FIRST NATIONS & INUIT BURIALS

AT BROOKSIDE CEMETERY

1950s–1970s

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CONTENTS

3 Land Acknowledgment

OVERVIEW

13 Executive Summary

15 What We Set Out to Do and Accomplishments So Far

17 Key Findings

18 Introduction

PART 1

12 Scope

PART 2

24 Historical Context

24 Hospitalization

26 Burials at Place of Death

PART 3

30 Methodology

30 Step 1: Reviewing DIA Records at Library and Archives Canada

32 Step 2: Developing a Database

33 Step 3: Reviewing City of Winnipeg Burial Records

34 Step 4: Photographing Gravesites

35 Research Support

PART 4

36 Overview of Findings

PART 5

39 Future Research

APPENDICES

40 Appendix A
Case Study - Angus Oombash

47 Appendix B
Indian Affairs Burials of First Nations and Inuit at Brookside Cemetery – Communities

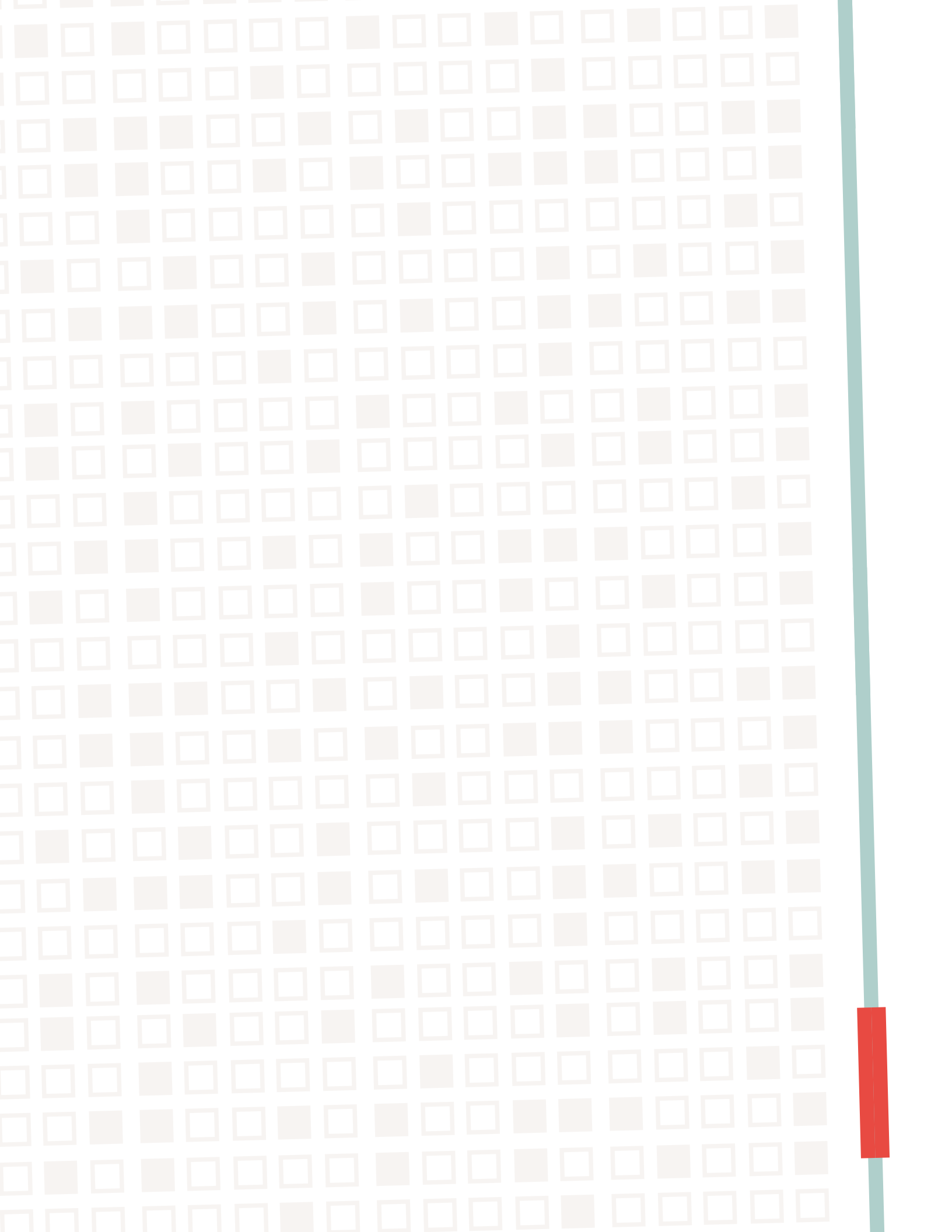
48 Manitoba

49 Ontario

50 Arctic

52 Appendix C
Archives Reviewed from Library and Archives Canada

64 Notes



LAND ACKNOWLEDGMENT

Preamble

Brookside Cemetery is located on the western side of Winnipeg just north of the Richardson International Airport. In 2003, the city celebrated Brookside's 125th anniversary and, in 2023, Brookside was given Winnipeg's 25th Parks Canada National Historic Site designation. To date, the public histories of Brookside that have been researched and published in honour of these events have focused on recognizing and commemorating three aspects of Brookside's history: the Veterans Field of Honour (one of the largest and oldest in the country); a select group of well-known and largely non-Indigenous Manitobans who are buried at Brookside; and the cemetery itself as one of the oldest and largest examples of the "garden cemetery tradition" in Western Canada. In this narrative, official Brookside Cemetery histories comment on its "transformation," into a garden from, according to Parks Canada (2023), "Open prairie landscape"[1] or, as the City of Winnipeg website states, a "flat barren piece of land."[2] These references remind us of the ongoing role of the colonial concept of "Terra Nullius" in current thinking[3] and its continuing impact as it runs under the surface of narratives that imagine a city without Indigenous people or land, while erasing violent and disruptive settler histories in municipal and national historical narratives.

In preparing this land acknowledgement we have consulted a wide range of historic publications and archival records to find a fuller, more balanced, and more respectful picture of the history of Brookside Cemetery. To do this we have looked at the history of the area where Brookside now sits both before and after the Rupert's Land Transfer and the entry of the Province of Manitoba into Canadian Confederation, and have gathered and analysed the key documented transactions that facilitated and led to the creation of the cemetery. The result is a history that, by tracing change over time, locates Brookside Cemetery at the end of a long history

of Indigenous presence and occupation and as part of a much shorter history of European and Canadian colonialism within what are today the Province of Manitoba and the City of Winnipeg.

During our research, we learned about the long history of Indigenous communication and transportation infrastructure, harvesting, and ceremonial sites in the area of Brookside, a history that reaches back to time before memory. We learned how the disruptions that followed the 1869 Rupert's Land Transfer, including the post-1870 federal survey of land in western Canada, were an integral part of Brookside's history, and how, as a part of these disruptions, the Red River Expeditionary Force and its related military bounty system gave one discharged officer from that force, by then a member of the newly formed Manitoba leglislative assembly, a claim to the land that would soon become Brookside. Finally, we learned that when that former officer and member of the provincial legislature sold the land for Brookside Cemetery to the city in 1878 it was for a price that was 160 times the amount that he had paid for it only a few years before.

The history of Brookside Cemetery parallels and reflects the history of the development of the City of Winnipeg and of the colonial instruments that facilitated white prosperity while alienating Indigenous people. As such, if we are to realize a fuller, more balanced, and more respectful picture of the history of Brookside Cemetery, we must recognize and understand the rich Indigenous history of the land where Brookside now sits and the disruptive colonial actions that have contributed to the cemetery's creation and continue to be reflected in the celebratory narratives around it, actions that have historic and contemporary impacts on Indigenous people.

From time before memory and up until the late 1860s, the land that we think of today as Brookside Cemetery was part of a rich and vibrant Indigenous cultural landscape that included gathering, ceremonial and burial sites, hunting grounds, and transportation and communication infrastructure that supported complex commercial, social, cultural, and intellectual exchanges both locally, and with much of North America.[4] This landscape included the Oak Point Trail, a part

of a complex water and land-based transportation infrastructure that linked much of North America. The Oak Point Trail began near Frog Plain, a traditional gathering and ceremonial site on the Red River near the present-day Kildonan Settlers' Bridge. In more recent times, Frog Plain is associated with the 1816 Incident at Seven Oaks/Victory of the Frog Plain, one of the first battles of Metis independence.[5]

Travelling north and west from Frog Plain, the Oak Point Trail ended at the communities of St. Laurent and Oak Point on the shores of Lake Manitoba.[6] Indigenous harvesters and manufacturers used this trail to travel to and from the Red River area to trade, to sell their goods, and to purchase supplies. Fur traders and settlers adopted and adapted this infrastructure after contact. In the 19th century, Indigenous manufacturers and traders used the trail to bring goods to what we know as Winnipeg. The Canadian Northern (and later Canadian National) Railway and Highway 6 both follow much of the same path as Oak Point Trail.[7]

Long before non-Indigenous fur traders arrived in the area that we now know as the City of Winnipeg, the land where Brookside Cemetery sits was part of a diverse grassland that extended west and north of the Red and Assiniboine Rivers. In the early 1800s, not far from Brookside, around Little Mountain, the fur trader Alexander Henry wrote that this grassland was a rich hunting ground for moose, red deer, and bears.[8] Far from a "flat barren piece of land,"[9] this area included a gathering, ceremonial, and burial site near a ford across the Assiniboine River just west of Omands Creek (south of present day Polo Park) that dated back through time. This gathering place along the Assiniboine included good water access, good access to transportation routes, and seasonal access to food. In addition to the hunting opportunities that Henry described on the nearby plain, Omands Creek was known in the early 19th century as Catfish Creek, after the catfish that ran up the creek there,[10] and there was also an area nearby where people trapped pigeons.[11] Indigenous people continued to gather at this ceremonial and burial site at least into the early 1850s when St. James (the Assiniboine) Anglican Church and its cemetery were constructed on or adjacent to it.[12]

The area where Brookside Cemetery is located remained Indigenous space until the early 1870s. Located more than two miles from the Red and Assiniboine Rivers, this land was not included in the 1817 agreement to share the land initiated by Lord

Selkirk, and for the first six decades of the 19th century Indigenous people did not recognize the right of the Crown or the HBC to use land that had not been agreed to by themselves. In 1817, French fur trader and Red River settler Jean-Baptiste Lagemonière was reminded of this by the son of Anishinaabe leader Grands Oreille – "the premier" – who stated, "the lands more out on the plains"[13] remained Indigenous territory.

Despite this and other moments when Indigenous peoples in the area demonstrated awareness of their lands and asserted their territorial rights, in the later 1860s the land that would become Brookside Cemetery was included in the Rupert's Land Transfer, a colonial act that has been described by Elizabeth McKenzie and Ian Mosby as "one of the greatest land grabs" and largest "transfers of wealth from Indigenous peoples to a private company."[14] The land in question, known to British colonizers as "Rupert's Land," had been granted by the Crown to the HBC in 1670. The HBC sold the land to back to the British Crown for £300,000, holding back for itself an estimated 7 million acres of land. The Crown then "transferred" "Rupert's Land" to Canada.[15]

This transfer of land without consultation or consent of the region's largely Indigenous inhabitants was resisted both by First Nations and Metis, most notably at Red River. Under the leadership of Louis Riel, Metis and other residents formed a provisional government in 1870. Of the 28 members of this provisional government, 21 were French-, Mechif-, or English-speaking Metis. Because of this resistance, the Canadian government was forced to negotiate with the provisional government, leading to the terms that created the Province of Manitoba and by which Manitoba would join Canada.[16]

Following negotiation with the provisional government and the declaration of the Manitoba Act, the land where Brookside Cemetery is now situated was taken into Canadian government control in1871 under Treaty One. For First Nations, treaties were part of a process intended to establish mutually beneficial relations between themselves and the Crown, however, to the newly formed imperial nation state of Canada, the Western, or Numbered, Treaties served as a mechanism for appropriating Indigenous land to facilitate settlement, agricultural expansion, and resource extraction.[17]

It was not a coincidence that the Dominion Lands Act soon followed the Manitoba Act and Treaty One. The Dominion Lands Act provided for the surveying of First Nations Reserves and the subdivision of approximately 178 million acres of land in what was now western Canada into townships and sections, each of of which was divided into four quarter-sections that could be parcelled out as "homesteads." As these processes show, under the Dominion of Canada government control, all of this land was, ultimately, intended for private ownership for settlement or for industrial, government, and railway use. As well as its utilitarian value as part of this process, the act of surveying was, like other visible acts signifying and marking colonial "possession," a symbolic way for Europeans to activate (before, after, or following military conquest) their belief in their right to rule, and to create fixed boundaries of private property.[18] The transplanting of these acts to North America reflected a mindset that saw European systems of land regulation and use as superior to Indigenous forms, long-standing forms that reflected respect for society and relationships to land, as well as their concepts of belonging to land, land ownership, and use.[19]

With the surveying process underway, the resulting system of white-settler privileged land division, distribution, and private ownership was facilitated by a confusing, classed, and racialized system of scrip that encouraged misuse by those who could learn, interpret, and manipulate the web of legal and cultural norms embedded in the system to their favour. The rampant land speculation in the area that exploded after Treaty One and the creation of the scrip system provides important context for the creation of Brookside Cemetery.[20]

Under the Canadian government's new land system, the 160-acre plot that would soon become Brookside Cemetery was identified as SW ¼ 14-11-2, or the southwest quarter of Section 14 of Township 11, Range 2 East. This piece of land was initially claimed through a process that began with a form of scrip known as a Military Bounty. But the story of how the land where Brookside now sits moved from Crown Land to private ownership actually begins a little before Canada issued a Military Bounty Warrant to Private Allan Macdonald of the 2nd (or Quebec) Battalion of the Red River Expeditionary Force (RRFE).[21]

In order to assert its dominance at Red River following the negotiation of the terms of confederation with the local, largely Metis Provisional Government, the

Canadian prime minister sent an imperial-Canadian joint military force from eastern Canada of one thousand troops under the command of British Army Colonel Garnet Wolseley and known as the Red River Expeditionary Force (RRFE). The force was a tangible and highly visible sign of imperial sovereignty in a territory in which a local provisional government held authority. Stationed at Upper and Lower Fort Garry in August 1870, members of this force assaulted, raped, and murdered Metis, set fires, and wreaked havoc. Local newspapers reporting on the situation called it a "reign of terror."[22]

As a bonus for their military service, Canada issued Warrants for Military Bounty to discharged members of the RREF. This system had a range of benefits for Canada: it incentivized military service in colonial wars, rewarded veterans, and settled trained ex-military men in territories where Canada wished to legitimate its claim. Military Bounty also benefited the larger effort to convert land tenure from a pre-colonial and locally controlled face-to-face relationship-based system that included commons land to a fully colonial system of land tenure.[23]

The process of claiming and then converting a Military Bounty Warrant, a scrip showing that the individual in question was entitled to claim a specified amount of land, to a Military Bounty Grant, a claim on a specific piece of land, was not a simple process. To do this, a member of RREF had to be honourably discharged from the force and produce discharge documents. Then, an Interim Military Bounty Warrant Ceritificate would be issued to them until the proper form arrived by mail from Ottawa. When the official Military Bounty Warrant Ceritificate arrived, the individual could exchange that Warrant Certificate for a Grant for a specific 160 acres of Crown Land[24] at a Dominion Lands Office.

