

Investigation of Unmarked Graves and Burial Grounds at the
Brandon Indian Residential School

by

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Abstract

The purpose of this thesis is to identify the names of the students who died while attending the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS) and determine the location of the school's burial grounds along with the number of unmarked graves on the school property. My research project uses mixed methods including; archival research, qualitative interviews, Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR), Electromagnetic Ground Conductivity (EM38), control burns, and aerial photography to systematically survey the school's burial grounds. My investigation into the deaths and burials of BIRS students aligns closely with a larger project being conducted by the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada's (TRC) *Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials* (n.d.). This Working Group attempts to locate the burial grounds for the Indian residential schools across Canada and identify the names of the students who died at the schools in the archives.

This research was conducted in collaboration with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, the University of Manitoba, Brandon University, the United Church of Canada, the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP), and in consultation with the TRC, Manitoba Historic Resources Branch, and Brandon Research Centre. By using an applied anthropological approach my thesis works to contribute to the ongoing TRC's *Missing Children's Project*. It is my hope that this research can assist the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation with future restoration, protection and commemoration plans.

Acknowledgments

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Phil Innes

Tim Mayert

The Nichols Family

*To all the children who attended the
Brandon Indian Residential School,
their families and communities.*

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Chapter 1

Introduction

In the autumn of 1999, parents from a northern Cree community in Manitoba contacted a government agency in Winnipeg. As the parents explained, their daughter had died while attending the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS) and she was supposedly buried in the school cemetery. They wanted to bring their daughter home, but they did not know where the BIRS cemetery was located. The parent's request was directed to Pat Badertscher, the Senior Archaeologist for the Manitoba Historic Resource Branch, who then contacted Diane Haglund, the Conference Archivist for the United Church of Canada. Working in partnership, Badertscher focused on completing the archaeological field work at the BIRS property and Haglund searched archival records linked to the BIRS cemetery (D. Haglund, personal communication, April 10, 2014).

As Haglund began her archival search, she discovered that there were no student death records for the BIRS. For Haglund, it made sense that the next step would be to go to the cemetery and document the names of the students that would be inscribed on the headstones. In order to access the property where the BIRS cemetery was located, Haglund received permission from the then Chief of Sioux Valley, Ken Whitecloud, and from the Brandon Research Centre (Agriculture Canada). When Haglund arrived at the cemetery, she noticed yellow coloured flags hanging in the corners of the fence. There were also long stakes placed in the ground adorned with blue and white coloured flags. Many of these stakes were placed in front of marked depressions in the ground. Haglund

knew a ceremony had recently taken place for the students who were buried in the cemetery. While she looked for headstones or grave markers with names, there was only a large cairn with a plaque listing the names of 11 students and the dates of their death. Haglund could not help but also notice the depressions in the ground beyond the cemetery's chain link fence (D. Haglund, personal communication, April 10, 2014).



Figure 1.1. Photograph of Brandon Indian Residential School Burial Ground. It is now located on Brandon Research Centre property, 2004. Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of Robert and Diane Haglund, used with permission.

Returning to Winnipeg with the information from the cairn, Haglund accessed the Manitoba Vital Statistics Agency database. While Manitoba has a very accessible and

comprehensive database, Haglund was only able to retrieve limited information about the death of each student and a vague description of the location of their death. Returning to search the United Church of Canada Archives again, Haglund was unable to locate any burial records. The parents were informed that their daughters' burial place was not known. Tragically, the parents were unable to bring their daughter home.

The death of a child is a devastating loss and one of life's most difficult experiences. It is a reversal of the natural order. Parental grief is profound; it is extremely intense, and has a longer-lasting impact than any other type of grief (Arnold & Gemma, 2008; Arnold, Gemma, & Cushman, 2005; Kreicbergs, Lannen, Onelov, & Wolfe, 2007; Murphy, Johnson, Wu, Fan, & Lohan, 2003). For many grieving parents, maintaining a connection upon the death of their child is imperative. This can be done in many ways such as being physically present at the time of death, through memories, mementos, and memorials (Meert, Thurston, & Briller, 2005). Grieving parents require the truth surrounding the circumstances of their child's death, and have intense spiritual needs such as compassion, support, prayer and ritual to name just a few (Meert, Thurston, & Briller, 2005). Furthermore, a child's death affects not only the parents but also the larger family unit and community (Davies, 2004). In Western society, it is often assumed that our dead will be brought home. However, almost all of the parents of the children who attended and died at the BIRS were not afforded this basic human right. It is fundamental for all parents to know how, when and why their children died. It is important for parents to be with their child at the time of their death and to know where their child was buried. Without their child's body or the truth of circumstances surrounding their death, parents

of missing children suffer a lifetime of incomprehensible grief (Meert, Thurston, & Briller, 2005).

Perhaps the most tragic aspect of the story about the parents whose daughter died at the BIRS is the anonymity of her death. During the 77 years that the BIRS was operating (1895-1972), many students died and their bodies cannot be located and the intent of my thesis was to quantify the number of student deaths. Working with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation the goals of this research were to: (1) determine the names and number of students who died while attending the BIRS, (2) determine the locations of school burial grounds and number unmarked graves at each site, and (3) determine if the number of graves matched the archival records. I used a forensic anthropology conceptual framework, that is, forensic anthropology enabled me to use a variety of methods to survey unmarked graves on the BIRS property. In consultation with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, the number of methods used was expanded to include additional search areas, specific searches for archival photographs and qualitative interviews. To identify unknown and forgotten graves, I utilized three different sources of data including archival research, interviews with survivors and forensic field surveys methods.

The results of my research will provide a summary of available archival information, and specifically list the names of students who died at the BIRS. The results of my research will also identify unmarked graves within and beyond the cemetery boundary. Based on my research, the specific locations of the graves will be confidentially shared with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation as they create the foundational plan for restoration, protection and commemoration.

The goals of my research were to find the names of all the students, physically locate their graves, and tell their stories. However, throughout the entire research process, I found that there is nothing simple or straightforward about researching the missing students and unmarked graves at the BIRS. Despite many obstacles, there are many benefits of utilizing a conceptual forensic anthropology framework and I will show how applied anthropology can be used to contribute valuable knowledge to local, provincial and national issues.

1.1. Continuing the Search

Despite not finding any archival records, Haglund continued her work searching the archives for records linked to the BIRS cemetery. In the summer of 1994, United Church Reverend Bernice Saulteaux from Carry the Kettle Nakota First Nation in Saskatchewan held a ceremony and feast at the BIRS cemetery with survivors of the school, and those whose parents or relatives had attended the school. Reverend Saulteaux was also approached by the United Church of Canada's Conference of Manitoba and Northwestern Ontario in 2002, to conduct a workshop about the BIRS. Along with Haglund, Reverend Saulteaux led a group of conference participants to the school site where they discussed the history of the school and its cemetery. The group prayed, recited the names of the students who had died at the school, had a moment of silence, and then scattered Brown Eye Susan and Purple Corn flowers on the school property. Haglund also continued to look for BIRS records throughout her career as the Conference Archivist for the United Church of Canada. Whenever funding was available, she worked with archivists to pursue a multitude of different strategies in order to locate the burial

records. These strategies included searching the *Christian Guardian* the Methodist Church newspaper and researching historic cemetery Acts and Legislation in Manitoba. For example, it was hoped that if historical protocols surrounding the registration of a death could be identified, then the names of the children who died at the BIRS could be identified by retracing these steps through the same archival channels.

In the fall of 2011, I contacted the United Church of Canada Archives in Winnipeg, Manitoba and spoke with Haglund about my Master's thesis research project on the missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS. Haglund talked with me about her ongoing search for the BIRS archival records and was absolutely delighted to share the information she had discovered over the years. Haglund was able to secure funding for me to conduct a dedicated search on the archival records for the BIRS during a 12-week summer internship funded through the United Church of Canada and Young Canada Works. With Haglund as my archival mentor, I was optimistic about obtaining cemetery maps and creating a full list of the students who attended the BIRS. I also hoped that my archival research would enable me to create a full list of students who had died at the school, determine the cemetery that they were buried in, their home communities, how old they were, and the causes of their deaths. Based on finding these records, I expected to determine the procedures and protocols surrounding the death of a student at the BIRS.

1.2. The Research Process

This project has been quite a few years in the making. Initially, I presented the project idea in my final year of undergraduate studies at Brandon University in 2009.

Afterward, my professor suggested that I apply to graduate school with my project of searching for the missing children and unmarked graves as my graduate research proposal. After my acceptance in the Department of Anthropology at the University of Manitoba and completing my first year of graduate course work, I began preparing a letter for the Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation who currently own the land where the ruins of the BIRS are located. With Elder Kevin Tacan, we discussed the obstacles of my research project which would potentially involve walking over unmarked graves during the field survey. In response, Elder Tacan stated that my field work would identify the unmarked graves which would prevent people walking across them in the future. Elder Tacan also discussed with me the ceremonies that would be conducted before and after my fieldwork.

In the beginning, my Masters application proposal was organized so that if I was denied the permissions I needed to carry out the fieldwork, I would still be able to continue an archival record search. I expected that land permissions would be the most difficult and completing the fieldwork might not be possible, and I assumed that archival research would be relatively straightforward. I thought that obtaining a map of the BIRS cemeteries would be relatively straightforward as would finding the names of the students who died at the school and their respective communities. The exact opposite turned out to be true. I encountered the least obstacles conducting the field survey and search while the archival permissions are still ongoing.

When I initially met with Chief Vincent Tacan in 2012, we discussed the outline of my possible research project, the potential development of the BIRS land for an interpretative centre, and the Chief's own understandings about the many community

stories about student deaths and unmarked burials at the school. With the Chief's consent I proceeded to complete the required paperwork for ethics approval from the University of Manitoba in order to interview community members from Sioux Valley Dakota Nation who had attended BIRS and knew about unmarked burials at the school. Initially, I anticipated that the participant interviews would be a relatively straightforward process. However, institutional ethics approval was cumbersome and time consuming. I also knew that I did not want to put up posters for recruiting a large number of participants, and I did not want participants to fill out standardized questionnaires. This would only reinforce the long legacy of research done *on* Aboriginal peoples rather than *with* and *for* Aboriginal peoples (Irvine, 2011; Kovach, 2009; Piquemal, 2000; Smith, 1999). I wanted people to know me and the reasons I wanted to do this research, and hopefully, I wanted the people participating in the interviews to feel comfortable to tell their stories. While I knew I wanted to do things differently, I did know how difficult it would be to set up places to meet and times to talk. In retrospect, I also should have anticipated that the poor health of the participants would also need to be carefully taken into consideration. As Changfoot (2009) explains, it has been estimated that 150,000 Aboriginal children attended Indian residential schools in Canada. Currently there are only 80,000 survivors still alive and of these survivors five to six die every day (Changfoot, 2009). The deaths of elderly survivors, or ill health of many aging survivors, threatens the complete loss of their firsthand experiences at specific Indian residential schools across Canada.

Anthropological research projects carried out properly and respectfully seek to consult with the Chief and Council of the community involved or implicated in a research project prior to even beginning the research (Piquemal, 2000). For me, it was and is

imperative to follow this protocol in my research project. Therefore, the objectives of my research were thoroughly discussed with the Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation and the design of my research was grounded in the needs and considerations of the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. For many community members not knowing where their family members and loved ones are buried creates a profound lack of closure. A further community consideration was the commemoration of the BIRS site, where the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation would like to create a treatment centre and learning facility. This research project is the first step towards being able to fulfill these needs and considerations in an attempt to locate burial grounds and unmarked graves. By locating student graves, the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation can commemorate the grave sites, and in doing so they can achieve some sense of closure. If reconciliation is ever going to be achieved, research about the Indian Residential Schools needs to be conducted with the community's goals at the forefront of the research design. After consultation with the Chief Tacan and Elder Tacan of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, my initial research plans were modified - I included qualitative interviews, added field search areas and conducted controlled burns on the land property of the BIRS. I also located historic photographs of students who attended the BIRS while conducting the archival search for student death records. While adding these components took a great deal of extra time and additional resources, I believe it was fundamental and imperative to doing meaningful research.

1.3. Context of the Researcher

Since I began my Master's program in fall of 2010, it has been a very busy time. As a forensic anthropologist, my assistance has been requested by the Winnipeg Police

Service, the Brandon Police Service, the RCMP, and the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch. This work has involved searches and the recovery of physical evidence at historic and contemporary scenes. In addition, securing provincial permits for non-invasive cemetery searches at the BIRS required that I submit written progress reports each year. My use of the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to locate unmarked burials at the BIRS also required that I secure Land Permission to establish a control study to determine the characteristic of unmarked burials. This control study was conducted at the Brandon Municipality Cemetery with the permission of the City of Brandon which also required me to submit a written summary of my findings. I also presented papers at the Manitoba Archaeological Society fall conference on the forensic search methods I used at the Brandon Municipality Cemetery. I also gave a total of six presentations about the investigation of unmarked graves at the BIRS to a number of different organizations, including;

- United Church of Canada Committee on Indigenous Justice and Residential Schools
- Brandon Friendship Centre
- Assiniboine Presbytery, United Church of Canada
- Anthropology Department, Osteobiography (12:383), Brandon University
- Native Studies Department, Canada and the Native (68:251), Brandon University
- History Department, Public History in Canada (54:365), Brandon University

In addition, like most students, I also had to work part-time to support myself.

This project began as a forensic investigation of the BIRS cemeteries. Forensic anthropologists assist with search, recovery, and skeletal analysis during criminal investigations (Burns, 2007; Conner, 2007; Holland & Connell, 2008; Klepinger, 2006). Forensic anthropologists do this work generally as a moral obligation to the community

that we work in and our personal reasons for choosing this discipline are rarely questioned. This was the case for me - until I began working on this project. It seemed like the most frequent question I was asked was, “Why do you want to do this research?” The answer was always obvious to me, so much so that answering it was a frequent oversight on my part. As I was trained in my undergraduate degree in forensic anthropology, there are natural questions that guide the work of forensic anthropologists. One guiding question asked is; “Where are our dead?” It was only logical that I applied this same question to the BIRS.

However, the people that I spoke with wanted to know my personal reasons for my undertaking to find the missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS. This was a foreign concept for me, as forensic anthropologists are generally not required to state our personal motivations or contextualize who we are in our research papers and reports. In saying this, I do understand why people need to know this, especially the survivors, their families and communities. The short answer is that I was motivated to investigate unmarked graves and missing children because I grew up two miles west of the BIRS. I took the school bus past the school every day, but I did not know what it was (Figures 1.2 & 1.3). After the school was torn down in the fall of 2000, my parents took me to see the ruins and I learned that it was a school for Aboriginal children (Figure 1.4), but I did not learn about the Canadian Indian residential school system until I took an introductory class in Native Studies at university. At that time, I realized that I did not know anything about Indian residential schools in general, and knew nothing about the BIRS.

Figure 1.2. Brandon Indian Industrial School (1895-1929).
 “Road to Brandon Industrial Institute in wintertime, circa 1910.”
 Photo Credit: United Church of Canada, n.d-c. Please see:
<http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1222&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

Figure 1.3. Brandon Indian Residential School (1930-1972).
 “Brandon Indian Institute and surroundings, circa 1930.”
 Photo Credit: United Church of Canada, n.d- c. Please see:
<http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1276&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.



Figure 1.4. Ruins of the Brandon Indian Residential School (2012).
 The school building rubble is identified by a red circle. View from the Grand Valley Road (Highway 459), facing north.
 Photo Credit: Author

While most of the people I have talked with about my research project were supportive, some suggested that it would not be possible to locate the unmarked graves. For example, one Brandonite maintained that I would never receive the proper approvals for the controlled burns nor would I be able to access the necessary permits that I needed

to conduct the research. Another acquaintance explained to me that it would be better if we would just forget about the Indian residential schools. Despite the negative and demeaning comments about my research, I was also inundated by numerous e-mail requests from two professors to give them my field research notes or what I had written about the Curran Park burial ground. While I did not expect any of these kinds of comments, my collaboration with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, Brandon University, and the RCMP convinced me that the silence and disregard surrounding the BIRS needed to be rectified and this could be accomplished in my research.

1.4. Structure of the Thesis

In the first Chapter, I set out the background of my research into the missing children and unmarked graves at the BIRS. While the legacy of the Indian residential school system in Canada has increased in public awareness through the work of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), greater understandings are needed about what happened at the BIRS. By looking accurately at what happened in our own backyard, we might begin to courageously look at our past and confront our tragic history in order to speak the truth about what happened. In doing so, we might follow Simpson (2010) and begin to work together, building strong alliances capable of defeating the colonial “mantra of divide and conquer” (p.xiv).

In Chapter 2, I provide a brief overview of the literature about the Indian residential schooling system in Canada. I begin by outlining the legislation, administration, funding and recruiting methods of Aboriginal children to Indian residential schools across Canada. Due to consistent underfunding of schools, students

contracted airborne diseases caused by poorly ventilated building, overcrowded rooms and unsanitary living conditions. However, the drivers behind the airborne diseases are not only linked to underfunding, but also to malnutrition, violence and abuse, overwork, accidents and runaways.

Within this context, I position the BIRS within the literature. While the pervasive violence and abuse within the Indian residential schooling system has been well-documented by Fontaine (2010), Fournier and Crey (1997), Grant (1996); Haig-Brown, (1988), Miller (1996), and Milloy (1999), almost all the literature lacks a forensic focus. That is, while there is a body of literature that documents the many causal factors contributing to the deaths of students in residential schools across Canada, there are no studies focusing on the BIRS with the goal of locating and identifying the students that died and were buried at the school. Since the work of locating the missing children and unmarked burials at Indian residential schools is one of the mandates of Canada's Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), I provide an introduction to the TRC and explore how my investigation into the missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS connects to the work of the TRC. This chapter sets up the context of my research into the missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS.

The search for unmarked graves at the BIRS is presented in chapter 3 which details the specific research methods used in the archival record search, the participant interviews and the forensic field survey. The archival aspect details the historic records search for the BIRS files. Since there are many different narratives and major inconsistencies about the history of the BIRS cemeteries, it was necessary to determine accurate information before I could proceed with the search for missing children and

unmarked burials. The qualitative interview section examines the recruitment strategy with a general description of the participants. The forensic field survey section is broken down by method, and includes the results of the control Ground Penetrating Radar survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.

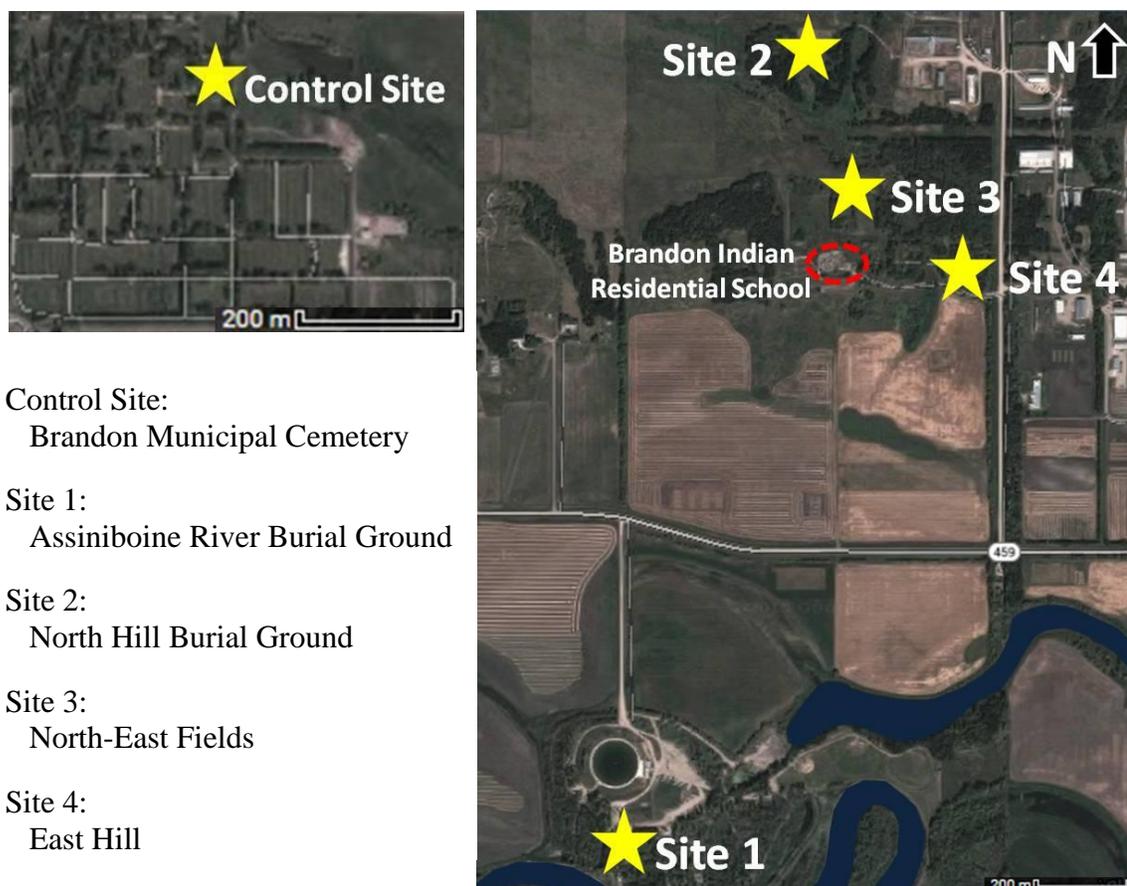


Figure 1.5. Map of Forensic Survey Sites. Yellow stars identify each site location and a red circle locates the BIRS ruins. Map Source: Google Maps, 2013.

In Chapter 4, I provide the result of the archival search, participant interviews and field survey by site. I identify the names and numbers of students who were reported as dying at the BIRS. I show how the results of the qualitative interviews became more than eyewitness accounts and also provided firsthand knowledge to contextualize the BIRS. I

also include information about students who died away from the school and conclude the chapter with an overview of results. The results of the forensic field survey is broken down by site, of which there are four: Assiniboine River Burial Grounds, North Hill Burial Grounds, North-East Fields and the East Hill site (Figure 1.5). This investigation into unmarked burials at the BIRS could not have been possible without creating and maintaining networks and partnerships.

In Chapter 5, I evaluate the research methods and discuss how each research method was able to contribute to the initial aims of the research. Within this section, I trace how the archival research could have been enhanced had there not been enormous restrictions surrounding access to records held by a variety of different record holders. Here, I also discuss how this research, if conducted earlier, would have had the opportunity to speak with BIRS survivors who have now passed away. I also explain how the results of the forensic search methods not only contribute to the goals of the TRC, but also contribute important data about searching for unmarked graves in southwestern Manitoba. I conclude my thesis with recommendations about how the process of truth and reconciliation can be authentically put into action.

Chapter 2

Literature Review of the Indian Residential Schooling System in Canada

This chapter begins by outlining motivations and legislations behind the creation and operations of the Indian residential schooling system in Canada. I give an overview of how Indian residential schools (IRS) were administrated, funded, as well as how students were recruited. I also discuss the different variations of residential schools: day, boarding, industrial, and discuss the Canadian Government's narrow recognition of the Indian residential schools and not day and boarding schools. I outline how funding and building design contributed to high rates of airborne diseases and student deaths throughout IRS and explain how other factors which are often overlooked, such as malnutrition, violence and abuse, workload, runaways and accidents also contributed to student deaths. From here, I go on to focus on the history of the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS) and situate student deaths within the larger context of the IRS system in Canada.

In this chapter, I also explore the mandate of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), trace its near demise in 2008 soon after the commissioners were appointed, and outline the reformation of the commission under the leadership of Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair. I provide an overview of the TRC *Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials* as their mandate directly applies to the investigation of unmarked graves and burial grounds for IRS across Canada and examine

the many challenges that the TRC confronted throughout its mandate. Finally, I explore the general silence and sporadic updates which surrounds the progress of the TRC.

2.1. Indian Residential School System

The Indian residential schooling system in Canada has been described as Canada's "dark secret," and a "sad chapter" in Canadian history (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Developments Canada, 2010; McGonegal, 2009). It was a system designed to resolve the "Indian Problem" in Canada through assimilation. This process began to be articulated with several government policies, starting in 1793 with the Royal Proclamation to the Gradual Civilization Act of 1857, the Indian Lands Act (1860), and the first Indian Act of 1876. By 1920, the primary objective of the Canadian Government's Indian residential schooling system was clearly stated by Duncan Campbell Scott, who was the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs from 1913 to 1932, who declared:

I want to get rid of the Indian problem. I do not think as a matter of fact, that the country ought to continuously protect a class of people who are able to stand alone... Our objective is to continue until there is not a single Indian in Canada that has not been absorbed into the body politic and there is no Indian question, and no Indian Department. (Scott, 1920, p.55)

According to the Legacy of Hope Foundation and the Aboriginal Healing Foundation (2011), IRS were established in the early 1830s and persisted well into the mid-1990s. Specifically, as the Anglican Church of Canada (2008a) states "the Mohawk Institute was the oldest continuously operated Anglican residential school in Canada that was established in 1828 as the Mechanics' Institute, a day school for native boys from the Six Nations Reserve" (¶3). The last federally operated school was the Gordon Indian

Residential School in Punnichy, Saskatchewan which closed in 1996 (Anglican Church of Canada, 2008b).

2.1.1. Policy and Administration

The Bagot Commission (1842-1844) was established and officially recommended farm-based manual labour at boarding schools for Aboriginal children in an attempt to counter the traditional values of Aboriginal parents. To this end, the Bagot Commission recommended that the day schools operating on-reserves, who were plagued by poor attendance, could be replaced by boarding schools built off reserve (Legacy of Hope Foundation 2011; Legacy of Hope & Aboriginal Healing Foundations, 2012; Miller, 1989; Sproule-Jones, 1996). As day schools continued to falter, Canada's first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald (1867–1873 and 1878–1891) appointed Nicolas Davin to study the operation of Industrial Boarding schools in both the United States and Canada. Davin's *Report on Industrial Schools for Indians and Half-Breeds* (also known as the Davin Report) was presented in 1879 and recommended that Canada's pursuit of aggressive assimilation would best be accomplished by creating industrial boarding schools situated far from parental and cultural influences (Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2011; Legacy of Hope & Aboriginal Healing Foundations, 2012; Milloy, 1999).

In addition to advising Canada to pursue aggressive assimilation, Davin (1879) also recommended a "contract method" of delivering boarding school education, where the Government of Canada would contract various religious orders to operate the schools. In return, the government of Canada would provide funding based on a set amount per student. By 1892, Federal Government and churches in Canada had entered into a formal

agreement of state-funded and church-administered IRS (Legacy of Hope & Aboriginal Healing Foundations, 2012; McGonegal, 2009). This agreement came into effect in 1893 and divided the responsibilities of operating the Indian residential schooling system: the Federal Government would be accountable for purchasing the land, building the school, paying for teaching salaries and allocating annual grants based on the number of students while the churches would manage the day-to-day operations of the schools (Hackett, 2008; Troniak, 2011).

2.1.2. Funding Indian Residential Schools

The Federal Government's Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) was responsible for securing the land for IRS, constructing the building, supplying desks and books (Titley, 1986). While operating costs such as teacher salaries, food, heating and clothing were covered by government grants (Titley, 1986). Initially, operating costs were controlled by building capacity which restricted the maximum number of students per year combined with frequent admonishments from the DIA to school principals to use frugal budgeting measures at all times (MacDonald, 2008; Titley, 1986).

By 1892 the DIA embarked on a funding formula based on a per capita grant system. According to Titley (1986), the new funding formula served two purposes: (1) to cut government expenditures and, (2) create incentive for the churches to contribute some of their own resources to the IRS system. However, rather than equal funding on a per-capita basis, some schools received more and others less, and consequently resulted in many schools being consistently underfunded. Problems stemming from underfunding quickly became visible in a multitude of interconnected ways, such as overcrowding,

poor building construction, lack of materials and maintenance, inadequate clothing, and substandard nutrition.

2.1.3. Recruiting Students

While some Canadians may still be under the impression that IRS recruited mainly orphaned children, and while the Federal Government may have stated that orphans should be taught in these institutions, the predominant means of obtaining students was to forcibly remove them from their parents (McGonegal 2009; Milloy 1999; Vankoughnet, 1895b). An amendment to the Indian Act in 1884, included compulsory IRS attendance for all First Nations peoples under the age of 16. By 1920, Duncan Scott made attendance mandatory at IRS for all First Nations children between seven and 15 years of age (Milloy, 1999; Sproule-Jones, 1996; Walker, 2009). Scott's amendment to the Indian Act created the legal basis to enforce mandatory attendance. Priests, Indian Agents and RCMP officers assumed the roles of truant officers with the authority to apprehend runaways and enforce school attendance. Mandatory attendance was enforced by fines and/or imprisoning parents whose children did not attend school (Fournier & Crey, 2011, Walker, 2009).

2.1.4. About Indian Residential Schools

Despite being subsumed under a common name, there were many different types of residential schools created for Aboriginal children in Canada. IRS are also known as hostels, billets, day schools, boarding schools, industrial schools, residential schools, or any combination of the above (Government of Northwest Territories Department of

Education, Culture and Employment, Nunavut Department of Education and the Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2013). All of these types of residential schools operated throughout Canada, except in the provinces of Newfoundland, Prince Edward Island and New Brunswick (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2007).

Currently, there is no conclusive or confirmed total number of IRS that operated in Canada. In addition, there is considerable debate surrounding the Federal Government's formal recognition of many of these schools. In 2007, Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (2013) recognized 130 IRS in the context of the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA). Since then, seven additional IRS have been added through Article 12 of the IRSSA. For about 600 former students who attended Stirland Lake (Wahbon Bay Academy) and Cristal Lake residential high schools in remote northern Ontario, it took a class action lawsuit and four years of legal challenges to have these two residential schools formally recognized in 2011 through the IRSSA Schedule "F." This brings the total number of IRS to 139, which excludes any schools which were privately managed by a church or provincially administered (Legacy of Hope and Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2011; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, n.d.).

A variety of different IRS have been recorded throughout Canada's history. For example, in 1890, an Annual Report from the DIA stated that there were 5,649 pupils enrolled in 216 day schools, 920 pupils enrolled in 19 Industrial schools, 102 pupils enrolled in ten boarding schools, for a total of 245 schools (Department of Indian Affairs, 1890; "The Indian Report," 1891). By 1906, there were 104 schools managed by the Roman Catholic Church, 88 by the Church of England, 46 by the Methodist, 15 by the

Presbyterian, one by the Salvation Army. In addition, there were 44 non-denominational schools, for a total of 298 Indian schools (“Indians of Canada,” 1906). By 1930, there were 78 residential schools and 272 day schools, for a total of 350 schools in Canada (“Improve facilities,” 1930). The inconsistency between recently recognized IRS and the number of schools documented to have operated between 1890 and 1930 tends to obscure the true history of Canada.

Tragically, by not formally recognizing boarding schools, day schools, high schools and academies, the experience of thousands of Aboriginal peoples who attended these institutions is summarily dismissed. This also prohibits former students from participating in the IRSSA Common Experience Payment. The cruel absurdity of failing to recognize all the residential schools in Canada is explained in an interview with John Milloy, the former director of researcher with the TRC and a Trent University history professor:

I saw the numbers yesterday. There were about 92,000 people who applied for Common Experience Payments and 23,000 were rejected. Nearly a third of the people who applied are rejected So, the person who was already abused in one way now gets to be abused in another. There's 23,000 liars out there? Give me a break. (Throop & Johnson, 2010, ¶ 13)

While the number of residential schools operating in Canada remains a contentious issue, it is estimated that the IRS system saw seven generations of Aboriginal peoples during its operation, with more than 150,000 Aboriginal children across Canada attending residential schools (Legacy of Hope & Aboriginal Healing Foundations, 2011; Troniak, 2011; Walker, 2009).

2.2. Student Deaths

During the course its mandate, the TRC found that at least 3,000 children had died in IRS and that number has since been increased to include more than 4,000 children (Kennedy, 2014; Perkel, 2013). Many student deaths can be attributed to airborne diseases (Bryce 1909; Hackett, 2008; SJ 1996), malnutrition (Grant 1996, Milloy, 1999; Mosby 2013), violence and abuse (Cote, 2008; Fontaine 2010; Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003), workload and farm accidents. Moreover, it seems likely that these issues factored into the reasons why students wanted to run away, and the act of running away also caused fatalities (LeBeuf, 2011; Deiter, 1999). While government underfunding is often attributed as the single cause of high death rates among students at IRS across Canada, the reality is that student deaths were a result of interconnected factors. Even the wealthiest IRS, such as Brandon Indian Residential School were indifferent to addressing the flawed ventilation, malnutrition, violence and abuse, workload and farm accidents, and runaways.

2.2.1. Airborne Diseases

As early as 1897, the lethal danger of airborne diseases in IRS was flagged. As Clerk of the Schools Branch of the DIA, Martin Benson's memorandum to the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs described the conditions at the schools he had investigated. Benson explained that students contracted tuberculosis after only a short time living in the schools (Sproule-Jones, 1996). In addition to the airborne diseases, Benson noted that the design of the schools had failed to provide proper ventilation, adequate sanitation and the materials used in construction were of substandard quality.

All these factors aggravated airborne diseases. Seven years later, Dr. Peter Bryce, Chief Medical Officer to the Departments of the Interior and Indian Affairs, released reports on his investigation in IRS concerning the high death rates attributed to airborne diseases. These reports would shock the nation.

By 1904, Aboriginal children were in dire need of a champion to advocate for health reforms in IRS. Dr. Bryce began his work by instituting the collection of vital statistical data and monthly medical reports as part of tracking and preventing communicable diseases on-reserve. By 1907, Dr. Bryce conducted inspections of 35 IRS in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta and reported that 24% of the students in these prairie IRS were dead and more than 75% of the students at File Hill Indian residential school in Saskatchewan had died in the 16 years since the school opened (Bryce, 1922). Dr. Bryce also found that the primary cause of death was tuberculosis, caused by the completely inadequate heating and ventilation systems, poor sanitation, and a lack of medical knowledge among church officials operating schools (Bryce, 1922; Sproule-Jones, 1996). By 1913, Duncan Scott had been promoted to Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs and informed Dr. Bryce that his services were no longer needed (Bryce, 1922; Sproule-Jones, 1996).

The risk of deaths from airborne diseases in IRS was constant and for residential school students in Manitoba, the risk of contracting tuberculosis was substantially higher than the provincial average. Ross and Paine's (1939) tuberculosis survey of Manitoba IRS found that 653 of 816 (80%) students in seven provincial IRS tested positive for tuberculosis compared to the 12% - 15% average for non-Aboriginal children in Manitoba. Based on the further statistical evidence gathered from four Manitoba reserves,

it was observed that the on-reserve death rate was 1,020 per 100,000 while the death rate among non-Aboriginal communities neighbouring reserves was 59 per 100,000 (Ross & Paine, 1939). For example, in the case of Oak River Reserve (now known as Sioux Valley Dakota Nation), the death rate was 727 per 100,000 (Ross & Paine, 1939). In the mostly non-Aboriginal community surrounding the Sioux Valley First Nation, the death rate was 26 per 100,000 (Ross & Paine, 1939). While Ross and Paine (1939) acknowledge the danger of epidemic outbreaks as a result of schools admitting students with tuberculosis, they seem unwilling to consider how tuberculosis reached First Nations communities in Manitoba in the first place, and how it caused such exponential death rates. In fact, it was a consistent practice that IRS across Canada would send children infected with tuberculosis back to their communities (Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2011). As primarily an airborne disease spread through casual contact it is not surprising that First Nation communities experienced astronomical deaths rates due to tuberculosis.

2.2.2. Drivers of Contagious Diseases and Deaths

There is no doubt that the completely inadequate heating and ventilation in the IRS caused tuberculosis to become a “constant killer” along with measles, chickenpox, scarlet fever, meningitis, pneumonia and flu (Thompson, 2012). However, it is well established in the literature that airborne diseases were certainly not the only cause of student deaths in Canada’s IRS system. It seems plausible to suggest that malnutrition, violence and abuse, student workload and accidents were, in fact, the drivers of the contagious diseases. That is, malnutrition, violence and abuse, student workload and accidents, had to occur first, before students could become susceptible to diseases such as

tuberculosis, pneumonia, and meningitis (Bryce, 1909; Kelm, 1998; Milloy, 1999; TRC, 2012).

2.2.3. Malnutrition

The literature about the IRS system and first person accounts from former students indicate that malnutrition and starvation were a consistent reality for the children who attended. In addition, Aboriginal students were exposed to food that was entirely foreign as well as frequently substandard, in both quantity and quality (Grant, 1996; Miller 1996; Milloy, 1999). Documenting the rampant malnutrition and starvation in IRS, one former student, George Manual, states:

Hunger was both the first and last thing that I can remember about the school. I was hungry from the day I went to school until they took me to the hospital two and a half years later. Not just me. Every Indian student smelled of hunger. (Grant, 1996, p. 115)

Malnutrition often causes diseases to occur in the first place. As Nordqvist (2014) explains, malnutrition in children affects every part of their body and can have long-lasting repercussions. For example, malnourished children suffer from an unhealthy heart, muscle weakness, low energy, swollen bleeding gums, decaying teeth, weakened bones preventing proper growth, cracked skin increasing the risk of infection, buildup of dangerous toxins in the liver leading to kidney failure and a poor immune system (Nordqvist, 2014).

More recently Mosby's (2013) landmark article states that nutritional experiments were conducted in IRS and First Nation communities throughout Canada. As Mosby (2013) explains, leading scientists in Canada working together with Indian Affairs and Indian Health Services Branch of the Department of National Health and Welfare (now

First Nations and Inuit Health Branch), conducted nutritional experiments on already malnourished children in IRS, to learn if people just needed vitamins to live or if they needed to eat as well. These nutritional experiments were conducted within the IRS system because it provided a controlled environment for researchers to monitor and change, if necessary, what the children were given to eat. For example, Mosby (2013) explains that in Port Alberni, British Columbia, researchers dictated that these students would have a massive increase in milk, but delayed the increase for two years in order to create a base line. At the notorious IRS located in Schubencadie, Nova Scotia, federal investigators identified a lack of Vitamin A, B, C, iron, and iodine, and researchers ordered that only Vitamin C to be given to only half the students in order to assess the changes of iron levels and the health of their gums (Mosby, 2013).

2.2.4. Violence and Abuse

The two primary objectives to the IRS system in Canada were to remove and isolate Aboriginal children from the influence of their homes, families, traditions, and cultures, and to assimilate Aboriginal children into the dominant culture (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Developments Canada, 2010). The very concept of these two goals, which formed the basis of the IRS system, strips a person of their identity and isolates them from their family and culture, is in itself, violently abusive. Aside from the violence that was set up within the large scheme of the IRS system, there was also violent abuse within the individual schools that manifested itself in multiple forms of mental, emotional, spiritual, and physical abuse. A narrative from Helen Cote, who attended a

Roman Catholic residential school in Saskatchewan, relates the widespread violence that Aboriginal children suffered:

As we approached the school I became excited, talked as loudly as I could. The priest turned me over to a nun, who took me upstairs to the infirmary and took my clothes off. She went to fill a bathtub with water. She was very rough, told me to shut up and called me a dirty, filthy, little Indian. My family had never told me to shut up. When I was first told to shut up, it shocked me. Where did she get all these terrible words from? She was pulling my hair and kept telling me to shut up and to stand still. I fought back. Nobody was going to treat me like dirt. (Cote & Schissel, 2008, p. 224)

In addition to the verbal and physical violence, many students also experienced profound humiliation and degradation. Based on a series of interviews with Aboriginal peoples who survived the IRS system across Canada, the Assembly of First Nations (1994) reports that shaming, humiliation and ridicule were also forms of abuse that children experienced, including:

being punished in humiliating ways, such as being made to lick milk from a saucer on all fours, like a cat, in front of a room full of children; being made to wear soiled panties over heads because they did not wipe themselves properly; having their heads shaved because they ran away; being made to eat food that they had vomited; being forced to wear a worn sock pinned to their collar all day. (p.41)

While the overall IRS system was at its core violently abusive towards Aboriginal children, some survivors have reported on their positive experiences at these schools. For example, Mary Lou Sepass who attended the St. Mary's Indian residential school, in Mission, British Columbia from 1937 to 1948 stated:

I have no regrets going to school at St. Mary's. In fact, I feel very fortunate. Not only did I learn academics and domestic chores, I met many people [who] became a part of my life. I think of the awesome works of the priests and nuns that played a big part in my life. To them I will always be grateful. St. Mary's, to me, is a good memory, a good school. (Cited in Glavin, 2002, p. 29)

Some survivors describe their experiences at IRS as being fun or enjoyable. However, there seems to be an avalanche of literature stating IRS experiences that are in stark contrast. It has been well documented throughout the academic literature and memoirs, that violence and abuse were the primary means of erasing culture to meet the goals of assimilation (Cote & Schissel, 2008; Fontaine, 2010; Glavin, 2002; Grant, 1996; Haig-Brown, 2006; Johnston, 1988; Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1996; Schissel & Wotherspoon, 2003; Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2012).

2.2.5. Workload and Accidents

According to Milloy (1999) and Miller (1996) the original curriculum for IRS up until the 1950s was designed to provide both academic education and practical training, divided into a half day system. One portion of the school day was devoted to classroom learning which focused on reading, writing, history, geography, music and religious training, while the other portion of the day consisted of practical and vocational training, which were gender specific (Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999). Girls were taught sewing, knitting, ironing, cooking, baking, dairy milking, and gardening, while the boys were instructed in agriculture, livestock care, gardening, and carpentry (Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999). However, it is well documented in the literature that in reality, the schools depended heavily on student manual labour for the operation and maintenance of these schools (Legacy of Hope Foundation, 2014; Legacy of Hope Foundation and Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2003 & 2012; Kelm, 1998; Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2012).

For many schools, sale of agricultural and livestock goods such as milk, cream, as well as wheat and produce, were commonly required to supplement underfunded schools. This necessitated overworking students beyond daily chores to the point that they were carrying out all operations. The balance between academic and practical education was hardly maintained and it was not uncommon for desperate principals to exploit labour from older students to further benefit the school (Miller, 1996; Milloy, 1999). For example, in 1902, the exceedingly low grant provided to the Ontario Mount Elgin Indian residential school, required the principal to run a large livestock operation which was run by the students (Milloy, 1999). This practice of overworking students resulted in letter correspondence from Benson, the Clerk of the Schools Branch to the DIA explaining that the “boys of this school are not only working[,] they are being worked, and they as well as their parents know the difference, hence the numerous complaints which reach the Department of ill-treatment of the pupils” (Milloy, 1999:68). Many IRS across Canada required the forced labour that would result in a point that was akin to slavery of both Aboriginal boys and girls, to fulfill the higher goals of the Federal Government and church organizations.

2.2.6. Runaways

The forced manual and domestic labour work, malnutrition, starvation and emotional, physical, and sexual abuse were no doubt the reasons why children ran away and made daring escapes from IRS. In his book, *Indian school days*, Johnston (1988) explains that the Spanish Indian residential school, in Ontario, which he attended, held the reputation of being synonymous with “penitentiary, reformatory, exile, dungeon,

whippings, kicks, slaps, all rolled into one” (p. 6). As Milloy (1999) explains, “one of the most reliable indicators of abuse was the runaways- Hundreds of children, (. . .) fled because, as the assistant deputy of the Department explained in 1917, they were subjected to “frequent punishments” (p. 142). Running away from IRS became such a common and dangerous practice that by 1971, the DIA had “a policy on running away directed at reducing the possibility of injury and fatalities” (Milloy, 1999, p. 287).

