and Dutch extraction who had settled in certain parts of Nova Scotia and Upper Canada were also decidedly rural. There was, indeed, no strong urban element in the entire country.

Early in the second half of the nineteenth century signs of an increase in the small urban proportion were beginning to be seen. Almost all the fertile lands of Southern Ontario were occupied and, possibly, most of those in the Maritime Provinces as well. Consequently the newcomers, who were mainly British, could no longer secure free land; moreover, they were from countries that had become more highly industrialized since their predecessors had emigrated. Again, the growth of manufactures in Canada after 1850, and more particularly after 1858, created a demand for larger numbers of people in city and town industries. Accordingly, the urban populations of both Upper Canada and Lower Canada, especially in the larger centres, commenced to increase quite rapidly, the people of both French and British origin sharing in this development. By 1871, according to the First Census of the Dominion, there were cities of quite respectable size; those in Ontario, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia were peopled predominantly by citizens of British stock, and those in Quebec by the French together with a considerable English-speaking element.

This distribution lasted, on the whole, until about the beginning of the twentieth century. As outlined in preceding chapters, the urban population of Canada had increased rapidly but mainly through the growth in numbers of the two great original races, which, in 1901, had between them 87·74 p.c. of the total. The long-established population of German and Dutch origin, which had amalgamated fairly well with the original settlers, raised this figure by 6·41 to 94·15 p.c.; an additional 2·38 p.c., representing Indians and Eskimos, increased the total to 96·53. Accordingly, all the other races combined had only 3·47 p.c. of the aggregate population of Canada and were therefore of comparatively minor significance in either rural or urban districts. Of this residual group no single race had as much as one-half of 1 p.c. of the total population. Thus the Canadian "melting pot", whether in rural areas or urban communities, is a creation of the twentieth century.

In the first three decades of this century the population in the residual group of origins, *i.e.*, those not specifically mentioned in the preceding paragraph, increased by almost a million and a quarter souls. In 1901, out of a total population of 5,371,315 in the Dominion, those of British origin numbered 3,063,195, those of French origin 1,649,371, of Dutch 33,845 and of German 310,501, while there were 127,941 aboriginal Indians and Eskimos. These five groups together accounted for 5,184,853 of the total population, leaving only 186,462 of all other origins whatsoever. By 1931 the population of British origin had reached 5,381,071, French 2,927,990, Dutch and German 148,962 and 473,544 respectively, and aboriginal Indians and Eskimos 128,890, making a total of 9,060,457 out of an aggregate population of 10,376,786. The number of people of origins other than those named was, therefore, 1,316,329 in 1931 or seven times as many as in 1901, while the total population was not quite doubled during those thirty years. This great change within the space of a single generation has, of course, been due in the main to heavy immigration from continental Europe.

The leading origins of the people of Canada at the various censuses since Confederation, excepting at that of 1891 when origins were not taken, together with the percentages of each origin in the aggregate population, may be seen in Tables 23 and 24. Chart O shows at a glance the relatively small decrease since 1871 in the proportion of the population of Scottish, French and German origins, the great and continuous decrease of the Irish, the considerable but irregular increase of the English and the huge expansion in the proportion of other origins. The term "origins" in these and other census compilations indicates the "sources from which the Canadian population has been derived", the term having "a combined biological, cultural and geographical significance". Origin does not necessarily signify the place of nativity or country of birth, as dealt with at some length in a later section of this chapter, but it elicits rather the "stock", racial extraction or original place of family residence. For a fuller explanation of the 1931 situation as regards both nativity and origin, reference might be made to the Census Monograph of Professor W. B. Hurd on the "Racial Origins and Nativity of the Canadian People (A study based on the Census of 1931 and supplementary data)".


RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF CANADA
PERCENTAGE OF CERTAIN ORIGINS TO TOTAL AT SIX DECENNIAL CENSUSES
1871 TO 1931*
PER CENT
PER CENT
* Origins not taken in Census of 1891
1871
1881
1901
1911
1921
1931
30
20
10
0
SCOTTISH
IRISH
ENGLISH
FRENCH
GERMAN
OTHER

See Table 24

TABLE 23—RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION, NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION, CANADA, CENSUSES OF 1871, 1881 AND 1901 TO 1931[1]

Origin	1871[2]	1881	1901	1911[3]	1921	1931
British—						
English	706,369	881,301	1,260,899	1,871,268	2,545,358	2,741,419
Irish	846,414	957,403	988,721	1,074,738	1,107,803	1,230,808
Scottish	549,946	699,863	800,154	1,027,015	1,173,625	1,346,350
Other	7,773	9,947	13,421	26,060	41,952	62,494
Totals, British	2,110,502	2,548,514	3,063,195	3,999,081	4,868,738	5,381,071
French	1,082,940	1,298,929	1,649,371	2,061,719	2,452,743	2,927,990
Austrian, n.o.p.[4]	–	–	10,947	44,036	107,671	48,639
Belgian	–	–	2,994	9,664	20,234	27,585
Bulgarian and Roumanian	–	–	354	5,883	15,235	32,216
Chinese	–	4,383	17,312	27,831	39,587	46,519
Czech (Bohemian and Moravian)	–	–	–	–	8,840	30,401
Dutch	29,662	30,412	33,845	55,961	117,505	148,962
Finnish	–	–	2,502	15,500	21,494	43,885
German	202,991	254,319	310,501	403,417	294,635	473,544
Greek	–	–	291	3,614	5,740	9,444
Hebrew	125	667	16,131	76,199	126,196	156,726
Hungarian	–	–	1,549	11,648	13,181	40,582
Indian and Eskimo[5]	23,037	108,547	127,941	105,611	113,724	128,890
Italian	1,035	1,849	10,834	45,963	66,769	98,173
Japanese	–	–	4,738	9,067	15,868	23,342
Negro	21,496	21,394	17,437	16,994	18,291	19,456
Polish	–	–	6,285	33,652	53,403	145,503
Russian	607	1,227	19,825	44,376	100,064	88,148
Scandinavian[6]	1,623	5,223	31,042	112,682	167,359	228,049
Ukrainian	–	–	5,682	75,432	106,721	225,113
Yugoslavic	–	–	–	–	3,906	16,174
Various	4,182	8,540	7,000	31,381	28,796	27,476
Unspecified	7,561	40,806	31,539	16,932[3]	21,249	8,898
Grand Totals	**3,485,761**	**4,324,810**	**5,371,315**	**7,206,643**	**8,787,949**	**10,376,786**

For footnotes see end of Table 24.

Origin of the Rural and Urban Population.—In the first generation of the Dominion of Canada, when there were included in the population only a few racial elements of any importance, the British races—more particularly the English—were, broadly speaking, more urbanized than the general average of the population; the French, as well as the Dutch and German elements, were less urbanized than the average, while the aboriginal population was, of course, almost wholly rural.

From census to census, however, the tendency toward urbanization was increasing, as has been shown in preceding chapters of this study. The twentieth century has been characterized by a great increase in the number of people of those races which had not been previously represented in any large numbers in the Canadian population. Practically all these races, as also those already represented, have contributed in some degree to the modern urbanization movement. Nevertheless, the people of certain races on arriving in Canada have, from the beginning, sought the cities almost exclusively, while those of other races have entered with at least the original intention of making their homes in the vast areas opened up to cultivation in the Canadian West. On the one hand, newcomers of certain origins have tended to reinforce, much more than others, the urbanization trend; members of most of those races which have sought the cities were mainly town dwellers in their former habitat. On the other hand, the Scandinavians and the Slavs who have migrated to Canada (the former entering chiefly by way of the United States) have attempted, for the most part, to make their homes in rural communities and to carry on agriculture; the Slavs, indeed, have found that the prairies of Saskatchewan and Alberta closely resemble the "steppes" of Russia and that agricultural life in Canada is to this extent at any rate like that in their old home land.

The newer racial elements in Canada that have been proportionately most largely reinforced by immigration and have thus increased much more rapidly than the population as a whole, include the following: Austrian, Belgian, Bulgarian and Roumanian, Chinese, Finnish, Greek, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Polish, Russian, Scandinavian and Ukrainian.

Among these newer and growing racial groups, those showing the greatest urban tendencies, under the usual definition, are the Hebrew, Greek, Chinese, Italian and Syrian and Asiatics other than the Japanese. At the 1931 Census less than 1 Hebrew in 25, 1 Greek in 10, and 1 Italian and 1 Chinaman in 5 were rural residents.