One of the men who was eligible to receive RREF Military Bounty was Private Allan Macdonald, an enlisted man with the 2nd or Quebec Battalion. Possibly even before he received his Military Bounty, we believe that Macdonald sold Power of Attorney over his Military Bounty to his battalion's paymaster, Captain Thomas Howard, an officer (and therefore someone in a position of trust), for $25.00. Thomas Howard then used that Power of Attorney to shepherd Macdonald's Military Bounty Warrant through the system, from November 1872 when Macdonald's Warrant was issued, to 19 October 1874 when Howard located a site for Macdonald's Warrant, thus turning the warrant into a grant. The location that

Thomas Howard chose was one that he had placed a homestead grant application on in February 1873, an application that he would then cancel in favour of a Military Bounty claim.[25] He would soon sell that claim to the City of Winnipeg for what would become Brookside Cemetery (SW1/4 14-11-2).[26]

By 1876 the City of Winnipeg had decided that, as a growing metropolis, it needed a municipal cemetery. In 1877 the city asked for offers of land suitable for a cemetery that the city could purchase at a reasonable price.[27] With few offers that were considered appropriate, in the end on 12 June 1877, the city purchased the land where Brookside Cemetery would be established from Thomas Howard, Esquire, for the sum of $4000.[28] The location, just beyond what were then the city limits, satisfied the conditions of an 1876 city bylaw prohibiting the burial of the dead within those limits,[29] however, some citizens thought that the location of the city's first cemetery was too difficult to access.[30] The reasoning behind the creation of this bylaw, and the consequent location of the cemetery away from the city making it inaccessible to some, remains one of a number of questions on a list of transactions that we don't fully understand. To make a start at putting this decision into some context, we have turned, first, to examining perhaps one of the most pivotal players in the history of how the land where Brookside Cemetery now sits was transformed from Indigenous to colonial space, Thomas Howard.

Thomas Howard (1845-1903) was born in Kingston, Ontario, and educated in Montreal. In 1869, Howard enlisted in the RREF under Colonel Garnet Wolseley, serving with the rank of Captain and Paymaster. Following his discharge from the RREF, Howard remained in Manitoba. He was elected to the First Manitoba Legislature, 1871-1874 to represent the St. Peters district where he replaced the Indigenous representative the Hon. John Sinclair. He was elected again in 1874 to represent St. Clements, this time replacing the Indigenous incumbent the Hon. Thomas Bunn.[31] In government, Howard served in a range of positions including Minister of Agriculture and Immigration, Minister of Public Works, Provincial Secretary, and Provincial Treasurer, as well as the Secretary of the Board of Health of Manitoba and the North-West Territories. Importantly, Thomas Howard also served as a member of the government's Treaty party for Treaty One and as a Treaty Commissioner for Treaty Five.[32]

We are hesitant to put too much of the weight of history in the hands of one person, however, to understand our colonial history it is important to understand how men like Thomas Howard were able to both support and take advantage of Canadian colonial systems. Thomas Howard's arrival with the Red River Expeditionary Force, his election to the provincial legislature, his participation in Treaties One and Five, and his lucrative land speculation in Military Bounty reveal the colonial machinery that was at work at the time. Howard's land speculation ventures included registering NW1/4 11-11-2E as his own Homestead Grant of 160 Acres for a fee of $10 in February 1873, which he later cancelled, transferring and locating Macdonald's Military Bounty for $25, and obtaining Private Henry Annetts' Military Bounty in 1873, located at NW1/4 11-11-2E.[33]

Through the history of how Howard, born and educated in eastern Canada, came to sell the Brookside land to the city, we can see the history of the commodification of what had been part of a vast commons, the erasure of long-standing gathering places and ceremonial sites such as those at Frog Plain and St. James, and the co-option of Indigenous infrastructure, including the river ways and trails running from and between them, all resulting in the disruption of land use patterns that reach back to time before memory, as survey parties laid a colonial grid over an Indigenous landscape.

Brookside's history directly reflects both the growth of the new population of colonizing settlers and the coinciding relocation and erasure of an Indigenous presence in the city from the late 19th century through the 20th. As a result of this process, the land where Brookside Cemetery is located became known as a desirable resting place for middle class white settlers, much like the city that surrounded it.

After purchasing the land for what would become Brookside Cemetery from Howard, the municipal Cemetery Committee furthered the transformation of the space to a colonial one. To do this the Committee first named their new cemetery "Brookside Cemetery" and then undertook their own part in surveying and taking control of the space. In 1878, just four years after Winnipeg had been incorporated, the first burials at Brookside Cemetery took place. Up until this time, settler cemeteries in the area had been, by and large, on private family-owned land or associated with Christian churches. Indigenous people might be buried singly, but

also maintained cemeteries, including one not far from Brookside Cemetery, near what is today St. James (the Assiniboine) Anglican Church.[34]

Over the next 20 years the conversion of Brookside Cemetery into and as colonial space continued as municipal committees, and eventually the Public Parks Board, assumed management of it, each for their own parts then setting out to remake the land and its history. Under their hands a rich Indigenous landscape was further transformed, according to the City of Winnipeg, from a "treeless hunk of land on a bleak bald prairie" into a "park-like setting"[35] by building winding roads and funerary monuments, and by planting trees and gardens. Such improvements at Brookside – similar to houses, fences, and gardens on homesteads – further enscribed possession onto the land. Understandings of the varied Indigenous landscape that had drawn non-Indigenous traders to it through its extensive Indigenous infrastructure and trade networks were replaced by a constructed vision of "terra nullius" on which they would plant British symbols of civilization and possession.[36]

Given this history and the symbolic as well as regulatory power that acts of governance and control can have, it is not surprising that the creation of Brookside Cemetery coincided with the establishment of provincial and municipal regulations governing cemeteries. Cemetery acts were a way of establishing and demonstrating the power and legitimacy of the provincial and municipal governments. As a part of this process, provincial and municipal governments enacted legislation that included regulations on the related fields of health, burials, and vital statistics.

With a push to remake land and population, and with laws promoting and serving white settlement in the area, the ongoing presence of Indigenous people in the City of Winnipeg was an increasing source of anxiety for many of Winnipeg's citizens. Municipal-level efforts to remove the visible presence of Indigenous people and communities included anti-Indigenous policing practices and formal and informal regulations, as well as the creation of inequitable structures of education, employment, housing, and healthcare that disadvantaged Indigenous people, suppressed Indigenous languages, and distorted Indigenous histories.[37] Among the "famous" people often identified in essays about Brookside Cemetery's history, only two Indigenous people are included: Tommy Prince and Farron Hall, buried in 1977 and 2014 respectively. Prince, of Brokenhead Ojibwe Nation, was one of the

most decorated Indigenous veterans and served in the Second World War and the Korean War. He is known for his bravery and his war honours, as well as for how his life was impacted by war abroad and racism at home.[38] Faron Hall, who was a member of Dakota Tipi First Nation, is known for having rescued individuals who were drowning in the Red River on two separate occasions.[39]

Much less known is the history of 20th century government medical relocations to city hospitals, and the stories of Indigenous individuals who, having died at these hospitals, lie in unmarked graves in Brookside, individuals whose lives and deaths we have been documenting as part of our research. As their final resting place, as with other aspects of its Indigenous history, the land that is now known as Brookside Cemetery stands as a tangible, silent witness to this history and its erasure. Using a range of archival sources and community consultation, we have learned about the deaths and burials of 102 Indigenous people who were taken to Winnipeg to undergo medical treatment and other services that they could not access at home. Our report is an effort to wake these sleeping histories, and to begin to reverse the erasure of history that has surrounded Brookside Cemetery from its beginning.

OVERVIEW

Executive Summary

In order to begin to build a better understanding of Indigenous burials within the City of Winnipeg, the Manitoba Indigenous Tuberculosis History Project (MITHP) initiated the First Nations and Inuit Burials at Brookside Cemetery, 1950s-1970s project (originally called Indigenous Interment: Building towards a Better Understanding of the Indigenous People Buried at Brookside Cemetery) in early 2024.

This project grew out of MITHP's Missing Patients Research Guide (2024), which was created in response to the many requests MITHP team members received from families seeking information about loved ones who had been taken to federal, provincial, and private hospitals and sanatoriums in Manitoba and who never returned home. While the Guide includes information about one Winnipeg-based institution (the St. Boniface Sanatorium, also known as the St. Vital Sanatorium), the team recognized that Winnipeg and the hospitals and sanatoriums based in this city often require different approaches to searches for the records that can help families find information about what happened to their loved one.

This project focuses on Brookside Cemetery as a starting point for this work, taking a closer look at the complexities of Indigenous healthcare, Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) funeral arrangement policies, and City of Winnipeg burial records. This is an important step in building towards a more comprehensive understanding of the record sets relating to Indigenous life and death at hospitals and sanatoriums within the City of Winnipeg that will eventually culminate in a Winnipeg-specific research guide.

We chose to focus on Brookside Cemetery in this phase of the research because it is the largest municipal cemetery in Winnipeg and appears to have been the cemetery that was most commonly used for the burial of people considered by authorities to be “indigent Indians.” Our research covers the period from 1950 to 1980 largely because of the developments in DIA funeral arrangement policies during this period, and the record sets available to us. We started with an examination of the DIA funeral arrangement files at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) and went on to examine burial records for Brookside Cemetery held at the City of Winnipeg Archives and the Municipal Cemeteries Branch.

As a result of this current project, we have been able to create a preliminary list of the individuals who died at Winnipeg-area hospitals and sanatoriums and who were buried at Brookside cemetery, along with identifying their burial locations within the cemetery. In addition, we have taken steps towards building a stronger understanding of how DIA burial arrangement polices developed in this region over the three decades of this study, and how they impacted Indigenous people and families in Manitoba, northern and northwestern Ontario, and the Arctic. In this report, we share some of our findings as well as our methods and sources, and describe Indian Affairs policies and practices that shaped the burials process. Taken together, this initial research offers valuable information for families, communities, and Nations searching for missing loved ones, as well as for researchers searching for a better understanding of the history of Indigenous experiences of health care.. Further research will expand upon this foundation to include other places of burial within the City of Winnipeg and a wider time frame.

What We Set Out to Do and Accomplishments So Far

This project has expanded considerably from what we initially imagined when when we first began. As a result there are several new avenues of research and public education that we want to pursue in the future. Listed below are our initial objectives, how we have made progress towards accomplishing these objectives, and the next steps required to continue this work.

Objective 1: To improve access to records and support searches for missing Indigenous community members, including Indian Residential School (IRS) students and Indian hospital and sanatorium patients. The Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with Indian Residential Schools (OSI) has identified the provision of access to records and the right to truth as sacred obligations held by government bodies and Canadian institutions.[40] While our research is ongoing, to make steps towards this goal we have:

- Researched the DIA's burial policies from the 1950s to the 1970s and described how these policies played out within the context of Brookside Cemetery burials.
- Researched Indigenous burials controlled by the DIA, developed a database of the names of Indigenous people whose burials were overseen by the DIA, and complied records for each identified individual.
- Identified grave sites, and began the process of photographing grave markers and uploading the images to FindAGrave, an online publicly available database of cemeteries across the world. These photographs will support locating specific sites in Brookside Cemetery.
- Provided the City of Winnipeg with information about data missing from their online burials database.

Objective 2 : To share our research findings with impacted communities.
To do this we plan to:

- Share this report with communities identified in the burial records that we have researched so far, and with relevant tribal associations.
- Share this report with governance committees responsible for IRS research.
- Seek out consultation on how to best share the list of DIA-controlled burials at Brookside Cemetery.
- Continue our research into Indigenous burials in the City of Winnipeg, and produce a research guide to support searches, as funding and resources allow.

