

**ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND CANADIAN CENSUS RECORDS:
AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW TO 1961**

**Prepared for the Claims and Historical Research Centre,
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By John F. Leslie and Public History Inc.
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DRAFT FOR DISCUSSION

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ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND CANADIAN CENSUS RECORDS: AN HISTORICAL OVERVIEW TO 1961

INTRODUCTION

Why are Census Records Important?

Many programs, policies and administrative procedures of the federal government require Aboriginal people to access personal information. For example, personal information is needed to determine eligibility for Indian status; document entitlement to government program benefits; confirm compensation arising from residential school settlements; and identify potential beneficiaries to comprehensive and specific claims settlements. Census records are an important — if somewhat problematic — potential historical source for personal information.

Census-taking is essentially a national stock-taking of people and resources. The decennial (ten year) and quinquennial (five year) censuses of Canada contain personal information, or nominal data, including the names, ages and household relationships of each census individual. The nominal schedules also include information on each individual's birthplace, sex, age, profession, religion, ethnic origin, education and economic status. (See Figure 1: "History of Canadian Census-taking since Confederation")

The release of census information is governed by Privacy Regulations passed under the authority of the *Privacy Act*. These regulations, established in 1983, set a 92-year rule for the release of census data.¹ Section 6 of the Privacy Regulations states:

Personal information that has been transferred to the control of Library and Archives of Canada by a government institution for archival or historical purposes may be disclosed to any person or body for research or statistical purposes where

¹ It is not clear why 92 years was chosen as the interval between the taking of a census and its public release. In practical terms, it appears that 92 years permitted the immediate release of the 1891 Census records once the *Privacy Act* and Privacy Regulations came into force in 1983. For a discussion of the "92-year rule" see: Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, "Final Report," Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/finalrep.htm>, section 2.8 ("The 92-Year Rule").

- (a) the information is of such a nature that disclosure would not constitute an unwarranted invasion of the privacy of the individual to whom the information relates;
- (b) the disclosure is in accordance with paragraph 8(2)(j) or (k) of the Act;
- (c) 110 years have elapsed following the birth of the individual to whom the information relates; or
- (d) in cases where the information was obtained through the taking of a census or survey, 92 years have elapsed following the census or survey containing the information.²

The 92-year rule has continued in force since 1983. Decennial and quinquennial census records are currently open and available for public consultation up to 1911.

Census Records and Claims Research

The federal government's Comprehensive Claims Policy requires claimant groups to document that they meet a number of acceptance criteria: that they are an organized society; that they have occupied the claimed territory since time immemorial; that their territorial occupation was largely to the exclusion of other organized societies; that they have had continuing use and occupancy of the claimed territory; and that they have not signed land cession treaties nor have their Aboriginal interests been superseded by law.³ The Department of Justice also requires that claimant groups list the individuals that are potential claims beneficiaries. The federal claims policies, therefore, necessitate access to historical records — such as census returns — that contain personal information. The on-going comprehensive claim research of the Algonquin Nation Secretariat is a case in point.

The Case of the Algonquin Nation Secretariat

The Algonquin Nation Secretariat (ANS) is a Quebec-based Aboriginal political association comprising the Timiskaming, Wolf Lake, and Barrière Lake First Nations.⁴ The ANS is part of the Algonquin Nation Tribal Council. The three First Nations assert unextinguished

² Privacy Regulations (SOR/83-508), enacted under the *Privacy Act*, R.S. 1985, c. P-21.

³ Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, *Federal Policy for the Settlement of Native Claims* (Ottawa: Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 1998), pp. 5-6.

⁴ See the Algonquin Nation Secretariat's website at: www.algonquinnation.ca.

Aboriginal interests to lands and resources comprising the Ottawa River watershed (and adjacent overlap lands) in the Province of Quebec. For more than a decade the ANS has received contribution funds from Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to conduct research to prepare a comprehensive land claim submission.

However, due to the special historical circumstances of the ANS and off-reserve communities, historical and archival research has been time-consuming.⁵ Ultimately, ANS researchers determined that in order to successfully document continuity of territorial occupation and to address claim beneficiary issues as requested by the Department of Justice, research access to select district returns of the decennial censuses for the years 1911, 1921, 1931, and 1941 was imperative.⁶

In November 2001, researchers for the ANS approached Statistics Canada (which reports to the Minister of Industry) to access select census records.⁷ Statistics Canada denied the ANS request claiming exemptions under section 24(1) of the *Access to Information Act* and section 17 of the *Statistics Act*.⁸ In December 2001, the ANS filed a formal complaint with the Information Commissioner of Canada to seek review of the Chief Statistician's decision. The ANS argued that, on one hand, they were in receipt of government research funds to

⁵ There are nine Algonquin First Nations in Quebec, and many off-reserve Algonquin people. Inter-marriage and historical movement over time makes it difficult to address territorial and beneficiary issues.

⁶ This determination was made prior to the release of the 1911 census. The ANS sought census returns for the districts of Nipissing, North Renfrew, Renfrew, and Timiskaming in the Province of Ontario and for the districts of Pontiac, Témiskamingue, Wright and Yamaska in the Province of Québec.

⁷ The events of the ANS' request and subsequent court case are recounted in: *Canada (Information Commissioner) v. Canada (Minister of Industry)* 2006 FC 132. The decision is available online at: http://www.infocom.gc.ca/publications/pdf_fr/fc2006.pdf.

⁸ Section 24(1) of the *Access to Information Act*, R.S. 1985, c. A-1, states: "The head of a government institution shall refuse to disclose any record requested under this Act that contains information the disclosure of which is restricted by or pursuant to any provision set out in Schedule II." Section II refers to section 17 of the *Statistics Act*, R.S. 1985, c. S-19: "17(1). Except for the purpose of communicating information in accordance with any conditions of an agreement made under section 11 or section 12 and except for the purposes of a prosecution under this Act but subject to this section, (a) no person, other than a person employed or deemed to be employed under this Act, and sworn under section 6, shall be permitted to examine any identifiable individual return made for the purposes of this Act; and (b) no person who has been sworn under section 6 shall disclose to knowingly cause to be disclosed, by any means, any information obtained under this Act in such a manner that it is possible from the disclosure to relate the particulars obtained from any individual return to any identifiable individual person, business or organization."

document a comprehensive land claim submission but, on the other hand, they were denied access to records in the custody and control of the federal government that were essential for documenting their submission.

In November 2002, the Information Commissioner informed the ANS and Dr. Ivan Fellegi, Chief Statistician,⁹ that, in his view, access to the census schedules was authorized under section 17(2)(d) of the *Statistics Act* with specific reference to section 8(2)(k) of the *Privacy Act* and paragraph 6(b) of the Privacy Regulations.¹⁰ In his view, Section 24 of the *Access to Information Act* had been improperly invoked.

In early December 2003, the Information Commissioner formally recommended that Statistics Canada release the requested census schedules. On 11 December 2003, the Chief Statistician informed the Information Commissioner that Statistics Canada would not comply with the recommendation since release of census data would, in his view, contravene provisions of the *Statistics Act* and *Privacy Act*.

With the consent of the ANS, the Information Commissioner applied to the Federal Court of Canada pursuant to paragraph 42(1)(a) of the *Access to Information Act* to seek judicial review of the Chief Statistician's decision. On 13 February 2006, the Federal Court ruled on the case *Canada (Information Commissioner) v. Canada (Minister of Industry)*, upholding the decision of the Information Commissioner.¹¹ The Minister of Industry appealed to the Federal Court of Appeal. The appeal was dismissed on 1 June 2007.¹² As a result,

⁹ Regarding Ivan Fellegi's career see: Deirdre McMurdy, "Aspiring Poet turned Statistician counts on Reason over Rhyme," *Ottawa Citizen*, 5 November 2007.

¹⁰ Section 17(2)(d) of the *Statistics Act* states: "17(2) The Chief Statistician may, by order, authorize the following information to be disclosed: (d) information available to the public under any statutory or other law." The Information Commissioner cited this in reference to Section 8(2)(k) of the *Privacy Act*: "8(2) Subject to any other Act of Parliament, personal information under the control of a government institution may be disclosed (k) to any aboriginal government, association of aboriginal people, Indian band, government institution or part thereof, or to any person acting on behalf of such government, association, band, institution or part thereof, for the purpose of researching or validating the claims, disputes or grievances of any of the aboriginal peoples of Canada."

¹¹ *Canada (Information Commissioner) v. Canada (Minister of Industry)* 2006 FC 132. Published online at: http://www.infocom.gc.ca/publications/pdf_fr/fc2006.pdf.

¹² *Canada (Minister of Industry) v. Canada (Information Commissioner)* 2007 FCA 212. Published online at: http://www.infocom.gc.ca/publications/pdf_en/fcoa2007.pdf.

Statistics Canada and the Chief Statistician were directed to meet with ANS research staff in order to make appropriate arrangements for controlled research access to the exempted schedules. Discussions concerning protocols and procedures are ongoing.

The outcome of this case may impact other Aboriginal people. The land claims situation of the Algonquin Nation Secretariat and their need to access personal information for documenting a claim submission is not unique. For example, the problem of identifying claim beneficiaries for specific land claims in the Maritimes (due to reserve centralization and inadequate band lists) has been an obstacle for their timely resolution. Also, in her article "Hidden Communities: Difficulties Encountered in Researching Non-Status Algonquin in the Ottawa Valley" (1999), Joan Holmes explores the difficulties encountered when researching off-reserve Aboriginal communities, and the need to employ a variety of documentary sources including census records to construct community histories. Holmes' research insights are particularly helpful for those engaged in documenting historic land use and occupation, and tracing potential beneficiaries to specific and comprehensive land claims.

The Mandate and Scope of this Report

This report was commissioned by Indian and Northern Affairs Canada to examine a number of important issues raised by the ANS case. The study's terms of reference are attached as Appendix A. The list of records researched is included as Appendix B, and the resulting primary document list is attached as Appendix C.

First, the report explores recent attempts by historical and genealogical researchers to access or ease restrictions on historic census data. This section also reviews the perspectives of proponents and opponents of census release.

Then, the main body of the report examines the nature and reliability of personal information about Aboriginal people contained in federal census records up to 1961. The report also includes analysis of the definitional concerns involved. In decennial and quinquennial censuses, there was often a significant divergence between the definition of who was considered an "Indian" according to the *Indian Act* and those enumerated as "Indian" or "Métis/half-breed" for census purposes. The dichotomy between "Indian Act Indians" and

“Census Indians” is perhaps even more significant since Indian agents acted for many decades as census enumerators.

While historical census records are a valuable research tool, lingering questions concerning access and confidentiality of data may direct researchers to consult other historical records containing personal information. Also, there are limitations to census reliability, so other sources may provide important means to corroborate census research. In the last section of the report, possible alternative historical records are identified and discussed.

**Figure 1: “History of Canadian Census-taking since Confederation”
from the Final Report of the Expert Panel on Historical Records, 2000¹³**

| <i>Census Year</i> | <i>National Census</i> | <i>Prairie Census</i> | <i>Enumeration Methodology</i> | <i>Questionnaire Content</i> | <i>Date of Public Release by National Archives</i> |
|--|------------------------|-----------------------|---|--|--|
| 1871 | X | | Enumerator | Name, address, sex, relationship to household head, marital status, ethnicity, birthplace, occupation, literacy and infirmities. | 1947 |
| 1881 | X | | Enumerator | Very similar to 1871. | 1979 |
| 1891 | X | | Enumerator | Very similar to 1871. | 1983 |
| 1901 | X | | Enumerator | Very similar to earlier censuses. | 1993 |
| 1906 | | X | Enumerator | Demographic and livestock questions. | Not released in 1998.* |
| 1911 | X | | Enumerator | Similar to 1901, includes education and earning questions. | 2003?* |
| 1916 | | X | Enumerator | Similar to 1901, excludes education and earning questions. | 2008? |
| 1921, 1931, 1941, 1951, 1961, 1966 | X | | Enumerator | Content changed as survey programs began to replace the census. Population census asked demographic, socio-economic, cultural, economic and housing questions. | |
| 1926, 1936, 1946 | | X | Enumerator | Content usually similar to preceding national census. | |
| 1971, 1976, 1981, 1986, 1991, 1996, 2001 | X | | Respondent completed. 1971: one in three answered the long form. 1976: short form only. From 1981 onwards, one in five answered the long form. | Short form asked tombstone questions: name, address, sex, marital status, mother tongue and relationship. Long form includes: disabilities, ethnicity, citizenship, visible minority and aboriginal status, religious, language, fertility, education, mobility, occupation, labour force, place of work, unpaid work, income and shelter costs. | |

*These census returns have been released to the public since 2000.

¹³ Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, “Final Report,” Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/finalrep.htm>, Table 1 (“History of Canadian Census-taking since Confederation”)

Figure 2:
“Summary of International Situation regarding the release of Historical Census Records”
from the Final Report of the Expert Panel on Historical Records, 2000¹⁴

| <i>Country</i> | <i>Response requirement</i> | <i>Public Release</i> | <i>Number of Years Census Records Kept Confidential Prior to Public Release</i> |
|----------------|-----------------------------|--|---|
| United States | Mandatory | Yes | 72 |
| United Kingdom | Mandatory | Yes | 100 |
| Australia | Mandatory | 2001 only. | 99 |
| France | Mandatory | Partial: specific cantons only. | 100 |
| Newfoundland | Mandatory | All census held prior to Confederation (1949). | 1945 Census currently available. |
| Canada | Mandatory | Up to 1901. | 92 |

¹⁴ Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, “Final Report,” Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/finalrep.htm>, Table 2 (“Summary of International Situation regarding the release of Historical Census Records”)

RELEASE OF CENSUS DATA: DEVELOPMENTS SINCE 1998

As of 1998, returns of the censuses up to and including 1901 were available publicly at Library and Archives Canada. (See Figure 1) In 1998, the 1906 census records reached the 92-year mark that defines the release of historical census records according to the Privacy Regulations. However the 1906 census was not released, since controversy had been sparked about the 92-year rule. A legal opinion from the Department of Justice had advised that the later censuses, specifically from 1911 onward, were conducted under changes to the law that legally guaranteed that the information would not be shown to any other person. Thus, a situation existed to possibly prevent the public release of any further census records to historians, genealogists and other researchers.¹⁵

Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, 1999 to 2000

On 5 November 1999, the Hon. John Manley, Minister Responsible for Statistics Canada, appointed an Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records to examine the legal, privacy and archival implications of granting research access to historical census records.¹⁶ Two questions were posed for the panel's consideration: "What are the elements of the difference of opinions between Canadians who would seek to maintain the protection of personal information and those who would like to examine personal or community histories?" and, "What options exist to provide access to historical census records?"¹⁷

The panel was chaired by Richard Van Loon, President of Carleton University. Members included: Professor Chad Gaffield, Department of History, University of Ottawa; Professor John McCamus, Osgoode Hall Law School; the Hon. Gérard La Forest, retired Supreme Court Judge; and the Hon. Lorna Marsden, President and Vice-Chancellor, York University.

The panel had a seven-month duration, during which it held five working meetings. It invited public opinion, and received thousands of letters, faxes and e-mails. The panel also

¹⁵ Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, "Terms of Reference," Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/terms.htm>.

¹⁶ See Janice Hamilton, "Researchers want access to census data," *University Affairs/Affaires universitaires* April 2000, p. 22.

¹⁷ Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, "Terms of Reference," Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/terms.htm>.

received 95 written submissions from historical, archival, genealogical associations and other interested groups including the Algonquin Nation Secretariat. The panel summoned expert witnesses including the Chief Statistician, Ivan Fellegi; the National Archivist, Ian Wilson; and the Privacy Commissioner, Bruce Phillips.¹⁸ In the course of its deliberations, it also considered draft Senate legislation Bills S-12 and S-13 (to be discussed below) and related motions before the Senate and House of Commons.

The Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records concluded that a perpetual guarantee of confidentiality was never intended to apply to census records. Although assurances of privacy had been made, in the panel's view the passage of time reduced concerns about violation of individual privacy. Indeed, it concluded that the value of public access to census data after a sufficient time period took precedence.¹⁹ The panel concurred that 92 years constituted a sufficient lapse of time.²⁰ Its recommendations were tempered by its belief, however, that the public might perceive the release of old census records as removing a guarantee of confidentiality, thus creating problems for Statistics Canada's census-gathering in the future. The Expert Panel's final report concluded cautiously:

The Panel is firmly convinced of the benefits of the release of historical census records. The Panel is of the view that with the passage of time, the privacy implications of the release of the information diminishes and the passage of 92 years is sufficient to deal with such concerns. We are persuaded that a guarantee of perpetual confidentiality was not intended to apply to the census. We believe that the indication of transfer to the National Archives also implied an intention that the census records would eventually become public and we would not view any legislation deemed necessary to do so as a breaking of a promise to respondents. We view the historical and international precedents as fully supportive of this position. The panel is equally convinced of the value of the census and other work of Statistics Canada and is unwilling to make any recommendation which it believes will jeopardize this work. It is for that reason that we recommend release of the pre-1918 Census records and post-2001 records on a 92-year cycle, while advising some caution regarding any legislative steps that might be thought necessary to effect the release of those census records for the period 1921 to 2001.²¹

¹⁸ Expert Panel on Access to Historical Census Records, "Final Report," Statistics Canada, <http://www.statcan.ca/english/census96/finalrep.htm>, section 1.1.4 ("Work of the Panel").

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, section 2.4 ("Canadian Undertakings Regarding Confidentiality"), section 2.5 ("Historical Census Records Transfer, Storage and Use").

²⁰ *Ibid.*, section 2.8 ("The 92-Year Rule").

²¹ *Ibid.*, section 3.5 ("Summary").

Legislative Proposals to Amend the Statistics Act, 2001 to 2003

In February 2001, Senator Lorna Milne introduced Bill S-12 in the Senate to amend the *Statistics Act* and the *National Archives of Canada Act* and permit the transfer of census records from Statistics Canada to Library and Archives Canada. Similar draft legislation in the form of Bill C-312 and Bill C-380 was also introduced in the House of Commons. After second reading, Bill S-12 was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology. Statistics Canada made a compromise proposal to the Standing Committee that would afford more limited research access than envisaged by Bill S-12; some members of the Standing Committee favoured this proposal, but on the whole it was not accepted. Bill S-12 had a third reading in the Senate, and in March 2002 was sent back to the Standing Committee for further study. The bill died when no report was presented by the Standing Committee before the parliamentary session was prorogued.²²

A slightly revised Senate Bill S-13, *An Act to amend the Statistics Act*, was introduced in the Senate by the Hon. Sharon Carstairs in February 2003. The bill proposed amendment of the *Statistics Act* to allow access by historical and genealogical researchers to census records between 1910 and 2003 under certain written conditions, beginning 92 years after the census was taken. Under the proposed amendments, all census records would be transferred to Library and Archives Canada after 92 years, and available for consultation without any access restrictions after 112 years. A new section was also proposed as an addition to the *Statistics Act* to establish a schedule of fines for unauthorized disclosure of information contrary to the 92-year rule.²³ Bill S-13 received second reading in the Senate on 11 February 2003 and, like its predecessor Bill S-12, was referred to the Standing Senate Committee on Social Affairs, Science and Technology for review and analysis. The bill was never passed into law.²⁴

²² James R. Robertson and Benjamin R. Dolin, "Bill S-13: An Act to Amend The Statistics Act (Census Records): Legislative History of Bill S-13," Library of Parliament, Law and Government Division, 2003, <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection-R/LoPBdP/LS/372/372s13-e.htm> , "Background."

²³ *Ibid.*, "Description and Analysis," "Commentary."

²⁴ *Ibid.*, "Background."

Arguments for and against the Release of Historical Census Records

A report of the Law and Government Division, Library of Parliament, authored by James R. Robertson and Benjamin R. Dolin, summarizes the arguments for and against release of historical census records heard from witnesses at both the Expert Panel on Historical Census Records and during hearings of the Standing Committee. Robertson and Dolin cite the following arguments in favour of releasing census historical census data:

- without the release of these records, historians will lose important information about our nation's heritage, and those interested in genealogy will lose important information about their ancestors;
- privacy interests are minimal after 92 years and are outweighed by the public interest in having access to historical records;
- no perpetual guarantee of confidentiality was ever made;
- most of the information collected by the census is not of a highly sensitive nature, and the information that may be sensitive, such as income data, is likely to lose its sensitivity over time;
- while census respondents were told their responses would be confidential, there was also evidence of an intent to preserve the information for the use of future generations; e.g. it is stored at the National Archives, which has always had the mandate to store information for future use;
- many of the concerns relating to the privacy of census records relate to short-term issues that are largely irrelevant after the fact; e.g. people were worried that the information could be used for taxation purposes;
- other countries routinely release census records without arousing controversy; e.g. in Britain and the United States, records are released after 100 years and 72 years respectively.²⁵ [See Figure 2]

Robertson and Dolin also cite the following common arguments against the release of historical census records:

- Canadians are obligated under the law to answer the census, and to do so with an assurance that the information will remain protected. A desire to study history should not take precedence over the guarantee of confidentiality;

²⁵ *Ibid.*, "Background."

- The use of information for purposes other than those for which it was collected should be subject to consent;
- Census information is extremely personal (e.g. religion, marital status, health problems) and a decision should not be made for other people as to what constitutes acceptable disclosure of such information;
- privacy rights should not end with an individual's death;
- the public may perceive the release of census information retroactively revising a government guarantee;
- collection of future census data could be adversely affected if respondents are concerned about the privacy of the information provided.²⁶

The Release of the 1906 and 1911 Censuses

According to newspaper reports in June 2002, officials from Statistics Canada vowed that they "...would never again release information from any census, starting with the one in 1906, on the grounds of privacy."²⁷ Nonetheless, the 1906 quinquennial census was released on 24 January 2003. The 1906 census was made available by Library and Archives Canada (LAC) without access restrictions, and published online on the LAC website. The 1911 census was subsequently released, and is also available without restriction on LAC's website.

Throughout the debate, inquiries and legislative proposals of the past ten years, the 92-year rule has been maintained in the Privacy Regulations without amendment.²⁸

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ "1906 Census a Locked Treasure Trove," *The Toronto Star*, 9 June 2002.

²⁸ Privacy Regulations (SOR/83-508), enacted under the *Privacy Act*, R.S. 1985, c. P-21.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND PRE-CONFEDERATION CENSUSES

This and the following section deal with how Aboriginal people were treated in pre- and post-Confederation censuses. The focus is on the population schedule, also called the nominal schedule. The activities of Aboriginal people may have also been captured on agricultural and industrial schedules, which measured crop production and livestock-raising as well as income derived from hunting, fishing and trapping. However, due to time and research constraints these latter census-related activities have not been explored.

Introduction

As early as 1666 in New France, there were attempts to conduct colonial censuses. In Upper and Lower Canada and the Province of Canada, *Census Acts* were passed to enact the collection of information about the growing population, and economic and commercial development. The interests of Aboriginal people were often not captured (or were erroneously reported) in colonial censuses. Indeed, there were often no specific “headings” that captured their participation. The lack of information in the census was offset to some degree by the fact that the location and living conditions of Aboriginal people in the Canadas was the focus of a series of separate government investigations that collected considerable statistical data on their well-being. The commissions of inquiry and pre-Confederation census shortcomings are discussed briefly below.

Pre-Confederation Commissions of Inquiry into Indian Administration

Between 1828 and 1858 there were six major government investigations of Indian administration, policy, and living conditions. Statistical data for these reports was provided by local Indian superintendents and missionaries. Unlike the regular government censuses, the names of individuals seldom appear. Nonetheless, these government inquiries are an invaluable source of statistical data concerning Aboriginal people in Upper Canada (Canada West) and Lower Canada (Canada East). The various reports provide community profiles concerning population (often broken down by sex, age, incidences of inter-marriage, and “negro” families); housing; band revenue; agricultural production; acreage under cultivation; farm stock and equipment; religion; treaty-related issues; and claims and disputes. The pre-Confederation inquiries were intended as progress reports to enable colonial and imperial

officials to assess the progress of the 1830 Indian assimilation program and to determine the state of Aboriginal economic self-sufficiency.²⁹

Colonial Censuses to 1841

The first recorded census in what is now Canada was undertaken by the Intendant of New France, Jean Talon, in 1666.³⁰ The census data was collected by Talon himself. Talon counted the colony's 3,215 inhabitants and recorded their sex, age, occupation, and marital status. He collected little information concerning the Aboriginal people who were settled on seigneurial lands, since empirical data was sought to assist in planning and developing the French colony.³¹ Indeed, between 1666 and 1739, 36 censuses were conducted by the officials of New France.³²

Up to 1739, several censuses were also taken in Atlantic Canada. These included ten complete and nine partial censuses of the Nova Scotia peninsula, and ten complete and six partial censuses of Ile Royale (Cape Breton Island). There were also twenty-one complete and four partial censuses of Newfoundland, four censuses of the St. John River (New Brunswick), and seven of St. John Island (Prince Edward Island).³³

In 1765, following the creation of the Colony of Quebec in 1763, British administrators undertook a census that introduced new variables and questions, including race and religion. In addition to posing questions relating to crops, livestock, buildings, churches, mills, and firearms, the British were also concerned about the religious balance between

²⁹ John F. Leslie, "Commissions of Inquiry into Indian affairs in the Canadas, 1828-1858: Evolving a corporate memory for the Indian department" (Carleton University, M.A. research essay, Institute of Canadian Studies, 1984).

