

Sampling Ontario Newspapers 1911-1951: Criteria, Coverage, Comparisons

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Introduction:

This is the first of a series of analytic papers to be produced at the York University Centre regarding various aspects of the CCRI/IRCS project. It describes the sampling of newspapers in the province of Ontario between 1911-1951. As a source of contextual data complementing the census data for the time period there were many newspapers available for inclusion in the sample of provincial publications. In the first two sections of this report, the criteria used to determine the sample and its coverage are discussed.

Many changes were occurring in the province and the newspaper industry during the period from which our sample is drawn. One change was the decrease in the number of newspapers published. For example, by 1913 Canada had 138 daily newspapers (Rutherford, 1978:49) and almost 40% were published in Ontario. Between 1914 and 1922, however, 40 Canadian papers ceased publication due in the most part to mergers and economic factors related to the 1913 recession (Rutherford, 1978). While the total number of papers being published was declining, the circulation rates of the papers that emerged or continued to be published increased. The circulation rate for Toronto's *Globe*, for example, was 47,120 in 1901 and by 1921 it had increased to 93,898. The circulation rate for the *Globe's* main competitor, *The Mail and Empire* was 41,181 in 1901 and by 1921 it had increased to 93,273 (McKim, 1901:236; 1922:47). In the third section of the report, selected comparisons will be discussed regarding these changing characteristics of papers published at the beginning of the 20th century in Ontario, along with a brief analysis of themes related to census taking practices and the use of census data

Criteria:

The sample of 25 Ontario newspapers for 1911 includes both full run (10) and partial run (15) newspapers for the 1911 to 1951 period as identified in various newspaper directories. Following the criteria established by the CCRI/IRCS subgroup on contextual data, the selection was made in order to represent as wide a variety of expressed opinions as possible regarding the census. First we identified over 70 full run newspapers that were at an accessible library or archives (a more detailed document fully describes these). Gilchrist's *Inventory of Ontario Newspapers: 1795-1986* was a very useful source for this task. To ensure accessibility we also consulted a variety of other directories of newspapers held at York's Scott Library, U of T's Robarts Library, the Metro Toronto Reference Library and the National Library and Archives of Canada. We drew a sample from this inventory taking into account the following criteria: the size of the city, town or village population, the geographic sub region, the political orientation of the paper, the frequency of publication and the circulation rate.

We then identified partial run newspapers based on the following additional criteria:

- Newspapers that merged and became a full run newspaper during the time period (12).
- Newspapers that were ethno-cultural and non-English language (3).

Many of the criteria listed above could be determined from a variety of newspaper directories, inventories and checklists. Language of publication, for example, was considered by consulting McLaren's checklist of ethno-cultural newspapers. Other directories were a valuable source of information on the population size, political orientation, circulation rates and language of publication of newspapers. Two directories in particular were consulted for sampling decisions regarding 1911 newspapers. The first was *The N.W. Ayer and Son's American Annual and Directory* for 1912 and the second one was A. McKim's *The Canadian Newspaper Directory* for 1911. Both directories published information on the newspapers and periodicals published in Canada by province for the year or 9 month period prior to the date of issue of the report. Thus the Ayer information is actually based on 1911 data rather than 1912 data and the McKim directory is based on 1910 information. As McKim did not publish a 1912 volume, the 1911 edition was used.

Coverage:

- The population size of an incorporated city/town/village served by a newspaper was derived from categories defined in Volume 1 of the 1911 *Census of Canada*: large (greater than 30,000), medium (5,000 to 29,999), small (less than 5,000).¹
- Political orientation was defined as liberal, conservative, independent, reform, local, social, labour or other. This information was obtained from a variety of newspaper directories. We adopted their classifications.
- Frequency of publication was derived from the McKim and Ayer directories and was defined as how often a paper was published. The categories were daily, weekly, semi-weekly or tri-weekly.
- The five geographic regions used to sample Ontario newspapers were derived from the original ten regions contained in Plate 103 of the 1969 volume of the *Economic Atlas of Ontario*, as there is no consensus on boundaries for dividing the province of Ontario into geographic regions. The text accompanying the maps in this series on administrative regions suggests that every provincial government ministry used a different set of administrative areas. Moreover, the decisions on which regions and counties are included in an administrative area are usually based on expediency for logistical and administrative purposes. The Department of Economics and Development designed Map 4 in this series: 'Economic Regions'. The original ten categories within this map are as follows: Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie, Mid Western Ontario, Georgian Bay, Niagara, Central Ontario, Lake Ontario, Eastern Ontario, North Eastern and Lakehead North Western. For sampling purposes we selected the following: N = Northern (North Eastern and North Western); SW = South Western (Lake St. Clair, Lake Erie, Mid Western Ontario and the western part of Niagara); SC = South Central (Central Ontario and part of Niagara); SE = South Eastern (Lake Ontario, Eastern Ontario); GB = Georgian Bay (Georgian Bay).

¹ From Tables I and XIII in *Fifth Census of Canada 1911, Volume I: Areas and Population by Provincial Districts and Subdistricts*.

Table 1 shows the counties included in each of the 5 categories. Please refer to Appendix 1 for a map of the geographic coverage of the sample.