Objective 3: Advocate for a public memorial at Brookside Cemetery to honour the Indigenous people buried there. This report takes an important step in the direction of achieving this objective by:

- Completing research that will inform the consultation process and the creation of the memorial.
- Stimulating interest in the history of Indigenous burials at Brookside Cemetery and the City of Winnipeg more generally and recognizing city cemeteries as sites of conscience as described by the OSI.
- Beginning the consultation process that will be at the heart of developing a memorial at Brookside Cemetery.

Key Findings

At this phase of the project, our key findings include the following:

1. The Department of Indian Affairs was responsible for, and in most cases, controlled the funeral arrangements of First Nations and Inuit people who died in health care institutions, including hospitals and sanatoriums, in Winnipeg. The department categorized individuals whose families were not able to arrange for their burials – either because they were not informed of the individual's death or because they could not afford to have their loved one's body returned and buried at home – as "indigent Indians." In these cases, the department mandated that the individual was to receive the least expensive burial arrangements possible. In the period of study, this often precluded transporting remains back to the community. Instead, individuals were regularly buried in a cemetery near the place of death.

2. Significant and important records, including cemetery maps, burial registers, and interment particulars relating to the burials of First Nations and Inuit people at Brookside can be found in Indian Affairs and Health Canada fonds at Library and Archives Canada and in City of Winnipeg's records held at the City of Winnipeg Archives and at the Cemeteries Branch offices.

3. During the course of our research, we identified 102 First Nations and Inuit people who were buried at Brookside cemetery between 1956 and 1973 and whose burials were paid for by Indian Affairs. Of these, 41 were from First Nations in Manitoba, 27 were from First Nations in Ontario, and 19 were Inuit from the Arctic region. We have not yet been able to identify the home communities of 15 individuals. We also found that 37 of the 102 First Nations and Inuit died as adults, 14 as children, 46 as infants, and 5 individuals' ages are unknown. Thus 59 per cent of the individuals we identified were under the age of 18.

Introduction

This report, *First Nations and Inuit Burials at Brookside Cemetery 1950-1980*, is divided into five parts and three appendices. To provide an important foundation for understanding the contents of this report, we begin with an explanation of the scope of the project (part 1) before offering some historical context for the burials of First Nations and Inuit at Brookside (part 2). This context includes information on federal Indian policy and related health care policy and provision for "Treaty Indians" and Inuit, that is, Indigenous people who fell under the Indian Act, the meaning and use of the term "indigent Indian" in the context of Indian Affairs burial policy, and the procedures that Canada, acting through its Department of Indian Affairs, followed with regards to the burial of Indigenous people who passed away after being taken to healthcare institutions. Part 3 provides an overview of our research process and methodology. Next, in part 4, we describe some of our research findings before expanding on our plans for future research in part 5.

Appendix A starts with a reconstruction of, and reflection on, what we have found through the story of the life and death of Angus Oombash, as it can be understood based on the available records. This case study illustrates what we have learned about the history of burials, and the research methods we recommend to families, communities, and Nations searching for answers about what became of missing loved ones. In Appendix B, we share a list of the home communities and regions of the First Nations and Inuit individuals whose burials at Brookside were overseen and controlled the the DIA. Finally, in Appendix C, we provide a list of Library and Archives Canada records that we have used in this phase of our research in order to support any researchers who may wish to retrace our steps and expand on the work we have done so far.

The research we share in this report is particularly relevant in light of the recent work of the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites (OSI). The OSI argued that searches of missing children associated with IRS need to include institutions to and from which children had

been transferred. These institutions include child welfare, prisons, homes for unwed mothers and hospitals. Second, federal Indian health care was a distinct kind of experience and policy that included Indigenous medical relocation, substandard, underfunded and mismanaged treatment, programs of cultural, language and identity assimilation, and unmarked burials. Because of its connection to this history, Brookside Cemetery can also be understood as a site of conscience, much like the cemeteries associated with IRS. As defined in the OSI final report, a "site of conscience" is a place which "holds truth about the past and memories of injustice that must be exposed, acknowledged, remembered, shared, and learned from so this will never happen again."[41]

EDWARDS
JOHN
EMILY

PART 1

Scope

When we began our research, we were aware that a number of Indigenous people had been buried at Brookside Cemetery by the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). We soon found that Brookside, the largest municipal cemetery in the City of Winnipeg, appeared to have been the most common choice for burials of "indigent Indians" by the DIA.

During our research we found only one example of an Indigenous patient burial in or near Winnipeg that was not made in a municipal cemetery (in this case a private cemetery, Glen Eden Memorial Gardens.[42]) These findings suggest that DIA policy and procedure relating to the burial of Indigenous patients identified by the DIA as an "indigent Indian" led officials to choose a municipal cemetery within the City of Winnipeg for the burial of the patients who they identified as "indigents."[43] In our preliminary list of individuals who died at Winnipeg-area hospitals and sanatoriums, 102 were buried at Brookside. In comparison, we only found 10 similar burials in Winnipeg's other municipal cemetery, the St. Vital cemetery,[44] indicating that Brookside was the more common choice for burials controlled by the DIA.

For this project we focused our attention on the DIA funeral arrangement records at Library and Archives Canada (LAC) and on City of Winnipeg cemetery records. Some of these LAC records are available publicly online and others had to be accessed with the support of archivists at LAC's Winnipeg and Ottawa locations. We were able to access restricted records held by LAC through Access to Information and Privacy (ATIP) requests, but this process took a great deal of time, and could include redactions. Records held at LAC Ottawa, for example, were finally released a full five months after we requested them. Accessing City of Winnipeg burial records, which are closed to the public, required establishing a research undertaking with the City. This process took nearly a year from the first time we

reached out to the City to when we were able to access the records. These delays are not uncommon in historical research but do have a significant impact on research timelines as it is difficult to predict when and if records access will be granted. This also affected the scope of our research since pursuing additional lines of investigation that we identified as the research progressed would have potentially extended our timeline significantly. We hope to be able to pursue some of the avenues of research that we identified during this project in the future if funding, time, and resources allow.

In some cases, privacy restrictions on certain record sets impacted the range of records we could incorporate in our research. Restrictions on certain record sets limited our access and therefore our scope. For example, we had initially intended to examine Manitoba Vital Statistic records, particularly death registrations. However, vital statistic death records only become available when the death occurred 70 or more years ago, which meant that only records from 1955 and earlier were available during this phase of research. As the earliest burial we identified in the period we examined was 1956, incorporating death registration records in our research was not possible during this phase.

Given the scope and range of the records that we were able to access in a timely fashion, during this phase of our research we focused on burials relating to First Nations and Inuit patients who passed away at health care institutions in or near Winnipeg. From the 1950s to the 1970s, the federal government considered Treaty First Nations (or "Status Indians") and Inuit to be under their jurisdiction. Metis and "non-"Status Indians"" were excluded during this period and the DIA considered any welfare services for these latter populations to be the responsibility of provincial or municipal governments.[45] Reflecting the federal government's administrative practices, Inuit and First Nations individuals were tracked by the DIA (and the businesses and organizations they worked with to arrange funerals) through disc or band numbers respectively. We find colonial systems that reduce Indigenous humans to numbers deplorable; any use of these colonial administrative constructions during this project was done reluctantly and with great caution.

The government's definitions of First Nations, Métis, and Inuit rarely translate easily into Indigenous lived experiences. For example, although the DIA tried to limit patients at Indian hospitals and sanatoriums to "Status Indians" and Inuit, we

know that patients who identified as Métis also received care at these institutions.[46] There is a possibility that some of the individuals we identified through this phase of research may have identified as Métis, but the record set we examined does not provide us insight into this. It is worth noting, too, that we chose to include individuals who the DIA determined had lost status (for example, by living off-reserve for over a year or through marriage) and to therefore be ineligible for DIA funeral arrangement funds.

It is our hope that, with additional funding, we will be able to explore other avenues of research, including developing a better understanding of Métis experiences of healthcare and hospitalization and of Métis burials in Winnipeg. We also hope to broaden the time period of our study, take a closer look at other cemeteries within the City of Winnipeg, and examine other record sets, such as church and private funeral home records, that may tell us more about the individuals we identified through our research.

The Administrative Building at Brookside Cemetery.

PART 2

Historical Context

Hospitalization

Why would an Anishinaabekwe living in Kenora or an Inuk from Rankin Inlet be at a hospital in Winnipeg in the 1950s, 60s, or 70s?

In the early twentieth century, white settler physicians in Manitoba and elsewhere stimulated national anxieties about the perceived threat Indigenous people presented to public health in Canada. By the 1920s, there was increasing pressure from provincial and national tuberculosis organizations for the federal government to take a targeted response to Tuberculosis (TB) in the Indigenous population. At the same time, Indian Affairs was also expected to keep the costs of health services for Indigenous people as low as possible. The increased state intervention into the lives of Indigenous people through health care that developed over this period did not involve consultation or input from Indigenous communities, and the care that resulted was heavily assimilationist.[47]

Dynevor Indian Hospital, established 1939. Lung Association, Manitoba Inc. Sanatorium Board of Manitoba, Report for the Year 1939, (Winnipeg: 1939), 16.

The federal government also took an increasingly invasive role in maternal health and childbirth. In 1935, the Dominion Council of Health created a general policy that all Canadian women giving birth must be attended by a physician and a qualified nurse. This policy excluded Indigenous midwives and Elders, ignoring traditional skills and knowledges and increasing the pressure on pregnant

Indigenous women living in remote areas to travel to often distant hospitals to give birth. During the postwar period, the federal government increasingly sought to evacuate most First Nations and Inuit women from remote locations to give birth in urban centers, including Winnipeg, separating them from their families and support networks during this vulnerable period.[48]

In 1945, the medical branch of Indian Affairs was transferred to the Department of National Health and Welfare (now Health Canada), taking on the new name Indian Health Services (IHS). Soon after, the IHS opened several Indian hospitals and sanatoriums that were operated on ruthlessly tight budgets, leading to overcrowding, high staff turnover, and substandard care. In Manitoba, three of these institutions (Dynevor Indian Hospital, Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital, and Brandon Indian Sanatorium[49]) were operated by a provincial body called the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba on behalf of the IHS. First Nations and Inuit patients could also be taken to provincially, municipally, or privately run hospitals, including Winnipeg general hospitals including the Winnipeg General Hospital, the Central Tuberculosis Clinic (later the D.A. Stewart Centre), the King George Municipal Hospital, and the St. Boniface Sanatorium. Federal policy dictated that Canada would only cover the cost of services for First Nations people living on reserves, or those who had lived off-reserve for less than one year, and who were judged to be "indigent," that is, unable to cover the cost of such services on their own. Otherwise, First Nations patients were expected to cover the costs themselves, despite, in many cases, Treaty Rights to health care.[50]

Canada's increased interest in the north during and after the Second World War, coupled with the federal government's resistance to developing TB hospitals in the Arctic, resulted in the forced relocation of many Inuit to southern Canada for medical care and what was framed as rehabilitation. With little local infrastructure, the TB case-finding expeditions that Canada despatched annually between the mid-1940s and early 1960s transported thousands of Inuit south to wherever beds were available. This meant that at times an individual might be the only Inuk in an institution, isolated from their community for extended periods in a place where no one else spoke their language. These relocations have had a profound and lasting impact on Inuit individuals, families, and communities.[51]

As wards of the federal government, under the Indian Act and Indian Health policy, First Nations and Inuit patients could be transferred between hospitals and sanatoriums with little or no notice to them or their families. These transfers included the transfer of IRS students to hospitals and other health care institutions when they were ill, often without informing their parents. Provincial public health laws further supported forced movement and medical, including tuberculosis (TB), treatment, laws that were joined by Indian Health Regulations that allowed for removals without consent. In 1953, government officials' power to force the movement and medical treatment of Indigenous people was further underlined and codified in in changes to the Indian Act that criminalized First Nations and Inuit patients who refused medical treatment or left hospital against medical advice.[52]

Burials at Place of Death

What happened in the event of the death of a First Nations person or Inuk at a Winnipeg hospital?

