Canada's Residential Schools:

Missing Children and Unmarked Burials

The Final Report of the
Truth and Reconciliation
Commission of Canada

Volume 4

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Contents

Executive summary

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's "Missing Children and Unmarked Burials Project" is a systematic effort to record and analyze the deaths at the schools, and the presence and condition of student cemeteries, within the regulatory context in which the schools were intended to operate. The project's research supports the following conclusions:

- The Commission has identified 3,200 deaths on the Truth and Reconciliation Commission's Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students and the Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Residential School Students.
- For just under one-third of these deaths (32%), the government and the schools did not record the name of the student who died.
- For just under one-quarter of these deaths (23%), the government and the schools did not record the gender of the student who died.
- For just under one-half of these deaths (49%), the government and the schools did not record the cause of death.
- Aboriginal children in residential schools died at a far higher rate than school-aged children in the general population.
- For most of the history of the schools, the practice was not to send the bodies of students who died at schools to their home communities.
- For the most part, the cemeteries that the Commission documented are abandoned, disused, and vulnerable to accidental disturbance.
- The federal government never established an adequate set of standards and regulations to guarantee the health and safety of residential school students.
- The federal government never adequately enforced the minimal standards and regulations that it did establish.
- The failure to establish and enforce adequate regulations was largely a function of the government's determination to keep residential school costs to a minimum.

- 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.

These findings are in keeping with statements that former students and the parents of former students gave to the Commission. They spoke of children who went to school and never returned. The tragedy of the loss of children was compounded by the fact that burial places were distant or even unknown. Many Aboriginal people have unanswered questions about what happened to their children or relatives while they were attending residential school. The work that the Commission has begun in identifying and commemorating those students who died at school and their gravesites needs to be finished.

The work that the Commission has commenced is far from complete. The National Residential School Student Death Register established by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada represents the first national effort to record the names of the students who died at school. There is a need for continued work on the register: there are many relevant documents that have yet to be reviewed. There is a need for the development and implementation of a national strategy for the documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries. Such a program, carried out in close consultation with the concerned Aboriginal communities, is necessary to properly honour the memory of the children who died in Canada's residential schools.

Introduction

Death cast a long shadow over Canada's residential schools. In her memoir of her years as a student at the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school in the early twentieth century, Louise Moine wrote of one year when tuberculosis was rampaging through the school.

> There was a death every month on the girls' side and some of the boys went also. We were always taken to see the girls who had died. The Sisters invariably had them dressed in light blue and they always looked so peaceful and angelic. We were led to believe that their souls had gone to heaven, and this would somehow lessen the grief and sadness we felt in the loss of one of our little schoolmates.[1]

Enos Montour had similar memories of his time at the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario. On occasion,

> the silent killer TB showed up amongst the enrolment. Some quiet, inoffensive lad would grow unusually quiet and listless.... As his creeping, insidious disease came over him, he began to lose interest in all boyish activity. He coughed

> frequently and his energy was sapped away. His chums tried to interest him in their games and outings, but he only smiled wanly and told them to leave him out. He didn't feel like it.

Eventually, the boy was taken from the school. "An emptiness remained where the gentle boy had lived with his pals."[2]

In his memoir, James Gladstone was critical of the medical care available to the students at the Anglican boarding school on the Blood Reserve in Alberta. In the spring of 1900, a fellow student, Joe Glasgow, became ill after stepping on a nail. "Rev. Owen had made arrangements for a doctor from Fort Macleod, but he was a useless drunk who didn't come until it was too late. I looked after Joe for two days until he died. I was the only one he would listen to during his delirium."[3]

Distressed, neglected, and abused, some students killed themselves. In her memoirs, Eleanor Brass spoke of a boy who had hung himself for fear of discipline at the File Hills school in Saskatchewan. "The poor youth was in some kind of trouble which was not so terrible but apparently it seemed that way to him."[4]

Accidental death was also a risk for residential school students. A Methodist missionary and six students were travelling to the Brandon, Manitoba, school in 1903 when the boat carrying them sank. All seven drowned.[5] Christina Jacob, a student at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school, died in 1962, when an airplane being piloted by a school employee crashed near the school.[6]

Poorly built and maintained buildings were fire traps. Nineteen boys died in the fire that destroyed the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school in 1927.[7] Twelve children died when the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school burned down in 1930. The high death toll was partially attributable to inadequate fire escapes.[8]

Some students disappeared while running away from school. Four boys who ran away from the Fort Albany, Ontario, school in the spring of 1941 were presumed to have drowned. Their bodies were never recovered.[9] Another two boys had run away from the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school in 1956. The principal waited a month before reporting that they were missing.[10] They were never found.[11]

Many of the cemeteries in which students were buried have long since been abandoned. When the Battleford school in Saskatchewan closed in 1914, Principal E. Matheson reminded Indian Affairs that there was a school cemetery that contained the bodies of seventy to eighty individuals, most of whom were former students. He worried that unless the government took steps to care for the cemetery, it would be overrun by stray cattle.[12] Such advice, when ignored, led to instances of neglect, with very distressing results. In 2001, water erosion of the banks of the Bow Highwood River exposed the remains of former students of the High River, Alberta, school, which had closed in 1922. Thirty-four bodies were exhumed and reburied, with both Aboriginal and Christian ceremonies, at the St. Joseph's Industrial School Provincial Historical Site.[13]

These examples point to a larger picture: many students who went to residential school never returned. They were lost to their families. They died at rates that were far higher than those experienced by the general school-aged population. 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.

The most basic of questions about missing children—Who died? Why did they die? Where are they buried?—have never been addressed or comprehensively documented by the Canadian government. This document reports on the first systematic effort to record and analyze the deaths at the schools, and the presence and condition of student cemeteries, within the regulatory context in which the schools were intended to operate.

The Missing Children and Unmarked Burials Mandate

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), which was signed in 2006 and approved by the courts in early 2007, mandated the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) to:

> Identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS [Indian Residential Schools] system and legacy. The record shall be preserved and made accessible to the public for future study and use

and to

> Produce and submit to the Parties of the Agreement a report including recommendations to the Government of Canada concerning the IRS system and experience including: the history, purpose, operation and supervision of the IRS system, the effect and consequences of IRS (including systemic harms, intergenerational consequences and the impact on human dignity) and the ongoing legacy of the residential schools.

The establishment of a specific "Missing Children and Unmarked Burials" mandate did not come until after the Settlement Agreement had been approved by the courts. On April 24, 2007, Liberal Member of Parliament Gary Merasty (Desnethé/Missinippi/Churchill River) raised the issue of residential school death rates in the House of Commons. He stated that the schools were places of disease, hunger, overcrowding, and despair.

> Many children died. In 1914 a departmental official said "fifty per cent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein". Yet, nothing was done.... Mr. Speaker, above all else, I stand for these children, many of whom buried their friends,

> families and siblings at these schools.... Will the Prime Minister commit to the repatriation of the bodies and an apology to the residential school survivors?[14]

James Prentice, who was both the minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development as well as the minister responsible for the Office of Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada, responded, "We will get to the bottom of the disappeared children. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission will hear much about that. I have instructed our officials to look into that and to work with Oblate records of the churches to get to the bottom of this issue, and this sad chapter in our history."[15]

Prentice asked the Commission to form a working group to make recommendations for further research into the issue. The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials was established in the spring of 2007.[16] The working group included representatives from national Aboriginal organizations, former students, archivists, and the federal government.

The working group concluded that the following questions should be addressed:

1) Who and how many residential school students died?
2) What did residential school students die from?
3) Where are the residential school students buried?
4) Who were the residential school students who went missing?

The first three questions address the issues specific to students who died at the schools. The fourth refers to those students who may not have died at the schools, but who never returned home from residential school.

The term *missing children* in this context includes both those who died at school and those whose fate after enrolment was unknown, at least to their parents. This could include, for example, students who might have run away to urban centres and never contacted their home community again, students who never returned to their home communities after leaving school, students who became ill at school and were transferred to a hospital or sanatorium and died there (possibly several years later) without parents being informed, or students who were transferred to other institutions such as reformatories or foster homes and never returned home.

To address its four key questions, the working group proposed the following four research projects.

1) **Statistical Survey**: A statistical survey intended to achieve a precise estimate of student enrolment, including rates of death and disease.
2) **Operational Policies and Custodial Care**: A study intended to review administrative policies pertaining to death, illness, and disappearances of students.
3) **Unmarked Burials and Commemoration**: A study intended to identify the location of cemeteries and gravesites in which students are believed to be buried. The project was to collaborate with communities to identify options for commemoration, ceremony, and further community-based research.

4) **Specific Case Research**: A project in which the Commission, in collaboration with its partner organizations, was to help individual requesters to locate information regarding former students who may have died or gone missing while in the care of an IRS. Where possible, this would include locating burial sites.[17]

These four recommendations formed the basis for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's work on the Missing Children and Unmarked Burials Project, which was an expectation of significant additional work, beyond the Commission's original mandate. Early projections indicated that the budget for this additional work and implementing the working group's recommendations would be in excess of $1.5 million. Because research of the scope proposed by the working group was not anticipated in the original TRC budget, in 2009 the Commission requested that Indian Affairs cover the cost of this further work.[18] The request was denied in December 2009. The federal government's denial of this request has placed significant limits on the Commission's ability to fully implement the working group's proposals, despite our sincere belief in their importance.[19]

Document review and statistical analysis

As a first step in the review and analysis of deaths, the Commission established a National Residential School Student Death Register. The register is made of up three sub-registers:

1) the Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students ("Named Register")
2) the Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Residential School Students ("Unnamed Register")
3) the Register of Deaths that Require Further Investigation

The Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students

Student deaths have been recorded in this register on the basis of the following criteria.

- The student was
  - a registered residential school student,
  - a student who was registered at a day school but was living in a student residence, or
  - an orphaned or destitute child living in a residential school.

- The student either
  - died during the school term, or
  - died within one year of discharge from school. (This would include students who died in a hospital or sanatorium within a year of being transferred from a residential school to the hospital or sanatorium.)
- For the purposes of this study, a residential school was defined as an institution recognized in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, plus any residential school for Aboriginal students that was not included in the Settlement Agreement for the apparent reason that the school had ceased operation either in the nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The decision to include those students who died within a year of discharge rests on a common residential school practice of discharging students who were suffering from terminal illness to their homes or to institutions such as hospitals and sanatoria.

The Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Residential School Students

- The student was
  - a registered residential school student,
  - a student who was registered at a day school but was living in a student residence, or
  - an orphaned or destitute child living in a residential school.
- The student either
  - died during the school term, or
  - died within one year of discharge from school. (This would include students who died in a hospital or sanatorium within a year of being transferred from a residential school to the hospital or sanatorium.)

One of the common sources for the information about deaths included in this category is the reports made by principals who noted the number of students who had died in the previous year but who did not identify them by name.[20] It is recognized that the possibility exists that some of the deaths recorded in the Named Register might also be included in the Unnamed Register. The Commission has been cross-referencing entries in both registers to identify and eliminate such duplications wherever possible, and to identify the names of students who had originally been placed in the Unnamed Register.

The Register of Deaths that Require Further Investigation

Reports of deaths that the Commission has determined require further investigation to determine if they meet the criteria for inclusion in either of the other two sub-registers.

In creating the National Residential School Student Death Register, the Commission:

- conducted a review of documents held by the government and church signatories to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement that were provided to the TRC;
- included questions in the statement-gathering process that sought information from former students about deaths, including causes, runaways, and burials;
- worked with provincial agencies, such as the offices of chief coroners and medical examiners, offices of the registrars general of vital statistics, and provincial archives across the country, to identify records that may relate to deaths at residential schools; and
- conducted a review of provincial archaeological site inventories. (These are databases of reported archaeological sites. They included maps and aerial photos of the vicinity of the former schools.)

As one measure of true commitment to reconciliation, and out of respect for the thousands of children who died and their families, the Commission believes that work on this historic National Residential School Student Death Register must continue after the transfer of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission records to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.

Limitations to the register

There are significant limitations in both the quality and quantity of the data the Commission has been able to compile on residential school deaths. There are problems with the level of detail in the data. As noted above, in many cases, school principals simply reported on the number of children who had died in a school, with few or no supporting details. There are also some reports that give a total of the number of students who had died since a specific school opened, but with no indication of the year in which each student died.[21] Such reports usually did not give detailed information on the cause of death.

Changes over the years in the way the government reported the information it received from the schools have also placed limits on data collection. Prior to 1915, Indian Affairs' annual reports reproduced a detailed report from each principal that often contained information on the health conditions and the number of students who had died in the previous year. But, after 1915, Indian Affairs stopped publishing

principals' reports. Subsequent reports did not provide information on student deaths in any regularized format.

It was not until 1935 that Indian Affairs adopted a formal policy on how deaths at the schools were to be reported and investigated.[22] Under this policy, the principal was to inform the Indian agent of the death of a student. The agent was to then convene and chair a three-person board of inquiry. The two other members of the board were to be the principal and the physician who attended the student. The board was to complete a form provided by Indian Affairs that requested information on the cause of death and the treatment provided to the child. Parents were to be notified of the inquiry and given the right to attend or have a representative attend the inquiry to make a statement. However, an inquiry was not to be delayed for more than seventy-two hours to accommodate parents, an extreme limitation, considering the relative isolation of many of the residential schools and the limited communications of the day.[23] The department was not prepared to pay parents' transportation costs to attend the inquiry.[24] The policy was not always adhered to, and, in some cases, the Indian agent simply filled out the form, based on information provided to him by the principal.[25]

It is also doubtful that schools reported on the deaths of seriously ill children who had been sent home. This was a common practice for at least the first several decades that the schools were in operation. For example, in 1907, Dr. Peter Bryce, the chief medical officer for Indian Affairs, proposed that tubercular students be treated in small tent hospitals rather than "being sent home to die."[26]

Due to the limitations in the records, it is probable that there are many student deaths that have not been recorded in the register because the record of the death has not yet been located. There are a number of instances where the only mention of a specific student death is in a church document, but there is no recorded indication of it in any Indian Affairs document that the Commission could locate.[27] There also exists the possibility that the death may not have been reported at all. 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.[28] Many residential schools housed significant numbers of Métis students during their history. In some cases, the federal government provided funding for these students; in other cases, it did not.[29] It is not clear if the schools reported on the deaths of unfunded Métis students at the schools.

As well, many records have simply been destroyed. According to a 1933 federal government policy, school returns could be destroyed after five years and reports of accidents could be destroyed after ten years. This led to the destruction of fifteen tons of paper. Between 1936 and 1944, 200,000 Indian Affairs files were destroyed.[30]

Health records were also regularly destroyed. For example, in 1957, Indian and Northern Health Services was instructed to destroy, after a period of two years, "correspondence re routine arrangements re medical and dental treatments of Indians

and Eskimos, such as transportation, escort services, admission to hospital, advice on treatment, requests for treatment, etc." Reports of doctors, dentists, and nurses were similarly assigned a two-year limited retention period.[31]

The Commission's work has also been hampered by limited and late access to relevant documents from the government and churches, due to problems with document production. The federal government first provided access to substantial numbers of documents in the fall of 2011. These came to the Commission through an Aboriginal Affairs departmental online database that contained documents that had been compiled from Library and Archives Canada and collected from the churches. The database was originally established by Canada in the preparation of the government's position in response to civil lawsuits launched by former residential school students. It was also used for settling alternate dispute-resolution claims brought by former school students. Although it contained many relevant documents, this database had not been designed to collect documents related to deaths in the schools. The digitization of these documents was often of poor quality: in some cases, documents were illegible. Additions were made to this database throughout 2012 until it contained almost one million documents. Additional documents were sent directly to the Commission as other departments began to search their records. However, relevant documents held by Library and Archives Canada were still withheld. In January 2013, the Ontario Superior Court determined that the federal government, although not obliged to turn over its originals, was required to compile all relevant documents in an organized manner for review by the Commission rather than simply providing access to Library and Archives Canada for Commission researchers.[32] Since that date, there has been considerable improvement in the production of documents to the Commission. Nonetheless, the delay in clarifying Canada's obligation means that the production of documents to the TRC is still continuing. It has not been possible to review all recently produced documents and to make the required adjustments to the National Residential School Student Death Register by the time of this report.

Operational policies and custodial care

As part of the Commission's work, it reviewed operational and custodial care policies and practices at Canada's residential schools. It is clear that the government and the churches failed to establish the necessary regulations to ensure that an acceptable level of care, based on the standards of the day, was provided to students. This failure occurred in the areas of health, nutrition, building conditions (including sanitation), discipline, truancy, student labour, abuse, and child welfare. Those regulations that were introduced were often poorly communicated and poorly enforced. Such failures contributed to unnecessarily high death rates among the students, and to poor

nutrition that would have contributed to poor physical and mental health conditions that affected many students for the rest of their lives.

Cemeteries and unmarked burials

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada undertook ongoing work to locate and identify cemeteries and gravesites in which residential school students might be buried. Archival documents and oral testimony were used to identify potential locations of gravesites. In consultation with Aboriginal communities, the Commission visited some of these sites to ascertain current condition and location, and to record any disturbance or neglect. Visits were made to cemeteries and twenty unmarked gravesites in the Northwest Territories, British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, Nova Scotia, and Ontario. In addition, the Commission documented the location and condition of school sites and cemeteries on maps, using satellite imagery. The area surrounding a visited school was systematically examined, using the available maps and satellite imagery. For the most part, the cemeteries that the Commission documented are abandoned, disused, and vulnerable to accidental disturbance. Although there have been creative and heartening community commemoration measures undertaken in some locations, there is an overall need for a national strategy for the documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries. On the basis of the work undertaken to date, it is apparent that there are likely to be other unidentified residential gravesites across the country. A national program, carried out in close consultation with the concerned Aboriginal communities, is required to complete the task of identifying the many unmarked residential school cemeteries and gravesites across Canada.

Specific case inquiries

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada received inquiries from individuals seeking information about what had happened to family members who had been sent to residential school. To the degree that it was able, the Commission responded to a number of these requests.

At a 2012 intergovernmental conference, the Chief Coroners and Medical Examiners of Canada adopted a unanimous resolution to support the Missing Children Project, and agreed to assist the Commission where possible in identifying deaths at residential schools in their provincial records. To date, Alberta, British Columbia, New Brunswick, Newfoundland and Labrador, Northwest Territories, Nova

Scotia, Manitoba, and Prince Edward Island have responded. This process has provided both information about previously unknown deaths and more details about known deaths.

CHAPTER 1

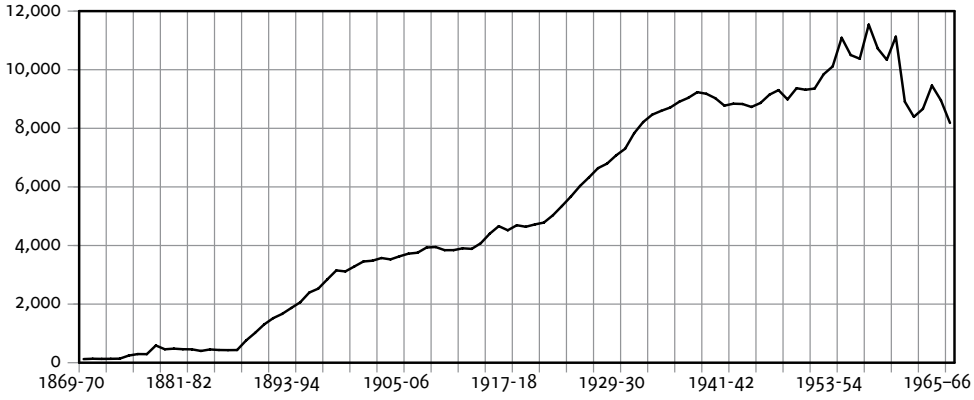
Statistical analysis

As noted above, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has created a Register of Confirmed Deaths of Named Residential School Students (the "Named Register") and a Register of Confirmed Deaths of Unnamed Students (the "Unnamed Register"). The first register contains reports on the deaths of students whose names the Commission has been able to identify. The second contains reports on the deaths of students whose names the Commission has not been able to identify. As recommended by the Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials, the TRC carried out a statistical analysis of the information in both these registers.[1] The analysis is based on information entered into the registers as of November 18, 2014. As previously indicated, it is probable that not all residential school deaths have been recorded in either register.

Annual enrolment

Student deaths must be placed in the context of student enrolment. Graph 1 shows total enrolment figures for Canada's residential schools and residences from the school year 1869–70 through to the school year 1965–66. It is based on information in the annual reports of the Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs departments and branches. After 1966, Indian Affairs stopped providing annual reports on the number of students living in residence. As can be seen from this graph, enrolment rose steadily from the mid-1880s, peaking in 1956–57.

Graph 1
Annual residential school enrolment: 1869–70 to 1965–66



Source: Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs annual reports. After the 1965–66 school year, Indian Affairs stopped reporting on annual residential school enrolment.

Total deaths

As of November 2014, the Commission had identified 2,040 students in its Named Register for the period from 1867 to 2000. When combined with the figures in the Unnamed Register, the total is 3,201 deaths. The majority of deaths took place prior to 1940. In the pre-1940 era, there were 1,150 deaths for which no name was provided. In the post-1940 period, there are forty-four death reports that do not provide the student's name.

Table 1. Total deaths identified in TRC Named and Unnamed registers.

Period	Named	Named and Unnamed Combined
1867–1939	1,328	2,434
1940–2000	647	691
1867–2000	1,975	3,125
Year of death unknown	65	76
Total	2,040	3,201

Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths," 3.

Gender

In many cases, neither the gender nor the name of a deceased student was recorded. There were 747 deaths for which gender was not reported. Table 2 presents information on the death reports for which the gender of the student was reported. As shown, female students represented a slightly larger percentage of student deaths in both the Named and Combined categories.

Table 2. Residential school deaths by gender, 1867–2000.

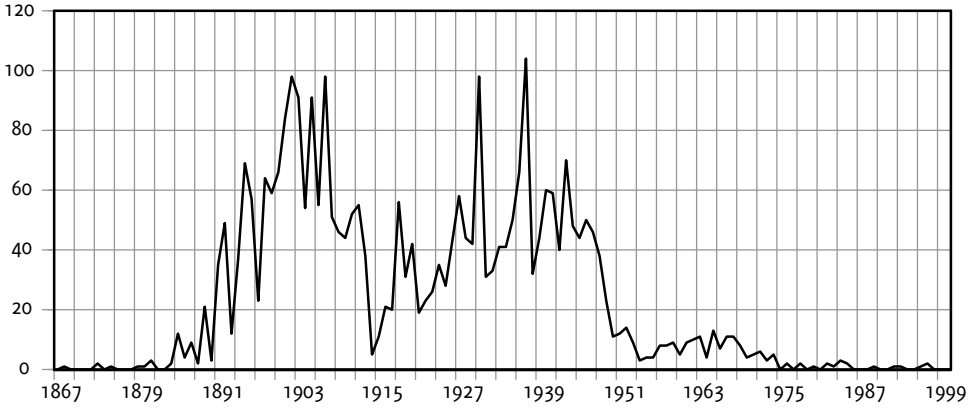
Period	Female		Male	
	Named	Named and Unnamed Combined	Named	Named and Unnamed Combined
1867–1939	731	872	595	728
1940–2000	330	331	316	321
1867–2000	1,061	1,203	911	1,049
Year of death unknown	25	26	40	41
Total	1,086	1,229	951	1090

Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths," 3.

Deaths per year

The number of student deaths per year (Named and Unnamed combined) rose during the early years of the residential system's operation. It declined in the second decade of the twentieth century, only to rise again. The number of deaths per year remained high until 1948. Graph 2 illustrates this pattern.

Graph 2
Annual residential school deaths (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1867–2000

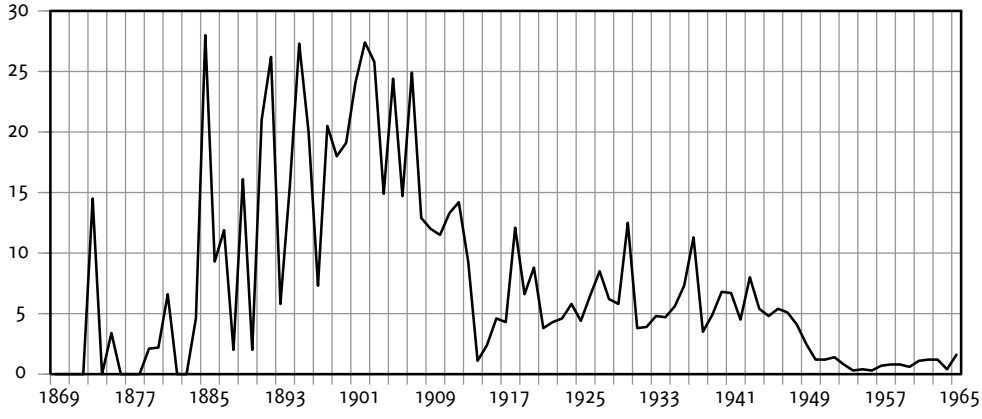


Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Death rates

The death rate over the years per 1,000 students, shown in Graph 3, follows a similar pattern to the number of deaths. Because enrolment was increasing in the early twentieth century, the increase in the death rate in the 1920s was not as steep as the increase in the total number of deaths for the same period. There were more students; there were more deaths; but there were not as many deaths per student population. Because Indian Affairs ceased reporting annual residential school enrolment in 1965, it has not been possible to calculate death rates beyond that date.

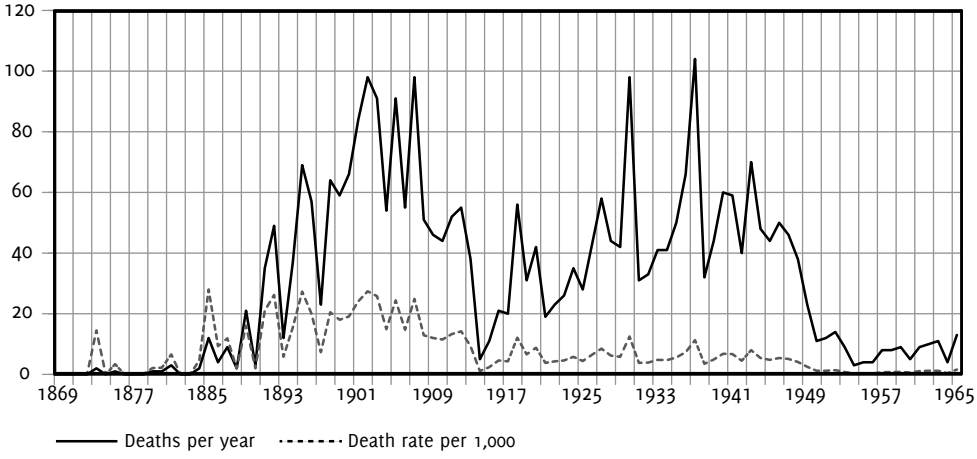
Graph 3
Residential school death rates (Named and Unnamed registers combined) per 1,000 students, 1869–1965



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Graph 4 presents both the number of reported deaths per year and the death rate per 1,000 students per year.

Graph 4
Residential school annual deaths and death rates (Named and Unnamed registers combined) per 1,000 students, 1869–1965



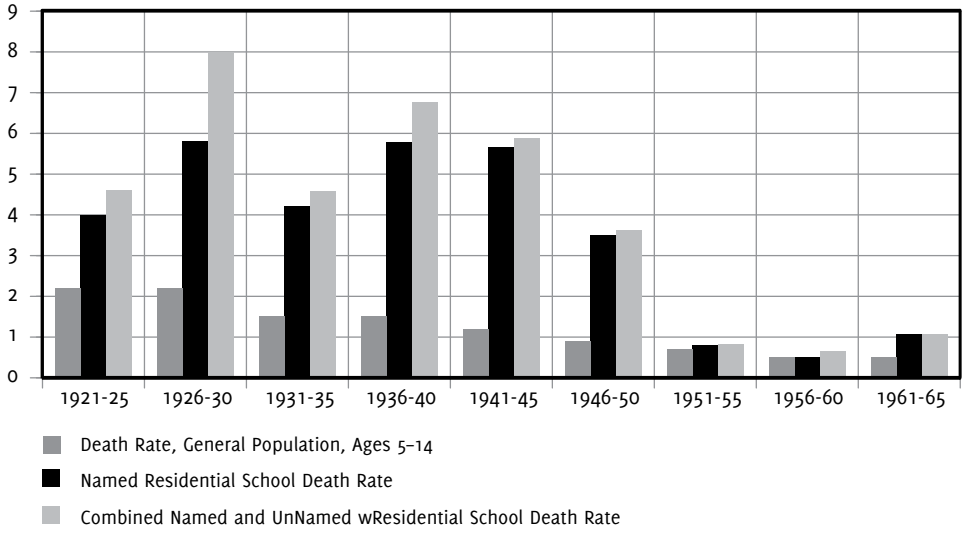
Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Comparative data

There are relatively little comparative data on death rates for school-aged Canadian children. From 1921 onwards, Statistics Canada does, however, provide an average five-year death rate for members of the general population, aged five to fourteen. Graph 5 compares the five-year average death rates per 1,000 for Canadian, school-aged, public school children with the deaths of residential school children (Named, and Named and Unnamed combined). As can be seen, until the 1950s, Aboriginal children in residential schools died at a far higher rate than school-aged children in the general population. It is only in the 1950s that the residential school death rates decline to a level comparable with that of the general school-aged population. As late as the period from 1941 to 1945, the Named and Unnamed combined death rate for children at residential schools is 4.90 times higher than the general death rate for Canadian schoolchildren. In the 1960s, even though the residential school death rates were much lower than their historic highs, they were still double those of the general school-aged population.

Graph 5

General population death rates per 1,000 population, aged five to fourteen, and residential school death rates per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), five-year averages, 1921 to 1965



Source: Fraser, "Vital Statistics and Health, Table B23-34," Average age-specific death rates, both sexes, Canada, for five-year periods, 1921 to 1974; Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Provincial and territorial results

There are no reliable, annual, province-by-province or territory-by-territory enrolment figures. As a result, it is not possible to determine or compare overall provincial death rates. Table 3 presents the total number of deaths, using contemporary political boundaries for both the Named Register and the combined registers.

Table 3. Residential school deaths per province and territory, 1867–2000.

Province	Named Register	Named and Unnamed Registers Combined
Alberta	557	821
British Columbia	352	580
Manitoba	164	338
Northwest Territories	190	252
Nova Scotia	15	15
Nunavut	12	15
Ontario	264	426
Québec	17	38
Saskatchewan	375	566
Yukon	29	74
Total	1975	3125

Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths," 14.

Due to changes in Indian Affairs' reporting practices, it was not possible to calculate annual provincial enrolments.

Location of death

For 1,391 of the 3,201 deaths (43.5%) on the Named and Unnamed registers combined for the period from 1867 to 2000, there is no known location of death. Table 4 reports on the location of the 1,810 deaths for which there is a known location of death.

Table 4. Location of residential school deaths, 1867–2000.

Location	Named Register	Named and Unnamed Registers Combined
School	423	832
Hospital	400	427
Sanatorium	43	43
Home	300	418
Other Non-School	75	90
Total	1241	1,810

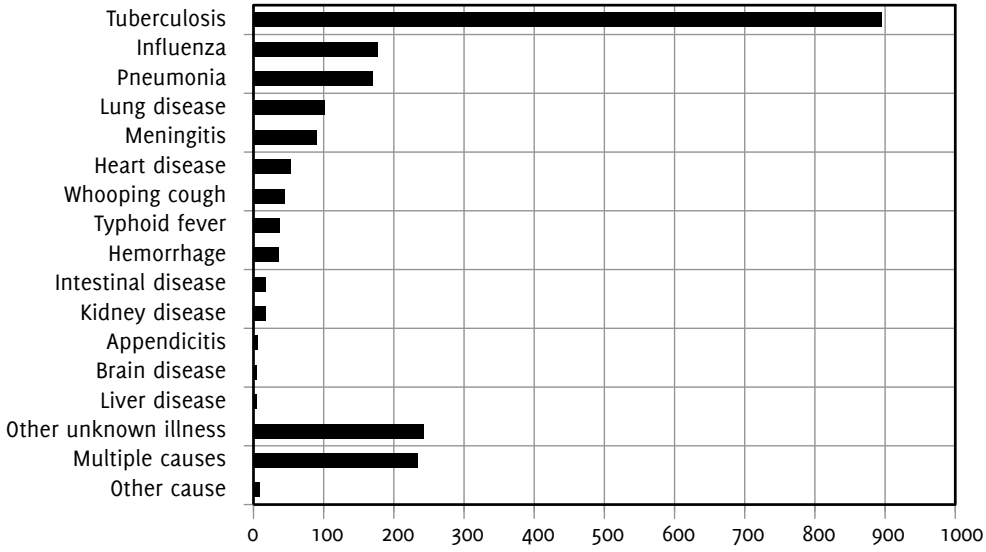
Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

In 32 of the 832 Named cases reported in the Named and Unnamed Registers Combined column in Table 4, the location of a death at school was identified as occurring in the school infirmary. Depending on the period in which the student death occurred, a "hospital" death could refer to a death in a church-run mission hospital, an Indian Affairs hospital, or a hospital operated for the general public. In the same fashion, depending on the period and the geographic location of the schools, students might have been sent to either Indian Affairs-operated sanatoria or sanatoria operated for the general public.

Cause of death

For approximately half the deaths that the TRC has identified, there is no known cause of death. In the case of the Named Register, the cause of death is unknown for 1,040 deaths (51% of the deaths). For the combined Named and Unnamed registers, the cause of death is unknown for 1,364 deaths (42.6% of the deaths). Graph 6 reports on the main causes of death due to illness.

Graph 6
Causes of residential school deaths by illness (contributing and sole causes combined; Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1867–2000

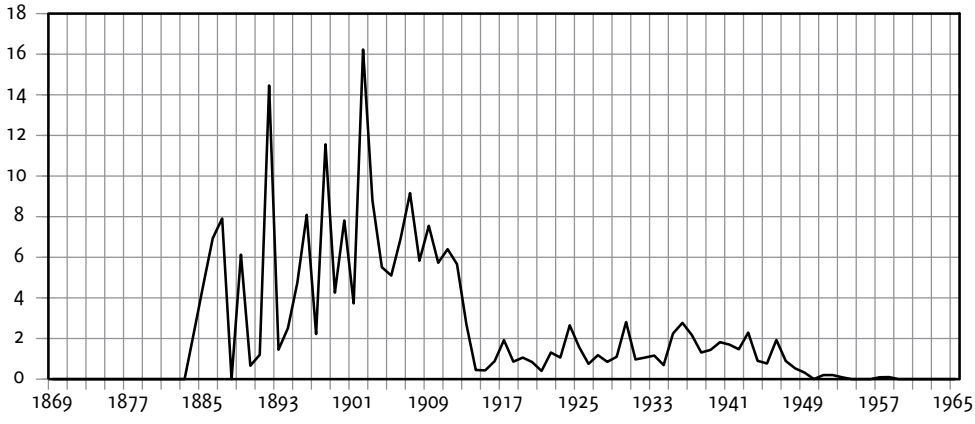


Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Many diagnoses of the cause of death may not have been accurate. The determination of cause of death would often have been made by individuals without medical training. Many of the illnesses that were reported were not well understood in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, which would further contribute to the possibility of misdiagnosis. Inaccuracy in the reporting of the cause of death remains a problem in the medical system to this day.[2] It is possible, for example, possible that some of the cases of tuberculosis were misdiagnosed as being lung disease. It may also be the case that the meningitis diagnoses were tubercular in origin. Hemorrhage is not an illness but the result of an illness or injury. Severe hemorrhaging was not uncommon in cases of tuberculosis.[3] These illnesses are also linked in other ways: tuberculosis, for example, can lead to pneumonia.

Tuberculosis was the dominant reported cause of death. It was identified as a contributing cause of death in 896 instances. In 737 of those instances, it was the sole cause of death. It was the reported cause of death in 48.7% of the cases for which there is a reported cause of death. As Graph 7 demonstrates, the tuberculosis death rate remained significant until the late 1940s. Its final decline coincides with the availability of effective drug treatment for tuberculosis.

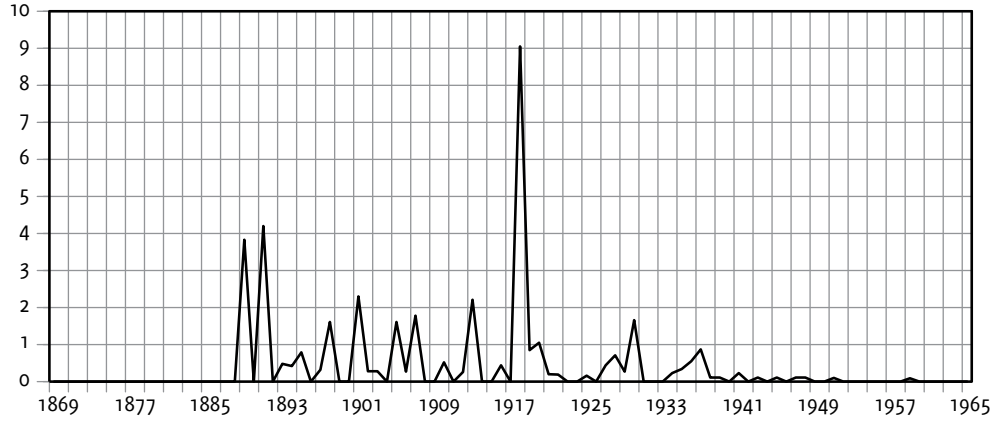
Graph 7
Residential school tuberculosis death rate per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1869–1965



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

The other two major causes of death were influenza and pneumonia. As Graph 8 demonstrates, the influenza pandemic of 1918 caused a spike in the residential school influenza death rate.

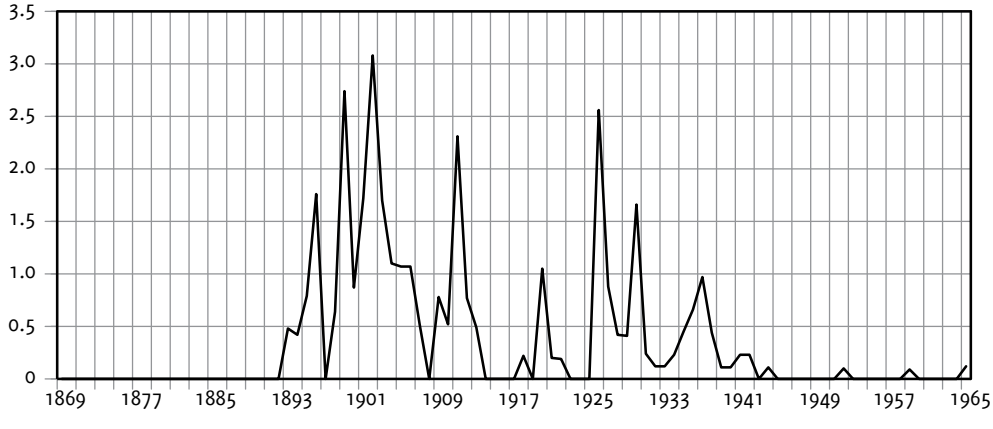
Graph 8
Residential school influenza death rate per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1869–1965



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

The pneumonia death rate, as illustrated in Graph 9, appears to have had a number of spikes before undergoing a significant decline in the 1940s.

Graph 9
Residential school pneumonia death rate per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1869–1965

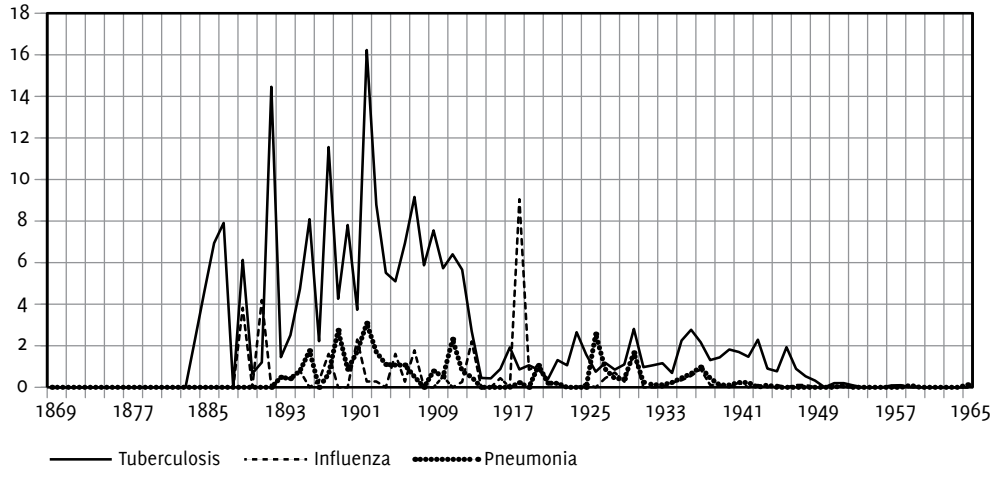


Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Graph 10 presents the tuberculosis, influenza, and pneumonia death rates (Named and Unnamed registers combined). It shows that the tuberculosis death rate was dramatically higher than the influenza and pneumonia death rates until the second decade of the twentieth century. It also shows that the influenza death rate surpassed the tuberculosis and pneumonia rates in 1918. In the years that followed, tuberculosis remained the main cause of death, but in the late 1920s and early 1930s, the pneumonia rates were also high. All death rates appear to have dropped dramatically at the end of the 1940s.

Graph 10

Residential school tuberculosis, influenza, and pneumonia death rates per 1,000 students (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1869–1965



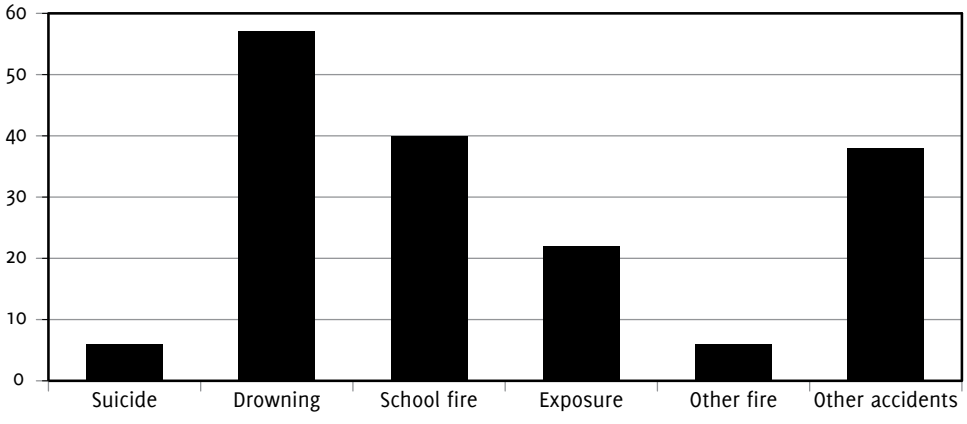
Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Suicide and accidental death

Students also died as the result of suicide and accidents. The statistical analysis identified six suicides (all from the Named Register). It also identified fifty-seven drownings (fifty-one from the Named Register), forty deaths in school fires (all on the Named Register), and twenty deaths due to exposure (nineteen of them on the Named Register). Thirty-eight students (thirty-five of them on the Named Register) died in a variety of other accidents, including vehicle accidents and falls. At least thirty-three students died while running away: they would have died from a variety of causes, the most common being exposure and drowning.[4] Graph 11 reports on the numbers of suicides and deaths due to accidents.

Graph 11

Causes of residential school deaths by suicide and accidental deaths (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1867–2000



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths."

Despite the partial nature of the data, a number of significant facts emerge from the statistical analysis of the Named and Unnamed registers combined.

- The Commission has identified 3,200 deaths on the Named and Unnamed registers of confirmed deaths of residential school students.
- For just under one-third of these deaths (32%), the government and the schools did not record the name of the student who died.
- For just under one-quarter of these deaths (23%), the government and the schools did not record the gender of the student who died.
- For just under one-half of these deaths (49%), the government and the schools did not record the cause of death.

- Aboriginal children in residential schools died at a far higher rate than school-aged children in the general population.

There is a need for information sharing with the families of those who died at the schools. As the historical record indicates, families were not adequately informed of the health condition of their children. There is a need for the federal government to ensure that appropriate measures are undertaken to inform families of the fate of their children and to ensure that the children are commemorated in a way that is acceptable to their families. (The numbers for the Calls to Action are the ones used in *Honouring the Truth, Reconciling for the Future: Summary of the Final Report of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada*.)

Call to Action:

71) We call upon all chief coroners and provincial vital statistics agencies that have not provided to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada their records on the deaths of Aboriginal children in the care of residential school authorities to make these documents available to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation.

Throughout the history of Canada's residential school system, there was no organized effort to record the number of students who died in residence each year across the entire system. The National Residential School Student Death Register established by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada represents the first national effort to record the names of the students who died at school. The register is far from complete: there are many relevant documents that have yet to be reviewed. The completion and maintenance of this register will require ongoing financial support.

Call to Action:

72) We call upon the federal government to allocate sufficient resources to the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation to allow it to develop and maintain the National Residential School Student Death Register established by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada.

Discussion of the death rates

The five highest annual national residential school death rates that the TRC statistical analysis identified were 28 per 1,000 in 1885, 27.4 per 1,000 in 1902, 26.2 per 1,000 in 1892, 25.8 per 1,000 in 1903, and 24.9 per 1,000 in 1907. If these rates were expressed

as percentages, they would be 2.80%, 2.74%, 2.62%, 2.58%, and 2.49%, respectively. These, the Commission recognizes, are considerably lower than have been reported elsewhere.[5] This is due to a number of factors, the most significant being the overall limitations in the data, which lead to undercounting. As more documents are reviewed, it is likely that the death rates based on the data in the National Residential School Student Death Register will increase. They are not, however, likely to increase to the point where they match the death rates of between 42% and 47% that are reported in some publications.[6]

Before making comment on this issue, it is important to note that the numbers and percentages of students and former residential school students reported to have died in the schools were scandalously high. None of this discussion is intended to minimize that fact that a health crisis existed in the general Aboriginal population and in residential schools, and that the federal government and the schools failed to adequately address the crisis. This discussion is intended to clarify the statistical record.

A significant portion of the disparity arises from the ways in which the term *death rate* has been used in some sources. A "death rate" (often called a "mortality rate") deals with a defined population over a defined period of time. There can be annual death rates, monthly death rates, and so forth. Rates are usually reported as so many deaths per 1,000 for a specific period.[7] Unfortunately, the term *death rate* has also been applied to reports of the percentage of students who had died since a school (or group of schools) had opened. The matter is further confused by the fact that these reports do not always distinguish between the deaths of students and the deaths of former students.

For example, in 1891, the Qu'Appelle school reported that since opening in 1884, it had discharged 174 students, 71 of whom had died (40.8%).[8] A 1901 study of the industrial schools concluded that of the 2,752 students who had been enrolled since 1883 (a period of eighteen years), 506 (18.4%) had died, while another 139 were reported to be in poor health.[9] The percentages that emerge from these reports are evidence of the existence of high death rates, but they are not, in themselves, death rates. They record information on different populations (in one case, discharged students; in the other, both current and discharged students) and different periods of time (in one case, seven years; in the other, eighteen years). For these reasons, these percentages cannot be directly compared with other death rates—particularly those that arise in other contexts such as the Nazi work camps of the 1930s and 1940s.

Dr. Peter Bryce's 1907 report on boarding schools in western Canada is an often-cited document in any discussion of residential school death rates. Bryce reported that "of 1,537 pupils returned from 15 schools which have been in operation on an average of fourteen years, 7 per cent are sick or in poor health, and 24 per cent are reported dead."[10] Here again, the 24% figure is not a death rate but a proportion of the total enrolment who had died over an eighteen-year period. The annual average

death rates for these schools for this period can be calculated by dividing the number of deaths by the sum of the enrolments for each year. According to the Indian Affairs annual reports, the total of each year's enrolment for all these schools was 7,245. Bryce never gave a precise figure for the number of deaths. However, 24% of 1,537 is 368.9. Based on these figures, the annual average death rate for the schools was 50.9 per 1,000 (or 5.1%.)[11] This figure, like most calculations based on the school data, should be treated cautiously. The enrolment figures, for example, may not be accurate. Nor can one have certainty that all relevant deaths were reported to Bryce. Finally, it is not clear from Bryce's report if the 24% figure included only those who died while students or if it included those who died after leaving the school.

Other than the passage quoted above, Bryce made only one other statement in his report in relation to the 24%, writing that "of a total 1,537 pupils reported on nearly 25 per cent are dead." Bryce returned to the topic in his 1922 booklet *The Story of a National Crime*, in which he wrote that, according to his 1907 report, "24 per cent. of all the pupils, which had been in the schools were known to be dead, while of one school on the File Hill reserve, which gave a complete return to date, 75 per cent. were dead at the end of the 16 years since the school opened."[12] In all three instances, he simply states that the students were dead and does not state whether they died in school or after discharge.

In a table titled "Present Condition of All Pupils," Bryce reported that 1,132 students were alive (950 in good health and 182 sick.) One possible interpretation of this table is that although 24% of the students who had been enrolled in all the schools over the eighteen-year period being reported on were dead, 76% were alive.[13] (The "Present Condition of All Pupils" table could not be reporting solely on the number of students enrolled in the school in 1907, since total enrolment in those schools, according to the Indian Affairs annual report for 1907, was only 536.)[14] It might well be the case that the entirety of the 24% of the enrolment who died did so while they were students. That, however, would mean that none of the students died after they were discharged, since 75.8% of the 1,494 individuals reported on under the heading "Present Condition of All Pupils" were alive in 1907.

The soundest interpretation of the 24% is that it represents what Bryce, on three separate occasions, stated it represents: the percentage of the total enrolment of students who had died between the opening of the schools and spring 1907. That they all died in school is unlikely, but the number of those who died in the school and the number after discharge cannot be determined from Bryce's report. Bryce's report is evidence of a high death rate, but it is not an annual death rate (or any other sort of death rate). Neither does the report provide sufficient information to determine annual death rates in the schools or to make predictions as to how many of the students then enrolled would die in the coming years.

Table 5. Deceased pupils and former pupils, Old Sun's and Peigan Anglican schools, from opening of school to 1909.

School	Total number of students enrolled in schools from opening to 1909	Number of deaths (both while enrolled and after discharge)	% of total enrolment dead by 1909
Old Sun's	135	64	47.4
Peigan Reserve	134	66	49.2

Source: LAC, RG10, volume 3966, file 150,000-14, Status of Pupils Present and Discharged – Old Sun's Boarding School, 13 May 1909; Status of Pupils Present and Discharged – Church of England Boarding School, Peigan Reserve, 31 March 1909; Indian Affairs annual reports, School report tables, 1891–1909.

Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott's often-cited statement —"It is quite within the mark to say that fifty per cent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein"—has sometimes been used as evidence of a 50% death rate. The full quote, from an article that Scott wrote on the history of Indian Affairs, reads as follows.

> It cannot be gainsaid that in the early days of school administration in the territories, while the problem was still a new one, the system was open to criticism. Insufficient care was exercised in the admission of children to the schools. The well-known predisposition of Indians to tuberculosis resulted in a very large percentage of deaths among the pupils. They were housed in buildings not carefully designed for school purposes, and these buildings became infected and dangerous to the inmates. It is quite within the mark to say that fifty per cent of the children who passed through these schools did not live to benefit from the education which they had received therein.[15]

While Scott's statement is open to interpretation, it is consistent with reports of very high percentages of students and former students dying either in school or after graduating.

Number of individuals who died while in school	% of total enrolment who died while in school	Sum of annual enrolment from opening to 1909	Annual average death rate per 1,000 students
27	20.0	580	46.6
23	17.16	554	41.5

Principals' reports from two Anglican schools in southern Alberta are worth examining in detail for the light they shed on the issue of death rates. The Old Sun's school was founded in 1890 and the Anglican Peigan Reserve boarding school was founded in 1892. These schools have been reported as having death rates of 47% from their founding in the early 1890s to 1909.[16] As Table 5 shows, after nineteen years of operation, 47.4% of the students who had enrolled in Old Sun's were dead, and 49.2% of those enrolled in the Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve were dead. The percentage of those who died while in school, however, was 20.00% at Old Sun's and at least 17.16% at the Peigan school. (The category of "Died while in school" also includes those who were sent home and died prior to the end of August of the school year of their final enrolment.) The average annual death rate for the Old's Sun's school during this period, was 46.6 per 1,000 students (or 4.66%), while average annual death rate for the Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve was 41.5 per 1,000 students (or 4.15%).

The principal's report from the Old Sun's school is sufficiently detailed to allow for the calculation of annual death rates using the annual enrolment reported in the Indian Affairs annual report. Those rates are reported (both as deaths per 1,000 students and as percentages) in Table 6.[17]

Table 6. Annual death rates at the Old Sun's school, 1891–1909.

Year	Deaths	Enrolment	Annual death rate per 1,000 students	Annual death rate as a percentage
1891		33	0	0
1892	0	21	0	0
1893	1	28	35.7	3.6
1894	1	33	30.3	3.0
1895	4	43	93	9.3
1896	3	40	75	7.5
1897	1	31	32.26	3.2
1898	0	11	0	0
1899	1	12	83.3	8.3
1900	3	12	250	25
1901	1	16	62.5	6.2
1902	4	44	90.9	9.1
1903	1	42	23.84	2.4
1904	3	43	69.8	7
1905	0	39	0	0
1906	1	37	27	2.7
1907	0	32	0	0
1908	2	33	60.6	6.1
1909	1	30	33.3	3.3

Source: LAC, RG10, volume 3966, file 150,000-14, Status of Pupils Present and Discharged – Old Sun's Boarding School, 13 May 1909; Indian Affairs annual reports, 1891 to 1910; Indian Affairs annual reports, School school report tables, 1891–1909.

