Indigenous Nations at the Turn of the Twentieth Century: Evidence from the 1901 Canadian Census and the Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for 1900

Donn Feir, University of Victoria and IZA
Rob Gillezeau, University of Toronto
Maggie Jones, Emory University and NBER
Kris Inwood, University of Guelph

Abstract

In 1901, the Canadian government published a summary of the Indigenous population resident within the boundaries of what would become present-day Canada. Until now, the microdata underlying this summary has not been available to researchers. We use these newly available data from the Bureau's enumerator manuscripts to provide a detailed, quantitative profile of Indigenous peoples at this time, taking advantage of the fact that the 1901 census is the most comprehensive account of Indigenous peoples published before WWI. We additionally document the limitations of these data and provide evidence of bias in the coverage of Indigenous economic life. Even with these concerns, we argue that the 1901 microdata provide an important benchmark that can be used to identify the effects of large-scale institutional and demographic change in Western Canada on Indigenous peoples and institutional change during the early twentieth century.

1. Introduction

The era of rapid economic and demographic change at the start of the twentieth century in Western Canada is often framed as a turning point for Canadian economic, demographic and political development.[1] Very large numbers of Europeans and North Americans of European descent entered Western Canada after 1900. Much of the empirical analysis and scholarly discussion of the 'wheat boom' era reflects the perspective of European and European-descended settlers. However, there is now a growing literature that questions the implications of the Western boom for the health, economic, and political well-being of Indigenous peoples and nations.[2] To explore fully the consequences of colonization in Western Canada, the wheat boom, and other state interventions into Indigenous lives, it is essential to have a demographic benchmark of Indigenous peoples before, or at least early, in the wheat boom period.

In this work, we consider the most detailed governmental sources that purport to document the Indigenous population of Canada to begin to develop just such a benchmark. We do this using newly digitized 1901 Census manuscripts which, for the first time, asked individuals to identify their nationality, mother tongue and their "colour". The new data permit a much richer quantitative assessment of the Indigenous demographic and economic landscape than has been possible previously.[3] While these data were created to serve non-Indigenous interests and do not reflect Indigenous concepts of identity and belonging,[4] they nonetheless may offer important insights regarding Indigenous nations at the start of the twentieth century.

Scholars identify Indigeneity (or any other ethnicity) using several potential criteria: (i) physical or genetic ancestry, (ii) family origin in the sense of ancestral lineage modified by the potential

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[1] O.D. Skelton, *General Economic History of the Dominion 1867-1912* (Toronto: Publishers' Association of Canada, 1913 prepared for *Canada and Its Provinces*, vol. 9: 95-276); M.C. Urquhart, "New Estimates of Gross National Product, Canada, 1870-1926: Some Implications for Canadian Development." In S. Engerman and R. Gallman (eds.), Long-Term Factors in American Economic Growth (Chicago: Univ. Chicago Press and the National Bureau of Economic Research, 1986); Kris Inwood and Thanasis Stengos, "Discontinuities in Canadian Economic Growth, 1870-1985", *Explorations in Economic History* v28 n3 (July 1991): 274-286. The best known challenge to this narrative is Edward Chambers and Donald Gordon," Primary Products and Economic Growth: An Empirical Measurement", *The Journal of Political Economy* 74 (1966): 315-332.

[2] Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests: Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Kingston and Montreal: McGill-Queens University Press, 1990); James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease Politics of Starvation and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Reginal Press, 2013); Mary-Ellen Kalm, *Colonizing Bodies: Aboriginal Health and Healing in British Columbia 1900-1950* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1998); Maureen Lux, *Medicine That Walks: Disease, Medicine and the Canadian Plains Native People* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001).

[3] The data are available through a collaboration between Ancestry.com and nine Canadian universities with additional funding from the Canadian Foundation for Innovation and provincial research agencies. See https://thecanadianpeoples.com.

[4] Maggie Walter and Chris Andersen. *Indigenous statistics: A quantitative research methodology.* (Routledge, 2016).

for adoption and removal, (iii) recognition by and participation in a particular community, (vi) self-identification, or (v) a legal status defined by laws themselves, which are subject to change.[5] Some of these criteria imply ethnicity is immutable or at least largely so. Genetic inheritance and ancestral lineage, for example, are difficult to change, although they may be concealed, and individuals have discretion about which ancestral line to emphasize since everyone has two parents, four grandparents, eight great-grandparents, etc. The other criteria – self-identification, legal status and community or cultural participation – often change over an individual's lifetime. All of this complicates the identification of ethnicity from historical sources. We rarely know which of these principles influenced the creation of a particular source. If multiple sources are used, as is common in historical research, any inconsistencies can potentially distort our impression of change over time or differences between groups. We are cognizant of these complexities as we review the data.

The Department of Indian Affairs and the Census Bureau were the two most important departments of the Canadian government collecting information about Indigenous communities in this period. We engage with these data collection efforts with caution since any information collected and organized by a colonizing state is an imperfect source with which to understand the lived realities of Indigenous peoples. These data describe the majority of people who identified, at the time, as being Indigenous. However, there is no easy way to assess the comprehensiveness of data describing those of mixed ancestry. Someone of mixed ancestry who did not identify as Indigenous might easily escape identification, as in more modern censuses and as noted below in the text.

Our paper proceeds as follows. In the next section, we provide an overview of the Indian Affairs and Census Bureau sources routinely used to construct statistics on the demographic information of Indigenous peoples at the turn of the twentieth century. In addition to describing the data sources, we use this section to point out discrepancies and intentional differences in coverage. We describe in Section 3 the 1901 Census manuscripts and detail how we code an individual as Indigenous. Before summarizing the information in the 1901 Census manuscripts, Section 4 quantitatively evaluates why some people were enumerated on a different census form that contains less information. Specifically, Indigenous households that were less integrated with early settlers were less likely to have their economic activities recorded, as were women. Then, in Section 5, we summarize some of the quantitative information included in the two schedules regarding the economic and demographic conditions of Indigenous peoples on the eve of the wheat boom. We conclude in Section 6.

2. Canadian government sources describing Indigenous peoples

Our knowledge of the number and distribution of Indigenous peoples living before 1900 in territories over which the Canadian state claimed sovereignty has relied heavily on the 1871

[5] P. Axelsson and P. Skold eds., *Indigenous Peoples and Demography. The Complex Relation Between Identity and Statistics* (New York: Bergahn, 2011).

and 1881 census enumerations. In both years, enumerators were instructed to record the "origin" of all people.[6]

> "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."[7]

In this era, the Census Bureau gave no clear direction about how individuals were to identify their "origin". To a large extent, respondents were able to report their own origin to the enumerator.[8] "Indian" was an acceptable response and only Indigenous individuals were permitted to give a North American origin.[9] Everyone else was forced to identify an origin in Europe, China, Africa etc. The Census Bureau provided no guidance on how to report if grandparents or more distant ancestors themselves had *different* origins - whether the variation arose from multiple European countries or some mix of European and Indigenous (or other non-European) peoples.[10]

A number of innovations in the 1901 census expanded the identity-based information collected by enumerators. For the first time, people were asked to state their 'nationality' and also their mother tongue. The latter is particularly valuable as a large number of people reported an Indigenous first language:

> 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,

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[6] The 1861 census attempted a more direct identification of "Colored Persons, Mulatto or Indian", however the limited coverage - southern Ontario and Quebec – makes it less interesting for present purposes. The question about origin was not asked in 1891. "No particulars of 'origin' were taken in 1891, and very wisely so, as they were of no specially instructive value and only tended to perpetuate race distinctions". See Department of Agriculture, *The Statistical Year-Book of Canada for 1892* (Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1893): 104

[7] Canada, 1871, Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, *Manual Containing "The Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the First Census of Canada*, Ottawa; Canada, 1881, Department of Agriculture, Census Branch, *Manual Containing "The Census Act" and the Instructions to Officers Employed in the Taking of the Second Census of Canada*, Ottawa.

[8] This is in contrast to the model typically used in the United States, where enumerators or Indian Agents guessed an individual's degree of "Indigeneity". Indian Agents were instructed, "If the Indian has no white blood, write 0. If he or she has white blood, write ½, ¼, 1/8, whichever fraction is nearest the truth. See United States Census Bureau, *Measuring America: The Decennial Censuses From 1790-2000* (U.S. Department of Commerce, Economics and Statistics Administration, U.S. Census Bureau, 2002: 44).

[9] Adam Green. "'Let Us Be Canadians': The Debate over Allowing 'Canadian' as a Racial Origin in Early Twentieth-Century Canadian Censuses", in Gordon Darroch (ed.), *The Dawn of Canada's Century: Hidden Histories* (Montreal and Kingston, McGill-Queens University Press, 2014: 71-92).

[10] One might imagine that many people identified their paternal line although there is no instruction to this effect and there is no way to confirm the practice.

> Swedish, Russian or any other, it should be entered by name in column 33 if the person speaks the language, but not otherwise.[11]

For the first time since 1861, the census re-introduced a question about 'color'. The instructions to enumerators make clear that each individual was asked to identify her or his 'race', as they understood it, using the 'one-drop' principle.