TABLE 24—RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION, PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION, CANADA, CENSUSES OF 1871, 1881 AND 1901 TO 1931[1]

Origin	Percentages of Total Populations					
	1871[2]	1881	1901	1911[3]	1921	1931
British—						
English	20·26	20·38	23·47	25·97	28·96	26·42
Irish	24·28	22·14	18·41	14·91	12·61	11·86
Scottish	15·78	16·18	14·90	14·25	13·35	12·97
Other	0·22	0·23	0·25	0·36	0·48	0·60
Totals, British	60·55	58·93	57·03	55·49	55·40	51·86
French	31·07	30·03	30·71	28·61	27·91	28·22
Austrian, n.o.p.[4]	–	–	0·20	0·61	1·23	0·47
Belgian	–	–	0·06	0·13	0·23	0·27
Bulgarian and Roumanian	–	–	0·01	0·08	0·17	0·31
Chinese	–	0·10	0·32	0·39	0·45	0·45
Czech (Bohemian and Moravian)	–	–	–	–	0·10	0·29
Dutch	0·85	0·70	0·63	0·78	1·34	1·44
Finnish	–	–	0·05	0·22	0·24	0·42
German	5·82	5·88	5·78	5·60	3·35	4·56
Greek	–	–	0·01	0·05	0·07	0·09
Hebrew	–	0·02	0·30	1·06	1·44	1·51
Hungarian	–	–	0·03	0·16	0·15	0·39
Indian and Eskimo[5]	0·66	2·51	2·38	1·47	1·29	1·24
Italian	0·03	0·04	0·20	0·64	0·76	0·95
Japanese	–	–	0·09	0·13	0·18	0·22
Negro	0·62	0·49	0·32	0·24	0·21	0·19
Polish	–	–	0·12	0·47	0·61	1·40
Russian	0·02	0·03	0·37	0·62	1·14	0·85
Scandinavian[6]	0·05	0·12	0·58	1·56	1·90	2·20
Ukrainian	–	–	0·11	1·05	1·21	2·17
Yugoslavic	–	–	–	–	0·04	0·16
Various	0·12	0·20	0·13	0·44	0·33	0·26
Unspecified	0·22	0·94	0·59	0·23[3]	0·24	0·09
Grand Totals	**100·0**	**100·0**	**100·0**	**100·0**	**100·0**	**100·0**

[1] Origins were not taken in the Census of 1891.

[2] The figures for 1871 cover the four original provinces of Canada only.

[3] The 1911 Census figures are here adjusted by the allocation of the unspecified, as far as possible, to their respective origins, thereby reducing the number of unspecified from 147,345 (vide 1931 Census Vol. I, Ch. VIII, Table II, p. 236) to 16,932, of which 9,253 were rural and 7,679 were urban (vide the same Vol. I, Table 35, pp. 710-1); the absolute figures for all origins listed herein were increased to some extent by this adjustment.

[4] N.o.p. = Not otherwise provided for. It is probable that many Austrians stated their origin as German, Hungarian, Finnish, Polish, Czech, etc.

[5] Incomplete in 1871; includes "half-breeds" in 1901.

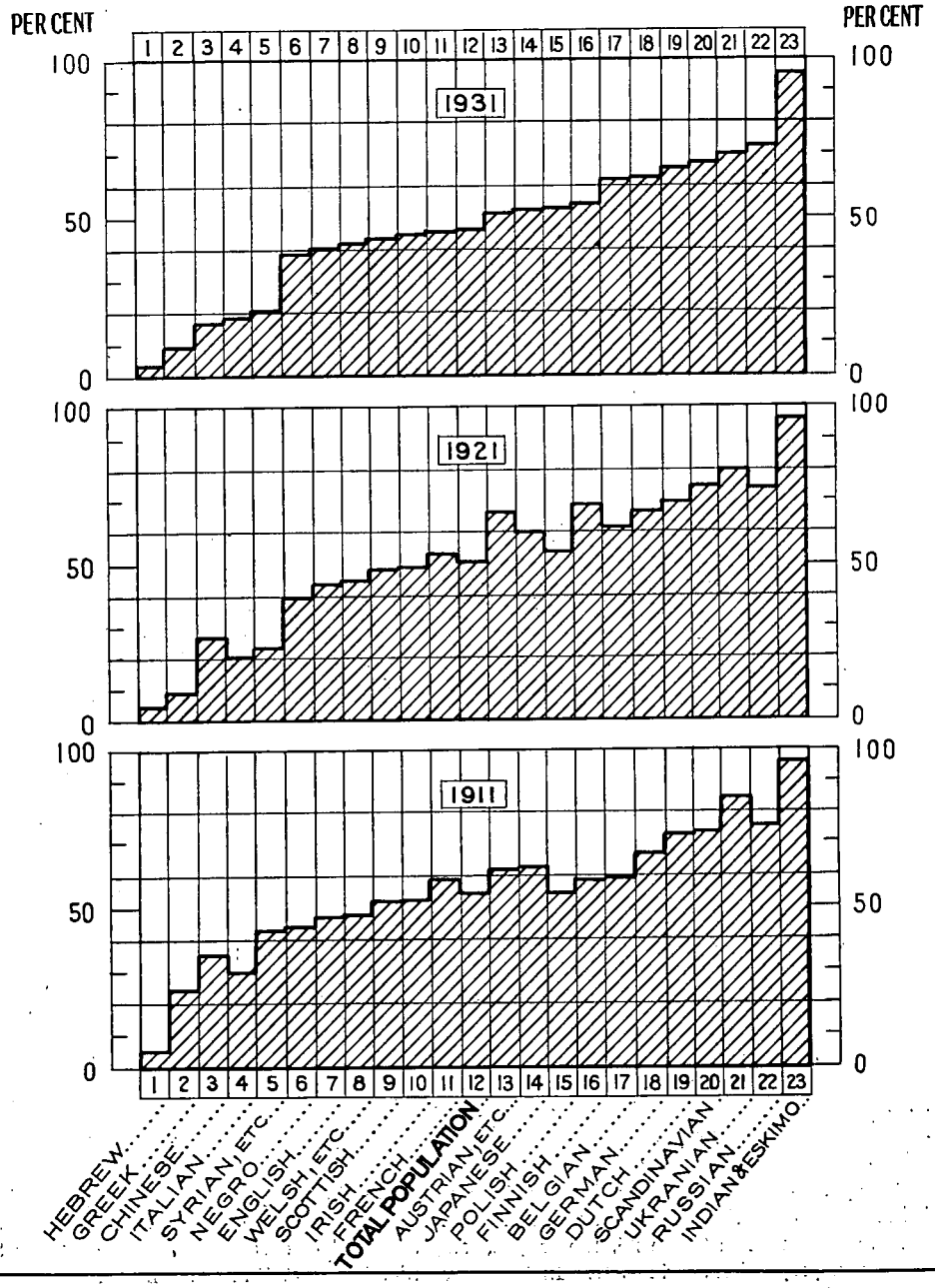
[6] Includes Danish, Icelandic, Norwegian and Swedish; in 1921 they numbered respectively 21,124, 15,876, 68,856 and 61,503; in 1931, 34,118, 19,382, 93,243 and 81,306.

At the same census, the peoples who were less urbanized than the general population included the Poles, Japanese, Finns, Belgians, Scandinavians, Ukrainians and Russians, and the Austrians, with whom were grouped chiefly the Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks, Roumanians, Yugoslavians, Lithuanians and Bulgarians. The Scandinavians, though still much less urbanized than the average in the population as a whole, showed a distinct inclination for town and city life between 1921 and 1931, the urban percentage having risen from 25·30 to 32·30; the Ukrainians have had the same tendency. In 1921, amongst other races which had a somewhat smaller percentage of urban residents than in 1911 were the Polish, German, Belgian, Scandinavian, Finnish, the Austrian group, and Indian and Eskimo. In 1931 also, the Belgians were slightly less urbanized than in 1911. The reason for these declines, and for the smaller contribution to the urbanization movement on the part of a few of the newer immigrant races who began their residence in Canada in rural districts, may be that the process of Canadianization among such races has not yet proceeded sufficiently far to enable them or their descendants to feel at home in Canadian urban centres.

The percentages of residents of provincially incorporated urban places among the population of these and most other important racial origins in Canada at the Censuses of 1911, 1921 and 1931 are submitted in Table 25, the origins being arranged in descending order according to their urban preponderance in 1931. In the same order in Chart P are presented these urban percentages for the three years, as well as the corresponding rural figures.

RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION OF CANADA

PERCENTAGE URBAN AND RURAL 1911, 1921, 1931



See Table 25

TABLE 25—RACIAL ORIGIN OF THE POPULATION, PERCENTAGE URBAN, CANADA, CENSUSES OF 1911, 1921 AND 1931

Origin	P.C. Urban			Origin	P.C. Urban		
	1931	1921	1911		1931	1921	1911
Hebrew	96·45	95·72	94·01	Austrian, etc.[3]	47·77	33·50	38·01
Greek	90·33	90·21	75·51	Japanese	46·98	39·83	37·08
Chinese	82·79	72·51	63·37	Polish	46·57	45·35	45·56
Italian	81·55	79·28	69·84	Finnish	45·80	30·97	41·12
Syrian, etc.[1]	79·40	76·83	56·41	Belgian	37·08	38·57	40·80
Negro	60·82	60·40	55·97	German	36·94	33·23	33·49
English	59·30	55·88	53·69	Dutch	33·95	30·81	26·88
Welsh, etc.[2]	57·76	55·03	52·19	Scandinavian	32·30	25·30	26·31
Scottish	56·59	51·55	47·53	Ukrainian	29·53	19·85	15·00
Irish	54·65	50·81	47·23	Russian	27·34	25·84	23·96
French	53·96	47·72	40·94	Indian and Eskimo	3·92	3·66	3·71
Total Population	53·70	49·52	45·42				

[1] Includes Syrian, Hindu and a few other Asiatic races (except Chinese and Japanese).