³⁰ For those seeking a short, comprehensive historical overview of census-taking in Canada from colonial days to 1951, *The Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* for 1931, 1941 and 1951 provide useful facts and figures on the purpose and intent of the various colonial and post-Confederation decennial and quinquennial censuses.

³¹ Statistics Canada, "History of the Census in Canada," Statistics Canada, <http://www.statscan.ca/english/census96/history.htm>.

³² Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), p. 10.

³³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945), pp. 8-9.

Roman Catholics and Protestants, as well the number of Acadians, Indians, and “negroes” in the Colony of Quebec.³⁴

Professor Bruce Curtis, of the Department of Sociology at Carleton University, has provided detailed insights and a thorough analysis of Canadian censuses from before Confederation to 1875 in his book *The Politics of Population. State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (2001).³⁵ Professor Curtis notes that after the creation of Upper and Lower Canada in 1791, the respective provincial governments passed legislation authorizing the taking of censuses. Curtis’ research leads to the conclusion that the early census efforts were often hit-and-miss affairs. Enumerators were locally prominent people who were poorly instructed and underpaid for their efforts. Respondents sometimes refused to provide information concerning income fearing additional taxation. Questions relating to religious affiliation were often ignored. By the 1820s, more accurate census-taking was required because completion of the imperial Blue Book — the annual report required of colonial administrations to Whitehall — demanded detailed settlement returns and comprehensive reports concerning various dimensions of population and commercial development.³⁶

The 1825 census for Lower Canada is a case in point. *An Act to Authorize an Enumeration and Return of the Population of the Province of Lower Canada* was passed in 1825.³⁷ The census was to be conducted between 20 June and 20 September 1825. Census commissioners were appointed for each county, who in turn instructed militia captains to obtain the information specified on the census forms. The enumerators were required to record the names of heads of families and the number of people in each house. The Lower Canada census for 1825 was a partial nominal census, since only the names of heads of households were recorded.

³⁴ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1934), p. 10.

³⁵ Citations in this report are to the paperback edition, published in 2002 and cited below.

³⁶ Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population. State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2002), p. 48.

³⁷ *An Act to Authorize an Enumeration and Return of the Population of the Province of Lower Canada*, Statutes of Lower Canada, 5 George IV (1825), cap. 7.

In 1831, a similar census-taking exercise was undertaken in Lower Canada.³⁸ The 1831 census was necessary to establish political representation for each county in the Legislative Assembly. It was to be carried out between 1 June and 1 October 1831. Like that of 1825, the census recorded the name of each head of household, and the number of persons living in the household.

Province of Canada Censuses, 1841 to 1850

On 18 September 1841, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada passed legislation authorizing a census of the new Province of Canada.³⁹ The act stated that a census would be conducted in 1842 and at regular intervals thereafter. Like the earlier censuses in Lower Canada, the 1842 census was a partial nominal census, recording only the names of households. In 1843, the political authorities considered that the 1842 census had not been properly executed and recommended that the missing statistical data be obtained as soon as possible.⁴⁰

An 1844 census included two columns for recording national origin: "British" and "French."⁴¹ Enumerators could not determine where to record Aboriginal people in census returns. As an example, Professor Curtis paraphrases an anonymous commissioner who wrote to *La Minerve* on 29 February 1844:

...the author also pointed to the inadequacy of the columns for recording "coloured" men and women, and to the absence of a column for aboriginal people. As he put it, nor is any distinction made between full-blooded blacks and mulattoes — And as for the poor savages, the primitive children of the earth, we have great difficulty in knowing what to do with them. What corner

³⁸ *An Act for Ascertaining the Population of the Several Counties of this Province, and for Obtaining certain statistical Information Therein Mentioned*, Statutes of Lower Canada, 1 William IV (1831), cap. 1.

³⁹ *An Act to Repeal certain Parts of an Act Therein Mentioned, and to Provide for Taking a Periodical Census of the Inhabitants of this Province, and for Obtaining the other Statistical Information Therein Mentioned*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 4 & 5 Victoria (1841), cap. 42.

⁴⁰ *An Act for Taking the Census of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada, and for Obtaining certain Statistical Information Therein Mentioned*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 7 Victoria (1843), cap. 24.

⁴¹ See Crofton's instructions of 7 May 1850. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307.

shall we put them in? This is a prickly question. Shall we blacken their faces and line them up in the 39th and 40th columns, among the "people of colour"?⁴²

A Special Committee of the Legislative Council was struck in March 1845 to examine anomalies arising from the 1844 census in Canada East. The question of Aboriginal enumeration was raised. Indicative of the problem, the Special Committee noted that, among other things, there was a problem enumerating Aboriginal people in Leinster County, near the St. Sulpician Seigneury at Lake of Two Mountains:

Other commissioners had counted the aboriginal population as being French in origin; had returned no information about the religious affiliations of substantial numbers of people; had been unable to report information about schoolhouses; and, finally had described "camps" as "houses."⁴³

In an attempt to rectify these discrepancies, in 1847, the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada passed new legislation authorizing the collection of census data. This legislation established a Board of Registration and Statistics to prepare, print and circulate all the schedules to be completed for the purposes of the *Census and Statistics Act*. The Board was also directed to issue instructions to local enumerators concerning how census data was to be collected and entered. To ensure accuracy, the enumerators' returns were examined by the Clerk of Peace of each judicial district.⁴⁴

However, the instructions issued to enumerators did not mention Aboriginal people. The instructions issued in 1847, 1848, 1849, and 1850, prepared by Walter Crofton, Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics, contained no columns or headings either in the personal or agricultural information schedules that captured Aboriginal interests and conditions.⁴⁵

⁴² Curtis (2002), pp. 59-60.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁴⁴ *An Act for Taking the Census of the Inhabitants of this Province, and for Obtaining Statistical Information Therein*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 10 & 11 Victoria (1847), cap. 14.

⁴⁵ See Crofton's instructions. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307.

The passage of a revised census act in 1851, which governed the pre-Confederation censuses of 1852 and 1861, did very little to clarify the situation surrounding the enumeration of Aboriginal people.⁴⁶ A review of historical records by Professor Curtis indicates there was no parliamentary debate surrounding the 1851 census legislation and Aboriginal people.⁴⁷ Although the Registration and Statistics Board wanted Aboriginal people included in provincial census totals, their process did not seem adequate to do so. Defined census districts fell short of areas of Aboriginal habitation. The Grey County commissioner (Canada West) identified the “Indian territory” (the Saugeen Peninsula) as a district on his own initiative.⁴⁸ The census commissioner in Drummond County (Canada East) inquired how to designate the “native Indians” in Durham Township who had no separate census district.⁴⁹

Perhaps more challenging was the question of how to deal with the settlement of St. Regis that straddled the American border in Beauharnois County near Cornwall.⁵⁰ The census commissioner, L.-H. Masson, wrote to the Registration and Statistics Board seeking instructions. None seem to have been forthcoming. On 19 November 1851, Masson inquired if he was obliged to enumerate the “village of savages” and, if so, how was he to go about it. On 6 December, Masson again wrote:

...with respect to these Savages, I have to say again, that half the population of Saint Regis are *american savages* resident in Canada — for religious reasons only — I would like to know if I must do the Census of them — I'm afraid of meeting opposition for they are very attached to their Government.⁵¹

Similar concerns were shared by census commissioner Alexander Knapp in Kent County (Canada West) who wrote that:

⁴⁶ *An Act to Provide More Efficiently for Taking the Periodical Census of the Province*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 14 & 15 Victoria (1851), cap. 49.

⁴⁷ Curtis (2002), p. 108

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

...there is in my County an Indian village and settlement of parts of certain tribes of the aborigines of this country am I to proceed to Enumerate them as I would the negro population are they are not returned in some other way — if I had to enumerate them I shall be obliged to employ an interpreter [sic].⁵²

The Registration and Statistics Board insisted that all Aboriginal people and settlements be enumerated. However, according to Professor Curtis this instruction had ominous implications:

...this insistence does not seem to have stemmed from a reflection on aboriginal citizenship, in the sense of the political rights and duties of such people. Most politicians and intellectuals were convinced of the inevitability of aboriginal assimilation — or extinction, but counting them in the interim would increase the number reported as the colonial population, something in which the board was interested — while perhaps satisfying government demands for information about the magnitude of its treaty obligations.⁵³

Indian Legislation and the Definition of “Indian,” 1850 to 1851

In 1850 and 1851, legislation was passed in Canada West and Canada East that was designed to protect Indian reserves and property from encroachment or seizure by whites. The legislation for Canada East contained a three-part definition of who, in the government's eyes, was an “Indian”:

Firstly. All persons of Indian blood, reputed to belong to the particular Tribe or Body of Indians interested in such lands or immoveable property, or their descendants;

Secondly: All persons residing among such Indians, whose parents were or are, or either of them was or is, descended on either side from Indians, or an Indian reputed to belong to the particular Tribe or Body of Indians interested in such lands or immoveable property, and the descendants of all such persons; and

⁵² *Ibid.*, p. 109

⁵³ *Ibid.*

Thirdly. All women, now or hereafter to be lawfully married to any of the persons included in the several classes hereinbefore designated; the children issue of such marriages, and their descendants.⁵⁴

It is important to note that there was no definition of “Indian” in the Indian protection legislation for Canada West.⁵⁵ In any event, the legislation for Canada East does not appear to have been noticed by census officials because there is no mention of it in subsequent instructions to enumerators carrying out the 1852 and 1861 censuses.

The 1852 Census

In 1852, the enumeration schedules used in 1848 were modified. There were now two schedules: a personal and an agricultural schedule.⁵⁶ The personal, or nominal, schedule sought to identify people by name, occupation, birthplace, religion, age, sex, marital status, and religious affiliation.⁵⁷ Enumerators were also instructed “...to identify any ‘persons of colour — negroes’ (‘personnes de couleur, ou nègres’) and ‘Indians.’”⁵⁸ Column 11 of the schedule was to record “Indians, if any.”⁵⁹

On occasion, enumerators encountered resistance from Aboriginal people. For example, Amable Nazaire Blouin, an enumerator for St. Valier in Bellechasse (Canada East) encountered an Aboriginal hunting party. Blouin claimed that “...twenty savage men and women of the Huron Tribe are living temporarily at St. Valier to hunt moose — their residence is at Lorette.” They peremptorily refused to answer the enumerator’s questions.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ *An Act to Repeal in Part and to Amend an Act, intituled An Act for the Better Protection of the Lands and Property of the Indians in Lower Canada*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 14 & 15 Victoria (1851), cap. 59. Reproduced in Derek G. Smith, ed., *Canadian Indians and the Law: Selected Documents, 1663-1972* (Toronto: McClelland and Stewart Limited, 1975), pp. 47-48.

⁵⁵ *An Act for the Protection of the Indians in Upper Canada from Imposition, and the Property occupied or enjoyed by them from Trespass and Injury*, Statutes of the Province of Canada, 13 & 14 Victoria (1850), cap. 74. Reproduced in Smith, pp. 40-47.

⁵⁶ In 1852, a Bureau of Agriculture was established to collect data on agricultural production in Canada East and Canada West.

⁵⁷ Curtis (2002), p. 113.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ David Gagan, “Enumerator’s Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861,” *Histoire sociale/ Social History* Vol. 7, No.11 (November 1971), p. 358.

⁶⁰ Curtis (2002), p. 127.

Elsewhere in the Province of Canada, enumerators either could not, or did not try, to get accurate personal information about Aboriginal families. The enumerator for Plympton Township, Lambton County (Canada West) simply listed an Aboriginal household as “Mary,” “Old John,” “young John,” “Eliza,” “2nd Daughter,” and “3rd Daughter.”⁶¹ The members of this household were also described as non-residents, but were included in the population totals for the census district.

In 1853, William Hutton replaced Walter Crofton as Secretary for the Board of Registration and Statistics.⁶² Hutton suggested that for the 1861 census, the analysis of Aboriginal people could be made easier by enumerating them only by sex.⁶³ This suggestion demonstrates how marginal the conditions of Aboriginal people were in the minds of those designing the census questionnaires.

The 1861 Census

The 1861 census was the last conducted before Confederation in 1867. The nominal schedule inquired whether inhabitants of households were “Coloured Persons, Mulatto or Indian.”⁶⁴

Some enumerators were not clear on their instructions regarding Aboriginal people. For example, Alexander Vidal at Sarnia (Kent County, Canada West) wondered: “Is the ‘Indian Reservation’ adjoining this Town to be included in the County for Census purposes? There are, I believe, none but Indians residing upon it, except the Missionary and his family.”⁶⁵ Eventually Vidal enumerated these peoples but the task, he reported, was “very troublesome and difficult work.” W.W. Holmes of Lambton County (Canada West) pointed out that neither the Walpole Island nor St. Anne’s Island Indian reserves were in his county

⁶¹ *Ibid.*

⁶² In 1855, the name was changed to the Bureau of Agriculture, Registration and Statistics. Hutton remained as secretary.

⁶³ Curtis (2002), p. 155

⁶⁴ Gagan, p. 362

⁶⁵ Curtis (2002), p. 192.

for municipal purposes, although they were so situated from a geographical point of view. Holmes queried authorities whether he should even bother enumerating them.⁶⁶

Enumerators also had difficulty determining whether families were Aboriginal, mixed ancestry, or white. For example, in the Nipissing District (Canada West) the local enumerator of the Joseph Langevin family stated: "...the children of this family are mixed with Indian. They farm exclusively and live comfortably by it."⁶⁷ In reference to the Louis Bastien and Louis Commodou (Commandant) families, the enumerator stated: "These people are so mixed up with Indians that I scarcely know what to call them. The principal mixture is white, and they cultivate the soil, so I call them white."⁶⁸ Most descendants of the Langevin, Bastien, and Commandant families are now members of the Wolf Lake and Kebaouek First Nations.⁶⁹

As Curtis notes, the question at hand was not one of Aboriginal citizenship. The notion of the legal basis for a political regime being centred on rights-bearing citizens was not well developed at the time, and neither Hutton nor his government ministers were interested in extending it. According to Curtis: "Like most other state servants, Hutton believed that Aboriginal peoples were destined to disappear. Attempts to enumerate Aboriginal peoples were mainly about creating a complete inventory of colonial resources, both human and economic."⁷⁰ As an illustration, Curtis cites correspondence between Hutton and Richard Carney, Sheriff and Census Commissioner on the northwest frontier of Canada West. Carney was urged to "...endeavour from every source to ascertain their number and also the Value of the Furs sold by them, distinguishing the different Furs" and to discover "...the Venison sold by them."⁷¹ Sheriff Carney sent census schedules and instructions to the Chief Factor of the Hudson's Bay Company and the Collector of Customs at Sault Ste. Marie. According to Carney:

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*

⁶⁷ LAC, RG 31, Reel C-1091, pp. 43-44 (Mattawa), lines 5-14. This record is not in the primary document index, which does not include nominal census records.

⁶⁸ LAC, RG 31, Reel C-1091, pp. 46-47, (District Six), lines 4-17. This record is not in the primary document index, which does not include nominal census records.

⁶⁹ Personal communication with James Morrison, 19 February 2008.

⁷⁰ Curtis (2002), p. 193.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*

Should there be any Indians resident about your Post or within a short distance, enter their names, their Wives and children, as you would other Men their Wives and Children, only marking them "*Ind*" in the proper column, and give the probable number of Indians within your District.⁷²

The Hudson's Bay Company was willing to assist in census-taking, but informed Carney that the company's annual accounts were finalized in June, so fur trade information would be delayed. Carney was also advised that winter conditions made it virtually impossible to take an accurate census of the Aboriginal population.⁷³ In Carney's view:

As the Red Men of the Forest are fast passing away it would be a satisfaction to the present generation to know their correct Statistics and to posterity to note their gradual decline.— This can be done by deferring the Indian Census until summer.— By that time the Indians with their families will be out on the large Lakes and at the Hudson's Bay Company Posts, and by sending persons to visit the different Posts and Lakes, the name and Statistics of every Indian can be as accurately taken as the whites are taken in the settled parts of the Country.⁷⁴

It is of interest to note here that some census commissioners also wondered if people who fell into the census's "race" category were part of the population for enumeration. Curtis cites a query to the Board from a Charles Waters (Prescott County, Canada West), who wrote on 2 February 1861:

I believe there are no 'Coloured Persons, mulattoes or Indians' in this County — but should there be such are their Sex, ages, widowers, married or Single. &c Enquiries and Entries throughout be made from the entering of their names and &c the same as the White residents? It would be difficult in most cases — to ascertain their Names Religion birth Place – ages or any thing Else.⁷⁵

The Board directed Mr. Waters to count everyone in his census district.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ *Ibid.*

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p.194.

The Thomas D'Arcy McGee Report on Government Departments, 1863

Thomas D'Arcy McGee undertook an examination of the organization of government departments in the Province of Canada in 1863. It was the first such inquiry since Lord Durham's report in 1839. McGee examined the operation of the Board of Registration and Statistics, which reported to the Minister of Agriculture. He offered these observations:

Whether from some inherent defect in the present Constitution of the Board of Statistics from the absence of a properly qualified Secretary to that Board to classify, collate, digest, tabulate and index, even such returns as are made, the large annual outlay on reports, is, in a great degree thrown away; is a loss to the Province and a source of humiliation to every advocate of judicious progress.⁷⁶

McGee was apparently so disheartened by the whole process of assembling statistics that he reported in 1864 that the last two censuses "...are not to be relied upon."⁷⁷ The Board of Registration and Statistics, consisting of the Minister of Agriculture (prior to 1853, the Inspector General), the Provincial Secretary, and the Receiver General had met about a dozen times since its creation in 1847. No minutes or records of the Board's meetings had been kept.⁷⁸ The focus of their activities had been to supervise the arrangements for the censuses of 1851 and 1861, which McGee deemed unreliable.

Under McGee's direction the Board of Registration and Statistics was "resuscitated" and additional staff were added. The Department of Agriculture began compilation and publication of the Blue Book.⁷⁹ Until 1864, this material had been entered by hand on standardized forms provided by the Colonial Office. After 1864, it was published as part of the Department of Agriculture's annual report. McGee envisaged the expansion of the Blue Book into a printed volume of valuable statistical data that might head off the need for

⁷⁶ J.E. Hodgetts, *Pioneer Public Service: An Administrative History of the United Canadas, 1841-1867* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1955). See in particular Chapter 14, "Agriculture: Departmental Potting-Shed," p. 234.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 238

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 239

⁷⁹ The full title was *Statement of the Offices, Names of the Incumbents, Salaries and Other Information concerning the Public Service of the Province of Canada*.

questions asked in Parliament or by special committees of investigation.⁸⁰ McGee's enthusiasm and foresight bore fruit (posthumously) in 1886, when the first issue of the *Statistical Abstract and Record* was printed.⁸¹ This publication was the predecessor of the *Canada Year Book*. At Confederation, an invigorated Department of Agriculture and Statistics, the forerunner of the later Dominion Bureau of Statistics (later Statistics Canada) continued to supervise and manage the censuses of the new Dominion.

Observations and Conclusions

The reliability of the pre-Confederation census data collected about Aboriginal people can be questioned. In some early enumerations, Aboriginal people were together with "Frenchmen" or "Coloured" people. There were also cases when Aboriginal people were not enumerated due to their isolated reserves, their migratory lifestyle, the existence of language barriers, or their resistance to providing requested information. Indeed, for many enumerators, taking the Aboriginal census was just too onerous a task.

In the late pre-Confederation decades there emerged two types government definitions of Indians: "census Indians," or those defined as such by census criteria, and "Indians" as defined by legislation passed in Canada East in 1851. The two definitions did not coincide.

Given the existing imperial and colonial mindset that Aboriginal people were destined to disappear, the census-taking process contributed little to their immediate and future well-being. Indeed, the early censuses may have inadvertently contributed to Aboriginal people's socio-economic and political marginalization by reinforcing prevailing opinion and philosophical assumptions concerning their eventual demise. Government officials in pre-Confederation times were primarily interested in tabulating the aggregate number of Aboriginal people in the Province of Canada, rather than the details of Aboriginal people as individuals. The colonial government was also interested in gaining some notion of the dollar value that Aboriginal people contributed to the resource economy. This sort of

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 239

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

statistical data was useful for reporting colonial progress and prosperity in the annual imperial Blue Books.⁸²

⁸² Bruce Curtis, "The Canada 'Blue Books' and the Administrative Capacity of the Canadian State, 1822-1867," *Canadian Historical Review* Vol. 74, No. 4 (1993), pp. 535-565.

ABORIGINAL PEOPLE AND PRE-CONFEDERATION CENSUSES

The Legislative Definition of "Indian," 1868

At Confederation, responsibility for "Indians, and Lands reserved for the Indians" was conferred on the Dominion government by section 91(24) of the *British North America Act*.⁸³ The first piece of post-Confederation Indian legislation, *An Act providing for the Organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the Management of Indian and Ordnance Lands*, repeated verbatim the 1851 Canada East definition of who was an "Indian."⁸⁴ Would this provide some guidance to census officials after 1867?

The Manitoba Census, 1870

The Manitoba Census of 1870 antedated all enumerations in the new Dominion. The census was taken on instructions addressed on 4 August 1870 to the Lieutenant Governor of Manitoba, Adams Archibald, by the Secretary of State for the Provinces, Joseph Howe. The primary purpose of the 1870 Manitoba Census was to enumerate the half-breed heads of families and their children residing in the province "at the time of its acquisition, the object being to facilitate the transfer to them of certain lands." Clause 13 also provided for a report on the number of Indians.⁸⁵

On 13 October 1870, the Lieutenant Governor reported that he had divided the province into five sections with one English and one French enumerator for each section. On 9 December 1870, Adams made a preliminary report of the results showing a total of 11,945 people, including half-breeds, Indians, and whites. Later the total population was adjusted to 11,965 and still later to 12,228.⁸⁶ The results of the census were also used to divide the postage stamp Province of Manitoba into four original electoral districts.

⁸³ *An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof; and for Purposes Connected therewith*, Statutes of the United Kingdom, 30 Victoria (1867), cap. 3. Relevant extract reproduced in Smith, pp. 62-64.

⁸⁴ *An Act providing for the Organization of the Department of the Secretary of State of Canada, and for the Management of Indian and Ordnance Lands*, Statutes of Canada, 31 Victoria (1868), cap. 42. Reproduced in Smith, pp. 64-73.

⁸⁵ Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), p. 4.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

The First Dominion Census, 1871

The first post-Confederation decennial census was taken in 1871.⁸⁷ The census was authorized by *An Act respecting the First Census* assented to on 12 May 1870.⁸⁸ According to section 8 of the *British North America Act*, a national census was to be taken in 1871 and every ten years thereafter. Section 91(6) of the same act affirmed that the responsibility for “The Census and Statistics” was a federal power.⁸⁹ The first census, supervised and managed officials of the Department of Agriculture, counted the population of the four original provinces: New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Québec, and Ontario.⁹⁰

The main objective of the first national census was to determine the appropriate provincial representation by population in the new Dominion Parliament. Like the American census, the 1871 census introduced the use of the *de jure* system of enumeration by which the population was enumerated according to habitual place of residence.⁹¹ Prior censuses had utilized the *de facto* system, which enumerated peoples where they were found on census day. This change caused no problems in 1871, but when applied to western Canada in 1881 it led to distortions and overcounting in the less permanently settled parts of the west.

⁸⁷ According to Bruce Curtis, in preparation for the 1871 Census senior officials in Agriculture “corrected” the census returns for 1852 and 1861 by recompiling and reorganizing the results. They also evaluated critically the census returns from Upper Canada/Canada West since 1824 by comparing returns with other available information. Apparently some of the work, particularly in regard to the 1861 Census, was undertaken to help determine the distribution of seigneurial indemnities after the abolition of the system in Canada East in 1854. Curtis (2002), pp. 256-257.

⁸⁸ *An Act respecting the First Census*, Statutes of Canada, 34 Victoria (1870), cap. 21. The 1870 legislation was amended on 14 April 1871 to permit enumerators to relax “domiciliary visits” if the population was too scattered or migratory for a formal visit. *An Act to amend the Census Act*, Statutes of Canada, 35 Victoria (1871), c. 18.

⁸⁹ *An Act for the Union of Canada, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, and the Government thereof; and for Purposes Connected therewith*, Statutes of the United Kingdom, 30 Victoria (1867), cap. 3. Relevant extract reproduced in Smith, pp. 62-64.

⁹⁰ The office of the Minister of Agriculture was formally created as a Dominion department in 1868. In 1905, a discrete Office of Census and Statistics was created within Agriculture. In 1912, the office moved from the Ministry of Agriculture to the Department of Trade and Commerce. In 1918, the office became the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, inside the Department of Trade and Commerce. In 1971, the Dominion Bureau of Statistics became Statistics Canada.

