Sites of Truth, Sites of Conscience

Unmarked Burials and Mass Graves of Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children in Canada

INDEPENDENT SPECIAL
INTERLOCUTOR

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Unmarked Burials and Mass Graves of Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children in Canada

Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor for
Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites
associated with Indian Residential Schools

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CONTENTS

The information in this report may be upsetting for some because it contains content, including images, relating to the deaths and forced disappearances of children at former Indian Residential Schools and other institutions. If you require immediate support, please contact the following: The Indian Residential School Survivors Society's 24/7 Crisis Support Line: 1-800-721-0066 The 24-hour National Indian Residential School Crisis Line: 1-866-925-4419

INTRODUCTION

Sites of Truth, Sites of Conscience: Tracing the Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children in Canada

> The temptation to rewrite history for political purposes is irresistible for governments in some countries....These backlashes for the struggle for the right to truth, and, thereby, for evidence...are reminders that human rights, such as the right to know and the right to justice, are not given once and for all after they have been achieved but have to be defended...by every new generation....[T]he principles and ideals of the right to history and the right to the truth are universal....The writing of history has always been a battlefield, but only archives can ensure that the historical debate can take place on an informed basis.[1]
>
> —Jens Boel, Perrine Canavaggio, and Antonio González Quintana

The Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) provides indisputable historical evidence of genocide, crimes against humanity, and mass human rights violations in the Indian Residential School System.[2] The supposedly benevolent goal of assimilating Indigenous Peoples into settler colonial Canadian society proclaimed by government leaders, church officials, and bureaucrats for well over a century masked a more sinister reality. Thousands of Indigenous children were subjected to violence, abuse, disease, and neglect in these institutions, and many of them died. Their death rates were far higher than those of non-Indigenous school-aged children. When they died, government and church officials often did not return the children to their families and communities for burial. They were buried instead in cemeteries at the institutions, often in unmarked and mass graves that were

sometimes dug by other children. Many of these cemeteries and burial sites are neglected, abandoned, and unprotected. Families were provided with little information about what happened to their children.[3]

The TRC's findings are now widely accepted in Canada. However, as the quotation above cautions, the process of critically examining a country's history to promote truth, accountability, justice, reparations, and reconciliation is easily disrupted. Those who reject a more accurate account of national history do so by denying, minimizing, or only partially acknowledging the magnitude of the harms and wrongdoing committed by the State against Indigenous Peoples in the Indian Residential School System. Yet even a cursory examination of government and church archival records shows that this denialist interpretation is fundamentally incorrect. Jens Boel, Perrine Canavaggio, and Antonio González Quintana observe that "history cannot be reduced to patriotic celebrations. The healing begins with the acknowledgement that painful chapters are essential parts of history; archives then play a crucial role by providing evidence, thereby enabling scholars and citizens to get closer to the truth."[4]

The primary purpose of this Report is not to prove that these atrocities happened or that Canada is responsible. The TRC's comprehensive and definitive findings have already done so. The Commission also cautioned that the work to locate, recover, and commemorate the missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials is incomplete. This Report builds on the TRC's work, expanding on the anti-colonial lens of Indigenous Peoples' right to truth, justice, and reparations based on international human rights law and the legal principles that framed the TRC's Final Report. Understanding the scope and scale of State wrongdoing and harms makes clear that there is an ongoing need for reparations relating to the missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials.

The chapters in this Report, based primarily on evidence gathered from the government's and churches' own archival records, reveal how systemic settler colonial patterns of genocide operate. These patterns underpin the institutional systems and structures—the laws, policies, and bureaucratic practices—of the Indian Residential School System, with devastating impacts on the lives, deaths, and burials of Indigenous children who were forcibly transferred to these and other institutions by various officials. These institutional systems and structures foster a culture of individual and collective impunity that shields perpetrators from full accountability for their actions.

Canada is by no means the only country where impunity has limited truth, accountability, and justice for victims of the State. In a comparative study of the role of archives in supporting and advancing human rights in several countries with histories of atrocity, Boel, Canavaggio,

and Quintana note that amnesty for wrongdoers "is often just a way of burying the past and forcing people to 'forget' the crimes perpetrated, at the expense of victims and their families."[5] They point out that the practice of granting amnesty to perpetrators began to shift in the 1990s, "with the emergence, at the international level, of the principles of the right to truth, justice and reparation" and the Inter-American Court of Human Rights' ruling that "the State has the obligation to use all the legal means at its disposal to combat impunity... since impunity fosters chronic recidivism of human rights violations and total defencelessness of victims and their relatives."[6] However, dismantling a culture of impunity is challenging not only because those in power avoid accountability for their actions but also because widely held societal beliefs that victims are somehow inferior provides a rationale that justifies perpetrators' dehumanizing behaviours.

HISTORICAL CONTEXT

The history of Indigenous Peoples' individual and collective resistance to various government strategies, including the Indian Residential School System, to eliminate them as distinct Peoples and to remove them from their lands is well documented in the TRC's Final Report[7] and in academic studies. For example, Arthur J. Ray observes that, after the Northwest Resistance in 1885:

> the federal government redoubled its efforts to assimilate Native people into the dominant white culture. Their plan had two components, both aimed at destroying the viability of Native societies. The first outlawed key cultural institutions, and the second sought to "re-educate" aboriginal children. The policies implemented by politicians and Department of Indian Affairs bureaucrats at this time amounted to a plan for cultural genocide. They were put into effect in a particularly heavy-handed fashion in the West, where officials still regarded the Plains and coastal nations as potential threats to orderly settlement.[8]

Throughout history, settler colonialism has perpetuated the "othering" of Indigenous people and communities. This has sometimes taken the form of characterizing Indigenous people as the "noble savage" or "vanishing Indian" and often falsely categorizing Indigenous people as dangerous and as threats to morality and social order. At times, these harmful settler narratives have targeted Indigenous Peoples as a threat to the physical security of Canada and Canadians. Even before Canada became a nation in 1867, this image of Indigenous people as dangerous was well established and later shared by Canadian government officials.

Daniel Francis notes that, in 1906, "Duncan [Campbell] Scott, as a twenty-six-year veteran of the Indian department...had already formulated the image of the Indian he would hold for the rest of his career."[9] That year, Scott reinforced this image in an article published in *Scribner's Magazine*, writing that "in the early days the Indians were a real menace to the colonization of Canada." Scott suggested that if Indigenous people had joined forces "they might have annihilated the colonies 'as easily as a child wipes pictures from his slate."[10] Scott claimed that Indigenous people were "full of force and heat...ready to break out at any moment in savage dances, in wild and desperate orgies in which ancient superstitions were involved with European ideas but dimly understood and intensified by cunning imaginations inflamed with rum."[11]

This racist and derogatory perception of Indigenous people as dangerous formed the basis of the Indian Residential School System itself. The TRC pointed out that, in Scott's view, "the schools were a source of social order, and that 'without education and with neglect the Indians would produce an undesirable and often a dangerous element in society.'"[12] Government and church officials justified (and continue to justify) their efforts to regulate and control Indigenous Peoples by claiming that their resistance to assimilation is evidence that they pose a dangerous threat to Canadian society. As Indigenous scholars Gina Starblanket (Cree/Saulteaux) and Dallas Hunt (Cree) point out, "the assumptions that Indigenous people are deficient because they refuse or 'fail' to assimilate and the construction of Indigenous deviance through tactics like criminalization, pathologization, and other strategies...render Indigenous people as dangerous anomalies in our own lands."[13] In other words, Canada criminalizes and pathologizes the actions of Indigenous people, including children, rather than viewing their resistance as an understandable response to the ongoing State violence and human rights violations they experience within Canada.

The history of the shift to a "child welfare" model of child removal policies by the State after the late 1940s, and its impacts on Indigenous children sent from the Indian Residential Schools to other institutions, was part of "the state's increasingly interventionist approach to child welfare in Native communities, which resulted in more and more removals of Native children from their families, creating further conflicts—such as the destructive 'sixties scoops'—still with us today."[14] While Canadian society began a transition away from carceral and punitive approaches to social control and towards the supposedly more humanitarian approaches of the welfare state, this had a negligible impact on government policies relating to Indigenous Peoples. Joan Sangster explains, for example, that "after World War II, the social work community urged governments to integrate Native peoples into the welfare state, offering them equality through assimilation."[15] Although assimilation was promoted as a pathway towards equal rights and citizenship for Indigenous people, child removal policies remained

draconian and firmly embedded in unequal power relations, racist, discriminatory attitudes, and institutional systems and structures of settler colonialism.

Writing about the changes in the policies of the Department of Indian Affairs in Canada in the early 1950s—changes that might appear to signal Canada's movement away from assimilative policies—Andrew Woolford and Wanda Hounslow note that "a loosening in one locality can often mean a tightening in another, or simply a redirection or adaptation of assimilative energies."[16] Rather than rejecting the long-standing policy of forced assimilation that characterized the Indian Residential School System, along with the racist and discriminatory attitudes towards Indigenous Peoples that gave rise to it, the policy simply took on new forms. Across different federal and provincial jurisdictions, whether an Indigenous child was in an Indian Residential School or one of the many other carceral institutions, the goal remained the same; the assimilationist policy was enforced with similar zeal by Department of Indian Affairs officials and those working in the child welfare, health-care, and justice systems across the country.

ENFORCED TRANSFERS AND TRACING THE MISSING AND DISAPPEARED CHILDREN

The mass human rights violations committed against generations of Indigenous children, their families, and communities extends beyond the abuses and loss of identity and culture that they endured in the Indian Residential School System. Similar conditions existed in the many other institutions that Indigenous children were forcibly transferred to by various officials. Viewed through the lens of international human rights laws and legal principles, this ongoing systematic violence is evidence of genocide and crimes against humanity. Indigenous children in these institutions did not simply go missing; rather, under international human rights law, they were disappeared through the deliberate actions of politicians, senior government and church officials, Indian Agents, Indian Residential School principals and staff, child welfare officials, police officers, and judges and magistrates in the juvenile and criminal courts on behalf of the State.

As victims of enforced disappearances, children were forcibly transferred between institutions. It is important to note that the concept of "force" is understood broadly in international law to include various forms of coercion and pressure and not just physical force. In Canada, under the *Indian Act*, which unilaterally made Indigenous people legal wards of the State, parents had little control over where and when their children were transferred.[17] These decisions were made by officials under the authority of a State that sought to remove Indigenous

Peoples from their lands and assimilate Indigenous children into Canadian society and the settler colonial economy. In 2000, the Law Commission of Canada's report on institutional child abuse described the Indian Residential School System, schools for the deaf and blind, mental health institutions, reformatories, and other places where Indigenous children were sent as "total institutions" and explained their devastating impacts:

> This term refers to institutions that seek to re-socialize people by instilling them with new roles, skills, or values. Such institutions break down the barriers that ordinarily separate three spheres of life: work, play, and sleep. Once a child enters, willingly, or not, almost every aspect of his or her life is determined and controlled by the institution. Total institutions are not simply places to live; each is a world unto itself. In this world, those who are in charge hold all formal power...[and they] impose[d] the following conditions on their residents: disconnection; degradation; and powerlessness....Disconnection means experiencing a sense of both physical and psychological isolation....Degradation [included] gross physical punishment and beatings...humiliation, discrimination, [and] the constant message that "you're no good and will never amount to anything."...The scars of such treatment may not be visible, but the damage is as real as in the cases of physical and sexual abuse....Power in an institution...is not reflected in the equitable enforcement of fair and explicit rules. It is reflected in the infliction of suffering on arbitrary grounds, the meting out of punishment disproportionate to the misconduct, or the imposition of rigid and overly harsh rules that make compliance a hardship and punishment a virtual certainty.[18]

The Indian Residential School System had links to a wide range of other total institutions. Despite their different functions, they shared common assimilative goals, and those who worked in them had similar attitudes about Indigenous people. The actions they took concerning Indigenous children reflected the widely held racist societal belief that Indigenous people were inferior and that their lives and deaths somehow mattered less than those of the non-Indigenous population.

UNGRIEVABLE AND UNTRACEABLE LIVES

The callous disregard for the missing and disappeared children who were transferred from place to place, disorienting and traumatizing them in the process, is telling. It speaks

volumes about how Indigenous lives were (and are) systematically dehumanized and devalued both in life and in death by Canadian society. Their lives are considered to be what Judith Butler describes as "ungrievable." According to Butler, a grievable life is a valuable life[19]—a person "whose humanity is recognized, celebrated and deemed worthy of protection."[20] By contrast, "an ungrievable life is one that cannot be mourned because it has never lived, that is, it has never counted as a life at all."[21] When particular groups of people are seen as a threat to civilization, or as a potentially unmanageable demographic problem, they are defined as the "other," and their humanity becomes obscured.[22] Butler explains that this leads to:

> a specific exploitation of targeted populations, of lives that are not quite lives, cast as "destructible" and "ungrievable." Such populations are "lose-able," or can be forfeited precisely because they are framed as being already lost or forfeited; they are cast as threats to human life as we know it, rather than as living populations in need of protection from illegitimate state violence, famine, or pandemics. Consequently, when such lives are lost, they are not grievable because in the twisted logic that rationalizes their death, the loss of such populations is deemed necessary to protect the lives of the "living."[23]

How does this concept of ungrievability apply to the missing and disappeared children and how they were treated after death? Anishinaabe scholar Veldon Coburn explains that the ungrievability of Indigenous lives is linked to apathy.[24] Apathy towards the lives and deaths of Indigenous children is reflected in the attitudes held by non-Indigenous people, including government officials, church leaders, the staff who ran the Indian Residential Schools and other institutions, and the police officials who apprehended them. This apathy shapes people's perceptions and moral responses and "has implications for why and when we feel compassion for one population, but detachment and indifference for another."[25] It is a social phenomenon of settler colonialism that rendered Indigenous children in the care of the State and churches invisible, voiceless, and disposable.[26] From this perspective, Indigenous children's deaths were seen as a "lamentable" necessity to facilitate the White European settlement of Canada.[27] When viewed as potentially dangerous and as a threat to individuals, to the Canadian nation, and to civilization itself, the lives and deaths of Indigenous people and their consequent burials became ungrievable. Once seen as ungrievable, Indigenous people's lives and deaths were devalued and commodified; officials were more concerned with keeping burial costs to a minimum than with ensuring that the deceased children and their families were treated with human dignity and respect. The lives of the children were not only ungrievable, but they were all too often untraceable.

Augustine S.J. Park connects Butler's concept of ungrievability to Patrick Wolfe's concept of settler colonialism to argue that "the logic of elimination that animates settler colonialism renders Indigenous death 'ungrievable'. Indigenous life is derealised as not quite human and Indigenous populations are exposed to precarity, which are structural conditions that bring about their destruction."[28] Based on Survivors' accounts of children's deaths in the Indian Residential School System, Park identifies the following three patterns of ungrievability in these institutions:

> **1. Deaths Produced by Indian Residential Schools**
>
> Many [S]urvivors' stories document death from illness or disease, which reflects the statistical reality; however, [S]urvivors' narratives of living with the death of peers are profoundly marked by the sense that deaths from illness could have and should have been prevented. As such, while disease may have been the culprit, [S]urvivors clearly perceived neglect, disregard and indifference as the principal accomplices....From the perspective of these [S]urvivors, therefore, death by disease was neither neutral nor natural, but very much a function of the rendering of Indigenous life as ungrievable and materialised in acute and systemic failures to act in the interest of preserving children's lives.[29]
>
> **2. The Denial of Grief**
>
> Survivor narratives also express the ungrievability of Indigenous life precisely in the denial of grief. Just as IRS [Indian Residential Schools] produced death in wide-ranging ways, the denial of grief was manifest in various ways. Specifically, I have identified the denial of information and the denial of emotion as two modalities of the denial of grief because children were not informed of a situation that might elicit grief and/or were not provided with an opportunity to express grief. In particular, the death of children's family and community members was met with ungrievability. Many [S]urvivors express being deeply marked by the failure of staff to inform them of deaths of loved ones. While it is now well established that families and community members were often not told about deaths of children at IRS, it appears that the reverse is also true, i.e. that children at the schools were not informed of deaths in their communities, including of their own parents or siblings. This denial of information profoundly

> expresses the derealisation of Indigenous life as not quite life and thus not a loss to be mourned.[30]
>
> **3. Disrespect for the Dead**
>
> The final pattern of ungrievability...is disrespect for the dead, which was manifest in oral histories in three principal ways: disappearing remains, improper treatment of remains, and inappropriate treatment of burial sites....[T]hey are...important because they speak so acutely to the rendering of Indigenous life as ungrievable through the treatment of dead Indigenous bodies as unworthy of the respect accorded to the body of a life that "matters"....Some [S]urvivors recall staff deceit in relation to children who had died, specifically questioning staff claims that children who had fallen ill had been returned home, asserting instead that children had died and their bodies disposed of....Some [S]urvivors also talk about the improper treatment of remains [such as] students being required to move a graveyard for unknown reasons...[and the] improper treatment of the...dead children....Finally, [S]urvivors talk about the inappropriate treatment of burial sites...and the need to properly memorialise children who lost their lives by understanding those lives as grievable.[31]

Park argues that settler Canadians must respond to the missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials not solely in emotional terms. Rather, they must also take action to decolonize, restructure, and transform settler colonial society in ways that reject the logic of elimination and recognize instead that Indigenous lives, just like their own, have value. They too are grievable.[32] From this perspective, settlers can work in solidarity with Indigenous Peoples as part of the broader anti-colonial project to "strike at the eliminatory heart of settler colonialism."[33]

As Park points out, Indian Residential School officials denied information both to other children at the institutions about their siblings and friends who died there and to the families of children who died about their deaths and burials. They also failed to inform the children about the deaths of family members and denied them opportunities to grieve their losses. The many ways in which Indigenous children were devalued and commodified in Indian Residential Schools and associated institutions makes it clear that their lives and deaths were expendable and ungrievable in the Canadian public mind. When children were transferred to a different institution, neither they nor their families were given much, or sometimes any, information or explanation; officials made life-changing decisions about them without them.

In these institutions, officials acted with impunity, secure in the knowledge that Canadian law and policy protected their actions. This is evident in the lack of care and accountability that many officials expressed in the way that they kept, or did not keep, written records relating to children's lives, deaths, and burials. Although a significant number of records are now available, thousands more remain inaccessible, and this denial of information continues.

OVERVIEW

The *Missing Children and Unmarked Burials* volume of the TRC's Final Report focused on cemeteries at the former Indian Residential School Sites recognized in the *Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement* (*IRSSA*).[34] This Report expands on the Commission's work by reframing these cemeteries as sites of truth and conscience and examining more closely the enforced transfers of children from Indian Residential Schools to various other institutions where children were also disappeared. The TRC emphasized that documenting the histories of the Indian Residential School cemeteries "must give priority to community requirements and knowledge....The generally sparse written documentation must be combined with locally held knowledge. Often, this information will be unwritten, and held by Survivors, the family of Survivors, staff, or local residents. This locally held information can be used to verify, correct, and amplify archival information."[35]

The TRC envisioned that the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation would support Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities to document every former Indian Residential School cemetery, developing comprehensive Indigenous-led community-based investigations and histories of each site.[36] However, almost 10 years after the Commission released its Final Report in 2015, this work remains in its early stages. It will take years to complete the histories of these sites of truth and conscience and other cemeteries at institutions excluded from the IRSSA and at other institutions where Indigenous children were sent. Over the past two years, the barriers to tracing the missing and disappeared children through this maze of interconnected institutions to locate, recover, and commemorate them have become apparent. As Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities gather evidence from Survivors' testimonies and other oral history accounts, forensic ground searches and investigations, and archival records, understanding how these institutions functioned together is critical to finding the missing and disappeared children. The institutions associated with the Indian Residential Schools each have their own histories of violence, brutality, racism, and dehumanizing attitudes and actions towards the Indigenous children in their custody and care. However, little is known about the deaths and burials of Indigenous children at these institutions.

This Report is not intended to be the last word on a very complex history; rather, it should serve as a catalyst for further research to support search and recovery work led by Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities. It investigates the circumstances surrounding the lives, deaths, and burials of a small representative sample of children. Tracing their life histories through the documents and correspondence of various officials reveals certain patterns. Some children died of disease, abuse, neglect, or other acts of violence at Indian Residential Schools and were buried in their cemeteries. Others were transferred, often without parental knowledge or consent, from an Indian Residential School to other institutions such as Indian hospitals, sanatoria, psychiatric institutes, homes for unwed mothers and delinquent girls, reformatories, juvenile detention centres, penitentiaries, and prisons. They often died alone in these institutions without their parents or other family members to comfort them and were buried far away from their homes and communities (see Figure 1).

Chapter 1 focuses on the Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds as sites of truth and conscience—documented sites where Indigenous children are known to be buried. It builds on the findings of the TRC relating to the missing children and unmarked burials to examine how Indigenous children in the care of the State and churches were dehumanized after death. Using archival site plans, maps, and correspondence, it illustrates how officials anticipated and planned for these deaths. It examines the harmful impacts of cost-savings and convenience as the main drivers of government burial policies and the lack of government oversight and accountability to families and communities. The desecration of Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds was both planned and predictable.

Figure 1. The forcible transfer of children from Indian Residential Schools (created by the Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor).

Chapter 2 is a case study of the Good Shepherd Homes, a national network of institutions for girls and women, with transnational connections to Europe. The religious orders that

ran these institutions focused on establishing "homes for unwed mothers" and housing "troubled" girls or "delinquent" offenders sent there by Indian Residential School officials or by the courts. The philosophy of these institutions reflected prevailing patriarchal social attitudes about women, class, race, and poverty. While White working-class women and girls were impacted by these attitudes, Indigenous women and girls were further disadvantaged because they were also viewed by settler society in racist terms as morally suspect and dangerously promiscuous. The rationale was that, while Indigenous women and girls needed protection from society, they were also a threat to social order and must be supervised and managed accordingly.

Chapter 3 examines how the government sought to maintain tight social and economic control over Indigenous children, moving them in and out of the Indian Residential School System through the "outing" or "working out" system and by arranging marriages. It then focuses on health-related institutions such as hospitals, sanatoria, psychiatric institutions, and institutes for children with disabilities. Finally, it examines the links between the Indian Residential School, child welfare, and juvenile and criminal justice systems. It specifically considers how Indigenous children, who were labelled "dangerous," were transferred to penitentiaries, prisons, juvenile detention centres, and reformatories.

ON THE LIFE HISTORIES OF THE CHILDREN IN THIS REPORT

Throughout this Report, wherever possible, the voices and experiences of the children, their families, and communities are reflected in the life histories of those who were directly impacted by these institutions; they bear silent witness to the harmful impacts and devastating consequences that these places had on their lives. Recounting these life histories based primarily on government and church archival records is extremely difficult; they describe Indigenous children and their families in racist, derogatory terms that are hurtful to read. Yet it is necessary to expose the ugly truth about what happened to them. These children were treated with cruel inhumanity and a fundamental disregard for their safety and well-being in life, a pattern of devaluing their humanity that continued after their deaths.

The records included in this Report document the movements of a small number of the thousands of missing and disappeared Indigenous children, exposing the attitudes and behaviours of those responsible for the atrocities and harms they suffered. The truths of many more life histories remain untold. This Report relies on both publicly available and restricted records; however, these have significant gaps and limitations and do not provide a full account of these children's life histories. In trying to convey the experiences of individuals, their families, and

their communities, care has been taken to honour the full truth of their life histories while also respecting their privacy. The following naming convention has been adopted:

- In the case of people who have lived, and events that have occurred, more than 100 years ago, the names of individuals, communities, and institutions and the dates of events as they appear in the records are used.
- In the case of life histories that have become public knowledge—for instance through publication in an article, a book, or online—the names of individuals, communities, and institutions and the dates of events as they appear in the records are used.
- In the case of events that have occurred in the last 100 years, and where information might identify a person, place, family, community, or event that has not been identified in some published form, care has been taken not to reveal any identifying or sensitive information. To protect the privacy of the children, their families, and communities, fictitious names are used.

Reframing this history through an anti-colonial lens of international law and legal principles reveals how systemic settler colonial patterns of genocide and a culture of impunity shaped the laws, policies, and everyday practices of government, church, and various other institutional officials. Exposing these records, as painful as it is to read them, is integral to upholding the right of Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities to know the truth about what happened to the missing and disappeared children. It is also a powerful antidote to denialism and will help Canadians to understand why truth, accountability, justice, and reparations are essential to reconciliation. In reading this Report, it is important to keep in mind that the descriptions of the missing and disappeared children that exist in these archival records do not represent who they were in life. In life, they were little children, vulnerable and subject to inhumane circumstances beyond their control. Yet they were also strong; their small acts of everyday resistance in these institutions are testament to their courage and resilience. Each of them must be honoured and remembered in this way.

1 Jens Boel, Perrine Canavaggio, and Antonio González Quintana, "Introduction," in Jens Boel, Perrine Canavaggio, and Antonio González Quintana, eds., *Archives and Human Rights* (London: Routledge, 2021), 6.

2 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015). The terms "Indian Residential Schools" and "Indian Residential School System" are used to refer to the institutions, including "federal hostels," that were funded by the Canadian government and administered by various church entities for the direct purpose of removing First Nations, Inuit, and Métis children from their families and communities to forcibly assimilate them within Canada. Some have chosen to drop the use of the term "Indian" from "Indian Residential Schools" and instead use the term "Residential Schools" on the basis that the inclusion of the term "Indian" may provide the incorrect impression that Inuit and Métis children were not forced to attend these institutions. The system that was set up and imposed on Indigenous Peoples, however, was formally and legally known as the "Indian Residential School System." The Independent Special Interlocutor chooses to use the historical and formal name for two reasons: (1) it emphasizes the explicitly racist intent of this system; and (2) it differentiates them from private boarding schools. The term used is in no way meant to deny or diminish the experiences of any Survivors of Indian Residential Schools, whether First Nation, Inuit, or Métis.

3 TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children and Unmarked Burials*, vol. 4 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 1–2.

4 Boel, Canavaggio, and González Quintana, "Introduction," 5.

5 Boel, Canavaggio, and González Quintana, "Introduction," 21.

6 Boel, Canavaggio, and González Quintana, "Introduction," 3, 21, citing *Case of the "White Van" (Paniagua-Morales et al. v. Guatemala,* IACtHR (Merits) (March 8, 1998), para. 173.

7 See, for example, TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1: Origins to 1939*, vol. 1 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 112–31.

8 Arthur J. Ray, *I Have Lived Here since the World Began: An Illustrated History of Canada's Native People* (Lester Publishing and Key Porter Books, 1996), 222.

9 Daniel Francis, *The Imaginary Indian: The Image of the Indian in Canadian Culture*, 2nd ed. (Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press, 2011), 198.

10 Quoted in Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 198.

11 Quoted in Francis, *Imaginary Indian*, 198–99.

12 TRC, *The History, Part 1,* 235; Sarah Carter, *Lost Harvests Prairie Indian Reserve Farmers and Government Policy* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1990), 200; Sarah Carter, *Aboriginal People and Colonizers of Western Canada to 1900* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2003), 161; Sarah Carter, *Capturing Women: The Manipulation of Cultural Imagery in Canada's Prairie West* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1997), 8, 14–15, 25, 103, 123, 136, 147, 190, 201.

13 Gina Starbanket and Dallas Hunt, *Storying Violence: Unravelling Colonial Narratives in the Stanley Trial* (Winnipeg: Arbeiter Ring Publishing, 2020), 78.

14 Joan Sangster, "'She Is Hostile to Our Ways': First Nations Girls Sentenced to the Ontario Training School for Girls, 1933–1960," *Law and History Review* 20, no. 1 (2002): 60.

15 Joan Sangster, *Girl Trouble: Female Delinquency in English Canada* (Toronto: Between the Lines, 2002), 148.

16 Andrew Woolford and Wanda Hounslow, "Criminology's Time: Settler Colonialism and the Temporality of Harm at the Assiniboia Residential School in Winnipeg, Canada, 1958–1973," *State Crime Journal* 7, no. 2 (2018): 216.

17 *Indian Act*, SC 1876, c. 18.

18 Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions* (Ottawa: Minister of Public Works and Government Services, 2000), 22–26.

19 Judith Butler, *Frames of War: When Is Life Grievable?* (London: Verso, 2016), 25.

20 Claire Windsor, "The Impersonal Is Personal: Missing and Murdered Indigenous Women through the Lens of Roberto Esposito's Third Person" (Paper presented at Western University's Undergraduate Awards, 2015), 18.

21 Butler, *Frames of War,* 38.

22 Butler, *Frames of War,* x–xi.

23 Butler, *Frames of War,* 31.

24 Veldon Coburn, "Why Are the Deaths of Indigenous Women and Girls Ungrievable?" *Policy Options,* June 11, 2019, n.p. https://policyoptions.irpp.org/magazines/june-2019/why-are-the-deaths-of-indigenous-women-and-girls-ungrievable/.

25 Coburn, "Why Are the Deaths," n.p.

26 Coburn, "Why Are the Deaths," n.p.

27 Jodi A. Byrd, *The Transit of Empire: Indigenous Critiques of Colonialism* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2011), 38. As Jodi Byrd (Chickasaw Nation) explains, "the lamentable is pitiable, but not remediable. It is past and regrettable. Grieving, on the other hand, calls people to acknowledge, to see, and to grapple with the lives lived and the...suffering."

28 Augustine S.J. Park, "Settler Colonialism and the Politics of Grief: Theorising a Decolonising Transitional Justice for Indian Residential Schools," *Human Rights Review* 16 (2015): 274.

29 Park, "Settler Colonialism," 281.

30 Park, "Settler Colonialism," 282–83.

31 Park, "Settler Colonialism," 284–86.

32 Park, "Settler Colonialism," 290.

33 Park, "Settler Colonialism," 291.

34 *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*, Schedule N, May 8, 2006, reprinted in TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, Appendix 1.

35 TRC, *Missing Children*, 136.

36 For a comparative example of a Survivor-led model of forensic investigation and historical documentation of a cemetery, see, for example, Erin Kimmerle, *We Carry Their Bones: The Search for Justice at the Dozier School for Boys* (New York: Harper Collins, 2022). It documents the process of investigating the violent history of the deaths and unmarked burials of Black boys at the Florida State Reform School, also known as the Arthur G. Dozier School for Boys that operated from 1900 to 2011.

CHAPTER 1

Indian Residential School Cemeteries as Sites of Truth and Conscience

By the time I moved back to Shubenacadie in 1985 after an absence of 20 years I was beginning to be ready to confront the past. From my car on the Maitland Road leading to the town of Shubenacadie, I could see the empty school on the hill. "The Resi" as we called it had been shut down for 19 years through the efforts of the Indian Brotherhood (now known as the AFN [Assembly of First Nations]). I took some photographs from my car because I felt afraid that the priests and nuns could still be watching out of the now broken windows. A "No Trespassing" sign posted out front deterred me from entering the building that first day. When the pictures were developed, I showed them to former students and the intensity of their memories and flashbacks startled me. They remembered even more than I had allowed myself to remember. I returned to the derelict school several times and finally took pictures of every room. The images helped to jog the memories of former students, their families and tribal members. The code of silence that was imposed on us as children was beginning to break and stories began flooding in.

—Isabelle Knockwood, Survivor[1]

My arrival at St. Michael's was full of fear and confusion as I moved from a place of community and safety to one of anxiety....We know that this brick schoolhouse, and others throughout the country, became houses of pain and grief for children. At St. Michael's, the small open area at the foot of the basement stairway would become infamous for its gross violation of human rights against children. Abuse

> of a sexual, physical, and psychological nature, even torture, became prevalent. Children learned to live with broken limbs, children were placed in isolation in black closets often for days, and some children had needles pushed through their tongues when they spoke their own language....Let us always remember the approximately 150,000 Indigenous children who languished in the over 130 residential schools that operated. Top of mind at the moment are the growing numbers of unmarked graves found on former residential school sites.
>
> —Kwinkwinxwaligedzi Wakas, Chief Robert Joseph, Survivor[2]

The buildings, burials grounds, and cemeteries on the sites of former Indian Residential Schools are etched deeply in Survivors' memories. Once places of silence and suffering, they are now sites of truth. Once places of brutal violence and genocide, they are now sites of conscience. Survivors can never forget the memories of trauma and death held in these sites; now Canada and all Canadians must do likewise. A site of conscience holds truths about the past and memories of injustice that must be exposed, acknowledged, remembered, shared, and learned from so this will never happen again.

Justine Lloyd and Linda Steele note that "by operating outside of formal legal and political process and forums of justice, sites of conscience can foreground the leadership and perspectives of those with lived experience and engage broader communities in relations of accountability."[3] Describing the Parramatta Girls Home Memory Project to establish a site of conscience on the site of the former Parramatta Girls Home in New South Wales, Australia, they note:

> One of the buildings at PGH [Parramatta Girls Home] is to become a Stolen Generations Keeping Place led by survivors and the Stolen Generations Council. In these ways, the Memory Project highlights the importance in settler-colonial nations of sites of conscience frameworks recognizing Indigenous and First Nations connection to Country as foundational to and intrinsic to doing justice through place. Sites of conscience frameworks should support Indigenous and First Nations knowledges, sovereignty, and self-determination, and provide opportunities for truth-telling and reparations, including in the context of the dispossession of Indigenous and First Nations people via settler invasion and settlement.[4]

In Canada, Indian Residential Schools are institutional sites of truth that are also sites of conscience. Together with Survivors' accounts and archival records, the maps, drawings, and photographs of former Indian Residential School sites in this chapter are evidence of

genocide and mass human rights violations. Sarah de Leeuw says that "maps are records of how spaces designated for colonial incursion were first imagined to be and then made to be by colonial subjects....Embedded in maps, then, are a series of ideologies and imaginations about what was being represented. Maps of residential school sites offer an entry point into discussions about the school spaces that would eventually materialize."[5] Canadians must ask themselves hard questions about the ideology and imagination that envisioned, for example, the Cariboo (St. Joseph's Indian Residential School) in Williams Lake, British Columbia, where:

> both the cemetery and the children's playground spaces were situated on the edge of the property. The playground was situated downhill from and in front of the school buildings, which looked over the playground space. Not unlike the spatial constructions of almost all schools, including non-residential schools, this location situated students within the gaze of educators and adults....The cemetery, an aspect of the Cariboo school yard that was certainly not a component of non-residential, Non-Aboriginal, schools in British Columbia, was perched at the highest elevation of the site, rendering it visible to the entire school and lending a suggestion of finality, an ultimate ascent, and thus a constant reminder that, for some, St. Joseph's Residential School was a place of permanent habitation.[6]

The representative histories of former sites of Indian Residential Schools and the cemetery grounds that were accepted as necessary features of these institutions are detailed in this chapter. As the *Canadian Geographic* map shows, there are hundreds more; each one is a site of truth, each one is a site of conscience (see Figure 1.1).[7]

This chapter is focused on the Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds as sites of truth and conscience—documented sites where Indigenous children are known to be buried. It builds on the findings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) relating to missing children and unmarked burials with a focus on:

- The dehumanization of Indigenous children after death;
- The impacts of cost-savings and convenience as the main drivers of government burial policies;
- The lack of government oversight and accountability to families and communities; and

- How the desecration of Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds was both planned and predictable.

Figure 1.1. *Canadian Geographic*'s Unmarked Burial Sites Map shows some of the locations of unmarked burials that have been identified to date. New sites are being added to the map as research into unmarked burials continues (*Canadian Geographic*). https://pathstoreconciliation.canadiangeographic.ca/unmarked-graves-and-burial-sites/#mainmap

There are many oral histories, Survivor accounts, and records that attest to the brutal and irrefutable reality that Indigenous children were taken to Indian Residential Schools and were never returned home. Six representative examples of Indian Residential School cemeteries or burial grounds, with images of records documenting the deaths of children, are included in this chapter. The histories of 14 other Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds across Canada are included in Appendix A.

BUILDING ON THE WORK OF THE TRC

> The importance of truth telling in its own right should not be underestimated; it restores the human dignity of victims of violence and calls governments and citizens to account.
>
> —TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children*[8]

The existence of unmarked burials of missing and disappeared Indigenous children is a well-established reality in Canada. In volume 4 of the TRC's Final Report, entitled *Missing Children and Unmarked Burials*, the TRC began the important work of recording and analyzing the number of deaths of children at Indian Residential Schools. It concluded that "the failure to establish and enforce adequate standards, coupled with the failure to adequately fund the schools, resulted in unnecessarily high death rates at residential schools."[9] In the course of its work, it also documented some of the cemeteries that were established as part of the Indian Residential School System. Based on this work, the TRC concluded that there is a high probability that there are unmarked burials associated with every Indian Residential School site across the country. It also found that:

- Children were often sent to and died at other institutions, such as sanatoria, Indian hospitals, reformatories, and industrial schools;[10]
- The policies and laws to protect children at Indian Residential Schools were either not in place, slow to be implemented, or rarely enforced;[11]
- There were many different causes of death of children who were forced to attend these institutions including diseases, neglect, mistreatment, and criminal acts;[12] and
- There was a need for further work to locate, protect, and commemorate Indian Residential School cemeteries and the unmarked burial sites of the children and to find a way to identify those children once they are recovered.[13]

The TRC made clear that there were significant limitations to its work,[14] and it issued Calls to Action 71–76 "to serve as a framework for a national strategy for the documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries" in order "to properly honour the memory of the children who died in Canada's residential schools."[15] In the nine years since the TRC issued Calls to Action 71–76, very little has been done by the Canadian State and the churches to implement these Calls.

Families and communities whose children died while in the care of the State and churches experienced multiple harms. First, the children were forcibly taken to these institutions where they experienced significant mistreatment, abuse, and neglect. Second, families were often not notified of their children's injuries or illnesses or if they had been transferred to another institution from the Indian Residential School.[16] Third, families were often not notified of a child's death, burial, and location of their grave.[17] Fourth, these families were not able to perform the appropriate ceremonies to honour their children so that their Spirits could journey to join their ancestors. Finally, those families and communities who have not yet found their children

still do not have answers or a way to properly commemorate and honour them. These multiple harms are layered, one on top of the other, and continue to cause ongoing trauma to families and communities as they search for the missing and disappeared children.

Planning for the Deaths of Children at the Shingwauk Indian Residential School

The first Shingwauk Indian Residential School building was in Garden River, Ontario, and burned down within days of its opening in 1873. A second building was built in Sault Ste. Marie and opened in 1875.[18] In 1879, the Wawanosh Home for Girls was constructed near the Shingwauk institution.[19] A cemetery on the grounds of the Shingwauk institution was part of Principal E.F. Wilson's plans even before the first child died there. In the July 1876 Algoma Missionary News, Wilson wrote that he had "set apart 'God's Acre', a little spot, retired, peaceful, on a gentle slope, near to a little lake, surrounded by a thick growth of young fir [*sic*] trees and birch. It is only a chain square, and our boys have built a stone wall around it" (see Figures 1.2 and 1.3).[20]

Figure 1.2. Hand-drawn map with a legend that shows the Shingwauk Indian Residential School cemetery, file 469-1, part 1, vol. 6211, RG10, Library and Archives Canada [LAC]).

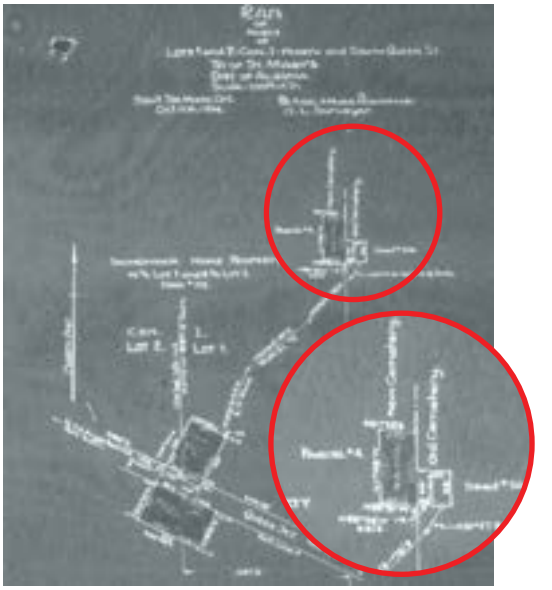


Figure 1.3. Shingwauk site plan with legend that shows the Indian Residential School's cemeteries at top right, where the words "Old Cemetery" and "New Cemetery" are clearly visible, file 469-9, vol. 6213, part 1, RG10, LAC).

The article in the *Algoma Missionary News* is one of many records that describes the deaths of children at Shingwauk. The article "notes that there were at that time three graves, those of Hannah Weezhoo of Walpole Island, aged 13; Solomon Corning of the Sarnia Reserve, aged eight; and that of a young woman, a nurse in Mr. Wilson's family."[21] There are several records across many different archives about Hannah Weezhoo's death. She was likely known to her family as Naswah-bequa or "Looking Three Ways." Naswahbequa was one of the first children at the second institution, having been sent there in 1874, just after it opened. Archival records indicate that she died of a brain illness on January 30, 1876, and was buried on February 2. She was the first child to be buried in the Shingwauk cemetery (see Figure 1.4).

Figure 1.4. Photograph of Elise Muhnedoowahs, Hannah Weezhoo (likely seated right front), Eliza Jane Bird, and Lizzie Greenbird, 1875. The girls are probably named from left to right as they are shown in the photo (Engracia de Jesus Matias Archives and Special Collections, Algoma University Archives).[22]

A description of Naswahbequa's death, funeral, and burial is contained in a letter written by Shingwauk's matron in the *Dominion Churchman* in 1876. Her grave was originally marked with a wooden marker, which has long since been lost. The location of Naswahbequa's grave is no longer known (see Figure 1.5).[23]

DOMINION CHURCHMAN. 187

1876, for the purpose of conferring with the Committee on matters of great importance affecting the interests of the Home. He returned to Sault Ste. Marie March 20th.

The Committee after long and anxious conference with Mr. Wilson have arrived unanimously at the following resolutions:—1. That it is most undesirable to continue the present arrangement which necessitates the dwelling under one roof of young persons of both sexes, very recently removed from a life of barbarism in the forest. 2. That the young girls now growing up into womanhood, require the love, the sympathy, and motherly care of a Christian lady, who will make it her work in life to care for and to train them. 3. That an effort be made to raise immediately the sum of £700 for the purpose of erecting and furnishing a substantial building of stone for a Girl's home on such a site as Mr. Wilson may select, and not so distant from the present home as to preclude Mr. Wilson from rendering to the Lady Superintendent the advantage of his experience and counsel. 4. That Mr. Wilson be authorized to provide a temporary home for the girls, in a building to be rented at the rate of not more than £40 per annum, for their reception after the summer holidays. 5. That inquiries be made for a Christian lady to be engaged at a salary of not less than £30 per annum, exclusive of board and lodging, to take the charge of the girls' department in the separate building.

The Committee would venture to assure the friends and kind supporters of the Home, that they have not come to the conclusions expressed in these resolutions without prayerful and careful consideration of all that has been laid before them. They will not enter into any details with regard to the very grave difficulties and dangers that are found practically to attend any attempt to bring up such boys and girls as are the inmates of the Home, on the same premises and in the same house. The Committee are unanimously of opinion that the attempt must be abandoned. After consulting with friends whose experience has been gathered in different lands and during many years, they are confirmed in the conclusion they have arrived at, that, if both boys and girls are to be received, and educated, and trained, two separate establishments must be maintained. The Committee cannot take upon themselves the responsibility of advising that the present arrangement be continued after the approaching holidays.

Are then the girls at present in the Home to be told that after the summer vacation they are not to return? The Committee believe that the friends of the mission would not have endorsed such a policy. They accordingly appeal for support and assistance to enable them to carry out the plan indicated in the resolutions passed at the last meeting of the Committee. It may be well to state that the proposed arrangement will include the enlargement of a workroom and examination, and thus enable the Lady Superintendent to devote much of her time to the mental and spiritual culture of the children. Several of the girls at present in the Home will be found sufficiently advanced to render much assistance in household work.

That the institution has commended itself and its work to the public is shown by the steady support it is receiving; but these new arrangements will necessitate to some extent, an increase of expenditure. It cannot be doubted that many Sunday Schools and individuals will be found ready, as heretofore, to charge themselves with the support of these poor and friendless children. What is now required is the capital fund to be employed in the erection of the proposed new building. The Committee believe that in taking the present step in advance, they are following the leadings of God's providence. They believe that He who has hitherto prospered their undertaking in such a marvellous manner will not allow the work now to languish for want of means.

Most earnestly do the Committee appeal for liberal assistance that all burden of doubt and anxiety may be removed from the hearts of those dear friends who are devoting themselves with so much zeal and so much love to the cause of the poor Indian children.

Contributions in England may be paid to the Treasurer, the Rev. Daniel Wilson, 9, Barnsbury Park, Islington; or to Mrs. Meadow, office of "Missionary Leaves," 15, Baker Street, Reading; and in Canada to the Rev. E. F. Wilson, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario.

Shingwauk Home.—We have received from the Rev. Mr. Wilson of Sault Ste. Marie, the following letter, and notice of the death of one of the Indian pupils in the Home. It will doubtless be read with interest by our juvenile readers, many of whom in the Sunday Schools in this city assist in supporting pupils at the school. Mr. Wilson recently visited England to make arrangements for enlarging and rendering more complete his admirable establishment, and we are happy to report his safe return, after his perilous voyage out per "Corsessian":—

"Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, March 20th, 1876.—I arrived here safely yesterday afternoon, after rather a hard time of it, battling with the deep snow. My own horse and sleigh met me at Cheboygan (in Michigan) 85 miles from here, and it took us three days to get home. We had to camp in the snow one night as there was no house within 15 miles when night overtook us.

"Your Sunday School children will be very sorry I am sure to hear of poor little Hannah's death. It occurred on the 20th of January, just 10 days after I had left on my trip to England. The little girl had several lasting fits and died quite suddenly. As I am very much pressed for time just now I think it best to enclose you a letter which I received from our Matron while I was in England, which gives full particulars. Please return it to me when you have done with it—and would you kindly also give information to St. John's School about Hannah's death."

The following is the Matron's letter:—"Shingwauk Home, February 1st, 1876. —Dear Mr. Wilson, I feel so grieved that my first letter to you should contain such bad news as an account of Hannah's illness and death, on the 20th ult. She had the first attack in school; I did not see her till it was just over; on the 21st another one. I saw her directly; it was partial unconsciousness, but not like fainting, as she was not cold after these two attacks; she looked very strange about the eyes, scarcely ever spoke, and when she walked she groped about as if not certain about the use of her limbs; it was not like staggering from weakness, and as each day passed, the attacks came on more frequently, always complaining of her head, as if something were moving on the top of her head. Dr. Ralph saw her on the 24th, and said there was no cause to be alarmed, it was a kind of hysteria; however I felt very uneasy, especially when the attacks came on during the night. Before breakfast on the 29th she had a very bad one, lasting about 20 minutes, and I could not get her to rally till I gave her brandy; then Adam went to fetch Dr. Ralph, who assured me there was no reason for alarm. I told him I was sure she would die. I was most uneasy, and watched her very narrowly; on the 30th she was with me all the morning, sat down to dinner with the others, and ate all that was on her plate, she went upstairs to lie down, and I left the Sunday School class to look at her, and one of the girls sat with her. When tea was ready I sent for her, and Alice fetched me to her, as she had partly fallen down when Annie Peters was helping her across the dormitory. I bathed her head with vinegar and water, applied mustard poultices to the back of her neck and the calves of her legs, and put her feet in mustard and water—useless efforts; the poor child went to her Saviour at half-past six. She passed away very quietly and without a struggle. We buried her this morning in the cemetery, (how often I thought of your remarks about choosing a burial ground) a very quiet funeral, the six bearers had white sash tied under their arm, and all the children had white badges; they sang "Shall we Gather" as sweetly going up to the grave.

We are getting on as well as we can expect in your absence, but we are wanting you every hour in the day; it seems like months since you left instead of two weeks; we often talk of you.

I am glad to say the children are all very good, and work quite as willingly as when you are at home.

3rd Feb.—This morning at eight the thermometer was 27° below zero. Mahoodeshish, when left alone for a few moments, trotted off to his stable, not liking such intense cold.

I hope you will bring us back plenty of contributions in clothing; oh dear! if all our kind friends should see the big patches on all the clothes; the little boys seem always to want their knees and elbows patched.

I have the elder girls in the workroom, to a little reading amongst ourselves every Friday evening; but we sadly miss your explanations and comments, but God will help us to do our best till your return. The children in your Sunday School class are all very good and attentive.

Mrs. Wilson and I go over the accounts every week; we often laugh over it and are doing our best to keep all straight, we are very particular to draw a line at the end of each week; I wonder how you have the patience to get through them all; the gain from the laundry for January is $13.36.

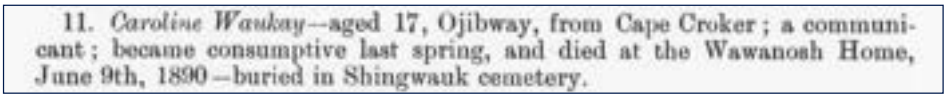
We find all the little new arrangements to work very nicely; our difficulty is to appoint the workers each week, that all may have their fair share of work. I think Hannah a great help to the school, he sets such a good example, and is always willing to help. We are not catching so many rabbits just now."

[We are sure these accounts from Algoma will be read with much interest by every one; they show that the "Home" is a reality, and is fulfilling its exceedingly valuable object.—Ed. Dom. Churchman.]

RUPERT'S LAND.

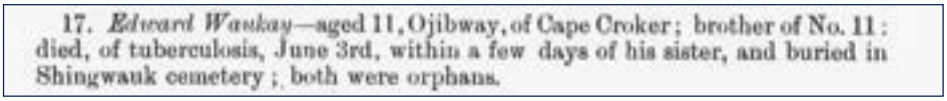
Figure 1.5. Extract from *Dominion Churchman*, April 20, 1876, 187.

Information about the children buried at Shingwauk is contained in many different documents across multiple archives. There is information about the identity of some children buried in the Shingwauk cemetery and at other Indian Residential Schools in the *Annual Reports* of the Department of Indian Affairs in the Government of Canada's Sessional Papers, including the following examples from 1890 (see Figures 1.6, 1.7, and 1.8).



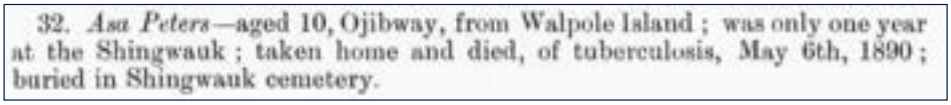
11. *Caroline Waukay*—aged 17, Ojibway, from Cape Croker; a communicant; became consumptive last spring, and died at the Wawanosh Home, June 9th, 1890—buried in Shingwauk cemetery.

Figure 1.6. Excerpt from *Our Indian Homes Annual Report, 1890* (Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario: Shingwauk Home for Boys and Wawanosh Home for Girls, 1891), 10.



17. *Edward Waukay*—aged 11, Ojibway, of Cape Croker; brother of No. 11: died, of tuberculosis, June 3rd, within a few days of his sister, and buried in Shingwauk cemetery; both were orphans.

Figure 1.7. Excerpt from from *Our Indian Homes Annual Report, 1890,* 10.



32. *Asa Peters*—aged 10, Ojibway, from Walpole Island; was only one year at the Shingwauk; taken home and died, of tuberculosis, May 6th, 1890; buried in Shingwauk cemetery.

Figure 1.8. Excerpt from from from *Our Indian Homes Annual Report, 1890,* 11.

In later years, death registrations with Ontario Vital Statistics also document the burials of children at the Shingwauk Indian Residential School cemetery. (see Figure 1.9) None of the wooden crosses that marked the graves of the children who died are still standing.[24] Krista McCracken notes that this "was a huge loss as no formal records noting burials or plot locations have been located for this cemetery. As with many Indian Residential School cemeteries, the number of students buried and the names of all the students buried in the cemetery are unknown."[25] Search and recovery work is ongoing to identify all the children who died at the Shingwauk Indian Residential School and the Wawanosh Home for Girls and to find all the unmarked burials on the sites where these institutions were located (see Figure 1.10).

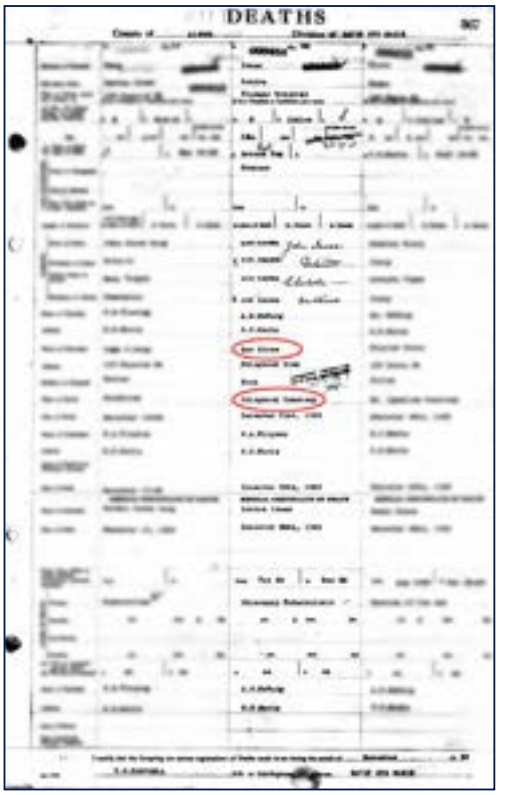


Figure 1.9. Image of the death registration of Louise Isaac, shown in the centre of the page.[26] The informant on this death registration is Reverend Charles F. Hives, who was the principal at Shingwauk from October 1929 into the early 1940s[27] ("Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869–1948, Ontario, Canada," Ancestry.ca).

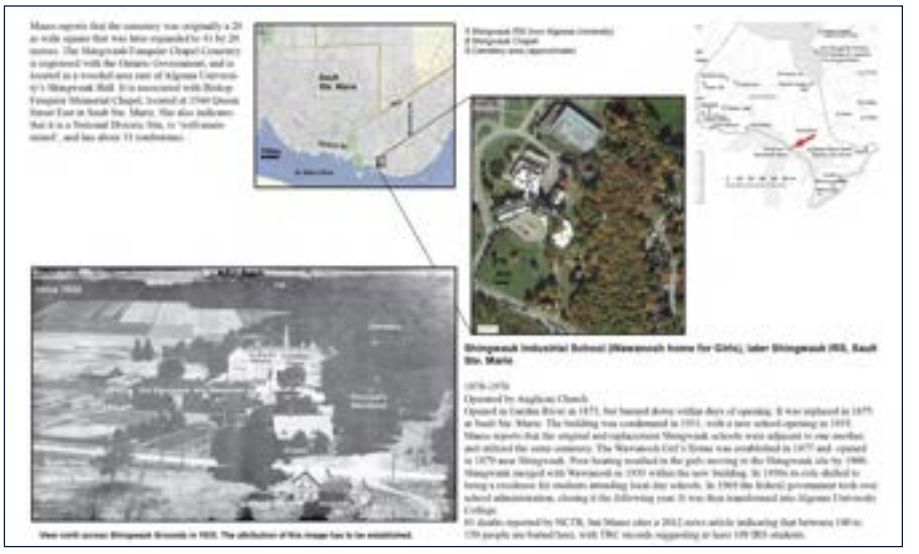


Figure 1.10. Extracts showing archaeological information relating to Shingwauk and its cemeteries (Scott Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected to Support Indian Residential School Cemeteries Investigation Conducted in 2013 and 2014 on Behalf of the Indian Residential Schools Truth and Reconciliation Commission*, unpublished report, 2021) ; see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

DEHUMANIZING INDIGENOUS CHILDREN AFTER DEATH

> Many, if not most, of the several thousand children who died in residential schools are likely to be buried in unmarked and untended graves. Subjected to institutionalized child neglect in life, they have been dishonoured in death.
>
> —TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children*[28]

Throughout its history, Canada's segregated Indian Residential School System dehumanized the children in life and after death. The horrific conditions that the children were subjected to during their lives resulted in many of their deaths.[29] The sections below illustrate the ways in which children were mistreated, disrespected, and dehumanized after their deaths at Indian Residential Schools.