An annual death rate of 4.66 or 4.25% may sound low when compared with the rates of 42% or 47% that have been reported elsewhere. The reality is that these rates were extraordinarily high: in 1901, the death rate for all Canadians between five and fourteen years of age was 4.3 per 1,000, or .43%.[18] In other words, the Old Sun's average annual death rate of 4.66% was 10.8 times higher than the national death rate for school-aged children. Over a nineteen-year period, an annual average death rate of 4.66% resulted in deaths while in school of 20% of the total enrolment.

The work of identifying the number of students who died in residential schools has only commenced. It has already demonstrated that annual school death rates were significantly higher than those for the general Canadian school-aged population. That these rates may not be as high as has been reported elsewhere should not detract from the fact that the federal government failed to take appropriate action to address a national health-care crisis in the residential schools and in the Aboriginal community in general. That failure is the topic of the next section of this report.

CHAPTER 2

Operational policies and custodial care

The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials recommended that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada prepare a report on residential school "Operational Policies and Custodial Care." The working group's Research Recommendations stated:

- This study will seek to understand the regulatory regime in which the schools operated with respect to the care of children including the provision of health services, policies on discipline, runaways, deaths and burials, as well as commentary on Departmental administration of regulations and church compliance with these regulations.

- This study will also examine the degree to which school administrators, church and departmental officials and the government in general were aware of the phenomenon of school deaths, disease and missing children.

Canada's residential schools and residences for Aboriginal children operated for approximately 130 years. For most of that period, they were funded by Indian Affairs and operated under contract by a number of leading religious denominations. After 1969, the schools and residences in southern Canada were split into separate institutions, with the federal government taking more responsibility for the operation of both institutions. During this period, a number of First Nations authorities also assumed responsibility for the operation of some residences and schools. For certain periods of time, the schools in the Northwest Territories were funded by the Northern Affairs department rather than Indian Affairs. After 1969, the governments of the Northwest Territories and the Yukon were responsible for the operation of the residences and schools in their respective jurisdictions. Given both the time period involved and the number of different governments and government agencies involved, the regulatory regime that governed such issues as health, discipline, and runaways was subject to variation.

It should also be noted that the issues under examination—health policy, education policy, and child welfare—were, in the Canadian context, largely provincial

responsibilities. For much of the history of the residential school system, provincial policies and regulations relating to these areas were not applied to residential schools. The federal government did not have its own general policies on institutional health care, education, or child welfare. As a result, it was left to Indian Affairs (or, in the North, Northern Affairs and, later, the territorial governments) to develop such policies as were needed. For most of the history of the residential school system, it is fair to say that formal regulation was minimal, reactive, and ineffective. It is also the case that the system failed to meet the minimum expectations of the day for the provision of custodial care. It must also be said that despite certain problems with reporting, senior government and church officials were well aware of the schools' ongoing failure to provide adequate levels of custodial care.

Part 1: Regulatory tools

The government had a number of tools available with which to regulate residential schools. These included legislation, regulation, Orders-in-Council, contracts, letters of instructions, federal codes and guidelines, circulars, and policy directives.

Legislation, regulation, and Orders-in-Council all had the power of law. From 1911 onwards, contracts, based on a template developed in 1910, were signed by the government with church-based organizations for the operation of individual schools. Initially, the contracts applied only to church-run boarding schools, but in the 1920s, they came to be applied to all residential schools in Canada. They did not, however, apply to the system of hostels and day schools that was established in the Northwest Territories and the Yukon in the 1950s. Circulars and policy directives would be issued by Indian Affairs to school principals and Indian agents on a system-wide basis. Letters of instruction were generally issued to specific principals or Indian agents.

Legislation and regulation

The Canadian government never developed anything approaching the education acts and regulations by which provincial governments administered public schools. The key piece of legislation used in regulating the residential school system was the *Indian Act*. First adopted in 1876, this was a multi-purpose piece of legislation that both defined and strictly limited First Nations life in Canada. The Act contained no education-related provisions until 1884. The education provisions were, in general, four to five pages long and dealt mainly with issues related to attendance and truancy.

1884 *Indian Act* amendments

In 1884, the *Indian Act* was amended to give First Nations band councils the right to frame rules and regulations for "the attendance at school of children between the ages of six and fifteen years."[1] This was the first reference to school attendance in the *Indian Act*. The 1884 Act made no mention of, or provision for, residential schools.

1894 *Indian Act* amendments

In 1894, the *Indian Act* was amended to authorize the government to make regulations "to secure the compulsory attendance of children at school." These regulations could be applied to "the Indians of any province or of any named band." The amendments also gave the government authority to establish "an industrial school or a boarding school for Indians" and to commit to these schools "children of Indian blood under the age of sixteen years." Once committed, they could be kept there until they reached the age of eighteen.[2]

1894 *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children*

Under the authority of the 1894 *Indian Act* amendments, the government adopted its first school-related regulations. According to the *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children,* "All Indian children between the ages of seven and sixteen shall attend a day school on the reserve on which they reside for the full term during which the school is open each year." Exemptions were allowed if the child was being instructed elsewhere, if the child was sick or otherwise unable to attend school, if there was no school within two miles (3.2 kilometres) for children under ten years old or within three miles (4.8 kilometres) for children over ten, if the child had been excused from attending school to assist in farm or domestic work at home, or if the child had already passed a high school entrance examination.

Indian agents were authorized to appoint truant officers, who would have "police powers." The truant officers were to investigate cases of non-attendance, and could lay complaints against non-compliant parents with justices of the peace or Indian agents. Refusal to comply with the order of a truant officer was punishable by a fine of up to $2, ten days in jail, or both.[3]

If an Indian agent or justice of the peace thought that any "Indian child between six and sixteen years of age is 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," he could issue an order to place the child "in an industrial or boarding school, in which there may be a vacancy for such child." In

Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, such an order could be issued without the need to give any notice to the "parent, guardian or other person having charge or control of such child." In the rest of the country, prior notice was required and, if the parents requested, an inquiry could be held prior to the child's committal. Under these orders, a child could be committed to residential school until the age of eighteen. This was the first government provision authorizing it to compel attendance at residential schools: it was limited only to those students who had been placed in the schools for what would now be described as "child-welfare reasons." It did not apply to students who had been voluntarily placed in the schools by their parents.

If a child placed in school under these regulations left a residential school without permission, or failed to return at a promised time, school officials could obtain a warrant from an Indian agent or a justice of the peace authorizing them (or a police officer, truant officer, or employee of the school or Indian Affairs) to "search for and take such child back to the school in which it had been previously placed." With a warrant, one could enter—by force, if need be—any house, building, or place named in the warrant and remove the child. Even without a warrant, Indian Affairs employees and constables had the authority to arrest a student in the act of escaping from a residential school and return the child to the school.

The regulations specifically identified twenty-three industrial residential schools and eighteen boarding schools. (The decision to list the specific schools created enforcement problems in later years as some schools closed, and new ones were not specifically listed in the regulations.)[4]

1895 regulation amendments

In 1895, the regulations were amended to make them more restrictive. Where they had previously authorized the search for, and return of, any student who had been placed in the school (that is, children who, Indian Affairs had concluded, were not "being properly cared for or educated"), they now allowed for the return to the school of *all* truant students, including those whose parents had voluntarily placed them in the school.[5] Indian agents were instructed to use the authority of these new regulations to ensure that the schools were full. Orphans were to be recruited to fill vacancies and truants were to be returned to the schools.[6] Parents were to be told that if they did not voluntarily enrol their children, they would be compelled to do so.[7] First Nations leaders who opposed residential schooling could find themselves removed from office by the federal government.[8]

1908 *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children*

A new set of regulations was adopted in 1908. The 1908 *Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children* stated, "All Indian children between the ages of six and fifteen shall attend a day school on the reserve on which they reside." Truant officers were no longer granted "police powers" (it had been determined that the *Indian Act* did not provide the authority to grant such powers). Rather than listing the schools, the regulations stated that all boarding schools and industrial schools receiving per capita grants for the education of "Indian children" were designated as industrial and boarding schools for the purposes of the regulation. The rest of the provisions remained essentially unchanged.[9]

1920 *Indian Act* amendment

The education provisions of the *Indian Act* were completely rewritten in 1920. The amendments gave the federal government the authority to compel any First Nations student to attend either a day school or a residential school until the child turned fifteen. It authorized the appointment of truant officers. These officers were granted the powers of a "peace officer," and could

> enter any place where he has reason to believe there are Indian children between the ages of seven and fifteen years, and when requested by the Indian agent, a school teacher or the chief of a band shall examine into any case of truancy, shall warn the truants, their parents or guardians or the person with whom any Indian child resides, of the consequences of truancy.

Parents, guardians, or persons with whom a child was residing were subject to arrest, prosecution, fines, and jail if they did not return truant children to school. They could be tried by a justice of the peace or an Indian agent. Truant children could be arrested without warrant and returned to school.[10]

Since the education provisions in the 1920 *Indian Act* amendments were much more detailed, no regulations were adopted under it and previous regulations were no longer in force.[11]

1930 *Indian Act* amendment

In 1930, the *Indian Act* was amended to increase the discharge age from fifteen to sixteen. The minister of Indian Affairs was allowed to order that a child be kept in school until he or she turned eighteen if it was thought "it would be detrimental to any particular Indian child to have it discharged from school on attaining the full age of sixteen years."[12]

1933 *Indian Act* amendment

The *Indian Act* was amended in 1933 to appoint all Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) officers as truant officers.[13] This appears to have been a formalization of a 1927 order that had appointed all RCMP officers as truant officers.[14]

1951 *Indian Act*

The 1951 *Indian Act*, the first major revision to the Act in decades, contained ten sections dealing with education. One section opened the door to shifting the responsibility for First Nations education to provincial governments; four sections dealt with attendance, truancy, and expulsion; three sections affirmed the rights of the Roman Catholic and Protestant churches (making no mention of Aboriginal spirituality); one section outlined the minister's authority; and the final section was simply a set of definitions. Residential schools remained one of the classes of schools that First Nations children could be compelled to attend.[15] One new provision stated that a student who was suspended or expelled from school or who did not attend school regularly "shall be deemed to be a juvenile delinquent within the meaning of the *Juvenile Delinquents Act, 1929*."[16]

1953 *Regulations With Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools*

A new set of regulations relating to residential schools was adopted after the 1951 revision of the *Indian Act*. The four-page document covered a broader range of topics than the previous regulations. It stipulated that residential schools would follow "the curriculum of the province or territory within the boundaries of which an Indian school is situated" and use the textbooks prescribed for that curriculum. By requiring that "every pupil in a residential school shall receive classroom instruction for the number of hours weekly as required by the curriculum," it did away with the half-day system by which students had spent half a day in class and half a day at what was supposed to be vocational training, but was often closer to unpaid manual labour and chores associated with running the school facility. It did not, however, place any limits on the time that students might still be required to spend at chores outside the school day. Students were not to be enrolled, discharged, or suspended without the approval of Indian Affairs. The only condition under which students could be removed from the school without Indian Affairs' approval was when the school principal was acting on medical advice. Regulation 10.4 required, "The principal shall take prompt action

to effect the return to school of any truant pupil, and shall report promptly to the Superintendent, Indian Agency, every case of truancy."

Grants were to be provided to pay for the initial journey to a school and the return journey upon discharge. Other grants for transportation required prior approval from Indian Affairs.

Item 13 of the regulations required the principal of every school to maintain standards acceptable to Indian Affairs in relation to:

(a) the adequacy in numbers and qualifications of the school staff;
(b) the number of pupils served by the school;
(c) diet and all phases of food preparation and service;
(d) clothing and bedding;
(e) dormitory accommodation;
(f) heating and ventilation;
(g) cleanliness, sanitation, water supply and laundry services;
(h) lighting;
(i) interior decoration;
(j) safety precautions;
(k) classroom instruction;
(l) recreational activities;
(m) counselling and guidance;
(n) home and school relationships;
(o) the maintenance of records;
(p) the accounting for funds, stock and equipment.

The standards were not defined. The principal was also responsible for:

(a) the maintenance and operation of the school buildings, grounds and equipment;
(b) the assignment of duties to the staff and the supervision of the performance thereof;
(c) the preparation and dissemination of rules relating to the functioning of the school;
(d) the provision and supervision of measures to ensure the health, safety, welfare and educational progress of the pupils;
(e) the submission of reports and returns required by the Superintendent;
(f) (the prompt submission of reports to the Regional Director of Family Allowances concerning the admission and discharge of pupils to and from the school;
(g) the prompt and accurate entry of receipts and expenditures in the Cash Receipt and Expenditure Book; and
(h) the practice of fire drill not less than once a month.

The position of the principal in relation to the students was also defined. He or she was to "assume the responsibilities of parent or guardian with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge."

The principal was obliged to give Indian Affairs notice of intent to absent himself from his duties. All the staff members were responsible to the principal. Pupils were required to "conform to the rules for the conduct and behaviour of pupils while on or near the school premises or on any premises where any activity of the school is taking place."[17]

Overall inadequacy of regulatory regime

It was recognized by those who worked within the system that the level of regulation was inadequate. In 1897, Indian Affairs education official Martin Benson wrote, "No regulations have been adopted or issued by the Department applicable to all its schools, as had been done by the Provincial Governments."[18] The situation did not improve over time. The education section of the 1951 *Indian Act* and the residential school regulations adopted in 1953 were each only four pages in length.[19] For comparison, the Manitoba *Public Schools Act* of 1954 was ninety-one pages in length.[20] In addition to the Act, the Manitoba government had adopted nineteen education-related regulations.[21]

It is also apparent that many senior officials within the residential school system had little knowledge of the existing rules and regulations. The general secretary of the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada, which operated the Anglican residential schools in Canada, asked Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott in 1920, "Is corporal punishment for disciplinary purposes recognized, or permitted in the Indian Boarding schools?" He noted that whether or not it was permitted, he imagined that it was applied in every boarding school in the country.[22] In 1922, an Indian agent in Hagersville, Ontario, wrote to headquarters, inquiring if there had been any changes in the regulations regarding education since the adoption of a set of education regulations in 1908. His question suggests he was completely unaware of major changes to the *Indian Act* regarding education that had supplanted previous regulations in 1920.[23]

In 1926, J. K. Irwin, the newly appointed principal of the Gordon's Reserve school in Saskatchewan, discovered upon taking office that he could not find any "laid down regulations as to the duties and powers of a Principal of an Indian Boarding School." He wrote to the Indian Affairs department, asking for a copy of such regulations, since he wanted to know "exactly what I am to do and what powers I have."[24] Departmental secretary J. D. McLean informed him that "there are no printed regulations concerning the duties and powers of the principal of an Indian residential school." Irwin was

told that he was "responsible to the Church and the Department for every phase of the activity" at the school. If he had any specific questions, he should refer them to Indian Affairs.[25] In 1928, when the principal of an Alberta boarding school requested a copy of the regulations concerning the education of Indian children, she was informed by the department's senior education officer that "the only printed matter in this connection is the *Indian Act,* Section 9 to 11A inclusive."[26]

Orders-in-Council and contracts

The initial Canadian residential schools were church initiatives, with the federal government's providing small per capita grants. These schools were generally referred to as "boarding schools." Until the beginning of the 1890s, the boarding schools were funded at a rate of between $50 and $60 per student.[27] Boarding school rates increased slightly in 1892, and ranged from $50 to $72 per capita.[28] There is no record to suggest that the government placed any significant regulatory requirements on these schools.

Starting in 1883, the federal government began establishing a second type of residential school. These larger institutions were known as "industrial schools" and were intended as part of a broader policy of Canada's colonization of northwestern North America. Their construction and operation were approved by Parliament, and, although each principal was a church appointee, the government covered all costs associated with the operation of these schools. The federal government also provided the principals (or the local bishop) with directions as to how the school was to be operated.

The 1892 Order-in-Council

In 1892, the federal government issued an Order-in-Council governing the funding operation of its industrial schools. The order converted the Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and High River schools to a per capita funding model. The conversion was in effect a significant reduction: the funding per student declined from $134.67 to $115.00 (Qu'Appelle), $175.45 to $140.00 (Battleford), and $185.55 to $130.00 (High River). Under the Order-in-Council, which applied to all industrial schools but not to the boarding schools, repair was to be a shared responsibility: the government was to supply the material; the churches, the labour. The government was to supply the books, maps, and globes. From the annual per capita grant, the churches were to pay for maintenance, salaries, and expenses. The government would also authorize the school's pupilage (the number of students for whom the government was prepared to pay a grant).

The churches were obliged to follow "the rules of the Indian Department as laid down from time to time and to keep the schools at a certain standard of instruction, dietary and domestic comfort, and that the Inspectors and Officers of the Indian Department may at any time inspect and report upon the Institutions." No child was to be admitted to the school without the department's approval. The system was put into effect in July 1893.[29]

This Order-in-Council is the first clear statement of government authority to regulate school conditions. It does not set out the standards: it simply asserts the government's right to set and enforce standards. The government did not develop or enforce the standards referred to in the Order-in-Council.

The 1910 contract

During the first decade of the twentieth century, there was a concerted campaign organized by the leaders of Protestant missionary organizations in eastern Canada to dramatically reduce the number of residential schools. They were motivated by both the growing cost of the schools to the missionary organizations and the ongoing reports of poor health conditions in the schools. The campaign failed for a variety of reasons, including opposition from Catholic officials and Protestant missionaries in western Canada.[30] It did lead to the negotiation of a boarding school funding agreement between the government and the churches in November 1910. The contract provided both significant increases in the per capita grant and incentives to improve the quality of the boarding schools.[31]

At that time, per capita rates for boarding schools had not increased since 1891: they were $60 for schools in eastern Canada and $72 for schools in the West and North. The new agreement divided the country into Eastern, Western, and Northern divisions. There was a single per capita rate for the Northern Division schools of $125. In the Eastern Division, the rates could vary between $80 and $100, and in the West, they could vary between $100 and $125. On a percentage basis, the increases were substantial, ranging between 33% and 74%. Although they represented an increase, the new boarding school per capita rates were still below the per capita rates granted to industrial schools under the 1892 Order-in-Council. The average per capita grant under this system was $115.

The schools themselves were to be divided into three classes: A, B, and C. Class A schools were church-owned schools in good condition and would receive the maximum grant for their division. They had to have substantial buildings in a good state of repair, with a full basement, a stone or cement foundation, a plentiful supply of pure water throughout the building, a proper system of sanitation, hospital accommodation for students with infectious diseases or tuberculosis, modern ventilation, adequate

space in both dormitories and classrooms for the number of students enrolled, modern heating, and a sufficient land base for farming and gardening. Class B schools were government-owned schools. They would have to meet the same requirements as Class A schools, but would receive only the minimum per capita grant for their division. Class C schools were church-owned schools that, while "sanitary and kept in a good state of repair," did not meet all the requirements of a Class A school. These schools, which were required to have hospital accommodation, modern ventilation, adequate classroom and dormitory space, and an agricultural land base, would receive the minimum per capita grant. Schools that upgraded from Class C to A would receive an increase in funding. These were the first government-imposed standards for any residential schools.

The contract called for 500 cubic feet (14.1 cubic metres) of space per child in each dormitory. On a per-pupil basis, each classroom was to have 16 square feet (1.5 square metres) of floor space and 250 square feet (23.2 square metres) of air space. Under the provisions of the contract, the churches agreed to "support, maintain, and educate" a specific number of students. They were not to admit any child under the age of seven and needed Indian Affairs' permission to keep a child who was over the age of eighteen. No child was to be admitted without the approval of Indian Affairs and a doctor's examination ("where practicable"). "Half-breed" children could not be admitted unless a sufficient number of "Indian children" could not be obtained.

Students were to be given sufficient clothing, food, lodging, and accommodation for their "comfort and safety." With certain exceptions, the churches were to provide tools and equipment. Students and their clothes were to be kept clean and vermin-free, and the schools were to be free from flies, insects, and vermin.

Classes were to be held five days a week and "industrial exercises" six days a week. There could be no more than one month of vacation, which was to be taken between July 1 and October 1 each year. During that month, children were allowed to visit their homes, but Indian Affairs would "not pay any part of the transportation either going or returning." The schools were instructed to observe the King's Birthday, Victoria Day, Dominion Day, and Thanksgiving Day. The churches were to provide reports as required and allow Indian Affairs' representatives to conduct "thorough and complete" inspections of the schools. Indian Affairs could also order the churches to make needed changes or alterations to the schools.

The contract placed only three obligations on Indian Affairs: to make quarterly payments based on the school's enrolment; to provide medicine, schoolbooks, stationery, and school "appliances"; and, in the case of government-owned buildings, to maintain them in good repair and provide for sanitation and "sanitary appliances." If the government believed a church was not adhering to the provisions of the contract, it could be cancelled with six months' notice.[32]

The 1910 contract went into effect on April 11, 1911, and was intended to run for five years.[33] In the first few years after the contract was signed, the federal government spent $150,000 a year upgrading many of the Class C schools. However, this spending ended with the commencement of the First World War in 1914.[34] When the contract lapsed in 1916, it was not renegotiated.[35] Both the government and churches continued to operate as if the contract was still in effect, however, and, when new schools opened, it was used as the template for a new operating agreement between the church organization and the government. Although per capita rates would increase (and decrease) in coming years, the system established by the contract negotiated in 1910 remained in place until the late 1950s.

Letters of instruction

When the federal government established industrial schools at Battleford in 1883 and at Qu'Appelle and High River in 1884, it did not issue a set of uniform instructions to all three principals. Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney supplied Thomas Clarke with the directions for the operation of the Battleford industrial school in 1883.[36] The following year, Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet sent out directions to the principals of the newly opened Qu'Appelle and High River schools. Both sets of directions were brief and full of generalities.[37] In 1889, Vankoughnet sent Paul Durieu, the Bishop of New Westminster, an eight-page "digest of the views of the Department in respect to the manner in which" a number of new Oblate-run industrial schools in British Columbia were to be operated.[38] This document provided more detailed guidance than had been issued at the opening of the Battleford, Qu'Appelle, and High River schools, in that it touched—still in a general manner—on matters such as food, clothing, sanitation, and accommodation.[39] Policy was developed on a school-by-school basis, with no overarching set of guidelines. Newly appointed principals often were unaware of instructions that had been sent to their predecessors. It was not until 1894 that the department established a Schools Branch, which employed three people.[40]

Health-related admission policies

Student health depended on the presence of policies that ensured that children with infectious diseases were not admitted to school.[41] It was not until 1896 that Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget distributed health certification forms to all principals in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories. He informed them:

> It is felt that the standard of health required for admission to Boarding and Industrial schools should be raised and that a sufficient number of healthy re-

> cruits to keep your authorized enrolment to the maximum can be secured, thus reducing to a minimum the probability of being called upon to discharge a pupil on the grounds of health before his, or her, training is complete.

Principals were to send him a copy of the completed form when a student was admitted.[42]

By 1909, the school application form for all residential schools instructed physicians who were inspecting potential students not to admit any "child suffering from scrofula [a term used to describe some forms of tuberculosis] or any form of tubercular disease."[43] This is the first nationwide health form that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada located in its review of files. (The previously mentioned form that Forget distributed was limited to Manitoba and the Northwest Territories.) The 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches governing the operation of the schools required that students not be admitted to schools "until, where practicable, a physician, to be named by the Superintendent General, has reported that the child is in good health, and suitable as in inmate of said school."[44]

The certificate of health form in use by 1920 asked for the student's age, height, weight, and defects (if any) of the limbs, eyesight, and hearing. The physician was also to state if there were any signs of scrofula or "other forms of tubercular disease," describe any evidence of cutaneous (skin) disease, state whether the child was subject to fits, state whether the child had had smallpox, and report on whether the child had been vaccinated. The physician was also to provide a judgment on whether the child was "generally of sound and healthy constitution and fitted to enter an Indian school." The certificate specifically instructed physicians: "No child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease is to be admitted to school; if in any special case it is thought that this rule should be relaxed, a report should be made to the Department setting forth the facts."[45]

In 1933, the form that physicians were to fill out after examining students was amended. It no longer included the instruction "No child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease is to be admitted to school." This provision had been in the form since 1909.[46] Instead, it asked, "Has this child active tuberculosis in your opinion?" If the answer was yes, the doctor was to describe the infection. The presence or absence of trachoma and other communicable eye diseases, and syphilis, were also to be reported. The doctor was to describe any condition that would make the child unsuitable for residential school or of which the principal should have a warning.[47]

Federal codes and guidelines

Building and fire codes

For much of their history, Canadian residential schools operated beyond the reach of fire regulations. Constitutionally, provincial governments had responsibility for establishing and enforcing building codes, but, prior to the 1970s, they delegated this responsibility to municipalities. The result was a multiplicity of codes—or, in some cases, a complete lack of regulation. Many residential schools were located in remote rural and northern locations that lacked municipal government, building codes, or fire inspectors. In 1941, the National Research Council (NRC) published a National Building Code. It was not until 1963 that the NRC developed a companion National Fire Code. Neither of these codes had legal standing. Instead, they were meant to be used by municipalities as a model for their building codes. It was only through a slow and uneven process that municipalities adopted these codes. In 1973, eight provinces took the responsibility for building codes away from the municipalities, issuing province-wide regulations based on the national building codes.[48]

The Canada Food Rules

Indian Affairs never established a national dietary or nutritional standard for the residential schools that it operated. As noted, the 1892 Order-in-Council obliged the industrial schools to follow "the rules of the Indian Department as laid down from time to time and to keep the schools at a certain standard of instruction, dietary and domestic comfort." The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was not able to locate any such Indian Affairs rules relating to food. Neither did it locate any reference to such rules. The 1910 contract required that boarding school students be given sufficient food for their "comfort and safety." The Truth and Reconciliation Commission has not located any document that sets out the Indian Affairs definition of what constituted a sufficient diet. The Nutrition Division of the Department of Pensions and National Health published *Canada's Official Food Rules* in 1942.[49] These were never more than guidelines, but they became the first national benchmark for the assessment of diets at Canada's residential schools.

School inspection

The government had little ability to determine if the various policies and regulations described above were being implemented. In 1885, the federal government had entered into agreements with the provincial governments of Ontario, Québec, and the

Maritimes to have provincial government inspectors inspect Indian Affairs residential and day schools in those provinces.[50] Schools often went years without inspection.[51] It was not until 1922 that the federal government arranged to have all the residential and day schools in Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta inspected by provincial school inspectors.[52] As provincial government employees, they had no authority to order improvements.[53] Their inspections generally were limited to teaching- and classroom-related matters. Until 1946, when J. W. McKinnon was appointed as territorial school inspector, none of the schools in the Northwest Territories were subject to regular, professional inspection.[54]

The federal government was well aware that the schools were not well regulated. When it negotiated a new funding formula with the churches in the 1950s, the federal government insisted on the inclusion of provisions giving it "a very substantial degree of control" over the operation of the schools. Such control was needed, the federal government argued, because "the standards in many of the church-operated schools had been scandalously low."[55] Despite this, the federal control over the schools remained limited. When discussing the prospect of taking the schools from the churches in the 1960s, Indian Affairs Assistant Deputy Minister R. F. Battle noted, "At the present time, some principals feel under no obligation to support government policy."[56]

The preceding sections constitute a brief summary of the Indian Affairs policies in relation to custodial care. Not only was the system underregulated, but there was also little ability to enforce the existing regulations. These failures had significant impacts on student health. The failure to establish and enforce a proper dietary standard meant that students were undernourished for most of the system's history. This undernourishment increased their vulnerability to infectious disease. The failure to enforce the regulation prohibiting the admission of infectious students contributed to healthy students' being exposed to disease. Overcrowding increased infection rates within the schools. The failure to establish and enforce adequate regulation of disciplinary measures left students open to physical abuse. Such abuse undermined students' health in a variety of ways, particularly by increasing stress levels. It also drove many students to take the potentially dangerous and sometimes deadly decision to run away from school. It was not until the 1970s that nationwide instructions were given as to steps that principals were to take when students ran away. The failure to have such a policy in place prior to that date contributed to a number of student deaths.

Part 2: Administration and compliance

The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials recommended that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission assess the "Departmental administration of regulations and church compliance with these regulations." The following

sections address the administration in relation to those areas that directly and indirectly affected student health.

Nutrition

By the late nineteenth century, health officials were well aware of the close link between diet and health. A key element in most tuberculosis treatment, other than rest and fresh air, was the provision of nutritious meals—including large servings of milk.[57] Despite this, it was not until 1958 that residential school funding was increased to a level thought by the Nutrition Division to allow for the provision of meals that would be "fully adequate nutritionally."[58] Neither were there any enforced standards. Instead, as with other aspects of the operation of the schools, there was a series of vague and partial instructions and recommendations.[59] For example, the 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches for the operation of the boarding schools obliged the schools to provide students with "subsistence … necessary to their personal comfort and safety."[60] In 1942, the federal government set out a national dietary guideline for all Canadians, *Canada's Official Food Rules*. These guidelines were updated in 1944, 1949, and 1961.[61]

Lack of appropriate funding and standards meant that, for decades, the schools provided students with inadequate diets. From the 1890s onwards, there were reports from both school and Indian Affairs staff on the inadequacy of school diets.[62] Reports of this nature continued into the 1930s.[63] The staples were often hard to obtain at the schools, a fact that was well known in Ottawa. Milk, in particular, was often in short supply. Although milk was not part of a traditional Aboriginal diet, North American medical experts in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries viewed it as an essential part of a child's diet and a key component of the diet of anyone with, or at risk of developing, tuberculosis.[64] Residential school dairy herds were often inadequate in size and in poor health. As a result, milk for residential school students was limited—and possibly tubercular.[65]

Even when the dairy herds were producing satisfactorily, the students did not always get the full benefit of the milk the school was producing. The cream was often separated from the milk. The skimmed milk was then served to the students, and the butter and cream were sold to the public to increase school revenue. In 1922, British Columbia Indian Affairs official R. Cairns wrote, "If I had my way I would banish every separator from these Industrial and Boarding Schools. The pupils need the butter fat so much."[66]

The memoirs of former students have stressed the poor quality and limited quantity of residential school food.[67] Students at the Mohawk Institute in southern Ontario came to refer to their school as the "Mush Hole" because of the porridge that was a

breakfast staple.[68] The theft of food and the disciplining of students for stealing food were commonplace.[69] In at least one case, hungry students got in trouble with the law for stealing from local stores.[70] Runaways often said they had been motivated to leave by the poor quality of the food they received at the schools.[71] Parents often took up their children's complaints, at times refusing to send their children to schools if they believed the food was insufficient.[72]

Despite the many negative reports, the government was never prepared to provide the detailed direction needed to improve the diet—in large measure because officials were aware of the fact that few improvements could be made without a corresponding improvement in funding. When faced with reports of poor diet at a Saskatchewan school, Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott simply instructed the Anglican Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada that "the children be provided with good, substantial and well cooked food."[73] In preparation for the 1930 opening of the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school, Dr. E. L. Stone, the director of medical services for Indian Affairs, advised the principal "to feed your pupils better than you would think necessary. The healthiest schools are those in which the feeding is best." He recommended plenty of whole milk, protein, and brown bread.[74] It was all good advice, but it was only advice and never converted into directives. This combination of vague instruction and inconsistent application characterized the government's policy towards student diet throughout this period.

The root problem was Ottawa's underfunding of the system, an underfunding that was at least initially based on a belief that children would be able to grow enough food to make the schools largely self-supporting. For some schools, economic self-sufficiency could be achieved only by cutting the students' diet, or by selling food or food products that might otherwise have gone to them. Principals also drew attention to the link between low grants and poor diet.[75]

Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney's 1883 instruction to Battleford school principal Thomas Clarke, that "the strictest economy must be practised in all particulars," certainly had implications for school food policy.[76] Twenty years later, Indian Affairs official Martin Benson wrote that "there is almost too much economy exercised at this school as regards the clothing and diet of the pupils,—this having been rendered necessary by the increased cost of supplies, fuel and labor and the difficulty of recruiting pupils."[77] In the early 1930s, the federal government cut the school per capita grant by 15%. While grants remained low, food prices kept rising. In 1938, after the government's reduction of the per capita grant by 15%, the Anglican Indian and Eskimo Residential School Commission pointed out that from 1935 to 1938, the cost of flour had gone up 43%; rolled oats, 8%; tea, 24%; and sugar, 6%.[78]

Residential school funding was cut again at the start of the Second World War. These cuts had the predictable negative impact on residential school diets. Parents, physicians, nutritionists, Indian Affairs agents, principals, and church officials all

raised concerns over poor diets at schools during the war years.[79] Starting in 1944, the Canadian Red Cross surveyed the diets at a number of residential schools.[80] The studies identified deficiencies of vitamins and minerals in the diets. Kitchens were poorly equipped, staff was poorly trained, and government funding was inadequate.[81]

The churches recognized that school diets were deficient and sought additional government funding. The 1946 report of the Anglican Church's Indian Work Investigation Commission into the condition of residential schools observed that a "physician associated with the Indian Department" had told them that he did not "consider that the diet given to the children is sufficiently varied or balanced. In view of the high incidence of tuberculosis; he recommended that the milk ration be increased." The Anglicans recommended that the ration be increased at once, observing that, in some cases, it needed to be doubled or tripled. The report noted that at one Anglican school, the food was "unsufficient [sic] in quantity and extremely poor in quality."[82] At the hearing of the federal joint committee studying the *Indian Act* in 1947, the Protestant churches made it clear they were not receiving sufficient funds to feed students according to federal standards.[83] Aboriginal organizations appearing before the committee made the same point.[84]

In 1946, the Nutrition Division of the federal Department of National Health and Welfare established a nutritional service for residential schools. As part of the service, nutritionists visited schools, assessed menus, and made recommendations for changes in diet and food preparation.[85] The service's reports from 1946 and 1947 confirmed the conclusions of earlier studies: the diet was limited, the food was poorly prepared, and the funding was inadequate.[86] In addition, the government continued to receive critical reports on residential school diets from Indian Affairs field staff and school staff.[87] After two years of work, the head of the Nutrition Division informed Indian Affairs that there had been no improvement at the residential schools that the division had been visiting, and that little could be expected without an improvement in funding (along with other needed changes).[88]

Into the mid-1950s, schools were still failing to feed students at a level consistent with the Canada Food Rules. A 1956 evaluation of the Norway House, Manitoba, school menu found that the quantities of citrus fruits, vegetables (other than potatoes), and eggs were "considerably lower" than recommended by the Canada Food Rules. The evaluation report stated that the older children were not receiving enough milk.[89] There were similar reports from other schools.[90]

Until 1957, schools were expected to pay for feeding their students with the money from the per capita grant. In that year, the government adopted a new system, under which schools were to be reimbursed for their actual expenditures. However, to control costs, a food allowance was established that operated on a per capita basis.[91] The food allowance came to be based on a Nutrition Division estimate of the amount of money that would be required for diets to be "fully adequate nutritionally." The

Nutrition Division also recommended the rates be adjusted annually in response to changes in costs, shipping, and the availability of wholesale food supplies.[92]

As a result of the new food allowance, there were improvements in the meals being served to students.[93] Although, in many cases, the new allowance represented an increase in funding, principals found it difficult to adhere to the Canada Food Rules and stay within budget.[94] After initial delays, the general food allowance was applied to the hostels in northern Canada.[95] Because the allowance did not fully account for price differences, some facilities found it difficult to feed students adequate meals and stay within budget. There were reports from as late as 1969 of northern residences unable to buy enough food to satisfy student appetites.[96]

Many of the problems that inspectors identified in the 1940s were still being reported in the 1970s. Food budgets were reported as being too low and meals were inadequate.[97] In some residences, there still was little or no menu planning.[98] It was difficult to recruit and keep qualified cooks.[99] Poor cooking methods in some schools decreased the nutrient value of some meals.[100] At some schools, cooks still struggled with poorly designed and poorly maintained kitchens.[101] Despite these limits, in comparison with the reports from the 1940s and 1950s, it is clear that the dietary conditions at the schools had significantly improved by the 1970s.[102]

The failure to establish and enforce dietary standards, coupled with chronic underfunding, meant that the long-term health and physical development of the students were compromised by an inadequate diet. Undernourished children were also far more likely to succumb to infectious illnesses, particularly tuberculosis, which was rampant in the schools for much of their history.

Building conditions

According to an 1897 report, most of the industrial schools that the federal government had established in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories had been poorly sited and poorly built. Indian Affairs official Martin Benson wrote that the buildings had been "hurriedly constructed of poor materials, badly laid out, without due provision for lighting, heating or ventilation." In addition, drainage was poor and water and fuel supplies were inadequate.[103] Conditions were no better in the church-built boarding schools. In 1904, Indian Commissioner David Laird echoed Benson's comments when he wrote that the sites for the boarding schools on the Prairies seemed "to have been selected without proper regard for either water-supply or drainage. I need not mention any school in particular, but I have urged improvement in several cases in regard to fire-protection."[104] Over the next four decades, there was little overall improvement. In 1940, R. A. Hoey, who had served as the Indian Affairs superintendent of Welfare and Training since 1936, wrote a lengthy assessment of the condition

of existing residential schools. He concluded that many schools were "in a somewhat dilapidated condition" and had "become acute fire hazards." He laid responsibility for the "condition of our schools, generally," upon their "faulty construction." This construction, he said, had failed to meet "the minimum standards in the construction of public buildings, particularly institutions for the education of children."[105] Since there were no enforced federal or provincial building or fire codes at the time, it is likely that Hoey meant that the buildings, when they were constructed, did not meet the standards of the regularly accepted building practices of the day. This was the case even though it was not uncommon for the government's chief architect to review the building plans of boarding schools and industrial schools.[106]

Poorly constructed buildings were poorly maintained. Government and church officials regularly made negative reports on building quality. The following are examples.

- In 1907, it was reported that "the dangerous condition of the building" (the Norway House, Manitoba, school) was "a menace to the health of the pupils."[107]
- In 1908, Kuper Island, British Columbia, principal P. Claessen described his school as "insanitary [sic]" and "ruinous."[108]
- In 1908, the boys' dormitory at the Anglican school on the Blood Reserve was described by an inspector as "without exception the worst building I was in on my travels and no time should be lost in replacing it."[109] The building was not replaced for twenty years, until 1927.[110]
- In 1923, the boys' school at Alert Bay, British Columbia, was described as "old, leaky, drafty and rests on timbers which in places have almost completely rotted away."[111]
- In 1930, the Mission, British Columbia, school was described as being in "deplorable" condition. The following year, the Indian agent pointed out that a new school building was desperately needed, and a 1933 inspection observed that the building was in poor repair.[112]
- In 1936, the Anglican school in Wabasca, Alberta, was described as "deplorable," and, by the following year, an inspector said it was "unfit for anybody to live" in.[113]

The story of the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school illustrates the long decline that schools had undergone during the Great Depression of the 1930s. In 1939, it was discovered that the joist and cross beams holding up the floor of the school were sinking. The local Indian agent had concluded that the situation was "urgent and dangerous."[114] Inspectors attributed many of its problems to poor construction. The age of the building and the number of defects led a government architect to conclude that the building did not merit repair.[115] However, instead of building a new school, the government authorized the repair of the school.[116]

There were specific reports of poor water supply or unsanitary sewage conditions at the Morley, Alberta, school in 1892; the Red Deer, Alberta, school in 1896;

the Presbyterian school in Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in 1893; the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school in 1897; the Brandon, Manitoba, school in 1897; the Muncey, Ontario, school in 1901; the Battleford, Saskatchewan, school in 1901; the Regina, Saskatchewan, school in 1908; the Birtle, Manitoba, school in 1915; the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school in 1927 and 1934; the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school in 1931 and 1934; and the Mission, British Columbia, school in 1938.[117] These failings had documented health impacts. A report on conditions in the Kamloops, British Columbia, school in 1927 concluded that poor construction had contributed to "numerous infections, colds, bronchitis, and pneumonia during the past winter."[118] From 1927 to 1940, there were ongoing reports on the inadequacy of the sewage system at the Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario.[119] Two students were hospitalized and twenty-four more became ill from an outbreak of intestinal influenza at the school in 1939.[120]

Furnaces were often inadequate. There were stories of teachers wearing fur coats in class and of cups of coffee freezing in classrooms.[121] The boiler at the Birtle, Manitoba, school was in such poor repair in 1927 that it could not push the temperature above fifty degrees Fahrenheit (ten degrees Celsius) in the winter.[122] At Norway House in northern Manitoba, the furnace was so poor that a church official concluded that it was "impossible to heat the buildings."[123]

After surveying the legacy of inadequate investment in residential school buildings in 1940, R. A. Hoey recommended that the government close twelve schools. But most of them did not close for at least another ten years, and some not for another thirty-five years. In Manitoba, these included the Portage la Prairie school, which was not closed until 1975, and the Pine Creek school, which was closed in 1969. In Saskatchewan, the list of schools Hoey recommended be closed included Round Lake, which closed in 1950, and Thunderchild school in Delmas, which was destroyed by fire in 1948. In Alberta, the list included Wabasca, which was transferred to the Alberta government in 1966; Whitefish Lake, which was closed in 1950; Sturgeon Lake, which was closed in 1961; Sacred Heart in Brocket, which closed in 1961; and St. Cyprian in Brocket, which closed in 1961. In British Columbia, the list included Kitamaat, which closed in 1941; Port Simpson, which closed in 1948; and Squamish, which closed in 1959.[124]

Although Hoey did succeed in closing some schools, there were still fifty-six in operation in southern Canada in 1969 when Indian Affairs took over full management of the system from the churches.[125] There had been some improvements in operational funding for the schools, but Indian Affairs refused to make significant capital investments in a system it intended to close. After 1969, Indian Affairs rapidly began to shut down the schools. But, in the intervening years, residential school students lived and studied for decades in aging and inadequate buildings, usually in crowded conditions.

Government and church officials continued to use the same damning words to describe the schools. In 1947, H. A. Alderwood of the Anglican Indian School Administration described the Chapleau, Ontario, school as "a disgrace" to both the

government and the church.[126] A 1950 inspection found the plaster in the Presbyterian school in Kenora to be in a "deplorable state of repair," the light was judged to be poor, and the sewage system appeared to be leaking.[127] In the fall of 1948, Indian Affairs official R. S. Davis similarly described the Brandon school as being in "a very deplorable state of repair."[128] Indian Affairs inspector L. G. P. Waller pointed out in October 1951 that the heating system at the Desmarais, Alberta, school was "not entirely adequate."[129] He returned to the subject in his December 1952 report, noting that "an improved heating system is imperative for the health of the pupils and the staff." At the same time, he questioned the wisdom of putting a new heating system into the aging building, which might cost up to $100,000.[130]

The buildings in the years after the Second World War were not only physically deteriorating, but they were also overcrowded. This crowding strained the schools' sanitation systems and increased the spread of infectious illness. Overcrowding made the emptying of dormitories more difficult if a fire should break out. It was common for schools to enrol considerably more students than their authorized pupilage. In 1943, fifty-one of seventy-three schools had enrolments that exceeded their authorized pupilage.[131] In 1955, forty-one of sixty-six schools enrolled more students than their pupilage allowed.[132] Some schools were kept overcrowded as a matter of policy. A 1956 handbook for Roman Catholic principals and teachers stressed, "It is of the highest importance that all schools be maintained at or over the authorized number because, even at the present per capita rates, a reduction below the authorized figure means a loss in revenue."[133]

The problem continued through the late 1950s and into the 1960s. In 1958, the enrolment at the Roman Catholic school in Kenora was 157, while the authorized pupilage was 110.[134] Despite instructions to reduce enrolment, in 1959, the principal announced his intention to accept 188 students, leading to a confrontation with Indian Affairs.[135] By 1964, the Roman Catholic school at Cardston was running at double its originally intended capacity. It had been built to accommodate 100 students, but had 200 residential students and 200 day students.[136] In May 1967, at least three schools in British Columbia had taken in more than their allotted number of students. The Sechelt school, with a capacity of 88, had an enrolment of 126; the Fraser Lake school had a capacity of 110 and an enrolment of 181; and the Cariboo school had a rated capacity of 257 and an enrolment of 307.[137]

Poor sanitation remained a threat to student health. An analysis of the Birtle, Manitoba, school's water in 1940 showed a high level of colon bacilli. An order was placed for typhoid serum to treat the staff and students. It was discovered that the school's chlorination plant was not working. Not only was it difficult to get repair specialists out to the school, but also the Indian agent worried that it would be difficult to recruit a school engineer who was familiar enough with the technology to properly maintain it.[138] In 1947, an Indian Affairs official wrote of the Alert Bay, British

Columbia, school, "On the boys' wing only one toilet was found in order, most of the others being in a filthy condition and running over into the dormitories."[139]

The antiquated sewage system at the school at Moose Factory, Ontario, led to a "serious outbreak of typhoid fever among the staff and the pupils" in 1947.[140] The problem remained unresolved. In 1950, it was necessary to hospitalize a number of students who had "developed rashes due to uncleanliness."[141] A federal health department official wrote in 1966 that sewage in Stuart Lake constituted a health hazard for students at the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school.[142] In the same year, raw sewage from the Assumption, Alberta, school was feared to be polluting the Gun River, placing families living downstream at risk.[143] In 1966, a medical health officer gave a notice to close the Roman Catholic school in The Pas, Manitoba, unless a sewage problem was dealt with immediately.[144] In 1968, there was an outbreak of intestinal illness at the McIntosh, Ontario, school because the treatment system was both inadequate and operated only intermittently.[145]

Problems with water supply remained rampant.[146] Shortly after taking over as principal in Wabasca, Alberta, Eric Barrington reported in 1961 that the water at the school had, "to put it mildly, a flavour all its own, the colour is that of medium strong coffee also is very hard and discolours all receptacles it has the misfortune to touch."[147]

The Cariboo Union Board of Health declared the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school a public nuisance in June 1965. The school, which Indian Affairs had judged to have outlived its usefulness almost twenty years earlier in 1946, was dumping 40,000 gallons (151,416 litres) of raw sewage into the San Jose River on a daily basis. The board was threatening to have the school closed in two months if Indian Affairs did not have a promised sewage treatment plant in operation.[148]

A 1958 inspection of the Fort Frances, Ontario, school concluded that the building, which dated back to the nineteenth century, was beyond repair and should be condemned.[149] An inspector concluded in 1960 that the wiring system at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school was "in very bad condition." The lighting intensity was poor throughout the building, and a lack of outlets led to the "use of many extension cords which constitute a fire hazard."[150] The following year, the school principal informed Indian Affairs that the residence was a "hazard and should be closed." In cataloguing the major deficits, he wrote: "dormitories too small, plumbing fixtures absolutely worn out, lighting a fire hazard."[151] The heating system at the McIntosh, Ontario, school was so inadequate that during one fall in the early 1960s, classroom temperatures fluctuated between fifty and eighty-five degrees Fahrenheit (ten to twenty-nine degrees Celsius).[152] In 1965, it was decided that the Roman Catholic school in Cluny, Alberta, was to be closed within five years. As a result, only emergency repairs were to be made to the building after that point.[153] (The school closed in 1968.)[154]

A 1967 brief from the National Association of Principals and Administrators of Indian Residences—which included principals of both Catholic and Protestant

schools—concluded, "In the years that the Churches have been involved in the administration of the schools, there has been a steady deterioration in essential services. Year after year, complaints, demands and requests for improvements have, in the main, fallen upon deaf ears."[155]

When E. A. Côté, the deputy minister responsible for Indian Affairs, met with church and school representatives to discuss the brief, he told them that only emergency repairs would be undertaken at schools that Indian Affairs intended to close.[156] In 1971, G. LeBleu, the administrator of the Catholic residence in Kenora, pointed out to Indian Affairs that no major repairs had been carried out at the residence for the past six years and that, without major alterations, it would no longer be safe for children to live there. The needed improvements in water quality and fire safety would, he wrote, cost over $100,000.[157] The residence was closed the following year.[158] The decision to run these poorly constructed and poorly maintained schools into the ground is further evidence of the government's failure to establish and meet appropriate building, maintenance, and sanitation standards for residential schools.

Poor sanitation placed the students at risk, while poor ventilation served to spread disease. Poor construction and lack of a proper water supply not only contributed to illness, but they also increased the risk of loss of life in a school fire. The failure to build and maintain adequate residential school facilities has to be seen as a significant contributing factor to the health problems, including the high death rates, that plagued the schools.

Health policies

As noted in the statistical analysis, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has identified 3,201 residential school student deaths on the Named and Unnamed death registers. Of these, 2,434 occurred prior to 1940, with 691 in the following sixty years (there were an additional 76 deaths from this period for which the exact date is not known). The residential school student death rate was dramatically higher than the death rate for the school-aged Canadian population for the period from 1926 to 1950. (It is likely dramatically higher in the previous period as well, but there are no comparable census figures.) For any given five-year period between 1926 and 1950, the residential school death rate was at least double the rate for the five- to fourteen-year-old cohort of the general population. For some periods, it was as much as 4.73 times higher. It is also clear from the statistical analysis that the major cause of death was tuberculosis. It accounted for 47% of the deaths for which there is a known cause. Those who survived tuberculosis were left in a weakened condition and susceptible to contracting influenza, measles, diphtheria, and smallpox.

For these reasons, the discussion of custodial care in relation to health care will focus on the Indian Affairs response to tuberculosis in the residential schools.

The background to the tuberculosis crisis in the schools

Tuberculosis is a communicable disease that most frequently attacks the lungs in what is termed "pulmonary tuberculosis." It can also attack the organs, the digestive tract, the lymph nodes in the neck (a condition often referred to as "scrofula"), the bones, the joints, and the skin. A person infected with pulmonary tuberculosis expels tuberculosis bacteria when they sneeze, cough, or spit. The infection spreads when a non-infected person breathes in the bacteria. As a result, infection rates are high in overcrowded and poorly ventilated households. Eating meat or drinking milk from tubercular cattle can also spread the disease.

In most cases, the immune system is able to contain and often kill the bacteria, although the illness can surface later in life. If the immune system is not able to contain the disease, it can spread throughout the body. The symptoms of the disease may not become apparent for years. For this reason, it is common to refer to "active" and "latent" tuberculosis. Not all latent cases become active.

Until the late nineteenth century, there was no clear understanding of the disease's origins or how it spread. It was not until 1882 that German researcher Robert Koch published his research demonstrating the existence of tuberculosis bacteria that spread the disease.[159] In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, tuberculosis was the dominant cause of death in Europe and North America. Poor nutrition, poor housing, and overwork were interlinked; death and death rates were highest among the poor and the institutionalized.[160] Adequate diet, ventilation, and care were identified by the 1880s as essential in the care of tubercular patients.[161] Failures to provide well-constructed, well-ventilated buildings with adequate sanitation systems, coupled with the failure to provide adequate diets, contributed directly to the tuberculosis death rate.