⁹¹ Despite reforms and improved enumeration practices, it was estimated that 6-7% of the population of Ontario and Québec was missed in the 1871 census. Curtis (2002), p. 288.

The 1871 census questionnaires, modeled on American census forms, dealt with a variety of topics concerning land holdings, vital statistics, religion, education, administration, military matters, justice, agriculture, commerce, industry and finance. Not every household answered all 211 questions, in many cases, fearing increased taxation. Teams of census commissioners and enumerators collected the data. Census commissioners were appointed by Order in Council, one per district.⁹² The powers and duties of the enumerators who canvassed sub-districts were determined according to criteria set down by the Minister of Agriculture. The enumerators may have been local political appointments since the census commissioners recruited them. The only guidance for their selection came in the form of an Order in Council that granted considerable leeway to the Minister of Agriculture who, at the time, was Christopher Donkin. The Order in Council read:

- 1) For each census sub-district there will be appointed either one Enumerator, or so many Enumerators as the Minister of Agriculture shall direct or authorize.
- 2) The selection of the persons to be appointed will in all cases be such as the Minister of Agriculture shall direct or authorize.
- 3) Each Enumerator will be appointed by a letter to be signed by the Census Commissioner, in such form as the Minister of Agriculture shall direct or authorize.”⁹³

Census commissioners and enumerators had to swear the following oath of office:

I (A.B.) duly appointed under the Census Act to be (name the office or employment of the person taking the oath) solemnly and sincerely swear that I will to the utmost of every skill and ability faithfully and exactly discharge all and every my duties as such in conformity with the requirements of the said Act and of all Proclamations Orders in Council and Instructions issued in pursuance thereof so help me God.⁹⁴

⁹² A list of census commissioners appointed by Order in Council in Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia can be found in: Canada, *Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada for the calendar year 1870*, Sessional Paper No. 64 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1871), pp. 151-155.

⁹³ LAC, RG 2, Vol. 283, P.C. 541, 16 January 1871.

⁹⁴ LAC, RG 2, Vol. 283, P.C. 534, 16 January 1871.

In 1871 and subsequent censuses, enumerators were instructed to visit each house or other dwelling in their sub-district. They were instructed to ask the questions in a civil and polite manner. Enumerators carried a "certificate of appointment" in the event that their authority to collect data was questioned. Enumerators had to do the work personally; they could not appoint or delegate the work to someone else. The enumerators were instructed to write legibly. Any information that was changed or deleted on the schedules was to be crossed out with a single line. They had to complete their tasks within a specific time period. Once completed, they were to return all schedules by hand in a sealed portfolio (mail was to be used only as a last resort). They were strictly advised that personal and other information was to be kept secret. They were instructed that refusals to answer questions were to be referred to the census commissioner for appropriate action. The census commissioners then reviewed the completed schedules to ensure that all columns had been filled out properly. They, in turn, sent them on to Ottawa where clerks compiled the findings for publication in aggregate form.⁹⁵

The 1871 census returns eventually appeared in five printed volumes in 1876. Volume Four is perhaps the most important for this study. In addition to tabular material, the volume contained a chronological narrative covering, among other topics, the history of the uprooting and expulsion of the Acadians, and the resettlement in Canada of the United Empire Loyalists. This volume also pieced together the fragmentary historical evidence concerning the size, dispersion, and way of life of the Aboriginal population. The author, Joseph Charles Taché, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, presented historical evidence that pointed to the decline of the Aboriginal population. Taché argued that peoples pursuing a hunting, fishing, and trapping lifestyle required ready access to large tracts of unoccupied land and posed technical limits to population size. As European settlement expanded and commercial development increased, he reasoned, assimilation into the dominant society was inevitable for Aboriginal people.⁹⁶

⁹⁵ Canada, *Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada for the calendar year 1870*, Sessional Paper No. 64 (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1871), pp. 108-160.

⁹⁶ Joseph Charles Taché, Deputy Minister of Agriculture, "Censuses of Canada, 1665 to 1871: Statistics of Canada," Dominion of Canada (1876), reproduced at <http://www.statscan.ca/english/freepub/98-187-X1E/aborig.htm>. Joseph Charles Taché was appointed Deputy Minister of Agriculture, a post he held from 1864 to 1888. Taché was interested in genealogical issues. Bruce Curtis argues that Taché used census data to encourage Quebec citizens to move to rural areas to avoid the evils of capitalism and industrialization. Curtis, Chapter 7, "Facts, Figures, and Fundamentalism," pp. 235-273.

The “Origin” Question: Indians and the “Census French”

The nominal schedule for 1871 contained a column to record “Origin.”⁹⁷ The manual of instructions for enumerators in 1871 stipulated: “Origin is to be scrupulously entered, as given by the person questioned; in the manner shown in the specimen schedule, by the words English, Irish, Scotch, African, Indian, German, French and so forth.”⁹⁸ Thus, the 1871 census created “census standard” origins.

In practice, enumerators were torn between entering the respondents’ answers in the “Origin” column and entering one of the “census standard” nationalities. Some respondents declared their origin to be “Canadian,” and others declared themselves to be “American,” but neither entry was acceptable.⁹⁹ Curtis explains the outcome of responses in this column:

In Quebec...people became “census French” if either their mother or father was born in Quebec. For example, in St. Paschal-de-Kamouraska, Daniel Hatton was returned as a forty-six year old Roman Catholic, born in Ireland, and married to a *québécoise*. Their children were named Mary, Jane, Laure, John, and Edward, and all were returned as “census French.” Timothy and Alvina O’Leary from the same district, whose father, James, was born in Ireland and whose mother, Josephine, was born in Quebec, were also made into “census French.”¹⁰⁰

This enumeration practice was followed consistently in Quebec, and not in other parts of the country.¹⁰¹ The practice has implications for records of Aboriginal people resident in the Province of Québec. For example, the 1871 census for Grand Lac Victoria was compiled at the Hudson’s Bay Company post.¹⁰² Four of the names — John Stockland, William Garson,

⁹⁷ Curtis (2002), p. 284.

⁹⁸ *Ibid.*

⁹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 285.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁰¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁰² LAC, RG 31, Reel C-10,025, District 92, Sub-District 0-1. This record is not in the primary document index, which does not include nominal census records.

Thomas Reynolds, John Lynch — are correctly identified as English, Scottish, or Irish. Other individuals on the list, who were actually Aboriginal, were identified as French.¹⁰³

The Indian Act Definition of “Indian,” 1876

The first consolidated *Indian Act* was passed by Dominion Parliament and assented to on 12 April 1876. It created a new legislative definition of “Indian,” modified from that of 1868:

The term “Indian” means

First. Any male person of Indian blood reputed to belong to a particular band;

Secondly. Any child of such persons; and

Thirdly. Any woman who is or was lawfully married to such person...¹⁰⁴

The revised definition of “Indian” still relied to a significant degree on community acceptance (i.e. the term “reputed”) and self-ascription. Family lineage was traced through the male line. The 1876 definition was repeated verbatim in the 1880, 1886, 1906, and 1927 *Indian Acts*.

The 1881 Decennial Census

The 1881 census was extended to include British Columbia, Manitoba, Prince Edward Island and the North-West Territories as then defined.¹⁰⁵ The questions were similar to those posed in 1871, with one notable change: the housing question was revised to include “...wigwams and tents” for the census of the North-West Territories.¹⁰⁶ The 1881 Census instructions to enumerators were silent concerning how to trace “Indian” lineage.

¹⁰³ The descendants of Frederick Reynolds are today members of the Wolf Lake First Nation. The descendants of Jerome Godchere (now surnamed Gutcher) are members of the Algonguins of Barriere Lake (Kitcisakik).

¹⁰⁴ *An Act to amend and consolidate the Laws respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada, 39 Victoria (1876), cap. 18. Reproduced in Smith, pp. 86-115.

¹⁰⁵ *An Act respecting Census and Statistics*, Statutes of Canada, 42 Victoria (1879), cap. 21.

¹⁰⁶ Department of Agriculture, “Manual containing ‘The Census Act’ and the Instructions to officers employed in the Taking of the Second Census of Canada 1881” (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1881); Statistics Canada, “History of the Census in Canada,” Statistics Canada, <http://www.statscan.ca/english/census96/history.htm>.

The 1886 Quinquennial Census

The year 1885 witnessed the introduction of legislation authorizing a mid-decade quinquennial census in "...the Province of Manitoba, the North-West Territories and the District of Keewatin."¹⁰⁷ The census was designed to monitor and document settlement and economic development, and was to be conducted during 1885 and before 1 August 1886.¹⁰⁸ The Assistant Census Commissioner was the Oblate missionary Father Albert Lacombe, who had personal knowledge of Aboriginal people in the prairie west.

The "Manual containing 'The Census act' and The Instructions to officers employed in the taking of The Census of Manitoba" (1886) contained a number of sections pertaining to the enumeration of Aboriginal people.¹⁰⁹ The enumerators were directed: "Persons having no formal abode and no fixed domicile of any kind are, of course, to be registered wherever met with, whether on board ship, in shanties, wigwams and tents, public institutions, or private homes..."¹¹⁰ "Directions concerning the Separate Schedules" instructed regarding column 5 of the nominal schedule:

In this column are to be numbered, in the same manner, all dwellings of a temporary character, only inhabited for a part of the year, such as lumbering shanties, public works shanties, fisherman's huts, Indian wigwams, &c.¹¹¹

The enumerators were also told to pay special attention to "Origin," and enter the information accordingly:

Origin is to be scrupulously entered, as given by the person questioned; in the manner shown in the specimen schedule, by the words English, Irish, Scotch, African, Indian, German, French, and so forth. In this column will specifically

¹⁰⁷ *An Act to provide for the taking of a Census in the Province of Manitoba, the north-West Territories and the District of Keewatin*, Statutes of Canada, 48 Victoria (1885), cap. 3.

¹⁰⁸ *The Canada Gazette*, 9 July 1886.

¹⁰⁹ Department of Agriculture, "Manual containing 'The Census Act' and the Instructions to officers employed in the Taking of the Census of Manitoba 1886" (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1886).

¹¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

be entered Half-breeds as French Half-breed, Scotch Half-breed and English Half-breed, &c.¹¹²

These differences had always been important, historically and culturally, and now they were to be noted officially.

The 1891 Decennial Census

In 1891, the new Dominion Statistician, George Johnson, conducted Canada's third decennial census consisting of nine schedules and 1216 questions.¹¹³ The Minister's report for 1890 noted that "...great care has been exercised to preserve the essential features of previous census-taking, while at the same time introducing new features in order to bring the statistics obtained up to the most modern views of what a census should be as a national stocktaking."¹¹⁴ In 1891, there were no special instructions issued to enumerators concerning enumeration of Aboriginal people.

The 1891 Census had important financial implications for the Province of British Columbia. Under the provisions of the 1871 Terms of Union, British Columbia was eligible to receive an annual per capita grant of 80 cents. The 1891 decennial census enumerated a total Indian population of 23,263. However, the statistical census taken by agents of the Department of Indian Affairs counted an Indian population of 35,302. As a result of this discrepancy, and its potential financial implications for provincial coffers, in 1893 provincial officials questioned the accuracy of the decennial census. The Deputy Clerk of the B.C. Executive Council was instructed to contact the Hon. John Costigan, Secretary of State of Canada, to determine what action to take. Whose population figures took precedence: those contained in the federal decennial census, or those collected yearly by the Department of Indian Affairs?¹¹⁵ Historical records examined for this research project do not provide an answer.

¹¹² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

¹¹³ Department of Agriculture, "Manual containing 'The Census Act' and the Instructions to officers employed in the Taking of the Third Census 1891" (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891).

¹¹⁴ David A. Worton, *The Dominion Bureau of Statistics: a history of Canada's central statistical office and its antecedents, 1841-1972* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1998), p. 20.

¹¹⁵ Provincial Order in Council, 2 September 1893. LAC, RG 13, Vol. 92, File 1894-21.

Imperial interest in “British Indians” in Canada, 1899

On 15 May 1899, the British Colonial Secretary Joseph Chamberlain sent a dispatch to Lord Minto, Governor General, inquiring into “...the disabilities and restrictions imposed upon British Indians in Canada.” As part of the imperial request for information “...the approximate number of such British Indians” was sought.¹¹⁶ The request hearkened back to pre-Confederation days when the Blue Books were assembled and forwarded to the Colonial Secretary reporting on economic and social conditions in the colonies.

The Canadian reply, dated 29 December 1899, was prepared by Reginald Rimmer, Law Clerk, Department of Indian Affairs. Citing statistics from the “last Census returns,” Rimmer stated that there were 100,093 Indians resident in Canada, a figure that included the “Arctic Coast, Esquimaux.” It is not clear whether Rimmer was using data from the 1891 decennial census or from the Indian Department’s annual census. It is of interest to note that Rimmer counted “Esquimaux” people as “Indians.” The question of the treatment of Indian and Inuit people in the census later resurfaced as an important inquiry, in the 1930s, when jurisdictional issues arose concerning what level of government was responsible for Inuit welfare.

The 1901 Decennial Census

The 1901 census contained eleven schedules and 561 questions.¹¹⁷ The nominal schedule sought the name of each person in the family or household on 31 March 1901; sex; color; relationship to head of household; marital status; date of birth; age on last birthday; country or place of birth; year of immigration to Canada; year of naturalization; racial origin; nationality; religion; profession or trade; education; language; and infirmities.

¹¹⁶ For documentation concerning the request see: Great Britain, “Colonial Reports-Miscellaneous. No.15. Canada. Memorandum on the legal Status of British North American Indians. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of her Majesty, December 1900.” (London: Her Majesty’s Stationery Office, 1900).

¹¹⁷ Department of Agriculture, “Fourth Census of Canada. Instructions to Chief Officials, Commissioners and Enumerators” (Ottawa: Queen’s Printer, 1901).

This was the first census to include language on the nominal schedule. The schedule included three columns: "English," "French," and "Mother tongue (if spoken)." The enumerators were instructed, regarding the latter column:

Mother tongue is one's native language, the language of his race; but not necessarily the language in which he thinks, or which he speaks most fluently, or uses chiefly in conversation. Whatever it may be, whether English, French, Gaelic, Irish, German, Swedish, Russian or any other, it should be entered by name in column 33 if the person speaks the language, but not otherwise.¹¹⁸

The 1901 instruction manual also provided direction regarding "color":

The races of men will be designated by the use of "w" for white, "r" for red, "b" for black and "y" for yellow. The whites are, of course, the Caucasian race, the reds are the American Indian, the blacks are the African or negro, and the yellows are the Mongolian (Japanese and Chinese). But only pure whites will be classed as whites; the children begotten of marriages between whites and any one of the other races will be classed as red, black or yellow, as the case may be, irrespective of the degree of color.¹¹⁹

Regarding "racial origin," the manual instructed:

Among whites the racial or tribal origin is traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Italian, Scandinavian, etc. Care must be taken, however, not to apply the terms "American" or "Canadian" in a racial sense, as there are no races of men so called. "Japanese," "Chinese" and "negro" are proper racial terms; but in the case of Indians the names of their tribes should be given, as "Chippewa," "Cree," etc. Persons of mixed white and red blood — commonly known as "breeds" — will be described by addition of the initial letters "f.b." for French breed, "e.b." for English breed, "s.b." for Scotch breed and "i.b." for Irish breed. For example: "Cree f.b." denotes that the person is racially a mixture of Cree and French; and "Chippewa s.b." denotes that the person is Chippewa and Scotch. Other mixture of Indians besides the four above specified are rare, and may be described by the term "o.b." for other breed. If several races combined with the red, such as English and Scotch, Irish and French, or any others, they should also be described by the initials "o.b." A person whose father is English, but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French, or any other race, will be ranked as

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 17.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

English, and so with any others — the line of descent being traced through the father in the white races.¹²⁰

A Question concerning the Enumeration of Indian Reserves, 1906

On 24 January 1906, Archibald Blue, Chief Officer of the recently created Census and Statistics Office, wrote E.L. Newcombe, Deputy Minister of Justice, to inquire:

1. Does the Township of Albemarle in the electoral district of North Bruce include the Cape Croker Indian Reserve and the Islands in Georgian Bay adjacent to it?
2. Does the Township of Amabel include the Indian reserve in this Township?
3. Does the Township of Sombra in the electoral district of West Lambton include the Indian Reserve on Walpole Island and the islands adjacent to it?
4. Should the population of the several Indian Reserves and islands be included as part of the population of the Townships named above in a schedule of sub-districts in the electoral districts?¹²¹

Newcombe replied the next day referring Blue to the *Representation Act* for the answer, and curtly commenting, "If not, I do not understand why he asks us."¹²²

The 1906 Quinquennial Census

The provinces of Alberta and Saskatchewan were established in 1905. In July 1905, the *Census and Statistics Act* was amended to mandate a census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta in the sixth year of each subsequent decade.¹²³ The 1906 census date was set for 24 June 1906.¹²⁴

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 13-14.

¹²¹ Blue to Newcombe, 24 January 1906. LAC, RG 13, Vol. 140, File 1906-86.

¹²² Newcombe to Blue, 25 January 1906. LAC, RG 13, Vol. 140, File 1906-86.

¹²³ *An Act to amend the Census and Statistics Act*, Statutes of Canada, 5 Edward VII (1905), cap. 6. During the period from 1906 to 1946, mid-decade censuses were conducted only in western Canada.

¹²⁴ *The Canada Gazette*, 21 May 1906.

In 1907, analysis of the census data noted that the Aboriginal population of the western provinces was nomadic and thus it was difficult to compare with previous census data. Nonetheless, census officials did compare, and noted an increase of 618 Indians since 1901, and a drop in the proportion of Indians to Europeans due to the influx of immigrants. Officials thus concluded optimistically: "It is evident therefore that the indigenous Indian population of Canada can never give rise to the native problems that affect South Africa and other countries of the British Empire."¹²⁵

Indian Agents as Census Enumerators

Statistical enumeration of Aboriginal communities had been undertaken by agents of the Indian Department since pre-Confederation times. A provision of the numbered treaties (1871-1921) called for "censuses" of the Indian population of each treaty. The Indian Affairs *Annual Reports* contained annual statistical censuses of Indians by agency until 1917. In 1886, a circular letter dated 13 March instructed Indian agents in eastern Canada:

...to take a careful Census of the band or bands of Indians within your District, and to make a return thereof on the form of which a supply is transmitted herewith. Only those who properly and legally belong to the band or bands under your charge should be included in the Return and a separate Return on the same form should be made of any Indians who hang about, or reside upon, or in the vicinity of, the Reserve, but who are not members of the band owning the same, and full particulars in respect to each such Indian should be given.

On reserves where annuities or other moneys were paid periodically, this census was to be taken once a year at the time of such payments. The number of Indians on the pay list had to correspond with the census return of the members of the band.¹²⁶

The report on *Fourth Census of Canada*, 1901, was the first to suggest that Indian agents were already active "enumerators" for Indian communities. However, as of 1901, there were

¹²⁵ Canada, *Sessional Papers, Volume 6, Third Session of the Tenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1906-7* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1907), pp. xvii-xix.

¹²⁶ Bill Russell, *Indian Affairs records at the National Archives of Canada: A source for genealogical research* (Toronto: The Ontario Genealogical Society, 1998), p. 26. Russell cites LAC, RG 10, vol. 2298, File 59268.

no combined efforts on census-taking. Evidence of this situation is a note that J.D. McLean, Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs wrote in 1901:

...the Census Commission has made no arrangement with this Department as to taking the census of the Indians, in connection with the general census being taken of the people of Canada...I understand that for the older portions of Canada census enumerators have been instructed to include the Indian population.¹²⁷

The recommendation that Indian agents be engaged in decennial and quinquennial censuses raised the question, "...whether it is necessary to duplicate this inquiry-whether it might not be possible to accept the report of the Indian Department as the Census of population and agriculture for that year." However, this was considered impractical for a number of reasons. First, the census sought considerable nominal data, including age, sex, religion, marital status, occupation, language, and infirmities, for which existing statistical data at Indian Affairs would not suffice. In the case of housing, the census needed to know the number of rooms in a house. In terms of grain, crop values were not reported by the Indian agent. As for livestock, the value of "the various kinds of live stock and poultry are given as a whole, not separately for each kind as required by the Census." In short, there were inconsistencies and incomparabilities in the two sets of data, leading the conclusion that information needed to be collected separately for each purpose.

According to the unnamed author a report entitled "Census of Indians" the co-operation of Deputy Superintendent General Duncan Campbell Scott was sought to confirm the new proposed census-taking arrangement:

Mr. Scott...has expressed the willingness of the Department to cooperate with this office in this matter, and has further suggested that in directing the progress of the work his office might be of assistance. He stipulates, however, that payment for whatever work the Agents perform in this connection should be matter for arrangement between the Agent and this office.¹²⁸

¹²⁷ Russell, p. 24. Russell cites LAC, RG 10, Vol. 2520, file 107007, pt. 7.

¹²⁸ "The Census of Indians," n.d. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417. An unsigned, undated report outlines the rationale and arrangements. In trying to establish the date of the document, the report refers to the census of 1911, notes that the 1886 *Indian Act* was in force (it wasn't revised until 1927), and refers to the assistance of D.C. Scott in making the census-taking arrangements (he left office in 1932).

The 1911 “Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators” confirmed the new approach. The section “Census of Indians on reserves and of persons in the Northwest Territories” stipulated that:

A Census of Indians when living on reserves or otherwise may be taken under the direction of the Minister of Agriculture by officers or employees of the Department of Indian Affairs, or by enumerators or agents appointed for that purpose; and the Census of the Northwest Territories and other unorganized regions in the northern parts of the Dominion by members of the Royal Northwest Mounted Police or by other persons or agents — as may in each case be deemed by the Minister of Agriculture advantageous and expedient.¹²⁹

This clause placed the enumeration of Aboriginal people in the hands of Indian agents and Mounted Police officers who, presumably, would be familiar with their families, occupation, and residence. In the words of archivist Bill Russell, Indian agents also “...represented an authority figure on the reserve who was more likely to get cooperation than would a stranger.”¹³⁰

Indian agents continued this work in subsequent years. At some point between the 1916 quinquennial census, and the 1921 decennial census Indian agents were officially delegated authority for taking the census on reserves.¹³¹ The arrangement was formalized by Order in Council in the 1930s. P.C. 3763 of 9 December 1935 authorized Indian agents to act as census enumerators on Indian reserves for the 1936 census.¹³² The Dominion Statistician, R.H. Coats, suggested these arrangements in a letter of 2 October 1935 to Dr. Harold McGill, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs. Coats suggested that the quinquennial census of the Indian population take place at the same time as treaty annuity payments were made.¹³³

¹²⁹ Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 5.

¹³⁰ Russell, p. 24.

¹³¹ “The Census of Indians,” n.d. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417.

¹³² P.C. 3763, 9 December 1935. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90, Box 31, File 8003.

¹³³ *Ibid.*

In an undated circular letter, Coats advised:

In the case of Indian Reservations the agent in charge of each reserve has, with the consent of the Department of Indian Affairs, been appointed the Census enumerator to make the enumeration of each reserve. He will be notified by the Deputy Superintendent-General of Indian Affairs to act in this capacity and arrangements as to his pay, etc. by this office have already been approved by order-in-council. The necessary material for use of taking the Census in these Reserves will be forwarded direct from Ottawa.¹³⁴

Indian agents acted as census enumerators until the mid 1960s. The *Annual Report* of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics dated March 1962 observed: "The Dominion Bureau of Statistics received valuable assistance from other branches of the Government in undertaking the Census in areas which would otherwise be very difficult to reach."¹³⁵ The report cited that the RCMP assisted in Labrador; Northern Affairs staff canvassed Aboriginal people living in northern Quebec; the Department of National Defence enumerated armed forces personnel stationed in Europe; External Affairs surveyed Canadian diplomats living abroad; and Indian agents enumerated Aboriginal people living on reserves. People of Aboriginal descent living off reserve were presumably recorded by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' own enumerating staff.

The employment of Indian agents to act as enumerators of the Indian reserve population had its drawbacks. During the 1930s and 1940s, there was a chronic shortage of agents. Some agents found travel and communication within their agencies difficult; some reserves in the northern portions of the Prairie provinces, for example, were not visited on a yearly basis. When the agent was at the reserve, there was no guarantee that the resident population would be there: Aboriginal people's locations were affected by seasonal hunting schedules and travel to visit friends and kin on distant reserves.

There are also hints at differences in perspective concerning the Aboriginal population as seen by Indian Affairs officials and those from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. Most

¹³⁴ Circular Letter from R.H. Coats, Dominion Statistician, n.d. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001B.

¹³⁵ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Annual Report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1962* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962), p. 16.

notably, the Census definition of who was an “Indian” did not follow the *Indian Act* definition that determined Indian status. The Indian agent, who maintained official band lists and enumerated the census, was caught between the two.