Deaths Were Foreseeable and Known by the Government

The TRC concluded that the conditions at Indian Residential Schools contributed to a very high death rate among the children forced to attend these institutions. The poor conditions were a direct result of government policies and included the lack of sufficient nutrition, contaminated food, poor sanitation systems, medical experimentation, unsafe infrastructure, overcrowding, neglect, harsh discipline and treatment, and physical, sexual, mental, and spiritual abuse. Government officials knew about the deplorable conditions at these institutions as early as 1907.[30] Indigenous children forced to attend Indian Residential Schools died at a much higher rate than school-aged children in the general population.[31] The children taken away from their families and placed in these institutions died from many causes, including infectious illnesses,[32] organ diseases,[33] hemorrhages,[34] suicide,[35] injuries, and accidents.[36] Children also died in fires due to faulty construction,[37] the lack of safe fire escapes, and sufficient planning.[38]

Many children died while trying to get away.[39] The TRC documented that some children ran away from Indian Residential Schools to escape being sexually abused and to avoid the harsh discipline exerted by those people who operated these institutions.[40] The TRC concluded that "discipline was harsh and unregulated; abuse was rife," and it described the treatment of children as "institutionalized child neglect."[41] Survivor accounts and oral histories also support the conclusion that children may have been killed deliberately either through willful neglect or murder.[42]

Cemeteries Were Part of the Design of Indian Residential Schools

> [It] seems like a crime that the country would institutionally construct a system wherein children were likely to die. They built schools that were designed—that had cemeteries attached to them. Who builds a school and puts a cemetery next to it?
>
> —Andrew Martindale[43]

From the beginning of the Indian Residential School System, church and government officials planned for the deaths and the burials of the children at their institutions. The TRC found that Christian burials were the norm at most institutions, particularly in the early years of the system.[44] It also concluded that most Indian Residential School cemeteries were informally created and unregulated.[45] The TRC noted that "most of the initial Canadian residential schools were part of broader missionary campaigns to convert Aboriginal people to Christianity."[46] Mission villages often included a church building, a hospital or infirmary, residences for missionaries, farming and gardening buildings, pastures and fields, a school building, and a mission cemetery.[47] When the Indian Residential School was part of a mission village, the children who died were frequently buried in the cemetery that was shared with the rest of the village. In these cases, the children were buried alongside members of the local community, missionaries, and institutional staff.[48]

Indian Residential Schools that were not located within a mission village often established cemeteries on the property where the institution stood. In many cases, deaths were foreseen and included in the design of the Indian Residential School, with a cemetery being identified in the building blueprints of the institution's site plan—evidence that it was both known and expected that the children who would be taken to these institutions would die and never be returned home.

Criminal and Inhumane Treatment of Children's Remains: Furnaces and Incinerators

> There was a young girl...she was pregnant from a priest there....she had her baby, and they took the baby, and wrapped it up in a nice pink outfit, and they took it downstairs...they took the baby in the...furnace room, and they threw that little baby in there and burned it alive. All you could hear was [this little cry, like] "Uuh!" and that was it.
>
> —Irene Favel, Survivor[49]

Survivor testimonies, oral histories, and documentary records confirm that furnaces and incinerators were used at many, if not most, Indian Residential Schools for various purposes, including to heat the buildings.[50] Many testimonies and oral histories confirm that children witnessed babies being wrapped in blankets and burned in the institutions' furnaces:[51]

> One of my friends brought me here when I started day school. Showed me this steel drum that was here, the incinerator. And he was saying, "This is where they ...they burn all the little children, the little babies, that are born." They were thrown into the incinerator...and they were burnt there.[52]

There can be no denying the truthfulness of Survivors' testimonies and oral histories about the incinerators due to the repetition and similarity amongst Survivors who were taken to the same institution. This is what John Borrows refers to as "internal cross-referencing"—the confirmation and accuracy of oral history when truths are repeated by different community members or members of a group.[53] Similarly, truthfulness is confirmed due to the repetition of these accounts across Canada at many different Indian Residential Schools.[54] This repetition confirms the fact that these horrific acts were occurring across the Indian Residential School System with impunity. One participant at a National Gathering on Unmarked Burials made the following statement:

> People speak about babies, born in those schools. People that went there spoke about hearing babies in the nighttime, morning, evening. And back then they had furnaces, eh? With wood. And we hear stories that there was a baby. You would hear a baby crying for about a few minutes, but then stop. So those are issues that we still need to deal with...when we speak about issues during the time of the Residential School era, we're speaking about Spirits. The Spirit of the children. In our language, when we speak, it always has to do with the Spirit....For me, they're speaking. Those children that were buried a long time ago. Even those that were burned—the babies.[55]

Many Indigenous legal systems have protocols relating to oral history evidence, whether communal or individual.[56] A person may be authorized to speak only about their own experiences and memories, and, as a result, they may qualify or limit their accounts.[57] Where they have been entrusted with information from another person, they might share this information, only with permission and/or with advice from Elders. Where the source of the knowledge is not from one's own experiences or memories, it is important to cite the sources of the knowledge. This is what Keith Carlson describes as "oral footnoting"—the practice

of Indigenous people recounting oral history to "explain to their audience from whom they acquired their information and how."[58] People should also share the information or knowledge accurately.[59]

Through internal cross-referencing and other types of protocols, there are numerous Survivor testimonies and oral histories that indicate that children's and babies' bodies were incinerated. In order to hide such wrongdoings and criminal acts, no documentary record would likely have been created:

> In the 1920s and 1930s a lot of incidents happened [at the Marieval Indian Residential School] that were passed down through our oral history: who did what, who was where, who got murdered, who went for a walk and never came back. There were stories of murder within the School, stories of nuns throwing babies into furnaces, stories of priests coming to get the older boys to come and dig graves under the cover of darkness. So we know that there is more to this than meets the eye right now.
>
> —Vice-Chief E. Dutch Lerat, Survivor, Cowessess First Nation[60]

> He said there was some babies thrown in the incinerator. It was like he was...he was crying...crying for those babies. Well, we just stood there and cried.
>
> —Jill Harris, Survivor, Former Chief of Penelakut a Hul'qumi'num[61]

The purposeful omission of written records has meant that search and recovery efforts to find the missing and disappeared children, including those burned in incinerators, requires the ongoing, urgent collection, and cross-referencing of oral history evidence.[62]

The Differential Treatment of Indigenous Children's Burials

The TRC documented the differential treatment of Indigenous children compared to the children of missionaries and institutional staff.[63] The TRC's Final Report noted, "In some cases, student and staff graves were treated differently. At the Spanish, Ontario, school, the graves of staff members were marked with headstones that, in the case of former priests and nuns, provided name and date of birth and death. The burial spots of students were identified only with white crosses."[64] As described below, in some cases, missionary and staff graves were exhumed and their bodies were reinterred elsewhere prior to redevelopment of the institution's grounds, while Indigenous children's burials were left unmarked and unprotected.

Racist and Discriminatory Treatment of Burials at the Sacred Heart Indian Residential School

The Sacred Heart Indian Residential School in Zhahti Kue (Fort Providence), Northwest Territories, is one of the oldest Indian Residential Schools in the North. The Roman Catholic Fort Providence mission site included the Indian Residential School and two cemeteries (for depictions of the first cemetery on the site, see Figure 1.11). The history of these cemeteries illustrates the racist and discriminatory treatment of Indigenous children. The identities and location of the burials of the children were deliberately erased, while the remains of the missionaries who worked and died at the institution were carefully cared for and commemorated.

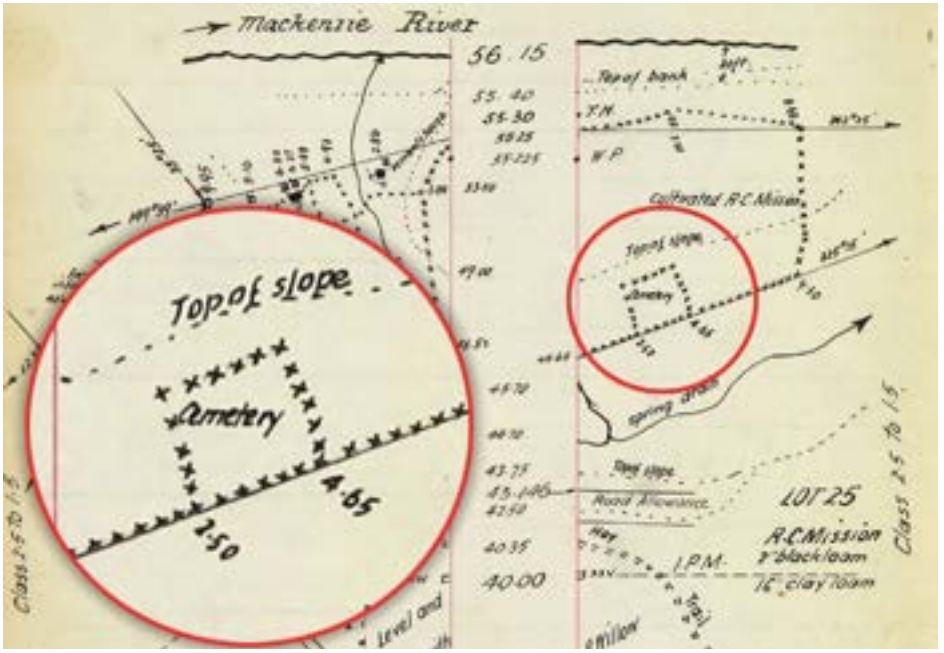


Figure 1.11. Plan of Fort Providence showing the cemetery in 1914 (file FB13887 CLSR NT, 1914, frame 14, Natural Resources Canada).

In its Final Report, the TRC found that, after the first cemetery at the Sacred Heart Indian Residential School stopped being used in 1929, "the remains of missionaries buried in that cemetery were relocated to a new cemetery, while the other remains apparently were not relocated."[65] In 1948, the fence that surrounded the cemetery was removed, and the remains of "two priests, two brothers, and four nuns" were exhumed and moved to the new cemetery.[66] Once this was done, the old cemetery and the remaining burials of at least three hundred Indigenous people, including the

burials of 161 children,[67] were ploughed and turned into a potato field by the Catholic mission as part of its agricultural operations (see Figure 1.12).[68]

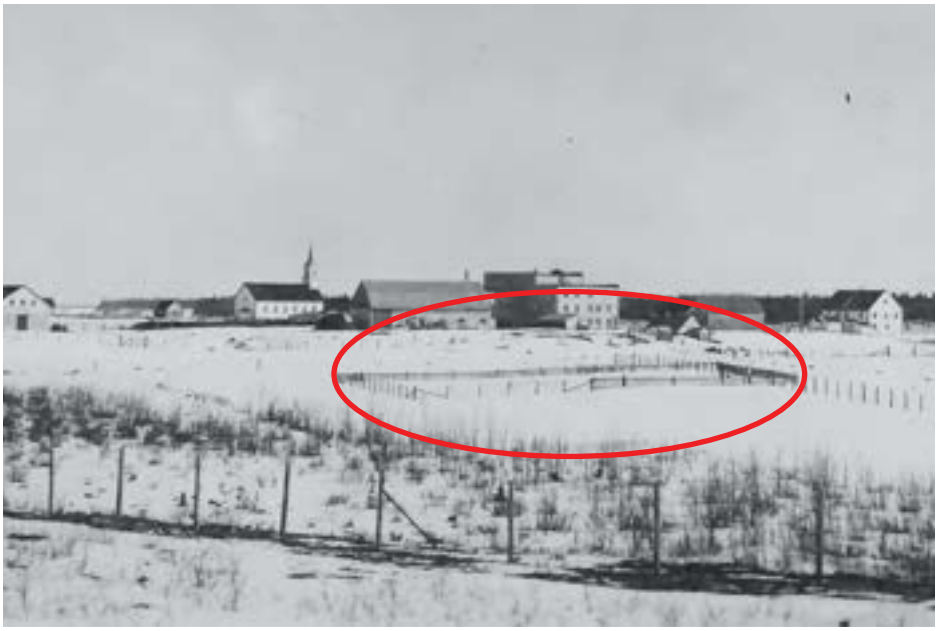


Figure 1.12. Photograph showing one of the two Fort Providence cemeteries in 1939 with Sacred Heart Indian Residential School buildings in the background (photograph album, 1939, published with permission of Deschatelets-NDC Archives, Richelieu, Quebec).

The reburial of the nuns provided a physical place for others to visit and to remember their legacy. On July 1, 1967, the Grey Nuns (the order of Sisters that helped operate the Indian Residential School) held a grand centennial event that included a procession to the new cemetery to visit the graves where their members had been reinterred. Identified and cared for, it was easy to locate these graves. As Sister Thérèse Castonguay, a member of the Sœurs de la Charité de Montréal (Sœurs Grises or "Grey Nuns" of Montreal), described:

> the attentive Bishop lead [*sic*] a pilgrimage to the cemetery recalling the memory of the four Grey Nuns buried at Fort Providence: Sisters Emélie Michon, 1896; Galipeau (Georgianna Gratton), 1898; Augustine (Joséphine Mahé) Auxiliary, in 1903 and Yves (Mathurine Legal) Auxiliary, in 1920. The Bishop gave a touching homily in honor of these great women whose selfless ministry have contributed to the growth of faith in this northern land.[69]

In contrast, the families and community members of those whose burials had been ploughed over could not easily visit their burials; instead, it took decades of work to

relocate and protect them. In 1975, when the Catholic mission buildings had been dismantled and the land was no longer used to grow potatoes, long grasses had taken over the site.[70] The following was discussed in a 1977 interview by William D. Addison with community member Jonas Lafferty about the history of Fort Providence's graveyards:

Jonas Lafferty: "The Roman Catholics got two cemeteries you know."

William Addison: "I've only found the new one then."

Jonas Lafferty: "The new one, yeah. The old one you don't see no sign of it now. It's right back of that hostel (hall). It's right, right next to it. It's all grown over now. Grass."

William Addison: "Are there any old crosses or anything left there anymore?"

Jonas Lafferty: "No, I don't think so."[71]

Even though the Fort Providence missionaries desecrated and defiled the old cemetery, it was not abandoned by the community (see Figure 1.13). Based on their personal memory, in the mid-1970s, Jean Marie LeMouel marked the corners of the old cemetery to protect and commemorate those individuals buried there. Eddie Sanderson later confirmed this location in the 1990s and marked the area of the cemetery with steel posts.

Also in the 1990s, Albert Lafferty, another community member and president of the Fort Providence Métis Council, made efforts to research and protect the cemetery from further erasure. He grew up hearing about the old cemetery from his parents, uncles, and Métis Elders. He recalled that "they would sometimes talk about the old cemetery, which was in that area and had been ploughed over and the crosses had been taken down."[72] Beginning with extensive archival research into the cemetery, Lafferty then brought archaeologists to scan the site with ground-penetrating radar. Through these collective and

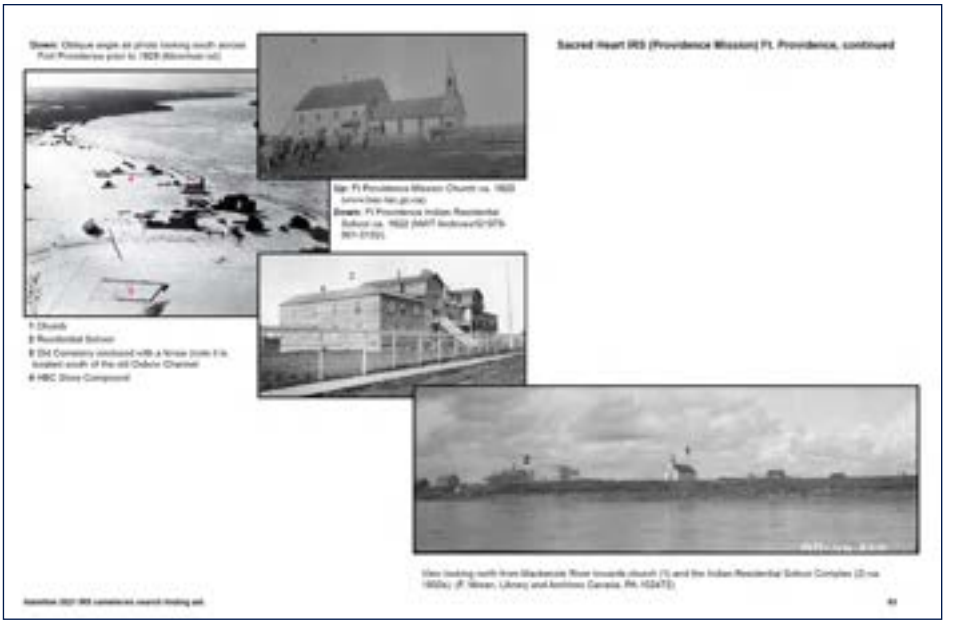
Figure 1.13. Annotated aerial photograph taken on July 12, 1930, of Fort Providence showing the location of the cemetery. Note the dark area (disturbed surface) on the field where the cemetery was located (Albert Lafferty, Chris Hugenholtz, Brian Moorman, and Thomas Andrews, "Integrating Geomatics, Geophysics, and Local Knowledge to Relocate the Original Fort Providence Cemetery, Northwest Territories," *Arctic* 74, no. 3 (2021): 407; created with photo no. A2567-11, National Air Photo Library).

persistent efforts, the old cemetery is now informally protected from future development and marked with a single permanent monument, erected in 1994, to commemorate those buried there. As Lafferty has stated, "it is a sacred area. It has meaning to us. They were our ancestors. We're the living people, the descendants today that live here in Fort Providence. It's important that this is documented and it remains preserved, sacred, and undisturbed so that there's no future development at that site" (see Figure 1.14).[73]

The work to locate all the unmarked burials associated with the former Sacred

Figure 1.14. Monument commemorating the unmarked graves located near Sacred Heart Residential School, 1992–94, Sacred Heart, Northwest Territories (Albert Lafferty, Indian Residential School History and Dialogue Centre, University of British Columbia).

Heart Indian Residential School is not complete—the "families are still wondering."[74] In July 2021, the Deh Gáh Got'ı̨ę First Nation announced its intention to lead further work to search the site for other unmarked burials (see Figure 1.15).[75]



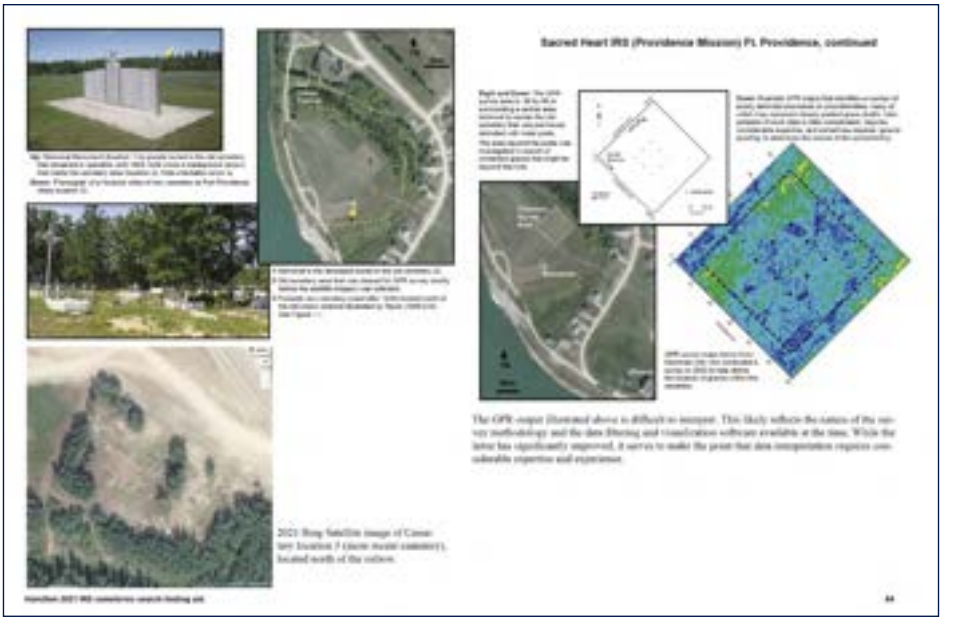


Figure 1.15. Extracts showing archaeological information relating to Fort Providence and its older cemetery (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*) ; see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

COST-SAVINGS AND CONVENIENCE: THE MAIN DRIVERS OF CANADA'S BURIAL POLICIES

It is well documented that cost-savings and convenience were the main drivers of the policies that the government of Canada put in place regarding the burials of children who died at Indian Residential Schools or other associated institutions. The TRC noted that the government failed to adequately fund Indian Residential Schools, resulting in "unnecessarily high death rates" of the children.[76] This lack of funding had several traumatic consequences for Indigenous children, their families, and their communities.

Children Were Not Returned Home

> Children should never be buried at any school. Children go there to learn. They go there to share. They go there to have fun. They go there to have friends.
>
> —Raymond Tony Charlie, Survivor[77]

Indigenous children who died at Indian Residential Schools and other institutions, often hundreds of kilometres away from their families and communities, were seldom returned home. It was a long-standing policy of the Department of Indian Affairs to not pay for the children's bodies to be returned to their families for burial. This meant that very few families were able to bury their children in accordance with their wishes and ceremonial practices.[78]

There was also a long-standing policy, which is well documented in the archival records, that all costs associated with the burials of children at Indian Residential Schools fell to the institutions themselves and were to be paid for out of their already underfunded operating budget. In an undated memorandum, J.D. McLean, departmental secretary at the Department of Indian Affairs, noted that "when a pupil dies at a residential school, it is considered by this Department that the school authorities should be responsible for the expenses."[79] This policy was confirmed in a letter that the government of Canada wrote to the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories in 1891, explaining that it would not provide the Elkhorn Indian Industrial School with any additional funds to cover the cost of a child's burial (see Figure 1.16).

10th January, [1]

Sir,

I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 16th ultimo, respecting an account from the Elkhorn Industrial School for the burial expenses of a pupil; and in reply, I beg to inform you that, as it has been customary for Indian Schools receiving the per capita grant to bury the children who die within their walls, no exception can be made in favour of the Elkhorn Institute.

I am

Sir, Your obedient Servant

For the Deputy of the Supt. Genl. of Ind. Affairs

[to:]

The Indian Commissioner

For Ma & N.W. Territories.

Regina, N.W.T.

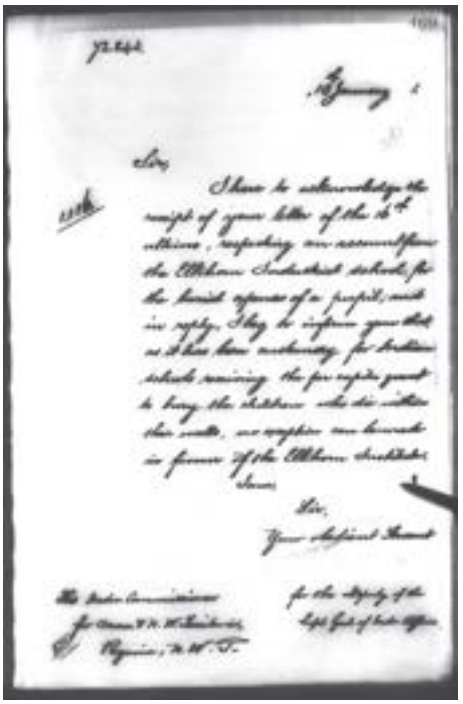


Figure 1.16. Copy of letter from J.D. McLean to the Indian Commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, January 10, 1891 (vol. 4665, RG10, LAC).

Canada's policy of not providing funding to Indian Residential Schools to bury children who died in their care would remain in place from the late 1800s until after the Second World War.[80] In 1949, Philip Phelan of the Department of Indian Affairs' Education Division wrote that "when a pupil dies at an Indian Residential School ... it has always been our practice to require the school management to provide funeral expenses, if they are unable to obtain same from parents or other relatives."[81] Unless the parents or relatives of the child who died were able to afford the costs of transporting their child home for burial, the Indian Residential School was responsible for the costs of burying the child. It was in the rare instances that a family could afford to bring their child home for burial and only if they were informed about the death. As a result, Indigenous children were often buried in the informal and unregulated burial grounds established by the institutions or in mission cemeteries.

Child Labour and the Digging of Graves

> This knowledge has been shared through stories in our families. In my family, it's a story about how nimosôm (my grandfather) dug graves for other children during his time at St. Bernard's Indian Residential School in Grouard, Alberta. It's absolutely chilling to me to imagine my young grandfather digging graves for children just like him—burying his own and likely wondering if some day he might not end up in one of these graves.
>
> —Robin Bourgeois[82]

The TRC documented how manual labour was an essential part of missionary schools across the world, including in Canada.[83] At Indian Residential Schools and other associated institutions, children were routinely tasked with jobs to contribute to the upkeep of the buildings or to create additional income to fund the operation of the institutions. This labour included farming, sewing, cooking, laundry, tailoring, carpentry, painting, printing, and shoe repair.[84] The TRC noted that the federal "Indian Department urged the schools to cut costs and become self-sufficient by taking advantage of the 'availability of gratuitous labour of the scholars.'"[85] This labour also included digging graves. Many Survivors have spoken their truths about being forced to dig graves for other children or witnessing other children digging graves, often at night.[86] These experiences have created lasting trauma for those who were forced to dig these graves.

The Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School Cemetery and the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital

The Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School in St. Albert, Alberta, operated between 1924 and 1968.[87] During the 1950s and 1960s, many of the children sent there were taken from British Columbia, the Northwest Territories, and the Yukon.[88] Located just a short distance away was the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital, which operated between 1946 and 1996. Many of the Indigenous patients at the Charles Camsell were sent there from communities in northeastern British Columbia, Alberta, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories.[89] The federal government made burial arrangements for Indigenous people who died at Charles Camsell depending on whether they were associated with Catholic or Protestant churches. Between 1946 and 1963, Canada buried Indigenous

patients associated with the Catholic Church at the Winterburn Cemetery on the Stony Plain reserve lands of the Enoch Cree Nation.[90] In the mid-1940s, Canada proposed that Indigenous patients who died at Charles Camsell, and were associated with Protestant churches, could be buried on the property of the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School.[91] At least as early as 1947 and into 1969, Canada arranged for such burials.[92] When these cemeteries were no longer in use, Indigenous people who died at the Charles Camsell were buried in indigent graves in local municipal cemeteries.[93] At these municipal cemeteries, the practice was to dig deep graves and bury two persons in each grave. The policy at these cemeteries was to not include markers at these "indigent" grave sites.[94] All of these arrangements were aimed at saving the federal government money by avoiding the costs of transporting people back to their families and home communities for burial (see Figure 1.17).

Figure 1.17. Map showing the short distance between the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School and the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital (map created using Google Earth, 2023).

CHILDREN FORCED TO DIG GRAVES AT EDMONTON (POUNDMAKER) INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

Children at the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School were required to dig graves and bury the dead at the cemetery located on the grounds (see Figure 1.18).[95] In 2003, Survivor George Brertton recounted how he was ordered to dig graves, including children's graves, on the institution's property:

> I guess one of the things that will always stay with me is the digging of graves. That was a nightmare for me to do that. Having children's caskets lowered, and not even having a minister there or anything, just burying them. They're all around this area, unmarked. When I think about that, it hurts. I had a lot of nightmares about that. We had to dig these holes so far down. I remember yelling and screaming in my sleep because I thought I was going to be buried in one of those holes. There's hundreds of them around here.[96]

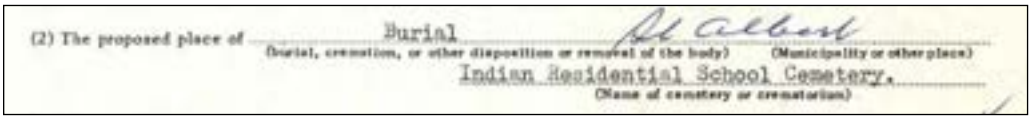

(2) The proposed place of Burial St Albert
(Burial, cremation, or other disposition or removal of the body) (Municipality or other place)
Indian Residential School Cemetery.
(Name of cemetery or crematorium)

Figure 1.18. Extract from a death registration form showing that this child was buried in the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School cemetery in St. Albert (Registration of Death, Division of Vital Statistics, Department of Public Health, Alberta).

For decades, Survivor George Muldoe, a member of the Kispiox First Nation, has spoken publicly about similar experiences. In 2021, at the age of 79, George described how he and a group of other teenaged boys at the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School were forced to dig a grave for an adult man in the cold of winter behind the principal's house.[97] With the one pickaxe and shovel they were given, it took them three full days to dig a hole deep enough to bury the man, who was delivered in a body bag.[98] George recounted, "We started on a Friday afternoon and finished late Sunday night....We had no choice. They said, 'You, you, you—grave detail.' When we were done, none of us said anything. We just covered him up and we left."[99] Neither George nor any of the other boys knew who the man was or where he had come from.[100] In a more recent interview with *CTV News*, he recalled that they were each paid $5 per grave they dug. He said, "We never did know anybody that we buried, there never was a preacher, no relatives, not even supervisors from here, a truck would literally throw them on the ground and it was up to us."[101] The children were left on their own to bury the bodies.

Both during and after the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School's operation, Canada failed to provide sufficient funding for the cemetery's care and ongoing maintenance.

A letter from the institution's principal made it clear that, by 1955, many of the posts in the cemetery were rotting and needed to be replaced, and the cemetery itself was almost full and would require additional space.[102] When the institution closed in 1968, there was no plan to maintain and care for the burials. The condition of the cemetery declined quickly. By 1969, the cemetery was so neglected that Department of Indian Affairs' officials discussed cleaning it up, so long as it could be done with little cost.[103] At some point, the original metal markers in the cemetery were replaced by wooden crosses. After the institution closed, a grass fire damaged these wooden crosses.[104]

In July 1970, the director of the Education Branch of Indian Affairs wrote to the president of the Indian Association of Alberta that "we felt that it would be appropriate for us to not only ensure that the cemetery is not disturbed in the event that the land is transferred to Alberta, but also to assure the Indian people in the area that this safeguard would be part of any transfer agreement."[105] An appraisal document dated August 1970 noted that "there is a small graveyard just west of the building and garden site" on the former Indian Residential School property "and along the south boundary of this property. It covers an area of approximately 100 x 12 feet" (see Figure 1.19).[106]

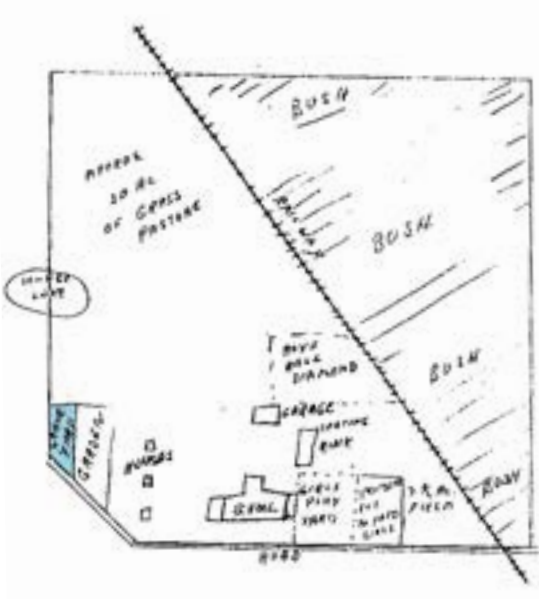


Figure 1.19. Department of Indian Affairs hand-drawn diagram showing the school grounds and location of the graveyard, 1959 -60 ("Edmonton Residential School," *The Children Remembered*, n.d. published with permission from the United Church of Canada).

In 1971, Canada transferred the land where the cemetery is located to the province of Alberta. In 1979, the land was then transferred to the City of St. Albert, which annexed the cemetery to some adjacent land to create a municipal cemetery.[107] As part of its 1979 agreement with the province, the City of St. Albert was required to "restore and maintain" the cemetery. In doing this, the City removed the wooden crosses that had already been piled in a corner of the property, leaving no information about the location of the cemetery's graves. St. Albert's parks planner began restoring the then overgrown cemetery. Only four permanent markers remained. The ground was uneven and sunken, and, when the area was levelled, the outlines of individual graves were exposed. This allowed the City to sketch a site plan of the cemetery (see Figure 1.20).[108]

Despite these efforts, the names of those buried in the cemetery remained unknown. In 1984, three former Charles Camsell Indian Hospital staff members, Elva Taylor, Dr. Otto Schaefer, and Maxine LeClair, and a former Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School principal, Donald J. McBride formed a committee ("the Cairn Committee") to memorialize the patients buried in the cemetery. As a former principal, McBride was able to reproduce the cemetery's plot plan from memory. Over time, the committee researched the cemetery and its patients and raised money for a commemorative monument.[109] Through their research, the Cairn Committee eventually located a list of the names, home communities, ages, and plot numbers of 98 patients who had died at the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital and were interred in the cemetery. The list had been in the possession of Beatrice Clough, the widow of Archdeacon C.F.A. Clough, who had been a chaplain at Charles Camsell from 1946 to 1968. The committee then approached the City proposing that they install a memorial to these former patients. The cairn was unveiled and dedicated in 1990 (see Figure 1.21).[110]

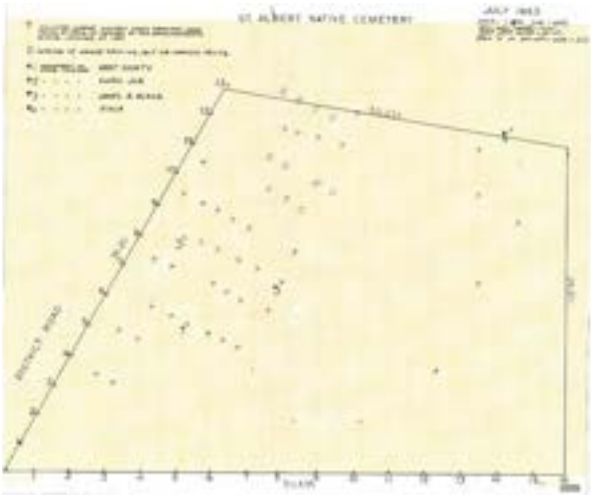


Figure 1.20. Plan of the cemetery on the Edmonton Indian Residential School grounds in the early 1980s (file CA MHM MHM-2000.27.49, Society of Alberta Archives, published with permission from Musée Héritage Museum).

Figure 1.21. Memorial Cairn at St. Albert's Cemetery listing the names of those known to be buried in the cemetery (from the City of St. Albert).

Many Indigenous people, organizations, and Survivors, including George Muldoe, have been advocating for a full investigation into the unmarked burials at the former site of the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School.[111] In 2021, Poundmaker's Lodge called for renewed efforts to locate and protect the unmarked burials.[112] Specifically, it called on the province of Alberta to return a portion of land, currently being used for hiking and recreational activities, that Survivors, the living witnesses, have identified "as an area of concern" that may contain unmarked burials.[113] Its media release stated, "Poundmaker's Lodge Treatment Centres Society's Eagle Staff reminds us that we are the keepers of this sacred land; the land where our children walked and are buried....We will ensure that their stories continue to be told where voices were silenced so others will not forget."[114]

Between 1993 and 2019, families who had finally found their loved ones' resting places placed three individual markers in the St. Albert Cemetery. In 2022, through the City's participation in the Inuvialuit Regional Corporation's Nanilavut Initiative, seven Inuvialuit were honoured in ceremony, and grave markers were placed for them in the cemetery.[115] The work to locate and memorialize those buried on the former site of the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School is ongoing (see Figure 1.22).

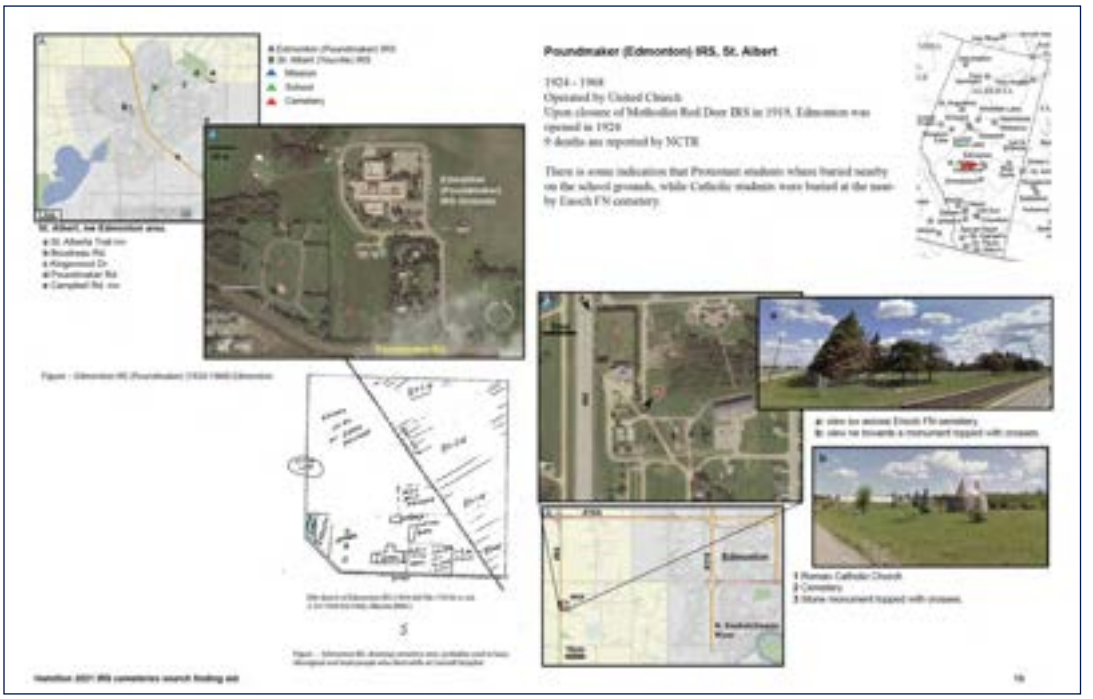


Figure 1.22. Extract showing archaeological information relating to the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital Cemetery located on the Edmonton Indian Residential School's grounds (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*) ; see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

The 72 Year Search for Hazel's Burial

At the National Gathering in Montreal in September 2023, Elizabeth Anderson shared how her family searched for their sister, Hazel, whom she never met. Elizabeth and her family are members of Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation, Yukon. Before Elizabeth was born and when Hazel was only three years old, she contracted tuberculosis and was taken from her family to the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta. On July 10, 1951, almost two thousand kilometres from her home and without any of her loved ones around her, little Hazel died and was buried in an unmarked grave.

Elizabeth described the anguish that her parents felt over the loss of their daughter and the grief that never left them. Elizabeth recalled that her parents would mourn Hazel every July for as long as she could remember:

> [Hazel's] story was kept alive with our family. We never met, but our memory of her was very strong. She passed away at 3 years old in the hospital. My parents had no way of bringing her back to the Yukon. For many years they grieved and must have wondered where her resting place is.
>
> **—Elizabeth Anderson, Little Salmon Carmacks First Nation, Yukon**

Elizabeth described her family's experience of searching for Hazel's grave. She explained that trying to access information about Hazel felt like running into a brick wall. Despite the fact that they knew that Hazel had been taken to Charles Camsell, they could not get access to the information they needed to find her burial place. In March 2023, after seeking assistance from the Independent Special Interlocutor, documents and records were found that led them to the St. Albert Cemetery. Hazel was buried in an unmarked grave. In the summer of 2023, the City of St. Albert and the Office of the Special Interlocutor supported six family members—Elizabeth Anderson, Charmaine Anderson, Eileen Fields, Earleen Fields, Helen Sahagian, and Paul Sahagian—to visit Hazel's resting place and conduct ceremonies, bringing healing to the family that had been searching for 72 years.

Children Were Buried in Common Graves

The TRC also documented that children were buried in common graves when many died around the same time, such as during influenza pandemics. It also concluded that, in some cases, Indian Residential Schools buried two children in one grave to save costs.[116]

Three examples illustrate this cost-saving practice:

- Red Deer Industrial School: When the influenza pandemic struck in 1918, the staff and children at the Red Deer Industrial School were so ill that they were not able to bury all the dead. Forced to bring in outside help, the institution's Principal J.F. Woodsworth called a local funeral director, instructing him "to be as careful as possible in his charges."[117] As a result, the undertaker "gave them a burial as near as possible to that of a pauper. They are buried two in a grave."[118]
- Kenora Indian Residential School: The burial register for the Kenora Indian Residential School shows that some children were buried in the "Charnière du cimetière du parroise." The use of the term "charnière" could indicate a mass grave or, possibly, a vault used to store bodies when the ground was too frozen to dig graves.
- Cross Lake Indian Residential School: The remains of those who perished in a fire at the institution in 1930 were interred together in the nearby cemetery that served both the institution and the Cross Lake mission.[119]
- Beauval (Lac La Plonge) Indian Residential School: The remains of 19 little boys and one nun who died in a fire at the Indian Residential School in 1927 were buried together in one coffin in the institution's cemetery.[120]

Common and Mass Graves

The term "mass grave" is largely undefined in international law. As such, no agreed upon definition exists. In the Bournemouth Protocol, a mass grave is defined as "a site or defined area containing a multitude (more than one) of buried, submerged or surface scattered human remains (including skeletonised, commingled and fragmented remains), where the circumstances surrounding the death and/or the body-disposal method warrant an investigation as to their lawfulness."[121] Generally,

the term suggests that human rights abuses have occurred or that the burials are unofficial, illegal, or improperly done.

Common Graves

A "common grave" is one that contains the remains of more than one person in a single grave or even a single casket. As with mass graves, these burials contain multiple interments. However, in many instances, common graves do not necessarily raise questions about the lawfulness of those burials; rather, the use of common graves suggests a form of cemetery management that was not illicit or illegal.

Pauper or Indigent Graves

The term "pauper grave" or "indigent grave" usually refers to burials that were funded by the State or another organization because the family or estate of the deceased could not afford to pay for the burial. In some instances, these terms may be used when the identity of the deceased is unknown. Historically, "pauper graves" were viewed as degrading or disgraceful as they were seen as indicating either the poverty of the deceased and their family or that no one cared about the status of the deceased's burial.[122] Although the term "pauper grave" is still used occasionally,[123] in the modern context, graves that are funded publicly may be referred to as "ministry burials," "indigent burials," or by other terms.

Unmarked Graves

"Unmarked graves" or "unmarked burials" are graves that lack proper marking and designation to indicate the graves' location and the identity of the person interred. Unmarked graves can hold the remains of one person or of many people. They may exist anywhere, including within designated cemeteries. Unmarked burials may be, but are not necessarily, mass, pauper, common, or indigent graves (see Figures 1.23, 1.24, and 1.25).

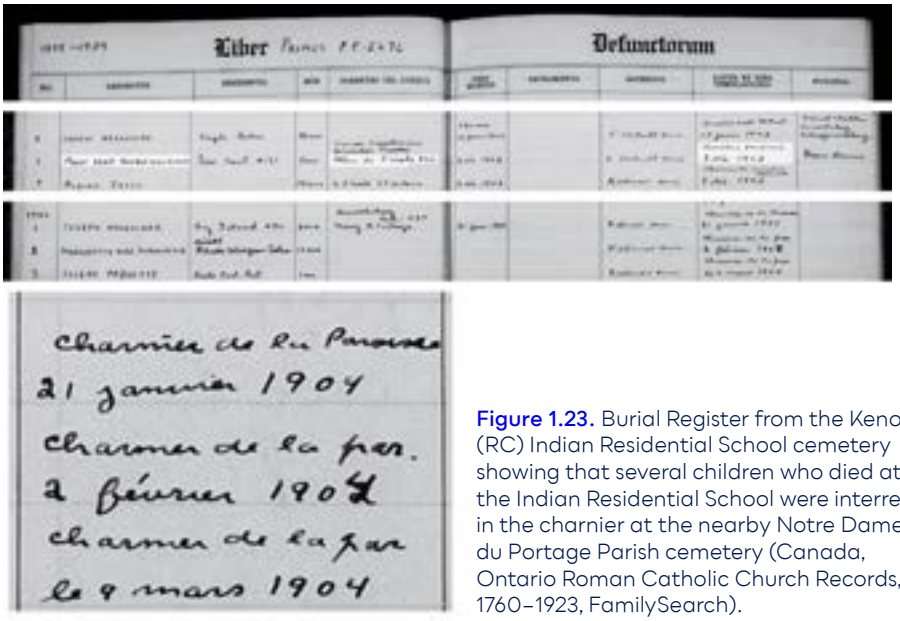


Figure 1.23. Burial Register from the Kenora (RC) Indian Residential School cemetery showing that several children who died at the Indian Residential School were interred in the charnier at the nearby Notre Dame du Portage Parish cemetery (Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760–1923, FamilySearch).

Figure 1.24. The Notre Dame du Portage Burial Sacramental Register from 1902 showing that the remains of Mary Jane Kaybayjekowanence, who was one of the children identified in the Indian Residential School burial registers, were interred in the "charnier" of the Kenora Parish Cemetery (Canada, Ontario Roman Catholic Church Records, 1760–1923, FamilySearch).

Figure 1.25. Children working in the Kenora (RC) Indian Residential School in 1941 (file SHSB 24827, Oblats de Marie-Immaculée Province oblate du Manitoba / Délégation, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface [SHSB]).

Wooden Grave Markers Decayed over Time

Due to the lack of funding for burials, Indian Residential School administrators often used handmade, inexpensive wooden crosses to mark the children's graves. Similarly, fences that were put up to mark the boundaries of the cemetery were often made of wood. Both the crosses and the fences were vulnerable to weather, to being washed away by flooding, and to being destroyed by fire. The TRC noted that the loss of these markers and fences creates challenges when searching for the locations of burials in documented Indian Residential School cemeteries. Greater challenges exist when searching for and recovering undocumented Indian Residential School cemeteries.[124] In both documented and undocumented cemeteries, families have been unable to locate the exact area where their loved one is buried, which impedes their ability to place commemorative markers or exhume their child to bring them back home (see Figure 1.26).

Figure 1.26. Wooden crosses marking burials in the Kenora Indian Residential School cemetery in June 1941 (SHSB 24829, Oblats de Marie-Immaculée Province oblate du Manitoba / Délégation, SHSB).

Wooden grave markers were used in the Onion Lake Indian Residential School cemetery. During the TRC's community hearings at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, people gathered in the Onion Lake Protestant Cemetery. As they searched through the brush in the area, the group found headstones of the missionaries who had operated the institution, along with headstones of some of their family members, still standing. By contrast, in a small cemetery past

the institution, there were no grave markers for the children who died; the wooden crosses that had once marked the graves of the children had decayed and were no longer standing.[125]

The Battleford Indian Industrial School Cemetery

The Battleford Indian Industrial School, Canada's first industrial school, is one of many Indian Residential Schools that includes a cemetery on the institutional grounds. Its history illustrates the poor record-keeping of the deaths of children and the terrible impacts of the government's failure to care for the cemetery after the institution closed. The institution opened in 1883 and closed in 1914.[126] An 1890 inspection concluded that "the school had no fire protection and a sanitation system that was an invitation for an epidemic."[127] A 1909 plan of the Battleford Indian Industrial School lands shows the site of the cemetery (see Figure 1.27).[128]

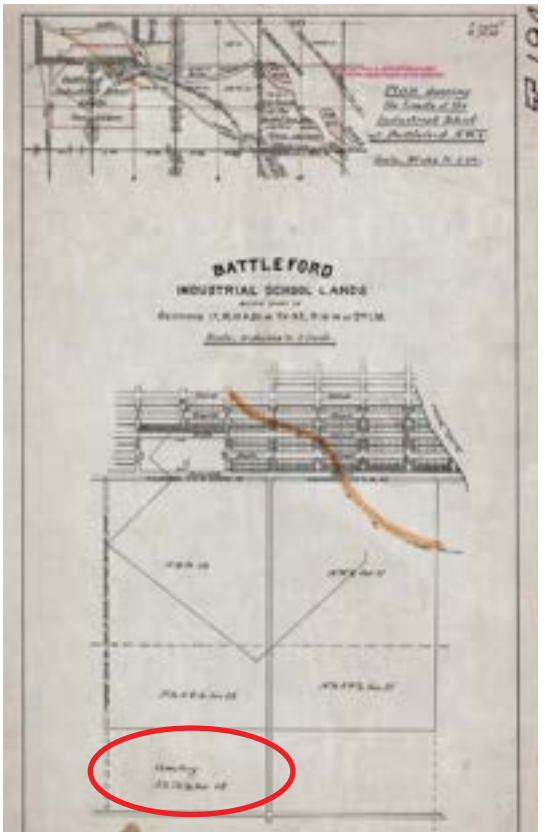


Figure 1.27. Professionally surveyed map of the Battleford Indian Industrial School, with the word "cemetery" clearly visible in the bottom left of the photo ("CLSR SK Lands of the Industrial School in Sec 17, 18, 19, 20," January 1, 1909, TP 43-16-3, T194, Natural Resources Canada).

The Battleford Indian Industrial School "Hospital"

In 1890, Hayter Reed authorized a "hospital" at the Battleford Indian Industrial School, which began as a small ward or sick room in the institution's building. Reed was extremely unhappy when he inspected the institution the following year; he found that sick children were not receiving adequate care and attention in the

"hospital," which was noisy and plagued by unpleasant odours. Conditions were so bad that Reed had the sick children moved into a room that had been in use as a staff lounge and tried to find a nurse to hire. In a 1891 report relating to the death of a child, the local Indian Agent wrote that "this makes three deaths at the Industrial School this past month and it is quite a heavy death rate.... Although the Industrial School is splendidly situated with regard to having a high dry and healthy site; yet the building itself is placed in such a position that nearly all the sunlight is excluded from the classroom and dormitories, which fact is very favourable for the propagation of the germs of tuberculosis."[129] Reed was unable to find a nurse so instead he hired the mother of one of the sick children to care for them. Noting that the Battleford District had a salaried medical attendant, Reed urged the Department of Indian Affairs to build a stand-alone cottage hospital at the institution that could also accommodate people from the surrounding First Nations.[130] Records indicate that children died at the "hospital" at the Battleford Indian Industrial School. In the summer of 1895, the principal reported that "there has been a good deal of sickness during the year—quite a number of pupils being in the hospital all the time; some of these known to be incurable. There have been four deaths amongst the pupils—two boys and two girls."[131]

Incomplete Records for the Battleford Indian Industrial School

The records for the Battleford Indian Industrial School are incomplete. One surviving burial register for Battleford includes 50 names of people buried at the Battleford Indian Industrial School cemetery for the period 1895 to about 1913, including children. In some cases, entries of the children's names also include the number assigned to them by the institution, while, in others, only the number is listed. Forty of the names listed are of school-aged children and are likely children who died at the Battleford Indian Industrial School.[132] Other sources for the names of children who died in the institution include in-house missionary publications, children's post office savings accounts (where annuity payments were to be deposited),[133] and reports from the Department of Indian Affairs.

Missionary Publications

In July 1895, the Battleford Indian Industrial School's in-house publication, ***The Guide,*** published an obituary for 18-year-old William Chevasse, one of the children who died at the institution (see Figure 1.28). ***The Guide*** reported another death

at the institution in 1895, that of 13-year-old Stephen Paul. The next year, the paper reported the deaths of William Millie, age eight, Joseph McKay, who died November 30, 1896, and Flora Dodds, who died on December 6, 1896. The paper also reported Mary Ann Black's death at age 17 in March 1897.[134]

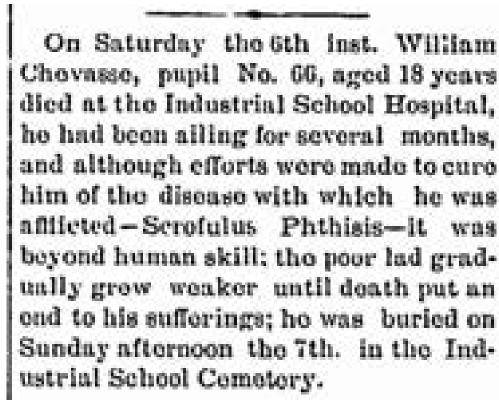

On Saturday the 6th inst. William Chovasse, pupil No. 66, aged 18 years died at the Industrial School Hospital, he had been ailing for several months, and although efforts were made to cure him of the disease with which he was afflicted—Scrofulus Phthisis—it was beyond human skill; the poor lad gradually grew weaker until death put an end to his sufferings; he was buried on Sunday afternoon the 7th. in the Industrial School Cemetery.

Figure 1.28. Excerpt from Battleford Indian Industrial School, *The Guide*, vol. 4, no. 1 (July 1895): n.p.

Post Office Savings Accounts

Surviving records of children's post office savings account can provide important information, including correspondence and certificates confirming the deaths of children at the institutions.

Figure 1.29 is an example of a post office savings account record that certifies the death of another child, Fannie Hall, in 1897.[135]


Battleford
June 30th 1897

I certify that Fannie Hall pupil No. of the Battleford Industrial School died of Phthisis on the 29th day of June 1897.

The above is a correct copy
Principal

Figure 1.29. A handwritten post office savings account memo written by the principal of the Battleford Indian Industrial School (file 95833-5, vol. 3885, RG10, LAC).

In 1897, the Battleford Indian Industrial School submitted the names of children who had died between 1892 and 1897, listed according to the Department of Indian Affairs' agency that the children's home communities were controlled under. This list, however, does not identify which children were interred at the institution's cemetery or who were returned home for burial. Despite this omission, the list provides important information about the lives of the children who died and the many communities impacted by their deaths (see Figures 1.30, 1.31, 1.32).[136]

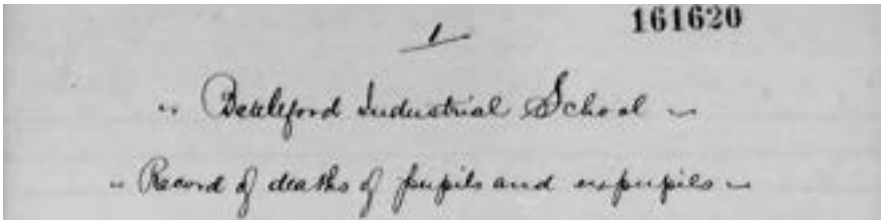


Figure 1.30. A handwritten post office savings account file listing the names of Battleford Indian Industrial School children who died between 1892 and 1896–97 (file 95833-5A, vol. 3886, RG10, LAC).

Figure 1.31. A handwritten post office savings account file listing the names of Battleford Indian Industrial School children who died between 1892 and 1896–97 (file 95833-5A, vol. 3886, RG10, LAC).

Figure 1.32. A handwritten post office savings account file listing the names of Battleford Indian Industrial School children who died between 1892 and 1896–97 (file 95833-5A, vol. 3886, RG10, LAC).

Indian Affairs' Reports

In 1908, the principal of the Battleford Indian Industrial School reported to the Department of Indian Affairs that, during its operation, 49 of the 190 boys (approximately 26 percent) and 37 of the 125 girls (approximately 30 percent) had died (see Figure 1.33).[137]

A significant number of these children were buried in the institution's cemetery. In 1914, when the Battleford Indian Industrial School was about to be closed, Matheson wrote a letter to the government outlining his concerns about who would provide ongoing care for the cemetery:

> On the land reserved in connection with this School ___ & some distance South of the main building, a small portion of land was set

> apart many years ago for the purposes of a cemetery in connection with the School ___ There are now between 70 and 80 bodies buried there ___ mainly former pupils of this School. During the time I have been in Charge of this School I kept the fence in repair, but the posts are now old, getting rotten, and require to be renewed throughout. Now that this School is soon to be closed, I do not know who will look after the cemetery, and if it is not properly cared for the fence will soon fall, or be broken down, and the place be trodden over by stray cattle and horses pasturing around the place; and I am sure that the Dept. would like to prevent this.[138]

Matheson's concern over who would be responsible for the upkeep of the cemetery was warranted. Unfortunately, the federal government failed to plan for the ongoing care of the cemetery. The TRC noted that the government's refusal to care for the Indian Residential School cemeteries "led to instances of neglect, with very distressing results."[139]

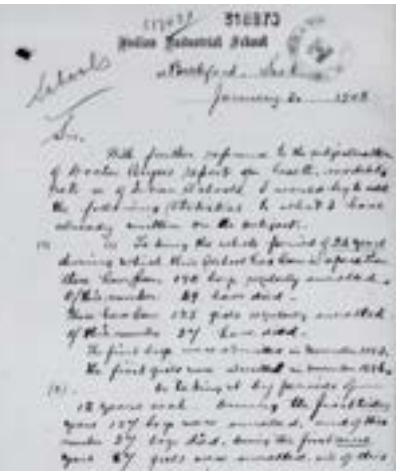


Figure 1.33. A handwritten report from 1908 outlining statistics relating to the deaths of children from the Battleford principal E. Matheson (Letter from E. Matheson, Principal, to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, January 30, 1908, item 181, file 317021, vol. 4037, RG10, LAC, https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=2059593&q=e007812595).