As we have seen, beginning in 1945, First Nations and Inuit patients who were hospitalized fell under the jurisdiction of the IHS branch, which fell under the federal National Department of Health and Welfare. However, if a patient passed away while in hospital, responsibility fell back on Indian Affairs. Although the DIA had long-standing informal practices relating to the burial of Indigenous people who fell under their control, arrangements had generally been handled on and ad hoc basis – including what should be done if a patient died in hospital – and could vary significantly between regions and individual institutions. A more formalized policy was eventually established around 1956, although it was not always consistently applied across agencies.[53]

This policy was specific to "indigent Indians" – Status First Nations and Inuit whose burials could not be paid for by their estate, band funds, or by family members – and stipulated that, if the cost of burying an "indigent Indian" was to be covered by Indian Affairs and the individual died while away from their home reserve, the burial would be at the place of death unless the cost of transporting the remains home for burial was lower than the cost of returning their remains to their family

or home community. Throughout this period, the DIA consistently worked to keep burial costs to a bare minimum, regardless of the pain or distress their decisions might cause Indigenous families.[54]

Official and informal government policy laid particularly heavily on families from northern communities where the return of remains might require additional preparation of the body and casket and a costly and potentially risky flight to return their loved ones home.[55] For example, when a four-year-old child from a remote northern Manitoba community passed away at St. Boniface Hospital in 1956, her mother, who was a widow, was unable to pay the expensive transportation costs to bring her body home, and she was buried in Brookside Cemetery.[56] In another instance, a First Nations baby died at St. Boniface Hospital in 1961. Although his mother asked for his remains to be returned home, the Indian Agent refused, stating, "In view of the uncertain weather conditions and expense involved, it was not felt we could comply with such a request. Therefore, the remains were interred in Brookside Cemetery."[57]

Although DIA policy did allow for the possibility of family members or community covering the cost of returning a person's remains home for burial, in practical terms returning a person's remains home for burial depended on a number of conditions. First, government officials had to notify family about the death of the individual in a timely manner, something that did not always happen. In March of 1964 E.C. Burton, Crown Attorney in the District of Kenora, wrote to the DIA about the problems with timely, or in some cases, any, notification, stating, "I have heard stories to the effect that Indians are brought from the bush for medical care, they die in hospital and they are buried without notification to the relatives or without effort being made to return the remains to the relatives."[58] Some agents also recognized that the lack of communication with families and the likelihood that patients would be buried far from their homes and families if they should pass away while in hospital might impact First Nations and Inuit individual's willingness to be sent away from home for medical treatment. Even so, the DIA remained firmly set against accepting the expense of returning bodies to their home communities for many years.[59]

Consistent with this policy, if an individual's remains were not returned to community for burial, all local burial-associated costs were kept as low as

possible.[60] In 1964, when a First Nations patient passed away at St. Boniface Hospital, Clark Leatherdale Funeral Home included a $5 charge for a minister to provide a funeral service in their invoice to the DIA. The funeral home received a letter about a month later explaining that the DIA would only pay $205 of the $210 invoice "as the Department does not pay for religious services in connection with the burial of destitute Indians."[61] This kind of close scrutiny of burial expenses was common. Whether related to particular line items or for the entire cost of burial, the DIA would keep expenses to a bare minimum and, wherever possible, seek to pass costs on to the City Welfare department and the provincial Department of Public Welfare. This included cases where Canada was unable to determine whether an individual was in Treaty, or cases where an individual may have been removed from Treaty, or when the individual's eligibility for certain kinds of benefits was reduced or removed because the individual had lived off-reserve for over a year.[62]

For those who fell under DIA control, departmental policy required that the burial of those the department considered "indigent' [caps or lc?] should not cost more than the amount allowed for non-Indigenous indigent burials in the jurisdiction where the burial was to take place.[63]

In the face of this policy, W. Henry Rogers, Chief of the Social Services Division in the DIA, recognized the structural inequities faced by First Nations and Inuit communities that this policy embodied, noting that the social cost of the DIA's cost-saving was not the same for "Indians" and "non-Indians." In March of 1974, Rogers wrote,

Many non-Indian indigents are "drifters" with few family ties, whereas the typical Indian family seem to have closer ties. Frequently in the case of the non-Indian indigent where family ties are close, the family and/or relatives are able to provide transportation costs. This is not often the case with indigent registered Indians, as the family and relatives are more often than not dependent on social assistance. The percentage per capita of indigent registered Indians residing off a reserve is considerably higher than the percentage of 'out of town' indigent non-Indians residing in urban centres such as Winnipeg. In some cases, registered Indians have been removed from their reserves for medical reasons and die in hospitals or treatment centres. This rarely happens to the non-Indian population as the vast majority live near adequate medical facilities.[64]

During the 1970s, DIA policy relating to the transportation of remains within the province shifted, a move that reflected changes in the cost of transportation back to reserves, rather than respect for close First Nations and Inuit kinship ties. During this period, in many cases, returning remains to home communities became less expensive than a burial in a cemetery at the place of death, particularly within urban areas where opening graves became increasingly costly. Despite this shift, if an individual was taken out of province to a healthcare institution and died there, the DIA still refused to pay for the transportation of their remains back to their home community.[65]

PART 3

Methodology

Step 1: Reviewing DIA Records at Library and Archives Canada

To begin our research, we started by reviewing DIA funeral arrangement records held by Library and Archives Canada (LAC), focusing on agencies that may have taken Indigenous patients to Winnipeg for medical care. As mentioned previously, we eventually settled on the time period of the 1950s to 1970s due to the timing of the DIA's formalization of its funeral arrangement policies and the record sets available to us. The following briefly outlines the steps we took in our research.

Created by the DIA, records commonly identified in LAC records descriptions as "Funeral Arrangements" files form one of the two pillars this phase of our project has focused on. Some of the funeral arrangement files held by LAC have been digitized and are available through Heritage Canadiana.[66] Others we accessed through ATIP requests filed with LAC at both their Central Canada Regional Service Centre in Winnipeg and their Ottawa/Gatineau operations. As a part of the ATIP process, the Ottawa files were digitized and are now available through the Government of Canada's Open Access Completed Access to Information Requests database.[67] The files we examined at the Winnipeg location were either digitized or we reviewed the original physical copies. These Winnipeg records can be accessed by reaching out to LAC's Winnipeg service centre.[68]

(Facing Page) An example of a Brookside Cemetery burial permit found in Heritage Canadiana. Brookside Cemetery Permit, March 7, 1963, RG10, Volume 6935, File 494/29-3, Part 3, Funeral Arrangements in the Fort Frances Agency, 1957/1965, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c10988/1873.

Issued to: C. Leatherdale & Co. Ltd.

BROOKSIDE CEMETERY

Winnipeg, 7 March 19 63

The remains of [redacted]

who died at St. Boniface on the 28th day

of February 19 63 were this day interred in Lot 1682

Section 28.

Lot $ 50.00

Burial Fee $ 35.00

$ 85.00

R. C. Wood
Supervisor

Indian Affairs. (RG 10, Volume 6935, file 494/29-3 pt. 3)

PUBLIC ARCHIVES
ARCHIVES PUBLIQUES
CANADA

The process of examining physical records at LAC's Winnipeg service centre took several trips to the archives to review files and photograph. In total we reviewed 87 physical and digital files from LAC which could range from 10 pages of records to over 400 pages. A full list of the LAC files we consulted is available in Appendix C of this report.

During our records review, we searched through the records for any mention of burials that took place in Winnipeg, and later followed up with each name to confirm whether or not the individual was buried at Brookside Cemetery. Relevant records usually consisted of correspondence concerning funeral arrangements, funeral home invoices and vouchers, and cemetery permits. At times a record clearly indicated a burial at Brookside, but the place of burial was not always clearly indicated.. Sometimes records might just say that the burial was to take place in Winnipeg, or that an individual had died in Winnipeg, with no information about where they were buried, and requiring further follow up. When it was clearly indicated that an individual had been sent home for burial, we did not include them in our list.

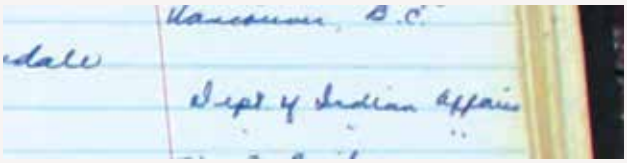
Step 2: Developing a Database

As we worked through the records, we developed a spreadsheet containing the names of the individuals we were able to identify as having been buried at Brookside Cemetery, including as much information about them and their experiences as possible. This included: dates of birth, death, and burial; burial order numbers; section-lot-grave site numbers; the funeral homes responsible for preparing the individual for burial; band and disc numbers; and the Indian Agency overseeing and paying for the burial; etc. We organized the records we gathered by individual in an effort to pull together as much of their story as possible.

As we generated a list of names based on the LAC records, we also searched for their names in Find AGrave and The City of Winnipeg's online Burial Records database to confirm their burial location, if possible. Both of these resources are excellent publicly available resources for searching for individuals buried at Brookside Cemetery. In particular, the city's database contains important additional information that is not available through FindAGrave, such as the burial

order number. These burial order numbers are important for looking up individuals within the City of Winnipeg's physical registers and interment orders at the cemetery office, which was our next step in the process. During our research, we did find that the City's database had a small number of missing entries or entries with missing data, including burial order numbers. We tracked these instances and shared them with the City of Winnipeg staff.

Step 3: Reviewing City of Winnipeg Burial Records



Example of an entry in a Brookside burial leger indicating that an individual's burial was paid for by the DIA from Brookside Order Register 1956-68: 46630-61930, City of Winnipeg Cemeteries Office. Image provided with permission of the City of Winnipeg.

While many of the cemeteries in Manitoba that serve as the final resting places for First Nations and Inuit patients have suffered from neglect, poor record keeping, and records gaps,[69] this has not been the case for Winnipeg municipal cemeteries where original burial records and an online database of burials make searching for information about individuals buried there much more accessible. In addition, the grounds of Brookside Cemetery are well maintained and cared for by city staff, and most graves can be located through a numbered marking system making it possible to identify the exact location of an individuals' burial place. This was of great value to our research project as we searched for Indigenous burials at Brookside Cemetery.

Accessing city burial records took some time to arrange as the City's municipal cemetery burial registers are not open to the public. Once we had permission to review the registers for this research project, we examined copies at both the City of Winnipeg Archives and the cemetery office, focusing on the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s. We started by finding the entries for individuals we had already identified through LAC records. As we went through these records, we noticed that there were often band numbers or other notes under the "Remarks" column or in the margins that indicated the burial was paid for by the DIA. By reviewing each page of the ledgers and searching for these remarks, we were able to double the list

we had started with based on our LAC research. In addition to band numbers, we also found entries with disc numbers, indicating that an individual was Inuit. From 1941 to 1971, the Canadian government imposed the disc number system on the Inuit as a means of identification. Under this system, Inuit were expected to wear physical numbered discs around their necks and would be required by state officials to present these discs in order to receive status benefits and supports. By carefully working through each page of the registers and searching for these remarks, we were able to double the number of names on the list that we had begun with our LAC research.[70]

Step 4: Photographing Gravesites

As we built up our list, we also began the process of photographing individual grave sites at Brookside Cemetery, so that we could upload images to FindAGrave. This online database of gravesites enables site visitors to search for graves across regions or within a specific cemetery.[71] As this database is largely populated by volunteers, some cemeteries have more data than others. In our experience, nearly every individual at Brookside Cemetery we identified had an entry, and in the rare cases that one was missing, we added the entry. Spellings of names often vary which can make digital searches more challenging, but FindAGrave provides a "Similar name spellings" feature under their search options which helped our work significantly.

While nearly all of the individuals we identified already had an entry in FindAGrave, only a handful of these entries had included photographs of the gravesite. Most of the DIA-funded First Nations and Inuit burials that we were able to identify at Brookside have no headstone, the majority of the graves are marked only by a molded cement marker stamped with the gravesite number. These small markers are placed at the base of the grave and tend to sink into the soil overtime. We found that many were completely grown over and needed to be uncovered in order to confirm the site number. In a small number of cases, markers are missing entirely. Because of these issues, the grave sites of the Indigenous individuals we visited were often difficult to locate without detailed cemetery maps (which are available through the cemetery office by request) or assistance from cemetery

office staff.[72] It is our hope that by photographing the markers and the surrounding gravesite area and uploading them to FindAGrave, we may make it easier for families or community members to locate gravesites. So far, we have photographed and uploaded images of 41 gravesites and plan to continue this work in the next phase of our research on Brookside Cemetery.

Research Support

This project benefited enormously from the contributions of two research assistants. In turn this project provided these assistants with opportunities to build historical research skills. In the summer of 2024, we participated in the University of Winnipeg Indigenous Summer Student Program (ISSP), a twelve-week applied research program that engages Indigenous undergraduate students and recent graduates in a variety of research projects to strengthen pathways to graduate studies. Through the ISSP we hired Research Assistant Wahpikwanees Kappo to conduct the initial research into DIA burials and burial policies. Kappo assisted in archival research, fieldwork, and data management. She also presented our research process and some of our initial findings to the Manitoba Genealogical Society Research Team in August 2024, which was an important part of drawing the attention of local historians and genealogists to the history of DIA burials.

Senior Research Assistant Elvis Agyapong joined our team in the fall of 2024 and provided support in archival research, data management, and report writing. Agyapong played an essential role in completing our review of the Library and Archives records we requested and in collecting information from the City of Winnipeg burial records. He also prepared short research reports on particular topics that contributed to this final report.

PART 4

Overview of Findings

As noted earlier, we have, so far, identified 102 First Nations and Inuit individuals who were buried at Brookside Cemetery between the years 1956 and 1973, and whose burials were paid for and controlled by the DIA, or in a few cases, whose burial expenses the DIA reviewed and declined to pay. Of these, 41 were from Nations in Manitoba, 27 were from Ontario First Nations, and 19 were from the Arctic. We have not yet been able to identify the home communities of 15 individuals. Our research indicates that the years from 1957 to 1967 saw the highest rates of DIA-funded Indigenous burials at Brookside, ranging from 6 to 11 cases per year. We have provided a list of the communities named in our research or the regions they came from in Appendix B.

We were able to identify 19 Inuit individuals buried at Brookside Cemetery through their disc numbers. Since disc numbers were in use during the period we examined, they were likely included in Brookside's burial records for the same reasons band numbers were recorded - to aid government tracking and record keeping. Working between copies of registers held by the Brookside cemetery office and by the City of Winnipeg Archives, we found that sometimes disc or band numbers might be listed in the cemetery office copy of the Brookside burial register and not in the City of Winnipeg Archives copy, and vise versa. Time ran out before we could examine the City of Winnipeg Archives copies of the registers as closely as we had reviewed those held by the cemetery office. We hope to return to this to see if more individuals can be identified in the future.