> The races of men will be designated by the use of "w" for white, "r" for red. "b" for black arid "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. [12]

Finally, and most importantly, enumerators were encouraged to report mixed ancestry. The instructions provided considerable detail about exactly how to do this.[13] In particular, it emphasized that mixed ancestry was to be recorded through paternal lineage only. Individuals whose mothers were Indigenous and whose fathers were not Indigenous would not be recorded as Indigenous themselves.

> Among whites the racial or tribal origin is traced through the father … 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." … " Chippewa s.b." denotes that the person is Chippewa and Scotch. Other mixtures of Indians besides the four above specified are rare, and may be described by the letters "o.b." for other breed. If several races are 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." [14]

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[11] Canada, *Fourth Census of Canada, Instructions to Chief Officers, Commissioners and Enumerators* (Ottawa: 1901): article 67. The importance of this question is underlined by Chad Gaffield, "Language, Ancestry and the Competing Constructions of Identity in Turn-of-the-Century Canada", in Sager and Baskerville, eds., *Household Counts: Canadian Households in 1901* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007): 423-440.

[12] Canada, 1901, article 47.

[13] Canada, 1901, article 53.

[14] Ibid. The only other Canadian census to encourage the reporting of mixed ancestry was the Manitoba enumeration of 1870. See *Correspondence and documents relating to the Province of Manitoba and the North West Territory*", Canada, Sessional Papers 1871, #20 p76: "A column is provided in the forms to designate the half-breeds. In this column the figure 1 is to be put opposite the name of every person coming under that designation. A half-breed, for the purpose of the enumeration, is defined to be any person descended, however remotely, either by father or mother, from any ancestor belonging to any one of the native tribes of Indians, and also descended, however remotely, from an ancestor among the Whites - in other words having in his veins both White and Indian blood." Not surprisingly, the 1870 Manitoba census reported a large mixed-ancestry population, which was not repeated until the 1901 enumeration; see Michelle Hamilton and Kris Inwood, "The Mixed-Ancestry

The new questions and expanded instructions for the question about origin make the 1901 census the best governmental source in the era to identify Indigenous peoples and their geographic distribution. And yet, the limitations visible in earlier censuses did not disappear.[15] Identifying mixed ancestry from the paternal line is an obvious limitation for Indigenous peoples, some of whom trace their identity matrilinealy. The wide diversity of experiences and cultures across the expanse of covered territories makes it unlikely that everyone answered questions similarly (despite more explicit instructions). Individual understandings of 'origin' and 'color' undoubtedly differed – with potential implications for who was identified as Indigenous.

As with earlier censuses, the enumerators undoubtedly missed some people without a fixed residence, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous, simply because of the difficulty of locating them. During the spring of 1901, large numbers of people were moving throughout the entire North Atlantic region, including Canada. Some were migrating permanently or semi-permanently, some moved seasonally. and others were responding to singular events such as the Yukon gold rush. The enumeration of anyone lacking a single fixed residence was challenging, although arguably, it mattered more for Indigenous peoples.[16]

Aboriginal Populations in Canada 1871-1901", pp 207-224 in G. Brunet ed., *Mariage et métissage dans les sociétés coloniales, Amériques, Afrique et Iles de l Océan Indien, XVIe-XXe siècles* (Peter Lang 2015).

[15] Jeremy Hull, "1981 Census Coverage of the Native Population in Manitoba and Saskatchewan," *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* 4, (1984): 147; John Kralt, "Ethnic Origins in the Canadian Census, 1871–1986," in *Ethnic Demography: Canadian Immigrant, Ethnic and Cultural Variations*, ed. Shiva Halli, Frank Trovato and Leo Driedger (Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990): 13–29; Patrick A. Dunae, "Making the 1891 Census in British Columbia," *Histoire Sociale* 31 (1999): 223-239; Bruce Curtis, *The Politics of Population: State Formation, Statistics, and the Census of Canada, 1840-1875* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2001), especially 108-109, 127, 154, 192-194; Hamilton, "'Anyone not on the list might as well be dead'"; Chris Andersen, "From Nation to Population: the Racialisation of 'Métis' in the Canadian Census", *Nations and Nationalism,* 14 (2008): 347-368; Evelyn Ruppert, "Counting Heads in Northern Wilds," *Journal of Cultural Economy* 2 (2009): 11–31; Hamilton and Inwood, "The Aboriginal Population"; Gustave Goldmann and Senada Delic, "Counting Aboriginal Peoples in Canada," in Frank Trovato and Anatole Romaniuk, eds., *Aboriginal Populations: Social, Demographic and Epidemiological Perspectives* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press: 2014): 59-78; Éric Guimond, Norbert Robitaille, and Sacha Senecal, "Fuzzy Definitions and Demographic Explosion of Aboriginal Populations in Canada from 1986 to 2006," pp 229-244 in P. Simon, V. Piché, and A. Gagnon, eds., *Social Statistics and Ethnic Diversity* (IMISCOE Research Series. Springer, Cham.: 2015); Hoy, "Uncertain Counts"; Chris Andersen, "The colonialism of Canada's Métis health population dynamics: caught between bad data and no data at all", *Journal of Population Research* 33 (2016): 67-82.

[16] Benjamin Hoy, "Uncertain Counts: The Struggle to Enumerate First Nations in Canada and the United States, 1870-1911, *Ethnohistory*, 62 (2015): 729-750, especially 736-738. Cross-border moves in and out of the United States further complicated government enumeration of the Indigenous; see Benjamin Hoy, *A Line of Blood and Dirt: Creating the Canada-United States Border across Indigenous Lands* (New York" Oxford University Press, 2021).

Census authorities also pointed to the remote and difficult terrain through which some enumerators had to travel.[17] Of course, some Indigenous peoples resisted enumeration by distancing themselves from the European presence precisely because they regarded the census as a tool to undermine Indigenous sovereignty.[18] Nevertheless, even in 'remote' regions that saw few Europeans, the Census Bureau was able to draw information from an extensive network of fur traders, prospectors, missionaries, church leaders, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Geological Survey staff, and Indigenous peoples themselves. Importantly, agents of the Department of Indian Affairs provided information to the Census Bureau that began with the 1891 census.[19]

It was not always possible for an enumerator to establish direct contact people who did not want to be enumerated by government agents or were harder to reach or both. George Coutt, for example, while enumerating the Cassiar Stikine region of British Columbia, reported about two groups: "estimated population 150, the others of this tribe was scattered out in the mountains. It was impossible for me to find them at this season of the year" and "15 Others of this tribe out in the woods, I didn't get the names of".[20] The Census Bureau could incorporate the people identified by Coutts into summary tabulations of the Indigenous population but no individual-level information was collected. The manuscript census data are incomplete insofar as they lack records describing those people who were too remote or too resistant to enumerate.

Perhaps the greatest ambiguity with census evidence purporting to describe the Indigenous population is the complexity of Canada's large, mixed ancestry population. Daniel Wilson, in 1875, described a large mixed ancestry population varying in its character across the country. He repeated an allegation that intermarriage had advanced so that no Indigenous people of 'pure blood' could be found in Nova Scotia.[21] He claimed that "in the province of Quebec, Half-breeds, and men and women of partial Indian blood, are frequently to be met with in all ranks

[17] Recent empirical work has found that historical treaties were less likely to be signed in regions with rugged terrain, likely for the same reasons. See Donn Feir, Rob Gillezeau, and Maggie Jones, "The Determinants of Historical Treaties in Canada," Working Paper (2023).

[18] Michelle Hamilton, "'Anyone not on the list might as well be dead': First Nations and Enumeration in Canada, 1851-1901", *Journal of the Canadian Historical Association* 19 (2007), p. 57-79; Michelle Hamilton and Kris Inwood, "The Aboriginal Population and the 1891 Census of Canada", pp 95-116 in Axelsson and Skold eds., *Indigenous Peoples and Demography;* Hoy, "Uncertain Counts".

[19] Ibid.

[20] Canada, *Census*, 1901, District 1 (Burrard), Sub-district B, George Coutts page 11 & page 13, images https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1901&op=pdf&id=z000010044 and https://central.bac-lac.gc.ca/.item/?app=Census1901&op=pdf&id=z000010046.

[21] Daniel Wilson, "Hybridity and absorption in relate to the Red Indian race", Canadian Journal of Science, literature, and history [New ser. v. 14, no. 5 (July 1875), pp 432-478, see p. 442.

of life".[22] The situation was even more complex in Western Canada, according to Wilson, because large numbers of mixed ancestry people were recognized socially as being ``Indian'', others were identified as being white, and another large part of the population explicitly claimed to have mixed ancestry.[23] Wilson adds ""Among Canadians of mixed blood, there are men at the Bar and in the Legislature, in the Church, in the medical profession, holding rank in the army, in aldermanic and other civic offices, and engaged in active trade and commerce. … long and careful study of the subject has satisfied me that a larger amount of absorption of the Indian into the Anglo-American race has occurred than is generally recognised".[24]

Subsequent scholarship has tended to confirm Wilson's contention that by the 1870s, following many generations of Indigenous-European unions, a large number of Canadians had partial Indigenous ancestry.[25] There is also agreement that self-identification and collective recognition of mixed ancestry were fluid and sensitive to contingent circumstances. For example, the 1901 enumeration record undoubtedly reflects a surrounding context that discouraged some people from identifying or revealing Indigenous ancestry.[26] The unusually expansive treatment of mixed ancestry by the 1901 enumeration partially countered this tendency. Unfortunately, little is known about who among the mixed ancestry population chose to self-identify and who suppressed that information.