According to LeBeuf’s (2011) report on *The role of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police (RCMP) during the Indian residential school system*, the RCMP was dedicated to searching and returning runaways back to the schools for the “protection and safety” of the students (p. 75). The RCMP intercepted children based on potential physical jeopardy as many students were injured, drowned, or died of exposure during their daring escapes from IRS across Canada (LeBeuf, 2011). Interestingly, Deiter (1999) reports that in Saskatchewan, that when an 11-year-old runaway was caught, “he was escorted back to the school by the RCMP on the train in handcuffs . . . It was common practice to have the RCMP bring back runaways” (p. 74).

2.3. Historical Context of the Brandon Indian Residential School

The BIRS was no exception to the problems that affected the overall IRS system. While the BIRS is one of 17 IRS in Manitoba to be formally recognized by the Federal Government, determining the history of the school itself was not straightforward and a variety of sources contained contradictory and misinformation about the history of the school (Aboriginal Healing Foundation, 2007). These included discrepancies about the opening of the BIRS and closing dates, the locations of the school and its lands, and

confusion surrounding names of the school. This section clarifies basic historical facts about the history of the BIRS.

2.3.1. Preparations for the Brandon Indian Residential School

Initial correspondence in 1890, reveals that the Federal Government's then Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) had allocated \$6,000.00 to the Methodist Church for the establishment of an IRS in Fisher River Cree First Nation, Manitoba (Gree, 1890). However, it was decided that the community did not have adequate agriculture and pastureland, and was not in close proximity to a settler community (Reed, 1889; Sutherland, 1890; Vankoughnet, 1889). Berens River First Nation was also mentioned as a possible location with the school acting as a catchment for the Methodist missionary work in Cross Lake, Fisher River, Nelson House, Norway House, and Oxford House (Methodist Church, 1888; Vankoughnet, 1888). However, the General Secretary of the Methodist Missionary Society, Alexander Sutherland (1890) stated, "knowing the serious disadvantages of having such an institution in or near an Indian Reserve, we ask that this one be located in southern Manitoba" (p. 1921).

Together with Sutherland, Hayter Reed, the Indian Affairs Commissioner, and Lawrence Vankoughnet, the Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, determined that if the school was to be located in southern Manitoba it would also need to be in close proximity to a settler community. The benefit of having this school situated in close proximity to a settler community is best stated by Reed (1889):

The detrimental nature of the policy of massing and herding Indians on reserves, more than is absolutely necessary, and so separating them from the most potent civilizing influences, has been recognized. The very same principal applies with regards to these institutions.

They must, if they are to effect the greatest attainable good, be placed, that as the pupils grow older, they can be placed out temporarily among settlers, or later, find permanent employment among the Whites, and so, by allowing them to mingle with the intelligence and industry of the country, assimilate them with the white population, and save them from relapsing into ignorance and barbarianism. (pp. 1912-1913)

According to Miller (1996), Hayter Reed and Methodist missionary James Woodsworth met with Brandon city leaders who were eager to establish Indian Industrial School.

Indeed the Mayor of Brandon and the President of the Board of Trade “lobbied Methodist headquarters in favor of their community as a location” and that “the city was prepared to offer a site free, on the understanding that Brandon would get replacement land from the Federal Government” (Miller, 1996, p. 177). After several sites in southern Manitoba were considered, it was decided in 1891 that the school would be located on the outskirts of the City of Brandon, next to the Experimental Farm (now the Brandon Research Centre) (Department of Indian Affairs, 1891 & 1892; “The Industrial,” 1891; “President Semmens,” 1893; Vankoughnet, 1892). By 1893, it was recorded in the Annual Reports that work on the new school near Brandon had begun (DIA, 1893). The Dominion Land Survey System in Canada situates the school on Section 28, Township 10, Range 19, west of the Primary Meridian (Cornwallis Rural Municipality, 2013).

2.3.2. Resistance to Student Recruitment

Initially, it was planned that students for the school would be recruited from northern Manitoba, and specifically the Lake Winnipeg area. This catchment area would include Berens River, Cross Lake, Fisher River, Nelson House, Norway House and Oxford House First Nations (Methodist Church, 1888; Vankoughnet, 1889). However, even before the building construction began, multiple letters were sent from these

communities to church and government officials requesting that the site of the school be located somewhere closer to their home communities. Correspondence from Chief Jacob Berens to the Methodist church requested that the site of the school be closer to Berens River First Nation to ensure that the children would remain close to their families, culture, and community. As Berens (1891) stated, “Our hearts are sad for we cannot think of sending our children away such a long distance from their people and homes, no, we love our children” (p.1996). In a letter to the DIA, Métis Indian Agent, Angus MacKay (1892) spoke on behalf of the communities of Berens River, Cross Lake, “and other Bands,” and conveyed the collective opposition to opening a school outside of Brandon, such a distance away from the communities (p. 2014). In another letter written to the DIA in response to the proposed school in Brandon, Cross Lake First Nation Chief Jacob Ross (1895) wrote with his Band counselors on behalf of their community stating:

1. We are unwilling to permit our children to go so far away from home to go so far away from home to a place which we can never hope to visit in case of their sickness or dead. If it were at Norway House, we should be glad of the opportunity but cannot consent to send them to a place unknown to any of us.
2. We have agreed also with Thomas Balfour Chief of Norway House Band that his children and ours would be better all together in a school situated at Norway House or some adjacent place on Lake Winnipeg. (p.2075)

Despite these pleas to keep their children close to home, the DIA and church officials insisted that the school would be located on the outskirts of Brandon.

2.3.3. The Brandon Indian Residential School

The first group of students to make the long journey to BIRS traveled from the communities of Berens River, Fisher River, Grand Rapids, Norway House, and Oxford House First Nations by steamer and then by car (Figure 2.1) (DIA, 1895b; “Preparations

for,” 1895). While only 35 students travelled from the Lake Winnipeg area, the school’s first official enrollment accounts for 38 students (DIA, 1895a; Semmens 1895b). This suggests that students were recruited locally to supplement attendance as soon as the school opened in 1895. By fall of this same year, the school’s enrollment had been increased to 55 students, and to minimize travel costs, local recruitment was strongly encouraged (DIA, 1895a & 1895c). Further confirmation that students were recruited locally is verified in a letter written by Martin Benson (1900), the Clerk of School Branches of Indian Affairs who stated, “the Brandon school returns show that there are sixteen Sioux Indian children on the roll, – ten boys and six girls. Six entered in ’97, four in ’98 and six in ‘99” (p. 2243).

Figure 2.1. “Principal Thompson Ferrier taking children to school, 1904. EP347, Manitoba Museum of Man and Nature” Source: United Church of Canada., n.d- a. Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2010/06/brandon-canoe-e1362409118568.jpg>
The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

Correspondence from Benson (1906) to the Deputy Superintendent General Secretary of Indian Affairs states that Principal Thompson Ferrier, the second principal of the BIRS (1899-1928), had requested permission to recruit students from southwestern Ontario (United Church of Canada, n.d-b). In his correspondence with the DIA, Ferrier (1923) states:

When we closed the Red Deer school some twenty-two pupils were transferred here with the understanding that they were to be returned when the building was completed at Edmonton. We are preparing to take these students back next week. (p.51)

Ferrier (1923) concludes his letter by requesting that 40 to 50 students be recruited from Ontario. A later correspondence from Principal John Doyle (1940a) who was the school’s

third principal (1929-1941) confirms that “About thirteen years ago the School was very short of pupils and the Department arranged to have over 40 sent from Ontario and Quebec” (p. 926). Letter correspondence from Principal Doyle (1940b) specifically notes a student ready for graduation who was recruited from the Kanesatake First Nation community in Oka, Quebec. In addition, as early as 1900, students were also being recruited from Whitecap Dakota First Nation in Saskatchewan (formerly known as Moose Woods) (DIA, 1900). By the 1930s, and possibly much sooner, children were being recruited from many different First Nations communities in Saskatchewan (Simpson, 1937). These archival documents provide evidence that Aboriginal student recruitment for the BIRS swept across the Prairie Provinces and included Alberta, Saskatchewan, Manitoba, Ontario and Quebec (Figures 2.2).

Figure 2.2. “Brandon Indian Industrial School ~ c.1902 Students and staff in front of the main building.” Source: Hillman, 1996-2013/2015.
Please see: <http://www.hillmanweb.com/brandon/13res01c.jpg>
The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

At the height of the BIRS vocational and agricultural operations in 1931, the school owned 960 acres of farm land that was used for farm and dairy training (Figures 2.3 & 2.4) (Corner stone,” 1929; “Indian Industrial,” 1913; United Church of Canada, n.d-b). Vocational and farm training was phased out by 1956 and the surrounding farm land was leased to the Brandon Research Centre (United Church of Canada, n.d-b). The school slowly began to function as a residence with students being bused into Brandon to attend a variety of different schools (Department of Indian Affairs, 1960; United Church of Canada, n.d-b). In 1969, the Federal Government assumed operation of the school and later the Oblates of Mary Immaculate operated the school until it closed in 1972 (Bond,

1967; United Church of Canada, n.d-b; Henderson's Directory 1970, 1971, 1972, 1973; United Church of Canada, 2012). Abandoned for 28 years, the former BIRS was torn down in the fall of 2000 (Nickel, 2000b).

Figure 2.3. "The Brandon Industrial Institute farm, with school building in the background."
 Source: United Church of Canada., n.d- a.
 Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1195&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

Figure 2.4. "Livestock and barns, Brandon Industrial Institute, circa 1915"
 Source: United Church of Canada., n.d- a.
 Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1197&school=brandon>
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2.4. Student Deaths at the Brandon Indian Residential School

The BIRS was not immune to the overall problems and health crisis that enveloped the IRS system. The persistent underfunding created by the per capita funding formula was evident at the BIRS as early as 1901 (MacDonald, 2008). During this time, the BIRS had a maximum building capacity of 110 students with 106 students on the register. However, the Department of Indian Affairs only provided funding for 100 pupils at \$120 per capita, which left six students without funding. Inspector Jackson (1918) of the DIA reported in 1918 that the Brandon school dormitories were crowded; some beds were only one foot apart, and that "thirty eight boys are occupying 32 beds in one room, where according to the Departmental regulations of 400 cubic feet for each pupil there should be only twenty six" (p.30). Due to a decrease in the per capita grant in 1932, Principal Doyle (1932) wrote to the DIA requesting to increase the number of students receiving grants from 160 to 165. MacDonald (2008) notes that the same issues reoccurs two years later when the per capita grants were reduced by 15%, and Principal Doyle

again requested that the student maximum be raised above capacity, from 165 to 170 students, to help fund the operations of the school.

2.4.1. Airborne Diseases

The poor building design and construction of the BIRS became apparent less than two years after the school opened. In 1897, the Clerk of School Branches of Indian Affairs, Martin Benson reported that the school had a very serious sanitation problem, that it was not easy to clean the toilets, and that the toilets released a strong stench (Milloy, 1999). As Benson further explained, the construction and conditions of the school neglected to comply with proper sanitation requirements and compromised the livelihood of the students (MacDonald, 2008; Milloy, 1999; Sproule-Jones, 1996). Unfortunately, changes and improvements were slow. For example, in 1918, Inspector Jackson reported that nothing had changed since his previous visit and complained about the quality of the BIRS hospital facility (MacDonald, 2008). According to Jackson (1918), the BIRS nurse stated that there had been five cases of pneumonia, 15 cases of the flu and 36 cases of measles, and because the hospital room was too small, sick children had to stay in their dormitory.

2.4.2. Malnutrition

Inadequate food portions, foreign food, and substandard nutritional content created the ideal conditions for malnutrition, and BIRS was no exception (Figures 2.5). Food was also used as a form of discipline, where students would be consistently denied nutrition as punishment for perceived misbehaviour (Milloy, 1999). At the BIRS,

Commissioner Forget (1896b) with the DIA in Regina, advised Principal Semmens (1895 to 1899) to deprive students of food as a means of discipline and suggested “a simple diet for a day or two” (p. 2155). One former BIRS student stated that they had been forced to eat food that was:

“prepared in the crudest of ways, and served in very unsanitary conditions... bread dipped in grease and hardened... green liver...milk that had manure in the bottom of the cans and homemade porridge that had grasshopper legs and bird droppings in it”. (Milloy, 1999, p.284)

Milloy (1999) also notes that during an investigation of the BIRS in 1947-1948, Chapman, a government dietitian, found that the school only expended “14.8 cents a day per child on food rather than what was a more reasonable figure of thirty-four cents” (p. 267). Swaile, another dietitian, described the food as being “unattractive, badly served, and insufficient in quantity for growing children with meal hours so far apart” (pp. 266-267).

Figure 2.5. “The principal and two staff supervising students in the dining hall at dinner time, Brandon Industrial Institute, Circa 1910.”
Source: United Church of Canada., n.d- a.
Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1214&school=brandon>
The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

As Mosby (2013) suggests there is no reason to suppose that the BIRS was immune to the widespread malnutrition and nutritional experiments. For example, in 1953, the carpenters at the BIRS, reported that the students were “not being fed properly to the extent that they are garbaging [*sic*] around the barns for food that should only be fed to the barn occupants” (p. 170) (Figure 2.6). Inadequate nutrition, foreign foods, substandard diet, and deplorable quality of meals and appallingly inhumane nutritional experimentation would have all contributed to student deaths. Without proper nutrition,

the bodies of these students would have stressed along with a weakened immune system, making them more susceptible to infection by pathogens and would have contributed to the high rates of infectious airborne diseases.

Figure 2.6. “Carpentry class, Brandon Industrial Institute, circa 1910”
 Source: United Church of Canada., n.d- a.
 Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1194&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

2.4.3. Violence and Abuse

At the BIRS, archival evidence reveals that discipline included sending students to jail for insubordination (Semmens, 1896b) and by being sent to the mental hospital for incorrigible behaviour (Doyle, 1938). Milloy(1996) relates the testimony of a BIRS survivor who stated he experienced “cruel disciplinary measures...such as being tied to a flag pole, sent to bed with no food, literally beaten and slapped by staff” (p. 284). In addition, there are also narratives in the community of Brandon surrounding a room specifically used for the solitary confinement of students at the BIRS. Although there seems to be very limited survivor stories published about the BIRS, the very lack of first person testimony seems to enable community members to make general statements that the BIRS was not so bad and make over simplifying assumptions about the BIRS. This is supported by survivors who provided testimony of the physical and sexual abuse they suffered while attending the BIRS. It appears that the BIRS was no exception to the violence and abuse that plagued almost every IRS in Canada.

2.4.4. Workload and Accidents

While overworking and forced labour of students has often been cited as the result of underfunding, this statement may also be an over simplification and generalization which is seemingly applied to most discussions involving residential schools across Canada. While some schools did suffer from a lack of funding, other schools prospered, but still overworked their students. The BIRS may have encountered some low economic points throughout its legacy; however, the overall wealth of the school is quickly apparent. For example, the BIRS was granted 320 acres when it was first opened in 1895, and this was substantially increased by 1913 with the acquisition of 960 acres (Department of Indian Affairs, 1896; “Indian Industrial,” 1913). To accompany the vast amount of land, a barn was built shortly after the school opened, a second barn was built around 1910, and by 1915 a large dairy barn and horse barn were also added (United Church of Canada, n.d-c). A root cellar, sheds, garages, as well as separate homes for the principal, assistant principal, farm instructor, were also built on the property (Figure 2.7) (Department of Mines and Resources Dominion Water and Power Bureau, 1947; United Church of Canada, n.d-d).

Figure 2.7. “Home of the principal of Brandon Industrial Institute, with horse and sleigh waiting, circa 1900.”
 Source: United Church of Canada., n.d-a.
 Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1171&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

The accumulation of dairy cows, horse, hog, poultry, agricultural and vegetable gardens would also have provided additional revenue. For example, in 1912, Principal Ferrier wrote to the Department of Indian Affairs stating:

Farm and Garden. –This year has been the best of any of our preceding seasons, the yield being as follows: –

Wheat, red Fife, 22 acres, 646 bushels; Marquis wheat, 9¼ acres, 371 bushels; oats, 33¼ acres, 2,019 bushels; barley, 14 acres, 595 bushels; corn, 13 acres, fodder, 80 tons and 650 dozen ears table corn; potatoes, 10½ acres, 4,000 bushels; turnips, 3 acres, 4,000 bushels, carrots, mangles and sugar-beets, 4 acres, 1,550 bushels; hay, alfalfa, millet and timothy, 30 acres, 64 tons; hog pasture rape and green oats 20 acres; fruit, 1000 pounds; onions, 80 bushels; parsnips, 270 bushels; cucumber, citron and squash, 150 bushels; green peas, 30 bushels, cabbage and cauliflower, 1,300 heads; beef, 4,950 lbs (1911-1912); cream, 16,910 lbs. (Department of Indian Affairs, 1912, p.524)

Given the number of students, to operate such an unnecessarily large and expansive agricultural farm would have required the students to work well beyond the proposed half day system. In fact, the forced manual labour for both the boys and the girls would have violated the half day system to the point of treating the students like indentured slaves (Figure 2.8 & 2.9).

Figure 2.8. “Sewing class, Brandon Industrial Institute, circa 1900”
Source: United Church of Canada., n.d-a.
Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1185&school=brandon>
The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

Figure 2.9. “Boys harvesting carrots, with their instructor watching, Brandon Industrial Institute, 1902”
Source: United Church of Canada., n.d-a.
Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1189&school=brandon>
The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

It was also common practice at the BIRS for young female students to be sent to the homes of the school principals to be domestic servants. This practice was reported by Principal Semmens (1895) during his time at the school from 1895 to 1899, by Principal Doyle (1940b) during his time at the school from 1929 to 1941, and is further verified by two women who participated in the interviews with me. Other archival documents

suggest that female graduates were placed into the homes of prominent families and sometimes were sent as far away as Ontario to work and live in the homes of university professors (Doyle, 1937; Hoey, 1940).

Students were required to work with dangerous equipment and livestock, and injuries, broken bones and lost limbs were not unusual (Figures 2.10) (Puxley, 2014). According to Miller (1996), the extensive manual labour and domestic service often left students unsupervised. As a result, tragic farm accidents occurred, such as the case at the BIRS in 1949, when one boy fell off the tractor and was killed (Davis, 1949).

Figure 2.10. “Student handling a bull, Brandon Industrial Institute, circa 1910”
 Source: United Church of Canada., n.d-a.
 Please see: <http://thechildrenremembered.ca/photos/?id=1220&school=brandon>
 The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

2.4.5. Runaways

At the BIRS, daring escapes, student running away, and truancy were not reported in the early history of the school. However, Miller (1996) and Milloy (1999) both discuss the runaway situation in Brandon during the 1940s and 1950s and particularly during the time of Principal Strapp (1944 to 1955) (United Church of Canada, n.d-b). According to Miller (1996) Principal Strapp “punished a chronic deserter who refused to promise not to run away again by locking him in his dormitory without his clothing, it provoked intervention by the premier of Saskatchewan, from whose province the recalcitrant came” (p. 325). Milloy (1999) also confirms that in 1946, the Premier of Saskatchewan, Tommy Douglas Saskatchewan wrote to J.A. Glen the Minister of the Department of Mines and Resources, as he was “concerned that children from Moose Mountain Reserve, near Carlyle, Saskatchewan, who had run off from the school complaining of

the food and mistreatment, might, if they ran off again, injure themselves” (p. 265).

Premier Douglas’s intervention caused a series of investigations with the RCMP and the Regional Inspector of Indian schools, G.H. Marcoux reported that the Brandon principal was to blame for everything (Milloy, 1999). According to LeBeuf’s (2011) assessment report, in 1951 alone, the RCMP reported an exceptional number of students, totaling 25 both male and female, who had run away from the BIRS.

The BIRS was also no exception to the tragic student deaths that plagued IRS throughout Canada. As this review of literature indicates, the cause of student deaths is attributed to multiple causal factors including airborne diseases, malnutrition, starvation, violence and abuse, workload, and accidental deaths (Fournier and Crey, 2011; Sproule-Jones., 1996; Hackett, 2008; Kelm, 1998; Miller, 1996; Milloy 1999). Brining Aboriginal children to IRS created transmission of infectious diseases that did not exist before the creation of IRS. In addition, Milloy’s (1999) critical analysis suggests, student deaths at IRS were much more complicated than the spread of infectious airborne diseases. While antibiotics were not available, good nutrition, adequate work conditions, isolation of the sick students may have resulted in fewer deaths. It seems that if student deaths are solely attributed to infectious airborne diseases, then the government and churches are not to blame and student deaths as a result of malnutrition, starvation, violence and abuse, workload, and accidental deaths is downplayed and obscured.

2.5. The Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada

On June 11, 2008, Prime Minister Stephen Harper made an official apology to those who attended Indian residential schools in Canada (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010). The Prime Minister's apology stemmed from the largest class action suit in Canadian legal history to date. The Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (IRSSA) came into effect on September 19, 2007 (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010). According to Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada (2014), this Settlement Agreement contains five elements designed to "address the legacy of the Indian residential school system" (p.2) and includes:

- Common Experience Payment (CEP). Former students of Indian residential schools who attended a recognized Indian residential school and were alive as of May 20, 2005 are eligible to receive a Common Experience Payment from the Federal Government in recognition of the harms they experienced. The payment provides \$10,000 for the first year and \$3,000 for each additional year of attending the residential school. Those who are 65 years or older are eligible to apply for advance payment until December 31, 2006.
- Independent Assessment Process (IAP). Former students can pursue resolution for claims of sexual abuse, serious physical abuse and other harms through this revised adjudication process. Screened claimants who have settled through the former Alternative Dispute Resolution process may apply for adjustment base on the new IAP compensation criteria.
- Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). A five-year, community-based TRC will provide culturally safe settings for former students to tell their stories. Public awareness will be achieved through seven national events and establishing an historical record including survivor narratives and archival research.
- Healing Funding will receive an endowment of \$125 million for the next five years to continue its work in supporting community-based healing programs.
- Funds set aside for national and commemoration projects.

2.5.1 The Creation of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

On April 28, 2008, Justice Harry LaForme was appointed as Chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and the Assembly of First Nations appointed Claudette Dumont-Smith and Jane Brewin Morely as Commissioners for a five year mandate and a \$60 million budget (Changfoot, 2009; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, n.d-a). However, the fragile process of truth and reconciliation was quickly derailed. In less than six months after his appointment, Justice LaForme suddenly resigned on October 20, 2008. In his letter of resignation to Chuck Strahl, the Minister of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, LaForme described the commission as being “on the verge of paralysis” with conflicting interpretations of the TRC’s mandate and political interference (LaForme, 2008).

The reformation of the TRC was led by Honourable Justice Murray Sinclair, with Marie Wilson and Chief Wilton Littlechild as Commissioners (“A timeline,” 2008). John Milloy from Trent University was appointed the Director of Research and was responsible for the historical records and report preparation (Milne, n.d.). Milloy was hopeful that the TRC would locate all the cemeteries, and stated that:

We're also hoping to find hard evidence of who's buried in those cemeteries so we can provide that information to families. That's why we're doing it — to serve the interests, the healing and the psychological well-being of families of children who went to the schools. (“Residential school,” 2010, ¶7)

Milloy was given a budget of \$1.5 million and was further responsible for searching the “archives for names of missing children and locations of graveyards, which will then be scanned by archeologists using ground-proofing X-ray equipment” (Milne, n.d.). Currently, it seems to be unknown to what extent the TRC was able to complete its goal of locating and surveying Indian residential school graveyards.

2.5.2. The Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials

According to the TRC (2012) Interim Report, Jim Prentice, then Minister of Indian and Northern Affairs Canada requested that the mandate include a Missing Children and Unmarked Graves Project, and in 2007 the *Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials* was created (Curry, 2009). The Working Group “engaged the expertise” of Milloy and identified four fundamental questions that needed to be addressed during the research into missing children and unmarked graves (TRC, n.d-n.). These questions included: investigating how many students died, why they died, where they were buried and accounting for children who went missing (TRC, n.d-n.). To complete this research, the Working Group identified archival data and survivor testimonies as two necessary sources of information. According to Changefoot (2009), there was a sense of urgency to obtain this information as “about 80,000 of the approximate 150,000 aboriginal children who attended residential schools are still alive and it is estimated that five or six die every day” (p.5). From the Working Group’s recommendations the TRC launched the *Missing Children Research Project* (Boiteau, 2013; Curry & Friesen, 2009; “Residential school,” 2010).

However, Milloy, the Director of Research for the TRC became quickly frustrated with the massive restrictions in accessing archival records. For example, Milloy explained that at one archive, he had identified a list of student deaths from the finding aid, but was restricted from seeing the actual document (Milne, n.d.). Milloy later resigned from his position as Director of Research, and was replaced by Paulette Regan “a senior program adviser with an academic background in residential schools research” (Curry, 2010, ¶11).

To lead and manage the project and investigation, the TRC then appointed Alex Maass “a former Indian Affairs civil servant who is an anthropology expert on gravesites” (Paul, 2011, ¶12). The goals of the Missing Children Project are outlined in a TRC (2010a) newsletter that states:

The Missing Children’s research project will produce as complete as possible a list of children who died at school and the cause of their deaths. It will also document those children who never returned to their home communities. The Project will also locate school burial sites and cemeteries where it is likely that many of these children were buried. (p. 3)

At the Canadian Archaeological Association Conference held in Halifax 2011, Alex Maass and Dr. Eldon Yellowhorn, from Simon Fraser University, presented a paper on the *Indian Residential Schools Cemeteries and Unmarked Graves Project* and the work they planned to complete. In an abstract of the conference program Maass and Yellowhorn (2011) state:

Working with Aboriginal organizations, the government, and the churches that ran the schools, we will locate burials and cemeteries associated with the schools across Canada where many of these children were buried. Our research will make use of oral testimony and archival documents, as well as standard archaeological research methodologies. Once possible grave sites are located using archival and oral sources, groundtruthing will be conducted in consultation with local First Nations communities.

While the goals of the Missing Children Project was to create a list of students who died, determine the cause of death, and to locate burials and cemeteries using archival documentation, survivor testimony and archaeological search methods, the research process was neither simple or straightforward.

2.5.3. Challenges of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission

The TRC was confronted with enormous obstacles throughout its mandate, which extended to the process of attaining archival documents from the Federal Government. It

was not until April 2010, two years into the TRC's five year mandate, that the TRC slowly began to receive federal documents (Perkel, 2013). By December 2012, the TRC was forced to take the Federal Government to court over the lack of documentation provided and a disagreement surrounding the definition of "relevant documents" (Berry, 2012; TRC, 2012; Woods, 2013a). On January 30, 2013, the Ontario Superior Court Judge, Justice Stephen Goudge, ruled in favour of the TRC, and stated that the Federal Government had to provide more than the active files, and that they must also provide all relevant documents, including those documents located at Library and Archives Canada (Galloway, 2013; "Ottawa ordered," 2013; Woods, 2013a). According to Galloway (2013), the Federal Government holds an enormous volume of records and notes that "It is estimated that millions of school-related documents in the archives could occupy 6.5 kilometres of shelf space, and finding them could cost as much [as] \$100-million" (p.1). Similar findings were reported by Smith (2013) who notes that "Library and Archives Canada estimated relevant documents could stretch for 20 kilometers and would take about \$40 million and a decade to retrieve and digitize them all" (p.1). The TRC requires all these relevant documents to determine how many students died, their cause of death, and their burial locations. Given this volume of archival documents, the mandate of the TRC has been extended until June 30, 2015 ("Timeline of," 2014; "TRC given," 2013; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, n.d-f). Even with this extension, the TRC has little chance of sorting through these vast amounts of files, let alone compile a complete history of the Canadian IRS system.

A second challenge of the TRC was to collect survivor stories across Canada. One of the goals was to create a safe space for survivors to provide their testimonies and

create public awareness in Canada. The TRC gathers statements in written form, or by video and audio recording (TRC, n.d-i & n.d-g). The statements are also gathered in three ways; privately, or in public sharing panels and sharing circles. Those who provided their statements in private were required to choose one of two privacy levels (TRC, 2012). The first and most rigid option restricts the statement to the standards of the Federal Government Privacy Act, while the second option allows the TRC to use their statements as a teaching tool and potentially share it with the greater public.

While the second privacy option allows third party access, the TRC and the National Research Centre, located at the University of Manitoba reserves the right to restrict access to collected statements (Rabson, 2013). According to a blog set up by Jesse Boiteau (2013), a Masters student specializing in Indigenous Archiving at the University of Manitoba, “certain records will be restricted and require special permission for access (the protocols around access to restricted records are currently in the works)” (¶1). While the accessibility level to the TRC has yet to be determined, it seems probable to suspect, given the preceding interactions with the Federal Government, that the conditions will be very rigid. However, at the same time, the TRC hopes that families, friends and communities will use the information at the National Research Centre to determine what happened to their children (TRC, n.d-m).

A third challenge of the TRC is locating IRS cemeteries, unmarked graves and missing children. Recently, the TRC (n.d-l) has developed a specific webpage for the Missing Children Project. If a survivor has access to a computer and internet, the TRC website has a tab devoted to the Missing Children Project and encourages individuals to provide information about a known dead or disappeared child who attended IRS. The

TRC can also receive this information by telephone, mail, email or fax. Currently, individuals can complete an online *missing child or unmarked graves report* which asks for information about the child and the possible location of their grave (TRC, n.d-n).

In an online article, Alex Maass, lead archaeologist of the Missing Children's Project, stated that the TRC "suffers from a chronic lack of funding" and according to Maass, the Missing Children Project first identifies the names of students who died in the archival records and secondly, attempts to locate the graves at the site (Thomson, 2012).

In the discussion of the physical location of graves, Maass stated:

That second step of doing the ground-penetrating radar is not something that we're funded to do... There are approximately 140 schools on the list now.... There will be probably as many cemeteries as there are schools, and in five years we just don't have the time to do an in-depth investigation of each one of them. (Thomson, 2012, p. 22)

According to Maass, the progress of the Missing Children Project is restricted by underfunding and time limitations.

Summary

This chapter examined the creation and operations of the IRS system in Canada and the consequences of forced student recruitment, underfunding and flawed building designs which all contributed to high rates of airborne diseases in schools. In addition, this chapter explored factors which are generally overlooked or simplified including, malnutrition, violence and abuse, workload, runaways and accidents which also contributed to student deaths across Canada. A brief history of the BIRS was provided which discussed the date of the schools operation (1895-1972), location of the school, resistance to student recruitment and examples of the sweeping student recruitment

across the Prairie Provinces. Similarly, case example of direct causes and drivers behind student deaths at the BIRS were discussed. Finally, this chapter presented the TRC's Working Group on Missing Children and Unmarked Burials mandate and the challenges confronted while investigating unmarked graves and burial grounds of IRS across Canada.

In chapter three, I outline the research methods used to conduct an investigation of unmarked graves and burial grounds at the BIRS. Here, I describe the archival process and the search for related records such as cartographic documents, cemetery maps, historical and contemporary aerial photographs, correspondence records such as letters from the BIRS Principals to the DIA, and burial registries or death certificates. I discuss how I incorporated participant interviews into my research for a richer deeper understanding and insight into the BIRS. I describe the application of mixed forensic search methods which were tailored to each site to increase the success rate of locating burial grounds and unmarked graves.

Chapter 3

Research Methods

My research into missing children and unmarked burials at the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS) utilized three methods: archival research, participant interviews and forensic field methods. Archival methods were used to identify the children who died while attending the BIRS and those students who died away from the school, for example in sanatoriums, hospitals or, in transit to/from the school. Archival methods were also used to gain insight into the historical protocols surrounding deaths and burials at the BIRS. Participant interviews were conducted to gain rich first-hand knowledge and deeper understandings about student deaths at the BIRS and how burials at the school were conducted. The field methods included forensic surveys methods such as field walking, field probing, visual assessments and non-invasive geophysical technologies. While there were three distinct methods used during this research process, they are all interrelated. For example, historic aerial maps were consulted during the interviews, the location building foundations during the field survey provided insight to understanding land-use during the interviews, and both archival references and survivor testimonies of burial grounds and unmarked graves informed the field searches.

This type of interconnected research methodology can only be successfully completed by employing a community-based approach. The strengths of community-based research are evident in all three research methods and it is important to emphasize that the continued support of individuals and groups within the community was

invaluable to the completion of this project. The purpose of this chapter is to clarify the history and location of the BIRS burial grounds and outline the research process and methods used during this project. If guidelines are established and search strategies replicable, then the restoration, commemoration and protection of Indian residential school unmarked graves and burial grounds can hopefully be completed nationwide.

3.1. Archival Research Methods

Historic documentation of student deaths at the BIRS should be held with an archival record holder. The purpose of the archival research was threefold. First, archival research was used to locate the BIRS student records and identify students who died. Second, the archival research was used to determine the protocols that the BIRS Principal and the Indian Agent would have used in the event of a death of a child, along with the Provincial and Municipal regulations surrounding registration of deaths. Third, the archival research was used to locate background information about the BIRS burial grounds, which could be referenced during the field survey, such as letter correspondence referencing the location of a burial ground.

The primary archival search began by consulting the United Church of Canada Archives located in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Unfortunately, the archive held only a limited amount of records from the BIRS. The lack of records could be the result of misfiling, misplaced, or destroyed records. Therefore, the search for records was expanded. This required identifying records that may have been held by other agencies and regulatory bodies to which the school reported and interacted with at the federal, provincial and municipal levels.

3.1.1. Death Occurring at the Brandon Indian Residential School

The procedures and protocols surrounding death are dictated by regulations set out by the province and the municipality. In the case of the BIRS, its location on the outskirts of the City of Brandon, within the boundaries of the Rural Municipality of Cornwallis, meant that it should have reported to Cornwallis who would then forward the information to the Province as required by law (MacDonald, 2008). According to MacDonald's (2008) report, registration of a death in Manitoba was required by the Vital Statistics Act of 1891 and the Agriculture, Statistics and Health Act of 1883. These provincial legislations required any death in a municipality to be registered with the municipal clerk with a death certificate completed by a physician (MacDonald, 2008). Legally, a burial could not take place until a receipt of registration was received from the municipal clerk (MacDonald, 2008). Clergy who performed the funeral service also had to forward a report of death to the municipality and were required to keep a burial register (MacDonald, 2008). Once the death certificate was received, the municipal clerk would forward the certificate of death to the province where they "were to be arranged, bound, indexed and kept in the archives of the Agriculture Department" (MacDonald, 2008, p.2). This protocol seems to have been infrequently followed at the BIRS as only nine student deaths were found to be registered with the Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba (2014). The information that was available was limited and vague. For example, the place of burial was listed as Brandon or Cornwallis and no cemetery name was provided. The lack of information is probably not due to privacy regulations, but the result of the time period where only limited information was mandatory, such as name, age and date of death (D. Haglund, personal communication, April 11, 2013).

3.1.2. Death Occurring Away from the Brandon Indian Residential School

The search for archival records was not limited to burial protocols at the BIRS. The purpose of the search also included records related to deaths occurring away from the BIRS. As the records indicate, students at the BIRS who became severely sick were sent away for treatment to a number of hospitals and sanatoriums in the surrounding area (Department of Mines and Resources, 1941; Doyle, 1940). The physicians at the sanatorium or hospital would have documented these deaths. However, the legal channel to access these records proved insurmountable given the time restraints and financial challenges. For example, I was told by the Brandon Regional Hospital that to access BIRS records would require hiring a lawyer. Children who became sick while attending the BIRS were also often sent home and later died in their communities (Department of Indian Affairs, 1898b, 1901a, 1901b, & 1902; Roy, 2012).

It is important to identify how many students died at the school and how many died away from the school. It is likely that some students, who were sent for tuberculosis treatment near Brandon and died, were returned to the BIRS to be buried on the school grounds (Doyle, 1940). However, children who were sent farther away from the BIRS for treatment and died were simply discharged from the BIRS, and it is not likely that they were returned to be buried on the school grounds (Department of Mines and Resources, 1943). It is unknown where these children were buried; however, it is likely that they were buried in the hospital or sanatorium cemetery. The objectives of the research as outlined in Chapter 1, were to determine the number of students who died at the BIRS, and those who died while away receiving treatment, but were returned to be buried on

school grounds. Using archival records assisted with the field survey so that total numbers of students buried on the school property was not over or under estimated.

3.1.3. Local Knowledge

Historical inaccuracies confound our understanding about the burial grounds used by the BIRS. Conflicting information surrounds the number of the cemeteries, the location of the cemeteries, if they are mass burial grounds, or if they even existed. In the community of Brandon, there are also multiple narratives about the BIRS cemeteries. Comments posted to eBrandon, an online community forum, reveal a diversity of narratives about the BIRS and the burial grounds:

At a family gathering a few weeks ago I got a bit of a history lesson on my family. My great grandfather attended the industrial school in the early 1900s. We were informed that there is a cemetery at the site. We did not ask for much information on it. We went for a hike trying to find the cemetery to no avail. Does anyone know if it actually exists, if its marked and where it is located in relation to the building (north, west, etc.)? (Creeping, 2012).

site does exist, but it is not well marked. If you head up from the ball diamond near the road, and drive along the road until you reach the remains of the main building get out and hike North and a little west you should find it. You may need to wait 'till spring now though because as I said it is not well marked and there aren't many "grave stones" that you'd be able to spot in the snow (Happy Trails, 2012)

...I remember going on walks with the students, and on one of the walks a few of them were talking about the grave site as we went by it. If my memory serves me correctly, it was west and a little bit north of the building. This would have been 1962-63 (Selah, 2012)

I do believe the graves are sitting North by North/West of what remains of the main building (foundation). It's been a long time since I trespassed up there (1980's), I grew up nearby and a lot has changed. In my time as a kid, stories were told that the graves are behind (North) the greenhouse in the woods. Not much for markers then, probably nothing at all now. I would suggest to approach Indian Affairs and get a copy of the site map of the old school buildings. Sorry, I'm not

much help (Snowman5, 2012).

I have met people who claim to have the names of the deceased but I have never seen the list. I have heard that six individuals are buried there. Maybe the Genealogical Society has the list (Booth, 2012).

... though I am pretty sure there are unmarked graves up there, as well as curbs, turtle crossing. Those are marked now I believe (Prairieboy, 2009).

These online posts give a sense of the general confusion in Brandon surrounding the locations of the cemeteries, the condition of the cemeteries, and how many individuals are buried within these cemeteries. Interestingly, the misinformation appears to extend from one main source, this report was written by Ruth Tester (1979) of the Manitoba Genealogical Society. This report was widely distributed to multiple record holders and seems to be a central source of confusion surrounding the history of the BIRS and the school burial grounds.

3.1.4. Search Description

My search for archival records about the missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS began during my 2012 internship with the United Church of Canada in partnership with the Young Canada Works Program. Under the mentorship of my archival supervisor Diane Haglund, I began to formally contact record holders in the Brandon area, including the Brandon School Division, the Western Manitoba Regional Library, the Daly House Museum, and the Brandon Cemetery. With the help of individuals within these local record holders' institutions, this information was made accessible through a variety of formats including microfilm, books, on-line databases, newspapers, and church registries (Appendix A).

3.2. Participant Interview Research Methods

The purpose of the participant interviews was to gain firsthand knowledge and understandings of the lived experiences of students who attended the BIRS. This was made possible by a network of connections with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation and Brandon University Faculty members. I began by exploring the many community-based stories about unmarked graves that had been circulating in the community of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation for a number of years. Therefore, the principal purpose for the participant interviews was to discuss student deaths, burial grounds and unmarked graves at the BIRS along with missing children and sick children who were sent away for treatment. These participant interviews also included conversations about their first day at the BIRS, their day-to-day routines, the treatment they received, and discussions about the layout of the school buildings and property. The purpose of reviewing the school grounds with the interview participants was to delineate the uses, changes, and development of the school property. Once the parameters of the property were determined, possible search areas for unmarked graves were made possible.

3.2.1. Interview Method

In the spring of 2012, ethics approval for the five participant interviews was received from the University of Manitoba, Joint-Faulty Research Ethics Board and Sioux Valley Dakota Nation Chief (Appendix B). Throughout the process of planning, initiating, and contacting BIRS survivors, I maintained ongoing consultation and communication with Elder Kevin Tacan, an invaluable source of insight, understandings, and humour throughout the process. To begin the participant interviews, purposive or

snowball sampling was used as the most effective technique to recruit information-rich key participants (Creswell, 2009; Patton, 2002). Contacts were made through Elder Tacan, participant referrals, community networks, and a chance encounter at public event.

The introductory meeting was done over the telephone, by email, or in person. During these conversations I would explain the research project, provide information on university ethics requirements and answer any questions they had about the interview process. I further explained that they would have the opportunity to remove or edit anything they had told me and that if they wanted to, they could drop out of the study at anytime and that the information they had provided would be destroyed.

Meeting times were always arranged at the convenience and discretion of the participants. Interviews ranged in length from one or two hours and I received permission from each participant to take hand written notes during our conversations. A common question was about choosing a pseudonym, which was designed to protect their privacy, however, all of the participants did not want to choose one and asked me to make one for them, and some did not want their names removed from their stories. Formally, I had prepared an interview package which contained a brief overview of the research project, a voluntary personal information sheet, and an outline of how ongoing consent would be confidentiality maintained (Appendix C).

3.3. Field Research Methods

There are distinct differences between cemeteries and burial grounds. Rugg (2000) defines a burial ground as being small, informal, “dedicated to the use of specific minority groups within the community” where it may have a defined “boundary or formal internal structure” and “the ground may only be regarded as sacred by the minority community, and can be vulnerable to destruction” (pp. 266-267). In contrast, a cemetery is defined as a specific type of burial space which has “four interlinked features: physical characteristics; ownership and meaning; the site’s relationship to personal and community identities; and sacredness” (p. 272). For instance, cemeteries have “defined physical perimeters and are organized in such a way that enables users to locate a specific grave” (Rugg, 2000, p. 262). Since the characteristics of the graves at the BIRS accurately meet Rugg’s (2000) definition of a burial ground, this thesis will refer to the school’s cemeteries as burial grounds.

3.3.1. Forensic Field Surveys

To complete this work, non-invasive forensic field search methods were employed. Prior to any field work, Elder Tacan performed a smudge on school property with field workers. In addition, continued consultation and communication with partners such as Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, RCMP, Brandon Research Centre, and City of Brandon was maintained. Following forensic search methods recommended by Burns (2007) Conner (2007) Dupras, Schultz, Wheeler, and Williams (2006), Holland and Connell (2008), Hunter and Cox (2005), Killam (2004), unmarked graves and burial grounds and at the BIRS were investigated. There was one control site and four search

sites including; Brandon Municipal Cemetery, Assiniboine River Burial Ground, North Hill Burial Ground, North-East Fields, and the East Hill. An overview map (Figure 3.1) of Brandon and the surrounding area details the location of these five sites in the same plan view. Photographs of the field survey methods are located in Appendix D.