Starting in the late nineteenth century, it became increasingly common to send individuals diagnosed with tuberculosis to specialized institutions referred to as "sanatoria."[162] The regime in these institutions varied, but improved diet, rest, and fresh air were common elements of treatment. This regime would not cure tuberculosis, but in many cases, patients were able to recover to the point where they could leave the sanatorium and return to daily life. Sanatoria provided an additional benefit by isolating people with active tuberculosis from the general population.[163] The first Canadian sanatorium opened in Muskoka, Ontario, in 1897.[164] The federal government declined to play a direct role in treating and preventing tuberculosis, leaving responsibility

to the provinces and voluntary agencies. As a result, services for all Canadians were often inadequate and delivered on a haphazard basis.[165]

A combination of the isolation of tubercular patients in sanatoria, the impact of improved sanitation, and rising living standards led to an increase in general resistance to the bacteria and a decline in the tuberculosis death rate in Europe and North America. This decline started even before scientists had determined that the disease was caused by a communicable bacterium, and it continued into the twentieth century—although the prevalence and rate of decline varied for different groups in society.[166] The first effective tuberculosis antibiotic, streptomycin, was not developed until 1943. Its effectiveness was limited by the tuberculosis bacteria's ability to develop resistance to the drug. However, the introduction of para-aminosalicylic salts (PAS) and isonicotinic hydrazide (INH) (alternately, isoniazid) into the treatment process in the late 1940s created an effective chemical treatment of the disease. Patients who had been diagnosed as being near death began recovering. Although the death rate dropped, the demands on the health-care system increased, since the new drugs were part of a hospital-based treatment.[167] The new drugs also meant that certain surgical treatments could be administered more safely.[168]

The European colonization of North America disrupted Aboriginal economies and communities, dramatically increasing Aboriginal peoples' vulnerability to tuberculosis. This phenomenon was particularly apparent on the Canadian Prairies in the 1880s. The disappearance of the buffalo and the forced settlement of people in cramped housing on reserves with no sanitation systems created a health crisis. On the Qu'Appelle Reserve, the tuberculosis death rates reached 9,000 deaths per 100,000 people in 1886. This is one of the highest tuberculosis death rates ever recorded. It is forty-five times the peak death rates for the cities of Montreal and Toronto (200 deaths per 100,000 people), which were reached in 1880.[169]

The federal government was well aware of this crisis. In some situations, the government deliberately contributed to its existence. For example, it withheld food relief from bands and individuals if people left the reserve without permission, did not engage in agricultural pursuits, or refused to enrol their children in residential schools.[170] In many cases, the attempts of First Nations people to make the transition to agriculture were frustrated because government equipment and supplies were inadequate, late in arriving, and often insufficient. Those who raised grain crops faced starvation because of the lack of milling equipment. Those who abandoned a hunting lifestyle found that they could not afford adequate clothing for farming. As a result, they had to leave their farm work to return to the hunt.[171] Indian agents were regularly instructed to provide relief only "to very poor, aged or sick Indians" and only in extreme cases. Sugar, soap, and tea were not to be provided except in cases of illness. Agents were to exercise the "strictest economy" and ensure that aid was not given to "those not in need or deserving of it."[172]

In 1904, Dr. Peter Bryce was appointed to the newly created position of chief medical officer of the Department of the Interior and Indian Affairs.[173] He was one of the country's leading public-health authorities, having served as the secretary of the Ontario Board of Health, president of the American Public Health Association, and as a member of the Canadian Association for the Prevention of Tuberculosis.[174] Bryce's 1906 annual report outlined the extent of the Aboriginal health crisis. Bryce observed that "the Indian population of Canada has a mortality rate of more than double that of the whole population, and in some provinces more than three times." He identified tuberculosis as the prevalent cause of death, and described a cycle of disease in which infants and children were infected at home and sent to residential schools, where they infected other children. The children infected in the schools were "sent home when too ill to remain at school, or because of being a danger to the other scholars, and have conveyed the disease to houses previously free."[175] The problem had been identified, but, in coming years, little was done to relieve it. In 1930, Dr. E. L. Stone, a subsequent Indian Affairs chief medical officer, referred to the First Nations tuberculosis epidemic as the "most acute public health problem in Canada at the present time." Stone also recognized that the government's response was inadequate. "At the present time it is being found necessary to refuse applications for sanatorium treatment due to lack of funds for maintenance."[176]

Throughout the 1930s, the First Nations death rate from tuberculosis never fell below 600 deaths per 100,000, while the death rate for the overall Canadian population fell from 79.8 per 100,000 in 1930 to 53.6 per 100,000 in 1939.[177] In western Canada, the differences in the health conditions of First Nations people and the rest of the population could be starkly measured by the tuberculosis death rates. In 1934, First Nations people made up 2.2% of the Manitoba population, but accounted for 31% of the tuberculosis deaths. In Saskatchewan, the comparable figures were 1.6% of population and 27% of deaths; in Alberta, they were 2.1% and 34%, respectively; and in British Columbia, they were 3.7% and 35%, respectively.[178] In 1930, Stone had proposed that the government undertake an ambitious anti-tuberculosis program among First Nations people that would see it spending an additional $100,000 a year on prevention and treatment for ten years.[179] Instead, in coming years, the government actually cut what it was spending on First Nations health, including tuberculosis care and prevention.[180] It also cut relief payments to Aboriginal people, thereby increasing their vulnerability to tuberculosis.[181] As late as 1937, the federal government was proposing cuts in funding to tuberculosis services to First Nations people.[182]

There would be no significant improvement in the First Nations tuberculosis death rate until after the Second World War. In 1943, the First Nations tuberculosis death rate was 662.6 per 100,000; by 1957, it was 42.0 per 100,000.[183] By 1960, tuberculosis had been dislodged from its position as the primary cause of death among First Nations people, falling to eighth position.[184] An Inuit tuberculosis crisis was identified

in the 1950s. The Inuit tuberculosis death rate hit 569 per 100,000 in 1952; it fell to 84 per 100,000 in 1960.[185]

The tuberculosis crisis in Canada's residential schools has to be seen as part of the broader tuberculosis crisis in the Aboriginal population in Canada. As Peter Bryce observed in 1906, generations of Aboriginal children were being raised in communities with high levels of tuberculosis. This all but guaranteed that large numbers of children infected with tuberculosis would report for admission to residential school each fall. This was a known and predictable problem, but it was one that the government and the churches failed to address by the medical standards of the day.[186]

The tuberculosis crisis in the schools

As noted, prior to the 1940s, there was no effective cure for tuberculosis. It was, however, widely recognized that a number of measures had the potential to moderate symptoms and cause active infection to return to an inactive or latent stage. These measures included rest, a healthy diet, good ventilation in sanitary living quarters, and access to adequate medical attention. These conditions were also central to preventing latent tuberculosis from becoming active. Healthy students could be protected from infection if tubercular children were not admitted to the schools.

For much of their history, schools were not prepared to identify and treat sick children, or to prevent infection from spreading to healthy children. Policies were developed on a disjointed basis and implementation was fragmentary. A uniform policy on the medical examination of new students was slow to emerge and was poorly enforced. Treatment was inadequate, and crowding ensured that infections became general throughout the student body, since there were few sick wards or infirmaries. Principals were often unwilling to follow government policies, either because they opposed any measure that might limit enrolment, or because they simply lacked the funds to do so. Students who came to the schools healthy went home sick, thus completing the tubercular infection of the community. In this diseased environment, other deadly and disabling sicknesses were also able to flourish.

From the outset, many schools provided only limited medical attention. When Dr. M. M. Seymour applied for the position of medical attendant to the Qu'Appelle school in 1885, Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney did not accept him, claiming there was no "necessity for a doctor." According to Dewdney, Indian Affairs had "sent out a supply of medicines to the Industrial Schools with full instructions as to their use." He said, "The Sisters, in connection with the Institution, are somewhat expert in attending on the sick."[187] While the Qu'Appelle school had access to a medical attendant by 1887, three years later, the Bishop of Rupert's Land was complaining of the government's unwillingness to pay for a medical attendant for the Middlechurch, Manitoba,

school.[188] It was not until January 1892 that Indian Affairs instructed its physicians who had been contracted to provide medical services on nearby reserves to extend those services to the school.[189] In British Columbia, a doctor visited the Cranbrook school in the Kootenays only at the request of the Indian agent.[190]

Many of the early schools did not have infirmaries. In 1893, Indian Affairs inspector T. P. Wadsworth reported that at the nine-year-old Qu'Appelle school, the "want of an infirmary is still very much felt." The previous year, he had managed to contain an outbreak of chicken pox only by keeping the infected students quarantined in the school garret.[191] Those infirmaries that did exist were often primitive. On an 1891 visit to the Battleford school, Indian Commissioner Hayter Reed concluded that the hospital ward was in such poor shape that they had been obliged to remove the children in it to the staff sitting-room. According to Reed, "The noise, as well as the bad smells, come from the lavatory underneath."[192] There were also reports of inadequate isolation facilities at the Regina, Saskatchewan, school (1901); the Anglican school in Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1921); the Mission, British Columbia, school (1924); and the Muncey, Ontario, school (1935).[193] When diphtheria broke out at Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, in 1909, the nine students who fell ill were placed in a "large isolated house."[194]

The 1918 global influenza epidemic left four children dead at the Red Deer, Alberta, school. When the influenza epidemic subsided, Principal J. F. Woodsworth complained to Indian Affairs:

> For sickness, conditions at this school are nothing less than criminal. We have no isolation ward and no hospital equipment of any kind. The dead, the dying, and the sick and the convalescent, were all together. I think that as soon as possible the Department should put this school in shape to fulfil its function as an educational institution. At present it is a disgrace.[195]

The Red Deer school was not a small, church-founded, mission school. It was an industrial school that had been established by the Methodists with the full co-operation and support of the federal government in 1893. Since the beginning of the twentieth century, school officials had been lobbying, with little or no success, for improvements in facilities to care for sick children.[196]

Even though the 1910 contract with the federal government required all schools to have hospital accommodation to prevent the spread of infectious disease, many schools continued to be in need of a proper infirmary. Dr. F. L. Corbett's report of a 1920 inspection of five southern Alberta schools noted that at the Gleichen school, diseased students were not kept separate from healthy students, and many conditions, such as scabies, simply went unattended. He also observed that "it is a constant experience that Indian children being taken ill with tuberculosis diseases while in the schools, and sent home, make remarkable recoveries in the open air life of the tent."

He said that if the principles of the sanatorium were incorporated in school design, the result would be "gratifying" and tuberculosis would be "reduced to a minimum."[197]

At the Chapleau, Ontario, school, there was no facility for separating sick from healthy children, and neither was there one at the Shoal Lake, Ontario, school in 1915.[198] In 1921, sick and healthy children at the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school were being housed together, as was also the case at the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school two years later.[199] The Roman Catholic principals petitioned the federal government in 1924 for the establishment of sick rooms at each school, under the supervision of a competent nurse. At the same time, they objected to the sanitary inspection of the schools by government-appointed nurses, since they recommended changes "leading to the transformation of our schools into hospitals or sanatoriums."[200] There were also regular reports that schools could not afford to hire needed nursing staff.[201]

In other cases, sick children were not being treated at all. In 1915, Indian Affairs official J. D. McLean wrote to the Indian agent at Chapleau, Ontario, about "several children afflicted with eczema who had apparently not been receiving treatment" at the Chapleau school. The agent was instructed to arrange for treatment and regular medical inspections of the school.[202] In 1922, Indian Affairs Superintendent of Indian Education Russell Ferrier worried that Chapleau principal George Prewer was "somewhat slow to call in medical attention," although he acknowledged that Prewer was "fairly well qualified to look after minor ailments."[203] Indian Affairs instructed the principal: "Call upon the services of the Medical Officer without hesitation."[204]

While there were improvements, Indian Affairs officials continued to be concerned about the quality of care provided by school infirmaries at the end of the 1950s.[205] Complaints from principals make it clear that even into the late 1960s, there were still severe limitations on the range of health services being provided to residential school students.[206]

Not surprisingly, cases of tuberculosis were diagnosed in the early years in the schools. In 1886, at the height of the tuberculosis epidemic on the Qu'Appelle Reserve, five children died at the residential school. Principal Joseph Hugonnard said the deaths were not due to contagious disease. However, since he believed that tuberculosis was hereditary rather than contagious, it is possible that the five deaths were, in fact, due to tuberculosis.[207] By 1896, various medical advisors had informed Indian Affairs that tuberculosis was contagious, that schools should have facilities that would allow students with tuberculosis to be isolated, that the ventilation in the schools was of such poor quality that it increased the risk of infection, that student health would improve with improvements in diet, and that it was essential the unhealthy students be screened out during the admission process.[208] This advice was in keeping with medical thinking of the day, and, if it had been acted upon, likely would have served to improve student health. However, it was largely ignored.

As early as 1903, observers, including Indian Affairs officials and physicians, came to conclude that conditions in Aboriginal communities, even communities with high levels of tuberculosis, might be healthier than conditions in residential schools. They also recognized that treating children in tent hospitals and ensuring that they had access to fresh air was not that different from life in many Aboriginal communities.[209]

In 1907, 1908, and 1909, Indian Affairs health officials conducted three sets of inspections in western Canada. These reports all identified serious health problems in the schools and were accompanied by wide-ranging recommendations. Dr. Peter Bryce's 1907 inspection of thirty-five residential schools in the three prairie provinces is the most well known of these studies. He was highly critical of the poor quality of the ventilation in the buildings, which, he thought, contributed to high infection rates. He also thought local physicians and school staff underestimated the dangers of tuberculosis.[210] Based on information provided to him by school principals on the condition of present and former students, he wrote that "of a total of 1,537 pupils reported upon nearly 25 per cent are dead."[211] Bryce's 1907 report received considerable attention in the national media of the day.[212]

Three options

In the first decade of the twentieth century, there were three options presented to the government and churches to address the tuberculosis crisis. The was to close the schools, allowing the children to be raised in their homes and educated in on-reserve day schools. The second was to treat most children as likely tuberculosis sufferers and turn the schools into sanatoria. A third was to institute a strict system of medical screening to ensure that no child infected with tuberculosis was admitted to the schools. None of these measures could have succeeded without increased federal government investment in measures to improve the housing, clothing, and diet of Aboriginal children.

The health crisis in the residential schools—which was largely a tuberculosis crisis—was so severe that, during the first decade of the twentieth century, the first two options were considered but eventually abandoned. Samuel Blake, a leading figure in the Anglican Church, led the near-successful campaign to close a large number of the schools. Blake was spurred into action by both the high death rates in the schools and the amount of money the Missionary Society of the Church of England in Canada was spending on the schools.[213] At his prodding, the Protestant missionary societies agreed to a plan that would have seen them replace most of their residential schools in western Canada with government-funded, church-run day schools.[214] The plan was dropped in 1908 in the face of opposition from Protestant missionaries based in the West, and Roman Catholic unwillingness to close their residential schools. Indian

Affairs minister Frank Oliver made it clear he would not pursue a residential school policy that did not have the support of the churches.[215]

The other option was to turn the schools into government-run sanatoria. As early as 1904, there were proposals to use at least one of the residential schools as a sanatorium for students who had been diagnosed with tuberculosis.[216] Similar proposals were made in subsequent years. In 1906, Dr. Bryce wrote that sanatorium care was required to reduce infection and increase chances of recovery among First Nations children. Due to the high infection rate in First Nations communities, he recommended the construction of regional "tent" sanatoria.[217] This idea was not out of step with general views on how to address tuberculosis, particularly among low-income populations.[218] Such tent hospitals were constructed at residential schools in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.[219] In addition, there were calls from business and medical groups to establish sanatoria in each province in which industrial schools were located.[220]

In his 1907 report, Bryce recommended that for locations where local hospitals did not exist, "a small tent hospital be attached to the school, wherein tuberculized and scrofulous patients may receive necessary treatment and where, instead of being sent home to die, they may in most cases, when dealt with early, be nursed back to health without jeopardizing the health of the other pupils."[221] By 1909, Bryce had concluded that the rate of tuberculosis infection in the First Nations community across the Prairies was so severe that it was appropriate to consider each student as "a case of probable tuberculosis—in a word a patient." He recommended that the residential schools be converted into sanatoria and placed under his medical—as opposed to church—authority.[222]

There are three points that need to be borne in mind about Bryce's proposal. First, it would not have reduced the number of Aboriginal children who were being separated from their homes and communities. Instead of living in highly regimented residential schools, they would have been living in highly regimented sanatoria. For example, Bryce included a significant student work component in his proposal. He expected that "squads of the stronger children would be organized to assist in the indoor and outdoor work, wholly from the standpoint of their physical ability."[223] Second, sanatoria would amount to an advance over the schools only if there was an increase in funding to allow for significant renovations and improvements in diet and clothing (particularly for cold weather). Third, sanatoria care did not cure tuberculosis: improvements in care would have brought the death rates down, but they would not have eliminated them. For comparison from 1904 to 1929, of the 6,695 patients admitted to the Toronto Free Hospital for the Consumptive Poor (a Toronto tuberculosis sanatorium for the indigent), 45% had died. Of those who survived their first thirty days in the sanatorium, only 38% were judged to have benefited from their treatment.[224]

Bryce's proposal was rejected by Indian Affairs for the same reasons that Blake's was: the government was not prepared to challenge the churches. Duncan Campbell Scott, who had become the Indian Affairs superintendent of education in 1909, wrote that "the Churches would not be willing to give up their share of the joint control."[225]

Rather than turning the schools into sanatoria, Scott thought, the government needed to "carry out some common sense reforms to remove the imputation that the Department is careless of the interests of these children." His list of reforms included the denial of school admission for any children who were "tubercular"; the construction of open-air dormitories; an improved diet; an increase in the per capita grant to $100; and the negotiation of a contract with the churches that would set out expectations regarding sanitation, diet, and exercise.[226]

Many of these measures were included in the 1910 contract that Scott negotiated on behalf of the federal government with the churches. That agreement required that all schools have "hospital accommodation for the isolation of pupils with infectious diseases or tuberculosis" and a "modern system of ventilation in dormitories and class-rooms and sufficient air space in dormitories and class-rooms for the number of pupils accommodated." Class A schools, which received a higher level of funding, were also to have "a pure and plentiful water-supply distributed throughout the building, … a proper system of sanitary water closets, drainage, and disposal of sewage," and "modern heating apparatus, hot water, steam or hot air." Students were not to be admitted "until, where practicable, a physician, to be named by the Superintendent General, has reported that the child is in good health and suitable as an inmate of said school." Most significantly, the contract raised the per capita rates for all the boarding schools. The rate for some of the schools in central Ontario was increased from $60 to $80 (a 33.3% increase). In the West, the minimum increase was from $72 to $100 (a 52% increase). The rate for schools in the Northern Division (200 miles—322 kilometres—or more from a railway) went from $72 to $125 (a 74% increase). The government committed itself to providing the schools with medicine and maintaining government-owned buildings that were "in good condition and repair and provide for proper sanitation and sanitary appliances."[227]

The 1910 contract did improve conditions in many schools: certainly, the increase in the per capita grant allowed for improvements in clothing and diets. However, as noted above, the outbreak of the First World War in 1914 meant that the government was not able to fully implement its intention to renovate many of the boarding schools. Wartime inflation also severely reduced the value of the funding increases. By the 1920s, many of the schools were continuing to struggle financially. Financial problems led inevitably to further crowding, poor building conditions, increased demands for student labour, decreases in the quality of the diet, poor-quality clothing, and reduced access to medical attention. Conditions were further exacerbated by repeated budget cuts during the Great Depression of the 1930s and again during the

Second World War. As a result, the churches could rarely meet the various health and building-condition requirements in the contract. For its part, the government did not enforce them, since it was unwilling to provide the money needed to bring the schools into compliance.

The 1910 contract could work as an effective response to tuberculosis in the schools only if students who were infected with the disease were either denied admission or were discharged once diagnosed. The government was slow in developing a clear national policy on this issue and largely ineffective in enforcing it once it finally was in place.

The government was also slow to develop a health-related admissions policy. The instructions that Indian Commissioner Edgar Dewdney issued to Battleford school principal Thomas Clarke in 1883 did not include any health-related advice. Neither did they require that students undergo a medical inspection before being admitted to the school. Indeed, the recommendation that the school give preference to "orphans and children without any person to look after them" increased the likelihood that the early recruits would be of poor health.[228] The following year, Clarke reported that a student had died in May of that year "from internal injuries received previous to his entering the school." Clarke recommended that in the future, students "should be examined by a medical officer before they are received into the school."[229] Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet's instructions for the opening of the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school in 1889 stated: "All pupils admitted should be free from disease, and an apartment light and airy, and as far removed from the other rooms as possible, should be set apart for any who may fall sick."[230] This was not, however, a system-wide instruction.

The government continued to ignore opportunities to issue a system-wide instruction. The 1892 Order-in-Council that established the per capita funding model for all industrial schools required that schools maintain "dietary and domestic comfort." The only restriction on admission was a requirement that no child be admitted without the approval of the Indian commissioner. It did not stipulate that there be medical examinations for all students prior to admission.[231]

It was not until 1896 that Indian Commissioner A. E. Forget distributed health certification forms to all principals in Manitoba and the North-West Territories.[232] Because of difficulties in recruitment, principals continued to accept children who were ill. It was only in 1900 that Middlechurch, Manitoba, principal James Dagg could report, "Owing to the great number of applications for admission, we were enabled to discharge every case of scrofula and consumption we had in the school, thus making the health of our pupils excellent."[233] In 1901, when responding to a request to transfer a boy with scrofulous sores from the Roman Catholic school on the Blood Reserve to a hospital in Calgary, Indian Affairs education official Martin Benson wrote that "if the

Department's instructions were properly followed out, no scrofulous pupils would be admitted to such schools."[234]

In 1907, some principals were asserting their right to take in tubercular children. The principal of the Anglican school at Brocket, Alberta, W. R. Haynes, wrote that the local doctor did not admit any child "who has any signs of the dread disease [tuberculosis]." But he recognized that if "every pupil were rejected on the grounds of tuberculosis in their families, I am afraid you might as well close the schools altogether."[235] In 1907, Qu'Appelle principal Hugonnard argued that many students with scrofula had "no better place to be sent" than his school.[236] A 1908 inspection of five Alberta schools concluded that 80% of the students at all five schools had tuberculosis of the lungs. At two schools, the infection rate was 100%.[237]

By 1909, the school application form for all residential schools instructed physicians who were inspecting potential students not to admit any "child suffering from scrofula or any form of tubercular disease."[238] As noted above, the 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches governing the operation of the schools required that students not be admitted to schools "until, where practicable, a physician, to be named by the Superintendent General, has reported that the child is in good health and suitable as an inmate of said school."[239]

From the start, the churches objected to the provision. As early as 1910, High River, Alberta, principal J. Riou was questioning the fairness of this requirement for medical screening. He asked, "Is this examination required in white schools?"[240] Some principals were also reluctant to discharge students with active tuberculosis. Qu'Appelle school principal G. Leonard refused to carry out a local physician's instructions to send tubercular students to a local sanatorium in 1922, claiming they would be "better off at the school than in the sanatorium."[241]

Not all physicians were capable of identifying tuberculosis. In 1911, Indian Affairs secretary J. D. McLean acknowledged, "If the medical attendant does not exercise great care and is not possessed of considerable experience in detecting the presence of tuberculosis, it may be quite possible that he is passing pupils who could not possibly be admitted under the restrictions laid down by the admission forms."[242] In 1914, McLean instructed the Indian agent responsible for the Chapleau school to ensure that the doctor who examined prospective students took "care to see that they are in good health and show no traces of tuberculosis."[243] The following year, three tubercular students at the school had to be removed to a hospital.[244]

The schools continued to admit and retain tubercular students into the 1930s. The following are some examples from this period.

- In 1930, 88.30% of students at the Roman Catholic and Anglican schools on the Blood Reserve in Alberta tested positive for tuberculosis infection.[245] In 1937, the figure was 84.03%.[246]

- In 1933, C. C. Perry, the assistant Indian commissioner for British Columbia, reported that if the "physically unfit were eliminated from the [Cranbrook] School on medical examination, the School would have to be closed."[247]
- Seven of fourteen students admitted to the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school in 1933 had active tuberculosis.[248]
- Budget cutting meant that in 1934, doctors did not have access to the most effective technologies, such as x-rays, in examining students.[249]
- In 1935, the doctor charged with examining students for admission to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school declined to carry out a general examination of the students.[250] He stated that if he were to "apply the standards of health to them that is applied to children of the white schools, that I should have to discharge 90% of them and there would be no school left."[251]
- Roman Catholic Bishop Guy opposed sending tubercular students at the Qu'Appelle school to the Qu'Appelle Sanatorium in 1935.[252]
- A 1935 United Church report showed that four of five children entering the Chilliwack, British Columbia, and Brandon, Manitoba, schools had "some evidence of T.B.—either active or quiescent."[253]
- In 1936, a doctor inquiring into the death of a student due to tubercular meningitis at the Kamloops, British Columbia, school concluded that the "child was no doubt developing the disease before admission to the school."[254]
- In 1937, missionaries were recruiting students and having them admitted to the Fraser Lake school without first receiving authorization from the Indian agent.[255]
- In 1937, Cluny, Alberta, principal J. Riou opposed sending all active tubercular cases to the local Anglican hospital.[256] This opposition continued into 1938.[257]

Into the 1950s, at some schools, these examinations were perfunctory, ineffective, or non-existent. Responsibility for this failure appears to have been shared between Indian Affairs and the churches. The death of a student from tubercular meningitis at the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec, prompted the principal to complain in 1946 that the boy had been admitted by the Indian agent, even though the boy had previously been diagnosed as having active tuberculosis.[258] The hospitalization of 13 of the 100 students attending the Kuper Island school with tuberculosis during the 1947–48 school year led local Indian Affairs official R. H. Moore to comment that the method of medical examinations was "ineffective from the point of detecting any latent disease."[259] In 1951, the principal of the Sandy Bay, Manitoba, school admitted thirteen students without either seeking the department's approval or having them examined by a doctor.[260] The flawed examination system meant that students with other infectious illnesses and serious health problems were also being admitted to the schools. In 1949, P. E. Moore, who was at that time acting superintendent of medical services for Indian Affairs, wrote that the congenital syphilis a student was suffering

from had not been detected by his pre-admission medical examination for the Fraser Lake school.[261]

An ongoing problem in the Northwest Territories in the first half of the twentieth century was the absence of any medical examinations prior to school admissions. In 1916, three children, who had been recently transferred from Fort Good Hope to Fort Resolution, became ill shortly after their arrival at the school. They had been admitted without having undergone the required medical inspection on the grounds "that they were orphans and had to be provided for in some way." Two of them died, leading Indian Affairs official H. J. Bury to recommend that "the regulation covering the admission of children to these boarding schools be more rigidly enforced."[262] After a tour of the western Arctic in 1944, Dr. George Wherrett, one of Canada's leading public health physicians of the period, concluded, "Only in the minority of instances, however, is there a regular examination of all children on admission and no x-ray surveys are carried out. In some schools, immunization and vaccination are practised; in others, not at all."[263] In the intervening years, there had been numerous cases of students' being admitted without examination or being admitted with contagious illnesses.[264] As late as 1951, students were being admitted to the Baptist hostel in Whitehorse without a doctor's examination.[265]

At the outset of this discussion, it was noted that the government had three policy options: close the schools, turn the schools into sanatoria, or exclude infected children from admission. On paper, it chose the last option. However, as the preceding examples make clear, it never effectively attempted to screen out infected children. As a result, the residential schools amplified rather than reduced the Aboriginal tuberculosis crisis.

Positive initiatives

The work of the Qu'Appelle Indian Demonstration Health Unit in the 1930s shows that when appropriate polices were put in place, it was possible to reduce the level of tuberculosis in residential schools. The health unit ensured that students at the Qu'Appelle and File Hills residential schools were given a tuberculin skin test. Students judged to be in a contagious condition were discharged. In 1926, before the health unit was established, 92% of the students at these two schools had tested positive for tuberculosis. By 1933, the percentage of students testing positive for tuberculosis, although still very high, had dropped by more than 30%, to below 60%, in the two schools.[266]

Given these results, Dr. George Ferguson, the director of medical services for the Saskatchewan Anti-Tuberculosis League and medical director of the Fort Qu'Appelle Sanatorium, recommended that Indian Affairs extend the unit's work to the rest of the province. His specific plan called for the testing of all residential school dairy

herds, x-ray testing of all First Nations students at the start of each school year, and the conversion of a residential school into a sanatorium dedicated to the education and treatment of children who either had active tuberculosis or were infectious.[267] Indian Affairs health official E. L. Stone believed the churches would not be willing to have one of the existing schools transformed into a sanatorium. Neither would they be happy with the establishment of single, government-run sanatoria. If there were to be sanatoria, there would be objections to "the Department putting Protestant children in a Roman Catholic institution, or vice versa."[268] As in 1909, the federal government continued to give greater priority to the views of the churches than to the health needs of Aboriginal children.

It was not until the fall of 1938 that the federal government significantly expanded the number of students being tested for tuberculosis and the sophistication of the technology being used to test them.[269] The goal was to remove children with active tuberculosis from the schools.[270] The fact that this was still the government's priority demonstrates the ineffectiveness of medical examinations in the past. Throughout the 1940s, annual tuberculosis clinics continued to be held at many schools in an effort to identify and remove students with active tuberculosis.[271] These measures had significant impact. For example, the 1945 survey of the Edmonton school reported that "for the second year in succession, there are no cases requiring sanatorium treatment."[272] Such services were not always available, and the results of that lack were predictable. In June 1947, it was reported that there were six students at the McIntosh, Ontario, school who required sanatorium treatment. Two of the cases were described as appearing to be "of long standing." In raising the issue with the Ontario Tuberculosis Control Division, Dr. D. C. Marlatt of the Fort William Sanatorium indicated that there was a need to x-ray students at both the Sioux Lookout and McIntosh schools.[273]

Once active cases were identified, it was not always possible, even in the 1940s, for officials to find places for students in local sanatoria.[274] Two students from the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school were hospitalized with tuberculosis in January 1943. In reporting on other cases, Dr. Gordon L. Bell wrote that he thought that in theory, "minimal cases" could be treated at the school if they received "rest and extra rations and reasonable supervision." This seemed unlikely, however, since the school was "extremely short of staff and the registered nurse on their staff has far more work to do than any woman could be expected to perform efficiently." Bell agreed to allow such students to stay in the school temporarily, but wished to monitor their progress, since he felt the supervision they received at the school left "much to be desired."[275] Some residential schools were viewed as being possible treatment facilities for children with tuberculosis. In the case of one girl who was diagnosed with tuberculosis in northwestern Ontario in 1943, it was felt that her case was not so serious as to require sanatorium treatment. Instead, a doctor recommended that, because other members

of her family had active tuberculosis, it would be best if she were placed in a residential school.[276]

As discussed in the statistical analysis, the tuberculosis death rate in the schools remained high until the beginning of the 1950s. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada identified from the available records eighteen tuberculosis deaths among residential school students in the 1946 school year. Eight tuberculosis deaths were detected for the following year. The figure was down to two for 1951.[277]

This improvement is due to both enhanced vaccination programs and the introduction of effective treatment for tuberculosis. In 1947, the federal government began to vaccinate "the Indian children of British Columbia" with the bacillus Calmette–Guérin (BCG). Initially, the focus was on children in residential schools, but the program was broadened to include newborns and students in day schools.[278] Similar programs were initiated and carried out in other provinces. Students at the Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan, school were vaccinated with BCG in 1948, leading to a low number of students who tested positive for tuberculosis in 1949.[279] By the mid-1950s, Indian Health Services had adopted a BCG vaccination policy for the control of tuberculosis among the First Nations population in Saskatchewan. The goal was to vaccinate all First Nations newborn infants. Starting in the 1955–56 school year, all students were to be given a tuberculin school test to detect the presence of the bacteria. Those who tested negative were to be vaccinated.[280] Campaigns of this nature had a significant impact. A 1957 survey of the Roman Catholic school at Cardston, Alberta, showed that of 229 students, 195 had no evidence of tuberculosis, and neither were there any reported cases of active tuberculosis.[281]

The presence of tuberculosis in the schools continued to decline. In 1964, 93% of the kindergarten class at the Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, school tested negative for tuberculosis.[282] The disease was not, however, non-existent. In 1964, a "minimal active case" of tuberculosis was reported at the Birtle, Manitoba, school. There was also a case of reactivated tuberculosis at the Assiniboia school in Winnipeg. In this case, the student had been admitted to the school without an initial medical examination. Both students were placed in the Ninette, Manitoba, sanatorium.[283]

Residential school students were still being diagnosed with, and treated for, tuberculosis in 1970.[284] Treatment practice was changing considerably, sanatoria were being closed, and tubercular patients were being treated in general hospitals and in their own communities on a walk-in basis. The number of young people being treated at the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton had declined to the point in 1970 that consideration was given to re-evaluating the need for the in-hospital school program for patients.[285] In 1972, there were still an annual tuberculin test, BCG vaccination, and an X-ray program being undertaken at student residences in Saskatchewan.[286] In 1973, 4,934 First Nations and Inuit people were vaccinated with BCG and an additional 2,072 persons were revaccinated. In that same year, 345 new tuberculosis cases were

identified among First Nations and Inuit people. Of these, 134 were nineteen years of age and younger.[287]

In summation, it can be said that by failing to treat each child as a potential patient, the schools had managed to turn an increasing number of them into actual patients. The "common sense" approach that Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott had adopted when he rejected Dr. Peter Bryce's proposal to turn the schools into sanatoria had pleased the government because it was not costly, and it had pleased the churches because it left them in control of the schools and the students. It is clear evidence that the government never had put in place a proper screening process, or developed facilities for providing students who developed tuberculosis with proper treatment. The prevention of disease and the treatment of sick Aboriginal children were a shameful failure that contributed to thousands of deaths and undermined the health of generations of Aboriginal people.

As early as 1899, Indian Commissioner David Laird had boasted of the schools' "stringent" medical examination. As a result, he wrote, "no alarm need now be felt in regard to the health of pupils attending industrial and boarding schools, and all who come in contact with Indians should strive to disabuse their minds as to the danger."[288] Dr. Peter Bryce had stressed the need to improve the screening process, to discharge infectious students, and to improve treatment. Dr. Lafferty had also called on the government to restrict admissions and discharge the infectious students. Dr. Grain made similar recommendations. Dr. Stone's proposal of 1930 would have focused on reducing the number of infectious students in the schools and increasing treatment capacity. The work of the Qu'Appelle Health Unit demonstrated that these measures would have had a positive impact on student health. Reducing the infection of healthy students would have also reduced the spread of infection from the schools to the community.

The government failed to adopt these many measures recommended by medical professionals because they would have increased costs and because they would have been opposed by the churches or have been judged by them to be too costly. Instead, the government put in place inadequate policies as recommended by non-medical specialists. The policies that were put in place were not enforced. The schools could have helped children increase their resistance to tuberculosis by providing them with sanitary, well-ventilated living quarters, an adequate diet, warm clothing, and sufficient rest. Instead, the residential schools regularly failed to provide the healthy living conditions, nutritious food, sufficient clothing, and physical regime that would prevent students from getting sick in the first place, and would allow those who were infected a fighting chance at recovery and survival.

Fire hazard

The early residential schools were often poorly constructed and located in isolated locations, far from any fire departments. Many were of wood-frame construction. The wood- and coal-burning stoves used to heat the buildings could throw off sparks that could result in a blaze. Heat was transmitted from room to room by stovepipes that were themselves a potential source of fire. Most of the schools were far from any source of electricity and, for many years, they were lit by gas lamps.[289] Poor wiring was often the cause of school fires. For example, an electrical short-circuit started a fire that destroyed the rebuilt Qu'Appelle school in 1932.[290]

The fire risk was severe. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has determined that, at a minimum, fifty-three schools were destroyed by fire. There were at least 170 additional recorded fires. It was suspected or proven that 37 of these 223 fires were deliberately set. (For details, see appendices 2 through 5.)

A minimum of forty students died in residential school fires. The 1905 fire at Saint-Paul-des-Métis, in what is now Alberta, claimed one life; the 1927 fire at the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school claimed twenty; the 1930 fire at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school claimed twelve students and one staff person; and the 1963 fire at the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school claimed the lives of four students.[291] In addition, in three incidents (Middlechurch, Manitoba, 1895; Beauval, Saskatchewan, 1909; and Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, 1924), students died of burns when garbage-disposal fires set their clothing on fire.[292] It also appears that a girl from the Ahousaht, British Columbia, school died of fire-related injuries in 1916.[293]

It would be a mistake to think that the risk of fire was confined to the early years of the residential school system. In 1940, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, wrote a highly critical assessment of the condition of the country's residential schools. According to him, the schools had been poorly built, often failing to meet "the minimum standards in the construction of public buildings, particularly institutions for the education of children." Not surprisingly, many were "acute fire hazards." He wanted to see many of them replaced, preferably with day schools. He recommended that any new residential school should be "of fireproof construction throughout."[294]

In the ten-year period after Hoey wrote this memorandum, ten schools were destroyed by fire.[295] It is in large measure a testament to the work of the school staff and the students that none of these fires resulted in any loss of life.[296] Other schools were closed before they could burn down. The Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, which Hoey described as "one of our worst fire hazards," was closed in 1946.[297] In May of 1950, the Saskatchewan fire commissioner's office concluded that no changes could be made that would "make the [Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school] a reasonably safe

place to house these children."[298] The government closed the school a month later.[299] A series of fires contributed to the closing of the Chapleau, Ontario, school in 1948.[300]

Although some of these schools were replaced, the replacements were not always of fireproof construction. For example, the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school, which replaced the schools destroyed by fire in Onion Lake and Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, in the 1940s, was "temporarily" housed for decades in an abandoned army camp. The school that developed in this location had one of the largest enrolments of any residential school (550 students in 1953, for example), yet was viewed as a fire hazard for most of its history.[301]

The regulatory context

The risk of fire in large public buildings was well established in North America by the early twentieth century. A 1907 fire at a non-residential school in Montreal, for example, had left sixteen students and one teacher dead.[302] Similar fires in the United States had led to the adoption of laws requiring schools to have enclosed exterior fire escapes, fireproof basements, and unimpeded exits that opened outwards.[303] By the early twentieth century, there was also recognition that student safety was best ensured by improved building techniques, including the use of fire-resistant materials. Many also argued that public schools should not be more than two storeys in height, effectively alleviating the difficulty in evacuating students from the building in case of fire.[304]

Although they were only guidelines, the National Building Code of 1941 and the National Fire Code of 1963 were used as a basis to assess conditions in residential schools and to make recommendations for improvements. By the late 1950s, the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office, a branch of the federal government, examined all the preliminary designs on buildings prepared by the Department of Public Works, and approved final working drawings.[305]

Limited and piecemeal policy

Indian Affairs was slow to develop adequate fire-protection policies for residential schools and ineffective in enforcing them. The instructions that Indian Affairs did issue were often directed only to specific regions, as opposed to the country as a whole, and were vague in their wording.[306]

The 1910 contract between the federal government and the churches required that residential schools be kept in good repair, and placed a limit on the number of students who could be housed in a dormitory. It did not have specific fire-safety requirements.

A 1908 directive requiring that "all dormitory, school-room, interior hall, and exterior doors should open outwards" to ensure that "the building may be emptied quickly and without danger of blockade in case of fire" was issued only to the principals in prairie schools.[307] This did not become a national expectation until 1927. A circular informing principals that fire-escape doors should open outward was issued a week after a fire claimed twenty lives at the Beauval school.[308] It was not until 1932 that a circular insisted that fire escapes be "efficient, kept in repair, free from snow or ice and unlocked exits to them must open out."[309] Similar instructions were issued in February 1938 and in February 1942.[310]

Dangerous practices

These limited policy directives did little to alter the conditions in the schools. Throughout their history, residential schools were poorly constructed and maintained, and had inadequate fire protection, fire alarms, and fire exits. The policy prohibiting the locking of fire exits and dormitories was violated with impunity. Overcrowding further increased the risk of death or injury in the event of a fire.[311]

Poor construction, poor maintenance

Government inspectors regularly described buildings as being "fire traps." For example, the term was applied to the Birtle, Manitoba, school in 1901; the Mission, British Columbia, school in 1928; the Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, school in 1928; the Hobbema, Alberta, school in 1930; the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school in 1932 and 1933; the Ahousaht, British Columbia, school, in 1937; the Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, school, in 1941; the Moose Factory, Ontario, school in 1954; the Fort Providence, Northwest Territories, school in 1957; and the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Brocket, Alberta, in 1959.[312] The term *fire trap* was replaced by *fire hazard* by the 1960s. For example, a 1968 inspection report described the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school as a "fire hazard and a potential threat to the lives of the children still living in it."[313] The Roman Catholic school in Onion Lake was termed a "fire hazard" in 1974.[314]

Limited firefighting capacity

The high risk of fire was coupled with poor water supply at many schools. For example, deficiencies in water supply were reported at Sarcee (T'suu Tina), Alberta, in 1896; Fraser Lake, British Columbia, in 1923; Edmonton, Alberta, in 1924; Port Simpson, British Columbia, in 1937; and Ahousaht, British Columbia, in 1939.[315] The firefighting

equipment at schools across the country was regularly reported as being poorly maintained or unsuitable until the end of the 1930s. Examples of schools with inadequate firefighting equipment were Gleichen, Alberta, in 1921; Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, in 1927; Edmonton, Alberta, in 1925; Williams Lake, British Columbia, in 1932; and Fort Alexander, Manitoba, in 1935.[316]

This problem was not unique to the early years of the system. Inadequate water supply and firefighting equipment were noted at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, in 1940; Sioux Lookout, Ontario, in 1940; Cranbrook, British Columbia, in 1941 and 1945; Fort Alexander, Manitoba, in 1941; Brantford, Ontario, in 1946; Edmonton, Alberta, in 1946 and 1949; Whitefish Lake, Alberta, in 1946 and 1948; Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1951 and 1954; Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in 1955; Lower Post, British Columbia, in 1956; Fort George, Québec, in 1956; the Anglican and Roman Catholic schools in Cardston, Alberta, in 1957; Kuper Island, British Columbia, in 1958; and McIntosh, Ontario, in 1958.[317]

Fire alarms

Problems with the effectiveness of fire alarms were identified at Birtle, Manitoba, in 1943; Hobbema, Alberta, in 1944; Brantford, Ontario, in 1946; Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1953; Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in 1955; and Calais, Alberta, in 1959.[318]

Inadequate fire escapes

An effective fire-escape system was one that allowed students to exit a school building quickly and safely in an emergency. From the point of view of a residential school principal, such a system had two potential drawbacks. First, a fire escape that allowed students to leave the school quickly during a fire could also be used by a student or students who simply wished to run away from the school.[319] Second, an exterior staircase from a dormitory to the ground ran both ways. Boys could climb up such a staircase to gain access to the girls' dormitory (and vice versa). As a result, principals resisted the installation of outside fire escapes.[320] When they were finally obliged to install them, they often chose dangerous and frightening pole-style escapes that students were expected to slide down in the event of fire.[321]

Deficiencies in fire escapes were reported at schools in Squamish, British Columbia, in 1923; Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan, in 1923; Muncey, Ontario, in 1924; Mission, British Columbia, in 1926 and 1930; Kenora, Ontario, in 1926, 1927, 1928, and 1938; Birtle, Manitoba, in 1927; Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, in 1927; Cranbrook, British Columbia, in 1927, 1938, and 1939; Brocket, Alberta, in 1927; Round Lake,

Saskatchewan, in 1929 and 1938; Whitefish Lake, Alberta, in 1929; Hobbema, Alberta, in 1930; File Hills, Saskatchewan, in 1932; Fraser Lake, British Columbia, in 1932, 1938, and 1939; Christie, British Columbia, in 1934; Cluny, Alberta, in 1935; Delmas, Saskatchewan, in 1937; Sandy Bay, Manitoba, in 1938; Grayson, Saskatchewan, in 1938; Hobbema, Alberta, in 1938; Sioux Lookout, Ontario, in 1938; and Lytton, British Columbia, in 1939.[322]

Again, this problem was not restricted to the system's early years. Inadequate fire escapes were reported at Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, in 1946; Christie, British Columbia, in 1946; Brantford, Ontario, in 1946; the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, Ontario, in 1947; Whitefish Lake, Alberta, in 1948; Moose Factory, Ontario, in 1950; Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1950; the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, in 1950; Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, in 1951; Kamsack, Saskatchewan, in 1955; Fort Providence, Northwest Territories, in 1957; the Anglican and the Catholic schools in Cardston, Alberta, in 1957; Joussard, Alberta, in 1958; McIntosh, Ontario, in 1958; and Calais, Alberta, in 1959.[323] Typical of many inspection reports was the 1938 observation that the poor condition of the plaster walls throughout the Cranbrook, British Columbia, school meant that "should fire break out it would be drawn up through the walls and ceilings through the places where the plaster is missing, and run under the floors all over the building before anyone would be aware."[324] An inspection report on the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, concluded, "We cannot get away from the fact that this building, of wooden structure inside, would allow a fire to spread very rapidly and with the number of children and supervisors, particularly on the second and third floors, there is every possibility that if fire did take place unnoticed, loss of life could very likely happen."[325] Despite this, many of the problems remained unaddressed for decades.[326] The federal government often was slow to respond to recommendations to improve conditions. In 1950, the Office of the Ontario Fire Marshal described the fire exits at the Moose Factory school as being "extraordinarily unsatisfactory—if a fire started in the night in the building I could foresee only a shocking sacrifice of life."[327] In 1954, Anglican Church representative Henry Cook complained that at the Moose Factory school, "one door allows for exit and the windows do not open to allow escape by that means if one wishes to jump to the ground."[328]

Locking fire-escape doors

To prevent students from using fire-escape doors in ways deemed improper, many principals kept the doors locked. There are examples of this practice from Regina, Saskatchewan, in 1908; Brocket, Alberta, in 1925; Fort Alexander, Manitoba, in 1930; Sandy Bay, Manitoba, in 1931; The Pas, Manitoba, in 1931; Morley, Alberta, in 1935; Elkhorn, Manitoba, in 1937; and Port Simpson, British Columbia, in 1938.[329]

The Indian commissioner for the Prairies, W. M. Graham, described the practice as "almost criminal" in 1925.[330] Six years later, he recommended that the principal of The Pas school be removed from office for locking the fire exits. Not only did the principal continue in office, but he also continued to lock the fire exits.[331]

As noted earlier, Indian Affairs issued circulars in 1932, 1938, and 1942, instructing principals and Indian agents that fire exits were to be kept unlocked.[332] Despite these instructions, there are reports of locked exits and dormitories at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, in 1940, as well as at the schools in Birtle, Manitoba, in 1945; Morley, Alberta, in 1946; Alert Bay, British Columbia, in 1947 and 1961; Chapleau, Ontario, in 1948; Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, in 1949 and 1955; Fort Frances, Ontario, in 1952; Grayson, Saskatchewan, in 1952; Beauval, Saskatchewan, in 1952 and 1956; Alberni, British Columbia, in 1960; Assiniboia in Winnipeg, Manitoba, in 1962; Brandon, Manitoba, in 1970; Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, in 1973; Hobbema, Alberta, in 1975 and 1981; and the Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories, residence in 1976.[333]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to identify any case where significant action was taken against principals who locked fire-escape doors. The continuous violation of a clear and often-stated government policy reflects the unwillingness of the federal government to enforce its own regulations, and the willingness of school authorities to defy them.

Failure to eliminate pole fire escapes

The major problems with many school fire escapes were identified in a 1949 memorandum by the chief of the Engineering and Construction Division, Department of Mines and Resources. The memorandum noted that in many residential schools, the fire escapes could be reached only through the windows, with sills often four feet (1.2 metres) above the floor. For small children, simply getting over the windowsill could present a problem. Once out the window, the children would usually have to go down an iron pole. This was "impracticable for small children." The memorandum said that steel stairs did not offer a solution for situations where "small children must descend several stories under winter conditions." These uncovered escapes could become blocked with snow or covered with ice. It was recommended that schools install either fully enclosed and accessible fire-escape towers that would contain stairways, or enclosed steel chutes.[334] This report could have served as the basis for improvement, but the problems it identified often went unaddressed. There were reports from across the country about the inadequacy of pole-type fire escapes, with particular attention drawn to the fact that small children were frightened to use them.[335] It was not until May 1954—nine years after an Indian Affairs inspector first called for the replacement of the pole fire escapes—at the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school that a new fire

escape with steel steps and handrail was installed.[336] In 1946, Indian Affairs official J. H. Leyland wrote of the pole-type escapes at the Edmonton school:

> It is difficult to imagine any person and especially small children, being able to safely make their escape from the building in the event of fire by means of this type of escape. One hundred and thirty children in night attire would, in my opinion, never be able to evacuate the building by means such as are available.[337]

They were not replaced until 1954.[338] It took seven years to have the pole fire escape at the Cross Lake, Manitoba, school replaced after an inspector wrote in 1949 that "it is very doubtful if these poles would be of any use in case of emergency."[339] Five years passed between the time an inspector condemned the fire escapes at the Sioux Lookout school in 1952 and the time they were replaced.[340]

In 1966, seventeen years after the chief of the Engineering and Construction Division, Department of Mines and Resources, called for an end to the use of pole fire escapes, a fire inspector recommended replacement of one on the west side of the Catholic school in Kenora. A 1968 inspection concluded that the pole-type fire escape was insufficient, given the large number of students living in the dormitories. Its replacement was described as an "urgent matter."[341] It is not clear from the record if the pole was ever replaced. However, the fact that the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office was recommending "changes in the fire escape system" was cited by Indian Affairs official W. McKim as one of the department's reasons for deciding to close the school in 1972.[342]

Indian Affairs issued instructions in 1907 that there be a system of fire drills, and in 1927, it required that they be held monthly.[343] Not all schools complied with the policy. In 1937, Inspector G. H. Barry reported on the "great trouble" he was having in getting the principal of the Port Simpson school "to train the children in Fire Drill."[344] Problems with inadequate and infrequent fire drills were reported at the Mohawk Institute in 1946 and 1959.[345]

Continued fire risk in an era of prosperity

The fire risk in residential schools increased dramatically during the Great Depression of the 1930s and the wartime austerity of the 1940s. During those years, little was spent on maintenance, and poorly built schools continued to deteriorate. As previously noted, ten schools burned down between 1940 and 1950. However, school fire safety still did not improve significantly during the period of economic prosperity that followed the end of the Second World War. During this period, Indian Affairs focused its investment on expanding the number of day schools rather than on residential school maintenance and upkeep. When, in 1958, extensive renovations were called for to the main building at the Fort Alexander residential school,

the local Indian Affairs official was instructed "not to spend any more money than is absolutely necessary to reduce the hazards in event of fire," since it was expected the school would close in the near future.[346] A 1960 report from the British Columbia Office of the Fire Marshal concluded that the Mission school was overcrowded, and had inadequate fire escapes and limited fire-fighting equipment. School buildings, some of which dated back to 1885, were assessed as being fire hazards.[347]

Beginning in the 1950s, federal and provincial fire marshals began to pay increasing attention to the residential schools. They judged the schools to be overcrowded fire traps. The standard recommendation was the installation of expensive sprinkler systems.[348] In 1950, none of the residential schools had sprinkler systems.[349] Indian Affairs officials generally opposed the installation of such systems in existing schools. In many cases, schools were allowed to stay in operation if they installed smoke and heat detectors and reduced enrolment. These compromises were also based on an understanding that the school would be closing in a few years.[350]

By the 1960s, the fire risk in some schools was so severe that the only solution was to close the school. A 1967 inspection of the Fort Vermilion, Alberta, school made a number of recommendations for improvement. However, the inspector concluded that "due to its age and the combustible nature of the construction materials, even a minor fire could prove disastrous. The building is also structurally unsound and therefore it is the opinion of the writer that serious consideration should be given to discontinuing its use."[351] The residence closed at the end of the 1967–68 school year.[352] In December 1968, the Joussard, Alberta, school required $125,000 in repairs to bring it up to fire code. The director of education, R. F. Davey, recommended that it be closed at the end of June 1969.[353] The residence closed at the end of the 1968–69 school year.[354] In 1969, Indian Affairs believed it could avoid making $45,000 worth of repairs if it closed the Assumption, Alberta, school at the end of the following school year.[355] The residence closed three years later, in 1973.[356] In March 1969, Indian Affairs was faced with the prospect of making repairs costing $80,000 to the Morley, Alberta, school to rectify issues identified by the Dominion Fire Commissioner's office.[357] Rather than being repaired, the residence building was closed at the end of June that year.[358] School officials did not always support these closings. When Indian Affairs asserted that the Cluny, Alberta, school was being closed in 1968 to address concerns about fire hazards, Principal Adrian Charron said, "It's the same hazard since 1911."[359]

For those schools that remained in operation, conditions frequently remained dire. From 1970 onwards, when the federal government was attempting to close the system, the government and churches continued to be slow to implement recommended changes. Schools continued to operate in violation of building and fire codes. Fire-safety equipment often was not properly maintained. Tragedy was averted, but, as the following examples indicate, the government continued to run very high risks.

- None of the major fire-safety improvements called for by a March 1971 inspection of the Kamloops, British Columbia, school had been carried out by May 1972.[360]
- None of the major improvements called for by a 1970 inspection of the Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, school had been carried out by May 1974.[361]
- A fire destroyed a teacher's residence at Fort George, Québec, in 1975: water-pressure problems prevented fire-fighting equipment from being used for half an hour. [362]
- Prefabricated classroom trailers installed at the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school in 1975 did not comply with the National Building Code.[363]
- According to a 1975 inspection, the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school had inadequate fire escapes, a sprinkler system of questionable effectiveness, and firefighting equipment "in total disarray."[364]
- In 1977, the Lestock, Saskatchewan, residence was, in the opinion of one inspector, so "drastically overcrowded" that in the case of fire, "we would no doubt have a panic situation which could lead to the loss of life."[365]
- In 1979, the Cardston, Alberta, residence was judged to have a "lack of adequate exits," a "lack of building fire protection," and an "inadequate fire alarm system." It was also located a "distance from the nearest fire department."[366]
- In April 1980, the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, senior boys' dormitory, which was estimated to be seventy-five to eighty years old, was in violation of national building and fire codes.[367]
- When a dormitory at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school caught fire in 1974, it was discovered that the alarm did not sound in the Portage la Prairie fire hall, where it was supposed to ring.[368]
- An electrical fire at the Mission, British Columbia, residence in 1980 was not detected until smoke drifted up through the building's roof.[369]
- A 1981 inspection of the Christie student residence, in Tofino, British Columbia, revealed that smoke detectors were not located in all sleeping areas, and many of them were inoperative.[370]

In matters of fire safety, the government and churches failed on the levels of both policy and implementation. Poorly built and poorly maintained schools constituted serious fire hazards. Defective firefighting equipment exacerbated the risk, and schools were fitted with limited and dangerous fire escapes. Lack of access to safe fire escapes led to high death tolls in both the Beauval and Cross Lake fires.[371] The harsh discipline and jail-like nature of life in the schools meant that many students tried to run away. To prevent this, many schools deliberately ignored government instructions in relation to fire drills and fire escapes. These were not problems only of the late nineteenth or early twentieth centuries. Well into the second half of the twentieth century, recommendations for improvements went unheeded, and dangerous and forbidden

practices were widespread and entrenched. In the interests of cost containment, the Canadian government placed the lives of students and staff at risk for 130 years.