In 1969, W.J. Wasylow visited the Battleford Indian Industrial School cemetery site and reported that "the cemetery was enclosed by posts, painted white and spaced at intervals, with barbed wire stretched between to protect it from grazing cattle. The wooden crosses had fallen and were deteriorated and weather beaten. Between 70 and 80 graves appeared as mounds overgrown with weeds and wild grass."[140] In the summer of 1974, a team of students from the University of Saskatchewan's Department of Anthropology and Archaeology excavated 70 of the Battleford Indian Industrial School's graves.[141] These graves contained 72 individuals.[142] At least two marked graves were left untouched. During excavation, the team documented coffin construction, grave goods, and the use of shrouds on the children that were not interred in clothing.[143] J. Hurov, who did an analysis of some hair samples taken during the excavation, later reported, "each unmarked grave was identified, assigned a number and excavated; the contents were uncovered,

identified, and recorded. Bone and tooth samples also were obtained for future analysis and standard radiographs were taken."[144] It is not clear what happened to these human samples in the intervening decades.[145] The *Star Phoenix* reported in 1975 that the excavated gravesites were cleaned up, and a cairn with plaques identifying 50 names was to be added to the site at a "special ceremony to re-dedicate the restored cemetery."[146]

Although at least 72 people are known to be buried in the Battleford Indian Industrial School's cemetery, the written records only show 50. Collette Hopkins notes that the records only begin a decade after the institution opened. She also notes that "many Battleford residents were well-aware of [the Indian Industrial School cemetery's] existence prior to its excavation in 1974."[147] Working with the private landowner who now owns the site where the cemetery is situated, the Battleford Industrial School Commemorative Association has hosted events to raise awareness about the history of the Battleford Indian Industrial School and the cemetery. The Rural Municipality of Battle River designated the cemetery a municipal heritage site in 2018.[148] The Battleford Industrial School Commemorative Association also worked with the Saskatchewan provincial government to have the cemetery designated a provincial heritage site, which was done in 2019.[149]

LACK OF GOVERNMENT OVERSIGHT AND ACCOUNTABILITY

> Many students who went to residential school never returned. They were lost to their families....Their parents were often uninformed of their sickness and death. They were buried away from their families in long-neglected graves. No one took care to count how many died or to record where they were buried.
>
> —TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children*[150]

Canada's lack of oversight of the institutions and accountability to families and communities extended throughout the operation of the Indian Residential School System and continues today in relation to the missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials. Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities leading search and recovery efforts continue their struggle to access the records and resources necessary to identify the children who died and to find their burials. The TRC found that the government had failed

to record the necessary information to answer "the most basic of questions about missing children—Who died? Why did they die? Where are they buried?"[151] The TRC concluded that these questions have never been addressed or comprehensively documented by the federal government.[152] The lack of government oversight and accountability manifested in various ways during the operation of Indian Residential Schools and continues to impact families and communities that are searching for information about their missing and disappeared children.

Lack of Notification to Families

> It's totally unacceptable [that] parents were never notified [about their children dying]....At that particular time it appears...that they didn't consider us Blackfoot as people....Why wasn't anybody notified?
>
> —Elder Keith Chiefmoon, Survivor[153]

As the TRC noted, parents were often not provided key information about their child while at Indian Residential Schools. The lack of notification or sharing of information about the children was part of a larger systemic pattern to disrupt familial relationships. Government and Indian Residential School officials often failed to inform parents when their children were transferred from one Indian Residential School to another or to a hospital, sanatorium, or reformatory. They also failed to inform parents, or informed them too late, when their child fell ill or died in one of these institutions.[154]

One example of informing a family too late of their child's death occurred at St. Joseph's Mission Indian Residential School, which was known for its poor conditions and harsh discipline. In 1920, nine boys ate poisonous water hemlock. Their families were certain that this was a desperate attempt by the boys to escape the suffering they were experiencing at the institution by way of suicide.[155] One of the boys, Augustine Allan, died.[156] His father, Paul Stanislaus, had not been told of his child's death, and the boy was buried before his father could arrive and see his son one last time. In a letter, his father asked that his other son be sent home from the institution, afraid that he might also end up dying in the same way that his brother had (see Figure 1.34).

Dear Sir

I am asking you to write to Indian Department to see if I can have my boy out of school one of them died up there at mission and they did not send any notice to me to say that he died they write and say that he was going to bury him in the morning you know how it is for a man not to see a boy of his before the body is put away, so let me know if you write and write me back when you get the answer, the boy I want out is Patrick Allan. Augustine Allan is the one died up there 7 of them eated some poison roots and this the only one that died the others were saved.

I am afraid this boy might do just the shame [sic] some day

good bye

From Paul J. Stanislaus

Figure 1.34. Letter from John Paul J. Stanislaus, August 22, 1920 (file 878-1, part 2, vol. 6436, RG10, LAC, https://archive.org/details/School_Files_Series-RG10_c-8762/page/n2115/mode/2u).

At the Vancouver National Gathering in January 2023, Charlene Belleau, a family member of Augustine Allan shared that he died by suicide at St. Joseph's Mission in 1920 after a pact he made with a group of children.[157] Belleau wrote to St. Joseph's Mission officials asking them why they did not return him home for burial. Mission officials and a lack of record-keeping have left her family without answers, and she is still searching for Augustine's burial site.[158]

Poor Record-keeping

> These secrets, shared between children, seem too evil for children to imagine. And the stories persist, passed down generations. Truths that refuse to stay buried.
>
> —Duncan McCue, "Kuper Island Podcast"[159]

Figure 1.35. Extract showing archaeological information relating to Kuper Island (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*); see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

Due to poor record-keeping practices, documenting the lives and circumstances surrounding the deaths of the children buried at Indian Residential School cemeteries is complicated and time-consuming. Before the 1940s, there was no centralized reporting system for deaths outside of annuity paylists (the lists of those receiving annual payments in accordance with the terms of historic treaties). Paylists often contained the barest of details.[160] They were organized by Indian Act band (communities recognized under the *Indian Act*; currently, more often referred to as "First Nations") and were updated by the local Indian Agent, who may have had little to no idea about what was happening at a distant Indian Residential School. As a result, the paylists may be difficult to use if individuals were transferred from one First Nation to another at any point and can be vague and inaccurate.

In 1933, the federal government created a policy that allowed Indian Residential School Quarterly Return records (records that identified the names of children at the institution) to be destroyed after five years and reports of accidents after 10 years. The TRC reported that 15 tons of records, about two hundred thousand files, were destroyed between 1936 and 1944 alone.[161] With respect to cemetery records specifically, Scott Hamilton notes that during the early years of the Indian Residential School System:

> provincial and municipal governments were either not yet established or were in their infancy, and public health and cemetery regulations were comparatively undeveloped. Given the lack of regulation at the time, it appears that most residential school graveyards were established informally and have left little in the way of formal documentation. This also likely contributed to a suspected under-reporting of mortality in the schools, particularly in late 19th Century.[162]

In fact, "as late as 1942, the principal of a residential school in Saskatchewan was unaware of any responsibility to report a death to provincial vital statistics officials."[163]

"Death of an Indian" Forms

While many deaths of Indigenous children at Indian Residential Schools were never registered with provincial authorities, those that were could be registered on one of two forms. One was the regular provincial registration or statement of death form used for all non-Indigenous deaths in the province. The other was a specialized form specifying that the death was that of a First Nation person. In Ontario, in the 1950s, these forms were titled "Statement of Death of an Indian." Figure 1.36 shows an example of the header of this form from 1951. While the Ontario example cites the Ontario *Vital Statistics Act* as its authority, in other provinces these "Death of an Indian" forms were linked to federal authority and the *Indian Act*, even though they could be filed with provincial vital statistics agencies.

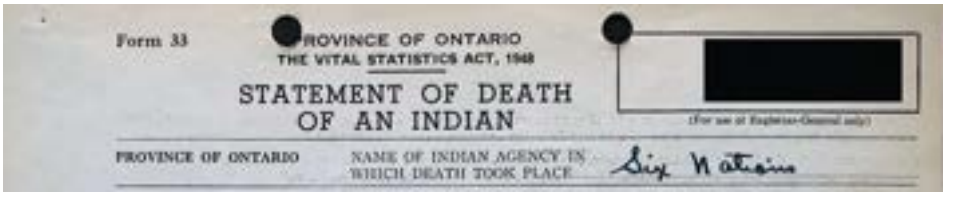
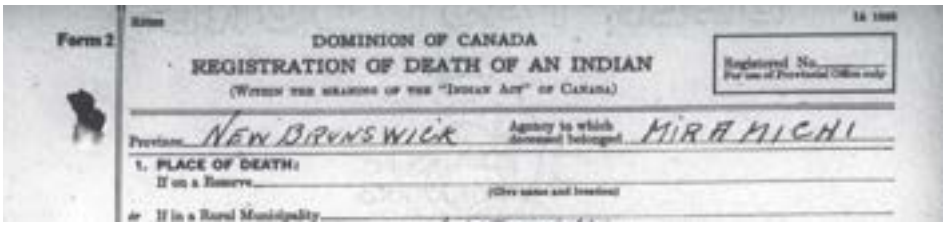

Form 33
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
THE VITAL STATISTICS ACT, 1948
STATEMENT OF DEATH
OF AN INDIAN
PROVINCE OF ONTARIO
NAME OF INDIAN AGENCY IN WHICH DEATH TOOK PLACE
Six Nations

Figure 1.36. The header of the Ontario "Statement of Death of an Indian" (RG 80-29: Registrations of Aboriginal Deaths, 1951, Archives of Ontario).

Throughout Canada, the "Registration of Death of an Indian," form was in use in 1954 and 1946, respectively (see Figures 1.37 and 1.38).


Form 2

DOMINION OF CANADA

REGISTRATION OF DEATH OF AN INDIAN

(Within the meaning of the "Indian Act" of Canada)

Registered No.

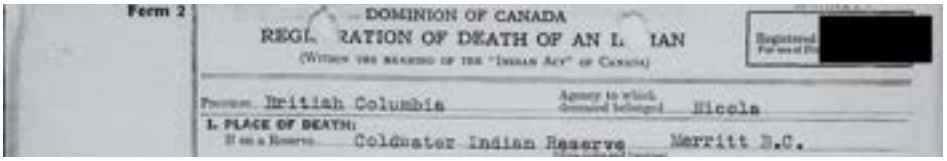
Province NEW BRUNSWICK Agency to which deceased belonged MIRAMICHI

1. PLACE OF DEATH:

If on a Reserve (Give name and location)

or If in a Rural Municipality

Figure 1.37. "Registration of Death of an Indian" ("Registration of Death of an Indian," 1954 [identifying information withheld], New Brunswick Vital Statistics Branch).


Form 2

DOMINION OF CANADA

REGI[illegible]RATION OF DEATH OF AN I[illegible]IAN

(Within the meaning of the "Indian Act" of Canada)

Registered [redacted]

Province British Columbia Agency to which deceased belonged Nicola

1. PLACE OF DEATH:

If on a Reserve Coldwater Indian Reserve Merritt B.C.

Figure 1.38. "Registration of Death of an Indian" (Royal BC Museum, BC Archives).

In reviewing archival records to support search and recovery efforts, these forms may provide important information about the date of death of a disappeared child. In many cases, when a child died at an Indian Residential School, the principal (see Figure 1.10) or local Indian Agent (see Figure 1.47), not a family member, completed the provincial death registration forms. In some cases, these forms included a medical cause of death section, which was also completed by the principal or the Indian Agent rather than a medical doctor.

Searching for the Disappeared Children and Unmarked Burials at the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School

Located near Kenora, Ontario, the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School (Round Lake) had three cemeteries on its property, where children were buried along with other Indigenous people who died in the area. Archival records provide evidence that children taken to this institution were forced to dig the graves at these cemeteries and to paint and letter the wooden crosses that marked the graves.[164] The histories of these cemeteries demonstrate that there was a lack of government regulation in how these cemeteries were established.

The Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School first opened in 1902 at Shoal Lake, Ontario. In 1929, the institution was moved to a new location at Round Lake, near Kenora, Ontario. The institution remained at this location until it closed in 1974.[165] At the Round Lake location, administrators from the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School informally established a cemetery on the institution's grounds. In July 1952, when this cemetery reached capacity, Robert S. MacCallum, the school's principal, decided to establish a new cemetery without provincial approval.[166] This second cemetery appears to have been operational in the fall of 1951. Kathleen Stewart, the nurse at Cecilia Jeffrey, wrote a series of letters to her friend documenting the details of this new cemetery; "The old cemetery if [sic] full and plans are going ahead to really make something of this new one....To-day Mr. Hill and boys are digging another grave in the new place, started when [a former pupil] was drowned last September. It is across the road between the girls' playground and Round Lake." Referring to the new cemetery, which was not registered or approved with the appropriate authorities, Stewart adds, "We seem to be responsible for a cemetery [sic] or perhaps we will have to exhume bodies and put them somewhere else, [in] some authorized spot."[167]

Stewart's letter of June 1952 makes clear that the principal's choice for the location of the new cemetery was problematic from the start. In the letter, she writes that "the ground is rocky and there has not been a uniform depth of digging."[168] In addition to the difficulty of digging graves to an appropriate depth, the area was subject to flooding; "To-day Mr. Hill and the boys have been complaining of the smell of the seepage from the nearby grave. It seems that the rain soaked into the disturbed dirt above the coffin and when the digging got down to that level the wet simply sought the deepest hole and the diggers were standing in that kind of mud."[169] Stewart also notes that some of the graves were placed too close to the road, "The first complaint that I heard was that the grave of [name redacted] is too close to the road. Since then it seems that some sort of permission has been given and [the principal] Mr. Paterson says it is alright for us to go ahead and bury them there."[170] The grave Stewart was writing about was, in fact, not just too close to the road; the principal had established the new cemetery on a road allowance.[171]

Stewart's description of the problems associated with the new cemetery suggest how, even late into the twentieth century, Indian Residential Schools were still operating cemeteries on their property with little oversight from government authorities. Stewart also expressed concern for the children being forced to dig graves, "I do not think it fair to the school for the already busy men on the staff to

have to dig graves, and I don't think the boys are big enough for that work."[172] In addition, her letter indicates that the children were being forced to dig graves for other Indigenous people who died in the area who were being buried in the Cecilia Jeffrey Cemetery:

> The body to-day is [name redacted] and is being brought from the hospital in Winnipeg, there is an old lady whom nobody here knows. The first we heard of it was when it was announced on the radio during the winter that she was to be buried here then our staff and the boys had to go to work and dig in the icy ground, I don't know many details of these burials, but there are at least two babies there.[173]

The informality of how Indian Residential School cemeteries were created, managed, and regulated also meant that relevant record-keeping for the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School cemetery was, according to a 1953 report in the Presbyterian Church in Canada's archives, completely absent, "I should like to note that cemetery records are non-existent so far as I can ascertain and that some attempt needs to be made to set research here in motion."[174] In August 1952, Fred Matters, the regional supervisor of Indian agencies, recommended that Canada allow the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School to establish a new cemetery but argued that it should fall under the purview of the Department of Indian Affair's Welfare Division because the cemetery was not only used to bury the children who died at Cecilia Jeffrey (see Figure 1.39).[175]

In a letter dated March 1953, Matters further explained what was important to the Department of Indian Affairs was "the fact that with the cemetery

Figure 1.39. Letter from F. Matters, Regional Supervisor of Indian Agencies to Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, August 19, 1952, (file R216-247-1-E, RG10, LAC, also available in file CJC-001983, *National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Archives Internal Database [NCTR Archives]* [currently restricted]).

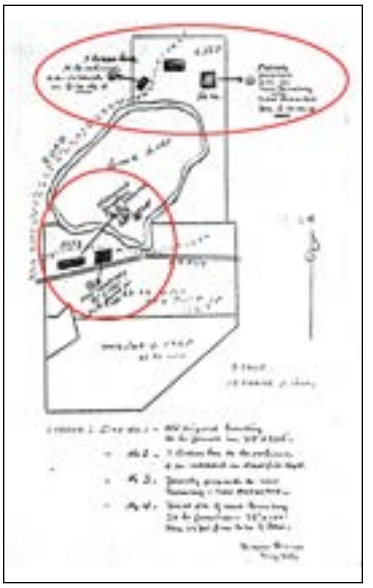


Figure 1.40. Sketch of Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School property, including the location of existing cemeteries and a proposed new cemetery on the property, May 1953 (file 129/36-7-461, R216-3936-6-E, RG10, LAC, also available in file CJC-001981-0001, NCTR Archives [currently restricted]).

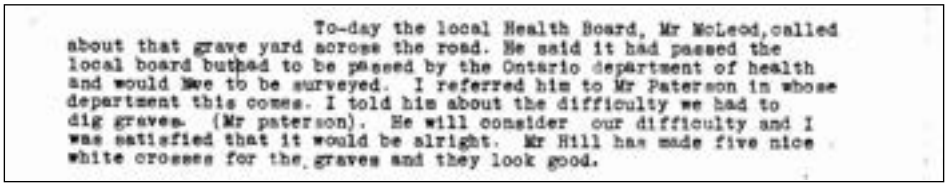
near the school, funerals may be conducted by the principals without having to go three or four miles to the public cemetery in Kenora. This means a considerable saving of time in each case." Matters wrote that "the matter of cost is another factor; in Mr. Paterson's letter dated August 11, 1952, he listed the price of ground in the public cemetery, over and above this initial cost is a standard charge for each funeral, plus opening grave charges" (see Figure 1.43).[176]

In the spring of 1953 Indian Agent Norman Paterson inspected the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School site and marked out the existing and proposed cemetery locations. In a report to the Department of Indian Affairs, Paterson identified four relevant areas:

> Site no. 1—red—Old cemetery 25' wide by 325' long, original burial ground to be fenced in when surveyor completes survey. Material is now at the school.
>
> Site no. 2—red—Opened by Mr. McCallum, seven bodies buried here to be exhumed and re-interred in the new site, no. 4, marked in blue.
>
> Site no. 3—red—formerly proposed as new cemetery, near school, now discarded.
>
> Site no. 4—blue—now staked as per sketch 75' x 100' to be fenced in when surveyor completes survey. Material now at the School (see Figure 1.40).

Paterson wrote, "It is hoped that site no. 1 and site no. 4, now located, will be surveyed as soon as possible so that the job of fencing can be proceeded with and the seven bodies in site no. 2 may be interred in site no. 4."[177]

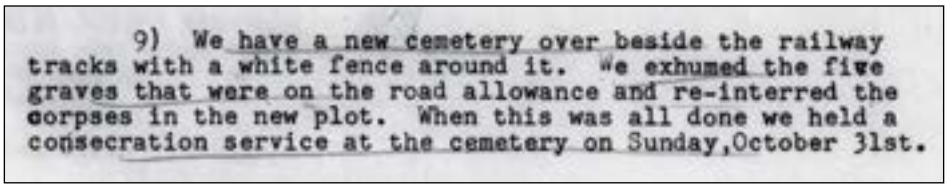
By the summer of 1953, issues concerning the creation of a new cemetery for the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School had still not been settled. In July 1953, Kathleen Stewart wrote another letter to Miss Matthews (see Figure 1.41).



To-day the local Health Board, Mr McLeod, called about that grave yard across the road. He said it had passed the local board but had to be passed by the Ontario department of health and would have to be surveyed. I referred him to Mr Paterson in whose department this comes. I told him about the difficulty we had to dig graves. (Mr paterson). He will consider our difficulty and I was satisfied that it would be alright. Mr Hill has made five nice white crosses for the graves and they look good.

Figure 1.41. Excerpt of letter from Kathleen Stewart to Miss Matthews, July 3, 1953 (accession 1988-7004-15-7, Records of the National Missions Department, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives).

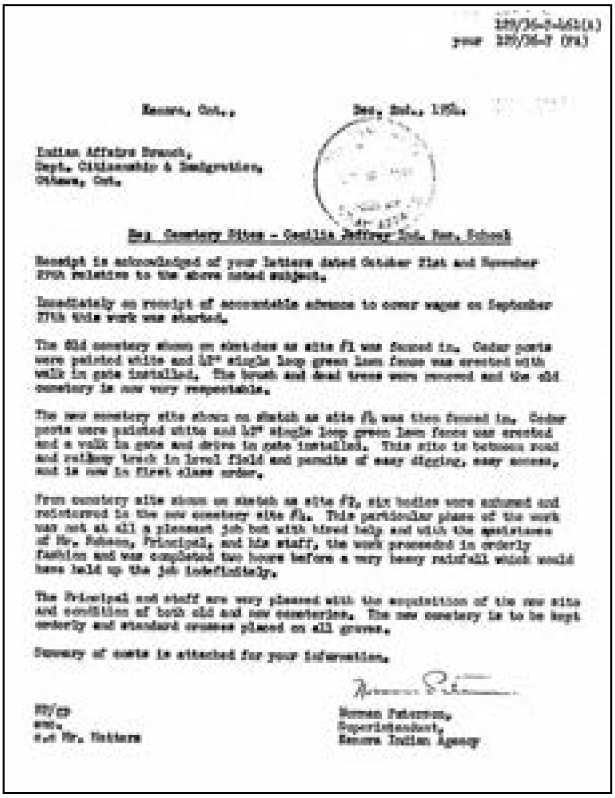
By the end of October 1954, all the burials from the second cemetery that had been opened in 1951 were moved and a new cemetery on the institution's grounds was consecrated. In November 1954, Principal Ivan Robson wrote a letter to the Women's Missionary Society notifying them of the existence of a new cemetery and five exhumations (Figure 1.42).[178]



9) We have a new cemetery over beside the railway tracks with a white fence around it. We exhumed the five graves that were on the road allowance and re-interred the corpses in the new plot. When this was all done we held a consecration service at the cemetery on Sunday, October 31st.

Figure 1.42. Excerpt from a letter from principal Ivan Robson to the Women's Missionary Society describing the exhumation and reburial of five graves at the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School (accession 1988-7004-15-7, Records of the National Missions Department, Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives).

In December 1954, Paterson reported that, after the surveys were completed and the permits were in place, "the brush and dead trees were removed and the old cemetery is now very respectable," adding that "from cemetery site shown on sketch as site no. 2, six bodies were exhumed and reinterred in the new cemetery site no. 4."[179] Paterson's report of six bodies being exhumed and reburied is inconsistent with Stewart's letter, which indicated five burials being exhumed. The lack of government planning for the care and upkeep of cemeteries on the second (Round Lake) site of the Cecilia Jeffery Indian Residential School led to these burials becoming overgrown with brush and difficult to identify (see Figures 1.43, 1.44, 1.45, and 1.46).



129/36-7-461(A)
your 129/36-7 (PA)

Kenora, Ont., Dec. 2nd., 1954.

Indian Affairs Branch,
Dept. Citizenship & Immigration,
Ottawa, Ont.

Re: Cemetery Sites - Cecilia Jeffrey Ind. Res. School

Receipt is acknowledged of your letters dated October 21st and November 27th relative to the above noted subject.

Immediately on receipt of accountable advance to cover wages on September 27th this work was started.

The Old cemetery shown on sketches as site #1 was fenced in. Cedar posts were painted white and 48" single loop green lawn fence was erected with walk in gate installed. The brush and dead trees were removed and the old cemetery is now very respectable.

The new cemetery site shown on sketch as site #4 was then fenced in. Cedar posts were painted white and 48" single loop green lawn fence was erected and a walk in gate and drive in gate installed. This site is between road and railway track in level field and permits of easy digging, easy access, and is now in first class order.

From cemetery site shown on sketch as site #2, six bodies were exhumed and reinterred in the new cemetery site #4. This particular phase of the work was not at all a pleasant job but with hired help and with the assistance of Mr. Robson, Principal, and his staff, the work proceeded in orderly fashion and was completed two hours before a very heavy rainfall which would have held up the job indefinitely.

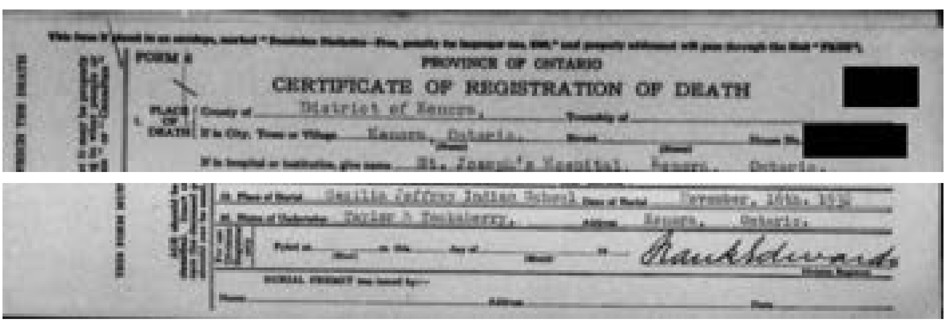
The Principal and staff are very pleased with the acquisition of the new site and condition of both old and new cemeteries. The new cemetery is to be kept orderly and standard crosses placed on all graves.

Summary of costs is attached for your information.

NP/gp
enc.
c.c Mr. Watters

Norman Paterson,
Superintendent,
Kenora Indian Agency

Figure 1.43. Letter from Norman Paterson, Superintendent, Kenora Indian Agency, to Indian Affairs Branch, December 2, 1954 (file 129/36-7-461, RG10, LAC).



FORM 8

PROVINCE OF ONTARIO

CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF DEATH [redacted]

PLACE OF DEATH: County of District of Kenora, Township of

If in City, Town or Village Kenora, Ontario. Street No. [redacted]

If in hospital or institution, give name St. Joseph's Hospital, Kenora, Ontario.

Place of Burial Cecilia Jeffrey Indian School Date of Burial November, 16th, 1932

Name of Undertaker Taylor & Tuckaberry, Address Kenora, Ontario.

Frank Edwards

BURIAL PERMIT was issued by—

Figure 1.44. Extracts from a death registration showing that the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School, Round Lake location, had a cemetery by 1932. The death registration was signed by the Indian Agent, Frank Edwards (Certificate of Registration of Death Number [registration number redacted], [name redacted], Ontario, date of death November 15, 1932, in Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869–1948, Ancestry.ca).

Figure 1.45. Extracts showing archaeological information relating to the cemeteries at the Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*); see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

Figure 1.46. The Cecilia Jeffrey Indian Residential School cemetery on the former Round Lake grounds in December 2023 (published with permission from Anne Lindsay).

THE DESECRATION OF CEMETERIES WAS PLANNED AND PREDICTABLE

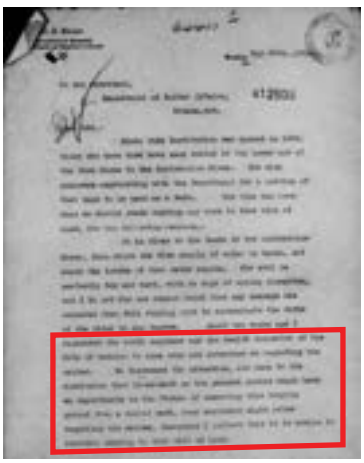
When Indian Residential Schools and government officials no longer needed a particular burial ground or cemetery, it was often abandoned or, worse, deliberately erased through the intentional removal of grave markers. Whether through neglect or a deliberate act, when Indian Residential School lands were sold or transferred, the burial grounds and cemeteries were often disappeared.

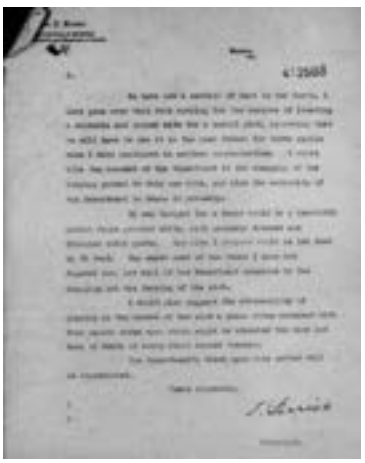
No Government Plan to Care for the Cemeteries

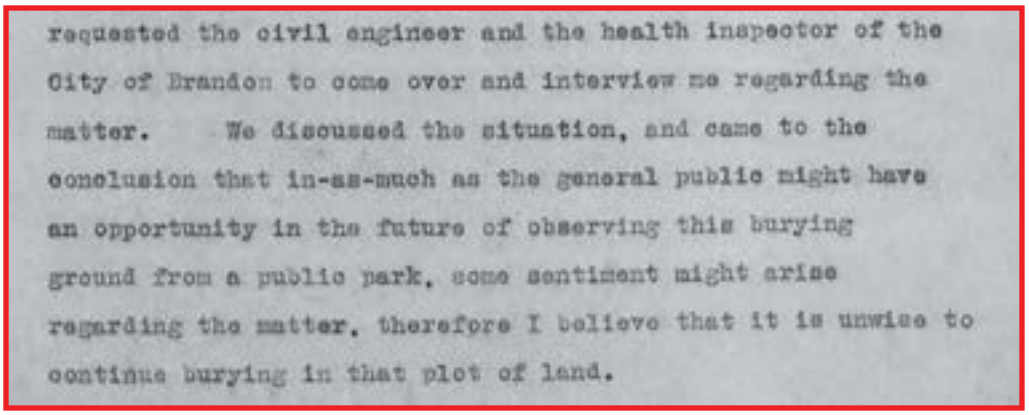
The TRC found that "[c]onsistent with the lack of policy regarding burial of deceased residential school students, no plan appears to have existed regarding maintenance of cemeteries after school closure."[180] Without a coherent plan to identify and care for the cemeteries, many fell into disrepair as the institutions closed and, at times, even before their closure. The TRC noted that, "for the most part, the cemeteries that the Commission documented are abandoned, disused, and vulnerable to accidental disturbance."[181] The TRC further found that, "given the advancing ages of living Survivors or neighbours with first-hand or local knowledge, there is an urgent need for continued work to identify the location of these cemeteries and burial grounds."[182]

Government Officials and Institution Administrators Desecrated Children's Burials

In some cases, Indian Residential School administrators were directly involved in the intentional neglect and abandonment of the cemeteries. In other cases, they participated in the desecration of the children's burials.[183] When Indigenous children died at the Brandon Indian Residential School, many were buried in one of two burial grounds established and operated by the institution. In May 1912, Principal Thompson Ferrier wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs that, "since this institution was opened in 1895, those who have died have been buried at the lower end of the farm close to the Assinaboine [sic] River" (see Figure 1.47).







requested the civil engineer and the health inspector of the City of Brandon to come over and interview me regarding the matter. We discussed the situation, and came to the conclusion that in-as-much as the general public might have an opportunity in the future of observing this burying ground from a public park, some sentiment might arise regarding the matter, therefore I believe that it is unwise to continue burying in that plot of land.

Figure 1.47. Letter from T. Ferrier to the Secretary of the DIA, May 29, 1912 (file 576-9, part 1, vol. 6258, RG10, LAC).

A series of letters between Principal Ferrier and J.D. McLean, who was at the time a high ranking official in the Department of Indian Affairs, indicate that they planned to abandon the institution's first burial ground and wanted the burials to be invisible to future park goers. Both Ferrier and McLean were involved in this process and in establishing the second burial ground at the Brandon Indian Residential School. Ferrier and McLean's wishes to make the first cemetery invisible came true. The area is now privately owned and occupied by the Turtle Crossing RV Park (see Figure 1.48).

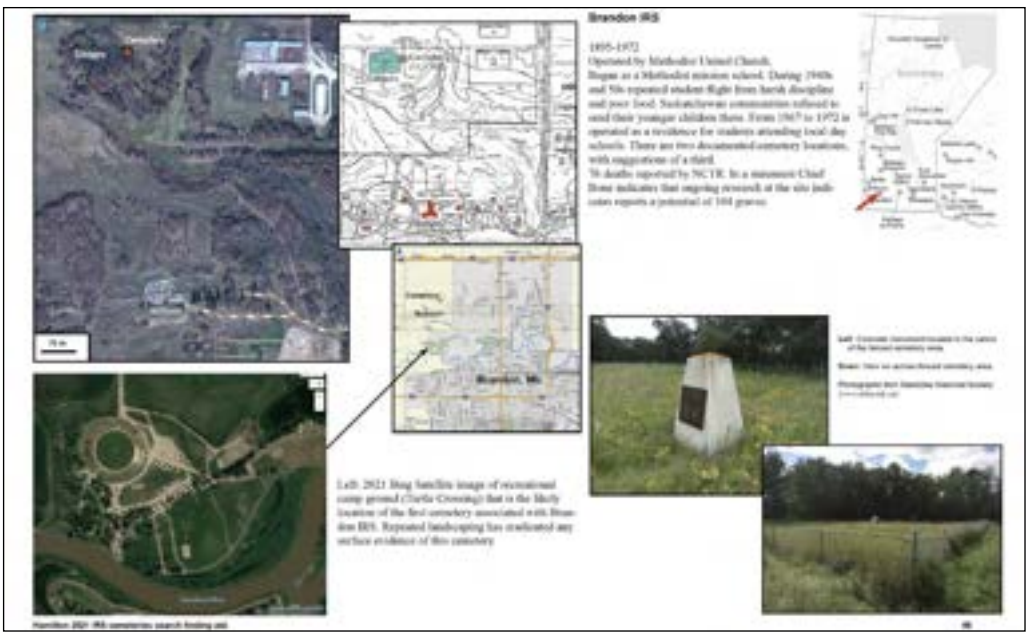


Figure 1.48. Extract showing archaeological information relating to the cemeteries at the Brandon Indian Residential School (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*); see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

The Multiple Desecrations of Burials at the Muscowequan Indian Residential School

> For our Nation, Muskowekwan, it has been a way of life, it is our reality, and we were born into this legacy of cultural genocide for 111 years that the Residential School was in operation. We all share one sure fact in common and that is the history. We have known our truths for generations. The knowledge was a known fact that there were unmarked burials near the Residential School.
>
> **—Councillor Vanessa Wolfe on behalf of Muskowekwan First Nation[184]**

The Muscowequan Indian Residential School[185] evolved from a Roman Catholic day school that opened in the late nineteenth century and became a federally controlled Indian Residential School in 1889.[186] During the 1920s, several reports were critical of the conditions that the children faced there, including inadequate infrastructure and poor nutrition. The federal government took over the operation of the institution in 1969 and then transferred it to the Muskowekwan Education Centre in 1981. The institution closed in 1997.[187]

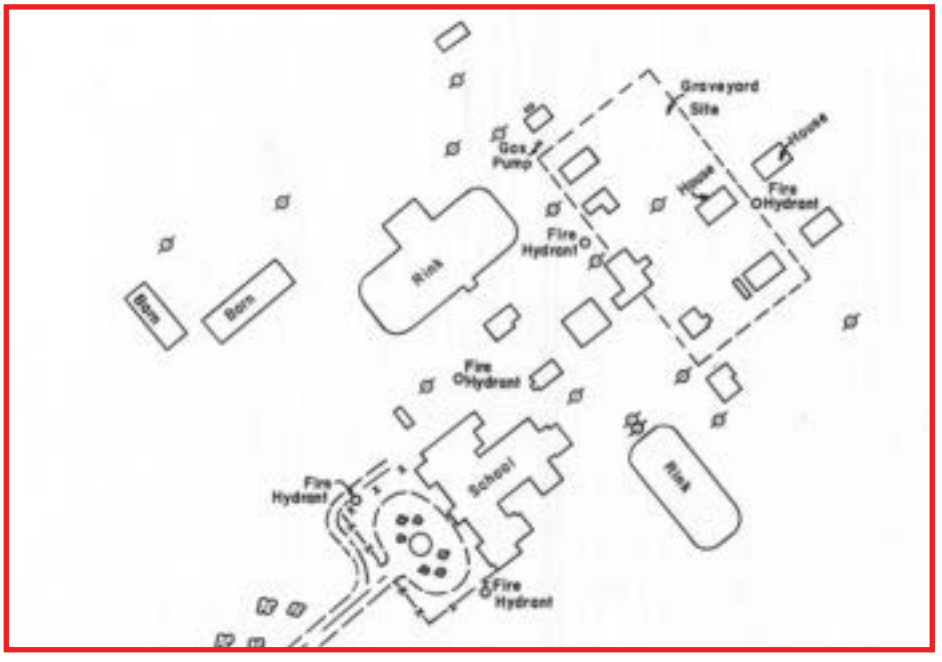
Records indicate that the Muscowequan Indian Residential School cemetery may date back to the early twentieth century when an influenza epidemic claimed the lives of several children at the institution. The cemetery was desecrated on at least four different occasions. In 1935, during construction of a new residence at the site, some of the graves were moved by one of the priests to accommodate one wing of the residence.[188] It is unclear where the remains were moved to. In 1944, a community Elder recounted that a priest at the school had levelled the cemetery.[189] More buildings were added to the site during the 1960s and may have been built on top of the cemetery's grounds.[190] In 1960, small bones were found during the construction of a staff house at the institution. Members of the Muskowekwan First Nation were concerned about construction disturbing the cemetery, and a community member filed a formal complaint. The office of Hazen Argue, a local member of parliament, soon became involved in the matter.

After questioning Father Fernand Delaye, OMI, the school's principal at the same time, the Department of Indian Affairs concluded that:

- The cemetery had not been in use since 1930 when a new cemetery had been established about a mile away;
- It had subsequently been levelled and seeded with grass, but community members remembered where it was located because some of their family members were buried there; and
- The contractors had not been able to determine whether the bones found were human.

The formal complaint was to be dropped if the government agreed to properly fence in and care for the cemetery.[191] It is unknown whether this was done. A 1978 plan of the institution shows institutional buildings near and sitting on a "graveyard site" (see Figure 1.49).

Figure 1.49. Plan showing the "Graveyard Site," upper area of image, in 1978 (extract from file 65 RSS SK, 14 TP 27-15-2, Natural Resources Canada).



Despite being included in the site plan in 1978, the following image from the 1980s shows no indication of grave markers, a fence, or a cemetery (see Figure 1.50).

Figure 1.50. Photographic mapping from the 1980s shows no indication of the cemetery noted in the 1978 plan of the school grounds. Note that no markers or fence are visible (file 1130 RSS, 14 TP 27-15-2, Natural Resources Canada); https://satc.nrcan-rncan.gc.ca/clss/plan/detail/id/1130+RSS+SK

In July 1992, while work was being done to install a sewer line, workers uncovered burials on two separate days, just metres behind the former Muscowequan Indian Residential School.[192] Rather than stopping the construction, the contractors put the remains in garbage bags.[193] When Muskowekwan leadership was notified, all work was immediately stopped.[194] Upon learning about the contractors treatment of the remains, the community "experienced shock, grief, anger, disbelief and hurt."[195] After further investigation, a total of 19 unmarked burials in the area were located (see Figure 1.51).

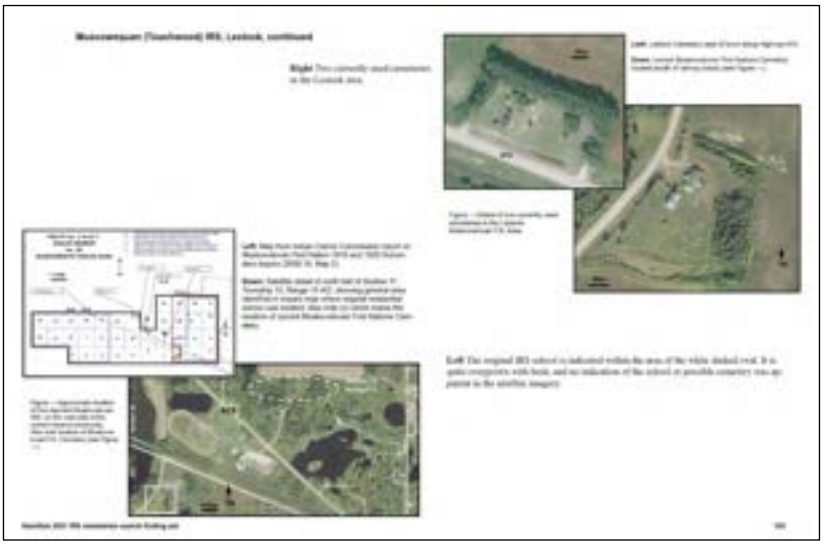


Figure 1.51. Extracts showing archaeological information relating to the cemeteries at the Muscowequan Indian Residential School (Hamilton, *Summary of Data Collected*); see also Paths to Reconciliation Unmarked Burials Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools (*Canadian Geographic*).

CONCLUSION

The histories of the cemeteries that were located at former Indian Residential School sites are evidence of genocide and mass human rights violations. The lack of care given to Indigenous children during their lives at Indian Residential Schools carried over to their deaths and burials. Government policies prioritized cost-savings and efficiency over treating the children who died and their families and communities with the humanity they deserved. Government and church officials made decisions and created policies that led to the deliberate desecration of the burial sites of Indigenous children. At times, these officials even actively participated in these desecrations. Through both their actions and failures to act, the government and church entities created the crisis of missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials that Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities are facing today.

These are important truths that Canada and the churches must accept. The marked and unmarked burial grounds of Indigenous children at former Indian Residential Schools and other associated institutions, are sites of truth. Survivors' memories—their oral history testimonies—combined with archival maps, drawings, records, and photographs—are evidence of the deaths and burials of the children at these institutions. The TRC said that "in photographs, residential schools often appear to be imposing structures....But while they were substantial-looking buildings, looks can deceive."[196] Ultimately, Survivors were and are more formidable than these buildings, they are the living witnesses; as children, their everyday acts of resistance sustained them, as adults, they are transforming former Indian Residential Schools into sites of truth and sites of conscience.

1 Isabelle Knockwood, with Gillian Thomas, *Out of the Depths: The Experiences of Mi'kmaw Children at the Indian Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia* (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2015), 13–14.

2 Kwinkwinxwaligedzi Wakas, Chief Robert Joseph, *Namwayut: We Are All One: A Pathway to Reconciliation* (North Vancouver, BC: Chief Robert Joseph, 2022), 43–44, 231.

3 Justine Lloyd and Linda Steele, "Place, Memory, and Justice: Critical Perspectives on Sites of Conscience," *Space and Culture* 25, no. 2 (2022): 147.

4 Lloyd and Steele, "Place, Memory, and Justice," 147.

5 Sarah de Leeuw, "Artful Places: Creativity and Colonialism in British Columbia's Indian Residential Schools" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2007), 159.

6 de Leeuw, "Artful Places," 162.

7 The map is updated on an ongoing basis as new information is gathered to support the Sacred work that Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities are leading to locate, protect, and commemorate the unmarked burials of children who died while attending Indian Residential Schools. "Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites Associated with Indian Residential Schools," *Canadian Geographic*, https://pathstoreconciliation.canadiangeographic.ca/unmarked-graves-and-burial-sites/#mainmap.

8 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: Missing Children and Unmarked Burials*, vol. 4 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2016), 12.

9 TRC, *Missing Children*, 2.

10 TRC, *Missing Children*, 5.

11 TRC, *Missing Children*, 122–23.

12 TRC, *Missing Children*, 2–3.

13 TRC, *Missing Children*, 11, 125–37.

14 TRC, *Missing Children*, 8–10.

15 TRC, *Missing Children*, 138.

16 TRC, *Missing Children*, 4–5.

17 TRC, *Missing Children*, 4–5.

18 Condemned in 1931, the institution's main building was replaced in 1935. This new building brought the Shingwauk Home for Boys and the Wawanosh Home for Girls together in one place. As with many Indian Residential Schools, Shingwauk transitioned to a student residence, with children living in the institution and attending local public schools in the 1950s. "Shingwauk (ON)," *Indian Residential Schools History and Dialogue Centre (IRSHDC) Collections*, accessed September 28, 2023, https://collections.irshdc.ubc.ca/index.php/Detail/entities/1150.

19 "Wawanosh Home (ON)," *IRSHDC Collections*, accessed September 28, 2023, https://collections.irshdc.ubc.ca/index.php/Detail/entities/1153.

20 Extract from *Algoma Missionary News*, July 1, 1876, quoted in F.W. Colloton, "Story of the Shingwauk Cemetery: A Paper Read in Connection with the Pilgrimage to the Shingwauk Burial Ground, 7th June 1954," unpublished manuscript in the possession of the Shingwauk Project Residential School Archive and Research Centre, http://archives.algomau.ca/main/?q=node/17174.

21 Extract from *Algoma Missionary News*, July 1, 1876, quoted in Colloton, "Story of the Shingwauk Cemetery." Additional details were published in *Dominion Churchman*, April 20, 1876, 187, https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.8_06916_276/8.

22 The girls are probably named from left to right as they are shown in the photograph. Krista McCracken, personal communication, September 14, 2023.

23 Algoma University Archives and Special Collections, accessed July 10, 2023, http://archives.algomau.ca/main/?q=node/17377; Jenna Lemay, Shingwauk Residential Schools Centre, "Shingwauk Narratives: Sharing Residential School History—Student Death, Part 2," https://ecampusontario.pressbooks.pub/shingwauknarratives/chapter/student-death-part-2/; Edward Sadowski, personal communication, September 15, 2023; "Documents Regarding the Shingwauk Memorial Cemetery of the Shingwauk and Wawanosh Indian Residential Schools," Shingwauk Project Archive, March 12, 2008 (document provided by Edward Sadowski, September 15, 2023); "Our Indian Homes Student Register, Part 1," *Shingwauk Project Archive*, March 12, 2008 (document provided by Edward Sadowski, September 15, 2023).

24 Krista McCracken, "Other Duties as Assigned: Cemetery Maintenance," July 19, 2012, https://kristamccracken.ca/?tag=ontario-genealogical-society.

25 McCracken, "Other Duties as Assigned."

26 The Plummer Memorial Public Hospital mentioned in this registration opened in 1917 in Sault Ste-Marie, Ontario, as the Royal Victoria hospital in a house on Albert Street East with 18 beds. The next year, the hospital added a nursing school. The hospital moved to the former home of W.H. and Maria Plummer in 1920, changing its name to the Plummer Memorial Public Hospital. The Plummer Memorial Public Hospital formed a partnership with the Sault Ste. Marie General Hospital (Catholic) in 1993. ("History," *Sault Area Hospital*, https://sah.on.ca/about/history/). After leaving Shingwauk for the principalship at St. George's Indian Residential Sschool, Reverent Hives "sent a set of shackles to R.A Hoey, Indian Affair's Superintendent of Welfare and Training. A former student of his school told Hives that the shackles had been used to chain runaways to their beds. A set of well-used stocks stood in St. George's playground" (Madelaine Christine Jacobs, "Assimilation through Incarceration: The Geographic Imposition of Canadian Law over Indigenous Peoples" ([PhD thesis, Queen's University, 2012] https://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/obj/thesescanada/vol2/OKQ/TC-OKQ-7557.pdf).

27 Independent Assessment Process. (IAP), "Shingwauk Residential School Narrative," NCTR Archive, https://archives.nctr.ca/NAR-NCTR-084.

28 TRC, *Missing Children*, 134.

29 TRC, *Missing Children*, 1.

30 See, for example, Peter H. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Residential Schools of Manitoba and the North-West Territories* (Ottawa: Department of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1907).

31 TRC, *Missing Children*, 1.

32 TRC, *Missing Children*, 22.

33 TRC, *Missing Children*, 22.

34 TRC, *Missing Children*, 22.

35 TRC, *Missing Children*, 26.

36 TRC, *Missing Children*, 26.

37 TRC, *Missing Children*, 54.

38 TRC, *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 95.

39 TRC, *Missing Children*, 109–11.

40 TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 108, 120.

41 TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 43.

42 Survivors and intergenerational Survivors spoke of children being murdered by those that ran the institutions at several National Gatherings, including in Edmonton, Winnipeg, Vancouver, and Toronto.

43 "Episode 5: Feeding the Dead," in *Kuper Island*,produced by CBC, podcast, June 14, 2022.

44 TRC, *Missing Children*, 118.

45 TRC, *Missing Children*, 26.

46 TRC, *Missing Children*, 126.

47 The TRC describes these "church mission centres" in TRC, *Missing Children*, 99.

48 TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 99.

49 "Interview with Irene Favel," *CBC*, July 2008, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=30NCpvvVx98, cited in Shuana Niessen, *Shattering the Silence: The Hidden History of Indian Residential Schools in Saskatchewan*, (Regina, SK: Faculty of Education, University of Regina, 2017), 74.

50 TRC, *Missing Children*, 55; TRC, *Honouring the Truth*, 79; TRC, *The Survivors Speak: A Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 81–82.

51 See, for instance, two transcripts of Sharing Panels held at the TRC's Events: TRC, *Transcript for Victoria Regional Event Sharing Panel 2—Carson Hall B+C—Day 2*, Doc. SP137T_01, April 14, 2012; TRC, *Transcript for Dialogue on Resilience (with Shelagh Rogers)*, Doc. ANE402T_01, October 29, 2011.

52 "Episode 1: A School They Called Alcatraz," in *Kuper Island* produced by CBC, podcast, May 17, 2022.

53 John Borrows, "Listening for a Change: The Courts and Oral Tradition," *Osgoode Hall Law Journal* 39 (2001): 20.

54 See, for example, the presentation of the initial findings of the Xyólhmet Ye Syéwiqwélh (Taking Care of Our Children) search process being conducted on Stó:lō Nation territory. "Xyólhmet Ye Syéwiqwélh (Taking Care of Our Children)'s Qwolqwel Swayel," Facebook, September 21, 2023, https://www.facebook.com/stolonation/videos/3402235866772964/; Pimicikamak Cree Nation Chief David Moonias, "Osborne Family Presentation: Pimicikamak: Sharing a Journey of Healing," National Gathering on Unmarked Burials: Addressing Trauma in the Search and Recovery of Missing Children, November 30, 2022 (David Moonias' discussion of Survivor accounts of their experiences at Cross Lake Indian Residential School); Steven Dyer, "'I've Been Very Overwhelmed': Survivors Gather at Former Residential School Site," *CTV News*, July 6, 2021, https://edmonton.ctvnews.ca/i-ve-been-very-overwhelmed-survivors-gather-at-former-residential-school-site-1.5499456 (Survivor George Muldoe being quoted as saying that "I don't think they'll ever find everybody...some of the people, especially the fetuses, were put in furnaces").

55 Participant, Participant Dialogue and Sharing, National Gathering on Unmarked Burials: Upholding Indigenous Law, March 28, 2023.

56 These teachings are often oral and not enumerated in written form. For a discussion of the role and reliability of witnesses in a Coast Salish legal order, see Andrée Boisselle, "Law's Hidden Canvas: Teasing Out the Threads of Coast Salish Legal Sensibility" (PhD diss., University of Victoria, 2017), 201–9. For a broader contextualization of oral histories in Sto:lo society, see Jo-Ann Archibald (Q'um Q'um Xiiem), *Indigenous Storywork: Educating the Heart, Mind, Body, and Spirit* (Vancouver: UBC Press, 2008). For a Mohawk scholar's assessment of the importance of orally transmitted histories, see Patricia A. Monture, "Locating Aboriginal Peoples in Canadian Law: One Aboriginal Woman's Journey through Case Law and the Canadian Constitution" (LLM thesis, York University, 1998), 50–51. For a discussion on the responsibilities of those who have information or knowledge relevant to the safety or well-being of others, see Rachel Ariss, "Bearing Witness: Creating the Conditions of Justice for First Nations Children," *Canadian Journal of Law and Society* 36, no. 1 (2021): 124–28.

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58 Keith Carlson, *The Power of Place, the Problem of Time: Aboriginal Identities and Historical Consciousness in the Cauldron of Colonialism* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 2010), 61 (Carlson is describing in particular the practice of "good Stó:lō historians").

59 Carlson, *Power of Place*, 60–61. In the Michi Saagiig Nishnaabeg (Anishinaabe) legal order, the ability to access accurate information is a recognized legal right. See Tara Williamson, Simon Owen, with Cheyenne Arnold-Cunningham, in collaboration with Mshkiki Gitigaan Kwe (Katelyn Brennan) (Indigenous Law Research Unit and Niijkiwendidaa Anishnaabekwewag Services Circle), *Nawendiwin: The Art of Being Related: Anishinaabeg Kinship-Centred Governance and Family Law* (lək̓ʷəŋən & W̱SÁNEĆ Territory: Indigenous Law Research Unit, 2021), 72, https://ilru.ca/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Nawendiwin_Report.pdf.

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79 TRC, *Missing Children*, 118.

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89 Pat Sandiford Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 72–73; Charles Camsell Hospital Fonds, PRO383, Provincial Archives of Alberta, https://searchprovincialarchives.alberta.ca/charles-camsell-hospital-fonds.

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129 Report to Secretary from J. Day, 1891, file 116820-1A, vol. 3922, RG10, LAC, quoted in John Milloy, John Sheridan, and Mary Jane Logan McCallum, *"A National Crime": The Canadian Government and the Residential School System, 1879 to 1986*, anniversary edition (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2017), 11, 85.

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131 E. Matheson, "Report: Indian Industrial School, Battleford," July 31, 1895, in Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs for the Year Ended 30th June 1895* (Ottawa: S.E. Dawson, 1896), 49.

132 Only about 10 of the names listed in the register indicated may have been too old or too young to have been children attending this institution at the time of their deaths. List of Burials in Battleford Industrial School Graveyard 1895–1914, 24b, container ID: 1, Register B46 II, Anglican Diocese of Saskatoon.

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134 Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 201.

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140 Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 200.

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143 Colette J. Hopkins, "The Forgotten Cemetery of the St. Vital Parish (1879–1885): A Documentary and Mortuary Analysis" (MA thesis, University of Saskatchewan, 2004), 170–71, 179; Hurov, "Study of Human Hair Samples," 48.

144 Hopkins, "Forgotten Cemetery," 170–71, 179; Hurov, "Study of Human Hair Samples," 48.

145 Hopkins, "Forgotten Cemetery," 170–71, 179; Hurov, "Study of Human Hair Samples," 48.

146 "Cemetery Restored by Students," 9.

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181 TRC, *Missing Children*, 125.

182 TRC, *Missing Children*, 130.

183 In 2021, the Roman Catholic archdiocese of Regina publicly confirmed that, during the 1960s, a local priest had bulldozed grave markers in a mission cemetery located near to, and used by, the Cowessess Indian Residential School. The priest's actions were apparently part of a dispute between the priest and the community's Chief. See Larissa Kurz, "Cowessess Chief, Catholic Archdiocese Confirm Grave Markers at Cemetery Site 'Destroyed' in '60s," *SaskToday*, June 24, 2021, https://www.sasktoday.ca/south/local-news/cowessess-chief-catholic-archdiocese-confirm-grave-markers-at-cemetery-site-destroyed-in-60s-4172709.

184 "Muskowekwan Historical Site Formerly Known as Muscowequan IRS," presentation created by Councillor Vanessa Wolfe-Historical Site, Portfolio on behalf of Muskowekwan First Nation, March 22, 2023, slide 2 (sent to the OSI).

185 Although the Indian Residential School is most often spelled "Muscowequan," while the community today uses "Muskowekwan," both spellings can appear in records.

186 Originally operating on the Muskowekwan Reserve in Saskatchewan, the Muscowequan Indian Residential School evolved from a Roman Catholic day school that opened on the reserve in the late nineteenth century. This day school was expanded to accommodate boarders in 1886, "Muscowequan (SK)," IRSHDC, https://collections.irshdc.ubc.ca/index.php/Detail/entities/1173; "Muscowequan," *University of Regina*, https://www2.uregina.ca/education/saskindianresidentialschools/muscowequan-indian-residential-school/; IAP, "Muscowequan Residential School Narrative," Doc. NAR-NCTR-111, 2000–15, NCTR Archive, 1.

187 "Muscowequan (SK)," IRSHDC; "Muscowequan," *University of Regina*; IAP, "Muscowequan Residential School Narrative," 1.

188 Schillaci-Ventura and Bray, "Cemetery and Grave Site Research," 2.

189 Schillaci-Ventura and Bray, "Cemetery and Grave Site Research," 2.

190 "Muskowekwan Historical Site"; TRC, *Missing Children*, 133; IAP, "Muscowequan Residential School Narrative," 7; Schillaci-Ventura and Bray, "Cemetery and Grave Site Research."

191 Memorandum from Regional Supervisor, Saskatchewan, to Superintendent, Touchwood Agency, November 22, 1960, file 75-E-8 EFRC, RG10, LAC; Memorandum from Chief, Education Division, to Regional Supervisor, Saskatchewan, November 24, 1960, file 121/6-2, box 5, vol. 1, RG10, LAC; Letter from Office of Hazen Argue, M.P. [W.H. Pope, Executive Assistant] to Colonel H.M. Jones, Director of Indian Affairs, Department of Citizenship and Immigration, October 6, 1960, file 121/6-2,box 5, vol. 1, RG10, LAC; IAP, "Muscowequan Residential School Narrative."

192 "Muskowekwan Historical Site," slide 4; see also Trevor Sutter, "Indians' Gravesite Disturbed," *The Leader-Post*, July 24, 1992; Niessen, *Shattering the Silence*, 74.

193 "Muskowekwan Historical Site," slide 4.

194 "Muskowekwan Historical Site," slide 4.

195 "Muskowekwan Historical Site," slide 4.

