



“Have them suitably married”: A Case Study of Marriage and Coercion of Indian Residential School Pupils in Canada’s Prairies

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CONTENT WARNING

Some of the information, content, and language in this article may be difficult, triggering, and/or offensive. Where such content is included, it is used because it is important to understanding the history and context of the topic. The appearance of such content in this document in no way implies its acceptability, nor does it endorse any sentiments expressed in such language.

In their research over the past decade, Dr. Anne Lindsay and Dr. Karlee Sapoznik Evans have come across records of arranged and forced marriages that were perpetrated within the context of Indian Residential Schools. These records and the stories they document, some of which are discussed in Evans’ doctoral dissertation, corroborate the oral history accounts shared by Indian Residential School (IRS) Survivors and intergenerational Survivors.¹ While arranged and coerced marriages have been referenced and acknowledged in a few publications,² including those of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada,³ to date, very little research has focused on these marriages, where elements of force, coercion, and unfreedom are at play. Today Evans and Lindsay continue to uncover new information, including the case studies that are discussed below. The histories explored in this article focus on the Saint-Boniface Industrial School,⁴ which was located across the river not far from The Forks, reminding the reader that arranged and coerced marriage is not something that happened somewhere else, and casting light on the connections between marriage and the coercion of IRS pupils on the prairies. At the

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same time, considerable work remains if we are to trace and understand the scale, scope, and enduring legacies of these unfree marriages.

In her July 2024 report, the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with IRS noted that:

As part of its wider efforts to control Indigenous families and compel Indigenous people to conform to colonial patriarchal gender norms, Canada was already directing missionaries to consult with Indian Agents before agreeing to marry people by the 1890s. Indian Residential School principals had to apply for and receive federal government permission before allowing youth in their institutions to marry ... obedient and submissive wives, under the power and leadership of men, was the goal. To bring about this goal, Indian agents became embroiled in the most personal affairs of the people they administered... dispensing advice on marriage, arranging marriages, denying permission to marry, intervening to prevent couples from separating, bringing back 'runaway' wives, and breaking up marriages they regarded as illegitimate.

The Independent Special Interlocutor's report substantiates pioneering research by historian Sarah Carter who found that "by the end of the nineteenth century, government and church officials were actively arranging the marriages of those being discharged from Indian Residential Schools."⁶ As Phil Fontaine and Aimee Craft write, "control of marriage was part of the ongoing policy of forced assimilation...The government not only encouraged marriage between students, but it also began to make marriage part of the process of getting out of residential school."⁷ In 1896, for example, Deputy Minister Hayter Reed wrote that it was "advisable" that, "where pupils are advanced in years and considered capable of providing for themselves, to bring about a matrimonial alliance, either at the time of being discharged from the school or as soon after as possible."⁸

Two years earlier, in 1894, the principal of the Rupert's Land Industrial School presented Department of Indian Affairs (DIA) Agency Inspector Ebenezer McColl with the "application" of a male student to marry a female student. Although the prospective groom had a house and farm on the St. Peter's Reserve, the principal thought "she would do far better for herself in remaining where she is," and that "I will be very sorry to lose her."⁹ This kind of interference into the lives and marriages of young Indigenous men and women occurred, and was documented in government files, even though the DIA, its officers and agents, knew and

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acknowledged that “there is nothing in the *Indian Act* whereby Indians could be compelled to consult an Indian Agent before getting married.”¹⁰ Later amendments to the *Indian Act* allowed officials to commit individuals to IRS, increasing their control, including with respect to their marriages.

Writing “Regarding the Marriages of Four Female Pupils of Qu’appelle Industrial School”¹¹ in June of 1890, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Lawrence Vankoughnet, advised the then Minister of the Interior and Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, Edgar Dewdney, that “I quite agree with Mr. [Hayter] Reed that great care should be taken in at least strongly advising, if not controlling the Indian pupils, both male and females, in [sic] the matrimonial alliances to be formed by them for no doubt their future achievement and prosperity must greatly depend upon the character of the same.”¹² Vankoughnet’s advice was not just aspirational, government officials had the ability to back up his directions.