Category	Original 10 Categories	Counties
Northern (N)	North Eastern Lakehead North Western	Algoma, Cocharane, Manatoulin, Nipissing Sudbury, Timiskaming, Kenora, Rainy River
South Western (SW)	Lake St. Clair Lake Erie Mid Western Ontario Part of Niagara	Essex, Kent, Lambton Elgin, Middlesex, Norfolk, Oxford Huron, Perth, Waterloo, Wellington Brant, Haldimand
South Central (SC)	Central Ontario Part of Niagara	Halton, Ontario, Peel, York Lincoln, Welland, Wentworth
South Eastern (SE)	Lake Ontario Eastern Ontario	Durham, Northumberland, Haliburton, Hastings, Lennox and Addington, Peterborough, Prince Edward Carleton, Dundas, Stormont, Glengary, Frontenac, Grenville, Leeds, Lanark, Prescott, Russell, Renfrew
Georgian Bay (GB)	Georgian Bay	Bruce, Dufferin, Grey, Muskoka, Parry Sound, Simcoe

- Circulation rates were identified in the McKim and Ayer directories. A circulation rate of greater than 10,000 is categorized as large, a circulation rate between 1,000 – 10,000 is categorized as medium and a circulation rate of less than 1,000 is categorized as small. In most cases the publisher provided McKim and Ayer with either a detailed, sworn statement or an affidavit of average circulation for the date during the calendar year or nine months immediately preceding date of issue of the directory. When sworn statements were not provided, the rating was estimated as accurately as possible. For some papers, McKim and Ayer did not report any circulation rate. For McKim, the calendar year immediately preceding the date of issue is 1910, whereas for Ayer the period of not less than nine months preceding date of report is 1911.

The Sample:

Toronto's *Star*, *Mail and Empire* and *Globe*, Ottawa's *Evening Citizen* and London's *Free Press* were selected to represent major dailies with a circulation rate over 10,000 in urban areas with a population over 30,000 in 1911. Ottawa's French language paper, *Le Temps* has a mid range circulation rate of less than 5,000, but was selected to reflect the bilingual nature of Ontario's capital. In 1921 this paper will be replaced with *Le Droit* as *Le Temps* ceased publication in 1916. The *Sudbury Star* was included as representative of a northern daily paper with a small rate of circulation and a small population of below 5,000 in 1911, but one that increases substantially by 1951.

Coverage of different geographic areas with a mid-range population between 5,000 – 29,000 and various circulation rates recommended the following dailies, Windsor's *Evening Record*, Kingston's *British Whig and Standard*, Port Arthur's *Daily News*, Cobalt's *Nugget* and Port Hope's *Evening Guide*. Owen Sound's *Sun and Times* are two weeklies that represent the Georgian Bay area with medium population and midrange circulation rates between 1,000 – 10,000. The *Sault Star* was included as representative of a weekly paper with a small rate of circulation that became a larger daily paper as the population in this northern town increased from slightly over 10,000 in 1911 to become a large city by 1951.

A selection of weeklies represents 4 geographic sub regions with small populations of below 5,000 and either medium or small circulation rates. St. Marys *Argus* and St. Marys *Journal* in western Ontario and the *Weston-York Times* and Beaverton's *Express* in central Ontario are included to provide coverage of medium circulation rates. Three other weekly newspapers in the sample with small circulation rates and small town/village populations are the *Fort Erie Times*, the *Prescott Journal* and the *Mildmay Gazette*.

Representing ethnic language newspapers other than *Le Temps* noted above, are the *Berliner Journal*, a weekly German language paper published in Berlin and *Työkansa*, a weekly, Finnish labour paper published in Port Arthur. During the life of the project other ethnic partial run papers will be added, as they become available.

Table A (please see Appendix 2) summarizes the newspapers selected to represent all of the different criteria. Some papers appear in the table that are not in the sample yet, but will be covered over the life of the project. During the period 1911-1951, some newspapers such as Toronto's *Globe and Mail and Empire*, Kingston's *Whig and Standard*, Owen Sound's *Sun and Times* and St. Marys *Journal* and *Argus* merged to become part of a newly named paper. Others were absorbed or continued by another established paper emerging later in the period 1911-1951. This is the case for the *Windsor Evening Record*, the *Port Arthur Daily News* and the *Cobalt Nugget*. We treat them as two papers and read both wherever possible. Information for both newspapers was gathered as an additional criterion for our sample in order to capture the variety of political viewpoints expressed in Ontario's press in the first decades of the last century.

Some Selected Comparisons:

W.H. Kesterton, a Canadian press historian, notes that population growth, especially urban population growth, technological innovation in the newspaper industry and growth in the advertising industry are the main factors that have formed and continue to change the modern Canadian press (Kesterton, 1984:65). Moreover, societal and economic changes resulting in a more literate, educated and consumer-oriented population have also played a role in the transformation of Canadian journalism. Within the newspaper industry itself, these factors have interacted to lead to two trends characteristic of newspapers published in Ontario: a decrease in the number of papers published and an increase in circulation rates.

Newspapers provide a unique source of historical information about the public and political understanding of the response to the federal census, however, the numbers of papers and circulation rates altered significantly over the decades under study. Changes to circulation rates

not only influenced the size but also the content of the newspapers being published. Therefore, to assess the nature of newspaper accounts of the census, it is necessary to recognize this changing context of publication. We analyzed the two trends, namely, the decrease in the number of papers published and the increase in circulation rates, by examining the McKim newspaper directories of 1901, 1911 and 1922 for Ontario newspapers. When relevant, we consider historical factors to explain these trends within the context of Canadian journalism.