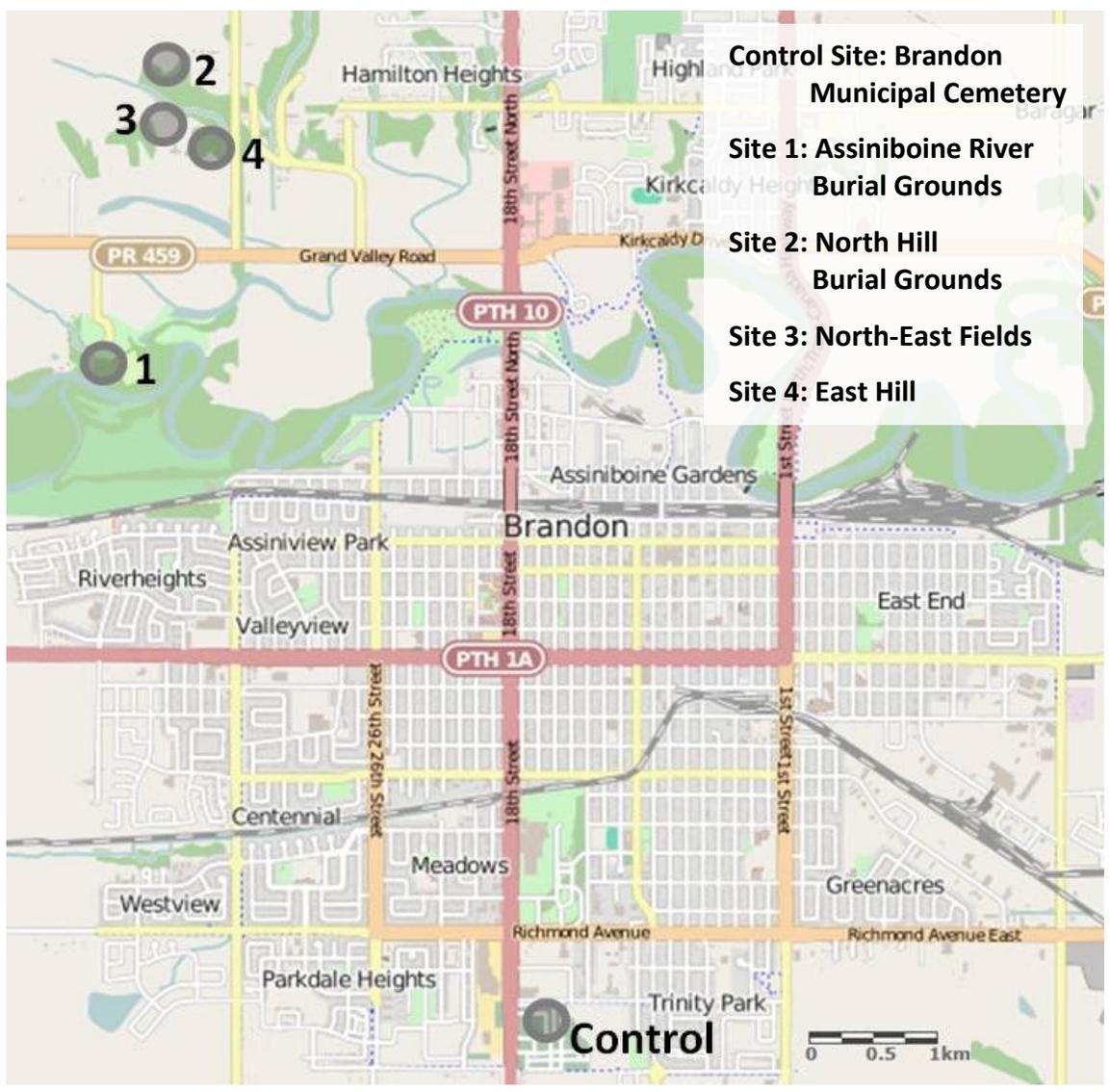


Figure 3.1. Map of the Forensic Survey Sites in Brandon, Manitoba.
Map Source: City of Brandon, 2015

3.3.2. Forensic Survey Methods

The purpose of the survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery was to test the reliability of the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) to detect historic children's graves which were not associated with the BIRS. The purpose of the surveys at the BIRS property was to identify unmarked graves and I employed a number of different search methods to assist with this search. For example, at site 3, a controlled burn was completed at the North-East Fields in order to reveal depressions visually indicative of an unmarked grave. I also included the survey methods of reconnaissance, field walking, probing, visual search indicators, site preparations, mapping, control burns, geophysical surveys and aerial photography. By using a mixed methods approach and tailoring forensic field search methods to each site, maximized the identification and location of both marked and unmarked graves.

3.3.2.1. Site Reconnaissance

Preliminary field reconnaissance was valuable as each search area was unique and required strategic planning to optimize safety, volunteers, time, equipment, and to determine which forensic search methods and technologies would be the most applicable to ensure an effective and successful search (Burns, 2007; Conner, 2007; Dupras, Schultz, Wheeler, & Williams, 2006; Hunter & Cox, 2005 Morse, Duncan, & Stoutamire, 1983). Reconnaissance was used to assess the condition of the site and to prepare the site for additional survey methods. It was also used to locate historical features, spring/water system, farming equipment, dirt roads, and fences. Knowledge of the landscape was very useful when historical and current aerial photographs were consulted.

3.3.2.2. Field Walking and Probing

Field walking allowed for the assessment of differential vegetation growth and soft spots over a large area. Differential soil compaction is a common search technique which often indicates disturbed soils and the potential for a grave. Probe searches were a fast, inexpensive and least technical of all the search methods to test the ground surface for resistance/compaction (Holland & Connell, 2008). Field walking and probing narrowed the search area to particular locations worth further investigation.

3.3.2.3. Site Preparation

Depending on the area, preparation of the sites were either minimal or a very large undertaking. Preparations ranged from cutting the grass inside the survey area to cutting grass around the perimeter of the control burn area. Clearing the area for the Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and Electro-magnetic ground conductivity (EM38) surveys also required clipping overgrown hawthorn branches. The equipment used to prepare the site was donated in kind from the Department of Anthropology at Brandon University and from Dr. Frank and Joanne Nichols.

3.3.2.4. Visual Search Indicators

Visual search methods were useful at every site to help identify graves and changes to the landscape over time. Soil depressions are often indicative of soil disruption as a result of excavating and backfilling graves. Graves are often characterized by soft soil compaction, invasive vegetation, or a distinct change in vegetation colour. Throughout the search, crosses, headstones and soil depressions were inventoried. The

perimeters of the visual depressions were outlined with bamboo skewers and coloured flagging tape. The depressions associated with a cross were marked using orange flagging tape, while depressions not associated with a cross were marked using yellow flagging tape. In some cases, depressions were not visible around the location in association with the cross.

3.3.2.5. Control Burns

Control burns are not common in forensic searches because the burn destroys the distinctive vegetation growth of the burial area. However, in historic cases, control burns serve as an important search technique for large heavily overgrown search areas. In some cases the technique not only narrows a large search area to a smaller area of interest, but can also lead to the identification of specific features. Conveniently, the depressions at the site were accentuated when the fall leaves fell into the pits and outlined the perimeter of the depressions.

3.3.2.6. Mapping

Mapping was done in a variety of ways during different stages of the surveys. Initially, sketch maps and baseline mapping were completed to create plan views of visible depressions and wooden crosses. In the later stages of the search, depending on availability, topographical survey equipment was used to collect detailed information about the sites. These types of surveys measure the elevation, direction, and distance of a particular feature and can be used to create a precise three-dimensional map. An Altus, model type APS-3, high precision satellite receiver GNSS (Global Navigation Satellite

System) was used to capture headstones at site 1, and only required one operator. This technology allows for extremely precise data points with its high precision satellite receiver Global Navigation Satellite System (Altus Positioning Systems, 2014). A Nikon Nivo™ 5.M Series Total Station was used to capture the contour surface of sites 2 and 3. The data points collected were downloaded and imported into Arch Maps 10.1 software program. Global Positioning co-ordinates (UTM) of potential graves were also collected at each site.

3.3.2.7. Aerial Photography

Historic and current aerial photographs were compared to identify changes to the landscape and help narrow areas of interest. In certain cases aerial photographs clearly showed differential colour changes in the vegetation or depressions reflecting the distribution of the possible grave sites. Aerial photographs were optimally collected around dawn or dusk. Current aerial photographs were also used in the data analysis stage where the results of the geophysical amplitude maps were superimposed to further assist with the identification of graves.

Historic aerial photographs were obtained from Maps Sales Canada in Winnipeg, Manitoba. Current aerial photographs were obtained by renting a *Cessna 1-72* from the Brandon Flying Club and the BIRS sites were photographed by a professional photographer. Aerial photographs were also obtained using an Unmanned Aerial Vehicle (UAV) Fusion 50, and 7D cannon camera. The UAV survey required one operator, one photographer, one observer.

3.3.2.8. Soil Profile

Soil properties affect the reflection of the radio waves emitted by the GPR technology (Sensors and Software, 2014) and the ground conductivity for the EM38 (Geonics Limited, 2013). Clay, water table and metal debris all affect the depth and quality of the reflection. It was important to determine whether the soil would be conducive to these geophysical technologies prior to any surveys. The soil probe's maximum core length was 35 cm with a small diameter measuring 1.75 cm. Core samples were taken at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery (control site) and the North Hill Burial Ground (site 2).

3.3.2.9. Metal Detector Survey

Due to the large amounts of historic garbage at site 3, a metal detector survey was used to help estimate the amount of metal buried in the ground. It is an inexpensive and quick way of determining if there are significant amounts of metal buried under the surface which would cause interference with the GPR survey. The metal detector search revealed that the depressions were packed with historic metal starting at the surface and continuing several inches below. Based on the results of the metal detector search, it was concluded that a GPR survey of the depressions would yield ambiguous data.

3.3.2.10. Ground Penetrating Radar

Grids were prepared to allow the GPR and EM38 survey to be conducted effectively. In a forensic context, GPR has been used since the 1970s to detect buried remains according to Dupras, Schultz, Wheeler and Williams (2006). Alongi (1973) was

one of the first to demonstrate that GPR could detect a buried dog remains and further suggested that GPR could be employed to detect human remains. The applications of GPR technology is now used in locating archaeological sites and in searches for clandestine graves in the field (Bevan, 1991; Buck, 2003; Dupras, Schultz, Wheeler, & Williams, 2006; Holland & Connell, 2005; Hunter & Cox, 2008; Killam, 2004).

A Noggin 500 MHz GPR with SmartCart from Sensors and Software® was used for the geophysical survey and was operated by a member from the RCMP Parkland Detachment Forensic Identification Unit (Figure 3.2). The GPR survey ranged from seven to five feet in depth. The GPR transmits a radio wave into the ground and the pulse is reflected back to the antenna depending on the soils chemical and physical properties (see Figure 3.3). The echoes are recorded and an image is built in real time and viewed on the screen (see Figure 3.4).



Figure 3.2. Noggin 500 MHz GPR with SmartCart from Sensors and Software®
Photo Credit: Author

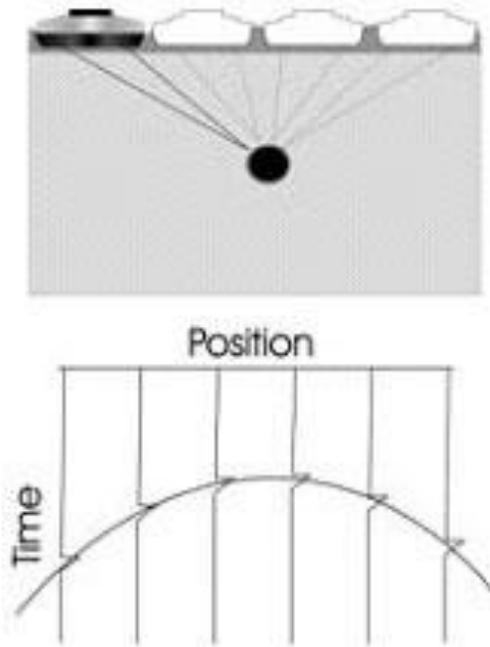


Figure 3.3. Detecting Buried Objects with GPR Equipment.
 “1. Emits weak radio frequency signals;
 2. Detects the echoes sent back and uses them to build an image;
 3. Displays signal time delay and strength.”
 Source: Sensors and Software, 2014, ¶ 3

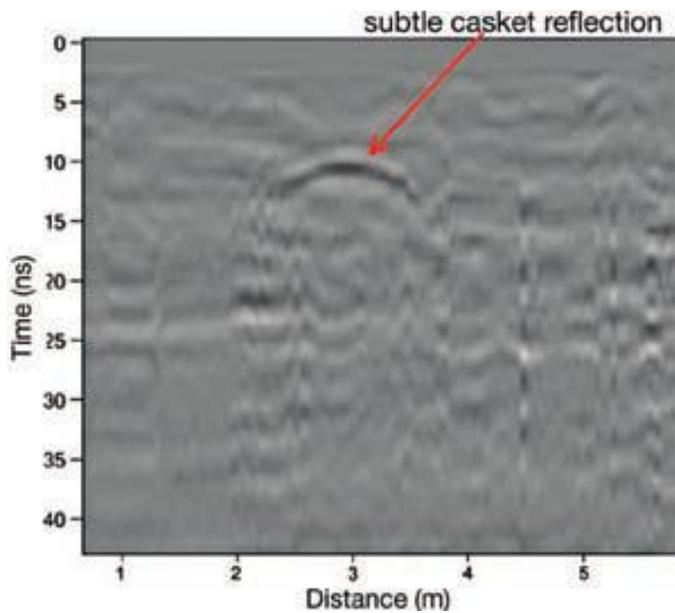


Figure 3.4. GPR Reflection of a Casket
 “Very low-amplitude hyperbolic reflection from a mostly decomposed burial.
 Data collected with 500 MHz antennas, Paria Historic Cemetery, southern Utah.”
 Source: Conyers, 2012, p. 139.

3.3.2.11. EM38-MK2 Ground Conductivity Survey

An EM38-MK2 with hand held data logger from Geonics Limited© was operated by the Senior Archaeologist from Stantec Consulting Ltd. (Figure 3.5). Electrical conductivity measurements are used to determine moisture and salinity in the soil and EM38 is also recommended for unmarked grave searches (Davis, Kitchen, Sudduth, & Drummond, 1997; Hunter and Cox, 2005). Conductivity measurements of soil can be determined by electromagnetic induction (EM) which can determine how well the soil conducts an applied current (Davis, Kitchen, Sudduth, & Drummond, 1997; Milsom, 2003). In other words, the EM38 unit sends a low frequency electromagnetic field into the ground and measures the electrical conductivity of the soil (McLeod, 2013) (Figure 3.6).

The EM38 allows for data to be collected between a depth of 0.75 meters and 1.5 meters when the unit is positioned in the vertical dipole orientation (Geonics Limited, 2013). Since the soil also conducts electricity, this allows the EM38 technology to locate changes in the subsurface (Hunter & Cox, 2005). The EM38 unit is sensitive to soil texture (moisture) such as clay or sand, salinity (dissolved salts), and metal (Woods, 2013b). It is the differences in conductivity of subsurface layers which can help identify stratified layers or voids that could be of interest (Davis, Kitchen, Sudduth, & Drummond, 1997). McLeod (2013) further explains that the EM38 technology can be sensitive to disturbed soils and if there is a distinct contrast between the surrounding soils, a grave can be located. EM38 surveys can be quickly and non-invasively completed.

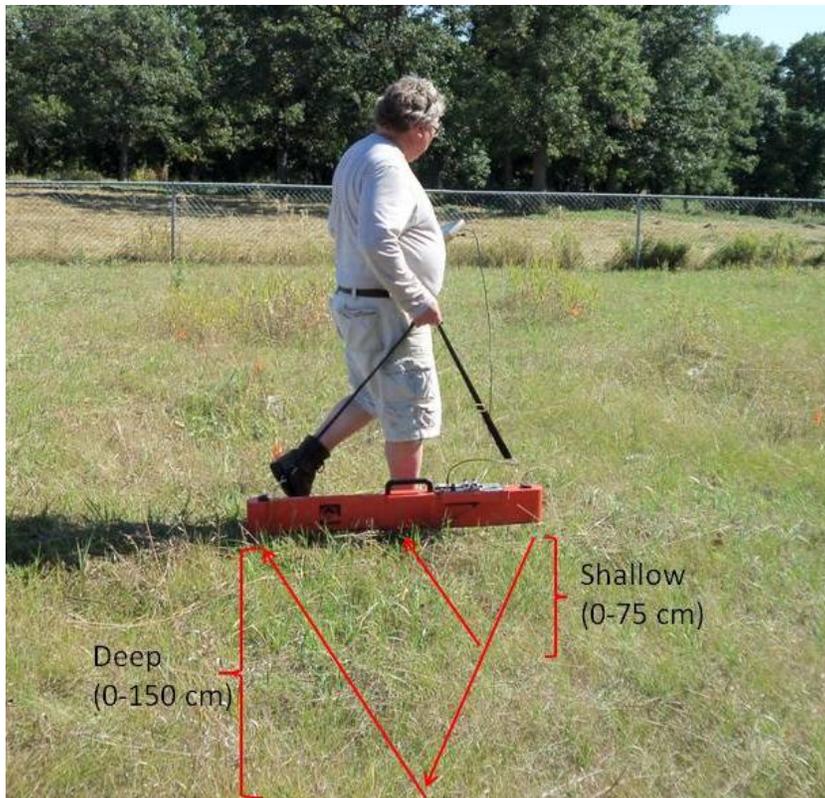


Figure 3.5. EM38 survey at the North Hill Burial Ground. Illustrating how the EM38 geophysical equipment detects buried objects
Photo Credit: Author

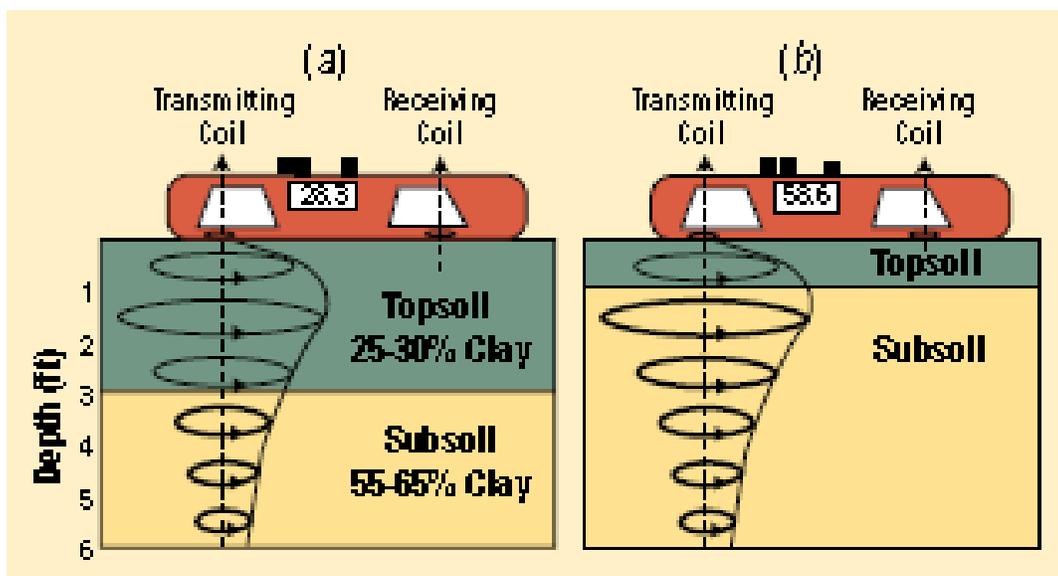


Figure 3.6. Diagram illustrating how the EM38 equipment operates within soils.
Source: Davis, Kitchen, Sudduth, & Drummond, 1997.

3.4. Control Site: Brandon Municipal Cemetery

The purpose of the non-invasive Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) search at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery was to assist with interpretation of the GPR data collected at the BIRS burial grounds. The primary aim of the forensic survey was to test the ability of the GPR to locate known historic graves (1920s-1940s), specifically plots belonging to children and infants at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery. The GPR data of *known* children's grave sites was used as a comparative sample to assist with the interpretation of the GPR data collected from the BIRS Cemetery survey of *unknown* children's grave sites.

In 1906, the Catholic Church sold cemetery lands to the City of Brandon (Barker, 1977). This cemetery became known as the Brandon Municipal Cemetery and continues to be in operation today (City of Brandon, 2008). Over the years, the historic headstones in the cemetery have fallen over, been misplaced, or gone missing entirely. This is mainly due to weathering and vandalism. It is possible, especially in the historic children's section, that some graves only received small headstones, metal markers, or plants or flowers to mark their plot. Unfortunately, these types of markers have not survived to the present day. The lack of headstones in the historic sections has made the City of Brandon question if these plots are occupied or vacant.

Since records from the historic children's section 18 have survived and are well documented, this area was chosen for the comparative GPR survey. While headstones are missing today, archival records state that this section occupancy for all grave plots is full. The City of Brandon has also created an online Geographic Information System (GIS) cemetery search database which also confirms that all the plots are occupied (City of

Brandon, n.d-c). The archival records for Blocks A, B and C document 6 rows with 30 plots per row, which total 180 grave plots. The total number of individuals interred within these blocks was 218, since many plots were shared and contained multiple burials.

3.4.1. Site Location

The Brandon Municipal Cemetery is located at 1901-18th Street South, which is in the south end of the City of Brandon. The approximate geographical coordinates for the cemetery entrance is 49°82'09.50N and 99°95'56.72W (Google Maps, 2013a). The Brandon Municipal Cemetery is organized by section and the cemetery layout for section 18 and can be seen in Figure 4.3. This section contains five *Blocks* (A – E). Each Block contains two *Rows* and each Row contains thirty *Plots* (see Figure 3.7).

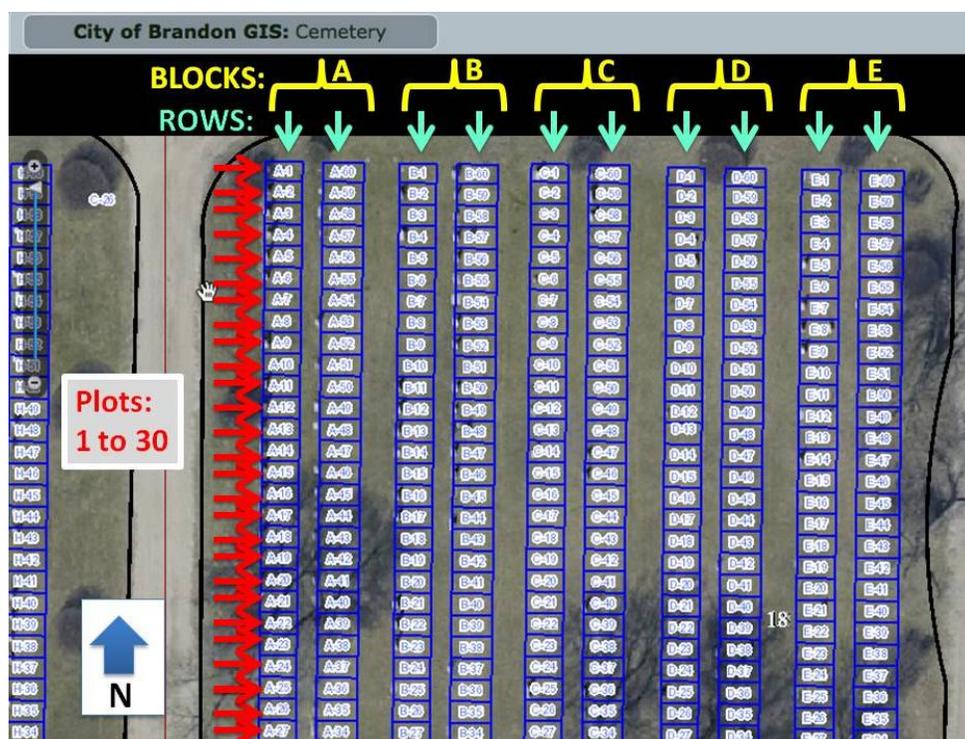


Figure 3.7. Cemetery Layout of Section 18.
Source: City of Brandon, n.d- c.

3.4.2. Forensic Field Survey Results

Written permission from the Historic Resources Branch (Permit A48-13) and the City of Brandon were received to access the property. In addition to the GPR survey, forensic search methods were also applied in the form of archival research, mapping, aerial photography, visual search indicators, and soil probing. Using these search methods in combination with GPR data, further assisted with the identification and verification of both marked and unmarked child and infant graves at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.

3.4.2.1. Visual Assessment

During the survey, indicators of a grave were seen as differential vegetation such as dandelions and clover and differential colour such as dark green above the plot. Depressions were also visible for entire rows, especially in the light of the morning and evening for plots with and without headstones (Figure 3.8). This was significant since the presence of visual search indicators for historic children graves could also be applied to the search of unmarked graves at the BIRS.



Figure 3.8. Differential Vegetation and Colouration.
Photo Credit: Author

3.4.2.2. Mapping

An Altus was used to collect the positions of 150 headstones and the perimeter of section 18. Within Blocks A, B, and C, there were 103 headstones. The three dimensional XYZ data (northing, easting and elevation) was exported into an excel spreadsheet. From this spreadsheet, the cemetery data points were imported into ESRI (2012) ArcGIS® and ArcMap™ 10.1 software programs. Figure 3.9 is a contour map of section 18 which shows the distribution of headstones at the time of the GPR survey.

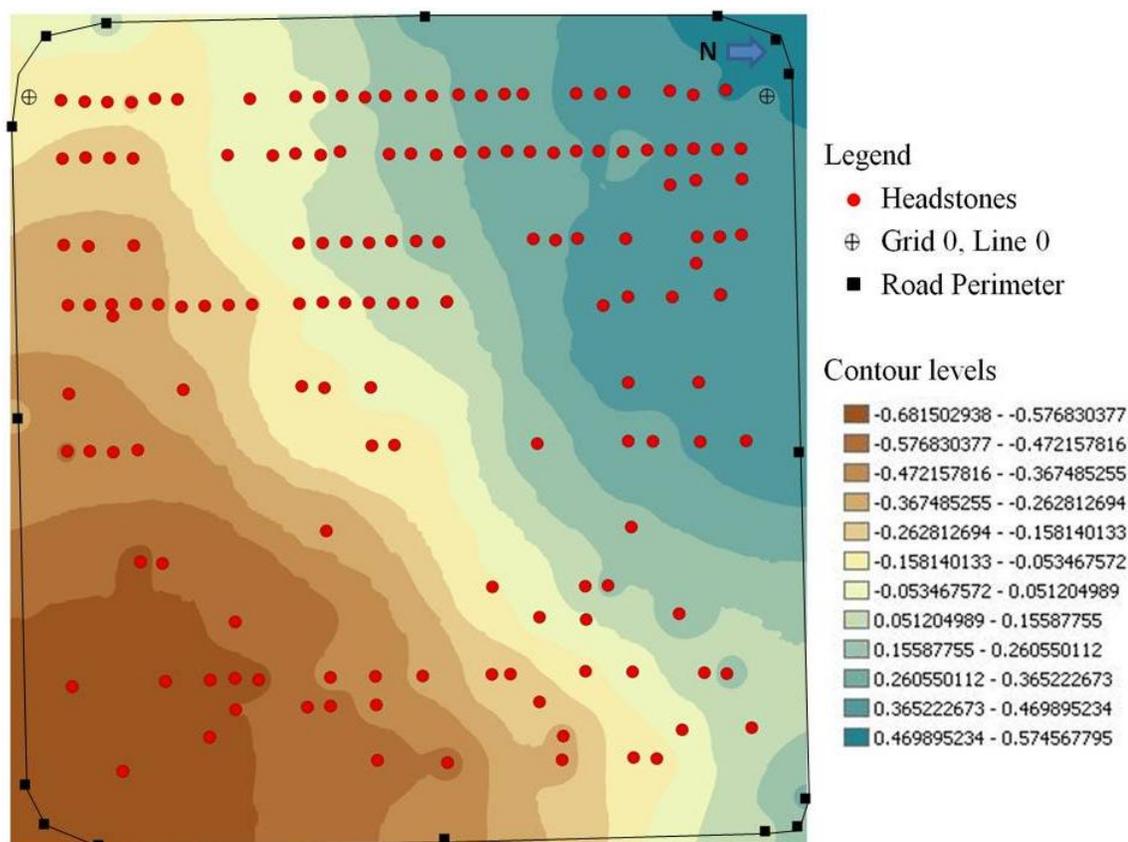


Figure 3.9. Topographical Map of the Historic Children's Section. Showing the road perimeter, headstones and the first line of the first GPR grid.

3.4.2.3. Aerial Photography

The initial results from the aerial photo alone clearly show the distribution of the plots associated with and without headstones (Figure 3.10). Employing aerial photography (optimally collected around dawn or dusk) as a data collecting method demonstrated immediate results that clearly showed differential colour changes in the vegetation reflecting occupied grave plots. Aerial photographs were taken using an unmanned aerial vehicle (UAV) Fusion 50, and 7D cannon camera and required one operator, one photographer, and one observer.

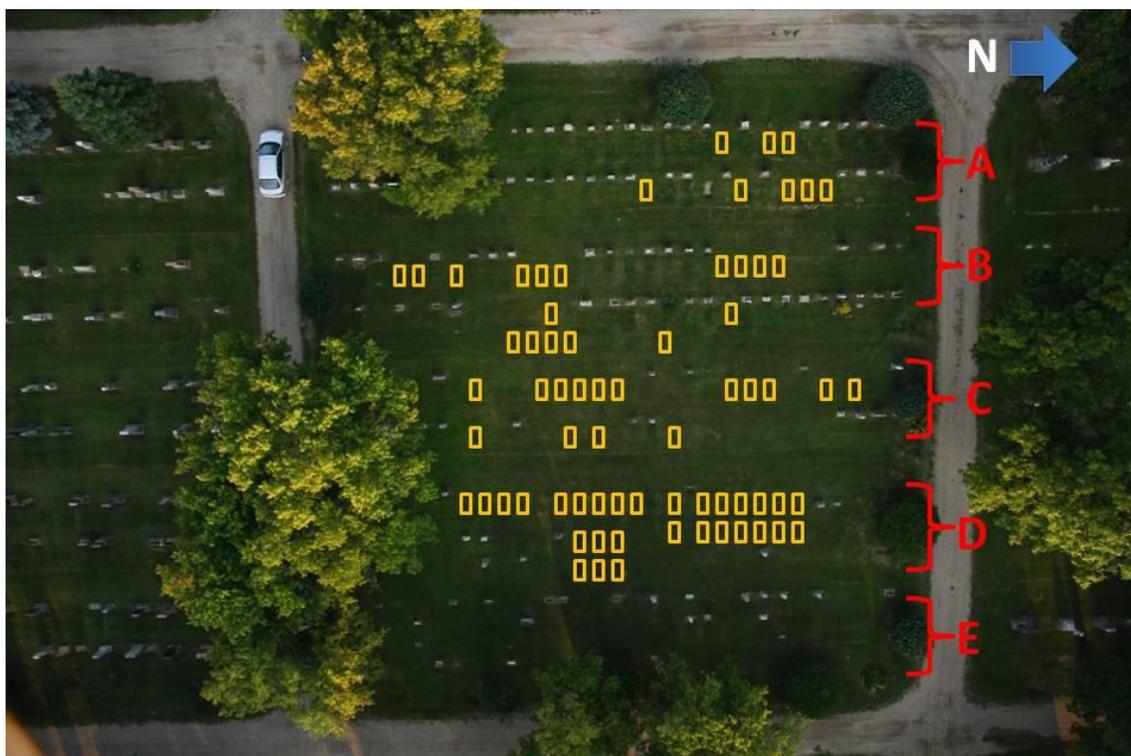


Figure 3.10. Aerial Photograph of Section 18.
 Examples of visual plots outlined in yellow.
 Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of B. Charbonneau, used with permission.

3.4.2.4. Soil Probe

To confirm the soils usability and reliability for the GPR survey, permission was received from the City of Brandon to collect soil samples between plots in Section 18. Clay and large rocks can reduce and scatter the GPR signal strength and therefore affect the quality of the data. Following the Texture by Feel Guide (Thien, 1979), the A Horizon (2.5 to 20 cm) was sandy loam and the B Horizon (20 to 33 cm) was sandy clay.

3.4.2.5. Ground Penetrating Radar and Software Programs

The Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) data was imported into a computer onsite with the GFP files transferred to an external jump drive. The GFP files were then imported into software programs called EKKO_MAPPER 4, EKKO_View, GFP_Edit 4 and EKKO_Project, which were supplied by Sensors and Software. These programs allowed for the GPR data to be analyzed in different ways. For example, since the GPR data was collected in a grid, LineView option allowed selection of a particular line of the grid and the data from this line would be displayed showing the images of the signal over distance and time. In this way, the spacing of the graves could be directly correlated with the GPR reflections (Figure 3.11).

Amplitude maps were also quickly created with SliceView, which created overview maps which could be viewed at different depths (Figure 3.12). It also allowed me to select a particular line, view the cross section, and the depth slices of the amplitude map simultaneously (Figure 3.13). The interpretation option allowed me to label features and areas of interest on the GPR line. The GPR data and interpretations were saved as GPZ files and later exported as JPEG files.

The GPR data was analyzed by line and considered both low and high amplitude reflections. First, the GPR survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery was successful in locating historic children's grave. For example, in one grid surveying 15 graves, the GPR was able to detect 13 strong reflection profiles and two very weak reflections. The survey was also very useful to identify different types of reflections which ranged from very flat reflections to typical hyperbolas. The depths of the reflections were also valuable for comparison. In Conyers (2012) book, *Interpreting Ground-penetrating Radar for Archaeology*, some examples of GPR profiles of coffins had depths ranging from two to three feet. This was reassuring since the GPR profiles from the Brandon Municipal Cemetery survey of historic children's graves had depths ranging from 1.5 to two feet.

The GPR survey of the 180 plots resulted in: 80 plots which showed strong reflection profiles, 62 plots which showed low amplitude reflection profiles which were visible throughout several lines of the grid, and 38 plots which showed very weak or no reflection profiles. The GPR was able to successfully locate 79% of the plots in these blocks (Figure 3.14). Examples of the range of GPR reflection profiles collected from the Brandon Municipal Cemetery can be found in Appendix E.

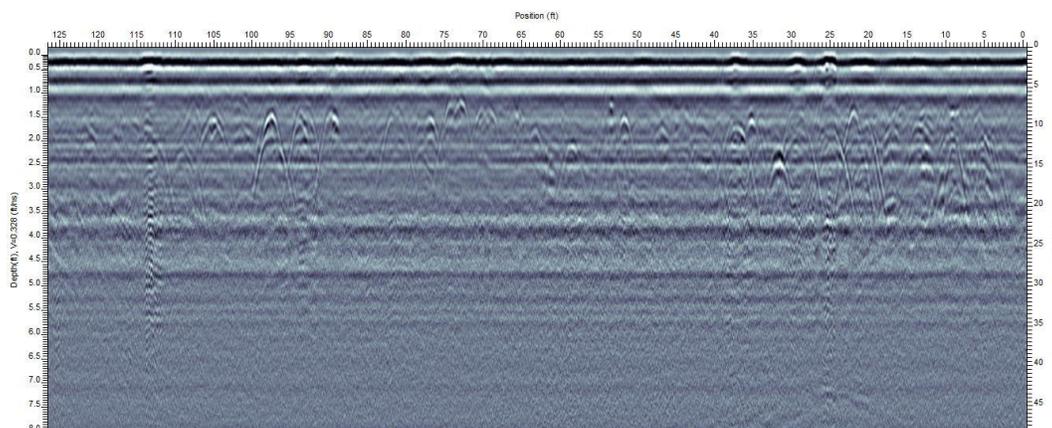


Figure 3.11. Example of a GPR Line View
GPR data collected line 3 of grid 1.

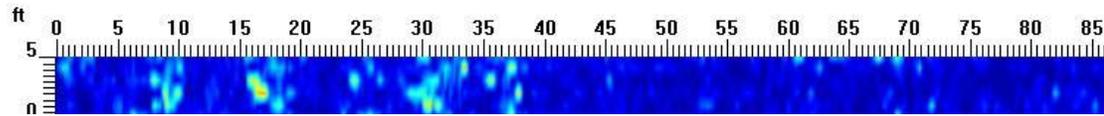


Figure 3.12. Example of GPR Amplitude Map.
GPR slice data from 1.6 to 1.8 feet in depth from grid 0.

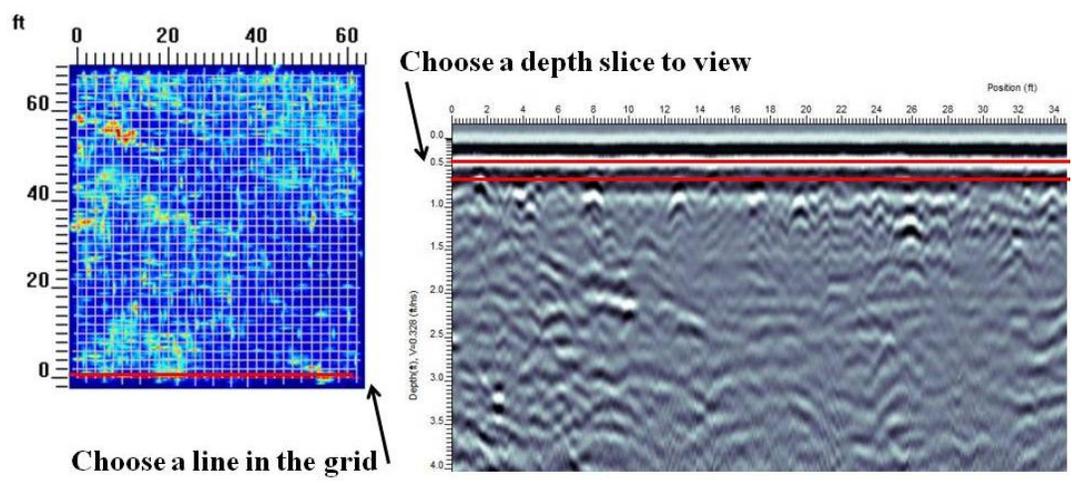


Figure 3.13. Example of Amplitude Map and Sliceview
Depth 0.98 to 1.14 feet.

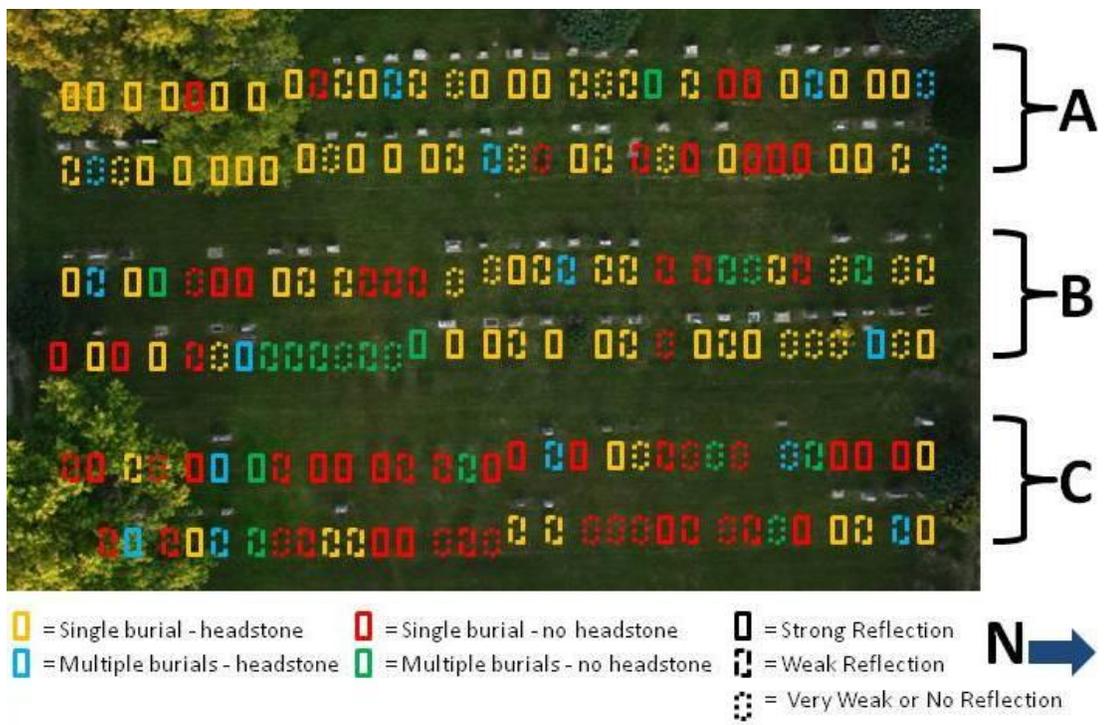


Figure 3.14. Results of the GPR Survey.
Colour coordinated to demonstrate the distribution of headstones, single and double burial plots and success rate of the GPR to locate the plot.

This chapter set out the research methods which were used in combination to investigate unmarked graves at the BIRS. While locating archival records for the school was not as straightforward as initially anticipated, working with the United Church of Canada Conference Archivist, I was able to compile a list of students who died while attending the BIRS using a variety of sources. In addition, a list of records and recorder holders at the municipal, provincial and federal level which were consulted in search of the BIRS records was produced.

Multiple field search methods and geophysical techniques were used at the four different sites to effectively locate graves and recommend boundaries for protection. In addition to these forensic search methods, eyewitness accounts from interviews were utilized. It is important that information gained from these interviews be taken seriously, and that their narratives are not reduced to rumors of alleged burials. The information gained from these interviews was invaluable as the BIRS site is now approximately 18 acres and contains heavily treed areas. While this chapter was broken down by specific research method, it was the overall networks that guided and supported this research project. These professional partnerships made research on missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS possible. Chapter 4 details the results of the archival research, participant interviews and forensic field surveys by site.

Chapter 4

Results of the Research Methods

In this chapter, the results of the research methods will be presented by site. Within each section, I include site specific results of the archival search, participant interviews, and forensic field surveys. Archival results outline documentation, forms and procedures relating to student deaths at the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS) which were recovered the archival search. Included in each section are the results of the participant interviews which provided effective source of information to assist with locating unmarked graves on the BIRS property. In addition, the results of the non-invasive forensic search methods, mapping, Ground Penetrating Radar (GPR) and Electro-Magnetic Ground Conductivity (EM38) surveys will be outlined. I further discuss information obtained from archival documents and survivor testimony regarding student deaths and burials which occurred away from the BIRS, such as at hospitals or in transportation to the school. A working list of the students who died while attending the BIRS is located in Appendix F.

4.1. Site 1: Assiniboine River Burial Ground

The purpose of the investigation of the Assiniboine River Burial Ground was to confirm its existence as the first burial ground of the BIRS. It was important to also establish its exact location. The original cemetery, located near the riverbank is confirmed by a correspondence from Principal Ferrier (1912a, p. 1908) who states,

“Since this Institution was opened in 1895, those who have died have been buried at the lower end of the farm close to the Assiniboine River.” In the same correspondence, Ferrier sought the consent of the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) to establish a new burial site located north of the school. Ferrier’s inquiries into a new location for the burial grounds were initiated by a request from the City of Brandon who wanted to purchase the land from the DIA for a park (Ferrier, 1912a; Kavanagh, 2007; “Will put terms,” 1912). As Ferrier’s correspondence explains the city’s purchase of the land would effectively stop any burials:

We discussed the situation, and came to the conclusion that in-as-much as the general public might have an opportunity in the future of observing this burying ground from a public park, some sentiment might arise regarding the matter, therefore I believe that it is unwise to continue burying in that plot of land. (Ferrier, 1912a, p. 1908)

Ferrier and Brandon City Council continued to deliberate the land agreement for three additional years, and the *Brandon Sun* reports, that land negotiations were postponed due to World War I, and the City did not officially take over the land until 1921 (“Aikins endeavoring,” 1915; “Asks Council,” 1915; Johnston, 1995a). While the exact dates of operation may never be known, it can be estimated that this burial ground was closed in 1912 at the request of Principal Ferrier (1912a).