The 1911 Decennial Census

The fifth decennial census contained a number of departures from the previous four exercises. The nominal schedule was streamlined into seven major categories: “Residence and Personal description”; “Citizenship, Nationality and Religion”; “Profession, Occupation, Trade or Means of Living”; “Wage Earners”; “Insurance held at Date”; “Education”; and “Infirmities.” “Education” included “Language,” and had a column (as in 1901) for the enumerator to record mother tongue. The enumerators’ manual gave a list of likely sample answers for mother tongues other than English and French; none of these sample answers were Aboriginal languages, nor did the instructions specifically mention the enumeration of Aboriginal languages.¹³⁶

Under “Nationality,” it was “proper to use Canadian in column 15 as descriptive of every person whose home is in the country and who has acquired rights of citizenship in it.”¹³⁷ The issue of “Nationality,” however, was not to be equated with “Race.”

In 1911, there was a separate set of “Instructions to Enumerators in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory.” Under the section “Citizenship, Origin and Religion” in the territorial manual, northern enumerators were given particular instructions that “Column 10 will give racial or tribal origin, as English, French, Eskimo, Cree, half-breed, etc.”¹³⁸ The instructions applicable outside of the territories also contained guidance on how to deal with

¹³⁶ Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 38. In the instructions to enumerators in the territories, which were briefer, the instruction did not include any sample answers, nor did it specifically mention Aboriginal languages. Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Enumerators in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory” (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 6.

¹³⁷ Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 29.

¹³⁸ Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Enumerators in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory” (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 6.

question of racial origin. The “tribal origin” of Indians was to be traced through the mother, not the father. The particular instruction given to southern enumerators read:

The racial or tribal origin, column 14, is usually traced through the father, as in the English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German, Italian, Bohemian, Ruthenian, Bukovinian, Galician, Bulgarian, Chinese, Japanese, Polish, Jewish, etc. A person whose father is English but whose mother is Scotch, Irish, French or other race will be ranked as English, and so with any of the others. In the case of Indians the origin is traced through the mother, and names of their tribes should be given as “Chippewa,” “Cree,” etc.¹³⁹

This was at odds with the existing *Indian Act* definition of “Indian” that stressed the male line. This must have been observed by Indian agents, who were now acting as census-takers. To date, our research has not canvassed agency records where the reactions of Indian agents may have been recorded.

The 1906 instruction about mixed ancestry “breeds” was deleted from the 1911 manual. A contemporary record explained the rationale for this change:¹⁴⁰

It follows, there, that there may be persons of mixed blood on the Reserves who are classed as Indians,— for example, the progeny of Indian fathers by white or half-breed mothers; but half-breeds proper have no legal right to be upon Indian Reserves and are not enumerated as Indians by the Agents of the Department, although they receive a measure of recognition, as half-breed children are educated by the Department under certain restrictions.”

In determining “Origin” in the 1911 Decennial Census this instruction (53) was omitted and the practice adopted of enumerating all admixtures according to the race of the father. The chief reason for this change was that in a large number of cases persons known to have Indian blood designated themselves according to the racial origin of their father, and representations were made privately to the [Census] office that the attachment of the term “breed” was regarded more or less as a stigma. The effect statistically *of the change of 1911* [inserted in writing into the text] was to bring the census results in close correspondence with those of the Indian Department.

The class of half-breed in the Northwest provinces commonly known as “Métis” benefited in the earlier days by the distribution of script [sic] and free lands. The

¹³⁹ Department of Agriculture, “Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911), p. 29.

¹⁴⁰ “The Census of Indians,” n.d. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417.

Indian Department thinks it would be useful to enumerate these separately, but is doubtful as to [inserted in writing into the text] the feasibility of doing so.

As a general conclusion it is recommended that it would be better to enumerate the Indian population as was done in 1911 and not attempt to classify it as "Indians" and "half-breeds" as was done in 1901.¹⁴¹

The 1916 Quinquennial Census

Enumeration arrangements with Indian agents and North-West Mounted Police continued the 1916 quinquennial census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta. The Mounted Police were instructed to focus on the non-Indian population.¹⁴² Census-takers experienced some degree of resistance from Aboriginal people, at least in the case of the members of the Roseau River band, who refused to comply.¹⁴³

Following the 1916 census, the Census and Statistics Office prepared a coast-to-coast comprehensive statistical analysis of "Canadian Indians by Principal Tribes," including their tribal origin, location, and numbers. The report noted that: "At some agencies various tribes are so mixed up by intermarriage and migration that it is impossible to divide the number living at these agencies according to their respective tribes. This will explain the fact that the number of certain of the tribes at some agencies is not shown in the above census."¹⁴⁴ The report's section on "Linguistic Stock" also observed that "...some 2,500 Nomadic Indians in British Columbia who cannot be correctly classified."¹⁴⁵

The 1921 Decennial Census

The sixth decennial census, in 1921, was the first conducted by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics, a branch of the Department of Trade and Commerce. It was conducted under the

¹⁴¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁴² R.H. Coats, Dominion Statistician to Commissioner A. B. Perry, NWMP, Regina, 5 June 1916. LAC, RG 18, Vol. 527, File 99-17.

¹⁴³ This instances is cited by Russell, who also notes that Indian Affairs sought a legal opinion that concluded that nothing in the existing *Indian Act* could force the Indians to be enumerated. Russell, p. 24. Russell cites RG 10, Vol. 6823, File 494-16-5.

¹⁴⁴ "Census of Canadian Indians 1916, Shown by Principal Tribes." LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133. Box 3, File 302.

¹⁴⁵ "Census of Canadian Indians 1916, Shown by Linguistic Stock." LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133. Box 3, File 302.

legislative authority of a new *Statistics Act*, passed in 1918.¹⁴⁶ The 1921 census followed the same format as previous censuses in terms of establishing districts and sub-districts, and appointing commissioners and enumerators. The nominal schedule contained seven major headings: “Name and Residence”; “Tenure and Class of Home”; “Personal Description”; “Nativity”; “Citizenship”; “Race, Language and Religion”; “Education”; and “Profession, Occupation and Employment.” As in 1911 and 1916, the Minister of Agriculture appointed officials from the Department of Indian Affairs and Royal Northwest Mounted Police to enumerate reserves and northern regions.¹⁴⁷

To assist in interpreting “Race” and “Tribal Origin,” enumerators were given instructions similar to those formulated in 1911: “The racial or tribal origin, column 14, is usually traced through the father, as in English, Scotch, Irish, Welsh, French, German...In the case of Indians the origin is traced through the mother, and the names of their tribes should be given, as ‘Chippewa,’ ‘Cree,’ etc.”¹⁴⁸

The mother tongue column — under which there was a blank space for the enumerator’s entry, remained the only place to record languages other than English and French on the census schedule. As in previous years, the enumerators’ instructions regarding mother tongue gave a list of sample “foreign” mother tongues; the list did not include any Aboriginal languages.¹⁴⁹

The “Race” Question in the Census

Following the 1921 census, a debate emerged within the Dominion Bureau of Statistics concerning the utility of including a “race” question in the census. J.W. Dafoe, editor of the *Winnipeg Free Press* raised the matter in a May 1926 letter to R.H. Coats, Dominion Statistician. In a “Memorandum for Mr. Coats” dated 12 May 1926, the Chief of the General Statistics Branch argued that: “...we feel that, by and large, our racial origin classification

¹⁴⁶ *An Act respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics*, Statutes of Canada, 8-9 George V (1918), cap. 43.

¹⁴⁷ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, “Sixth Census of Canada 1921: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1921).

¹⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 26. Emphasis added.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 27.

does give a great amount of valuable information as to the type of people in each province, city, town and village, and rural district throughout Canada..."¹⁵⁰ A scholar by the name of Professor Hurd¹⁵¹ was engaged to prepare a study of the racial origin of Canadians. An unsigned memorandum to Coats on 3 November 1928 suggested Professor Hurd's manuscript be turned into a book, and printed under the auspices of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.¹⁵²

The 1931 Decennial Census

On 30 January 1931, Dominion Statistician R.H. Coats wrote to Robert England, Western Manager, Department of Colonization and Agriculture, Canadian National Railways, commenting on the appointment of census enumerators. The letter provides some insight concerning their selection:

I might say that we have done our best in the past to ensure that areas of a predominant race, language, religion, etc., are enumerated by an appointee from the predominant class. In the matter of language, particularly, we always endeavour to ensure that an enumerator shall speak the language of the predominant class in the area. Apart from the considerations you mention, this has the advantage of reducing cost, as we are thereby saved the expense of an interpreter.¹⁵³

Census commissioners and enumerators were part of the "outside service" of the federal government.¹⁵⁴ Census commissioners received instructions from senior officials in the

¹⁵⁰ Chief of General Statistics Branch to Coats, 12 May 1926. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417.

¹⁵¹ This could be W. Burton Hurd of Brandon College who later did a demographic study of Canadian agriculture in 1941 for the Parliamentary Reconstruction Committee.

¹⁵² Memo to Coats, 3 November 1926. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417.

¹⁵³ Coats to England, 30 January 1931. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133, Box 17, File 1343.

¹⁵⁴ A profile of the 1931 census enumerators lists their occupations as follows: Farmers 4752; Clerks 819; Homemakers 708; Students 653; Salesmen 585; Merchants 563; Retired and No Occupation 513; Agents 432; Accountants 374; Insurance Agents 285; Labourers 274; Book-keepers 194; Carpenters 175; Teachers 171; Indian Agents 114; Stenographers 89; RCMP 76; Painters 74; Mechanics 71; Machinists 68; travelers 58; Fishermen 56; Contractors 51; Lawyers 49; Notaries 17; Electricians 46; Clergymen 44; Miners 43; Brokers 43; Printers 42; Grain Buyers 42; Ranchers 40; Managers 40; Tailors 36; Foremen 35; Blacksmiths 34; Shippers 34; Butchers 33; Farmers' Sons 32; Secretaries 29; Gardeners 27; telegraph Operators 27; Sealers 26; Veterinary Surgeons 26; Barbers 25; Plumbers 25; Prospectors 25. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934), p. 26.

Dominion Bureau of Statistics. The commissioners, in turn, selected the enumerators and provided them with guidance in filling out the various schedules.

Coats issued "Special Instructions to Census Commissioners" in March 1931. He recommended that enumerators be residents of the sub-district to ensure familiarity with "...the territory and the general character of the people residing in the district." He suggested that enumerators be "active, energetic persons of good address." He also identified persons who would make good enumerators:

16. The following class of persons...are [sic] specifically recommended...
 - (a) In rural districts, crop correspondents of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics;
 - (b) School teachers when available and able to give their time to the work;
 - (c) Officers and leading workers in Farmers' organizations, Live Stock Associations, Co-operative Creameries, etc.; progressive farmers and their sons and daughters; and especially young men or women who have attended agricultural colleges or agricultural experimental stations.
17. It is further suggested that, in certain sections, women would make excellent appointments as census enumerators owing to the fact that in many instances the information must be obtained from the female head of the house. In the last census several women acted as enumerators and gave excellent results."¹⁵⁵

The nominal schedule for the seventh census differed little in format and content from that of 1921. The questions focused on: name, sex, age, marital status, country of birth, nationality, race, language spoken, religion, education, and employment. For filling out column 21, "Racial Origin," the enumerators in southern Canada were instructed:

...in the case of the aboriginal Indian population of Canada, the origin is to be traced through the mother, and the names of their tribes should be given as Chippewa, Cree, Blackfoot, etc. The children begotten of marriages between white and black or yellow races will be recorded as Negro, Chinese, Japanese, Indian, etc. as the case may be. The object of this question is to obtain a

¹⁵⁵ Coats to Census commissioners, March 1931. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-1990/133, Box 24, File 7001B.

knowledge of the various constituent elements that have combined from the earliest times to make up the present population of Canada.

The instructions issued for the “Census of the Northwest territories; Certain parts of the Yukon; Eastern shore of Hudson’s Bay north of Great Whale River; and Southern Shore of Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay,” regarding “Racial or Tribal Origin,” directed:

...in the case of Eskimos and Indians the origin is traced through the mother and the names of their tribes should be given as Agamint, Sinimuit, Kidnelik, Aglenuit, Innuait, Slaves, Rabbit Skins, Crees, Saulteaux, etc. The children begotten of marriages between white and black, or yellow, or brown races will be classed as Negro, Mongolian, Indian or Eskimo as the case may be.

Aboriginal Resistance to Census-taking in 1931

Despite the employment of Indian agents in on-reserve census-taking, all was not smooth sailing. During the 1931 census, Aboriginal people at Oka, St. Regis, Brantford and Rocky Mountain House refused to participate in the census. Indian Affairs officials stated there was nothing in the revised *Indian Act* of 1927 that compelled Aboriginal participation. The Department of Indian Affairs recommended that officials of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics use its own schedule of non-compliance penalties and charge the Aboriginal offenders.¹⁵⁶ There is no record that this was ever done.

Are “Eskimos” considered to be “Indians”?

On 13 June 1934, W. Stuart Edwards, Deputy Minister of Justice, wrote Dominion Statistician R.H. Coats concerning a dispute between the federal government and the Province of Quebec about the distribution of welfare relief to Inuit people in northern Quebec.¹⁵⁷ The question to be put before the Supreme Court of Canada was whether the term “Indians,” as used in Section 91(24) of the *British North America Act*, included Eskimos. The Deputy Minister of Justice asked Coats how Indians and Eskimos had been classified in Dominion censuses since Confederation. He also inquired if Eskimos could purchase and own land, whether they could vote, and whether they paid taxes or license fees.¹⁵⁸

¹⁵⁶ Russell, p. 24. Russell cites LAC, RG 10, Vol. 3161, File 365009-3

¹⁵⁷ Edwards to Coats, 13 June 1934. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303.

¹⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

Coats replied to Edwards on 26 June 1934. He noted that as early as 1857 Hudson's Bay Company officials tabulated separate statistics for Indians and Eskimos frequenting their posts. The 1881 census, he noted, had included a census sub-district called the Arctic Coast in which some 4,000 Indians were enumerated; however, he said, "these Indians apparently included Eskimos."¹⁵⁹ In the 1891 census, racial origins were not recorded. In 1901, the heading "Indians" included all "the non-white population of the Yukon Territory and the Ungava District." In the 1911 census, no Eskimos were mentioned in the returns prepared at Fort Churchill. In 1921, Eskimos were "segregated" in the census tables. In 1931, there was a separate count of Eskimos "including them in a general title of "Indians and Eskimos."¹⁶⁰

Coats further noted that the *Handbook of Indians of Canada*, printed in 1913 by the Department of Marine and Fisheries, stated that "...Eskimos are apparently regarded as an Indian tribe." In a 1905 article entitled "Physical types of Indians of Canada," anthropologist Franz Boas had classified Eskimos as one of four types of Indians. Coats concluded his letter:

It is impossible for [illegible] to determine exactly what the framers of the British North America Act had in their minds in regards sub-section 24 of section 91, where mention is made of "Indians and lands reserved for Indians," but the practice in this Bureau since I have been in charge has been to enumerate and tabulate the Eskimos and Indians separately, though adding their numbers together in a general total of aboriginal population. Both the Interior Department and the Department of Indian Affairs have required separate figures from us from time to time.¹⁶¹

On 26 April 1938, A.J. Pelletier, Chief of the Census Branch, forwarded a statistical census of Eskimos in the Province of Quebec to C.P. Plaxton, Law Branch, Department of Justice. He noted that in the 1931 census some "Eskimos" at Fort MacKenzie and Fort Chimo were

¹⁵⁹ Coats to Edwards, 26 June 1934. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303.

¹⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

¹⁶¹ *Ibid.*

later determined to be Naskapi Indians. Indeed, upon further examination, Eskimos at Povungtuk and on the Belcher Islands were “punched as Indians in error.”¹⁶²

The jurisdictional question was heard by the Supreme Court of Canada in 1939 in the *Re: Eskimos* case. At that time “Eskimos” were determined to be “Indians” under Section 91(24) of the *British North America Act*.¹⁶³

The 1941 Decennial Census

The 1941 census was the first decennial census to be conducted during wartime. The nominal schedule asked virtually the same questions concerning age, sex, place of birth, residence, marital status, religion, education, language, and occupation as in 1931.

The “Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators” were very similar to those prepared for the 1931 census, particularly in establishing census districts and sub-districts, and outlining the roles and duties of commissioners and enumerators.¹⁶⁴ As in 1931, Indian agents acted as census enumerators for the on-reserve Indian population.¹⁶⁵ Eskimos were enumerated by the RCMP, missionaries, and Hudson’s Bay Company factors.¹⁶⁶ The procedures for collecting and reporting census data remained the same.

The 1941 instructions to enumerators stated that “Indian Reserves shall not form part of any enumeration area; their enumeration will be made by the Indian Agents, under the direction of the Bureau of Statistics.”¹⁶⁷ Concerning the interpretation of “Racial Origin,” the manual

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ R.J. Diubaldo, “The Absurd Little Mouse: when Eskimos became Indians,” *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 16 (2), Summer 1981: 34-40.

¹⁶⁴ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, “Eighth Census of Canada 1941: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, King’s Printer, 1941).

¹⁶⁵ The Dominion Statistician reported that 107 Indian agents acted as enumerators in 1941. Dominion Bureau of Statistics. *Eighth Census of Canada, 1941: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician* (Ottawa: King’s Printer, 1945), p. 23.

¹⁶⁶ Gibson to Coats, 18 April 1940; Dominion Statistician to Gibson, 3 May 1940. LAC, RG 31, Accession 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303.

¹⁶⁷ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, “Eighth Census of Canada 1941: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators,” (Ottawa, King’s Printer, 1941), p. 2.

instructed: "For the Canadian aborigines, the entry will be Indian or Eskimo as the case may be. For a person of White and Indian blood the entry shall be Half-breed."¹⁶⁸

It is of interest to note that in 1941, unlike previous census instructions in 1911, 1921, and 1931, there was no specific directive to enumerators to trace Aboriginal ancestry through the mother. The reason for this omission is unclear. Can one speculate that the omission may have occurred because officials of the Indian Affairs Branch and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics were at odds over the census definition versus legislative definition of "Indian"?

The 1946 Quinquennial Census

The 1946 census was the first to specifically include "Indian" and "Eskimo" languages in the enumerators' list of likely responses to the mother tongue question. The column, as in previous years, could be filled in with any relevant answer, but the list of common and expected answers in the enumerators' manual now included "Indian" and "Eskimo." The instructions to enumerators also meant more specific Aboriginal languages should now not be recorded; enumerators were directed to "avoid recording other names when one given in this list can be applied to the language spoken."¹⁶⁹

Another important departure also occurred in 1946. Herbert Marshall, the new Dominion Statistician, issued special instructions to Indian agents to guide enumeration of Indian reserves. In the space provided for the name of a municipality, the name of the Indian agency and reserve was to be entered. When entering the names of persons in households, the names of children away at school were to be included "as having their place of abode on reserves." Under the entry "Ethnic Origin," the directive advised that:

Full-blooded Indians will, of course, be recorded as "Indian". It should be noted that in the 1946 census, all persons of mixed white and Indian parentage enumerated on reserves will also be recorded as "Indian," regardless of whether the Indian blood is through the father or mother.¹⁷⁰

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 44.

¹⁶⁹ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, "Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators" (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1946), p. 35.

¹⁷⁰ "Enumeration of Indian Reserves — Special Instructions for Guidance of Enumerators — Population Schedule (Form 1)," 1946. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308. Emphasis added.

The census definition of “Indian” as posed in 1946, and its timing, is of interest. Enumerators (i.e. Indian agents) were instructed to include mixed ancestry peoples living on reserves as “Indian.” This came at a time when concern was being expressed within the Indian Affairs Branch — and in other government circles — that non-*Indian Act* Indians were living illegally on reserves.

The 1946 Census and the Special Joint Committee, 1946-1948

As the Second World War drew to a close, Canadians turned their attention to post-war social and economic reconstruction. In this political context, the conditions of Aboriginal people came under scrutiny. There was a great deal of public concern about living conditions on reserves and the crumbling infrastructure of roads and buildings. There was a recognized need to extend federal social programs to Indian people. But who was an “Indian,” and thus eligible to receive pensions, welfare benefits, and economic assistance on reserve?

These questions, and many more, were posed to a Special Joint Committee of the House of Commons and the Senate struck in early 1946 to examine the *Indian Act* and Indian administration. As one of its assignments, the Committee focused its attention on the accuracy and completeness of existing Indian band lists. In the early 1940s, the MacDonald Inquiry had examined the band lists in the Great Slave Lake region and found that there were a considerable number of “half-breeds” and non-Indians living on remote northern Alberta reserves. Many had apparently migrated to the reserves during the 1930s when economic depression had eliminated jobs in the south. After hearing testimony from government officials, particularly those of the Indian Affairs Branch, it became obvious to the Special Joint Committee that the band lists maintained in Indian agencies across Canada needed to be cleaned up.

The 1946 census muddied the waters concerning the definition of who was an “Indian.” The broad, census-based definition of “Indian” was clearly at odds with the Special Joint Committee’s recommendation in 1946 to cull existing band lists by removing half-breeds and other ineligible reserve residents. Indian agents were caught in the middle of a definitional dilemma.

On 1 April 1947, the Indian Affairs Branch issued a branch manual entitled, "Indian Agents. References and Regulations."¹⁷¹ The manual contained no instructions to Indian agents as census-takers nor any references to the 1946 "census definition" of "Indian." The manual made it clear that the *Indian Act* definition of "Indian" determined eligibility for reserve residence and for receiving family allowances, old age assistance and pensions.

The 1949 Trial Census

In the immediate years after the Second World War, census-taking became an international concern. There was a concerted drive to standardize questionnaires and definitions. For example, the U.N. Food and Agricultural Organization wanted a worldwide census of agricultural products and production. The Inter-American Statistical Institute, backed by the Statistical and Population Commissions of the U.N., sought standardized population schedules.¹⁷² Thus, in Canada, there was an urgency to ensure the definitions and schedules developed for use in the 1951 census met international expectations. This was a difficult task.

For one thing, there was a danger that the census forms would become too complex. In 1941, the nominal schedule alone contained 39 questions, the housing schedule had 29 questions, and the agricultural schedule had 1000 questions. How would enumerators cope in entering the new data, and more importantly, would the average citizen want to co-operate? There was also the issue of training enumerators. Officials projected that the 1951 census would employ some 18,000 enumerators to cover 255 census districts.¹⁷³ The quality of previous enumeration, it was also felt, left something to be desired. Indeed, there had been complaints from local Boards of Trade and municipal officials that 20-25% of the population was previously missed.¹⁷⁴ Additional training and preparation was also needed,

¹⁷¹ Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, "Indian Agents. References and Regulations." INAC, Claims and Historical Research Centre, File A.31.

¹⁷² O.A. Lemieux, "Problems in Census Taking," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* Vol. 14, No.4, (November 1948), p. 470.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 476.

¹⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p.478.

since the 1951 decennial census was to be the first “automated” census.¹⁷⁵ To prepare in advance for the exercise of the 1951 census, a trial census was scheduled for 1949.

There were now three levels of census officials: census commissioners, supervisors, and district enumerators. Prospective enumerators had to write a standardized selection test.¹⁷⁶ Once appointed, the enumerators underwent extensive training conducted by supervisors learning how to conduct productive interviews and how to fill out the new punch card system using the “Mark Sense” pen. The role of the supervisor was to review the work of enumerators to ensure all data was properly collected and coded. The cards were returned to the appropriate census commissioner for forwarding to Ottawa.

The “Enumerators Manual” for the trial census contained instructions about “How ethnic origin is traced”:

As a general rule, a person’s ethnic origin is to be traced through his father. For example, if a person’s father is English and his mother French the ethnic origin shall be entered as English, while a person whose father is French and whose mother is English shall be entered as French; similarly for other combinations. For Canadian aborigines, the entry shall be Indian or Eskimo, as the case may be.

- (a) For those living on Indian Reserves the ethnic origin to be marked in Enquiry 14 will be Indian;
- (b) For persons not on Reserves the ethnic origin will be determined according to the origin on the father’s side. If there is any doubt as to the origin of the father, the surname of the person will be considered by the enumerator in entering ethnic origin.¹⁷⁷

Instructions regarding mother tongue included a longer list than in previous years of languages likely to be encountered. As in 1946, this list included “Indian” and “Eskimo.”

¹⁷⁵ Statistics Canada, “History of the Census in Canada,” Statistics Canada, <http://www.statscan.ca/english/census96/history.htm>.

¹⁷⁶ “Personnel Selection Test for Census Enumerators,” 1949. LAC, RG 31, Series A3, Vol. 1309.

¹⁷⁷ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, “Trial Census in preparation for the Ninth Census of Canada: Population, Housing, Agriculture and Fisheries, Enumerators Manual,” p. 21. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309.