Decreases in the Number of Newspapers:

An analysis of Table 2 reveals that the total number of Ontario newspapers decreased from 678 in 1901 to 592 by 1921². Even though there was an increase to a total of 705 papers for 1911, this is in line with what occurred in Canada as the Canadian press reached its zenith by 1913 (Kesterton, 1984; Fetherling, 1990). There was a very slight decline in the percentage of dailies as a percentage of all papers published for a given year from just 8% in 1901 to just over 7% in 1921. A somewhat larger decline occurred for the percentage of weekly papers published in Ontario. The percentage of weeklies declined from 67% of all papers published in 1901 to almost 62% of all papers published in 1921. As is found in the rest of Canada, weeklies, which were more likely to be found in smaller rural communities outnumbered dailies which were found in larger urban areas and cities (Desbarats, 1990). The number of weeklies peaked in 1911 in Ontario with 463 being published and then declined by almost 100 to 364 by 1921.

Frequency of Publication	Year of Publication		
	1901	1911	1921
Daily	8.1	7.8	7.3
Weekly	67.3	65.7	61.5
Monthly ⁴	18.4	20.3	23.6
Other ⁵	6.2	6.2	7.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	678	705	592

What is of interest regarding dailies compared to weeklies is that, in terms of actual numbers of dailies being published in 1901 and 1911, 55 were published in both years. Thus, Ontario did not seem to experience the same amount of growth in the number of dailies published between 1901 and 1911 as the other Canadian provinces. Much of the expansion in the daily press occurred in the west (Rutherford, 1978:49). By 1921, however, Ontario started to see the same reduction in the number of dailies being published in both large and small cities. In terms of actual numbers the decrease was from 55 to 43 between 1911 and 1921. This finding is similar

² McKim published information on the newspapers and periodicals published in Canada by province for the year or 9 month period prior to the date of issue of the report. Thus the McKim information for 1901, 1911 and 1922 is actually based on 1900, 1910 and 1921 data respectively.

³ Sources: McKim, 1901: 212-224; McKim, 1911:258-272; McKim, 1922:136-168 and *xix*.

⁴ McKim (1922:*xix*) counts 141 monthly publications, however a manual check counts 140 monthly publications.

⁵ The category Other includes tri-weekly, semi-weekly, bi-weekly, semi-monthly, bi-monthly, quarterly and miscellaneous.

to the rest of Canada for dailies and weeklies due to mergers and the economic downturn that occurred in 1913. As Rutherford (1978:51) argues, the recession of 1913, wartime inflation, high wages, lagging advertising revenues and expensive newsprint prices all played a role in the demise of 40 Canadian dailies between 1914 and 1922. Other related factors that explain this reduction are the emergence of newspaper chains like that of the Southam family⁶ and competition from more established papers whose success enabled them to put weaker papers out of business. Support for these related factors can be found by analyzing what was happening to Ontario dailies between 1901 and 1921.

A more detailed examination focussing specifically on **dailies** published in Ontario and reported in the McKim newspaper directories reveals that 73 daily newspapers were actually published in Ontario between 1901 and 1921. Twenty-eight or approximately 38% remained in print throughout the period, 25 ceased publication and 20 united with another weekly or daily to form a new paper. To reflect the changing nature of the newspaper industry, the Ontario sample includes a selection of daily publications that remained in print as well as ceased publication and/or united with another paper throughout the time period.

Many of the 73 daily newspapers were established during the mid- to late-nineteenth century. There was some growth in the industry, however. Ten of the dailies were established between 1904 and 1921. Five of these became strong and remained in print, most notably, Ottawa's *Le Droit* in 1913 and Windsor's *Border Cities Star* in 1914 both of which are included in our sample. On the other hand, 5 others were both established and ended between 1904 and 1921 as they simply ceased publication and were not taken over by or merged with another paper.

Twenty-five dailies, representing 34% of the 73 dailies, ceased publication. Of these 25, 17 simply stopped being published most likely due to economic factors since many of them had end dates between 1914 and 1920. Of the 17, 15 were not picked up by another paper and 2 continued on under a different name, whereas the remaining eight papers were absorbed by another rival newspaper between 1912 and 1924. In 1912, the *Galt Reporter* absorbed the *Galt Reformer*. In 1918 two more dailies disappeared when the *Brockville Record and Times* was formed by the *Times* absorbing the *Record* and when the *Niagara Falls Review* absorbed the *Niagara Falls Record*. Two other dailies were absorbed in 1919 when the *Courier* absorbed the *Expositor* in Brantford and the *Review* absorbed the *Examiner* in Peterborough. In the 1920's, the number of Toronto dailies was reduced with the loss of the *News* in 1919 when it ceased publication and then, in 1920, when the *Mail and Empire* absorbed the *World*. The *World* masthead remained in print under the ownership of the *Mail and Empire* for the weekly Sunday edition until the *Toronto Star* weekly absorbed it in 1924 (Gilchrist, 19:180). In the early 1920's the *Chatham News* in 1923 and the *Guelph Mercury* in 1924 absorbed two more dailies, the *Chatham Planet* and the *Guelph Herald* respectively. With these takeovers, the concentration of ownership increased and, with the exception of Toronto, which still had 5 dailies, *The Star*, *The Globe*, *The Mail and Empire*, *The Telegram* and the newly established *Hebrew Journal*, these areas became represented by only one paper.