In order to prepare the site for a city park, repairs were made to the main road and unwanted trees were removed in the 1930s (Johnston, 1995b). Dr. E. J. Andrews, the Research Director of the Experimental Farm told the *Brandon Sun* that the headstones which had remained were “removed when the city was cleaning the area for the park” (“Mystery of Graves,” 1963, p. 11). Substantial modifications to the site began in the 1960s when an outdoor circular pool was constructed and filled with water diverted from

the Assiniboine River and was opened to the public in 1961 (Johnston, 1995c). These major developments threatened the burial site and prompted the Brandon Indian Friendship Society (Brandon Friendship Centre) and Alfred Kirkness, a graduate of the BIRS and an employee of the Experimental Farm, to notify both Dr. Andrews and BIRS Principal Ford Bond (1959-1970) (Andrews, 1963; Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970). In the summer of 1963, the location of the burial ground was marked with four white stakes by Alfred Kirkness, Dr. Andrews, Mr. Waldon the Foreman of the Experimental Farm along with Melvin Shelley the Brandon City Manager (Andrews, 1963; "Mystery of Graves," 1963).

Kirkness' growing concern for the preservation of the burial grounds came in 1966, and forced him to write another letter to A. Laing, the Minister of Northern Affairs in Ottawa. In the letter Kirkness stated that, "the cemetery was destroyed little by little each year, until one day, I saw picnic tables, benches and barbecue stands, placed over these students graves" (Kirkness, 1966a, p. 1). Out of his concern for the protection of the students' graves, Kirkness requested that the Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development (DIAND) exhume and re-intern the remains in a safe protected place on the school site (Kirkness, 1964a, 1964b, & 1966a).

According to a letter written by S. C. Knapp (1967), Regional Superintendent of Development, "The cemetery on land now owned by the City of Brandon has been bulldozed over and the surface of the ground so level that it would be impossible to determine where the individual graves are situated" (p. 1). Despite the removal of visual search indicators, the Superintendent of the Indian Affairs Portage la Prairie Agency, D. A. H. Nield went to investigate the burial ground with Mr. Kirkness. Nield (1964b)

reported on his investigation and stated, “There is no sign of the old cemetery at this time, but I do not doubt Mr. Kirkness’ knowledge of this cemetery, as he attended the Brandon residential school in 1908 and has been employed at the Experimental Farm for the past thirty-five years” (p. 1). To protect the Assiniboine River Burial Ground the Indian Affairs Branch explored two different options and Neild (1966) estimated that:

- To build a cairn and fence would cost approximately \$2,000.00
- To relocate all the graves to a new area would cost approximately \$8,000.00

While the Indian Affairs Branch considered Kirkness’s request to exhume the remains and relocate them to a protected location, it was determined that building a fence around the burial ground would be more cost effective.

However, it is not clear who was responsible for erecting a fence and cairn or the dates that the fence and cairn were built. One article in the *Brandon Sun* credits the DIAND for building a fence around the cemetery and placing a cairn inside in 1967 (Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970; Johnston, 1995c). However, archival documents do not support this claim and it seems that despite unavailable funding from the Indian Affairs Branch, protection of this burial ground was completed by the local Rotary Club and the Brandon Girl Guides. According to B. Jolly, who was the Division Commissioner of the Brandon Girl Guides, the project took place in 1967 as part of their centennial project (personal communication, B. Jolly, 2014, May 27). The *Brandon Sun* reported that in 1972 the Rotary Club had built the fence, and the Brandon Girl Guides had provided the plaque and planted flowers (“Girl Guides,” 1972) (Figures 4.1-4.4).



Figure 4.1 Burial ground in Curran Park, 1967.
 Photograph of B. Jolly presenting D. Broomhall with honorary life membership.
 Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of B. Jolly, used with permission.



Figure 4.2. Brandon Girl Guides at the burial ground in Curran Park, 1967.
 Photograph of the fence and the blue and gold flowers in the plot.
 Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of B. Jolly, used with permission.



Figure 4.3. Photograph of Memorial Garden located in the Turtle Crossing Campground, 2004.
Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of Robert and Diane Haglund, used with permission.



Figure 4.4. Photograph of Memorial Plaque for Brandon Industrial School Children.
Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of Robert and Diane Haglund, used with permission.

4.2.1. Site Location

This burial ground is located south of the BIRS, in the privately owned campground called Turtle Crossing, formerly known as Curran Park within the city limits of Brandon (4100 Grand Valley Road). The site's legal description is 28-10-19 SE ¼, with the geographical coordinates being approximately 49°51'29.86"N and 99°59'45.30" W (Google Map, 2013). The burial ground is accessible by travelling two kilometers west from 18 Street (Provincial Road 10) on the Grand Valley Road (Provincial Road 459) and south approximately half a kilometer on Turtle Crossing Road.

4.1.2. Archival Results

Initially, the purpose of the archival research was to compile a list of students who died at the BIRS, the dates of their deaths, their home communities, and the cause of their deaths. However, additional archival records were needed since a list of student deaths was not recovered. The search was expanded to include information about school protocols surrounding the death of a student, and determining sicknesses, injuries, causes of death, and numbers of death per year which were noted in certain recovered archival sources. For many students, the spelling of their first and last names was inconsistent and for this reason, the spelling of student's names may not be correct.

It can be estimated that the Assiniboine River Burial Ground opened in 1895 and closed in 1912 at the request of Principal Ferrier (1912a). During this period, the Principals of the BIRS reported that students suffered from; infections of legs, concussions, hives, ring-worm, ptomaine poisoning (food poisoning), papular eczema, influenza, grippe, chest conditions, inflammation of the lungs, diphtheria, pneumonia,

scrofula, tuberculosis, typhoid fever, scarlet fever, and epidemics of chicken pox and measles (Department of Indian Affairs, 1896, 1898b, 1901a, 1902, 1907 & 1909). Direct causes of deaths have been identified as scarlet fever, pneumonia, consumption or tuberculosis (Department of Indian Affairs, 1899, 1902, 1903b, 1906, 1907, 1909, 1911 & 1913; Ferrier, 1912a & c). The age of death was only recovered for one student, who died at the age of 11 years (Garfield, 1903-1920). Students who died at the BIRS were from First Nation communities including; Berens River, Bull Head, Cross Lake, Fisher River, God's Lake, Island Lake, Little Grand Rapids, Norway House, Oxford House, Poplar River, Port Churchill and "St. Peters" (Tester, 1979). Since students were recruited from many First Nations communities in Manitoba, Ontario, Quebec, Saskatchewan and Alberta, it seems likely to suggest that there were more than these 12 communities whose children died while attending the BIRS (Doyle, 1940; Ferrier, 1923; Simpson, 1937).

4.1.2.1. Procedures and Protocols

One volume held in Library and Archives Canada (1897-1909) contained names of students who died at the BIRS in relation to application forms for the withdrawal of their annuities. According to Miller (1996), in 1894 and again in 1906, amendments were made to the Indian Act which granted Ottawa the power to direct the annuities of children however they saw fit. The file of withdrawing annuity contained correspondence between the secretary of the Department of Indian Affairs, Indian agents and the Principals of Industrial and boarding schools from 1897 to 1909.

One burial registry held at the Archives of the United Church of Canada in Winnipeg, Manitoba contained the name of one student who died at the BIRS (Garfield, 1903-1920). It seems probable that burial registries were sent to the Department of Indian Affairs and are now held at Library and Archives Canada. One restricted file was identified which dated from 1896-1923, and is likely a burial registry of the BIRS.

4.1.2.2. Determining Names and Numbers

There were several major archival sources recovered for this period between 1896 and 1911. The Tester (1979) report from the Manitoba Genealogical Society is the only source which includes a detailed list of student names, home communities, and dates of deaths. The Library and Archives Canada (1897-1909) file contains forms for the withdrawal of student annuities lists student names and sporadically contains information on their home community, date of death, and cause of death. The other documentation held by the Department of Indian Affairs and the Methodist Church of Canada has only recorded the number of student deaths per year. To complicate the issue further, when the Department of Indian Affairs and the Methodist Church of Canada documents are compared, the numbers of deaths per year do not coincide. For example, in 1905, the Annual Report records *five* deaths, while the Methodist Church Minutes only records *three* deaths. The difference in numbers of deaths per year could be attributed to the varying dates of the year-end report and publication; however, the lack of student names has made it extremely difficult to definitively determine the exact number of students who died during a particular year, or to estimate the total number of students who are buried in the Assiniboine River Burial Grounds.

Missing records have also made estimations of student deaths difficult to determine for this period. Based on the Tester (1979) report, during 1895 to 1911 there were 48 student deaths, with no deaths recorded during 1910. The Annual Reports document 30 student deaths, with records missing for 1903, 1908 and 1909. The Quarterly Returns document 12 student deaths which occurred during the first four years of the schools operation (1895-1898). The Methodist Church of Canada began recording the Lake Winnipeg District in their Minutes in 1904, and based on these records, 34 student deaths were reported. Below, Table 4.1 succinctly outlines the issues that arose during the analysis of the archival records for the Assiniboine River Burial Grounds.

Table 4.1.

Summary of Archival Results

Archival Source	Years available	Number of available years	Years unavailable	Number of missing years	Total number of student deaths
Manitoba Genealogical Society	1896-1909, 1911	15	1895, 1910	2	48
Annual Reports	1896, 1898-1902, 1904-1907, 1910-1911	12	1895, 1897, 1903, 1908-1909	5	30
Quarterly Returns	1895-1898	4	1899-1911	13	12
Methodist Church Minutes and Yearbooks	1904-1911	8	1895-1903	9	21

4.1.3. Interview Results

The survivors of the BIRS who were interviewed did not have any information about the schools' first burial ground. These survivors attended the BIRS much later during the years 1938 to 1962. During the time period the survivors attended the BIRS, students were being buried in the second school burial ground.

4.1.4 Forensic Field Survey Results

Initially, the aim of the forensic field research was to employ the same methods used at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery which were to be used at Turtle Crossing site including: GPR, soil probing, visual search indicators, mapping and aerial photography. However, the BIRS land which included the burial ground was officially leased to the City of Brandon in 1921, and the land was turned into the public park. The City of Brandon privately sold the land in 1998 (City of Brandon, n.d-a). As a result, I was denied permission as the landowner was under the impression that it was only a memorial garden and not a cemetery (see Figure 4.5 and Figure 4.6 for maps identifying the cemetery as a “*memorial garden*” or an “*Indian cemetery,*”).

Summary

The names of 51 students were recovered for this time period and it is very plausible to suggest that these students were interred in the Assiniboine River Burial Ground. Appendix F details the results for the search for student deaths at the BIRS specific to the period between 1895 and 1911 which are likely the operation dates of the Assiniboine River Burial Ground. This table states the students' name, the age or date of

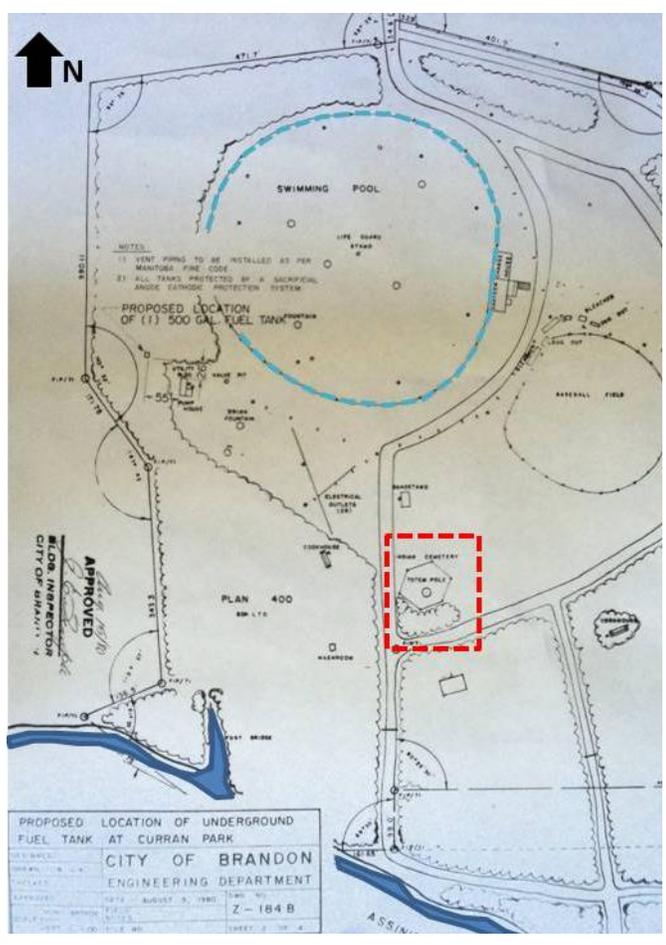


Figure 4.5. Map of Curran Park Campground and the Indian Cemetery. Red outlines the location of the *Indian Cemetery*, light blue outlines the swimming pool and dark blue marks the Assiniboine River. Map Source: City of Brandon, Engineering Department, 1980.

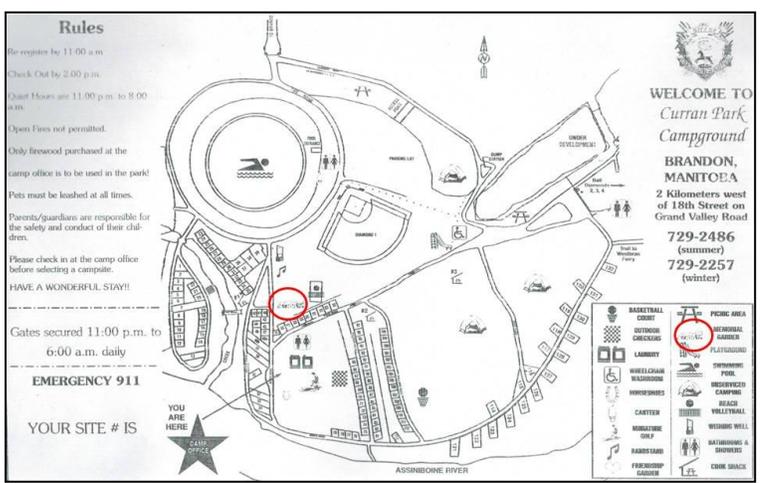


Figure 4.6. Map of Curran Park Campground and the Memorial Garden. Red outlines the memorial garden in the legend and on the map. Source: City of Brandon, n.d.- b.

death, the students' home community, cause of death if known, and the archival source.

Table 4.2 summarizes the research methods which were used while investigating the Assiniboine River Burial Ground.

Table 4.2.

Summary of Research Methods used at the Assiniboine River Burial Ground

Research Method	Utilized	Comments
Archival Research	Yes	Variety of Sources Consulted
Participant Interviews	Yes	Limited Knowledge
Forensic Research	No	Land Permission Denied
Visual Assessment	No	
Control Burn	No	
Mapping	No	
Aerial Photography	No	
Soil Probe	No	
GPR	No	
EM38-MK2	No	

4.1.5.1. Distribution of Information

This list of names has been discussed with the Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. How they would like to move forward with this information will be up to the community. For this search site, there was no specific information which was confidentially shared with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation.

4.1.5.2. Additional Work

Future research will need to focus on gaining access to archival records held at the provincial and federal level. This will require completing many lengthy protocols and possibly additional legal channels. The forensic work will require gaining property owner permission and registering the burial ground with the province of Manitoba.

4.2. Site 2: North Hill Burial Ground

The Assiniboine River Burial Ground closed sometime between 1912 and 1921, it can be estimated that burials stopped when Principal Ferrier (1912a) first made the request in 1912. The North Hill Burial Ground is currently identified by a cairn with a plaque in the centre of a fenced enclosure. There are 11 names inscribed on the cairns' plaque. The earliest date of death inscribed on the plaque is 1928. Between 1912 and 1928 from the closing of the Assiniboine River Burial Ground in 1912 to the first official recognition of a burial at the North Hill Burial Ground in 1928 it is not known where BIRS burial occurred. With this large gap in years of operation years (1912-1928) and a lack of corresponding death records, it is plausible that there are more than 11 individuals interred within this fenced burial ground. It also seems plausible that there may be individuals buried beyond the current cemetery fence. In addition, Sioux Valley Dakota Nation community members have concerns that there are unmarked graves both inside and outside the chain link fence.

Modifications to North Hill began in the 1950s when the BIRS changed its focus from industrial to academic training and the school began to function as a residence and students were bused into the city to attend Brandon public schools (United Church of Canada, n.d-b). In 1956, the farm training was cancelled, livestock was sold the following year, and the land which surrounded the school property including the North Hill Burial Ground was leased to the Brandon Research Centre (Andrews, 1963; United Church of Canada, n.d-b). As part of the land transfer, Kirkness (1964b) explains that "Mr. Waldon, the farmer foreman got permission from Dr. Andrews Superintendent of the Brandon

Research Centre, to erect a temporary fence around the student graves which is located in a cow pasture” (p.1).

However, it appears that by the 1960s, the BIRS was no longer maintaining the North Hill Burial Ground and the condition inside the fence required considerable improvements. Superintendent of the Indian Affairs Portage la Prairie Agency, D. A. H. Nield went to investigate the North Hill Burial Ground and requested archival cemetery records from the federal level. No cemetery records were located and the request was directed to Principal Ford Bond (1959-1970) (Andrews, 1963; D’Astous, 1963; Davey, 1963a; Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970). On behalf of Principal Bond Assistant Principal E. Greavis (1963) replied that there was only one grave which had a legible marker and that “there are a few more graves up there, but none with readable markers, and can find no record of any in the files” (p.1). It appears that the Assistant Director of Education of Indian Affairs, R. F. Davey (1963b) received a letter on October 10, 1963 from Principal Bond which included “a diagram of grave locations and a list of names to be associated with these graves” (p.1). Unfortunately, this potential cemetery map which was provided by Bond was missing from the archival file (Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970).

Due to the neglect of the cemetery upkeep and continuous letters from Kirkness, the Indian Affairs Branch decided to provide funding for a fence, cairn, and to allocate \$200.00 annually to the school for the maintenance of the burial grounds (Kirkness, 1968; Patry, 1967). The Canadian Bronze Company Ltd. of Winnipeg was hired to create the memorial plaque, and Jaska Construction Ltd. of Brandon was given the contract to install the fence and cairn in 1967 (Nield, 1967b). However, the contractor later wrote

that they were unable to find the cemetery or the stakes showing them where to erect the fence (Manitoba Genealogical Society, n.d.). Principal Bond was asked to submit a list of names and dates of deaths for the inscription on the cairn which was erected in 1968 (Bond, 1967; Nield, 1968a). To view Alfred Kirkness's letters and sketch map of the BIRS property which outlines the locations of the schools two burial grounds please visit the Library and Archives Canada Manitoba Regional Service Centre in Winnipeg, Manitoba.

An archaeological survey of the North Hill Burial Ground was conducted in response to the parents who were searching for their daughter's remains. Provincial archaeologists surveyed the area with EM39 geophysical technology. The report was accessed from Manitoba Historic Resource Branch; however it was incomplete (Badertscher & McLeod, 2000).

4.2.1. Site Location

The North Hill Burial Ground is located in the Rural Municipality of Cornwallis, on the Brandon Research Centre property, formerly known as the Brandon Experimental Farm (Figure 4.7 & 4.8). The site's legal description is 28-10-19 NE ¼ with the geographical coordinates for the cairn being 49°52' 24.89" N and 99°59'26.71"W (Garmin eTrex Vista GPS). Access to the burial ground requires the permission of Brandon Research Centre. The burial ground is protected by a chain link fence, with a cairn and plaque listing the names of the 11 BIRS students and the dates of their death (Figures 4.9). The burial ground fence dimensions measure 30 meters east-west and 24

meters north-south. At the time of this survey, there were 12 white wooden crosses distributed throughout the cemetery.

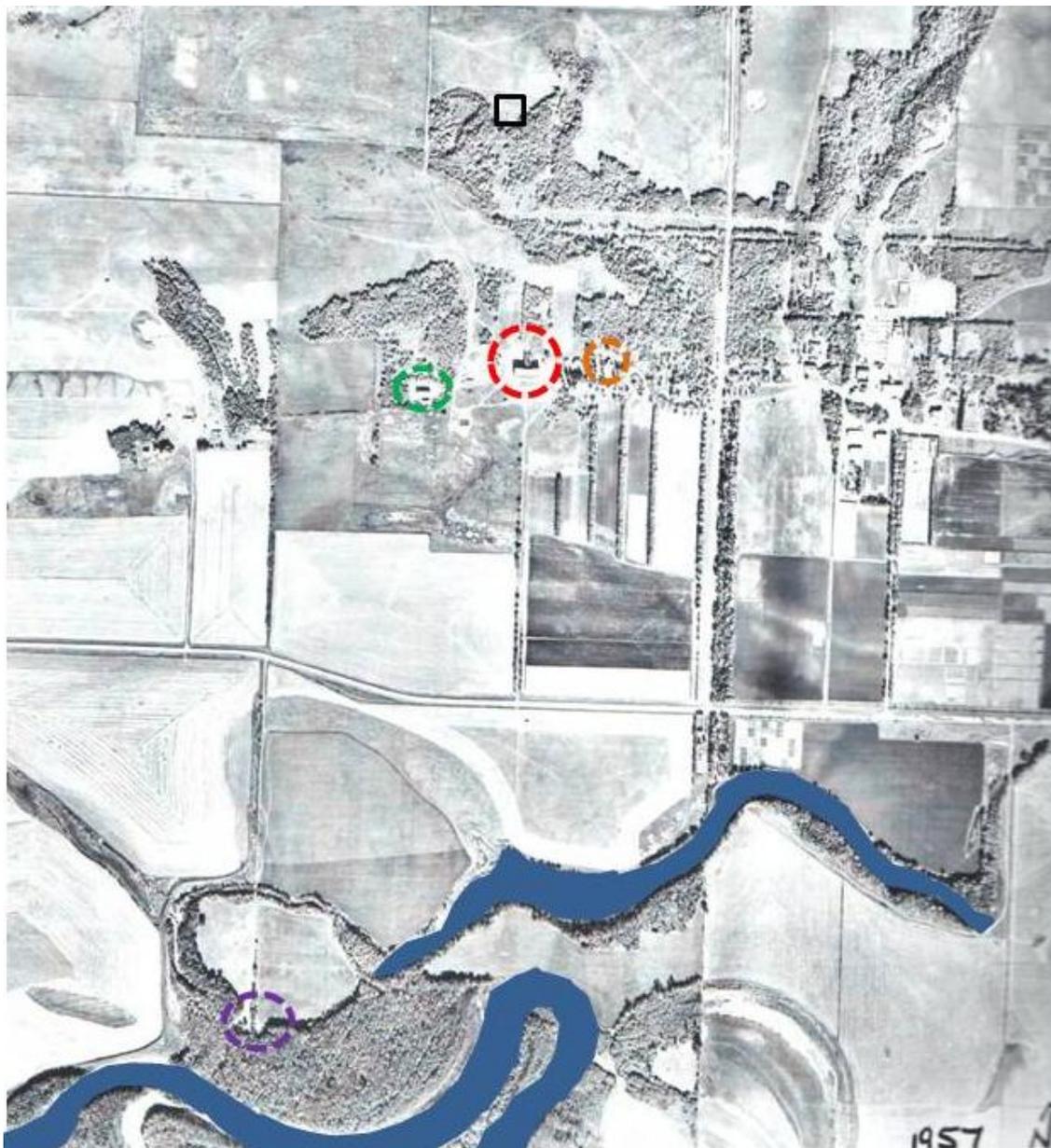


Figure 4.7. Historic aerial photograph of the BIRS, 1957. Red circling the school, orange circling the Principal's house, green circling the barns, purple circling the Assiniboine River Burial Ground, blue outlining the Assiniboine River and Lake Percy, and a black rectangle marks the location of the North Hill Burial Ground.
Map Source: Canada Map Sales, 2012



Figure 4.8. Aerial photograph of the BIRS North Hill Burial Grounds. Red marking the chain link fence surrounding the burial ground, yellow outlining the grids set up for GPR, and orange marks the area that was prepared and searched. Photo Credit: Author



Figure 4.9. Photograph of the Cairn, 2011. Photo Credit: Author

4.2.2. Archival Results

The purpose of investigation at the North Hill Burial Ground was to first inventory names and numbers of individuals who were documented as being interred in this burial ground. It can be estimated that the North Hill Burial Ground opened in 1912 at the request of Principal Ferrier (1912a). Despite limited records for this time period (1912-1972), Principals of the BIRS reported that students suffered from; injuries to head, hands, and feet, foot ulcers, infections of legs, knees, tonsils, salivary glands and throats, hemorrhages, appendicitis, influenza, chest conditions, inflammation of the lungs, pneumonia, tuberculosis, and epidemics of chicken pox and measles (Library and Archives Canada, 1941-1952a). There were only two direct causes of deaths which were caused by a farming accident and being struck by lightning (Library and Archives Canada, 1940-1949b, Roy, 2012).

The archival results further demonstrated that the North Hill Burial Ground was not restricted to students of the BIRS. It was also used for ex-pupils, infants, and individuals of the Brandon Mental Health Centre and seems to be a burial place for Aboriginal peoples. While some of these individuals' home communities are unknown, it was determined that those who are buried in the North Hill Burial Ground were from the First Nation communities including: Cross Lake, Island Lake, Lac du Brochet, Nelson House, Oak River and Pelican Rapids (Bond, 1967; Doyle, 1940; Library and Archives Canada, 1940-1949b; Tester, 1979). The recovered ages at death for students ranged from seven to 17 years, while those who were not attending the BIRS at the time of their death ranged between 30 and 73 years, and also included an infant.

4.2.2.1. *Procedures and Protocols*

One volume held in Library and Archives Canada (1940-1949a) contained information strictly on student deaths at the BIRS. While there were only two student deaths recorded in this volume, there was one completed Form #414, which is a memorandum of an inquiry into the cause and circumstance of the death of a student at any Indian residential school. This form required the school Principal to notify the Indian Agent and together with the Medical Officer who attended the deceased student would jointly report to Indian Affairs (Davis, 1949, Phelan, 1940). At the same time, the Indian Agent was to notify the parents (Davis, 1949). While there was only one example of the completed form, this procedure strongly suggests that federal government had developed a standardized protocol and documentation for when a student at an Indian residential school died.

4.2.2.2. *Determining Names and Numbers*

There were a variety of archival sources which were recovered for the period between 1912 and the closing of the school in 1972; however, no source was complete. For example the Manitoba Genealogical Society's report (Tester, 1979) only includes a list of deaths until 1923, while other records only contained information of a single individual. To create a list that was as complete as possible required the combination of all the archival records. Of the 60 years (1912-1972) that the North Hill Burial Ground likely operated, 36 years have no record of death.

A file located at the Winnipeg office of Library and Archives Canada contained correspondence from 1963 to 1970 of the BIRS cemeteries. In this file, Assistant

Principal Greavis (1963) wrote to the Davies, the Assistant Director of the Indian Affairs Branch and stated “upon checking this we find only one grave with a marker and that is for Edwart Fiddler died 1955 the date is not clear” (p.1). While Edwart Fiddler’s name does not appear on the cairn, his burial at the North Hill Burial Ground is further confirmed by Susan Roy’s (2012) report and the Brockie Donovan Funeral Home archives in Brandon (B. Smith, personal communication, September 12, 2012). Also included in this file is a letter from Principal Bond (1967) to Nield, the Superintendent of Portage la Prairie Indian Agency which included 16 names, however, four individuals from the Brandon Mental Hospital and an infant were crossed off the list (Figure 4.12). While it is unclear who was responsible for crossing off these five individuals, these letters have undoubtedly shed new light on the history of the North Hill Burial Grounds. Appendix G details the results for the search for student deaths at the BIRS specific to the period between 1912 and 1972 which are likely the operation dates of the North Hill Burial Ground.

4.2.3. Interview Results

One of the goals of the conversations with survivors was to discuss specific grave locations within the chain link fence at the North Hill Burial Ground. One survivor recalled the day that Roderick Beardy was accidentally killed by a tractor on the schools’ farm. After the accident she did not want to go, or even look in the direction of where the accident occurred. As a student, she did not attend Roderick’s funeral at the North Hill Burial Ground and did not know where his grave plot was located. As an adult, she helped members of the Friendship Centre with a day of cleaning up the site and

ceremonies at the North Hill Burial Ground. She did not know who was responsible for putting up the white crosses.

4.2.4. Forensic Field Survey Results

Prior to beginning any field work, Land Permission was received from the Brandon Research Centre and Permits (A39-12 and A12-13) were approved by the Manitoba Historic Resources Branch. The primary aim of the North Hill Burial Ground forensic field survey was to systematically search the area using forensic search methods to locate unmarked graves and included archival research, reconnaissance, field walking, probing, visual search indicators, mapping, aerial photography, GPR, and soil probing. The GPR data which was collected at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery was invaluable for a baseline comparison of the GPR data collected at the North Hill Burial Ground. In the fall of 2013, the Senior Archaeologist at Stantec offered to conduct another survey of the North Hill Burial Ground using EM38 survey equipment. The combination of forensic search methods allowed for a better understanding of unmarked graves at the North Hill Burial Ground.

4.2.4.1. Visual Assessment

The survey which included field walking, searching for visual identifiers, and probing resulted in the identification of 17 depressions within the chain link fence. There were 10 depressions associated with wooden crosses and 7 depressions not in association with a wooden cross (Figure 4.10). While there were three wooden cross located south of

the cairn and one in the south east corner, there were only signs of visible depressions with one of these crosses.

The survey outside the chain link fence also identified 6 depressions north of the chain link fence and two minor depressions east of the chain link fence. An area south of the chain link fence had one small and two larger areas where the soil was very soft with differential vegetation directly above. An employee of the Brandon Research Centre explained that the area with soft spots was the burial location of the two station horses and a dog.

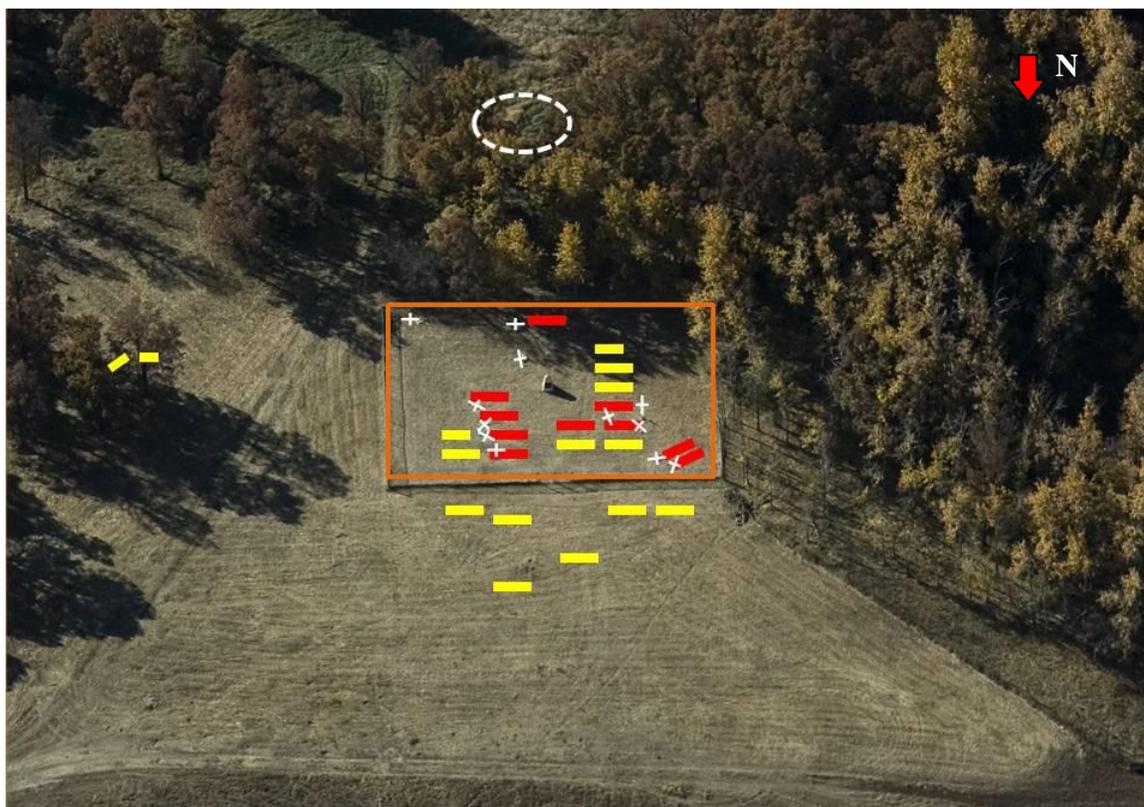


Figure 4.10 Results of the Visual Assessment. Orange marks the chain link fence, red marks visible depressions which were associated with a white cross, yellow marks depressions not associated with a cross and white circles the burial location of the station horses and dog. Photo Credit: Author

Once the depressions were identified, the parameters of the depressions were outlined and measurements of the depth of each depression were taken every 10 centimeters across the bisect (Figures 4.11 & 4.12). The shapes of these depressions within the cemetery were useful to reference during the survey for unmarked graves at the BIRS property. The visual assessments of the depressions within the cemetery are included in Appendix H.

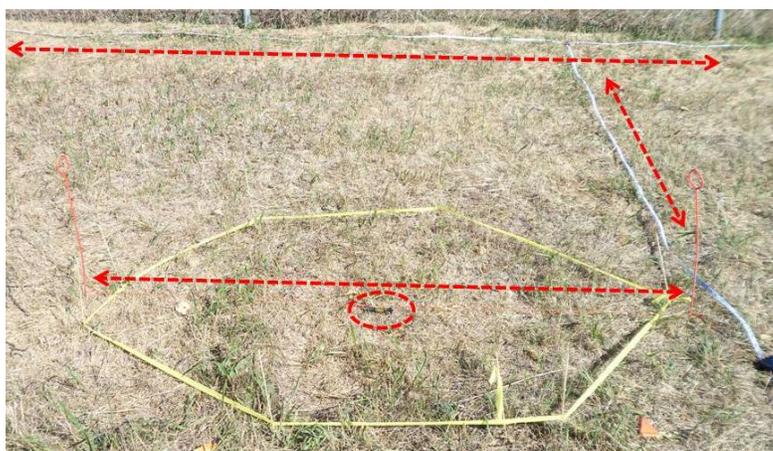


Figure 4.11. Measuring tapes running north-south and east-west, chain pins at opposite sides of the depression, mason line bisecting the depression with line level attached.
Photo Credit: Author



Figure 4.12. Example of a profile of a measured depression at the North Hill Burial Ground showing the length and depth of a measured depression.

4.2.4.2. Control Burn

The site took many hours of preparation with weed whackers and lawn mowers. This was necessary for the GPR and EM38 surveys. This site did not require a control burn.

4.2.4.3. Mapping

Data points were collected of the chain link fence, detailed surface inside the chain link fence, the additional GPR grids, the surface within the grids, depressions inside and outside the fence, trees, slope of ridge, gopher holes, animal trails, dirt roads, and barbwire fences. With further analysis, it became apparent that the total station had lost its bearings several times and required continuous back-sighting throughout the survey. These points were meant to be side by side and parallel to one another, however the relationship between these points has been shifted approximately 35 degrees. It was not possible to save any of the data collected over the three intensive days of surveying.

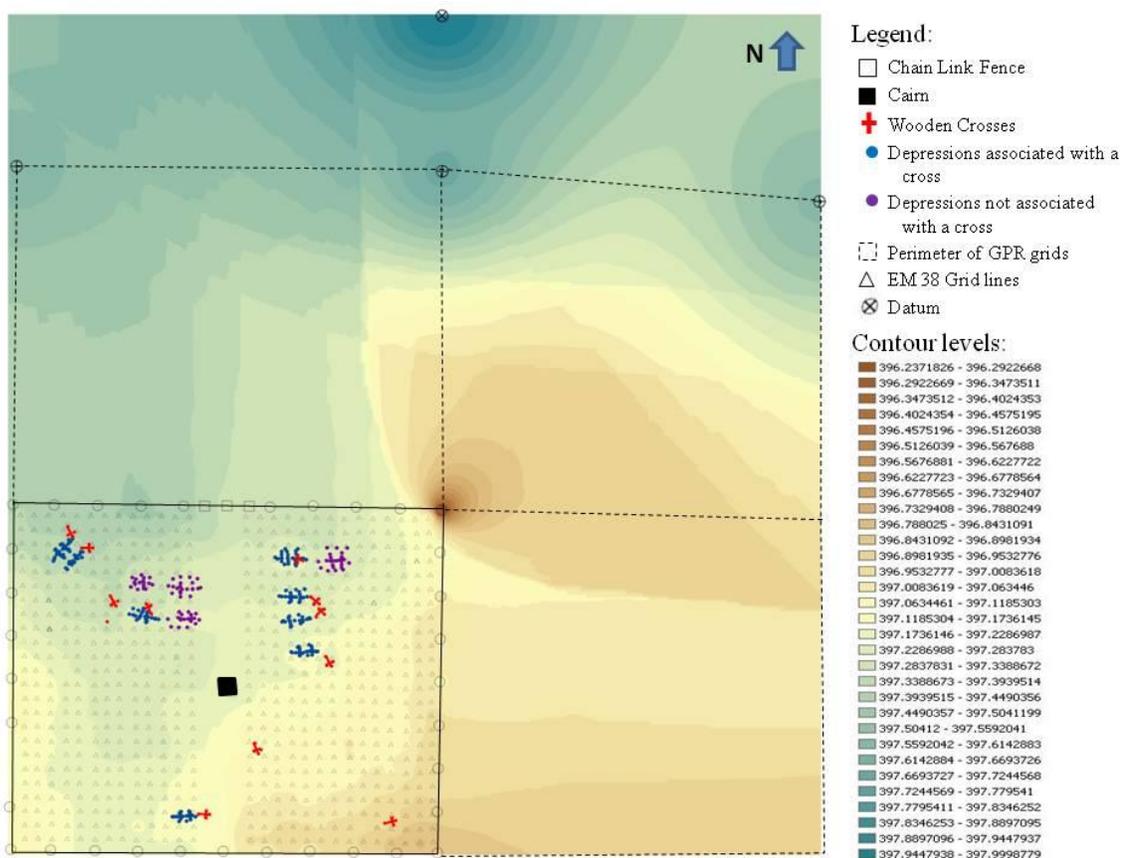


Figure 4.13. Topographical map of the North Hill Burial Grounds. Map outlines vital features and depressions which were collected during the second survey.

A second survey was completed and due to equipment availability and poor weather conditions, this survey only captured vital features (Figure 4.13 above).

4.2.4.4. Aerial Photography

To help inform and trace the changing landscape over time historic aerial photographs were consulted. The oldest photograph which was taken in 1946 shows a noticeable outline which is not the rectangle shape of the current chain link fence (Figure 4.14). By 1968 the cemetery is enclosed and the diameter of the chain link fence is very distinctive (Figures 4.15 - 4.17). Careful examination of these photographs show that some graves may be visible and new graves seem to appear by 1959. Some of these graves appear to be located now outside the fence. Current aerial photographs were used to superimpose the GPR amplitude maps and overlay each grid which was surveyed at the North Hill Burial Grounds (Figure 4.30).



Figure 4.14. North Hill Burial Grounds, 1946.
Source: Canada Map Sales, 2012.



Figure 4.15. North Hill Burial Grounds, 1957.
Source: Canada Map Sales, 2012.



Figure 4.16. North Hill Burial Grounds, 1959.
Source: Canada Map Sales, 2012.

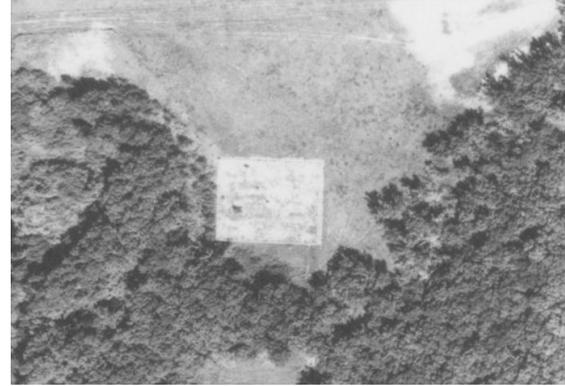


Figure 4.17. North Hill Burial Grounds, 1968.
Source: Canada Map Sales, 2012.

4.2.4.5. Soil Probe

Since GPR and EM38 technology are sensitive to the physical, chemical and electrical properties of the soil, five soil samples were taken to confirm the soils usability and reliability during the surveys (McLeod, 2013; Sensors and Software, 2014). The first three core samples were taken outside the chain link fence. Following the Texture by Feel Guide (Thien, 1979), the A Horizon soil (7-15cm) for Core samples 1 and 2 are classified as sandy clay, while the A Horizon soil (11-26cm) for Core sample 3 is classified as loamy sand (Figures 4.18, 4.19 and 4.20). The fourth and fifth core samples were located inside the chain link (Figures 4.21 and 4.22). The fourth core sample was taken 4.5 meters north and east from the southwest corner post and had more sand and small pebbles in comparison to the first three core samples. The A Horizon soil (11-22cm) is classified as sandy clay. The fifth core sample was taken 80 cm south and west of the northeast corner post and the first layer (0-2cm) and consisted of sand and small pebbled gravel which was difficult to probe. The A Horizon soil (15-17cm) is classified as sandy clay.



Figure 4.18. Photograph of soil probe and core sample 1.



Figure 4.19. Close up photograph of probe and core sample 2.



Figure 4.20. Close up photograph of probe and core sample 3



Figure 4.21. Close up photograph of probe and core sample 4



Figure 4.22. Close up photograph of probe and core sample 5
Photo Credits: Author

4.2.4.6. GPR

The raw GPR data was analyzed by myself and by the RCMP technician. While completing the analysis, we consulted one another about the different anomalies we noted

in the data (Figure 4.23). The analysis of the GPR survey determined that there are approximately 18 burials within the chain link fence (Figure 4.24). Of these 18 anomalies, seven locations showed a strong reflection profile and 11 locations showed low amplitude reflection profiles (Figure 4.25). An example of GPR reflection profiles can be found in Appendix I.