196 TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 453–54.

CHAPTER 2

Tracing the Missing and Disappeared Children: Good Shepherd Homes

In the early 1990s, the world became aware of the previously silenced histories of abuse, forced labour, disappearances, deaths, and unmarked burials of women and their babies in what are known as the Magdalen Laundries or Magdalen Asylums in Ireland, including those institutions that were run by the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd (or Good Shepherd).[1] These histories reach far beyond Ireland and are found across the United States and in a number of British Commonwealth countries, including Canada. In Canada, the Magdalen Laundries were often operated by the Sisters of Charity of the Good Shepherd and are commonly known as the "Good Shepherd Homes."[2]

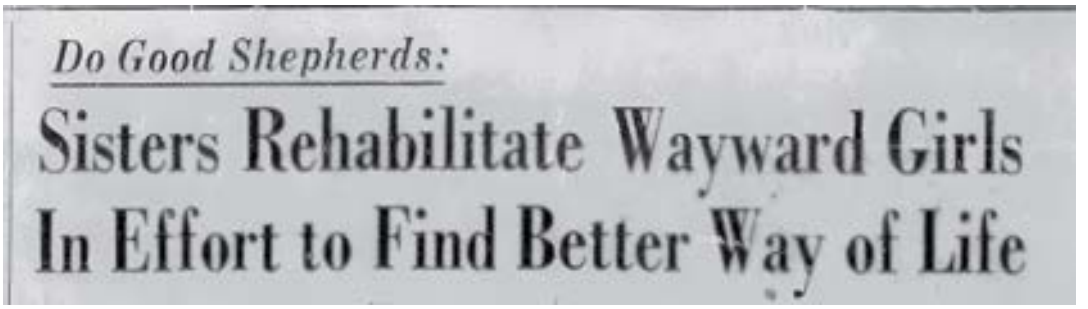
As Miriam Haughton, Mary McAuliffe, and Emilie Pine point out, "it is key to understanding this history that we see these institutions, and the women and children who were incarcerated within them, not as exceptional cases but as expressions of social attitudes that viewed vulnerable members of the population as morally suspect, a 'problem' which the state, church, and citizenry responded to through mass institutionalisation."[3]

THE MAGDALEN LAUNDRIES (ASYLUMS)

The historical roots of the Magdalen Laundries can be found not only in Ireland and not solely in the Catholic Church. They also have their roots in complex transnational networks of Christianity, empire building, and colonialism that can be traced back to the broader Rescue Movement that emerged in the eighteenth century in England and included both

Catholic and Protestant-run Magdalen Asylums. Although the original goal of this movement was to rescue and redeem sex workers who were characterized as prostituted women, the mandate of these institutions soon expanded to include women who were considered at risk of becoming "fallen."[4]

The Magdalen Asylums or Magdalen Laundries were originally promoted by both Catholic and Protestant advocates to "rescue" poor women and children, and, in particular, unmarried mothers, from spiritual and moral sin as well as from physical harm. The Asylums or Laundries took the name "Magdalen" from the popular belief in Western Christianity that a woman named Mary Magdalen, mentioned in the Christian bible, was a so-called "prostitute" who repented her sins and, through this repentance, found salvation.[5] In the mid-1840s, Catholic religious Sisters, including the Good Shepherd and the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge, became involved in the Rescue Movement across Europe. Eventually, these Catholic orders would become better known and more often identified with the operations of the Magdalen Laundries or Magdalen Asylums than their Protestant counterparts. During the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, the institutions that these orders ran included the Magdalen Laundries in Ireland and in other British Commonwealth countries, such as Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and in the United States.[6] Rebecca Lea McCarthy notes that the well-known history of the Magdalen Laundries in Ireland "does not stand alone because other peripheral countries such as Australia, Scotland, Canada and other parts of Europe all perpetuated the image of the fallen woman and the need to redeem her through disciplined labor."[7] But the use of labour in these institutions, including the use of child labour, was not purely redemptive. Rather, through this forced labour, countries, including Canada, exploited these women's work as an institutional revenue stream (see Figure 2.1).[8]


Do Good Shepherds:

Sisters Rehabilitate Wayward Girls
In Effort to Find Better Way of Life

Figure 2.1. *Kingston Whig Standard,* November 6, 1959, 28.

The Good Shepherd Homes in Canada were part of a larger transnational network of settler colonial systems that included the Magdalen Laundries. The Good Shepherd Homes and Indian Residential Schools in Canada shared what James Gallen and Kate Gleeson describe

as "the exploitative and misguided civilising endeavour of European, Christian paternalism."[9] Both institutional systems shared similar ideology and operational strategies and processes. Patrick Wolfe writes that in settler societies "the colonizers come to stay—invasion is a structure not an event."[10] These structures are embedded in settler colonial legal, educational, and economic institutions that are integrated into, and sustained by, everyday processes and practices throughout Canadian society (see Figure 2.2).

Although the links between certain Good Shepherd Homes and particular Indian Residential Schools span back to the early days of the Indian Residential School System in Canada, these connections increased significantly in the decades following the Second World War. Beginning in the 1930s, and expanding in the 1940s, the connections between the Good Shepherd Homes and the Indian Residential School System became more concrete when Canada began transferring Indigenous girls, and, particularly, those from Catholic Indian Residential Schools who were considered to be a "problem," to Good Shepherd institutions. These transfers continued into the 1970s, even as Canada was in the process of dismantling the Indian Residential School System (see Figures 2.3, 2.4, and 2.5).[11]

Sisters of Good Shepherd Visit Sault Ste. Marie

A refuge for problem and delinquent girls has been begun at Sudbury, work having commenced two weeks ago. In connection with raising funds to continue construction two Sisters of the Good Shepherd are in the city, Mother Theodora and Sister Patricia. They will go on to other points later.

The Sisters pointed out that the home was not for catholic girls alone, but all denominations would be cared for from any place in this district. The girls who came to the home would be given a chance to learn a trade and readjust themselves, becoming once more desirable citizens. It would be determined what the girl was best fitted for and she would receive instructions along that line of vocational work.

On account of its size, the new home will not accommodate younger girls as in other established homes of this kind, where they go to elementary school, high school, study Red Cross work, beauty culture and so on. The main object of the Sudbury home is to give problem and delinquent girls a new start in life.

Figure 2.2. *The Sault Star*, October 5, 1940, 8.

Figure 2.3. Good Shepherd Convent on St. Patrick's Street near New Edinburgh, Ottawa, [1927–32], R1181, vol. 305, item identification no. 5026496, accession no. 1986-004 NPC, Albums – Information and Historical Division Sub-sub-series, e999908937, National Capital Commission Fonds, RG 34, Library and Archives Canada.

Figure 2.4. Couvent du Bon-Pasteur de Rivière-du-Loup, Québec [1930], Vieux-Montréal, file 06M,P748,S1,P2342, Collection Félix Barrière, Bibliothèque et Archives nationales du Québec (BAnQ).

Figure 2.5. Couvent Bon-Pasteur de Fraserville, Québec, s.n., [19--?], file 0002639331, Collection Cartes Postales, BAnQ.

THE SHIFT FROM REDEMPTION TO REHABILITATION

From their beginning in Canada, as in other parts of the world, the laundries emphasized hard work as a path to penitence and rescue, framing their ideology in the language of "redemption and salvation." This ideology was the foundation of a rationale that justified using residents' labour to make the Good Shepherd Homes self-supporting. The Good Shepherd Homes' operational focus on laundry work—always heavy, difficult, and dangerous—also carried with it implications of low social standing, a last resort for those of questionable character. By the early twentieth century, this work was also associated with the spread of disease, both to and by, laundresses. Good Shepherd Homes would continue to use the forced labour of the women and children to support their institutions well into the twentieth century. However, by the early 1900s, the ideology behind the Magdalen Laundries, and their related operations, was moving away from the stated goal of redemption to becoming increasingly carceral and punitive.[12]

In Canada and Australia, the commercial laundries that were associated with the Magdalen Asylums closed by the 1970s. Some scholars associate this change with a wider societal re-evaluation of the benefits of imprisonment and a consequent shift towards rehabilitation that had begun shortly after the Second World War.[13] However, this new ideology alone did not displace the forced labour of women and children in the laundries.

NEW APPROACHES TO CHILD WELFARE AND THE DECLINE OF THE LAUNDRIES

During much of the twentieth century, the Good Shepherd commercial laundries in Canada operated in tandem with the changing approaches to child welfare. Over time, and especially after the Second World War, these changing approaches eventually provided new revenues to replace the income that the laundries had been generating. In the early 1960s, Dorothy Jean Thompson, who had recently joined the Good Shepherd congregation, described the Good Shepherd's focus on social welfare and the psychological interventions that the Sisters practiced in their institutions. In some cases, changes during this period included providing some form of compensation to the women and children for their labour. Noting that "often the girls are given remuneration for the work that they do."[14] Thompson explained that this money might be kept for them until they were discharged, although some girls might be allowed to spend their earnings in a store operated by the Good Shepherd.[15]

Despite the Good Shepherd's shift towards social welfare practices during this period, Thompson noted that the decline of laundry work, itself, was not due to this shift. Rather,

it was because they were less reliant on the laundries as their primary source of revenue when new external funding sources became available. Thompson wrote that "almost all of the houses have their own laundries and each girl works in them. In some they work only a half day a week; in others where the laundry is the main support with little or no outside aid, they must work all day in the laundry" but that "this latter system is fast disappearing as governments and welfare agencies contribute more to the maintenance."[16]

THE FORCED TRANSFER OF CHILDREN FROM INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOLS TO GOOD SHEPHERD HOMES

The history of the Good Shepherd Homes makes the transnational and national religious networks of empire and settler colonialism more visible within Canada. The following life stories of the disappeared Indigenous children who were forcibly transferred to Good Shepherd Homes from Indian Residential Schools across the country are representative examples of the experiences that the children encountered. To emphasize the national scope of these institutions, these life stories are organized according to the city and province where the Good Shepherd Homes were located. Overall, this history has not been well documented, and gaps remain. Many of the records relating to Good Shepherd Homes, and the Indigenous children transferred to them, have been retained by religious authorities in a range of private, institutional, and religious archives, and, in some cases, provincial archives. With so many different possible locations and different access requirements, investigating the fate of the children transferred from Indian Residential Schools to Good Shepherd Homes is complex, time consuming, and difficult.

The following brief histories of some of the Good Shepherd Homes are not a complete list of all the Good Shepherd operations across Canada. A table that includes these and some other Good Shepherd Homes is included in Appendix B. Because of the changing names that these institutions operated under, dates in Appendix B are a best effort. Neither these histories nor Appendix B are complete lists or complete histories of these institutions. They do, however, provide a sense of the consistencies and differences across institutions. They also demonstrate the colonialism and paternalism that was embedded in their operations, the same colonialism and paternalism that existed in the Indian Residential Schools where the girls were transferred from.

These life histories are evidence of deeply ingrained settler attitudes, policies, and practices that pathologize and criminalize Indigenous children and youth. While much of this history is told through a settler colonial lens, when reframed through the lens of Indigenous

resistance, a different picture emerges. Wherever possible, these histories have drawn on correspondence from the children themselves as well as from Survivors' statements and memoirs. In this way, it is possible to hear the voices of the children, telling their truths, in their own ways.

HALIFAX, NOVA SCOTIA (1890–PRESENT)

In 1866, the Good Shepherd Sisters opened a convent in Ottawa.[17] In 1890, spurred on by a number of factors, including "the interest of Catholic middle-class women" who, "like their Protestant counterparts," were concerned about "securing a reliable supply of servants," the Good Shepherd convent opened a refuge and reform institution in Halifax, Nova Scotia.[18] In 1891, federal legislation established the Good Shepherd institution in Halifax as a reformatory for Catholic girls in the province; it was "Nova Scotia's equivalent to Ontario's Mercer Reformatory."[19] The women and girls who lived at the Halifax institution were divided into categories that reflected the moral judgments of both the religious community and of its surrounding geographical and social community. Residents at this Good Shepherd could be:

- Those who entered voluntarily (generally spoken of as "penitents"), the only condition being their desire to forsake the paths of shame—to get out of the way of temptation, and to lead new lives;
- Young girls and children exposed and in danger, sent by parents, guardians, or authorities for stated periods. These were received on the principle that prevention is better than the cure; and
- A reformatory for women and girls sentenced by the courts under the Dominion statutes. This class of girls could be received from any municipality in the province, contributing to their maintenance.[20]

Closely controlled, the Good Shepherd institution in Halifax was "out of sight of the middle-class citizenry in two respects. It was located on a large, austere estate devoted to Catholic institutions on Quinpool Road and the internal management of the home was not open to the scrutiny of the public in the same way as non-denominational and Protestant institutions were."[21] This lack of oversight characterized many of the Good Shepherd institutions through much of their history. The women and girls in the institution were kept separate according to their class, a move intended to prevent those of "lower class" from influencing

others from a "higher class." They worked in silence. Their names could be changed, and their terms in the institution could be extended by the Sisters, leaving the women and children detained there anxious, isolated, and disoriented.[22]

As with other "rescue homes," the Good Shepherd institution on Quinpool Road generated funds for the institution by using forced labour in its commercial laundry. The operation of the commercial laundry was large enough to compete with similar businesses in the area, yet no person was paid more than her room, board, clothing, and incidental expenses.

SHUBENACADIE INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL TRANSFERS

There was a tangible connection between Indian Residential Schools and the Good Shepherd institutions in the Maritimes. Even before the 1940s, records show that the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School was receiving and transferring Indigenous girls to the Halifax and the New Brunswick Good Shepherd institutions. Describing the opening of the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, Mary O'Hearn notes that:

> in mid-January 1930, Father Mackey expected that the first five Sisters would join him toward the end of the month, and that a week later they would be ready to receive the first fifty to sixty children and the remaining Sisters. The first resident children arrived from the Saint Joseph's Orphanage, Saint Patrick's Home, and the Monastery of the Good Shepherd in Halifax, during the week of February 5, 1930." Of the first thirty students to arrive at Shubenacadie, fully one third, 10 girls, were from the Good Shepherds' Halifax institution.[23]

Hazel Knockwood

From at least the 1940s and into the 1960s, Shubenacadie administrators threatened children in their care with being transferred to a Good Shepherd Home to maintain discipline. Hazel Knockwood was one of the girls that was transferred after she escaped the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School in the 1940s. Once returned by the police, the principal, as a "disciplinary action, to act as a deterrent should any similar plans be in the making," transferred Knockwood to the Good Shepherd's Home in Halifax.[24] It is not clear whether the principal's actions had their intended effect, as Knockwood recalled—with resistance cloaked in wry humour—that when she was sent to the Good Shepherd, it "was better than the IRS

[Indian Residential School] because at least I had my own room."[25]

Georgina Charles and Cecilia Denny

Other girls were transferred from the Schubenacadie Indian Residential School to the Good Shepherd Home. Knockwood wrote that "a few years after I left school there were two more serious revolts. On one occasion a group of girls occupied the third floor, locking themselves in and, for once, enjoying some of the food the nuns and priest ate every day. On another occasion a girl hid a knife in her mattress, apparently planning to kill Wikew [the nickname for a Nun who was known for harshly disciplining the children]. The police were sent for, and the girl and her sister were both sent to the Good Shepherd Home in Halifax."[26] Perhaps to discourage future collusion, or to isolate the girls and, at the same time, serve as a warning to their peers, Georgina Charles and Cecilia Denny, who were involved in these acts of resistance at Shubenacadie—were transferred to two different Good Shepherd institutions. Georgina was sent to Halifax, and Cecilia to Saint John, New Brunswick.[27]

Alice

While children were transferred from the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School to the Good Shepherd institutions for disciplinary purposes and to punish any acts of resistance, not every child was sent there for resisting authority. Some, like Alice, were sent to the Good Shepherd Home because of perceived disabilities. In the 1940s, a Welfare Division official in Ottawa wrote to the Indian Agent at Schubenacadie, approving the Indian Agent's recommendation that Alice, because of her "cognitive deficit," be transferred from Shubenacadie to a Good Shepherd institution to be trained and then "placed with some reliable family in the capacity of a domestic or engaged in other suitable employment."[28]

Barbara

Barbara had been taken as a small child to live at the Good Shepherd Home in Halifax. From there, she was transferred to the Shubenacadie Indian Residential School, where she remained for five years.[29] Sometime after her release from Shubenacadie, Barbara returned to the Good Shepherd Home pregnant and in labour. With "no definite plans" for what she would do after the baby was born, the Sisters at the Good Shepherd referred Barbara back to the Department of Indian Affairs.[30] It is not clear what happened to Barbara or her baby, after this referral.[31]

SAINT JOHN, NEW BRUNSWICK (CIRCA 1896–1958)

Beginning in the 1890s, Good Shepherd institutions were utilized by the province of New Brunswick to address what it considered to be an issue of delinquency among girls and young women. Elspeth Tulloch notes that, "in 1896, a New Brunswick act incorporating the Sisters of the Good Shepherd of Saint John allowed judges to commit 'vagrant or incorrigible' Roman Catholic girls to the Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge in Saint John to serve out their jail terms, or up to five years if the girl was under 14 years of age."[32] Like the Good Shepherd's Halifax operation, the institution in Saint John generated a significant amount of income by running a commercial laundry with forced labour. Rie Croll and Ellen Lehman described the institution's commercial laundry as "a thriving and lucrative laundry business, so successful that it posed a threat to similar Saint John businesses."[33] Valerie Andrews notes that in Saint John, as in other Good Shepherd facilities, "female inmates were treated as forced labourers in the commercial laundry."[34]

Chapparal Williams

In their book *Shaped by Silence: Stories from the Inmates of the Good Shepherd Laundries and Reformatories*, Croll and Lehman explore the history of this institution through the story of a young woman, Chapparal Williams, who was born and grew up in the Good Shepherd's Saint John institution.[35] Williams (later Bowman), who identified as Métis and Mi'kmaq, was born out of a sexual assault that her young and unmarried mother suffered when only a teenager. Unable to cope with the situation, Williams' grandparents sent their daughter to live at the Good Shepherd facility in Saint John, New Brunswick. Williams' story highlights the exceptional jeopardy that Indigenous children in the facility faced during the 1930s and 1940s. In her conversations with Croll and Lehman, Williams discussed the physical, psychological, and sexual abuse that she experienced and witnessed at the institution and the deeply disorienting effects that changing the names of children and young women in the institution had. For Williams, this was particularly difficult as she learned that she had been working alongside her own mother without knowing it.[36] Williams filed a lawsuit against the Good Shepherd for the trauma and abuse she experienced at the institution. Through this lawsuit, it was revealed that the Good Shepherd had destroyed many of the records that documented Williams' time in the institution.[37] This lack of documentary evidence led to Williams' claim being dismissed. Williams later authored a book, *Delcina's Tears*, detailing her experiences and reflecting on her interactions with the courts.[38] The Good Shepherd's Saint John institution closed in 1958.[39]

TORONTO, ONTARIO (1900–73)

When the St. Mary's Training School opened in 1900 in Toronto, Ontario, the Good Shepherd had already been operating Magdalen Laundries and reformatories in the area since the 1870s. Like other Good Shepherd institutions, discipline at the St. Mary's Training School was strict, silence was enforced, and terms of incarceration could be extended at the will of the Sisters. Those detained there were required to support the institution through their forced labour in its commercial laundry and by manufacturing men's shirts. Known as St. Mary's Euphrasia or St. Euphrasia's at different times during its history, and as Elmcrest School after 1971, the St. Mary's Training School in Toronto closed in 1973.[40]

Carol

Carol's experience in the Indian Residential School System, the court and child welfare systems, and with the Good Shepherd's St Mary's Training School demonstrates the forced transfers that Indigenous children faced and the disorienting number of places, people, and administrative regimes that they were subjected to.

Carol was taken to an Indian Residential School in Ontario during the 1950s. She eventually escaped but was recaptured and then sent to a foster home. Jumping on a freight train, Carol soon escaped the foster home but was intercepted by the police.[41] She was then taken to the Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge at Minnow Lake near Sudbury, Ontario. From there, she was transferred to the Good Shepherd's St. Mary's Training School in Toronto. This transfer was authorized by a court order under Ontario's *Training Schools Act*.[42] Within a few months of being taken to St. Mary's, Carol was again transferred, this time to the Ontario Hospital School in Smiths Falls, Ontario, under the assertion that she was "mentally defective."[43] Just over a year after her admission to the Ontario Hospital School at Smiths Falls, officials wrote that "she actually is not a mentally defective but rather in our opinion is of limited intelligence being within the dull normal range" and added that "we feel as far as [Carol] is concerned that we have stretched the point in keeping her as long as we have on mentally defective papers when we actually do not feel that she is such."[44]

Carol was then discharged to a maternal aunt. However, Indian Affairs Superintendent Henry Gauthier insisted that she be returned to a training school upon learning that Carol had been drinking. He wrote that "it should be stipulated that she be kept there and not released without your authority."[45] When coupled with the immense powers of surveillance that officials from the Department of Indian Affairs held over Indigenous people, the likelihood that any behaviour of an Indigenous woman or girl that was considered undesirable would be responded to by authorities was significant.[46] Carol's experiences expose the

remarkable number of institutions that controlled her life and kept records on her. They also illustrate how social control was used as a tool of assimilation, revealing the interconnected work of various institutions, including the courts, in settler colonialism.

MINNOW LAKE, ONTARIO (1940–POST-1966)

The North Bay Nugget

North Bay, Ont., Wed., Oct. 30, 1940

SUDBURY CONVENT IS CONSECRATED BY BISHOP DIGNAN

Third Remand in Club Bag Theft

Parish priests and hundreds of residents of the Sudbury district were present Sunday when Bishop Dignan, of North Bay, bishop of the Diocese of Sault Ste. Marie, laid the cornerstone of the Convent of the Good Shepherd at Minnow Lake. Bishop Dignan blessed the building and consecrated it to the work of preparing wayward girls for a useful place in society. Bishop Dignan is shown above with Father O'Leary and Father Gamache, both of Sudbury. Included in the group are Sisters of the Good Shepherd, parish priests and choir boys.

Break Game Laws, Men Draw Terms

Figure 2.6. *North Bay Nugget*, October 30, 1940, 3.

The Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge in Minnow Lake opened near Sudbury, Ontario, in 1940. From its opening, the institution set out with the stated intention of giving "problem and delinquent girls a new start in life," allowing them to learn a trade and making them "once more desirable citizens."[47] The relatively small Minnow Lake institution was meant to be non-denominational and not intended for younger girls. Despite these differences, the Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge at Minnow Lake, like other Good Shepherd institutions, included a commercial laundry (see Figure 2.6).[48]

Dorothy

As was the case with Alice, not every child transferred to a Good Shepherd institution was sent by court order. Those held at an institution without a court order faced greater uncertainty about their futures. Dorothy's experiences highlight the power that the Department of Indian Affairs and other officials held over Indigenous children and the harm that this power could do. When Dorothy was seven years old, she was taken to an Indian Residential School in Ontario because her mother, a widow, was in the hospital. Eight years later, Dorothy was transferred to a second Indian Residential School. While being detained in both these institutions, several officials noted that Dorothy had a speech impediment, was hearing impaired, and that her hearing impairment made her appear less intelligent than she actually was. An administrator at the first Indian Residential School that Dorothy was taken to wrote that "she has a bad speech impediment and her hearing is defective....We would like to have the advice of a competent nose and throat specialist."[49] The principal at the second Indian Residential School opined that "this girl...appears to be mentally retarded due to a partial deafness," adding that, at 17 years old and ill-suited to live in an Indian Residential School, Dorothy was becoming embittered and should be discharged to a good home.[50] But efforts to place her in a home failed, and she was eventually transferred to the Good Shepherd institution at Minnow Lake.[51] In a 1956 letter to the Department of Indian Affairs, Dorothy expressed her need to know what lay ahead for her, her desire to leave the institution, and her yearning to be reunited with her family (see Figure 2.7).[52]

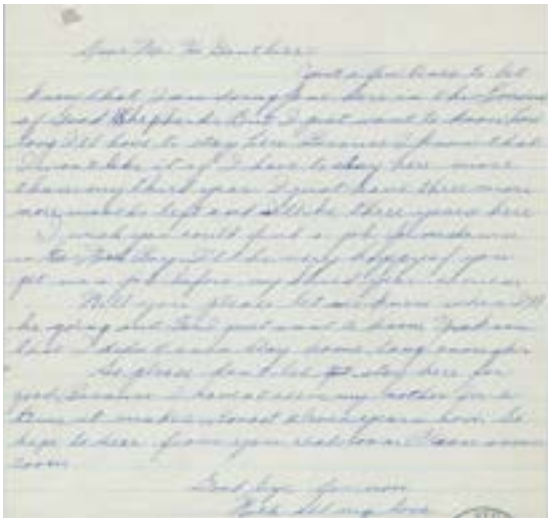


Figure 2.7. Letter from Dorothy to Department of Indian Affairs, 1956, vol. 10704, RG10-C-V-2, LAC.

Dear Mr. H. Gauthier:

Just a few lines to let know that I am doing fine here in this Convent of Good Shepherd. But I just want to know how long I'll have to stay here, Because I know that I won't like it if I have to stay here more than my third year. I just have three more months left and I'll be three years here.

I wish you could find a job for me down in North Bay. I'll be very happy if you get me a job before my third year comes.

Will you please let me know when I'll be going out. For I just want to know. You know that I didn't even stay home long enough.

So please don't let me stay here for good. Because I haven't seen my mother for a time it makes almost eleven years now. So hope to hear from you real soon. Please answer soon.

Good bye for now,

With all my love

[Dorothy][53]

Three years after Dorothy penned this letter, a psychiatrist at the Sudbury General Hospital, who had reviewed the psychometric testing that had been performed on Dorothy at Minnow Lake, recommended that she be "given the opportunity of working from a hospital school such as the Ontario Hospital at Cobourg," suggesting that "she might be tried out in the community under supervision and given further training more than can be given locally."[54] In addition, the psychiatrist recommended that "she should also have some speech training so that she could communicate her needs much better and in a more understandable fashion." Still detained by the State at this time, Dorothy was in her mid-twenties.[55] The Ontario Hospital at Cobourg was a mental health institution. Lykke de la Cour notes that:

> growing numbers of Aboriginal women committed to the Cobourg institution in the 1950s and the 1960s from urban areas as well as First Nation reserves attest to both the expanded reach of psychiatry in this period as well as ongoing policies of assimilation and race annihilation. The increased presence of Aboriginal women in the patient population at the Cobourg mental hospital suggests that long-standing colonization practices aimed at Aboriginal women became more aggressively applied in the postwar era, augmented with psychiatric institutionalization.[56]

Dorothy's story demonstrates another harm that Indigenous people faced during the twentieth century—the inappropriate use of culturally biased psychometric testing instruments. Predicated on the idea that Euro-Canadian Western cultural norms could be used as the standard to evaluate any person, the inappropriate use of these tests put Indigenous people at particular risk of misdiagnoses and extended detention.

WINNIPEG, MANITOBA (1911–PRESENT)

HOME OF GOOD SHEPHERD NEEDS FUNDS FOR WORK

THE HOME OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

The Home of The Good Shepherd is in pressing need of financial assistance. After six and one-half years of quiet labor in Winnipeg, the few cloistered women who have been carrying on the important work of the institution, find themselves face to face with a crisis in their existence as a social factor. In spite of the fact that the sisters attempt to make the institution as self-supporting as possible by raising garden produce, the money obtained from the sale of sewing done by the inmates is falling far short of seeing out the government's scant grant of $10 per month for each person harbored.

So, several Catholic women of Winnipeg have taken it upon themselves to attempt to bolster up the home's finances and restore it to the position from which it has fallen since the advent of the war and the resultant inflation of the cost of living.

They have unsuccessfully appealed to the provincial government for an increase in the per capita grant. Now they have decided on another course of action, the immediate outcome of which will be a social evening in the Fort Garry hotel, Easter Monday, at which many Catholics of the city will be present. The convenors hope to interest those attending in the worthy cause of assisting the Home.

There are at present in the neighborhood of 40 inmates at the home, ranging in age from young girls to elderly women. They are, in every case, confined by the government for reformation.

Figure 2.8. *Winnipeg Tribune*, March 23, 1918, 3.

Members of the French branch of the Good Shepherd, the Soeurs du Bon Pasteur, arrived in Winnipeg from Montreal in 1911 at the request of Thomas Mayne Daly, who had been appointed a police magistrate in the city in 1904. Daly was involved with Manitoba's creation of the first juvenile court in Canada, becoming its first judge in 1909. As Tanya Woloschuk notes, it is not clear why Daly sought out the French rather than the English branch of the Good Shepherd.[57] Whatever his reasons, the goals of the juvenile legal system that the Good Shepherd would operate in, as well as the methodology they used, were consistent with the wider juvenile legal and social welfare systems in other parts of Canada and with other Good Shepherd operations (see Figure 2.8). Woloschuk noted that, "for many girls judged delinquent, the final stage of the juvenile justice system was incarceration in a reform institution where they were subjected to training based on appropriate class and gender roles"[58] and that "the reasons for admission varied, but the

resulting experience was similar: girls underwent a re-socialization process that consisted of surveillance and discipline."[59]

Similar to the other Good Shepherd institutions that operated during the twentieth century, the Sisters in Winnipeg made use of psychometric and other testing. Woloschuk notes that, "in Winnipeg, the juvenile court and social agencies usually ordered mental and physical exams but it often fell to the Sisters to make the necessary arrangements for girls at [the Good Shepherd] Marymound" institution in Winnipeg, "The system of administering these exams was not formalized,...[and] treatments were heavily influenced by the results of these examinations."[60]


PRIORY MAIDS AT THE HOME OF THE GOOD SHEPHERD

Above is pictured a group of girls from the St. Agnes' Priory department of the Home of the Good Shepherd, Forrest avenue and Scotia street, West Kildonan, a shelter where needy and unprotected children are cared for, educated and given industrial training to enable them to obtain positions when they leave the school.

The Home of the Good Shepherd is conducted by the Sisters of the Good Shepherd and runs two entirely separate departments—St. Agnes' Priory school and a detention home for Catholic girls.

During 1924, an aggregate of 24,316 days of care were given to the inmates of both departments.

Figure 2.9. *Free Press Evening Bulletin* [Winnipeg], June 6, 1925, 5.

As was the practice at other Good Shepherd institutions, children in the Good Shepherd institution in Winnipeg, known as Marymound, were divided into categories. By 1916, the building that the Good Shepherd was operating in was too small, and a temporary frame building was added to the facility while plans began for a more permanent structure. Completed in 1925, this building would become the St. Agnes Priory, designed to take in "orphaned" and "neglected" girls (see Figure 2.9). The separation of these girls from those in Marymound reflected the beliefs that orphaned or neglected girls who were in danger of delinquency required protection. They were therefore separated from the potentially bad influences of the girls in Marymound who had been charged with criminal acts. Programming at Marymound focused on rehabilitation through instruction, intended to lead to "independence, academic achievement, respect for property, as well as control of aggression and sexuality."[61] This last goal—regulating sexuality—was based on Catholic religious traditions.[62]

Strict routine and supervision characterized life at both Marymound and St. Agnes Priory. Corporal punishment was not endorsed, but isolation in solitary confinement, referred to as a "reflection cell," was used as a form of discipline. As in other facilities, Good Shepherd officials had the power to influence when the girls would be released, making this another tool for controlling behaviour. Programming included teaching English or French to girls who were not fluent in one of these two languages; schooling in academic subjects; Catechism, which was considered essential to moral development; and a heavy emphasis on domestic work, "All of the girls provided for themselves in regards to their clothes, beds and meals and were regularly employed in a variety of different activities within the institution but two in particular: the garment room and the laundry" (see Figure 2.10).[63]

Sale of Work
Planned By Sisters
Of Good Shepherd

The Sisters of the Good Shepherd will hold the annual display and sale of work on the fifth floor of the Hudson's Bay store Thursday and Friday of next week.

Many articles on display, such as hand embroidered linen luncheon cloths, guest towels and pollow cases, are suitable for Christmas gifts. There will be a variety of knitted goods and baby's wear.

Figure 2.10. Advertisement for sale of work done at the Good Shepherd institutions in Winnipeg (*Winnipeg Tribune*, November 27, 1943, 10).

A Royal Commission established to look into "the Administration of the Child Welfare Division of the Dept. of Heath and Public Welfare" wrote in 1928 that the laundry operated "under conditions somewhat similar to factory employment," where children were taught sewing and "personal and commercial laundry work."[64] This emphasized the philosophy of rehabilitation through hard work and contributed to the revenues of the institution, while preparing the girls for a future of working in similar gendered industries or in domestic service.[65] Although the Good Shepherd Sisters left Winnipeg in 2014, Marymound continues to operate in Winnipeg today (see Figure 2.11).[66]

Figure 2.11. Photograph showing the powerhouse and laundry building in the Good Shepherd Marymound Complex (City of Winnipeg, Murray Peterson, Heritage Report: 442 Scotia Street, Marymound School Complex, December 2011, https://legacy.winnipeg.ca/ppd/Documents/Heritage/HeritageResourcesReports/Scotia-442-long.pdf).

Ella and Frances

The Good Shepherd's ability to detain girls who were at their institutions 'voluntarily'—that is, without a court order—coupled with the power that the federal government held pursuant to the *Indian Act*, meant that the enforced transfer of Indigenous children to these institutions could occur without any form of due process.[67] This had profound and far-reaching consequences for Indigenous girls. The experiences of Ella and Frances are examples of how arbitrary the incarceration of Indigenous girls from Indian Residential Schools to the Good Shepherd institutions could be.

In the 1940s, Department of Indian Affairs' officials transferred two girls, Ella and Frances, from an Indian Residential School to the Good Shepherd institution in Winnipeg.[68] After

several years in the institution, and the Sisters complaining that Frances was particularly difficult and disruptive, the Department of Indian Affairs arranged for Frances to be examined and tested by the provincial psychiatrist. Frances was "rated...as a high grade moron."[69] Although officials were lobbying for Frances to be sent to the "Home for Mental Defectives at Portage la Prairie," a shortage of beds delayed such a transfer.[70] J.M. Ridge, a Department of Indian Affairs' doctor also examined Frances.[71] Ridge reported that, in his opinion, Frances was "a high-grade moron, neither better nor worse than probably about 7,500 people who are considered normal citizens of the City of Winnipeg," implying that many people functioning at this level were able to lead ordinary lives in their communities.[72] In fact, Ridge wrote, "She has been for two years in a home for criminal and immoral girls and if she is any worse it can reasonably be attributed to that confinement."[73] Ridge further wrote, "It is my considered opinion that in permitting a girl to be placed in such an environment without appointing some person or persons to take a personal interest in her welfare, the Department has placed itself in an unfortunate if not actually illegal position." Ridge added that he "would strongly recommend that a review be made of all wards of this Department at present in institutions to determine whether or not they are being looked after by interested persons."[74]

Following Ridge's report, Dr. Percy Moore, the Department of Indian Affairs' acting superintendent of medical services, and Dr. A. Simes, who at the time was a medical superintendent with Indian Affairs, met with and assessed Ella and Frances. Moore wrote that after "careful questioning of both these girls, we were of the opinion that neither of these girls were very much different from normal Indian girls of their age and coming from similar environment."[75] Challenging the results of the psychometric testing performed on the girls, Moore noted that "the diagnosis of high-grade moron would be used by any psychiatrists not familiar with Indians were they to examine 80% of the Indian girls on any reserve." Moore continued,"These girls are both determined to get out of the place where they are now being detained. This institution is a place where immoral women are sent by the courts often for treatment of venereal disease and I very much doubt the wisdom of sending these Indian girls into these associations."[76]

In his report, Moore, like Ridge, also expressed concerns about the legality of the girls' incarceration, writing, "I would also question our legal position in allowing these girls to be kept locked up in such an institution. I found one of the girls under lock and key in a tiny room and heard reports of handcuffs having been placed on one of them. In attempting to get out of the institution I think the girls show a perfectly normal re-action."[77] Advising that both girls should be removed from the Good Shepherd institution, Moore noted that, while Ella had family in her home community she could go to, Frances claimed to have nobody. Moore, therefore, arranged for Frances to work in the sewing room at a tuberculosis hospital.[78] Two

years later, Frances was in the Manitoba School for Mentally Defective Persons at Portage la Prairie. There, she pleaded that she had family—a brother—in her home community who would support her if she could be sent back there on probation. But the authorities were not sure that this was enough supervision to release her. The head of the Portage institution advised that "it would be pretty essential that if she leaves the institution she should have adequate supervision for some rather indefinite length of time."[79]

Gloria

The catchment area for the Good Shepherd institution in Winnipeg extended far beyond the Manitoba border. Children from the neighbouring provinces that did not have similar institutions were sometimes transferred to the Good Shepherd St. Agnes Priory and Marymound institutions. For example, Saskatchewan did not have any similar facility for girls until the province opened the Roy Wilson Centre in 1967. As a result, girls from there would be transferred either to Manitoba or Alberta; in the case of Catholic girls, they were usually transferred to the Good Shepherd operations in Winnipeg or Edmonton.[80] Similarly, the Northwest and Yukon territories did not have their own youth detention facilities until the mid-1960s. Before this, youth from the Yukon and the Northwest Territories would be sent south, by court order or by the Department of Indian Affairs, to be detained in facilities that included the Good Shepherd institutions in Winnipeg and Edmonton.

Gloria's experiences show how destabilizing transfers between institutions could be. Born in an Arctic community, with both parents hospitalized, Gloria and her siblings were taken to a northern Indian Residential School in the 1940s. Gloria was just a toddler at this time.[81] Regional Welfare Supervisor E. Rheaume noted, in an undated social history about Gloria, that "it can be said with some sincerity that the child did not experience a stable environment due to the frequent change of staff in the institution and, moreover, could not possibly have received much individual attention because the [staff] were providing care for [a large number of] children."[82] By the time Gloria was permitted to be away from the Indian Residential School during the summer months, Rheaume noted, her extended family members "had lost all feeling of kinship with her. We know that the summer placements did not provide a very happy experience for either [Gloria] or her relations because for each of the next three summers she was moved from family to family."[83] As Gloria approached adolescence, her behaviour was becoming a concern for her relatives and alarming to the Indian Residential School staff who reported that she was engaging in petty theft and using disrespectful language. The Indian Residential School administrators responded by restricting her activities, which only prompted more disruptive behaviour and further restrictions. By the time Gloria was in her mid-teens, Indian Residential School officials were demanding that the government remove her from the institution.[84]

What followed were numerous government-ordered transfers between federal, provincial, and child welfare and mental health institutions that were completely inadequate to provide appropriate care. Gloria was first transferred from the Indian Residential School into foster care. Less than two months later, she ran away and attempted suicide. Following this attempt, she was taken to a hospital. Her time in hospital did not go well, and she was apprehended by the local welfare officer while she was still a patient. As a result of this apprehension, the courts found that she was an orphan in need of protection, and she was made a ward of the State.[85]

From the hospital, Gloria was transferred to Edmonton to be examined by the Provincial Guidance Clinic.[86] The Guidance Clinic's report suggested that Gloria's problems may be the result of growing up without normal family support and care. Following this assessment, Gloria was then transferred to the St. Agnes Priory in Winnipeg and placed under the supervision of the Children's Aid Society.[87] At the St. Agnes Priory, Gloria's outbursts were met with long periods in the "reflection room," which, Rheaume wrote, was "in fact a cell for solitary confinement."[88] Once again, the institution that Gloria was detained in could not properly care for her, and she was sent for a psychological assessment in Winnipeg. The examining psychiatrist did not feel that Gloria was psychotic and could not recommend care in a psychiatric facility. With no other institutional options available, Gloria was then transferred to the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton. There, her behaviour worried the staff, and she was once again transferred, this time to the Oliver Mental Hospital in Edmonton.[89]

Officials at the Oliver Mental Hospital soon pressed for Gloria's release, reasoning that she would not benefit from being detained there. But attempts to move Gloria to appropriate living arrangements were difficult. From the Oliver Mental Hospital, Gloria was sent to live in various foster placements. Gloria was then nearing the point when her wardship would soon end. With no suitable care options available, and over four hundred children on a waiting list for placements in an Alberta facility, the Department of Indian Affairs was unable to place Gloria in any institution.[90] A Justice of the Peace later declared Gloria "an insane person within the meaning of the act" and issued "a Warrant of Committal."[91] Several records, including the registration of her death, suggest that Gloria was subsequently readmitted to the Oliver Mental Hospital. The registration of Gloria's death indicates that she had been under medical supervision by the institution's "medical staff" for about five years when she died. During that time, the hospital sought consent to perform a prefrontal lobotomy on Gloria, a procedure that government officials appear to have been in favour of. Gloria was an adult when she died at the Oliver Mental Hospital. Her cause of death was listed as "sudden death pending Microscopic Report." The vital statistics death registration indicates that she is interred in an Edmonton-area cemetery.[92]

EDMONTON, ALBERTA (1912–CIRCA MID-1980S)

Unlike other Good Shepherd institutions in Canada, the Sisters of the Home of the Refuge of the Good Shepherd in Edmonton was run by the Our Lady of Charity of Refuge Order. This was the original order from which the Congregation of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd originated. The Sisters who operated the "Good Shepherd Home" in Edmonton came to the province in 1912 from Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the United States.[93] These Sisters travelled to Alberta at the invitation of Emile J. Legal, Bishop of St. Albert, and at the request of R.B. Chadwick, the Superintendent of Dependent and Delinquent Children, for the government of Alberta.

From the outset, the Sisters accepted non-Catholic children into the institution. Similar to other Good Shepherd institutions, children and young women were taught skills considered appropriate for their gender and social standing and derived income from operating a commercial laundry, producing altar breads (communion wafers) and doing needlework. In its early days, the facility received delinquents, who were referred to as the "St. Joseph's Class." During the Depression, the institution also accommodated rural girls who wanted to attend high school but whose families could not afford to board them in the city. These girls were known as the "Our Lady of Good Counsel Class." As economic conditions improved and this class dwindled, first offenders and "predelinquents" were added. In the late 1920s, the Sisters opened the O'Connell Institute, named for its benefactor, which housed "orphans" and "neglected children."[94] The O'Connell Institute operated until its closure in 1969.

In 1958, the Alberta government opened its own maximum-security institute for children, and the wards of Alberta's Juvenile Offenders Branch who were incarcerated in the Good Shepherd Home in Edmonton were moved there. Concerned about Catholic girls being sent to a non-denominational institution, the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity petitioned the Attorney General's Department to continue holding the "Catholic wards of the Juvenile Offenders Branch" in their institution. This request "was refused except in the case of Catholic girls who were also wards of the Indian Affairs Branch."[95] In 1967, the name of the Good Shepherd institution was changed to the Mapleridge [Maple Ridge] Residential Treatment Centre for Girls. A Survivor who had been sent to Mapleridge recalled that it was operated as a jail, that most of the girls there were Indigenous, and that many of the girls ended up on the streets, addicted and unhoused.[96] The Mapleridge Residential Treatment Centre for girls closed in the mid-1980s.[97]

Henriette

Henriette was given a nine-month determinate and nine-month indeterminate custodial sentence by a Juvenile Court for "sexual immorality."[98] Her arrest and conviction came

after the Federal Hostel where she had been sent wrote to her parents complaining that she had, on several occasions, absconded from the Hostel, which required the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) to apprehend her. The Federal Hostel warned her parents that the courts could become involved if this behaviour continued.[99] Henriette was one of the Indigenous children who was transferred to the Good Shepherd in Edmonton after the province of Alberta agreed that Catholic girls who were wards of the Department of Indian Affairs could be sent there rather than to the non-denominational provincial institution.[100]

Louise Loyer

Even though their father had resisted their apprehension, Louise and her siblings were taken to the Grouard Indian Residential School by the RCMP. The RCMP arrived at the family home when their father was not in town and forced their mother, who spoke little English, to hand over her children. "We had a log cabin. It was three miles from town. We were outside playing when all of a sudden Mother called for us to come in. She said she was sorry, but that we had to go with the RCMP, that they were going to take us somewhere."[101] Louise's mother, not sure what was happening, went to the RCMP detachment, where they told her that her children had to go to Grouard. This devastated the family and led to Louise's parents separating.[102]

At first, Louise's mother visited her children at the institution every week. But she was told not to come more than once a month and, preferably, only every second month. Eventually, Louise's mother was told that she was not allowed to visit anymore. Her father tried to get the children out of the institution one summer, but he was told that he could not because he was not living with the children's mother. For many years, Louise carried a great deal of anger against her father, wondering why he had not rescued them from the Indian Residential School. Louise's mother was murdered when Louise and her sisters were still in the Indian Residential School, and their father eventually gave up trying to get the girls out of the institution:

> [After my mother died], they closed down the whole Mission. All the children that were there were shipped to different parts....My brothers were in private homes in Edmonton. My sister was in a Convent in Edmonton, Saint Alphonses Home for Girls. It took me a long time to find her, but I found the boys. I heard that they were going to St. Anthony's College. But I couldn't find my sister. Being out in the city she had decided to run away and she ended up in the Good Shepherd Home. This is where I found her after looking at all the institutions for

> her. I don't think that was much better that Grouard, you know. The Nuns were different, but they still had the same ideas as the ones that taught us in Grouard.[103]

VANCOUVER, BRITISH COLUMBIA (1892–1975)

Figure 2.12. Monastery Laundry and Dry Cleaners, Vancouver ("Sheet Metal Work: Monastery Laundry and Dry Cleaners at 562 West 14th Avenue," 1931, CVA 99-4054, Vancouver City Archives, https://searcharchives.vancouver.ca/sheet-metal-work-monastery-laundry-and-dry-cleaners-at-562-west-14th-avenue).

The first Good Shepherd Sisters of Our Lady of Charity arrived in New Westminster, British Columbia, in 1890 to establish an orphanage there at the request of Father McGuckin, "In January 1892, the Sisters founded 'a house for orphans and a home and protectory for penitent women.' The latter were trained in laundry work and sewing as much to support themselves as well and prepare them for the future.'"[104] The role of the laundry was expanded and included a sewing service (see Figure 2.12).[105] The Sisters later moved the Good Shepherd institution from New Westminster to Vancouver and brought the commercial laundry operations with them.[106] Like the other Good Shepherd institutions, laundry work was seen as a way to ensure that the girls conformed to Euro-Canadian ideals of gender, class, and labour.

The Good Shepherd operations in New Westminster and Vancouver were interconnected with the Indian Residential Schools in the area. In the early 1890s, under the pressure of

Department of Indian Affairs' officials to limit Indian Residential Schools to First Nations children, a conflict arose at the St. Mary's Mission Indian Residential School between the Sisters of St. Anne[107] and Bishop Durieu. At the time, the Bishop wanted the Sisters to send all Métis children who were at St. Mary's to the Good Shepherd's orphanage. As a result of this conflict, Sister Mary Lumina, who was opposed to transferring the Métis children to the orphanage, was herself soon moved to the Kamloops Indian Industrial School.[108]

As was the practice in other Good Shepherd institutions across Canada, children at the Vancouver Good Shepherd Convent were organized, both conceptually and physically, into different categories or classes. The "preservation class" included destitute, orphaned, or neglected girls who, the Sisters believed, needed to be "preserved" from becoming part of the "penitent" class, "The term 'penitent class,' originated during the Sisters' early history, when these girls or women were described as seeking refuge in their convents through a spiritual desire to change their manner of living."[109] Despite the origins of the term, and because some of the convent's residents had been "sent by some authority such as a parent, guardian, social worker or law officer, [t]he aspiration of spiritual renewal did not apply to all women in this class."[110]

A 1954 report found in the Archives of the Presbyterian Church in Canada describes, what was then known as the "St. Euphrasia's School," which was part of the Good Shepherd operations in Vancouver, as:

> an institution for pre-delinquent girls in Vancouver. It has been in existence since 1900. When it was first begun, the girls operated a laundry in order to finance the institution. In 1954 the policy and program were re-organized and an Advisory Board of lay people was set up to assist in the change. The school now takes 30 resident girls between the ages of 12 and 15.[111]

It is not clear when the practice of operating the laundry with forced child labour was phased out, but it may have begun around this time. In 1955, the Good Shepherd initiated a new program that focused on psychological counselling and therapy for girls who were between the ages of 11 and 15 years old. In 1962, they moved their operations and the St. Euphrasia's School to White Rock, British Columbia. The name of the St. Euphrasia's School was changed to Rosemary Heights in 1973. That same year, the Good Shepherd opened a halfway program in Vancouver. Rosemary Heights became a retreat centre in 1975, and it was not until 1995 when the Good Shepherd stopped operating in Vancouver.[112]

Iris

When Iris was released from the St. Mary's Indian Residential School in the 1940s, she worked briefly at the Coqualeetza Indian Hospital. Iris ended up on her own in Vancouver where she was picked up several times by police. In her late teens, Iris was taken to the Good Shepherd in Vancouver, pursuant to direction from the Department of Indian Affairs and not a court order. As previously indicated, for girls placed in these facilities by the Department of Indian Affairs, their terms of incarceration often did not have any defined parameters. In Iris' case, the Department of Indian Affairs official merely wrote, "I would, therefore, recommend that [Iris] be kept in the Convent of the Good Shepherd for a time."[113]

CONCLUSION

The Good Shepherd Homes were part of a transnational network of institutions. In Canada, these institutions were deeply connected with the Indian Residential School System and caused significant harm to Indigenous children, their families, and communities. Good Shepherd institutions and Indian Residential Schools were based on deeply colonial, Eurocentric, and paternalistic attitudes that led to the mistreatment, abuse, and death of the children. As settler colonial institutions, the Good Shepherd Homes and Indian Residential Schools shared several similarities. Children in both systems experienced confinement, enforced transfers, and were used as forced labour to support the operations of the institutions they were sent to. Like Indian Residential Schools, the Good Shepherd institutions imposed colonial patriarchal gender roles and embodied colonial racism. Because of this racism, Indigenous children's experiences at these institutions differed from those of non-Indigenous children.[114] The life histories of the children described in this chapter illustrate the persistence and insidious nature of settler colonialism and its particular impact on Indigenous girls.

1 For more on this, see, for instance, James M. Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries and the Nation's Architecture of Containment* (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2007); Frances Finnegan, *Do Penance or Perish: Magdalen Asylums in Ireland* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004). The Good Shepherd institutions were called "convents" and "monasteries" interchangeably. Throughout the text of this chapter, they are referred to as "convents," but some archival records use the term "monastery" to refer to them.

2 Rie Croll and Ellen J. Lehman, *Shaped by Silence: Stories from the Inmates of the Good Shepherd Laundries and Reformatories*, Kindle ed. (St. John's, NL: ISER Books, 2019), n.p. While this chapter focuses on the histories of Good Shepherd institutions run by the Catholic entities, it is important to note that the Anglican, Presbyterian, and United Church and several other religious entities had similar transnational origins and national connections, with strong links to the Indian Residential School System.

3 Miriam Haughton, Mary McAuliffe, and Emilie Pine, *Legacies of the Magdalen Laundries: Commemoration Gender and the Postcolonial Carceral State*, Kindle ed. (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2021), 2; Order of Our Lady of Charity (Edmonton), *Golden Jubilee Souvenir of the Foundation of the Order of Our Lady of Charity in Edmonton, 1912–1962* (Edmonton: Order of Our Lady of Charity, 1962), 30.

4 Deborah Rink, *Spirited Women: A History of Catholic Sisters in British Columbia* (Vancouver: Sisters' Association Archdiocese of Vancouver, 2000), 56; Haughton, McAuliffe, and Pine, *Legacies*, 4–5.

5 Haughton, McAuliffe, and Pine, *Legacies*, 5; Smith, *Ireland's Magdalen Laundries*, 25.

6 Haughton, McAuliffe, and Pine, *Legacies*, 5; Ebba A. Dederer, "Danger to Laundry Workers of Infection from the Handling of Soiled Linen," *American Journal of Public Health* 875, no. 2 (1915) 875–83; Patricia Malcolmson, *English Laundresses: A Social History 1850–1930* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1986), 53.

7 Rebecca Lea McCarthy, *Origins of the Magdalene Laundries: An Analytical History*, Kindle ed. (Jefferson, NC: McFarland & Company, 2010), n.p.

8 McCarthy, *Origins of the Magdalene Laundries*, n.p.

9 James Gallen and Kate Gleeson, "Unpaid Wages: The Experiences of Irish Magdalene Laundries and Indigenous Australians," *International Journal of Law in Context* 14, no. 1 (2003): 46; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), vi.

10 Patrick Wolfe, *Settler Colonialism and the Transformation of Anthropology: The Politics and Poetics of an Ethnographic Event* (London: Cassell, 2011), 2.

11 For more on Canada's dismantling of the Indian Residential School System, see TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 2: 1939–2000*, vol. 1 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 9ff.

12 Haughton, McAuliffe, and Pine, *Legacies*, 5.

13 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

14 Dorothy Jean Thompson, "The Psychology of the Good Shepherd Nuns in the Re-education of the Emotionally Disturbed" (MA thesis, St. Mary's University, School of Education, 1961), 33.

15 Thompson, "Psychology of the Good Shepherd Nuns," 33.

16 Thompson, "Psychology of the Good Shepherd Nuns," 33; "Obituary: Dr. Dorothy Jean Campbell (Thompson)," *Saltwire,* March 26, 2022, https://www.saltwire.com/halifax/obituaries/dr-dorothy-jean-campbell-thompson-69842/.

17 Nancy Miller Chenier, "Lowertown Lost and Found: From Catholic Convent to Chinese Chancery," *Lowertown Echo de la Basse-ville*, November 2015, https://lowertownecho.ca/2020/08/18/lowertown-lost-and-found-from-catholic-convent-to-chinese-chancery/.

18 Judith Fingard, *The Dark Side of Life in Victorian Halifax* (Porter's Lake, NS: Pottersfield Press, 1989), 146.

19 Fingard, *Dark Side of Life*, 146–47. In the 1970s, the Halifax Good Shepherd operations became the Chisholm Centre and Barnett House. In 2004, the Chisholm Youth Services was incorporated to oversee the operation of these institutions. Chisholm Youth Services continues to operate today. See "History," *Chisholm Services for Children*, accessed August 28, 2023, https://chisholm4children.ca/who-are-we/history/.

20 Fingard, *Dark Side of Life*, 146–47.

21 Fingard, *Dark Side of Life*, 146.

22 Fingard, *Dark Side of Life*, 146–47; Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

23 Mary Elaine O'Hearn, "Canadian Native Education Policy: A Case Study of the Residential School at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia" (MA thesis, Faculty of Education, St. Mary's University, 1989), 42–43, 107.

24 Quoted in O'Hearne, "Canadian Native Education Policy," 109; see also TRC, *The History, Part 2*, 357.

25 Quoted in Isabelle Knockwood, *Out of the Depths*, 4th ed., Kindle ed. (Halifax: Fernwood Publishing, 2015), n.p.

26 Knockwood, *Out of the Depths*, n.p.

27 Marilyn Elain Thomson-Milward, "Researching the Devils: A Study of Brokerage at the Indian Residential School, Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia" (PhD diss., Dalhousie University, 1997), 244–45; Chris Benjamin, *Indian School Road: Legacies of the Shubenacadie Residential School*, Kindle ed. (Halifax, NS: Nimbus Publishing, 2014), 158.

28 Letter, [re: Student transfer], from Welfare Division Ottawa to Shubenacadie Indian Agency, [1940s], vol. 8542, file 51/25-5, RG10, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), also available as file 70a-f022699-d0038-001, National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation Archives Internal Database (NCTR Archives) (currently restricted).

29 Department of Indian and Northern Health Services [Personal information redacted], Department of Health Fonds, file R227-146-1-E, RG29, LAC, also available as 46a-c017474-d0031-001, NCTR Archives.

30 Department of Indian and Northern Health Services [Personal information redacted], Department of Health Fonds, file R227-146-1-E, RG29, LAC also available as file 46a-c017474-d0031-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

31 Department of Indian and Northern Health Services [Personal information redacted], Department of Health Fonds, R227-146-1-E, RG29, LAC also available as file 46a-c017474-d0031-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

32 Elspeth Tulloch and New Brunswick Advisory Council on the Status of Women, *We the Undersigned: A Historical Overview of New Brunswick Women's Political and Legal Status 1784–1984* (Moncton, NB: Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1985), 111.

33 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

34 Valerie Andrews, "White Unwed Mother: The Adoption Mandate in Postwar Canada" (MA thesis, York University, 2017), 45.

35 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

36 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

37 *Williams v. Sisters of the Good Shepherd*, 1996 CanLII 10168 (NB KB), https://canlii.ca/t/21wnf.

38 *Williams v. Sisters of The Good Shepherd*; Georgina Williams, *Delcina's Tears* (Winnipeg: Pemmican Publications, 2005).

39 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

40 Murray Nicolson, "Irish Catholic Education in Victorian Toronto: An Ethnic Response to Urban Conformity," *Histoire Social/Social History* 17, no. 34 (1984): 303; City of Toronto, "Inclusion on Heritage Register," 11.

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47 *The Sault Star,* October 5, 1940, 8.

48 "Sudbury Convent Is Consecrated by Bishop Dignan," *North Bay Nugget*, October 30, 1940, 3; *The Sault Star,* October 5, 1940, 8; "Indian and Northern Health Services, [personal information redacted]," file R227-146-1-E, RG29, LAC, also available as file 46a-c017014-d0004-002, NCTR Archives (currently restricted). In the late 1950s or early 1960s, the Minnow Lake Good Shepherd institution underwent some changes. In 1960, the institution—operating at 695 Bancroft Drive, Sudbury, the same address that the Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge had operated earlier—is listed as "Rose Marie Heights." See *Revised Regulations of Ontario, 1960: A Revision and Consolidation of Regulations Published under the Authority of the Regulations Revision Act, 1959* (Toronto: Queen's Printer, 1960), 221. Government publications indicate that the Good Shepherds were still involved in the operation of the institution under this new name in 1966. See Ontario, Ministry of Treasury and Economics, *Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario for the Year Ended March 31, 1964* (Toronto: The Ministry, 1964), R25; Ontario, Ministry of Treasury and Economics, *Public Accounts of the Province of Ontario for the Year Ended March 31, 1966* (Toronto: The Ministry, 1966), Q25.

49 "Indian and Northern Health Services, [Personal information redacted]," Department of Health Fonds, file R227-0-6-E, RG29, LAC, also available as file 46a-c017010-d0008-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted)..

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60 Woloschuk, "Preserving," 96, 97.