Image 1: Piece of map including the Saint Boniface Industrial School Site in 1891.
Source: Archives of the Société historique de Saint-Boniface, Fonds Ville de Saint-Boniface, 0123/G35/16

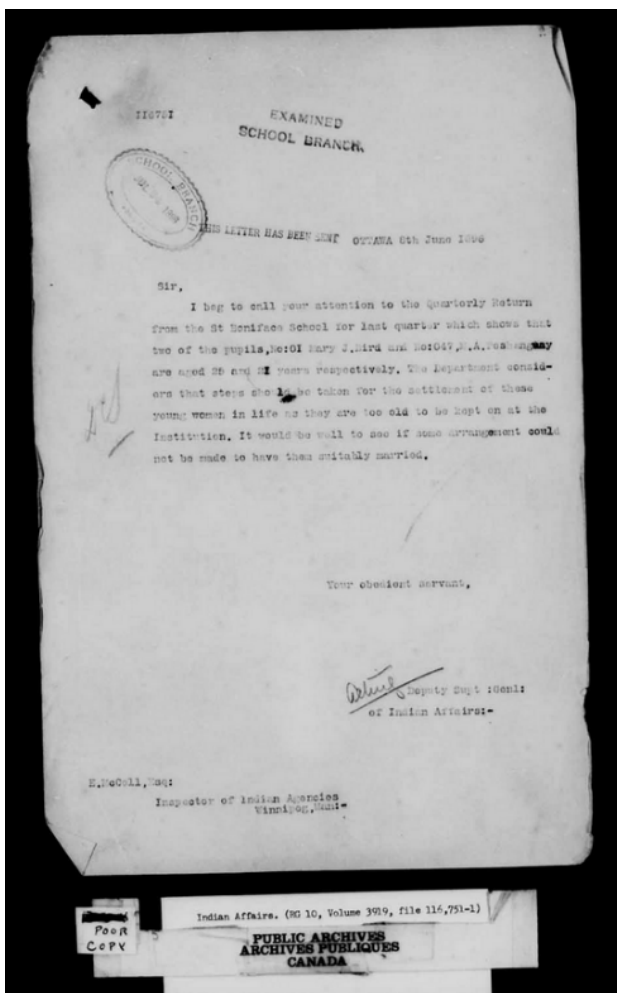
Gendered segregation in Indian Residential Schools and marriages with little or no regard for the students' consent

Indian Residential Schools were totalizing institutions designed to instill obedience in the children sent to them. In 1897, the principal of the Saint-Boniface IRS reported that the students there were “brought up in the fear of God and in obedience to the authority which rules them.”¹³ At Indian Residential Schools, this government and church control extended to the physical segregation of male and female pupils. With the exception of a few girls who were kept at the boys' school to do chores, the girls' section was adjacent to the Grey Nuns' convent and orphanage, and the boys' section was near the Seine River. Although the Saint-Boniface Industrial School was administered on paper as a single institution, the girls' and boys' infrastructures were wholly separated, with the buildings situated at some distance from each other.¹⁴ This arrangement, characterized by gender separation, and gendered tasks, reduced the opportunities pupils had to socialize, and to choose their own partners.¹⁵

In 1896, a letter from the Deputy Superintendent of Indian Affairs to Ebenezer McColl, the Inspector of Indian Agencies in Winnipeg at the time, emphasized this use of separation as part of the church and state's totalizing control when he not only approved the marriages of two Saint-Boniface IRS pupils, but added that “It would be well to have the ceremony in such case take place at the school, if possible.”¹⁶ Having such marriages performed at the school not only ensured that the approved marriage would take place, it took the ceremony out of

Image 2: June 8, 1896, letter directing the Principal of the Saint-Boniface Industrial School to have two of the oldest female pupils “suitably married”.

Source: [Library and Archives Canada](#), RG10, volume 3919, file 116751-1, Acting Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs to E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Winnipeg, 8 June 1896, frame 338.



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community and away from family, emphasizing government and church control over marriage and family.