[2] Includes Welsh and all other British except English, Scottish and Irish.

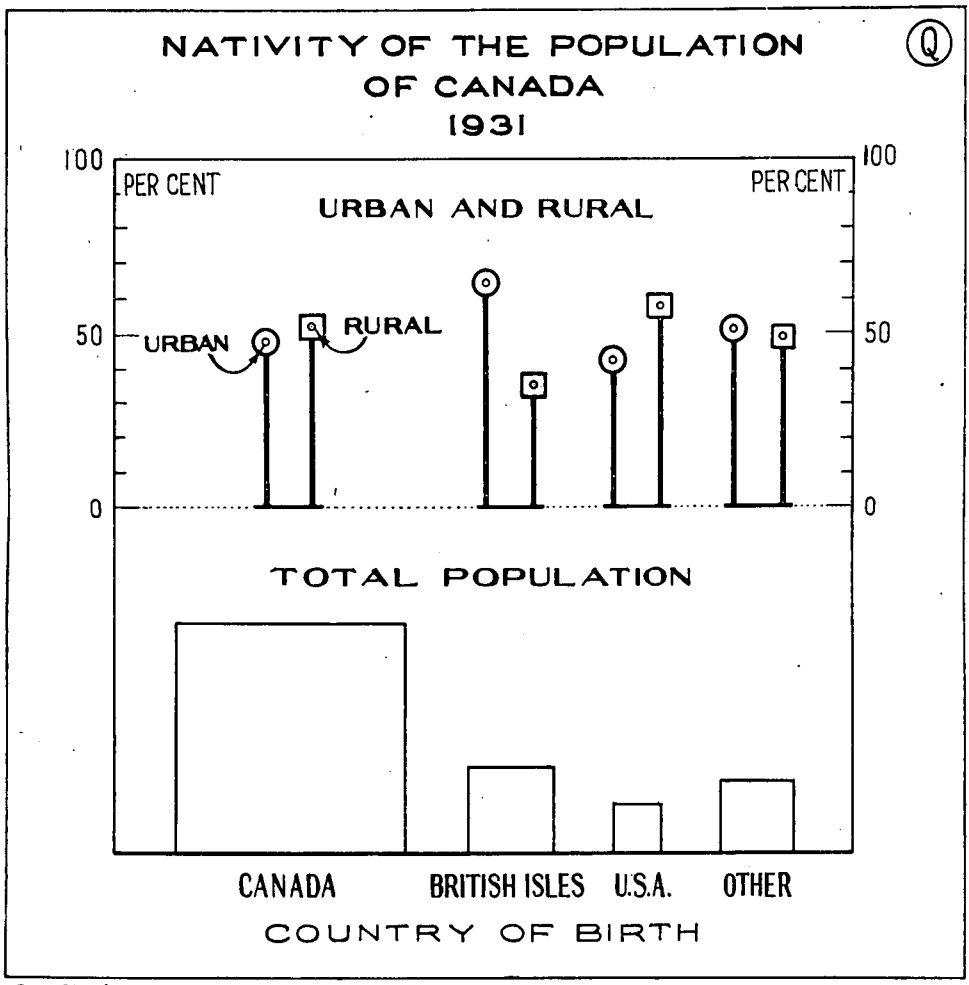
[3] Includes Austrian, Hungarian, Czech and Slovak, Roumanian, Yugoslavic, Lithuanian, Bulgarian and some smaller European races.

Nativity of the Rural and Urban Population*.—The rural-urban composition of the native Canadian population is almost the same as that of our foreign born; the percentages in both cases swing slightly in favour of the ruralites, while those born in British lands, other than our Dominion, are for the most part urbanites in Canada. In 1931, 64·84 p.c. of our population whose birthplace was the British Isles were living in cities and towns of 1,000 persons or more, those hailing from England having been only 63.62 p.c. urban while those from Ireland and Scotland were respectively 66·68 p.c. and 68·13 p.c. These urban places contained no less than 75·60 p.c. of our people who claimed as their country of birth other British possessions except Canada.

The Canadian born, comprising nearly 78 in every 100 persons in this country, were 52·18 p.c. rural in 1931, while the foreign born were 52·73 p.c. These foreign ruralites, chiefly Europeans, numbered 591,961 as compared with our 400,449 ruralites born in the United Kingdom. However, for every 100 of our urbanites of foreign birth, totalling 530,734, there were more than 134 who claimed as their birthplace the British Isles, totalling 738,493; of the latter, 460,488 were from England, 71,708 from Ireland and 190,602 from Scotland.

Our rural and urban population born in the British Isles totalled 1,138,942 and exceeded by only 16,247 our 1,122,695 of foreign birth; each of them comprised nearly 11 in every 100 persons in Canada, the foreigners being composed almost entirely of the 714,462 from European countries, 60,608 from Asiatic countries and 344,574 from the United States. In Section A of Table 26 will be found the 1931 Census totals of the population of the Dominion and the rural and urban distribution thereof in both absolute and relative terms, according to broad nativity classifications, including especially those born in Canada and other parts of the British Empire and the total of foreign birth; some of these data are pictured in Chart Q. Section B of Table 26 is a list of foreign countries, whose native born as shown at this census had contributed more to Canada's rural than to her urban population, arranged in descending order according to this rural preponderance. Section C gives, in the order of urban preponderance, a corresponding list of countries whose native born had added more to our urban than to our rural numbers as indicated at this Seventh Decennial Census.

* In this section on nativity, all comparisons between rural and urban population are based on the dividing line of 1,000, all urban places with fewer than that number of persons being included with rural.


NATIVITY OF THE POPULATION
OF CANADA
1931
Q
100
PER CENT
URBAN AND RURAL
PER CENT
100
50
URBAN
RURAL
50
0
0
TOTAL POPULATION
CANADA
BRITISH ISLES
U.S.A.
OTHER
COUNTRY OF BIRTH

See Table 26

TABLE 26—NATIVITY OF THE POPULATION, NUMBER AND PERCENTAGE URBAN AND RURAL FROM EACH COUNTRY OF BIRTH, CANADA, 1931

Country of Birth	Total	Urban[1]	Rural[1]	P.C. Urban	P.C. Rural
A—SUMMARY OF CANADIAN BORN, OTHER BRITISH, AND TOTAL FOREIGN BORN					
Total Population	10,376,786	5,162,641	5,214,145	49·75	50·25
Canada	8,069,261	3,858,897	4,210,364	47·82	52·18
Foreign Countries	1,122,695	530,734	591,961	47·27	52·73
British Isles	1,138,942	738,493	400,449	64·84	35·16
England	723,864	460,488	263,376	63·62	36·38
Ireland	107,544	71,708	35,836	66·68	33·32
Scotland	279,765	190,602	89,163	68·13	31·87
Wales and Lesser Isles	27,769	15,695	12,074	56·52	43·48
Other British Possessions	45,157	34,140	11,017	75·60	24·40
At Sea	731	377	354	51·57	48·43
B—FOREIGN BORN WITH RURAL PREPONDERANCE (DESCENDING ORDER)					
Total	930,173	401,287	528,886	43·14	56·86
Norway	32,679	8,434	24,245	25·81	74·19
Sweden	34,415	10,025	24,390	29·13	70·87
Belgium	17,033	6,203	10,830	36·42	63·58
Holland	10,736	3,950	6,786	36·79	63·21
Denmark	17,217	6,374	10,843	37·02	62·98
Iceland	5,731	2,144	3,587	37·41	62·59
Germany	39,163	15,038	24,125	38·40	61·60
Austria	37,391	15,647	21,744	41·85	58·15
United States	344,574	144,676	199,898	41·99	58·01
Japan	12,261	5,520	6,741	45·02	54·98
Switzerland	6,076	2,857	3,219	47·02	52·98
Russia and Ukraine	128,165	60,815	67,350	47·45	52·55
Roumania	40,322	19,605	20,717	48·62	51·38
Poland	171,169	83,583	87,586	48·83	51·17
Finland	30,354	14,986	15,368	49·37	50·63
Other European Countries	2,887	1,430	1,457	49·53	50·47
C—FOREIGN BORN WITH URBAN PREPONDERANCE (DESCENDING ORDER)					
Total	192,522	129,447	63,075	67·24	32·76
Greece	5,579	5,094	485	91·31	8·69
Turkey	921	767	154	83·28	16·72
Syria	3,953	3,198	755	80·90	19·10
Italy	42,578	33,483	9,095	78·64	21·36
China	42,037	31,762	10,275	75·56	24·44
Lithuania	5,704	4,237	1,467	74·28	25·72
Other Asiatic Countries	803	583	220	72·60	27·40
Spain	572	412	160	72·03	27·97
Other Countries	1,755	1,239	516	70·60	29·40
Armenia	633	443	190	69·98	30·02
Bulgaria	1,467	986	481	67·21	32·79
Yugoslavia	17,110	10,230	6,880	59·79	40·21
Czechoslovakia	22,835	12,761	10,074	55·88	44·12
South America	1,296	692	604	53·40	46·60
Hungary	28,523	14,946	13,577	52·40	47·60
France	16,756	8,614	8,142	51·41	48·59

[1] Urban includes only places of 1,000 people and over; all others are classified as rural.