⁶ William Southam gained control of the *Hamilton Spectator* in 1877 and, with his sons, the *Ottawa Citizen* in 1897. In 1908 the *Calgary Herald*, in 1912 the *Edmonton Journal*, in 1920 the *Winnipeg Tribune* and in 1923 the *Vancouver Province* came under his control. The Southam family also gained control of the *Medicine Hat News* in 1948 and the *North Bay Nugget* in 1956 (Kesterton, 1984; Fetherling, 1990).

Single-newspaper cities and towns became the norm in other areas as mergers were also occurring in Ontario's newspaper industry. In 1901 there were only 8 single-newspaper cities and towns, but by 1921 there were 17⁷. The uniting of two papers occurred for 20 of the 73 daily papers and accounts for slightly over 25% of the dailies published during this period. When the papers united with another daily or, in a few cases a weekly newspaper, both original papers ceased publication and usually a new masthead was created reflecting the names of the two original papers. This occurred for dailies in 1908 suggesting that economic constraints related to the 1913 recession may not have been the only motive behind mergers. In Kingston, the *News* and *Times* merged and the *Daily Standard* was formed, most likely as a competitor for the *British Whig*. Then the *Standard* united with the *British Whig* to form the *Whig-Standard* in 1926. Also in 1908, in St. Catharines the *Star-Journal* was created, but then ceased publication in 1920, leaving St. Catharines with one paper, the *Standard*. Port Arthur's two dailies, the *News* and the *Chronicle*, established in 1906 and 1903, united in 1916 to form the *News-Chronicle*. In 1918 the *Star-Journal* was created in St. Thomas. In 1917 a weekly and a daily united to form Sarnia's *Canadian Observer* and in 1921, two weeklies united to form the *Owen Sound Sun-Times*. For 10 other papers located in 5 areas, the merge did not occur until later in the 1920's or the 1930's, suggesting that concentration and competition was more likely the reason than sales or circulation. In the 1920's, the *News-Record* was formed (1922) in Kitchener (known as Berlin until 1916), in Stratford, the *Beacon-Herald* was formed in 1923 and in 1926 the two papers noted above were united in Kingston. In 1930, the *Intelligencer* was established in Belleville and in 1936, Toronto's *Globe and Mail* was created.

Thus, the number of Ontario newspapers decreased and the concentration of ownership increased. More efficient business practices, maintaining profits and obtaining advertising revenues became the focus of newspaper owners and publishers rather than just printing local news and political viewpoints. Appealing to a larger and larger audience was necessary in order to maintain a competitive edge in a changing industry whose proprietors needed to sustain readership. As a result, at the beginning of the 20th century the increase in circulation rates becomes more evident.

The Increase in Circulation Rates:

The circulation rates of Table 3 for all papers published in Ontario between 1901 and 1921 reported in the McKim directories supports the notion that circulation rates were increasing in Ontario. While the percentage of newspapers published with small circulation rates of below 1,000 decreased from 37% to 22%, the percentage of newspapers with medium rates of circulation increased from 39% to 50%. The circulation rates changed very slightly between 1911 and 1921 for papers with large circulation rates suggesting that the trend may have stabilized during this time period. Further evidence supporting this interpretation can be found as the largest decrease (14%) occurred for newspapers with small circulation rates between 1901 and 1911 while for papers with medium rates of circulation, the increase was only about 5%

⁷ Single daily newspaper cities and towns in 1901 were: Fort William, Ingersoll, Lindsay, Niagara Falls, Port Hope, Rat Portage (later Kenora), Sarnia, and Windsor. By 1921 single daily newspaper cities and towns were: Brantford, Brockville, Fort William, Galt, Lindsay, Niagara Falls, North Bay, Oshawa, Owen Sound, Peterborough, Port Arthur, Port Hope, St. Catharines, St. Thomas, Sarnia, Sault Ste. Marie and Woodstock.

during the same time period. Similar results are obtained if the rather large unknown percentages for not given are removed from the analysis. See Appendix 3 Table B.

Circulation Rate	Year of Publication		
	1901	1911	1921
Small (< 999)	37.1	22.6	22.4
Med. (1,000-9,999)	39.9	44.9	50.2
Large (10,000+)	4.4	6.6	8.8
Not Given	18.6	25.9	18.6
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	678	705	592

The circulation rates in Table 4 reveal that the trend is more evident for the **dailies** produced in Ontario between 1901 and 1921. The total circulation rate of daily papers published in Ontario for 25 cities and towns in 1901 was 309,306. This rate increased by almost 200,000 to 506,560 in 27 places in 1911 and then increased by more than 200,000 again to 731,093 in 28 Ontario urban areas by 1921. As Kesterton (1984:69) suggests, however, it is impossible to calculate exact circulation rates given the data available. The totals, however, are based on 50 of 55 publications for 1901, 53 of 55 publications for 1911, and 42 of 43 publications for 1921. The average circulation rate of small and medium papers published in 1901 was approximately 2,584. The average rate rose to about 2,999 in 1911 and then in 1921, to 4,582. For the daily newspapers with large circulation rates the average circulation rate was 28,316 in 1901, increasing to 34,600 in 1911 and then again to 46,017 by 1921. Most of the changes occurred among daily newspapers with medium rates of circulation.