Indian Affairs correspondence paints a picture of the lived experiences of the children who were sent to IRS's where DIA and IRS officials were making decisions about the marriages of pupils with little or no regard for the students' consent, let alone their family or community's wishes. In 1896, concerned that two pupils at the Saint-Boniface IRS were too old to continue at the school, the DIA sent formal direction to the principal, telling him that: "Steps should be taken for the settlement of these young women in life as they are too old to be kept on at the Institution. It would be well to see if some arrangement could not be made to have them suitably married."¹⁷

At the same time, pupils could also be prevented from leaving the IRS until they married a partner that government officials approved. This was the case when, on September 13, 1894, Duncan Campbell Scott, the Acting Superintendent of Indian Affairs, advised the Assistant Indian Commissioner in Regina that Saint-Boniface IRS pupil "Number 043 Caroline Pensaissenequat can only be discharged when the department is satisfied that the Indian to whom she wishes to be married is in a position to support her, and that he has a suitable allotment and house with sufficient household furniture for the needs of civilised life."¹⁸ Even more remarkably, when this direction was issued, Caroline Pensaissenequat had already been discharged from the Saint-Boniface Industrial School.¹⁹

Fontaine and Craft write that "Principals regularly reported and celebrated student marriages, and, indeed, did often arrange them."²⁰ In April, 1897, government officials advised that "the request of the Principal of the St Boniface Industrial school for the discharge of Mary Rose Hayden, pupil No: 02 ... may be complied with and the Department is pleased to learn that she is likely to be suitably married and obtain a responsible position in the Rat Portage Boarding school."²¹ An announcement in Le Manitoba on April 21, 1897, celebrated Mary Rose's marriage to a fellow Saint-Boniface IRS pupil, Edouard Kipling by Monseigneur l'Archevêque in the Saint-Boniface Industrial School chapel, clarifying they are "tous deux, élèves de l'école".²² Additional documents confirm that both Mary Rose and Edouard went on to be hired to help open and work at the Rat Portage Industrial School.²³

Money, Marriage, and Coercion: Post Office Savings Accounts

Part of the coercive power government officials held was financial, and included the government's use of Post Office Savings accounts to gain control over pupil's own money. From around the 1890s into the early twentieth century, Canada "encouraged" families to allow their children's annuity payments to be put into a Post Office Savings Account for the child. These accounts could also include money the child may have earned while a pupil at an IRS. Once their money was put into these accounts, pupils and former pupils had to apply to the federal government explaining what they wanted to spend the money on to be able to access these funds.²⁴ Government officials could, and did, reject these applications if they were unhappy with what the money was to be spent on, or with the child's conduct itself.

This money could be used as leverage to coerce behaviour, including what officials saw as an "appropriate" marriage. For instance, Virginie Girard was discharged from the Saint-Boniface Industrial School in 1898 as a "graduate." Her efforts to access her own money, which had been placed in a Post Office Savings Account during her time at the IRS, give a sense of how much control officials exercised over these accounts. Following Virginie's request to withdraw her money, in March of 1900, DIA Commissioner D. Laird advised "I will enquire whether her savings should be withdrawn and if so, will see that an application be duly forwarded. The account should remain open in the meantime."²⁵ Four days later, on March 17, 1900, Laird wrote that "Virginie Girard No. 53 Fort Alexander is now employed in the St. Boniface Hospital, and according to the report of the Rev. Sister in charge has no actual need of her savings and the money had better remain to her credit."²⁶ Virginie did not accept this answer, but despite her efforts, Laird issued final direction on the matter that went against her wishes: "The girl works in the St. Boniface Hospital and has no need of her annuities, and unless she makes up her mind to marry, it will be better to keep her money back until she is in need of same."²⁷ Indeed, Canada withheld Virginie Gerard's money, despite her multiple attempts to regain control of her own funds, attempts that included telling officials in 1907 that she was "going to be married to a white man at St. Rose du Lac" and wanted the money to set up housekeeping.²⁸

A Continuing Practice

Government policy regarding the marriages of IRS pupils, including the use of coercive measures to support that policy, continued into the twentieth century. In 1900, the DIA issued a circular "calling for the promotion of marriages among

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[Indian Residential School] graduates” and directing “Indian Agents and principals to consult the youth who were soon to be discharged from the institution and encourage marriage between them.”²⁹ In 1909, the Minister of Indian Affairs, Frank Pedley, issued a circular to Residential School principals and Indian agents directing that “Marriage between [IRS] pupils should be encouraged, and when a marriage takes place, the Department will give assistance to the young wife in some form to be afterwards decided upon.”³⁰ In 1914, D.C. Scott, Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs issued a circular that included this same directive.³¹ As Tyla Betke has shown in her essay about abuse at the Birtle IRS, arranged marriage was still a practice in at least some IRS in the 1930s.³²

The effects of these government interventions can be seen in the marriages of two former Saint-Boniface Industrial School pupils. Both of these marriages took place in Saskatchewan, and both took place after the male partner had been placed in the File Hills Colony. In July of 1903, the DIA’s Assistant Commissioner sent a letter requesting “the consent from the Peepeekisis Band” to “transfer” Joseph McKay of St. Peter’s and several other young male “graduates of Industrial Schools who have settled down in the File Hills Colony” to their Reserve.³³ As a result, Joseph McKay was transferred to the Peepeekisis Band.