It is worth noting that nearly half of the burials that we were able to identify were infants. To help get a sense of age ranges, we grouped ages by Infant (under 1 year, including stillbirths), Child (1 year and older up to 17 years old), and Adult

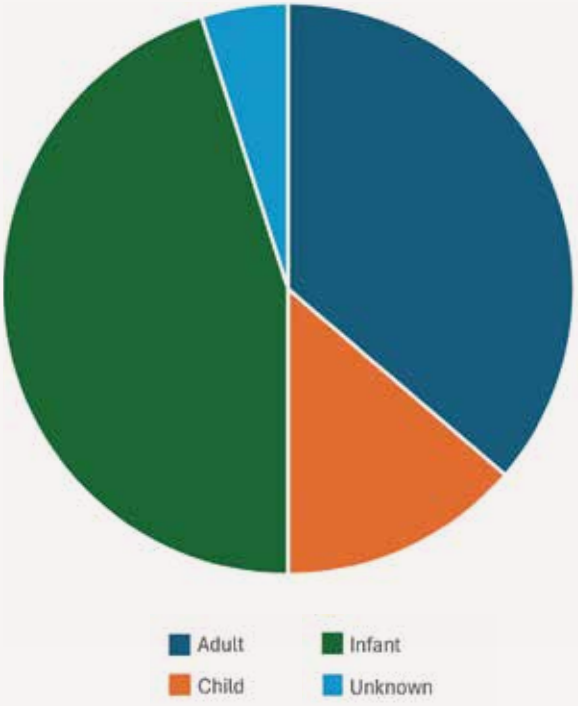


Chart: Brookside DIA burial age range categories, 1956-1973.

(18 years and older). In some cases, ages were not provided but we could make an educated guess about the individual's age category based on other information. For example, sometimes the name listed might include "Baby" or "Infant" and in these cases we counted the individual under the Infant category. In a few cases, no age was listed but it was indicated that the individual was married, and we counted them as an Adult. Of the 102 First Nations and Inuit, 37 died as adults, 14 as children, 46 as infants, and 5 individuals' ages or age categories were unknown. This means that 59 per cent of the individuals we identified (and 62 per cent of the individuals' whose age category we were able to identify) were under the age of 18. The high number of stillborn and infant burials is likely connected to the evacuation of Indigenous pregnant women to give birth in Winnipeg hospitals, but more research is needed into this possibility.

Our research clearly demonstrates that Brookside Cemetery holds stories of the forced removal of Indigenous people from their communities, of the history of segregated and substandard healthcare during this period studied elsewhere, and of callous federal burial policies. Our research also suggests the need for further research into other cemeteries near or inside the City of Winnipeg as they, too, many shed light on this history. As the final resting place for those impacted by these events and policies, Brookside Cemetery acts as a site of truth and conscience, holding histories that need to be understood, remembered, and acknowledged. We connect these histories and Brookside Cemetery to the term "sites of conscience" as it is used in relation to IRS-related cemetery sites because

of the histories of forced medical evacuations, inadequate and mismanaged medical care, separate and unequal health policies and unmarked graves that are associated with the burials we were able to locate.

Looking forward, a carefully researched and collaboratively planned memorial to the memory of Indigenous people buried at Brookside Cemetery, commemorating their experiences and the experiences of all Indigenous people during the forced medical evacuations of the 1950s, 60s, and 70s could serve to honour these lives and experiences, educate the public about this chapter in Canada's history, and push back against the disturbing trend of Indigenous genocide denialism that has gained a foothold in some sectors of Canadian Society. Such a memorial will require careful consultation and strong research, work that we hope to support in the next phase of our research.

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PART 5

Future Research

Throughout this report, we have already indicated a few areas where we would like to pursue additional research, including: examining the Brookside burial registers held at the City of Winnipeg Archives in greater detail to better understand the connections between the medical evacuations of pregnant women and the high rate of stillborn and infant burials that we have identified in this phase of our research; continuing to photograph gravesites and uploading the images to FindAGrave; and exploring research avenues that might allow us to identify Métis burials in city cemeteries. Depending on available funding and resources, we hope to begin a second phase of research and public education relating to First Nations, Inuit, and possibly Métis burials at Brookside Cemetery in the near future.

This second phase would include additional research and consultation with Indigenous stakeholders to develop a memorial that will honour the individuals who we have identified through this project, and the experiences of all of those who were removed from their homes and families to distant medical institutions where they died and were buried far from home. We hope that this memorial can be created in collaboration with the City of Winnipeg and Indigenous project partners. In addition, we hope to create a new research guide focusing on Winnipeg hospitals and cemeteries to accompany our current award-winning Missing Patients Research Guide. Building on the research described in this report, this new guide will provide families and researchers with resources and guidance when searching for First Nations and Inuit loved ones who were sent to hospital in Winnipeg and never returned home, providing information about additional avenues of research including church archives, funeral home records, provincial and municipal archives, additional relevant LAC record sets, Residential School records, and vital statistic documents. With these public education tools, we hope to raise awareness about this part of Indigenous history within Winnipeg and Manitoba and to honour the stories of those who rest at Brookside Cemetery.

APPENDIX A

Case Study – Angus Oombash

ANGUS OOMBASH'S STORY HAS BEEN SHARED WITH THE GRACIOUS PERMISSION OF HIS FAMILY.

Angus Oombash was born December 30, 1935, to Abia and Christianna (nee Masakayash) Oombash. Because DIA and IHS records revolve around Band names and numbers, tracking Angus' story requires some understanding of the history of his community. Angus and his family were from Cat Lake First Nation in northwestern Ontario, Cat Lake had been folded in with the the Mishkeegogamang First Nation (known at the time as the Osnaburgh Band) in the early twentieth century without the community's consent. Cat Lake would eventually be recognized as a distinct Nation in 1970, after 30 years of community leaders' efforts and advocacy. Because of this history, Angus is listed as being a member of the Osnaburgh Band in the records that we have recovered.

While we have not found many records about Angus' childhood,[73] we do know that Angus was admitted to the Fort William Sanatorium (FWS) in what is today Thunder Bay, Ontario, on April 24, 1952, when he was 16 years old. At the sanatorium, he would have received medical treatment for Tuberculosis (TB). While the FWS was not an Indian Health Services (IHS) facility, decisions made regarding Oombash's removal and treatment at FWS would have been the purview of the IHS. FWS was operated by the Tuberculosis Society of Northwestern Ontario and received funding from a variety of sources, including private donors, the City of Fort William, the Province of Ontario, and the federal government, which paid for First Nations and Inuit patients.

The FWS housed various types of schooling throughout its existence, including public schooling from 1944 to 1971 and an Indian Day School from 1950 to 1953.

(Facing Page) Letter from Angus Oombash to the Sioux Lookout Indian Agent dated April 28, 1958. RG10 Accession 6-1990-00-229 WFRC, Box 56, File [494/]28-3-3, Part 1, Annuity - Osnaburgh Band, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg.

Dear Sir April 28/58.
Sanatorium
Brandon Man-

Well I am dropping you a few lines to asking you to Sent up to me my treaty money just because I need money badly I got no Stamps to Write to my faimly thats the reason Why I ask you at least before your going to north Sent me

Sign off now

#432 OSNA

From Anyus Oombush
Anyus Oombush
Brandon San.

Cheque
#6134
= $4.00

Department of Citizenship & Immigration
Indian Affairs Branch
MAY 2 1958
Sioux Lookout Agency

Angus's name is included on several lists of pupils created by the FWS School Board as part of the documentation accompanying their request for payment for Indigenous patient education from the Department of Indian Affairs (DIA). These lists begin in June 1955 and show that Angus attended the school from that point until June 1957. He is not included on the March to May 1956 list but appears to have returned in June 1956. In April 1957, Angus is also listed as a patient at FWS in the Canadian Voters Lists for that year. [74]

The August 1957 Sanatorium School Board list of pupils notes that Angus was discharged from FWS on June 30, 1957. By February 17, 1958, Angus is included on the Canadian Voters Lists for that year as a patient of the Brandon Indian Sanatorium in southern Manitoba.[75] The Brandon Indian Sanatorium (also known as the Brandon Indian Hospital) was a federally funded institution overseen by the IHS. Like other IHS institutions in Manitoba, including the Clearwater Lake and Dynevor Indian Hospitals, the Brandon Indian Sanatorium was operated on behalf of the federal government by the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba. From the records we have found so far, it is unclear whether Angus was transferred directly from the FWS to the Brandon Indian Sanatorium, if he was admitted into another sanatorium or Indian hospital in between, or if he was released and sent home, but relapsed. According to the Brandon Sanatorium Committee Minutes, between June 1957 and February 1958, Brandon Sanatorium received transfers from the Clearwater Lake Sanatorium, the Sioux Lookout Indian Hospital, the Central Tuberculosis Clinic (Winnipeg), the Manitoba Sanatorium at Ninette, Manitoba, and the Dynevor Indian Hospital.[76] It is possible that Angus had been sent to one of these institutions before being sent to Brandon.

On April 28, 1958, while he was a patient at the Brandon Sanatorium, Angus wrote to the Sioux Lookout Indian Agent, stating:

Dear Sir

Well I am dropping you a few lines to [ask] you to [send] up to me my treaty money just because I need money badly. I got no stamps to write to my family. That's the reason why I ask you at least before your going north [send] me.

Sign off now.

From Angus Oombash
Brandon San.[77]

Additional notes added to the letter suggest that Angus was eventually sent a cheque for $4.00.

At some point after sending this letter, Angus was sent to St. Boniface Sanatorium (not to be confused with the St. Boniface General Hospital) in Winnipeg where he passed away on October 13, 1959. The St. Boniface Sanatorium was operated by the Sisters of Charity of Montreal (the Grey Nuns), and, like FWS, was not a federally operated hospital, but would have received federal funding for First Nations and Inuit patients. At this point it is unclear why Angus was transferred there, but around this period the Brandon Indian Sanatorium was undergoing some changes. With declining numbers of First Nations and Inuit tuberculosis patients, the Brandon Indian Sanatorium was looking to rebrand and would eventually change its name to Assiniboine Hospital. The goal was to move the Brandon institution away from focusing on First Nations and Inuit TB patients and on TB treatment, and to begin to accept white patients with a broader range of health issues. In a report to the newly-named Assiniboine Hospital Committee (a branch of the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba), the institution's Medical Superintendent Dr. A.H. Povah wrote that, "To make beds available for these White patients it has been necessary to transfer Indian and Eskimo patients to other institutions."[78] Many were transferred to the Ninette Sanatorium or the Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital but it is possible that Angus was moved to the St. Boniface Sanatorium in this process.

Dr. Povah's report also gives some insight into staff attitudes toward and the treatment of First Nations and Inuit patients. In it, Povah stated that, "To accommodate these White patients of slightly more refined tastes, ten new beds, ten bedside tables and twenty dressers have been acquired to furnish these wards. Orders have been placed so that thirty patients will eventually have similar furnishings. The wards and rooms have been redecorated and venetian blinds and Dacron drapes will be obtained for the windows."[79] Evidently Povah, and presumably his fellow hospital staff members, did not see these relatively small comforts to have been important while the facility accommodated First Nations and Inuit patients, many of whom had been sent to Brandon from hundreds of miles away. Dr. Povah's casually racist report is unsurprising when seen in the context of a racist and segregated healthcare system that expected Indian hospitals and sanatoriums to operate at half the cost of municipal and provincial hospitals.

Following Angus Oombash's passing at the St. Boniface Sanatorium, his funeral arrangements were handled by the Clark Leatherdale Funeral Home in Winnipeg. Angus was buried at Brookside Cemetery on October 17, 1959, following an Anglican funeral. His gravesite is marked by a small cast cement marker set at the base of his grave. The marker bears only his plot number and does not give his name. These small markers commonly sink into the earth over time and many are completely overgrown. Others may have been pulled up by cemetery maintenance equipment and have been lost.

Following Angus's funeral, the Clark Leatherdale Funeral Home billed the costs of his burial to the DIA. Like nearly all of Indigenous individuals that this project has identified so far, Angus was considered by the state to be "indigent" and therefore without sufficient estate or family funds to cover the cost of his funeral. Based on available records, it is unclear whether his family was contacted about his passing.

When the DIA was covering the cost of an individual's burial, the department's policy was to bury the deceased at the place of death unless it was less expensive or cost the same amount to transport and bury the individual in their home community. The DIA was careful to ensure that no additional expenses should be made, even refusing to cover fees for clergy if the funeral home arranged one.[80]

Within the funeral arrangement files there are many examples of instances where DIA staff would pick over and debate even the smallest of costs related to the Indigenous funerals that came under their purview. Angus's case was no different in that regard. Clark Leatherdale Funeral Home charged the DIA $115 for their services and billed $72 to cover "cemetery charges," bringing the total to $187. On November 27, 1959, J.H. Gordon, Chief of the Welfare Division at the DIA, wrote to A.G. Leslie who was the DIA Regional Supervisor of Manitoba and who approved the funeral costs. Gordon noted that the cemetery charges seemed excessive and inquired if the City of Winnipeg rates for opening and closing a grave had changed or if there were any exceptional circumstances surrounding this burial. Leslie responded on December 8, explaining that there were no exceptional circumstances and that the cemetery charges were from the funeral home that opened and closed the grave. If

(Facing Page) Angus Oombash's grave marker at Brookside Cemetery. He is buried at plot 28-0360-0.

the City had handled this task instead of the funeral home, it would have cost less money. Gordon responded shortly afterwards, reminding Leslie that

It is the policy of this Department not to pay more than is allowed by the local municipality on behalf of indigent non-Indians and your letter of June 12th was interpreted to mean that the Funeral Homes mentioned would accept responsibility for burials at the rates allowed by the City of Winnipeg, Public Welfare Department and the Province of Manitoba, Division of Public Welfare.[81]

Federal government agents such as Gordon were constantly watching to ensure that costs never exceeded the bare minimum, while conversations about funeral homes or cemeteries adjusting pricing was a common topic of discussion.