Circulation Rate	Year of Publication		
	1901	1911	1921
Small (< 999)	14.0	3.8	2.4
Med. (1,000-2,999)	52.0	45.2	14.3
Med. (3,000-9,999)	20.0	30.2	52.4
Large (10,000+)	14.0	20.8	30.9
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N¹⁰	50	53	42

In 1901, large circulation rates were reported for only Toronto's *Globe*, *Mail and Empire*, *Star*, *World*, *News*, and *Telegram* and London's *Free Press*. In 1911, four more papers moved from a medium rate of circulation to a large rate of circulation. Two of Hamilton's papers, the *Herald* and the *Spectator* obtained circulation rates of 11,573 and 17,000 respectively as well as

⁸ Sources: McKim, 1901: 212-224; McKim, 1911:258-272; McKim, 1922:136-168 and *xix*.

⁹ Sources: McKim, 1901: 237; McKim, 1911:258-272; McKim, 1922:473.

¹⁰ Data was missing for 5 papers in 1901, 2 papers in 1911 and 1 paper in 1921.

Ottawa's *Citizen* with a rate of 14,584 and London's *Advertiser* with a rate of 16,276. By 1921, Toronto still had the most dailies with the highest circulation rates, however, the circulation rates for Ottawa's *Journal*, Brantford's *Expositor* and Windsor's *Border Cities Star* also rose. To reflect this changing trend in the newspaper industry, the Ontario sample includes a selection of daily publications with large circulation rates.

The trend towards higher circulation rates in Ontario's press at the beginning of the twentieth century can be explained by a combination of factors occurring within the province of Ontario as well as the newspaper industry. Factors that explain the trends in circulation rates include a rise in population, urbanization, technological change and growth in the advertising industry. These factors are related to the size of the papers and the content of the papers themselves. The growth in population¹¹, more specifically, urban population growth, only explains part of the reason for the increase in circulation rates even though daily newspaper circulations were rising at a faster rate than the overall population of the country (Kesterton, 1984:70). Technological innovation in the newspaper industry played a role in the change in circulation rates which in turn influenced the size and the content of the papers.

As ownership became more concentrated and newspapers were run like big businesses, newspaper owners and publishers embraced newer forms of technology that were becoming available in an era of mass consumption to produce their papers. In order to meet readership demand and stay competitive, faster presses, teletypes and typesetting machines enabled the owners of newspapers to mass produce the news and present it in ways that would appeal to a mass audience. As a result the size of daily newspapers increased from 8-12 pages characteristic of earlier times to 16-30 and sometimes even more than 40 pages for a Saturday edition. This trend is evident in newspapers in the Ontario sample. Ottawa's *Citizen* was 8 pages in 1901 and by 1921 was listed as having 12-48 pages, London's *Free Press* was reported to have 8-16 pages per edition and then by 1921 it reported 10-40 pages. Even smaller daily papers such as the *Sault Star* had increased in size from the standard 8 pages to 10 pages by 1921.

The style and content of papers also changed to attract new readers and subscribers. As Rutherford (1978:59) notes, new sections were included that were specifically designed for a family audience, especially in the weekend papers. This is evident in many of the papers in the Ontario sample. For example in 1911 Toronto's *Globe*, Port Arthur's *Daily News* and Ottawa's *Citizen* had a section on women's issues. The *Toronto Daily Star* advertised that its "new features, bright cartoons, special woman's page – these and other up-to-date departments have placed the *Toronto Star* in the first rank of the afternoon papers in Canada" (McKim, 1901:23). In 1911, *The Mail and Empire* advertised that an extra 15% would need to be paid by advertisers wishing to place ads on "special" local, women's or financial pages (McKim, 1911:23).

¹¹ Between 1901 and 1911 Canada's population increased by 34.2% and by 21.9% between 1911 and 1921 (Statistics Canada, 2004d). In Ontario, the population grew from 2,182,947 in 1901 to 2,527,292 in 1911 representing only a 15.8% increase (Statistics Canada, 2004a; 2004b). By 1921 it had reached 2,933,662 representing an increase of 16.1% (Statistics Canada, 2004a; 2004b). Canada also experienced a 62.5% change in urban population between 1901 and 1911 and a 33.0% change between 1911 and 1921 (Statistics Canada, 2004c; 2004d). In urban areas in Ontario, such as Toronto, the population increased from 225,000 to 519,290 between 1901 and 1921 and in Hamilton from 60,000 to 113,894.

While the newer machinery made it possible to produce a larger more appealing newspaper, it also made it necessary because production costs were very high. Producing a larger paper meant maintaining the equipment, acquiring more materials such as paper and ink and hiring staff to produce and distribute it (Vipond, 2000). As a means of paying for the production of a newspaper ads played a key role. Advertising revenues became a very important factor to explain high circulation rates as advertising provided “the economic basis without which the press could not exist” (Kesterton, 1984:83). It is therefore not surprising that papers wanted the largest readership possible as obtaining higher circulation rates was directly linked to higher advertising revenues for the higher the circulation rates, the higher the advertising revenues.¹²

The pursuit of higher advertising revenues in turn shaped the content of Canadian newspapers in the early twentieth century as owners used any means possible to attract readers and advertisers. Some papers offered special rates, subscription price cuts and even giveaways to attract new readers¹³ (Vipond, 2000:20). Others toned down the content of editorials or featured columnists so that the paper would “appeal to the hearts and minds of the masses” rather than to a particular political interest group (Rutherford, 1978:63). These changes are evident in papers in the Ontario sample. For example, *The Star’s* editors “developed a homely argument that spoke to the little man in his own parlance” (Rutherford, 1978:63). Others featured resident columnists like the *Mail and Empire’s* ‘Flaneur’ or *The Star’s* ‘Madge Merton’ who were free to present commentary on issues without committing the newspaper itself to a particular point of view or offending loyal readers and advertisers (Rutherford, 1978:63). The end result of these practices was to increase the circulation rates of newspapers published in Ontario. We have examined the changing context of publication to place the Ontario newspaper sample within its historical context. As newspapers are an informative source about the political and social nature of accounts of the census, we now turn to an analysis of some selected themes.