A comparison of the totals of the last two sections in Table 26 shows that in 1931 natives of the foreign countries contributing more to our rural than to our urban population totalled 930,173, which is 82·85 p.c. of all our foreign born, whereas those from countries contributing more to urban than to rural numbered only 192,522, which is 17·15 p.c. This would suggest that those countries which supply the numerically important contributions to our immigrant population should be found in Section B of the table, while countries making small contributions should be found in Section C. That this is true, with a few exceptions, is discovered by even a casual glance at the totals of these sections and it is, of course, what one would expect in view of the nature and importance of colonization policies in Canada's economic development.

Large numbers of immigrants have entered this country under the influence of colonizing organizations, and, apart from those brought in to build our great railway systems, they were sought in the main to cultivate the land. Generally speaking then, they did not immigrate unsolicited—a colonist's occupation and his final destination in this country were picked for him before he left his native soil. The great virgin prairies of the West were widely advertised in foreign lands by Canadians interested in colonization work. "Fill the West with people who will go on the land and grow wheat" was the slogan of the colonizers. This colonizing policy was continued, more or less intensively, from its inception at the turn of the century until the year 1930; in fact, during the last decade of this period, immigration from Europe was restricted principally to those countries whose inhabitants were known to be good farm settlers—people who, it was believed, would stay on the land. Other factors involving assimilability were very important in connection with this restriction, but the fact remains that few limitations really existed for any people (other than Asiatics) coming here to farm. Farmers were freely admitted on permits. At the beginning of this decade, alarm was expressed because trails were being beaten from the farms to the cities by the sons and daughters of early settlers. Therefore, males from countries known to be poor suppliers of rural workers were allowed into Canada only as farmers, or as labourers for farmers who definitely applied for them. Females were also permitted to enter as domestic servants.

This importation of farmers, mainly wheat growers, continued for three decades—farmers increased, acreage increased, production increased, until finally we produced a half billion bushel wheat crop and boastfully prophesied that this was only a beginning, that production would soar to a billion, even to two billion bushels and still higher. Nearly all of this wheat was to be exported. The Europe of War days had greatly curtailed production and prices had gone sky-high, but Europe after the War started growing wheat again and prices began to fall. Still farmers sought Canada or Canada sought farmers and acreage increased. To keep prices up, organizations were formed to regulate the flow of wheat to market and subsequently to hold it in elevators over long periods pending better price conditions. Europe reached its pre-War level of production in 1925. By 1927, production in relation to effective demand was so high that the farmer was living in a fool's paradise; rumblings were heard; plenty of notice was given; but credits were forthcoming and before the crash the business floated along for another two years on a raft of borrowed money.

In addition to this intense effort at attracting newcomers to grow wheat, a goodly number of immigrants were brought here for other purposes. Of the countries supplying a preponderance of urbanites to our foreign-born population (Table 26—C), the largest contributor at the Census of 1931 was Italy; in that year our Italian-born population totalled 42,578 of whom 31,762 or 78·64 p.c. were resident in urban places of 1,000 or more. Tables 27 and 28 give, by country of birth, various rankings and other comparisons of the population of Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver in 1911, 1921 and 1931. In these four largest cities of Canada in 1931 were more than a third of the foregoing total of Italian born or nearly a half of their number resident in all urban places. Italians were originally brought into this country to work as railway labourers. The young men came over alone and proved to be fine railway builders. They saved their money and later sent home for their women. When the railway work was finished, a very large percentage of them drifted into the cities and settled around their parish churches, forming the "Little Italys" that are found in most of the bigger cities of Canada. As they knew much about grapes and other fruit from their environment and training in Italy, it was quite natural for them to become retail fruit marketers and pedlars—hence the many Italian fruit stores on street corners in our cities. The yearly additions to our Italian population are chiefly friends and relatives of those already here. The Italian at home is told, in correspondence with his friend in Canada, of the better economic conditions prevailing here, and one day, after scraping together enough money for the journey, the man from Italy arrives at the home of his friend in

this country. Canada thereby wins a new fruit handler or another railway section hand—but seldom a farmer. Although during the last decade government permits for entry of farm labourers were issued, as we have seen, only to individuals specifically named by farmers in this country as being required by them, yet comparatively few Italians with such permits remained on farms for more than short periods after arrival. For the most part they used Canada merely as a back door into the United States. Chicago was their objective and most of them made their objective. Others returned to Italy when they had "made their pile".

Of countries that have a larger percentage of their native born in our urban than our rural communities, China is, in point of numbers, next to Italy; in 1931, 42,037 of our foreign born population were Chinamen and 31,762 of these or 75·56 p.c. were urban. More than a third of the urban Chinese, or 11,533, were in Vancouver where they exceeded the number of persons giving their country of birth as either the United States or Ireland and where there was one of these natives of China for every seven British residents born outside of Canada. Chinese were originally brought into British Columbia to supply cheap labour in the lumber business. A certain percentage of them drifted eastward over Canada, and with practically no capital gained a very substantial interest in the ownership and operation of the restaurant and laundry businesses from coast to coast. Nevertheless, 17,771 or 56 p.c. of the Chinese in Canadian urban communities were in British Columbia in 1931 and only 5,967 and 2,444 in Ontario and Quebec respectively. Most Chinese are transients in this country and their numbers are closely controlled by legislation. Being Asiatics, they of course do not assimilate; moreover, legislation restricting their entry into the Dominion was enacted before a great number of them had arrived and it is doubtful whether many will ever be found here outside of British Columbia. In that province they compete very successfully in the fishing, market gardening and lumber trades. They are, to repeat, an urban people in this country, and the 24·44 p.c. designated as rural likely reside in unincorporated suburbs of the cities.

The next greatest contributors to our foreign-born urban population are Hungary with a rural and urban total of 28,523 and a percentage urban of 52·40, Czechoslovakia with 22,835 and 55·88 p.c. urban, and Yugoslavia with 17,110 and 59·79 p.c. urban. A considerable proportion of these people arrived since the end of 1925; for instance, of the 17,110 Yugoslavian born, residing in Canada in 1931, 12,062 or 70·50 p.c. arrived between January 1, 1926 and the census date, June 1, 1931. The urban percentages for the three countries are not very high and it is probable that they would appear in Section B of the table if it were not for the fact that farming was then beginning to be less attractive than formerly. The years 1926 to 1931 were, on the one hand, unpropitious for commencing farming operations—markets were disappearing and prices falling—while, on the other hand, great industrial expansion was attracting labour in the urban localities.

The Greeks are the most urban of our foreign born, 91·31 p.c. being urbanites, but their total at 5,579 is comparatively small. It is even probable that most of the balance of them are more suburban than rural. One of the countries whose contribution to our population is almost evenly divided between rural and urban localities is France with 16,756, approximately one-third of whom are in the province of Quebec.

The most rural of our foreign-born population (Table 26—B) are the Norwegians and Swedes, their percentages of ruralites in 1931 having been respectively 74·19 and 70·87. The numbers of our population of United States birth surpassed in both rural and urban districts those of any other foreign country; they had a total of 344,574 persons, of whom 199,898 or 58·01 p.c. were ruralites.

Next to the United States, the countries which contributed most to both our rural and urban foreign-born population in 1931 were Poland and Russia (including Ukraine). Natives of Poland accounted for 87,586 of our rural and 83,583 of our urban people; of these urbanites,

20,596 were in Toronto and 16,164 in Winnipeg. In the latter city's distribution of population by country of birth, Poland ranked immediately after Canada and England, thereby edging Scotland out of third position which she had held in 1921 and 1911; Russia and Ukraine stood fifth. Winnipeg and Toronto each had over 10.000 of Russian and Ukrainian birth and Montreal over 16,000; their total in Canadian cities and towns of 1,000 and over was 60,815, while those in smaller places and rural areas amounted to 67,350.