With these caveats, we turn to the census data themselves. After each enumeration, the Census Bureau published summary tables of aggregate statistics at the provincial, district, and,

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[22] Wilson, "Hybridity", p 439

[23] The claim that some people living as Indian had some mixed ancestry is corroborated by interviews conducted by Frans Boas and associates at Canadian reserves and residential schools during the 1890s. Roughly 20% of this group claimed to have mixed ancestry; see Richard L. Jantz "The Anthropometric Legacy of Frans Boas." *Economics and Human Biology* 1 (2003): 277–284. On the selection underlying the Boas sample, see Melissa Miller, M. (2016), "Selection and Historical Height Data: Evidence from the 1892 Boas Sample of the Cherokee Nation", *Explorations in Economic History*, 61 (2016): 119-23.

[24] Wilson, "Hybridity", pp 443, 448.

[25] Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Strangers in Blood: Fur Trade Company Families in Indian Country* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1980); Jacqueline Peterson and Jennifer Brown (eds.), *The New Peoples: Being and Becoming Métis* (Winnipeg, University of Manitoba Press: 1985); Gerhard J. Ens, *Homeland To Hinterland: The Changing Worlds of Red River Metis in the Nineteenth Century* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press: 1996); Frank Tough, *As Their Natural Resources Fail: Native Peoples and the Economic History of Northen Manitoba* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 1996); Gwen Reimer and Jean-Philippe Chartrand, "Documenting Historic Métis in Ontario", *Ethnohistory* 51 (2004): 5567-607; Renisa Mawani, *Colonial Proximities: Crossracial Encounters and Juridical Truths in British Columbia, 1871-1921* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2009);)Nicole St-Onge, Carolyn Podruchny and Brenda McDougall (eds.), *Contours of a People: Metis Family, Mobility and History* (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press: 2012); Christopher Adams, Greg Dahl and Ian Peach, eds., *Métis in Canada: History, Identity, Law and Politics* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2013); Chris Andersen, *Métis* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2014).

[26] Of course, if one generation successfully conceal that Indigenous heritage, quite possibly the next generation will not even know about it.

sometimes, sub-district levels. Table XI, appearing in volume I of the 1901 census report, provides one estimate of the size of the Indigenous population.[27] A second estimate, independent of the census, comes from the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). The Indian Act (1876) united all previous legislation related to "Indian" peoples in Canada and operationalized the federal government's constitutional jurisdiction over "Indians'' and land reserved for "Indians."[28] Every year, the DIA publicly reported the number of people in every Indian band under a superintendency. The population counted in this way included anyone moving into a band through intermarriage and excluded anyone who married into a band or accepted 'enfranchisement'.[29] DIA agents attempted to count both resident and "nomadic" members of bands.[30]

The government's notional need to account for the delivery of its per capita treaty payments and other commitments may have influenced the precise dimensions of the population reported on by the DIA. Some Indian Agents seemed to complete their census when handing out annuity payments: "The correct census of this band taken at the annuity payments just completed, was ninety-six..." at the Edmonton agency.[31] In 1900, enumerators mention that their numbers changed between periods "as a result of the more accurate enumeration obtained in the course of negotiation of the treaty…."[32] The emphasis on treaty payments makes it likely that the DIA estimated population more reliably for bands under treaty than for those outside of treaty. Non-treaty members of some bands under treaty may have been

[27] Canada, *Census*, 1901, vol I, table XI,

[28] See Redish (2019) and Feir and Scoones (Forthcoming) for a discussion of the legal history of the Canadian state and its assertion of jurisdiction over Indigenous nations. Angela Redish. "Treaty of Paris vs. Treaty of Niagara: Rethinking Canadian Economic History in the 21st Century." *Canadian Journal of Economics* 52 (2019): 1325–48. Donn Feir and David Scoones. "Leading the Way: First Nations in Canadian Fiscal Federalism," Chapter 11. *Fiscal Federalism in Canada.* University of Toronto Press. (Forthcoming, 2023).

[29] We infer this from the Department's Report for 1901 in which individual agent identify individuals who migrate to another agency or marry into the agency, and how this affects overall accounts. We assume that those enfranchised are no longer counted as Indian since they were no longer governed by the Indian Act.

[30] Occasionally the annual report provides detail about the process of counting, for example one agent in 1901 explained that travel to a reserve for which he was responsible was delayed by eight days due to bad weather. Consequently he "had not time to have the census sheets given me filled in, I accordingly left them at the different points to be filled in. I have to report that the Indians of Lesser Slave lake and Lake Sturgeon represented that it would be much better if they could be paid their annuity in the winter."

[31] Edward VII Sessional Paper No, 27 A. 1902. Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended June 30, 1901. Printed by Order of Parliament Ottawa, page 259 of the OCR version of the Library Archives Canada 1901 Indian Affairs report.

[32] Edward VII Sessional Paper No, 27 A. 1901. Dominion of Canada Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended June 30, 1900. Printed by Order of Parliament Ottawa, page 29 of the OCR version of the Library Archives Canada 1901 Indian Affairs report.

overlooked entirely. Indigenous individuals no longer living with a band might also be missed, even if they had not enfranchised.

Summary totals from the two sources are reported in Table 1 for 1901.[33] There is no reason to expect the two tallies to be identical. The two departments operated somewhat independently at different times of the year; they had different objectives and were subject to distinct biases.[34] The census and DIA counts of Indians differ markedly.

The two sources broadly agree that the Indigenous population numbered approximately 100,000 in 1901. Both suggest that the Indigenous population was small in the parts of Canada longest settled by Europeans, Quebec and the Atlantic region and that much larger numbers lived in Ontario and Western Canada. And yet there are important differences. All but Ontario, BC, and the Unorganized Territories differ by more than 10%. The census count of Indian and mixed ancestry peoples comes within 10% of the DIA total only for Quebec.

We might expect that the DIA total would be smaller than that of the Census since not every one of Indigenous descent had recognized status with the DIA. For most provinces, the Census inclusive of people with mixed ancestry reported more people than the DIA and fewer people if people of mixed ancestry are excluded. The data describing Western Canada are particularly complex. The census recognizes more Indigenous peoples than Indian Affairs in British Columbia and the 'unorganized' northern territories. The opposite is true for Alberta and Saskatchewan (not yet provinces in 1901). There is no easy way to reconcile the two tallies, since the DIA undercount of non-treaty peoples is unknown, and the Census Bureau's count of people identifying as 'Indians' likely included some people who were *not* under treaty. At least some of the Census 'Half-Breeds' were under treaty, although the majority in Western Canada were not.

One strategy to reconcile the two sources is to examine them in small local areas. We have examined the Lillooet and Yale census subdistricts which lie along the middle stretches of the Fraser River (north of Hope, south of Williams Lake). This area includes the 'Fraser Canyon' with a large Indigenous population (although much diminished by the gold rush c1860). These subdistricts correspond to most or all of the DIA's Fraser River Agency above Chilliwack, the southern part of the Williams Lake Agency and the western part of the Okanagan-Kamloops Agency. Unfortunately, we do not know the precise location of the border between Yale and the nearby Chilliwack subdistrict, nor how far Yale and Lilloet extend up the Thompson and Fraser rivers. Without more detail about individual enumeration circuits, we cannot align the two tallies with sufficient precision to analyse the differences. The Yale-Lilloet kind of problem occurs in many locations making this a complicated problem to resolve.

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[33] Canada, *Census*, 1901, vol I, table XI; Canada, *Annual Report of Dept of Indian Affairs for year ending June 30 1901*, Part II, Census Return.

[34] Hoy describes the different principles underlying enumeration by the DIA and the Census Bureau; see Hoy, "Uncertain Counts".

Both government departments published and circulated their tallies amongst interested parties during the first decade of the 20th century. We know of no public discussion at the time regarding the apparent discrepancies. There are other limitations. While these data provide some idea of population counts and their geographic distribution, neither source provides detail about languages spoken, religion, occupation and other characteristics of interest. Fortunately, the manuscripts from which the Census Bureau prepared its tally are now available for analysis. The individual-level detail reveals a great deal about the lives and communities of Indigenous peoples, albeit subject to the various sources of imprecision and bias noted above.

3. The full count 1901 Census manuscripts

Small samples of the 1901 census manuscripts have been constructed previously and used effectively.[35] Inevitably, however, a 5% sample such as that of the Canadian Families Project includes very few records of Indigenous people.[36] Our new digitization of *all* 1901 census enumeration manuscripts makes it possible to examine the entire population that can be identified as Indigenous. For the first time, we have sufficient numbers of records to provide a demographic picture of Indigenous peoples in all regions of Canada.