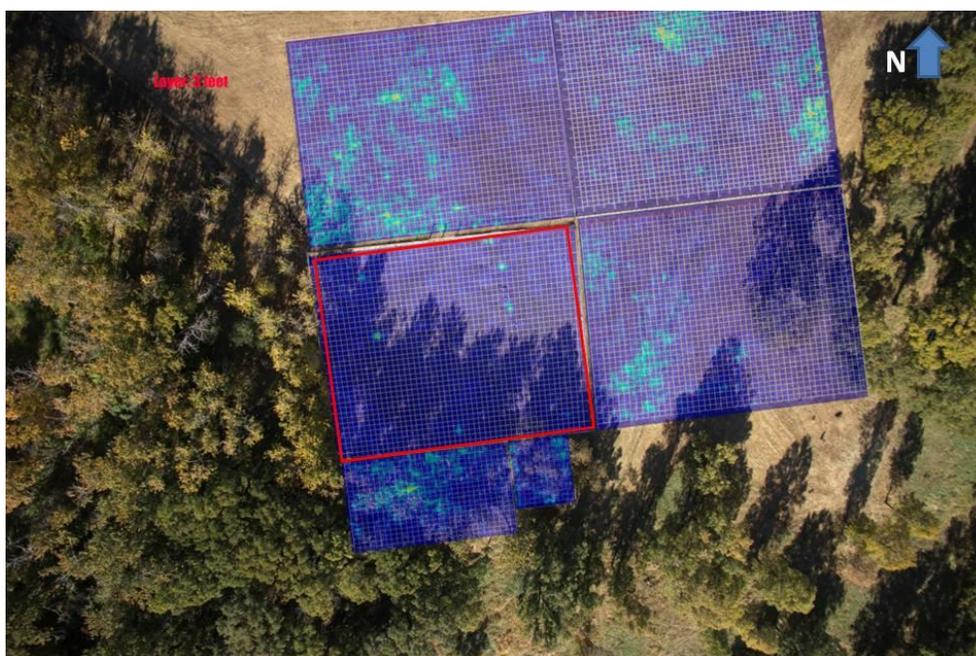


Figure 4.23. Aerial Photograph with six Surveyed Grids Amplitude Maps. Red outlines the chain link fence, at the 3 foot depth slice view. Photo Credit: Provided courtesy of F. Forest, used with permission.

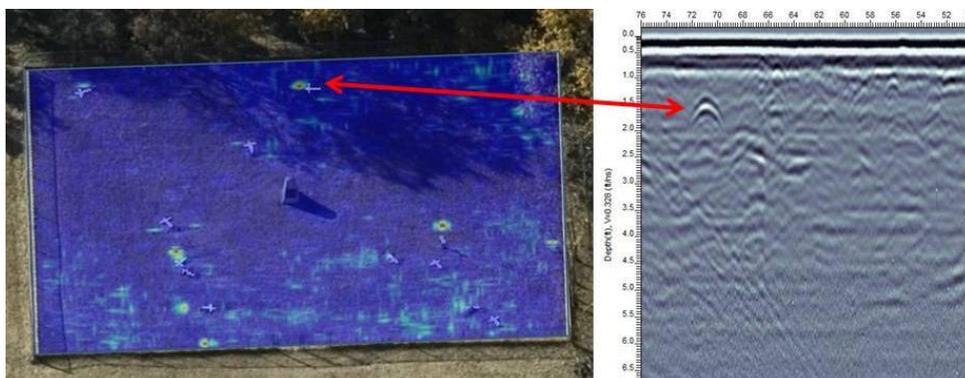


Figure 4.24. Aerial photograph with Amplitude Map and LineView. Strong reflection profile of a depression during the GPR survey.



Figure 4.25 Results of the GPR survey. Orange marks the chain link fence and blue marks the additional GPR grids. Red marks strong reflections associated with a white cross and purple marks a strong reflection not associated with a cross. Green marks weak reflections associated with a white cross and yellow marks weak reflections not associated with a cross. Photo Credit: Author

4.2.4.7. EM38-MK2

The analysis and final report of the EM38 electromagnetic ground conductivity meter survey inside the chain link fence was completed by McLeod (2013). The collected EM38 data was aligned using a software program called DAT38W which was supplied by Geonics Limited. In this program, the XYZ data was saved as .DAT files and used to create contouring plots. These files were created using the kriging method, a technique which can estimate and predict the values of a region around a known nearby location. Watters (1992) defined kriging as being geostatistical approach to modeling that “instead of weighting nearby data points by some power of their inverted distance, ordinary

kriging relies on the spatial correlation structure of the data to determine the weighting values” (p682).

The collected EM38 data was analyzed to determine specific areas of anomalously low and high reads which “appear in the contour map as circular or curvilinear “bull’s-eyes” and are caused by rapid decreases or increases in the EM data” (McLeod, 2013, p. 5). For instance, particular anomalies are a detection of buried wire from artificial flowers, nails from wooden crosses, small submerged stones, the chain link fence and the base of the cairn (McLeod, 2013). The EM38 unfiltered data ranged from - 59.4 to 533.7 mS/m, with anomalously high data were clustered between 10.0 and 533.7 mS/m with data greater than 10 mS/m being located adjacent to the metal fence and in the northwest corner of the cemetery. The anomalously low data were clustered between - 59.4 and 5.0 mS/m, with one low anomaly clustered in the northwest corner and another in the northeast corner, both being related to shallow buried metal. Once the EM38 data was filtered from these anomalously high and low clusters, the general data for the burial ground ranged from 5 to 10 mS/m (Figure 4.26) and indicated that there are approximately 24 unmarked burial plots, with at least two of these locations containing double plots and the majority of burials located on the east side of the cairn (Figure 4.27) (McLeod, 2013).

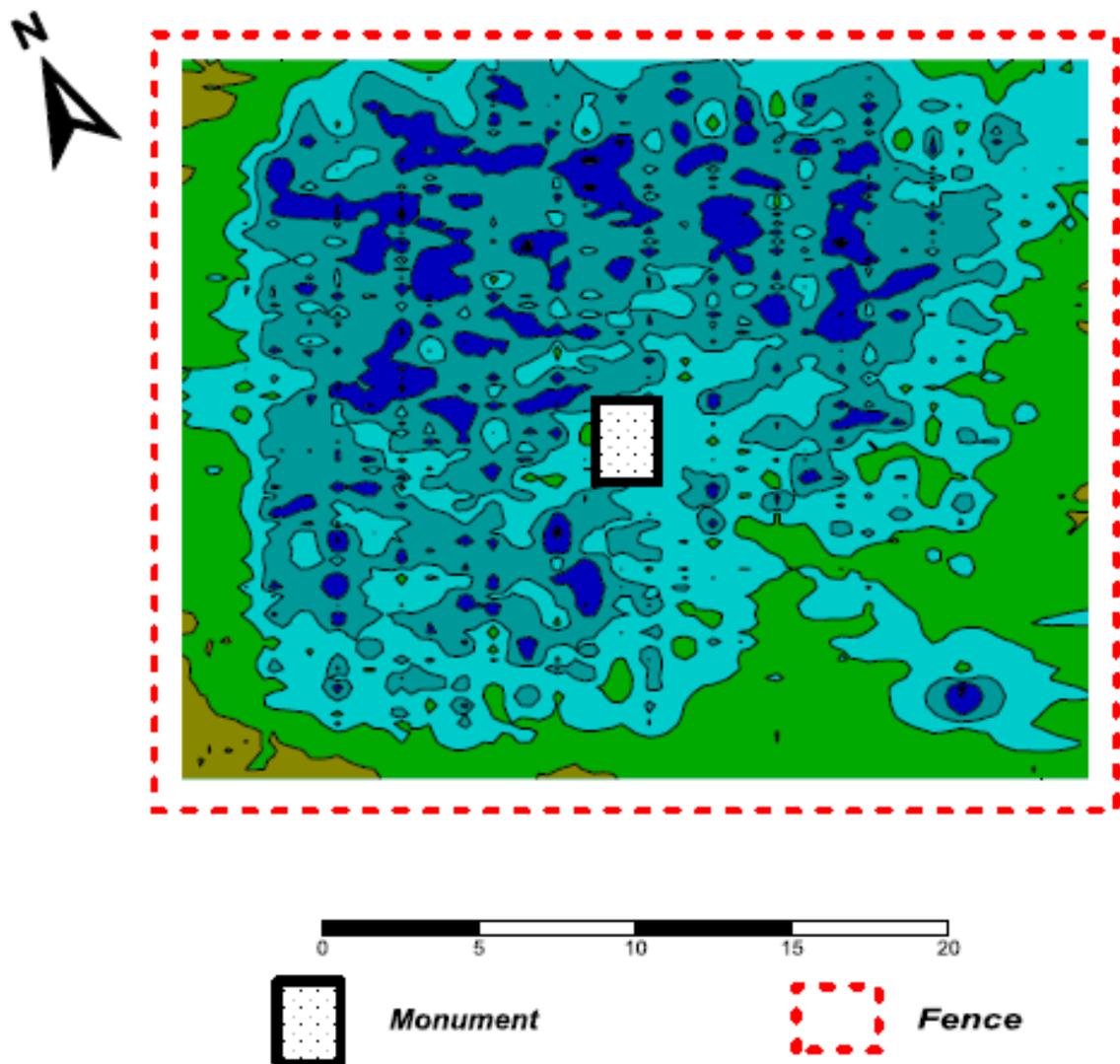


Figure 4.26. EM38 Filtered Data (5 to 10 mS/m @ 1.0 mS/m).
Source: McLeod, 2013.

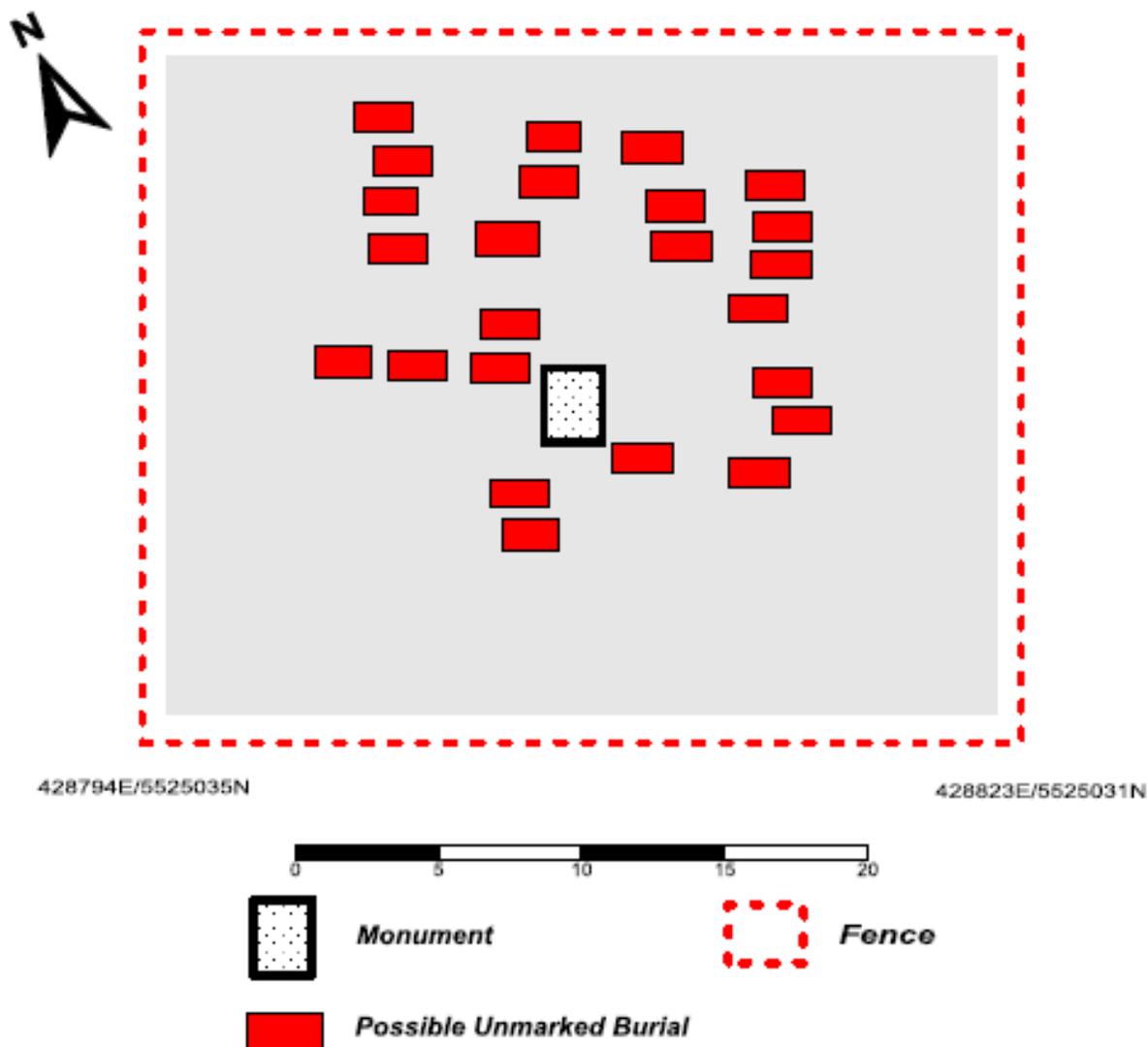


Figure 4.27. Results of the EM38 survey showing potential unmarked burial locations. Source: McLeod, 2013.

4.2.5. Summary

At the North Hill Burial Ground, 11 student names are inscribed on the cairn, 13 additional names were recovered and an unnamed man and unnamed infant. Furthermore, during the years between 1915 and 1920 when no names were recorded, the Methodist Church Yearbooks documented eight deaths. While there are missing records and inconsistent data, it is plausible to suggest that there are 26 to 34 individuals who are

buried at the North Hill Burial Ground, which includes 24 names, two unnamed individuals, and possibly 8 unnamed students. Appendix J states the individuals' name, the age or date of death, the home community, cause of death, if known, and archival source.

Interviews with survivors yielded limited information about who was known to be buried at this burial ground or where they may be buried. Only one survivor was able to name one student who had died while attending the school. While she knew that the burial had taken place at the North Hill Burial Ground, she did not attend the funeral and did not know where the student was buried.

The results of the field survey methods indicated that there are indeed more than 11 burials at the North Hill Burial Ground. Historic aerial photographs suggest that the shape of the burial grounds was modified over time and that graves may be located outside the chain link fence. The results of the visual search identified 17 depressions inside the chain link fence; 10 associated with crosses and 7 not associated with crosses. Outside the chain link fence 6 depressions were located to the north, 2 minor depressions to the east and 2 station horses and a dog were located to the south.

The results of the GPR survey indicate 18 potential burials, while the results of the EM38 survey indicated 24-26 potential burials inside the chain link fence. The GPR survey did not locate any potential burials outside the fence and the EM38 survey was only available for a survey inside the fence. The results from the GPR control survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery yielded a 79% success rate of locating historic children's graves. While the EM38 technology was not available for the control survey it is significant to note that if the GPR also detected 79% of the burials at the North Hill

Burial Ground, then 100% would increase the number of potential burials from 18 to 23 (22.78). This is valuable to the search since 23 potential burials corresponds closely with 24-26 potential burials detected by the EM38. This provides a congruent estimate between the GPR and EM38 surveys for the number of potential burials at the North Hill Burial Ground. Table 4.3 summarizes the research methods which were used while investigating the North Hill Burial Ground.

Table 4.3.

Summary of Research Methods used at the North Hill Burial Ground

Research Method	Utilized	Comments
Archival Research	Yes	Variety of Sources Consulted
Participant Interviews	Yes	Limited Knowledge
Forensic Research	Yes	The site was prepared with weed whackers and lawn mowers and did not require a control burn.
Visual Assessment	Yes	
Control Burn	No	Due to restricted availability of EM38 equipment and surveyor only inside the cemetery was searched.
Mapping	Yes	
Aerial Photography	Yes	
Soil Probe	Yes	
GPR	Yes	
EM38-MK2	Yes	

4.2.5.1. Distribution of Information

Similarly to the Assiniboine River Burial Ground, the list of names for this site and the number and locations of potential unmarked graves at this site has also been discussed with the Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. How they wish to move forward with this information will be up to the community. For this search site, there was no information which was confidentially shared with Sioux Valley Dakota Nation.

4.2.5.2. Additional Work

Future archival research will also require access to records held at the provincial and federal level. Interviews with more survivors may also be expanded to include survivors from different communities, ages and genders. The forensic work will require registering the burial ground with the province of Manitoba.

4.3. Site 3: North-East Fields

The BIRS site has been utilized for a variety of different purposes since it opened in 1895 and closed in 1972. This is confirmed by historic aerial photographs, archival records and participant interviews. Due to the fact that the first Assiniboine River Burial Ground may have closed as early as 1912, and the earliest date for the first interment at the North Hill Burial Ground is 1928, it is plausible the BIRS created another cemetery somewhere, now forgotten, on the school grounds. A letter correspondence written in 1997, from an Environment Officer to the Provincial Archaeologist, and the then Chief of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, Ken Whitecloud expressed “concerns about possible burial sites on this property” (Bird, 1997, p. 1). The letter correspondence further discusses an area as being, “an area on the ridge adjacent to the school has depressions which were quite visible and may contain the remains of the deceased” (Bird, 1997, p. 1).

4.3.1 Site Location

The BIRS, now torn down, but with ruins left in place (in situ), is located in the Rural Municipality of Cornwallis, on private property now own by the Sioux Valley

Dakota Nation (Figure 4.28). The site's legal description is 28-10-19 NE ¼, with the geographical coordinates being approximately 49°52'09.62" N and 99°59'23.41" W (Google Map, 2013a).

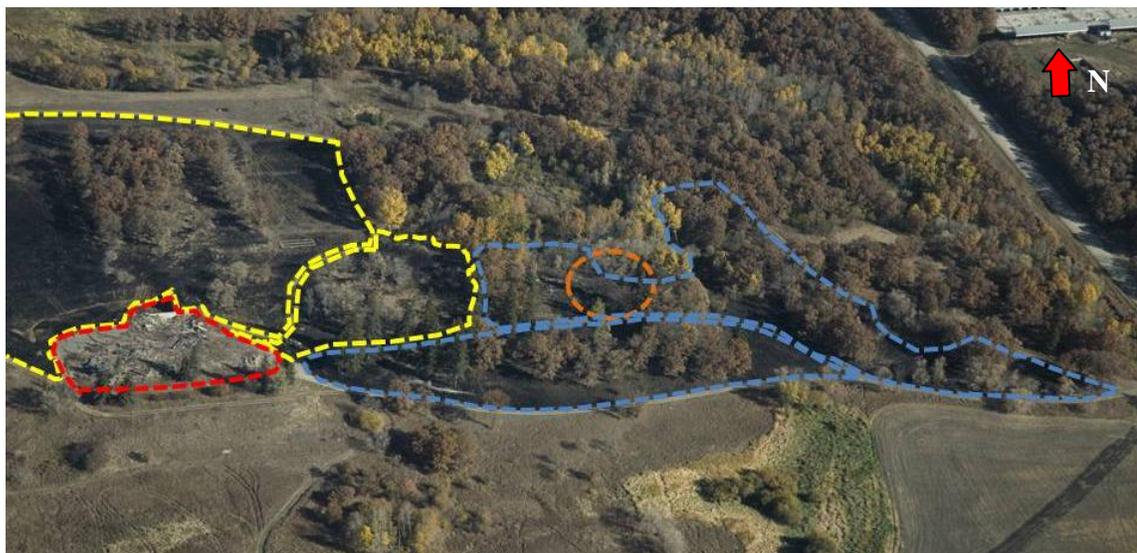


Figure 4.28. Aerial Photograph of the Brandon Indian Residential School Property. Red outlines the school ruins, orange outlines the principals' house, yellow outlines Control Burn 1, and blue outlines Control Burn 2. Photo Credit: Author

4.3.2. Archival Results

Limited archival records were recovered for this site. Historical letters and newspaper articles discussing student deaths at the BIRS have only illuminated the possibility of unmarked graves on the school property (Bird, 1997; Delaney, 2007; Ferrier, 1912a; Jackson, 1918). These references were only able to guide the field surveys and no procedures or protocols were recovered. In addition, no student names were found in reference to student burials on the BIRS property.

4.3.3. Interview Results

The participant interviews were a unique resource which resulted in information about the BIRS that was simply unattainable by any other research method. The conversations I had with participants showed me that the context of the BIRS was necessary in order to understand school cemeteries, burial grounds and unmarked graves. Without understanding the participants experience at the BIRS, knowledge of death and burial of students would be incomplete. These conversations with participants helped me understand how the school was organized, how the school property was laid out, and how unmarked graves at the BIRS could be located. The interview process also created an opportunity for survivors to share their stories and for me to listen.

4.3.3.1. Context of the Interviews

Once the formalities of the required ethics paperwork were completed, the survivor of the BIRS and I were able to begin our first conversation. I would begin by asking a general question such as, “Can you tell me about what you remember about the BIRS?” or “Can we talk about some of your experiences at the BIRS?” In this way, the participant had the freedom to tell their story how they wanted and in their own way.

Survivors often began their testimony with the story of how they were recruited to the BIRS. One survivor was told by her grandmother that she was only three years old when she was taken away to the BIRS in a large cattle truck. Another survivor remembered being rounded up with her brothers and other children from her community and being put in the back of a large truck. She remembered holding on tight to her father’s leg, not wanting to let go, and seeing her mother’s face filled with tears streaming down her cheeks. All the children were crying all the way to Brandon.

Survivors also spoke of the punishments they received while attending the BIRS. Survivors remembered being strapped, slapped, and spanked by the principal and teachers. Survivors also remember the fear that was internalized while watching other students being punished in front of them. One survivor recalled that it was also common for all the students to be punished for one student's misconduct. In particular, she remembered when mass punishment was carried out in the girls' dormitory. She hid under her blanket, but was ripped out from her bed and strapped. Another survivor stated that she learned from a young age that survival meant working hard. She worked so hard that she and a few other girls were chosen to do special tasks such as cleaning the principal's home, cleaning some of the homes at the experimental farm, and cooking meals for the staff.

During these conversations, details of one story would trigger another memory of a different story. The conversation never flowed logically, but would sway back and forth, jump side to side, and circled back. These conversations with survivors about death and burial were intertwined with narratives of their experiences at the BIRS. Survivors recounted personal experiences of the quality and quantity of food they ate, the dormitories they slept in, the chores that were expected of them, the abuse they suffered, the illnesses they contracted, the treatment they received, the friends they made, and what they went on to accomplish during their lifetime after they left the BIRS.

I heard stories of incredible strength, great love, and resilience. I heard stories of frustration, unable to locate loved ones, not knowing any other way of living, and learning for the first time what a Pow Wow ceremony was at the age of sixteen. I heard stories of discovery, uncovering identity and culture, and reuniting with brothers, sisters,

and step siblings. At other times, I felt like all I was needed to do was affirm and acknowledge their experience. There were other times that I heard stories of sickness, loneliness, hunger, overwork, exhaustion, degradation, physical and sexual abuse which all occurred at the BIRS. In many ways, I was surprised that I was being told these violent and intimate stories. During these interviews, I learned to listen and started to learn how to speak and respond to these difficult stories that I was being told. This was not simple; a story of sexual abuse broke my heart and left me with no words, except to say that I was sorry for what had happened.

During interviews, participants often became interested in the field work I was doing at the BIRS. I would turn on my laptop and show them parts of a PowerPoint presentations that I had prepared for the United Church of Canada and the Brandon Friendship Centre. While I could never fully repay each participant for their time and knowledge, I provided travel honorariums, snacks and drinks during our meetings and gave each participant a pouch of loose tobacco once we were finished our conversation. I did not do this to make participants feel obligated to tell me their stories, but as a form of respect and reciprocity.

4.3.3.2. Unmarked Graves

An important trend found throughout all the interviews was that all of these survivors held general knowledge about students being buried behind the BIRS. While some survivors were unable to point out specific locations, these survivors knew that students had been buried behind the BIRS. I realized that this knowledge of students

being buried behind the school was common knowledge among survivors of the BIRS and that these testimonies should be taken seriously.

Of the five interviews, three participants not only confirmed the common knowledge of burials behind the school but were also able to pinpoint the same exact location behind the school. When female students were hanging laundry to dry on the lines outside and behind the school, they were told by the matron not to go into a treed area because of three student graves. Using historic aerial photographs of the school property, these participants were able to specifically identify and circle the area where the Matron told them not to enter. By consulting the map with the pinpointed location provided by the survivors, the area was physically located in the field. The area was searched and confirmed as an area of interest, and global positioning coordinates were taken. This area identified by the participants is located on the BIRS property and falls within the boundaries of the North-East Fields search area.

4.3.3.3. Participants

Many student graduates who attended BIRS have died. The BIRS opened in 1895 and the survivors who are alive today would have attended the school during the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s. The five participants who were interviewed about their experiences at the BIRS ranged in age between 67 to 79 years and attended the BIRS during 1938 to 1952. At the time of the interviews two participants were living in the community of Sioux Valley and three were living in Brandon, Manitoba (Table 4.4).

Table 4.4*Description of Participants at the time of the interview*

Gender	Age	Age admitted to school	Age discharged from school	Years attended at the school	Community
Female	79	3 years	17 years	1938-1952	Sioux Valley
Female	77	6 years	16 years	1943-1953	Cross Lake
Female	71	5 years	16 years	1951-1962	Sioux Valley
Female	67	8 years	11 years	1955-1958	Sioux Valley
Female	67	6 years	7 years	1953	Sioux Valley

4.3.4. Forensic Field Survey Results

The purpose of the field search at the BIRS property was to investigate the concerns of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation community members of unmarked grave depressions on the school property, specifically behind the school. Unfortunately, there are no cardinal directions associated with the letter from an Environment Officer to the Provincial Archaeologist in reference to student graves adjacent to the school (Bird, 1997, p. 1). In addition, there were no landmarks to reference or help locate the area to which they were referencing. Field methods which were used during the survey included archival research, qualitative interviews, reconnaissance, field walking, probing, visual search indicators, metal detector, control burns, mapping and aerial photography.

4.3.4.1. Visual Assessment

As part of the field survey at the North-East Fields, field walking was used to visually assess which search methods should be employed to best locate unmarked

graves. For example, the thick overgrown vegetation and debris underfoot made it difficult for the field searchers to walk and consequently, made it made it challenging to predict areas of interest and to identify typical characteristics of a grave, such as soil depressions, backfill scatter, and differential vegetation. It was also difficult to determine the difference between natural and modified landscape. The site in general was littered with historic garbage, such as metal cans, tins, paint cans, glass jars and wire. To help remedy these obstacles, the Elder Kevin Tacan recommended a control burn. During the initial walk, searchers began planning a strategy for a control burn (e.g. boundaries, permissions and volunteers).

4.3.4.2. Control Burn

Control burns are not common in forensic searches because the burn destroys the distinctive vegetation growth of the burial area. However, in historic cases, control burns serve as an important search technique for large heavily overgrown search areas. While control burns are a large undertaking, the additional work can result in great success, and allow for field walking to be conducted again. In some cases the technique not only narrows a large search area to a smaller area of interest, but can also lead to the identification of specific features. At the North-East fields, several depressions were located during the field preparation, and many more were identified after the burn. Conveniently, the depressions were accentuated when the fall leaves fell into the pits and outlined the perimeter of the depression. The use of control burns in combination with standard forensic search methods allowed for large areas to be systematically searched

and allowed for better understandings of potential unmarked graves behind the BIRS building.

4.3.4.3. Mapping

The area was mapped using a total station. The collected data points were used to create a 3-dimensional plan map of the area containing depressions. The topographical map below outlines the roads, fences, landmarks, and features which were located at this site (Figure 4.29).

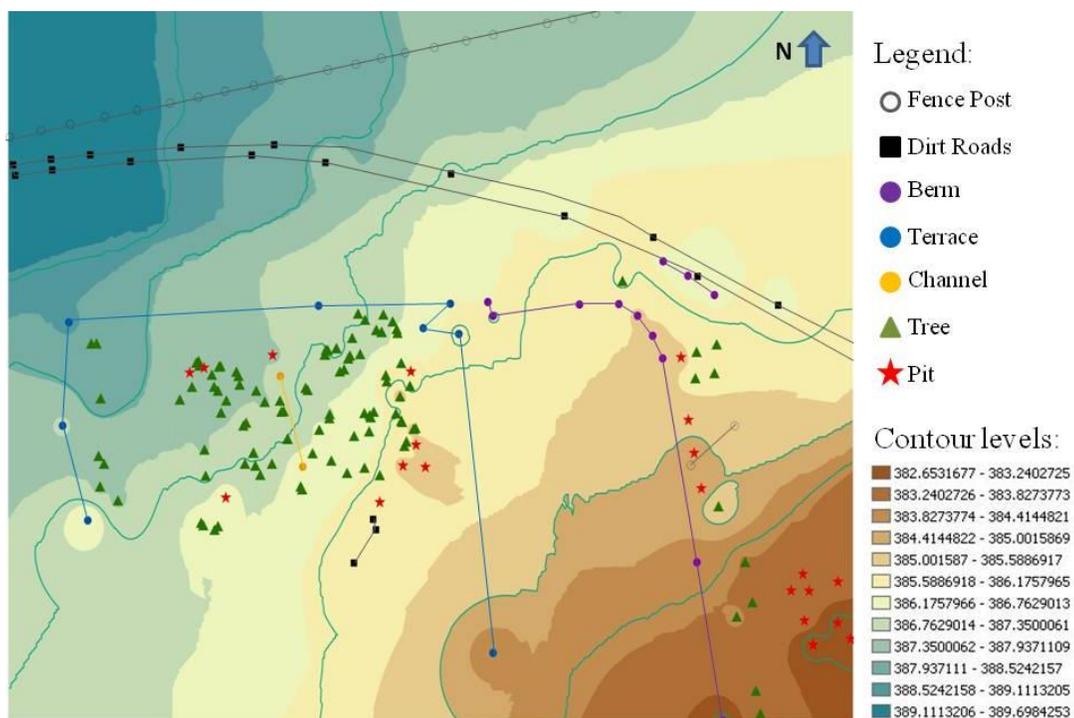


Figure 4.29. Contour map of the North-East Field. Map shows identifiable features of the landscape and located depressions (pits).

4.3.4.4. Aerial Photography

Historic aerial photographs were extremely useful for identifying changes to the landscape and to assist with narrowing areas of interest. A range of historical aerial photographs helped to estimate the dates when major modifications to the site were completed and to identify areas which remained unchanged. Current aerial photographs were taken after the control burns of the property were completed. Aerial photographs of the North-East fields served especially useful as maps of the BIRS property and were consulted throughout all stages of the research.

4.3.4.5. Soil Probe, GPR and EM38-MK2

Since there were substantial amounts of metal at this site, it was decided that GPR and EM38 surveys would be better utilized at different sites. Therefore, soil samples were not necessary for this site. After the control burn visual search indicators, such as depressions were easily identified. A total of 19 depressions of different sizes and shapes were identified behind the school in the north and east fields. When conversations of this area were discussed with survivors there was only mention that this area was used to hang laundry and for gardening. However, since these depressions contained metal debris, it is possible that some of these depressions were created to manage the schools garbage. It is common for farmers to dispose of their garbage in a pit and burn the contents when the debris piles up. These depressions could also be what remain of outhouses/latrines for this area. In addition, some depressions were circular and deep and had similar characteristic to a tree being uprooted. Other depressions shared similar

characteristics to the depressions located at the North Hill burial site but were not in an east-west orientation.

4.3.5. Summary

The purpose of the search of the BIRS property was to investigate Sioux Valley Dakota Nation community concerns of burials behind the school. While the archival research did not provide documentation of graves behind the school, participant interviews with three BIRS survivors provided invaluable insight into where student were buried. Using forensic survey methods I was able to confirm the existence of visible depressions of where the participants had verbally and visually indicated on a historic aerial map. Table 4.5 summarizes the research methods which were used while investigating the North-East Fields.

Table 4.5.

Summary of Research Methods used at the North-East Fields site

Research Method	Utilized	Comments
Archival Research	Yes	Variety of Sources Consulted
Participant Interviews	Yes	5 Survivors Interviewed
Forensic Research	Yes	Due to large amounts of metal at site geophysical surveys would likely yield ambiguous results.
Visual Assessment	Yes	
Control Burn	Yes	
Mapping	Yes	
Aerial Photography	Yes	GPS locations have been confidentially shared with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation.
Soil Probe	No	
GPR	No	
EM38-MK2	No	

4.3.5.1. Distribution of Information

The specific GPS location of these 19 depressions has been confidentially shared with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. In order to protect the exact locations of these depressions (pits), landmarks on the topographical map are intentionally ambiguous. The location of the three unmarked graves identified by the participants is within the map, but the marker has been removed.

4.3.5.1. Additional Work

It is possible that additional archival records will show insight into the uses and functions of this particular site. Additional forensic work will need to be completed if the community wishes to verify these depressions as graves. With knowledge of these exact locations, the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation can now move forward with protection and restoration plans.

4.4. Site 4: East Hill

The community of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation also had concerns of other burials on the BIRS property. The location of this site was ascertained from an article in *The Epoch Times*, where a student survivor of BIRS was quoted saying that, “he personally knows of three grave sites on a hill east of the BIRS, which he attended” (Delaney, 2007). The article did not provided additional information such as nearby landmarks which would be useful to narrow the search area.

4.4.1. Site Location

The East Hill site is located in the Rural Municipality of Cornwallis, on Sioux Valley Dakota Nation property with the site's legal description being 28-10-19 NE ¼. The site is secluded and not easily visible from the main gravel road (34th Street North). The site is located east of the school, in a small clearing, on a small terrace (Figure 4.30). A historic water supply map marks the location of a house in this area of the school property (Department of Mines and Resources Dominion Water and Power Bureau, 1947) (Figure 4.31). While the basement foundations are still visible today, it is extremely overgrown with vegetation.



Figure 4.30. Aerial Photograph of the Brandon Indian Residential School Property. Yellow outlines the school ruins, orange outlines the principals' house and red outlines the East Hill site. Photo Credit: Author

Figure 4.31. Lot plan of Brandon Indian Residential School property. Source: Department of Mines and Resources Dominion Water and Power Bureau, 1947. Please see: <http://www.collectionscanada.gc.ca/microform-digitization/006003-119.01-e.php?PHPSESSID=fj8a11vjuemkce8sjv5pp21a01&sqn=1275&q2=2&q3=237&tt=2186> The URL is provided here due to difficulties obtaining copyright permission for the use of the image.

4.4.2. Archival Results

Additional archival documentation also references student deaths in groups of three's at the BIRS. Writing to the DIA, Principal Ferrier (1912a) stated, "I have gone over this morning for the purpose of locating a suitable and proper site for a burial plot, believing that we will have to use it in the near future for three pupils" (p. 1909). In another archival document, DIA Inspector Jackson (1918) reported on the BIRS and stated "The nurse reports (though she refused to put it in writing), that since February, 1917, there were three deaths from tuberculosis" (p.30). However, no student names were found in reference to student burials on the BIRS property and no procedures or protocols were recovered.

4.4.3. Interview Results

The survivors of the BIRS who were interviewed did not have any information about student burials east of the school. It seems that the only knowledge of student burials was either at the North Hill burial grounds or behind the school. These survivors attended the BIRS much later during the years 1938 to 1962. During the time period the survivors attended the BIRS, students were being buried in the second school burial ground. Louis Daniels, who reported the three burials east of the school to the press passed away in 2010 (Sun Media, 2010).

4.4.4. Forensic Field Survey Results

The primary aim of the East Hill survey was to systematically search the area using forensic search methods to locate unmarked graves. The field methods which were

used included archival research, reconnaissance, field walking, probing, site preparation, GPR, and mapping. The GPR data which was collected at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery was invaluable for a baseline comparison of the GPR data collected at the East Hill site.

4.4.4.1. Visual Assessment

Field walking confirmed that this site was in a clearing, east of the school, on the North Hill, and on a small terrace. Probing was conducted to help locate soft spots within the clearing identified from aerial photographs. The field walking and probing assisted searchers to identify this area as a location worth further investigation. The search probes which were used at the East Hill site were the same as the probes used at the North Hill burial ground site. Depressions were also noted during the probe search of this area and the grid intentionally incorporated these areas of interest into the GPR survey. Unfortunately, due to the vague description in this newspaper article it is possible that other areas on the BIRS property fit this description as well.

4.4.4.2. Control Burn

This site was considerably smaller than the north-east fields. While the vegetation was also overgrown, the site was prepared with weed whackers for the GPR survey. The site did not require a control burn.

4.4.4.3. Mapping

This site was relatively flat within the clearing and a total station survey of the area was not necessary. There is a ravine to the east of the site which contains a historic midden, and is littered with cans, buckets and jars. Points of interest were collected using a Garmin Global Positioning System.

4.4.4.4. Aerial Photography

Field walking used in combination with historic maps, historic and current aerial photographs informed the search areas on the property. These images were consulted throughout the entire investigation. Used in combination, this particular area east of the school on a hill was confirmed as a site worth further investigation.

4.4.4.5. Soil Probe

The East Hill site is located south-east of the North Hill Burial Ground. This site also shared many of the same physical and environmental characteristics and with this site. Since the GPR data was similar to the GPR data collected at the North Hill Burial Grounds it was decided that additional soil samples were not necessary.

4.4.4.6. GPR

During the GPR survey, when data was being collected in the east-west orientation, three anomalies were identified by the GPR operator as distinct from any other data which was collected during this survey. These areas were pin flagged and their locations were recorded with a Garmin Global Positioning System. The analysis of the

GPR in the software programs further confirmed that the GPR images seen in the field were distinctive to the surrounding area and were similar to the GPR reflect profiles collected at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.

4.4.4.7. EM38-MK2

Due to restricted time of the surveyor and equipment only inside the North Hill burial ground fence could be surveyed. At the time of the field research, it was not possible to survey the East Hill site using EM38 technology.

4.4.5. Summary

The purpose of the search at the East Hill site was again, to investigate Sioux Valley Dakota Nation community concerns of depressions on the school property. The investigation of archival documents gained limited references of graves on the school property. Interviews with survivors did not yield any insight of students being buried east of the BIRS. Forensic search methods located an area of interest and the GPR survey identified three anomalies at this particular site east of the school. Table 4.6 summarizes the research methods which were used while investigating the East Hill site.

4.4.5.1. Distribution of Information

While the location of this site has been identified on the aerial map, its precise location is intentionally ambiguous. The specific GPS location of these 3 anomalies has been confidentially shared with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation. In order to protect the

exact locations of these anomalies which are indicative of potential graves, their locations on a map have not been included in this thesis.

Table 4.6.

Summary of Research Methods used at the East Hill site

Research Method	Utilized	Comments
Archival Research	Yes	Additional areas on the property may also fit the vague description from the newspaper clip
Participant Interviews	Yes	Limited Knowledge
Forensic Research	Yes	Site prepared with weed whackers and lawn mowers and did not require a control burn.
Visual Assessment	Yes	Soil probe not required.
Control Burn	No	Due to restricted availability of EM38 equipment this site was not searched.
Mapping	Yes	GPS locations have been confidentially shared with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation.
Aerial Photography	Yes	
Soil Probe	No	
GPR	Yes	
EM38-MK2	No	

4.4.5.2. Additional Work

With the recovery of additional archival records, it may be possible to determine the specific functions of the East Hill site. Similarly to the North-East fields, forensic work will need to be completed if the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation wishes to verify these anomalies as graves. In light of this, the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation can move forward with protection of these exact locations and begin restoration plans.

4.5. Deaths Occurring Away from the Brandon Indian Residential School

Students not only died at the school but also died away from the BIRS. For instance, some were sent home with their illness while others were sent to hospital for treatment. It was important to gather this data since it is unclear if students who died at the hospital were buried in the hospital cemetery, brought back to the school for burial, returned home for burial, or buried in the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.

4.5.1. Site Locations

It is likely that sick students were sent to local hospitals for treatment. While it is important that the locations of these students' burials are accounted for, it was beyond the scope of this project to compile a complete list of all the students who died off-campus. The main focus of this research question was to distinguish those students who died away from the school and were buried off-campus, from those students who died away from the school but were brought back to the school for burial.

4.5.2. Archival Results

In certain cases, students were brought back from the hospital to be buried at the North Hill Burial Ground, e.g. Henry Swanson in 1940 (Doyle, 1940). In other cases, students are noted as dying at the hospital but they lack documentation stating their place of burial, e.g. Eleanor Hall (RG10, Vol. 6256, File 576-2, Part 1). Eleanor Hall's death at the Brandon Regional Hospital in December of 1941 is noted in the Quarterly Returns, but lacks the required Form #414 memorandum of a death of pupil, and she is not included in the Deaths of Pupils file (Library and Archives Canada, 1940-1949a & b).

While it may be possible that Eleanor Hall was returned home to be buried in her community cemetery in Oak River, there were no records which suggested that children were returned home after death for burial. A search for her burial was not located in the Brandon Municipal Cemetery and a record of her death was not recorded by the Brockie Donovan Funeral Home. Her death is registered in the Manitoba Vital Statistics database however, her place of burial is not recorded. While her name is not inscribed on the cairn, the archival results clearly illustrated that there are more than eleven burials at the North Hill Burial Ground and it seems possible that Eleanor Hall was also buried at the school burial grounds. Identifying her place of burial is extremely important for her family and community. It would also contribute to the larger research goals of the project. By identifying student burial locations in the archival record, the number of names could be compared to the total number of identified burials at the North Hill Burial Ground.

The archival information of students who died away at hospitals, died after returning home, or died in transportation to or from the school yielded limited results. While the search for records spanned the length of the schools operation (1895-1972), only sporadic results were recovered. For example, in 1903, Rev. MacLachlan, an Indian Guide and five children from the First Nation community of Berens River drowned in Lake Winnipeg on their way to the BIRS. The inconsistency of the archival references has made it difficult to definitively determine the number of student deaths as a result of illnesses or accidents.

Related information was recovered during the search for the location of student burials. For example, Hannah and James Goodland were buried in the Brandon Municipal Cemetery in 1918 and 1920 in association with the Indian Industrial School in Brandon

(S. Jasper, personal communication, June 15, 2012). Interestingly, their son Herbert Goodland (1913-1915), was the BIRS Farm Manager from 1900 to 1922. Appendix J is a working list, which chronologically documents individuals who were severely sick at the BIRS, who died away from the school, who died in transport to or from the school, or those who died and were buried in reference to the BIRS.

4.5.3. Interview Results

During the interviews, I heard stories about students being buried in different cemeteries. For example, I learned that students from the community of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation who were sick or who had died at the BIRS were often returned home to be buried in their community's cemetery. I was also surprised to learn that many people who died at the Ninette Sanatorium were buried in the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery. For instance, I was told that a counsellor from a northern community in Manitoba finally found the burial location of his sister many years after her death. Ella Lambert attended the BIRS and was sent to the Ninette Sanatorium for treatment. While she died at the Ninette Sanatorium, she was later buried in the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery. I was told that the counsellor was relieved to have finally located her, and pleased that the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery was located on a hill looking over the valley and river (Figures 4.32 & 4.33). This information about student burials in cemeteries away from the BIRS is valuable to both the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation and other community groups whose children attended the BIRS. This also contributes insight into the reality of non-standardized burial procedures for students who died away from the school.



Figure 4.32. White wooden crosses located in the east section of the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery, facing north-west.
Photo Credit: Author



Figure 4.33. White wooden crosses located directly behind, view of the valley within the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery, facing east.
Photo Credit: Author

4.5.4. Forensic Field Survey Results

It was beyond the scope of this research project to begin any forensic investigation at locations away from the BIRS. These surveys can only indicate how many potential burials are located at the site. It is not possible to use the technology to search for a particular person. In addition, Joisus Taylor was identified as being buried at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery; however there is no headstone to mark his final resting place within the row of plots. At the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation cemetery only anonymous white crosses mark the locations of individuals who were brought from the Ninette Sanatorium for burial. It may be possible that with additional research other cemeteries where students were buried may hold detailed archival records and legible headstones.