Discipline

The churches and religious orders that operated Canada's residential schools had strong and interrelated conceptions of order, discipline, obedience, and sin. They believed that human beings were fallen, sinful creatures who had to earn salvation through mastery of their nature by obedience to God.[372] The approach to discipline used in schools was based in scripture: corporal punishment was a Biblically authorized way of not only keeping order, but also bringing children to the righteous path.[373] In their use of corporal punishment, church leaders had the support of nineteenth-century educational bureaucrats such as Egerton Ryerson, who believed that opposition to corporal punishment was "contrary to Scripture."[374] Provincial governments provided teachers in public schools with only limited guidance as to how children were to be disciplined. The 1891 Ontario *Education Act* instructed teachers not to exceed measures that would be taken by a "kind, firm, and judicious parent."[375] Teachers who went beyond these boundaries could be charged with assault under the *Criminal Code*. Canadian courts had ruled that corporal punishment could not be unreasonable, exceed the severity of the offence, or be carried out with malice.[376]

Corporal punishment did not historically have this same level of acceptability among Aboriginal people. The large number of recorded parental complaints, coupled with the ongoing difficulty in recruiting students, is evidence of occasions where discipline imposed by the schools exceeded what would have been acceptable in either Aboriginal or European communities.[377]

Students were punished for not finishing their lessons, for bedwetting, talking out of turn, throwing rocks at the school fence, immorality, refusing to eat their meals, speaking their own languages, neglecting their chores, and theft (often of food).[378] Harsh discipline often caused students to run away. In 1925, one boy ran away from The Pas, Manitoba, school after being flogged with a whip. His parents returned him to the school, where he was flogged once more and locked up. According to the chief of The Pas Band, P. Constant, the boy ran away one more time. "There are some white men and some Indians who saw the boy in the state he was in after his flogging, in fact, we were afraid that he would probably die some where as those who saw him say that he was nearly out of his mind."[379] Parents also believed that a boy at the Williams Lake school committed suicide in 1920 because the school disciplinarian was, in the words of the local Indian agent, "much too free with his cane."[380]

The failure to provide a national discipline policy

There was a clear need for Indian Affairs to develop a discipline policy for the residential schools it was funding. Such a policy should have given instructions on whether and when corporal punishment could be used, who could administer such punishment, what sort of instruments could be used to administer such punishment, the parts of a student's body that could be struck, and the limits on the number of blows that could be struck. It would also have required that the punishment be witnessed and recorded, and provide guidance, or restrictions, on a range of other known punishments including confinement, food deprivation, hair cutting, ear twisting, and various forms of public humiliation. Because there was no such general policy on these issues, instructions were provided on a case-by-case basis to individual schools.

The first—and only—nationwide discipline policy for residential schools that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been able to locate was issued in 1953. Prior to that date, there are references to a policy, but no apparent copies of such a policy document are to be found.

When new schools were established, Indian Affairs provided principals with general advice on the approach to be taken to discipline. For example, in 1899, Deputy Minister Lawrence Vankoughnet informed the Roman Catholic bishop responsible for residential schools in British Columbia that at the newly established school at Cranbrook, "obedience to rules and good behavior should be enforced, but corporal punishment should only be resorted to in extreme cases. In ordinary cases the penalty might be solitary confinement for such time as the offence may warrant, or deprivation of certain articles of food allowed to other pupils."[381]

Similar instructions were issued to Roman Catholic assistant principals in 1888, who were advised to avoid "using too rigorous means with regards to the most rebellious." Among the punishments that were sanctioned were having a student stand in the corner, depriving students of recreation periods, and the denial of food (either a portion of a meal or the entire meal).[382]

In the absence of clear guidelines and directives, individual principals decided for themselves what was and was not appropriate. When principals or other key staff changed, the pattern of discipline could also change, resulting in inconsistency from school to school. Albert Lacombe, the principal of the High River school in what is now Alberta, wrote in the 1885 Indian Affairs annual report, "If we have not some system of coercion to enforce order, and at least a little school discipline, then I assure you it will be very hard to conduct the school with that measure of success which, it was hoped, would attend its establishment."[383] His successor, Charles Claude, wrote in 1887 that the "system of discipline is a military one and strictly carried out, no breach of the regulations remaining unpunished, but must say to the honour of our pupils that all, with few exceptions, observe perfectly the daily routine."[384]

In the years to come, various senior Indian Affairs staff either gave instructions that such policies be issued, or stated that it was their intent to develop such a policy. However, as noted earlier, the Commission has not been able to locate any such policy.

Hayter Reed's instruction of 1895

In 1895, after allegations that excessive discipline was being employed at the Red Deer school in what is now Alberta, Deputy Minister of Indian Affairs Hayter Reed wrote to the assistant Indian commissioner in Regina:

> Instructions should be given, if not already sent, to the Principals of the various schools, that children are not to be whipped by anyone save the Principal, and even when such a course is necessary, great discretion should be used and they should not be struck on the head, or punished so severely that bodily harm might ensue. The practice of corporal punishment is considered unnecessary as a general measure of discipline and should only be resorted to for very grave offences and as a deterrent example.[385]

The fact that Reed, the former Indian commissioner for the Northwest Territories and Manitoba, was uncertain of the existence of regulations governing discipline and corporal punishment underscores the lack of official attention that had been paid to this issue.

Reed's instructions were deficient in a number of ways. For example, they:

- contained no direction as to what other types of discipline were to be used
- did not define what constituted "grave offences"
- did not require a record of punishments to be kept
- did not require parents to be notified of punishment
- did not require more than one adult to be present
- did not stipulate whether it was acceptable for clothing to be removed prior to the administration of corporal punishment
- did not provide direction as to whether children were to be punished in front of other students

No limits were placed on the number of blows that could be administered, or on the instrument that was to be used in administering them. Reed's admonition that children not be struck on the head may have given principals perceived licence to administer blows to any other part of the body.

Despite all these deficiencies, Reed's letter did instruct the assistant Indian commissioner in Regina to draft a policy directive on discipline. The Regina-based Indian Commissioner's office had authority for Indian Affairs in Manitoba and the Northwest Territories (which then included what are now Alberta, Saskatchewan, and the northern parts of Manitoba, Ontario, and Québec). Any directive from the assistant Indian

commissioner in Regina would likely go only to schools—and, quite possibly, only the industrial schools—in that region. In other words, no directive would be sent to residential schools in the rest of the country.

But the directive Reed asked for may never have been sent. In its review of both government and church files, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located any copy of such a document. More significantly, the directive was never referred to in any subsequent correspondence related to discipline that the Commission reviewed. This includes a considerable number of letters in which Indian Affairs officials are expressing displeasure with what they view as being overly harsh discipline in some schools.

For example, in 1896, Amédée Forget, the Indian commissioner for Manitoba and the Northwest Territories, suggested that in the face of repeated misbehaviour, Brandon principal John Semmens would be justified in depriving a student of a holiday, placing him on a "simple diet," or, "as a last resort, unless the boy had great provocation, by corporal punishment." This "should not be more severe than a strapping on the hand, which should be administered in the presence of the whole school, and after such a full explanation of the case as will leave no doubt in the mind of any one as to the justice and necessity of the course pursued."[386] In giving this advice, Forget made no reference to the directive that was supposed to have been sent out the year before.

Duncan Campbell Scott's promised directive of 1922

In 1922, Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott informed an Alberta principal:

> I wish to intimate that the Department approves of corporal punishment, but we demand that it be of a certain type and within reason. In the near future a circular letter is being addressed to all principals, which will, I trust, clearly indicate the Department's position and wishes concerning disciplinary methods.[387]

As in the case of previous references to various guideline documents related to discipline, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has also not been able to locate a copy of this promised circular in any of the records disclosed to us to date. Neither was any mention ever made of such a circular in any subsequent letters about discipline. The 1934 report of a judicial inquiry into complaints of excessive discipline at the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school, for example, makes no reference to any Indian Affairs policies or directives.[388]

R. A. Hoey and the 1937 circular on discipline

In 1937, R. A. Hoey, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, informed the principal of the Mohawk Institute in Brantford that he was "personally, of the opinion that corporal punishment should only be administered by a member of the staff, in the presence of the Principal." This, he said, was the practice in the "larger schools in Western Canada." He went on to say that he had just learned that a "circular making provision for this was sent out to the principals of all residential schools a few years ago. I am enclosing herewith a copy of this resolution for your information and guidance."

But he made no such enclosure. In a postscript to the letter, he wrote, "I am unable, at the moment, to discover the circular to which I refer, but I shall be glad to send it forward just as soon as it is recovered."[389] This is a point that bears repeating: in 1937, the most senior education official in the Indian Affairs branch could not put his hands on the department's discipline policy. Given the vagueness of Hoey's statement, it is not possible to determine the specific year that such a circular was supposed to have been sent out, or even if it might possibly have been the same implied circular to which Deputy Minister Scott had made reference fifteen years earlier. Hoey might not have been personally familiar with the document (if it actually existed), since he had joined Indian Affairs only at the end of 1936.[390] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate a copy of any such document.

The correspondence on discipline from this period, which is of considerable volume, makes no reference to such a policy. For example, in 1940, Indian Affairs official G. H. Barry advised the principal of the Chilliwack, British Columbia, school that

> it would be well in future to limit the infliction of corporal punishment by requiring that definite permission must first be obtained, either from him as Principal or in his absence from the Acting Principal of the School.
>
> I would further advise that in future any such corporal punishment be given with a regulation school strap made of rubber. The actual strap used for years at this School was specially made for the purpose: is not part of a harness trace as suggested, but is, in my opinion, rather too thick, especially for punishment of the smaller boys.[391]

At no point in his letter did Barry make reference to an existing policy document for direction. Either he was unaware of such a document or there was no such document in existence.

Bernard F. Neary's 1947 memorandum

In 1947, Bernard F. Neary, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, drew up instructions regarding punishment, which he referred to in his memorandum as "capital punishment." At the time, he noted, "I can find on file no instance of similar regulations having been prepared."[392] Neary's rules read as follows:

1) That corporal punishment will be used only where all other methods of disciplining a pupil have failed.

2) That corporal punishment will be administered only on the hands with a proper school strap (regulation 15" rubber).

3) That the maximum number of strokes on each hand in no instance exceed four in number for male pupils over fourteen years of age and in proportion for boys under that age.

4) That all such corporal punishment be administered in the presence of the principal or by the principal.

5) That a Corporal Punishment Register be maintained at the school containing the following headings:

a. Date
b. Reasons for punishment
c. By whom administered
d. Witness
e. Signature of pupil punished

6) That this Register be made available for inspection by all Indian Affairs Branch officials visiting the above.[393]

The rules had been drawn up in response to problems at the Morley, Alberta, school. Neary sent a copy of these rules to George Dorey, the secretary of the United Church's Board of Home Missions. Dorey, in turn, sent the rules to the principal of the Morley school, along with a letter stating, "With regard to the suggestions in the Department's letter about corporal punishment it would be my hope that you would see your way clear to adopting them completely."[394]

Once again, Indian Affairs was responding in a piecemeal fashion. The rules were not sent directly to all principals but only to the head of one missionary association. He, in turn, did not instruct all his principals to abide by them. Instead, he simply urged one principal to do so. In addition, as would be noted by others, these rules were incomplete, applying, for instance, only to boys. They did not address other forms of punishment, such as the denial of meals or the cropping of hair.

To summarize:

- In 1895, the deputy minister of Indian Affairs was uncertain as to whether there was a policy on discipline. He then gave instructions that a policy be issued. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) has been unable to locate such a policy, and there is no reference to such a policy in subsequent correspondence on the issue.
- In 1922, the deputy minister of Indian Affairs stated that a policy was forthcoming. The TRC has been unable to locate such a policy, and there is no reference to such a policy in subsequent correspondence on the issue.
- In 1937, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs could not find a copy of the department's policy on discipline.
- In 1947, the superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs could not find a copy of the department's policy on discipline. He then issued a policy document to a specific principal and the head of the school branch of one of the four church organizations responsible for residential schools.

Given these facts, it is safe to say there was no such policy. Certainly, the principals were unaware of the existence of any such policy. The piecemeal approach is underscored by the fact that when disciplinary problems were identified at the Portage la Prairie school in 1949, Indian Affairs sent the principal a copy of the rules that had been sent to the Morley school two years earlier.[395] The principal noted their omissions, saying that he assumed the department was leaving "all other methods" to the discretion of the principal, and pointing out that it was the custom in many schools to "'bob' the hair of any girl who runs away from school."[396]

The failure to regulate is, at least in part, attributable to an unwillingness to confront the churches. Duncan Campbell Scott had concluded in 1913 that the Mohawk Institute's disciplinary code was "too severe." However, he felt "this has been in use so long in the Mohawk Institute that it is difficult to change it." The best he could report to the minister of Indian Affairs was, "As time goes on it will be possible perhaps to relax it."[397] Twenty-four years later, in 1937, in a letter to the lawyer of parents who were complaining about the disciplining of their son at the Mohawk Institute, R. A. Hoey had to acknowledge:

> There are few laws or regulations governing the administration of Indian residential schools, for the simple reason that these schools, without exception, are conducted in cooperation with the churches, with clergymen in charge. The clergymen who undertake this work are missionaries in a very real sense and, consequently, very much devoted to the care and guardianship of their pupils.

It was a weak rationale, applied after the fact, to mask the fact that the government had established and was funding a school system for which it failed to provide the appropriate level of policy direction.[398]

A policy at last: 1953

On April 14, 1953, Philip Phelan, the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, sent out a "statement of policy regarding school discipline, with particular reference to corporal punishment at Indian schools." The key points read as follows:

> Any form of punishment tending to humiliate a pupil is to be avoided. This policy applies alike to the use of sarcasm or to employment of practices calculated to produce distinctive changes in appearance or dress.
>
> It is generally-approved practice for teachers to abstain from physical contacts with pupils whether in anger or affection. Children's reports of such contacts have sometimes been so exaggerated as to make the teacher's position untenable.
>
> In any event there must be no corporal punishment of a pupil who is suspected to be suffering from any physical or mental ailment which corporal punishment may aggravate.
>
> Before resorting to corporal punishment, the principal or the teacher in charge must be convinced that no other approved form of punishment will have the necessary punitive and corrective effects. The educator must be sure that the pupil was aware of doing wrong. The presence of such a factor as premeditation, deliberate repetition or heedlessness of consequences may sometimes justify a more serious view and the use of corporal punishment.
>
> The principal or teacher in charge of a school will decide whether corporal punishment is to be used and will personally administer it in the presence of a witness at a time selected to avoid disturbing the school programme. The witness should be a staff member of the same sex as the pupil who is to be punished; the matron at a residential school should witness the corporal punishment of a girl. Only the strap as issued to the principal or teacher in charge will be used. It will be applied only to the palm of the hand.
>
> In a special book reserved for the purpose a record will be kept of every occasion of corporal punishment. This record will show the date, the name of the pupil, a description of the offence, the number of strokes on either hand, and will be signed by the person who used the strap and by the witness.[399]

The rule relating to changes in appearance should have banned the cropping of hair. The other rules should have ensured that only the principal or the teacher in charge of the school administered corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was to take the form of a strapping on the palm of the hand, delivered in front of a witness of the same sex as the student being strapped. Since humiliation was to be avoided, students were not to be strapped in public. No limits were placed on the number of strokes that could be administered when a student was strapped.

These are the first disciplinary regulations developed by Indian Affairs that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada is certain were widely distributed within the residential school system. They were, for example, included in the 1958 Indian Affairs field manual.[400]

However, these rules had no legal force. They were not included in the *Regulations with respect to teaching, education, inspection, and discipline for Indian Residential Schools* developed under the *Indian Act* in 1953. Those regulations had little to say about discipline. Principals were to assume the "responsibilities of parents or guardian with respect to the welfare and discipline of the pupils under his charge." Students were to "conform to the rules for the conduct and behaviour of pupils while on or near the school premises or any premises where any activity of the school is taking place."[401]

The 1953 rules also appear to be the last system-wide document that Indian Affairs produced and distributed that placed limits on disciplinary measures to be employed in the schools.

Assessing administration and compliance of disciplinary regulations

Given that there were no national disciplinary regulations prior to 1953, it is not possible to assess or comment on the Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials' instruction to analyze "Departmental administration of regulations and church compliance with these regulations" prior to 1953. For this reason, this section of the report is divided into two sections: pre- and post-1953.

The pre-1953 period

The degree and severity of punishment administered at Canadian residential schools were regularly viewed by the government's own officials as being excessive. In some cases, the violations were so severe that principals and staff became the subject of criminal and civil court proceedings. In other cases, the government investigated and absolved the principals and school of excessive behaviour. The absence of any overall regulations, standards, or policies meant that government officials had to draw their own conclusions about whether discipline had been excessive, based on their own instincts and prejudices. Their judgment would also have been affected by the belief that decisions supporting parents' complaints would serve only to weaken the authority of the system. Disciplinary policies were clearly in the hands of the schools, despite the fact that the 1910 contract provided the government with the authority to impose any regulations on the schools that it deemed necessary.

On the following occasions, Indian Affairs officials had drawn attention to what they viewed as being disciplinary excesses at residential schools.

- In 1895, Indian agent D. L. Clink decided not to return a runaway boy to the Red Deer, Alberta, industrial school. He wrote, "I felt if I left the boy he would be abused." Clink wrote that the actions of one teacher "would not be tolerated in a white school for a single day in any part of Canada."[403]
- In 1899, Indian Commissioner David Laird concluded that several children at the Middlechurch school in Manitoba had been "too severely punished." The principal's practice of strapping boys on the back was deemed "too suggestive of the old system of flogging criminals."[402]
- Indian Affairs official Martin Benson wrote in 1914 that students at the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario, were being "disciplined to death."[404]
- The principal of the Presbyterian school in Shoal Lake, Ontario, was advised by the local Indian agent to make less use of corporal punishment in 1914.[405]
- In 1922, Russell Ferrier, Indian Affairs' superintendent of Indian education, described the disciplinary regime at the Chapleau, Ontario, school as "severe."[406]
- In 1922, Indian Affairs instructed Chapleau principal George Prewer, "Give careful and thoughtful attention to the discipline problem of the school and assiduously avoid any corporal punishment that could be considered by outsiders as pitiless."[407]
- In 1924, Indian agent J. W. Waddy reported that E. V. Bird, the principal of the Anglican school in The Pas, Manitoba, was "too severe in punishing the children at that place."[408]
- In 1925, Indian agent J. W. Waddy reported that he had been told by a local man that a boy who ran away from the school at The Pas had been so badly beaten, he "was welted all around one leg, black and blue." Waddy's informant said that if the government did not take action, he would take up "the matter with the S.P.C.A. like he would if a dog was abused." He also warned, "One of these times a pupil will starve to death in the bush after running away from school."[409]
- In 1928, when commenting on the treatment of runaways from the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan, the local Indian agent noted that all but three of the boys had been "punished corporally but whether severely enough to check them remains to be seen."[410]
- In 1928, E. Ruaux, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, Alberta, informed the father of a runaway boy that he would whip the boy, unless he was instructed not to by the local Indian agent. The agent complained to Ottawa that it was not fair for the principal to burden him with the decision, adding he preferred to "deal with the Indians strictly according to the Act."[411]
- In 1928, Edwin Smith, a non-teaching staff member at the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, challenged a student to a fight and then gave him a bloody nose.[412]

- In 1934, E. Ruaux, the principal of the Roman Catholic school in Cardston, attacked a boy who did not give him a sufficiently respectful answer when told to take his hands out of his pockets. In the scuffle, he gave the boy a bloody nose.[413] Ruaux remained in office until February 1937.[414]
- In 1936, a police officer who returned a group of runaway boys to the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, was reported by school staff as saying "that when he was twelve years of age if he had been kept in as one of these boys had been, he would have gone farther away than the boys did."[415]
- In 1940, a staff member at the Presbyterian school in Kenora threw a stone at a boy and hit him in the head. He took this action because the boy had refused to obey an instruction to stop throwing stones.[416]
- In 1940, a boy at the Coqualeetza Institute, in Chilliwack, British Columbia, was forced to take down his pants to receive a thrashing with a length of harness.[417]
- In 1940, a supervisor at the St. Albert, Alberta, school put his hands around the throat of a runaway boy and lifted him into the air.[418] After an investigation, the staff member was dismissed.[419]
- In 1945, at the Presbyterian school in Kenora, students who, in the words of the principal, had been involved in a "sex case" or had attempted to "jump trains" were strapped on their buttocks.[420]

Despite these known excesses in discipline, principals who were viewed as being excessively violent were allowed to remain in office. In 1924, Indian Commissioner W. M. Graham recommended to Deputy Minister Scott that E. V. Bird, the principal of The Pas school, be discharged, since "he is not fit to have charge of Indian children."[421] Assistant Superintendent General J. D. McLean wrote to T. B. R. Westgate of the Anglican Church about a beating the same principal had given to one boy, saying that he concurred with Graham's recommendation.[422] Despite this, Bird was not dismissed. In 1925, Graham once more recommended that Bird be fired after another complaint about a beating that had been administered to a student.[423] The Anglican Church conducted an investigation. However, the investigator did not contact the individuals who had made the initial complaint about the beating.[424] Principal Bird continued in office until 1927, three years after Graham had called for his dismissal.[425]

Principals also protected staff members who were known to be prone to lose their tempers when disciplining students. The disciplinarian at the Blue Quills, Alberta, school, T. H. Tuck, acknowledged in 1933 that he was "very quick-tempered & have at different times got after them perhaps a little too severely."[426] He was still at the school in 1935 and still being warned to control his temper.[427] Local band officials complained about him in 1939.[428] In 1941, Tuck left the Blue Quills school to take a position at the Fraser Lake school in British Columbia.[429] Apparently, he ran into trouble there as well, and efforts were made to send him to the Mission, British Columbia, school. The principal of that school turned down the offer.[430]

Principals were often able to frustrate the efforts of Indian agents who found disciplinary practices in the school to be excessively harsh. When, in 1895, Indian agent D. L. Clink questioned Red Deer principal John Nelson about a report that a boy had been hit on the head with a stick, the principal told him to mind his own business, adding, "We run this school." Nothing came of Clink's recommendation that the staff member be brought up on criminal charges.[431]

When he came upon an allegation that a boy had committed suicide as a result of the harsh discipline at the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school in 1920, Indian agent Arthur O'N. Daunt proceeded very cautiously. His letter to Indian Affairs makes it clear that he did not believe the school's administration would co-operate with the government in any investigation into either the death or the alleged harshness of the disciplinarian. Instead, he suggested that the Indian Affairs doctor pretend to be carrying out a medical examination of all the students. The doctor could then report to Indian Affairs if any of the students were bruised or showed other signs of abuse.[432] Indian Affairs officials rejected this proposal and ordered him to investigate.[433] By then, however, many of the students had gone home for their vacation. As a result, Daunt failed to carry out the inquiry into the suicide as instructed.[434]

In May 1934, Indian agent J. E. Pugh met with local Indian band officials who were angered by the bloody nose that Cardston Roman Catholic principal E. Ruaux had given a pupil. Ruaux's reaction was to ask "what business do they [the chiefs] have in the government of his school?"[435] Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Harold McGill advised Pugh that "it would be in the best interests of all parties concerned to allow the matter to drop."[436] In other cases, when Indian Affairs officials investigated complaints, they limited themselves to asking questions of staff members, without ever speaking to the students or their parents.[437]

There was also a strong belief among many government and school officials that physical force was required to intimidate residential school students. A government inspector wrote of the Red Deer school in 1902, "The boys have no respect for authority unless it is based on the personal strength of the particular officer exercising it. Each officer who is physically able punishes and disciplines his boys after his own methods." In his view, the "officer who is not endowed with this physical capability is helpless."[438] An inspector of Indian agencies, A. G. Hamilton, wrote in the early 1930s that the only way to control the older boys at the Anglican school in The Pas would be if "a proper boys' supervisor were secured, and he would need to be a real man, it would be a big step towards handling the children. This would also strengthen the authority of the other members, who at present find themselves unable to control the children."[439]

Even the legal system appeared to be influenced by attitudes supporting the justification of severe corporal discipline. In his 1934 report on a mass whipping of nineteen boys at the Shubenacadie school, Justice L. A. Audette wrote that "punishment must

be measured according to the gravity of the offence and not overlooking the complex intelligence of these boys who have all been brought up in the life of Indians."[440] Since "all human governments rest in the last resort upon physical paid [sic]," it was well for the students to "realize through experience this ineluctable fact."[441] The thrashing was, in the judge's view, not only a punishment, but also a benefit, an education into the foundations of civilization. Audette argued that the principal and school could not afford to look weak in the eyes of the students. "A weak punishment to these Indian pupils would have had no effect, would have been turned into derision and they would have laughed at it."[442]

This fear of looking weak is one that recurs throughout the history of residential schools. In assessing whether an overly harsh principal should be removed from the Blue Quills, Alberta, school in 1932, Indian Affairs official Russell Ferrier wrote that since there had been "no recent difficulties," he did not "believe it would be subversive of discipline on the reserve if Father Angin left quietly. The Indians could not feel that they have won any 'Victory,' as they have not recently sent in any formal complaints."[443] The principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, E. W. Byers, complained bitterly in 1936 when the local Indian agent and provincial police officials raised concerns—in front of parents—about discipline at the school. According to Byers, "Indian children must be dealt with firmly, and if they once conceive the idea that the staff has no authority over them, then the discipline will get out of hand completely."[444] In this case, the local Indian agent, who had concerns about Byers's behaviour, was instructed: "The principal is in the best position to decide what disciplinary measures are required." The ability of Indian Affairs field staff to monitor school discipline was, once more, effectively undermined by department officials.[445]

The failure to provide policy on discipline, and the failure to act on situations of abuse when that discipline was excessive, had serious implications and lasting consequences.

Because there was no policy, there was no limit on what students could be hit with. It is clear from the record that, in administering corporal punishment, residential school principals did not limit themselves to the use of the kind of strap commonly known in public schools at the time. There are reports of staff using horse whips (often called "quirts") to punish students. Birtle principal George McLaren was using "a small raw hide" in 1892 to punish runaways.[446] In 1902, the principal of the Williams Lake school said that on approximately three occasions, he had used "a saddle whip or quirt to punish boys."[447] At the Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve in the early twentieth century, P. H. Gentleman used a quirt on students.[448] In the 1930s, a quirt was also in use at the Blue Quills school.[449] In 1934, students at the Shubenacadie school were thrashed on their bare backs with a seven-thonged strap that was made specially by the school carpenter to be used on this occasion.[450] These punishments were not limited to the early twentieth century. In 1936, Chapleau school principal A. J. Vale sought

to discharge a girl who had refused to drop her "stubborn" ways even after he had subjected her to "severe whipping and various methods of punishments, such as extra work instead of play, being sent to bed early and loss of extra privileges."[451] In 1940, a student was thrashed with a length of harness trace.[452] Students were also punished by blows from bare hands and fists, metal rods, canes, belts, a shovel, a horseshoe, and even a knotted bootlace.[453] In the cases of both the shovel and the horseshoe, school administrators resisted Indian Affairs' requests that the staff members be dismissed. In one case, the staff member was dismissed, but Indian Affairs indicated that there would be no objection if he were rehired at another school.[454]

Because there was no policy, there were no limits on where students could be hit. Students at Shubenacadie and Cluny were whipped on their backs.[455] Students at Williams Lake and The Pas were strapped on the legs.[456] One girl at The Pas school was hit in the face with the strap.[457] According to a staff member, this happened when the girl sought to pull her hand away from a blow.[458] In 1940, a student at Chilliwack was strapped on bare buttocks.[459]

Because there was no policy, there was no limit on the number of blows or the degree of injury that could be inflicted. There are reports of corporal punishment so severe that it left students with bruises. These include reports from schools in Brantford in 1914, Cluny in 1921, The Pas in 1925, Shubenacadie in 1934, and Brantford in 1937.[460] A judicial inquiry held into the mass flogging at the Shubenacadie school downplayed the fact that the punishment had left scars on the backs of some students. Justice L. A. Audette wrote that "flesh differs. Some skin or flesh has more or less resistance than others."[461] Cluny principal J. Riou wrote in 1922 that he did not believe strapping fifteen- or sixteen-year-old boys or girls to be "pitiless treatment," even if it left "the boy or the girl marked."[462]

Because there was no policy, there was no limit on the use of confinement as a punishment. Some schools had rooms specifically set aside to serve as what amounted to solitary confinement jail cells. In a report from the fall of 1892 on the Battleford school, Indian Affairs official Alex McGibbon wrote that a fellow Indian Affairs official had locked a boy in a cell. This was done against the wishes of the school principal.[463] The Shingwauk Home in Sault Ste. Marie in 1889 had a "lockup" room to which students were sent as punishment.[464] For "serious faults," students at the Williams Lake school might be locked in a room for up to twelve days in 1902.[465] In a 1907 report on the Mohawk Institute, the inspector for Indian agencies, J. G. Ramsden, wrote, "I cannot say that I was favourably impressed with the sight of two prison cells in the boys [sic] playhouse. I was informed, however, that these were for pupils who ran away from the institution, confinement being for a week at a time when pupils returned."[466] In the 1920s, the principal of the Roman Catholic school at Kenora was reported to have locked students in cupboards, the outhouses, and the basement as punishment. He said he had adopted these practices because the local Indian agent

had recommended that he make less use of corporal punishment.[467] At the Gordon's Reserve school in the 1930s, students were confined as punishment in the infirmary.[468] While they were locked up, students might not be allowed to see their parents if they visited the school.[469] Into the 1950s, there are reports of students confined to specific punishment rooms.[470]

Confined students often were fed restricted diets. It was reported in 1902 that girls at Williams Lake had been put on bread-and-water diets.[471] At the Mohawk Institute in 1914, a girl was put on a bread-and-water diet for three days.[472] Boys suspected of theft were put on bread and water at Shubenacadie in 1934, as were truants at the Gordon's school in 1938.[473]

Because there was no policy, there were no limits on what could be done to students as punishment. It is important to recall that we are talking about students at school, not prisoners in jail. Yet, numerous residential school students were physically restrained. In some cases, their hands were tied behind their backs; they were chained to benches; they were shackled to their beds and chained to each other; and their hands and feet were tied together.[474] In 1920, the newly appointed principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, school described his predecessor's administration as one of "repression, with such paraphernalia as hand-cuffs, leg-irons, stocks, convicts' haircuts and prison cells."[475] In 1934, a runaway student at the same school was blindfolded and forced to eat a spoonful of mustard. He was then held face-down in a pail of water.[476]

Many of the punishments were also coupled with humiliation. In addition to being strapped, runaways often had their hair cut short or shaved off.[477] Students often had their ears twisted as punishment.[478] In 1939, Carcross, Yukon, principal H. C. Grant informed Indian Affairs that some students had been "laid across the classroom desk in the presence of the whole school, clad only in their night attire, and strapped on a different part of their anatomy than their hands."[479] In 1952, two former staff members of the Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school reported that students were being spanked "for the benefit of the entire school."[480]

On occasion, Indian Affairs officials expressed opposition to such punishments. In 1906, Indian Commissioner David Laird instructed the Indian agent responsible for the Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, school that "ear twisting for punishment should be dropped."[481] Indian Affairs departmental secretary T. R. L. MacInnes advised the Gordon's principal in 1938 that, "while it is doubtful" cutting the girls' hair "constitutes assault in a legal sense at the same time it is felt that you should adopt some other method of enforcing discipline."[482] These letters are yet further evidence of the fact that there was no system-wide discipline policy to which Indian Affairs and school officials could refer. It also demonstrates the Indian Affairs habit of dealing with problems on a case-by-case basis. Laird could have sent a letter to all the schools over which he, as Indian commissioner, had authority on the Canadian Prairies. MacInnes could have

given stronger direction and given it to all principals, not simply to the principal of a single school in Saskatchewan.

Punishment could take the form of an endurance test. At the Battleford school in 1892, students were made to stand alongside a fence for two hours as punishment. At the Sechelt, British Columbia, school in 1936, the school disciplinarian held extended physical drills, requiring boys to hop on one leg "for longer periods than usual," in an effort to force them to reveal who had stolen a set of the school keys.[483]

Right across the country, students who wet their beds were subjected to a range of humiliating punishments, of which one of the most common was being paraded in front of the other students, often draped in their wet bedsheets.[484] In other cases, they were placed in tubs of hot or cold water for extended periods of time.[485]

The post-1953 period

The 1953 policy document appears to have had only limited impact. In 1956, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora had twisted a boy's ear in the full view of his grandfather. The incident led R. F. Davey, the superintendent of education, to ask the principal "to abide by the regulations governing discipline in our schools, a copy of which is attached." The principal responded, "I have not previously seen the regulations which you have enclosed. I will abide by it in the future."[486] In 1965, an investigation into allegations of excessive discipline at the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school revealed that the school principal did not have a copy of the Indian Affairs discipline policy.[487]

In October 1953, the effectiveness of the discipline policy underwent its first test. That month, a father laid a complaint before the local justice of the peace about the treatment his sons had received at the Birtle, Manitoba, school. He said that Principal N. W. Rusaw had strapped the two boys on the buttocks.[488] Indian Affairs official G. H. Marcoux spoke to the parents, to one of the boys, the principal, a police officer, and a doctor named Bjoranson. The parents said the beating had left marks on the boys' genitals, while the doctor and police officer said that the marks were limited to the backs of their legs and buttocks. Marcoux wrote, "Mr. Rusaw may have overstepped the mark a little but I believe his story that the boys were running away and he said he had to make an example of them."[489] Acting Superintendent of Education R. F. Davey concluded that neither the "manner of administering the punishment nor the report of the occasion" conformed to the recently released regulations. However, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could not locate any record of any disciplinary action ever taken against the principal, who continued in office for almost another twenty years, until at least 1970.[490]

There are other examples of harsh punishment from this era. A girl from the Gordon's school in Saskatchewan was hospitalized in 1956 after being punished. Indian Affairs did not become aware of this until after the principal in charge of the school had resigned and fled the country.[491] The parents of a student at the Blue Quills, Alberta, school informed the administration in 1959 that their son had told them he was going to run away if the current boys' master was not replaced. Their son said that the master was "too rough for the boys" and hit them with his fists.[492] The master was facing criminal charges at the time for an assault that took place outside of the school and did not involve school pupils or employees.[493] By the late 1950s, there were reports that students at the Lytton, British Columbia, school and residence were being regularly struck in the face by a number of staff members for violating school rules.[494]

In some cases, Indian Affairs officials appear to have supported and encouraged the use of harsh punishment. In 1961, an Indian agent recommended that a principal respond to truancy at the Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school with the "heavy strapping of offenders."[495]

Harsh physical discipline was not only used for punishment: it was also used as a tool of domination. In 1956, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora who had twisted a boy's ear in front of his grandfather acknowledged that the reason he had done it "was jointly to let the boy's grandfather see that the boy was in the wrong and also to let the boy know that I do not fear his grandfather."[496]

Students also continued to be punished in humiliating and public fashion. In 1963, thirteen students at the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school were strapped on their bottoms in front of the assembled staff and students. The Indian agent disapproved, but the principal remained in office.[497] In 1965, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora acknowledged that he had "confined two Indian children to their room in their underclothing with only bare mattresses in the room and provided a diet of bread and milk only as a means of punishment for their having run away from the school."[498]

In some cases, discipline appears to have bordered on the sadistic. In the 1960s, Kamloops, British Columbia, principal Allan Noonan advocated the following treatment for older boys who got into fights and refused to apologize: "Put them in the ring with gloves and supervise a boxing match until both boys are too tired to care any more. For a bully, this is good medicine too—let five little fellows with gloves on push him around the ring. The bully will get tired especially if he is made to box on his knees."[499]

Short haircuts (including shaved heads) continued to be given as punishment, particularly in the case of truancy. For example, there are reports of such punishment from Saskatchewan in 1957 and 1965, the Yukon in 1959, and Québec in 1970.[500]

Although Indian Affairs investigated some complaints, in many others, Indian Affairs allowed principals to conduct their own investigations into complaints about

staff.[501] There are also examples of staff members who, having raised their own concerns about discipline levels at their schools, were dismissed for speaking up, were marginalized, or had their complaints trivialized.[502]

In some cases, the churches established and enforced their own disciplinary policies. The 1967 Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, school staff manual stated that corporal punishment was to be used only as a last resort. It could be administered only by the principal or, in the absence of the principal, the vice-principal or senior teacher. "Any staff member who strikes a child is liable to instant dismissal and possible prosecution. Difficult disciplinary problems must always be referred to a senior staff member."[503] That same year, a child-care worker at an Anglican school in Saskatchewan was fired for striking a student in the face and kicking him.[504]

Despite positive developments, even in the system's final years, there are cases where discipline was excessive and poorly controlled. As late as 1989, there were reports that students at the Poplar Hill school in northwestern Ontario were being held down on a table and struck with a leather strap. The same school also had a "counselling room" in which children were alleged to have been locked for hours at a time.[505] Controversy over these policies eventually led to the closure of the school.[506]

The Gordon's Residence in Saskatchewan did not close until the late 1990s. The school had a long history of poor management, sexual abuse of students, and complaints that discipline was harsh and abusive. Throughout the school's later years, its management did not control the staff. The result was relentless abuse of students. There are examples of staff members belittling students' families, slapping students, banging their heads against doors, banging their heads against walls, and grabbing students by the hair.[507] Punishments of this sort continued into the 1990s.[508]

Students continued to be subject to excessive, violent, and often humiliating punishments. These were often administered by people who had no authority to discipline the children and who kept no record of what they had done.

Protection from the courts: pre- and post-1953

The courts appear to have offered minimal protection to students who were being physically abused. On at least three occasions, residential school staff members were charged with assaulting students. In each case, they were acquitted.[509] In a fourth case, a supervisor, Ralph Jubinville, was dismissed from the Kamsack, Saskatchewan, school in 1965 for deliberately inflicting burns on the arms and necks of several boys as a form of punishment.[510] Although the police were notified of his actions at the time, they took no action. However, in the 1990s, complaints from former students led the police to revisit the case. According to the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Jubinville was convicted on three charges of assault causing bodily harm. He was fined $500.[511]

On one occasion, the civil courts were more receptive to parental concerns. In 1914, the father of two children at the Mohawk Institute successfully sued school principal Nelles Ashton for imprisoning one of his daughters for three days on a water diet, and for the physical punishment she had been subjected to for having run away from the school.[512] Ashton, who had been principal since 1911, was replaced that year.[513] While the finding in this case did contribute to the dismissal of the principal, it did not lead to the introduction of any general policy on issues such as student confinement and restricted diets.

The federal government failed to establish and enforce a comprehensive discipline policy for the residential schools and residences that it funded. Without meaningful regulation, the schools evolved into a set of institutions that were characterized by harsh, punitive, and humiliating discipline. These measures undermined the schools' education mission; led many students to run away, thereby placing their health at risk; and contributed to the development of a stressful atmosphere that undoubtedly would have undermined student health.

The failure to develop and implement comprehensive and consistent directives, and to monitor for effective and appropriate discipline, sent the message that there were no real limits or consequences to what could be done to Aboriginal children within the walls of a residential school.

Abuse

There were no residential school policies or regulations that dealt specifically with the issue of the sexual abuse of students for most of the system's history. There were, however, a number of provisions in the Canadian *Criminal Code* of 1892 that provided for the prosecution of those who sexually abused children. All male homosexual sex acts—and attempts at such acts—were open to prosecution, as were all sexual relations and attempts to have sexual relations with individuals under fourteen years of age. (An exception was made in the case of legal spouses under the age of fourteen.) It was also a crime to seduce "any girl of previously chaste character" who was under the age of sixteen, or to seduce "or have an illicit relationship" with a "ward" (a term that would include a residential school student). It was not possible to use consent as a defence in the case of charges of indecent assault of individuals under the age of fourteen.[514]

It was not until the 1960s that North American jurisdictions began to amend child-welfare laws to require the mandatory reporting of suspected child abuse to the appropriate civil authorities. All Canadian jurisdictions now have legislation outlining responsibility for the reporting of suspected child abuse.[515]

From 1960 onwards, the Anglican Church did require principals to report on the reasons why staff members resigned. A confidential list was maintained of those who were not to be rehired for a variety of reasons, including "lack of suitability on moral grounds."[516] Indian Affairs established a similar caution list in 1968. All Indian Affairs school superintendents were required to submit the names of all former teachers who had "created problems" and were no longer working for Indian Affairs.[517] The first list was sent out in June 1968. No one on the list was to be hired without the approval of the Indian Affairs office in Ottawa.[518] Six years earlier, in 1962, the lawyer who prosecuted a case of abuse at the Roman Catholic Grollier Hall residence in Inuvik, Northwest Territories, had recommended that the federal Royal Canadian Mounted Police conduct a background check "on each and every single man and woman who accepts such a position of authority over youngsters."[519] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could not find any record to suggest that the federal government acted on this recommendation.

The practice in the absence of regulation

The date of the first known conviction of a residential school employee for sexually abusing a student is 1945.[520] However, there were many incidents of abuse prior to that year. There were allegations as early as 1886 that a man who was working for Indian Affairs as a translator and as a recruiter for the High River school in what is now Alberta was sexually abusing students. Nothing was done at the time, even though the man had a reputation for abusing children in the past.[521] When new allegations surfaced against the same man in 1891, Indian Affairs simply forced him to resign. It is clear from the record that Indian Affairs wished to avoid the negative publicity that would arise from a police investigation and a trial.[522]

This was the standard practice. When students, parents, staff, or former staff brought forward allegations of abuse, government and church officials often did not report the matter to the police. Investigations often amounted to little more than seeking out and accepting the denials of the accused school official. Even when government and church officials concluded that the allegations were accurate, they were more likely to simply fire the perpetrator than bring in the police. In some cases, individuals who had been identified as abusers were allowed to remain at the schools, providing them with continued opportunities to abuse children. In this aspect of the residential schools, the government and the churches failed absolutely. They failed in their responsibilities to protect the students who were their legal wards; and they failed in their responsibilities to parents, to ensure the safekeeping of their children. Such failures manifested themselves in the following ways.

- **Failure to believe student and parental reports of abuse.** In 1944, an Indian Affairs official disparaged the veracity of Aboriginal people when they brought forward complaints about abuse.[523] There are reports that in the 1950s, complaints about the activities of two men were made to the principal of the Lower Post school in northern British Columbia. According to the complainants, no action was taken at the time.[524] One of the men would eventually be convicted many years later for assaults committed at the school.[525] The other died before he could be prosecuted.[526]
- **Failure to take action.** The Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school engineer was kept on staff after he was convicted of assaulting a female student.[527] In Inuvik, Northwest Territories, despite complaints from co-workers and suspicions raised by staff, there was no investigation into the behaviour of an employee at Grollier Hall. Instead, the employee, who was later convicted of abusing several students, was allowed to work to the end of the school year.[528]
- **Failure to investigate complaints impartially.** When investigating complaints about the principal of the Middlechurch, Manitoba, school in 1897, the Indian commissioner did not speak with the former staff person who had made the complaint.[529] The principal was cleared.[530] Two years later, an investigation into his relations with female students at the school led to his dismissal.[531] The only inquiry that Indian Affairs carried out into complaints against the principal of the Shingwauk school in Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario, in 1916 was to contact the principal.[532] Charges of sexual impropriety made against the principal of the Gordon's school were investigated by the senior teacher in 1956. The teacher exonerated the principal.[533]
- **Failure to report allegations of improper behaviour to Indian Affairs or the police (or both).** The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has found no documented evidence that Indian Affairs was informed of a 1911 complaint that the principal of the Presbyterian school in northwestern Ontario was suspected of engaging in inappropriate behaviour with female students.[534] The practice of simply dismissing staff for having sexual relations with students was common, rather than pursuing criminal action. When accused of indecent conduct, the principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, school fled the school in 1921. There is no record of his being charged or prosecuted.[535] When the principal of the Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, discovered that the farm instructor was having sexual relations with female students, he fired the man immediately and recommended that he catch that night's train.[536] No available records indicate that allegations made against the principal of the Gordon's school in 1956 were reported to Indian Affairs or the police.[537] In 1960, Indian Affairs officials were of the opinion that United Church representatives were not providing them with information about abuse at their Edmonton school.

United Church representatives became aware that a second former staff member may have been abusing students at the Edmonton school. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not located any evidence to indicate that United Church officials forwarded concerns about the individual's activities to the police or Indian Affairs.[538] Similarly, in 1961, Anglican Church officials decided not to involve the police in a case of abuse by a Gordon's staff member (who had left the school).[539] When the principal of the Lytton school learned in 1973 that an employee was abusing students, he fired the man but did not report the assaults, or his decision to fire the perpetrator, to either the police or Indian Affairs.[540]

- **Government failure to report abuse to the police.** When federal government officials concluded that an employee at Coudert Hall in Whitehorse, Yukon, was abusing students, he was dismissed. No report was made to the police.[541]
- **Failure to support police investigations.** In 1930, British Columbia Provincial Police identified a number of cases of abuse at the Kuper Island school. Rather than assist the police in the investigation, Indian Affairs officials and Roman Catholic Church officials chose to protect the school's reputation. As a result, individuals suspected of abuse were fired and told to leave the province. These measures effectively ended the police investigation.[542]
- **Failure on the part of Indian Affairs field staff to report properly on the prosecution of residential school staff to senior officials.** In 1964, Indian Affairs officials in Ottawa were not able to get detailed reports from their field staff on the conviction of a teacher at the Morley, Alberta, school.[543]
- **Failure to screen effectively when hiring.** In 1966, a man who had been convicted of a sexual assault just months earlier was hired at the Qu'Appelle school in Saskatchewan.[544] In 1967, a man was able to find work at the Birtle, Manitoba, school just months after he had left a residential school and a public school in Alberta under suspicious circumstances.[545] In 1974, the principal of the Lower Post school in British Columbia hired a man to work as the school's night watchman, even though he was known to have been recently convicted of "molesting" boys.[546] While the schools failed to put appropriate screening and monitoring processes in place, the government was reluctant to press them to do it out of respect for the church's need for 'flexibility.' And, to ensure that such processes were in place would have required more resources than the federal government was then providing.[547]
- **Failure to protect students from abuse by other students**. For example, incidents of sexual and physical abuse of students by other students at Gordon's school continued into the 1950s.[548]
- **Failure to assist victims.** Although, in one case, there is evidence that a group of victims were assessed by a psychologist—who was actually in the community

to assess their abuser—the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not been able to locate evidence to demonstrate that the government or the churches provided any organized form of support or information to abused students, their parents, or their communities.[549]

- **Failure on the part of police to investigate properly.** When reports of physical abuse at the Roman Catholic school at Kamsack were made in the 1960s, the police were satisfied with the dismissal of the employee. Thirty years later, the individual was prosecuted and convicted for the abusive acts committed in the 1960s.[550] Paul Leroux, a supervisor at Grollier Hall, was convicted of a sexual assault in 1979 involving a student at Grollier Hall.[551] The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has not found any documentation to suggest that an investigation was carried out at that time to determine if Leroux had assaulted any other students at either Grollier Hall or the Beauval, Saskatchewan, school where he had previously worked. It was not until several decades had passed that, in response to the complaints of former students, Leroux's activities at Grollier Hall and Beauval were investigated. He was subsequently convicted of additional assaults at both institutions.[552]

The potential for the sexual abuse of students was known by government and church officials from the outset of the operation of the residential schools. Laws existed under which perpetrators could be prosecuted. Children living in residential schools should have been protected from abuse. If they were not protected—and tens of thousands were not—then the system failed to provide a standard of care required by any Canadian child-welfare system.[553] The government and the churches did not establish policies to either protect students or address abuse when it occurred: the typical response was to place the institutional interests of the schools ahead of the interests of the students.

Truancy

The provisions of the *Indian Act* and the regulations adopted at various times under that Act make clear that from 1894 onwards, the Canadian government had a definition of "truancy," and had established its authority to return truant students to residential schools. Truancy was, in fact, one of the earliest residential school matters on which Indian Affairs had relatively detailed legislation and regulation. The government also adjusted—and tightened—the legislation and the regulations to deal with perceived deficiencies.

The major focus of the regulations and their enforcement was the enrolment and attendance of students. The churches often complained that the regulations regarding attendance were too weak and enforcement was ineffective.[554] Even so, the

government had the power to fine and jail parents who did not enrol their children in residential school. Parents were threatened with prosecution and, on some occasions, were prosecuted under the truancy provisions of the *Indian Act*. Indian Affairs officials also sometimes denied food relief to communities and individuals in an effort to force them to send their children to residential school.[555] There are numerous examples of large numbers of parents refusing to return their children to school in the autumn. In these cases, local Indian Affairs officials and police officials worked together to force parents to send their children to school.[556] On occasion, senior Indian Affairs officials, who favoured a less confrontational approach, cautioned against using police to force parents to send children to school and prosecuting parents who kept their children out of school.[557] Despite such cautions, a police presence—and the threat of prosecution—was used for much of the system's history to ensure residential school attendance.[558] Indian Affairs also threatened to prosecute people who provided shelter to runaway students.[559]

The risks that runaways faced

Students who ran away were at risk of injury and death.[560] There was one key area in which the government policy on truancy was deficient: the procedures that school staff, Indian Affairs staff, and police force members were to follow when a student ran away from school. The first system-wide policy that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada was able to find outlining the procedures to be taken when a child ran away from school dates from 1953. That policy, contained in the 1953 regulations in the *Indian Act*, simply stated, "The principal shall take prompt action to effect the return to school of any truant pupil, and shall report promptly to the Superintendent, Indian Agency, every case of truancy."[561] The nature of the prompt action was undefined. In particular, there was no requirement to contact either the child's parents or the police. It would not be until 1971 that a more encompassing, nationwide policy would be announced.

The scope of the problem

Almost all schools had runaways; at times, the problem became so severe that officials spoke of truancy as reaching "epidemic" levels.

As examples:

- In February 1902, nine boys ran away from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school.[562]
- In 1928, the Indian agent at the Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba, reported that hardly a day went by without a student running away.[563]

- Eight boys and four girls ran away from the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school in 1928.[564]
- Indian agent J. E. Pugh acknowledged in 1928 that truancy at the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, "has been bad. In fact, at times one could almost designate it a continual in and out."[565]
- In 1935, ten pupils ran away from the Birtle, Manitoba, school.[566]
- Six children ran away from the Chapleau, Ontario, school during a three-day period in 1937.[567]
- Five boys ran away from the Pine Creek school on the morning of April 22, 1940.[568]
- Six boys, ranging in age from eleven to fourteen, ran away from the Brandon, Manitoba, school on September 29, 1942.[569] Two more boys ran away on January 9, 1943.[570]
- Five boys ran away from the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school on October 1, 1944.[571]
- Between 1941 and 1946, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police prepared at least sixteen separate reports on investigations into students who had run away from the Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school.[572]
- Three boys ran away from the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school in a two-month period in 1941.[573]
- The local Indian agent said in 1942 that "truancy is rife" at the Birtle residential school.[574]
- In the 1942–43 school year, there had been approximately sixty runaways from the Mount Elgin, Ontario, school.[575]
- In the spring of 1945, seventeen boys were truant from the Hobbema, Alberta, school.[576]
- The Alert Bay, British Columbia, school was hit with what the principal termed an "epidemic of truancy" in the fall of 1947.[577]
- On January 23, 1949, twenty-five girls ran away from the Mohawk Institute in Brantford, Ontario.[578]
- In September and October of 1966, fifty-five children were absent without leave from the Presbyterian school in Kenora, Ontario, a combined total of 146 times. Of those fifty-five students, thirty were absent thirty-seven times. The school had an enrolment of 143. The periods of absence ranged from a half-day to a week.[579]

The record undoubtedly understates the problem. Many Indian Affairs officials believed that principals did not provide them with proper notification when a student ran away. Oliver Strapp, the principal of the Mount Elgin school in Muncey, Ontario, neglected to inform Indian Affairs of the school's persistent problem with runaways. It was only through the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) that the local Indian agent, George Down, learned in June 1943 that there had been approximately sixty runaways from Mount Elgin in the previous year.[580] In 1940, school inspector G. H. Barry suspected that the principal of the Lytton, British Columbia, school was

reporting runaways as being discharged rather than missing. The local Indian agent, who did not get along with the Lytton principal, had told Barry that "at least nine pupils had run away this year, but there were probably more unreported to him."[581] In 1942, Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, principal J. P. Mackey neglected to inform Indian Affairs that a runaway boy had been located and returned to the school.[582] When Sam Ross ran away from the Birtle school in the winter of 1959, Principal N. M. Rusaw did not inform either Ross's family or the Indian agent from Ross's home community.[583] After a change of administration at the Sioux Lookout school in 1961, the Anglican Church discovered that the previous principal had been underreporting the truancy problem—which was attributed to the poor job that was being done by the school's student supervisor—and the school had been collecting grants for students who were no longer attending.[584]

There are also gaps in the record. For example, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could find no records indicating that the principal of the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school had informed Indian Affairs when three boys were presumed to have drowned after running away in 1928.[585] The Commission also could find no records to indicate that the principal of the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school had ever informed Indian Affairs when twelve students ran away from that school in 1928.[586]

Failure to search; failure to inform

There are numerous examples of delays in undertaking searches for runaway students, and of notifying Indian Affairs and the police of runaways. The results in several cases were tragic.