We do not know how the Census Bureau identified Indigeneity to generate the tabulations summarized in Table 1 above. Our method relies strictly on the strings identified by the Bureau in its instructions to enumerators. We use four fields: origin, color, nationality and language. Any of these fields might signal someone who identified as Indigenous or was perceived as so by the enumerator. The most important indicator is 'racial or tribal origin', for which more than 2,000 different strings appear in the 1901 enumeration manuscripts. Illustrative examples of the strings used to recognize Indigeneity are given in Table 2 for each field. We identify 88% of the Indigenous records from 'racial or tribal origin' strings, another 11.6% from 'colour' and the remainder from the other fields.

Inevitably there is some imprecision, in part because the legibility of many census pages deteriorated before being microfilmed. This is exacerbated by the low quality of filming of the 1901 page images. Another complication is the practice of many enumerators to enter 'ditto' as a signal that an entry is the same as the previous. This is widespread in the color and language fields. In some cases, the ditto is implied rather than written. Our process for origin, nationality,

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[35] Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville, *Unwilling idlers: The unemployed and their families in late Victorian Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1998); Alan G. Green and Mary MacKinnon, "The Slow assimilation of British Immigrants in Canada: Evidence from Montreal and Toronto, 1901," *Explorations in Economic History* 38 (2000): 315-338; Alan G. Green, Mary MacKinnon, and Chris Minns, "Dominion or Republic? Migrants to North America from the United Kingdom, 1870-1910," *Economic History Review* 55 (2002): 666-696; Alan G. Green, Mary MacKinnon and Chris Minns, "Conspicuous by their Absence: French Canadians and the Settlement of the Canadian West", *Journal of Economic History* 65 (2005): 822-849; Eric Sager and Peter Baskerville, eds., *Household Counts: Canadian Households in 1901* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2007): 423-440.

[36] Canadian Families Project http://web.uvic.ca/hrd/cfp/, accessed August 27 2023.

color and language is to assign the value of the previous record if there is a "ditto" or equivalent. If no value is reported then we assign the value of the previous record, but this operates only within the same page. We do not know how census tabulators handled this problem.

A further complication is the use of different forms in the 1901 enumeration. Most Indigenous people in Manitoba and the more eastern provinces were reported on *Schedule 1*, which was used for 99% of the Canadian population. As summarized in Table 3, however, many Indigenous people further west were enumerated with a simpler form, titled *Population by Names*.[37] Many of the latter appear to describe 'agencies' of the Department of Indian Affairs. *Schedule 1* typically recorded 50 people per page, while *Population by Names* had space for only 30 people. The latter does not include information about occupation, nationality, year of immigration, nationality, precise birth date and miscellaneous other fields. The absence of these characteristics from the *Population by Name* data is significant. For example, any analysis of occupations is limited by the failure to enumerate occupation for two-thirds of Indigenous people. Samples of each form along with a list of questions on each schedule are given in the Appendix.

4. Who was enumerated on which schedule?

The use of two types of schedules complicates our profile of the Indigenous population. The lack of information about occupation and other dimensions of work in one of the schedules is particularly troublesome. If we wish to understand the economic circumstances and occupational diversity of Indigenous people, we first need to analyse who received which schedule, since occupational detail is available only on Schedule 1. In this section, we explore selection into the two schedules using data that describe all households with at least one Indigenous member, because the enumeration itself was household-based. We aim to identify the observable characteristics of individuals who did and did not receive Schedule 1.

Table 3 shows the proportion of people receiving Schedule 1 in each region. Here we distinguish between Indigenous and non-Indigenous members (within the set households with at least one Indigenous person). We can see that outside of the North, almost all non-Indigenous people received Schedule 1, whereas the proportion varied considerably for the Indigenous population. In the Atlantic region and in Manitoba, Indigenous members were almost completely enumerated on Schedule 1. In Ontario and Quebec, 88% and 86% of the Indigenous population received Schedule 1. In Saskatchewan/Alberta and British Columbia, only 52% and 43% of Indigenous people received Schedule 1, respectively.

[37] Additional types of forms were used in the Yukon, in part responding (apparently) to the presence of a large number of transient people in the spring of 1901. We ignore the complication of additional forms used in the Yukon.

In Table 4, we consider the characteristics of household members that received Schedule 1 (column 1), as well as those that did not (column 2), within households with at least one Indigenous family member. Column 3 of Table 4 reports the difference in means tests between columns 1 and 2. The table is constructed using individuals of working age, between 15 and 65, since the economic variables in Schedule 1 are of interest. We distinguish between people who show no sign of Indigeneity, those who appear to be of mixed heritage, and Indigenous people who show no sign of non-Indigenous ancestry. As per the historical nomenclature, we refer to the latter as Indians. 25% of this population is identified as non-Indigenous (19,554), 55% as Indian (42,686), and 20% as mixed heritage (15,579).[38] The averages of each variable are reported, along with standard deviations below in parentheses. For the variables speaking English, French, literacy, and religion, missing values are recorded as zeros. The fraction of missing values is also reported so that non-missing means can be inferred.

Households that received Schedule 1 and those that did not differed in several notable ways. First, Indians comprise 42% of the people receiving Schedule 1 in contrast to 89% of people enumerated on the other schedule with less detail. 24% of those who received Schedule 1 were of mixed heritage, against only 9% of those who did not receive Schedule 1. Households with more Indigenous family members were less likely to receive Schedule 1. This is reflected in the composition of households on the two schedules. 68% of people in the households receiving Schedule 1 were Indigenous, whereas households returned on the Population by Names schedule were almost entirely Indigenous. There are mixed patterns in household size, but generally, smaller households (up to six people) were less likely to receive Schedule 1 and large households (greater than 13 people) were more likely to receive Schedule 1. The largest differences are those among very large households some of which may be institutional environments such as schools with at least some non-Indigenous teachers.

There were only small differences in the average age of respondents who received each type of schedule. 50% of people who did not receive Schedule 1 were female, compared to 44% of people who received Schedule 1. People were also more likely to receive Schedule 1 if they spoke French or English or if they could read.[39] Both groups had relatively high rates of literacy. Ignoring missing values, the literacy rate of working-age Indian people was 84.2%, for those with mixed heritage, it was 94.2%, and for the non-Indigenous it was near universal (99.5%).[40] The proportion of people reporting a religion identifiable as pagan, infidel, idolatry, or heathen was 3% for those receiving Schedule 1 but 20% for those receiving the other schedule.

Since many of these variables may be correlated with each other, we estimate a multivariate linear probability model where the dependent variable is an indicator that equals 1 if the individual received Schedule 1. The results are found in Table 5. The first column presents the

[38] In the full sample (not age restricted), 19% of the sample was non-Indigenous, 58% Indian, and 23% of mixed ancestry.

[39] We are unable to examine speaking Indigenous languages given that this has yet to be fully prepared in our data.

[40] We extract these proportions from a tabulation of the sample summarized in Table 3.

estimates of how being an Indigenous person by ancestry predicts the likelihood of receiving Schedule 1 conditional on provincial fixed effects. The second column adds a set of individual characteristics, the third adds a set of household characteristics, and the last column replaces province fixed effects with enumeration district fixed effects. Models (2)-(4) include a quadratic in age which is not reported and is not statistically significant. From all models, we can see that when provincial fixed effects are included, people of mixed ancestry were statistically no more likely to receive Schedule 1 than non-Indigenous household members, but people identified as "Indian" were substantially less likely. Even within the same enumeration district, Indigenous household members were 7% less likely to receive Schedule 1. Females were slightly less likely, but the effect is minimal. Reading or speaking French is a strong predictor of receiving Schedule 1. Those who practice an Indigenous religion were less likely to receive Schedule 1. If you were in a household with a greater proportion of Indians, i.e. sole ancestry Indigenous people, you were also less likely to receive Schedule 1. Households larger than one person were more likely to receive Schedule 1.

These patterns suggest that, while Schedule 1 can be used to learn about the occupational composition of the Indigenous population at the turn of the 20th century, it needs to be interpreted with appropriate caveats. Specifically, at the national level, the evidence about occupation under-represents those in mixed ancestry households and those who practice an Indigenous religion, and it over-represents those who speak French, who can read, and those in larger households (even within a given enumeration district). With these caveats in mind, a reasonable approach to using Schedule 1 could be to focus on regions (or enumeration areas) that received almost complete coverage. We recommend that if researchers take this approach, they are careful to specify that their results may not hold outside of these regional contexts.

5. An Indigenous Demographic Profile on the eve of the Wheat Boom

We must remember these differences in the populations recorded on different schedules as we depict geographic variation in the people enumerated as Indigenous in the 1901 census. Here, we consider the entire Canadian population (not just those living in households with at least one Indigenous family member). Figure 1 shows the percent of the 1901 population who were Indigenous (either of mixed ancestry or not) for the western census subdivisions. This exercise is less informative in the eastern provinces because the proportion of the Indigenous population is much smaller. There is substantial variation by census subdistrict within the western region; in parts of Western Canada, the population was almost entirely Indigenous. Figure 2 shows, for the whole country, the share of Indigenous people who appear to have had mixed ancestry. Gray areas are those subdistricts for which no Indigenous people are identifiable in the enumerator manuscripts (or there are no data at all). The Indigenous population in the Prairie region comprises a large fraction of individuals reporting mixed ancestry. Elsewhere in the country, there is more variation in the fraction of Indigenous people of mixed ancestry. The easternmost region of the country has been enlarged in the top right rectangle to illustrate this variation in greater detail.