The mark-sense cards also had ovals for “Indian and Eskimo” in the mother tongue section.¹⁷⁸

The 1951 Decennial Census

The 1951 Census was the most elaborate to date. There were 261 commissioners, 834 field supervisors, and 18,000 enumerators. In addition to Ottawa headquarters staff, there were also now five regional statistics centres located at Halifax, Montreal, Toronto, Winnipeg and Vancouver. Training was extensive and involved film presentations from the National Film Board.¹⁷⁹

As with the 1949 trial, the nominal schedule was formatted as a punch card on which an enumerator would use a “Mark Sense” pen to shade in ovals dealing with such questions as sex, age, occupation, religion, language, birthplace, origin, and citizenship. There were also several new questions concerning war service. The “Race” question did not appear. Under “Origin,” there was an oval for “Native Indian.”¹⁸⁰

The training manual for southern Canada in 1951 directed enumerators to establish a person’s “Origin” by asking a series of questions. However, “...if the respondent does not understand the first question, or the enumerator cannot establish the origin from the answer received, to ask further, ‘Is your origin in the male line English, Scottish, Ukrainian, Jewish, Norwegian, North American Indian, Negro, etc.?’” Under the further sub-heading “Methods of dealing with special cases,” the training dealt with the enumeration of Aboriginal people of mixed ancestry:

- (i) Persons of mixed white and Indian parentage
- (a) If living on Indian reserves – mark “Native Indian”.
- (b) If not living on reserves – follow usual procedure, i.e. trace origin through father.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22.

¹⁷⁹ “Recent Developments in Census Taking in Canada, 1951,” prepared by Dominion Statistician Herbert Marshall for the British Commonwealth Statisticians Conference, 1951. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1301.

¹⁸⁰ Card, “Form 2 – Population,” 1951. Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: <http://www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/>

...

- (iii) Persons of mixed ancestry insisting they do not know what to reply to the question – mark oval “unknown.”¹⁸¹

The instructions for enumerators in the Yukon, Northwest Territories and other northern areas similarly stated, in terms of “Origin”: “As a general rule, origin is to be traced through the father. However, persons living on Indian Reserves who are of mixed white and Indian parentage will be marked “Native Indian.”¹⁸²

Consistent with the 1949 trial census, the mother tongue section had an option (oval) designated “Indian and Eskimo” for “First Language Spoken.”¹⁸³

The Revised Indian Act, 1951

The Special Joint Committee had recommended that new Indian band lists be drawn up and a new definition of “Indian” be inserted in a revised *Indian Act*. They had also recommended the creation of an Indian Registrar, similar to the existing Registrar for Canadian Citizenship, to maintain central control over the new band lists.

Over the years, the band lists (maintained by full and part-time Indian agents) had become so compromised that only extensive and expensive genealogical research could reveal a true picture. The solution was that band lists were posted in agency offices, and protests were allowed for a period of time. After the time expired, the band lists became official. The process of revising the Indian band lists proved politically explosive. Throughout the 1950s there were numerous band membership disputes across Canada and the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration (who was now responsible for Indian Affairs) was compelled to appoint local judges to adjudicate particular cases.

¹⁸¹ “1951 Training Manual,” pp. 49-50. LAC, RG 31, Series A3, Vol. 1309.

¹⁸² “Census of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and other Northern Areas,” 1951. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309.

¹⁸³ Card, “Form 2 – Population,” 1951. Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: <http://www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/>

In September 1951, a revised *Indian Act* was proclaimed.¹⁸⁴ It included a new legal definition of “Indian,” the first since 1876. The new definition of stated: “‘Indian’ means a person who pursuant to this Act is registered as an Indian or is entitled to be registered as an Indian.”¹⁸⁵ Indian status for new generations was inherited and defined through the male line.¹⁸⁶

The 1956 Quinquennial Census

The decade following the Second World War witnessed a tremendous increase in population and economic growth. The census seemed to have a growing number of applications: business and community leaders, social planners, and politicians needed the data to plan factory expansion, forecast municipal services, devise and modify social programs and government services, and adjust regional representation in the House of Commons.¹⁸⁷ When it came time to conduct the quinquennial western census in 1956, officials decided to expand the survey to all of Canada.

The questions posed in the 1956 quinquennial census were substantially the same as those prepared for the 1951 decennial census. As in 1951, the selection and training of commissioners, supervisors, and enumerators was comprehensive.¹⁸⁸ A 55-page “Field Manual for Census Commissioners and Field Supervisors” was assembled. An “Enumeration Manual” was also prepared to assist enumerators in data collection and reporting. There was also a special guide for “Population Enumeration of the Northwest Territories, Labrador and other Northern Areas.” None of the publications provided specific instructions for the enumeration of Aboriginal people.¹⁸⁹

¹⁸⁴ *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada, 15 George VI (1951), cap. 29. Reproduced in Smith, item C15, pp. 154-196.

¹⁸⁵ *Ibid.*, section 2(1).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, sections 11 and 12.

¹⁸⁷ “Reasons for the 1956 census.” LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311.

¹⁸⁸ “Appointment of Census Enumerators,” 29 November 1955. LAC RG 31, Vol. 1312,

¹⁸⁹ The three manuals can be found at: LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311. The “Enumeration Manual” at section 94, dealt with the enumeration of certain types of farms including those located on Indian reserves

The 1961 Decennial Census

The tenth decennial census was touted by government officials as the most important yet, because it would be the last before Centennial year in 1967. There was an eagerness to obtain every form of data to show one hundred years of population expansion and economic progress. Training of enumerators was exhaustive.¹⁹⁰

The nominal form included the usual questions concerning age, sex, religion, marital status, occupation, recent employment history, war service, and language spoken. There were two questions that focused on Aboriginal people. The first question was: "To what ethnic or cultural group did you or your ancestors (on the male side) belong on coming to this country"? To answer this question there was a box titled, "Native Indian" and two smaller entries headed "Band Member" and "Non-Band." Another question was worded: "What language did you first learn in childhood and still understand?" Here the entry "Indian or Eskimo" could be shaded in.

According to the "Enumeration Manual," if an Indian responded to the first question that he was a "Treaty Indian," he was to be counted as a "Band member." For people of mixed ancestry, the enumerator was directed:

- (2) If the person is of mixed white and Indian parentage:
 - (a) Consider those living on Indian reserves as "Indian" and determine Band status as outlined above.
 - (b) For those not on reserves, determine the ethnic or cultural group through the line of the father.¹⁹¹

The "Population and Housing Questionnaires and Instructions for Enumerators of Northern Regions" contained similar instructions concerning how to enumerate people of mixed ancestry:

¹⁹⁰ See, for example, "Personnel selection test for census enumerators," a 213-page "Training Manual," and a 54-page "Field Manual," and an Enumeration Manual LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312.

¹⁹¹ "Enumeration Manual," 1961. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312.

As a general rule, origin is to be traced through the father's line. For example, if a person's father is of Scottish descent and his mother Norwegian, enter the origin as "Scottish." However, persons living on Indian reserves who are of mixed white and Indian parentage will be entered as "Native Indian." Note that in all cases of "Native Indian," an additional question is required, viz., "Is your name included on any Indian Band Membership List in Canada?" If the answer is "yes" mark "Band"; if the answer is "no" mark "Non-band." In some areas, persons of legal Indian status may reply: "I am a Treaty Indian." This answer should be taken as 'yes,' and the person marked as "Band."¹⁹²

Observations and Conclusions

In the post-Confederation censuses, particularly those after 1901, the definitions concerning who was an "Indian" were divergent with other government definitions of "Indian."

Specifically, the definition for census-taking purposes differed from that in Indian legislation, defining who qualified for official Indian status under the provisions of the *Indian Act*. The legislative definition of "Indian" remained relatively consistent from 1876 to 1951; the census definitions of "Indian," "Eskimo" and "half-breed" changed considerably over time.

In the ten decennial and quinquennial censuses between 1871 and 1961, census enumerators were given varying instructions to identify Aboriginal people's "racial origin" through paternal and maternal lines. In 1921 and 1931, "Tribal Origin," such as Cree, was also sought, to be identified through the maternal line. From 1946 to 1961, people of mixed ancestry living on Indian reserves were counted as "census Indians." This afforded no differentiation between Indians and people of mixed ancestry living on reserves, despite the fact that in 1951 there was a new legal definition of "Indian" in the *Indian Act* that specifically aimed to differentiate people of mixed ancestry from the reserve population. In 1961, for reasons unknown, new terminological wrinkles were introduced. In the nominal census of Indian reserve residents, enumerators (i.e. Indian agents) were instructed to classify origin as "North American Indian," and to indicate in the appropriate box whether the individuals were "Band Members" or not. Any respondent who identified as a "Treaty Indian" was automatically to be classed as a "Band Member."

There was plenty of leeway for confusion and errors in census-taking of Aboriginal people. Indian agents were engaged in decennial and quinquennial data gathering, but could Indian

¹⁹² "Population and Housing Questionnaires and Instructions for Enumeration of Northern Reserves," 1961. LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313.

agents be trusted to get the record straight? As we have discussed, there was a chronic shortage of Indian agents on the prairies and in the northern portions of the provinces during the 1930s and 1940s; Indian reserves were scattered miles apart; travel over land was difficult; and communication systems were primitive. There was still often a language barrier between the agent and bands. As well, Indian people were often absent from reserves for lengthy periods of time harvesting game or simply visiting relatives and kin on other reserves. There are also recorded instances where Indian reserve communities refused to take part in census-taking fearing a hidden government agenda. Given these variables and constraints, could Indian agents be expected to conduct a completely accurate nominal census? How did Indian agents respond to census instructions that conflicted with instructions from their own department regarding how to define “Indians.” Would there not be an inclination to simply refer to extant band lists (no matter how out of date) or regurgitate the names on treaty annuity pay lists? We don’t know for sure. What is clear is that nominal census records of Aboriginal people are a problematic historical record, and one that may need verification against other documentary sources of personal information.

Recommended Future Research

Greater research of the Indian Affairs record series at Library and Archives Canada — LAC, Record Group (RG) 10 — may yield further historical records explaining the role of Indian agents as enumerators and sub-registrars of provincial vital statistics. The “Matheson Blue Books” at INAC’s Archival and Genealogical Research Unit might also be a useful source of information. The various Indian Agent’s Manuals should be reviewed, as well as the series of circular letters sent out by Indian Affairs headquarters to Indian agents and band councils, to understand the conflicting instructions and possible clarifications that Indian agents may have received alongside the “Instructions to Enumerators” from the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

ALTERNATIVE SOURCES CONTAINING PERSONAL INFORMATION

Introduction

Although they are a potentially valuable source of personal information, census records have their limitations in terms of availability and accuracy. Census data concerning the lineage and ancestors of Aboriginal people can be cross-referenced and corroborated by consulting other sources. Other records may also help to fill “gaps” in census coverage or availability. The following section contains a sampling of document sources and repositories containing personal information about Aboriginal people.

There are three essential research guides to consult in searching for historical records that contain personal information relating to Aboriginal people in Canada. The first, and most informative, guide is Bill Russell, *Indian Affairs Records at the National Archives. A source for genealogical research* (1998). The second is Bennett McCardle, *Archival Records Relating to Native People in the Public Archives of Canada and National Library of Canada and The National Museum of Man. A Thematic Guide* (1985). Finally, Bennett McCardle's, *Indian History and Claims. A Research Handbook* (1982) provides practical advice to those engaged in historical and claims-related research.

The Indian Register

In 1951, the Indian Affairs Branch established an Indian Register at headquarters, presided over by an Indian Registrar. Prior to 1951, Indian band lists were maintained — often inaccurately — at the agency or district level by Indian agents. The Indian Register, now in electronic format, is located in the Registration and Band Lists Directorate, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada. It is not open to the public. Requests for information can be made to the directorate.

Treaty Pay Lists

The pay lists for the Robinson Treaties (1850) and the western numbered Treaties 1 to 11 (1871-1921) contain the names of those who received annuity payments. Birth and adoption information is sometimes included. The pay lists are held at LAC, RG 10 (Indian Affairs) and at the Archival and Genealogical Research Unit, INAC. They are open at LAC

up to 1909. For pay lists after 1909, requests must be made through the Access to Information and Privacy service at LAC. Access to non-publicly-available pay lists can be facilitated with a Band Council Resolution giving certain permissions.

Interest Distribution Lists

Payments to individual band members stemming from the sale of reserve lands and other band resources and assets contain information concerning those who were recipients. Like treaty pay lists, copies of interest distribution lists can be viewed by authorized researchers at INAC and LAC.

Métis Records

The 1870 census of Manitoba focused on potential beneficiaries to the 1,400,000 million acres of land set aside for heads of families. This census, which is publicly available, is good starting point for ancestral research.

References to Métis and non-status Indian peoples appear in RG 10 records; “they are there, ironically, more than anything else by virtue of DIA’s need to record their exclusion from departmental responsibility.”¹⁹³ The settlement of “half-breed” claims, and the distribution of compensation in the form of money or land scrip was the responsibility of the Department of the Interior, not Indian Affairs. Scrip records contain the names of recipients of compensation and are located in LAC, RG 15 (Interior). A good reference source to consult in this regard is Bennett McCardle and Irene Spry, *The Records of the Department of the Interior and research concerning Canada’s Western frontier of settlement* (1993).

LAC, RG 10 (Indian Affairs) contains numerous files relating to people who applied to withdraw from treaty to take scrip, those who actually withdrew and received scrip, and those who subsequently re-entered treaty. According to Bill Russell, “... there is a nominal index of applications to leave treaty and take scrip, 1870-1920 (RG 10, vol. 10035); a register of names of “half-breeds” withdrawn from treaty, 1885-1886 in the Manitoba Superintendency (RG 10, vol. 100037); and a list of “half-breeds” who had withdrawn from treaty, 1 June 1888 (RG 10 vol. 10038); a statement of half-breeds who had received scrip

¹⁹³ Russell, p. 51.

and re-entered treaty, Treaty 5, The Pas and Cumberland bands (RG 10, vol. 10039); and a register of “half-breeds” who applied to withdraw from treaty, 1886-1926.” By way of example, RG 10, volume 10037 contains the names of family head, band number, and date of discharge from treaty. Volume 10038 provides the name of the head of the family, band number, and Indian agency. Volume 10039 provides information on individual cases containing details on births, deaths and a record of annuity payments made under treaty. Volume 10004 is a register of 867 applications arranged by date of application providing the name of family head, date of application receipt, band number, and remarks such as discharge date, or refusal to discharge and reasons.

For non-status Indians, the treaty pay lists are an important record. The pay lists include a record of those whose status was challenged and eventually changed. The pay lists are particularly useful in identifying Indian women who lost Indian status through marriage to non-Indians since, until changes brought about by the 1951 *Indian Act*, loss of Indian status did not necessarily mean removal from treaty pay lists. These women were known as “red ticket” Indian women from the colour of the government card they were issued to show their continued treaty status.¹⁹⁴

Inuit Records

Since Inuit people were geographically removed from white settlement, government census records of their population are relatively more recent and limited. LAC, RG 85 (Northern Affairs) offers a considerable amount of information about Inuit individuals. The records of the RCMP/NWMP, Hudson’s Bay Company, explorers, traders, and missionaries should also be consulted. For further information and research guidance see Terry Cook, *Sources for the Study of the Canadian North* (1980).

¹⁹⁴ In response to the *Powley* decision, the Department of Justice and the Office of the Federal Interlocutor for Métis and Non-Status Indians has launched a research program to identify mixed-ancestry communities across Canada. Researchers have used historical census records to trace the ancestry of potential Powley-type communities. The scope and nature of this research is outlined in an article by Austin Lawrence, “A Program of Research Related to Historical Métis Communities,” *JustResearch*, Issue 16 (Ottawa, Ontario: Research and Statistics Division, Department of Justice Canada, April 2008), pp. 12-18.

Hudson's Bay Company Records

The voluminous records of the Hudson's Bay Company contain personal information about Aboriginal people who interacted with company officials. For example, post account books include lists of individual traders and labourers. Personal information about individuals is also frequently available in post journals, correspondence, and district reports.

RCMP/NWMP Records

LAC, RG 18 (RCMP), particularly the Division and Detachment files, contain census and other information on Aboriginal people in northern Canada.

The National Registration File

The National Registration File of 1940 resulted from the compulsory registration of all Canadian persons, 16 years or older, in the time period from 1940 to 1946. Personal information was obtained under the authority of *The National Resources Mobilization Act* and the *War Measures Act*. The custody of these records was given to the Dominion Bureau of Statistics.

The National Registration File of 1940 is not subject to the confidentiality provisions of the *Statistics Act*, but it is covered by the *Privacy Act*. According to this act, where a person has been dead for more than 20 years, the personal information is no longer considered confidential and can be disclosed. A fee is charged for each search to provide third-party information from the national registration file for genealogical purposes. The contact office is the Census Pension Searches Unit, Census Operations Division, Statistics Canada.

Provincial Records of Vital Statistics

Provincial government vital statistics records can provide birth, marriage and death information.¹⁹⁵ Access to these records involves inquire through provincial governments and provincial archives.

¹⁹⁵ For example, in 1869 Ontario passed the *Registration Act* that enacting the creation of a centralized vital statistics system for registering births, marriages, and deaths. For a comprehensive overview see George Emery, *Facts of Life: The Social Construction of Vital Statistics in Ontario, 1869-1952* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's Press, 1993).

Church/Parish Records

Birth, marriage and death records of individuals can generally be located in local church or parish records.

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All primary sources cited (archival and published) are presented in the accompanying document index, which also includes other primary documents found during research that accorded with the parameters of the project terms of reference.

Legislation

This report cites historic census legislation; current legislation; and historic Indian legislation. The historic census legislation has been copied in its primary form and is integrated into the accompanying primary document index. Current legislation is available from the Department of Justice's Consolidated Statutes and Regulations of Canada (<http://laws.justice.gc.ca>). Historic Indian legislation was consulted with the use of several helpful compendiums:

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APPENDIX A: PROJECT TERMS OF REFERENCE

Background

In 2006 the Federal Court of Appeal ruled on the *Industry Canada v. the Information Commissioner of Canada* case. It declared that the Algonquin Nation Secretariat (ANS), representing the Wolf Lake, Barriere Lake, and Timiskaming First Nations, should have access to Canadian census returns for the 1921, 1931, and 1941 census years. Public access to census returns, which contain person-specific information as opposed to aggregate data, is restricted for the period after the 1911 census year. The cited First Nations required the records in order to effectively document historical issues pertaining to their comprehensive claim.

The Claims and Historical Research Centre, Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, requires historical research and analysis in support of the federal government's implementation of the court decision, and to prepare for future census return requests by Aboriginal groups (First Nation, Métis, and Inuit). To this end, the unit requires an historical report and research guide which will provide details on the census and its development from 1867 to 1961.

Scope of Work

The project will entail research with primary and secondary source material on the following grouped research issues. These research issues will also form the structural basis of the historical report and research guide.

1. Census Returns and their Evolution
 - a. Census return forms employed in the government censuses, from the pre-Confederation (Union of Canada) census to 1961, including all schedules.
 - b. Background information on the structure of the census returns and the origins of the questions they contain, which may be relevant to the identification of Aboriginal people, from 1867 to 1961.
 - c. Enumerators: Their instructions and how they were selected.
2. The Use of Census Returns in Aboriginal Research
 - a. The types of Aboriginal claims and litigation cases in which census returns would be relevant. (Was the ANS case unique?)
 - b. The types of First Nations for whom census returns would be useful, such as those without pay lists. (Were the First Nations represented by the ANS unique?)
 - c. Limitations of census returns as historical documents. Issues of relevance will include the following: the self-identification nature of census returns; differences between nationality and racial origin; participation refusal by some

First Nations; and the use of “native” to denote a person born in the area as opposed to a person with Aboriginal ancestry.

- d. Access issues relating to privacy. Access to a census return would also supply access to information on an entire community or census district.
- e. Description of potential problems in the later part of the subject period with the advent of automatization (coding manuals, numeric codes, etc.).
- f. Description of other Aboriginal-related records that could be used to cross-reference or corroborate information gleaned from census.
- g. Description of types of Aboriginal-related records that provide the same type of information, or better information, obviating the need to access restricted census return

APPENDIX B: RECORDS RESEARCHED

Archival Research, Library and Archives Canada

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|---|-----------------------------|-----------------------|---|
| <u>LAC, RG 2 (Privy Council Office fonds)</u> The Privy Council passed Orders in Council relating to the census, where Governor in Council authority was sought or required. | | | |
| LAC, RG 2, Series A-1-d | Orders in Council registers | 1867-1913 (inclusive) | Reviewed these years only. The period from 1914 can only be searched manually, which was not possible within the timeframe of the project. Searched electronic tool by keyword for "census\$" and "enumerate\$" Hits were further reviewed for relevance, and selected Orders in Council retrieved from Series A-I-a. |
| LAC, RG 2, Series A-1-a | Orders in Council | 1867-1913 (inclusive) | Retrieved selected Orders in Council as identified above. <i>[N.B. the 1910 Orders in Council are charged to staff for ArchiviaNet scanning, so could not be reviewed.]</i> |

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| <u>LAC, RG 13 (Department of Justice fonds)</u> The Department of Justice dealt with census-related questions referred for legal advice or action from other federal departments. | | | |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 27, File 1872-203 | Deputy Minister of Agriculture – Encloses letter from Mr. McLeod, a census commissioner respecting one of his enumerators – Asks what instructions should be done | 1872/02-1872/05 | <i>We identified this file as possibly relevant but could not review it during the timeframe, since it was charged to another user.</i> |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 92, Files 1894-27 | Hon. T. Davie – Victoria – Regarding Indian census and other matters | 1893/09-1894/01 | Copied relevant documentation inquiring about the difference between Indian population figures quoted by the census and the DIA. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 132, Files 1904-497 | Department of Agriculture – For draft bill to amend the Census Act | 1904/05 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 135, File 1905-53 | Department of Agriculture – Draft bill regarding the census and statistics | 1905/01-1905/02 | Copied relevant documentation about the role of enumerators, and latitude afforded to enumerators in performing their duties. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 140, File 1906-86 | A. Blue Census and Statistics Office – Sundry questions as to certain townships including Indian Reserves | 1906/01 | Copied relevant documentation inquiring whether Indians should be counted as part of the census. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 162, File 1910-868 | Department of Agriculture – Draft proclamation regarding census | 1910/06 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 167, File 1911-903 | Department of the Secretary of State – Mr. Borden – Copy of all correspondence with reference to the appointments of commissioners etc. in the taking of the last census | 1911/07 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. The documents asked for by the House are not included in this file. |

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| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 197, File 1915-1584 | Department of Trade and Commerce – Outstanding accounts of interpreters employed by A. Poirier, census enumerator | 1913/02-1915/10 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 354, File 1931-671 | Civil Service Commission – If Employees laid off from Dept. Interior may be assigned as census clerks | 1931/04-1931/06 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 1865, File 1881-357 | Department of Agriculture – Census Act – Whether the appointment of a local member of the provincial legislature to a temporary office under the Census Act, would be a violation to any act | 1881/07 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 1901, File 1901-273 | Department of Agriculture – Proclamation – For draft proclamation re appointment of census officers | 1901/03 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 1919, File 1910-1195 | Department of Agriculture – For draft proclamation of amendments to census schedule | 1910/09 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 2325, File 1905-525 | Draft bill to amend the Census and Statistical Act | 1905/05/15 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 2329, File 1906-388 | Census to be taken in Manitoba, Alberta and Saskatchewan – From Department of Agriculture | 1906/04/11-1906/05/08 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 13, Vol. 2352, File 1910-1053 | Questions in connection with taking of census – From Department of Agriculture | 1910/08/04-1910/08/06 | <i>Requested but not released for research: subject to solicitor-client privilege.</i> |
| <u>LAC, RG 17 (Department of Agriculture fonds)</u> The Minister of Agriculture was responsible for the census from 1868 to 1912. | | | |

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| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2416 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1852 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2417 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1860-62 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2418 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1860-1861 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2419 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1861 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2420 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1861 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2421 | General Census Records – Correspondence | 1861 | Various correspondence, none of it relevant to Indian identity or ethnic origin, or otherwise to the parameters of this project. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2422 | General Census Records – Applications Register | 1860 | List of applicants for the position of census commissioner. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2423 | Census and Statistics Branch – General Census Records – Register of Memoranda, 1870-1871 | 1870-1871 | This register lists memoranda without specific indication of subject. It is not accompanied by the actual body of memoranda for review. No relevant materials could be identified. |

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| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2424 | Census and Statistics Branch – General Census Records – Register of Memoranda, 1870-1871 | 1870-1871 | This register lists memoranda without specific indication of subject. It is not accompanied by the actual body of memoranda for review. No relevant materials could be identified. |
| LAC, RG 17, Vol. 2425 | Census and Statistics Branch – General Census Records – Register of Memoranda, 1872-1875 | 1872-1875 | This register lists memoranda without specific indication of subject. It is not accompanied by the actual body of memoranda for review. No relevant materials could be identified. |
| LAC, RG 18 (Royal Canadian Mounted Police fonds) The RCMP was involved in enumerating the census in northern and remote areas during certain years. | | | |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 | Census of white and half-breed population in North-West Territories to be taken by Police, also stock statistics | 1895 | Copied relevant documentation, including correspondence and a newspaper article about alleged inaccuracies in census-taking amongst Aboriginal people. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 210, File 286-01 | Census – Yukon Territory, 1900 | 1900-1901 | Copied instructional material for enumerators. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 222, File 30-02 | Yukon census to be taken by North-West Mounted Police, 1901 | 1901-1902 | Copied documentation regarding the appointment of enumerators. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 326, File 25-07 | Alberta and Saskatchewan Census | 1906-1907 | Copied relevant documentation, included discussion of the difficulty of recording Indian names during enumeration of a certain census district in Saskatchewan. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 341, File 450-07 | Ripstein, D. and S.A. – Information request by Chief Census Officer, Ripstein D. | 1907 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 350, File 86-08 | Census of religious beliefs of Indians in Yukon Territory | 1908 | Copied instructional material for enumerators. |