4.5.5. Summary

Limited archival references to the location of student burials made the task of determining the number of student burials at the BIRS unfeasible. While it was important to consider the possibility of students being returned to the school for burial, interviews with survivors also shared insightful information about different locations for the burial of sick students who died while receiving treatment away from the school. A better understanding of the treatment of sick students and student burials off-campus can only be gained with additional archival records, conversations with survivors and visits to these specific cemeteries.

In this chapter, the results of the archival search, participant interviews and forensic field surveys were presented and discussed by site. While archival restrictions

and denied land permission hindered the overall objectives of this research project, a working list of names and numbers of student deaths was compiled. New understandings of the BIRS were also gained from the interviews with the addition of a new field search area (site 4). Finally, using a mixed method approach, the non-invasive forensic search located potential unmarked graves at sites 3, 4 and 5. A map which identifies the home communities of those who are buried at the BIRS burial grounds is located in Figure 4.34. Table 4.7 summarizes the amount of volunteer hours required to complete the field surveys and Table 4.8 summarizes the results of the research methods by site.

In the final chapter I discuss the implications of investigating unmarked graves and burial grounds at the BIRS. I outline the restrictions to archival data and analyze the consequences of over protecting archival records. Here, I also explain the difficulty of knowing the progress of the Truth and Reconciliation Commissions (TRC) Missing Children Project with limited publications and solid information available at this time. Next, I clarify the importance of survivor testimony as a key component of the forensic search for unmarked graves and for the process of truth and reconciliation in Canada. Further, the results of the field work not only contribute to the goals of the TRC, but also contribute valuable information regarding the success of geophysical technologies in the search for historic graves in southwestern Manitoba. Here, I also explain the many responsibilities a researcher has to uphold during a research project of this nature. Finally, I conclude the thesis by outlining projects planned for the future to continue the process of truth and reconciliation in Canada.

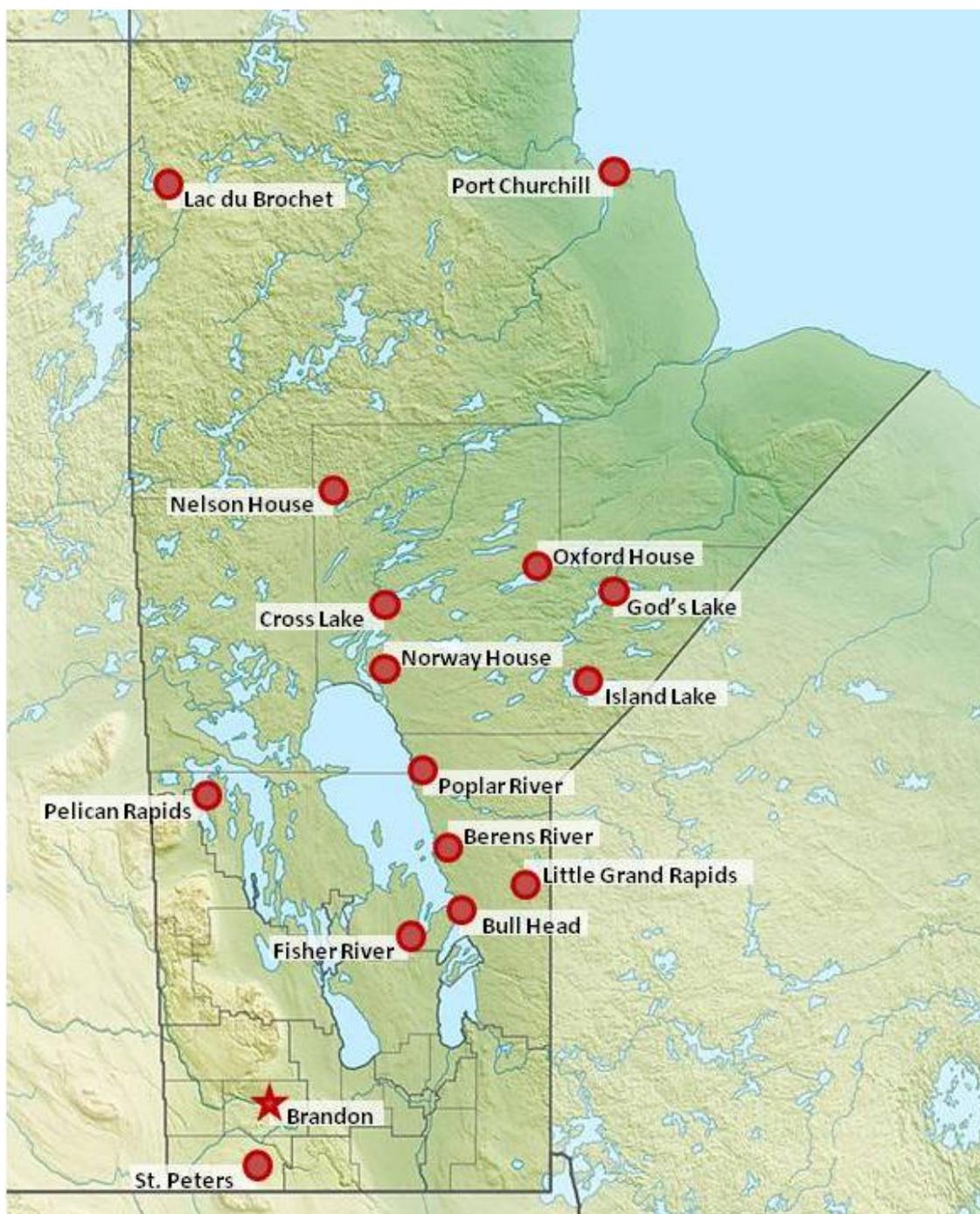


Figure 4.34. Map of Manitoba identifies the home communities of those likely buried in at the BIRS burial grounds. Archival results were used to identify community locations. Map Source: NordNordWest, 2009.

Table 4.7.*Summary of field work by site: volunteers and required man hours*

Forensic Field Survey Sites	Number of Volunteers	Number of Work Hours
Control Site: Brandon Municipal Cemetery	4	20.5
Site 2: North Hill Burial Ground	16	267.25
Site 3: North-East Fields	16	206.5
Site 4: East Hill	6	21
Total	25	515.25

Table 4.8.*Summary of all research methods by site*

Results by Site	Archival Research			Participant Interview		Forensic Field Survey			
	Plots	Names	Numbers	Names	Numbers	Headstones	Visual	GPR	EM38
Control Site: Brandon Municipal Cemetery	180	218	218	N/A	N/A	103	N/A	142	N/A
Site 1: Assiniboine River Burial Ground	N/A	51	35-70*	0	0	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Site 2: North Hill Burial Ground	N/A	24	30-41*	1	1	11	17	18	24-26
Site 3: North-East Fields	N/A	0	3-6*	0	3	0	19	N/A	N/A
Site 4: East Hill	N/A	0	3	0	0	0	N/A	3	N/A

* This estimate was calculated by totaling the minimum and maximum recorded deaths (names and numbers) by year from all available sources

** Appendices F & G contain a complete list of identified names, ages, dates of death, home community, and archival source

Chapter 5

Discussion and Conclusion

The archival and historic records searches, participant interviews and field surveys used during this study produced qualitative and quantitative data regarding the names of students who died while attending the Brandon Indian Residential School (BIRS), the burial ground locations, and the physical location of unmarked graves. In this final chapter, I examine the results of the investigation of unmarked graves and burial grounds at the BIRS. I evaluate the success of the research methods in relation to the initial aims of the project to identify the names of the students and locate unmarked graves. I also outline limitations and strengths of each research methods and discuss how these implications affected achieving the goals of the research project.

Specifically, the archival results provided documentation, forms and procedures related to student deaths at the BIRS. Despite the consequences of over protecting archival records, recovered materials indicate that student deaths were documented in school burial registries, quarterly returns, and in official forms created by the Department of Indian Affairs. However, due to the archival restrictions, the result of the archival research presented in this thesis is only a working list; it is not a final list of the students who died while attending the BIRS. Next, I explore the unique source of information from survivor testimonies and discuss the urgency and impediments that surrounded the interview process. Participant interviews not only served as an effective forensic tool of using eyewitness accounts to assist with locating unmarked graves, but also created the

opportunity for survivors of the BIRS to share their story, provide context of the BIRS, and for me to gain further insight into death of burial of BIRS students. Here, I consider the limitations of non-invasive search methods and the strengths of collaborating with local law enforcement in the search for unmarked burials in southwestern Manitoba. I also show how the results of the forensic field search contribute towards the goals of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).

My efforts to locate those who are buried at the BIRS were not always completely successful; however, this research was made possible by the strengths of the relationship that created networks of people who contributed specialized skills, connections and support throughout the course of my research. In the final section, I outline how I will continue to work with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation after my thesis research is completed and recommend future research directions. I conclude the thesis by exploring the many possibilities for future research projects which can foster learning opportunities and continue to the process of truth and reconciliation.

5.1. Site Specific Summary of Findings

The goals of this research were to determine the locations of unmarked burial grounds, the number of graves at each location, and identify the names of the students who were interned within these burial grounds. By adopting a forensic anthropology conceptual framework, the results of the investigation unmarked graves and burial grounds at the BIRS showed a considerable degree of success. The results identified two school cemeteries and the names of 70 students who died and are interned within the school's burial grounds.

5.1.1. Site 1: Assiniboine River Burial Ground

The search through archival documents provided confirmation of the existence of the BIRS's first burial ground near the Assiniboine River (1895-1911). The archival search for the names of these students suggests that there are at least 51 students buried in the Assiniboine River Burial Ground. Land Permission to physically survey the Assiniboine River Burial Ground was denied, and it was learned during interviews that survivors held limited knowledge about this burial ground.

5.1.2. Site 2: North Hill Burial Ground

The archival results of the North Hill Burial Ground (1912-1972) directly accounted for 26 individuals who are buried at this location. This included 20 students, an infant, an ex-pupil, and four individuals from the Brandon Mental Health Hospital. While two survivors had been to this site, they were unable to locate individual graves. The forensic results identified 17 depressions within fence and 6 depressions north of the fence and 2 minor depressions east of the fence. The GPR results indicated that there are 18 potential burials within the chain link fence. The results of the EM38 filtered data by McLeod (2013) indicated that there are potentially 24 unmarked burial plots, with at least 2 of these locations containing double burials within a single plot. Based on the GPR results from the control site, used in combination with the results from the visual assessment, EM38 and GPR surveys at the North Hill Burial Ground, it is estimated that there are 24 to 26 potential graves within the fence, and 6 potential graves just outside of the fence.

5.1.3. Site 3: North-East Fields

The community of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation had concerns about unmarked graves behind the school and the North-East fields were identified as an area of interest based on a letter correspondence from Bird (1999). However, additional archival information such as names or numbers of student deaths were not recovered. Interviews with survivors related the context of the BIRS and revealed general knowledge of students being buried behind the school and one specific location which was incorporated into the field survey. The field survey located 19 depressions behind the school. While these pits may or may not be depressions indicating an unmarked grave, the location of 3 unmarked graves which was pinpointed by three participants strongly suggest that at least 3 of these depressions are unmarked graves.

5.1.4. Site 4: East Hill

The survey east of the school was identified as another area of interest based on community concerns of unmarked graves on the BIRS property and from a statement of a survivor of the BIRS which was recorded in a newspaper article (Delaney, 2007). Survivors who were interviewed did not know any specific information about this location. The GPR survey detected three anomalies, which are indicative of graves based on the control sample collected from the Brandon Municipal Cemetery.

5.1.5. Student Burials Away from the Brandon Indian Residential School

Archival research and firsthand knowledge from survivors resulted in further understandings of the treatment of sick students and burial procedures. A range of

information was obtained which suggests that students may have been buried in the hospital cemetery, the town cemetery where the hospital was located, returned to the school, returned home, or brought to a nearby First Nation community for burial. Further investigation is needed to determine which students were brought back to the school for burial.

Summary

By using an applied anthropological approach, I completed research with the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation community and expanded the research aims to include interviews with survivors and forensically survey two additional sites to ensure that the needs and considerations of the community were at centre of the research design. The field work began with a ceremonial smudge and utilized non-invasive search methods and geophysical technologies to ensure that the remains were not disturbed. To confirm the reliability of GPR technology, a control survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery showed that 79% of historic children's graves were successfully located. The reflection profiles, average depths, and strength of images were an invaluable baseline for comparison to the GPR data collected during the North Hill Burial Ground and the East Hill site surveys. These results were possible by working with communities, by networking with agencies, and combining the research methods of the archival research, forensic field surveys, and interviews with survivors who attended the BIRS.

5.2. Evaluation of Methods

The strengths and limitations of the research methods affected the results of the research project. For example, unexpected restrictions to archival records impeded the possibility of creating a full list of student names that died at the BIRS. This had implications for the field survey, since one of the preliminary aims of the research was to compare the archival number of student deaths to the number of unmarked graves identified at the BIRS burial grounds. In addition, being denied permission to survey the first burial ground near the Assiniboine River made achieving this aim simply unattainable. Despite these limitations, I was able to begin the process of identifying students who died and locate unmarked graves at the BIRS.

5.2.1. Archival Research

The search for the names of students who died at the BIRS is not complete. A major impediment is the uncertainty surrounding the location of original records for the BIRS. While navigating through multiple avenues in the search for BIRS records, unexpected restrictions, missing files, and missing information was encountered. This section illustrates the problems surrounding missing records and the consequences of over protecting archival records.

5.2.1.1. Missing Information

The Quarterly Returns are an excellent archival source which explicitly states the names and numbers of student who attended the school, those who were discharged from the school, and those who died at the school for every three month quarter. These records

would have been compulsory and diligently kept as most Indian residential schools were funded on the per capita system where the Federal Government provided funding based on student attendance. For the BIRS, only 16 years of quarterly returns were located (1895-1898 & 1941-1952) (Library and Archives Canada, 1941-1951a & b). If the complete record of quarterly returns was recovered, then a full list of students who attended the BIRS could be determined and then the number of student deaths could be more accurately compared to the names of students who died.

In two different cases, references to a map and a diagram of the BIRS cemeteries were noted in archival correspondence. For example, Principal Ferrier (1912b) stated in his letter correspondence that he had included a sketch map of the school property and the two cemeteries; however, the map was not located anywhere on the microfilm reel. In another instance, a correspondence from Davey (1963b) noted that Principal Bond had sent a diagram of the grave plots within the North Hill Burial Grounds; however, the diagram was not located anywhere in the file. While crucial pieces of information were missing from the files, these were the closest references to a cemetery map which were recovered during the archival search and indirectly show that cemetery maps for the BIRS were created. These references are important for dispelling misinformation which continues to surround the BIRS burial grounds. For example, the Winnipeg Free Press (Paul, 2011) stated that the BIRS only had one school cemetery. Despite the contentions surrounding the BIRS burial grounds, archival records have greatly assisted with identifying two school burial grounds and estimating the number of students who are interred within each location.

5.2.1.2. Restrictions

Library and Archives Canada, Brandon Regional Health Centre, TRC's National Research Centre, and Archives of Manitoba hold documents related to the BIRS but are restricted. For example, a burial registry from 1896-1923 held by Library and Archives Canada is restricted by access code 32 which states that the *Access to Information Act* and the *Privacy Act* apply to this record (Library and Archives Canada, 2001). It is interesting that this file is restricted since in Manitoba, the Vital Statistics Agency (2014) allows unrestricted public access to deaths which are more than 70 years. In addition, to gain access to the Brandon Regional Health Centre, where many children were sent for treatment due to its close proximity requires the assistance of a lawyer, approval from Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, and Personal Health Information Protection Act. It also seems that the TRC's National Research Centre is creating protocols for certain records to be restricted and require additional permission before being granted access (Boiteau, 2013, ¶4).

Access to the records held by the Archives of Manitoba requires letters of support and approval from a variety of institutions including; Assembly of Manitoba Chiefs, Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, TRC, University of Manitoba Research Ethics Approval, Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, and Personal Health Information Protection Act (P. Warsaba, personal communication, July 11, 2012). These approvals can take up to a year and can necessitate involving a University lawyer as the agreement created by the Archives of Manitoba can place restriction on publication and curtail the scope of the intended research (M. McCallum personal communication, November 21, 2012). For instance, many researchers are restricted from using the names of individuals

located within the records. The known archival documents that were unavailable for this research are listed in Table 5.1 which includes the recorder holder, the type of document and a description of the document. Examples of these documents can be seen in Appendix K.

Summary

Within the scope and timeline of this research, the demands to access all of the archival documents could not be met. Restrictions to accessing archival information makes public access impossible, seriously impedes research of Indian residential schools, and continues to prohibit communities from learning the truth about the circumstances surrounding their children's death and their burial place. Despite these limitations, formal procedures, protocols and documentation of student deaths at the BIRS were determined using such documents as the Quarterly Returns and Form #414 the memorandum for the death of a student. It is probable that if the restricted records were accessed, the information would greatly further our understandings about student deaths at the BIRS.

5.2.2. Participant Interviews

The interviews provided a unique and rare source of information about the BIRS. Interview participants were recruited from the Brandon and Sioux Valley Dakota Nation communities but there exists the potential for interviewing BIRS survivors who reside in other communities.

5.2.2.1. Constraints

The ethics process from the University of Manitoba was long and complex. For first time researchers, the requirements are not straightforward and require guidance from supervisors and assistance from professors who have previously navigated through the ethics approval process. In addition, the interview process itself was constrained for multiple reasons as participants and potential participants were often sick, and / or in poor health, scheduling conflicts, and problems with transportation.

5.2.2.2. Gender and Sample Size

The search for unmarked graves at the BIRS using survivor accounts had greater implications for this research than I initially anticipated. While I wanted to learn about cemeteries, burial grounds, and unmarked graves, participants recounted personal stories of their experiences at the BIRS. These discussions about the context of the BIRS were very important and informed my overall understandings of the school. For example, without the knowledge of the female student's chores and labour at the BIRS, such as where they were hanging laundry to dry outside, the location of the three unmarked students' graves would not have been known. The interview of only female participants was not intentional, and it is likely that male survivors have similar knowledge of unmarked graves based on the types of chores and labour they were required to complete while attending the BIRS.

5.2.2.3. Timing

A major limitation of the participant interviews was the timing of the research as many student survivors of the BIRS have passed away. For example, Alfred Kirkness, a graduate of the BIRS identified both school cemeteries in a letter correspondence, while another graduate Louis Daniels, was quoted in a newspaper article as knowing the location of three graves east of the BIRS (Delaney, 2007; Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970). Regrettably, Alfred Kirkness passed away in 1980 and Louis Daniels passed away in 2010 (City of Brandon, n.d. b; Sun Media, 2010). Both of these men had unique and personal experiences at the BIRS, and unfortunately their stories and invaluable information as former students has been lost.

The fear of losing survivor stories due to deaths is also tied to the work of the TRC and the urgency surrounding the collection of these testimonies. However, restrictions to survivor interviews are being created at the TRC's National Research Centre which only inhibits research and understandings of Indian residential schools and student deaths and unmarked graves (Rabson, 2013; TRC, 2012). It also continues to deny families, friends and communities the basic right of determining what happened to their children.

Summary

Despite these limitations, the interviews with selected survivors provided spectacular conversations of rich descriptions of day to day life of students at the BIRS. These conversations allowed for the sharing of information that I could never have read about as some of these participants were talking about their experiences for the first time.

Since I only interviewed five participants, and the results from this study cannot be generalized to all Indian residential schools. However, the depth and breadth about firsthand accounts of BIRS experiences and visually identifying locations of unmarked burials was unique information and not accessible in any other way. Finally, through these relationships and connections, I was able to form and will always maintain, lifelong friendships.

5.2.3. Forensic Field Survey

I anticipated that I might be denied land access; however, I was delightedly surprised to be granted permission to complete the forensic survey at the BIRS by the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation, Brandon Research Centre and the Province of Manitoba. Being denied access to one private property meant that it would not be possible to match the number of student's deaths from the archival research to the number of unmarked graves at the BIRS burial grounds. In light of this, I was able to apply different forensic search methods at the BIRS and the Brandon Research Centre property.

5.2.3.1. Total Station Mapping

Total station mapping was completed at the control site, the North Hill Burial Ground and the North-East Fields. It was only unsuccessful at the North Hill Burial Ground where data was collected incorrectly and the survey had to be recreated. The second survey at the North Hill Burial Ground was successful. While the Nikon© total station is an effective tool to create a 3-dimensional map of collected points, new technology developed by Trimble© or Atlus© positioning systems use high precision

satellite receiver Global Navigation Satellite System and have built-in wireless options that allow for real time connection. These technologies are very precise and would have been more effective in the field to confirm if the data was being collected properly. The

5.2.3.2. Magnetometer

The geophysical equipment that was used for this research was chosen with the chain link fence at the North Hill Burial Ground in mind. From consultation with Dr. Ferguson, a Geophysics professor in the Department of Geological Sciences at the University of Manitoba, I learned that the magnetometer, even if operated in a low resolution survey would be affected by the chain link fence for approximately five meters (I. Ferguson, personal communication, September 28, 2012). It became evident that within the chain link fence which measured 24 by 30 meters a loss of 5 meters was too much, and for this reason a magnetometer was not used.

5.2.3.3. Ground-Penetrating Radar

The Ground-Penetrating Radar (GPR) was successfully used at the control site, the North Hill Burial Ground and the East Hill site. However, depending on the soil condition and environment, the GPR survey was not always practical. For example, at the North Hill Burial Ground it was initially planned that both south and west sides outside the chain link fence would be surveyed. However these south and west sections contained trees and when we began surveying the south section, the data collected showed poor results due to interference from the tree roots. It was decided that to better optimize our limited time, additional areas would be surveyed in open areas. While 7 grids were

surveyed at the North Hill Burial Grounds, the 2 grids surveyed in the treed section south of the chain link fence yielded ambiguous data.

5.2.3.4. Electromagnetic Ground Conductivity

Due to time constraints for borrowed Electromagnetic Ground Conductivity (EM38) equipment and surveyor, only one grid inside the fence at the North Hill Burial Ground was surveyed. Since the EM38 is very sensitive to metal the survey grid was prepared one meter away from the chain link fence. It is unfortunate that the EM38 technology was not available for the control survey at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery. Establishing a baseline for both the GPR and the EM38 would have strengthened the results of the North Hill Burial Ground. Regardless, the results of the EM38 survey were extremely valuable and provide further confirmation about the existence and location of unmarked graves within the chain link fence.

5.2.3.5. Limitations of Non-Invasive Geophysical Technologies

Buried materials and historic human remains themselves can be difficult to locate due to the fact that the graves are shallow, and complicated by an extended decomposition time of the coffin, clothing, and size of remains. Dupras, Schultz, Wheeler, and Williams (2006) explain that the soil matrix taken out for the grave will largely be the same that surrounding it with only a small portion being bone, which makes GPR interpretation problematic. Finally, only areas of interest can be identified by GPR and EM38 surveys. This leaves one major limitation to geophysical technologies;

only by expert excavation can these underground features be confirmed as a human burial.

5.2.3.6. Contributions of Geophysical Surveys

The GPR surveys conducted at three different sites helps to build a reference to identify GPR reflection profiles when searching for unmarked children graves in southwestern Manitoba. The GPR and EM38 surveys are comparative technologies which serve as a double confirmation of the unmarked graves at the North Hill Burial Ground. These non-invasive technologies also serve as a means to work with First Nation communities who want to locate unmarked graves without physically disturbing the remains.

5.2.3.7. Collaboration

While non-invasive geophysical technologies for forensic field surveys are an expensive endeavor, GPR and EM38 technology, aerial photography, global positioning equipment was made possible through collaboration with RCMP, Stantec Consulting Limited, Sensors and Software and Brandon University. These agencies were generous with their equipment, software programs and technical support services. Working in collaboration is advantageous for both parties. For example, at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery, Brandon Police and RCMP members were encouraged to visit the site to see the GPR in operation and the survey of known burial plots. At North Hill Burial Grounds, RCMP, GPR technician acquired two days of operating experience with GPR at a burial site with unknown graves. A professional partnership benefits both groups and created

opportunities for gathering important geophysical data of unmarked graves in southwestern Manitoba.

Summary

Despite these limitations, I was able to access four sites that are potential burial grounds for children who attended the BIRS. Instead of using a single method, or having a predefined list of methods to impose on every site, I employed mixed methods. This enabled me to use site sensitive methods and tailor forensic search methods to best suit each site. Most of the forensic search methods I used were fast, cheap and very effective in locating unmarked graves. In addition, formal investigation with forensic search methods and geophysical technologies were completed to follow up on first hand statements about the specific locations of unmarked graves behind the BIRS. The forensic field survey at all the four sites took 515 volunteer hours and was possible without funding.

5.3. Future Considerations

It is my hope that this thesis research can be used as a guideline for others who are interested in completing similar research in their own communities. This thesis has outlined the multiple places of inquiry to consider when searching for historic Indian residential school records, the many benefits of gaining firsthand knowledge from survivors and the different non-invasive field search methods that can be used during a search for unmarked graves. I recommend that in order to complete this type of research, it is important to work in partnership and network with community members.

I was able to create networks and work in partnership with people who shared my concern of unmarked student graves associated with the BIRS property. These individuals listened to me while I outlined the history of the school and explained the importance of locating missing children, unmarked graves, and unmarked burial grounds on the school property or related to the school. As so many of these people had families of their own, they were able to imagine the devastating loss, profound grief, and the thought of never knowing where their child was buried. It was through these individuals' compassion, action, and humanity that this type of research was possible in southwestern Manitoba.

Specifically, further efforts to gain access to restricted archival records of the BIRS would likely increase the number of names of students who died at the BIRS and potentially confirm specific operational dates of each school cemetery. The collection of additional survivor testimonies would also be invaluable, especially from male survivors, those from different communities, and those who attended the school during different years than those interviewed for this research project (1938-1962). In addition, further research efforts at the BIRS would greatly benefit from land access to the earliest cemetery near the Assiniboine River now located in a private camp ground. A forensic survey would greatly assist in confirming the specific location of these unmarked graves and delineate the boundaries of the cemetery for future protection and commemoration.

Given the objectives of the research: (1) examining the number of names and students who died while attending the BIRS, (2) determine the locations of school burial grounds and number unmarked graves at each site, and (3) determine if the number of cemetery interments matched BIRS administrative records aligns with the goals of the

TRC and its ongoing process of collecting a complete history of the Canada's residential schooling system. The TRC is creating a list of students who died at Indian residential schools across Canada; however, there seems to be a strange silence surrounding the notification of families whose children have been documented as dying at these schools. Without this final step, it seems as though the TRC is missing its final link to come full circle.

It is also hoped that the community of Brandon does not forget its own history, and repeat the history of the Muscowequan Indian residential school, north of Regina, of accidentally unearthing unmarked graves during development projects (Curry, 2009). During this research project I was asked to share the progress of my research and to begin conversations with individuals in Brandon and the surrounding area about the BIRS. When I presented to Brandon University students in the Departments of Anthropology, Native Studies, and History I was surprised to learn that both indigenous and non-indigenous students had no knowledge, or limited knowledge about the BIRS. When I gave a presentation to the Assiniboine Presbytery, I was surprised by some of the stories I was told and questions I was asked. For example, in one case, I was asked if it was possible to find out what happened to certain students who stayed at their house over the Christmas holidays. Since I was provided with the names of these students, I thought it might be possible to locate them in the archival records; however, I did not have any success. When I gave a presentation to the United Church of Canada Committee on Indigenous Justice and Residential Schools and the Brandon Friendship Centre I was surprised by two people who came to me after I had presented who each gave me a hug.

One individual said “thank you for finally doing this work” and requested that I send her a copy of my thesis when I was finished.

I recommend that we continue education on Indian residential schools, not only for children in elementary and high school levels, but also for college and university students, Indigenous and non-Indigenous groups, religious congregations, members of the community of Brandon and the surrounding area. For example, Brandon could host guest speakers who could discuss different aspects of the history of the BIRS. This will not only provide support for teachers, but will also provide an opportunity for learning, conversations, discussions, acknowledgement and affirmation of the legacy of the BIRS within the history of Brandon the overall Indian residential schooling system in Canada.

Conclusion

In her book, *Country of My Skull*, Krog (2007) discusses the complexities of the South African’s Truth and Reconciliation Commission's work. Krog (2007, p. 21-22) raises the issue of a Commission being sensitive to the word truth and goes on to explain that:

If [the Commission's] interest in truth is linked only to amnesty and compensation, then it will have chosen not truth, but justice. If it sees truth as the widest possible compilation of people’s perceptions, stories, myths and experiences, it will have chosen to restore memory and foster a new humanity, and perhaps that is justice in its deepest sense.

In this same way, focus on compensation for the survivors in the Indian Residential School Settlement Agreement (Indian and Northern Affairs Canada, 2010) overlooks the deeper issues at hand. This is evident by restrictions to the archival histories of Indian residential schools in Canada, at the federal and provincial level and the proposed

restrictions to survivor testimonies at the TRC's National Research Centre. It is interesting that the restrictions placed on survivor testimonies by the TRC seem to be the result of treating survivors as if they were participants in a research study and requiring informed consent. However, the purpose and goals of the TRC is drastically different from a typical university study, as it was meant to use firsthand accounts to help create a complete history for Canada. These restrictions close the gateway to the possibilities of restoring memory and fostering a new humanity in Canada.

There is much to be done in the way of truth and reconciliation in Canada. This project is only one step towards achieving this goal, and while this research set out to find the names of students who died at the BIRS, physically locate their graves, and tell their stories, it is unfinished. The results from this research into missing children and unmarked burials at the BIRS are not final and require continued search efforts. I will continue to research and work with the community of the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation in whichever direction that they wish to proceed. Research on missing children, unmarked graves, and unmarked Indian residential school burial grounds necessitates working with individual communities on a case-by-case basis.

This has been an opportunity to document the legacy of the BIRS using archival records, interviews with BIRS survivors and forensic field survey methods. While it seems that many people in Brandon do not know about the BIRS, the lingering effects of the school continue to ripple within the community today. For the parents who were unable to bring their daughter's remains home, their lives will never be the same again. This is also true for the 70 families representing 13 different First Nation communities in Manitoba whose children never returned home. And so, if we can begin to accurately

look at the tragedy in our own backyard, we might begin to courageously look at our past and confront our history in order to speak the truth about what happened at the BIRS.

This thesis contributes to “speaking the truth” by compiling sources of information about the deaths of students at the BIRS, and the marked and unmarked burial grounds that may be at risk if they are not properly identified and/or protected. This is one way we might work together to build strong alliances, and be capable of authentically continuing the process of truth and reconciliation in Canada.

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Appendix A

List of Consulted Archival Records

Records Consulted at the Municipal Level		
Record Holder	Archival Source	Description Summary
Brandon General Museum and Archives INC.	Personal Correspondence	No archive, no information regarding the Brandon Indian residential school
Brandon Heritage	Personal Correspondence	No archives, no information regarding the Brandon Indian residential school
Brandon Hospital Medical Health Department	Microfilm	Information regarding the Brandon Indian residential school; however Restricted Access - consent required or law firm
Brandon Information and Records	Personal Correspondence	Limited Info – 1991 development proposal Sioux Valley
	Records & Information Department	Curran Park Administration, Programs and Maintenance 1 File # 6100-0: Maps of Curran Park (Brandon City Hall Records, n.d-b) Ruth Tester, Manitoba Genealogical Society research report which listed student names, home communities, dates of deaths, and a brief history of the Brandon Indian residential school
Brandon Land Titles Office	Land Title Abstracts	List of land owners for the NE1/4 and SE2/4 of Section 10 Range 19 Township 28
Western Manitoba Regional Library (Brandon Public Library)	Personal Correspondence	Currently organizing local history sources, will contact if Brandon Indian residential school records located
	Directory	Henderson's Brandon City Directory for the years: 1883, 1897, 1905, 1956 – 1973. Brandon Indian residential school no longer listed in 1973; List of staff and number of students listed during particular years
	Books	R.M. of Cornwallis Centennial Memorial: School location Section 28 NE: 1884 James Stewart, 1892 Indian Residential School Section 28 SE: 1884 James Stewart, 1892 Indian Residential School (Cornwallis Centennial Committee, 1984, p.399) Reminiscences of Brandon: Mentions BRS in one paragraph (McVicar, 1958) Brandon, a Prospect of a City: some photographs of Brandon (Hume, 1982)
	Binder	Cemeteries: Correspondences of Ruth Testers (Manitoba Genealogical Society) Research of the Brandon Indian residential school

Brandon Municipal Cemetery	Personal Correspondence	Search request yielded three names which were associated with Brandon Industrial School
	Online Resource	GIS Cemetery Search (City of Brandon, n.d-b)
Brandon Regional Health Authority Administration Office	Personal Correspondence	The records are in unorganized boxes in a basement and have not been sorted since the move
Brandon Research Centre	Personal Correspondence	No information Brandon Indian residential school; records sent to Winnipeg
Brandon School Division	Personal Correspondence	Historic records from Cornwallis – St. Michaels School; Brandon Indian residential school records may have been sent to Winnipeg to either the Catholic Arch Diocese or St. Boniface; Search for “Transfer Cards” not “Registry Cards”
Brandon Sun	Newspaper articles	The history of Curran Park and of Brandon Indian residential school (Johnston, 1995a, b & c)
Brandon University S. J. McKee Archive	Photographs	Brandon Indian residential school from the Herbert Goodland Collection 1913-1915
	Ruth Tester Report	Ruth Tester, Manitoba Genealogical Society research report which listed student names, home communities, dates of deaths, and a brief history of the Brandon Indian residential school
	Photocopy of Microfilm Reels	Brandon Indian residential school records - School Files Series RG10 Volumes 6255-6260
Brandon University John E. Robbins Library	Book	With One Voice: A History of Municipal Governance in Manitoba (Goldsborough, 2008)
Brockie Donovan Funerary Home	Personal Correspondence	Search request yielded one result for the North Hill burial grounds
McDeLandes Monuments & Memorials	Personal Correspondence	No historic records
R.M. of Cornwallis	Personal Correspondence	No records of the Brandon Indian residential school; No cemetery maps; No directory of any cemeteries in Cornwallis; All cemetery information sent to Provincial Archives
Former employee R.M. of Cornwallis	Personal Correspondence	All cemetery information sent to Vital Stats in Winnipeg
The Daly House Museum	Photograph	Principal Rev. T. Ferrier of the Brandon Indian residential school and family
The Anglican Diocese of Brandon	Personal Correspondence	No information regarding the Brandon Indian residential school

The Brandon Girl Guides	Personal Correspondence	No information Brandon Indian residential school or in their Provincial Archives
Sioux Valley Dakota Nation	Personal Correspondence	Information regarding children sent home sick and buried in the Sioux Valley Dakota Nation Cemetery

Records Consulted at the Provincial Level

Record Holder	Archival Source	Description Summary
Canada Map Sales	Aerial Photographs	Historic aerial photographs of the Brandon Indian residential school (Canada Map Sales, 1946, 1957, 1959, & 1968)
Library and Archives Canada, Manitoba Region Federal Records Centre	Archival Records and Maps	File on the Brandon Indian residential school cemeteries (Department of Indian and Inuit Affairs, 1963-1970)
Manitoba Genealogical Society	Transcript	Ruth Tester, Manitoba Genealogical Society research report which listed student names, home communities, dates of deaths, and a brief history of the Brandon Indian residential school
	Book	Carved in Stone (Manitoba Genealogical Society, 1990)
Historic Resources Branch	Unpublished archaeological report on file	Brandon Indian residential school cemetery survey report (Baderscher and McLeod, 2000)
Manitobia	Online Resource	Database Search: Digitized historic newspaper clips from Brandon Daily Sun
University of Alberta Libraries Peel's Prairie Provinces	Online Resource	Database Search: Digitized Henderson's Brandon City Directory (1906-1955)
Provincial Archives	Personal Correspondence	Have information on the Brandon Indian residential school; Need permissions/support from FIPPA, AMC and TRC, ethics clearance – then enter into formal agreement
The Archives of Rupert's Land	Personal Correspondence	No records regarding the Brandon Indian residential school
The Shingwauk Residential School Centre	Online Resource	Database Search: digital photographs of Brandon Indian residential school
		Newspaper clips regarding the Brandon Indian residential school (Brenda, 2008; Delany, 2007)
Agency of Manitoba Vital Statistics	Online Resource	Database Search: Deaths more than 70 years ago
United Church of Canada Archives	Registries of Baptisms, Marriages and Deaths	United Church of Canada 1884-1895; 1899
		Brandon Central S14 1884-1886; S7 1889-1892
		Knox United Church Victoria 1909-1928; S8 1931-1943
		Vital Statistics Registry S5 1937-1946: 2 results for Brandon Indian residential school
	Minutes	Minutes of Manitoba and Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church 1883-1904: Only history

	of the school, no results
	Minutes of Manitoba and Northwest Conference of the Methodist Church 1904-1914: Registry with numbers of burials per year
	Methodist Church Manitoba Conference Minutes of the Ministerial Session of the Lake Winnipeg District 1922: Registry with numbers of burials
Journals	MB Conference of the Methodist Church – Journal of the Lake Winnipeg District 1920, 1923-1924: Registry only for 1920
	Methodist church of Canada Journal of General Council 1886, 1890, 1894, 1898, 1902: History of the Brandon Indian residential school
	Journal Proceedings of the 7 th General Conference of the Methodist Church 1906, 1910, 1914: No results
The Methodist Year Book Districts	1915-1923: Registry with numbers of burials per year for Methodist Church Manitoba Conference Brandon District 1897, 1899, 1900: No results
	Manitoba and North West Conference Methodist Church of Board District 1897-1899, 1919: No results
Sherry Roy Report	Reference to Student Deaths at UCC Indian Residential School: Named and unnamed results for BRS (Roy 2012)
Photographs	Multiple collections available
Archaeologist file	Map of Curran Park and letter correspondences
Book	Carved in Stone (Manitoba Genealogical Society, 1990)
Ruth Tester Research	Ruth Tester, Manitoba Genealogical Society research report which listed student names, home communities, dates of deaths, and a brief history of the Brandon Indian residential school
Online Resource United Church of Canada	The Children Remembered: Information regarding Brandon Indian residential school history and photographs
MacDonald Report	Brandon Indian residential school and historic cemetery protocols
University of Manitoba Elizabeth Dafoe	Personal letter Photographs
	One "out of context" letter (Carritt, 1936) Brandon Area, none of Brandon Indian residential school (Ellis 1958-1960)

Library Department of Archives and Special Collections	Online - Archives and Special Collections	3 Photographs of the Portage Indian Residential School
University of Manitoba Fr. H. Drake Library	Microfilm of Christian Guardian Weekly Newspaper	Digital photographs of Students at the Portage Indian Residential School available online (Shipley, 1979-1990)
		History of the Brandon Indian residential school (The Christian Guardian Newspaper, 1895)

Records Consulted at the Federal Level

Record Holder	Archival Source	Description Summary
Government Canada Land Surveys	Online Resource	Database Search: Historic map plans of the Brandon Indian residential school property and roads
Legacy of Hope	Online Resource	Information regarding Indian Residential Schools in Canada
Library and Archives Canada	Online Resources	Search: Photographs of students, maps of the school property in 1891 and 1892 Database search: Aboriginal Peoples - Digitized Original Land Deeds Database: School Files Series - The files contain all aspects of Indian school administration in Canada Microfilm Reels specific to Brandon Indian residential school: c-8648-8651 with <i>volumes</i> <i>ranging from 6255-6259</i> Database: Archivia.net Online database search engine for Government of Canada Files
	Microfilms available at Brandon University John E. Robbins Library	RG10 Black Series: Volume 3567, File 82, Part 41 Volume 3891, File 95,833-23 Volume 3956, File 139,043 Volume 3964, File 149,874 Volume 3964, File 150,000-1
	Microfilms available from the University of Alberta through interlibrary loan	RG10 Central Registry Files 1844-1970: Volume 7194, Reel C-9700 File 511/25-1-006 Volume 8449, Reel C-13800, File 511/23-5-006, Parts 1 Volume 8800, Reel C-9718, File 511/25-13-015, Parts 1
Sessional Papers or Annual Reports for the Department of Indian Affairs	Online Resources	Library and Archives Canada Database Search: Indian Affairs Annual Reports 1864-1990 BRS results for 1891-1924, 1960 University of Toronto Database Search: Digitized Sessional Papers
	Paper Copy	Available at Brandon University John E. Robbins Library
Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada	Online Resource	General information of the TRC, interviews and events Information regarding missing children and unmarked burials project
	Correspondence with Lead Archaeologist Alex Maass	PDF: Remembering the Children Guidelines for initiating projects involving Indian Residential School cemeteries and unmarked burials (Fausak, 2011)

Appendix B

Letters of Support and Permissions

Sioux Valley Dakota Nation (Land title holder) – Letter of Permission

(Page 1 of 2)

Dear Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation,

My name is Katherine Nichols and I am a Masters student at the University of Manitoba in the Department of Anthropology under the supervision of Dr. Gregory Monks. As part of my master's degree research, I would like to conduct a survey of the Brandon Indian Residential School cemeteries during the summer of 2012. This survey would include non-invasive field work and archival research.

The purpose of the field work will be to determine the cemetery boundaries, to identify the number of potential graves sites in each, and to cross-reference the burial plots with the number of deceased children from archival records. I would like to stress that there will be no excavations of any graves and only non-invasive search techniques will be used. The fieldwork process will be documented with photos, notes and sketches. Preliminary fieldwork would include a topographical survey. This would be useful for collecting information about the land, whether naturally occurring or humanly modified. The measurements of varying elevations and directions can be used to create a three-dimensional map and to identify observable features. Non-invasive survey techniques for the search of any unmarked plots will involve testing the ground surface resistance/compaction with surface search probes. The search probes that will be used are modified ski poles and the depth minimal, only a few centimeters. The probe cannot/ will not be pushed several feet deep to determine the presence of a coffin. Probes serve a useful test to compare the top soil compaction along the landscape and are commonly used in forensic searches. Ground penetrating radar is also non-invasive which would assist in further verifying the location of potential plots. This technique sends radio wave signals into the ground and the signal reflects back to the surface at different rates depending electrical properties of the materials in the soil. The data is viewed in real-time, filtered and recorded. It is useful in mapping buried anomalies and estimation of depth. All potential grave sites and cemetery boundaries will be marked and mapped. This will help create a comprehensive record of the cemeteries and assist in the preservation of their locations.

The archival component of this project will involve the examination of the Brandon Residential School's administration/ registration records for all children from its inception until closure. This will help to assess how many children and communities attended the School. It will be important to determine the procedures and protocols that would have taken place at the Brandon Residential School when a child passed away while attending school (e.g., notifying parents, MB provincial legislation requiring registration of deaths, ordering tombstones, etc.). The identification of the children who passed away while attending the school is necessary in order to compile an inventory of mortality records, to identify any missing children, and to determine any patterns in mortality rates during particular periods of enrollment (e.g., between particular years, bands, etc.).

The number of suspected graves from the field research will be compared against the number of graves recorded in the archives. Any discrepancies in the number of graves between archival and fieldwork could be resulting from mapping

Sioux Valley Dakota Nation (Land title holder) – Letter of Permission

(Page 2 of 2)

technology limitations and/or historic non-registration of death. These discrepancies will be compiled into a list and cross-referenced with the names of discharged and deceased children in an attempt to further identify any unaccounted for children.