The Japanese in Canada are more rural than urban; in 1931 the figures were respectively 6,741 and 5,520, the ruralites being in the majority by about 10 p.c. of the total. This rural preponderance is probably accounted for by the Japanese predilection for market gardening, which they pursue successfully, especially in British Columbia. Because they are not farmers or agriculturists in the same sense as the wheat farmer and because their market gardens are situated on the outskirts of urban localities with which they deal directly, most of the Japanese designated as rural in the table might more correctly be described as suburban. Nearly three-quarters of our urban population born in Japan live within the limits of Vancouver, while it is surprising how few of them are to be found in some of the other large cities; Montreal had at the last census only 19, Winnipeg 21 and Toronto 114.

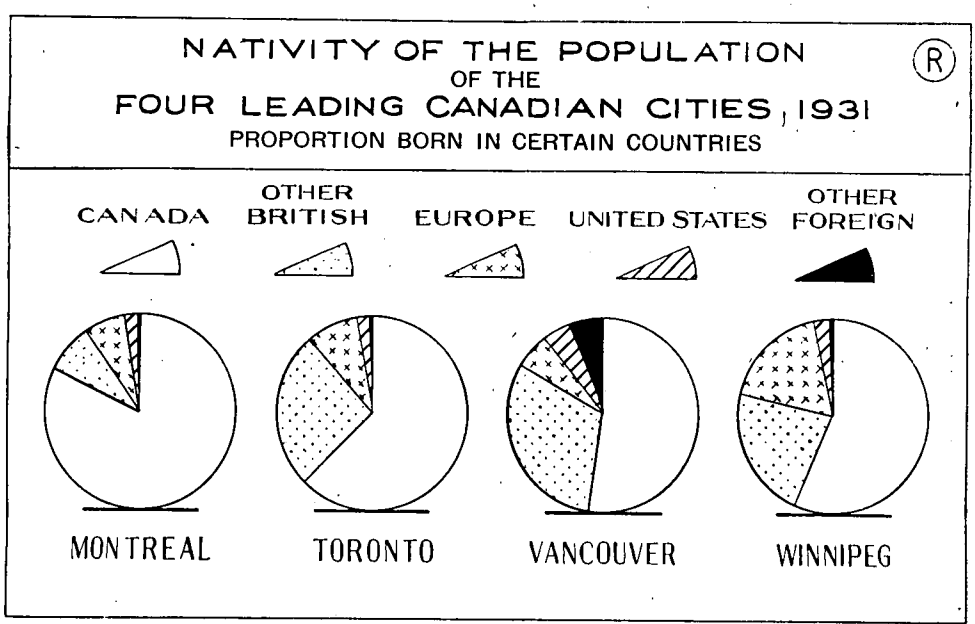
The total population of Canada in 1931 was very slightly more rural than urban, 50·25 p.c. being in rural communities and in urban places under 1,000, as indicated in Section A of Table 26; if entered in the list of leading foreign countries, our "Total Population" would stand last in the rural Section B just under Finland (50·63 p.c.), the country with the next lowest rural proportion having been France (48·59 p.c.) in the urban Section C. The Canadian born, as we have seen, are also more rural than urban, and if the Dominion were placed in rank with the foreign countries, its rural percentage would be found just above Roumania (51·38) and below Russia and Ukraine (52·55). Our people from England, Ireland and Scotland, as indicated in the first paragraph on nativity, are on the average decidedly urban and the percentage for all the British Isles together, if inserted in the foreign classification, would be in Section C of the table between Bulgaria and Yugoslavia. Britishers who come to Canada from other parts of the Empire are more urban than the Chinese.

The Canadian-born population in our biggest cities, as well as in the Dominion as a whole, outnumbers the total of our population born in all other British and in foreign countries combined. It is not generally realized that in 1931 the Canadian born comprised 81·99 p.c. of the entire population of Montreal, while their proportion in Toronto was only 62·26 p.c., in Winnipeg 56·51 p.c. and Vancouver 52·07 p.c. In both Montreal and Toronto the increase in these percentages between the Census of 1911 and that of 1931 has been only fractional, but in the two newer western cities it has been very substantial, the figure for Winnipeg having jumped from 44·08 p.c. in 1911 and for Vancouver from 43·80 p.c. In the two decades after 1911, the proportion of British born, other than Canadian, decreased in Montreal from 9·28 p.c. to 7·36 p.c.; the European born, excluding those from the United Kingdom, increased from 6·70 p.c. to 8·10 p.c. In Toronto during the same period, the British from abroad fell from 29·49 p.c. to 26·23 p.c. but the European rose from 5·15 p.c. to 8·64 p.c. Winnipeg's British born, as just defined, slumped from 31·69 p.c. in 1911 to 22·07 p.c. in 1931, while the corresponding decline in Vancouver was only from 33·88 p.c. to 31·02 p.c. Natives of Asia living in Vancouver at the 1931 Census exceeded those of Europe and of the United States, whereas in the other three cities the numbers of these Asiatics were inconsiderable. Winnipeg's European born at nearly 40,000 in 1931 were over two and one-half times those of Vancouver, and 1 in every 5 of the former's population was of foreign birth while in Toronto and Montreal the ratio was only 1 in 10.

Next to Canada in the nativity lists of these four cities in 1931 stands England, but as regards the third and subsequent position there is little similarity between these cities. The daughters and sons of Scotland are third in Toronto and Vancouver, fourth in Winnipeg and fifth in Montreal. The Irish born are fourth in Toronto, sixth in Vancouver, seventh in Winnipeg

and eighth in Montreal. The third place in Winnipeg was taken by Poland which was fifth in Toronto and sixth in Montreal. The United States came third in Montreal followed by Russia and Ukraine which held fifth place in Winnipeg and seventh in Toronto.

Further comparisons for these four most populous cities of Canada, similar to those in preceding paragraphs, are presented in the accompanying Tables 27 and 28 and rankings for numerous smaller cities and towns could be made from Volume II of the Census Reports of 1911 (Table 16), 1921 (Table 54) and 1931 (Table 47). The proportion of the population of Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg, born in Canada, other British Countries, Europe, United States and all other foreign countries are compared by sectors of circles in Chart R.



See Table 27

Summary.—(1) New France having been primarily a trading colony, its population was in a sense chiefly urban. However, the French Canadians, through the granting of seigneuries, gradually went on the land and at the time of the British conquest were mainly rural.

(2) The first important English-speaking rural communities were established by the United Empire Loyalists, while the early nineteenth century saw considerable migration from the British Isles to Eastern Canada, where land was fertile and plentiful. Both French and British inhabitants, as well as those of German and Dutch descent, were decidedly rural at the middle of the century.

(3) Urbanization of Canada commenced on a large scale in the second half of the nineteenth century. Most of the free, fertile and easily accessible lands in Eastern Canada had been acquired by that time and urban distributing centres were growing up to serve the agricultural communities; moreover, Canadian manufacturing industries were progressing quite rapidly, and immigrants from the British Isles were showing a preference for town life. The British were more urban than the average for the country as a whole, while the French, German and Dutch stocks were slightly more rural than the average.

(4) Before the twentieth century there was no serious problem of Canadianization of the foreign "strangers within our gates"—there was then no so-called "melting pot". The British

TABLE 27.—NATIVITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR LEADING CANADIAN CITIES, NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, AND NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GROUPS OF COUNTRIES, CENSUSES OF 1911, 1921 AND 1931

No.	Birthplace	Montreal		
		1911	1921	1931
A—INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES—NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION				
1	Canada	383,627	502,924	671,176
2	England	25,348	32,851	33,668
3	Ireland	6,931	6,314	6,940
4	Scotland	8,152	11,761	14,753
5	Wales	235	250	540
6	Lesser British Isles	77	[1]156	171
7	British Possessions	[2]2,884	3,451	4,135
8	United States	9,498	15,721	17,531
9	Austria	2,654	2,506	2,190
10	Belgium	852	1,596	1,929
11	Bohemia	17	[3] –	[3] –
12	Bukovina	87	[4] –	[4] –
13	Bulgaria and Roumania	3,405	4,793	5,829
14	Czechoslovakia	[5] –	43	3,682
15	Denmark	139	128	615
16	Finland	23	18	1,449
17	France	2,906	3,563	3,383
18	Galicia	381	508	[6] –
19	Germany	1,213	508	1,777
20	Greece	452	893	984
21	Holland	104	217	288
22	Hungary	143	161	3,342
23	Iceland	1	11	4
24	Italy	4,754	6,755	8,391
25	Yugoslavia	[7] –	37	654
26	Lithuania	[8] –	[8] –	1,907
27	Norway	149	129	343
28	Poland	[9] –	2,343	11,504
29	Russia and Ukraine	13,634	16,642	16,371
30	Spain	[10] –	[10] –	136
31	Sweden	241	208	419
32	Switzerland	[10] –	323	744
33	China	1,160	1,579	1,744
34	Japan	18	17	19
35	Syria	430	791	842
36	Other European Countries	362	698	375
37	Other Asiatic Countries	315	161	278
38	All Other Countries[11]	288	450	464
B—SUMMARY—GROUPS OF COUNTRIES—NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION				
1	Total Population	470,480	618,506	818,577
2	Canada	383,627	502,924	671,176
3	All Other British Countries [11]	43,665	54,807	60,226
4	Total British Countries	427,292	557,731	731,402
5	United States	9,498	15,721	17,531
6	Europe	31,517	42,080	66,316
7	Asia	1,923	2,548	2,883
8	All Other Foreign Countries	250	426	445
9	Total Foreign Countries	43,188	60,775	87,175
C—SUMMARY—GROUPS OF COUNTRIES—PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION				
1	Total Population	100·00	100·00	100·00
2	Canada	81·54	81·31	81·99
3	All Other British Countries [11]	9·28	8·86	7·36
4	Total British Countries	90·82	90·17	89·35
5	United States	2·02	2·54	2·14
6	Europe	6·70	6·81	8·10
7	Asia	0·41	0·41	0·35
8	All Other Foreign Countries	0·05	0·07	0·06
9	Total Foreign Countries	9·18	9·83	10·65