- When an afternoon search party brought back eight of the nine boys who had run away from the Williams Lake school, just after lunchtime on February 8, 1902, Principal Henry Boening decided not to continue the search for the ninth boy. He expected that eight-year-old Duncan Sticks would find shelter under a haystack for the night. The following day, a school staff member went to a nearby First Nations settlement "to see if he could get some Indians to go after the boy."[587] Later that day, a local man found Sticks frozen to death.[588]
- In 1931, the principal of the Anglican school in The Pas waited until Monday evening to inform the Indian agent that a boy had run away the previous Saturday morning. Eventually, the RCMP were alerted and the boy was found, alive, nine days after he had run away. According to the Indian agent, "The school to my knowledge took no steps to find the boy."[589]
- Round Lake, Saskatchewan, principal R. J. Ross waited until January 17, 1935, before mailing a notification to Indian Affairs that three boys had run away from the school four days earlier, on January 13. The school never organized a search:

two of the boys made it to safety; a third boy, fifteen-year-old Percy Ochapowace, froze to death.[590]

- Nine-year-old Allen Patrick, eight-year-olds Andrew Paul and Justa Maurice, and seven-year-old John Jack ran away from the Fraser Lake school in the afternoon of January 2, 1937. It was not until the early afternoon of the following day that a search party was organized. All four boys were found frozen to death.[591]
- Eleven-year-old Andrew Gordon ran away from the Gordon's Reserve school on the afternoon of March 11, 1939.[592] Principal R. W. Frayling never organized a search or informed the family, Indian Affairs, or the police. On March 14, the boy's father, who had been told by a visitor that his son was not in school, organized a search. Later that day, he found his son's frozen body.[593]
- The RCMP were not informed that five boys had run away from the Pine Creek, Manitoba, school in April 1940 until the afternoon of the day after their escape.[594]
- Late on the evening of April 18, 1941, fourteen-year-old John Kioki, thirteen-year-old Michael Sutherland, and eleven-year-old Michel Matinas slipped out of their dormitory at the Fort Albany, Ontario school. The boys were never seen alive again.[595] John Kioki's father said he was "not sure sufficient search was made for my son and the other boys."[596]
- The police were not informed that five boys had run away from the Lestock, Saskatchewan, school in October 1944 until three days after they had left the school.[597]
- When Albert Nepinak and other boys ran away from the Pine Creek school in April 1951, the principal sent a number of students out to look for the boys. When they returned without having found them, he concluded the boys had made it to their homes. However, in the morning, he spoke to Albert's father and discovered he had not come home. The father then undertook a search and discovered his son's frozen body.[598]
- When one twelve-year-old and two ten-year-old boys escaped by canoe from the Roman Catholic school at Kenora on November 9, 1954, the Ontario Provincial Police were notified of their disappearance immediately. However, the RCMP were not contacted until they had been gone for nearly two weeks.[599] It was the RCMP that organized the search that found the boys, who were alive, stranded on an island.[600]
- It was not until November 1956 that the Ontario Provincial Police and Indian Affairs were informed that Tom and Charles Ombash, aged twelve and eleven, respectively, had run away from the Sioux Lookout school on October 5, 1956.[601] The boys were never located.[602] Although R. F. Davey, the Indian Affairs superintendent of education, found Principal Eric Barrington's behaviour to be "inconceivable," it did not result in any negative consequences for his career.[603] He

remained as principal of the school for another five years, until he was appointed principal of the Wabasca, Alberta, school in 1961.[604]

- Two sisters, Beverly and Patricia Marilyn Joseph, aged twelve and fourteen, respectively, left the Kuper Island, British Columbia, school in a small boat, likely on the evening of January 16, 1959. Their disappearance was discovered the following morning, but the police were not contacted until that afternoon, after school officials had conducted a search of the island. Marilyn's body was recovered from the water and her sister was presumed to have drowned.[605]
- Three girls ran away from the Anglican school at Gleichen, Alberta, on the afternoon of March 8, 1962. Since there was no school the next day and the girls were going to be allowed to go to their nearby homes at the end of the school day, the principal made no effort to locate them. The girls visited with a local family and did not try to return to their homes until the evening, when they were overtaken by a blizzard in which two of them died.[606]
- Two twelve-year-old boys, Philip Swain and Roderick Keesick (his last name in some reports is also given as Tayapaywakejick), failed to return to the Roman Catholic residence in Kenora at the end of the school day on November 27, 1970. Residence officials did not contact the Kenora police until 9:35 that evening. The Kenora constable who took the call did not pass information on to the Ontario Provincial Police, because he believed residence staff would do so.[607] Both boys died trying to reach their home at Grassy Narrows, ninety kilometres from Kenora.[608]

It is also clear that many staff members put considerable effort into the search for runaways. Moose Factory, Ontario, principal Gilbert Thompson gave this description of the search he undertook when two boys ran away from his school in the evening of November 20, 1943.

> I began searching for the same shortly afterwards. By 10:00 p.m. I could not locate these boys and knowing that they might have crossed the river, which crossing was precarious in the dark due to the fact parts of the river were not yet frozen, I notified Cpl. W. Kerr of the R.C.M.P. Together we made a further search that night. The following morning I went to Moosonee and discovered that it was possible the lads had slept in the deserted shack of the family of one lad. No one had seen the boys at Moosonee. That night the policeman and I went across to the shack in the hope that the lads would have returned there, but they were not there. The next morning the policeman took his dogs and went down the railroad track following up a lead that someone had seen two people walking on the track, who had later disappeared into the bush when sighting the on-coming man. The boys were well clothed, but not outfitted for severe weather. Before the policeman overtook them they had walked some 24 miles and had reached the

> camp of the parents of one of the boys. All returned the following Wed. night by train, including the parents of one of the boys.[609]

Nine years later, J. Eldon Andrews, the principal of the Presbyterian school in Kenora, provided the chief of the Whitedog Reserve with this description of a January search for three runaway boys: "Mr. Barrington spent the whole of Thursday from 8:45 a.m. until 11:30 p.m. in the bush without food and at great hardship to himself on the trail of these children. I spent all day Thursday trying to trace them by car, and the hours from 5:30 until 10:30 p.m. in the woods in search of them."[610]

Indian Affairs was prepared to fund only a portion of the cost that schools incurred searching for and returning runaway students. As a result, in some cases, principals concluded it was not worth the cost to attempt to retrieve truant students.[611] As late as 1914, Indian Affairs was prepared to pay only half the cost of returning a runaway student to the school.[612] It appears that the students or their parents were obliged to pay the costs of locating and returning runaways in some instances.[613]

Inadequate response to tragedy: The failure to develop policy

It is clear from the above that on numerous occasions, principals failed to undertake searches; carried out inadequate searches; and failed to contact Indian Affairs, police, and family members in a timely fashion. It is also clear that Indian Affairs did not develop national policies to address these failures, thereby helping to perpetuate their recurrence. It also appears that various inquiries held to investigate the student deaths through inquests also failed, to the extent that they did not address these fundamental lacks as contributing causes.

1902 Williams Lake

The coroner who initially opposed holding an investigation into the 1902 death of Duncan Sticks, a runaway from the Williams Lake, British Columbia, school, reportedly said that "he thought the Government would not allow the expenses as he could see nothing to warrant an enquiry."[614] However, a coroner's jury was eventually convened. It recommended that the issue of discipline and food at the school should be addressed by an independent inquiry, but it made no recommendations about the measures that should be taken when students ran away.[615] In the wake of the tragedy, Indian Affairs issued no policy guidelines to the principal of the Williams Lake school, let alone to all principals, as to what steps should be taken when students ran away.

1935 Round Lake

The physician who investigated the 1935 death of Percy Ochapowace, who died after running away from the Round Lake, Saskatchewan, school, concluded that "no inquest was necessary."[616] Local and national Indian Affairs officials were unhappy with the fact that the principal had not organized a search or informed Indian Affairs or the police. It was thought that if this had been done, the boy would have been found alive.[617] Despite these internal views, the federal government rejected Ochapowace's father's request for an investigation into the circumstances surrounding his son's death.[618]

Again, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has located no policy document or circular that was issued after this tragedy to outline the procedures that should be followed when a student ran away.

1937 Fraser Lake

A coroner's jury examining the circumstance surrounding the deaths of four boys who ran away from the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school in 1937 concluded that

> more definite action by the school authorities might or should have been taken the night upon which the disappearance took place.
>
> Further it is our opinion that more co-operation between the authorities and the parents of the children would in future help to lessen the danger of any repetition of such an incident.[619]

The senior Indian Affairs official in British Columbia, D. M. MacKay, described the principal's behaviour as "inexcusable." MacKay, who conducted his own investigation into the matter, concluded that if a search party had been organized when the boys were first reported missing, "the children would not have perished."[620]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has located no policy document or circular that was issued after this tragedy that outlined the procedures that should be followed when a student ran away. Neither did any of the correspondence on the matter make reference to the violation of any pre-existing policy.

1939 Gordon's Reserve

A coroner's jury concluded that there was no negligence surrounding Andrew Gordon's 1939 death due to exposure after he ran away from the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school. Indian Affairs official Thomas Robertson believed, however, that "there has been negligence with regard to this case, and that the death should

never have occurred." Having reached these damning conclusions, he noted the school as being well run and his belief that the principal would ensure that nothing like this matter would ever happen again. "Unless the Indians or the people of the district start any agitation, any action on our part would not be in the best interests of anyone."[621] None of the correspondence on the matter indicates that any pre-existing policy had been violated.

The superintendent of Welfare and Training for Indian Affairs, R. A. Hoey, did send the Gordon's principal a letter outlining what was to be done when students escaped from the school: "1. The information should be conveyed to the agent and to any police officials that may be available in the community; 2. A search should be instituted at once."[622]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has located no policy document or circular to indicate that these instructions were sent to any other school or principal. By sending these simple, direct instructions to only one principal, Hoey passed up an opportunity to deliver a system-wide instruction on an issue that had plagued that system in the past, and would continue to do so into the future.[623]

1941 Fort Albany

Indian Affairs official Philip Phelan believed that the principal of the Fort Albany, Ontario, school had not been prompt enough in informing Indian Affairs and the RCMP of the truancy of four boys who were presumed to have drowned in 1941. He wrote to a regional Roman Catholic Church official that "any unusual event at a school, especially when the results are fatal, should be immediately brought to the Department's attention."[624] Phelan did not take the opportunity to copy all principals or church organizations on this letter. Again, the Indian Affairs approach on this issue remained piecemeal, reactive, and inadequate.

It is not that Indian Affairs officials were not capable of issuing system-wide instructions on runaways. Less than a month after the tragic deaths of three runaways from the Fort Albany school, the branch did, in fact, issue the first system-wide instruction on runaways that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada has been able to locate. It was not a policy regarding the steps to be taken in the case of truancy. Instead, it placed limits on a principal's ability to make use of the RCMP to search for missing children. In that regard, it actually increased the risk that students who ran away might die of exposure or drowning.

The restriction on the use of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police

In the May 1941 circular to all inspectors, Indian agents, and residential school principals, T. R. L. MacInnes, the secretary of the Indian Affairs Branch, announced a "radical change" in departmental policy regarding the "services of the R.C.M.P. in order to locate truant or absentee pupils from Indian residential schools." He wrote that it had been customary in the past for Indian agents and principals to request Royal Canadian Mounted Police assistance in finding and returning runaway students to schools. The police, however, charged the costs that they incurred back to Indian Affairs. As a result, MacInnes wrote, "we are required to pay yearly a substantial amount over which we have no control." The new policy was that the RCMP were not to be contacted "unless the Principals and staffs of the Indian Agencies have exhausted all their efforts." Under the new policy, MacInnes wrote,

> we must depend to a large extent at least, on Indian Agents, Farming Instructors, and other officials to co-operate with Principals of Indian schools in locating and returning truant and absentee students. In making this statement it is understood that the Principals of Indian residential schools are also expected to put forth every effort to return absentee pupils without cost to the Department before calling on Indian Agents and other officials to assist them.[625]

In the previous six-year period, six runaways had died. In each case, Indian Affairs officials had concluded that the search had been inadequate. The only system-wide policy response was to restrict the use of police and stress the importance of containing costs when searching for students. This is best seen not as a policy document describing what should be done, but as a policy describing what should *not* be done when students ran away.

Not all principals abided by this instruction. As a result, in 1943, Indian Affairs branch director Harold McGill sent out a circular reminding principals and Indian agents of the 1941 policy. He pointed out that despite this instruction, there had been both a growing increase in truancy and a "steadily growing tendency on the part of the residential school principals to lean increasingly on the members of the R.C.M.P. for the return of pupils to the schools." In the future, the RCMP were to be called in "only in rare and exceptional cases."[626]

This policy clearly increased the risks facing students who had run away. This was apparent to local Indian Affairs staff. When two boys who had run away from the Birtle school in 1945 needed hospital care for their frozen feet after spending a cold March night sleeping outside, local Indian Affairs official A. G. Hamilton called on his superiors to modify the policy. Hamilton said principals and Indian agents should be given a free hand in seeking police assistance, and that "the police should be in at the beginning, not after others have failed."[627]

Indian Affairs was itself often reluctant to assist principals in locating runaway students. When, in 1946, the principal of the Kuper Island school asked Indian Affairs to help track down three young girls who, he believed, had made their way to Victoria, the department provided only reluctant assistance. Indian agent R. H. Moore objected to what he saw as the principal's view that "it is the responsibility of this Department to round up these children and bring them back without any, or very little exertion on the part of School authorities."[628]

The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada could find no record of an order rescinding the 1941 policy directive at the end of the Second World War. In 1950, Oliver Strapp, who was by then the principal of the Brandon, Manitoba, school, reported that he had not called on the RCMP to help search for two runaway boys "because I have been informed that I am not allowed to regard them as truant officers." One of the boys ended up in hospital with frozen toes.[629] There are reports into the 1960s of RCMP unwillingness to assist in locating and returning runaway students.[630]

The Royal Canadian Mounted Police were, however, used with regularity, even during wartime, to force parents to return their children to school at the start of the school year. For example, RCMP officers were dispatched in 1940, 1943, and 1946 to return students to the Fraser Lake, British Columbia, school.[631] In October 1945, the Indian agent at Cardston, Alberta, turned over fifty-one cases of truancy to the RCMP. It was a measure that sparked a letter of complaint from H. A. R. Gagnon, the assistant commissioner of the RCMP.[632]

The 1953 regulations

It was not until 1953 that Indian Affairs adopted its first regulation relating to the steps to be taken when a student ran away from school. Regulation 10.4 of the 1953 Indian residential school regulations stated that a school principal was to "take prompt action to effect the return to school of any truant pupil, and shall report promptly to the Superintendent [of Education], Indian Agency, every case of truancy."[633] There was still no clear direction on search parties and the contacting of the police.

The tragedies in northwestern Ontario

It would take two tragedies at schools in northwestern Ontario to prompt Indian Affairs to provide schools with clear direction on the steps to be taken when students ran away from school.

1966: The Presbyterian school in Kenora

In October 1966, twelve-year-old Charlie Wenjack died after running away from the Presbyterian school in Kenora.[634] The tragedy drew national attention to the school and was the subject of a coroner's inquest. Most of the jury's recommendations focused on the shortcomings of the residential school system and expressed a preference for alternatives such as day schools. If schools were to continue, it was recommended that they take in fewer students and employ more staff.[635] In January 1967, R. F. Davey, the Indian Affairs education services branch director, sent out a memorandum asking all regional superintendents to check with the residential schools in their region to report on the injuries experienced by residential school students "between the time of their running away from school and the time that they are apprehended" during the previous five years.[636] This is the first record found by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada of any attempt to carry out such a survey.

Indian Affairs prepared a document after Wenjack's death, outlining the process to be followed when a student ran away from a residential school "operated under contract with the Indian Affairs branch by a religious body in Ontario." Step one was to inform the police; step two, to interview friends of the student; step three, to organize a search; and step four, to contact the Indian Affairs district superintendent of schools. After the student was missing for six hours, the parents were to be informed. It was to be made clear to the police that the student was not a fugitive from justice but was being sought to prevent their injury or suffering. The need for the preparation and circulation of such a document in 1966 reflects Indian Affairs' ongoing policy failure on this issue for almost 100 years. The fact that the document applied only to hostels or residential schools in Ontario is also evidence, though, of the continuing lack of clearly enunciated national policy on the issue.[637]

1970: The Roman Catholic school in Kenora

A 1970 coroner's inquest into the deaths of Philip Swain and Roderick Keesick, who died when running away from the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, recommended: 1) that the police be contacted immediately if students did not return to the school by dinnertime; 2) that the police be contacted if students were missing in the morning and that, in such situations, the police commence an immediate search; 3) that students be given courses in wilderness survival; and 4) that an investigation be conducted into why "the residential students run away."[638]

In the wake of this inquest verdict, in 1971, Indian Affairs staff from the Kenora district met with school residence staff to discuss steps to be taken in the case of a runaway. All residence staff members across the country were to be instructed "to take immediate emergency steps when a student is missing," and to contact police officials

if runaway children were not immediately located. In addition, staff members were to make every effort "to get in touch with parents or guardians." Schools were to consider implementing "a regular program of survival training for students who must live away from home to attend school."[639]

This document, from 1971, was the first national instruction that clearly set out the measures to be taken by principals when students ran away from school. National policies were finally being enunciated, a century too late, at the same time that the residential school system was being slowly shut down.

Burial policies and practices

At some point in the early twentieth century, Indian Affairs formalized its policy on the burial of students who died at residential schools. The policy is recorded in an undated memorandum by J. D. McLean, who was departmental secretary from 1897 to 1933. According to McLean,

> Funeral expenses are met from Relief Vote [money set aside for welfare-related expenses], if a pupil of an Indian residential school dies elsewhere than at the school, and provided the parents or guardians are unable to pay the costs of burial. When a pupil dies at a residential school, it is considered by this Department that the school authorities should be responsible for the expenses. Occasionally, the Department has paid the cost of transporting the body from the school to the home of the parents, when the parents have refused to permit burial at the school.[640]

The practice throughout the system's history was to keep burial costs low, and to oppose sending the bodies of students who died at schools back to their home communities.

Burial practices were among the aspects of Aboriginal life that the schools and missions sought to change. Sara Laidlaw, a teacher at the Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, school, undertook missionary work on behalf of the Presbyterian Church at a nearby Sioux village. In 1896, she reported, "There have been five deaths at the tipis since I came home, three of whom we buried in a Christian way. The others the parents thought it best to bury in their own way. The medicine men tell the people that so many deaths came because of the missionaries [sic] work & especially of the Christian burials."[641]

Given that schools were virtually all church-run in the early years of the system, Christian burial was the norm at most schools. Many of the early schools were part of larger, church mission centres that might include a church, a dwelling for the missionaries, a farm, possibly a sawmill, and a cemetery. The church was intended to serve as a place of worship for both residential school students and adults from the

surrounding region. In the same way, the cemetery might serve as a place of burial for students who died at school, members of the local community, and the missionaries themselves. For example, the cemetery at the Roman Catholic St. Mary's Mission, near Mission, British Columbia, was intended originally for priests and nuns from the mission as well as for students from the residential school. Three Oblate bishops were buried there along with settlers, their descendants, and residential school students.[642] When the Battleford school closed in 1914, Principal E. Matheson reminded Indian Affairs that there was a school cemetery that contained the bodies of seventy to eighty individuals, most of whom were former students. He worried that unless the government took steps to care for the cemetery, it would be overrun by stray cattle.[643] Matheson had good reason for wishing to see the cemetery maintained: several of his family members were buried there.[644] These concerns proved prophetic, since the location of this cemetery is not recorded in the available historical documentation, and neither does it appear in an internet search of Battleford cemeteries.

Several of the schools were overwhelmed by the influenza pandemic of 1918–19. All but two of the children and all of the staff were stricken with influenza at the Fort St. James, British Columbia, school and surrounding community in 1918. Seventy-eight people, including students, died. Initially, Father Joseph Allard, the school principal, conducted funeral services at the mission cemetery. But, as he wrote in his diary, the "others were brought in two or three at a time, but I could not go to the graveyard with all of them. In fact, several bodies were piled up in an empty cabin because there was no grave ready. A large common grave was dug for them."[645]

That same year, influenza killed five Red Deer, Alberta, school students. Four died at the school, and a fifth died while running away. That boy's body was returned to his home community, the Saddle Lake Reserve. According to Principal J. F. Woodsworth, all the students and many of the staff came down with influenza.

> Everyone was so sick that it was impossible for us to bury the dead. There was no one here to dig graves in our own school cemetry [sic]. I thought the best thing to do was to have the undertaker from Red Deer take charge of and bury the bodies. This was done, and they now lie buried in Red Deer. The charges for this extra accommodation amount to about $30.00 a child; that is for the four who died here. In view of the emergency and the totally unexpected nature of the case I shall be glad if the Department will bear part of this expense. I believe the total undertaker bill is $130.00. I instructed the undertaker to be as careful as possible in his charges, so he gave them a burial as near as possible to that of a pauper. They are buried two in a grave.[646]

Because the burial costs in the Red Deer municipal cemetery were judged to be "unavoidable," Indian Affairs Deputy Minister Duncan Campbell Scott agreed to reimburse the school for the costs.[647] Although Scott made no reference to an existing policy, the letter demonstrates that under normal circumstances, the schools were

expected to cover the burial costs of students who died at school. The most cost-effective way of doing that would be burial in a cemetery on school grounds. Indian Affairs would pay for a child's burial only under unusual circumstances, and, if it did pay, it expected the costs to be kept as low as possible. In this, the department conformed to the general practice of the period in the treatment of those who died in institutions. It was not uncommon for hospitals to have cemeteries in which indigent patients were buried, and workhouses for the poor also had cemeteries.[648]

According to Chapleau, Ontario, student Michael Cachagee, the students had to help dig the graves. It is a memory that has haunted him all his life. In a 2010 media account, he said that because the graves dug in the winter were shallow, in the spring, bears would root about in the cemetery and feed on the student remains.[649]

Indian Affairs was clearly reluctant to send the bodies of children who died at school home for burial. In her memoirs, Eleanor Brass recalled how the body of a boy who hung himself at the File Hills, Saskatchewan, school in the early twentieth century was buried on the Peepeekisis Reserve, even though his parents lived on the Carlyle Reserve.[650]

Although McLean's memorandum stated that the bodies of students who died at the schools were to be sent home "when the parents have refused to permit burial at the school," this practice was not always followed. In 1913, two girls, Anna Lahache from Kahnawake and Jennie Robertson from Garden River, drowned while on a picnic expedition at the Spanish, Ontario, school.[651] School officials buried Jennie at the school after being unable to reach her mother within four days.[652] Anna's body was not recovered until a week after the drowning. Anna's mother requested that her body be returned home for burial, but it was decided that it was too badly decomposed and the cost too high.[653] In 1938, Catherine Lacore requested that the body of her son, who was dying of tubercular meningitis at the Spanish school, be sent to her in Cornwall, Ontario, for burial upon his death.[654] The response from Indian Affairs to the school was:

> I have to point out … that it is not the practice of the Department to send bodies of Indians by rail excepting under very exceptional circumstances. Bodies so shipped have to be properly prepared by the undertakers for transshipment under the laws of the province, and the expense of a long journey such as this would be, would entail an expenditure which the Department does not feel warranted in authorizing.[655]

The boy's body was buried at Spanish.[656]

Not all requests were rejected. Clara Tizya, who grew up in Rampart House near Old Crow in the northwestern Yukon, recalled that

> in the early 1920's a girl had died at Carcross Indian Residential School and when they sent the body back, there were many rumours about the children receiving

> bad treatment and this scared the parents or gave them an excuse for not sending their children to school. And so for the next 25 years, no children were sent out to the Carcross Indian Residential School.[657]

In the 1940s, Indian Affairs was prepared to cover the burial costs of residential school students who died in hospital. It was not, however, prepared to pay for the transportation of the body to the student's home community.[658]

The Social Welfare section of the 1958 Indian Affairs field manual provided direction on the burial of "destitute Indians." Burial costs were to be covered by Indian Affairs only when they could not "be met from the estate of the deceased." There was no fixed rate of payment. Instead, the "amount payable by the local municipality for the burial of destitute non-Indians is the maximum generally allowed." Those who died away from their home reserve were to be buried where they died. "Ordinarily the body will be returned to the reserve for burial only when transportation, embalming costs and all other expenses are borne by next of kin. Transportation may be authorized, however, in cases where the cost of burial on the reserve is sufficiently low to make transportation economically advantageous."[659]

An example from that year reflects the implications of this policy for families in remote communities, particularly in the Canadian North. In April 1958, John Lucas, a student from the Carcross school in the Yukon Territory, died during surgery at the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton, Alberta.[660] Indian Affairs officials estimated that it would have cost $217.20 to ship the boy's body back to the Yukon. Instead, he was buried in Edmonton at a cost of $110.[661]

The issue was brought to the attention of Yukon Member of Parliament Erik Nielsen, who questioned the decision to bury the boy in Edmonton. He argued that it would have been cheaper to ship the body home.[662] Indian Affairs officials also stated that the boy's father had agreed that he be buried in Edmonton. In an internal memorandum, one official said that he believed the former principal of the school was manufacturing the issue to embarrass Indian Affairs. The official believed that the principal blamed the government for his being "relieved of his position as principal at Carcross."[663]

Nielsen disputed the claim that the boy's father had approved the Edmonton burial.

> 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.[664]

Indian Affairs officials later acknowledged that the estimated cost of shipping the body to the boy's community had been based on the erroneous belief that the body needed to be sent in a sealed casket. Such a casket was necessary only in the case of death by contagious disease. In reality, the shipping costs would have been $125, making them comparable with the cost of burial in Edmonton.[665]

The reluctance to pay the cost of sending bodies home continued into the 1960s. Initially, Indian Affairs was unwilling to pay to ship the body of twelve-year-old Charlie Wenjack back to his parents' home community in Ogoki, Ontario. The boy had died from exposure in October 1966 after running away from the Presbyterian school in Kenora. Eventually, the government agreed to pay the transportation costs, which involved both rail and air fees.[666] Eight years later, when Charles Hunter drowned while attending the Fort Albany, Ontario, school, it was decided, without consultation with his parents, to bury him in Moosonee rather than send his body home to Peawanuck near Hudson Bay. Almost forty years later, in 2011, after significant public efforts made by Joyce, the younger sister who had never got to meet this big brother, Charles Hunter's body was exhumed and returned to Peawanuck for a community burial. The costs were covered by a fund that the *Toronto Star* raised from its readership.[667]

Conclusion

There are four major conclusions to be drawn from the above. First, the federal government never established an adequate set of standards and regulations to guarantee the health and safety of residential school students. This failure occured despite the fact that the government had the authority to establish those standards. Second, the federal government never adequately enforced the minimal standards and regulations that it did establish. Third, the failure to establish and enforce such regulations was largely a function of the government's determination to keep residential school costs to a minimum. Fourth, the failure to establish and enforce adequate standards, coupled with the failure to adequately fund the schools, resulted in unnecessarily high residential school death rates.

Students were housed in poorly built, poorly heated, poorly maintained, crowded, and often unsanitary facilities. Many of the schools lacked isolation rooms or infirmaries. Many lacked access to trained medical staff. It was not until the late 1950s that the federal government attempted to provide sufficient funding to ensure that student diets were nutritionally adequate. The combination of poor housing, inadequate medical care, and poor diet left the students vulnerable to infections and reduced their ability to overcome them. Indian Affairs' failure to address the tuberculosis crisis in the broader Aboriginal community by improving housing, diets, income, and access to medical treatment, coupled with the failure to screen out infected children prior to

admission to residential schools, guaranteed that students would be exposed to infection. It must be stressed again that the tuberculosis death rate in the general Canadian population declined in the early twentieth century, prior to the development of effective drug treatment. This decline is generally attributed to a variety of factors such as improvements in sanitation, housing, and diet, and the isolation of infectious individuals in sanatoria. Policies that would have had these same positive effects were recommended for residential schools—but were not adopted. As a result, tuberculosis remained a persistent residential school problem and death rates remained elevated until the introduction of drug treatment.

Student safety was further compromised by the failure to adopt and enforce fire-safety standards in the construction and maintenance of buildings, and to construct and maintain safe, accessible fire escapes.

The failure to establish and enforce system-wide discipline policies left students subject to exceptionally harsh and often abusive punishment. This would have increased stress levels and undermined resistance to disease.

The federal government never adopted a national policy on the reporting of the physical and sexual abuse of students. As a result, parental and student complaints were often dismissed without investigation. In other cases, investigations were not carried out in an impartial manner. A common practice was to dismiss a staff member suspected of abusing students rather than to report the incident to the proper authorities. In cases of actual or suspected abuse, parents were not informed and students were not offered any support. Recommendations to put staff screening procedures in place were not adopted. The failure to adequately address physical and sexual abuse in the schools undermined the physical and mental health of countless students.

Harsh discipline and physical and sexual abuse led many students to run away. The failure to establish and enforce national policies and procedures on the measures that principals should take when students ran away from school further contributed to the elevated rates of school deaths.

In short, both the regulatory regime in which the schools operated and the level of compliance with that regime were inadequate to the task of protecting the health and safety of the students. Government, church, and school officials were well aware of these failures and their impact on student health. If the question is, "Who knew what when?" the clear answer is, "Everyone in authority at any point in the system's history was well aware of the health and safety conditions in the schools."

CHAPTER 3

Where are the children buried? Cemeteries and unmarked burials

The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials recommended that the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada carry out research into the location of cemeteries and gravesites in which residential students are believed to be buried. As noted above, well over 3,000 children died while at residential school. It is likely that the majority are buried in school or school-related cemeteries.

This research was complicated by a number of factors. In many cases, there is uncertainty as to the exact geographic location of many schools. The documentary record relating to the existence, operation, and fate of residential school cemeteries is also limited. As a result, the Commission was able to base its work on a representative sample only. The technical experts employed by the Commission carried out site visits to establish the current location and condition of twenty burial locations. In addition, the Commission documented the location and condition of school sites and cemeteries using maps and satellite imagery.

Although comparatively few residential school cemeteries are explicitly referred to within the literature, the age and duration of most schools suggest that cemeteries were likely associated with most of them. In a search for those cemeteries, the area surrounding each school was systematically examined, using the available maps and satellite imagery. In some cases, cemeteries were not evident, but possible cemeteries were detected in a surprisingly large number of others. Success was dependent on the resolution and clarity of the available satellite imagery, and whether the ground vegetation was sufficiently sparse to permit detection of ground features indicative of cemeteries. For the most part, the cemeteries that the Commission documented are abandoned, disused, and vulnerable to accidental disturbance. While there have been creative and heartening community commemoration measures undertaken in some locations, there is an overall need for a national strategy for the documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries.

Residential schools and cemeteries

Most of the initial Canadian residential schools were part of broader missionary campaigns to convert Aboriginal people to Christianity. A church mission was a mini-society, often including a church, convents, a boarding school, hospital, sawmill, a farm, and a cemetery.[1] Community members would be buried in the mission cemetery, as well as students who died at the school. In other cases, residential schools established their own cemeteries. This was the case, for example, with the Battleford and Regina schools in Saskatchewan, and the Brandon school in Manitoba. Each of these schools established a cemetery, despite being located on the edge of an urban community that would have municipal cemeteries.[2]

In at least one case, Indian Affairs established a cemetery on a residential school property for the burial of Aboriginal patients who died at a nearby Indian hospital (most of these patients were not residential school students). In 1946, land was set aside on the grounds of the Edmonton residential school cemetery for the internment of those Protestant patients who died at the Charles Camsell Hospital in Edmonton whose families could not afford to have their bodies shipped to their home communities. Boys from the residential school cared for the cemetery grounds and dug graves. At least ninety-eight adults and children were buried in the cemetery.[3]

Identifying cemetery locations

In the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, provincial and municipal governments were either not yet established or in their infancy, and cemetery regulations were non-existent or undeveloped. Given the lack of regulation at the time, it appears that most residential school cemeteries were established informally. It is clear that insufficient consideration was given for the continuing care of graveyards upon closure of the residential schools.

As the statistical analysis at the beginning of this report indicates, some students died at the schools. Other seriously ill children were returned home to die, or were admitted to hospitals or sanatoria where some may have died later. Some of the deceased were returned to their families for burial, but others were buried in cemeteries on school grounds, or in nearby church, reserve, or municipal cemeteries. It is not possible to be certain as to the relative frequency with which these alternatives were employed; or how circumstances varied with church policy, through time, or across emerging and evolving geo-political jurisdictions. However, it is clear that Indian Affairs was opposed, for cost reasons, to shipping the bodies of deceased children to their home communities.

The locations of some of the cemeteries associated with the residential schools are known. The exact location of others is currently unknown, or is incompletely documented in the literature. The location of some cemeteries may even have passed from local memory.

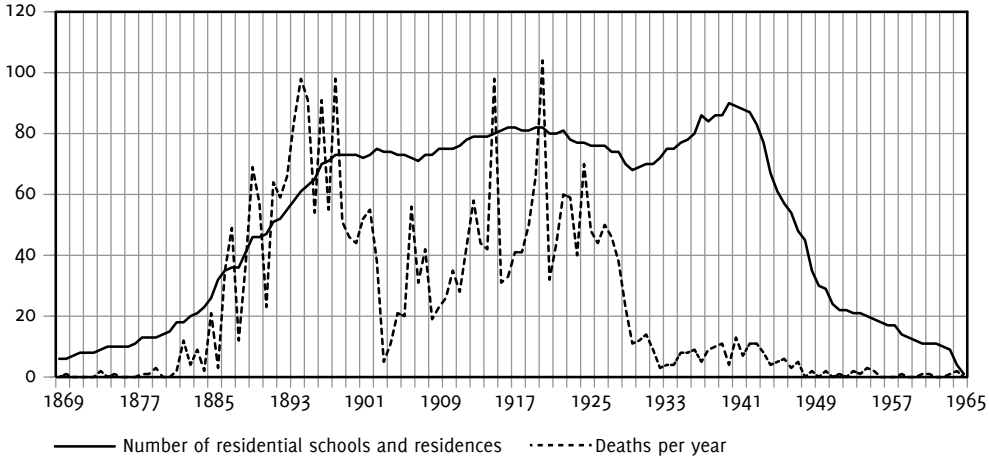
Schools often shifted location. Residential schools often went through a succession of rebuilding episodes as older structures became too small, became unusable, were destroyed by fire, or became redundant and were re-established in a more suitable location. The boarding school that began at Lac La Biche (in what is now Alberta) in 1863 then moved to Saddle Lake in 1898 and then finally to a location near St. Paul, Alberta, in 1931.[4] When the Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, burned down in 1943, the students were transferred to St. Alban's College, Prince Albert, Saskatchewan.[5] After the Lac La Ronge school was destroyed by fire in 1947, the students were also transferred to Prince Albert.[6] There, the students were housed in a former Canadian military basic-training complex on the edge of Prince Albert.[7] By spring of 1948, the boys from St. Alban's College were quartered at the military camp and trucked to classes.[8] In 1951, it was decided to move all the students living at the St. Alban's school into the military camp.[9]

Some burial places are within or near old school grounds, but few seem to have been formally identified and designated by the provincial and territorial agencies responsible for cemetery regulation. Many of these inactive and overgrown cemeteries are not readily identifiable and are not maintained. Without formal documentation, it becomes more difficult to offer protection from contemporary or future land development. Even when considering presently known and maintained cemeteries, some graves may lie unrecognized after the decay and disappearance of wooden grave markers and enclosing graveyard fences. This presents a serious challenge for identifying, commemorating, or protecting unmarked graves and undocumented cemeteries.

One strategy for determining which schools were likely to have cemeteries is to determine which schools were in operation during the periods when the death rates were at an elevated level. As the statistical analysis indicates, the residential school death rate was highest in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This is illustrated by Graph 3, which shows the annual death rates for the combined Named and Unnamed registers.

Graph 12 is based on statistics provided by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, showing the total number of schools listed on the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement that were in operation in any specific year, along with the number of deaths per year (according to the combined Named and Unnamed registers).

Graph 12
Annual figures for number of residential schools in operation and number of residential school deaths (Named and Unnamed registers combined), 1869–1965



Source: Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths"; Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, Indian Residential Schools of the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement 2011.

The total number of schools sharply increased after the late 1880s (after the establishment of a formal federal policy on residential schools), forming an irregular plateau on the graph until the late 1930s. Thereafter, they briefly declined during the 1940s and early 1950s, but again climbed sharply to reach a peak of ninety in 1964. After 1972, the number of schools rapidly decreased in all jurisdictions. The last schools and residences closed in the late 1990s.

As a result, the most useful indicator of whether a school had a cemetery is the date on which it commenced operations. Appendix 1 of this report lists the schools that were included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSAA), along with their opening and closing dates. Appendix 1 also lists residential schools that operated in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries and their opening and closing dates, but which were not included in the IRSSA. As a review of the previous graphs indicates, those schools and hostels that opened after 1950 have the lowest probability of student death. They are the least likely facilities to have had dedicated school cemeteries. Those facilities that opened prior to 1950 are the most likely to have cemeteries. In other words, the majority of the schools fall into the category that is likely to have had cemeteries.

The fate of the schools upon closure

The structures of the church mission complexes—the church, boarding school, hospital, and cemetery—remain as enduring features within many contemporary communities. Sometimes, as old buildings deteriorated or burned down, they were replaced with new structures on or near the original sites. In many cases, the old church and its cemetery remain in operation. This is evident at Lebret, Saskatchewan, where the Sacred Heart Catholic church and cemetery remain operating within the townsite, while the adjacent Qu'Appelle residential school was closed and demolished. The school on the Cowessess First Nation, in Saskatchewan, was demolished and replaced with a day school, but the church, rectory, and cemetery remain. The Desmarais school in northern Alberta was demolished upon school closure, but the hospital and cemetery grounds remain in operation. The Cranbrook, British Columbia, school was transformed into a hotel resort and cultural centre adjacent to a golf course.[10] The school cemetery remains visible on land adjacent to the golf course fairways, but it is not clear whether the cemetery remains in use.

In some cases, the school property was taken over by a local First Nation, and the facility continued to serve community functions. In the case of the Kamloops, British Columbia, school, the facility was transformed into a cultural centre.[11] Schools such as the one in Birtle, Manitoba, were abandoned after their closure.[12] The Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, school was sold to a private business, abandoned, and later burned down.[13] The Blue Quills, Alberta, school was taken over by a First Nations educational authority that continues to operate as Blue Quills First Nations College.[14] Part of the school at Chesterfield Inlet in the Northwest Territories was incorporated into a local store.[15]

Although most residential schools were established in remote or rural locations, some were established in major centres and became enclosed by urban development. The Roman Catholic school at Squamish in what is now North Vancouver was demolished in 1959 and the land was redeveloped as St. Thomas Aquinas Catholic High School, with the nearby cemetery completely surrounded by residential development.[16] After initially operating on Fort William First Nation, the St. Joseph's school was moved into the town of Fort William (now Thunder Bay), where it operated until 1968.[17] It was then demolished and replaced with Pope John Paul II Elementary School. At least some of the children who died while attending this school were buried at St. Patrick's Cemetery. Presbyterian missionaries established the Cecilia Jeffrey school at Shoal Lake along the Manitoba–Ontario border in 1902. The school was moved to land adjacent to Round Lake in Kenora, Ontario, where it operated from 1929 to 1974.[18] The property is presently used for Treaty 3 administrative functions. Two adjacent cemeteries lie untended and overgrown between Homestake Road and the Canadian Pacific Railway tracks. A marina parking lot now occupies the former Roman Catholic

school site.[19] The cemetery associated with this school is documented in early twentieth-century photographs, but its location has not yet been identified.

Care of residential school cemeteries after school closure

Consistent 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. Consequently, the current condition of school cemeteries varies widely. 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. Such work must include:

- physical inspection and documentation of cemetery locations;
- collection of local knowledge; and
- development of a centralized information repository.

Such efforts will facilitate recognition and protection of presently undocumented cemeteries by various municipal, provincial, and territorial agencies responsible for land use planning, environmental impact assessment, and regulation and protection of cemeteries. For many of the cemeteries identified, it is not always clear who owns the land, which ones are registered as cemeteries (or heritage sites), and which entity has responsibility to undertake documentation, commemoration, and ongoing protection.

The current condition of the cemeteries depends on a number of factors. Some cemeteries continued in operation after closure of the associated residential school. Examples include cemeteries at Moose Factory First Nation, site of the Moose Factory school; Couchiching First Nation, site of the Fort Frances school; and Lebret, site of the Qu'Appelle school. In other situations, the residential school grounds (with associated cemetery) became parks or heritage sites, and therefore receive continued maintenance. These include heritages parks such as the one at Mission, British Columbia; and provincial or federal heritage sites, such as Notre Dame des Victoires at Lac La Biche, Alberta, and the McDougall Orphanage at Morley, Alberta.[20]

Other residential school cemeteries lie abandoned, overgrown, and overlooked, or even forgotten. In some of these cases, the former school sites are isolated from any surrounding community. The first Cecilia Jeffrey school (1902 to 1929) was located somewhere on a peninsula between Rice Bay and Shoal Lake. The former school site could not be identified using the available satellite imagery, and maps are not available for the site. Locating the site of this school and cemetery would require an extensive walking survey throughout this locality (coupled with solicitation of local information). Dense vegetation may impede identification of surface evidence, and very old

cemeteries might be difficult to locate in the absence of grave markers. The two cemeteries associated with the second Cecilia Jeffrey school, which opened in Kenora in 1929 and closed in 1974, are much better documented. They would, however, also require a significant amount of fieldwork to more fully identify them. This site contains two cemeteries that operated one after the other. The older one is described as 25 feet wide by 325 feet long (7.6 metres by 99.1 metres) along the south side of Homestake Road, with the second cemetery area located nearby. A brief ground inspection in the summer of 2014 revealed no surface evidence of the older cemetery within the sparse forest, but a few white crosses protrude from the tall grass within the fenced cemetery. Investigation of such sites might involve the removal of obscuring vegetation, the search for subtle changes in the surface that indicate collapsed graves, and site mapping with a grid system. Such site investigation can have significant time and financial requirements, and must be carefully planned to ensure that site documentation does not accidentally disturb or destroy the evidence that is being sought. Prior to any documentation, planning discussions are required that include First Nations, government agencies, municipalities, churches, and landowners.

Commemoration and protection

There are a number of examples where efforts have been made to address the deterioration and neglect of residential school cemeteries. Two cemeteries are associated with the Brandon residential school. The first is on a privately owned campground north of the Assiniboine River. The land was once the site of a public park, known as "Curran Park." In 1970, the Brandon Girl Guides arranged for a memorial to the cemetery to be placed in the park.[21] A second cemetery was later established in the rural municipality of Cornwallis. There is a marker on the site that lists the names of eleven students, all but one of whom died prior to 1950.[22]

At Fort Providence, Northwest Territories, the site of one of the earliest missionary residential schools in Canada, local initiatives have led to documentation, commemoration, and protection of the cemetery associated with the residential school and the early community, which also included a hospital. Community member Albert Lafferty initiated research into the cemetery in 1992. He concluded that one cemetery, located close to the Fort Providence residential school, had been in use until 1929, when it was abandoned to be used as a potato field. The remains of missionaries buried in that cemetery were relocated to the new cemetery, while the other remains apparently were not relocated.[23] There is no certainty as to how many individuals were buried in the old cemetery. One study states that there were approximately 150 deaths (children and adults) in the Fort Providence region prior to the closure of the old cemetery in 1929. It is not known how many of these individuals were buried in the

original cemetery, or how many were residential school students. A monument has been placed on the site. It includes the names of a few adults, but far more names and partial names of many, many children from communities running the entire length of the Mackenzie River valley.[24]

The Edmonton school closed in 1968 and the property, including the cemetery in which the former patients from the Charles Camsell Hospital had been buried, was transferred to the Alberta government, although many of the patients who died there would also have been sent south from the Northwest Territories and the Yukon. Several of them would have been sent south for medical treatment as residential school students. The province of Alberta indicated in 1970 that it intended to place a memorial on the cemetery property, but nothing was done. In 1987, three former hospital employees and the former director of the Edmonton school residence established a committee to ensure that a memorial to the former hospital patients was erected at the cemetery (by then known as "St. Albert's Aboriginal Cemetery"). With funds raised from the governments of Alberta and the Northwest Territories, they arranged to have the names of each former patient engraved on the marker.[25]

The value of local information in the process of identifying residential school cemeteries and burial grounds cannot be overstated. For example, sometimes virtually no cemetery information is readily available within the archival records, but knowledge of the existence and location of cemeteries is locally held. Local knowledge was critically important in relocating the cemetery associated with the Red Deer, Alberta, school. When Indian Affairs was contacted for information about the possible location of a cemetery attached to the Red Deer school in 1974, a department official referred the inquiry to a former Red Deer student, Albert Lightning.[26]

Lightning, whose brother had died at the school, eventually contacted Lyle Keewatin Richards, who began his own search for the cemetery.[27] Working in co-operation with the Sunnybrook United Church, Keewatin Richards and others located the former school cemetery.[28] During this same period, the cemetery site was investigated as part of an archaeological impact assessment of a proposed development. The burial area included several graves marked with badly decomposed wooden markers. The area was heavily overgrown with forest vegetation, making it difficult to define the extent of the cemetery.[29]

In 2010, the Remembering the Children Society, made up of the four Cree Nations of Hobbema in Treaty 6 territory (Ermineskin, Samson, Montana, and Louis Bull), the Paul First Nation, Stoney Nakoda First Nations, Saddle Lake Cree First Nation, Whitefish First Nation (Goodfish), the Métis Nation of Alberta, and the United Church of Canada, organized a memorial event in Red Deer that was attended by all three of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissioners.[30] The purpose of the ceremony was to consecrate the unmarked graves of children who had died while attending the Red Deer school. This was the first of three such ceremonies and feasts required by

traditional Cree protocol.[31] At the second ceremony, held in 2011, the only remaining grave markers, which had been preserved by the owner of the land on which the cemetery was located, were presented to Elders, who then took them to the Red Deer Museum and Art Gallery.[32] The third commemoration event took place in June 2013 on the grounds of Sunnybrook United Church in Red Deer. The event included a feast to "Remember the Children of Red Deer Industrial School."[33]

Identifying challenges

The issue of documenting and protecting residential school cemeteries is extremely important, as urban development, infrastructure expansion, and resale or reutilization of old school lands become more common. This is not a new problem. At the Muskowekwan Education Centre at Lestock, accidental disturbance of unmarked graves occurred during the installation of new sewer lines in the early 1990s.[34] A recent debate over the future of the Regina school cemetery (1891 to 1910) serves to illustrate the dilemmas facing many jurisdictions when dealing with the cemeteries, particularly those that now lie abandoned. The Regina residential school cemetery was established on the western edge of the school property at 701 Pinkie Road. It became privately owned in the 1980s.[35] In light of proposed development in the area, concern was raised about how best to protect the school cemetery.

An unpublished 2014 report prepared by the Regina Planning Department indicates that the cemetery contains the bodies of First Nations and Métis students as well as the children of the school's first principal. A 2012 archaeological survey over the south part of the fenced cemetery yielded evidence of twenty-two graves. Documents dating to 1921 indicate that the original cemetery fence was destroyed in a prairie fire that might have also destroyed the wooden marker crosses of up to thirty-five or forty graves.[36]

The planning document identified and evaluated various strategies for protection of the cemetery for the Municipal Heritage Advisory Committee to consider. The first option involved the City of Regina's taking no further action. Since the cemetery is registered under the Saskatchewan *Cemeteries Act*, 1999, the landowner is deemed responsible for ongoing care. The cemetery is also currently registered as an archaeological site.

A second option was for the city to use its authority, under the *Cemeteries Act*, to compel the landowner to maintain the cemetery at a suitable standard. In this case, this was deemed to be adherence to the guidelines for "dryland vegetation management" (that is, regular cutting of grass within and around the cemetery). This option would ensure some level of maintenance of the cemetery while minimizing the landowner's financial burden, but would fall short of offering enhanced heritage protection.

A third option explicitly addressed the advisability of differing levels of municipal and provincial designation, commemoration, and protection.

Each of these three options was tempered by complex considerations regarding landowner responsibilities, the cost of site documentation required to facilitate heritage designation, and the potential risk to municipalities of precedent-setting decisions with budget implications. All the options recognized the need for appropriate consultation with First Nations communities from whom the deceased students originated.[37] These complex issues will be common to many future discussions about how best to address the maintenance of residential school cemeteries, particularly those that lie abandoned and unmaintained.

Recommendations regarding documentation and protection of residential school cemeteries

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. Many Aboriginal people have unanswered questions about what happened to their children or relatives while they were attending residential school. The work that the Commission has commenced in identifying and commemorating those students who died at school and their gravesites needs to be completed.

Collecting, managing, and assessing information about residential school cemeteries can be challenging, given unclear jurisdictional responsibility and concerns about the costs involved. This is evident with the recent debate about appropriate designation of the Regina school cemetery. This work is also complex and sensitive. Former schools might be associated with specific First Nations, but the cemeteries may contain the bodies of children from many communities. They may also contain the bodies of teachers (or their children) who died while working at the institutions. In some cases, the cemeteries remain in operation and receive ongoing care, particularly when they are part of an existing churchyard or are located within a reserve or non-Aboriginal community. But many others lie abandoned and largely forgotten. No one set of recommendations will serve all circumstances. While residential school cemeteries require documentation, commemoration, ongoing care, and protection from disturbance, there is a need for a consultative framework to identify appropriate strategies and then to identify the skills and resources needed to undertake the required work and a set of principles to guide this work.

The documentation, ongoing maintenance, commemoration, and protection from disturbance of residential school cemeteries cross numerous jurisdictions. Aboriginal communities from which students were recruited and where cemeteries are located

have vital interest in this work. The federal government funded and regulated the schools, and a number of major Christian denominations operated them. Regulation of cemeteries, however, rests at the provincial and territorial levels. Environmental impact assessment is also regulated by governments at a variety of levels. The issue is best addressed through the coordination of a national strategy.

Call to action:

73) We call upon the federal government to work with the churches and Aboriginal community leaders to inform the families of children who died at residential schools of the child's burial location, and to respond to families' wishes for appropriate commemoration ceremonies and markers, and reburial in home communities where requested.

As infrastructure and resource development accelerates throughout Canada, the risk of damage to relatively undocumented residential school cemeteries increases. Depending upon the jurisdiction, an environmental impact assessment, which includes assessment of heritage sites, is usually required prior to development. This generally involves a review of existing documentation, evaluation of the potential for heritage sites within the development zone, and also often a physical search. Such work is often done in phases, with preliminary review of centralized archives and databases to inform subsequent investigation. Local knowledge about residential school cemeteries might not be readily accessible to non-local planners, resource managers, and impact assessors. It is therefore important that locally collected information is shared with agencies responsible for land use planning, environmental impact assessment, and cemeteries protection and regulation.

Such information-sharing is hindered by limited documentation, unclear jurisdictional responsibility, and uncoordinated consolidation of information. These problems could be addressed through the establishment of a registry of residential school cemeteries that could be available online. At a minimum, such a registry should include the identification, duration, and affiliation of each cemetery; its legal description; current land ownership and condition; and its location coordinates.

There is also a need for information sharing with the families of those who died at the schools. As the historical record indicates, families were not adequately informed of the health condition of their children. There is a need for the federal government to ensure that appropriate measures are undertaken to inform families of the fate of their children and to ensure that the children are commemorated in a way that is acceptable to the families.

Calls to action:

74) We call upon the federal government to work with churches, Aboriginal communities, and former residential school students to establish and maintain an online registry of residential school cemeteries, including, where possible, plot maps showing the location of deceased residential school children.

75) We call upon the federal government to work with provincial, territorial, and municipal governments, churches, Aboriginal communities, former residential school students, and current landowners to develop and implement strategies and procedures for the ongoing identification, documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries or other sites at which residential school children were buried. This is to include the provision of appropriate memorial ceremonies and commemorative markers to honour the deceased children.

The complex and sensitive work of documenting, maintaining, commemorating, and protecting residential school cemeteries must be undertaken according to a set of guiding principles that give priority to community requirements and knowledge. Any physical investigation of the cemeteries must involve close consultation with interested communities, identification of community-driven objectives, suitable methodologies, and attention to spiritual and emotional sensitivities.

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. This work might involve local initiatives to physically document cemetery extent and location, and also to identify individual graves within or around the cemetery area. When undertaking physical inspection and documentation of the cemeteries, the most cost-effective strategy involves collection and consolidation of both documentary and locally held knowledge prior to initiating fieldwork. This will improve efficiency of the physical search and aid selection of the most effective field methodologies. It also enables researchers to determine community wishes regarding the most appropriate approaches to site investigation. This includes identifying the protocols regarding prayers and ceremonial observance prior to a site visit.

Long-abandoned cemeteries may yield only fragmentary surface evidence of their existence, such as decaying grave markers, picket fences, offerings, or grave houses. Sometimes, shallow depressions might be the only remaining indication of graves, and the cemetery might be overgrown with grass, weeds, or woody vegetation. Care must be taken to avoid inadvertent destruction of surface evidence when seeking to document, beautify, or commemorate the cemetery area. Obscuring surface

vegetation should not be immediately cleared, since it might also disturb fragile remnants of grave markers, and different vegetation growth might suggest grave locations. Site documentation might require archaeological expertise to undertake preliminary mapping and photo-documentation, air-photo interpretation coupled with topographic mapping, near-surface geophysical survey, and test excavation.[38]

Call to action:

76) We call upon the parties engaged in the work of documenting, maintaining, commemorating, and protecting residential school cemeteries to adopt strategies in accordance with the following principles:

   i. The Aboriginal community most affected shall lead the development of such strategies.

   ii. Information shall be sought from residential school Survivors and other Knowledge Keepers in the development of such strategies.

   iii. Aboriginal protocols shall be respected before any potentially invasive technical inspection and investigation of a cemetery site.

Conclusion

The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials posed four questions:

1) Who and how many IRS (Indian Residential School) students died?
2) What did IRS students die from?
3) Where are they buried?
4) Who went missing?

The Commission focused its resources on answering the first three of these questions.

The Commission has established a National Residential School Student Death Register. On that register, it has identified the names of 2,040 students who died in residential school or shortly after discharge. It has also identified 1,161 reported deaths of unnamed residential school students. As noted, work on the register is far from complete: there are many documents that must be reviewed and further cross-referenced. In addition, statements given by former students to the Commission have yet to be fully analyzed for references to student deaths and further cross-referencing with the documentary evidence.

Tuberculosis was the cause of death in 48.7% of the cases for which there is a reported cause of death (on the Named and Unnamed registers combined.) A child's vulnerability to tuberculosis and ability to recover from the infection was in large measure governed by diet, sanitary conditions, ventilation, quality of clothing, and physical strength. Due to limited government funding, students in most schools were malnourished, quartered in crowded and unsanitary facilities, poorly clothed, and overworked. The fact that the government was not able to impose and maintain a screening mechanism that kept infected students out of the schools meant that the schools amplified an existing tuberculosis crisis in the Aboriginal community.