Angus Oombash's story shares many qualities with the stories of other Indigenous people who were buried at Brookside Cemetery and whose funeral costs were covered and overseen by the DIA when the deceased was identified by officials as an "indigent Indian." Like Angus, many other patients were sent far from home to hospitals and sanatoriums. Many were transferred between institutions over the course of their hospitalization. While these institutions themselves could be federally, provincially, or privately operated, the federal government departments that oversaw First Nations and Inuit people's lives and deaths (including IHS and Indian Affairs), and their funeral policies, operated within a racist and racially segregated system. Controlled by the Indian Act, First Nations and Inuit patients were placed into a system not only governed, but driven by cost savings. With little say in what happened to them, many were moved between hospitals as and when their movement suited the system.

Very few of the individuals we have identified have headstones. Like Angus, their graves are marked only by a numbered cement marker. Often, these individuals' deaths led to a flurry of letter exchanges and arguments over who was responsible for the costs, punctuated with grumblings about the rising costs of funeral arrangements. Whether reading through this correspondence or standing next to a grave identified only with a location number, it is important to remember that, like Angus, each of the Indigenous people buried in Brookside Cemetery, and cemeteries like it, have their own unique story – a story that deserves recognition and remembrance.

APPENDIX B

Indian Affairs Burials of First Nations and Inuit at Brookside Cemetery – Communities

In this appendix, we have provided a list of the Indigenous communities we have identified in our research to date whose loved one lie buried at Brookside Cemetery. We have organized these communities by region. For the sake of accuracy, we have used the names of bands as they appear in the records we have researched.

In some cases we have provided a list of the communities named in our research below, organized by region. We have used the names of bands as listed in the historical records and recognize this does not reflect many communities' names for themselves.

In some cases, the records that we have consulted during this research indicated that the burial was paid for by the DIA or a band number was provided but no community was listed. When a specific place of birth was provided, we included that information and have noted it in the table (for example, "Churchill listed as place of birth"). In the case of 15 individuals, we currently have no information on their community or their region.

For the Arctic, we have provided a list of regions according to disc numbers and provided more specific communities wherever that information was provided. The use of disc numbers by Canada was dehumanizing and we do not in any way endorse the system, however, for the sake of accuracy, we are providing what was recorded in the records.

Please note that research is ongoing and this list may change. We welcome your feedback on this list for future publications and information sharing. You can reach us at tbphotos@uwinnipeg.ca.

Manitoba

INDIVIDUALS AT BROOKSIDE	COMMUNITY
1	Berrans Land listed as place of birth
2	Brokenhead Band
1	Churchill, Manitoba, listed as place of birth*
1	Cross Lake Band
5	Fort Alexander Band
1	Gamblers Band
1	Garden Hill First Nation
6	Island Lake Band
1	Lake Manitoba
2	Lake St. Martins Band
4	Little Grand Rapids
1	Little Saskatchewan Band
1	Mathais Colmb Band
2	Nelson House Band
4	Norway House
1	Oxford House Band
4	Peguis Band
1	Pine Falls, Manitoba, listed as place of birth
1	Split Lake Band
1	York Factory Band

*There is a E disc number region that includes Churchill. However, in this case, a band number was also provided which indicated the individual was First Nations rather than Inuk.

Ontario

INDIVIDUALS AT BROOKSIDE	COMMUNITY
2	Assabaska Band
1	Big Island Band
1	Big Trout Lake
1	Deer Lake Band
1	Fort Hope Band
1	Grassy Narrows Band
4	Lac Seul Band
1	N. W. Angle Band
3	Osnaburgh
2	Pikangikum Band
3	Shoal Lake Band
3	Trout Lake Band
1	Wabushkung
1	West Bay Reserve
2	Unknown*

*In this case we know the individual was from Ontario but their community was not provided.

Arctic

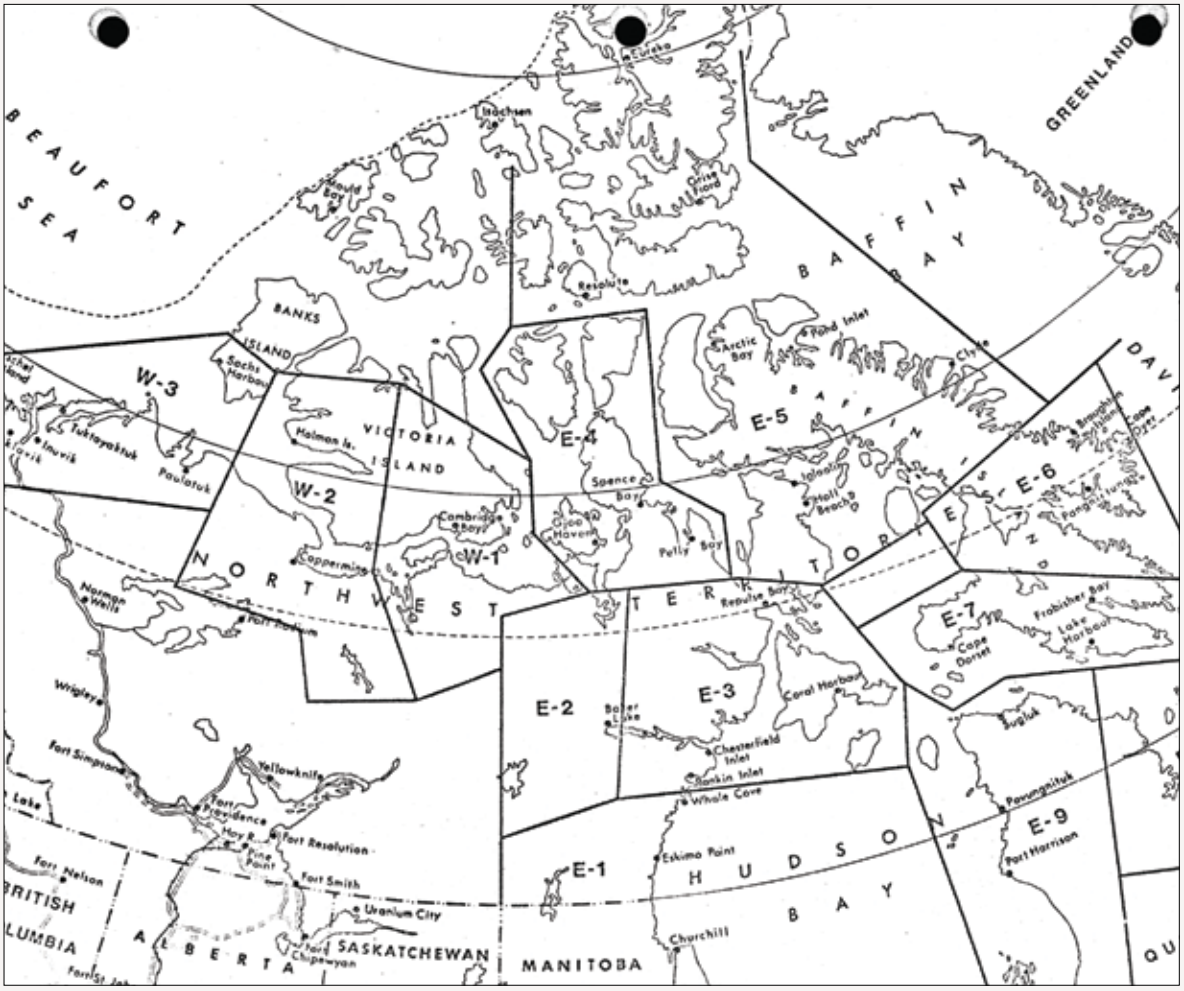
INDIVIDUALS AT BROOKSIDE	DISC NUMBER REGION - SEE MAP BELOW TO IDENTIFY WHICH NUMBERS CORRESPOND WITH WHICH REGION
4	E1
8	E2 (1 - Fort Churchill ; 2 - Baker Lake)*
2	E3 (1 - Rakin Inlet)
1	E5 (1 - Resolute Bay)
1	E7**
2	E9***
1	W1

*Where possible, we have included specific communities when they were provided (usually as places of birth) along with the disc numbers.

**This individual disc number was listed in the records as E71. We have made an educated guess that this is miswritten and was meant to say “E7”. We welcome any feedback or additional information.

***One of the two individuals with E9 numbers is listed as being born in Resolute Bay. As Resolute Bay isn’t within the E9 region, it’s possible this individual moved to a different region before being assigned a disc number.

Map from A. Barry Roberts, Eskimo Identification and Disc Numbers: A Brief History, Report Prepared for the Social Development Division, Department of Indian and Northern Affairs, June 1975.


BEAUFORT SEA
GREENLAND
BAFFIN BAY
BANKS ISLAND
VICTORIA ISLAND
NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
HUDSON BAY
BRITISH COLUMBIA
ALBERTA
SASKATCHEWAN
MANITOBA
W-1
W-2
W-3
E-1
E-2
E-3
E-4
E-5
E-6
E-7
E-9
Resolute
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Spence Bay
Pelly Bay
Cambridge Bay
Coppermine
Norman Wells
Fort Simpson
Yellowknife
Fort Providence
Fort Resolution
Fort Smith
Uranium City
Fort Chipewyan
Fort Nelson
Wrigley
Repulse Bay
Coral Harbour
Chesterfield Inlet
Rankin Inlet
Whale Cove
Eskimo Point
Churchill
Pangnirtung
Cape Dorset
Frobisher Bay
Lake Harbour
Port Harrison
Pavungnituk
Bugluk
Cape Dyer
Inuvik
Tuktoyaktuk
Paulatuk
Sachs Harbour
Holman Is.
Cape Dorset

APPENDIX C

Archives Reviewed from Library and Archives Canada

For this initial part of our project, we searched for funeral records associated with Indian Affairs districts and agencies, and with communities inside Manitoba, and from surrounding areas including Saskatachewan and northwestern Ontario, areas where some Manitoba patients were taken from. Communities that we identified include: Dauphin, Crane River, Weaywayseecappo, Ebb and Flow, Long Plain, Oak Lake, Swan Lake, Waterhen, Sandy Bay, Risher River, The Pas, Pine Creek, Valley River, Mathias Colombe, Barren Lands, Thompson, Roseau River, Oak River, Rolling River, Sioux Look Out District Office, Island Lake District, Muskowekan, Poor Man, Gordon, Fishing Lake Band, Day Star Band, Fort Frances Agency, Clandeboye Agency, The Pas Agency, Fort Simpson, Kamsack, Duck Lake, and File Hills/ Qu'appelle Agency.

Records listed with the location “Ottawa – Digitized” are available through the Government of Canada “Completed ATI requests” database at https://telechargerdemandesaicompletees-downloadcompletedatirequests.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/search. Search for Request A-2024-04278 to download these records. The files were either fully disclosed or disclosed in part.

In the following pages, records listed with the location “Heritage Canadiana” can be found on their website in the “Indian and Inuit Affairs Program : Modified duplex numeric system” collection. Funeral arrangement files can be found in reels C-10987 to C10989. Links to the start of each file have been embedded in the digital version of this report.