Selected Themes

A preliminary analysis of some select newspaper articles from weekly and daily newspapers that were read uncovered broadly similar themes related to census taking practices, census variables or the use of census data. In some cases, however, at times places with large populations such as Toronto reported on issues differently than places with smaller populations such as Port Arthur or Cobalt, but generally there were many similarities. This finding is consistent with what Fetherling has noted regarding writing style and literary tone in newspaper items and columns for elite papers versus popular papers. According to Fetherling, (1990:110) “writing style alone was enough to distinguish popular papers from elite ones, but publications in both camps were more alike than they were dissimilar.”

¹² Many newspapers advertised that they had successfully raised circulation rates or why they would be the best medium for an advertiser in the McKim directories. In an ad published by the *Hamilton Spectator* in the 1922 McKim directory, the Spectator Printing Company made the direct link between readers and advertising. The ad claims that “the *Spectator* is the Great Home paper in its field, and is noted for its intense reader interest, hence its remarkable results giving power” and that their advertising rates were “much lower than any other medium when service is considered” (McKim, 1922:145).

¹³ Others increased circulation in other ways such as the *Kitchener Daily Record’s* owners who advertised that they had increased circulation “by 60 per cent in three years without contests or premiums” (McKim, 1922:157)

The first example deals with how discrepancies in the census returns were viewed in areas of different population size. The second example concerns policy implications regarding immigration. The third example addresses how congestion in the city is viewed in a small developing area and a larger, more established urban area. The last example shows how population data from the 1911 census is used to further an agenda of population development.

Sometimes local issues in areas such as Woodstock or Porcupine were included in a major daily like Toronto's *Globe* or *Mail and Empire* as a special report or dispatch. Thus, it should be noted that some of these examples are from these papers even though they are related to smaller or local population issues.

Example 1: The Census Taking and Other Enumeration Practices		
Newspaper and Date	Headline and Selected Text	Comparisons
<i>Port Arthur Daily News</i> Oct 21, 1911 (page 5)	Says Census is Short "The Dominion enumerators were mere schoolboys and I know whole sections that they never went into."	Enumerators are blamed in Port Arthur.
<i>The Globe</i> Sept. 30, 1911 (page 6)	Toronto 800,000 In Next Five Years "It is well known that the figures of population obtained by the assessors are considerably below the actual population, as many persons ignorantly withhold full information along this line in the fear that, their taxes, in some way, may be advanced."	Citizens are blamed in Toronto.
<i>The Globe</i> Oct 19, 1911 (page 3) (Special Despatch to The Globe) Woodstock Oct 18 -.	WOODSTOCK'S POPULATION. Discrepancy between Assessor's returns and the Census Figures "This caused much surprise until it was discovered that the assessor had included transient guests at hotels, college and collegiate students, patients at the hospitals, etc."	Census Commissioner Dr. Mearns blames assessors.
<i>The Globe</i> July 11, 1911 (page 2)	What Figures Show "They are very much pleased that they were able to secure all the returns without getting out a single summons."	Neither enumerators nor citizens are blamed in Hamilton.
Example 2: Immigration and Policy Development		
Newspaper and Date	Headline and Selected Text	Comparisons
<i>Cobalt Nugget</i> Oct 19, 1911 (page 5)	The Greatest Issue in Ontario "It is their duty to demand of the Ontario Government to put into force a vigorous colonization policy, backed by a vigorous development policy for Northern Ontario, and for the representatives of Ontario in the Dominion Parliament to get the national government to give Ontario a share in her broader colonization propaganda."	Demand for immigrants in the North through colonization policy.
<i>Mail and Empire</i> May 26, 1911 (page 5)	Town Planning Was Explained "The improvement of the housing would help Canadians deal with the problem of the undesirable immigrant. If restrictions concerning the homes were made, it would improve the standard of the lives of these immigrants or else keep out the undesirable ones." ... "Such a law would not be too arbitrary and it would serve to clean out slum districts."	Demand for control of "undesirable immigrants" through housing laws.