Next, we consider age, gender, and marital status. We begin by examining the age structure noting that the population of children under the age of 1 (i.e., those born in the last year) will be an underestimate of the true count of children of this age. This is because some transcribers recorded age as missing for those under one year. This imprecision affects the data describing both Indigenous and non-Indigenous people.

The age structure of our three groups – non-Indigenous, those of mixed heritage and Indians – differs somewhat. As is reported in Table 6, children comprise a smaller share of the non-Indigenous. This is unsurprising since some share of the non-Indigenous population were migrants who arrived in Canada as adults. The contrast is particularly strong in British Columbia and the unorganized north. We might not have predicted that the mixed ancestry group has proportionally more children than the other Indigenous people almost everywhere.[41]

Figure 3, which displays age distributions for our three groups and men and women, illustrates this pattern in more detail. Here, we see that the fraction of young people in the Indigenous populations is higher because of children aged 0-9, particularly so for those of mixed ancestry. This is consistent with higher fertility and/or lower child mortality among the Indigenous and especially so for those of mixed ancestry. The contrast between Indigenous and non-Indigenous is, if anything, understated in these data because more people of Indigenous ancestry were reported with unknown age.

More than 50% of adults are male, except among the settler families of central Canada and Indigenous families in western Canada (Table 7). The very high proportion of men among the non-Indigenous population in western Canada no doubt reflects sex-selective immigration and, possibly, higher mortality among adult women in the West. It is not obvious why the male share should differ between Indigenous people who do and do not show evidence of mixed ancestry. One possible explanation is that the risk of premature death (in childbirth, from violence or other reasons) was higher for women of mixed ancestry than other Indigenous women. Another explanation might be that women found it easier than men to suppress their Indigenous heritage and pass as white (or potentially, they suffered more discrimination if they did not).

The description of marital status by sex, province and Indigeneity in Table 8 and Table 9 suggests some interesting hypotheses. A smaller share of men than women marrying before the age of 40 for all ethnic categories is consistent with a tendency for men to marry younger women. The incidence of marriage rates for non-Indigenous men declined from east to west – consistent with the adult sex ratios reported in Table 7. Unexpectedly, a modest east-west gradient in the incidence of marriage is visible for the Indigenous population, even though their sex ratios did *not* vary regionally. The Indigenous population, both men and women and in all provinces, had a higher marriage rate than non-Indigenous population. Those showing evidence

[41] The comparison of mixed ancestry vs other Indigenous is awkward in Manitoba because sample size for the latter is small (Table 4).

of mixed ancestry appear to have married slightly less than those who did not report evidence of mixed ancestry.

Finally, bearing in mind the caveats we discussed in the previous sections regarding the use of Schedule 1 variables, Figure 4 presents a snapshot of the occupational distribution among Indigenous people enumerated on Schedule 1 in the 1901 census. Here we see that a large fraction of those enumerated on Schedule 1 had no recorded occupation at the time the census was conducted—53% for those with no evidence of mixed ancestry and slightly less for those with evidence of mixed ancestry. Of those who were employed, farming was a major occupation. Nearly 18% of Indigenous people with no evidence of mixed ancestry were involved in farming, compared to just over 22% in all other occupations. The analogous values for those with mixed ancestry are again 19.5% in farming, compared to 27% in other occupations. 4.7% of Indigenous people with mixed ancestry were involved in what we label "traditional" occupations, like hunting, fishing, trapping, and producing household goods such as baskets and moccasins, compared to 6.4% without mixed ancestry.[42]

These occupational distributions described only the people enumerated on Schedule 1, which as we have seen is a particular selection of the Indigenous population. Nevertheless, we feel that the patterns almost surely reflect the colonial policies implemented before and during 1901. By the time of the 1901 census, eight of the eleven number treaties had already been signed. These treaties essentially served as a blueprint for the federal government's plan to convert Indigenous peoples to agriculture and to settle the interior of the country.[43] As such, each year Indian Agents reporting to the Department of Indian Affairs noted the farming activities that occurred on each reserve under their jurisdiction.[44] That the agents reported on agricultural implements with such frequency is a direct reflection of the assimilatory policies that were pushed by the Department of Indian Affairs.

6. Discussion

The 1901 Census microdata are a valuable tool for researchers wishing to learn about Indigenous populations at the turn of the 20th century in spite of the limitations and caveats discussed in this manuscript. We know that enumerators had difficulty reaching remote communities, especially when it was a challenge to traverse the terrain, nomadic groups, or those who did not speak English or French. Some Indigenous people undoubtedly escaped

[42] We acknowledge that grouping these as "traditional" may be a misnomer given some members may have moved into these occupations as a consequence of colonization and that a number of groups also practiced agriculture which we include as "farming".

[43] James Daschuk, *Clearing the Plains: Disease, Politics of Starvation, and the Loss of Aboriginal Life* (Regina: University of Regina Press, 2013).

[44] In the 1901 Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, almost all Indian Agents reported a narrative description of the state of farming and stock raising on reserves. As an example, W.M. McFarlane, the Indian Agent for the Mud Lake Band in Ontario stated "the stock is fair indeed, and quite a number of the Indians are well supplied with implements."

enumeration while others would not have been recognized as Indigenous especially if there were living apart from an established Indigenous community. The use of two separate schedules with differing information is a further complication. We show that over- and under-representation on the more detailed Schedule 1 varies with observable characteristics. Thus, researchers who use these data for analysis may want to focus on regions where everyone was enumerated on Schedule 1 or to estimate models that account for selection into this schedule. Finally, many children whose ages were listed in months were recorded as "unknown age" during the transcription phase.[45] This means that the number of children will be an undercount and, consequently, age distributions will be inaccurate. While this does not appear to have occurred systematically for one demographic group or another, since the Indigenous population was, on average, younger than the non-Indigenous population, they will be disproportionately affected by this limitation.

Bearing these caveats in mind, we provide some simple descriptive statistics and figures to summarize the geography and scope of the Indigenous population in this period. Perhaps unsurprisingly, Indigenous peoples comprised a larger fraction of the overall population in the western provinces and especially bordering the northern territories. The extent to which individuals reported mixed Indigenous ancestry varied considerably across the country. The settler population in the western provinces and the territories was heavily skewed towards men, whereas it was relatively evenly split between men and women among those of Indigenous ancestry (both mixed and single ancestry). Elsewhere in the country, the gender ratio was closer to 1:1 for all groups. Among Indigenous people enumerated on Schedule 1, we see evidence of colonial policies that manifest in the distribution of occupations. Farm-related occupations were dominant, whereas only a small fraction of Indigenous people listed more traditional forms of labour like hunting, trapping, fishing, and basket-making as their primary occupation.

Overall, the newly available quantitative information in the 1901 census paints a picture of heterogeneity, both across different population groups, as well as across geographic regions. While the data are not without problems, with appropriate caveats, they can be used to provide quantitative statements about demographic conditions at the turn of the twentieth century. Moreover, as we have seen, even our preliminary review of the data suggests a number of hypotheses that may be useful to investigate further.

[45] We are grateful to Léonie Trudeau-Laurin and Simona Bignami for this important observation.

Table 1: Census and Indian Affairs summaries of the Indigenous population, 1901

	Census		Indian Affairs (DIA)	Percentage differences	
	"Indian"	"Half-Breed'		DIA/Indian	DIA/(Indian+HB)
Atlantic	3,105	257	3,990	+29%	+19%
Quebec	9,166	976	10,865	+19%	+07%
Ontario	19,671	5,003	20,763	+06%	-16%
Manitoba	5,906	10,371	6,840	+16%	-58%
Saskatchewan and Alberta	14,669	11,635	17,927	+22%	-31%
British Columbia	25,488	3,461	24,576	-04%	-15%
'Unorganized' Territories	15,455	2,788	14,566	-06%	-20%
All	93,460	34,491	99,527	+06%	-22%

Source: Canada, Census, 1901, vol I, table XI; Canada, Annual Report of Dept of Indian Affairs for year ending June 30 1901, Part II, Census Return. Unorganized territories comprise the districts of Upper McKenzie, Eastern Athabaska, Lower McKenzie, Great Slave Lake, Riviere aux Liards, Yukon, Nelson and Churchill Rivers, Ungava, Labrador interior and Arctic coast. The Atlantic region combines New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island.