Students who died at school were rarely sent home unless their parents could afford to pay for transportation. Unless they lived in close proximity to the school, most parents could not afford such costs. As a result, it is likely that most students who died at residential school were buried in either a nearby mission cemetery or a residential school cemetery. Although some of these cemeteries remain in operation, many more have been abandoned after the closure of either the school or the mission. In recent years, in a number of important instances, Aboriginal communities, churches, and former staff have taken steps to rehabilitate cemeteries and commemorate the individuals buried there.

The measures recommended in this report are intended to serve as a framework for a national strategy for the documentation, maintenance, commemoration, and protection of residential school cemeteries. Such a program, carried out in close consultation with the concerned Aboriginal communities, is necessary to properly honour the memory of the children who died in Canada's residential schools.

Appendix 1
Canada's residential schools

The Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) provides the most comprehensive listing of Canadian residential schools for Aboriginal people. At the time of approval, the Settlement Agreement listed 130 residential schools and residences. The Settlement Agreement also outlined a process by which additional schools could be added to the list of approved institutions. At the time of writing, nine institutions had been added to the list.[1]

The IRSSA list of approved schools has a number of limits.

- It was developed in the early twenty-first century as part of a process through which individuals were compensated for their experiences at residential schools that they attended. Therefore, the list did not include schools that closed in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.
- The original list did not include the dates of operation for the schools. Due to limitations in the records, there are difficulties in determining opening and closing dates. Some schools, for example, might informally open when a missionary began boarding one or more students in his home. Continuity in the operation of schools could be interrupted. For example, schools that burned down might not reopen for several years. The precise date of closure might be difficult to pinpoint: the Blue Quills school, for example, is still in operation as a post-secondary educational facility.
- There were several anomalies in the list. The Methodist school at Red Deer, Alberta, which closed in 1919, and the Methodist school in Edmonton, which opened in 1924, are listed as one school. Similarly, the Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba, which closed in 1933, and the Anglican school in Dauphin, Manitoba, which opened in 1957, are listed as one school (in part because both were known as the "McKay school"). There are separate listings for Roman Catholic schools at Fort Pelly and Kamsack, Saskatchewan, although these appear to refer to the same institution.[2]
- It was not uncommon for schools to be known by a variety of names: one might relate to its geographic name, one might refer to a Christian saint, and another

might refer to the region in which the school was located. The industrial school at Lebret, for example, was referred to as the "Lebret school," the "Qu'Appelle school," and the "St. Paul's school"—all at the same time. It later became known as the "Whitecalf school." There is also duplication in names: there were three St. Marys, four St. Pauls, and at least eight St. Josephs.

- The question of religious affiliation is not always straightforward. At first, most of the schools were quite clearly the initiatives of Catholic and Protestant missionary organizations. That affiliation formally ended in 1969. However, for a number of years after that, church-appointed principals remained in offices, and the religious denomination that had been previously associated with the school continued to provide pastoral care.

All these issues combine to complicate any attempt to list the schools on the Settlement Agreement with their opening and closing dates, location, and religious affiliation.

Appendix 1.1 presents the schools listed on the Settlement Agreement by province (in alphabetical order). Because of the number of schools with the same name, the schools are listed by location. (When more than one school was located in a single location, there are multiple entries for that location.) Appendix 1.1 also addresses the anomalies that appeared in the Settlement Agreement list: separate listings have been created for schools that were combined on the Settlement Agreement list, such as those at Edmonton and Red Deer. The Kamsack and Fort Pelly Roman Catholic schools have been combined, as have the Roman Catholic schools at Cross Lake, Norway House, Notre Dame, and Jack River, which appear to have been part of a linked administrative structure. Where possible, the opening and closing dates are based on archival documents. Where this was not possible, secondary sources were consulted. In most cases, the dates represent only the opening and closing, and do not reflect periods when the school might have been temporarily closed. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada attempted to be as comprehensive as possible. For this reason, the dates may not correspond to those used in assessing claims under the Common Experience Payment program and the Independent Assessment Process, which employ criteria relating to the degree of federal involvement in the operation of the facility.

Appendix 1.2 lists residential schools that were funded by Indian Affairs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but were not included in the Settlement Agreement. The information on these schools comes from the Indian Affairs annual reports, particularly the table of schools published annually.

Appendix 1.1
Residential schools and residences included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement

Alberta

Assumption
Our Lady Assumption, Assumption, Hay Lakes
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1951[3]
Closing: 1973[4]

Brocket
Sacred Heart, Brocket
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1887[5]
Closing: 1961[6]

Brocket
St. Cyprian's, Queen Victoria's Jubilee Home, Peigan
Anglican
Opening: 1890[7]
Closing: 1961[8]

Calais
Sturgeon Lake, Calais, St. Francis Xavier
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1907[9]
Closing: 1961[10]

Cardston
St. Mary's, Blood, Immaculate Conception
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1898[11]
Closing: 1988[12]

Cardston
St. Paul's, Blood
Anglican
Opening: 1891[13]
Closing: 1975[14]

Cluny
Crowfoot, St. Joseph's, St. Trinité
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1900[15]
Closing: 1968[16]

Desmarais–Wabasca
Desmarais (Wabisca Lake, St. Martins, Wabisca Roman Catholic)
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1901[17]
Closing: 1973[18]

Edmonton (St. Albert)
Edmonton (Poundmaker)
Methodist, later United Church of Canada
Opening: 1924[19]
Closing: 1968[20]

Fort Chipewyan
Holy Angels, Fort Chipewyan, École des Saints-Anges
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1874[21]
Closing: 1974[22]

Fort Vermilion
Fort Vermilion, St. Henry's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1900[23]
Closing: 1968[24]

Gleichen
Old Sun (Old Sun's)
Anglican
Opening: 1886[25]
Closing: 1971[26]

Grouard
St. Bernard's, Grouard, Lesser Slave Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1886[27]
Closing: 1961[28]

High River
St. Joseph's, High River, Dunbow
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1884[29]
Closing: 1922[30]

Hobbema
Ermineskin
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1895[31]
Closing: 1975[32]

Joussard
Joussard, St. Bruno's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1913[33]
Closing: 1969[34]

Lac La Biche
Lac La Biche, Notre Dame des Victoires
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1863[35]
Closing: 1898[36]

Lesser Slave Lake
Lesser Slave Lake, St. Peter's
Anglican
Opening: 1894[37]
Closing: 1932[38]

Morley
Morley, Stony
Methodist, later United Church of Canada
Opening: 1922[39]
Closing: 1969[40]

Red Deer
Red Deer
Methodist
Opening: 1893[41]
Closing: 1919[42]

Saddle Lake (later St. Paul)
Blue Quills, Saddle Lake, Sacred Heart
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1898[43]
Closing: 1990[44]

St. Albert
St. Albert, Youville
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1863[45]
Closing: 1948[46]

Smoky River
St. Augustine, Smoky River
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1898[47]
Closing: 1908[48]

T'suu Tina
Sarcee, St. Barnabas
Anglican
Opening: 1892[49]
Closing: 1922[50]

Wabasca
Wabasca Anglican, St. John's, John's Mission Wapuskaw
Anglican
Opening: 1894[51]
Closing: 1966[52]

Whitefish Lake
St. Andrews, Whitefish Lake
Anglican
Opening: 1903[53]
Closing: 1950[54]

British Columbia

Ahousat
Ahousat, Ahousaht
Presbyterian, later United Church
Opening: 1904[55]
Closing: 1940[56]

Alert Bay
St. Michael's, Alert Bay Girls' Home, Alert Bay Boys' Home
Anglican
Opening: 1894[57]
Closing: 1974[58]

Anahim
Anahim Lake
Non-denominational
Opening: 1968[59]
Closing: 1977[60]

Chilliwack/Sardis
Coqualeetza
Methodist, later United Church
Opening: 1894[61]
Closing: 1940[62]

Cranbrook
Cranbrook, St. Eugene's, Kootenay
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890[63]
Closing: 1970[64]

Fraser Lake
Lejac, Fraser Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1922[65]
Closing: 1976[66]

Kamloops
Kamloops
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890[67]
Closing: 1978[68]

Kitamaat/Kitimaat
Kitamaat (Elizabeth Long Memorial Home for Girls)
Methodist, United Church after 1925
Opening: 1905[69]
Closing: 1941[70]

Kuper Island
Kuper Island
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890[71]
Closing: 1975[72]

Lower Post
Lower Post
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1951[73]
Closing: 1975[74]

Lytton
St. George's, Lytton
Anglican
Opening: 1902[75]
Closing: 1979[76]

Meares Island/Christie/Tofino
Christie, Clayoquot, Kakawis
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1900[77]
Closing: 1983[78]

Mission
St. Mary's, Mission
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1863[79]
Closing: 1984[80]

North Vancouver/Squamish
St. Paul's, Squamish, North Vancouver
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1899[81]
Closing: 1959[82]

Port Alberni
Alberni
Presbyterian, United Church after 1925
Opening: 1893[83]
Closing: 1973[84]

Port Simpson/Fort Simpson
Port Simpson, Crosby Home for Girls
Methodist, later United Church
Opening: 1879[85]
Closing: 1948[86]

Sechelt
Sechelt
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1904[87]
Closing: 1975[88]

Williams Lake
Cariboo, St. Joseph's, Williams Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1891[89]
Closing: 1981[90]

Manitoba

Birtle
Birtle
Presbyterian
Opening: 1888[91]
Closing: 1970[92]

Brandon
Brandon
Methodist, United Church after 1925 (1929?), Roman Catholic (1970–1972)
Opening: 1895[93]
Closing: 1972[94]

Churchill
Churchill Vocational Centre
Non-denominational
Opening: 1964[95]
Closing: 1973[96]

Cross Lake
Cross Lake, St. Joseph's, Norway House, Notre Dame Hostel, Jack River Hostel
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1912[97]
Closing: 1969[98]

Dauphin
McKay
Anglican
Opening: 1957[99]
Closing: 1988[100]

Elkhorn
Elkhorn, Washakada
Anglican
Opening: 1889[101]
Closing: 1918[102]
Reopening: 1923[103]
Closing: 1949[104]

Norway House
Norway House
Methodist, later United Church
Opening: 1898[105]
Closing: 1969[106]

Pine Creek
Pine Creek, Camperville
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890[107]
Closing: 1969[108]

Pine Falls
Fort Alexander
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1905[109]
Closing: 1969[110]

Portage la Prairie
Portage la Prairie
Presbyterian, later United Church
Opening: 1891[111]
Closing: 1975[112]

Sandy Bay
Sandy Bay
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1905[113]
Closing: 1970[114]

The Pas
McKay
Anglican
Opening: 1915[115]
Closing: 1933[116]

The Pas/Clearwater Lake
Clearwater, Guy Hill, Clearwater Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1952[117]
Closing: 1979[118]

Winnipeg
Assiniboia
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1958[119]
Closing: 1973[120]

Northwest Territories

Aklavik
Aklavik, Immaculate Conception
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1926[121]
Closing: 1959[122]

Aklavik
Aklavik, All Saints
Anglican
Opening: 1936[123]
Closing: 1959[124]

Fort Franklin
Fort Franklin Hostel
Non-denominational
Opening: 1967[125]
Closing: 1972[126]

Fort McPherson
Fleming Hall
Anglican
Opening: 1958[127]
Closing: 1976[128]

Fort Providence
Fort Providence Boarding Home (Sacred Heart)
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1867[129]
Closing: 1960[130]

Fort Resolution
Roman Catholic
Fort Resolution Residence (St. Joseph's)
Opening: 1903[131]
Closing: 1957[132]

Fort Simpson
Bompas Hall
Anglican
Opening: 1960[133]
Closing: 1975[134]

Fort Simpson
Lapointe Hall
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1960[135]
Closing: 1973[136]

Fort Simpson
Lapointe Hall, Deh Cho Hall
Roman Catholic/Non-denominational
Opening: 1974[137]
Closing: 1986[138]

Fort Smith
Breynat Hall
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1958[139]
Closing: 1975[140]

Fort Smith
Grandin College
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1964[141]
Closing: 1985[142]

Hay River
St. Peter's
Anglican
Opening: 1895[143]
Closing: 1937[144]

Inuvik
Grollier Hall
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1959[145]
Closing: 1997[146]

Inuvik
Stringer Hall
Anglican
Opening: 1959[147]
Closing: 1975[148]

Yellowknife
Akaitcho Hall
Non-denominational
Opening: 1958[149]
Closing: 1994[150]

Nova Scotia

Shubenacadie
Shubenacadie, St. Anne's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1930[151]
Closing: 1967[152]

Nunavut

Arviat
Federal Hostel at Eskimo Point/Arviat
Arviat (Eskimo Point)
Non-denominational
Opening: 1962[153]
Closing: 1967[154]

Cambridge Bay
Federal Hostel at Cambridge Bay
Non-denominational
Opening: 1964[155]
Closing: 1996[156]

Chesterfield Inlet
Chesterfield Inlet, Turquetil Hall
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1955[157]
Closing: 1969[158]

Coppermine
Coppermine Tent Hostel
Coppermine
Anglican
Opening: 1955[159]
Closing: 1959[160]

Igloolik/Iglulik
Federal Hostel at Igloolik/Iglulik
Non-denominational
Opening: 1962[161]
Closing: 1969[162]

Iqaluit
Federal Hostel at Frobisher Bay (Ukkivik)
Frobisher Bay
Non-denominational
Opening: 1971[163]
Closing: 1997[164]

Kimmirut
Federal Hostel at Lake Harbour
Non-denominational
Opening: 1964[165]
Closing: 1968[166]

Kinngait
Federal Hostel at Cape Dorset/Kinngait
Cape Dorset
Non-denominational
Opening: 1962[167]
Closing: 1965[168]

Mittimatalik
Federal Hostel at Pond Inlet/Mittimatalik
Non-denominational
Opening: 1962[169]
Closing: 1970[170]

Pangnirtung/Panniqtuuq
Federal Hostel at Pangnirtung (Pangnirtang)
Non-denominational
Opening: 1964[171]
Closing: 1967[172]

Qamani'tuaq/Qamanittuaq
Federal Hostel at Baker Lake/Qamani'tuaq
Baker Lake
Non-denominational
Opening: 1961[173]
Closing: 1967[174]

Qikiqtarjuaq
Federal Hostel at Broughton Island/ Qikiqtarjuaq
Broughton Island
Non-denominational
Opening: 1962[175]
Closing: 1966[176]

Sanikiluaq
Federal Hostel at Belcher Islands
Belcher Islands
Non-denominational
Opening: 1963[177]
Closing: 1964[178]

Ontario

Brantford
Mohawk Institute
Anglican
Opening: 1832[179]
Closing: 1970[180]

Chapleau
Chapleau, St. John's
Anglican
Opening: 1907[181]
Closing: 1948[182]

Cristal Lake
Cristal Lake
Northern Light Gospel Mission
Opening: 1976[183]
Closing: 1986[184]

Fort Albany
St. Anne's, Fort Albany
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1902[185]
Closing: 1976[186]

Fort Frances
Fort Frances, St. Margaret's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1905[187]
Closing: 1974[188]

Fort William
Fort William, St. Joseph's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1870[189]
Closing: 1968[190]

Kenora
St. Mary's, Kenora
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1897[191]
Closing: 1972[192]

Kenora/Shoal Lake
Cecilia Jeffrey, Kenora, Shoal Lake
Presbyterian, United Church briefly, Presbyterian
Opening: 1902[193]
Closing: 1976[194]

McIntosh
McIntosh
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1925[195]
Closing: 1969[196]

Moose Factory Island
Bishop Horden Hall, Moose Fort, Moose Factory
Anglican
Opening: 1855[197]
Closing: 1976[198]

Muncey (Munceytown)
Mount Elgin, Muncey, St. Thomas
Methodist, later United Church
Opening: 1851[199]
Closing: 1946[200]

Poplar Hill
Poplar Hill Development School
Northern Light Gospel Mission
Opening: 1962[201]
Closing: 1989[202]

Sault Ste. Marie
Shingwauk Home
Anglican
Opening: 1873[203]
Closing: 1970[204]

Sault Ste. Marie
Wawanosh Home
Anglican
Opening: 1879[205]
Closing: 1894[206]

Sioux Lookout
Pelican Lake, Pelican Falls
Anglican
Opening: 1926[207]
Closing: 1978[208]

Spanish
Spanish Boys' School, Charles Garnier, St. Joseph's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1913[209]
Closing: 1958[210]

Spanish
Spanish Girls' School, St. Joseph's, St. Peter's, St. Anne's
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1913[211]
Closing: 1962[212]

Stirland Lake
Stirland Lake, Wahbon Bay Academy
Northern Light Gospel Mission
Opening: 1973[213]
Closing: 1991[214]

Québec

Amos
Amos, Amos Student Residence, St-Marc Residence, St-Marc-de-Figuery
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1955[215]
Closing: 1973[216]

Fort George
Fort George, St. Phillip's
Anglican
Opening: 1932[217]
Closing: 1975[218]

Fort George
Fort George, St. Joseph's Mission, Residence Couture, Sainte-Thérèse-de-l'Enfant-Jésus
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1931[219]
Closing: 1978[220]

Fort George
Fort George Hostels
Non-denominational
Opening: 1975[221]
Closing: 1978[222]

Inukjuak
Federal Hostel at Port Harrison, Inoucdjouac, Inoucdouac
Non-denominational
Opening: 1960[223]
Closing: 1971[224]

Kangirsualujjuaq/Fort George
Federal Hostel at George River
Non-denominational
Opening: 1960[225]
Closing: 1960[226]

Kangirsuk
Federal Hostel at Payne Bay, Bellin
Non-denominational
Opening: 1960[227]
Closing: 1962[228]

Kuujjuaraapik/Whapmagoostui
Federal Hostel at Great Whale River, Poste-de-la-Baleine, Kuujjuaraapik
Non-denominational
Opening: 1960[229]
Closing: 1970[230]

La Tuque
La Tuque
Anglican
Opening: 1963[231]
Closing: 1978[232]

Mistassini
Mistassini Hostels
Non-denominational
Opening: 1971[233]
Closing: 1978[234]

Pointe Bleue
Pointe Bleue
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1960[235]
Closing: 1991[236]

Sept-Îles
Sept-Îles, Seven Islands, Notre Dame, Maliotenam
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1952[237]
Closing: 1971[238]

Saskatchewan

Balcarres
File Hills
Presbyterian, later United Church
Opening: 1889[239]
Closing: 1949[240]

Battleford
Battleford
Anglican
Opening: 1883[241]
Closing: 1914[242]

Beauval
Beauval, Lac la Plonge, Île-à-la-Crosse
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1860[243]
Closing: 1995[244]

Delmas
Thunderchild, Delmas, St. Henri
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1901[245]
Closing: 1948[246]

Duck Lake
St. Michael's, Duck Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1894[247]
Closing: 1996[248]

Gordon's Reserve, Punnichy
Gordon's, Punnichy
Anglican
Opening: 1888[249]
Closing: 1996[250]

Grayson
Marieval, Cowessess, Crooked Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1898[251]
Closing: 1997[252]

Kamsack
Cote Improved Federal Day School
United Church
Opening: 1928[253]
Closing: 1940[254]

Kamsack
Crowstand
Presbyterian
Opening: 1889[255]
Closing: 1915[256]

Kamsack/Fort Pelly
Kamsack, St. Phillips
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1928[257]
Closing: 1969[258]

Lac La Ronge
All Saints School, Lac La Ronge
Anglican
Opening: 1906[259]
Closing: 1947[260]

Lebret/Qu'Appelle
Lebret, Qu'Appelle, St. Paul's, Whitecalf
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1884[261]
Closing: 1998[262]

Muscowequan
Lestock, Muscowequan, Muskowekwan, Touchwood
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1889[263]
Closing: 1997[264]

Onion Lake
St. Barnabas, Onion Lake
Anglican
Opening: 1893[265]
Closing: 1943[266]

Onion Lake
St. Anthony's, Onion Lake, Sacred Heart
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1892[267]
Closing: 1974[268]

Prince Albert
Prince Albert, St. Alban's, All Saints, St. Barnabas, Lac La Ronge
Anglican
Opening: 1951[269]
Closing: 1997[270]

Prince Albert
Saint Alban's
Anglican
Opening: 1944[271]
Closing: 1951[272]

Regina
Regina
Presbyterian
Opening: 1891[273]
Closing: 1910[274]

Round Lake
Round Lake
Presbyterian, later United Church
Opening: 1884[275]
Closing: 1950[276]

Sturgeon Landing
Sturgeon Landing
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1927[277]
Closing: 1952[278]

Yukon

Carcross
Carcross IRS (Chooulta)
Anglican
Opening: 1903[279]
Closing: 1969[280]

Dawson City
St. Paul's Hostel
Anglican
Opening: 1920[281]
Closing: 1953[282]

Shingle Point
Shingle Point
Anglican
Opening: 1929[283]
Closing: 1936[284]

Whitehorse
Coudert Hall
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1960[285]
Closing: 1971[286]

Whitehorse
Whitehorse Baptist Mission (Baptist Indian School)
Baptist
Opening: 1947[287]
Closing: 1959[288]

Whitehorse
Yukon Hall
Non-denominational/Protestant
Opening: 1960[289]
Closing: 1985[290]

Appendix 1.2

Residential schools identified in Indian Affairs annual reports that were not included in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

Alberta

Calgary
St. Dunstan
Anglican
Opening: 1896
Closing: 1907

Morley
McDougall Orphanage
Methodist
Opening: 1886
Closing: 1908

Stony Plains
Stony Plains
Presbyterian
Opening: 1892
Closing: 1894

Vermilion Lake
Irene Training Institute at Vermilion Lake
Anglican
Opening: 1885
Closing: 1894

British Columbia

Fort St. James
Fort St. James (Stuart Lake)
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1917
Closing: 1922

Metlakatla
Metlakatla
Anglican
Opening: 1872
Closing: 1908

Yale
All Hallows School
Anglican
Opening: 1884
Closing: 1918

Manitoba

Middlechurch
St. Paul's, Middlechurch (Rupert's Land)
Anglican
Opening: 1890
Closing: 1906

St. Boniface
St. Boniface
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890
Closing: 1905

Water Hen
Water Hen
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1890
Closing: 1900

Ontario

Wikwemikong
Wikwemikong (Manitoulin Island)
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1868
Closing: 1911

Saskatchewan

Muscowpetung
Muscowpetung Agency Boarding School
Presbyterian
Opening: 1888
Closing: 1894

Muskeg Lake
Roman Catholic
Opening: 1892
Closing: 1892

Prince Albert
Emmanuel College
Anglican
Opening: 1879
Closing: 1909

Standing Buffalo
Standing Buffalo
Presbyterian
Opening: 1889
Closing: 1893

Northwest Territories

Fort Resolution
Fort Resolution
Anglican
Opening: 1891
Closing: 1892

Appendix 2
Schools destroyed by fire: 1867 to 1997

This appendix of school fires (and the appendices following) represent the number of fires that the TRC identified in the course of preparing this report. Further research will likely identify additional fires. Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.

1) Île-à-la-Crosse, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1867)[1]
2) Shingwauk Home, Garden River, Ontario (1873)[2]
3) Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, boys' school and girls' school (1885)[3]
4) Coqualeetza Institute, Chilliwack, British Columbia (1892)[4]
5) Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1894)[5]
6) Fort William, Ontario, orphanage (1894)[6]
7) Elkhorn, Manitoba (1895)[7]
8) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario (1903)[8]
9) Anglican school at Wabasca, North-West Territories (now Alberta) (1903)[9]
10) Qu'Appelle, North-West Territories (now Saskatchewan) (1904)[10]
11) Saint-Paul-des-Métis, Alberta (1905). One student died in this fire.[11]
12) Kitamaat, British Columbia, girls' home (1906)[12]
13) Rupert's Land school, Middlechurch, Manitoba (1906)[13]
14) Wikwemikong girls' school, Manitoulin Island, Ontario (1911)[14]
15) Norway House, Manitoba (1913)[15]
16) Fort Vermilion, Alberta (1914)[16]
17) Alberni, British Columbia (1917)[17]
18) Ahousaht, British Columbia (1917)[18]
19) Sechelt, British Columbia (1917)[19]
20) Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan (1920)[20]
21) Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan (1920)[21]
22) Crosby Girls' Home, Port Simpson, British Columbia (1921)[22]
23) Joussard, Alberta (1923)[23]
24) Kamloops, British Columbia (1925)[24]
25) Île-à-la-Crosse, Saskatchewan (1925)[25]
26) Beauval, Saskatchewan (1927).[26] Nineteen students and one staff person died in this fire.[27]
27) Gleichen, Alberta (1928)[28]
28) Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1928)[29]

29) Gordon's Reserve, Saskatchewan (1929)[30]
30) Cross Lake, Manitoba (1930). Twelve students and one staff person died in this fire.[31]
31) Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (1932)[32]
32) Fort Vermilion, Alberta (1932)[33]
33) Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba (1933)[34]
34) Alberni, British Columbia (1937)[35]
35) Carcross, Yukon Territory (1939)[36]
36) Fort Albany, Ontario (1939)[37]
37) Carcross, Yukon Territory (1940)[38]
38) Ahousaht, British Columbia (1940)[39]
39) Alberni, British Columbia (1941)[40]
40) File Hills, Saskatchewan (1942)[41]
41) Fort George, Québec (the Anglican school) (1943)[42]
42) Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (the Anglican school) (1943)[43]
43) Wabasca, Alberta (1945)[44]
44) Norway House, Manitoba (1946)[45]
45) Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan (1947)[46]
46) Delmas, Saskatchewan (Thunderchild) (1948)[47]
47) Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories (1950)[48]
48) Sturgeon Landing, Saskatchewan (1952)[49]
49) McIntosh, Ontario (1965)[50]
50) Cambridge Bay, Northwest Territories (1973)[51]
51) Cambridge Bay, Northwest Territories (1974)[52]
52) Fort George, Québec (1975) (federal teachers' residence)[53]
53) Fort Smith, Northwest Territories (1980)[54]

Appendix 3
Outbuildings destroyed by fire: 1867 to 1997

Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.

1) Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, playhouse (1889)[1]
2) Battleford, Saskatchewan, carpenter's shop (1894)[2]
3) Elkhorn, Manitoba, girls' dormitory (1895)[3]
4) Old Sun's, T'suu Tina, North-West Territories (now Alberta), stable (1896)[4]
5) Mission, British Columbia, laundry building (1896)[5]
6) Metlakatla, British Columbia, girls' dormitory, laundry, and the school workshops (1901)[6]
7) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, barns (1903)[7]
8) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, temporary boys' dormitory (1903)[8]
9) Birtle, Manitoba, stable (1903)[9]
10) Coqualeetza Institute, Chilliwack, British Columbia, several outbuildings (1906)[10]
11) Hay River, Northwest Territories, henhouse (1907)[11]
12) Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, boys' playhouse (1907)[12]
13) Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, pump house (1913)[13]
14) Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barns (1915)[14]
15) Gleichen, Alberta, laundry building (1921)[15]
16) Round Lake, Saskatchewan, classrooms (1923)[16]
17) Anglican school on the Peigan Reserve, Brocket, Alberta, principal's house (1925)[17]
18) Chapleau, Ontario, former school building (1926)[18]
19) Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, former school building (1926)[19]
20) Blue Quills, Alberta, stable (1928)[20]
21) Spanish, Ontario, boys' school, chicken coop (1930)[21]
22) Lestock, Saskatchewan, laundry and garage (1931).[22] The school engineer was injured in the fire and the government declined to pay his medical bills, saying they were a church responsibility.[23]
23) Shingle Point, Yukon Territory, principal's residence (1934)[24]
24) Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, principal's residence (1934)[25]
25) Birtle, Manitoba, poultry house (1934)[26]

26) File Hills, Saskatchewan, poultry house (1935)[27]

27) Fraser Lake, British Columbia, piggery (1935)[28]

28) Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories, power plant (1936).[29] Although there were no fatalities, two people were badly burned by the fire.[30]

29) Roman Catholic school at Fort George, Québec, laundry (1938)[31]

30) Roman Catholic school at Kenora, Ontario, staff residence (1938)[32]

31) Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, pump house (1939)[33]

32) Roman Catholic school at Kenora, Ontario, priests' residence (1939)[34]

33) Fraser Lake, British Columbia, poultry house (1940)[35]

34) Fraser Lake, British Columbia, poultry house (second fire in one year) (1940)[36]

35) Cranbrook, British Columbia, several outbuildings (1941)[37]

36) Fraser Lake, British Columbia, poultry house (1942)[38]

37) Alert Bay, British Columbia, pump house (1945)[39]

38) Brocket (St. Cyprian's), Alberta, horse and cattle barn (1946)[40]

39) Sandy Bay, Manitoba, garage partially destroyed (1948)[41]

40) Lestock, Saskatchewan, slaughterhouse (1948)[42]

41) Round Lake, Saskatchewan, barn, the blacksmith shop, and three granaries (1949)[43]

42) Round Lake, Saskatchewan, barn (1950)[44]

43) Presbyterian school at Kenora, Ontario, barn (1951)[45]

44) Brantford, Ontario, Mohawk Institute, two barns (1955)[46]

45) Amos, Québec, cow barn (1956)[48]

46) Sioux Lookout, Ontario, school hockey house (1957)[47]

47) Fraser Lake, British Columbia, pump house (1959)[49]

48) Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories, Roman Catholic Mission, barn (1959)[50]

49) Blue Quill's, Alberta, barn (1963)[51]

50) Prince Albert, Saskatchewan, skating rink change shack (1967)[52]

51) Williams Lake, British Columbia, engineer's shack (1967)[53]

Appendix 4

Additional reported fires that did not destroy buildings: 1867 to 1997

Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.

1. Battleford, Saskatchewan (1885)[1]
2. Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, girls' school (1888)[2]
3. Shingwauk Home, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (1889)[3]
4. Anglican school on the Blood Reserve, North-West Territories (now Alberta) (1895)[4]
5. Kuper Island, British Columbia (1895)[5]
6. Metlakatla, British Columbia, main building (1899)[6]
7. Red Deer, North-West Territories (now Alberta), piggery (1899)[7]
8. Birtle, Manitoba, basement (1901)[8]
9. Rupert's Land school at Middlechurch, Manitoba, laundry and kitchen (two separate fires, two days apart) (1903)[9]
10. Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, kitchen (1906)[10]
11. Elkhorn, Manitoba (1908)[11]
12. Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barn (1908)[12]
13. Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan (1913)[13]
14. Alberni, British Columbia (1913)[14]
15. Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1913)[15]
16. Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (1914)[16]
17. St. Albert, Alberta (1917)[17]
18. Duck Lake, Saskatchewan (1917)[18]
19. Alert Bay, British Columbia (1918)[19]
20. Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, kitchen (1922)[20]
21. Fraser Lake, British Columbia (1923)[21]
22. Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories (1923)[22]
23. Alert Bay, British Columbia (1924)[23]
24. Birtle, Manitoba, boys' dormitory (1925)[24]
25. Grayson, Saskatchewan (1926)[25]
26. McIntosh, Ontario, laundry (1927)[26]
27. Morley, Alberta (1927)[27]
28. Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1928)[28]
29. Mission, British Columbia (1928)[29]
30. Anglican school at The Pas, Manitoba (1929)[30]
31. Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories (1929)[31]
32. Blue Quills, Alberta (1929)[32]
33. Pine Creek, Manitoba (1930)[33]
34. Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1930)[34]
35. Hay River, Northwest Territories, laundry (1931)[35]
36. Blue Quills, Alberta (1932)[36]
37. Grouard, Alberta (1932)[37]
38. Grouard, Alberta (1933)[38]
39. Fort Resolution, Northwest Territories (1933)[39]
40. Cluny, Alberta (1933)[40]
41. Morley, Alberta (1935)[41]

42. Hay River, Northwest Territories, school roof (1935)[42]
43. Shubenacadie, Nova Scotia, boiler room (1936)[43]
44. Sioux Lookout, Ontario, engine room (1936)[44]
45. Morley, Alberta, stables (1938)[45]
46. Fraser Lake, British Columbia, laundry (1938)[46]
47. Alert Bay, British Columbia, boys' dormitory and sitting room (1939)[47]
48. Fraser Lake, British Columbia, laundry and roof (1939)[48]
49. Fort Alexander, Manitoba, laundry room (1941)[49]
50. File Hills, Saskatchewan, two classrooms destroyed (1942)[50]
51. Chapleau, Ontario, chimney (1944)[51]
52. Hobbema, Alberta, boiler room (1945)[52]
53. Chapleau, Ontario, furnace room (1947)[53]
54. Edmonton, Alberta, laundry room (1948)[54]
55. Chapleau, Ontario, chimney (1948)[55]
56. Pine Creek, Manitoba, girls' dormitory (1951)[56]
57. Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, boys' dormitory closet (1951)[57]
58. Williams Lake, British Columbia, classroom destroyed (1954)[58]
59. Beauval, Saskatchewan, wood storage room (1956)[59]
60. Catholic school at Cardston, Alberta, fire above the furnace room (1958)[60]
61. Coppermine, Northwest Territories, school building (1959)[61]
62. Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, gymnasium and shops area (1960)[62]
63. Gordon's, Saskatchewan, basement rumpus room (1963)[63]
64. Fort Smith, Northwest Territories (1964)[64]
65. Carcross, Yukon, boiler room (1966)[65]
66. Beauval, Saskatchewan (1966)[66]
67. Churchill, Manitoba, residence bedroom (1967)[67]
68. Churchill, Manitoba, washroom (1967)[68]
69. Carcross, Yukon, boiler room (1968)[69]
70. Catholic school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan, girls' dormitory and laundry room (fires on two consecutive days) (1969)[70]
71. Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, dormitory (1974)[71]
72. Fort Smith, Northwest Territories, dormitory (1974)[72]
73. Catholic school at Cardston, Alberta, principal's office and two dormitory fires (1976)[73]
74. Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (a series of small fires in the dormitories and gymnasium in 1977 and 1978)[74]
75. Yellowknife, Northwest Territories, boys' dormitory (1977)[75]
76. Duck Lake, Saskatchewan, boys' dormitory (1979)[76]
77. Mission, British Columbia, residence (1980)[77]
78. Gordon's, Saskatchewan, residence bedroom (1986)[78]
79. Lestock, Saskatchewan, girls' dormitory (1993)[79]
80. Lestock, Saskatchewan, dormitory (1993)[80]

Appendix 5

School fires that were suspected or proven to be deliberately set: 1867 to 1997

Religious affiliation of the school is identified when there are two schools in a single location.

1) Shingwauk Home, Garden River, Ontario (1873)[1]
2) Wikwemikong, Manitoulin Island, Ontario, girls' school (1888)[2]
3) Shingwauk Home, Sault Ste. Marie, Ontario (1889)[3]
4) Kuper Island, British Columbia (1895)[4]
5) Anglican school on the Blood Reserve, North-West Territories (now Alberta) (staff member suspected of starting fire) (1895)[5]
6) Birtle, Manitoba, barn destroyed (1903)[6]
7) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, school destroyed (1903)[7]
8) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, barn destroyed (1903)[8]
9) Mohawk Institute, Brantford, Ontario, boys' temporary housing destroyed (1903)[9]
10) Saint-Paul-des-Métis, Alberta (1905)[10]
11) Mount Elgin, Muncey, Ontario, barn (1908)[11]
12) Presbyterian school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan (1913)[12]
13) Duck Lake, Saskatchewan (several attempts in one year) (1917)[13]
14) Ahousat, British Columbia (1917)[14]
15) St. Albert, Alberta (1917)[15]
16) Alert Bay, British Columbia (1918)[16]
17) Alert Bay, British Columbia (1924)[17]
18) Grayson, Saskatchewan (1926)[18]
19) Morley, Alberta (1927)[19]
20) Anglican school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan (1928)[20]
21) Mission, British Columbia (1928)[21]
22) Blue Quills, Alberta (1929)[22]
23) Pine Creek, Manitoba (1930)[23]
24) Cross Lake, Manitoba, school destroyed (1930)[24]
25) Cluny, Alberta (1933)[25]
26) Morley, Alberta (1935)[26]
27) File Hills, Saskatchewan (1942)[27]
28) Lac La Ronge, Saskatchewan (1947)[28]
29) Delmas, Saskatchewan (1948)[29]
30) Round Lake, Saskatchewan (1949)[30]
31) Pine Creek, Manitoba (1951)[31]
32) Beauval, Saskatchewan (1956)[32]
33) Beauval, Saskatchewan (1966)[33]
34) Catholic school at Kamsack, Saskatchewan (1968)[34]

35) Roman Catholic school and residence, Cardston, Alberta (St. Mary's) (1976)[35]

36) Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan (a series of attempted arsons) (spring 1977 to spring 1978)[36]

37) Lestock, Saskatchewan (1993)[37]

Notes

Executive summary

1. Moine, *My Life in a Residential School*, n.p.
2. Montour, *Brown Tom's School Days,* 66–67.
3. Gladstone, "Indian School Days," 21–22.
4. Brass, *I Walk in Two Worlds*, 26.
5. Gray, *"I Will Fear No Evil,"* 8–9.
6. "Two Die as Plane Crashes," *Nashua Telegraph*, 13 November 1962. [68907546]
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan Scott, 21 September 1927; [BVL-000874] Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. MacNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930; [CLD-000934] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. MacNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000934]
9. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6186, file 460-23, part 1, "Statement of Albert Matinas," 22 June 1942. [FTA-000116-0011]
10. TRC, NRA, National Capital Regional Service Centre – LAC – Ottawa, file 494/3-3-3, volume 1, "Provincial Police Report," G. A. McMonagle, 19 December 1956. [PLK-001205-0001]
11. Canada, Canada's Missing, Case Reference: 2006005399, https://secure.rcmp-grc.gc.ca/missing-disparus/case-dossier.jsf?case=2006005399&id=4 (accessed 16 September 2013).
12. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 268.
13. Van Tighem et al., *Missionaries Among Miners*, 382. For closing date of the High River school, see: TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B92 3866, W. M. Graham to Principal, Ermineskin Roman Catholic Boarding School, 28 October 1922. [OGP-030045]
14. Canada, House of Commons Debates, 39th Parliament, 1st session, volume 141, number 139 (24 April 2007), 1449–1450.
15. Canada, House of Commons Debates, 39th Parliament, 1st session, volume 141, number 139 (24 April 2007), 1450.

16. Letter from Justice Murray Sinclair to Minister Chuck Strahl, 15 September 2009; Canadian Council of Archives, "Documenting Truth and Reconciliation," by Sharon Larade, 27 June 2007, http://www.cdncouncilarchives.ca/whnew2.html?67 (accessed 10 December 2014).
17. The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials, *Missing Children & Unmarked Burials*.
18. Letter from Justice Murray Sinclair to Minister Chuck Strahl, 15 September 2009.
19. Letter from Justice Murray Sinclair to Minister Chuck Strahl, 18 January 2010.
20. For an example of reporting only the number of deaths, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 88.
21. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 91–97.
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6016, file 1-1-23, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to Indian Agents, Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 17 April 1935. [SBR-001147-0000]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6016, file 1-1-23, part 1, Indian Affairs Memorandum, 17 April 1935. [SBR-001147-0001]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6016, file 1-1-23, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to Indian Agents, Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 17 April 1935. [SBR-001147-0000] For an example of the form, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6016, file 1-1-23, part 1, Indian Affairs Memorandum, 17 April 1935. [SBR-001147-0001]
25. See, for example: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6315, file 655-23, part 1, P. Phelan to S. Lovell, 19 January 1937; [GUY-000094] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6314, file 655-10, part 1, Samuel Lovell to the Secretary, Indian Affairs, 25 January 1937; [GUY-000096] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6315, file 655-23, part 1, S. Lovell to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 7 November 1939. [GUY-000102-0000]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4037, file 317021, Peter H. Bryce to Frank Pedley, 4 June 1907. [CJC-000959-0002] For examples, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 107; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-1, volume 1346, Microfilm reel C-13916, Cowichan Agency – Incoming Correspondence re Kuper Island Industrial School, 1891–1907, NAC, Ottawa, G. Donckele to W. R. Robertson, 25 October 1900; [KUP-022107] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 884-5, part 3, 1930–1931, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts (Reports), FA 10-17, C. C. Perry to W. E. Ditchburn, 12 June 1930. [EGN-008478]
27. For examples, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, GS-75-103, B17, "Minutes of meeting of Indian and Eskimo Commission M.S.C.C. Held on Tuesday, January 11th, 1927," 11; [AAC-083001] St. Boniface Historical Society, Archives Deschatelets, L 541 M27L 266, Brachet to père provincial, 20 October 1928; "Missing Birtle Girl Is Not Yet Found," Winnipeg *Free Press*, 28 March 1930; "Find Body of Indian Girl, Long Missing, Winnipeg *Free Press*, 17 April 1930.
28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6302, file 650-23, part 2, Inspector, Commanding Prince Albert Sub-Division to The Officer in Charge, RCMP, Regina, Saskatchewan, 10 September 1942. [BVL-000822]
29. For an example of a provincial government's supporting Métis students in a residential school, see: TRC, NRA, Archdiocese of Grouard-McLennan, 0200B, W. E. Frame to Henri Routhier, 2 May 1946. [GMA-000200-0002]
30. Sadowski, "Preliminary Report on the Investigation," 7–8.

31. TRC, LACAR, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, Department of Health fonds, Medical Services Branch sous-fonds, Medical Services Branch Central Registry File series, Administrative Records from Blocks 800 to 849 sub-series, finding aid 29-143, Perm. volume 2622, file number 800-4-9, file volume 1, file name "Records Retirement," *Indian and Northern Health Services Administrative Circular 57-66*, Destruction and Retention of Documents, P. E. Moore, 7 August 1957. [46a-c000301-d0008-001]
32. *Fontaine v. Canada (Attorney General)*, 2013 ONSC 684, 70.

Statistical analysis

1. Rosenthal, "Statistical Analysis of Deaths." The statistical analysis did not include deaths on the Register of Deaths that Require Further Investigation.
2. Wexelman, Eden, and Rose, "Survey of New York Resident Physicians"; Smith Sehdev and Hutchins, "Problems with Proper Completion."
3. Thompson, "Mechanisms of Fatal Pulmonary Hemorrhage."
4. For Duncan Sticks, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Reverend Henry Boening, 3 March 1902; [IRC-047093] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Joseph Fahey, 3 March 1903; [IRC-047092] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Antonio Boitano, 1 March 1902. [IRC-047086] For William Cardinal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3921, file 116818-1B, J. F. Woodsworth to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 25 November 1918. [EDM-000956] For unnamed boy from The Pas, Manitoba, school, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Anglican Church of Canada, GS-75-103, B17, "Minutes of meeting of Indian and Eskimo Commission, M.S.C.C., Held on Tuesday, January 11th, 1927," 11. [AAC-083001] For three unnamed boys from the Fort Alexander, Manitoba, school, see: St. Boniface Historical Society, Archives Deschatelets, L 541 M27L 266, Brachet to père provincial, 20 October 1928. For Agnes Ben, see: "Find Body of Indian Girl, Long Missing," Winnipeg *Free Press*, 17 April 1930. For Percy Ochapowace, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 2, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, "Re: Percy Ochapowace – Death of, Ochapowace Indian Reserve, Saskatchewan," H. S. Casswell, 19 January 1935; [RLS-000365-0003] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 2, J. P. B. Ostrander to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 19 January 1935. [RLS-000365-0001] For Allen Patrick, Andrew Paul, Justa Maurice, and John Jack, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6446, file 881-23, part 1, R. H. Moore to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 6 January 1937. [LEJ-004083-0000] For Andrew Gordon, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 9151, file 312-11 ACE, "Royal Mounted Police Report, Re Andrew Gordon (Juvenile), Deceased," 16 March 1939. [GDC-009280-0001] For John Kioki, Michael Sutherland, and Michael Matinas, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6186, file 460-23, part 1, Paul Langlois to Constable Dexter, 14 June 1941. [FTA-000105-0001] For Leonard Major, Ambrose Alexander, and Alec Francis, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, file 882-2, part 8, Kamloops Agency – Kamloops Residential School – Quarterly Returns, 1947–1952, FA 10-17, volume 6447, Microfilm reel C-8770, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, Indian Residential School Quarterly Return for Kamloops Indian Residential School, 30 September 1947, pages 8, 9, 10 of 20-page portable document

file; [KAM-002274] TRC, ASAGR, RCMP-564517, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, E-Div NIRS task force Final Report, M. W. Pacholuk, "Final Report of the Native Indian Residential School Task Force, Project E-NIRS," Royal Canadian Mounted Police, n.d., 49. [AGCA-564517] For Albert Nepinak, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6272, file 582-23, part 1, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, 9 April 1951. [PCR-000190] For Tom and Charles Ombash, see: TRC, NRA, National Capital Regional Service Centre – LAC – Ottawa, file 494/3-3-3, volume 1, "Provincial Police Report," G. A. McMonagle, 19 December 1956. [PLK-001205-0001] For Beverly and Patricia Joseph, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 961/25-2, volume 15, Admissions and Discharges – Kuper Island Residence, Cowichan Agency, B.C., 01/08/1958–02/07/1966 (Ctrl #34-15), IRSRC – Historical Files, J. V. Boys to Indian Commissioner for B.C., 29 January 1959. [KUP-200601] For Mabel Crane Bear and Belinda Raw Eater, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, 772/25-1, volume 1, 04/60–06/70, N. Goater to A. H. Murray, 10 March 1962. [OLD-007287-0005] For Alfred Whitehawk, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E1996-97/415, box 36, file 25-2-662, 1964–1966, E. Turenne to K. Kerr, 6 June 1965. [SPR-006307] For Charlie Wenjack, see: TRC, NRA, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto, On., Acc. 1988-7004, box 17, file 4, "Inquest Hears Tragic Tale of Runaway Boy," *Kenora Miner and News*, 18 November 1966; Coroner's Statement Upon Issuing His Warrant for Holding An Inquest in the Case of Charles Wenjack, R. Glenn Davidson, 4 November 1966; Report of Post-Mortem Examination, A-258, Charles Wenjack, 23 October 1966, Dr. Peter Pan; [CJC-007909] Adams, "Lonely Death of Charlie Wenjack," 30–44. For Joseph Commanda, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 451/25-2-004, volume 2, "Report on the Death of Joseph Commanda," H. B. Rodine, 6 September 1968. [TAY-001114-0001] For Philip Swain and Roderick Keesick, see: TRC, NRA, INAC, file 487/18-2, volume 1, "2 Boys Died from Exposure," *Kenora Miner and News*, 18 December 1970; [KNR-003158-0002] P. J. Hare to Indian Affairs, 7 December 1970. [KNR-003168] For Jack Elanik and Dennis Dick, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, Diocese of the Arctic, General Synod Archives, file 110-09, Stringer Hall, Accession M96-7, series 2:1, Notice of missing boys, 1972; [AGS-000341] TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives Confidential, Hostels, 1971–1974, Archival box 8-24, Archival Acc. G1995-004, Leonard Holman to J. Coady, 14 July 1972. [SHU-000486]

5. See, for example: Jones, *Genocide*, 118–119; Milloy, *A National Crime*, 91–92' The Truth and Reconciliation Commission, *They Came for the Children*, 29.
6. Churchill, *Kill the Indian,* 37–38.
7. University of Ottawa, The Society, the Individual and Medicine, "Definitions of Common Mortality Rates," http://www.med.uottawa.ca/sim/data/Mortality_Defns_e.htm (accessed 7 April 2015).
8. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1893*, 91–97.
9. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3964, file 149874, Martin Benson to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 24 March 1902. [RIS-000351]
10. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools,* 18.
11. Indian Affairs annual reports, School report tables, 1888 to 1908. The annual enrolments for these schools was: 1888, 12; 1889, 78; 1890, 98; 1891, 118; 1892, 161; 1893, 196; 1894, 249; 1895, 357; 1896, 377; 1897, 435; 1898, 468; 1899, 491; 1900, 483; 1901, 508; 1902, 544; 1903, 526; 1904, 528; 1905, 523; 1906, 557; 1907, 536.
12. Bryce, *Story of a National Crime*, 4.

13. Bryce, *Report on the Indian Schools,* 18–19.
14. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1907,* 2:52–57.
15. Scott, "Indian Affairs," 615.
16. Milloy, *National Crime*, 92; Churchill, *Kill the Indian,* 37.
17. The TRC has identified the following Old Sun's students who died in the following school years. 1893–94: Charlie Big Lake; 1894–95: James Crowchief; 1895–96: Mike Calf Robe, George Weazle Robe, Ellis Scraping High, and Mabel Wood; 1896–97: John Harrington Bone Rib Medicine, Louie Bears Direction, and Gertie Red Old Man; 1897–98: Mary Appikoki; 1899–1900: Alic Run Rabbit; 1900–01: Nora Many Tail Feathers, Fanny Raw Eater, Edith Turn Robes Over; 1901–02: Fred Bone Rib Medicine; 1902–03: Peter Big Road, Charlie Many Times Going, Minnie Reddish Gun, Susie Ann Little Axe; 1903–04: Jessie Many Times Going In; 1904–05: Susie Eva Many Good, Agnes Black Boy, Martha Wolf Ear; 1906–07: Billy Bear Chief; 1908–09: Anna Big Plume, Mary Lefthand; 1909–10: Ada Keg. LAC, RG10, volume 3966, file 150000-14, Status of Pupils Present and Discharged – Old Sun's Boarding School, 13 May 1909.
18. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3957, file 140754-1, P. H. Bryce to F. Pedley, 5 November 1909.