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
1	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services	RG10, Accession number: 88-158 WFRC, Box number: 16, File number: WIN-E-6590-7, File part: 1	1982-1988	2000-01151-9	Winnipeg - Physical
2	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Accession number: 2000-01148-9, Box number: 1, File number: 128/29-3, File part: 1	1954-1960	2000-01148-9	Winnipeg - Physical
3	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - General - Ashern	R216, RG10, Box number: 6, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 1	1969-1977	2000-01153-5	Winnipeg - Physical
4	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services	RG10, Accession number: 2000-01158-6, Box number: 11, File number: WIN-E - 6590-7, File part: 2	1984-1988	2000-01158-6	Winnipeg - Physical
5	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Accession number: 79-071 WFRC, Box number: 14, File number: 501 - 29-3, File part: 2	1973-1975	2000-01170-5	Winnipeg - Physical
6	Funerals	RG10, Accession number: 79-071 WFRC, Box number: 55	1975-1978	2000-01170-5	Winnipeg - Physical
7	Funerals - Birdtail Sioux	RG10, Accession number: 80-110 WFRC, 6-1980-00-110 WFRC, Box number: 6, File number: 577/29-3-284, File part: 1	1949-1972	2017-00247-X	Winnipeg - Digitized
8	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 39, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 1	1949-1970	2001-00923-2	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
9	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 39, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 2	1950-1971	2001-00923-2	Winnipeg - Physical
10	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 39, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 3	1955-1971	2001-00923-2	Winnipeg - Physical
11	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Box number: 22, File number: 578D22 29-3, File part: 1	1958-1969	2001-00919-4	Winnipeg - Physical
12	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Box number: 22, File number: 578D22 29-3, File part: 2	1970-1973	2001-00919-4	Winnipeg - Physical
13	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Box number: 22, File number: 578D22 29-3, File part: 3	1972-1973	2001-00919-4	Winnipeg - Physical
14	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Accession number: 87-011 WFRC, Box number: 15, File number: 578/29-3, File part: 1	1973-1979	2000-01150-0	Winnipeg - Physical
15	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Box number: 2, File number: 29-3, File part: 1	1976-1976	2001-00963-1	Winnipeg - Physical
16	WELFARE - FUNERALS	R216, RG10, Box number: 10, File number: 487/29-3, File part: 3	1963-1967	2017-00019-1	Winnipeg - Physical
17	Income Support - Burial and Funeral Services	R216, RG10, Box number: 57, File number: SIO-E-6590-7, File part: 1	1982-1991	2006-00427-1	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
18	Income Support - Burial and Funeral Services	R216, RG10, Box number: 57, File number: SIO-E-6590-7, File part: 2	1992	2006-00427-1	Winnipeg - Physical
19	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - General	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3, File part: 1	1952-1967	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
20	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - General	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3, File part: 1	1974-1975	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
21	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Dauphin	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3, File part: 1	1960-1968	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
22	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Crane River Band	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-1, File part: 1	1952-1964	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
23	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Waywayseecappo Band	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-14, File part: 1	1949-1962	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
24	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-22, File part: 1	1969-1969	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
25	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Ebb and Flow Band	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-28, File part: 1	1955-1970	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
26	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Long Plain	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-35, File part: 1	1949-1967	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
27	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Oak Lake	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-37, File part: 1	1949-1970	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
28	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Swan Lake	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-41, File part: 1	1950-1970	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
29	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Waterhen	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-5, File part: 1	1955-1965	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
30	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Sandy Bay	R216, RG10, Box number: 28, File number: 577/29-3-9, File part: 1	1955-1965	2000-01600-6	Winnipeg - Digitized
31	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Accession number: 79-039 WFRC, Box number: 3, File number: 574 - 29-3, File part: 1	1957-1976	2000-01167-5	Winnipeg - Physical
32	Register - Births, Stillbirths, Marriages, Deaths, Burial Permits [Fisher River Agency]	RG10, Accession number: 6-1986-00-064 WFRC, Box number: 1, File number: 573/41-1-1, File part: 1	1968-1971	2017-00480-4	Winnipeg - Physical
33	Register - Division of Vital Statistics - Births, Stillbirths, Marriages, Deaths, Burial Permits [Fisher River Agency]	RG10, Accession number: 6-1986-00-064 WFRC, Box number: 1, File number: 573/41-1-1, File part: 2	1972-1981	2017-00480-4	Winnipeg - Physical
34	Register 1970-1976 - Births, Deaths, Marriages - The Pas District Office [includes some information from 1969]	RG10, Accession number: 6-1986-00-064 WFRC, Box number: 1, File number: 578/41-1-1, File part: 1	1970-1976	2017-00480-4	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
35	Welfare, Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 60, File number: 485/29-3, File part: 2	1967-1970	2017-00246-1	Winnipeg - Physical
36	Welfare, Funerals	R216, RG10, Box number: 60, File number: 485/29-3, File part: 3	1971-1980	2017-00246-1	Winnipeg - Physical
37	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Pine Creek	RG10, Box number: 4, File number: 577-29-3-30, File part: 1	1955-1971	2001-01048-6	Winnipeg - Physical
38	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Valley River	RG10, Box number: 4, File number: 577-29-3-40, File part: 1	1956-1971	2001-01048-6	Winnipeg - Physical
39	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Waywayseecappo	RG10, Box number: 4, File number: 577-29-3-33, File part: 1	1968-1971	2001-01048-6	Winnipeg - Physical
40	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Mathias Colomb First Nation - (Pukatawagan) - Thompson District	RG10, Accession number: 94-1008 WFRC, Box number: 11, File number: 6590-7-311[-D22], File part: 1	1982-1987	2000-01161-6	Winnipeg - Physical
41	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Barren Lands First Nation - Thompson District	RG10, Accession number: 94-1008 WFRC, Box number: 11, File number: 6590-7-308[-D22], File part: 1	1982-1985	2000-01161-6	Winnipeg - Physical
42	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Thompson District	RG10, Accession number: 94-1008 WFRC, Box number: 11, File number: 6590-7[-D22], File part: 1	1982-1990	2000-01161-6	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
43	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Split Lake First Nation - Thompson District	RG10, Accession number: 94-1008 WFRC, Box number: 11, File number: 6590-7-306[-D22], File part: 1	1983	2000-01161-6	Winnipeg - Physical
44	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Roseau River Anishinabe First Nation - Obsolete - Amendment #101, March 9, 2012	RG10, Accession number: 2016-00445-2, Box number: 22, File number: WIN-E6590-7-273 File part: 1	2006-2006	2016-00445-2	Winnipeg - Physical
45	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services - Waywayseecappo First Nation - Obsolete - Amendment #101, March 9, 2012	RG10, Accession number: 2016-00445-2, Box number: 22, File number: WIN-E6590-7-285 File part: 1	2006-2006	2016-00445-2	Winnipeg - Physical
46	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 13715, File number: 571/29-3, File part: 1	1949-1970	1984-85/402 GAD	Winnipeg - Physical
47	Welfare - Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 13, File number: 487/29-3, File part: 4	1967-1977	2017-00022-1	Winnipeg - Physical
48	Welfare - Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 13, File number: 487/29-3, File part: 5	1977-1982	2017-00022-1	Winnipeg - Physical
49	Funerals - General	RG10, Volume number: 82, File number: 492/29-3, File part: 1	1977-1981	2017-00014-0	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
50	Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 82, File number: 492/29-3, File part: 2	1980-1982	2017-00014-0	Winnipeg - Physical
51	Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 68, File number: [494/]29-3, File part: 1	1966-1976	2017-00284-4	Winnipeg - Physical
52	Funerals	RG10, Volume number: 68, File number: [494/]29-3, File part: 2	1977-1981	2017-00284-4	Winnipeg - Physical
53	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Accounts	RG10, Box number: 96, File number: 411/29-3, File part: 2	1977-1979	2017-00289-5	Winnipeg - Physical
54	Welfare of Indians - Funerals	RG10, Box number: 96, File number: 411/29-3, File part: 2	1977-1981	2017-00289-5	Winnipeg - Physical
55	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Accounts	RG10, Box number: 96, File number: 411/29-3, File part: 3	1979-1982	2017-00289-5	Winnipeg - Physical
56	Income Support - General - Burial and Funeral Services	RG10, Box number: 48, File number: THU-E-6590-7, File part: 1	1988-1999	2010-00294-6	Winnipeg - Physical
57	Income Support - Burial & Funeral Services	R216, RG10, Box number: 21, File number: THU-E-6590-7, File part: 1	1982-1988	2013-00264-5	Winnipeg - Physical
58	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Oak River	RG10, Box number: 4, File number: 577-29-3-38, File part: 1	1949-1971	2001-01048-6	Winnipeg - Physical

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
59	Welfare of Indians - Funerals - Rolling River	RG10, Accession number: 80-110 WFRC, 6-1980-00-110 WFRC, Box number: 6, File number: 577/29-3-291	1949-1972	2017-00247-X	Winnipeg - Digitized
60	Funerals - Regional Supervisors Office - Manitoba Regional Office	R216, RG10, Box number: 14, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 5	1950-1963	2002-01336-5	Ottawa - Digitized
61	Funerals - Regional Supervisors Office - Manitoba Regional Office	R216, RG10, Box number: 14, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 6	1964	2002-01336-5	Ottawa - Digitized
62	Funerals - Regional Supervisors Office - Manitoba Regional Office	R216, RG10, Box number: 14, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 7	1963-1964	2002-01336-5	Ottawa - Digitized
63	Funerals - Manitoba Region	R216, RG10, Box number: 14, File number: 501/29-3, File part: 8	1965-1969	2002-01336-5	Ottawa - Digitized
64	Sioux Lookout District Office - Funerals, Sioux Lookout District	RG10, Box number: 214, File number: 494/29-3, File part: 4	1964-1966	1999-01431-6	Ottawa - Digitized
65	Island Lake District Office - Funerals, Island Lake Agency	RG10, Box number: 252, File number: 574/29-3, File part: 1=1957-1966;2=1966	1957-1966	1999-01431-6	Ottawa - Digitized
66	Funerals - Fisher River	RG10, Volume number: 8990, File number: 573/29-3, File part: 1	1954-1966		Ottawa - Digitized
67	Funerals - General	RG10, Volume number: 8990, File number: 571/29-3	1967		Ottawa - Digitized

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
68	The Pas District Office - Funerals, the Pas District	RG10, Box number: 256, File number: 578/29-3, File part: 5	1965-1966	1999-01431-6	Ottawa - Digitized
69	North Battlefield District Office - Funerals, North Battleford District	RG10, Box number: 272, File number: 671/29-3, File part: 2	1957-1967	1999-01431-6	Ottawa - Digitized
70	Funerals	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/329 GAD, Box number: 13, File number: 671/29-3	1965-1968		Ottawa - Digitized
71	Funerals - Muskowekwan	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3-5	1960-1968		Ottawa - Digitized
72	Funerals - Poorman	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3-6	1959-1970		Ottawa - Digitized
73	Funerals - General - Correspondence Only	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 675/29-3, File part: 1	1960-1969		Ottawa - Digitized
74	Funerals - Gordon	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3-4	1960-1969		Ottawa - Digitized
75	Welfare Of Indians - Funerals - Fishing Lake Band	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3-3, File part: 2	1960-1970		Ottawa - Digitized

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
76	Welfare Of Indians - Funerals - Day Star Band	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3-2, File part: 2	1960-1968		Ottawa - Digitized
77	Funerals - General	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 675/29-3, File part: 2	1962-1970		Ottawa - Digitized
78	Funerals - General	R216, RG10, Accession number: 1996-97/435, Box number: 51, File number: 121/29-3	1954-1969		Ottawa - Digitized
79	Funeral Arrangements in the Fort Frances Agency, 1944/1965	RG 10, Volume number: 6935, File number: 485/29-3, File part: 1	1944-1965		Heritage Canadiana
80	Funeral Arrangements in the Fort Frances Agency, 1957/1965	RG 10, Volume number: 6935, File number: 494/29-3, File part: 3	1957-1965		Heritage Canadiana
81	Funeral Arrangements in the Clandeboye Agency, 1962/1964	RG 10, Volume number: 6935, File number: 571/29-3, File part: 3	1962-1964		Heritage Canadiana
82	Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1959/1962	RG 10, Volume number: 6936, File number: 578/29-3, File part: 3	1959-1962		Heritage Canadiana
83	Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1963/1965	RG 10, Volume number: 6936, File number: 578/29-3, File part: 4	1963-1965		Heritage Canadiana

	FILE NAME	REFERENCE	DATE	GARDD / BAN #	LOCATION
84	Funeral Arrangements of the Indians of the Fort Simpson Agency, 1955/1960	RG 10, Volume number: 6933, File number: 141/29-3, File part: 1	1955-1960		Heritage Canadiana
85	Funeral Arrangements in the Kamsack Region, 1941/1964	RG 10, Volume number: 6936, File number: 673/29-3, File part: 2	1941-1964		Heritage Canadiana
86	Funeral Arrangements in the Duck Lake Agency, 1955/1965	RG 10, Volume number: 6936, File number: 674/29-3, File part: 2	1955-1965		Heritage Canadiana
87	Funeral Arrangements in the File Hills Qu'Appelle Agency, 1949/1966	RG 10, Volume number: 6936, File number: 675/29-3, File part: 2	1949-1966		Heritage Canadiana

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38 Laura Neilson Bonikowsky, "Tommy Prince," The Canadian Encyclopedia Online, accessed 19 January 2025, https://www.thecanadianencyclopedia.ca/en/article/tommy-prince.

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40 *Executive Summary: Final Report on the Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children and Unmarked Burials in Canada* (Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with Indian Residential Schools [OSI], 2024), 209-22.

41 *Sites of Truth, Sites of Conscience: Unmarked Burials and Mass Graves of Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children in Canada* (Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with Indian Residential Schools [OSI], 2024), 24.

42 Clark Leatherdale Invoice for [name redacted], 5 January 1965, R216 RG10, Box 14, File 501/29-3, Part 8, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Glen Eden Memorial Gardens Ltd Invoice for [name redacted], 2 January 1965, R216 RG10, Box 14, File 501/29-3, Part 8, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

43 It is worthwhile to note that this wasn't the case in other areas, such as Brandon, for example, where the DIA eventually chose the nearby Oak River Indian Reserve or Sioux Valley Dakota Nation as a burial location for patients who died at the Brandon Indian Hospital because was significantly cheaper than burial at the Brandon Municipal Cemetery. There was no indication that there was a similar practice adopted in the Winnipeg region during the period we investigated but it may be worth examining this possibility further. OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 153-7.

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Canadian Plains Native People, 1880-1940 (University of Toronto Press, 2001), 214-23; Maureen Lux, *Separate Beds: A History of Indian Hospitals in Canada, 1920s-1980s* (University of Toronto Press, 2016), 4-9, 19-22, 47-8; Mary Jane McCallum, "This Last Frontier: 'Isolation' and Aboriginal Health," *Canadian Bulletin of Medical History* 22, no. 1 (2005): 109-10.

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49 Dynevor Indian Hospital was previously run by the Anglican Church before the Sanatorium Board of Manitoba took over operations from 1939 to 1958. Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital was in operation from 1945 to 1965, and Brandon Indian Sanatorium operated from 1947 to 1959 at which point it transitioned to Assiniboine Rehabilitation Hospital and shifted its focus to white settler patients. The IHS directly ran three smaller Indian hospitals in more rural areas. These included Norway House Indian Hospital (1924-2018), Fisher River Indian Hospital (1940-1973), and Pine Falls Indian Hospital at Fort Alexander (1938-1965). MITHP, "TB History," https://indigenoustbhistory.ca/history.

50 Lux, *Medicine that Walks*, 219-23; Lux, *Separate Beds,* 46, 49-50, 55-7; Mary Jane Logan McCallum, "The MCC Summer Service Program and Clearwater Lake Indian Hospital," *Journal of Mennonite Studies* 40, no. 2 (2022): 12; MITHP, "TB History," https://indigenoustbhistory.ca/history; Mary Jane Logan McCallum and Maureen Lux, "Medicare v Medicine Chest: Court Challenges and Treaty Rights to Healthcare," in *Medicare's Histories: Origins, Omissions, and Opportunities in Canada*, ed. Esyllt W. Jones, James Hanley, and Delia Gavrus (University of Manitoba Press, 2022), 107-8. There are instances where Indigenous patients who were initially admitted to a municipal or provincial hospital were transferred to distant federally operated Indian hospitals to lower the cost of care with little concern paid to their condition. See the examples of Elie Caribou and Amos Blackhawk in the OSI final report: OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 147-9.