61 Woloschuk, "Preserving," 83.

62 Woloschuk, "Preserving," 83; Woloschuk, "Promise of Redemption."

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82 "[Information redacted]," 1959–63, vol. 1664, file 20-**, item no. 2205297, RG85-D-1-A, LAC, also available as file 70a-f041073-d0003-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

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84 "[Information redacted]," 1959–63, vol. 1664, file 20-**, item no. 2205297, RG85-D-1-A, LAC, also available as file 70a-f041073-d0003-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

85 "[Information redacted]," 1959–63, vol. 1664, file 20-**, item no. 2205297, RG85-D-1-A, LAC, also available as file 70a-f041073-d0003-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

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96 TRC, "Hobbema Sharing Panel," transcript, July 24, 2013, NCTR SP124, https://archives.nctr.ca/SP124T_01.

97 "Mapleridge Facilities Changed in 60 Years," *Edmonton Journal*, June 10, 1970, 32; "O'Connell Girls' Home Will Close," *Edmonton Journal*, May 7, 1969, 79; TRC, "Hobbema Sharing Panel," transcript, July 24, 2013, NCTR SP124, https://archives.nctr.ca/SP124T_01; Corinna Schuler, "Group Home 'Restraint' Calls for Pinning Kids to the Floor," *Edmonton Journal*, August 17, 1993, 1.

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99 "[Personal information redacted]," Education, Welfare and Other Records of the Yukon Regional Office, accession 1989-90/101 GAD, 90-160 VFRC, file 117-000101-6, RG10-C-IV-8, LAC, also available as file 70b-f918501-d0054-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

100 "[Personal information redacted]," Education, Welfare and Other Records of the Yukon Regional Office, accession 1989-90/101 GAD, 90-160 VFRC, file 117-000101-6, RG10-C-IV-8, LAC, also available as file 70b-f918501-d0054-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

101 Louise was interviewed in a study reported as Evelyn Moore-Eyman, "A University's Search for a System of Delivering Basic Skills to Canadian Native Peoples: A Concurrent Approach," 5–10. There is a differently paginated copy at Internet Archive, https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED129545/page/n89/mode/2up?q=%22take+us+somewhere%22.

102 Moore-Eyman, "A University's Search," 5–10. There is a copy of this interview in 1976 at the Indian Students University Program Services, "Third Evaluation Report: 1975–76," Doc. ERIC ED129545, *Internet Archive*, https://archive.org/details/ERIC_ED129545; https://files.eric.ed.gov/fulltext/ED129545.pdf]; NCTR AANDC-170200.

103 Moore-Eyman, "A University's Search," 5–10.

104 Rink, *Spirited Women*, 57.

105 Rink, *Spirited Women*, 58.

106 In 1938, the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity and the Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd affiliated, part of similar affiliations that happened in a number of countries during the 1930s that brought these two aspects of the Order more closely together. Rink, *Spirited Women*, 60.

107 The Sisters of St. Anne are one of the Catholic orders of Sisters working at the institution.

108 Elizabeth M. Smyth, ed., *Changing Habits*: *Women's Religious Orders in Canada* (Ottawa: Novalis and Saint Paul University, 2007), 285.

109 Rink, *Spirited Women*, 59.

110 Rink, *Spirited Women*, 59.

111 Letter [re: Minute 13c, November 12, 1957] from Henry G. Cook to Rev. Canon L.A. Dixon, January 29, 1958, series 4, box 101, file 35, pages 12–14, CGY-081786, Synod of the Anglican Diocese of Calgary, also available as file 13c-c001231-d0001-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

112 The name St. Euphrasia's School, reflecting the professed name taken by the congregation's foundress, appears in a number of locations, including Halifax and Toronto, over time. In Vancouver, Katie Gemmel notes that St. Euphrasia's School, which predated the move to White Rock, was known under a number of names, including "St. Euphrasia School, aka Good Shepherd Convent" and "The Monastery School." Katie Gemmel, "The Impact of Progressive Education on Roman Catholic Schools in the Archdiocese of Vancouver: 1924–1960" (MA thesis, University of British Columbia, 2014), 157; Rink, *Spirited Women*, 61; "Centre Needed for Disturbed Teen-Age Boys," *The Daily Colonist*, November 20, 1964, 25.

113 "[Private information redacted] Care and Maintenance of Children in Private or Foster Homes," Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds, vol. 13481, file 987/29-4, part 1 & 2, RG10-C-IV-7, LAC, also available as file 70b-f012157-d0041- 001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

114 Croll and Lehman, *Shaped by Silence*, n.p.

CHAPTER 3

Tracing the Missing and Disappeared Children across Institutions

INTRODUCTION

> Many of our children [from BC First Nations] not only attended one residential school, but they attended maybe two or three. Some of our children went over to Alberta for school. Some went into the Yukon. So we all need to be able to work together in the work that we are doing to find our missing children. Some were sent from the residential school to the Indian hospitals and never came home. Again, we need to work together to help bring those children home that didn't come back from the Indian Hospitals.
>
> — Charlene Belleau, Survivor[1]

The Good Shepherd Homes described in Chapter 2 were only some of the many institutions across Canada to which Indigenous children were forcibly transferred—both to and from—Indian Residential Schools in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By tracing the experiences of children across institutions, this chapter identifies the wide array of officials and professionals that exercised control over every aspect of the children's lives, often in ways that harmed the children, their families, and communities. It is difficult to demonstrate the full extent to which the Indian Residential School System intersected with the health-care, child welfare, and legal systems in Canada to intervene in the lives of Indigenous children. Only a few representative examples that trace children across these systems are described herein. There are likely thousands more yet to be documented.

This chapter first focuses on how government and church officials sought to maintain social, physical, and economic control over Indigenous children by moving them in and out of the Indian Residential School System through the "Outing" or "Working Out" systems and arranging marriages between young adults. It then examines homes for unwed mothers, rescue homes, and health-related institutions such as hospitals, sanatoria, psychiatric institutions, and institutes for children with disabilities. Finally, it focuses on the connections between the Indian Residential Schools, provincial and private child welfare agencies, and the juvenile and criminal justice systems, all of which had growing authority to apprehend and confine Indigenous children. Because the children were often sent to more than one institution, their life histories are not easily categorized as being representative of any one type of institution. Rather, they demonstrate how these carceral institutions worked together to forcibly assimilate Indigenous children into settler Canadian society and confine them when they did not. At the same time, the historical record also reveals the many ways in which Indigenous children courageously resisted the power of those in authority.[2]

The representative examples provided below of the various types of institutions that Indigenous children were transferred to were chosen based on the availability of records and Survivor testimonies. Therefore, they do not describe all institutions from each province and territory. Survivors and Indigenous communities, however, are working to identify all the colonial institutions that their children were taken to and disappeared from.

"WORKING OUT" AND "OUTING" SYSTEM

Beginning in the late nineteenth century, Canada's Indian Residential School System adopted what was known as the "Working Out" or "Outing" System. Originally developed in Indian Boarding Schools in the United States, children and youth of all ages were trafficked from Indian Residential Schools to perform manual labour. They were forced to live and work in homes, on farms, and in businesses. Their work placements were always brokered by Indian Agents and the principals of the institutions. Under the Outing System, children were provided with room and board and usually a very small wage for their labour. Although the children may have received a small wage, their use of their money was scrutinized and controlled by the Department of Indian Affairs. The children were expected to use their earnings to cover their own clothing costs and other incidentals, which were expenses that would normally have been covered by the Indian Residential School. The federal government held the children's earnings in a savings account and used its control over the accounts as leverage to ensure that the children would remain in the Indian Residential School System until they were discharged. These savings accounts were also used as a form of social coercion to compel the children to conduct

themselves in ways that were considered appropriate by government and church officials who could otherwise deny the children access to their money.

While Indian Residential School, government, and church officials claimed that the Outing System provided vocational training, it also reduced the costs of operating the institutions and further estranged children from their families and communities. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) found that "[Indian Affairs official Hayter] Reed felt this system not only reduced school costs, but also helped to 'sever all connection between [the children] and the members of the bands to which they belong.'"[3] By trafficking the children for labour, officials hoped to steer Indigenous children into low-paid vocational and labouring work, while also indoctrinating them into the Canadian settler colonial culture. In this way, the children would continue to live away from their families and communities after being discharged from the institutions.[4]

Although the Outing System may have saved costs for the government and churches, it was an economic drain on families and communities because, as Mary Jane McCallum notes, it drew off:

> the labor of young adults from their families to other people's homes and the schools themselves. The taken-for granted way that officials refused parents and other family members who needed their [children's] labor at home suggests a deeper, ingrained pattern of hostility towards any efforts by Indigenous families and communities to be self-supporting and economically viable.[5]

This arrangement was clearly intended to assimilate Indigenous children into a capitalist economy that emphasized individual over collective forms of labour.

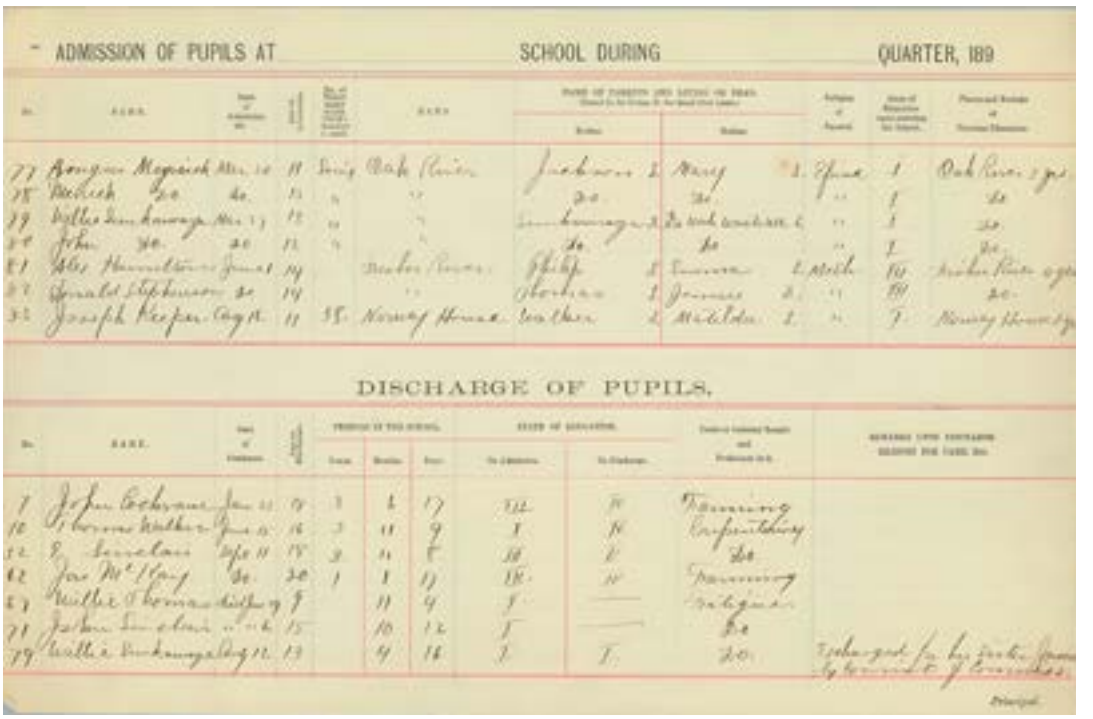
Forced Labour and the Half-Day System

From the perspective of government and church officials involved in the operations of the Indian Residential School System, the Outing System did have some drawbacks. One significant problem was that the institutions themselves needed the forced labour of the children for their own operations. The institutions, while operating a "half-day system," required the children to work for half the day taking care of the agricultural, laundry, and cleaning needs of the institution. The TRC concluded that "the 'half-day system'...came close to turning the schools into child labour camps."[6]

In a case study of Indian Residential Schools in Manitoba, Karlee Sapoznik Evans, Anne Lindsay, and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair conclude that "forced child and slave labour

were foundational, not coincidental, to the IRS [Indian Residential School] system. Moreover, this labour, which can be traced back to the earliest roots of the Residential Schools system...continued into the 1950s and 1960s."[7] They highlight that the exploitation of children as forced labour contravened existing international law, including "the 1926 League of Nations' *Convention to Suppress the Slave Trade and Slavery*, the 1930 International Labour Organization's *Convention Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour*, and the 1956 United Nations' *Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery*."[8]

They found that overwork, and dangerous work, led to the deaths of children. For example, "the 1899 school admissions and discharge form for the Brandon Indian Residential School showed that both nine-year-old Willie Thomas, and 15-year-old John Sinclair died, in June of that year, of 'fatigue' at the school. Thomas died after eleven months and four days at the school; Sinclair died after a mere ten months and twelve days there."[9] They point out that the use of forced child labour in the "half-day system" was a substantial source of funding for the Indian Residential School (see Figure 3.1).[10]


ADMISSION OF PUPILS AT SCHOOL DURING QUARTER, 189

DISCHARGE OF PUPILS.

Figure 3.1. Discharge form showing that Willie Thomas and John Sinclair both died of fatigue at the Brandon Indian Residential School. A third child, listed below these two, was discharged because of fatigue as well (the notation "do" means "ditto" or "the same as above" here) ("Admission of Pupils: Brandon Industrial – Residential School," 1895–1933, vol. 13761, RG10, Library and Archives Canada [LAC]).

The Gendered Division of Labour

Placements in the Outing System reflected societal norms and attitudes about gender roles, race, and social class by placing the children to perform labour in areas most commonly associated with the "lower" social class.[11] In the early days of the system, girls were almost always forced to work as domestic servants, while boys were frequently sent to work as farm labourers (see Figure 3.2).[12]

Figure 3.2. Boys cutting wood, Red Deer Institute, 1919 (item 1993.049P/855, United Church of Canada Archives).

Scott L. Morgensen notes that, in the United States, Australia, and Canada, residential or boarding school systems that forcibly removed Indigenous children from their homes, families, and communities "attempted to teach Indigenous people to be 'self-governed' subordinates of colonial rule."[13] He argues that teachings about gender and sexuality in these institutional systems were "central to the subordinate racialized roles [that] schools forced [I]ndigenous people to learn to play within settler societies."[14] These roles, and the gendered division of labour within them, are integral to the settler colonial patriarchy roles that Brendan Hokowhitu describes as "the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" or as "men's control of women's bodies and minds."[15] The entire Indian Residential School System, including the Outing System, adhered to these patriarchal gender roles and ideas of womanhood that were based on Euro-Canadian and Western cultural, social, and economic norms. Sarah Carter notes that, during the later nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Canadians thought that Indigenous women did not live up to these ideals, leading to public outcry over their "'immorality' and 'depravity.'"[16]

This racist and sexualized stereotype of Indigenous women was coupled with the idea that Indigenous families and family life were fundamentally lacking. The TRC found that, "in establishing residential schools, the Canadian government essentially declared Aboriginal people to be unfit parents."[17] These two underlying tropes of Indigenous women being immoral and Indigenous families as incompetent were (and still are) widely accepted in Canadian society. As part of the broader assimilationist goal, the Outing System was designed to isolate children from their families, homes, and communities, destroying their identities and their connections to their Indigenous cultures, languages, and ways of life. The binary division of gender and sexuality that characterized settler colonial culture excluded Two-Spirit or other gender-diverse children who would have been accepted in their home communities as such. In fact, Morgensen argues that, in the Indian Residential School System, the "entire project of cultural genocide rested on implementing a colonial sex/gender binary. By segregating children into two separate sexes, kin ties among siblings and clan members of different genders were broken, while children who already lived or later might have lived in a gender other than the two that the colonizers affirmed had their distinctive identities denied or erased."[18] The TRC found that "Aboriginal people traditionally celebrated people who were gay or transgender as gifted, as being the recipients of 'two spirits.' The residential schools had particular impacts upon two-spirited people, who faced numerous attacks on their identities."[19]

Overall, the Outing System isolated Indigenous children and youth not only from their families, homes, and communities but also from whatever friendship and support they might have had with other children in the institutions they were first taken to. Although, by the early twentieth century, the practice of sending the children and youth to "work out" was becoming less common, Canada's involvement in this area, would continue well into the twentieth century.[20]

Forced Labour and *Indian Act* Regulations

Almost from the beginning of the Outing System, in part because of the Indian Residential School System's ongoing dependence on forced child labour in operating and funding the institutions, local demand for the children's labour was greater than the number of children that the institutions could broker and traffic. As the TRC noted, amendments to the *Indian Act* in 1894 allowed Canada to make regulations "to secure the compulsory attendance of children at school."[21] The regulations that Canada established allowed the government to commit "'children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years' to an Indian Residential School, and once committed, they could be kept there until they reached the age of eighteen."[22]

It was not until 1918 that Canada clarified that the regulation allowing Canada to hold children at Indian Residential Schools until they reached the age of 18—which was long after the age of 15 specified in the *Indian Act*—only applied to children who had been committed pursuant to an order issued by an Indian Agent or a Justice of the Peace when they believed that the child was "not being properly cared for or educated, and that the parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of such child, is unfit or unwilling to provide for the child's education."[23] The provision did not apply, and should not have been applied, to all children at Indian Residential Schools (see Figure 3.3).[24]

Figure 3.3. Mohawk Institute farm in Brantford, [Ontario], November 14, 1917, (John Boyd, LAC).

Indian Agents and principals justified the retention of children past the legislated permissible age as necessary for the welfare of the child, but, in fact, the practice stemmed from the continued need to rely on the forced labour of the children to operate the system. The entire Indian Residential School System was chronically underfunded and understaffed. Retaining older children for as long as possible was an important source of semi-skilled labour and income. W.W. Shoup, the principal of the Norway House Indian Residential School, told the Department of Indian Affairs in 1934, "up to sixteen the pupils [*sic*] is not able to be of any very marked assistance with the regular work of the school except for lighter tasks."[25] It was only "during the years from sixteen to eighteen we find the pupils are able to carry our heavier tasks and so take the place of help that would have to be hired from the outside" (see Figure 3.4).[26]

Figure 3.4. Children digging trenches for water pipes at the Mount Elgin Industrial Institute, Muncey [Mount Elgin Residential School], n.d. [circa 1909] (item 1990.162P/1169, United Church of Canada Archives).

The Brandon Indian Residential School understood this economy; in fact, in the early twentieth century, their retention of older children was so extreme that it even caught the attention of the Department of Indian Affairs. Pointing out in a letter in 1911 that a 20-year-old woman and four 19-year-old men were still being kept at the institution, the Department of Indian Affairs advised the principal that "these pupils should be at once discharged and their names should not appear on the roll and no further grant can be paid for them," adding that "there are some other pupils who have reached the age of 18 and steps should be taken to have them discharged also" (see Figure 3.5).[27]

Indian Residential School administrators would avoid sending boys home through complicated and sometimes arbitrary policies for deciding discharges in order to keep the older children as long as possible. This could make life at an institution like Brandon feel like an indeterminate prison sentence. The TRC wrote that "residential schools resembled prisons. Aboriginal children were often treated as if they were offenders who required rehabilitation, while the only thing they were guilty of was being Aboriginal. The regimented life and religious indoctrination imposed on them was designed to 'rehabilitate' them by assimilating them into mainstream Canadian society. Norman Courchene was one of many Survivors who told the Commission that while he was at residential school, he 'felt like an inmate.'"[28]

The Impact of the Outing System on Search and Recovery Investigations

The impact of the Outing System has contributed to the displacement and disorientation of families and communities who are searching for their missing and disappeared children. The life and death of Isobel Osborne, which was shared by the family at the Winnipeg National Gathering,[29] illustrates the complexities that the Outing System adds to a family's search for their loved one. The Osborne family only knew that Isobel had been taken away to an Indian Residential School, but they later learned, through archival records, that she had been sent to work out as a "domestic."[30] Locating the burial places of all the children who were trafficked for labour from Indian Residential Schools, and then died, can be difficult and especially so for girls whose names may have changed if they were also married out without the family's knowledge.

Figure 3.5. Letter from J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary, to Reverend T. Ferrier, Principal, Brandon Industrial School, April 21, 1911, vol. 5340, LAC).

HOMES FOR UNWED MOTHERS, ARRANGED MARRIAGES, AND THE FILE HILLS COLONY

Edith Catherine Paupanakis Gibson Moore

Following the life of Edith Catherine Paupanakis Gibson Moore[31] in government and church records demonstrates how the Department of Indian Affairs exercised control over Indigenous families and deprived Indigenous children of their liberty. Throughout Edith's life, government officials unilaterally decided what was best for her and transferred her between institutions and systems. These institutions and systems included the Brandon Indian Residential School, the Outing System, a rescue home for unwed mothers, an arranged marriage, and the File Hills Colony.

Edith's Early Life

Edith Catherine Paupanakis Gibson Moore was born in northern Manitoba in 1887. She was the granddaughter of Nancy Katummuk Nakawao Paupanakis, who was an important part of her early life. Nancy was widowed twice. When the death of her second husband left her struggling to provide for a young family, she, and her children, including Edith's mother Lucy, were able to manage with community support. In 1878, a few years after her second husband's death, Nancy and her family, along with other community members, moved to Fisher River, Manitoba.[32]

The Fisher River Cree Nation accepted Nancy and her family as part of their community. Tragedy struck in 1892.[33] Over just a few short months that year, both Edith's grandmother, Nancy, and her mother Lucy passed away. Lucy died first, on April 1; Nancy passed away on June 4.[34] Once again, family and community assisted when Edith went to live with her uncle, Amos Paupanikis (aka Williams).[35]

The late 1800s saw significant numbers of Indigenous people withdraw from, or be withdrawn from, Treaty. Edith's uncle was among them. This withdrawal meant that he and, by extension, his wife and children were no longer members of the Fisher River Band.[36] The Department of Indian Affairs therefore assigned Edith her own Treaty/Indian Registration number, and, in 1898, Edith's life would dramatically change again.

Taken to Brandon Indian Residential School

On October 12, 1898, Edith was sent by the Department of Indian Affairs hundreds of kilometres away from her family and community to the Brandon Indian Residential School in

southern Manitoba, where she was kept for the next nine years (see Figure 3.6). By 1902, the growing number of names that she and her family were being identified as in department and institutional records was becoming a problem. That year, when the Department of Indian Affairs was unable to find Edith on the Fisher River Treaty Annuity paylist, Indian Agent John Semmens, former Brandon Indian Residential School principal, wrote to Ottawa explaining that "Edith Gibson" was "Edith Gibson Paupanikiss."[37]

Figure 3.6. Postcard view of Brandon Indian Residential School, circa 1910 (file 2012-0175, Gordon Goldsborough, Manitoba Historical Society).

From Domestic Servitude to a Home for Unwed Mothers

In the spring of 1906, Edith would have been 19 years old, or very close to it, when her uncle asked that she be allowed to visit her home community, the Fisher River Cree Nation, for the summer. Thompson Ferrier, the Brandon Indian Residential School's principal allowed the leave of absence.[38] When Edith was required to return back to Brandon in the fall of 1906, Ferrier reported to the Department of Indian Affairs that he had "let [Edith] out to service" as a domestic servant in a private home through the Outing System.[39] When Edith was brought back to the Brandon Indian Residential School from this domestic servitude, Ferrier then sent her to the "Grace Hospital, Winnipeg, to be taken care of."[40] Edith was pregnant.

The Salvation Army Grace General Hospital, Winnipeg, Manitoba

The Salvation Army was one of several religious entities that ran rescue homes and homes for unwed mothers in various cities across the country.[41] Originally a rescue home and children's shelter, the Grace General Hospital in Winnipeg was incorporated in 1904 and was the Salvation Army's first "hospital" in Canada. Continuing to work with unwed mothers, the Grace General Hospital moved in 1906 into a new building at the corner of Arlington Street and Preston Avenue that housed both the hospital and a school of nursing.[42] Edith was sent to this new location.

The Grace General Hospital had its roots in the mid-to-late Victorian era rescue movement, a paternalistic philanthropic movement that, as Valerie Andrews notes, grew out of concerns about "illegitimacy, prostitution, baby-farming, and the moral and physical contagion they represented."[43] In this context, the rescue movement "created societal strategies for the moral regulation of women. These strategies included the development of institutions to house and, ultimately, reform the moral character of the fallen."[44] With their heavy emphasis on reform and rehabilitation through "moral improvement," these institutions were gendered sites of settler colonialism.

Arranged Marriage

On March 13, 1907, about three weeks before Edith would give birth, she was married to James Linklater Moore in a ceremony in Winnipeg, Manitoba. James had been at the Brandon Indian Residential School since its opening in 1895 and was part of the first group of children taken to the institution by Principal John Semmens. He was taken at the age of eight. James would have been about the same age as Edith—19—when they were married. Baby Oliver Linklater Moore was born at the Grace Hospital on April 5, 1907.[45]

Surviving records do not reveal how James came to be in Winnipeg. They do not indicate whether, despite the gendered segregation practised at Indian Residential Schools, the pair knew each other at the institution. Records also do not indicate what role government and church officials may have had in arranging the marriage between James and Edith. However, as a result of the fact that both James and Edith were under the control of the Brandon Indian Residential School, the marriage would have required approval by Principal Ferrier and by the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1907, it was already an established practice of government and church officials to intervene in Indigenous people's lives by approving or disapproving, and arranging, marriages.

The History of Arranged Marriages

As part of its wider efforts to control Indigenous families and compel Indigenous people to conform to colonial patriarchal gender norms, Canada was already directing missionaries to consult with Indian Agents before agreeing to marry people by the 1890s. Indian Residential School principals had to apply for and receive federal government permission before allowing youth in their institutions to marry. Sarah Carter has observed that "obedient and submissive wives, under the power and leadership of men, was the goal. To bring about this goal, Indian agents became embroiled in the most personal affairs of the people they administered."[46] These interventions included "dispensing advice on marriage, arranging marriages, denying permission to marry, intervening to prevent couples from separating, bringing back 'runaway' wives, and breaking up marriages they regarded as illegitimate."[47] Carter notes that, by the end of the nineteenth century, government and church officials were actively arranging the marriages of those being discharged from Indian Residential Schools. In 1900, the Department of Indian Affairs issued a circular "calling for the promotion of marriages among [Indian Residential School] graduates."[48] The circular directed Indian Agents and principals to consult the youth who were soon to be discharged from the institution and encourage marriage between them. Principals and Department of Indian Affairs officials were also expected to consult on, and to recommend, the next steps for these youth, including "perhaps, life on a colony such as File Hills."[49] In June 1908, even though James and Edith both came from distant communities in Northern Manitoba, the Department of Indian Affairs transferred them and baby Oliver to the File Hills Colony in Saskatchewan.

The File Hills Colony Experiment

The File Hills Colony experiment was intended to further assimilate First Nations people. Officially established in 1901 on land that was part of the Peepeekisis Reserve, the File Hills Colony was "a showcase settlement of…married industrial school graduates, isolated from the 'older Indians,'" whom officials feared could cause those discharged from Indian Residential Schools to return to their own cultures.[50] Members of the colony were hand-selected and approved—based on the recommendations of Indian Residential School administrators and Indian Agents—by Inspector W.M. Graham, the colony's supervisor.[51] Designed to model the Indian Residential School System's focus on training Indigenous people in Western agriculture, the colony was established as the flagship for similar colonies that might be developed in the future (see Figure 3.7a and b).

Figure 3.7a. [A] barn and horse team on the File Hills Colony belonging to a graduate of an Industrial School, 1911 (item 1993.049P/1111, United Church of Canada Archives); **Figure 3.7b.** Indian home on the File Hills Colony, 191–? (item 1993.049P/1112, United Church of Canada Archives).

In her writings on the history of forced marriages in Canada, Karlee Anne Sapoznik concludes that, although "it is difficult to determine the scale and scope of [the coerced participation in both arranged marriages and the colony itself] due to the classified nature and access restrictions to documents on residential schools," the available records paint a picture of assimilationist policies that went beyond tight social control.[52] C. Drew Bednasek argues that the criteria established and considered by the File Hills Colony's supervisor of "superior" candidates for the colony, and the practice of collaborating with Indian Residential School administrators to match individuals through arranged marriages, reflected elements of eugenics.[53]

The File Hills Colony was strictly organized according to patriarchal gender lines—a hierarchy that placed men in control and expected meekness and submission from women and children. An admiring observer of the colony wrote that male colonists at File Hills, once established in a home, were "prepared to get married, the match, in most cases, having already been arranged before the young people left school; and perhaps the young wife has been working with some white family during these first two years and earning herself enough to buy some dishes and furniture to begin housekeeping in a simple way. This sort of match-making is encouraged in all the Canadian boarding schools."[54]

Despite the exceptional amount of control that the federal government and the colony supervisor exercised over the File Hills Colony and the lives of its residents, some colonists found ways to make the best of their situation. Clifford Pinay recalled that, when he was around 15 or 16 and had finished his time in the Indian Residential School, he thought that he was going to be able to go back home. The colony's supervisor, Graham, had other plans, however, "Even before I stepped out [Graham] told me I got a woman for you to go and start farming in Peepeekisis."[55] Making the best of the situation, "Pinay fell in love with his wife, started a

farm, and never left the Colony."[56] Similarly, Edith and James' descendants recall that they were a happily married and devoted couple who were fondly remembered by their children and grandchildren.[57]

Around 1908, Edith and James welcomed their son Chester Thompson into the family.[58] In the years that followed, they had six more children: Kenneth Strath was born in 1910, Percival James was born in 1912, a daughter, Alvinorah, was born in 1913, Victor Alexander was born in 1917, Phyllis Irene was born in 1919, and Lloyd George was born in 1923.[59]

Second Generation of Children Taken to the Brandon Indian Residential School

In May 1913, Oliver and his brother Chester were taken to the Brandon Indian Residential School, the very same institution that James and Edith had been taken to as children as well as most of James' siblings.[60] Two of James' siblings had died at the Brandon institution and were buried there in unmarked burials, and one was disappeared. James' sister Mary Rachel was discharged from the institution because of poor health in 1906 and cannot be found further in the available records.[61] James' brother, David, and his sister, Lydia, died. Both are buried in unmarked and unprotected graves in the former Brandon Indian Residential School cemetery, which is now a privately owned campground.[62] It was the supervisor of the File Hills Colony, Inspector Graham, that sent Oliver and Chester to Brandon. In a letter from J.D. McLean, assistant deputy and secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, to Graham, McLean wrote that "the younger is only six and this, as you are aware, is below the regular age of admission, however, an exception will be made in this case."[63]

Although the Brandon Indian Residential School Register of Admissions and Discharges indicates that Kenneth Moore, James and Edith's next child, had been admitted on August 9, 1915, he was never taken there. On August 13, the Department of Indian Affairs sent a telegram to Graham confirming that they would only allow Kenneth to be transferred to the Brandon institution once Graham had Kenneth "examined by a doctor and all particulars regarding him filled in on the usual form for that purpose."[64] On August 14, the Department of Indian Affairs wrote to Principal Ferrier that "Mr. Inspector Graham has applied for the admission of Kenneth Moore, whose two brothers are attending your school, and he has been authorised to have them examined by a doctor and application forms filled in. If he is in excess of the number provided for, he will be paid for as a supernumerary until such time as a vacancy occurs. This child is only six years of age but full allowance will be paid for."[65] It would not be until October 6, 1915, that Ottawa received the required paperwork and authorized Kenneth Moore's admission to the Brandon Indian Residential School.[66]

The delay getting Kenneth Moore's paperwork completed may have bought the family some needed time. Family history indicates that he was never taken to Brandon.[67] Early in 1916, probably in March of that year, Chester died at the Brandon Indian Residential School and was buried in a grave in one of the institution's two cemeteries (see Figure 3.8).[68] In the summer of 1918, Oliver was sent home from Brandon sick with tuberculosis.[69]

64411-10

Ottawa, April 1, 1916

Reverend Sir,-

I have to acknowledge the receipt of a communication, dated 27th ultimo, from the Assistant Principal of the Brandon Industrial School, in which he informs the Department of the death from pneumonia, of pupil No. 109, Chester Moore.

In reply, I beg to say that the Depart-ment regrets the death of this boy.

Your obedient servant,
J.D McLean
Assistant Deputy and Secretary

Rev T. Ferrier,
Principal,
Brandon Industrial School,
Brandon, Man.

Figure 3.8. Letter acknowledging that Brandon Principal Thompson Ferrier had informed Ottawa of Chester Moore's death. Letter from J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Reverend T. Ferrier, Principal, Brandon Industrial School, April 1, 1916, vol. 5617, RG10, LAC.

Escape from File Hills and Intergenerational Resilience

Alarmed by the possibility that Kenneth would be taken to the Brandon Indian Residential School, Edith and James packed up their belongings and escaped the File Hills Colony. They went to Regina, Saskatchewan, where James found work as an interpreter and later became a driver with the Department of Indian Affairs. While in Regina, their children—with the exception of Oliver, who had been sent to a "hospital and sanatorium"—attended public school.[70] On January 8, 1922, Edith accompanied her son Oliver to the Anglican-run Dynevor Indian Hospital near Selkirk, Manitoba, and stayed with him for two days. She was with him again when he died on April 22, 1922, a few days after his 15th birthday. Oliver is buried in an unmarked grave in the Dynevor Anglican Church cemetery.[71]

Edith and James would lose two more of their children. Percy died as the result of an accident at a grain mill in 1932,[72] and Lloyd was lost at sea when his ship, the *St. Croix*, was torpedoed during the Second World War.[73] The deaths of their children impacted the Moore family deeply. One of Kenneth (Ken) Moore's granddaughters recalls that he was devastated by the loss of his siblings.[74] Although the Moore family had limited financial means, Edith and James made sacrifices that allowed their children to succeed. Because of their sacrifices, Ken Moore would go on to excel in athletics and, especially, in hockey. He received the Eiler's Medal and was able to attend university on scholarships. A National Junior Hockey Champion with the Regina Pats, Ken won two Allan Cup championships and, in 1932, travelled to Lake Placid, New York, to play in the Olympics, where his team won a gold medal.[75] He is believed to be the first First Nations athlete to win an Olympic gold medal. James Linklater Moore died in 1960, and Edith Gibson Moore died on June 18, 1970, at the age of 82.[76]

HOSPITALS AND SANATORIA: DEHUMANIZING AND DEVALUING INDIGENOUS LIVES

> [In late July 2023], [a] group of Inuit Elders who endured years of isolation and psychological abuse in Southern tuberculosis [TB] sanatoriums in the 1950s and 60s visited Hamilton, where about 1,200 Inuit were treated for TB. The visit, the first of its kind in Canada, was organized by SeeChange Initiative and Nunavut Tunngavik Inc. at the request of Survivors. The nine Elders from different communities in Nunavut were accompanied by four Inuit youth, counsellors, translators and family members....Participants visited the site of the former sanatorium in Hamilton—now an empty, grassy lot on a hill, where only the Cross of Lorraine, once erected as a reminder of the threat of tuberculosis, reminds visitors of where the hospital once stood.
>
> Elders looked at historic photos of the sanatorium and walked around the site. For many, memories started flooding back, "I didn't expect to be in tears when I got here. I feel release. I cannot describe it. Now I feel like singing" [said] Naudla Oshoweetok. Some were dismayed to find the site littered with garbage, and that there was no official plaque mentioning the traumatic history of Inuit TB sanatorium patients....Visiting Hamilton's Woodland cemetery, where Inuit who died of TB were buried, also generated strong emotional reactions, especially when participants recognized the names of loved ones on the graves.
>
> — Change Initiative, *Bringing Healing and Closure to Tuberculosis Sanatorium Survivors*[77]

In making this journey, the Inuit Elders and Survivors bear witness to the fact that their lives, and the lives of those who died at the sanatorium, matter, that they have value, and that they deserve human dignity and respect. The impacts of ungrievability—the systematic dehumanizing and devaluing of Indigenous children's lives—extends beyond the Indian Residential School System to other institutions, such as Indian Hospitals and Indian Sanitoria, and other public health facilities to which Indigenous children were forcibly transferred (see Figure 3.9).

Figure 3.9. Memorial to Inuit patients who died at the Mountain Sanatorium buried in Aldershot's Woodland Cemetery (Nathan Tidridge, *The Extraordinary History of Flamborough*, Platinum Jubilee edition [Waterdown: Waterdown-East Flamborough Heritage Society, 2022], 143).

From the late 1930s on, Indigenous people were subject to a new regime of forced medical removal in Canada, a regime that reinforced the precariousness of their situations and increased anxiety. Forced to travel to often distant institutions by the government, "many families feared that once someone left to be treated for TB [tuberculosis], they would never return. Although these institutions were intended to heal, for many Indigenous patients, their removal to TB sanatoria distanced them physically as well as culturally and spiritually from their people so that even if they did return, many felt like unwelcome strangers in their communities."[78]

Racism and Settler Fear of "Indian Tuberculosis"

It is well known that Indian Residential Schools were breeding grounds for tuberculosis and that, especially before the late 1930s and 1940s, the federal government utterly failed to take the necessary measures to respond to this health crisis. Experiments in the early twentieth century and into the 1930s with tent and cottage hospitals for Indigenous patients, as well as converting Indian Residential Schools themselves into sanitoria, did little to change this reality.[79] In the 1930s, the Canadian medical community targeted the high rates of tuberculosis among Indigenous Peoples and claimed that it posed a new kind of threat to settler society through the spread of "Indian Tuberculosis."

Just as tuberculosis rates were generally declining in Canada, North American medical literature, which had previously pathologized Indigenous Peoples as "a dying race" began to

characterize them instead as a public health threat to settler society.[80] David A. Stewart, the head of Manitoba's Ninette Sanatorium, warned Canadians that Indian reserves were not "disease tight compartments" and that tuberculosis was "leaking" into non-Indigenous communities through the sale of value-added items by Indigenous people to off-reserve communities.[81] Maureen Lux notes that Stewart claimed that "the 'racial carelessness and ignorance' of First Nations 'soaked with tuberculosis' were spreading as Aboriginal populations were actually growing and 'mingling with the general population,' despite grave predictions of their imminent demise" (see Figure 3.10).[82] These attitudes reflected racist, harmful, and inaccurate beliefs about Indigenous people that were used to justify policies that both segregated Indigenous people and provided substandard health care to them. These beliefs and attitudes also failed to acknowledge that the conditions imposed through settler colonialism, such as malnutrition and overcrowding on reserves and in Indian Residential Schools and other institutions, contributed to the high rate of tuberculosis within Indigenous communities.[83]

Not only do we owe the Indian this fair treatment because we took and occupied his country, but especially because we brought him the disease, tuberculosis, and so should help him to fight it. Furthermore, intercommunications of all kinds between Indians and white people, on account of new means of transportation and in the opening up of the North, are steadily increasing, and ought to be. These Indian reservations and settlements never were water-tight or disease-tight compartments, and in a new day of easier travel are becoming less and less so. And it is true that any disease in any remote corner of a province is *disease of the province;* that the province will not be clear of any disease nor safe from its menace until every group is clear and safe; and that in health matters no man liveth unto himself and no man dieth unto himself.

Treaty Indians are not citizens, but they are residents within the provinces just as though they were citizens; so their uncontrolled diseases are a menace to citizens generally and to the collective general health of the provinces, just as though they were citizens. Indeed their menace is in some ways much greater when they are not citizens, because they are outside of all local and provincial agencies, arrangements and facilities. A reserve with bad conditions is as a city slum would be if exempt from city health authorities and regulations. The Indian as a dangerous neighbour, though a problem in the eastern provinces, is a much greater problem in Ontario west of the Great Lakes, the four western provinces, and, to a lesser degree, in the northern hinterland. The problem is less there because primitive Indian life has been less interfered with. As given by Ottawa, that is, with occasionally a few added outside of reserves, especially in recorded deaths, Indians, in all Canada represent 1.1 per cent of the population; in Prince Edward Island, 0.3 per cent; in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Quebec, 0.4 per cent; in Ontario, 0.9 per cent; in Manitoba, 2.2 per cent; in Saskatchewan, 1.7; Alberta, 2.1; and in British Columbia, 3.5 per cent.

It may be thought on first glance that such a small proportion of Indians could not greatly affect the general average of health or the general tuberculosis death-rate; but this is how the records stand in the four western provinces in 1934. In Manitoba the Indians are only 2.2 per cent of the population, yet 31 per cent of all deaths from tuberculosis were among this 2.2 per cent. In Saskatchewan 27 per cent of the total tuberculosis deaths fell among the Indians, who are only 1.6 per cent of the population. In Alberta 2.1 per cent Indians accounted for 34 per cent of the tuberculosis deaths, and in British Columbia an Indian population of 3.7 per cent suffered 35 per cent of the deaths from tuberculosis.

From these reservoirs of tuberculosis, how does infection leak into the ordinary community? By three ways; first, mixture of blood, which has gone on for nearly two hundred years, and will no doubt continue until the red race is absorbed into the general population. This forecast surely gives a special motive for doing the best we can for the Indians who are actually increasing in numbers in spite of all their difficulties. Secondly, disease is scattered by the association of Indian people with whites in work, travel and exploration. And thirdly, it can be spread by articles of Indian make or Indian handling. Even the blue-berry picking and selling might be considered in this connection. The menace of these slum areas among us becomes greater and greater as the better communities clean up. Now, when some local areas are practically clear of tuberculosis infection, and children are growing up uninfected and tuberculin-negative, any stray outside infection is a spark in dry grass, not a spark in the rather sodden grass of a half or even a quarter of a century ago.

Figure 3.10. David Stewart made it clear that Indigenous Peoples were a dangerous threat to Canadians (D.A. Stewart, "The Red Man and the White Plague," *Canadian Medical Association Journal* 35, no. 6 [December 1936]: 674–75).

At the Indian Residential Schools, Indian Agents, principals, administrators, and other officials tasked with health surveillance in these institutions targeted younger people for government-funded hospital and sanatorium treatment. They aimed to ensure that school-age children, compelled to travel and undergo medical procedures, would be well represented in Indian Hospitals and sanitoria and in beds paid for by the federal government in other facilities.[84] In Manitoba, tuberculosis surveys conducted on behalf of the federal government by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba focused on Indian Residential Schools. D.A. Stewart noted that "seven of these schools have been

visited at Brandon, Elkhorn, Fort Alexander, Portage la Prairie, Birtle, The Pas and Camperville, and Brandon has had three yearly visits since the first."[85] This targeted surveillance resulted in many Indigenous children being transferred further away from their families and communities to Indian Hospitals and Indian Sanitoria across the country (see Figure 3.11).

Lack of Humanity: Locating Hospitals and Sanitoria

The fear that Indigenous people were a threat to the health of non-Indigenous people prompted the development of an aggressive tuberculosis control program, which included extensive X-ray surveys, the establishment of Indian Hospitals and Sanitoria, and the increased use of other public institutions to confine Indigenous people. This strategy of containment and confinement can be seen in the geographic patterns of medical interventions that focused on the locations where Indigenous and non-Indigenous people were most likely to interact.[86] In an undated memorandum in the Dominion Council of Health's records, titled "Present Views and Facts re Tuberculosis among Indians in Manitoba," Stewart described the tuberculosis surveys conducted by the travelling clinics in Manitoba, "All along the Northern fringe there is no clinic held without some treaty Indians in attendance, and we have covered whole reserves and settlements pretty thoroughly at Fort Alexander, Camperville, Peguis, The Pas and Dynevor. We have done this, in a general way, to patrol the frontier of white settlement, to find and reveal spreaders, and to put over the facts about infection."[87]

As the federal government turned its attention to the Arctic after the Second World War, its approach to controlling tuberculosis through case finding and institutionalization, resulted in the mass removal of Inuit, including children at Indian Residential Schools and Federal Hostels, from the Arctic to hospitals and sanitoria in southern Canada.[88] A lack of hospitals and sanitoria in the Arctic was not accidental. P.G. Nixon explains that Dr. Percy Moore, the director of Indian and Northern Health Services, was strongly opposed to the idea of building northern-based sanitoria.[89]

Moore's resistance to developing a northern-based sanatorium had profound impacts on Inuit communities, families, and individuals. Pat Sandiford Grygier notes that "in the early days of the southern hospitalization program, Inuit requiring hospital treatment…were sent, in the words of one doctor, to wherever there happened to be a bed vacant."[90] This meant that some Inuit were transferred to large institutions where they might have had the company and support of other Inuit, but others may have been transferred to an institution where they were the only Inuk there.[91] Human considerations were less important than the efficient use of available beds.

Figure 3.11. R.C. Mission hospital and school [Fort Resolution (also known as Deninu Kue), Northwest Territories] (file a101802-v8, Mackay Meikle, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development Fonds, LAC).

In the first years of the southern hospitalization program, when many Inuit were taken from their homes in the North and transferred to hospitals and sanitoria in the South, Indian Health Service officials were not always certain where individuals had been transferred to or how they were doing. Under pressure from families and Department of Mines and Resources officials, who were responsible for Inuit administration at the time, Dr. Percy Moore finally agreed to submit reports on the Inuit that his department had relocated. Early in 1950, the Indian Health Service sent its first report to the reorganized Department of Mines and Resources, which was now called the Department of Resources and Development. Despite this new reporting system, families, communities, and local officials, including the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) and local missionaries, continued to have problems getting information about the Inuit who had been sent away to hospitals and sanitoria.[92]

In the South, several factors contributed to government decisions on where to locate the segregated Indian Hospitals and Indian Sanitoria. In its war against "Indian tuberculosis," the federal government implemented its cheapest options available: converting former military facilities into Indian Hospitals and Indian Sanitoria or sending people to under-utilized hospitals and sanatoriums regardless of where they were located. Cost savings took priority over the needs of Indigenous people, their families, and their communities.

The Nanaimo and Miller Bay Indian Hospitals in British Columbia were both located in former military hospitals. The Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta, was converted from a Jesuit College that had been utilized by the American military during the construction of the Alaska Highway and then by the federal government as a military hospital. The Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital and the Brandon Indian Sanatorium, both in Manitoba, were also converted from former military hospitals. The Coqualeetza Indian Hospital in British Columbia was formerly an Indian Residential School (see Figure 3.12).[93]

Figure 3.12. Coqualeetza Indian Hospital, front elevation showing new dormers, Sardis, British Columbia, January 11, 1941 (file e011080334, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, LAC).

During the 1940s, 1950s, and into the 1960s, the government transferred and confined Indigenous people to a growing number of Indian Hospitals and Indian Sanatoria. It was also confining an increasing number of Indigenous people to public hospitals like the Mountain Sanatorium in Hamilton, which, by the mid-1950s, had been seeking alternative uses for its increasingly under-utilized beds. In Quebec City, Indigenous people, many of them Inuit, were confined at the Parc Savard Immigration Hospital.[94]

Whether confined in an Indian Hospital, in an Indian Sanatorium, or in a bed in a municipal or provincial hospital, Canada's Indian Health Service's system operated with the

expectation that it would provide health care to Indigenous people at half the cost paid for non-Indigenous people in public facilities. Making matters worse, Lux notes that:

> in several communities the Indian and local hospitals were literally side by side. This ensured that Indian Health Service hospitals would never draw qualified staff or other resources away from community hospitals, with dire consequences for Aboriginal patients. Indian hospitals reflected and constructed racial inequality by making it seem natural that modernizing hospitals would be white hospitals.[95]

Forced Transfers between Hospitals and Sanatoria

While in the Indian Health Service system, Indigenous people could be transferred between institutions without warning and without their consent. In 1999, David Stewart, son of D.A. Stewart who is discussed above, wrote a history of the Ninette facility and described the changes that occurred over time across the various tuberculosis institutions in Manitoba. Stewart noted that, in the early 1960s, "almost without warning, about 100 Inuit patients were air-lifted from a sanatorium at Hamilton, Ontario where they had been discontented and fractious."[96] Officially, about one hundred Inuit patients had been transferred from Hamilton to Clearwater Lake as part of the repurposing the Hamilton facility.

In 1961, an Inuk, who had been transferred from the Hamilton sanatorium in Ontario to Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital in Manitoba, wrote to the Canadian government's Eskimology Section to ask, "Why were we transferred here from Mountain Sanatorium."[97] Clearly unhappy in the Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital, they continued, "I didn't [often?] know about the

Figure 3.13. Correspondence record, 1961 (from Brittany Guyot and Holly More, "Writing Home," *APTN Investigates*, May 2020).

doctors locking people up but here now they are locking people up and there are some in the jail, so they make us have troubled thoughts."[98] Trying to understand his forced transfer from the Mountain Sanatorium, he added, "I wonder why they moved me here from Mountain Sanatorium even though I never drink any beer or liquor" and "I have never done anything wrong to the head doctors. Here I am in Clearwater Lake Hospital again and the head doctor is still the same person and acting the same way he used to which we don't like."[99] (see Figure 3.13)

Segregating and Commodifying Indigenous People's Deaths and Burials

The Indian Health Service, which oversaw Canada's Indian Hospitals, Indian Sanitoria, and the placement of Indigenous people in public hospitals and sanitoria, was moved from the Department of Indian Affairs to the newly formed Department of National Health and Welfare in 1946. Despite this, the two departments remained connected.[100] Although there was an organizational division between the Indian Health Service and the Department of Indian Affairs, which was responsible for the Indian Residential School System:

> residential schools and sanatoria were...interconnected institutions within the same system of management of First Nations people in Canada. Both institutions were part of the broader colonial projects of racial exclusion, segregation and assimilation. Both removed First Nations peoples from their communities by force of law: The *Indian Act* allowed the government to apprehend children by force to enrol them in residential school and it also allowed the government to apprehend patients by force if they did not seek medical treatment from a qualified physician.[101]

When Indigenous people died, their remains became the responsibility of the Department of Indian Affairs. At Indian Residential Schools, the Indian Health Service and the Department of Indian Affairs worked closely together. Under both, the segregation and commodification of Indigenous people, whose lives were deemed less worthy, did not end with death. Just as in the Indian Residential School System, government decisions around death and burial were based on prioritizing cost control, and officials sought out the least expensive burial options for Indigenous bodies. Lux notes that, "when Dynevor Indian Hospital opened in 1939 the dead were buried across the Red River at the local parish, though the Sanatorium Board's George Northwood decried Indian Affairs' policy of limiting costs to $25 when the government allowed $100 for military burials."[102]

At the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Edmonton, deceased Protestant patients were buried on the grounds of the Edmonton (Poundmaker) Indian Residential School, where the forced labour of children to dig graves helped keep costs low. Deceased Indigenous people from the Charles Camsell Hospital that were identified as Catholic were buried in a Catholic mission cemetery on the Stony Plain Indian Reserve. Lux explains that "this policy [of cost control], maintained across the country, was particularly harsh for northern communities, who could rarely afford the costly flights to return their family members [home]."[103] Despite this, well "into the 1960s Indian Affairs continued to refuse to provide transportation for deceased patients 'if this will exceed the cost of burial at the place he died.' The policy also provided [Indian Health Service] with access to bodies for autopsy without having to secure the family's consent."[104]

The Burial of John Lucas

The TRC described how John Lucas was transferred from the Carcross Indian Residential School in the Yukon to the Charles Camsell Indian Hospital in Alberta. John died at the hospital in 1958 during surgery. The TRC's review of archival records revealed that the federal Department of Indian Affairs was unwilling to pay the $217.20 estimated cost to return John's body home to his family. Instead, the Department of Indian Affairs chose to inter him in Edmonton, which cost $110.66—almost half what they believed it would cost to return him home.[105] John is buried on the grounds of the former Edmonton Indian Residential School (see Figure 1.19)."[106]

The injustice of this decision and the impact on John's family was brought to the attention of the federal government by Member of Parliament Erik Neilson from the Yukon. Upon inquiry, Neilson found that the cost of repatriating John's remains was far less than officials had estimated. Attempting to deflect criticism, federal officials argued that the issue had been manufactured by the former principal of Carcross and that John's father had agreed to his burial in Edmonton. Neilsen wrote:

> Mr. Lucas was not advised as to the funeral in Edmonton and as a matter of fact had no word about the funeral at all. The Indian people of Mayo are very bitter about this matter and, while Mr. Lucas may not have complained directly to your Department or to the Indian Agent here, he, nevertheless, I can assure you, has

> complained quite bitterly. I am sure you will appreciate that the Indian people have a slightly different approach to matters such as these than we do, and unless their dear ones are interred in the community in which his close relations abide, and unless they are interred in the Indian fashion and with proper Indian ceremony, the deceased, as far as the Indian people are concerned, is a lost soul. This is quite disturbing to them.[107]

Although the Department of Indian Affairs eventually acknowledged that they had miscalculated the cost of returning John's remains to his family and community, John continues to be buried in Edmonton, thousands of kilometres away from his family and community.

Ongoing Impacts of Forced Transfers on Search and Recovery Investigations

The racist belief that the lives of Indigenous people are less worthy of care and are ungrievable has created a system that continues to transfer people great distances from their families and communities for medical services and continues to bury their bodies according to the federal government's cost-savings policies. There is little concern for the deep, traumatizing, and disorienting impacts that these actions have on Indigenous people. This is evident in the inequitable access to Western medical care and the lack of access to Indigenous healing programs.[108] Those who have been searching for their missing or disappeared children, often for generations, must contend with trying to trace the transfers of the children through multiple institutions, which is complicated by gaps in the existing records and barriers to accessing these records. The life experiences of three young boys; Elie Caribou, Joseph Michel, and Albert Linklater, who were all children taken to the Guy Hill / Sturgeon Landing Indian Residential School in the 1940s, highlights some of the complexities in tracing these transfers.

Elie Caribou, Joseph Michel, and Albert Linklater

All three boys in Figure 3.14—Elie Caribou, Joseph Michel, and Albert Linklater—became ill while confined in an Indian Residential School, just as Canada was beginning its war on "Indian tuberculosis." When they fell ill, they were at the Catholic-run Sturgeon Landing Indian Residential School, located in Manitoba on the border of Saskatchewan. All three were transferred to the federally operated Dynevor Indian Hospital near Selkirk, Manitoba, on the other side of the province.[109] The experiences of these children are not unique. Across Canada, many of the Indian Residential School deaths that occurred after 1940 happened, not in the Indian Residential Schools themselves but, rather, in an Indian Hospital or Indian Sanatorium.

Figure 3.14. "Trois tuberculeux," Elie Caribou, Albert Linklater, and Joseph Michel (SHSB101963, Société historique de Saint-Boniface Archives [SHSB]).

Elie Caribou

Of the three boys, the most is known about Elie Caribou's short life because his death appears in the archival records of the Department of Indian Affairs School Files entitled "Deaths of Pupils." It was not until 1935 that Indian Residential Schools were required to hold an inquiry into deaths at their institutions. Some of the records relating to these inquiries exist in the RG10 School Files Series held at Library and Archives Canada. Covering a relatively brief period of the Indian Residential School System's history, these files are not complete records of the children's deaths (see Figure 3.15).[110]

According to the admissions and discharges records, Elie Caribou, a five-year-old child from Pukatawagan, Manitoba, was admitted to the Guy Hill (also known as Sturgeon Landing) Indian Residential School on August 15, 1940. At the end of October 1942, a nurse at the institution realized that Elie was ill. He was so ill that she put him to bed and provided the "usual care of T.B. cases out of Sans: better food, rest, fresh air, etc., Cod liver oil and cough mixture."[111] Two days later, Elie was transferred by plane to the public hospital at The Pas[112] and then to the

Figure 3.15. Document showing one part of the forms that the federal government began requiring Indian Residential School administrators to fill out, beginning in the mid-1930s (file 655-23, part 1, vol. 6315, RG10, LAC).

Dynevor Indian Hospital near Selkirk, Manitoba. The Dynevor Indian Hospital was originally operated by the Anglican Church. It was transferred to the Department of Indian Affairs' Indian Health Service at the end of 1939 and was operated by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba on its behalf from 1940 until its closing in 1958. Once it assumed control of the Dynevor Indian Hospital, the Department of Indian Affairs began to insist on moving Indigenous children there, despite the distance or the social, psychological, and physical toll that the transfers might have on the children and their families.

Elie's trip across the province of Manitoba from his hospital bed at The Pas to the Dynevor Indian Hospital is consistent with the experience of another child, Amos Blackhawk, who became ill at the St. Mary's Indian Residential School in Kenora, Ontario. Amos was transferred first to a hospital in Kenora and then to the Catholic-run St. Boniface Sanitorium in St. Vital, Manitoba. From there, caught in the middle of a dispute between the federal government and the Catholic Church over which sanatorium he should be taken to, Amos was sent home, but, "by January 12, 1942, [his] TB infection grew worse. [Indian Agent] Edwards reported that the infection was so bad the boy became a 'menace' and he was sent to St. Joseph's Hospital in Kenora. From there he was transferred to the Dynevor Sanatorium in Selkirk where he appears to have remained until his death."[113]

As in Amos' case, the decision about where to move Elie was not based on his medical condition or needs. Despite his obvious poor health and medical prognosis that showed he would not live much longer, Elie was moved further away from his home and sent from The Pas to the Dynevor Indian Hospital on December 15, 1942. The medical report on his death noted, "This child was admitted to Dynevor Hospital on December 15, 1942, with wide-spread active pulmonary Tuberculosis,...He lived somewhat longer than was expected and died April 24th, 1943" (see Figure 3.16).[114]

Locating Elie's Burial

Figure 3.16. Dynevor Indian Hospital, circa 1945 (file N13847, 31, M.A. MacLeod Collection, Archives of Manitoba).