Now separated from his home community, a little over a year later, on October 31, 1904 McKay was married to Lebret (Qu’Appelle) IRS pupil Marie Asham³⁴ at the Sacred Heart mission in Lebret, Saskatchewan.³⁵

Although government policy stated that the File Hills Colony would only accept “Treaty Indians” like Joseph and Marie, First Nations families were not the only ones impacted by these practices. Racialized ideas about superiority – including those held by William Morris Graham who established and oversaw the File Hills Colony – “favoured” students with “mixed white and Aboriginal blood.” This, in turn, led officials to seek out pupils they believed had some amount of “white blood” when selecting candidates for the File Hills experiment.³⁶ To do this, government officials actively worked to find ways around the rule requiring that all members of the File Hills Colony had to be in Treaty.³⁷ This preference played out in the lives of



Image 3: Saint-Boniface Industrial School, 1895
Source: Société historique de Saint-Boniface, SHSB2709, available at <https://archivesshsb.mb.ca/link/archives116534>

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two other IRS pupils, Pierre Swan, who had been sent to the Lebret (Qu'Appelle) IRS, and Pelagie Morin, who had been sent to the Saint-Boniface IRS.

In the early 1900s, as Pierre Swan was preparing to leave the Lebret IRS, DIA officials clearly established that he was not in Treaty and that Canada considered him to be a “halfbreed.” Despite this, officials went to great lengths to divert him from receiving Scrip, arranging instead for him to be admitted into Treaty as a member of the Peepeekisis Band in 1901, so that he could be sent to the File Hills Colony.³⁸ Once a member of the Colony, on March 14, 1905 Canada approved a grant to help Pierre complete a house there.³⁹ Soon after, on December 26, 1905, Pelagie Morin, a Saint-Boniface IRS pupil whose Métis descent is well-documented,⁴⁰ and Peter Pierre Swan, were married.⁴¹

As Drew Bednasek explains, Graham’s establishment of the Colony

was eagerly supported and funded by the Canadian government...requir[ing] collaboration with residential school principals, arranged marriages amongst residential school ex-pupils, transferring ex-pupils to the Peepeekisis Reserve, manipulation of First Nations’ sovereignty, bribery, and the disregard of ethical and legal responsibilities.⁴²

Like Pelagie and Pierre, other pupils sent to File Hills, including several from the Saint-Boniface IRS, married partners who had attended the Lebret IRS, all part of a project intended to create “a DIA showcase settlement of ... married industrial school graduates who were isolated from ‘older Indians’.”⁴³ Scholars, including Bednasek and Godlewska, have therefore argued “that the criteria established and considered by the File Hills Colony’s supervisor of “superior” candidates for the colony, and the practice of collaborating with IRS administrators to match individuals through arranged marriages, reflected elements of eugenics.”⁴⁴ As we contend in this short article, there is a fundamental need for more research to address the incomplete record around these “arranged marriages” that were characterized by coercion, in some cases clearly meeting emerging legal thresholds of slavery⁴⁵ and “eugenics-like thinking.”⁴⁶

The examples in this case study reveal how colonial authorities and officials promoted and coerced marriages between IRS pupils that violated both their own emerging Western, Eurocentric legal instruments and Indigenous legal traditions that characterized the Indigenous marriage customs colonial officials took issue with.⁴⁷

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This regulation of coercive, assimilationist marriage practices by DIA and IRS officials persisted well into the twentieth century as

Principals continued to arrange marriages into the 1930s. In 1936, the principal of the Roman Catholic school at Onion Lake prepared a list of students who had turned sixteen and who, he believed, should be discharged. He noted that he insisted on keeping the students, since he would “always try to marry them as soon as they leave the school.” He wanted to keep one eighteen-year-old student in the school until the fall threshing was complete. Then, she would be married to a former pupil. He wanted to keep another eighteen-year-old student until “she gets married during the year.”⁴⁸