Table 2: Sample strings connoting Indigeneity in four census fields		
	Indigenous	Mixed Ancestry Indigenous
Racial or tribal origin		
	Abenaki	Abenaquis Metis
	Abenaquie Indien	Abenaquise F B
	Abenaquise	Abenaquise M F
	Algonquin	Algonquin Ob
	Algonquin Indiene	Algonquin M F
	Blood Ind	Blood E B
	Cree	Cree M Francais
	Cree Indian	Cree E 1/2 B
	Cree Saulteaux	Cree French
Color	R	Y R
	Red	W R
	I	Ob
	Indian	M E
		H. Breed
		CSB
Nationality	Abenaquise	Ca Sb
	Canadian Ind	Eb Canadian
	Indian Canadian	E H Breed
	Cand Montagnan	Ib
	Chippawa	Metis R
	Huronne	Ojebway Sb
	Ojebway Ind	S. B. Canadian
Language	Algonquin	Cree f b
	Carrier	
	Cayuga Indian	
	Cree and Beaver	
	Hydah	
	Ojibbeway and cree	
	Saulteaux	

Table 3: Proportion of Indigenous and Non-Indigenous Individuals Receiving Schedule 1 in Households with at least one Indigenous Member

Province	Non-Indigenous	Indigenous	Difference
Atlantic	1	1	0
Quebec	0.992	0.875	0.117***
Ontario	0.998	0.862	0.136***
Manitoba	0.972	0.973	-0.001
Saskatchewan and Alberta	1	0.521	0.479***
British Columbia	1	0.427	0.572***
North	0	0.002	-0.002

Note: This table includes members of households with at least one Indigenous member and is restricted to those between the ages of 16 to 64 who have a non-missing value for their sex.

Table 4: Summary Statistics: Differences in Characteristics Based on Whether an Individual Received Schedule 1

	Did Not Receive Schedule 1	Did Receive Schedule 1	Difference
Single Heritage	0.89	0.42	0.47***
	(0.31)	(0.49)	
Mixed Heritage	0.09	0.24	-0.15***
	(0.29)	(0.43)	
Proportion of Household Indigenous	0.98	0.68	0.30***
	(0.14)	(0.41)	
Proportion of Household Single Heritage	0.88	0.43	0.46***
	(0.31)	(0.46)	
Age	34.48	33.99	0.49***
	(13.05)	(12.89)	
Female	0.50	0.44	0.07***
	(0.5)	(0.5)	
Speaks French	0.32	0.82	-0.50***
	(0.47)	(0.38)	
Speaks English	0.80	0.99	-0.19***
	(0.4)	(0.12)	
Can Read	0.77	0.98	-0.21***
	(0.42)	(0.13)	
Indigenous Religion	0.19	0.03	0.16***
	(0.39)	(0.17)	
One Person Household	0.03	0.01	0.02***
	(0.18)	(0.11)	
Two Person Household	0.14	0.07	0.07***
	(0.35)	(0.25)	
Three Person Household	0.17	0.09	0.08***
	(0.37)	(0.29)	

Four to Six Person Household	0.41	0.3	0.11***
	(0.49)	(0.46)	
Seven to 13 Person Household	0.21	0.27	-0.06***
	(0.41)	(0.45)	
Household Greater than 13	0.04	0.26	-0.22***
	(0.19)	(0.44)	
Missing French Indicator	0.47	0.17	0.30***
	(0.5)	(0.38)	
Missing English Indicator	0.08	0.01	0.06***
	(0.26)	(0.11)	
Missing Reading Indicator	0.09	0.02	0.08***
	(0.29)	(0.12)	
Missing Religion	0	0	-0.00**
	(0.03)	(0.04)	
Observations	21479	56340	77819

Notes: This table is restricted to members of households with at least one Indigenous member. The means are reported with the standard deviations in parenthesis. Significance stars: * 0.05 ** 0.01 *** 0.001. Sample is all people who are in households with Indigenous identified respondents between the ages of 16 and 64.

Table 5: Conditional Correlations Between Receiving Schedule 1 and Observable Characteristics

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
First Nations	-0.277***	-0.166***	-0.0712***	-0.0704***
	(0.058)	(0.039)	(0.017)	(0.02)
Metis	0.0409	0.0152	-0.0187	-0.0122
	(0.058)	(0.05)	(0.013)	(0.013)
Female		-0.0123***	-0.0129***	-0.00968***
		(0.003)	(0.004)	(0.003)
Speaks French		0.428***	0.418***	0.420***
		(0.076)	(0.073)	(0.079)
Speaks English		-0.133	-0.133	-0.0996
		(0.085)	(0.083)	(0.094)
Can Read		0.279***	0.274***	0.178***
		(0.087)	(0.086)	(0.076)
Indigenous Religion		-0.211***	-0.201***	-0.114***
		(0.066)	(0.066)	(0.051)
Missing French Indicator		0.253***	0.250***	0.291***
		(0.073)	(0.072)	(0.055)
Missing English Indicator		-0.132	-0.13	-0.118
		(0.145)	(0.144)	(0.12)
Missing Reading Indicator		0.108	0.103	0.0514
		(0.102)	(0.102)	(0.083)
Missing Religion		0.0174	0.0191	0.0145
		(0.03)	(0.03)	(0.031)
Prop. Household Indigenous			-0.0194	-0.00455
			(0.047)	(0.042)
Prop. Household First Nations			-0.145***	-0.156***
			(0.055)	(0.059)
Two Person Household			0.0257	0.0408***
			(0.029)	(0.024)
Three Person Household			0.0255	0.0414
			(0.033)	(0.027)
Four to Six Person Household			0.0525	0.0690***
			(0.036)	(0.029)
Seven to 13 Person Household			0.0716***	0.0898***
			(0.043)	(0.037)
Household Greater than 13			-0.0168	0.0239
			(0.038)	(0.033)
Quadratic in Age		X	X	X
Province FE	X	X	X	
Enumeration Area FE				X

Observations	77819	77819	77819	77819
Adjusted R Squared	0.499	0.614	0.619	0.719

Notes: Sample is all people who are in households with Indigenous identified respondents between the ages of 16 and 64.

Table 6: Child (<16 years) share of population

	Not Indigenous	Indigenous, no evidence mixed ancestry	Mixed ancestry Indigenous
Atlantic	35%	35%	39%
Quebec	38%	37%	44%
Ontario	31%	37%	42%
Manitoba	37%	42%	43%
Saskatchewan and Alberta	38%	39%	52%
British Columbia	24%	29%	47%
'Unorganized'	03%	43%	47%
Canada	34%	37%	43%

Table 7: Male share of all adults (16+ yrs)

	Not Indigenous	Indigenous, no evidence mixed ancestry	Mixed ancestry Indigenous
Atlantic	51%	51%	58%
Quebec	50%	52%	52%
Ontario	50%	51%	54%
Manitoba	57%	53%	52%
Saskatchewan and Alberta	60%	49%	52%
British Columbia	71%	50%	52%
'Unorganized'	86%	48%	51%
Canada	52%	50%	52%

Table 8: Ever married share of women 25-39 years			
	Not Indigenous	Indigenous, no evidence mixed ancestry	Mixed ancestry Indigenous
Atlantic	71%	88%	89%
Quebec	74%	86%	62%
Ontario	69%	83%	81%
Manitoba	83%	88%	83%
Saskatchewan and Alberta	89%	97%	89%
British Columbia	83%	94%	85%
'Unorganized'	78%	91%	86%
Canada	72%	90%	85%

Table 9: Ever married share of men 25-39 years			
	Not Indigenous	Indigenous, no evidence of mixed ancestry	Mixed ancestry Indigenous
Atlantic	59%	82%	66%
Quebec	71%	77%	58%
Ontario	61%	74%	72%
Manitoba	56%	74%	67%
Saskatchewan and Alberta	57%	88%	78%
British Columbia	41%	84%	64%
'Unorganized'	24%	90%	83%
Canada	61%	81%	72%

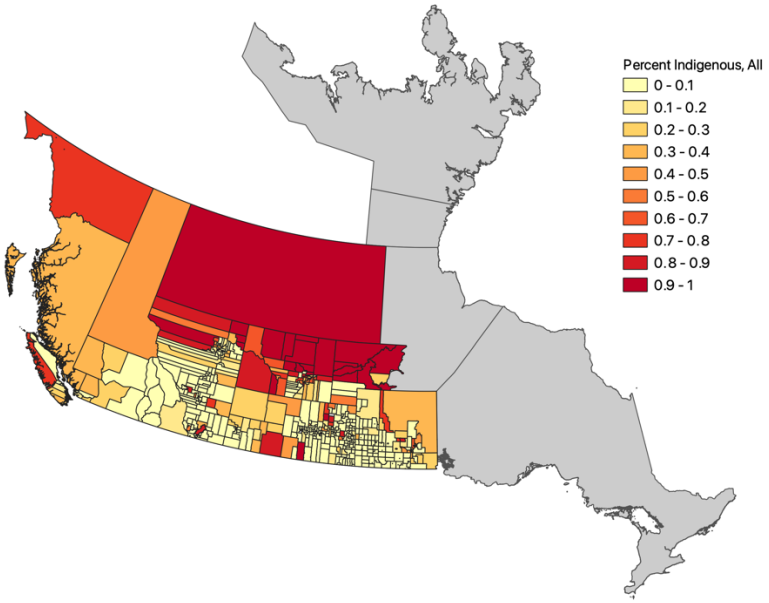


Figure 1: The percent of the 1901 population that is Indigenous in the Western Canada. Grey areas are included for parts of the territories and Ontario, for reference. The scale runs from 0-1, where 1 represents 100%.