I would like to receive permission and approval from your band to physically survey the various Brandon Residential School cemeteries this summer. Once completed, I will submit my thesis to your Council, Justice Murray Sinclair (Commissioner) and Alex Maass (Lead Archaeologists) of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. This will detail the names of deceased children I have compiled, along with the location, boundaries, and potential unmarked plots so that restoration and commemoration can take place.

Sincerely,

Katherine Nichols

Printed Name

Signature

Date May 17, 2012

Contact Information:

Cell Phone:

E-mail:

Permanent Mailing Address:

TCPS 2: Core – Certificate of Completion
Tri-Council Policy Statement: Ethical Conduct for Research
Involving Humans Course on Research Ethics

(Page 1 of 1)



University of Manitoba Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board – Approval

(Page 1 of 1)



Human Ethics
208-194 Dafoe Road
Winnipeg, MB
Canada R3T 2N2
Phone +204-474-8880
Fax +204-269-7173

APPROVAL CERTIFICATE

March 8, 2013

TO: Katherine Lyndsay Nichols (Advisor G. Monks)
Principal Investigator

FROM: Susan Frohlick, Acting Chair
Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board (JFREB)

Re: Protocol #J2012:198
"Investigation of Unmarked Burials at the Indian Residential School
Cemeteries in Brandon, Manitoba"

Please be advised that your above-referenced protocol has received human ethics approval by the **Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board**, which is organized and operates according to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2). **This approval is valid for one year only.**

Any significant changes of the protocol and/or informed consent form should be reported to the Human Ethics Secretariat in advance of implementation of such changes.

Please note:

- If you have funds pending human ethics approval, the auditor requires that you submit a copy of this Approval Certificate to the Office of Research Services, fax 261-0325 - please include the name of the funding agency and your UM Project number. This must be faxed before your account can be accessed.
- if you have received multi-year funding for this research, responsibility lies with you to apply for and obtain Renewal Approval at the expiry of the initial one-year approval; otherwise the account will be locked.

The Research Quality Management Office may request to review research documentation from this project to demonstrate compliance with this approved protocol and the University of Manitoba *Ethics of Research Involving Humans*.

The Research Ethics Board requests a final report for your study (available at: http://umanitoba.ca/research/orec/ethics/human_ethics_REB_forms_guidelines.html) in order to be in compliance with Tri-Council Guidelines.

City of Brandon – Approval

(Page 1 of 1)



PERRY ROQUE, DIRECTOR OF COMMUNITY SERVICES
CITY OF BRANDON OPERATIONAL SERVICES DIVISION

August 8, 2013

Ms. Katherine Nichols

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|
|
|

RE: GPR survey of Brandon Municipal Cemetery Section 18

Dear Ms. Nichols,

Further to our email exchange and subsequent telephone conversation, this letter is to serve as authorization for you to proceed with the non-invasive ground penetrating radar survey of Section 18 of the Brandon Municipal Cemetery on Wednesday, August 14, 2013. Should the weather delay or postpone the scan taking place on this date, I simply ask that we receive notification of the rescheduled time prior to it taking place.

I am sure you will appreciate that we need to ensure no burials are scheduled to take place in or around the area where you will be conducting your research so I ask that you please contact our Cemetery Administrator, Sandy Jasper (204.729.2150) prior to the 14th in order to confirm this. Should a burial be scheduled, this would not preclude your work - only interrupt it briefly while it took place.

As you mentioned, we understand that three people will be at the cemetery to both conduct and supervise the scan while it is occurring: yourself; an officer of the RCMP; and Professor Tsukamoto from Brandon University. From your initial email, we have your assurance that absolutely no excavating will take place, only non-invasive radar scans of the landscape of Section 18. We trust that you will respect the sanctity of our beautiful and historic cemetery and the more than twenty thousand souls with whose care we are charged and will conduct your research with this in mind at all times.

I would appreciate receiving a copy of the permit you have applied for through Manitoba Historic Resources and I look forward to receiving a copy of the scan results of Section 18 as well. Should you have any questions at all, the staff at the cemetery & I will be pleased to assist in whatever way we are able to during your research time on-site and beyond. I wish the best of luck with this most fascinating project.

With Kind Regards

Perry Roque *U*
Director of Community Services

PR/skj

cc Mayor Shari Decter Hirst

Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2013

(Page 1 of 2)

*The Heritage Resources Act (Subsection 14(2) and Sections 52 and 53)***Heritage Permit No. A48-13****Pursuant to Section/Subsection: 53 of *The Heritage Resources Act*:**

Name: Katherine Nichols
 University of Manitoba & University of Brandon

Address:

Attention: Katherine Nichols

(hereinafter referred to as "the Permittee"),

is hereby granted permission to:

Conduct Ground Penetrating Radar survey of historic children's section of Brandon Municipal Cemetery

during the period:

July 20 - November 1, 2013

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions:

- (1) That the information provided in the application for this permit dated the **August 1, 2013** is true in substance and in fact;
- (2) That the permittee shall comply with all of the provisions of *The Heritage Resources Act* and any regulations or orders thereunder; PLEASE NOTE ATTACHMENT RE: CUSTODY AND OWNERSHIP OF HERITAGE OBJECTS;
- (3) That the Permittee shall provide to the Minister a written report or reports with respect to the Permittee's activities pursuant to this permit, the form and content of which shall be satisfactory to the Minister and which shall be provided on the following dates:
March 31, 2014
- (4) That this permit is not transferable;
- (5) This permit may be revoked by the Minister where, in the opinion of the Minister, there has been a breach of any of the terms or conditions herein or of any provision of *The Heritage Resources Act* or any regulations, thereunder;

Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2013

(Page 2 of 2)

(6) Special conditions:

- a. The permittee must obtain permission from any landowner, lessee or regulatory authority as applicable, concerning access to any property to be examined;
- b. Neither the Government of Manitoba nor the party issuing this permit shall be liable for any damages resulting from any activities carried out pursuant to this permit, and the Permittee specifically agrees, in consideration for receiving this permit, to indemnify and hold harmless the Minister and the Government of Manitoba, the Minister and any employees and officials of the Government, against any and all actions, liens, demands, loss, liability, cost, damage and expense including, without limitations, reasonable legal fees, which the Government, Minister or any employee or official of the Government may suffer or incur by reasons of any of the activities pursuant to or related to this permit.
- c. The permittee has, along with this permit, received enclosure:
Provisions Regarding Found Human Remains Under THE HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, And Manitoba's Policy Respecting the Reporting, Exhumation and Reburial of Found Human Remains (1987).
- d. None added
- e. None added
- f. None added
- g. None added
- h. None added

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, this 6th day of August, 2013



Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Tourism

**Manitoba Culture, Heritage, and Tourism
Historic Resources Branch**

Brandon Research Centre (Land title holder) – Authorization Form 2012

PERMISSION AUTHORIZATION TO USE

PERMISSION-AUTORISATION POUR L'USAGE DE

□ Building/room No.: _____

□ Bâtiment no./pièce no.: _____

□ Grounds: _____
(Description attach a plan when required)

□ Terrain(s): _____
(description - joindre un plan au besoin)

□ Facility(ies): _____
(Description - attach a plan when required)

□ Installation(s): _____
(description - joindre un plan au besoin)

situated at the Brandon Research Centre
(Establishment)

situé(s) à(au) _____
(établissement)

in Brandon, Manitoba
(City and Province)

à _____
(ville et province)

for Cemetery Field Survey
(Event)

pour _____
(événement)

on July 4, 2012
(Date) to Oct 30, 2012
(Date)

le _____
(Date)

from 07 h 00 to 20 h 00

de _____ h _____ à _____ h _____

Number of anticipated guests: 7-10

Nombre d'invités anticipé: _____

Number of anticipated vehicles: 7-10

Nombre de véhicules anticipé: _____

Permission is granted by:
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA, as represented by the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food, (AAFC),

Cette permission est accordée par :
SA MAJESTÉ LA REINE DU CHEF DU CANADA, représentée aux présentes par le Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire du Canada (AAC),

to: _____
(Name)

à : _____
(nom)

(Address)

(adresse)

(Telephone)

(téléphone)

(Facsimile)

(télécopieur)

(Email)

(courriel)

hereinafter called the "User", to use the building(s)/room(s), grounds or facilities mentioned above.

ci-après nommé(e) «l'utilisateur», pour utiliser le(s) bâtiment(s)/pièce(s), terrain(s) ou installation(s) mentionnés ci-haut.

Brandon Research Centre (Land title holder) – Authorization Form 2012

(Page 2 of 3)

-2-

The User agrees as follows:

- (1) The User will pay AAFC the amount of:
 \$25 as administration fee, plus
 \$10 for water connection (check if required)
 \$15 for electrical connection (check if required)
- plus P.S.T. and G.S.T. (or H.S.T.), payable by cheque to the order of the Receiver General of Canada, at the date of signature of this Permission.
- (2) The User shall comply with all instructions issued by AAFC and shall not allow any alcoholic beverages upon AAFC's property.
- (3) Before and during the event, the User shall take appropriate fire precaution and apply security, health and safety practices to AAFC's satisfaction.
- (4) Before and during the event, the User shall in all respects abide by and comply with all applicable lawful rules, regulations and by-laws of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments or any other governing body whatsoever and with all police, health or fire regulations or by-laws in any manner affecting this permission.
- (5) The User shall, at its own expense, procure and maintain such licences, permits or approvals from Federal, Provincial, Municipal or other government authorities and such private permits as may be necessary to enable the User to furnish the services and/or conduct the operations provided for in this Permission.
- (6) After the event, any property damage incurred shall be repaired and the building(s), parcel(s) of land and facilities shall be in a clean and tidy condition, at the User's cost and to AAFC's satisfaction.

L'utilisateur convient de ce qui suit :

- (1) L'utilisateur payera à AAC le montant de:
 25\$ de frais d'administration, plus
 10\$ pour raccordement d'eau (cochez au besoin)
 15\$ pour branchement électrique (cochez au besoin)
- plus T.V.Q et T.P.S. (ou T.V.H.), payable par l'utilisateur par chèque à l'ordre du Receveur général du Canada, à la date de signature de cette permission.
- (2) L'utilisateur doit se conformer à toutes directives émises par AAC et doit s'assurer qu'aucune boisson alcoolique soit admise sur la propriété d'AAC.
- (3) Avant et durant l'événement, l'utilisateur devra à la satisfaction d'AAC adopter des mesures de santé et de sécurité appropriés notamment celles contre l'incendie.
- (4) Avant et durant l'événement, l'utilisateur doit respecter l'ensemble des lois et règlements fédéraux, provinciaux, municipaux ou autres et tout règlement en matière de sécurité publique, de santé et de protection contre les incendies ou autres règlements qui ont une incidence quelconque sur la permission accordée.
- (5) L'utilisateur, doit à ses propres frais, obtenir et conserver toute licence, permis ou approbation du gouvernement fédéral, provincial, municipal ou tout autre entité gouvernementale, et tout permis privé nécessaire afin que l'utilisateur puisse fournir les services et/ou effectuer les opérations couvertes par cette permission.
- (6) Après l'événement, tout dommage à la propriété doit être réparé et le(s) bâtiment(s), terrain(s) et installation(s) doivent être laissés dans un état propre et en bon ordre, au frais de l'utilisateur et à la satisfaction d'AAC.

Brandon Research Centre (Land title holder) – Authorization Form 2012

(Page 3 of 3)

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- (7) The User shall indemnify AAFC and save Her harmless from and against all costs, claims, demands, losses, damages, actions, suits or other justified proceedings of this Permission or the use of the building(s), parcel(s) of land or facility(ies).
- (8) If the User fails to perform or observe the terms of this Permission, AAFC may terminate the event, without any right to compensation on the part of the User and without prejudice to AAFC's right to claim any damages under this Permission.
- (9) During the event, the User shall have available a copy of this Permission and present it upon request to AAFC representatives.

- (7) L'utilisateur devra indemniser AAC et l'exonérer de tous les frais, réclamations, demandes, pertes, dommages-intérêts, actions, poursuites ou autres procédures fondées, découlant ou reliées de quelque façon que ce soit à l'existence de cette permission ou à l'usage de(s) bâtiment(s), terrain(s) ou installation(s).
- (8) Si l'utilisateur omet de se conformer aux engagements énoncés dans cette permission, AAC pourra annuler l'événement, sans indemnité à l'utilisateur et sans préjudice aux droits d'AAC de réclamer des dommages et intérêts en vertu de cette permission.
- (9) Durant l'événement, l'utilisateur devra avoir en sa possession une copie de cette permission, et la présenter sur demande aux représentants d'AAC.

Permission authorized on July 4, 2012 by:
until Oct 31, 2012
HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA as represented by the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food

Permission autorisée le _____ par:
SA MAJESTÉ LA REINE DU CHEF DU CANADA représenté par le Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire

For and on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food

Pour et au nom du Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire

 Michel Falardeau
 Director, Real Property and Building Operations

 Michel Falardeau
 Directeur, Biens immobiliers et exploitation des locaux

To _____
 (User Signature)

À _____
 (signature de l'utilisateur)

July 4th, 2012
 (Date)

 (date)

Brandon Research Centre (Land title holder) – Authorization Form 2013

(Page 1 of 4)

**PERMISSION AUTHORIZATION
TO USE**

Building/room No.: _____

Grounds: _____
(Description attach a plan when required)

Facility(ies): _____
(Description - attach a plan when required)

situated at the Brandon Research Centre
(Establishment)

in Brandon, Manitoba
(City and Province)

for Cemetery Field Survey
(Event)

on May 6th to Oct 30th 2013
(Date)

from 07 h 00 to 20 h 00

Number of anticipated guests: 3-5

Number of anticipated vehicles: 3-5

Permission is granted by:
**HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT
OF CANADA**, as represented by the
Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food,
(AAFC),

to: _____
(Name)

(Address)

(Telephone)

(Facsimile)

(Email)
hereinafter called the "User", to use the
building(s)/room(s), grounds or facilities
mentioned above.

**PERMISSION-AUTORISATION
POUR L'USAGE DE**

Bâtiment no./pièce no.: _____

Terrain(s): _____
(description - joindre un plan au besoin)

Installation(s): _____
(description - joindre un plan au besoin)

situé(s) à(au) _____
(établissement)

à _____
(ville et province)

pour _____
(événement)

le _____
(Date)

de _____ h _____ à _____ h _____

Nombre d'invités anticipé: _____

Nombre de véhicules anticipé: _____

Cette permission est accordée par :
**SA MAJESTÉ LA REINE DU CHEF DU
CANADA**, représentée aux présentes
par le Ministre de l'Agriculture et de
l'Agroalimentaire du Canada (AAC),

à : _____
(nom)

(adresse)

(téléphone)

(télécopieur)

(courriel)
ci-après nommé(e) «l'utilisateur», pour utiliser
le(s) bâtiment(s)/pièce(s), terrain(s) ou
installation(s) mentionnés ci-haut.

-2-

The User agrees as follows:

- (1) The User will pay AAFC the amount of:
 \$25 as administration fee, plus
 \$10 for water connection (check if required)
 \$15 for electrical connection (check if required)
- plus P.S.T. and G.S.T. (or H.S.T.), payable by cheque to the order of the Receiver General of Canada, at the date of signature of this Permission.
- (2) The User shall comply with all instructions issued by AAFC and shall not allow any alcoholic beverages upon AAFC's property.
- (3) Before and during the event, the User shall take appropriate fire precaution and apply security, health and safety practices to AAFC's satisfaction.
- (4) Before and during the event, the User shall in all respects abide by and comply with all applicable lawful rules, regulations and by-laws of the Federal, Provincial and Municipal Governments or any other governing body whatsoever and with all police, health or fire regulations or by-laws in any manner affecting this permission.
- (5) The User shall, at its own expense, procure and maintain such licences, permits or approvals from Federal, Provincial, Municipal or other government authorities and such private permits as may be necessary to enable the User to furnish the services and/or conduct the operations provided for in this Permission.
- (6) After the event, any property damage incurred shall be repaired and the building(s), parcel(s) of land and facilities shall be in a clean and tidy condition, at the User's cost and to AAFC's satisfaction.

L'usager convient de ce qui suit :

- (1) L'usager payera à AAC le montant de:
 25\$ de frais d'administration, plus
 10\$ pour raccordement d'eau (cochez au besoin)
 15\$ pour branchement électrique (cochez au besoin)
 plus T.V.Q et T.P.S. (ou T.V.H.), payable par l'usager par chèque à l'ordre du Receveur général du Canada, à la date de signature de cette permission.
- (2) L'usager doit se conformer à toutes directives émises par AAC et doit s'assurer qu'aucune boisson alcoolique soit admise sur la propriété d'AAC.
- (3) Avant et durant l'événement, l'usager devra à la satisfaction d'AAC adopter des mesures de santé et de sécurité appropriés notamment celles contre l'incendie.
- (4) Avant et durant l'événement, l'usager doit respecter l'ensemble des lois et règlements fédéraux, provinciaux, municipaux ou autres et tout règlement en matière de sécurité publique, de santé et de protection contre les incendies ou autres règlements qui ont une incidence quelconque sur la permission accordée.
- (5) L'usager, doit à ses propres frais, obtenir et conserver toute licence, permis ou approbation du gouvernement fédéral, provincial, municipal ou tout autre entité gouvernementale, et tout permis privé nécessaire afin que l'usager puisse fournir les services et/ou effectuer les opérations couvertes par cette permission.
- (6) Après l'événement, tout dommage à la propriété doit être réparé et le(s) bâtiment(s), terrain(s) et installation(s) doivent être laissés dans un état propre et en bon ordre, au frais de l'usager et à la satisfaction d'AAC.

-3-

- | | |
|--|---|
| <p>(7) The User shall indemnify AAFC and save Her harmless from and against all costs, claims, demands, losses, damages, actions, suits or other justified proceedings of this Permission or the use of the building(s), parcel(s) of land or facility(ies).</p> | <p>(7) L'utilisateur devra indemniser AAC et l'exonérer de tous les frais, réclamations, demandes, pertes, dommages-intérêts, actions, poursuites ou autres procédures fondées, découlant ou reliées de quelque façon que ce soit à l'existence de cette permission ou à l'usage de(s) bâtiment(s), terrain(s) ou installation(s).</p> |
| <p>(8) The User shall obtain and maintain, at its own cost, liability insurance in the amount of one million dollars (\$1,000,000.00) per event in any manner based upon, arising out of, related to, occasioned by or attributable to the execution of these Presents, or any action taken or things done or maintained by virtue hereof, or the exercise in any manner of rights arising hereunder and shall submit either a copy of the policy, a certificate of insurance, or an affidavit from its insurance company confirming that proper insurance coverage is in place.</p> | <p>(8) L'utilisateur doit souscrire et conserver en vigueur, à ses propres frais, une assurance responsabilité pour la somme d'un million de dollars (1 000 000.00\$) couvrant toute éventualité et à remettre à AAC, soit une copie de la police d'assurance, un certificat d'assurance, ou un affidavit de sa compagnie d'assurance confirmant l'existence d'une couverture d'assurance suffisante.</p> |
| <p>(9) If the User fails to perform or observe the terms of this Permission, AAFC may terminate the event, without any right to compensation on the part of the User and without prejudice to AAFC's right to claim any damages under this Permission.</p> | <p>(9) Si l'utilisateur omet de se conformer aux engagements énoncés dans cette permission, AAC pourra annuler l'événement, sans indemnité à l'utilisateur et sans préjudice aux droits d'AAC de réclamer des dommages et intérêts en vertu de cette permission.</p> |

Brandon Research Centre (Land title holder) – Authorization Form 2013

(Page 4 of 4)

-4-

(10) During the event, the User shall have available a copy of this Permission and present it upon request to AAFC representatives.

(10) Durant l'événement, l'usager devra avoir en sa possession une copie de cette permission, et la présenter sur demande aux représentants d'AAC.

Permission authorized on May 30, 2013 by:

Permission autorisée le _____ par:

HER MAJESTY THE QUEEN IN RIGHT OF CANADA as represented by the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food

SA MAJESTÉ LA REINE DU CHEF DU CANADA représenté par le Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire

For and on behalf of the Minister of Agriculture and Agri-Food *[Signature]*

Pour et au nom du Ministre de l'Agriculture et de l'Agroalimentaire

[Signature]
Michel Falardeau
Director, Real Property and Building Operations

[Signature]
Michel Falardeau
Directeur, Biens immobiliers et exploitation des locaux

To _____
(User Signature)

À _____
(signature de l'usager)

May 6th, 2013
(Date)

(date)

Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2012

(Page 1 of 2)

The Heritage Resources Act (Subsection 14(2) and Sections 52 and 53)

Heritage Permit No. A39-12

Pursuant to Section/Subsection: 53 of *The Heritage Resources Act*:

Name: Katherine Nichols
 University of Manitoba; University of Brandon

Address: Box 17 RR3
 Brandon MB R7A 5Y3

Attention: Katherine Nichols

(hereinafter referred to as "the Permittee"),

is hereby granted permission to:

Conduct non-invasive survey of cemeteries associated with Brandon Indian Residential School to determine physical limits and potential location of interments

during the period:

July 16 - November 1, 2012

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions:

- (1) That the information provided in the application for this permit dated the **June 25, 2012** is true in substance and in fact;
- (2) That the permittee shall comply with all of the provisions of *The Heritage Resources Act* and any regulations or orders thereunder; PLEASE NOTE ATTACHMENT RE: CUSTODY AND OWNERSHIP OF HERITAGE OBJECTS;
- (3) That the Permittee shall provide to the Minister a written report or reports with respect to the Permittee's activities pursuant to this permit, the form and content of which shall be satisfactory to the Minister and which shall be provided on the following dates: **March 31, 2013**
- (4) That this permit is not transferable;
- (5) This permit may be revoked by the Minister where, in the opinion of the Minister, there has been a breach of any of the terms or conditions herein or of any provision of *The Heritage Resources Act* or any regulations, thereunder;

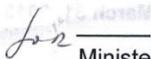
Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2012

(Page 2 of 2)

(6) Special conditions:

- a. The permittee must obtain permission from any landowner, lessee or regulatory authority as applicable, concerning access to any property to be examined;
- b. Neither the Government of Manitoba nor the party issuing this permit shall be liable for any damages resulting from any activities carried out pursuant to this permit, and the Permittee specifically agrees, in consideration for receiving this permit, to indemnify and hold harmless the Minister and the Government of Manitoba, the Minister and any employees and officials of the Government, against any and all actions, liens, demands, loss, liability, cost, damage and expense including, without limitations, reasonable legal fees, which the Government, Minister or any employee or official of the Government may suffer or incur by reasons of any of the activities pursuant to or related to this permit.
- c. The permittee has, along with this permit, received enclosure:
Provisions Regarding Found Human Remains Under THE HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, And Manitoba's Policy Respecting the Reporting, Exhumation and Reburial of Found Human Remains (1987).
- d. None added.
- e. None added.
- f. None added.
- g. None added.
- h. None added.

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, this 28th day of June, 2012



Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Tourism

**Manitoba Culture, Heritage, and Tourism
Historic Resources Branch**

Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2013

(Page 1 of 2)

The Heritage Resources Act (Subsection 14(2) and Sections 52 and 53)

Heritage Permit No. A12-13

Pursuant to Section/Subsection: 53 of *The Heritage Resources Act*:

Name: Katherine Nichols
University of Manitoba and University of Brandon

Address: -----

Attention: Katherine Nichols

(hereinafter referred to as "the Permittee"),

is hereby granted permission to:

conduct a non-invasive survey of the Brandon Indian Residential School Cemeteries

during the period:

April 1, 2013 - October 31, 2013

This permit is issued subject to the following conditions:

- (1) That the information provided in the application for this permit dated the **April 15, 2013** is true in substance and in fact;
- (2) That the permittee shall comply with all of the provisions of *The Heritage Resources Act* and any regulations or orders thereunder; PLEASE NOTE ATTACHMENT RE: CUSTODY AND OWNERSHIP OF HERITAGE OBJECTS;
- (3) That the Permittee shall provide to the Minister a written report or reports with respect to the Permittee's activities pursuant to this permit, the form and content of which shall be satisfactory to the Minister and which shall be provided on the following dates: **March 31, 2014**
- (4) That this permit is not transferable;
- (5) This permit may be revoked by the Minister where, in the opinion of the Minister, there has been a breach of any of the terms or conditions herein or of any provision of *The Heritage Resources Act* or any regulations, thereunder;

Manitoba Heritage Permit – Cemetery Permit 2013

(Page 2 of 2)

(6) Special conditions:

- a. The permittee must obtain permission from any landowner, lessee or regulatory authority as applicable, concerning access to any property to be examined;
- b. Neither the Government of Manitoba nor the party issuing this permit shall be liable for any damages resulting from any activities carried out pursuant to this permit, and the Permittee specifically agrees, in consideration for receiving this permit, to indemnify and hold harmless the Minister and the Government of Manitoba, the Minister and any employees and officials of the Government, against any and all actions, liens, demands, loss, liability, cost, damage and expense including, without limitations, reasonable legal fees, which the Government, Minister or any employee or official of the Government may suffer or incur by reasons of any of the activities pursuant to or related to this permit.
- c. The permittee has, along with this permit, received enclosure:
Provisions Regarding Found Human Remains Under THE HERITAGE RESOURCES ACT, And Manitoba's Policy Respecting the Reporting, Exhumation and Reburial of Found Human Remains (1987).
- d. None added
- e. None added
- f. None added
- g. None added
- h. None added

Dated at the City of Winnipeg, in Manitoba, this 30th day of April, 2013

Minister of Culture, Heritage, and Tourism

**Manitoba Culture, Heritage, and Tourism
Historic Resources Branch**

Sioux Valley Dakota Nation – Authorization for Control Burn 2012

(Page 1 of 1)

Department of Anthropology
Faculty of Arts
435 Fletcher Argue Building
University of Manitoba
Winnipeg, Manitoba
R3T 2N2

21 August 2012

Sioux Valley Reserve Band #290
535 34th Street
Brandon, Manitoba
R7B 3P8

To: Chief and Council of Sioux Valley Dakota Nation

Regarding: Request for Permission – Control Burn at the Brandon Residential School

From: Katherine Nichols

I would like permission to complete a control burn of the grass area behind the Brandon Residential School. The reason for completing a control burn is to help with locating graves on Sioux Valley property. There will be a fire fighter on scene and the local fire department will be notified. The length of the burn should only take one day, however, the exact date will be dependent on proper weather conditions. This will take place as soon as permissions are granted. I will notify Chief and Council the day the control burn will take place.

Sincerely,

Katherine Nichols
University of Manitoba, Master's Student

Please Sign below if Request is Approved.

Printed Name

Signature

Date August 21, 2012

Appendix C

Interview Package

Project Information and Invitation to Participate

Dear Potential Participant,

My name is Katherine Nichols and I am a Master's graduate student at the University of Manitoba. As part of the degree requirements, I am completing research under the supervision of Professor Gregory Monks in the Department of Anthropology. My research project is focused on the children who attended the Brandon, Manitoba Indian Residential School.

The purpose of this project is to contribute research to the ongoing process of rewriting the historical record of the Residential School System. This study will focus on the death and burial of the children who attended the Brandon Residential School. This research will investigate potentially unmarked graves and cemeteries. The aim of this research is to conduct a survey of the Brandon Residential School cemeteries through an examination of archival records, qualitative interviews, and non-invasive systematic field survey of the cemeteries. There will *not* be any excavation or physical intrusion upon any of the graves. The goal of the project is to support research on missing children and unmarked burials. This research will also support communities concerned with the commemoration and preservation of Indian Residential School cemeteries and history. The Sioux Valley Dakota Nation has approved of this project and The Truth and Reconciliation Commissioners (TRC) have been notified of the research.

An important piece to this research is to talk with survivors about their personal experiences as students at the Brandon Residential School. I am looking for about five survivors to talk with me, at your convenience, for about an hour in length. Your participation in this project is voluntary; you should not feel pressured to share your story. You can withdraw from this study at anytime. If you would like to withdraw after we talk, the information you provided will be removed from the study and destroyed. What we talk about will remain confidential and anonymous. Before the research is presented, you will have the opportunity to review the written data and make changes, comments or suggestions. You will be invited to attend any presentations of the research project.

Thank you very much for considering participating in this study. If you have any questions or concerns about this research project, please contact Katherine Nichols at (204) _____ or her supervisor Gregory Monks at (204) _____. If you are considering participating in this project, please see the attached *Information and Contact Sheet* for further details.

Sincerely,

Katherine Nichols

Information/Contact Sheet

If signed, this form gives permission for the researcher, Katherine Nichols to receive information to contact you. Please be sure that you have read the attached *Project Information and Invitation to Participate* which describes the study and what your participation would involve.

By signing this form you are:

1. Saying that you are interested in learning more about the research project;
2. Agreeing that the researcher, Katherine Nichols may receive information about you (what you fill in below);
3. Giving permission to the researcher, Katherine Nichols to contact you and provide further information about this project and see whether you are interested in participating.

Even if you sign the form and provide information, you do not have to participate in the study. Whether you participate in the study or not is completely up to you. There will be no negative consequences if you choose not to participate.

By signing this form, you are giving the researcher, Katherine Nichols permission to receive this information. I understand that I will be contacted by Katherine Nichols who will provide information about the project.

Name: _____ Telephone: _____

Address: _____

Signature of Potential Participant

Date

If you need more information about this research project, please contact
Katherine Nichols at (204) _____ or her supervisor
Gregory Monks at (204) _____ .

I appreciate your interest in this project

Consent Form

This consent form, a copy of which will be left with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully and to understand any accompanying information.

- ❖ I understand that the purpose of this research is to investigate missing children who attended the Brandon Residential School. Specifically, this study is looking into missing children, unmarked graves, and cemeteries. The research has three parts: (1) a search through historic records, (2) interviews with residential school survivors, and (3) a survey of the school land (no digging). The research will assist with the commemoration of any unmarked graves and recognition of the students who passed away while attending the Brandon Residential School. It is hoped that this research will help families and communities with closer, and allow for ceremonies to take place.
- ❖ I understand that I will have the option to be digital voice recorded and/or have hand written notes taken during our talk. I will be asked about my experience at the Brandon Residential School and possibly to identify buildings on aerial photos. The interview will take about an hour.
- ❖ I understand that the information we discuss will remain confidential. I will choose a pseudonym (a fictitious name) so that if I ever want to withdraw from the study, I can do so anonymously. The information from all the participants will be presented as group information.
- ❖ I understand that all of the information gathered by hand written notes and possibly digital voice recording will be stored at the University of Manitoba, in a locked office. The electronic copy of the interviews will be stored only on the researchers' password protected computer. I can choose to have information from our talk sent to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission Archives or have the information destroyed two years after the study is completed.
- ❖ I understand that I am under no obligation to participate. I understand that my participation is voluntary and there will not be any consequences should I choose to withdraw or remove the information I have provided during the interview.
- ❖ I understand that I can choose to withdraw from the study at any time. If I choose to withdraw from the study, I may anonymously call, write or contact the researcher Katherine Nichols at (204) _____ or her supervisor Gregory Monks at (204) _____. To remain anonymous, I will use my pseudonym, and all the information I provided will be removed from the study and destroyed. I understand that the research is planned to be defended in the summer of 2013, and

if I wish to remove the information I provided during the interview, I would need to do so before then.

- ❖ I understand that there are no known harms or risks associated with my participation in this study. I further understand that if our conversation provokes any feeling of distress, I can immediately stop the interview and/or obtain a referral to speak with a counselor, or Elder. I understand that this is simply a precaution, as the study is not expected to involve any risks greater than those I might encounter in my daily life.
- ❖ I understand that my participation will not involve any financial costs.
- ❖ I understand that before the research is presented, I will have the opportunity to review the written data. I will be able to make changes, delete or clarify any information I have provided. I understand that I will be invited to attend any presentations of the research project.

Your signature on this form indicates that you have understood to your satisfaction the information regarding participation in the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the investigators, sponsors, or involved institutions from their legal and professional responsibilities. You are free to withdraw from the study at any time and /or refrain from answering any questions you refer to omit, without prejudice or consequence. Your continued participation should be as informed as your initial consent, so you should feel free to ask for clarification or new information throughout your participation.

If you have additional questions please contact the researcher: Katherine Nichols at (204) _____
or _____ or her supervisor, Gregory Monks at (204) _____

This research has been approved by the Joint-Faculty Research Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. The University of Manitoba may look at the research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact any of the above-named persons or the Human Ethics Secretariat at (204) _____ A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

Participant's Signature _____ Date _____

Researcher's Signature _____ Date _____

Appendix D

Photographs of Forensic Field Research Methods

Brandon Municipal Cemetery



The Brandon Municipal Cemetery
Entrance to the Brandon Municipal Cemetery



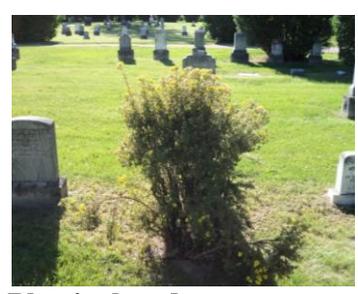
Site Location
Main Entrance from 18th Street, facing east



Site Location
Section 18, Historic Children’s Section



Physical and Environmental Description
Golden Globe White Cedar
Thuja occidentalis



Physical and Environmental Description
Yellow Gem Potentilla
Potentilla fruticosa



Physical and Environmental Description
Daylily
Hemerocall



Global Positioning System

Mapping at the cemetery using Altus to capture headstone placement (photograph by Tsukamoto 2013)



Global Positioning System

Close-up of Altus (photograph by Tsukamoto 2013)



Soil Probe

Soil profile, overview, core sample 1



Soil Probe

Soil profile, close-up, core sample 2



GPR Grid Preparation

Examples of GPR grid lanes using white mason line, Grid 7, facing south (photograph by Tsukamoto 2013)



Ground Penetrating Radar

GPR equipment and operator collecting data in one-foot lanes (photograph by Tsukamoto 2013)



Aerial Photography
UAV in flight at Brandon Municipal Cemetery



Aerial Photography
Overview photograph of the Brandon Municipal Cemetery, facing west

North Hill Burial Ground, Brandon Indian Residential School



North Hill Cemetery

View of the Brandon Indian residential school burial grounds, facing south



Environmental Description

Slender Wheat Grass

Agropyron trachycaulum



Environmental Description

Wild-oat grass

Avena fatua



Environmental Description

Leafy spurge

Euphorbia esula



Environmental Description

Dotted Blazing Star

Liatris punctata



Environmental Description

Yarrow

Achillea millefolium



Site Preparation
Burial ground with cairn located, facing south, grass partially cut on west side (photograph by D. Cumming, 2012)



Site Preparation
Inside the chain link fence facing southeast, height of cemetery grass prior to being cut in fall of 2012 (photograph by D. Cumming, 2012)



Site Preparation
Inside the fence facing east, using ride-on lawn mower and threaded weed whacker (photograph by S. Tsukamoto, 2012)



Site Preparation
Outside the fence facing east, using tractor and mower (photograph by S. Tsukamoto, 2012)



Site Preparation
Logs removed from search area south and west of the fence and piled north-west of the cemetery fence



Site Preparation
Logs removed from the search area south and west of the fence, and cleared with string weed whacker



Site Preparation
Outside the fence, ride-on lawn mower



Site Preparation
Outside the fence, string weed whacker



GPR Preparation
Placing flag pins every two feet for GPR lanes, facing west (photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



GPR Preparation
Triangulating grids outside the fence, facing south (photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



Base Line Mapping
Base line mapping of the crosses



GPR Preparation
Placing stakes every eight feet apart



Visual Assessment

Inside the chain link fence, facing west. Orange marks depressions associated with a cross, yellow marks depressions not associated with a cross



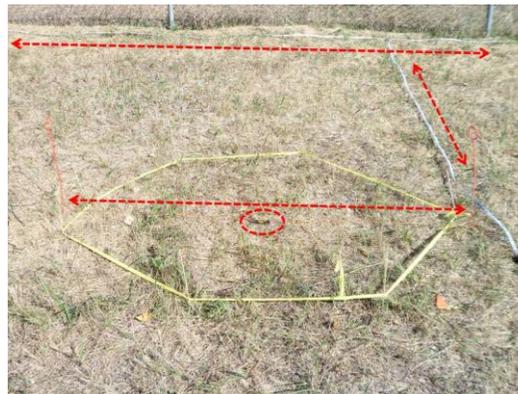
Visual Assessment

Inside the chain link fence, (photograph by S. Tsukamoto, 2012)



Measurements of Depression

Brandon University students mapping in features, facing northwest



Measurements of Depression

Assessment of depth and contour of depressions inside the fence



Field Walking and Probing

Feature located south of the fence



Field Walking and Probing

Feature located east of the fence



Total Station

Nikon NivoTM 5.M Series Total Station used for topographical survey



Total Station

Total Station facing south, stadia rod inside the fence



Ground Penetrating Radar

GRP survey, inside the fence, facing south



Ground Penetrating Radar

GPR survey, outside the fence, overview facing south



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UAV assembled (photograph by Tsukamoto 2012)



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle

UAV in flight



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
Controlling the camera, view seen on computer screen



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
One person controlling the camera, one person controlling the UAV



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
UAV decent



Unmanned Aerial Vehicle
Photograph of the burial ground taken by the UAV



Cessna 1-72 Aerial Photography
Overview aerial photograph of the North Hill Brandon Indian residential school burial ground



Cessna 1-72 Aerial Photography
Close-up aerial photograph of the North Hill Brandon Indian residential school burial ground, 2012



EM38 Survey

EM38 survey inside the fence. Yellow measuring tape outlines the grid and the pink pin flags mark the 1 meter lanes



EM38 Geophysical Equipment

Hand held data logger



EM 38 Geophysical Equipment

EM 38-MK2



EM 38 Geophysical Equipment

Close-up of EM 38-MK2



Soil Profile

Overview of soil probe and core sample 1



Soil Profile

Close-up of core sample 2

North-East Fields, Brandon Indian Residential School



North-East Fields

Overview of the Brandon Indian residential school property



Physical and Environmental Description

Aster
Aster spp.



Physical and Environmental Description

Cockleburs
Xanthium spp.



Physical and Environmental Description

Wild-oat grass
Avena fatua



Site Reconnaissance

Locating ridges adjacent to the Brandon Indian Residential School



Site Reconnaissance

Thick vegetation along west side, facing south



Site Reconnaissance
Metal Detecting on the Brandon Indian residential school property



Site Reconnaissance
Historic garbage; such as metal cans, tins, paint cans, glass jars and wire



Site Preparation
Fire barrier along the west side, facing north. Long grass has been cut along dirt road.



Site Preparation
Fire barrier facing west. Long grass has been raked into the control burn zone



Control Burns
Equipment truck, facing west (photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



Control Burns
Water truck, facing west (photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



Control Burn 1
Volunteers monitoring school building barrier



Control Burn 2
Volunteers monitoring control burn 2 area
(photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



Features of Interest and Mapping
BIRS property, facing east. Modified terrain indentified after control burns



Site Monitoring
Signs for control burn



Features of Interest and Mapping
Total station survey, mapping in the landmarks, features of interest and depressions

East Hill, Brandon Indian Residential School



East Hill Brandon Indian residential school

Overview of the Brandon Indian residential school property. Orange outlines the principals' house, and red outlines the East Hill site



Physical and Environmental Description

Caragana shrubs

Caragana arborescens



Physical and Environmental Description

Small clearing, surrounded by Oak trees

Quercus macrocarpa



Search Location
Small clearing on a small terrace



Reconnaissance
House basement foundation near the East Hill site from 1947 Map:
Department of Mines and Resources
Dominion Water and Power Bureau



Reconnaissance
Historic garbage; such as metal cans,
tins, and pails



Field Walking and Probing
Probing for soft spots in the clearing
(photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)



Site Preparation
Site weed whacked for GPR survey,
facing north



Site Preparation
Site prepped for GPR survey, facing
south



GPR Preparation

Flag pins spaced 2 feet apart, facing west



GPR Preparation

Flag pins spaced 2 feet apart, facing north



Ground Penetrating Radar

GPR survey, facing south



Ground Penetrating Radar

GPR survey, facing east



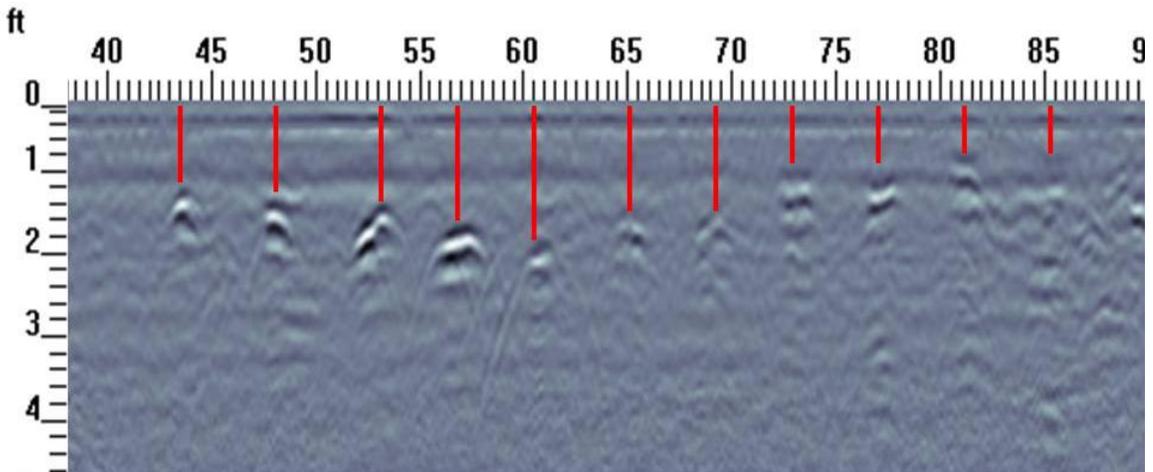
Mapping

Collecting GPS coordinates (photograph by Tsukamoto, 2012)

Appendix E

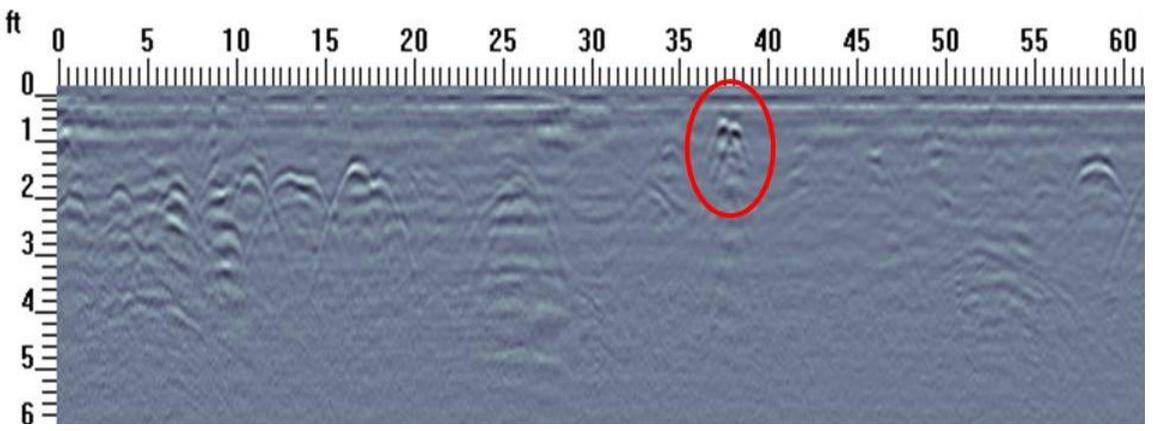
GPR Reflections from the Brandon Municipal Cemetery Survey

Example of the range of GPR reflection profiles of graves



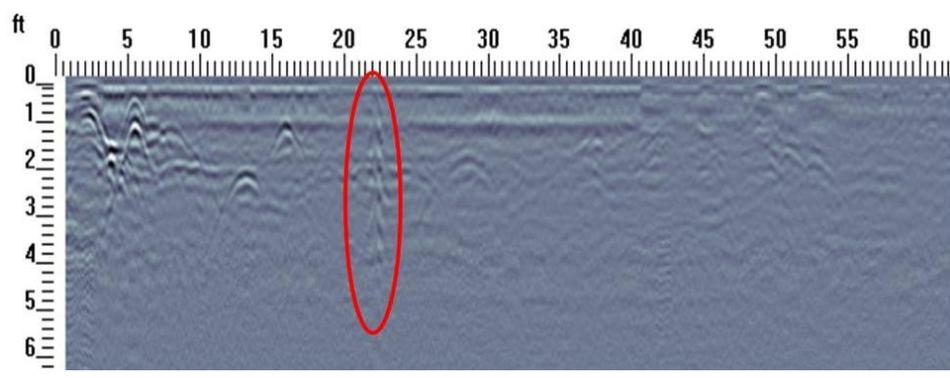
GPR data collected during the Brandon Municipal Cemetery survey. The image is from Block D, grid 8, line 1 over plots 11 through 22. Red highlights the different GPR reflections.