Operational policies and custodial care

1. *An Act further to amend "The Indian Act, 1880,"* Statutes of Canada 1884, chapter 27, section 10, amending Statutes of Canada 1880, chapter 28, section 74, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 97.
2. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1894, chapter 32, section 11, new sections added to Revised Statutes of Canada 1886, chapter 43, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 164.
3. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, "Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children," Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1894. [AGA-001516-0000]
4. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, "Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children," Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1894. [AGA-001516-0000]
5. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, John J. McGee, "At The Government House At Ottawa, Monday, 1st Day of April, 1895." [AGA-001516-0001]
6. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2552, file 112220, Hayter Reed to Assistant Indian Commissioner, 20 December 1894.
7. See, for example: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6255, file 576-1, part 1, Deputy Superintendent Indian Affairs to E. McColl, 8 March 1895; [BRS-000175] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 652-5, part 1, R. S. McKenzie to The Indian Commissioner, Regina, 30 October 1895. [SMD-001170-0000]
8. See, for example: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1897*, 161; Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3940, file 121698-13, Extract from a Report of the Committee of the Honourable Privy Council, Approved by His Excellency on the 20th September 1897; Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1898*, 152.
9. TRC, NRA, "Regulations Relating to the Education of Indian Children," Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1908; [AEMR-010652] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10,

volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Acting Deputy Minister [Justice?] to Deputy Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 24 June 1908. [AEMR-177176]

10. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1919–1920, chapter 50, section 1, amending Revised Statutes of Canada 1906, chapter 81, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 178–179.
11. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, Russell T. Ferrier to Mary Gilbert, 20 October 1926. [AEMR-255333]
12. Canada*, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1931*, 12.
13. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1932–33, chapter 42, section 1, amending Revised Statutes of Canada 1927, chapter 98, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 248.
14. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Appointment of Truant Officers, D. C. Scott, 7 February 1927. [MRS-000045]
15. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1951, chapter 29, sections 113–122, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 350–353.
16. *An Act respecting Indians*, Statutes of Canada 1951, chapter 29, section 119, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 352.
17. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-1-5-2, volume 1, "Regulations With Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established for the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph (a) of Section 114 of the Indian Act," 20 January 1953. [PAR-001203-0001]
18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Martin Benson, Memorandum, 13, 15 July 1897. [100.00108]
19. For *Indian Act*, see: *An Act respecting Indians,* Statutes of Canada 1951, chapter 29, sections 113–122, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts,* 350–353. For regulations, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-1-5-2, volume 1, "Regulations With Respect to Teaching, Education, Inspection, and Discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established for the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph (a) of Section 114 of the Indian Act," 20 January 1953. [PAR-001203-0001]
20. *The Public Schools Act*, Revised Statutes of Manitoba 1954, chapter 215, 923–1,114.
21. *The Manitoba Gazette*, April 9, 1955, 509–510.
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, Reverend Canon Gould to Duncan Campbell Scott, 26 January 1920. [IRC-041334]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, Indian Agent, Hagersville to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 20 February 1922; [AEMR-255312] *An Act respecting Indians,* Statutes of Canada 1919–1920, chapter 50, section 1, amending Revised Statutes of Canada 1906, chapter 81, section 10, reproduced in Venne, *Indian Acts*, 178–179.
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, part 1, J. K. Irwin to Indian Affairs, 22 October 1926. [GDC-006528]
25. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to J. K. Irwin, 29 October 1926. [GDC-006529]

26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, Russell T. Ferrier to Mary Gilbert, 20 October 1926. [AEMR-255333]
27. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1891*, 222–243.
28. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1892*, xii–xiii, 285–307.
29. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3879, file 91833, Order-in-Council, 22 October 1892. [RIS-000354]
30. For background, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 3:1, box 48, file 3, F. Pedley to N. Tucker, 26 March 1909; [AAC-090228] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Superintendent General Indian Affairs to T. Ferrier, 18 July 1908. [AEMR-016328]
31. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 3:1, box 48, file 3, Assistant-Deputy to S. P. Matheson, 25 November 1910. [AAC-090237]
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, "Correspondence and Agreement Relating to the Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools," Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911. [AEMR-120208A] For the average per capita grant, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6032, file 150-40A, part 1, Headquarters – Compulsory Attendance of Pupils – Indian Schools, 1904–1933, Microfilm reel C-8149, FA 10-17, "Re: Per Capita Grants at Indian Residential Schools," Russell Ferrier, 5 April 1932. [120.18050] For 1910 rates, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1910*, 2:55–56.
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Memorandum, 26 June 1917. [AEMR-010655]
34. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, "Notes on Indian Education," Memorandum for Hon. Mr. Meighen, 1919. [AEMR-010656]
35. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Martin Benson to Scott, 7 February 1916. [100.00230]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, E. Dewdney to Thomas Clarke, 31 July 1883. [120.06668]
37. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, L. Vankoughnet to John A. Macdonald, 10 January 1884. Vankoughnet never sent Dewdney a copy of these instructions. When Dewdney accidentally came upon them a year later, he angrily wrote to Vankoughnet, pointing out that the document would "have been a good guide to me in assisting to organize the Schools at High River and Qu'Appelle had I received it before." Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422-1, E. Dewdney to L. Vankoughnet, 18 November 1884.
38. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, L. Vankoughnet to P. Durieu, 17 October 1889. [AEMR-010307]
39. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, MR C 8773, "Rules and Regulations, Kootenay Industrial School," 17 October 1889 [AEMR-011621A]
40. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894*, xxi. As early as 1897, Schools Branch employee Martin Benson expressed reservations about having the schools inspected by Indian agents, who, he believed, were "opposed to make an adverse report on a school if there is any way of avoiding it, it being more than likely that such action would bring them into collision with the Missionaries and interfere with their authority among the Indians." The department's inspectors, he believed, devoted too much attention to "inventories, statements, returns, accounts, &c, and pass lightly over such high matters as the general prog-

ress, management and results obtained." There was, he said, no one "in the Department who has ever seen more than a few of our principal schools or knows how they are carrying on the work best suited to the wants of the Indians." TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Martin Benson, Memorandum, 15 July 1897. [100.00108]

41. For an example of a principal's calling for pre-screening of students in 1884, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3676, file 11422-5, Indian Commissioner to Superintendent General Indian Affairs, 2 October 1884.
42. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1135, No file number, [Illegible] for the Commissioner, to Principals, 26 May 1896. [EDH-002544-0000]
43. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3957, file 140754-1, Frank Pedley to Frank Oliver, 19 April 1909.
44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, "Correspondence and Agreement Relating to the Maintenance and Management of Indian Boarding Schools," Ottawa: Government Printing Bureau, 1911. [AEMR-120208A]
45. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6323, file 658-10, part 1, "Certificate of Health," 5 August 1920. [PAR-020341-0002]
46. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6323, file 658-10, part 1, "Certificate of Health," 5 August 1920; [PAR-020341-0002] Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3957, file 140754-1, Frank Pedley to Frank Oliver, 19 April 1909.
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 885-10, part 6, Cowichan Agency – Kuper Island Industrial School – Admissions – Discharges 1934–1939, FA 10-17, Perm. volume 6457, "Application for Admission," 17 March 1933. [KUP-265021]
48. Hansen, *Regulation of Building Construction*; Revay and Associates Limited, *Issues Paper,* 1–2.
49. Health Canada, Food and Nutrition, Canada's Food Guides from 1942 to 1992, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fn-an/food-guide-aliment/context/fg_history-histoire_ga-eng.php#fnb9 (accessed 14 December 2013).
50. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6014, file 1-1-6 MAN, part 1, Duncan Campbell Scott to Mr. Meighen, 6 June 1920. [NCA-002405]
51. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3927, file 116836-1A, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 1 June 1903; [RIS-000047] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 24 June 1903; [TAY-003529] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 6 September 1906; [BVL-000743] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6273, file 583-1, part 1, Martin Benson to Mr. Scott, 8 September 1915. [PLP-000917]
52. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6014, file 1-1-6 MAN, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to R. Fletcher, 18 May 1922. [NCA-002423-0001]
53. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 4044, file 344441, Tom Lean to J. A. J. McKenna, 22 June 1909; [SBR-001705-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6014, file 1-1-6 MAN, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to A. B. Fallis, 6 November 1923. [NCA-002431]
54. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1140–1141.
55. TRC, NRA, DIAND HQ, file 1/25-13-2, volume 2, J. H. Gordon to Mr. MacDonald, 27 June 1968. [AEMR-022008]
56. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-13-2, volume 1, R. F. Battle to Deputy Minister, 31 October 1966. [MRS-001463]

57. Bynum, *Spitting Blood*, 140.
58. For the Nutrition Division proposal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8796, file 1/25-13, part 4, L. B. Pett to H. M. Jones, 21 March 1958. [NPC-400776] For the accepted proposal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG55, FA 55-19, volume 20784, Treasury Board Submission 559690, Req. Authority for the Recommendation and Establishment of Domestic Staff, Laval Fortier to Secretary, Treasury Board, 22 January 1960. [120.04620]
59. For an example from the Prairies, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, "Required for the use of the Industrial Schools about to be opened in the N.W. Territories at Qu'Appelle, Battleford, and in Treaty 7." [PLD-009144] For examples from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, C-8773, "Rules and Regulations, Kootenay Industrial School"; [AEMR-011621A] L. Vankoughnet to P. Durieu, 17 October 1889. [ABV-003457]
60. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 3:1, box 48, file 3, Assistant Deputy to S. P. Matheson, 25 November 1910. [AAC-090237]
61. Health Canada, Food and Nutrition, Canada's Food Guides from 1942 to 1992, http://www.hc-sc.gc.ca/fn-an/food-guide-aliment/context/fg_history-histoire_ga-eng.php#fnb9 (accessed 14 December 2013).
62. For an example from Qu'Appelle in the 1890s, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, J. Hugonnard to E. Dewdney, 5 May 1891, 4. [PLD-009435] For an example from British Columbia in the 1890s, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1892*, 260. For an example from British Columbia in 1910, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-13, volume 3918, Microfilm reel C-10161, file 116.659-1, 1892–1920, Spec. Claims Kamloops Agency: General Correspondence Pertaining to Kamloops Industrial School, A. M. Carion to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 27 June 1910. [KAM-009714] For examples from Saskatchewan in 1921, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, L. Turner to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 23 March 1921; [PAR-000950-0000] Duncan C. Scott to S. Gould, 1 April 1921. [PAR-000950-0001] For an example from Manitoba in 1895, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1895*, 114. For an example from British Columbia in 1918, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3918, file 116659-1, John F. Smith to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 29 March 1918. [AEMR-255360] For an example from Alberta in 1921, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, Microfilm reel 8705, "Extract of report of G. H. Gooderham, for month of October 1921." [CFT-000148] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1921, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, L. Turner to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 23 March 1921. [PAR-000950-0000] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1929, see: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, Lucy L. Affleck to Dr. Barner, 3 October 1929. [UCB-005108]
63. For a 1931 example from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6467, file 889-1, part 1, 12/1894–11/1933, Vancouver Agency – Squamish Residential School – General Administration, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8785, NAC, Ottawa, F. J. C. Ball to R. T. Ferrier, 20 July 1931. [SQU-000469] For a 1931 example from Manitoba, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, A. G. Hamilton to Indian Affairs, 6 November 1931. [DRS-000589] For a 1935 example from Alberta, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, Shannon File 4, part 2, volume 11949,

1930–1935, "Lesser Slave Lake Agency," Driftpile, Alberta, 31 January 1935, Report for January 1935, N. P. L'Heureux. [MAR-003845-0000] For 1936 and 1938 examples from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 961/23-5, 1922–1964, volume 1, RCAP, G. H. Barry to C. C. Perry, 17 March 1936; [KUP-000267-0001] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 961/23-5, 1922–1964, volume 1, RCAP, G. H. Barry, "Inspector's Report," 27 March 1938. [KUP-000263-0003]

64. Farrell, *Congress on Tuberculosis*, 12.
65. For a 1914 example from Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3933, file 117657-1, Microfilm reel C-10164, W. M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, 1 October 1914. [AEMR-013533] For 1922 examples from Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6337, file 663-1, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to Reverend A. Watelle, 31 January 1922; [THR-000149] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 2, "Memorandum for File," Russell T. Ferrier, 17 March 1922. [PLD-007242] For a 1923 example from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, "Extract from Inspector's Report on the Fraser Lake Residential School, dated April 23rd and 24th, 1923." [LEJ-003751] For a 1923 example from Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6318, file 657-1, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to J. B. Hardinge, 21 September 1923. [MDD-000731] For a 1926 example from Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6324, file 659-5, part 2, "Onion Lake R.C. Boarding School," 1926. [ORC-000346-0001] For 1927 examples from Manitoba, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, A. G. Hamilton to Mr. Graham, 23 June 1927; [BIR-000079] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 580-14, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to J. W. Waddy, 25 April 1927. [DRS-000574] For a 1928 example from Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6315, file 655-14, part 1, "Extract from Report of Mr. Inspector Hamilton Dated October 24th, 1928, on his inspection of the Guy Indian Residential School." [GUY-051450] For a 1929 example from Alberta, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6343, file 750-5, part 3, J. D. McLean to E. Ruaux, 8 November 1929. [MRY-009750] For a 1931 example from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6467, file 889-1, part 1, 12/1894–11/1933, Vancouver Agency – Squamish Residential School – General Administration, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8785, NAC, Ottawa, A. F. MacKenzie to F. J. C. Ball, 25 June 1931. [SQU-000467] For a 1933 example from Manitoba, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, "Extract from the January report of Nurse Pears, re The Pas Agency," 18 February 1933. [DRS-000606] For a 1937 example from British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, T. M. Kennedy to Reverend Father Provincial, 2 December 1937. [OKM-000248]
66. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6455, file 884-14, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8777, "Extract from report of Inspector Cairns, Dated Nov. 9, 1922, on the Kuper Island Industrial School." [KUP-003836-0000] Students who attended residential schools in the 1920s and 1930s often spoke of how milk and butter that were produced at the schools were being sold to support school operations. For examples, see: Moine, *My Life in a Residential School*, n.p.; Graham, *Mush Hole*, 374, 441; Baker, *Khot-La-Cha*, 30. Students also reported that staff diets included cream and butter, while they were limited to skimmed milk. See, for examples: Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 53; Graham, *Mush Hole*, 446.

67. See, for example: Johnston, *Indian School Days*, 32; Knockwood, *Out of the Depths*, 80–81; Manuel and Posluns, *The Fourth World*, 66; Moran, *Stoney Creek Woman*, 53.
68. Elizabeth Graham's book *The Mush Hole: Life at Two Indian Residential Schools* is an essential source of information on food at these institutions. See: Graham, *Mush Hole*, 455. For specific comments of students from these schools on food quality, see: Graham, *Mush Hole*, 357, 363, 368, 435, 446, 449, 455, 458.
69. See, for example: TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of British Columbia, Kuper Island Industrial School, Add Mss 1267 V. 39, Kuper Island Conduct Book, Antone, No. 70; Edward, No. 71; Felix, No. 72; Thomas, No. 78; Louis Dick, No. 81; Jeannin, No. 82; Francis, No. 83; Frank, No. 85; Willie, No. 87; Basile, No. 94; Archie, No. 96; Abraham Crocker, No. 99; Robert Paul, No. 101; Francis, No. 102; Emile Keith, No. 108; Frank, No. 109; John Baptist, No. 110; Robert Iravis [Illegible], No. 114; Thomas, No. 117; Baptiste Paul, No. 134. [KUP-005146] See also: Brass, *I walk in two worlds*, 24, 25–26; Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 109; Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 481; Graham, *Mush Hole*, 441, 455.
70. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6258, file 576-10, part 9, Mrs. George Perger to Indian Affairs, 18 November 1935. [NCA-011504-0002]
71. See, for examples: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Mary Sticks, 28 February 1902; [IRC-047079] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Christine Haines, 28 February 1902; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1; [IRC-047082] Statement of Ellen Charlie, 28 February 1902; [IRC-047081] "Damages for Plaintiff in Miller vs. Ashton Case," *Brantford Expositor*, 1 April 1914.
72. See, for examples: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1, part 1, T. Ferrier to Chief Berens, 29 September 1915; [NHU-001892] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 2, Microfilm reel C-8754, M. Alexander, J. Jones, S. Wallace, M. Norman to A. M. Tyson, 12 January 1915; [COQ-000392] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, Perm. volume 6451, file 883-1, part 1, Bella Coola Agency – Kitamaat Boarding School – General Administration, 1906–1932, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8773, "Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, Re: Kitimat Indian Reserve, Re: Hanna Grant, Deceased, 15 June 1922," I. Fougner to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 15 June 1922. [KMT-095676-0001]
73. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, L. Turner to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 23 March 1921; [PAR-000950-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, Duncan C. Scott to S. Gould, 1 April 1921. [PAR-000950-0001]
74. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6058, file 265-13, part 1, E. L. S. to J. P. Mackey, 18 September 1929. [SRS-000242]
75. For a 1909 example, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-13, volume 3918, Microfilm reel C-10161, file 116.659-1, 1892–1920, Spec. Claims Kamloops Agency: General Correspondence Pertaining to Kamloops Industrial School, A. M. Carion to A. Irwin, 16 September 1909. [KAM-009710] For an example from the 1920s, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, John T. Ross to C. Brouillet, 21 July 1920. [AEMR-016665]
76. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3674, file 11422, E. Dewdney to Reverend Thomas Clarke, 31 July 1883. [120.06668]

77. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 23 December 1903. [PLD-008655-0001]
78. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-7-?, part 1, R. A. Hoey to Dr. McGill, 4 November 1938. [AEMR-120432]
79. For an example of parents' not returning their children to school due to poor diet at the school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6209, file 468-10, part 3, Don Robertson to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 13 September 1931. [MER-001114] For an example of a parent's seeking to withdraw children from school because of diet, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6262, file 578-1, part 5, Mrs. W. Sinclair to Dr. Alderwood, 5 January 1945. [ELK-000406-0001] For concerns raised by physicians, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6262, file 578-1, part 5, R. A. Hoey to Canon L. A. Dixon, 27 October 1944. [ELK-000400] See also: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2913, file 851-1-A501, part 2, Cameron Corrigan to P. E. Moore, 9 October 1941. [NPC-621771] For concerns raised by nutritionists, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, B. Thorsteinsson to Vera Simons, 25 November 1944. [AEMR-172705B] For examples of concerns raised by an Indian agent, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10752, Shannon File, 1944, Misc. Outgoing Correspondence, F. Matters to Indian Affairs, Ottawa, 7 January 1945; [CRS-001636] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, part 3, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs, 17 October 1945. [GDC-017606] For concerns raised by principal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, A. B. Cheales to Secretary, Indian Res. School Comm. Winnipeg, 1 April 1946. [AEMR-172697A] For authorized pupilage, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2:15, box 27, file 3, untitled financial document, page 8 of 22-page portable document format file. [ANG-083405] For concerns raised by church official, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 1, Nov/44–Jan/56, Nutrition in Indian Schools, H. A. Alderwood to A. B. Cheales, 12 April 1946. [AEMR-172697]
80. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3222, file 540514, part 2, R. A. Hoey to L. A. Dixon, 31 October 1944. [TAY-000204]
81. For report on the Spanish, Ontario, school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6033, file 150-44, part 2, "Report of Food Survey, Indian Residential School, Spanish, Ontario, March 11–15, 1945." [AGA-000312-0001] For a report on the Sault Ste. Marie, Muncey, and Kamloops schools, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 1, 03/1948–08/1948, "Summary of Reports, The Canadian Red Cross Society," 16 July 1946. [AEMR-170089]
82. TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 6-21-1, volume 1, *Indian Work Investigation Commission: Report to the General Synod*, Winnipeg, 1946, 7. [AEMR-016149]
83. For the Anglican position, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 3-3, box 70, "A Brief Submitted by the Church of England in Canada to the Special Joint Committee of the Senate and House of Commons Appointed to Consider *The Indian Act*," 25 March 1947, 9. [CRS-002139-0000] For United Church, see: Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1947, 1499.
84. Canada, Special Joint Committee, 1946, 805.
85. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 973, file 388-6-1, part 1, 03/1948–08/1948, Director to H. A. Alderwood, 26 August 1946. [AEMR-170100]

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87. For an Indian agent report on the Alert Bay, British Columbia, school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 4, M. S. Todd to Indian Affairs Branch, 11 October 1947. [MIK-002278] For a report from a principal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6200, file 466-1, part 5, W. J. Zimmerman to B. F. Neary, 6 December 1947. [IRC-042002]
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89. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 2, L. B. Pett to P. E. Moore, 19 July 1956. [NPC-620151a]
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91. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8796, file 1/25-13, part 4, D. M. Watters to Laval Fortier, 25 October 1957. [NCA-013420]
92. For the Nutrition Division proposal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, 8796, file 1/25-13, part 4, L. B. Pett to H. M. Jones, 21 March 1958. [NPC-400776] For the accepted proposal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG55, FA 55-19, volume 20784, Treasury Board Submission 559690, Req. Authority for the Recommendation and Establishment of Domestic Staff, Laval Fortier to Secretary, Treasury Board, 22 January 1960. [120.04620]
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94. For an example from Williams Lake, British Columbia, in 1959, see: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, L. K. Poupore to Alex Morris, 2 August 1959. [OBG-004022] For an example from Norway House, Manitoba, in 1960, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 2, "Norway House Indian Residential School operated by the United Church of Canada," 4 February 1960. [NPC-620114] For an example from the Anglican school in Fort George, Québec, in 1960, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8798, file 371/25-13-019, part 2, R. F. Davey to P. E. Moore, 27 July 1960. [FGA-001150] For an example from the Anglican school in Cardston, Alberta, in 1961, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 2, "St. Paul's Indian Residential School, Cardston, January 1961." [NPC-620101a] For an example from the Morley, Alberta, school in 1961, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 2, "Morley Indian Residential School, Morley, Alberta," 16 February 1961. [NPC-610006b] For an example from the Fort Chipewyan, Alberta, school in 1961, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 3b, "Inspection of Food Services, Indian Residential Schools, Holy Angels Residence, September 27, 1961." [NPC-620195] For an example from the Cluny, Alberta, school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2989, file 851-6-4, part 3b, "Inspection of Food Services – Indian Residential Schools," Crowfoot IRS, 15 December 1961. [120.16669]
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96. For a report from Whitehorse, Yukon, in 1966, see: TRC, NRA, Headquarters, 1/25-1-4-1, Indian Education – Dietary Scale, Residential Schools, K. A. Feyrer, G. C. Butler, 22 Decem-

ber 1966. [LOW-002326-0004] For a report from Whitehorse, Yukon, in 1969, see: TRC, NRA, Unknown document location, file 901/25-13, Gerald Michaud, 1 April 1969. [120.08100C]

97. For a 1970 example from Alert Bay, British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, J. H. Wiebe to J. B. Bergevin, 27 February 1970. [NPC-605555] For a 1970 example from Christie, British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, J. H. Wiebe to J. B. Bergevin, 8 April 1970. [120.17618C] For a 1970 example from Alberni, British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, "Alberni Indian Student Residence Regional Nutritionist's Visit – June 17 and 18, 1970." [NPC-605546d] For a 1970 example from Dauphin, Manitoba, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, L. Leclerc to A/Regional Director, Manitoba Region, 26 November 1970. [NPC-605542] For a 1972 example from Iqaluit, see: TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives, file 72-001-800, volume 2, School Programs – Frobisher Bay, 01/72–06/73, Archival box 267, Archival Acc. G1999-047, John Parker to Director, Department of Education, 31 October 1972. [FBS-000426]
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99. For a 1970 example from Dauphin, Manitoba, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5a, L. Leclerc to A/Regional Director, Manitoba Region, 26 November 1970. [NPC-605542] For a 1973 example from Fort Simpson, Northwest Territories, see: TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives, Pupil Residence – General, 1973–1978, Archival box 4-2, Archival Acc. G1995-004, Gary Black, 28 February 1973. [FNU-001748]
100. For a 1973 example from the Qu'Appelle, Saskatchewan, school, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to Charron, 14 June 1973. [NPC-605336c]
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102. For a positive report from the Gordon's, Saskatchewan, school in 1973, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to W. Starr, 27 June 1973. [NPC-605336f] For a positive report from the Grayson, Saskatchewan, school in 1973, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2990, file 851-6-4, part 5b, J. Kirkbride to M. Fillion, 13 June 1973. [NPC-605336b] For a positive report from the Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake, Saskatchewan, in 1973, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 3420, file 851-6-D355, J. Kirkbride to Michaud, 29 January 1973. [ORC-008493] For a positive report from Fleming Hall in Fort McPherson, Northwest Territories, in 1972, see: TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, file 73-500-402, volume 2, Fort McPherson Hostel [Anglican] – Quarterly Returns [Fort

McPherson], 01/72–12/76, Transfer No. 0330, box 8-21, M. Thomson to Regional Director, Northern Region, 23 November 1972. [FHU-002366-0000]

103. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6039, file 160-1, part 1, Martin Benson to J. D. McLean, 15 July 1897. [100.00109]
104. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904,* 204.
105. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6012, file 1-1-5A, part 2, R. A. Hoey to Dr. McGill, 31 May 1940. [BIR-000248] For date of Hoey's appointment, see: Goldsborough, "Robert Alexander Hoey (1883–1965)," http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/hoey_ra.shtml (accessed 21 December 2013).
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196. For examples of such efforts, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, H. J. Denovan, 1 May 1901; [EDM-009805] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, D. Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 May 1904. [EDM-009841]
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198. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6191, file 462-1, part 1, Extract from Inspector's Report on Chapleau Boarding School, 3 May 1915; [CRS-000883] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 1, R. S. McKenzie to O. I. Grain, 30 July 1915. [CJC-000828-0000]
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202. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10750, Shannon File, 1913–1916, Incoming Correspondence, J. D. McLean to William McLeod, 4 January 1915. [CRS-000873]
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218. Farrell, *Congress on Tuberculosis,* 12; McCuaig, *Weariness, Fever, and Fret*, 19.
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250. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6446, file 881-23, part 1, R. H. Moore to Dr. Pitts, 18 October 1935. [LEJ-004071]
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264. For an example from Fort Providence in 1923, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6475, file 918-5, part 1, Extract of Monthly Report of C. Bourget, M.D., Indian Agent Resolution, N.W.T., 12 February 1924, 1. [FPU-000408] For an example from Hay River in 1930, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives – Ottawa, Minutes of the Meetings of Indian Residential School Commission MSCC, 01/1930–11/1932, Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15[a], box 18, Minutes of Meeting of Indian Residential School Commission, MSCC, 16 December 1930, 8. [AGS-000136] For an example from Shingle Point in 1931, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG85, volume 793, file 6334,

part 1, Shingle Point Day and Residential School, 1923–1932, A. L. Fleming to H. E. Hume, 7 March 1932, 2. [SPU-000167] For an example from Carcross in 1931, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6481, file 940-10, part 5, J. Hawksley to A. F. MacKenzie, 27 February 1931. [CAR-011293]

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267. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2964, file 851-4-001, part 1, R. G. Ferguson to Thomas Murphy, 29 August 1932. [NPC-620452a]
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Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2920, file 851-1-A774, part 1, W. L. Falconer to C. P. Schmidt, 15 December 1943; [120.13959A] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2920, file 851-1-A774, part 1, G. B. Lewis to C. P. Schmidt, 29 December 1943; [120.13963A] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2920, file 851-1-A774, part 1, C. P. Schmidt to A. H. Baker, 22 November 1944; [120.14052] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2920, file 851-1-A774, part 1, "The Seventh Annual Tuberculosis Survey of the Youville Indian School," November 1943, G. R. Davidson; [NPC-605028] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG29, volume 2920, file 851-1-A774, part 1, C. Pant. Schmidt to G. C. Laight, 4 January 1944. [NPC-605027]

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288. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1899*, 208.
289. See, for examples: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908*, 417; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 1, Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, 28 January 1904. [PLD-000673]
290. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, H. W. McGill to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 November 1932. [PLD-000027]
291. For Saint-Paul-des-Métis, see: Stanley, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve," 96–98. For Beauval, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan

Scott, 21 September 1927; [BVL-000874] Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879] For Cross Lake, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. McNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000934] For Gordon's, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/6-2-018, volume 2, D. Greyeyes to Indian Affairs, 22 June 1968. [GDC-005571]

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323. For Shubenacadie, see: TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 6-15-1, volume 1, Report of Commission on Indian Affairs, 1946. [AEMR-016240] For Christie, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, 951/6-1-879, part 1, Christie IRS, 03/1945–08/1948, FA 10-138, Perm. volume 13389, National Archives of Canada – Burnaby, Fire Marshal to D. M. MacKay, 30 December 1946. [CST-004152] For Brantford, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6201, file 466-5, part 5, N. C. Rathburn to W. J. Zimmerman, 9 March 1946. [TAY-002400-0001] For the Roman Catholic school in Kenora, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6199, file 465-5, part 11, Norman Paterson to Indian Affairs Branch, 15 April 1947. [KNR-000518] For Whitefish Lake, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6380, file 769-5, part 3, G. S. Lapp, Superintendent, Department of Mines and Resources, Indian Affairs Branch to Indian Affairs Branch, 5 November 1948. [WFL-000494-0000] For Moose Factory, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8259, file 486/6-1-001, part 1, Henry Cook to B. F. Neary, 7 January 1950. [MFI-000351] For Fort Frances, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8257, file 485/6-1-001, part 1, J. F. Lockhart to Indian Affairs, 20 October 1950. [FFR-000307] For the Presbyterian school in Kenora, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6189, file 461-5, part 12, W. M. Benidickson to W. E. Harris, 6 June 1950. [CJC-001327] For Prince Albert, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8645, file 651/6-1, part 2, D. N. Morrison to J. P. B. Ostrander, 27 July 1951. [PAR-017611-0001] For Kamsack, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8664, file 673/6-1-037, part 3, G. Ptizel to E. S. Jones, 21 November 1955. [SPR-002123-0001] For Fort Providence, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG22, Perm. volume 1069, file 250-11-17, part 1, Fort Providence – School 1957, FA 22-3, John Parker to G. Robertson, 22 October 1957. [FPU-002206] For Joussard, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8685, file 777/6-1-007, part 4, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Office of the Fire Commissioner, 21 August 1958. [JRD-004129-0001] For Cardston, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 773/6-1-004, volume 8677, part 6, 1957–1958, NAC, Office of the Fire Commissioner, St. Paul's Residential School, 25 November 1957; [PUL-005151-0001] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 103/6-1-750, 12/57–09/58, volume 4, RCAP, Office of the Fire Commissioner, St. Mary's Residential School, 26 November 1957. [MRY-000939] For McIntosh, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8278, file 494/6-1-015, part 4, J. S. Allan to Mr. Matters, 21 January 1958. [MCI-001918-0001] For Calais, see: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, Department of the Provincial Secretary, Officer of the Fire Commissioner, Re: Sturgeon Lake Indian School, Calais, Alberta, 14 July 1959. [GMA-002257-0001]

324. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 884-5, part 5, 1936–1941, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Ac-

counts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8775, NAC, Ottawa, "Inspection of the St. Mary's Indian School, Mission, Cranbrook, British Columbia," Adams, P., 25 October 1938. [EGN-004990]

325. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8253, file 479/6-1-001, part 7, N. C. Rathburn to W. J. Zimmerman, 10 February 1958. [TAY-004042]
326. For an example of a building identified as a fire trap in 1901 and again in 1927, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, W. Murison to W. Graham, 17 November 1927. [BIR-000093] For an example of a school in need of replacement since 1923, but still in operation in 1934, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 767-5, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate, to The Secretary, Indian Affairs, 18 January 1934. [JON-000270]
327. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8259, file 486/6-1-001, part 1, W. J. Scott to Indian Affairs, 12 January 1950. [MFI-000352]
328. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8259, file 486/6-1-001, part 5, Henry Cook to R. F. Davey, 17 September 1954. [MFI-000519]
329. For Regina, see: TRC, NRA, United Church of Canada Archives, Acc. Number 1979,199C, box 6, file 105, D. M. Laird to Rev. Sir, 14 January 1908. [RIS-000577] For Brocket, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6369, file 763-1, part 1, PARC, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 21 July 1925. [CYP-005124] For Fort Alexander, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6265, file 579-5, part 5, W. M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, 5 July 1930. [FAR-004247] For Sandy Bay, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6276, file 584-5, part 3, W. M. Graham to the Secretary, Indian Affairs, 26 May 1931. [SBR-001840] For The Pas, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 580-5, part 5, W. M. Graham to Mr. Scott, 1 December 1931; [DRS-000620] Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, M. Christianson to Indian Affairs, 2 March 1932. [DRS-000594] For Morley, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6356, file 757-5 part 3, 1934–1935, M. Christianson to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 18 March 1935. [MOR-004402] For Elkhorn, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6262, file 578-5, part 7, "Extract of Report from Inspector A. G. Hamilton Dated December 8, 1937, On His Inspection of the Elkhorn Indian Residential School." [ELK-000122] For Port Simpson, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 886-5, part 2, Skeena River Agency – Port Simpson United Church Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, 1933–1950, FA 10-17, Perm. volume 6458, Microfilm reel C-8779, "Extract from Inspector Barry's Report Regarding his Inspection of the Port Simpson Indian Residential School, 21 May 1937." [PSM-200553]
330. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6369, file 763-1, part 1, PARC, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 21 July 1925. [CYP-005124]
331. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 580-5, part 5, W. M. Graham to Mr. Scott, 1 December 1931; [DRS-000620] Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, M. Christianson to Indian Affairs, 2 March 1932. [DRS-000594]
332. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 11552, file 312-11, part 2, Russell T. Ferrier and Duncan C. Scott to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 5 February 1932; [AEMR-177210] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-6-1, part 1, R. A. Hoey to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 10 February 1938; [SRS-001560-0001] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 772/23-5-010, 1894–1966, volume DRSRO, J. N. R. Iredale to Indian Affairs, 21 February 1946. [MOR-001068]

333. For the Presbyterian school in Kenora, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6189, file 461-5, part 8, F. Dubois to F. Edwards, 16 September 1940. [CJC-000758-0001] For Birtle, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6253, file 575-5, part 7, Philip Phelan to A. G. Smith, 29 August 1945. [BIR-000298] For Morley, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 772/23-5-010, 1894–1966, volume DRSRO, J. N. R. Iredale to Indian Affairs, 21 February 1946. [MOR-001068] For Alert Bay, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 959/6-1-022B, volume 1, 11/42–01/49, RCAP, [302-19], B. F. Neary to M. S. Todd, 9 January 1947; [MIK-002879] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa, file 959/6-1, part 9, Kwawkewlth Agency – Correspondence Regarding the Alert Bay Indian Residential School Buildings [Plans], 1960–1961, FA 10-27, volume 8701, Microfilm reel C-14163, National Archives of Canada – Ottawa, [illegible] for R. A. W. Switzer to H. M. Jones, 16 February 1961. [MIK-013126-0001] For Chapleau, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6192, file 462-5, part 9, F. Matters to Indian Affairs, 24 April 1948. [CRS-001988] For Portage la Prairie, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-1-067, volume 1, Statement of Annie Assiniboine, Long Plain Band, undated; [IRC-041132] TRC, NRA, DIAND, Residential Schools Records Office, file 501/25-1-067, volume 1, Statement of Ella Bell, Long Plain Sioux, 4 March 1949; [PLP-000030-0013] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8630, file 511/6-1-017, part 6, Fire Inspection Report, Indian Residential School, Portage la Prairie, Manitoba, H. E. Puttee, 18 April 1955. [PLP-000697-0002] For Fort Frances, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8257, file 485/6-1-001, part 1, Philip Phelan to J. F. Lockhart, 20 December 1952. [FFR-002294] For Grayson, see: TRC, NRA, Prairies – Northwest Regional Service Centre – LAC – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E-1996-97/451, box 20, locator 308257 [18/18], file 25-1, Philip Phelan to J. Lemire, 29 January 1952; [MRS-002156-0001] TRC, NRA, Prairies – Northwest Regional Service Centre – LAC – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E-1996-97/451, box 20, locator 308257 [18/18], file 25-1, J. Lemire to Philip Phelan, 1 February 1952. [MRS-002156-0000] For Beauval, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8611, file 658/1-13, part 1, Philip Phelan to M. Landry, 24 December 1952; [BVL-000551] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8659, file 658/6-1, part 2, J. R. Bell to E. S. Jones, 28 January 1956. [BVL-000661] For Alberni, see: TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, District, 916/6-1-029, part 2, 1960–1962, To the Fire Marshal, Re: Inspection of the Alberni Indian Residential School, 16 August 1960. [ABR-000471-0001] For Assiniboia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8621, file 506/6-1-018, part 3, W. Perrin, 16 October 1962; [ARS-005112-0002] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8621, file 506/6-1-018, part 3, R. A. W. Switzer to R. F. Davey, 15 November 1962; [ARS-005112-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8621, file 506/6-1-018, part 3, Fire Inspection Report, October, 1962, Assiniboia Indian Residential School, W. Perrin, 16 October 1962. [ARS-005112-0002] For Brandon, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-13-083, volume 11, W. J. Hughes to Regional Director, Manitoba, 27 November 1970. [BRS-000788-0001] For Qu'Appelle, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/25-13, volume 1, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, Qu'Appelle Students Residence, Lebret, Saskatchewan, 10 October 1973. [PLD-009024-0001] For Hobbema, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, 774/6-1-016, volume 4, 09/75–03/81, NAC Edmonton, A. H. MacBride to J. van de Voort, 19 December 1975; [ERM-007201] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada

– Edmonton, 4965-D32, volume 3, 03/81–03/81, NAC, Edmonton, Ed Lafreniere to J. Makokis, B. Ward, R. Anderson, J. King, 9 March 1981. [EDH-002879] For Fort McPherson, see: TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, file 73-500-402, volume 2, Fort McPherson Hostel [Anglican] – Quarterly Returns [Fort McPherson], 01/72–12/76, Transfer No. 0330, box 8-21, Harry J. Mayne to Joe Coady, 16 January 1976. [FHU-002395]

334. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6456, file 885-5, part 7, Microfilm reel C-8778, C. H. Buck to R. A. Gibson, 20 July 1949. [KUP-004163]
335. See, for example: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-015, volume 1, Philip Phelan to G. Swartman, 21 February 1945; [MCI-000756] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/25-1-015, volume 1, G. Swartman to Indian Affairs, 1 March 1945. [MCI-000757]
336. For the lengthy correspondence about the Fort Alexander fire escape, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 9, Philip Phelan to J. Brachet, 9 November 1945; [FAR-003245] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 9, J. Brachet to Indian Agent, Selkirk, 11 September 1946; [FAR-003250-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 11, B. E. Olson to Bernard F. Neary, 3 September 1948; [FAR-003288] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 11, B. F. Neary to B. E. Olson, 10 September 1948; [FAR-003289] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 11, B. F. Neary to R. S. Davis, 10 November 1949; [FAR-003800] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 11, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs, 22 December 1949; [FAR-003801] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-6-1, part 1, E. Scholfield to B. F. Neary, 6 January 1950; [SRS-001568-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 1, Fire Inspection Report, Fort Alexander Indian Industrial School, Fort Alexander, 3 August 1950; [FAR-002418-0003] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 1, R. S. Davis to B. F. Neary, 9 November 1950; [FAR-002418-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 1, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs, 6 September 1952; [FAR-002427-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 1, H. E. Puttee to R. S. Davis, 29 October 1952; [FAR-002433-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 1, Philip Phelan to R. S. Davis, 13 July 1953; [FAR-002449-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8622, file 506/6-1-019, part 2, Excerpt From Regional Supervisor Davis' Report on Fire Protection dated May 18th, 1954. [FAR-002486]
337. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6351, file 753-5, part 6, 1947, Microfilm reel C-8707, J. H. Leyland to R. R. Moore, 23 December 1946. [EDM-004444]
338. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, [110]774/6-1-753, volume 2, 1/54–12/57, NAC, R. F. Battle to Director, Department of Indian Affairs, 8 September 1954; [EDM-005023] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6351, file 753-5, part 7, 1947–1949, Microfilm reels C8707 and C8708, E. J. Staley to E. A. Robertson, 28 February 1949. [EDM-007300]
339. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6261, file 577-5, part 8, H. E. Pitre, 12 October 1949; [CLD-004322-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6261, file 577-5, part 8, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs Branch, 29 December 1949; [CLD-004325] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8641, file 511/6-1-054, part 2, G. E. Trudeau to G. Marcoux, 16 August 1955; [CLD-004399] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Cana-

da, RG10, volume 8641, file 511/6-1-054, part 2, R. D. Ragan to G. E. Trudeau, 21 August 1956. [CLD-001080]

340. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8274, file 494/6-1-014, part 1, P. Phelan to F. Matters, 24 November 1952; [PLK-000419] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8274, file 494/6-1-014, part 4, J. E. Ritchie to R. F. Davey, 23 August 1955; [PLK-000405-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8275, file 494/6-1-014, part 5, Henry Cook to R. F. Davey, 27 April 1956; [PLK-000474] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8275, file 494/6-1-014, part 6, H. M. Jones to Deputy Minister, 12 April 1957. [PLK-000376]
341. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, Acc. 1984-85/112, box 74, file 487/6-1-016, part 2, R. A. Switzer to C. J. Crapper, 3 December 1968. [KNR-001607-0001]
342. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 487/1-18, volume 1, W. McKim to A. Lacerte (undated). [KNR-000214]
343. For 1907, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, J. D. McLean to A. J. McNeill, 1 May 1907. [AEMR-252036] For 1927, see: TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B54 2275, Duncan Scott to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 6 October 1927. [OGP-020818]
344. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 1629, J. D. McLean to A. J. McNeill, 1 May 1907; [AEMR-252036] TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B54 2275, Duncan Scott to Principals of Indian Residential Schools, 6 October 1927; [OGP-020818] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 886-1, part 3, Skeena River Agency – Port Simpson Girls Residential School, 1894–1950, FA 10-17, Perm. volume 6458, "Extract from Inspector Barry's Letter of May 23, 1937." [PSM-200643]
345. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6201, file 466-5, part 5, N. C. Rathburn to W. J. Zimmerman, 9 March 1946; [TAY-002400-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8253, file 479/6-1-001, part 8, Fire Inspector to W. J. Zimmerman, 14 November 1959. [TAY-004133-0001]
346. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10361, file 506/6-1-019, part 3, Charles Buck to R. D. Ragan, 28 May 1958. [FAR-000037-0002]
347. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 957/6-1-019, volume 1, folder 3, 3/51–2/65, A. Parry to the Fire Marshal, 19 April 1960. [MIS-000269-0001]
348. For an example from British Columbia in 1958, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives – Burnaby, School Buildings – Repairs – Sq. Res. School, FA 10-593, Archival Acc. V2005-00480-4, Archival box 1, A. H. Abbott to M. Michaella, 8 January 1958. [SQU-206024] For examples from British Columbia in 1960 and 1963, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8797, file 1/25-13, part 8, H. M. Jones to Deputy Minister, 23 December 1960; [CST-000469] TRC, NRA, No document location, no document file source, A. F. Noonan, 21 October 1963. [CIS-000589-0001] For three examples from British Columbia in 1964, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8710, file 965/6-1, part 11, 1961–1964, Microfilm reel C-14169, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, September 1964, Lejac Indian Residential School, Lejac, British Columbia; [LEJ-003418-0002] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, RG10, FA 10-189, Acc. v96-97/816, file 6-1-963, box 3, Fire Protection – K.S.R. NAC – Burnaby, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, September 24–25, 1964, Kamloops Indian Residential School, Kamloops, British Columbia; [KAM-062000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 8697, file 956/6-1, part 10, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, September 26, 1964, St. George's Indian Residential School, Lytton, British Columbia.

[GRG-002817-0001] For three examples from British Columbia in 1965, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 8704, file 962/6-1, part 11, Microfilm reel C-14164, 1961–1965, 1960, National Archives – Ottawa, Fire Inspection Report Cariboo Indian Residential School, 22 February 1965; [JOE-060097-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, Acc. 1999-01431-6, box 368, file 963/6-1, School Buildings, Kamloops Student Residence, part 21, 1964–1967, NAC – Ottawa, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, February 23–24, 1965, Kootenay Indian Residential School, Cranbrook, B.C.; [EGN-001082] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 951/6-1, volume 2, 11/67–10/10/70, DRSRO, Fire Protection Engineering Survey Re: Christie Indian Residential School (Church Owned), 13 February 1965. [CST-001418] For two examples from Alberta in 1959, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 775[706]/6-1-020, volume 1, 04/65–11/67, NAC, W. D. MacKay to R. F. Battle, 23 April 1959; [FTV-006040-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 8758, file 773/25-1, part 2, R. F. Battle to Indian Affairs Branch, 11 June 1959. [SAC-001075-0000] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1965, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection–Ottawa, file 621/6-1-010, volume 1, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, Onion Lake Indian Residential School, 27 May 1965. [ORC-008490] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1968, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, box 2, Acc. 1999-01431-6, file 1/1-2-2-21 part 2, D. Kogawa to Director Education Services, 8 February 1968. [NCA-003014] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1969, see: TRC, NRA, National Capital Regional Service Centre – LAC – Ottawa, file 671/6-1-025, volume 12, R. F. Davey to Regional Superintendent of Education, 11 March 1969. [ORC-008557] For an example from Ontario in 1966, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 129/25-2-016, volume 1, H. B. Rodine to Supervising Principal, Kenora Inspectorate, 28 April 1966. [KNR-002732] For an example from Ontario in 1968, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, series C-V-4, volume 11337, file 493/6-1-009, part 2, C. J. Crapper to Regional Director, Ontario, 5 January 1968. [SWK-000676-0001] For an example from Manitoba in 1967, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10365, file 511/6-1-026, part 16, R. A. W. Switzer to G. W. Richards, 21 April 1967. [SBR-001650]

349. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 7185, file 1/25-1-6-1, part 1, Philip Phelan to J. P. Mackey, 6 March 1950. [SRS-001577]
350. For an example from British Columbia in 1958, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, FA 10-379, 1999-01431-6, box 405, 987/25-1-018, part 1, Indian Education – Squamish Students Residence, Fraser District, 1950–1969, NAC, Ottawa, R. F. Davey to Director Indian Affairs, 17 July 1958. [SQU-000573] For examples from British Columbia in 1965, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, FA 10-63, volume 13463 901/25-1, part 1, 1950–1966 GARDD, R. F. Davey to J. Boys, 11 June 1965; [CST-000832] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, file 955/6-1, part 5, Acc. 1999-01431-6, box 367, 1961–1967, NAC, Ottawa, R. C. Wilson for R. A. W. Switzer to G. J. Bowen, 23 November 1965. [SLT-004435] For an example from Alberta in 1963, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, CR-HQ, file 772/6-1-001, volume 10, 04/66–02/72, [illegible] for W. G. Robinson to Director of Education, 16 July 1968. [CFT-002054] For examples from Alberta in 1966, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 779/6-1-009, volume 8, 1966 CR – HQ, G. J. Bowen to Director of Education, 6 July 1966; [BQL-000632] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/6-1-009, volume 8, 1966 RCAP, G. J. Bowen to B. Wilson, 21 July 1966; [BQL-005674-0000] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical

Files Collection – Ottawa, 779/6-1-009, volume 8, 1966 RCAP, R. A. W. Switzer to G. J. Bowen, 27 July 1966. [BQL-005695-0004] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1968, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 672/6-1-016, volume 16, W. G. Robinson to Director of Education, 13 March 1968. [PAR-017715-0000] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1969, see: TRC, NRA, National Capital Regional Service Centre – LAC – Ottawa, file 671/6-1-025, volume 12, R. F. Davey to C. J. Crapper, 26 March 1969. [ORC-008554] For an example from Saskatchewan in 1973, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 601/25-13, volume 5, J. R. Mayor to J. Freeman, 7 September 1973. [PAR-019420] For an example from Manitoba in 1967, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10365, file 511/6-1-026, part 16, R. A. W. Switzer to G. W. Richards, 21 April 1967. [SBR-001650] For a Manitoba example from 1968, see TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/6-1-075, volume 8, R. C. Wilson for R. A. W. Switzer to G. J. Bowen, 17 September 1968. [PCR-006373] For an example from Ontario in 1968, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, series C-V-4, volume 11338, file 493/6-1-009, part 3, A. R. Aquin to Regional Director, 1 March 1968. [SWK-002204-0001]

351. TRC, NRA, NAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 775/6-1, volume 1, 1955–72, CR-HQ, R. C. Wilson for R. A. W. Switzer to G. J. Bowen, 11 July 1967. [AMP-009523-0001]
352. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 775/6-1-005, Jan/64–Feb/73, volume 5, DIAND, Central Records – HQ, R. F. Davey to Henri Routhier, 23 August 1968. [FTV-006722-0000]
353. TRC, NRA, Headquarters, 777/6-1-007, 02/65–11/69, volume 6 HQ, R. F. Davey to Henri Routhier, 30 December 1968. [JRD-001725-0001]
354. TRC, NRA, National Capital Regional Service Centre LAC Ottawa, file 701/25-1, volume 6 (locator #H21-316), Jean Chrétien to Martin O Connell, 22 October 1969. [NCA-015260-0000]
355. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 775/6-1-006, volume II, 01/69–01/75, NAC, P. L. McGillvray for R. F. Davey to Regional Superintendent of Schools, 6 June 1969. [AMP-005016-0001]
356. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 775/6-1-GHC, volume 1, 05/1973–06/1975, RCAP, E. W. Robinson to Don McBride, 27 April 1973. [AMP-010378]
357. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 772/6-1-010, volume 8, 1966–1972, CR-HQ, C. J. Crapper for G. J. Bowen to Director, Education Branch, 21 March 1969. [MOR-002787-0000]
358. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 772/6-1-010, volume 8, 1966–1972, CR-HQ, R. F. Davey to C. Crapper, 26 March 1969. [MOR-002786]
359. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, NAC, file 772/6-1-001, 01/67–10/69, "Cluny Indian School Closing," by Don Peacock, [Calgary *Albertan*], 20 December 1969. [CFT-002237]
360. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, RG10, FA 10-189, Acc. v96-97/816, file 6-1-963, box 3, 1959–1975, School Buildings – Kamloops Student Residence, NAC, Burnaby, Fire Protection Engineering Survey, Report No. 5, Kamloops Indian Residential School, A. Sim, 29 May 1972. [KAM-060715-0001]
361. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, 779/6-1-737, volume 2, 05/74–05/76 NAC – Edmonton, R. W. Brown to Allan Rudyk, 8 May 1974. [AGL-002666]
362. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 371/6-1-019, volume 8, Michael Shiner to A. Kroeger, 14 May 1975. [HFG-000061-0003]

363. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 672/6-1-007, part 6, J. R. Mayor to O. N. Zakreski, 15 April 1975. [PAR-021768-0003]
364. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, 985/6-1-012, part 2, 1973–1976, V1984-85/333, box 4 [500598], FA 10-144, NAC Burnaby/GRB, Report of Inspection Lejac Residential School, 8 July 1975. [LEJ-008133-0002]
365. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 2A, file 18, Peter McKenzie to E. L. Davies, 25 October 1977. [MDD-008753-0001]
366. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, 773-6-1-003, volume 5, 09/74–01/80, NAC, E. A. Fontana to J. Shot [on] Both Sides, 12 March 1979. [MRY-002237-0000]
367. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file E4974-2017, volume 1, Peter McKenzie to L. A. Parker, 29 April 1980. [PLD-007624-0003]
368. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Winnipeg, RG10, Acc. 2001-01035-4, box 015, file 501/25-13-082G, volume 1, J. P. Malcolm to K. Baksh, 12 September 1974. [PLP-100393]
369. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Burnaby, RG10, FA 10-137, v92-93/201, box 2 [10486], file 987/40-6-19, volume 1, Fire Safety Reports – St. Mary's, 09/75–10/80, NAC – Burnaby, L. MacKay to J. Allon, 31 October 1980. [MIS-010104]
370. TRC, NRA, INAC – BC Regional Records Office – Vancouver, VAN-E 4310-5-2025, volume 1, Christie Student Residence, 7/1981–12/1983, Acc. V93-O16, box 93-01-D37/39-052, DIAND – BC Central Registry, N. A. Duval to F. J. Walchli, 17 July 1981. [CST-008511-0001]
371. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927; [BVL-000879] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. MacNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000934]
372. Greven, S*pare the Child*, 55–60.
373. See, for example: Proverbs, 13:24, 22:15, and 29:15.
374. Hodgins, *Documentary History of Education,* 239.
375. *Acts, Relating to the Education Department, – Ontario* (Toronto, 1891), 103, quoted in Wrock, "History of Legal Actions," 63.
376. Wrock, "History of Legal Actions," 85–109.
377. For examples of parental complaints about discipline, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, P. Constant to W. M. Graham, 1 October 1925; [DRS-000546] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 2, Microfilm reel C-8762, 1913–1937, A. O'N. Daunt to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 7 September 1920; [JOE-070047] TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Accession GS 75-403, series 2:15[a], box 16, [Illegible], Chairman, Indian and Eskimo Commission, Westgate, T. B. R., Field Secretary, Indian and Eskimo Commission, "Minutes of the Meeting of the Indian Residential School Commission held on March 18th, 1921"; [AGS-000014] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 3, Affidavit of Jessica Seneca, 25 May 1943; [IRC-041076] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 3, Affidavit of Annie Waddilove, 7 June 1943; [IRC-041079] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-1, part 3, "Resolution No. 1 of the Chippewas of the Thames," 24 June 1943; [IRC-041085] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6259, file 576-10, part 17, John Dowan to Indian Affairs, 12 September 1950; [BRS-000944] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa,

RG10, volume 6479, file 940-1, part 2, H. C. M. Grant to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1940; [CAR-011309] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, (8758), FA 10-25, file 772/25-1-010, 1949–1961, "Statements given to Mr. Wild on February 28, 1951, re Morley Indian Residential School." [IRC-048228-0001]

378. For not finishing lessons, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Joseph Fahey, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047092] For bedwetting, see: Spanish school diary, September 1, 1924, quoted in Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School*, 145. For talking out of turn, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8762, 1890–1912, National Archives – Ottawa, Statement of E. Batiste, 3 March 1902. [JOE-060020] For throwing rocks at the school fence, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement, Francis, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047091] For theft, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. Waddy to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 27 November 1922. [DRS-000521] For immorality, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Reverend Henry Boening, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047093] For refusing to eat meals, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8762, 1890–1912, Statement of Johnny Sticks, 28 February 1902. [JOE-060004] For speaking their own language, see: TRC, AVS, Jane S. Charlie, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Deline, Northwest Territories, 2 March 2010, Statement Number: 07-NWT-02MR1-002; TRC, AVS, Alfred Nolie, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Alert Bay, British Columbia, 20 October 2011, Statement Number: 2011-3293. For running away with water wagon, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, P. H. Gentleman to Canon Gould, 12 January 1920. [IRC-041335] For neglecting chores, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6332, file 661-1, part 2, W. J. D. Kerley to M. Christianson, 6 March 1943. [IRC-041073] For theft, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6479, file 940-1, part 2, H. C. M. Grant to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1940. [CAR-011309]
379. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, P. Constant to W. M. Graham, 1 October 1925. [DRS-000546] For examples of discipline leading to truancy from Presbyterian school in Kenora, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 1, The Assistant Deputy and Secretary to J. H. Edmison, 4 August 1917; [CJC-000845] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, Constable E. Stanley, 13 January 1936. [CJC-000720-0001] For Williams Lake, British Columbia, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement Louis, 3 March 1902; [IRC-047088] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8762, 1890–1912, Statement of Johnny Sticks, 28 February 1902. [JOE-060004]
380. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, A. O'N. Daunt to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 1 August 1920. [IRC-047108]
381. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6452, file 884-1, part 1, MR C-8773, "Rules and Regulations, Kootenay Industrial School." [AEMR-011621A]
382. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3675, file 11422-4, "Duties of Assistant as Approved by Department," 20 February 1888. [PLD-009411]
383. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1885*, 77.
384. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1887*, 128.

385. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, H. Reed to Assistant Commissioner, 28 June 1895. [EDM-003376]
386. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6255, file 576-1, part 1, A. E. Forget to John Semmens, 17 April 1896. [BRS-000191]
387. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, file 752-1, part 1, volume 6348, 1894–1936, Duncan Campbell Scott to Reverend J. Riou, 17 January 1922. [IRC-010661]
388. Audette, *Report on The Commission*.
389. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6200, file 466-1, part 3, R. A. Hoey to H. W. Snell, 3 September 1937. [TAY-003122]
390. Goldsborough, "Robert Alexander Hoey: (1883–1965)," http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/hoey_ra.shtml (accessed 26 July 2014).
391. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 3, Gerald H. Barry to D. M. McKay, 24 June 1940. [IRC-041351-0000]
392. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 2, Bernard F. Neary for Hoey, 5 February 1947. [IRC-041116]
393. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 2, 1928–1948, Bernard F. Neary to George Dorey, 6 February 1947. [IRC-048200]
394. TRC, NRA, United Church of Canada/Victoria University Archives, Acc. No. 83.050C, box 110, file 21, Morley IRS – Correspondence 1940–1947/UCC docs Toronto, George Dorey to G. R. Inglis, 10 February 1947. [UCA-081599]
395. TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 501/25-1-067, volume 1, Bernard F. Neary to A. G. Hamilton, 21 February 1949. [AEMR-016158]
396. TRC, NRA, DIAND, Residential Schools Records Office, file 501/25-1-067, volume 1, Joseph Jones to A. G. Hamilton, 28 February 1949. [IRC-041147]
397. Library and Archives Canada, Duncan Campbell Scott to W. J. Roche, 3 December 1913.
398. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6200, file 466-1, part 3, R. A. Hoey to H. H. Craig, 3 September 1937. [MSC-000093-0001]
399. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8542, file 51/25-1, part 2, Philip Phelan, 14 April 1953. [FAR-000067]
400. TRC, NRA, Document location unknown, document file location unknown, Indian Affairs Field Manual, 1958, section 17.12, page 203 of 330-page portable document file. [AEMR-011711]
401. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-1-5-2, volume 1, "Regulations with respect to teaching, education, inspection, and discipline for Indian Residential Schools, Made and Established by the Superintendent General of Indian Affairs Pursuant to Paragraph (a) of Section 114 of the Indian Act," undated; [PAR-001203-0001] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 1/25-1-5-2, volume 1, H. M. Jones to Deputy Minister, 20 January 1953. [PAR-001203-0000]
402. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, D. L. Clink to Indian Commissioner, 4 June 1895. [EDM-003380]
403. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3558, file 64, part 39, David Laird to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 13 March 1899.
404. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, Martin Benson to Scott, 19 October 1914. [TAY-003547-0000]
405. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 1, John Semmens to J. D. McLean, 17 August 1914. [CJC-000003]

406. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6191, file 462-1, part 1, Russell T. Ferrier to Mr. Scott, 23 January 1922. [CRS-001009]
407. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6191, file 462-1, part 1, D. C. Scott to George Prewer, 2 February 1922. [CRS-001014-0001]
408. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. W. Waddy to W. M. Graham, 1 September 1924. [DRS-000530]
409. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. W. Waddy to W. M. Graham, 5 October 1925. [DRS-000543-0001]
410. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file E4874-02016, volume 5, Gordon's Student Residence, 28-31, Indian Agent to W. M. Graham, 27 September 1928. [IRC-047119]
411. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, "Extract from Letter of Mr. J. E. Pugh, Indian Agent, Cardston, Alta.," 1 December 1928. [MRY-001614]
412. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, E. J. Smith to D. C. Scott, 23 January 1928; [IRC-048140] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, Report of Sergeant A. Howard, 26 February 1928. [IRC-048148]
413. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives – Alberta, Acc. 71.220 B54 2278, Author unknown (From University of Ottawa) to Dr. McGill, 1 May 1934. [IRC-049042]
414. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 773/25-1-003, 05/36–09/70, volume 1, RCAP, Report of J. E. Pugh, 28 February 1937. [SAC-000234-0007]
415. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, E. W. Byers to J. D. Sutherland, 13 January 1936. [CJC-000722]
416. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, Frank Edwards to The Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, 13 June 1930 [this letter appears to be misdated, correct date 1940]; [CJC-000650] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, E. W. Byers to R. A. Hoey, 14 June 1940. [CJC-000649]
417. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 3, Cecil Perkins to Indian Commissioner, Vancouver, 20 June [1940]. [IRC-041349]
418. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10412, Shannon Box 39, part B, 1940–1941, "Edmonton Indian Agency, Report on Investigation Held at Youville Residential School." [IRC-041324]
419. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10412, Shannon Box 39, part B, 1940–1941, Philip Phelan to G. C. Laight, 8 February 1941. [IRC-041323]
420. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, R. A. Hoey to A. G. Hamilton, 20 March 1944; [IRC-048098-0000] A. G. Hamilton to Indian Affairs Branch, 4 April 1944. [IRC-048100-0001]
421. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, W. M. Graham to Mr. Scott, 9 September 1924. [DRS-000531]
422. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to Dr. Westgate, 16 September 1924. [DRS-000532]
423. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, W. M. Graham to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 12 October 1925. [DRS-000543-0000]

424. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate to Duncan C. Scott, 7 December 1925; [DRS-000553] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, W. M. Graham, 7 January 1926. [DRS-000558]
425. In the 1927–28 school year, Bird was the principal of the James Smith Reserve day school in Saskatchewan. See: Canada*, Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1928,* 57.
426. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B31 1277, Thomas H. M. Tuck to Reverend Father, 16 October 1933. [OGP-060101]
427. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B29 1130, U. Langlois to Very Reverend Mother Gallant, 13 November 1935. [OGP-100206]
428. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Acc. 71.220 B31 1279, Chief Moses, 29 April 1939. [OGP-060159]
429. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives – Alberta, PAA 71.220 B31 1279, L. Balter to H. Routhier, 31 January 1941. [OGP-060171]
430. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, PAA 71.220 B32 1301, P. A. Charron to H. Routhier, 14 July 1942. [OGP-070289]
431. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, D. L. Clink to Indian Commissioner, 4 June 1895. [EDM-003380]
432. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, A. O'N. Daunt to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, 1 August 1920. [IRC-047108]
433. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to A. O'N. Daunt, 9 August 1920. [IRC-047109]
434. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, A. O'N. Daunt to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 16 August 1920. [IRC-047110]
435. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives – Alberta, Acc. 71.220 B54 2278, Author unknown (From University of Ottawa) to Dr. McGill, 1 May 1934. [IRC-049042]
436. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, Deputy Superintendent General to J. E. Pugh, 10 May 1934. [MRY-001629]
437. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 3, Gerald H. Barry to D. M. McKay, 24 June 1940. [IRC-041351-0000]
438. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, "Report on Investigation of Complaints made by Thos. Ross and Daniel S. Kern, regarding the management of the Red Deer Industrial School, held under the instructions of the Indian Commissioner's Letter No. 37/47 dated December 26th, 1902," W. J. Chisholm. [EDM-003971]
439. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 580-5, part 5, A. G. Hamilton, no date, 7–8. [DRS-000619]
440. Audette, "Report on The Commission," 15.
441. Audette, "Report on The Commission," 15.
442. Audette, "Report on The Commission," 16.
443. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives Alberta, PAA 71.220 B31 1277, Russell T. Ferrier to U. Langlois, 8 April 1932. [OGP-060088]
444. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, E. W. Byers to J. D. Sutherland, 13 January 1936. [CJC-000722]
445. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, A. F. MacKenzie to Frank Edwards, 30 January 1936. [CJC-000717]

446. United Church of Canada Archives, Winnipeg, Andrew Baird Papers, E 1955–1959, G. G. McLaren to Rev. Baird, 16 November 1892, quoted in Hildebrand, "Staff Perspectives," 137–138.
447. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Reverend Henry Boening, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047093]
448. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, School Files, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, 20 August 1919; [OLD-000497] RG10, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, "Statement taken by Constable Wright, RNWMP, 27 November 1919"; [RC-041330] Thomas Graham to W. M. Graham, 1 December 1919; [IRC-041328] P. H. Gentleman to Canon Gould, 12 January 1920. [IRC-041335]
449. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives Alberta, PAA 71.220 B31 1277, Joseph Angin to Rev. Father Provincial, 14 April 1932. [OGP-060091]
450. Audette, "Report on The Commission," 4–5.
451. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6193, file 462-10, part 1, A. J. Vale to Secretary Indian Affairs, 27 April 1936. [CRS-001254]
452. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 3, Cecil Perkins to Indian Commissioner, Vancouver, 20 June [1940]. [IRC-041349]
453. For examples of metal rods, see: TRC, NRA, Kelleher, Accession No 705, tape 1, track 1, no date; [OMS-000283] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 2, R. H. Cairns to A. F. McKenzie, 7 November 1920. [IRC-047116] For an example of caning, see: Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, 391. For an example of belts, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6200, file 466-1, part 3, H. H. Craig to H. A. Snell, 29 July 1937. [MSC-000080-0001] For an example of shovel, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, Samuel Lovell to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 26 August 1932. [DRS-000598] For an example of horseshoe, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, A. G. Hamilton to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 24 February 1936. [CJC-000713] For an example of knotted bootlace, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-1, part 1, Frank Edwards to the Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 4 October 1922. [KNR-000674]
454. For handling of the shovel case, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate to the Secretary, Indian Affairs, 6 September 1932; [IRC-041006-0000] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, T. R. L. MacInnes to T. B. R. Westgate, 21 September 1932. [DRS-000604] For handling of the horseshoe case, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6187, file 461-1, part 3, A. G. Hamilton to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 24 February 1936. [CJC-000713]
455. For Shubenacadie, see: Audette, "Report on The Commission," 4–5. For Cluny, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from Nurse Ramage's report, November 1921"; [IRC-047117-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from monthly report of Nurse Margaret Jean Ramage, October 1921." [CFT-000147]
456. For Williams Lake, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Augustine, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047087] For The Pas, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. W. Waddy to W. M. Graham, 5 October 1925. [DRS-000543-0001]

457. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Ellen Charlie, 28 February 1902. [IRC-047081]
458. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Sister Euphresia, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047094]
459. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 3, Cecil Perkins to Indian Commissioner, Vancouver, 20 June [1940]. [IRC-041349]
460. For Brantford, 1914, see: "Damages for Plaintiff in Miller Vs. Ashton Case," *Brantford Expositor,* 1 April 1914. For Cluny, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from Nurse Ramage's report, November 1921"; [IRC-047117-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from monthly report of Nurse Margaret Jean Ramage, October 1921." [CFT-000147] For The Pas, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, J. W. Waddy to W. M. Graham, 5 October 1925. [DRS-000543-0001] For Shubenacadie, see: Audette, "Report on The Commission," 9–10. For Brantford, 1937, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6200, file 466-1, part 3, H. H. Craig to H. A. Snell, 29 July 1937. [MSC-000080-0001]
461. Audette, "Report on The Commission," 17.
462. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, file 752-1, volume 6348, part 1, 1894–1936, J. Riou to Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, 10 January 1922. [IRC-048217]
463. Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3880, file 92499, Memorandum, Hayter Reed, undated; T. Clarke, "Report of Discharged Pupils," Sessional Papers, 1894, Paper 13, 103.
464. E. F. Wilson, Autobiographical Journal, 47, quoted in Porter, "The Anglican Church," 33.
465. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Sister Euphresia, 3 March 1902. [IRC-047094]
466. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10 (Red), volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, J. G. Ramsden to J. D. McLean, 23 December 1907. [TAY-003542]
467. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-1, part 1, Minakijikok to D. C. Scott, 30 September 1924; [KNR-000804-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-1, part 1, Frank Edwards to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 8 October 1924. [KNR-000803]
468. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file E 4974-0216, volume 4, Frayling to J. W. Waddy, 6 October 1938. [IRC-047124]
469. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, Kelly and Porter to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 29 September 1913. [TAY-001781-0001]
470. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 29, file 10, Anglican Document No. 52.63, Victoria Ketcheson and Patricia Watson, 29 November 1952. [PAR-001992]
471. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6436, file 878-1, part 1, Statement of Christine Haines, 28 February. [IRC-047082]
472. "Damages for Plaintiff in Miller vs. Ashton Case," *Brantford Expositor*, 1 April 1914.
473. For Shubenacadie, see: Audette, "Report on The Commission," 6. For Gordon's, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file E 4974-0216, volume 4, Frayling to J. W. Waddy, 6 October 1938. [IRC-047124]
474. For hands tied behind back, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3880, file 92499, Memorandum, Hayter Reed, undated; T. Clarke, "Report of Discharged Pupils," Sessional Papers, 1894, Paper 13, 103. For chaining to benches, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives

Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from Nurse Ramage's report, November 1921"; [IRC-047117-0001] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6348, Microfilm reel 8705, file 752-1, part 1, 1894–1936, "Extract from monthly report of Nurse Margaret Jean Ramage, October 1921." [CFT-000147] For shackled to beds, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, School Files, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, 20 August 1919; [OLD-000497] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, "Statement taken by Constable Wright, RNWMP, 27 November 1919"; [IRC-041330] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, Thomas Graham to W. M. Graham, 1 December 1919. [IRC-041328] For chained to each other, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6371, file 764-1, part 1, Assistant Deputy and Secretary to J. W. Tims, 25 January 1911; [PUL-000881] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6369, file 763-1, part 1, PARC, S. Gould to D. C. Scott, 25 November 1920. [CYP-005079-0000] For tying hands and feet together, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6197, file 465-1, part 1, Minakijikok to D. C. Scott, 30 September 1924. [KNR-000804-0001]

475. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6462, file 888-1, part 1, H, L. Laronde to D. S. Scott, 5 January 1921. [GRG-022091]
476. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 6462, file 888-1, part 4, Lytton Agency – St. George's Residential School – General Administration, 1933–1938, FA 10-17, "Extract From Report of Inspector Barry With Reference to His Visit to St. George's Indian Residential School on September 26 and 27, and October 25, 1934. Re: Alfred Cecil Batcheler, Boys' Supervisor." [GRG-200848]
477. See, for examples: Callahan, "On Our Way to Healing," 118; "Damages for Plaintiff in Miller vs. Ashton Case," *Brantford Expositor*, 1 April 1914; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6193, file 462-10, part 3, A. J. Vale to Secretary, Welfare and Training Service, Indian Affairs, Branch, 3 September 1939. [CRS-001325-0001]; Audette, "Report on The Commission," 6; TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6479, file 940-1, part 2, H. C. M. Grant to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1940; [CAR-011309] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG22, volume 1206, file 673/1-1, part 1, T. C. Douglas to J. A. Glen, 14 October 1947; [MRS-003525] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6304, file 651-10, part 3, J. Lemire to W. J. D. Kerley, 26 November 1945. [MRS-003568]
478. See, for examples: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, David Laird to Indian agent, Onion Lake Agency, 28 November 1906; [PAR-000985] TRC, AVS, Jonas Grandjambe, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Fort Good Hope, Northwest Territories, 15 July 2010, Statement Number: 01-NWT-JY10-024.
479. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6479, file 940-1, part 2, H. C. M. Grant to Superintendent of Indian Affairs, 5 February 1940. [CAR-011309]
480. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 29, file 10, Anglican Document No. 52.63, Victoria Ketcheson and Patricia Watson, 29 November 1952. [PAR-001992]
481. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6320, file 658-1, part 1, David Laird to Indian agent, Onion Lake Agency, 28 November 1906. [PAR-000985]
482. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, part 2, T. R. L. MacInnes to R. W. Frayling, 19 November 1938. [GDC-009302]

483. For Battleford, see: Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3880, file 92499, Memorandum, Hayter Reed, undated; T. Clarke, "Report of Discharged Pupils," Sessional Papers, 1894, Paper 13, 103. For Sechelt, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6459, file 887-1, part 2, C. C. Perry to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 15 May 1936. [SLT-000540]
484. For examples of various humiliating punishments, see: TRC, AVS, Don Willie, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Alert Bay, British Columbia, 3 August 2011, Statement Number: 2011-3284; TRC, AVS, Helen Kakekayash, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Ottawa, Ontario, 5 February 2011, Statement Number: 01-ON-05FE11-002; TRC, AVS, Alfred Nolie, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Alert Bay, British Columbia, 20 October 2011, Statement Number: 2011-3293; TRC, AVS, Louise Large, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, St. Paul, Alberta, 7 January 2011, Statement Number: 01-AB-06JA11-012; TRC, AVS, Josephine Eshkibok, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Little Current, Ontario, 13 May 2011, Statement Number: 2011-2014; TRC, AVS, Wesley Keewatin, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Gambier Island, British Columbia, 28 July 2011, Statement Number: 2011-3276; TRC, AVS, Wendy Lafond, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Batoche, Saskatchewan, 24 July 2010, Statement Number: 01-SK-18-25JY10-015; TRC, AVS, Joseph Ward, Statement to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Halifax, Nova Scotia, 28 October 2011, Statement Number: 0211-2872.
485. Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School,* 145.
486. TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 487/25-1-014, #63-7, Residential Schools Record Office, R. F. Davey to I. B. Robson, 19 October 1956; [IRC-041204] TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 487/25-1-014, #63-7, Residential Schools Record Office, I. B. Robson to R. F. Davey, 25 October 1956. [IRC-041205]
487. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E-1996-97/415, file 25-1, box 31/56, J. G. McGilp to Superintendent, 19 June 1965; [IRC-041241] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E-1996-97/415, file 25-1, box 31/56, K. Kerr to Regional Supervisor, 28 June 1965. [IRC-041243]
488. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-1-064, volume 1, G. H. Marcoux to Mr. Davis, 21 October 1953; [IRC-041191] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-1-064, volume 1, George Spencer to DIAND, 29 September 1953. [BIR-000434-0001]
489. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-1-064, volume 1, G. H. Marcoux to Mr. Davis, 21 October 1953. [IRC-041191]
490. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 501/25-1-064, volume 1, R. F. Davey to D. A. H. Neild, 19 November 1953. [IRC-041193] For Rusaw in office until 1970, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Winnipeg, RG10, Acc. W86-87/083, box 025, file 501/23-26-086, volume 1, Quarterly Return, Student Residences, Birtle Student Residence, 30 June 1970. [BIR-006056]
491. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/25-1-018, volume 2, locator 11-10, H. B. Rodine to R. F. Davey, 12 July 1957. [IRC-040041]
492. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, file 118/3-3-8, part 1, 1958–66, 10416, Mr. and Mrs. Matthew Houle, 14 January 1959. [IRC-048104]
493. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, file 118/3-3-8, part 1, 1958–66, 10416, S. C. Knapp to Regional Supervisor, 12 January 1959. [IRC-048103-0000]

494. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, 956/1-13, volume 1, 01/51–05/67, "Complaints Regarding St. George's Residential School at Lytton, B.C.," Betty-Marie Barber, 13 December 1957. [IRC-041212]
495. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 24, Superintendent, "Superintendent's Conversations with Principal Orman re: Sioux Lookout School, in Winnipeg, Manitoba, December 2, 1961," 2 December 1961. [PLK-000966]
496. TRC, NRA, DIAND, file 487/25-1-014, #63-7, Residential Schools Record Office, I. B. Robson to R. F. Davey, 25 October 1956. [IRC-041205]
497. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 959/1-13, 05/1951–05/1977, volume 1, John C. Lawrance, undated 1963. [IRC-041250]
498. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8799, file 487/25-13-014, part 1, G. S. Lapp to Head of the Secretariat, 9 August 1965. [CJC-000011-0000]
499. TRC, NRA, St. Paul's Archives, series 4, box 10, file 1, "Discipline and Our Children, Father Allan Noonan, Principal, Kamloops Residential School," no date. Although the speech is undated, Noonan was principal of the Kamloops school from 1964 to 1968, when the school was turned into a residence. [OMI-034228] TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, 963/16-1, volume 3, Audit Reports – Kamloops Student Residence, 1960–1970, HQ-CR, S. W. Kaiser for R. F. Davey to A. Noonan, 1 September 1964; [KAM-004077] TRC, NRA, "An Era Is Coming to an End at Red Brick Indian School," (Vancouver) *Province*, 13 May 1968. [OKM-000773]
500. For Saskatchewan, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/25-1-018, volume 2 (locator 11-10), R. F. Davey to H. B. Rodine, 4 July 1957; [IRC-040040] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 675/25-1-018, volume 2, locator 11-10, H. B. Rodine to R. F. Davey, 12 July 1957; [IRC-040041] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Edmonton, RG10, Acc. E-1996-97/415, file 25-1, box 31/56, J. G. McGilp to Superintendent, 19 June 1965. [IRC-041241] For the Yukon, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, file 801/25-1-940, volume 1, Education – Carcross IRS, 07/1957–02/1962, RG10-151, V1989-90/101, box 36, M. G. Jutras to E. Nielson, 21 January 1959. [YKS-003318] For Québec, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 372/25-13-024, volume 1, C. T. Blouin and L. Poulin, to A. R. Jolicoeur, 13 October 1970. [LTR-001178-0001]
501. For an example from Québec, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 321/25-1-352, Wallace Regis to Mr. Jolicoeur, 10 April 1961; [SIR-000050-0001] TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 321/25-1-352, A. R. Jolicoeur to Léo Laurin, 18 April 1961. [SIR-000050-0000]
502. For an example from Saskatchewan in the 1940s, see: TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, ACC-MSCC-GS 75-103, series 2-15, box 29, file 10, H. G. C. to Charles Fielding, 8 December 1952. [AAC-084476] For examples from Alberta in the 1960s, see: TRC, CAR, Paul Ant. Hudon to Georges-Marie Latour, 30 July 1966; [10a-c900151-d0019-002] TRC, NRA, Federal Records Centre – National Capital Region, file DM6-2-3, volume 5, locator N346-2, Jacqueline Bisson to Deputy Minister, 18 September 1967. [120.07837]
503. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, St. George's IRS, D.C. 2C11, Lytton St. George's Sch. #88.44, section 205, "All Saints Residential School Staff Manual," 1967. [PAR-000233]
504. For the assault, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 41, Warner, Albert, 1967, L. C. Bishop to Reverend Goater, 21 April

1967. [IRC-044060] For the dismissal, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 41, Warner, Albert, 1967, Employment record for Albert Warner. [IRC-044061]

505. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, "Native Mission School Shut Down over Discipline Controversy," by Margaret Loewen Reimer, *Mennonite Reporter*, Volume 19, Number 22, 13 November 1989. [PHD-000143]
506. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, "Police Lay No Charges in Poplar Hill Investigation," *Mennonite Reporter*, Volume 21, Number 4, 18 February 1991. [PHD-000173]
507. For belittling families, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 131, Employee File – [name redacted] "Record of Discussion Between Mr. G. Worth and [name redacted]," 3 June 1970. IRC-047140] For slapping, see: INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 131, Employee File – [name redacted] "Record of Discussion Between Mr. G. Worth and [name redacted]," 3 June 1970. [IRC-047140] For banging heads against doors, see TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box L13, Students Individuals, 86, Anthony Whitehead, Duane Chatsis, 23 May 1986. [IRC-047159] For banging heads against walls, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 19, file 13, "Student incident report," Ron Pratt, 9 December 1987. [IRC-047175-0000] For grabbing by the hair, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box 19, Students 87-88, "Student incident report," R. J. Pratt, 1 December 1987. [IRC-047167]
508. For an example from 1991, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box R2, volume 1, Ronald J. Pratt and Herman Blind to [name redacted], 14 March 1991. [IRC-047201] For an example from 1993, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, GRS Files, box R2, [name redacted], Ronald J. Pratt and Herman Blind to [name redacted], 8 December 1993. [IRC-047202-0002]
509. In Alberta, in 1928, the employee was initially convicted, but acquitted on appeal. For conviction, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, E. J. Smith to D. C. Scott, 23 January 1928; [IRC-048140] TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, Report of Sergeant A. Howard, 26 February 1928. [IRC-048148] For acquittal, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6342, file 750-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8699, A. M. MacDonald, "Judgment of His Honour Judge MacDonald in the case of His Majesty the King and Edwin Smith," 2 May 1928. [IRC-048164] For Manitoba prosecution in 1931, see: TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1, part 1, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, "Report on Conclusion of Case: William Shoup," 3 January 1931. [NHU-000444-0001] For Alberta prosecution in 1944, see: TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 772/25-1-001, volume 1, 05/37–12/72, Royal Canadian Mounted Police Report, 3 October 1944, R. J. Wall. [IRC-047127]
510. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 117/24-4, K. Kerr to Regional Supervisor, 27 May 1995. [IRC-041240]
511. LeBeuf, *Role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police,* 458.
512. "Damages for Plaintiff in Miller vs. Ashton Case," *Brantford Expositor*, 1 April 1914.

513. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6462, file 888-1, part 1, H, J. D. McLean to C. A. Webb, 10 February 1911; [GRG-022008] Daniels, "Legal Context of Indian Education," 260–261.
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515. Renke, "Mandatory Reporting of Abuse," 92–93.
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Where are the children buried? Cemeteries and unmarked burials

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38. On-site evaluation of residential school cemeteries might involve a range of activities that vary widely in cost and required expertise. At a most basic level, it can involve mapping the cemetery and the distribution of visible graves within it. Such graves might be identified by wood, stone, or metal markers or monuments, by picket fences encircling the graves, or perhaps only by depressions that might represent unmarked graves.

    Cemetery inspection and mapping can be complicated by previous disturbance and destruction of surface evidence, while overlying vegetation can obscure the grave markers and depressions. The full spatial extent of abandoned and overgrown cemeteries also may not be known, with unmarked graves remaining undetected within and beyond the accepted cemetery limits. Natural undulations in the ground surface can be mistaken for collapsed graves, making it difficult to unequivocally determine the boundaries of the cemetery. Effectively mapping and documenting long-abandoned cemeteries may require implementation of a range of investigation methods that require specialized skills.

    In the case of well-maintained cemeteries, relatively straightforward documentation might involve little more than consumer-grade Global Positioning Systems (GPS), cameras, a compass and fifty-metre tapes. This might be sufficient to establish a control grid and map of the distribution of graves in the cemetery. In the case of abandoned cemeteries, where individual graves are no longer marked, are spread out, or are overgrown with vegetation, site verification is more challenging. Mapping might also include aerial photography, using conventional cameras or those capable of recording beyond the visible-light spectrum (such as infrared and ultraviolet). This imagery can document the differential vegetation growth patterns that characterize graves and other ground disturbances. If appropriately referenced and coupled with ground inspection, these images might offer sufficient map resolution to confirm the observed patterns. This high-resolution image collection might include satellite imagery, or that collected with conventional aircraft or unmanned aerial vehicles (UAVs or "drones"). Choosing the appropriate methodology involves considering the required scale of resolution (based on the minimum size of feature to be detected), the nature of vegetation cover, the degree

of ground disturbance, and the available budget. Another airborne remote sensing method that might become more cost-effective in the future is Lidar surveying (the name comes from a combination of "light" and "radar"). This involves high-resolution relief mapping using laser beams that can penetrate vegetation canopies to map the ground surface. It can permit non-invasive, high-resolution mapping of surface features such as collapsed graves that might not be readily detected through ground inspection.

Cemetery mapping can also involve ground-penetrating radar (GPR), electrical resistivity or conductivity, and magnetic gradiometer surveys (known as "near-surface geophysical techniques"). Each of these approaches involves systematic evaluation of the survey area, using a control grid. Each type of instrument measures some characteristic of the ground at locations defined by a coordinate system. Changes in these characteristics might reflect normal and natural variation in the sediment, or, alternatively, human modification of the sediment. Under the right conditions, these techniques can detect unmarked graves. However, these methods often require supplemental evaluation. The survey methodology must be designed after considering the size/scale of the features being sought, and also the site circumstances. The results obtained by these methods must be subjected to post-survey testing ("ground truthing").

Ground-penetrating radar survey involves transmitting a radar beam into the earth, and measuring the time interval before those beams are reflected back to the instrument. The greater the time interval before the radar beam returns, the greater the depth of the detected unconformity. These returns might reflect natural changes in sedimentary texture, or, alternatively, culturally derived unconformities, obstructions, or voids. Under ideal conditions, plotting the spatial pattern of these unconformities permits detection and interpretation of buried features.

Earth placed into a grave will be distinct from the surrounding undisturbed sediment. As a result, it may vary in its ability to conduct electric current from the surrounding ground. This variation can be detected by electrical conductivity and resistivity surveys that measure the flow of electricity through the earth. The analyst seeks to map patterned variations in the amount of electricity flowing through the ground.

Graves may contain sediment with magnetic characteristics that differ from the surrounding natural sediment. These differences may be detected through magnetic gradiometer surveys that measure localized differences in the earth's magnetic field.

All these techniques require specialized expertise to design the survey, operate the equipment, and differentiate between natural versus human-induced patterns. Experience with geophysical prospection at the scale required to detect graves might not be found in geological exploration or engineering firms. Instead, archaeologists with the appropriate experience might be required, particularly to do the ground truthing necessary to interpret the detected anomalies.

The findings of a near-surface geophysical survey are seldom obvious or self-evident. The detected unconformities can derive from diverse sources, and can be affected by subsequent disturbance, variable sediment texture and moisture regimes, surface or subsurface bedrock or glacial till deposits, surface trash (specifically, metallic objects), and magnetic interference from fences, hydroelectric lines, buried electrical lines, or water supply trenches. Survey results can also be affected by instrument or operator error, daily variations in the earth's

magnetic field, or other factors. Effective archaeological interpretation of data acquired through these processes depends upon post-survey inspection of the ground surface, supplemental investigation with a metal detector or soil probe, or test excavation. Given the special circumstances of cemetery investigations, subsurface ground truthing is often not possible. This might require a precautionary approach whereby protective buffers are established to encompass possible graves. One alternative approach, which was employed at the Red Deer cemetery, involved the removal of the top few centimetres of topsoil in a block excavation to the point that rectangular grave shafts became evident in contrast to the undisturbed subsoil surrounding them. Once the location, arrangement, and size of these graves were documented, excavation was discontinued and the block was refilled and restored. Such shallow subsurface testing might be employed, particularly in an effort to evaluate isolated or irregular surface features that might be either graves or natural surface undulations.

Appendix 1: Canada's residential schools

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35. Persson, "Blue Quills," 50.
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108. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1969–1970*, 128.
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10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 1, Frank Pedley to David Laird, 11 January 1904. [PLD-000665]
11. Stanley, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve," 96–98.
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, file 883-1, part 1, Bella Coola Agency – Kitamaat Boarding School – General Administration, 1906–1932, FA Perm. volume 6451, Microfilm reel C-8773, Green to F. Pedley, 22 May 1909, 6. [KMT-095620]
13. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1906,* 191.
14. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1911,* 527.
15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6270, file 581-9, part 1, Martin Benson to Mr. Scott, 18 August 1915. [NHU-000001]
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6376, file 766-5, part 1, Martin Benson to Duncan Scott, 10 November 1914. [FTV-000003]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 877-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8759, W. E. Ditchburn to D. C. Scott, 15 June 1917. [ABR-000682]
18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 877-1, part 1, R. H. Cairns to J. D. McLean, 6 June 1917. [SLT-003478]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 877-1, part 1, R. H. Cairns to J. D. McLean, 6 June 1917. [SLT-003478]
20. "Chateau Saint-Jean," part 1, http://www.jkcc.com/robes.html (accessed 1 January 2012).
21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8754, file 651/25-1, part 1, C. F. Hives to R. A. Hoey, 9 February 1947. [PAR-009212]
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6422, file 869-1, part 2, C. E. Manning, 20 October 1921. [PSM-200026-0001]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6367, file 762-5, part 1, J. D. McLean to Harold Laird, 8 January 1924. [JRD-003064]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6446, file 882-1, part 2, Sister Mary Gabriel to D. Scott, 26 October 1927. [KAM-000186]
25. "Chateau Saint-Jean," part 1, http://www.jkcc.com/robes.html (accessed 1 January 2012).
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879]
27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6300, file 650-1, part 1, O. Charlebois to Duncan Scott, 21 September 1927; [BVL-000874] Louis Mederic Adam to Indian Affairs, 22 September 1927. [BVL-000879]

28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, School Files, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, T. B. R. Westgate to Duncan C. Scott, 4 July 1928. [OLD-000312]
29. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Acc. 93.281/26, Stephans to Reverendes Soeurs de l'Assomption de la Sainte Vierge, Nicolet, P.Q., 22 May 1928. [ORC-000796]
30. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6309, file 654-1, part 1, S. S. Moore to W. M. Graham, 4 February 1929. [GDC-006542-0001]
31. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6260, file 577-1, part 1, J. L. Fuller to A. McNamara, 8 March 1930; [CLD-000933-0000] William Gordon to Assistant Deputy and Secretary, Indian Affairs, 10 March 1930. [CLD-000934]
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6328, file 660-5, part 3, H. W. McGill to Thomas G. Murphy, 18 November 1932. [PLD-000027]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6041, file 160-5, part 1, Joseph Guy to Harold McGill, 25 March 1933. [AEMR-254347]
34. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-1, part 2, Samuel Lovell to Dr. McGill, 20 March 1933. [DRS-000611-0000]
35. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6433, file 877-5, part 5, W. L. Healey to Fire Marshal, 24 February 1937. [ABR-006601-0001]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6480, file 940-5, part 6, T. B. Caulkin to Commissioner Royal Canadian Mounted Police, 18 April 1939. [CAR-015059-0001]
37. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6185, file 460-5, part 2, H. McGill to Henri Belleau, 24 August 1939. [FTA-000625]
38. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1940*, 186.
39. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1940*, 186.
40. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1941*, 166.
41. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6308, file 653-5, part 6, E. S. Jones to The Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, 10 April 1942. [FHR-000252]
42. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6112, file 350-5, part 1, Thomas Orford to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 February 1943. [FGA-001026]
43. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs*, 155.
44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6378, file 767-5, part 3, H. A. Alderwood to R. A. Hoey, 3 January 1945; [JON-003675] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs 1945*, 169.
45. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6268, file 581-1, part 2, R. A. Hoey Acting Deputy Minister, 29 May 1946.[NHU-000117]
46. TRC, NRA, Provincial Archives of Alberta, Anglican Diocese of Athabasca Fonds, Edmonton, AB, Acc. PR1970.0387/1641, box 41, Anglican Diocese of Athabasca Fonds, file A320/572, Indian Schools – General, Official Correspondence of Bishop Sovereign, 1941–1947, Report of Fire at All Saints' School, Lac la Ronge, Sask., 2 February 1947. [PAR-123539]
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8756, file 671/25-1-010, J. P. B. Ostrander to Indian Affairs Branch, 19 January 1948. [THR-000266-0001]
48. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, volume 224, file 630/111-1, part 1A, Government School – Fort Simpson – N.W.T., 1950, Director to LeCapelain, 14 February 1950. [FNU-000211]
49. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8638, file 511/6-1-038, part 1, E. S. Jones to J. P. B. Ostrander, 6 September 1952. [GUY-000148]

50. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 446/6-1-494, J. Lemire to R. F. Davey, 24 March 1965; [MCI-004409] INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 494/6-1-015, volume 8, G. S. Lapp to Indian Affairs, 26 March 1965. [MCI-006379]
51. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories – Education, Culture and Employment, Ilihakvik School, 1972–1985, Transfer No. 0341, box 5, H. R. Cram to Hodgson, 22 March 1973. [CBS-000260]
52. TRC, NRA, Government of Northwest Territories Archives, Pupil Residence – General, 1974–1978, Archival box 3-3, Archival Acc. G1995-004, J. Milligen to Department of Education, 15 October 1974. [CBS-000211-0001]
53. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 371/6-1-019, volume 8, Michael Shiner to A. Kroeger, 15 May 1975. [HFG-000061-0003]
54. TRC, NRA, No document location, no document fire source, Keith Branston, "Fire Claims 3rd Floor of Breynat Hall," The Journal, Volume 4, Number 19, 16 October 1980. [GNN-000383]

Appendix 3: Outbuildings destroyed by fire: 1867 to 1997

1. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1889*, 19.
2. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1894,* 150.
3. TRC, NRA, Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896,* 317. [ELK-000436]
4. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3928, file 117004-1, Magnus Begg to Indian Commissioner, 19 October 1896. [OLD-008079]
5. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6470, file 890-5, part 1, Extract of a letter of the Principal of the St. Mary's Mission School, dated 22 May 1896. [MIS-000001]
6. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1902*, 422.
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, E. D. Cameron to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 15 May 1903. [TAY-003524]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, E. D. Cameron to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 22 June 1903. [TAY-003528]
9. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1904,* 424.
10. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1907,* 415.
11. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1908*, 399.
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6205, file 468-5, part 1, J. D. McLean to T. T. George, 22 November 1907. [MER-000199]
13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8451, file 652/23-5, part 1, "Agent's Report respecting Duck Lake Boarding School for the Month of September 1913." [SMD-001451]
14. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 3, S. R. McVitty to Duncan Campbell Scott, 4 June 1915. [MER-000635]
15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6358, file 758-1, part 1, P. H. Gentleman to Dr. Westgate, 2 April 1921. [OLD-000468]
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6333, file 661-6, part 1, W. M. Graham to Indian Affairs, 11 December 1923. [RLS-000196-0000]

17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6369, file 763-5, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 15 December 1925. [CYP-000544]
18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6191, file 462-5, part 2, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 30 June 1926; [CRS-001190-0000] RG10, volume 6306, file 652-5, part 3, W. M. Graham to Duncan C. Scott, 5 May 1926. [SMD-001611]
19. Greyeyes, "St. Michael's Indian residential school," 147.
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6345, file 751-5, part 2, 1922–1930, W. E. Gullion to Duncan C. Scott, 17 September 1928. [BQL-006674]
21. Jansen, "Power, Resistance," 118.
22. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6318, file 657-5, part 2, J. W. Waddy to W. M. Graham, 29 July 1931. [MDD-006063-0001]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6318, file 657-1, part 1, A. F. MacKenzie to J. Poulet, 13 August 1931. [MDD-000859]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, Perm. volume 1883, file 630/219-2, part 2, Shingle Point Anglican School 1932, FA 85-8, A. L. Fleming to Chairman, Dominion Lands Board, 18 January 1934. [SPU-000206]
25. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6316, file 656-5, part 5, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 29 March 1934. [PAR-008946]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 4, P. G. Lazenby to Secretary Indian Affairs, 23 April 1934. [BIR-000200]
27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 6307, file 653-5, part 4, A. F. McKenzie to G. A. Dodds, 15 March 1935. [FHR-001336]
28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 5, 1933–1938, Microfilm reel C-8768, R. H. Moore to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 21 October 1935. [LEJ-004638-0000]
29. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6475, file 916-5, part 1, G. Breynat to H. McGill, 31 January 1936. [FRU-010052]
30. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6475, file 916-5, part 1, Extract from Radiotelegram from Dr. Bourget, Resolution, N.W.T., 27 December 1935. [FRU-010048]
31. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6113, file 351-5, part 1, J. O. Plourde, 2 November 1938. [FTG-000548]
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6198, file 465-5, part 7, Frank Edwards to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 29 December 1938. [KNR-000859]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6322, file 658-5, part 7, J. T. Hill to Secretary Indian Affairs, 28 February 1939. [PAR-001067-0000]
34. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6198, file 465-5, part 7, Frank Edwards, 5 January 1939. [KNR-000866]
35. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6445, file 881-10, part 5, Lejac Residential School General Report, 31 March 1940. [LEJ-002066]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 6, 1938–1941, Microfilm reel C-8768, R. Howe to D. M. MacKay, 24 October 1940. [LEJ-003150]
37. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6453, file 884-5, part 5, 1936–1941, Kootenay Agency – Kootenay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies – Accounts, FA 10-17, Microfilm reel C-8775, NAC, Ottawa, D. M. MacKay to Secretary Indian Affairs, 21 May 1941. [EGN-004992]

38. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6443, file 881-1, part 2, R. Howe to Sir, 2 December 1942. [LEJ-000814]
39. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6033, file 150-61, part 1, Philip Phelan to Mr. Hoey, 1 May 1945. [NRD-001525]
40. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6370, file 763-5, part 6, Director to Acting Deputy Minister, 24 October 1946. [CYP-000862]
41. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6278, file 584-5, part 13, J. Waite to Indian Affairs, 14 February 1948. [SBR-001426]
42. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6319, file 657-5, part 8, R. S. Davis to Indian Affairs, 17 May 1948. [MDD-006126]
43. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6333, file 661-5, part 6, W. J. D. Kerley to Indian Affairs, 21 May 1949. [RLS-000493]
44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6333, file 661-5, part 6, W. J. D. Kerley to J. P. B. Ostrander, 20 October 1950. [RLS-000533-0001]
45. TRC, NRA, The Presbyterian Church in Canada Archives, Toronto, ON. Acc. 1988-7004, box 14, file 10, T. C. Ross to Norman Paterson, 6 February 1951. [CJC-007763]
46. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8252, file 479/6-1-001, part 4, J. Stallwood to Indian Affairs, 27 January 1955. [TAY-003768]
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8275, file 494/6-1-014, part 5, Eric L. Barrington to G. Swartman, 23 February 1957. [PLK-000496-0002]
48. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 74/6-1-353, volume 2, H. Lariviere to R. F. Davey, 7 February 1956. [AIR-000121]
49. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 8709, file 965/6-1, part 8, 1959, Microfilm reel C-14168, G. F. Kelly to W. E. Grant, 3 March 1959. [LEJ-004875-0001]
50. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG85, volume 1295, file 311/111-B, part 4, School Buildings – Fort Simpson, N.W.T. [Construction and Maintenance], 1959–1961, P. Templeton to S. Lesage, 31 July 1959. [FNU-001033]
51. Provincial Archives of Alberta, Oblate Accession, 71.220, Tome II, box 7, 22 November 1963, cited in Persson, "Blue Quills," 184.
52. TRC, NRA, INAC – Resolution Sector – IRS Historical Files Collection – Ottawa, file 672/6-1-007, volume 3, Fire Loss Report, P. A. Residential School, D. Lawson, 23 June 1967. [PAR-003379-0001]
53. TRC, NRA, INAC – Main Records Office – Ottawa, file 989/40-3-2, volume 1, Fire Losses – Individual Cases – Williams Lake District, 01/1958–12/1970, locator H77, DIAND, HQ Central Registry, R. G. Cooper to Indian Commissioner, British Columbia, 19 October 1967. [JOE-019175-0000]

Appendix 4: Additional reported fires that did not destroy buildings: 1867 to 1997

1. Wasylow, "History of Battleford Industrial School," 68.
2. Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School,* 28.
3. E. F. Wilson, Autobiographical Journal, 47, quoted in Porter, "Anglican Church," 33.
4. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision,* 368–369.

5. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896,* 386.
6. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1899*, 405.
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3920, file 116818, Public Archives, David Laird to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 28 December 1899; [EDM-009798] RG18, volume 295, file 271-05, 1900–1905, NAC, J. R. Huddle to Officer Commanding, 19 July 1900. [EDM-002395]
8. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6251, file 575-1, part 1, G. H. Wheatley to David Laird, 13 March 1901. [BIR-000015]
9. Titley, "Industrial Education," 397–398.
10. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, T. T. George to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 29 June 1906. [MER-000395]
11. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 3925, file 116823-1A, Principal Wilson to David Laird, 19 March 1908. [ELK-000217]
12. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 2, Secretary, Indian Affairs to T. T. George, 30 January 1908. [MER-000394]
13. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6027, file 117-1-1, part 1, S. Spencer Page to The Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 25 March 1913. [CRW-000045]
14. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6431, file 877-1, part 1, Agent's Report For Month of November 1913, Chas. A. Cox, 3 December 1913. [ABR-006993]
15. Marceau-Kozicki, "Onion Lake," 129.
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6327, file 660-1, part 1, W. M. Graham to Secretary Indian Affairs, 8 June 1914. [PLD-007452]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6364, file 760-1, part 1, 1892–1936, Microfilm reel C-8717, George H. Race to the Secretary, 18 January 1917. [SAL-000088]
18. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6305, file 652-1, part 1, P. Schmidt to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 17 September 1917. [SMD-001235]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, W. E. Ditchburn to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 22 January 1918. [MIK-002569]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6206, file 468-5, part 4, S. R. McVitty to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 14 July 1922. [MER-000674]
21. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 2, 1922–1924, Microfilm reel C-8767, N. Coccola to McAllan, 6 August 1923. [LEJ-003744-0001]
22. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1942, 38. [GNN-000077-0001]
23. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to W. M. Halliday, 3 October 1924. [MIK-002612]
24. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6252, file 575-5, part 2, "Extract from Agent's Report on the Birtle Residential School, for the month of February, 1925," P. G. Lazenby. [BIR-000070]
25. TRC, NRA, Deschatelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, file L1027.M27L 121, Principal Cowessess Indian Residential School, to Russell T. Ferrier, 16 March 1926. [MRS-006020]
26. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6219, file 472-5, part 2, Russell Ferrier to Dr. Scott, 9 June 1927. [MCI-000243]
27. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 1, 1886–1927, Indian Agent, Department of Indian Affairs, Morley to Russell T. Ferrier, 1 November 1927. [MOR-005523]

28. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6321, file 658-5, part 4, "Statement of George Peechow, Age 17 Years in connection with an outbreak of fire at the Anglican Indian School, Onion Lake Sask., on Friday evening at 8 o'clock p.m. Feb. 10th 1928." [PAR-017008-0001]
29. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada – Ottawa, RG10, volume 6468, file 890-1, part 1, J. D. McLean to A. O'N. Daunt, 6 October 1928. [MIS-001505]
30. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6267, file 580-5, part 4, W. M. Graham to Secretary Indian Affairs, 24 December 1929. [DRS-000572-0000]
31. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1942, 56. [GNN-000077-0001]
32. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6345, file 751-1, part 1, Microfilm reel C-8701, W. M. Graham to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 27 September 1929. [BQL-001728]
33. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6270, file 582-5, part 3, Report Re Fire at Camperville, Manitoba, Thomas Baird, 24 November 1930. [PCR-000124]
34. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6322, file 658-5, part 5, T. B. R. Westgate to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 28 August 1930. [PAR-015011-0000]
35. TRC, NRA, Anglican Church of Canada, General Synod Archives, Minutes of the Meetings of Indian Residential School Commission MSCC, 01/1930–11/1932, Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15[a], box 18, "Minutes of Meeting of Indian Residential School Commission, MSCC, Held on Tuesday, April 7, 1931," 5. [AGS-000145]
36. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6346, file 751-5, part 4, 1932–1933, NAC, W. E. Gullion to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 3 December 1932. [BQL-006214-0000]
37. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6366, file 761-5, part 2, Bishop Guy to Harold W. McGill, 11 December 1933. [FVD-000726-0000]
38. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6366, file 761-5, part 2, Bishop Guy to Harold W. McGill, 11 December 1933. [FVD-000726-0000]
39. TRC, NRA, English Language Summary of the Fort Resolution Chronicles, volume 1, 1903–1942, 66. [GNN-000077-0001]
40. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10413, Shannon File, box 45, M. Christianson to G. C. Laight, 26 September 1933. [CFT-004504]
41. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6357, file 757-5, part 4, 1935–1938, NAC, [Illegible] for T. R. L. MacInnes, to M. Christianson, 15 October 1935. [MOR-004448-0000]
42. TRC, NRA, Minutes of the Meetings of Indian Residential School Commission MSCC, 02/35–05/38, pg. 1902-2256, Accession GS 75-103, series 2:15[a], box 19, Minutes of Meeting of Indian Residential School Commission, MSCC, held on Tuesday, May 14, 1935. [AGS-000529]
43. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6055, file 265-5, part 4, J. P. Mackey, 20 November 1936. [SRS-001501]
44. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6215, file 470-5, part 3, H. McGill to Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 6 October 1936. [PLK-000124]
45. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6357, file 757-5, part 4, 1935–1938, NAC, W. Barr Murray to C. Pant. Schmidt, 25 July 1938. [MOR-004509-0001]
46. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 6, 1938–1941, A. R. Simpson to D. M. MacKay, 25 September 1939. [LEJ-002960-0001]
47. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, Kwawkewlth Agency – Alert Bay Residential School – Building Maintenance – Supplies and Accounts, 1937–1939, FA 10-17, volume 6428, file

875-5, part 6, National Archives of Canada – Ottawa, M. S. Todd to Secretary, Department of Indian Affairs, 14 June 1939. [MIK-013732]

48. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6444, file 881-5, part 6, 1938–1941, Microfilm reel C-8768, J. H. F. Lacey to Secretary, Indian Affairs, 26 September 1939. [LEJ-002940]
49. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6266, file 579-5, part 9, E. McPherson to Indian Affairs, 5 November 1941. [FAR-000024]
50. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, volume 6303, file 653-5, part 6, E. S. Jones to The Secretary, Indian Affairs Branch, Department of Mines and Resources, 10 April 1942. [FHR-000252]
51. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10752, Shannon File, 1944, Misc. Outgoing Correspondence, F. Matters to Indian Affairs, 2 February 1944. [CRS-001610]
52. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6033, file 150-61, part 1, Memorandum to Mr. Hoey, Philip Phelan, 1 May 1945. [NRD-001525]
53. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 10759, Shannon File, 1946–1947, Incoming Correspondence re Education, H. A. Alderwood to F. Matters, 7 March 1947; [CRS-001655] Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6192, file 462-5, part 8, F. Matters to Indian Affairs, 5 March 1947. [CRS-001947]
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Appendix 5: School fires that were suspected or proven to be deliberately set: 1867 to 1997

1. Wilson, *Missionary Work,* 130–131, 142.
2. Shanahan, *Jesuit Residential School*, 28.
3. E. F. Wilson, Autobiographical Journal, 47, quoted in Porter, "Anglican Church," 33.
4. Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, 386.
5. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision*, 368–369.
6. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision,* 368.
7. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 2771, file 154845, part 1, "Blaze at Brantford: The Mohawk Institute Totally Destroyed," in *The Globe*, story datelined 19 April 1903; [TAY-003519] Martin Benson to Deputy Superintendent General, Indian Affairs, 21 April 1903. [TAY-003521]
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10. Stanley, "Alberta's Half-Breed Reserve," 96–98.
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15. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6364, file 760-1, part 1, 1892–1936, Microfilm reel C-8717, George H. Race to the Secretary, 18 January 1917. [SAL-000088]
16. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, W. M. Halliday to Ditchburn, 17 January 1918. [MIK-000274]
17. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6426, file 875-1, part 2, J. D. McLean to W. M. Halliday, 3 October 1924. [MIK-002612]
18. TRC, NRA, Deschatelets Archives, Oblates of Mary Immaculate, Ottawa, file L1027.M27L 121, Principal Cowessess Indian Residential School, to Russell T. Ferrier, 16 March 1926. [MRS-006020]
19. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives, Canada, RG10, volume 6355, file 757-1, part 1, 1886–1927, Indian Agent, Department of Indian Affairs, Morley to Russell T. Ferrier, 1 November 1927. [MOR-005523]
20. TRC, NRA, Library and Archives Canada, RG10, volume 6321, file 658-5, part 4, "Statement of George Peechow, Age 17 Years in connection with an outbreak of fire at the Anglican Indian School, Onion Lake Sask., on Friday evening at 8 o'clock p.m. Feb. 10th 1928." [PAR-017008-0001]
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1. Truth and Reconciliation Commission Databases

The endnotes of this report often commence with the abbreviation TRC, followed by one of the following abbreviations: ASAGR, AVS, CAR, IRSSA, NRA, RBS, and LAC. The documents so cited are located in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's database, housed at the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation. At the end of each of these endnotes, in square brackets, is the document identification number for each of these documents. The following is a brief description of each database.

Active and Semi-Active Government Records (ASAGR) Database: The Active and Semi-Active Government Records database contains active and semi-active records collected from federal governmental departments that potentially intersected with the administration and management of the residential school system. Documents that were relevant to the history and/or legacy of the system were disclosed to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada (TRC) in keeping with the federal government's obligations in relation to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). Some of the other federal government departments included, but were not limited to, the Department of Justice, Health Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police, and National Defence. Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada undertook the responsibility of centrally collecting and producing the records from these other federal departments to the TRC.

Audio/Video Statement (AVS) Database: The Audio/Video Statement database contains video and audio statements provided to the TRC at community hearings and regional and national events held by the TRC, as well as at other special events attended by the TRC.

Church Archival Records (CAR) Database: The Church Archival Records database contains records collected from the different church/religious entities that were involved in administration and management of residential schools. The church/religious entities primarily included, but were not limited to, entities associated with the Roman Catholic Church, the Anglican Church of Canada, the Presbyterian Church in Canada, and the United Church of Canada. The records were collected as part of the TRC's mandate, as set out in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement, to "identify sources and create as complete an historical record as possible of the IRS system and legacy."

Indian Residential Schools School Authority (IRSSA) Database: The Indian Residential Schools School Authority database is comprised of individual records related to each residential school, as set out by the IRSSA.

National Research and Analysis (MRA) Database: The National Research and Analysis database contains records collected by the National Research and Analysis Directorate, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, formerly Indian Residential Schools Resolution Canada (IRSRC). The records in the database were originally collected for the purpose of research into a variety of allegations, such as abuse in residential schools, and primarily resulted from court processes such as civil and criminal litigation, and later the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement (IRSSA), as well as from out-of-court processes such as Alternative Dispute Resolution. A majority of the records were collected from Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. The collection also contains records from other federal departments and religious entities. In the case of some records in the database that were provided by outside entities, the information in the database is incomplete. In those instances, the endnotes in the report reads, "No document location, no document file source."

Red, Black and School Series (RBS) Database: The Red, Black and School Series database contains records provided by Library and Archives Canada to the TRC. These three sub-series contain records that were originally part of the "Headquarters Central Registry System," or records management system, for departments that preceded the current federal department of Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada. The archival records are currently related to the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds and are held as part of Library and Archives Canada's collection.

Library and Archives Canada (LACAR) Archival Records Container (File) and Document Databases – The LAC Records Container (File) and Document databases contain records collected from Library and Archives Canada (LAC). The archival records of federal governmental departments that potentially intersected with the administration and management of Indian Residential Schools were held as part of Library and Archives Canada's collection. Documents that were relevant to the history and/or legacy of the Indian Residential School system were initially collected by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, in conjunction with Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, as part of their mandate, as set out in the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement. The collection of records was later continued by Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, based on the federal government's obligation to disclose documents in relation to the Indian Residential Schools Settlement Agreement.

2. Indian Affairs Annual Reports, 1864–1997

Within this report, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs* denotes the published annual reports created by the Government of Canada, and relating to Indian Affairs over the period from 1864 to 1997.

The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development was created in 1966. In 2011, it was renamed Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development. Before 1966, different departments were responsible for the portfolios of Indian Affairs and Northern Affairs.

The departments responsible for Indian Affairs were (in chronological order):

- The Department of the Secretary of State of Canada (to 1869)
- The Department of the Secretary of State for the Provinces (1869–1873)
- The Department of the Interior (1873–1880)
- The Department of Indian Affairs (1880–1936)
- The Department of Mines and Resources (1936–1950)
- The Department of Citizenship and Immigration (1950–1965)
- The Department of Northern Affairs and National Resources (1966)
- The Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (1966 to the present)

The exact titles of Indian Affairs annual reports changed over time, and were named for the department.

3. Library and Archives Canada

RG10 (Indian Affairs Records Group) The records of RG10 at Library and Archives Canada are currently part of the R216, Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development fonds. For clarity and brevity, in endnotes throughout this report, records belonging to the RG10 Records Group have been identified simply with their RG10 information. Where a copy of an RG10 document held in a TRC database was used, the TRC database holding that copy is clearly identified, along with the RG10 information connected with the original document.

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6. Legislation

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