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| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 413, File 393-11 | Return to the House of Commons – Correspondence with reference to the appointments of Commissioners, etc., in taking the last census | 1911 | Reviewed; no relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 420, File 104-12 | Census of North West – Police assistance required in taking | 1910-1912 | Copied documentation about the selection of enumerators. |
| LAC, RG 18, Vol. 527, File 99-17 | Police assistance in taking census | 1916-1917 | Copied instructional material for enumerators, with portions particularly pertaining to Indians. |
| <u>LAC, RG 20 (Department of Industry, Trade and Commerce fonds)</u> The Minister of Trade and Commerce was responsible for the census from 1912 to 1918. Based on a review of the LAC General Inventory and linked accessions, there are no relevant records in this record group. | | | |
| <u>LAC, RG 31 (Statistics Canada fonds)</u> The Dominion Bureau of Statistics, the predecessor of Statistics Canada, was created in 1918. RG 31 also contains records of predecessor agencies acquired by DBS. The outside dates of the record group are 1825-1990. | | | |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1405-1416 (Finding Aid 31-13) | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Files maintained by Robert Hamilton Coats and Sedley Anthony Cudmore | 1903-1944 | These volumes were assessed using finding aid 31-13. No relevant documentation was identified for review. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1417-1418 (Finding Aid 31-14) | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Files maintained by Robert Hamilton Coats and Herbert Marshall | 1903-1944 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-14: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 | Racial Origin | 1918-1942 | Largely regarding Italians and Germans during wartime. Two short memos regarding ethnic origin more broadly (copied). |

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| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 | Census Material | 1891-1901; 1916; 1931-1940 | Various materials, this seems to be a miscellaneous file re: census. Contains a long memo on the 1916 census, including reference to Indians (copied) and a few other pieces of relevance that were retrieved. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133 | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Files maintained by Robert Hamilton Coats and Herbert Marshall | | This accession was selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-14. Many relevant records were retrieved. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 302 | Indian Tribes in Canada | 1926 | List of population by tribe (copied) is entire remaining contents of file. This file was severed by ATIP, with the removal of an 87-page list of Indian Reserves. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 | Eskimos in Hudson Bay | 1908-1940 | Correspondence regarding the enumeration of “Eskimos” and the differences between “Indian” and “Eskimo” for census purposes. Copied entire file. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 7, File 421 | Indian Population in Canada – 1908 | 1908 | Nothing in file except a note reading “obsolete – no figures” |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 17, File 1343 | Origin, Birthplace Report | 1930-1933 | Correspondence re: assimilability of certain immigrant groups (not copied), and regarding the racial origins of the enumerators (copied). |

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| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7000 | Census Material | 1930-1934 | Miscellaneous correspondence, copies of Statistics Act, etc. Copied: memo re: population questions and instructions; and letter mentioning the role of the RCMP and INAC in enumeration. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001-B, Folder 1 | Copies (1931 Census Material) | 1931 | Copied 1931 schedule and instructions, plus relevant correspondence including a letter re: Indian reserves |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001-B, Folder 2 | Orders in Council | 1931 | Copied instructions to enumerators, etc., in cases where they were they were not duplicates. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7002 | Population Schedule | 1930-1931 | Miscellaneous correspondence re: population questions; nothing relevant to the research parameters. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7005 | Religious and Social Questions | 1930-1935 | Correspondence: religion and marital status questions. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7006 | Commissioners (Census) | 1930-1932 | Lists of commissioners appointed, correspondence re: remuneration, applications, references, etc. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7007 | Enumerators | 1931-1935 | Tables of allowances paid out; applications; letters of reference, etc. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7008 | Northwest Territories – RCMP | 1930-1931 | Copied on letter referring to the taking of census on Indian Reserves. |

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| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7010 | Machines for 1931 Census | 1931-1936 | Correspondence and documentation regarding the description of the tabulating machines, acquisition, maintenance costs, etc. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 29, File 7269 | Indian Reserves – March 1931 to January 1933 | 1931-1933 | <i>We requested this file through the informal ATIP process at Library and Archives, and upon review it was deemed fully closed under the terms of the Access to Information Act.</i> |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 29, File 7267 | Nationality (Census) | 1930-1935 | Discussion of differentiation between European nationalities, and European nationalities and birthplaces. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 29, File 7286 | Religions by Racial Origin | 1932-1934 | Correspondence about individual enumeration cases regarding religion being crosslisted with racial origin |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 30, File 7291 | Bulletins – Population, Race, Religion, Age and Special Studies | 1921-1931 | Bulletin publishing aggregate census results. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 31, File 8003 | Indians (1936 Census) | c. 1936 | Including correspondence re: assistance of Indian Affairs in enumeration of reserves (copied), and lists of electoral districts and census districts on the prairies (not copied). |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1419-1435 | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Files maintained by Herbert Marshall | 1912-1957 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-13: |

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| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1422 | Census Machines | | <i>We identified this file are possible relevant, but it was missing from the volume and could not be located. The volume pertains to a Commonwealth Statistician's Conference and the materials is not necessarily specific to Canada.</i> |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1424 | Computer | 1955-56 | Correspondence on the developments re: computers in the US, UK, and technical reports on makes and models of possible acquisitions. No discussion of the impact on data or data quality. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1516-1549 (Finding Aid 31-13) | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Files maintained by Williams Elliott Duffett | 1955-1971 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-13: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, Folders 1 to 4 | Census Division – General | 1956-1962 | Various materials, this seems to be a miscellaneous file re: census. Several relevant documents copied. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1577-1619 (Finding Aid 31-14) | Office of the Dominion Statistician – Central Registry Files | 1918-1979 | These volumes were assessed using finding aid 31-14. No relevant documentation was identified for review. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1301-1306; 1436-1438 (Finding Aid 31-13) | Office of the Assistant Dominion Statistician – John Thornton Marshall | 1943-1952 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-13: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1301 | Marshall, J.T. – Discussion of Papers on Census | | Contains a variety of materials. Copied a report entitled “Recent Developments in Census-Taking in Canada.” |

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| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1304 | A History of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics | 1953 | Not available; sent for repairs. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1305 | Orders in Council re: the Dominion Bureau of Statistics | 1918- | Many of the OICs do not pertain to the census. Copied relevant Orders in Council. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1439-1515; 1561-1564 (Finding Aid 31-13) | Office of the Assistant Dominion Statistician – Simon Abraham Goldberg | 1940-1973 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-13: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1475 | Computer Material | 1965-1967 | Reports on makes and models of possible acquisitions. No discussion of the impact on data or data quality. Not relevant |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1550-1559 (Finding Aid 31-13) | Office of the Assistant Dominion Statistician – H. Lyons Allen | 1951-1973 | These volumes were assessed using finding aid 31-13. No relevant documentation was identified for review |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1276-1298 (Finding Aid 31-10) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census registers, Statistical Calculations, Account Books, and Index to Correspondence | 1851-1951 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-10: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1293 | Census Index to Correspondence – Ontario, Quebec, Maritimes | 1921 | Index to correspondence, without indication of the subject contents. No apparent accompanying body of correspondence for archival review. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1294 | Census Index to Correspondence – British Columbia, Northwest Territories | 1921 | Index to correspondence, without indication of the subject contents. No apparent accompanying body of correspondence for archival review. Not relevant. |

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| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1295 | Census Index to Correspondence | n.d. | Arranged by surname. Index to correspondence, without indication of the subject contents. No apparent accompanying body of correspondence for archival review. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1296 | Census Index to Correspondence – Northwest | 1916, 1921 | Index to correspondence, without indication of the subject contents. No apparent accompanying body of correspondence for archival review. Not relevant. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1298 | Register of Census Commissioners of Lower Canada | 1851-1852 | Large handwritten register book listing census commissioners with some correspondence copied directly in. This is earlier than the period for which we are looking for contextual correspondence, beyond scheduled. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1252; 1299; 1307-1322 (Finding Aid 31-10) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census forms, instructions and districts | 1847-1981 | These volumes were selectively reviewed based on assessed files of relevance, using finding aid 31-10: |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1252 | Materials relating to the 1886 Census in Manitoba | 1886 | Contains schedule, instructions and Canada Gazette announcement of the 1886 census, in addition to other material |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 | Census Instructions and Forms | 1847-49; 1951; 1976 | Copied population forms and related instructions, to 1961 Census. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308, Folders 1 to 9 | Census Forms | 1941; 1946 | Copied population forms and related instructions. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309, Folders 1 to 5 | Census Forms and Instruction Manual | 1949; 1951 | Copied population forms and related instructions. |

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| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311, Folders 1 to 4 | Census Forms, Instruction Manuals and General Documentation | 1956-1966 | Copied population forms and related instructions. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312, Folders 1 to 5 | Census Forms and General Documentation | 1956; 1959; 1961 | Copied population forms and related instructions. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313, Folders 1 to 5 | Census Forms and Instruction Manuals | 1961 | Copied population forms and related instructions. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1336-1340 (Finding Aid 13-11) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census forms, instructions and districts | 1847-1981 | These volumes were assessed using finding aid 31-11. No relevant documentation was identified for review |
| LAC, RG 31, Vols. 1341-1352 (Finding Aid 13-13) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census forms, instructions and districts | 1847-1981 | These volumes were assessed using finding aid 31-13. No relevant documentation was identified for review |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1570 (Finding Aid 13-14) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census forms, instructions and districts | 1847-1981 | No relevant documentation found. |
| LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1571 (Finding Aid 13-14) | Census and Household Surveys Field – Census forms, instructions and districts | 1847-1981 | No relevant documentation found. |

LAC, RG 10, 22, 85, 91, 126 (Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds)

N.B. This research did not include a review of RG 10 (Indian and Inuit Affairs sous-fonds) or other possibly relevant record groups (RG 22, RG 85, RG 91) among the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds. There are many records related to “census” in the Indian Affairs sous-fonds that pertain to the Department’s own efforts in census-taking. It is also very likely that there are records relating to Indian Affairs’ involvement or interest regarding the decennial/quinquennial Census of Canada. In particular, Indian Affairs field officials were employed by DBS in certain cases as census enumerators; therefore, Indian Affairs’ field office records may contain documentation related to census-taking for the Census of Canada. There is no organized series or block of files on this subject matter. A systematic review of RG 10 and related records groups in relation to census-taking may warrant consideration in a further phase of this project.

Departmental Research, Statistics Canada (Access to Information Request)

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|---|--|---------------|--|
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | Population 1951 | 1951 | Contains lists of preliminary population totals. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | Population Requests 1951 | 1951 | Contains file copies of outgoing letters responding to requests for information on population statistics, plus notes to file regarding same. Nothing re: ethnic identity. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | Population Tabulating | 1951-1952 | Contains notes and drafts, plus a final copy of the product: "Population – Electoral Districts by Sex, 1951." Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | June Test Draft Instructions | c. 1961 | Contains drafts and edits of the Enumerators manual, pertaining only to the portion regarding housing and dwellings. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | 1959 Census Test – Conf of Regional Officers – March, 1958 | 1958 | Incomplete proceedings of a conference, where the first day focuses on the instruction of enumerators. All of the available material (except the agenda) pertains to this first day. Copied in full. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4 | 1959 Census Test – 1959 Clippings | 1959 | Contains clippings on a variety of topics, including response to an MP who said enumerators were "snoopy." One clipping regards the debate about ethnic origin francais and canadien (copied). |

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|---|--|---------------|--|
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Correspondence with Comrs and Field Supervisors | 1956-1957 | Contains two outgoing letters: one about the interpretation of “occupancy” of dwellings, and the other about a map of a certain census area. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Summary of Reports of Regional Officers Miscellaneous | 1956 | Contains three pages of comments regarding what worked and did not work in the 1956 census, re: enumerators. Mainly pertains to pay scaling, maps, and specific (non relevant) aspects of training. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – 1956 Clippings | 1954-1956 | Contains newspaper clippings, many about the announcement of the move to a national quinquennial census. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Correspondence File, 1956-1959 | 1956-1959 | Contains file copies of outgoing letters, answering inquiries for information about statistical findings. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Personnel Selection Test Form 33 | c. 1956 | Contains blank copies of a test used for selection of enumerators. One test form was copied for the collection. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Personnel Selection Test | c. 1956 | Contains drafts for Test Form 33, draft instructions about the test’s administration, information about an in-house sample run doing for testing, and copies of similar tests used in the United States. Not relevant. |

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|---|----------------------------------|---------------|---|
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Population Edit | c. 1956 | Contains documentation regarding ‘assignments’ of information not filled out in the census, but not regarding the ethnic identity question (age, marital status, HOH, etc.) Interesting, but not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-5 | 1956 Census – Population Rejects | c. 1956 | Contains documentation regarding ‘assignments’ of information not filled out in the census, but not regarding the ethnic identity question (age, marital status, HOH, etc.) Interesting, but not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-9 | Document File – Oct. '66 | 1966 | This documentation pertains to the 1967 trial census, and is therefore later than our scope of analysis. It pertains to predominantly the housing and family questions. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-9 | Evaluation of Ottawa Pre-Test | 1966-1967 | This documentation pertains to the 1967 trial census, and is therefore later than our scope of analysis. It does contain limited information that would otherwise be of relevance – they have an ethnic origin question on the survey form (enclosed), but it is not discussed further. Not relevant. |

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|--|---|---------------|--|
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-9 | 1961 Census – 1966 Census – Document File – Oct. '66 – Pop. Questionnaire (Draft) | 1966 | This documentation pertains to the 1967 trial census, and is therefore later than our scope of analysis. It does contain limited information that would otherwise be of relevance – recommendation that the ethnic original question be maintained the same. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-10 | 1961 Census – Census Ex Committee Notes | 1960-1961 | Contains handwritten notes of the executive committee meeting, some portions appearing incomplete and other nearly illegible. These cover a wide range of topics. Relevant portions on enumeration of Indians and the ethnic origin question were copied. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-10 | 1961 Census – Minutes of Census Executive Committee | 1957 | Contains brief typed summaries of two issues: EDP Acquisitions, and potential modifications to the Census of Agriculture. Not relevant. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-11 | Suggestions Received from Users for Housing & Population | c. 1961 | Contains multiple copies of a 17-page report: "Suggestions received from respondents to questionnaire on list of housing topics under consideration for the 1961 census." Not relevant. |

| Reference | Title | Outside Dates | Comments |
|--|-----------------|---------------|---|
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-12 | 1951 Procedures | 1950-1951 | Bound compilation of a wide variety of information about the procedures of the 1951 census, loosely constructed into a procedure manual. The relevant sections (copied) outline enumeration, and tabulation of results at headquarters, plus include OICs relevant to the 1951 census and a brief codebook for the IBM cards for population. Several copies made. |
| Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-12 | 1951 Population | 1951-1952 | Bound compilation of the Bulletins of aggregate results of the 1951 Census. Not relevant. |

Published Primary Research

We completed a thorough review of the Statistics Canada Library for historic published materials. Retrieved materials included manuals giving instructions to census enumerators, and administrative reports on the census from the Dominion Statistician.

We completed a review of the Annual Reports from the departments responsible for the census, 1867-1961. We also reviewed the *Statutes of Canada* and *Revised Statutes of Canada*, and retrieved the census and statistics acts from Confederation to 1961.

Internet Research

The research also included a review and retrieval of relevant posted primary documents on the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure, and major inter-university census research project headed by Dr. Chad Gaffield, University of Ottawa. The CCRI website is: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/