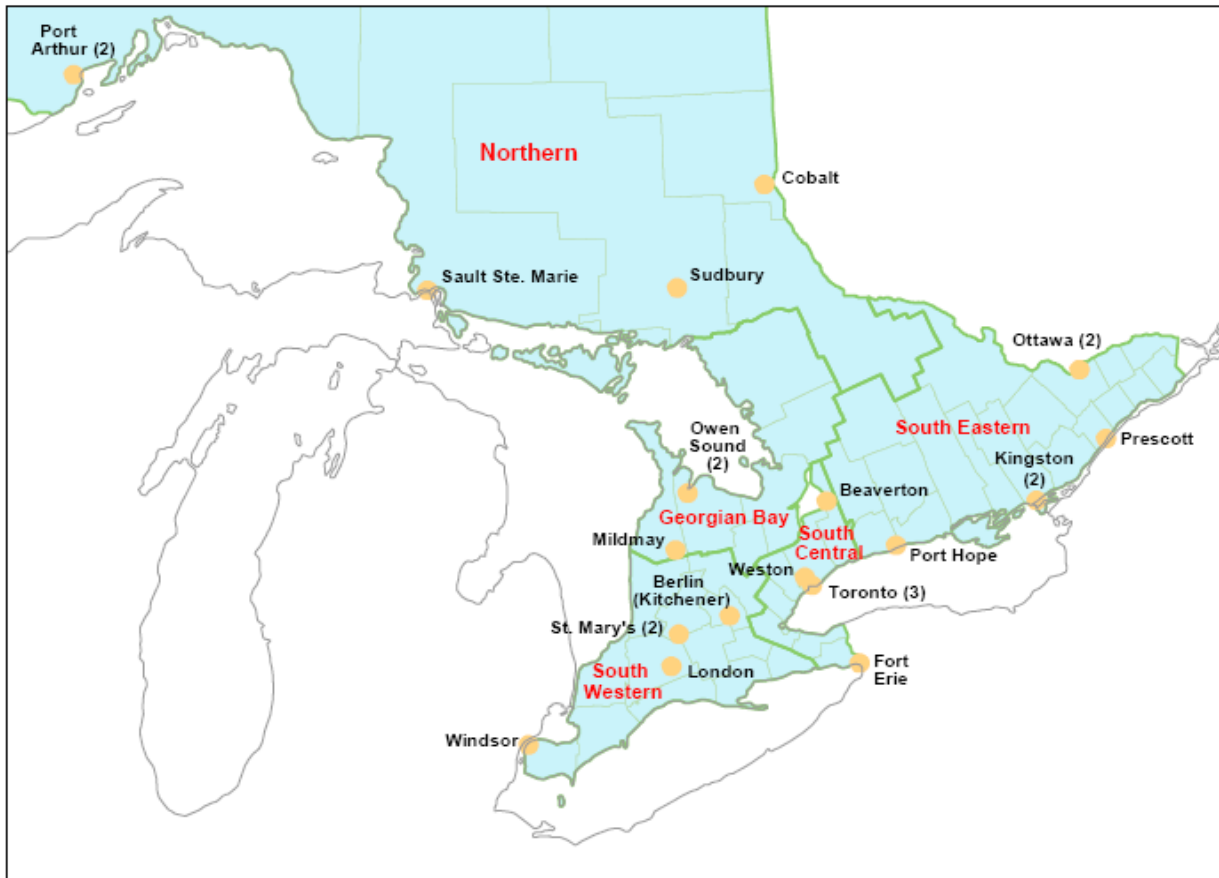
Example 3 Congestion in the City		
Newspaper and Date	Headline and Selected Text	Comparisons
<i>The Globe</i> July 27, 1911 (page 4) (Special Despatch to The Globe) Porcupine July 26 - .	Too Many Men at Golden City “Golden City is hopelessly congested with men at the present time and will be for two full weeks.” “If the community be given a little time to breathe it will absorb all the people that can come up here, but the congestion of people in all the descriptions of make-shifts cannot but be attended with grave danger.”	Although congestion is problematized, Porcupine is willing to accommodate extra people.
<i>The Mail and Empire</i> June 23, 1911 (page 6)	“According to the estimate of the Census Commissioner for the Centre Toronto district, the population of the “Ward” has increased, notwithstanding the great displacement of dwellings there by public buildings and by manufacturing establishments. The enumerators are said to have found a serious state of congestion in parts of the “Ward” there being in some cases as many as six families in a six-roomed house. There is no need for such overcrowding and if it continues to be tolerated some persons in authority must be made to answer for it.”	Congestion in Toronto’s Centre District Ward is not tolerated.
Example 4: Population Statistics and Growth		
Newspaper and Date	Headline and Selected Text	Comparisons
<i>The Globe</i> Nov 27, 1911 (page 13) Advertisement in <i>The Globe</i>	OWEN SOUND CANADA’S NEXT CITY “The Owen Sound Department of Publicity has sounded its Nineteen-twelve slogan –“Owen Sound a City.”” “In point of population (12,555) Owen Sound is larger than some Ontario cities, but with commendable pride here people say: “We will assume cityhood by right of numbers not by special legislation.”” ... And Owen Sound wants 2,445 more people to make her a city next year. Watch Owen Sound – they are her’s.”	Owen Sound uses local census data to promote its becoming a city.
<i>Cobalt Nugget</i> Oct 23, 1911 (page 4)	Sir James’ Opportunity “We have seen from the recent census returns that of the go-ahead provinces, Ontario lags behind in the matter of population.” “ ‘Develop the Northland.’ Let that be the slogan. The Nugget believes that the country is ready to follow the leadership that will direct to that end.”	Cobalt uses provincial census data to promote development of the north.