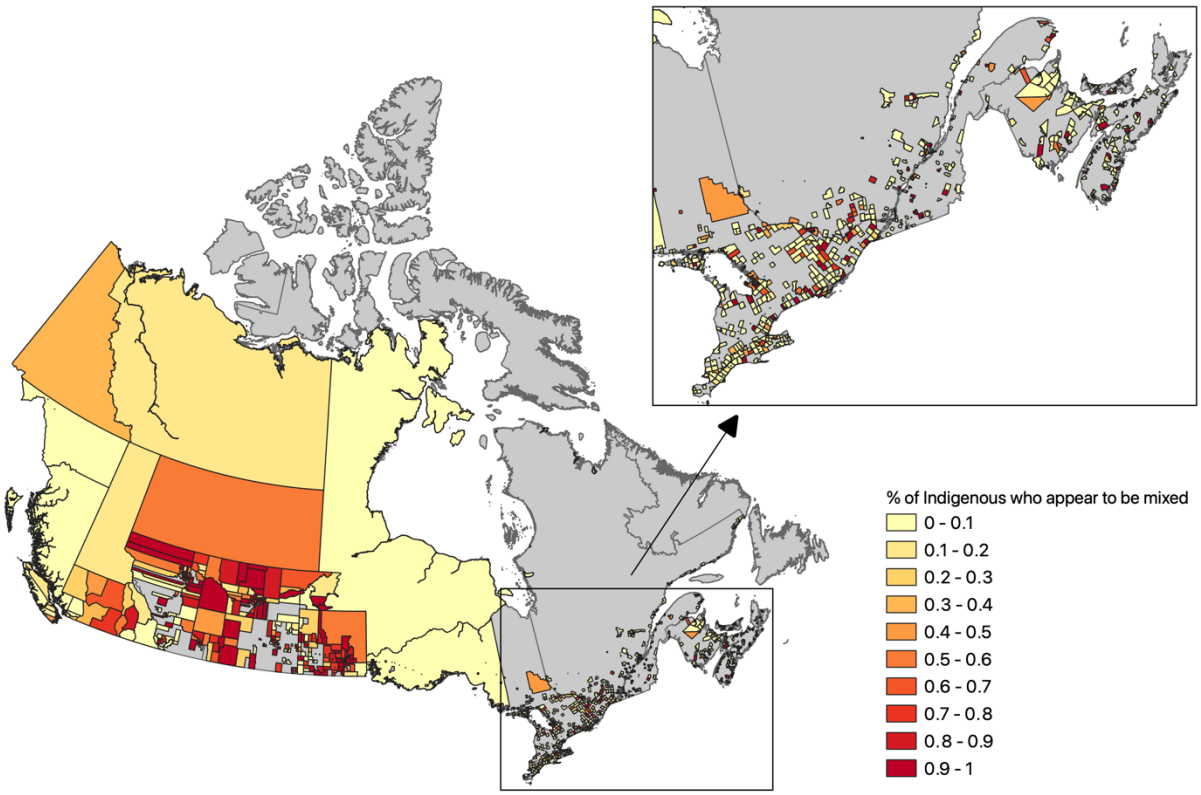


Figure 2: The percent of Indigenous people identified in the 1901 census who appear to be of mixed ancestry, by census subdivision. Grey areas are those with no data or no Indigenous people identified in the 1901 census. The scale runs from 0-1, where 1 represents 100%.

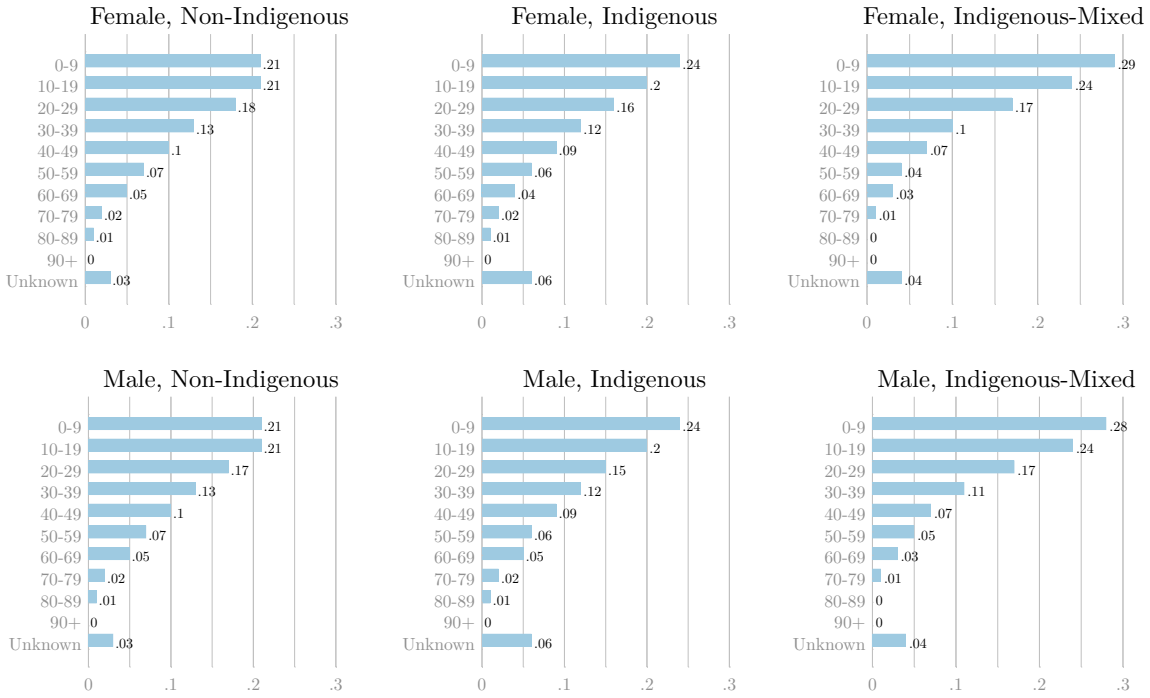


Figure 3: Age distributions by sex for individuals in the 1901 census who are non-Indigenous, Indigenous, and Indigenous people with mixed ancestry. Age distributions for individuals of unidentified sex are reported in the Appendix.

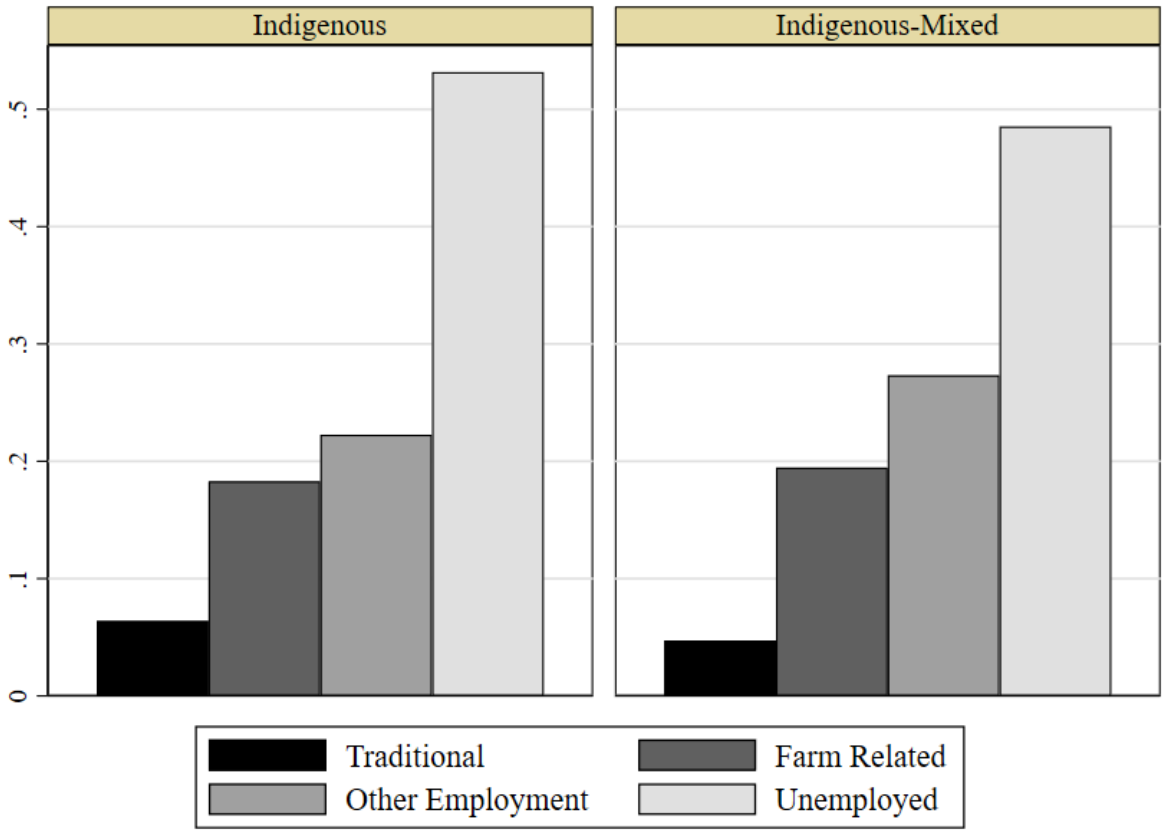


Figure 4: Occupations by Indigenous identity for individuals who were enumerated on Schedule 1 in the 1901 census.