[1] Includes those born in British Isles who did not specify particular country.
[2] Includes 793 in Montreal, 914 in Toronto, 1,006 in Vancouver and 2,541 in Winnipeg, whose birthplace was stated as "British Unknown"; probably most of them were born in the British Isles.
[3] Bohemia is included with the new Republic of Czechoslovakia.
[4] Bukovina is included with Roumania.
[5] The new Republic of Czechoslovakia, comprising Bohemia and certain other parts of the former Austria-Hungary, did not come into existence until October, 1918.

TABLE 27—NATIVITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR LEADING CANADIAN CITIES, NUMERICAL DISTRIBUTION BY INDIVIDUAL COUNTRIES, AND NUMERICAL AND PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION BY GROUPS OF COUNTRIES, CENSUSES OF 1911, 1921 AND 1931—Con.

Toronto			Vancouver			Winnipeg			No.
1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	
232,366	324,768	392,995	43,978	57,260	128,396	59,967	93,854	123,634	1
70,297	95,484	94,584	17,754	22,043	44,091	23,747	28,546	26,161	2
15,996	17,787	22,310	2,625	3,051	5,573	4,655	5,784	5,741	3
19,990	29,402	40,132	9,650	10,730	21,613	10,949	14,580	14,719	4
767	1,166	2,141	466	741	1,577	513	814	849	5
252	[1]568	694	194	[1]294	483	135	[1]246	174	6
[2]3,661	4,728	5,660	[2]3,305	1,828	3,116	[2]3,075	676	610	7
11,559	14,938	14,758	10,401	7,649	10,870	5,798	7,052	5,902	8
1,532	1,684	1,936	411	148	487	8,831	3,220	2,080	9
33	160	211	132	131	258	155	182	237	10
13	[3] –	[3] –	17	[3] –	[3] –	95	[3] –	[3] –	11
10	[4] –	[4] –	6	[4] –	[4] –	67	[4] –	[4] –	12
762	1,296	2,035	49	60	285	705	1,182	1,902	13
[5] –	40	1,499	[5] –	36	154	[5] –	308	654	14
67	119	539	180	199	715	163	249	673	15
515	505	2,986	181	209	1,533	31	36	179	16
332	488	455	266	272	441	323	336	260	17
250	861	[6] –	12	53	[6] –	580	3,121	[6] –	18
1,290	492	1,490	733	190	893	1,866	641	1,241	19
480	594	1,736	226	222	293	56	91	73	20
185	294	438	85	105	440	262	286	377	21
193	83	1,256	54	22	177	523	348	792	22
4	13	8	78	58	125	1,640	1,208	1,209	23
3,086	3,902	5,278	1,922	799	1,478	517	689	685	24
[7] –	48	1,370	[7] –	81	676	[7] –	47	468	25
[8] –	[8] –	704	[8] –	[8] –	63	[8] –	[8] –	282	26
103	126	206	575	457	1,723	432	344	693	27
[9] –	7,244	20,596	[9] –	206	1,036	[9] –	2,776	16,164	28
10,035	11,469	10,805	606	579	1,554	8,577	10,203	10,011	29
[10] –	[10] –	68	[10] –	[10] –	35	[10] –	[10] –	16	30
212	187	324	952	661	2,136	1,403	1,056	1,433	31
[10] –	194	336	[10] –	66	247	[10] –	95	169	32
1,061	2,035	2,571	3,364	5,815	11,533	574	788	971	33
26	42	114	1,841	2,981	4,133	10	30	21	34
101	191	171	40	53	68	90	69	83	35
298	596	275	115	49	108	85	99	159	36
626	107	253	27	28	62	83	32	61	37
436	282	273	156	141	221	128	99	102	38
376,538	521,893	631,207	100,401	117,217	246,593	136,035	179,087	218,785	1
232,366	324,768	392,995	43,978	57,260	128,396	59,967	93,854	123,634	2
111,041	149,184	165,565	34,013	38,712	76,495	43,109	50,671	48,288	3
343,407	473,952	558,560	77,991	95,972	204,891	103,076	144,525	171,922	4
11,559	14,938	14,758	10,401	7,649	10,870	5,798	7,052	5,902	5
19,400	30,395	54,551	6,600	4,603	14,857	26,311	26,517	39,757	6
1,814	2,375	3,109	5,272	8,877	15,796	757	919	1,136	7
358	233	229	137	116	179	93	74	68	8
33,131	47,941	72,647	22,410	21,245	41,702	32,959	34,562	46,863	9
100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	100·00	1
61·71	62·23	62·26	43·80	48·85	52·07	44·08	52·41	56·51	2
29·49	28·59	26·23	33·88	33·02	31·02	31·69	28·29	22·07	3
91·20	90·82	88·49	77·68	81·87	83·09	75·77	80·70	78·58	4
3·07	2·86	2·34	10·36	6·53	4·41	4·26	3·94	2·70	5
5·15	5·82	8·64	6·57	3·93	6·02	19·34	14·81	18·17	6
0·48	0·46	0·49	5·25	7·57	6·41	0·56	0·51	0·52	7
0·10	0·04	0·04	0·14	0·10	0·07	0·07	0·04	0·03	8
8·80	9·18	11·51	22·32	18·13	16·91	24·23	19·30	21·42	9

[6] Galicia is included with Poland in 1931.
[7] Yugoslavia, comprising Serbia, Montenegro, part of Bulgaria, and various provinces of the former Austria-Hungary, was not completed as a separate state until 1918.
[8] Lithuania during these years was not classified separately from Russia and Germany.
[9] Poland at this time was divided among Germany, Austria-Hungary and Russia.
[10] Figures, if any, are included with those for "Other European Countries".
[11] Includes a very few people born at sea.

TABLE 28—NATIVITY OF THE POPULATION OF THE FOUR LEADING CITIES OF CANADA, NUMERICAL RANKINGS OF COUNTRIES OF BIRTH ACCORDING TO SIZE OF POPULATION FROM EACH AS INDICATED IN TABLE 27, CENSUSES OF 1911, 1921 AND 1931.

Birthplace	Numerical Rankings											
	Montreal			Toronto			Vancouver			Winnipeg		
	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931	1911	1921	1931
Total Number of Rankings	32	34	35	32	34	35	32	34	35	32	34	35
Canada	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
England	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2	2
Ireland	6	7	8	4	4	4	7	6	6	7	6	7
Scotland	5	5	5	3	3	3	4	3	3	3	3	4
Wales	22	22	25	12	13	12	14	10	11	17	13	14
Lesser British Isles	28	27	32	20	17	21	18	14	20	23	24	27
British Possessions	10	10	10	7	8	8	6	8	8	8	16	20
United States	4	4	3	5	5	6	3	4	5	6	5	6
Austria	11	11	14	9	11	14	15	21	19	4	7	8
Belgium	14	13	15	28	26	30	22	23	25	22	25	25
Bohemia	31	–	–	30	–	–	30	–	–	25	–	–
Bukovina	27	–	–	31	–	–	32	–	–	29	–	–
Bulgaria and Roumania	8	8	9	13	12	13	27	27	24	12	11	9
Czechoslovakia	–	30	11	–	33	16	–	32	29	–	21	19
Denmark	25	29	24	27	28	22	20	19	17	21	23	18
Finland	29	32	19	15	18	10	19	17	13	31	32	26
France	9	9	12	18	20	23	16	15	21	19	20	24
Galicia	17	18 E	–	21	14	–	31	29 E	–	13	8	–
Germany	12	18 E	17	10	19	17	11	20	16	9	17	11
Greece	15	15	20	16	16	15	17	16	23	30	29	32
Holland	26	23	30	24	21	24	24	24	22	20	22	22
Hungary	24	25 E	13	23	30	19	26	34	28	15	18	15
Iceland	32	34	35	32	34	35	25	28	30	10	10	12
Italy	7	6	7	8	9	9	8	9	14	16	15	17
Yugoslavia	–	31	23	–	31	18	–	25	18	–	31	21
Lithuania	–	–	16	–	–	20	–	–	33	–	–	23
Norway	23	28	29	25	27	31	13	13	10	18	19	16
Poland	–	12	6	–	7	5	–	18	15	–	9	3
Russia and Ukraine	3	3	4	6	6	7	12	12	12	5	4	5
Spain	–	–	33	–	–	34	–	–	35	–	–	35
Sweden	21	24	27	22	25	26	10	11	9	11	12	10
Switzerland	–	21	22	–	23	25	–	26	26	–	28	28
China	13	14	18	11	10	11	5	5	4	14	14	13
Japan	30	33	34	29	32	33	9	7	7	32	34	34
Syria	16	16	21	26	24	32	28	29 E	32	26	30	31
Other European Countries	18	17	28	19	15	27	23	31	31	27	26 E	29
Other Asiatic Countries	19	25 E	31	14	29	29	29	33	34	28	33	33
All Other Countries	20	20	26	17	22	28	21	22	27	24	26 E	30

For footnotes applicable to the blank spaces see Table 27.
E denotes equality of population and ranking of two countries.

and French stocks formed 87·74 p.c. of the aggregate population in 1901 and the Germans, Dutch, and aboriginal Indians and Eskimos another 8·79 p.c., leaving only 3·47 p.c. in the residual group of all other races.

