The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canad
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explanation as to the meaning of life). We all need religion and we cannot do without it. It follows that if some religions are declining then others, especially new ones, will be gaining. Stark and associates pay much attention to how specific religions decline and others take their place. Bibby suggests that there is no Canadian parallel to the situation in the United States. Affiliation remains largely to the traditional religious organizations and new religious movements (NRMs) seem to have benefited very little from what Stark had thought was an open market. More debatable is Bibby's argument that secularization "may not only stimulate the birth of new groups but also lead to the rejuvenation of older ones" (66–67), although surely this was the intent of the Pope in initiating World Youth Day, underway as I write.

Also under Bibby's scattershot is secularization theory itself. This he credits to some of the usual suspects—Freud, Marx, Durkheim and, more briefly and recently, to the Oxford sociologist Bryan Wilson. He also pays a good deal of attention to such recanters from the secularization position as Peter Berger. Although *Restless Gods* is extremely up to date in its references, including some from 2002 (the book itself came out in April 2002), it is unfortunate that Bibby was unable to joust with Aberdeen sociologist Steve Bruce's *God Is Dead: Secularization in the West* (Oxford, U.K., and Malden, U.S.A.: Blackwell Publishers, 2002), which is the best recent sustained statement of secularization theory. It seems that British sociologists have a proclivity for secularization theory while Americans, sympathetic to it for a while in the 1960s, have rejected the whole idea, influenced as they have been by what seems evidence of religious vitality from the 1970s onward.

In short, this is a not-to-be-missed book for Canadian sociologists. Whether or not one agrees with its thesis (revitalization of traditional religious organizations could be just around the corner if only the leaders of organized religion would recognize their considerable advantages and *carpe diem*), Bibby provides us with lots of new Canadian data to chew on, puts them in an extended theoretical context, and provides a perspective on the future of religion that distinguishes him and Canada from both the American and British positions.

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BRUCE CURTIS, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840–1875.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001, x + 385 p.

The "politics of population" are here largely defined in the narrow sense of the politics of counting and making a statistical representation of the population. Bruce Curtis is not particularly concerned with the quality of

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census data, nor in analysing these data, but with presenting "census making" as a political agenda and, especially, in placing this agenda in the context of competing political claims.

Census taking and, more broadly, statistical representation are seen as part of the process of state formation, especially in the context of the need to administer a modernizing state. This perspective presents a rich background within which to understand censuses, as well as an insightful entry point through which to study history.

The author argues that the period covered in the book is one in which "statistics" as a form of knowledge became increasingly established in Canada and in other parts of the world. For instance, the work of the International Statistical Congress is followed as a means for understanding the evolution of concepts and protocol in the collection of data. Missing here is any commentary on data collection before 1831. In particular, we hear nothing about the period of New France, including the 37 nominal censuses that began in 1666. This earlier period is possibly ignored because it contradicts the author's thesis regarding the relationship between modernizing states and data collection. While Curtis represents the French-English conflicts in data collection well, his history of Canada seems to start with the 1837–38 insurrectionary struggles that brought about the Durham report and the 1841 Act of Union. There could also be a better rendition of the data gathering of the Church as sufficing the needs of the French-speaking population, since it not only counted the number of persons in given parishes, but also followed the vital events of birth, marriage and death. For example, the observation might be made that these records were sufficient for the administration of social services in health, education and welfare, which were also in the hands of the Church.

This book is strongly based on theoretical conceptions in the sociology of knowledge. The author's basic "theoretical concern is with the mutual constitution of state and knowledge forms and with the working out of the knowledge/power relations involved in investing social relations in statistical forms." In particular, he puts census taking in the context of state administration and the formation of a coherent conceptualization of social relations. Defining the three elements of human bodies, territory and time is key. In the censuses preceding Confederation, the persons to be enumerated were those who were members of an authoritative community and consequently subject to state authority, which obviously excluded by origin ("Canadiens") rather than national citizenship and the Aboriginal population. Not only was data collection under the auspices of local authorities, who may have had their own definitions of the appropriate "population," but each person needed to be localized in a clearly defined space. These questions of territory or space posed problems when property ownership, seen as the key consideration, was not limited to one administrative area, or when people were absent or not where they were supposed

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to be. The definition of time also posed problems, since censuses taken by local authorities were not defined with regard to a specific "census day."