Example of common grave detected in GPR survey



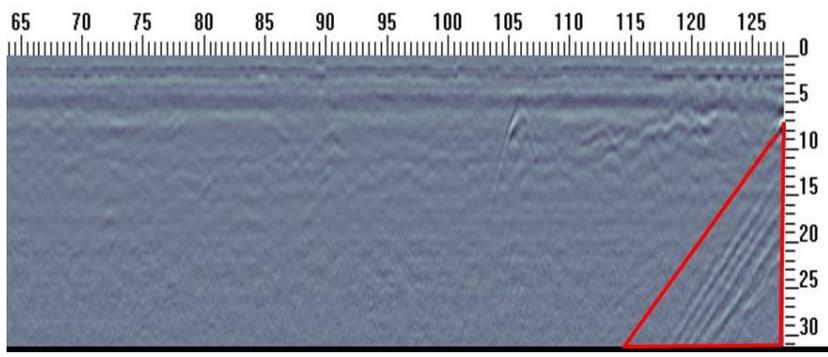
GPR data collected during the Brandon Municipal Cemetery survey. The image is from Block B, grid 2, line 0. Red highlights plot 40, archival documents record two buried in the same plot. From the GPR reflection, it appears that they were buried side by side.

Example of an urn detected in GPR survey



GPR data collected during the Brandon Municipal Cemetery survey. The image is from Block B, grid 2, line 6. Red highlights plot 37; archival documents record a probable urn in this plot, which was detected by the GPR during the survey.

Example of parked vehicles detected in GPR survey



GPR data collected during the Brandon Municipal Cemetery survey. The image is from Block C, grid 5, line 10. Red highlights an example of the parked vehicles that were detected by the GPR during the survey.

Appendix F

Student deaths at the BIRS, probable interment at the Assiniboine River Burial Ground

Name	Age or date of death	Community	Cause of Death	Archival Source
No Report	1895	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1895d, p.203
0 Deaths	1895	-	-	Library and Archives Canada, 1896
0 Deaths	1896	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1896, p.315
3 Deaths	- 1896	-	-	Library and Archives Canada, 1896
Tommy Captain	August 14, 1896	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
John Charles McDonald	August 14, 1896	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Lydia Moor	September 11, 1896	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
James Akemou	November 23, 1896	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
No Record	- 1897	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1897
7 Deaths	- 1897	-	-	Library and Archives Canada, 1896
Elyak Farmer	June 1, 1897	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Phillip McNabb	October 6, 1897	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
0 Deaths	1898	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1898b, p.268
1 Boy	Unknown, 1898	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1898a, p. 679
2 Deaths	- 1898	-	-	Library and Archives Canada, 1896
Isabella Trout	September 7, 1898	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Edward Murdock	December 7, 1898	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Frances Crate	March 2, 1898	Fisher River	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
4 Deaths	Unknown, 1899	Unknown	2 deaths from Scarlet Fever	Department of Indian Affairs, 1899, p.306
John Sinclair	June 6, 1899	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
William Thomas	June 28, 1899	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
1 Death	Unknown, 1900	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1900, p.324
Jeanette Hamilton	March 5, 1900	Oxford House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Janet Ross	October 12, 1900	Berens River	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)

3 Deaths	Unknown, 1901	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1901, p.313
Mary Ann Forbisher	March 31, 1901	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Eliza Pakwutinow	May 24, 1901	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
4 Deaths: 1 Boy & 3 Girls	Unknown, 1902	Unknown	Consumption	Department of Indian Affairs, 1902, p.311
Susanna Hart	August 18, 1902	Norway House	Consumption	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Allan [Alex] Ross	January 27, 1902	Berens River	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Mary Captain	March 30, 1902	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Victoria Trout	May 11, 1902	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
John Hastings	November 3, 1902	God's Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
David Moar	November 26, 1902	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Annebella Sinclair	December 11, 1902	Gods Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
"a larger percentage than the average number of deaths has occurred during the year"	Unknown, 1903	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1903, p.343
Geo Frog	February 17, 1903	Cross Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Eva Peewish	April 11, 1903	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Isbester Rose	May 9, 1903	Cross Lake	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Solomon Hamilton	May 12, 1903	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Lizzie Mackland	June 16, 1903	St. Peters	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
William Hamilton	June 25, 1903 11 years	Fisher River	Pneumonia	Garfield, 1903-1920 Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Roy, 2012, p.46 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Thomas Dickson	August 24, 1903	Gods Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)

Jane Captain	October 10, 1903	Gods Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Matilda Colin	October 19, 1903	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
3 Deaths: 1 Boy & 2 Girls	Unknown, 1904	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1904, p.320
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1904	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1904, p.41
Madelaine Colin	February 18, 1904	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Fanny Keeper	September 26, 1904	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Alice Frog	1904	Cross Lake	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Fanny Whiskies	October, 1904	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
5 Deaths	Unknown, 1905	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1905, p.296
3 Deaths	Unknown, 1905	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1905, p.29
Lillie Walker	May 2, 1905	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Maria Evans	May 11, 1905	Norway House	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909 Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Sarah Bird	July 9, 1905	Berens River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Willy Sutherland	August 12, 1905	Bull Head	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Alferd Thomas	October 6, 1905	Gods Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
6 Deaths: 2 Boys & 4 Girls	Unknown, 1906	Unknown	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1906a, p.341
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1906	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Department of Indian Affairs, 1906b, p.354
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1906	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1906, p.33
Nancy McPherson	June 10, 1906	St. Peters	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
1 Death: 1 Boy	Unknown, 1907	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Department of Indian Affairs, 1907, p.305
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1907	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1907, p.33
John Harper	Unknown, 1907	Island Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
James Campbell	February 3, 1907	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
No mention	1908	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1908, p.313
3 Deaths	Unknown, 1908	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1908, p.43
Isiak Biltern	March 4, 1908	Poplar River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Janet Moor	October 4, 1908	Little Grand Rapids	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)

Edgar McRae	December 15, 1908	Fisher River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
“Some deaths have been reported during the year”	Unknown, 1909	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Department of Indian Affairs, 1909, p.308
6 Deaths	Unknown, 1909	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes. 1909, p.39
Janet Tait	January 24, 1909	Oxford House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Isaac Murdock	January 31, 1909	Fisher River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Maria Murdock	March 31, 1909	Gods Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
0 Deaths	1910	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1910, p.437
0 Deaths	1910	-	-	Methodist Minutes, 1910, p.17
2 Deaths: 1 Boy & 1 Girl	Unknown, 1910	Unknown	Unknown	Roy, 2012, p.46
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1911	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Department of Indian Affairs, 1911, p.533
3 Deaths	Unknown, 1911	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1911, p.31
John Knott	March 31, 1911	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Kenneth Colin	May 8, 1911	Port Churchill	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)

Appendix G

List of students and individuals who are likely interred at the North Hill Burial Ground

Name	Age or date of death	Community	Cause of Death	Archival Source
0 Deaths	1912	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1912, p.524
3 Deaths	Unknown, 1912	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Ferrier, 1912c, p.2324 Ferrier, 1912a, p.1909
1 Death	Unknown, 1912	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1912, p.27
Edith Michell	June 2, 1912	Poplar River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Jacob Gibeault	June 2, 1912	Berens River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
3 Deaths	June, 1913	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Department of Indian Affairs, 1913, p.549
0 Deaths	1913	-	-	Department of Indian Affairs, 1913, p.480
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1913	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1913, p.31
Edward Flett	June 22, 1913	St. Peters	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923) Vital Statistics Agency Manitoba, 2014
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1914	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Minutes, 1914, p.27
Stanely Crate	February 18, 1914	Norway House	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Annie Ross	October 8, 1914	Fisher River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
1 Death	Unknown, 1915	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Yearbook, 1915, p.337
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1916	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Yearbook, 1916, p.231
0 Deaths	1917	-	-	Methodist Yearbook, 1917, p.313
3 Deaths	February 1917 – May 1918	Unknown	Tuberculosis	Jackson, 1918, p.30; Roy, 2012, p.46-47
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1918	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Yearbook, 1918, p.300
1 Death	Unknown, 1919	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Yearbook, 1919, p.327
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1920	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Yearbook, 1920, p.329
2 Deaths	Unknown, 1920	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Journal, 1920, p.33

0 Deaths	1921	-	-	Methodist Journal, 1921, p.333
0 Deaths	1922	-	-	Methodist Yearbook, 1922, p.329
Not completed	Unknown, 1922	Unknown	Unknown	Methodist Journal, 1922, p.33
Bella Moore	April 12, 1923	Cross Lake	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
John Thumser	April 12, 1923	Poplar River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Flora Belle Thomas	April 16, 1923	Unknown	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
Nancy Sinclair	Date Unknown	Fisher River	Unknown	Tester, 1979(Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923)
No Records	1924	-	-	-
No Records	1925	-	-	-
No Records	1926	-	-	-
No Records	1927	-	-	-
Cornelius Linklater	December 10, 1928 10 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
George Byrd	Before 1929	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn;
No Records	1930	-	-	-
Lydia Wesley	April 21, 1931 7 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Rebecca Spence	June 14, 1931 17 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Angus Sunkawasky [Sunkawasti]	January 9, 1932 9 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Sam Youngskunk [Skunk]	September 26, 1932 14 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Mary Sutherland	November 30, 1932 15 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
4 Deaths	1931 – 1935	Unknown	Unknown	Roy, 2012, p.47-48
No Records	1936	-	-	-
No Records	1937	-	-	-

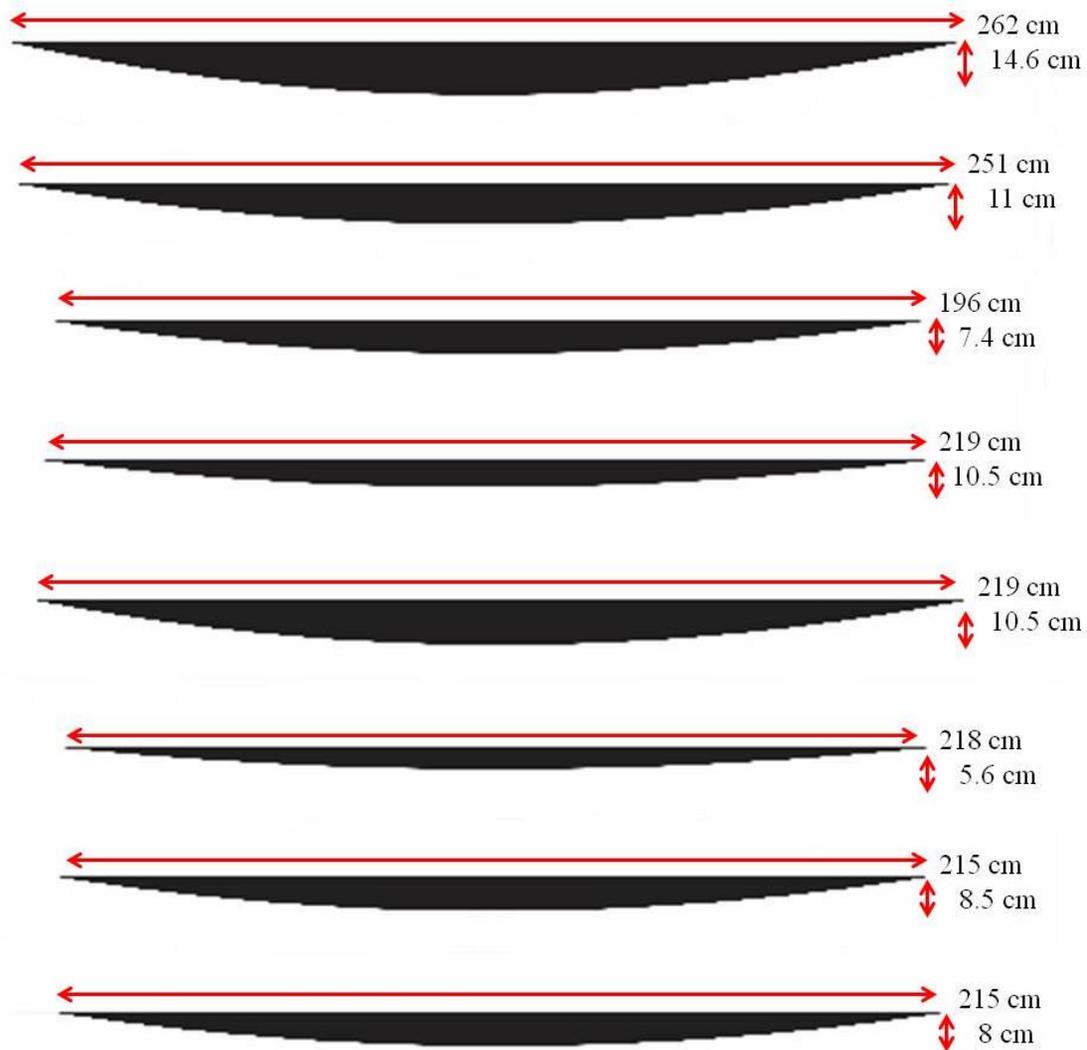
Humphrey Navel [Favel]	January 29, 1938 73 years	Pelican Rapids	Unknown	Bond, 1967 (Note: Bond-different date of death) Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Mrs. Jerome Benoni	July 28, 1938 30 years	Lac Du Brochet	Unknown	Bond, 1967 (Note: Bond-different date of death) Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
No Records	1939	-	-	-
Mrs. Katy Scribe	June 5, 1940 49 years	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967 (Note: Bond-different date of death) Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Henry Swanson	August 1, 1940 15 years	Nelson House	Unknown	Bond, 1967; Cairn Library and Archives Canada, 1940-1949a, pp.751-752 Roy, 2012, p.50 Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014 (Note: Vital Statistics-different date of death)
No Records	1941	-	-	-
Ewart Monias	August 18, 1942 28 years	Nelson House	-	Bond, 1967; Cairn Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
No Records	1943	-	-	-
No Records	1944	-	-	-
No Records	1945	-	-	-
No Records	1946	-	-	-
No Records	1947	-	-	-
No Records	1948	-	-	-
Roderick Beardy	April 16, 1949 15 years	Cross Lake	Farm Accident	Bond, 1964; Cairn Library and Archives Canada, 1940-1949b, pp.753-770; 1949-1952, p.540; 1946-1950, pp.1963, 1979-1980 Roy, 2012, p.50-51
No Records	1950	-	-	-
No Records	1951	-	-	-
No Records	1952	-	-	-
No Records	1953	-	-	-
No Records	1954	-	-	-

No Records	1955	-	-	-
Edward [Edwart] Fiddler	July 18, 1956 17 years	Island Lake	Struck by Lightning	Brockie Donovan Funeral Home, 2012 Greavis, 1963 Roy, 2012, p.51
John Kirkness	June 10, 1957	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1964; Cairn
Baby Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967
Man Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Bond, 1967
No Records	1958	-	-	-
No Records	1959	-	-	-
No Records	1960	-	-	-
No Records	1961	-	-	-
No Records	1962	-	-	-
No Records	1963	-	-	-
No Records	1964	-	-	-
No Records	1965	-	-	-
No Records	1966	-	-	-
No Records	1967	-	-	-
No Records	1968	-	-	-
No Records	1969	-	-	-
No Records	1970	-	-	-
No Records	1971	-	-	-
No Records	1972	-	-	-

Appendix H

Visual Assessment and Measurements of Depressions

Depressions associated with a wooden cross



Length and depth of depressions identified in association with a cross. Depressions located within the chain link fence at the North Hill burial ground. Contour of a bisected depression created in CorelDraw, 2014.

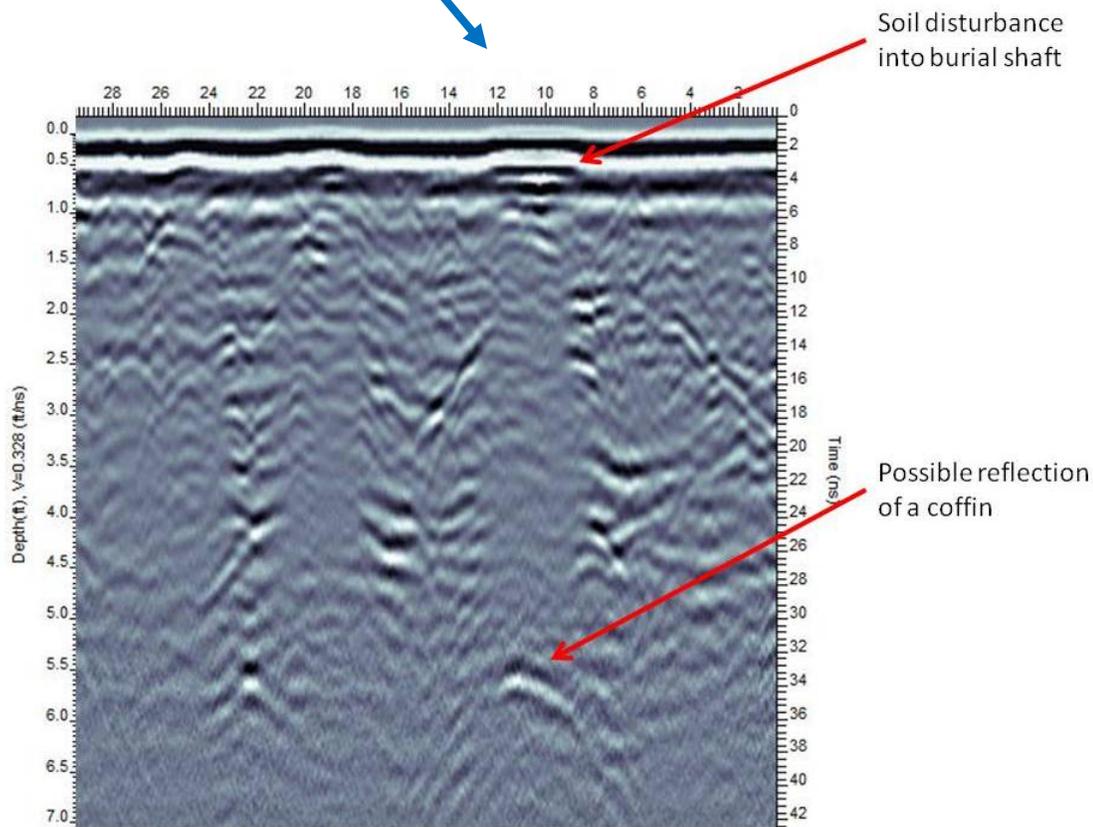
Depressions not associated with a wooden cross



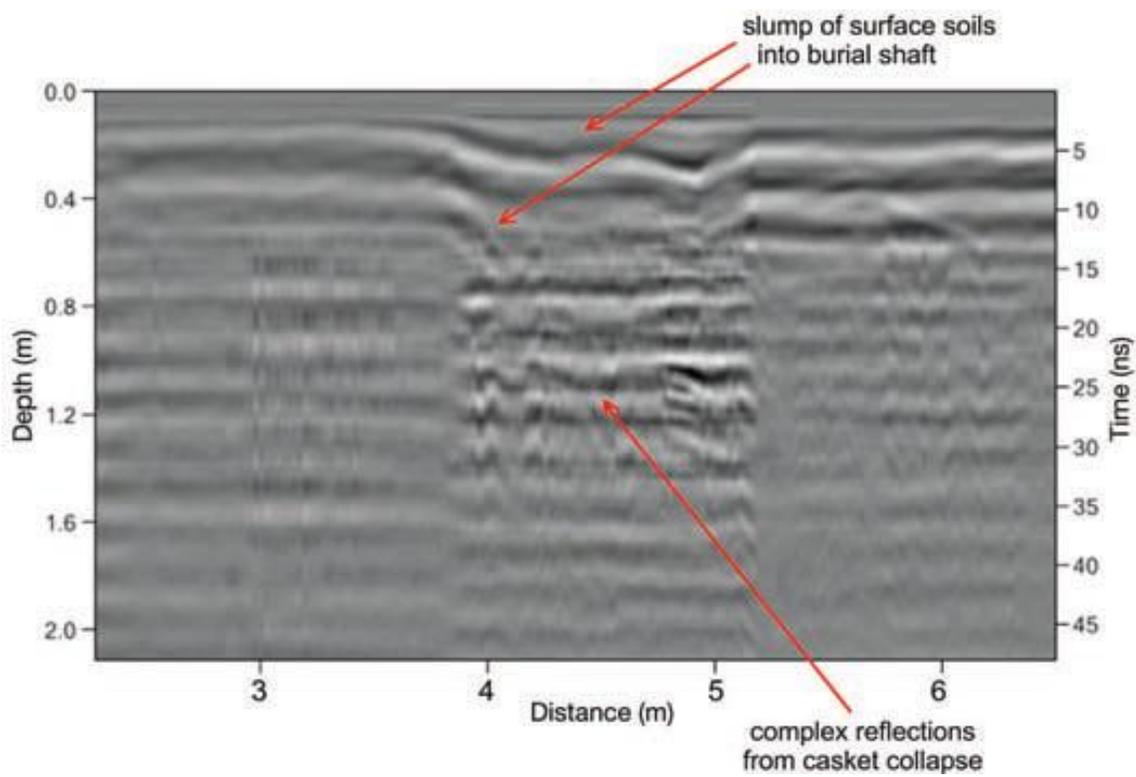
Length and depth of depressions identified not in association with a cross. Depressions located within the chain link fence at the North Hill burial ground. Contour of a bisected depression created in CorelDraw, 2014.

Appendix I

Example of GPR reflection profile at the North Hill Burial Ground



Similar GPR example from Conyers, 2012, p.139



Appendix J

Students and individuals who were severely sick at the school, who died away from the school, who died in transport to or from the school, or those who died and were buried in reference to the BIRS.

Name	Age or date of death	Community	Cause of Death	Probable Place of Burial	Source
1 Person	1896	Unknown	Consumption “There is at present but one person sick, and it is feared that his sickness will be unto death.”	Assiniboine River burial ground	Department of Indian Affairs, 1896, p.315
Frances Oosememaw	1896	Fisher River	Discharged on account of being scrofulous	Fisher River	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Simon Peter Hart	September 26, 1897	Fisher River	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
1 Girl	1898	Unknown	Consumption “There is at present but one person sick and it is feared that her case may be serious enough to warrant her return to the reserve.”	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1898b, p.268
Arthur Baptiste	September 1899	Berens River	Unknown	Berens River	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Maria Hammer	1900	Norway House	Discharged on account of ill health	Norway House	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Mary Belton	1900	Norway House	Discharged on account of ill health	Norway House	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Jane Keeper McKay	1901	Fisher River	Unknown	Fisher River	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Minnie Evans	1900[?]	Norway House	Unknown	Norway House	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
2 Pupils	1901	Unknown	Ill Health “two of the pupils have been sent home on account of ill health”	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1901a, p.313

2 Children	1901	Berens River	Consumption “Consumption, that great enemy of the Indian, claimed several victims, among others two promising children from the industrial school at Brandon.”	Berens River	Department of Indian Affairs, 1901b, p.73
2 Boys	1902	Unknown	Consumption “Two boys have been sent home on account of ill health. All of the six were afflicted with the dread disease consumption.”	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1902, p.311
Bella Ross	1903	Fisher River	Home on sick leave	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
John Ross	1903	Fisher River	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
5 Children, Indian Guide and Reverend	1903	Berens River	Drown “Mr. MacLachlan, an Indian guide, and five Indian children that he was bringing in to the Brandon industrial school, were all drowned on Lake Winnipeg near Big island, on or about September 12; all the bodies but one have been recovered.”	Berens River	Department of Indian Affairs, 1903b, p.127 & 1903c, p.238
5 Pupils	1904	Unknown	Ill Health “Five pupils have been sent home on account of ill health.”	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1904, p.320
Thomas Keeper	1904	Norway House	Ill and in hospital	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Alexander Hamilton	1904	Fisher River	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909

M [?] Keeper	1904	Norway House	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Joseph Gibault	1906	Berens River	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Isbister Ross Stranger	1907	Cross Lake	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
Mary Jane Ross	1907	Fisher River	Unknown	Unknown	Library and Archives Canada, 1897-1909
2 Boys	1913	Unknown	Serious Condition “There were no deaths and no serious illness, but the principal reports that two of the boys are now in a serious condition.”	Unknown	Department of Indian Affairs, 1913, p.516
Ne Tannis Jean Bedford	July 17, 1915 2 months	Unknown	“Collapse” (“Indian Industrial school, Brandon”)	Brandon Municipal Cemetery	Brandon Municipal Cemetery, 2012 Garfield, 1903-1920 Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba. 2014
1 Girl	1918	Unknown	Consumption “in the room called the hospital at the time of my visit there were two pupils, one girl dying of consumption. The Nurse said she might die any moment, the other girl has a concussion from a fall in the winter.”	North Hill burial ground	Jackson, 1918, p.30 Roy, 2012, p.47
Hannah Goodland	July 18, 1918 77 years	Unknown	Unknown (“Indian Industrial school, Brandon”)	Brandon Municipal Cemetery	Brandon Municipal Cemetery, 2012 Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba. 2014
John Goodland	August 3, 1920	Unknown	Unknown (“Indian Industrial school,	Brandon Municipal Cemetery	Brandon Municipal Cemetery, 2012

	72 years		Brandon")		Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
14 students ill health 8 student deaths	1931-1935	Unknown	Ill Health and resulting Deaths "Of the 76 students who had left the school since 1931, 4 died in the school; 14 left on account of ill-health, eight of whom have since died..."	Unknown	Roy, 2012, p.47-49
Eleanor Hall	December 27, 1941 15 years	Oak River	"Died in hospital"	Probable North Hill burial ground	Library and Archives Canada, 1941-1949a, p.230; 1941-1946a, p.1100 Vital Statistics Agency of Manitoba, 2014
Oliver Cochrane	1942	Peguis	"Died while home on holiday"	Peguis	Library and Archives Canada, 1941-1949a, p.284
Annabella Spence	July 5, 1943 8 years	Nelson House	"Died at Hodgson Hospital"	Probable Hodgson	Library and Archives Canada, 1941-1949c, p.384; 1941-1946b, p.1315
Josius Taylor	September 5, 1949 16 years	Island Lake	Tuberculosis	Brandon Municipal Cemetery	Brandon Municipal Cemetery, 2012 Roy, 2012, p.51

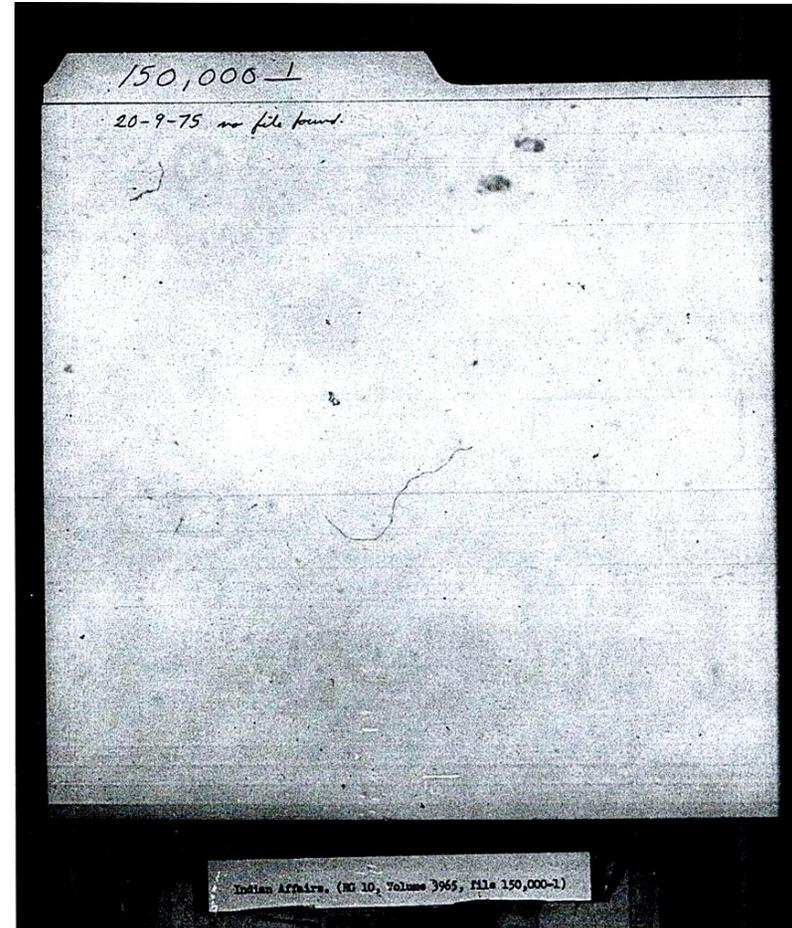
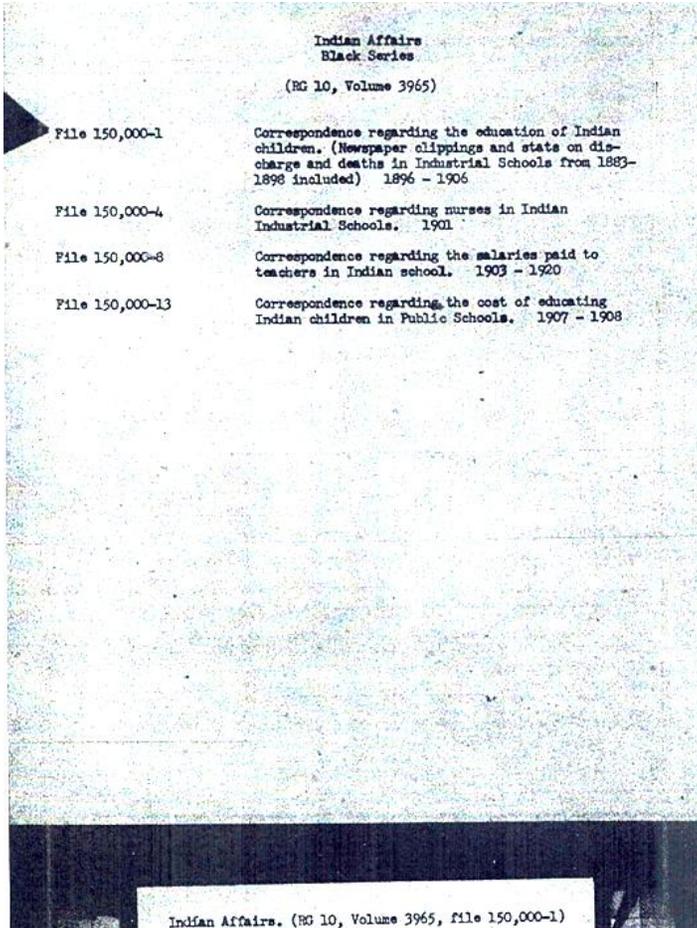
Appendix K

List of known archival documents unavailable for this research

Archival Source	Archival Location	Limitation
Archived File	Unknown location at Library and Archives Canada	Quarterly Returns dates ranging from 1899-1940 and 1952-1972
Microfilm Reel	Library and Archives Canada, 1947-1960	Microfilm located at Lakehead University, not available for interlibrary loan
Microfilm Reel	Library and Archives Canada, 1896-1906	No File Found
Microfilm Reel	Library and Archives Canada, 1955-1956	No further correspondence to be placed on this file. See current volume.
Microfilm Reel	Library and Archives Canada, 1918-1935	To enable this file to be made available to researchers it has been necessary for IAND officials to exclude some material in accordance with Cabinet Directive No. 46 of 7 June 1973.
Microfilm Reel	Library and Archives Canada, Ferrier, 1912b	Pencil Sketch Map not included in the reel – missing
Archived File	Library and Archives Canada	Brandon Residential School Yearbook 1939-1940, unavailable for library loan
Registry	Library and Archives Canada, 1895-1923	Code 32: Restricted. The terms of the <i>Access to information Act</i> and the <i>Privacy Act</i> apply to these records and they must be reviewed in accordance with the provisions of the legislation before being made available for research.
Archived File	Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg Branch	Diagram of grave locations for the north hill burial grounds from Principal Bond – missing from file (Davey, 1963b).
Archived Files	Archives of Manitoba	Information regarding the Brandon Indian Residential School. Requires approval from AMC, SVDN, TRC, U of M Ethics, FIPPA, and PHIPA.
Archived Files	Brandon Regional Health Centre	Information regarding the Brandon Indian Residential School. Requires Lawyer and approval from FIPPA and PHIPA

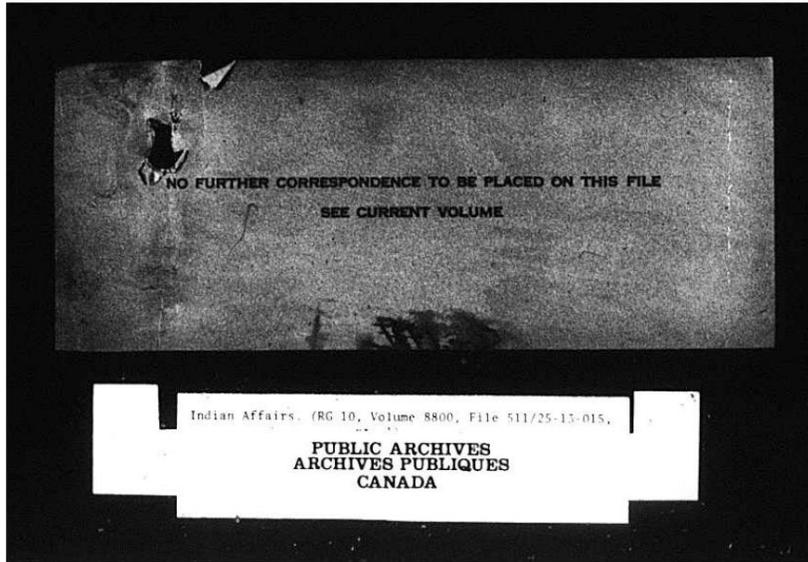
Examples of Missing or Restricted Archival Materials

Missing File

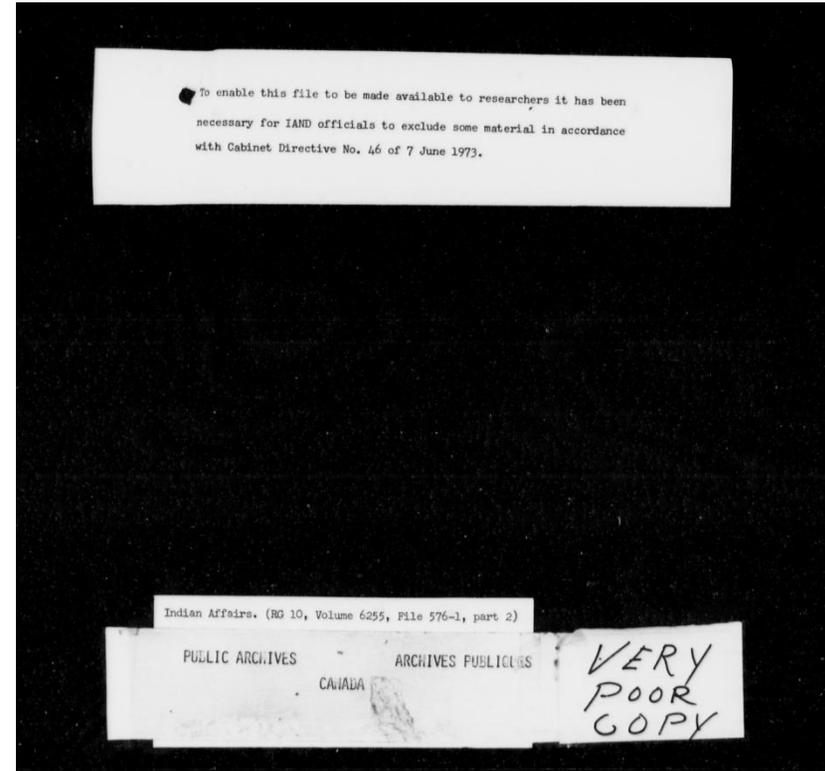


Microfilm images from Volume 3965, File 150,000-1: Table of Contents and description and image stating no file was found (Library and Archives Canada, 1896-1906)

Excluded Materials

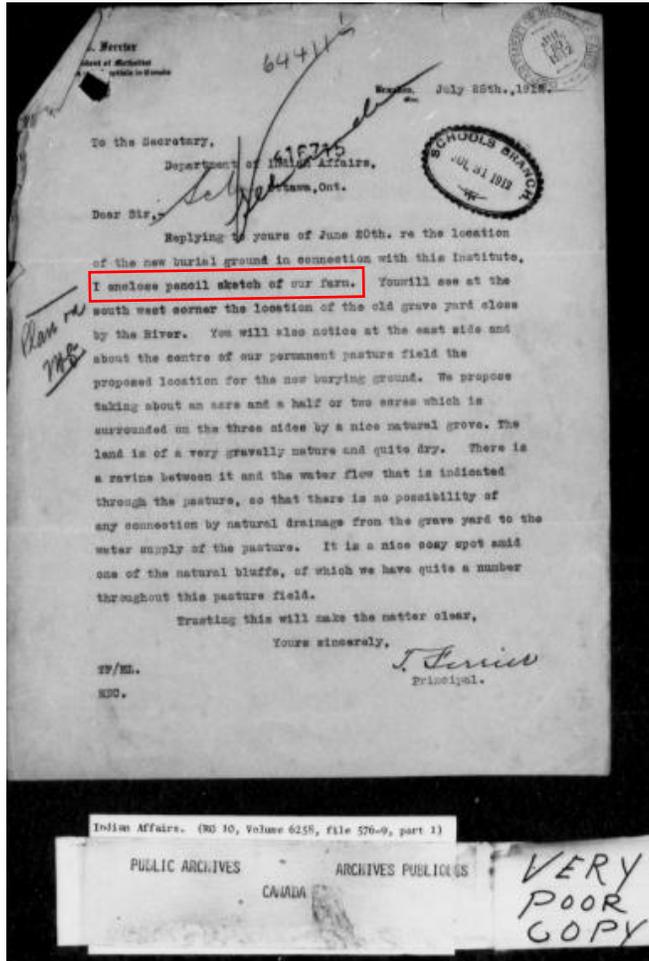


Microfilm image stating that no further correspondence to be placed on this file (Library and Archives Canada, 1955-1956)

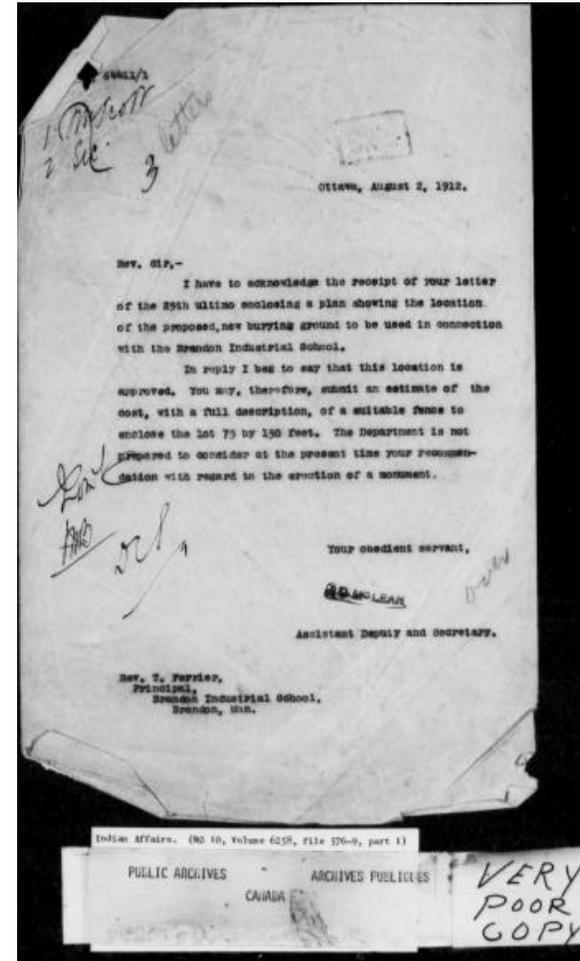


Microfilm image stating that to enable this file to be made available to researchers it has been necessary for IAND officials to exclude some material in accordance with Cabinet Directives No. 46 of June 1973 (Library and Archives Canada, 1918-1935)

Missing sketch map from correspondence



Microfilm image of Principal Ferrier (1912b) letter stating that a pencil sketch map of farm was included in his correspondence



Microfilm image of McLean (1912b) letter following Ferrier's letter, and the sketch map is missing and was not located in the microfilm reel.

Restricted File

1. SEARCH ENGINE

Updated: May 3, 2004

ArchiviaNet: On-line Research Tool

Government of Canada Files [Online Help](#)

Enter one or more search terms.
 Wildcard characters: \$ (eg. colon\$ for colonie, colony, etc.)
 ? (eg. Sm?th for Smith, Smyth, etc.)

Keywords:

Record Group Number:

* Limit your research by selecting one or more Record Groups from the [list](#) below

GOVERNOR GENERAL'S OFFICE -- RG7
 IMMIGRATION -- RG76
INDIAN AFFAIRS -- RG10
 INDIAN AND NORTHERN AFFAIRS -- RG22
 INDUSTRY, TRADE AND COMMERCE -- RG20

To limit the search: Descriptions with a digitized image
 Number of references per page:

[Detailed Search](#)

2. SEARCH RESULTS

68 **Reference:** RG10 , Indian Affairs , Volume 9243 , [Access code: 32](#)

File Title: [Register of Admissions and Discharges - Brandon Industrial School](#)

Outside Dates: [1895-1923](#)

3. ACCESS CODE: 32

ArchiviaNet: On-line Research Tool

Government of Canada Files - [Online Help](#)

Access codes

Code	Description
32	Restricted. The terms of the the <i>Access to Information Act</i> and the <i>Privacy Act</i> apply to these records and they must be reviewed in accordance with the provisions of the legislation before being made available for research.

Image of ArchiviaNet Search Engine, yellow underlines the register for admissions and discharges being restricted by access code 32 (Library and Archives Canada, 2004)