Consistent with other Catholic patients who died at the Dynevor Indian Hospital, there is no indication that Elie was buried in the Anglican St. Peter's Dynevor Church cemetery, where the non-Catholic deceased patients are buried. There is also no record of Elie being buried in The Pas. The Archdiocese of Keewatin-Le Pas was able to locate a burial notation for Elie in the Pukatawagan burial register. The notation confirms that Elie died at Dynevor, but it does not indicate a date or location of burial.[115]

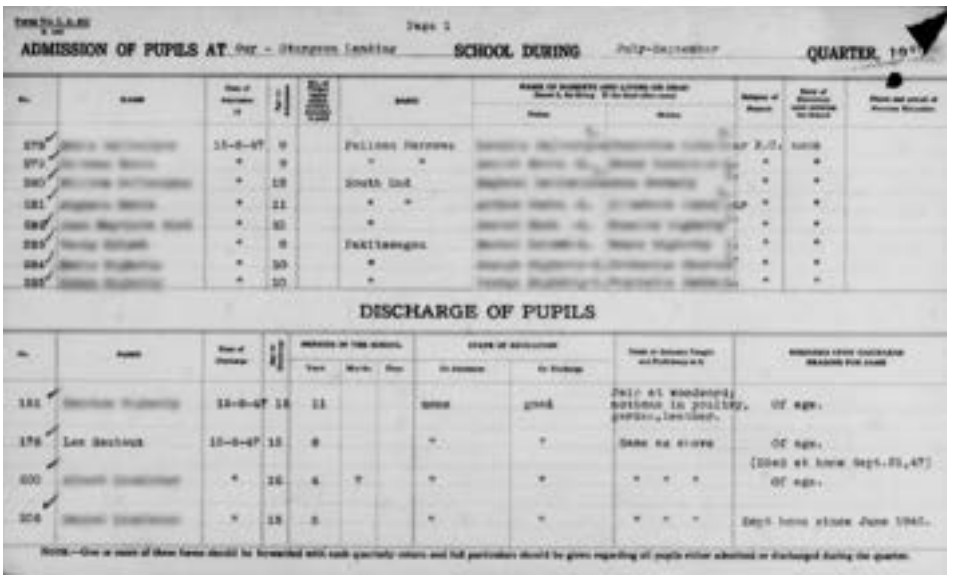
The Manitoba Vital Statistics Agency holds a death registration record for Elie, albeit under the spelling "Carabou," instead of "Caribou." It took well over a year to receive a copy of this death registration record, which indicated that Elie was buried in a Catholic cemetery in Selkirk. This could possibly be the Notre Dame Catholic Cemetery or the St. Michael's Catholic Cemetery. It is not clear where Elie Caribou and other Catholic patients that died at the Dynevor Indian Hospital, including Amos Blackhawk and Joseph Michel, are buried.[116]

Joseph Michel and Albert Linklater

Less is known about the life and death of Joseph Michel. Institutional records indicate that Joseph was seven years old when he was taken to the Sturgeon Landing Indian Residential School in 1942.[117] He died three months later at the

Dynevor Indian Hospital in January 1943.[118] As with Elie and Amos, it is difficult to ascertain which cemetery Joseph was buried at. Like Elie, Joseph Michel's name is misspelled, appearing as "Joseph Michael" in the Manitoba Vital Statistics database.

Albert Linklater's situation is perhaps the most puzzling. When Albert was taken to the Sturgeon Landing institution in the summer of 1940, he was just eight years old.[119] Like Elie and Joseph, Albert fell ill with tuberculosis and was transferred to the Dynevor Indian Hospital. He was confined in the hospital until 1945. He was transferred back to the Sturgeon Landing Indian Residential School on April 19, 1945[120] and finally discharged from there in 1947. The discharge form noted that Albert was "of age" but also, possibly, that he died the month after he was discharged on September 21 "at home." The positioning of this notation in the record makes it unclear whether the death was that of Albert Linklater or another child, Leo Saulteaux, whose name also appeared on the form. Neither child's name appears in a Vital Statistics database search (see Figure 3.17).[121]


ADMISSION OF PUPILS AT ... SCHOOL DURING ... QUARTER, 19...

DISCHARGE OF PUPILS

Figure 3.17. Admission and discharge of pupils, Guy Indian Residential Boarding School, July -September 1947. Note that the notation about a student's death is ambiguously located on the form. (file 655-10, part 3, vol. 6314, RG10, LAC).

Those sent to Indian Residential Schools, their parents, their aunts, their uncles, their cousins, their siblings, and, today, their family's descendants were and are caught in the entanglement of bureaucracy that characterized the Indian Health Service and Indian Residential School Systems. Government officials transferred Indigenous people to an increasingly diffuse number of institutions following the Second World War and offloaded more responsibilities for Indigenous health and, in particular, tuberculosis care to provincial, and sometimes private, entities. The TRC found that:

> health care services that might have been made available were often denied or caught in bureaucratic tangles between different levels of government and the churches. Prevailing attitudes of those ultimately responsible for the schools reflects coldness, indifference, and neglect that borders on the criminal, if it does not actually cross the line....In one of the darkest stains on the history of Canada, documents show that the care of Aboriginal children in residential schools was deemed less necessary than that given to white children.[122]

The TRC's findings demonstrate the systematic dehumanization and devaluing of Indigenous children's lives—their ungrievability—as they were forcibly transferred between institutions. Decisions were made on behalf of the children with little regard to protecting their human rights and dignity. The "coldness, indifference, and neglect," bordering on criminality, that officials showed towards Indigenous children in their care is also evident in their failure to ensure that the children were properly documented in the institutional records, effectively disappearing the children. As a result, Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities doing search and recovery investigations must now navigate through a maze of records, records-keeping systems, and privacy regimes to find the truth about what happened to their loved ones.

TRANSFERS TO THE WESTON SANATORIUM, TORONTO

Alfred and Bruce

The three boys from the Sturgeon Landing Indian Residential School were not the only children to be taken great distances to hospitals where they died and were buried far from home and family. Indigenous people across Canada, including children in Indian Residential Schools, were transferred hundreds and sometimes thousands of kilometres away to hospitals and sanitoria. Whether these transfers were to institutions operated by the Indian Health Service or to beds in provincial facilities, they were authorized under the powers of the *Indian*

Act. Alfred and Bruce were both transferred from the Indian Residential Schools where they had been sent to a public hospital, Toronto's Hospital for Consumptives, commonly known as the "Weston Sanatorium" or "Weston Hospital," where they both died. Like many other Indigenous people transferred to distant institutions, both Alfred and Bruce were buried in a local cemetery associated with the hospital after they died.

Alfred

In the 1930s, Dr. W.J. Dobbie, physician-in-chief at Toronto's Hospital for Consumptives, wrote to a local Indian Agent, "I beg to advise that [Alfred], a patient from the [redacted] Residential School who has been here [about five-and-a-half months] has developed symptoms of meningitis," adding, "I shall be glad if you will let his friends know of this and as the outcome is not likely to be favorable I shall be obliged if you will be good enough to give me instructions in case of his death."[123] Alfred had been sent to the Toronto Hospital for Consumptives from an Ontario Indian Residential School while suffering from tuberculosis (see Figure 3.18).[124] Alfred died only a few weeks after Dobbie sent his letter. Alfred was just seven years old. His death registration contains few details about his life, showing only his father's name, with other details such as his home community missing. Today, Alfred lies buried in an "adult poor grave" in Toronto's Prospect Cemetery.[125]

Figure 3.18. Toronto Free Hospital for Consumptives, 1934 (file 1976.41.30, Museum of Health Care at Kingston).

Bruce

In the 1940s, Bruce escaped from an Indian Residential School in Ontario and returned home. Soon after, Bruce was sent to the Toronto Weston Hospital, where he died. He, too, is buried in the Prospect Cemetery (see Figure 3.19).[126]

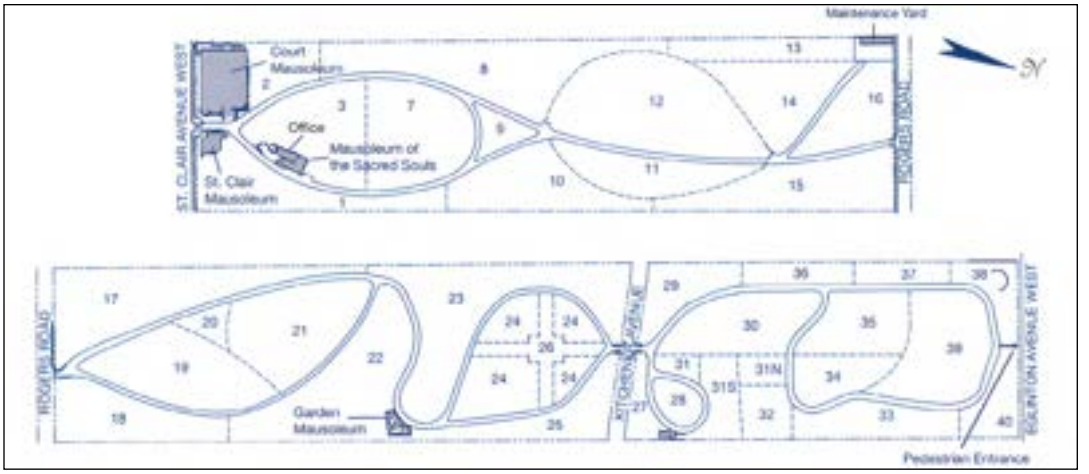


Figure 3.19. Prospect Cemetery Map ("Find a Grave," accessed July 5, 2023).

It could be difficult, if not impossible, for families to bring their children home for burial when they had been transferred to Indian Residential Schools or to other institutions far from home. Consequently, many of the missing and disappeared children were buried in the absence of family members. Families were denied the opportunity to mourn and grieve their loved ones in accordance with their own spiritual beliefs, laws, and customary burial practices. This denial continues today as Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities try to trace the missing and disappeared children and locate their burial sites.

COST CONTROL: THE BRANDON INDIAN SANATORIUM AND THE OAK RIVER CEMETERY

The histories of the cemeteries where children from the Brandon Indian Sanatorium were buried during the institution's years of operation highlight some of the consequences of prioritizing cost-savings over humane considerations. If government and church officials placed little value on Indigenous children when they were alive; they valued them even less when they were dead. It is therefore not surprising that there are so many unmarked burials across the country.[127]

During the years that the Brandon Indian Sanatorium operated, from 1947 to 1961, Indian Hospitals and Sanitoria were controlled by Health and Welfare Canada through the Indian Health Service.[128] In Manitoba, three institutions—the Clearwater Lake Sanatorium, the Dynevor Indian Hospital, and the Brandon Indian Sanatorium—were operated by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba on behalf of the federal government.[129] Because of this, records relating to individual children and their time in these institutions were created by several federal government departments and by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba, which are now archived in the Archives of Manitoba. Many of the death records are with Manitoba's Vital Statistics Agency. When an individual died at one of these institutions, the responsibility for the person's remains was with the Department of Indian Affairs.

Not long after the Brandon Indian Sanatorium first opened in 1947, government officials made arrangements with local funeral directors to inter patients who died at the institution in the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.[130] Most of these graves remain unmarked—only two have markers today.[131] In the 1930s, the Department of Indian Affairs restricted the maximum cost of burials to $25. By the 1950s, this policy shifted, but its emphasis on cost control had not. In 1955, J.F.B. Ostrander, the superintendent of welfare, wrote to the regional supervisor of Indian Agencies in North Bay that, although the $25 cap was no longer in place, "strict economy be exercised with respect to burial of destitute Indians" and that the maximum cost allowed should be equivalent to "the amount payable by the nearest municipality for the burial of destitute non-Indians."[132]

The policy of the Department of Indian Affairs stipulated that it would only pay for a burial if the estate of the deceased could not cover the costs. In addition, a deceased person would only be returned home if the costs were paid for by the family or community or if the cost of doing so was less than the cost of burying the person close to where they had died.[133] Given that cost control was the central concern in all its decision-making, the Department of Indian Affairs balked at the cost that local funeral directors were charging to inter people who died at the Brandon Sanatorium. In February and March 1950, the Department of Indian Affairs questioned Brandon funeral directors in an attempt to reduce the cost of burials at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery. When they were unsuccessful, government officials then requested that Principal O.B. Strapp allow for the burial of deceased persons from the Indian Sanatorium in the Brandon Indian Residential School's cemetery.

When officials first approached Strapp, he had no objection to the request. However, he did warn the government officials that there was no road into the cemetery.[134] R.S. Davis, an official from the Department of Indian Affairs, wrote to Strapp, suggesting that perhaps, "in the case of a death at the Sanatorium, when the roads are bad, could some arrangements be made to have the body taken from the Sanatorium to a point near the school and then transferred to the grave

yard by team [of horses]. I feel that the Indians burying their people away from home would like to know that they were being buried close to their own.[135] At this same time, G.R. Russell, acting superintendent of the Indian Affairs Branch, wrote to a Brandon funeral home requesting that they cut costs by eliminating "embalming and rough boxes."[136] For his part, Strapp was becoming increasingly suspicious about what the Department of Indian Affairs' actual plans were, and he began to check into the situation. In a letter to George Dorey, a United Church official, Strapp wrote, "From conversations with other I.A. officials I am afraid that there might be a move to leave the responsibility for looking after burials with the school and I am certainly not going into the undertaking business. I have plenty to look after now."[137]

Having been unsuccessful with the plan to bury deceased people from the Brandon Sanatorium at the Indian Residential School, Davis decided to bury people in a cemetery at the Oak River Indian Reserve, near Griswold, Manitoba, which is known today as Sioux Valley Dakota Nation.[138] Davis wrote to officials in March 1950:

> It was my intention when I went to Brandon to contact the City to see if they would lower the price or set a piece of land aside for Indian Affairs....However, when I found out they had a number of graves dug in anticipation of business I decided to move the bodies to Griswold. I felt that the City would get in touch with me as they would not want money invested in holes that will cave in.

Davis added, "Later I think we should make some arrangements with the City to obtain plots at a reasonable price—say $5.00." [139] Davis concluded his letter by writing that "the arrangement, while I feel it is not very handy, is a start in getting this funeral expense at Brandon into line."[140]

It was not until the decision had already been made and announced to the funeral homes that the government officials thought of consulting with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation on this arrangement. In March 1950, Acting Superintendent Russell wrote to William Young, the local Assistant Indian Agent:

> While motoring from Brandon to Portage last night with Mr. Davis, he suggested I write you and ask if you would have the preacher bring the matter of burying outside Indians in their graveyard, up with the members of the Band. He was afraid although we have completed all arrangements that the Indians might object. Will you please endeavour to get the Indians consent that the arrangements made are satisfactory to them. You could point out to the members of the Band that any Indian wishes to be buried with his own folk. This may ease the situation somewhat.[141]

Concerns over burial costs continued, even after the decision was made to bury people at Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. Colonel H.M. Jones, superintendent of welfare services, wrote to Davis, "For the present graves will be dug on the Oak River Reserve and the funeral cost will be approximately $40.00. It is further noted that the local funeral home will endeavour to secure a cheaper coffin. One point we should like to bring to your attention is that this Branch does not pay for the religious services performed for indigent Indians."[142] Although the Anglican Church kept burial registers for the Sioux Valley Cemetery, there is no indication that the Department of Indian Affairs ever created a site plan or a burial map of the cemetery to show where people are interred. It was not until early in 1952—when there were already 27 burials in the cemetery—that the local Indian Agent began making arrangements to have the graves marked with wooden crosses and tacking on to them the metal name plates supplied by the funeral homes.[143]

In the 1950s, when a grieving mother wanted to arrange for a memorial stone to mark her son's grave, Indian Agency Superintendent E. Law wrote to Indian Agency Superintendent J.H. Staunton in Portage la Prairie:

> [The mother] would like to have a memorial stone erected over the grave of her son...who passed away in the Brandon Sanatorium...and was buried at Griswald [*sic*]. Would you please inquire if there is anyone who would do this for [her] and what the cost would be for a small properly inscribed marker which would conform with regulations governing the Griswald [*sic*] Cemetery.[144]

The local Indian Agent was reluctant to permit this and responded that such a marker might detract from the existing plan:

> All the Sanatorium patients buried here have white markers or crosses made out of 2 x 4's, and painted white. I would not advise any special change in this order, however, if [the mother] could have a metal plaque about 3 ½" x 6 or 8" long, engraved, it would fit in the centre of the cross. If this is forwarded here, I will have it mounted at no charge.[145]

It is not clear whether the Indian Agent ever arranged for the instalment of a metal plaque. The wooden cross at this boy's grave has not survived.

The Department of Indian Affairs continued to bury those who died at the Brandon Indian Sanatorium at Sioux Valley Dakota Nation until 1958. In 1958, Indian Agency Superintendent D.A.H. Neild wrote to R.D. Regan, the regional supervisor of Indian Agencies that, "during Mr. Davis' time arrangements were made for all patients from other reserves, who died in the Brandon Sanatorium,... to be buried at Oak River Indian reserve at a cost of $25.00

for a casket and $5.00 for grave digging. This winter the frost penetrated some six feet and it was found necessary to pay the Oak River Indians $10.00 or $15.00 to dig a grave, which took two or three days."[146] Neild wrote that the Band Council had decided that they no longer wanted to be responsible for burying those who died at the Brandon Indian Sanatorium in their cemetery. The Department of Indian Affairs would have to make other arrangements.[147] Only a few of the wooden crosses remain in the Sioux Valley Cemetery today. Weather, age, and a grass fire have taken their toll.

In the early 1960s, United Church members on the Kahnawake Indian Reserve in Quebec attempted to get the Department of Indian Affairs to provide some measure of upkeep for the burials of Inuit that the department had buried there. The Chief of the Welfare Division told the superintendent of the Caughnawaga Agency that "this department does not make any payments for perpetual care of the graves of indigent Indians who are buried at departmental expense. If death occurs away from the home reserve, the indigent Indian must be buried away from his reserve and funeral arrangements are made with a local funeral director at rates comparable to those paid by the non-Indian community for indigent non-Indians in similar circumstances. No specific charges for perpetual care, as such, are accepted" (see Figure 3.20).[148]

MEMORANDUM • GOVERNMENT OF CANADA

Figure 3.20. Memorandum from J.H. Gordon, Chief, Welfare Division to Superintendent, Caughnawaga Agency, Burial of Eskimos on the Caughnawaga Reserve, May 9, 1960 (MFRC no. 74-D-8 MFRC, 1996-01878-7, file 373/38-5, box 82, accession 1996-97/879 GAD, RG10, LAC).

CHILDREN WITH COGNITIVE, DEVELOPMENTAL, AND PHYSICAL DISABILITIES

In 2013, Mary Coon-Come, a Survivor of La Tuque Indian Residential School in Québec, told the TRC about a little girl that died at the institution in the 1960s. Her name was Juliet Rabbitskin:

> She had a handicap, she was small for her age, and she was our baby. We treat, we treated her as our baby. We used to dress her up. Brush her little rotten teeth and comb her dry hair. Anyway, to us she was beautiful. One night she, she was sick. They came to wake me up. So, I had said that I stayed with her, with her little teddy bear, and I sang a lullaby that my grandmother used to sing to us to put us to bed. I knew she wasn't feeling, she had a fever, and she fell asleep, so I went back to sleep again. Then again, they woke me up, and told me she's not feeling good. So, I went to see her, and I knew there was something wrong. So, I woke up one of my friends, and I, I told her, "We have to take her to the dispensary. There's something wrong." She wasn't crying, but she was looking at us, smiling the kind of smile that we knew that something was wrong. So, I wrapped her up like a little baby, with her teddy bear. While the other girl ran downstairs to get the nurse, and there was a chair just before, beside the door of the clinic, I sat there, and I held her, and I sang to her. [crying]
>
> The girl that was with me, who ran down, she said, "She's coming, the nurse is coming." I don't know how long we waited there. I felt underneath her, she was wetting herself, and I, I told that girl, "Go get the nurse. I think she's dying." We, we could see her eyes go up, up and down. She ran down again to get the nurse. A few minutes after she came, she, she had her nurse uniform on, you could see she took her, shower her and everything, and when she saw the little girl, when she saw Juliet, she, she told me, she told me to put her on the bed in the, in the infirmary, so I did. She didn't even come, and she, the ambulance came, the doctor came, and I still can remember that doctor....When they took her down, I held her hand to the door, when they put her in the ambulance, and that was the last time I saw her. That day, after dinner, they called us, all, all of us to go in our rooms, and I knew that there was something wrong. So, I asked Candy, the lady that looked

> after us, we used to call her Candy because she always gave us candies, and she, she's dead, and she didn't want to say anything to me. And I ran after her, she ran into her room, and I ran after her, and said, "Tell me." She, when she closed the door, I, I went in her room, and I told her, "Tell me she's dead." She didn't want to tell me. So, they put all us in one room, and they told us she died.
>
> When they brought the body back, the tomb was near the church, they didn't even open it for us to see. I wanted to see it. I wanted her to, I, I felt she wasn't there, that everything was just lies. She helped carry the casket to the church. "We're going to bury her, [there] were only five people there. The parents weren't even there. They didn't even invite, invite the parents to come. Even to this day, I can't go to the cemetery, knowing that I'm gonna see a little plate with just a number on it.[149]

While we do not know the specific "handicap" that affected Juliet Rabbitskin, clearly, she was not given the care and respect she deserved by those in charge at the Indian Residential School. Rather, she was loved and cared for by other children. After her death, Mary Coon-Come, only a child herself, helped to carry Juliet's casket to the church. Her family was not told about the burial, and her grave marker identified her only by a number instead of by her name. By telling the TRC about Juliet's short life, her tragic death, and lonely burial, Mary Coon-Come is the living witness to Juliet's life story; she restored her name, her dignity, and her memory by telling Canada that this little girl mattered.

Métis scholar Rheanna Robinson argues that, while "Indigenous peoples do not have a word in their traditional languages that translates to 'disability' or a word that implies that someone has a deficit due to ableist variances,"[150] settler colonial concepts of ableism have shaped societal understanding of disability and Indigenous identity.[151] False theories of eugenics and negative stereotypes associated with Indigenous people, mental illness, and disability were common among settlers.[152] These theories actively influenced the way in which Indigenous people were treated in life and death within institutional walls as well as outside them. Katharine Maye Viscardis explains that there was a widespread belief that disability occurred frequently amongst those who were deemed to be "inferior races" and that "skin colour and cultural traditions...along with social conditions...were constituted as reliable markers of disability."[153] This false belief, linked with the goals of settler colonialism, were used to justify the dehumanization and deaths of Indigenous children with disabilities.[154] Indigenous people, including children, were therefore more likely to be perceived as experiencing cognitive and developmental disabilities and institutionalized.

Indigenous children with disabilities, who were also targets of racism, were especially vulnerable in the Indian Residential School System and other institutions where they were transferred. The Department of Indian Affairs' response to the needs of the children in its care who experienced cognitive, developmental, and/ or physical disabilities was inconsistent and arbitrary.

In the decades following the Second World War, the Indian Residential School System underwent significant changes. While the overall policy goal remained assimilation, the method of accomplishing this was now to "integrate" Indigenous children into public schools. This shift, which began in the late 1940s, was pursued aggressively. Some of the Indian Residential Schools were converted to Indian Student Residences, and the children were sent out each day to attend local public schools.[155] In 1959, as part of this process, the Department of Indian Affairs issued a policy document that outlined how children with cognitive, developmental, or physical disabilities who were defined as "exceptional" should be handled. While allowing for some of these children to be "accommodated" within the Indian education system, others were to be sent to institutions that specialized in managing specific needs (see Appendix C; Figure 3.21).[156]

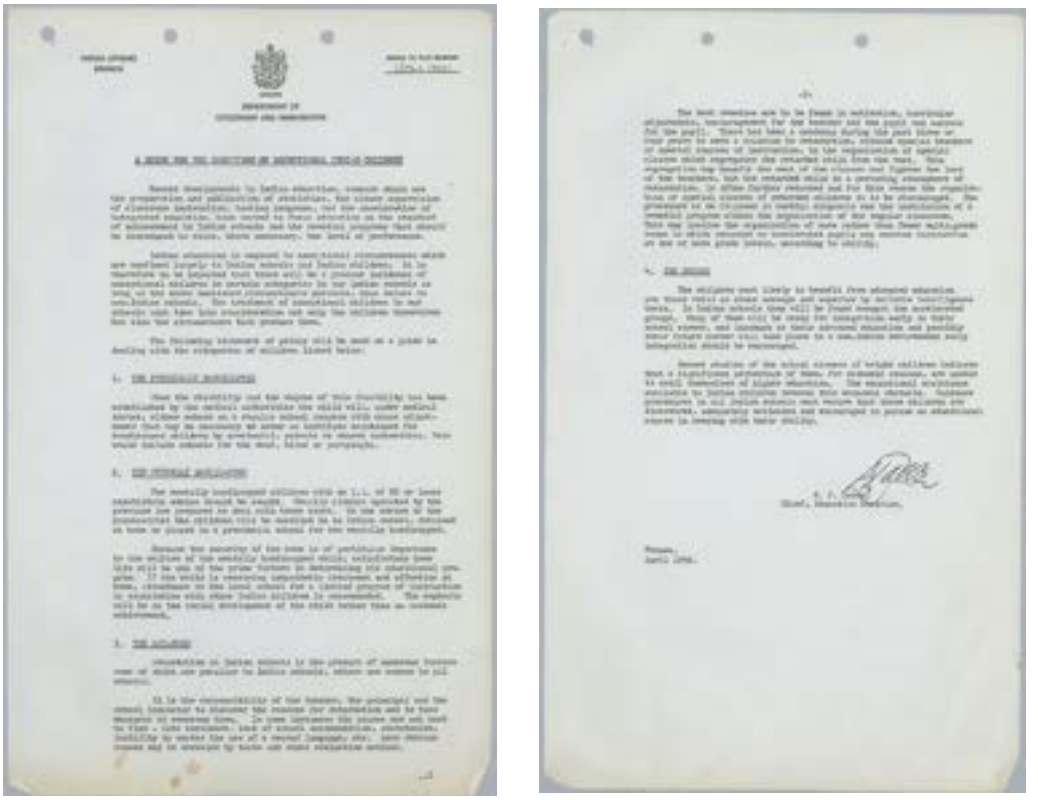


Figure 3.21. A Guide for the Education of Exceptional Indian Children, (file 25-17-1, vol. 11230, RG10-C-V-11, LAC).

Colin

The institutions that "exceptional" Indigenous children were transferred to, much like the Indian Residential Schools, were disruptive, separating children from their families and exposing them not only to aggressive and harmful government and church strategies of assimilation but also to the risk of injury and abuse. When five-year-old Colin, a child from a First Nation in northern Ontario, lost his hearing and speech because of tuberculosis treatment in the mid-1950s, government authorities decided that he could not be cared for at home. Instead, they arranged for him to be sent to the Sir James Whitney School for the Deaf in Belleville, Ontario.[157] The Whitney institution would come under public scrutiny in the 1990s when police investigated allegations that some of the children in the institution had been sexually abused by staff. As a result of this investigation, criminal charges were laid.[158] Civil lawsuits were also launched by Survivors of the institution that were eventually resolved through an out-of-court alternative dispute resolution (ADR) process. This ADR process provided compensation to those who were physically and sexually abused at the institution between the 1940s and 1980 (see Figure 3.22).[159]

Figure 3.22. The entrance to the Ontario School for the Deaf, now known as Sir James Whitney School for the Deaf, Belleville, Ontario, 1975 (file CA ON00156 MG 1/1/51/HCM03474, Nick and Helma Mika Collection, Community Archives of Belleville and Hastings County).

Donna

In the late 1950s, Donna was transferred from an Indian Residential School to Vancouver's Jericho Hill School for the Deaf.[160] As a baby, Donna had been sent to the Nanaimo Indian Hospital. She remained there for the next four years. A memorandum summarizing Donna's social and medical history noted that, "after spending the last year between the Residential School, the Hospital at Nanaimo and at Vancouver, [she had] now been transferred and admitted to the Vancouver Jericho Hill School for the Deaf."[161] Originally known as the British Columbia School for the Deaf and Blind, the Jericho Hill School was, until 1979, a provincial residential school for children with hearing and vision impairments.[162] In 1979, Jericho Hill stopped receiving visually impaired children and continued to operate only as a "deaf school." The institution closed in 1992. During the 1990s, Jericho Hill was the focus of an investigation by British Columbia's provincial ombudsman. The investigation, led by Thomas Berger, found that there had been sexual abuse in the institution over a 35-year period beginning in the 1950s.[163]

THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF INDIGENOUS CHILDREN WITH DISABILITIES CONTINUES INTO THE 1950s

As Canada's "integration" policy emerged in the 1950s, federal officials were struggling to find space for children in provincially operated institutions. The government's push to move children out of the Indian Residential Schools and towards "integrating" them into public systems meant that Indigenous children labelled as "exceptional" were increasingly being taken from their families. With provincial institutions already overcrowded, Canada turned to privately run institutions.[164]

Canada's initiative to apprehend and institutionalize Indigenous children with cognitive and developmental disabilities ignored the fact that families and communities had cared for their children, including those with what Western cultures construct as disabilities, since long before settlers arrived. Despite this long history, government officials, beginning in the 1950s, medicalized and pathologized these children, sending them away from their homes, families, and communities to distant institutions that most families could not afford to visit. During this period, while there was a shortage of institutions in southern Canada for children with cognitive and developmental disabilities, there were none in northern Canada. In this and in other ways, Canada's policy relating to children with disabilities mirrored the way in which it responded to illnesses such as tuberculosis. Using a case-finding approach, the federal government identified and apprehended children whom officials considered to be cognitively or

developmentally disabled and sent them to institutions that could be thousands of kilometres away from their homes and families (see Figure 3.23).

CECIL BUTTERS MEMORIAL HOSPITAL

Figure 3.23. The Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital (from Butters Foundation).

The Cecil Memorial Home (Butters Home), later called the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital, was a private institution that originally opened in 1947 and operated as a foster home registered through the Mental Hygiene Institute.[165] Located in Austin, Quebec, it first cared for four to five children but quickly grew, perhaps due to the lack of provincially operated institutions available for cognitively and developmentally disabled children.[166] The Home was started by Lily Esther Butters, who settled with her husband in Canada from England in 1943. The Butters Home was named after her second born son, Cecil, who died from an accident while attending the Royal Canadian Air Force training in Saint Jean, Quebec.[167] Within a short five years of its operation, Lily Butters expanded her services. By the 1950s, the Jewish Child Welfare Bureau began to utilize the Butters Home to place "seriously retarded children," and it was later followed by the Family Welfare Associate, the Children's Services Centre, the Children's Memorial Hospital, French associations, and the Department of Indian Affairs.[168]

A memorandum dated July 18, 1952, from the Travellers' Aid Society of Montreal to the Jewish Child Welfare Bureau notes that, of the 39 children at the Home, 8 were infants, 5 were preschool age, 11 were school age, 3 were teenagers, and 12 were "vegetating idiots." One year later, in August 1953, the institution was noted to have 75 children in its care, "many of these are mongoloid, with short life expectancy" and included a group who were "epileptic as well as uneducable—feeble-minded."[169]

As Lily Butters' family business began to grow, several social service agencies took an interest in the Home and came together in 1954 to discuss their growing concern with the operation. This was almost immediately after Butters commenced a letter writing campaign, seeking support and letters of recommendations for her to register the Butters Home as a "Chartered Home" under the *Quebec Public Charities Act*, which would help alleviate some of the financial struggles she was facing.[170]

The Montreal Council of Social Agencies struck the Committee to Study the Needs of Uneducable Mentally and Physically Handicapped Children. This committee had two stated goals:

- An immediate goal, which involves consideration of the Cecil Memorial Home, operated by Mr. and Mrs. Butters, in Austin, Quebec. Mr. and Mrs. Butters have applied to the Province for a charter and have written several agencies which refer children to them, asking for letters of recommendation. Granting of such a charter would make the Home eligible to campaign for funds.
- A long-term goal, which involves studying the needs of the children and making an attempt to meet the needs.[171]

At its first meeting on March 29, 1954, the committee, when discussing its concerns about the Home, noted that "all of the present staff are members of the family" and that there were only six staff to care for 89 children. The committee also "felt that there is too much discipline and not enough happiness" and noted that the "spontaneous children become too subdued," raising questions about the use of corporal punishment in the Home. The committee further noted that, "although there is a playroom, an outdoor runway, toys, etc. there is no one to give supervision of play." The committee determined that they would request to meet with Lily Butters herself to discuss all these concerns.[172]

The committee would meet two additional times before meeting with Lily Butters. At its April 15, 1954, meeting, committee members raised concerns with the fact that there were "four adult males in placement" at the Butters Home, which was "obviously undesirable." In addition, a report was made relating to health problems at the Butters Home and noted that

there had been "an epidemic of measles, resulting in the deaths of eight infants."[173] At the committee's May 26, 1954, meeting, the focus was on a newspaper article that had appeared in the *Sherbrooke Daily Record* on May 8, 1954,[174] triggering the committee to decide that "the plan to confer with Mrs. Butters should not be further postponed."[175] The next day, by a letter dated May 27, 1954, the Montreal Council of Social Agencies requested to meet with Lily Butters (see Figure 3.24).[176]

Unto The Least Of These

Cecil Memorial Home In Austin Township Cares For 105 Mentally-Blighted Children

By ALAN J. OXLEY

For some time now Canadians have been waking with admiration the expansion and development of the province of Quebec—parcel and of the richest in the country. But Quebec might do well to turn its attention a little more in the direction of the people, not only toward those but particularly toward the mental hospitals and institutions.

Apart from the St. Anne de Bellevue Hospital, which is under the control of the federal authorities and reserved for the care of military patients, there are only seven public hospitals for the mentally diseased in the Province. The hospital at Bordeaux cares for prisoners and Mount Providence for educable mentally retarded children.

Nothing has yet been said about those mentally retarded children who are un-educable. There are few institutions who will accept these unfortunate infants and fewer still who will take an uneducable mentally retarded child from birth without question as to its color, race or creed.

Indeed there is only one such home in the province of Quebec. The Cecil Memorial Home in Austin Township, Brome county is the only non-sectarian Home for the mentally deficient which will take a child from birth regardless.

Mrs. L. E. Butters who came from the old country twenty-five years ago, founded the home upon the site of an old farm house—her fathers residence—in 1943 in remembrance of her second son Cecil Raymond Butters, who died in January 1942 at the age of 23 from injuries received in an airplane crash while serving with the R.C.A.F.

Standing in its own grounds in full view of Owl's Head mountain near the shores of Lake Memphremagog, the home was first intended as a convalescent home for the aged. Gradually, after five years in operation, her great ambition for children moved Mrs. Butters to change the home into a refuge for crippled and mentally retarded children.

Today, with the help of her daughter, Mrs. M. Madsen, six other members of the family and six paid girls, Mrs. Butters, one of the "greatest" women of our time, shelters 105 mentally retarded children of whom only fifteen to twenty can talk at all, one hundred and five children from every part of Canada and the United States, of families from

STAFF — [illegible]

CECIL MEMORIAL HOME — [illegible]

Figure 3.24. Alan J. Oxley, "Cecil Memorial Home in Austin Township Cares for 105 Mentally-Blighted Children," *Sherbrooke Daily Record*, May 8, 1954 (file 0005274927, Eastern Township Publishing, Bibliothèque et Archives Nationales du Québec [BAnQ]).

When finally meeting with Lily Butters on June 15, 1954, it was learned that the staff at this time consisted of eight adults and six girls "who are mentally retarded but capable of changing diapers, washing dishes etc." Lily Butters discussed her financial situation with the committee and revealed that she was in debt "to the extent of $40,000" and believed that "she could manage to meet expenses if she received $65 a month, or a little over $2.00 a day for each patient." She shared that she was receiving only $54 per month for two children that had been transferred to the Butters Home by the Sisters of Good Shepherd. She also told the committee that she sometimes had to pay for the funeral expenses of the children when they died at her institution.[177]

Following their meeting with Lily Butters, the committee continued to meet among themselves to discuss the Butters Home situation. The minutes from the January 31, 1955, meeting noted that the legal limit of this private hospital was one hundred patients and that the last inspection report indicated it had surpassed this limit by 21 children. It was further pointed out that the Home was considered a fire hazard as there were no fire escapes. It was decided that a further discussion with Lily Butters was needed to address these issues, including her inadequate insurance and to explain to her "what factors were involved for her to incorporate."[178] On February 15, 1955, Lily Butters reported that she had 140 children in her care, with 11 staff (all but three were her family members), and that there were now 11 "mentally retarded girls who give domestic help, some in exchange for room and board."[179] The staff compliment would soon rise to 18 people in April 1955 with the addition of "six Dutch men and women, trained in mental hospitals."[180] By July 1955, it appears that the Butters family came to the "conclusion that some legal, medical and financial advice would be helpful to them." It was agreed that the first step would be to establish an "advisory citizens' committee" that Mrs. Butters could work with until a legal corporation with a functioning Board of Directors could be established.[181]

Lily Butters did eventually incorporate the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital, with a Board of Directors, of which she was one, and even added an Honorary Patron, Supreme Court of Canada Justice Douglas Abbott, in March 1959.[182] The newly incorporated entity faced public scrutiny when, in May 1961, 50 children became ill from an outbreak of measles in the Butters Hospital. *The Montreal Gazette* reported on May 16, 1961, that 20 children died over a period of 12 weeks of encephalitis, an inflammation of the brain, and that "the dead children, whose parents live in Montreal, Ontario and the Eastern Townships ranged in age from two to seven years. Two older children—one 10, the other 12—also died." *The Montreal Gazette* quoted Lily Butters as stating that "some of the children hit by the epidemic died five days after the disease was first noticed. Others survived for two weeks." It was pointed out in

the Gazette article that there was no doctor on staff at the institution and that, 18 months earlier, 10 children had died from a similar outbreak.[183]

Several Indigenous children were known to have been placed at the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital by the Department of Indian Affairs.[184] In 1961, Dr. Percy Moore, the director of Indian and Northern Health Services, told the Canadian Parliament's Standing Joint Committee on Indian Affairs that, in the Arctic, "there has not been enough education up until the last two or three years to know whether a child is retarded or not. He just did not get to school."[185] Now that Canada was intervening in these children's lives, Moore stated that:

> we have an agreement with the province of Alberta to set aside 25 beds at Red Deer [Provincial Training School]. They give us a quota for the Northwest Territories....We are trying to work out an arrangement for the eastern Arctic...and we have one or two children at the present time at an institution that recently was mentioned in the press because of an epidemic of measles; it is the Cecil Butters Institute. You may have read about it in the press. I think they had some deaths because of measles.[186]

When asked "what do you do in the case of Indian children," Moore replied, "We bring them to the attention of the provincial authorities and try to get them into various provincial institutions. We have Indian children at Orillia, Smiths Falls, and places like that, at the present time."[187]

A 1962 report on the Cecil Butters institution noted that, although licensed to take in 265 children, there were at the time over three hundred in the facility. The report also found that the institution had a high death rate, particularly for children under one year, and that the hospital was "co-operating with a Boston doctor who is testing the use of thyroid, pituitary gland and iron on the mongoloid children."[188] Although many of the children that the federal government would send to the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital were Inuit, the government also sent First Nation children to this institution.[189] Several Indigenous children died there, alone, without their families knowing where they were. Many are buried in unmarked and mass graves in and around the former site of the Hospital like Marieyvonne Alaka Ukaliannuk[190] and Marlene Nepinak (see Figure 3.25a and b).

Figure 3.25a and **b**. There are at least three known cemeteries where children that died at the Butters Memorial Hospital are buried, 2023 (photographs taken by the Independent Special Interlocutor).

Marlene Nepinak

Although the Cecil Butters institution was established to care for children with severe cognitive disabilities, Reg Nepinak, speaking at the Montreal National Gathering, explained that his sister Marlene, who had been taken from their home to the Cecil Butters institution, lived with spina bifida but was not, as her medical records claimed, cognitively disabled.[191] As with many families whose loved ones were taken away to various institutions, Marlene's family had no input into how her funeral would be conducted and no opportunity to even attend her burial (see Figures 3.26 and 3.27).

Figure 3.26. Marlene Nepinak and Vic (photo supplied by her brother, Reg Nepinak).

Figure 3.27. Marlene Nepinak in her carriage (photo supplied by her brother, Reg Nepinak).

Reg Nepinak said, "When she passed away...we were told four days after she was buried that she had passed away. Mom and Dad were never told what she passed away from."[192] When the family was finally able to identify where Marlene had been buried, hopes of having her remains repatriated home were lost. Marlene had been buried in an unmarked grave in an area that contained the remains of a number of other children who had died at the Cecil Butters institution. As Nepinak stated, "there were a bunch of children from Cecil Butters that were buried in the same area where markers were never left" (see Figure 3.28).[193]

Figure 3.28. Sacramental Burial Register for Marlene Nepinak, Archdiocese of Sherbrooke (permission to publish given by Reg Nepinak).

Canada's policy that focused on apprehending and removing children with cognitive and developmental disabilities from their homes and placing them in public institutions was under-resourced from the start. Consequently, as the Indian Health Service struggled to find enough spaces in existing provincially and privately operated institutions, children were sent to institutions based on available space, with no considerations of the disruptive impacts that the separation of family and child would have, especially if the institution was far from the child's home and community. This severed children's connections to their families and communities and left families powerless to advocate for their children.

Percy Onabigon

Although Percy Onabigon was well cared for by his parents, in September 1944, when he was just six years old, he was taken from his home community of Long Lake #58 First

Nation to the St. Joseph's Indian Residential School in Fort William, Ontario (now known as Thunder Bay). Percy had epilepsy and was paralyzed on one side of his body. In 1946, a doctor reported to the Indian Agent that "hospitalization at Toronto would be the answer."[194] It was recommended that Percy be transferred to the Hospital for Sick Children in Toronto.[195] Following this recommendation, on November 6, 1946, Percy was discharged from the St. Joseph's Indian Residential School and first sent to the McKellar Hospital in Fort William.[196] From there, he was taken by an Indian Agent to southern Ontario. The Indian Agent reported that the Hospital for Sick Children would not admit Percy as a patient, and so Percy was transferred to the Ontario Hospital School in Orillia,[197] a mental health institution formerly known as the Orillia Asylum for Idiots.[198] In 1950, Percy was transferred again, this time to the Ontario Hospital in Woodstock, originally named the Woodstock Hospital for Epileptics.[199] Each of these transfers was done under the authority of the federal government without notice to, or consent from, Percy's parents. On the province of Ontario's Notice of Transfer form, the section that notes the "name and address of responsible relative or friend who has been notified of the transfer" contains the name "Mr. J.G Burk, Indian Agent" from the Port Arthur Agency rather than Percy's parents.[200] Percy died in 1966 from tuberculosis while at the Ontario Hospital in Woodstock. He was 27 years old.[201] Percy is buried in a cemetery over twelve hundred kilometres away from his home community.[202] His family continues to advocate to have his body returned home for reburial.

Eva

With long waiting lists for institutional placements for children with cognitive and developmental disabilities in Alberta, the Indian Health Service had been trying to find an institution where they could transfer nine-year-old Eva, who had been born, and was living, in the Arctic. Dr. Percy Moore, the director of Indian and Northern Health Services, contacted the Verdun Protestant Hospital in Verdun, Quebec, to ask them to take Eva who was, at the time, being held in a hospital near her home.[203] The medical superintendent of the Verdun Protestant Hospital wrote back to Moore stating that his hospital was not equipped to take on the care of a child like Eva. Instead, he suggested that Moore consider sending her to the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital in Austin, Quebec, where the Indian Health Service had already sent some other children.[204] By that summer, the Indian Health Service had sent Eva over four thousand kilometres from the hospital where she was being held to the Cecil Butters institution in Quebec (see Figure 3.29).[205]

Figure 3.29. Map showing the distances some children sent from the Arctic to the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital were forced to travel (Google Maps, 2023).

Disappeared Children in the Institutional System

The next year, the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital wrote to the Indian Health Service, concerned that Eva had not been brought back to the Butters facility after being sent to Montreal for an assessment. Moore's response to the fact that this vulnerable child was missing showed little more than mild interest, "It would appear that [Eva's] removal from the Cecil Butters Hospital occurred as a result of the request made in my letter of May 18 to have her assessed in Montreal but apparently [Eva] has not been returned to the Cecil Butters Hospital; possibly she is at Kateri [Memorial Hospital in Kahnawake]."[206] To the Cecil Butters institution, Moore wrote, "I am not aware of any plans to transfer [Eva] to another institution at this time and I rather believe that she may have been accommodated temporarily at the Kateri Memorial Hospital, Caughnawaga, or at some such similar institution. In any case, Doctor Wiebe should be able to clear this matter up before too long."[207] Wiebe must have managed to finally locate Eva before September when R.J. Orange, the director of the Northern Administration and Lands Branch within Northern Affairs and National Resources, wrote to the administrator in the Northwest Territories asking, "Will you please advise [Eva's] parents that she is well and happy in the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital."[208]

the federal government had (and has) a well-established pattern of forcibly transferring vulnerable Indigenous children to institutions that are chronically underfunded and under-resourced. For children with disabilities, the disorienting and disruptive impacts of being shuffled from place to place, often to institutions that were ill-suited to care for them properly, was even more profound. Doing so without adequate planning and resourcing only amplified the indignity, pain, and disruption that these transfers caused. When a child died at the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital in 1970, the institution wrote to the federal government for instructions about how to proceed with the child's burial and held the child's remains at the institution while they waited for a response.[209] The lives and deaths of the children sent to facilities like the Cecil Butters Memorial Hospital were managed and controlled by bureaucrats and bureaucratic processes that lacked humanity. Missing vulnerable children elicited only mild concern. When children died, officials failed to ensure that deceased children with disabilities and their families were treated with the human dignity and respect they deserved.

THE COURTS AND CHILD WELFARE AGENCIES

Through much of its history, and especially before the Second World War, the Indian Residential School System operated largely as a closed system. Nonetheless, even in its earliest years, it was also part of a much broader web of settler colonial institutions that worked in tandem with the child welfare and juvenile and criminal justice systems. Joan Sangster points out that, "despite a rhetoric of equal citizenship, and well-intentioned calls for an end to discrimination, the integration of Native peoples into the welfare state was governed by an assimilationist ideal, as well as ethnocentric and racist notions of Anglo and white cultural superiority. Social work discourses and government practices urged intervention, intervention slid into surveillance, and surveillance sometimes became the first step to incarceration."[210] The TRC found that, "from the 1940s onwards, residential schools increasingly served as orphanages and child-welfare facilities. By 1960, the federal government estimated that 50% of the children in residential schools were there for child-welfare reasons. The 1960s Scoop was...simply a transferring of children from one form of institutional care, the residential school, to another, the child-welfare agency."[211] The TRC further noted that, up until the 1960s, Indian Agents acted as social workers, making decisions to send children to Indian Residential Schools for child welfare reasons.[212]

Indigenous children could also be sent from Indian Residential Schools to various child welfare and detention organizations and facilities and sent from such facilities back to Indian Residential Schools. By the late 1950s, the TRC noted that "half of the children at the [Fort William Indian Residential School] had status under the *Indian Act*, and the rest

were non-status Indians, mostly wards of the children's aid societies of Fort William and Port Arthur [present-day Thunder Bay, ON]."[213] This situation was not unique to the Fort William Indian Residential School. In the early 1970s, a Department of Indian Affairs official in Alberta raised concerns with the principal of the Roman Catholic Indian Residential School at Cardston, Alberta, about the number of "welfare cases" that the institution was being asked to accept, noting that the Indian Residential School was "not set up to deal with delinquent cases."[214]

The practice of the justice system and child welfare agencies placing Indigenous children into Indian Residential Schools was far from a recent development in post-Second World War Canada. In the early twentieth century, during his patrol of the Lake Winnipeg region, Royal North-West Mounted Police Inspector W.M. Walke sentenced Isaac Bear, who had been charged with stealing some small and low value items at Berens River, to the Brandon Indian Residential School. Walke reported that "the principal of this school was on the spot and agreed to take him."[215] In 1916, the assistant deputy and secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs wrote to the acting superintendent in Brantford, Ontario, acknowledging that the "Children's Aid Society of Brantford, had taken action to have Elsie Lickers Clause, daughter of Kate Claus, placed in the Mohawk Institute" and approving her admission there.[216] Claus was still incarcerated at the Mohawk Institute in 1921.[217]

Police and Truant Officers

Indigenous children's encounters with the justice system could begin early. The TRC wrote that "the Mounted Police, who were appointed residential school truant officers in 1927, were, along with local police, used to force parents to send or return their children to school."[218] As the TRC's Final Report documents, the history and ongoing legacy of the links between Indian Residential Schools and the juvenile and criminal justice systems did not end with the police. The TRC found that some Indian Agents occasionally "used the schools as an alternative to jail" in order to keep children out of the court system.[219] Indigenous children's behavioural "problems"—including their acts of resistance while in Indian Residential Schools—were criminalized with alarming regularity, and they were often transferred to youth detention centres, reformatories, jails, prisons, and penitentiaries.

While some children may have been sent from an Indian Residential School directly to a carceral facility such as a juvenile detention centre by a Department of Indian Affairs official without any formal court proceedings, most were transferred through the criminal justice system. This process usually involved Department of Indian Affairs' officials, Indian Residential School principals, child welfare workers, and the police. Children could be, and were, sent not only to

juvenile institutions but also to adult facilities, including penitentiaries. When released from one of these carceral institutions, children were not always returned to the Indian Residential School from where they had been transferred or to their homes. When four boys were convicted of setting fire to buildings at the Mohawk Institute in 1903, three of them were sent to the Mimico Reformatory. The TRC noted that "an Indian Affairs official informed the father of one of the boys sent to the Mimico industrial school that his son would be sent back to him after his release. When the boy didn't return home, an inquiry to the superintendent of the Mimico school revealed that the boy had found a job locally. The Mimico superintendent thought it best that the father not be allowed to 'interfere at all with the boy.'"[220]

Penitentiaries and Prisons

Josiah [Isaiah] Antone

One of the four boys convicted in the Mohawk Institute fires was sent to the Kingston Penitentiary, despite only being 15 or 16 years old at the time. Josiah [Isaiah] Antone (which is also spelled Antoine and other variations) was sent to the Kingston Penitentiary for three years. While in the penitentiary, Josiah was disciplined for talking and for bringing tobacco into the institution. Both infractions resulted in punishments: he was confined to his cell for five hours for the tobacco infraction and lost his right to have lights in his cell for five nights for talking.[221] Josiah's sentence at the Kingston Penitentiary was for a set term. Yet, despite his minor talking and tobacco infractions, Josiah was released early when Thomas Whitebeans, an Indigenous ordained minister who had been taken to the Mohawk Institute himself as a child, petitioned along with others on Josiah's behalf. Following this petition, Josiah was released on a "ticket of leave" that required him to report monthly to a local police official.[222]

In many cases, arson at Indian Residential Schools reflected the frustration that children felt with the harsh disciplinary conditions, the poor diet, and the open-ended, indefinite nature of their detention there. The TRC noted that:

> in commenting on the risk of fire at the aging and dilapidated St. Alban's school at Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1946, Indian Agent J.P.B Ostrander wrote: "More than one disastrous Indian school fire has been started by the pupils themselves in an effort to obtain their freedom from a school which they did not like. The number of truants in this school would certainly indicate much dissatisfaction."[223]

Ostrander's explanation of the children's actions ignored why so many were taking such drastic measures. Their motives for setting fires went far beyond mere dissatisfaction; they were acts of resistance and defiance in response to the substandard, brutal, and dehumanizing conditions they were forced to live in at these institutions. The TRC found that:

> for most of the system's history, the federal government had no clear policy on discipline. Students were not only strapped and humiliated, but in some schools, they were also handcuffed, manacled, beaten, locked in cellars and other makeshift jails, or displayed in stocks. Overcrowding and a high student-staff ratio meant that even those children who were not subject to physical discipline grew up in an atmosphere of neglect. From the beginning, many Aboriginal people were resistant to the residential school system. Missionaries found it difficult to convince parents to send their children to residential schools, and children ran away, often at great personal risk and with tragic outcome.[224]

Writing about the fire that destroyed the Delmas Indian Residential School in 1948, Doug Cuthand recalls that "Austin Tootoosis told me that he was only about six years old, but he remembers the older boys jumping around cheering. He was wondering 'What will we do now?' 'We'll go home,' his friend told him. Going home was every child's dream."[225] Survivors of Delmas recall that the fire was carefully planned and deliberately set. Boys in the institution were warned to keep their clothes on when they went to bed and to be ready when the fire started. In the end, there were no casualties from the fire, and although officials suspected four boys of setting it, nothing was proven, and no charges were ever laid.[226]

In contrast, a fire at the Cross Lake Indian Residential School in 1930 had a much different outcome. Despite the fact that the loss of life in the Cross Lake fire was exacerbated by the building's fire hazards and lax fire safety standards—conditions that prevailed in many Indian Residential Schools at the time[227]—the blame for the fire and the subsequent loss of life, was placed solely on the shoulders of two students, Nelson Hughes and George Paynter.[228]

In an interview with the *Winnipeg Free Press* in 1998, Survivor Mary McIvor recalled waking to one of the nuns screaming "fire." Dressed only in their nightgowns, McIvor remembered how she and 40 other girls tried to escape the burning building. Finally making it to the fire escape, the girls found the door frozen shut. McIver and another girl eventually managed to kick the frozen door open, and the girls slid down the ice covered pole that served as the fire escape to the ground below. Looking up, McIvor saw one of the Sisters holding a child bundled in a blanket in a third-floor window. The nun threw the child out of the window, then jumped out herself. The children who had escaped the fire stood in the cold and dark,

some on blankets that the nuns had thrown out of the burning building, until they were able to go to a near-by barn.[229] Survivor Bella Quekeapow remembered:

> We stood in the snow, there were no socks. Only what we had, our bare feet. While we stood there I felt my feet start to freeze. So we stood there not knowing what was going to be done to us. Then we were told we could run to the barn if we could. And truly I ran there following others; the barn—it was further away. I don't know how I felt but my feet were freezing, and after I ran I got to the barn. So I went there, where the cows were. And there until morning, until they came and gave us clothes to wear. It was only then that I knew when I was given clothes to wear sitting there. That's what I remember until morning when parents came to look for their children, many were not found.[230]

George Paynter

One of the boys accused and eventually convicted of setting the fatal Cross Lake fire was George Paynter. George had been adopted by William Thomas Towers, a well-respected member of the Norway House community when he was orphaned at five years old. George had been sent to the Cross Lake Indian Residential School at the age of seven and had remained there until the time of the fire, nine or ten years later. A short time before the fire, George had tried to escape from the institution but had been caught, brought back, and punished. Towers reported that, when he was at home, George was "always obedient and never any trouble."[231]

The other child accused in the Cross Lake fire was Nelson Hughes who was described by officials as "non-treaty." For his part in the fire, Nelson was given a two-to-three-year sentence. George, however, was transferred to adult court, and the federal government would not, and did not, provide him with a lawyer. He pleaded guilty and was given the maximum sentence: life in prison. On October 27, 1931, George was admitted to the Manitoba Penitentiary at Stony Mountain to serve his life sentence. In 1939, George's adoptive father attempted to have the case reviewed, but the Department of Indian Affairs would not support his parole application, and efforts to have George released failed.[232] George died in the Winnipeg General Hospital on February 20, 1947, at the age of 32, having spent half of his life in prison. Following his death, he was buried in the prison cemetery (see Figure 3.30).[233]

Although a cairn at the Stony Mountain Penitentiary cemetery names 32 of the people who are buried there, including George Paynter, the graves themselves are only identified with numbered markers. A 1997 article in the *Stony Mountain Innovator Magazine* noted that

Figure 3.30. Inmate History Worksheet information and photographs regarding George Paynter from penitentiary records (George Paynter, "Inmate History Worksheets," circa 1944, box 18, item 37, RG73-87-88-365, LAC).

there are more than 32 graves in this cemetery. The Manitoba Genealogical Society suggests that there are 38 people buried in the penitentiary cemetery. In 1989, the Manitoba Genealogical Society also noted that the penitentiary cemetery is no longer in use and that persons who died at Stony Mountain were, by that time, being interred at the Stonewall Cemetery if their families were not able to make other arrangements (see Figure 3.32).[234]

Figure 3.31. The Stony Mountain Penitentiary Cemetery (Cemetery Transcription no. 427, November 1989, Stony Mountain Penitentiary Cemetery, Rural Municipality of Rockwood, Manitoba Genealogical Society).