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Appendix 1



Appendix 2

Table A: Newspaper Sample by Population, Region, Run, Frequency, Political Orientation, and Circulation for Ontario, 1911-1951

Population	City (C), Town (T), Village (V)	Region	Newspaper and Run	D (Daily) W (Weekly)	Political Orientation ¹	Circ. Rate ²
Large 30,000+	Toronto (C) 376,240	SC	<i>Toronto Daily Star</i> 1892 -	D	Ind./Lib. Lib.	69,503 74,035
			<i>Globe</i> 1844, Mar 05 –1936, Nov 21//	D	Lib.	55,796 56,371
			<i>Mail and Empire</i> 1895, Feb 07 –1936, Nov 21//	D	Con.	44,364 45,879
			<i>Globe and Mail</i> 1936 -	D		
	London (C) 46,177	SW	<i>Free Press</i> 1855, May 05 -	D	Con.	25,385 28,529
	Ottawa (C) 86,340	SC	<i>Ottawa Citizen</i> 1859 -	D	Lib./Con. Ind./Con.	14,584 14,719
			<i>Le Temps</i> No 03 1894 – Mar 1916//	D	Lib.	3,300 4,200
			<i>Le Droit</i> 1913 -	D		
Medium 5,000-29,999	Windsor (C) 17,819	SW	<i>Evening Record</i> 1890 – 1918, Aug 31//	D	Ind./Lib. Lib.	3,750 4,000
			<i>Border Cities Star</i> 1917 – 1935//	D		
			<i>Windsor Daily Star</i> 1935 -	D		
	Kingston (C) 18,815	SE	<i>Daily British Whig</i> 1834, Feb 08 - 1926, Nov 29//	D	Lib.	4,166 4,190
			<i>Daily Standard</i> 1908 – 1926//	D	Con. Ind./Con.	2,999 3,294
			<i>Whig Standard</i> Dec 01, 1926 -	W		
			Sudbury (T) 4,140	N	<i>Star</i> 1909, Jan 11 -	D/2W/ 3W
Port Arthur (C) 11,216	N	<i>Daily News</i> 1906 Feb 08 –1916, Feb 18//	D	Ind./Con.	2,250 not given	

¹ The first entry under political orientation is based on McKim (1911) and the second is based on Ayer (1912). If there is not a second entry, the Ayer and McKim classifications are identical. Con. = Conservative; Lib. = Liberal; Ind. = Independent; Ref. = Reform; Loc. = Local; Soc. = Social; Lab. = Labour.

² Note on source of circulation rates: First refers to McKim (1911); second refers to Ayer (1912).

Population	City (C), Town (T), Village (V)	Region	Newspaper and Run	D (Daily) W (Weekly)	Political Orientation ¹	Circ. Rate ²
			<i>News Chronicle</i> 1916 – 1972//	D		
			<i>Työkansa</i> 1906-1915//	W	Soc. Lab.	2,000 not given
	Owen Sound (T) 12,555	GB	<i>Owen Sound Sun</i> 1890 – 1918//	W/2W	Lib.	3,406 3,250
			<i>Owen Sound Times</i> 1854 – 1918, Oct //	W/2W	Con.	3,000 2,250
			<i>Owen Sound Sun Times</i> 1918 – Jan 1922 //	W		
			<i>Owen Sound Sun Times</i> 1922, Jan 01 – 1977, June 01//	D		
	Sault Ste. Marie (T) 10,179	N	<i>Sault Star</i> 1899 – Mar 9, 1912 // <i>Daily Star</i> 1897 -	W D	Con.	1,600 2,177
	Cobalt (T) 5,629	N	<i>Nugget</i> 1906 – 1921//	D/W	Ind.	2,750 4,050
	North Bay	N	<i>Nugget</i> 1906 -	D/W/ 2W/ 3W		
	Port Hope (T) 5,089	SC	<i>Evening Guide</i> 1878, Jan 01-	D	Lib. Ref.	750 950
	St. Marys (T) 3,884	SW	<i>St. Marys Argus</i> 1857, Jan 01 – 1920, Oct 28//	W	Ref.	1,750 1,750
			<i>St. Marys Journal</i> 1853 – 1920//	W	Con.	2,260 2,303
			<i>St. Marys Journal – Argus</i> 1920, Nov 04 -	W		
	Berlin (Kitchener) (C) 15,192	SW	<i>Berliner Journal</i> 1859, Dec 29 – 1917, Jan//	W	Ind.	4,847 4,806
Small < 5,000	Weston (T) 1,750	SC	<i>Weston-York Times</i> 1890-1974, Aug 07//	W	Ind.	1,000 1,235
	Beaverton (T) 855	SC	<i>Express</i> 1880 -	W	Ind.	1,000 1,000
	Mildmay (V) 1,200	GB	<i>Mildmay Gazette</i> 1899 -	W	Loc.	500 800
	Prescott (T) 3,019	SE	<i>Prescott Journal</i> 1890, Mar 13 -	W	Ref.	750 600
	Fort Erie (V) 900	SC	<i>Times</i> 1895-1931//	W	Ind.	not given 1,000
			<i>Times Review</i> 1931 -	W		

Appendix 3

Circulation Rate	Year of Publication		
	1901	1911	1921
Small (< 999)	45.5	30.5	27.6
Med. (1,000-9,999)	49.1	60.7	61.6
Large (10,000+)	5.4	8.8	10.8
Total %	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total N	552	522	482

¹⁴ Sources: McKim, 1901:212-224; McKim, 1911:258-272; McKim, 1922:136-168 and *xix*.