51 OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 138, 140-1; Pat Grygier, *A Long Way from Home: The Tuberculosis Epidemic among the Inuit* (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994), 66-71, 74-81; Ebba Olofsson, Tara L. Holton, and Imaapik Partridge, "Negotiating Identities: Inuit Tuberculosis Evacuees in the 1940s–1950s," *Études/ Inuit/Studies* 32, no. 2 (2008): 128-9.

52 Lux, *Separate Beds*, 53, 65-7, 116-19; McCallum, "The MCC Summer Service Program," 11; OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 138-44. The OSI Final Report demonstrates the important connection between Indian Residential Schools and Indian Hospitals and other healthcare institutions and the impact of this on research concerning missing children and unmarked burials. See OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 137-72.

53 Scott Hamilton, *Where are the Children buried?* (Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015) 21-2; Lux, *Separate Beds*, 121-2; OSI, *Sites of Truth*, 144-5; Other Welfare Services, 1972, RG10, Accession number 79-071 WFRC, Box 14, File 501/29-3, Part 2, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg. There are many examples of inconsistent applications of this policy in the DIA funeral arrangement records that often lead to a flurry of correspondence and complaints about any additional costs incurred. See the cases of [name redacted] from [community name redacted] or [name redacted] from [community name redacted]. Correspondence re: [name redacted], April 13, 1959, RG10, Accession 2000-01148-9, Box 1, File 128/29-3, Part 1, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg; Correspondence re [name redacted], July 2,1959, RG10, Accession 2000-01148-9, Box 1, File 128/29-3, Part 1, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada,

Winnipeg; Correspondence re [name redacted], August 31, 1959, RG10, Volume 6936, File 578/29-3, Part 3, Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1959/1962, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c10989/124; Voucher Form for [name redacted], August 12, 1959, RG10, Volume 6936, File 578/29-3, Part 3, Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1959/1962, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c10989/125; Correspondence re [name redacted], September 4, 1959, RG10, Volume 6936, File 578/29-3, Part 3, Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1959/1962, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c10989/126; Correspondence re [name redacted], September 11, 1959, RG10, Volume 6936, File 578/29-3, Part 3, Funeral Arrangements in The Pas Agency, 1959/1962, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c10989/128.

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55 Lux, *Separate Beds*, 121-2; Correspondence by J.G. McGilp, April 27, 1964, RG10, Box 272, File 671/29-3, Part 2, North Battlefield District Office - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

56 Correspondence re [name redacted] by R.D. Ragan, May 24, 1956, RG10, Box 39, File 501/29-3, Part 3, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg; Correspondence re [name redacted] by Roy Bennett, May 24, 1956, RG10, Box 39, File 501/29-3, Part 3, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg; Brookside Cemetery Particulars for an Interment for [name redacted], May 26, 1956, Burial Order No. 47102, City of Winnipeg Cemeteries Branch, Winnipeg.

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59 Return Transportation of Remains When Indians Die in Hospital, May 4, 1964, RG10, Box 272, File 671/29-3, Part 2, North Battlefield District Office - Funerals, North Battleford District, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa; Correspondence by J.G. McGilp, April 27, 1964, RG10, Box 272, File 671/29-3, Part 2, North Battlefield District Office - Funerals, North Battleford District, Library and Archives Canada, Ottawa.

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62 See examples of [names redacted] of [community name redacted]. Correspondence re [name redacted], July 18, 1958, RG10, Volume 13715, File 571/29-3, Part 1, Welfare of Indians - Funerals,

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64 Burial Policy, March 1, 1974, RG10, Accession number 79-071 WFRC, Box 14, File 501/29-3, Part 2, Welfare of Indians - Funerals Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg.

65 Other Welfare Services, 1972, RG10, Accession number 79-071 WFRC, Box 14, File 501/29-3, Part 2, Welfare of Indians - Funerals, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg; Funeral Policy, October 23, 1975, R216, RG10, Box 6, File 501/29-3, Part 1, Welfare of Indians - Funerals - General - Ashern, Library and Archives Canada, Winnipeg.

66 For Funeral Arrangement files, see reels C-10987 to C10989 in the "Indian and Inuit Affairs Program : Modified Duplex Numeric System" collection.

67 To view these files, visit the Government of Canada "Completed ATI requests" database at https://telechargerdemandesaicompletees-downloadcompletedatirequests.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/search and search for Request A-2024-04278. The files were either fully disclosed or disclosed in part.

68 Library and Archives Canada – Winnipeg is located at 1700 Inkster Boulevard and staff can be contacted by telephone (204-984-1469) or by email (winnipeg@bac-lac.gc.ca).

69 For example, see Belmont Hillside Cemetery in connection to the Ninette/Manitoba Sanatorium and the long years of neglect of patient graves. This issues was addressed by local community members in the late 2000s and resulted in improved maintenance of patient grave sites and a memorial cairn. Jen Skerritt, "Victims' Shoddy Burials Seen as 'Disgusting'," *Winnipeg Free Press*, November 4, 2009; Maria Berry, "Memorial Cairn in Belmont Hillside Cemetery to Be Dedicated August 1," *Baldur Gazette*, July 27, 2010; "Historic Sites of Manitoba: Belmont Hillside Cemetery / Ninette Sanatorium Memorial Monument (RM of Prairie Lakes)," Manitoba Historical Society Archives, last modified November 10, 2024, https://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/sites/ninettesanatoriummonument.shtml.

70 Canada increasingly wanted to implement a higher level of surveillance of the Inuit population as part of its efforts to demonstrate and shore up its sovereignty in the Arctic, particularly with the start of the Second World War. After a brief attempt by the government to use fingerprints to identify Inuit in the 1930s, the switch was made to the disc system in 1941. However, disc numbers were issued unevenly and administration errors were common. Even when disc numbers were discontinued in the early 1970s, they continued to be used informally to verify Inuit ancestry and status and continue to have a significant impact on Inuit communities. Norma Dunning, "Reflections of a Disk-less Inuk on Canada's Eskimo Identification System," *Études/Inuit/Studies* 36, no. 2 (2012): 210-14, 218-21; Derek G. Smith, "The Emergence of 'Eskimo Status': An Examination of the Eskimo Disk List System and Its Social

Consequences, 1925-1970," in *Anthropology, Public Policy, and Native Peoples in Canada*, ed. Noel Dyck and James B. Waldram (McGill-Queen's University Press, 1993), 41-2, 47-9.

71 To search Brookside Cemetery specifically, visit https://www.findagrave.com/cemetery/639375/brookside-cemetery.

72 To request a cemetery map or further assistance in locating a grave site, call or email the cemetery office at 204-986-4348 or cemeteries@winnipeg.ca.

73 We searched the Quarterly Returns of Pelican Lake/Sioux Lookout Residential School, MacIntosh Residential School, St. Mary's Residential School, Cecilia Jeffry Residential School, and Fort William Residential School but Angus's name did not appear. It is possible he attended a different Residential School or the Cat Lake, Osnaburgh, or Pickle Lake Day Schools. The Cat Lake Day School was in operation from 1935 to 1939 and then reopened from 1949 to 1988. Osnaburgh had a Day School from May 1947 to September 1948 and again from May 1953 until September 1991. Children from Osnaburgh also attended the Day School that operated at Pickle Lake from 1947 to 1948. Federal Indian Day Schools, accessed 14 July 2025, https://www.indiandayschools.org/; Correspondence by Bernard F. Neary, February 14, 1948, RG 10, Volume 6183, File 452-1, Part 1, Indian Affairs School Files, Library and Archives Canada, https://archive.org/details/School_Files_Series-RG10_c-7919/page/n1055/mode/2up.

74 Interestingly, the Voters List where Angus' name appears notes his occupation as "fisherman," which suggests that as a teenager he was working as a fisherman before his admission to the Fort William Sanatorium. Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, August 31, 1955, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/410; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, November 30, 1955, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/426; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, February 29, 1956, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/438; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, May 31, 1956, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/452; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, August 31, 1956, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/459; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, November 30, 1956, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/469; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, February 28, 1957, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/482; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, May 31, 1957, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian

Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/496; Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, August 31, 1957, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/507; "Electoral District of Fort William, City of Fort William, Urban Polling Division No. 106," Canada, Voters Lists, 1935-1980 Online Database, Ancestry.com, accessed December 3, 2025, https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/2983/images/33022_301886-00680.

75 Fort William Sanatorium School Board Account Payable, August 31, 1957, RG10, Volume 7189, File 492/25-1-003, Lakehead District - Correspondence Regarding the Fort William Indian Hospital (Sanitorium) School, Library and Archives Canada, https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c9698/507; "Electoral District of Brandon-Souris, City of Brandon, Urban Polling Division No. 133," Canada, Voters Lists, 1935-1980 Online Database, Ancestry.com, accessed December 3, 2025, https://www.ancestry.ca/imageviewer/collections/2983/images/33022_302021-00652.

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79 Assiniboine Hospital Board Report, February 3, 1959, P7102/1, Sanatorium Board of Manitoba Committee Minutes, Archives of Manitoba, Winnipeg.

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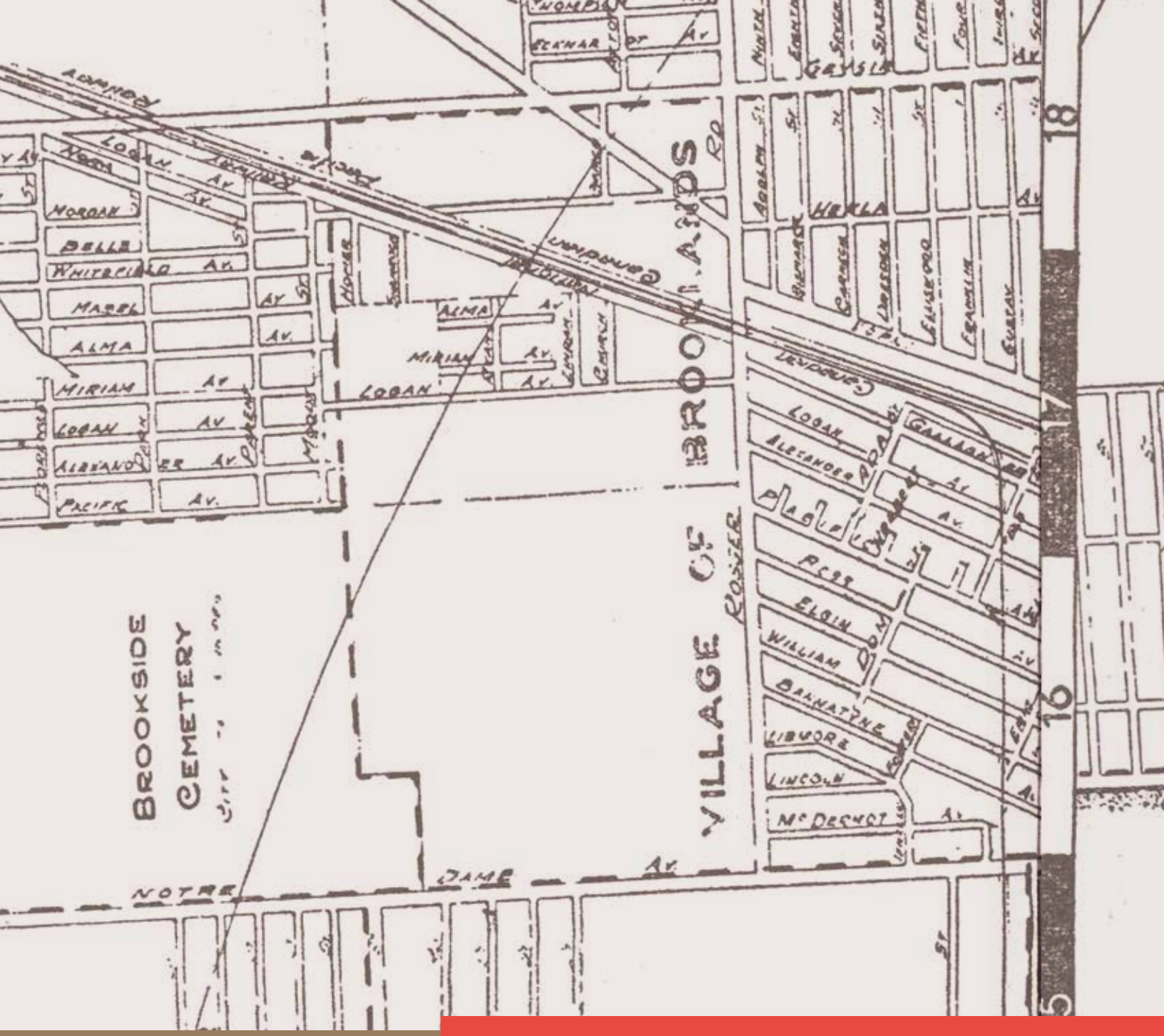
BROOKSIDE
CEMETERY
VILLAGE OF BROOKLANDS
NOTRE DAME AV.
LOGAN AV.
MORGAN
BELLE
WHITEFIELD AV.
MABEL
ALMA
MIRIAM AV.
LOGAN AV.
ALEXANDER AV.
PACIFIC AV.
ALMA AV.
MIRIAM AV.
LOGAN
ALEXANDER
PACIFIC
ROSS
ELGIN
WILLIAM
BANNATYNE
LIBMORE
LINCOLN
McDERMOT AV.
HEKLA AV.
GEYSIR
ECKNAR
ROSSER
18
16