Provincial Reformatories

Not every child or youth convicted of arson while at an Indian Residential School was sent to a penitentiary. Most were instead transferred to a provincial reformatory. The TRC found that:

> two students who admitted to setting fire twice to the Crowstand, Saskatchewan, school were sent in 1913 to the Manitoba Industrial School for Boys (a home for delinquent boys operated by the Manitoba government). One of the students who attempted to burn down the Duck Lake school in 1917 was sent to a reformatory school. The two boys who set fire to the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, were sentenced to five months in jail.[235]

Arson was not the only act of resistance or defiance that children were punished for. Officials often transferred or threatened to transfer children to a provincial reformatory who they viewed as disruptive. The TRC noted that, in 1938, Eben McKenzie, the local Indian Agent, and the principal at the Marieval Indian Residential School in Saskatchewan:

> recommended that a fifteen-year old orphan boy be sent to a "reformatory for an indefinite period." According to McKenzie, "This lad has incited the other pupils, especially the younger ones, to grumble about the food unnecessarily, cause general trouble, and has instigated recently five pupils to run away from the school. Judging the boy to be "unmanageable," he thought a year in the reformatory might "fill in just what was needed and would be well worth the trial."[236]

However, there was some concern that sending this boy to a reformatory could set a "bad example" for other children who might then think that they too could get released from Marieval if they just "become a general nuisance." The Indian Agent and the principal decided that a transfer to another Indian Residential School would be the better punishment for the boy.[237]

Officials often disagreed whether a child, who they viewed as having a "behavioural problem," should be sent to a reformatory, and they questioned the deterrent value in doing so.[238] Survivor Arthur Ron McKay told the TRC that, at the Sandy Bay Indian Residential School in the 1940s, "the principal threatened us, 'If you run away one more time, we're going to send you to a reform school in Portage, boys' reform school.'...I was thinking about that and I said, oh it's better to go away, maybe it's better down at the reform school."[239]

Archival records indicate that Indigenous children were often sent to reformatories as punishment for running away from an Indian Residential School.[240] The TRC pointed out that:

> running away was not in itself a crime. However, most students were wearing school-issued clothing when they ran away, and, in some cases, principals tried, and even succeeded, in having them prosecuted for stealing the clothing they were wearing. Students who ran away numerous times also could be charged under the *Juvenile Delinquents Act*. In such cases, they could be sentenced to a reformatory until they turned twenty-one.[241]

In Canada, reformatories (sometimes called "industrial schools"[242] or "training schools")[243] included work, discipline, and vocational and academic education along with religious services.[244] These institutions were aimed at taking in children convicted of crimes as well as "rescuing" neglected children who were at risk of becoming involved in criminal behaviour.[245] When an Indigenous child was transferred to a provincial reformatory, the federal government often paid for the maintenance of that child in the provincial institution.[246] See Figure 3.32, where the Department of Indian Affairs agrees to pay for Olive Hill's transfer from the Mount Elgin Institute Indian Residential School to the Mimico Reformatory.

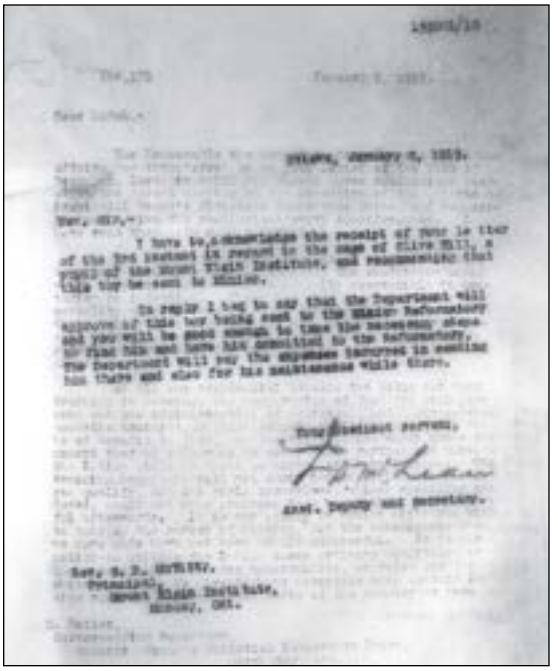


Figure 3.32. Approval to Send Olive Hill, Pupil of Mount Elgin Institute to Mimico Reformatory, January 8, 1919 (vol. 5745, reel no. C-8965, RG10-B-3-c, LAC).

Much like the over-representation rates in the criminal justice system, Indigenous children were disproportionately represented at these reformatories.[247] Close to ten thousand Survivors sought to have 1,531 distinct institutions added to the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement*.[248] Many of these institutions were reformatories.[249] However, despite the fact that Indigenous children were sent to these reformatories and that the federal government often paid for their maintenance while they were detained there, they were excluded from the *Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement* on the basis that they were provincially operated.

Ontario Training Schools

From 1931 to 1984, Training Schools operated in Ontario with the aim of reforming "delinquent" children and youth.[250] Up until 1965, children could be institutionalized without a court order.[251] In 1965, the province of Ontario introduced the *Training Schools Act*, which enumerated in sections 7–9 the reasons that children could be sent to Training Schools.[252] Section 7 of the Act provided:

> Section 7 (1) – Any person may bring before a judge any boy or girl apparently under the age of 16 years who,
>
> (a) is found begging or receiving alms or being in any street or public place for the purpose of begging or receiving alms;
>
> (b) is found wandering and has not any home or settled place of abode or proper guardianship;
>
> (c) is found destitute, either being an orphan or having a surviving parent who is undergoing imprisonment;
>
> (d) is an habitual truant and whose parent or teacher represents that he is unable to control the boy or girl;
>
> (e) is by reason of the neglect, drunkenness or other vices of his parents suffered to grow up without salutary parental control and education, or in circumstances exposing him to lead an idle and dissolute life;
>
> (f) has been accused or found guilty of petty crime; or
>
> (g) proves unmanageable or incorrigible.

Section 8(1) further provided for children under 16 years of age to be sent to a Training School by court order for their "care and protection" if a judge was satisfied that,

> (a) the parent or guardian of the child is unable to control the child or to provide for his social, emotional or educational needs;
>
> (b) the care of the child by any other agency of child welfare would be insufficient or impracticable; and
>
> (c) the child needs the training and treatment available at a training school, and the order shall state the facts upon which the decision is based.[253]

Section 9 authorized judges to send a child between the ages of 12 and 16 to a Training School if they "contravened any statute in force in Ontario, which contravention would be punishable by imprisonment if committed by an adult."

Decisions regarding the release of a child rested with the minister of reform institutions for Ontario. Section 25 of the *Training Schools Act* provided that the minister could order a child be transferred:

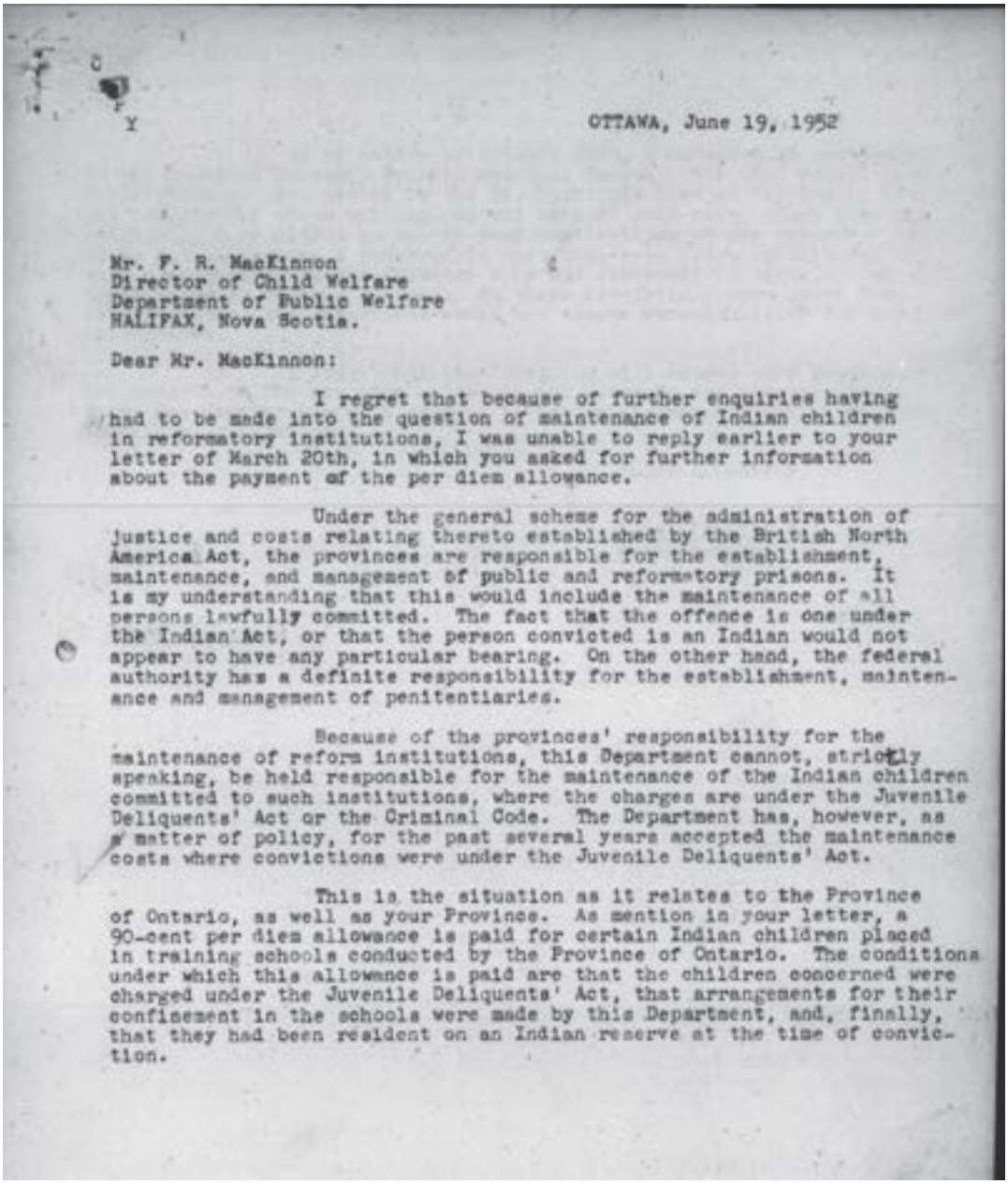
- From one Training School to another;
- From a Training School to a foster home;
- From a foster home to a Training School; or
- Order the release of a child upon conditions the minister imposes.[254]

While this Act was in place, a 1952 letter sent from Laval Fortier, deputy minister of citizenship and immigration, to F.R. MacKinnon, the director of child welfare in Nova Scotia, explained that provinces were legally liable for the maintenance of all children in these institutions and reformatories but that the federal government had paid the maintenance costs for some children depending on how they were charged, if they were resident on a reserve, or if they were in a department-administered Indian Residential School at the time of conviction (see Figure 3.33).

Records (both public and restricted) reveal that Indigenous children were transferred from Indian Residential Schools to several Ontario reformatories including:

- Kawartha Lakes Reform School (Lindsay, Ontario);
- Mimico Reform School (Etobicoke, Ontario);
- Ontario Training School for Girls (Galt, Ontario);
- Pine Ridge Training School (Bowmanville, Ontario);
- St. Joseph's Training School (Alfred, Ontario);
- St. John's Training School (Uxbridge, Ontario);
- St. Mary's Training School for Girls (Toronto, Ontario); and
- White Oaks Training School (Haggersville, Ontario).

As more truths are shared by Survivors and communities, and more records are found, this list will likely grow.



OTTAWA, June 19, 1952

Mr. F. R. MacKinnon
Director of Child Welfare
Department of Public Welfare
HALIFAX, Nova Scotia.

Dear Mr. MacKinnon:

I regret that because of further enquiries having had to be made into the question of maintenance of Indian children in reformatory institutions, I was unable to reply earlier to your letter of March 20th, in which you asked for further information about the payment of the per diem allowance.

Under the general scheme for the administration of justice and costs relating thereto established by the British North America Act, the provinces are responsible for the establishment, maintenance, and management of public and reformatory prisons. It is my understanding that this would include the maintenance of all persons lawfully committed. The fact that the offence is one under the Indian Act, or that the person convicted is an Indian would not appear to have any particular bearing. On the other hand, the federal authority has a definite responsibility for the establishment, maintenance and management of penitentiaries.

Because of the provinces' responsibility for the maintenance of reform institutions, this Department cannot, strictly speaking, be held responsible for the maintenance of the Indian children committed to such institutions, where the charges are under the Juvenile Deliquents' Act or the Criminal Code. The Department has, however, as a matter of policy, for the past several years accepted the maintenance costs where convictions were under the Juvenile Deliquents' Act.

This is the situation as it relates to the Province of Ontario, as well as your Province. As mention in your letter, a 90-cent per diem allowance is paid for certain Indian children placed in training schools conducted by the Province of Ontario. The conditions under which this allowance is paid are that the children concerned were charged under the Juvenile Deliquents' Act, that arrangements for their confinement in the schools were made by this Department, and, finally, that they had been resident on an Indian reserve at the time of conviction.

Figure 3.33. Letter regarding who is responsible for costs of Indian children at Ontario and Nova Scotia reform institutions from Laval Fortier, Deputy Minister of Citizenship and Immigration, to F.R. MacKinnon, Director of Child Welfare in Nova Scotia, June 19, 1952 (file 88/18-28, part 2, vol. 8325, reel C-15164, RG10, LAC)

St. Joseph's Training School for Boys

> The residential schools became a feeder system for orphanages, foster homes, training schools, industrial schools, reformatories, and other places. And, if you really want to turn the page to the next chapter in reconciliation, you're going to have to deal with that issue of unmarked graves. It's not something you're going to do in a year or two. It's probably going to take a decade or more. But do it all and start now. Look at them all. If we really believe in the journey from pain to hope, you have to turn the page.
>
> — David McCann[255]

The St. Joseph's Training School for Boys in Alfred, Ontario, was a reformatory operated from 1933 to the mid-1970s by the Roman Catholic De La Salle Christian Brothers[256] and funded by the provincial government.[257] Children were sent to St. Joseph's for a variety of reasons, including if they were "unmanageable" or "incorrigible."[258] Over the institution's 40-year history, it housed between 150 and 160 boys at any one time.[259]

In the early 1970s, two officials, including a probation officer named William Brewer, alerted the Ministry of Correctional Services and provincial court judges of the physical, sexual, and emotional abuse being perpetrated by the Brothers on the children held at the training school.[260] In response to a former resident characterizing St. Joseph's as "a hell-hole containing sadists and homosexuals," Allan Grossman, the then minister of correctional services, said the allegations were "outrageous."[261] After the province failed to take action to protect the children, Brewer went to the media in 1974.[262] Ontario then held a closed disciplinary hearing against Brewer and fired him.

David McCann is a non-Indigenous Survivor of St. Joseph's Training School. He was sentenced there for an indefinite period when he was 12 years old.[263] During his incarceration there, he was subjected to physical and sexual abuse alongside other boys.[264] David estimates that nearly one-third of the boys at St. Joseph's were Indigenous boys from Northern Ontario who ran away from Indian Residential Schools or had gotten into trouble with the law.[265] The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development's educational assistance records indicate that Indigenous boys were forcibly transferred from Indian Residential Schools to St. Joseph's for various reasons,[266] including petty thefts, such as stealing candy,[267] and, most frequently, for truancy. Some were sent to St. Joseph's after trying to escape from Indian Residential Schools.[268]

Although St. Joseph's was a provincially run institution, records show that the federal government made financial payments to Ontario to maintain Indigenous boys at the institution. In 1965, the federal government paid 90 cents per day for each Indigenous boy at St. Joseph's.[269] Many Indigenous boys taken to this institution were not permitted to return home to their families over the summer months—for example, in 1965, St. Joseph's reported to M.H. Garraway, the administrator of Ontario provincial training and reform schools, that out of the 44 boys being kept at St. Joseph's over the summer, 29 were First Nation boys.[270]

In 1989, David spoke publicly about the abuse he had suffered at St. Joseph's Training School.[271] His campaign for justice led others who had been taken to St. Joseph's to come forward, and it resulted in one of the largest Ontario Provincial Police (OPP) investigations in the province's history as well as class-action lawsuits and compensation for hundreds of victims.[272] The criminal investigation resulted in 16 Brothers being found guilty of crimes related to physical and sexual abuse.[273] A review of the OPP's investigation confirms that many Indigenous boys were at St. Joseph's. The OPP interviewed victims who indicated that "the Indian boys were punched and kicked the most." One victim spoke of an Indigenous boy getting beaten "many, many, times. The Indian didn't have to do anything [wrong]....I saw the Brothers beat him 2–3 times per week." Although it is clear that Indigenous boys were taken to St. Joseph's and severely abused there, the OPP does not appear to have interviewed many, if any, Indigenous men during its criminal investigation.[274]

Unmarked Burials at St. Joseph's

David has shared that there were frequent rumours at St. Joseph's about some of the boys who went missing, kids would tell him "that, if you weren't good, the Brothers would kill you and you'd be buried in a little corner of the graveyard. Like a bogeyman story."[275] David recalls that if Indigenous boys died at the Training School, officials "didn't ship them back home. They died there, they got stuck in a grave, and that's it."[276] According to the OPP files, another Survivor recalled that an "Indian boy" who ran away multiple times disappeared.[277] David, who is now in his late seventies, is working to honour and memorialize the boys who were never returned home from St. Joseph's.[278] He is aware of three boys who died there[279] and are buried in an unmarked, communal grave in a small cemetery beside the Training School.[280] David wants to acknowledge and memorialize them, "We know they're there. We know their date of birth. We know the day they died. They threw them in a hole and threw some dirt on top of them. That's how much they valued those kids."[281] David reflected, "I can't imagine the families of those three not knowing where they even are."[282] David requested permission from the Archbishop of Ottawa-Cornwall and the St. Victor's church to place a headstone on the three boys' graves at his own expense. He will inscribe the headstone with their names

and dates of death and include the following: "You lie in unmarked graves, but you are not forgotten" (see Figure 3.34).[283]

Figure 3.34. A memorial acknowledges the common graves in the cemetery at St. Victor church in Alfred, Ontario, also known as Paroisse St-Victor, 2023 (photo taken by the Independent Special Interlocutor).

Reformatories in Other Provinces

A review of the 127-page list entitled "Requests made pursuant to Article 12 to add Institutions to the Settlement Agreement" found on the official court website for the settlement of the Residential Schools Class Action Litigation reveals that Indigenous children were taken to many provincial reformatories.[284] By way of example, requests were made to add the following reformatories, along with many more:

1. Alberta Institute for Girls;
2. Brannen Lake Reform School for Boys (British Columbia);
3. Manitoba Home for Boys;
4. Reformatory of the Good Shepherd (New Brunswick);
5. St. John's School (Newfoundland and Labrador);
6. Nova Scotia School for Girls;
7. Shawbridge Reform School (Quebec); and
8. Saskatchewan Training School.

CONCLUSION

Tracing the missing and disappeared children across settler colonial institutional systems requires understanding how the Indian Residential School, health, child welfare, and justice systems functioned, both separately and together, to further Canada's assimilationist goals. The actions of officials and professionals in these systems were shaped by deeply ingrained settler colonial attitudes of White superiority and Indigenous inferiority. Throughout, Indigenous lives were (and are) dehumanized—viewed as ungrievable and as lives that somehow matter less. As victims of enforced disappearances, children were forcibly transferred between institutions and used as forced labour that the federal government authorized. These are human rights violations.

The fragments of the life experiences contained in historical records reveal only a small glimpse of the lives and deaths of some of the children. They provide insight into the challenges that Survivors, Indigenous families, and communities face as they continue their investigations to find the missing and disappeared children and to locate and commemorate their burial places in ways that restore human dignity and memory. The Sacred work of searching the sites of

former Indian Residential Schools will be ongoing for many years to come. Over 150 Indigenous communities are leading searches and investigations across Canada. As this Report demonstrates, there is a need to search all sites of truth, including those of recognized and unrecognized Indian Residential Schools and the sites of truth of other associated institutions to which the children were transferred. As Survivors provide their oral history evidence, and more records are found and ground searches are completed, further truths will be exposed so that Canada and the churches can be held accountable for these crimes against humanity that they perpetrated against Indigenous children for well over a century.

1 Charlene Belleau, Voices of Survivors Panel, National Gathering on Unmarked Burials: Affirming Indigenous Data Sovereignty and Community Control over Knowledge and Information, January 17, 2023.

2 Law Commission of Canada, *Restoring Dignity: Responding to Child Abuse in Canadian Institutions* (Ottawa: Ministry of Public Works and Government Services, 2000), 32.

3 Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC), *Canada's Residential Schools: The History, Part 1: Origins to 1939*, vol. 1 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 206, 209, 338–39; Mary Jane Logan McCallum, *Indigenous Women, Work, and History* (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2014), n.p., Kindle; S.F. Nason, "Books and Broomsticks: Prairie Indigenous Female Domestic Workers and the Canadian Outing System, 1888–1901" (MA thesis, University of Calgary, 2019), 1.

4 TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 206–9, 338–40.

5 Mary Jane Logan McCallum, "'I Would Like the Girls at Home': Domestic Labour and the Age of Discharge at Canadian Indian Residential Schools," in *Colonization and Domestic Service: Historical and Contemporary Perspectives*, ed. Victoria Haskins and Claire Lowry (New York: Routledge, 2014), 196.

6 TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 163, cited in Karlee Sapoznik Evans, Anne Lindsay, and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard': A Case Study of Forced Child Labour and Slavery in Manitoba's Indian Residential Schools* (Winnipeg: Centre for Human Rights Research, University of Manitoba, October 12, 2021), n.p., https://chrr.info/blog/forced-to-work-too-hard-a-case-study-of-forced-child-labour-and-slavery-in-manitobas-indian-residential-schools/.

7 Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

8 Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

9 Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

10 Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

11 Intersectionality is an analytical framework used to understand how systems of inequality and oppression impact groups of people and individuals differently based on their intersecting identities, including gender, race, disabilities, sexual orientation, and age. For more on intersectionality, see Anne Sisson Runyan, "What Is Intersectionality and Why Is It Important?" *Academe* 104, no. 6 (2018): n.p., https://www.aaup.org/article/what-intersectionality-and-why-it-important.

12 Nason, "Books and Broomsticks," n.p.

13 Scott L. Morgensen, "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity," in *Indigenous Men and Masculinities: Legacies, Identities, Regeneration*, eds. Kim Anderson and Robert Alexander Innes (Winnipeg: University of Manitoba Press, 2015), 48.

14 Morgensen, "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity," 48.

15 Brendan Hokowhitu, "Taxonomies of Indigeneity: Indigenous Heterosexual Patriarchal Masculinity," in Anderson and Innes, *Indigenous Men and Masculinities*, 86, 88.

16 Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), 167.

17 TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 653.

18 Morgensen, "Cutting to the Roots of Colonial Masculinity," 48.

19 TRC, *Canada's Residential Schools: The Legacy*, vol. 5 (Montreal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press, 2015), 148.

20 McCallum, "'I Would Like the Girls at Home,'" n.p.

21 Quoted in the TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 254. See *Indian Act*, SC 1876, c. 18.

22 Quoted in the TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 254. At the time, there was a distinction between Indian Industrial Schools and Indian Boarding Schools. Both were, however, part of what we know of as the Indian Residential School System. For more on this, see TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 134ff.

23 Quoted in the TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 277; see also 254–55, 261, 277–78.

24 TRC, *The History, Part 1*, 277; see also 254–55, 261, 277–78.

25 Quoted in Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

26 Quoted in Evans, Lindsay, and Sinclair, *Forced to Work 'Too Hard,'* n.p.

27 Letter from J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy and Secretary to Reverend T. Ferrier, Principal, Brandon Industrial School, April 21, 1911, Departmental Letterbook, 10 April 1911 – 22 April 1911, folio vol. 5340, 686, RG10-B-3-c, Library and Archives Canada (LAC), https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c8820/174.

28 TRC, *The Legacy*, 185.

29 For a detailed summary of the Osborne family's search, see Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor (OSI), *Sacred Responsibility: Searching for the Missing Children and Unmarked Burials,* Interim Report, June 2023, https://osi-bis.ca/wp-content/uploads/2023/07/Interim-Report_ENG_WEB_July11.pdf.

30 St. Clements Anglican Church Burial Register, July 24, 1948, Archives of the Anglican Diocese of Rupert's Land.

31 Permission was granted to include this life history by Edith's great-granddaughter, Jennifer Rattray.

32 Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1878, Fisher River, vol. 9353, RG10, LAC; "Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5," 1887, *Fisher River*, vol. 9362, RG10-B-8-d, LAC; Rossville [Norway House], Wesleyan Missionary General Register of Marriages, Rossville Mission Church, 1840–92, Norway House Charge Fonds, May 15, 1849, no. 112, United Church of Canada, Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario Conference (UCAMNO); "Lucy Chubb, Daughter of Samuel and Nancy Pupunigis, Age 3 Weeks," February 20, 1859, Rossville Baptismal Register, file 1051, UCAMNO; Elizabeth Bingham Young, E. Ryerson Young, and Jennifer S.H. Brown, *Mission Life in Cree-Ojibwe Country: Memories of a Mother and Son* (Edmonton: Athabasca University Press, 2014), 65; Egerton Ryerson Young, *By Canoe and Dog Train among the Cree and Salteaux Indians* (Toronto and Montreal: W. Briggs and C.W. Coates, 1890), 206.

33 It is not clear what became of Paupanakis Gibson Moore's father, but, by 1898, when she entered the Brandon Indian Residential School, her father is noted as deceased. Admission of Pupils – Brandon Industrial – Residential School, part 1, [1895–1933], Admissions and Discharges, December Quarter, 1898, file W84-85/402, vol. 13761, RG10, LAC; "Obituary, Moore, [Mrs. Edith Catherine Gibson]," *The Leader Post* (Regina), June 20, 1970; Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1878; Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1887.

34 Entries for Lucy Williams, and Nancy Williams, respectively, April 1 and June 4, 1892, Fisher River Burial Register, CA UCA Account, 78–36, Fisher River Methodist Church Fonds, UCAMNO. By this point in time, many of the members of the family were identified as "Williams" in the official records.

35 Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1892, Fisher River, vol. 9367, RG10, LAC.

36 Fisher River Agency – Half-Breeds Amos Williams, Wm. Cochrane, Sarah Hamilton, Timothy Bear, John Ryerson Sinclair and Betsy Sinclair Were Granted Discharge from Treaty, 1894, file 113603, vol. 3914, RG10, LAC; Treaty Annuity Paylists: Treaties 1, 2, 3 and 5, 1894, Fisher River, vol. 9369, RG10, LAC; Lawrence Barkwell, "Fisher River Metis Withdrawal from Treaty," accessed June 19, 2023.

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APPENDIX A

Select Indian Residential School Cemeteries and Burial Grounds

This appendix includes information about the following Indian Residential School cemeteries and burial grounds:

- St. Eugene's Indian Residential School, British Columbia
- Lejac Indian Residential School, British Columbia
- Dunbow Industrial School, Alberta
- St. Mary's Indian Residential School, Alberta
- Marieval Indian Residential School, Saskatchewan
- Île-à-la-Crosse Residential Boarding School, Saskatchewan
- Elkhorn Indian Residential School, Manitoba
- MacKay (The Pas) Indian Residential School, Manitoba
- Norway House Indian Residential School, Manitoba
- Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School, Ontario
- Fort Frances Indian Residential School, Ontario
- St. Philips/Fort George Indian and Eskimo Residential School, Quebec

- Chootla Indian Residential School, Yukon
- All Saints/Aklavik Residential School, Northwest Territories

The information provided below is based on archival records that are currently available. This is not a complete account of all the cemeteries and burials grounds for which there is archival information. Just as for those leading the investigations into missing and disappeared children and unmarked burials, there were significant barriers to accessing government, church, and university records that relate to the cemeteries and burial grounds for researchers from the Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor.

ST. EUGENE'S INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Note: also known as Cranbrook or Kootenay Indian Residential School or Industrial School.

Institutional History Overview

Figure A.1. St. Eugene Mission, Cranbrook, BC, 1940 (item 01a-c000011-d0012-001, National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR) Archives).

St. Eugene's Mission was established in 1874 in Cranbrook, British Columbia (see Figure A.1). In 1890, the mission added an Indian Residential School, and, in 1912, it was replaced with an Indian Industrial School. By 1935, the local Indian Agent was forcing parents to send their children to the institution, ignoring their refusal to do so because of poor conditions, child labour, and high rates of disease.[1]

From its founding until 1969, St. Eugene's was run by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, a Roman Catholic organization. Two religious orders worked at the institution: the Sisters of Providence until 1929 and the Sisters of Charity of Halifax from 1936 until its closure.[2] The federal government took over the operation of St. Eugene's in 1969 until it closed in 1970.[3] As with other Indian Residential Schools, St. Eugene's was plagued by high rates of illness. Some children taken to St. Eugene's died of illnesses such as tuberculosis.[4]

Cemetery History

Children who died at St. Eugene's were buried in a graveyard close to the institution on land that was part of the larger mission complex. In 1925, St. Eugene's was preparing to transfer some of its mission land to the federal government, including the land where the Indian Residential School was located. In the process, the federal goverment recommended that the Oblates of Mary Immaculate include the "graveyard adjacent to the school, though not shown on the sketch, which occupies about one acre of land" in the transfer (see Figure A.2).[5] W.E. Ditchburn, Indian Commissioner for British Columbia, noted that the graveyard "should be included in the transfer as it will relieve [the church] from any taxation."[6]

One child buried at the St. Eugene's cemetery is Monica Pierre. Monica was transferred from St. Eugene's to the Cranbrook Hospital, where she remained for "several months suffering from tuberculosis."[7] The Sisters of Charity of Halifax described her funeral procession and burial, which was attended by children and community members, in their Annals.[8] The Return of Death of Indian Registration form for Monica's death notes that she was buried at the "St. Eugene's Cemetery, Cranbrook."[9]

Poor record-keeping and difficulty accessing vital statistics can make it challenging to determine how many children died at institutions such as St. Eugene's. However, sometimes the deaths of children were recorded by the Department of Indian Affairs in the "memorandums of inquiry into the cause and circumstances of the death" form, which was also known as 'Form 414' (see Figure A.3).

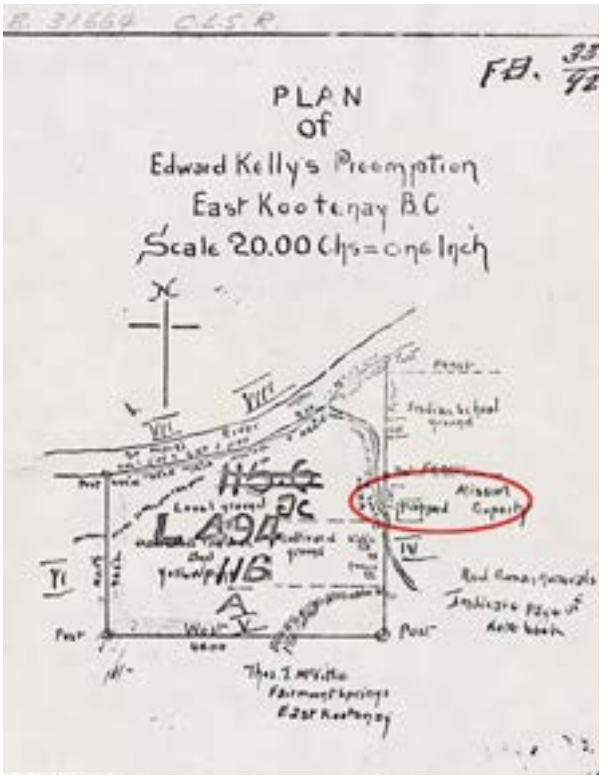


Figure A.2. Map of East Kootenay, British Columbia, from 1915, showing the mission property including the graveyard. The word "graveyard" appears at the centre right of the drawing (file FB31664, 1915, SUP FOR T129, ADJ DL's 1, 494, 1758, Natural Resources Canada). https://clss.nrcan-rncan.gc.ca/clss/plan/detail?id=FB31664%20CLSR%20BC

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

Figure A.3. Blank Form No. 414, Memorandum of inquiry into the death of a pupil, n.d. (File 1-1-23, Part 1, vol. 6016, reel C-8142, RG10, LAC).

Contemporary Information

In June 2021, ʔaq'am (Aqam), one of the four communities of the Ktunaxa Nation, shared results from a ground search of the cemetery close to St. Eugene's Indian Residential School (see Figure A.4). The search was conducted after an unmarked grave was disturbed the previous year, and the preliminary results identified the possible presence of 182 unmarked burials.[10] The cemetery is a known burial site for the surrounding community, but many of the original wooden grave markers are no longer standing.[11]

Survivor Testimony

One Survivor, Jack Kruger, said the discovery of potential unmarked gravesites was not surprising to those who were taken to St. Eugene's. Kruger stated that children were forced to dispose of the bodies of children who died at the institution.[12]

Figure A.4. Graveyard at St. Eugene Mission ("St. Eugene Resort and Its Sad History," *RoadStories.ca*, August 1, 2019).

Truth and Reconciliation Commission-Identified Deaths

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) identified the deaths of 18 children, which are included on the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation's (NCTR) National Student Memorial.[13] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

LEJAC INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, BRITISH COLUMBIA

Note: also known as Fraser Lake or Stuart Lake Indian Residential School, Industrial School, or Boarding School.

Institutional History Overview

Lejac Indian Residential School was established in 1922 on the south side of Fraser Lake, near Vanderhoof, British Columbia. It replaced an earlier institution that operated in Stuart Lake, British Columbia, from 1917 to 1922.[14] Lejac was a Roman Catholic institution with funding from the federal government. Two religious orders were involved in its operation: the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of the Instruction of the Child Jesus. The federal government assumed operation of the institution in 1969 before it permanently closed in 1976.[15]

As with other Indian Residential Schools, the children taken to Lejac endured abuse and inhumane conditions. Some tried to flee the institution, including four boys who froze to death while attempting to run away in 1937.[16] Other children also died at Lejac. For example, the principal's report indicated the deaths of one girl and one boy in 1939 (see Figure A.5).[17]

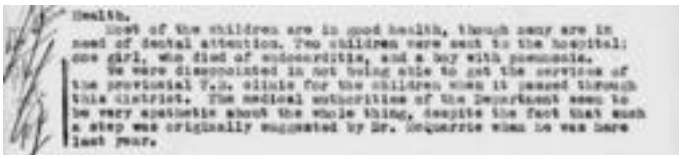

Health.
Most of the children are in good health, though many are in need of dental attention. Two children were sent to the hospital: one girl, who died of endocarditis, and a boy with pneumonia.
We were disappointed in not being able to get the services of the provincial T.B. clinic for the children when it passed through this district. The medical authorities of the Department seem to be very apathetic about the whole thing, despite the fact that such a step was originally suggested by Dr. Duguerre when he was here last year.

Figure A.5. Principal's general report for the quarter ended September 30, 1939, Lejac Indian Residential School (School Files Series – 1879–1953, file 881-11, part 2, vol. 6446, reel C-8769, RG10, LAC).

Some of the deaths at Lejac were recorded on Form 414's.[18]

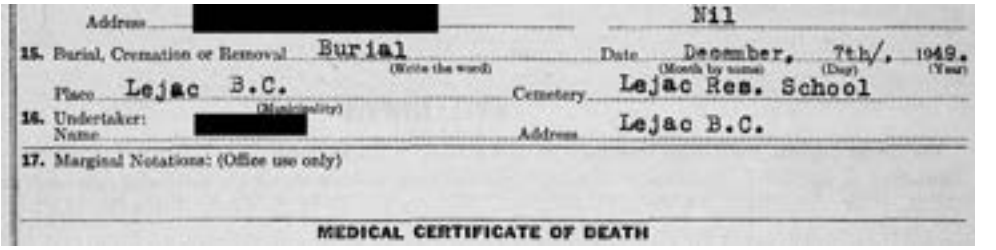
Cemetery History

A cemetery was located on the grounds of the Lejac Indian Residential School. One death registration for a child who died there identifies the burial place as "Lejac Res. School."[19] In 1951, burials of staff members and children were relocated from "the cemetery near the school barn" to an area on the slopes close to Fraser Lake.[20] A fenced cemetery near the lakeshore is visible in a photograph taken prior to 1976 of the Lejac Indian Residential School site (see Figures A.6 and A.7).[21]

Survivor Testimony

Survivor Doreen Austin recounted how she and several other children, from the window of their dormitory at Lejac, witnessed burials being moved to the new cemetery site in 1951.[22] Another Survivor, Jack Lacerte,[23] also witnessed the relocation of the burials, describing how the caskets were opened during this process (see Figure A.8).[24]

Figure A.6. Fraser Lake as seen from the Lejac Indian Residential School graveyard, the site of the annual Rose Prince Pilgrimage (see "Rose Prince (Lejac) Pilgrimmage," *Diocese of Prince George,* https://www.pgdiocese.bc.ca/our-ministries/first-nations-ministry/lejac-pilgrimage/; used with the permission of the Diocese of Prince George).


Address [redacted] Nil

15. Burial, Cremation or Removal Burial (Write the word) Date December, 7th/, 1949. (Month by name) (Day) (Year)

Place Lejac B.C. (Municipality) Cemetery Lejac Res. School

16. Undertaker: Name [redacted] Address Lejac B.C.

17. Marginal Notations: (Office use only)

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF DEATH

Figure A.7. A death registration showing that a child was buried on the grounds of Lejac Indian Residential School (Registration of Death, 1949, microfilm no. B13376, BC Archives).

Contemporary Information

Only the cemetery and a memorial remain on the former Lejac Indian Residential School grounds.[25] The cemetery continues to be a notable religious site. Pilgrimages are made to the grave of Rose Prince, who was taken to the institution when she was a child and later worked there. Rose is considered by some to be a saint.[26] In 2022, the Nadleh Whut'en First Nation announced plans to search the site of the former Lejac Indian Residential School for unmarked burials.[27] A December 2023 update by the First Nation reported that investigations were ongoing.[28]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 39 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[29] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

Even though Doreen Austin knew the nuns would strap her if they found out, she joined the other Carrier Indian girls in Lejac residential school's dorm who jumped out of bed and ran to the window. One of the girls had whispered that something unusual — Austin would later believe something "miraculous" — was occurring.

It was 1951. Workers were transferring the cadavers of school priests, nuns, students and staff from the cemetery near the school barn to a more suitable site on the grassy slopes above Fraser Lake, in the centre of B.C. They carried oil lanterns, which Austin watched moving one at a time through the darkness as a single worker carried a bone-filled coffin.

But then one of the girls saw four lanterns moving in unison. "Somebody said: 'Hey, they're all together.' We knew something was up."

Figure A.8. Excerpt from newspaper article regarding the relocation of the cemetery at Lejac (Douglas Todd, "What Is True Saintliness? Preserved Body of BC Indian Woman Puts Process to Test," *Toronto Star*, July 27, 1996).

DUNBOW INDUSTRIAL SCHOOL, ALBERTA

Note: also known as the High River or St. Joseph's Industrial School.

Institutional History Overview

One of the earliest Indian Industrial Schools in Canada, the Dunbow Industrial School opened in 1884 (see Figure A.9). Operated by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Sisters of Charity (Grey Nuns) of Montreal, the institution was in southern Alberta, where the Highwood and Bow Rivers meet. Throughout its history, the institution faced opposition from Indigenous people who refused to send their children there. A newspaper article from 1937 discusses the institution's early history, including its stated purpose of "civilization" (see Figure A.10).[30]

Figure A.9. Distant view of St. Joseph's Indian Industrial School, High River, Alberta, circa 1896 (PA-182259, Indian Industrial Schools Album, David Ewens Collection, LAC).

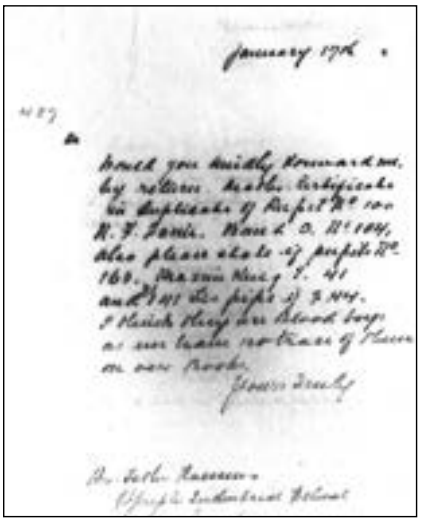
By 1922, when it closed, the Dunbow Industrial School had just 26 children under its control.[31] As with many other Indian Residential Schools, Métis and "non-Treaty" children were apprehended and taken to Dunbow. Many children died there. Some of the names of the children who died are noted in the Post Office Savings Bank Deposits of Annuity Money records.[32] Other records also document the deaths of children at Dunbow, such as the letter shown in Figure A.11 requesting death certificates for several children.[33]

Dunbow School Being Torn Down

IN the first years of the institution, there were but few children. These, taken from the Indian camps were difficult to bring to any sort of discipline or rules of the white man's civilization. It is recorded that: "Father La-

been closed since 1921. In a short time, not even the historic building will remain to mark the spot where years ago the first step was taken by pioneer missionaries to bring the white man's civilization to the Indian youth of Southern Alberta.

Figure A.10. Extracts from a newspaper article describing the racist and colonial attitude towards children who were taken to this institution ("Dunbow School Being Torn Down," *Calgary Herald*, July 26, 1937, 27).



January 1906

Would you kindly forward me, by return, Death Certificate in duplicate of pupil No 100 V.F Davin, Bauk[?] O. No 104, also please state of pupils No 160 Maxime King E.41 and No 141 Leo Pipe of S.44. I think they are blood boys as we have no trace of them in our books.

Yours Truly,

Rev Father Russ[?]

St Josephs Industrial School

Dunbow

Figure A.11. Request for death certificates of pupils, St. Joseph's Industrial School, circa 1898 (vol. 1672, reel C-14884, RG10, LAC).

Cemetery History

The deaths of at least 73 children are associated with Dunbow.[34] Many children were buried in the institution's graveyard;[35] in some cases, children were buried two to three in one coffin.[36] Children who were forced to work in the Dunbow cemetery are seen in a photograph from 1918 (see Figure A.12).[37]

After the Dunbow Industrial School closed in 1922, the institution's land and buildings were transferred to the federal Department of the Interior.[38] Because the federal government failed to maintain the cemetery, it fell into disrepair by 1936. In July of that year, Department of Indian Affairs' Inspector M. Christianson stated in a letter that "the graveyard there was

Figure A.12. Students in the Dunbow Cemetery (Sœurs Grises L038,Y,Y3A, Service des archives et des collections, Les Sœurs grises de Montréal).

being trampled over by cattle" and that they "had knocked all the crosses down ... [and the cemetery] was in a terrible shape" (see Figure A.13).[39]

Oblate records discuss the death and burial of a child named Victoria Hunt. The journal entries indicate that Victoria died of a hemorrhage on November 1, 1892, and that she was buried two days later. It notes that "in the morning took place the funeral service and burial of the girl Victoria Hunt" (see Figure A.14).[40]

Contemporary Information

The cemetery associated with the Dunbow Industrial School was located on the banks of the Highwood River and was therefore vulnerable to erosion. In 1996, the burials of the children were exposed when the river overflowed.[41] In some instances, children's remains

DEPARTMENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS
CANADA

400-40.

PS CALGARY, ALTA., July 14th, 1936.

Sir:

I beg to bring to your attention that a gentleman was in the office here this morning, and he informed me he had been down around the old Dunbow School and had noticed that the grave yard there was being trampled over by cattle, and they had knocked all the crosses down, &c., And that it was in terrible shape. He also brought to my attention that there was some equipment in some of the buildings such as beds, school desks, furniture and other equipment too numerous to mention. Does this belong to the Department, for if it does, it would be an easy matter to give it out to some of the Indians; or have the Department anything to do with it?

The informant is a man of good standing in Calgary, and no doubt his statement is correct.

Your obedient servant,

M. Christianson,
Inspector of Indian Agencies,
Alberta Inspectorate.

The Secretary,
Department of Indian Affairs,
OTTAWA.

Figure A.13. Letter from M. Christianson, Esqire, Inspector of Indian Agencies to Alberta Inspectorate to the Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, July 14, 1936, (file 117657-1A, vol. 3933, RG10, LAC.

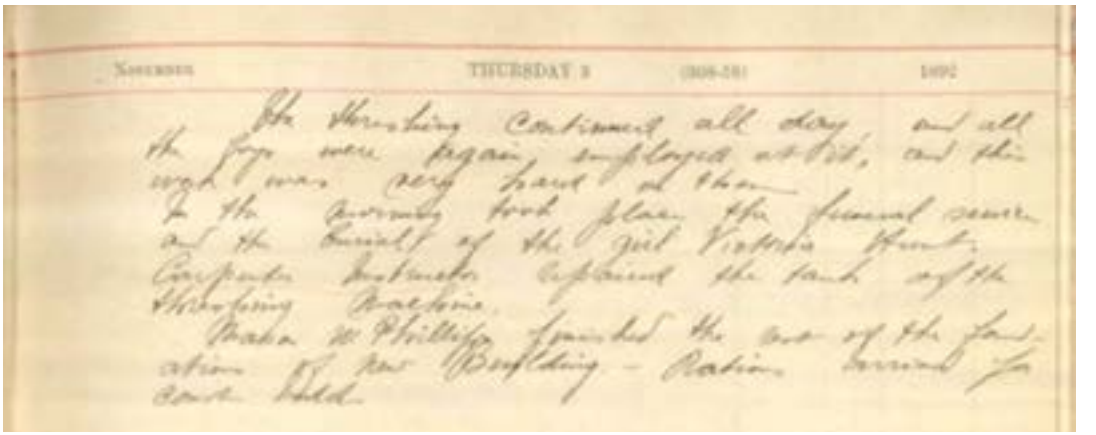


Figure A.14. Institutional diary entries regarding the death and burial of Victoria Hunt (Dunbow, AB: Journal quotidien de l'école, 1892, file PR1971.0220/3386, Missionary Oblates of Mary Immaculate Fonds, Provincial Archives of Alberta).

were washed away by the flood waters.[42] The remains of several of the children originally buried in the cemetery are likely still in the river.[43] In 2001, the Tsuut'ina Nation Culture Museum, with the guidance of Elders of Treaties 6, 7, and 8 and the Métis Nation of Alberta, relocated the burials of 34 children and reinterred them at a nearby site, away from the river. The new burial site is marked with a rock monument and cairn and is protected by a fence (see Figure A.15).[44]

Figure A.15. A photograph showing the cairn for St. Joseph's (Dunbow) Industrial School, Provincial Historic Resource near Okotoks, October 2000 (Alberta Culture and Community Spirit, Historic Resources Management).

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 12 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial".[45] However, the National Student Memorial is not a complete account of the deaths of children. Other sources of information confirm additional deaths associated with Dunbow.[46]

ST. MARY'S INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, ALBERTA

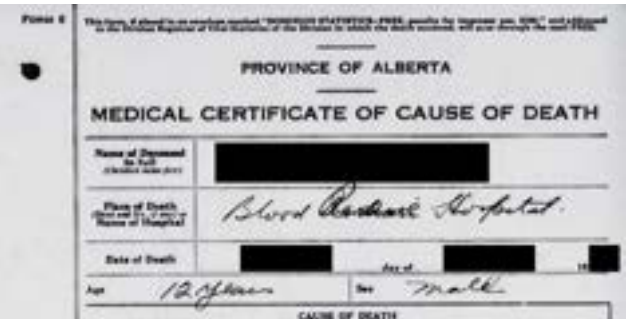
Note: also known as the Blood, Cardston, or Immaculate Conception Indian Residential School or Boarding School.

Institutional History Overview

Figure A.16. View of the grounds of St. Mary's Indian Residential School, n.d. (Sœurs Grises L059,Y,N02A, Service des archives et des collections, Les Sœurs grises de Montréal).

Operated by the Roman Catholic Oblate order and the Grey Nuns, the St. Mary's Indian Residential School opened in 1926 on the Blood Reserve in Alberta (see Figure A.16). It replaced the earlier Immaculate Conception Boarding School that was there. The institution was soon overcrowded, and, according to a government inspector, the boys there were worked like "slaves."[47] In 1935, the institution had a measles outbreak, and, in the mid-1950s, spinal meningitis spread among the children. The federal government assumed operation of St. Mary's in 1969.[48]

Cemetery History


PROVINCE OF ALBERTA

MEDICAL CERTIFICATE OF CAUSE OF DEATH

Figure A.17. Provincial death certificate for a child taken to St. Mary's who died at the Blood Reserve Hospital (file 750-23, part: 1, vol. 6344, reel C-8701, RG10, LAC).

Around the same time that St. Mary's was established, The federal government also built the Blood Indian Hospital. Like the Indian Residential School, the Blood Indian Hospital was a segregated institution. Sick children from St. Mary's would be transferred to the Blood Indian Hospital,[49] and, if they died, their bodies were returned to the Indian Residential School for burial. The image shown in Figure A.17 is a medical certificate of cause of death for a child taken to St. Mary's who died at the "Blood Reserve Hospital."

The cemetery was located on the institution's grounds, adjacent to the "girls' playground." Site plans for St. Mary's Indian Residential School from the early 1960s clearly show the cemetery (see Figure A.18).[50]

In 1945, the Blood Band Council raised concerns about the shallowness of the graves in the cemetery west of St. Mary's, noting that the smell was reaching the "girls' playground."[51] Government documents also refer to "school cemeteries" on the Blood Reserve. In 1943, the Blood Band Council resolved to put annual funds towards the "upkeep of the Two School Cemetries [*sic*]."[52] Over a decade earlier, in 1931, members of the Blood Tribe requested that the Roman Catholic and Anglican cemeteries be re-fenced.[53] Invoices from 1932 show that fencing was eventually rebuilt at the cemeteries of two "schools," one of which was St. Mary's, the Roman Catholic institution (see Figure A.19).[54]

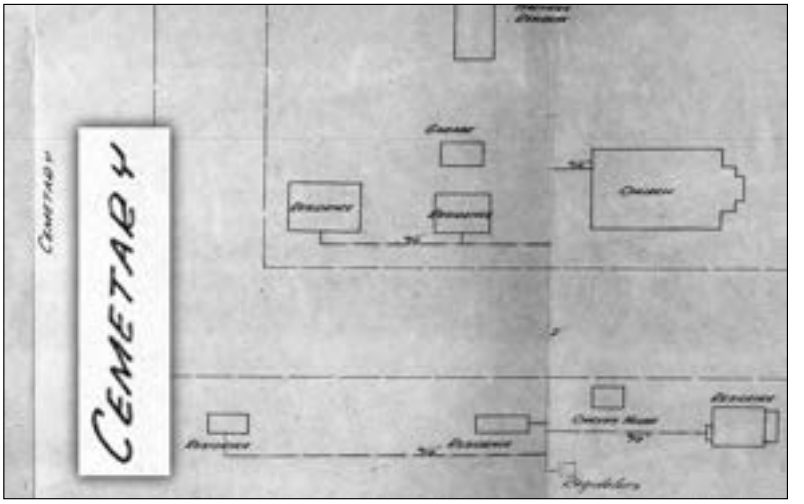
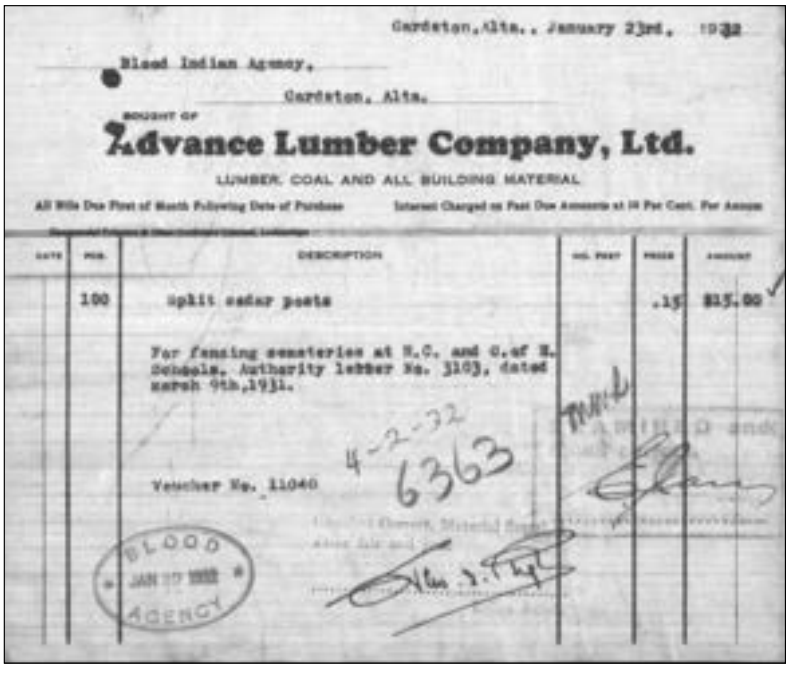


Figure A.18. Plan of St. Mary's Indian Residential School, circa 1961–62 (file 773/6-1-003, part 9, vol. 8675, RG10, LAC).


Cardston, Alta., January 23rd, 1932

Blood Indian Agency,

Cardston, Alta.

BOUGHT OF

Advance Lumber Company, Ltd.

LUMBER, COAL AND ALL BUILDING MATERIAL

DATE	QUAN.	DESCRIPTION	NO. PCS.	PRICE	AMOUNT
	100	split cedar posts		.15	$15.00

For fencing cemeteries at R.C. and C. of E. Schools. Authority letter No. 3103, dated March 9th, 1931.

4-2-32

6363

Voucher No. 11040

BLOOD AGENCY

Figure A.19. Invoice from Advance Lumber Company to Blood Indian Agency, January 23, 1932 (file 773/36-7-2-148, vol. 10317, reel T-7588, RG10, LAC).

Survivor Testimony

Survivors of St. Mary's continue to share information about this institution. One Survivor, Jackie Bromley, recounted hearing about graves in the "backyard" of St. Mary's Indian Residential School.[55] Another Survivor, Mike Bruised Head, recalled hearing discussions about human remains being close to the institution's buildings.[56]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 40 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[57] However, the NCTR's National Student Memorial is not a complete account of the deaths of children. It is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

MARIEVAL INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, SASKATCHEWAN

Note: also known as Crooked Lake, Grayson, or Cowessess Indian Residential School or Boarding School.

Institutional History Overview

The Marieval Indian Residential School was a Roman Catholic institution located on land near Crooked Lake, close to Marieval, Saskatchewan (see Figure A.20). The Oblates of Mary Immaculate operated the institution from 1898 to 1969, first with the Sisters of Notre Dame des Missions de Lyon and, from 1901 until 1979, with the Sisters of St. Joseph of St. Hyacinthe. The federal government, which began funding the Marieval Indian Residential School in 1901, assumed operations from 1969 until 1987. The institution finally closed in 1997. As with other institutions, children faced abuse, inadequate education, and other poor conditions at Marieval.[58] The deaths of children at Marieval were sometimes recorded in government correspondence, as seen in Figure A.21).[59]

Figure A.20. Photograph from the 1940s showing the cemetery including markers and crosses (file SHSB24652, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface).

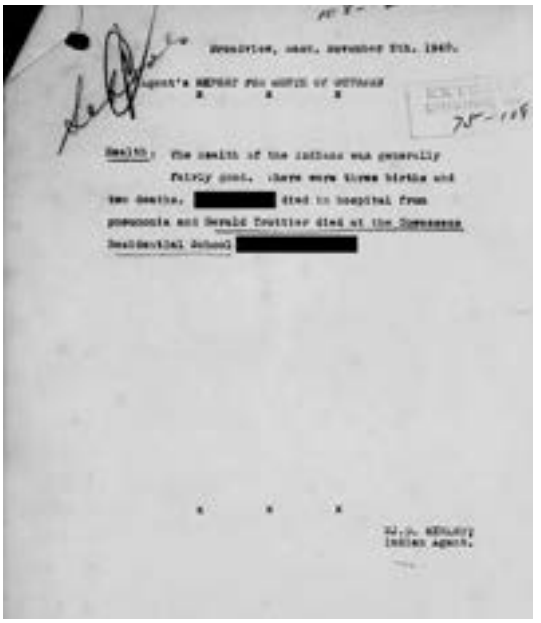


Figure A.21. Indian Agent's Report for the Death of Gerald Trottier, November 5, 1940 (file 651-23, part 1, vol. 6304, reel C-8682, RG10, LAC).

Figure A.22. Plan showing the cemetery as a narrow strip in 1980. NRCan 373 RSS SK, BOARDING SCHOOL LANDS IN SEC 5 TP 19A-5-2, 1980-01-01, https://clss.nrcan-rncan.gc.ca/clss/plan/detail?id=373%20RSS%20SK

Cemetery History

There was a cemetery located near the institution. Originally part of the Catholic mission near the Cowessess Reserve, federal government purchased the Indian Residential School and the surrounding land in 1926. In 1981, the land and buildings became part of the Cowessess First Nation Reserve lands.[60] Maps and photographs show the long presence of the cemetery near the institution (see Figure A.22).[61]

Oral history from community members indicates that the grave markers were removed at the instigation of a local priest.[62] This act erased important information about where individuals, including children who died at the Marieval Indian Residential School, are buried. While mission records may be helpful in identifying the names of some of those interred in the cemetery, there is evidence that "two volumes of Indian Affairs' funeral records from Cowessess First Nation, also known as Crooked Lake, were destroyed by the federal government between 1936 and 1956."[63] While other government records sometimes mention the deaths of children–such as a memorandum of inquiry or general correspondence–they often do not specify the child's burial place.