The case is well made that the development of knowledge in the form of statistics was linked to the transition to representative government. The key units were initially the "property owners" under whom were subscribed given numbers of people, along with such other things as value of property, crops and cattle. The protocol of a "nominal census," first used in 1861, can also be seen as promoting a "democratic" sense where each person is counted equally.

Curtis uses the concept of "census making" rather than "census taking," that is, he sees census numbers resulting from "negotiated understandings on the part of interested observers." More generally, science in the making is messy, characterized by conflict and debate, while "made science," which results from the resolution of scientific debate, could be attributed to census taking. Census making is associated with establishing state administrative practices, and is therefore the object of political struggle. For instance, there were Census Acts as of 1841, but politicians and administrators were unable to execute censuses throughout the colony in 1842, 1848 and 1850. As journalists observed at the time, one specific confusion was to pay municipal assessors an amount equal to one quarter of the amount they were usually paid for assessment purposes. But there were no assessors in rural areas, and those in Canada East had been operating gratuitously. The link to assessment was clearly feared as a means of establishing a tax base. In the 1848 census of Canada West, comments written on enumeration schedules indicate that the assessors understood the project as being mainly about property. For instance, they noted the absence of columns for important crops, or that a given person had produce from a lot other than the one on which he was resident. Thus Curtis concludes that the "censuses of 1852 and 1861 were remarkably confused," partly because they lacked consistent observational protocols.

The census making in 1871 took place at the same time as other dimensions of administrative infrastructure were being established, including a national currency, systems of weights and measures, an inspection system and the extension of national police powers. This census was also conducted within a context of rising levels of literacy, expanding market relations, and greater awareness of the potential benefits of science. While the 1861 census had also been a nominal census, "de jure" principles were more clearly defined in 1871, as were administrative procedures, central control, and the five volumes of reports. Nonetheless, there was considerable contention regarding the results. Places that were growing argued that the de jure approach underestimated their populations. There was incredulity that some old rural areas of Québec could be declining when fertility was so high. Specific jurisdictions, including all of Montréal, underwent recounts. Curtis attributes much of the credit for the administration of this census to Joseph-Charles Taché, who was also interested in

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fundamentalist religion, pronatalist politics, and agrarian civilization. Curtis attributes Taché's interest in a de jure approach to the larger numbers thus enumerated in these traditional categories. However, it seems somewhat extreme to qualify the 1871 census as a "fundamentalist Catholic ethnic-national project."

This is a superbly written book that documents the censuses of the period 1840–1875 in rich detail. Although I sometimes found its theoretical assumptions rather strong and insufficiently questioned, they provide a unifying framework for the historical analysis. The index is limited, focussing much more on names than on concepts, and even the table of contents is hard to follow. I prefer subtitles that indicate the content, like "setting observational protocols" and "census standard measures," rather than the more enticing, but less informative, ones like "this woman has no hands." This subtitle refers to descriptions of human interest noted by enumerators, but not picked up in "statistical representations" that were seeking to distance themselves from their "origins in historical, geographical, and literary description."

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DAVID DAMAS, *Arctic Migrants/Arctic Villagers: The Transformation of Inuit Settlement in the Central Arctic,* Native and Northern Series No. 32. Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2002, 336 p.

This book is an analysis of the 1950s and 1960s, during which the Inuit in Canada changed from relatively autonomous hunters and trappers moving to and from trading posts, to being a settled and mainly "unemployed" proletariat living in wooden houses in villages serviced by the Canadian federal government. This was the most momentous period of Inuit history since they first arrived to oust the Tunit some 700–800 years before. Damas looks at the 1950s, before concentrated settlements were allowed, through policy changes forced by needs for "relief," housing, education, health care and, in some areas, epidemic dog diseases. He then presents a detailed history of each area in the Northwest Territories, showing the emergence of large settlements by the 1970s.

Based on meticulous examination of the archives of the Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, the Hudson's Bay Company and other historical and ethnographic sources, and including 54 pages of endnotes, this work is not merely a post-hoc analysis of the past. When I entered the master's program in anthropology at McGill University in 1958, I met student-anthropologist Bill Willmott who, during a summer in Port Harrison (Inukjuak), recorded the single-minded determination of the local RCMP to prevent all Inuit, save those permanently employed, from settling near the trading post, resulting

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