As the TRC writes,

In 1922, the head of the Presbyterian Church’s Winnipeg Committee on Indian Work urged the government to make it “unlawful [sic] for a pupil or ex-pupil of the School to marry or be married without the permission of the Indian Agent.” The Presbyterians proposed that the children of such unauthorized marriages be denied Treaty annuities until they reached the age of twenty-one and be prohibited from attending school. Although the measure was not adopted, it is reflective of the church’s lack of respect for the autonomy of Aboriginal people.⁴⁹

This short article, focused on the prairies and the Saint-Boniface IRS offers a window into the significant control Canada and church officials exercised over the marriages of Residential School pupils, control where elements of force, coercion, and unfreedom were at play. This control undermined Indigenous customs, law, and sovereignty. Research to date clearly demonstrates the power government and church officials exercised over the marriages of pupils, and the racialized assumptions that informed how this power was used. At the same time, as we argue above, considerable work remains to trace the reach, scale, and scope of these marriages as part and parcel of the colonial project and the enduring legacies of forced assimilation for Indigenous families and communities.

About the Authors



Dr. Karlee Sapoznik Evans is an award-winning executive leader in the public and non-profit sectors. She specializes in strategic planning, research, social innovation and impact, and has served as part of reconciliation, anti-slavery, genocide prevention, and human rights projects and task forces across Canada, and around the world. From 2014-2015, she led a team of researchers for Library and Archives Canada's Document Disclosure Project for the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada. As a professor at Saint-Boniface University, Evans created the university's first courses about the history of Indian Residential Schools and slavery in Canada. In 2023, she was named by The Peak as one of Canada's up and coming leaders shaping Canada's culture, economy, and society. She currently serves as Deputy Manitoba Advocate for Children and Youth.



Dr. Anne Lindsay's career has focused on archival primary source research, particularly in areas relating to settler interactions with Indigenous peoples, as well as fur trade-era history. A post-doctoral fellow at the University of Winnipeg under Dr. Erin Millions, Lindsay is working on a manuscript for an upcoming book on chattel slavery in the fur trade based on her award-winning doctoral thesis, to be published by McGill-Queen's University Press. Lindsay is also part of the Manitoba Indigenous Tuberculosis History Project (MITHP) team that created an award-winning guide for families whose loved ones went away to Indian Hospitals and Sanatoria in Manitoba, and never returned: <https://indigenoustbhistory.ca/projects/missing-patients>. She is currently part of a team working on a second research guide, focusing this time on the City of Winnipeg. Lindsay has worked and continues to work as a researcher for a number of Indigenous communities, including work focusing on the present implications for educational planning that stem from the colonial history of education in specific communities. She has held positions in archives and research with the National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation at the University of Manitoba and before that, with the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada and has worked with the

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

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- [2] See, for example, Phil Fontaine and Aimée Craft, *A knock on the door: The essential history of residential schools from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, Edited and Abridged*. Vol. 1. (Univ. of Manitoba Press, 2015), 65-66.
- [3] See Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *Canada’s Residential Schools: The History, Part 1; Origins to 1939* (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2015), Chapter 28 “Separating the sexes, arranging marriages, establishing colonies: 1867–1939”, 643-662.
- [4] Located across the river not far from The Forks, the Saint-Boniface Industrial School or St. Boniface Indian Residential School operated in what is today Winnipeg, Manitoba, from approximately 1890 until 1905. See La Société historique de Saint-Boniface (SHSB) Archives, “St. Boniface Industrial School,” available at https://shsb.mb.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/04/Saint-Boniface_Industrial_school_EN.pdf
- [5] Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor for Missing Children and Unmarked Graves and Burial Sites associated with Indian Residential Schools, *Sites of Truth, Sites of Conscience: Unmarked Burials and Mass Graves of Missing and Disappeared Indigenous Children in Canada* (2024), 133. Quoting Sarah Carter, “Complicated and Clouded: The Federal Administration of Marriage and Divorce among the First Nations of Western Canada, 1887–1906,” in *Unsettled Pasts: Reconceiving the West through Women’s History*, eds. Sarah Carter, Lesley Erickson, and Patricia Roome (Calgary: University of Calgary Press, 2005), 156, available at <https://osi-bis.ca/historical-report/>.
- [6] *Ibid.*, 2024, 133. Quoting Sarah Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous: Marriage and Nation Building in Western Canada to 1915* (Edmonton: University of Alberta Press, 2008), 235.
- [7] Fontaine and Craft, *A knock on the door*, 65.
- [8] Canada, *Annual Report of the Department of Indian Affairs, 1896*, xxxviii, cited in Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The History, Part 1*, 656.
- [9] Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*, 235, 237.
- [10] *Ibid.*, 242.
- [11] Located in Saskatchewan, this school was also known as the “Lebret” IRS. National Centre for Truth and Reconciliation (NCTR), “Lebret (Qu’Appelle),” available at <https://nctr.ca/residential-schools/saskatchewan/lebret-quappelle/>
- [12] NCTR Archives, 46a-c008439-d0025-001, [Regarding the Marriages of Four Female Pupils of Qu’Appelle Industrial School], Lawrence Vancoughnet to Mr. Dewdney, 17 June 1890, available at <https://archives.nctr.ca/46a-c008439-d0025-001> For more on these correspondents, see: E. Brian Titley, “DEWDNEY, EDGAR,” in *Dictionary of Canadian Biography*, vol. 14, University of Toronto/Université Laval, 2003–, accessed October 10, 2024, available at https://www.biographi.ca/en/bio/dewdney_edgar_14E.html. Also see Library and Archives Canada (LAC), RG10, volume 2111, C-11160, 20,692, available at <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=fonandcol&ldNumber=2069692>.
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[14] LAC, Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada, volume 10, second session (Ottawa S. E. Dawson, 1892), frame 108, available at