Survivor Testimony

Lloyd Lerat, a Survivor of the Marieval Indian Residential School, remembers that he and other children witnessed workers arriving in a truck to remove the headstones and wooden crosses from a section of the cemetery in the

early 1960s. Community members recall that these burials included local community members, such as individuals from the Cowessess First Nation and from non-Indigenous Catholic communities, as well as Indigenous children who died at the Marieval Indian Residential School.[64]

Contemporary Information

In June 2021, the Cowessess First Nation announced preliminary findings of ground searches that showed 751 possible graves at the cemetery. Most of these graves are unmarked.[65] A year after this public confirmation, Chief Cadmus Delorme indicated that they had identified 300 of the people buried in the cemetery and that it would take at least another year and a half to review the remaining records to try and identify the others.[66]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of nine children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[67] However, the NCTR's National Student Memorial is not a complete account of the deaths of children at the institutions. Other sources of information will likely confirm more deaths associated with Marieval, given that this institution operated for close to 100 years.

ÎLE-À-LA-CROSSE RESIDENTIAL BOARDING SCHOOL, SASKATCHEWAN

Note: also known as St. Bruno's, School of the Holy Family, La Plonge (or Lac La Plonge), and Beauval Indian Residential School, Boarding School, or the Beauval Mission.

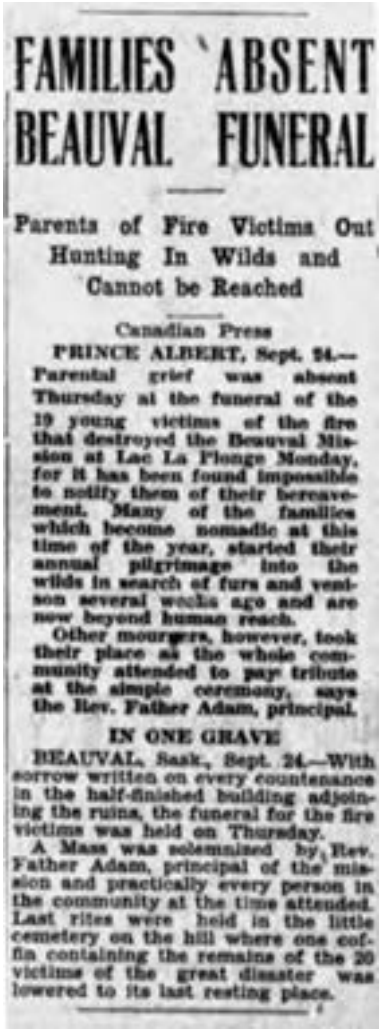
Institutional History Overview

The operation of three institutions, two in Île-à-la-Crosse and one at Lac La Plonge, are interconnected. The earliest–St. Bruno's Boarding School–opened in 1860 as part of the Roman Catholic Mission of Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan.[68] When the Grey Nuns found conditions at St. Bruno's too difficult, they moved the institution to Lac La Plonge in 1906.[69] From 1906 and into the mid-1960s, Oblate priests and brothers–along with the Sisters of St. Joseph and, later, the Grey Nuns of Montreal–operated the Lac La Plonge (Beauval) Indian Residential School.[70] The Grey Nuns remained at the institution into the 1970s.[71] The other two institutions–the School of the Holy Family and a related dormitory–were opened in 1917 by the Grey Nuns in Île-à-la-Crosse, which they operated into the mid-1970s. Over the years, a significant number of Métis children were sent to all these institutions.[72]

Figure A.23. Image showing the quadrant of the cemetery where marked burials predominated ("Beauval – Cimetière," file 0484, reference V1364, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface).


Grief-Choked Beauval Buries Its Twenty Dead in One Coffin

Figure A.24. "Grief-choked Beauval Buries Its Twenty Dead in One Coffin," *The Leader-Post*, September 24, 1927.


FAMILIES ABSENT BEAUVAL FUNERAL

Parents of Fire Victims Out Hunting In Wilds and Cannot be Reached

Canadian Press

PRINCE ALBERT, Sept. 24.—Parental grief was absent Thursday at the funeral of the 19 young victims of the fire that destroyed the Beauval Mission at Lac La Plonge Monday, for it has been found impossible to notify them of their bereavement. Many of the families which become nomadic at this time of the year, started their annual pilgrimage into the wilds in search of furs and venison several weeks ago and are now beyond human reach.

Other mourners, however, took their place as the whole community attended to pay tribute at the simple ceremony, says the Rev. Father Adam, principal.

IN ONE GRAVE

BEAUVAL, Sask., Sept. 24.—With sorrow written on every countenance in the half-finished building adjoining the ruins, the funeral for the fire victims was held on Thursday.

A Mass was solemnized by Rev. Father Adam, principal of the mission and practically every person in the community at the time attended. Last rites were held in the little cemetery on the hill where one coffin containing the remains of the 20 victims of the great disaster was lowered to its last resting place.

Figure A.25. "Families Absent Beauval Funeral," *Saskatoon Daily Star*, September 24, 1927.

The Lac La Plonge (Beauval) Indian Residential School finally closed in 1995.[73]

Cemetery History

A cemetery was located near the Lac La Plonge (Beauval) Indian Residential School building. Some of the children who died at the institution were buried in this cemetery. However, some children who became ill were transferred from the institution to the mission hospital in Île-à-la-Crosse. If they died at the hospital, they were sometimes buried in the mission cemetery in Île-à-la-Crosse in an area known as Bouvierville (see Figure A.23).[74]

In 1937, at least 16 children died at the institution due to a flu and measles epidemic. Twelve children were buried in the cemetery near the Indian Residential School, one child was buried in a nearby village cemetery, and three children were buried at Île-à-la-Crosse.[75] A government record mentions that "a number of children" died at Beauval from influenza in April 1937.[76]

The cemetery near the Lac La Plonge Indian Residential School is also where the remains of 19 boys and one staff member were buried after perishing in a fire in 1927.[77] A

Figure A.26. Beauval Indian Residential School, n.d. (NDC Archives).

newspaper article from 1927 states that the victims were buried together in one coffin.[78] Another article indicates that some parents were not aware of the deaths of their children when the burials occurred (see Figures A.24 and A.25).[79]

Aerial images and ortho-photographic maps of the site show the location of this cemetery (see Figure A.26).[80]

Contemporary Information

In August 2023, English River First Nation completed a two-year search of the former Lac La Plonge (Beauval) Indian Residential School grounds. Ground-penetrating radar revealed 93 potential unmarked graves at the site.[81]

Survivor Testimony

Information provided by Survivors, including stories of children who went missing, guided the ground search conducted by English River First Nation.[82] Survivors have also shared about the inhumane treatment and abuse they endured at this institution.[83]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 52 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[84] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue. A Royal Canadian Mounted Police report into the death of a child at Beauval suggests that vital statistics reports were not being properly registered.[85]

ELKHORN INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, MANITOBA

Note: also known as Washakada Home for Girls and Kasota Home for Boys, Elkhorn Indian Boarding, or Industrial School.

Institutional History Overview

The Washakada Home for Girls and the Kasota Home for Boys opened in Elkhorn, Manitoba, in 1889. Following a fire, the institution was rebuilt in 1895 and became known as the Elkhorn Indian Residential School. Elkhorn operated from 1895 to 1918, was closed from 1918 until 1923, and was again reopened until it permanently closed in 1949.[86] This institution had financial issues, poor conditions, and received numerous complaints from the community.[87]

Cemetery History

The institution had a cemetery on its grounds, and children who died at the institution or in hospital were buried there. One such child was Allan Pukski (also known as Pakski or McGibbon), who died in a hospital in Winnipeg in 1895. His remains were sent by train to be buried in the institution's cemetery (see Figure A.28).[88] In 1896, two children–Fire Ears and Napia-a-mo-k[om]-na– died at Elkhorn and were buried at the cemetery.[89]

The institution's cemetery was discussed in correspondence in 1949 as the government was preparing to close the institution. A memorandum noted that "information is being secured regarding the cemetery and the area which should be retained to cover the existing burial grounds and future requirements."[90] In 1951, the institution's land was transferred to the Province of Manitoba, which placed the land for sale by public tender. During this process, the province discovered that no provision had been made for Elkhorn's cemetery. In a September 1951 letter to the Department of Indian Affairs, Manitoba's director of lands described it as "a plot of land which has been used for burial purposes in connection with the former School."[91] In reply, R.S. Davis, the regional supervisor of Indian Agencies, stated that "I consider that this

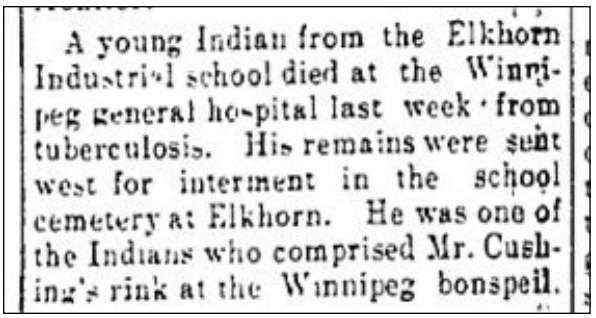

A young Indian from the Elkhorn Industrial school died at the Winnipeg general hospital last week from tuberculosis. His remains were sent west for interment in the school cemetery at Elkhorn. He was one of the Indians who comprised Mr. Cushing's rink at the Winnipeg bonspeil.

Figure A.28. Article stating that Allan Pukski's remains were removed from Winnipeg to Elkhorn for burial in the Elkhorn cemetery there (*Portage la Prairie Weekly*, June 27, 1895).

piece of land should be surveyed out with a small road allowance into it and held, as no doubt a number of Indians have their children buried there".[92]

A hand-drawn map shows the cemetery in Elkhorn, close to the creamery (see Figure A.29).

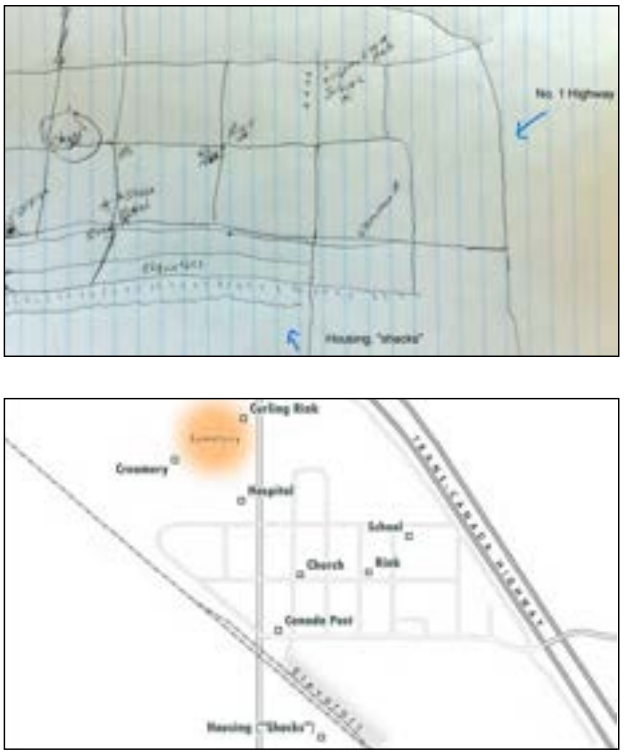


Figure A.29. Hand-drawn map of Elkhorn by Garth Armstrong (used with permission).

Survivor Testimony

Survivors of the Elkhorn Indian Residential School recall that the cemetery was neat and cared for during their time at the institution but became "overgrown and neglected" after Elkhorn closed.[93] Survivors at a 1990 reunion said the institution had been demolished, "but the small, neglected cemetery plot remained."[94]

Contemporary Information

In 1990, the Elkhorn Reunion Committee approached the Manitoba government, which still held title to the land where the cemetery is located for help "in having the forlorn and neglected cemetery area restored."[95] Despite their efforts, the committee was only able to find the names of a few of the children who lay buried in the unmarked graves. The group set up a memorial cross in the cemetery.[96] Additional crosses were added to the cemetery by 2010 (see Figure A.30).

Figure A.30. Elkhorn Indian Residential School Cemetery, Elkhorn, RM of Wallace-Woodworth, July 2010 (photo by Gordon Goldsborough, used with permission).

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 29 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[97] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

MACKAY (THE PAS) INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, MANITOBA

Note: also known as McKay, John A. MacKay, or The Pas Indian Residential School or Boarding School.

Institutional History Overview

Figure A.31. Photograph showing the MacKay Indian Residential School (file P7538-954, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada Fonds, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

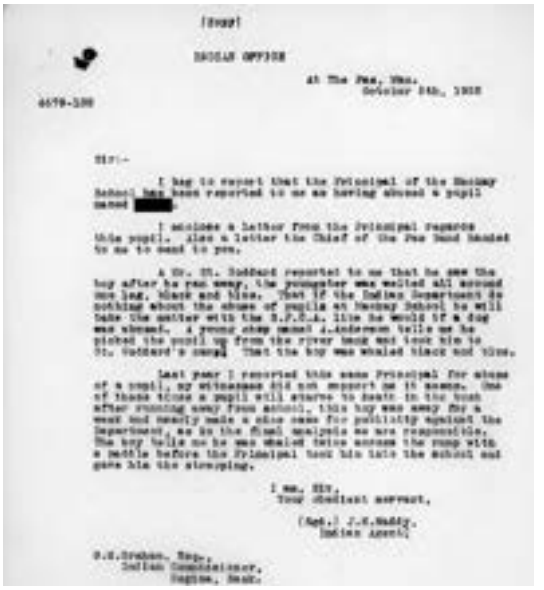


Figure A.32. Letter regarding the horrific abuse of a child by the Principal of MacKay (Letter from J.W. Waddy to W.M. Graham, October 5, 1925, file 580-1, part 2, vol. 6267, reel C-8656, RG10, LAC).

The MacKay Indian Residential School was established in 1914 near The Pas, Manitoba (see Figure A.31). It was located on Fisher Island, part of the Opaskwayak Cree Nation. MacKay was an Anglican institution with financing from the federal government.[98] In 1922, its operation was transferred from the Diocese of Saskatchewan to the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. In 1933, MacKay was destroyed by fire, and operations ceased. Another institution with the same name was built in 1955 in Dauphin, Manitoba, over 300 kilometres away from Fisher Island.[99]

Along with the poor conditions typical of Indian Residential Schools, children taken to MacKay were subjected to physical abuse.[100] Correspondence from the 1920s discusses the horrific, repeated abuse endured by one child, which resulted in his attempts to run away and elicited complaints from the community. In one letter discussing the situation, Indian Agent J.W. Waddy warned that "one of these times a pupil will starve to death in the bush after running away from school" (see Figure A.32).[101]

Cemetery History

The cemetery associated with this institution is known as Big Eddy Cemetery, located on Opaskwayak Cree Nation territory. This graveyard is also referred to as St. Michael's and All Angels Cemetery (see Figure A.33).[102]

Figure A.33. Photo of St. Michaels and All Angels Cemetery / Big Eddy Cemetery, May 2017 ("Historic Sites of Manitoba: St. Michaels and All Angels Cemetery / Big Eddy Cemetery (Opaskwayak Cree Nation)," Manitoba Historical Society Archives; used with permission from Ralph McLean, Project Director, South Africa War Graves Project).

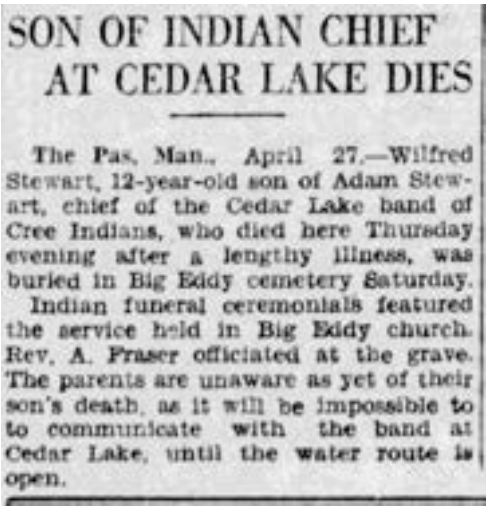
A 1930 newspaper article noted that a 12-year-old boy, whose death is associated with MacKay Indian Residential School,[103] was "buried in Big Eddy cemetery" (see Figure A.34).[104]

Contemporary Information

In 2021, the Opaskwayak Cree Nation announced plans to search the MacKay Indian Residential School grounds for unmarked burials.[105]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of nine children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[106] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.



SON OF INDIAN CHIEF AT CEDAR LAKE DIES

The Pas, Man., April 27.—Wilfred Stewart, 12-year-old son of Adam Stewart, chief of the Cedar Lake band of Cree Indians, who died here Thursday evening after a lengthy illness, was buried in Big Eddy cemetery Saturday.

Indian funeral ceremonials featured the service held in Big Eddy church. Rev. A. Fraser officiated at the grave. The parents are unaware as yet of their son's death, as it will be impossible to to communicate with the band at Cedar Lake, until the water route is open.

Figure A.34. A newspaper article stating that a child, whose death is associated with MacKay, was buried in the Big Eddy Cemetery ("Son of Indian Chief at Cedar Lake Dies," *Free Press Prairie Farmer*, April 30, 1930).

NORWAY HOUSE INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL

Note: also known as the Norway House Methodist or Rossville Boarding School.

Figure A.35. Distant view of Norway House Indian Residential School, Norway House, Manitoba, 1927 ("C.S. Macdonald, Canada Department of Mines and Technical Surveys," file PA-020236, LAC).

Institutional History Overview

The Norway House Indian Residential School opened in 1899 (see Figure A.35). It was a Methodist institution located at Rossville village on the Norway House Cree Nation.[107] The institution was destroyed by a fire in 1913, and the new building was opened in 1915. The institution was again destroyed by fire in 1946 and was not rebuilt until 1952. With support from the federal government, Norway House Indian Residential School was operated by the Methodist Missionary Society until 1925 and, after that, by the Board of Home Missions of the United Church. The institution closed in 1965.[108] Among the poor conditions, Norway House Indian Residential School was plagued by overcrowding.[109] In 1907, a report stated that 10 children died during the year. The same report indicated that more children were present in the institution than there should have been, "considering the lack of ventilation" (see Figure A.36).[110]

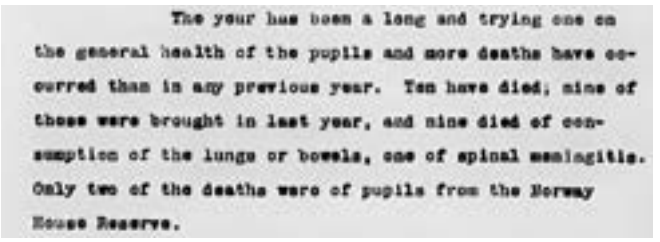

The year has been a long and trying one on the general health of the pupils and more deaths have occurred than in any previous year. Ten have died, nine of these were brought in last year, and nine died of consumption of the lungs or bowels, one of spinal meningitis. Only two of the deaths were of pupils from the Norway House Reserve.

Figure A.36. Extract of a report of the Norway House Boarding School for the year ending June 30, 1907 (file 581-5, part 1, vol. 6268, reel C-8657, RG10, LAC).

Children continued to die at the institution, and some were documented in government records. For example, sometimes the "Admission and Discharge of Pupils" form recorded the deaths of a child, such as the one shown in Figure A.37.[111]

Cemetery History

There are two cemeteries associated with the institution. One cemetery appears very close to the institution's building in maps dated circa 1924.[112] A larger cemetery, farther from the Indian Residential School grounds, is also connected to the institution.[113] Government records are unclear regarding the use of the cemetery closest to the institution. A report from circa 1917 discussed "an old graveyard" close to the mission house. The report noted that the cemetery had been ploughed and that local community members were unhappy about it.[114] Archaeologist Dr. Scott Hamilton identified that the cemetery near the Norway House (Rossville) institution was one of the locations that "likely accommodated both deceased IRS [Indian Residential School] students and members of the mission church."[115] Government correspondence in 1920 noted potential changes to the limits of the institution's lot, including the area of the cemetery, and that "it is supposed that considerable changes may be required especially at the North, where the Cemetery is located" (see Figure A.38).[116]

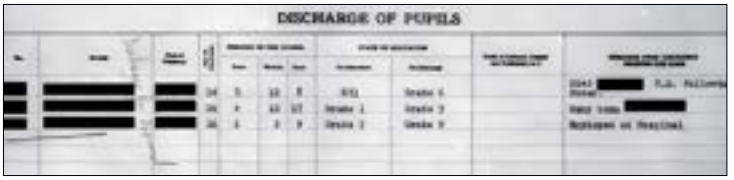

DISCHARGE OF PUPILS

Figure A.37. Discharge of Pupils form noting the death of a child (file 581-10, vol. 6269, reel C-8659, RG10, LAC).

Additionally, a 1923 letter suggested that an earlier map, which included the cemetery, was inaccurate.[117] However, it is clear from a 1924 plan that the cemetery was very close to the institution's building (see Figure A.39).[118]

Church records may provide more information on where children were buried. However, some records may not be available due to the "the fires of 1913 and 1946 [that may have] destroyed many of the early records of the Norway House School."[119]

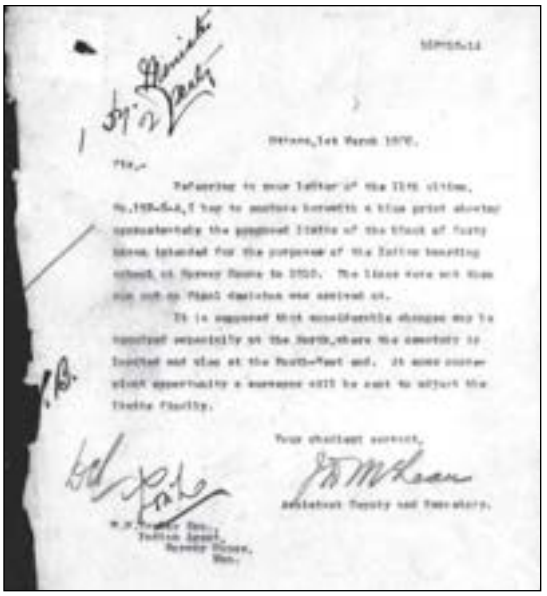


Figure A.38. Letter from J.D. McLean to W.B. Taylor, March 1, 1920 (file 581-9, part 1, vol. 6270, reel c-8659, RG10, LAC).

Survivor Testimony

Survivor Eliza Beardy spoke about the trauma of being taken to Norway House Indian Residential School. She was taken from her family at the age of six, and she endured and witnessed abuse at the

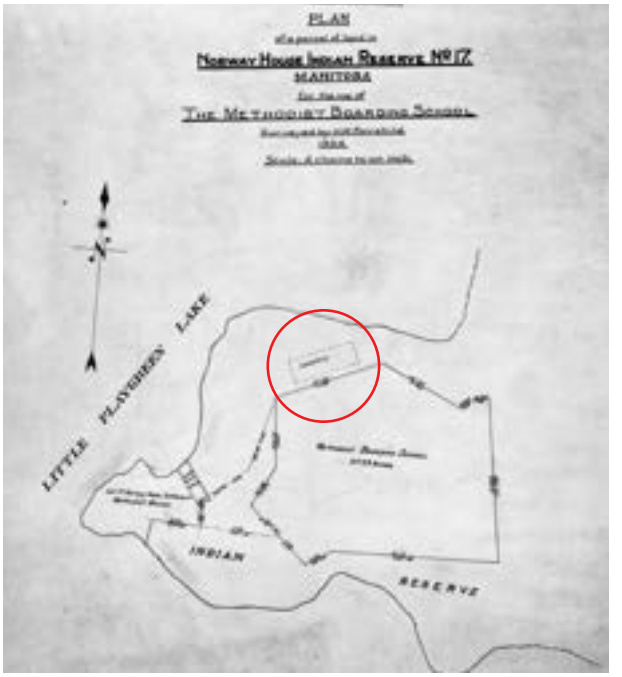


Figure A.39. Plan showing the cemetery next to Norway House Indian Residential School in 1924 (microfiche no. 23697, item no. 1689, LAC).

institution. Beardy recalled that she and the other children would try to console each other.[120]

Contemporary Information

In 2022, Norway House Cree Nation announced that they would begin searching the grounds of two former Indian Residential Schools in the area, including the Norway House (Rossville) Methodist institution.[121]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 13 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[122] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue, particularly given that 10 children died in 1906–1907 alone.[123]

RAT PORTAGE/KENORA INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, ONTARIO

Note: also known as École Saint-Antoine, St. Anthony's, and St. Mary's Residential School or Industrial School.

Institutional History Overview

The Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School was located near Kenora, Ontario (see Figure A.40).[124] The institution opened in 1897 and closed 75 years later in 1972. It was operated by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate, first with the Grey Nuns until 1930 and later with the Sisters of Saint-Joseph of Saint-Hyacinthe. In the late 1960s, the federal government assumed operations of the institution.[125] Children taken to the Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School endured abuse and unsanitary conditions.[126]

Figure A.40. Photograph of Kenora Indian Residential School taken from the lake in 1939 (file SHSB24767, Centre du patrimonie, Oblats de Marie-Immaculée Province oblate du Manitoba / Délégation Fonds, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface).

Cemetery History

A cemetery was located on the grounds of the Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School. The institution's burial register begins in 1898, and the first entry for the burial of a child is dated August 3, 1899.[127] A small number of entries in the earliest section of the burial register indicate that some of the burials were not in the cemetery but perhaps elsewhere on the "school grounds." When Martha Sakedjeweskang died in 1901,[128] the entry in the institution's burial register shows that she was buried on the "terrain du l'école" ("school grounds") rather than the "cimetière de l'école" ("school cemetery").[129] Another document, reporting Martha's death, indicates that she was from "Whitefish Bay Band" (see Figure A.41).[130]

Figure A.41. Extract from "Kenora (Rat Portage) Agency - Applications by Ex-Pupils of Different Industrial Schools to the Department for the Withdrawal of Their Savings," 1900 -15 (file 95833-29, vol. 3892, RG10, LAC).

Historical documents indicate that most burials occurred in the cemetery. For example, records confirm that Antoinette Tap-Pee, who died in 1910, was buried in the institution's cemetery.[131] When Nancy Keewatin died in the St. Joseph's

Hospital in 1938, her remains were returned to the Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School for burial rather than to her home. The local Indian Agent provided the required information for her death registration.[132] And when Rosaline Bird died in the St. Joseph's Hospital in 1941, she too was buried in the Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School cemetery, and the local Indian Agent again provided the information required to register her death (see Figure A.42).[133]


PROVINCE OF ONTARIO CERTIFICATE OF REGISTRATION OF DEATH

Figure A.42. Excerpts from Ontario Death Registration for Rosaline Bird showing that she was buried at the Rat Portage/Kenora Indian Residential School. The informant—"Captain Edwards"—was the local Indian Agent at the time (Ontario, Canada, Deaths and Deaths Overseas, 1869–1948, Ancestry.ca).

A photo of Rosaline's burial marker is shown in Figure A.43. As with some of the other Indian Residential Schools, children were often required to work in the cemetery and to assist with the burials of the children.[134]

Contemporary Information

In January 2023, the Wauzhushk Onigum Nation announced preliminary findings from their search of the institution's ground. The search revealed 170 possible burials, only five of which were indicated with grave markers.[135]

Survivor Testimony

The ground search conducted by the Wauzhushk Onigum Nation was informed by Survivor testimony. Survivors have also helped to identify additional sites of potential unmarked burials.[136] Survivors have shared their experiences of forced separation from family members and the abuses that they endured at this institution.[137]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 36 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[138] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

Figure A.43. Photograph showing the gravesite of Rosaline Bird (SHSB115899, Centre du patrimonie, Oblats de Marie-Immaculée Province oblate du Manitoba / Délégation Fonds, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface).

FORT FRANCES INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, ONTARIO

Note: also known as the Couchiching, St. Frances, and St. Margaret's Indian Residential School, Indian Boarding School, or Indian Industrial School.

Institutional History Overview

The Fort Frances Indian Residential School opened near the Catholic Mission on the Couchiching Reserve close to Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1906 (see Figures A.44 and A.45). The institution was operated by the Oblates of Mary Immaculate and the Grey Nuns. Its opening was part of a reorganization of Catholic Indian Residential Schools in Manitoba and northwestern Ontario that followed the closure of the St. Boniface Indian Residential School in 1905.[139] The administration of the Fort Frances Indian Residential School was transferred to the federal government in 1969, and it officially closed in 1974.[140] The conditions at this institution resulted in repeated complaints from parents[141]

Figure A.44. View of Fort Frances Indian Residential School, n.d. (file PA-021163, Department of Mines and Resources, LAC).

Figure A.45. Une église et une école résidentielle à Fort Frances, Ontario (file SHSB1201, Archives de la Société historique de Saint-Boniface).

Cemetery History

During the institution's first year of operation, the children were required to clear 30 acres of land in order to make room for gardens and a graveyard.[142] The initial area that the principal proposed for the graveyard was quickly identified as being too small. In 1907, S. Bray, chief surveyor for the federal Department of Indian Affairs, wrote to the deputy minister that "I drew the attention of the Principal to the necessity of materially increasing the area of the cemetery. The sketch shows the proposed addition".[143]

The plans shown in Figure A.46 identify the original cemetery grounds and the proposed extension. In 1908, D.J. Dillon, the government surveyor, described the cemetery in his field book, explaining that "the Cemetery was laid out as shewn, the west boundary being made to conform with the general scheme of future building in connection with the School."[144]

Contemporary Information

As of March 2024, an investigation into unmarked burials on the site of Fort Frances Indian Residential School was ongoing.[145]

Survivor Testimony

Lila Bruyere, a Survivor of Fort Frances Indian Residential School, spoke about her experiences of abuse at this institution, including her attempt to run away. Bruyere stated that she "know[s] that there's bodies there."[146]

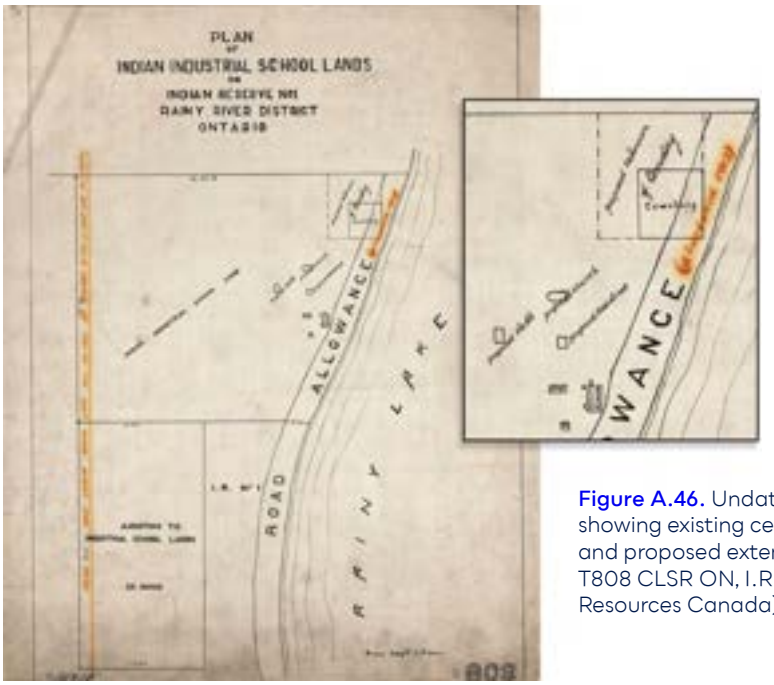
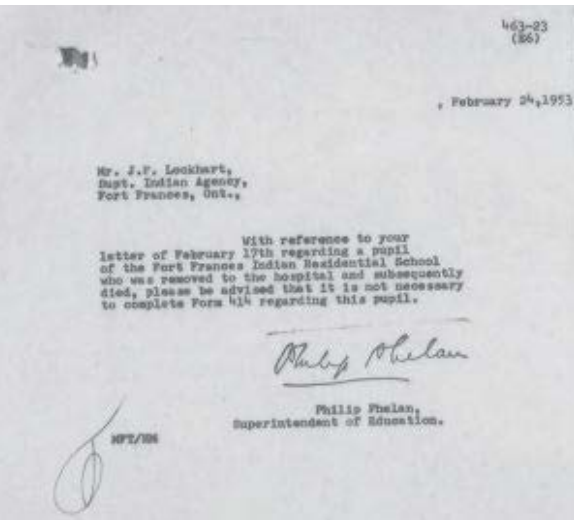


Figure A.46. Undated Plan showing existing cemetery and proposed extension (file T808 CLSR ON, I.R. 1, Natural Resources Canada).

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of three children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[147] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue. A letter dated February 24, 1953, suggests that the Form 414 was not required to be completed for children that died in a hospital, making the investigation more difficult (see Figure A.47).[148]


463-23
(86)

February 24,1953

Mr. J.F. Lockhart,
Supt. Indian Agency,
Fort Frances, Ont.,

With reference to your letter of February 17th regarding a pupil of the Fort Frances Indian Residential School who was removed to the hospital and subsequently died, please be advised that it is not necessary to complete Form 414 regarding this pupil.

Philip Phelan,
Superintendent of Education.

Figure A.47. Letter concerning death of child in hospital (file 463-23, part 1, vol. 6195, reel C-7930, RG10, LAC.

ST. PHILIP'S/FORT GEORGE INDIAN AND ESKIMO RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, QUEBEC

Note: also known as Fort George River and Fort Ste. Foy Indian Residential School.

Institutional History Overview

St. Philip's Indian Residential School was an Anglican institution that opened at Fort George, Quebec, in 1933 (see Figure A.48). In 1943, the building was destroyed by fire and was rebuilt in 1944 by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada.[149] The federal government assumed the operations in 1969, and the institution was finally closed in 1975.[150]

Figure A.48. Photograph of St. Philip's Indian Residential School on the left, with the rectory and church on the right, circa 1944–47 (file P9901-1697, Diocese of the Arctic Fonds, Bessie Quirt Photograph Collection, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

As with other Indian Residential Schools, children at this institution were subjected to poor conditions, including overcrowding and deteriorating buildings. Some children taken to St. Philip's died of illnesses such as tuberculosis.[151] A 1946 letter discussed one child who died at St. Philip's; he had been taken back to the institution despite being sick with active tuberculosis.[152]

Cemetery History

Some of the children who died at St. Philip's were buried in the Anglican cemetery that was part of the mission grounds (see Figure A.49). A 1949 document shows a "statement of account for digging graves and making coffins" at the Anglican Mission in Fort George (see Figure A.50).[153]

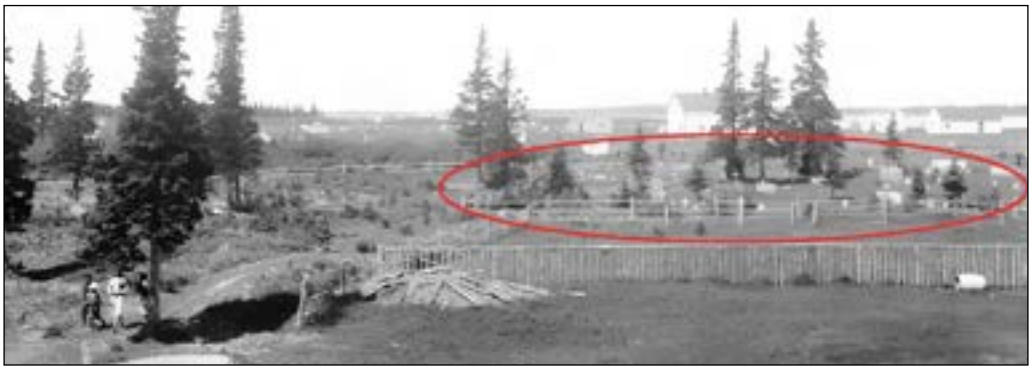
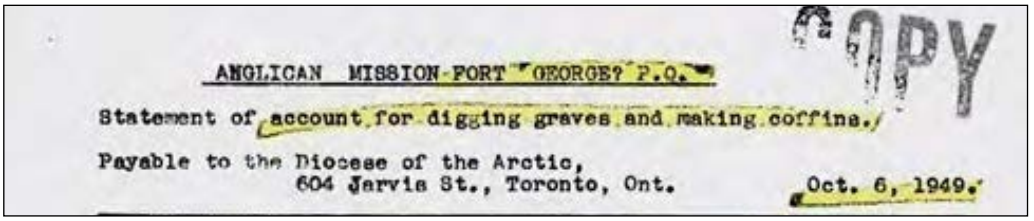


Figure A.49. Photograph showing the cemetery, circa 1940s (accession P9901, item 1700, Anglican Archives).



ANGLICAN MISSION-FORT GEORGE? P.Q.

Statement of account for digging graves and making coffins.

Payable to the Diocese of the Arctic,
604 Jarvis St., Toronto, Ont.

Oct. 6, 1949.

COPY

Figure A.50. Account for digging graves and making coffins, Anglican Mission, Fort George, October 6, 1949 (H.S. Shepherd, file GAS M96-7 Rev, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

The cemetery appears on a site plan of Fort George from circa 1961 and on another dated 1962. On these plans, the cemetery is labeled as a "burial ground," shown to occupy an area close to the church and rectory.[154] It also appears on a map from 1967, noted as the "cemetery" (see Figure A.51).[155]

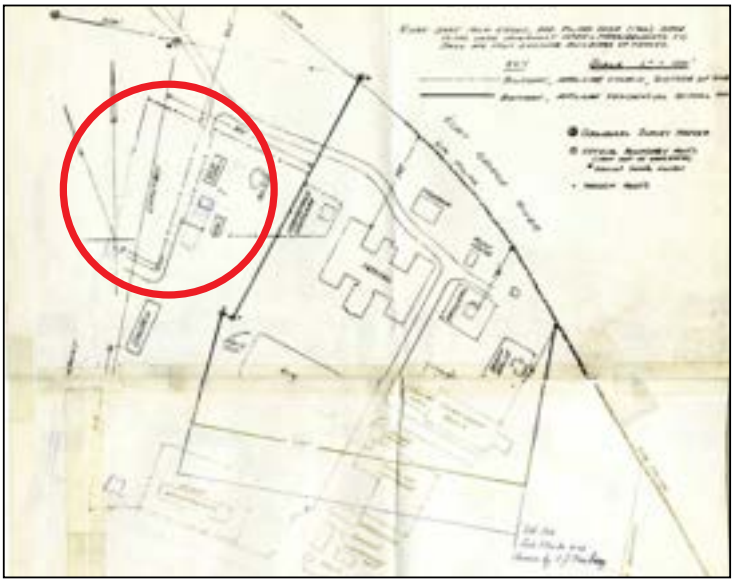


Figure A.51. A map of Fort George Mission, May 1967 (Anglican Diocese of Moosonee, Laurentian University Archives, https://biblio.laurentian.ca/research/guides/anglican-diocese-moosonee, also available as file 15c-c000237-d0007-001, NCTR Archives).

Figure A.52. A photograph showing the Anglican cemetery in Fort George (Mathieu Perreault, "Du tourisme chez les autochtones," *La Presse*, October 12, 1996).

A newspaper article from 1996 includes a photograph of the cemetery with a wooden fence enclosure (see Figure A.52).[156]

Contemporary Information

Cree communities in northern Quebec have been searching for unmarked burials in the area of St. Philip's Indian and Eskimo Residential School.[157] In July 2023, the Cree Nation of Chisasibi arranged for Historic Human Remains Detection Dogs (HHRDD) to search the grounds of two Indian Residential Schools in the Fort George area, one of which was St. Philip's.[158] This search is part of the broader efforts of Cree Nations to locate the unmarked burials of children taken by the federal government and the churches.[159]

Survivor Testimony

Janie Pachano, a Survivor of St. Philip's, recalled witnessing another child being forced outside in the winter while ill and later being told that this child died. Pachano believes that this child's remains are buried on the grounds of St. Philip's.[160]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 11 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[161] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

CHOOUTLA INDIAN RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, YUKON

Note: also known as Choutla or Carcross Indian Residential School, Indian Mission School, or Boarding School.

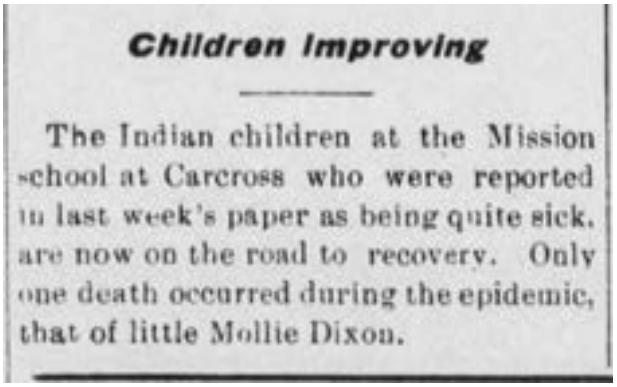
Institutional History Overview

Chooutla Indian Residential School was located along Nares Lake in the Yukon (see Figure A.53). In 1903, an Anglican bishop established the institution in Carcross, where it operated out of two shacks.[162] In 1911, the federal government built the larger Chooutla Indian Residential School on the other side of Nares Lake.[163] When it was destroyed by fire in 1939,

Figure A.53. A view of the newly constructed Chootula institution in 1953 (file P7538-878, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada Fonds, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

the institution was relocated to rented buildings within the town of Carcross.[164] In 1944, pre-fabricated buildings were put up near the site where the building burned down, and a new government-owned institution was completed in 1954. Along with the involvement of the federal government, Chooutla was operated by the Church of England and, after 1921, by the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada. It officially closed in 1969.[165]

Children at the Chooutla Indian Residential School faced substandard building conditions, abuse, and frequent outbreaks of illness.[166] Historical documents show that the children taken to this institution died of diseases such as dysentery,[167] tuberculosis,[168] and influenza,[169] as documented in some newspaper announcements (see Figures A.54 and A.56).

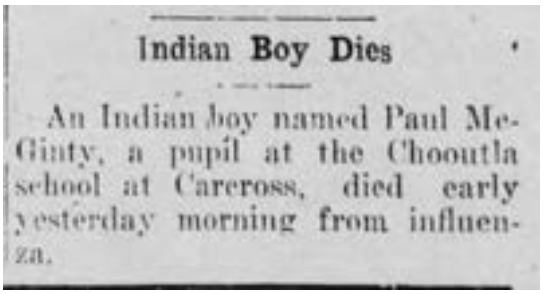


Children Improving

The Indian children at the Mission school at Carcross who were reported in last week's paper as being quite sick, are now on the road to recovery. Only one death occurred during the epidemic, that of little Mollie Dixon.

Figure A.54. A newspaper article regarding the death of a child at Chooutla during an epidemic ("Children Improving," *Whitehorse Daily Star*, August 30, 1907).

Figure A.55. A newspaper article discussing the deaths and burials of children taken to Chooutla (Gregory Bryce, "High TB Death Rate at Residential Schools: 1907 Report," *Whitehorse Daily Star,* April 10, 2015.


Indian Boy Dies

An Indian boy named Paul McGinty, a pupil at the Chooutla school at Carcross, died early yesterday morning from influenza.

Figure A.56. A newspaper article regarding the death of a child at Chooouta in 1920 ("Indian Boy Dies," *Whitehorse Daily Star*, March 26, 1920).

Cemetery History

Public records suggest that some children who died at Chooutla were buried in the cemetery of Carcross. One source indicates that a child who died in 1907 was buried in the Carcross cemetery and that two children that died in 1908 were buried "on the school grounds" (see Figure A.55).[170]

An archival map shows a cemetery at the edge of the Carcross reserve, close to the shore of Nares Lake (see Figure A.57).[171]

While Chooutla was primarily located across the lake from Carcross, during two periods, 1903–1911 and 1939–1944, the institution was situated within Carcross, close to the cemetery. A photograph from circa 1930s shows boys carrying a casket up a hill (see Figure A.58).[172]

Some children who became ill while at Chooutla were sent to the hospital in Whitehorse. Records indicate that, when some of these children died, they were buried in Whitehorse rather than in Carcross.[173] A Department of Indian Affairs letter discusses the death of a child who had been taken to the Whitehorse hospital from Chooutla. Instructions were given "to arrange for the funeral at Whitehorse instead of shipping the body to Carcross for burial."[174] Other government documents record the death of some children, but they do not indicate their place of burial, such as on Form 414s.[175]

Survivor Testimony

In relation to the Indian Residential School ground searches in the Yukon, Survivor Johnny Johns stated

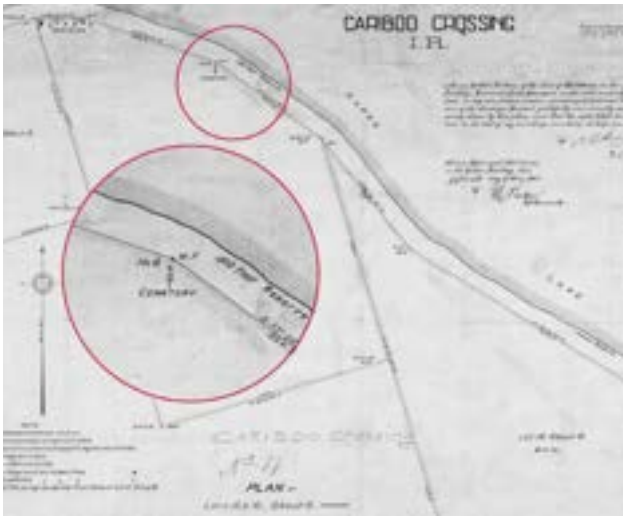


Figure A.57. A 1905 plan showing the area of Carcross, including the cemetery (microfiche no. 24491, Item no. 2122, LAC).

Figure A.58. A photograph showing children carrying a casket in Carcross, Yukon, circa 1930s (file P7538-616, Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada Fonds, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

that, "of course, they're going to find something."[176] Johns, who was taken to both Chooutla and the Whitehorse Baptist Mission Indian Residential School, recalled children leaving and never returning. Adeline Webber, whose brother Albert Jackson died at Chooutla, believes that he is buried somewhere on the institution's grounds. Albert died soon after being sent to the institution in 1942 at the age of five years old.[177] Their mother only learned of Albert's death when he was not returned home in the summer.[178]

Contemporary Information

In June 2023, the Yukon Residential Schools and Missing Children Working Group initiated a ground search of the main site of Chooutla.[179] The search revealed 15 potential unmarked burials, and investigations are ongoing.[180]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 20 childen, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[181] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

ALL SAINTS/AKLAVIK RESIDENTIAL SCHOOL, NORTHWEST TERRITORIES

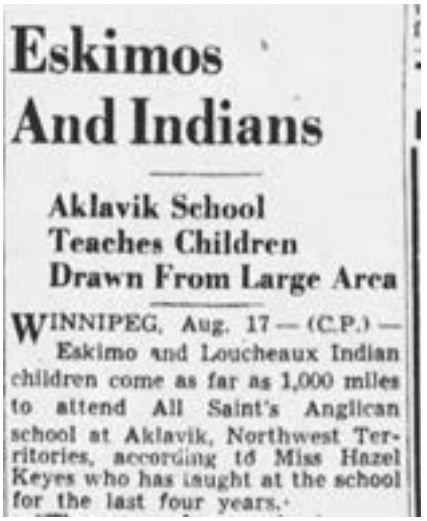
Note: also known as the Anglican Mission School.

Figure A.59. All Saints Cathedral, Hospital and Residential School, Aklavik, Northwest Territories, n.d. (file P9314-137, Bessie Quirt Photograph Collection, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

Institutional History Overview

The All Saints Residential School opened in 1936 in Aklavik, Northwest Territories (see Figure A.59). This institution was a consolidation of Indian Residential Schools in the North; many children from the Shingle Point and Hay River institutions were taken to All Saints[182] as well from other communities throughout the North (see Figure A.60).[183]

As with many other institutions, overcrowding was an issue at All Saints, and it officially closed in 1959.[184] Department of Indian Affairs administrative records for All Saints provide some insight into the frequency of deaths at the institution. On a quarterly admission and discharge form, two children were noted to have died.[185] On another form of this type, four children were noted to have died in a single quarter (see Figure A.61).[186]

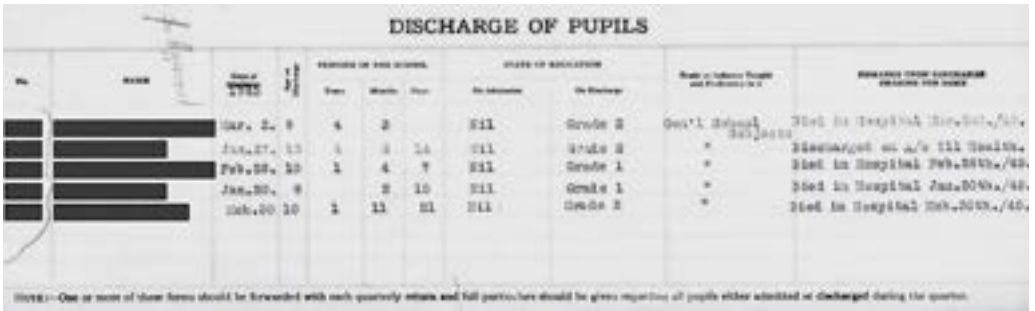


Eskimos And Indians

Aklavik School Teaches Children Drawn From Large Area

WINNIPEG, Aug. 17 — (C.P.) — Eskimo and Loucheaux Indian children come as far as 1,000 miles to attend All Saint's Anglican school at Aklavik, Northwest Territories, according to Miss Hazel Keyes who has taught at the school for the last four years.

Figure A.60. Newspaper article indicating that children were taken from throughout the North to All Saints ("Aklavik School Teaches Children Drawn from Large Area," *Montreal Star*, August 17, 1940).



DISCHARGE OF PUPILS

Figure A.61. An admission and discharge form for All Saints, showing the deaths of four children in one quarter ("Admission and Discharge Form for All Saints, Aklavik, Quarter Ended March 31, 1945," vol. 6477, file 919-10, part 1, reel C-8793, RG10, LAC).

Cemetery History

Figure A.62. A photograph showing the Aklavik cemetery in 1965 (file P84135-15, Arthur Doersam Fonds, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada).

Church records indicate that many of the children who died were buried in the All Saints Anglican cemetery in Aklavik.[187] The cemetery with wooden crosses is shown in a photograph dated 1965 (see Figure A.62).[188]

In 1948, Anglican Archdeacon D.B. Marsh wrote to W.L. Falconer, the assistant director of Indian Health Services. This letter advised that lot 28A in Inuvik, which the Anglicans had transferred to the federal government the previous year, included a graveyard.[189] A plan from 1947 identifies the cemetery situated within Aklavik (see Figure A.63).

Contemporary Information

In July 2022, the Dene Nation reported their proposed plans to search for unmarked burials at several Indian Residential School sites in the North, including at the site of the All Saints cemetery in Aklavik.[190]

Survivor Testimony

Survivors of All Saints have testified about the poor conditions they endured at this institution, including abuse and insufficient food.[191] One Survivor, Albert Elias, recalled witnessing a child attempting to run away and being subjected to violence while they were being taken back to Aklavik.[192] Another Survivor described how, after her sister became ill at All Saints, their father removed them from the institution and took her sister to the hospital; "he cried over us. He took me home. He put her in a hospital, and she died."[193]

TRC-Identified Deaths

The TRC identified the deaths of 16 children, which are included on the NCTR's National Student Memorial.[194] However, it is likely that more deaths will be identified as further investigations continue.

Figure A.63. Plan of Aklavik settlement and of lot 1, group 1352 ("Northwest Territories Office of the Surveyor General, Department of Mines and Resources", 1947, file G3534.A3G46 1923.C36, 1007204562, LAC).

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189 Letter from D.B. Marsh, Archdeacon to Dr. Falconer, Assistant Director, Indian Health Services, April 22, 1948, file M96-07 34-3, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, also available as file 13a-c001287-d0025-001, NCTR Archives (currently restricted).

190 Avery Zingel, "Dene Nation Seeks Approval to Search 15 Residential School Sites for Unmarked Graves," *CBC News,* July 20, 2022, https://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/north/dene-nation-unmarked-graves-1.6526424.

191 TRC, *Survivors Speak,* 49, 86.

192 TRC, *Survivors Speak*, 29.

193 Quoted in TRC, *Survivors Speak*, 181.

194 "All Saints (Aklavik Anglican) National Student Memorial," NCTR, accessed April 29, 2024, https://nctr.ca/residential-schools/northern/all-saints-aklavik-anglican/.

APPENDIX B

Good Shepherd Homes

The following table lists the names, locations, and operating dates of some of the Good Shepherd institutions that operated in Canada during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. This is not a complete list of the institutions, nor is it a complete list of the names by which these institutions were known. In some cases, different names associated with one location may reflect that different institutions operated simultaneously by the Catholic order in question. Because of the different names by which these institutions were known and the barriers in accessing relevant institutional records, operating dates represent the best available information at the time of creating this table.

Name(s)	Location	Years of Operation	Order
Good Shepherd Home, Convent of Our Lady of Charity, O'Connell Institute, Mapleridge [Maple Ridge] Residential Treatment Centre for Girls	Edmonton, Alberta	1912 to mid-1980s	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of Refuge
Convent of the Good Shepherd, St. Euphrasia's School, Rosemary [Rosemarie] Heights	New Westminster, Vancouver, and White Rock, British Columbia	1892 to 1975	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
Home of the Good Shepherd, St. Agnes Priory, Marymound	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1911 to present	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
The Home/Monastery of the Good Shepherd	Saint John, New Brunswick	circa 1896 to 1958	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd

Name(s)	Location	Years of Operation	Order
Monastery of the Good Shepherd, Home of the Good Shepherd, St. Euphrasia's School, Chisholm Centre and Barnett House, Chisholm Youth Services	Halifax, Nova Scotia	1890 to present	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
St. Mary's Training School, St. Mary's Industrial School, St, Mary's Industrial Refuge, St. Euphrasia's	Toronto, Ontario	1900 to 1973	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
Good Shepherd Industrial Refuge, Rose Marie Heights	Sudbury, Ontario	1940 to circa 1966	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
Good Shepherd Convent, Ottawa Magdalen Asylum	Ottawa, Ontario	1866 to circa 1972	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd
Maison Sainte-Madeleine, Asile Sainte-Madeleine	Quebec City, Quebec	1850–1975	Sisters of the Good Shepherd of Quebec
Monastère de Saint-Joseph-du-Bon-Pasteur	Montreal, Quebec	1844 to circa 1976	Sisters of Our Lady of Charity of the Good Shepherd

APPENDIX C

Provincial and Private Institutions for Children Who Were Deaf or Hard of Hearing

The following is a list of institutions where Deaf children or those who were hard of hearing may have been transferred to from Indian Residential Schools. This information, including alternate names and dates of operation represent best efforts to gather this information. Administrative, functional, and name changes over time make it difficult to identify exact dates when these institutions operated. There may have been additional similar institutions that operated during this period.

Name(s)	Location	Years of Operation
Alberta School for the Deaf	Edmonton, Alberta	1955–present
Jericho Hill School for the Deaf (previously known as British Columbia School for the Deaf and Blind)	Vancouver, British Columbia	1922–1992
Manitoba School for the Deaf (previously known as Manitoba Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb)	Winnipeg, Manitoba	1889–present
Fredericton Institution for the Education of the Deaf and Dumb	Fredericton, New Brunswick	1882–circa 1902
Newfoundland School for the Deaf	St. John's, Newfoundland	1964–2010
Halifax School for the Deaf	Halifax, Nova Scotia	1856–1961
The Amherst Nova Scotia School for the Deaf (also known as Institution for the Deaf and Dumb, School for the Deaf, Interprovincial School for the Education of the Deaf, Atlantic Provinces Resource Centre for the Hearing Handicapped, and Atlantic Provinces Special Education Authority–Resource Centre for the Hearing Impaired	Amherst, Nova Scotia	1856–1995

Name(s)	Location	Years of Operation
Sir James Whitney School for the Deaf (previously known as the Ontario Institute for the Deaf)	Belleville, Ontario	1870–present
Ernest C. Drury School for the Deaf (previously known as the Milton Ontario School for the Deaf)	Milton, Ontario	1963–present
Robarts School for the Deaf	London, Ontario	1974–present
Metropolitan Toronto School for the Deaf (also known as the Metro Toronto School for the Deaf)	Toronto, Ontario	1962–present
Deaf Boys School	Montreal, Quebec	1848–1978
MacDonald School for the Deaf	Quebec City, Quebec	1831–1836
Montreal Institute for the Deaf and Mute (also known as Institution Catholique des Sourds-Muets [for boys], which was opened in 1848; Institution Catholique des Sourdes-Muettes [for girls], which was opened in 1851; Raymond Dewar Institute)	Montreal, Quebec	1848–present
MacKay School for the Deaf (Mackay Institution for Protestant Deaf Mutes) (in 1960, it merged with the School for Crippled Children to become Mackay Rehabilitation Centre for Deaf and Motor-impaired Children) (in 2006, it merged with the Montreal Association for the Blind to become the Montreal Association for the Blind – Mackay Rehabilitation Centre)	Montreal, Quebec	1869–present
R.J.D. Williams School for the Deaf (previously known as the Saskatchewan School for the Deaf)	Saskatoon, Saskatchewan	1931–1991