Appendix: Types of census enumeration forms, 1901 Census of Canada

Table A1: Fields or categories of information collected for each individual on alternate schedules of the 1901 census

Schedule 1	Population By Names Schedule
Dwelling number	Dwelling number
Family number	Family number
Name	Name
Sex	Sex
Colour	Colour
Relation to head of family	Relation to head of family
Marital Status	Marital Status
Month and date of birth	
Year of birth	
Age at last birthday	Age at last birthday
Country or place of birth	Place of birth
Year of immigration to Canada	
Year of naturalization	
Racial or tribal origin	Racial or tribal origin
Nationality	
Religion	Religion
Occupation	
Living on own means	
Employer	
Employee	
Working on own account	
Working at trade in factory or home	
Months employed in factory	
Months employed at home	
Months employed in other occupation	
Earnings from occupation or trade	
Extra earnings from other than chief occupation	
Months at school in year	Months at school in year
Can read	Can read
Can write	Can write
Can speak English	Can speak English
Can speak French	Can speak French
Mother tongue (if spoken)	Mother tongue (if spoken)
Infirmities	Infirmities

Figure A1: Sample Schedule 1 of the 1901 Census of Population

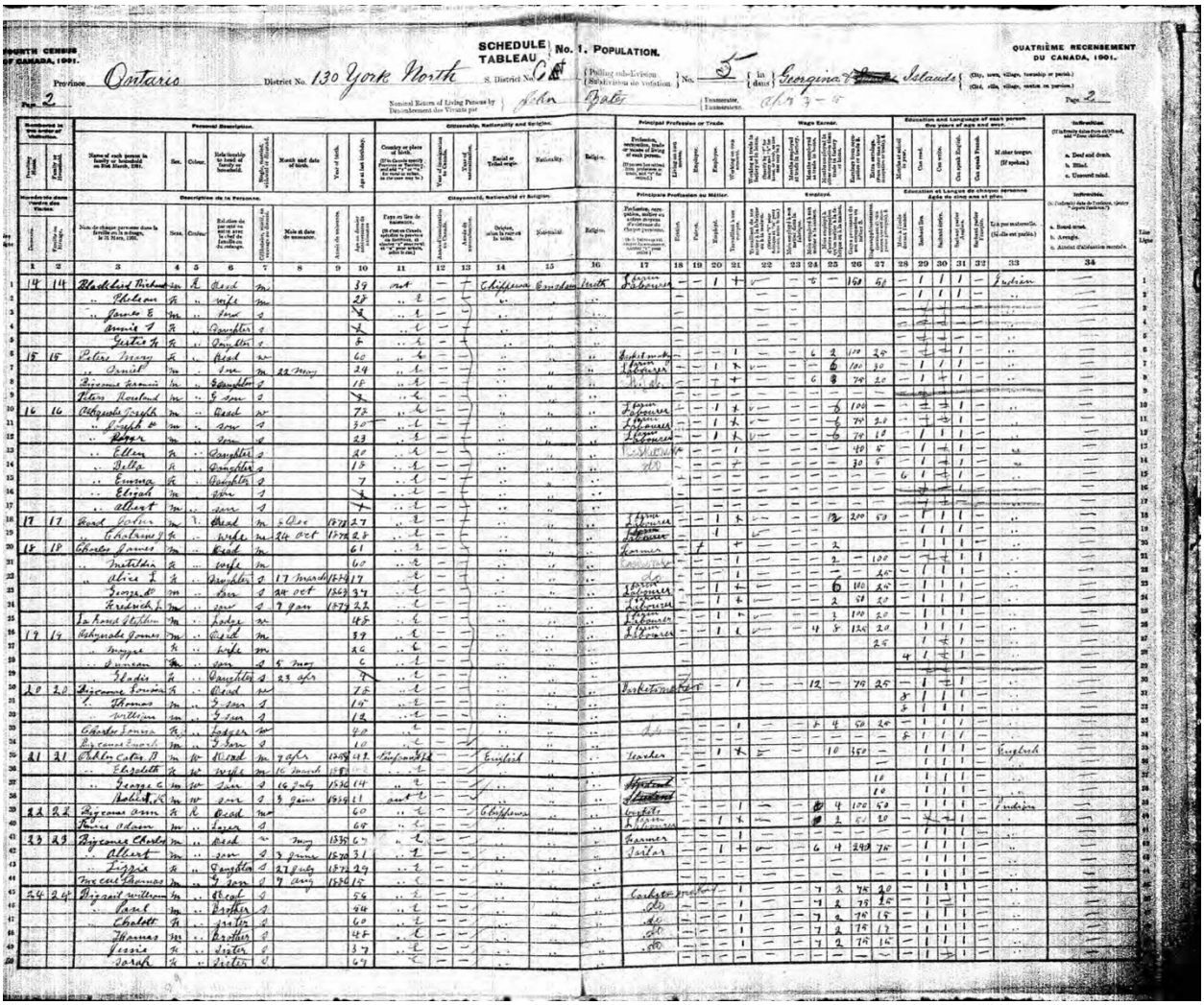
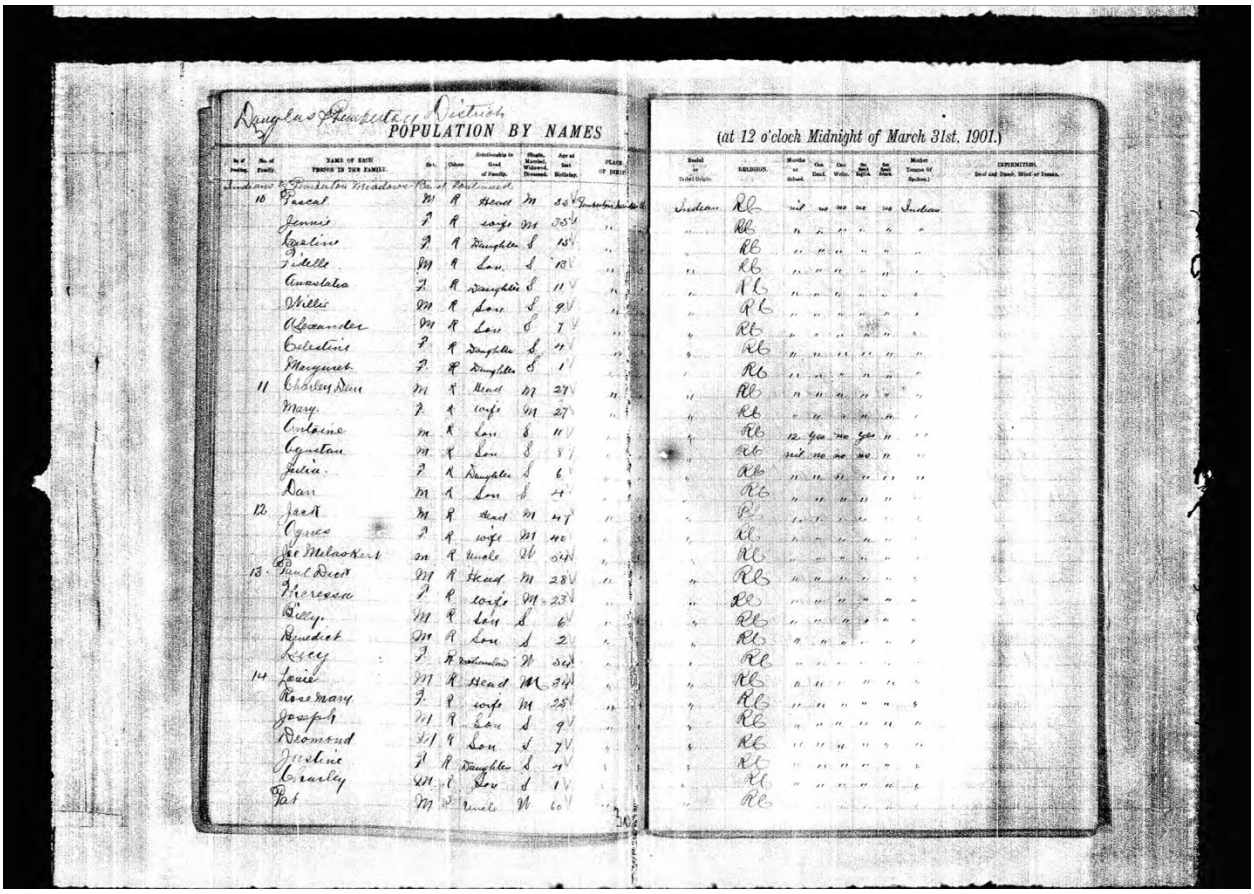


Figure A2: Sample Population by Names Schedule



POPULATION BY NAMES

(at 12 o'clock Midnight of March 31st, 1901.)