(5) This residual group, however, increased sevenfold between 1901 and 1931, whereas the total population did not quite double during those thirty years.

(6) The people of the various origins, as well as nativities, have had very mixed effects upon the rural and urban distribution of the Canadian population, the term origin meaning the race, stock or family extraction regardless of nativity or country of birth. The people of Hebrew, Greek, Italian and Chinese origins, for instance, have been predominantly urban, whereas the Russians, Ukrainians and Scandinavians have been basically rural; the Belgian urban percentage was actually a little less in 1931 than in 1911.

(7) The number of foreign countries whose natives in Canada are more than 50 p.c. urban is somewhat less than the number which have contributed a rural excess, but the former (the urban) had in our 1931 total population only about a fifth as many persons as the latter (the rural).*

(8) Our foreign born and Canadian born had in 1931 almost the same small rural preponderance, the rural being 52·18 p.c. and 52·73 p.c. respectively, as compared with 50·25 p.c. for the total population; those born in the British Isles had the decidedly low rural proportion of only 35·16 p.c. and the total of both ruralites and urbanites at 1,138,942 exceeded that of the foreign born by only about 16,000.

(9) The most urban of our foreign born are the Greeks (91·31 p.c.), followed by the Turks, Syrians, Italians and Chinese, whereas the most rural are the Northwestern Europeans, especially the Norwegians and Swedes.

(10) Of the group of countries whose natives in Canada have an urban preponderance, the one with the largest total in 1931 was Italy, more than one-third of the natives from that country living in our four largest cities—Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver and Winnipeg. In this group of countries, China was a close second, more than one-third of their urban numbers being in Vancouver.

(11) The United States is the largest single source of our foreign born; 58·01 p.c. of these are ruralites. Poland and Russia (with Ukraine) stood next in 1931, each with only a small rural excess. In Winnipeg's nativity list, Poland was surpassed only by Canada and England, while Russia (with Ukraine) was fifth.

(12) The Japanese in Canada are much more rural than urban. Nearly three-quarters of our urban Japanese in 1931 were in Vancouver—the other big urban centres had extremely few of them.

(13) In our largest cities, reviewed herein, the Canadian born surpass the number of persons in all other nativity groups combined. Those born in England are second throughout, but in all other rankings there is no consistency. In these cities the proportion of Britishers, exclusive of those of Canadian birth, has declined since 1911. The percentage of Canadian born people in Montreal, nearly 82 p.c. in 1931, exceeds by a wide margin that in Toronto, Winnipeg or Vancouver.

*The urban population in this comparison, as in all others in the part of this chapter dealing with nativity, includes only that of urban places of 1,000 and over, the balance being considered rural.

PART D
APPENDICES
PREREQUISITES TO URBAN INCORPORATION

APPENDIX I

ABBREVIATED DEFINITIONS OF URBAN MUNICIPALITIES

PREREQUISITES TO INCORPORATION IN REGARD TO POPULATION AND AREA BY PROVINCES

N.B.—The first figure in each section indicates minimum population required, unless otherwise stated.

Province	Urban Municipalities		
	City	Town	Village
Prince Edward Is...	Special legislation.	Population and area requirements not specified.	Population and area requirements not specified.
Nova Scotia.....	Special legislation for each.	1,500, of whom 150 assessed—Area not exceeding 640 acres; area may be larger if more than 1,000 persons.	No incorporated villages in ordinary sense; "Village Supply Act" applicable to any area with 400 persons and not more than 640 acres.
New Brunswick.....	Special legislation for each.	1,000—Area not specified.	300—Area not exceeding 1,500 acres.
Quebec.....	6,000—Area not specified.	2,000—Area not specified.	40 inhabited houses within 60 arpents and taxable, immoveable property on valuation roll at least $50,000; population not specified.
Ontario.....	15,000—Area not specified but town of this population may have 3,300 acres with 200 acres added for each additional 1,000 population or fraction thereof.	2,000—Area not exceeding 700 acres; 200 acres or fraction may be added for each additional 1,000 population or fraction thereof. Town in northern districts, 500—Area not exceeding 750 acres; 300 acres or fraction may be added for each additional 500 population or fraction. Districts are not municipalities.	750—Area not exceeding 500 acres; 200 acres or fraction may be added for each 1,000 population or fraction thereof over 1,000. Police village, 150—Area not exceeding 500 acres; 20 acres added for each 100 population over 500; a police village is not an incorporated village.
Manitoba.....	10,000—Area not specified but town of this population may have 1,280 acres with 160 acres added for each additional 1,000 persons.	1,500—Area not exceeding 640 acres, unless population exceeds 2,000; 160 acres added for each 1,000 persons.	500—Area not exceeding 640 acres unless population exceeds 2,000; 160 acres added for each additional 1,000 persons
Saskatchewan.....	5,000—Area not specified.	500—Area not specified.	100—Area not exceeding 240 acres.
Alberta.....	2,500 in practice, but neither population nor area specified in statutes.	700—Area of original village plus any adjoining land on which there is one dwelling or place of business for every 5 acres.	35 separate dwellings—Area, no limits specified except that no area annexed shall increase village to over 640 acres.
British Columbia.....	100 male British adults—Area not exceeding 2,000 acres, except for police purposes.	No statutory provision for the incorporation of towns.	No population or area requirement specified.

APPENDIX II

BRIEF STATEMENT OF THE LAW AND PRACTICE IN EACH PROVINCE IN REGARD TO URBAN INCORPORATION

PRINCE EDWARD ISLAND

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Towns and Villages Act, S.P.E.I. 1870, c. 20: This statute, entitled "An Act for the better government of certain towns and villages in this Island", was passed in 1870 and amended by S.P.E.I. 1874, c. 19. Incorporations may be granted under the Act but it does not specify a population requirement. No incorporations have been made under its authority.

(2) TOWNS: Towns and Villages Act, S.P.E.I. 1870, c. 20: See Item (1) above.

(3) CITIES: No general statutory provision is made for the erection of cities.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

By this term is meant a Special Act of the provincial legislature. All incorporations have been made under Special Acts.

NOVA SCOTIA

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Village Supply Act, R.S.N.S. 1923, c. 88: No statutory provision has ever been made for the incorporation of a village, but under this Act the Governor-in-Council may appoint three commissioners to be a body corporate to administer and control such affairs of a village as water supply, police and fire protection, etc. The Act specifies that the village must have a population of 400 on an area not exceeding 640 acres.

(2) TOWNS: Towns' Incorporation Act, R.S.N.S. 1923, c. 84: Section 4 reads as follows,— "No town shall be incorporated under this chapter, the population of which does not exceed 1,500 persons, 150 of whom shall be assessed and rated upon real and personal property or both, and dwell within an area (reasonably compact) of not more than 640 acres of land; provided that if 1,000 persons dwell within such an area of 640 acres, a larger area than 640 acres may be embraced in the original boundaries of the town".

(3) CITIES: There is no general statutory provision in regard to the incorporation of a city.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Cities and villages may be incorporated under Special Acts. Localities not having the statutory requirements may also be erected into towns under Special Acts.

NEW BRUNSWICK

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Villages Incorporation Act, R.S.N.B. 1927, c. 180: No statutory provision for the erection of a village existed until this Act was passed in 1920. It requires a population of 300 persons on an area not greater than 1,500 acres of land, except that under special circumstances, when the area of the proposed village contains a "relatively thickly settled population", although less than 300 persons, the Governor-in-Council may provide for its incorporation under the Act.