APPENDIX C: INDEX OF PRIMARY DOCUMENTS

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|-----------------|---|--|---|
| 1 | 1825-03-22 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Lower Canada | Legislation ("An Act to Authorize an Enumeration and Return of the Population of the Province of Lower Canada") regarding the taking of a census of Lower Canada. | Lower Canada, <i>Statutes of Lower Canada</i> , 5 George IV (1825), c. 7. |
| 2 | 1831-03-31 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Lower Canada | Legislation ("An Act for Ascertaining the Population of the Several Counties of this Province, and for Obtaining certain statistical Information Therein Mentioned") regarding the taking of a census of Lower Canada. | Lower Canada, <i>Statutes of Lower Canada</i> , 1 William IV (1831), c. 1. |
| 3 | 1841-09-18 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Canada | Legislation ("An Act to Repeal certain Parts of an Act Therein Mentioned, and to Provide for Taking a Periodical Census of the Inhabitants of this Province, and for Obtaining the other Statistical Information Therein Mentioned") regarding the taking of a census of Canada. | Province of Canada, <i>Statutes of the Province of Canada</i> , 4 & 5 Victoria (1841), c. 42. |
| 4 | 1843-12-09 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Canada | Legislation ("An Act for Taking the Census of the Inhabitants of Lower Canada, and for Obtaining certain Statistical Information Therein Mentioned") regarding the taking of a census of Lower Canada. | Province of Canada, <i>Statutes of the Province of Canada</i> , 7 Victoria (1843), c. 24. |
| 5 | 1847-07-28 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Canada | Legislation ("An Act for Taking the Census of the Inhabitants of this Province, and for Obtaining Statistical Information Therein") regarding the taking of a census of Canada. | Province of Canada, <i>Statutes of the Province of Canada</i> , 10 & 11 Victoria (1847), c. 14. |
| 6 | 1847-12-29 | Circular Letter | Crofton, Walter C., Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics to Persons appointed to take the Census | Circular letter giving instructions to the enumerators appointed to take the census until 10 & 11 Victoria, cap. 14. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 |
| 7 | 1848-05-14 | Letter | Crofton, Walter C., Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics to [Unknown] | Letter giving instructions to an unknown recipient (or recipients) regarding census enumeration. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|-----------------|---|--|--|
| 8 | 1849-10-25 | Circular Letter | Crofton, Walter C., Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics to Persons appointed to take the Census | Circular letter giving instructions to the enumerators appointed to take the census until 10 & 11 Victoria, cap. 14. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 |
| 9 | 1850-05-07 | Letter | Crofton, Walter C., Secretary to the Board of Registration and Statistics to [Unknown] | Letter giving instructions to an unknown recipient (or recipients) regarding census enumeration. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 |
| 10 | 1851-08-20 | Legislation | Government of the Province of Canada | Legislation ("An Act to Provide More Efficiently for Taking the Periodical Census of the Province") regarding the taking of a census of Canada. | <i>Statutes of the Province of Canada</i> , 14 & 15 Victoria (1851), cap. 49. |
| 11 | 1861-00-00 | Article | Gagan, David P. | Article transcribing the 1852 "Instructions to Enumerators" from Crofton, and the 1861 instructions from Crofton's successor, William Hutton. | David P. Gagan, "Enumerator's Instructions for the Census of Canada 1852 and 1861, <i>Histoire sociale/Social History</i> Vol.7, No. 14 (November 1971), 355-365. |
| 12 | 1870-05-12 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the First Census") establishing the first Census of Canada. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1870, c. 21. |
| 13 | 1871-00-00 | Report | Minister of Agriculture | Report ("Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada for the Calendar Year 1870") reporting on the 1870 act, and the plans and appointments for the 1871 census. | Canada, <i>Report of the Minister of Agriculture of the Dominion of Canada for the Calendar Year 1870</i> (Ottawa: I.B. Taylor, 1871) |
| 14 | 1871-00-00 | Schedule | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule No. 1 – Nominal Return of the Living") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1871 census, with sample answers recorded. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| 15 | 1871-00-00 | Manual | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual ("The Census Act' and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1871 census. | Department of Agriculture, <i>"The Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the First Census of Canada, 1871</i> (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1871) |
| 16 | 1871-01-16 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 534 presenting the form and details of the oath to be taken by every census commissioner, enumerator or any other person employed in the execution of the Census Act. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 283, P.C. 534, 16 January 1871. |
| 17 | 1871-01-16 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 540 recommending the dissemination of details concerning the information to be collected, the forms to be used and procedures to be followed by enumerators in the implementation of the census. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 283, P.C. 540, 16 January 1871. |
| 18 | 1871-01-16 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 541 setting forth the rules and requirements for the selection or appointment of census enumerators. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 283, P.C. 541, 16 January 1871. |
| 19 | 1871-04-14 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act to amend the Census Act") amending the existing Census Act. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1871, c. 18. |
| 20 | 1871-07-18 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 1223 relaxing the requirements for domiciliary visits to every house within the sub-district or assigned division of territory in cases where the population is too scattered and too migratory for such visits. Details the districts and divisions exempted. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 289, P.C. 1223, 18 July 1871. |
| 21 | 1872-02-23 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 155 concerning the settlement of claims for extra and unforeseen expenses incurred, and not covered by prior allowances, during the performance of the last census. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 295, P.C. 155, 23 February 1872. |
| 22 | 1879-05-15 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act Respecting Census and Statistics") related to the taking of the Census and the collection of statistics. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1879, c. 21. |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|--|---|---|
| 23 | 1881-00-00 | Schedule | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule No. 1 – Nominal Return of the Living") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1881 census, with answers recorded. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 24 | 1881-00-00 | Manual | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual ("Manual containing 'The Census Act' and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the Second Census of Canada, 1881") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1881 census. | Department of Agriculture, <i>Manual containing "The Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the Second Census of Canada, 1881</i> (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1881) |
| 25 | 1881-03-14 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 401 allowing for, and setting parameters for, the appointment of enumerators by the respective District Census Commissioners. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 399, P.C. 401, 14 March 1881. |
| 26 | 1881-11-15 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 1545 recommending the granting of various sums and allowances to Census Commissioners, by District, in addition to the general allowance given. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 408, P.C. 1545, 15 November 1881. |
| 27 | 1885-00-00 | Schedule | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule No. 1 – The Territories – Nominal Return of the Living") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1885 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1252 |
| 28 | 1885-08-05 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 1523 outlining the taking of the Census in the North West Territories and the recording of statistical information in accordance with included schedules concerning the nominal return of living people, public institutions and industrial establishments, cultivated lands, field products and harvesting, live stock, animal products, furs and pelts, shipping, forest products, minerals, fisheries and prairie lands. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 470, P.C. 1523, 05 August 1885. |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|--|--|--|
| 29 | 1886-00-00 | Manual | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual, ("Manual containing <i>The Census Act</i> , and the instructions to officers employed in the taking of the Census of Manitoba (1886)'), providing instruction for the taking of the 1886 Census of Manitoba. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1252 |
| 30 | 1886-00-00 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Census") updating the existing Census Act. | Canada, <i>Revised Statutes of Canada</i> , 1886, c. 58. |
| 31 | 1886-07-07 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 1404 outlining the taking of the Census in the Province of Manitoba and the recording of statistical information in accordance with included schedules concerning the nominal return of the people, public institutions and industrial establishments, cultivated lands and field products, live stock, animal products, furs and pelts, and shipping, fisheries, forest products, minerals and prairie lands. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 487, P.C. 1404, 7 July 1886. |
| 32 | 1886-07-09 | Publication | Government of Canada | Publication ("The Canada Gazette") printing the proclamation regarding the taking of the 1886 Manitoba census. Includes the text of the legislation in full and a copy of the form to be used. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1252 |
| 33 | 1886-07-13 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council P.C. 1458 authorizing the Minister of Agriculture to appoint the necessary enumerators for the taking of the Census in the Province of Manitoba. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 487, P.C. 1458, 13 July 1886. |
| 34 | 1891-00-00 | Manual | Census Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual ("Manual containing 'The Census Act' and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the Third Census of Canada, 1891") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1891 census. | Department of Agriculture, <i>Manual containing "The Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers employed in the taking of the Third Census of Canada, 1891</i> (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1891) |
| 35 | 1893-09-02 | Order in Council | Lieutenant Governor in Council | Provincial Order in Council regarding per capita funding to British Columbia in light of the discrepancy in figures regarding population of Indians. | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 92, File 1894-21 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|-----------------|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| 36 | 1893-12-29 | Letter | [Davie?], Theodore, Attorney General's Office, British Columbia to Thompson, John S.D., Minister of Justice, Canada | Letter urging attention to a number of issues, including the implications to per capita funding to British Columbia of the discrepancy in figures regarding population of Indians. | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 92, File 1894-21 |
| 37 | 1895-04-15 | Circular Letter | Herchmer, L.W., Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police to Officers Commanding | Circular letter ("Memorandum of instructions for taking the census by the N.W.M.Police") providing instructions, among which is the instruction "Every person is to be counted except the Indians." | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 38 | 1895-04-17 | Letter | Comptroller to Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police | Letter stating that the author is sending printing forms "for the taking of the census of the white and Half-Breed population in the Territories." | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 39 | 1895-05-22 | Letter | [Unknown] to Herchmer, L.W. | Letter stating that "Mr. Daly is disposed to dispute the Police figures" from the recent census, since they show a population increase of only 6,707 since 1891. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 40 | 1895-05-30 | Letter | [Unknown] to Herchmer, L.W. | Letter stating that: "The census returns are turning out much more satisfactory than was expected a few days ago. The total figures of the 1891 census, with which comparison was hurriedly made, contained Indians, whilst in the Police census they were purposely excluded. This makes a big difference and I believe shows an additional increase of white people in the last four years of 30%." | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 41 | 1895-06-07 | Article | Calgary Herald | Newspaper Article stating that the recent was taken "hurriedly" by the North-West Mounted Police, and alleging inaccuracies. Document is attached to Doc. 45. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 42 | 1895-06-14 | Report | Brooks, A.F.M., Staff Sergeant to the Officer Commanding, North-West Mounted Police, Calgary | Report regarding the taking of the census in Calgary. Brooks comments on the "half-breed" population in Calgary. Document is attached to Doc. 44. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 43 | 1895-06-15 | Report | Wood, Z.T., Inspector to the Officer Commanding, North-West Mounted Police, Calgary | Report regarding the taking of the census in Calgary. Document is attached to Doc. 44. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|-----------|---|--|--|
| 44 | 1895-06-16 | Letter | Howe, Joseph, Superintendent, "E" Division to Commissioner, North-West Mounted Police | Letter enclosing reports by Staff Sergeant Brooks and Inspector Wood, and stating that the Herald's comments are "utterly without foundation." Documents attaches Docs. 42 and 43. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 45 | 1895-06-18 | Letter | Assistant Commissioner to Commissioner, North-West Mounted Policy | Letter enclosing a clipping from the Calgary Herald (Doc. 41), and a letter on the subject from Superintendent Howe (Docs. 42, 43 and 44). | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 46 | 1895-06-29 | Letter | Comptroller to Hall, John R., Secretary, Department of the Interior | Letter transmitting, for the information of the Minister of the Interior, copies of correspondence regarding alleged inaccuracies in census-taking in Calgary. Document attaches Docs. 42 to 45. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 108, File 348-95 |
| 47 | 1900-03-29 | Ordinance | William Ogilvie, Commissioner of the Yukon Territory | Ordinance enacting that there shall be a census in Yukon Territory, and it shall be taken by the North-West Mounted Police. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 210, File 286-01 |
| 48 | 1900-12-00 | Report | The Earl of Minto, Governor General of Canada to Chamberlain | Report ("Memorandum on the Legal Status of British North American Indians") discussing, among other things, a request for information of the number of Indians in Canada. | Great Britain, "Colonial Reports-Miscellaneous. No.15. Canada. Memorandum on the legal Status of British North American Indians. Presented to both Houses of Parliament by Command of her Majesty, December 1900." (London; Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1900) |
| 49 | 1901-00-00 | Schedule | Census and Statistics Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule 1 – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1901 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.ca/uottawa.ca/ccri/ |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-------------|---|--|---|
| 50 | 1901-00-00 | Manual | Department of Agriculture | Manual ("Fourth Census of Canada: Instructions to Chief Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1901 census. | Department of Agriculture, <i>Fourth Census of Canada: Instructions to Chief Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1901) |
| 51 | [1901-00-00] | Memorandum | Blue, A., Chief Officer, Census and Statistics Office, Department of Agriculture | Report comparing the 1891 and 1901 census schedules. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 52 | 1905-05-16 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Census and Statistics") updating the Census and Statistics Act. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1905, c. 5. |
| 53 | 1905-07-20 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act to amend the Census and Statistics Act") amending Section 8, subsection 2 of the Act to reflect the establishment of a Census for the provinces of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta in the sixth year of each decade. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1905, c. 6. |
| 54 | 1906-00-00 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Census and Statistics" updating the Census and Statistics Act. | Canada, <i>Revised Statutes of Canada</i> , 1906, c. 68. |
| 55 | 1906-00-00 | Report | Minister of Agriculture | Report "Quinquennial Census of the Northwest Territories" reporting on the method of taking the 1906 census, and providing an overview of its findings. | Canada, <i>Sessional Papers, Volume 6, Third Session of the Tenth Parliament of the Dominion of Canada, Session 1906-7</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1907) |
| 56 | 1906-01-24 | Letter | Blue, A., Census and Statistics Office, Department of Agriculture to Newcombe, E.L., Deputy Minister of Justice | Letter asking whether the population of Indian Reserves should be included in certain townships for census purposes. | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 140, File 1906-86 |
| 57 | 1906-01-25 | Memorandum | Newcombe, E.L., Deputy Minister of Justice to Fraser | Memorandum referring Doc. 56 to Mr. Fraser, and asking with the "Representation Act" answers Blue's questions. | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 140, File 1906-86 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|---|--|---|
| 58 | 1906-05-15 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council (P.C. 887) approving the date for the quinquennial census as 24 June 1906. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 908, P.C. 887, 15 May 1906 |
| 59 | 1906-05-21 | Publication | Government of Canada | Publication ("The Canada Gazette") printing the Order in Council about the 1906 census. Includes a list of census districts, the schedules, the instructions and other documentation approved by Order in Council. | Canada, <i>The Canada Gazette</i> , Monday, May 21, 1906. |
| 60 | 1906-08-10 | Letter | White, Fred, Comptroller to Commissioner, R.N.W.M.Police | Letter enclosing a letter from A. Blue, Chief Officer of the Census Department, regarding the taking of the census in a certain portion of Saskatchewan. White indicates that there will be no difficulty in securing pay for an interpreter. Document attaches Doc. 61. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 376, File 25-07 |
| 61 | 1906-08-10 | Letter | Blue, A., Chief Officer, Census and Statistics Office to the [Illegible] of the North-West Mounted Police Service chosen to take the Census of the South half of subdistrict No. 28 in the district of Saskatchewan, province of Saskatchewan | Letter providing instructions for the taking of this census. [This document is a poor copy, and nearly illegible in parts.] Document is attached to Doc. 60. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 376, File 25-07 |
| 62 | 1906-08-11 | Letter | Jones, A.E.L., Corporal to Officer Commanding, R.N.W.M.Police, Prince Albert | Letter reporting on the activities of the author, including an interception of the census party for instructions. It is evident that the police and census travel is being conducted with the aid of Indian guides. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 376, File 25-07 |
| 63 | 1906-08-11 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council (P.C. 861) noting the lack of railway facilities and difficulties of communication in the new provinces, and giving authority to census commissioners to replace enumerators in the event of death or accident. | LAC, RG 2, Vol. 908, P.C. 861, 11 August 1906. |
| 64 | 1906-08-20 | Letter | Commissioner, R.N.W.M.Police to Comptroller, R.N.W.M.Police | Letter informing the Comptroller that, further to his request, Superintendent Begin and Sergeant St. Denis have been instructed to take the census of a certain portion of Saskatchewan. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 376, File 25-07 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|------------|---|--|---|
| 65 | 1906-10-27 | Letter | St. Denis, O., Sergeant to the Officer Commanding, R.N.W.M.Police, Prince Albert | Letter reporting on the census enumeration of the south half of subdistrict No. 28. St. Denis employed I.B. Boucher, Jr., as a guide and interpreter for the journey, and an additional Indian guide for a portion of it. St. Denis worked for three months, and reported that he "had considerable difficulty in getting the names of the Indians and the number of their families; most of them were away hunting, however, I was fortunate to meet nearly all of them." | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 376, File 25-07 |
| 66 | 1908-03-31 | Ledger | [Unknown] | Ledger reporting statistical information for the Southern Yukon Indian Agency. Document is attached to Doc. 67. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 30, File 86-08 |
| 67 | 1908-04-22 | Letter | Wood, Z.T., Assistant Commissioner, Royal North-West Mounted Police, Yukon Territory to Comptroller, R.N.W.M.Police | Letter transmitting the requested information, and reporting "as some of the bands live long distances from the nearest detachment a good deal of travelling was necessary and some expense incurred in taking the census." Document attached Doc. 66. | LAC, RG 18, Vol. 30, File 86-08 |
| 68 | 1908-05-12 | Letter | White, James, Geographer, Department of the Interior to Blue, A., Chief Officer, Census, Department of Agriculture | Letter regarding Eskimo statistics, enclosing a related memorandum. Document attaches Doc. 69. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 69 | [1908-05-12] | Memorandum | [Unknown] | Memorandum listing the population of native people in Hudson Bay, Hudson Strait, Baffin Land and Baffin Island. Document is attached to Doc. 68. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 70 | 1908-05-13 | Letter | Chief Officer to White, James, Geographer, Department of the Interior | Letter replying to a memorandum about the Eskimos and enclosing copies of the Canada Year Book for 1905 and 1906 [not attached]. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 71 | 1911-00-00 | Schedule | Census and Statistics Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule No. 1 – Population by Name, Personal Description, etc.") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1911 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------|---|---|--|
| 72 | 1911-00-00 | Manual | Census and Statistics Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual ("Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators") instructing officers, commissioners and enumerators of the 1911 census. | Department of Agriculture, <i>Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa, Government Printing Bureau, 1911) |
| 73 | 1911-00-00 | Manual | Census and Statistics Branch, Department of Agriculture | Manual ("Instructions to Enumerators in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory") instructing enumerators of the 1911 census in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory. | Department of Agriculture, <i>Fifth Census of Canada 1911: Instructions to Enumerators in the Northwest Territories and Yukon Territory</i> (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911) |
| 74 | 1915-09-16 | Memorandum | [Unknown] to Minister of Trade and Commerce | Memorandum ("The Northwest Census of Population and Agriculture, 1916, and Cognate Subjects") prepared for the Minister of Trade and Commerce, responsible for the Census and Statistics Branch. It includes a section called "Census of Indians" (pp. 38-40, 42-43, 55). [The document is paginated in the top right corner, including a number of various sections. The pagination is either incomplete and/or the document has been amended since initially paginated. It is not known whether the cover date of 16 September 1915 is relevant to the creation or assembly of all sections of the document. The document does not look ready for ministerial review, and therefore appears to be a draft or working document.] | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 |
| 75 | 1916-00-00 | Schedule | Census and Statistics Branch, Department of Agriculture | Schedule ("Schedule No. 1 – Population by name, personal description, etc.") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1916 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|--------------|--|---|---|
| 76 | 1916-00-00 | Manual | Census and Statistics Office, Department of Trade and Commerce | Manual ("Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1916: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1916 census. | Department of Trade and Commerce, <i>Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1916: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1916) |
| 77 | 1916-00-00 | List | [Unknown] | List ("Census of Canadian Indians 1916, Shown By Principal Tribes") listing the name, location and numbers of each principal group. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 302 |
| 78 | 1916-00-00 | List | [Unknown] | List ("Census of Canadian Indians 1916, Shown By Linguistic Stock") listing the location and number of each group, divided by language group. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 302 |
| 79 | 1916-06-03 | Telegram | Borden R.L., Prime Minister to Perry, Commissioner, R.N.W.M.Police, Regina | Telegram asking, on behalf of the Census Department, whether the police could assist with the census of the white population of northern Manitoba and Alberta. | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 527, File 99-17 |
| 80 | 1916-06-05 | Night Letter | Coats, H.H. [sic], Controller of Census to Perry, A.B., Commissioner, R.N.W.M.P. | Night letter giving further detail regarding Borden's request for police involvement in the census. Coats includes the instruction: "Do not include Indians." | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 527, File 99-17 |
| 81 | 1916-06-05 | Letter | Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician and Controller of Census to Perry, A.B., Commissioner, R.N.W.M.P. | Letter giving further detail regarding the night letter of the same date. Among other instructions, Coats confirms: "As we are securing the Census of Indians through the Indian Department and their agents, it will not be necessary for the Police to make any estimate of Indian population." | LAC, RG 13, Vol. 527, File 99-17 |
| 82 | 1918-05-24 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics") updating the Statistics Act. | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1918, c. 43. |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|---|--|--|
| 83 | 1918-10-12 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Minute of a Meeting of the Privy Council, Order in Council (P.C. 2503), making recommendations regarding the scope of the work done by the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1305, File "Orders in Council re DBS" |
| 84 | 1921-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1 – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1921 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.ca/uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 85 | 1921-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") instructing commissioners and enumerators of the 1921 census. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Sixth Census of Canada 1921: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1921) |
| 86 | 1926-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1 – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1926 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 87 | 1926-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1926: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1926 census. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1926: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1926) |
| 88 | 1926-05-12 | Memorandum | Chief of General Statistics Branch to Coats, R.H. | Memorandum ("Mr. Dafoe's letter – suggested addition") discussing the difficulties of classifying the population by racial origin. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-------------|--|--|---|
| 89 | 1926-05-26 | Letter | Superintendent to McKeand, D.L., North West Territories Branch, Department of the Interior | Letter regarding the Eskimo population of Alaska, and their classification as "Indian." Document attaches Doc. 90. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 90 | [1926-05-26] | Table | [Unknown] | Tables ("Population of Alaska Classified by Color and Race, 1920, 1910, and 1900") showing the population of Alaska, divided by race and then the Indian population further subdivided by linguistic group. Document is attached to Doc. 89. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 91 | 1926-11-03 | Memorandum | [Unknown] to Coats, R.H. | Memorandum ("Professor Hurd's Study on Racial Origins") discussing a recent study completed regarding the Canadian population and racial origin. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 |
| 92 | 1927-00-00 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics") updating the Statistics Act. | Canada, <i>Revised Statutes of Canada</i> , 1927, c. 190. |
| 93 | 1927-05-24 | Letter | Gini, Corredo, Director, International Institute, Rome to [Unknown] | Letter requesting quantitative information regarding the population of the Eskimos of Canada. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 94 | 1927-06-15 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Gini, Corredo, Director, International Institute, Rome | Letter regarding the estimated population of the Eskimos of Canada. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 95 | 1927-09-17 | Letter | Starnes, Cortlandt, Commission, Royal Canadian Mounted Police to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Letter regarding a census of Baffin Island taken by the RCMP. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 96 | 1927-09-21 | Letter | Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician to Starnes, Col. Cortlandt, Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police | Letter referring to the delivery of prior correspondence, dated 1927-09-17 and including enclosures, on the topic of an survey. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 97 | 1930-01-13 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Starnes, Col C., Commissioner, Royal Canadian Mounted Police | Letter outlining the proposed arrangements for the enumeration of the Northwest Territories by the officers of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7008 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------|--|--|--|
| 98 | 1930-02-18 | Memorandum | Dominion Statistician to Minister of Trade and Commerce | Memorandum ("Outline of the Census of 1931 with particular reference to changes proposed") outlining planned changes to the 1931 Census, including a brief discussion of the questions relating to nationality and origin. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7000 |
| 99 | 1930-03-27 | Memorandum | [Illegible Signature], Chief of Census and Vital Statistics Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Coats, R.H. | Memorandum ("Memorandum for Mr. Coats – Fixing the Date of the Census") recommending the earliest possible selection of a census date. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7000 |
| 100 | 1931-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Individual Form – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1931 census. Instructions suggest that it is to be partially completed by the enumerator and partially by the individual. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001-B |
| 101 | 1931-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1B – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1931 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 102 | 1931-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1 – North West Territories - Population") showing the questions to be asked by enumerators of the 1931 census in the North West Territories. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1307 |
| 103 | 1931-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") instructing commissioners and enumerators of the 1931 census. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Seventh Census of Canada 1931: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931) |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|------------|--|--|---|
| 104 | 1931-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Enumerators") instructing enumerators of the 1931 census in the Northwest Territories, parts of the Yukon Territory, and other northern areas. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Census of the Northwest Territories; Certain parts of the Yukon; Eastern shore of Hudson Bay north of Great Whale River; and Southern Shore of Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay, 1931: Instructions to Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1931) |
| 105 | 1931-00-00 | Letter | Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to [Unknown] | Letter ("Census of Benevolent Institutions and Indian Reservations") briefly explaining the separate enumeration process for institutions such as hospitals and prisons, and for Indian reservations. Appears to be a form letter; no specific recipient is identified. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001-B |
| 106 | 1931-00-00 | Report | Dominion Statistician | Report ("Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician") including a history of the census, as well as a report on the census of 1931. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics. <i>Seventh Census of Canada, 1931: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1934) |
| 107 | [1931-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Questions relating to political status in the census (nativity, immigration, naturalization, nationality, origin, language and religion) – with regulations and instructions pertaining thereto") discussing each political status question in the 1931 census. Includes definitions and instructions on how to record the correct answers. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7000 |
| 108 | [1931-01-00] | Memorandum | [Maclean, Chief of Census Analysis] | Memorandum ("Memorandum re Mr. England's Letter on the Monograph on Origins") evaluating the advice given in a letter, regarding ethnic origin and the census. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 17, File 1343 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------|---|---|---|
| 109 | 1931-01-14 | Letter | Hurd, W. Burton, Department of Economics, Brandon College to England, Robert, Western Manager, Canadian National Railways | Letter responding to a letter from the recipient regarding the author's Monograph on Origins. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 17, File 1343 |
| 110 | 1931-01-30 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to England, Robert, Western Manager, Canadian National Railways | Letter responding to advice given by the recipient regarding census-taking, and the selection and training of enumerators in particular. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 17, File 1343 |
| 111 | 1931-03-00 | Letter | Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter ("Special Instructions to Census Commissioners") outlining the duties of the Census Commissioners and of the enumerators they supervise. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 24, File 7001-B |
| 112 | 1934-06-13 | Letter | Edwards, W. Stuart, Deputy Minister of Justice to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Letter ("Reference re Indians and Eskimos") regarding the classification of Indians and Eskimos in the Census. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 113 | 1934-06-18 | Memorandum | Pelletier, A.J., Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Census and Vital Statistics Branch, Department of Trade and Commerce to [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Memorandum Re Indians and Eskimos") regarding the classification of Indians and Eskimos in the Census. Appears to be a draft. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 114 | 1934-06-26 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Edwards, W. Stuart, Deputy Minister, Department of Justice | Letter ("Indians and Eskimos") regarding the classification of Indians and Eskimos in the Census. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 115 | 1934-06-29 | Letter | Plaxton, C.P. to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Letter ("Re: Indians and Eskimos") regarding the classification of Indians and Eskimos in the Census. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 116 | 1935-04-15 | Letter | Turner, J. Lorne, Director, Lands, Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch, Department of the Interior to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Department of Trade and Commerce | Letter regarding the distribution of the Eskimo population in Quebec. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|---|--|--|
| 117 | 1935-04-24 | Memorandum | [Unknown] to Coats | Memorandum describing the importance of censuses and recommending a quinquennial census in 1936. The author thinks it would be desirable to have a census of all Canada in 1936, but states that due to considerations of expense he recommends a 1936 census of the prairies as undertaken in previous decades. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1417 |
| 118 | 1935-10-02 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to McGill, Harold W., Deputy Superintendent General, Department of Indian Affairs | Letter regarding the employment of Indian agents as census enumerators on Indian reserves. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 31, File 8003 |
| 119 | 1935-12-09 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Minute of a Meeting of the Privy Council, Order in Council P.C. 3763, recommending that Indian Affairs officials be employed as Census enumerators on Indian Reserves. Document is attached to Doc. 120. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 31, File 8003 |
| 120 | 1935-12-10 | Letter | Parmelee, James G., Deputy Minister, Department of Trade and Commerce to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician | Letter regarding the Western Census and related Orders in Council. Document attaches Doc. 119. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 31, File 8003 |
| 121 | 1936-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1 – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1936 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 122 | 1936-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1936: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") providing instructions regarding the taking of the 1936 census. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1936: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1936) |
| 123 | 1938-04-26 | Letter | Pelletier, A.J., Chief of the Census Branch to Plaxton, C.P., Law Branch, Justice Department | Letter regarding the Eskimo population in the 1931 Census, enclosing related lists. Document attaches Docs. 124 and 125. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-----------|---|---|---|
| 124 | [1938-04-26] | List | [Unknown] | List ("Eskimos in Quebec, 1931") providing the number and location of Eskimos, in Quebec, as enumerated in the 1931 Census. Document is attached to Doc. 123. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 125 | [1938-04-26] | List | [Unknown] | List ("Eskimos in Northwest Territories, 1931") providing the number and location of Eskimos, in the Northwest Territories, as enumerated in the 1931 Census. Document is attached to Doc. 123. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 126 | 1938-04-27 | Letter | Acting Deputy Minister of Justice to Pelletier, A.J., Chief of the Census Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Letter regarding the Eskimo population in the 1931 Census. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 127 | 1940-04-18 | Letter | Gibson, R.A., Registrar General of Vital Statistics, Administration of the Northwest Territories to Coats, R.H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics, Department of Trade and Commerce | Letter regarding the recording of vital statistics of Eskimos. Document is attached to Doc. 129. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 128 | 1940-05-03 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Gibson, R.A, Registrar General of Vital Statistics, Administration of the Northwest Territories | Letter regarding the upcoming Census and the enumeration of Eskimos. Document is attached to Doc. 129. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 129 | 1940-05-03 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Parrot, Dr. H., Demographer, Quebec Ministry of Health | Letter regarding the recording of vital statistics of Eskimos. Document attaches Docs. 127 and 128. | LAC, RG 31, Acc. 1989-90/133, Box 3, File 303 |
| 130 | 1941-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1B – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1941 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 131 | 1941-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1C – Population – Northwest Territories") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1941 census in the Northwest Territories. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-----------|-------------------------------|--|---|
| 132 | 1941-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") instructing commissioners and enumerators of the 1941 census. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Eighth Census of Canada 1941: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1941) |
| 133 | 1941-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Enumerators") instructing enumerators of the 1941 census of northern Canada. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Census of the Northwest Territories; Certain parts of the Yukon; Eastern shore of Hudson Bay north of Great Whale River; and Southern Shore of Hudson Strait and Ungava Bay, 1941: Instructions to Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1941) |
| 134 | 1941-00-00 | Report | Dominion Statistician | Report ("Eighth Census of Canada, 1941: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician") including a history of the census, as well as a report on the census of 1941. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics. <i>Eighth Census of Canada, 1941: Administrative Report of the Dominion Statistician</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1945) |
| 135 | [1941-00-00] | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule Form 30A ("Cover-Sheet for Population Schedule") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1941 census, and including brief instructions to enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 136 | 1946-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Individual Form – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1946 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 137 | 1946-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Specimen Schedule – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1946 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, with sample answers. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|--------------|--|---|-----------------------|
| 138 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Marshall, H., Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter ("Quinquennial Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946" – Enumeration of Indian Reserves – Special Instructions for Guidance of Enumerators") explaining the enumeration process for population on Indian reserves. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 139 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Census Commissioner, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter (No. 18) ("Notice to Enumerators") informing the census enumerators of an upcoming examination and the distribution of final instructions, forms and schedules. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 140 | 1946-00-00 | Instructions | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners and enumerators | Instructions ("Examination of Census Enumerators in Cities, Towns and Incorporated Villages") explaining the examination process for census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 141 | 1946-00-00 | Instructions | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners and enumerators | Instructions ("Examination of Census Enumerators in Rural Sections") explaining the examination process for census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 142 | 1946-00-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("List of Persons Recommended as Census Enumerators") displaying information about the persons recommended to serve as census enumerators. The document is a blank form (No. 21). | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 143 | 1946-00-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("Certificate of Commissioner on which to base advance payments to Enumerators") listing the enumerators whose returns have been completed, and the amounts owed to them. The document is a blank form (No. 22). | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 144 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter (No. 1) ("Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946") notifying the census commissioners of their appointment, their duties, and the rates of pay. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 145 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Chief of Census Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter (No. 2) ("Quinquennial Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946") informing the census commissioners that their oaths of office have been received, and including some instructions for the census enumeration. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|--------------|--|--|--|
| 146 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Chief of Census Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter (No. 4) ("Quinquennial Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946 – Appointment of Enumerators") explaining the process of enumerator appointments to the census commissioners. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 147 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Chief of Census Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter (No. 8) ("Quinquennial Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946 – Special Instructions to Census Commissioners") outlining some additional instructions to the census commissioners, including several items related to the instruction of the enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 148 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Chief of Census Branch, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter (No. 9) ("Quinquennial Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946 – Instructions to Commissioners Regarding the Examination of Census Schedules") instructing the census commissioners on the handling of census returns. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 149 | 1946-00-00 | Letter | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter ("Notice to the Enumerators") informing the enumerators that two population census questions, Question 23, Form 1 and Question 23 Form 5, are to be left blank. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 150 | 1946-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators") explaining the taking of the 1946 census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta to the census commissioners and enumerators. Consists of pages extracted from a larger bilingual document. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Census of Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, 1946: Instructions to Commissioners and Enumerators</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1946) |
| 151 | 1946-00-00 | Instructions | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Revision officers | Instructions ("Census of the Prairie Provinces, 1946 – Revision of Population") explaining the revision stage of the census process. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 152 | [1946-00-00] | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule Form 25 ("Cover Sheet for Population Schedule") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1946 census and including brief instructions to enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-------------|---|--|--|
| 153 | [1946-00-00] | Article | [Unknown] | Article ("The Coming Census: Why it is taken; How it is taken") outlining a brief history of the census, the goals behind its collection, and the methods used in taking it. Document is attached to Doc. 154. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 154 | 1946-05-18 | Letter | Marshall, Herbert, Dominion Statistician, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Cover Letter informing the census commissioners that an article is attached describing the reasons for taking the Census and the methods of collection. Document attaches Doc. 153. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1308 |
| 155 | 1948-06-30 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics"). | Canada, <i>Statutes of Canada</i> , 1948, c. 45. |
| 156 | 1949-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 1 – Visitation Record") explaining the use of the Visitation Record, and including a sample form and a blank form. Consists of pages extracted from a larger document. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 157 | 1949-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 3 – Individual Form – Population") showing the questions to be answered by heads of household for the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 158 | 1949-00-00 | Notes | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Notes ("How's Your Interviewing Technique?") explaining the proper behaviour while enumerating and possible responses to various questions and scenarios. Appears to be designed to accompany a slideshow. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 159 | 1949-03-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form No. 3 ("Enumerators Form of Oath No. 1") outlining the oath required from census enumerators. Document is unsigned. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 160 | 1949-03-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form No. 4 ("Enumerators Form of Oath No. 2") outlining the oath required from census enumerators. Document is unsigned. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 161 | 1949-03-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Test of Census Schedules, March 1949 – Instructions to Enumerators") instructing enumerators of the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|---------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| 162 | 1949-10-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form 11a ("Field Supervisors Form of Oath No. 1") outlining the oath required from census field supervisors. Document is unsigned. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 163 | 1949-10-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form 12a ("Enumerators Form of Oath No. 1") outlining the oath required from census enumerators. Document is unsigned. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 164 | 1949-10-00 | Instructions | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to [Unknown] | Instructions ("Re-Enumeration of Sample Areas") explaining the process of re-enumeration in order to validate the data from the first round of enumeration. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 165 | 1949-10-00 | Report | [Dominion Bureau of Statistics] | Report ("Practice Narrative for Census Enumerators in Cities, Towns and Incorporated Villages") outlining a practice narrative demonstrating the correct way of enumerating the population in cities, towns and incorporated villages. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 166 | 1949-10-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Trial Census in preparation for the Ninth Census of Canada – Population, Housing, Agriculture and Fisheries – Enumerators Manual") instructing enumerators of the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 167 | 1949-10-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Trial Census in preparation for the Ninth Census of Canada – Population, Housing, Agriculture and Fisheries – Training Guide") instructing census commissioners on the training of enumerators for the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 168 | 1949-10-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Trial Census in preparation for the Ninth Census of Canada – Population, Housing, Agriculture and Fisheries – Field Supervisors Manual") instructing field supervisors for the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 169 | 1949-10-00 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Observer's Interview Record") showing the questions to be answered by observer's regarding the enumeration of the 1949 trial census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------------|--|---|--|
| 170 | 1949-10-00 | Report | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Report ("Report to the Executive Committee No. 9 – The Canadian Trial Census, October 1949") explaining the purpose and logistics of the 1949 trial census. Document is a draft (marginalia). | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 171 | 1950-11-04 | Order in Council | Governor in Council | Order in Council (P.C. 166/5322) approving that officers of the Territories and Indian Affairs Branch enumerate northern residents and "Indians within the meaning of the Indian Act (Canada) living on the Indian Reserves." | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-12, "1951 Procedures" |
| 172 | 1951-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 2 – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1951 census. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.ca/uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 173 | 1951-00-00 | Letter | Field Supervisor, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Applicants for census enumerator | Letter ("Form 30A – Initial Notice to Applicants for the Position of Census Enumerator") informing applicants of their examinations for the position. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 174 | 1951-00-00 | Letter | Census Commissioner, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter ("Form 30B – Notice to Report for Training") informing applicants of their training periods. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 175 | 1951-00-00 | Letter | Census Commissioner, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Applicants for census enumerator | Letter ("Form 30C – Notice to Applicants for the Position of Census Enumerator") informing applicants that they have not been selected. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 176 | 1951-00-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("Form 31 – List of Applicants") showing the information to be filled in by the census commissioner regarding the enumerator applicants for his district. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 177 | 1951-00-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("Form 32 – List of Census Enumerators") showing the information to be filled in by the field supervisor and census commissioner regarding the enumerators for their district. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|---------------|---|--|---|
| 178 | 1951-00-00 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Form 33 – Personnel Selection Test for Census Enumerators") showing the questions to be asked during a selection test for census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 179 | 1951-00-00 | Instructions | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to [Unknown] | Instructions Form 34 ("Instructions for T-Night Enumeration") regarding the "T-night" enumeration, the night when persons in transient accommodation are enumerated all at once. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 180 | 1951-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 38 – Practice Exercises (Population, Housing and Distribution)") showing the exercises to be completed by enumerators in training. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 181 | 1951-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Enumeration Manual") instructing enumerators of the 1951 census. Consists of pages extracted from a larger document. | Retrieved from the website of the Canadian Census Research Infrastructure (CCRI) Project: www.canada.uottawa.ca/ccri/ |
| 182 | 1951-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Training Manual") instructing census commissioners and field supervisors on the training of enumerators for the 1951 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 183 | 1951-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Instructions for Field Supervisors") explaining the duties and responsibilities of a field supervisor for the 1951 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 184 | 1951-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Census of the Yukon, Northwest Territories and Other Northern Areas") explaining the taking of the 1951 census in northern areas. Includes instructions, specimen schedules, and blank schedules. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1309 |
| 185 | 1951-00-00 | Paper | Government of Canada to British Commonwealth Statisticians Conference | Paper ("Recent Developments in Census Taking in Canada") outlining changes to the Canadian census process. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1301 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|-------------|---|--|--|
| 186 | 1951-00-00 | Report | Minister of Trade and Commerce | Report ("Ninth Census of Canada, 1951: Administrative Report") including a history of the census, as well as a report on the census of 1951. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics. <i>Ninth Census of Canada, 1951: Administrative Report</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1955) |
| 187 | 1952-00-00 | Legislation | Government of Canada | Legislation ("An Act respecting the Dominion Bureau of Statistics". | Canada, <i>Revised Statutes of Canada</i> , 1952, c. 257. |
| 188 | 1953-12-03 | Memorandum | LeNeveu, A.H., Chief of Social Analysis Section (Census), Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Marshall, Herbert, Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada | Memorandum ("A Population Census of Canada in 1956") discussing the advantages of even a partial census of population in 1956. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 189 | 1954-01-19 | Memorandum | [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Memorandum on the need for a Quinquennial Census") outlining the advantages to be gained by taking a quinquennial census. Includes a discussion of the costs of doing so. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 190 | 1954-07-12 | Memorandum | [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Memorandum re Quinquennial Census") outlining the reasons for taking a 1956 census and the range of questions to be included. Also includes a discussion of costs, with accompanying table. Document is attached to Doc. 191. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 191 | 1954-07-13 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Sharp, M.W., Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada | Cover Letter noting that a memorandum regarding the quinquennial census is attached. Document attaches Doc. 190. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 192 | 1954-11-01 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Sharp, M.W., Associate Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada | Letter noting that a proposed memorandum to the cabinet is attached. Document attaches Doc. 193. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 193 | 1954-11-02 | Memorandum | Minister of Trade and Commerce to Federal Cabinet | Memorandum to the Cabinet ("Proposal for a simplified Quinquennial Census of Population and Agriculture in the Prairie Provinces and a simplified enumeration of population and agriculture in the other seven provinces in 1956") outlining the reasons for taking a quinquennial census and briefly proposing a format. Document is attached to Doc. 192. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 194 | 1954-11-26 | Letter | Kober, T.W., President of Toronto Chapter, American Marketing Association to Marshall, Herbert, Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada | Letter expressing pleasure at the news of a 1956 census being taken, and outlining the questions that the author feels should be included. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 195 | 1954-11-29 | Memorandum | Ralston, D.L., Dominion Bureau of Statistics to [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Organization and Planning Memoranda") enclosing memoranda on various topics relating to the planning of the 1956 census. [Consists of pages extracted from a larger document. Sections on personnel, geographic problems and special problems copied.] | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 196 | 1954-11-30 | Letter | Dominion Statistician to Kober, T.W., President of Toronto Chapter, American Marketing Association | Letter responding to an inquiry about the scale of the 1956 census, and proposing questions to be asked. Author suggests that the details are not yet decided. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 197 | 1955-02-03 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 4 – Population Enumeration of the Northwest Territories, Labrador and Other Northern Areas") including instructions, specimen schedules and blank schedules for the taking of the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 198 | 1955-04-01 | Memorandum | Dominion Bureau of Statistics to [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Memorandum relating to the Quinquennial Census of Canada on June 1 1956") outlining the reasons for the taking of the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 199 | 1955-04-06 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 3 – Population (Temporary Residents)") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|---------------|--|--|---------------------------------|
| 200 | 1955-07-15 | Report | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Report ("Temporary Residents") outlining the enumeration process for temporary residents in the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 201 | 1955-09-23 | Memorandum | [Unknown] | Memorandum ("Census of Canada, 1956 – Appointment of Census Commissioners") outlining the purposes of the 1956 census and the roles of census commissioners, field supervisors and enumerators. Document is attached to Doc. 202. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 202 | 1955-10-12 | Letter | Dickey, John, Parliamentary Assistant, Government of Canada to [Unknown] | Cover Letter ("Appointment of Census Commissioners") requesting nominations for Census Commissioners and Field Supervisors. Author notes that an explanatory memorandum is attached. Appears to be a form letter, no specific recipient is identified. Document attaches Doc. 201. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 203 | 1955-10-26 | Letter | Census Commissioner or Field Supervisor, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter ("Form 35 – Notice to Report for Training") informing enumerator applicants of their selection, and of their upcoming training. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 204 | 1955-11-16 | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Administration – Authority for the 1956 Census") outlining the authority for the 1956 census, using extracts from the Privy Council and Treasury Board minutes and related schedules. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 205 | 1955-11-23 | Report | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Report ("Enumeration") outlining the general methods to be used in the enumeration of the 1956 census, along with the procedures for various specialized situations. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 206 | 1955-11-29 | Report | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Report ("Appointment of Census Enumerators") outlining the procedures for the selection of census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 207 | 1955-12-12 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Form 33 – Personnel Selection Test For Census Enumerators") showing the questions to be asked in the enumerator selection test. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-----------|--|--|--|
| 208 | 1956-00-00 | Letter | Census Commissioner or Field Supervisor, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Applicants for census enumerator | Letter ("Form 34 – Initial Notice to Candidates") informing enumerator applicants of their upcoming examination. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 209 | 1956-00-00 | Letter | Census Commissioner, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Applicants for census enumerator | Letter ("Form 36 – Notice to Candidates") informing applicants that they have not been selected as enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 210 | 1956-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Enumeration Manual") outlining the enumeration process for the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 211 | 1956-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 71 – Field Manual for Census Commissioners and Field Supervisors") explaining the duties and responsibilities of field supervisors and census commissioners for the taking of the 1956 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 212 | 1956-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 72 - Training Manual for Instruction of Census Enumerators") providing instructions to Field Supervisors for the training of enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 213 | 1956-00-00 | Report | Minister of Trade and Commerce | Report ("Census of Canada, 1951: Volume III: Part I, Analytical Report, Part II, Administrative Report") including a history of the census, as well as a report on the census of 1951. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics. <i>Census of Canada, 1951: Volume III: Part I, Analytical Report, Part II, Administrative Report</i> (Ottawa: King's Printer, 1960) |
| 214 | [1956-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("The National Quinquennial Census of 1956") outlining the need for a quinquennial census, the factors which had previously prevented its taking, and the nature of the two sections on population and agriculture. Document attaches Docs. 215 to 217. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 215 | [1956-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report explaining the past taking of a quinquennial census of the prairie provinces, and the reasons for its expansion to cover all of Canada. Document is attached to Doc. 214. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-----------|--|--|---|
| 216 | [1956-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Conclusion") discussing the expected results of the 1956 census, and the importance of taking it. Document is attached to Doc. 214. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 217 | [1956-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Scope of the 1956 Quinquennial Census") outlining the questions to be asked in both the agriculture and population censuses of 1956. Document is attached to Doc. 214. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 218 | [1956-00-00] | Report | Marshall, Herbert, Dominion Statistician | Report ("Reasons for the 1956 Census") outlining the reasons for the taking of the 1956 census, the methods to be used and the advantages and disadvantages thereof. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 219 | 1956-02-02 | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Possible Questions about the Census of 1956") listing potential questions regarding the taking of the 1956 census, and outlining possible responses. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 220 | 1957-01-25 | Report | Boardman, F.G., Statistician to Lemieux, O.A., Forsyth, J.L. and Ralston, D.L. | Report ("1956 Census – Operational Report") outlining the process for the correction of rejects on the Family-Household Card. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1311 |
| 221 | 1957-12-04 | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("1961 Census Committee") listing the members of the 1961 Census Committee and their various areas of responsibility. Includes a sub-committee on Population whose responsibilities include the subject matter for census questionnaires. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 222 | 1958-03-24 | Agenda | Special Services Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Agenda for the "Conference of Regional Officers – Ottawa" from 24 to 28 March 1958. Document attaches Docs. 223 to 225. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4, "1959 Census Test – Conf of Regional Officers – March, 1958" |
| 223 | 1958-03-24 | Notes | MacKay, A.B. | Notes ("Initial Training of Enumerators") for the Regional Officers' Conference, March 1958. Document is attached to Doc. 222. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4, "1959 Census Test – Conf of Regional Officers – March, 1958" |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|------------|---|--|---|
| 224 | 1958-03-24 | Notes | Laidlaw, K.A. | Notes ("Initial Training of Enumerators") for the Regional Officers' Conference, March 1958. Document is attached to Doc. 222. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4, "1959 Census Test – Conf of Regional Officers – March, 1958" |
| 225 | 1958-03-24 | Notes | Metcalf, A.G. | Notes ("Initial Training of Enumerators") for the Regional Officers' Conference, March 1958. Document is attached to Doc. 222. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-4, "1959 Census Test – Conf of Regional Officers – March, 1958" |
| 226 | 1958-05-02 | Memorandum | Panel of Statistical Consultants to Hansen, Morris H., Assistant Director for Statistical Standards | Memorandum discussing the advantages and disadvantages of census self-enumeration. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 227 | 1958-10-29 | Notes | Executive Committee, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Notes taken at an Executive Committee meeting including a reference to Origin question (p. 3): "memo sent to PM was relatively neutral – if further feeling – be forwarded – PM's office." Also includes a note on Indian Reserves (p. 4): "Must find whether everyone on Ind on reserve" and other notes. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-10, "1961 Census – Census Ex Committee Notes" |
| 228 | 1958-11-12 | Notes | Executive Committee, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Notes taken at an Executive Committee meeting including references to Origin question: "newspaper suggest urgency about informing deputy more completely re question"; "been custom to send memo containing question when cleared (51 – sent '50)"; "Origin question decision essentially political"; and other notes. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-10, "1961 Census – Census Ex Committee Notes" |
| 229 | [1958-12-00] | Notes | Executive Committee, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Notes taken at an Executive Committee meeting including a reference to the Origin question: "Draft letter to Deputy"; "hoped – get general OK – final view re origin"; "get Cabinet OK" and other notes. | Statistics Canada, Departmental Records Office, Box C-10, "1961 Census – Census Ex Committee Notes" |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|---------------|--|--|-----------------------|
| 230 | 1959-02-06 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire (Advance Questionnaire Census Test, 1959 Form 5) informing Canadian heads of household about the upcoming 1959 census test, and including a set of advance questions. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 231 | 1959-02-17 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 3 – Individual Population Form") showing the questions to be asked in the 1959 census test. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 232 | 1959-06-00 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Form 20 Enumerator's Comments on Training and Enumeration") seeking input from census enumerators about the training and enumeration processes. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 233 | 1959-06-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("Form 31 – Application for Employment as Census Enumerator") showing the information to be completed by prospective census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 234 | 1959-06-00 | Form | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Form ("Form 32 – Personal Service Contract – Census Enumerator") outlining the contractual obligations of both the census enumerators and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 235 | 1959-06-00 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Form 33 – Personnel Selection Test for Census Enumerators") showing the questions to be asked in the examination for prospective census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 236 | 1959-06-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Enumeration Manual") outlining the duties of the census enumerators and the procedures to be followed in the enumeration of the 1959 census test. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 237 | 1959-06-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 61 – Instructions for Census Commissioners") outlining the duties of the census commissioners during the 1959 census test. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 238 | 1959-06-00 | Memorandum | Gagnon, Jacques to Lemieux, Dr. O.A., Director of Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Memorandum ("Summary of Observers' Reports re Census Test, June, 1959") outlining the suggestions, criticisms, and other responses from observers and enumerators during the 1959 census test. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|------------|---------------|---|--|---------------------------------|
| 239 | 1960-04-28 | Memorandum | Duffett, Walter E., Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada to Roberts, J.A., Deputy Minister of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada | Memorandum ("Outstanding matters which concern the Minister of Trade and Commerce for the 1961 Census of Canada") outlining the remaining issues or tasks to be resolved before the taking of the 1961 census. Includes an item related to the ethnic origin question. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 240 | 1960-05-20 | Questionnaire | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Questionnaire ("Personnel Selection Test for Census Enumerators") showing the questions to be asked in the examination for prospective census enumerators. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 241 | 1960-09-13 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Training Manual") outlining the procedures to be followed in the training of the enumerators for the 1961 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 242 | 1960-11-07 | Article | The Ottawa Journal | Article ("Will Census Be Boycotted in Quebec?") protesting the potential removal of the ethnic origin question and arguing for its importance to French-speaking Canadians in particular. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 243 | 1960-11-07 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Field Manual") outlining the duties of census commissioners and the procedures to be followed during the taking of the 1961 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 244 | 1961-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 2A – Population") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1961 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 245 | 1961-00-00 | Schedule | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Schedule ("Form 3 – Population (Temporary Residents)") showing the questions to be asked in the taking of the 1961 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 246 | 1961-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Enumeration Manual") outlining the duties of the census enumerators and the procedures to be followed in the enumeration of the 1961 census. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1312 |
| 247 | 1961-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 63 – Training Work Book – Population and Housing") explaining the training exercises to be completed by the census enumerators. Includes specimen schedules and practice exercises. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|------------|---|---|---------------------------------|
| 248 | 1961-00-00 | Manual | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Manual ("Form 70 – Population and Housing Questionnaires and Instructions for Enumeration of Northern Regions") instructing enumerators of the 1961 census in northern areas. Includes brief instructions, blank forms, and specimen schedules. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |
| 249 | 1961-00-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Director of Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census enumerators | Letter ("To the Enumerator – 1961 Census") requesting comments and responses from the enumerators regarding the taking of the 1961 census. Includes questions on training procedures and on enumerators' reception at households in their area. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |
| 250 | [1961-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Questions in the 1961 Census and why they are asked") outlining the questions asked in the 1961 census, how to correctly answer them, and why they are included. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 251 | [1961-00-00] | Report | Marshall, J.T., Assistant Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada | Report ("Problems of Questions such as Religion and Origin in the Canadian Census") discusses the utility of questions on religion and origin and the potential difficulties or objections to collecting them. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 252 | [1961-00-00] | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("Report on suggestions received for the population and housing censuses, 1961") outlining the responses to the 1961 census process, including suggestions regarding specific questions on the population schedule. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |
| 253 | 1961-01-20 | Letter | Duffett, Walter E., Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada to Hees, George, Minister of Trade and Commerce, Government of Canada | Letter discussing the limitations of the existing citizenship and origin questions, and listing proposed changes. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 254 | 1961-03-00 | Letter | Lemieux, O.A., Director of Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Census commissioners | Letter informing recipients of their selection as census commissioners and outlining their responsibilities. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |
| 255 | 1961-03-06 | Resolution | Municipal Council of the Parish of St. Antonin | Resolution (excerpted from Council minutes) congratulating and thanking the federal government for their action regarding question 10 of the 1961 census. Document attached to Doc. 256. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|------------|--|---|---------------------------------|
| 256 | 1961-03-08 | Letter | Thibault, Mrs. Etienne, Secretary Treasurer, Municipality of the Parish of St. Antonin to Frechette, Antoine, Member of Parliament, Government of Canada | Cover Letter informing the recipient that a Municipal Council resolution is attached. Document attaches Doc. 255. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 257 | 1961-03-29 | List | [Unknown] | List ("Questions on Women and the Census") showing questions related to the census, and specifically to women in the census. Document attaches Doc. 258. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 258 | [1961-03-29] | List | [Unknown] | List ("Answers to Questions on Women and the Census") showing possible answers to questions regarding women and the census. Document is attached to Doc. 257. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 259 | 1961-04-00 | Article | <i>Monthly Review</i> , The Bank of Nova Scotia | Article ("Name, Age, Sex...?") discussing the nature of the census, the reasons it is taken, the questions asked, and the logistics of taking it. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 260 | 1961-04-25 | Memorandum | Rowebottom, L.E., Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Duffett, Walter E. | Cover Memorandum ("Report from Parliament Hill") noting that a modified list of questions for an upcoming radio program is attached. Document attaches Doc. 261. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 261 | [1961-04-25] | List | [Unknown] | List ("Suggested questions for an interview with Mr. Walter Duffett, Dominion Statistician") showing the proposed census-related questions for an upcoming interview. Document is attached to Doc. 260. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 262 | 1961-05-02 | Report | [Unknown] | Report ("The 1961 Census") discusses the reasons for taking the census, the policy followed by census staff regarding confidentiality, and the importance of public cooperation and participation. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 263 | 1961-05-18 | Transcript | [Unknown] | Transcript discussing concerns over the confidentiality of Census data. Document is attached to Doc. 264. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|-----------|--|--|---|
| 264 | 1961-05-19 | Letter | Hees, George, Minister, Department of Trade and Commerce to Census commissioners | Cover Letter ("To all Census Commissioners appointed for the 1961 Census of Canada") enclosing a short transcript from the House of Commons regarding confidentiality and the census. Document attaches Doc. 263. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1313 |
| 265 | 1961-05-30 | List | [Unknown] | List ("Census Questions") of questions scheduled to be asked during a Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) interview regarding the 1961 census. Includes attachments providing statistical information on the census and responses to the scheduled questions. Document attaches Docs. 266 and 267. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 266 | [1961-05-30] | List | [Unknown] | List ("Census Statistics") noting statistical information, such as number of census districts, commissioners and enumerators, expected population counts and age composition and likely publication dates for the 1961 census. Document is attached to Doc. 265. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 267 | 1961-05-30 | Notes | Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Notes ("Census Questions and Answers") providing responses to a scheduled list of questions proposed for an interview with the CBC. Document is attached to Doc. 265. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 268 | 1962-03-31 | Report | Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Report ("Annual Report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics") reporting on the taking of the 1961 census including the enumeration of Indians by Indian agents. | Dominion Bureau of Statistics, <i>Annual Report of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics for the fiscal year ended March 31, 1962</i> (Ottawa: Queen's Printer, 1962) |
| 269 | 1962-11-26 | Letter | Jones, H.M., Director of Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration to Duffett, Walter E., Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada | Letter informing the recipient of the author's plans regarding a nationwide survey of resources and employment on Indian reserves and settlements. Author requests the recipient's advice regarding the proposed questionnaire. Document attaches Docs. 270 and 271. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |

| Doc. | Date | Doc. Type | Correspondents | Description | Source |
|------|--------------|---------------|--|--|---------------------------------|
| 270 | [1962-11-26] | Instructions | [Unknown] | Instruction sheet ("Questionnaire Regarding Resources and Employment for Indian Reserves and Settlements-Trial Run") providing instructions on recording any difficulties encountered in testing the attached questionnaire. Document is attached to Doc. 269. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 271 | [1962-11-26] | Questionnaire | [Unknown] | Questionnaire ("Questionnaire Regarding Resources and Employment for Indian Reserves and Settlements") showing the proposed questions to be asked in a planned survey of employment and resources on Indian reserves and settlements. Includes a cover sheet with instructions on recording any difficulties encountered in testing the questionnaire. Document is attached to Doc. 269. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 272 | 1962-12-03 | Memorandum | Ellis, R.S., Chief of Census of Agriculture, Dominion Bureau of Statistics to Lemieux, O.A., Director of Census Division, Dominion Bureau of Statistics | Memorandum ("Comments re Indian Reserve Questionnaire Proposed by the Indian Affairs Branch") suggesting alterations to a proposed questionnaire intended to fill a gap left by the Census regarding agriculture on Indian reserves. Document attached to Doc. 273. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 273 | 1962-12-04 | Letter | Duffett, Walter E., Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada to Jones, H.M., Director of Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration | Letter responding to an inquiry regarding a possible survey of employment on Indian reserves and settlements. Author notes that a memorandum regarding survey procedures is attached. Document attaches Doc. 272. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 274 | 1962-12-11 | Letter | Hees, George to Fraser, Mrs. R. James | Letter responding to an inquiry about the census question regarding ethnic origin. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |
| 275 | 1962-12-11 | Letter | Jones, H.M., Director of Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration to Duffett, Walter E., Dominion Statistician, Government of Canada | Letter thanking the recipient for his recent reply regarding a questionnaire planned by the author. | LAC, RG 31, Vol. 1516, File 123 |