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[15] On the theme of gender separation and control, see Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada, *The History, Part 1*, Chapter 28 “Separating the sexes, arranging marriages, establishing colonies: 1867–1939”, 648-654.

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[18] NCTR Archives, 46a-c013711-d0131-001, [Discharge of Certain Pupils from the St. Boniface Industrial School], Acting Deputy Superintendent General of Indian Affairs, D.C. Scott to the Assistant Indian Commissioner, Regina, 13 September 1894.

[19] See the DIA’s own records, two years earlier, on 30 July, 1892, when she was discharged at the age of 18 years old: LAC, Sessional papers of the Dominion of Canada, volume 10, fourth session (Ottawa S. E. Dawson, 1894), frame 111, available at https://www.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.9_08052_27_10/857

[20] Fontaine and Craft, *A knock on the door*, 65.

[21] J.D. McLean, Acting Secretary, to E. McColl, E. McColl, Inspector of Indian Agencies, 15 April 1897, in LAC, RG10-A, Volume 1070, Schools branch - Letterbooks. Education Letterbooks, 1897, available at https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_t1464/1641

[22] The ceremony was performed in the St. Boniface IRS chapel by the Roman Catholic Archbishop. See *Le Manitoba*, 1897-04-21 (Page 3), available at <http://hdl.handle.net/10719/2663053>

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[27] Ibid., 5 April, 1900, frame 77.

[28] Ibid., Virginie Gerard, Application for Withdrawal of Savings, 17 April, 1907, frame 110.

[29] Office of the Independent Special Interlocutor, 2024, 133. Quoting J.R. Miller, *Shingwauk's Vision: A History of Native Residential Schools* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1996), 229.

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[35] "Canada, Saskatchewan Catholic Church Records, 1846-1957", *FamilySearch*, Entry for Joseph McKay and John McKay, 31 Oct 1904, available at <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK95-6T3Z>

[36] C. Drew Bednasek, "Aboriginal and Colonial Geographies of the File Hills Farm Colony" (PhD diss., Queen's University, 2009), 112, available at <https://qspace.library.queensu.ca/server/api/core/bitstreams/b8c436b9-b8ac-4445-8931-7272e41800ac/content>. For example, in July 1911, Assistant Deputy and Secretary of Indian Affairs, J.D. McLean advised Reverend T. Ferrier, the principal of the Brandon Industrial School that "the Department cannot make any provision in the colony for half-breeds." Two years later, McLean upheld this policy, denying the request to transfer two Brandon Residential School pupils to the Colony, citing that "these boys are half-breeds and not Indians and therefore their admission to the Colony cannot be considered." See LAC, RG10, volume 7768, C-12055, 27111-2, File Hills Agency - Correspondence Regarding Admissions to the File Hills Colony, File Hills-Membership, 1901 – 1918, J.D. McLean to Reverend T. Ferrier, 6 July 1911; and J.D. McLean, Assistant Deputy Secretary to W.M. Graham, Inspector of Indian Agencies, Balcarres, Saskatchewan, 5 June, 1913.