(2) TOWNS: Towns Incorporation Act, R.S.N.B. 1927, c. 179: Previous to the passing of this Act in 1896, no statutory provision existed for the erection of a town. Section 4 of the statute reads as follows,—"When the inhabitants of a town not now incorporated desire to become incorporated hereunder, a requisition, signed by at least fifty ratepayers of the town, shall be presented to the sheriff of the county in which such town is situate, requesting such sheriff to hold an election of the ratepayers of the town to determine whether the inhabitants thereof shall become incorporated under the provisions of this Chapter". The sheriff shall not act upon such a requisition unless he is satisfied that the population within the boundaries of the proposed town exceeds 1,000.

(3) CITIES: No general statutory provision has ever been made in regard to the erection of cities.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Cities may be erected by Special Acts. Villages and towns may also be erected under Special Acts if they have not the statutory requirements of the Villages Incorporation Act or the Towns Incorporation Act.

QUEBEC

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Municipal Code, 1916, Art. 37, annotation, 1932: Any territory, in order to be erected into a village municipality, must contain at least 40 inhabited houses within a space of 60 superficial arpents and the taxable immoveable property in such territory must have a value, according to the valuation roll in force, of at least $50,000. Nevertheless, in the case of a territory not already forming part of a city, town, village or parish municipality, and situated within 3 miles of the National Transcontinental Railway, it is sufficient for the application to be signed by at least 25 proprietors of immoveable property in such territory.

(2) TOWNS: Cities and Towns' Act, R.S.Q. 1925, c. 102: Under section 12 of the statute the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may, by letters patent and in accordance with the formalities prescribed in the Act, erect the territory of a village municipality into a town municipality, if it contain at least 2,000 souls.

(3) CITIES: Cities and Towns' Act, R.S.Q. 1925, c. 102: Under section 12 of the statute, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may, by letters patent and in accordance with the formalities prescribed in the Act, erect the territory of a village or town municipality, if it contain at least 6,000 souls, into a city municipality.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Communities unable to satisfy the statutory requirements of the Municipal Code or the Cities and Towns' Act may be erected into villages, towns and cities by Special Acts.

ONTARIO

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Municipal Act, R.S.O. 1937, c. 266: In the counties, a part of a township or parts of two or more townships or a police village, having a population exceeding 750 on an area not exceeding 500 acres, may be erected into a village. It may have 200 acres or a fraction thereof added for each additional 1,000 or fraction thereof in excess of 1,000 of its population. An addition shall not be made to any village which will have the effect of increasing its area beyond the prescribed limit. Land occupied by highways, parks and public squares and land covered by water shall be excluded in determining the area. In the northern districts, villages are incorporated by Special Acts of the Legislature. A locality may be erected into a police village, if it has a minimum population of 150 on an area not exceeding 500 acres; 20 acres may be added for each 100 population over 500. A police village, while having certain local powers, is not an incorporated village; for general municipal purposes it forms part of the township in which it is situated.

(2) TOWNS: Municipal Act, R.S.O. 1937, c. 266: In the counties, a village having a population of 2,000 may be erected into a town, which shall not exceed 500 acres for the first 1,000 or less, with 200 acres or a fraction thereof added for each additional 1,000 or fraction thereof in excess of 1,000 of its population. In the northern districts, the area of a town shall not exceed 750 acres for the first 500 of its population, with 300 acres or fraction thereof added for each additional 500 of its population or fraction thereof. An addition shall not be made to any town, which will have the effect of increasing its area beyond the prescribed limit. Land occupied by highways, parks and public squares and land covered by water shall be excluded in determining the area.

(3) CITIES: Municipal Act, R.S.O. 1937, c. 266: A town having a population of 15,000 may be erected into a city.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Localities which do not qualify as to population and area under the Municipal Act may be erected into villages, towns and cities by Special Acts.

MANITOBA

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Municipal Act, S.M. 1933, c. 57: When a locality contains over 500 inhabitants and when the residences of such inhabitants are "sufficiently close together to form an incorporated village", the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, upon petition, may by letters patent incorporate the inhabitants of such locality as a village corporation. No village so incorporated shall occupy an area of more than 640 acres, unless its population exceeds 2,000, in which case 160 acres may be added for every additional 1,000 inhabitants over the first 2,000. The Lieutenant-Governor, upon petition, and subject to the provisions of the Act, may by proclamation add to the village any part of the adjacent localities which, from the proximity of the streets or buildings therein, or the probable future exigencies of the village, it may seem desirable to add thereto.

MANITOBA—Concluded

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—Concluded

(2) TOWNS: Municipal Act, S.M. 1933, c. 57: When a locality contains over 1,500 inhabitants, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council, upon petition, may by charter or letters patent incorporate the inhabitants of such locality as a town corporation. No town incorporated after the passing of this Act, the population of which does not exceed 2,000, shall occupy an area of more than 640 acres. If the population exceeds 2,000, the limits may be increased in the proportion of 160 acres for every additional 1,000 inhabitants. Public parks are excluded in calculating area. When a village contains over 1,500 inhabitants, it may be erected into a town by proclamation.

(3) CITIES: Municipal Act, S.M. 1933, c. 57: A town containing over 10,000 inhabitants may be erected into a city by proclamation. Except in particular cases where it is especially made applicable, the Act does not apply to the City of Winnipeg or the City of St. Boniface.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Localities which do not qualify under the Municipal Act may be incorporated by Special Acts.

SASKATCHEWAN

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Village Act, S.S. 1936, c. 37: No portion of the Province shall be erected into a village with an area greater than 240 acres of land and no such portion shall be so erected unless it contains not less than 100 persons actually resident therein. It is erected by the Minister of Municipal Affairs upon petition, notice of which is published in the *Saskatchewan Gazette*. The residents of a summer resort may petition the Minister to have the area of such summer resort erected into a village, and when such village has been erected, the provisions of this Act apply with certain exceptions. The Minister may by order, notice of which shall be published in the *Saskatchewan Gazette*, (a) sever any portion of a village and annex the same to any adjoining municipality, (b) annex to any village any outlying area adjacent to but not included within the limits of any city, town or village, (c) alter and adjust the boundaries of two or more coterminous or adjacent villages or rural municipalities.

(2) TOWNS: Village Act, S.S. 1936, c. 37: Section 344 provides for the erection of villages into towns. It stipulates that no village shall be erected into a town unless it contains over 500 persons actually resident therein. It is erected by proclamation upon application of the village council.

(3) CITIES: Town Act, S.S. 1937, c. 28: Section 608 provides that upon the petition of the council the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may by proclamation to be published in the *Saskatchewan Gazette* declare any town which has a population of 5,000 or more to be a city.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Localities which do not qualify under the Village Act and Town Act may be erected into urban municipalities by Special Acts.

ALBERTA

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Town and Village Act, S.A. 1934, c. 49: By Part I of the new Act, the Minister may form into a village any part of the Province, which is not in whole or in part included in a city, town or village, if such part contains not less than 35 separate buildings, each of which has been occupied continuously as a dwelling house for a period of at least one month; he may do so of his own motion or upon receipt of a petition. The Minister may form into a summer village any summer resort either of his own motion or upon receipt of a petition. The Board of Public Utility Commissioners may by order published in the *Alberta Gazette* alter the boundaries of a village provided that no area shall be annexed to any village, the addition of which would make the area of such village more than 640 acres.

(2) TOWNS: Town and Village Act, S.A. 1934, c. 49: By Part II of the new Act, the Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may by proclamation form into a town any village, together with any land additional thereto, (a) if the village contains over 700 inhabitants, and (b) if the proposal to form the village, together with any additional land which it is desired to include with the village, into a town, has been approved by two-thirds of the electors of the village voting thereon. Any additional land must have at least one building actually occupied as a dwelling house or place of business for every five acres included therein. The proclamation shall be published in the *Alberta Gazette*. Provision is also made for alteration in the boundaries of a town; additional territory must contain at least one building actually occupied as a dwelling-house or place of business for every five acres included therein.

ALBERTA—Concluded

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—Concluded

(3) CITIES: There are no general statutory provisions for the incorporation of cities but in practice a town must have a population of 2,500 before erection into a city.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Localities which do not qualify under the aforesaid Acts may be incorporated by Special Acts. All cities are incorporated by Special Acts.

BRITISH COLUMBIA

(A) GENERAL ACTS:—

(1) VILLAGES: Village Municipalities Act, R.S.B.C. 1936, c. 203: The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may by letters patent incorporate the inhabitants of any area which is not included within the limits of any municipality a body corporate as a village municipality.
(2) TOWNS: There is no Act providing for the incorporation of towns.
(3) CITIES: Municipalities Incorporation Act, R.S.B.C. 1936, c. 202: The Lieutenant-Governor-in-Council may by letters patent incorporate into a city municipality any locality in the Province not exceeding 2,000 acres in area and having a resident population of at least 100 male British subjects of the full age of 21 years.

(B) SPECIAL ACTS:—

Localities which do not qualify under the foregoing Acts may be incorporated by Special Acts. The City of Vancouver operates under a special charter, *viz.*, "Vancouver Incorporation Act 1921 and Amendment Acts".