[37] The ways in which officials circumvented these rules make it more difficult to document Métis experiences like these. A great deal more research is needed not only in the area of Métis experiences at IRS, but of related experiences such as government/church arranged marriage.

[38] See LAC, RG10, oocihm.lac_reel_c8553, "Letterbooks of out-going correspondence relating to the administration of Indian Affairs in both eastern and western Canada, 1871-1920" frames 158, 161, 567, 975, and 981 available at https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c8553/1; LAC, RG10, volume 9436, Treaty Annuity Paylists, Treaties 4, 6, 7, and 8, Peepeekisis Band, Paid 20 July 1903, available at https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c7151/1092;

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and RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1368, C-15005, “Swan, Pierre; address: Duck Lake; born: 1882 at Duck Lake; father: William Swan (Métis); mother: Angélique Hamelin (Métis); claim no. 3501” available at <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=1515188&q=%22Swan%20Pierre%22&ecopy=e000073368>

[39] [J.D.] McLean, Secretary to R.L. Ashdown, Indian Agent, Qu’Appelle, NWT, 14 March 1905, in LAC, RG10, volume 5089, Indian Affairs Letterbooks, 3 March 1905 – 23 March 1905, available at https://heritage.canadiana.ca/view/oocihm.lac_reel_c8595/567

[40] As the daughter of Marguerite Miller Morin and Alexandre Morin, both of whom took Scrip, Pelagie Morin was clearly part of a Métis family. See LAC, RG15-D-II-8-c, volume 1359, C-14990 available at <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=1512900&q=Marguerite%20Miller%20morin&ecopy=e011371495>; and LAC RG15-D-II-1, volume 557, T-13809, 167745, DECLARATION OF ALEXANDER MORIN RE HIS HALF-BREED CLAIM, 1887 – 1889, available at <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/Home/Record?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=1480385&q=alexander%20morin&ecopy=e011412219>

[41] “Canada, Saskatchewan Catholic Church Records, 1846-1957”, *FamilySearch*, Entry for Peter Swan and Pelagie Morin, 26 Dec 1905, available at <https://www.familysearch.org/ark:/61903/1:1:QK95-6TK5>.

[42] Bednasek, 2009, 74-75.

[43] Carter, *The Importance of Being Monogamous*, 241.

[44] See Bednasek, “Remembering the File Hills Farm Colony,” *Historical Geography* 37 (June 2009): 59; and Bednasek and Anne M.C. Godlewska, “The Influence of Betterment Discourses on Canadian Aboriginal Peoples in the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries,” *Canadian Geographer* 53, no. 4 (2009): 444-461.

[45] On the emerging Western legal parameters of slavery, including as they relate to forcing marriage, see Karlee Sapoznik Evans, Anne Lindsay, and Niigaanwewidam James Sinclair, “Forced to Work ‘Too Hard’: A Case Study of Forced Child Labour and Slavery in Manitoba’s Indian Residential Schools”, (Winnipeg: Centre for Human Rights Research, University of Manitoba, October 12, 2021), 1-20, available at <https://ojs.lib.umanitoba.ca/index.php/forks/article/view/921/933>; and International Research Network on the Legal Parameters of Slavery, “The Bellagio–Harvard Guidelines on the Legal Parameters of Slavery,” 3 March 2012, available at https://glc.yale.edu/sites/default/files/pdf/the_bellagio-harvard_guidelines_on_the_legal_parameters_of_slavery.pdf.

[46] On eugenics and “eugenics-like thinking” during this time period, see Bednasek and Godlewska, 2009, 444-461.

[47] LAC, RG10, 3881, C-10194, 94189, 2061496, “Manitoba – Polygamy Among the Indians,” available at <https://recherche-collection-search.bac-lac.gc.ca/eng/home/record?app=fonandcol&IdNumber=2061496&q=RG10%203881%2094189>.

[48] Fontaine and Craft, *A knock on the door*, 66. Citing TRC, LAC, RG10, volume 6326, 659-10, part 1, J.E. Pratt to Philip Phelan, 15 June 1936.

[49] *Ibid.* Citing LAC, RG10, volume 6816, 486-2-5, part 1, Extract Presbytery of Winnipeg, Committee on Indian Work, R. J. MacPherson, 9 September 1922.